# mission

## Community Organizing and Resistance in SF's Mission District

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# Community Organizing and Resistance in SF's Mission District

## Introduction

The Mission District is located in the southeastern region of San Francisco. Since the 1950s, the neighborhood has been San Francisco's Latino enclave. Prior to this time, the neighborhood was an Italian and Irish working-class neighborhood with an industrial character (PODER, 2014).

In this case study we will examine the time period from 1980 to 2013, with a focus on the changes caused by the rapid growth of the internet sector, alternatively known as the dotcom boom, in the late 1990s. The result of this rapid speculative growth was an increase in the cost of living and a rise in the cost of housing in the Mission, which led to the displacement of long-time residents. During this time, much of the industrial sector in the Mission District was wiped out (Casique, 2013). The changes experienced by the Mission during the dotcom boom are those typically associated with the traditional conception of gentrification, or the influx of investment and higher-income, usually White, residents to areas with low-income, often minority, residents.

New residents were—and are still—attracted to the amenities provided by higher density, the cultural richness of the neighborhood and to the transit accessibility of the area. Multiple bus lines as well as two BART stations (16th Street and 24th Street Mission Station) service the neighborhood for an easy commute to the financial district. The neighborhood is also close to the freeway and the Caltrain, which provide accessibility to the greater region, including Silicon Valley.

This first wave of gentrification is the main story in the neighborhood's shift from a lower-income Latino area to its present state. Although the bust of the dotcom bubble caused gentrification pressures to slow, the neighborhood has continued to be a high demand area, seeing an influx of high-income residents once again from the tech sector. However, this current wave of gentrification is taking place in a neighborhood context that has already undergone years of gentrification—not just with new residents who had moved in, but with an ongoing influx of new retail and public investment.

Today's ongoing battle over the Mission is therefore of a different kind, with weaker community organizations and fewer units left to gentrify. Many long-time residents are holding on and benefitting from the neighborhood's new investment and amenities, but there is even more pressure than before on the remaining affordable units and less of a community to defend them.

This case study examines demographic, housing, and commercial characteristics from 1980 to 2013 to identify changes and trends in the Mission District. After outlining basic demographic changes in the area between 1980 and 2013, we provide a close look at the dotcom boom period and the displacement effects this time of rapid change had on industrial, business, and residential uses, as well as the community's response. Next, we turn to an examination of housing in the area—perhaps the clearest way to observe gentrification, change, and displacement. We briefly outline some of the affordability concerns for residents, and then detail several strategies used to slow displacement, as well as strategies used to speed it up. Before concluding, we outline public investment in the area—which can contribute to gentrification—and recent commercial displacement.

## Case Study Methods

The case study relies on mixed methods to study changes in the Mission since 1980. The demographic and housing indicators presented in this case study are those associated with processes of residential displacement, and/or thought to influence susceptibility to such processes (Chapple, 2009). Data on these indicators are from the decennial Census for the years 1980, 1990, 2000, and from the American Community Survey (ACS) for 2009-2013. Census data from 1980 to 2000 is from the Geolytics Neighborhood Change Database, and is normalized to 2010 Census tract boundaries. Data for 2009-2013 is from the American Community Survey's 5-year estimates. The aggregated data of eleven census tracts are used to represent the Mission District: 177, 201, 202, 207, 208, 209, 210, 228.01, 228.03, 229.01, 229.02. The census tracts used do not perfectly delineate the neighborhood but they are the best representation available at this time and were vetted with Community Based Organizations

working in the Mission. Data on residential sales and housing permits was taken from DataQuick and Zillow.

Qualitative data included archival research of newspaper articles, planning documents, and academic literature. Interviews with six community stakeholders were incorporated into the narrative based on questions regarding demographic, housing, and commercial change. These stakeholders ranged from staff at community organizations, government officials, to developers. We partnered with People Organizing to Demand Environmental & Economic Rights (PODER), a grassroots environmental justice organization based in San Francisco's Mission District. PODER helped launch the Mission Anti-Displacement Coalition (MAC) during the dotcom boom to address residential displacement in the Mission.

To verify the data found in these secondary data sets, we conducted a "ground-truthing" exercise where, for sample blocks in the case study area, we conducted a visual survey of conditions on the ground to ascertain levels of investment and change (see appendix). The data gathered through ground-truthing was subsequently compared to Census figures and sales data from the San Francisco Assessor's Office, which was obtained through Dataquick, Inc. Of the sample blocks' 193 parcels recorded in the assessor dataset, field researchers were able to match 73% of these parcels on the ground. Of parcels for which the land use was indicated in assessor data and verifiable through ground-truthing, 87% matched. The total number of units on the four blocks ranged from 319 according to assessor data, to 421 according to ground-truthing, to 431 according to the Census. These results suggest that some error may exist in either the Census or Assessor's reported count of housing units and unit type, likely due to rapid or unpermitted changes to parcels.

# Demographic Changes

The Mission District is home to almost 52,000 of San Francisco's approximately 818,000 residents (Table 2). Since 1980, the area has seen significant shifts in racial composition, occupancy, educational attainment, and median income. Tensions are growing among various groups with an interest in the fate of the Mission: lower-income Latino residents, tech sector employees who often work in Silicon Valley but prefer to live in urban neighborhoods like the Mission, longtime

residents, small business owners, and others. These tensions have made news across the country as the Mission has in many ways become the poster-child of gentrification (Goode, 2013; Nieves, 2000). Understanding how these changes have taken place may provide some insight into the causes and indicators of residential displacement. From 1980 to 2000, the population of the Mission district swelled by about 19%, then declined slightly in 2013. In contrast, San Francisco's population has steadily increased in the last three decades.

**Table 1: Total Population SF & Mission District, 1980-2013**

| Year | San Francisco | Mission |
|------|---------------|---------|
| 1980 | 677,678 | 45,788 |
| 1990 | 723,959 | 51,640 |
| 2000 | 776,733 | 54,428 |
| 2013 | 817.501 | 51,578 |
| Percent Change 1980-2013 | 21% | 13% |

*Source: Source: U.S. Census 1980, 1990, 2000 (Geolytics, 2014); ACS 2009-2013*

The decrease in population from 2000 to 2013 may be linked to the steady decrease of family households since 1980 (Figure 1). The share of family households dropped to 38% in 2013 from 52% in 1980.



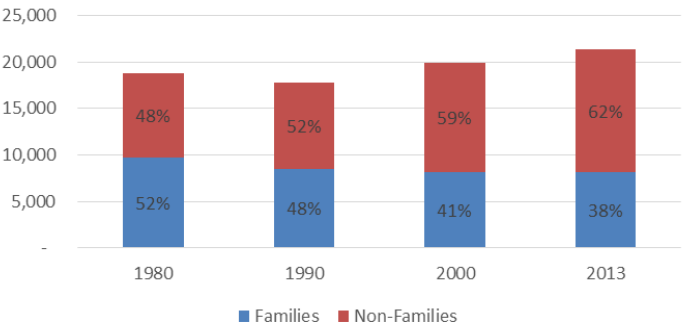**Figure 1: Number of Households in the Mission, by type 1980-2013**
*Source: U.S. Census 1980, 1990, 2000 (Geolytics, 2014); ACS 2009-2013*

The decrease in family households is accompanied by a decrease in the Latino population, shifting from 44% in 1980 to 38% in 2013 while the White population increased from 36% to 43%. The racial and ethnic demographics of the Mission in 2013 is similar to the city's (Figure 2).
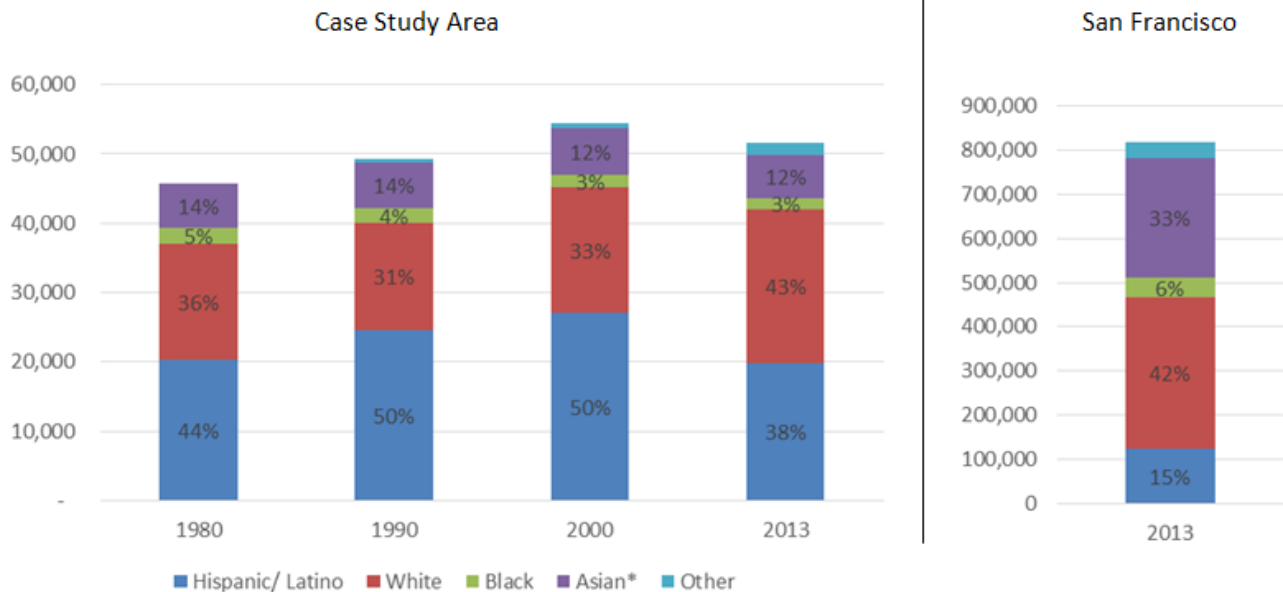
**Figure 2: Race & Ethnicity in the Mission District by population and percent, 1980-2013, and San Francisco, 2013**
*Source: U.S. Census 1980, 1990, 2000 (Geolytics, 2014); ACS 2009-2013*

There were significant shifts in educational attainment from 1980 to 2013. The percentage of residents aged 25 or older with a bachelor's degree or higher increased from 18% to 52%, and the percentage without a high school diploma decreased from 41% to 17% in the same period (Figure 3).

As may be expected, an increase in median income accompanied the increase in educational attainment in the study area. Median household income in the Mission District has risen significantly from 2000 to 2013, increasing at a faster pace than San Francisco overall (Figure 4).
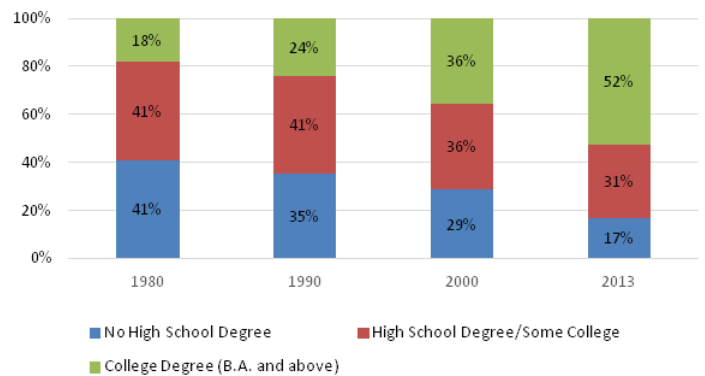


**Figure 3: Educational Attainment in the Mission (1980-2013)**
*U.S. Census 1980, 1990, 2000 (Geolytics, 2014); ACS 2009-2013*
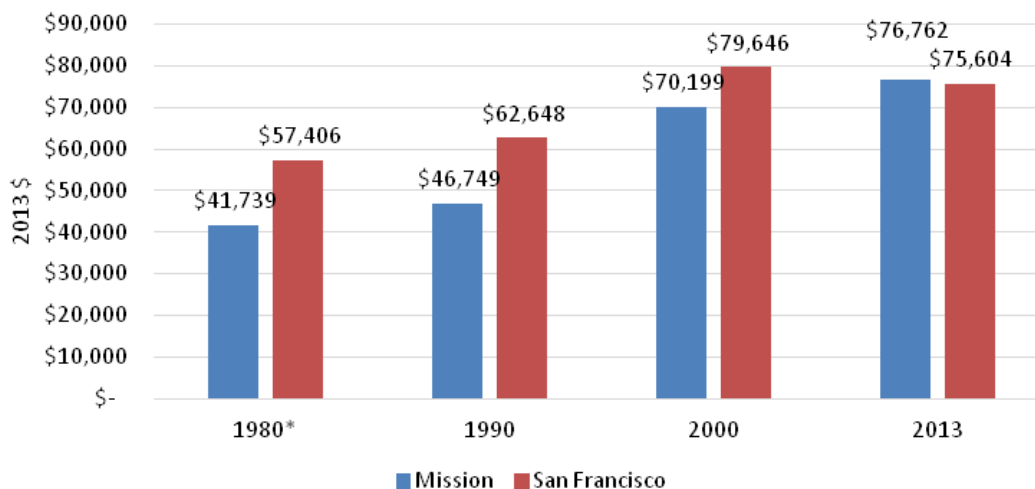


**Figure 4: Median Income, Mission vs. SF (1980-2013), 2013 $**
*Source: U.S. Census 1980, 1990, 2000 (Geolytics, 2014); ACS 2009-2013 *Median income unavailable, average income used*

# The Dotcom Boom: Displacement of Industry, Business, and Residents—and Community Response

The dotcom boom in the late 1990s fundamentally changed the character of the Mission District. The boom hit its peak in 2000 and by 2002 was in decline. This short boom resulted in residential and commercial displacement (Casique, 2013). The industrial sector in the Mission is primarily located in the Northeast Mission Industrial Zone (NEMIZ), an area taking up the northeast corner of the Mission District. Even though the zone was designated in the midst of the dotcom boom, the market for industrial uses was "depressed," according to a stakeholder, and "a bunch of companies had moved out," like a brewing company and lumber yards. This devaluing of the land for industrial purposes due to the changing economy coincided with the growth of San Francisco as a result of the dotcom boom.

Industrial uses began to change to office space and housing. According to a community-based organization staff member, the emerging technology companies were in need of office space and able to pay higher rents, so they began converting former light industrial uses to office space; many of these offices, in turn, became empty after the dotcom bust, but light industrial uses did not return.

In terms of conversions to housing, a 1988 ordinance allowed the conversion of industrial spaces into so-called "live/work" spaces, where it is presumed a resident both lives and does their work (Casique, 2013). Advocated by artists, the live/work ordinance was seen as an opportunity to promote the art industry in the city by providing affordable housing arrangements in San Francisco (PODER, 2014). Under the ordinance, developers interested in constructing live/work units in the NEMIZ did not need to get the area rezoned nor did they need a conditional land use permit to build and therefore did not need to conduct an environmental impact report (EIR)—major hurdles for construction developers were able to avoid. As a result, many small developments "started springing up everywhere," according to one stakeholder, and began converting many industrial structures, vacated due to the changing economy, into expensive "live/work" spaces to house the new residents coming to work in the technology sector as a result of the dotcom boom. According to the San Francisco Housing Databook report issued by the SF Rent Board in 2002, 2,324 live/work units were constructed in San Francisco from 1987 to 2000.[3] Right before the dotcom crash, the number of constructed units peaked at 587 units in 1999, more than twice the amount of units built in any other year (SF Board of Supervisors, 2002).

Once it became clear that such conversions were possible, land values in the NEMIZ area began to rise, making remaining industrial uses difficult to sustain and resulting in business displacement (San Francisco Planning Department, 2002). The live/work ordinance allowed conversion without the requirement of hearings or public comment, allowing them to proceed unnoticed for a long time (Casique, 2013). Once advocates became aware of the situation, the Mission Anti-Displacement Coalition worked with Sue Hestor, a notable SF land use attorney, to force hearings at the Planning Commission and before the board of supervisors (PODER, 2014). Before the formation of the Mission Anti-Displacement Coalition, the "Committee for Jobs, Arts, and Housing had been raising concerns about the developers' scam on live/work developments," according to a community-based organization stakeholder.

Residential displacement in the Mission was also a concern during this period. Between 1990 and 1999, an estimated 925 households were evicted in the Mission (MEDA, as cited by Kennedy & Leonard, 2001). The Mission Anti-Displacement Coalition (MAC) was a major player during this time period, advocating for existing tenants' rights. According to a stakeholder involved with the Coalition, "the value of MAC's work is that unlike most other anti-gentrification work in other parts of the country…MAC focused not only on tenants' rights and stabilizing the neighborhood through that strategy but also on preserving space for local-serving businesses and [production, distribution and repair, or] PDR/light industrial space, especially given that those jobs paid often better [than other jobs available at the time]." Due to MAC's successful lobbying efforts, the San Francisco Board of Supervisors passed a moratorium on the live/work conversions and the production of market rate housing in the Mission that ultimately lasted two years (Casique, 2013).

[3] Only four units or more were counted which might result in undercounting.

Another of MAC's efforts was the creation of a "People's Plan." Published in 2005 after a community engagement process, it outlined community members' vision and priorities for the district, including economic, cultural, and community development, affordable housing, livability in the streetscape, environmental issues, transportation, and a specific land use map—essentially, a comprehensive plan for the Mission done by the people (The Mission Anti-Displacement Partnership, 2005). According to PODER, "aspects of this community-led effort were incorporated into the city's Eastern Neighborhoods Plan" (PODER, 2014).

When asked to assess the impact of the People's Plan on the Mission, an organizer involved with the effort shared that he does not believe there was a "causal" effect on affordability in the neighborhood; instead, "market conditions in and of themselves eased some of the pressures on prices given the [dotcom] bust." However, he believed that even with the bust, rents were not decreased in a "substantive way." Instead, he believe that the planning process was significant for the "social capital" it built "by having trained people work on planning issues in the neighborhood and understand the zoning and planning conditions and how those decisions get made." [4]

A park that is currently under development at the intersection of 17th and Folsom Streets represents some of the successes of the People's plan. The park, will include a grassy area, playground, community gardens with trees bearing edible fruit, and public art that honors the Latino character of the neighborhood. multiyear community outreach process was conducted in partnership with PODER, starting in 2009. According to a staff member at PODER, community members were prepared to have meaningful engagement with the city due to the understanding of planning and zon-

[4] The stakeholder also shared the following outcomes of the process: "The whole Mission Anti-Displacement Coalition and the People's Plan work did a couple of things. One, with MAC, I think it gave visibility to a new level of leadership in the neighborhood that was less accomodationist in terms of the interests of developers, of downtown, of some of these interests. And I think it pointed to a generational divide in the Mission in terms of the Latino 'old guard' and newer leadership...The People's Plan in particular, because of the need to engage with the city and community, I think it also helped the new generation... for understanding how these often arcane and technical issues like land use and zoning are addressed...How we need to be informed and engaged in these processes at the neighborhood and city level...there's an aspect of that reflected in the newer leadership."

ing they developed working on the People's Plan. The staff member said that, the "areas that were rezoned through [the People's Plan] process in the 2000s are coming to fruition after these many years....that speaks to the social capital that has been built. Not just, 'let's rezone and forget about it.' But, 'let's make sure these policies come into fruition.' And we're going to be seeing that happening this year" when the park opens.

# Housing: Conditions for Residents

As is the case in the rest of the city, the housing market in the Mission District is competitive. In 2000, right before the dotcom bust, the vacancy rate was at an extreme low of 3%. In 2013 the vacancy rate jumped to 7.6%, representing the decline of the house market. This figure cannot be seen as representing current patterns of gentrification as the housing market has since rebounded.

In terms of tenure, there has been a slight decrease in the portion of occupied housing units that are rented: from 87% in 1980, to 76% in 2013, which is consistent with gentrification patterns.

Overcrowding, when more than 1 person per room lives in an apartment or home, was 50% lower in 2013 than 2000 (Figure 5). One explanation is the decrease in both family households and of the Latino population, as low- and moderate-income Latino households often live with extended family members in overcrowded living conditions (MEDA, 2011).
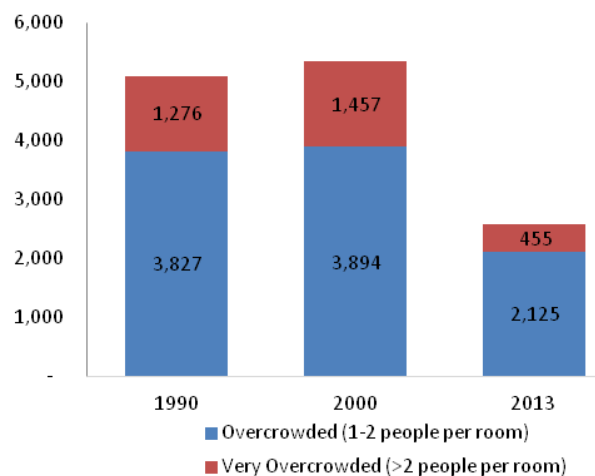


**Figure 5: Overcrowded Units in the Mission (1990-2013)**
*Source: U.S. Census 1990, 2000 (Geolytics, 2014); ACS 2009-2013*

San Francisco has one of the most expensive housing markets in the nation and market rate rents in the Mission are reflective of the city's high cost of living. In 2013, the average price of a market-rate one bedroom apartment in the Mission District was $2,850 while the average for a two bedroom was $4,705 (Zumper, 2013). With 76% of residents in the Mission renting (as of 2013), these high rents prevent low-income households from moving into the neighborhood. Additionally, current residents experience a very high rent burden. From 2000 to 2013, the share of rent burdened households, those paying 35% or more of their income on housing costs, increased from 27% to 34%.

Despite high demand for the area, the Mission District has failed to see significant increases in its housing stock, thereby exacerbating pressures on existing housing (Table 2). This lack of new development was a common concern among the stakeholders interviewed. A realtor in the area discussed the difficulty in obtaining approvals for new buildings because of the lengthy environmental impact review process, which sometimes caused developers to walk away from projects. A senior staff person from an affordable housing developer spoke about the challenges of building new housing, in part due to the real estate market collapse and the elimination of redevelopment as a funding source for affordable housing in California.

Meanwhile, as few units are being constructed, 80% of households have recently moved in to their housing unit (Table 3). This puts upward pressure on the rents in the older housing stock.

**Table 2: Number of Housing Units by Year of Construction**

| Total | 23,106 | |
|---|---|---|
| Built 2010 Or Later | 96 | <1% |
| Built 2000 To 2009 | 96 | 7% |
| Built 1990 To 1999 | 1,516 | 5% |
| Built 1980 To 1989 | 1,212 | 4% |
| Built 1970 To 1979 | 918 | 4% |
| Built 1960 To 1969 | 854 | 6% |
| Built 1950 To 1959 | 1,337 | 7% |
| Built 1940 To 1949 | 908 | 4% |
| Built 1939 Or Earlier | 14,662 | 63% |

*Source: American Community Survey 2013 5-year estimate*

**Table 3: Mission District Percent of Householders who Moved in Last 5 Years, 1980 – 2013**

| Year | Percent Moved in Last 5 Years |
|---|---|
| 1980 | 62% |
| 1990 | 55% |
| 2000 | 53% |
| 2013* | 80% |

*Source: U.S. Census 1980, 1990, 2000 (Geolytics, 2014); American Community Survey 2009-2013 *Note: The 2013 figure is the percent of households who moved in last 3 years.*

# Rent Control

San Francisco's rent control laws protect tenants who live in multi-unit rental buildings built before June of 1979. The rent control ordinance limits the amount a landlord can raise the rent annually, based on the consumer price index. When the unit is vacated, landlords can raise the rent to market rate, also known as "vacancy decontrol".[5] Once the rent is raised, future rent increases are still governed by rent control. Therefore, while units may technically be considered rent controlled they may be unaffordable due to vacancy decontrol. To prevent landlords from evicting tenants in order to raise rents to market rate, the ordinance also includes a "just-cause evictions" clause requiring landlords to have a good reason for eviction such as chronic late rental payments or a nuisance complaint. There is no record of units that have undergone vacancy decontrol and their new base-rent.

We attempt to estimate the number of rent-controlled units in the Mission District by identifying parcels that contain a building with two or more units, built in 1978 or before, and are identified as an "apartment" or "flat" using tax assessor data from Alameda County (Figure 6). This estimation method is imperfect, as housing units that are condominiums, tenancies-in-common, or currently not rented (through the Ellis act) are not rent controlled. However, data on these exempt housing units are not available. Approximately 68% of units in the Mission census tracts are potentially rent-controlled. Eighty-nine percent of these units were built in 1939 or earlier (Figure 7). Older buildings are often highly desirable to wealthier residents due to their architectural value; that so many buildings in the Mission District are from the Victorian era increases the likelihood of displacement.

[5] SF's rent control ordinance never included vacancy control and due to the passage of Costa Hawkins in 1996, vacancy control was banned statewide.
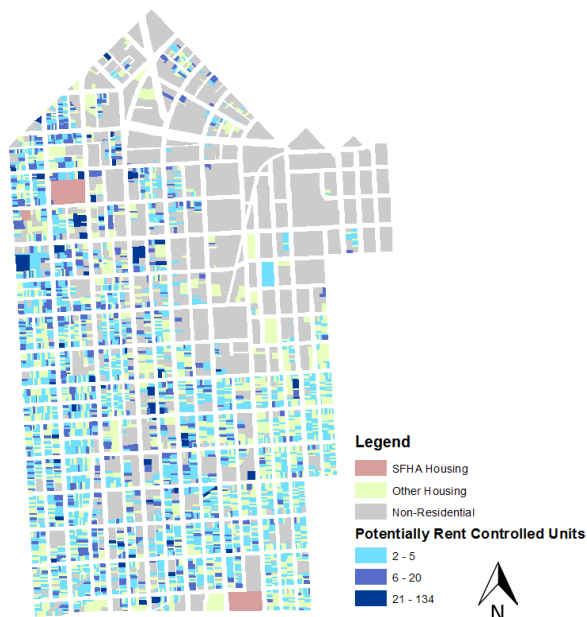
**Figure 6: Potentially Rent Controlled Units**
*Source: Association of Bay Area Governments, 2014*

As noted earlier, rent controlled apartments do not necessarily signify affordability due to vacancy decontrol; hence estimating the number of recently vacancy decontrolled units and when these vacancies occurred is important for the purpose of understanding affordability in the rent-controlled market. Our estimate suggests that a maximum range of between 18-28% of rent controlled units experienced rent increases due to vacancy decontrol between 2010-2013.6[4]This is a maximum because, while we are reasonably sure that 18-28% of rent controlled units experienced turnover, it is not guaranteed that landlords would increase the rent when that turnover happens; therefore, the actual figures may be lower.

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[6] This estimate is derived using estimates of the total number of rental occupied housing units from the American Community Survey (2009-2013 five-year estimates) in combination with data from the San Francisco Public Health department on the percent of rental units in each tract that are subject to rent control. These data sources allowed us to estimate a number of units in each census tract that are subject to rent control. Since ACS figures are reported with a margin of error, we found a range for this figure. Then, we turned to ACS data for counts of renter households who had moved in since 2010. We multiplied this by the proportion of units in the tract subject to rent control (the Public Health data), assuming that the newly moved-in households moved into rent controlled and non-rent controlled units at the same proportion as exist in the tract. This figure—the number of rent control units that experienced turnover between 2010-2013—is taken to be the same as the number that experienced vacancy decontrol. We then divide this figure by the total rent controlled units in the tract to get the percent of units that experienced vacancy decontrol. To get the figures for the whole Mission, we simply add the counts from each tract of vacancy decontrolled units and total rent controlled units, and divide these sums.

The map in Figure 8 shows that there is a high percent of vacancy decontrolled units in the tracts west of Valencia Street. A walk down Valencia Street shows a trend in higher-end commercial and retail stores. This trend, to be discussed in greater detail in a later section, might explain the higher vacancy decontrol rate in census tracts along Valencia Street as landlords may be taking advantage of the economic investment along the street to appeal to wealthier tenants.
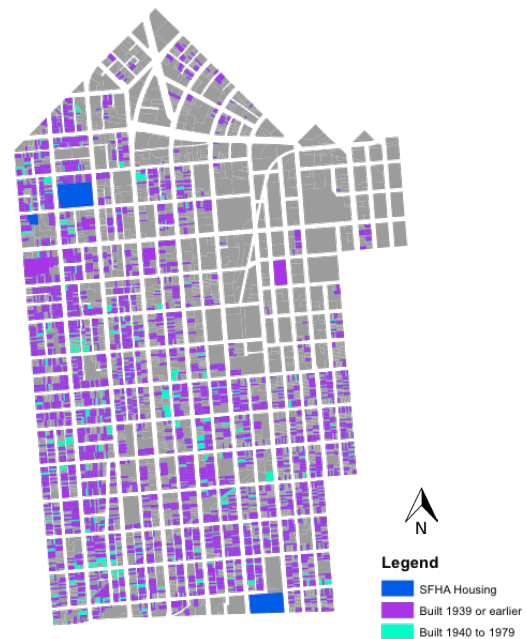


**Figure 7: Housing built before 1979 by Block**
*Source: Association of Bay Area Governments, 2014*
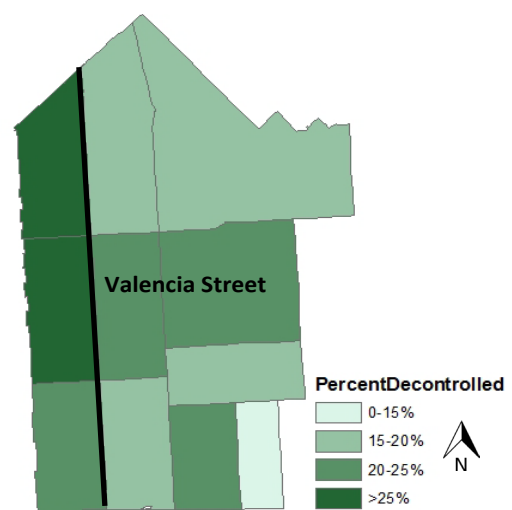


**Figure 8: Percent of Units with Vacancy Decontrol by Census Tract**
*Source: 2009-2013 American Community Survey and San Francisco Public Health Department*
*("Proportion of Housing Stock that is Rent-Controlled or Affordable, San Francisco, CA | Data | San Francisco," n.d.)*

# Public and Subsidized Housing in the Mission

While many residents of the Mission struggle to afford rent, the area is host to a sizable stock of subsidized housing: nearly 2,000 units, as detailed in Table 4 (excluding any units built only with local funds, some of which are discussed in the next section). The neighborhood would have likely experienced even greater displacement rates without these units.

# Inclusionary Housing

Stakeholders said San Francisco's inclusionary housing ordinance has had a limited impact. Inclusionary Housing began as a policy in 1992 and later became "part of the Planning Code" in 2002; it was revised in 2006 and 2010 (San Francisco Mayor's Office of Housing and Community Development, 2014). The policy requires developers to build affordable units equal to 15% to 20% of a market-rate development or pay a fee in lieu of building such units. The policy has resulted in  the creation of 1,560 units of below-market rental andownership units in San Francisco between 1992 and 2013 (Table 5).

However, a court ruling in 2009 has limited the impact of the ordinance. In the case, Palmer/Sixth Street Properties LP vs. City of Los Angeles, the California Supreme Court let stand a lower court's ruling that held jurisdictions may not mandate developers to build inclusionary rental units, since doing so entails the setting of rents by the city, which was banned by the Costa-Hawkins Rental Housing Act (California Planning and Development Report, 2009; Reuben, Junius & Rose LLP, 2009). The ruling does not affect inclusionary policies for ownership units. The city made revisions to the law in 2010 that "require developers to pay an affordable housing fee rather than construct inclusionary affordable housing" (San Francisco Budget and Legislative Analyst, 2012). That resulted in a significant decrease in the number of inclusionary units produced under the program, from 384 in 2008 to 32 in 2009, without a comparable increase in the fees paid, which could be related to the overall dynamics of the real estate market in these years (San Francisco Mayor's Office of Housing and Community Development, 2014).

### Table 4: Public and Subsidized Housing in the Mission, 2013

| Type of Unit | # of units |
|---|---|
| Public Housing | 170 |
| Low-Income Housing Tax Credit | 962 |
| Section 8 New Construction | 194 |
| Section 202 (Senior Housing) New Construction and Substantial Rehabilitation | 152 |
| Project Rental Assistance Contract | 115 |
| Other (including Loan Management Set-Aside and others) | 319 |
| Grand Total | 1,912 |

*Source: HUD Yearly Data Picture (Department of Housing and Urban Development, n.d.) for Public Housing figure; (California Housing Partnership Corporation, n.d.) for the rest. Note these figures do not include residents who rent using tenant-based vouchers or units developed as part of SF's inclusionary ordinance or any subsidized units developed only with local funds.*

### Table 5: Inclusionary Housing, 1992 - 2013

| | Projects with Inclusionary Units (On or Off-Site) or In-Lieu Fees | Projects Choosing On-Site Inclusionary Housing | | Projects Choosing Off-Site Inclusionary Housing | | Projects Choosing to pay Fee |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total Number of Projects | Number of Projects | Number of Affordable Units | Number of Projects | Number of Affordable Units | Number of Projects |
| Mission District[7] | 24 | 21 | 136 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| San Francisco | 198 | 157 | 1,214 | 7 | 346 | 34 |

*Source: San Francisco Mayor's Office of Housing and Community Development, 2014*

[7] As defined by the Mayor's Office on Housing; a map was not provided to compare to the area we have defined as the Mission.

# Community Opposition to Development at 16th and Mission Streets

Some believe more housing for all income levels is needed to improve affordability in San Francisco, while others believe housing production should focus on affordability for low-income residents. An example of this tension is the proposed ten-story, 351-unit building on the corner of 16th and Mission Streets. The development is under community scrutiny, with the Plaza 16 Coalition leading the opposition. The new apartment complex would replace a Walgreens, a Burger King, a bar, a Chinese restaurant, a market and a parking lot (Elsen, 2014). Despite the fact that no existing tenants or housing would be displaced, the coalition argues that if this development were to proceed, it would result in business and residential displacement (Christopher, 2014). This type of opposition highlights the social and cultural complexity of gentrification. The 10-story luxury apartment complex represents development for new residents, leaving the Latino community feeling neglected and disrespected. According to a community-based organization stakeholder, the "Plaza 16 Coalition has made substantive arguments against the project ranging from the height, impacts on the adjacent school, traffic concerns, and yes, the pressures luxury condos have on housing prices in the neighborhood."

The developer of the 16th street Mission housing apartment complex has yet to determine how it will satisfy the city's affordable housing requirement (Dineen, 2013). Yet regardless of how the developer will satisfy the affordable housing requirement, residents oppose this development as the project represents a change in the Mission's character. In an article entitled, "Coalition protests 16th Street development", an organizer for Causa Justa :: Just Cause put this clash succinctly, "the height of these towers will keep Marshall Elementary [School] next door in a constant shadow….this project will literally overshadow the Latino students attending that school" (Christopher, 2014). While it may be true that residents will not be directly displaced by the development, the project will have an impact on surrounding businesses and could potentially increase the cost of living in the neighborhood. A city official explained that once new housing development happens "there is such a huge impact on the surrounding area, prices immediately respond." This same city official expressed skepticism that simply building more housing will make the Mission more affordable.

# Ellis Act Evictions

Another highly public issue in the Mission has been the impact of the Ellis Act. The Ellis Act is a state law passed in 1985 that allows landlords to evict tenants building-wide by removing the building from the rental market entirely or for five years before being allowed to rent apartments at market rate. The result in San Francisco has been a decrease of rental options in a city where the supply of housing is already strained. The increase in the percent of residents who are homeowners from 13% in 1980 to 24% in 2010 may reflect, at least in part, Ellis Act condo conversions.

While the Ellis Act continues to be a subject of contention in the housing market debate, Figure 10 shows that the number of evictions has decreased since 2001. The number of Ellis Act evictions tends to mimic the health of the economy and housing market: in down periods, such as after the crash of the dotcom boom (2001-2004) and during the recent recession, evictions decrease. During up periods, such as in 2005-2007 during the height of the housing boom and more recently, as the economy has begun to recover, evictions increase.
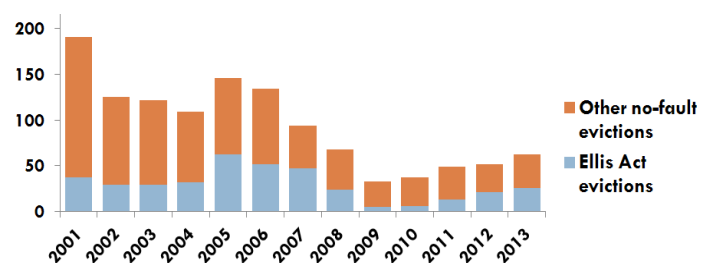


**Ellis Act Evictions** allow landlords to exit the rental housing business
**Other 'no fault' evictions** include those where the eviction is not a result of tenant's actions (e.g., owner move-ins, etc.)

**Figure 9: No-Fault Evictions in the Mission, 2001-2013**
*Source: SF Rent Board as reported by SF Board of Supervisors Budget and Legislative Analyst, 2012*

A city official working in the government for the last three decades commented that the planning department saw the peak of Ellis Act evictions in the nineties. This is supported by compiled data from the time referencing 1998 as the "peak" year of Ellis Act evictions (Capps, 2014). The city official believes that since the Planning Department has authority over land use it could restrict the conversion of rental properties to ownership properties. For example, zoning changes or other policy interventions could restrict conversion or make it difficult to do, thereby deterring landlords from pursuing it.

Regardless of the fact that the total number of Ellis Act and no fault evictions has gone down since 2001, the total number of evictions for the Mission compared to the rest of the city has been very high during this twelve-year timeframe. The Mission District (represented in the report issued by the SF Board of Supervisors Budget and Legislative Analyst by the zip code 94110) had a higher number of Ellis Act and no-fault evictions than any other neighborhood, with 383 evictions and 1,222 notices, respectively. Between 2009 and 2013, of the seven neighborhoods with the most Ellis Act evictions, the Mission continued to exhibit the highest number of evictions with 71 evictions, a demonstration of the neighborhood's lucrative housing market (Table 6).

**Table 6: Top Seven Neighborhoods for Ellis Act Evictions, 2009-2013**

| Neighborhood | Ellis Act Eviction Notices |
|---|---|
| Mission | 71 |
| Russian Hill./Polk Gulch | 46 |
| Castro/Eureka Valley | 43 |
| Outer Richmond | 41 |
| Inner Richmond | 38 |
| North Beach | 37 |
| Haight-Ashbury/Western Addition | 29 |
| Total | 305 |
| San Francisco Total | 476 |

*Source: SF Rent Board, accessed through (San Francisco Board of Supervisors Budget and Legislative Analyst, 2013)*

# Tenant Buyouts

In addition to evictions, tenant buyouts are another strategy in which landlords attempt to lure current tenants out of their homes with cash to increase rent for wealthier residents. The Mission district has experienced the highest concentration of buyouts from 2008-2014 ("Tenant Buyouts Are On The Rise In S.F., As Are The Dollars Involved - SocketSiteTM," 2014). Buyouts offer landlords several advantages over Ellis Act evictions: the landlord can immediately rent out the unit at market value and retain the option to convert units into condominiums at a later date. The total number of reported buyouts in SF went from 90 in 2007 to 175 in 2013[8] (City and County of San Francisco, Budget and Legislative Analyst's Office, 2014). The Mission district had the highest number of buyouts in 2008-2014 with 165 or about 28% of the total share of buyouts, however there is no requirement to report buyouts so these are likely underestimates. There is no regulation of the amount that must be paid for a buyout and sometimes tenants are offered just a few thousand dollars (City and County of San Francisco, Budget and Legislative Analyst's Office, 2014). San Francisco Supervisor David Campos has introduced legislation to regulate buyouts. One of the regulatory features he is proposing is to impose the condo conversion prohibitions that are already in place for no-fault evictions (Taylor, 2014).

# Sales and Investment

While the percent of households who are mortgage burdened has stayed constant over time, the cost to buy a home has increased substantially since the 1980s in the Bay Area, San Francisco, and, especially, the Mission District, as shown in Figure 10 and Figure 11. The rise in price during the dotcom boom is clear, as is the more recent rise in costs between 2002-2007, then a slight downturn during the recession with a quick recovery since 2012. Single-family homes have shown more dramatic change, particularly recently in the Mission, whose home have shot up in price above San Francisco and the Bay Area.

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[8] The data reported by the SF Tenant Union likely undercounts the number of actual buyouts as these are self-reported by tenants.
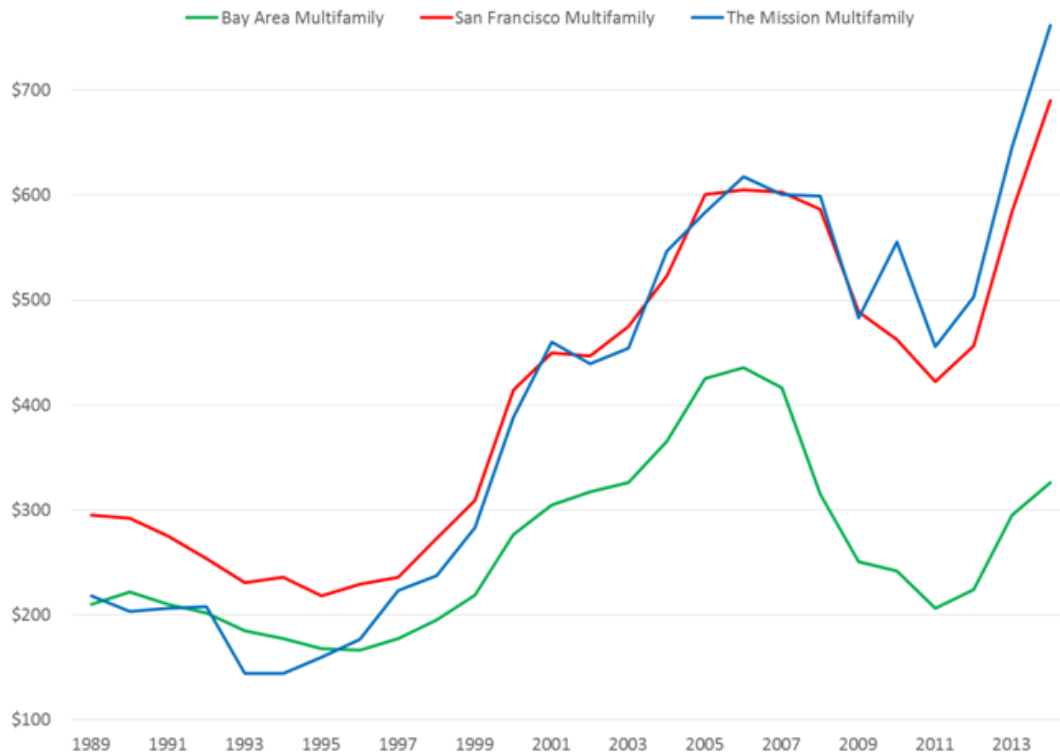
**Figure 10: Median Sale Price per Square Foot – Multi-Family Properties**
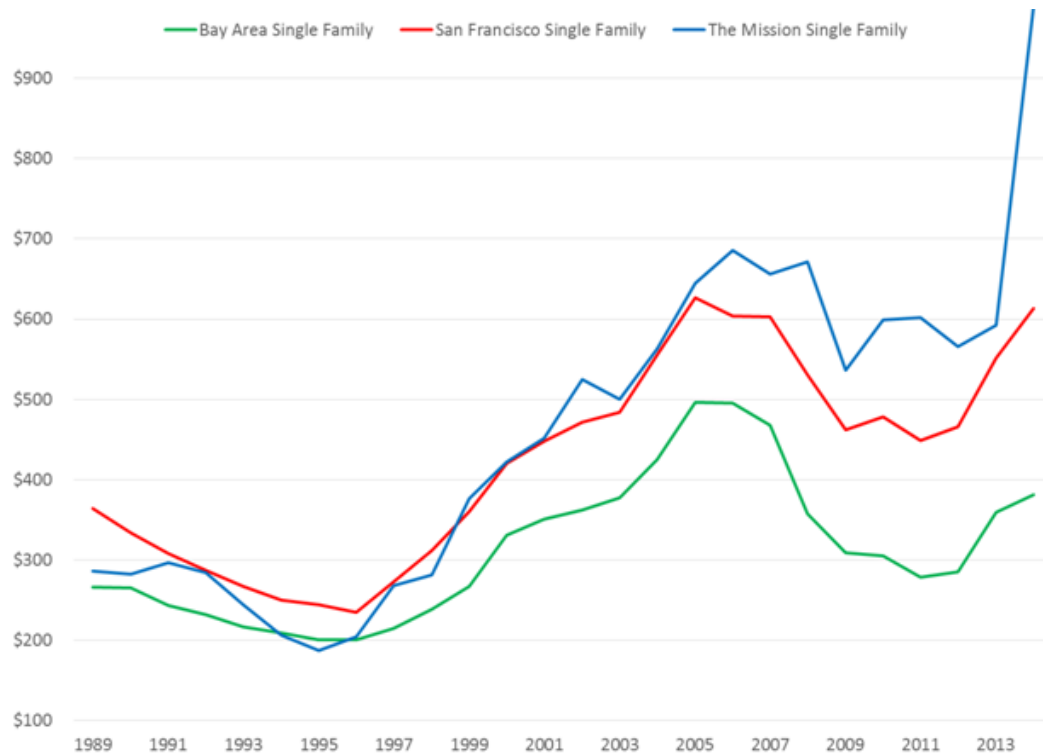*Source: Dataquick, "Bay Area" includes all tracts in the 9-county area)*



**Figure 11: Median Sale Price Per Square Foot - Single Family Homes**
*Source: Dataquick, "Bay Area" includes all tracts in the 9-county area)*

# Use Changes

The increases in housing prices have been paralleled by a gradual increase in the number of parcels whose land use is residential. Many of these are new construction, but others represent use changes. A small portion of parcels changed use each year, but in 2007, 9% of parcels with a commercial use had converted from other uses (mostly industrial and miscellaneous) and 5% of parcels with a residential use had converted from other uses (mostly commercial) (Dataquick, 2014).

# Private Investment

We examined trends in sales and building permit data to identify spatial characteristics of investment in residential property. This analysis has the potential to demonstrate how outside pressures and public investments impact patterns of private investment in the Mission District over time.[9] As Figure 12 shows, there are a higher number of residential sales in the northwest and central-western portions of the Mission. The northwestern concentration may be related to higher density of housing stock.

The number of residential sales peaked in 2003 and 2004, declined through the housing bubble burst, but appears to have stabilized (Figure 13). San Francisco as a whole recovered from the impact of the financial recession and housing market crash much faster than the rest of the nation.

Figure 14 displays the average residential sales prices per square foot in the Mission and shows a slightly different pattern than Figure 13, with the largest cluster of high prices seen in the southwest.



**Figure 12: Number of Residential Sales by Block, 2003 – 2013**
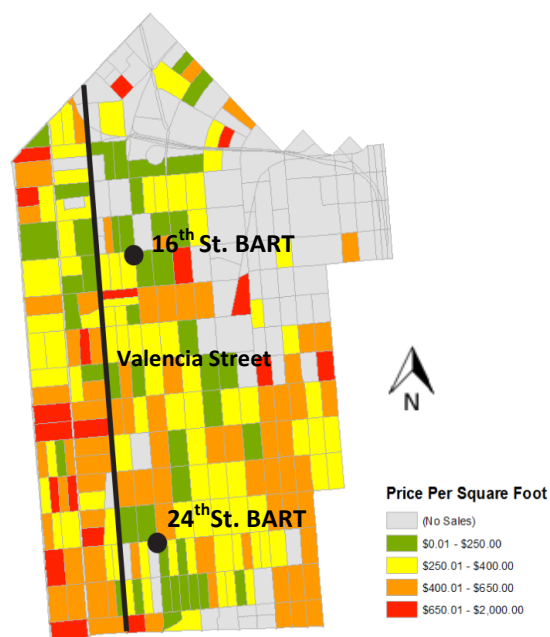


**Figure 14: Average Residential Sales Price per Square foot by Block, 2003-2013**



**Figure 13: Yearly Total Number of Residential Sales in the Mission, 1988-2013**
*Source: Dataquick, 2014*

[9] Sales data was taken from the first quarter of 2003 through the fourth quarter of 2013 from DataQuick, (DataQuick, 2014). We joined the data to a shapefile containing San Francisco parcels and converted to point data using ArcGIS (ABAG, 2005). These points, which each represent a sale, were spatially analyzed and visualized at different geographies through spatial joining. Building permit data from the San Francisco Planning Department were analyzed similarly (San Francisco Planning Department, 2014a).
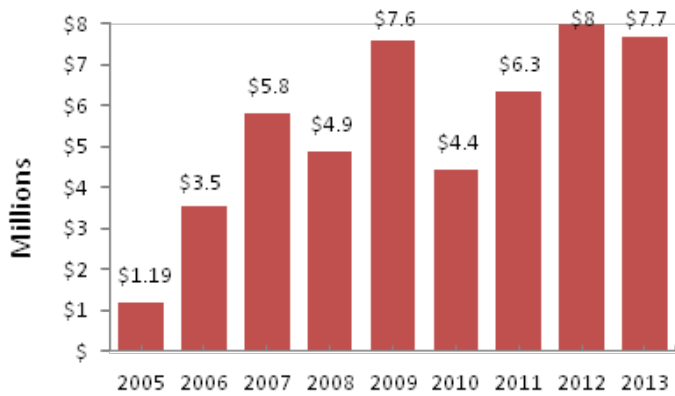
**Figure 15: Total Annual Cost of Residential Permits in the Mission, 2005-2013**
*Source: San Francisco Planning Department, 2014*



**Figure 16: Average Permit Cost per Unit in the Mission by Census Tracts, 2005-2013**
*Source: San Francisco Planning Department, 2014a*

The amount of private investment in residential properties has also been increasing since 2005 (Figure 15). The total annual value of permits (as ascertained through the cost of building permits) in the Mission increased by 545% from 2005 to 2013. When comparing investment in the Mission to the rest of the city, Figure 16 shows how parts of the Mission are averaging higher permitting investments per unit.

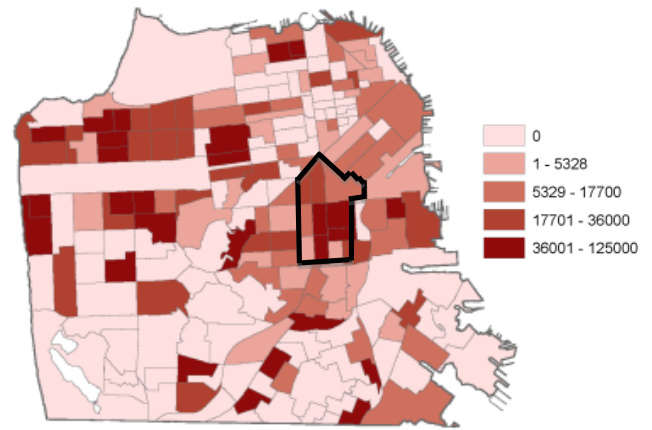# Public Investment

Public investment, in so far as it makes the neighborhood more desirable, has the potential to contribute to gentrification pressures. The public project that seems most clearly related to gentrification is one on Valencia Street between 15th and 19th streets completed by the Department of Public Works in July 2010 at a cost of $6.1 million. In 2004 the Municipal Transportation Agency (MTA) began the planning for the Valencia Streetscape Project, which expanded and beautified sidewalks, resurfaced and restriped the street with bike lanes, and provided other infrastructure improvements (City of San Francisco, n.d.). The street looks nicer than nearby streets and, today, the commercial establishments along Valencia Street are mostly new places that serve a higher-income clientele (further analysis of commercial change is in the next section). By contrast, along Mission Street, another main commercial corridor in the district, more of the older, legacy resident-serving establishments are still around, and visible gentrification is less advanced. This may

be, at least in part, connected to the completion of the Valencia street beautification process. Additional improvements (some completed, some planned) include several streetscape improvement projects, road diets, and new plazas throughout the district. These are detailed in an appendix.

Together, these projects signal an interest in the Mission on the part of city agencies. The investment they bring is a parallel and reinforcing factor to the other changes discussed here. One stakeholder interviewed said that a lot of residents see streetscape improvements like these as a sign of gentrification. All of these projects included public processes, and several affirm the Latino cultural identity of the neighborhood. They also ostensibly improve the neighborhood for existing residents. On the other hand, the improvements could contribute to residents' dissonance, especially if they feel the neighborhood is being upgraded for others or being made more attractive for outsiders to move in. The improvements may make the area even more desirable to higher-income people and, therefore, encourage gentrification and displacement.

None of the improvements include provisions to ensure permanent housing affordability for existing residents to stay in the neighborhood and enjoy the new streets, plazas, and parks. In this way, the investments may not benefit existing residents in the long run, representing a missed opportunity to stabilize the neighborhood.

# Commercial Displacement

In order to understand how gentrification may put pressure on retail businesses, we evaluated data on commercial establishments from the National Employment Time-Series Database (NETS), a proprietary database (Walls & Associates, 2013). Using census tracts, we analyzed the data by dividing the Mission District into three distinct commercial neighborhoods shown in Figure 18 based on our own assessment of commercial uses.

In 1990, there were more retail businesses in the 24th Street corridor neighborhood than in the 16th St. BART neighborhood (Figure 18). Since then, the number of retail businesses has steadily declined in the 24th Street corridor and steadily increased in the 16th Street neighborhood. Today there are about twice as many businesses in the 16th Street BART neighborhood as in the 24th Street corridor.

Here, we compare trends in the 16th Street Bart and 24th Street Corridor areas[10]. The businesses in the 16th Street Bart neighborhood may face problems due to neighborhood gentrification, customer dislocation, and increased wage costs for their workers. Businesses along 24th street may feel less pressures, in part due to the activism that has led to protecting businesses and tenants in the area (Dicum, 2005).



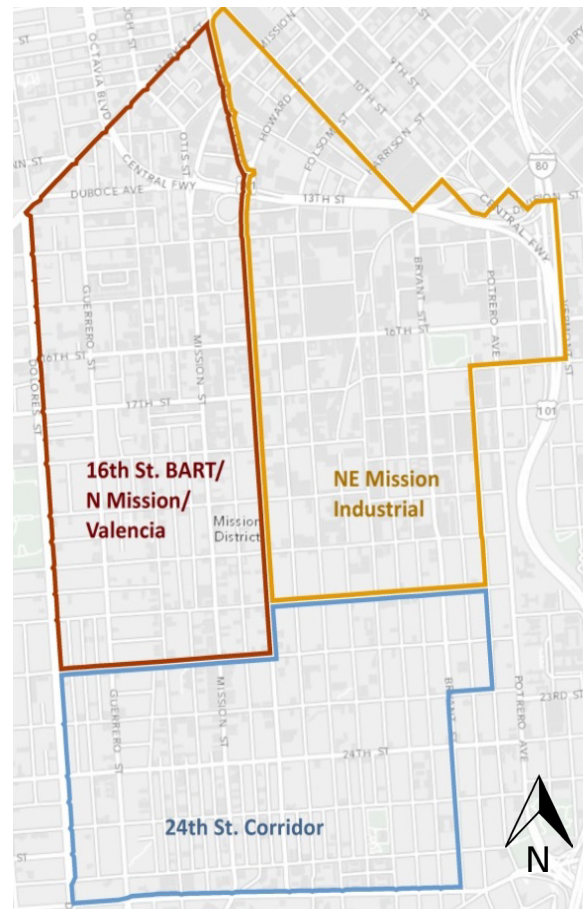**Figure 17: The Mission District, Commercial Neighborhoods**
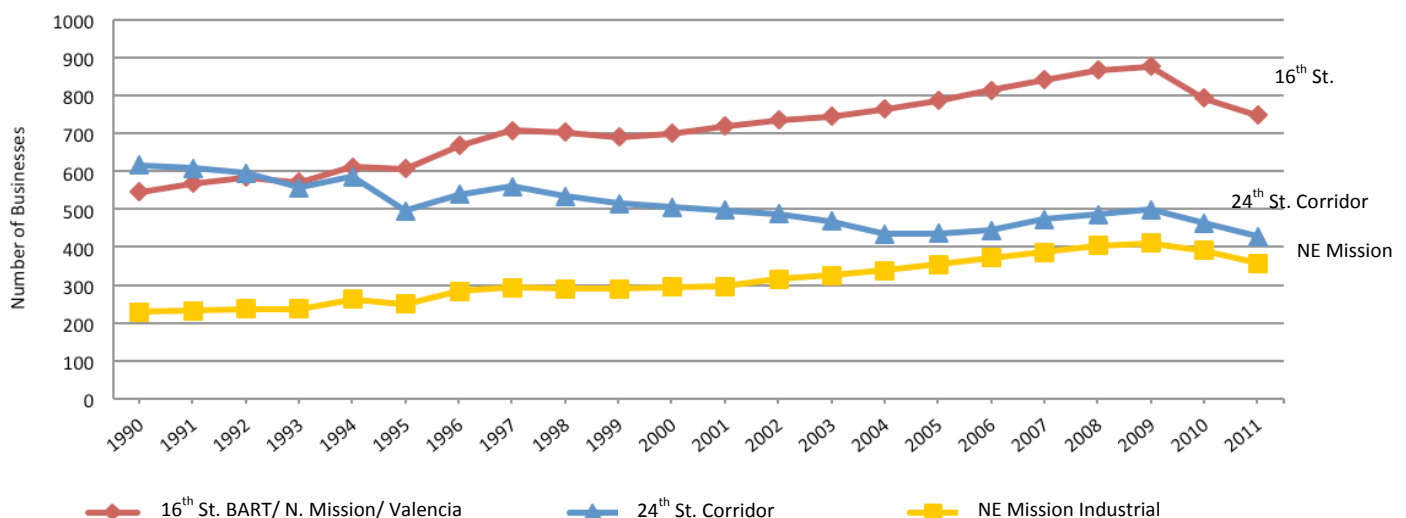


**Figure 18: Number of Retail Businesses in the Mission, 1990-2011**
*Source: National Employment Time-Series (NETS) Database*

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[10] The number of retail businesses in the Northeast Mission Industrial neighborhood increased slightly, but is lower than the other two neighborhoods; we exclude it from the remainder of our analysis.
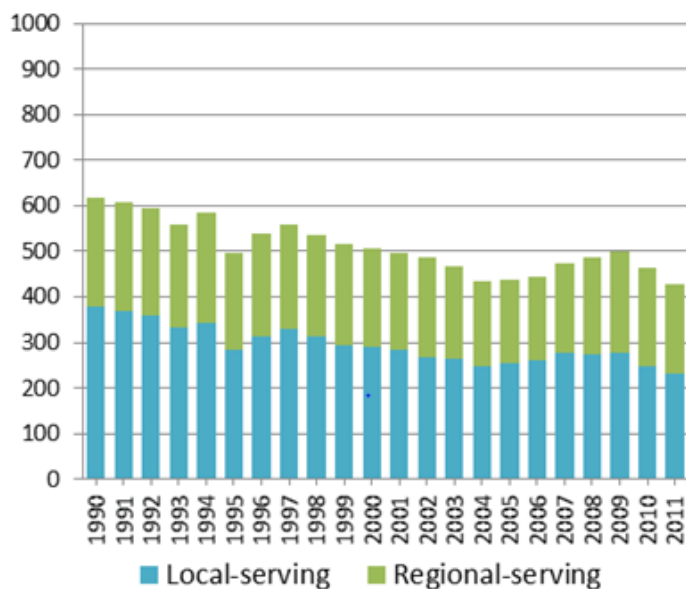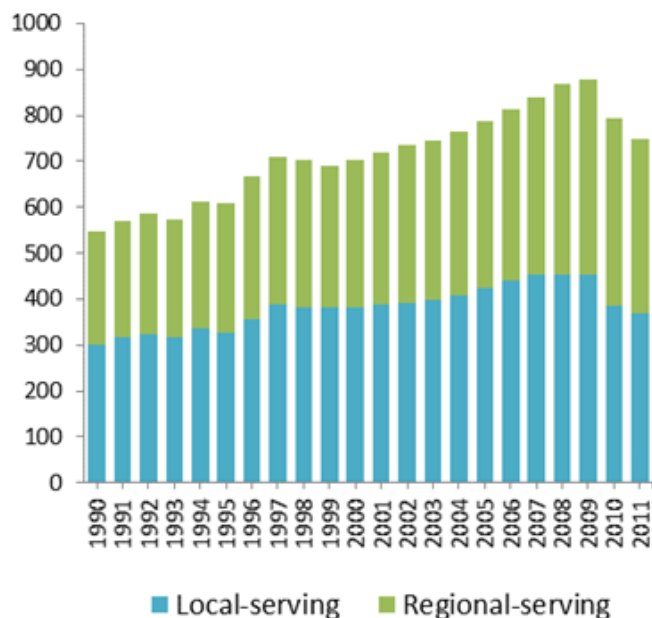
**Figure 19: Total Number of Businesses, 16th St. BART (left) and 24th Street Corridor (right)**
*Source: National Employment Time-Series (NETS) database*

To ascertain the change in local- versus region-al-serving businesses, we categorize them based on their North American Industrial Classification System (NAICS) code into businesses that are more likely to serve local residents (such as markets, drug stores, and hardware stores) and businesses more likely to serve regional markets (such as department stores and furniture stores). In the 16th Street Bart neighborhood, growth has occurred in both local and regional serving businesses, while on 24th Street, local-serving businesses have decreased in number (Figure 19).

This suggests that changes in the 16th Street area may be spurred both by changes in the local resident population and in the neighborhood's capacity to draw customers from the region. For example, this corridor is a night-life destination where people from outside come to visit restaurants and bars. Changes in the 24th Street corridor, by contrast, appear to be more related to changes in the local residential population, resulting in a decline in local-serving businesses, without comparable increases in regional-serving businesses.

When asked about how different parts of the Mission have experienced change differently, a non-profit stakeholder identified the 24th and Mission neighborhood as one that has maintained its character more than others, keeping a high percentage of Hispanic-owned

retail businesses. However, an analysis of businesses owned by Hispanic people on the 24th Street corridor reveals a different story. Of the businesses that closed in recent years (2007-2010), nearly 50% of them were owned by Hispanics, compared to 38% of businesses that opened over the same time frame.[11] Additionally, the overall proportion of businesses owned by Hispanic people decreased from 40% to 36% between 2000 and 2011. Though this is a small change, it still shows a change in the character of local retail and minority owned businesses.

Nonprofit funding has changed since the first wave of displacement as well. During the first dotcom era, funding and staff were available to Mission Housing when it spearheaded MAC. Today, the organization has fewer resources. One stakeholder believes the "velocity of change" is faster today than the previous dotcom boom; another commented that, due to fewer resources, more-formidable opponents (large technology firms as opposed to smaller start-ups during the previous era), and the "Mayor's pro-tech agenda," the community's capacity to respond has diminished.

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[11] The corridor is defined as 24th Street between Mission and Potrero; note that this definition is different than that used in the other figures in this section. Source: NETS data and 2000 US Census. Methodology explained in appendix.

# Conclusion

The Mission District is a potent example of the demographic and commercial changes that can occur in a high-demand location with walkability, accessibility, and access to amenities in the center of an expensive region. The data presented here show clear signs of change in the Mission.

Over the last thirty years, the area has seen a decrease in the proportion of family households and a decrease in the Latino population, while the percentage of the population with a bachelor degree or higher and median income have both increased dramatically—all consistent with gentrification patterns.

Despite an increase in income, housing burden has increased in the Mission, demonstrating the neighborhood's high desirability and, therefore, high cost of living. Rent control, public and subsidized housing, and inclusionary zoning all seek to limit displacement and increase affordability for low income households, but all have shortcomings, and, overall, are only partially mitigating the intense displacement resulting from new investment.

Evictions and buyouts are two of the processes contributing to displacement. While the number of Ellis Act and no-fault evictions has gone down in the last decade, the Mission continues to see the highest rate of evictions in the city. Meanwhile, buyouts in the Mission are at a rapid incline, perhaps indicating a switch in landlords' tactics from evictions to buyouts.

A perennial question in anti-displacement policy is which of two approaches to pursue: preserving existing housing as affordable, or increasing production of new housing, either market-rate or affordable. Preservation, in the face of strong market forces, is difficult. As during the dotcom boom, today streams of high income workers are flooding the housing market, placing upward pressure on housing prices and encouraging landlords to use various tactics to raise rents. Furthermore, there is a dwindling supply of naturally affordable housing units left to preserve; most renters

are already cost-burdened, and with vacancy decontrol, even rent control units can jump to market simply from someone moving. Strengthening eviction policies could limit these effects.

Increased production of market-rate units is considered an affordable housing strategy by some, but not all: the increased overall supply, some would argue, will bring down rents across the board. However, community opposition to this approach is fierce, as evidenced by the 16th and Mission project. While in the long run new housing may relieve pressure on rents, in the short term it is certain to contribute to upward pressure as the neighborhood gentrifies. In addition, the scarcity of land in the Mission means that new development will be limited. Can enough new housing be built that these supply effects will bring down rents? That is unlikely, especially since new housing is likely to be oriented toward the highest end of the market, given the larger trends in the economy.

Therefore, to ensure a long-term supply of affordable housing in the Mission, affordable housing production, in addition to preservation of the existing stock, is key. Inclusionary housing has produced only 136 units in the Mission in over twenty years; this policy's future impact will be limited due to recent legal changes. The area is host to nearly 2,000 units of affordable housing. But more will be needed to keep low-income families living in this area.

The Mission has already undergone significant gentrification and continues to experience displacement. This neighborhood has been here before: the dotcom boom at the turn of the century foreshadowed (and set the stage for) many of the changes facing it today. The capacity building activists engaged in at that time provide a foundation for residents and advocates to incorporate successful tactics—and new approaches—to the present situation. While Valencia Street on a Saturday night may be unrecognizable to residents from twenty years ago, the neighborhood still hosts a sizable Latino population, and, in the words of a community-based organization stakeholder, "contestation for place and the right to stay is still going on."

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# Appendix A: Additional Data Points

### Table A1: Percent Foreign Born, Mission (1980-2010)

| Year | Percent Foreign Born |
|------|---------------------|
| 1980 | 38% |
| 1990 | 48% |
| 2000 | 45% |
| 2010 | 39% |

*Source: U.S. Census 1980, 1990, 2000 (Geolytics, 2014); ACS 2006-2010*
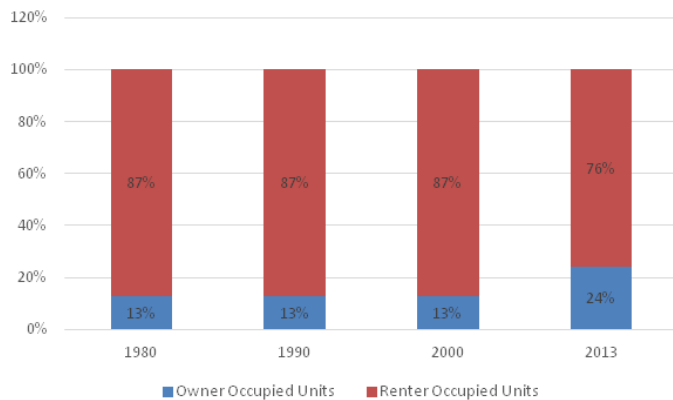


**Figure A1: Mission District Housing Tenure by Percent, 1980 - 2013**
*Source: U.S. Census 1980, 1990, 2000 (Geolytics, 2014); ACS 2009-2013*

### Table A2: Mission District Housing Vacancies, 1980 - 2013

| Year | Total Vacant Units |
|------|--------------------|
| 1980 | 6% |
| 1990 | 6% |
| 2000 | 3% |
| 2013 | 7.6% |

*Source: U.S. Census 1980, 1990, 2000 (Geolytics, 2014); ACS 2009-2013*



**Figure A2: Mission District Residential Building Type, 1980 - 2010**
*Source: U.S. Census 1980, 1990, 2000 (Geolytics, 2014); ACS 2006-2010*
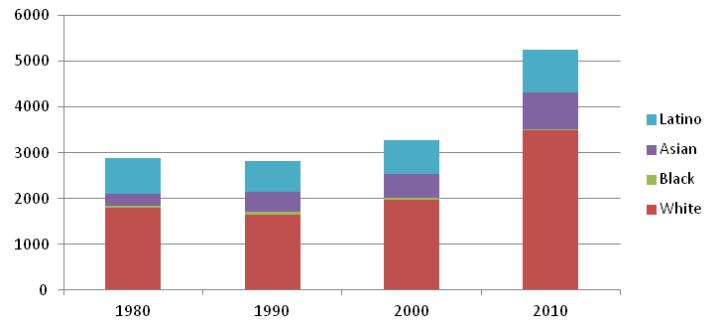


**Figure A3: Homeownership by Race/Ethnicity in the Mission**
*Source: U.S. Census 1980, 1990, 2000 (Geolytics, 2014); ACS 2006-2010*
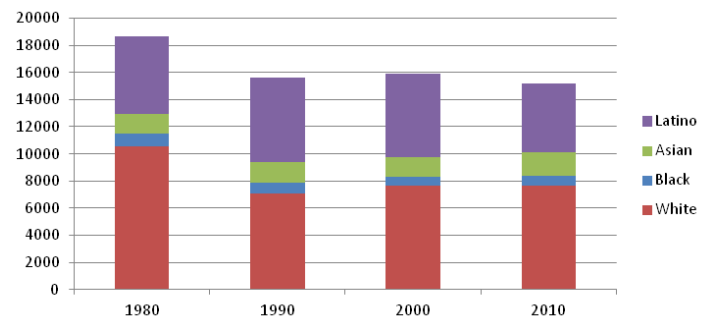


**Figure A4: Renter-Occupied Units by Race/Ethnicity in the Mission**
*Source: U.S. Census 1980, 1990, 2000 (Geolytics, 2014); ACS 2006-2010*

### Table A3: Total Annual Cost of Residential Permits

| Year | Total Annual Cost | Percent Change |
|------|-------------------|----------------|
| 2005 | $1,190,000 | |
| 2006 | $3,527,400 | 196% |
| 2007 | $5,806,460 | 65% |
| 2008 | $4,892,000 | -16% |
| 2009 | $7,579,440 | 55% |
| 2010 | $4,427,004 | -42% |
| 2011 | $6,342,354 | 43% |
| 2012 | $7,982,718 | 26% |
| 2013 | $7,675,525 | -4% |
| 2005-2013 Percent Change | | 545% |

*Source: San Francisco Planning Department, 2014*

# Appendix B: Methodology for Analyzing Proportion of Hispanic-Owned Businesses

We followed a methodology used by researchers at UCLA to analyze changes in Asian-owned businesses in several Los Angeles neighborhoods (Paul M. Ong, Chhandara Pech, Rosalie Ray, 2014). We began with the National Establishment Time-Series database, which includes businesses' opening and closing dates and owners' names. We pulled this data for businesses in the zip code 94110, which contains the 24th Street corridor. We removed any record without a business name and/or officer name and then removed all records except those with an address between 2700 24th Street and 3278 24th Street, which runs from Protero to Mission Streets. We then compared the surnames of each businesses' officer with a list of Hispanic surnames, which we created from a list of all names with 100 or more respondents from the 2000 Census. We created a list of surnames whose percentage of respondents was at least 75% Hispanic. If the name of the business owner was on this Hispanic surname list, we concluded that the business was owned by a Hispanic person.

# Appendix C: Public Investment in the Mission District–Additional Detail

**Completed Projects**

On Folsom Street between 19th and Cesar Chavez Streets, a $5.44 million streetscape improvement project was finished this year to reduce the number of vehicle lanes, add bike lanes, repave streets, add bus bulb-outs, and add trees (City and County of San Francisco Department of Public Works, n.d.-b).

A larger-scale plan for the entire Mission District was developed in 2008 and 2009, when the planning department led a community process to create a streetscape plan as part of the larger Eastern Neighborhoods planning process. A final plan was generated in 2010 that called for "a system of neighborhood streets with safe and green sidewalks; well-marked crosswalks; widened sidewalks at corners; creative parking arrangements; bike paths and routes; close integration of transit; and roadways that accommodate automobile traffic but encourage appropriate speeds" (San Francisco Planning Department City Design Group, 2009). Overall, these changes would make the streets more accessible to pedestrians, bikers, and users of transit. The total estimated cost of the improvements is $95.5 million (San Francisco Planning Department, 2010).

The plan touches all the main commercial areas in the District, and includes 28 projects that were cleared through the environmental review process. The following projects have been completed:

Plaza at the 24th St BART station

Bryant St between 23rd and Cesar Chavez – road diet with new median

Folsom St. between 17th and 25th – road diet with bike lanes has been created through re-striping street, though the planned median is not built and not in the budget

Intersection of Mission, Capp, and Cesar Chavez Streets – new plaza

Another project along the southern edge of the Mission district—Cesar Chavez Street—is a streetscape improvement project (City and County of San Francisco Department of Public Works, n.d.-a). The project, which will cost $11.6 million, includes many improvements, such as "widening the center median and installing bulb-outs at intersections and mid-blocks," new trees, drainage improvements, bike lanes, and public plazas (City and County of San Francisco Department of Public Works, n.d.-a). The median and bike improvements are near completion or complete.

**Planned Projects**

The following projects from the overall Mission District plan are in progress:

Intersection of Mission and Valencia, the "Green Gateway" – A new plaza should be finished by March 2015 that will include sidewalk widening on west side and will incorporate existing bus stop.

Intersection of San Jose and Guerrero – The community benefits agreement for a new hospital project in the vicinity includes funding to improve the safety of this intersection.

Bryant St between 21st and 22nd – The block will be redone starting in November 2014 as a shared street incorporating the public open market previously there.

Intersection of Dolores St and 18th St – The intersection will be rebuilt, possibly as early as October 2015.

Additional projects remain in the plan, including revamped alleyways parallel to Mission Street for much of its length in the District and median improvements for the major streets in the District.

# Appendix D: Ground-Truthing Analysis

To tell the story of gentrification and displacement in the Mission District of San Francisco, California, we relied on data from the assessor's office, Census data on demographic and other change, several other secondary data sources, and qualitative policy reviews and interviews with key stakeholders. However, secondary data sources are incomplete, at best, and outright wrong, at worst. Therefore, we employ a "ground-truthing" methodology to verify the validity of these datasets. The ground-truthing, which is described in more detail below, essentially consists of walking from structure to structure on a few sample blocks and taking detailed notes on several variables, like number of units, state of maintenance, and more. With this data in hand, we can compare the story of gentrification the secondary data sources are telling with data obtained "on the ground," while also increasing the richness of our narrative overall from the visual observations we make on the blocks.

In this memo, we discuss four sample blocks in the case study area. For each, we first present the secondary data sources—assessor and Census. We analyze this data to ascertain the nature and extent of recent neighborhood change on those blocks. Next, we describe the ground-truthing data and offer a similar analysis in terms of neighborhood change, but this time based solely on the ground-truthing. Finally, we reconcile the two data-sets: are they telling the same story? Where are the discrepancies? What do those discrepancies reveal?

## Methodology

For this analysis, we selected blocks from the case study area that seemed to have experienced a range of degrees of change, based on secondary data (see Figure 1). We consulted with a community-based organization familiar with the area to choose blocks they thought were illustrative of the varying amount of change occurring in the area.

To prepare this memo, we consulted the following data sources:

**Assessor Data**: Using a dataset purchased from Dataquick, Inc., we accessed assessor and sales data from the County of San Francisco, which is current as of April 23, 2014.

**US Census Bureau**: We also consulted block-level decennial Census data from 2000 and 2010.

**Ground-truthing data**: This information comes from a visual observation of each structure on the block by walking around and noting the building's type (multi-family, single-family, business, etc), the number of units it appears to hold, and a long list of signs of recent investment, like permanent blinds and updated paint, as well as signs of perceptions of safety, like security cameras. The parcel numbers used to organize this data come from the Boundary Solutions data set, which is current as of December 13, 2012.

The ground-truthing methodology is based on one used by Hwang and Sampson (Hwang & Sampson, 2014), who used Google Street View images to analyze neighborhood change in Chicago. We created an observation tool based on their work and, with that in hand, conducted a pilot ground-truthing of several blocks in one of the case study areas (the Macarthur BART station area of Oakland, California). The research team revised the methodology based on this pilot; the final observation tool appears in the appendix.

On November 14, 2014, a researcher with the Center for Community Innovation, an organizer at the community group PODER, and a consultant with deep knowledge of the area walked through four blocks in the Mission District, stopping to take notes at each building.
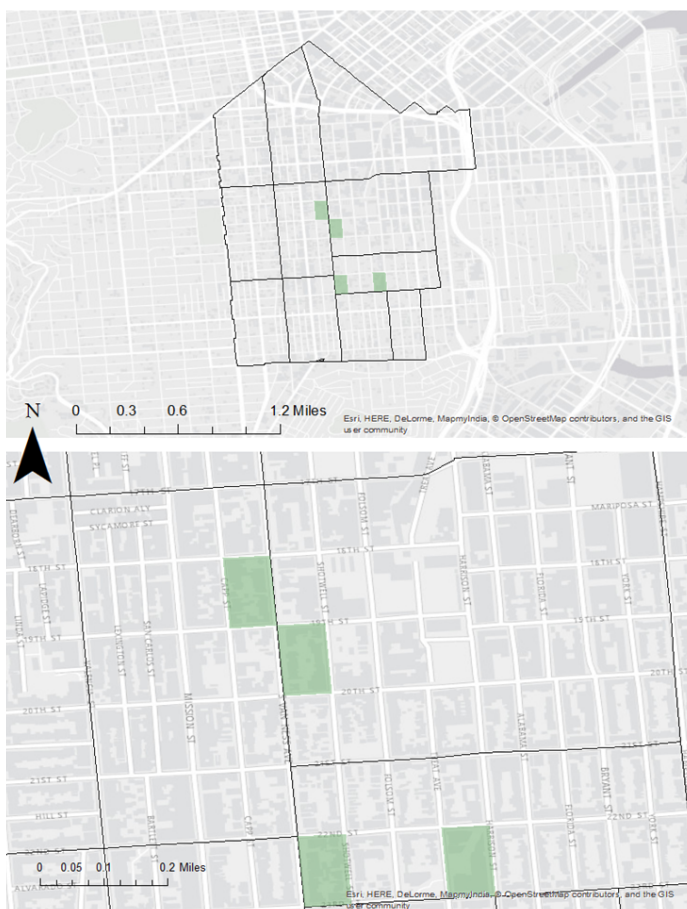
**Figure D1: Map of Mission District, with census tracts, and four Ground-Truthing blocks in green.**

Finally, on Block 1007, almost all of the parcels from the ground-truthing data set did not appear in the assessor data. This is primarily the result of the Dataquick data missing over 40 parcels for the building at 3000 23rd St. In place of those parcels, it had only one, with many units, with a listed use as an apartment building. Likewise for the building at 2652 Harrison St; while the building has 20 parcels/units—condominiums—according to the Ground-truthing data, it appears with only one on the Dataquick data. This is almost definitely a glitch in the data, not a result of the timing of the data sets.

**Table D1: Parcel Mismatch Among Datasets**

| Block and Census Tract | # assessor parcels matched to ground-truth parcels, of total assessor parcels | # ground-truth parcels matched to assessor parcels, of total ground-truth parcels |
|---|---|---|
| Block 3003 Tract 228.01 | 65 / 81 | 66 / 70 |
| Block 2000 Tract 208 | 26 / 55 | 28 / 31 |
| Block 1007 Tract 228.03 | 12 / 16 | 12 / 87 |
| Block 1004 Tract 228.03 | 37 / 41 | 39 / 39 |

## Unmatched Parcels

The ground-truthing exercise is meant to provide an additional set of data to verify conclusions reached through analyzing assessor and Census data. Complicating this effort is that the data sets do not have the same set of parcels (Table 1). All data reported from the assessor data (Dataquick) includes all parcels in that set; likewise, all data reported from the ground-truthing data collection includes all parcels in that set (which is based on parcels from Boundary Solutions).

Most of the mismatch is not significant enough to skew results; however, three areas of discrepancy are significant; these are highlighted in yellow in the table.

First, on Block 3003, 15 of the parcels in the assessor data did not appear in the ground-truth data set.

Second, on Block 2000, 29 of the 55 parcels in the assessor data did not appear in the ground-truth data set.

## Overall Impressions from Ground-Truthing

The blocks walked have a distinctly "old" feel to them—one could tell walking around that the neighborhood had a history and had been developed mostly a long time ago, while parts of it represent more recent additions. Its streets (except the major artery Van Ness) were quiet and pleasant to walk through. The streets and sidewalks are mostly clean. A steady flow of people walks the streets.

The uses on the blocks vary: former industrial sites share the block with new condominium developments; unmaintained townhomes sit next to beautiful, recently-renovated townhomes; expensive cafes and grocery stores have popped up next to long-open diners. Besides these signs of transition, an overt sign of gentrification—and community opposition to it—is a sign reading "Evictions" pasted below a "STOP" sign, so that the message was "STOP Evictions."

All four blocks are mostly residential, with a mix of single-family homes, multi-family rental buildings, and condominium buildings, which are usually newer. There are a few non-residential uses on each block, including some light industry, stores, offices, and one church. The structures are mostly older, though there are some very new buildings. The neighborhood is diverse in terms of socioeconomic status (judging by a range of businesses) and race (judging by the signs posted in a laundromat and observing pedestrians).

The blocks' primary land use is residential, though there is some first-floor commercial space. Most of the structures are single-family, attached homes with two or three stories. There are some apartment buildings, usually of 4-6 units, though there are a few larger buildings. There are a handful of one-story homes that appeared to be more recent construction (in the last 30-50 years). Most structures are beautiful old Victorian homes; even if they had some damage, they still maintain a handsome character. The new construction, though not in this same style, fit in with the neighborhood fairly well; their windows mimic the Bay-style windows of the old Victorians, though instead of being curved out as traditional Bay Windows are, they are rectangular boxes. The walls of most structures are aligned with the sidewalk, though some have shallow yards. This, and the lack of side yards, gives the neighborhood an urban feel.

Most homes are classic San Francisco Victorian townhouses, while there are about a dozen newly modernized or constructed homes that, for the most part, are condominiums. We can tell a condominium by the parcel numbers: if there are many within one structure, each unit is owned by a different person. There were several instances of buildings that had clearly formerly been part of one parcel with one owner, but had been split up in recent years to house multiple families. We could tell this because a building that was once one continuous structure is now host to several different parcel numbers.

Many homes—old ones and new construction alike—have garages. There are many "No Parking" signs on homes, which signals that parking is scarce and residents want to ensure people are not using their driveways to park.

A fair number of entrances are gated or have a non-decorative fence (i.e., metal) out front. However, almost none of these look new. Are the fences and

gates for safety? If so, do current residents fear for their safety, or are the fences and gates a vestige of a time when residents were fearful, and, by contrast, residents today feel safe? Walking around on a Friday afternoon, the streets were lively and the structures inviting.

Besides the residential units, there are several neighborhood-serving commercial businesses, including a handful of restaurants, a Laundromat, and one Korean church. There are also several remnants of the old industrial uses of the neighborhood. For example, there is one store with a sign reading "Kaiser Glass."

Some businesses, due to a low level of maintenance, seem oriented towards residents without high incomes. For example, a corner café and legal services office fit this description; the latter had signs offering immigration assistance. Other businesses, like a pet store and upscale grocery market, are housed in newly-constructed buildings or have new, recently-developed interiors.

After passing one restaurant, the PODER staff member remarked that it had been there forever, but was now serving both long-time and new residents; businesses are not used exclusively by either old or new residents. This point was made clear when the researcher entered a Laundromat (on 18th Street between Capp and Van Ness, part of Block 2000 in Census Tract 208). On the bulletin board, about 10 flyers were posted (see Figure 2). Several seemed oriented towards Spanish-speaking residents, such as flyers advertising a concert, a dance club, computer services, video and photography services, and a room for rent. Other signs, in English, advertised Capoiera (a Brazilian form of martial arts) classes, a concert, a counseling center, and an exhibit on Modernism at the deYoung museum. From these flyers alone, it is clear this is a mixed neighborhood.



**Figure D2: Bulletin board inside a Laundromat on 18th and Capp Streets**

Neighborhood Activity: The neighborhood has steady street traffic, though off the main roads it has a quiet, residential feel to it. We spoke with several people who said there had been a lot of change in the area.

**Block-by-Block Analysis**

Tables 2 and 3 provide a summary of relevant secondary data for each block, the case study area, and San Francisco overall.

For two variables—land use and number of units—comparisons are made on a parcel-by-parcel basis; only parcels that appear in both data sets are used for this comparison (Table 4). Census data is not provided on a parcel level, and so includes all households surveyed by the Census. For each block, the total number of units based on three different data sets vary widely, as do the listed number of units for each parcel. Land uses, on the other hand, match fairly well on each block.

**Table D2: Sales History and Assessed Value of Residential Parcels**

| Block | Median Year of Construction | Median Year of Last Sale | Percent Sold 2010-2014 | Median Sale Price | Median Sale Price Per Square Foot | Assessed Value Per Square Foot (2013) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3003 | 1985 | 2005 | 29% | $578,500 | $491 | $465 |
| 2000 | 1903 | 1999 | 19% | $697,500 | $256 | $205 |
| 1007 | 1933 | 2004 | 23% | $925,000 | $216 | $161 |
| 1004[12] | 1904.5 | 2007.5 | 42% | $785,000 | $366 | $221 |
| Mission | 1912 | 2004 | 20% | $585,000 | $314 | $235 |
| SF | 1932 | 2003 | 21% | $520,000 | $337 | $277 |

*Source: Dataquick, 2014. These figures refer to all parcels in the area, including non-residential uses.*

**Table D3: Indicators of Neighborhood Change: Census Data/Demographics**
**Percentage Change From 2000 - 2010**

| Block | Population | Number Whites | Number Asians | Number Hispanics | Average Household Size | Number of Family Households | Number of Renter Housing Units |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3003 | -5% | 14% | -22% | -11% | -13% | -12% | 72% |
| 2000 | -7% | -9% | -12% | -25% | -19% | -12% | 383% |
| 1007 | 81% | 111% | 1 to 8 residents | -28% | -46% | 7% | 3700% |
| 1004 | -11% | 19% | 21% | -30% | -15% | -26% | 683% |
| Mission | -5% | 16% | 7% | -21% | Not available | 40% | -6% |
| SF | 4% | -2% | 12% | 11% | -2% | 4% | 4% |

*Source: Decennial Census 2000 and 2010, accessed through NHGIS.*

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[12] Assessed value would likely be higher if the assessor data included new condominium buildings on the block.

| Block | Primary Land Use, based on Groundtruthing data | Percent Land Use Matched | Total Number of Units on Block | | | Percent of Parcels whose Number of Units match between Assessor Data and Visual Observation |
| | | | Assessor Data – Dataquick | Visual Observations on Ground-truthing | Census Data: Total Housing Units – 2010 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3003 | Residential: 50% condo, 21% multi-family | 87% | 81 | 134 | 121 | 44% |
| 2000 | Residential: 42% multi-family, rest condo and single-family | 96% | 100 | 85 | 121 | 38% |
| 1007 | Residential: condo, multi-family | 71% (denominator is 7) | 32 | 96 | 78 | 38% (denominator is 12) |
| 1004 | Residential: 45% multi-family, 38% condo | 86% | 106 | 106 | 111 | 32% |

*Note: Percent Land Use Matched and Percent Units Matched take as their denominator only those parcels for which a land use or number of units was indicated by both assessor data and ground-truth data.*

## Block 3003

### Secondary Data

This block is changing rapidly, with a very recent median year of last sale (2005), high percentage sold in the last five years (29%), and a median sale price per square foot ($491) that is much higher than in the Mission and San Francisco overall. The buildings on this block are very new, with a median year of construction of 1985, compared to 1912 in the Mission and 1932 in San Francisco. Between 2000 and 2010, the population on this block decreased by 5%; the changes on this block therefore likely have occurred since 2010, which is consistent with 29% of parcels selling between 2010-2014. The demographics of the block have changed, though not substantially: between 2000 and 2010, there were 14% more whites, 22% fewer Asians, and 11% fewer Hispanic residents. Of the four blocks, this one shows the highest median sale price per square foot, indicating significant new investment in the block.

### Ground-Truthing

This block was chosen due to a decrease in the Hispanic population between 2000 and 2010 and a relatively high change in ownership over the last few years. It is also located in the northeast quadrant of the Mission and so adds geographic diversity to the blocks selected. On the corner of Van Ness and 19th Street, there is a small glass manufacturer, evidence of the neighborhood's historic industrial character. Besides this industrial building and a small legal services office that offered immigration services, the other structures are all housing, with a few more multi-family buildings than the other blocks surveyed. There was a sign about sidewalk repairs on the street. This block has an older feel, and featured fewer new structures than the others.

The block has several signs of recent investment. 67% of the parcels on the block appear "new" or "above average," with 21% of all parcels appearing new.

Other signs of investment include:
- 9 parcels with for-sale signs
- Almost no parcels had cracked windows (1), boarded windows (0), nor dirty windows (6)
- 57% of parcels had new or maintained paint.
- Very few signs of disorder

However, there are also signs of disinvestment:
- 19% of parcels had peeling or fading paint

Signs of perceived safety include:
- 37% of parcels had metal security doors.
- 10% had safety fencing
- 11% had security alarm signage
- Only 2 had bars on windows
- 26% had security cameras
- 20% had signs saying "Beware of Dog" or "No Trespassing"

Public Investment: Block 3003 is host to transit stops, municipal lighting, street furniture, bike racks, and public trash cans. There were very few signs of disorder on the block. Ongoing public investment appears to be happening: we saw a sign marking sidewalk repairs.

## Comparison

Overall, the two data sets paint a consistent picture of the block: recent investment, new construction, and significant turnover. The new construction on the block is in line with the high percent of parcels that appear "new" visually; the high percent sold in the last five years, is in line with the 9 for-sale signs observed. The high sale price per square foot aligns with the many signs of investment and almost no signs of disorder or disinvestment.

However, the secondary data misses several things, mainly the continued perception that the area is not safe, evidenced by visual signs like metal security doors and cameras. On the other hand, these could just be standard for new construction. The secondary data also misses the significant public investment on the block.

Land Use: The primary land use is residential; most units are condominiums or multi-family rental buildings. 86% of the land uses for parcels identified by the ground-truthing exercise matched assessor data.

There was no distinct pattern to the parcels that did not match. However, the majority of them did not match because the assessor data[13] did not list a use or (for four parcels), or no use was listed from the ground-truthing exercise; for example, because the building was behind another one and difficult to see. The primary type of residential unit on the block is condominiums, with 50% of parcels. Next was multi-family rental units, with 21% of parcels, and single-family residences with 13% of parcels.

Number of Units: The assessor data underestimated the total number of units on the block significantly—81 compared to 134 based on ground-truthing. Most buildings have 4 or fewer units, with two larger condominium buildings (16 units and 10 units), according to ground-truthing data. The parcel data only matched with observed data 30% of the time; almost always, when the parcels' number of units did not match, the assessor data listed fewer units than the ground-truthing revealed. For example, a 10-unit building was listed as having only 1 unit and several 4-unit buildings were listed as only 2 or 3 units, etc.

## Block 2000

### Secondary Data

This block appears to have experienced the least investment of the four blocks; it has the lowest median assessed value per square foot ($205), lowest percent sold in 2010-2014 (19%), oldest median year of last sale (1999), and oldest median year of construction (1903), with some of these figures even lower than in San Francisco overall. However, between 2000 and 2010, it experienced a 383% increase in the number of rental housing units and a decrease in the Hispanic population (25%) around the same level as the other blocks.

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[13] Note: Five parcels are listed as "Store/Office Combo" and one is listed as "Miscellaneous Commercial" in the assessor data. Based on the ground-truthing, buildings containing these first-floor non-residential uses were identified. However, the specific parcel these non-residential uses occupy was impossible to tell through the ground-truthing. The 86% matched figure counts these parcels as "matched," since ground-truthing did identify a parcel among several within a structure as having a non-residential use. The percent matching for the other three blocks is derived through similar modifications to the ground-truthing data

**Ground-Truthing**

This block, like the others, has mostly residential uses. However, it is also host to a casual Salvadoran restaurant and the aforementioned laundromat, a small burger fast food restaurant with a parking lot, a corner café, and a Korean church—which was surprising, given the reputation of the neighborhood as Latino.

The majority of Block 2000's parcels appeared "average" or "below average." The block has the following signs of investment:
   - No abandoned structures
   - Only 2 buildings had dirty windows, and none had boarded windows
   - Minimal spraypaint or graffiti – only 2 parcels
   - No litter or debris on any parcel
   - Very few signs of disorder
   - On the block, there were 3 signs discouraging disorder

However, the block also has signs of disinvestment:
   - 25% of parcels had peeling or fading paint

Signs of Safety:
   - 47% of parcels had a metal security door
   - 28% of parcels had a fence intended for safety
   - 25% of parcels had security alarm signage
   - 4 parcels (13%) with signs saying "Beware of Dog" or "No Trespassing"

Public Investment: Block 2000 has only municipal lighting.

**Comparison**

The two datasets matched in part for this block, too. In particular, the lower assessed value, less turnover, and less recent construction are consistent with a majority of parcels visually "appearing average" or "below average." While there are signs of investment from the ground-truthing data, they are more the absence of disinvestment than the presence of investment, and so therefore the data are consistent with the assessor data. The block does show ones sign of disinvestment: 25% of parcels had peeling or fading paint. Also, perception of safety is low, which is not revealed by the assessor data.

Land Use: The primary land use is residential. 84% of the land uses for parcels identified by ground-truthing matched assessor data, and where they did not match, it was usually because there was no data on the parcel in the assessor data. Of the parcels, 42% are multi-family rental buildings and the rest are evenly split between condominiums and single-family homes, plus the few stores and the church.

Number of Units: Most buildings host only one unit, but two buildings were larger, with 11 and 12 units respectively, based on ground-truthing data. Only 34% of the parcels had matching unit numbers in the assessor data.

**Block 1007**

**Secondary Data**

This block has had many recent sales, with a median year of sale of 2004, but not a particularly high median price per square foot ($216, relative to $314 in the Mission overall and $277 in San Francisco overall), indicating turnover, but not necessarily investment; this block may be on the cusp of gentrification. The block had the highest median sale price when square footage is not taken into account ($925,000)—perhaps the units that sold are mostly single-family homes, not condominiums? However, the parcel-level analysis here is based on only small subset of the actual parcels on this block, given error in the Dataquick set, so it is difficult to make definitive conclusions about it.

Related to these changes, and probably consistent with it, is the very large increase in renter units between 2000 and 2010: 3,700%, according to the Census. Between 2000 and 2010, the block's overall population increased by 81% and its white population increased by 111%—the highest of the four blocks, the Mission, and San Francisco. It also lost 28% of its Hispanic residents and experienced the largest decrease in average household size (46%), going from 3.26 to 1.77. This block experienced significant demographic change, while residential sales prices were not as expensive as on other blocks.

**Ground-Truthing**

This block was chosen due to a relatively high change in ownership over the last few years, according to parcel data, demographic change between 2000 and 2010, and its proximity to Parque Niños Unidos, discussed below.

The historic industrial character of this block was clear by the shape it has: running through the middle is an empty space where an old train line used to run through the neighborhood. In that space, there was trash and several trucks parked. On one corner, 23rd and Treat, sits a warehouse for a "lighting and grip" company; on another corner, 22nd and Harrison, is an abandoned industrial warehouse. In front of the former was a food truck and several young, Latino men sitting on the corner hanging out.
The rest of the block was mostly single-family houses on pleasant, tree-lined streets. Two new condo buildings and one apartment building that appeared to be a redeveloped warehouse are on the block, too.

Across Treat Avenue from this block is the Parque Niños Unidos, a park that PODER fought to get built several years ago. The park is nice and well-used. It is possible that some of the new development on this block is related to the park's construction.

On Block 1007, the new condominium buildings—with their large number of parcels—put the percent of parcels that appeared "new" at 89%. Signs of investment include:
  - There were no dirty nor broken windows.
  - No abandoned structures.
  - The vast majority of the parcels on the block are in new condominium buildings.

Signs of Safety:
- 28% of parcels have fencing for safety purposes
- 62% of parcels have security alarm signage
- 86% of parcels have security cameras

Public Investment: Block 1007 has municipal lighting, 3 signs discouraging disorder, and no signs of disorder.

**Comparison**

It is impossible to legitimately compare the assessor data to the ground-truthing data given the huge discrepancy in parcels.

However, Census data can be compared. It showed a huge increase in rental units, but that was not at all evident from the ground-truthing. In terms of safety, most parcels had security alarm signage and cameras because of the condominium buildings having these; however, this does not mean that residents are concerned about safety, it may just be a standard feature of a new condominium building.

Land Use: The block is primarily residential, although it has several buildings that house light industry, retail, or offices in addition to its many condominiums and multi-family rental housing, plus single-family homes, too. The block has 74 parcels that do not appear in the assessor data. These parcels are in three buildings that appear to be condominiums and appeared brand new. Interestingly, this block is adjacent to a relatively new park. Did the creation of the park hasten the block's transition to hosting brand new condominiums? Or was it the large warehouse buildings on the block that are relatively easy to convert to residential uses?

Number of Units: Most buildings have fewer than 10 units but three buildings—new condominium developments—have 10, 20, and 44, respectively, based on ground-truthing data.

**Block 1004**

**Secondary Data**

Of the four blocks, this one had the most turnover in parcels between 2010-2014, with 42% sold, more than twice the figure in the Mission District overall, and the most recent median year of last sale, 2007.5. These sales also had a median price per square foot, at $366, slightly higher than the Mission, at $314. However, there does not appear to be much new construction on the block, given the median year of construction is 1904.5. As with Block 3003, these changes have likely happened since 2010, because the population decreased by 11% between 2000 and 2010. However, over the same period, the block experienced a growth in the number of rental housing units of 683%. Between 2000 and 2010, this block experienced the largest decrease in the number of Hispanic residents, losing 30% of them.

## Ground-Truthing

This block was chosen due to a relatively high change in ownership over the last few years, as well as that it was a place where PODER organized against evictions in the early 2000s. This block featured a funky little café at the corner of 23rd and Van Ness and a brand new pet store. It also had several new structures. Otherwise, it was similar to the others.

On Block 1004, the appearance of buildings was a spectrum: 35% "new," 23% "above average," 28% "average," and 10% "below average." Signs of investment include:
   - Only 5 parcels had dirty windows
   - 23% of parcels had new or maintained paint

Signs of disinvestment:
   - 25% of parcels had peeling or fading paint
Signs of Safety:
   - 4 parcels had bars on their windows
   - 23% of parcels had metal security doors

Public Investment: Block 1004 has municipal lighting and on-street residential permit parking. There was graffiti on a public sign, but other than that, very few signs of disorder.

## Comparison

The picture painted by both sets of data for this block is that it is right in the middle of changing. Structures' appearance fell across the spectrum, and while many parcels have sold recently, the median price per square foot was not much higher than in the Mission overall, and new construction has been minimal. Each data set presents an ambiguous picture, so it is difficult to compare them.

Land Use: The block is primarily residential, with 45% of parcels holding multi-family rental buildings, and 38% in condominium buildings. 83% of land uses matched between ground-truthing and assessor data.

Number of Units: Most parcels have 3 or fewer units and there are two larger buildings with 10 and 12 units respectively, based on ground-truthing data.

## Conclusion

Broadly, the secondary data sets and ground-truthing data paint similar pictures of change on these four blocks. Where the assessor data is ambiguous or reveals a mix of forces, as with Block 1004, so does the ground-truthing data. On one block (3003), the data sets align in terms of the broad story, but the ground-truthing takes the narrative deeper and reveals continued concerns about safety and significant public investment.

Block 1007 provides a cautionary example. On this block, the assessor dataset was missing a large number of parcels, most of them in two new condominium buildings. Without ground-truthing the block, we would have missed the major impact these buildings have on the feel of the street, and their implications for gentrification in the area. The block is a good example of a place in transition: running through its center there is still a relic of the area's former industrial character, there is a warehouse and some older, poorly-maintained buildings, and yet at the same time, there are several nicer homes, two new condominium buildings, and a new, well-used park across the street.

n terms of comparing data sets, unmatched parcels was a concern for three of four blocks and the number of units recorded per parcel usually did not match. This could be related to the high incidence of condominiums, and the rapid change in the area. On the other hand, land uses consistently matched between ground-truthing and assessor data.

Finally, the quality and age of buildings was comparably assessed by both methods, while perception of safety and public investment cannot be ascertained from the secondary data sources but only from ground-truthing. The limited number of signs of ethnicity across all blocks made it difficult to ground-truth demographic data.

# WORKSHEET: Visual Demonstration of Neighborhood Change

Instructions: Physically walk predetermined neighborhood blocks and note evidence of deterioration or improvement using Section One. Parcel or building specific information should be collected in Section Two. Each block should named according to its main corridor (indicated on your map as the street with parcels on both sides). Bring a camera to take a photograph of each building.
*One whole worksheet should be completed for each block section

Block Name: _____ Observer: _____

Physical Observation date and time : ____/____/_____    Start ___:___ AM/PM    End ___:___ AM/PM

## SECTION ONE: Block Overview and initial impressions

1. The primary land use for the block face is:
   □ Residential
   □ Commercial
   □ Institutional (school, hospital, churches): 
   □ Industrial
   □ Other: _____
   _____
   _____
   _____
   _____
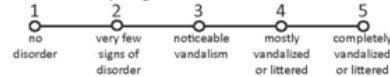
2. Public investment + existing public infrastructure:
   □ transit stops
   □ municipal street lighting
   □ on street residential permit parking
   □ street furniture (including parklets)
   □ bike racks
   □ public trash cans
   □ parking pay machines
   □ newly paved streets
   □ Other: _____
   _____
   _____
   _____
   _____
   _____
   _____

3. Describe any visible people, noting race or ethnicity, age, number, and activities they might be engaged in:_____
   _____
   _____
   _____
   _____
   _____
   _____

4. The # of signs discouraging disorder such as neighborhood watch, anti-littering/loitering/drug use/vandalism/graffiti: _____

5. Physical disorder such as garbage, litter, graffiti, or vandalism by degree of observations:

   | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
   |---|---|---|---|---|
   | no disorder | very few signs of disorder | noticeable vandalism | mostly vandalized or littered | completely vandalized or littered |

6. Please describe indicators of international or immigrant presence (note ethnicity, signs in a foreign language, or locally-owned foreign/ethnic business).
   _____
   _____
   _____
   _____
   _____
   _____

7. Additional notes on block overview: _____
   _____
   _____
   _____
   _____
   _____
   _____
   _____
   _____
   _____

## SECTION TWO: Block/Parcel Data
*located on the following pages

Using your pre-printed parcel map, carefully walk the block and record your observations for each building. Allow for ~1.5 hours of field time. Be sure to take a photograph of each building for comparison with past year data later. 📷

---

APN/Parcel # _____    Street Address _____

1. Does the **building** appear to be well-maintained?

   | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
   |---|---|---|---|---|
   | poor | below average | average | above average | new |

2. The # of units the structure appears to have: _____
   The # mailboxes _____
   The # doorbells _____

3. The # vehicles **off-street** vehicles present _____
   □ no off-street parking
   □ existing driveway or parking lot
   □ existing garage

4. Notes on visible people, building, and outdoor space; incl. *implied* information about household size and composition:
   _____
   _____
   _____

5. Building type and units:
   □ Multi-family - apartment building
   □ Multi-family - house
   □ Single family - attached
   □ Single family - detached
   □ Mixed use
   □ Public or subsidized project housing
   □ Unknown, or other

6. Other building/occupant characteristics:
   □ Abandoned
   □ For Sale sign
   □ For Rent sign
   □ Blinds or curtains - permanent
   □ Blinds or curtains - temporary
   □ Cracked windows
   □ Bars on windows
   □ Boarded windows
   □ Dirty windows
   □ Metal security door
   □ Vegetable garden
   □ New addition
   □ New or maintained paint
   □ New or updated front door
   □ Ongoing renovation/construction
   □ Fencing (check all that apply):
      New___  Old___  For safety___  For aesthetics___
   □ Security alarm signage
   □ CCTV/Security cameras
   □ Children/toys visible
   □ Peeling/fading paint
   □ Spraypaint/graffiti
   □ Litter or debris
   □ *Beware of Dog, Private, No Trespassing* signs
   □ Signs of ethnicity

**Figure D3: Ground-truthing data collection worksheet**