URBAN ACTION

1987

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FROM THE EDITORS . . .

When we started work on URBAN ACTION, it was our intention to shape the content of the Journal by actively seeking out articles on key issues. But, like a city, the journal took on a life and form of its own. In this collection, the authors present a diversity of articles that is representative of the ever changing urban experience.

Our vision of the city—as an agent of change—is reflected in this year's cover. Change is the one constant in the city—and the way in which people adapt to change creates new ways of living and working. Change is also occurring in the methods for studying urban areas. For the first time, URBAN ACTION includes a section on Computer Applications.

In its eighth year, URBAN ACTION owes its success to the hard work of the students, professors, and university staff who continue to make this publication a reality. We would like to thank the Urban Studies faculty for their inspiration and encouragement; our faculty advisor, Norm Schneider, for his confidence in our ability to produce the journal in its entirety; the Geography Department for its loan of faculty and equipment; and University Printing for their efforts. Special thanks to San Francisco State University for their generous funding. Finally, a word of appreciation to the authors for their patience in what was a sometimes lengthy process of refining articles.
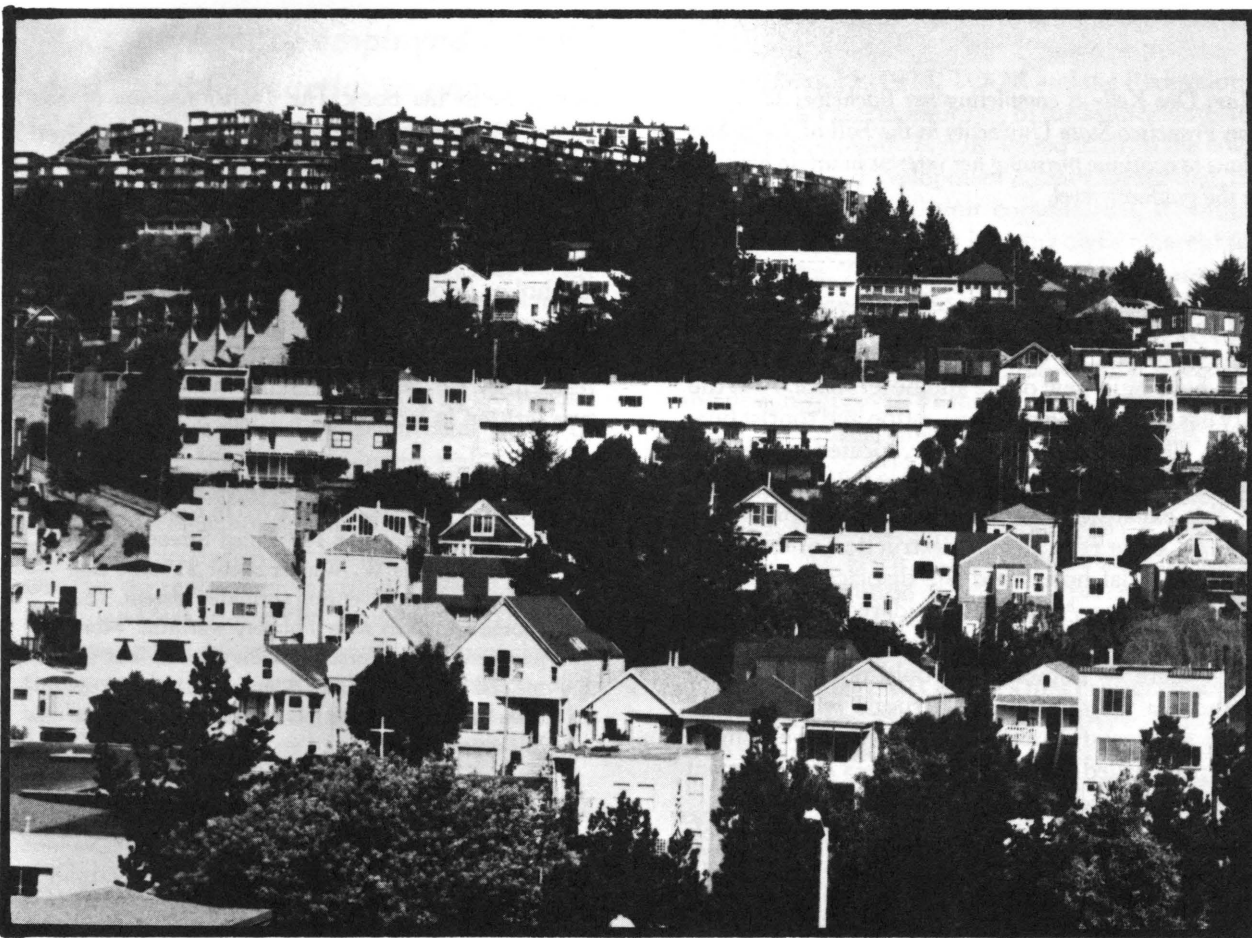
The Editors of URBAN ACTION 1987

Housing

TODCO: A Successful Nonprofit Housing Development Company

by Mary Dee Kelly

Mary Dee Kelly is completing her Bachelors degree at San Francisco State University in the Fall of 1987. She plans to continue pursuing her interest in urban housing at the graduate level.

In recent years, San Francisco has undergone a great deal of expansion. Anxious developers have built new office and hotel space. And the city has actively courted convention and tourist business. The Yerba Buena Center, located in the area south of Market Street, is the most visible product of this expansion. The development of the Yerba Buena Center required the destruction of the area's 48 residential hotels and the displacement of the hotel residents. Although considered an eyesore by many people, these hotels were home to those that lived there — homes that would not be given up without a fight. From the struggle which ensued grew a successful nonprofit housing development company called Tenants and Owners Development Corporation, commonly known as TODCO.

It was in the early 1950's that San Francisco's Board of Supervisors designated the area south of Market Street as a possible site for redevelopment. In 1964 the San Francisco Redevelopment Agency (SFRA), with Justin Herman as its executive director, unveiled its general plan for South of Market. The development would be called the Yerba Buena Center (YBC). The central blocks would encompass twenty-one acres bounded by Third, Fourth, Market and Folsom Streets and would include a convention center (now the Moscone Center) and a sports arena. The surrounding area, approximately sixty-six acres, would be used for the development of new office space, thereby extending the financial district across Market Street.

Prior to redevelopment there were approximately 4,000 people living in the Yerba Buena project area. In his book *The Transformation of San Francisco*, Chester Hartman provides a profile of these residents: "According to survey undertaken for the Redevelopment Agency, 75% of the individual households were over 45 years old, 94% had incomes of less thaan $200 a month. Some were alcoholics. Most, however, were retired or disabled working men who had come to the South of Market to spend the remaining days of their lives."[1] These residents were described further in an *Examiner* feature written in late 1965:

> William Colvin, a retired painting contractor, is typical. For years, he has lived in room 409 of the Albany Hotel at 187 Third Street, where operator James W. Walker spent $15,000 last year for a fire prevention sprinkler system. The rooms are clean with a homey warmth. 'Most people don't understand' Colvin said, 'but let me tell you something. A man can enjoy freedom here. To us, this has been home for years. We enjoy life.'[2]

These were the people the Redevelopment Agency would have to displace for the Yerba Buena Center to become a reality.

By 1969, the Redevelopment Agency had acquired 44 percent of the land necessary for the project. With possession of many of the area's 48 residential hotels, the Redevelopment Agency carried out tenant eviction and building demolition as quickly as possible. In hotels not yet ready for eviction proceedings, the Agency employed illegal and unethical tac-

"This land is too valuable to permit poor people to park on it."...'

tics to encourage residents to leave "voluntarily." Management of the Agency-owned hotels was contracted out. Familiar and friendly hotel staff were replaced with incompetent, insensitive and often abusive personnel. Situations such as locked hall toilets, lost mail and an absence of hot water became common. Maid service was often discontinued and comfortable lobby furniture was replaced with wooden benches. These actions, coupled with a "no vacancy" policy, left remaining residents in half-empty hotels and frightening circumstances.

'. . . the Agency employed illegal and unethical tactics to encourage residents to leave "voluntarily". . .'

Yerba Buena residents, along with a handful of hotel owners, began to fight back. They met weekly in the lobby of the Milner Hotel for informal meetings. Out of these meetings came the decision to form an organization known as Tenants and Owners Opposed to Redevelopment (TOOR). TOOR realized that to stop the redevelopment project would be impossible. Instead, the requirement of the Redevelopment Agency to provide clean, safe and affordable replacement housing for YBC residents became TOOR's objective. A key element of this objective was that the replacement housing be provided in the South of Market, the YBC project area. This area was home to its residents. It was familiar and close to transportation. And, unusual for San Francisco, it was both flat and relatively sunny. Many of the YBC residents were elderly or handicapped which made these factors especially important.

TOOR's objective clashed sharply with Justin Herman's concept. He wanted the poor out of the YBC area and to ensure that they not return. He once stated at a conference in the mayor's office that "This land is too valuable to permit poor people to park on it."[3] As written in the September 5, 1971, *Examiner*, "the late M. Justin Herman had planned to dot the surrounding area with office buildings... to create a powerful urban fortress."[4]

In 1969, TOOR took the Redevelopment Agency to court. With the aid of the San Francisco Neighborhood Legal Assistance Foundation (SFNLAF), TOOR filed a lawsuit and was granted an injunction, thereby stopping the eviction process until suitable replacement housing could be provided. TOOR and the Redevelopment Agency reached an agreement on November 9, 1970. The terms of the agreement required the Redevelopment Agency to provide

1500 new or rehabilitated units by November of 1973. Though the agreement did not specify the location of these units, TOOR had made a gain for the YBC area residents. By June of 1971, however, it became clear that the Redevelopment Agency would not meet the deadline and it was doubtful the obligation would be met at all. A city official who knew Herman well had been quoted as saying, "He (Herman) was damned if he was going to build those units. He never believed the feds would make him."[5] TOOR's attorneys filed for a second injunction and again brought the YBC project to a stop. The cost in lost time and money finally put enough pressure on the Redevelopment Agency to bring about a lasting agreement.

On May 15, 1973, TOOR and the Redevelopment Agency met in the lobby of the Milner Hotel to sign this agreement. TOOR agreed to drop the lawsuit. And the Redevelopment Agency agreed that, in addition to the 1500 unit commitment, it would provide 400 units of new housing on or adjacent to the YBC site. These units were to be permanently subsidized, low-rent housing for the elderly and TOOR was to be the sponsor/owner. TOOR was also given responsibility for architectural selection and design approval, financing, construction supervision, and management of the units. TOOR had finally won.

The incorporated side of TOOR is the Tenants and Owners Development Corporation (TODCO). TODCO was given an operating budget created from a redistribution of a one-half percent increase in the city's hotel room tax — an increase which had been approved in 1972 to help finance the YBC project. Planning on TODCO's first project began in 1976. Robert Herman Associates (RHA) was selected to do the architectural design. Chosen by TODCO's then executive director Stephen Dutton, RHA was a logical choice because of their successful design of a Chinatown elderly housing project. In 1978 construction began on TODCO's first building, Woolf House, which was named in honor of George Woolf, TOOR's first president. Woolf house was completed in two stages which were later connected and are now functionally one building. The first stage was completed and ready for occupation in 1979. It is a 112 unit, nine-story building located on the corner of Fourth and Howard Streets directly across from the Moscone Center. The second stage, facing Howard Street, contains 80 units and was occupied in 1982. The two projects were financed by a complex package which included California Housing Finance Agency loans, Federal Section 8 rent subsidies, and TODCO's portion of the City hotel tax monies. Complete cost for the two buildings amounted to 10.1 million dollars.

Upon completion, the first stage of Woolf House was featured in the August, 1981 issue of *Progressive Architecture*. It was described as lifting "itself from the general desolation south of Market Street with a calm elegance and simple pride of being that delights the eye and heart while seriously disarranging expectations."[6] Stephen Dutton recollected that "It had to be very good. Woolf House was TODCO's first building and if it wasn't very, very good it would no doubt be the last."[7]

Woolf House is thoughtfully designed. All aspects, including the individual balconies, the entryways, kitchens and bathrooms, are designed with the handicapped in mind. The apartments are angled 45 degrees to the building facade to allow more light to enter. The ground floor provides a community kitchen used for cooking and nutrition classes and is available to residents for social functions. There is a warm and comfortable lobby, a small gym, a television room and a dining room. The latter is used to serve the daily hot lunch available to residents for $1.25. TODCO has contracted with the Salvation Army for the provision of these meals. In the back courtyard and on the roof of the building are individual garden plots available for residents' use. The gardens allow them to grow their own vegetables, thereby defraying food costs and providing fresh air and exercise. The gardening supplies and information are provided by TODCO's Resident Services Program. The street front of Woolf House contains the TODCO office, several retail spaces leased by TODCO, and a food co-op. The co-op is run by area residents and presently serves as the area's only grocery store.

TODCO's third project, the Ceatrice Polite Apartments, was also designed by RHA and contains many of the features that make Woolf House so successful. Completed in 1984, it is a 91 unit building located on Clementina Street just south of Woolf House. This project was financed with a low-

interest loan under the Federal Section 202 program and equity money from TODCO's share of the hotel tax. The total cost for this project was approximately 7.5 million dollars.

Prior to being developed by TODCO, the site of the Ceatrice Polite Apartments had been used by the elderly Chinese residents of Clementina Towers. They had developed it into a garden where they grew much of their own food. Sensitive to the "turf rights" of area residents, TODCO established the Alice Street Garden just south of the Moscone Center. This lot contains an 18,000 square-foot garden with approximately 300 garden plots. These are available to all the area's elderly residents. This garden is another project of TODCO's Resident Services Program

Nearly ten years had elapsed between the beginning of the YBC eviction proceedings and the opening of Woolf House. Some of the original residents had remained in the area. Most, however, could not be tracked down and many were presumed dead. Tenant selection for TODCO projects has therefore been carried out in accordance with HUD regulations. TODCO solicits tenant referrals from various organizations in the city to ensure an ethnic mix among its applicants. TODCO briefly screens the applications to weed out those applicants obviously ineligible. Final selection is made in the form of a lottery. Those who are chosen are checked more thoroughly. Their income is confirmed, past landlords are contacted to weed out problem cases, and each applicant is interviewed. As John Elberling, TODCO's executive director since 1977, put it, "If they take a swing at the interviewer, you're not going to accept them as a tenant. It's happened."

Neither Woolf House nor Ceatrice Polite Apartments accept new applications. Vacancies in the projects are filled from their original lists of applicants. Woolf House still has 80 names on its list, yet has an average of only one vacancy a month. Still, Woolf House management receives 8-10 phone calls a day inquiring about available space. The demand for good, affordable housing for the elderly is high.

TODCO has remained a small organization over the years. Its executive staff consists of two people — an executive director and a controller. There are at this time twelve full-time employees. In addition, TODCO contracts with various consultants (e.g., construction engineers, surveyors, etc.). TODCO is actually a family of three nonprofit organizations. Two exist in name only. They have no staff and were established purely for purposes of ownership. One, called YBC II, was set up for ownership of Ceatrice Polite Apartments. The other, YBC III, was set up for ownership of Mendelsohn House, TODCO's next project. Actual management of TODCO projects is contracted to private management companies. TODCO retains control of those aspects which are more efficiently run on a collective basis. These include building insurance, store-front leasing, and the Resident Services Program.

On December 1, 1986, TODCO took possession of the last parcel of land reserved for its development. This is the site of the afore-mentioned Mendelsohn House, named in honor of Peter Mendelsohn, George Woolf's successor as chairman of TOOR. The site is on Folsom Street, directly south of the Moscone Center. Mendelsohn House will contain 159 units. On its ground floor will be an adult day health care center which will provide daily assistance for seniors who, with this help, will be able to remain independent.

Completion of Mendelsohn House will fulfill the last of the obligations set out in the 1973 agreement. TODCO intends to continue with development of affordable housing for the elderly as well as the improvement of services for the seniors in the area. One future project will be the rehabilitation of the Jesse Hotel, the last remaining residential hotel in the YBC area. It has been a long struggle, but TOOR/TODCO is now firmly established. They have proven themselves successful developers and have addressed a growing need. As examples of what it will be able to do in the future, TODCO's completed projects make it a welcome force in nonprofit urban housing development. □

Footnotes

[1] Chester Hartman, *The Transformation of San Francisco*. Totowa, New Jersey: Roman & Allanheld, 1984, p. 57.

[2] Hartman, p. 57

[3] Hartman, p. 67

[4] Hartman, p. 51

[5] Hartman, p. 91

[6] Hartman, p. 206

[7] Hartman, p. 206

The Mission Housing Development Corporation: Response to a Community's Needs

by Carolyn Finis

Carolyn Finis is pursuing a Masters in Public Administration at San Francisco State University, with a concentration in Urban Planning and Policy Analysis.

The Mission Housing Development Corporation (MHDC) is a non-profit community-based firm, which serves low and moderate-income residents of the Mission District in San Francisco. Its objectives are to increase and maintain the stock of affordable housing in that district.

The MHDC is a product of a successful community organizing movement of the late 1960's and 1970's. In 1968, a coalition of over 100 community organizations in the mission District joined together to address the deteriorating social and economic environment of the community. The organization was called the Mission Coalition Organization (MCO). The MCO pressured the Mayor and the City Board of Supervisors to declare the Mission District a Federal Model Cities area for community improvement.

The Model Cities Program was designed during the Lyndon B. Johnson administration to upgrade the environment of underdeveloped communities. The approach was to make both physical and social improvements in such areas as housing, public facilities, transportation, education, health, and job training. The city governments were granted a large sum of money to fund community development, and the residents of the community participated in determining how the funds were to be used. In 1971, MHDC was founded through the efforts of the Mission Coalition Organization, and funded through the Model Cities Program until 1978.

Administrative and Activity Funding

Since 1978, MHDC has been funded by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), the California State Department of Housing and Community Development (HCD), the California Housing Finance Agency (CHFA), the San Franccisco Mayor's Office of Housing and Economic Development (MOHED) and commercial financing. Its administrative costs and most of its projects and activities are funded through the Community Development Block Grant (CDBG), which is provided through the amended U.S. Housing and Community Development Act of 1974 and admin-

> **'The MCO pressured the Mayor and the City Board of Supervisors to declare the Mission District a Federal Model Cities area . . .'**

istrated by HUD. The grant is issued in one lump sum from HUD to the city. The Mayor and supervisors decide how to dispurse the funds based on Federal policies and recommendations of MOHED and local community organizations.

Every year MHDC must submit a proposed budget of administrative operating expenses for the following year to MOHED. MOHED reviews the proposal and forwards it with its recommendations to the Mayor for approval. MHDC competes with

six other nonprofit community housing development corporations for CDBG funds. This year the MHDC was granted $326,250 out of the total $1,134,610 reserved for housing programs administration. This was the highest amount granted to any of the seven development corporations. The grant covers rent for office space, salaries, and other operating costs.

MHDC must also submit a proposed plan of activities explaining what they hope to accomplish in the coming year. Their activities are largely funded through CDBG-funded city programs such as the Community Housing Rehabilitation Program (CHRP) and the Site Acquisition Program (SAP).

Services and Programs

MHDC serves the inner Mission area in San Francisco from Army Street in the South to 16th Street in the North, and from Potrero Street in the East to Valencia Street in the West. The MHDC's services and projects include:

- Provision of low-interest home rehabilitation loans to low and moderate-income homeowners through its Rehabilitation Financing Program;
- Purchase and rehabilitation of existing multi-unit housing for low-income residents through its Acquisition and Rehabilitation Program;
- Construction of new multi-unit housing for low income residents through its New Construction Program; and
- Other services to meet the housing needs of the low-income residents of the Mission District.

Rehabilitation Financing Program

Since its creation, MHDC has rehabilitated over 700 units of private housing and renovated 28 commercial storefronts. MHDC helps low-income homeowners finance the rehabilitation of their homes with funds from the Community Housing Rehabilitation Program (CHRP). CHRP funds come in the form of loans from the City. The loans are 10-year deferred payment loans with a 3% interest rate. The loans are for rehabilitation of low-income housing and are available to low-income homeowners of owner-occupied homes and nonprofit community housing development firms.

For example, if a low-income homeowner residing in the Mission District needed to upgrade her home to meet city code regulations, MOHED would direct her to MHDC for assistance. MHDC would provide technical assistance to the homeowner by assessing the extent of home rehabilitation needed, estimating the cost of rehabilitation, and preparing

job specifications which describe the work needed to be done by a contractor. Then MHDC would help her apply for a CHRP loan through the city. If approved, the loan would be secured by MOHED with a deed of trust on the land for the amount of the loan. Ten years later, the homeowner would begin to pay back the loan to the city through a local bank. If the bank forecloses on the loan and the lot is sold, MOHED gets back its original investment.

Acquistion and Rehabilitation Program

MHDC has used CHRP funds to rehabilitate all of the buildings it purchased. It has rehabilitated eight apartment buildings, three resident hotels, and rehabilitated a building for the Women's Alcoholism Center, which has agreed to eventually buy the building from MHDC. Since its first project in 1979, this program has provided a total of 212 units of low-income housing.

The procedure for rehabilitating MHDC-owned property is similar to that for rehabilitating privately owned housing, except that the CHRP funds usually do not cover the entire costs of rehabilitation of multi-unit buildings. In such cases, MHDC must look for additional financing, usually through the State of California or other government funding.

New Construction Program

MHDC constructed its first apartment building in 1976, the Apartamentos De La Esperanza, with 39 units of low-income housing. Since then, MHDC has constructed four more apartment buildings containing 173 units and is in the process of building a new project, the Maria Alicia Apartments, with 20 new units of housing.

There are fewer funds available for new construction than for rehabilitation. Since 1981, all the property that MHDC has acquired has been purchased with Site Acquisition Program funds. However, there is always other financing involved because the funds available through SAP never cover the entire costs of the project. All of MHDC's new construction projects since 1981 have been financed with a combination of government and commercial financing.

According to Paul Sussman, MHDC's Finance Officer, the Reagan Administration has nearly shut down HUD. HUD's Section 8 Program, which subsidizes the rents of almost all of MHDC's tenants, has been cut. The CDBG funds that San Francisco receives, which is a major source of public financed housing, has been cut almost in half. Federal subsidies for new construction of low-income housing have been almost eliminated, with the exception of housing for the elderly.

Because of these cuts, MHDC will have to

charge tenants the full cost of operating their new project, the Maria Alicia Apartments. This is the first project they will develop without an operating subsidy. The project, which has not been constructed yet, will be built on a lot at 16th and Valencia streets. The lot was purchased by MHCDC in 1984. The building is designed to have retail stores on the ground floor and three floors of housing above. There will be a total of 20 units, most of which will be three and four bedroom units. Eight of the 20 units will be reserved for low income families whose incomes are 50 percent or less of the median income in San Francisco, based on family size.

'According to Paul Sussman . . . the Reagan Administration has nearly shut down HUD.'

The rent for a three bedroom apartment in this building might be $600. This may sound "dirt cheap" in comparison to market rates for a three bedroom apartment in San Francisco, however, low-income families are not supposed to pay more than 30 percent of their income for rent. This means that a family would have to have an income of $2,000 a month or $24,000 per year in order to afford this apartment. This is not a low income for the Mission. According to MHDC, the median family income in the Mission is $14,439 per year, and 18.5 percent of the total households in the Mission are below poverty level. Because of this, and the fact that "almost 9 percent of the Mission's residents are unemployed," it is evident that these apartments will be out of reach for most of the Mission's low-income residents.

Additional Services
MHDC provides technical assistance to low-income homeowners in such areas as financial packaging, design consultation, negotiating with contractors, securing bids, and monitoring construction progress. It also provides property management services to its apartments and resident hotels through its subsidiary, Caritas Management Corporation. MHDC is currently undertaking a community investment project to expand its role in the development of the Mission District by investing in small enterprises which will contribute to MHDC's own self-suffficiency.

Future Projections

As real estate and land values skyrocket all over the city, affordable housing is becoming more difficult

to provide. Currently, some funding for housing is provided in San Francisco through a special city requirement that any new downtown office building project include funds for new housing development. Paul Sussman feels that Proposition M, which was recently enacted in San Francisco, could hurt the city's ability to provide low-income housing because it limits downtown construction projects. Because of its limitations on the new office construction, Proposition M could further limit the funding available for housing development. For example, MHDC recently had an agreement with a downtown developer though which they were to receive financing for construction of the Maria Alicia Apartments. The money would have come from the developer who wanted to start a project downtown. However, the developer's project was rejected by the city.

The need for low-income housing in the Mission will increase, and it will remain a fast changing low-income community because of the immigration of Latinos and South East Asians. However, there are a number of factors that play into the housing problems of the Mission District and the City as a whole. Both Ed Goetz and Paul Sussman cited current gentrification in other neighborhoods surrounding the Mission and the increased development of nearby communities, such as the Mission Bay Project. Also, neighborhoods like Noe Valley and the Eureka Valley are eating away at the borders of the Mission.

Clearly, the ability to create affordable housing in San Francisco and the Mission District is a major challenge for the City and MHDC. The number of households in the city are increasing rapidly, with little if any increase in the housing stock and fewer public programs to fund low-income housing development.

Ed Goetz believes it will take many committed community groups to insure the increase and maintenance of affordable housing in San Francisco. Though it's not likely that we will see another community based political force like the Mission Coalition Organization, I believe that the Mission Housing Development Corporation is a vital organization in this effort. Through its activities, it has contributed greatly to the social and economic needs of residents of the mission. It has survived two unfriendly government administrations and has made creative efforts to adapt to the rapidly changing economic/political environment of the Mission District. MHDC has a great deal to offer the Mission community. It will be interesting to see how creative they can be in providing affordable housing under continued adverse circumstances.

Alternative Housing for AIDS Patients

by Betsy Melaugh

Betsy Melaugh is pursuing a major in Sociology with a minor in Business Administration at San Francisco State University. Her future plans include law school.

Editor's Note
AIDS cases in San Francisco have been steadily increasing over the past seven years. Initial estimates made by Public Health officials were that from 10% to 15% of those who tested positive could eventually develop the full blown disease. Revised estimates however, show that a more realistic number could go as high as 85% to 90%. To that end these revised reports expect 20,000 cases in San Francisco by 1990.

The financial burdens placed on AIDS patients through reduced income and increased medical bills many times bring about a situation where hospitalization is no longer a viable financial alternative. Faced with this situation patients sometimes move to a home care setting. The following is a brief outline of some of the housing alternatives available to AIDS patients in San Francisco.

'... revised reports expect 20,000 cases in San Francisco by 1990.'

In San Francisco, people with AIDS have a wide range of services available to them. In the area of housing, permanent housing is available through the Shanti Residence Program and short-term housing is available through the San Francisco AIDS Foundation's Emergency Housing Program. Two additional programs available to people with AIDS are the San Francisco AIDS Fund and the San Francisco AIDS Foundation Food Bank. Five types of benefits are available to people with AIDS by virture of either their disability or low income (but not exclusively because of the AIDS illness). These are: Social Security Disability, Supplemental Security Income, the State Disability Program, General Assistance and Food Stamps.

Shanti Residence Program

The Shanti project was founded to provide both emotional and practical support services for people with AIDS. Shanti receives approximately 51% of its funding from the San Francisco Department of Health and the remaining 49% from private contributions.

The Shanti Residence Program was started in 1983 with the aim of providing low-cost permanent housing for people with AIDS. Shanti currently operates twelve 3-6 bedroom houses located throughout San Francisco. In order to protect the privacy of the residents, there is no public disclosure of the location of the houses. Two of the 5-bedroom houses are staffed to provide 24-hour care (one for the physically disabled and one for the neurologically disabled). The average length of stay in the program is 4.5 months with 65% able to remain at the residence until death (23% move out and 12% are asked to leave).

In order to be eligible for the program an individual must be able to provide medical verification of AIDS. Because of the rigidity of the Center for Disease Control's definition of AIDS, people with AIDS Related Conditions [ARC] may often be admitted to the program if they are disabled to the extent that they cannot care for themselves. In addition to the medical verification, individuals must be San Francisco residents and able to cooperate in a group living situation. The application process takes approximately 2-4 weeks. The Residence Program is currently able to house all of the individuals who apply (20 per month).

The monthly rent is 25% of income plus $5.00 per month for cleaning. People who still have enough savings and income so that they are not yet eligible for Supplemental Security Income (savings over $1700 and income over $533/month) pay a

flat rate of $225 a month plus $5.00 for cleaning. Residents may leave for as long as two months and still keep their room as long as the rent is paid on time.

Residents may use either their own furnishings or those which Shanti has available through local donations. Each resident is provided a key for his/her room and required to keep it locked. Meals may be prepared together or separately, depending on the particular house. There is a good deal of emphasis on keeping the location of the houses confidential. Although residents are strongly encouraged to have visitors, they are equally strongly discouraged against bringing or inviting people whom they have just met to the houses. Pay phones are available and private phones may be put in at each individual's expense. Free cable service for one television per house is provided by one of the local cable companies.

'. . . an individual must be able to provide medical verification of AIDS.'

The Shanti staff for the Residence Program includes roughly 8 people in the following areas: Residence Director, 2 Residence Advocates, 2 secretaries, 1 sanitation worker and approximately 2 full-time maintenance workers. Shanti provides both Emotional and Practical Support volunteers. These volunteers are also available to people with AIDS who are not in the Residence Program. The Emotional Support volunteers are trained by the Shanti staff to provide support and companionship and work on both an individual and a group basis with people with AIDS and their friends and families (used by 67% of those in the Residence Program). The Practical Support volunteers work on an individual basis providing a variety of services such as: transportation for medical appointments, cooking, shopping, cleaning and laundry (used by 54% of those in the Residence Program).

Home care services are provided in the form of home care attendants and skilled nurses. Home care attendants may be provided either by the Department of Social Services or from a private health agency. Primarily, they help the residents with things they are no longer able to do for themselves such as bathing. Although these services are needed by 67% of the residents, it is currently only possible to provide them for 61%. Skilled nurses are available through either the Pulic Health Nurse organization or through the Visiting Nurse Association of San

Francisco. The statistics in relation to need are similar to those with attendant care in that skilled nursing is needed by 67% of the residents but only provided for 60%.

SF AIDS Foundation's Emergency Housing Program

The San Francisco AIDS Foundation is funded with government (city, state and federal) money and private donations. Although the Foundation operates an Emergency Housing Program and a Food Bank, its primary purpose is to provide information about AIDS to the San Francisco community.

The Foundation currently has one 4-bedroom flat available for short-term use. This housing is available to people with AIDS or AIDS related Conditions [ARC] and is free of charge. Although there is some flexibility, the intention is that the maximum stay be two weeks. Individuals taking advantage of the program are required to sign a statement indicating that they are and will continue to be seeking permanent shelter. As with the Shanti Residence Program, the location is kept private.

Additional Services and Programs

Some of the additional services are exclusively for people with AIDS or ARC. The San Francisco Aids Foundations operates both a Food Bank and an emergency fund, the San Francisco AIDS Fund. The Food Bank distributes close to 400 bags of groceries to over 150 people each month. Anyone with documentation indicating either AIDS or ARC is free to take up to one grocery bag per week. The AIDS Fund is designed as an emergency fund for people with AIDS whose monthly income is less than $800.00. The maximum amount available is $500.00 per person per year.

'There is a good deal of emphasis on keeping the location of the houses confidential.'

Many of the additional services and programs available to people with AIDS are city, state and federal programs available to anyone who is disabled and/or able to satisfy certain requirements relating to income, assets and personal property. These are:

Social Security Disability (SSA) is available to individuals who are disabled (a condition automatically met if someone has been diagnosed with AIDS) and have paid into Social Security for at least 5 of the last 10 years. The amount of benefits depends on how much and for how long someone has contributed to Social Security.

Supplementary Security Income (SSI) eligibility is dependent on both financial need and disability (again, AIDS automatically meets the disability requirement). If an individual has no other source of income, SSI will pay $533.00 per month provided that assets are less than $1,700.00 and any vehicle owned is worth less than $5,000.00 (unless used for medical transportation). If someone is also receiving SDI, that amount is deducted from the SSI monthly amount.

State Disability Insurance Program (SDI) is open only to those participating (either through an employer or on an elective basis if self-employed) in SDI at the time of the disability. As with Social Security Disability, benefits depend on the amount paid in (ranges from $200.00-896.00 per month).

General Assistance provides $288.00 per month to those who have incomes less that $288.00 per month, assets less than $2,500.00 and a vehicle worth less than $900.00.

Food Stamps are available to anyone with an income of less than $569.00 per month, assets less than $1,500.00 and a vehicle worth less than $4,500.00. SSI recipients are not eligible for Food Stamps because money for food is included in the SSI benefit amount. General Assistance recipients receive $80.00 per month. The amount received by others is dependent upon income.

Conclusion

The Shanti Project Residence Program and the San Francisco AIDS Foundation Emergency Housing Program are currently able to meet their respective housing needs. Individuals at both organizations expressed concern about being able to meet future needs as the hospitals are increasingly reluctant to admit people unless absolutely necessary. This means that those individuals who are at home stay there longer, sometimes requiring more constant care than can be provided by friends and families. The home attendant and skilled nursing care available to Shanti residents is also available for individuals remaining at home. Due to the anticipated increase in the need for housing services, both organizations are applying for additional funding for housing.

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Urban Action Interview
with T. J. Kent

by John Slifko

with assistance from:
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T.J. Kent, Jr., is Professor Emeritus at the Department of City and Regional Planning at the University of California, Berkeley. He founded the Department in 1948 and served as Chairman for twelve years. Kent joined the staff of the San Francisco City Planning Commission in 1943 and was Director of City Planning for the Commission from 1946 to 1948. He has also been a member of the Berkeley City Planning Commission and for a number of years an elected member of the Berkeley City Council.

Among his other accomplishments Kent has played a key role in the initial work that led to the development of the Bay Area Rapid Transit District and the Association of Bay Area Governments. He also has been a leading figure in the work of People for Open Space and was one of the luminaries in the creation in 1959 of the College of Environmental Design at Berkeley.

Urban Action interviewed Professor Kent at Wurster Hall on the Berkeley campus. The interview covered a broad range of topics. A selection of questions and his comments are presented here.

Urban Action: First let's talk about you. You grew up in the Bay Area, didn't you?

Kent: Well, I grew up in San Francisco west of Twin Peaks and of course there was no San Francisco State or Stonestown. There were a lot of truck gardens out there then. I went to Commodore Sloat grammar school, then I went to Lowell High School for four years. And then I went to finishing school, so to speak, here at UC-Berkeley. UC had fifteen thousand students then, and it was a melting pot. In those years it was mainly Bay Area kids, some from Los Angeles. Not too many international students — although there were foreign students in graduate
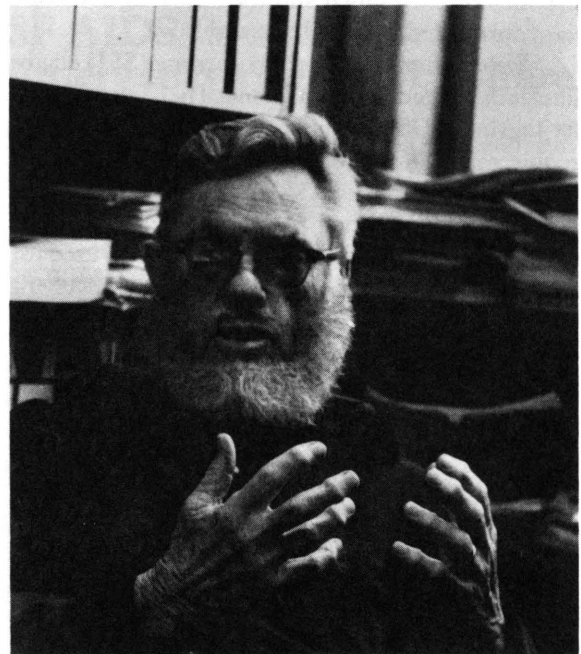
school even then. And you know, the turbulence of the sixties was preceded in the thirties here. We had the Depression years, the SF · General Strike, the Spanish Civil War, and then the time of the Nazis. It was quite a time. Of course I didn't really begin to wake up until 1936, when I was a Junior.

Urban Action: How about your family?

Kent: My father was a San Francisco architect. The 1906 earthquake finished his "organized education," as we called it. He was a Junior at Lick Wilmerding High School. I guess he and the guys he knew there, it was at that time sort of a high class trade school, learned to do things like lay a brick wall. And they went right into rebuilding the City as seventeen and eighteen year old kids after the quake. That generation of architects became architects by doing it, by studying in architects' offices. The leaders of that generation of architects and designers, I later learned, seemed to have much in common with the activists of the next generation who organized the Telesis group in 1940. They had some great dreams and youthful energy. They were into doing the rich details on the buildings of the 1915 exposition. They did the kiosks and things like that. They were too young to do the buildings. They made some great

gargoyles. They became architects and never went to college. They helped with the Civic Center and schools all over the city; and were in direct contact with City Engineer Michael O'Shaughnessy who was there in the City Hall for twenty years and built the MUNI Railway and Hetch-Hetchy. Now *he* was a city builder. There was no City Planning Commission unitl 1929.

Urban Action: You were influenced by your father a lot?

Kent: Well by him, certainly, and by his gang and his generation. They had a very close group for a twenty or thirty year period of work experience in the City. They all went to the same lunch club. Not a fancy club, just a moderately priced restaurant off Montgomery Street.

Urban Action: You certainly have seen San Francisco move through some changes.

Kent: Yes. And Berkeley, too. Berkeley is an interesting town, lots of vitality. I married a Berkeley girl.

Urban Action: We wanted to ask you about the recently passed SF Proposition M planning initiative. Is the initiative a valid way to go to modify the general plan?

Kent: I think a long range general plan for any city or metropolitan region is something that has to be understandable to any interested citizen. I also believe it has to be considered and acted upon by the legislative body after the staff and commission have made their recommendations. This is not the case in San Francisco where the Charter calls for action on the General Plan of San Francisco only by the City Planning Commission. In fact, I have never seen the General Plan of San Francisco. I have seen it referred to; the *Guardian* a couple of weeks ago called it an obtuse document. In any case, having been liberated from professionalism at a very early age and having been made aware of Swiss and other Western European urban democracies where citizen action on major issues is required and invited, I can appreciate the citizen involvement demonstrated in Proposition M. However, I have also been educated by Berkeley political life. The majority of citizens in Berkeley are probably left of center politically, and have been from the middle of the 60s and on. But until the middle 80s there had not been a council representative of that majority because city elections were held at a time when not many people voted. As a result, it means that in Berkeley, really since the middle sixties, you have had the use of the initiative

'So many things are done in a heavy-handed way by initiative, either to nullify policy or to create polity.'

as a legally permitted and accepted political activity. And so the left has set policy for the city, even though the governing body for all of that time was controlled by the liberal democrats — less to the left than the progressives. There is a problem here. I don't like government by initiative because as we all know initiatives can be put together by one group no matter what their size or how much of the coalition it is. Public hearings are not held and the other side does not get to make its point of view clear. The officials don't get a chance to have an impact. Professionals are frozen out, unless they are members of that political group. So many things are done in a heavy-handed way by initiative, either to nullify policy or to create policy. Nevertheless, I will defend the right of the initiative to the end because it means the local governments — in the Bay Area we have ninety-seven cities and nine counties, plus regional districts and special districts like the East Bay Park District — all these groups inherently tend to get conservative when one group is in charge and become insensitive to new needs. The initiative is a way to bring this civic fact of life to the fore. And that is what has happened on growth control for the central district in San Francisco.

Urban Action: What would you see as a political alternative?

Kent: A great question. A group of students a few years ago persuaded me to work along with them on a possible new charter for Berkeley; and we have been. We had a Visiting Professor, Campos Venuti, from Bologna, Italy, in the spring of '84. I wanted to get the students to take a good look at Bologna. I had met Professor Venuti when I visited Bologna in 1983. To make a long story short, the Western European city democracies, really since the end of WWI, have had parliamentary local government systems — which means very large councils, sixty to eighty to one hundred. These councils are elected either from small districts, which means you get almost every political point of view represented, or by proportional representation, which is designed to make sure that you get all points of view, not just two big parties. Each nation-state organizes its local

governments in accordance with its own traditions. But it is very interesting that England, Holland, Denmark, Sweden and Switzerland, and Germany and Italy after WWII, all of those countries have large municipal councils from which they draw their governing cabinets. These councils organize themselves into two openly political coalitions, not two supposedly unified coalitions, like our Republican and Democratic parties. So they have Communists, Socialists and other progressive groups; and they have Royalists, Conservatives, and the equivalent of Republicans. There are two coalitions in each of the cities in each of the countries we have mentioned. And these are cities that have done great things for their people. Anyhow, in Europe, it is really after WWI that organized labor became a political force in most of the Western European cities; that is when the city governemnts really became progressive. The whole urban vitality of Western Europe regained its form really with the new group in power that had never been in power, ever; good housing programs were developed, transit programs, and parks and recreation plans. These groups have stayed in power, generally, since 1920 right up until now. They probably now need to be replaced by some group further to the left. Who knows?

Urban Action: You have some interesting ideas.

Kent: Well, these European cities are not perfect, but they have great social programs, as well as city planning and environmental improvements that are enjoyed and appreciated by everyone. They are great places. All this leads me to say that the student group I have been working with has described the parliamentary form of government as an alternative to the American strong-mayor or council-manager forms of government. It is meant to be of interest to any California chartered city. California has a great tradition of municipal "home rule," which means that any chartered city could, if its citizens were interested, experiment with the parliamentary system. This is being discussed in Berkeley today. It has been for a couple of years now and the recent council election means that there may be a charter review committee to give it a whirl.

Urban Action: If we had the large city councils, would some of the members be professional city planners?

Kent: That's a possibility. The large council I should emphasize, in a parliamentary scheme has two coalitions and the two coalitions decide who is going to govern. The majority coalition takes charge; they select a cabinet which ends up being a group the

size of a typical California city council. The citizens and the political elders pick their own leader — who is paid full-time. They — the leader and the members of the cabinet — take charge of the bureaucracy; and they are accountable for getting things done. The bureaucracy in almost every European city, I know specifically about England and Italy, has very able professional staff members. They become involved in many fields that we don't get into at the local level here: social programs, schools — there are no school boards over there — schools are part of the city government. It's a big enchilada, as Allan Jacobs would say. The large, full council membership is the body from which council committees are formed. The committees are equivalent to our advisory boards and commissions. They are representative of the political points of view on the council. They are usually all elected people. The most important ones deal with physical development, or social programs, or education, police and fire. You have elected citizens in charge really, guided and directed by an elected cabinet, with a leader from the council, just like the British national Parliament which everyone knows about. That is the way their cities are governed also. This is true in Switzerland as well. It is a very good system. I am hoping Berkeley will consider these ideas seriously.

'. . . any chartered city could, if its citizens were interested, experiment with the parliamentary system.'

Urban Action: Do you see prospects for this alternative outside of Berkeley?

Kent: I think American cities have so many unmet needs that could be met by the local citizenry electing people who want to do these things, that cannot be met by state and federal governments, even though they seem to have more money. The money comes with strings and it turns well intentioned programs into disasters. "Home rule" means you can do anything at the local level that you decide is a "municipal affair." You don't have to ask anyone. In Berkeley, in 1961 when we got our first liberal democratic majority, the first thing we wanted to do was something about racial discrimination in housing. We organized a thorough investigation that involved all of the church organizations, real-estate interests, and banks; and at every point we were told you can't do that. It's an area-wide problem, a state problem. No local government has done this. The City Attorney

opposed us. But with our understanading of home rule, we said we could do it, and we acted. I guess what I am saying here is that our council-manager form of government made it difficult for us to act, but our "home rule" convictions meant that we could and did act. In my judgment, the council-manager form certainly does not work well in an openly political democratic society. A manager cannot manage a political machine, a paid professional manager cannot do this. He manages, instead, as a political agent for someone who is in charge of him. That's reality. That doesn't sit well. It doesn't get things done openly or effectively. The strong-mayor form is just a leader form that demeans the legislative body and demeans the board and commissions; unless you operate from the point of view that you find in the 1933 San Francisco charter. It's unusual.

'The strong-mayor from is just a leader form that demeans the legislative body and demeans the board and commissions.'

Let's talk about it for a moment. It is sort of a "seven or eight empire" form of government. If you have a mayor — as we have usually had until the present one — who respects the intent of the City Charter, then the Mayor will appoint strong people to the City Planning Commission. It is then their duty to appoint the City Planning Director, just as it is the duty of the Public Utilities Commission to appoint the Manager of Utilities. It is not for the Mayor to consult with those people and tell them who to appoint. So I think it is a misreading of the intent of the Charter to have what is happening now. The American city planning tradition, really beginning in 1927 with the Standard City Planning Enabling Act, was based upon distrust of city politics as practiced by the members of the council. It said we have to have some good people, civic stalwarts, appointed in some way to the City Planning Commisson that keeps them free of dirty politics so that they could be trusted to take the long-range view of desirable, physical development for the city's social and economic functions. The assumption was that a way could be found in either the strong-mayor or the council-manager system to deal with city planning matters that would not be compromised too much by political hanky-panky. Then, in 1947, you had mandatory referral placed in the San Francisco Charter, which was another attempt to make the system work more openly and effectively.

Urban Action: Could you spell out mandatory referral for us?

Kent: "Mandatory Referral" means that regardless of what the mayor or the legislative body wants to do on a controversial issue, and before the council acts using its control of policy and money, if it is a matter that affects the future physical development of the city, they must refer that proposal, that policy, or that ordinance to the City Planning Commission for a report and recommendation. That was the intent of the Charter all along. If it is honored it means that, regardless of what the political traditions of the time might be, you will have these three key entities involved in setting long range policy: the Mayor, the legislative body, and the City Planning Commission. But it only works if you have Commissioners who have something to say and are not just appointees who have been selected *only* for politcal reasons. There have been some very good City Planning Commissions in the City and some that have been weak because of what I have just said.

Urban Action: Your point hits home. Now, we'd like to change the line of questioning and ask about your ideas on education. Let's do that by first asking how you experienced your own undergraduate education?

Kent: When I came to Berkeley and majored in architecture, I found myself in a four-year 'fixed" program of study. I resented my four years of education in a narrow framework — strength of materials, physics, everything related to the design and construction of buildings. After a year and a half, or so, I finally realized something was wrong. There were some architecture faculty members who made us wake up by making us read big, wonderful great books about the civilizations that produced the great architecture. One leads to the other. You can't just have people educated to become architects and then just have great architecture produced. But it wasn't until I was a high sophomore or junior that I realized that I wasn't going to get to work with any of the great faculty members here — in English, in History, the liberal arts, because the architecture curriculum didn't permit it. So I became active in a group known as Stiles Hall which is the University YMCA. It's a different type of YMCA. It's got a long tradition of being whatever the students of its generation want it to be. Because of a firm belief in "free speech," for a number of years it was the only place where a communist could speak near the campus. And it was a social action group, too. It was terrific. That's when I began to learn about life. We organized campus peace strikes. Did a lot of things.

Urban Action: One element that should be fostered in a student is activism then?

Kent: Look, whatever the students of that generation judge is really sort of broadening, liberal arts —big perspective world view — ecology, whatever the generation impulse is, it should be possible in whatever curriculum is established to have these issues given time and attention, in a sort of major way. That is going to be untidy because you may have to go off campus to get what you need. But I think that every curriculum, the moment that you have it, is bound to be out of date and too narrow. It's up to the students to design their own "curriculum." To be cooperative, but to get their own thing going. That's my feeling.

Urban Action: Let's talk a little about you going to graduate school. After your four years at Berkeley you then went to M.I.T.?

Kent: I went to M.I.T. four years after I had graduated from Berkeley. I had a year in Europe on an exchange fellowship. During that year I was able... well, I had met Lewis Mumford. *Culture of Cities* was published in the spring of 1938 and I was given a copy of the book as some kind of award during my last semester. I read it. Wow! I wrote to him— Brash!— in care of the New Yorker magazine. He wrote a column for them called Skyline. They forwarded my letter to his home and his wife wrote to me, saying, "Lewis isn't here now. He is in Hawaii. But I'll send him a note and he will phone you on his way back, I'm sure." And he did. He invited me to

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'. . . a metropolis can only get so big and still be worthwhile.'

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have lunch with him at the Clift Hotel, which used to be a nice quiet unassuming place. He offered, he really did offer, to be my tutor for my year in Europe. And he gave me the names of people in Europe to contact. That really capped my liberal arts educational impulse beautifully, because at last I was able to read in areas that I had not been aware of and because I met all kinds of people and I didn't have a degree to worry about. No exams! But I did write reports back to Mumford about what I was doing. And he couldn't have been nicer — both critical and constructive. Later, when I came back it was a recommendation that he had made for me — I didn't know that this was happening — that enabled me to get my first job. Right here in Berkeley in 1939

in the regional office of the National Resources Planning Board. So that was great good luck.

Urban Action: At the time you were at M.I.T. was Mumford at the University of Pennsylvania?

Kent: He was at no University. He was unnacceptable to M.I.T. because he had criticized the New York Regional Plan, which was authored by Thomas Adams, the father of the chairman at M.I.T.

Urban Action: What was his criticism?

Kent: Mumford said then, in the early 1930s, the same things I have been saying since the middle 1960s about the situation here in the Bay Area: That a metropolis can only get so big and still be worthwhile. If it gets too big it goes clunk. The New York Regional Plan had been sponsored and financed by the Russell Sage Foundation during the 1920s. It was a major city planning enterprise. Mumford said in several articles that it was a plan designed primarily to accommodate forecasts and trends and, in effect, endless growth. He said it was not going to work. So it was a very strong criticism of a major civic effort. And that made a lot of us think. He knew the work of Patrick Geddes, and through Geddes he knew about the Garden Cities movement initiated by Ebenezer Howard and Raymond Unwin and others in London before WWI... and all the pre-war efforts to make a better scheme for the reorganization of London. London in 1937 had eight million people — far, far too many people in one place to enable decent living, working and commuting conditions to be provided for the poor, as well as the rich. He was aware that people had been thinking of other ways to organize twentieth century Western European and American urbanization than simply letting metropolitan areas just get bigger and bigger. He had an organic approach to cities. Just as with every other living creature or human organization, there is a limit beyond which things no longer work well. As they get bigger, at some point things begin to get disorganized, and living and working and environmental conditions get worse and worse. It is not easy to apply these ideas to a large, complex physical thing like a metropolitan area, but he did.

Urban Action: So Mumford's ideas have had a direct impact here in the Bay Area?

Kent: Yes they certainly have. I am sure that the basic values that have inspired many of us in the city planning, conservation, and ecology movements in the Bay Area since the 1930s were fostered by our

responses to Mumford's intellectual challenges. The creation of the Bay Area citizens group, People for Open Space (POS), in 1958 and of the Save the Bay Association in 1961 both are evidence of this. Of course, the great challenges now facing us — which we have not yet found a way to discuss openly and calmly — is the obvious danger to the future of the Bay Area from overgrowth. POS, which I have been active in since 1958, is now committed not only to a major, new, five-year campaign to save the Bay Area's still-existing great natural regional green-belt,

it is also committed to doing whatever must be done to begin an open debate on the issues of optimum metropolitan size and structure and the already obvious dangers and tragedies that will surely result if we do not find a fair and constructive way to respond — which we are surely capable of doing.

Urban Action: It is a critical agenda. Thank you for spending some time with us. Talking with you is not only delightful but an opportunity to rethink assumptions and see things from a larger perspective.

Public Policy

"THE VNITY OF OVR EMPIRE HANGS ON THE DECISION OF THIS DAY"
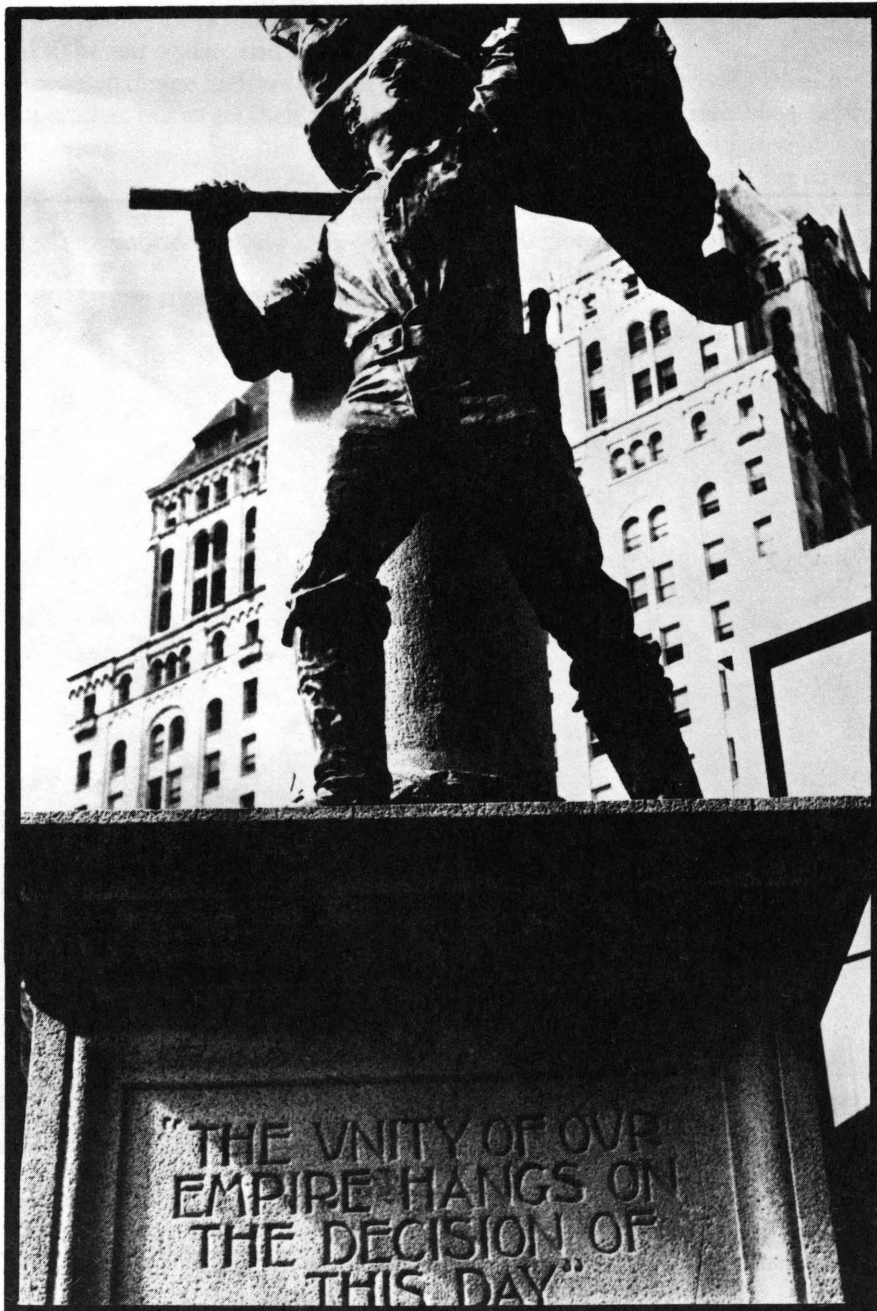
Federal Child Care Policy: An Overview

by Susan R. Cort

Recently awarded a Presidential Management Internship, Susan Cort is a student in the MPA program and an intern at the Childrens Council of San Francisco. As part of her Masters Project she is conducting a survey of employer-supported child care programs in Califronia. Before coming to SFSU Susan worked with the U.S. Peace Corps overseas in the Philippines and here in San Francisco.

> **'Good child care is not only too expensive for most parents, but there is simply not enough of it.'**

W hy is day care an issue on the national agenda? According to Sandra Burud, child care expert, "Today's work force is experiencing the consequences of a generation of social change."[1] More than ever, employees need child care while they work thanks to a rapid rise in the number of dual-career families, single parents, working parents with young children, and the sheer numbers of young children.

Statistics illustrate this point:

1. Over 60% of all American families fit into a dual-career category.

2. The number of single-parent families has doubled in the past decade to over 6.6 million and continues to rise.

3. In 1970, 37.6% of all children in two parent families had mothers in the labor force. By 1980 the figure had grown to 51.7%.

4. By 1990, there will be over 23.3 million children under age 6, a 23% increase from 1980.

5. The participation rate of mothers with children under age 3 has more than doubled since 1959, rising from 17.3% to 41% in 1980.[2]

The poor have an especially acute need. A U.S. Census Bureau survey found that more than one third of mothers in families with incomes under $15,000 would seek employment if they could obtain decent, affordable child care. In addition, the Bureau learned that most married women are working out of necessity; for more than 70% the incomes of their husbands are less than $20,000. A single woman with children, who is most in need of child care, earns an average of $9,495 a year.[3]

Good child care is not only too expensive for most parents, but there is simply not enough of it. In 1984, approximately 13 million children required care daily because their parents worked fulltime, but there were only one million places in licensed child care centers. Family day care (not in the child's home) and care at the child's home by a relative or acquaintance, covered another 7 million children. Put together, these resources took care of little more than half of the children who needed care leaving another 5-6 million with no formal day care arrangements.[4]

Due to its labor intensive nature, child care costs can be formidable. As *Newsweek* pointed out,

> Government help is needed because operating day care facilities is expensive — $5,000 a year per child, by some estimates. In California, an average single mother with a child under the age of two has to spend 49% of her income on child care. A two-parent family earning $24,000 a year has to spend 26% of its gross income to obtain day care for two small children.[5]

As high as costs are, child care workers are usually earning minimal wages. In the tradeoff between quality and cost, cost factors usually win out when so few subsidies are available. Since the

Not only executives, but many politicians and administrators either refuse to see the child care crisis or don't believe it is a responsibility for the federal government. When Nixon vetoed the 1971 Comprehensive Child Development Act (see section on Historical Background), he was responding to a massive lobbying effort by right wing activists. They wrote 1000's of letters protesting that the bill was an "invasion of the family."[12]

Nixon declared,

> For the federal government to plunge headlong financially into supporting child develoment would commit the vast moral authority of the national government to the side of communal approaches to child rearing over against the family-centered approach.[13]

More recently, when Arabella Martinez, assistant secretary of HEW for Human Development Services, gave the administration testimony at the hearings on the 1979 Child Care Act, she explained that working mothers do not necessarily "want or need center-based or formal, governmentally supported care," and that mothers actually prefer to have their children cared for by relatives in their homes.[14]

In an excellent discussion of the current stalemate in child care policy, Rochelle Beck summarized some of the major reasons for this unfortunate impasse. Even though the analysis was written in 1981, her major points hold true today.

1. Overall, the U.S. has no clear child care policy and "as long as there is still debate in this country *whether* women should work, there will be reticence to support work-related programs such as child care."[15]

2. There is a paucity of clear evidence due to the difficulty of measuring true (direct and indirect) costs of later necesssary remedial services, family stress, lost training or employment opportunities, welfare dependency, and the components that contribute to child development.

3. There is a conspicuous lack of leadership at the national level, both inside and outside government.

4. There is lack of consensus among pro-child care special interest groups.

5. Inflation has made it harder to improve services, to maintain and to pay for existing levels.

6. Opposition to federal involvement in child care

is tough and well-organized.

7. Federal funding to the states has shifted from categorical to more block grants which leave more discretion to the state and often result in reduced child care services.

8. Fiscal conservatism and political cynicism have produced a "curtail the government" mentality.[16]

Considering all these problems, needs and controversies, what *has* the U.S. accomplished in terms of child care policy? What are current and future policy options — both ideal and realistic? These questions will be addressed in the following sections on historical background, policy analysis, policy options and policy recommendations.

Historical Background

As Ms. Beck points out, child care programs in America have usually been inextricably linked to other goals, constituencies or social and economic factors. When these factors changed, "child care was at their mercy."[17] The following list provides examples of these motivating factors which have largely determined child care policy since the late 19th century:

1. Americanization of immigrants

2. Women's labor in the mills

3. Job creation for unemployed teachers during the Depression

4. Women's labor during WWII

5. Campaigns to reduce welfare rolls

6. Efforts to intervene in the preschool lives of disadvantaged children.[18]

Although there had been child care programs before WWII, the Lanham Act of 1941 represented the federal government's most comprehensvie effort to date. Since many women were needed to work for the war effort, Congress passed the bill to provide matching federal funds for states to establish day care centers and nursery schools., After the war, the Lanham Centers were closed. Many women protested, but politicians responded by labelling them "Communists."[19]

In the early 60s, John Kennedy had his HEW

secretary, Abaraham Ribicoff, draft a welfare reform package which included a $10 million day care program for welfare clients. It became law in 1962 and aimed at breaking the vicious welfare cycle by encouraging the employment of welfare mothers. Day care was seen as a requisite service. Unfortunately, only $800,000 of the bill's authorization was granted by the conservative appropriations committee.[20]

The developmentalist approach to out-of-home child care had its heyday with the 1964 passage of the Economic Opportunity Act, the mainstay of the War on Poverty. The showpiece of the act and its creator, the Office of Economic Opportunity, was Head Start, designed to enhance psychological development of poor children. Head Start meant that day care was still primarily associated with poverty in the minds of most.

Many women protested, but politicians responded by labeling them "Communists".

In 1967, there was a "shakedown" at OEO when many of its programs were criticized for their waste and mismanagement. Under pressure to set up some type of oversight for the numerous federal day care programs, the Senate Labor and Public Works Committee mandated a set of interagency regulations known as the Federal Interagency Day Care Requirements (FIDCR).

That same year, the House Ways & Means Committee, frightened by the expansion of welfare rolls, enacted the AFDC-Work Incentives Program (WIN). The "workfare" idea was that AFDC recipients would have to get a job or lose all benefits. Day care, as a necessary support service was included in WIN.

In 1968, the Nixon administration proposed sweeping welfare reform. Nixon also expressed dedication to "improving the first 5 years of life" of American children. The Family Assistance Plan (FAP) tried to meet both goals through an innovative guaranteed annual income provision and a massive federal day care program as an adjunct to a modified WIN programs. HEW estimated that the program would require 400 new day care centers each year for 5 years. Not only did FAP fail to get passed, but Nixon later killed the 1971 Comprehensive Child Development Act as well.

Sponsored by Senator Walter Mondale and Representative John Brademus, the bill provided $700 million for federal funding of child care for welfare recipients during the first year of its operation and $50 million for the creation of new child care facilities, it increased income tax deductions for child care services, expanded the Head Start program, and provided health care, adequate nutrition, and educational enrichment for preschool children.

Speculations as to why Nixon vetoed the bill include the tremendous pressure from right-wing groups and his balking at supporting legislation controlled by liberal Democrats. According to Elliott Richardson, Nixon's reference to "Sovietizing" of American children through day care was a "fish" thrown to opponents of his China policy, as a means of appeasing his most conservative critics.[21]

Weaker bills failed to pass in 1972, 1975 and 1979. The child care coalition never really regained its strength. Other issues such as foster care and Medicaid reforms took away the attention of legislators and private groups. Quite ironically, in spite of his pro-child care campaign speeches and pro-child care vice president, Jimmy Carter failed to support the 1979 Child Care Act. His administration tried to make amends, however, by pushing through new day care standards in March, 1980. Nonetheless, little or no progress was made in child care services during the Carter administration.

Meanwhile, throughout the 60s and 70s, a great hodgepodge of federal programs supporting child care evolved. By 1976, Americans were spending $10 billion on child care annually. The breakdown on spending was as follows:

• 60% individual payaments

• 18% direct federal payments

• 8% federal tax credits

• 14% state and local payments.

Shortly after Reagan took office, many of the federal child care programs were drastically reduced. A 1985 article state:

> Since 1981, cuts from 21%-30% in child nutrition and Title XX of the Social Security Act have led to vast cuts on state levels. Despite an increase in the number of poor children, 32 states are now providing Title XX child care to fewer children than they did in 1981.[22]

The article points out that the Dependent Care Tax Credit, now the largest child care program, costing $1.5 billion annually, benefits primarily families with disposable incomes. Those not on welfare, but

too poor to pay taxes, are left without any child care subsidy.

Some noise is being made in Congress, however, to change this situation. The Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues and the Select Committee on Children, Youth and Families have made numerous recommendations regarding child care policies. In their 1984 report, the Select Committee, headed by George Miller (D-Calif.), pushed for

1. Restoration of Title XX funds to their pre-Reagan levels.

2. Incentives for employment-assisted child care including tax incentives.

3. A parental leave policy.

Largely as a result of their work, many of these recommendations have been or are likely to be approved by Congress. By March, 1985, $25 million was added to Title XX and a total of $20 million was added for two model programs — the after school, in-school care for latchkey children, and information and referral services.

'... unpaid leave is not an option for many low-income parents.'

In the area of tax incentives, tax code currently allows employers to set up a salary reduction plan or reimbursement account. Employees then designate a limited amount of their salary to pay for the care of a dependent. The income is not taxable, plus it reduces the employer's payroll taxes. A related program offered by employers is the flexible or cafeteria style benefit package. The employee can choose from improved health and dental care coverage, higher retirement payments, legal services, or payments toward care of a dependent. H.R. 4300, better known as the Parental & Medical Leave Act, would guarantee workers up to 26 weeks a year of unpaid temporary medical leave and 18 week of parental leave every two years. With unusual bipartisan support, this bill attempts to address the fact that only about half of large U.S. firms offer women even an unpaid child care leave.[23] Unfortunately, unpaid leave is not an option for many low-income parents. The bill also fails to cover time off for care of their relatives and dependents.

These are just examples of the patchwork approach which is typical of U.S. child care policy. In contrast to these are the policies of many other industrialized nations and countries with a relatively large female labor force. Pamela Roby, in her essay entitled "What Other Nations are Doing," talks about her impressions of these foreign day care programs:

> American visitors are struck by the seriousness with which their hosts explain that child care policies should be considered only in the context of comprehensive social policy for the promotion of children's well-being and development and the well-being of their parents. Many nations' provision of comprehensive children's services stand in marked contrast to the American practice of attempting to assist low-income children by providing one isolated service after another.[24]

The U.S. provides significantly fewer preschool and day care services. For example:

United States
- 35% of children under 6 whose mothers work are in federally funded day care.
- Only 8 states offer kindergarden to all their children.

Israel
- 50% of all 3-4 year olds attend day care.
- Kindergarden is provided for all 5 year olds.

Sweden
- 85% of all preschoolers attend child development centers.

Hungary
- 50% of all 3-6 years olds attend nurseries.
- Creches are available for infants.

China
- Nurseries are available for virtually all children as young as 45 days as part of a national day care policy.

France
- 95% of all children 3-6 are enrolled in free public preschools.[25]

Policy Analysis

In spite of our lack of a comprehensive policy, some child care programs are happening, but are they effective? Who are they really serving? The following

discussion looks at two of the major hopes for expanding the current suply of child care: Employer-Supported Child Care and Workfare initiatives.

Employer-Supported Child Care

One result of having an "anti-government" administration has been the development of private sector participation in child care services. As one child care consultant put it, "If this administration had its druthers, corporate America would pick up the tab completely."[26] In the past few years much publicity has been directed to the different types of employer-supported child care, the most obvious being on or near-site day care facilities subsidized by the employer. What are some of the other employer-supported child care services? Why is the business world getting involved in this area? Will employer-supported care eventually meet America's need for child care services?

First, while on-site child care may be the most publicized, it is only one of many strategies used by employers to support child care. Others include information and referral services; direct financial assistance in the form of vouchers and/or flexible benefit packages; subsidies to existing centers in exchange for discounts, reserved slots or priority admission; consortiums of several employers and/or public/private collaboration; and personnel policies such as flexible scheduling, job sharing, parental leave, family sick leave, etc.

Even though researchers such as Thomas Miller question the validity of the studies done in this field (see discussion of child care controversies above), three national surveys of employers that provide child care services show very positive results. Over half of the respondents in each survey said that supporting child care services had increased recruitment, decreased absenteeism, improved morale, decreased turnover, and provided positive publicity for their company.[27]

While very few actual cost/benefit studies have been documented, experience to date shows that the overall financial impact of supporting child care depends largely on the percentage of employees who are women with young children, the availability of good child care in the area, the type of support which is provided (on-site care being relatively expensive, information and referral being relative inexpensive), etc.

Businesses which do choose to get involved perceive overall benefits such as those mentioned above. Plus, they are taking advantage of the fact that almost everything a firm does to support child care is tax deductible thanks, in part, to the Economic Recovery Act of 1981. In addition, there is pressure to

keep up with the competition as more and more fims get involved. In some cases, they have no choice *but* to get involved. Many cities have passed ordinances requiring developers to provide child care facilities in new buildings or to contribute to a city-wide child care fund.[28]

Nonetheless, this "trend" is far from being a broad-based revolution. While the number of employers offering some type of child care benefit may have tripled since 1982 to approximately 2,500, this is still only a tiny fraction of the 6 million employers nationwide.[29] It has also been shown that fewer than 4% of an employer's work force will use child care assistance supported by the employer.[30]

Executives see problems with liability, insurance costs, equity concerns related to their non-parent employees, the uncertainty of economic returns on their investment, etc. Some parents are reluctant to push for employer-supported child care due to fear of discrimination. Studies have shown that parents already cost an employer roughly 3% more than non-parent employees.[31] What is more, many executives in America are older white men who still believe that women belong in the home, period. To them, child care is not only un-American but also a threat to their male hegemony in the business world.

'...*"workfare" has been pushed as a way to get women off welfare rolls.*'

Workfare

Traditional values may call for the woman to stay at home with the children, but if that woman happens to be on welfare, she better go out and find a job. Ever since the 60s, "workfare" has been pushed as a way to get women off welfare rolls. Day care is usually recognized as a requisite service. As recently as July, 1986, *The Economist* reported that

> Mr. Daniel Moynihan is sponsoring one of several partial Democratic solutions (to welfare reform) in the form of a bill promoting state workfare plans for welfare mothers, with provisions for subsidized child care and a doubling of federal funds for job training; the hope is to preempt Republican versions of workfare which are likely to make it mandatory and impose sanctions for non-compliance.[32]

This approach raises many controversial issues, however. Economist Gilbert Steiner doubts that day

care can efficiently decrease welfare rolls. He points out that 43% of mothers on welfare in (1973) have less than a ninth grade education. For this group, work training which could lead to employment at wages adequate to support a family is likely to be prolonged and to result in high child care and training bills for the taxpayer.[33]

Others question the ethics of forcing mothers with young children to work outside the home. In many cases, people coerced into working will feign illness or develop bad employment records reducing their longterm chances of employment. Jess Bernard's study found that a majority of women with only one or two children would like to work; a smaller fraction of those with large families (for whom child care would cost the taxpayers a great deal) would be willing to work. Thus, if we were to provide good child development services, and allow mothers the freedom to choose to work or not, their decisions would be likely to be more favorable to taxpayers than would either the policy of providing no child care or work opportunities or the policy of forcing them to work.[34]

'. . ."the need today (for child care) cuts across the entire spectrum of economic and social lines". . .'

As for limiting federally supported services to the poor, the debate rages on. While some recognize the importance of helping the neediest due to a limited supply of resources, others argue for extending help to the working poor and middle classes as well. This may mean re-ordering our national priorities. Shirley Chisholm is one such proponent of a more comprehensive policy:

> First, income limitation and means tests are demeaning.
> Second, those just over the line, the working poor, those with a toe-hold in the middle class, and those in the middle class need this resource and service as well as the poor.
> Third, we know from our experience with the poverty program that programs exclusively for the poor — no matter how well justified —are not popular. We have seen time and time again how popular resentment has generated enough political pressure so that poverty appropriations are hacked to smithereens on the floor of this House (of Representatives).[35]

Thanks to demographic change described above, we may be closer to realizing Chisholm's dream. As Rep. George Miller (D-Calif.) points out, "Unlike a decade ago, the need today cuts across the entire spectrum of economic and social lines, and, as a result, child care is a less partisan issue."[36]

Policy Options

So what are *future* policy options? What are their respective advantages and disadvantages? Following is a brief discussion of six possible child care policies:

1) Preserving the Status Quo
There are currently three major forms of federal support for child care: programs providing child care services directly; those providing auxiliary services, thereby helping to defray total child care costs; and those supporting child care services. The costs for these programs were approximately $2.3 billion in fiscal year 1977, about one tenth of one percent of GNP. It was also approximately one twelfth of what Americans spent on alcoholic beverages ($28.2 billion) that year.

The advantages of this system are that some children get excellent services, some get adequate services, and some get services who would otherwise go without. Another advantage is its political feasibility since no new money would be required.

This system has huge inadequacies in availabiliaty, scope and quality. There is redundancy, complexity and little coordination. For Head Start alone, 75% of eligible children and 1,000 eligible communities received no services. Audits have found that Title XX funded programs are vastly inadequate. Meanwhile, 11.1 million children, 0-13 years of age, in families earning more than the poverty level and less than $15,000/yr. are mainly ignored.

2)The Incremental Approach
This would involve relatively small changes in existing programs to allow for the expansion of services. One possibility would be increasing ways the tax system can support child care. Currently, 75% of the tax credit benefits go to families earning more than $15,000/yr.

The advantages include better political chances of getting more services for larger number of children in need. The disadvantages are that fragmentation, poor data and planning, uneven quality, and uneven distribution of services would not necessarily change.

3)Community Networks for Child Care
Option 3 calls for the development of communities where one half of the women work and one half

stay home and provide child care. Special magnet child care centers would be staffed by professionals who could run workshops, provide emergency services, offer access to expensive equipment, and give information and referrals. The service centers would be funded by federal, state & private grants and would be assigned a limited geographical area. Services could be subsidized for those in need on a sliding fee scale.

The advantages of this system are that it takes the different child care programs and ties them together to form a coherent network. It recognizes the weaknesses of the free market system; it takes advantage of the fact that family-care is less expensive than center-based care; it provides a balance between child care professionals and trained non-professionals; and its services are varied, voluntary and equitably distributed.

The disadvantages are that it calls for a coordinated integration of several major elements. Both subsidies to families and grants for the centers would be needed. Also, coherence may be difficult due to the fragmented nature of our political and social process.

4) Reintroduction of Major Child Care Legislation

Comprehensive child care legislation would provide major expansion of child care services and make sense out of the existing fragments currently offered. Two models from the past are the Comprehensive Child Development Act of 1971 and the Child Care Act of 1979.

Depending on its language, a new bill could be a vehicle around which political action could coalesce, creating additional child care services, expanding eligibility, cohesion, integration and efficiencies. On the other hand, overcoming the conservative fiscal, political, religious and other pressures will require an enormous effort by advocates and legislators to promote the necessary public education.

5) Child Care Insurance

Based on the social security and unemployment insurance models, child care insurance would be provided on the assumption that families face different levels of child care needs over time. This program would require current workers (aged 20-65) to contribute more of their earnings to the social security pot. Payments in the form of vouchers could be made to families who need child care services. The payments would be seen as "loans" which children would "pay back" when they became productive workers by contributing, in turn, to the pot.

The advantages are that the universal approach removes the poverty stigma of child care since the system would be used by poor and rich alike; it would help to even out a family's income over time; and, even though it is administered by the federal government, the system is based on private decisions and actions.

The disadvantages are that it would be very costly; it does not address child care issues which are insensitive to control by the free market; it does not prevent segregation of poor kids in inferior quality programs; and it could lead to cash-flow problems based on population instability.

6) A Federal Family Policy

This final option is based on the belief that children should not be treated as a separate group requiring special services since they are inextricably embedded in the family unit. A family policy must include a wide range of options for all family members: children parents, grandparents, and other dependents. Proposals have been extremely varied, for example, dependent care leaves, quotas for elderly housing, comprehensive preventive maternal and child health services, voluntary preschool programs, etc.

The advantages of a family policy are the better coordination of funds already spent on family-related services; the rhetorical appeal of helping families rather than children only; and a substantive advantage of better meeting the changing needs of families over time. The disadvantages include a rhetorical lack of agreement on the definition of a family and the appropriate policies; a substantive lack of focus, purpose and goals, and a hopelessly diffuse coordination of services and policies.[37]

Policy Recommendations

Considering this discussion of options, what is a concerned legislator to do? With an overhelming and immediate need for the expansion of child care services, the first priority should be increasing the supply while protecting the quality. Since the legislative process can drag on for years, immediate steps should be taken to harness non-federal resources. For example, a legislator can work to encourage the 1) training of high school students and senior citizens in child development; 2) establishment of communication networks between day care centers and home-care providers; 3) contribution of space by churches at no-cost or low-costs for child care programs; and 4) provision or support of child care services by private industry.

Another immediate step could be improving the coordination of current federal child care servi-

ces to reduce redundancy and maximize effectiveness. As of 1973, there were over 60 different funding programs for child care or child development. Agency consolidation would make limited resources go further, however, it might not be a good idea to reduce the administering agencies to one due to the inherent lack of checks and balances. Finally, whatever the legislative options, keep in mind the government's twin goals related to child care: full employment for parents and sound development of the young.

This is an era of creative possibilities and overwhelming need for child care. A legislator must face up to a conservative administration and rally behind attempts to broaden the appeal of child care policies by relating them to productivity/work concerns and family needs. Only by accepting the child care challenge can we meet the needs of our children, our families, and our economy. Only by redefining our priorities can we build a society which invests in its future, not its future destruction.

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Homelessness in San Francisco: A Policy Briefing

by Stephen Secrist

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Introduction

It is estimated that 8000 people are homeless in San Francisco. The Department of Social Services (DSS) estimates that about 2000 individuals and 200 families are sheltered in its homeless hotel program each night. (Memo, 11/12/86). Private shelters also accommodate a significant number of homeless persons. Nonetheless, every day homeless persons are turned away from shelters and increasing numbers of individuals have become permanent residents of parks and alleys.

The most visible aspect of the problem to the community, therefore, is the need for temporary shelter. Of course, this is also the most pressing need for the unaccommodated homeless. Beyond this, however, is the equally important need to develop long term strategies designed to decrease the number of homeless. This will no doubt require policies and programs that address the need for low cost housing, job development, alcohol and drug rehabilitation and mental health services. At present, none of these long term needs of San Francisco's homeless population is being adequately met.

Besides these important policy issues, there are two program implementation issues this paper will address. First, how well does the current homeless hotel program function? Are client needs being met in an effective, efficient way? Second, what roles should be played by Federal, State and Local government in providing services to the homeless?

A History of Programs for the Homeless in San Francisco

The task of caring for the homeless has traditionally been relegated to private charitable organizations. The City's current programs were initiated in December 1982 when representatives of these agencies informed the Mayor that their facilities could not meet the overwhelming demand for services. Initially, the crisis was met with an emergency response that provided temporary shelter in four facilities. In April 1983 that program was abandoned in favor of the current one which places homeless individuals in hotels for temporary stays. The shelter is provided by hotel owners who are not under contract to the City. The estimated yearly cost of this program is about $3.5 million. (Memo, 11/12/86). While residents of the hotels, homeless individuals are evaluated by DSS to determine if they qualify for general assistance (GA). In addition, DSS contracts with a variety of shelters and meal programs to provide food and temporary housing.

'. . . every day homeless persons are turned away from shelters . . .'

In 1983 the Mayor established the Task Force on the Homeless which is responsible for monitoring the shelter program and a 24 hour hotline was established to provide information about emergency shelter. The Mayor also initiated the Fund for the Homeless which has raised money from the private sector to be used to provide services to the homeless and a job training program operated briefly but has

since been discontinued. (Federal Response, 1984: 109).

Two other agencies are also involved in homeless services. The Department of Public Health (DPH) has since December 1985 provided medical services in hotels and shelters. The '86-'87 budget for this program is estimated at $400,000 with an additional $150,000 in in-kind services provided by DPH staff. Also, the Community Mental Health Services have been budgeted $1,727,485 by the State for '86-'87, to provide care for the mentally disabled homeless in a community based setting. (Memo, 11/12/86).

Defining the Issue

Although the policy issues invovled in the problem of homelessness may seem simple, they are in fact quite complex. The complexity is rooted in the difficulty of adequately defining homelessness. Without an adequate definition the extent of the problem cannot be measured, causal theories cannot be formulated, and policy and services cannot adequately be developed and deployed. Sophie Watson finds that, "there is remarkably little consensus among policy makers, researchers, local authorities and housing organizations as to a definition of homelessness." (1986:8) She feels that it is important to recognize, "that the need for space, privacy, control, safety, self-expression and physical and emotional well being are all important aspects of a dwelling and have to be taken into account." (1986:168). This leads her to conclude that the narrow definitions most often used in policy formation result in an underestimation of the true scope of the problem and that there is a significant amount of concealed homelessness, particularly among women. Concealed homelessness occurs when an individual has no fixed abode nor the means to procure housing but is neither living on the street nor in a shelter because he/she can access a network of social support (friends, relatives, etc.) to provide temporary housing.

A Health and Human Services (HHS) Working group on the homeless defined homelessness this way. "Homeless people are those who lack shelter and the financial resources necessry to acquire it, and revert to seeking shelter from public or private facilities." (Federal Response, 1984:224). Using this definition, only the problems of the hardcore homeless that come into contact with shelter providers are addressed. All those who have substandard housing based on some of the concerns Watson raised (privacy, security, etc.) or who do not use current services are excluded.

Because the definitional question is so thorny, it may be useful to think of homelessness on a continuum from home ownership to sleeping in the rough. (Watson, 1986:9). Since a home is something more than just shelter, anyone who does not own his/her own home is to some degree "homeless." This allows the problem to be seen in the larger context of the social and economic values and policies that determine the availability of adequate housing stock.

On a practical level incorporating the concerns Watson raises may make homelessness too large and diffuse a problem to be addressed by any social change policy short of a restructuring of our capitalist-patriarchal society. On the other hand defining homelessness as simply a lack of shelter, uproots the problem from its context and guarantees that policies which are developed based on that limited definition will not address any of the root causes. This analysis has at least two clear implications: 1) definitions don't just exist, they are chosen for practical reasons, and 2) those creating or evaluating policy must be aware of the crucial role defining homelessness will have in framing the problem, operationalizing the concept and subsequently developing policy and programs.

A Policy Analysis Approach to Homeless Program Development

At the core of rational policy analysis is the requirement that an empirical record of the problem be made so that a causal model can be developed. Without these steps formulation of alternative policy tools has no basis in rational analysis. What this means in the context of homeless policy is that an empirical assessment of the characteristics of the San Francisco homeless population must be conducted to determine the specific attributes of their problems.

It is sometimes naively assumed that the homeless population is relatively homogeneous. Studies conducted around the country have shown this not to be the case. (Federal Response, 1984). Homeless individuals are demographically diverse and have a wide variety of employment and medical histories. Therefore, beyond the universal need for emergency shelter, specific subpopulations of homeless will have very specific needs.

In San Francisco in April 1984, the DSS conducted a survey of persons using shelters and found that: 41% of those surveyed were between 18 and 35 years of age; 89% were men; 52% were White, 28%

Black and 11% Hispanic; 53% were high school graduates; 52% had no means of support; 48% reported some form of alcohol abuse and 12% admitted having mental health problems. (Federal Response, 1984:106-107). Homeless single adults currently living in hotels and homeless families were not included in this survey. As a result of that omission and due to the fact that the survey was conducted nearly three years ago, it is difficult to assess the reliability of these figures as a description of the City's current homeless population.

'... the new urban homeless "are younger, better educated, disproportionately non-white, and have been homeless less than a year."'

Richard Ropers, writing in a study of homelessness in Los Angeles found that, "the rise and history of skid row is inseparable from the ebb and flow of the larger economy." (Federal Response, 1984:997). His analysis identifies a new type of urban homeless distinct from the popular stereotype of the elderly white man, perhaps disabled or alcoholic and on welfare. Ropers finds that the new urban homeless, "are younger, better educated, disproportionately non-white and have been homeless less than a year." (Federal Response, 1984:994). The basic reasons for homelessness in this population are the economic problems that manifested themselves in the 70's (deindustrialization, unemployment, rising poverty rates) coupled with the social service cutbacks of the 80's (decreased availability of low income housing, welfare cutbacks, deinstitutionalization). Clearly, it is important to know what percentage of San Francisco's homeless are part of this sub-group, as its long term needs will be quite different from those of other subgroups. A comprehensive empirical evaluation, using the Los Angeles study as a model, could be undertaken to make this determination.

Duration of homelessness, another important variable which can be empirically determined, will also help identify important attributes of the homeless problem. Ropers develops a typology of homeless persons divided into three main types: long term, episodic and transitional (Federal Response, 1984:1001). Defining homelss subpopulations according to duration is important because, "duration affects the intensity of the reaction of being home-

less on the individual's physical and mental health and can have both a negative and a positive effect on the homeless person's material and social supports." (Federal Response, 1984:1010).

Ropers also develops a theoretical model which attempts to, "account for the processes by which individuals become homeless." (Federal Response, 1984:1010). The core of the framework is based on the concept of social disaffiliation. Ropers cites Baker and Caplow who define three main paths to disaffiliation: 1) external changes such as an economic or family crisis, 2) individual estrangement, as in the case of criminals and substance abusers and 3) lifetime isolation as the result of mental illness or undersocialization. The extreme result of social disaffiliation is homelessness. Disaffiliated persons are drawn to skid rows for a variety of reasons including cheap food and lodging, tolerance of deviant persons, employment opportunities for laborers or because they have nowhere else to go. Finally, in the current environment of increasing homelessness and inadequate social services, the skid row population overflows into other urban areas. (Federal Response, 1984:1013). The overflow of skid row into other urban areas is currently much in evidence in San Francisco. Ropers' theoretical framework helps establish the causation involved in this situation.

This has been of necessity but a brief overview of the type of empirical analysis that is necessary in order to completely understand the complex nature of the problem of homlessness. However, it does show how the problem of homelessness can be conceptualized, how certain attributes of the problem can be empirically determined and how models of causation can be developed.

Analysis of Local Programs and Policy Options

In describing the state of local programs to aid the homeless, Edwin Sarsfield, chief of DSS, admitted that, "at best we provide only food and shelter." (*Chronicle*, 10/30/86). The central element in the shelter program is the temporary housing of homeless in downtown hotels. A November 1985 auditing of the program by the Controller's office found a number of serious problems with this program. The audit found that there is a lack of clear, specific program objectives and policies and no written procedures for many staff functions. This situation was no doubt caused by the necessity of reacting to the 1983 crisis as swiftly as possible. However, three years later, ad hoc crisis solutions are no longer satisfactory; attention must now turn to empirical

analysis and long term program development of the type suggested in the preceding section. Not until this is done can worthwhile goals or written procedures be developed.

The controller's audit also found that there is no accounting for the accuracy of bills submitted by hotel vendors. The result is double billings, inaccuracies and waste. Further there is a lack of written documentation that contract hotels are meeting basic safety and health standards. (Memo, 11/12/86). All of these are serious probelms, but should be able to be resolved through better management. Unfortunately, even if the hotel program was running flawlessly, major aspects of the homeless problem in San Francisco would be left unaddressed.

For instance, certainly one of the major precipitating factors for increased homelessness in recent years has been the decline in residential hotel units in the City. In 1975 there were 32,214 units, in 1983 there were about 21,000 and the number is still declining. (Federal Response, 1984:106). Then there are homeless families, for whom SRO hotels are not adequate even if enough units existed. This points to the need for increased low cost housing at a time when Federal subsidies to low cost housing have been cut. Other programs which appear to be needed include more mental health support services, alcohol and drug rehabilitation programs, medical services and employment training and development. However, the specific level of program need, in each of these areas, cannot be determined without empirical research. The focus of current policy action is limited to rectifying the defects of the current hotel program. This type of policy response, although not surprising, is inadequate to the scope of the current problem.

Local Political Configuration and Decisionmaking Structure

The three main actors who can affect homeless policy are the Mayor, the Board of Supervisors and the chief of the DSS. In the past few years the Mayor has been quite active in developing initiatives around the homeless problem. The Board has been supportive of these policy initiatives. However, problems have arisen in the implementation of the main program which is the homeless hotel program. On December 6, 1986, the Chronicle reported that Edwin Sarsfield, head of DSS, was blaming the Mayor's office for problems with the program claiming the problems were partly a result of unclear policies. As a result,

Mr. Sarsfield's position is reported to be in jeopardy. (Since this article was originally written Mr. Sarsfield has resigned.) Mr. Sarsfield is also currently the focus of two separate criminal investigations regarding his management of DSS. Further turbulence was added to the political environment when John Stallkamp, director of the San Francisco homeless program, resigned December 4, 1986. At this point both the policy and the program appear to be in significant disarray.

"No one city can be expected to solve the problem of the homeless."

Mazmanian and Sabatier claim that a program is more likely to be successful when it has clear objectives and an adequate causal theory incorporated in it. (1983:29) The current homeless program apparently satisfies neither of these conditions. Part of the problem with decisionmaking on the homeless issue is that it suffers from all of the problems inherent in formulating any type of redistributive policy. Although in this case there is fairly widespread agreement that something must be done, there is a high degree of political conflict over the type, scope, and cost of the effort to be undertaken.

Mayor Feinstein stated in 1983 that, "San Francisco has responded fully to the problem but we have reached our limit. No one city can be expected to solve the problem of the homeless." (Federal Response, 1984:111). Because local homelessness is in part the result of national economic, housing and welfare policies, the political dimensions of this issue extend beyond the local domain. Therefore, in order to meet the crisis head on, strong Federal leadership is essential. Unfortunately, the current administration is disinclined to take an activist role on the issue. Instead, the Federal government has focused its efforts on stop gap measures, like making empty Federal buidlings available as shelters and distributing excess Federal food supplies.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Homelessness is a major and growing problem in San Francisco. Current programs designed to serve the homeless are inadequate. The main hotel shelter program is beset by a host of problems ranging from

a failure to meet basic health and safety standards to a lack of accounting controls resulting in double billings. Although some ancillary (mental health, medical) services exist, there is also a need for programs that provide job training and permanent low cost housing. Further, the homeless program in general lacks clear and specific goals.

In order to formulate clear and specific goals, the issue must first be defined in its local context so that local empirical analysis can take place. A study to determine the significant attributes of the homeless problem should be undertaken. Research has shown that the homeless are a diverse group and require a variety of policy approaches to fully meet their needs.

In order to formulate effective policy tools to attack the problem, it is clear that coordination at the national level must be involved. Coordination is essential because current national economic and social policies are at the root of the problem for the "new urban homeless" who may constitute as much as 40% of the current homeless population. Local policy cannot reverse national trends in unemployment or the availability of low cost housing; however, long term strategies which address both of these issues (employment, housing) in a local context could be developed.

A variety of political constraints involved with creating programs for the homeless must be recognized. To effectively address the problem, cooperation must exist between the various levels of government and private charitable organizations. Also the need for adequate local funding is critical as is the need for politically stable leadership at the Department of Social Services.

Finally, at the very least the current hotel program must be reformed. The controller recently released another audit which found the same problems with the hotel program that were cited in the November 1985 report. Why has nothing been done? An investigation needs to be conducted regarding the organizational, budgetary or management impediments to the adequate functioning of the current program.

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Public Policy and Artist Live/Work Space in San Francisco

by Joanne Brion

Joanne Brion is a recent graduate of the Urban Studies Program, with an emphasis in City Planning. Currently she works for an environmental planning firm in their planning and economics division.

I. Introduction

Artists have always sought access to space where they can produce their artwork when the creative urge strikes them. "Artists like spaces with large windows allowing for defused natural light; concrete floors they can spill paint on, transformed as they like or dance across; large space that can be adapted for optimally arranged creative space (room for supplies, wall and floor maximization for hanging art work); and spaces which are adaptable to performance use. Such factors can affect the quality and quantity of work artists produce (Silliman, 1985:10)." For this reason, many artists choose both to live and work in large studio spaces. Ideally, artists prefer the upper floors and lofts of industrial buildings because they usually have large floor areas, high ceilings and lots of indirect light. Therefore, artists have always sought inexpensive space in underutilized industrial buildings and commercial storefronts where they can live and create their artwork at all hours without disturbing their neighbors.

Well conceived live/work studio space can enhance the artistic endeavor but live/work arrangements also have broader social benefits. For instance, live/workers provide nighttime security for buildings and neighborhoods. Artists usually move into declining or deserted industrial areas, bringing social vitality to the area which in turn attracts other businesses such as cafes, theatres and shops/boutiques. In this way, artists contribute to neighborhood revitalization. Also, since live/workers don't commute to work, they save time, energy and resources; reduce traffic congestion and public transportation demand (Kibbe, 1985:55). In San Francisco, artists are not the only workers who can benefit from living and working in the same place; many other urban workers are beginning to explore this alternative.

Low cost, underutilized inudstrial loft space is unfortunately no longer abundant in San Francisco. In the 1950's and 60's many artists lived in the North Beach and Northeastern Waterfront industrial/warehouse districts. But as downtown office development spread north into these areas, it forced rent sensitive artists either into the South of Market or out of the City altogether. Now as space becomes more valuable in the area South of Market, office

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'. . . artists have been leaving San Francisco, moving to less expensive industrial space in Oakland and Emeryville.'

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and other commercial uses are outbidding artists for the scarce industrial/commercial space. As a result of these forces, artists have been leaving San Francisco, moving to less expensive industrial space in Oakland and Emeryville. And as artists leave, the City loses an important element of its cultural and economic environment (DCP, 1985:9). Furthermore, even when potential live/work resources are available, their development and land use raise a number of planning and building code issues.

As a public issue, it is worthwile to protect and promote the varicus elements which comprise the

City's rich cultural and economic diversity. Policies which suport artist's needs for live/work space can help accomplish this goal. In our society and economy, planning and the private market dictate the distribution of land uses in a city. This article will review the issue of artist live/work in San Francisco and analyze the public policies which have been developed thus far to address the issue. Policy solutions available to the local government will be explored as permanent controls for imbalances so often associated with the private market.

Specifically, this article will analyze the live/-work policy question in terms of 1) displacement which is the result of competing land uses and gentrification; 2) zoning: how does a city create zoning ordinances which support artists in their unique need for space without giving them preferential treatment; and 3) building, health and safety codes: what mix of residential and industrial/commercial codes should be applied to live/work?

Background

Before the institution of zoning ordinances, live/-work space was an accepted pattern of land use for most artists, artisans and craftsmen. There was no special law regulating this type of activity, save the natural clustering of crafts in trade districts. But with the advent of industrialization, it became necessary to segregate noxious manufacturing activities from residential and commercial uses. After World War I, indirectly and unintentionally, live/work space became a non-conforming use after the general implementation of zoning laws and subsequent building codes.

'San Francisco has a long history of segregating "work" space from "living" space.'

San Francisco has a long history of segregating "work" space from "living" space. The first zoning ordinance in San Francisco (1886) excluded Chinese laundries in white residential areas (Artists Equity, 1981:15). Although San Francisco has had zoning provisions for certain types of live/workers such as caretakers and night watchmen, this provision did not apply to artists engaged in productive and constructive activity, many of which utilize manufacturing processes such as welding or glass blowing. Zoning ordinances in turn prohibited residential uses in manufacturing and commercial dis-

tricts. As Artist Equity, a Bay Area arts organization, points out in their excellent report on this issue, entitled *Artists Live/Work Space Changing Public Policy* (1981:19): "Artists find themselves in a peculiar bind. They cannot live in the areas zoned for their work and they cannot work in the areas zoned for residence — unless they obtain a variance (highly unlikely) or decide to violate zoning ordinances (the common practice)." (sub-notes mine)

II. First Public Policy Solutions

The New York Experience

Responding to artists demands in 1964, the New York State Legislature amended the New York State Multiple Dwelling Law to accommodate live/work space in the South of Houston Street district (SoHo) in an effort to discourage artists from leaving New York City. It also established regulations for the conversion of commercial and industrial buildings to live/work space. At the same time, this amendment attempted to protect small manufacturing and business firms in SoHo and, therefore, live/work was only allowed in buildings which had been completely vacated by industry. The problem with this provision was that industry was no longer using the upper stories of warehouses and factories, although it did continue to occupy the ground floors of these old structures. Artists found the vacant upper floors of the turn-of-the-century buildings to be perfect for their live/work space needs. Health and safety requirements of this amendment were also too restrictive for artists trying to legally convert space. As a consequence, many artists in SoHo continued to live illegally.

Then in 1971, after another unsuccessful amendment modification in 1965, the State Legislature amended the Multiple Dwelling Law to allow artists to co-exist with industry in the same structures. Health and safety codes were also relaxed. At the same time, the New York Planning Commission rezoned SoHo as a Light Manufacturing District and amended the zoning code to allow artists live/work space as a principal use in SoHo. In an attempt to address the gentrification and displacement problem which was becoming a problem for low-income artists, the Commission also created a certification program for artists to prevent non-artists (lawyers, architects and art patrons) from competing with artists for SoHo loft space. Artists had to submit their portfolios to the Department of Cultural Affairs and demonstrate their need for loft space (Artists Equity, 1981:21-22).

Despite this method of licensing artists, within a few years, SoHo had experienced widespread gentrification. Young professionals, art patrons, cafes, and chic boutiques had displaced many of SoHo's original artists. Very soon, North of Houston (NoHo) and TriBeca districts were zoned for artists and consequently experienced the same type of gentrification. This phenomenon has been labeled by many as "SoHo-ization" or the SoHo model of neighborhood revitalization: artists move into a declining industrial district — cafes, theatres and chic shops follow — then the higher rent paying non-artists want to live in this new trendy area causing rents to skyrocket well above what the original artists can afford.

In general, New York City's policy response was unsuccessful even though it made live/work space a legal principal use. It failed to reduce the negative impacts of gentrification (displacement) for artists. One of the problems with the certification program, according to a New York planner, was that low-income "starving" artists would rent their portfolios to non-artists wanting to live in SoHo; they would also loan their portfolios to their friends so they could move to SoHo (Artists Equity, 1981:97). Section III will address the issue of artist displacement and gentrification in San Francisco and how the City's policy response is different from New York's.

Housing and Building Codes

Back in the 1950's and 60's, the concept of live/work could not be accommodated by existing codes because it combines two uses or occupancies commonly segregated by building code regulations. The problem became which occupancy regulations, industrial, commercial or residential, should apply to live/work space. In San Francisco, there are several codes which apply to live/work space. Because of San Francisco's propensity for earthquakes and the fact that fires spread so easily among our dense wooden structures, the Building Code here is stricter than those of other cities. Building codes specify requirements for structural factors such as seismic and fire safety, plumbing, cooking facilities and electrical utilities. San Francisco's Housing Code describes the permitted uses of residential space, plumbing requirements, a noise ordinance (taken from the Police Code) and fire safety provisions (from the Building Code). A separate Fire Code administered by the Fire Department also applies to live/work space.

In the 1970's, the Bureau of Building Inspection (BBI) regarded live/work space as a combination of commercial (F2) and residential (H) occupancy categories. BBI required a building permit (F2H) to legalize buildings with live/work space. A building permit can only be applied for by property owners and artists with a leasehold interest. At that time all existing live/work space in San Francisco was installed illegally. The BBI reviewed permit applications on a case-by-case basis by the superintendent so that inerpretations would not vary from inspector to inspector. In general, this permit required fire safety and sanitary facility improvements applicable to residential uses and at least two visits by the building inspector. Because of the high costs of these improvements, and the possibility of being fined for other code violations discovered during the site visits, property owners generally did not apply for the new permit and stopped leasing new space to live-in artists (DCP, 1985:3). The BBI assumed the result

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'. . . low-income "starving" artists would rent their portfolios to non-artists.'

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of their code enforcement policy would be that artists, particularly those in the South of Market, would find themselves threatened with eviction notices from unsympathetic landlords. Many artists lost studios in which they had invested large sums of money for renovation and conversion into live/work space. The American Can Company was one such artist live/work building where the owner evicted tenant artists from the "living" part of their leases by using previously ignored building code violations as a means to legitimate the evictions (Silliman, 1985:9).

BBI's interpretation of the building code could not legally address other important land use issues. Only the Planning Department can resolve and set land use policies. Although the BBI permit requirement was not intended to displace artists, with the existence of uncooperative landlords, the permit requirements were not supportive of artists live/work space needs. The situation became so acute and widespread that artists rallied together and with the assistance of the BBI and the Department of City Planning, they developed legislation to legalize live/work space.

New Legislation

In November, 1978, the San Francisco Planning Commission adopted a zoning code amendment permitting live/work uses in C (commercial) and M (manufacturing) districts of the City. San Francisco was the first city to revise its zoning codes to allow

residential uses in all other non-residential districts. In essence, Section 204.4(b) states that dwelling units integrated with the working space of artists shall be permitted as an accesssory use to such working space in C and M districts and where the occupancy meets all applicable provisions of the Building and Housing Codes. The problem at that point became defining the applicable provisions. Although this new planning code amendment gave artists the legal right to reside in their studios, live/work as a land use still presented a myriad of planning and building code interpretation problems. For one, Section 204.4(b) of the Planning Code contained no classifications for live/work as a principal or conditional use in any zoning district. As an accessory use, the "live" space is limited to no more than 25% of the total occupied floor area. Accessory uses do not have density, parking, or open space requirements; only the principal use to which the "living" use is an accessory does.

'The situation became so acute and widespread that artists rallied together . . . they developed legislation to legalize live/work space.'

In 1979, Artists Equity held a series of workshops and a two-day conference on live/work space. One product of this effort was the previously mentioned report which documents the variety of the issues, problems and solutions surrounding live/-work space. It is widely acknowledged that this well coordinated effort on the part of local artists was responsible for the first state legislation to address the problem. California Senate Bill (SB) 812, with a live/work amendment, was signed by the governor on September 5, 1979. SB-812 enabled cities and counties to adopt alternative building regulations for the conversion of commercial or industrial buildings into a new class (use) of occupancy called "joint living and working quarters," (in contrast to the BBI's interpretation of a combined use). Specifically, SB-812 requires live/work space to conform to normal building standards only as they apply to cooking and sanitary facilities. In general, the Bill makes it possible for cities to relax some building code requirements in order to accommodate live/-workers. Other requirements, such as whether to define geographic areas for live/work space, are left to the discretion of local governments.

The debate on how to adapt the existing building code to live/work generated much discussion. Artists and city officials questioned whether requirements should be stricter or more lenient than regular health and safety codes for residential uses. The central dilemma for artists is that the stricter building codes mean high conversion costs, often to the point that the costs prohibit both new conversions and bringing existing live/work spaces up to code. Since the majority of artists use more than half of their space for working, some thought standards should be those for industrial/commercial uses. Some artists proposed that a special set of lower building and housing standards, called Group K Housing[1], be applied to live/work space in San Francisco. One member of the Board of Supervisors (Silver) supported the proposal but it ran into significant opposition from the Chamber of Commerce and BBI. Robert Levy of BBI maintained that the live/work environment is a mixed used occupancy with more, not less, health and safety hazards than each use poses alone (Artists Equity, 1981:44-45).

The intent of the Group K Housing proposal was to make it less expensive for artists to convert buildings to live/work space or bring illegal spaces up to code. The Bay Area Lawyers for the Arts thought that lowering standards for Artists was not in artists' overall interest because it could expose them to exploitive behavior from unscrupulous landlords. Most artists agreed with the BBI: before a set of housing and building codes could be specified for artist live/work space, a definition of the "work" was necessary (Artist Equity, 1983:45).

III. Recent Studies and Surveys

Before any new public policy could be developed to alleviate the situation, more precise information was needed. The most pressing question was how many artists are living in illegal live/work spaces and what are their space needs? Two surveys (one which was combined with a study) were conducted to address these and other related questions. The first survey was conducted by the Department of City Planning (DCP) as part of the South of Market (SOM) Rezoning Study. Artists as both residents and businesses had not been identified by DCP's residential and business surveys in the South of Market; therefore a special self-administered survey was designed to reach artists living in industrial spaces in the South of Market. The survey asked questions about existing spaces and future space needs, rent paying ability, monies invested and parking needs. The end

objective of this survey was to develop zoning standards which would facilitate the protection and strengthening of the SOM artist community.

The most significant finding of this survey was that the SOM artist is the most rent sensitive business in the South of Market and is occupying the type of commercial space that is in greatest demand. The vast majority of SOM artists are spending over half (53%) of their incomes on rent. Industrial and business support services are paying about .60 per sq. ft.; to compete with these uses the average artist would have to spend 96% of their art-derived income on rent or get a job outside the production of their artwork. Under existing zoning controls artist live/work space is the use most subject to displacement by current development pressures in the South of Market (DCP, 1985:8).

Shortly after the DCP survey was completed, the San Francisco Arts Commission, in response to a request from the Mayor, conducted its own citywide telephone survey of artists. This survey was combined with a report on the policy and code problems of live/work space in San Francisco and a summary of other cities' experience with live/work space. Volunteers spoke with 363 artists and asked them about 65 questions concerning their current and preferred living and working conditions.

> **'The most unique aspect of the new zoning controls is the mechanism ... to deal with the problem of artist displacement caused by gentrification.'**

The Mayor's survey and study, entitled "Live/-Work — The San Francisco Experience," was prepared by Barbara Kibbe and published by the Arts Commission in April 1985. The Mayor's survey found that most artists are not living in their preferred situation; 40% prefer live/work arrangements but only 12% have such an arrangement. Most current live/workers felt threatened by the possibility of eviction by landlords or city officials. A large percentage (about 60%) of artists surveyed are considered in the low-income bracket. The majority of artists tend to be professional artists with an average of ten years experience in the field, yet 58% receive 25% or less of their income from their artwork. The report concluded that the legal (principal or conditional use) status of artist live/-work space must be clarified; the private sector

should be encouraged to develop more live/work units; and artists need to be educated in order to participate more effectively in their own live/work property development, financing and management. In general, this report recommended that the City should define the permissible uses for live/work space rather than try to define its users as New York does (Kibbe, 1985:54-56).

Both of these surveys made it clear that although there had been many new policies enacted to protect and encourage live/work space, the original issues of displacement, gentrification, and building/housing/zoning code ambiguities still presented significant problems for artists in San Francisco.

IV. Current Policies

New Zoning Controls

On October 2, 1986, the San Francisco Planning Commission imposed the Interim Controls for the South of Market area of the City (effective for 18 months) and the Board of Supervisors ratified this ruling on November 24, 1986. Among the zoning changes related to live/work, the most important is that the Interim Controls provide for the creation of live/work space as a principal use within all zoning districts in the South of Market. This new use category, called Live/Work Unit, is a combination of residential and non-residential activities and specifies that live/work units shall not be subject to the requirements of dwelling units. The Interim Controls also impose previously unspecified code requirements for parking, density and open space.

The most unique aspect of the new zoning controls is the mechanism developed by Susana Montana (project manager of the SOM Study) to deal with the problem of artist displacement caused by gentrification. This policy is different from the New York solution of certifying artists as bonafide artists; rather, the method is to identify the use or activity of the space instead of the occupant. The zoning ordinance works like this: The South of Market is divided into seven zoning districts:

RM-3: Medium-Density Mixed Residential
RC-2: Moderate-Density Residential Commercial
RC-4: High-Density Residential Commercial
HSL: Housing/Service/Light Industry
SLI: Service/Light Inudstry
SSO: Service/Secondary Office
P: Public

In the South of Market residential districts live/work space is allowed in all existing industrial and commercial structures, but not in dwelling

units. The one qualification is that the non-residential use in live/work units in residential districts must be limited to arts-related activities[2]. Live/work in these districts is not allowed if the tenant is engaged in non-arts or office type "work" such as architecture, law or professional consulting. However, this type of non-arts live/work space is allowed in the SSO or RC-2 district — the area set aside in the South of Market for secondary office growth (Section 209.9, DCP, 1986:97). Within the South of Market RC-4, HSL and SLI districts, live/work space is allowed as a principal use so long as the non-residential use is one permitted within the applicable district. Arts-related activities, graphic artists, commercial photographers and other art activities are a principal use in RC-4, HSL and SLI districts. Office use is not permitted in these districts.

By excluding non-arts live/work space from the industrial/commerical structures in SOM residential districts, (which are now considered non-conforming uses), the attempt is to increase the supply of live/work space in the SOM. By excluding non-arts live/work space from the RC-4, HSL, or SLI district, the attempt is to increase the supply of live/-work space as well as to slow down the gentrification process[3]. Granted the "down and out" or struggling artist has and will always have difficulty finding adequate affordable live/work space in the South of Market due to current rental rates (.40 to .70 per sq. ft.). This zoning strategy, rather than trying to stop the process of gentrification altogether, directs non-arts-related live/workers to that part of the South of Market where development pressures are greatest and lets those with higher rent paying ability compete with office/commercial uses rather than artists.

Housing and Building Codes

About the same time the DCP and Mayor's surveys were being conducted, the BBI issued an offical Code Ruling on the standards applicable to live/-work space. This ruling (similar to SB-812) gives live/work space its own special occupancy title, called "Live/work Quarters". In 1984, the BBI also adopted the California Unified Building Code and as a result the code designations for live/work changed from F2H to RI and B2, although the use definition did not change. Then, in January 1986, the BBI reinterpreted (for the fifth time) the code Ruling for live/work space in favor of artists. Although this interpretation still protects the occupant, BBI is now viewing live/work as an industrial occupancy[3]. A more intensive use, such as office or retail, in the upper floors of buildings, would require seismic upgrading of the whole building. This, plus the fact that office and retail are not permitted in most of the South of Market and that artists are willing to pay

.40 to .70 per sq. ft. rental rates, makes live/work tenants an attractive use for SOM loft space currently used for storage.

V. Conclusion

Currently, City Planning staff is working on city-wide legislation for live/work space similar to that found in the SOM Interim Controls. Unfortunately, there are other factors which affect the availability of live/work space despite the well-conceived policy solutions by DCP and BBI. These new policies will not in and of themselves provide affordable live/-work space for the struggling artist. As stated in the introduction, the private market will dictate how many new live/work units are developed in San Francisco.

A relatively new factor in the live/work issue, one that at this point has not been dealt with by any public policy, is the problem of insurance. It now seems, as with countless other business activities, insurance companies are demanding exorbitant rates for live/work liability coverage. These high rates substantially add to the cost of developing new live/-work space. Mark Renne, owner of the Billboard Cafe and Club Nine in the South of Market, was developing a live/work building until he found out that the insurance rates were going to price the space out of the range artists can afford[5].

Clearly, the previous lack of specific planning and building codes for live/work space caused significant problems for artists in San Francisco. But what about those aspects of the private market such as insurance rates, over which the local government has no control? Now with what appears to be some excellent policies directed towards the protection and ecouragement of artist live/work space in San Francisco, it will be interesting to see how the private sector responds. The Department of City Planning hopes that the market will respond to their new land-use engineering plan by offering their upper level loft spaces to live/work tenants[3].   □

Notes

[1] Group K Housing was modelled after standards for dwellings for remote rural areas by Professor Allan Cadgene of Golden Gate University, (Artist Equity, 1983:45).

[2] Arts-related is defined as dance; music; live dramatic art; theatre rehearsal; film, video, and audio rehearsals; recording, production, post-production and performance activities; painting, drawing, sculpture and other visual arts production; and exhibition and schools for the above art activities. South of Market Interim Controls, pg. 24, San Francisco Department of City Planning, October 2, 1986.

[3] Susana Montana, project manager for the South of Market ReZoning Study and Interim Controls, Department of City Planning, personal interview, December 26, 1986.

[4] Bernard A. Cummings, Assistant Superintendent, Property Conservation, Department of Public Works, Bureau of Building Inspection, telephone conversation, November 18, 1986.

[5] Mark Renne, personal interview, December 26, 1986.

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Photo Essay

The City at Night*

by Susan Heiser

POEM

Acquainted with the Night
by ROBERT FROST

I have been one acquainted with the night.
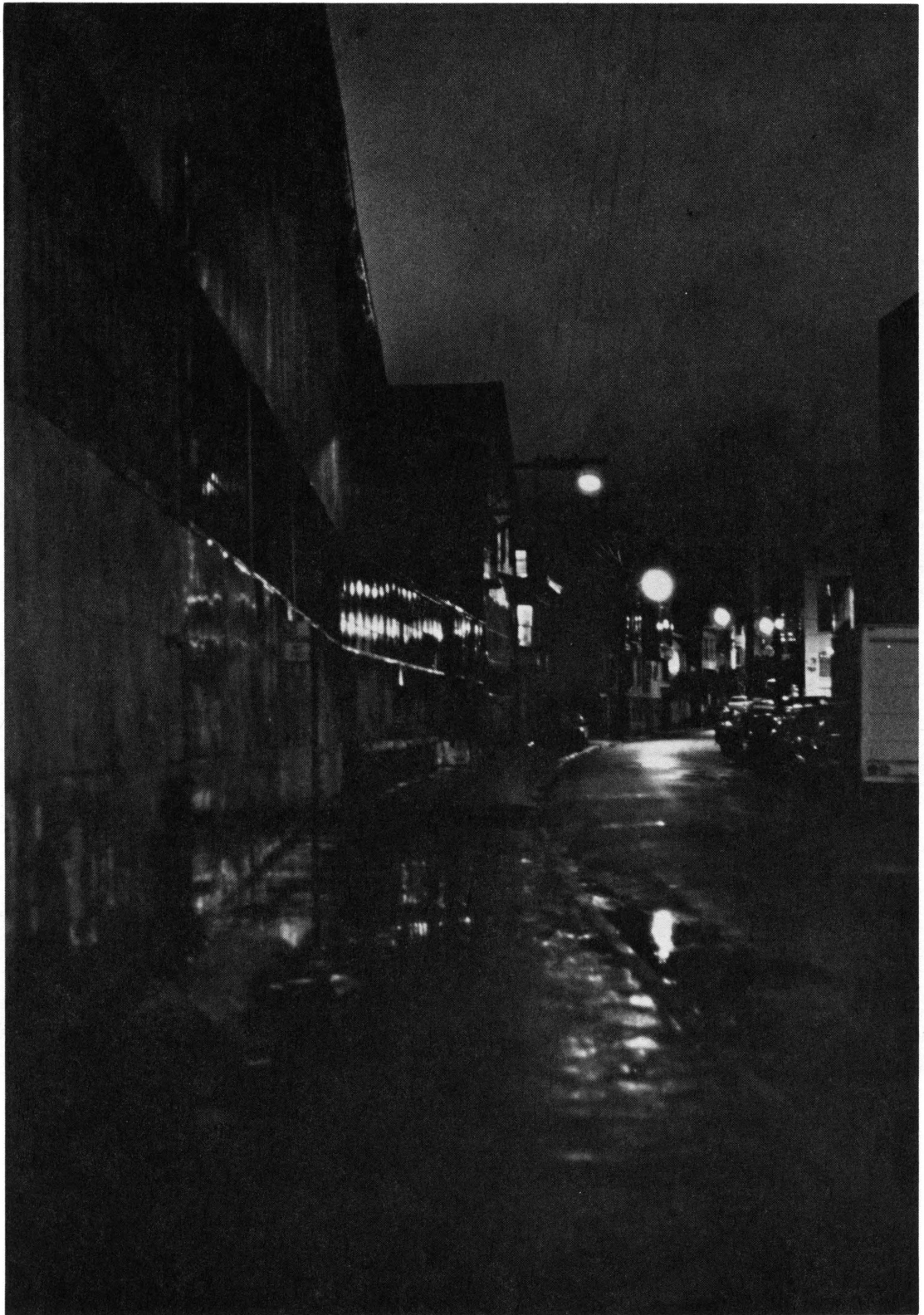
I have walked out in rain-and back in rain.
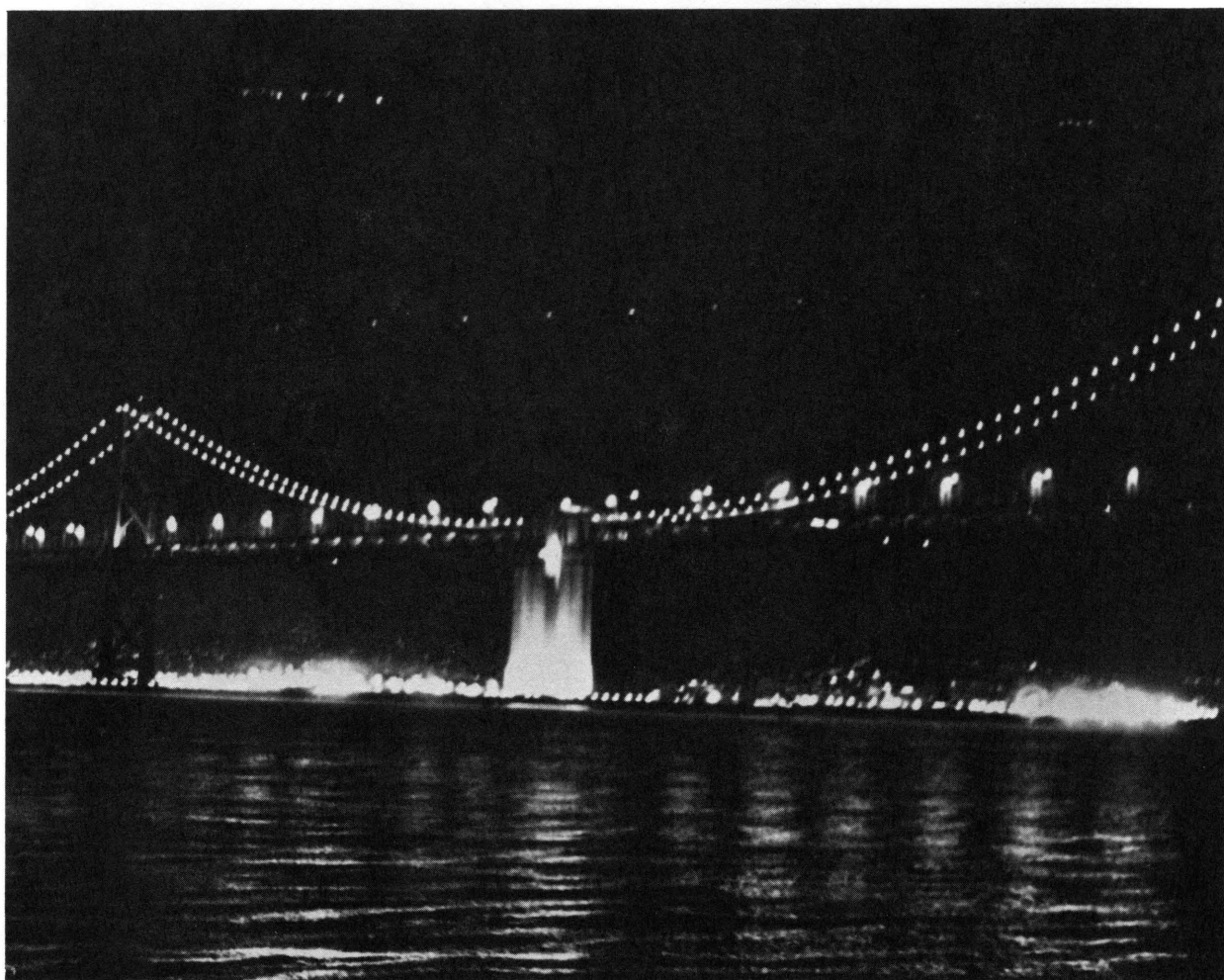
I have outwalked the furthest city light.
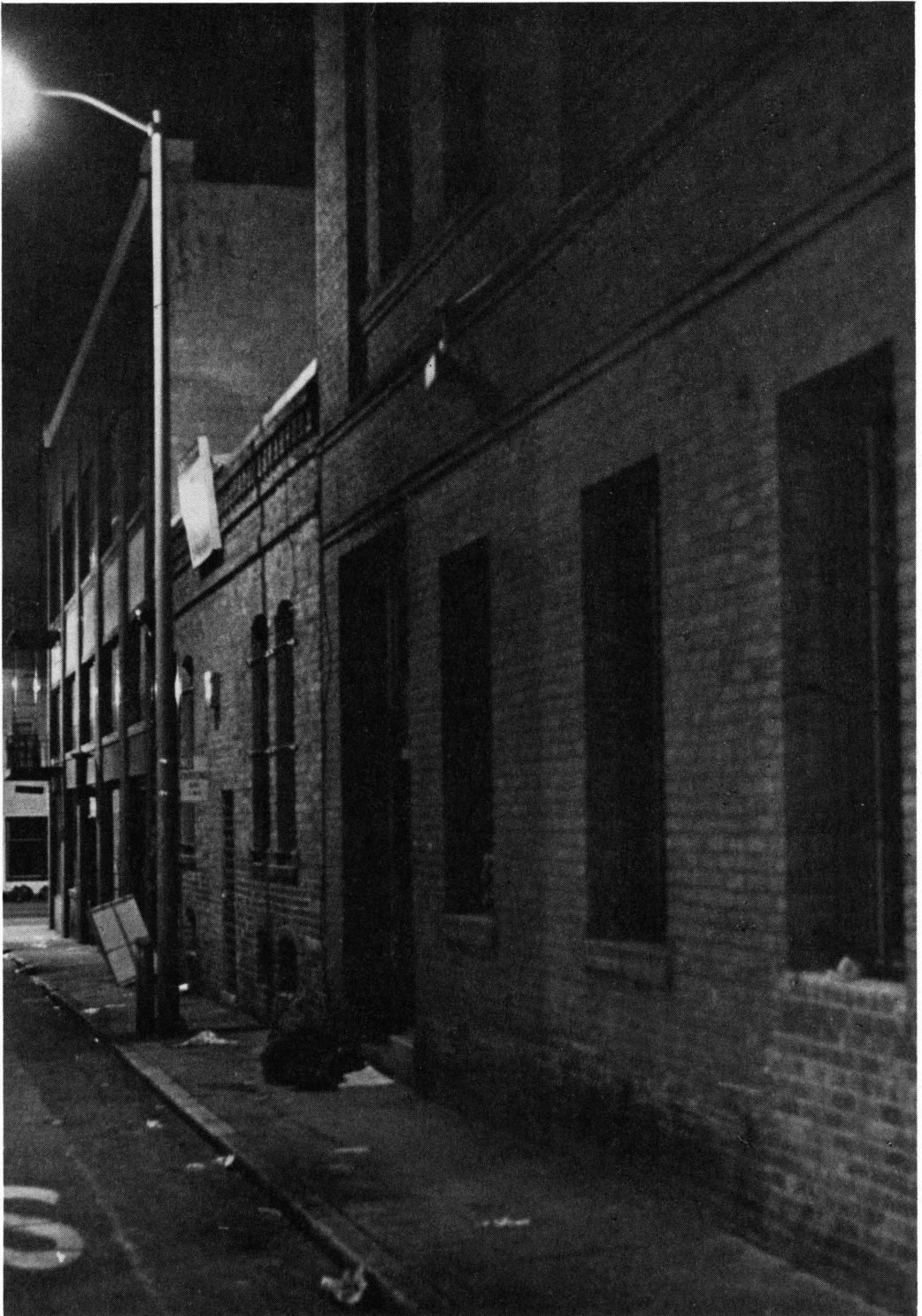
I have looked down the saddest city lane.
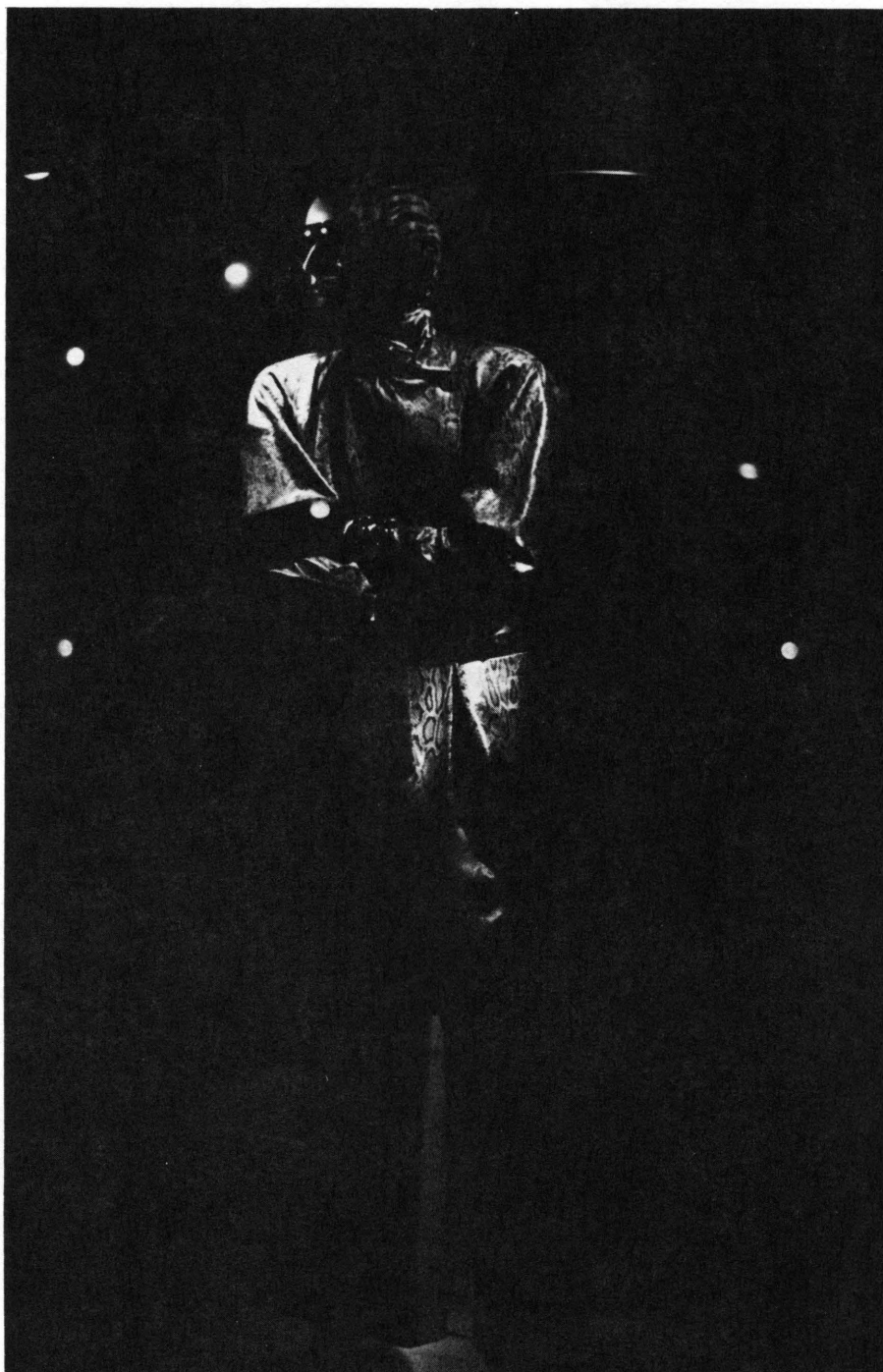
I have passed by the watchman on his beat
And dropped my eyes, unwilling to explain.

I have stood still and stopped the sound of feet
When far away an interrupted cry

Came over houses from another street,
But not to call me back or say good-bye;

And further still at an unearthly height,

One luminary clock against the sky
Proclaimed the time was neither wrong nor right

I have been one acquainted with the night.
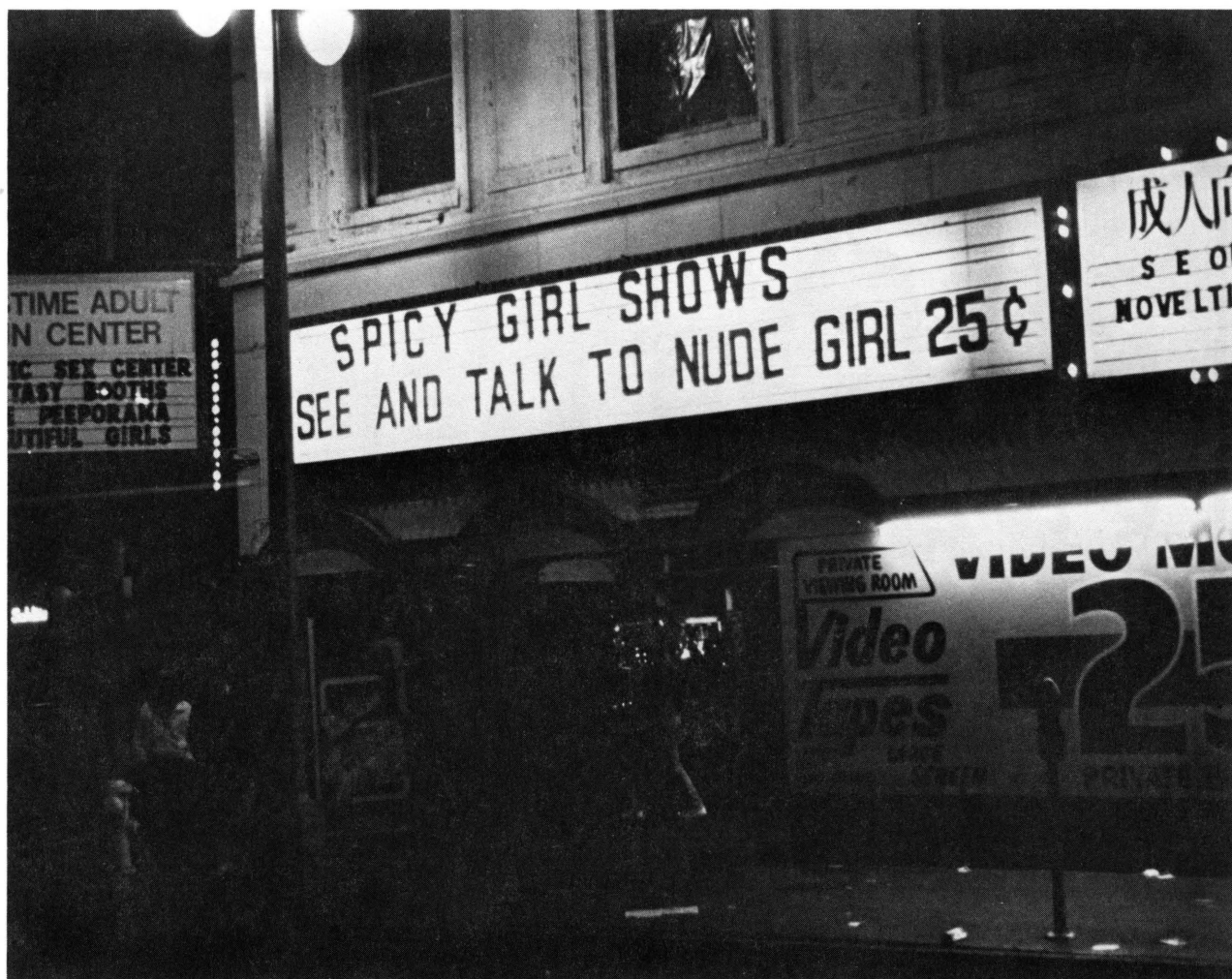
*Concept by Rachel Menzi
Love and Support by Tom*

*Susan Heiser is a Junior in the Urban Studies Program.
"She came, she saw, she conquered."*

Urban Perspectives
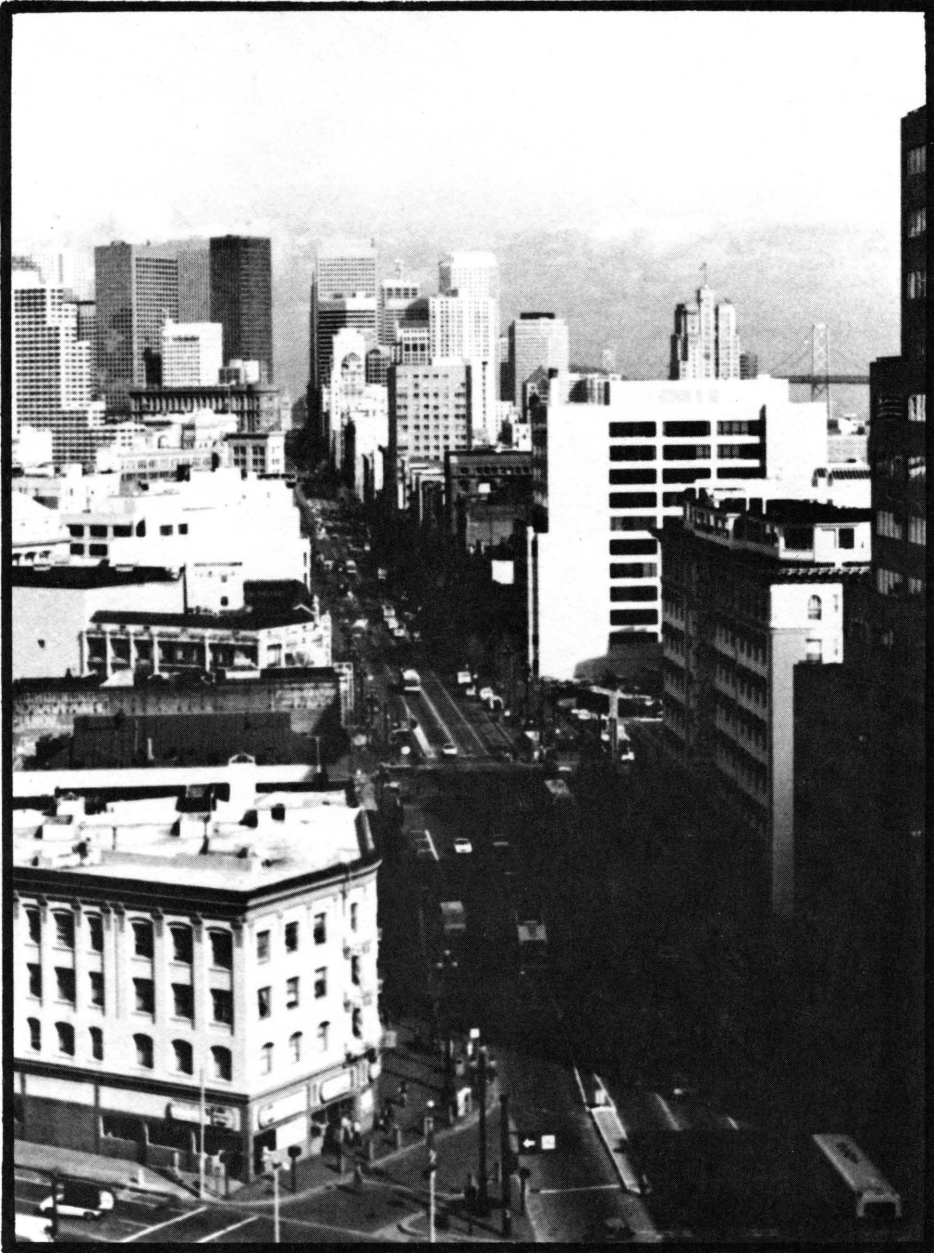
SAN FRANCISCO'S AMERICAN INDIAN COMMUNITY

by Paula Frederick

Paula Frederick is an Urban Studies senior with an interest in graduate work in social program planing. She has been accepted to the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University and will begin graduate studies in the Fall of 1987.

Background

The migration of American Indians to urban centers began as a significant phenomenon in the early 1950's. During that time, the United States government had embarked on a policy of "termination" and "relocation" with respect to Native Americans. This policy sought to eliminate Indian reservations and to assimilate Indians into white society.[1] The major effects of the policy were two-fold: 1) it resulted in the loss of Indian lands for many tribes, and 2) it created a tremendous influx of former reservation Indians into urban areas. Several U.S. cities have inherited significant Native American populations as a result of this policy. In California today, 82% of its Indian population is urban; the largest concentration of which is in Los Angeles. over 35,000 Native Americans live in the Bay Area.[2]

San Francisco is a city with a well-established Indian community. But for many San Franciscans, the American Indian community here is an obscure one. Contributing to their obscurity is the fact that the local media seldom gives attention to this city's Indian population. One might wonder, then, about the nature of this community. What are the organizations, issues of concern, and attitudes of the people who make-up its population?

Using interviews with the members of local Native American organiztaions and a survey of recent literature on urban Indians, this article will highlight these and other questions. The intent is to give the reader a sense of San Francisco's American Indian community as it is today. But before addressing this subject, some general information on American Indians will be provided.
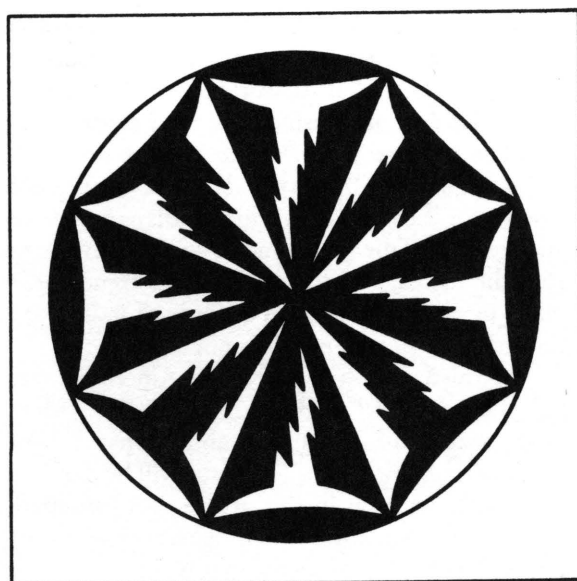
The "Invisible" Minority

The obscurity of the Indian community in San Francisco is a condition which is shared by the American Indian population in general. American Indians, as a group, have often been thought of as the "invisible" minority. This label has emerged because of the overall lack of awareness that non-Indians have about this population. While most people know that American Indians exist, they often do not know much else about them.

There are a number of reasons why Native Americans have remained somewhat of an enigma to the general public. One reason is the basic distrust that American Indians have had of the dominant white culture and of its institutions. After a long history of betrayal by whites and by the U.S. government, Native Americans have, quite understandably, become suspicious and cautious about instrusions into their communities by white culture: by its media, its government, its churches, and its schools. Moreover,

many American Indians have tired of being treated as "living artifacts," or as the subjects of anthropological case studies. In short, Indians have often been reticent to open themselves up to a culture which has consistently attempted to manipulate them. And misrepresentation of American Indians in the media has contributed significantly to the mystery which often surrounds this population.

Another reason for the obscurity of Native Americans among non-Indians has to do with their numbers. The American Indian population, though growing, is considerably smaller than most other non-white groups in the United States (the 1980 census recorded 1,418,195 Native Americans).[3] And in an age which places tremendous importance on the "quantification" of world phenomena, American Indians are increasingly omitted from official statistics because their "numbers" are not considered "significant." This trend has important implications for the manner in which Indians are viewed and treated by the government, social service agencies, the media, and the public. This trend has, in many instances, created an attitude of indifference towards the American Indian population.

A third reason why Native Americans have become "invisible" to the public has to do with the image that non-Indians have about what a "real" Indian should look like. This issue will be discussed more fully later on in this article, but essentially, non-Indians frequently view Indians in "traditional" terms. That is, it is expected that Native Americans will adopt the dress and manner that was characteristic of their ancestors (e.g., deerskin and feathers). And if Indians do not appear to non-Indians in this fashion, they are often overlooked.

San Francisco's American Indian Community

For the most part, the issues raised above apply to the American Indian community in San Francisco. Like the overall American Indian population, the Native American community here is relatively small as compared with other non-white groups in the city. Yet the number of Indians living in San Francisco is a difficult figure to pin down. The 1980 census recorded the Indian population in San Francico as 3,358 persons.[4] However, some sources have indicated that this number is grossly inaccurate. Apparently, there exists a general difficulty in obtaining a good estimate of the Indian population, both in San Francisco and nationwide.

Donna Fairchild, American Indian Program Coordinator at the California Department of Eco-

nomic Opportunity, said that the State Census Data Center has acknowledged that the 1980 census "severely undercounted" the American Indian population in California. An informal report by the Department of Economic Opportunity dated May 4, 1982, estimated the San Francisco Indian population at 9,061 persons.[5] But this figure has been disputed by some members of local Indian social service agencies as being too high. Adding to the problem of determining the size of the current Native American population here using these earlier estimates is that these figures do not reflect the recent migration of Indians to urban centers, which has come about because of the current high unemployment levels (45% nationwide) on reservations.[6]

'. . . American Indians have tired of being treated as "living artifacts" . . .'

There are two principal factors which make obtaining accurate counts of the Indian population difficult. One is the reluctance of Native Americans to participate in statistical surveys, and the other is the transient nature of a substantial segment of the Indian population.

Donna Fairchild believes that it is difficult to get Indians to participate in the census and other government surveys because many of them "do not have a good understanding of government forms." She also said that there is "limited literacy" among some portions of the Indian population which further impedes data-gathering. Chockie Cottier, Chief Executive Officer of the Corporation of American Indian Development at the San Francisco American Indian Center, also attributes part of the problem of getting statistical data on Indians to "communication problems." Ms. Cottier feels that more Indians would participate in the U.S. census if "they had a good understanding of what it was for."

A second barrier to getting census data on Native Americans is that many Indians have very "nomadic" lifestyles. As such, they tend to exhibit a pattern of "circular migration," wherein they travel from the reservation, to the city, and then back again.[7] According to Chockie Cottier, an estimated 25% of the American Indian population nationwide is highly transient, moving freely and frequently between reservations and urban centers. Due to this fact, urban Indian populations are in a constant state of flux.

Demographics

Taking into account the limitations of 1980 census data on the American Indian population, it may still be useful to provide some information taken from the census about San Francisco's Indian community. At the very least, this information will give the reader a general sense of the statistical characteristics of this population.

1980 census data shows that the median age among Indians in San Francisco was about 32 years, with the majority of the population concentrated in the 20-to-39-year-old age group. The median years of school completed by the Indian population was 12, and 995 persons were listed as having 1 or more years of college (393 of whom had 4 or more years of college). The median income for Indian households (numbering 1,306, with an average of 2 persons per household) was $13,228 per year; the median income for families (numbering 548 with an average of 3 persons per family) was $13,950 per year. In 1979, 248 Indian households were receiving public assistance income, which had a mean value of $3,437 per year.[8]

Phil Tingley, manager of the Human Development Division at the San Francisco American Indian Center, offered some additional information about San Francisco's American Indian population. Mr. Tingely said that the Indian community here consisted mostly of single adults and single-parent families, and that its population was geographically dispersed throughout the city. He added that there are about 293 different tribes represented in the Bay Area, which has a large Canadian Indian population, and a growing Central and South American Indian population. The original Indian tribe which inhabited San Francisco and the greater Bay Area was the Ohlone tribe, which today has few surviving members.

The Noble Savage vs. A Contemporary People

In her book, *Urban Renegades*, author and sociolgist Jeanne Guillemin made the following observation about the image of the American Indian:

> Despite the fact that Indians are found in cities and the reasonable assumption that the lives of most American Indians are affected by urban industrialism, a conglomerate stereotype of the Native American persists. It includes elements that are sometimes noble, sometimes comic or grotesque, and it includes traces of a romantic proximity to nature, all of which are located in another dimension of time — the past.[9]

She later added:

> It is difficult to think of another minority group so burdened with the belief that they belong in a mythic world of beads and barter.[10]

"We are not accepted by non-Indians as a contemporary people."

As noted earlier, the public's image of American Indians is a factor which contributes to the "invisibility" of this community, particularly in the urban setting. Chockie Cottier put it thus, "In an urban area we (Indians) are no different from any one else in that we dress appropriately for our jobs and other activities. But people won't accept us as Indians if we are not wearing beads and feathers, and dressed in the full traditional regalia. We are not accepted by non-Indians as a *contemporary* people."

The stereotyping of Native Americans by non-Indians generally seems to take two forms: one stereotype is of the "noble savage," and the other is that of the "perpetually downtrodden." With respect to the former stereotype, Ms. Cottier said that in urban areas there is a "lot of romanticizing of what an Indian is about." She added that this kind of "noble savage" stereotyping is almost as negative as "outright racism," because it "places unreal expectations on Indians." And these expectations can lead to disillusionment and hostility on the part of non-Indians when they encounter Native Americans who do not "live up to" this stereotypical image.

The other side to the stereotyping of American Indians, i.e., as an oppressed and downtrodden people, is as limiting as the image of the "noble savage." The stereotype of the Indian as a "helpless victim" probably has its roots in the paternalistic attitude that whites displayed towards Indians early on in Indian-white relations, and which has characterized such institutions as the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

The stereotype of the Indian as a "helpless victim" may be partly responsible for the manner in which Indians are treated by the media. Chockie Cottier feels that "the media and America always want to see us 'in crisis,' so that we are not a 'media event' when we are doing something positive." And

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**'. . . this kind of "noble savage"
stereotyping is almost as
negative as "outright racism". . .'**

Phil Tingley observes that "the media only concentrates on the negative aspects of our community, and ignores our positive accomplishments." Mr. Tingley added that his organization (the American Indian Center) has often sent out press releases to the local media about community events and about visiting Indian leaders, but these kinds of "positive" community activities are rarely covered in the news.

Social Services

Among the "positive accomplishments" of the San Francisco American Indian community are a number of Indian-controlled social programs, ranging from health services to educational assistance. Some of the principal Indian social service organizations in the city are: the Native American Health Center. the American Indian Education Project, the Native American Senior Center, and the American Indian Center.

The American Indian Center was established in 1955 to meet the needs of newly-relocated urban Indians who had been moved to the city from reservations as a result of Eisenhower Termination and Relocation policies. In its early years, the Center was funded by the local Indian community, with assistance from churches and other charity organizations. There was no government financial support given to the Center at that time. Today, the Indian Center receives some federal funding through Community Block Grants.[11]

Some of the city's Indian social service programs are currently facing funding crises. Marty Waukazoo, Executive Director of the Native American Health Center, said that this organization is "barely hanging on" due to Reagan Administration cutbacks in social program funding. He added that the Health Center "may have to close down soon" if they cannot acquire some additional funding. And Phil Tingley stated that Reagan social program cuts were "severely impacting Native Americans," both in urban areas and on reservations.

Asked about what the city of San Francisco was doing to assist the local Indian community and its organizations, Mr. Tingely said that "city officials give verbal support to our community, but do not take any significant action to help us or to provide us with funding." This statement was echoed by Marty Waukazoo, who said that the Indian community receives "lip service from city officials, but no funds."

Mr. Waukazoo believes that the reason the city has not been forthcoming with funds for Indian programs is because the city's Indian population does not constitute a "significant voting block," and that local officials therefore do not feel accountable to the Indian community.

Chockie Cottier offered a slightly different view of the city's efforts towards the local Indian community. She said that although it was not "cost-effective" in the view of the city to put money into Indian programs (because of the size of the Indian population here), she felt that the community had made "a lot of inroads" into the city government structure and the "level of consciousness" of local officials about Indian problems and needs. She added that the city's efforts were "not enough," but she feels that San Francisco "does more for Native Americans than do other counties in the Bay Area."

As an example of city cooperation with the Indian community, Ms. Cottier said that the city has allowed Indian interns to be placed in city agencies, such as the Planning Department. Also, those city agencies which sponsor services for children (e.g., social welfare, Juvenile Justice), she said, are "very cooperative" with Indian social service organizations. Ms. Cottier added, "Where we have the time and staff to develop and foster relationships with city agencies, those relationships are 'excellent.' "

**'. . . the Indian community receives
"lip service from city officials,
but no funds."'**

In fact, Ms. Cottier thinks that the problem of not getting more city support for Indian community needs lies with the lack of lobbying efforts by Indians with city officials. But, she said, "We don't have the resources to actively and consistently engage in the kind of lobbying efforts which are needed to gain more support from the city. And, because so few non-Indians (including city officials) even know that we still exist, we have to constantly educate people about our community. This creates a tremendous burden on anyone from the Indian community who attempts to fill this public 'advocacy' need."

Political Efforts

The need for political lobbying efforts has been widely acknowledged among members of Indian social service organizations within the city. Because of this need, members of Indian organizations have been working to establish a political action group. Efforts to form such a group began a few years ago, according to Chockie Cottier, when representatives from all the Indian agencies in the area would meet regularly for informal get-togethers. Said Ms. Cottier, "We would meet to talk about funding cuts, gaps in services, and policy issues which were affecting Indians, and about how we could work to improve matters. Now, we are talking about forming an off-shoot of those informal meetings. If we can raise the money to support it, we will have a working political action committee."

Ms. Cottier went on to say that Indian people recognize the need to respond to issues which affect them, as well as the need to become involved in local politics. The establishment of an Indian political action committee is one mechanism which community members hope will facilitate that involvement.

Economic Development

One division of the Corporation for American Indian Development at the San Franciso American Indian Center focuses on economic development. According to the Center's brochure, this division "engage(s) in a wide range of activities, including: housing development, retaining local jobs, new enterprise development, commercial development, land assembly and development, and infrastructure development." One effort of the division, "new enterprise development," is directed at developing and marketing Indian products (e.g., food, crafts, recipes, and herbs). In some cases, this invoves setting up a new company on a reservation.

Chockie Cottier, when asked if there were any conflicts between traditional Indian values and the kind of business enterprises that the Divison on Economic Development was promoting, responded that there was no conflict between these two concerns because "we have a 'development theory' which incorporates traditional Indian values. Business and marketing do not, in themselves, run counter to Indian values — it depends on *how* you handle them. Business need not be 'exploitive.' Our organization feels that it is important that a tribe understand the business and marketing process, and that it agrees that a product belonging to the tribe is okay to sell. We would not, for example, go to a tribe and ask to market their sacred rituals as entertainment for tourists. We exercise judgement and a sensitivity about which Indian products and practices are acceptable as 'merchandise.' "

Ms. Cottier said the "keys" to the success of economic development projects on reservations today are that more Indian people have business expertise now than in the past, and there is greater Indian control and planning of these projects. "We engage in a very precise, long-term planning, wherein the consequences of each developoment are examined. We also work towards diversifying reservation economies. Our approach to planning incorporates many of the same elements that would go into any urban or community planning effort."

"We would not . . . go to a tribe and ask to market their sacred rituals . . ."

Ms. Cottier commented that this planning process was a "new way of looking at reservations; in terms of creating an economic base, in developing infrastructure, political structure, and so on." She added that there exists a very strong feeling among Indians today to maintain reservations. "I don't think that will ever go away. Our people still want their land — our land base is what keeps us together. And even if we live off of the reservation, our land is still what makes us a 'whole' people."

Current Issues

The important issues and concerns of urban Indians today are apparently much the same as they have always been. Marty Waukazoo said that alcoholism among Indians is still their "number one health problem." Poverty among Indians is also still a major issue. Chockie Cottier explained that "because reservation economies cannot support the Indian populations living on them, we have a constant influx of people to the cities who are 'in crisis'."

Another ongoing problem among urban Indians is the alienation which many Indians experience in urban areas because of being removed from their cultures. This can prove particularly traumatic for young Indians who, according to Ms. Cottier, "have no peer or support group in school" because they are so few in number. The alienation that young Indians experience in cities has led to a high drop-

out rate among them, particularly from high school.

To deal with these problems, Ms. Cottier said, "as urban Indians, we need to develop positive experiences for our people, a positive environment to raise our children in, in order to give them an Indian identity in the urban setting."

". . . our land base is what keeps us together . . . what makes us a 'whole' people."

A "Spiritual Renaissance"

Despite the problems facing urban Indians, the feeling was expressed by Marty Waukazoo that a "spiritual recovery" was taking place in the Indian community. Chockie Cottier also feels that there is something of a "spiritual renaissance" occurring among Indians in general, and that the Indian people are "coming together in a new and positive direction."

What apparently accounts for this new feeling among Indians is a renewed interest in traditional Indian culture and spiritualism. According to Ms. Cottier, this appreciation for Indian culture has been incorporated into her organization's (the American Indian Center) approach to social services. She explained, "We are one of the few agencies in the country that I know of which has incorporated traditional Indian culture into services such as family counseling, and which encourages our people to seek out their own tribal, spiritual practices." And, she added, "This is a growing process."

Ms. Cottier said that because Indian people were, in one way or another, cut-off from their families, they lost a "connectedness" with tribal elders who could teach them the traditional ways. "Now we have to find a new way to teach our people, both young and old, about traditional culture." Ms. Cottier said that the American Indian Center is "spearheading" efforts to fill that need.

Both Chockie Cottier and Marty Waukazoo describe Indian spiritualism as a "way of life" rather than what many people define as a "religion." "We have no churches or similar religious institutions," Ms. Cottier commented, "but our spiritualism is nonetheless a very rigid discipline, and one which requires a long time to learn and develop." And particularly because urban Indians are removed

from their traditional cultures, she said, "much teaching needs to be done in our community here about traditional spiritualism."

Conclusion

What emerges from these discussions with members of San Francisco's American Indian community is a sense that "modern-day" Indians are attempting to "synthesize" contemporary American culture with traditional Indian culture. While urban Indians apparently do not wish to be viewed as "relics from the past," they also have a tremendous respect and appreciation for their traditional culture. At the same time, as expressed by Ms. Cottier, urban Indians realize that it is important to become invovled with the larger society, in "politics, business, and community affairs." She summed up the current situation among Indians as follows, "there is a transformation taking place in the manner in which Indians are dealing with the world. It is time now to develop something new."   □

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

"I have advised my people this way: When you find anything good in the white man's road, pick it up. When you find something that is bad, or turns bad, drop it and leave it alone."

— Sitting Bull

Notes

[1] Vine Deloria, Jr., Clifford M. Lytle, *American Indians, American Justice* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1983), p. 15.

[2] Urban Indian Health Board brochure, January 1987.

[3] Alvin M. Josephy, Jr., *Now That the Buffalo's Gone* (New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1982), p. xiii.

[4] 1980 Census of Population, "General Population Characteristics, California" (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1982).

[5] Personal Interview with Phil Tingley, Manager, Human Development Division, San Francisco American Indian Center, 12 Feb. 1987.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] Russell Thornton, Gary D. Sandefur, Harold G. Grasmick, *The Urbanization of American Indians* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1982), p. 22.

[8] 1980 Census of Population, "General Social and Economic Characteristics, California" (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1983).

[9] Jeanne Guillemin, *Urban Renegades* (New York, N.Y.: Columbia University Press, 1975), p. 4.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

[11] Personal Interview with Phil Tingley.

Gentrification and Change: Focus on Oakland

by Linda Weiland

Linda Weiland is a graduating senior at San Francisco State, majoring in Geography with a focus on Urban Housing. She plans to earn a Masters Degree in Geography/Urban Planning at San Jose State University. Areas of special interest include the Streetcar Suburbs, neighborhood identity, and historic preservation.

What is Gentrification?

"Gentrification refers to the in-migration of middle-class people to inner city areas that were formerly inhabited by poor or working-class individuals." (Lang, 1982:1) The term was first coined to describe the renovation of certain run-down London neighborhoods by the wealthy "landed gentry" in the 19th Century. Many authors dislike this term. It is too culture-specific and the gentrifiers are not necessarily British, nor of the upper class.

Other terms used to describe the same process are "neighborhood revitalization," "reverse blockbusting," "private urban renewal" and "reinvasion." The last term refers to a reversal of the invasion-succession model of neighborhood change (i.e., the replacement of higher-status groups by lower-status groups and the physical deterioration of the neighborhood). (Palen and London, 1984:9).

The Normal Neighborhood Life Cycle

In the past, city neighborhoods have exhibited a typical life-cycle. In the first stage, the neighborhood is healthy and viable. The houses are either new or well-maintained and there are high rates of home ownership, above average incomes, and low vacancy rates. As houses age, their maintenance requirements increase. If this maintenance is deferred, the neighborhood enters a stage of incipient decline.

Paint peels, roofs leak, and as the neighborhood loses prestige, more affluent residents move on, vacancy rates increase, and the average income declines. Confidence in the future of the neighborhood decreases, as does the level of investment in the housing stock.

Due to the property tax system which taxes the value of the land plus the apparent value of the building (Zeitz, 1979:96-97), landlords have little incentive to maintain their units as rents fall and vacancy rates rise. In the stage of obvious decline, possibly leading to abandonment, disinvestment continues. Major systems in the houses wear out and operating costs are high; and although rents are relatively low, vacancy rates and inability to pay the rents are high. As the quality of housing declines, only those residents with few other housing choices remain.

'... landlords have little incentive to maintain their units as rents fall and vacancy rates rise.'

According to Zeitz (1979:96-97), in the years from 1955 to 1975, this type of urban blight was the mode. The decline was accelerated by federal home-loan policies which favored new tract houses and mortgage bankers who refused to loan in older, racially mixed areas. This "redlining," combined with high rates of middle-class migration to the suburbs, resulted in a high percentage of absentee ownership in central city neighborhoods.

Gentrification may reverse this deterioration of a city's housing stock. A common pattern is for a few pioneers to move in and call attention to an area. Real estate agents then become involved and committed to improving the area, and bankers, specula-

tors and builders follow. Finally the property owners unite to achieve local control over zoning decisions (Zeitz, 1979:97).

Displacement and Gentrification

One problem often associated with gentrification is displacement of low-income non-white households as higher-income households move in. The data on this subject is inconclusive, but LeGates and Hartman (1981:207), in their examination of several major studies, found some common characteristics.

In the U.S. cities studied, most displacees were white and in the lower middle-income brackets, although people of many socioeconomic groups have been affected. The majority of displacement is a result of rent increases without physical improvement of the unit. There is much more displacement due to disinvestment and physical deterioration than displacement due to reinvestment. Although displacees pay more rent in their new location, they are generally more satisfied with the new dwelling unit and often with the new neighborhood, however this satisfaction may be inversely related to income. (LeGates and Hartman, 1981:207).

Why Does Gentrification Occur?

One of the major "push factors" for gentrification in the United States is the general condition of the housing market. Since 1970, housing construction has decreased while demand continues to increase. As the "baby boom" generation (born between 1945 and 1965) come into the house-buying market and more people opt for single or divorced lifestsyles and set up smaller, separate households requiring more housing units, demand exceeds supply. Correspondingly, the cost of housing has increased dramatically, especially in the suburbs (Zeitz, 1979: 99).

The "pull factors" are that life in the central city has more variety, stimulation and social diversity. The central location and access to mass transit may ease commuting time and costs. Much city housing was built between 1880 and 1930 and has a level of craftsmanship and quality that is rarely found in homes. Perhaps most important, the city offers bargains in housing, especially where the average income is low. Newcomers are attracted to a revitalizing area because house prices are moderate and often their own resources are moderate. (Spates and Maciones,

1982:428; Palen and London, 1984:7).

Many people refer to gentrification as a "back to the city" movement, but more often it represents a "stay in the city" pattern among younger, dual-wage-earner families. (Palen and London, 1984:6). "People moving into gentrifying neighborhoods are most likely to be young people with limited funds, people subject to job transfer (at which time they will rent the property out), professional restorers, who move from house to house, or middle aged returnees to the city, who may buy already-restored houses." (Zeitz, 1979:56).

Demographic Indicators of Gentrification

The hypothesis of this paper is that it is possible using census tract data to identify areas that have experienced gentrification. A second hypothesis is that it is possible, by identifying precursors of gentrification that show up in the census, to locate areas that will gentrify in the near future. My study area was Oakland, California's 104 census tracts. As most gentrification has occurred since 1975 (Palen and London, 1984:5), I compared the 1970 and 1980 Census Tracts.

To find gentrified areas I first chose variables that would indicate gentrification. The differences between 1970 and 1980 for the chosen variables were calculated, and the rate of change in each tract was compared with the rate of change for the city as a whole. Tracts where the change in those indicators exceeded that of Oakland were mapped according to the magnitude of the indicators. If my hypothesis is correct, those tracts with the most positive indicators of gentrification will indicate neighborhoods that have gentrified.

'Gentrifiers would . . . select areas with higher-than-average rates of homeownership. . .'

Where gentrifiers are replacing lower-income renters, gentrification would result in an increase in homeownership. The influx of higher-income individuals would increase per capita income. With the improvement in the housing condition, the median value of owner-occupied units would increase. Therefore, the indicators selected to identify gentrified tracts were: change in rate of homeownership,

OAKLAND
CENSUS TRACTS
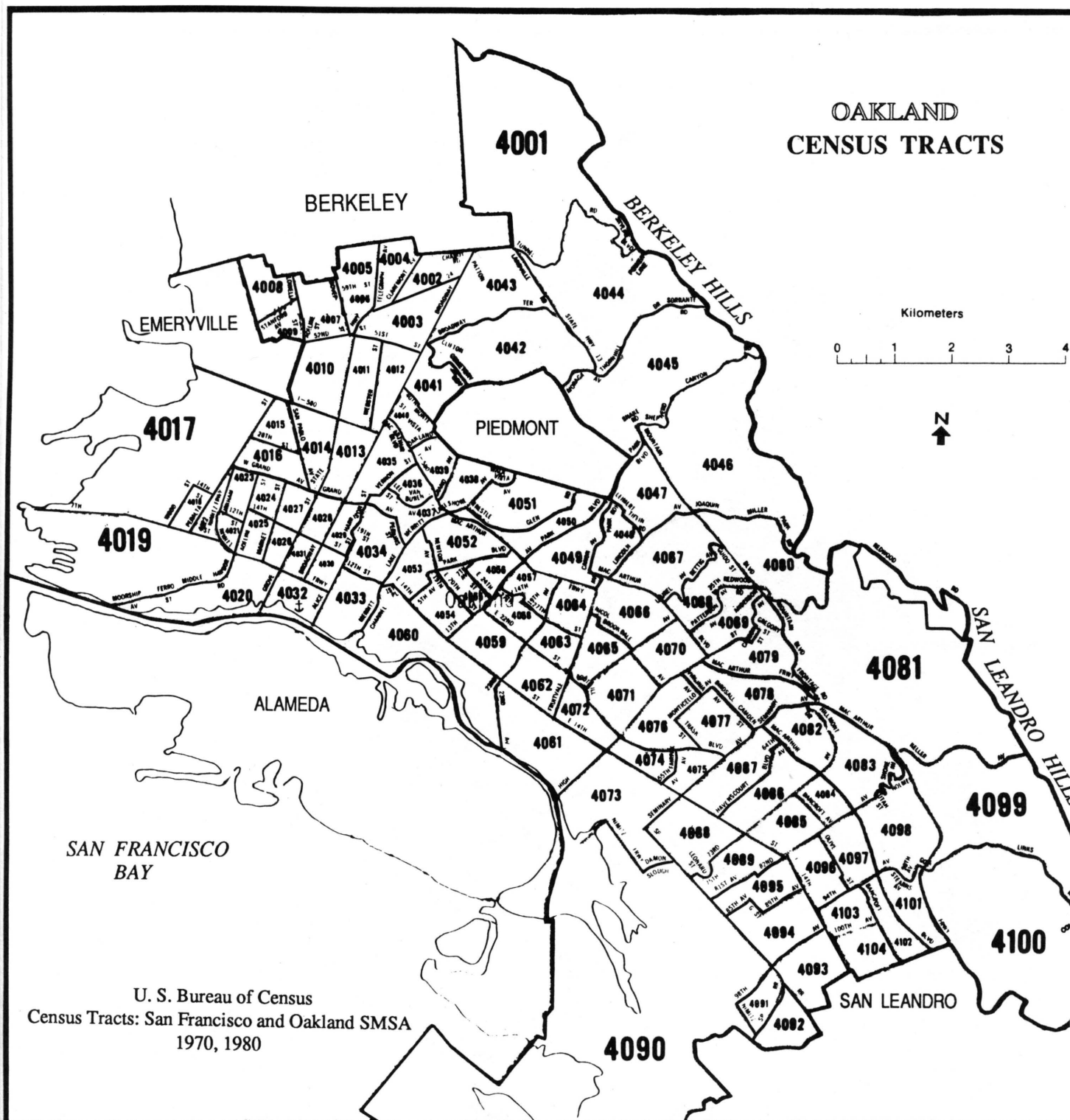
Map A

change in average income, and increase in median value of owner-occupied units. Map B is a composite showing the areas where these indicators were most positive.

A field check of South Oakland found that the tracts indicated appear to be neighborhoods of middle-class, single-family-residences, generally built before 1935. Some of the areas are definitely gentrifying, with housing rehabilitation spreading to adjoining tracts. Some tracts, especially in the hilly areas east of MacArthur Boulevard and north of tract 98, do not appear to have experienced the disinvestment that leads to decline. If those areas have always been middle-class, then by definition they have not expe-

OAKLAND
GENTRIFICATION INDICATED BY CHANGE
IN HOMEOWNERSHIP, INCOME, MEDIAN VALUE[1]
1970-1980

BERKELEY

STUDY

AREA

PIEDMONT

ALAMEDA

N

Kilometers

0   1   2   3   4

None

Slight

Moderate

Significant

SAN LEANDRO

U. S. Bureau of Census
us Tracts: San Francisco and Oakland SMSA
1970, 1980

OAKLAND
PRECURSORS OF GENTRIFICATION[2]
(Above average rates of home ownership and
white population, lower than average vacancy rates)
1970

BERKELEY

PIEDMONT

ALAMEDA

N

Kilometers

0   1   2   3   4

SAN LEANDRO

☐ No sign of future gentrification

▨ 1 indicator of future gentrification

■ 2 indicators of future gentrification

■ 3 indicators of future gentrification
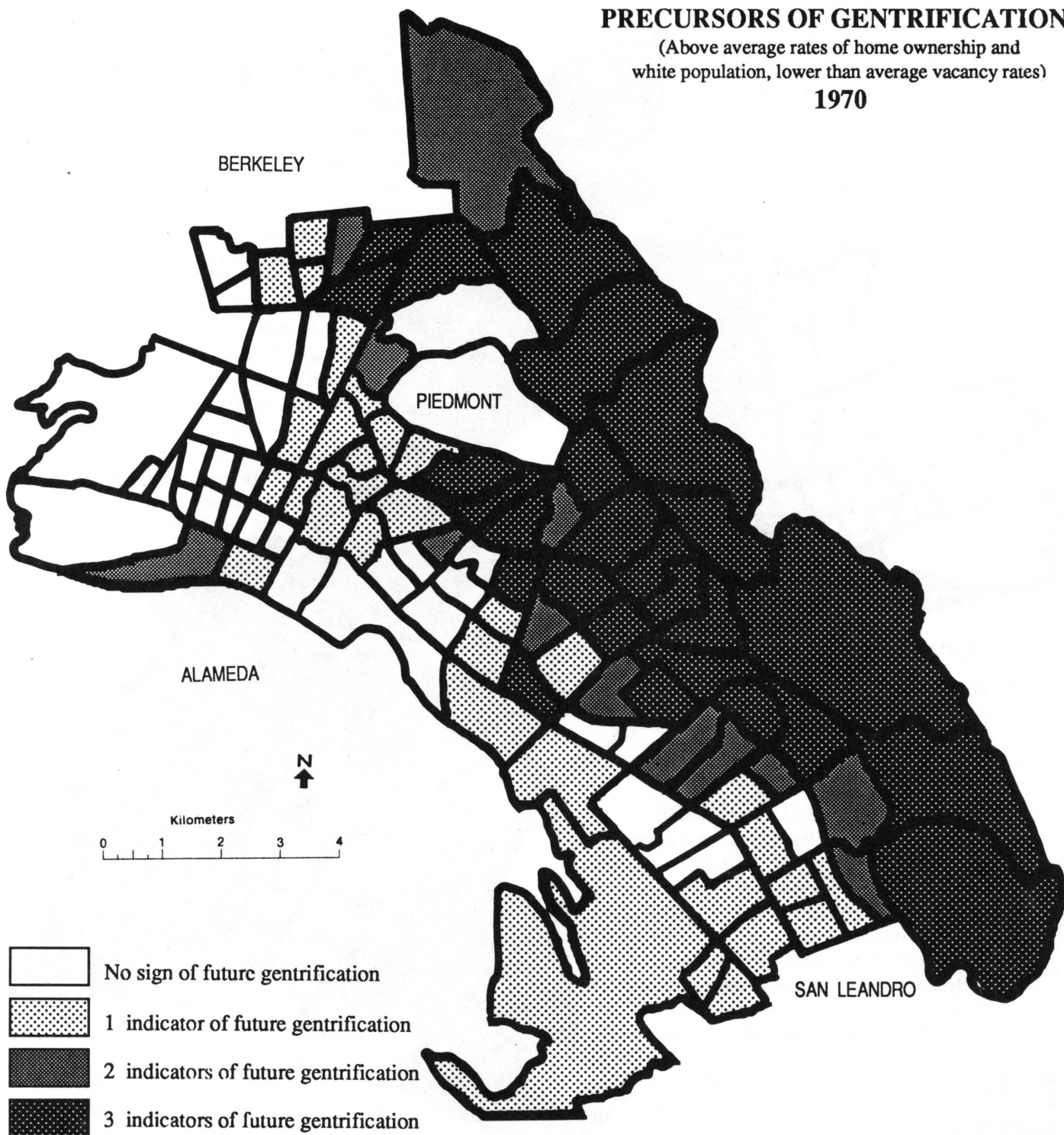
U. S. Bureau of Census
Census Tracts: San Francisco and Oakland SMSA
1970

Map C

OAKLAND
PRECURSORS OF GENTRIFICATION
(Above average rates of home ownership and
white population, lower than average vacancy rates)[3]
1980

BERKELEY

PIEDMONT

ALAMEDA

N

Kilometers

0   1   2   3   4

SAN LEANDRO

☐ No sign of future gentrification

▨ 1 indicator of future gentrification

▨ 2 indicators of future gentrification

▮ 3 indicators of future gentrification

U. S. Bureau of Census
nsus Tracts: San Francisco and Oakland SMSA
1980

Map D

rienced gentrification.

Precursors of Gentrification

A homebuyer's choice of neighborhood is usually based on personal, subjective factors, which include choice of architecture and lifestyle, perceived desirability, affordability, convenience and safety. Gentrifiers would probably tend to select areas with higher-than-average rates of homeownership, as this seems to indicate a higher level of stability and neighborhood commitment. An area with a vacancy rate lower than the city's average should indicate an area generally perceived as relatively desirable. As most gentrifiers are white (Gale, 1984:72; LeGates and Hartman, 1981:222), they would probably tend to choose areas that are primarily white in order to avoid possible racial, as well as socioeconomic, conflict with neighbors.

To locate areas of future gentrification, the indicators chosen as precursors of gentrification were: higher-than-average rate of homeownership, higher-than-average percentage of white residents, and lower-than-average vacancy rate. Map C shows 1970 areas with one or more of these precursors of gentrification. Comparing this map with Map B gentrified areas, most of the areas that had gentrified by 1980 had shown some of the precursors in 1970, but many that showed precursors did not in fact gentrify. Map D shows the census tracts with one or more precursor of gentrification in 1980.

Conclusion

Using only the selected indicators of gentrification and Census Tract data, it is not possible to positively identify areas that have gentrified. The first hypothesis, that it is possible using census tract data to identify areas that have experienced gentrification, appears to be false, but not all census data was examined. It might be possible to track gentrification using some combination of census tract variables. Other useful indicators of gentrification may be: change in the amount of the population with college education, managerial or professional jobs, and an increase of people age 25 to 45. (Gale, 1984:63; Zeitz, 1979:39-49).

My indicators may show areas that are appreciating more than the city's average. But to pinpoint gentrification and to predict its path requires careful observation of the community, knowledge of its social and demographic history, and a careful examination of the amenities and problems of the city's neighborhoods.

Although the census tracts are a convenient source of information, they are not the ideal source of data. Gentrification activity accounts for only a small fraction of a city's neighborhoods and housing stock (Palen and London, 1984:11), and the census tracts of Oakland represent up to 3700 housing untis. At this level a small gentrifying area would have little effect on a tract's figures. It is also necessary to have more current data than the census provides. Zeitz (1979:49) suggests the best indicators might be a combination of sale activity and sales price for a neighborhood. If sales volume is down and prices are down, deterioration is indicated. If volume is up and prices are up, gentrification is taking place. If volume is up and prices are down or stable, the area may be about to gentrify. None of this information is in the census, but may be available from the local Board of Realtors or Chamber of Commerce.

My second hypothesis is, that it is possible by tracking precursors of gentrification available in the census to forecast areas that will gentrify. This may be true if, in addition to census tract data, qualitative factors such as locational amenities and the quality of housing stock are considered.

'Rapid escalation of housing costs may cause the displacement of the lower-income residents . . .'

A 1985 study of 22 Canadian cities found a correlation between gentrification and urban amenities (Ley, 1986:521). The gentrification pattern in Oakland seems to correspond with this and Beauregard's (1986:53) characterization of neighborhoods susceptible to gentrification. These are described as sites with unique spatial amenities: hilltop locations, views, proximity to open space (parks, colleges). In addition, neighborhoods that offer interesting architecture, and substandard, but not structurally unsound buildings clustered relatively close together, and proximity to the C.B.D. or transportation links appear most likely to gentrify. Using this model, the areas of Oakland most likely to gentrify in the near future are those areas showing two or more precursors of gentrification in 1980 (Map D), and that are located adjacent to already-gentrified areas, or near environmental amenities such as the hills, Lake Merritt, and perhaps some areas of the waterfront.

Much capital is needed to successfully restore a city block. This capital is usually recouped through

the increased price of restored properties. The speculative nature of the real estate business encourages those involved — realtors, contractors, property owners and bankers, to demand the highest possible price for restored houses. Rapid escalation of housing costs may cause the displacement of the lower-income residents of the neighborhood.

Mapping the path of gentrification and of the less-affluent displaced residents can be a useful tool. If the pattern of a neighborhood changes, the path of gentrification and the resettlement patterns of dis-placees can be projected. Then public funding can be more efficiently used to improve the city's housing stock. Most public rehabilitation assistance could be targeted to areas not in the path of gentrification. In gentrification areas receiving private investment, only certain very low-income residents such as the elderly might receive grants or low-interest loans, with a penalty if the house is sold within five years.

'The challenge for today's cities is to physically improve their housing stock without displacing medium- and low-income residents.'

As we have seen, this study of Oakland's gentrification raises more questions than answers. A spatial examination of a city's amenities and demographic indicators may prove useful to planners and others interested in tracking and predicting patterns of gentrification and neighborhood change. The challenge for today's cities is to physically improve their housing stock without displacing medium- and low-income residents.   □

Notes

[1] Where the change in a variable (home-ownership, median value or income) indicated gentrification, a score from one to three was assigned, based on the magnitude of the change. The total score for each census tract was compared to Oakland's mean score.

Where homeownership increased (Census Tracts, Table H-1: 1970 and 1980) tracts were scored as follows: increase of 1% to 7% score=1; 8% to 20% score=2; over 20% increase score=3. Change in median value of owner-occupied units (Table H-1: 1970 and 1980) was compared to Oakland's average increase of 190% with 191% to 269% score=1; 270% to 314% score=2; 315% to 349% score=3.

Change in average income is diffiuclt to analyze, as the Census Bureau has changed its reporting of income. In 1980, but not

in 1970, per capita income (Table P-11: 1980) was reported for census tracts. In 1970, but not in 1980, mean income for families and unrelated individuals (Table P-4; 1970) was reported. According to George Patterson of the Bureau of the Census: Income Division (Telephone Interview, February 11, 1987), the change in reporting reflects a recognition of the statistical importance of new patterns of household formation. There is no way to extrapolate 1970 per capita income, but Patterson recommended comparing the difference between 1970 mean income for families and unrelated individuals and 1980 per capita income, and compare with Oakland's mean change. The figures are comparable because they both use total personal income, although the divisors are different. Oakland's mean change in income was — $1000 (as was the SMSA's), and an increase of 0 to $999 score=1; $1000 to $1999 score=2; $2000 and over score=3.

[2] Home ownership and vacancy rates were calculated from Table H-1: 1970. Percentage white was calculated from table P-1: 1970.

[3] Home ownership and vacancy rates were calculated from Table H-1: 1980. Percentage white was calculated from Table P-1: 1980.

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Frank Lloyd Wright: His Influence on Suburban America

by Robert Anderson

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> "Decentralization is the watchword now essential to any vision of any future we can envision."
> — Frank Lloyd Wright

Frank Lloyd Wright's architectural designs and layout schemes for communities have had a strong influence on the American suburb. His designs of family homes were the precursors of the modern tract home. He experimented with designs for the layout of communities that fostered a suburban lifestyle and influenced subsequent architects in the building of American suburbs. Much of Wright's architectural style reflects his own theories and ideas about the family, its place in society, and his visions of a decentralized America. Wright demonstrated considerable foresight in his work. He was one of the first architects to emphasize decentralized communities and he correctly predicted the effects of the developing technology of his day: the automobile, the radio, the telephone and industrial mechanization.

This examination of Frank Lloyd Wright's influence on American suburbs begins with an overview of Wright's early Oak Park designs and homes. It continues with a discussion of Wright's "Prairie" style designs and homes. Then the experimental communities that Wright designed and those that he also built are delineated. Finally, the lasting effect that Wright's ideas on the decentralization of American society have had on American suburbs is assessed.

Early Oak Park Homes

Wright was concerned with the family as a model "nuclear social group" in society and he intentionally sought out contracts to design family homes of varying styles. His experimentation with varying designs demonstrates that Wright was trying to reconcile through his work two different styles — or poles — of design concept. On the one hand Wright was concerned with independence, change, spontaneity, and originality of expression. On the other hand he was equally concerned with membership (or conformity), constancy, decorum, and loyalty to a universal ideal.[1] His attempts at reconciling opposing design styles were naturally bound up with the problem of the proper expression of the family's organizational principle.

'Wright was concerned with the family as a model "nuclear social group" in society . . .'

Wright chose the early American suburb as a vehicle for reconciling what he saw as a contradiction between the individual and society. The model suburban communities around Oak Park, Illinois, became the location for much of his early work. Through the singular sheltering roof, the central placement of the family hearth, and the regularity of the whole design, he sought to invoke togetherness as representative of society. He also exhibited a con-
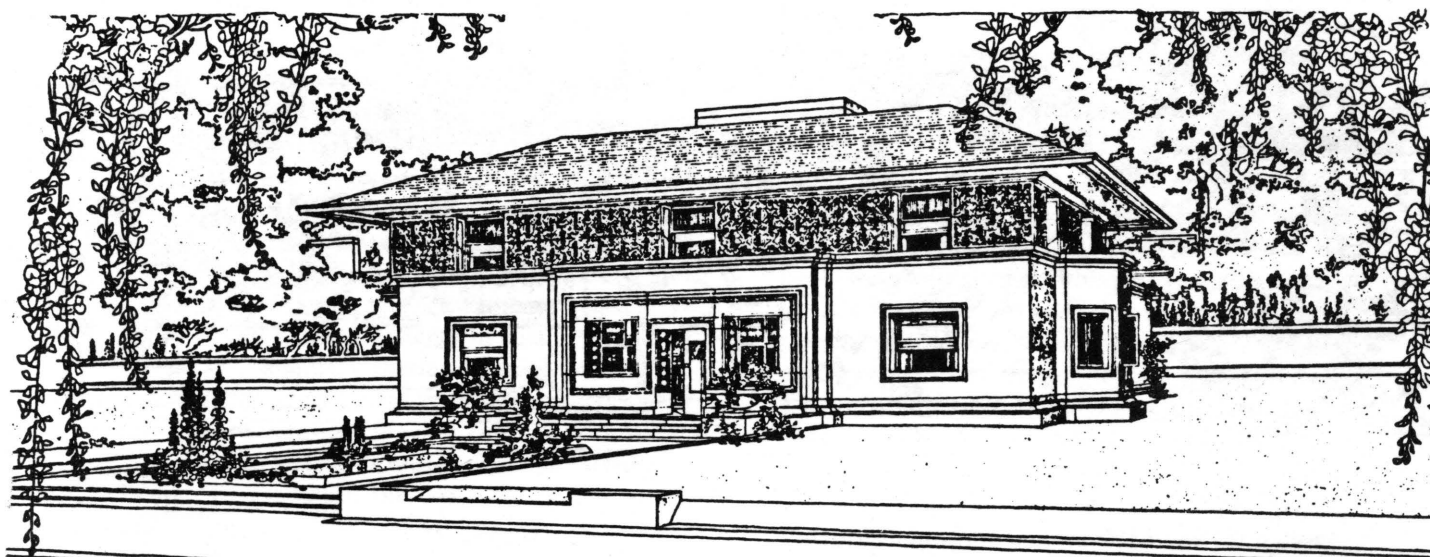
The Winslow Home.

cern for the independence of the individual in broken roofs, irregular silhouettes, and varietal groups of architectural components.

To understand these polarities of Wright's early work, four of the homes he designed must be examined — the Winslow and Ingalls residences on the one hand, and Wright's own and the Robie residences on the other. The Winslow and Ingalls residences are the most representative of societal influences in Wright's work. In these two homes he exhibited the primacy of symmetry and regularity of shape and design. There is a central axial scheme to these homes, in which every living space has a specified location. Wright also established a quality of

"oneness" which had its ultimate expression in the single sheltering roof under which the whole house is contained.

In Wright's own and the Robie residences, he strove to demonstrate the elements of the individual's independence. These homes have a varied silhouette, no obvious axiality, and roofs which are differentiated in size, shape, and level.[2] In addition, the shapes of the houses are of a different design than their individual parts. On the whole, the two pairs of homes are representative of two polar extremes; neither pair, however, is completely without aspects of the other. Wright was still searching for a way of melding these two stylistic poles.
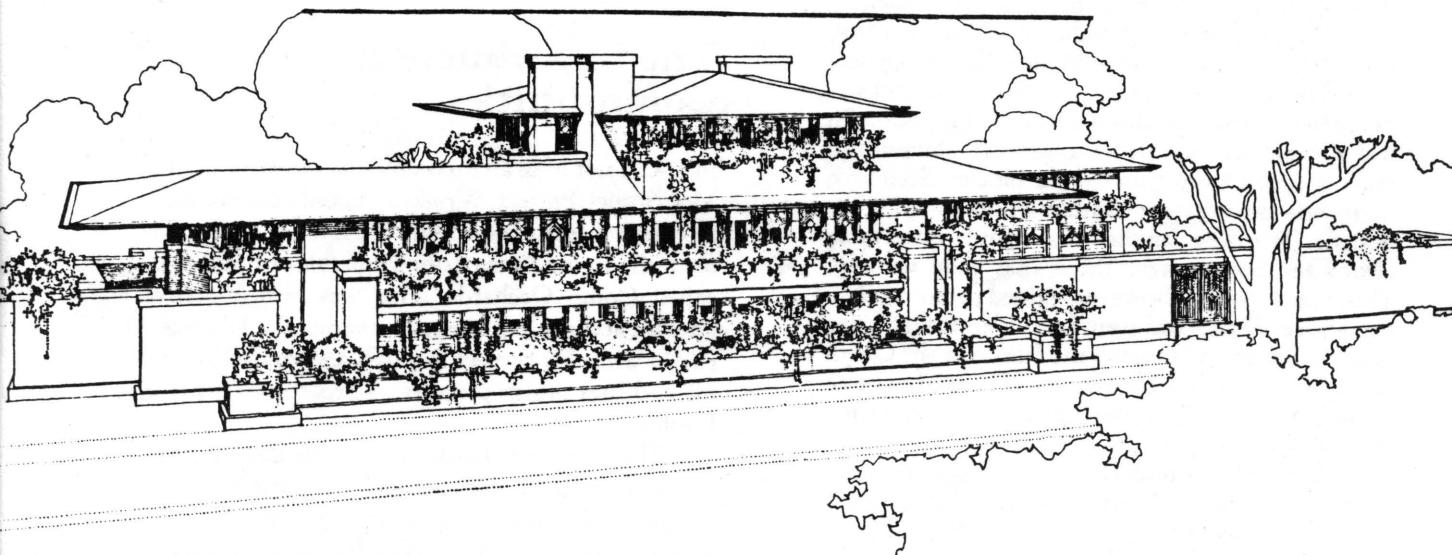
The Robie Residence.
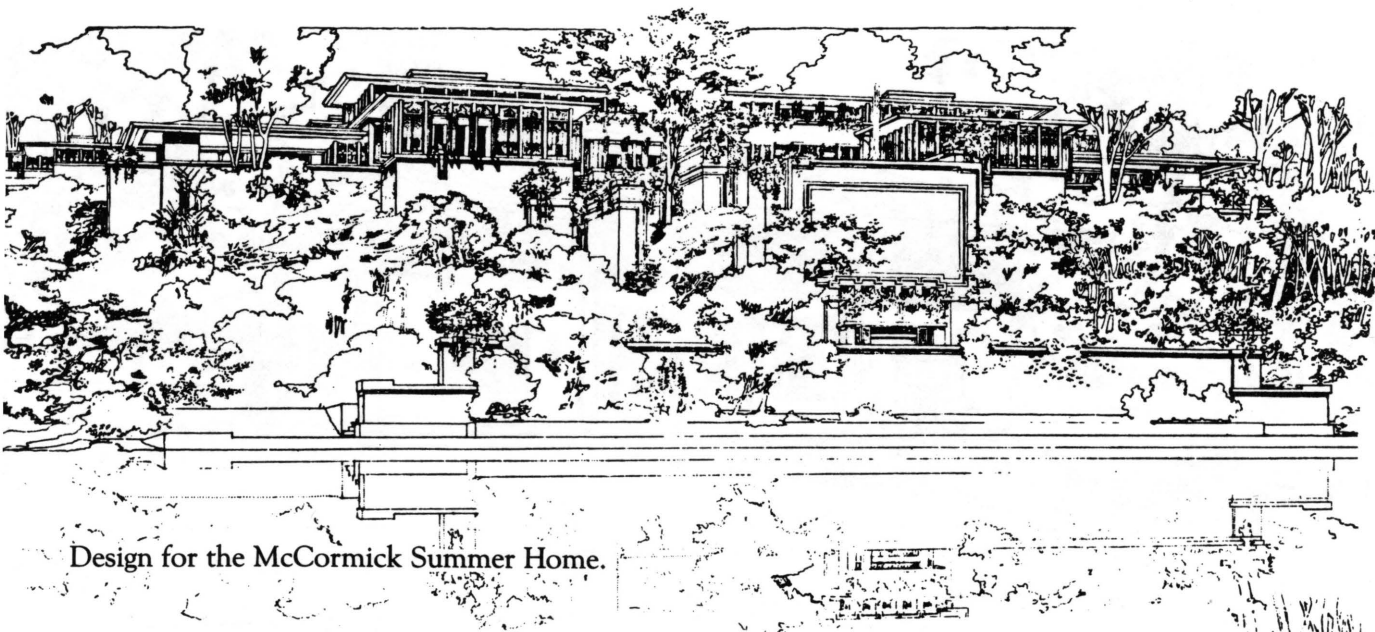
Design for the McCormick Summer Home.

The Prairie Style

In 1900, when Wright began to seriously grapple with his need for greater stylistic uniformity, he hit upon the idea for the development of the "Prairie" house. This led to his first experimentation with the design of planned suburban homes which were identical in style and shape. These were the forerunners of the modern tract home.

The "Prairie" style was based on a low-lying, rectilinear form — the horizontal line of the midwestern prairie — and the idea of the perfect mixing of natural form and the conformity of function to comfortable domesticity. Two examples of the Prairie design are the Quadruple Block and H.F. McCormick House Projects. The Quadruple Block Project was the refinement of Wright's idea of grouping together identical houses into a larger residential unit. His plan called for building four identical family dwellings per residential block with half an acre of land per plot.[3] For several reasons the project was never built. First, the idea was not salable because it was virtually impossible for a real estate investor to make a profit from four-family blocks. Secondly, there was an inherent contradiction in Wright's designs. The only families that could conceivably afford the houses were those that were wealthy. Those same people, however, valued personal identity above all else and found the identical housing designs distasteful. Despite the failure of the Quadruple Block to find a backer, it still proved to be an influence on Wright's later ideas concerning decentralized communities.

In the McCormick House, Wright not only utilized the Prairie design, but also designed the home so that it would conform to the natural site for which it was proposed. The site was a large parcel of land bordering the bluffs which overlooked the beaches of Lake Michigan. Wright designed the house so that it would seem rooted in the landscape itself. The plans called for a three-tiered facade measuring 300 feet high, facing out towards the lake and enhancing the cliffs on which the house would stand. At the opposite end of the house were three low-lying adjuncts that conformed to, and again enhanced, the rolling space of the land. Because the house was the "family seat" for the McCormicks, who were related by marriage to the Rockefellers, Wright was attempting to make the estate palatial in the stereotypical sense. The designs were rejected by Mrs. McCormick, however, who felt that a rambling Italian Villa was more appropriate for a family of the McCormick's standing. Although the house was never built, a frustrated Wright saw the design as the ultimate Prairie home because of its perfect melding of natural (as in nature) form and conformity of function (as a comfortable, palatial estate).

The Experimental Communities

In 1909, not long after completing his work on the McCormick Project, Wright accepted a commission to design a complete colony of summer residences for a site in the Bitter Root Mountains of Montana called Como Orchards. This was Wright's first attempt at designing an entire community. His experience with this project inspired and guided him in his two later design projects — Broadacre City and Usonia.

The Como Orchards Project was more a vacation retreat than a year-round community. Wright's designs called for 53 separate cottages arranged around a central, common lodge where residents would dine. The idea behind this design was the notion of the family within the family. Families

would come from their own cottages and eat together in the common dining center, joining what Wright saw as the community family. Unlike the McCormick House, Como Orchards was not designed to meld into the natural surrounding. The layout of the community was extremely centralized, which went against the idea of decentralized communities Wright would later espouse. At this time Wright had not yet fully formulated his ideal of the decentralized and individualistic community/city. He was instead trying to design Como Orchards in such a way as to facilitate the familial gathering of people, and he felt this was only possible with a readily comprehensible architectural scheme.

If Como Orchards represented the extreme of Wright's ideas about the centrality of the family with respect to communities, then Broadacare City was the apotheosis of his vision of a decentralized America. This new vision was brought about by two events, one that affected him personally and one that affected the nation. On the personal level, the murder of his second wife by one of his servants sent him into a great depression from which he emerged more cynical about life in general and American life in particular. The event which affected the nation and convinced Wright of the uselessness of the city was the Great Depression. It was during the 1930s that Wright conceived of his idea of the sinister influence of the city. He thought the unnatural ways in which people lived and worked in the city created skewed values. His attitude was no doubt influenced by what many in the '30s saw as the cause of the Depression — the Great Crash on Wall Street in New York, the paramount American city at that time.

In 1932 Wright published his first sketches for Broadacre City in a book tellingly titled *The Disappearing City*. He proposed no less than a new kind of city, which would meld city and country for the benefit of all. Wright saw this plan as a blueprint for the entire nation. His idea that the county, rather than the state or city, should be the primary political unit was especially important with respect to modern decentralization. The population density for the counties in Broadacre were to be about one person per acre, allowing each family both room for privacy and a means of subsistence — the farm. Wright anticipated that the population would be split into two groups — those who farmed and those who lived in scattered apartments. In this way, he felt he could achieve a melding of the conflict between the needs of the individual and the necessities of group living.

The key words to describe Broadacre City are dispersal and decentralization. Wright identified three major "inventions" which he felt were at the time already working towards decentralization: the motor car which would lead to a new mobility for people; the radio, telephone, and telegraph which would lead to increased electrical intercommmunication; and standardized machine-shop production which would lead to the development of smaller,

Como Orchard Summer Colony.
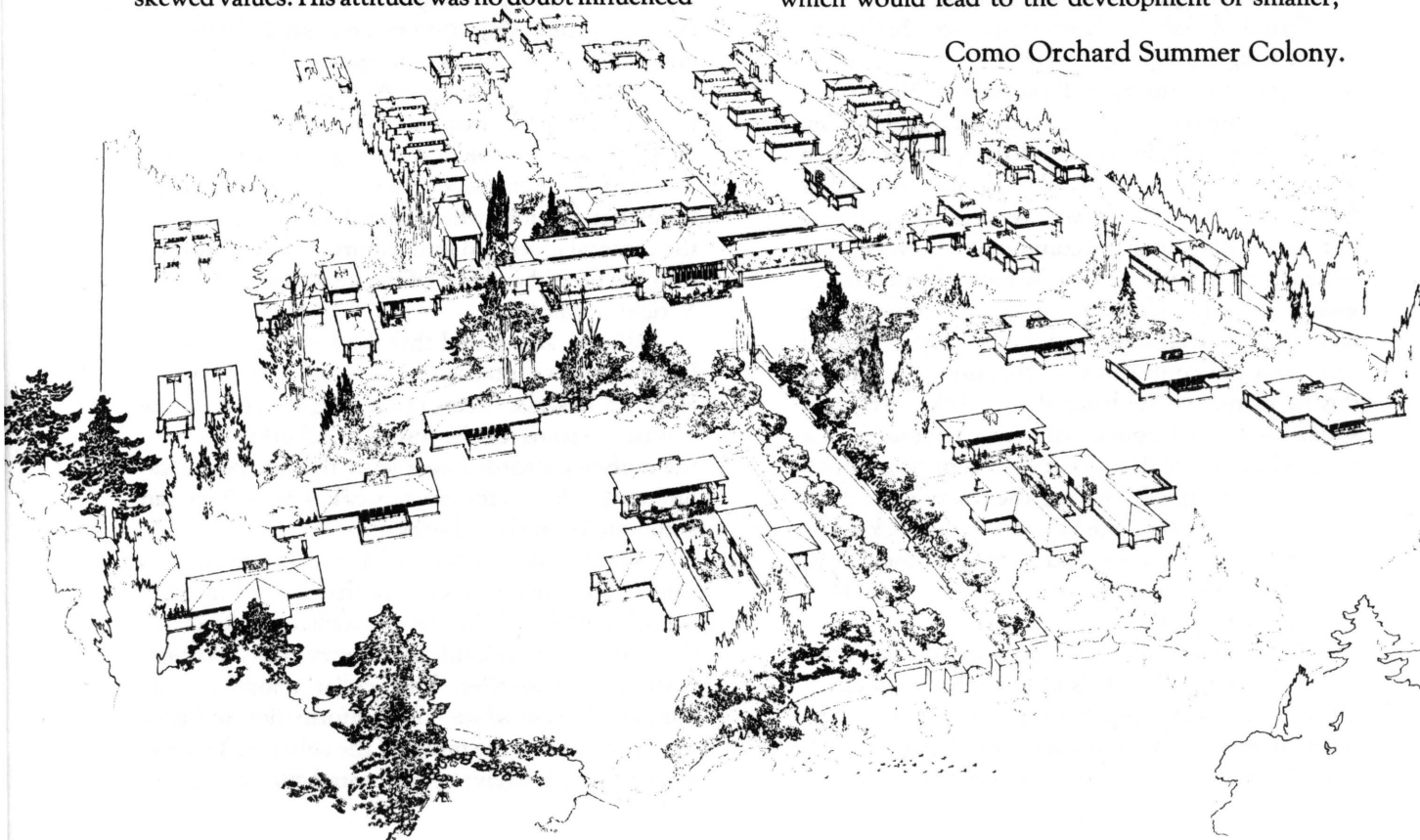
white-collar industries. Wright felt that "the individual home on its acre, together with the utility buildings of everyday American life, if made organic, all form a harmonious whole according to nature... that's what I've aimed at here (with Broadacre)."[4] Wright saw Broadacre as an abolition of all artificial distinctions between city, suburb, and country. This was Wright's ultimate definition of decentralization.

Despite its grand and optimistic vision, Broadacre City was doomed to failure. It was not accepted by the architectural community due to its unorthodox nature. It called for the complete eradication of American society as it existed. According to Wright's design, this eradication would have included the suspension of the Constitution, the elimination of thousands of jobs, the confiscation of all property, and the demolition of all existing cities.[5] It is easy to see how this would have been profoundly distasteful to most Americans.

'(Broadacre City) called for the complete eradication of American society as it existed.'

Wright, though he held the Broadacre plan to be the only real possibility for an equitable American future, descended from these lofty heights of design long enough to create the site plan for a residential community in Pleasantville, New York. This community, called Usonia after a Usonian house design Wright had developed, was built on a wooded, 97-acre plot of land.[6] Usonia consisted of 47 homes, only six of which were designed by Wright. The layout of the community, however, was designed exclusively by him. Wright's layout design was, at long last, a functional incorporation of the ideas of decentralization and the melding of natural form and the conformity of function. To achieve this he turned to the basic shape of the circle and subdivided the Usonian site into circular house sites. The circular design left each plot ringed with original landscape. By having the roads also follow this scheme, he eliminated the need for blocks. The result was that the homes had no front or backyards; instead the surrounding woods seemed to flow around the houses.

This community ended up being the one concrete example of Wright's ideal of the "new city." Though most suburban tract homes were not patterned after Wright's Usonian home designs, many of the layout schemes of the new suburbs built after

1947 were partly inspired by Wright's planned community designs.

Final Assessment

Wright's vision of a dispersed and decentralized America has not come about in the way in which he imagined. His restructured America was far more radical than what has occurred. In order to appreciate Wright's considerable foresight, however, his predictions and theories must be compared and contrasted with what has come to pass. Then Wright's personal influence as an architect and his effect on modern suburban architecture can be more fully appreciated.

They key idea behind Broadacre City, which was designed 15 years before suburbia exploded in size, was decentralization. Wright envisioned a future America liberated from the cloister of central cities by electric intercommunication, the automobile, and the mechanized shop industry. He saw America reunited with nature in a dispersed, agro-industrial society where liberating nature and the idea of the central family unit were brought together in harmony. There are some interesting parallels to be drawn between Wright's ideas and what has actually occurred

Wright's idea of a future where communication is a liberating force has certainly come to pass. During this time, he recognized the significance of expanded communication made possible by the telephone, the radio and the telegraph. To his list can now be added television and computers. Perhaps most important is that these communication tools have brought on the current Age of Information, which has been instrumental in creating white collar industries and jobs which have drawn people out of the centeral cities and into suburbia. Thus information has been the object of the intercommunication Wright predicted.

Wright also stated that the automobile would lead to greater mobility and dispersal of population. Here he has also been proven right. One of the primary reasons for the spread of suburbia has been the mobility afforded people by the car. People do not need to live in the city to work there — they can commute from the suburbs.

Wright also predicted a movement of the smaller shop industries out of the city and into the suburbs. Although he was somewhat off the mark, the basic idea behind his theory was accurate. Instead of a smaller, blue collar manufacturing industry, a new white collar information industry has developed in the midst of the suburbs. This has allowed people to give up the central cities altogether

since they can work close to where they live. In addition, this new industry has supplanted manufacturing and heavy industry as the nation's primary industry, further encouraging flight to suburbia.

Finally, Wright's predictions of decentralized politics and the primacy of the county have occurred in some areas of the country. An example is modern Houston, Texas, where city government is virtually powerless, zoning regulations are non-existent, and the county government has most of the political clout. Another example is Scottsdale, Arizona, where zoning deregulation and the subsequent merging of residential and industrial zones has created an "urban village" that comes closest to Wright's vision of Broadacre City.[7] Though these changes have not brought about an agro-industrial dispersed Utopia, much of what Wright envisioned for America has developed.

Wright, in his own lifetime and since, has been venerated as the master architect in American history. His designs have appeared and been applauded in both Europe and Japan, and his reputation in America is nearly untarnishable. His influence on modern architects has been enormous, if not in the designing of actual buildings, then in the layout schemes of suburban communities. It can be said that Wright's architectural designs have indeed had a profound effect on modern American suburbs.

Footnotes

[1,3,5] Norris, Kelly Smith. *Frank Lloyd Wright: A Life and Study in Architectural Content.* (Watkins Glen, N.Y.: American Life Foundation, 1970.)

[4] Meehan, Patrick J. *The Master Architect: Conversations with Frank Lloyd Wright.* (Toronto, Canada: John Wiley and Sons, 1984.)

[6] Giovannini, Joseph. "Wright Inspired Community." (*New York Times*, February 14, 1985.)

[7] Louv, Richard. *America II* (Harrisonburg, Virginia: RR Donnelly and Sons Company, 1983.)

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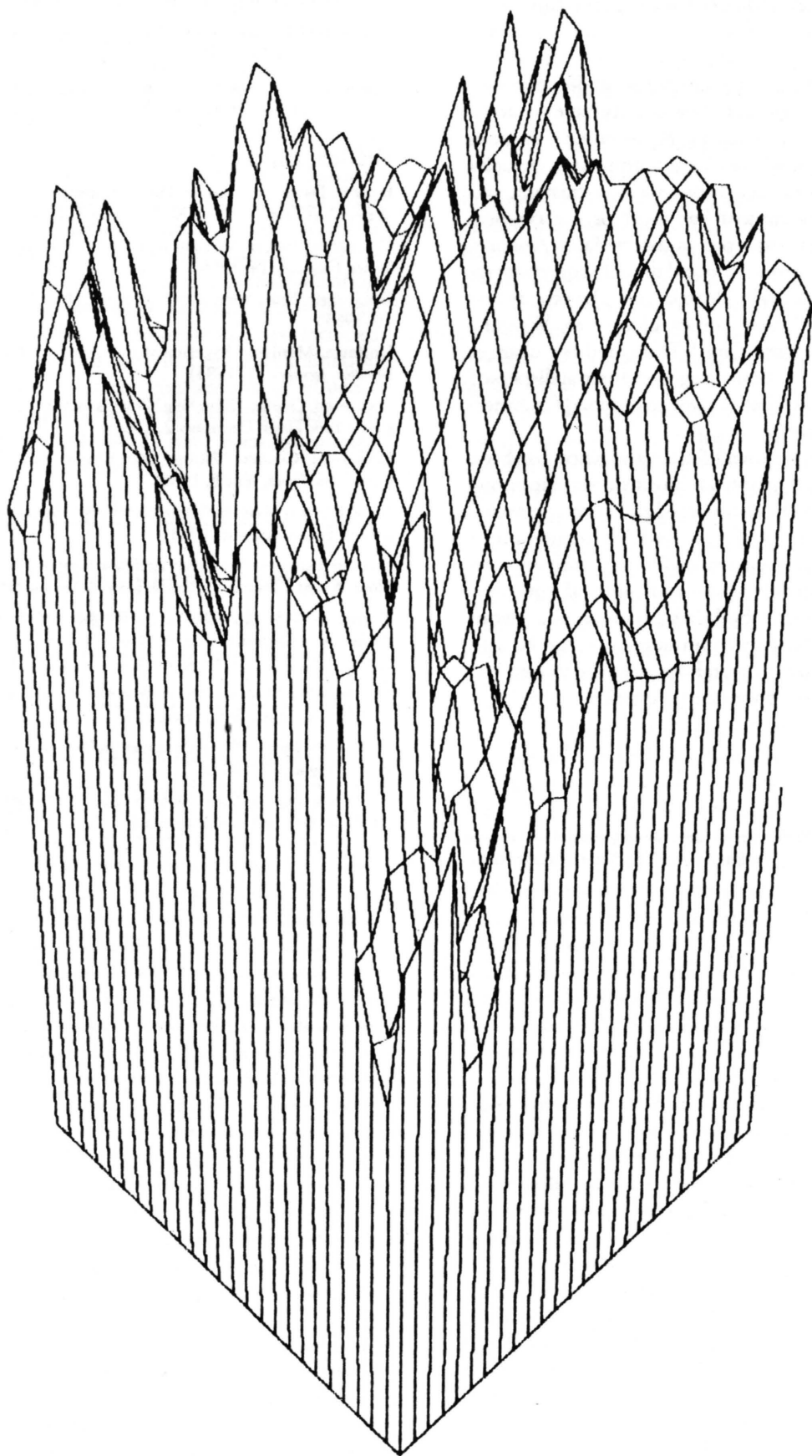
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Computer Applications

An Automated Geographic Database for Regional Land Use Planning

by Nancy Ferguson

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This paper discusses some features of an automated geographic database (AGDB), its relation to a broader geographic information system (GIS), and how these techniques of geoprocessing can be applied to land use planning in the San Francisco Bay region. This region is usually referred to as the Bay Area. Today, because of population pressures as well as commercial and industrial growth, the Bay Area is spreading into the Central Valley and the North Coast. In a region as compact as ours, decisions are often made at a local level that have regional impacts beyond local jurisdiction. Decisions about sewage disposal, building moritoria, building permits, or bayfilling and dredging will ultimately affect other local governments and citizens.

There are a number of agencies and groups that have regional jurisdiction or interest in the Bay Area: the Army Corps of Engineers, the Bay Conservation and Development Commission (BCDC), MTC, Caltrans, U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service (USFWS), the Sierra Club, Nature Conservancy, People for Open Space, to name a few. Each of these agencies and groups produces numerous studies, opinions, maps, that require the collection and processing of data, as do all local government agencies. Generally, the exercise in data collection is redundant. When a major project is proposed, such as the Hamilton Field project, a development proposal for the decommissioned Hamilton Air Force Base in Marin, or the Oakland Airport expansion project, a Port of Oakland proposal to fill 180 acres of wetland habitat, many government agencies and special interest groups give their input in the form of a response or an opinion to the proposal or the EIR/EIS written for the proposed development. Because each agency or group is giving an opinion on the same project, the same basic data is collected. However, how the data is processed, analyzed, and presented as output differs from one agency to the next. The data collection process could be simplified by creating a regional automated geographic database (AGDB) that could be accessed by subscribing agencies and groups each time a new project is proposed. Many attributes such as soil type, geology, hydrology, topography, proximity to faults, don't change but are collected by each group as part of the process for formulating an opinion or writing a report. Having a regional AGDB that could be accessed by a number of users would reduce the amount of redundancy in data collection, the cost of collecting the data, and the time required to do the initial collection.

'Generally, the exercise in data collection is redundant.'

When the Hamilton Field development project was proposed, many problems needed to be addressed before the City of Novato would approve it. The developers were proposing office space for research and development, some warehouse space and 2500 rental housing units of 600 to 700 sq. feet. It was estimated that the development would generate 12,500 jobs and most of the employees would be commuting to the site via Highway 101. After the Master Plan was produced it was circulated for comments and opinions to any interested parties. Some of the commenters included the County of Sonoma which concluded that the majority of the

employees would be commuting from Sonoma because 2500 rental units was an inadequate number of units for 12,500 employees, the proposal did not include single family/owner occupied housing, and the rental units were too small for family occupancy. Caltrans concluded that an estimated 6700 cars would be added to the commute traffic during peak hours on a highway already overcrowded. These are two examples of the types of comments made by agencies that would benefit from an AGDB since they were both interested in numbers of employees commuting to the proposed site. After considering all the comments, the City of Novato, the lead agency responsible for the decision, turned down the proposed project saying, among other things, that housing was inadequate for a project this size.

In the case of the Oakland Airport, the Port of Oakland proposed to fill 180 acres of seasonal wetland habitat to expand their air cargo facilities. Many agencies and environmental groups gave their opinions about the proposal which led to a court case that is still pending. Some of the issues addressed were the significant loss of wetland habitat that would occur if the site were filled, how would differential settlement of the filled site affect the structure of the buildings, and how much of an impact would increased traffic and noise have on the present environmental setting. In both the Hamilton Field and Oakland Airport cases, each agency or special interest group needed information about each environmental setting including both natural and man made features.

'. . . updating can occur with a minimum of energy compared to "getting out the pen and ink."'

The purpose of this paper is to discuss some preliminary ideas on the subject of AGDB's, some recent trends which encourage the development of a regional AGDB, and how a regional AGDB could be utilized by many Bay Area agencies and special interest groups as the basis for their GIS output. For this paper, a GIS is defined as a computer based system for the capture, storage, editing, manipulation, and display of geographically referenced data. Whether the GIS is a cartographic system that produces maps or a system that outputs tabular data, graphs and reports, both require a relational database for the storage of data attributes. By removing the responsibility for data capture and data storage, the two most

time consuming and labor intensive aspects of a GIS, more time could be spent processing, interpreting and manipulating the data for output.

Why an automated geographic database? Automated because a computer would be used to store massive amounts of data that would be collected and continually updated by a central agency. The data would be accessed by subscribing governmental agencies and special interest groups each time a new project is begun. Data output would be either in the form of hard copy (paper files or reports); electronically through a telephone line via a modem; or on magnetic media, either diskette or tape. Geographic because the data would be collected as attributes or characteristics of a spatial location. A relational database would be used to store the spatial data (the location) and the data attributes (information about the site) and would be interactive, responding to queries from users by searching the AGDB for the criteria requested, and returning a response in a short period of time, depending on the number and complexity of the queries.

The process begins with the capture of data either by the use of a digitizing tablet or by scanning an air photo, Landsat image or map. The information is captured and stored in the database and used with other spatial or attribute data to produce output. Digitizing spatial data from maps or imagery is probably the most labor intensive aspect of a GIS but results in the most accurate way of displaying the results. Digitally encoding map data allows maps to be generated quickly and thus allows for frequent updating of map information at a nominal cost compared to the cost of regenerating a map manually each time the information is needed in a slightly different format. This is a recent trend in the production of maps but is rapidly replacing the manual map as a means of conveying spatial and thematic information because updating can occur with a minimum of energy compared to "getting out the pen and ink." A second trend that is developing is one in which project oriented data collection is being replaced by databases of geographic information created for multiple uses like the regional AGDB proposed in this paper. The idea of a reusable database is in place in many larger planning and development firms but is still new on a regional scale because of the conflicts found so often when government agencies on different levels try to work together. By having an independent contractor keep the regional database updated, politics may play a reduced role.
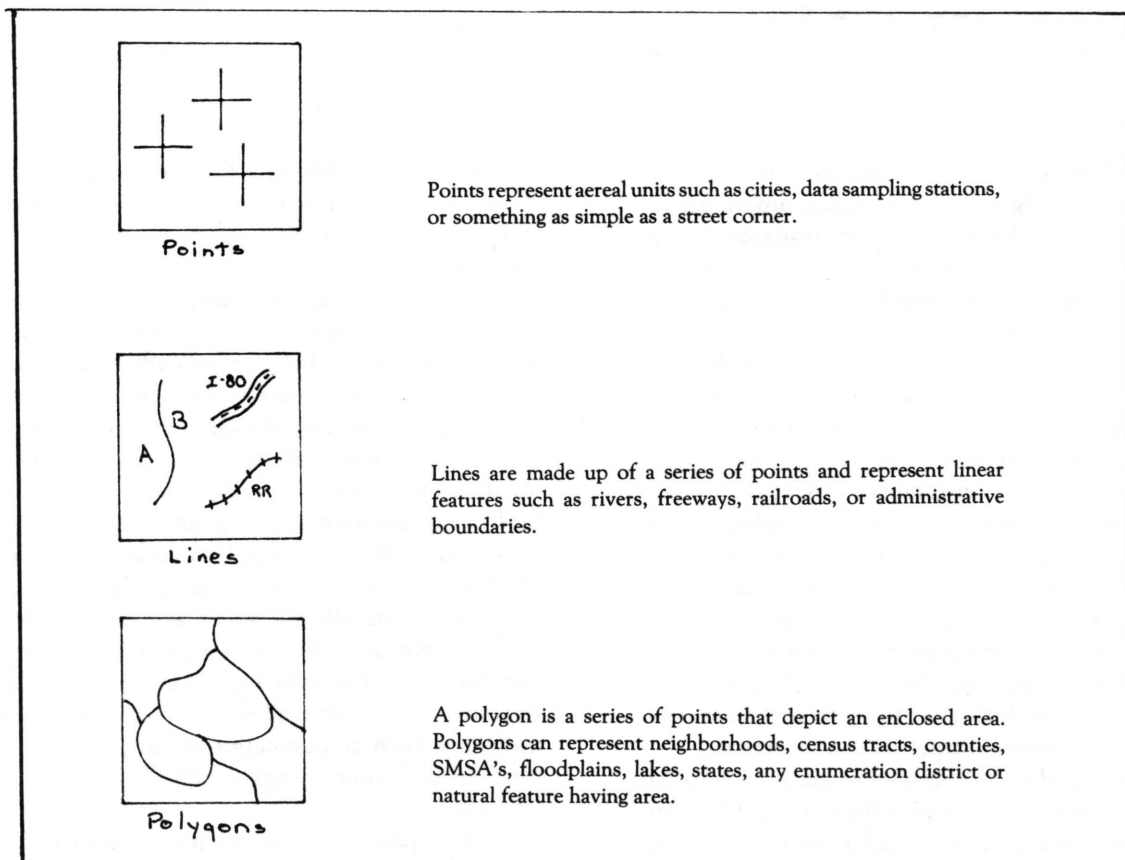
In an AGDB, spatial or locational data are stored as points, lines, or polygons (Fig. 1). Spatial data stored as points can be represented in one of several cartesian coordinate systems, latitude/longi-
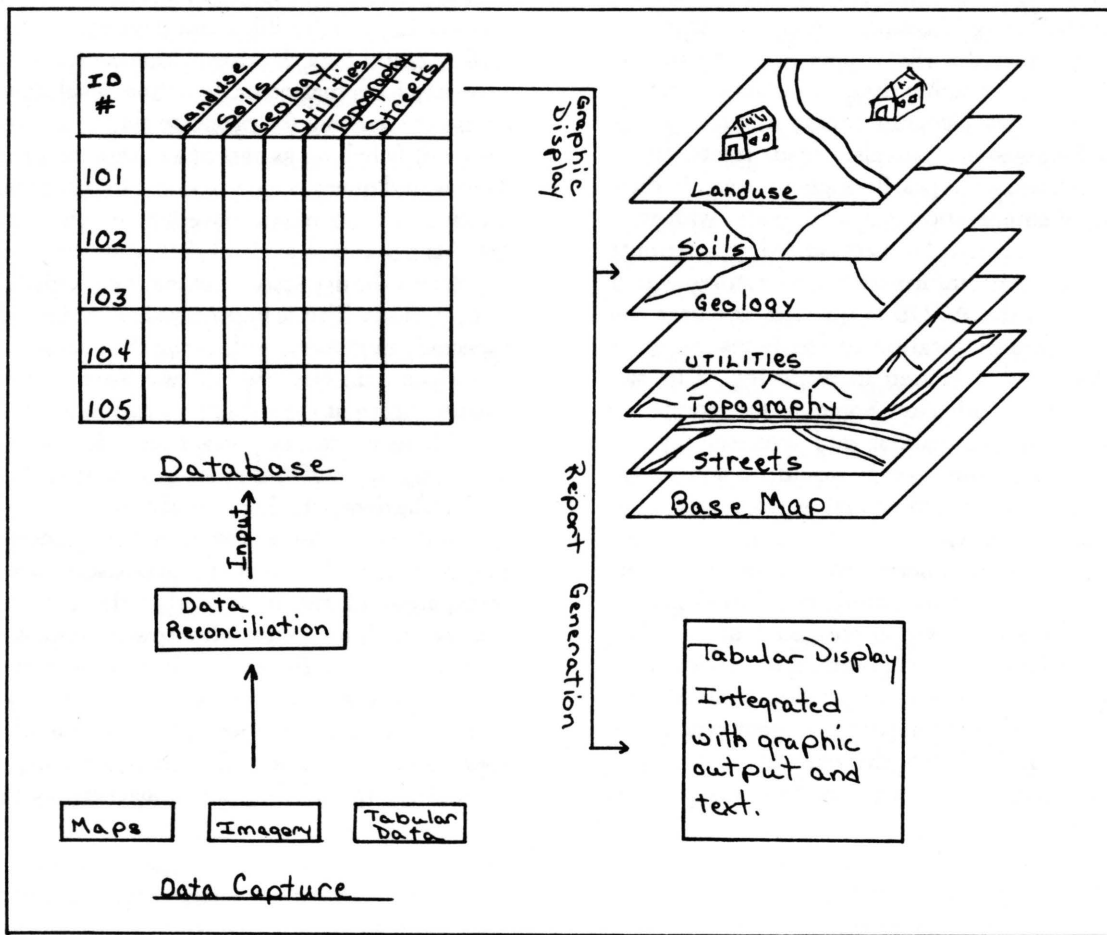
tude, plane state coordinates, universal transverse mercator (UTM) grid coordinates or any set of X,Y coordinates that describe a specific point on the earth. Linear geographic data, i.e., rivers or roads, are stored as lines. Geographic data stored as polygons can be assessor's parcels, census tracts, cities, counties, states, soil types, floodplains, water bodies, any type of enumeration district or entity with area. When the spatial data has been stored, the attribute data or site specific information can be stored with it so that when the AGDB is queried, the user can access the data by location or attributes. Suppose Leslie Salt was interested in disposing of its salt ponds in the South Bay. Some of the ponds are designated wildlife habitat and overseen by the USFWS while other ponds would be sought for filling and used for commercial or residential sites. Many agencies have jurisdiction over the salt ponds. Examples of some queries from agencies having jurisdiction over this area would be: "List all parcels in Santa Clara County that are diked/impounded, current land use is salt evaporation, size greater than twenty acres." or "List all undeveloped parcels that have a Palustrine system with emergent vegetation; seasonally flooded." In both queries the user is looking for specific information. In the first query the

user is searching for large parcels of diked Bay land that could be easily filled and developed. The subscriber could be a developer looking for shoreline property for a marina or shoreline development or an agency looking for property that could be used for wildlife habitat as part of a mitigation proposal. The second query is more specific in that the user is looking for certain type of wetland habitat. The type listed is a seasonal wetland that could be upland or dry during the dry season but may be flooded during rainy periods. This is important habitat for wildlife, especially migratory birds along the Pacific Flyway. In each case the query would have been answered in whatever format the subscriber had requested.

There are two important considerations when setting up the AGDB that are interrelated. They are 1) that the data, whether spatial or attribute data, be stored in their most generic forms, not processed or interpreted, and 2) that the database structure be transparent to the user so that the data will be accessed without concern for how the data is stored or in what form. By storing data in the most basic forms the actual interpretation and processing of the data into maps, summaries and opinions is left to the user. Soils may be stored in their three digit code created by the USDA soil conservation service,

(Fig. 1)

Points represent aereal units such as cities, data sampling stations, or something as simple as a street corner.

Lines are made up of a series of points and represent linear features such as rivers, freeways, railroads, or administrative boundaries.

A polygon is a series of points that depict an enclosed area. Polygons can represent neighborhoods, census tracts, counties, SMSA's, floodplains, lakes, states, any enumeration district or natural feature having area.

(Fig. 2)

while USFWS habitat classifications could be stored in their five to eight character alphanumeric structure. By making the data structure transparent, the user need only be concerned with the type and amount of data to be accessed and not how to get it in or out of the database structure.

Some assumptions must be made before an AGDB can be created. First, decide which government agencies (local, state, federal) and special interest groups (wildlife/open space groups, planning/development consultants, developers) would be accessing the database. Second, establish what sort of information is important to them through a questionnaire or public inquiry. Third, determine what functional activities (i.e., commercial development, wildlife perservation, tax mapping, transportation planning, population modeling) the data will be processed for. After these factors have been examined, a database structure can be created.

After the data has been accessed, it is up to the subscriber to edit and display the output. There are many ways in a geographic information system to display data accessed from an AGDB. The most

common form of display is the map overlay (Fig. 2). By using a base map, a map with a minimum amount of information on it, data attributes can be overlain on the base map to produce a thematic map stressing specific information. For example, suppose a developer was proposing a housing development in an area suspected of being physically unstable. By accessing the coordinates for the area under consideration a base map can be constructed displaying the site under consideration; next, certain physical attributes such as soil type, topography, slope range, hydrology, geology and vegetation type could be plotted over the base map. By overlaying each type of information on the base map, the reviewer can get a clear understanding of which areas of the site are most susceptible to sliding by analyzing the information provided. The same type of information can be overlaid on a base map for any number of data attributes such as population density, traffic patterns, special zoning areas, incidents of crime, and land use.

In the past, the most efficient means of storing geographic data (both spatial and attribute) has been

the map, but almost as soon as the map was produced it was outdated. The GIS has solved this problem by giving geographers the means to continually update maps by automating the process at both ends. The kind of relational database referred to here as an AGDB has allowed tremendous amounts of geographic data to be stored for use at any time, while vendors have introduced dozens of programs and hardware to help us manipulate, interpret and display this data. The cost of computerizing a database is a function of the number of projects that can utilize the data stored in it. The more projects that can utilize the data compiled in the AGDB, the lower the cost to the subscriber. By eliminating the redundance in data gathering for project oriented databases, more time can be devoted to analysis and output of information.

Geographic Information Systems: An Overview

by Thomas Lupo

Thomas Lupo is completing a Master's Degree in Geography at San Francisco State. His primary interests are cartography and geographic computer techniques. He is also working for the California Coastal Commission helping to develop a computerized database and mapping system.

Maps are the centuries old method for storing spatial data. Spatial data is data that can be stored in map form and possesses the unique trait of having a defined location on the surface of the earth. Maps are a high density medium, but they have some significant limitations. It is very difficult to 'overlay' different maps to find areas of overlap and commonality in the data. The physical process is awkward and cumbersome, if not impossible, because maps may be at inconvenient and varying scales. Temporal differences in the data also cause problems. Maps are frequently out of date, and updating them often requires the drafting of an entirely new map, an extremely expensive and time consuming process. The last two decades have witnessed the advent of the computerizataion of many traditional tasks; spatial data processing and map-making are no exception. The computer age tool used for these tasks is called the Geographic Information System (GIS).

A GIS is a computer-based methodology made up of software and hardware that captures, analyzes and displays multiple data layers derived from various sources. GISs are used by experts in many fields for day-to-day decision making as well as for long-term monitoring of an area of interest. For example, information about taxation can be directly related to water resources, soils, agricultural productivity of farms, wildlife habitats and other attributes of the landscape in computer-drawn maps. During a given period, how many acres of wetlands in San Francisco Bay were lost to urban and industrial development? Which homes in a subdivision are constructed on loose, unconsolidated sediments within one mile of

a newly discovered fault zone? The data required to answer questions such as these is stored referenced to the earth and in such a manner that spatial relationships are maintained. Once entered, the data can be easily and quickly updated. Analyses can be expressed in tabular, graphic or map form, in different combinations and statistical weightings needed for informed decision making.

How Does a GIS Work?

All GISs have the following four components:

1. A method for inputing spatial data derived from existing maps, remote sensors, and other databases. Somehow the data must be captured and digitized.

2. A data storage and retrieval system which organizes the data in a form which preserves spatial reltionships, and allows quick update, correction and retrieval.

3. A data manipulation and analysis subsystem which performs a variety of statistical functions.

4. A data display subsystem which is capable of displaying all or part of the database, in tabular, graphic and map form.

1. Input

One of the most important aspects of setting up GISs is to build the system on the basis of accurate and sound data. The success of the entire system is based upon the quality of the database. The transfer of data from analog maps to digital format represents one of the most time consuming and costly steps in creating a geographic information system. Both manual and automatic digitizing are widely used and offer different advantages and disadvantages. Manual techniques are slow, labor intensive and subject to human error, but require a relatively

> *'. . . development of the initial database is still the most significant problem facing an organization setting up a GIS.'*

small amount of equipment. Automatic digitization of maps is much faster and accurate, but requires expensive equipment and may not be cost effective for many organizations.

Another source of data is to purchase prepared digitial data from an outside source, such as the United States Geological Survey. The USGS intends to eventually provide a uniform, consistent digital database, with accuracy and content equivalent to that of the 54,000, 7.5 minute topographic quadrangles which cover the contiguous United States. Each quadrangle is divided into five different layers, 1) boundaries, 2) transportation, 3) hydrography, 4) Public Land Survey System and 5) elevations. The data for many quadrangles are now available and should soon become as important for general use base maps as their traditional paper counterparts have been. Data is also available from other state and Federal agencies that have had reason to construct specialized databases to fulfill their own needs.

At the present time, development of the initial database is still the most significant problem facing an organization setting up a GIS. Perhaps the sharing of geographic data could be a way of reducing the cost of setting up a GIS. Demand for digital thematic data may soon be so large as to allow for the development of a central clearinghouse similar to the EROS data center. The EROS data center is the primary source of remotely sensed imagery for many organizations because it allows them to purchase from a pool of pre-existing imagery.

2. Storage and Retrieval

Traditional methods of storing spatial data utilizing silver-halide aerial and lithographic films and maps are time proven, very high density archival systems. However, these are analog databases and therefore cannot be utilized by computers. Proponents of the digital era recognize that further breakthroughs in mass auxiliary storage technology will be required to obtain a high degree of computerization of the cartographic mapping and data management process. It is estimated that about 10^{14} bits of digital mass storage are needed for the USGS to develop the 54,000, 1:24000 scale topographic quadrangles of the United States. The laser optical disk, CD-ROM,

is a leading candidate for handling the mass storage dilemma by the microcomputer based GIS user.[1]

3. Manipulation and Analysis

There are many different types of database manipulation functions which are commonly performed. Basic search and retrieval through the entire database, or "windowing" into selected attributes by geographic area are two such types. A third method involves extracting data which satisfy a series of 'if, and, or' questions. Common statistical analysis functions include central measure and standard deviation, and measurement of points, lines, areas or volumes. Examples include the enumeration of the total number of a certain type of points within a given area, the length of a curved line, the areal measurement of a particular area, and volumetric measurement of a cross section. Map scale changes provides the ability to plot or display data at a user defined scale. With this capability, scale is not confined to the input scale.

Overlaying of multiple layers of data is one of the most useful and unique functions of a GIS, because it allows for easy comparison of different data sets. Overlaying involves the integrating or dis-integrating of multiple maps to create new maps. For example, overlaying soil type and recent urban development, would show areas where prime agricultural land has been lost to development. It is through comparisons such as these, which are difficult using conventional methods, that relationships between the data are illustrated and new knowledge is gained.

> *'Overlaying of multiple layers of data is one of the most useful and unique functions of a GIS . . .'*

Digital terrain analysis is a new technique which would have been totally impossible without computer technology. Cross-sectional and three-dimensional visual displays are constructed from raw elevation data and displayed on the screen. The result is a 'fishnet' model, which can be rotated, tilted, and exaggerated by desired factors. Calculations of sun intensity, slope mapping and viewshed modeling are also possible with some programs.

4. Output

Some of the important cartographic capabilities for the output system are the manipulation of var-

ious types of labels and text, creation of a symbol library, shading (coloring) of areas, and editing of layout and design. The maps produced by an advanced computer mapping system need not be any less sophisticated or aesthetically pleasing as those produced by traditional methods. The major advantage of computer cartography is the speed and accuracy at which the maps are constructed.

With an increasing awareness of and interest in geographic phenomenon, such as resource management, urban development and land use planning, there is pressure to develop better ways to manage geographic data. Geographic Information Systems are an important and widely used solution to this problem. Until recently all GISs were installed on relatively large and expensive minicomputers, but the microcomputers available today are approaching the power of minicomputers, so several GIS software manufacturers market their packages in the form of stand-alone microcomputer workstations. The cost of a well equipped turnkey workstation including a high speed computer with hard disk, digitizer, plotter, high resolution graphics, software and training is now under $35,000. This is an amount well within the range of environmental management firms, consultants, surveyors and local governments. An increase in the availability of existing databases would result in lower set-up costs and increased applications. This, and a decrease in the cost of computer hardware, would result in an improved cost/benefit ratio for users and a further proliferation of systems. GISs are powerful tools for managing geographic data and the coming decade will see major advances in the development of this technique.   □

Footnote

[1] Light, Donald L. "Mass Storage Estimates for the Digital Mapping Era." *Photogrammetric Engineering and Remote Sensing*, Vol. 52, No. 3, March 1986, pp. 419-425.

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Book Review

of Jane Jacobs' Cities and The Wealth of Nations: Principles of Economic Life

by Bob Bates

Bob Bates graduated from San Francisco State University in the Spring of 1986 with a BA in Geography. He is currently a graduate student at UC Berkeley with a focus on transportation planning

A New Sensibility?

Why are we unable to predict and manage our own economic growth? Why have the underdeveloped nations remained under-developed, despite millions of dollars in foreign aid? Do we need a new point of view, a new perspective on economic development?

Naomi Bliven, in her review of "Cities and the Wealth of Nations" in *The New Yorker*, wrote that Jane Jacobs "is working toward a new sensibility, which demands a change not only in how we think but in how we feel and what we value." To determine how successful Jacobs has been in developing this 'new sensibility,' I will give an overview of Jacobs' book, a criticism of her work, then return to the question of a 'new sensibility.'

An overview of *Cities and the Wealth of Nations*

Jane Jacobs takes a quick aim when she says, "Macro-economics — large-scale economics

> **"Economic life develops by grace of innovating; it expands by grace of import-replacing."**

— is the branch of learning entrusted with the theory and practice of understanding and fostering national and international economies. It is a shambles." She quickly dismisses all economists who have made contributions to current economic thought — "from Adam Smith to Marx to Keynes to their modern successors." Current economic thought does not account for stagflation, the combination of inflation and high unemployment, and economists inability to predict, much less mitigate, the effect of stagflation leads Jacobs to assume that there is a basic flaw in all of current economic thought. To Jacobs that flaw is "the idea that national economies are useful and salient entities for understanding how economic life works and what its structure may be: that national economies and not some other entity provide the fundamental data for macro-economic analysis."

Looking at the "real economic world," Jacobs feels that "cities are unique in their abilities to shape and reshape the economies of other settlements." Jacobs marks a clear line between national economies and city

economies, for city economies are the place where the import-replacing function takes place. Jacobs defines import-replacing as the substitution of imported goods with locally manufactured goods. This distinction between national economies and city economies is critical for Jacobs. Thus we reach the thesis of Jacobs' book: "Economic life develops by grace of innovating; it expands by grace of import-replacing. These two master economic processes are closely related, both being functions of city economies...And a settlement that becomes good at import-replacing *becomes* a city."

Jacobs lists five forms of growth that are outcomes of the expansion that derives from city import-replacing: markets, jobs, transplants, technology, and capital. She details how each of these forces "exert far-reaching effects outside of import-replacing cities as well as within them."

Jacobs introduces and develops the concept of regions: supply regions, clearance regions, abandoned regions, transplant regions, bypassed regions and cities own regions. She describes how they develop, how they interact with cities, how they falter and stagnate or develop and grow. She discusses the inherent inequality in transactions between advanced and backward cities and advocates that backward cities should trade among themselves; indeed, they need each other to develop.

> '. . . actions necessary to foster economic growth . . . are unlikely to happen . . .'

National currencies provide faulty feedback to cities, hence hindering their growth, Jacobs says. City-states with a 'city currency' are much better at adapting to changing conditions because they can register an immediate change in their currency rate and make needed adjustments. Cities that use national currencies are unaware of problems until it becomes too late to correct them.

In her most powerful chapter, Jacobs discusses 'Transactions of Decline.' Transactions of decline are defined as: 1) prolonged and unremitting military production,

2) prolonged and unremitting subsidies to poor regions, and 3) heavy promotion of trade between advanced and backward economies. Transfer of funds from import-replacing cities, whether for military or welfare reasons, lessens the ability of import-replacing cities to continue to develop economically. She argues that, "the very policies and transactions that are necessary to win, hold and exploit an empire are destructive to an imperial power's own cities and cannot help but lead to their stagnation and decay."

In the concluding chapters, Jacobs introduces the predicament that cities and nations face: actions necessary to foster economic growth — the adoption of city currencies and the dividing of nations into city states — are unlikely to happen. Nations are political and military institutions and usually very unwilling to give up territory. She further takes aim at economic planning and suggests that what happens best happens when economic development is allowed to 'drift;' "(we might call) development an improvisational drift into unprecedented kinds of work that carry unprecedented problems, then drifting into improvised solutions, which carry further unprecedented work carrying unprecedented problems...." Jacobs feels that economic planning gets in the way of improvised, innovative and versatile production and that economic planning is a death blow to economic vitality.

Criticisms of *Cities and the Wealth of Nations*

Tokyo, Japan, time and again, provides an example for Jacobs. She continually refers to both Tokyo's bicycle industry and the transformation of the Tokyo hinterland village of Shinohata as examples of the power of import-replacing. But Tokyo could well be an anomaly. It has only been recently that Japan has opened itself fully to the rest of the world. Japan's development came after the destruction of World War II, and its industrial plant has developed since that time. The culture of the Japanese people, their recent emergence into world society, and the effects of the World War II all play an important role in the development of Tokyo. All of these must also be taken into account, along with import-replacing, in assessing Tokyo's amazing development. This Jacobs fails to do.

Montevideo, Uruguay, and Buenos Aires, Argentina, are used as examples of why backward cities need one another. Jacobs says, "Because these cities have not developed on one another's shoulders, they have not developed. Backward cities need one another." But there could well be other reasons why these South American cities have not developed. Control of natural resources by foreign groups can play an important inhibiting role in economic development, as can cultural historical factors that Jacobs overlooks.

"Because these cities have not developed on one another's shoulders, they have not developed. Backward cities need one another."

National currencies, and the faulty feedback that they give cities, are a prime target for Jacobs. She feels a national currency lacks the ability to give economic feedback to individual cities. But James Cook, in a review in *Forbes* indicates, correctly I think, that "a return to the gold standard would go a long way toward solving this particular problem."

Reviewers of **Cities and the Wealth of Nations** repeatedly cite Jacobs' picking and choosing examples that work for her and overlooking examples that don't fit her hypothesis. Robert F. Wagner Jr., in his review in *The New Republic*, claims: "Its presentation is murky, its use of evidence far from rigorous, its argument sometimes confused and all too often confusing, and its claims pretentious." But Jacobs draws on an empirical faith when she says: "whenever possible....I have used my eyes and ears, but have also drawn heavily on many other observers, living and dead." Thomas Bender, in his review in *The Nation*, likens this approach to:

> an urban and popular tradition of 'naked eye' science....characteristic of both natural and social sciences in America a hundred years ago....Reality, according to the new academic social scientists, must be pursued behind appearances, and its description must depend upon subtle

abstractions. Jane Jacobs reminds us, with great force, that the further these abstractions get from observable historical processes the more unreliable, even dangerous, they become....By insisting on the seriousness and consequences of intellect, she provides a testament to the life of the mind in America and a necessary complement and counterweight for academic discourse.

A New Sensibility?

Jacobs' book lacks the rigor necessary for acdemic work. She picks examples that serve to buttress her theories and ignores those that don't. Her examples range in time from the Romans to modern Japan without evaluating other historical aspects — plagues, religions, prejudices, politics — that also play determing roles in economic development.

Yet Jacobs is right on the mark in many respects. Modern economists are unable to predict and guide economic development. Their theories have been put to the test in the field with disastrous consequences. The failure of transplanted industries to generate economic development is obvious. Jacobs seems especially astute in her analysis of transactions of decline.

Many of Jacobs' ideas deserve more thorough, academic if you will, study. Her primary thesis, that cities are the salient entity with which to study economic development certainly deserves more investigation. The importance Jacobs places on import-replacing as well as the importance of innovation and improvization deserve more analysis.

Has Jacobs developed a 'new sensibility?' While much more research needs to be done, she has boldly challenged current thought and created the ground work for what could, indeed, become a new sensibility. □

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URBAN STUDIES

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