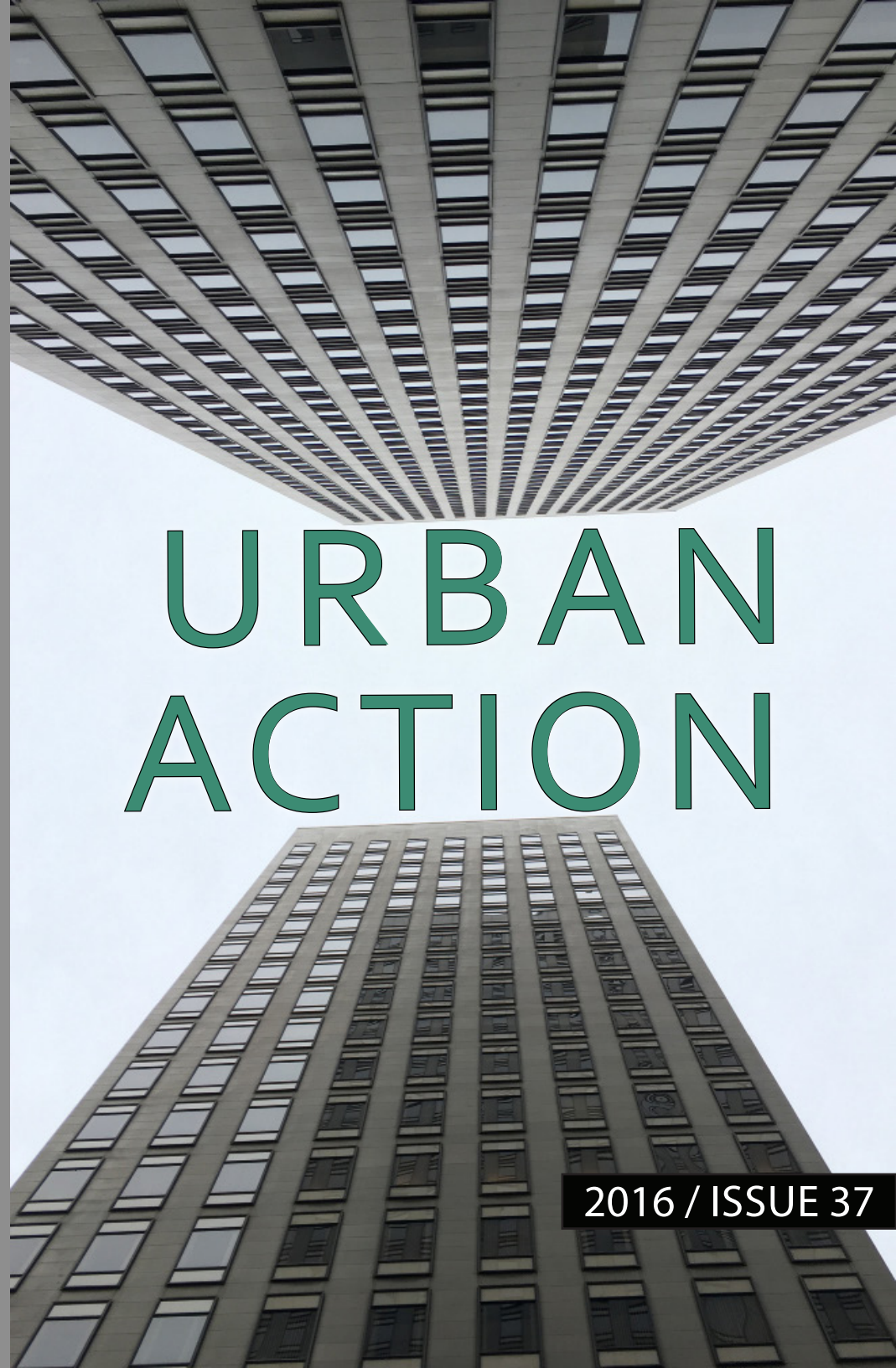


URBAN ACTION




URBAN ACTION

2016 / ISSUE 37

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POLITICS, PEOPLE, PLANNING, AND
PLACE WITHIN THE URBAN GEOGRAPHY:
A JOURNAL OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
& CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

DEPARTMENT OF URBAN STUDIES + PLANNING
SCHOOL OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS + CIVIC ENGAGEMENT
SAN FRANCISCO STATE UNIVERSITY



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FOREWORD

It is a great pleasure, and privilege, to welcome you to the 2016 edition of Urban Action. The journal, now in its 37th year, is written and produced entirely by students. Each year Urban Action is brought to life by a dedicated, hard working, and creative team, all of whom are taking a full load of classes. Students act as editors, reviewers, designers, and project managers. The professionalism of this year's team is evident, I think you will find, in the product that you have before you. As often happens, members of the team who have so diligently worked on this edition will be graduating, and new students will take up the task in the fall. I've always been impressed about how well these transitions have been made, in large part because the graduating members pass on their knowledge and experience to the next group. This is critical to sustaining continuity but also gives the project much-needed energy; it is about an eight month process. The journal, then, is not just the presentation of research by students, but represents the result of a rich, collaborative and educational process.

I hope that you enjoy this year's impressive edition and, as I do, congratulate the students on continuing the wonderful tradition of Urban Action.

Jasper Rubin

Faculty Advisor for Urban Action 2015 - 2016



PHOTO CREDIT: ALEXANDRA RHODES

LETTER FROM THE EDITOR

INTRODUCTION & ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Founded in 1979, Urban Action is the oldest student-led publication at San Francisco State University. This academic journal is committed to featuring student work that addresses the most salient issues affecting urban environments today. As we publish the 37th edition of Urban Action, issues discussed in previous years remain significant and the most appropriate resolutions to a myriad of urban problems continue to be up for debate. The following articles, poems, photos and research have been chosen for their distinctive and interdisciplinary portrayal of the people, politics, planning and place of the urban geography. It is our hope that the work published in Urban Action 2016 contributes to a larger discussion of the problems and possibilities that affect urban life.

Many thanks to Criminal Justice Professor Elizabeth Brown for assisting us in making a print publication a possibility in the wake of university-wide policy changes with regards to the use of funds for printing costs. We were able to successfully develop a plan for a print publication that does not violate these policies and could not have done so without your help.

I would also like to thank Urban Studies and Planning Professor Tony Sparks, and Political Science Professor Jason McDaniel for their guidance throughout this process. Additionally, I thank both Jason Yurkovic and Makenna Olson for providing unyielding friendship, as well as emotional and moral support throughout this trying journey. In times of high stress and near surrender, the continued encouragement from these extraordinary people provided the greatly appreciated support that has been integral to the success of this journal.

Last but not least, thank you to all who have contributed to Urban Action 2016, including authors, photographers, peer reviewers and the editorial, creative and design teams. Without the countless hours spent from all of you, this journal could not have been a possibility.

Editor-in-Chief,
Paige N. Thornton



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CITIES IN A GLOBAL SOCIETY: REDEFINING CITIZENSHIP AND POLITICAL RIGHTS AT THE LOCAL AND GLOBAL SCALE

BEN BACZKOWSKI

Contemporary cities are inextricably connected to global political and economic forces. Globalization heavily influences the growth and destruction of urban space by facilitating the flow of capital, labor and resources worldwide. Furthermore, the global expansion of capitalism has increasingly restricted the political rights of city dwellers; consequently, altering the ways individuals interact in the urban environment. Citizens have lost their ability to democratically change and determine the aesthetic quality of their environment due to the influence of global capital on local politics. Critical urban analysis of neoliberalism and the application of concepts such as a 'Right to the City' may offer fertile grounds in which to redefine political rights locally within the global context. Thus, a major challenge of the modern age is to realign democratic principles and civil rights with their origins within the polis, or political community, of a 'city.'

Globalism in modern times can be characterized by liberal principles and capitalist free-market ideology. Liberalism of this variety views citizens through the lens of individualism; a predominantly held view that people are purely self-rational agents interacting within the marketplace (Critchely, 2004). Liberal philosophy explicitly protects equality, liberty, private property and free markets within the territorial nation-state. Capitalism being an economic system in which trade, industries and the means of production are largely or entirely individually controlled. The marketplace in this sense is still global, but intrinsically tied to notions of citizenship at the nation-state level.

Globalization is a feature of globalism and can be defined as a process, or set of processes, involving the integration of regional and local economies into the global market. The processes of contemporary globalization are almost explicitly marked by free trade and the free flow of capital. Capitalism, guided by neoliberal ideology, has been the key dynamic force shaping the current character of globalization and contemporary supranational political

and economic structures. Capitalism itself creates the material potentiality for globalization due to an inherent requisite for extending economic relations across the world (Critchely, 2004). Globalization in this context satiates two of capitalism's most basic requirements. First, globalization facilitates the consumption of previously unavailable resources. Second, globalization enables the creation of new markets in which to sell goods and services. The role of Neoliberalism in this system is to allow resources, labor and capital to move unencumbered within the globalized market place.

Neoliberal ideology involves economic policies that include the privatization of resources, industry and finances, coupled with the flexibilization of labor markets and the integration of labor into the global market place (Stone, 1998). The forced liberalization of markets, usually through international economic institutions such as the International Monetary Fund or World Bank, is often done under the banner of 'free-trade' which at best is gravely misleading. A distinction must be made between differing views of classical liberal philosophy to properly understand the true nature of this ideology. Simply referring to this ideology as 'neoliberalism' is to a certain extent misleading.

Classical liberalism holds the protection of liberty, individual autonomy and equality as its highest priorities. This ideological form is sometimes referred to as social liberalism. However, in depth analysis of liberal ideology has routinely established its primary concern as protecting the freedom and social welfare of citizens in society, and is then marginally extended into economic models. As discussed by Adam Smith in his five-part series *The Wealth of Nations* (1776), so called 'free-markets' are in reality not intended to be truly free. When an economic market is completely free in the sense that it is wholly unencumbered by government intervention, or some sort of regulation, it generally leads to a monopoly in the market. Adam Smith refers to this type of situation as a "market failure." This is due to the fact that a monopoly does not reflect the utilitarian principle of utility maximization. When a monopoly is allowed to exist, it creates an unequitable environment for trade, which reduces the overall utility of the good or service being traded. This environment explicitly violates the true principles of classical liberal philosophy.

Neoliberal ideology is more descriptive of what may be referred to as economic liberalism. Economic liberalism can be characterized by the widespread extension of certain liberal principles into economic markets (Purcell, 2002; Critchely, 2004). The liberalization of markets generally includes a few key policies. First, the liberalization of markets involves the removal of democratic and state regulation of businesses, and the economy more generally. In theory this is done to increase the overall individual autonomy of citizens within the market to make personal choices. The logic goes that the more freedom which firms and individuals have from state regulation, the more it will lead directly to increased levels of innovation within the market. Increased innovation and productivity should lead to higher returns on investments and an increase in the overall gross domestic product of a state, reflecting a greater amount of welfare within the society.

A second move made by those who champion this view is the wholesale destruction of labor unions and collective bargaining. By driving down labor costs through the forced integration of regional labor markets into state and global markets, individual firms and industry can

increase their profit margins while making higher returns to their investors. In the United States and elsewhere to varying degrees, corporations and firms are legally obligated to make decisions that almost exclusively provide higher returns on the original capital investment. The logic is still such that by the breaking up collective bargaining and unions, the free market will more accurately reflect the choices made by citizens within the market, the profits of such firms consequently trickling down and increasing the general welfare of society. However, there is well documented evidence that neoliberal economic policies are detrimental to popular democracy and marginalized communities. To understand implications of these broader global ideologies and processes on the local lived experience of individuals, it is necessary to view the realities of neoliberal economic policies at the regional or local scale.

The formulation and implementation of economic policies at the urban level offers a useful lens in which to view the consequences of neoliberal globalization in action. The influence of global economic ideologies on the geopolitical realities found at the urban scale are mired in a complex web of top to bottom jurisdictional jurisprudence. Contemporary cities within the global capitalist framework are in many ways obligated to implement certain policies intended to keep the area economically successful. It is important to keep in mind however that capital, largely under the control of transnational corporate interests, has the distinct ability to move about the world freely; unencumbered by physical and political barriers. Conversely, the political rights and the physical movement of people in any region are inextricably confined to the territorial sovereignty of the nation-state in which they reside.

Therefore, the reclamation of the right to self-determination is perhaps one of the most important political imperatives of the 21st century. Research in both the social sciences and urban geography has continued to stress the negative economic and social consequences of the neoliberal restructuring of urban environments on city dwellers across the globe (Purcell, 2002). One popular avenue for political action has been through the concept of the 'Right to the City.' The Right to the City was originally the brainchild of Henri Lefebvre, discussed in his book "Le droite à la ville," and has been continuously expounded upon since its inception as the slogan of various political movements in Latin America and across the world. The Right to the City asserts that everyone, particularly the disenfranchised, not only have a right to the city, but as inhabitants, have a right to shape it, design it, and operationalize an urban human rights agenda. This includes: rights to land for community purposes as opposed to market speculation, to an economic and political system that involves direct democratic control by the community, and rights for immigrants to shelter and social services without the threat of deportation. Key to this idea of right to the city is that:

it reframes the arena of decision making in cities: it reorients decision-making away from the state and toward the production of urban space. Instead of democratic deliberation being limited to just state decisions, Lefebvre imagines it to apply to all decisions that contribute to the production of urban space (Purcell, 2002, p. 102).

Thus, the Right to the City offers disenfranchised urban dwellers a powerful and coherent statement of principles which may be used to organize a successful political program.

Realistically, the world must face and overcome these challenges if we are ever to reconcile the vast and ever growing gap in economic and social equality that has become self-evident throughout the world. A fertile lens in which to contextualize this problem may be by combining the Greek and stoic perspectives of citizenship, democracy and governance, firmly embedded within the unfolding of our shared human ontology, and the realization of our common moral imperative. As examination of Right to the City has shown, the reorientation of political rights to urban inhabitants similar in character to the body politic of the Greek city states, has a profound implication on world governance. By linking the aesthetic and political notions of the polis, with the ethics of stoic cosmopolitanism, we may find a new avenue to re-align local political participation and control of capital to the global stage.

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GENTRIFICATION SUMMARY REPORT: GENTRIFICATION-CAUSED DISPLACEMENT

BAELAYA BERENDSEN

Gentrification-caused displacement is defined as “the involuntary dislocation of households from city neighborhoods as more affluent households compete with them for the desirable older housing stock” (LeGates & Hartman, 1982). By analyzing the variables: household ethnicity, household annual income, Bay Area county, and total population (applicable to the previously stated variables), it is possible to test the longevity and modern-day-relevance of the conclusions reached in 1982 by LeGates and Hartman’s meta-analysis Gentrification-Caused Displacement. These results demographically profile in-movers (individuals that move into the neighborhood in question) and out-movers (individuals that move out of the neighborhood in question) of gentrification-caused displacement, describe the relocation of the displaced, as well as the social conflict that arises through the integration of the neighborhood’s residents and newcomers.

LeGates and Hartman describe a typical in-mover as: white, moving within the city, young adults (single or in pairs) with no children, and employed in a white collar occupation that garnered an above median income (LeGates & Hartman, 1982). The out-movers were less easily profiled due to the way in which data was collected; the lower income individuals were harder to connect, therefore report on. However, based on the information gathered, an out-mover has been described as heterogeneous: children, adults, and seniors, low- to middle-income, blue collar workers, and “single individuals, childless couples, families with children, and other groupings” (LeGates & Hartman, 1982). Combining LeGates and Hartman’s profiles and the data sets of the nine Bay Area counties’ (Alameda, Contra Costa, Marin, Napa, San Francisco, San Mateo, Santa Clara, Solano, and Sonoma) household ethnicity and annual income, one can hypothesize what counties have encountered gentrification and to what extent.

Based on the U.S. Census, from 2008 to 2013 there was a 22.1% increase in the number of African-Americans with an annual income of \$10,000 or less. However, overall there was

a slight increase in the number of white and African-American residents, primarily with less than \$10,000 household income. Notably, there was a 25.5% increase in white, \$200,000 or more households. Similarly, Contra Costa is also comprised of primarily white, \$200,000 or more households. From 2008 to 2013 there was a slight increase in less than \$10,000 and \$200,000 or more African-American residents. Marin is also a primarily white and \$200,000 or more household population. Strikingly, there are only ten African-American residents that are in the \$200,000 or more range. Again, Napa is a primarily white and \$200,000 or more population however, there is also a significant percentage of white high-middle-income households that have moved in between 2008 and 2013. Notably, there are fewer total African-American households in Napa than there are white households with incomes of \$10,000-or-less.

White Head of Household Income By Bay Area County - Change Over Time 2008 to 2013										
	Alameda County, California	Contra Costa County, California	Marin County, California	Napa County, California	San Francisco County, California	San Mateo County, California	Santa Clara County, California	Solano County, California	Sonoma County, California	Bay Area Total
Total:	3.8%	5.2%	7.0%	3.3%	-0.3%	-0.8%	1.2%	5.5%	4.3%	2.9%
Less than \$10,000	33.6%	12.7%	-27.8%	15.3%	24.6%	-3.0%	21.4%	24.1%	0.5%	14.7%
\$10,000 to \$14,999	7.3%	24.0%	8.0%	13.3%	12.9%	-0.5%	-10.1%	25.2%	52.7%	11.9%
\$15,000 to \$19,999	10.5%	10.4%	28.1%	14.6%	-27.2%	13.6%	-3.3%	33.6%	13.5%	4.9%
\$20,000 to \$24,999	-2.4%	12.2%	-4.9%	-20.1%	40.1%	-30.1%	11.5%	48.9%	25.7%	7.2%
\$25,000 to \$29,999	22.3%	12.2%	-11.5%	-24.7%	-38.5%	-3.5%	16.8%	33.1%	-5.0%	5.5%
\$30,000 to \$34,999	-2.0%	12.3%	-11.6%	13.2%	23.3%	15.7%	-1.3%	24.6%	21.1%	8.2%
\$35,000 to \$39,999	1.8%	7.3%	67.4%	-37.4%	-30.8%	-11.7%	-6.7%	17.0%	-0.6%	-2.3%
\$40,000 to \$44,999	-0.3%	24.2%	3.0%	-7.0%	-12.3%	0.5%	7.4%	5.4%	8.9%	5.8%
\$45,000 to \$49,999	-0.2%	10.0%	2.5%	85.8%	1.6%	1.9%	12.1%	-22.0%	18.7%	7.1%
\$50,000 to \$59,999	10.3%	14.8%	-8.2%	19.3%	17.7%	-24.0%	5.7%	20.7%	12.0%	6.5%
\$60,000 to \$74,999	-5.0%	-0.2%	-14.1%	-1.1%	-12.3%	-1.3%	-13.3%	-10.2%	-2.4%	-6.5%
\$75,000 to \$99,999	-3.2%	-4.6%	-5.8%	-1.3%	-7.7%	-10.4%	-3.3%	1.5%	-7.8%	-4.8%
\$100,000 to \$124,999	3.8%	-3.7%	0.8%	-5.5%	-8.0%	-5.0%	-5.6%	1.6%	0.4%	-2.4%
\$125,000 to \$149,999	-11.2%	-4.7%	12.6%	25.4%	-6.3%	-1.5%	-1.0%	-6.1%	2.2%	-2.9%
\$150,000 to \$199,999	-0.4%	16.2%	19.0%	12.3%	6.4%	0.2%	-1.5%	-1.3%	9.7%	4.7%
\$200,000 or more	25.5%	8.4%	20.2%	12.2%	10.2%	16.5%	12.8%	25.6%	8.4%	14.7%

Figure 1: Shows change over time (2008-2013) of white households with annual incomes, by Bay Area county using U.S. Census Data.

At the center of the Bay Area lies San Francisco. The city holds a total of 74,438 white households and 8,838 African-American households. Over time (2008-2013) the white population has steadily increased in small increments, while the African-American population, most of whom are in \$10,000-or-less households, has doubled. Overall, the majority of San Francisco white and African-American residents are white and have an income of \$200,000 or more. Another increase of \$200,000-or-more income households has been seen in San Mateo. Although overall there was a slight decrease in both white and African-American households, more African-Americans moved out of San Mateo than whites.

African-American Head of Household Income by Bay Area County - Change of Time 2008 to 2013										
	Alameda County, California	Contra Costa County, California	Marin County, California	Napa County, California	San Francisco County, California	San Mateo County, California	Santa Clara County, California	Solano County, California	Sonoma County, California	Bay Area Total
Total:	2.7%	7.5%	*	*	1.7%	-9.3%	8.4%	1.7%	*	6.7%
Less than \$10,000	22.1%	24.2%			20.7%	-51.1%	30.6%	-1.3%		18.4%
\$10,000 to \$14,999	4.1%	-33.9%			2.9%	161.1%	46.5%	42.1%		3.9%
\$15,000 to \$19,999	-2.5%	37.2%			-2.9%	35.8%	-20.7%	32.9%		12.3%
\$20,000 to \$24,999	-0.5%	114.5%			42.8%	-23.8%	-10.6%	-29.7%		15.3%
\$25,000 to \$29,999	-12.2%	-25.3%			-25.1%	-11.4%	-38.8%	12.5%		-11.2%
\$30,000 to \$34,999	-15.9%	-21.8%			24.6%	0.4%	-31.9%	-9.7%		-12.2%
\$35,000 to \$39,999	17.9%	-25.7%			-1.3%	28.5%	20.6%	-13.3%		3.5%
\$40,000 to \$44,999	-24.9%	-21.8%			48.8%	-54.8%	67.8%	-29.1%		-14.9%
\$45,000 to \$49,999	9.9%	48.3%			-61.6%	-27.5%	29.3%	9.0%		8.5%
\$50,000 to \$59,999	15.9%	-14.7%			-25.5%	4.5%	14.2%	-27.3%		-0.9%
\$60,000 to \$74,999	-3.1%	7.5%			-14.5%	-13.6%	31.6%	-15.5%		3.1%
\$75,000 to \$99,999	-19.4%	-7.7%			5.1%	18.1%	-9.9%	14.5%		-4.0%
\$100,000 to \$124,999	15.4%	-8.0%			-25.4%	-35.4%	11.2%	11.9%		6.0%
\$125,000 to \$149,999	41.9%	59.7%			3.4%	26.0%	46.7%	-5.7%		37.5%
\$150,000 to \$199,999	22.9%	110.7%			4.9%	6.3%	-19.6%	34.4%		33.3%
\$200,000 or more	12.5%	42.0%			433.3%	-5.7%	26.0%	120.7%		41.8%

Figure 2: Shows change over time (2008-2013) of African-American households with annual incomes, by Bay Area county using U.S. Census data.

Santa Clara has moderately increased in the number of African-American and White households between 2008 and 2013. In contrast to the data on the eight Bay Area counties (all counties excluding Solano), there was a larger increase of African-American \$200,000 income households than economically equal white households: 26% African-American and 12.6% white. Like the other Bay Area counties, excluding San Mateo, Solano experienced an overall increase in white and African-American residents from 2008-2013. This increase consisted of more white households (5.5%) than African-American (1.7%), however, the largest influx of residents earning \$200,000 or more consisted of African-American households. The last of the nine Bay Area counties, Sonoma, was and is comprised of primarily white, high-middle income households.

Through Census records and by using LeGates and Hartman's in-movers and out-movers as implications of gentrification, one could hypothesize that Alameda, Contra Costa, San Francisco, and Solano counties have undergone the most gentrification, when compared to the other Bay Area counties. However, due to limitations, this hypothesis may be skewed; these limitations include: the lack of 2008 African-American household by income data for Marin, Napa, and Sonoma counties, the primary focus of this analysis was \$10,000-or-less and \$200,000-or-more annual incomes, and only white and African-American ethnicities are analyzed. As a whole, the Bay Area has experienced an increase in white and African-American households, from 2008 to 2013, yet there are far more whites – 991,404 - than African-Americans – 106,830. Of the white households, the majority earn \$75,000 or more per year, while the majority of African-Americans earn \$99,999 or less. In order to conclude what Bay Area counties have undergone gentrification, and to what extent, further county-specific gentrification data would need to be broken down by neighborhood. For now, the Bay Area's primarily rich, white households imply large scale gentrification from 2008-2013.

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Figures and Tables

White Head of Household Income By Bay Area County - 2013										Bay Area Total
	Alameda County, California	Contra Costa County, California	Marin County, California	Napa County, California	San Francisco County, California	San Mateo County, California	Santa Clara County, California	Solano County, California	Sonoma County, California	
Total:	168,922	175,380	54,256	27,690	74,438	106,394	227,894	58,690	97,740	991,404
Less than \$10,000	3,498	3,798	553	657	1,245	1,606	5,195	1,597	2,213	20,362
\$10,000 to \$14,999	2,762	2,946	578	639	1,083	1,089	2,902	1,380	1,993	15,372
\$15,000 to \$19,999	3,569	3,819	775	587	1,754	1,901	4,525	1,319	2,265	20,514
\$20,000 to \$24,999	3,905	3,928	869	800	1,884	1,811	5,429	1,476	3,392	23,494
\$25,000 to \$29,999	4,956	4,662	878	619	1,265	2,671	5,684	1,737	2,860	25,392
\$30,000 to \$34,999	4,633	4,556	1,210	1,234	2,148	2,915	6,002	2,019	3,575	28,292
\$35,000 to \$39,999	4,442	4,885	1,336	963	1,276	2,049	5,710	2,015	3,443	26,119
\$40,000 to \$44,999	5,019	5,532	1,181	1,183	1,791	3,016	6,900	2,401	3,765	30,788
\$45,000 to \$49,999	4,739	4,512	1,148	1,076	1,828	2,748	5,886	1,559	3,976	27,472
\$50,000 to \$59,999	10,187	10,694	2,125	2,034	3,629	5,422	12,761	4,509	7,926	59,287
\$60,000 to \$74,999	13,881	14,657	3,551	3,007	4,435	8,658	17,118	6,338	10,145	81,790
\$75,000 to \$99,999	22,037	22,422	5,763	3,825	7,618	12,697	27,719	9,550	14,681	126,312
\$100,000 to \$124,999	20,395	20,569	6,245	3,400	7,934	10,850	24,509	7,146	11,820	112,868
\$125,000 to \$149,999	15,144	16,302	5,225	2,076	6,286	9,784	20,672	5,167	8,368	89,024
\$150,000 to \$199,999	21,497	22,555	7,785	2,707	9,868	13,117	29,413	5,791	8,623	121,356
\$200,000 or more	28,258	29,543	15,034	2,883	20,394	26,060	47,469	4,626	8,695	182,962

Figure 1 shows white households categorized by annual incomes and Bay Area counties, using 2013 U.S. Census data.

African-American Head of Household Income by Bay Area County - 2013										Bay Area Total
	Alameda County, California	Contra Costa County, California	Marin County, California	Napa County, California	San Francisco County, California	San Mateo County, California	Santa Clara County, California	Solano County, California	Sonoma County, California	
Total:	42,276	23,349	1,114	589	8,838	4,323	10,630	14,186	1,525	106,830
Less than \$10,000	4,560	2,036	185	12	1,186	224	678	1,025	7	9,913
\$10,000 to \$14,999	2,432	906	85	0	609	141	397	715	45	5,330
\$15,000 to \$19,999	2,354	1,280	100	38	462	182	341	727	56	5,540
\$20,000 to \$24,999	2,368	1,482	93	0	557	221	396	485	29	5,631
\$25,000 to \$29,999	2,142	1,016	70	14	433	164	237	548	205	4,829
\$30,000 to \$34,999	2,071	809	10	0	547	230	405	691	89	4,852
\$35,000 to \$39,999	1,902	799	40	27	462	176	316	482	49	4,253
\$40,000 to \$44,999	1,724	798	19	25	427	150	609	544	13	4,309
\$45,000 to \$49,999	1,646	783	51	0	161	169	441	668	23	3,942
\$50,000 to \$59,999	3,462	1,561	72	103	711	299	794	1,039	65	8,106
\$60,000 to \$74,999	3,589	2,045	48	86	555	405	1,154	1,408	268	9,558
\$75,000 to \$99,999	4,285	3,099	119	79	923	718	1,213	1,875	298	12,609
\$100,000 to \$124,999	3,529	1,987	88	26	590	306	1,108	1,561	206	9,401
\$125,000 to \$149,999	2,310	1,351	58	98	396	305	842	741	31	6,132
\$150,000 to \$199,999	2,295	1,863	66	30	323	287	787	1,059	82	6,792
\$200,000 or more	1,607	1,534	10	51	496	346	912	618	59	5,633

Figure 1 shows African-American households categorized by annual incomes and Bay Area counties, using 2013 U.S. Census data.

White Head of Household Income by Bay Area County - 2008										
	Alameda County, California	Contra Costa County, California	Marin County, California	Napa County, California	San Francisco County, California	San Mateo County, California	Santa Clara County, California	Solano County, California	Sonoma County, California	Bay Area Total
Total:	162,760	166,658	50,697	26,800	74,693	107,231	225,123	55,624	93,667	963,253
Less than \$10,000	2,619	3,371	766	570	999	1,655	4,279	1,287	2,201	17,747
\$10,000 to \$14,999	2,575	2,375	535	564	959	1,095	3,227	1,102	1,305	13,373
\$15,000 to \$19,999	3,230	3,460	605	512	2,408	1,674	4,678	987	1,996	19,550
\$20,000 to \$24,999	4,000	3,501	914	1,001	1,345	2,590	4,868	991	2,699	21,909
\$25,000 to \$29,999	4,052	4,155	992	822	2,057	2,768	4,866	1,350	3,010	24,072
\$30,000 to \$34,999	4,726	4,058	1,369	1,090	1,742	2,519	6,079	1,621	2,953	26,157
\$35,000 to \$39,999	4,364	4,552	798	1,538	1,845	2,321	6,120	1,722	3,463	26,723
\$40,000 to \$44,999	5,034	4,453	1,147	1,272	2,042	3,002	6,426	2,279	3,458	29,113
\$45,000 to \$49,999	4,748	4,103	1,120	579	1,799	2,697	5,250	1,998	3,349	25,643
\$50,000 to \$59,999	9,234	9,314	2,316	1,705	3,084	7,136	12,076	3,737	7,078	55,680
\$60,000 to \$74,999	14,619	14,692	4,132	3,039	5,055	8,775	19,737	7,057	10,391	87,497
\$75,000 to \$99,999	22,765	23,509	6,115	3,876	8,251	14,178	28,655	9,408	15,916	132,673
\$100,000 to \$124,999	19,650	21,353	6,195	3,596	8,623	11,421	25,973	7,032	11,777	115,620
\$125,000 to \$149,999	17,947	17,108	4,642	1,655	6,707	9,938	20,885	5,502	6,188	91,672
\$150,000 to \$199,999	21,577	19,408	6,541	2,411	9,273	13,091	29,864	5,869	7,859	115,893
\$200,000 or more	22,520	27,246	12,510	2,570	18,504	22,371	42,140	3,682	8,024	159,567

Figure 1 shows white households categorized by annual incomes and Bay Area counties, using 2008 U.S. Census data.

African-American Head of Household Income by Bay Area County - 2008							
	Alameda County, California	Contra Costa County, California	San Francisco County, California	San Mateo County, California	Santa Clara County, California	Solano County, California	Bay Area Total*
Total:	41,164	21,711	8,689	4,768	9,802	13,950	100,084
Less than \$10,000	3,735	1,639	983	458	519	1,039	8,373
\$10,000 to \$14,999	2,337	1,371	592	54	271	503	5,128
\$15,000 to \$19,999	2,414	933	476	134	430	547	4,934
\$20,000 to \$24,999	2,381	691	390	290	443	690	4,885
\$25,000 to \$29,999	2,439	1,361	578	185	387	487	5,437
\$30,000 to \$34,999	2,464	1,035	439	229	595	765	5,527
\$35,000 to \$39,999	1,613	1,075	468	137	262	556	4,111
\$40,000 to \$44,999	2,295	1,021	287	332	363	767	5,065
\$45,000 to \$49,999	1,498	528	419	233	341	613	3,632
\$50,000 to \$59,999	2,987	1,830	955	286	695	1,430	8,183
\$60,000 to \$74,999	3,705	1,902	649	469	877	1,666	9,268
\$75,000 to \$99,999	5,315	3,356	878	608	1,346	1,638	13,141
\$100,000 to \$124,999	3,057	2,159	791	474	996	1,395	8,872
\$125,000 to \$149,999	1,628	846	383	242	574	786	4,459
\$150,000 to \$199,999	1,868	884	308	270	979	788	5,097
\$200,000 or more	1,428	1,080	93	367	724	280	3,972

Figure 1 shows African-American households categorized by annual incomes and Bay Area counties, using 2008 U.S. Census data.

*There is no data available for Marin, Napa, or Sonoma counties.



PHOTO CREDIT: BRENDAN RHODES

TEN SPACE: STOCKTON'S CHANGING TIDE

ANNAMARIE CUNNINGHAM

Stockton, California is not an easy place to grow up. The 2008 financial crisis hit Stockton hard, leaving the city with a 9.5% foreclosure rate and a 13.3% unemployment rate (Christie, 2008). This led to higher crime rates, higher dropout rates in Stockton's school district, and an all-around bad reputation. Since 2008, Stockton got a list of all the times it has been negatively ranked on a Wikipedia page. It spans everything from auto theft, to illiteracy rates, to obesity. Forbes even ranked the city as one of the most miserable cities in the country. But despite this seemingly endless cry of shame and sorrow surrounding Stockton, things are starting to look up. A development agency called Ten Space that focuses on redeveloping downtowns has been buying up buildings in the heart of Stockton's own downtown. Ten Space's essential mission is to fix up the interiors of these old-timey buildings, invite businesses to occupy the lower levels, remodel the upper floors into apartments and lofts, and ultimately revitalize the area through adaptive reuse. They have been working on Stockton for about eight years now, and have been incredibly successful. Ten Space has the support of the community, the local government, and the people of Stockton, and they have big plans for Stockton's downtown.

Ten Space, formerly known as Cort Co., is mostly run by Stockton natives and other people who know the city's needs well. This project to redevelop the downtown area comes from a genuine place of wanting positive change for the city. David Garcia is the Director of Community Development from Ten Space, and the creator of a Stockton urban planning blog, Stockton City Limits. Garcia explained in depth the progress Ten Space has made since 2008, when Zac Cort, the president of the business, bought his first building downtown. In the midst of financial collapse, locals questioned Cort's decision. Since then, there has been a change of heart from the community.

Long before the financial collapse, downtown Stockton fell out of grace with its own people, being replaced by urban sprawl and tract housing built farther and farther north. The cheap agricultural land of the San Joaquin Delta proved lucrative for housing developers with a seemingly endless supply of cookie-cutter houses. After the collapse, hundreds of those homes were foreclosed on, forcing people back into central Stockton and closer to downtown, bringing us to the present-day landscape.

Garcia told me that the “reeducation” of the population who most doubt Stockton’s ability to thrive is a fun, albeit frustrating at times, endeavour. It is an opportunity to showcase the beauty and the hardiness of Stockton’s historic downtown buildings that have so long stood empty and derelict. It is an opportunity to share the resiliency of Stockton’s residents, and a way to add something positive to the city’s Wikipedia page.

During our interview, Garcia shared with me the gist of Ten Space’s vision for downtown, and what has been achieved already. Since Cort bought his first building in 2008, they’ve purchased about 12 acres of land downtown, or roughly about 15 square blocks. There is a lot of diversity in the structures occupying those 15 blocks. They are filled with everything from parking lots, to hotels, to warehouses, to the Medico-Dental building, a beautiful 12-story 1920’s gothic that holds a lot of historical significance for Stockton. According to Garcia, some of the buildings will be demolished. There is no way around that, however, the ones with historical value, sturdy skeletons, and the incredible craftsmanship and delicacy of the architecture of a by-gone age will be rehabilitated and ultimately reused. Some of them are “really disgusting buildings, but they’re actually pretty stout,” said Garcia of the surviving buildings. Once Ten Space renovates and fixes up the interiors, they will lease out the bottom floors as retail spaces, which they have already been incredibly successful at, and eventually rent the upper floors out as apartments.

Ten Space received a unanimous approval from Stockton’s city council at the end of February regarding their housing development plan. Their plan is adaptive reuse and infill development at its finest. They have already filled up both the retail and office spaces in the Newberry building, a historic Stockton building that has been around since the 1920’s. Ten Spaces’ arguable “crown jewel” is the Medico-Dental building. Built in 1927, the Medico-Dental building is a 12-story commercial building, one of the tallest in downtown Stockton, built for the practice of health and dental professionals. Many Stockton residents have numerous stories of visiting doctors or working in the offices in the building, making it a piece of local history. The building itself is beautiful, and the higher up floors have views of Mount Diablo and the Altamont in the west and views of the Sierra Nevadas in the east. With a little TLC, it will be an incredible downtown Stockton landmark once again. While construction and renovation of the Medico-Dental building is not nearly finished, the leasing prospects are already looking good.

Ultimately, Ten Space wants to do what no one else in Stockton has had the guts to do. For years, tourists, developers, potential residents and others were scared away by the crime, which is a serious problem for Stockton. In 2012, a particularly bad year for the city, there were 71 murders, second in the state only to Oakland. There is a significant gang presence in Stockton, the latest bust of which, in September 2015, saw over 70 arrests and 68 guns taken off the streets (Goldeen, 2015). Ten Space even saw one of their own killed in a seemingly random murder earlier in 2015. The murder remains unsolved. It was a loss not only for Ten Space, but for Stockton as a whole as well. The poverty in Stockton is another factor that pushes potential investors away. The median income for a household in Stockton is \$45,347 (2010 US Census). A common sentiment among locals is that the poverty and crime scare away people with the power and money to invest in the city and make positive changes. This is why what Ten Space is doing is so special and deserving of notice. Ten

Space is a group of young people, tired of the endlessly negative perceptions of Stockton being the only perceptions the public knew. Garcia's take on it all, at least in the most basic sense, is that "Stockton has fallen so hard that people just want to see something positive."

For so long, Stockton has been a place that non-locals look down on, and that locals apologize for. But the effort Ten Space is putting into revitalizing Stockton's downtown is spreading throughout the community. The people of Stockton are once again starting to take pride in their city, and it shows. In a few years, Stockton could be a place that locals no longer feel ashamed of. Stockton could be a place people don't know only for crime or poverty, but instead for tight-knit communities and incredible diversity. Stockton's tide is coming in.

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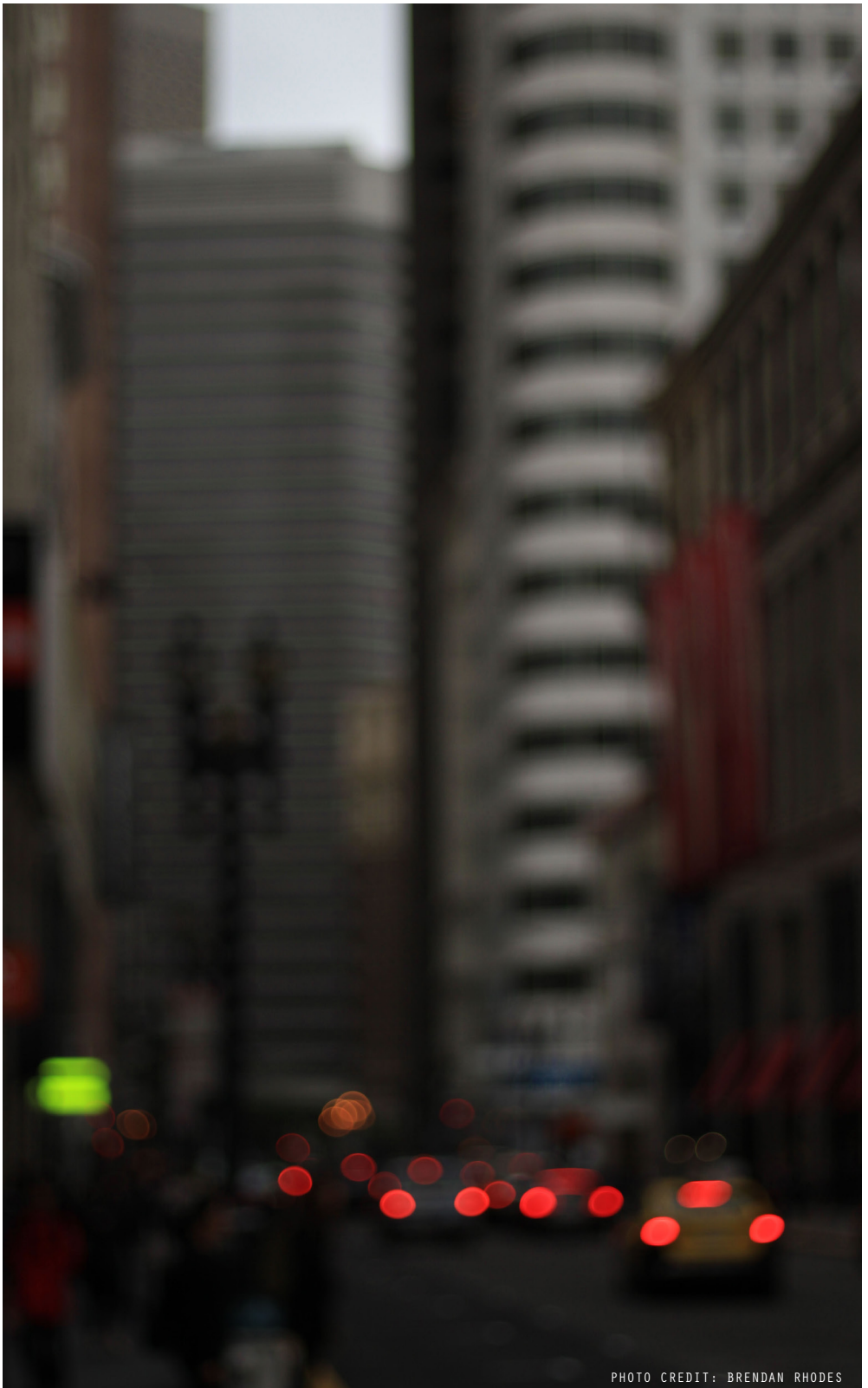


PHOTO CREDIT: BRENDAN RHODES

SKYLINE SONG

GRACE FRANZEN

Bass beat, city night. A waiting, dripping car.
The rain leaks through these windows.
Catch the cold smeared on air.
Chill mildew smell. Turn the key.
Pull away to hear the drums.

Watch the colors bleed the windshield,
red, morphing into light morphing into green,
morphing into sound.
The city of interstates welcoming in.
Follow the bloodstream, lifeblood, fight
the rain that bleeds the light.
Up come the wipers, beat the bass,
the drums, now keys.
Sky opens over city heart. Crescendo.
Open heart and water colors, and the rain rises.
Sky opens and takes the city,
takes the rain and cars floating

Catch the sunset smeared on glass.
Perfect world.



PHOTO CREDIT: LAUREN HARUSSAK

PHOTO ESSAY

LAUREN HANUSSAK

As a college student attending San Francisco State University, I enjoy spending my free time wandering around the city, taking in its bountiful parks, sight-seeing and people-watching. I hope my photos visually capture the everyday San Franciscan experience, and provide others the ability to witness a smidgen of the beauty that is the city of San Francisco themselves.



ERIK PAEZ LOOKING OVER SAN FRANCISCO AT MOUNT DAVIDSON.



A COUPLE RELAXING AT ALAMO SQUARE PARK.



ERIK PAEZ WITH A VIEW OF THE CITY OF SAN FRANCISCO AT SLACKER HILL.



A SUNNY DAY AT ALAMO SQUARE PARK.



MORNING EXERCISE AT WASHINGTON SQUARE PARK.



PERFORMANCE ARTISTS IN DOWNTOWN SAN FRANCISCO.



A PARENT AND HIS DAUGHTER AT ALAMO SQUARE PARK.



AN ARTIST SELLING HIS WORK AT THE EMBARCADERO CENTER.



PHOTO CREDIT: BRENDAN RHODES

ZONING LAWS AND INFORMAL HOUSING: USING LAWS TO ESTABLISH INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS AWAY FROM UNSAFE OR ENVIRONMENTALLY SENSITIVE AREAS & INCREASE ACCESS TO SERVICES

CHRISTOPHER LARSON

Informal Settlements are a fast growing segment of many large cities. Cape Town holds an informal settlement with population nearing half a million. Estimates of informal settlement population in Nairobi range up to a million individuals. Mexico City's informal housing is estimated to house roughly four million people. According to Mike Davis in Planet of Slums, "There may be more than (a) quarter of a million slums on earth." The number of informal settlements grows as population migration to large cities outpaces employment opportunities. Rural areas where jobs are even scarcer after modernization of agricultural technology are a large source for new migrants in larger cities. Skilled migrants may displace unskilled workers, but more often a new migrant will find themselves unable to find sufficient employment to cover expenses for a home, food, and other necessary services. With the United States of America's population continuing to increase exponentially, job and availability of public services are unlikely to keep pace with needs. In fact, according to The United Nations' Human Settlements Programme (2003), The Challenge of the Slums, "the number of people living in such places (informal housing) is projected to double by 2030."

As impoverished communities continue to grow out of the declining inner cities and spread along the outer edges of some newer cities, our society is faced with a challenge. The response of local governments today consists predominantly of ignoring or displacing the inhabitants of informal settlements, but as the number of citizens living in these areas grows, intelligent and forward-thinking solutions must be developed. The negative results of unplanned informal settlements frequently lead to destruction of environmentally sensitive protected lands, forced - sometimes violent - removal of transient populations from public lands, and unsafe living conditions, like those living on steeply sloped hillsides or on top of piles of dangerous waste (Hacker, 2013). Furthermore, the lack of services like running water, sewage disposal, trash collection, transportation availability, and basic healthy food

lead to a massive deficit in the health of citizens living in these impoverished areas, leading to more emergency room visits, increased mental health problems, and preventable deaths (Kahan, 2013).

The United Nations' Human Settlements Programme, *The Challenge of the Slums* indicates that "there is little or no planning to accommodate these people or provide them with services." A deficit of large-scale forward-thinking planning is a shared component to governments in both Europe and The United States of America. Flint Michigan is a good example of a city without a plan. The city defunded water treatment and, with no backup plan, ended up providing unclean water to citizens, resulting in widespread illness. To mitigate damages, they brought in bottled water and implemented an impromptu set of regulations to limit exploitation of the free bottled water. To receive bottled water, a government ID was required. Unfortunately, members of impoverished communities often do not have a government issued ID, and were left to continue exposing themselves to poisonous contaminants. There was no plan to accommodate the homeless population, and as a result, many more people fell ill. Without plans to care for displaced residents, it follows reason that our nation will be faced more and more with the issue of keeping our citizens from dying at a younger age because of lack of accommodation or availability of basic services.

The only solution to the inevitability of "slums" is to embrace them and attempt to integrate them into existing communities with as few excuses for opposition as possible. Zoning laws could protect the communities of informal housing by providing them with a relatively safe place to live continuously, without fear of forceful removal or separation from friends, family, and neighbors. Further, zoning laws could legitimize the needs of informal housing settlements by providing a method for creating a formal organization that could petition funds to improve access to services. Public transportation, education, food assistance programs, medical programs, and community building programs are currently provided to those in need, but some of the impoverished that the programs are built to help either can't reach the services or don't know about them. If services were integrated into a legitimized community, they would be more effective and responsive. Planned informal housing settlements could potentially include free or low-income housing development as funds become available.

Among the main hurdles for enacting something like informal housing zoning would be NIMBY (Not In My Back Yard) issues and agreeing on levels of services provided to those who cannot afford them. Few affluent citizens would be open to building an informal housing settlement in their own neighborhood. When faced with the inevitability of informal housing in a city, managed and dispersed informal settlements would be an easier sell than unmanaged sprawl, though. To address reasonable levels of service and find locations where public sentiment would be the least negative, studies should be done.

The first stage in a study would be determining if using zoning laws to manage informal housing spread is actually a good idea. Zoning laws are notorious for providing legitimacy to destruction of informal housing communities, so it is fair to begin the project by determining if zoning laws and regulations are a suitable method to apply to the issue (Zahan, 2016). In places without zoning laws, however, issues related to industrial corporations buying out impoverished neighborhoods to use as toxic waste dump sites has resulted in negative health consequences to neighboring residents (Talen, 2012).

The next stage in a study would be identifying urban locations containing undeveloped or underdeveloped land that could be integrated into existing or future public transportation systems, optimally already containing some informal housing where existing residents would form an initial support network for new migrants. Impoverished migrants with access to at least some form of transportation have a much higher rate of survival, as they can reach medical services, have a wider area to find employment, and have more control over their life choices (Abraham, 1993).

The next stage would be surveying a sample of residents of cities where the zoning plans would be used, asking questions about locations and levels of service, and making sure to point out environmental and ethical appeals to preemptively integrating growing informal housing communities in their city. Overcoming NIMBY opposition may be possible with a strong enough argument, particularly if it is made clear that informal housing is inevitable, and without guidance the outcomes could be much more damaging to the existing residents. Informal settlements often form along rivers, in environmentally sensitive areas, or in toxic dump sites. Rivers are contaminated, wildlife is damaged, and people are exposed to toxins that result in tragic consequences (Davis, 2013).

Finally, implementation of the project would combine the previous stages to define locations where impoverished migrants might find a livelihood that is least detrimental to their wellbeing. The optimal outcome would be providing a safe stepping stone for migrants to find the resources they need to enter the workforce and develop the economic means to find better housing, but realistically, as immigrants outpace job availability, some migrants will not find employment and will stay in informal housing indefinitely. This inevitability only reinforces the need for good planning and forward-thinking by government agencies to provide services and housing of a quality sufficient to be permanent.

Informal settlements are the way of the future, and there is much evidence to support their inevitable expansion in the United States (Davis, 2013). As populations continue to expand and migrants move in without strong enough job skills to displace existing workers, they will find fewer and fewer opportunities for employment, leading to a larger and larger population of impoverished migrants. Without planning, the impoverished migrants may encroach on endangered habitats, expose themselves to dangerous locations, and damage property, leading to hostility. A stronger focus on the part of all levels of government is required to avoid the looming negative externalities can only be avoided with forward-thinking planning that keeps pace with needs.

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END OF FEUDALISM AND THE PRESENT CRIMINALIZATION OF HOMELESSNESS:

AN INVESTIGATION BETWEEN EARLY
POOR LAWS AND CURRENT REGULATIONS
OF HOMELESS INDIVIDUALS IN REGARDS
TO THEIR USE OF PUBLIC SPACES.

MAKENNA OLSON

INTRODUCTION

The implication and conventional use of what is considered “vagrant” has the same meaning as it did in the 1600s. This is mostly due to popular culture and the inability of popular media to educate the masses on the “vagrant’s” human qualities. There are demeaning connotations utilized by the mass public when discussing issues surrounding homeless individuals. In comparison to the 1600s one would assume the way in which we treat homeless individuals to be vastly outdated. However, in the current situations that arise within San Francisco’s political landscape there are many recurring themes that are clearly linked to history. It is evident that the displacement of these individuals is occurring. However, to deeply understand the mechanism behind why this is happening, the data compiled will represent the perceptions that the homeless community holds of themselves. Although further examination into this phenomenon is needed, this analysis will contribute to a continued investigation of an ongoing issue in the public realm.

HISTORICAL LITERATURE

The early history of English Poor Laws dates back to the beginning of secular control of poor relief in the 5th century during the rule of Anglo-Saxon tribes. During this time period poor individuals were criminalized for their circumstances by the various statute ordinances of working orders, incarceration and severe punishments. To curtail this abuse Charles I published the Book of Orders, which was implemented in London to provide local governments instruction on how to administer control over the poor. Much of the “reformation of disorder” included ways in which local jurisdictions could implement jobs for

the non-working class (Quittrell, 1980). However, these suggestions did not curtail poverty, rather it created opportunities for those living under the rule of stable institutions and further denigrated those who were not. In reference to what is occurring among the impoverished today, this novel helps to put into perspective the difficulties in implementing policies that can potentially help the poor working class. Many current policies are enacted in order to homogenize the working class into a self-sufficient class with middle class ideals. However, in reality for the working class, it creates a deeply embedded sense of resistance towards themselves, as well as distrust within the system.

During this time period, many academics were searching for ways in which governments should rule over the people. Within John Locke's "An Essay on the Poor Law" it introduces the idea of poor relief in the form of employment, the use of taxes, and even church duties to relieve the system of these individuals and address the issue of increasing vagrancy. In an address to the local parliament, Locke suggests that in order to lessen the presence of vagrancy, all individuals above the age of fourteen and below fifty should be 'seized' if caught begging, and be put to work as punishment. Locke insisted that providing work for vagrants, as a public duty would "make England a million pounds richer" (Locke, 1667). This article specifically relates to the context of how the current government in the United States regulates age specific employment by essentially requiring all able bodies, aged sixteen and older, to work or at least attend school until the age of eighteen. Furthermore, Locke argues that it would also serve as a true and proper course of action so that these vagrants would not live off the work of others, as it is their duty to provide for themselves. The system that Locke suggests would ultimately create a society of workers, trained at an early age in an academy, who would be able to provide for themselves and relieve the government of the vagrancy issue. The specific rhetoric that Locke employs relates to the notion of youth employment as a remedy for vagrancy within urban spaces.

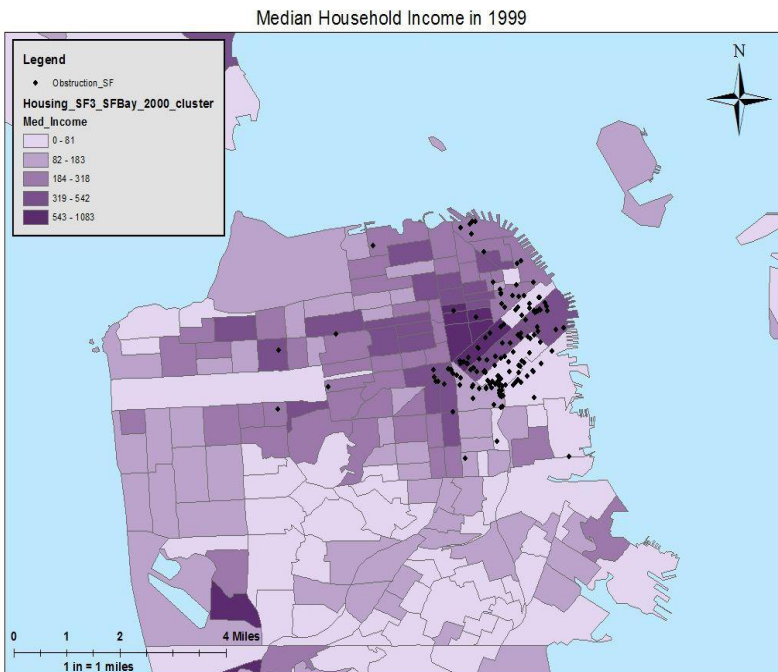
In addition to the poor relief policies that Locke suggested, the church also dominated the sphere of how to treat impoverished individuals by governing those who are worthy of help. In his article, "Five Hundred Years of English Poor Laws, 1349-1834: Regulating the Working and Nonworking Poor" William Quigley explains how the five hundred year period between 1349 and 1834 greatly influenced how the United States currently combats poverty through legislation. Quigley states that the end of feudalism, a system that 'protected' serfs who farmed the lands of landowners in return for economic security, lead to the creation of the earliest poor laws. The Christian Church also played a crucial role in the development of poor laws in that biblical texts dictated how individuals should treat the poor in charitable means, and give 'alms to the poor' as a clear and religious duty or obligation in the eyes of God.

In response to the black plague and a weakened labor force, poor laws were created to combat beggars and vagrants. The first of these poor laws was the Statutes of Laborers 1349-1350, which intended to deal with the economic distress of the end of feudalism and the black plague by prohibiting individuals from not working, demanding higher wages or quitting their job before the term was complete. The law ultimately led to distinguishing the poor as deserving and undeserving recipients of almsgiving. The law also set the first precedence for arresting those without work and demanding all able bodies to comply, even those in old age. This article serves as the backbone to understanding circumstances that

create poverty and cause a reoccurrence of issues, Furthermore, it can be used to help explain the current situations within the United States. The historical literature on poor relief policies dating back to the 5th century to the end of feudalism can shed light on the present criminalization of homelessness in the United States.

PUBLIC SPACES: TRANSFORMATION OF PUBLIC SPACES IN SAN FRANCISCO SINCE 2010

In an attempt to curtail the use of public space by homeless individuals, the city of San Francisco enacted an ordinance under Gavin Newsom in 2010 that cites homeless individuals for sitting or lying on sidewalks in these spaces. The ordinance specifically prohibits that, “During the hours between 7 A.M. and 11 P.M. it is unlawful to sit or lie down upon a public sidewalk, or any object placed upon a public sidewalk,” (sfgov2.org, 2015). In part (a) titled, “Findings,” the ordinance states that, “The people of San Francisco find that maintaining pedestrian and authorized commercial activity on public sidewalks in essential to public safety, thriving neighborhoods and a vital economy in the City” (sfgov2.org, 2015). However, when turning attention towards the homeless population in 2013, the San Francisco Homeless Count & Survey reported that “34% of the respondents usually sleep outdoors” and “The primary obstacle of obtaining permanent housing was due to economic factors, with 55% of respondents reporting that they were not able to afford rent,” (San Francisco Homeless Count & Survey, 2013). The map below represents Sit and Lie citations in reference to the median income within San Francisco from 2013. The purpose of this is to demonstrate the correlation between where the citations are predominantly occurring to the proximity of affluent neighborhoods. This map thus illustrates that there is a concentration of citations within the downtown area as well as in more affluent neighborhoods.



Data Source: U.S. Census Bureau SF3 Housing 2000, and SFPD Crime Incidents Reporting System, 2003

According to the Parks and Recreation Department of San Francisco the downtown area has nearly 300 public spaces. In many instances, however, strict enforcement of these public spaces regulate how the space is often used. Officials implement allowed hours of use, structures discouraging lying down, and sometimes designate an area a Privately-Owned Public Open Space (POPOS). These regulations ultimately discourage homeless individuals from utilizing these spaces. In reference to the poor laws around the early 1500s, any vagrant on the street was only dealt with as a means for charitable work and later evolved to a series of arrests and hangings. But in regards to today, individuals who attain enough citations for sitting or lying on sidewalks would be detained and released with no means of establishing themselves. Therefore, it is nothing necessarily new that is expressed in San Francisco, especially in the treatment towards homeless individuals. But with nowhere else to go, many of these individuals take to the streets to establish homes. And with little to no voice of their own requires attention to better understand this situation and why it is unique to San Francisco.

SURVEY DATA

To explore this phenomenon further, many of the surveys conducted within the span of three months were condensed and compiled using the software package SPSS. The data itself comes from interviews conducted within San Francisco by my peers and myself. Within this research, all participants were listed with their responses in order to conduct simple data measurements to showcase similar responses (see table 1). The purpose of this is to see whether or not answers seemed to vary or whether or not they were similar. There were approximately fifty respondents my peers and I interviewed, each survey lasting anywhere from thirty minutes to an hour. Although the data compilation is not sufficient to depict any statistically significant truth due to its sample size, the data depicted one reoccurring theme amongst respondents choice in residency.

Many of the correlations within the research conducted depicted that all but a few individuals preferred to stay in a shelter. To this extent, many individuals simply abstained from attempting to get into a shelter for various reasons. Many of the reasons to why individuals were detoured from staying in shelters varied from sanitary conditions, safety, discrimination and lack of personal space. Individuals predominantly stayed on the streets because it was essentially a hassle free option, where they could avoid potential complications that arise from staying in shelters.

In analyzing the reasons as to why individuals abstained from the shelter system, there was one constant recurring theme regarding safety concerns. Respondents preference was determinate on conditions that rested upon “feeling safe” or “not feeling safe.” Respondents who chose not to stay in shelters were typically found in high contact spaces, whether it was on a busy street or outside a corner market. These high contact spaces served as a means for respondents to feel safe or increase the opportunity to receive help from local services and the public. Although this cannot represent the entirety of the population and many of the individuals’ contexts are unique, many respondents attempt to mitigate their fears for their safety by choosing accommodations outside of shelters. Many homeless people choose to avoid particular places altogether regardless of the subsequent benefit the general

public may believe is best for them. The implications of this research makes it apparent that local legislatures should reconsider the shelter system as the best option for mitigating homelessness.

CONCLUSION

Based on this research conducted within San Francisco, it is apparent that not much has changed in what it means to be labeled as an “other” in today’s society compared to the inception of poor laws in the 5th century. This paper is only a starting point to understanding the issues associated with poverty and homelessness. Within the attempt to assess current situations in conjunction with past methods of dealing with the poverty crisis, it is my hope that we begin to understand that we are perpetuating our own ideals onto a certain population that does not desire the same ideals. Reflected in the continued struggle with poverty and homelessness this issue cannot be entirely solved. However, there may be different methods of approach outside of inflicting our own judgements onto these unique individuals. I believe that there are very real and tangible issues relating to poverty and homelessness that can only be adequately addressed if local governments reexamine poor relief policies, methods for reducing homelessness, and the ways in which middle class ideals are projected upon working class people.

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TABLES

	Name	Type	Width	Decimals	Label	Values	Missing	Columns	Align	Measure	Role
1	HM_ID	String	8	0	NAME	None	None	8	Left	Nominal	Input
2	HM_AGE	Numeric	8	2	AGE	{1.00, 18-25...	None	8	Right	Scale	Input
3	HM_GENDER	Numeric	8	2	GENDER	{1.00, FEM...	None	8	Right	Scale	Input
4	HM_RACE	Numeric	8	2	RACE	{1.00, WHIT...	None	8	Right	Scale	Input
5	HM_HISPA...	Numeric	8	2	HISPANICE/LA...	{1.00, YES}	None	8	Right	Scale	Input
6	HM_VETER...	Numeric	8	2	VETERAN	{1.00, YES}	None	8	Right	Scale	Input
7	HM_30D	String	8	0	HOMELESS+3...	{1, YES - H...	None	8	Left	Nominal	Input
8	HM_SLOC	String	8	0	HOMELESSLO...	{1, SAME L...	None	8	Left	Nominal	Input
9	HM_TYPICAL	Numeric	8	2	PAST MONTH ...	{1.00, YES}	None	8	Right	Scale	Input
10	HM_PLACE	Numeric	8	0	TYPES OF PL...	{1, SHELTE...	None	8	Right	Nominal	Input
11	HM_SAFETY	Numeric	8	2	SAFETY OF L...	{1.00, YES}	None	8	Right	Scale	Input
12	HM_SFTYPE	Numeric	8	0	SAFE TYPE	{1, SHELTE...	None	8	Right	Nominal	Input
13	HM_USFTY...	Numeric	8	0	UNSAFE TYPE	{1, SHELTE...	None	8	Right	Nominal	Input
14	HM_SHEL...	Numeric	8	2	+1 YEAR NOT ...	{1.00, UNS...	None	8	Right	Scale	Input
15	HM_JAIL	Numeric	8	2	ANY NIGHTS I...	{1.00, YES}	None	8	Right	Ordinal	Input
16	HM_JNTS	Numeric	8	2	NUMBER NIGH...	{1.00, 1-7 N...	None	8	Right	Scale	Input
17	HM_JREL	Numeric	8	2	RELEASED LO...	{1.00, FAMI...	None	8	Right	Scale	Input
18	HM_HOSP	Numeric	8	2	ANY NIGHTS I...	{1.00, YES}	None	8	Right	Ordinal	Input
19	HM_HNTS	Numeric	8	2	NUMBER NIGH...	{1.00, 1-7 N...	None	8	Right	Scale	Input
20	HM_HREL	Numeric	8	2	RELEASED LO...	{1.00, FAMI...	None	8	Right	Scale	Input
21	HM_FOOD	Numeric	8	2	RECEIVE FOOD	{1.00, SHEL...	None	8	Right	Scale	Input
22	HM_HEALTH	Numeric	8	2	RECEIVE HEA...	{1.00, HOS...	None	8	Right	Scale	Input
23	HM_HYGIE...	Numeric	8	2	RECEIVE HYG...	{1.00, SHEL...	None	8	Right	Scale	Input
24	HM_DENIED	Numeric	8	2	DENIED SERVI...	{1.00, YES}	None	8	Right	Ordinal	Input
25	HM_DSERV	Numeric	8	2	SERVICE DENI...	{1.00, SHEL...	None	8	Right	Unknown	Input
26	HM_LOC1	Numeric	8	2	STREET LOCA...	{1.00, ALAM...	None	8	Right	Nominal	Input

Table 1: SPSS coding file survey data, 2015



PHOTO CREDIT: MAKENNA SOLSON

THE SHARING ECONOMY: DEFINITIONS, PROS & CONS OF AIRBNB AND ITS REGULATION IN SAN FRANCISCO

PAIGE THORNTON

INTRODUCTION

Airbnb, the online sharing marketplace that is being touted as one of the biggest recent successes of the sharing economy, stands in legal limbo in many cities. Moreover, definitions of the sharing economy, its inherent value and a regulatory framework for the phenomena continue to be an issue up for debate. Airbnb's story begins in San Francisco, in 2007, when two Rhode Island School of Design graduates, Brian Chesky and Joe Gebbia, were hungry to benefit from the newly emerged startup craze that has continued to bolster much of the success of the app-based technology industry. When a design conference came to the city, Chesky and Gebbia decided to rent out three air mattresses on the floor of their San Francisco apartment—which they were struggling to pay the monthly rent for—at a rate of \$80 per night (Helm & Guzzetta, 2014). What began as the lofty semblance of a platform for couch surfing transformed into what will soon be the largest lodging company in the world (Leonard, 2014). Since their founding in 2008, San Francisco-based online sharing marketplace, Airbnb, has ascended in popularity and girth on a global scale. Airbnb, the online sharing marketplace, has served more than 60,000,000 guests, in more than 34,000 cities and 190 countries, with upwards of 2,000,000 listings worldwide and is worth some \$24 billion dollars (Airbnb, Inc.; O'Neill & Ouyang, 2016). The company faces criticism regarding legality, fairness and the effects on the housing shortages occurring in multiple cities. Yet, many people are heralding the young giant as a pillar of light within the future of conscious capitalism. This article will first explore definitions of the sharing economy and establish where Airbnb actually fits within these parameters. The positive and negative aspects of Airbnb will then be discussed, as well as several proposed regulatory frameworks and legislation that has been implemented or proposed regarding the burgeoning platform, specifically in San Francisco. While there are both apparent positive and negative aspects of Airbnb, it is debatable whether the company accurately fits the definition of a sharing economy. One thing is clear, regulation and practices aimed at protecting consumers and supporting the infrastructure needs of municipalities, while also supporting innovation, is necessary in order to harness the value that the platform offers.

DEFINITIONS

Advocates of Airbnb promote the platform as a prime example of the social good that the sharing economy can bring, but some critics argue that Airbnb does not actually exemplify the sharing economy, rather, synonymizing the sharing economy with collaborative consumption (Leonard, 2014). Leonard argues that critics of what is being sold as sharing is “just crafty capitalism practiced by companies that make money off of consumers without investing in the infrastructure.” Susan Cagle (2014), author of *The Case Against Sharing: On Access, Scarcity, and Trust*, asks, “What is sharing anyways?” She states,

For the past few years, the “sharing economy” has characterized itself as a revolution: Renting a room on Airbnb or catching an Uber is an act of civil disobedience in the service of a righteous return to human society’s true nature of trust and village-building that will save the planet and our souls. A higher form of enlightened capitalism. But this economy is still young and discovering itself. So far it looks, at worst like neoliberal solutionism—and, at best, a little confused.

Traditional descriptions of the sharing economy tend to encompass things like cooperative housing and education, community gardens, car sharing groups, worker and grocery cooperatives, and similar practices. Kassan and Orsi describe the sharing economy as facilitating “community ownership, localized production, sharing, cooperation, small scale enterprise and the regeneration of economic and natural abundance” (Kassan and Orsi, 2014). Others offer a more forgiving definition of sharing: “In the sharing economy, individuals rent out resources they’re not using, via a set of apps that allow people to connect with each other to engage in peer-to-peer transactions” (Goble, 2015). Kassan and Orsi (2014) assert that sharing is not a top-down solution and large organizations or companies are not a necessary aspect of the sharing solution. Moreover, they define a sharing enterprise as, “aimed at sharing and offsetting the costs of ownership and maintenance of an item, and it is not an enterprise aimed at making a profit.” They give the example of a group of neighbors who pool together resources to share ownership of a few cars. Conversely, Airbnb is backed by millions of investment dollars. While there are positive aspects that the platform offers, they are a corporation and in the end they will always have a bottom line.

Ashley Hennefer (2014), argues that what Airbnb pioneers as a platform for sharing, in actuality, is a rental service and asserts that calling them a share platform “takes away from the actual share projects that have a legitimate chance at resurrecting struggling communities by giving power back to the people.” While Hennefer recognizes the potential good that can come of Airbnb and similar platforms, she thinks it is important to make the distinction between what truly qualifies as the sharing economy opposed to conscious capitalism, its ultimate goal being to turn a profit. Similarly, Annie Leonard (2014) points out several positive possibilities of the sharing platform, Airbnb; however, she remains firm in her claim that we should be dubious in defining it as a true representation of the sharing economy. She states, “We should encourage services that provide environmental and social benefits of real sharing. If it doesn’t, it may be disruptive to traditional consumer capitalism, but we should still be weary and have a buyer-beware mentality” (Leonard, 2014). These authors provide us with conflicting, yet overlapping definitions of the sharing economy.

Whether or not Airbnb can be explicitly defined as the type of sharing economy that Kassin and Orsi describe, there is an observable truth to the notion that Airbnb does have some positive aspects, as well as drawbacks, which will be discussed in the following paragraphs. However, how to best regulate the technology age platform continues to be a challenge for policymakers in cities across the globe.

BENEFITS & CRITIQUES

PROS: ECONOMY AND COMMUNITY-BUILDING

First, Airbnb is economical for both the host and the traveler. Alexandra Chang (2014) asserts “P2P companies allow for direct exchange of money between individuals for goods and services.” This means that hosts and renters have the ability to take things into their own hands. Before the advent of Airbnb, travelers had few safe and reliable options aside from staying in large corporate hotels, at a significantly higher cost. Perhaps if interested in a more quaint option, travelers could choose to stay in a traditional bed-and-breakfast or inn; however, in most cities, Airbnb would still be a cheaper and more practical option for travel. Furthermore, Airbnb offers economic benefits for hosts as well. “Owners make money from underused assets. Airbnb says hosts in San Francisco who rent out their homes do so for an average of 58 nights a year, making \$9,300” (The Economist, 2013). This is a significant economic impact for the average resident, especially considering the high monthly rent costs in San Francisco and comparable cities, which, according to rental site Zumper, averaged \$3,590 for a one-bedroom unit. Similarly, Goble (2015) says Airbnb is a “way for people to access underused resources, avoid waste and strengthen communities by returning to an earlier era of reputation as the primary currency.” Community building is a second possibility for value that Airbnb offers. The website operates as a platform for operating through the framework of reputation. Hosts create profiles and users rate their stay afterwards. Global connections can be made between hosts and users, regionally, nationally and even internationally that quite probably would have never otherwise been made. This notion of community and trust building has the potential to bring people together in ways that we have only been able to witness in this way since the advent of the Internet and the introduction of app-based marketplaces, which also serve as a type of social commons.

CONS: CONSUMER SAFETY, HOUSING AND REGULATORY ARBITRAGE

While Airbnb does offer value to hosts and consumers, there is serious critique as to whether this value can outweigh the cons that come with the platform. These cons include: consumer health and safety issues, contributions to housing shortages, and unfair advantages over the entrenched and highly regulated hotel industry. Helm and Guzzetta (2014) point out a slew of consumer health and safety issues with Airbnb operations. They state that health and safety laws that govern the hotel industry do not apply to Airbnb. Laws that require things such as “clean towels, sprinkler systems, and a map to exit, in case of a fire” are lacking from Airbnb’s requirements from their hosts. Furthermore, while hosts are protected by Airbnb’s \$1 million host guarantee, inviting a complete stranger can and has resulted in trashed apartments and vandalism charges in multiple cities.

Secondly, contributions to already catastrophic housing shortages in cities such as San

San Francisco and New York City also fuel the critique against Airbnb. Malhotra and Van Alstyne (2014) state, “short-term rentals create shortages of affordable housing when nightly rates exceed rentals.” In 2014, the San Francisco Chronicle commissioned a web data extraction firm, Connotate Inc. to collect data on San Francisco Airbnb listings and their hosts, in order to measure the impact of these short-term rentals on the city’s already calamitous housing shortage (Said, 2014). Author Carolyn Said addresses the impact of Airbnb on housing in San Francisco, which she asserts has been hard to measure due to the inability to access Airbnb’s data on their hosts and listings. The information has since been further researched by outlets such as Inside Airbnb, an independent data tool site that has gathered and aggregated publicly available information on Airbnb. Furthermore, the company released data on their users in December of 2015, and their website makes claims regarding their average user. According to Said’s data, roughly 4,798 San Francisco listings were found on Airbnb’s website in 2014. Two-thirds were entire houses or apartments, 160 of these listings were being rented full-time, suggesting that landlords and homeowners are using Airbnb to bypass the city’s strict rental policies. 1,651 were private rooms and 163 were shared rooms. Said asserts that while most hosts do fit the mold of the “occasional-use host”, their data does show that 513 hosts controlled more than one property. Said states, “A total of 1,526 properties — almost a third — are controlled by people with two or more listings. The top 10 hosts collectively controlled 248 listings.”

Since Said’s report in 2014, Airbnb listings have increased, despite attempts at regulation within the city. Inside Airbnb’s data show a 46.5% increase since the release of Said’s report in 2014. Inside Airbnb reports that there are 7,029 listings in San Francisco, 57.4%, or 4,033 listings, are entire apartments or homes, with listings averaging \$221 per night. 37.3 % of, or 2,624, listings are private rooms and 5.3% of, or 372, listings are shared rooms (Cox, 2015).

An examination of this data shows that although the number of units removed from the rental market due to Airbnb listings may not have an enormous effect on the San Francisco housing shortage at this point in time, proper regulation is important in ensuring that does not happen in the future. In order to alleviate San Francisco’s housing shortage, exponentially more units than what is available through Airbnb would be necessary. Said cites Gabriel Metcalf, executive director of urban design think tank, SPUR, in saying “From a policy perspective, the real issue is whether there are a lot of units that have been removed from the housing market because of short-term rentals. It looks like that’s not a big number yet, but that’s why we need regulation to control so it doesn’t become big.” (Said, 2014). Since the release of Said’s article in 2014, San Francisco lawmakers have begun an attempt to develop regulation, however, Airbnb continues to grow as one of the largest lodging companies in the world, and its risk for struggling communities is still unknown.

A third critique against Airbnb is that without proper regulation, the company is being given an unfair advantage against large corporate hotels, which are highly regulated and taxed. Annie Leonard (2014) states “Airbnb will soon be the largest lodging company in the world, but doesn’t own a single hotel. Critics say such services may help amateur lodgers bring in extra income, but concentrate the greatest benefits in the hands of investors at the expense of the sharer themselves, displaced service providers like hotel staff, and municipalities that depend on hotel and other taxes to provide essential services.” Airbnb is affecting the profit margins

of a comparably highly regulated hotel industry. In addition, Airbnb investors are making billions of dollars off of hosts, who in many regulatory frameworks will end up taking on the brunt of the risks associated with hosting guests. In addition, Airbnb affects employment in the service industry. The potential for layoff of hotel staff is a possibility if the corporate hotel industry continues to face profit losses due to unregulated Airbnb operations. Lastly, if unregulated, cities will face a loss in tourism taxes, which cities depend on to provide essential services.

	FULL-TIME OPERATORS				ALL OPERATORS				MULTI-UNIT OPERATORS	
	Count No.	Revenue	Full-Time %	Revenue %	Count No.	Revenue	Host %	Revenue %	Host %	Revenue %
TOTALS										
1 unit Full-Time Operators	381	\$23,189,136	0.6%	2.9%	1 unit Hosts	66,253	\$808,880,283	83.2%	61.0%	16.8%
2 unit Full-Time Operators	136	\$15,806,606	1.7%	8.2%	2 unit Hosts	8,067	\$191,745,971	10.1%	14.5%	
3+ unit Full-Time Operators	130	\$34,622,137	2.4%	10.6%	3+ unit Hosts	5,320	\$325,972,137	6.7%	24.6%	
Variable Full-Time Operators	2,010	\$304,555,495								
Total Full-Time Operators	2,657	\$378,173,374	3.3%	28.5%	Total Hosts	79,640	\$1,326,598,391			
Averages										
1 unit Revenue per Host		\$60,864				\$12,209				
2 unit Revenue per Host		\$116,225				\$23,769				
3+ unit Revenue per Host		\$266,324				\$61,269				
Variable Operator Revenue per Host		\$151,520								
Total Operators		\$142,331				\$16,657				

O'Neill, J. W., & Ouyang, Y. (2016, January 20). From Air Mattresses to Illegal Business: An Analysis of the Other Side of Airbnb (Rep.). Retrieved February 28, 2016, from Pennsylvania State University School of Hospitality Management website: http://www.ahla.com/uploadedFiles/_Common/pdf/PennState_AirBnbReport_.pdf

At the national level, an examination of Airbnb’s user data in 12 major cities show an explosion of multi-unit and full-time hosts, and a concentration of Airbnb’s profit stemming from these hosts. Airbnb claims that hosts are mostly occasional use hosts who are trying to make some extra cash, stating that “a typical listing earns \$5,110 a year, and is typically shared less than 4 nights per month” (O’Neill & Ouyang, 2016). However, O’Neill & Ouyang’s data paint a different picture. Multi-unit hosts, defined as those who rent out two or more units, account for 40 %, or \$500 billion of the \$1.3 billion, of Airbnb’s revenue, yet represent 16.8 % of hosts (O’Neill & Ouyang, 2016). Additionally, full-time hosts, defined as those who operated for at least 360 days over the 12 months studied, comprise a growing number of hosts who are “using the Airbnb platform to operate an unregulated, full-time business. Nearly 30% of Airbnb revenue is derived from this group” (O’Neill & Ouyang, 2016). Full-time hosts represent 3.3% of hosts. In San Francisco specifically, “22.4% of the revenue (\$43,559,557) was derived from full-time hosts who made up 2.9% of operators” (O’Neill & Ouyang, 2016). Furthermore, the largest increases can be found within the category of mega-hosts, defined at hosts with three or more units, with an 81.4% increase in revenues between September 2014 and September 2015. Mega-hosts represent 7% of hosts, yet generated 25% of revenue during this period. Examination of this data reifies how far Airbnb has come from the platform for couch-surfing it once was. While the majority of Airbnb’s hosts are single unit operators, at 83.2% of hosts, increasing amounts of under-regulated revenue continues to fall into the hands of multi-unit and full-time operators, and that needs acknowledgement (O’Neill & Ouyang, 2016). Extraordinary growth can be seen from Airbnb, yet regulation of the company and many of its hosts do not match up.

SOME REGULATORY FRAMEWORKS & SAN FRANCISCO-SPECIFIC LEGISLATION

Since Airbnb's founding in 2008, there have been intense debates on how to approach regulation of the new industry. MaryAnne Goble discusses what many sharing economy advocates purport as the optimal regulatory framework, "permissionless innovation." Goble (2015) states that Adam Theurer, who has been widely quoted on the topic, defines permissionless innovation as "the notion that experimentation with new technologies and business models should generally be permitted by default. Unless a compelling case can be made that a new invention will bring serious harm to a society, innovation should be allowed to continue unabated and problems, if they develop at all, can be addressed later." Sharing economy pioneers argue that regulatory frameworks would squelch the innovation inherent to these new industries. Permissionless innovation suggests the absence of a regulatory framework, arguing that regulation of this type of industry goes against the innovative nature that app-based startup marketplaces depend on to turn a profit.

Regulatory structures provide trust for consumers and ensure "at least a minimum level of safety and accountability" (Goble, 2015). However, while it is clear that there are entrenched interests in the hotel industry, which are highly combative to platforms such as Airbnb, the regulatory regimes that currently reside over this industry need to be reexamined with respect to Airbnb. Helm and Guzzetta (2014) state, "Not all laws are created equal. Some make sense in a 21st-century context, some are vestiges of outdated regulatory regimes, and some are simply reflexive protectionism." Similarly, authors Malhotra and Van Alstyne (2014) acknowledge that neither regulations that give some parts of the market an unfair advantage over others or regulatory arbitrage are the correct answers to regulating the sharing economy and suggest that sharing economy companies need to "absorb risks, invest in customers and practice community policing and self-regulation." Fair taxation and a regulatory system that does not promote arbitrage are of utmost importance in accessing the potential of companies such as Airbnb (Malhotra & Van Alstyne, 2014). As an example, many cities have begun to attempt to support sharing economies. Hosts pay income and tourists taxes and are required to ensure that users are behaving in accordance with the expectations of the neighborhood. As far as self-regulation, Airbnb has taken action in this arena. Airbnb now offers a \$1 million damage guarantee; although, it took a Bay Area blogger's apartment being trashed for the company to make necessary changes to adequately protect the property and safety of its hosts. Previously, they offered only a \$50,000 damage guarantee. Since this incident occurred in the summer of 2011, the company has expanded its trust and safety and customer service departments to a staff of 600 personnel, and now employs a 24/7-customer service hotline (Helm & Guzzetta, 2014). Goble, Helm & Guzzetta, and Malhotra & Van Alstyne all assert that a new take on regulation in this arena is necessary in order to find a balance between outdated regulations and the protection of consumers, service providers and cities.

A second regulatory framework is suggested in Stephen R. Miller's short essay, titled, *Transferable Sharing Rights: A Theoretical Model for Regulating Airbnb and the Short-Term Rental Market* (2014), which offers a theoretical framework for regulating Airbnb and the short-term rental market more specifically. This framework involves what Miller calls Transferable Sharing Rights (TSRs), which are modeled after existing transferable

development rights regimes. Miller argues that TSRs would “provide cities with a means of regulating short term rentals while also charging a fee equal to externalities and lost city revenues resulting from short-term rentals” (Miller, 2014). Within this framework, Miller states that owners of a property would redeem their TSR through an online database in which they would provide data on numbers of persons, length of stay and price charged. Furthermore, Miller proposes a “TSR Market” in which unused TSRs could be sold, so that owners could participate in the short-term rental market past the use of their initially allocated TSRs (Miller, 2014). Miller states that sites like Stubhub, which are already engineered for these types of transactions, could be used as a basis of technology in the implementation of the TSR market. Theoretically, they would provide the service for free, while taking a small cut of the redeemed TSR (Miller, 2014). Miller also addresses the complication of the landlord and renter relationship. Miller states that TSRs should be allocated to only owners; however, landlords and renters could negotiate agreements at their discretion as long as they are within the confines of the law. Miller’s framework provides one potential for regulating the short-term rental market and more specifically, Airbnb; although, his framework still does not address the critique that all actors (sharers, service-providers, and cities) are taking on the costs of the sharing economy, while Airbnb and its investors benefit.

Regulation and collaboration between lawmakers and companies like Airbnb is necessary to both keep consumers safe and harness the value that the sharing economy platform offers. In April of 2014, San Francisco City Attorney Dennis Herrera delivered a lawsuit against landlords who supposedly illegally used the Ellis Act, which makes evictions legal so long as they are supported by the intention of renovating the property and are removed from the rental market, to evict their tenants. Herrera claims they were then listed on Airbnb as short-term rental for significantly more money (Chang, 2014). With this anecdote, Chang points towards both the legality and fairness of Airbnb in these types of scenarios, and ultimately the necessity for a consistent regulatory framework of the platform.



In October of 2014, San Francisco voters passed a resolution in an attempt to regulate Airbnb. Despite the work that has been done in attempts to regulate the platform in San Francisco, some lawmakers assert that the legislation passed is not enough. Following an intense campaign battle between Share Better SF and SF For Everyone, Prop F, which was proposed on the November 2015 ballot, failed to pass. The legislation proposed, “putting a “hard cap” of 90 days on every property, regardless of whether the host is present. It would also require companies such as Airbnb to share data about rentals, ban rentals in

certain neighborhoods that have been zoned to forbid commercial use and give disturbed neighbors—like ones living next door to people who rent out units illegally—the right to sue for damages” (Steinmetz, 2015). Under the legislation passed in 2014, San Francisco residents are permitted to rent their space for an unlimited amount of time if they are present during the hosting, i.e., sharing a room or renting out a spare bedroom or living room. Un-hosted rentals, on the other hand, are not permitted to rent for longer than 90 days in a given calendar year (Steinmetz, 2015). However, Steinmetz cites Campos in pointing out the unenforceable nature of these parameters, which is why he and two supporting supervisors attempted to push for tighter restrictions to the law, passed in 2014. In addition, the new restrictions would require Airbnb to provide data on their hosts, which would make oversight more possible. Campos and his allies assert that without this information, ensuring legality and fairness will not be possible in enforcing regulations on Airbnb and its hosts. Legislation that went into effect February 1st, 2015, requires that hosts register with the city before listing their space; however, Campos points out that only a few dozen hosts have registered, while there are several thousand San Francisco listings found on Airbnb. The new restrictions would also fine hosts up to \$1,000 per day for unregistered listings (Steinmetz, 2015). Prop F would have put tighter restrictions on the previously enacted legislation in San Francisco, which some policymakers claim would have enacted a more enforceable and fair regulatory framework for Airbnb that would work in the best interest of both the municipality and its residents.

CONCLUSION

Regardless of the cooperation that has occurred between Airbnb and lawmakers in San Francisco and other cities, the fairness and legality as well as the platform’s actual cohesion with the definition of the sharing economy continues to be debated. Airbnb does exhibit inherent value for its users. The company allows users to make use of unused resources and offers an alternative to traditional travel options, as well as serves as a platform for community building that has been birthed out of the digital age. However, the value comes with several caveats. The company faces critique regarding consumer health and safety, contributions to housing shortages, and unfair advantages over the traditional tourism industry. Several regulatory frameworks have been suggested or implemented, ranging from no regulation, self-regulation, a TSR system and tight restrictions that first and foremost intend to protect cities and its residents. Although there is observable value that Airbnb has the potential to offer both its hosts and users, regulation is necessary in diminishing the negative effects that come with the new sharing platform. Moreover, policymakers continue to struggle with how to address Airbnb in ways that will not promote regulatory arbitrage and protect their communities, while also avoiding suffocating the innovation inherent to the app-based marketplaces of this new era. One thing is clear, in order to witness the value inherent in Airbnb as a sharing platform, the debate must continue; continued revisiting to the discussion of regulation is requisite in protecting consumers, cities and their residents, as well as promoting the best interests of municipalities everywhere.

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URBAN SPRAWL: THE BATTLE FOR SPACE

KIMBERLY WONG

Urban sprawl can be defined as “the spreading of urban developments (as houses or shopping centers) on undeveloped land near a city” (Gillham, 2002). Some definitions encompass the modernity, as well as highlight the negativity, of urban sprawl: “a spreading, low density, automobile-dependent development pattern of housing, shopping centers and business parks that wastes land needlessly” (Johnson, 2001). While people spreading themselves out across the land might not seem like a particularly controversial issue, some critics are concerned about the problems that are associated with urban sprawl. After studying urban sprawl extensively for 40 years, researchers named leapfrog development, low-density, and unlimited outward expansion as the three conditions that define the negative impacts of urban sprawl (Johnson, 2001).

Urban sprawl is typically attributed with suburbia, as cities do not have the space to spread outward, instead choosing to build upwards in the form of tall skyscrapers. Characterized by low-density urban development, an abundance of strip commercial real estate on either side of major thoroughfares, an increased dependence on private modes of transportation, longer commute times, a greater commuting distance and traffic congestion, the damaging effects of urban sprawl are noticeable. There are concerns that suburban areas subject to urban sprawl will lack a tight-knit sense of community due to the large distances between neighbors, failing to create a sense of unity and cohesion amongst neighbors. Perhaps worse than simply the social aspect, urban sprawl is also credited with having a detrimental economic and environmental impact on communities and their land.

Some argue urban sprawl is inevitable due to life circumstances and should therefore not be criticized. The consistently growing population and over-crowded cities leave residents with no choice but to expand outwards to more spacious land (Brueckner, 2000). Residents also have an increased income while commuting to work has become much more affordable, a combination that explains the gradual migration to outlying areas (Brueckner, 2000). Previous generations of city-dwellers were forced to live near their work since transportation options from outlying areas into the city were expensive and time-consuming. Since commuting into the city became efficient, reliable, and affordable, it is more possible than ever to live further away from the city while still working in the city. People are also choosing to space themselves out from their neighbors, deciding not to live within close proximity to each other. Some even argue that not partaking in the urban sprawl movement would actually detract from the advantages of living in America (Brueckner, 2000).

While some people believe urban sprawl has occurred out of necessity, others recognize

the detrimental effects of urban sprawl. Marco Helbich (2015) theorizes that housing market prices are negatively impacted by the harmful effects of urban sprawl. Studies show that as more people migrate from overcrowded cities to the wide-open spaces of the suburbs, the prices of homes increases as well (Helbich, 2015). Helbich believes this is because people who would like to live in the suburbs are willing to pay much more for the privilege and advantages of living there. While it may not seem that harmful to have people pay more to live in a highly desirable neighborhood, the prices skyrocketing in one area may cause an imbalance of housing prices in neighboring locations. People migrating in large numbers to the suburbs could potentially lower property value in areas of the city that have less of a demand. With the expensive costs associated with living in the suburbs, minorities and low-income families are unable to move there, leading to the homogenization of the suburbs. Already known for its lack of cultural diversity, living in the suburbs essentially keeps out minorities and low-income families with its high price tag.

Urban sprawl is well-known for having a detrimental impact on the environment. With heavily congested and overpopulated cities all over the country, people have taken to expanding into neighboring rural or suburban areas. This leads to a multitude of problems, including the loss of environmentally fragile lands, an increase in air pollution, loss of farmland, a reduced diversity of species, increased stormwater runoff, increased flood risk, excessive removal of native vegetation, and ecosystem fragmentation (Johnson, 2001). While the entire list on the harmful effects of urban sprawl stretches much further than environmentalists would like, this short list alone is damaging enough to upset the delicate balance between man and nature. More people are living further away from the places they frequent, such as work, school, or recreational activities, which leads to an increase in automobile usage. By putting more people in gas-powered vehicles, urban sprawl may lead to an increase in air pollution levels as well as promote traffic congestion.

Gerhardus Schultink (2009) blames urban sprawl for the depopulation of cities and underutilizing central cities' resources. Quality school systems and an abundance of suburban leisure activities tempt families looking to escape the densely-packed inner cities (Schultink, 2009). Many of the people who remain in the city are unable to move to a better neighborhood, let alone to the suburbs, due to a lack of financial resources. This keeps low-income people in the cities, creating "ghettos" and increasing the possibility of urban blight occurring. Wealthy families are able to move to the suburbs, joining elite country clubs and enrolling their sheltered children into exclusive private schools while driving their SUVs around town, unleashing salacious amounts of smog into the city air. While the suburbs flourish from the influx of wealthy inhabitants, a decreasing number of the city's elite causes a damaging deficit within the city, leading to a litany of problems such as an eroded tax base, skyrocketing crime, and an increased demand to explore housing options (Schultink, 2009). It is vital to the success and longevity of a city to continue developing suburban and urban areas, but the damaging effects of unchecked urban sprawl threatens any type of land that stands in its way. Schultink (2009) believes that sprawl inhibits sustainable growth and negatively impacts the characteristics that attract people to rural living in the first place. Urban sprawl could be creating lasting damage to the land that is irreversible, leading to more problems left for future generations to handle. Finding a permanent solution to urban sprawl would require either more regulation for developers or meaningful land-use strategies. "Edge cities" are one possible solution to urban sprawl, consisting of commercial developments being built in a formerly solely residential neighborhood (Johnson, 2001). By placing commercial developments outside of the typical downtown location, planners could

redistribute the usage of the land, putting less of a strain on the environment and the city's resources. This would require cities to change their zoning laws to allow commercial and residential properties to inhabit the same locations. While the changes are possible, edge cities come with their own set of problems. There is no guarantee that the redistribution of developments wouldn't upset the balance of a city. Moving an integral part of the city to another area would change the flow of traffic, causing some lesser-traveled roads to handle more traffic than normal. Residents who always lived in quiet communities may be suddenly forced to deal with a large amount of congestion. Residents might attempt to sell their house in an attempt to move to a quieter neighborhood, but may struggle to sell the house due to the undesirable location. While none of these problems are guaranteed to occur as a result of edge cities being developed, the possibility of its harmful effect might not be worth the risk.

"Transit-oriented development" builds residential units around transit stops in both urban and suburban areas, encouraging the use of walking and public transportation for residents (Johnson, 2001). While utilizing mass transportation for every trip is not required to live in a transit-oriented development, the purpose of these developments is to provide residents with a reliable and efficient alternative to the automobile. With its proximity to mass transit options, transit-oriented development would decrease traffic congestion as well as the number of pollutants, due to the reduction of automobile usage. As an added bonus, the health of residents living in transit-oriented development might be positively affected due to less of a reliance on automobiles and an increased amount of walking. The San Francisco Bay Area is one such city that has used transit-oriented developments with positive results (Johnson, 2001). With the Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) system shuttling people back and forth across the Bay and MUNI carrying residents and tourists up and down the sloping hills, the San Francisco Bay Area utilizes public transportation and even encourages bicycling. San Francisco provides special green painted lanes for bicyclists to get around the city safely, while placing bike lanes on almost every street. Transit villages are built across the street from BART stations to allow commuters the convenience of a short walk to a main mass transit line. The San Francisco Bay Area is a prime example of how transit-oriented developments can be very successful.

Urban-growth boundaries have also been suggested to reduce the damaging effects of urban sprawl, where an imaginary line is drawn around a city, leaving enough room to accommodate projected urban growth, but prohibiting development outside of the imaginary line (Johnson, 2001). A realistic solution, urban growth boundaries still allow for and encourage growth, but ensure that a city does not stretch out needlessly. This would require regulation to ensure cities adhere to the boundaries they draw, but would have positive long-term effects. Oregon enacted urban growth boundaries around the city of Portland to control the growth of residential and commercial development, to increase mass transit usage, and to encourage the development of suburban areas within the urban growth boundaries, as opposed to developing farther away from the central city (Johnson, 2001). Already showing positive benefits, Portland is a model city for successful urban growth boundaries. As an added bonus, urban growth boundaries preserve the natural resources within a city as well as encourage the development of areas with existing infrastructure (Johnson, 2001). This method keeps cities accountable for their actions, requiring them to remain vigilant and closely examine the areas of growth that occur within their borders.

A variation of urban growth boundaries, "smart growth" entails revising land-use controls in order to address issues like a lack of housing diversity, traffic congestion, and environmental

degradation (Johnson, 2001). Smart growth advocates the growth of urban areas, but encourages the right kind of growth and discourages urban sprawl. Growth is allowed to happen, but is only allowed to in certain areas deemed appropriate by planners and city government. Growth would only be permitted in areas that wouldn't push the boundaries of the city further into urban sprawl territory. Changing land-use controls to allow smart growth has already had a positive effect on cities that have been utilizing this technique. Growth occurring in areas of existing developments and an increased social equity are only some of the unexpected byproducts of smart growth (Johnson, 2001). Many cities have pockets of undeveloped or sparsely used land, which could be used to its full potential, but are ignored due to the city's growth being concentrated on the edges. By using smart growth methods, cities are forced to use their existing land better in order to maximize their land usage.

Knowing that the environment faces permanent damage if overrun by urban sprawl, has caused officials to intervene in an attempt to protect the land. A variety of regulations and codes have been implemented by the government, ranging from requiring green areas in established urban areas to improving green construction methods (Benai & DePriest, 2014). Some of these are attempts to reintroduce nature into the urban environment, hoping to break up the cluster of the built environment. Inserting aspects of nature into developed sections of land can be a daunting task in itself, since the placement needs to be both visually appealing as well as serve a purpose. Planting one of two trees along the street is easy to squeeze into a city, but adding a park is much more difficult due to size cost, and due to its ability to natively impact the community if not planned out correctly. Other areas being integrated into urban locations are green/park areas, street tree planting as well as landscaping, and rooftop landscaping (Benai & DePriest, 2014). Adding small amounts of nature into the urban environment is crucial to breaking up urban sprawl. If people had known the problems and permanent damages that urban sprawl brings, perhaps developers and planners would have been more conscious of not creating cities that require extensive commute times to get to work or leisure activities. Cities might have been planned better, focusing on walkability and building around nature as opposed to disrupting nature. When building a city, it is important for planners to use space efficiently and effectively. Creating a space that will benefit the most amount of people is one of the most important parts of planning. Cities can still provide enough housing, jobs, and recreational activities for residents, without spreading the built environment across acres of land. While adequate space is important for people, too much space creates an abundance of environmental and social issues. Sprawl is literally the spreading out of a city, so while a plethora of problems can arise from urban sprawl and droves of people driving back and forth across the land, regulations can be put into place to contain sprawl. The most practical method of combating sprawl is placing urban growth boundaries around the perimeter of the city and encouraging everything within the boundaries to flourish and restrict or regulate growth outside of the boundaries. This prevents unchecked sprawl from pushing the boundaries of a city further and further out until sprawl becomes an issue. Growth can still occur within the perimeter of the city, focusing on developing poorly used or sparse sections of the city. Concentrating on improving infrastructure, such as the public transportation system, will ensure that the city still grows while becoming more easily accessible to residents. In addition to urban growth boundaries, more cities could use the transit-oriented development model when retrofitting their city. This would ensure cities focus on improving and utilizing their mass transit systems. Building residential and commercial areas within walking distance of a mass transit stop in conjunction with placing urban-growth boundaries is the best course of action for battling urban sprawl. Halting sprawl before it occurs is the best way of handling it since once it gets

out of control, it is difficult to manage.

With the projected population growth over the next 10 to 20 years, more housing and jobs will be needed as the population grows. This means more buildings will need to be constructed, making overcrowding a realistic possibility. Left to its own devices, urban sprawl would overtake a large percentage of available land, making it harder to make room for additional residential and commercial buildings over the following generations. In addition, an irreversible strain is put on the environment from carrying the large capacity needs of the people. A larger population demands more, requiring an abundance of resources, such as water, power, and food. Urban growth boundaries are the best method for controlling urban sprawl at this point, but more solutions will continue to be discovered as the need for a solution becomes greater. Every generation is forced to look at the decisions made by their parents and prior generations and see how the mistakes have manifested themselves into daunting, seemingly insurmountable problems. However, with the condition the Earth is heading in, there will not be future generations to pass this world onto unless solutions are implemented for worldwide concerns like urban sprawl. This is the only way that a better tomorrow can be guaranteed today.

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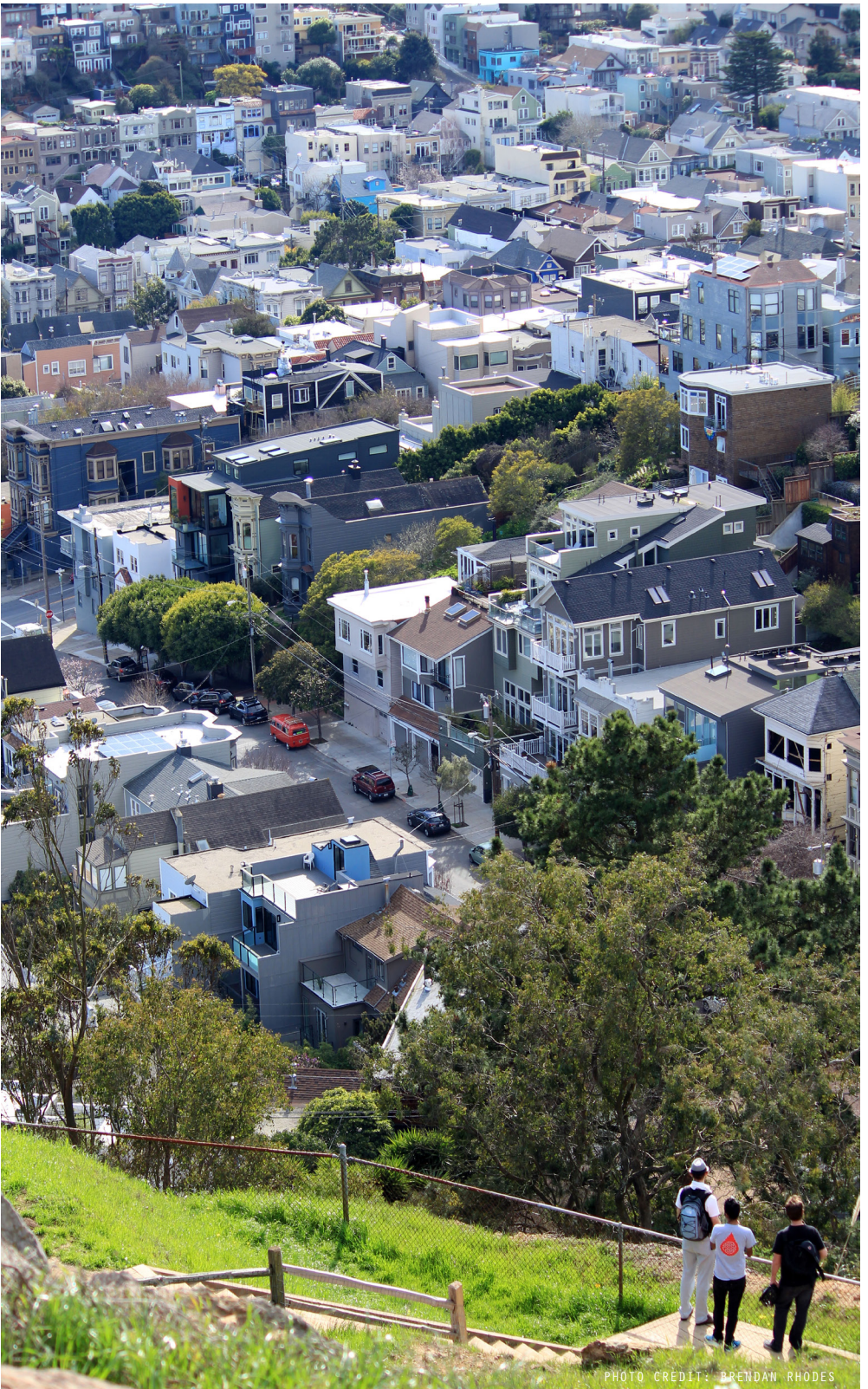
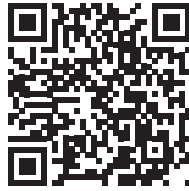
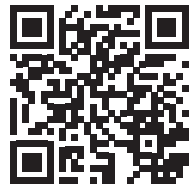


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From the staff of Urban Action, cheers!