URBAN ACTION

A Journal of Urban Affairs

Produced by the Urban Studies Program

San Francisco State University

1994

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EDITORS
Corin Barsily
Mark Madeiros
Will Patterson
Steve Sherr
Gina Todaro

PRODUCTION & DESIGN
Eric Arnold

PHOTOGRAPHY
Marc Bianchi

FACULTY ADVISOR
Norm Schneider

Urban Action is published annually by students in the Urban Studies Program at San Francisco State University, with funding from the SFSU Instructionally Related Activities Program. Views expressed are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect those of San Francisco State University or the Urban Studies Program. Correspondence and requests for additional copies should be sent to:
Urban Action, Urban Studies Program, SCI 379, San Francisco State University, 1600 Holloway Ave. S.F. CA. 94132.

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INTRODUCTION

FROM THE ADVISOR:

Returning to the position of faculty advisor of *Urban Action* fifteen years after its debut, I am struck by the remarkable, steady growth in the journal's scope and quality.

While all of us in the Urban Studies Program had high hopes that first year, the results have substantially exceeded our expectations. The key to its success, as proposed and promoted by its student editors from the beginning, was to put editorial power in their hands and publish only student work.

To use a term not common fifteen years ago, student empowerment is the engine that drives *Urban Action*. As a result, the editorial board shows a remarkable ability to regenerate itself each year, to obtain sustained University funding and to reach out and attract student written urban policy research papers. The interest San Francisco State students have in doing such research is what keeps the journal fresh and relevant.

Norm Schneider
May, 1994

FROM THE EDITORS:

It has been said that history repeats itself. It is believed that the cause of this repetition is our society's failure to learn from our mistakes. In an effort to break the undesirable events of history in our cities, students from a variety of disciplines and backgrounds reflect upon events of the past, analyze conditions of the present, and evaluate alternatives for the future.

Our examination of the past, present and future begins with an interview with Dean Macris, a man who has witnessed, and participated in, the changes that have shaped our urban environment. What follows is a selection of papers by students which illustrate changes which have occurred in the past, or are currently taking place in the neighborhoods of San Francisco, as well as a unique biography of a Chinese immigrants' assimilation into one of the oldest neighborhoods in the city: Chinatown. The second group of papers focuses on the problems we face today that require immediate attention. Finally, the journal concludes with articles that investigate specific ideas being discussed to change the future of our urban environment, and how, if implemented, those changes would affect the urban environment.

One intent of *Urban Action* is to shed new perspectives on current issues, to insure that unwanted repetition in history will not occur, and that, through careful planning and policy, we can create a city that will be enjoyed by many generations to come.

Through a diverse range of urban and social issues, *Urban Action* aims to provide knowledge and understanding of the various problems and situations that exist in our society. The following articles represent not only the magnitude of topics that we feel need to be recognized, but also the strength in the diversity of the student body at San Francisco State University.

The editors of this journal would like to express their thanks to the many authors who dedicated their energy, time and, most of all, their ideas, to the content of the 15th Annual edition of *Urban Action*.

The Editors
May 1994

ON THE PHOTOGRAPHS

When deciding how to illustrate this issue of Urban Action, we thought it would be a good idea to offer artwork which prompts one to the same degree of reflection as the accompanying articles. We thus chose to offer for your eyes a photo essay which documents a controversial form of personal expression indigenous to the urban environment, namely "graffiti art".

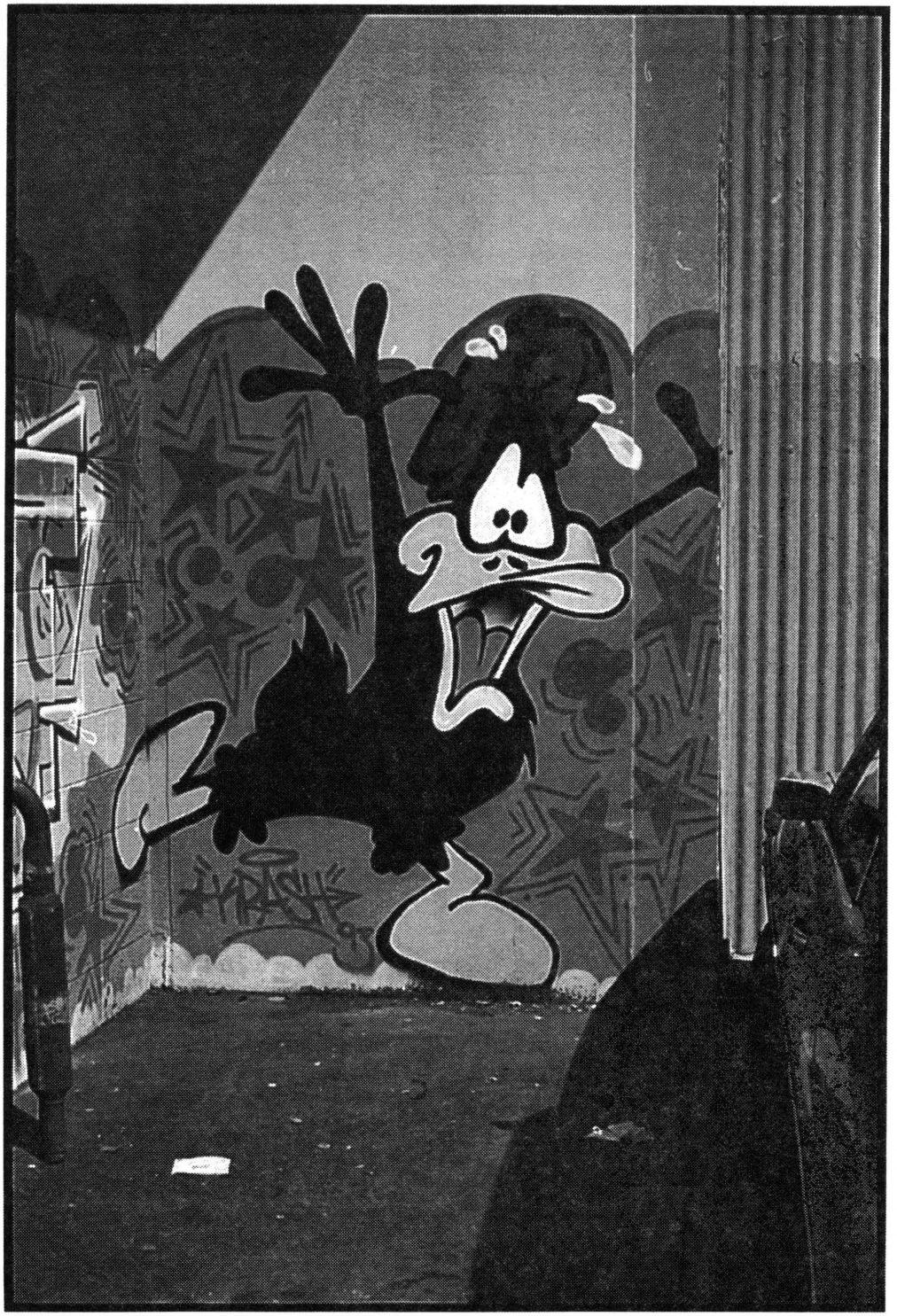
This photo essay was done by Marc Bianchi, a graduate student at SFSU, and this essay is only a small part of a larger work in progress. The purpose of the essay is to take this art form out of the context it is usually viewed in and offer it for inspection as a form of personal expression, expression many people who inhabit our urban environs feel has been inhibited and taken from them.

Humanity has expressed itself artistically since its earliest beginnings, and whether expressed as a drawing on the wall of a cave (the first graffiti?) or sanctioned by the art establishment and hung in the Louvre, it is artistic expression which many would argue demonstrates our true nature, who and what we are underneath whatever external facade social situations require us to display.

Often those in the planning and policy fields can become so caught up in the objectivity of their professions they forget that at the core of what they are doing lie people, people with hopes and dreams, joys, frustrations and anger. Too often in our monolithic social structures these things are left out of the discourse, and so they reappear "illicitly" on walls and busses, public testimony to the fact that real people still live in these cities, people who wish to enter into the public discourse and who not just numbers within some numbered census tract.

So we offer these photographs for your inspection and reflection. Whether or not you decide to call them "art" or "trash" is up to you. But then that power to judge, that power to look at your surroundings and make of them what you will, is in many ways what this photo essay is all about.

Eric Arnold
May 1994



From Past to Future in San Francisco's Planning Tradition: An Interview with Dean Macris

William Patterson & Morgan Saletta

This is the first interview with Dean macris since his retirement as the Planning Director for the City & County of San Francisco. In this interview Dean Macris focuses on his experience as the planning director in San Francisco, and how the changes which took place in this city during the eighties have affected and will continue to affect the future of our great city.

Born in 1931, the son of first generation Greek immigrants, Dean Macris received his bachelors degree at Westminster college, the site of Winston Churchhill's famous "Iron Curtain" speech. After receiving his bachelor degree, he served in the army in Germany where he discovered the wonders of European cities. Upon returning to the U. S. he received his masters degree at The University of Illinois. He began his career in Chicago as an urban planner under the original Daley administration.

After ten years in Chicago he moved to San Francisco where he began working as Assistant Director of Planning with Allan Jacobs, revising the city's Master Plan, as well as with the Association of Bay Area Governments as Associate Executive Director, working primarily on their Environmental Management Plan. Subsequent to that Dean worked for eleven years as the Planning Director for the City & County of San Francisco. He left that position in 1992 and is currently working as a private consultant on such projects as the Presidio and Fort Ord base conversions.

One of the first things that we noticed about Dean Macris was his ease and comfort in the neighborhood where he had chosen to have the interview. We went to a cafe on Davis Street a few minutes walk from the core of the financial district. Dean is a handsome man with a good dose of Mediterranean charm and a sparkle in his eye as he discussed his adopted city; San Francisco. He quickly became active in the conversation and what follows is an enlightening glimpse at his vision of the city's past, present and future.

UA: When you first arrived in San Francisco after working in Chicago, what would you say was noticeably different from in way that planning worked in the two cities?

DEAN: In Chicago I worked under Mayor Daley. In those days planning was really a top-down organization. That's the way the city functioned, and planning in the Mayor's view had limited functions. The mayor's focus was advancing public works. If the Mayor wanted something out of the planning department, it would succeed. If he didn't, it didn't. It was as simple as that. The planning commission was not regarded as a strong function of government.

UA: How does that differ from the way the Planning Commission functions in San Francisco?

DEAN: For one, the San Francisco planning commission is among the most important bodies in city government. It is the most heavily attended commission and sometimes draws larger crowds than the Board of Supervisors.

UA: Aside from the input by the public, what role did the political system outside of your office have during your tenure as the Planning Director?

DEAN: When the city's charter, developed in the 1930's, gave the power to appoint the director to the Planning Commission. The importance of the post now is such that mayors are usually very involved in the

process of selecting the director. But, in the end, the commission appoints the director. The commission can decide issues independent of the mayor's wishes. However, when a mayor comes into the office, the presumption is that the commission is going to reflect largely the administration's idea of what planning ought to be. I think that's the expectation. When you elect someone to run government, the mayor should through appointments have the oppurtunity to put policies into effect. If you don't like the policies, you change the mayor. That's the way the national government works, the state government works; and, I think the way the local government ought to work. I think the Feinstein commission had a centralist view of planning issues. The Agnos Commission was regarded as more alert to neighborhood issues, and the Jordan Commission is probably regarded as more cautious. But development pressures are quite different today.

UA: Were there any projects that you worked on that stand out as being particularly significant to the current character and form of the city?

DEAN: In the late '70's and the early '80's, the big issue was the amount of growth downtown. To give you an idea of the magnitude of what went on between '78 and '92, over 20 million square feet of office space was approved for construction in the city. Today there's about 60 million square feet of office space in downtown. You can see how much office space that decade or so added to the office supply in the city. The question was what impact the new office space and new workers were having on the city. In response to these concerns the planning department created the Downtown Plan.

Limited housing and crowded public transportation were big issues, there was a strong constituency to curtail downtown growth. The Mayor, the Board of Supervisors, and a majority of the city officials felt that growth was essential to the city's future. We were moving from a manufacturing base to a service base, and in effect new office space reflected the new economy and job development. The City Hall concern was that over-regulation of the office market would constrain the city's economy.

The Downtown Plan drafted by the planning department received a lot of national attention, because it permitted office development but under vastly different rules. It pioneered certain new approaches to planning: The idea of controlling the scale of buildings to ensure sunshine, to reduce wind effects, to limit development in the financial district and move it to the Transbay Terminal area. Provisions were adopted requiring developers to contribute financially to housing, to open space, to child care, to transportation, to public art: all of those things were brand new to the process of planning. In the middle '80's, The Downtown Plan went to the Board of Supervisor's, and the issue before the Board was whether the plan should contain a feature that limited the amount of office space the Planning Commission could approve annually for construction. It was an unprecedented idea. The plan was modified at the Board's request to include an annual limit of 950,000 square feet. Ultimately, the Board of Supervisors, in a six to five vote, approved the plan.

UA:After that the voters approved proposition M. . .

DEAN: Yes. Proposition M reduced the annual growth limit to 450,000 square feet. We went through a few years of what the press labeled the "beauty contest" because developers had to compete for space. There's an irony here. Some buildings that fought for approval in the beauty contest got a permit but weren't built because the office market had gone completely soft.

The situation now is that things have improved a little bit in office space rentals. But there's still a 12-14% vacancy in office space in the city, which by the way is not comparatively high. Chicago, New York, and other central cities have considerably higher vacancy rates. Nevertheless, a conservative figure of 10% still means you've got 6 million square feet of office space available downtown. Now the space may not be in exactly the configurations that larger users want it,

but that's still a lot of space available. Another 3 million square feet of space is approved but not constructed. So you've got builders out there with permits to build, but no financing or demand for new space. The city's annual rate of space absorption is about one million square feet or so. Unless the market improves it will take several years to bring vacancy down.

If you tie in what's happening with downtown office space to how people are going to hold down jobs in the future, there is cause for concern. For example people more than ever are working part time or working at home. Changes in technology have freed up space in offices. You can definitely paint a dreary picture for future office office space need. In essence organizations are using less space per person, and until we can determine the practical limits to this trend, the future of office space downtown is very unclear.

UA: Based on your experience as Planning Director, and on the numbers we've just discussed, what do you see happening to San Francisco as a central city?

DEAN: The '80's were, in effect, very good to cities. Downtowns of America were re-activated after many, many years of continued deterioration. In Northeastern cities, downtowns have suffered greatly since World War II. It's been a continual exodus of investment to the suburbs. San Francisco has been fortunate. Today I don't think there's anyone, whether your an urban expert or a casual observer of cities, who would say that San Francisco's downtown doesn't rank among the best central districts in the world. It's a very pleasant place to be. It's a very interesting, exciting place because our standards have been very demanding. We insisted that new buildings respect older ones, that there be shopping at the lower levels, that the urban patterns traditional to San Francisco be retained downtown.

UA: The suburbs in the Bay Area experienced a surprising amount of growth other than housing growth and now are being labeled with the new term 'edge cities' coined by Garreau. What sort of an impact do you believe this growth has had and will continue to have on central city areas like San Francisco, or even Oakland?

DEAN: The features and character of the suburbs are definitely changing. Once, in order to see any kind of professional theater, you had to come to San Francisco. Today there's a beautiful regional theater in Walnut Creek. I went to Walnut Creek on a Friday night and I was amazed by the number of people out on the downtown streets. The restaurants there challenge the quality of the restaurants found only in a central city just a few years ago.

Even the shopping is improved. The variety is still not up to downtown standards, but people in surveys cite various reasons for not coming to San Francisco from parking to the homeless. Some urban economists say that if it wasn't for the city's strong market in tourism, Union Square shopping would be very troubled.

UA: Do you see San Francisco becoming more of an attractive place as a conference center and thus as a tourist center; and thus to some extent, offsetting the loss of office-type jobs?

DEAN: Well it really is amazing. I'll offer you an anecdote. The American Planning Association's national conference is in San Francisco this year. While the group's usual attendance in New York or Chicago is around 3,000, the conference here is expected to have 4,000 people registered, simply because of the magnetism of the city.

Some people aren't going to like the large number of tourists coming to the city; some people feel that the city depends too much on tourism, that it's taking away some of the values for the people who live here. But frankly that is part of city life and it is likely to grow.

There's already a need for more space beyond the current configuration of the Moscone center. Other cities keep adding to exhibition space of this kind. There's no real way to expand The Moscone Center. People are coming from everywhere to see everywhere, and California and San Francisco will be high on that agenda.

The danger is that the growth in

tourism turns San Francisco into a giant theme park; and that becomes the focus of what the city will be about. I've heard a comment that if you want to meet someone where you won't run into anyone you know, the place to go is Pier 39.

UA: We're interested in your ideas about the future of San Francisco in relation to the region. You mentioned earlier that there is a growing competition between the city and the suburban centers. What should cities like San Francisco be doing to remain competitive?

DEAN: Well I think the one thing we've learned a lesson about is that the city ought to do what a city does best, and that is not emulate the suburbs, but be a city! The density, excitement, the diversity of neighborhoods, these are all a part of the city. One of the things I have closely observed in the city is the Tenderloin [a transitional area near downtown]. In the past few years, the Tenderloin has been repopulated. One of the great functions of complicated central cities is to bring people in, making a place in the city, and to help them begin a new life. That is happening right now with Asian immigrants from Viet Nam, Korea, and elsewhere; and they are settling in the tenderloin. That is an important function of the city and has been for years. The new energy makes a difference.

This city has enormous turnover. I'm always struck by the number of single people here and the number of young people. And the number of people who have been here five years or less. It's extraordinary! And that has always been the case in San Francisco and has always given it a special energy. It's the base of the city's progressiveness.

People who come here come here because they have a certain image of San Francisco that they don't want to change. It makes for a vary cautious view toward physical change. This feeling or attitude had a lot to do with the push to restrain downtown development. In the midst of the new construction in in the '80's older buildings, familiar to many people, were being lost. I think San Francisco is in a strong position to protect its architectural heritage. San Francisco will do well in any competition, whether its the suburbs or international cities, because of its uniqueness.

UA: What are some of your feelings about what San Francisco's role is in the Bay Area Region as a whole?

DEAN: By 1983, more office space was being built outside the city than inside the city. A historical first. San Jose now has more population than San Francisco has. So statistically we're less important. But in sheer terms of image and function, and what the region stands for, San Francisco still sets the pace for the Bay Area.

Take one small area. The news gathering apparatus, the electornic press, are centered here and that makes a big difference. You can have the same kind of event happening in San Francisco that is happening in Des Moines. The chances of it getting to the national press in Des Moines are considerably less. The city is not going to lose its standing as a great city.

UA: Well, it certainly has an image that is far larger than you would imagine from its population in any case.

DEAN: . . . And I think that surprises a lot of people, that in fact, we're a very small town. I mean we're forty nine square miles while Chicago is 250 or so, Los Angeles is probably over 400, and New York is more than 300 square miles

UA: Do you see greater regional cooperation in the Bay Area?

DEAN: No, sadly no. Local government isn't structured to bring that about. If we were a destitute metropolitan area, the demand for cooperation would be greater. But we are not. We are relatively a prosperous area, with an envious economy based on ideas, research, education, communication, and information. Probably more so than any big metropolitan area in the country.

In order to have a regional perspective, Bay Area cities would have to delegate some local control to a regional agency. Unfortunately, we never have succeeded at that. We've come awfully close to a comprehensive regional agency, but we never have quite succeeded. So, instead

of dealing with land use issues in a direct manner, we've got single purpose regional agencies: we've got one for air quality, one for transportation, one for the bay, but no authority to manage regional development.

UA: What do you think the issues are that need to be tackled on a regional basis?

DEAN: The way jobs are allocated and land is used. Cities can't make any money on residential development, so commercial development is everything. Minneapolis has a system, I think they still do, in which if there's a new commercial development going in some city in that area, 60% of the new tax base goes to the city in which the new development occurred, and the remaining 40% goes to a regional pot and is redistributed. But, there has been no serious political interest to implement something similar in the Bay Area.

UA: Coming back to the idea of the physical characteristics of the city, could you tell us about the Presidio Base conversion for which you are currently doing some consulting?

DEAN: The Presidio is going to be a National Park, and it's going to have to be a unique national park. It has 800 buildings, and 500 or so of those buildings are landmarks. Although the plan does call for some buildings to be demolished, the challenge is to take this rather vast amount of space and convert it into something that is really compatible with a park and will produce income to help support the park. What we're faced with right now, at least with some Republicans, is that they are saying, "you propose to spend $25 million dollars out of the federal budget to support a 1400 acre park when Yosemite has a budget of $14 million?" That's the challenge and it's not totally irrational.

I don't agree with that, of course. What we have to demonstrate is that the park can generate some revenue to offset some of these costs, and convincing decision-makers that an urban park with 500 landmark buildings is simply going to cost more money than a park in a rural setting. There are areas in the park that offer some kind of opportunity. The Letterman complex of buildings can generate income for the park. The Sixth army plans to stay and that will help support the park.

UA: How do you feel about the idea of extending BART to SFO International Airport, and the South Bay; and in particular, what physical implications are involved for the communities that will be affected?

DEAN: BART of course should be extended to the airport. My belief is the biggest users will be the thousands of employees that have jobs associated with the airport. Neighboring communities should welcome any project that gets people out of cars and onto a train.

BART around the bay has not had a serious impact on land uses. One of the surprises about BART from a land use perspective, is that the systems suburban stations have not generated development interest.

The Moscone Convention Center: A History and Economic Impact Analysis

Albert Carlson & Julie Taylor

Despite its controversial history, the Moscone Convention Center attracts millions of conventioneers annually and has established itself as San Francisco's eminent convention facility. It has helped to fulfill the vision held by business leaders forty years ago to make the city an attractive location for national and international corporate headquarters. This article will explore the history of the Moscone Center and the economic impact it has had on San Francisco.

INTRODUCTION

Despite a controversial history checkered with lawsuits, political debates, public protests, and financial constraints, the Moscone Convention Center in San Francisco has emerged as a successful convention facility. Capable of meeting diverse space demands for conventions and trade shows of all sizes, the convention center is a popular location choice for local, regional and national events.

Annually, millions of dollars in revenues are generated by convention sponsors and attendees. A variety of taxes, user fees, and sales revenues are pumped directly and indirectly into the local economy via a demand for services in the hospitality service sector, local municipal services and in retail sales. In addition to generating a constant source of funds for the city's financial coffers, the convention center has created an employment demand for thousands of people with various skills. The center's impact on the local economy has consistently been positive and future expectations for the trend to continue upward are strong.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In the years after World War II, members of the San Francisco business community decided that if the city was "to be increasingly a regional, national, and international service center, its central business district must expand in area" (Hartman, 1974). Concerned with attracting corporate activity, they also recognized that without a first-rate convention center in the downtown area the city would not be able to compete with other cities as a location choice for corporate headquarters. Dominant West Coast corporations and financial institutions such as Bechtel Corporation, U.S. Steel, Bank of America, Standard Oil of California, Pacific Gas and Electric, and the American Trust Company each pledged $10,000 to found the Bay Area Council. The council was to lobby for an expanded central business district (CBD) and establish San Francisco as the preeminent West Coast financial center.

The physical land use constraints created by the city's peninsula configuration and the social geography of previously established neighborhood centers, such as Chinatown and North Beach, inhibited expansion of the CBD. With available land and office space in the CBD in short supply, the demand for office space prompted the Bay Area Council, the Blyth-Zellerbach Committee (a group consisting of corporate leaders), and later the San Francisco Planning and Urban Renewal Association (SPUR), to focus their attention and political efforts on securing land designated for urban renewal in the immediate vicinity of downtown San Francisco. In 1953, a site South of Market was approved by the San Francisco Board of Supervisors as a "possible redevelopment project under [the] federal urban renewal

program" (Hartman, 1974). Land acquisition in the area South of Market was pursued because it was flat, compared to the city's hilly topography; it was not home to a large ethnic community of established families; and it also met the criteria for proximity to the CBD.

By the late 1950s, there was a consensus among members of the business community "that San Francisco was no longer competitive in the field of convention and sports facilities, and that development of such facilities was critical to the city's future economic health" (Hartman, 1974). At the time, the city had two convention facilities: Brooks Hall and the Civic Auditorium, each located in the civic center area adjacent to the CBD. The size of these facilities limited San Francisco's ability to attract large conventions. The Cow Palace, a relatively spacious facility compared to the other two, was frequently overlooked because of its distance from the downtown area (15-20 minutes by automobile) and lack of nearby visitor hospitality services. In early 1961, San Francisco Mayor George Christopher, convinced by the arguments that a first class convention center was needed to make San Francisco a leader in attracting corporate headquarters, requested that the San Francisco Redevelopment Agency (SFRA) begin the planning for a mixed use development to encompass new office space, a convention center and a sports facility.

The issue of how to relocate 4,000 low-income persons was conveniently side-stepped

The SFRA released its initial design plans for the mixed use development, in February 1964, for the area South of Market to be called the Yerba Buena Center (a name originally given to an early settlement in San Francisco before the Gold Rush of 1849). Following revision of the plans, the agency submitted a funding request to the Housing and Home Finance Agency (elevated to cabinet status in 1965 as the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development). Federal funding of $19.6 million was approved to implement the redevelopment project, while subsequent funding for the Moscone Center was raised by increases in the hotel room tax and by a $210 million bond issue (Hartman, 1984).

The 21 acres slated for demolition, defined as the Central Blocks, were comprised of mostly low-rent, furnished residential hotels. Characterized as a skid row community, the area was filled with residents who had strikingly similar demographic profiles. In fact, ninety-four percent of the people for whom these hotels provided homes were "single, elderly, male, and poor" (Hartman, 1974). The redevelopment bulldozer translated into displacement for the area's residents because during the initial planning stages, "the controversial issue of how to relocate 4,000 low-income persons was conveniently side-stepped" (Hartman, 1974). Clearance began in July 1967 in preparation for the Yerba Buena Center while displaced hotel residents searched for alternative housing.

In June 1969, structural design plans were released illustrating the new facility's capacity to house a 350,000 square-foot convention center/exhibition hall; a 14,000 seat sports arena; an 800 room hotel; a 2,200 seat theater; a 4,000 car parking garage; an Italian Cultural and Trade Center, an airline terminal; office buildings; shops; and a pedestrian mall (Hartman, 1974). The sports arena was later deleted from the public facilities portion of the Yerba Buena Center plan in 1974 due to financial constraints.

With demolition plans in hand, work crews were to begin the task of clearing the land but progress was hindered by a series of public hearings related to resident displacement, difficulty in naming a project developer and lengthy planning commission reviews. To help protect the rights of displaced residents, an advocacy group called Tenants and Owners in Opposition to Redevelopment (TOOR) mobilized during the summer of 1969. With TOOR's assistance, residents protested the unfair displacement practices of the SFRA through a series of public hearings and a lawsuit related to the lack of provision of housing for relocated community members. A stronger, collective community voice was effective over the next four years in delaying further demolition. Finally in 1973, a settlement was reached between TOOR and the Redevelopment Agency. The SFRA agreed to

build 2,000 low rent replacement housing units within the city beginning with Woolf House, a nine-story, 112-unit building for 250 occupants, located adjacent to the new convention center (Hartman,1984). However, construction was suspended until the new low-rent housing was available for the relocated; it was not until June 1979 that post-excavation construction work on the project commenced (Hartman, 1984).

MOSCONE CENTER: A FIRST-RATE CONVENTION FACILITY

Named after the assassinated Mayor of San Francisco, George Moscone, the convention center opened its doors for business in December 1981, with Halls A, B, and C, and the Gateway Ballroom completed (Brown), totaling over 500,000 net square feet at a total cost of $126 million. Although critiqued by Pulitzer Prize-winning architecture critic Allen Temko as "one of the finest clear-span spaces ever built" (Temko, 1982), the convention center was still rejected as a location choice by the American Heart Association for being too small. In 1982, city officials recognized that the facility was somewhat limited in size as compared to other competing convention centers such as the Anaheim Convention Center and the Las Vegas Convention Center (Reiterman 1982). It was anticipated that enlarging the Moscone Center would make it competitive with other regional convention centers and attractive to large, national sponsors. Increased business activity in the CBD and employment demand in the local economy were expected to occur because of demand for convention related services.

Financed by a raise in the hotel room tax, effective January 1, 1987, from 9.75 percent to 11 percent, a new addition to the Moscone Center was completed in the spring of 1992. The Stage Two expansion project created "more than 1.2 million additional square feet of building area on two 11 acre blocks, offering 442,000 square feet of highly finished, flexible meeting space in as many as 60 rooms" (SFCFAR, 1992-1993). The convention center had almost doubled in size and could now hold "conventions of up to 50,000 people" (Abate: 1993), in comparison to the much smaller facilities of Brooks Hall and the Civic Auditorium.

COMPARATIVE ADVANTAGES

A striking advantage for the Moscone Center over Brooks Hall, the Civic Auditorium, and the Cow Palace is its prime location to the central business district, bordered by Howard and Folsom, between Third and Fourth Streets. The center's proximity to the business district promotes a positive flow of revenue to downtown businesses from the convention center and attendees; the center is within walking distance to over 20,000 hotel rooms as well as many restaurants and retailers. The location is served by both the local light rail and bus system and the Bay Area Rapid Transit system, providing access to San Francisco's recreation areas and tourist attractions.

In the Bay Area, there are also comparable convention centers in San Jose and Oakland. The San Jose Convention Center, with 425,000 square feet of flexible meeting space, had attendance figures in fiscal year 1991-1992 of 409, 223, while in 1992-1993, attendance fell to 377,551 (City of San Jose). In Oakland, the convention center has 48,000 square feet of space and attracted 204,566 conventioneers in 1991-1992, while in 1992-1993, 157,258 attended events, conferences, and conventions (Oakland Convention Center Annual Report, 1991-1992). However, the advantage of the San Francisco location of the Moscone Center is its proximity to a large number of amenities such as restaurants, hotels, retail and other attractions.

ECONOMIC IMPACT

For a convention center to have a significant impact on the local economy, a large number of its conventions must be regional and national, thereby bringing in revenue from outside the local economy. In 1993, 66 percent of conventions held at the Moscone Center were national in origin; 33 percent were either state or regional; and only one percent was local, making it the center's busiest year to date (SFCFAR:1992-1993). Overall event attendance figures were 611,381 for 1991-1992. Since the completion of the newly enlarged facility in 1992, convention and trade show attendance has risen sharply; in 1992-1993, it totaled 765,202, reflecting an increase of approximately 20 percent (SFCAR, 1991-1992, 1992-1993). Occupancy rates have hovered at or near 90

percent, even with a concurrent doubling of available convention space.

Conventions scheduled for 1994 indicate that attendance figures will continue to increase. In fact, nationally "eighteen of the largest conventions, and nine of the largest expositions to be held in 1994 will take place in Moscone Center (Carlsen:1993). Additionally, although Brooks Hall and the Civic Auditorium will be temporarily closed for seismic repairs until January 1996, overall convention attendance in San Francisco is not expected to decline as a result of the Moscone Center's increased ability to host events of all sizes (Brown).

CITY REVENUE

The influx of convention attendees and their propensity for spending money, generates taxes that support the city's annual general operating fund. Visitor and conventioneer spending is divided into six areas: 38 percent is spent on accommodation, 26.5 percent on food and beverage, 20 percent on retail goods, 7 percent on local transportation, 6.5 percent on entertainment, and 2 percent on sightseeing (Bureau Book, 1992). The hotel room tax and retail sales tax revenues that flow into the municipal revenue system are "estimated to be more than 231 million annually" (Bureau Book, 1992) The hotel tax levied on overnight visitors generated $69 million in 1987 (Bureau Book, 1988); by 1992, this revenue had increased to $88 million (Bureau Book, 1992). Revenue disbursement in 1992 included diverse beneficiaries such as the non-profit arts (12.3%); residents of low income housing (4.6%); the War Memorial Fund (7.25%); and Candlestick Park (4.5%).

Direct and indirect annual revenues generated by conventioneers also includes $56 million in property tax collected from businesses servicing conventioneers and visitors; $35.5 million in sales tax; $32.5 million in airport, port and redevelopment fees; $13 million in business tax; $4 million in utility users' tax; and $2.5 million listed as other (Survey of S.F.Visitors:1992). Any decline in revenue would impact the limited available monetary resources for local government agencies, resulting in a decrease of support to services for low-income residents, libraries, and city-owned cultural amenities, all of which are supported by the fund.

IMPACT ON LOCAL BUSINESS

Conventioneer spending supports a large percentage of local businesses catering to visitors. Hotel capacity has risen 30 percent, from 20,800 rooms in 1982 (Bureau Book, 1988) to 29,750 in 1992 (Bureau Book, 1993). During this period hotel occupancy rates remained steady at the relatively high rate of 70 percent. The difference between economic contributions of convention attendees, as opposed to those of all other overnight visitors to the Bay Area, is the level of daily per capita spending. Unlike overnight visitors that stay with friends or family, convention attendees predominantly utilize the hotel and restaurant hospitality sector. In 1992, convention attendees staying in city hotels spent an average of $188 per day; when convention sponsorship and exhibitor spending were factored in, that amount increased to $206.50 and $310 per day, respectively (Bureau Book, 1992). By comparison, other visitors staying in hotels spent $155 per day, while those staying with friends or relatives spent only $53 per day (Bureau Book, 1992). Conventioneers account for only 18 percent of visitor nights spent in San Francisco hotels and motels, but they account for over $630 million, or 29 percent of total visitor spending.

EMPLOYMENT IMPACT

Direct and indirect employment attributable to conventions is found in the city's hospitality sector. This sector primarily consists of employment positions within hotels (18,300), restaurants and bars (17,200), and entertainment and sightseeing (9,800). Other positions include retail and air and ground transportation (Bureau Book, 1992). According to a recent report done by a Bay Area economic consulting firm, over two thirds of these jobs are held by San Francisco residents (Economics Research Associates, 1987). Since 1985, the number of jobs supported by direct visitor spending has risen by slightly over 6,000, indicating a growing demand for provision of service. This contrasts with an overall decrease of 30,000 jobs over the past 10 years in San

Francisco. In 1992, the average number of employed residents was 368,700 and the number of unemployed residents accounted for 27,800 individuals. This results in an annualized average citywide unemployment figure of 7.0 percent (Perron).

San Francisco businesses serving convention sponsors and visitors create employment for management, administration, catering and security positions (Bureau Book, 1992). Eighteen hundred jobs alone are related to the management and maintenance of the Moscone Center. The total number of jobs supported by visitors and conventioneers in the city are estimated at 66,000 with a payroll in excess of $1 billion, exclusive of gratuities (Bureau Book, 1992).

SUMMARY

Since the Moscone Center opened its doors almost fourteen years ago, it has steadily provided the city with many economic advantages. Proving to be an attractive location choice for hundreds of events annually, the convention center has helped San Francisco fulfill the vision that city leaders had for the city over forty years ago. As the foremost convention facility in San Francisco, the Moscone Center has a distinct economic impact on the city's budget and the local market. The tax and fee revenues the convention center generates support local government agency work that provides benefits to local residents and visitors. Direct convention related spending stimulates local business activity and a demand for employment. Indirectly, through business spending and employees spending their salaries, the Moscone Center impacts the local market.

The convention center's success in attracting large conventions and trade shows can be largely attributed to its South of Market location and expansion in 1992. The facility has a comparative advantage over other regional convention facilities because of its proximity to the central business district which provides convention attendees with access to hospitality amenities and services. As the Moscone Center continues to experience a growth in attendance figures, an increase in revenue and employment demand can also be anticipated from convention-related activity.

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Albert Carlson is a senior in the Urban Studies Program at San Francisco State University. Albert plans to pursue a masters degree in urban planning.

Julie Taylor is a graduating senior in the Urban Studies Program. Julie plans to continue down an academic path in the Public Administration program at SFSU while working for The Global Cities Project, a nonprofit environmental resource organization in San Francisco.

Demographic Changes in the North Mission: Parallel Development or a New Bohemia?

Ruth MacKay-Shea

San Francisco's Mission District is quite possibly the most ethnically diverse and unique area in the city. Over the past ten years dramatic changes to the social and cultural landscape have occurred in the Mission, especially the North Mission area. This article examines the current social and cultural situation in the North Mission, and how it has shifted to its current bohemian character over the last forty years.

INTRODUCTION

A Mission neighborhood newspaper advertisement for a new young people's bar (Mission News, 11/92) and a sign above a lettering business both use the term "new bohemia" to refer to their location in San Francisco's North Mission District. Novelist Herbert Gold describes the Valencia/16th Street area as "a new bohemia in the Mission" and compares the Mission's cheap Mexican food feeding the new beatniks as similar to the cheap Chinese and Italian food fed to the North Beach beatniks of yesteryear (SF Examiner, *This World*, 6/5/88). Parallels of past and present trends, however, can only go so far, and as history repeats itself, it does so in qualitatively different ways. Gold's following quote sums up the general character of this area and illustrates that a "new bohemia" will be very different from the "old San Francisco bohemia":

> "This territory, Mission and Valencia running parallel . . . blends an air of '60s-dropout devil may-care with an '80s bag-person desperation. The mean streets are cranky . . . Among the prominent homesteaders in this part of the city are single mothers, road-killed poets, south-of-the border non-winners, urban Indians, junior crack entrepreneurs with skateboards and folks on total disability . . .A lot of lips are explaining about their griefs to invisible companions." (SF Exam.6/5/88)

The process of neighborhood change is intriguing and has direct applications to San Francisco's North Mission district. As a resident and observer of this area of the city for 16 years, one thing is clear to me - this area has undergone a significant change in the last 6 - 8 years. At first the transformation was slow and subtle, but in the last 2 years the changes on the landscape have accelerated and become more noticeable. Recent observations suggest that the area is best characterized as a collision of two expanding worlds: 1) the new bohemians - young white, often single, counter-culture/artist types common along 16th and Valencia Streets and 2) the skid row/down-and-out transients who frequent 16th and Mission and its nearby alleys. While various ethnic groups are clearly present, their visibility is less prominent on the landscape. This paper will attempt to characterize changes in the North Mission by analyzing and comparing the current demographics of the residents with those of the past 30 years. Landuse characteristics of selected significant core streets in the region will be examined in relation to sub-cultural group expression.

It is often easy to generalize about one's surroundings and I questioned if my personal perspective on the neighborhood was too casual and perhaps self-serving. Ten years ago only the most compelling reasons drew me to 16th and Valencia. Now I welcome the opportunity to stroll along, browse in one of the many bookstores, grab a bite to eat or a cup of coffee.

However, I still need strong motivation for venturing to 16th and Mission - usually to save time or money!! Perhaps by a close scrutiny of the landscape of the area, an analysis of demographics and talking with individuals, could I challenge or confirm my personal conclusions.

NEIGHBORHOOD EVOLUTION & CHANGE

Continual changes and evolution in urban neighborhoods are usually the norm (Mitchell, 1975). The rate and scale of changes, however, can vary from one neighborhood to another. Some change quickly within a decade and others change more slowly over longer time periods. The processes and variables affecting these changes are highly complex and are expressed differently as location and circumstances vary (Mitchell, 1975).

Neighborhoods can be defined from a variety of perspectives. A neighborhood can be defined by a geographic area bounded by streets, freeways or railroad tracks, by a physical feature such as a hill or park, by a certain type of housing, by politically or ethnically similar groups or by economic levels (Mitchell, 1975). According to Godfrey (1988), a neighborhood usually has a sense of place or a community of place - it is linked to spatial references. While its boundaries may be fuzzy and the outer zones may differ from the core or center, the neighborhood is a way of understanding spatial structure and often manifests very distinct physical, social and economic characteristics on the landscape. The patterns and relationships of humans, their activities and buildings communicate a great deal about a neighborhood's character and essence. Risa Palm (1982) maintains that an understanding of neighborhoods requires attention to the role of ethnic and demographic components in a community and calls for an exploration of the social and economic processes that alter the character of neighborhoods — "the why of urban form."

Recent attempts to develop general theories of urban neighborhood transition have been advanced by several authors. Godfrey (1988) describes different transitional phases for two different cultural groups: counter-culture and ethnic communities. Counter-culture or bohemian groups tend to emerge in or near vice districts where social restrictions are more loose. These "urban pioneers", as Godfrey calls them, can become a revitalizing force by attracting more of their kind, and are often, but not always singles who are perhaps able to "rough" it and do not feel the apprehension a family might. This revitalization or gentrification leads to neighborhood improvements, rising rents and a middle class transition, which usually forces out some of the original residents who can't afford the increased housing costs. Ultimately bourgeois consolidation may take over and the neighborhood is greatly transformed.

In contrast, ethnic neighborhoods generally evolve according to different successional stages. Initially, a few economically successful members of an ethnic group settle in a neighborhood in which economic decline is occurring, housing stock is deteriorating and its long term residents are leaving . These few migrants are followed by a much larger ethnic influx that is ongoing for a period of time during which the group becomes established and consolidated via community networks, businesses and services. Godfrey (1988) maintains that ethnic communities tend to remain working class and are more permanent while counter-culture communities tend to gentrify and have more transitory impacts on the urban landscape.

Mitchell (1975) proposes a more generic and non-community specific theory of neighborhood evolution and attributes the process of change to individual, collective and institutional decisions. His model includes 5 phases of the life cycle of a neighborhood: 1) healthy; 2) incipient decline, 3) clearly declining, 4) accelerating declining and 5) abandonment. Within any stage a neighborhood can rise, decline or remain stable; movement can be in either direction. Each stage is a different type of neighborhood with different dynamics, people and processes at work. In moving from one stage to another, a threshold is crossed where the internal social and economic dynamics of the area change. Both Mitchell and Godfrey describe long term neighborhood change as a kind of recycling of urban space which is constantly evolving to a greater or lesser degree.

Another approach by Christopher Winters (1979) attempts to examine and classify distinct neighborhood types which emerged in urban areas in the 1970's He maintains that rejuvenating neighborhoods tend to acquire dif-

ferent reputations which become self-fulfilling with people moving into seemingly congenial areas. What residents believe their neighborhoods is becoming, may be more significant than what is actually occurring. According to Winters (1979), the neighborhood definition may be spatially vague from a distance, but at the neighborhood scale the phenomenon of a neighborhood's character is significant and obvious. He applies one of his categories - self-consciously heterogeneous neighborhoods - to SF's Noe Valley and Mission District where diverse middle class residents defend diversity and perceive it as a benefit to the quality of their lives.

In the ethnically diverse North Mission, where the presence of a young bohemian group appears to be emerging and co-existing alongside an already present transient/skid row population, it will be interesting to follow the course of the neighborhood's transition. How likely is it that the neighborhood will follow Mitchell's successional stages? Will the neighborhood gentrify as a result of rising rents due to an influx of more and more bohemian types and camp followers? Or will gentrification fail to take hold because of the enduring poverty and homelessness common in this area? Alternatively, will both groups fade leaving the area more ripe for new waves of poor immigrants? These two worlds exist adjacent to each other with the potential for a cultural collision and a transformation of the neighborhood that might not resemble either group.

GENERAL CHARACTERIZATION OF THE NORTH MISSION

The North Mission is centrally located in San Francisco and is bounded by Market Street and the Central Freeway to the North, the Barrio or Mission core to the south, the Castro to the west and South of Market and the industrial base of Potrero Hill to the east (See Figure 1). It is a relatively flat region of the city and like the Mission in general, benefits weatherwise from the hills on three sides which nestle it into a valley and act as barriers to the advancing fog. The warmest and sunniest weather in the city can be found here. Because

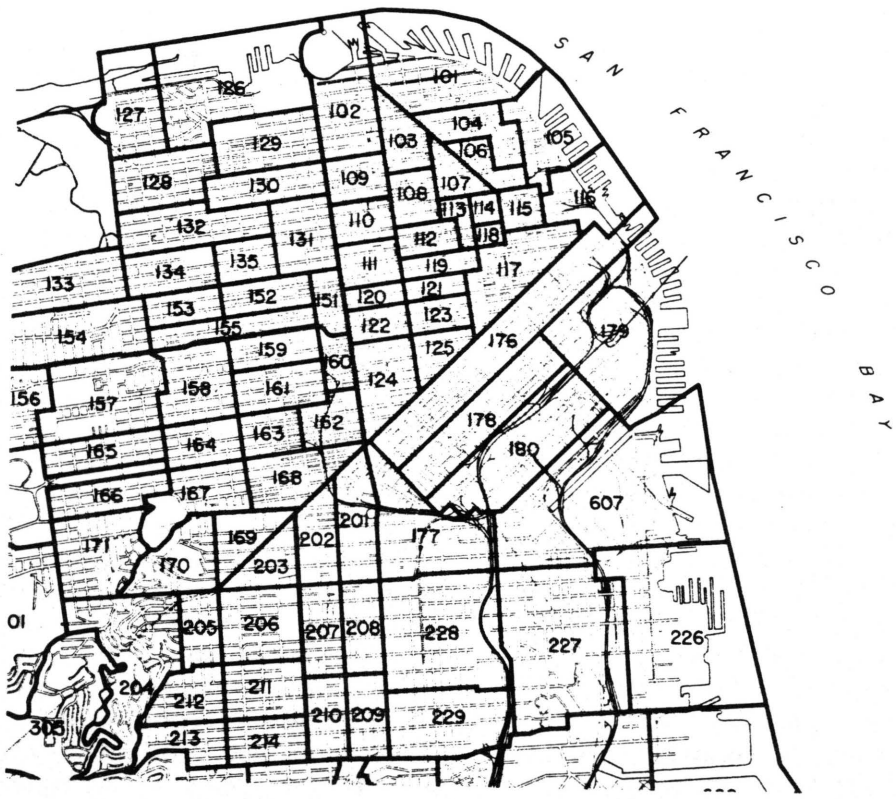

Figure 1

the 1906 fire advanced into the Mission south to 20th street and west to Dolores, most of the neighborhood was destroyed and few pre-earthquake structures remain (Waldhorn, 1973). Most of the older and even some newer buildings in the area are generally dilapidated in appearance (Castells, 1983:100). An exception to this are some buildings on the western border of the region which are fairly well maintained, i.e. along Dolores and Guerrero Streets.

The general rule seems to be the closer to Mission and 16th, the more run down the buildings are. The entire Mission district is San Francisco's oldest existing residential area. (San Francisco Planning Department, 1/76) Most of the residential pattern is of moderate density — 2 to 3 story flats and apartment buildings, some residential hotels and very few single-family structures. The major commercial thoroughfares are Mission, Valencia and 16th Streets with 16th and Mission being the primary core. Along these commercial stretches, upper stories of buildings are occupied by apartments and transient hotels. The region is serviced by BART and numerous Muni bus lines, making its location especially accessible to downtown as well as to most other parts of the city.

Patterns of human activity and their expression are quite diverse in this neighborhood. Hispanics, Blacks, Whites, Chinese and a growing community of South East Asians are present here. Hispanics include El Salvadorans, Nicaraguans, Cubans, Puerto Ricans, South Americans as well as Mexicans. Although there is an exodus of second generation Hispanics to suburbs, this is largely compensated for by continual arrival of new immigrants (Castells, 1983).

Although smaller in numbers, there are also Pacific Islanders, South Asians and Native Americans. While large numbers of young people reside in the North Mission, according to Sheperd (1981) some elderly people with small incomes also live in this area, especially along Valencia Street.

Gays are also a visible group in the North Mission because of the area's proximity to the Castro and its location between the Castro and Folsom Street where numerous gay clubs and bathhouses were located. A number of lesbian businesses are located along Valencia Street and this group also has a presence in the neighborhood. Though there are some families in the area, more common are singles or childless couples. The economics of the neighborhood ranges from middle class to lower class. Few people appear wealthy and the overwhelming atmosphere is one of poverty as you get closer to Mission Street. Judging from the daytime activity, observed during field research it looks as if a lot of people are unemployed. Homelessness, panhandling, drug dealing and prostitution are quite common along Mission Street from 15th - 18th and in nearby side alleys.

Two social groups have the most visibility on the landscape — the young, single, mostly white, counter-culture (or latter-day bohemian) types and the transient/marginal down and out types. Each of these groups have distinct loci of activities which appear to abut each other spatially within a block. Ethnic influences are in evidence both physically and culturally with Hispanics only slightly more dominant than others. Sidewalk traffic is ethnically diverse, different languages are spoke, and many ethnic restaurants and shops are located here.

While San Francisco as a whole is quite diverse, it perhaps has no other neighborhood which demonstrates the degree of diversity found in the North Mission and for this the neighborhood is highly unique. This view was confirmed in an interview with George M. (1992), neighborhood resident for approximately 45 years and staff member at the Mission Dolores for 17 years, who commented:

> " today this neighborhood has a lot of poor people but there also are well-off residents, doctors and other professionals. It has many different Hispanic nationalities, Blacks, South Asians, Southeast Asians, gays, young families, singles and elderly residents too. It is quite a melting pot."

While the Mission is often perceived as synonymous with Hispanic populations, the North Mission is distinctly different from the Mission core or barrio where the cultural patterns have much less diversity and are dominated by Hispanics. By comparison the North Mission simply doesn't have this kind of clearly defined identity.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE OF THE NORTH MISSION

AGRICULTURAL & RELIGIOUS OUTPOST

As one of San Francisco's first two Spanish settlements, the North Mission shares with the Presidio the distinction of being the oldest settled areas in San Francisco. When Spanish explorers arrived in this area, much of the North Mission was under water. A large lake, Laguna de los Dolores, encompassed the area from what is now 15th to 19th Streets and from Guerrero almost to South Van Ness. Further east Mission Creek flowed in to the Bay, giving the Mission district a seaport near the present-day corner of 16th and Folsom (No. Mission Merchants Association Guide, 1982).

The Spanish chose the present location of the northwest corner of Camp and Albion Streets as the original site for the Mission (SF Handbook, 1979). . Eight years later, in 1783, it was moved to its present location near 16th and Dolores Streets and dedicated in 1791. The area was chosen for its protection from fog and wind and by its proximity to fresh water, both of which were necessary for successful farming and grazing (Godfrey, 1988). Self-sufficiency was critical for the survival of the mission. The subjugation of the indigenous population and the introduction of diseases led to a decline in the agricultural work force. The establishment of more agriculturally viable Missions elsewhere also led to the decline of the Mission in the early 1800's (Godfrey, 1988).

THE CITY DEVELOPS - 19TH CENTURY TO 1906

Commercial activity began to take hold at Yerba Buena Cove shifting the focus of settlement from the Mission. At the same time, the Mission lands were secularized and large land grants were broken up and sold. The Gold Rush brought tremendous expansion to the small settlement at Yerba Buena cove and in 1851 a 40 foot wide plank toll road was completed linking the Mission area (Mission Village) with Yerba Buena Cove (downtown). In 1853 another road along Folsom Street was completed (Scott, 1985). These routes opened up the North Mission area for settlement, commerce and because of the good weather, recreational activities . The Willows, a public garden and amusement park with saloons, restaurants and a hotel , stretched from 17th to 19th between Mission and Valencia. Woodward Gardens, a grand park and entertainment center was open from 1866 to 1884.(North Mission Merchants Association Pamphlet, 1982).

Farther east, industry sprang up along the banks of Mission Creek. In the1870's and 1880's some of the wealthy class, attracted by the good weather, suburban atmosphere and convenient transportation, built large mansions in the area. But with expanding urbanization by the late 1890's many of the wealthy moved to other parts of the city or beyond, and an economic decline began. Because of the district's proximity to the South of Market industrial area and the development of transportation lines linking this working class neighborhood with the Mission district, the Mission also developed into a working class area (SF Handbook, 1979). This was accompanied by a large influx of European immigrants to the city as a whole in the late 19th century.

INNER CITY DEVELOPS - 1906 TO WW2

After the fire, the unburned portion of the Mission District became the oldest surviving residential district of the city (San Francisco Department of Planning, 1979). The 1906 earthquake and fire brought even more immigrants who'd lost their homes in other areas, including South of Market's industrial working class population. Relief camps were set up in Dolores Park and elsewhere and many of these people built homes and remained permanently. With these events and the continued movement of the wealthy to other parts, the Mission's working class identity became firmly established. Although later vacated, downtown businesses set up temporary shops along Mission Street after the fire and the space was established for future enterprises to serve the growing resident population (Waldhorn, 1973). According to Godfrey (1988):

> "An enduring land-use pattern emerged in the Mission District by the turn of the century. Industrial activity....was concentrated in the northeast sector...The rest of the Mission became a heterogeneous mixture of single and multi-family structures, with combined residential and com-

mercial buildings along the major transportation arteries of Mission, Valencia, 16th and 24th streets."

In the period between the World Wars the Mission maintained its working-class, multi-ethnic flavor with an increase in ethnic Europeans (Italian, German, Irish and Scandinavian) in the 1920's with the Irish comprising the predominant group. The Depression further accelerated deterioration of the housing and lower real estate value and increasing dilapidation were clearly evident by the beginning of WW2. Single family homes were subdivided and higher density apartment houses and flats became the norm for new residential units. Commercial activity began to spill over from Mission to Valencia Streets. With the urban frontier shifting to southern and western San Francisco and beyond and with automobile ownership increasing, many middle class residents began moving out of the Mission.

DIVERSITY ON THE RISE - WW2 TO PRESENT

After WW2 and continuing into the 1950's, the Irish maintained their ethnic stronghold in the Mission. Nonetheless, a "downward filtration" of housing and relaxed immigration laws opened the door in the late 1940's for an increase in the next influx of immigrants — Hispanics (Nicaraguan, Mexican, Cuban, Peruvian and Argentinean). Many had come to this country during the 1920's as agricultural workers or as industrial workers in the canning and coffee processing factories.

With great numbers of the earlier working class European immigrants moving to the Excelsior, the Sunset and the suburbs, old, though sound housing units were plentiful and affordable (Castells, 1983). 16th Street became the first street with distinct Hispanic businesses in the early 1950's (Godfrey, 1988). This trend continued into the 1960's and 1970's with 45.7% of the Mission District's population being Hispanic according to the 1980 census (Godfrey, 1988).

Although Hispanics are the predominant group in the Mission, the North Mission has a somewhat different expression and is more diverse in its composition. In the late 1970's and early 1980's, young middle class whites were also moving to the Mission and renovating some of the older buildings. A number of "punks," a counter-culture group which emerged in the late 70's, were also visible on the landscape of the North Mission.

According to Victor M., editor of the Mission News (formerly the North Mission News), the North Mission experienced a severe decline in the 1960's due to the exodus of many long standing businesses. It was symptomatic of a changing of the guard - Irish to Hispanic which began in the 1940's. A 1966 urban renewal plan accompanying BART development was proposed to stimulate commercial activity, provide employment via multi-story office buildings and in general attract people to the area (San Francisco Planning Department, 1966).

Neighborhood groups coalesced, mobilized against it, and effectively halted implementation (Castells, 1983). The opponents claimed it would displace many lower income residents in the area. According to Victor M. (1992), BART construction in the early 1970's further devastated the area. Normal business operations were impeded, many establishments failed as a result and were replaced by more transitory, cheap stock stores and a temporary influx of porn shops.

Because of renewal efforts in the South of Market area, many of the derelict ,transient types, the poor, and drug addicts migrated to the 16th and Mission area where cheap restaurants and residential hotels were plentiful. At the same time, because of its proximity to the Castro district, where many houses owned by gay couples were being completely renovated, buildings on the North Mission's western flanks were also upgraded in appearance (George M., 1992).

METHODS

BOUNDARIES OF REGION

Neighborhood boundaries are often subjective. Because a major portion of this project involves examining demographics changes, it was necessary to establish boundaries consistent with census tract limits. Personally, I see the Mission being divided broadly into a north and a south. The south is the barrio dominated by the Hispanic culture; the north doesn't fit a neat single identity but rather has a diverse character of its own. Two census tracts were chosen which gave the best fit to the study area, tracts #201 & #202. These encompass an ar ea

bounded by Dolores Street, Market Street, South Van Ness and 17th Streets and are shown in Figure 1.

DATA SOURCES

In order to develop a profile of the residents, their living situations and changes in composition over the past 30 years, population and housing census tract data for 2 tracts was compared from 1960, 1970, 1980 and 1990. This data included demographic categories of age, gender, ethnicity, marital status, employment and education and housing density, occupancy and costs . Because census categories are not always consistent from decade to decade, it was not always possible to make direct comparisons. Earlier years (1960 and 1970) had broader categories for ethnicity and comparisons could be made only by aggregating later years (1980 and 1990). Percentages were calculated for relevant categories of information.

Field investigation yielded a general landuse assessment of the entire area. Each block was classified as either residential, residential/commercial, commercial, industrial/commercial, public buildings, office space and transportation. This process was conducted to give an overall picture of the kinds of activities present in the extent of the two census tracts. Beyond this the study focussed in more detail on the core streets which also had the most commercial activity: 16th, Mission and Valencia.

To capture a historical sense of the previous landuse patterns and the types of businesses present, Polk Directories for 1960 and 1974 were examined for the sections of 16th, Valencia and Mission Streets falling within the two census tracts. 1960 was selected to verify the existence of a more working class Irish character with perhaps a small emerging Hispanic population and businesses. 1974 seemed to be a year in which evidence of BART's disruption of the area might be portrayed - more vacant shops, less "family" kinds of businesses.

More personalized impressions and observations of the neighborhood, were acquired by interviewing a selection of individuals representing different aspects of life in the neighborhood. Each of these people gave different perspectives and attitudes on the past and present trends in the neighborhood. I also utilized my 16 years of experience observing the neighborhood as a resident. Three elements were the primary focus: how the demographics of the people, both residents and those who frequent it, have changed; significant changes concerning the "street scene" or people's behaviors and, finally a variety of landscape changes that seem to suggest that things are changing. All of the above data were collected and tabulated in an effort to analyze and describe the current character of the neighborhood, to examine the changes over time and to make predictions about the neightborhood's future.

THE PEOPLE OF THE NORTH MISSION: 1960-1990

GENDER COMPOSITION

The period between 1960 and 1990 experienced a population increase for males (from 51.21 to 56.78) and a decrease for females (from 48.79% to 43.22 %) in the North Mission. The decade of the seventies produced a signifcant portion of this increase (males increased 51.20 to 55.54 and females decreased from 48.80 to 44.54) and this trend has continued into the 1990's . Part of this increase in the male population can be attributed to the the gay influx into the Castro with overflows to this adjacent neighborhood. Another contributor could be the unwillingness of single women to move to this neighborhood due to its high crime reputation. Numerous residential hotels, more often occupied by poor, single men than by women, are located near Mission Street.

ETHNIC COMPOSITION

The North Mission has a very ethnically diverse population. Census statistics demonstrate a trend of increasing ethnic diversity over the past 30 years. The white population decreased dramatically from 89% in 1960 to 50% in 1990. The black population increased only 2% for the entire area while the increase for Hispanics, as expected, was very large (17 to 38%). The "Other" category for 1960 and 1970 census data probably represents Asians and some Hispanic members who did not identify themselves as "White" or "Black." Since the Hispanic category is not classified as a "racial" type, but rather a nationality, many races are considered to be Hispanic. While this makes interpretation less precise, it is still clear that most ethnic groups have increased in both census tracts.

The "Other" sub-category of Hispanic has some very high numbers (15.6% in 1980 and 21.62% in 1990 for both tracts' populations) and reflects the large Central American population (mostly El Salvadoran and Nicaraguan), as well as some South Americans. Also, there is a small but growing number of Southeast Asian residents who immigrated to escape the conflicts in their countries (Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam & Burma) in the late 1970's and 1980's. Lower rents and residential hotels probably made settlement in this neighborhood possible for them.

AGE COMPOSITION

If, in fact there is an influx of younger residents into the neighborhood as seems to be the case from street observation, census data might reflect such a transition (See Figure 2). From 1960 to 1990 there was almost a 5% drop in child population percentages. The most significant age change occurs in the 25-34 year old population which increased by almost 11% over the 30 year period. The 35-44 year age group also experienced a rise of 7%. It is worth noting that this group (35-44 years) experienced its largest increase in percentage from 1980 to 1990. More available condominium units might have also kept city dwellers in the neighborhood. These housing types weren't as available in 1980 or earlier as they now are.

Median age decreased from 38.5 to 31.2 in 1980 and then increased to 33.2 in 1990. This could be explained by young people in their early twenties moving to the North Mission in the 1970's and early 1980's and continuing to live here either because its too expensive to buy homes and move to suburbs like their parents or because they prefer the diverse and convenient lifestyle this area affords. The continuance of their residence may be responsible for the growing numbers of cafes, cheap restaurants, bookstores, and other commercial establishments.

ECONOMIC STATUS: EMPLOYMENT & INCOME

Economic indicators are consistent across decades suggest that this area of San Francisco is a combination of lower and middle class residents with a substantial number of people living in poverty. Median income for the North Mission in 1990 ($19,000) was well below that of San Francisco as a whole ($34,370) and in 1990 25.4% of the population were living below poverty level compared with approximately 14% for San Francisco as a whole. As would be expected unemployment is higher

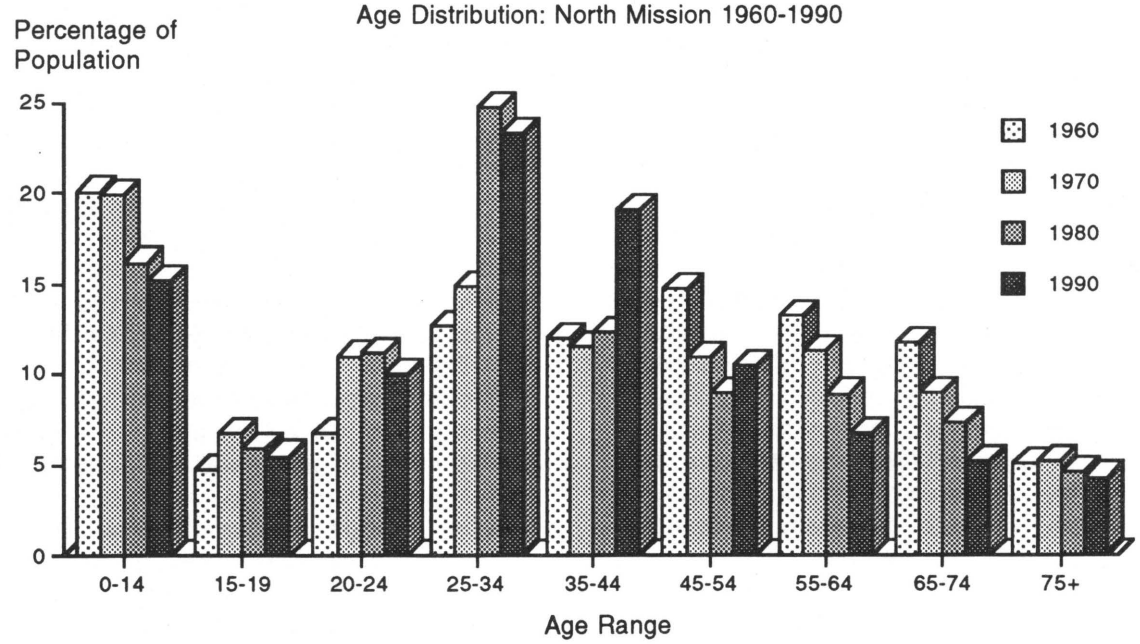

Figure 2

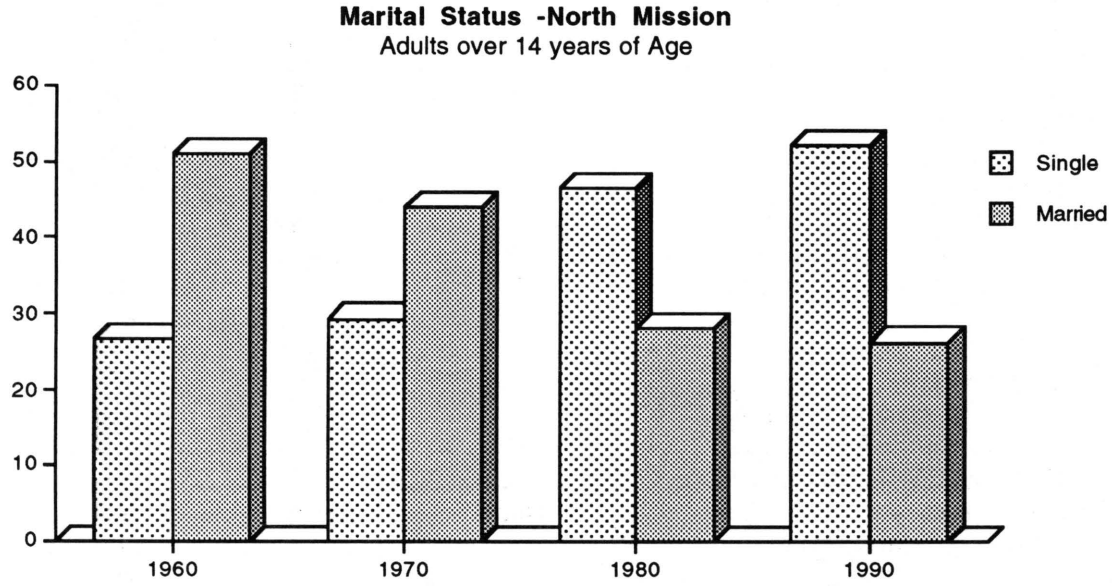

Figure 3

Source: U.S. Census

(9%) than for the city as a whole (6.3%) in 1990

MARITAL STATUS

Marital status changed dramatically over the 30 year period and the key decade of change was 1970-80 (See Figure 3). Essentially singles have increased from 26% to 52% and married individuals have decreased from 52% to 26% - an almost perfect exchange and a very significant change in the demographics. Certainly the emergence of the gay population in the Castro is responsible for some of the change. Other possibilities are that more unmarried couples are likely to be living together during this period, married couples are moving elsewhere and that there is an influx of singles. These figures are highly suggestive of lifestyles which are less traditional than society at large. Both tracts are predominantly single, which, when combined with lower housing costs (referenced below), characterize an area which might have a greater potential for counter-culture values and lifestyles..

EDUCATION

The level of education for the residents has increased dramatically from 1960 to 1990 (See Figure 4, next page). This could partly be due to more people having access to higher education and a greater emphasis placed on the value of it for both economic success and personal development. A more educated population, which also has "bohemian" or non-mainstream leanings, might enjoy passing time in bookstores and cafes, attending progressive and artistic films, or visiting alternative music clubs and has a strong potential for changing the character of a working class neighborhood such as the North Mission of 30 years ago. The decrease in college graduates from 1980 to 1990 might be due to an influx of young people currently pursuing college educations and the increase in immigrant groups.

HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS: THE NORTH MISSION 1960-1990

Currently the North Mission is an area predominantly occupied by renters. According to the 1990 census, 90% of the residences within tracts 201 and 202 are renter occupied, As is characteristic of bohemian neighorhoods, actual median housing costs (owner occupied home values and rental prices) for this area as a whole are substantially lower than the vast majority of neighborhoods within the city of San Francisco. Persons per units has increased over the 30 years from 1.6 in 1960 to 2.3 in 1990.

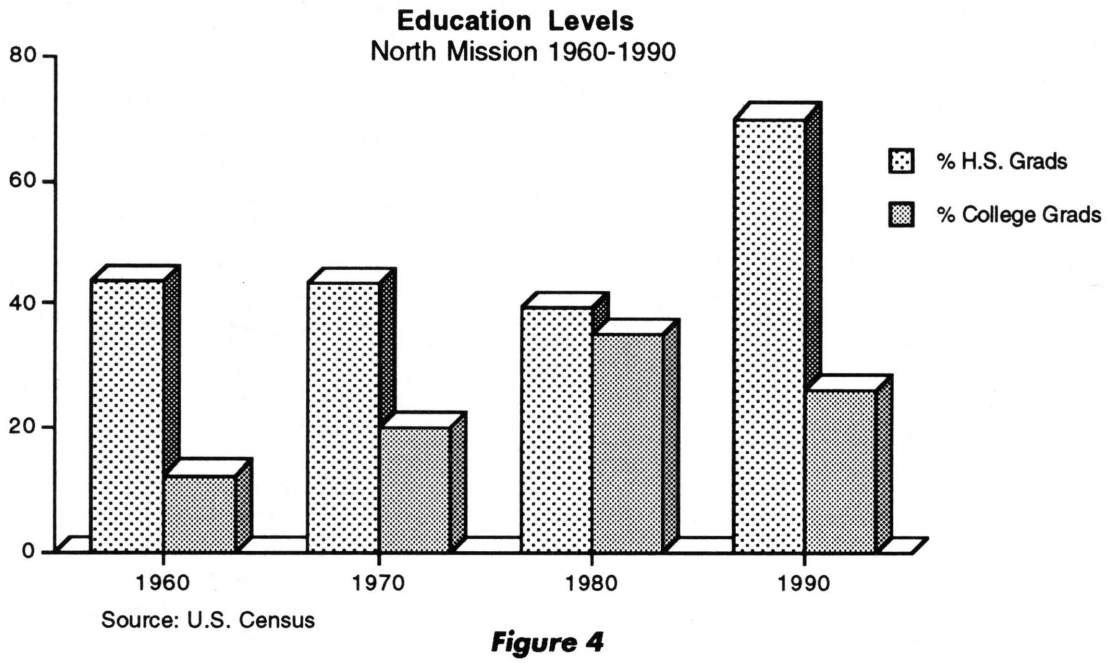

Figure 4

Because living expenses in the city have become one of the nation's highest, it follows that more people must share apartments.

NEIGHBORHOOD PATTERNS OF THE PAST

A brief examination of Polk directories for 1960 and 1974 served to compare old land use patterns with current ones along 16th, Mission and Valencia Streets (Polk Directories 1960 & 1974). For the three streets examined, Hispanic surnames of residents increased significantly from 1960 to 1974. Commercial activity along these streets in 1960 seemed to characterize a very working class neighborhood. Business and service types included union shops, taverns, lunch and coffee shops, barber shops, beauty shops, jewelers, tailors, clothing stores, several variety stores, florists, smoke shops, shoe shine & repair, candy stores, meat markets, grocery stores, laundromats, etc. Along Valencia there were a lot of furniture and appliance stores, and related home-type businesses such as floor coverings, upholstery, drapery, and window blind repair shops. Numerous automobile shops were located on both Valencia and Mission Streets. Many apartment buildings and hotels, probably of the residential type, are present.

Examination of the 1974 Polk Directories show a significant land use change from 1960. There is less variety and less of a feel of a working class, perhaps family neighborhood. Also you begin to see more Hispanic businesses as well as social service offices to serve this growing community. There are fewer union shops and many more vacancies. A burlesque theater, The New Follies, has replaced the Victoria Theater and there is evidence of at least one porn shop - "Frenchie's." Many of the Irish sounding taverns are gone. Although the Polk directory doesn't show it there was a brief period in the 1970's when the Roxi Theater was a porn theater called the Black Dragon. There are still some elements from the 1960 time period - beauty parlors, pastry shops, some cafes and lunch shops, donut shops, barbers, and variety stores. Auto parts and repair shops continue to be present on the landscape.

An interview with Mrs. Lucille G., a former Mission resident who lived on Lapidge between 18th and 19th and moved to the Excelsior in 1958 described the old neighborhood:

> "The Mission was definitely a quiet, family neighborhood. We didn't have a lot, no-one owned their homes, we all lived in flats and apartments. In the evening when my husband came home from work, I'd let him care for the three kids and I'd go either with

friends, or many times alone, to see a movie at the theater on 19th and Mission. I'd walk home alone and never did feel afraid. Now . . .I'm afraid to even drive down Mission Street in that area in the day." (L.G. 1992)

According to George M., a lifetime (approx. 45 years) resident and staff at the Mission Dolores Rectory:

"this neighborhood was always poor but folks had the basics. Mothers and children would gather in Dolores Park and socialize and play. There were no drug dealers. It was very family oriented. The Irish were the predominant group for years and gradually they moved on and the Hispanics moved in. The Central Americans came here less for economic reasons than for political ones and were better prepared to live in a foreign country and were better educated. The Mexicans, more populous in the South Mission, were poorer. Rents are higher in the North Mission. The most positive neighborhood change has been the face lift on buildings by the gay population while the most negatives are as always . . .the crime and increasing poverty. "(G.M.1992)

In a North Mission News article on the history of the North Mission, Victor M. (1992) refers to Mission Street of the 1940's as "the Miracle Mile," a prosperous shopping district. Now the extent between 14th and 18th Street might be more aptly called "desolation row." He perceived the low point in the area to have been in the first half of the 1970's decade when BART construction closed businesses and more porn came onto the scene. In the summer of 1975, the commercial corridor on 16th Street seemed destined to become a wasteland of porn shops and sex clubs. Before its decline, 16th Street had neighborhood type shops and markets to serve need of local residents. The porn element was viewed as a disintegration of the community by families, church groups, seniors, feminists, etc. He states in another article (1981) that: "the North Mission is one of the last areas of San Francisco where low and moderate income families can afford to live."

NEIGHBORHOOD PATTERNS OF THE PRESENT

An examination of the land use in the North Mission reveals an area that is primarily a mixture of residential and commercial with some areas of pure residential . There are few areas of pure commercial activity except for small stretches on several blocks. Areas of commercial land use usually have residences above them, even on the more commercially active Mission Street. The very northeast portion has the least amount of residential land use and has some limited industrial activity. It also has blocks that are very mixed and difficult to classify with office buildings, open lots, light industry and residential all in close proximity.

From personal inspection Mission Street's commercial character is generally run down with little variety or quality. Along Mission Street one finds corner grocery stores, cheap retail shops, cheap restaurants, check cashing, a pawn shop and several thrift stores. The more vital area is along 16th Street which has a very specialized appeal to the counter-culture or bohemian crowd with its cafes, restaurants, nostalgia shops, bookstores and most importantly the Roxi Theater. Valencia Street seems on the verge of increased expansion with new restaurants, cafes and retail shops opening almost monthly. There are still some vacant storefronts on Valencia which could potentially develop to serve needs of the growing demand.

Several people interviewed, Jarlath O. (owner of a used furniture store) (1992) and Victor. M. (activist and editor of the Mission News) (1992) feel that the biggest problems facing the present day North Mission are affordable housing and crime. People need more housing that is not of the large scale low-income project type. Jarlath .O. maintains that buildings with smaller units will provide people with a more appealing housing situation, one in which they will feel more individuality and hence pride.

Marie R. (1992), a resident since the mid 70's, believes that "the biggest change to her has been the influx of young people, college students and artist types. Her 17th and Guerrero residence location hasn't changed that much in terms of her neighbors. Most are a mix of White, Hispanic and Asian of varying ages and orientations. One big change for her has

been the corner bar on her block — the 500 Club. It used to be an old timer neighborhood bar however, now, it is frequented increasingly by young people. The bar changed ownership two years ago because the old long-term owner didn't want to deal with the changes he saw coming. He felt the bar would soon lose its "quiet" atmosphere. The new owner installed a new powerful sound system, a new pool table and according to Marie, "the noise is an ongoing problem." Police are called often and drug use appears to be going on in doorways of adjacent buildings. Even some "suburban" type youth seem to be frequenting the bar on certain nights.

From this author's point of view, the area clearly has changed. I no longer tread 16th Street with the trepidation of past years. While the hard economic times have definitely resulted in more down and out and homeless people panhandling along 16th, Valencia and Mission Streets, there is also an increase in the number of young people in various degrees of expression. Many are non-conformist in their dress and style, others less striking. The cafes and restaurants are usually quite busy with people actually sitting outside on weekend mornings in European cafe style. This was unheard of 10 years ago. The Roxi Theater located on 16th between Valencia and Guerrero since 1976, continues to draw strong audiences to its politically radical, progressive and artistic-bent genre of films. Perhaps it is one reason for the community scene that has developed around it, slowly at first and recently with greater intensity. The Rainbow Grocery, a natural food cooperative which used to be located on 16th between Valencia and Guerrero, and currently on Mission at 15th, also had an impact on shaping the character of the area by bringing more "alternative" shoppers to the area.

A clear and striking indication to me that things are changing in this area is the new clientele of the 500 Club noted by Marie R. above. This change in clientele is reminiscent of the last "old timers" bar on 18th Street in the Castro. Once it became a gay bar, it confirmed the neighborhood's direction, though at that time no-one would have thought otherwise including the bar's "old timer " clientele. Another significant change was the conversion of Amelia's, a long-standing lesbian bar on Valencia, to the Elbo Room, a combination bar and alternative club billing new emerging rock musicians. Valencia Street has been a stronghold of lesbian businesses and to have this change to a more "bohemian" scene was very telling. Also a Japanese tour group recently included La Cumbre taqueria on Valencia Street as a stop on their tour. Truly, the North Mission has come of age and is transcending to a different realm.

In general, most of the data gathered supports the paper's thesis. There is, in fact, evidence of a kind of parallel development occurring in the area between a young counterculture scene and a poor transient, derelict drug dominated world. The North Mission is certainly experiencing a neighborhood revival as a "bohemian" area. But, it is one that appears tentative and as yet its foothold is probably not strong enough to allow for a firm prediction of continued expansion.

Census data offers a very good perspective on the changes that have occurred in the North Mission and, in general, support the hypothesis with some striking population changes occurring over the past 30 years. However, a difficulty in enumerating the census data was that several noticeable differences were present between the two tracts in certain categories (i.e. income and unemployment). It is one of the liabilities in using fixed, artificial boundaries to characterize a region where attributes are in varying degrees and uniformity is not the norm. Market and 17th are the north and south boundaries of both, however, the eastern half, Tract 201, ranges between South Van Ness and Valencia and the western half, Tract 202, is bounded by Valencia and Dolores. The western portion is a more upscale area, mostly residential and adjacent to the Castro on the west. However, Valencia Gardens, a notorious low income minority housing project, is located here. The eastern portion of the study area is characterized by human poverty and a skid-row kind of landscape. This disparity, however, is potentially a major dynamic force in shaping the current evolution and changes.

Interviews gave an interesting human and individual perspective to the study and a real feel for what the North Mission used to be like as well as people's perceptions of its current trends and problems. Polk Directories were helpful but, within the context of this paper, the volume of information could only be evaluated for general characterizations - quantitative

classifications could potentially enhance qualitative descriptions. Had I chose to examine businesses and residents in detail on one or two blocks, the landuse changes would be more specific. However, the directories did lend support to the general trends over time.

CONCLUSIONS

What became evident to me from this study was that urban neighborhoods are always changing, some imperceptibly slow and others noticeably rapid — change is the norm. The changes may manifest themselves in the residents and their varying attributes, in the morphology of the landscape, or a combination of both. According to Godfrey (1988), these changes: "are the result of society's changing land uses, collective behaviors and popular tastes." The elements of a neighborhood are complex, varied and multi-layered. This topic as applied to the North Mission has great potential for expanded and more detailed research.

There is a certain relevance to Winter's (1979) reference to residents perceiving changes to be more significant than they actually were. I've had conversations with people from outside the neighborhood who didn't think things had changed much at all in the North Mission in the last 10 or 15 years, rather that it was as seedy and depressed as ever. Numerous individuals I've spoken with who have lived in the area for some time or who used to live here consider the changes to be quite dramatic. Both the census statistics and an examination of land use changes confirm that a transition is occurring.

A large and looming question concerns the future of the area. Will these changes fade into the landscape with the long-term enduring theme of poverty expressed in new and different ways? Or will the new "bohemians" endure and do they resemble Godfrey's "urban pioneers" treading where no others dare and paving the way for more affluent types to establish a movement of gentrification? The dilapidated, old buildings with character are there awaiting the gentrifier's hand or bank account. My sense of the neighborhood is that it would take something dramatic to change the influences of the Mission & 16th core of new immigrants, transients, drugs, criminals, etc. The elements are so diverse that these people would have to be forced out by some radical urban redevelopment program before the neighborhood could truly gentrify. Granted it is a highly desirable area with its prime location to downtown, public transportation and good weather. This desirability was supported by San Francisco City Planning Commission's urban design and redevelopment plan of 1966 (Mission District Urban Design Study, 1966). New resources dedicated to creating better public social programs could direct some of these influences elsewhere. It is my belief that while certainly some of the transient individuals chose their way of life, many are victims of circumstance due to national policies toward the bottom rungs of society. These people would probably opt for different lifestyles if the opportunities were made available. Many of Herbert Gold's "lips whispering griefs to invisible companions" could be receiving the mental health support services that they need.

I do feel from my research that the co-existence of these two worlds can continue. While crime is prevalent, it doesn't seem to discourage the numbers of "bohemians" from frequenting and living nearby the undesirable elements. Rents are relatively cheap and that is usually the primary determining factor of where this subculture group will live. Young artists, student types and such, are often financially bound to live in groups in flats where rents are low. However, I would expect to see more of these types of people move to the area because of all the bohemian ambiance that exists. It also seems to draw non-residents to its many restaurants, bookstores and cultural venues, thus extending its influence and serving those beyond its spatial boundaries.

The North Mission is an extremely interesting urban neighborhood. It can look dirty, run-down and dangerous, but it can also extend a compelling invitation for exploration of its bookstores, cafes, restaurants, markets and other establishments. An atmosphere of quirky hedonism is subtly projected by many of the youth in clubs and cafes. A politically left of center orientation is in evidence in literature posted in cafes and on the streets' telephone poles. It is far removed from generic or status quo America. One striking item I noticed in the Polk Directory of 1960, was an office in a building on 16th Street between Mission and South

Van Ness identified as "Labor Committee to Combat Intolerance."

The North Mission area is clearly a multi-faceted, diverse, individualistic and dyanamic area of San Francisco. This pointedly characterized the neighborhood — while a certain intolerance surely exists, it is limited because of the tremendous diversity. In my neighborhood are two unusual characters — a skinny black woman who dresses and paints her face totally white and a man who wears layers of red skirts, paints his face red and continually sweeps the sidewalks. Imagine these two characters in Des Moines or Boise or even Concord, CA.

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The author would like to express her appreciation to her husband Timothy R. Shea, who assisted with numerous surveys and gave poignant advice on issues relevant to the topic, and to Professor Max Kirkeberg of the Geography Department, for his support, encouragement, critiques, and access to his voluminous personal library.

Ruth MacKay-Shea is a student in the Geography M.A. program at SFSU. Her area of specialty is the integration of geographic information systems with remote sensing in the area of natural resource management applications. She also has a strong interest in urban neighborhood changes, especially areas where there is a strong counterculture presence. Ruth currently works in the Art Department at SFSU.

A Geographic History of Prostitution in San Francisco

Courtney Kerr

The current boundaries of San Francisco's prostitution zone have been shaped and reshaped through legislation and political influence. This article examines the transformation of San Francisco's "red light district" from an historical-geographic perspective.

INTRODUCTION

Historically, the urban environment has served as an incubator for distinctive subcultures. Such specialized communities have arisen and proliferated in the city, given its function as the container of a large and differentiated population. Such a city is predisposed to the emergence of ethnic and nonconformist subcultures. Ethnicity is largely based on cultural rather than strictly racial differences between groups; conceptions of "race" stem from perceived differences in physical appearance which may be culturally derived. Ethnicity should be viewed not merely in terms of cultural content – the specific traits that characterize a group, but also within a more general cultural context – the sense of being separate in a pluralistic society, detached as a distinct minority.

These distinct subcultures exhibit certain geographical distributions that can be studied in terms of spatial relationships. Sociologist Ernest W. Burgess suggested in the 1920's that social groups migrate from the central city to the urban periphery in a series of concentric rings, as they move up the socioeconomic ladder. One implication of this model is that the lower classes live in deteriorated areas because legislative changes push them there. The city's changing environment leads to the sorting and sifting process which segregates individuals by social class, ethnic background and race.

As the city's population grows, demand for land in the central business district (CBD) can be satisfied only by expanding outward. Property owners in and around the CBD will let their housing units deteriorate, because they can profit by selling their land to businesses expanding there. Thus, the concentric zone theory states that the expansion of the CBD produces around it an undesirable "zone of transition," which is defined by sociologist Herbert Gans as an area where life is comparatively more transient than the other sectors of the urban core. This transitional zone, also known as "the ghetto," is defined by the Chicago School of Urban Ecology as a socially isolated, crowded and impoverished area that promotes social pathologies. It is in this area also where social controls are thought to be more relaxed.

This study examines prostitution as an ethnic enclave in San Francisco in terms of long-term processes of neighborhood change. San Francisco's prostitution zone has long had its borders manipulated by legislation instituted or enforced in response to political influences. While specific to prostitution, a broader interpretation is possible in understanding the "ghettoization" of other cultures, in which classes of people in specific regions of cities are forced into defined geographical borders through the use of institutional forces. This historical-geographic perspective on the transformation of San Francisco's "red light district" focuses on the connections between evolving spatial form and the function of social classes.

Studies of urban morphogenesis – the evolution of urban form — concentrate essentially on what geographer James Vance calls "the creation and subsequent formation of city form" (Vance: 1977). This is related to a broad range of social, political, economic and cultural developments. Urban morphogenesis is the conceptual base from which the spatial distribution of prostitution is examined, addressing the issue of whether the traditional red light district, or segregated district of prostitution, is social and not geographic.

San Francisco's prostitution zone has long had its borders manipulated by legislation

THE ZONE OF PROSTITUTION

Before examining changes in the location of San Francisco's Tenderloin District, it is necessary to view the red light district in an historical context to facilitate understanding of the reasons for its placement. The zone of prostitution in San Francisco in 1880 was bounded on the east by Kearny, the west by Stockton, the north by Broadway, and the south by Market Streets. Although the specific boundaries of the Tenderloin have changed, prostitution has existed between Stockton and Montgomery Streets, and north of Sacramento Street, from 1849 until the mid-1930's. Roger Lotchin, in his study of San Francisco's earliest years, describes this area as a transitional zone between areas of work and areas of residency:

> Men worked downtown and lived on the heights; but between these two areas and to an extent mixed in with them was a large concentration of sin, especially along Dupont and cross streets between there and Stockton (Lotchin: p. 256).

From this description, it can be concluded that the district was located in the most convenient possible location, one which men could reach conveniently either from work or home.

Accessibility is not the only explanation for the location of this district. Lotchin notes that protests against the perceived moral condition of San Francisco were common as early as 1855; however, despite the passage of relevant municipal laws at that time, prostitution was allowed to exist in this particular district for more than half of a century before laws were enforced and neighborhood concerns against the practice were addressed. A growing number of middle and upper-class women complained about being "thrown into proximity with this vice district, whose inhabitants were entrenched upon the access routes to downtown" (Lotchin: 1974). Nonetheless, prostitution was allowed to continue in that vicinity because it adjoined an important part of San Francisco's Chinatown, which, according to Gunther Barth, functioned as the "safety valves of the control system" of American cities in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by providing anonymity and security for patrons of its thriving underworld. (Barth:1964)

THE CONTRACTION

The zone of prostitution in San Francisco originally occupied an elongated area directly adjacent to the western boundary of the central district, overlapping part of Chinatown. However, the district contracted at the southern end due to important legal changes. An increased level of police activity forced individual prostitutes to move north, thereby changing the shape of the red light district.

The first new law was General Order 2191, issued by the San Francisco Board of Supervisors in 1890. This order "prohibited persons from keeping, maintaining or becoming an intimate of or visiting any house of ill-fame...within a district bounded by California, Powell, Kearny and Broadway Streets" (San Francisco Board of Supervisors: 1898). Over the course of the next few years, the Board supplemented this law with further orders. For example, in 1892, it forbade the use of any building on Morton Street for purposes of prostitution. In 1898, the law was extended to St. Mary's Place, Quincy Street and Berry Place. Significantly, each of these short alleys is in the southern end of the zone, where these vice laws were actually enforced, while similar ordinances were overlooked in the northern end. In response to the selective enforcement in different areas of the city, the women changed their location, seeking to avoid arrest. The result relocated the zone of prostitution. By 1899,

the southern half of the zone below Sacramento Street had receded, and it was gone a year later.

The passage of these laws as well as the selective police enforcement directly effected a change in the direction of the movement of the CBD. Until 1875, the CBD had been moving south from its original focus at Porstmouth Square. As a result of the unusual street pattern (a directional change crossing Market Street) and a chain of hotels that formed an impregnable barrier to the southward expansion of the retail and financial districts, the CBD shifted west and southwest, directly into the southern end of the zone of prostitution.

It was the fashionable retail district which made the first westward move into the zone of prostitution. In fact, the whole CBD moved rapidly westward until the central district encompassed several blocks which had previously been a major part of the zone of prostitution. The apparel-shopping district, which had been located on lower Montgomery Street, was forced onto lower Kearny Street with the advance of the financial district from the north and the barriers from the south. As the shopping district moved in, prostitutes moved out. That they moved unwillingly is evident by the city's need to pass new laws expressly banning prostitution from the area. Clearly, selective enforcement of vice laws persuaded prostitutes to relocate and avoid those areas in which their activities were considered offensive. Events suggest that the police encouraged the women to congregate in the north end of the zone and shun the south, by the way in which they enforced the law.

External pressures to curb prostitution became even more intense between 1900 and 1915. In 1909, the Police Commission decided to enforce a policy of strict segregation and created a restricted district within which all prostitution was confined. The report of the Municipal Grand Jury of 1909-1910 noted that "houses of prostitution and their inmates are supposed to be confined within the boundaries of a limited territory." Prostitutes were "not allowed to solicit outside of this territory nor on the streets, nor . . . to reside anywhere except within this prescribed district" (San Francisco Grand Jury: 1910). The extreme contraction in the size of the zone can be directly attributed to the institution of this policy.

In February 1911, San Francisco imposed more stringent regulations on prostitutes. The Board of Public Health required that they be examined twice a week for venereal disease as well as that they live in a specified district. In addition, the health commissioners published the boundaries of the segregated district to "Commercial Street from the westerly line of Kearny Street to the easterly line of Grant Avenue; Jackson Street between Kearny and Grant Avenge north to Pacific Street; Washington Place . . . from the north side of Washington Street between Kearny and Grant Avenue north to Jackson Street." Moreover, the health commissioners made the police "sanitary officers" and decreed that "any person found violating these regulations in regards to limits and boundaries . . . will be arrested and prosecuted" (San Francisco Department of Public Health: 1911). The implication was that women who did comply with regulations would not be arrested. They therefore had a strong motivation to submit to these requirements, and their individual decisions to relocate in order to avoid arrest again changed the location of the prostitution zone.

The reason San Francisco instituted a stated policy of segregation and legal toleration of prostitution within a circumscribed area may have to do with the changing moral values of the era. In the early days of the city, following the Gold Rush of 1849, the population of San Francisco had a large proportion of men. Throughout the 1850's, there was only one women for every thirty males (Jensen and Lothrop: 1988). Not until 1910 did the number of men and women approach parity. As the ratio of men to women evened out and the number of families increased, attitudes and mores changed as well; women who claimed to be "respectable" were appalled by the raw frontier community and the blatant prostitution.

In San Francisco, as well as in other turn-of-the-century American cities, prostitution came under increasing attack from social, political, and religious leaders. The debate centered around three positions: 1) prostitution should be legalized outright; 2) prostitution should be regulated and confined to a particular section of the city; or 3) prostitution should be completely eradicated. Influenced by a group of citizens who preferred the second alternative, San Francisco city officials opened the Municipal Clinic to curb the spread of vene-

real disease by prostitutes. Instituting the Clinic forced all prostitutes to confine themselves to a particular district and required them to submit to medical examinations.

The plan thus enacted was supported by those who had a financial stake in the continued existence of prostitution. Certain property owners and some corrupt city officials realized that to establish a venereal disease clinic and regulate prostitution offered a way of protecting their livelihood and consolidating their hold on the Barbary Coast (the notorious hive of gambling halls, bordellos and seedy taverns in the northeast part of the city) in response to the threat of reformers who wanted to eradicate prostitution entirely. Rather than banish prostitution, the suggested reform would legalize it through regulation, and would serve to increase the city's control over the women by instituting a strict policy of supervision. The result was the confinement of prostitutes to a particular part of the city and another change, once again brought about by law, in the shape of the red light district.

THE DISPERSION

After 1915, attempts to eradicate prostitution entirely caused the dispersal of San Francisco's prostitution zone, rather than its concentration. Previously, legal tolerance had encouraged prostitutes to congregate in those areas where they could be fairly certain that police would leave them alone. After that time, there was no longer such a district. In order to make themselves less visible, the women scattered themselves throughout the city, creating a "red light non-district."

From its inception, the system of segregating prostitutes and medically examining them had come under strong attack. Many doctors did not believe that the Clinic lessened the incidence of venereal disease. Religious leaders of all denominations considered the legalization of prostitution to be an encouragement of immorality, and many businessmen believed that the segregated district stained the city's reputation and damaged their business interests. They waged a vigorous campaign, lobbying the municipal government to withdraw the regulations.

The conflict of the segregationists and abolitionists reached its peak in 1913 when the rivalry threatened the success of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition planned for 1915. Since 1904, leading merchants of San Francisco had been promoting a great fair to commemorate the completion of the Panama Canal, and enthusiasm grew after the rebuilding of the city in 1906 (following the earthquake and fire). Businessmen saw the fair as a way of stimulating commerce and celebrating the rebirth of their city.

Those reformers who favored the eradication of prostitution viewed the Exposition as an ideal way of forcing the closure of the Municipal Clinic and the segregated district. In a series of public meetings and letters addressed to San Francisco Mayor James Rolph, leading ministers and rescue missionaries threatened to destroy the fair unless the moral conditions of the city were improved. As time went on, the threats became more explicit; Rolph learned that the American Purity Federation was "in a crusade in the East exposing the Barbary Coast and requesting people to pledge not to patronize the Exposition unless San Francisco cleans up" (Todd: 1912). With the pressure intensified, the mayor could no longer risk the loss of revenue from the Exposition. He ordered the officers detailed to the Clinic removed. This action effectively destroyed the segregated district, which could not function without police enforcement of regulations.

Changes in the city's municipal laws were paralleled by statewide legislation. On April 7, 1913, the California legislature enacted the first Red Light Abatement Law. According to the provisions of this law, brothels were declared to be public nuisances, and any citizen gained standing to sue the owner of a building for prostitution and bring forth a charge of maintaining a public nuisance. If the charge was upheld in court, all personal property at the site was to be sold to pay for the plaintiff's costs, and the building was to be closed for one year unless the owner furnished a bond for the full value of the property, guaranteeing that the nuisance had been abated. Property owners' groups attempted to repeal the statewide law through the referendum process. Additionally, the constitutionality was challenged in the California State Supreme Court. In January 1917, the Court upheld the Red Light Abatement Law, and in February, police blockaded the entire Barbary Coast, ordering all remaining

prostitutes to vacate their premises.

Rather than suppressing prostitution, as the sponsors of the legislation had intended, the Red Light Abatement Law caused the women to spread out over a much larger area and into new parts of the city. When military police became involved several months later, they were charged with enforcing the federal law of 1917 which forbade prostitution within five miles of a military installation. The process of scattering was further accentuated.

Two possibilities existed regarding where prostitutes could locate at that time. First, the women could remain in roughly the same location as before – the old segregated district which served as the expanded zone of prostitution. In fact, many of them did stay there. Second, the zone of discard theory suggests that many of the women would move into those areas which were abandoned by the CBD. However, in San Francisco after 1906, there was no zone of discard; as rebuilding took place after the catastrophe of that year, the CBD expanded on all fronts, including the northeast and southeast.

The Red Light Abatement Law caused women to spread out over a much larger area and into new parts of the city.

Re-advance took place into areas that had been discarded by the central district in the previous fifty years. On the eastern and north-central faces, assimilation occurred in areas that had defied it in the previous thirty years (Bowden: 1964).

In short, no discard occurred. Many of the prostitutes who did not return to the region of the old segregated district were simply pushed in front of the expanding CBD and formed a new zone of prostitution along the forward edge of the central district.

THE 1906 FIRE

The new zone of prostitution had historical roots. As early as 1880, a few scattered parlor-houses had existed in the area southwest of Union Square. These few locations served as a foundation for the new region which emerged after 1917. Additionally, this area had become the hotel district and entertainment center of the city. Entertainment activities of all types, such as billiard saloons, bowling alleys, dance halls and gymnasia clustered around the theaters, music halls and hotels, making this area an even more attractive location.

The reconstruction of San Francisco after the 1906 earthquake was quick. By the fall of 1907 the future outlines of the apparel-shopping and financial districts were clear. The development of boundaries for the peripheral districts took place more slowly and awaited advancements in the core districts when the cost of construction was expected to drop. Some of the non-core districts experienced displacement from their pre-fire positions within the central district (hotel, theater, household furnishing); some returned to their previous situations or moved closer to the core than they had been in 1906 (garment, medical); and others formed new districts (movie theater, hotel). All of these districts underwent, to some extent, the processes of exclusion and concentration; most of them contributed to the process of peripheral accretion.

The expansion of the hotel district occurred in conjunction with the entertainment area replacing the markets, livery stables, residences, and residential hotels that had existed in this area before the 1906 catastrophe. The red light district, including hotels, entertainment center and the displaced prostitutes, was making a westerly move into what is still referred to as the Tenderloin in contemporary San Francisco.

MAPPING THE TENDERLOIN

It was into this transitional zone of the expanding Tenderloin that the displaced prostitutes moved after the Red Light Abatement Law was upheld and enforced in 1917. It is in this same location, with an even greater westerly expansion, that the highest concentration of street prostitution in San Francisco continues to occur. The law, including California Penal Code Section 11225 and 11227, has been amended over time to be farther reaching, and has continued to be an important tool in confining street prostitution to its current geographical location.

The broadly worded public nuisance law permitted prosecution for anything deemed

"injurious to health...offensive to the senses, or an obstruction to the free use of property" (Prociotto: 1993). Although this law has been attacked in court frequently as being vague and an unconstitutional abridgement of civil rights, until recently, it has been consistently upheld. However, following the most recent challenge, by the San Francisco Office of the Public Defender in 1992, it was overturned; this decision is currently under appeal.

The escalation of nuisance behavior directly correlates to an increase in the number of complaints from residents and business owners of the area received by the police department since this ruling (Prociotto). However, as a result of its uncertain status, police have been unable to make arrests under the public nuisance law. To compensate for the legal change, the police department has imposed new probation restrictions, called mapping agreements, for repeat offenders. This list of conditions includes a promise not to loiter in front of specific resident apartments and businesses within a sixteen block area of the Tenderloin District, bounded by the Mason-Market-Polk-Post perimeter. The mapping policy is intended to create a prostitution-free zone within a designated area where political influence has been brought to bear. As has been demonstrated throughout the history of San Francisco's red light district, this implemention of legal change can and likely will alter the boundaries of the zone of prostitution.

CONCLUSION

It is notable that throughout its evolution, the red light district has not exceeded the bounds of the zone of transition suggested by the concentric zone theory. The red light district has remained in the area of deterioration, adjacent to the CBD, where other marginalized and ghettoized groups have traditionally existed. Although these enclaves coexist, the forces which propel their congregation are not the same. Nontraditional communities often emerge in or near vice districts because social controls are believed to be more relaxed in these areas.

The shaping and reshaping of the prostitution zone is a result of the exertion of political influence to move it into or away from particular residential and business areas. Because segregation places undesirable classes in the transitional zone involuntarily, as opposed to the voluntary congregation of other marginalized social groups, the ghettoization of this enclave is clearly the result of an amalgamation of political and legal forces.

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Courtney Kerr is a graduating senior in the Urban Studies program at SFSU. Her plans include study in environmental legislation and sustainable urban planning.

Breaking the Cycle of Displacement: The Artists at Hunters Point Shipyard

Amy Sanders

In the 1980's, an artists' community developed at Hunters Point Shipyard in San Francisco. Now, more than ten years later, these artists are faced with the prospect of being displaced from their studios when the lease for the naval base is taken over by the city of San Francisco. However, the artists, many of whom have been displaced before, are going on the offensive and taking an active role in ensuring that the arts community at Hunters Point Shipyard remains intact and viable despite the proposed changes.

ARTISTS AS TRAILBLAZERS MODEL

This model, which for lack of a better name I refer to as the "artists as trailblazers" model, is an attempt to describe in simple economic terms the often discouraging cycle of events artists encounter in their attempt to find and retain affordable workspace. Owing to the nature of their medium, artists often require large, warehouse-type studios in which to work. Due to the relative scarcity of such studios in an urban environment like San Francisco, the demand exceeds the supply, resulting in high rents on the existing units.

For artists, the problem of finding affordable workspace is compounded by the fact that many have low income levels. With incomes low and rents on studios high, these artists are forced to seek out marginal neighborhoods where they can contribute "sweat equity" to upgrade rundown buildings with low rents into usable studio space. The catch, however, is that once the buildings are upgraded by the artists, the neighborhood becomes attractive to other groups too. As demand for use of buildings in the area increases, rents rise as well which often results in displacement of the artists. In effect, the artists, in their ongoing attempt to obtain affordable studio space, inadvertently act as "trailblazers" in the revitalization of decayed urban areas.

The "artists as trailblazers" model can easily be applied to the situation at Hunters Point Naval Shipyard. Since commercial space at the shipyard first became available, artists were attracted to it. Consistent with the model, two main features of the shipyard appear to have attracted the artists to the site—large, warehouse-type structures and low rents.

Before the artists arrived, many cavernous buildings used by the Navy during World War II for shipbuilding and other wartime activities lay abandoned. These buildings, neglected since 1973 when the base was put on industrial reserve, were decrepit and in need of repairs, but most were still structurally sound. The poor condition of the buildings combined with other factors, such as the toxic contamination of the base and the bases proximity to large tracts of public housing, kept commercial demand for the buildings low. As a result, when Triple A Machine Shop, Inc., which leased the base from the Navy, began to sublet some of the buildings, the rents were inexpensive.

The artists who flocked to Hunters Point Shipyard were part of a very limited group of people who in exchange for cheap rents were willing to not only rehabilitate the buildings, but also take the risks involved in working at the base. With affordable studio space in San Francisco becoming increasingly rare, even with the risks, the situation at the shipyard was a great opportunity for artists. Within a short period of time, hundreds of artists leased space and built studios at the base.

Today, the more than 300 artists at Hunters Point Shipyard are nearing the end of a cycle

in the "artists as trailblazers" model. The Navy has started toxic cleanup efforts at the naval base in anticipation of further commercial development of the site when the city of San Francisco takes over the lease. For the artist's community located on the base, the new lease will create a real threat of displacement. With the Navy footing the bill for toxic cleanup and the city taking over the lease, the base has become a much more desirable location for development. The artists themselves also piqued interest in the location by renovating the buildings and then opening their studios to the public during annual art shows. As a result of these factors, special interest groups are clamoring to be included in the city's plans for redevelopment of the base and the artists are concerned about losing their claims.

The Arts contributed approximately $1.30 billion to San Francisco's economy in 1987

PREVENTING DISPLACEMENT

In an attempt to prevent displacement from the naval base, the arts community at Hunters Point Shipyard is taking a grass roots approach, primarily through the efforts of an organization called the Businesses of Hunters Point Shipyard (BHPS). Founded by some of the tenants at the shipyard, BHPS has performed many functions including serving as liaison between the tenants and the city, establishing political allies in the city government, and, most recently, organizing conferences to develop a plan for a shipyard arts center.

Using input from the conferences, BHPS is preparing an arts center proposal to be presented to the Mayor's Advisory Committee. With a strong proposal, BHPS hopes to influence the Committee and the government process thereby preventing displacement of the artists at Hunters Point Shipyard.

To be convincing, the proposal for a shipyard arts center will need to contain an analysis of the economic benefits of the arts center on the city of San Francisco. The arts, an often forgotten component of the local economy, contributed approximately $1.23 to $1.37 billion in income and products to San Francisco's economy in 1987, according to a recent study. This contribution represented 6.2% to 6.9% of the total San Francisco economy. (The San Francisco Arts Economy, June 1990). In addition, the study estimated that, in 1987, between 45,627 and 50,719 full-time jobs resulted from the arts sector output. (June 1990). Clearly, the arts are an important component of San Francisco's economy.

As a segment of San Francisco's arts sector, the arts community at Hunters Point Shipyard with its 300 plus artists is a valuable contributor to San Francisco's economy. The sheer size and diversity of the arts community at the naval base creates export sector benefits by attracting tourists to the City for events such as Open Studios, an annual art fair. If these tourists are typical of San Francisco arts sector customers, they spent approximately $85 per person on food and lodging in the city (June 1990) in addition to the money they spent on artwork.

The economy of San Francisco also receives secondary sector benefits from the artists at Hunters Point Shipyard. Local merchants who supply the artists with goods and services benefit from the expenditures of the artists. Similarly, local merchants benefit from the spending of local residents who patronize the art events at the shipyard. Resident arts sector customers were estimated to have spent between $17 to $32 per person on food and lodging in the city (June 1990: 19).

Potentially, these expenditures would encourage residents in the area surrounding the shipyard to open small businesses. These businesses could in turn provide income for their owners, employment opportunities for the surrounding community, and a much needed injection of cash into the area. However, all of these economic benefits are purely speculative and depend on the artist's abilities to overcome the threats to the shipyard arts center plan.

THREATS TO THE SHIPYARD ARTS CENTER PLAN

The shipyard arts center plan faces a number of external threats. Unlike the previous city administration which supported an arts community at Hunters Point Shipyard, the Jordan administration has no specific agenda for the shipyard. With the lease agreement between the

City and the Navy in negotiations and the mayor uncommitted to the artists on the base, the artists' future status at the shipyard is uncertain.

Another potential threat is the commercial developers who have expressed interest in investing at the shipyard. Paul Wartelle, an attorney for the artists and small businesses at the shipyard, fears that the shipyard will become a single developer megaproject like Mission Bay or the Yerba Buena Center. Alternatively, Wartelle would prefer that Hunters Point Shipyard be allowed to grow organically (Chen, 1991). Yet, if the city administration can be convinced that sizable, additional economic benefits can be obtained through extensive commercial development of the base to the exclusion of the arts center, the artists community will be forced to move elsewhere.

A third potential external threat to the shipyard arts center is a lack of funding for the project. According to Scott Madison of BHPS, funds for the project will primarily be supplied by foundations, such as the San Francisco Foundation. However, should these donations fail to materialize or prove insufficient to support the project, the arts community plan could collapse.

The other potential threats to the arts center at Hunters Point Shipyard are internally generated. Some of the artists at the base question whether the proposed arts center will actually serve the needs of the artists it was intended to protect. Considering the emphasis placed on the economic benefits to be derived from the arts center, the possibility exists that discrimination could occur against artists perceived as "unprofitable."

In fact, during a recent Open Studios, musicians—a small percentage of the artists on the base—were informed that they couldn't practice throughout the two day event. A number of musicians on the base expressed concern over whether the ban was a precursor of future arts center problems. When asked about the problems an arts center could create for the artists, Linda Hope, a member of BHPS, said, "It would be nice to keep the shipyard as we remember it from ten years ago, but reality is that if we don't do something now, we'll get screwed."

Another potential threat to the shipyard arts community is whether or not the artists present a solid economic plan to the city and successfully follow through on the plan if it's accepted. At an arts planning conference at Hunters Point, the artists who participated compiled more of a "wish list" than a realistic economic plan for an arts center. Hopefully, however, with the support of California Lawyers for the Arts, the Businesses of Hunters Point Shipyard, and the San Francisco Art Commission, this wish list can be translated into sound economic goals and actions.

CONCLUSION

In the meantime, the fate of the arts community at Hunters Point Shipyard is up in the air. Although a shipyard arts center would create economic benefits to the city of San Francisco, it is yet to be seen whether the artists on the naval base will be able to break the cycle of displacement, or whether they will be forced, once again, to pack up their belongings and blaze a new trail in the ongoing search for affordable studio space.

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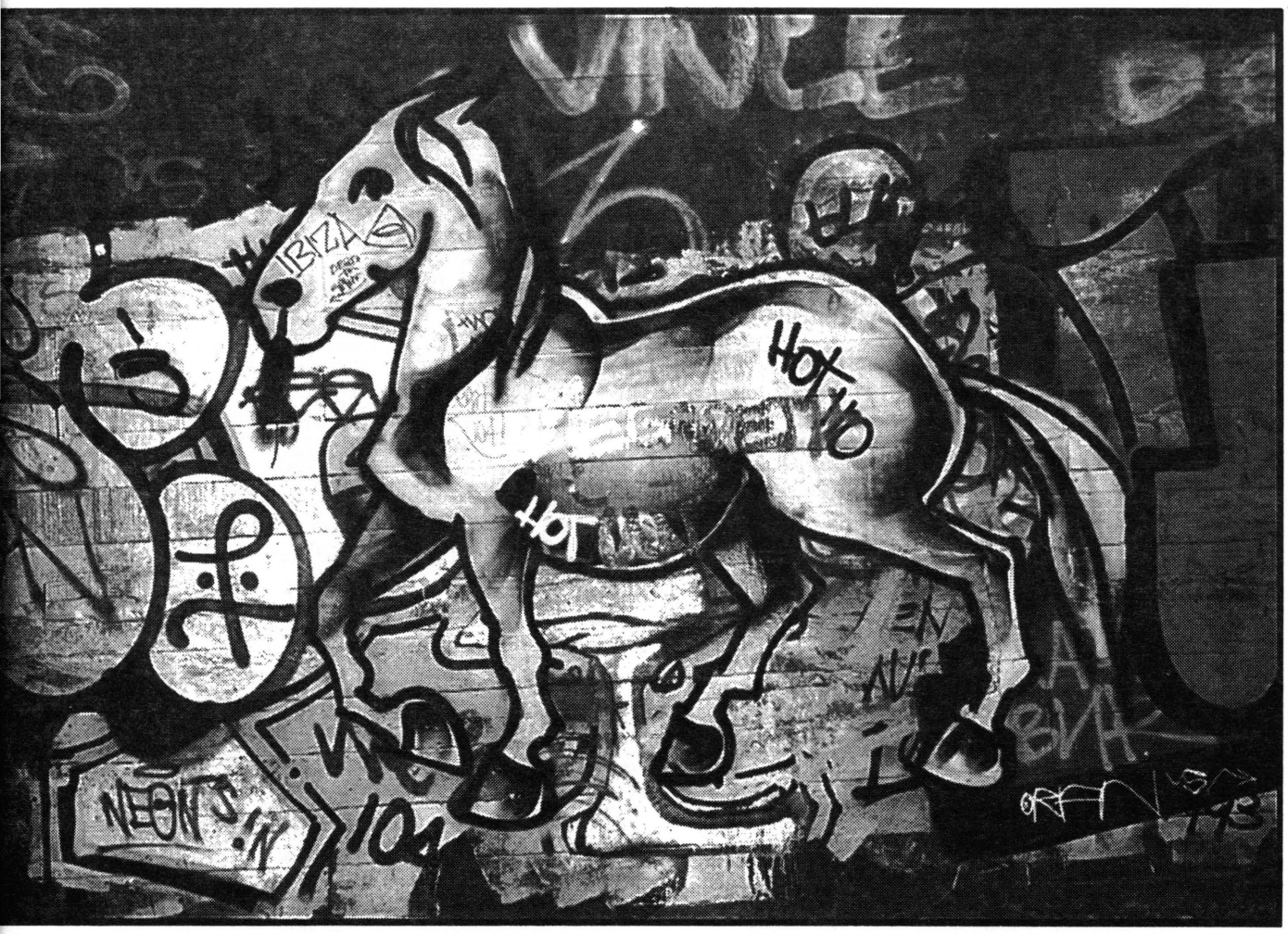
Amy Sanders is a recent graduate of the SFSU School of Business, currently working at a Big 8 accounting firm in San Francisco. She is also a professional musician and a tenant at Hunter's Point Naval Shipyard.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The Life of *So Mar*: Chinese Immigration in the Era of Exclusion

Warren Mar

Warren Mar is a first generation Chinese-American who grew up in San Francisco's Chinatown with nine brothers and sisters. Both his parents were garment workers. This article contains two sections of an oral history project done with Professor Raquel Rivera- Pinderhughes in the fall of 1992, drawn from the life experience of So Mar, his father. One is his father's recollection of his detention on Angel Island, and the second is of his early experience in the Chinatown garment industry.

INTRODUCTION

I am a first generation Chinese American. I grew up in San Francisco Chinatown with nine brothers and sisters. Both my parents were garment workers. Like many other Chinese immigrants my father came to America first, to send money back to support his family. It wasn't until after the Second World War in which he served that he was able to bring my mother over as a "war bride". My father came over in 1922 at the age of 12 and he will be 84 years old this year. I started his oral history to document our family's roots in this country for my daughter and her many cousins.

My father's sojourn to America at the age of 12, alone, may seem harsh treatment by his family, but he was not the first male in his family with the burden of supporting the family in China from labor in America, but the third. His father and uncle had proceeded him in these responsibilities. They too arrived in the era of the Chinese Exclusion Laws as young men and returned to China when they were too old to work. The Exclusion Laws which allowed only men in prevented inter-racial marriage and family re-unification ensured that Chinese laborers could be used and discarded. Conditions in China caused by foreign domination also contributed to factors which pushed minor craftsmen (my grandfather was a shoemaker), and urban workers to seek emigration as the only way to provide for their families. This was especially true in urban areas like Kwang Tung province, where many Chinese on the West Coast originated.

TRANSCRIPT 1
DETENTION: LIFE ON ANGEL ISLAND

When the ship docked we went to Angel Island the following day. When I got off the boat an official asked why I had come. I said I came to be reunited with my father. He said I was to stay, and wait for the interrogation. There was a physical, they checked us for smallpox, measles, and other diseases. I wasn't scared, the other people on the boat told me what to expect and my father told me not to be afraid. There was also an interpreter on the ship, and he explained to us that we would be fed and not to be afraid on the Island. There were other Chinese that went through the Island before; Chinese traveling from Havana and South America had to be detained before getting passage back to China.

There were no rooms for the detainees, only one massive dormitory. There were hundreds of people in a room. The bunks were stacked 3 high. The top bunk was the best (it was the only one you could sit up on). I got a top bunk, because a group of us ran into the room first and got the best bunks. There were no blankets, we brought our own. There was a communal shower, and rest room. It wasn't real clean and it wasn't real dirty, it was medium. We took showers together. There was hot water. There was no privacy, but there was a ball field. We could go out in the afternoon, after lunch for a few hours. There was a lot of people gambling and playing cards to pass the time.

In the mornings there was nothing to do but sleep and stay in the barracks. It was mostly young men (teens and early twenties), there was no use for older people to come. Most were from Kuang Chou. I only know of one guy still living who came with me. I use to see him and laugh with him on the street because we got into a fight on the ship over an apple. I told him when I saw him that I could still out fight him. His father was very nice and told him not to pick on me. Yes, he came with his father. There was no real problems on the ship. Many of the younger people my age went to school when they came. Most of them knew Chinese, like me. I went to 3 years of schooling in China.

The shortest stay at Angel Island was 4 weeks. My stay was the shortest time. If there is something wrong, you would have to appeal, which would take 2 months. After that it would take 3 years to appeal to Washington D.C. I did see people that didn't make it and got deported. Everyday there was people rejected. Every ship that docked there would be people deported back to Hong Kong. The officials would say you were brought here by ("ho pang yue"), good friends not relatives as was alleged on the papers, which meant you had failed the interrogation, and would be deported. Those people would start crying. There was one woman that committed suicide, but she was in the other dormitory and I just heard about it. There would be a new boat of people every 1 or 2 weeks, every time a ship docked. They would let some people leave for San Francisco, as new immigrants came in. I think the center held about 600 people.

My average day started at 7 am, when a white guy would come by and yell "get up". Some people got up earlier. Breakfast was at 8 am, which consisted of Jok (rice porridge) or oatmeal with molasses. Then we had to return to the barracks. We had to stay there till 12 noon. Then we went to lunch. After lunch they let us out into the yard for a few hours to play ball. After dinner, we had to stay in the barracks and sleep.

I saw the Island guards but they were civilians. There was some soldiers but they were on the outside. They were walking around, but you could not talk to them (we didn't know how anyway). I did not see any missionaries, except at Christmas, when they came by to sing songs and pass out candy for us to eat. There was no other people I saw (i.e. social workers etc.) The guards didn't bother us, but the Chinese had a Gee Gi Wu (mutual aid assoc.) that did self policing in the barracks. Some of the kids (young men teen—twenties) were very bad, they would always be fighting. So the association could lock up people in the dark room (solitary confinement). We watch each other so there would be no arguments and fights. I didn't see any stealing. I never got sick, others that did went to the hospital. There was one death, his family came to pick up the body. Yes I was able to get a haircut. There was one guy here that was appealing his case, who was the barber. He charged 25 cents a haircut, and he was busy all day with the people that were going on shore. He knew how to cut hair from China. He made a lot of money cutting hair for 3 years. We could also buy things, like candy, crackers and dried fruit. My uncle sent me money from San Francisco.

I saw some people writing the poetry on the walls and carving also. There was too much time and nothing to do. No, I never wrote anything, I didn't know how. Those people knew lots of characters.

I can read them though, I remember only one. He talked about how he was getting thinner day by day, and would not know when they would release him from this lock up.

I never saw anybody pass notes. It was against the law, they could arrest you. Some people forgot though, and needed notes. They would get the Chinese cooks to help them get notes to San Francisco and bring back notes. It cost $5 for one note. Lots of those cooks got rich. They had to sneak the notes in at meal time. They whispered around looking for people. The person read the note and threw it right away. I didn't need notes. We paid for an attorney, so they wouldn't ask me so many questions. We paid 400 dollars for an attorney. The attorney helped us talk to the interrogators.

No, I never saw any demonstrations, nobody would dare, we were already locked up. I waited 3 weeks before the interrogation. They called me down to a room. There was 3 people present. The interrogator, a Chinese translator, and one other white guy, who I don't know, (archive records show a stenographer present). I was alone. They don't let the attorney in. He just smoothes things over on the outside. I was interrogated for 2 days. We started at 9 am in

the morning, broke for lunch and continued all afternoon. All together it was over 10 to 12 hours.

They asked everything. How does your house look? How does the street you live on look? What does your family eat for dinner? How does your mother look? What does she wear? What does she wear to bed? When you go pay respects to your ancestors what road do you take? We had a coach book, both my uncle and I had one. We read it for one year. No, I never brought it on the boat. If they found it, it would be against the law.

After the interrogation, because I had a lawyer, the translator told me right away that I had passed. I don't know but I heard that the translator got some money too. He put his hand on my shoulder at the end of the interrogation and said, "go upstairs and get your things together, they'll call you at around 3 or 4 pm.". Altogether it took 4 days. They interrogated me for 2 days and my uncle for 2 days. I went upstairs and put together all my clothes and blanket. When I was told I was very happy.

TRANSCRIPT 2
GARMENT WORK: LIFE IN THE CHINATOWN BACHELOR SOCIETY

I started working when I was 14 years old, it was 1924. The name of the shop was Sing Hop. That's were I became an apprentice. The name of the boss was Hall Bok. (*Bok* literally means 'father's older brother' and is used as a term of respect for older men.) He also liked to teach people how to play mah jong, so I learned how to play and sew at the same time. He was not related to me. My uncle asked him to take me in because he had to return to China. He said OK, and took me in as an apprentice. I was the youngest one there. There were a little over 10 workers, it was a small shop. There were no women, only men working. Some of the men were quite old. The oldest was 60, and most of the others were in their 20's. I apprenticed for 3 months without pay, but they fed me. Sometimes when I did sew something well the person who was teaching me would give me a few dollars out of his pay.

My average day usually began at 8 am. I worked about 10 hours a day, 6 days a week. We didn't work on Sundays. We also ate at the shop. We ate once at 9 am and dinner was at 4 pm, then we worked until 6 o'clock. We paid $3 a month for food. In the garment business, if the shop didn't get work, there would be no work, so you had to work when you could get it. They paid us by the piece or by the dozen. When I started I made over $10 a week. When I got fast I made about $20. This was considered very good at the time. Even good jobs only paid $80 a month. I worked in this factory for 2 years and went to another one for 3 years. The second one was called Sun Lay (California Sewing Co.), which still exists. It's in Oakland now.

The first factory made men's shirts. The second factory I worked in made denim pants, overalls and sailor pants. We sewed the entire garment. In those days they didn't have as many specialty machines. They didn't even have a hemming machine yet. All the hems were done by hand.

The bosses got the work from white people, except for one factory which had their own label. This was California Sewing, which must be run by the 3rd or 4th generation of kids now since I worked there. That was the biggest Chinese company. I think the owner's name was Ng. There were many big white companies we worked for. Levi's, Goldstone, they made denim, and Everwear, they made flannel shirts and National Dollar stores. National Dollar had their own brand at that time.

When I was in my early 30's I started working at H. Wing, and became one of the partners. I was one of the two people who could sign the checks for the suppliers. Sometimes we bought over $10,000 worth of cloth at once, and we would both have to sign. If we didn't have enough money, I was also one of the people who went out and asked people to lend us money. For example, we would borrow $1,000 and pay them back one or two percent more than the bank. That's how we would raise enough money to buy our supplies. The other guy's name was Tin. It was up to the two of us to raise money and pay the bills. If you couldn't pay they would put your fabric in storage in a warehouse and make you pay 6% interest anyway, so it was better to borrow the money for less than that. So we went to many individuals to borrow money to buy our fabric. I had a part in this factory 'til the war. I had to put up $10,000. It was loaned to me. There were too many partners in this factory for me to remember. [He shows the original partnership contract with dozens of names.]

In those days there was no work hours or minimum wage. We did have a garment workers guild, Gum Yi Hong. The guild did not care how many hours you worked, but it did set the worth for a piece of garment. We would take a shirt and say it was worth 20 cents each, and that's how much the boss would have to pay everyone for the same shirt. Sometimes we would run into a garment that was very hard to sew, so we would complain and ask the boss to add a few cents, and someone would be sent to meet with him. We would have to meet with the main contractor, like Everwear, etc. and ask them to give us a few cents more for the garment. It was usually very friendly, we didn't have any demonstrations. But we did have strikes, but not often. If they didn't agree we would turn off our machines and just sit there and not work. We would still go to the factory and eat though, because they had to feed us. The boss would usually agree then, when we were all sitting there. The boss at H.Wing was the most amenable. He would say you guys want a quarter, I'll give you 12 1/2 cents. In those days if you asked for a dime more it was a lot of money. The guild did fight for our rights. At the height the guild had 400 members. Now there are 7 left, not even enough for one banquet table. I asked Ng (one of the leaders of the guild who worked in the factory with me) to buy a building in Chinatown. He said no, "it would just become a gambling house, and even though I'm a gambler, I think there's no use leaving anything behind when we're gone, people would just be fighting over it later." So, we donated all the money to Chinese Hospital. Maybe he was right. There were also no women allowed in the guild. The men were afraid they would work for anything, and they didn't have equal rights those days. There were also two other guilds, one was for shirt makers (actually women's garments, predecessor of ILGWU) and the other was the tailors, they only made vests and woolen suits. They made lots of money. Our guild was for the workers that made work clothes, like denims. Our respective guilds could only get work from the main contractors that dealt with that particular line of clothing.

Once you had a sewing seat the boss also could not fire you, as long as you didn't steal or wreck any of his work. He couldn't fire you for working slow, because we were paid by the piece anyway. You could work there til you wanted to leave. To get a sewing seat, you had to ask for it, like looking for a job. Usually there would be a seat when someone died or went back to China. The boss really didn't care if you were slow because he just paid you less. I was one of the fastest workers, I made about $4 a day. I also got paid extra for taking care of paying the bills. I got $10 a month. So my working wages were much more than my management wages for the month. It was like that for many people those days. The accountant not only did the books for the factory, but also for fish shops and other stores all over Chinatown. He made $15 a month, for all that work, less than what he made sewing.

There were really no rights for workers those days until Roosevelt. It wasn't til Roosevelt that people got the 8 hour day.

Warren Mar was born and raised in San Francisco's Chinatown. He has worked as a Community and Labor Organizer for over 20 years. He returned to San Francisco State University in 1991 and graduated from the Urban Studies Program in the fall of 1993. He still lives in San Francisco with his wife and 10 year old daughter.

Gays and Lesbians as a Minority Group

Kyle Richard Thornton

This article explores some generalized beliefs regarding gays and lesbians and will advocate nationwide recognition of homosexuals as a bona-fide minority group. As gays and lesbians are reaching positions of respectability and power within society, they are proving to be a force that does not go gently into the night, but one to be reckoned with.

This article is dedicated to the memory of Randy Shilts, a gay journalist and hero who opened the door for the rest of us.

INTRODUCTION

In the past decade, gays and lesbians have become increasingly visible and vocal. Openly homosexual people serve as politicians, professors, attorneys, doctors and in countless other professions. In the last election, gays and lesbians were a strong electoral force. During his campaign, the President of the United States acknowledged and embraced the existence of homosexuals as an integral part of society and courted their votes. He is the first president to have done so.

As the numbers of openly homosexual people increase, they are becoming more vocal politically and asserting themselves with regard to human rights issues. While gays and lesbians have come a long way, prejudice and discrimination still pervades our society. They are not unanimously acknowledged as a bona-fide minority group, cannot be legally married and cannot even serve in the military as openly homosexual. In many states and cities throughout the nation, disclosure of one's sexual preference risks ridicule, threat of physical harm, employment discrimination, harassment or dismissal.

THE ARGUMENTS AGAINST GAYS AND LESBIANS AS A MINORITY GROUP

A chief argument which is raised against gays and lesbians as a group is that, if homosexuality is simply a matter of sexual preference, they are technically not a minority. It is also argued that what one does in their bedroom should not provide that person with legally protected status or special rights. Some fundamentalist Christians state that gays and lesbians are victims of a disease or that homosexuality is a conscious lifestyle choice. More conservative and less sensitive people have said that homosexuals are an abomination against God and nature who have brought the AIDS epidemic upon themselves as a form of divine retribution. Another argument is that homosexuals segregate themselves, patronizing their own bars, clubs and businesses, as well as congregating in their own neighborhoods.

Many heterosexuals have stated that they have no problem with homosexuals, as long as they do not act like homosexuals. Most critics agree on one aspect; homosexuality is a choice and gays and lesbians are technically not a minority and should not be eligible for any special rights, protections, affirmative action programs and/or other legal privileges.

As a group of people who come from diverse ethnic, racial, cultural and economic backgrounds, and can also become relatively invisible if need be, are gays and lesbians

eligible for protected status as a minority? Are they a bona-fide minority? Is homosexuality a conscious choice and does the entire culture and existence revolve only around what is done in the bedroom?

WHAT CONSTITUTES A MINORITY GROUP?

A minority group is defined by five fundamental characteristics. (Wagley and Harris, 1958) As a group, gays and lesbians fit these characteristics.

1. A minority group must have a history of unequal treatment.

Gays and lesbians have a lengthy record of unequal treatment. They have experienced job dismissal, harassment and physical harm.

2. A minority group must have distinctive physical or cultural characteristics.

Although gays and lesbians do not have distinct physical characteristics, the rainbow flag is a globally recognized symbol of homosexual culture, providing as sense of belonging and pride. Yet, as a group, homosexuals are stigmatized by generalizations and stereotyping, an experience which is shared with other minority groups.

3. Their membership in the group must be involuntary.

This is the most debatable issue, however, there is research being done which points to the possibility of a gay gene, and which would make homosexuality a pre-determined factor and not voluntary.

4. They experience intra-group marriage.

This is obvious. By their very nature, homosexuals tend to form romantic relationships only with one another.

5. They must be aware of their minority status.

Homosexuals are painfully aware of their subordinate status within society, and the negative social stigma that homosexuality can bring upon an individual.

Traditionalists would debate that homosexuals fit into these categories and still would argue that it is a choice the individual makes. The prejudice that gays and lesbians receive however, cannot be debated.

"Who would choose a lifestyle in which they are depicted by the popular media as sex-crazed, ice-pick wielding lesbians..."

DOES ONE CHOOSE TO BE HOMOSEXUAL?

The notion that homosexuality is a conscious choice is a ridiculous assertion which defies reason. It would be absurd to believe that any homosexual would make a conscious choice to be what they are. The cross-section of homosexuals includes members of all races and ethnicities, members of the deaf community and physically challenged people. It is difficult to believe that those with such a cross to bear already, would choose a lifestyle in which one is continually subject to definitions of another person's idea of moral behavior.

Because the gay lifestyle was made so unattractive by my heterosexual peers and elders, I thought that I could never find happiness as a gay man. I thought shame and a clandestine existence were the only alternatives. I have since then come to an understanding of myself and my sexuality, and realize that, I too, can find happiness and have meaningful relationships and achieve self-fulfilment. It was a difficult road, however. Who, in their right mind would choose a lifestyle in which one is ostracized, ridiculed, shunned and stereotyped by society at large. Homosexuals are the butt of many jokes. The stereotypes of gay men and lesbians are well known. Sadly enough, many homosexuals are guilty of stereotyping each other. Being openly gay does not admit one to automatic acceptance by the gay community.

"Who would choose a lifestyle in which they are depicted by the popular media as sex-crazed, ice-pick wielding lesbians or sex-driven, repressed, child molesting murderers?" (Marga Gomez, a Lesbian comedienne). Even with social consciousness and awareness improving in leaps and bounds, the Hollywood film industry still represents the gay and lesbian community in these manners.

What are the choices a person makes as a homosexual? The first choice one must make as a homosexual is whether they will accept themselves as they are and live their life with pride and dignity. This concept however, is not simple. Learning to be true to one's self, with little or no outside support, can lead to self-

repression or depression. Most homosexuals realize early in life that they are different and are shunned by their peers. Many men and women have spent countless hours in therapy, church or other self-help organizations trying to cure themselves of "the affliction." Instead of being cured of the "disease", some are fortunate enough to learn to accept themselves as they are. Some are able to form meaningful relationships, yet some are not so lucky. Some continue to believe they have made a choice which is wrong and immoral and consequently cannot accept themselves as they are. These people live in a state of denial and self-hatred. Self-acceptance is of dire importance to the homosexual as so little affirmation comes from outside the gay and lesbian community.

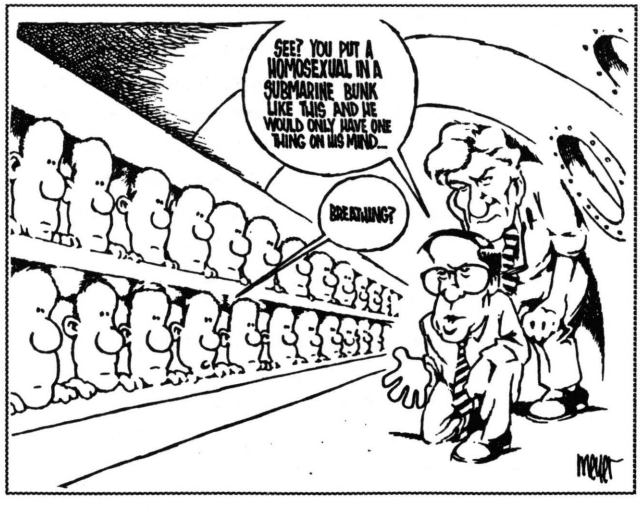
DON'T ASK, DON'T TELL

In July of 1992, the nation held its breath while Bill Clinton and members of Congress decided the fate of gays and lesbians in the military. The outcome was a bizarre compromise in which the question of one's sexual orientation would not be asked, and one would not voluntarily provide the information. Those in favor of lifting the ban were outraged by this decision, claiming it was a sellout rather than a compromise. Those who believe homosexuals should not serve in the military were upset that they had not been completely banned from military service. That aside, this is the first time a president has taken on this issue and listened to the concerns of the gay and lesbian community. This was a major turning point in the battle for equal rights and opportunity. However the final decision was not comforting to those who had publicly declared their sexual orientation, leaving them to ponder where it left them regarding their future in the military.

This may lead one to ask, if gays and lesbians are not wanted in the military, what makes them apply? The answer is simple. The military provides an opportunity for those of low and moderate income levels to better their position in life. The military provides training and educational opportunities which otherwise may not be available to many of those who enlist. A dishonorable discharge from the military leaves one with little to show for the time which they have invested.

Although it was a compromise of historic proportions, the policy of don't ask, don't tell, leaves a window open to blackmail or witchhunting of not only homosexuals, but those who are thought to be. In other words, nothing truly changes; the homosexual is still in fear of discovery which could lead to dismissal from the military.

The homosexual in the military, or in any form of employment for that matter, is seeking to improve their position in life, to become a productive member of society. Laws which exclude members of society from employment are denying opportunity. If homosexuals are made unemployable, is society going to provide for them? This is an important point for those whose positions as teachers or other civil servants would be in jeopardy if their sexual orientation was discovered.



CONSEQUENCES OF A SOCIAL OUTCAST

Only in some neighborhoods of large cities with established gay and lesbian communities can same-sex couples openly show some form of affection for one another, such as hand-holding or walking arm-in-arm. But, even then, they must look over their shoulders in fear of the ever present threat of physical harm.

A homosexual cannot be legally married and thereby is not able to enjoy tax privileges and other benefits heterosexual married couples enjoy. Only in the most progressive cities and states are gays and lesbians judged

fit to adopt children. A recent editorial in the San Francisco Chronicle described a situation in which two lesbians enrolled in a ballroom dance class at U.C. Berkeley in order to be able to dance in style at their upcoming wedding. Yet, their excitement over learning to dance was short-lived. Eventually, they went before the "powers that be" at the campus in order to dance together in the classroom. Their request was granted, however, upon returning to the class the instructor made them feel unwelcome. (Kirp, 1994) The outcome was such that an activity which had been anticipated as something enjoyable had in fact turned into a miserable experience.

Gays and lesbians are constantly subject to criticism and attack from religious fundamentalist groups who seem to believe they have the monopoly on morality. It is debatable whether religious fundamentalists actually know any homosexuals or even regard them as fellow human beings. The fact is, gays and lesbians have been around since the dawn of humanity. It has been argued that homosexuals brought the AIDS epidemic upon themselves as a form of divine retribution. The AIDS epidemic did not start with homosexuals. Although this disease has claimed many lives in the community, AIDS is evident in all groups and cultures. Viruses do not selectively seek and destroy certain groups of people. It is true that promiscuity spread AIDS to the gay community, but for an oppressed community such as this one, sexual encounters are sometimes the only form of affirmation and self-worth one receives.

Although some homosexuals could be guilty of self-segregation, this observation is generally due to the fact that within the community lies safety, a haven which may not otherwise be available. In the community, the issues of acceptance or judgement of one's sexuality at least are not present. The desire to be with those who are similar to one's self becomes strong, especially in the absence of any sort of representation within society. Society is represented within the media, especially the advertising media, as being nothing but heterosexual. One only has to open a magazine or watch a television program to see how much this point rings of truth.

There is much more to gay and lesbian culture than what one does in the bedroom. Sex does not define what it means to be gay. Throughout history homosexuals have been providers of beautiful works of arts, music and theatre. It is amazing what individuals who have experienced centuries of oppression can create.

There is much more to gay and lesbian culture than what one does in the bedroom....

THE CLOSET

What is the closet and why is it not a preferred place to be? A closet is a place of refuge where someone hides in order to maintain safety. It is a precarious hiding place, as anyone can throw open the door and discover who is hiding within.

The closet keeps one from living to their full potential. It keeps a person out of the mainstream of society, unable to fully participate. One remains in a constant state of fear of discovery, knowing that they could possibly lose everything they have achieved in life. For those who have a great deal to lose, this fear is very real.

The individual who lives in the closet leads a double life. One half is spent living in a state of denial and lies, the other half involves living with shame and fear. In an effort to conform, the closet can drive an individual into an unhappy heterosexual marriage – for all parties concerned. Also, the closet constrains an individual's self-development by keeping the person from experiencing all of the positive aspects of gay life, i.e. forming meaningful, lasting relationships.

The individual who does not live in the closet is free. This individual has no need to lie to friends, families or co-workers. There is little to lose. The closet deprives the gay community of positive role models. Every homosexual individual who is "out" is an ambassador to other communities and a representative of the gay and lesbian community.

WHAT CAUSES HOMOSEXUALITY?

Up until the 1950's, homosexuality was thought to be a disease, curable with intensive treatment, but still a disease. In 1945, a pioneer

in her field, Dr. Evelyn Hooker, began research that led to her controversial and widely publicized conclusion that there was no inherent connection between homosexuality and psychopathology. Prior to this, no one in the mental health profession had tested the belief that homosexuals were mentally ill. (Marcus, 1992) An interesting interjection and comparison is that, at one time, people of African descent were thought to be victims of a form of leprosy which produced the dark skin color.

In late 1973, the American Psychiatric Association's Board of Trustees voted to remove homosexuality from its list of mental disorders. (Marcus, 1992) This change in thought and policy came through pressure from gay men and women as well as respected psychiatrists working within the organization.

Currently it is still debatable as to what homosexuality stems from. In July, 1993, a team of scientists from the United States National Cancer Institute announced that after careful scrutiny of the over 100,000 genes present in every human cell, they had isolated a few hundred where a gay gene may exist. (Economist, 1993) This discovery implies that homosexuality is pre-determined; the individual is born homosexual. Given that homosexuals are present in all races, cultures and ethnicities, this theory makes the most sense. If further research eventually proves that a gay gene exists, it will carry a great deal of weight in the argument that homosexuals are a bona-fide minority; a genetic minority. However this revelation is likely to do very little to change the negative connotations associated with homosexuality. The skin color and other physical appearances of different races are also genetic, which has not kept minority groups from experiencing racism and prejudice.

WHAT ACTION IS NECESSARY?

Although it is true that homosexuals are not a racial or ethnic minority, it can be said that they are a cultural minority. If the genetic theory proves to be true, gays and lesbians will become a genetic minority. One difference between other minorities is that, while gays and lesbians are faced with much of the same discrimination most minorities receive, there are laws which protect racial and ethnic minorities from harassment and discrimination.

In our society today there are no national civil rights policies regarding homosexuals. So far, most legislation gives homosexuals a piece of the pie, but never the entire pie. One example is the fact that same-sex couples cannot legally marry, proving that the lifestyle still remains unsanctioned. Although this idea may seem quite radical to some, gay and lesbian marriages have taken place in Denmark for some time without consequence. Data shows that the divorce rate among same-sex marriages in Denmark has been quite low. As of January 1, 1991, only seven lesbian and/or gay couples out of the 718 registered, had applied for divorce. (Miller, 1992)

In the U.S., the state of Hawaii is taking on the task of interpreting the constitution to determine why or why not a same-sex couple cannot be married. If the state reaches an affirmative decision and allows same-sex marriages to take place, this could be the first step in a complete restructuring of marriage and family across the entire country, with same-sex couples gaining all the benefits now enjoyed by heterosexual couples. As of this writing, the case is pending in a lower court, and is scheduled for disposition in April 1995, when the state will try to prove its "compelling interests" in continuing with the status quo. A similar case is on appeal in Washington D.C. (Gray, 1994)

The consequences of not being able to marry are many. In the case of homosexual relationships, when a man or woman has invested a period of one's life and love with one person they have no legal claim to that person's estate when one passes on. With the case of AIDS claiming many lives within the gay and lesbian community, this has left many men and women without entitlement to their significant other's insurance policy or pension, as well as being ostracized and humiliated by the family of the deceased.

In many cities, such as San Francisco, there are opportunities for couples to register as domestic partners which allows them to have legal access to one another's insurance and retirement benefits, as well as legally demonstrating a financial and emotional

commitment to one another.

The arguments which have arisen against allowing same-sex marriages and registered domestic partnerships is that it would cause a tremendous financial burden on government and private sector employees having to provide spousal benefits, i.e., tax advantages, survivorship and inheritance rights, as well as other insurance benefits. (Gray, 1994) Why is it not a financial burden to provide these benefits to heterosexual couples?

Although many corporations have adopted policies which protect homosexuals from discrimination in the workplace, there is no national policy which protects homosexuals from discrimination regarding housing and employment.

Although policies have been passed in the more progressive states which protect gays and lesbians as a group, i.e., employment and housing, it remains necessary to constantly fight against those who introduce legislation to take away these hard-won rights. At all times, the right-wing fundamentalist Christian movement remains poised and ready to lobby against any protective legislation for homosexuals. At present, there are as many as nineteen state initiatives opposing gay civil rights which will be in front of voters this year. (Breslauer, 1994) The religious fundamentalist groups assert that the lifestyle is wrong and dangerous, and that gays and lesbians are promoting a hidden agenda. The only agenda gays and lesbians have, is the need to be able to live and work free, as all others do, without fear and harassment.

In many ways, the lives of gays and lesbians have been thought of as expendable. When Harvey Milk was assassinated, his assassin went off relatively unpunished. Harvey Milk was a former supervisor of the city of San Francisco, and a much loved and respected public figure. More recently, a homosexual Navy sailor was killed by some of his shipmates. The murderers of the sailor went to trial but received minor penalties considering that they committed a murder. The Navy refuses to acknowledge that the murder was an incident motivated by the assailants' sheer hatred of homosexuals.

In many ways, the lives of gays and lesbians have been thought of by many as expendable.

Legislation alone will not bring positive change. At no point can homosexuals relax with the notion that positive changes in attitude will materialize without constant vigil and strife. Those homosexuals who are in power and in a position to create positive change and remain in the closet add to the problem. Every gay man and lesbian who is open and free helps the movement. Those who live their lives out of the closet must work to help those who remain trapped inside. Homosexuals must stand up and be counted, as they were at the March on Washington D.C. for gay and lesbian equal rights. Every "out" homosexual is a positive role model for the gay community.

The gay and lesbian community must also work to build coalitions with other dis-enfranchised communities. It must be realized that the battle for equal rights will not be won until all ethnicities, races and genders enjoy equal rights.

The media, as well as the entertainment industry, ignores the presence of the gay community, which helps to prolong the stereotypes and misunderstandings that the public has of gays and lesbians. The current film, *Philadelphia*, in which a gay man is dying of AIDS as well as having to fight against wrongful dismissal from his place of employment, portrays homosexuals as members of mainstream society as well as accurately portraying the prejudice to which gays and lesbians are subject. This film demonstrates how far Hollywood has come but also, how far Hollywood has to go. In this film, homosexuals are still portrayed as tragic, pathetic characters deserving of pity. The film is very careful. It seeks not to offend anyone. Not once is any affection shown between the two male stars, who are supposedly romantically involved.

Prime time television programs continue to edit scenes in which homosexual characters show any affection toward one another. In many cases, homosexual characters in television series experience stunted character development, remain celibate, magically become heterosexual, finally meeting that

perfect member of the opposite sex who rescues them from their plight. Oftentimes, the character is dropped from the show altogether.

The lack of media attention promotes the assertion that homosexuality is bad and wrong. The lack of positive role models in mainstream media perpetuates the cycle of prejudice and ignorance along with making positive self-esteem difficult for the young homosexual who is trying to cope with their differences. Prime time television programs which present gays and lesbians in a positive manner could help to break the cycle of prejudice. Educational programs which interview gays and lesbians from all walks of life about their lives are an essential process to help demystify the homosexual phenomenon. Except for publications geared to the homosexual community, gays and lesbians are absent from the advertising media. It is not asked that the "lifestyle" is promoted, however, equal representation is mandatory for change.

There has been some advances in the field of education. Some progressive college campuses are beginning to offer courses which deal with gay and lesbian issues. These courses offer homosexual students a chance to learn about themselves, their culture and their contributions to modern society. These courses are, of course, open to all students. The subject of homosexual issues are also incorporated into many ethnic study courses.

CONCLUSION

As a minority group, homosexuals are the least understood by society. They are feared, loathed and envied for their differences. However in spite of repression, the community continues to gain strength. Although the final results of the turnout for this event were trivialized by the National Parks Department, the final number of those participating in the March on Washington for Gay and Lesbian Rights was the highest ever recorded for a public demonstration.

The desires and needs of the gay community are simple. No one is asking for pity. Affirmative action programs for gays and lesbians are not necessarily needed. Mere tolerance is not enough. What is needed is the following: individual respect and the freedom given to show one's love for another, to live free from judgement and bias, to be acknowledged as human beings, to attend work or church without fear of being fired or ostracized, to live in any neighborhood and walk the streets without fear of physical harm, and to experience the joy of raising children. Gays and lesbians would like to be accepted as a part of society, a unique and wonderful part, without having to undergo forced assimilation. Fair and equal representation by the media is essential. Those gays and lesbians who are in positions of power and can help create positive change must stand up and be counted, set the example and lead the way for others.

Gays and lesbians are not asking for 'special' rights or opportunities, they are asking for *equal* rights and opportunities. These demands are not profound or great. If these simple human rights I have described take legal protection to be enjoyed, then yes, homosexuals are long overdue for legally protected status as a minority group.

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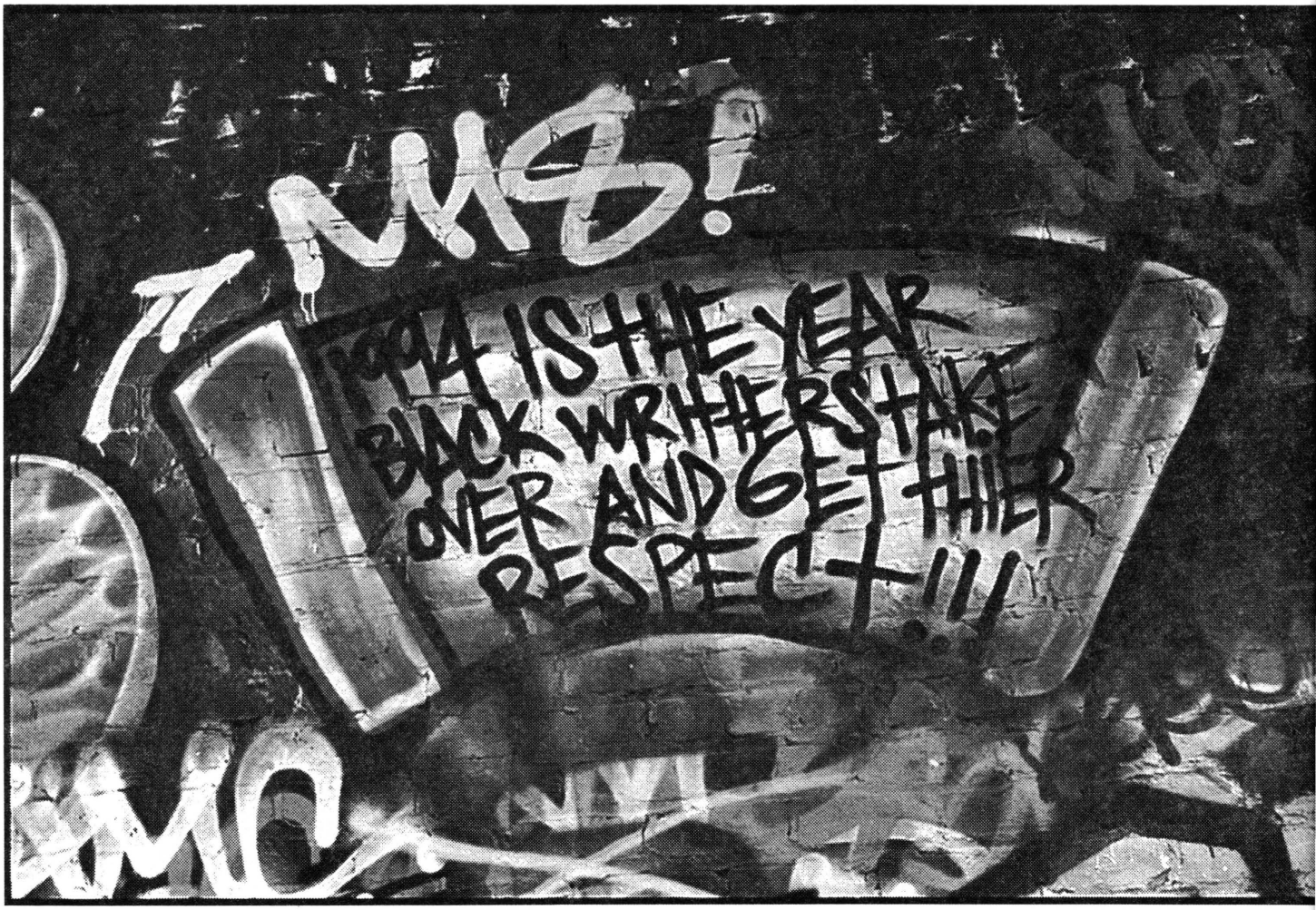
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS:

Michele Berke
Robert Burke
Lori Mills

CARTOON:

Tom Meyer, S.F. Chronicle

Kyle Thornton is a senior at SFSU, working on his bachelor's degree in Political Science. He is a strong advocate of equal rights for gays and lesbians, as well as other minorities, and next year he will begin an internship with the Institute for Central American Studies.


WE!
94 IS THE YEAR
BLACK WRITERS TAKE
OVER AND GET THIER
RESPECT!!!

The Feral Cat Syndrome: Feral Cats in Golden Gate Park

Eric Dokken

This paper analyzes the issue of the feral cat problem in San Francisco's Golden Gate Park. The subject has become very controversial among animal rights proponents (particularly those that like cats) and ecologists, who feel that cats are wreaking havoc upon the Park's ecosystem. Each side is heard from and possible policy solutions are addressed.

HOMELESS CATS

Hardly anyone can resist feeling a bit giddy inside at the site of a fluffy little kitten, their big innocent eyes gleam with playfulness, so small you think they could never harm a thing. Unfortunately, these sweet furry creatures grow larger, begin shedding, tearing apart furniture and curtains, start terrorizing the pet bird, goldfish and dog, and periodically hack up hair-balls. At this point many Americans, being well-trained consumers, would like to return their over-grown pets, but few pet stores have very good return policies.

So, what do well trained consumers do when they can not return something? Answer: They throw it away. Countless numbers of cats are discarded each year by irresponsible people. When humans act in such a manner it can cost the rest of society in the loss of resources, and endangered health. When cats are abandoned or allowed to roam freely without being sterilized, they naturally reproduce. These "homeless" cats and their off-spring quickly adapt to their environment, much the same as rats do. They have no accountable owner and are termed "feral".

The feral cat issue in San Francisco's Golden Gate Park is a highly divisive and controversial issue among some residents of the city. Bird lovers and ecologists see the feral cat population as "an unmitigated plague". A fair number of these people feel the only good feral cat is a dead feral cat. On the other side of the issue are the animal rights' activists and cat lovers who feel that feral cats have as much of a right to be in the Park as any other animal and they should not be harmed. But nearly everyone agrees that cats, domestic or feral, should be spayed or neutered.

KITTY COMPLAINTS

Several claims and accusations have been made on both sides of this issue, both for and against maintaining the feral cat population in the Park. It has been well documented that many species of birds and small mammals have seen decreasing numbers over the years in the Park (SF Chronicle, 1992). Whether or not feral cats are the culprits in this reduction of wildlife has yet to be definitively proven.

It is a fact, however, proven many times over around the world, that cats owned by lighthouse keepers have been known to completely destroy a small island's bird and small mammal population (Ross, 1992). And as any cat owner could tell you, cats that are allowed outside will periodically bring home small birds, reptiles, frogs, small mammals and various invertebrates.

Alan Hopkins, a member of the Golden Gate Audubon Society, claims that over the past six years the California quail population has seen a 50% decrease in San Francisco. He also notes that Winter wrens and Bewick's wrens have already been exterminated in San Francisco's Lincoln Park which is refuge to

many feral cats. Other specialists on this issue say that ground-nesting birds are particularly susceptible to predation by cats. Fitting this category are white-crowned sparrows, red-eyed towhees, thrushes and valley quail (SF Chron, 1992). The birds getting the most attention from this subject are the songbirds, some of which are migratory and on the federal endangered species list.

Similarly, Bay Area naturalist Richard Stallcup figures that approximately 4.4 million birds are killed each day in America by domestic cats. The Baptista Academy of Science says that feral cats are the reason that the once plentiful native brush rabbits are now "virtually extinct" in the City. Many local ecologists think that feral cats are destroying the Park's ecosystem, not only by killing birds, but by destroying food sources for the Park's other predators like hawks and owls. This competition for food is exacerbated as more feral cats enter the Park (SF Chron, 1992). Also, a rise in bee populations has been traced to the reduction of bee-eating birds. Birds such as pigeons and English sparrows are filling the voids that other birds have left, preferring to nest in areas less vulnerable to feline attacks.

Animal rightists and cat lovers will not stand for shooting, poisoning or other means of killing.

All of these factors have allegedly caused great damage to San Francisco's sparse ecosystem. The people who want an end to feral cats in the Park see the situation with two options: feral cats or native birds and wildlife. But there are others who see the situation completely different.

CATS' RIGHTS

Cat proponents see feral cats being blamed for things they are not guilty of, and feel that the cats should not be unjustly treated because of public misconceptions. They claim that the loss of bird population is due to other factors.

A director at the San Francisco Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, who preferred to remain anonymous, informed me that raccoons, snakes, rats, skunks and even dogs are guilty predators of small mammals and birds, and that it is not fair that cats are being made the scapegoat. Some studies have been done refuting the idea that cats are the predatory culprits.

One authority on cat behavior says that cats are not well equipped to hunt songbirds, and that if cats cannot find other food sources and must resort to hunting, the only songbirds they are likely to catch are the young, old or sick (Berkeley, 1985).

Other cat proponents see cats as filling a niche in the Park's ecosystem, and that if the cats were removed the rat population would get out of control. These people also feel that more attention should be directed toward humans for the decrease in birds through our destruction of animal habitat, pollution, toxins, litter, autos or plain maliciousness.

Even if cats are proven to be causing the loss of bird populations, animal rightists and cat lovers will not stand by for past methods of cat control, such as shooting, poisoning or other means of killing. Golden Gate Park has been politically pressured in the past when using methods considered inhumane, and was ultimately forced to abandon these practices.

SOLUTIONS: POPULATION CONTROL

Currently, all that is being done is the periodic capturing by the city, the park, private citizens and non-profit organizations who then have the strays sterilized and often returned to the Park. This process does not seem to be affecting the feral cat population, and is inconsistent and costly.

With rabies on the rise and the number of unowned cats growing, the feral cat issue is something that needs to be addressed, whether or not cats are guilty of destruction to the park's ecosystem. Cats that are not cared for tend not to be properly vaccinated or sterilized. They can carry fleas, mites, ticks and diseases that harm other animals, house cats and even people (Calhoun, 1989). The combination of these is potentially too dangerous to the public's health to go unstudied.

Most people, regardless of where they stand on this issue, agree that irresponsible human behavior is the overwhelming cause for

the feral cat population in the Park. Lack of licensing, sterilization and abandonment are problems by themselves, but combined in a city as dense as ours, the problem has quickly gotten out of control. Although enforcing belling (the placement of a bell on a cat's collar), sterilization and licensing of house cats are great steps in controlling the feral cat population, experts don't see it as a permanent solution.

Increased trappings and sterilization may help, but this is time consuming, expensive and too temporary. Tough fines on irresponsible cat owners might help, but proving ownership of a cat is not always easy. Poisoning and killing are solutions the SPCA and others would not accept.

The problem with feral cats is not isolated to urban America, and policy makers should look to other nations for potential solutions. In Australia, they have a nationwide feral cat problem. They have considered the idea of biologically controlling the cat population by introducing a cat flu which house cats could be vaccinated against, or introducing a herpes virus that causes infertility among cats, but does not kill them (Australian Nat. Parks, 1991). But these methods may be politically infeasible in San Francisco should certain groups disapprove of them.

Bird lovers and scientists are demanding attention to the feral cat issue so that the potential health risks to the community can be addressed. Further studies must look into feral cats' hunting and eating habits, population and distribution. How much are San Franciscans paying currently to remedy feral cat troubles? There must be a more cost effective means to address the problem. How key a role do feral cats play in vermin control? What other factors may be involved in the reduction of bird populations?

The city has taken no stand in this politically volatile issue and has failed to procure any policy. Yet, many park workers are well aware of a problem. A Ranger with the city's Animal Care and Control, who wished to remain anonymous, warned that cats are best kept indoors, yet some are bound to rejoin the wild. Whatever the solution, he felt that studies must first be done, and the data gathered must be presented to the public in hearings so San Franciscans can choose the solution democratically. Simple steps can be taken to reduce the lure of house cats into the park. For example, sealing abandoned buildings removes shelters which may encourage cats to stay home. Keeping all refuse containers properly closed removes an important food source and eliminates temporary shelter.

As private yards slowly shrink and disappear in the city, cats become more popular as pets. The potential health risks and unnecessary financial burden on San Franciscans due to feral cats requires immediate attention. The information above should provide a sound base to guide further study. Hopefully the concern about feral cats will be resolved before potentially irreversible damage takes place. We should realize that the sooner a sound policy is drafted to address this problem the sooner we will all benefit.

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Director at Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals

Director at DeYoung Museum's Biodiversity Resource Center

Anonymous Employee at Golden Gate Audubon Society

Erik Dokken will be graduating from SFSU in May, 1994, with a BA in Urban Studies and Political Science. He would like to be in education, city planning or public policy. His attitude towards the feline world was altered due to his work on this paper.

Mobility for All: Transit, Pedestrian Safety, and a Balanced Land Use System

Christopher Stern

It is becoming increasingly clear that the automobile has many detrimental impacts upon the physical and social landscapes of our environment. We must dramatically reduce the significance of the automobile - by creating and promoting alternative transportation modes, and by making streets user friendly in this order of primacy: pedestrian, cyclist, driver. This paper will explore some of the ways by which we can change our transportation infrastructure, with specific examples from the Bay Area.

"A long memory is the most radical idea in America."

(Jane Holtz Kay)

INTRODUCTION

For the thousands of years preceding the turn of the century, mankind lived, built cities, and flourished without the automobile. The automobile is a profound and captivating invention which has served to both transport humanity, and to transform our world, perhaps irreparably.

Design is a form of suggestion, and infrastructure informs activity. Traffic congestion cannot be solved by building more roads for automobiles. To build more roads for autos would merely be the suggestion to drive more.

The costs are hidden in myriad ways, but it must be recognized that as a nation we spend far too much money on transportation. That is because it is primarily automotive transportation, the least efficient mode possible. We have created for ourselves an infrastructure which we can no longer afford to maintain. This is obvious when one considers examples such as the excessive and disproportionate amount of tax dollars made unavailable for other programs because they must go towards road maintenance, and the high cost of health care and insurance due to the alarming number of auto-related injuries.

The automobile dominated transportation system has profound and detrimental spatial, financial, political, and social impacts. The time has come to address the formulation of a more balanced land use system. The ideal system will require substantial changes: in street space usage, zoning, and the implementation of new services, such as increased public transportation, and safe and convenient bicycle parking.

ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACTS

Within the last few decades, and with greater momentum in the last few years, there has been a growing concern for the state of our local and global environments. Yet, in California it is a frequent sight to see automobiles bearing bumper stickers saying "no offshore drilling," or "love your mother [Earth]." It seems that this "environmental consciousness" is almost totally lacking in consciousness of the impacts of our automobile dominated transportation system. In the instances in which such an awareness is evident, it is almost always limited to the single factor of exhaust emissions and their atmospheric effects. Until we address head on the total impact of the automobile - noise, health and safety issues, urban decay, suburban sprawl, loss of community and disenfranchisement of non-drivers, as well as "pollution" - all attempts at "environmentalism" will remain no more than a hypocritical drop in the bucket.

The system we have in place is anything but "sustainable," the current buzzword in

design for economic activity. Its growth is even less sustainable. As Tabor Stone, in his book, *Beyond the Automobile,* on which I base a number of suggestions made in this paper, said over twenty years ago:

> The tail is wagging the dog: we, in the process of attempting to sustain functionality in a transportation system that is supposed to serve us, are not making it more functional, but instead are boosting its capacity for environmental destruction. (Stone,38)

Since the advent of the automobile, freedom has a new meaning in America. "Freedom" is a concept which has been purchased wholesale from the American people and been put to use in the interests of the automobile and oil companies. "Open space" is another concept to have been reshaped by economic interests. Americans have been educated to believe that America is predicated upon freedom and wide open space. Today, these concepts have been co-opted, and Americans have been, for the most part, re-educated, both through infrastructural investment patterns and media propaganda (i.e.. automobile commercials, "non-commercial services" such as traffic reports and radio shows like 'Car Talk,' the matter-of-fact manner in which traffic accidents are reported, and the intentional media neglect of other transportation modes), to equate freedom with the freedom to drive anywhere, and to equate wide open space with broad avenues, vast parking lots, and the expansive panoramas to be seen when driving on our interstate highway system.

In reality, most of us live in a physical and conceptual environment in which freedom from the automobile is impossible, and the only wide open spaces within view consist of infrastructure for the automobile. We have virtually no choice among modes of transportation, and the economic requirements of our lifestyle dictate the necessity for mobility. We unquestionably have the freedom to drive. What we do not have is the freedom to choose not to drive.

R.U.E.'S, RANDOM, AND FIXED ROUTE SYSTEMS

Prior to outlining any proposal, we must understand the paradigms of the situation as it now exists. Because transportation and land use are inextricably intertwined, we must approach both issues in mutual consideration.

We in the San Francisco Bay Area, as in most population centers of the United States, do not only live in cities or towns, we live in "areas." Tabor Stone, in his proposal *Beyond the Automobile,* calls these "areas" "regional urban environments" (or "R.U.E."). The characteristics of the R.U.E. are: 1. urban sprawl made possible by a preponderance of roads providing accessibility by automobile, 2. a high degree of choice of living, work, and recreational options, and 3. lack of any intelligent regional control. (Stone, 62-63) R.U.E.s further differ from traditional urban environments in that the majority of trips made are not from suburb to core, but rather, from suburb to suburb. This change in travel patterns is both representative and resultant of our freeway patterns: concentric rather than radial. The radial nature of the majority of our railed transit systems therefore makes them functional only for those relatively few people still making the traditional suburb to core commute. Additionally, it must be realized that only about one quarter of today's trips are work trips.

Stone's proposal is premised upon the differences between what he calls the "random route" and "fixed route" systems. The random route is the auto dominated system with which we in the U.S are most familiar. In criticism of the unforeseen side effects of this system, Jane Holtz Kay says:

> In the city, monstrous, sealed-off buildings have altered the human scale of our streets and tampered with the precious historic fabric of our urban areas. Destroying neighborhoods, they have created nine-to-five places devoid of charm. In the countryside, building based on our addiction to the automobile has run pell-mell across the landscape, leaving unplanned sprawl and asphalt wastelands. (Kay, 9)

As populations increase, each individual with their own personal vehicle, we begin to realize that this scenario of automotive land consumption is not so much a side effect of, as it is integral to, the random route system. Because the fixed-route system, which is comprised of rail and fixed route buses, utilizes only a finite amount of dedicated space, it compro-

mises less the humanity of our cities, operates at much greater efficiency, lends itself to total automation, leads to greater social equity, integrates the pedestrian with his or her environment, and preserves the small town within, while integrating it with the R.U.E. (Stone, 7-16, 146) This fixed route system, therefore, should be implemented not only in the radial manner in which it now exists, but also concentrically, providing an alternative to freeway travel, but in a manner which effectively mirrors the convenience freeways offer.

There must come a point where we acknowledge that freeways are anything but free

THE BAY AREA'S BALANCED LAND USE SYSTEM

Within the Bay Area, between the turn of the century and the 1930's, there existed a variety of transportation modes as well as a predominance of self-sufficient neighborhoods which worked together to form what transportation planners today call a "balanced land-use system." During this period, the major residential and commercial areas (the city and port of San Francisco, and the cities of the East Bay and the port of Oakland) were linked by ferries, cable cars, streetcars and a few private automobiles. Long distance trains and steam powered boats connected the region to the rest of the state.

The factors defining a "balanced" land-use system are: 1. no one transportation mode dominates, and 2. neighborhood needs (grocery and household shopping, restaurants, cafes and pubs, basic medical care, and social and recreational activities) are available within a walkable distance.

In the East Bay, private streetcar systems were built by developers in order to sell houses built along those lines. These lines operated frequently and with great efficiency. They were linked directly to and coordinated with ferries leaving the port of Oakland for San Francisco. Their demise came when all the real estate was sold and developers were no longer motivated, nor financially able (because of government imposed ceilings of allowable fares), to continue financing them. In San Francisco, some streetcars had their terminus at major attractions such as Ocean Beach and Sutro Baths, and at the Zoo. The major flaws of this system were lack of coordination except at ports, and the fact that streetcars do not have dedicated running space, therefore subjecting them to delays due to increasing traffic.

The greatest single factor in the demise of a balanced land use system in the San Francisco Bay Area was, however, the same reason as that for its demise all over the country: the infamous buyout of railed transit systems all over the country by "National City Lines," a front company set up by General Motors, Standard Oil, Phillips Petroleum, Mack Inc., and Firestone Tire, with money loaned by the Bank of America. (Crawford, "Urban Transportation," 02/04,11/93)

INTERMODALITY: TRANSIT AND BALANCED LAND USE

The ideological justification for the availability of a variety of modes is basic: freedom of choice. It is clear that Californians, if given the opportunity, are enthusiastic about the potential for new fixed route transportation infrastructure, especially railed systems.

While the growing enthusiasm among city-dwellers for the development of alternative transportation modes has been established, one question remains —that concerning the future of our random route system (I speak, for the most part, of "freeways"). Clearly, we cannot and should not do away with this system entirely:

> Each system possesses its own set of operational and environmental characteristics. The trick is to preserve the best features of each system, eliminate the undesirable ones, in a way that not only resolves the immediate problems, but is responsible for the land use and circulation situations of the future. (Stone, 97)

Freeways will, of course, continue to play a major role in our transportation infrastructure. There must, however, come a point in time when, after public transit has been made sufficient for the commuting needs of the majority, we will all acknowledge that freeways are anything but "free." They should not be, nor should they be called "free." On-street and shopping

mall parking consume incredible amounts of land which could be put to better use for recreational or taxable commercial purposes, and should therefore be highly curtailed, and priced to more appropriately assess users. I suggest these changes not so much as punitive effects against drivers, but as a means of reinforming our paradigms of movement and of space. At present, the costs of our automotive lifestyle are largely hidden. The majority of people fail to recognize the spatial cost of our transportation infrastructure. For example, "free" or "validated" parking at shopping centers is far from free: consumers pay for it in higher retail prices. This reality needs to be brought to the attention of every citizen, and in a direct and meaningful (financial) way.

There are some instances of the integration of freeways with public transit. B.A.R.T. runs in the middle of a freeway for a portion of its journey through the East Bay. This same scenario is proposed for the new Green Line in Los Angeles. (Urban Land, Oct '92, 62) In Silicon Valley, proposals to implement transit stations in the center of the freeway, accessible from either side by pedestrian overpasses, and serviced initially by buses using designated lanes, are being developed. (R. J. Takin, 05/12/93) This case is particularly laudable for its advantageous adaptation of existing infrastructure. All three schemes are beneficial in that they provide the driver stuck in traffic visible encouragement to use public transit. The one drawback all three share is that of integration with pedestrian activity. Freeways are generally not located within walking distance of meaningful destinations. Nor can the area underneath or immediately surrounding a freeway be rezoned for sufficiently high density activity to make it a meaningful destination (check out B.A.R.T.'s MacArthur station). The nature of the freeway itself (dirty, noisy, and ugly) makes this option, were it to be an option, undesirable.

INTEGRATION: TRANSIT AND BALANCED LAND USE

Intermodality, or the provision of a variety of transportation modes, is the first criteria of a balanced land-use system. Integration with land uses is the second. This is one area in which public transit in this country has failed miserably. B.A.R.T. has been highly criticized for its failure to relate to meaningful destinations within the region it serves. Aside from the few stations in downtown San Francisco, all serviced by Muni, and some in Oakland, B.A.R.T. makes virtually no stops that would serve as final destinations. It does not provide convenient access to important points in the city such as North Beach, Japantown, Candlestick Park, or the airport. In 1968 it was predicted that:

> If BART[District] does become a success it will be because somebody else has provided all the feeder lines, separately owned, separately managed, and jealously so; it will be because private motor cars have played a major role in delivering commuters to outlying stations...(Maule and Burchard, 433).

With the exception "jealously so," I believe this prediction has proven accurate. It must be kept in mind that only half of the fault for lack of integration lies within the system and its planning. The other half lies in the land use vision, and the zoning laws which have shaped it.

The stated goal of the new subway system in Los Angeles is more on target: to "revitalize main points of the city." (Tinajero, 55) The five Red Line stations now in place all relate to places of bustling activity.

One interesting and worthwhile idea which would help to insure the integration of transit with land uses would be to require all high trip generators, such as hospitals, colleges, and large shopping centers, to be located near transit nodes. (Crawford, 03/11/93) As it stands now, zoning laws require these high trip generators to provide massive parking facilities, but not access by transit. Such a requirement would serve greatly in the promotion of transit and the reduction of automobile trips. For example, if one were to exit San Francisco Muni's M train directly in front (or inside) of the Stonestown shopping mall, instead of having to cross a busy and dangerous street and then meander through a vast parking lot, a person may be more likely to use the M train. If the train were equipped with overhead luggage racks for shopping and book bags, this would be even more of an encouragement.

In a study I conducted of Muni's L Taraval

line, I found that the most frequently used stations were those located near the greatest number of shops. It is only common sense that transit must relate to meaningful destinations: places of bustling commercial and other pedestrian-oriented activity. In planning new transit systems, we must make sure that such destinations are served first. This however, must work hand in hand with zoning; and in retrofitting established systems, changes in zoning, as well as major investment, must serve in creating meaning for those existing stations.

I suggest that on-street automobile parking be largely eliminated in commercial areas surrounding transit stations. The reasons for this are that on-street parking takes up a great deal of space in what should be primarily bustling pedestrian areas, and that the presence of cars on the street subtracts from the goal of a transit oriented paradigm.

BICYCLE INTEGRATION

In order to facilitate such radical land use and transportation changes, we must reconsider another extremely important mode of transportation: the bicycle:

> The fiscal austerity of the 1980's [and 1990's] demands new approaches to transit development and the application of numerous small-scale, locally-appropriate, low-cost strategies to promote better coordination between different transportation modes. Bicycle-transit integration has an important role to play in this larger context by helping to adapt transit to its modern nemesis, the suburb. (Replogle, 288)

While bicycles are primarily considered to be, and marketed as, sports equipment within this country, their value as transportation vehicles must be acknowledged. Bicycles have been used for decades as transportation vehicles, frequently in conjunction with transit, throughout Europe and Asia. The travel patterns, degree of automobile ownership, and income levels in Europe are sufficiently similar to those of the U.S. to suggest that bicycle use as a means of access to transit could work equally well here. (Replogle, 264)

A major deterrent to the use of bicycles as a means of transportation in the U.S. is the lack of properly designed bicycle parking infrastructure. Although a small number of transit stations (such as the suburban B.A.R.T. and Caltrain stations) have provided a limited number of bike lockers, these systems are difficult to use and require a long term lease agreement. Despite these inadequacies, there is a high demand for these lockers, and one must usually wait over a year before a locker becomes available. Because they are expensive and take up a great deal of space, most stations that do have lockers are usually equipped with not more than twenty or thirty of them. Obviously, the capabilities of the bike locker system are insufficient to the demand.

In countries such as the Netherlands and Japan, one can find within a hundred yards of any suburban transit station secure, guarded bicycle parking. Frequently these take the form of densely utilized, fenced-in, single level lots accommodating hundreds of bicycles in an area the size of roughly ten automobile parking spaces. Also common are enclosed, multi-storied bicycle parking garages equipped with elevator type devices. Any city or suburban dweller can pay a nominal fee to leave their bicycle for the day, receive a ticket for its retrieval, and take the train to their destination, resting assured that the bike will be there upon returning. Because of the large number of bicycles that can be accommodated with such an infrastructure, the cost of staffing is covered.

In addition to requiring bicycle parking infrastructure at transit stations, so too should shopping districts, shopping centers, schools, hospitals, parks, supermarkets, and other centers of civic importance be zoned to require bicycle parking, just as they have been zoned historically to provide automobile parking. Bicycle parking infrastructure need not be on such a large scale as that at transit stations, but it should be visible, easy to use (no moving parts), and on a scale sufficient to suggest use.

In the integration of bicycles with transit, another concern is that of bicycle egress. The B.A.R.T. system makes egress possible for non-peak hour users by allowing them to take their bicycles on the train. However, at present no special vehicles for the accommodation of bicycles have been provided, making this practice cumbersome to the cyclist and bothersome to other transit users. With specially designed vehicles and stations, such a practice might

become more regular, but this would require a great deal of new design work, and would limit the numbers carried.

What I see as a more likely and more desirable occurrence is that over time, the prevalence of transit will influence land use, and the newly zoned higher density mixed use areas around all transit stations will attract business, and therefore more employment opportunities. As a result, a sufficient number of people will be working within pedestrian egress distance of a transit station (such as is now the case in downtown San Francisco) so as to make that station viable. Thus cycling distances will be common only for the home-to-station leg of the trip.

The potential for the success of such bike-transit integration has been demonstrated in this country. A program in Santa Barbara in 1980 "combining the provision of bicycle parking at bus stops and bike-on-bus service" boosted ridership on demonstration project bus routes by a phenomenal 46%. The overall share of access to transit by bicycle grew from 1.5% to 23% within two years time. (Replogle, 284-285)

PROBLEMS WITH PARK AND RIDE

In the interest of bicycle parking infrastructure, and in support of the proposed rezoning of (auto) park-and-ride lots for high-density mixed-use development, a re-evaluation of the park-and-ride system would be in order. First of all, because automobiles suffer poorest fuel economy and emit a greater amount of pollutants when traveling short distances on a cold engine, the fuel savings and emission reductions made possible by park-and-ride facilities are not proportional to the reduction in the number of miles traveled. This has resulted in an overestimation in the calculation of fuel savings, often by as much as 50%.

Secondly, when government agencies consider fuel savings and emission reductions achieved through park-and-ride lots, the energy costs of the construction and maintenance of the lot, which are considerable, are not taken into account. (Replogle, 273-274) Furthermore, because of the vast distance between the station and residential areas imposed by park-and-ride lots, an average of less than 10% of those using such stations walk to them. They are additionally unattractive as destinations to all but residents, as they are surrounded by vast parking lots, unfriendly to pedestrians, and of relation to nothing other than the automotive infrastructure.

THE CONTEMPORARY REALITIES

According to Chris Brittle of the Metropolitan Transportation Commission in Oakland, it was not until 1990 that a regional coordination plan was mandated for transit agencies in the Bay Area. At that time, M.T.C. initiated "JUMP Start" (standing for Joint Urban Mobility Project), a project involving 36 transit agencies throughout the Bay Area, meeting on a regular basis to identify operating strategies to enhance transit as a system. (Brittle, 04/30/93) The goal of this program is to make the best possible use of the policy changes enacted in ISTEA (to be discussed). This is obviously a step in the right direction .

Senator Quentin Kopp has advocated one regional transit agency, as opposed to the numerous uncoordinated local agencies operating at present.The M.T.C., as do most of the local agencies, believe that our decentralized system works better because of its local focus. (Brittle, 04/30/93) There has been very little political will to bring our systems from local to regional levels.

Conversely, there has been a very powerful political and corporate will, from the local to the national level, opposed to the expansion of transit. At the local level, it has been comprised primarily of local business associations and "NIMBY" groups. For example, when B.A.R.T. was initially developed, its proposed construction was opposed in San Mateo and Marin counties by wealthy suburbanites fearing high density development and easy access to their communities by minority and lower income peoples. At a statewide level, voters often view proposals to invest in rail infrastructure as a waste of tax money, and vote against them.

At the national, international, and multinational level, the major auto manufacturing and oil companies perceive the prevention of a successful transit infrastructure to be a major economic imperative. Given the power to shape our economies, infrastructure, and paradigms which these companies wield, it seems the most

obvious means of resolving conflict while achieving the goal of a balanced land use system would be to address the perception of these companies, and to invite them to participate in the economic opportunity made possible in the implementation of well designed transit systems.

One general criticism of our random route transportation structure is that of social inequity created and perpetuated by it. This criticism arises from the reality that the system of automotive transportation provides mobility, and the subsequent economic, social and political opportunities, only to those who can afford to maintain an automobile. The same criticism, that of perpetuating social inequity through policy, is being aimed at the transit agencies specifically, and rightfully so.

Carl Anthony, of the Earth Island Institute, a non-profit organization, addresses a number of highly important issues. Through his work, he is, at a procedural level, integrating the interests of the working poor and people of color into debate with the various transit agencies around the bay, particularly M.T.C. At a substantive level, one specific issue is that of Hunter's Point, a predominately black community of 21,000 that has been relatively isolated from the city and its economic opportunities through insufficient transit. While Caltrain, which serves San Mateo, receives substantial funds from the City of San Francisco, Hunter's Point remains without sufficient transit service. The city has even committed to help fund light rail for a proposed development in Mission Bay, while continuing to ignore the needs of the existing Hunter's Point population.

Anthony has been working with local constituencies, bicycle groups, urban ecology groups, and others, to develop models of how emerging transit strategies and policies might benefit area populations, with three objectives in mind: service to the community, consideration of environmental issues, and providing economic opportunity. He hopes to take what is learned from the Hunter's Point process and develop a set of tools to engage communities in an evaluation process of each community's transit needs. (Anthony, 04/29/93) Such focus on individual community needs is of undeniable importance, and must be examined when considering the overall integration of transit on a regional level.

The Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act, enacted by congress at the end of 1991, is a large part of the reason that groups like those headed by Anthony are finally beginning to make their way into the transit planning process. ISTEA provides local policymakers with greater autonomy and flexibility in spending federal transportation funds, and encourages multi-modal and multi- jurisdictional interagency alliances. (Dahms, 1-7) ISTEA also guarantees more funds for urban areas, provides set-aside funding for bicycle facilities and pedestrian walkways, and "requires earlier and more complete participation by the public in the process of preparing and recommending projects." (Eager, 36)

With the greater leeway over how funds are to be spent, numerous interest groups are lobbying for their allocation. Within the past decade, there have emerged highly profitable and increasingly powerful bicycle manufacturing companies. These companies are seeking ISTEA money for bicycle infrastructure. Specialized, a bike manufacturer located in Morgan Hill, employs a bicycle infrastructure public representative. To some degree, this seems to be working: $263,000 was recently allocated by the California Transportation Commission for a JUMP Start project to widen right-hand lanes on heavily cycled streets in San Francisco. ("Transactions," 2)

On the land-use side of the coin, there has been a recent trend in development towards high-density mixed-use projects. For example, the previously mentioned proposed development at Mission Bay in San Francisco has as its five objectives: mixed uses, contextual design, affordable housing, facility (transit) investments, and waterfront uses and amenities. Additionally, the developer, Catellus (owner of Union Station and many rail rights of way in Los Angeles) "will pay the city's transit impact fee, dedicate rights of way for metro transit lines and stations, and participate in a transportation demand management program intended to attain levels of public transit use and ridesharing of 86% of peak hour travel." (Porter, 32) This criteria may in part explain M.T.C.'s commitment to the project. Trends toward mixed-use development, and reinvestment in rail infrastructure in Los Angeles also provide hope for more change in the near future.

Finally, the Industrial Design Society of

America, in their proposal for the establishment of a governmental "U.S. Design Council," along the lines of Japan's MITI, "Encourage a vision of sustainability that examines forms of urban life that look beyond the automobile." (I.D., 59)

CONCLUSION

Design is a means of suggestion and infrastructure informs activity. By and large, our present transportation infrastructure suggests primarily automotive use. The hidden costs of this automobile dominated transportation infrastructure are enormous. Slowly, people in this country are coming to realize that the construction of more infrastructure for automobiles is not the solution to our transportation situation.

I do not propose that meaningful change will be revolutionary. Rather, it is evolutionary, and it is taking place now. Recognition of a problem is the first step in its diagnosis. There are lessons to be learned here. The automobile itself, and the roads designated for its use were originally intended to solve problems: primarily those of hauling and of traversing long distances. The solution to a problem frequently creates new problems, even as it serves to reasonably address that original problem. Future potential impacts must obviously be assessed prior to the designation of a design decision as a solution.

In the Bay Area a major portion of the solution is already in place. Muni and BART operate with tolerable efficiency and frequency. Bicycles are becoming popular not only for recreation, but also as transportation. Downtown parking has become prohibitively expensive, and parking in many other areas has become prohibitively inconvenient or dangerous. One way streets and no left turns make driving downtown frustrating, and Market Street is given over largely to public transit access and human space.

Such changes toward a more human environment will continue to take place with or without design. The ridiculous nature of the automobile dominated transportation system dictates its own demise. However, it is the world of design that will determine the degree of acceptance with which these changes will be met, and the ease, grace and foresight with which they will be executed.

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Christopher Stern is a graduate student in Design and Industry at S.F.S.U., with a particular interest in both environmental design for the creation of a balanced land-use system, and the impacts of automotive industry dominance on America's environmental, cultural and social paradigms.


DON'T LET NO ONE
TELL YOU WHAT TO
PAINT. GRAFF IS
FREE SPEECH.
-ESKRIA

Achieving a Balance Between Conservation and Economics: NCCP Policy in Southern California

Lynn Dwyer

After a century of uneasy coexistence, progress and preservation have collided in southern California. Or is it a near miss? The answer to this may come with Natural Community Conservation Planning (NCCP), a new policy allowing development and preserving biodiversity which is examined in this article.

INTRODUCTION

In the two decades since passage of the original federal Endangered Species Act (ESA) in 1973 the pace of species extinctions have accelerated to rates not previously known in the United States. Although there is considerable scientific debate surrounding the rate of species extinction, there is general agreement that the most serious threat to the survival of species is the disruption of their habitats (Morrison, Marcot & Mannan, 1992; Tobin, 1990).

At the same point that concerns over mass extinction began to rise, many regions started to experience increasing scarcity in the base of their natural resources including such economic mainstays as land, minerals, timber and water. Against this backdrop, implementation of endangered species policy is no longer simply concerned with single species, on relatively discrete pieces of real estate (Horton, 1992).

The current debate often now involves multiple species on a declining base of natural resources in entire regions. Repeatedly, critical habitat for species also becomes highly valued for its development potential. As a result, conflicts in many areas cause much wider biological and economic impacts.

The fact that the environment can be used in different ways creates a complex public policy question about how to "best" balance the given supply within the context of these competing uses.

THE CALIFORNIA ANSWER? NATURAL COMMUNITY CONSERVATION PLANNING

Five counties in Southern California are attempting to answer that question in the form of a new regional plan for ecosystem planning called Natural Community Conservation Planning (NCCP). The program established under state law as the Natural Community Conservation Planning Act of 1991 (Fish and Game Code 2800 et seq.) is designed to provide for regional protection and perpetuation of natural wildlife diversity while also allowing for compatible land use and appropriate development. It reflects a paradigm shift away from a project-based, single species conservation policy to that of a regional, multi-species, multi-habitat protection program. NCCP is designed to be a voluntary, cooperative program among all parties with standing in land use planning in this region. With a "front-loaded" ecosystem approach of this type, wildlife agencies identify and protect areas of critical habitat *before* they become degraded or threatened by development (Silver, 1993). Planning is done on a regional rather than project basis, in order to maintain areas large enough to retain species diversity.

The original geographic area of the NCCP pilot covered approximately 6,000 square miles in five counties: San Diego, Orange, Riverside, Los Angeles and San Bernardino and included numerous jurisdictions as well as publicly and

privately held land. Only San Diego and Orange County have made any significant progress in planning (United States Fish and Wildlife Service (USFWS), 1993c). The pilot NCCP program involves planning for Coastal Sage Scrub (CSS), an ecological community that supports a diverse population of plants and animals native to California, including a threatened species of bird — the California gnatcatcher (California Department of Fish and Game (CDFG), 1993a).

In March 1993, the Department of the Interior (DOI) established federal authority and interest in promoting such regional conservation efforts in this area, when it listed the California gnatcatcher as "threatened" under the federal ESA. A special 4(d) rule was proposed at that time which defined the conditions under which take of the gnatcatcher would not be a violation of Section 9(a) of the ESA. In part, the conditions recommended participation by public and private landowners in NCCP. The special rule supports California's efforts to provide for orderly development while supporting habitat protection based on the ecosystem-wide approach of the NCCP (USFWS, 1993a; USFWS, 1993b). At that time, Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt, also endorsed the NCCP when he said:

> "The only effective way to protect endangered species is to plan ahead to conserve the ecosystems upon which they depend...This may become an example of what must be done across the country if we are to avoid the environmental and economic train wrecks we have seen in the last decade" (USFWS, 1993a).

The USFWS agreed to cooperate and provide information to California during the NCCP pilot. It committed staffing and funding to the program. The agency will also make comments on the NCCP at each stage of the program development and implementation to assure that it meets the standards of federal Habitat Conservation Plans (HCPs) mandated by the ESA (Stevens, 1993; CDFG, 1993a).

Although research and recovery actions are still needed for many individual endangered species, it is hoped the biodiversity concept embodied in NCCP may help reduce the number of species approaching endangered status.

WHY SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA? A REGION RICH IN SPECIES AND CONFLICT

The task of developing public policy becomes particularly daunting when goals are still evolving, when public support is uncertain and when there are different or conflicting policy demands. Such is the case with the current efforts to implement NCCP in Southern California. The primary areas of conflict and the sources of that conflict are outlined in Table 1.

Decreased Quality of Life: The first issue of concern is the decreased quality of life in the five county region. Many people believe a wide variety of social benefits accrue from species diversity including aesthetic, ecological, educational, historical, recreational, scientific and bequest values. Such benefits are often characterized as public goods which provide benefits to all the people of these counties. In one similar case concerning only a single species, the Northern Spotted Owl, the social benefit resulting from preservation was very high for individuals. A contingency survey of individual preference for preservation indicated a willingness-to-pay for owl and habitat protection of $62.7 million in Washington State (Rubin, Helfand & Loomis, 1991). If this study is an indicator of the utility people gain from species protection, southern Californians will reap significant benefits from habitat preservation, as there are 13 specific species on the state and/or federal endangered and threatened listings and over 90 sensitive animal and plant species associated with CSS (CDFG, 1991b; Horton, 1992). At the same time, the potential impact on quality of life of further reductions in species and habitat may also be substantial.

This situation is caused in large measure by the loss of habitat to development. An annual CDFG (1991b) report described development (residential, industrial and commercial) as the primary cause of adverse impacts on state-listed endangered plants and animals. Experts differ on the exact figures but approximately 85 percent of the CSS habitat in this region has been developed or is used for agriculture. Over the past 20 years, Orange County alone has been converting natural landscape to human settlement at a rate of seven square miles per/year (CDFG, 1991b; Horton, 1992). Without additional protection, multiple

Table 1: Natural Community Conservation Planning Policy Flowchart

Problem Attributes
Decreased Quality of Life in Region
Increased Competition for the Resource Base
Difficulty in Developing Public & Private Land
Inadequate Protection of Species/Habitat Under ESA
Economic Losses/Transitional Equity Issues

Problem Causes
Decreased Availability of Land
Increased Human Population
Complex, Redundant and Expensive Environmental Review
Paradigm of Single Species/Single Habitat Protection
Current Restrictions on Land Development in Region
Public Goods
Long Term Nature of the Benefits and Costs

Policy Tools
Maintain 4(d) ESA Designation
Maintain 5 Percent Interim Cap on Development
Differentiate Quality Levels of NCCP Enrolled Lands
Implement Collaborative Process to Develop NCCP
Prepare Joint Federal and State Approvals of NCCP Plans
Aquire Land
Develop Creative Financing Mechanism for NCCP

Policy Constraints
Complexity of NCCP Process
Voluntary Participation
Adequacy of Remaining Habitat
Funding Issues
Different Participant Values
Constitutional Limits

Knowledge Gaps
Significant Unknowns in the Science of Ecosystems
Quality of the Land Enrolled
Fiscal Impacts on the Region

Policy Objectives
Promote Species and Habitat Protection
Create a Model for Scientific Ecosystem Management
Encourage Appropriate Land Use
Develop a Funding Mechanism for NCCP

Ranked High Potential Policy Tools
Federal and State Activity
Scientific Guidelines
Regional and Participant Collaboration
Financing

species and habitat will continue to disappear as a result of existing development practices (Watt, 1982).

Competition for Resources: Another significant issue is the increased competition for the remaining resource base. As discussed, the current debate now involves a declining base of natural resources in an entire region. Competition for land resulting in endangered species listings has already caused economic effects. In Riverside County, opponents of listings claim that the site for 100,000 new single-family homes was ruled off-limits by the USFWS to protect the endangered Stephen's Kangaroo Rat (Oliver, 1992). Some of the intense competition for the resource may also be reflected by the high average per acre price of land, which is now $23,000 (Fairbanks & Toma, 1993).

As population grows the availability of open space and natural areas will shrink.

Economic and social competition for a land base appears to be growing in part as a result of the increase in human population in this region and the tremendous demands this places on natural resources. The five counties of the NCCP account for 54 percent of California's population. More than half of this population occurs in the NCCP area. By the year 2020, the population in Southern California is predicted to increase 55 percent over current levels (USFWS, 1993c). As population grows the availability of open space and natural areas will shrink.

Development Difficulty: A particularly intense area of controversy comes about because of the difficulty of developing on public and private land. One participant in the NCCP process said there hadn't been an ESA 10(a) permit for development granted in the county in their memory (Personal Communication, February 1994). This is probably an overstatement about the degree of difficulty actually experienced in developing land with listed species, given the number of informal consultations with regulators that result in early resolution of such concerns before formal state or federal review (CDFG, 1991b,; Rohlf, 1991). However, it is accurate in that it represents a perception of a problem. Bottom-line, the marketplace, though naturally adaptive, benefits from some predictability in basic rules. Developers in Southern California are concerned that continual single species listings will invoke the massive machinery of public hearings, scientific investigation and moratoriums on economic activity entailed by federal and state law (personal communication, October 1993). This makes long range planning for development much more difficult. Many times there is no certainty in advance of expensive, formal, and complex California Environmental Quality Act (CEQA) and National Environmental Protection Act (NEPA) environmental reviews that proposed projects will not be denied or significantly altered because of wildlife impacts. These laws are applied in concert with federal and state Endangered Species Acts which require issuance of specific permits. In addition, all development projects must be consistent with local plans and policies, adding to the time, expense and uncertainty of the process.

Current ESA Policy: A fourth issue involves inadequate protection of species and habitat under current ESA policy. First, a key part of species and habitat preservation comes with the preparation of detailed, individual, HCPs by the USFWS for the effected species. Currently, there is a significant backlog in the preparation of the plans. Three hundred and seventy of the 675 listed species do not currently have such plans as mandated under the ESA. This is caused in part by existing levels of funding for endangered species programs, which were found to be inadequate to carry out the requirements of the ESA in a 1990 audit by the Office of the Inspector General of DOI (O'Connell, 1992).

In addition, the opportunity costs associated with current policy are also very high. The costs result from the opportunities foregone when governmental resources are not put to their highest value use. For example, the National Park Service spent 65 percent of its budgeted funds on preservation of only six endangered species (Rancourt, 1992). In 1990, there was a total of $102 million spent on endangered species by the DOI. Of that total, approximately $55 million went to only 12 species. The next dozen species received $19 million. The remaining quarter of the funding — $28 million — was shared among approximately

570 other organisms (Winckler, 1992). Meanwhile, over 3,600 candidate species wait for decisions on listing (Horton, 1992). At present, the application of the ESA focuses more on individual species, one case at a time, and less on multiple habitat or species protection. As a result, species and habitat often decline to the point where only last ditch, extremely expensive efforts are focused on that single species. Moreover, species and habitat rich areas, not yet on the brink, are not preserved.

Economic Losses: An additional area of potential conflict occurs because of potential economic losses associated with listings. Several examples of losses are in the area of distributional impacts. Previous distributional impacts in regions where ESA listings have occurred include: loss of wages by unemployed workers, lower county revenues caused by a slow down in the local economies because development is delayed or eliminated, increased pressure on county revenues resulting from a rise in unemployment claims, and reduced consumer surplus occurring from an increase in the prices of goods such as homes (USFWS, 1992).

It has been estimated that over 250,000 acres of land in Orange, Riverside and San Diego Counties might be affected by the ESA. California builders claim up to 200,000 jobs in the region could also be lost. These assumptions are based on a contention that no development would occur as a result of listing which is a worst-case scenario (Anonymous, 1992). Notwithstanding how these figures were arrived at, in a similar case where the Northern Spotted Owl was designated as endangered by the USFWS, it projected a 21 percent loss of regional timber employment including direct and indirect job losses and the discounted present value of wage and salary losses for displaced workers annually at $7.6 million (USFWS, 1992).

Equity Issues: Economists define one area of conflict in such situations as transitional equity issues (Pinkdyk & Rubinfeld, 1992). Transitional equity problems occur when the implementation of a policy, such as ESA, creates different and perhaps unfair treatment of specific individuals and classes of individuals. In this case, property owners are more greatly affected by land use regulation. The imposition of such regulation has a larger effect on them personally because the value of their land may be reduced as a result of the limits placed on its use. Moreover, new home owners may carry a larger share of the costs of preservation as extra development fees are passed on in the prices for new homes. The policy may yield a great excess of benefits over costs for society as a whole, but it still inflicts larger costs on a small group of people. The question being raised by many people in this situation is who should bear the cost of preserving habitat?

The alternate view, and basis for much of the conflict, asserts natural resources are public goods held in trust for the full benefit, use and enjoyment of current and future generations. In the case of nonreplaceable goods — species and habitat — property rights are limited to the right to use, not to destroy. A species is not personal property, but a common good. The appropriate relation to it is that of a caretaker to a trust rather than owner to property (Kohm, 1991). In this case, the government is acting in order to respond to the undersupply and loss of a public good by the marketplace. No compensation is due a landowner in this case. This area of law is still evolving based on recent Supreme Court decisions (Personal Communication, January 1994).

Future Resources: Because endangered species policies conserve land and wildlife resources for many generations the policy debate is also expressed in terms of intergenerational equity issues. The question arises as to whether current taxpayers should subsidize the quality of life for future generations. However, this is only part of the problem, since greater income and wealth in the future may be unable to reproduce what can only be preserved at this moment in time, specifically species and their habitat. Questions of intergenerational equity arise because the policy has both costs and benefits to current and future generations of southern Californian residents.

FINDING TOOLS TO SUPPORT THE POLICY GOALS AND OBJECTIVES

The overall ecosystem planning approach used in the NCCP is theoretically designed to protect entire habitats in an "anticipatory" way. The overall policy goal is to conserve the state's native plants and animals in preserves, in order to allow for compatible development. The strategy involves three major objectives: 1) to create a regional model for planning based

upon scientific ecosystem management; 2) to craft land use in the region premised on scientific guidelines; and 3) to develop financing mechanisms for NCCP. The region will have to use a variety of policy tools in order to achieve these goals and objectives, as well as to resolve some of the major sources of conflict in this controversy.

EXISTING POLICY TOOLS

Several key policy tools already in effect should be maintained to assure the continued viability of NCCP (Table 1).

4(d) Rule: Chief among those tools is to continue to maintain the 4(d) designation of the gnatcatcher. In this way the federal government is able to control policy outcomes and influence the form of ecosystem conservation by remaining a partner in its implementation in California. It also guarantees the NCCP program will not used as a substitute to circumvent the provisions of the Endangered Species Act. The prospect of federal 10(a) ESA listings creates a big incentive for landowners to participate in NCCP. In addition, continued listing of the gnatcatcher sanctions non-enrolled land and non-participating organizations or individuals in NCCP under the taking provisions of the ESA. Organizations enrolled in the NCCP are allowed interim takes, and are able to conduct some development activities (CDFG, 1993a). Finally, the 4(d) rule gives the state more flexibility to act than would be permitted with a 10(a) listing.

Five Percent Cap: It is also important to maintain the five percent interim cap on overall development in the region. Currently, this regional cap is in place to inhibit subdivision of habitat at a local or project level. Under this cap, it does not pay for localities to subdivide to administer NCCP. The cap makes it impossible to develop any land of significant size during the NCCP planning process. As a result, it limits further loss of critical habitat. It also encourages localities to work from a large subregion to implement planning which helps to maintain important corridors and overall contiguity of CSS habitat. Finally, in combination with the 4(d) listing, it creates another incentive for landowners to participate in NCCP.

Scientific Review: The Scientific Review Panel (SRP) was a significant player in the initial stages of the NCCP, and has a continued role to play in the process of moving implementation from a regional to subregional scale. It initially established conservation guidelines and standards to assess the relative value of different parts of the CSS as potential habitat based on the best scientific evidence. These habitat values have become the baseline standards for negotiating planning agreements with the subregions in order to provide for genetic diversity, sufficient habitat and economic development on a regional scale (CDFG, 1993b). Based on these guidelines, it is hoped the NCCP process will not vary significantly from subregional to subregional planning area. The SRP could continue to provide a "neutral" set of scientific rules to help to reduce conflict around the relative values of economics versus conservation in the subregion. It could also increase the institutional capacity of the localities to implement the NCCP program by providing them with a formidable base of technical information. For example, city planners would have help in understanding how their land plays a role in the protection of biological diversity, and where a shift in land management could afford more protection to an area of high species richness.

Participation: The NCCP process invited all groups with standing to participate in the process from the start in the form of small working groups and advisory committees composed of developers, landowners, environmental groups, and governmental agencies. They met regularly to provide input into the development of NCCP. Several public workshops were also held in early 1993 to discuss the preliminary concepts of the SRP's recommended conservation strategy and later its draft conservation guidelines (USFWS, 1993c). Despite the sometimes adversarial posturing based on the differing values of the participants, they were still involved in a real way hammering out the NCCP. This dialogue is an important part of the continuing process (Personal Communications, February 1994).

ADDITIONAL POLICY TOOLS

A number of additional policy tools exist which may also support successful policy outcomes (Table 1).

Approvals: The first tool involves developing a method for preparing joint federal and

state approvals of the NCCP, in order to encourage participation by landowners. It will be important to establish an interagency process that offers a one-stop, one-time review and approval mechanism for the final CSS NCCP plans by regulators. For example, the plans should be reviewed according to the requirements of both the California Management Authorizations and federal HCPs to allow for joint issuance of appropriate permits (CDFG, 1993a).

Land Acquisition: Of equal importance to the continued success of the NCCP is the need to develop a land acquisition strategy. Planning should encourage provision of both public and private financing of land acquisition in the region. This is already happening nationwide in the form of federal Land and Water Conservation Grants, and through groups like the Nature Conservancy and The Trust for Public Land, as well as with 900 other private land trusts which have so far protected 9.7 million acres (Bean, 1992).

In order to make the implementation of the NCCP as revenue neutral as possible, the following are a list of possible financing mechanisms:

Mitigation, Mitigation Banking, Exactions and In-Lieu Fees: In return for the rights to keep developing and to destroy a small portion of the CSS habitat, developers and landowners must pay to improve the quality of the land in areas of higher habitat value or to create new CSS habitat in other locations. This model is currently being used in Riverside County where a reserve project for the Stephen's Kangaroo Rat costs developers approximately $300 per/house, in an area with median home prices of $200,000 (Bean, 1992). Since, 1989, the Riverside County program has generated $25 million toward acquiring preserves (Horton, 1992).

Land Transfers: Encourage transfers of land designated as low habitat value for high habitat value. Transfer of development rights eliminates the need to directly purchase land.

User Fees: Levy user fees on individuals using the public land portions of the CSS habitat, e.g. parks and other recreation areas. This form of taxation works on a benefits received formula where users of the resource pay directly for the benefits of their use.

General Obligation Bond Measures: Bonds could be floated in the localities to fund acquisition and improvement of high value habitat for parks and open space. As a rule, general obligation bonds are used for capital improvements that last a long time, so bond repayment provisions are also long-term. This provides a good match of payments to the long-term nature of conservation and preservation benefits received by the community (Mikesell, 1991).

Special District and Utility Tax Assessments: A number of special districts and utilities are involved in NCCP implementation. These entities could use their independent taxing authority to fund NCCP.

Special or Benefit Tax Assessments: Additional assessments specifically designed to fund open space acquisition could be levied. Proposition A approved by voters in Los Angeles County in 1992 created one such special district for this purpose (Anonymous, 1993). This funding mechanism is also based on a direct benefits received formula. Regional taxpayers receive a direct benefit from conservation of this habitat and individual property owners stand to gain the most in terms of improved value of their land. A recent survey found high quality natural environments are in demand across the nation and are a primary reason many new arrivals give for locating in an area (Powers, 1991).

Donated Land: Developers and other property owners could donate land with high quality habitat CSS status, and in return receive some special additional property tax benefit for the donation from the locality.

Surplus Public Lands: Surplus public lands in the possession of the Bureau of Land Management, U.S. Forest Service, the Resolution Trust Corporation and the Department of Defense could be donated for CSS habitat. Some of these surplus lands containing lower quality habitat might be traded for high value habitat.

MULTIPLE POLICY CONSTRAINTS TO ACHIEVING SUCCESSFUL OUTCOMES

A variety of factors make it particularly difficult to resolve this policy issue. There are multiple constraints impeding successful resolution of the policy dilemma including: uncertain public support; the fact that many agencies share responsibility for implementation; inad-

equate resources; uncertain public support and political antagonism and interference. These constraints are outlined more specifically as follows (Table 1):

Complexity: The legislature intended the NCCP to be a voluntary, cooperative program among all parties with standing in land use planning in this region. This makes the process extremely complex, unwieldy and time consuming. Parties with standing include the Construction Industry Federation and the Endangered Habitat League which are large consortiums of industry and environmental groups, and dozens of cities, towns, unincorporated areas and special districts. A convenience sample of key participants in the process indicated a variety of competing agendas around NCCP, widespread bickering and distrust, problems with the administration and content, and a willingness to pursue other remedies, including litigation, if NCCP does not meet expectations (Personal Communications, October 1993).

Voluntary Participation: A second major constraint comes in the area of voluntary participation. If the costs of the NCCP become too high for any of the key participants, they may drop out of the program. For example, some organizations may be unhappy with how the lines are drawn designating final preserve locations and may decide at that point not to participate. This will hopelessly compromise the program intent to achieve a workable compromise between conservation and development.

Another problem with voluntary participation occurs in the area of habitat and species protection. The USFWS originally issued the 4(d) rule because it found that no substantive protection of the gnatcatcher was provided by NCCP. Habitat loss and fragmentation were still occurring in the region threatening the survival of the bird (USFWS, 1993b). This was resolved to some extent by the five percent cap. However, even with the cap, there is still significant pressure on regulators to approve individual development projects (personal communication, March 1994). The degree to which the NCCP removes threats to species is based primarily on a good faith actions by the landowner and public officials.

Remaining Habitat: Another substantial limitation concerns the adequacy of the remaining habitat. With so little of CSS remaining there may not be enough of it to assure species survival. When 85 percent of something is gone, further loss may compromise the continued viability of the habitat and dependent species. For example, if further isolation of the remaining habitat patches results from acreage loss "edge effects" may be produced. These are impacts from one habitat that penetrate into the boundary of another. Small habitat patches are most vulnerable to edge effects like agriculture, road building and development (Soule, 1986).

Regional Cooperation: One significant constraint may come in the area of regional cooperation. California has a very mixed experience using a model of regionalism to resolve environmental problems. For example, counties and localities in this region continue to differ on regional implementation of state and federal Clean Air Act provisions. Differences still exist despite the collaborative preparation of a regional Air Quality Management Plan (AQMP) which took almost five years to develop. This plan, like the NCCP, was the product of dozens of local workshops, presentations, hearings and ten months of public comment. It involved more than fifty cities, environmental and community groups. Four major regional, state and federal agencies contributed to its design and approval (Kameniecki & Ferrall, 1991,). The AQMP which finally emerged from this gauntlet of executive, legislative, bureaucratic, legal and public review may be too weak to allow its primary implementing agency to act coherently (Robertson & Judd, 1989,). Such jurisdictional issues involving coordination have already occurred in NCCP (Personal Communication, October 1993). In addition, administrative theory and practice finds that when there are a large number of clearance or veto points in a program, like the NCCP, it makes initiating policy difficult and preventing change easy (Peters, 1992). The degree of fragmentation of authority inherent in the NCCP may make the program prone to failure because of the frequent need to establish compromise. This may result in both formal and informal change in policy goals (Robertson & Judd, 1989).

Funding: The largest single constraint associated with endangered species programs in general, and the NCCP in particular is funding. In 1990, the total state and federal budgets for all aspects of endangered species — such

as listing, research and land acquisition — was just $102 million, less than a fourth of the annual amount needed for recovery alone. In a period characterized by budget decrementalism, pay-as-you-go provisions, limits on discretionary funding and voter unwillingness to fund government, it is not expected that governmental budgets will be sufficient to save a few hundred species on the ESA list, let alone thousands of additional species and habitats.

One public official characterized the current voter mood concerning subsidies fir environmental programs as "surly" (personal communication, February 1994). For example, Riverside County alone is spending over $20 million to purchase land to protect the Stephen's Kangaroo Rat. At the same time, voters in that county failed to authorize an additional $100 million for the preservation effort (Mann & Plummer, 1992). This does not bode well for the NCCP. In addition, the outright purchases of land in Southern California by any level of government will be a very expensive prospect. Moreover, the CDFG has already had significant problems fully implementing the NCCP program because its Fiscal Year (FY) 1992/93 approved funding enabled the Department to only hire seven of the 23 required staff. The FY 1993/94 funding contained authorization for only eight additional positions. The program received a total of approximately $855,000 in state and federal funding in that same year. Currently, only $685,000 is available in direct reimbursements from NCCP participants, and approximately $3 million is anticipated from Federal sources (CDFG, 1992; CDFG 1993c). This is a drop in the bucket as NCCP implementation, including further research and land acquisition, is anticipated to have a multi-million dollar price tag (personal communication, October 1993).

It is not expected that governmental budgets will be sufficient to save a few hundred species on the ESA list

Distrust of Government: The NCCP is also characterized to some degree by distrust of government among participants. Implementation of the NCCP requires the cooperation of state and local authorities. It is also a marriage of federal control over ends with state and local control over means. Environmentalists fear this marriage fragments decision-making authority and dilutes the intent of the statute, leaving the program open to capture by a state and local economic interests. Prior to the 4(d) designation, a number of environmental groups had dropped out of the process based on distrust of programs sponsored by a pro-development state government and members of the legislature (personal communication, October 1993). Environmentalists also fear there is not the institutional capacity to implement at the local level in terms of either interest, expertise, values or funding. Landowners are very anxious about the limits federal and state law place on local land use planning. Finally, local governments dislike state and federal scrutiny of their activities (Personal Communication, October 1993 & February 1994).

Different Values: The whole process is also constrained by the different values and agendas of the participants. Environmentalists believe private sector interests are primarily interested in narrowing the intent of the program to cover only the CSS ecosystem, not to develop a real multiple-species, multiple habitat program. Many people who would ordinarily be supportive or at least neutral toward rare species have been converted into antagonists because the law will continue to limit full productive use of their property.

Constitutional Limits: Finally, a large future constraint may come in the area of constitutional limitations on policy. Basically, NCCP limits what landowners can build or change. The prohibitions of the NCCP and ESA against "taking" plants or animals on private land might be challenged as a "taking" of property that requires just compensation under the Fifth Amendment of the Constitution which prohibits against unreasonable denial of use of property (Kohm, 1991).

KEY KNOWLEDGE GAPS

There are a number of critical gaps in knowledge about the NCCP which may thwart the program goals (Table 1).

Ecosystem Knowledge: Most significant is the fact that the science of ecosystems is not cut and dried. It is an evolving discipline, and as such there are many unknowns associated

with it. So little is known about the behavior of most temperate zone animals it is often difficult to predict with certainty their habitat requirements (Soule, 1986). The gnatcatcher and the two other species studied by the SRP represent a small part of the ecosystem. The full impact on other plants, lizards and insects of NCCP is an unknown (personal communication, October 1993). In addition, the long-term intent of the NCCP is to protect other ecosystems beyond CSS. As yet, there is not a complete understanding of how CSS fits within this whole mosaic of ecosystems including 4 types of chaparral, native and non-native grasslands, and oak woodlands.

Land Enrolled: The quality of the land enrolled in NCCP may not be appropriate for the purposes of the program. First, all potential CSS is not currently enrolled in the NCCP. Second, no one has yet individually reviewed the quality of each parcel of enrolled land. Third, even enrolled land of high habitat quality may not be available for preserve purposes. Poor quality or unavailable land thwarts the intent of habitat protection (personal communications, October 1993 & March 1994).

Fiscal Impacts: Finally, the total fiscal impacts of the program on the region are as yet unknown, but this would include effects on capital, operating, and maintenance costs, revenue effects, and legal liabilities.

NARROWING THE RANGE OF POLICY TOOLS

In this section a number of the original policy tools described are discarded because of their limited potential to support the goals and objectives of NCCP. The tools were eliminated at this point in view of: 1) policy constraints; and 2) political and technical feasibility.

For example, several financing tools described may not be appropriate for reasons of political infeasibility. Special and benefit assessments, and general obligation bonds are not now considered to be a feasible option given voter rejection of funding for the Stephen's Kangaroo Rat in Riverside County.

Because the model of regional and subregional participation is a critical part of NCCP, it was not eliminated. However, USFWS and CDFG may have to play an active, continuing and visible role during subregional implementation and monitoring given the poor performance of such collaborations in southern California. Regulation of NCCP may go beyond the traditional role of these agencies from that of policy judges to active participation in implementation.

ASSESSING THE IMPACT OF HIGH POTENTIAL POLICY TOOLS ON NCCP

One way to evaluate the potential impact of the remaining higher potential policy tools on NCCP objectives is to do it in largely qualitative terms. At the same time, this type of analysis is often limited because qualitative costs and benefits are neither easily monetarizable nor always tangible. Where possible both direct and indirect costs and benefits are described, and short- and long-term costs and benefits are identified. The policy tools are also evaluated in terms of technical and political feasibility. The remaining items were bundled into four groups of high potential policy tools. All previously described constraints are now considered to provide specific parameters for policy action which cannot be violated. Finally, the costs and benefits of each policy were weighed and the various high potential policy tools are ranked based on this weighting. The tools are presented in Table 2 relative to their impact on stated policy goals and objectives.

Bundle #1/Rank #1 - Federal and State Activity: The benefits of maintaining the 4(d) rule and the five percent cap on development provide positive externalities to the citizens of the two counties. The positive external social benefits to the community are: aesthetic, historical, scientific, ecological, recreational and bequest values. These anticipated benefits were clearly articulated in the original ESA and NCCP enabling legislation.

There are also a number of long-term benefits to developers and government from NCCP. This includes a reduction in the time spent preparing joint federal and state approvals of environmental plans. As the process becomes more fully defined in California, the USFWS will also experience declining marginal costs when implementing this model in the region.

At the same time, there are costs associated with this policy. The distribution of the

Table 2: High Potential Policy Tools Flowchart

Bundle #1/Rank #1: Federal & State Activity **Bundle**	**Goals/Objectives**	**Impact**
Maintain 4(d) Rule	Promote species & habitat protection Encourage compatible economic development	Positive Externalities: Aesthetic, historical scientific, ecological," bequest & recreational benefits to the community Equity Considerations: Distribution of costs are inequitable for landowners Benefits: Higher land value $23,000 per/acre Opportunity Costs: Land resource is in limbo e.g. neither preserve nor development Costs: Lower land value= "$23,000 per/acre"
Maintain a 5% Cap on Development	Promote species & habitat protection Encourage compatible economic development	Political Feasibility Same as in 4(d) rule
Prepare Joint Federal & State Approvals	Promote species & habitat protection Encourage compatible economic development Establish a regional model for planning Craft land use in the region	Long-term Benefit: Reduced time spent preparing/negotiating approvals Lower marginal costs to implement model Short-term Cost: Program operating & maintenance = $500,000
Bundle #2/Rank #2: Science Guidelines **Bundle**	**Objective**	**Impact**
Establish Scientific Standards	Promote species & habitat protection Encourage compatible economic development Establish a regional model for planning Craft land use in the region	Positive Externalities: "Educational, scientific" & ecological benefits to the Community Long-term Benefit: Lower marginal costs to implement NCCP in region Cost: One time cost of developing guidelines Opportunity cost of staff time provided by USFWS Technical Feasibility

Bundle #3/Rank #3: Collaboration

Bundle	Objective	Impact
Implement Collaborative Process to Develop NCCP	Promote species & habitat protection	Long-term Benefit: Lower marginal costs implement NCCP in region
	Encourage compatible economic development	
	Establish regional model for planning	Cost of Satisficing: Reduced utility for participants forced to make satisficing decisions
		Cost: Time spent negotiating NCCP

Bundle #4/Rank #4: Financing

Bundle	Goals/Objectives	Impact
Acquire Land	Promote species & habitat protection	Benefit: "Aesthetic, historical" "scientific, ecological," bequest & recreational benefits to community
	Encourage compatible economic development	
	Craft land use in the region	Cost: Opportunity cost of notusing land for development
	Develop financing mechanism	Direct average cost of "$23,000 per/acre"
Financing Tools:	Craft land use in the region	Equity Benefits: Those who benefit from resource pay instead of society
	Establish regional model for planning	
*Mitigation Banking/In-lieu fees/Exactions	Develop financing mechanism	Costs of species/habitat loss are internalized to producer
*Land Transfers/Development Rights		Opportunity Costs: Money and resources are diverted to taxes, fees and transfers from other productive uses
*User Fees		
*Donated Lands *Surplus Public Lands		Social Costs: Further loss of aesthetic, historical scientific, ecological, & recreational benefits to the community
		Political Feasibility

economic costs of the program seem to fall disproportionately on the landowners, while society (the community) reaps the benefits. There are also opportunity costs associated with not making either full development or conservation use of the land while NCCP is being developed. Some individuals accrue a benefit from keeping the land as open space, other people feel it is a cost to them not to be able to develop the land. The average price per acre of land in the region of $23,000 is a convenient yardstick to assess the benefits or costs given either viewpoint. There is also a cost for program operation and maintenance by the resource agencies.

The number one ranking was given to this bundle in view of the large benefits it offers to society, to the landowners and to the government which outweigh both the short-run costs of limiting development and the costs of operating the program.

Bundle #2/Rank #2 - Scientific Guidelines: The positive externalities of establishing scientific guidelines are similar to those in Bundle #1. These standards help to promote species and habitat protection and provide direct informational benefits to the community. Information benefits are primarily scientific, ecological and educational in nature. This base of scientific information also increases the technical capacity of the localities to implement NCCP. Again, because the scientific review process will be fully defined in southern California, the USFWS will experience declining marginal costs when implementing this model in the region or state.

There is a short-term direct cost incurred by USFWS for developing the guidelines of $500,000 (CDFG, 1993a). Moreover, there are implicit costs in the form of opportunity costs. USFWS continues to provide staff time to the effort during development of NCCP instead of using that time for other ESA activities. A specific breakdown of these costs was not available to the author. Lastly, in terms of technical feasibility the science used in NCCP may not be sufficient to achieve the purposes of the policy given the knowledge gaps in ecosystem science.

This bundle was ranked second because it raises the confidence level of all participants in the NCCP concerning the neutrality of the process. There are also long-term benefits to the region of developing this model. Finally, the community accrues many important intangible benefits from protection and appropriate use of the resource base.

Bundle #3/Rank #3 — Regional and Participant Collaboration: The primary long-term benefit to the USFWS and the community will be reduced costs when implementing the NCCP. However, there may be large costs associated with "satisficing". This concept is usually defined as making a choice that is not the "best" one based on individual utility or in this case biology. In situations like NCCP, where compromise among the parties with standing is a necessary component of progress, satisficing is an inevitable result. Ultimately, there is also a large cost of time spent negotiating all aspects of the program.

It was ranked third in light of the long-term benefits to the region and the country resulting from developing a model to deal with ESA conflicts. It has low costs even when one accounts for the lower individual utility resulting from satisficing.

Bundle #4/Rank #4 - Financing: The benefits of acquiring land for habitat were already described in the first bundle including external social benefits. Once the habitat and resident species are protected, the community begins to accrue these benefits now and into the future. There is, however, a short- and long-term opportunity cost of not using the land for development. Once again, this was measured against the direct average cost per acre of land in the region of $23,000.

The remaining financing tools generally fall into the category of payment for benefits received, or meet the standards of equitable distribution of the financing burden. Those who develop the land or use the preserves for recreation are expected to pay more for the direct benefit accrued from that use. Special district or utility tax assessments can be presented to rate payers as part of necessary infrastructure development. This strategy is equitable and ensures that society is not paying for free riders. Additionally, in the case of all forms of mitigation, the negative externalities of development are better internalized by the producer of those externalities — the developer.

The financial tools also meet the criteria of political feasibility. Surplus public lands and donated lands may have to serve as the core of

the preserves, given voter unwillingness to pay directly for endangered species programs. Nevertheless, these tools are not entirely cost free. Whenever money and resources are diverted to taxes, fees, or transfers, they are redirected away from other activities, creating an opportunity cost to the individual and community (Mikesell, 1991).

In the case of mitigation, mitigation banking, exactions or in-lieu fees, there are social costs associated with further loss of habitat and species. Essentially, developers are buying the right to destroy habitat which may not be replaceable in exactly the same way. This may result in a further decline in the quality of life of the region.

Overall, this bundle is ranked fourth. The community accrues important intangibles from protection of the resource, and individual landowner rights are also protected with direct purchase of land, land transfers or donations. There could be significant opportunity costs to the region of not developing specific parcels of the land, but the intangible benefits appear to outweigh this concern. The various tools also rate high in terms of political feasibility. Voter and citizen comfort with the nature of the process will be higher if the direct costs do not appear to offset the indirect, intangible social benefits of NCCP. Significant direct taxes could tip that balance. Since the negative externalities of development have proven to be so substantial for this region, the financing tools appear to internalize the costs to the producer in an equitable and efficient fashion.

CONCLUSION

Ecosystem planning, as we are learning in California, is a complex undertaking that charts new scientific and legal frontiers, and requires considerable skill, resources and constructive cooperation. There is obviously a need to increase technical and financial support for California's effort to succeed. Equally important, all participants must continue to work constructively to further the dual goals of NCCP. The time is ripe for a new approach to conservation that unites the ecologists and economists with a common lexicon, research design and management strategy that maintains biotic and abiotic richness necessary for long-term sustainable ecosystems and an enhanced quality of life (Hudson, 1991).

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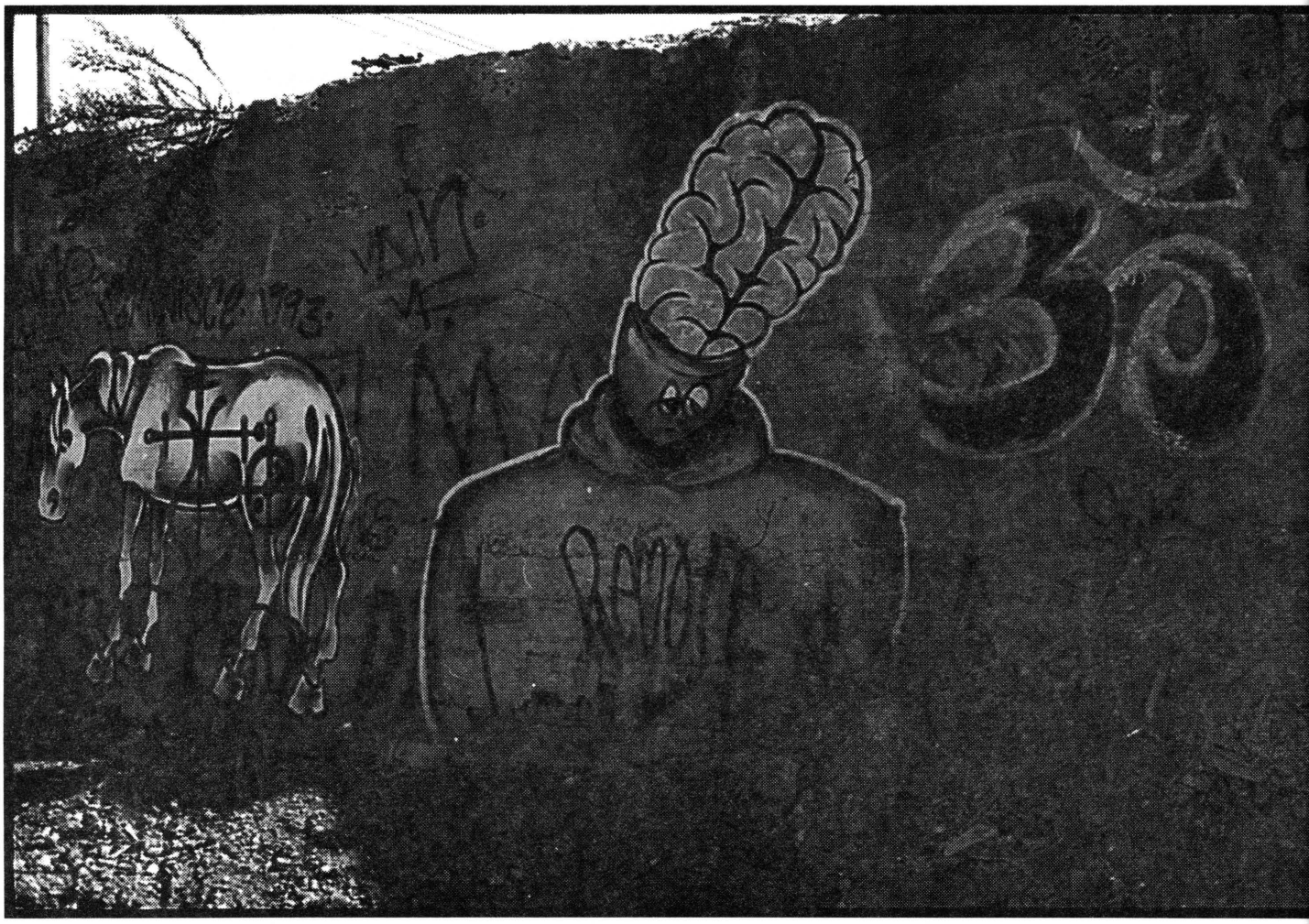
Author's Note on Personal Communications: Since many of the interviews were based upon ongoing intergroup and interpersonal relationships, it was agreed to keep the sources of specific comments confidential.

Lynn Dwyer is a graduate student in the Public Administration department where her focus is on environmental policy. Lynn is currently preparing her thesis on Natural Community Conservation Planning (NCCP) policy in southern California.



The Global Cities Seminar: A Discussion of Urban Futures

Daniel O'Connor

This paper recounts the procedings of the "Global Cities Seminar" held at York University, Toronto in 1993. The seminar was taught by Saskia Sassen, a prominent urbanist and author. Sassen argues that global decentralization of manufacturing and many service industries is increasing. Simultaneously, there is a need for more centralized control of a vast global network of firms and institutions. The global city raises profound questions about the future of local and national economies and society.

INTRODUCTION

In the summer of 1993 an important seminar entitled "The Global City: Theoretical and Methodological Principles" was held in Toronto. The seminar focused on the role of cities in the global economy. It was taught by Columbia University professor Saskia Sassen, author of *The Global City : New York, London, Tokyo* (1991) and other important works, such as *The Mobility of Capital and Labor* (1988). Sassen is the Director of Columbia's Planning Division PhD Program. The course of study, held at the York University in Toronto, was jointly sponsored by the university's Environmental Studies and Political Science Departments. The event brought together an impressive group of graduate students, union and community development representatives and distinguished academics. This article focuses on that seminar and more broadly, on the global cities debate now being hotly discussed in many urban studies departments around the world.

In *The Global City* Sassen focuses on the forces that are shaping and transforming the global economy. She builds on other prominent urbanists' work, such as Manuel Castells, John Friedmann and others, who argue that in the increasingly interconnected global economy there emerges an urban hierarchy. Large urban centers in some extreme cases are perhaps even more linked to the global economy than to their home nations.

Sassen contends that increasing global decentralization of manufacturing and many service industries, new highly-powered telecommunications innovations, liberalizing financial markets, advanced computer automation and increasing infrastructure in suburban and less-developed countries, are in fact creating two seemingly opposite effects. On the one hand, production of goods and services can occur almost anywhere in the world. Because of the above mentioned developments, it is today much easier for multinational corporations and governments (or both in collaboration) to set up manufacturing and service operations in remote localities in order to take advantage of cheaper labor, lax environmental laws and tax breaks. On the other hand however, Sassen points out that this trend, decentralization of many forms of economic activity, creates the need for more centralization at key urban centers, hence the Global City.

CITIES IN THE EMERGING GLOBAL ECONOMY

Sassen is joined by growing numbers of urban scholars, planners, government forecasters and others who see cities as critically important in the reorganizing global economy. She stresses that the urban hierarchy is instrumental in the functioning of global capitalism and has evolved out of the events and processes mentioned above over the past 25 years. These "global cities," New York, London, Tokyo, to name those at the top of the hierarchy, as well

as secondary centers such as Chicago, Milan, Paris, Hong Kong, and new emerging power centers (with increasingly open financial markets) such as Sao Palo, Singapore and Mexico City — are global command and control centers for corporate and government decision-making and strategic planning. Just as important, these centers are financial nodal points, "switching centers for international flows of money and information" (Sassen, 1991).

Professor Sassen's research, presented in her book and discussed at the seminar, reveals some disturbing trends which seem inherent in the new global city formation. In these global cities (and emerging ones), there is growing economic class polarization which materializes in growing bifurcated workforces — since these cities tend to attract both high-skilled and low-waged workers. They are, in part, spaces of haves and have-nots, the rich and powerful and the poor and destitute. Possibly exacerbating these phenomena are the trends toward increasing concentrations of private power, usually aided by governments, which are needed to manage vast decentralized networks of global economic enterprises and operations (a system of interconnected and fiercely competing corporate chains, subsidiaries and suppliers).

CHANGING CITYSCAPE

Accordingly, Sassen and many others stress that to understand the roles that these global cities play in the global political economy, one needs to look at their spatial (geographic) and economic workings, land uses, and political and cultural workings. Real estate markets and other land uses, for example, take on economically more extreme forms in the Global Cities (internationally-focused) than the smaller more nationally or regionally situated cities. In her book, Sassen explains that the gentrification process happening in her book's sample cities of New York, London and Tokyo:

> . . . has engendered an ideology of consumption that is different from that of the mass consumption of the middle classes in the postwar period, which was centered around the construction and furnishing of new suburban housing and the associated infrastructure. Style, high prices, and an ultraurban context characterize the new ideology and practice of consumption, rather than functionality, low prices, and suburban settings (Sassen, 1991).

Further, as the Global City becomes a place of the upwardly mobile professional and managerial internationally focused workforce on the one hand, and the working poor and desperate on the other hand, other cultural trends can be identified. She continues to describe consumptive trends in these cities and the growing class polarization's:

> There are distinct areas in all three cities (New York, London, Tokyo) where this new commercial culture (niche markets which are highly segmented by class) one finds not only high-income professionals for whom it is a full-time world, but also "transients," from students to low-income secretaries, who may participate in for as little as one hour. Poverty is not new either. What is new is its severity, leading in the extreme to homelessness on a scale not seen in a long time in highly developed countries (Sassen, 1991).

According to Sassen, these Global Cities are "spaces for international activity." As urban land is bought by large conglomerates, it is often resold, repackaged (or securitized) with many other parcels of land and buildings, and sold again and again in the market place. Hence, some may argue that increasingly, any sense of local community, especially by means of local ownership, becomes extremely difficult.

THE SUMMER SEMINAR

The main purpose of the seminar was to introduce the participants to Sassen's work; to do an intensive study of the immense and complicated topic of global cities and economy seek out potential methods or ways to research and analyze emerging trends and patterns and discuss the potential implications.

The first week of the conference focused on the new elements of today's highly mobile global economy. Sassen introduced the subject of global cities with a review of the financial innovations and deregulation which have led

to extreme capital mobility on a worldwide level. Specifically, she described how, in the 1970s, international banking activity was mostly controlled by big trans-national banks involved in more traditional banking activities. However, many financial institutions, after extremely risky loan practices and subsequently generating massive Third World debt, looked for new ways to make money. This new search for profit became intensified during the economic crisis occurring throughout the 1970s, and after the Monetary Control Act of 1980, which deregulated American financial markets. Sassen describes this trend, writing:

> The 1980s were dominated by the transformation of often hitherto unmarketable financial instruments (innovations) into securities and by financial institutions other than the transnational banks, mostly investment banks and securities houses. The 1980s saw sharp increases in the weight of highly developed countries as exporters and buyers of capital (Sassen, 1991)

Subsequently, the seminar participants learned about emerging offshore banking centers, export manufacturing zones, such as Jamaica in the Caribbean and parts of East Asia, free trade areas and the global cities that make all of these decentralized transnational corporate activities possible. Sassen also included in her lecture and book the effects of these emerging economic forces on the space of the city.

During the second week, Canadian union representatives and community group activists shared their experiences. From their social justice perspectives, they brought mostly bad news. The unions reported Canadian job losses (much they argued, from the U.S.-Canada Free Trade Agreement) and an erosion of power, expanding sweat shop labor exploiting Chinese immigrant women (Toronto has a very large Chinese population), and a host of other ills common to most cities in the United States. Also focused on was the role of global cities in the world economy. Some interesting sub-topics were the intersection of economic internationalization and the new service economy, global cities compared to the old world city, and the role of the former as command centers, financial and service-related production sites, and global marketplaces.

HOT DEBATES

One controversial topic discussed was the role of the state in this new globalized economy. Many in the seminar seemed to agree that with the deregulation of financial markets all over the world and the resulting increased mobility of capital, national governments are becoming passive players on the global political economic scene. Hence urban society, environment and economy are more and more at the mercy of the global markets.

Hence urban society, environment and economy are more and more at the mercy of the global markets.

City "places" are reduced to mere spaces for corporate or state (local, state, national government) development. Local communities and neighborhoods (from this structural perspective) become minuscule passive actors in a huge arena dominated by powerful corporations and huge state bureaucracies.

There is much truth in this argument. City governments, planners, and other urban players are desperately seeking out large corporations, offering giveaway tax incentives and bargain land deals to promote much needed economic development. However, some participants, including this author, argued that the state (any form of publicly accountable government) can and has taken a more aggressive role in this world theater. As many cities become dominated by global finance and volatile global financial markets, there is much empirical evidence which reveals that social problems worsen (Sassen, 1991, Smith & Feagen, 1987, Castells, 1989, et. al.). The severe social and economic insecurity produced by market liberalization, increasing mass corporate down-sizing (promoted for global competition), government fiscal crises, and governmental austerity measures could result in decreasing social investment, increasing crime, drug abuse and trafficking, homelessness, and other forms of social decay. The state, from federal to local government, will probably respond to increased social problems by the policing and incarceration of more and more of our "surplus

population." One only need look at the incarceration rate of African American and Latino men in the United States to understand that the state (in this case the law enforcement and judicial sectors) is very active in "managing" the side affects of the emerging global economy.

This debate further centered on another example of massive state involvement in the political economy of global cities. East Asian cities such as Singapore, Bangkok, Taipei, and new emerging "free market zones" in China are part of a region which stock market analysts and neoclassical economists alike tout as the "economic miracle". Asian cities and countries are frequently promoted as economic development models in the global economy. However, economic growth in East Asia is facilitated by huge governmental involvement in the economy, as well as governmental suppression of labor and human rights organizations (Economist, 10/93).

From Japan's government-corporate partnerships, to China's government-state sponsored and controlled economic growth zones, to Singapore where government plays a very integral role in that city's economic and social activity there is evidence that "Western" governments and bureaucracies in the 21st Century will become more, not less, active in economic and social life. Hence, more than ever there is a need for a public that is active in the political process. Simply, without an activated and educated public, important local civic decisions could very well be made by those who may not have the best interest of local communities. The anti-NAFTA campaign, led in part by union and environmental groups, argued that this economic pact will create a new, unaccountable decision-making entity that stands counter to the democratic principles of the United States.

The debate about the state seemed to somewhat divide some of the seminar participants, but all agreed that the state was becoming more powerful, while simultaneously providing more room for large transnational corporations and financial institutions to expand, frequently at the expense of the public good. And decentralization and expansion, coupled with centralization of key urban centers, will increasingly alter urban political alliances, economic class assumptions, and perhaps cultures.

WORLD ECONOMIC TRENDS

Sassen provided interesting examples of the process mentioned above: the simultaneous decentralization and centralization of economic functions which are transforming certain large cities. Again, technological, social, and political factors have allowed more and more work to be done in the periphery, or "edge" city. Local Bay Area examples that come to mind include the back-office work center areas in Concord, Walnut Creek, and the Route 680 corridor, and the emerging wholesale and office activities in the Central Valley edge cities of Vacaville and Tracy. Sassen posits that this phenomena is global.

Underdeveloped countries in the Caribbean Basin such as Jamaica are, according to Sassen, the sites for large-scale investment by communication giants like AT&T, which are laying down fiber optic lines in anticipation of a North-South America economic boom. Also, the increasing presence of European multinational corporations, setting up headquarters in the city of Miami, is evidence for the centralization side of the argument.

So we may see the further decentralization of basic clerical, data processing, and light manufacturing jobs in these low-wage areas, much as we did industrial jobs in the past. Highlighting and reiterating her book's central thesis, Sassen argues that this decentralization process requires command and control centers. It seems apparent that Miami is becoming a concentrated nodal point for this anticipated expansion. Because these global centers require intensive amounts of both high-skilled and unskilled labor, it can be predicted that an army of law and accounting firms, computer engineers and designers, professionals, management consultant firms and computer-print and copy service providers will be moving to Miami. On the other side of the coin, restaurant, janitorial, recreation, housekeeper and other low paid service workers, required to service the professionals will also be headed for this city in large numbers — an emerging global city.

NEW YORK, LONDON, AND TOKYO

In her book, *The Global City, New York, London, and Tokyo* Sassen empirically researched

these three cities, enabling her to develop the urban Decentralization/Centralization hypothesis. For each city, she documents in detail new forms of economic (and financial) centralization, new production and service activities, and new social trends. Examples of these social trends are the shrinking of traditional middle and working class employment opportunities, more immigration and other social demographic trends. These three cities are indeed the centers of the global economy, or what Sassen labels as "Postindustrial Production Sites." She provides powerful evidence that these centers are nodal global financial markets, or "intermediary centers", and account for a majority of global financial transactions. For example, in 1987 these three cities contained the largest number of transnational headquarters. There were 59 headquarters in New York, 37 in London, and 34 in Tokyo. The next in line was Paris at 26. In 1988, combining the three cities accounted for 62.9 percent of the total share of net income of the world's 100 largest banks. And finally, highlighting their sheer financial power, "80% of world capitalization from 1986 through 1989 was accounted for by New York, London, and Tokyo."

These global cities take on a special role in the emerging global economy. For example, the economies of New York, Miami, or Sao Palo may experience a boom while much of the rest of their nations struggle though economic stagnation. And within these global centers, power becomes more concentrated in fewer hands and the division of wealth becomes more extreme as the economy requires lawyers, accountants and financial managers and analysts on the one hand, and on the other hand janitors, waiters, and other low-paid service workers who are frequently under-unionized and therefore powerless.

GOOD NEWS AND/OR BAD NEWS

The primary intellectual research question raised during the seminar was the meaning of all of this: What roles will large cities play in the 21st century global economy? How are political alignments in cities changing as a result? What is the new role of local and national governments? What will be the social results of an increasing bifurcated workforce? These are all questions advanced by Sassen.

The seminar ended on a note of activism. Union activists and community group members shared the experiences they have had in labor organizing and struggles for social justice. Although the participants painted a bleak picture, it is clear that more and more people are demanding basic economic and social rights. And (arguably the most interesting twist to the subject of the global city), as decentralization of some forms of production and services occur, and as subsequent centralization of others in primary urban areas materializes, the urban command and control centers become ever more immobile.

As Sassen pointed out, the vast array of services required for the upkeep of global economy command and control centers such as New York and Tokyo make economic activity quite fixed. New York has been, and will continue to be, one of the top global finance centers. Corporations and transnational finance enterprises, not to mention stock exchanges, cannot simply pick up Manhattan's financial complex and adjacent support areas and move them to some suburban office park. Trade and commerce will probably always require not only "complex physical facilities" (as Sassen calls areas such as Manhattan), but also personal contact that no computer can ever offer. Here lies one hope for socially progressive change many citizens are working towards. The global finance capital center that materializes in the form of Manhattan requires massive amounts of labor: the truck drivers, warehouse workers, janitors, maintenance workers, builders, mechanics, maids, restaurant workers, civil servants of all kinds, and many others, all of whom are directly or indirectly servicing the professional classes at the upper end of the pay and power scale. These global centers would collapse without them. Revitalized and powerful work-place unions, based on work- place democracy, not bureaucracy, may again become a powerful tool to harness much needed capital to the segments of the global city society that need it the most.

Perhaps most ominous or hopeful, depending on one's outlook: if the global cities do form an integrated global electronic economy, any turmoil — economic, social, political, or environmental — will create waves of side effects globally. In the case of any severe financial crisis, which many predict will

occur within the next decade (see Economist), no corner of the globe will be left untouched. Such a social disaster could very well make the 1930s depression look like a dress rehearsal. On the other hand, this global integration of nations, corporations, regions and communities, under the auspices of global cities, could be the basis for a truly global community. The future holds possibilities for a global community devoted to economic and social justice, environmental restoration and innovation, not only profits.

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Daniel O'Connor is a graduating senior in the Urban Studies Program. He is a research associate with the Urban Habitat Program, an inner city research and advocacy group promoting innovative community-based military conversion strategies, alternative mass transit plans, and multicultural leadership. He has also been working with the East Bay Conversion and Reinvestment Commission on military base re-use planning issues. This fall Daniel will be attending graduate school at the University of California, Los Angeles in Urban and Regional Planning.

The Oakland/Berkeley RMDZ: Economic Development Based on Environmental Conservation

Elijah Henley

The State Legislature, believing that it was not enough for cities and counties to divert 25% of their waste away from landfills by 1995 and 50% by the year 2000, recognized that sustaining waste diversion at the desired levels would require expanded markets. The California Integrated Waste Management Board created the Recycling Market Development Zone (RMDZ) program in response to these legislative concerns. This article will examine the zone created in the Oakland/Berkeley area.

ECONOMICS AND THE ENVIRONMENT

One of the biggest challenges facing the human race today is adapting to declining environmental conditions. There is an ever increasing need to link environmental conservation with human economic activity. Environmental concerns need to be given top priority in all future economic development plans. To make this happen, government on all levels must agressively pass legislation that protects the environment while creating opportunities for an environmental service economy. Instead of an economy that is based on mass consumption, America's future economic development efforts could be based on regaining balance in nature. This idea may seem idealistic now, but as mankind continues on the fast track of overconsumption, the planet's ability to support life continues to decline.

We need to learn to consume fewer goods and to manage waste more responsibly. California's 30 million residents generate 44 million tons of waste each year (California Integrated Waste Management Board (CIWMB), 1992). Decreasing landfill capacity and a public reluctance to siting new landfills is forcing us to reconsider what we do with our trash. Recycling needs to become a more significant part of our consuming patterns. Unfortunately, the problem with increasing the amount of waste being recycled is finding a use for the secondary material.

Even with increasing interest in recycling, California's current recycling rate is only about 12 percent overall. If California cities and counties meet the mandate of AB 939 (a 25% reduction in the amount of material going to landfills by 1995 and a 50% reduction by the year 2000) an additional 15 million tons of recyclables will be available for reuse or recycling by the year 2000 (CIWMB, 1993). Market development is necessary to assure both a healthy market for collected recyclables — making recycling economically feasible in the state — and to create jobs and help reindustrialize California. In 1990, the Governor and Legislature adopted SB 2310 authored by Sen. Marian Bergeson (R- Newport Beach), establishing the California Market Development Zone Program. The purpose of the act is to stimulate the recycling of postconsumer waste materials generated in California (1993).

In response to mandate AB 939 and statute SB 2310, the Board created the Recycling Market Development Zone (RMDZ) program. Zones are contiguous parcels of property zoned for development for commercial, industrial, or manufacturing purposes (1993). A zone is an area set aside in a community or in a group of communities designed to attract business which will turn goods from the waste stream into recycled products. Businesses locating within a zone benefit from streamlined regulation, access to low-cost state loans, as well as the technical expertise of the Board (1992).

The Board estimates that 20,000 jobs could be created in California's manufacturing sec-

tor, along with another 25,000 jobs in sorting and processing, and tens of thousands more in multiplier effects. The multiplier effect is an economic term that refers to job creation in the secondary sector (retail, food, and other local businesses). For every one job created in the recycling industry, there may be several jobs created in the secondary sector. Although there will be 40 zones by 1996, the Board's work in market development today centers on the 16 currently designated zones and a market development plan (1993). This plan has three main objectives: procurement of recycled products by government and the private sector, financial assistance to the recycling industry, and meeting the needs of manufacturers and local government in developing markets for the use of recyclables. In order to get a better understanding of the details involved in the RMDZ program, this paper will focus on the Oakland/Berkeley Zone.

Oakland/ Berkeley was able to get this zone designation because of its steady supply of recyclable material

BECOMING A ZONE

In June 1992, the Board designated 12 zones statewide. Under the program, local communities, separately or in partnership, apply for a designation. Applications are evaluated on the basis of whether there is a steady supply of postconsumer waste (feedstock) available, whether the zone designation would help attract business or expand existing businesses, and whether the program will help the community meet its landfill diversion goals, as required under state law (1993). Oakland/Berkeley, in partnership, successfully met the requirements of the Board and were granted a zone designation.

One of the most important reasons why Oakland/Berkeley was able to get this zone designation is its steady supply of recyclable material. The postconsumer waste feedstocks targeted under the zone program include (but are not limited to) tin, plastics, tires, yard waste, mixed paper, corrugated cardboard, old newsprint, glass, and ferrous metals (1993). The economic potential for the Oakland/Berkeley Zone comes primarily from the annual tonnage of targeted material available within the zone itself and the surrounding Bay Area. By the year 2000, it is projected that 501,000 tons of mixed paper, 65,000 tons of plastic, 467,000 tons of glass, and 600,000 tons of metal will be available, annually, as feedstock for a recycling industry (1993). The Oakland/Berkeley Zone currently acts as a major hub for the processing and re-manufacturing of secondary materials from the San Francisco Bay region waste stream (Office of Economic Development and Employment (OEDE), 1992).

In addition to having an abundance of feedstock, the Oakland portion of the zone is a major transportation hub. Interstates 80 (to Sacramento), 580 (to Livermore), and 880 (to San Jose) all pass through the targeted areas of the zone. Along with great access to the zone by truck, the Port of Oakland also makes it accessible by sea. Currently, the Port handles over one million tons of secondary material a year and is prepared to play an even greater role in diverting secondary materials from area landfills. The zone is also home to a major international airport and is served by five major railroads (1992). Because the Oakland/Berkeley Zone has a tremendous supply of feedstock and an extensive transportation network, it is in an ideal position to develop new markets for recycled products.

Along with helping to develop new markets for recyclables, the Oakland/Berkeley Zone is also home to over 40 Secondary Materials Business Enterprises (SMBE). A wide variety of these existing Enterprises in the zone have indicated a willingness to expand operations in the zone area. The biggest Enterprise in the zone is the Owens-Brockway Company, a glass container manufacturing firm which consumes over 300 tons per day of postconsumer glass. The other Enterprises in the zone are involved in either the collecting, processing, or re-manufacturing of secondary material. So it is important to realize that the Oakland/Berkeley zone designation, along with attracting new Enterprises, will stimulate the growth of the existing recycling industry in the zone area.

ECONOMIC BENEFIT

Economically, the biggest challenge facing the Oakland/Berkeley Zone is increasing the demand for products made out of secondary material. Of the more than 40 Enterprises

in the zone, only a handful of them actually manufacture products out of recyclables. Furthermore, the market for these products is relatively small. Consequently, the majority of the annual feedstock for the Oakland/Berkeley Zone is only being processed in the zone and is transported outside the local economy for end use. The zone program gives the cities of Oakland and Berkeley the vital governmental support they need to attract enterprises from outside the local economy, that manufacture products using secondary materials. The economic benefit of increasing the number of manufacturers in the zone is primarily job creation. As businesses begin to locate and/or re-locate in the zone, they will be manufacturing products that will have markets outside the Oakland/Berkeley area. Therefore, they will be bringing more money into the local economy. As the new recycling industry develops, more and more labor will be required. As job opportunities increase for Oakland/Berkeley residents, there will be more money in the local economy to support the secondary sector and that translates into even more jobs.

The six loans ... resulted in $3.2 million in investment in recycling and the creation of 44 new jobs in the Zone

GOVERNMENT EFFORTS TO STIMULATE GROWTH

Through legislative and financial support, government on every level is capable of influencing market forces and increasing the demand for products made out of secondary material. Mandates like AB 939 indirectly stimulate the demand for products made out of secondary materials. As cities and counties in California are required to dramatically increase recycling capabilities, the need for virgin materials for manufacturing will be greatly reduced. Through the RMDZ program, government makes it economically advantageous for manufacturers to locate within zones and use secondary materials in their production process.

As part of statute SB 2310, the State of California gives the CIWMB $5,000,000 annually to fund the zone program. The Revolving Loan Fund Program is available to any business or governmental agency located in a zone. Each eligible borrower may borrow up to 50% of the cost of any project to a maximum of $1,000,000 (CIWMB, 1992). The Recycling Investment Tax Credit Program is an important feature found in statute SB 1322. It offers credit against an individual or corporation's liability of up to 40% in qualified recycling equipment. There is a $250,000 credit limit per facility (1992). By utilizing the financing programs provided by the state government in combination with strong local financing programs, the Oakland/Berkeley Zone is becoming a very attractive location for all SMBE, especially those that use secondary materials to manufacture products.

The Oakland/Berkeley Zone is administered by the Office of Economic Development and Employment (OEDE), in coordination with the Oakland Office of Public Works, and the City of Berkeley's Office of Community Development and Office of Public Works. Although the zone was designated in June 1992, it didn't start operating until December 1992. After operating for six months, The Oakland/Berkeley Zone packaged and received approvals for six loans to recycling companies in Oakland and Berkeley. The zone also received a $40,000 grant from the Board for a project to attract waste tire products manufacturers to the City of Oakland. The OEDE has also developed a comprehensive work program. The 1993 Recycling Market Development Zone Work Program focuses on some very important objectives. These include the retention and expansion of local recycling businesses, the attraction and formation of new recycling businesses, and recycling market development activities (OEDE,1993).

The six loans, packaged by the zone coordinator with assistance from OEDE Business Development Division staff, resulted in $3.2 million in investment in recycling and the creation of 44 new jobs in the zone. One of the loans was for $90,000 through the City of Oakland's Revolving Loan Fund; the other five loans came from the Board totaling $1.5 million. The remaining $1.6 million came from owners' equity and private financing sources (1993). The early success of the Oakland/Berkeley Zone shows very promising economic potential.

LOOKING TOWARD THE FUTURE

One of the most fundamental changes that needs to take place is learning how to regulate consumption. The State of California, in passing mandate AB 939 and statute SB 2310, is attempting to develop economic growth through environmental conservation. Because there is already an established infrastructure and a comprehensive transportation network, the Oakland/Berkeley Zone is in the perfect position to expand its recycling industry. Through a strong commitment from both state and local governmental bodies, the OEDE is working hard to expand their recycling market by offering recyclers and, most importantly, manufacturers special incentive programs. Hopefully, the government's financial commitment will stimulate greater investment from the private sector. If this happens, it could put thousands of Californians to work and mark the beginning of more environmentally sound industrial activity.

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Elijah Henley is a junior in the Urban Studies Program at SFSU. His major areas of interest include transportation, envionmental conservation and alternative energy.

Bay Vision 2020: Why Can't We Run This Place In A Rational Fashion?

Elisa Barbour

In response to a growing awareness of problems related to unmanaged growth in the Bay Area, the Bay Vision 2020 commission was established in late 1989 to formulate a proposal for more regional coordination of land use management for the Bay Area. The commission's proposal became the basis for a bill introduced in the state legislature in 1991. After three years of opposition, counter-proposals, and intense negotiations, the bill died in January, 1994. This paper examines the reasons that the effort failed.

EMERGING RECOGNITION OF A CRISIS

Awareness of problems connected with "sprawl" or unmanaged growth emerged in the San Francisco Bay Area in the late 1980s. Underlying economic trends promoted suburbanization during recent decades and combined with a population boom, cutbacks in federal funding for infrastructure, and the effects of Proposition 13 to produce growth patterns that seem increasingly undesirable to Bay Area residents.

Between 1968 and 1988, the population of the nine-county Bay Area grew at a rate of 1.2 percent a year, from nearly 5 to nearly 6 million residents. Jobs grew even faster. The southern part of the region grew most dramatically, although as a result of immigration and the emerging high-technology industries, growth went in all directions. While population densities in urbanized central parts of the region stayed the same, 20,000 rural or open acres were replaced by roads or buildings each year (Lydon: 1993).

The increasing reliance on car, airplane, and truck transport, along with the massive highway construction projects of the 1960's, changed the economic forces which shape America's cities. As one observer notes, the urban community is increasingly independent of urban location (Bradshaw: 1992). Population growth, federal subsidies for home ownership, cheap gas, and other factors have promoted a continuing process of suburbanization. More recently, office employment has followed manufacturing and residences to the suburbs, due in part to changes in communication technology. Most commuting is done now between suburbs, not into the central cities, and 62 percent of workers commute from one suburban area to another (Bradshaw: 1992). From 1964 to 1984, the amount of total office space in the suburbs increased by 39 times, from 7 percent of Bay Area total office space, to 39 percent (Viviano: 1989).

Beginning in the 1970s, public reaction grew against government spending and government solutions to problems in general. The passage of Proposition 13 in 1978, which rolled back and limited property taxes, combined with cutbacks in federal aid during the 1980s for infrastructure, housing, and social services, to drastically reduce local government budgets. Investment in infrastructure dropped off significantly. For example, few highway or mass transit miles were added in the Bay Area since the completion of BART in 1972. A study by the Governor's office in 1984 estimated the cost of non-funded public works repairs at more than $50 billion. Sixty-seven percent of planning departments in the Bay Area reported their traffic problems were at the severe or critical stage (Viviano: 1989).

"The economic prosperity of California is to a fair extent built on the investments of 20 and 25 years ago," according to Revan Tranter, Executive Director of the Association of Bay Area Governments (Brasil: 1988). Local juris-

dictions are reeling from a double financial bind: increasing service costs and decreasing tax revenues. As Proposition 13 and federal cutbacks reduced the ability of local governments to raise revenues, they were forced to rely on investment that would increase the community's tax base, such as retail or other business ventures. This situation, termed "the fiscalization of land use," has discouraged the creation of housing, and of affordable housing in particular. Through exclusionary zoning and other practices, many suburban communities effectively keep out low-income residents.

Housing costs outpaced inflation and the Bay Area became the most expensive place to live in the nation. Since 1970, home values have increased 233 percent and rents by 237 percent, while median household income increased by 172 percent (Inman: 1988). Housing production lagged behind population growth. According to a state study, the region generated only 16 percent of the housing needed to accommodate growth in the 1980s (Viviano: 1989). The search for inexpensive housing has driven many families to live in remote areas, increasing their commuting distance and fueling a growing imbalance between jobs and housing.

The regional governmental entities mirror the balkanized local politics of the area

INADEQUATE GOVERNMENT RESPONSE

During the 1980s, after twenty years of sprawl, increasing pollution, congestion, deteriorating infrastructure, and loss of open space, Bay Area residents began to perceive a deterioration in the region's prized "quality of life." For example, Bay Area citizens ranked traffic congestion as the top regional problem for nine years in a row, according to polls (Lydon: 1993). The amount of time spent in traffic increased by 15 percent a year (Viviano: 1989).

As new growth concerns emerged and the ability of government to plan for growth declined, citizens became active at the local level, forming nearly 1,000 slow and anti-growth organizations statewide. Bay Area cities and counties have adopted more than 200 growth-control measures in recent years, and 70 ballot measures were placed before voters in the 1980s (McLeod: 1988). The proliferation of interest in local growth control underscores the lack of a coordinated regional or statewide approach to the problem. Local growth management initiatives can be both the result and the cause of inadequate planning. When local planning processes work well, growth does not lead to significant citizen opposition. Therefore, citizen initiatives are evidence of the failure of local planning and government decision-making (Bradshaw: 1992). However, many local initiatives also contribute to the problem. By limiting housing density, for example, communities encourage sprawl on the fringes of developed areas. Neighboring communities may adopt conflicting growth ordinances. Ultimately, local growth management initiatives are unable to address economic forces that transcend the local level.

Regionally, however, no governmental body is prepared to cope with growth management in a comprehensive fashion. The Bay Area has three regional agencies: the Metropolitan Transportation Commission (MTC), The Bay Area Air Quality Management District (BAAQMD), and the Association of Bay Area Governments (ABAG). In most other parts of the country, the functions of these three regional agencies are combined. In the Bay Area, the regional governmental entities mirror the balkanized local politics of the area. Past attempts to coordinate various governmental functions on a regional level in the Bay Area have met with resistance, in part because of the strong tradition of "home rule" in California. ABAG, for example, was created specifically as a defense against growth management proposals made by Governor Edmund Brown in the 1960s. ABAG is emphatically a voluntary association of local governments. The toughest standard ABAG imposes is to determine the state-mandated "fair share" housing requirements that each locality is supposed to meet, but which are routinely ignored.

The regional agencies focus primarily on their given missions without coordinating plans. This has produced a narrow concentration within each agency, in which actions are planned to respond to growth projections based

on trends. Such planning by projection amounts to a default of planning. Taken in isolation, individual urban problems cannot be solved, since they are interconnected. Single-focus planning by projection only exacerbates problems.

In 1969, the Bay Area Transportation Study concluded that "[i]n the future much of the investment is planned for freeways whose chief function will be to keep routes already completed from bogging down...there is no apparent termination point for this type of freeway development" (Gilliam: 1988). Fourteen years later, the grim prediction is still valid; even the funds to expand the highways have dried up. For example, less than 6 percent of Caltrans' budget goes to mass transit. Sixty-eight percent of Bay Area commuters drive to work alone in their cars, while only 13 percent commute by mass transit. Traffic on the Bay Bridge will require ten additional lanes to accommodate projected growth by the year 2000, at a time of shrinking public investment in such infrastructure (Gilliam: 1988).

Harold Gilliam, a reporter for the San Francisco Chronicle, defined a few "laws" in regard to this reactive and uncoordinated land-use planning process: 1) whatever infrastructure is provided will be used to capacity; 2) the population will expand to the limit set by the infrastructure; 3) zoning alone doesn't limit population, rather, infrastructure determines land values which determine zoning; and 4) single purpose planners always find reasons to justify maximum expansion (Gilliam: 1988).

"MTC is stuck in the 1980s and doesn't adequately perceive that land use is at the core of transportation issues. Instead it functions by log-rolling, trying to give everybody what they want," said Larry Orman, Executive Director of the Greenbelt Alliance (Orman, 1993). According to its own executive director, MTC's role has been to "chase development" (Brasil: 1988). Harold Gilliam noted that :[i]t would seem that transportation planning is too important to be left to agencies whose job traditionally has been to facilitate the flow of automobiles" (Gilliam: 1988).

The lack of coordination between regional agencies and the fierce competition between the 100 municipal governments and nine counties in the Bay Area produces haphazard land use and development. Focusing on local or otherwise narrow self-interest to the exclusion of regional self-interest carries a price for everyone. As in the economics of automobile use, the cost of negative public externalities is not internalized under the current system of land-use decision-making. The problems faced today are less the result of growth than a lack of planning.

In protesting the creation of a new regional authority, some local elected officials in the Bay Area have equated local control with democracy. However, the incoherence of the current system functions to make many Bay Area residents feel less in control of their future. "The current system is a disenfranchised form of government where one locality's decisions can be made with no concern for the effects on a neighboring locality. Regional and sub-regional government would fill the void, since any such communication that occurs now cannot be accounted for by any decision-making structure," according to Larry Orman (Orman: 1993). In a dramatic assessment of the problem, Fremont Mayor Gus Morrison commented, "We're moving probably one step ahead of revolution" (Bodovitz: 1988).

In states that have passed growth management initiatives, leadership at the state level and especially from governors has been decisive. While the same is likely to be true in California, there was no such leadership during the late 1980's. Especially important, none of the last three governors proposed any serious growth management changes, and in fact Governor Deukmejian was considered a staunch opponent. He rejected proposals for the creation of a state commission on long-range growth and regionalism in 1988. The powerful building industry, "the engine of California's growth," pressured Republicans to oppose any such efforts.

In addition to the lack of state-level leadership in the 1980s, other aspects of California's experience made a regional approach to growth management more attractive. California's size has meant that Sacramento has always seemed a bit remote from the concerns of the Bay Area. In addition, regional divisions, especially between northern and southern California, have seemed natural for a long time. California has always valued "home rule", even "regional home rule."

The concept of "the Bay Area" as a cohe-

sive region has only begun to emerge. The large local jurisdictions in the Bay Area have a history of rivalry, although in fact these economic centers of the region are highly connected and complementary. The numerous cities and towns in the area have very different characteristics and histories. Many have only recently become connected to the extended regional economy, and may not consider themselves "urban." The same centrifugal forces that have promoted deconcentration and decentralization also created new interdependencies between cities and towns in the Bay Area. It is this tension that is addressed in the debate over regional government.

By the end of the 1980s, the increasing concern about problems associated with unmanaged growth had not yet produced effective solutions at any level of government. Former Assemblyman John Knox, who had spearheaded a failed effort in the 1970's to pass state legislation creating a Bay Area regional government, described the situation this way: "The obvious question is naturally bubbling up again: Why can't we run this place in a rational fashion?" (Viviano, 1989) .

BAY VISION 2020

Efforts have been made to create a regional governing structure for the Bay Area from as early as the start of this century. In the late 1980s, three interest groups — the environmental movement, large industry, and elected officials with regional experience — joined forces to form Bay Vision 2020 to renew the attempt to create regional government for the Bay Area. Perceiving that their interests might coincide after all, a coalition was formed that represented an historic compromise between powerful groups that were often opposed in the past.

The essential points of consensus of the Bay Vision 2020 coalition were that land use decisions must be made in a regional context, and that existing governmental structures were unable to do that — in fact, they obstruct change. The Bay Vision interest groups shared a common opponent: parochial-minded locally-elected officials (LEO's) whose limited scope of vision, the interest groups believed, obstructed regional planning. There was reason to believe that the public would be supportive of this endeavor: according to a 1991 League of Women Voters poll, local officials were more satisfied with the status quo than the public at large (39 percent to 21 percent) and less supportive of a regional umbrella agency (42 percent to 71 percent) (Lydon: 1992).

While the Bay Vision proposals convey a compromise reached between large industry and environmentalists about regional land use, they do not emphasize the need for policy changes. Rather, Bay Vision chose to promote the creation of a new regional forum within which policy debates could take place in the future. This emphasis on institutional change tends to support the view that the heart of the Bay Vision consensus lies in a challenge to the political status quo. That their recommendations represent a threat to the established political order is clear from the unfavorable reaction that even mild proposals for the creation of a regional authority have received from local elected officials and the existing regional agencies. That the leadership of Bay Vision backed away from formulating a concrete policy vision may indicate that there was less agreement on what the problems are and how they should be solved than on the need for a new decision-making structure.

Rod Diridon, a member of the Santa Clara County Board of Supervisors, emerged as a key leader of the Bay Vision effort. He had chaired ABAG, BAAQMD and MTC in the past, had pressed for public rail transit in San Jose, and was credited with the success of the 18-mile Guadalupe Light Rail Line, completed in 1991 (Lydon: 1993). Diridon organized the group of 15 local officials which formed the "Locally Elected Convenors of Bay Vision," a proposed blue-ribbon commission on growth management. From the start, this group debated governance issues.

Diridon advocated the merger of the three regional agencies, as well as the need for tax equalization to help distribute the costs and benefits of growth management, sub-regional forums, and raising the gas tax. A "shuttling diplomat . . . he tended to become a pole himself in the process. Through his persistence and strength of personality, he attracted some people, but probably made others apprehensive, notably officeholders in the smaller counties and cities" (Lydon: 1993). Nonetheless, because of his stature and experience, Diridon

was charged with organizing support for the Bay Vision effort from local elected officials.

Large industry was represented by Angelo Siracusa of the Bay Area Council (BAC), an association of large corporations including Chevron, Bank of America, Sun Microsystems, and the telephone, gas, and power utilities. Not traditional opponents of growth, these industries had become concerned about the rising cost of housing in the Bay Area, which affected the cost of doing business. For example, some firms were paying housing subsidies to employees.

Transportation problems were also a concern for industry. In 1990, the Bay Area Economic Forum, convened by BAC and ABAG, endorsed drastic proposals to deal with the transportation crisis, including tripling bridge fees, significantly increasing the gas tax, imposing smog fees, requiring tolls on congested roads, and eliminating free employee parking.

The heart of the Bay Vision consensus lies in a challenge to the political status quo.

The environmental community was represented in Bay Vision 2020 by Larry Orman, the Executive Director of the Greenbelt Alliance (GBA), an organization which had long advocated the retention of open space. Like BAC, GBA was also undergoing a re-evaluation of its position, in GBA's case toward one that was more supportive of development in certain cases. The designation of "urban growth limits" has been a successful strategy in Oregon and elsewhere for controlling growth. This approach permits and encourages higher-density development within designated limit lines, while discouraging or prohibiting it in "greenbelts" or other areas. This is especially important given that the density of new housing construction has been lower than the average density of the Bay Area. Within strict limits, GBA felt it could support "infill development."

According to Peter Lydon, a visiting scholar at the Institute of Governmental Studies at the University of California at Berkeley, and a close observer of the Bay Vision 2020 process:

> . . . a bargain was struck between the BAC and the GBA. Rather than struggling on an individual case by case basis, the GBA and the BAC found they could jointly support development or intensified uses in some areas, expected to be central ones, and oppose development in peripheral open space which could be preserved as a regional greenbelt . . . An historic territorial division (took place) between large business and the environmental forces. It lay at the heart of the whole Bay Vision exercise (Lydon, 1993).

This coalition of interests had also proved to be effective in other states which had passed growth management initiatives, particularly where the effects of unregulated growth had caused both environmental damage and confusing, contradictory, or cumbersome growth regulations. In some states developers were strong proponents of growth management as a method of streamlining the permitting process. For example, the designation of urban limit lines worked in Oregon to break the deadlock between competing interest groups, as the limits forced interest groups to make decisions (Orman: 1993). However, while large industry and environmentalists were able to forge such a "turf" deal in the Bay Area, their proposals would threaten the "turf" of local elected officials and developers.

Orman and Siracusa created the "Regional Issues Forum" to encourage the development of a region-wide "establishment" and a discussion of the issues. Joe Bodovitz, Director of the California Environmental Trust and an influential figure instrumental in creating the Bay Conservation and Development Corporation and the California Coastal Commission, got involved. He contacted Diridon and the groups worked out a cooperative approach. Joe Bodovitz was hired as project manager and former UC Berkeley Chancellor Michael Heyman as chair. The initial plan was for the Bay Vision commission to meet for a year, and have its proposals ready for the governor in January 1991.

At the behest of Rod Diridon, no current elected officials were asked to sit on the Bay Vision commission, although BAC and GBA had wanted to include some. The local elected official convener group made the final choices

of the thirty-one Bay Vision commissioners. Bodovitz insisted that though the commissioners were selected for their diversity, they spoke as individuals, not representatives of any constituency (Lydon: 1993). The main task of the commission was defined as determining the consensus view of the regional future. According to Lydon, "Breadth of acceptance was to be the primary recommendation of the vision and the key to its realizability...The primary mechanism for articulating consensus was... the Heyman/Bodovitz leadership" (Lydon: 1993). Constraints on agreement were eased by placing provisos in the document.

The strategy of preparing support for a bill in the state legislature was articulated from the start. A ballot initiative could not be implemented constitutionally for the entire region. There was no candidate for office who could single-handedly carry the agenda. Furthermore, the state legislature could potentially override the opposition of local officials.

Contentious questions included whether or not to recognize a "carrying capacity" of the region in terms of population growth and how much to highlight the needs of inner-city minority communities for greater redistributional justice. There was resistance to any talk about raising taxes or costs in general. The commission avoided dealing with '"fair share" housing requirements and current regional controversies regarding the proposed new north-south toll road and BART extension to the airport.

The attitudes of a few commissioners were telling. The commissioner from Napa, Mary Handel, liked the idea of city-centered growth to reduce horizontal development pressures in her region, but was very concerned whether Napa, with its relatively small population in relation to the large central cities, would achieve a strong enough voice in the regional governance structure. The Solano commissioner, Bob Power, feared that regional government might reduce democracy by limiting local control. Other commissioners, such as Leo Bazile from Oakland, were concerned that a regional body might not be sensitive enough to the needs of inner-city residents, and in contrast to the views of the Napa commissioner, felt that suburban and rural areas might be over-represented in a regional governance body.

The final report of Bay Vision 2020 called for a merger of the three regional agencies (MTC, ABAG, and BAAQMD) and proposed a three-year interim period during which a new commission would formulate a permanent plan for presentation to the legislature. Subregional plans would be required to conform with the plan, which would include standards for urban growth boundaries, compact development, and jobs-housing proximity. A set of penalties including fines and withholding of tax revenue would ensure compliance. A regional tax-sharing plan was suggested, as well as veto power over proposed development that conflicts with regional plans.

The "veto power" of local elected officials to the proposals was the "spoken and unspoken focus" of later meetings (Lydon: 1993). It was agreed that the state should not appoint the members of the regional commission. While some commissioners felt that the body should be elected, it was finally agreed that 60 percent of the commission would be comprised of elected officials, selected through a customary county-based procedure, and the other members would be appointed by local officials from the public-at-large, from a list supplied by the Bay Vision commissioners. An interim commission was proposed, by which many of the decisions about the permanent composition of a regional body would be made.

THE BATTLE IN SACRAMENTO

After Governor Pete Wilson was elected to office in November 1990, he postponed consideration of growth management proposals for 1991. The Bay Vision Action Coalition (BVAC) formed to put a bill together for the next legislative session, lobby for its passage, and educate the public. State Senator Rebecca Morgan (Republican-Los Altos) introduced Senate Bill 797 in March 1991 to carry the Bay Vision commission's proposals.

The ABAG General Assembly voted down the Bay Vision proposals in November 1991 and called for development of its own platform. Members representing larger cities were more supportive of the Bay Vision plan. In the ABAG General Assembly, each city and county has one vote regardless of population, which skews votes in favor of outlying areas. If calculated by population, the votes in the

General Assembly probably would have carried the Bay Vision proposal.

Opposition from local elected officials centered on a number of points, including the proposal to include commission members from the public at large. The elected officials asserted they were more accountable to the public. They also raised the question whether it was necessary to create "another layer of government," to which Bay Vision supporters responded that their proposals would make government more efficient. Local elected officials protested that they were not included in the process. The deliberately extra-governmental nature of Bay Vision 2020 was its source of strength as well as weakness. Local officials were viewed as one source of current problems; however, their support was required for an effective solution.

In 1992, Governor Wilson's request for a year's abstention from consideration of growth management issues ended. A few changes had been made in SB 797 from the original Bay Vision report. The percentage of local elected officials on the commission had been increased from 60 percent to 67 percent, the proposed membership was increased to 57, and claims for interim land use power or any interim power beyond existing authorities of the three regional agencies were dropped. The transition process was lengthened slightly. Sub-regional planning was stressed, and identified with counties, specifically each county's Congestion Management Agency. The concept of limit lines was strengthened.

The bill passed in the Assembly, in part as a result of strong support by Assembly Speaker Willie Brown (Democrat-San Francisco). It failed by four votes in the Senate on August 31, 1992, due to eleventh hour opposition organized by State Senator Mike Thompson (Democrat-St. Helena) and State Senator Quentin Kopp (Independent-San Francisco), a longtime advocate of the transportation agencies. Most opposition, however, came from Republicans and from members from outlying, small-town areas.

The effort to pass SB 797 was remounted in the legislature in the spring of 1993. In January, Governor Wilson announced his opposition to SB 797, renamed SB 153. The BAAQMD and especially MTC also opposed SB 797.

In the fall of 1992, ABAG's Regional Planning Committee made a similar policy proposal in perspective to Bay Vision, although it lacked any proposed new governmental structure. This proposal called for increased cooperation among existing governmental entities and the development of a conception of regional government, including the possibility of a regional governmental body, whose governance would be strictly limited to local elected officials and whose role would be advisory.

Assemblywoman Valerie Brown (Democrat-Sonoma) introduced AB 398 in the spring of 1993 to embody the growth management recommendations of the ABAG committee. Since this bill consolidated the views of Bay Vision opponents, it raised the possibility of negotiating a compromise. Brown was willing to amend her bill's policy content to be almost identical with SB 153, but she was not willing to accept the institutional changes proposed by Bay Vision. There would be no mandatory consolidation of the agencies, and both ABAG and MTC would have veto power over any recommendations proposed in regional strategies.

In the attempt to reach a compromise with Valerie Brown's bill, the tripartite Bay Vision coalition fell apart. While the Greenbelt Alliance supported the compromises, the City of San Jose and the BAC were opposed. San Jose Mayor Susan Hammer had replaced Rod Diridon as the new recognized leader of the "regional-minded local officials" wing of the coalition. She was opposed to the compromise based on concerns about under-representation. BAC also opposed the compromises reached with Valerie Brown. According to Ted Weinstein, a BVAC consultant, BAC felt that the policy mandate was diminished. AB 398 proposed no consolidation of the three regional agencies. In the opinion of BAC, consolidation was critical to tying the expenditure of MTC transportation funds into a larger framework of land-use planning, thereby establishing a mandatory relationship between local governments, which were eager to receive the benefits of MTC funds, and regional planning. Without that crucial link between the money and planning, no real policy changes would result. As Weinstein put it, "there was no carrot, and no stick" (Weinstein: 1994).

AB 398 passed in the Assembly in 1993, but the bill was referred back to committee in the Senate at the end of the session in order to consider the changes that resulted from the

negotiations with BVAC. In January 1994, SB 153 officially died. AB 398 is still alive, although according to Larry Orman, it has a less than even chance of passage. Since AB 398 was proposed in large part as a defensive measure against SB 153, the wind may have gone out of the sails for its proponents. Its prospects also declined with the loss of support from San Jose and BAC.

WHY DID SB 797 FAIL?

The failure of SB 797 must be attributed in no small part to the election of Governor Wilson and to the recession, neither of which could have been predicted at the outset. The recession reduced attention to problems associated with growth. In fact, lack of growth is seen currently as a more important issue. As the economy improves, however, growth management once again will become a topic of concern.

According to Ted Weinstein, the Bay Vision process was hopeless from the start. It was a hard sell, since the issues involved are quite abstract. Supporting Bay Vision were a few elite interests, and opposed to it were three 900-pound gorillas, namely real estate developers, local governments, and MTC. Sacramento cannot be counted on to override local opposition. To pass in the legislature, a bill requires local support, and BAC represented only a portion of a divided business community. Bodovitz's strategy, to keep Bay Vision primarily a behind-the-scenes effort, could only work if the interest groups behind it were very powerful. Otherwise, a public outcry is required in order to achieve change; that was never organized (Weinstein: 1994).

According to Larry Orman, not enough was done to build support from locally elected officials. He also believes that the rationale for the proposed changes was not articulated as forcefully as was necessary. He asserted that Bay Vision's purpose was to enlarge the debate and define a crucible of leadership that would ante up on the major choices on the public agenda. Its goal was not to pass SB 797, and he was surprised the bill went as far as it did.

Bay Vision seemed to be facing a double-bind. The support of local officials was required to get legislation passed, but these very officials were the most resistant to the proposed changes. A "bottoms-up" approach that relies only on voluntary cooperation between localities cannot work due to the turnover in leadership at the local level. Yet Sacramento has not been willing to override strong local opposition, as Ted Weinstein pointed out.

The experience of other states that were successful in passing growth management systems sheds some light on what the right "recipe" for success might be. It appears that a confluence of factors is required in order to gain broad support for growth management proposals. Bay Vision represented a compromise between some traditionally opposed forces, namely environmental organizations and large industry. Other powerful interests were not tied in, however, in particular local governments, the development and real estate industry, and the governor. In addition, there was no clearly articulated public outcry for change. The experience of other states suggests that all these interests must converge for growth management to succeed.

In comparing the Bay Vision experience with that of other states that have passed growth management legislation, such as Florida, New Jersey, Washington, Georgia, and Oregon, similarities and differences emerge. California is suffering from the same set of circumstances that produced successful passage of growth management laws elsewhere: rapid population and economic growth, urban sprawl, and the perceived deterioration of a prized natural environment. However, the consensus for Bay Vision 2020 was not as broad as the consensus achieved elsewhere in support of growth management. In other states, locally-elected officials were enticed by funding made available through growth management legislation for badly-needed infrastructure. Such an approach may fare better in California as well. In other states, also, local governments were attracted to the technical expertise made available under the new growth management systems. With California's long history of local planning, this may not be as much of an incentive to local governments in California.

Developers were more supportive of successful initiatives in other states. Elsewhere, developers faced high levels of frustration due to bad planning at the local level. In California there exists a long history of mandating local general plan consistency within each local ju-

risdiction (though not between them), which may mean that bad planning is less of a concern for developers here. Additionally, there are regulations in California that are not present elsewhere, such as the environmental requirements in the California Environmental Quality Act (CEQA). With the provisions of that act in place, urban limit lines do not represent as much of a concession to developers here as they might elsewhere, because developers must still comply with the tough CEQA standards even if limit lines are imposed. According to Weinstein, CEQA will have to be amended for growth management to succeed in California (Weinstein, 1994).

There was a greater public outcry in the other states for the passage of growth management, and support from the governor's office was also crucial in every successful case. In the other states there was a perception that similar communities faced a common threat, whereas there is still little public sense of the Bay Area as a community. In some states, such as Washington, the ties between the major metropolitan areas and the state capitol did not seem as remote as they do here.

California has a proud history as a state with highly developed requirements for local planning. It also cherishes "home rule." However, if local communities do not enlarge their vision of effective planning and home rule to the regional as well as the local level, Californians may lose what they cherish. Ironically, as long as Californians resist government solutions to problems, including the creation of a "new layer of government" at the regional level, government will indeed continue to be "the problem" instead of part of the solution.

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Elisa Barbour is a student in the Masters of Public Administration Program at SFSU. She is currently employed as a research assistant at the Public Research Institute.


WEEK 104!
FATONE

REQUIEM TO POWELL STREET WOOLWORTH'S

It is my unhappy duty to report we've been Gapped, somehow trapped in a bland design imposed from afar (Toronto, New York?). Woolworth's inestimable civic gift to San Francisco is lost forever. This is the loss we mourn: the opportunity to delight in the unexpected. This sudden, epiphanic awareness of otherness, of difference, of the unexpected; this is definitive of the city experience. And this is what Woolworth's gave to us. To the pedestrian on the street it let out a siren call sure to delay, confound, and seduce. Indoors, it was Baudelaire's Paris: the "deafening street scream(ed) all around (you)" [*Les Fleurs du Mal*]. This was no mere department store. It was a commercial carnival.

Woolworth's was inscribed by a particular mercantilistic chaos. One had to wonder why, under what marketing formula, would wigs be sold in the same aisle as gumdrops? The plurality of their shelves had been replaced by a Bennetton-style diversity: now we can choose between twenty-seven shades of a tastefully tailored cardigan sweater. We've been (politely) Gapped.

Woolworth's was rude. It crashed into your field of view. How could you ignore the impossible combination of windbreakers, baby toys, writing tablets shown near rubbing alcohol, diet pills, table lamps in the streetside displays. These enormous showcases were ornamented haphazardly, ever changing, never fixed. Yet the haphazard (dis)organization of the displays somehow complemented the awkward architectural marriage of discount department store and classical, landmark office building. In the case of Woolworth's at the Flood Building, function preceded form, and each part contributed to the indelible impression of the whole. It took its shock value from the revelation of an historical moment. In fact, one might even say that, architecturally, it was a Foucauldian "rupture." It made historicism obvious in the glaring contradiction between the building itself (formal, important) and its use over time (informal, mundane).

No organic rupture of commercial development is evident today. The new, two-story GAP (a SuperGap?) has been so willfully planned to complement the form of the landmark Flood Building that what now stands at the corner of Powell and Market is not a proud native interpretation of a classical European building style; in the name of preservation difference has been absorbed. It's been Gapped.

As planned by those who are paid to do so, the Gap now "anchors" the historic Flood Building. Sunk, is more like it. Its architecture has been compromised, degraded, vulgarized. Employing the principles of absolute proportion in its relation to the buildings around it — Emporium Capwell, Samuel's Jewelers next door, San Francisco Centre across Market — the "preservationists" effectively, decisively, neutralized the tumescent, blooming upper reaches of the magnificent Beaux Arts building.

Blocks before we arrive, we are taunted with that minimal word in narrow type: GAP. Oh, to be sure our department store remains on the prominent corner in the splendid Flood Building. If you look carefully up close you'll still see that fabulous word: "Woolworth's." But now it is contained, so diminished. It used to spill out onto the commotion of the corner. Within, you knew you could get your picture taken, have a hot fudge sundae at the luncheonette, or buy some new underwear.

This all under one infinite roof. Level upon level from the subway up to the cable car was an indoor Coney Island — a similar Santa Cruz boardwalk milieu of crowds (you always had to wait in line to pay for anything) mixing in the name of shopping for any one of countless, endless possibilities of things.

San Francisco Centre, the new downtown shopping mall across Market Street from Woolworth's corner, is not so idly named. This is the most central downtown intersection for San Francisco visitors and inhabitants alike. The old home of Woolworth's, however, has become a beacon to the hapless tourist. It's been made safe, sanitized for visitors. Woolworth's once offered the unpredictable, a world of discovery amidst the shelves. Not the Gap. Too many windows to the street and aisles too straight and wide. You can always find your way out, as easily as you found your way in. Attempts have been made in the past to ennoble this geographic and commercial heart of San Francisco. The planners of the BART and MUNI station at Powell and Market Streets carved out a space, dug a hole into the heart of downtown. Hallidie Plaza is a modernist imposition

into the organic growth of the cross-hatched intersections of Market, Powell, Fifth, Golden Gate, and Eddy Streets. This place reflects the process of San Francisco's historic change and civic evolution. This is the commercial center — a place where all manner of citizens will intersect and, maybe, interact. And Woolworth's was the material representation of this geographic fact: Like an urban street experience, Woolworth's exposed us to otherness.

Urban plazas at their best can become a kind of town square embedded within a larger municipal context. In theory, the plaza can be a place where citizens may rest, visit, gather in crowds, or just sit idly and watch the passersby. Hallidie Plaza was so poor poorly planned (only half of it ever gets sunlight and then only for a few hours in the afternoon, and there are too few seating opportunities and little open space) that it has become a porous catch-all for indigents and transient commuters. The escalators shuttle people endlessly in and out, never stopping to stay. This is not a place to meet, sit, be social. Like the Gap, it is a place to move through. With the demise of Woolworth's at Market and Powell we have lost a place that provided the opportunity for social interaction.

For this we mourn.

Len Warner is an M.A. candidate in the Department of Humanities, whose interests include the architecture of urbanism