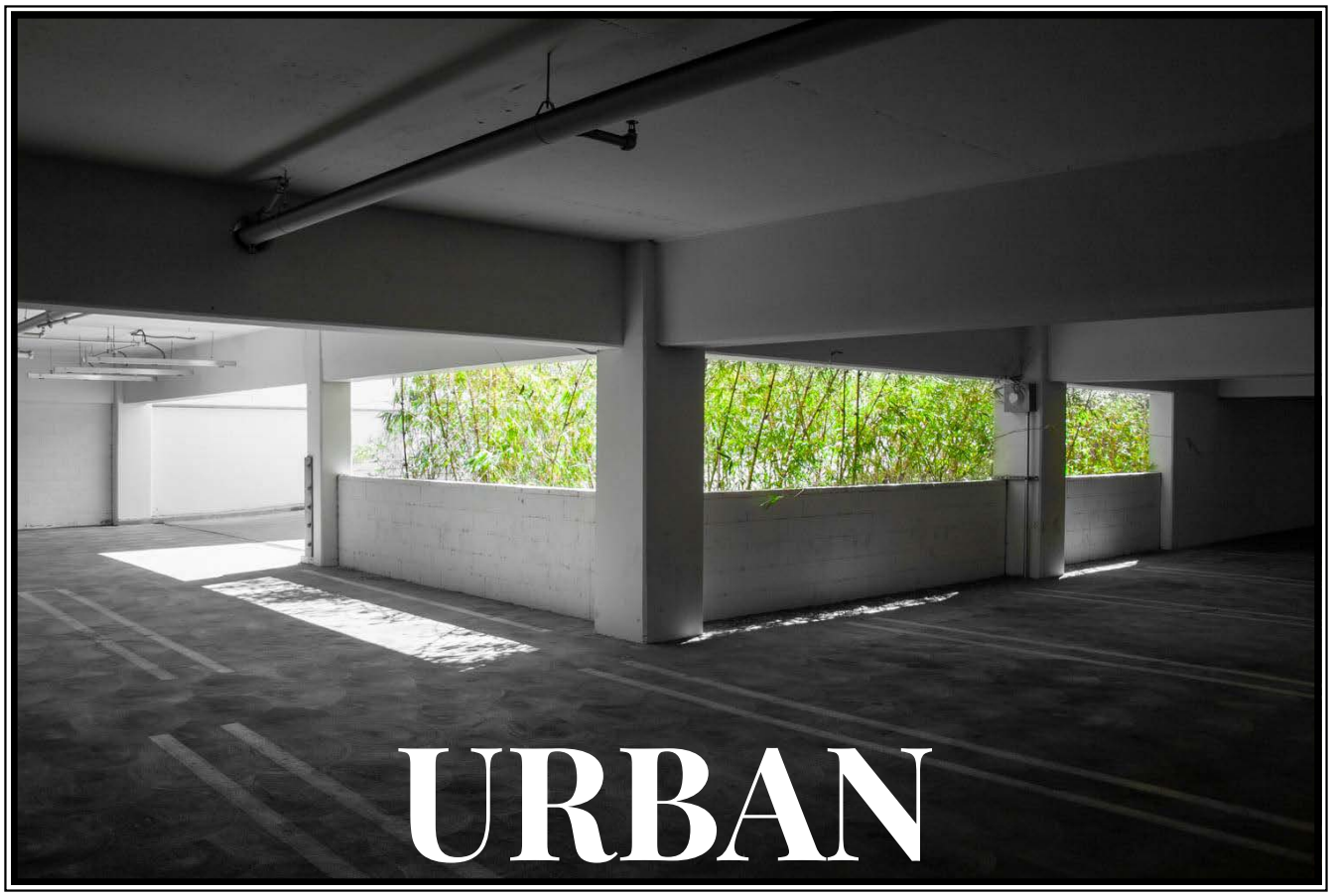


URBAN ACTION

A Journal of Public Affairs & Civic Engagement

2023 Double Issue

CONTRIBUTORS

Special thanks to Anne Chen for providing the 2020 submissions

Urban Action
School of Public Affairs and Civic Engagement
Department of Urban Studies and Planning
San Francisco State University
1600 Holloway Avenue, HSS 216
San Francisco, CA 94132

Email: urbanaction@sfsu.edu
Instagram: urbanactionsfsu

urban action

Urban Action

A Journal of Public Affairs & Civic Engagement

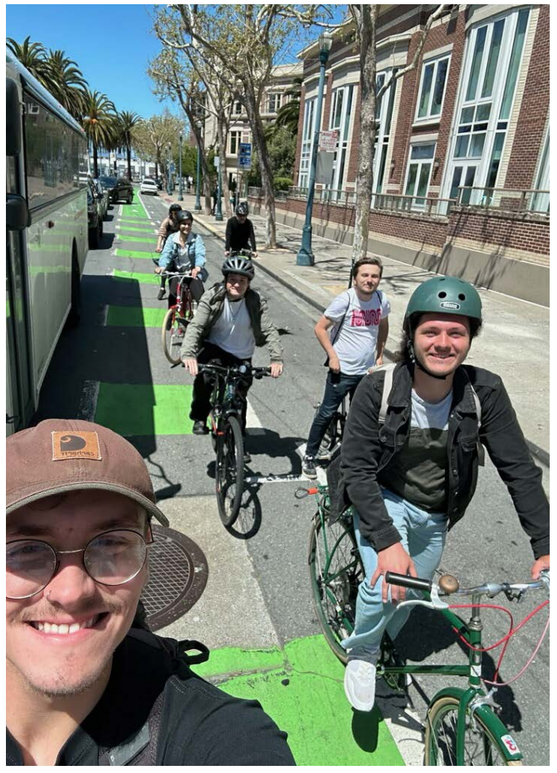
2023 Double Issue 41 & 42

CONTENTS

Letter from the Advisor

We're baaaack! After three long years, I am excited to announce the return of the Urban Action Journal. It has been quite a journey. In April of 2020 we were told that the university would be closing for two weeks for the COVID emergency. We all know how that turned out. In the ensuing months of stress, pain, and loss, our authors and editors drifted away to care for themselves and others. The following year, classes were scattered, nerves were fraught, and we were online. Things were still just too chaotic to consider the journal. But then, folks started to drift back. First a few classes were in person, then a few more. A couple students began asking about the journal, and talks began. Those talks culminated in a brand new, bigger, better, and wider reaching journal. Under the tremendous and tireless leadership of Michelle Bark, Chris Abeel and the entire editorial team, this year's journal is both the first issue to be published as part of the CSU Open Journal system but is also a double issue! Thanks to the tremendous work of the editorial team, this issue not only highlights current undergraduate work, but also the team was able to track down solicit, and beautifully edit previously unpublished work from the pandemic years, and a selection of graduate work all while learning to navigate a new publishing platform. Needless to say, I am tremendously proud of this team and this issue. This issue represents both a return to tradition and an incredible leap forward into our virtual, open-access future! Likewise, the articles in this edition highlight the resilience, passion, skill, and dedication of our authors to addressing the pressing urban issues, challenges, and opportunities of our time. I hope you enjoy this double issue!

Tony C. Sparks, PhD
Urban Action Faculty Advisor



“Now and then, the passage of time seems acutely apparent. Physical pain always sharpens the awareness. The migraines that began when I was twelve or thirteen swoop down without warning, bringing with them agonizing stomach cramps that stop daily life in its tracks. Even the smallest task is left suspended as I concentrate on simply enduring the pain, sensing time’s discrete drops as razor-sharp gemstones, grazing my fingertips. One deep breath drawn in and this new moment of life takes shape as distinctly as a bead of blood. Even once I have stepped back into the flow, one day melding seamlessly into another, that sensation remains ever there in that spot, waiting, breath held.

Each moment is a leap forward from the brink of an invisible cliff, where time’s keen edges are constantly renewed. We lift our foot from the solid ground of all our life lived thus far and take that perilous step out into the empty air. Not because we can claim any particular courage, but because there is no other way. 지금 이 순간도 그 위태로움을 나는 느낀다. 아직 살아보지 않은 시간 속으로, 쓰지 않은 책 속으로 무모하게 걸어들어간다. [Now, in this moment, I feel that vertiginous thrill course through me. As I step recklessly into time I have not yet lived, into this book I have not yet written.]”

Excerpt from “나 [I]” *The White Book* by Han Kang

Editor’s Note

The 2023 Double Issue of Urban Action marks the first on Open Journal Source and the first to return from a brief hiatus. These firsts allow us to feature voices from across time and programs. Issue 42 consists of work from Urban Studies and Planning (USP) and Master of Public Administration (MPA) students in the 2022-2023 academic year. Issue 41, or the “lost issue” as it was dubbed before it was “found” thanks to Anne Chen, consists of submissions from the 2019-2020 academic year with a COVID section that comprises works centered around the pandemic.

The editorial team went through all the pieces submitted for Issue 41, and it was hard to connect to the submissions at first. It was twice the work, and the punctuation caused by the pandemic made the authors feel not like fellow students but like the specters of students who used to occupy the same space in the Health and Social Sciences building at SF State.

But it got easier once we recognized a common thread across this space and time. That is a frustration with the persistent failure to address issues in housing, homelessness, the environment, and poverty. This collective consciousness also has a place in common: San Francisco State University, the faculty that anchors the programs, or maybe it’s just in the ether.

Regardless of what draws in and guides this consciousness, here it goes. The first precipitous step from the migraine called the pandemic.

Michelle Ju-won Bark
Editor-in-Chief

p.s. Thank you to Chris Abeel, Sofia Hernandez, and Dr. Tony C. Sparks for your consistency and support.

p.p.s. I hope all is well, USP AY 19-20. Ashleigh Castro, if you ever see this, I want to be friends.

2023 ISSUE #42

Sofia Hernandez

Climate Change and Homelessness in San Francisco, CA

Sofia Hernandez

San Francisco has set forth strong initiatives to achieve their environmental goals of reducing greenhouse gas emissions. A recently passed legislation states in the findings section of the ordinance that the city is years ahead of its goal to cut emission by 2025. This ordinance, approved in July 2022, amends the planning code to include electric vehicles (EVs) which both facilitates and accelerates the conversion of certain sites into EV charging hubs. The city hopes to increase the adoption of EVs thus enabling the achievement for the city to become zero-emission by 2030. City leaders appear to be adamant that electrifying our personal automobiles is the primary climate solution. There is an urgency to increase charging infrastructures and increase the number of EVs on the road in a time span of less than a decade. However, what if city leaders had the same urgency to increase affordable housing? This is a vital component that will address numerous issues, including protection from climate risks. According to California's Department of Housing and Community Development (HCD), between 2023 and 2030 San Francisco will need to build 82,000 new units with 57 percent of those units to be affordable housing, the same time span for EV charging hubs. Thus far, the city has been the slowest jurisdiction within California and lagging behind other major cities in adding new housing (Bastone 2022).

After informational interviews with the executive director of Coalition on Homelessness (COH) and the programs and impact director of LavaMaex, two nonprofit homeless advocacy organizations, my research took an unexpected turn and I sought to learn more of how the housing and homeless crisis are connected to climate change vulnerability. The executive director of COH, stressed that an important and crucial factor in terms of protection from climate risks is housing. Housing is one of the most significant social determinants of health as housing quality, stability, affordability, and other factors have an impact on one's emotional and physical wellbeing (Wolin & Perkins, 2018). In recent years more studies have emerged that there is a connection between climate change, social determinants of health and health inequities with disadvantaged communities facing the biggest burden of climate change impacts (Friel, 2019).
According to the city's own environmental department, San Francisco is leading the way on climate action and has drafted several plans in terms of adaptation to climate change. Most climate action reports released by the city recognize their most vulnerable population, including those experiencing homelessness. For decades, San Francisco has funded and provided supportive services for the homeless population, but it has been evident that it has not been able to keep up with the needs (Keating 2019). Now, with the aftermath of the Covid-19 pandemic, according to the programs and impact director of LavaMaex the number of unhoused people has increased throughout the country.

The pandemic also sparked criticism on how city leaders handled the homeless population. Although climate change is considered a slow-moving threat, San Francisco is already experiencing the effects of climate change including extreme temperatures. As the city struggles to alleviate the homeless crisis as well as the housing crisis, climate change should be a cause for concern. As the Covid-19 pandemic exacerbated homelessness, the effects of climate change may bring the crisis to detrimental levels.

My research began with reaching out to seven nonprofit homeless advocacy organizations. Unfortunately, I was only able to conduct informational interviews with two, LavaMaex and COH. Nevertheless, with the information gathered through these interviews, I was able to structure my research paper and focus on issues and concerns raised by the interviewees.

I researched the initiatives implemented to address the needs of the homeless population during the Covid-19 pandemic. Some advocates blame the city's anti-homelessness policies on worsening the crisis during the pandemic. Later, in my research I found that these anti-homeless policies also impact the unhoused during severe weather. I researched tent confiscations and other actions taken against the homeless population. I then briefly researched the housing crisis, and the impact housing can have on human health. Lastly, through an interview with COH, I learned of San Francisco's inclement weather policy, to which I reviewed and will elaborate on further in the findings section of this paper.

First and foremost, it is important to note that the city does have an abundance of supportive services and resources in place for the homeless population. There are numerous advocacy groups and organizations that work tirelessly to provide as much aid as possible and are working toward finding permanent solutions for homelessness. Considering the thousands of unhoused individuals still on the streets, and city officials' slow response to protect the homeless during the Covid-19 pandemic, there is undoubtedly room for improvement. Through this semester-long research project, it became evident, if not obvious enough, that housing can very well be the primary solution to protecting everyone from climate risk. However, with persistent homelessness, severe shortage of affordable housing, the continuance of city sweeps and the shortage of shelter beds, it raises the question: is San Francisco, California doing enough to protect its unsheltered homeless population from climate risk?

Brief Background:
The Covid-19 Pandemic

Advocates for the homeless argue that the city failed its homeless population during the Covid-19 pandemic. While, having had one of the strictest mandated Shelter in Place (SIP) in the country, the city and county of San Francisco, received praise for its fast and effective initiatives. In December 2021, when compared to twenty other large cities, San Francisco had the lowest coronavirus mortalities (Kukura 2021). However, to adhere to strict social distancing guidelines, homeless shelters were forced to close their doors or reduce capacity by almost 80 percent and were not allowed to take in new guests. Within the first couple of months of SIP, the number of tents throughout the city increased by 71 percent. In the Tenderloin, a historically underserved neighborhood, tents increased by 258 percent (Ho 2020). Due to the growing number of unsanctioned encampments, the city faced multiple lawsuits against the worsening street conditions (Sabatini 2020). In order to alleviate the number of tents on city sidewalks and as a response to the lawsuits, the city along with the nonprofit, Urban Alchemy, opened its first sanctioned encampment in May 2020, known as Safe Sleep Village. According to Urban Alchemy, within three Safe Sleep Villages in the city, occupants had a safe place to sleep, received three meals per day, showers, toilets and were able to charge their phones. The largest Safe Sleep Village served just 150 guests each night. The first sanctioned encampment opened two months after the closure and capacity reduction of shelters and after many homeless individuals were left with little to no guidance on how to protect themselves from the coronavirus.

San Francisco's handling of Project RoomKey was another source of frustration for advocates and some city leaders. Despite receiving funding from the state of California, only eight hotels roomed 1,000 homeless individuals (ECS SF 2020). The issue – as traveling came to a halt amidst the pandemic, there were over 30,000 vacant rooms within San Francisco. At least thirty of these hotels offered over 8,300 rooms at discounted prices for unhoused individuals. There were 8,035 people experiencing homelessness in 2019 (SF PIT Count). Yet, hotel and motel rooms were only made available to the most vulnerable among the vulnerable. This included individuals who tested positive for the virus, those already in temporary shelters and vulnerability due to age or underlying health conditions (Canales 2020).

Anti-Homeless Policies

Often tents are the only form of protection an individual experiencing homelessness has from the outside elements. Despite the closure of shelters and the drastic reduction of supportive services during the pandemic, move-along orders and city sweeps continued. City sweeps are the confiscation of an unhoused individual's tent and other personal belongings by city workers. According to The Solution Not Sweeps Coalition, personal property being discarded often include medications and identification. Sweeps and other anti-homeless laws and practices have been in place for decades. Once referred to as the annihilation of public space: "while these laws have as a goal — perhaps not explicit, but clear nonetheless — the redefinition of public rights so that only the housed may have access to them" (Mitchell 1997). The annihilation or strict regulations of public space by law means eliminating the only space an unhoused individual has. While city leaders and law enforcement cannot blatantly define homelessness as a crime, the unhoused are punished for certain behaviors and "survival itself is criminalized"– when an unhoused individual cannot find a place to sleep or use a public restroom (Mitchell 1997).

As some city leaders mobilize these anti-homeless ordinances and as the homeless crisis persists, in recent years there has been an increase in "homeless concern" calls to 911 and 311. Chris Herring, a PhD Candidate of Sociology at the UC-Berkeley, conducted research on "complaint-oriented policing". During ride-alongs with San Francisco police officers, Herring found that officers expressed the endless calls to 911 and 311 of homeless complaints should be a social worker's job. Most calls did not involve a real crime. Rather several of the complaint calls were made because an individual was asleep in their tents. By the time an officer arrived, the individual had already

packed their belongings and left. The few instances where a homeless individual was arrested, according to the officers interviewed, the individual was released within a few hours. Yet, the aftermath of an arrest for the unhoused individual is damaging. A criminal record creates barriers for them to access supportive services, including affordable housing (Herring 2019).

The Housing Crisis and Health

As of December 2022, the average rent for a one-bedroom apartment in the city is just under $3,000. A four percent increase compared to the previous year (Zumper). Within the San Francisco Bay Area the homes are 90 percent market-rate (Plan Bay Area 2050) and the values of homes have been increasing faster than household incomes (Garcia et al. 2022). Throughout the US the most common standard of housing affordability is 30 percent of household income. Housing cost burdens over 30 percent is considered excessive and 50 percent or more is considered severe (Schwartz, 2021 27-28). For people living below the poverty line at least one in four are spending upwards of 70 percent of their income on housing costs (Mamo & Acosta, 2020). Rent-burden is prevalent among low and very low-income households and disproportionately affect Black and Hispanic households (Schwartz, 2021 27-28). With such severe rent-burden this puts other necessities on the backburner, leaving little to no income for groceries, electricity, medication, transportation and even school supplies. This leads to both housing insecurities and the threat of eviction. The exposure to the threat of eviction has been shown to increase depression and anxiety, as well as high blood pressure, among other health risks. Eviction can also lead to forced homelessness (Mamo & Acosta, 2020). The city's housing crisis, as the homeless crisis, was exacerbated by the Covid-19 pandemic. The pandemic has left many extremely low-income households on the brink of homelessness not just in San Francisco but the entire region. The loss of jobs and business has again, disproportionately affected Black, Indigenous and people of color communities which have further deepened inequity and housing insecurity (Reid, et al 2021).

The city and county of San Francisco has some of the highest living costs in the world. Even so San Francisco has a shortage of housing, especially affordable housing. San Francisco's severe housing shortage has not gone unnoticed. For the first time, California's HCD will conduct its first-ever review of San Francisco's housing policy. According to the HCD San Francisco is the slowest jurisdiction in the entire state of California to produce housing when compared to other tech-hub cities. Currently, only 9 percent of units in the city are affordable (Rezal & Caughey 2022). The city has recently received approximately $117 million in funding from the HCD to build three affordable housing developments (Dickey 2022). By 2030 the city will need to add an additional 82,000 homes with 57 percent being affordable housing. This means the city will need to add over 10,000 new units per year beginning 2023. That is three times more than the city's recent pace (Rezal & Caughey 2022). Affordability along with accessibility, quality, and stability of housing are crucial for a multitude of reasons. These factors have shown to have an effect on one's emotional and physical health (Wolin & Perkins, 2018). It is imperative that San Francisco meet its deadline of 2030 as housing along with supportive services can solve innumerable issues, as I will elaborate further in the finding section of this paper.

Inclement Weather Policy

In adequate housing or in other instances lack of housing, exposes a person and their family to harm. Unhoused individuals are exposed to elements – during cold weather, frostbite and hypothermia are most common. Freezing to death is a common concern amongst the homeless population. Moreover, many health issues are worsened by homelessness and others develop health issues as a result of homelessness (Wolin & Perkins 2018). As I finalize my research, it is December 2022, and the coldest and wettest days of the winter season are expected to intensify. In response to the extremely cold days ahead the Interfaith Winter Shelter program began at the end of November 2022 and will run through March 2023. The program has increased the number of shelter capacity and provides meals to their guests. (ECS SF 2022). On the Department of Homelessness and Supportive Housing (HSH) website there are five different sites scheduled for the Interfaith Winter Shelter program, each scheduled to serve for at least four weeks. The capacity of the shelters range between 30 and 80 guests. The HSH website also has four different sites listed for the "Temporary Inclement Weather Shelter", these however, are only scheduled for ten days ending on December 19, 2022.

Aside from the inclement weather policy, San Francisco has information on their website on how to protect oneself from extreme weather and bad air quality during Covid-19. The webpage was last updated May 2022. The webpage includes how to protect oneself from extreme heat, wildfire smoke or unhealthy air. If cooling centers are available one is advised to wear a mask, but if one has Covid-19 then the individual is not allowed to use the cooling centers and is advised to seek medical attention (sf.gov). As far as protection from wildfire smoke – one is advised to create a "clean air space at home" and to wear a mask outdoors. The city also launched Urban Heat Watch, a program sponsored by the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Association. The program will allow the city to measure how temperatures differ between neighborhoods and eventually aid the city in addressing health inequities associated with extreme heat (sf.gov 2022). The unhoused population is acknowledged as being among the cities most vulnerable to heat but there is no clear explicit language on how they will be protected.

Research Statement

This research examines whether city governments of San Francisco have done or are doing enough to protect one of their most vulnerable populations from climate risk, such as exposure to extreme weather. While we all face the consequences of climate change, it is evident that elites of the world will endure much less burden and stress, compared to the poorest and most disadvantaged groups (Friel 2019). Throughout the country's history environmental racism and structural racism have made people of color and those living in poverty much more vulnerable and exposed to harm. Countless studies show that people of color are overrepresented within homeless populations (Oliv- et et. al 2021 82-83). While this is evident throughout the country, I will be focused on San Francisco, a city of immense wealth yet has been combating a homeless crisis along with extreme scarcity of affordable housing. As of 2022 the city's homeless population decreased by a minuscule 3.5 percent, even so people of color particularly Black/African Americans and Hispanics are overrepresented (PIT Count 2022). As the city has made very little progress in alleviating the homeless crisis, it should be a cause for concern of what is to come, as scientists and other experts are warning us of the fast-approaching climate risks, many of which will become irreversible if we do not act now.

While San Francisco per capita spends more money than any other city on homeless services (Herring 2019), the city has been unable to cope with the needs of the unhoused population (Keating 2019). San Francisco also has more anti-homeless ordinances when compared to other California cities and possibly the entire country (Herring 2019). My research will also examine how these two contradictions will affect how the city protects the unsheltered from exposure to the elements which are expected to worsen with climate change. For my Housing Policy and Planning and Urban Health Policy courses I researched the Covid-19 pandemic and the effects it had on the homeless population within San Francisco. The continuous failure towards its most vulnerable population was evident. Newly released count shows the number of deaths among individuals experiencing homelessness doubled during the first year of the pandemic, between March 17, 2020, (the day SIP was mandated) through March 16, 2021, when compared to any previous year (Cawley et al. 2022). As city leaders have fallen short, nonprofit organizations and advocacy groups have stepped in to provide aid to the homeless population. As part of my research I will be interviewing employees from nonprofit organizations aimed to support unhoused individuals and finding permanent solutions to homelessness. Interviewing individuals who work closely with the homeless population will provide insight on what they witness and experience through their crucial work.

Literature Review

On April 4, 2022, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) released its 6th report with suggested climate solutions. Previous reports by the IPCC have taken up to seven years to compile. This report could potentially be the last warning to all governments before some of the catastrophic effects of climate change become irreversible (Harvey 2022). Within the latest report the IPCC has called out the wealthier individuals and multinational corporations on their obligation and high potential to reduce their "luxury emissions" (Alexander 2022). While the world's largest and wealthiest producers of pollutants are hardly reprimanded for their offenses, the more impoverished countries and the impoverished communities within wealthy countries are facing the biggest burdens of climate change. Robert D. Bullard, an expert on environmental justice, argued that while the U.S. does have some of the best environmental laws in the world, not all communities are equal. For decades, studies have shown and continue to show that low-income communities and people of color are disproportionately exposed to environmental injustices (Bullard 2003). This is due to the country's long history of systemic oppression that has kept certain groups without protection from harm. British geographer, Harriet Bulkeley, says, within cities, climate risks have been "historically and systemically produced through urbanization" and the urban poor are the most vulnerable and face greater risks of climate change (2014, 35).

Over 50 years ago, biologists J. Clarence Davies III and Barbara S. Davies argued that when it comes to pollution control it should be the government setting standards and being strict with implementing them: yet the biggest and wealthiest producers of pollutants are the ones who set the standards. Thus private entities have gotten away with destroying the environ-

ment for all living organisms (Davies & Davies 1975). Davies and Davies, though their argument was half a century ago, is still very relevant as governments are moving slow in setting the standards and with the release of the 2022 IPCC report, world climate experts have criticized governments for not taking enough initiative to lower carbon emissions. While environmental scientists and other experts work toward aiding us in transitioning to a more green society, for now, their efforts can merely be suggestions. In a podcast, A Rude Awakening, environmental scientist Jonathan Foley, when discussing the suggested climate solutions within the IPCC report, only briefly mentions the importance of energy affordability for all. Then, Bulkeley in her book on climate change, in reference to the Fourth Assessment Report by the IPCC from 2007, mentions the importance of acknowledging the vulnerability of certain groups. The discussions of the current and past IPCC reports in terms of vulnerability has veered my research into whether the transition into a low-carbon society includes protection for our most vulnerable populations: more specifically the unhoused population with a focus on San Francisco, CA, one of the wealthiest cities in the nation.

In 2017, San Francisco was home to 74 billionaires, the third highest number of billionaire residents in the world (Peiffer et. al 2022). In a report released by UC Berkeley, it was stated that the median sale price for a home in San Francisco reached 1.3 million and a family of four earning up to $165,000 per year is considered “middle income” (Garcia, et al. 2022). Yet, as the city has earned the title of one of the wealthiest and most expensive cities in the entire country, it has fallen short of providing enough affordable housing and all while combating homelessness. As previously stated, San Francisco spends billions of dollars on homeless services yet has approximately 24 anti-homeless laws in place. On average, California cities have nine anti homeless laws (Herring 2019). Activists and city leaders blame the worsening crisis on San Francisco’s history of anti-homeless policies which may have also played a critical role in exacerbating the crisis during the COVID-19 pandemic. While an unexpected threat, the city and county of San Francisco, received praise for the initiatives taken throughout the COVID-19 pandemic. However, the city seems to be receiving critique in regard to the slow but pervasive threat, climate change. Critics claim the city is not prepared for the transformation climate change will have on our city and entire region (Charnock 2022). As we face the consequences of climate change, Kristina Dahl, et al. have found extreme heat may very well be the one that affects the daily life of the average US resident the most (Dahl et al. 2019 1). City inhabitants have already begun to experience the heat island effects. Heat islands are urban areas experiencing higher temperatures than outlying or rural areas due to that lack of greenery, such as trees which are vital for shade, and infrastructure made of materials, such as concrete that absorbs heat (EPA). As heat waves intensify there will be more heat related deaths and illnesses especially within heat islands and among vulnerable populations. The homeless population, which are largely found within cities, are among the most exposed to climate risk. Homeless individuals often do not have access to resources such as shade, air conditioning or cooling centers. These resources are necessary to protect themselves from extreme heat (Kristina Dahl, et al. 2019 25). In Dahl’s et al.’s report there are numerous suggestive actions we should take to prepare for the rising temperatures, yet that’s all most climate solutions are – suggestions, until governments begin to set standards.

Research Design/Research Methodology

In an attempt to uncover the answer to whether San Francisco is doing enough to protect its unsheltered homeless population from extreme weather, expected to worsen with climate change, I will be conducting qualitative research by way of interviews. The interviewees will be professionals at nonprofit organizations who work to aid the unhoused population. One being, LavaMaex, a nonprofit that was founded in 2013, provides mobile showers and other supportive services that promote wellbeing to those experiencing homelessness. With the San Francisco Bay Area experiencing record breaking temperatures (National Weather Service) this passed Labor Day weekend, I am curious to know whether LavaMaex witnessed a notable difference in the amount of homeless individuals seeking a cool shower or other services to escape the heat. The second nonprofit, Coalition on Homelessness (COH) in San Francisco, since 1987 their mission has been to provide supportive and on-going services to homeless people and create permanent solutions to homelessness (COH). I chose to reach out to COH given the organization’s long- standing history of combating the city’s homeless crisis. The research instruments will include in-depth open-ended questions and analysis of the interviews with inductive coding. For this research inductive coding will potentially aid me in finding my answer since as of now I do not know what the salient themes are. These interviews and answers to my questions of whether the efforts of the city are sufficient enough could uncover other important factors and issues. Through these interviews I hope to gain some insight from the crucial and necessary work these nonprofit organizations do to alleviate the homeless crisis within the city of San Francisco. Also, I will review some of the anti-homeless ordinances in place as well as search for initiatives that are designed to protect the homeless population from extreme weather conditions. Thus far I found, the HSH website has information on locations of cooling stations in public libraries during heatwaves. My questions for the interviewees will be whether they believe the initiatives the city has in place during inclement weather, are sufficient enough. The follow-up question would be for the interviewees to explain why or why not. I understand this is a very broad topic. With a time frame of only four months (August through December), I will not be able to interview multiple homeless focused organizations so my findings will be limited to the ones I can interview. However, I expect to find that the reasonings whether the policies are believed to be sufficient enough will be overwhelming. Moreover, asking open-ended questions in terms of sufficiency will allow the professionals to share and elaborate on their lived experience of what they witness on a daily basis working with such a vulnerable population.

Limitations

For this research I reached out to seven nonprofit homeless advocacy organizations and only two responded. Though this is understandable considering the demand of supportive services. Thus my research and findings revolve around the responses and shared information from LaveMaex and Coalition on Homelessness. Another limitation was that there simply was not enough information available to thoroughly answer the question of whether San Francisco is doing enough to protect its most vulnerable population from climate risk. More research needs to be done and one semester was not enough time.

Findings

In short, the answer to whether San Francisco’s efforts to protect the homeless population from climate risk is sufficient, is no. At least that is what I gathered from my interviews with Elaine, the programs and impact director of LavaMaex and Helen, the executive director of COH. While both shared insights based on their experience and the services provided by each organization, their answers as to what the prominent solution is: permanent, adequate, affordable housing. Helen stressed that housing will address many issues and that includes protection from climate risk. However, providing housing alone is not always enough. Many individuals who once experienced homelessness need supportive resources that will enable them to stay in their homes. Supportive housing has been proven to be an effective method to address homelessness, increasing housing stability, addressing health issues and even decreasing public cost. Research within San Francisco estimated that by the seventh year of benefiting from supportive housing, the savings of health care cost per individual was over $13,000 (Wolin & Perkins 2018). According to Helen, there is a lack of behavioral help and long-term support – some individuals who may have a disability that prevents them from working, will need on-going supportive resources throughout their life. Providing more supportive resources and services can also prevent homelessness. San Francisco does in fact have an inclement (or severe weather) policy. However, COH finds that the policy is too hard to follow. During extreme heat waves, cooling centers are offered in libraries, but people are not allowed to bring in property, including pets. During wildfire season, when air quality is bad due to smoke, one is advised to stay indoors. Lastly, the capacity of shelters are never comprehensive. For instance, while the Interfaith Winter Shelter program intends to increase the number of shelter beds, the site with the highest capacity is only for 80 guests. Currently, there are an estimated 7,754 people experiencing homelessness, nearly 4,400 are unhoused individuals (PIT Count 2022). In October 2021, San Francisco had one of its worst storms in 26 years, and COH drafted a letter addressed to Mayor London Breed with suggestive solutions to improve the city’s severe weather protocol. According to the letter, the notification of emergency shelter arrived on a Friday night, when most organizations are closed for the weekend. While rains began on a Friday, shelter beds were not made available until Sunday. The letter also addressed concerns about city sweeps. Despite the limited number of shelter beds and mats during the cold and rainy season, tents, tarps, and other gear the individual had for protection were confiscated. Leaving the individual completely unsheltered.

The letter presented several recommendations on how to make the policy more effective. A couple of the recommendations included funding for emergency staff to allow existing shelters to operate 24/7 during severe weather. Also, ensuring the number of shelter beds and mats are adequate. COH requested that homeless sweeps, property confiscation including tents are banned. Tents are vital as there are never enough shelter beds to accommodate the thousands of unhoused individuals. Lastly, within the letter, there is an emphasis in communication recommendations. Although initiatives are in place during severe weather, during the informational interview, Helen expressed that initiatives were never advertised enough.

The recommendations in

the letter include announcing shelter locations on electronic boards on bus and train stops. Encouraging news media to run banners on the bottom of the screen. Also, urging the city to have "predetermined" sites for shelter beds and begin sharing information on how to access them immediately after the sites have been determined. It seems access to information is not made available until after shelters are set. Poor communication in the past has led to shelter beds being underutilized.

Poor communication was also evident during the Covid-19 pandemic. According to Wise, many unhoused individuals were unaware or uninformed that the world was amidst a pandemic. Moreover LavaMaex's impact has inspired and reached over 81 cities in the country to launch their own mobile showers programs. During the interview, Wise stated that there has been an increase of homelessness throughout the country. There are more unhoused individuals as a result of the Covid-19 pandemic and the number is expected to increase. Many people have not been able to recover financially, and some have not been able to find jobs. In addition to providing mobile showers to people experiencing homelessness, LavaMaex also provides supportive services during their Pop-Up Care Villages which are scheduled once a week in the city. During these pop-ups, people are offered services such as case management and health care, as well as haircuts and clothing. Recently, LavaMaex has seen an increase in individuals facing housing insecurity, also seeking their services. Housing insecurity includes severe rent burdens (Wolin & Perkins 2018) which can leave individuals unable to afford other necessities such as
health care. Supportive services are crucial to both the unhoused and low-income housed individuals and their families.

Conclusion

Enough research supports that the conditions of one's housing, housing insecurity or the lack of housing can be damaging to human health. Permanent, adequate, stable, and affordable housing is a key solution to innumerable issues. In addition to housing, some individuals and families need accessible and on-going supportive resources necessary to keep them housed which will also enable them to thrive. It is crucial that San Francisco meets its deadline of adding nearly 47,000 affordable housing units by 2030. This is the same deadline the city has for adding thousands of publicly accessible charging infrastructure to accommodate EVs. The most prominent issue with initiatives taken during the Covid-19 pandemic and severe weather is they are temporary fixes. Another issue is that there are just not enough shelter beds for the nearly 8,000 people experiencing homelessness. These issues on top of city sweeps leaves thousands of individuals exposed to illnesses, infection, and
the elements.

It would not be realistic to say we can eradicate homelessness, but it is evident more effort is needed to drastically alleviate the crisis, that is both, the homeless crisis, and the housing crisis. Although deaths of those experiencing homelessness during the first year of the pandemic do not seem to be a result of exposure to the elements – the doubling of deaths reflects the city's failures to the homeless population. The coronavirus pandemic was unexpected and shut down nearly the entire world. Even so, San Francisco was fast in setting initiatives that undoubtedly saved numerous lives. Climate change however, the effects are manifesting slowly. It is still a threat, nonetheless, and unlike the Covid-19 pandemic, the effects of climate change are expected. The city has time to ensure the homeless population does not fall victim to the effects and risks of climate change. If the city fails the homeless population this time around, frankly, it will be evident homelessness is the least of the city's priorities.

Works Cited

Accessing Temporary Shelter. (2022). Department of Homelessness and Supportive Housing. https://hsh.sfgov.org

Bastone, N. (2022, August 10). San Francisco housing policies under state review. Axios. https://www.axios.com

Bullard, R. D., & Wright, B. H. (1986). The Politics of Pollution: Implications for the Black Community. Phylon (1960-), 47(1), 71 -78.

Bulkeley, H. (2014). Cities and Climate Change (1st ed.). Routledge.

City Administrator. (2022, September). San Francisco activates heat mapping effort as City prepares for heat. https://sf.gov

Canales, K. (2020, April 11). There are more vacant hotel rooms in San Francisco than there are homeless people as the city decides whether to house its 8,000 homeless in empty hotels. Business Insider Nederland.

Cawley, C., Kanzaria, H. K., Zevin, B., Doran, K. M., Kushel, M., & Raven, M. C. (2022). Mortality Among People Experiencing Homelessness in San Francisco During the COVID-19 Pandemic. JAMA Network Open, 5(3), e221870. https://doi.org/10.1001/jamanetworkopen.2022.1870

Coalition on Homelessness San Francisco, & Friedenbach, J. (2021). Severe Weather Protocol Recommendations.

Davies, B. S., & Davies, B. S. (1975). The Politics of Pollution. Pegasus.

Department of Homelessness and Supportive Housing. (2022). 2022 Point-in-Time Count. https://hsh.sfgov.org/get-involved/2022-pit-count/

Dickey, M. R. (2022, October 4). San Francisco gets over $117M to build affordable housing. Axios. https://www.axios.com

Episcopal Community Services of San Francisco. (2022, December 5). Interfaith Winter Shelter. https://ecs-sf.org/interfaith-winter-shelter/

Friel, S., & Krieger, N. (2019). Climate Change and the People's Health (Small Books Big Ideas in Population Heal) (Illustrated). Oxford University Press.

Garcia, D., Manji, S., Underriner, Q., & Reid, C. (2022, April 4). The Landscape of Middle-Income Housing Affordability in California. Terner Center. https://ternercenter.berkeley.edu

Harvey, F. (2022, April 6). IPCC report: 'now or never' if world is to stave off climate disaster. The Guardian. https://www.theguardian.com

Herring, C. (2019). Complaint-Oriented Policing: Regulating Homelessness in Public Space. American Sociological Review, 84(5), 769–800. https://doi.org/10.1177/0003122419872671

Ho, V. (2020, July 1). San Francisco's homeless deaths have tripled. Advocates blame city neglect during pandemic. The Guardian. https://www.theguardian.com

Ho, V. (2020, July 1). "A true emergency:" Covid-19 pushes homeless crisis in San Francisco's Tenderloin to the brink. The Guardian. https://www.theguardian.com

Interfaith Winter Shelter. (2022, December 5). Episcopal Community Services of San Francisco. https://ecs-sf.org/interfaith-winter-shelter/

Jacobs, S. (2022, April 8). A Rude Awakening with Jamie Alexander and Jonathan Foley of Project Drawdown. KPFA. https://kpfa.org

Keating, W. Dennis. "The Right to Housing - The Goal Versus the Reality". 2020

Kukura, J. (2021, December 15). San Francisco Remains the Safest Large City In the U.S. — When Comes to COVID Mortality. SFist - San Francisco News, Restaurants, Events, & Sports. https://sfist.com

Mamo, L. and Acosta, M. E. "Narratives of Housing Displacement and Health in San Francisco: Eviction as Public Health Crisis." PACE Applied Housing Research Initiative Working Paper 2020

Mitchell, D. (1997). The Annihilation of Space by Law: The Roots and Implications of Anti-Homeless Laws in the United States. Antipode, 29(3), 303–335. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8330.00048

Olivet, J., Wilkey, C., Richard, M., Dones, M., Tripp, J., Beit-Arie, M., Yampolskaya, S. & Cannon, R. (2021). Racial Inequity and Homelessness: Findings from the SPARC Study. The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 693(1), 82–100. https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716221991040

Peiffer, E., Batko, S., Bond, L., Moraras, P., Ta, J., Koo, I. and Newman, R. (2022, October 5). 'A Jolt of Energy' to San Francisco's Homelessness Response System. Urban Institute. https://www.urban.org

Plan Bay Area 2050. Chapter 2: Housing. (May 2021). https://www.planbayarea.org/2050-plan/draft- plan-bay-area-2050/chapter-2-housing

San Francisco Board of Supervisors. (2022, July 18). Amended in Committee Ordinance No. 190-22. Planning Code – Electric Vehicle Charging Locations. https://sfbos.org/sites/default/files/o0190- 22.pdf

Reid, C. (2022, April 4). On the Edge of Homelessness: The Vulnerability of Extremely Low-Income Households in the Bay Area. Terner Center.

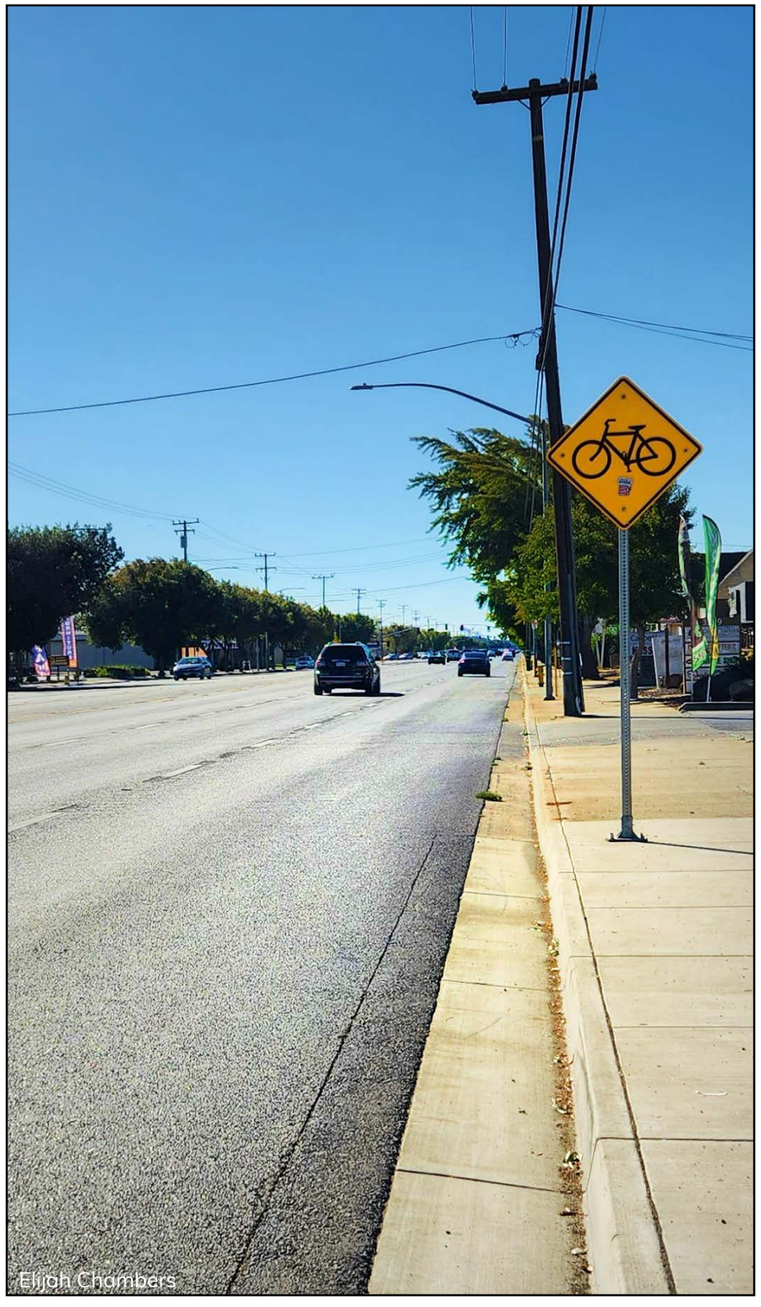
Rezal, A., & Caughey, E. (2022, June 29). What are San Francisco's biggest problems? Here's what you should know. The San Francisco Chronicle. https://www.sfchronicle.com/projects/2022/fixing-san- francisco-problems/Housing/

Wolin, J. and Perkins, Jacque. "Overview of Health and Housing". PACE Center for Applied Housing Research Working Paper 2018

Does the Automobile still Guide Modesto?

Attitudes and Perceptions of Voting-Age adults towards the Implementation and Usage of Active Transportation Infrastructure

Elijah Chambers



Walking Along a Dusty Road

Located just over 90 miles from San Francisco, California sits the city of Modesto. Nestled in the Central Valley, the city began as a depot for the Central Pacific Railroad in 1870 as federal money was invested in expanding rail service into previously inaccessible regions following the completion of the transcontinental railroad. (Bare, 1999; Maino, 1970) A grid was laid out from the rail tracks at a near-45 degree tilt from Cardinal North. Numbered streets ran southeasterly and northwesterly while lettered streets ran from the tracks to the northeast. (Figure 1) The Tuolumne River forms the grid's southern border and this historic grid has remained the structure of this city's downtown as it grew in prominence and size.

Despite the sprawling environment that was already taking shape in the 1950s, several of the long-time residents remember walking several miles in from the farthest flung developments and townships along SR99. Carolyn Hicks, a resident since the late 1950s, remembers regularly walking from Highway Village to Grace Davis High on Tully Ave, or even 10th St downtown (2- 4 miles one way), when her father had to work early and she was unable to catch a ride. In the past, four lane stroads, Prescott Rd and Tully Rd were just dirt roads crossing farmland at the time. Highway Village was a development north of Modesto made up of small stucco houses adorned with window awnings to shade from the sweltering valley summers.. Currently, a Red Lobster, a Chuck E. Cheese, and a deceased Toys-R-Us sprawl along the east side of Sisk Rd (a frontage road to SR99) with several apartment complexes, and elderly care facilities bordering it to the north. The Highway Village development was built as cars were becoming an accessible commodity, during the beginning of widespread suburbanization and overwhelming automobility. The struggle of living at the fringes of an automobile-scaled environment with just one car shared between a large family encouraged Mrs. Hicks to always have a "good-running, new car". She bragged that once she ran off with her late husband they would buy a new car each year, unfortunately unable to afford holding onto the "beautiful things." The private automobile defined an entire generation that still holds a great deal of social, economic, and political power- cementing the automobile as a staple of futurism and as a defining force of American ideals, as well as urban landscapes. Do social expectations primarily drive automobile usage, or do the conditions created by the built environment perpetuate the automobile cravings? Does this car-centric way of life harden residents to the possibilities of multi-modal transportation infrastructure?

Research Question

How great of a guiding force does car culture continue to be for voting-age residents of Modesto, California?

The purpose of this study is to begin the process of establishing an understanding of the cultural and environmental forces maintaining car culture within Modesto, with the hope of unearthing enough evidence to warrant further research focused into specific aspects of these forces' possible relationship with transportation infrastructure.

I argue that social desires and environmental constraints drive individual behavior, shaping both needs and wants. (Gifford, 2014; Handy et al, 2002; Henderson, 2006) With this pretense set, I believe that understanding the extent to which human social and physical behavior is affected from a built environment centered around the personal automobile is necessary for the greater implementation of multi-modal transportation; including public transit and active transportation. The naturalization of these modes must occur, they must become viewed as necessary an element of American urban planning as making comfortable space for automobiles. An adequate and stable pivot in cultural standards will only occur if the social aspect of the automobile and the urban environment created for it are understood.

Research Design and Methodology

My research design is intended to create a greater understanding of the social environment shaped by the personal automobile within Modesto. Reading compilations of and gathering archival data, recollections of long-time residents, participant observation at a sampling of locations critical to everyday life in Modesto, and interviews with a small sampling of residents of varying ages about their experiences and conceptions. This will paint a panoramic portrait of the social and built environments shaped by mass ownership of personal cars and will help to illustrate its effects over the past seventy years. The recollections may be constructs of a rose-hued longing for yesteryear, nevertheless they will lend themselves to a better understanding of the grasp the private automobile has on communities within Modesto.

The surrounding environment of each of the seven Modesto City School district (MCS) high schools was analyzed to understand how automobiles are expected to be cared for in planning decisions. The situation and volume of parking compared to the elementary and junior high schools immediately provides insight to the persistence of the notion that car ownership is a fundamental step into adulthood for residents. The connections, or lack thereof, to alternative modes of transportation will show how these schools are expected to function from a mobility perspective, and highlights if the car still truly is the de facto mode.

My observations of the environment surrounding each major hospital in Modesto; Sutter Gould Memorial, Kaiser Permanente Dale Rd campus, and Doctor's Hospital, will be used to note the difference in service and connectivity between different modes of transportation.

To adequately gauge the actual position of the city of Modesto as it stands currently, this study looked to the city's long-reigning and ever-present Non-Motorized Transportation Plan of 2006, City of Modesto 2019 General Plan, SR108 Corridor Plan, along with the current zoning and bike network mapped on ESRI GIS by the city's Community and Economic Development Department. The city's municipal code was also studied, and with these plans and maps I will be able to generally ascertain the stance and expectations of city hall, as well as the problems it has forecast. My field research was conducted to make note of surface conditions, atmosphere, and pedestrian/cyclist interactions with automobiles created by the urban environment. The combination of all this information will provide a basis for understanding Modesto's built environment as it currently stands.

Interviews were conducted with voting age residents to better understand the culture and lifestyle surrounding and impacted by private ownership of an automobile in

Modesto. Their recollection of city geography was gathered to better understand the development of this land, being sure to note changes to the historic downtown area. These interviewees were split into three age groups: Seniors (65 years+), Middle Aged (40 years - 64 years), and Young Adults (19 years - 39 years) (Appendix B, Figure 2). One City of Modesto Transportation Designer was also interviewed, Jonathan Caldwell (Appendix B, Figure 1). The interviews loosely followed a schema, in hopes of encouraging conversations branching off into greater detail. These interviews were also all conducted with ethnically white or white-passing individuals. This small sample set does present a tremendous issue when attempting to extrapolate these findings to Modesto as a whole, as Latin and Hispanic people make up over 43% of modern-day Modesto (US Census, 2020). This alters the importance of interview data, and this study's findings, as nearly half of the population will not be represented.

Connectivity to government buildings and services was not measured or noted - a severe oversight and a critical piece to understanding how a car-centric environment affects decisions surrounding transportation.

Terms Used

Quick reference for locality and field specific terms used throughout this study.

Class I Bike Path - A bike path totally separated from the automobile roadbed. Elevated and removed from the street completely. (Modesto TED, 2022)

Class II Bike Lane - A bike lane painted on the roadbed. May or may not have green striping and painted buffer. (Modesto TED, 2022)

Class III Bike Route - A route marked only by metal signage or painted bicycle symbol on roadbed. No dedicated space for cyclists. Can be referred to as a "Sharrow." (Modesto TED, 2022)

Class IV Cycle Track - Bidirectional, two-lane track protected by pre-cast concrete curbs. In Modesto, these have flexible bollards on top for visibility. (Modesto TEDD, 2022)

Active Transportation - any pedestrian or bicycle adjacent mode of transportation that is non-motorized. Powered wheelchairs are an exception to this rule. (Caltrans, 2017)

Automobility - centering society and everyday life around the automobile and its spaces and needs (Henderson, 2006)

Car Culture - culture surrounding the personal automobile that eventually lead to widespread development devised for a lifestyle centered around the private car. (Shoup, 2011)

CEDD - City of Modesto Community and Economic Development Department; the department encompassing building inspections, transportation infrastructure design and engineering, and city planning.

MAX- Modesto Area Express bus service

MCS- Modesto City Schools District, one of several school districts within the city, but controls all of the public high schools.

MJC - Modesto Junior College, composed of two campuses. West Campus sits on the western side of SR99, along Blue Gum Ave and Carpenter Rd (Briggsmore Ave after it crosses the SR99). East campus sits on College Ave, just northwest of Needham Ave and the Graceada Park neighbourhood at downtown's northern edge.

Multi-Modal - Multiple transportation types (TEDD, 2015)

Stroad - Infrastructure between a street and road. Coined by Charles Marohn in 2013, founder of StrongTowns organization, to describe typical American arterial or collector street that was built to favour automobile traffic. Environment is hostile to human-powered transportation modes. (Strongtowns, 2018)

TEDD- City of Modesto Transportation Engineering and Design Division

Literature Review

This collection of researchers was gathered with the intent of understanding the perceptions of suburban adults towards multi-modal transportation infrastructure by forming an understanding of the conditions present in the built environment.

The work of Claire Marcus in their book, The House as a mirror of Self (2006), discusses the psychological effects of the environment (built or natural) on human beings. Marcus expands this to argue that humans find settings that are reflective of their current physiological and socioeconomic state, but can become trapped in these spaces as they look to improve their health, finances, and social stature. I will apply these findings to the suburban environment of Modesto and determine if there is sufficient evidence to suggest that the spatially separated, suburban environment of the city has affected its resident's perceptions of expanding alternative transportation networks.

For interpreting the political culture surrounding automobility as it relates to the urban environment Jason Henderson Particularly focusing on his works Street Fight (2013) and "Secessionist Automobility: Racism, Anti-Urbanism, and the Politics of Automobility in Atlanta, Georgia" (2006) . Employing his research on the politics of anti-urban and pro-car movements to better understand how urban geography, as it relates to mobility, is a result of politics and culture. His work also touches on how people interact and interpret their space differently depending on mode of transportation; the validity of analyzing interactions and discussions through this lens is assured by the vast breadth of references and data upon which his work stands.

Colleen Stanley Bare was an author and historian of the Modesto area. Her historical works provide much needed context and understanding to the recollections of locals and my observations of the contemporary built environment. The very definition of a long-time resident, Mrs. Bare lived primarily in Modesto from 1925 til her death in 2018. Her personal knowledge of the area and lofty education at Stanford and Berkeley enrich her works, providing an all-encompassing overview of the area's history from the beginning of American development to the new millennium.

Brief History and Description of Modesto

Modesto is a city of 218,454 people, by the 2020 US Census, situated along the Central Valley's SR99 freeway. Nestled between the Stanislaus River to the north and the Tuolumne River bounding in downtown to the south, the now sprawling city was once an abnormality of urban development amongst the grasslands and perfect rows of nut and citrus orchards that blanket the Central Valley's floor. The city was sited in 1870 by the Central Pacific Railroad as it built to connect Sacramento and Los Angeles. The comparatively off-kilter downtown grid is the original layout and orientation of the city. The city has since sprawled outwards to a land area of 43.05 sq miles, consisting largely of single-family residential with a density of 5,072.2 people per sq mile (US Census 2020). Situated near the center of the Central Valley, the city has long been reliant on the valley's fruitful agriculture for its food processing industry. E&J Gallo, Del Monte, Sciabica Olive Oil, Frito Lay's, and Blue Diamond Almonds all have a hub, or are headquartered in Modesto. (Modesto Economic Division, 2022)

Analysis of Findings

There is a deeply ingrained love for the private automobile in Modesto that is expressed by not only the interviewees, but also the luscious murals blanketing building sides and regular car shows at MJC West Campus, Pelandale In-N-Out, and the old A&W drive-in on G Street. The scores of waxed Pontiac GTOs, rumbling rat-rod Chevelles in single-stage primer with rust curling up from the fender wells, and lowered Hondas with cambered wheels can all be found floating along any of the city's roadways at any time of day. This local norm continues to nurture the spirit of Modesto Graffiti and car culture, by providing physical proof of what "success" should look like to excited eyes craning to catch a glimpse of whatever automobile just flew by. The Municipal government celebrates this culture, as well, with signs and plaques along the traditional cruise route of 10th, 11th, and 12th Streets. 'Graffiti Cruising' has been officially reinstated as a special event in recent years after decades of being strictly prohibited due to security concerns following violent outbursts at events. (Modesto Bee, 2018) The route takes cruisers from Tenth St, through the locally prominent Five Points intersection where McHenry enters the historic downtown grid, and northbound up McHenry Ave/SR108 to Briggsmore Ave where they perform a u-turn.

When interviewing senior residents who worked and gathered downtown during their youth and throughout their lives, it became apparent that the landscape did not totally bow to cars until the late 1960s and 1970s. Jean and Edie recall that following the construction of the current courthouse, two of the downtown parking garages followed quickly behind. It was around this time that many of the banks and commercial buildings with ornate fascias and elegant interiors had fallen into disrepair. Following the path of many cities of the era, Modesto constructed surface lots, raised garages, and expanded existing off-street parking in an attempt to serve a growing population of motorists. Alleyways were widened to accommodate greater proportions of traffic, demolishing small buildings and businesses such as a local jeweler on 10th St for access to expanded parking. The Palladium nightclub now enjoys the off-street parking created by this particular alleyway expansion, despite dramatically altering the appearance and spatial distances within the city's historic, commercial core.

This shift in service to the automobile came about as strip malls continued to sprout up along McHenry Ave, inching north into the orchards, pulling major businesses out of downtown and 10th St. Montgomery Wards was one of the first major retailers to leave, relocating just north of the Briggsmore Ave and McHenry Ave intersection. (Bare, 1999) Vintage Faire Mall at the city's northern reaches where Standiford Ave meets the SR99 was completed in 1977, shuttering the commercial reign of the Tenth and Eleventh Street district. JCPenney abandoned their location on the corner of 10th and J Street, at the heart of the commercial district, along with Long's Drugs and Walgreens. The loss of keystone stores to the sprawled stretches of the city, accompanied by a swathe of zoning regulations affirming and protecting suburban ideals signaled that the city's planning department was turning towards automobility.

Parking lots are now synonymous with the city's aesthetic. Every commercial district beyond the historic neighbourhoods surrounding downtown is setback from the

street by a lagoon of off-street parking. The current zoning code states that shopping centers larger than five acres must have one parking spot per 300 square feet outside of the Downtown Development Area (City of Modesto CEDD, 2022). Despite their desolate appearance during the heat of the day, parking lots are often popular locations for social gatherings such as star gazing due to parks being aggressively patrolled by police officers, volatile homeowners, and peaking amphetamine users. Schools, churches, and nonprofit organizations utilize the flat, open space for bake sales and community events. Adolescents gather on the cracked asphalt under LED lamps after draining shifts at their customer service job. Car meets regularly take over strip-mall lots, with a particular favourite being on Pelandale Ave where the longest-standing tenant is an In-N-Out.

For those traveling on the sidewalk, navigating the deep curb cuts placed in rapid succession for the benefit of motorists can quickly become tedious, even for someone in good health. For seniors and physically handicapped individuals, the uneven ground serves as a constant obstacle. During observations of the sidewalks in commercial districts along McHenry and Oakdale Rd, one could notice the frequent stumbling and tentative steps of encumbered seniors. These curb cuts slow down seniors and disabled individuals who may be unable to drive and must navigate these spaces by foot- aided by a cane or walker, an electric mobility scooter, a wheelchair, or without mobility aids. While ADA compliant curb cuts adorn nearly every corner of every major street in the city and continue to be planned for construction, parking lot curb cuts remain a visible challenge to pedestrians.

As wretched as these areas are to navigate on foot, retailers and developers have a significant stake in keeping them. These curb cuts allow for greater automobile accessibility, reducing navigation time and wear on vehicle suspension by providing a smooth transition from roadbed to parking lot. Getting customers into the store, or restaurant, faster is beneficial for businesses. Increased efficiency also hinges on how quickly customers can exit the store and subsequently, the parking lot, so more customers can be served. How painless the parking process is also seems to be a factor, as GPS softwares and business reviews employ filters and specific questions to assist with and accurately relay this portion of the customer experience. A multitude of wide curb cuts onto each street facilitates this, as does a wide-open asphalt plain. Large surface parking lots with a handful of shade trees dotting the tarred landscape is not friendly to pedestrians trudging through triple digit heat or pouring rain. No signage or markings for other modes aside from posting of anti-nuisance laws is present in these places, effectively signaling to non-motorists that "you are not welcome here." Bike racks may be found around the entrances of some stores, but are typically uncared for and often in a blindspot of security cameras, patrons, and employees.

The downtown core clustered around the railroad line remains relatively walkable, with the historic La Loma and Aurora neighbourhoods acting as the outer ring of this walkable environment. There is a clustering of grocers throughout the downtown area, along arterials and collectors, but these businesses are not open late at night and seem to cater to downtown workers driving in from the suburbs or other towns. This creates a sort of food desert for the lower-income households that inhabit Downtown. Food pantries attempt to fill the gap, but fast food restaurants have flooded the area, and serve patrons late into the night making it more accessible to low income individuals. These spaces also cater to automobiles as the late-night service requires use of the drive-thru, many of which refuse to serve pedestrians, even through the drive-thru.

The downtown area is also the most dangerous in the city for pedestrian and cyclist collisions with motor vehicles. (UC Berkeley TIMS, 2022) The TIMS map shown in Figure 4 displays a large collection of hotspots covering the downtown area. This area was also slated for Class III bike routes by the 2006 Non-Motorized Plan (TEDD, 2006) although this has not yet come to fruition. The downtown area also has the greatest concentration of workers (16 years and older) who do not have access to an automobile (US Census, 2021). People living in this downtown area are impacted detrimentally by a mode of transportation they do not even have regular access to.

In relation to cycling infrastructure, bike lanes start and stop randomly throughout the city. New Class II bike lanes are greened and given a painted buffer, but are often dirty and cluttered with dangerous debris along major roads. These green striped lanes are found around intersections of old developments and along arterials and collector streets of new developments. These bike lanes, placed in the gutter along arterials and expressways, are seasoned with gravel and minced glass shards. The only regularly swept clean areas are regularly filled by automobiles turning right or pulling out, increasing danger to cyclists just as they catch a break from dodging debris. Following a rainstorm, these areas are often flooded, as ⅔ of Modesto's sewer system is reliant on rockwells. (City of Modesto Utilities Department, 2022) This pushes cyclists and pedestrians together, wading through the waters lapping just over the elevated sidewalk's surface. In some areas, the floodwaters rise so high that the roadway is more reasonable than chancing expensive bicycle tires to the murky waters. This is an arguably far more dangerous concoction. as cyclists are pushed into what poor driving conditions with motorists of varying skill levels and vehicle capabilities attempting to navigate those conditions.

Public Grade Schools

All of the elementary schools in the city have been reconfigured in recent years for improved safety, making the parking lots and front fascia nearly homogenous across the municipality. Stanislaus County, Sylvan, and Modesto City school districts have all adopted the single-point of entry with many adopting staff parking lots barricaded off to visitors by swing gates and motorized arm gates. These parking lots are just large enough to house the staff's cars, as mandated by the zoning code.

The Junior High Schools have more parking, but still just enough for staff. Parents picking up students are expected to idle amongst the surrounding neighbourhood, or simply not drive at all. While MAX bus stops serve the surrounding areas, they do not serve all the schools directly, leaving some parents no choice but to drive. Class II bike lanes line the streets immediately around the junior high schools, but these lanes are regularly clogged by SUVs and pickups during the most critical times- the morning and afternoon pick-up rush.

Observations in the area along El Vista Ave, the southern continuation of Oakdale Rd after crossing Dry Creek and Scenic Dr, there was a great number of people cycling and walking during commuting hours. La Loma Junior High and El Vista Elementary are along this arterial, and it serves as a connection from Oakdale and central Modesto to the industrial zones along Yosemite Blvd and near the airport. As there are no bike lanes throughout this stretch (barring the intersections at Scenic Dr and Yosemite Blvd) cyclists are forced to choose between the jagged and heaved sidewalk seemingly formed by tectonic movements, or the bustling artery in which they must travel alongside a wall of parked cars and speeding drivers jockeying for pole position. This is an area of the city where the street parking is often chock full of vehicles. Here, a major problem for cycling and pedestrian infrastructure upgrades presents itself as a

Transportation Designer for the City of Modesto, Jonathan Caldwell, stated in an interview with myself this year, "[the department] does not want to touch existing residential street parking at the moment." He alluded to the venture being akin to stirring a hornet's nest. Unfortunately, this effectively leaves areas like this as dead zones for modes of transportation other than the automobile, as it is unsafe and uncomfortable to travel any other way.

Modesto's seven public high schools have been fortified and lightly reconfigured to meet single point entry standards. Fresh paint tops off the renovations. In order of their construction, Modesto High, Thomas Downey, Grace Davis, Fred Beyer, Peter Johansen, James Enochs, and Joseph Gregori comprise Modesto City Schools' high school roster. Small oceans surround the newest high schools (Gregori, Enochs, Johansen), while the older high schools (Downey, Modesto High, Davis, Elliot) sit on the shore of a smaller asphalt lagoon, wrapping around it like a seaside resort. Modesto High has a parking lot sitting adjacent to the front of the school, at the split of Paradise Rd, a two-way thoroughfare from the into two, one-way collectors with local roads immediately fanning out. The outsized increase in parking stall volume from the junior high schools to the high schools is a clear indication of the expected need to care for a great number of the student population's automobiles- automobility is expected to continue.

Hospitals

Each of the city's three primary hospitals have supplied ample parking. The City of Modesto's Municipal Code requires 1.75 spaces per bed (City of Modesto CEDD, 2022). This explains the presence of the parking garages on both Sutter Gould's Memorial Hospital campus and Doctor's Medical Center campus. Both hospitals are hulking complexes, towering above their surrounding streetscape at the Briggsmore Ave and Coffee Rd intersection, and Orangeburg Ave, respectively. The city's newest medical complex is the Kaiser Dale Rd campus, rumoured to become the medical giant's Central Valley hub. This monstrosity sits at what is now the northwesternmost corner of the city (far beyond Vintage Faire, parallel with the town of Salida) and is surrounded by an ocean of parking. Class II bike lanes exist only along the portion of Dale Rd immediately along the Kaiser campus. Doctor's and Memorial are connected by Class II bike lanes that connect back into the rest of the bicycle network (Virginia Corridor Class I, Coffee Rd and Orangeburg Ave Class II can be seen in Figure 5)

The pedestrian and cycling experience within these spaces is disjointed, tied to the automobile, and, at times, precarious. For example, at the newer campuses (Kaiser and Memorial), sidewalks and pedestrian infrastructure will continue onto the campus from the street, even when following a driveway - this is not so at Doctor's. Doctor's is also home to a delightfully shaded environment with winding pedestrian paths and tree-

lined sidewalks that all dump into a parking lot with varying connectivity. Some connect to a building or sidewalk by way of a crosswalk, while the prettiest paths dump into a parking lot with no further guidance or protection. Doctor's is serviced by one bus stop, placed at the farthest point away from the main entrance (Southwest corner of campus at Orangeburg Ave and Sherwood Ave), and any pedestrian access into the campus, due to the perimeter wall. The long journey begins with a walk down Orangeburg Ave, rounding the corner onto Florida Ave, and two more blocks to Coolidge Ave. Shaded and relatively pleasant for someone not currently encumbered with pain, grief, existential dread, or any natural response to a direct confrontation with our mortality, this long jaunt could quickly become a trying endeavor for someone with chronic pain or family members needing regular visitation.

While the two newest campuses have far better integration of pedestrian and mass transit rider needs, they are still secondary to the automobile. Dirt paths trod into grass abutments at Sutter Gould Memorial show a more favourable path for humans, rather than the sidewalk that only follows roadways built at dimensions necessary for cars. A pedestrian bridge soars over Spanos Ct, connecting the main tower of Memorial to its central parking garage - seemingly the lofty equivalent to the dirt paths crossing the grass strips below. Both paths are optimized for pedestrian use, but are ultimately subject to the whims and needs of automobiles. Pedestrian amenities disappear within the surface parking lots, apart from sidewalks and crosswalks to reserved handicap spots and an exposed concrete sidewalk lining the perimeter of the buildings. Use of the pedestrian bridge is ultimately reliant upon motorists, as is the demand that realized its existence. In both parking lot arrangements, those on foot must contend with automobiles, much like the one they may have just exited. Peering out from behind the bed of a pickup truck wedged into a compact space like Winnie the Pooh in a pot of honey, then scurrying to the next safe space like a row of trees before crossing another patch of asphalt designated for automobile travel. Traversing these lots in an automobile, exhausted, and worried sick about a loved one is no small feat either with blindspots, distracting and all-surrounding activity, incomplete signage, and pedestrians attempting to safely navigate the parking lot as well.

Life behind the Wheel

All interviewees spoke to their regular usage of the automobile for daily life. Only three interviewed spoke of any sort of regular usage of a bus system during some part of their life- MAX, MJC shuttle, or public school bus. Michael, one of the interviewed young adults, relies on his motorcycle for transportation. However, it is a 2000 Suzuki and mechanical parts have a lifespan. When a gasket fails, a wire rubs its skin off and shorts, or a sensor expires, he is often forced to ride the MAX bus. Grateful for its expansive network, which the seniors say has expanded greatly in recent years, he is able to traverse the city without being totally reliant on his skateboard or a rideshare service. This is so long as the bus system runs as late as it is supposed to, a bus is not cancelled, and he does not have to transfer more than once. Even transferring once is a burden, easily adding 25 minutes, or more, to a journey that would take less than the transfer time alone to complete by automobile.

Two residents, Ren and Edie, have MAX bus stops just outside their respective homes. Both work, and have worked, downtown for many years without ever taking the bus. Timing one's morning routine around a bus with a frequency of about 1 per 45 minutes is just not feasible.

The bicycle is not viewed as a realistic mode of transportation, instead being treated primarily as a form of recreation, with the same being true for walking. What became clear from watching the streets, at any time of day, is that many residents use their bicycles to haul assorted materials, recyclables for collection, and groceries. Many others can also be seen wearing backpacks and regular street clothes (jeans, cargo shorts, cotton hoodies- not specialized cycling gear). With the limited scope of this study's research, it is unclear if this perception by the majority (car owners) has resulted in pushback against alternative transportation improvements or investment. Apathy may be just as dangerous, however, as Jonathan Caldwell pointed out, there remains a small, devoted sect that backs the automobile and its dominance over city space, seemingly above all else. If a comprehensive network was proposed, and brought to the voters, this could be problematic depending on the social reach of this small group.

Roadway Intersections

All traffic must pass through the intersections created by roadways built to specifications with the primary purpose of serving automobiles. This service is also expected to be painlessly efficient, a sentiment consistently affirmed by interviewees when asked what they believe makes a "good" and "comfortable" road when driving. Motorists pass through many of these intersections regularly and rapidly, whereas cyclists and pedestrians must wait, often with multiple cycles lapsing to just navigate through. The California Department of Transportation highlighted the impact of intersections on pedestrian traffic with their 2010 guide on Complete Intersections. The first sentence reads, "Intersections are major points of conflict for road users and are the frequent site of injuries and fatalities." (Caltrans, 2010) Studying the map of pedestrian and automobile collisions compiled by UC Berkeley's TIMS software (Figure 5) shows that hotspots tend to be around major intersections of high traffic volume. (City of Modesto Public Works, 2020; Figure 8) These are prominent intersections where government services, religious centers, schools, entertainment, outdoor recreation, and commercial activity are centered around- navigating these spaces is necessary to life for all Modesto residents.

A particularly notorious intersection sits at the terminus of McHenry Ave as it dumps into the downtown grid. Five Points is locally infamous for its long wait-times, confusing lane orientations with a near-impossible curve for the interior lane crossing westbound onto Needham Ave. Named for its five intersecting streets, Five Points is an unavoidable part of driving in Modesto as it directly connects Downtown, 9th street and MJC East campus, McHenry Ave, the eastern suburbs, and southern industrial districts. Downey Ave, an eastbound one way arterial that becomes Needham Ave after crossing Five Points brings traffic from the city's two southern arterials- Scenic Dr. and Yosemite Ave. The new alignment of SR132 stems directly from Needham Ave, effectively turning this stretch of road into a surface freeway. The locally iconic Ralston Tower and surrounding greenspace clings to a triangular slice of land at the southeast of the intersection, rising above the streetscape like a stubborn boulder in a raging river. The tower is occupied exclusively by senior citizens.

Hours of observing the area highlight several mobility and social justice concerns and questions. Namely, does the emotionally charged driving of agitated and/or confused motorists affect reaction time? During my observations here, aggressive hand gestures, shouting, honking, and aggressive driving behaviors were common sights. Further information on the age and mode of transportation at time of collision are needed to better assess the situation, but it appears to be a nasty brew. The environment pulses with waves of deafening traffic noise, stillness, and repeat. Placing a senior citizen facility in this noxious environment seems short-sighted at best, raising questions over the quality of life for those with diminished cognitive abilities, respiratory health issues, and/or mobility handicaps. The dangerous street environment makes the journey to the Smart and Final supermarket across I St or Denny's across Five Points an uncomfortable undertaking, as evidenced by the bevy of timid glances, checking to be sure automobile traffic has actually obeyed their red light.

Security

Security was mentioned by all age groups as a key ingredient in making them feel comfortable in a space. The fountain of personal experiences detailing accostment, robberies, assault, and even a stabbing by just this small study group give great credence to the concerns regarding personal well-being and security while out-and-about in Modesto. Discussion of riding the bus brought excited recollections from youthful years, but always followed uncomfortable shifting in their chair accompanied by a collection of sighs and hand motioning. As security on mass transit systems is regularly highlighted by national and local news and media, Modesto residents are duly concerned as well. However, much further study is needed to see if better security would lend to enticing people out of their cars, as is the goal in major metropolitan regions.

Security can be achieved through the built environment, protecting bodies with different capabilities, engaged in different activities, and moving with different methods by thoughtfully providing a space for these differing bodies. Unfortunately, the nationwide mass investment into automobility has meant security for motorists at the expense of pedestrians and cyclists. (Henderson, 2006) Seeing as all those interviewed are almost exclusively motorists, who suffers from the increased security of motorists in Modesto must be analyzed. Respondents unanimously mentioned clear signage and clear delineation of space as necessary components to a safe streetscape and parking lot. This treatment is not often shared with non-motorists as McHenry Ave, the second busiest street in the city by traffic volume (Modesto Public Works Department, 2020; Figure 7) is without clear demarcation of space for cyclists despite having signage declaring it as an official bike route. The only parking lots with bike lanes throughout their winding paths would be the MJC campus lots. Bike racks have been outright forgotten from the new Savemart flagship store on Oakdale Rd, to the immediate west of the Village One development. The bicycle and pedestrian network have improved dramatically since 2006, as shown by Figures 3 and 4, but vital connections are still lacking at locally notorious intersections, and according to the TIMS map from 2016-2021, these are the areas with the highest concentrations of automobile crashes with pedestrians and cyclists. US Census Data from the American Community Surveys 1-year estimates from 2021 show that these car crash hotspots correlate with the lowest income areas of the city (Figure 7), which, as shown by Fig-

ure 6, tend to have the least access to automobiles.

There are plans currently being drawn up to sort out the locally infamous Tuolumne Blvd, B St, and 7th St intersection, just south of downtown and the Tuolumne River. This area has become especially deadly for cyclists and pedestrians (TIMS, 2022). Unfortunately, the same cannot be said for McHenry Ave, as CalTrans still owns the right-of-way on it. The city's greatest commercial corridor must remain a car sewer until CalTrans relinquishes its claim. As the cycling network continues to expand and strive for greater connectivity, it would not be difficult to imagine the intersections of bike lanes and lack thereof to continually worsen as more people begin to use the cycling network. This would be the natural assumption, and data from 2011 - 2015 by UC Berkeley's TIMS provides some evidence to back this assumption. Comparing the two collections of years, the latter set shows collisions becoming centralized around key intersections, whereas the earlier years (before the College Ave Road Diet and Arterial Reclamation project) showed a more sparse distribution of incidents.

Totally separate multi-use paths, like Dry Creek and Standiford Trail, were subjects of great concern by all interviewed. Locally notorious for being extraordinarily dangerous at night, with even one person having been mugged and stabbed in their right shoulder blade behind the Red Lobster on the Standiford Trail about seven years ago. These spaces are fraught with regular vandalism, so the few safety features implemented (call boxes and lights) are typically mutilated or destroyed. As beautiful as these spaces can be during the day, they are not a reasonable or safe pathway for alternative transportation or even recreation during night hours.

Conclusion

Automobile ownership continues to remain the social expectation in Modesto as its dominant position in the zeitgeist remains. Every resident interviewed, of each age group, became visibly excited when asked what their favourite car was but not so for parks, inner-city trails, or bike routes other than city Transportation Designer Jonathan Caldwell. Bicycle usage is viewed as recreational or a last-resort option for survival, not as a viable, comfortable long-term choice for daily transportation needs. The same can be said for the MAX bus system, with interviewed residents stating egregiously long headways, concerns of security, and schedule inconsistencies as fundamental issues preventing greater usage. Walking is for aging suburbanites warming themselves in the rising sun, teenagers, and those who cannot drive. One feels out of place walking around, despite the presence of uniform sidewalks throughout nearly the entire city. This persistent feeling can be attributed to the lack of connectivity between transportation modes resulting in degrading walks filled with confusion and discomfort at best, and at worst, physical distress.

The car is so naturalized as a part of life that the concept of living without one is found daunting by most interviewed in this study. However, opposition to reconfiguring roads for better pedestrian and cycling use seems to have lessened significantly, but a strong aversion to visibility and line-of-sight tricks commonly found with new, multi-modal transportation infrastructure remains. From the limited scope of this research, I cannot ascertain if this is a positive indication for alternative transportation mode redevelopments. Alterations such as greater road dieting, car-free zones, red carpet bus lanes, and other mass transit innovations are invasive to car space, and with the well-established culture of automobility, and city identity thereof, it is difficult to say if these changes could be quickly implemented within the Modesto urban landscape.

This musing leads to the notion that perhaps a system-wide proposal ought to be brought to the public for a vote, much like that of the original San Francisco Municipal Transit Authority and Bay Area Rapid Transit plans to form the agencies and systems. This could prove to be a viable way forward, instead of short-term improvements and small expansions hoping to fly under the radar. Interviewed residents all mentioned some disgruntlement with constant, seemingly uncoordinated construction "tearing up perfectly good pieces of road". The disjointed system almost seems to argue against further active and pedestrian transportation investment in some aspects, leaving residents struggling to imagine a reasonable, non-car based transportation network that is not straining and unpleasant. Perhaps a comprehensive plan would be better for community understanding and even rallying support behind the proposal. It could also provide a tangible target for opposition to rally against, as well. Far more research focused on this aspect must be conducted.

Oddly enough, the two youngest age groups all firmly believe the city to be much louder currently than in their youth, whereas the eldest age group remember a much louder city, with largely unregulated high displacement motors being the automotive norm. This suggests that highlighting the noxious effects of automobility may be an effective message in securing support for greater investment in alternative transportation modes. This could find resistance with some residents of older ages as modern cars are lightyears beyond their 1950s and '60s ancestors in terms of reductions in noise pollution, emissions, and increases in safety features- possibly leading to the perception that the present situation is "as good as it gets" and not worth upending. However, the city's hearty enthusiast cycling population is also filled with members of senior age and their safety and security is undoubtedly of some concern to their friends and family- offering a logical response to hesitant objectors.

Security concerns were a pervasive part of each interview, consistently mentioned by interviewees of each age group. Fears (and personal experiences) of harassment and assault were mentioned when riding the bus or walking were discussed. Those who have done, or do, regular walking, cycling, or skateboarding deviate from automobile totalists in their perceptions of safety. Painted buffer lanes were said to be reassuring, but not comfortable. Material quality, continuity, and cleanliness become a grave concern for those with limited funds for tire repairs, medical bills or time off for injuries from falling over jagged concrete, heaved up by ambitious tree roots. Concerns of violence seem to be an issue plaguing mass transit nationwide with pieces regularly running out of media outlets and newspapers across the United States. Clearly, this piece of the puzzle must be understood to develop an effective plan for greater mass transit and multi-modal infrastructure implementation.

Modesto's multi-modal transportation infrastructure dreams, its diverse demographics and resulting blend of cultures, with its sprawling landscape make it a city worth further study, as it could provide key answers in the pursuit of more effective techniques in gathering support for the implementation of urbanist improvements in sprawled environments.

References

Bare. (2008). *Early Modesto and Nearby Towns* [Print]. McHenry Museum & Historical Society.

Bare, Stanley. (1999). *Modesto, California (Then and Now)* [Print]. McHenry Museum Publishing.

CalTrans. (2022). *State Route 108 North County Corridor.* California Department of Transportation.

Caltrans. (2017). *Toward an Active California Plan.* California Department of Transportation.

Caltrans. (2010). *Complete Intersections: A Guide to Reconstructing Intersections and Interchanges for Bicyclists and Pedestrians.* California Department of Transportation.

City of Modesto Transportation Engineering and Design Division. (2022). *Bikeways*. City of Modesto.

City of Modesto Public Works Department. (2020). *Traffic Flow Map*. City of Modesto.

City of Modesto Transportation Engineering and Design Division. (2015). *Collector and Arterial Rehabilitation Project (College Ave. Road Diet & MJC Cycle Track) | Modesto, CA.* City of Modesto.

City of Modesto Transportation Engineering and Design Division. (2006). *Modesto Non-Motorized Transportation Plan*. City of Modesto.

Delbosc, Alexa, A., McDonald, N., Stokes, Lucas, K., Circella, G., & Lee, Y. (n.d.). *Millennials in cities: Comparing travel behaviour trends across six case study regions*. Cities, 90, 1–14.

Einstein, K., Glick, D., & Palmer, M. (2020). *Can Mayors Lead on Climate Change? : Evidence from Six Years of Surveys.* The Forum, 18, 71–86.

ESRI ArcGIS. (2022). *ArcGIS Web Application for City of Modesto, California.*

Frank, L., Andresen, M., & Schmid, T. (2004). *Obesity relationships with community design, physical activity, and time spent in cars.* American Journal of Preventative Medicine, 27(2), 87–96.

Frederick, C. (2017, September 21). *America's Addiction to Automobiles: Why Cities Need to Kick the Habit and How (Environmental Degradation).* Praeger.

Gifford, R. (2014). *Environmental Psychology Matters*. Annual Review of Psychology, 65(1), 541–579.

Handy, S. L., Boarnet, M. G., Ewing, R., & Killingsworth, R. E. (2002). *How the built environment affects physical activity*. American Journal of Preventive Medicine, 23(2), 64–73.

Henderson, J. (2013). Street Fight : The politics of mobility in San Francisco. University Of Massachusetts Press.

Henderson, J. (2006). *Secessionist Automobility: Racism, Anti-Urbanism, and the Politics of Automobility in Atlanta, Georgia.* International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, Volume 30(2), 293–307.

King, D. A., Smart, M. J., & Manville, M. (2019, February 1). *The Poverty of the Carless: Toward Universal Auto Access.* Journal of Planning Education and Research, 42(3), 464–481.

Marcus. (2006). *House as a Mirror of Self* [Print]. Hays Ltd.

Maino, J. G. (1970). *One Hundred Years: Modesto, California 1870 - 1970* (1st ed.) [Print]. Belt Printing & Lithograph Co.

Modesto Bee. (2015). *Modesto Memories: The Early Years: Vol. I* [Print]. Pediment Publishing.

Modesto Bee. (2016). *Modesto Memories II: The 1940s, '50s, '60s and '70s with a Unique Look at the Graffiti Era: Vol. II* [Print]. Pediment Publishing.

Modesto, California Municipal Code, Title 10 Zoning Regulations, Chapter 5 Parking Requirements (2022). City of Modesto.

Modesto Utilities Department. (2022). *Sewer and Wastewater Services.*

Parking spaces outnumbering drivers three to one. (2007). Journal of Environmental Health, 70(5), 48–49.

Putnam, R. D. (2000). *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of the American Community* (First Edition). Simon & Schuster.

Seiler, C. (2008, December 15). *Republic of Drivers: A Cultural History*

of Automobility in America (Illustrated). University of Chicago Press.

Strong Towns. (2018, March 2). *What's a STROAD and Why Does It Matter?*

Transportation Injury Mapping System (TIMS), *Safe Transportation Research and Education Center, University of California, Berkeley.* (2022)

U.S. Census Bureau & American Community Survey. (2021). *Income and Earnings by Census Tract for Stanislaus County 2021 ACS-1 year estimates.*

U.S. Census Bureau. (2020, July 1). *QuickFacts Modesto city, California.*

Passive Desertion: An Analysis and Evaluation of Splash Pad Park's Latent Potential

Chris Abeel

Lake Merritt is a tidal slough, situated in the heart of Oakland making it part of the San Francisco Bay Area, colloquially known as "The crown jewel of Oakland" due to the site's status as rich with property value, commerce, and cultural diversity cultivated over the last century.

The area currently known as Splash Pad Park was once situated adjacent to the farthest reaches of Lake Merritt, but as the marshes filled over time, it was separated from the slough and became the northernmost boundary of Lakeside Park. In the 1960s, a concrete pond was installed with a water feature, palm trees, lily pads, and other landscaping, giving the park its name. Over the years, the fountain stopped functioning and the park was neglected by the city leaving an unused space that was practically abandoned for decades. In the 1990s, councilmembers proposed the space be turned into a commercial leasing zone which was met with pushback from the community resulting in demand for a revitalization of the park. In the summer of 2000 planning began for a complete renovation of Splash Pad Park led by Architect and Oakland local Walter Hood who worked closely with his design team and the Oakland Public Works Department to create his vision.

Three years later on October, 20th 2003, the Splash Pad Park Grand Ceremony was held which consisted of a large gathering of families, community members, vendors, and municipal employees.When asked to comment on his Splash Pad Project, Walter Hood stated: "It has transformed the space into a park that people can actually occupy with flexible spaces that support a variety of uses." Unfortunately, the flexible spaces that support a variety of uses that Hood imagined in his initial design have little to no presence in the space that I have visited over the last six months.

In this essay, I will summarize my experience observing Splash Pad Park multiple times over the last semester and detail the key examples of Urban Policy that maintain order, reinforce the transitional nature of the space, and foster an uninviting environment that fails to attract the community. I will use the photos I've taken of the space over the past few months to illustrate the story of Splash Pad Park as well as suggest improvements that could capitalize on the opportunity of the area.

Importance of public parks in fostering community engagement

Pedestrianism, coined by geographer Nicholas Blomley refers to the legal practice that prioritizes uninterrupted flow, primarily focusing on urban mobility and transportation,, particularly in relation to sidewalks. Pedestrianism perceives the sidewalk solely as a conveyor for individuals to travel from one point to another. Within the context of urban law, it objectifies and eliminates space to maintain order. Within the context of engineering, pedestrianism analytically and objectively considers the sidewalk as a finite resource threatened by objects that obstruct the flow of people. The engineer's perspective disregards the intended beneficiaries of the sidewalk, focusing solely on its function.

In contrast, Civic Humanism, termed by historian Hans Baron, opposes Pedestrianism by emphasizing placemaking and the spaces between places. Urban planners adopting a civic humanism perspective consider factors such as who utilizes the space, their purpose, and their feelings towards it. This approach recognizes the value of walking as a mode of transportation and promotes the design of public spaces to enhance the well-being, social interaction, and democratic participation of citizens. Civic humanism prioritizes pedestrians over automobiles, aiming to create walkable and livable urban environments that foster community and civic pride. In summation, while Pedestrianism focuses on unobstructed flow and the management of efficient transportation, Civic humanism prioritizes placemaking and urban environments that enhance well-being and community.

Civic Humanism is what is needed to make a successful public urban space that encourages community engagement and use, and this is what Urban Planner and Theorist Jane Jacobs argues for in her definition of 'The Sidewalk Ballet'. Jane Jacobs states that: "The sidewalk ballet through which people occupy and use the sidewalk in intricate, yet patterned forms of community-based surveillance and encounter, is characterized as a complex order. Its essence is the intricacy of sidewalk use, bringing with it a constant succession of eyes," (Blomley, P.19).

In this quote, Jacobs is arguing that for public space, specifically sidewalks, to serve its intended purpose, it needs to support and encourage complexity. She claims that the sidewalk should be a space where people can come together, interact, and engage in a sort of community-based surveillance, where people keep an eye on their surroundings and each other. She implies that a well-designed public space should facilitate social interaction and community engagement, while also encouraging a sense of shared responsibility and awareness of one's surroundings. The idea is that the more people interact and engage with each other in public spaces, the more likely they are to build and sustain social networks, which can lead to stronger and more vibrant communities.

This implied importance of public spaces encouraging social interaction and community engagement is closely related to the concept of public parks. A park is a Private Owned Public Space that allows members of the community to come together for a purpose of their own choosing, within reason. It is a space where people from all walks of life can come together and engage in conversation, learn from one another, and break down social barriers. Looking more into the history of Splash Pad Park can illustrate the ways in which Civic Humanism could have met the desires of the community and created an ideal public space for the Grand Lake neighborhood.

History of Splash Pad Park

After Splash Pad Park fell into disrepair in the mid-century, Council member John Russo proposed that the space be leased for commercial purposes as it had become an unused pedestrian barrier. This proposal was met with opposition, garnering more than 7,000 signatures from concerned community members who had created The Splash Pad Neighborhood Forum (SPNF), initiated by community member Ken Katz. The SPNF presented findings that there was a strong desire from the community to preserve the space as a park but also to make necessary improvements to pedestrian access.

In November of 1999, Russo announced that he was willing to consider other options for park improvements and successfully lobbied his fellow council members for initial park funding. A Design Team consisting of Donald Wardlaw, Edith Robertson, Chiye Azuma, Liz Pulver, Leo Lozano, Daniel Galvez, and Jeanette Sayre was established as an SPNF subcommittee. Jerry Cauthen, the chair of the SPNF Traffic and Pedestrian Committee, was drafting recommendations alongside committee members Bruce de Benedictis, David Bolanos, Ken Pratt, Chris Pederson, Lou Grantham, Bob Moorhead, Jack McCoy, and Jon Barrileaux.

In July of 2000, SPNF presented its Final Report to the City, which paved the way for the hiring of Landscape Architect Walter Hood.

The Hood design team also included Sarah Raube, who oversaw the day-to-day construction, and Rich Seyfarth, who played a significant role in the drafting and implementation of the park design. As the project required the removal of Lake Park Way and other pedestrian and traffic improvements, the Public Works Department was designated as the lead agency. Jadia Wu supervised the design process, while Randy Mach supervised on-site construction. Oakland native Greg Gruendl, who owns Ray's Electric, served as the primary contractor for the park project. Luke Middleton was the construction foreman. District 2 Council Member Danny Wan played a significant role in ensuring the success of the park project as his advocacy for Measure DD demonstrated his strong commitment to park improvements, and he provided ongoing support and encouragement throughout the process. Pat Kernighan, Wan's Chief of Staff, also played a crucial role in the project's success, working skillfully with city staff, architects, and the community. Despite working quietly, Kernighan's contributions were pivotal.

Three Years after initial planning began, the day finally came on October 20th, 2003 when the grand opening ceremony was held. The entire community, particularly the vendors and patrons of the weekly Farmers' Market who had been relocated to the parking lot under the freeway for a year during construction, gathered for a day in the sun for all. As the fountain was switched on, a horde of children rushed towards it, while speaker after speaker expressed awe at the weather and the turnout. They outdid each other with superlatives, praising the new park and the process that led to its creation.

Figure 1: "Name of Lights" dedication plaque.

Although some funding for the park came from city sources, the bulk of it was raised through donations for the "Names in Lights" panels, an idea conceived by Walter Hood.

Over 300 businesses, individuals, and families donated to have their names, logos, and messages placed into the ground of the park as a form of gratitude.

Location of Splash Pad Park

Located at 746 Grand Ave in Oakland, California, Splash Pad Park is nestled between the intersection of Grand Avenue and Lakeshore Avenue and the I-580 overpass.The park has an area of roughly 5,200 square meters and is designed in a sort of right-angle triangle shape due to the sharp intersection between Grand Avenue and the I-580 freeway, with the northernmost edge of the park following the curved shape of Lake Park Avenue.

Figure 2: Google Satellite image of Splash Pad Park

Figure 3: Image of Walter Hood's proposed design for Splash Pad Park

Tour of the Park

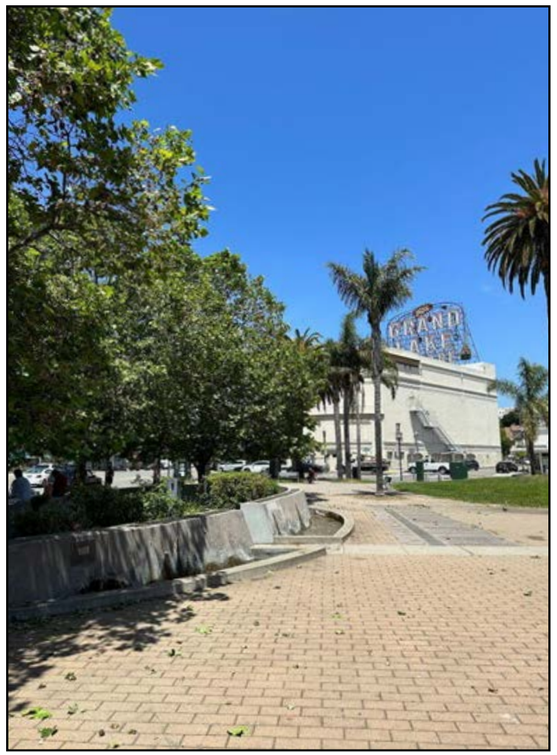
After the re-design in 2003 by architect Walter Hood, this patch of land got a complete facelift and is pretty aesthetically pleasing. The ground area is a mixture of green space, concrete, asphalt, gravel, wood, and metal. the organic environment of the park consists of palm trees, oak trees, common bushes and foliage, and planters of colorful flowers.

Figure 4: Image of Splash Pad Park by Chris Abeel

The amenities include Trees, Flowers, A grass hill, A water fountain, public seating, and decorative metal floor panels in the center of the park including names of donors.

The park's main feature is the central water feature, a fountain that constantly sprays thin streams of water from a concrete wall, which also serves as public seating.

There are permanently fixed chairs and benches sparsely placed across the park, both on the interior under trees and the exterior facing the street.



Figures 5 & 6: Images of the water fountain and fixed benches at Splash Pad Park by Chris Abeel

This section of the park is where the weekly Farmer's Market is held, as you can see by the large roadways of asphalt through the greenspace for trucks to drive through and set up their stalls. This space has little to offer, no coverage from the sun, and no public seating. This area is the largest fault of Splash Pad Park. This area has no bike lanes, no trash cans, and dogs are not allowed.

Figure 7: Roadway where weekly Farmers Market is held at Splash Pad Park by Chris Abeel.

Figure 8: OUSD protest fliers posted around the park. By Chris Abeel.

My Observations

Before beginning my observations, I hoped to gain a greater understanding of changing demographics, the establishment of urban law in public spaces in Oakland, and how individual actions relate to settler colonialism. I planned to make note of ethnographic variables such as ethnicity, age, race, gender, sexuality, affluence, and career during my observation.

Of the four times I visited Splash Pad Park for observation, one of the times was on a Saturday during the Grand Lake Farmer's Market. This is a time when the park is typically its busiest. Farmer's markets are intended to create a space full of potential where people of all backgrounds can come together and engage in the vibrant social interactions that Jacobs believed were essential for creating strong and healthy communities. The population I observed at Lake Merritt farmer's market was not incredibly diverse, with a majority of Caucasian or white-passing individuals, but with at least 20-30% of Asian or Hispanic individuals. The common age range of visitors was from 20 to early 50s, with many young couples with small children and larger families with parents in their mid-30s to early 40s with children ranging in age.

There were few elderly individuals observed, possibly due to difficulties with navigating the crowded market or uneven sidewalk. Younger individuals mostly appeared to be there socializing with friends or significant others, while older individuals were more utilitarian in their visit, purchasing groceries and keeping to themselves. I concluded that the market had a mixture of working-class middle-income individuals and upper-middle-class high earners, with the latter group typically dressed fashionably.

Who are the social actors missing from the market?

The market's advertised inclusivity and diversity do not make it a welcoming space for everyone. There are social actors missing from the Grand Lake Farmers Market, most notably the original Black population of Oakland, and the unhoused population. Both times that I observed the market, I noted that the population at the market was relatively diverse, with a majority of Caucasian or white-passing individuals and a significant minority representation of Asian and Hispanic populations. However, despite the location of the market in "the heart of Oakland", there was a massive lack of representation of the black population in the area.

The Grand Lake neighborhood was once home to a thriving Black community, but decades of systemic racism and gentrification have displaced many Black residents. Truly taking hold in the 1950s, the expansion of the freeway and the rapid investment and urban revitalization of Downtown Oakland and the area surrounding the lake resulted in the Grand Lake neighborhood becoming majority affluent and white. This displacement of the original communities of Oakland is still very present today because despite the market toting cultural diversity and representation it attracted almost no local black visitors. In my hour there I legitimately only took note of two black attendees, and I did not even know if they were Oakland natives or not.

The unhoused population was missing from the market area, with those individuals residing in tents under the nearby freeway overpass. splash pad park and the adjacent I-580 overpass are frequently home to tents and small encampments any other day of the week but on the day of the market, they are nowhere to be seen, forced from the 'public' space to make room for the market.

On the average weekday, an unhoused individual experiences 'Negative Freedom' at splash pad park; this negative freedom is defined by Waldron as, "(…) negative freedom is freedom from obstructions such as someone else's forceful effort to prevent one from doing something. In exactly this negative sense (absence of forcible interference), the homeless person is unfree to be in any place governed by a private property rule (unless the owner for some reason elects to give him his permission to be there)."

It is on the weekends when this farmer's market is held on Grand Avenue that the negative freedom the unhoused population possesses is ripped from them, being asked, forced, or otherwise suggested to vacate the space which they temporally occupy.

Waldron goes on in his paper to explain the dependence on common property of the unhoused, "There are places where the homeless may be and, by virtue of that, there are actions they may perform; they are free to perform actions on the streets, in the parks, and under the bridges. Their freedom depends on common property in a way that ours does not. Once again, the homeless have freedom in our society only to the extent that our society is communist." (P.7)

This quote suggests that the homeless population is in a unique position in society because they rely on common property to exercise their freedom. Waldron notes that the homeless have the freedom to perform actions in public spaces such as streets, parks, and bridges, and this freedom is dependent on the availability of these spaces for public use. In contrast, individuals who are not homeless do not rely on these common spaces to exercise their freedom. This is important in relation to the area of Splash Pad Park because this is a space for public use that some unhoused people depend on for shelter and stability and it is made unavailable every weekend by circumstance.

What are the Bad Flows at Splash Pad Park?

Apart from Soliciting and Trespassing OMC signs, the park also posted multiple signs that prohibited dogs and pets from entering the park. The City of Oakland making splash pad park not welcome to dogs greatly decreases the number of individuals who can spend time there.

This ordinance making dogs illegal in splash pad park has the potential to make unhoused individuals illegal here as well, as many homeless individuals have dogs as pets. Oakland has determined that dogs in this area are a bad flow and that those who loiter and solicit in the parking lot are another bad flow so they are both prohibited.

The sidewalk on the perimeter of Splash pad park displays the flow of pedestrianism, and the walkway through the middle of the park is clearly reserved for movement, vehicles, and not much else. The peripheral sidewalks are the same story, conveying pedestrians from one place to another there are very few public seats and little shade to encourage stopping. The middle of the park has the majority of seats next to the water feature, but this periphery near the parking structure emphasizes the feeling of movement and individuals flowing out of the space.

Through my experiences, I've come to the conclusion that on days when the market is not running, all good flows stop completely, and it becomes nothing more than a transitional space. This is an incredibly Pedestrianism-focused perspective of what this park could be.

What is the Municipal Action to maintain order?

When it comes to maintaining order in this area the municipality is doing that through the Oakland Municipal Code, dictating what is an infraction and a nuisance, and enforcing this through the threat of the full extent of the law. It uses the municipal code to explicitly define the behaviors and activities that are welcome in that environment, and what is disallowed, and by extension it excludes individuals based on their behaviors and actions. The OMC maintains order in splash pad park by defining certain actions and social

actors; such as solicitors, the homeless, and dog owners as disorderly.

Concluding Thoughts on Observations

Everything I've observed at splash pad park displays to me an intentional underinvestment in certain elements that could increase social interaction and usage of the park and it is being criminally underutilized, despite the community's earlier vision. Oakland Municipal Code is used to determine who can exist at splash pad park and what they can do there, including codes that prevent solicitation, trespassing, loitering, and dogs. The present infrastructure of the park includes; the lack of shade, a sparse amount of seating, a large area of concrete with no seating or coverage, and no regularly operating businesses outside of the farmer's market.

All of these factors result in locals and tourists rarely visiting this location outside of the walk to and from their parked cars, this area is purely transitional and no more than a sidewalk with some trees and a fountain when the market is not running.

On the opposite side of the I-580 overpass, there is a much larger and more populous greenspace attached to Moon Rock park and Lake Merritt. Here you'll see dog owners and dogs playing in the sun, outdoor gymnasts working out on the public pull-up bars, drum circles, vendors, and informal settlements of tents along the perimeter of the lake. All of this interaction is non-existent at splash pad park, and I believe this is completely intentional.

This park is hardly a park at all and has been intentionally districted as commercial land that only serves a purpose once a week. The current design of the park aims to make it unwelcoming to the public outside of the weekly farmer's market. Despite its walkable location, ample parking, and transit access, Splash Pad Park appears to be significantly underutilized. I think there are a lot of changes that could be made to this area for the better to make it more friendly to the community and even beneficial to the formal and informal economy of Oakland.

Recommendations

It is clear to me that the local government and community had great intentions and a lot of hope for the future of this area, with a large amount of funding being collected through donations and fundraising, that shows the community saw a lot of potential in the area, enough to put their own finances on the line for the future of the neighborhood.

Walter Hood's quote where he said "it has transformed the space into a park that people can actually occupy with flexible spaces that support a variety of uses." stood out to me during my research as this quote to me holds a lot of irony now.

The park I've observed over the last 6 months has been nothing close to flexible. In fact, the use of nuisance code and the lack of infrastructure have reinforced the rigidity of the space and reduced it to nothing but a placeholder lot for the local farmer's market.

Recommendation 1: Remove the Anti-Dog Ordinance

A fix that could be done in a matter of months through the Oakland City Council could be the re-evaluation and eventual removal of the Oakland Municipal Code at Splash Pad Park that does not allow dogs.

This code presents a lot of growth and community engagement in the park, as well as possibly prohibits unhoused individuals from using the space if a complaint is made against them and they own a dog,

If the reasoning for this code is Sanitary for keeping the space clean the city could install Dog Bags and Dog trash cans as well as signs that encourage owners to clean up after their pets. This to me is a simple fix that could bring a lot of good to the park.

Figure 9: No Pets sign at Splash Pad Park

Recommendation 2: Bulletin Board

During my time observing Splash Pad Park, I noticed fliers for community events, businesses, and in support of the Oakland Unified School District Teacher's strike posted on poles, electrical boxes, and shoved in the bus map display, as shown by the photo below.

An addition of a Community Bulletin Board in Splash Pad Park would be a simple, easy, and cost-effective step in the right direction. situated in this regularly unused portion of space in the center of the park. A mock-up to the right that I made crudely in a few minutes is an example of what it could look like in the park.

Figure 10: Fliers for book fairs and youth leader groups are shoved between a bus stop map and the glass so that community members can advertise businesses and events in the area.

Figure 11: Authors mock-up of community board

Recommendation 3: Remove portion of Asphalt from Roadway and Replace with Sod.

Replacing this portion of the road with grass would allow for more recreational space for dogs, athletes, and families alike. It would also give a purpose to the seating which is randomly placed in this area, and bring more organic material to the space.

Figure 12: Before

Figure 13: After, Authors mock-up of recommendation 3

Recommendation 4: Add Bike Lane Sharrows to the Park's asphalt

Figure 14 shows the Sharrow on Grand Avenue indicating to drivers that they have to share the road with Cyclists. Grand Avenue is a very busy multi-lane street that connects to the I-580 Freeway, and I can say from experience that biking along it is not a pleasant experience. In the photo above the gap between the red-painted curb is the driveway that vendors use to enter and setup for the farmer's market. That driveway connects to this paved road in Figure 15. By adding Sharrows to this road and adjusting the Oakland City Bike Route Map, this pathway could be an outlet for cyclists heading towards Lakeshore riding on Grand Avenue to cut through Splash Pad Park and enter onto Lake Park Avenue, a much slower and less populated road. This could prevent traffic collisions between cyclists and vehicles and also increase the use of the park on weekdays.

Figure 14: Sharrow on Grand Avenie

Figure 15: Driveway that connects to the paved road

Recommendation 5: Encourage more Live Events to be held at the park

The space pictured in Figure 16 in the southeastern corner of the park is the perfect venue for a live event, be it music, performance art, spoken word, etc. It has ample exits and walkways to the sidewalk and arterial streets, a large amount of standing room, and a good amount of seating space on the grass hill directly facing this corner.

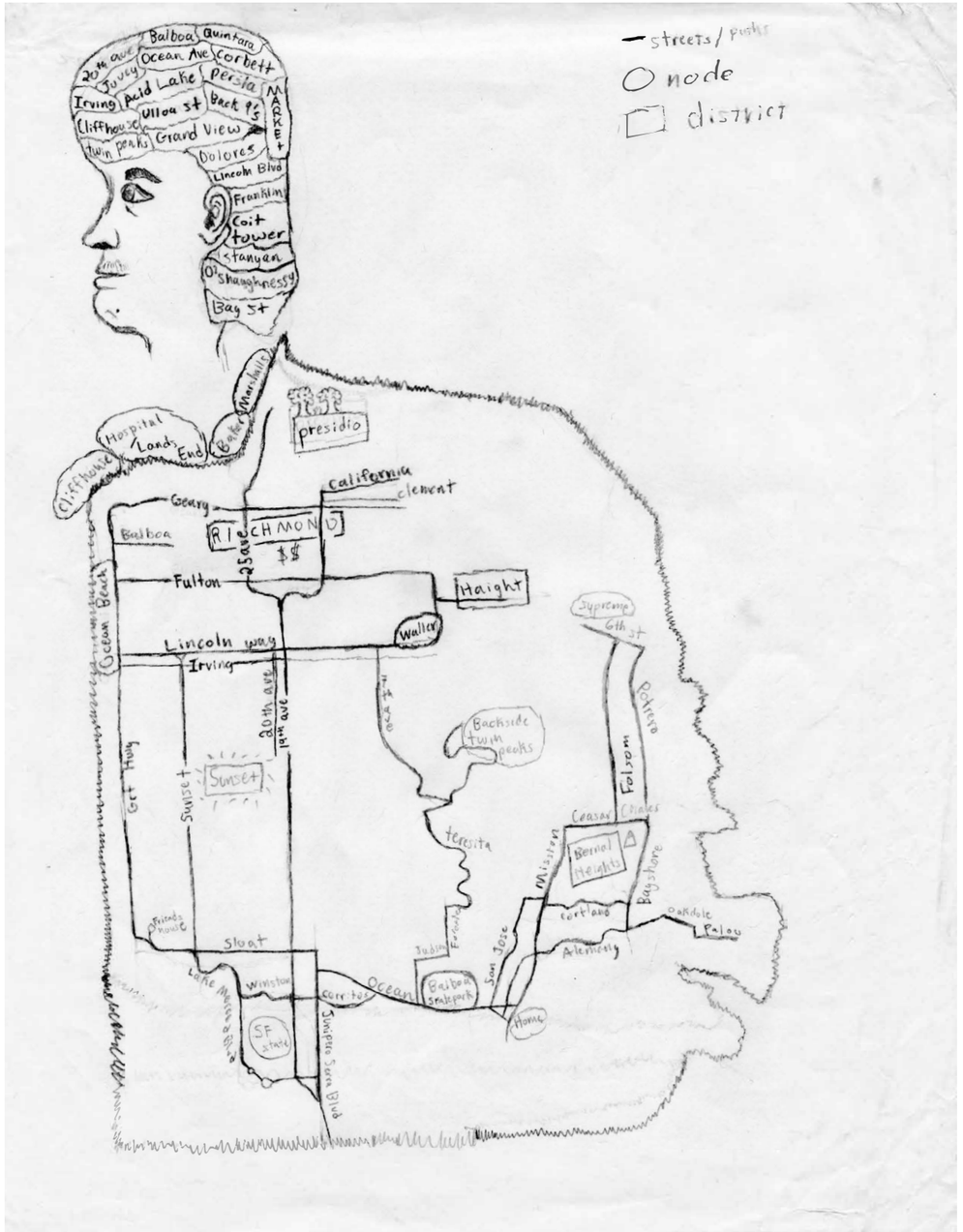
If the City of Oakland allows for this space to be rented out to performers and other organizations this space could become a popular social gathering spot on weekday evenings. Vendors from the farmers market could come here more frequently to sell food and drinks to people attending the event, with would benefit the informal economy here as well.

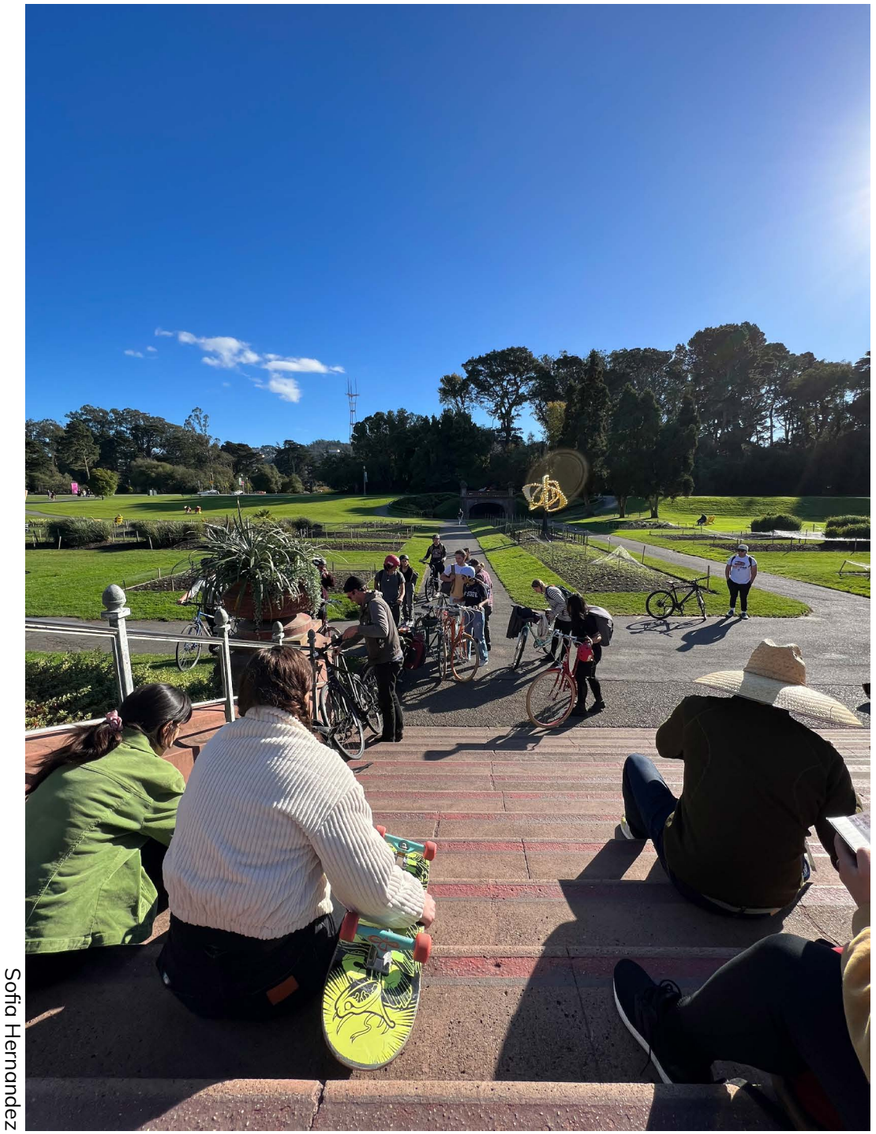
Conclusion

My experience observing Splash Pad Park over the last six months has been nothing short of eye-opening. I have lived in the Bay Area for more than a decade, and I have visited this area many times as a kid growing up in Oakland, but I had never dedicated this much time to focusing on a single location to understand how it works. Spending the time I did analyze every single detail of a location that would normally slip my mind without a second thought was incredibly fascinating and genuinely really interesting. By the end of this assignment, I actually wanted to keep observing the space and the recommendations I have created above are ones that I genuinely think could be implemented by the city with little effort and could make a big change.

Cognitive Map: Skating On My Mind

Aaron Gomez





Sofia Hernandez

What is the "Builder's Remedy" and how can it help with our State's Housing Crisis?

Gustavo Alvarez

In California, the Department of Housing & Community Development (HCD) has identified local governments as a major culprit for why we've amassed such momentous housing issues. The department has acknowledged that in order for the private market to adequately address the housing needs and demands of Californians, local governments must adopt plans and regulatory systems that provide opportunities for (and do not unduly constrain) housing development. (HCD)

> In the Housing Accountability Act (HAA), the legislature found and declared that (A) The lack of housing, including emergency shelters, is a critical problem that threatens the economic, environmental, and social quality of life in California. (B) California housing has become the most expensive in the nation. The excessive cost of the state's housing supply is partially caused by activities and policies of many local governments that limit the approval of housing, increase the cost of land for housing, and require that high fees and exactions be paid by producers of housing. (C) Among the consequences of those actions are discrimination against low-income and minority households, lack of housing to support employment growth, imbalance in jobs and housing, reduced mobility, urban sprawl, excessive commuting, and air quality deterioration. (D) Many local governments do not give adequate attention to the economic, environmental, and social costs of decisions that result in disapproval of housing development projects, reduction in density of housing projects, and excessive standards for housing development projects. (Cal. Gov. Code § 65589.5 (a)(1))

The state has been trying to get cities to allow more housing to be built for decades. Because most jurisdictions in California are not producing enough housing, the state government launched several programs aimed to make building housing faster, cheaper, and easier since local governments failed to provide such environments. In the last few years, the Yes In My Backyard (YIMBY) movement has been increasingly present in state governments. The movement has been successful in passing various bills focused on streamlining housing development. Streamlining creates a framework for which the state can allow housing development to be built, bypassing the local jurisdiction's zoning and procedures if the project meets the requirements of the bill. One streamlining tool that has gained a lot of recognition as of late is called the "Builder's Remedy." This tool, outlined in the Housing Accountability Act of 1982, has not been used until recently with the passing of amendments to the act found in SB 167 as well as other major housing bills: SB 330, SB 8, and AB 215.

The "Builder's Remedy" is essentially used to describe a set of criteria outlined within the HAA that stipulates specific requirements that when met, would allow developers to bypass local jurisdiction zoning and procedures. The "Builder's Remedy" only applies to housing developments for very low, low- or moderate-income households and emergency shelters. (Cal. Gov. Code § 65589.5(h)(2).) These projects can include either: 20% of the total units sold or rented to lower-income households; or 100% of the units sold or rented to moderate- or middle-income households. For lower-income households, monthly housing costs cannot exceed 30 percent of 60 percent of the area median income, adjusted for household size, and the units must remain affordable for 30 years. For moderate-income households, monthly housing costs cannot exceed 30 percent of 100 percent of the area median income. (Cal. Gov. Code § 65589.5(h)(3), (h)(4).) In the original bill, passed in 1982, developers of these projects had to comply with local zoning codes, making these types of developments unfeasible. Today, after amendments were made to strengthen the bill, lawmakers included the specification that if jurisdictions' housing elements, their plans that dictate how they will meet local housing needs, are non-compliant with state law and HCD then developers do not need to comply with local zoning and procedures. There are now only 4 ways in which a city not in noncompliance can reject a project of this type.

1. The city or county has met or exceeded its Regional Housing Needs Allocation (RHNA) for the proposed income categories in the development.
2. The housing development or emergency shelter would have a specific adverse impact on public health and safety, and there is no way to mitigate or avoid the impact without making the development unaffordable. The impact must be based on objective, written public health or safety standards in place when the application was deemed complete.
3. The denial or condition is required to meet state or federal law, and there is no feasible method to comply without making the development unaffordable.
4. The project is proposed on land zoned for agriculture or resource preservation OR that there is insufficient water or sewage facilities to serve the project (Cal. Gov. Code § 65589.5)

The amendments also strengthened the HAA by ensuring that local governments do not unfairly hinder the development of legally compliant housing projects. For example, the amendments increased the amount of evidence a jurisdiction needs to show to legally reject an application and clarifies that a jurisdiction must pay the plaintiff's attorney fees if the court finds they violated the HAA. Additionally, if a non-compliant local government does not comply with the HAA within 60 days of a court order, it will be fined a minimum of $10,000 per housing unit (California YIMBY).

This inherently increases the feasibility of projects in cities previously hostile to development that are desirable to live in. It creates two pathways for these types of cities. First, they can avoid litigation by creating housing elements that are compliant with state law and approved by HCD, maintaining local control but being "forced" to upzone. Two examples we are seeing this outcome in are Alameda and San Francisco. The second pathway cities can take is to remain non-compliant and deal with legal consequences. We have seen this create a cycle in which developers propose projects using Builder's Remedy, cities reject the project, and developers subsequently sue the cities. This is currently ongoing in Santa Monica and Huntington Beach. The trend for which path a city takes is often political and related to its track record on its openness to housing development. A researcher in Berkeley found that "If developers know they can invoke the builder's remedy, they still face hurdles to getting projects built, including requirements for potentially lengthy environmental reviews, that might discourage them. And developers might also make a political calculation that trying to invoke the penalty, and taking their fight to a courtroom, isn't worth the ill will it could buy them with local governments." Developers are less likely to invoke the Builders Remedy when they actually care about their relationship with the city and believe the city would be willing to work with them. If the city has always been hostile then that relationship wouldn't hinder whether the developer uses the builder's remedy as much. (Savidge)

What determines if a jurisdiction's housing element is compliant with HCD among other things is if it provides zoning and land to adequately build the amount of housing deemed necessary through the Regional Housing Needs Allocation (RHNA) process. This process involves HCD determining the regional housing need at a variety of affordability levels for each region's planning body or "council of governments" (COG), with input from the Department of Finance (DOF). In the Bay Area, our COG is called the Association of Bay Area Governments (ABAG). After this consultation with COGs regarding demographics and housing data, HCD issues the final regional housing need numbers for the region, which are broken down by income categories. The determination accounts for both the existing and projected housing needs in each region. The COG is responsible for allocating the housing need amongst all of the jurisdictions (cities/counties) within that region using a methodology approved by HCD that promotes more economically and racially integrated communities by allocating housing to high-resource, job-rich areas, while also meeting the state's greenhouse gas reduction goals by encouraging infill development and the protection of environmental resources. (HCD)

Additionally, as part of jurisdictions getting their housing element approved, they need to provide HCD with an inventory of sites they claim are suitable for residential development, and an analysis of government constraints that hinder a jurisdiction from meeting its housing needs. So while jurisdictions themselves are not responsible for the actual development of housing, they need to prove that they allocated sufficient land for the amount of housing development they've been designated and have a process that will allow for development to take place. (HCD) As a result, housing policy in California rests largely on the effective implementation of local general plans and, in particular, local housing elements. As a result, housing policy in California rests largely on the effective implementation of local general plans and, in particular, local housing elements. (HCD)

Housing elements for this latest, the sixth, cycle in the Association of Bay Area Governments (ABAG) region, were required to comply with the current state housing element law by January 31, 2023. Housing element compliance requires both local approval and acceptance by HCD. Housing elements that were not adopted by the due date are out of compliance with state law until a complying hous-

ing element is adopted. There is no grace period, meaning any jurisdiction out of compliance that receives builders' remedy projects must honor the projects as proposed or face litigation. (ABAG)

In the past, opponents of housing developments have weaponized the California Environmental Quality Act (CEQA), to block projects. Luckily, while projects using the "Builder's Remedy" are not exempt from CEQA Review through the HAA, they may be exempt from CEQA under other provisions of CEQA, other state laws, or the CEQA Guidelines (ABAG). These include projects that are consistent with the Regional Transportation Plan & Sustainable Communities Strategy (RTP/SCS), projects within a half-mile of a major transit stop that are 200 units or less, and projects that are 6 units or less. (ABAG)

There are varying degrees of ease at which the Builder's Remedy could be applied. If a city missed the housing element deadline and did not adopt a new housing element, that is the best grounds for using Builder's Remedy. If the city adopted a housing element but HCD did not or has not approved it yet, Builder's Remedy will also apply but may require more litigation. Developers who wish to build a Builder's Remedy project must file an SB330 preliminary application, which includes a non-binding site plan and elevations. They will also be required to file a full application within 180 days. (YIMBY Law) This creates vested rights and locks in development requirements, standards, and fees.

So, is the Builder's Remedy solving housing problems? Currently, it is too early to tell. There have been tens of thousands of units proposed through the Builder's Remedy across California, especially in Southern California. These projects are being met with hostility from local governments, contributing to ongoing legal battles, and resulting in no projects being built. Looking at YIMBY bills that have passed, in conjunction with the State Attorney General's aggressive approach to tackling the housing crisis and enforcing housing laws, it is likely that the majority of these projects will win their lawsuits against the city and will be able to be built as proposed. That is without complying with local zoning. This will ultimately aid these cities in reaching their housing targets, despite all the legal pushback. With the help of AB 215, which expands the State Attorney General's authority to enforce housing laws, grants HCD power to hire/appoint outside counsel, and created the Attorney General's Housing Strike Force, opponents to projects will face powerful opponents. (SCAG) With that being said, the Builder's Remedy will have done significantly more to building inclusionary housing in historically exclusionary areas than any existing legislation to date. One way it helps, perhaps indirectly, is that it incentivizes cities to pass compliant housing elements with sufficient upzoning to meet their target housing numbers as well as pulling back red tape to ease the building process.

References

"Regional Housing Needs Allocation (RHNA)." California Department of Housing and Community Development, www.hcd.ca.gov/planning-and-community-development/regional-housing-needs-allocation.

"Current Streamlining Practices: Implementing SB 35 and SB 330." Southern California Association of Governments (SCAG), 23 Mar. 2023, scag.ca.gov/sites/main/files/file-attachments/workshop_1_-sb_35_and_sb_330_-_final_3.23.23.pdf?1680630309.

"What Is the Builder'S Remedy?" YIMBY Law, 5 Apr. 2023, www.yimbylaw.org/buildersremedy.

"SB 167." California YIMBY, cayimby.org/sb-167/.

"The Builder's Remedy and Housing Elements." Association of Bay Area Governments, 15 Feb. 2023, abag.ca.gov/sites/default/files/documents/2023-02/Builders-Remedy-and-Housing-Elements-upd-Feb-15.pdf.

"Building Blocks." California Department of Housing and Community Development, www.hcd.ca.gov/planning-and-community-development/housing-elements/building-blocks.

Savidge, Nico. "The State Rejected Berkeley'S Housing Plans. What Happens Next?" Berkeleyside, 15 Feb. 2023, www.berkeleyside.org/2023/02/01/berkeley-housing-element-builders-remedy-hcd.

California Governement Code 65589.5

Bandlamudi, Adhiti. "California Building Boom? A New Law Promised Big, but Has Yet to Deliver in the Bay Area." KQED, 6 Apr. 2023, www.kqed.org/news/11945744/california-building-boom-a-new-law-promised-big-but-has-yet-to-deliver-in-the-bay-area.

Bristol, McConnell. "Yes In My Backyard: Builder'S Remedy and the Future of California'S Housing Crisis." Brown Political Review, 26 Mar. 2023, brownpoliticalreview.org/2023/03/california-builders-remedy/.

Dubler, Max. "Understanding the California Builder'S Remedy." Abundant Housing LA, 7 Oct. 2022, abundanthousingla.org/builders-remedy/.

Atonement for Racial Capitalism the Pathway to a Socially Just San Francisco

Shanell Williams

When I look back at my formative years growing up in San Francisco, California in the nineties I have a mix of emotions. I remember feeling celebrated by my diverse collective of early education instructors for being precocious and charismatic. I also remember the traumatic experience at 11 years old of being egged and called a racial slur by a man driving by. This took place while walking with my best friend to her house in the Marina District. The Marina District of San Francisco even in the present day is a predominantly White and a more affluent area of San Francisco. Marina Middle School was somehow different — it was a virtual melting pot of racially diverse children from all over the city. Students from the Mission, Chinatown, North beach and the Fillmore Districts all attended school with me, and we all formed a real connection that somehow transcended the realities we faced outside of school — realities based on our economic and ethnic backgrounds. The more common, historical and present-day experience of Black people making their way through San Francisco is liken to the experience that I endured of being egged by that man. The history of Black communities in San Francisco is rife with systematic limitation of access to economic opportunities and spaces for belonging. If we are to address the historic harms that limit Black San Franciscans thriving, we have to confront the issue of reparations. Economic reparations are the most viable solution to the harm caused by displacement of Black communities of San Francisco. It is the true marker of San Francisco being a socially just city.

According to *The Unfinished Agenda: The Economic Status of African Americans in San Francisco* a study by Polaris Research and Development (PRD), Black people have been part of the social, political and economic fabric of San Francisco as early as the Gold Rush. The population of Black people in San Francisco was relatively small in the early 1900's but from 1940-1950 the city saw a population increase of 798 percent (PRD 3). The population of Black people in San Francisco reached an all-time high by 1970 — Black people represented 13.4 percent of the population (PRD 3). When we look at the factors that enticed Black people primarily from the South to San Francisco it was twofold. In the early 1900s it was the lack of discrimination in housing and integration across the city particularly with Japanese communities (PRD 4). When World War II began a more visible Black community in San Francisco formed because of recruitment to work in the war industry. The San Francisco Bay Area during this time was a center for shipbuilding and there was the development of numerous military facilities such as the Oakland Army Base, the Naval Supply Center, the Alameda Naval Air Station, Treasure Island, Travis Air Force Base, and Hunters Point Shipyard (PRD 4). Black migrants from the South were enticed to San Francisco to build the economy that we see today. There are stories that Kaiser advertised for workers nationwide and even sent trains through the southwest and south to recruit workers for its shipyards. Recruiters called farmers and sharecroppers from the fields to pack up and to move to California with the promise of "good jobs, more cash they'd ever seen, and decent places to live" (PRD 4). By the 1950s the Hunters Point and specifically the Fillmore became what people refer to as the "Harlem of the West" with a "rich street life, strong community institutions and churches, restaurants serving Black regional foods, and a range of nightclubs and cabarets that became well known for jazz and blues and other forms of African American music" (PRD 5). The Black community from the mid 1940s through the mid 1960s were considered prosperous times for the Black community but that changed with the end of the war and the closure of the shipyards. The rate of unemployment in the Black community grew by 30 percent and housing discrimination grew with the return of non-Black soldiers and sailors. This all set the stage for Black communities "which had been vibrant with hope and economic vitality 15 to 20 years before" to transition to blighted communities setting the stage for urban renewal (PRD 6).

Urban renewal in San Francisco was a form of systemic racism that remains in place today with new methods and the end goal remains the same. "The practice of defining low-income, Black neighborhoods as uninhabitable have always been founded on the structure of meaning constituted by the production of classed racial hierarchy and white supremacy" (Addie and Fraser 1376). As we enter the late 60's in San Francisco, Black people that were enticed from the South to San Francisco to work in wartime industry manufacturing jobs were now being left behind with the transition to the new economy where government and service jobs prevailed. These jobs required different, higher-level skills and competition for these jobs was fierce (PRD 9). This economic transformation in San Francisco led to the decrease of San Francisco Black population competitiveness and size (PRD 9). Compounding disenfranchisement from the workforce, urban removal which has been described as "Negro removal" displaced thousands of Black residents particularly in the Western Addition. When we observe what took place in the Western Addition of San Francisco it recalls the reality that "structural white supremacy continues to reign, despite a more inclusive definition of citizenship, and state policies continue to be implicated" (Brown and Barganier 109).

San Francisco's racist land use policies in the form of urban renewal systematically limited the upward mobility of Black communities throughout the City. San Francisco has been considered widely as a "progressive" city that has policies that reflect the diversity of our residents to thrive. When we analyze the history of what happened to the Black community from being lured with the promise of more income than they had ever seen during the war to being left out of the mainstream economy and having their culture, business and domiciles stripped away — the imperative for economic reparations emerges. There are differences of opinion about the forces that created the conditions for Black San Franciscans. Capitalism is not color blind. When you examine the roots of the destabilization of the Black community, racial capitalism is at the core of the issue. "Analyzing racial capitalism requires that we shift our lens to consider how both ideology and history inform and are shaped by material processes – just because a situation is not popularly recognized as a racial one does not mean that it is not" (Pulido 13). I have heard numerous stories whether through the news or anecdotally of people who have lived in a particular urban city for generations who hold rich and deep experiences in their neighborhood being disregarded and attacked when newcomers move into the area. Many will describe times past where they felt very connected to all their neighbors and could play music on the sidewalks, host block parties, sit on their stoops and felt responsible for each other's families. This change of newcomers coming in and conflicts happening is too often trivialized as an expected and even accepted result of changing economics most characterized as "gentrification." The physical stress and psychic terror that comes along with no longer being valued in your own community is too much to bear. For example, longtime residents having the police called on them for activities they have done in the neighborhood for generations. Being excluded from opportunities for relaxation and recreation because of privatization. People who just moved to the neighborhood don't believe longtime residents deserve to belong there anymore. When newcomers see these residents, they may scuttle by with suspicion not even trying to look them in the eyes. This brings into question where can Black people particularly poor Black people of color feel valued in our changing cities? Where is a safe space to call their own in the face of ever-changing economics?

Economic reparations are not new — for this to happen in San Francisco we need political will. As discussed in "Jewish and Japanese American Reparations: Political Lessons for the Africana Community." reparations were made to the Japanese and Jewish community for the structural harms they experienced. Why has this not happened for Black Americans? "Men are used to seeing Negroes in inferior positions; when therefore, by any chance a Negro gets in a better position, most men immediately conclude he is not fitted for it, even before he has a chance to show his fitness" (Dubois 122). The rallying cry that "Black Lives Matter" can be seen and heard all around us. The realization that America since its inception has perpetrated atrocities and systematically excluded Black people from realizing their full potential in this country. There are some people who believe that things have gotten better for the Black community. That the government has done a good job implementing policies that uplift Black people and heal past harms. One has to ask is this true? Where can we see evidence of real investment in the Black community? The juxtaposition that I felt throughout my early years reflects to me the contradictions that exist for Black people in urban centers all over the United States. Being Black and especially if you are poor and Black there are fleeting moments of feeling seen and celebrated but it is too often coupled with a pervasive lack of opportunity, the devaluing of our bodies, our families, our right to participate in our democracy, a lack of justice, a safety net and at any point our lives being taken through some form of state violence and systemic racism.

Economic reparations are the most viable solution to the harm caused by displacement of Black communities of San Francisco. It is the true marker of San Francisco being a socially just city. To be able to compete in the ever-changing landscape of San Francisco's economics the Black community needs access to an equitable solution and real opportunity to compete and to

participate. As stated in *SF Capital of the 21st Century." Hollow City: The Siege of San Francisco and the Crisis of American Urbanism*, "gentrification is just the fin above water. Below is the rest of the shark: a new American economy in which most of us will be poorer, a few will be far richer, and everything will be faster, more homogenous and more controlled or controllable" (Solnit and Schwartzenberg 13-14). We need our leaders to recognize the harms of the past and to create mechanisms to address those harms to communities that have been marginalized and displaced and create a reparations fund for Black San Franciscans. We know that the Bay Area has the grown to be one of the wealthiest areas of our nation. That wealth despite the systemic harm that has been done to the Black community economically over the past 100 years has not trickled down to the Black community of San Francisco. "While people of color and immigrants earn more on average in the Bay Area that other cities and earn more at every level of education and in every industry, there is an unrelenting inequality based on gender and race" (Walker 88). The time is now to move forward this righteous economic agenda for the Black community and for San Francisco to be truly a socially just city. We have taken steps forward by establishing a Reparations Task Force that is looking at how San Francisco can pay the debt it owes the Black community. I believe that the only way forward is an economic imperative and to look at all avenues for the Black community to equally participate in a San Francisco that has become increasingly unaffordable for most residents.

> "SF needs to establish a reparations fund, marches and protests cannot by themselves alter the living conditions of blacks in San Francisco that are the result of decades of systemic racism. What is required to repair this historic injustice is the kind of urgent, significant action that John Lewis fought for during his career. It can and should mark the start of making long-overdue reparations to the black community, by both the private and public sectors in San Francisco."
>
> - Rev. Dr. Amos C. Bro

Works Cited

Brown, Elizabeth, and George Barganier. "Social Problems and the U.S. Racial State." Race and Crime: Geographies of Injustice, University of California Press, Oakland, CA, 2018.

Solnit, Rebecca, and Susan Schwartzenberg. "SF Capital of the 21st Century ." Hollow City: The Siege of San Francisco and the Crisis of American Urbanism, Verso, London, 2018.

Addie, Jean-Paul D., and James C. Fraser. "After Gentrification: Social Mix, Settler Colonialism, and Cruel Optimism in the Transformation of Neighbourhood Space." Antipode, vol. 51, no. 5, 2019, pp. 1369–1394., https://doi.org/10.1111/anti.12572.

Pulido, Laura. "Flint, Environmental Racism, and Racial Capitalism." Capitalism Nature Socialism, vol. 27, no. 3, 2016, pp. 1–16., https://doi.org/10.1080/10455752.2016.1213013.

Dubois, WEB. "'The Negro Problems of Philadelphia,' 'the Question of Earning a Living,' and 'Color Prejudice.'" The City Reader, 2015, pp. 158–164., https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315748504-26.

Walker, Richard. "Gold Mountain: Wealth Inequality and the Class Divide." Pictures of a Gone City: Tech and the Dark Side of Prosperity in the San Francisco Bay Area, PM Press, Oakland, CA, 2018.

United States, Congress, San Francisco Human Rights Commission (Calif.)., et al. The Unfinished Agenda: The Economic Status of African Americans in San Francisco, 1964-1990, Polaris Research and Development, 1993.

Laremont, Ricardo Rene. "Jewish and Japanese American Reparations: Political Lessons for the Africana Community." Journal of Asian American Studies, vol. 4 no. 3, 2001, p. 235-250. Project MUSE, doi:10.1353/jaas.2001.0031.

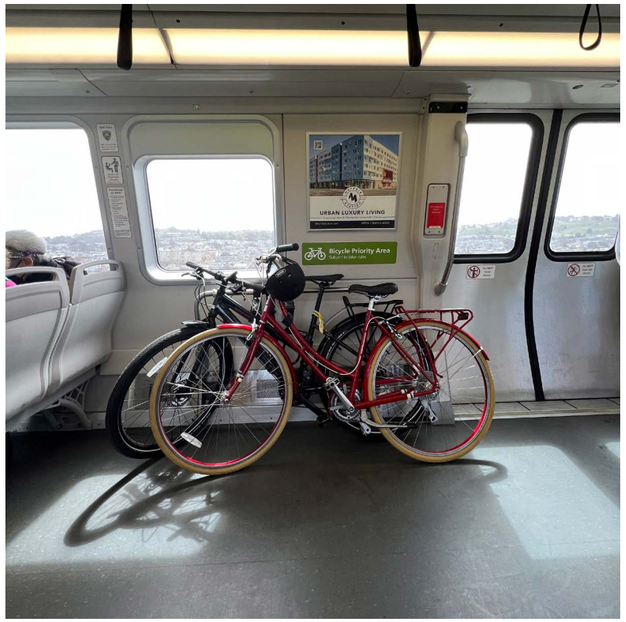
Megablack SF, https://megablacksf.org/reparations-restoration.

San Pancho

Sofia Hernandez

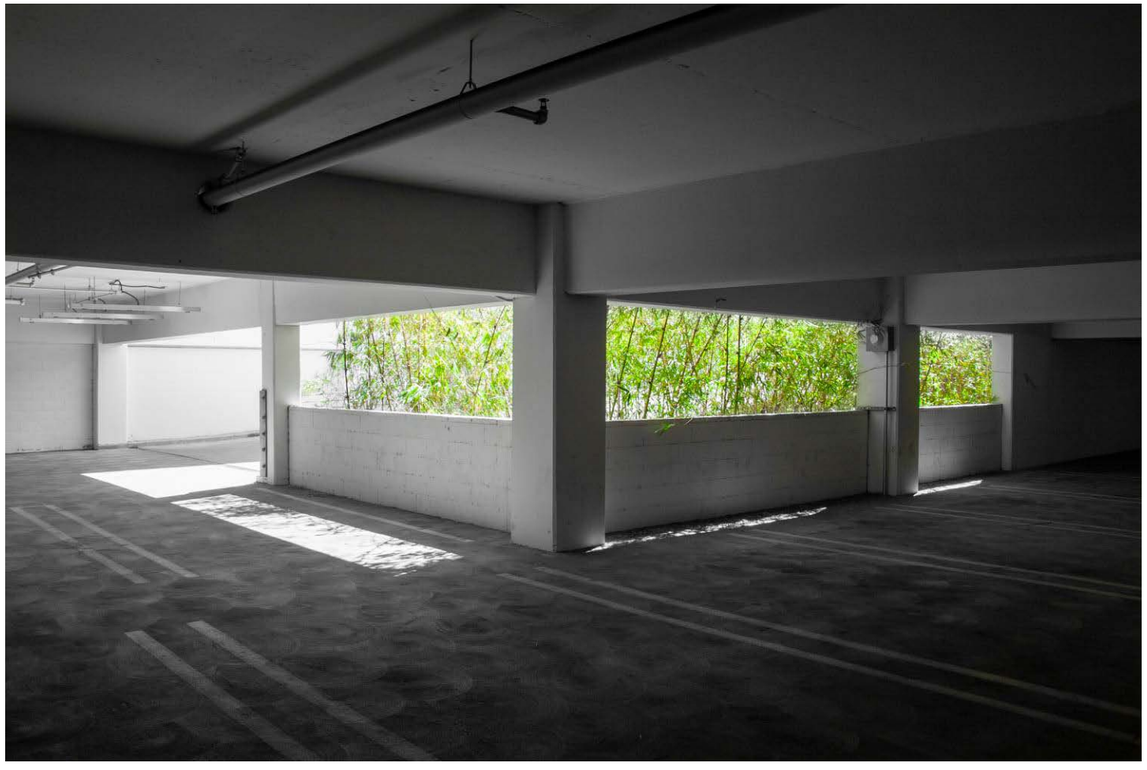
Trade Mark
700
CALIFORNIA

TOW-AWAY
NO PARKING
ANY
TIME


URBAN LUXURY LIVING
Bicycle Priority Area

New Business Park Topographics

Michelle Ju-won Bark



📍 Uber
Downtown, Sunnyvale, CA

The New Topographics: A Man-Altered Landscape

In 1974, the photographer Lewis Baltz published *The New Industrial Parks near Irvine, California*, a landscape photography series. The monograph does not consist of verdant and transcendental images of National Parks. It is a series of deadpan images of industrial parks sprouting up in Orange County during the suburban sprawl of the 60s and 70s.

Baltz and his monograph represent the New Topographics school, a group of photographers that came of age during the economic prosperity and social and geographic transformation of the postwar period. Suburbanization changed the landscape of America, displacing the natural environment with a man-altered variety. The generation before them represented nature as sublime (Westerbeck, 2011). The New Topographers' subject was objects found in their everyday lives. The rectilinear nature of industrial parks, tract homes, parking lots, motels, and strip malls replaced the elemental landscape of the modernists before them. Stylistically, the photos of the New Topographics reduced the built environment to a topographic state to document rather than convey beauty, emotion, and opinion, much like a U.S. Geological Survey (Sichel, 2010).

A survey of the images in *The New Industrial Parks Near Irvine, California,* would suggest that Baltz is engaging in a dispassionate documentation of the landscape in Orange County. However, his article "Notes on Industrial Development" belies this claim. While the writing reads as an objective and repetitive report on the land-use, planning, construction, functions, and economic considerations behind the development of industrial parks, the veneer of neutrality cracks when he describes the social ecology of these developments:

> "Typical environmental relations: Industries which tenant the new industrial parks are often induced to locate there by neighboring communities which regard light industry as an economic asset. Characteristics of heavy manufacturing and extraction industries, such as air, water and noise pollution, unsightly structures, and the necessity of a large unskilled labor force are explicitly absent from the new industries. In contrast, new industries tend to have substantially lower pollution levels; are housed in inoffensive, anonymous structures, often with extensive landscaping; and are staffed by a small, technologically trained labor force, earning middle to upper-middle range salaries," (Baltz, 1974).

Contrary to the artist's claim of dispassionate neutrality, the New Topographers' works have been reframed under the socioeconomic and political context that transformed the cultural and physical landscape of America. To refrain from declarations of intent, the New Topographics created pictures that some critics and viewers still consider banal and devoid of style. However, when placed within the socioeconomic context of land-use policies of the era, the catalog of images conveys an attitude towards the shift from community to consumerism (Rohrbach, 2010), the hegemony of privatized spaces (Dunaway, 2011), and the consequences of land-use policy (Salvesen, 2010).

South wall, Mazda Motors, 2121East Main Street, Irvine
By Lewis Baltz

South Wall, Semicoa, 333 McCormick, Costa Mesa
By Lewis Baltz

Unoccupied
Sunnyvale, CA

Irvine and Sunnyvale, CA: Social Transformations and its Spatial Expressions

I called both Irvine and Sunnyvale home. There are striking similarities in certain built environment characteristics between the two: the industrial parks. The structures are single-story concrete buildings with pre-fabricated windows and doors. Overall, they are non-descript buildings where the company sign can be easily replaced.

The origins of these mundane buildings are also from the same social transformation of the 60s and 70s. Suburbanization was enabled by a constellation of laws: the Federal Aid High Act paved the autoway from the urban core to the suburbs; the Home Owner's Loan Corporation and the Federal Housing Authority enabled homeownership and created a segregated landscape in Santa Clara County (Schafran, 2018) and Orange County. The major industry shifted from agricultural to industrial, becoming the headquarters for military facilities, aerospace engineering, and technological industries and largely eliminating the need for low-wage labor (Baltz, 1974).

But in the mid-2010s, these mundane and largely unoccupied buildings in Sunnyvale began to change. I live in the medium-density residential area adjacent to the industrial and service zone (Map 1) that benefited from office tenant overflow from Cupertino and Mountain View (Wilson, 2014). With the tech industry's growth, the City of Sunnyvale rezoned the industrial and service zone as the Peery Park Specific Plan (PPSP) in 2016. The planning framework seeks to utilize private and public investment to "enhance the beauty and vitality of this major City workplace district (The City of Sunnyvale, n.d.).

After all, cities need to compete for businesses, people, and the tax dollars that come with them.

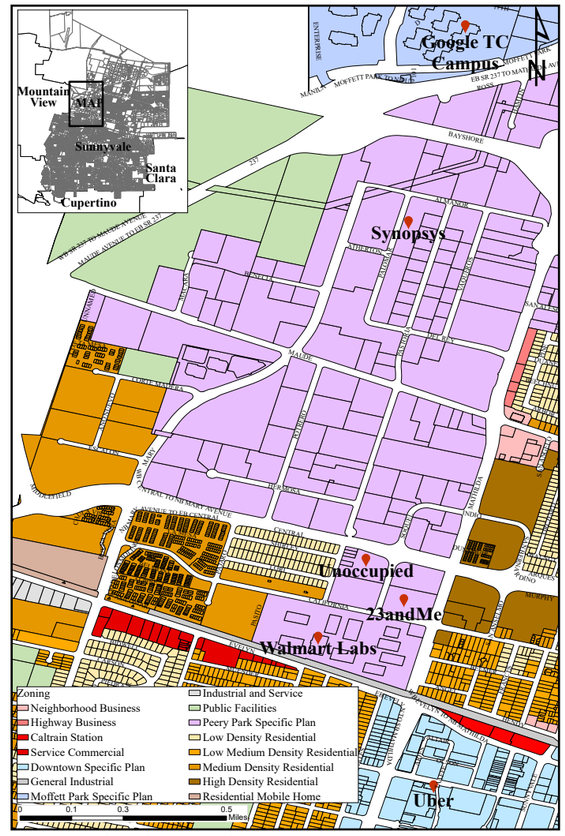
New Business Park Topographics

The uncertainty and anxiety of the pandemic was the impetus for this photo essay. I began imitating Lewis Baltz's monograph and took deadpan images of the everyday objects of my pandemic: the parks – of the business variety – in my neighborhood in Sunnyvale. I was refamiliarizing (Iveson, 2013) myself with my neighborhood. It started in the Walmart Labs area. Then, I slowly expanded my scope into other business parks – specifically, their parking lots – that I only drove past in my car. I was reclaiming the space that, as someone with no association with these companies, excluded me.

I watched the light slowly slide through the angular parking structures without worrying about people staring, getting hit by a car, or explaining to a security guard what I was doing. I would take note of the time and return to see how the sun moved the direction of the slant of the light while watching and listening to the leaves gently rustle in the wind. It was only possible because of that rupture in time and space.

Who knew that parking lots could be so verdant? It reminded me of the power nexus of tech, old money, and environmentalism that stifled housing production and perpetuated inequality in the area (Schafran, 2018). It's probably also a sign of cities competing for tax dollars and company-private partnerships to finance much needed affordable housing in the region.

Map 1: Zoning in Sunnyvale, CA and Locations of Photos



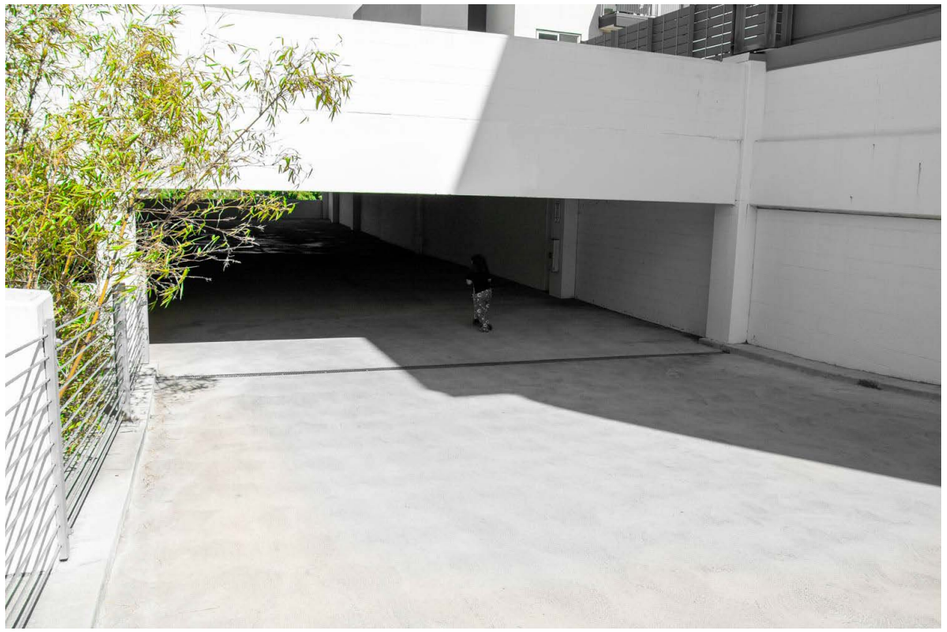
Source: City of Sunnyvale
By MJ Bark

Google Building E501, Mountain View, CA
By MJ Bark

📍 23andMe
Sunnyvale, CA

📍 23andMe
Sunnyvale, CA

📍 Synopsys
Sunnyvale, CA



📍 Uber
Downtown, Sunnyvale, CA

Google TC Campus
Sunnyvale, CA

📍 23andMe
Sunnyvale, CA

📍 Unoccupied
Sunnyvale, CA

📍 Walmart Labs
Sunnyvale, CA

References

Baltz, L. (1974). Notes on Recent Industrial Developments in Southern California—Commentary and Portfolio. Image, 17(2), 1–9.

City of Sunnyvale. (n.d.). Peery Park Specific Plan | Sunnyvale, CA. Sunnyvale. Retrieved June 1, 2023, from https://www.sunnyvale.ca.gov/business-and-development/projects-in-sunnyvale/long-range-planning-initiatives/peery-park-specific-plan

Dunaway, F. (2013). Beyond Wilderness: Robert Adams, New Topographics, and the Aesthetics of Ecological Citizenship. In G. Foster-Rice & J. Rohrbach (Eds.), Reframing the New Topographics (pp. 13–43). The Center for American Places at Columbia College Chicago.

Iveson, K. (2013). Cities within the City: Do-It-Yourself Urbanism and the Right to the City. International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 37(3), 941–956.

Salvesen, B. (2010). "Real Estate Opportunities": Commercial Photography as Conceptual Source in New Topographics. In G. Foster-Rice & J. Rohrbach (Eds.), Reframing the New Topographics. Center for American Places at Columbia College Chicago.

Schafran, A. (2018). The Road to Resegregation: Northern California and the Failure of Politics. University of California Press.

Sichel, K. (2010). Deadpan Geometries: Mapping, Aerial Photography, and the American Landscape. In G. Foster-Rice & J. Rohrbach (Eds.), Reframing the New Topographics. Center for American Places at Columbia College Chicago.

Westerbeck, C. (2011). Epicenters: How the California Landscape Slid South. In Seismic shift: Lewis Baltz, Joe Deal and California landscape photography, 1944-1984. California Museum of Photography.

Wilson, A. (2014, July 9). Sunnyvale Sees Large Recovery in Jobs, Income After Recession – Finance Site Says City Healed Faster Than Majority of U.S. San Jose Mercury News (CA), 1B. America's News – Historical and Current.

MPA SECTION

The following section comprises articles written by graduate students from San Francisco State University's Master of Public Administration (MPA) Program and an interview with Dr. Ayse Pamuk, full-time tenured faculty of SF State's Urban Studies & Planning Program, and part-time affiliated faculty of the MPA program.

SF State's MPA Progam is accredited by NASPAA (Network of Schools of Public Policy, Affairs, and Administration) with five full-time tenured faculty members and between three and eight part-time affiliated faculty from other Public Affairs & Civic Engagement (PACE) programs and professors emeriti, and practitioners. All faculty have been practitioners in the field and continue to be active scholars and active in the community. Courses are offered through a flexible curriculum of in-person and hybrid courses in the heart of downtown San Francisco.

More information and how to apply to the MPA Program can be found here.

Foca, Turkey

Racist Roots of the Affordability Crisis and Eliminating Single-Family Zoning

Ramona McCabe

On July 15, a mob of 3,000 surrounded the home at 4600 Columbus Avenue in Minneapolis, hurling insults, rocks, and hate at its occupants. The mob of white residents was seething over the new owner's refusal to leave, and stormed the house, with shouts of "lynch him!" echoing down the street. Arthur Lee, a postal worker, WWI veteran, and a Black man, had had the audacity to purchase a home in a "white section" of Minneapolis in 1931. Lee and his family defied the mob, refusing the sell or leave the neighborhood. They had the support of the local chapter of the N.A.A.C.P., which pressured city police to protect the Lees, and a cadre of Arthur Lee's fellow WWI vets and postal workers standing guard around the house.

Of course, the case of the Lees is not an isolated incident. Racial discrimination in housing is as American as apple pie, and has been woven into the nation's housing policy from Reconstruction to the present. Far from accidental, residential segregation has been perpetuated through policy choices, some as obvious and infamous as redlining, and others more subtle like credit checks and subprime mortgages. Three policies that directly defined where people of different races could live were racial covenants, redlining, and zoning ordinances. These three policies worked in concert to segregate housing, and their impacts can still be felt today. In this paper I will analyze the impacts of these three policies on residential segregation and the housing affordability crisis today, and show how all three policies are tied together through analysis of geographical mapping. Of these policies, single-family zoning has persisted through the second half of the 20th century and into the modern day. More recently it has become a target for reformers in some state and local governments hoping to create change in segregation and affordability.

Residential segregation is tied to the affordability crisis, which has gained new prominence and urgency for policy makers since the 2008 recession. As policy makers search for answers to the crisis, some governments have set their eye on reforming single-family zoning. This type of zoning has encouraged suburban sprawl and set aside vast swaths of land that only allow detached single-family homes on large lots, and effectively outlaw mid-density housing known as the "missing middle." It is now being recognized as a barrier to affordable development, but its roots and its legacy are in racial discrimination and residential segregation. The Lees' hometown of Minneapolis was the first major city in the U.S. to dismantle single-family zoning, followed by Oregon, and then California. This policy innovation is still in its infancy and too early to judge, but it offers a promising practice for other governments hoping to reduce segregation and improve affordability

Residential Segregation and Impacts on the Modern Affordability Crisis

Residential segregation has been created, refined, and reified through decades of housing policy. Redlining and racial covenants burst on the scene in the early 1900s, and were used by white property owners to maintain white-only neighborhoods until they were struck down by the courts and Congress in the 1950s and 1960s after many decades of harming communities of color, and shaping residential segregation. The white property owners and local politicians behind single-family zoning took a more subtle approach to exclusion, and has continued to enjoy support in popular opinion to the present day. These policies did not operate alone, and residential segregation was promoted from myriad angles, including through policies that shaped public housing, urban renewal, discrimination against voucher holders, and racial steering, among others.

The U.S. is still highly segregated by race, and this continues to negatively impact communities of color today. In fact, segregation has increased in many areas. According to a multi-part study on residential segregation by Menendian, Gambhir and Gailes (2021) at the Othering and Belonging Institute of University of California Berkeley, between 1990 and 2019, 81% of large cities with a population over 200,000 saw residential segregation increase. Residential segregation refers to residential areas that have low levels of diversity, and high concentrations of one race or ethnic group. It is a "lynchpin" holding structural racism in place (Menendian, Gambhir, and Gailes 2021, 4). Segregation can be traced back to slavery and has been reinforced throughout the 20th and into the 21st century. White segregationists lost the ability to use more overtly racist tools when the Civil Rights Movement won a tremendous legal victory in the Fair Housing Act of 1968, after a long battle for protections against racial discrimination. It outlawed many forms of overt discrimination, including making race-based decisions in rentals and sales, terms and conditions, and advertising (Schwartz 2021). Though this was an incredibly important step, it lacked teeth in enforcement: victims of discrimination were responsible for finding a way to prove they were facing discrimination, often through hiring fair housing testers who would pose as buyers or renters and look for disparate treatment from landlords or realtors of white and non-white testers. Victims of discrimination were allowed only 180 days to file a complaint (2021, 316). These barriers to enforcement allowed much discrimination by landlords and realtors to pass unchallenged, and opened the door for other forms. Discrimination was forced to move underground in the post-Fair Housing Act era, and white people hoping to maintain segregation needed to adopt less overt tactics. One of those tactics was single-family zoning, which proliferated after the passage of the Fair Housing Act, (Archer 2021).

Residential segregation is particularly damaging because isolates communities of color away from resources. In fact, it can be considered "the single most important condition that continues to have adverse effects on the socioeconomic status and the health of African Americans is residential segregation," according to Leland Ware (2021) who examined the lasting impact of the Plessy v. Ferguson decision. It is associated with poorer health outcomes, lower wealth accumulation, and lower pay for people of color in highly segregated areas compared with more integrated areas (Menendian, Gambhir, and Gailes 2021). Impacts can follow children into adulthood: one study found Black children in more segregated neighborhoods earned $1000 less annually compared to peers raised in more integrated settings. Residential segregation impacts people's access to services and basic needs, such including health care, child care, parks, and healthy food (Menendian, Gambhir, and Gailes 2021). Segregated communities of color are "more likely to have hazardous waste facilities" nearby (2021, 12), and even be crushed all together by highway construction (Davis 1965, and Ware 2021). The COVID-19 pandemic disproportionately impacted communities of color, due in part to residential segregation. People of color are more likely to live in crowded homes and farther from health care services and their workplace. This created the conditions for COVID-19 to spread through households, and infect people as they traveled longer distances to work (Williams 2020).

White property owners used racial covenants as an explicit bid to keep neighborhoods segregated, and reserve white areas for white homeowners. The covenants began in the 1910s, and became common practice by the 1930s (Ehrman-Solberg, 2018). White property owners attached covenants to the deed of the house and restricted owners, including future owners, from selling to people of specific races. For example, a racial covenant from Oregon in 1913 states: "nor shall the same or any part thereof be in any manner used or occupied by Chinese, Japanese or negroes, except that persons of said races may be employed as servants by residents" (Hughes 2019). In 1948, in Shelley v. Kraemer the Supreme Court ruled that racial covenants were "unenforceable," leaving the covenants still technically legal: residents and sellers were still allowed to abide by the covenants if they so chose (The Fair Housing Center of Greater Boston, n.d.). In fact, they were not declared illegal until the Fair Housing Act of 1968. The impact of racial covenants can still be felt today. In Minneapolis, areas with covenants historically are still the whitest (and wealthiest) parts of the city (Ehrman-Solberg, 2018).

Redlining, like racial covenants, had a huge impact on where Black and brown people could live in the first half of the 20th century, with impacts still lingering to this day. Redlining has been described as "among the most impactful practices that created these stark differences in neighborhood resource distribution and concentrated disadvantage was redlining: the practice of denying fair access to credit, particularly mortgages, based on the race of the residents of a neighborhood" (The Digital Scholarship Lab and the National Community Reinvestment Coalition, n.d.). The Federal Housing Administration (FHA) underwriting manual from the 1930s stated "the valuator should investigate areas surrounding the location to determine whether or not incompatible racial and ethnic groups are present" (quoted in Schwartz 2021, 63-4). The FHA gave preferential treatment for mortgages to buy single-family homes over multi-family homes, which spurred growth in the suburbs where land was more readily available, and had the effect of starving urban areas of funds (Schwartz 2021). Redlining shows the direct link between residential segregation and housing affordability. It specifically designated areas that were non-white or at-risk of becoming non-white as areas that were off-limits to lenders and borrowers. In other words, it shut Black and brown households out of the mortgage market and effectively denied them the ability to purchase homes.

Black residents were restricted by white property owners and policy makers to primarily Black or minority neighborhoods through the policies of redlining

1910	Racial covenants began cropping up
1916	First zoning law in the U.S. instituted in Berkeley to prevent Black dance hall from coming to white neighborhood
1924	First zoning law in Oregon, instituted shortly after officials associated with the KKK were elected to public office
1931	Lee family moves into predominantly white neighborhood in Minneapolis and is be-set by a white mob of thousands
1948	Supreme Court rules that racial covenants are "unenforceable" but does not make them illegal
1956	Federal Aid Highway Act passed, which would decimate thriving Black communi-ties, including the Rondo neighborhood in the Saint Paul, Minnesota
1968	Fair Housing Act outlaws overt forms of housing discrimination
2018	Minneapolis City Council adopts zoning reform to abolish single-family zoning in the city, making a quadplex the new minimum zoning allowed
2019	Residential segregation in large cities is worse than it was nearly 20 years prior
2019	Oregon becomes the first state to limit single-family zoning through House Bill 2001
2020	COVID-19 pandemic sweeps the world and takes a horrible and disproportionate toll on communities of color in the U.S. George Floyd, a Black man, is murdered by police in Minneapolis and Black Lives Matter protests ignite.
2021	California passes law to eliminate single-family zoning, creating a new minimum of two units, and allowing lots to be subdivided
2022	Cities across California come up with new and creative ways to try and circumvent the new zoning requirement, including shrubbery requirements, and attempting to designate an entire city as mountain lion habitat.

Figure 1. Timeline of major events in the intertwined histories of racial covenants, redlining, exclusionary zoning, and the push to end single-family zoning.

and racial covenants, and then these neighborhoods were put on the chopping block in the 1950s and 1960s to make way for the nation's freeways. The Federal Highway Act passed in 1956, and paved the way for "the roads [that] displaced families from their homes, sliced communities in half, and led to abandonment and decay in urban communities" (Ware 2021, 102). Black neighborhoods in the 1960s and 1970s pushed back on this desecration of their homes, and in Washington D.C. the protest chant "no white men's roads through Black men's homes" (Archer, 2021) could be heard in the streets. In Saint Paul, just across the Mississippi from Minneapolis where the Lee family faced down an angry racist mob 30 years prior, the vibrant Rondo neighborhood, an enclave of the Black community, was destroyed in the 1960s to make way for Highway 94 (Horowitz et all 2021). Black communities that had carved out space for themselves despite the oppressive forces of redlining, racial covenants, and zoning, were treated as disposable by local officials who determined the paths the freeways would take (Moore, Montojo, and Mauri, 2019). Ultimately, some of the highway projects were stopped or rerouted, but not out of concern for Black residents. Environmental activists who challenged the freeway projects on the basis of protecting parks and green space found a more receptive audience in Congress than Black residents trying to preserve and protect Black communities. The timeline below (figure 1) shows a selection of the major events in the history of racial covenants, redlining, and exclusionary zoning.

Zoning laws were another way that white property owners and local governments effectively excluded people of color from specific parts of a town or city. Zoning is "a law adopted by a local government that separates the land in a particular locale into sections, or zones, with different rules governing the activities on that land" (Pendal et al as cited in Hirt 2014, 32). The birth of single-family zoning can be traced back to racial segregation. Though zoning laws that explicitly limited residents by race were deemed illegal by the Supreme Court in 1917, many local governments found "workarounds … and continued to intentionally segregate using other zoning tactics" (Hughes 2019). The first zoning law in the country was created in Berkeley, California in 1916. It was originated by Duncan McDuffie, a developer, who inserted racial covenants into all his developments. McDuffie sought to block a Black dance-hall from entering the Elmwood neighborhood near his development, and shore up property values. He succeeded in both goals, and thus single-family zoning was born. The understanding that zoning is an exclusionary tactic is not new. In 1982, the *Report on the President's Commission on Housing*, revealed that certain zoning laws were serving "exclusionary motives" (President's Report 1982, 199). Eliminating single-family zoning has become one part of a multi-pronged approach to fighting structural racism (Brooks, Parker, Lin, and Spievack, n.d.).

Zoning laws have enjoyed relatively strong protection from the courts. In 1926, in *Village of Euclid v. Ambler Realty Co.* the Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of single-family zoning deeming it appropriate due to public benefit (Ziegler 1983). The President's Commission on Housing in 1982 noted that subsequent courts had a "near-abdication of any meaningful judicial review" (201) based on this decision. In other words, zoning laws were left largely unchecked by the courts. Single-family zoning was upheld again in 1980 in *Village of Belle Terre v. Boraas* (Ziegler 1983). There were some effective challenges, however. Mt. Laurel, a town in New Jersey, had adopted zoning "that so restricted minimum lot area, building size, lot frontage and types of housing available to families having school age children that it made housing for people with low and moderate incomes virtually unavailable" (Young 1977). The New Jersey Supreme Court ruled in S. Burlington County NAACP v. Mt. Laurel (1975), "that defendant township had unlawfully excluded low and moderate income families from the municipality by means of its zoning ordinance" (LexisNexis, n.d.). It was therefore invalid. This decision was used in future cases to strike down exclusionary zoning in some cases, but was also watered down, or ignored in others (Young, 1977).

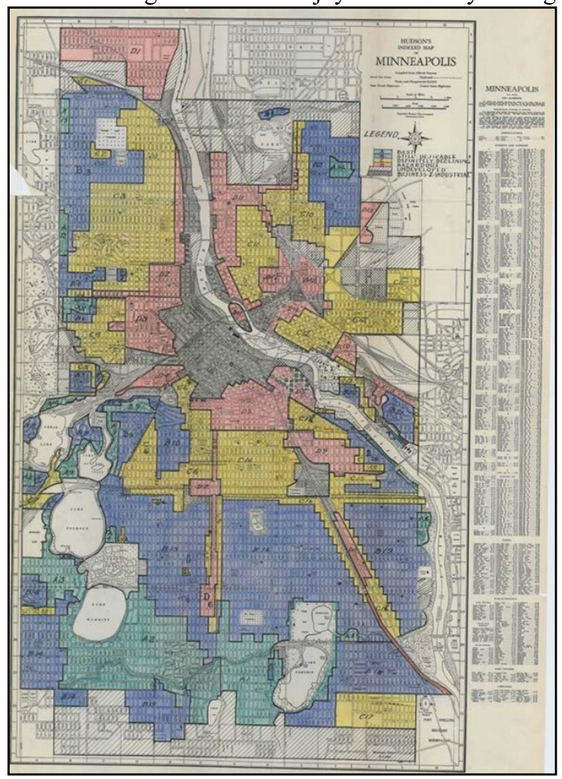


Figure 2. Map of redlining in Minneapolis. The color scale runs from green, "best," to red, "hazardous." Source: Mapping Inequality: Redlining in New Deal America, University of Richmond's Digital Scholarship Lab.

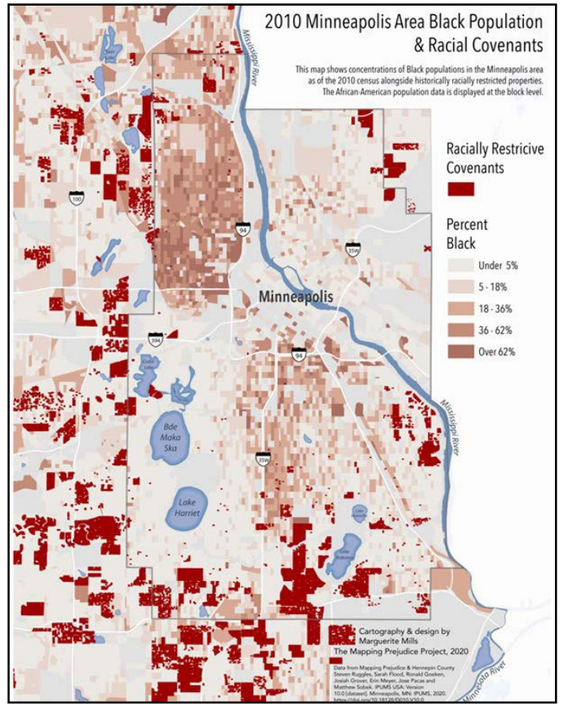


Figure 3. Minneapolis Area Black Population and Racially Restrictive Covenants. Source: Mapping Prejudice Project, University of Minnesota.

Racial covenants, redlining, and single-family zoning all support the same structure of racial segregation. Maps of Minneapolis provide a stark visual representation of this fact, in which each map mirrors the other. The modern-day Black population of Minneapolis continues to reside in areas that were historically redlined (Figure 1) or did not have racial covenants (Figure 2). These areas also tend to overlap with less restrictive zoning. The 2010 census showed that Minneapolis has largest gap between Black and white homeownership rates in the US (Ehrman-Solberg, 2018). The Lee family's house at 4600 Columbus Avenue, lies just outside the redlined strip between Lake Harriet and Lake Nokomis (this redlined strip also

marks the future site of Highway 35). A map of Minneapolis zoning reveals the same pattern: areas that were historically zoned for single-family homes (R1 zoning code) correspond with lower populations of Black residents. An interactive map of Minneapolis zoning can be found online at the Minneapolis Community Planning and Economic Development website.

Single-family zoning has contributed to the affordability crisis battering U.S. households today. This crisis has become so widespread that it is impacting households of all shapes, sizes, and races, but unsurprisingly, it continues to hammer households of color worst of all. Housing affordability is typically considered spending less than 30% of income on housing. The U.S. has very low population density in urban and suburban settings compared to other countries (Hirt 2014). The U.S. is unique in that many homes are large single-family, detached dwellings, with yards. In fact, "the average size of a new dwelling has more than doubled since the 1950s, from about 1,000 to 2,300 square feet, even though the average household size has shrunk" (Wilson and Boehland as cited in Hirt 2014, 22). As a recent article in the New York Times proclaimed, "older, white and wealthy home buyers are pushing others out of the market" (Kaysen 2022).

Single-family zoning restricts the supply of housing, and therefore affordability, by limiting denser forms of housing. This has created what is now known as "the missing middle": that type of middle density housing the that falls somewhere between a detached single-family home, and a large apartment building. Suburban zoning in particular can require large vast swaths land which increases the cost of supply. For example, the State of Connecticut, building is so restricted that 91% of land requires at least one acre in order to build (Joint Center for Housing Studies 2022, 15). Economic conditions, like the Great Recession in 2008, severely impact housing being built, and what type. Building has recovered in 2021, but most new construction is concentrated in higher-cost "top of the market" supply (Joint Center for Housing Studies 2022, 5). Limited availability or high cost of supplies also limit construction, an issue which has been causing builders a lot of pain since the onset of the pandemic (2022, 6).

This missing middle is a terrible detriment to lower-income and minority households' ability to accumulate wealth because it makes it even more difficult for those who have historically been shut out of the housing market to get their foot in the door. Homeownership is one of the primary vehicles of wealth accumulation in the U.S., and residential segregation and the entwined affordability crisis have pushed this even further out of reach for many in the U.S. Homeowners are able to accumulate wealth at a much greater rate than renters across income brackets, and homeowners also benefit from being able to leverage their homes as an asset (Schwartz 2021, 341-342). This knowledge helps contextualize the magnitude of harm that racist housing policies have had on communities of color: racial covenants barred non-whites from purchasing specific homes, redlining made it nearly impossible to provide mortgages for homes in primarily Black or minority neighborhoods, and single-family zoning artificially inflated the cost of housing so that only those who already had the privilege of wealth could benefit.

Policy Innovation: Eliminating Single-Family Zoning

Zoning has increasingly become recognized by activists and local governments alike as an unnecessary and artificial barrier to more affordable and integrated development. It is yet another tool to shore up residential segregation, and "protect" neighborhoods from "undesirables." Unlike racial covenants, however, it has succeeded in adopting an innocuous reputation, and still enjoys strong support to this day. Governments and activists have tried different ideas over the years to tackle residential segregation, and counteract racism in the housing market. Some innovations have explicitly focused on creating opportunity for racial minorities, but more recent attempts have made low-income households the target of policies. This has been more politically acceptable since affirmative action-style policies that explicitly address race have been subjected to backlash. One such policy is inclusionary zoning. Inclusionary zoning is the practice of requiring a certain amount of market rate development to be set aside for affordable housing. Requirements vary depending on the jurisdiction. Various state and local governments have adopted inclusionary zoning, attracted by its ability to promote affordable housing with little to no public funds. Studies of inclusionary zoning show that it has produced between 129,000 and 150,000 affordable housing units nationwide as of 2017, far below what advocates had hoped for (Mallach and Calavita in Schwartz 2021, 257). Inclusionary zoning often has a clause for developers to pay an "in lieu" fee, which hypothetically is used to create additional affordable housing. Unfortunately, performance of this aspect of the program is also mixed: many jurisdictions lack the infrastructure to utilize the funds raised to actually develop new affordable housing (Schwartz 2021, 256). Pamuk and Hill (2019) examine the effects of inclusionary zoning on residential segregation in their study of San Francisco between 1990 and 2010, and find that while some promising data exist, inclusionary zoning is simply not sufficient for combating the entrenched segregation and discrimination in U.S. housing. Schwartz (2021) concurs, noting that although certain localities, such as Montgomery, saw greater integration through their inclusionary zoning policies, overall the policies did not have a meaningful impact on reversing residential segregation.

Zoning reform is now being tackled from another angle: upzoning areas that were previously zoned only for single-family zoning. Upzoning refers to the practice of increasing the allowed building density of an area that had previously been zoned for lower density. Single-family zoning has come under scrutiny due to the affordability crisis, but its roots have been racist from the beginning. Activists and local governments are now taking steps to remove this artificial barrier to affordable and integrated housing, and rediscovering its legacy of residential segregation. The City of Minneapolis led the charge in 2018, followed by the State of Oregon a year later, and the State of California two years after that.

In 2018, the Minneapolis City Council adopted a new comprehensive plan, which most notably did away with exclusive zoning for single-family housing. The new plan, the 2040 Plan, specified that the minimum zoned density would be 3 units on a parcel, up-zoning many parts of the city. The Minneapolis 2040 website states that the goal of the new zoning plan is to increase housing choice, "acknowledging the contribution of zoning to racially-restrictive housing practices of the first half of the 20th century, and the lasting effect those actions had on people of color and indigenous people." It also addresses climate policy and the goal of "developing multifamily housing on transit routes, providing people the opportunity to live without a car, or with fewer cars in each household, helping to work toward the City's greenhouse gas reduction goal." The lowest density zoning in Minneapolis is "R1" which now aligns to the 3-unit per parcel minimum. Appendix C provides a map of current Minneapolis zoning, showing a variety of zones represented by colors, with yellow covering large swaths of the map and representing R1 zoning.

Oregon followed Minneapolis and became the first state to eliminate single-family zoning. The law, called Housing Choices, or House Bill 2001, sets requirements for cities to allow duplexes up to six-plexes depending on location and size of the city. The Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development, which was tasked with the implementation of H.B. 2001, states that medium-sized cities must allow duplexes, and large cities and those in the Portland area must allow "duplexes, triplexes, quadplexes, cottage clusters, and townhouses in residential areas." These requirements phased in on July 1, 2021 for medium sized cities, and July 1, 2022 for large cities and Portland-area cities. Many of these types of homes were previously allowed in Oregon, and can still be found in older parts of cities, until they were outlawed by a series of zoning laws, the first in 1924.

On September 16, 2021, California Governor Gavin Newsom signed Senate Bill 9 (S.B. 9) into law, which effectively upzoned single-family zoning in the state. The bill allows up to 4 units to be built on land that was previously zoned for one unit, by allowing property owners to split a lot into two, and develop two units on each lot.

Even before SB 9 went into effect on January 1, 2022, the law was already the subject of protests by indignant city councilors at local meeting meetings. Environmental laws protect sensitive habitats but can also be weaponized by savvy suburbanites to fight affordable housing. Rising raising interest rates, like those currently battering households in 2022, dampen demand. Conflicts arise between local government, which retains a great deal of control over local zoning, and state and federal government trying to encourage more affordable housing development (Joint Center for Housing Studies 2022, 6). Temple City in California enacted an emergency ordinance in December 2021 that, among other restrictions, would require any new tenants moving in as a result of lot-splits forsake personal cars, and plan to use only walking, public transit, or ride-share transportation (Tobias 2022). The Northern California City of Sonoma imposed a shrubbery requirement that properties must have 3 trees and 10 shrubs in order to be considered for duplex development (Tobias 2022). Opposition to the elimination of single-family zoning sometimes follows historic trends of white property owners attempting to maintain white neighborhoods, but this is not uniform across all localities. Temple City has a majority-minority population, with the white population making up only 21%. In contrast, the City of Sonoma is almost 90% white, and the median home price is $825,000 according to the U.S. Census Bureau as of 2021.

Assessment

The elimination of single-family zoning in Minneapolis, Oregon, and California is still a recent phenomenon, which makes it difficult to assess its impact on residential segregation and affordability, prompting academics, activists, and policy analysts to ask, will this end up being a promising practice, or a development dud? Early analyses offer some insight into this

question, and show that the impact on actual number of units is likely to be modest, but nonetheless important in the quest for greater affordability, and, given the racist roots of single-family zoning, an important moral victory.

Critics of eliminating single-family zoning have decried the one-size fits all approach. Some have argued that it will make low-income and minority neighborhoods more vulnerable to gentrification. Proponents of the change have cried foul, however, asking where these critics have been during other efforts to support low-income and minority housing (Tobias 2021). Others have worried that the demise of single-family zoning could ruin the neighborhood feel of their communities. Jake Wegmann (2020) disputes the common arguments against single-family zoning, and concludes that eliminating single-family zoning and investing in missing middle housing will support greater racial and income integration, and improve affordability for low- and middle-income households.

Early estimates in Minneapolis show that approximately 97 new units have been constructed as a result of the zoning change (Fox 2022). Construction of new housing was likely disrupted by the pandemic, as well as protests against the murder of George Floyd in Minneapolis in 2020.

In California, the elimination of single-family zoning has the potential to create more than 700,000 new homes, though actual construction is likely to be much lower. One provision of the California law that made it into the final revisions is the requirement that anyone subdividing a lot must plan to live there for at least one year after the division. This provision was added in order to guard against predatory or speculative developers and gentrification, but will likely have the effect of muting the impacts of the law on new construction (Metcalf, Garcia, Carlton, and MacFarlane 2021).

Conclusion

Ultimately it is too soon to judge for sure. Eliminating single-family zoning is likely to have some impact on segregation and affordability, but it is far from a silver bullet. However, as we have seen through tracing the history of housing policy, the mechanisms to support the current system of haves and have-nots, and residential segregation are myriad, and the solutions will need to be so too. It is time that single-family zoning go the way of racial covenants, and redlining before it. There is no room in this housing market for unnecessary and racist barriers. As Mogush and Worthington (2020) state in their recent take on the policy debate surrounding single-family zoning: "reversing institutional racism and increasing access and agency for BIPOC residents in our communities requires people of all professions to examine how the systems they oversee contribute to inequities, even if the immediate effects of a single reform are not apparent."

Fifteen years after the first single-family zoning law, 17 years before racial covenants were deemed unenforceable, and 91 years before the City of Minneapolis upzoned all single-family zoned areas, Arthur and Edith Lee defied the white mob hellbent on terrorizing and displacing them. The Lees stood their ground for two years before they decided to move from their Minneapolis neighborhood. Arthur Lee told the Minneapolis Tribune "I came out here to make this house my home … I have a right to establish a home" (Nelson 2017).

Bibliography

Alameldin, Muhammad, and David Garcia. 2022. "State Law, Local Interpretation: How Cities Are Implementing Senate Bill 9." Terner Center for Housing Innovation, UC Berkeley. June 8, 2022

Archer, Deborah. 2021. "A Brief History of How Racism Shaped Interstate Highways." Interview by Noel King on Morning Edition. NPR. April 7, 2021. https://www.npr.org/2021/04/07/984784455/a-brief-history-of-how-racism-shaped-interstate-highways

Brooks, Eliza, Claire Parker, Nahlee Lin, and Natalie Spievack. (n.d.) "The Structural Racism Remedies Repository." The Othering and Belonging Institute. U.C. Berkeley. https://belonging.berkeley.edu/structural-racism-remedies-repository#housing--and--transportation

Davis, F. James. 1965. "The Effects of a Freeway Displacement on Racial Housing Segregation in a Northern City." Phylon (1960-) 26, no. 3 (1965): 209–15. https://doi.org/10.2307/273848.

The Digital Scholarship Lab and the National Community Reinvestment Coalition. n.d. "Not Even Past: Social Vulnerability and the Legacy of Redlining," American Panorama, ed. Robert K. Nelson and Edward L. Ayers, https://dsl.richmond.edu/socialvulnerability.

Ehrman-Solberg, Kevin. 2018. "The Geography of Inequality." TEDxMinneapolis. Video, 14:55. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Xi50RaTXrSE

The Fair Housing Center of Greater Boston. n.d. "Historical Shift from Explicit to Implicit Policies Affecting Housing Segregation in Eastern Massachusetts." Accessed December 4, 2022. https://www.bostonfairhousing.org/timeline/1948-Shelley-v-Kramer.html

Fox, Justin. 2022. "What Happened When Minneapolis Ended Single-Family Zoning." Bloomberg. August 20, 2022.

Henderson, John. 2022. "Gainesville commission gives first OK to elimination of exclusionary zoning with 4-3 vote." The Gainesville Sun. August 5, 2022. https://www.gainesville.com/story/news/2022/08/05/gainesville-commission-approves-plan-rid-single-family-zoning-city-wide/10233594002/

Hirt, Sonia A. 2014. Zoned in the USA: The Origins and Implications of American Land-Use Regulation. 1st ed. Cornell University Press, 2014. http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7591/j.ctt1287cxr.

Horowitz, Ben, Kim-Eng Ky, Libby Starling, and Alene Tchourumoff. 2021. "Systemic racism haunts homeownership rates in Minnesota: How generations of discriminatory policies and practices created and reinforce racial disparities in homeownership." The Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis. February 25, 2021. https://www.minneapolisfed.org/article/2021/systemic-racism-haunts-homeownership-rates-in-minnesota

Hughes, Jena. 2019. "Historical Context of Racist Planning: A History of How Planning Segregated Portland." September 2019. Bureau of Planning and Sustainability.

Joint Center for Housing Studies. 2022. The State of the Nation's Housing Report. Harvard University. https://www.jchs.harvard.edu/state-nations-housing-2022

Kaysen, Ronda. 2022. "Older, White and Wealthy Home Buyers Are Pushing Others Out of the Market." The New York Times. November 3, 2022.

LexisNexis. n.d. "Law School Case Brief: S. Burlington County NAACP v. Mt. Laurel - 67 N.J. 151, 336 A.2d 713 (1975)." Accessed on December 4, 2022. https://www.lexisnexis.com/community/casebrief/p/casebrief-s-burlington-county-naacp-v-mt-laurel

Menendian, Stephen, Arthur Gailes, and Samir Gambhir. 2021. "The Roots of Structural Racism: Twenty-First Century Racial Residential Segregation in the United States." Othering and Belonging Institute. UC Berkeley. June 21, 2021. https://belonging.berkeley.edu/roots-structural-racism

Metcalf, Ben, David Garcia, Ian Carlton, and Kate MacFarlane. 2021. "Will Allowing Duplexes and Lot Splits on Parcels Zoned for Single-Family Create New Homes? Assessing the Viability of New Housing Supply Under California's Senate Bill 9." Terner Center for Housing Innovation, UC Berkeley. July 2021
Missing Middle Housing. N.d. Diagram. Accessed December 4, 2022. https://missingmiddlehousing.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/MMH_Diagram_Landing_Page-1.jpg

Mogush, Paul, and Heather Worthington. 2020. "The View from Minneapolis: Comments on 'Death to Single-Family Zoning' and 'It's Time to End Single-Family Zoning.'" Journal of the American Planning Association 86, no. 1 (2020): 120–120.

Moore, Eli, Nicole Montojo, and Nicole Mauri. 2019. "Roots, Race, & Place: A History of Racially Exclusionary Housing in the San Francisco Bay Area." Haas Institute for a Fair and Inclusive Society. UC Berkeley. October 1, 2019. https://escholarship.org/uc/item/2j08r197

"N.A.A.C.P. Helps Lee Protect Minneapolis Home." 1931. The Chicago Defender (National Edition) (1921-1967), Aug 08, 4.

Nelson, Emma. 2017. "Preserving City's Racial History at Lee House: In 1931, Mobs Rushed the Home of a Mpls. Black Family." Star Tribune, March 1, 2017.

Pamuk, Ayse and Jeremy Hill. 2019. "Inclusionary Housing in San Francisco: Mapping Racial Integration, Neighborhood Change and Affordability" SFSU Center for Applied Housing Research Working Paper # 2019-1

Raguso, Emilie. 2019. "Berkeley officials push for zoning reform to boost 'missing middle' housing." Berkeleyside. Feb. 26, 2019.

Report of the President's Com-

mission on Housing. (1982). Washington, The Commission.

Schwartz, Alex F. 2021. Housing Policy in the United States, 4 ed. New York: Routledge, 2021

Tobias, Manuela. 2021. California's housing crisis: "How much difference will a new zoning law make?" CalMatters. August 19, 2021

Tobias, Manuela. 2022. "Duplex housing law met with fierce resistance by California cities." CalMatters, April 11, 2022. https://calmatters.org/housing/2022/04/duplex-housing-resistance/

Ware, Leland. 2021. "Plessy's Legacy: The Government's Role in the Development and Perpetuation of Segregated Neighborhoods." RSF: The Russell Sage Foundation Journal of the Social Sciences 7, no. 1 (2021): 92–109. https://doi.org/10.7758/rsf.2021.7.1.06.

Wegmann, Jake. 2020. "Death to Single-Family Zoning…and New Life to the Missing Middle." Journal of the American Planning Association 86, no. 1 (2020): 113–119.

Williams, Vanessa. 2020. "Residential Segregation Plays a Role in Coronavirus Disparities, Study Finds." The Washington Post. August 17, 2020

Young, Michael R. 1977. "Exclusionary Zoning in New Jersey: Southern Burlington County NAACP V. Township of Mt. Laurel and Its Progeny." The Urban lawyer 9 (1977): 719.

Ziegler, Edward H., Jr. 1983. "The Twilight of Single-Family Zoning," UCLA Journal of Environmental Law and Policy 3, no. 2 (1983): 161-218

Housing Affordability via Decommodification and Public Investment: A Comparative Analysis of Vienna and San Francisco

Stephen Lee

Prior to its widely recognized importance as a foundational aspect of individual and societal health, early housing regulation began in the early 19th century, focused on the physical health of individuals and communities through fire codes, zoning, and building codes. Decades of scholarship has since linked housing to crucial outcomes vis a vis environmental hazards, community violence, mental health, access to community resources like grocery stores and recreation options, housing conditions and design (Wolin & Perkins, 2018, p. 6). Housing and related activities make up very significant portions of local and national economies. Poor housing affects education outcomes that have decades long implications for productivity and economic activity, vis a vis student mobility, overcrowding and inadequate study environments, and access to college and internship opportunities (Mueller & Tighe, 2007, p.376).

Today, research and policy attention are focused on the relationship between housing unaffordability and subsequent financial and mental stress, to dire social consequences like homelessness, of which those least capable of obtaining private housing are most susceptible to (Mueller & Tighe, 2007, p.380). Much has been written about the unhoused, which currently include more and more children and families. The situation in some cities is dire. In San Francisco, for every one person housed by a city program, four more will become unhoused (Fagan & Moench, 2022).

Decades of stagnant wage growth, rising housing costs, financial crisis that crippled housing markets, and decreased supply, the effects on the safety, productivity, and quality of society has been suffering. Governments and the public therefore have a vested interest in the availability of housing; activism and policy have surged in recent decades. Despite the interest, developed nations continue to struggle to impact the affordability of housing. Stuck between the sanctity of property rights in liberal, capitalist economies and the undeniable housing crises, governments have been exploring avenues to maintain affordable housing through upzoning, inclusionary housing, public housing, financial assistance, etc.

The scramble to address the crisis sweeping western liberal democracies has yet to produce significant improvements, allowing one European city, Vienna, to further stand out as one of the most affordable Western cities to live. This paper is a comparative analysis between Vienna, and San Francisco. We will compare the two cities' political history, how that history has shaped its design and quality of public housing, and an innovation to remedy issues with the quality of American public housing. We will then explore the meat of the issue and solution – the funding structures of affordable housing policy, with the intention of illuminating the path for San Francisco to achieve affordability by asserting itself into the market via public investment.

Vienna

Vienna is the capital and largest city of Austria, also serving as its economic and political center. It is the 5th largest city in the European Union, with a population of 1.9 million. Vienna is known globally for its high quality of life, a title enviable to any municipality. The Economist's quality of living index rated Vienna at the top of its list, and for the 10th time in a row, Vienna was named the top quality of life city by Mercer consulting group (Mercer, 2022).

Amid the global housing crisis, it is the affordability of its housing that places Vienna at the top of everyone's list. Due to public investment, Vienna keeps housing costs to an average of 20% of citizens' incomes. It maintains an extremely active presence in the housing market, subsidizing 43% of the city's total housing stock. Subsequently, 62% of Vienna's citizens live in social subsidized housing (Forrest, 2019).

In contrast, San Francisco, a desirable and famously progressive global city, has consistently topped the lists of the most expensive places to live in the world, causing many to commute great distances to work and/or be priced out of the area completely. 80% of very low-income households (<50% AMI, or $46,650) are rent burdened (SF Planning, 2022, p.25). Despite their differences, I see reasons to compare San Francisco and Vienna. The two cities operate in similar conditions that continue to converge– vast majority of renters (Vienna 77%, SF 65%), a crowded and expensive development environment, and public sectors playing a facilitative financing role. Since Vienna's ascendence to the European Union in 1995, it has enjoyed a geographic importance that has rejuvenated its population and economy, and saw land prices skyrocket. It is now a global destination with immense corporate development interests. Vienna has also experienced commodification trends as its private markets see extremely large growth. It has stopped its role as directly developing housing, now playing a financial role and relying on nonprofits. Its federal budget for housing is no longer tied to strict housing expenses, causing concern that the funds will be spent on other measures (Kadi, 2015, p.252). Vienna's socialist history and tendencies are continually challenged internally as well as externally from its regional partners.

From the other side, San Francisco is another important and diverse economic, financial, and political city that is sympathetic to European policy innovations like public transportation, healthcare, urban planning, and housing. It is emerging from a long history of reliance on free market principles, continues to struggle with booming land values, and is attempting to strengthen its role as facilitators of subsidized housing via nonprofit developers – a role Vienna currently exemplifies.

The differences in the scope, scale, and maturity of the cities' grasp on housing affordability, however, are stark. The availability of subsidized units illustrates the different situations. The size of Vienna's presence in the market, and the long-held belief that housing should be available for all has resulted in extremely broad access to Vienna's public housing stock. The income for a single person must not exceed around 44,000 euro per year – more than double the yearly median income after tax for employed people, allowing around 80% of its citizens to qualify. Once in a contract, a tenant cannot be removed due to increased income. It is therefore, essentially untargeted. It is housing for nearly all citizens, including former presidents and high judges that continue to live in subsidized units. Furthermore, until as recent as 1994, all leases and contracts were unlimited, meaning it was extremely hard for tenants to be evicted without cause (Kadi, 2015, p.255). Given the long-term nature of leases and contracts, however, it is customary and legal for developers to charge a down payment to incoming tenants to offset construction costs.

On the other hand, American public housing has always been subject to means testing, though the target populations have changed over the years. In San Francisco, most listings for one occupant subsidized housing have a maximum income limit of 55% of the Area Median Income, about $53,350 a year, or about 40% of residents to qualify (SFMOHCD, 2022). Residents must reaffirm their income yearly and are allowed increases up to a maximum of 175% of area median income (SFMOHCD, 2018, p.52). Despite the limited access, supply is continually overstretched, with units going to applicants via lottery and years-long waits to gain access to the subsidized housing system is routine.

Housing – A Political History

Vienna

From the onset, it's recognized that Vienna's success is a result of a century-long political commitment to the decommodification of housing (Kadi & Johanna, 2022, p.19). In response to a failure of the housing market in 1920, and subsequent political protests, a socialist government was formed and quickly intervened in the market. A new luxury tax, rent tax, construction tax, rent regulation, and the construction of 64,000 city-owned social rental buildings marked a period called "Red Vienna," and began a generally unbroken pattern of government presence in the housing market (Pelleteret, 2020). As a result of a very strong presence, the market's rent setting ability is curtailed – when most are able to find subsidized housing, demand and prices for private housing are limited.

Following WWII, many European cities and nations expanded their welfare states to include the construction and management of housing. Continuing to the 1980s, governments supported housing policies as part of the national welfare state, in line with Keynesian demand side economic management, which endorsed low housing costs in order to allow greater consumption. The mid 80s saw a liberalization movement across developed nations, where they shed their roles as welfare states and relied more upon market principles to solve public issues and reduce public expenditure. For instance, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher famously sold off its government owned council housing to tenants and other buyers, promoting private ownership.

For its part, in the mid 1990s, Vienna ceased to directly develop council housing and is now entirely relying on non-profit developers to maximize efficiency and public cost. Between 1980 and 2001, 69% of all units came from nonprofits (Kadi, 2015, 253). Vienna's private housing market, once seen as nearly unviable, has recently experienced rocketing investment and rents. After decades of strong rental regulations that prevented nearly all evictions against tenants' wills, fixed term contracts were introduced as well as liberalized rent setting processes that are more favorable to private market landlords (Kadi, 2015, p. 255). Between 1987 and 2005, gross annual return of purchase and sales exceeded 60%, resulting in high-quality, high-priced housing sector with high rents, causing issues with regulation and tenant protections

and prompting the government to recognize the need to create relationships with a burgeoning private market (City of Vienna, 2022, p.31). Private developments have been raised at a fast pace, diminishing the supply of land available for both public and private housing development.

While it hasn't gone entirely unphased by the global tendency toward liberalization, social rental housing remains very stable and popular in Vienna. In 1990, Vienna had more than 40.9% of its housing classified as social rental housing, compared to a private and tightly regulated private market comprising 32.7% of all units (Kadi, 2015). That number has increased to 42.3% in 2015. In addition to strong federal support, Vienna itself has provided additional funds for affordable housing since the 1920s. The success of this strong commitment has in turn provided a political base and overall continuing support for the policies.

San Francisco

San Francisco's public housing began in the 1930s under the expansionary public housing policies of the New Deal, which enlisted jobless Americans to build a robust portfolio of low-cost public housing (Schwartz, 2017, p.144). The City operated in conjunction with American housing policy, which framed public housing as separate and inferior to the free market and the logic of the invisible hand of the market. From its onset, public housing was disliked by residents of San Francisco, and were explicitly racially segregated (Kamiya, 2016). New developments were corralled toward poorer neighborhoods.

On the national stage, financial pressures of the public housing program in addition to its unpopularity led to seeking support from private actors. The maintenance of these buildings fell to the wayside, and the reputation of government housing nationwide took on an even more sinister and ugly nature. The Nixon Administration enacted a moratorium on federal housing finance in January 1973, marking an official change in stance of the American government's support of building and maintaining public housing. Construction of new units ceased, with most funding going to the ever -increasing maintenance costs, and public agencies pivoted toward a system of vouchers, and reliance on private or nonprofit building managers, dispersing great towers into the integrated and hybrid winds of public private and public nonprofit partnerships (Vale & Freemark, p. 381).

Because it was inferior to the private market, housing in the US and San Francisco is dictated primarily by those familiar faces of supply (minimal) and demand (insatiable). Only the wealthiest San Franciscans, many of whom in the recent past made their fortunes from the tech industry, can afford homes and the high cost of living. The privately-owned, single-family homes with consistent monthly mortgage payments that define most American housing were pulled further out of reach by the effects of the global pandemic and subsequent monetary policy (JCHS, 2022, 9). What's worse, the unrestrained commodified housing market has allowed corporations to take advantage of low interest rates to buy a record share of homes sold in the fourth quarter of 2021 (Kasakove, 2022). San Francisco Bay Area home prices have skyrocketed 218% since 2000, according to the Case-Shiller home price index (St. Louis FED, 2022). From 1994 to 2019, San Francisco residential rents increased 241% (Carlisle, 2021). Home prices and rents have far outpaced subsidies and programs in managing affordable housing.

While American policymakers continue to operate in this context, the Viennese have enjoyed stable and affordable housing that is widely loved and utilized. Public housing programs like Vienna's remains a tiny part of the American housing portfolio, with most government policy focused on increasing national, private homeownership, which has stagnated around 65% for the last few decades. Only 38% of San Francisco homes are owner-occupied; most of its housing is privately owned and rented.

San Francisco has recently officially recognized housing as a human right, and have committed to working to provide enough housing for its residents, though this comes after years of increased agitation from its residents, its state government, and headlines across the nation and the world. This commitment is necessary, and with proper investment, can result in better control housing outcomes that the market principles have failed to provide.

Public Housing Design

As we explore expanding San Francisco's role in the housing market, however, the City must consider its past as well as an innovative solution to solving the issue of quality in its publicly subsidized housing.

Vienna's building designs were built to be indistinguishable from private designs that housed the city's bourgeoisie. Including statues and decorative elements. They were also integrated into the fabric of the city, with open courtyards that did not divide between publics trees and private gardens. They included amenities like libraries and kindergartens.

In contrast, American public housing was explicitly intended to avoid competition with the private sector, resulting in quality that appalled even Soviet architects (Schwartz, 2021, p.151). These projects were designed to discourage permanent occupancy among its residents (Halpern, 1995, p.72), and were subject to strict cost restrictions that resulted in spartan conditions (Hoffman, 2000, p.200).

The connection between the designed environment and personal and communal relations is an established concept in architecture. So despite drastically different beginnings, American public housing design has since rounded the corner, with the HOPE VI programs that address dilapidation primarily through demolition and redevelopment, along with RAD (the rental assistance demonstration program), that offloads the burden of ownership, maintenance, and management of properties to non-profits and private entities who can be more responsive to the building's needs, as well as more easily obtain different sources of funding (Schwartz, 2017, 791).

Today, new developments strive to incorporate mixed income, mixed use dwellings in denser and livelier neighborhoods. In San Francisco, tenant retention is of high importance as well as civic engagement and community input (Cytron, 2009, 34). The architecture now promotes a sense of ownership of the space, as well as spreading around inhabitants, as opposed to concentrating poverty.

Developer Competitions Bring Quality

With these lessons in design and management learned, both Vienna and San Francisco have relinquished most, if not all direct development and management to nonprofit organizations. The cities' roles are now more facilitative in nature, acquiring land and providing financing and subsidies to nonprofit developers in the effort to create affordable housing. To improve its developments and further embrace public housing, San Francisco should consider another innovation led by Vienna in this operational environment: developer competitions.Introduced in 1995, parcels are offered to developers in competitions, where designs are submitted and judged by industry professionals on the basis of design, sustainability, amenities, etc. (Gluns, 2019, p.238). This has resulted in extremely high-quality developments that are iconic and integral to the city's appeal and skyline. Special competitions have been held as development initiatives, like the Wohnbauinitiative, which built 6250 additional dwellings (Stadt Wein, 2016, p.19). Most developments go through this process today, which maintains housing quality as well as keeps projects within costs.

As land values rise in Vienna, competition has only increased (and make the two cities more comparable). Nonprofits do not have the capital to acquire land and therefore depend on the city to secure land or provide financial assistance. The city issues loans and provides funds on favorable terms to developers, in exchange for subsidized rents and down payment limits.

Measuring and Managing Housing Need

These competitions exist in a productive and consistent ecosystem in which housing is continually developed, allowing Vienna to manage its housing need, in contrast to San Francisco, where a development's path to completion is never certain, subject to layers of discretionary review and aggravating political negotiations. The differing political histories and attitudes concerning the role of the government in housing has led to the different paths. Governments can choose to manage housing with a heavier interest and heavier hand, or defer to the invisible hand of the market. The two cities' forebearers made their choices with the consequences described above, and the continuing crisis has prompted American governments to rethink its position and attempt to impose more discipline on the matter.

The American housing agency, HUD, has tracked the national number of extremely low-income households and the number of affordable and available units, a gap that has only grown in recent decades to 6.9 million in 2017 (Schwartz, 2021, p. 38). Each region in the State of California has a Regional Housing Needs Allocation (RHNA), set by the Association of Bay Area Governments, a regional planning agency, and approved by the California Department of Housing and Community Development (San Francisco Planning, 2022, p. 4). San Francisco's housing need is determined to include more than 82,000 units between 2023 – 2031. Previous efforts to meet the housing needs allocation shows the City with a 71% overall achievement rate across housing for all incomes, shrinking to a meager 43% achievement rate for very low-income households.

Since Mayor Ed Lee in 2011, the City has committed to an annual production of 5,000 new units per year (half of the annualized RHNA), achieving this just once in 2016 (SF Planning, 2020, p. 12). This includes 1,667 affordable units. Current proposals and estimates outlined in the City's Housing Affordability Strategies estimate 50,000 new affordable units by 2050, which would bring the city to a total of 85,600 affordable units, or 19% of its housing stock - far below the RHNA, and far too late. According to California law, San Francisco must eventually show that it has enough land zoned to accommodate its Regional Housing Needs Allocation. Current plans show that land for 22,800 units is still needed.

Using demographic growth statistics, Vienna has determined that it will need to house over 3

million people by 2030 and has set a goal to provide 120,000 housing units from 2014 to 2025. Thus far, 92% of the land needed has been identified (City of Vienna, 2022, p.37). Not only is Vienna constantly acquiring land to develop housing on, but its housing agencies also have robust processes of identifying buildings for renewal and height additions to increase density.

Upzoning and Increased Density

To meet needs in a cost-effective manner, the Viennese have long understood the efficiency of increased density and height. More units in taller buildings cost less to design, build, and maintain over time. In keeping with Vienna's long-standing tradition, the most important pillar of new housing construction will be composed of multi-story housing estates with a high share of subsidized units (Kadi, 2015, p. 35). General plans have repeatedly endorsed tall, dense developments as fundamental to meeting housing need.

In San Francisco, density and taller buildings are politically toxic to neighbors who have come to enjoy the 'character' of their neighborhoods, and who have outsized influence on the project approval process. Recently, the California Department of Housing began investigating the blockage of a 27 story, 495-unit development with 89 affordable units by the City's political leaders who cited, among other things, the detrimental effects of the shadow that would have been cast by the building (CA HCD, 2021). Most of their stated concerns were unfounded or misplaced (Schnieder, 2022). A 7 story, 98-unit 100% affordable housing development in a very low-density suburban neighborhood triggered intense backlash and criticism by neighbors, causing continuing delays (Shanks, 2022).

While San Francisco may need to be dragged toward greater density, it will happen nonetheless. Given the cost of development, most units being built in SF are large buildings with more than 20 units (SF Planning, 2021, p. 17). While this is largely from private developers building luxury apartments due to simple return on investment calculations, the city's Planning Department has finally included a detailed implementation plan in its housing element report that endorses greater building heights and density (along with the right to housing as "foundation for health, and social and economic well-being" (SF Planning, 2022, p.11). All future planning scenarios now picture increased density in all parts of the city. Those denser units, though authorized, must be financed to turn plans into reality.

Financial Structure

The United States

The primary department for housing policy is the Housing and Urban Development, which receives a budget of 234 billion, or 2.1% of the 2022 US federal budget. US housing budget authority has decreased by 59% from 1977 to 2019, even as outlays increase due to the cost of maintaining buildings and programs rise.

The US subsidizes homeowners via tax deductions to the sum of $85 billion in 2018, compared to just 49.5 billion in direct expenditures toward low-income housing in the forms of housing construction, vouchers, and grants to states (Schwartz, 2021, p.7). A medley of deep and shallow subsidies exist, that work within and without the private housing market. For instance, rental based housing subsidies including – public housing, LIHTC, special needs programs, and HOME grants are expenditures that aim to develop or maintain housing owned by government entities and/or nonprofit organizations.

Other subsidies, like Section 515 Rural Housing Loans, Section 8 project-based loans, Section 221(d)3 below-market-rate mortgages, Housing Choice Vouchers, etc., are subsidies that operate within the private housing market and incentivize private, profit seeking owners to provide housing to low-income households. The subsidies that decrease the cost of development and mortgages, allowing private owners to set lower rents are offered on a contractual basis and are not in the private owner's financial interest at the end of the contract (Schwartz, 2021, p.182).

The nation's largest project-based housing subsidy program, the Low-Income Housing Tax Credit incentivizes investors to invest in low-income housing developments by rewarding them with valuable tax credits that are sold on secondary markets. These credits are disbursed to state housing authorities who then distribute them within the state. The market for the credits is very competitive, and the value of these credits have grown over time (Schwartz, 2021, 119). It accounted for 24% of all multifamily rentals constructed in the nation from 1990 to 2016.

San Francisco

In total, affordable housing expenditures by San Francisco have ranged from $33mil to $196mil (SF Planning, 2020, p.41). Over the last 15 years, the average is $110 million per year. Of its $13 billion annual budget, this average amounts to 0.8% of the total city budget (Mayor's Office of Public Policy and Finance, 2022). The City's own identified annual need is $517 million to reach its 5000-unit annual production goal, which is still far below RHNA (SF Planning, 2020, p.2).

Most local funding for affordable housing is centralized and disbursed from the Mayor's Office of Housing and Community Development. Nearly all new affordable housing developments were owned by the MOHCD or were acquired with a loan from MOHCD (SF Planning, 2020, p.42).

LIHTC makes up most of the federal funding, the largest funding source for the City's affordable housing at 41%, followed by SF local funding at 37% of total costs, followed by state funding at 7% (SF Planning, 2020, p.42). California has its own housing fund, the California Housing Accelerator Fund, that recently accelerated the development timelines for three individual San Francisco projects, but cannot be relied upon in the long term for regular significant subsidies, barring significant legislative changes (Office of the Mayor, 2022).

Locally, in addition to assistance from the General Fund, housing specific taxes, impact and inclusionary housing fees, and a Housing Trust Fund constitute local funding for affordable housing. Development impact fees are charged on developers to help account for impacts on public services, infrastructure, transit, etc. San Francisco's Inclusionary housing policy mandates new developments to produce a percentage of its units as affordable, or pay a fee toward the City's development efforts. Though the costs of development mean only large, multifamily, market rate developments are financially feasible, inclusionary housing policy has only resulted in 8,425 affordable units from 2006 to 2018, a number that is not enough to meet the need and varies drastically with the pace of market rate development.

The Housing Trust Fund was only created in 2012, and received $42.4 million in FY 21-22 (MOHCD, 2022, p.10). A Homelessness Gross Receipts Tax created a new fund for MOHCD to acquire and maintain affordable housing (among other uses), which collected $394 million in 2020 but just $217.9 million in 2021, due to the pandemic (Moench, 2022). Concerns remain about the stability and reliability of the tax given the depressed economic environment. In sum, the current financial infrastructure is not enough to continually fund acquisition and development. Most subsidized affordable housing developments require a piecemeal, project by project process wherein developers must secure additional funding via grants, funds, mortgages, and other sources of financing.

Vienna

The Viennese government plays an active role in the management and production of housing. Vienna's social housing is funded by income taxes, corporate taxes, and housing-specific contributions by all employed residents (Pelleteret, 2020). Primarily, the Housing Fund Vienna (wohnfonds_wien) uses a wealth fund to acquire land and develop new projects. It acts as a land bank, holding 2.8mil sq kilometers of land in 2016 (Gluns, 2019, p. 222). Officially created in the 1980s as a separate legal entity that acts on its own behalf towards its purposes, it is always purchasing land, funding construction and redevelopment. According to the Executive Director of Vienna's Urban Planning, the fund has 500 mil euros annually, 55% for new development, 40% for urban renewal, and the rest for individual subsidies (Pelleteret, 2020).

In total, Vienna's annual housing budget amounts to $700 million with $530 million from the national government (Forrest, 2019). Of its $16 billion annual budget, this amounts to 4.3% of the total city budget (City of Vienna, 2022, p.22). This money is secure and not currently an issue, instead the supply of land the difficulty.

Subsidies mainly include a circular flow of public, low-cost mortgages, as well as grants. The Housing department disburses subsidies for new construction and rehabilitation.

Land Acquisition

At the beginning of its public housing program, Vienna controversially raised taxes and bought land at a time of hyperinflation and economic crisis (Blumgart, 2022). Vienna continues to acquire as many parcels as possible, many of which are not currently zoned for housing. Assets accumulated over time. Nonprofits' long histories and their own stock also allow room for even more development, should public subsidies cease. Vienna holds numerous areas and zones with development potential, up to 135,000 dwellings and several million square meters of potential office and center function space. Despite this, the recent competition from the private market has caused an ongoing, and likely permanent, reduction in the supply of land. The cost of land makes it nearly impossible for nonprofit developers to acquire land without participating in the developer competitions to compete for parcels and financing (Altreiter & Litschauer, 2022, p.8). Despite the larger geographical size, the market in which these nonprofits operate are like San Francisco, where land values have resulted in the same scarcity of space for development. In San Francisco, developers either buy property outright on the market, or, more commonly, approach the City for land and financing with strings attached.

San Francisco is geographically small, and from the perspective of large developers, has been considered almost fully developed due to existing zoning. A review of the zoning regulations (or a drive around town), however, shows the City still has significant land that is underutilized, especially height. Much of the City has been zoned for low, single-family homes, especially in the north, west, south, and southeast. Indeed, its planning department calls for mid- and

high-rise development in all these areas, which are historically white and well resourced. It is within the City's legal authority to purchase properties in these extremely low density areas for development. Population density in San Francisco is certainly not at its limits.

Civil Grand Jury Report investigated underutilized public land in San Francisco and foresaw even more school district property becoming underutilized due to falling enrollments and demographic trends (Civil Grand Jury, 2012, p.27). San Francisco has also began redeveloping land owned by its Municipal Transportation Agency, much like the Viennese strategy of redeveloping underutilized railway land, as massive rail networks of past decades are no longer used. There are plenty of opportunities to create housing, should San Francisco decide to invest.

Solution – Revenue Generation to Fund Development

Moving forward, San Francisco must invest heavily to gain substantial market share of housing and to stabilize the housing situation. Aside from clear political commitment and endorsement of such a strategy, it can utilize known methods to generate capital.

It can issue bonds, as it is not yet at its legal debt limit which is 3% of total assessed value of taxable property, or $9.86 billion. As of July 2022, the city has authorized 1.25% of total assessed value, or 42% of the limit (SF Department of Elections, 2022). This would require political leadership and a vote of its residents.

It can raise taxes. Austria has a Value Added Tax that ranges from 10% on basic items to the standard rate of 20% (Weismann, 2017, p.4). Comparably, San Francisco's sales tax rate is 8.63%. This rate went into effect in 2021 as a result of the 2020 election.

Vienna has a 3.5% real estate transfer tax, a 1.1% title registration duty, and a 3.5% land acquisition tax (Luxury Vienna, 2020). San Francisco's real estate transfer tax is calculated based on the value of the property. With an average home value of $1.42 million, the current real estate transfer tax for that property, approved by voters in 2016, is $3.75 for each $500 portion = $10,650, or 0.75% of its value (SF Assessor, 2017). This is a remarkable difference. SF San Francisco's property tax rate is 1.18%, while Vienna's can range from 0.2% to 1%.

Political environments naturally differ, but the gaps in financing are clear. For San Francisco to reclaim the market, it must embark on a stable, long-term strategy of financing land acquisition and raising capital. The City has signaled intent to pursue some form of social housing (Wright, 2022). The State of California as well has seen legislation introduced. To realize such visions, an ecosystem of nonprofit developers must be funded, and discipline of the market will require robust and sustained fundraising and investment.

Challenges / Caveats

Acknowledging the fact that the main task for San Francisco's leaders is political in nature, we also consider significant challenges to an attempt to de-commodify. Development processes, which we did not go into detail, represent administrative burdens, costs, and barriers to developers. Both cities are known for their byzantine codes and regulations that require considerable expertise to navigate. San Francisco is infamous for its difficult system, as the FBI recently arrested and convicted its Public Works Director who plead guilty and admitted to accepting bribes in exchange for approvals on developments (Van Derbeken & Bott, 2021).

In Vienna, these complex rules and regulations result in the significant investment needed to submit a design for its developer competitions, creating difficulty for smaller nonprofit developers – cities may consider subsidizing submissions to promote proper competition. Political discretion also prohibits a predictable development environment. Environmental reviews, while important, have been abused to prevent development.

Intergovernmental policies and subsidies are often outside of cities' scope of influence. While the regulation and effects of housing affordability are primarily felt in localities, city governments are unable to address all the extraneous factors that affect housing costs given their limited jurisdiction and resources (Keating, 2020, p.7). A simple real estate transfer tax increase, for instance, is made difficult by the state constitution limiting yearly property tax increases. This limit, known colloquially as Proposition 13, results in reassessments after transfers, and much higher tax bills. Opponents argue that this is effectively a higher transfer tax, dampening support for this straightforward avenue for revenue generation.

As a capital city, Vienna receives much more significant federal resources for housing than San Francisco, making San Francisco's $110 million budget look better compared to Vienna's internally raised $170 million, but the responsibility and pressure remain on local leaders to produce results, even if those responsibilities include negotiating with state and federal governments.

Conclusion

The complex market-based strategies of American housing policy have failed to create the affordable housing needed to prevent the deterioration of society. America has learned from its mistakes before, including those in public housing design and discrimination, and it must come to terms with the sensibility of de-commodified housing. This does not come cheaply especially given the market's free reign of the past decades, but San Francisco has in its policy toolkit underutilized means of funding a sustained subsidized housing program, through bonds, taxes, and the creation and facilitation of a nonprofit development ecosystem. It need not reinvent the wheel. We see that time and sustained investment explains the success of Vienna today. Vienna showed that the best time to start government participation in the housing market was a hundred years ago, and as they say, the second-best time is now.

References

Altreiter, Carina, and Katharina Litschauer (2022) "Strategies of Capital Accumulation in Times of Land Scarcity. A Field Perspective on Social Housing Construction in Vienna." The Forum for social economics ahead-of-print, no. ahead-of-print: 1–17.

Blumgart, Jake (2022) "Vienna: How 2022's most liveable city earned its place in housing history" City Monitor. https://citymonitor.ai/housing/red-vienna-how-austrias-capital-earned-its-place-in-housing-history

California Department of Housing and Community Development (2021) "San Francisco – Letter of Inquiry and Technical Support" Division of Housing Policy Development. https://drive.google.com/file/d/1UZ-ES1J-kSwNAfHWWnleuwrg0yzV-6Hko4/view

Carlisle, Patrick (2021) "30+ Years of Housing Market Cycles in the San Francisco Bay Area" Bay Area Market Reports. https://www.bayareamarketreports.com/trend/3-recessions-2-bubbles-and-a-baby

City of Vienna (2022) "Vienna in Figures 2022" Vienna Planning. https://www.wien.gv.at/statistik/pdf/viennainfigures-2022.pdf

City of Vienna (2022) "STEP 2025: Urban Development Plan Vienna" https://www.wien.gv.at/stadtentwicklung/studien/pdf/b008379b.pdf

Civil Grand Jury (2013) "Optimizing the Use of Publicly Owned Real Estate" City and County of San Francisco Civil Grand Jury, 2012-2013. https://civilgrandjury.sfgov.org/2012_2013/Optimizing_Use_of_Publicly-Owned_Real_Estate_5-29-13-3.pdf

Cytron, Naomi (2009) "San Francisco's new model for mixed-income housing: HOPE SF" Community Investments. San Francisco, CA; Federal Reserve 12th District. pp. 31-34.

Fagan, Kevin & Moench, Mallory (2022) "New data shows 20,000 people will be homeless in San Francisco this year" The San Francisco Chronicle. https://www.sfchronicle.com/sf/article/san-francisco-homeless-population-17380942.php

Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis (2022) "S&P/Case-Shiller CA-San Francisco Home Price Index" Federal Reserve Economic Data. https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/SFXRSA

Forrest, Adam (2018) "Vienna's Affordable Housing Paradise" Huff Post. https://www.huffpost.com/entry/vienna-affordable-housing-paradise_n_5b4e0b12e4b0b15aba88c7b0

Gluns, Danielle. From Plans to Policies: Local Housing Governance for the Growing Cities Vienna and Washington, D.C. Wiesbaden, Germany: Springer VS, 2019.

Halpern, Robert (1995) "Chapter 2: Urban Renewal and Public Housing: A Decade of Mistakes" pp.57-82

Housing Europe (2022) "GBV Österreichischer Verband Gemeinnütziger Bauvereinigungen – Revisionsverband" Housing Europe. https://www.housingeurope.eu/member-24/gbv

Joint Center for Housing Studies (2022). "The State of the Nation's Housing Report." https://www.jchs.harvard.edu/state-nations-housing-2022

Kadi, Justin. "Recommodifying Housing in Formerly 'Red' Vienna?" Housing, theory, and society 32.3 (2015): 247–265. Web.

Kadi, Justin, and Johanna, Lilius. "The Remarkable Stability of Social Housing in Vienna and Helsinki: a Multi-Dimensional Analysis." Housing studies ahead-of-print, no. ahead-of-print (2022): 1–25.

Kamiya, Gary. (2016) "How SF's Housing Authority kept its early projects all white. " The San Francisco Chronicle. https://www.sfchronicle.com/bayarea/article/How-SF-s-Housing-Authority-kept-its-early-8403968.php

Kasakove, Sophie (2022) "Why the Road Is Getting Even Rockier for First-Time Home Buyers" The New York Times. https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/23/us/corporate-real-estate-investors-housing-market.html

Keating, Dennis W. (2020) "The right to housing: The goal versus the reality" In The Routledge Handbook on Housing Policy and Planning edited by Anacker, Katrin B., Mai Thi Nguyen, and David P. Varady. New York, NY: Routledge (E-book at the SFSU library)

Luxury Immobilien GmbH (2020) "Property tax in Austria for non-residents" Luxury Vienna. https://luxury-vienna.com/blog/property-taxes-in-austria

Mayor's Office of Public Policy and Finance (2022) "May Proposed Budget" Mayor London Breed. https://sf.gov/sites/default/files/2022-06/Mayor%27s%20June%201%20Proposed%20Budget%20Book_0.pdf

Mercer (2022) "Quality of living city ranking" Mercer. https://mobilityexchange.mercer.com/Insights/quality-of-living-rankings

Moench, Mallory (2022) "S.F. business tax used to fund homelessness response has plunged" The San Francisco Chronicle. https://www.sfchronicle.com/bayarea/article/S-F-business-tax-used-to-fund-homelessness-17518045.php

Mueller, Elizabeth and J. Rosie Tighe (2007) "Making the case for affordable housing: Connecting housing with health and education outcomes" Journal of Planning Literature. 21(4): 371-385

New York City Rent Guidelines Board. (2022) “Housing NYC: Rents, Markets & Trends 2022” https://rentguidelinesboard.cityofnewyork.us/wp-content/uploads/2022/11/2022-Housing-NYC-Book.pdf

Office of the Assessor – Recorder (2017) “Things to Know During Property Transfer” City and County of San Francisco. https://www.sfassessor.org/sites/default/files/uploaded/ASR_Factsheet_PropertyTransfer_English_2021.pdf

Office of the Mayor (2022) “San Francisco Secures Over $117 Million in State Funding for Affordable Housing” City of San Francisco. https://sfmayor.org/article/san-francisco-secures-over-117-million-state-funding-affordable-housing

Pelleteret, Lea (2020) “Housing is a Human Right, Not a Business” Les Cahiers de la recherche architecturale urbaine et paysagère [En ligne], Matériaux de la recherche. https://journals.openedition.org/craup/5202

San Francisco Department of Elections (2022) “An Overview of San Francisco’s Debt” San Francisco Voter Information Pamphlet & Sample Ballot. https://voterguide.sfelections.org/en/overview-san-francisco%E2%80%99s-debt

San Francisco Mayor’s Office of Housing and Community Development (2022) “Public Meeting Regarding Proposed Budget” https://sfmohcd.org/sites/default/files/Documents/Public%20Notices/Mayor%20Admin%20%26%20MOHCD%20Public%20Budget%20Meeting-021022.pdf

San Francisco Mayor’s Office of Housing and Community Development (2018) “Inclusionary Affordable Housing Program Monitoring and Procedures Manual” https://sfmohcd.org/sites/default/files/Documents/MOH/Inclusionary%20Manuals/Inclusionary%20Affordable%20Housing%20Program%20Manual%2010.15.2018.pdf

San Francisco Mayor’s Office of Housing and Community Development (2022) “2022 Maximum Income by Household Size” https://sfmohcd.org/sites/default/files/Documents/MOH/BMR%20Ownership/2022%20AMI-IncomeLimits.pdf

San Francisco Planning Department. (2020) “San Francisco Housing Affordability Strategies.” https://default.sfplanning.org/publications_reports/Housing_Affordability_Strategies_Report.pdf

San Francisco Planning Department. (2021) “Housing Inventory.” https://sfplanning.org/sites/default/files/documents/reports/2021_Housing_Inventory.pdf

San Francisco Planning Department. (2022) “FINAL DRAFT Housing Element 2022 Update.” https://sfplanning.org/sites/default/files/documents/reports/2021_Housing_Inventory.pdf

Schneider, Benjamin (2022) “Supervisors’ fears over 469 Stevenson project without merit, report says” San Francisco Examiner. https://www.sfexaminer.com/news/the-city/supervisors-fears-over-469-stevenson-without-merit/article_5c3baa50-5f8d-11ed-94f6-07f4886b4686.html

Schwartz, Alex F (2021) Housing Policy in the United States. New York: Routledge. 4th edition.

Shanks, Adam (2022) “Housing: the issue roiling San Francisco’s Sunset District” San Francisco Examiner. https://www.sfexaminer.com/news/housing-the-issue-roiling-san-franciscos-sunset-district/article_3c1bd46a-f3f5-11ec-9b03-fff825a383e3.html

Stadt Wien. 2016. “Housing in Vienna Annual Report 2016” https://ec.europa.eu/futurium/en/system/files/ged/housing_in_vienna_annual_report_2016.pdf

Vale, Lawrence J. and Yonah Freemark (2012) “From public housing to public-private housing” In Journal of American Planning Association 78(4):379-402.

Van Derbeken, Jaxon and Bott, Michael (2021) “Key Figure Admits to ‘Staggering’ Corruption in SF City Hall Scandal” NBC Bay Area News. https://www.nbcbayarea.com/investigations/key-figure-admits-to-staggering-corruption-in-sf-city-hall-scandal/2758991/

Von Hoffman, Alexander (2000) “Why they built Pruitt-Igoe” In From Tenements to the Taylor Homes: In search of an urban housing policy in twentieth-century America. Edited by John Bauman, Roger Biles, and Kristin M. Szylvian. Univ. Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State Univ. Press. Pp. 180-205.

Weissman, Michael (2017) “International Tax: Austria Highlights 2017” Deloitte. https://web.archive.org/web/20170504223420/https://www2.deloitte.com/content/dam/Deloitte/global/Documents/Tax/dtl-tax-austriahighlights-2017.pdf

Wright, Sarah (2022) “San Francisco Plans to Invest in ‘Social Housing.’ What Exactly Is That? “SF Standard. https://sfstandard.com/housing-development/san-francisco-plans-to-invest-in-social-housing-what-exactly-is-that/

Wolin, Jessica and Jacque Perkins (2018) “Overview of Health & Housing” SFSU Center for Applied Housing Research Working Paper #2018-2

Interview with Dr. Ayse Pamuk

Rona Leigh de Guzman

Dr. Ayse Pamuk is tenured full Professor of Urban Studies and Planning at San Francisco State University. She joined San Francisco State faculty in 2000 and served as Chair of the Department of Urban Studies and Planning from 2008-2011. She is Founding Director of the PACE Applied Housing Research Initiative.

Her internationally recognized scholarship addresses urban development in a comparative perspective, with an emphasis on housing. Her expertise is in housing and urban policy, international planning, and research methods, including GIS. She is the author of Mapping Global Cities: GIS Methods in Urban Analysis (ESRI Press, 2006). She has advised national and local governments in Turkey, Trinidad and Tobago, and Brazil on low-income housing policy. She has been a consultant to the World Bank. She holds PhD and MCP degrees in city and regional planning from the University of California at Berkeley.

At San Francisco State, she is an Urban Studies and Planning (USP) faculty advisor and teaches Housing Policy and Planning (graduate PA 783 and undergraduate USP 580), Affordable Housing Development in California (USP 475), Data Analysis (USP 493), Dynamics of the American City (USP 400), and the Urban Studies and Planning Senior Seminar (USP 680).
Professor Pamuk is also a photographer. A collection of her photographs that provide a comparative, international perspective of affordable housing and urban transformation can be viewed here.

Q: You have published articles and research dating back more than 30 years ago, focusing on housing policies in different countries with different economic states and structures, and how it has affected vulnerable communities. What motivated (or motivates) you to dedicate your career towards this subject?

A: My research interests are driven by my long-standing desire to understand the evolution of human settlements throughout the world. Having experienced a comfortable childhood in Izmir, a port city on the west coast of Turkey, I was struck by how the "other half" of the population lived and became curious about uneven urban development. My fascination with the interdisciplinary aspects of housing issues for vulnerable populations, particularly immigrants took me to informal housing settlements in Trinidad and Tobago and the favelas of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. I discovered that the struggles of low-income people and people of color in housing markets are universal. An important part of my professional life is educating future affordable housing practitioners in the San Francisco Bay Area. While writing my first book Mapping Global Cities: GIS Methods in Urban Analysis in 2006, I loved combining my research methods and Geographic Information Systems (GIS) skills with the housing concerns of Bay Area's low-income people and immigrant populations. My GIS exercises and theoretical formulations came to life in my classrooms where the struggles and perspective of my students fueled my desire to address those issues in my writing. On a personal level, my experience as an immigrant to the United States and life as a dual citizen of the United States and Turkey have profoundly shaped who I am and the topics I choose to study. I developed a deep appreciation and empathy with the struggles of historically underrepresented and marginalized populations, especially while working with my undergraduate and graduate students at San Francisco State for more than two decades. San Francisco State University's student population is demographically very diverse, and the majority come from low-income families. Many of our students are first generation college students and work part-time or full-time to support their families. During the current COVID-19 pandemic many of my students continued to show up at Zoom class sessions and submit assignments amidst their complicated personal lives. My recent research on local government responses to COVID-19 to meet the housing needs of vulnerable populations has been inspired by these experiences.

Q: Collectively, the housing concerns for the Bay Area's low-income people and people of color are still of great concern, how has these perspectives and/or priorities changed since the publication of your book in Mapping Global Cities in 2006?

A: Housing affordability has always been a main problem in the [Greater] Bay Area and a persistent theme. My desire to find solutions has led me to focus on a project with a team of students, both graduate and undergraduate, in 2017-2018 when we focused on the Inclusionary Affordable Housing Program in San Francisco. Using census tract level analysis, we wanted to show if the program helped retain city residents between 2000 and 2010. We analyzed changes in the percentage of Asian, Black, and Hispanic populations at the census tract level between 2000 and 2010. We also geocoded Below Market Rate (BMR) housing projects, which are predominantly market rate buildings with a certain percent as BMR units. We looked at whether [these developments] were able to retain city residents; did that help? Most of our research shows that it has not significantly helped during the timeframe of our study (2000-2010). The amount of BMR units were small when compared to the amount of market rate housing units going into those neighborhoods. It was not sufficient to prevent displacement (Pamuk and Hill 2019).

Q: So, even with solutions implemented to retain the low-income, vulnerable populations, the attempt has not been proven to be fruitful?

A: Yes, it is because the local government agencies are not required to do a rigorous assessment of their programs. Our [research] was the first to look from outside to see if it is working in this one dimension: has it helped retain minority populations at the neighborhood level? There needs to be more, at the government level, self-evaluation of existing programs to see what works and what does not work so we can learn and make further improvements.

Q: How have major events like the dot-com era, financial crisis, and the tech boom perpetuated these patterns in housing?

A: Indeed, housing shortages and affordability issues have been a recurring theme in the Bay Area, but the large amount of well-paid technology company employees put additional stress on housing markets. Many neighborhoods rapidly gentrified and San Francisco's nonprofit and government employees were unable to compete for housing units. These dynamics led to the loss of soul of San Francisco, in particular. Technology companies were aware of their role in disrupting the cultural, creative and intellectual vibe of city neighborhoods and began announcing pledges to supply funding for nonprofit housing developers to increase affordable housing supply.

Q: As a resident, how did a loss of soul look and feel like?

A: I have been around for a while. I have been enjoying the uniqueness of San Francisco neighborhoods when I am doing my writing or my teaching, and over time that has been lost. I do not see the same vibe or richness that I thought we had in these neighborhoods. For example, the dot-com boom replaced a lot of non-profit organizations.

You notice when you are walking down the street there are fewer working-class, artists, non-profit, and government people. In fact, our recent blog for Applied Housing Research Initiative summarized San Francisco State employees' housing situation, where many are forced to live as far as Napa, Sonoma County, Santa Rosa. This is very problematic because we want to be closer to our work.

Q: Your most recent work was based on the California government's response to COVID-19 and housing, highlighting projects such as Homekey, Rent Moratoriums, Emergency Rental Assistance Programs for renters. In many cases, these programs, or the expiration of these programs have shown direct correlation to the numbers of COVID-19 cases. How did the occurrence of COVID-19 raise awareness about housing policy issues, such as overcrowding and affordability for vulnerable populations in California?

A: During the pandemic, I assembled an incredible team of interdisciplinary women scientists to examine the role of inclusionary housing policies in California's cities in response to the pandemic. We designed and sent a survey to California's 482 cities to document which cities adopted emergency housing policies in response to COVID-19, whether those policies have equity goals and any challenges or successes related to implementing those emergency policies.

We found that the COVID-19 pandemic perpetuated an unprecedented response in the form of Emergency Housing Policy (EHP). Millions or tens of millions of Americans were at risk of eviction, and the homeless were particularly susceptible to the disease due to shelter overcrowding, older age, and health risk factors abundant within this population increasing their chances of morbidity and mortality to the virus. Thus, federal, state, and local governments created rental assistance and mortgage relief programs, enacted eviction moratoriums, and created Permanent Supportive Housing (PSH) programs for the homeless.

Q: The global pandemic has also shifted the general public's view of densely populated cities, formulating the notion that it is a major health hazard. How can housing policies be designed in a way to alleviate this concern?

A: So true that densely populated cities saw large numbers of COVID-19 cases and high density typical of major cities began to be perceived as a health hazard. A closer look at the census tract level shows that overcrowding in housing units is a better predictor of COVID-19 vulnerability. We developed a COVID Vulnerability Index with four components: 1) socio-economic status; 2) household composition; 3) minority status, and 4) housing (variables in the table from Dr. XiaoHang Liu's report for each of the 4 dimensions are in her Working Paper, page 6). Most vulnerable cities were found in Central Valley, Los Angeles, Inland Empire. Least vulnerable cities were found in SF Bay area. They are among the wealthiest and whitest cities in CA.
Furthermore, our statistical analysis revealed that cities with inclusionary housing programs in 2019 were significantly less vulnerable to COVID-19 than cities without Inclusionary housing.
AHRI's research can be found here.

Q: In addition to COVID-19, other catastrophic events have affected the conditions and in some cases the attainability of housing. This includes emergencies caused by climate change, extreme shifts in tectonic plates, and wildfires that have threatened and displaced millions of residents globally. How can future planners and policy makers navigate and form resiliency in this climate?

A: Planners have to bring experts from different disciplines together to plan for, respond to catastrophic events and prevent displacement of residents from their homes due to wildfires and earthquakes. It may be too late when disaster strikes. For example, the location of fault lines and their seismic activity are well-known to experts specializing in seismology. This information must be considered when zoning areas for new housing development. Likewise, new housing development should be prevented in areas with high wildfires risk.

Q: How do you instill these ideas in your students

A: The lived experience of both graduate and undergraduate students informed and inspired me greatly in my own choice of topics for investigation in my research program throughout my career. It is gratifying to share research articles in my courses with students who will see themselves in those pages and will be moved to act and formulate responses to public policy problems. Through our in-person and virtual discussion forums I strive to have students engage with the academic material that directly relates to their lives. I would like my students to be able to identify public policy problems such as uneven urban development, housing insecurity, and racial inequity where it occurs and formulate innovative strategies to solve them informed by rigorous analysis of data.

International Affordable Housing Image Collection

Dr. Ayse Pamuk

Dr. Ayse Pamuk is a professor of Urban Studies and Planning and Founding Director of the PACE Applied Housing Research Initiative at San Francisco State University. Her image collection provides a comparative, international perspective of affordable housing and urban transformation. The speed of urban transformation in cities under globalization is having a profound impact on human settlements. Affordable housing has emerged as an important public policy issue worldwide. This collection provides a visual look at housing built by the private sector (formal and informal), the non-profit sector, and the government, primarily for low-income households. It focuses on housing form in the realm of City and Regional Planning. The images in this collection were taken on numerous field trips, research projects and excursions to a great variety of sites of scholarly interest, during the mid 1980's to the mid 2000's. They demonstrate the commonalities and differences in human aspirations, housing conditions, and the role of planning institutions in shaping human settlements in five countries: United States, Turkey, Brazil, Trinidad and Tobago, and Sweden.

For additional information and images visit here.

Foca, Turkey

Maria Alicia Apartments
Nonprofit Housing
San Francisco, CA

Favelas

High-income housing

RIO DE JANEIRO, BRAZIL

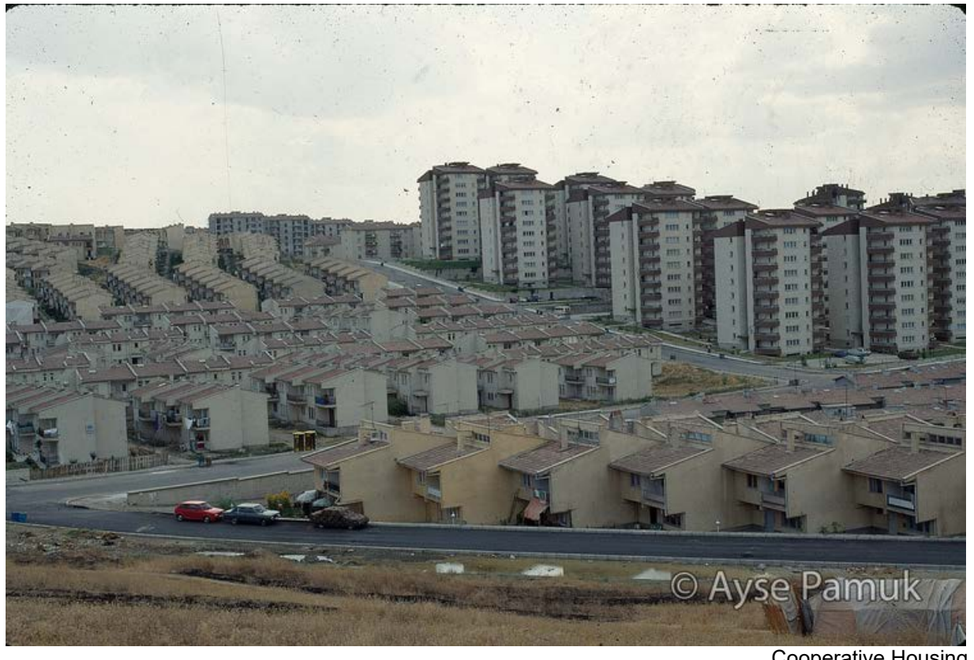
Favelas

Habitat II Conference
Istanbul, Turkey

TURKEY

Private Sector Housing
Izmir, Turkey

Istanbul, Turkey



Cooperative Housing
Ankara, Turkey

MISSION NEIGHBORHOOD MURALS

SAN FRANCISCO, CA

William Byron Rumford Sr. Plaza
Berkeley, CA

BAY AREA, CA

Abel Gonzalez Apartments, Nonprofit Housing
San Francisco, CA

Boat House
Richmond, CA

Nonprofit Housing
San Francisco, CA

Maria Alicia Apartments, Nonprofit Housing
San Francisco, CA

Informal Housing

Community Built Road
Informal Housing

Public Housing
Maloney, Trinidad & Tobago

TRINIDAD & TOBAGO

High-income housing

STOCKHOLM, SWEDEN

Bergsunsunds Strand
Mixed-private rental/co-op

Mixed- private rental/co-op

Smedsuddsbadet

Cooperative Housing

2020 ISSUE #41

Issue 41 of Urban Action comprises Urban Planning & Studies senior theses from the 2019-2020 academic year as well as photos submitted by Ashleigh Castro.

Ashleigh Castro

ECONOMIC IMPACTS OF REDEVELOPMENT ON HISTORIC BUILDING PRESERVATION AND PRIVATE PROPERTY OWNERSHIP IN THE CITY AND COUNTY OF SAN FRANCISCO

Natalie Simotas

Cities across the United States are experiencing attacks on their built landscapes. This occurrence is especially evident in cities like San Francisco where the cost of real estate is at a premium and where political, economic and social changes have made it vulnerable to an inescapable wave of real estate and development investors, housing shortages and increases in tourism and gentrification (Bandarin 2012, 14). Not unlike the "Modern Movement" of the twentieth century, redevelopment and urban renewal in the twenty-first century has again taken center stage. By employing terms like "blight", "slum clearance" and "demolition by neglect" as justification for destroying neighborhoods containing historic buildings in declining cities across the country, the value and preservation of our cultural heritage is disregarded. Furthermore, this trend erases the historical necessity to create statutes such as the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 enacted to protect the historic built environment.

As the assault on our cultural heritage continues, United States citizens who have been able to afford a property of their own are realizing that their constitutional rights under the Fifth Amendment are not applicable to the destruction, alteration or removal of their privately owned properties. The ambiguous definition of the "public use" clause that resides within the Fifth Amendment is currently being contorted to appease the economic ambitions of corporations. These circumstances reshape the landscape of San Francisco, warrant an objective look into civil liberties and imparts a responsibility to preserve history for future generations.

This case study will examine the intersection of historic preservation and private property ownership as influenced through redevelopment by asking what are the economic impacts of historic preservation and private property ownership in the city and county of San Francisco? To answer this question, research has been conducted to gain a working knowledge of the historical foundations associated with historic preservation, private property rights and redevelopment. This has also required an in-depth understanding of federal, state and local government authorities to sufficiently evaluate the historical succession of programs, land-use ordinances and zoning regulations and how they have shaped the economic impact associated with historic building preservation and private property ownership today. Furthermore, it is also necessary to gain a more comprehensive understanding of contemporary redevelopment projects. By analyzing historic and current redevelopment trends in San Francisco, research methods and data analysis outcomes can be employed to expand and address economic impacts.

I. Historic Preservation in the United States

Urban landscapes are always in a state of transformation. Changes, specifically evident in the built landscape, represent a prosperous and modern culture. Once pillars of urban communities, over time, historical buildings lose their purpose. Despite their lack of function, they remain important to the social consciousness of those who have come before and those who remain and convey a long history of urban planning before it became a formal urban process.

The first half of the twentieth century brought about changes specifically surrounding the importance of preserving a city's historic built environment across the United States. The "Modern Movement", a worldwide early practice of urban planning or "urban renewal", made popular by architects and informal planners such as Le Corbusier's Plan Voisin during this time, was strictly concerned with the function of cities (Bandarin 2012, 42). This thought process, primarily a response to housing requirements that posed unhealthy living conditions together with the need for infrastructure that supported transportation and public space, detracted attention away from the aesthetics or conservation of the cultural history of a city (Bandarin 2012, 31). The result was a pragmatic mindset that instigated the decimation of existing built landscapes to construct more modern buildings without thought to aesthetics or cultural history (Bandarin 2012, 31).

Consideration toward cultural history in urban planning shifted in the United States during the mid-twentieth century. Society's opinion that the "Modern Movement" failed to integrate old buildings with the new, together with a new post WWII consciousness of social and cultural values, brought about the desire to preserve built environments viewed as culturally significant (Bandarin 2012, 51). Urban inhabitants began to realize the importance of maintaining a city's past through preservation (Tyler 2000). Nationwide, grassroots efforts urged cities to establish preservation policies and laws surrounding historic districts (including historic buildings) that resulted in a "Preservation Movement" (Tyler 2000, SF Planning 2019, Koman 2001). As this new movement gained momentum, the federal government intervened and, after studying the concerns cities had about preservation, the National Preservation Act in 1966 was enacted, detailing comprehensive procedures for federal, state and local governments to control, classify and protect historic structures. For the first time in U.S. history, an official list of historic places that included buildings and districts was compiled to form the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) (Koman 2001, U.S. Conference 1966).

A half century later, the management and historic designation (a special legal status of formal protection) are still achieved by the three levels of government policy. First, (mentioned above), there is the federal National Register of Historic Places consisting of buildings, districts, structures/objects, and sites that are esteemed throughout U.S. history either culturally, archeologically, or through architecture and engineering (Spur 2018,18). To qualify for the NRHP the cultural resource must usually be over the age of fifty (Robins 1995, 96). Although definitive protections relating to the preservation of buildings don't exist, according to the National Historic Preservation Act, any alterations that utilize federal funds or that require federal permits, are required to undergo a review by federal agencies (SPUR 2013, 18).

Next, the California Register of Historical Resources (CRHR) administers both the federal historical mandates as well as those designated cultural resources at the state level (SPUR 2013, 18). Any federal designation of an individual cultural resource automatically qualifies for inclusion into the CRHR (Spur 2013, 18).

Lastly, at the municipal level, and the focus of this paper, the city and county of San Francisco, which not only designates historic cultural resources within its boundaries, but is also responsible for enforcing the local land-use and zoning ordinance policies of historic buildings. The most important of these policies corresponding to historic buildings is Article 10 of the San Francisco Planning Code (SFPA10). It specifies that any alterations, demolition or new construction relating to a historic building must be reviewed and then approved by San Francisco's Planning Department (SPUR 2013, 18). Design and land-use ordinance guidelines, which includes zoning, are set forth by the San Francisco Historic Preservation Commission (SFHPC) and vary according to specific districts within the city. Article 11 of the San Francisco Planning Code (SFPA11) was specifically created to preserve, protect and provide design guidelines relating to historic cultural resources within San Francisco's Downtown Core. Although regulated under a different Article of the Planning Code, the districts are subject to the same alteration, demolition and new construction land-use ordinances outlined in Article 10 (SPUR 2013, 18).

In addition to the conditions set forth by the above three government entities, a cultural resource exposed to any alterations, demolition or new construction is also subject to the California Environmental Quality Act (CEQA) and must undergo an environmental impact review (SPUR 2013, 6, 18). With 75% of all San Francisco buildings qualifying for one or more of the three government historic preservation designations, the owners of these properties are at the mercy of land-use ordinances and zoning regulations that they have no control over (SPUR 2013, 29).

II. History of Private Property Rights in the United States

As the United States reflected on the importance of its social and cultural values through its historic built environments, a shift also began to occur in private property rights. Established on the premise that those who own property also hold power, private property owners of historic buildings have found themselves in situations where ordinances and regulations developed and enforced by the three levels of government have challenged the foundation of these rights of ownership. Written into the Fifth Amendment of the United States Constitution that, "No person shall be…deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation", this ambiguous declaration has allowed for different interpretations of the meaning of "public use" and "just compensation" (Aguirre 2006, 101).

In their wisdom, the Framers of the Constitution had foreseen that their intention to protect one's private property from being taken by another individual was a way to protect landowners from a government who might otherwise seize property to benefit political and economic interests (Cramer 2004, 410). Historically, throughout the United States, private property owners benefited from the creation of laws and regulations enacted and enforced for the "good" of private property owners who were protected by courts and through common laws concerning trespassing and nuisances (Platt 2004, 77). At that time, citizens gave little thought to

the importance of the private-use assertion as the "public use" clause was seldom used by government for the purpose of "eminent domain" . An exception to this was when land was needed for the public to gain access to transportation needs like bridges, roadways, freeways and tracks or to build civic buildings such as schools or libraries (Cramer 2014, 411). Eminent Domain cases that benefited the general public were seen as a necessity and something that would enhance "public" wellbeing, though that eventually changed.

As cities grew and property in urban landscapes became more valuable, judiciary proceeding began to transmute the meaning of the "public use" clause. Instead of public use presented as an "…activity that benefits the public" and that solely corresponds to the "…physical occupation of land", rationalizations began to surface that allowed for the definition of public use to morph into a synonym for "economic stability" (Cramer 2014, 412 and Aguirre 2006, 105). Courts ultimately dispensed determinations regarding the specific interpretation of "public use" versus private property "takings" and eminent domain to the federal, state and local legislative authorities who were primarily concerned with their tax base (Chapman 1997, 11). Courts also allowed the same authorities to decide if compensation would be provided to private property owners who found themselves suddenly living in a designated historic district or historic building which obligated them to follow new regulations over and above the general land-use and zoning ordinances (Chapman 1997, 6). Regulations such as restrictions on alterations to buildings, the type of windows that could be installed or the color that private property owners could paint their buildings often devalued the property because new ownership did not want the added limitations and associated costs (Chapman 1997, 1).

III. Contemporary Private Property Rights in the United States

The three tiers of government's enforcement of land-use ordinances and zoning regulations through "policing powers" require private property owners to acquiesce to historic building preservation. This often is accomplished through redevelopment or when a designation is issued for a district. When a private property owner's building exists within an area slated for redevelopment, they become subject to stringent building maintenance and rehabilitation requirements that, if they are not in compliance with, can be confiscated via "policing powers". Through redevelopment, private property owners frequently must enter into contractual agreements involving public-private partnerships where municipalities have engaged developers with a large amount of capital to help financially with large redevelopment projects (Valverde 2012, 13). A good example of this is the 2007 "Rincon Point South Beach Redevelopment Plan", that states in Part III, Section D, "Acquisition of Real Property", that:

> "D. Acquisition of Real Property
> Any real property located with the Project Area may be acquired by the Agency by purchase, gift, devise, exchange, condemnation, lease, or any other lawful method, including utilization of the power of eminent domain, if one or more of the following conditions are met:
> 1. The building is substandard to a degree requiring clearance as demonstrated by a structural inspection of the property.
> 2. The property must be acquired in order to eliminate an environmental deficiency, including but not limited to: incompatible land uses, small and irregular lot subdivision, or overcrowding of the land.
> 3. The property must be acquired in order to eliminate impediments to land development through assembly of land into parcels of reasonable size and shape, served by an improved street system and public utilities.
> 4. The building must be removed in order to effect a change in land use as provided in the Plan.
> 5. Without the consent of an owner, the Agency shall not acquire any real property on which an existing building is to be continued on its present site and in its present form and use unless such building requires structural alteration, improvement , modernization or rehabilitation , or the site or lot on which the building is situated requires modification in size, shape or use or it is necessary to impose upon such property any of the standards, restrictions and controls of the Plan and the owner fails or refuses to agree participate in the Redevelopment Plan.
> 6. The Agency shall not acquire real property to be retained by an owner pursuant to an Owner Participation Agreement unless said owner fails to enter into or perform under that agreement."

In order to eliminate the conditions requiring redevelopment and in order to execute the Plan, it is in the public interest and is necessary for the power of eminent domain to be employed by the Agency, to acquire real property in the Project Area which cannot be acquired by gift, devise, exchange, purchase or any other lawful method pursuant to the authorization of this Redevelopment Plan.

The Agency is authorized to acquire structures without acquiring the land upon which those structures are located. The Agency is also authorized to acquire any other interest in real property less than full fee title.

E. Acquisition of Personal Property

Generally personal property shall not be acquired. However, where necessary in the execution of this Plan, the Agency is authorized to acquire personal property in the Project Area by any lawful means except eminent domain." (SFRA, 2007, 14-15)

Since many of these partnerships now include international developers, the international private contract law used in these partnership agreements means that rules these developers must abide by are not the same as those used with local or national developers nor through municipal public law (Valverde 2012, 14). Due to this, international partnerships are less likely to be held accountable for shoddy work or the consequences that could arise from having problems after redevelopment (Valverde 2012, 14). The confidentiality clauses in these contracts also don't require that the public be included in all changes or transparency regarding purchases of land or, as later discussed, eminent domain proceedings (Valverde 2012, 14).

Private property owners are encouraged to acquiesce to these regulations in exchange for incentives that promote redevelopment identified as being for the "good" of the general public (Chapman 1997). These same policing powers of authority have allowed the jurisdiction of public use to include situations where public safety may be a concern dubbing them blight or slum control in order to justify a "taking", (eminent domain) or to claim "demolition by neglect" (Cramer 2014, 413). The perception that the act of owning one's property assumes autonomy and therefore the ability to ascertain individual freedom or, "…the opportunity to determine one's own life" is diminished when one's private property is dictated as being necessary for the "good" of the general public (Blomley 2005, 620).

As a result, several court cases have attempted to not only overturn the public use clause surrounding the enforcement of eminent domain, but also to challenge the policing power of land-use concerning historic building preservation. One of the most renowned Supreme Court cases in history regarding both eminent domain, private property rights and historic preservation is that of Kelo v. New London (Kelo 2019). In an effort to rejuvenate the city of New London, Connecticut, by adding more jobs and to increase its tax base, the city relinquished its eminent domain authority to a private developer, New London Development Corporation, who sought to demolish among other buildings, an 1895 historic house owned by Susette Kelo (Lingle 2013, 8). Susette fought the demolition of her house and took the case all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court where it ruled that economic development fell under the public use clause of the Fifth Amendment (Lingle 2013, 8). It was the first time in history that a U.S. Supreme Court case upheld the use of eminent domain in a transfer from one private entity to another for economic gain. This case became the precedence for all cases involving redevelopment, historical buildings and districts, and private property rights (Lingle 2013, 3).

The Kelo v. New London case generated a revolt throughout the country condemning eminent domain exploitation (Lingle 2013, 2). Consequently, states began to put in place laws to protect private property owners from eminent domain. In response the U.S. Federal Government enacted The Private Property Rights Protection Act of 2017 (U.S. Congress 2017). California also passed statutes such as Proposition 90 in November 2006 and Propositions 98 and 99 in November 2008 limiting government power to engage in eminent domain (State of California 2006, 2008). However, when enacted, loopholes in which eminent domain could still take place became evident.

Another legal case that has challenged the rights of historic building private property owners are those limiting the use of their property such as The Penn Central Transportation Co. v. New York City in 1978. Designated a historic landmark by New York's Preservation Landmark Law of 1965, the owner of the Grand Central Terminal, Penn Central Transportation Co. (PCTC), sought to participate in the right granted to designated historic landmark building owners that allowed them to employ Transfer Development Rights (U.S. Reports 1978,104). Not content with being designated as a landmark, PCTC entered into an agreement with developer, UPG Properties, to construct a multi-story office building over and above the existing Grand Central Terminal (U.S. Reports 1978, 104). When the New York City Landmark Commission rejected the construction of the building, PCTC attempted to sue the commission claiming that to deny the construction of the building qualified as a "taking" and that it also prevented them from evoking their Fifth Amendment constitutional rights (U.S. Reports 1978, 104). Ultimately, PCTC lost their case as the New York Court of Appeals determined that restricting the alteration of a historically protected building did not constitute a "taking" and therefore, the PCTC was not allowed to build over the existing terminal (U.S. Reports 1978, 105).

IV. Redevelopment in the City and County of San Francisco

Urban redevelopment goes by many names such as "urban renewal" and "new urbanism" and include historic buildings and private property rights. Through this action the San Francisco Redevelopment Agency (SFRA) and their successor, the Office of Community Investment and Infrastructure (SFOCII) has transformed and remolded neighborhoods throughout San Francisco. A number of these neighborhoods, such as the Fillmore District in the Western Addition, are infamous for the decimation of community, the destruction of historic buildings and the displacement of its inhabitants at the hands of "policing powers" and redevelopment.

Local government agencies have sought to profit economically by promoting and endorsing the insertion of private commercial development to transform San Francisco neighborhoods. By rationalizing the destruction of neighborhoods as a way to rectify existing conditions of blight and/or neglect in an established neighborhood, the local government has placed an economic wedge between the citizens and private property owners of San Francisco and its government (Aguirre 2006, 111). This wedge disables citizens and private property owners without the capital of a private developer from both legally disputing eminent domain and competing for the purchase of property that results in a disproportionate amount of private developers owning property in San Francisco that do not have the same investment in the neighborhoods that citizens or private property owners do (Aguirre 2006, 111). Supreme Court Justice, Sandra Day O'Connor, in response to the Kelo case and on the future of eminent domain cases cautioned that, "The specter of condemnation hangs over all property. Nothing is to prevent the state from replacing any Motel 6 with a Ritz-Carlton, any home with a shopping mall, or any farm with a factory" (Saunders 2016).

There exists a plethora of property tax incentive programs that promote public-private partnerships to renew urban areas where historic cultural resources, including the rehabilitation of historic buildings, have become a contemporary way to advocate for the revitalization of neighborhoods while also producing economic opportunities that increase the city's tax base. The Federal Historic Preservation Tax Incentive (FHPTI) was enacted in the 1970s as a response to rehabilitate outdated commercial and industrial buildings, to prevent unfair favored demolition contract agreements and to battle blight in declining neighborhoods throughout cities (Ryberg 2017, 1675). The FHPTI offers up to a 20% tax reduction to private stakeholders who partner with city governments to invest in the restoration of historic, "income producing" buildings that are designated as "certified historic structures" (U.S. Department of Interior and Ryberg 2017, 1675). Although the FHPTI cannot be applied to public buildings, it does renovate historic buildings and turn them into housing which is especially beneficial to cities like San Francisco that are in desperate need of housing (Ryberg 2017, 1675). Since 1976, the FHPTI has assisted in the rehabilitation of historic preservation totaling over 73 billion dollars to protect and restore some 44,341 properties (as of 2015) (U.S. Department of Interior, Ryberg 2017, 1675). In addition, a federal tax deduction can also be taken through Historic Preservation Easements . This occurs when a historic property owner donates a portion of their property and in return (other than tax deductions) restrictions involving changes or development within the easements are indefinitely protected (U.S. Department of Interior).

California's version of a property tax incentive is called the Mills Act. It is a program that offers a reduction in California state property taxes in order to capitalize on the revitalization of commercial districts (California State Parks n.d.). Enacted in 1972, its function is to help local municipalities to assist the owners of "qualified" historical properties to refurbish and maintain them (California State Parks n.d.). In addition to tax incentives, California was awarded the Community Development Block Grants through the federal "Preserve America Act" (U.S. Department (HUD) n.d.). The initiative provides grants to low income and blighted city neighborhoods to promote and generate new economic opportunities (Advisory Council n.d., U.S. Department (HUD) n.d.). The goal is to create tourism that focuses on education involving historic properties through cultural experiences, called "Heritage Tourism" (U.S. Department (HUD) n.d.). The City of San Francisco, in 2007, awarded this grant to the "Tenderloin Housing Clinic" to help manage properties in the Uptown Tenderloin District (a district that is infamous for its crime, homelessness and drug users) and to encourage Heritage Tourism (Advisory n.d.). Heritage Tourism is a big business and in 2013 San Francisco reported businesses as having earned over $9.38 billion from 16.9 million visitors who ranked "historic sites and attractions" at the top of their lists to see in the city (California, 16).

V. Literature Review

Considerable historical and contemporary research has been accomplished that discusses private property rights including information about land-use ordinances, zoning regulations and the challenges they pose to property owners. Similarly, a substantial amount of research has transpired that reviews historic preservation. For example, how historic preservation came to fruition in the United States, how it emphasizes preserved cultural resources, how some of these have been demolished, and how tourists from across the world spend money in cities that highlight historic cultural heritage. However, having explored and written about historic building preservation in the past and having investigated private property rights, I have found insufficient literature that discusses redevelopment and how it influences the economic impact of both designated historic buildings and private property ownership creating challenges within existing communities and the people who live in them.

Previous research methods conducted regarding the preservation of historic buildings and districts provide an overview of historic preservation efforts but barely touch on the economic impact redevelopment imposes on to private property ownership and/or historic buildings including those buildings located within these historic districts. On the other hand, previous research findings can be employed to provide an overall representation of historic building preservation, private property ownership and redevelopment that aids in the comprehension of different aspects, challenges or advantages that have previously occurred surrounding economic impacts while also introducing solutions that institute best practices that may rectify economic wrongs of the past and protect those of the future.

A case study by Grevstad-Nordbrock and Vojnovic (2018) analyzing the relationship between gentrification and historic preservation in Lincoln Park neighborhood located in Chicago, Illinois, states that existing laws and programs (The National Register of Historic Places) regarding historic preservation are obsolete and do not consider current urban challenges. This they say, is especially accurate in real estate rich cities where urban renewal and gentrification, "The process of renewal and building accompanying the influx of middle-class or affluent people into deteriorating areas that often displaces earlier usually poorer residents" are prevalent (Howell 2008, 555). Their study concluded that privately owned historic properties where subsidies are obtained in the form of tax incentives and grants to encourage the renovation and repurposing of older buildings in city cores produce gentrification (Nordbrock-Grevstad 2018, Minner 2016). Furthermore, they found that the infusion of capital into disinvested neighborhoods makes them economically attractive to investors, invokes job creation and increases property values all of which add to the displacement of existing low-income residents (Nordbrock-Grevstad 2018, Howell 2008).

Likewise, Howell (2008) expresses that although preservation can generate positive effects in a previously deteriorating neighborhood by providing an improved and healthier environment, it can also have negative connotations such as higher property taxes and a shortage of affordable housing. Howell's outlook regarding gentrification is that empirical evidence does not exist to support that it alone is responsible for the displacement of low-income residents. In agreement with Grevstad-Nordbrock and Vojnovic, Howell expresses that tax incentives and existing laws (ordinances) and programs add to the current challenges to preservation and gentrification and that laws such as exclusionary zoning laws inhibits the construction of affordable housing further adding to affordable housing shortages (Howell 2008, Minner 2016). Both Howell and Nasser (2003) explain how instead of preservation incentives and ordinances being instituted to include public education, historical value and the "promotion of local history", it is more concerned with economic gains where history is regarded as a product that include increasing tourism and enhancing property values that benefit private developers (Howell 2008, 550, Minner 2016, Nasser 2003). According to Howell, in 2005, over 1100 federal tax credits were approved that benefited large private developers that have primary access to these incentives (Howell 2008, 552). Furthermore, The Department of Interior, Howell contends, in 1977 alone, reported that 30,000 preservation projects accounted for more than 36 billion in private investments through historic buildings (Howell 2008, 552).

Along the same lines as the two previous author's literature regarding ordinances, Minner expands on her research to include the way preservation authorities and local planning manage historic preservation. She asserts that since the formal institution of historic preservation commenced the field has changed, and therefore the way it is managed needs to be re-evaluated. Due to the lack of updated strategies in both fields regarding urban renewal, she believes a disconnect has formed within those relationships. Neither fields take into account long term effects or goals of preservation, yet both are susceptible to current and future economic and real estate market conditions. A current practice Minner acknowledges as being beneficial that both fields have undertaken in order to modernize and to gain a better understanding of planning around historic preservation is conducting historical surveys. The surveys include and encourage public participation while conveying valuable insight to incorporate into the planning process (SPUR 2013). By combining cultural connections through the public, Minner concludes that these efforts may help

bridge the gap in future between the two fields while modernizing ordinances that reflect current urban challenges (SPUR 2013).

The report entitled, "Historic Preservation in San Francisco: Making the Preservation Process Work for Everybody", provides a comprehensible overview of how the City of San Francisco oversees historic preservation. This includes how tax and code (ordinances) incentives aid in the rehabilitation and maintenance of buildings identified as "locally designated" and/or are listed on the National Historic Register (SPUR 2013, 16). The Mills Act Program (California State Parks) and the Rehabilitation Tax Credits can sometimes be used together but because the Mills Act Programs is difficult to qualify for, it is underused. However, if it is approved it could reduce property taxes by up to more than 50% and application fees are charged at a reduced rate (SPUR 2013, 16). Federal tax credits can be allocated anywhere between 10%-20% and can only be used for commercial buildings that produce income (SPUR 2013,16). It appears that neither are enticements to rehabilitate historic buildings that could ease the shortage of affordable housing.

Code incentives in this report are issued by California (California Historical Building Code (CHBC)) and/or the city of San Francisco (Transfer of Development Rights (TDR)) and allow more feasibility with respect to cost associated with the rehabilitation of historic buildings. The TDR program allows the transfer of "…unused permitted floor area from a historic building to other development parcels" and "…using the sale of those transferred rights as a source of funds to rehabilitate the historic structure" (SPUR 2013, 17). Although the San Francisco Planning Department refers to its historic preservation goal as a way of "…protecting tangible resources from irreversible alterations or changes", the knowledge of these incentives being a source of revenue to developers seems to contradict alterations and/or changes taking place in gentrified neighborhoods (SPUR 2013, 17).

In Datel's (1985) survey of three United States cities she examines how three specific recommendations of the National Historic Preservation Act have been accomplished. For the purposes of this review the focus will be upon the third recommendation relating to the U.S. economic conditions and tax incentives. Contrary to the previous literature, Datel applauds the outcome of the, "Economic Tax Recovery Act of 1981" where five billion dollars was spent on historical rehabilitation driven by the investment tax incentives by referring to it as an accomplishment (Datel 1985, 126). The difference in the researcher's opinion could be due to the time frame of the studies.

In addition, Datel discusses both the advantages of "downzoning", or the rezoning of areas in order to keep them less dense, and the transferable development rights (Datel 1985,126). Interestingly, the survey includes discussion about "local identity" and the need to acknowledge connection to space through historic preservation (Datel 1985, 133). Another point Datel makes is that the majority of preservation activists within transitioning communities are middle-class. Although her overall tone of the institution of these practices appears to be favorable, she does concede that historic preservation does have the tendency to uproot and displace the very people that are, "rooted by their own experience" (Datel 1985, 134).

The relationship between planning and preservation is revisited in, "Historic Preservation and Planning". Here, Robin (1995) contends that at the heart of conflicts between planning and preservation have to do with the mercurial behavior of preservation, the fixed personality of planning and the long-term goals of both. Where planning Robin states is mainly predictable, historic preservation is always evolving. This is especially important due to the 5.5% of new stock of historic buildings, built post WWII, that are now annually meeting the 50-year indicator making them eligible for landmark designation (Robin 1995, 96). In fact, it is anticipated that by the year 2040 that historic buildings such as those constructed during the Civil War will be in direct competition for historic designation as shopping malls.

VI. Research Design and Methodology

Initially, this research began as searching for a definitive way to link the economic impact of historic buildings and private property ownership to eminent domain cases. This would have revealed the loss of monies to private property owners who own historic buildings. However, I quickly learned that information involving eminent domain is not available to the general public. Bound through sealed verdicts resulting from court cases surrounding code violations and/or through redevelopment with public-private redevelopment projects that are not required to divulge this information, researching by way of eminent domain was unsuccessful. This deficiency caused me to have to look elsewhere for economic impact information and at a point it became clear that this topic is not one easily researched. The lack of information on this topic including an absence of any type of procedural system that tracks data relating to eminent domain, verdicts of code violation disputes or the outcome of tourism on a local level makes acquiring information next to impossible.

Due to this absence of analyses indicating the economic impact of redevelopment on historic buildings and private property ownership, design research and methodology for this study has significantly changed throughout the research process to accommodate for a lack of existing data. To address this disparity and allow an examination of economic impacts, a modification of the research design and methodology became necessary and was achieved by developing evaluation criteria through redevelopment projects having occurred within the City and County of San Francisco.

Redevelopment Project	Address
Rincon Point. South Beach Redevelopment Project	64-66 Townsend Street 211 Brannan Street
Transbay Terminal/Caltrain Downtwon Extension/Redevelopment Project	606-612 Howard Street 156-160 2nd Street
Bay-View Hunters Point Redevelopment Project	4701-4705 3rd Street 1601 Newcomb Street
Tenderloin Neighborhood Development Corporation Strategic Plan *Not an "official" San Francisco Redevelopment Project	403 Taylor Street (Hotel Californian) 351 Turk Street (YMCA Hotel

Table 1. San Francisco Redevelopment Projects.

To begin with, I identified and reviewed redevelopment projects throughout the city and county of San Francisco (Table 1) that have taken place over the last twenty years. This was achieved by accessing the, "Completed Project Areas" located on the San Francisco Planning Department website. To ascertain potential designated historic buildings and/or historic districts within these redevelopment projects I examined the individual plans associated with each of them and established at least one designated historic building (federal, state or local level) within each redevelopment project boundary. In addition, while considering which particular buildings that would be useful for this research, I decided to sample, if available, designated historic buildings within each of the three levels of government. Historic building designations can be located in historic districts but can also occur in neighborhoods without historic district designation. All are located within either a completed San Francisco redevelopment project or within one currently in progress.

After identifying addresses for seven designated historic buildings located within four redevelopment projects, I documented and cataloged pertinent information about each address to compile a Historic Building Case Study (See Appendix C). Table I outlines the seven designated historic buildings, their names (if applicable) and addresses located within their corresponding redevelopment projects.

Though the Tenderloin District is not "technically" undergoing redevelopment, I have included it in my research as the district is undergoing many of the same processes as other areas of redevelopment in San Francisco. A publication in 2016, by PR Newswire, featured upcoming changes in the Tenderloin District where substantial investments are being made by private capital and public-private partnerships with the support of San Francisco's Office of Economic and Workforce Development (OEWD) (Tenderloin (a) 2016, 1). It is important to understand that the OEWD is also responsible for the promotion of Heritage Tourism and plans for "beautification" appear reminiscent of those entities involved in the three redevelopment projects listed in Table I (Tenderloin (a) 2016, 2). By installing public art, cleaning up the neighborhood and providing better security measures such as security cameras, the OEWD's goal is to boost the neighborhood's economy to build a better community for "all" (Tenderloin (a) 2016, 1-2). In building a better community, the OEWD intends to reassess property taxes in the Tenderloin to help pay for these beautification and safety measures, an added expense for private property owners and corporations alike (Tenderloin (a) 2016, 1). Changes currently taking place in the Tenderloin not being referred to as "redevelopment" will not only alter the community but also economically impact property owners. Therefore, I have included it in my research and have utilized information provided in the "Corporate Strategic Plan" generated by the Tenderloin Neighborhood Development Corporation, a non-profit that, "…provides affordable housing and services for low-income people in the Tenderloin and throughout San Francisco" as a redevelopment plan (Tenderloin (a) 2013, 3).

Utilizing information provided by the case studies, I defined an Evaluation Criteria to specifically address the ways designated historic buildings and/or private property ownership influence economics. In the evaluation criteria I look at name of the redevelopment project, name of the historic district, address, parcel number, year built, building type, census tract, historic building name, date and value of land and structure closest to redevelopment project plan date, most recent date and assessed value of land and structure, Government agency that designated the building, date of designation and Designation Identification

Variables	Definition	Level of Measurement
% Change in Value	A	Interval
Type of Ownership	B	Nominal
Change in Household Income	C	Interval
Designation before Redevelopment Plan	E	Nominal
Property violations that resulted in lien	F	Nominal
TDR or Easements Utilized	G	Nominal
Tax Credits	H	Nominal

Table II: Operationalization of Variables

Number, identity of the building owner (corporation or individual, lien on the building, and if tax credits or grants were used.

From the evaluation criteria, I created qualitative and quantitative variables to be operated in an instrument. The instrument, that includes the newly created variables, allows for a comparable analysis of the research criteria and how they influence economic impact. Table II above displays the operationalization of variables used in the analyses.

The responses to the instrument are ranked by either qualitative data such as yes/no/neutral replies in the form of 1,2 and 3 or definite replies also in the form of 1,2 and 3. Quantitative values are measured by the 25% discussed in Description of Variables, "A" and also employ the 1,2 and 3 response.

Description of Variables

A. Percent Change in Value Before and After Designation

The "Percent Change in Value of Land and Structure over Time" in Table III, reflects values of both the land and structures of the designated historic buildings collected by the San Francisco Planning Department through the "Property Information Map", and the "Secured Property Tax Rolls", of the San Francisco Assessor-Recorder Office. Values were taken from the earliest and latest fiscal year available that were closest to the date of historic designation.

To operationalize this variable, home value appreciation for the year 2013 and 2014 of 20% were used at the Housing of Urban Development (HUD) to account for basis of 20% percent of change over time . In addition, a 5% increase was added for inflation due to lack of census data after 2010 to account for inflation. Using a home value basis was easier to obtain then commercial buildings where valuations of appreciation are based on different variables. Again, all values include both land and structure values combined.

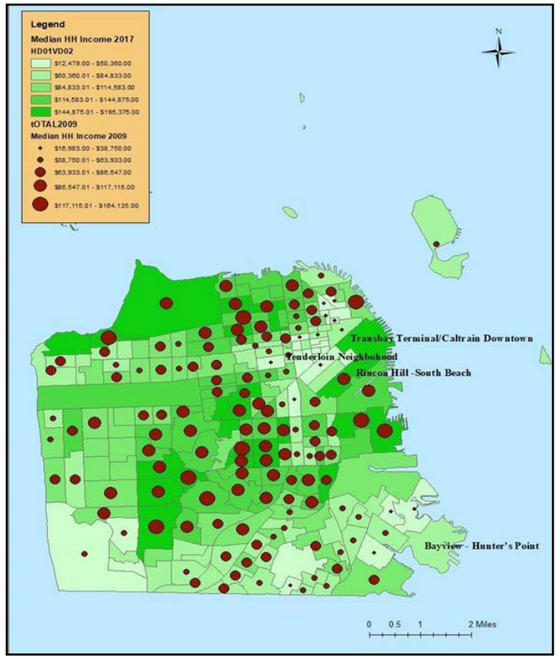
1 = percent change of over 25%
2 = percent change under 24%
3 = No data

B. Owned by Individual or Corporation

Used to verify the entity engaging in the rehabilitation of the redevelopment areas that had or are currently taking place. For the purpose of this research a, "Private Property Ownership" means proprietorship of a commodity in which an individual holds exclusive

Address	Date	Land Value	Structure Value	Total	% Change
72 Townsend	2011/2012	$920,887	$289,422	$1,210,309	
	2017/2018	$794,810	$529,874	$1,324,684	9.45%
128 King Street	2007/2008	$1,094,080	$2,734,723	$3,828,803	
	2017/2018	$1,263,012	$3,156,987	$4,419,999	15.44%
156 Second Street	2007/2008	$1,285,823	$2,914,543	$4,200,366	
	2017/2018	$9,549,365	$4,737,546	$14,286,911	240.13%
606-612 Howard St	2007/2008	$1,787,719	$6,533,398	$8,341,117	
	2017/2018	$2,063,756	$7,565,299	$9,629,055	15.44%
403 Taylor Street	2007/2008	$7,296,282	$17,436,237	$24,732,519	
	2017/2018	$38,405,080	$25,603,387	$64,008,467	158.80%
351 Turk Street	2007/2008	$626,860	$4,262,655	$4,889,525	
	2017/2018	$723,648	$4,920,860	$5,644,508	15.44%
4701 3rd Street	No Information Provided				

Table III: Percent Change in Value of Land and Structure Over Time
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2005-2009 ACS 5-year estimates and 2013-2017 ACS 5-Year Estimates.



Map 1: Median Household Income in the Past 12 months by Tenure.
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2005-2009 ACS 5-year estimates and 2013-2017 ACS 5-Year Estimates.

rights (Law n.d.). Additionally, I defined a, "Corporation", according to the Merriam-Webster Dictionary which is, "a group of merchants or traders united in a trade guild". For those uses discussed throughout this paper, the trade is real estate investment.

1= Individual or Trust
2 = Corporation (including LLC)
3 = Owned by City and County of San Francisco

C. Change in Household Income by Census Tract

Median Household Income from the past 12 months (Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) by Tenure Household (B25119) from the U.S. Census Bureau was used to analyze census tracts for the years 2009 and 2017 (earliest and latest available) see Table IV. It is important to note that between 2009 and 2017 the census tract changed at least one time. Because census tracts from 2009 do not necessarily coincide with those of 2017, I had to compare the geographic locations listed on Map 1 to determine an estimate of increases or decreases. Although not completely accurate, this method did provide a general overview of the neighborhood and how values relate to economic impacts. To simplify the values, I continued with the 25% basis from Description A.

Map 1 in graduated colors, indicates the 2017 levels of Household income with the lightest color signifying the lowest household income and the darkest signifying the highest household income. Household income for 2009 is shown as dots with the largest dot

Median Household Income 2017	Median Household Income 2019	Change in Median Household Income	% Change
$59,360	$38,750	$20,610	53.19%
$84,833	$63,933	$20,900	32.69%
$114,583	$86,547	$28,036	32.39%
$144,875	$117,115	$27,760	23.70%

Table IV: Median Household Income in the Past 12 months by Tenure.
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2005-2009 ACS 5-year estimates and 2013-2017 ACS 5-Year Estimates.

representing the highest household income and the smallest dot representing the lowest household income. It is important to point out that data from 2009 thru 2017 through the U.S. Census Bureau were the only available dates to measure income tenure totals. This is possibly because the Bureau is in the process of redirecting earlier data to prepare for the upcoming 2020 Census.

1 = 25% or more increase in household income
2 = 24% or less decline in household income
3 = No data

D. Designation of Historic Building prior to Redevelopment?

This inquiry is useful to understand if the building becomes more valuable after redevelopment.

1 = Yes
2 = No
3 = Unknown

E. Building Designated as a Historic Building before Redevelopment Plan?

Reveals if the building appreciated in value after redevelopment. Provides an understanding of the values and the before and after relationship of rehabilitation.

1 = Yes
2 = No
3 = Unknown

F. Property Violations resulting in a Lien to the Property?

Violations to historic buildings that could be more evident due to their age. Also, confirms that private property owners have been economically impacted in order to resolve these issues.

1 = Yes
2 = No
3 = Unknown

G. Transfer of Development Rights (TDR) or Easements utilized?

Reveals if Private Property Owners and/or Corporations may have benefited economically when using these types of S. F. Planning or government incentives.

1 = Yes
2 = No
3 = Unknown

H. Tax Credits used to rehabilitate designated historic building?

Applies to Mill Act tax credit and the Mayor's Neighborhood Initiative only as federal tax credits involving historic rehabilitation or preservation are not made available to the public.

1 = Yes
2 = No
3 = Unknown

VII. Research Findings

Building Survey #1		
Name of Redevelopment Project: Rincon Point, South Beach Redevelopment Project		
Name of Historic District: South End Historic District		
Address: 64-66 Townsend Street (2 Parcels)	Parcel #: 3789/973 & 3789/974	
Year Built: 1904	Building type: Commercial	Census Tract: 061500

Building Name	Hooper's South End Grain Warehouse		
Date and value of land and structure closest to redevelopment project plan date	Plan Date	Land	Building
	2007	$828,652	$260,433
		$920,887	$289,422
Most recent date and assessed value of land and structure	Assessment Date	Land	Building
	2017/2018	$715,991	$477,327
		$794,810	$529,874
Designating agency, Date of designation, and Designation Idenitification Number	Designating Entity	Date	ID#
	CHD	2008	00815
Building owner: Corporation or Individual?	Corporation, Cashcall Inc. and Mers Inc.		
Lien(s) on building?	Lien	Safety related?	Lien release date
	Yes	No	06/2018
Transfer or Development Rights (TDR)/Easements used?	Status	Date	
	Yes	05/2014	
Tax Credit or Grant used? If so, type.	No		

Building Survey #2		
Name of Redevelopment Project: Rincon Point, South Beach Redevelopment Project		
Name of Historic District: South End Historic District		
Address: 128 King Street	Parcel #: 3794/023	
Year Built: 1913	Building type: Commercial	Census Tract: 060700

Building Name			
Date and value of land and structure closest to redevelopment project plan date	Plan Date	Land	Building
	2007	$1,094,080	$2,734,723
Most recent date and assessed value of land and structure	Assessment Date	Land	Building
	2017/2018	$1,263,012	$3,156,987
Designating agency, Date of designation, and Designation Idenitification Number	Designating Entity	Date	ID#
	SFPA10	2002	229
	NHRD	2008	008031
Building owner: Corporation or Individual?	Corporation, Bam Properties LP		
Lien(s) on building?	Lien	Safety related?	Lien release date
	No		
Transfer or Development Rights (TDR)/Easements used?	Status	Date	
	No		
Tax Credit or Grant used? If so, type.	No		

Building Survey #3		
Name of Redevelopment Project: Transbay Terminal/Caltrain Downtown Extension Redevelopment Project		
Name of Historic District: 2nd & Howard Streets Historic District		
Address: 156 2nd Street	Parcel #: 3722/005	
Year Built: 1908	Building type: Commercial	Census Tract: 061500

Building Name	Byron Jackson Building		
Date and value of land and structure closest to redevelopment project plan date	Plan Date	Land	Building
	2016	$1,285,823	$2,914543
Most recent date and assessed value of land and structure	Assessment Date	Land	Building
	2017/2018	$9,549,365	$4,737,546
Designating agency, Date of designation, and Designation Idenitification Number	Designating Entity	Date	ID#
	NHRD	1999	99000894
Building owner: Corporation or Individual?	Corporation, 144/156 Second St. LP		
Lien(s) on building?	Lien	Safety related?	Lien release date
	Yes	Yes	03/2014
Transfer or Development Rights (TDR)/Easements used?	Status	Date	
	Yes	11/2014	
Tax Credit or Grant used? If so, type.	No		

Building Survey #4		
Name of Redevelopment Project: Transbay Terminal/Caltrain Downtown Extension Redevelopment Project		
Name of Historic District: 2nd & Howard Streets Historic District		
Address: 606-612 Howard Street	Parcel #: 3722/020	
Year Built: 1908	Building type: Commercial	Census Tract: 061500

Building Name			
Date and value of land and structure closest to redevelopment project plan date	Plan Date	Land	Building
	2007/2008	$1,787,719	$6,553,398
Most recent date and assessed value of land and structure	Assessment Date	Land	Building
	2017/2018	$2,063,756	$7,565,299
Designating agency, Date of designation, and Designation Idenitification Number	Designating Entity	Date	ID#
	NHRD	1999	99000894
Building owner: Corporation or Individual?	Corporation, Millennium Play LLC		
Lien(s) on building?	Lien	Safety related?	Lien release date
	Yes	Yes, mechanic	08/2017
Transfer or Development Rights (TDR)/Easements used?	Status	Date	
	Yes	05/2014	
Tax Credit or Grant used? If so, type.	No		

Building Survey #5		
Name of Redevelopment Project: The Bayview Hunters Point Redevelopment Project		
Name of Historic District: Not located in a designated Historic district		
Address: 4701-4705 3rd Street and Newcomb Street	Parcel #: 5311/036	
Year Built: 1900	Building type: Commercial	Census Tract: 061200

Building Name			
Date and value of land and structure closest to redevelopment project plan date	Plan Date	Land	Building
	2010	Unknown	Unknown
Most recent date and assessed value of land and structure	Assessment Date	Land	Building
	Unknown		
Designating agency, Date of designation, and Designation Idenitification Number	Designating Entity	Date	ID#
	NHRD	2011	11000117
Building owner: Corporation or Individual?	Unknown		
Lien(s) on building?	Lien	Safety related?	Lien release date
	No		
Transfer or Development Rights (TDR)/Easements used?	Status	Date	
	Yes	04/2011	
Tax Credit or Grant used? If so, type.	Yes, Mayor's Invest in Neighborhood Initiative		

Building Survey #6		
Name of Redevelopment Project: Tenderloin Neighborhoos Development Corporation Strategic Plan		
Name of Historic District: Uptown Tenderloin Historic District		
Address: 403 Taylor Street	Parcel #: 3717/003	
Year Built: 1924	Building type: Hotel	Census Tract: 012302

Building Name	Hotel Californian		
Date and value of land and structure closest to redevelopment project plan date	Plan Date	Land	Building
	2013	$7,296,282	$17,436,237
Most recent date and assessed value of land and structure	Assessment Date	Land	Building
	2017/2018	$38,405,080	$25,603,387
Designating agency, Date of designation, and Designation Idenitification Number	Designating Entity	Date	ID#
	NHRD	1998	98001195
Building owner: Corporation or Individual?	Corporation, Serenity Now LP		
Lien(s) on building?	Lien	Safety related?	Lien release date
	Yes	Yes	Multiple
Transfer or Development Rights (TDR)/Easements used?	Status	Date	
	No		
Tax Credit or Grant used? If so, type.	No		

Building Survey #7		
Name of Redevelopment Project: Tenderloin Neighborhoos Development Corporation Strategic Plan		
Name of Historic District: Uptown Tenderloin Historic District		
Address: 351 Turk Street	Parcel #: 3745/018	
Year Built: 1928	Building type: Hotel	Census Tract: 012401

Building Name	YMCA Hotel		
Date and value of land and structure closest to redevelopment project plan date	Plan Date	Land	Building
	2013	$626,860	$4,262,665
Most recent date and assessed value of land and structure	Assessment Date	Land	Building
	2017/2018	$723,648	$4,920,860
Designating agency, Date of designation, and Designation Idenitification Number	Designating Entity	Date	ID#
	NHRD	1986	86000148
Building owner: Corporation or Individual?	Individual, Gaehwiler 2000 Trust		
Lien(s) on building?	Lien	Safety related?	Lien release date
	Yes	No	10/1995
Transfer or Development Rights (TDR)/Easements used?	Status	Date	
	Easement	11/1994	
Tax Credit or Grant used? If so, type.	No		

Evaluation Ranking Instrument

Address	1. Percent Change in Value	2. Owner Type	3. Change in Household Income	4. Designation Before Redevelopment Plan	5. Violations resulting in lien	6. TDR or Easements	7. Tax & Grants
64-66 Townsend St	2	2	2	2	1	1	2
128 King Street	2	2	2	1	1	1	2
156 2nd Street	1	2	2	1	1	1	2
606-612 Howard St	2	2	2	1	1	1	2
4701-4705 3rd Street	3	3	1	1	3	1	1
403 Taylor St.	1	2	1	1	1	2	2
351 Turk Street	2	1	1	1	1	1	2

By utilizing the Building Surveys and the data provided by the responses to the instrument, I was able to better understand the relationship between the variables and how they influence historic buildings and private property ownership.

To begin with, where all property values were provided, both land and structure values increased. This is true with the exception of Building Survey 5 where values were not available and also Building Survey 1. Building Survey 1 was the only building where the land value decreased by the structure value increased significantly. Information on the SF Planning database suggests that a condominium conversion took place during redevelopment requiring changes to land parcels that were subdivided to construct an additional building. However, because designated historic buildings must abide by so many zoning ordinances and land-use restrictions, including those that would severely alter its character, land values reveal a more in-depth study of this property is necessary to

fully comprehend Building Survey 1's unique circumstances. Based on the response showing an increase in value to the balance of historic buildings, an assumption can be made that this Building Survey 5 most likely also increased in value. All other increases may be due to rehabilitation of the building, the property being split into different and/or more buildings per parcel and because of the escalating price of buildings and property in the city and county of San Francisco.

Though all historic buildings saw an increase in value with the exception of the two described above, Building Survey 2, 4, and 7 did not meet the 25% basis increase. Curiously, all three increase by the same exact percentage. Overall, private property owners and corporation's economic impact was greatly improved through historic building values.The type of ownership plays an important role in establishing economic impacts as well. As the instrument shows, 5 out of the 7 historic buildings are owned by corporations. It appears that Valverde's assessment of public-private ownerships may be in play here resulting in a greater number of corporately owned historic buildings due to possessing the capital to afford them (Valverde 2012, 13). As Valverde also points out, the capital flowing into historic buildings and otherwise makes it close to impossible for a private property owner to compete when purchasing property (Valverde 2012, 13). Obviously, competition between corporations and private property owners (if it could be called that), results in severe economic impacts. It would be interesting, with further research, to find out when or how these transactions take place.

"Household Income by Tenure" as determined by the U.S. Census for the years 2009 and 2017 conveys that although all household incomes did increase during this time, that the largest percentage of increase occurred in those areas with the lowest household incomes reported in 2009. The increase between 32% and 53% , indicated on Map 1, in both the Upper Tenderloin and Bayview Hunters Point Districts indicate that either different demographics are moving to those neighborhoods that have higher paying occupations or that residents already residing in either of those areas have had pay raises or have changed occupations resulting in higher salaries.

Most all the historic buildings surveyed had been designated prior to their redevelopment projects. Those with designation dates closer to the redevelopment plan dates may suggest that the private property owner at that time thought that in order to keep their house from destruction, they would apply and subsequently be awarded a designation. Or, it may also suggest that some other entity such as a neighbor, or non-profit group applied for the designation. Although for the purposes of this study it is the time frame of designation that is important, the entity who applied for the designation is of no consequence. Due to this, economic impact is not readily shown through historic designations in this study.

Property violations resulting in a lien is of great importance to this study as it exposes that private property owners were required to pay out money for something substantial that the city and county of San Francisco or the State of California deemed important. Building surveys uncovered that 5 out of 7 of the historic buildings have liens placed on their properties. Most liens were due to safety or code violations. Another, Mechanics Liens, or the failure to pay for goods or services as agreed on for materials and/or labor allowing the lien holder to keep possession of the said property until the amount settled on is paid, was (Cornell n.d.). Last, tax liens for those who did not pay or who were late on paying their property taxes were also documented. It is significant to recognize that all of the liens placed upon the building/ property were paid and then lien released. Furthermore, this confirms that although I don't know the actual amount of dollars spent to resolve these issues, I do know that they resulted in an economic impact to the property owners.

Another important aspect regarding economic impact are TDRs and Easements . San Francisco's land-use and zoning ordinances allow for those entities who purchase a designated historic building to engage in the use of TDRs. As part of this transaction entities are allowed to transfer their development rights to any of four different zoning districts within the city and county of San Francisco which becomes not only beneficial, but quite lucrative as well (SPUR 2013, 17). In addition, any entity who owns a designated historic building and who donates a portion of their land to a conservation or façade easement is entitled to a substantial property tax reduction. The federal tax deduction alone awarded to those donating the easements are sizable and can be taken in the amount equal to the appraisal of the property (SPUR 2013, 16). Both of these scenarios increase revenue and therefore are economic impacts.

Last but not least, tax and grant incentives can also positively impact economic gain. Through programs such as the California Mills Act tax reduction or the Mayor's Neighborhood Incentive Program those owning designated historic buildings find their building even more profitable. According to California's State Historical Building Code, owners of designated historic buildings who apply for tax reductions are not only provided tax relief through the federal rehabilitation tax credits but also through the Mills Act (SPUR 2013, 15). Furthermore, San Francisco Mayor's Invest in Neighborhood Incentive program provides grants to help owners of designated historic buildings flourish and bring economic stability to those areas of San Francisco that are lacking economic activity (SF Office 2019). To date, 2.4 million dollars have been awarded through 43 grants (SF Office 2019). It is easy to see that even at the local level economic impact, even the positive ones are evident.

VIII. Conclusion

Overall, findings in this research were not conclusive. The lack of data involving economic impacts on private property ownership and designated historic buildings and redevelopment reveal a gap in transparency, public policy and structure. Furthermore, matters such as eminent domain, Heritage Tourism and the results of code violations that could be useful to measure economic impacts need to be examined and practices initiated so that accurate statistics can be addressed.

From the information gathered, it appears that ownership of designated historic buildings does present economic advantages such as tax incentives and the ability to build other profitable buildings in the city and county of San Francisco that ordinarily wouldn't take place without having purchased and rehabilitated a designated historic building. That said, it is who is benefiting from this windfall that is troublesome. Economic prospects through public-private partnerships have made opportunities for private property ownership extinct in the city because they cannot hope to compete with the capital brought in by corporations looking for investment opportunities. Since this case study reveals that the majority of designated historic buildings are owned by corporations, this is the one area of my research that was evident.

San Francisco is cash strapped in many ways due to the "Back to the City" movement and has sold its soul to corporate investors who are not obligated to be transparent to the general public, have no investment within neighborhood communities and, with their capital, make private property ownership out of reach for most all San Franciscans. Unfortunately, the burden falls upon historic buildings, and especially those not designated, that fall to demolition during redevelopment and the public use clause.

Statutes enacted in the State of California to protect private property owners from eminent domain contain many loopholes. Those private property owners who own property in San Francisco should be made aware that through redevelopment, eminent domain and the financial burden of owning buildings that become designated as historic buildings or those buildings who end up being located in a historic district is real. All one has to do to confirm this is to read through one of the redevelopment plans. It is unconscionable that those rights invoked under the Fifth Amendment become null and void when economic ventures are concerned. Legislature needs to be revised to address the interests of private property owners who should not have to abide by regulations that come from a new historic designation and/or redevelopment.

On the other hand, enforcement of the National Historic Preservation Act is still in its infancy. With cities in a constant state of transformation it becomes difficult to decide how to best regulate and protect historic buildings. Where the protection of buildings began as a way to preserve culture and heritage, the speed at which cities across the United States change is nothing short of a phenomenon leaving cities desperate to find ways to meet the day to day requirements of new and existing residents. Through funding that includes corporate capital, cities have been able to find ways to support basic necessities like housing. In addition, this capital, though detrimental to private property ownership does appear to help preserve, rehabilitate and upkeep designated historic buildings. Perhaps the research conducted in this paper will bring attention to some of the damaging economic impacts of redevelopment to private property ownership in order to find a resolution where wealth could be spread equally between private property owners, corporations and local municipalities.

References

Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, United States of America. Preserve America: Advisory Council on Historic Preservation. USA. Accessed November 30, 2019. https://www.achp.gov/preserve-america. and https://www.achp.gov/preserve-america/community/san-francisco-california.

Aguirre, Adalberto, Jr. and Vu, Frances. 2006. "Eminent Domain and City Redevelopment in California: An Overview and Case Study." Social Justice 33 (3): 101-113. Accessed October 28, 2019. https://www.jstor.org/stable/29768388.

Bandarin, Francesco, and Van Oers, Ron. 2012. Historic Urban Landscape: Managing Heritage in an Urban Century. Hoboken: Wiley. Accessed August 31, 2019. ProQuest Ebook Central. https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/sfsu/reader.action?docID=843404.

Benson, Bruce L., ed., Property Rights: Eminent Domain and Regulatory Takings Re-Examined. New York, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

Blomley, Nicholas. 2005. "The Borrowed View: Privacy, Propriety, and the Entanglements of Property." Law & Social Inquiry 30 (4): 617-661. Accessed September 25, 2019. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1747-4469.2005.tb01142.x.

Brennan, William J., Jr. and Supreme Court of the United States. 1978. "U.S. Reports: Penn Central Transp. v. New York City." U.S. Reports 438 (29): 104-153. Accessed November 30, 2019. http://cdn.loc.gov/service/ll/usrep/usrep438/usrep438104/usrep438104.pdf

California State Parks, State of California. Mills Act Program. Accessed November 30, 2019. https://ohp.parks.ca.gov/?page_id=21412. and https://ohp.parks.ca.gov/pages/1054/files/2014_volume7_issue2_final.pdf.

Chapman, Tyler E. 1997. "To Save and Save Not: The Historic Preservation Implications of the Property Rights Movement." Boston University Law Review 77 (1): 111-150. Accessed September 27, 2019. https://1-next-westlaw-com.jpllnet.sfsu.edu.

Cornell Law School: Legal Information Institute. n.d. "Mechanic's Liens." Accessed December 1, 2019. https://www.law.cornell.edu/wex/mechanic%27s_lien.

Cramer, Benjamin D. 2004. "Eminent Domain for Private Development: An Irrational Basis for the Erosion of Private Property Rights." Case Western Law Review 55 (2): 409-441. https://scholarlycommons.law.case.edu/caselrev/vol55/iss2/6.

Howell, Ryan. 2008. "Throw the "Bums" Out? A Discussion of the Effects of Historic Preservation Statutes on Low-Income Households through the Process of Urban Gentrification in Old Neighborhoods." The Journal of Gender, Race, and Justice 11 (3) (Spring): 541-571. http://jpllnet.sfsu.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.jpllnet.sfsu.edu/docview/869634200?accountid=13802.

Comprehensive Housing Market Analysis: San Francisco-San Mateo-San Rafael, California, § (2016). https://www.huduser.gov/portal/publications/pdf/SanFranciscoCA-comp-16.pdf.
"Kelo Eminent Domain," Institute for Justice. 2019. https://ij.org/case/kelo/.

Kelley and Verplanck. 2008. "Transit Center District Survey". Accessed September 4, 2019. https://archives.sfplanning.org/documents/4039-Final%20Transit%20Center.pdf.

Law Dictionary. n.d. "What is Private Property?" Accessed December 9, 2019. https://thelawdictionary.org/private-property/.

Lingle, Benjamin R. 2013. "Post-Kelo Eminent Domain Reform: A Double-Edged Sword for Historic Preservation." Florida Law Review 63 (4): 1-28. Accessed November 12, 2019. https://scholarship.law.ufl.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1098&context=flr.

Nordbrock-Grevstad, Ted and Vojnovic, Igor. 2019. "Heritage-fueled gentrification: A cautionary tale from Chicago." Journal of Cultural Heritage 38: 261-270. Accessed August 31, 2019. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.culher.2018.08.004.

Minner, Jennifer. 2016. "Revealing Synergies, Tensions, and Silences Between Preservation and Planning." Journal of the American Planning Association 82 (2): 72-87. Accessed September 1, 2019. https://doi.org/10.1080/01944363.2016.1147976.

National Park Service: U.S. Department of the Interior. n.d. "Technical Preservation Services."Accessed September 4, 2019. https://www.nps.gov/tps/tax-incentives.htm.

Platt, Rutherford H. Land use and Society, Third Edition: Geography, Law and Public Policy. Washington D.C.: Island Press, 2014.

Redevelopment Agency of the City and County of San Francisco (SFRA). 2007. "Rincon Point – South Beach Development Plan". Accessed September 10, 2019. https://sfocii.org/sites/default/files/ftp/uploadedfiles/Projects/RPSB-RP2007.pdf.

Robins, Anthony. 1995. "When Old Buildings Ripen for Historic Preservation: A Predictive Approach to Planning." Journal of the American Planning Association 61 (1): 95-98. Accessed September 4, 2019. https://doi.org/10.1080/01944369508975621.

Ryberg-Webster, Stephanie, and Kelly L Kinahan. 2017. "Historic Preservation in Declining City Neighborhoods: Analysing Rehabilitation Tax Credit Investments in Six US Cities." Urban Studies 54, no. 7: 1673–91. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098016629313. Accessed November 5, 2019.

San Francisco Office of Economic and Workforce Development. 2019. Strengthening Neighborhood Commercial Districts: Mayor Lee's Invest in Neighborhoods. "Our impact on 25 San Francisco Neighborhood." Accessed December 3, 2019. http://www.sfoewd.org/report/team/neighborhoods/.

San Francisco Planning. 2019. Bulletins and Policies: Preservation Bulletins. "Bulletin Number 10: Historic and Conservation Districts in San Francisco." Accessed September 4, 2019. https://sfplanning.org/heritage-conservation-element.

San Francisco Redevelopment Agency (SFRA). 2010. "Redevelopment Plan for the Bayview Hunters Point Redevelopment Project". Accessed September 3, 2019. https://sfocii.org/sites/default/files/FileCenter/Documents/3331-Final_Bayview_Hunters_Point_Redevelopment_Plan_with_Attachments%5B1%5D.pdf.

San Francisco Redevelopment Agency (SFRA). 2009. "Transit Center District Plan." Accessed September 5, 2019. https://www.sfcta.org/sites/default/files/2019-03/Transit_Center_District_Plan_Public_Draft_WEB.pdf.

Saunders, Debra J. "Eminent Domain Means Your Home can be their Castle." SF Gate (San Francisco, Ca.), August 19, 2016.

SPUR and San Francisco Architectural Heritage. 2013. "Heritage Preservation in San Francisco: Making the Preservation Process Work for Everyone." Accessed August 31, 2019. https://www.spur.org/sites/default/files/publications_pdfs/SPUR_Historic_Preservation_in_SF.pdf.

State of California Legislative Analyst's Office: California's Non-partisan Fiscal and Policy Advisor. Proposition 90. November 2006. https://lao.ca.gov/ballot/2006/90_11_2006.htm. Accessed November 30, 2019.

State of California Legislative Analyst's Office: California's Non-partisan Fiscal and Policy Advisor. Overview of Proposition 98 and 99. April 24, 2008. https://lao.ca.gov/handouts/localgov/2008/Prop_98_99_04_24_08.pdf. Accessed November 30, 2019.

"Tenderloin Community Benefit District Receives Financial Support From San Francisco's Office of Economic and Workforce Development, Saint Francis Foundation, Shorenstein Residential." PR Newswire. March 16, 2016.

Tenderloin Neighborhood Development Corporation. 2013. "TNDC Strategic Plan." Accessed September 21, 2019. https://www.tndc.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/2013SP_FINAL_Web.pdf.

U.S. Congress. House and Senate. Private Property Rights Protection Act of 2017. HR1689. 115 Cong., 2nd sess. Introduced in House March 22, 2017. https://www.congress.gov/bill/115th-congress/house-bill/1689.

U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). n.d. Community Development Block Grant Program: Preserving America. Accessed November 30, 2019. https://www.hud.gov/sites/documents/DOC_14211.PDF.

U.S. Department of Interior National Park Service Technical Preservation Services. Tax Incentives for Preserving Historic Properties. Accessed November 30, 2019. https://www.nps.gov/tps/tax-incentives.htm.

Valverde, Mariana. 2012. Everyday Law on the Street: City Governance in an Age of Diversity. Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 2012.

Healthy Street Operations Center: "Safe and Clean Streets"

Cecelia N. Mariscal

Creating and implementing effectual solutions to combat homelessness is a vexing issue and a priority for cities all across the United States. Lack of affordable housing, substandard wages, and job insecurity has dramatically increased the rate of poverty (Wolch 1998, 8). The sight of tent cities has become a fixture in urban landscapes and serves as a visual testament to the harsh reality of economic instability that permeates our lives. Decreased availability of jobs, housing, and a living wage has contributed to the high rates of homelessness many cities are grappling with daily. These systemic factors are intensified by the criminalizing tactics which scholars referred to as coercive policing; The tactics are used by city agencies and police against homeless people to protect tax revenue and tourism.

During the increasing globalization of markets during the eighties and nineties, neoliberalism ideology became attractive to policy-makers striving to remain competitive, thus resulting in severely undermined social safety nets and the eradication of alternatives to low-wage jobs. Deep-seated ideas that poverty results from individual choices has greatly influenced policy resulting in programs such as George Bush's "Compassion Agenda" or Bill Clinton's "Continuum of Care'' program (Sparks 2012, 1516; Wolch 1998, 8-9).

These programs cut funding and created stringent criteria to receive financial aid. Federal cuts to welfare programs in combination with societal beliefs about poor people have economically isolated a significant portion of the population. These ideas have exacerbated the conditions of poverty and homelessness (Wolch 1998, 8-10) In addition to fueling poverty and homelessness, these policies have had lasting impacts to how cities capacity and approach to managing these issues. Draconian cuts to welfare programs, the revitalization of downtown centers, and a push for smaller governments, during the Bush and Clinton administrations, led to the creation of Business improvement districts emphasizing private-public partnerships. Business improvement Districts act as both a regulating force and a deterrent of activities perceived to threaten consumer spending fueling poverty and homelessness (Lippert 2012; Steffen 2012). The concentration of wealth among a smaller group of people along with wage inequalities has contributed to an increased homelessness in cities like San Francisco (Murphy 2009).

Cities are left to grapple with this human crisis in the face of inadequate resources resulting in misguided policies. Negative perceptions of law enforcement in marginalized communities and their limited scope of practice rarely elicit police officer's images as caretakers or protectors. Cities like San Francisco and Denver have resorted to direct and third-party enforcement of ordinances to ban everyday life-sustaining activities that essentially remove homeless people. (Robinson 2017, 49).San Francisco has promoted this negative pattern through their dispassionate response to homelessness in the Healthy Streets Operation Center (HSOC).

San Francisco established HSOC, a coalition of agencies, in January of 2016, in response to an increasing number of complaints to the San Francisco Police Department, a department ill-equipped to handle the enormity of this growing crisis alone. HSOC includes The Department of Public Works (DPW) The Department of Health (DPH) The Homeless Outreach Team (HOT). They were tasked with collaborating on a coordinated care response for San Francisco's unsheltered population. HSOC's mission states that it aims to keep San Francisco's streets "safe and clean", fulfill shelter and service needs for those living on the streets and address "homelessness and street behavior" through a coordinated response between city agencies (sfcontroller.org 2019). "Street behavior" is not clearly defined in HSOC publications but alludes to criminal activity which becomes synonymous with homelessness. HSOC's approach reflects deeply entrenched cultural views of homelessness as an issue deserving of charity as well as punishment. These conflicting values are evident in their public image and verbalization of compassion. HSOC uses these tactics in supporting the public health of San Franciscans while taking actions like sweeps which endanger the health of San Francisco's highly vulnerable unsheltered population. DPW's "outreach efforts'" in the guise of sweeps removing unsheltered individuals from areas where their presence is perceived as a threat to consumption and customer and property owner safety. Through sweeps, DPW forcibly moves those living unsheltered to the periphery of the city, taking personal items and eliminating shelter. Confiscation of food, medicine, clothing or shelter leaves individuals completely exposed and compromises survival.

My research challenges the continued funding of these actions carried out by the Healthy Street Operations Center against the unsheltered population. The mission of the Healthy Street Operation Center is to:

> Provide a coordinated City response to unsheltered experiencing homelessness, individuals struggling with behavioral health issues, street cleanliness, and related public safety issues to ensure San Francisco's streets are healthy for everyone.

My research suggests San Francisco's financial interests, not the well-being of those living unsheltered, are the driving force behind homelessness policy in San Francisco. San Francisco has remained steadfast in using punitive measures to manage its homelessness crisis. As of 2015, San Francisco has passed more municipal ordinances banning everyday activities such as sitting, walking, and sleeping in public places, than any other city in California (Herring 2015). SFPD and DPW, use public 'health and safety' to issue move-along orders, seize property and criminalize activities required for basic survival such as panhandling and sleeping in public. HSOC achieves this by skewing the limits of citizenship. This research makes clear that those living unsheltered do not have access to the same rights and freedoms as those who own property or operate businesses. HSOC selectively works to create 'safe and clean' streets for property and business owners while employing laws that criminalize the life-sustaining activities of those living unsheltered. HSOC in conjunction with DPW and SFPD through citations, arrests and sweeps promotes unsafe living conditions and barriers to a clean environment. In addition to creating 'safe and clean' streets, HSOC seeks to connect individuals with services and shelter, however San Francisco's annual homeless count found 5,180 individuals were living unsheltered out of a total of 8,011 counted as homeless (Hsh.sfgov.org 2019).

The Department of Homelessness and Supportive Housing (HSH) established in July of 2016 to provide health and housing referral services, as well as temporary housing solutions to San Francisco's unsheltered population. HSH oversees San Francisco's Navigation Center system, which serves as a temporary housing solution in spite of severe constraints. The first navigation center opened in 2015 with five currently in operation and an additional center set to open in December of 2019. Cumulatively, San Francisco's navigation centers can hold up to 595 people. The Navigation Center's primary purpose is to get people off the streets and into permanent housing. Navigation Centers allow a minimum 2-night stay for those utilizing Homeward Bound, a program which grants one-time bus tickets to people willing to leave San Francisco, 7-night stays for emergency cases, and 30-night stays with extensions reserved for those willing to cooperate with 'exit-plans' (Hsh.sfgov.org, 2019). Limited shelter capacity and strict timelines, Navigation Centers fail to meet the shelter and service needs of San Francisco's homeless population.

HSH works closely with the San Francisco Police Department in moving unsheltered people off the streets and into the Navigation Centers. Lack of shelter and resources combined with punitive measures such as sweeps and arrests frequently undertaken by DPW and SFPD cast doubt on HSOC's true function and ability to provide alternatives to those living unsheltered. HSOC's coordinated care response does little more than temporarily remove the unsheltered out of contested locations. This work builds upon literature centered around the criminalization of homelessness and demonstrates how HSOC uses "public health" to isolate and criminalize San Francisco's homeless population by protecting the interests of the business community and property owners.

In 2017, San Francisco's Homelessness and Supportive Housing budget was $239 million. Two percent was designated for health services, 7% for street outreach services, and 18% for temporary housing (Hsh.sfgov.org 2019). Despite the 239-million-dollar budget dedicated to relieving homelessness, homelessness persists. The continued criminalization of those engaging in life-sustaining activities exacerbates the already dire conditions of poverty many homeless people already experience.

Extensive research has been published on the conditions in which poverty and to what extent certain demographics are disproportionately subject to these conditions over others. For example, Incarceration, where African American and Latino males are over-represented, creates debt for both the incarcerated individuals and their families through the loss of income and the accumulation of interest on fines. Incarceration affects families psychologically and emotionally which can greatly impact one's ability to work, further driving people already vulnerable deeper into poverty. (Comfort 2002) This financial instability puts people at higher risk for becoming homeless. Homelessness neither absolves them from prior debt nor prevents them from acquiring more. Being unsheltered is

financially burdensome due to various ordinances and laws that ban activities such as sitting, standing, or sleeping in public places which often result in fines. Fines are an outgrowth of underlying beliefs about personal accountability as opposed to structural causes. It can be impossible for individuals, who are poor or homeless, to pay back fines as they continue to collect interest contributing to an accelerated acquisition of debt, driving them deeper into poverty (Harris 2016). In many cases outstanding fines create financial hardship for the homeless; Interests accumulate leading to ticketing and arrest driving them further into poverty. Deeper poverty increases the probability of becoming homeless. Punitive approaches to homelessness replicated in city after city, where governments have invented a myriad of names to describe the same basic program, aimed to remove homelessness from "public" view. The removal of unsheltered individuals is achieved through outlawing sleeping, sitting, loitering, and panhandling. Since MartinV. Boise, it is illegal to arrest people for sleeping in public if there is no available shelter (The Law Center 2019). Despite inadequate availability of resources for those experiencing homelessness in San Francisco, police continue to penalize them. In addition to overt methods of policing homelessness, covert operations include neighborhoods that are in opposition of homeless shelters in their zip code indirectly policing the homeless population. (Foscarinis 1996) Three main approaches have been identified in cities' attempts to curtail homelessness; Aggressive Patrol, Coercive Benevolence or Therapeutic policing , and harm-reduction policing. Aggressive patrol is a byproduct of "Broken Windows" policing, responsible for New York's well-known "Zero-Tolerance" and "Stop and Frisk policies." Coercive Benevolence/Therapeutic policing uses police power to detain and offer social service solutions as an alternative to punitive measures while Harm-Reduction acknowledges 'structural failings' in the circumstances of individuals. (Beckett, Herbert, Stuart, 2018) Aggressive Patrol and Therapeutic policing appear to be the most utilized and most exclusionary due to deep-seated underlying beliefs about lack of hygiene or disease among unsheltered people. These widely-held beliefs are used as justification by property owners and businesses to remove any trace of homelessness from these spaces to protect consumption through the preservation of 'safety and cleanliness'(Randall 2003). Promoting consumption has led to the creation of business districts assuming roles traditionally held by governments. Cities dependent on the tax revenue of businesses often support policies that preserve the private-public partnership prioritizing business needs over the needs of residents (Clark 2015). Business improvement districts with the support of cities have implemented programs which have reduced the visibility of homelessness in entertainment and shopping districts but have increased their presence on the fringes of cities creating barriers to survival (Herring 2014). These coercive practices effectively isolate unhoused individuals, relegating them to restricted spaces to protect the interests of the business community and property owners. (Speer 2018)

Methodology

This study relies on textual analyses of documents requested from the city of San Francisco, under the Freedom of Information Act, from all HSOC participating agencies mentioning homelessness. These documents include HSOC's email communications, meeting agendas, minutes, 311 complaints, and environmental service work orders. These documents provide evidence that suggest HSOC overwhelmingly catered to taxpayers and business owners. In addition, there is also a strong correlation between 311 complaint resolution efforts and encampment clearance within specific San Francisco geographic locations. This study does not immediately render any ethical issues but has limitations. The documents used here for textual analysis are from 2018 and which represent a limited period of time and do not reflect recent changes to policy or protocols. I am also confined to records that overtly mention "homelessness" which may present a narrow window of HSOC's approach to homelessness. However, the thousands of documents analyzed including emails, data reports, power points, agendas, and meeting minutes, were not written with the intention to be shared with the public. Their exposure allowed an unadulterated view into the inner-workings of HSOC. These documents indicate that specific economic factors are driving police policy and citywide approaches towards homelessness and encampments.

Healthy Streets Operations Center

The contrast between rich and poor has become disturbingly stark as tent encampments juxtapose cranes jutting over the skyline foreshadowing luxury condominiums and rising rents. In the wake of real estate and tech booms, many people have lost their homes, reportedly due to the inability to compete in the current job market or eviction from their longtime homes through legislation such as the Ellis Act. (Sfbos.org 2013) No doubt, many moved away due to the exorbitant cost of living. The 8,011 counted homeless population is up 17% from 2017n(Hsh.sfgov.org 2019). HSOC states they aim to achieve these goals for all San Franciscans, through a coordinated response between city agencies such as the San Francisco Police Department (SFPD), Department of Health (DPH), Department of Emergency Management (DEM), Department of Homelessness and supportive Housing (HSH) in collaboration with The Department of Public Works and others. Though HSOC is a coalition of agencies founded to serve the homeless population, the analysis of countless email threads suggest HSOC functions as an extension of the SFPD to protect San Francisco's financial interests rather than serve San Francisco's unsheltered residents. To mitigate potential threats to tourism and other types of consumerism posed by homelessness, San Francisco has devoted a significant amount of resources in an attempt to curtail it. In 2017, San Francisco allocated 66% of its $239 million dollar fiscal year on permanent housing. Despite the significant amount of funding allotted for permanent housing, three additional navigation centers were opened in 2018, more and more people find themselves living on the streets. In a city that is 7x7 square miles, already limited space has been encroached upon by luxury housing and commercial development pushing those living unsheltered to the foreground. Increased visibility of homelessness as well as those experiencing mental health crises or engaged in life-sustaining activities such as panhandling, sleeping, bathing, or using the restroom, by the unhoused, create discomfort and can be perceived as barriers to the lives of the housed. (Speer 2018). Emails from residents, witnessing these events, to district supervisors, frequently mention feeling unsafe and express concerns about unhygienic conditions. These beliefs create tension between residents and the business community which deem the activities of homeless people unsafe and unclean. (Amster 2003) Internal documents from the DPW show that SFPD are regularly employed to supervise the sweeps and confiscation of personal belongings by issuing citations, arresting, or evicting homeless residents from these contested spaces in response to resident and business complaints. Life-sustaining activities are necessary to the survival of the housed and unhoused, however, unsheltered individuals have no choice but to perform in public view and are subject to arrest or citation as a result.

Propertied Status

Initially established in response to resident complaints in the Mission District, HSOC expanded citywide on January 16, 2018, to serve all "San Franciscans." Upon analysis of emailed complaints to HSOC and city supervisors, "San Franciscan" is defined by these agencies through the quality and frequency of their response to those who support San Francisco's financial interests. HSOC focuses its efforts on business owners, property owners, and taxpayers. DPW, SFPD, and the other participating agencies of HSOC collaborate with residents and business community members to eliminate signs of homelessness from their neighborhoods despite its message of keeping 'safe and clean' streets for all San Franciscans. Residents and business community members can submit complaints regarding homelessness and encampments by calling 311 or submitting complaints through its app, which routes calls to the appropriate agency depending on the nature of the complaint. Residents and business owners call in various complaints concerning homeless behavior. The most common complaints are about tents that block sidewalks, which businesses claim discourage customers from frequenting their shops, and those from residents about encampments being too close to schools. Other complaints include drug use, chop shops, syringes, fire hazards, and urine and feces in public places. The nature of complaints as well as who is submitting them show a clear delineation between the protected and non-protected classes. Residents wield their "taxpayer" status freely as justification for demanding swift action from police against encampments as a barrier to "safe and clean" streets. These tactics yield temporary results .The idea of taxpayer status as inherently more entitled than those who do not mirror 'propertied citizenship' viewing access to rights as congruent with ownership of property. (Herring, 2019, 795; Sparks 2012) Propertied ownership upholds the idea that the city is as a product, viewing government and its agencies act as a broker of services for those who can pay.

In addition to propertied status, political status plays an important factor in how quickly one can obtain services. Emailed complaints from longtime homeowners and residents to Hillary Ronen, District Nine Supervisor, document the discomfort residents have over witnessing the unsheltered community engaged in life-sustaining activities like cooking, sleeping, and the suspicion of drug use in their neighborhood. In response to the concerned constituent, Hillary Ronen copied DPW, regarding this encampment of homeless people in the neighborhood underscoring its urgency by informing them of her own daughter who attends school nearby. This received prompt assurance from Rachael, representing DPW, that the homeless outreach team would be "plugged in." This email exchange highlights both the exclusion of homeless voices as well as the influence political and propertied status has on city agencies. Unhoused people are not afforded the same rights as business and property owners. Home-

lessness is viewed as a result of a personal defect and therefore, not equally entitled to its services as non-participants in the system. To protect the assets of San Francisco, HSOC has invested in protecting the safety of those which support the financial interests of the city: Business Community, Property Owners, and their offspring.

Tourism

Ramped up efforts by DPW, SFPD, and BSES. to steam clean, remove homeless encampments, and confiscate property, in high tourist areas to prevent threats to revenue neglects the needs of other neighborhoods. It aids in HSOC's mission of keeping streets 'safe and clean' for all San Franciscans.Citing individuals for quality of life ordinances, and confiscating property in high-traffic tourist areas only serves to perpetuate and postpone the inevitable, a broken system.

Business Improvement Districts/ Community Benefit Districts

Rincon Hill/East Cut has transitioned from a primarily commercial area to a high-income residential area and home to many of San Francisco's corporate headquarters. Established in 2015, the Community Benefit District provides services such as community guides, special event programming, business and economic development, and neighborhood safety and cleanliness. The benefits a privileged status can bring are particularly strong and visible in districts with high concentrations of wealth or exposure to tourism. These districts may be eligible to become a Business Improvement District (BID) or Community Benefit District status (CBD) where they can hire their own dedicated staff to handle services normally provided by the City. For example, The Rincon Hill/East Cut Community District maintains an active private-public partnership with the City of San Francisco as a community benefit district where they provide their own cleaning, outreach, and street ambassador services that the city would normally provide. It is the sixth most expensive zip code in the nation to live in boasting an average rent of $,4,858 per month and a median property value of 1.6 million reflecting the high desirability of the neighborhood. (Brinklow 2019) There is even an online store featuring East Cut hats and sweatshirts available for purchase. Its website advertises Rincon Hill/ East Cut as "San Francisco's most hospitable neighborhood." Analysis of textual exchange between the Rincon Hill/ East Cut's community benefits district and HSOC suggests a primary function of their partnership is to monitor and remove signs of homelessness within the boundaries of Rincon Hill/ East Cut. An excerpt from the neighborhood's community development June 2018 operation's report states:

> Moreover, the staff continues to be very active in providing welfare checks to the homeless, contacting 311 daily reports regarding homeless encampments. With the new additions to the cleaning staff, the team has been more productive and able to realize faster response times to stakeholder calls.

This excerpt from the Daily Operations' Report and email exchanges between the Rincon Hill/East Cut CBD staff and HSOC demonstrate the CBD's primary functions are to survey the neighborhood for homeless individuals and encampments and reporting them to 311. This Data triggers a response from SFPD, DPW, and HSH which work in collaboration with the Rincon Hill/East Cut's publicly funded but privately hired cleaning crew to respond to "stakeholder" calls. The Rincon Hill/East Cut Community Benefit District works very closely with HSOC to prevent and remove encampments including using 311 to report homeless encampments. Email correspondence between the Rincon Hill/East Cut CBD reveal that homeless and encampment reporting is a regularly performed duty of CBD staff. In addition, HSOC schedules regular walk throughs and meetings to gather concerns to help formulate an action plan and tie in the appropriate agencies. Homeless encampment removal requests are routed to both SFPD as well as HOT, and DPW. Because DPW can't remove any tents or other property without the presence of the San Francisco Police to bag and tag items, cite, and or arrest people. In many ways, The Rincon Hill/East Cut CBD acts as a broker for police services. The policing of homelessness in this neighborhood is a collaborative effort between HSOC and the CBD. The "health and wellness checks" and daily reporting to 311 of homeless people and encampments, carried out by the CBD staff, are framed as essential for the "quality of life" and "economic viability" of the neighborhood according to the website. However, it is difficult to prove that the citation and arrest of the unhoused and the confiscation of their stuff would yield positive health outcomes for unhoused individuals. The unsheltered residents of Rincon Hill/ East Cut neighborhood do not have a non-profit 501c3 status and are not able to receive funding through the city of San Francisco to make changes to the neighborhood reflecting their needs for safety. The excerpt from the Rincon Hill/East Cut neighborhood mentions "…the team has been more productive and able to realize faster response times to stakeholder calls." The stakeholder calls in this example are referring to homeless and encampment related concerns reported by owners, renters, and the businesses. Based on the distinction made between the "stakeholders" who initiate the calls and those that are the subject of the calls, it is clear that it is the "stakeholders," who make up the "neighborhood" which this organization is built around. Though the Rincon Hill/ East Cut neighborhood mentions their staff performs "health and wellness" checks on homeless individuals, it is mentioned within the context of reporting these concerns through 311 as well as faster response time from cleaning teams. The objectives of the Rincon Hill/ East Cut Community Benefit District are structured to serve the "stakeholders" which does so with the help of San Francisco municipal funds and HSOC Typical concerns expressed by this neighborhood and others like it frequently cite homelessness as a health and safety concern which receives a prompt response from HSOC Department Representatives. However, no equivalent exists for unsheltered residents of San Francisco to report their safety concerns, nor are they responded to in the same way. Homeless encampments are not able to organize in a way that allows them access to municipal funds to further their interests and are often met with scorn and orders to move.

In my textual analysis, I came across a program the city of San Francisco oversees called the "Fix-It-team", established in 2016. The "Fix-it Team, much like CBDs and BIDS, addresses "quality of life concerns." These concerns are identified through crime data supplied by SFPD, 311 and resident feedback obtained during neighborhood walk-throughs. Their plans address graffiti, litter, streetlights and homeless encampments, and general concerns. Through sustained community engagement, the fix-it team both reinforces the neighborhood symbolically and spatially. The 'neighborhood' is defined in several ways; The fix-it team aids in this definition by determining who feedback is collected from and how it prioritizes its response. The objectives in the fix-it teams' 2017-2018 report are related to the maintenance and beautification of the built environment. To achieve these objectives, the fix-it teams offer a form of surveillance of unhoused people for the city of San Francisco by providing welfare checks. Through "welfare checks," information about homeless residents are collected and forwarded to 311 by the CBD. internal email threads between HOT and HSH show running records of "resistant individuals" who warranted continued outreach attempts. Encampment locations and specific individuals are identified and reported through 311 which can then initiate the removal process by HSOC. Though HSOC advertises that they provide service referrals and housing, internal documents show that these encounters often end in tent removal and property confiscation.

Conclusion

San Francisco has earned a reputation of maintaining some of the harshest policies towards homelessness (Herring 2016). Programs like the Zero Tolerance program in New York City and the Matrix Program in San Francisco informed by "broken windows policing" has unleashed a torrent of ordinances focused on low-level misdemeanor crimes (Sparks 2018). Similarly to the Zero Tolerance program HSOC criminalizes homelessness through enforcement of these ordinances. HSOC's goals of leading with compassion and making streets safe and clean for all San Franciscans translates into a vigilant response to San Francisco's citizens' discomfort and concern over homeless and encampment visibility resulting in either coercing unsheltered residents into limited temporary housing or removing them from the space altogether. This is achieved through sweeps, citation and arrest. My research uncovered several emails between DPW, HSH, and HOT regarding penal codes, furnished by Commander David Lazar of SFPD, to be enforced against encampments supporting the removal of people and their belongings from public and private property. This reflects both a legacy of "broken windows" policing by enabling the arrests and citations for life-sustaining activities such as sitting and sleeping. (Herring 2019; Sparks 2018; Robinson 2017) as well as the participation of HSOC agencies in the policing and criminalizing of unsheltered communities.

Homelessness has risen by 14% since 2017 in spite of HSOC. (Hsh.sfgov.org, 2019) Though unemployment in May of 2019 was at 2.19%, the lowest reported since 2010, and rental values decreased in the last quarter of 2019, 10% of San Franciscans live below the poverty line with a cost of living higher than almost all peer cities excluding the San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara region, the hub of the bay area's technology economy. (Sfgov.org, 2018) San Francisco's HSOC maintained an operating budget of 260 million dollars during the 15-16 fiscal year which increased significantly compared to the 160-million-dollar operating budget of 2011-2012. Despite increased funding the rate of homelessness grew in 2017. There are no indications that the ill effects experienced by the unsheltered population at the hands of HSOC will subside as long as San Francisco continues to fund the Healthy Street Operations Center. Homelessness will continue to plague San Francisco until policymakers take concrete steps towards equitable solutions that counter the scarcity of municipal resources and address the structural inequalities at the root of poverty and homelessness.

In addition to these agencies villainizing homelessness in their attempts to curtail it, HSOC

siphons funding away from the potential development of programs which could address the underlying causes of poverty and housing insecurity. Instead the funding of HSOC results in the displacement of unsheltered people from "contested" urban spaces (Stuart 2014). Negative perceptions and attitudes towards homelessness and its perceived threat to profits move powerful business and property owners to use their economic and social capital to remove and criminalize unsheltered people. HSOC's framing of these actions around public health evokes a negative image of a homeless person as unruly , unclean, and unsafe promoting the criminalization of unhoused individuals and their removal from urban spaces in the name of safety (Steffen, p. 177). The outcome of the coercive care approach which issues harsh penalties for sleeping outside with the expressed intent of 'getting homeless people off the streets' creates quality of life concerns for homeless individuals. This idea of "care" fueling these policing practices is not yielding the desired results (Robinson, 2019).

This research explores ways in which business and propertied status drive policies surrounding homelessness in San Francisco. During 2016-2017, the San Francisco Public Works Department spent 49.3 million dollars, 70% of their budget on street environmental services (sf.gov, 2016). Cleaning schedules that frequent high-income or revenue generating districts, 311 reports of citizen complaints, and meeting agenda items listing encampments suggest a strong connection between the response of environmental services and propertied status and revenue generating industries. The enforcement of San Francisco health codes §§ 581 and 596 designed to "remove conditions…declared to be a public nuisance" gives San Francisco Police the authority to remove people and things deemed contaminated or unsanitary because of their perceived threat to "public health." These ideas about homeless people are insidious and create barriers to survival for unsheltered people through arrest, citation and the destruction of property. These actions prioritize the health of those seen as contributors to San Francisco's prosperity and are carried out at the expense of the severely marginalized and disenfranchised.

The Healthy Street Operations Center employs laws for the purpose of protecting the public health of property owners through the coercion of unsheltered people into services thus removing them from view. HSOC at best is ineffective and at worst, immoral. HSOC is not designed or equipped to end homelessness, and in many cases compounds its harsh conditions. Despite the modest increase of people living unsheltered after HSOC's inception, the city of San Francisco continues to fund it. In 2019, The San Francisco Department of Public Health received a three million-dollar-grant that was used to expand drop-in center hours and expand metal health services. Funding could be used more effectively by eliminating barriers such as lack of affordable permanent housing and employment which creates homelessness in the first place. Mayor London Breed should call for an immediate end to encampment sweeps and the criminalization of life-sustaining activities such as sleeping in public spaces and panhandling. HSOC's ineffectiveness and inhumane approach to "serving" San Francisco's most vulnerable should invoke a serious re-examination of HSOC by Mayor London Breed and the board of supervisors.

References

Amster, Randall. "Patterns of Exclusion: Sanitizing Space, Criminalizing Homelessness." Social Justice, vol. 30, no. 1, 2003, pp. 195–221.

Beckett, Katherine, and Steven Kelly Herbert. Banished: The New Social Control in Urban America. Oxford University Press, 2010.

Berk, R. & MacDonald, J., 2010. Policing the homeless. Criminology & Public Policy, 9(4), pp.813–840.

Boba, R. (2006), "Third Party Policing", Policing: An International Journal, Vol. 29 No. 4, pp. 773-774.

Brinklow, A. (2019). The most expensive ZIP codes in San Francisco for renters. [online] Curbed SF.

Brousseau, F. Policy analysis report: Policy analysis report: (2013). San Francisco, CA: Board of Supervisors, Budget and Legislative Analyst.

Clarke, J. (2015). Business Improvement Districts Take Over Cities: One-Dollar/One-Vote. Race, Poverty & the Environment, 20(2), 87-92.

Comfort, Megan. "Punishment Beyond the Legal Offender." Vol. 3, no. 1, pp. 271–296.

Corgas, C. (2019). Current CBD Portfolio. [online] Sfplanning.org.

Davis, Mike. City of Quartz - Excavating the Future in Los Angeles. 1990.

Department of Homelessness and Supportive Housing. Five-year strategic framework: executive summary, Five-year strategic framework: executive summary (2017). San Francisco, CA.

Foscarinis, Maria, 2011, pp. Contemporary World Issues: Modern Homelessness: A Reference Handbook.

Foscarinis, Maria, 2012. Homelessness in America: a human rights crisis. Journal of Law in Society, 13(2), p.515.

Geary, D. (2015). The Moynihan Report. [online] The Atlantic.

Hennigan, B. & Speer, J., 2019. Compassionate revanchism: The blurry geography of homelessness in the USA. Urban Studies, 56(5), pp.906–921.

Herbert, Steve, Katherine Beckett, and Stuart Forrest. "Policing Social Marginality: Contrasting Approaches." Law & Social Inquiry 43.4 (2018): 1491-513.

Herring, C., 2019. Complaint-Oriented Policing: Regulating Homelessness in Public Space. American Sociological Review, 84(5), pp.769–800.

Herring, Chris. "The New Logics of Homeless Seclusion: Homeless Encampments in America's West Coast Cities." City & Community 13.4 (2014): 285-309. Web.

Lewis, Oscar, and Oliver La Farge. Five Families ; Mexican Case Studies in the Culture of Poverty. Basic Books, 1959.

Lippert, Randy, et al. "'Clean and Safe' Passage: Business Improvement Districts, Urban Security Modes, and Knowledge Brokers." European Urban and Regional Studies, vol. 19, no. 2, 2012, pp. 167–180.

Murphy, S. & Roy, Ananya, 2008. The politics of benevolence: Homeless *policy in San Francisco, pp. ProQuest Dissertations and Theses.

Robinson, Tony. "No Right to Rest: Police Enforcement Patterns and Quality of Life Consequences of the Criminalization of Homelessness." Urban Affairs Review, vol. 55, no. 1, 2019, pp. 41–73.

Rowe, Michael & O'Connell, Maria, 2010. Policy essay on "Policing the Homeless. Criminology & Public Policy, 9(4), p.875.

San Francisco . Human Services Agency.; Abbott Little Consulting. Abbott Little Consulting., 1990. City and County of San Francisco annual homeless count Homelessness.

Sfbos.org. (2013). Policy Analysis Report. [online]

Sfcontroller.org. (2016). San Francisco Navigation Center. [online]

Sfgov.org. (2018). Poverty in San Francisco | City Performance Scorecards. [online]

Sfgov.org. (2019). Average Length of Stay at the Navigation Center | City Performance Scorecards.

Sparks, T., 2012. Governing the Homeless in an Age of Compassion: Homelessness, Citizenship, and the 10-Year Plan to End Homelessness in King County Washington. Antipode, 44(4), pp.1510–1531.

Sparks, T., 2018. Reproducing Disorder: The Effects of Broken Windows Policing on Homeless People with Mental Illness in San Francisco. Social Justice, 45(2/3), pp.51–200.

Steffen, C.G., 2012. The Corporate Campaign against Homelessness: Class Power and Urban Governance in Neoliberal Atlanta, 1973–1988. Journal of Social History, 46(1), pp.170–196.

Stuart, F., 2014. From 'Rabble Management' to 'Recovery Management': Policing Homelessness in Marginal Urban Space. Urban Studies, 51(9), pp.1909–1925.

Ward, K., 2006. 'Policies in Motion', Urban Management and State Restructuring: The Trans-Local Expansion of Business Improvement Districts. International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 30(1)

Six Thousand Miles from Home: Mongolians in San Francisco and their Pursuit of Happiness

Urtnasan Enkhbat

The American Dream is the pursuit that is highly coveted by not just Americans but countless others outside of the United States. It is a force that continues to attract many to the United States in hopes to live a better life. The number of Asian immigrants to the United States has increased significantly as the number of Asians immigrating to the United States saw the fastest growth compared to immigration from other groups from 2000 to 2015 (Zong & Batalova, 2016, Choi, Y., He, M., Harachi, T. W, 2008). It is estimated that by 2055, Asians will become the largest immigrant group in the U.S., overtaking the Hispanic immigrants (Radford,J., 2019).

Despite their significance in the U.S., Asian Americans are not studied in great depth compared to the other nonwhite demographic groups such as African Americans and Hispanics. The term "Asian" combines different Asian American subgroups and assumes heterogeneity (Holland AT & Palaniappan LP, 2012). This is problematic because there are multitudes of Asian American groups that are distinct and unique from one another, that each follow its distinct cultural and religious practices, and even have varying immigration patterns and sociodemographic characteristics (Zong & Batalova, 2016).

Often times, these distinctions are overlooked that result in the lack of studies that focus on subgroup Asian Americans (Choi, Y., He, M., Harachi, T. W., 2008). Asians are considered a minority group within the U.S., but within this minority, there are other minorities as well. Within the already limited amount of literature that is available in academia, certain Asian American subgroups are studied more broadly than others. There is more literature on the lives of Chinese, Korean, Japanese and Vietnamese immigrants compared to other non-mainstream Asians such as Malaysian, Indonesian and Mongolian immigrants. Despite the scarcity, studies continue to be done within the smaller Asian immigrant groups.

In 2005, a study was done among Indonesian Catholics in Chicago which took a close look at the experiences of immigrants of a less prominent Asian group in the US. This study is also unique in that the writer was able to portray the experience from a participant-observation perspective as she was living in Chicago and consistently participated within the community of Indonesian Catholics in Chicago while she wrote her thesis. The study found that "the small size of the community results in informal dynamics of the immigrant organization," (Padawangi, R. & Wittner, Judith G., 2005).

Another lesser known Asian immigrant community similar to the Indonesians is Mongolians. According to the US Census, in 2017, it was estimated that among the survey participants, 21,606 reported themselves as Mongolians (U.S. Census Bureau, 2017). The largest metropolitan Mongolian population concentrations are found in Chicago, Washington DC, San Francisco and Los Angeles ("Mongolians in the U.S. Fact Sheet"). There is very little literature written on the lives of Mongolian immigrants in the US. Without studies done that are focused on the group, these twenty some thousand Mongolians go unnoticed and unrepresented in the US academia and society as a whole. Therefore, in order to bring awareness to the lives of Mongolian immigrants in the United States, this study was done in order to showcase the experience of Mongolians living in San Francisco Bay Area with additional information from participant observation.

The United States is unique in that it is made up of immigrants, people who have chosen to leave their home countries in the pursuit of a better life. Although, there are similarities and familiarity within certain immigrant groups, there are distinctions and uniqueness that are only found in certain immigrant groups as well. Based on these differences, the needs and desires of these groups vary as well. Research and studies are required to inquire these needs and desires that play crucial role in decision and policy making. As a member of a small immigrant group, Mongolians, I have come to realize that representation is extremely important to thrive and succeed in the United States. Representation allows visibility and recognition. I have been an active member of the Mongolian community in the San Francisco Bay Area for the last six years and I have witnessed that Mongolians are a fast-growing group of immigrants in the US. I have also found that there is close to no literature on the experience of Mongolians in the US. This has led me to question what I could do to contribute to my community.

Through my research, I hoped to make the Mongolian community visible to not just the world of academia but to the American society as well. This research also aimed to dive into the struggles and issues that the Mongolian community is facing in the US. In addition, it is also important to refer to similar studies. While doing my research, I came across a study that focused on a minority group of Asians, Indonesians, in a large metropolitan city in America. It is also important to note that Asians are considered a minority group in the U.S. but there are groups within Asians who are considered a minority. I found that Padawangi's study was successful in showcasing how a minority group like the Indonesians within the Asians in the U.S., lived and thrived in Chicago, one of the metropolitan cities in the U.S. In addition, I found the study extremely insightful as Padawangi was also a member of the group so she gave a perspective that no other American researcher could. Based on the similarity that Mongolians are a minority within a minority group of Asians just like the Indonesians, and that this research is also located in San Francisco, another metropolitan city in the U.S., topped with my personal experience as a member of the community just like Padawangi, I felt that following closely to Padawangi's paper would be appropriate. Padawangi's research was the example that closely guided me to complete this research.

To provide insight into the quality of the experience, qualitative analysis research methods were used which included conducting interviews with Mongolians of different lifestyles and age group as well. Data from the US Census Bureau for the number of Mongolians in the United States was used for a better spatial understanding. As a member of the Mongolian community, I also conducted participant observations in hopes to provide a more accurate description of the experience of a Mongolian immigrant in the US.

Research Design

The overall method that I have sought to follow for my research was a qualitative method. The reason that I chose this method compared to a quantitative method is that I was more interested to show the quality of the experience of Mongolians in San Francisco Bay Area in more detail and in varying perspectives and experiences than quantifying and conducting statistical analysis of the experiences. Qualitative methods allow the researcher to dive deeper and in more detail in the topic of the study (Patton, 1990). I conducted open-ended interviews and also conducted participant observation. In addition, to be more accurate in my research, I focused on more ethnographic type of research where my focus was on culture. "Ethnography is appropriate when you intend to spend a sustained about of time with a particular group of people or sub-culture or society," (Ward, 2013, p.65). I believe that ethnography is appropriate as it allowed me to dive deep specifically into the richness of the experience of Mongolians in San Francisco as opposed to the entire Mongolian population in the United States. Due to the lack of quantifiable data and information about Mongolians in San Francisco, quantitative analysis was not appropriate for the purpose of this research.

Open-ended interviews

Compared to close-ended interviews where choices are presented to the participants, open-ended interviews provide the perspectives of the participants in their own words. "Open-ended interviews add depth, detail, and meaning at a very personal level of experience," (Patton, 1990, p. 18). My main focus was to show the experience of Mongolians in San Francisco and open-ended interviews helped me to study that. In addition, I believe open-ended interviews helped Mongolians in San Francisco to "allow (and even encourage) them to justify themselves, and express their own understanding of their role, their social position as well as their personal feelings," (Ward, 2013, p.41). I conducted 10 interviews with people of different age groups so I can show how experiences may vary in different ages. I also tried to choose people who have lived in San Francisco for different duration and show how the duration of the stay may affect the experiences of Mongolians. I have chosen participants from the community of Mongolians I interact with who are also members of the Mongolian church I attend as well. I was hopeful that the participants would feel comfortable to answer the questions because we have a prior connection before doing the interview.

Participant observation

I conducted a participant observation as I am a member of the Mongolian community in San Francisco. Participant observation allows the researcher to "develop an insider's view of what is happening," (Patton, 1990, p. 207). Through participant observation, I was able to provide a detailed description of the Mongolian community in San Francisco. That being said, the observation is subjective and based on personal experience.

Limits and Potential weakness of the study

As I am a Mongolian immigrant who has lived in San Francisco for the last six years, there is a possibility that my input for the study to be difficult to replicate for a person who may not be a member of the community. Biases may arise in analysis and evaluation as well because I am also a member of the community. I have tried my best to

be as objective as I can to minimize biases and personal opinions.

Based on limited data available and the lack of quantitative study, the results did not provide enough quantifiable data to be used to generalize due to answers from only 10 participants that were detailed and different from one another.

Research Instrument

I conducted an hour-long interview with each participant that I chose based on their age, background and availability. The questions aimed to inquire the participants about their experience as a Mongolian, a member of a minority group, living in San Francisco. The answers showed specific challenges and issues that only Mongolians may be experiencing compared to other immigrant groups. I conducted my interviews mostly in Mongolia, but when necessary, I also conversed in English if the participant felt that it would help them to answer more accurately. In order to protect the identity of the participants, I have changed the names of the participants to other Mongolian names.

THE HOPES AND THE DREAMS

The Great Mongols

Historically, the Mongol Empire was known as one of the largest empires in the world as it once ruled over 9 million square miles of territory with the leadership of Chingis Khaan ("Genghis Khan"). Since the reign of the Chingis Khaan, there is insufficient information known to the world about modern day Mongolia. After the fall of the Soviet Union, Mongolia has undergone major transformation. Democracy in Mongolia has brought freedom of religion and the openness to a capitalist economy. Mongolia is facing an uncontested arena keeping up with the development of the rest of the world. Democracy has also opened the doors to international relations and diplomacy with foreign countries.

In Pursuit of the American Dream

In 1987, the United States established diplomatic relations with Mongolia, opening up doors to the U.S. (U.S. Relations with Mongolia) American core values of liberty and freedom of expression penetrated thousands of miles to the Mongolian borders. As some conservative Mongolians questioned the validity of this Western ideology, other younger and liberal Mongolians were able to relate to it. Soon after, the magnetic forces of America pulled many Mongolians to act on their affection as numerous Mongolians started to migrate to different parts of the United States. However, it was not just the affection that made Mongolians leave their homes, it was also the lack of economic opportunities in Mongolia that challenged them to move. Many Mongolians felt that it was impossible to live a successful life in Mongolia because of low levels of economic standing. Among those who moved to the U.S., some Mongolians moved to the Bay Area, California in hopes for better work and education opportunities. Such was the case for Baatar and Suvd.

> "I came here after working in South Korea for 2 years because I wanted to work and save money. There aren't that many opportunities back home in Mongolia." (Baatar, 45, 16 years in the US)

> "My family came here so I could attain a better education and my parents could work and earn enough money." (Suvd, 21, 2 years in the US)

Many others share similar stories with Baatar and Suvd. Many Mongolians move to the U.S. because of the abundant economic and job opportunities that were not offered in Mongolia because of the unstable economy and working conditions. In addition, many Mongolians just like Suvd come to the U.S. to attain higher education as most of the Mongolian population are college students and the median age of Mongolians in the US is 31. (Lopez, Gustavo, Anthony Cilluffo, and Eileen Patten.)

Destination in the U.S.

As the economy in Mongolia continue to struggle, the U.S. continued to become an attractive destination. From 2000 to 2015, the number of Mongolians in the US has grown quite rapidly from 6,000 to 21,000. (Census Bureau) The newcomers settled in large metropolitan cities like Chicago, Washington DC, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Denver, New York and Seattle where Mongolian communities were growing. In 2015, it was shown that the percentage of Mongolians who had lived in the U.S. for more than ten years and those less than ten years were almost equal at 51% and 49% (Lopez, Gustavo, Anthony Cilluffo, and Eileen Patten.) This shows that Mongolians are consistently continuing to move to the U.S.

Why San Francisco?

San Francisco is one of the most welcoming cities in America with the most diverse group of people ("An Equity Profile of the San Francisco Bay Area Region."). In addition, there are abundant opportunities to make a living in San Francisco as it is becoming a leading city in the information technology industry ("An Equity Profile of the San Francisco Bay Area Region."). San Francisco's tech boom and economic growth seems to be the major pull factor for Mongolians to move here. However, for Mongolians to move here, having a familiar person in San Francisco helps tremendously with getting accustomed to the U.S. Most of the participants of the interviews I conducted answered that the reason they chose to come to San Francisco was because they had connections here whether they were relatives or friends. Having a connection provided a support system that Mongolian immigrants needed in order to find their bearings in San Francisco. Davaa moved to the U.S. when he was only nine years old and friends of his parents helped them to settle in the Bay Area. Tuya moved to San Francisco 14 years ago with the help of her brother who had settled much earlier than her.

> "Friends of my parents lived here so my family moved here with their help." (Davaa, 26, 17 years in the US)

> "My brother's family had moved here so they invited us to move here." (Tuya, 41, 14 years in the US)

For people like Davaa and Tuya, moving to a completely different country is definitely not easy, but with the help of family and friends, they were able to embrace the challenge with courage.

THE CHALLENGES

Everything is New

For immigrants, the adjustment period may be the most challenging time when they first move to their destination. This transition requires flexibility and possibly, transformation and its impacts can vary depending on the individual. Some may experience extreme culture shock and others may get acquainted with ease ("Living in America: Challenges Facing New Immigrants and Refugees"). It was also the case for Mongolian immigrants. One of the most challenging times that Mongolians face in the U.S. is the beginning stages when they first move here. There are so many changes that happen all at once from language, culture to the change in the physical landscape. Not only that, family and friends that were major supportive systems are no longer around. It is the tale of the lone wanderer. Language is definitely one of the most difficult aspects of moving to another country.

Language

Language is one of the most important skills for immigrants to acquire in order to attain a social and economic standing when moving to a foreign country (Isphording, Ingo, and Sebastian Otten. 2014.) "The degree of difficulty in learning a new language depends on the degree of dissimilarity of the mother tongue of immigrants to the language of the destination country." Mongolian and English are very different from each other. Tones and pronunciation are distinctly different. Mongolian is one of the three groups in the Altaic language family (Svantesson, Jan-Olof, Anna Tsendina, Anastasia Karlsson, and Vivan Franzén.). English on the other hand is part of the Indo-European language group (Renfrew. 1989). It is thus, challenging for Mongolians to pick up English and understandably so due to the dissimilarity of the mother language to English. For Tuul and Taivan who came to the United States at a young age, they expressed that they had difficulty fitting in at school because of language barriers.

> "The most difficult time for me was the transitional period when I moved here. I did not have any friends and had zero English skills. I was not fluent in both English and Mongolian. I was teased by kids at school a lot. Language was a big problem for me." (Tuul, 18, 6 years in the US)

> "Being a young boy who was already going through puberty and many insecurities, I faced difficulties because I didn't know English. It makes you feel stupid. I couldn't do well in school because of my lack of English. I felt very lonely." (Taivan, 23, 11 years in the US)

Many young Mongolians have no choice but to follow their parents when moving to the U.S. This often times means that they have to be introduced to the American education system with little to no English skills which could put in a position where they could end up being bullied and teased by their American peers. It is the reality of many other immigrants as well (Jones, Michelle E. 2015.). Unfortunately, the inability to speak English can have negative impacts on the quality of the lives of Mongolians living in the United States. It causes lack of self-esteem and ability to assimilate into the society.

Who are you?

Immigrants go through a difficulty in keeping to their identity when they move to another country. "Identity is made visible and intelligible to others through cultural signs, symbols, and practices" (Weedon. 2004, 5). Immigrants may feel that their identity is at risk if there is a lack of outlets to express and experience their culture in their migrant countries. Mongolian immigrants also experience the struggle of maintaining their identity in the U.S.. Mongolians pride themselves in their rich history and traditions and customs that are only unique to Mongolians. However, due to the small number of Mongolians in the U.S., Mongolians are often mistaken for other major Asian ethnic groups such as Chinese, Korean or Japanese. Being mistaken for another ethnic group adds another layer of complication when you are an immigrant.

> "People usually think I am Chi-

nese or Korean. Even when I tell them I am from Mongolia, they think it is part of China. I have to indicate that we are an independent country. But it is getting better nowadays because people ask instead of just assuming that I am a certain Asian background like Chinese or Korean." (Tuul, 18, 6 years in the US)

"Some people don't even know where Mongolia is. Those who know about Mongolia only knows about Chinggis Khaan." (Taivan, 23, 11 years in the US)

Americans cannot be blamed for mistaking Mongolians for other major Asian ethnic groups because Mongolian as a race is not well known in the U.S. so it is understandable and almost expected that there is a misjudgment of their race. Mongolians are used to being mistaken for the major Asian ethnic groups. However, this does not mean that they want to continue to be labeled as a Chinese or Koreans, especially, considering the hostile history Mongolians has had with the Chinese. For Mongolians who are experiencing many other challenges that come with being immigrants, the lack of knowledge from the members of the host country about their whereabouts can be disappointing. It can make them feel inferior about their standing in America.

LIFE IN THE LAND OF DREAMS

Not the American Dream Hoped for

The cost of living in San Francisco Bay Area has become increasingly expensive in recent years. Rent prices are at an all time high causing even the local San Franciscans to move out of the city ("United States: Living with the Dot.Com People."). This entails in it Mongolian immigrants to work harder than ever before to make ends meet. A significant number of Mongolians who have a driver's license and a car in recent years, have been employed by taxi services such as Uber and Lyft and other food delivery services such as Instacart and Doordash. The flexibility in working hours and the lack of English requirement seem to be attractive to Mongolian immigrants. However, there are risks involved with these unspecialized services. New job opportunities provided by Uber and Lyft were not designed for a full time job. However, many Mongolians work in these services full time and often times, much longer than a normal full time job because of bonuses provided by Uber and Lyft. It is easy money compared to other hard labor jobs like construction that many Mongolians used to work at. At the same time, these easy money jobs, because they require no specialized skills, there is no opportunity to develop other skills. One wonders what would happen if these jobs are no longer available. What would Mongolians do then?

On the other hand, there are those who got a head start form the others that started small to medium businesses such as restaurants, dry cleaning services and daycare. There are two Mongolian restaurants in San Francisco that are located in downtown and outer Richmond where Mongolians can get a taste of home. In addition, those who are college age students work part time in service industries as waiters, hosts and dishwashers as well. A big chunk of Mongolians in Bay Area are college students who study at community colleges and universities and other English Language institutes. Graduates are employed in different sectors with their Optional Practical Training (OPT) permits that are given for 1-3 year duration. Despite the competitiveness and pressure of the high living costs in the Bay Area, Mongolians are aware and appreciative of the benefits of living here. They take comfort in knowing that they will reap the fruits of their hard work.

"Hard work is acknowledged here. If you work hard, you can live a successful life." (A community member, 45, 16 years in the US)

"There are many well-paying jobs here." (A community member, 27, 16 years in the US)

It is evident that Mongolians are optimistic about the payoff of their labor in the Bay Area and this attitude help them to continue to live satisfied.

Networking and Community Gathering

There are only a few places that help to ease the longing for home for Mongolians in the Bay Area. Mongolians congregate during major National holidays such as Lunar New Year and Naadam festival. Naadam festival is the largest annual event which takes place in early July where the most number of Mongolians congregate in the Bay Area. The locations change every year. There are selective screenings of Mongolian new films in the Presidio theater where Mongolians have mini reunions. Christian Mongolians congregate in churches in the Bay Area as well. There are three Mongolians churches located in Oakland, Alameda and San Francisco where weekly services, bible studies and fellowships are held. Mongolians are traditionally Buddhists as well and there are Buddhists temples in Sacramento where Mongolians visit to pray and receive blessings from monks.

As a member of the Immanuel Mongolian church in San Francisco (IMCC), I attend weekly small group meetings, bible studies and Sunday services where I conducted participant observations. During Sunday services, at IMCC, the local Mongolian Church, 30-40 regular attendees congregate and worship, listen to sermons and fellowship in Mongolian. In addition, at the end of services, traditional meals are prepared by the ladies of the congregation that feed everyone and provides a piece of home for the college students who do not get to enjoy Mongolians meals on a day to day basis.

I was able to attend a movie screen ing at the Presidio theater where I observed that the Mongolians in the Bay Area have a mini reunion and get a little escape from the busyness of their lives. Due to the small number of Mongolians in San Francisco, events like movie screenings allow Mongolians to experience a Mongolian film in their language and scenes from their home country. It is a luxury and a special event that is not enjoyed on a typical day.

There are also interest based groups such as hiking, book clubs, college student conferences that are run by volunteers that meet regularly and conduct their respective activities.

Home is Unreachable

Mongolians, just like other immigrants, miss their home country very much. Due to financial difficulties and changes in immigration policies, it is risky and quite impossible to visit Mongolia whenever they want. An average round trip flight ticket to Ulaanbaatar (the capital city of Mongolia) can cost up to $1500. A trip to Mongolia is one that many cannot afford. Not to mention, there is always fear and risk of being detained at the airport when returning to the U.S. As immigrants, losing their status to live in the U.S. is one of the biggest fears. The case is the same for the Mongolians. Despite their satisfaction in the U.S. government, the fear of deportation is real.

In addition, many Mongolians are unable to visit their family and relatives while waiting to get their permanent residency approval. Green Card approval processing time can take from 7 months up to 33 months and a lot can happen in those years. (Johnson, Tory. 2019) When asked about the most challenging time they faced while living in the U.S., participants voiced that the time waiting to receive their residency was the hardest.

"4 family members passed away. I lost my brother and other precious people in my life. I could not be a part of their funerals because of my residency issues. I was very lonely and it was a very tough time." (Baatar, 45, 16 years in the US)

"While waiting for our asylum case to be accepted, it was really hard. I could not get a job because I did not have any social security number. My little sister could not go to daycare because we did not have the proper documents." (Suvd, 21, 2 years in the US)

Living without proper documents is inconvenient but also terrifying for immigrants. It is the case for Mongolians. Many necessary resources such as jobs and healthcare are inaccessible without the proper documents and result in low quality of life for immigrants.

Culture Preservation

Immigrants constantly face the conundrum between cultural preservation and assimilation in the country of destination (Joanna Diane Caytas. 2012.). "Cultural identity is formed by simple binary choice: either to identify with the dominant culture or with one's legacy minority culture," (Joanna Diane Caytas. 2012.) It is up to immigrants to choose which culture they would like to be associated with. However, it is not that simple. It could be a combination of the dominant and minority culture. In the case of Mongolians, cultural identity for the majority seem to be formed with their minority culture but with an affection for the dominant American culture as well. However, when confronted with the question of the importance of culture preservation there was a consensus that the Mongolian culture should be preserved.

"It is important to define what it means to preserve [culture]. We can't wear our traditional clothes everyday. We need to learn from others' mindset and integrate it. However, language is one of the important aspects of our culture. It shows our uniqueness. Afterall, we can't be distinguished by our face because we are Asian." (Bold, 34, 2 years in the US)

"As a Mongolian, it is important to preserve our culture and tradition. It is essential for our survival. We would not be able to live without it. This gives a sense of pride and identity." (Telmen, 35, 2 years in the US)

"It is important to preserve our culture because we are Mongolian. Our history is different from the U.S. Although, we live in America, our lifestyle is still Mongolian. If we lose our culture, it's like we are losing ourselves. I've started asking my parents about our ancestors only recently. Now, I want to know our background so I can tell my children. If I don't tell my children, our history ends here." (Tuya, 41, 14 years in the US)

For people like Bold, Telmen and Tuya, cultural preservation is of great importance. It is clear that although they are living in the U.S., they feel that preserving the Mongolian culture is an important factor to maintaining the identity of Mongolians.

Is Going Back an Option?

Going back to Mongolia permanently is something that Mongolians do consider from time to time but it is not seen as an option for many. It has to be understood that the decision to come to the United States was made to last for a long time. If there were enough opportunities to thrive and succeed back home, Mongolians would not have to come to the U.S. Therefore, it would be like reopening wounds to ask whether they would like to go back to Mongolia. For Mongolians, during their time in the United States, they hope to build up their finances and only go back when they feel that they can live in Mongolia comfortably.

For Taivan, who migrated here since he was a child, he has decided that he will live in the United States permanently.

> "I have decided to live here but my roots are there. That's where my ancestors are. I want to have a stable life here. I will go back when I can help others." (Taivan, 23, 11 years in the US)

For Baatar who is very much patriotic, he feels a sense of responsibility to protect his country. When asked about what it would take him to go back to Mongolia, his response was

> "When there's a war. When I'm ready to die." (Baatar, 45, 16 years in the US)

It has to be understood that once Mongolians come to the United States, it is difficult to return to Mongolia mostly because of economic inequality and lack of opportunities to prosper. That is why for people like Taivan, the only time to return will be when they are successful and comfortable enough to help others.

Big Aspirations

Immigrants are believers of the American Dream. "More than nine in ten immigrants (93%) agree that people who work hard to better themselves can get ahead in this country," (Immigrants and the American Dream.) Similar to other immigrants, Mongolians living in the U.S. are very inspirational people. Despite the difficulties they are facing, they have big dreams and goals. When asked about what they would like to accomplish during their time in the United States, the answer I received from the interview participants were filled with aspiration and passion.

> "I would like to ensure my personal growth reaches its fullest potential. I would like to impact everyone whom I am in communication with to my best ability. In order to do that, I need to develop myself." (Bold, 34, 2 years in the US)

> "I would like to start my own business and get really good at it. I want to help and contribute to people. There are many opportunities to start a small business here compared to Mongolia. If my business succeeds, then I would love to venture to Mongolia." (Davaa, 26, 17 years in the US)

> "As an immigrant, I want to give back and serve to my fullest potential. Our leaders in Mongolia tend to disappoint me and our news is filled with negativity. I want to be able to help those people back home. I remember when I was younger there were people freezing on the streets because things were so bad. I want to help people like that. I want to die knowing that I made a difference so I have to take advantage of all the opportunities that are available here so I can serve others." (Taivan, 23, 11 years in the US)

It is very inspiring to learn that despite the challenges that Mongolians face while living in America, they believe that they have the power and potential to impact others. It is amazing to witness their optimism about their future. In addition, Mongolians have big hearts to help and serve others around them.

Missing Piece to the Puzzle

Padawangi found in her study that the Catholic Church in Chicago serves as a place to for Indonesians to socialize among other Indonesians in America as there are no formal organizations that help Indonesians to settle in the U.S. The Catholic Church also helps them to maintain their identity as Indonesians who are living in the United States. It was also the case for Mongolians who were interviewed. Almost every interview participant voiced their concern about the lack of formal organized Mongolian community in the Bay Area. There were a couple of participants who recommended that there should be a Mongolian community center or some other formal organizations that cater to specific needs that Mongolians have in the Bay Area. Telmen gave a detailed description of one way this could happen.

> "I feel that the current Bay Area Mongolian Association (BAMA) should become a member supported organization. It could start a monthly donation program for maybe $10 and provide a general and updated information to the Mongolians like immigration law changes or other law reforms that we need to look out for. I think many people will be supportive of it. I feel that in many of the events organized by the BAMA, there are many things that need improvement but because the organization is run by volunteers, it is difficult to expect them to listen to our concerns and see the changes happen." (Telmen, 35, 2 years in the US)

The Bay Area Mongolian Association is one of the few leading Mongolian community organizations in the Bay Area. It is run by volunteers who value Mongolian culture and tradition and want to ensure that it is maintained in the Bay Area. However, there is a lack of funding as noted by Telmen for organizations like the BAMA to maintain their operations and serve the community to their fullest potential.

The lack of Mongolian formal community organization is seen and understood by other Mongolians as well. While I was writing this paper, I was fortunate to be a part of the organizers of the first Mongolian Open Mic event in the Bay Area. The organizers were my friends and I who were all young adults who wanted to provide Mongolians in the Bay Area a time to come together and enjoy singing Mongolian songs, dance to them and get connected to their culture. Due to lack of formal platform to connect to other Mongolians in the Bay Area, our team used social media platforms and word of mouth strategies ways to promote the event. We were expecting about a hundred attendees but to our surprise, about two hundred young adults came together and participated. There were people singing Mongolian songs, dancers performing Mongolian traditional dance and even musicians who performed with a Mongolian traditional instrument called morin khuur (horse fiddle). The attendees voiced that this event was one of the most exciting events that was held within the Mongolian community in the Bay Area.

CONCLUSION

At the end of every interview, I asked the participants what it felt like to be interviewed about their experiences in the U.S. as Mongolians. All participants voiced their gladness and that the interview gave them the chance to look back at their experiences. They also wanted to read the paper when it is finished and they told me that they will share it with other Mongolians as well. As an interviewer and researcher, I felt a great sense of responsibility to present the readers with the most accurate information about the experience of Mongolians in the Bay Area. However, due to lack of time, I felt that there was much more that I could have improved and researched in greater detail. With the information and knowledge that I gathered, I came to the following conclusion.

Need for Formal Community Platforms

There is a lack and need of formal community platforms within the Mongolian community in the Bay Area. There needs to be more effort to connect Mongolians in the Bay Area with the resources they need in order to succeed whether it is job or educational trainings. There is a demand for Mongolians to be connected with each other and also learn about important cultural and socioeconomic aspects of the U.S. in order to live here successfully. Interview participants felt that this paper will provide an opportunity for the readers to feel a sense of unity within the Mongolians and provide relatability. I hope that this paper will help Mongolians to know that their fight and experience in the U.S. is celebrated and acknowledged. In addition, I also hope that the leaders in the Bay Area will start a discussion where Mongolians could be celebrated and represented in the community.

References

"United States: Living with the Dot. Com People." 1999.The Economist, Nov 06, 26-27. https://search-proquest-com.jpllnet.sfsu.edu/docview/224069216?accountid=13802.

"An Equity Profile of the San Francisco Bay Area Region." Policy Link and USC Program for Environmental and Regional Equity. 2015. https://www.policylink.org/sites/default/files/documents/bay-area-profile/BayAreaProfile_21April2015_Final.pdf

"Immigrants and the American Dream." 1995. Society 33 (1).

"Mongolians in the U.S. Fact Sheet." Retrieved from https://www.pewsocialtrends.org/fact-sheet/asian-americans-mongolians-in-the-u-s/

"U.S. Relations with Mongolia." U.S. Department of State, November 14, 2017. https://www.state.gov/u-s-relations-with-mongolia/.

Choi, Y., & Lahey, B. (2006). Testing the Model Minority Stereotype: Youth Behaviors across Racial and Ethnic Groups. The Social Service Review, 80(3), 419-452.

Harachi TW, Catalano RF, Kim S, Choi Y. (2001) Etiology And Prevention Of Substance Use Among Asian American Youth. Prevention Science. 2(1), 57–65.

Holland, A. T., & Palaniappan, L. P. (2012). Problems With The Collection And Interpretation Of Asian-American Health Data: Omission, Aggregation, And Extrapolation. Annals of epidemiology, 22(6), 397–405. doi:10.1016/j.annepidem.2012.04.001

Isphording, Ingo, and Sebastian Otten. 2014. "Linguistic Barriers in the Destination Language Acquisition of Immigrants." Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization 105: 30–50. http://search.proquest.com/docview/1566375000/.

Joanna Diane Caytas. 2012. "Conundrum of an Immigrant: Assimilation Versus Cultural Preservation." Journal of Identity and Migration Studies 6 (2): 34–54.

Johnson, Tory. "How Long Does It Take USCIS to Issue a Green Card?" Immigration Impact, June 13, 2019. http://immigrationimpact.com/2018/07/24/how-long-does-uscis-issue-green-card/#.XfQV7DJKjMI.

Jones, Michelle E. 2015. "A New Country, a New Culture, a New Content: Improving the Academic Outcomes for English Learners

with Socio Cultural Understanding of School Leaders." Order No. 3663841, Mercer University. https://search-proquest-com.jpllnet.sfsu.edu/docview/1708212198?accountid=13802.

Levesque RJR. (2007). The Ethnicity Of Adolescent Research. Journal of Youth and Adolescence. 36, 375–389.

Lopez, Gustavo, Anthony Cilluffo, and Eileen Patten. "Mongolians: Data on Asian Americans." Pew Research Center's Social & Demographic Trends Project, September 8, 2017. https://www.pewsocialtrends.org/fact-sheet/asian-americans-mongolians-in-the-u-s/.
NY: Open University Press, McGraw-Hill.

Padawangi, R., & Wittner, Judith G. (2005). Indonesian Catholics in Chicago: Making Community in the Quest for Identity, ProQuest Dissertations and Theses.

Patton, Michael Quinn. Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods. 2nd ed. Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1990.

Radford, J. (2019, June 17). Key Findings About U.S. Immigrants. Retrieved from https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2019/06/17/key-findings-about-u-s-immigrants/

Renfrew, Colin. "The origins of Indo-European languages." Scientific American 261, no. 4 (1989): 106-115.

Svantesson, Jan-Olof, Anna Tsendina, Anastasia Karlsson, and Vivan Franzén. The phonology of Mongolian. Oxford University Press, 2005.

U.S. Census Bureau; American Community Survey, 2017 American Community Survey 1-Year Estimates, Table B02015; using American FactFinder; <https://factfinder.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?src=bkmk>; (17 September 2019).

Ward, Kevin. Researching the City. 2014.

Weedon, Chris. 2004. Identity and Culture: Narratives o f Difference and Belonging. New York,

Zong, J., and J. Batalova. (2016). Asian Immigrants in the United States. Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute.

From the 2020 Archive

Photography by Ashleigh Castro

San Juan, Puerto Rico

Tokyo, Japan

Swami Chaitanya, Humboldt County, CA

Juneteenth Festival, Berkeley, CA

420 Hippie Hill, San Francisco, CA

Dennis Peron Memorial

Bad Water Basin, CA

Winne Ng, Avedanos Meats

Feef by the window

COVID SECTION

Taylor Love

The following section comprises mainly of submissions by Urban Studies & Planning students from the 2019-2020 academic year when shelter in place began in the spring of 2020.

A Collection of Haikus

Heather Samuels

Spring cleaning is here
dry, bleached hands and crystal shores
I'm sick, Mother's here

An unwelcome ***March***
has left with our grandmothers
goodbye Big Apple

9 to 5 online
backs are hunched and eyes are dry
commute to the fridge

Corralled lone Vagrant
shelters or lavish hostels
your things are now *theirs*

Our faces are gone
The spring air we cannot breath
Chaotic empty

Buy a mask for me,
a free mask for the heroes
Saints?
Capitalists.

public school Freedoms
tattered books to costly tech
goodbye my Future

text formatting by mj bark

Letter to Urban Action

Stephanie Romero

Every summer as the weather heats up, my 3-year-old daughter, Sophia and I would make it our routine to head to a mall, library or beach to cool off. This past week, during a mini heat wave, we got a taste of what it is like without those options, as the Shelter-In-Place order is still in effect in Santa Clara County. Some families may have pools, backyards, or air conditioning they could easily turn on and not think twice about. We don't. In our 70-year-old apartment, we could keep windows open and run the fans all day and night.

But my concern is as it gets warmer, and the heat inside becomes unbearable, where would families like mine be able to go to beat the heat? So far, I have kept Sophia inside and not even let her play out in front since we found out the couple that lives next door to the right had COVID-19 weeks ago after returning from their annual trip to Europe. We also found out the whole family that lives directly behind us tested positive as well. Both instances, we did not know it until they were fully recovered or almost recovered. At this point, we're just not sure who has it and who doesn't.

I've been extra vigilant about my 78-year-old neighbor who insists on walking to the corner store without a mask or anything. As much as it gives me a little heart attack every time I see him walk by my window, he's a grown, care-free man and some things are out of our control. Considering we are in a pandemic, we do have some control to be able to come up with creative solutions.

I don't want to sound ungrateful, but what's going to happen when it gets too hot in here, open windows and all?

Stay safe,

Stephanie Romero

If We All Had a Mask

Brian Nava

In light of the current epidemic the globe finds itself in, it is hard to ignore certain systemic issues being revealed as the problem progresses. States across the country find themselves battling for basic medical supplies while attempting to stay financially stable as businesses are forced to close or drastically lower operating costs. In the midst of this entire fiasco, there is another grave issue at hand; the disproportionate rate in which people of color are contracting and dying from COVID-19. This paper will look at how the Trump administration is handling aspects of this pandemic from January to the last weeks of April and how their actions perpetuate systemic racism and environmental injustice.

In the month of January on the 29th The White House starts its coronavirus response taskforce, headed by Health and Human Services Secretary Alex Azar. Dr Anthony Fauci, the head of the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases, is appointed to the taskforce and will become a key figure in the Trump's administration's response. On the 31st of January Trump issued an executive order blocking entry to the US from anyone who has been in China in the last 14 days. Which took effect on February 2nd. The month of February involved the president downplaying the virus stating that there are only 12 cases in the United States and alluded that those infected were all recovering. On March 4th the House passed the $8.3 billion emergency bill to help combat the spreading of the virus. March 11th travel bans were enforced specifically Italy and China, two of the largest hot spots initially. March 27th Trump signs the $2.2 trillion emergency bill. April 2nd 6.6 million file for unemployment and on the 14th Trump halted funding to the World Health Organization (WHO). As of today, April 21st, the president of the United States is working out the details of an indefinite travel ban into the country. Effectively halting all immigration.

When discussing how the current presidential administration's actions are normalizing systematic racism and environmental justice in the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic there are multiple avenues to take. It is important to note as of this paper being typed multiple civil rights and doctor groups are urging the federal government to release race and ethinc data on COVID-19 cases. According to data collected by states around the United States such as Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, Chicago, and Louisiana they all show a common trend. In each of these states the minority black population accounts for a majority of deaths due to COVID-19. These communities are enduring devastating effects from this virus and need immediate assistance and monitoring. It is also important to note COVID-19 can prove fatal to individuals with asthma, hypertension, diabetes, etc. All of these conditions are common in black and/or lower income communities. This section will highlight the administration's inaction / distance to states and relaxation of environmental regulations. What the Trump administration has managed to do from the beginning of the pandemic was distance themselves from the situation entirely, faulting governors for their lack of awareness. From this stance the administration tells the states to allocate resources for themselves with very limited federal presence. This forces already struggling states to bid for medical supplies necessary to treat at risk patients; who are disproportionately of color and of lower income. Governor Charlie Baker of Massachusetts began to bid for dire medical supplies only to be outbid by the federal government. He was perplexed and was only able to receive a minute fraction of the necessary medical supplies for his state. New York Governor Andrew Cuomo was quoted at a press conference last month saying, "This is not the way to do it, this is ad hoc, I'm competing with other states, I'm bidding up other states on the prices." The economy of states are in a spike and to add the ridiculous notion of overpaying for essential medical supplies seems unfathomable. As states begin to lose income it is essential to allocate resources stringently and tailor approaches for communities feeling the most affects. However, if states are forced to pay exorbitant prices to combat the spreading and impact of this virus it will prove difficult as the demand for supplies increases. Leaving the most vulnerable communities to suffer with no government presence or assistence. One of the most blatant acts of environmental injustice currently taking place is the administration's manipulation of the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA). On March 13th the administration stated the EPA will enforce the "enforcement discretion policy". Effectively they will no longer penalize polluters if they state their inability to follow environmental regulations was due to the COVID pandemic. This includes not having to monitor underground oil wells or oil reserves. During a pandemic to monitor the viability of groundwater for drinking at first glance seems essential. The administration believes the lax oversight over the president's preferred industries, oil and coal, have more importance then the health of the environment and communities at risk of the pollutants. This action will not only harm the environment but the negative externalities have the potential to cause more Americans to die due to pollutants entering the atmosphere. This is especially worrisome for communities located near refineries, predominantly poor and colored, who decide to capitalize on the lenient environmental regulations. And these are the people most in harm's way, not just from the excess pollution that would be allowed under this policy, but from the many burdens imposed by COVID-19 itself (both health and economic). Importantly this policy has no end date. It is common for an extension of enforcement discretion to always have an end date. This date correlates with the agency's expectation about how long the "event" or "circumstance" will stand. Knowledge here could be life-saving, but nothing in EPA's new policy will ensure that such information ever becomes available.

This section will highlight how the Trump administration through environmental rollbacks throughout his presidency caused the exponential death of black lives and lives of lower income individuals to be lost. Since his presidency Donald Trump has routinely stated his disdain for environmental regulations and monitoring. A few notable rollbacks and repeals the president has done while in office include: repealing Obama-Era Clean Power Plan, directing agencies to stop using "social cost of carbon", stopped enforcing 2015 rule prohibiting the use of hydrofluorocarbons, and most recently the enforcement discretion policy by the EPA. According to the Bureau of Economic Research there were 9,700 more air pollution related deaths in 2018 than 2016. Taking into consideration the fact the social cost of carbon is no longer a variable in the policy equation this can have devastating effects. This all plays a huge factor when discussing COVID-19 and pre existing conditions that make the virus especially dangerous. Lower income black communities in the United States regularly have higher rates of asthma, hypertension, and diabetes when compared to national averages. Many of the lower income communities are unable to practice effective social distancing since they have limited living space. Many of them also live multigenerational, akin to Italy, which can exacerbate the contagion while affecting a wider range of individuals. These communities are often located near polluters only worsening the health of the community making them susceptible to the virus. In turn this situation also keeps their home value relatively low, denying them the ability to leverage economic mobility through renting, selling, or applying for a loan. A physiological reaction to this mounting stress can and does manifest itself physically in hypertension which may lead to heart disease and/or stroke. Hypertension and asthma are two pre-existing conditions to make a lethal COVID cocktail.

According to a recent study published by Harvard, researchers found that long-term exposure to air pollutants increases the vulnerability to the most severe COVID-19 outcomes. As we begin to look at data at the state level this becomes abundantly clear. In Michigan where 14% of the population are black they accounted for 40% of current deaths. In Wisconsin specifically Milwaukee County, the 26% black population accounted for 81% of current deaths. Lastly, in Louisiana where 33% of the population is black 70% of the deaths are attributed to black people. It is clear to see that any leniency of environmental regulations is a direct attack at communities of color and lower income. These are the communities who absorb the negative externalities that now make them susceptible to the lethal virus. As the Trump administration continues to distance itself from the necessities of the people more people will continue to pass without proper medical attention or care. As stated previously the neglect will lead states to scramble for supplies often leaving many without care. This can also be seen in prison populations around the globe. The current administration is struggling to manage the overcrowded prisons. These locations quickly become incubators for the virus to thrive. There is no form of enforceable social distancing and with lack of equipment the virus is able to spread easily. There are articles of prisoners in New York and Ohio pleading for guards to supply them with protection yet to no avail. As of today the Trump Administration stated that prisoners were no longer considered for pre-release if they served less than half of their sentence. This change came abruptly to the surprise of the inmates destined for early release. In an effort to drastically lower inmate numbers thousands of prisoners will stay incarcerated.

References

Al Jazeera. (2020, April 14). A timeline of the Trump administration's coronavirus actions. Retrieved from https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2020/04/timeline-trump-administration-coronavirus-actions-200414131306831.html

Collins, S. (2020, April 8). The Trump administration blames Covid-19 black

mortality rates on poor health. It should blame its policies. Retrieved from https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2020/4/8/21213383/coronavirus-black-americans-trump-administration-high-covid-19-death-rate

COVID-19 PM2.5. (n.d.). Retrieved from https://projects.iq.harvard.edu/covid-pm

Ink, S. (2020, March 27). $2.2 Trillion Appropriations Measure to Address COVID-19 Excludes Certain Immigrants. Retrieved from https://cmsny.org/covid-appropriations-immigrants/

Itzel, S. (n.d.). ICE Detention Policies and Practices Fatally Flawed. Retrieved from https://cmsny.org/publications/immigrant-detention-covid/

Karen, Muller, & Z, N. (2019, October 17). Recent Increases in Air Pollution: Evidence and Implications for Mortality. Retrieved from https://www.nber.org/papers/w26381

Keith, T., & Gharib, M. (2020, April 15). A Timeline Of Coronavirus Comments From President Trump And WHO. Retrieved from https://www.npr.org/sections/goatsandsoda/2020/04/15/835011346/a-timeline-of-coronavirus-comments-from-president-trump-and-who

Lopez. (2020, April 2). The Trump administration's botched coronavirus response was years in the making. Retrieved from https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2020/3/14/21177509/coronavirus-trump-covid-19-pandemic-response

Popovich, N., Albeck-ripka, L., & Pierre-louis, K. (2019, June 2). 95 Environmental Rules Being Rolled Back Under Trump. Retrieved from https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/climate/trump-environment-rollbacks.html

Reidy, E. (2020, April 18). How COVID-19 is being exploited to harden migration policies. Retrieved from http://www.thenewhumanitarian.org/analysis/2020/04/17/coronavirus-global