THE TREASURE ISLAND DEVELOPMENT PROJECT: A CASE STUDY IN NEOLIBERAL URBAN DEVELOPMENT

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by

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CERTIFICATION OF APPROVAL

I certify that I have read The Treasure Island Development Project: A Case Study In Neoliberal Urban Development by Ryan Richard Cooksey, and that in my opinion this work meets the criteria for approving a thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree Master of Arts in Geography: Concentration in Resource Management and Environmental Planning at San Francisco State University.

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The Treasure Island Development Project: A Case Study In Neoliberal Urban Development

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The inclusion of affordable housing in urban development has been in decline since the 1970s. This decline is a result of the implementation of neoliberal policies that have greatly reduced federal funding to cities for the provision of social services, such as affordable housing. Local governance, with budgets thrown into disarray by federal retrenchment, is forced to become entrepreneurial to make ends meet. Unsurprisingly, cities' affordable house stocks have come to be defined by a lack of both availability and livability. However, as local governance functions as a filter through which neoliberalism must pass, some cities have demonstrated the ability to prioritize and protect affordable housing. Using archival resources and interviews, this research examines how unique, local factors have allowed San Francisco's Treasure Island development project to incorporate an affordable housing plan that captures 27.2 percent of the project's 8,000 total housing units. The results indicate that San Francisco's long history of well coordinated affordable housing activism has created a local governance that informally requires large-scale urban development projects to include an affordable housing akin to the Treasure Island development project.

I certify that the Abstract is a correct representation of the content of this thesis

Chair, Thesis Committee Date

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Introduction and Background

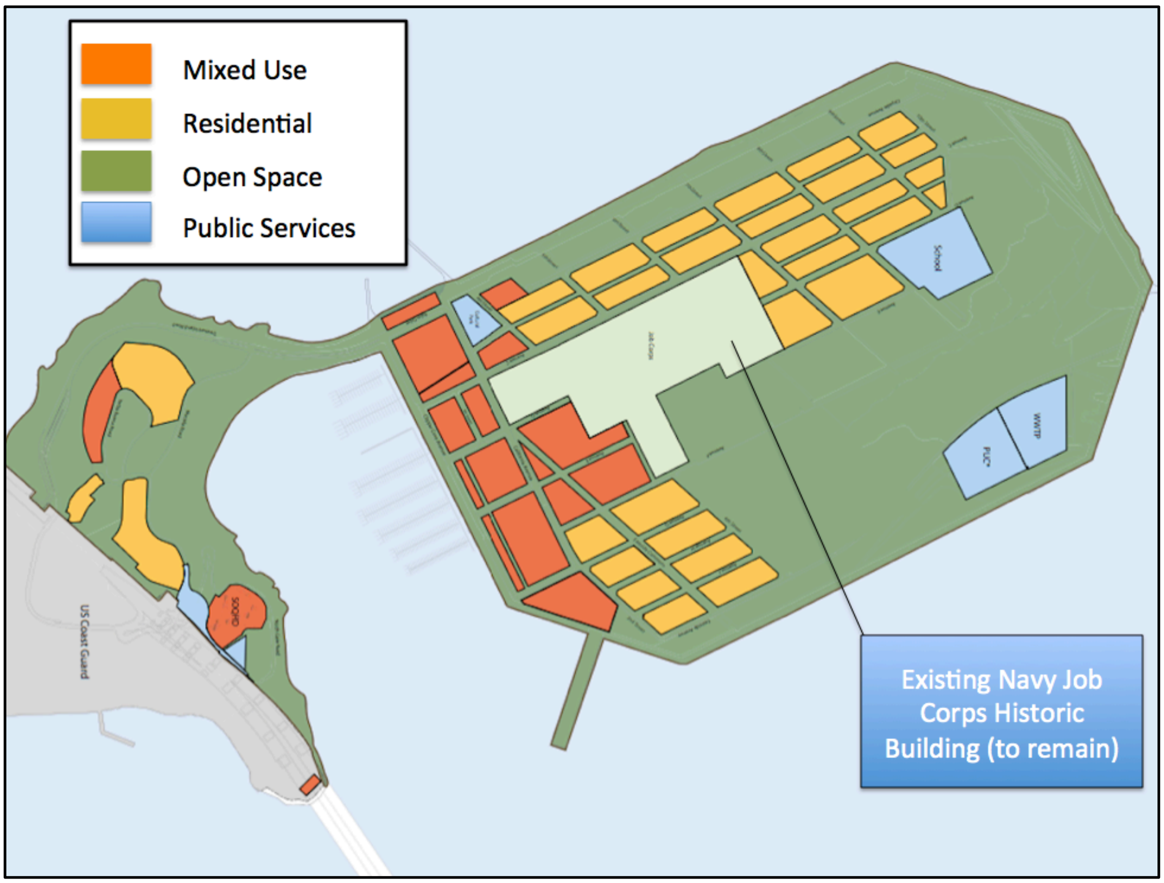
In the not too distant future, San Francisco will lay claim to a new skyline two miles from its shore. The Treasure Island development project (Project) will provide hundreds of thousands of square feet of office and commercial space in structures reaching as high as 50 stories (Rendering 1, page 2, and Map 1, page 3). But this development project, still in the nascent stages of site preparation, is not intended for commerce alone. It is designed to be a new community and a socioeconomically diverse one at that, no small feat in a city with one of the most expensive real estate markets in the country. According to approved plans, nearly 20,000 people will call this community in the making home and 27.2 percent of the housing units have been designated as affordable housing. Rising from infill poured into the bay over 75 years ago, the development project is a testament to the socio-political landscape of San Francisco that has made San Francisco an icon of progressive, inclusive governance. If the project is built as approved, it will be a place people can call home regardless of the weight of their wallets and one that is deserving of its name.

The story of the Project dates back to the early 1990s and the United States Navy's decommissioning of bases nationwide, including the Naval Station Treasure Island. In 1993, in response to this decommissioning, then San Francisco Mayor Frank Jordan and San Francisco's Board of Supervisors (BOS) moved to create a redevelopment survey area for Treasure Island (King, 1995). This study resulted in a report titled the Naval Station

Rendering 1 – Treasure Island Development Project, as seen from the east (TIDA and TICD, 2013)

Treasure Island Reuse Plan and provided guidelines for the future development of the island. Included in this report was a recommendation that market rate residential developers be required to build low-income and moderate-income housing as part of any deal they struck with San Francisco (Lattin, 1996). No specific affordable housing percentage was provided. Developable land was, and continues to be, a rare commodity in San Francisco and the 400 flat, man-made acres of Treasure Island were a tantalizing opportunity for economic growth. When Willie Brown took office in 1996, the development of Treasure Island emerged as a pet project. In 1997, Mayor Brown created a specialized redevelopment entity, the Treasure Island Development Authority (TIDA), to manage the redevelopment of the island (Epstein, 1997). Its Board of Directors, consisting of seven commissioners who serve at the pleasure of the mayor, carries out TIDA's responsibilities. By 2001, TIDA had deemed an investment group, Treasure

Island Community Development, LLC (TICD), qualified for the development of the island and had given TICD the green light to draw up a detailed proposal (Baker, July 2001).



Map 1 – Project land use map (CCSF PD, 2011)

This initial detailed proposal from TICD would include two to three thousand new residential units, approximately one-third of which would be affordable for low-income and middle-class residents (Baker, February 2001). As the majority of the financing for the Project would be provided by TICD and real estate development is the primary means by which TICD would make its profits, future iterations of plans from TICD would continue to up the ante of residential development. Importantly, as the number of residential units to be constructed jumped from 2,000 to 3,000 to 5,000 to 8,000, the percentage of affordable units remained fixed at 30 percent. However, the dissolution of redevelopment agencies by California Governor Jerry Brown in 2011 eliminated San Francisco's ability to use redevelopment money as a funding mechanism for the Project's affordable housing units and created a $130 million affordable housing financing shortfall. To best address the problem, San Francisco implemented an Infrastructure Financing District (IFD), which by its very nature cannot provide the tax dollars to cities made available by redevelopment funding (Kane, May 2011a). Accordingly, the final affordable housing plan for the Project was revised to incorporate 27.2 percent of the projects housing units.

That the evolution of the Project, from the initial redevelopment study in 1993 to the BOS' approval of a final development plan in 2011, has unwaveringly incorporated such a significant amount of affordable housing is an impressive accomplishment when taking into account the context of American urban development as a whole over the last four decades. When viewed through such a lens, the Project is an anomaly in an era of urban development defined by displacement of low-income households and production of space for use by the well-to-do (Hackworth, 2007; Harvey, 2005; Peck and Tickell, 2002). So what's so special about the Project? In order to answer this question, and to properly appreciate the significance of Treasure Island's affordable housing plan, it is helpful to step back and examine the nature of urban development since the early 1970s. And to put it more specifically, since the rise of neoliberalism.

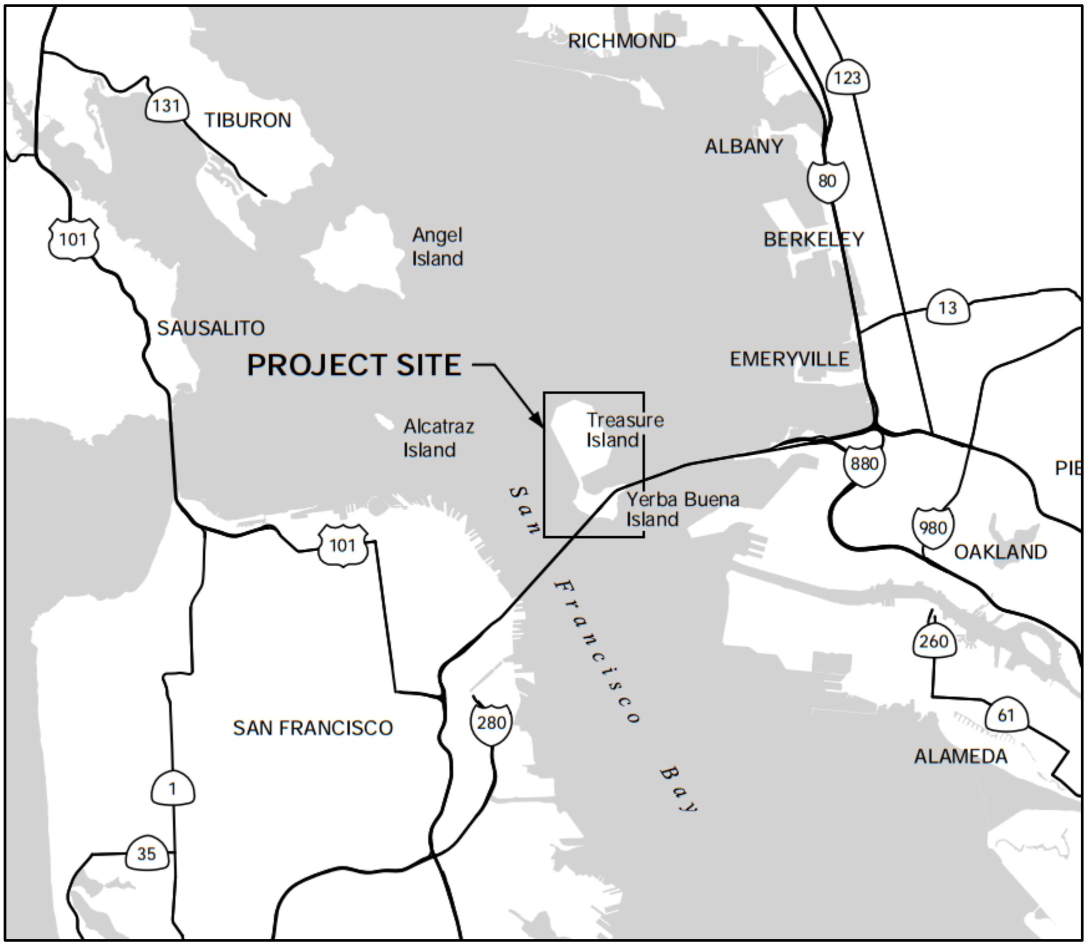
National Context: The Rise of Neoliberalism

Much research has been published focusing upon neoliberalism's large-scale, historical evolution. Relying chiefly upon historical analysis, discourse analysis and economic data, Harvey's seminal work, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (2005), points to the late 1940s as the time at which neoliberal theory began to take form, advocating economic markets free of government intervention. Yet it is not until the end of the 1970s (with its oil crisis induced recession) that the global socio-political environment was ripe for a new economic model and neoliberalism truly began to take the helm. Widespread economic deregulation soon followed, laying the foundation for the greater socio-economic inequality seen today worldwide (Harvey, 2005) and the affordable housing stock in the United States began to be dismantled (Hackworth, 2007).

During the 1990s neoliberal policies became further entrenched, resulting in the privatization of social services and cuts to federal funding for the provisions of such services, including affordable housing. With budgets in disarray due to federal retrenchment, local governance was burdened with nearly the full financial weight of providing social services to its community. This left local governance with little choice but to become entrepreneurial (i.e. – join forces with private capital) in order to make ends meet. As no surprise, under these conditions, the affordable house stock has come to be defined by a lack of both availability and livability (Harvey, 1989). Considering these current trends in American urban development, the Project's incorporation of thousands of units of affordable housing deserves explanation. Accordingly, it is necessary to discuss the history of the islands and put flesh on the bones of the process that culminated in the Project's approval by the BOS in 2011.

Local Context: A Brief History of the Treasure and Yerba Buena Islands and the Project

Treasure Island, located entirely within San Francisco, is an artificial island located in the San Francisco Bay (Bay) between San Francisco and Oakland (Map 2, page 7). A mere two miles offshore from San Francisco's downtown, Treasure Island is connected by a small isthmus to Yerba Buena Island, a naturally occurring island that connects to the Bay Bridge. Treasure Island is 535 acres in size, while Yerba Buena Island comes in at just over 150 acres. Treasure Island was created from fill dredged from the Bay and imported onto the northern shoals of Yerba Buena Island. It was constructed by the federal government between 1936 and 1937 to host the 1939 Golden Gate International Exposition, an event similar to a World's Fair and intended largely to celebrate San Francisco's new Golden Gate and San Francisco-Oakland Bay bridges and promote Pacific rim trade. The creation of the island was also a Works Progress Administration project, funded by President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal to combat the rampant unemployment of the Great Depression.



Map 2 – Project Site (CCSF PD, 2011)

Following the Golden Gate International Exposition, Treasure Island was the intended site of San Francisco's airport. However, when the Navy offered to exchange Mills Field on the San Francisco Peninsula near the city of Millbrae (the current location of airport) for the island in 1941, San Francisco accepted the swap. Treasure Island then became Naval Station Treasure Island and was developed as a major military base during

World War II. Naval Station Treasure Island was decommissioned in 1996 and closed on September 30, 1997 as part of the Federal Government's Base Realignment and Closure Program. The ownership of the island was transferred from the Navy to San Francisco in 2015. Existing development on Treasure Island currently consists of roughly 1,000 single-family residential units, vacant or underused non-residential structures, offices, warehouses, a wastewater treatment facility, and institutional and industrial infrastructure (CCSF PD, 2011) (Map 3, page 9). Yerba Buena Island includes a total of 97 housing units and 10 non-residential buildings such as bunkhouses and military outbuildings. Old military infrastructure, defunct barracks and tract homes of the World War II era define the built environment on both of the islands (Map 3, page 9).

Existing land uses at Treasure Island include approximately 110 acres of residential space, 90 acres of open space, 95 acres of parking and roads, and 70 acres dedicated to former institutional, retail, office, and industrial uses (CCSF PD, 2011). Current non-residential uses include offices, a small restaurant, a convenience store, several event venues, a guard shack, warehouse/storage/manufacturing facilities, a childcare center, a fire station and fire training academy, a wastewater treatment plant, a gymnasium, film production facilities, and a yacht club (CCSF PD, 2011). It also has parks and marine-related facilities, including an approximately 100-slip marina. In contrast to Treasure Island, Yerba Buena Island is a steeply sloped, highly vegetated natural island that comprises approximately 150 acres. The majority of Yerba Buena Island's 150 acres is undeveloped.

Map 3 – Existing Conditions at Treasure and Yerba Buena Islands (CCSF PD, 2011)

In response to the Navy's decommissioning of Naval Station Treasure Island in 1996, San Francisco created a redevelopment survey area for Treasure Island and Yerba Buena Island in a step to plan for the future of the islands (King, 1995). The redevelopment survey resulted in the 1996 Naval Station Treasure Island Reuse Plan. Approved by the BOS on July 22, 1996, the plan opened the door for the possibility of hotels, film studios, housing for the homeless, a job training center, a major theme park, and a fleet of fast-paced ferries on Treasure Island. As part of the plan, San Francisco Redevelopment Agency (SFRA) staff members began negotiating a proposed agreement with a consortium of 14 community groups (soon to be known as the Treasure Island Homeless Development Initiative) to provide low-income housing and job training on the islands. Under the plan, developers were required to build low-income and moderate-income housing as part of any deal they struck with San Francisco. As Larry Florin, San Francisco's Director of the Project at the time stated, "Our idea is to integrate homeless and low-income people into this new community" (Lattin, 1996). While the planning for the future development of Treasure Island was still in its nascent stages, the BOS approved a proposal allowing approximately 1,100 residential units on the island to be rented out (Nolte, 1997). Of these units, 375 were reserved for homeless and low-income people. Thus, the incorporation of affordable housing into the development of Treasure Island can be traced back to the early stages of San Francisco's plans for the area.

The Project really began to pick up steam in 1997. Mayor Willie Brown (Photograph 1, page 11) began to actively assert his vision for the development of the islands, the largest swath of undeveloped real estate in San Francisco. Mayor Brown had publicly commented that he envisioned a Treasure Island defined by upscale condominiums, hotels, retail space and even a theme park, much to the dismay of environmental and affordable housing advocacy groups (Epstein, 1997). The same year, in what the Mayor's Office declared to be an effort to streamline the development process, Mayor Brown navigated AB699 through the approval process, thereby creating TIDA.

Photograph 1 – Mayor Brown (McGreevy, 2014)

Mayor Brown appointed five commissioners to the TIDA Board of Directors in July of 1997 to oversee the operation and development of the islands. The original TIDA Board included Planning Director Gerald Green, Port Director Doug Wong, Director of the Redevelopment Authority James Morales, Pacific Exchange Vice-President Dale Carlson, and John Elberling of the Tenants and Owners Development Corporation (TODCO), a prominent affordable housing developer in San Francisco (Epstein, 1997). As Treasure Island fell under the jurisdiction of both the San Francisco Port Commission and the SFRA, there was certainly credence to the Mayor's claim that there was a need to address the inefficiencies of this bureaucratic overlap. AB699 stipulated that TIDA commissioners serve at the pleasure of the Mayor. This fact did not go unnoticed by the public, and Mayor Brown was criticized for what many perceived to be a power grab by the Mayor's Office (Epstein, 1997). In the following two years, TIDA membership would be expanded to seven commissioners.

TIDA's primary responsibilities during its formative years consisted of fielding bids from private developers to develop Treasure Island, as well as forming the Treasure Island Citizens Advisory Board (CAB) to incorporate input from current residents of Treasure and Yerba Buena Islands. The first major bidder emerged in 1998 and went by the name of Treasure Island Enterprises. Treasure Island Enterprises was the brainchild of Darius Anderson (a former national Democratic fund raiser who drummed up big campaign bucks for Mayor Brown) and Ron Burkle (a Los Angeles supermarket magnate with significant Democratic party ties). The group put forth a proposal aimed at expanding Treasure Island's Clipper Cove marina. Specifically, Treasure Island Enterprises would expand the number of marina slips, turn a hangar into a dry boat storage, and open retail shops. The group also proposed to remodel a restaurant, convert a library into a banquet space, and use an existing chapel to transform Treasure Island into a dining, wedding and special events destination (Finnie, 1998). There was little doubt, however, that Treasure Island Enterprises was formed with an eye toward creating a foothold in the future residential and commercial development of the Islands (1998). In February of 1999, TIDA voted 5-0 in favor of giving Treasure Island Enterprises exclusive rights to negotiate a lease with the Mayor's office to refurbish and expand a 108-slip marina at the former Navy base (Finnie, 1999).

Within the next two years, two venture capital groups had formed with the intent of demonstrating to TIDA that they were qualified to develop the islands. Treasure Island Enterprises had renamed itself TICD and had grown to include Kenwood Investors and Lennar Corporation, the development company currently working on San Francisco's Hunters Point redevelopment project. Also contending to develop the Treasure and Yerba Buena Islands was a joint venture group named Navillus Associates (consisting of companies including the Cushman & Wakefield real estate firm and Dinwiddie Construction, as well as local actor Peter Coyote). Proposals from both groups shared visions of a mix of housing, hotels, and entertainment on Treasure Island, a mix drawn directly from San Francisco's 1996 guidelines for redeveloping the island (Baker, February 2001). However, while Navillus's proposal focused on entertainment and retail, TICD's vision put more of an emphasis on residential development and proposed to construct an additional 2,000 dwelling units on Treasure Island, bringing the grand total to 3,000 (Baker, February 2001).

As all of Treasure Island is subject to the Tidelands Trust Act, which prohibits development for private use, TICD's proposal required that land developed for residential purposes on Treasure Island be compensated at a one to one ratio with undeveloped land on Yerba Buena Island (or other bay lands not subject to the Tidelands Trust Act). In July of 2001, after considering proposals from both groups, TIDA voted unanimously to deem TICD as the only qualified bidder to develop the Project. This was largely due to TICD's greater access to capital for the Project (one of TICD's four investment partners was valued at over $1 billion) and Navillus' proposed reliance on $175 million in bonds (Baker, July 2001). While Navillus had not been formally excluded from the islands' development (it could have put together another proposal for TIDA's consideration), the group had now functionally become an afterthought.

Having cleared its first hurdle, TICD quickly put together a more detailed proposal in July of 2002 for TIDA's review. TICD gave the proposal a slogan: "a model for 21st century living" (Gordon, 2002). The proposal distributed the residential development (now up to 2,800 new units) between six neighborhoods on Treasure Island. Approximately thirty percent of the dwellings would be affordable units. The proposal also included two major hotels of 300 rooms each, a downtown area defined by office, retail and entertainment space, extensive pedestrian and bicycle paths, an urban forest, numerous parks (more than half of the islands would be open space), and the aforementioned marina improvements. According to TICD's proposal, the developer would be responsible for the bulk of financing for the Project, although government-sanctioned revenue bonds and tax allocation bonds would be used to pay for public infrastructure improvements. TICD would also turn 85 acres of Yerba Buena Island into a Tidelands Trust designation to account for the private use development on Treasure Island (2002).

In 2006, TICD returned to the table with a new investment partner (Wilson Meany Sullivan, which led the much-praised restoration of the Ferry Building) and a revised proposal incorporating significantly more residential development. Under the revised proposal, in addition to the introduction of a 20-acre community farm and wetland restoration components, the Project would now include 5,500 housing units largely located is residential towers. One tower was estimated to be 40 stories in height, with several other towers in the 15 to 20 story range. Thirty percent of the units would remain affordably priced. The near doubling of residential units was described as financially necessary by TICD in order to address the increased costs of community services for the Project (such as an estimated $20 million ferry terminal on Treasure Island providing transit to and from San Francisco). Moreover, the new proposal responded to criticism from environmental activists that the previous iteration of the plan was too suburban and car-reliant. Activists also argued that a self-contained residential neighborhood could not work with the 2,800 housing units envisioned by developers (King, 2005).

In October of 2006, TIDA preliminarily approved TICD's proposal to transform Treasure Island and its smaller neighbor, Yerba Buena Island, into a self-sufficient community with 6,000 homes, 30 percent (or 1,800 units) of which would be affordably priced (Goodyear, 2006). Some of the affordable housing units would be constructed by TICD, and non-profit builders would create the rest with backing from San Francisco and other sources. Private builders would be required to sell or rent approximately 740 units at prices within reach of households earning at or below the median income in San Francisco. The $1.2-billion plan called for nearly $500 million of investment on the part of TICD and $700 million from San Francisco financed through the issuance of bonds backed by property taxes collected from the islands after development is completed via the SFRA. Included in TICD's $500 million would be an estimated $105 million paid to the Navy for the decommissioned base. TICD predicted collecting $370 million in profits by Project's completion in 2022 (Selna, 2006). In December of 2006, the proposal was preliminarily approved by the BOS with a 10-1 vote. This approval finally allowed TICD and TIDA to enter into a binding contract to develop the islands. In 2010, TIDA and the BOS approved an update to the development plan, increasing the total number of housing units to 8,000 while maintaining that 30 percent of these units would be affordable (CCSF MOEWD, 2010).

The extensive process of reaching a binding development agreement between TICD and TIDA had plugged along fairly smoothly until 2010, when a major roadblock in the form of a financial shortfall emerged. The Project was designed as a redevelopment area with TIDA functioning as a project-specific redevelopment agency. Accordingly, San Francisco's portion of the funding for the Project relied upon redevelopment agencies' highly effective ability to capture future increased property tax revenues. Governor Brown's moves in early 2010 to dissolve redevelopment agencies statewide shook the financing foundations of the Project (King, 2011). Rather than wait to see if redevelopment would end up being dissolved (which it was), TIDA moved to re-designate the Project as an IFD (Kane, May 2011a). IFD financing mechanisms are not nearly as effective as those of redevelopment at capturing tax revenues generated by development projects that would otherwise be distributed to the state.

Accounting for this transition to an IFD, San Francisco determined that the Project's budget was short by approximately $130 million (Kane, May 2011a). Reducing transit subsidies or cutting parks were explored as possible solutions, but San Francisco felt such cuts to community services would make the Project far less desirable to future residents; instead, in April of 2011, San Francisco and TICD developed a revised proposal that reduced affordable housing from 30 to 25 percent (May 2011a). The replacement of affordable housing units with market rate units had a twofold financial benefit: it reduced the costs (borne by the developer and San Francisco) of constructing affordable units and provided greater profits by increasing the number of market rate units. In June of 2011, the revised proposal went before the BOS. The BOS granted the proposal unanimous final approval thereby locking in the Project's housing plan at 8,000 total units, of which 27.2 percent (2,173 units) would be affordable. The Project approved by the BOS was the result of a 15-year process, dating back to the 1996 Naval Station Treasure Island Reuse Plan.

Throughout this time, plans for the Project never aimed merely to satisfy the SFRA's requirement that 20 percent of the Project's residential units be affordable (California redevelopment law required 15 percent). Instead, TIDA's and TICD's plans for the Project, from its nascent stages to the form in which it appeared before the BOS, remained steadfast in its adherence to an affordable housing rate of 30 percent, a figure that enjoyed widespread support. Only a change in political winds at the state level, over which San Francisco's governance had no control and which threw the Project's ability to finance affordable units into disarray, resulted in a reduction in affordable housing for the Project. This is remarkable, considering the widespread disappearance of affordable housing in the realm of urban development on a national scale and considering the unrealized profits for TICD.

As stated earlier, contemporary urban development is, indisputably, a business-driven enterprise. With the inclusion of 27.2 percent affordable housing, the approval of the Treasure Island development plan incorporates more affordable housing than is legally required and stands apart from the national trend of large-scale developments (with minimal affordable housing included) taking the place of affordable housing. This begs the question: What were the unique, mitigating factors responsible for the Project's affordable housing plan? The answer to this question, as will be discussed in the findings section of this thesis, has its roots San Francisco's well-established, well-coordinated, and politically organized affordable housing advocacy groups, a force that, from the Project's initial stages, created an expectation on the part of all parties involved that 30 percent of the residential units would be affordable.

Literature Review

Considering Urban Regime Theory

How local resources are mobilized to develop the urban landscape is the fundamental issue which urban regime theory seeks to address. Regime theory posits that formal and informal arrangements, aligned by a common goal, create coalitions of public and private power (Stone, 1993). Moreover, regime theory focuses on the role that individual actors play in carrying out an agenda (Mossberger and Stoker, 2001). Accordingly, urban governance and development are understood by the formation of such power regimes via the coalescing of various individuals and their respective resources. By focusing on the unique, local factors in city governance, regime theory has proven itself to be a powerful tool in understanding the local urban landscape.

The emergence of regime theory is largely associated with Clarence N. Stone. His book "Regime Politics: Governing Atlanta, 1946-1988" (1989), an analyses of Atlanta's development regimes, marked the beginning of regime theory's rise to prominence and his work has continued to propel regime theory research over the past twenty years. In this book, Stone states that public polices are shaped by three factors: the members of the governing coalition, the distribution of power within the coalition, and the resources the members can bring to the table (Stone, 1993). He also identifies four general types of regimes: maintenance (serving to reinforce the existing socio-economic environment), development (typified by private-capital driven pro-growth aims), middle-class progressive (characterized by environmental concerns and preservation of community aesthetics) and low class progressive (driven by social welfare concerns such as employment and education) (1993).

Stone further expanded upon his definition of urban regime theory with the publication of *Looking Back to Look Forward: Reflections on Urban Regime Analysis* (2005). In the article, Stone ascribes two veins of analysis to regime theory's examination of city governance. A historical analysis addresses how initiatives and policies are framed by a regime. In this way, urban regime theory is concerned with the socio-political narrative of governance. In addition, a predictive modeling analysis provides an explanation of what needs to be in place in order for a particular initiative or development project to take hold and succeed. For example, regime analysis would assess the resources (eg – monetary, cultural, political capital) a school reform coalition has at its disposal and thus predict whether or not such a governing regime is possible. Case studies have effectively portrayed disparate governing regimes found in American cities such as Boston and Detroit (DiGaetano, 1989), as well metropolitan areas such as Chicago (Hamilton, 2002).

However, concerns regarding regime theory have been documented. Critics have cited an over-emphasis on local factors as undermining regime theory's testability (Sites, 1997). Other criticisms focus on the scarcity of attention paid to larger scale, structural forces that constrain and influence local activities (Davies, 2002). Regime theory can provide insight regarding why and how San Francisco's governance allocated its resources to produce the Project's affordable housing plan. However, because regime theory does not address larger-scale, structural forces (such as the implementation of federal neoliberal policy), it struggles to establish its analysis within an extra-local context. Therefore, using regime theory to examine the Project would yield insights confined to San Francisco's sphere of influence. I wanted to examine the Project's affordable housing plan in the context of both San Francisco's local governance as well as urban development on a larger scale. Understanding the role of local factors is critical, but it is only part of the picture. An analysis and understanding of large-scale, structural forces is necessary in order to appreciate the larger historical context and significance of phenomenon such as the Project's affordable housing plan.

Neoliberal theory provides a framework that allows one to capture the impacts of both large-scale and local forces. From a large-scale, structural perspective, neoliberal theory identifies market deregulation, federal retrenchment, government cutbacks, public-private venture capitalism, uneven development, and the dismantling of social-welfare programs (particularly affordable housing) as the forces influencing urban development nationwide since the late 1970s (Brenner and Theodore, 2002; Harvey, 1989 and 2005; Peck and Tickell, 2002; Purcell, 2003; Rubin, 2010). Moreover, neoliberal theory identifies city governance as a filter through which the aforementioned large-scale trends must pass (Brenner ad Theodore, 2002). Each city manifests these large-scale influences in accordance with its political, economic, social, and cultural complexion (Rubin, 2010). In this way, neoliberal theory examines the interface between large-scale and local power configurations on the urban landscape. Accordingly, while regime theory has its merits, neoliberal theory is best suited for my research and is examined in detail for the remainder of this literature review.

Introduction to Neoliberalism

The fundamental shift in economic policy over the past 40 years has been the topic of extensive study in the field of urban geography. This period of expanded free markets has been identified as the rise of neoliberalism. Academic research has come to a general consensus with respect to the ideology and general ramifications of neoliberal theory. In brief, such a consensus depicts neoliberalism as a global economic policy shift toward free market fundamentalism, rampant privatization and diminished government (particularly social welfare programs). Utilizing qualitative historical analysis, quantitative examinations of capital flows and empirical case studies, researchers have come to the conclusion that these hallmarks of neoliberalism have generated intensely uneven economic development (Hackworth, 2007; Harvey, 2005; Peck and Tickell, 2002). Yet, neoliberalism in action remains difficult to precisely define and is thus difficult to pin down as a geographic phenomenon (Peck, 2004).

Where the neoliberal theoretical framework requires further clarification is at the intersection of local and extra-local. How neoliberal polices at the national level are manifested at the city scale is yet to be fully understood and the topic "deserves to be elaborated more systematically" (Brenner and Theodore 2002, 351). Under the sway of neoliberal governance, socio-economic disparity within urban areas has been exacerbated (Hackworth, 2007; Zimmerman, 2008). This phenomenon is largely attributed to federal and state retrenchment forcing cities to compete for private capital investment, which in turn has led cities to engage in development projects unconcerned with social welfare (Harvey, 1989). Essentially, neoliberalism has created what David Harvey refers to as entrepreneurial cities (1989). Yet, research indicates that all entrepreneurial cities are unique, depending upon the political organization, culture and resources available to a particular city (Brenner and Theodore, 2002; Wilson, 2004; Rubin, 2010). Therefore, the current body of research is in need of further empirical case studies to support a more coherent understanding of localized, urban neoliberalism.

The Rise of Neoliberalism

Before addressing current research being conducted on localized, urban neoliberalism, it is useful to first address the research that has focused on neoliberalism's large-scale, historical evolution. Relying chiefly upon historical analysis, discourse analysis and economic data, Harvey's seminal work, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (2005), points to the late 1940s as the time when neoliberal theory began to take form. In

1947, the Mont Perelin Society was formed around the central figure of Friedrich von Hayek. Harvey characterizes the Society (composed of philosophers, historians and economists) by the belief that the Keynesian/socialist approach to government and economics of the time were a threat to individual liberties. This perspective was deeply rooted in the values of classical liberalism of the 18th and 19th centuries. Classical liberalism can be defined by three tenets: (1) the success of a society is measured by how freely its members can pursue their own needs, (2) free markets are the optimal means by which to encourage such pursuits, (3) it is necessary to establish a non-interventionist state (Hackworth 2007). The Mont Perelin Society's emphasis on individual rights and neoclassical economics (i.e. – markets free of government intervention) produced the term neoliberalism. Harvey points to the Mont Perelin Society as the launching pad for neoliberal think tanks and the neoliberal school of thought at the University of Chicago, both of which would prove hugely influential in the coming decades. Such developments are described as a beginning of the "battle for ideas" (2005, 21), as neoliberal theory began to accrue power.

Yet it was not until the end of the 1970s that neoliberalism became the "new economic orthodoxy regulating public policy at the state level in the advanced capitalist world" (2005, 22). Analysis of economic history points to the 1970s (with its oil crisis induced recession) as the bleakest decade of economic development since the 1930s, thus making the socio-political environment ripe for change (Hackworth, 2007). Margaret Thatcher's election in Britain (herself a disciple of Hayek), Paul Volker's appointment as

Chairman of the U.S. Federal Reserve Bank and the election of Ronald Reagan are used to identify the 1980s as the tipping point at which neoliberal policies began to take hegemonic hold (Harvey, 2005). Widespread "deregulation, tax cuts, budget cuts, and attacks on trade unions" (2005, 25) typified the shifts in policy and laid the foundation for the greater socio-economic inequality seen today worldwide. Affordable housing, income supplements and medical subsidies were rolled back as well (Hackworth, 2007).

The 1990s marked a turning point as well, as the further entrenchment of neoliberal policies began to take a societal toll. The decade is characterized by a transition from rollback to rollout neoliberalism (Peck and Tickell, 2002). Whereas the rollback neoliberalism of the 1980s was characterized by the dismantling of Keynesian welfare policies of economic redistribution, rollout neoliberalism of the 1990s was concerned with cementing neoliberal policies and practices (2002). In the United States, the cumulative effects of neoliberalism resulted in the expansion of the market place, in particular the privatization of social services and cuts to federal financial support to localities. Coupled with the ongoing financial fallout of deindustrialization, this left municipal budgets crippled and urban areas subject to a "new regime of highly competitive inter-local relations" (2002, 386) based on attracting private capital investment. The widespread emergence of development projects co-funded by private and entrepreneurial public capital followed (Harvey, 1989).

It is at this juncture that geographic research, by tracing the large-scale, historical evolution of neoliberalism, has reached a sort of bifurcation. Structural, extra-local neoliberalism is well documented in the literature (Harvey, 2005; Purcell, 2003), but a coherent understanding of the localized response of cities to these factors can be improved. Thus, the local repercussions of inter-local competition on the urban landscape represent a rich, new vein of geographic research (Wilson, 2004). As this literature review is concerned with urban development, we will now examine how neoliberal research has conceptualized the neoliberalization of urban areas and its impacts, as well as the use of empirical case studies in examining the phenomenon.

Neoliberalism on the Urban Landscape

Researchers have put forth numerous works in an effort to conceptualize neoliberalism in the urban environment, on a city scale. In chronological order, this literature review will address three of the most prominent such offerings: “From Managerialism to Entrepreneurialism: The Transformation in Urban Governance in Late Capitalism” (Harvey, 1989), “Cities and the Geographies of Actually Existing Neoliberalism” (Brenner and Theodore, 2002) and “Toward a Contingent Neoliberalism” (Wilson, 2004). Each of these works reflects a further refinement of both how to define localized urban neoliberalism and ascertain its impacts.

With “From Managerialism to Entrepreneurialism: The Transformation in Urban Governance in Late Capitalism” (1989), Harvey posits that the managerial approach to city governance (i.e. - Keynesian government policies of social welfare and economic intervention) has given way to entrepreneurial governance in which cities are "embedded in a framework of zero-sum inter-urban competition for resources, jobs, and capital" (1989, 5). At the crux of this entrepreneurial governance is public-private partnership in the construction of place. Place, in this context, refers to the creation of a city identity that will attract private capital to invest in projects that "have the strongest localized capacity to enhance property values, the tax base, the local circulation of revenues, and (most often as a hoped-for consequence of the preceding list) employment growth" (1989, 13). Such an identity is typically created by development projects like retail centers, office centers and upscale housing construction. Accordingly, social-welfare-minded policies (such as affordable housing requirements and education) fall by the wayside in the city's efforts to attract capital and expand its tax base in an era of federal/state retrenchment. This creates uneven economic development and what is referred to as the dual city: the shiny, new high rises and the displaced blue collar workers.

Harvey's methodological approach to the entrepreneurial city calls for a qualitative examination (historical and discourse analysis, as well as tracing capital flows) on "a variety of spatial scales – local neighbourhood (sic) and community, central city and suburb, metropolitan region, region, nation state" (1989, 6). Astutely, Harvey recognizes that the localized entrepreneurial city must be understood within the large-scale framework of global neoliberalism. Further, Harvey calls for an understanding of the city in terms of governance rather than government (i.e. – that cities are run by coalitions of public and private power, not just elected officials). This concept of governance is used by Harvey to deconstruct urban development in an effort to "specify who is being entrepreneurial and about what" (1989, 6). While the article does not include a case study (the redevelopment of Baltimore's waterfront is referred to, but not in depth), it is prescient in its multi-scalar and governance approach to dissecting urban neoliberalism.

Academic research has since expanded on the groundwork provided by Harvey's concept of the entrepreneurial city. Brenner and Theodore's article "Cities and the Geographies of Actually Existing Neoliberalism" (2002) places unique local conditions at the center of its analysis, while still acknowledging the importance of large-scale context. From such a perspective, urban neoliberalism is like a family tree. National and global neoliberal policies have fathered a common state of urban affairs: underfunded government, rollback of social programs, market expansion and privatization of public services, public-private venture capitalism, uneven development, etc. Yet each city's manifestation of neoliberalism is deemed to be path dependent (i.e. – a distinct branch); they are the end product of a wide variety of localized, unique factors responding to a common set of large-scale conditions. In sum, each city creates its own version of neoliberal governance based on its particular "institutional frameworks, policy regimes, regulatory practices, and political struggles" (2002, 351).

Within "Cities and the Geographies of Actually Existing Neoliberalism" (2002), Brenner and Theodore designate four areas of methodological exploration for researching urban neoliberalism: the pre-neoliberal regulatory and political landscape, how the city responded to the economic crisis of the 1970s (particularly development patterns and socio-political responses), the local socio-political response to the introduction of neoliberal policies, and the localized evolution of neoliberal policies. Brenner and Theodore posit that these four facets of the localized response to extra-local neoliberalism determine the nature of "creative destruction" occurring in the city. Creative destruction, for Brenner and Theodore, refers to the current inter-city competition for private capital investment that has forced cities to adopt business-friendly regulations and policies (e.g. – tax abatements, zoning exclusions and minimal requirements for investment in social programs). This in turn has resulted in "geographically uneven, socially regressive" (2002, 351) development, akin to the aforementioned dual city, where older neighborhoods are demolished to make way for highly profitable projects (e.g. – condo towers or office space). In tune with Harvey, Brenner and Theodore determine neoliberal-induced, inter-city competition to be a mutually destructive endeavor extolling financial gains over civic and social well-being. "Cities and the Geographies of Actually Existing Neoliberalism" is a theoretical exercise, thus original research is not its focus. Rather, the article is a conglomeration of past research and theory synthesized into a clarified call for future research to focus on the existing socio-political landscape of a city in order to understand how neoliberalism is affecting its development. Brenner and Theodore, keeping Harvey closely in mind, effectively identify the need to address the heterogeneous nature of urban neoliberalism.

The role of local culture in molding neoliberalism's impacts on an urban environment is also put forth in existing research. "Toward a Contingent Neoliberalism"

(Wilson, 2004) posits the manifestation of neoliberalism in cities as being complex cultural projects. In other words, urban neoliberalism is not simply a top-down, politically and economically imposed agenda. Rather, it is a nuanced, localized idealization of individualism and entrepreneurialism. A neoliberal government must root itself in the local narrative in order to be legitimized, thus neoliberalism is ingested and altered and uniquely reproduced to fit the local cultural context. The disparate forms of neoliberalism exhibited by Indianapolis and Chicago are assessed in support of the notion of contingent neoliberalism. Examining government policies and initiatives, newspaper reporting and academic articles, Wilson's research exposes two distinct styles of neoliberal governance. Chicago, channeling its heritage of international capital, "imposes and deepens neoliberal governance in a context of imploring citizens to strengthen a high-tech and global city" (2004, 774). In contrast, Indianapolis' narrative is one of creating an urban jewel and is "most strongly linked to real-estate capital" (2004, 774) accessed by regional developers. In Chicago, the global businessman is idealized, while in Indianapolis the local real estate developer finds herself atop the pedestal. Accordingly, both cities have molded their physical, political and cultural infrastructure in response to neoliberal, inter-city competition for capital. However, the neoliberalization process in these two cities has produced "different economic engine(s) with different expectations" (2004, 774) in accordance with the local narrative.

This emphasis on the local culture should not be seen as a competing research approach to those espoused by Harvey and Brenner and Peck. The importance of culture in the creation of urban neoliberalism follows suit with the previous literature's focus on the intersection of local and the extra-local. Wilson's work takes a cultural facet of this conjecture and bores into it with substantial results. The conceptualization of urban development, under the sway of neoliberalism, as being actively constructed by people located across the socio-economic spectrum is an extremely valuable insight. It provides an understanding of urban neoliberalism as an always-evolving process rather than an agenda moving toward an end state.

Two Tales of Neoliberal Urban Development, Milwaukee's Downtown and San Francisco's Waterfront

Current research on neoliberal urban development has largely taken the form of empirical case studies. Such an academic pursuit utilizes the theoretical frameworks addressed in the previous section of this literature review. By recognizing that neoliberal urban development occurs at the intersection of global and local influences, case studies effectively examine the unique versions of neoliberalism particular to a given city. In this way, empirical case studies of neoliberal cities aim to provide the theory of neoliberalism with a supporting body of research; a body of research that better explains the city's manifestation of extra-local neoliberalism. Two such case studies have been conducted, one on Milwaukee and the other on San Francisco. As could be expected, the impacts of neoliberal governance upon urban development in these two urban areas differed greatly.

In the article "From brew town to cool town: Neoliberalism and the creative development strategy in Milwaukee" (Zimmerman, 2008), the city's attempt to revitalize its deteriorating economy takes the form of a development strategy based on attracting the creative class. Since deindustrialization, Milwaukee has been in a state of economic decline and proven ineffective in competing for resources and private capital investment in the current era of entrepreneurial cities (2008). Looking to turn the tide, Milwaukee's governance implemented a city re-branding campaign based upon attracting the creative class: "highly-skilled, entrepreneurial and college-educated professionals" (2008, 30). Such an urban redevelopment strategy is the brainchild of a Mr. Richard Florida, who believes that the creative class propels "the shape, direction, and the geography of new economic development" (2008, 231). Accordingly, the creative class campaign marked a fundamental shift in the city's approach to neoliberal, inter-local competition. By constructing a "downtown music district, new mixed-use and pedestrian-friendly neighborhoods, substantial increases in downtown housing, along with more effective marketing initiatives to highlight the region's coolness factors" (2008, 231), Milwaukee looked to keep its local creative class from being wooed by other cities. For Zimmerman, this is a significant shift in the entrepreneurial city paradigm. Rather than focusing on attracting extra-local capital (which previous geographic research had identified as a fundamental trait of neoliberal, inter-city competition), Milwaukee decided to focus on keeping hold of a slice of its local people. Milwaukee gambled that rather than people following jobs, jobs would follow people.

While Milwaukee's version of entrepreneurial governance is unique, the ramifications of the city's effort to compete for resources are anything but. Using historical analysis, discourse analysis, examining government policies/initiatives, tracking capital flow and examining socio-economic data, Zimmerman uncovers the hallmark of urban neoliberalism: highly uneven development. Milwaukee's development project aimed at attracting the creative class proved successful in that the city did gain more young professionals. However, Zimmerman found "no essential relationship between a city's creative class concentration and economic growth" (2008, 239). Zimmerman points out that while Milwaukee refashioned its image between 1999-2003 almost 50,000 jobs disappeared and net job losses accelerated sharply (2008). Consequently, the city has experienced an intensely uneven social and spatial pattern of economic decline: 60 percent of African-American males were unemployed and Milwaukee ranked as America's seventh poorest large city in 2008 (2008). Furthermore, the redevelopment of central downtown, where the majority of the creative class campaign efforts had gone, is shown to have displaced and impoverished the city's immigrant and working low-income population (i.e. – gentrification). At the same time, financially redistributive policies, social programs and education have been left out of the equation; Milwaukee spent 71 percent of its economic development portfolio on real estate and redevelopment while apportioning 1 percent to workforce development and training (2008). A dual city is an ugly thing.

The fact that urban neoliberalism can take on a plethora of forms means that there are success stories to counteract the societal pitfalls of government-sanctioned gentrification. In “San Francisco’s Waterfront in the Age of Neoliberal Urbanism” (2010), Jasper Rubin explores San Francisco’s successful effort to maintain a social conscience in the development of its port. It is important to point out that San Francisco has its own portfolio of public-private capital ventures past and present. The proliferation of business improvement districts, tax exemptions, land use controls and gentrification have brought about uneven spatial and socio-economic development in San Francisco just as in other American cities. Nevertheless, San Francisco’s response to extra-local neoliberalism as a whole has been more civic-minded than most, instituting a health care program for residents and significant affordable housing requirements (Rubin, 2010, 148). Similarly, the development of San Francisco’s northern waterfront is proof that local conditions can have a substantial impact on a city’s neoliberal governing regime.

Rubin’s article reveals San Francisco’s ports as a rare example of use-value development in a sea of exchange-value-driven urban neoliberalism. Such an accomplishment is attributed to the cultural legacy of San Francisco and how that legacy has woven itself into a distinct form of governance. Rubin identifies three factors as being of particular importance to the development of San Francisco’s northern ports. First, as the birthplace of the environmentalist movement, San Francisco’s intelligentsia began emphasizing use-value in urban development over 40 years ago. With strong ties to the University of California – Berkeley, San Francisco’s planning department has a tradition of being sensitive to “social needs, not just economic imperatives” (Rubin, 2010, 153). Secondly, the creation of the Bay Conservation and Development Commission in 1965 served to protect the shores of the Bay. The BCDC’s jurisdiction includes most of the ports and allows the commission to limit any sort of development that would occur over the water. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, Rubin cites the transfer of ownership of the port from the state to San Francisco in 1969 as move that made port development subject to local policy, zoning and procedural requirements. Significantly, this transfer of ownership was not a “neoliberal devolution but rather the result of a locally generated campaign” that required ballot approval (2010, 152); San Franciscans voted in favor of the transfer so they could manage the ports as they saw fit. In 1997, the Waterfront Land Use Plan was approved, deeming the waterfront “a place for open space, access to the water, recreation, and pedestrian and mass transit improvements” (2010, 158). The confluence of these factors produced a socio-political environment averse to the type of exchange-use development associated with private-public neoliberal urban development (e.g. – office space skyscrapers, mega-hotels/retail, luxury condos, etc.) (2010). As a result, San Francisco’s port is now home to a variety of civic spaces (plazas, promenades and green spaces) easily accessed by public transportation, to be enjoyed by all of the city’s inhabitants.

Thus, while Milwaukee swept its underprivileged under the rug in the hunt for private capital, San Francisco has (at least for some of its waterfront) intensified its regulations to ensure socially conscious development at the cost of discouraging investment of private capital in the built environment. San Francisco's waterfront represents the success of a "legitimate and intensely-deliberate socio-political project" that starkly contrasts "the deregulation and free market policy agendas that are typically hallmarks of neoliberalism" (2010, 161). That governance in San Francisco is strengthening its hold on issues of public interest is a testament to the impact of local culture on neoliberalism. Accordingly, the differences between Milwaukee and San Francisco provide powerful evidence that neoliberalism takes on many forms as it shapes the urban landscape.

A Brief History of Redevelopment

In the case of both Milwaukee's and San Francisco's urban transformations, the primary manner by which local governance expressed itself was through the redevelopment of its urban core. Thus, it is worth discussing, albeit briefly, the history of American urban redevelopment. The first signs of redevelopment in the United States can be traced back to the early 20th century and the emergence of the word "blight" in the political lexicon. In the wake of the Industrial Revolution, the urban core of many cities had become defined by abhorrent living conditions. Living in filth and squalor amongst factories, with little or no access to public services, was commonplace. Increasingly, these conditions were seen as a threat to America's civic integrity. By the 1930s, proponents of urban reform had seized upon the term "blight" as a catch-all descriptor for the dismal conditions of inner cities. In 1937, the National Municipal League introduced blight in its charter as a "stagnation of development and damage and loss to community prosperity and taxable values" (Gordon, 2003). For these reformers, blight was a veritable urban disease, which produced slums and could be cured by redevelopment (2003). It is important to note that in its definition, the National Municipal League made sure to include the economic windfall of blight; addressing blight was, from its infancy, about economic stimulation as much as providing housing to those living in urban squalor.

Federal and state intervention in addressing blight via redevelopment culminated in the 1949 Federal Housing Act (essentially a national urban renewal program). Prior to the Federal Housing Act, urban redevelopment had been effectively thwarted by local municipalities' inability to cover the costs of acquiring blighted land (Mandelker, 2008). With federal dollars now at play, however, the floodgates of redevelopment were opened at the midpoint of the 20th century. Cities created redevelopment agencies (typically run by unelected officials) that applied for federal funding and worked with municipalities and private developers to clear blight. Ironically, with the money now in place for addressing urban blight, the question of just what constituted urban blight was still very much in play.

Under the terms of the 1949 Federal Housing Act, the federal government deferred the responsibility of defining blight to individual states (Gordon, 2003). Furthermore, the federal government did not call for a concrete demonstration of blight on the part of states (Mandelker, 2008). With such minimal requirements from the federal government and federal money waiting to be claimed, it is no surprise that states issued expansive, vague definitions of blight. General descriptions about what could be considered blight were put forth, citing things like health hazards, criminal activity, economic underperformance and a general state of disarray (Gordon, 2003). Furthermore, the presence of any single trait of a state's given definition of blight was grounds to declare an entire area as blighted. In other words, one bad corner was enough to condemn an entire block. In effect, "the definition of blight was so malleable that the word became meaningless" and redevelopment became a veritable cash cow (Mandelker, 2008).

All this money operating within such a flexible framework quickly began to remake cities through the widespread application of eminent domain. Legally, the presence of blight (precise definition unknown) was grounds for invoking eminent domain (a forced transfer of ownership to the government of blighted property and eviction of anyone on said property). The general process was that redevelopment agencies would obtain blighted land, invoke eminent domain and sell the land to private developers who were supposed to reinvigorate the area (Gordon, 2003). The justification given for eminent domain was that the greater public good of clearing blight outweighed the needs and desires of individuals who owned or were evicted from blighted areas.

However, since blight was not specifically defined as a lack of decent housing or access to public services, and private developers and cities stood more to gain financially from commercial development, the business elite, rather than the greater public, ended up reaping the benefits of redevelopment (Hartman, 2002). Business leaders, backed by local governance and redevelopment money, went about clearing downtown slums and replacing them with upscale residential and commercial space. The Federal Housing Act had no affordable housing requirements and by 1965 had been amended to allow 35 percent of its funds to go toward commercial development (the Act was exclusively for housing construction in 1949) (Gordon, 2003). During San Francisco's heyday of redevelopment (from the 1960s to the early 1980s), the SFRA employed 450 people, secured $128 million in federal funding, doubled downtown office space to 60 million square feet, and added another 30 million square feet in retail, hotel, cultural, industrial, parking and residential space (Hartman, 2002; Godfrey, 1997). In no uncertain terms, the SFRA emerged as a "powerful and aggressive army out to capture as much downtown land as it could," most of it in low-income, ethnic neighborhoods like South of Market, Chinatown and the Tenderloin (Hartman 2002, 16). In the end, rather than provide housing and public services for those who had originally inspired the urban reformists, redevelopment would be largely defined by gentrification of the urban core (Mandelker, 2008).

Gentrification: The Cutting Edge of Neoliberalism

As the manufacturing industry in the United States has declined, cities have turned to real estate development as a means of increasing tax revenues and addressing fiscal shortages (Hackworth, 2007). This construction of space determines the types of people for whom a place is designed to serve and support. The redevelopment of downtown

Milwaukee was designed as an "arena for market-oriented economic growth and elite consumption" (Zimmerman, 2008, 231). Accordingly, the blue collar and low-income populations of the city's downtown were displaced, bringing about an urban dilemma all too common in today's neoliberal style governance: gentrification.

In his book, *The Neoliberal City: Governance, Ideology, and Development in American Urbanism* (2007), Jason Hackworth identifies gentrification as the "material and knife-edge of neoliberal urbanism" (98). More precisely, gentrification is an indicator of how the global ideological shift toward neoliberalism is embodied in the urban environment (Smith, 2002). On the whole, Hackworth frames gentrification as the "replacement of physical expressions of Keynesian egalitarianism" such as affordable housing and public space (2007, 98). Hackworth describes numerous traits of contemporary gentrification, each of which stands in contrast to gentrification of decades past: 1) corporate developers are more often the catalyst, 2) government support of the process has become more open and assertive, 3) opposition groups to gentrification are further marginalized as the state has distanced itself from social reproduction (also see Hackworth and Smith, 2001).

Undoubtedly, one of the icons of Keynesian egalitarianism that has been hardest hit by gentrification is public housing. Hackworth's book provides an illuminating portrayal of the plight of public housing since the rise of neoliberalism. With the rollback/rollout of neoliberal policies in the 1970s, the federal government stepped away from managing public housing. Consequently, the public housing stock lost its central form of funding and organization. This left the fate of the public housing stock largely in the hands of local agencies. With their budgets in disarray due to the double whammy of a stalling economy and federal retrenchment, local powers still faced the responsibility of providing social welfare. This left local municipalities little choice but to become entrepreneurial (i.e. – join forces with private capital) in order to make ends meet. Under these conditions, the public housing stock came under attack.

This was in no small part due to the insidious HOPE VI federal program that funded the razing of old public housing units but did not require they be fully replaced. With a source of money to remove the unprofitable public housing structures, cities looked to redevelop these "blighted" public housing units that often were located on valuable real estate near the urban core. The remaining hurdle for localities was to attract private capital, typically by measures such as tax abatements, zoning changes and tax increment financing. As the townhomes, condominiums, hotels and office space rose from the ashes of public housing, those who had called public housing home found themselves alienated and outside the redevelopment process. For these unfortunate individuals, the free markets of neoliberalism had unmistakably spoken.

Thus, neoliberal redevelopment of cities is fundamentally about defining space (Peck and Tickell, 2002). As massive redevelopment projects (typified by the profitability of office space, commercial space and upscale housing) replace affordable housing and public/civic space, the question arises: For whom are the cities? This issue of cities designed more for consumption than livability (i.e. – cities founded upon exchange value over use value) is addressed in what Lefebvre (1996) terms a question of the "right to the city." For Lefebvre, the blue collar segment of the population has been excluded from the urban core, both in the sense of participating in cities' political processes and creation of space and, consequently, in the ability to recreate and enjoy the urban landscape in a non-consumptive manner (see also Swyngedouw, 2000). If one cannot find a white-collar job, afford a condominium downtown or shop at a mega-mall, the urban core produced by neoliberal ideology does not offer much.

Contesting Neoliberal Urban Development

Lefebvre's concept of the "right to the city" has emerged as a popular framework for addressing the ills of neoliberal urbanism (Purcell, 2002). As with the aforementioned development of San Francisco's waterfront (Rubin, 2010), there is reason to believe that the right to some cities extends further across the socioeconomic spectrum than in others. Hackworth's (2007) research on public housing reinforces such a claim. His research provides evidence that, while neoliberal governance has been an indisputably destructive force in regards to affordable housing, there is nevertheless a great deal of variation between cities' treatments of their public housing stocks. As localities have been given more freedom to manage their affordable housing units, it follows that some cities have taken a more egalitarian approach than others, dependent upon their respective socio-political environment.

While no clear antidote to the ills of urban neoliberalism exists, a number of means by which to contest it have been put forth in the literature. The use of public protests and demonstrations emphasizing local accountability can be a powerful tool with which to influence the political process (Mayer, 2007). Ideally, coalitions between various interest groups (e.g. – affordable housing, labor and open space advocates) could be formed in order to provide a more economically and politically powerful unified front. Overcoming divisions between working class interests can be seen as the great challenge in resisting neoliberalism (Piven and Cloward, 2000). This formation of "mass movement campaigns, emanating from well-organized democratic communities and networks" has been identified as the most critical component of contesting profit-driven urban development (Bond and McInnes, 2007).

While the ability of such localized protests to produce real change in terms of neoliberal policies and governance on a national and global level is uncertain (Sites, 2007; Peck and Tickell, 2002), the linking together of local resistance efforts could provide a platform by which to contest neoliberalism on large scales (Leitner, Peck and Sheppard, 2007). If such a network of local resistances can be formed, and this network can engage with neoliberal governance (as strict opposition typically yields mediocre results) and disseminate ideas and information about alternatives to the neoliberal model, then there is reason to be optimistic that meaningful change can occur (2007). Whatever the future holds for neoliberalism, cities will almost certainly be the battleground on which its fate is determined. For, as Leitner et al. so eloquently state, "cities contain some of the more audacious examples of neoliberal governance, but at the same time they are also among the principal sites and stakes for the generation of oppositional movements and alternative social visions" (2007, 312).

Conclusion

To date, research on neoliberalism has covered a great deal of ground, but a great deal of work lies ahead. The large scale, structural evolution of neoliberalism is well explored and widely agreed upon (Brenner and Theodore, 2002; Harvey, 1989 and 2005; Peck and Tickell, 2002; Purcell, 2003; Rubin, 2010). This not to say that there is no dissent, as the depiction of neoliberalism expanding across the globe from the U.S. and Britain has been criticized as a monolithic oversimplification (Larner, 2003). Nevertheless, the ideology, policies and ramifications of neoliberalism have been identified and agreed upon by and large: market deregulation and government cutbacks, public-private venture capitalism, uneven development, the dismantling of social-welfare programs and the dismissal of the value of public space. Yet, the impacts are not uniform across the urban landscape. Therefore, neoliberalism is manifested in various ways (some more egalitarian than others) across America's cities.

Neoliberal research identifies city governance as a filter through which large-scale, structural forces must pass and, in this way, explains the interface between local and large-scale power configurations on the urban landscape. In contrast to neoliberal ideology handed down from on high and in which market forces are assumed to operate uniformly, neoliberal urban development is defined by localities' "institutional frameworks, policy regimes, regulatory practices, and political struggles" (Brenner and Theodore, 2002, 349). Accordingly, one must recognize the "extraordinary variations that arise as neoliberal reform initiatives are imposed within contextually specific institutional landscapes and policy environments" (Brenner and Theodore, 2002, 353).

Cities are not merely localized manifestations of large scale neoliberal restructuring. Rather, they are central to the "reproduction, mutation, and continual reconstitution of neoliberalism itself" (Brenner and Theodore, 2002, 375). Thus, an urban development project can only be understood by exploring localities' interactions with inherited, large-scale regulatory landscapes. Essentially, every city generates a unique blend of neoliberalism in accordance with its political, economic, social, and cultural complexion (Rubin, 2010). In this way, localized, city-scale governance differences are now more important sources of regulatory variation than before, in spite of large-scale shift toward toward neoliberalism. Though the boundaries within which local governance can take action have narrowed, "localities have been thrust into the position of determining exactly how to address, contest, or embrace large shifts in the global economy" (Hackworth, 2007, 43).

As neoliberalism flowed through and was filtered by San Francisco's local political, socio-cultural, and economic structures (e.g. local governance), San Francisco's unique blend of neoliberal urban development, prioritizing affordable housing, emerged. San Francisco's legacy of social progressivism produced government agencies sensitive to both social justice and economic needs (DeLeon, 1992). The same legacy facilitated the creation of a plethora of affordable housing advocacy groups that would later come to be known as Council of Community Housing Organization (CCHO). The CCHO, providing as a well-coordinated and unified front for affordable housing advocacy, has firmly established itself in San Francisco's local governance, particularly with regard to large-scale urban development projects (PRRAC and NHLP, 2012). Practices and policies were then modified accordingly, with San Francisco's General Plan and its Redevelopment Agency's policies revised to protect and enhance the affordable housing stock (PRRAC and NHLP, 2012). And last but not least, because of the high value of San Francisco's real estate, developers have been willing to accommodate San Francisco's governance by incorporating thousands of units of affordable housing into large-scale urban development projects, such as Hunter's Point, Mission Bay, and Treasure Island. In sum, the neoliberal pressures on San Francisco's affordable housing stock have been tempered by a "progressive culture and what is in some ways a relatively caring government" (Rubin, 2010, 148).

Accordingly, current neoliberal research has identified the city as the focal point of its efforts. Cities are the platform upon which neoliberalism manifests itself most potently; they are neoliberalism's "key sites in the pursuit of economic restructuring and capital accumulation, and are primary loci for implementing new policy regimes" (Rubin, 2010, 144). An understanding of how these processes of neoliberal governance occur at the local level is critical if we are to push for our urban centers to provide not just exchange value, but use value. The working class right to the city is very much under attack by neoliberal development. That each city produces a unique version of neoliberalism underscores the need for further case studies. An understanding of particular cities' successes and failures to provide social welfare (such as affordable housing) can support the pursuit of cities that will one day be designed for all people. While research has been conducted with the aim of addressing the social ills of neoliberalism (Hackworth, 2007, Purcell, 2002, 2003, 2008), the more comprehensively we understand urban neoliberalism, the more fruit such counteractive measures will bear. Almost certainly, such measures will have to be locally tailored. This case study in neoliberal urban development, with a focus on affordable housing, addresses the interface of the large-scale and the local to contribute to neoliberal literature where contributions are needed most.

V. Methodology

Qualitative Research Paradigm and Case Study Methodology

This research sought to explore the role local governance played in allowing a large-scale urban development project to incorporate affordable housing to a much greater degree than typical of other such developments nationally since the rise of neoliberalism. To do so, I examined San Francisco's localized socio-political activity as the Project's affordable housing plan moved through its developmental stages. My end goal was to ascertain how neoliberalism was ingested and altered and uniquely reproduced by San Francisco's governance, resulting in the Project's 27.2 percent affordable housing rate. This inquiry takes the form of a case study, relying on historical analysis, archival research, examination of government policies, and interviews, resulting in descriptive or qualitative, rather than quantitative data for analysis (Creswell, 2003). Case study is a methodological approach that qualitative researchers use to understand how a person, social setting, event, or group functions (Berg, 2004). Case studies have been effectively used to examine neoliberal urban development and the role of local governance (Rubin, 2010; Zimmerman, 2008).

The Researchers Role and Ethical Considerations

Research is typically undertaken because the researcher has an interest in the subject. Accordingly, it is important to acknowledge that the researcher's role cannot be entirely neutral, and researchers have found value in disclosing to the reader existing or potential biases about the subject matter at hand. In the process of subjective disclosure, the researcher offers the reader an understanding of why and how the research was conducted and what ethical issues may have occurred due to the researcher's relationship with the subject matter (Creswell, 2003; Berg, 2004).

My interest in neoliberal urban development emerged from moving to San Francisco in 2010 to attend San Francisco State University and studying land use planning. The Project was in its final stages of approval at the time and provided a great opportunity to examine San Francisco's effort to create a new community. I decided to focus on the affordable housing plan of the Project because San Francisco market rate housing had become accessible only to the wealthy and I felt this represented an undermining of San Francisco's legacy of progressiveness and socio-economic inclusivity. As someone who is not wealthy and believes that communities should be socio-economically diverse, I was heartened to discover that the Project was designed to include 27.2 percent affordable housing. With my research, I explore how the Project managed to achieve such status and, in doing so, uphold and manifest San Francisco's aforementioned legacy.

My research relied on archival resources and interviews. All archival material (e.g. proposal documents, meeting minutes, newspaper articles) relied on resources available to the public, with the lion's share obtained via the TIDA website. Interviews were conducted with people who participated in the development of the Project's affordable housing plan. I conducted my research during my time as a graduate student at San Francisco State University and in the subsequent two years while working for the Santa Barbara County Planning and Development Department. I have never had any connections with Treasure Island or the Project. Accordingly, there is no basis for conflict of interest or other ethical concerns.

Data Collection Procedures

I decided to research the Project because it provided an excellent case study for urban development. After discussing this line of research with faculty at San Francisco State University, I became aware of literature on neoliberal urban development. This literature provided a lens through which to explore, understand, and explain the significance of the Project's affordable housing plan. With neoliberal urban development theory (Brenner and Theodore 2002; Harvey 1989; Wilson 2004) as the basis for my research, the questions to be asked are:

1. How has San Francisco manifested a localized version of neoliberal urban development with respect to affordable housing?
2. How did San Francisco's local governance (i.e. coalitions of public and private power, not just elected officials) bring about this localized version of neoliberal urban development with respect to affordable housing?
3. How did San Francisco's localized version of neoliberal urban development and governance impact the Project's affordable housing plan?

To find these answers, a variety of case study research methods were used. First, my enrollment at San Francisco State University enabled me to discuss the research with professors in urban studies. Second, I reviewed published literature (both articles and books) on neoliberal urban development to examine the large-scale framework of neoliberal urban development and examine San Francisco's treatment of its affordable housing stock since the rise of neoliberalism. Third, I compiled and reviewed archival documents to create a procedural and political account of the development of the Project's affordable housing plan. Archival resources consisted of newspaper articles (e.g. The San Francisco Chronicle, The San Francisco Examiner, The Bay Citizen), meeting minutes (e.g. TIDA and Treasures Island Citizens Advisory Board meeting minutes), and TIDA's archives of development documents (e.g. the Naval Station Treasure Island Reuse Plan and TICD development documents). All archival resources are available from the respective websites.

Using the results of these initial methods of inquiry, I then identified individuals to interview as experts who participated in the development of the Project's affordable housing plan. As the Project is an ongoing politically high-profile undertaking, I was concerned that my interviewees would not speak freely if their names were published in my research. Therefore, I have withheld the identities of my interviewees. As established by neoliberal research, San Francisco's governance impacted the outcome of the Project's affordable housing plan; therefore, interviewing key members of this governance is appropriate. Furthermore, these interviews were necessary to ground truth the results of my literature and archival research, as well as capture important institutional knowledge. I interviewed TIDA commissioners and project managers because they were directly responsible for, and could provide first-hand insight into, the development of the Project's affordable housing plan. In order to gain a city agency's perspective on the project's affordable housing plan beyond that of TIDA, I interviewed the Project's management staff at the Mayor's Office of Economic and Workforce Development. Lastly, in order to gather input from parties squarely within the affordable housing advocacy realm, I interviewed board members of the Treasure Island Homeless Development Initiative (TIHDI) (an affordable housing advocacy group with direct involvement in the Project's affordable housing plan since its nascent stages), leadership at the Tenants and Owners Development Corporation (TODCO) (a non-profit organization developing and advocating for affordable housing in San Francisco's since 1977), and members of the Council of Community Housing Organizations (CCHO) (a collective of 23 of San Francisco's affordable housing advocacy groups). I attempted to interview Project management staff at the Treasure Island Development Corporation (TICD) by email and phone, however contact was never made.

I conducted interviews with experts at their office or in a public space (such as a café or restaurant), informing them of the title and nature of my research and that they would remain anonymous in my published research. I asked open-ended questions related to their understanding of the development of the Project's affordable housing plan. The questions related to San Francisco's history of including affordable housing in its large-scale urban development projects, connections between previous development projects and the Project's affordable housing plan, the historic origins and development of the Project's affordable housing plan, and the role local governance (e.g. TIDA, TICD, the Mayor's Office, TIHDI, CAB, San Francisco's affordable housing advocacy groups) played in determining the Project's affordable housing plan. Questions were crafted to encourage the interviewee to compare and connect the Project's affordable housing plan with other large-scale urban development projects in San Francisco (particularly the Hunters Point and Mission Bay projects). Questions were also crafted to encourage the interviewee to recount his or her experiences and perceptions regarding why and how the Project's affordable housing plan was initially established and took its final form. I did not ask questions pertaining to interviewees' opinions of other individuals involved in the Project or the use and management of the Projects affordable units, as such opinions are beyond the scope of my research. Any such information provided via interview was excluded from my analysis. Each interview was semi-structured as I asked all interviewees the same basic questions. However, I allowed each interview to follow its own path as dictated by how each interviewee related to the research.

Data Analysis Procedures

To analyze and interpret the data, I divided the documents into categories: Government documents, newspaper and magazine articles, graphics, and interviews. Upon organizing the data into the aforementioned four categories, I then read through the data, further organizing the information based on the following themes derived from my research questions: historic inclusion of affordable housing in large-scale urban development projects; connections between previous large-scale urban development projects and the Project's affordable housing plan; establishment of the Project's affordable housing plan; development of the Project's affordable housing plan; and, the role of local governance. Interviews were recorded and notes were then derived from the recordings and organized based on the aforementioned themes. The data was further organized to provide a chronological account (supported by graphics) of governance events that resulted in the Project's final affordable housing plan (see Appendix 1).

Lastly, the data and chronological account were then analyzed using a neoliberal theoretical framework to create a descriptive narrative.

Findings

Groundwork Well Laid

The affordable housing plan of the Project is a product of San Francisco's unique manifestation of localized neoliberal governance that, in contrast to the nationwide trend of urban development, strives to expand its affordable housing stock. When the Project began to take form in the late 1990s, 30 years of affordable housing advocacy coordination and legislation had incorporated itself into San Francisco's governance. This is not to say the real estate market city-wide hadn't become increasingly out of reach for the lower and middle class, but San Francisco has been putting up a better fight than most other cities since neoliberalism took hold in the 1970s.

Since the 1990s, San Francisco's governance has successfully incorporated meaningful numbers of affordable housing into its large development projects – those involving thousands of new housing units; the development of affordable housing units for smaller-scale development projects is another matter and beyond the scope of this thesis. In 1996, when the Naval Station Treasure Island Reuse Plan was produced (San Francisco's initial attempt to evaluate redeveloping the Islands), the Mission Bay and Hunters Point redevelopment projects were already in the final stages of negotiation (the projects were approved by the BOS in 1998 and 1997, respectively). Each of these projects required the construction of significant amounts of affordable housing units. The Mission Bay project provides 6,072 residential units, of which 1,700 (or 28 percent) are required to be affordable. The Hunters Point project provides 12,100 units, of which 3,872 (or 32 percent) are required to be affordable. These projects set the standard for affordable housing in large-scale development that would be adhered to by the Project (PRRAC and NHLP, 2012).

Thus, before TIDA and TICD even began to discuss the Project's affordable housing plan, San Francisco's governance had already established an expectation that large-scale urban development projects in San Francisco would designate approximately 30 percent of its total units as affordable. Elected officials, TIDA, affordable housing advocacy groups (such as San Francisco's Council of Community Housing Organizations, including TODCO and TIHDI), and TICD understood this to be a baseline requirement for such projects in San Francisco. Therefore, when development proposals for Treasure Island began to be seriously considered, local governance and the developer understood that the Project would need to comply with this expectation to be successful. Essentially, Treasure Island's affordable housing plan began at 30 percent of the total number of residential units proposed and it stayed that way, at least until larger forces interfered vis-à-vis the dissolution of California's redevelopment agencies.

Before going on to examine the history of San Francisco's affordable housing policy and advocacy efforts, it is worth specifying what affordable housing means. According to the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), affordable housing is defined as costing less than or equal to 30 percent of a household's income (https://portal.hud.gov/hudportal/HUD?src=/program_offices/comm_planning/affordablehousing/). A household may consist of a single individual or numerous people. Each year the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development calculates the area median income (AMI) for San Francisco based on household size and the income households earn in San Francisco and the surrounding area. The affordable rental or sale price for a housing unit is calculated based on this AMI data. An affordable housing unit may be priced to be affordable to a household earning 50 percent of AMI (often referred to as a very-low income household). An affordable housing unit may also be priced to be affordable to a household earning 30 percent in excess of AMI (often referred to as a moderate-income household). Affordable housing is essentially housing that is intended to be affordable to those individuals and households that earn around the area median income or less (in other words, affordable housing is supposed to be for people located along the middle to low end of the economic spectrum).

It is also important to keep in mind that AMI is dynamic and has an attendant impact on the pricing of affordable housing. As will be demonstrated in the following pages, San Francisco's real estate market would explode in the 1970s, forcing many moderate- and low-income residents to leave. This is a trend that continues today. Therefore, households earning well above San Francisco's historic AMI now define San Francisco's population to a greater degree. San Francisco's AMI has increased accordingly. Adjusted for inflation, in 1990 San Francisco's AMI was $87,676 (for a family of four). Currently, in 2017, this figure has increased by 31.5 percent to $115,300 (https://www.huduser.gov/portal/datasets/il.html#2017). Today, even San Francisco's affordable housing may be too expensive for many people.

Setting the Table for the Project's Affordable Housing Plan: San Francisco's Affordable Housing Policy from the Late 1960s to the Late 1990s

San Francisco history of governance regarding affordable housing advocacy can be traced back to the late 1960s. Prior to 1968, San Francisco's affordable housing units were defined by federally funded public housing, and thousands of these units had been leveled and the land redeveloped with market rate units or commercial space (PRRAC and NHLP, 2012). Moreover, no state or local funding mechanisms had been put in place to provide for the creation of new affordable housing units and no community-based activist groups had formed to provide a voice of opposition to the displacement resulting from the redevelopment of the public housing stock (2012). Skyrocketing housing prices in the 1970s, however, jumpstarted broader community concern about the affordability of San Francisco's housing. This rise in housing prices was linked to a fundamental shift in San Francisco's economic base: namely, deindustrialization. Office workers and tertiary economic activity (e.g. financial and consulting services) began to define the economic landscape of San Francisco, and workers in ties and wingtips replaced workers in dungarees and steel-toe boots. Accordingly, San Francisco shifted from a relatively cheap place to live to one of the most expensive housing markets in the county. A number of critical events led to this change in San Francisco's residential real estate market, including:

- The San Francisoc port's decision not to update its infrastructure to accommodate the rise of containerization, during the mid-1960s, of the shipping industry. Oakland's port, however, was specifically designed to accommodate the massive cargo ships piled high with weathered steel boxes of standardized dimensions. Furthermore, the Hunters Point Naval Shipyard was decommissioned in 1974. As a result, San Francisco lost tens of thousands of industrial jobs (PRRAC and NHLP, 2012; Rubin, 2011);
- The Bay Area Rapid Transit System began running trains in 1972, exponentially increasing the viability of white-collar workers to commute to San Francisco. With this new pool of workers to pull from, San Francisco began a push to define itself as the corporate headquarters of the Pacific Rim, triggering intense development of commercial office space downtown (between 1965 and 1980, 36 million square feet of office space was added to San Francisco) (PRRAC and NHLP, 2012). With the entire Bay Area from which to pull office workers, plentiful office space at its disposal, and the widespread loss of industrial jobs, white-collar economic activity (particularly in the retail, finance, and administrative sectors) came to define San Francisco and produced an attendant rise in housing prices;

- By the late 1970s, San Francisco had designated ten different areas for urban renewal due to the purported existing blight at these locations. These urban renewal plans developed prior to 1976 resulted in the demolition of 14,207 units, barely more than half of which were replaced by 2000. This plan for urban renewal ultimately would take the form of the SFRA's demolition of affordable housing units in these areas and result in the displacement of low-income residents (PRRAC and NHLP, 2012); and
- As a result of the oil crisis of the 1970s, gas prices rose to over $1 per gallon. Consequently, the white-collar workers who had been commuting to San Francisco began looking for homes in San Francisco. With the emphasis on office and commercial development in San Francisco, the resulting scenario was one in which San Francisco's available housing stock had not been expanded to accommodate the influx of white-collar workers in the 1970s. Thus, while in 1965, the average San Francisco home was only $3,000 more than the national home average, in the next 15 years, the average San Francisco home would come to cost $53,000 more (Hartman, 1984).

In sum, the late 1960s and 1970s saw San Francisco lose its industrial identity and redefine itself based on development intended for tertiary economic activity. With the implementation of the Bay Area Rapid Transit System, the boom in office space construction and a spike in gas prices, an influx of white-collar workers arrived in San Francisco scene looking for homes with white-collar income in hand. Consequently, San

Francisco's real estate market skyrocketed. As San Francisco is both geographically constrained and largely built out, new dwellings for these white-collar workers quickly emerged as a zero sum game: For new homes to be constructed, the old homes had to go. As if this wasn't disconcerting enough for many residents of San Francisco, San Francisco's urban renewal program was systematically going about removing large swathes of work force and low-income housing.

Throughout San Francisco, residents objected to what they were seeing. In this manner, each new development project became a battle between San Francisco's real estate interests in the 1970s and residents of San Francisco disconcerted by the displacement of low-income residents. Thus, by the 1970s, determined to prevent the real estate market from redefining their communities, neighborhood organizations and tenant advocacy groups began to exert their power, carving out space on San Francisco's political landscape for the issues of affordable housing development. (PRRAC and NHLP, 2012)

Before San Francisco's governance could begin to grapple with the issue of how many affordable units a development project should add to San Francisco's affordable housing stock, a more fundamental question had to be answered: Should the SFRA be obligated to replace the affordably priced residential units it demolished? More to the point, from its inception in 1948 and until 1976, the SFRA was not required to replace affordable housing units it demolished while pursuing its goal of eliminating blight. Two redevelopment projects were instrumental in bringing about this change in 1976: the

Western Addition and the Yerba Buna projects. (PRRAC and NHLP, 2012)

The Western Addition project, one of the SFRA's early projects, was located in a low-income neighborhood (primarily African-American and Japanese-American) near San Francisco's civic center. The plan was formalized in 1956 and was intended to remove blight from the area and develop a Japanese trade center, offices, and high-end residences. The Western Addition plan called for a reduction of the residential space from 43 acres (with 6,112 residents) to 25 acres (with 3,724 residents). The SFRA began implementing the plan in the mid-1960s and faced little organized resistance. Accordingly, approximately 1,350 families were displaced (Hartman, 1984). In response, the Western Addition Community Organization (WACO) took form and filed a lawsuit against the SFRA (as well as HUD). The lawsuit demanded community involvement in the planning process for the redevelopment of the Western Addition, as well as replacement housing and financial aid for those displaced as a result of the project (Hartman, 2002).

In 1968, the courts halted the project, requiring the adoption of a revised relocation plan subject to approval by HUD (Hartman 1984). This marked the first court injunction against a redevelopment project in the SFRA's twenty-year history. Thus, the Western Addition redevelopment project provided a demonstration of the power of the WACO and signaled to redevelopers that concerned citizens could form advocacy groups capable of meaningfully impacting the planning process. Moreover, the WACO's action forced the SFRA to consider and address displacement in future redevelopment projects.

As a result of its newfound mindfulness with respect to displacement, the SFRA would go on to replace more than 3,216 units demolished by redevelopment activities (PRRAC and NHLP, 2012).

Soon after the 1968 lawsuit filed by WACO, a community activist group took legal action regarding the Yerba Buena redevelopment project. The Yerba Buena project was originally conceived in 1954 and proposed a convention center, sports stadium, high rise office building and parking garage in San Francisco's South of Market area. Demolition began in 1966 and approximately 4,000 residents (located primarily in residential hotels) were to be displaced (PRRAC and NHLP, 2012). In response, community members banded together to form Tenants and Owners in Opposition to Redevelopment (TOOR). In 1960, TOOR filed a lawsuit against the SFRA, demanding an adequate relocation program for residents impacted by the Yerba Buena project. Following several years of legal proceedings, the courts halted all demolition and relocation activities (Hartman, 1984). The courts' decision was appealed by the SFRA and, in 1973, a settlement was reached between the SFRA and TOOR's affordable housing branch, TODCO. The settlement provided four sites within the Yerba Buena redevelopment area for the development of 400 new, affordably priced residential units, as well as funds from San Francisco's hotel tax to finance their development (Hartman, 1984). This settlement was in addition to the 1,500 affordable units to be developed by the SFRA as part of the project (Hartman, 1984). Concerted activism on the part of TODCO since this settlement has resulted in the hotel tax providing permanent revenues (approximately $50 million to date) for the development of affordable housing (PRRAC and NHLP, 2012).

The Western Addition and Yerba Buena lawsuits brought about significant changes to redevelopment policy on the federal, state and local level. The Western Addition lawsuit would result in the Uniform Relocation Assistance and Real Property Acquisition Act of 1970. This act requires federally funded projects to confirm that adequate relocation services are available for displaced persons. In 1976, California adopted its own statute implementing relocation plan requirements for redevelopment projects and stipulating the one-for-one replacement of any affordable housing units destroyed by redevelopment projects. The SFRA would expand on the steps taken at the federal and state level when San Francisco adopted its Housing Participation Policy of 1990. The policy set guidelines for the incorporation of affordable housing into redevelopment projects. Most significantly, the Housing Participation Policy recommended that 20-40 percent of residential units constructed by the SFRA be affordable to low- and moderate- income families; and that up to 50 percent of tax increment monies be used to finance the construction of affordable units. These changes to redevelopment policy and practice, coupled with the emergence of affordable housing advocacy groups, would serve as an early tipping point in the SFRA reshaping itself over the coming decades to include affordable housing development mindful of the destructive social effects of displacement. (PRRAC and NHLP, 2012)

The 1980s saw San Francisco move to boost affordable housing development by linking it with office development. In 1981, San Francisco adopted the Office Housing Production Program (OHPP). The OHPP, conceptually akin to a mitigation measure, required developers constructing office space to develop affordable housing units as well, or pay in-lieu fees calculated based on the expected number of new employees the office development would generate. The OHPP required 386 affordable housing units per million square feet of office space and was a groundbreaking piece of legislation (the first of its kind in the nation) (DeLeon, 1992). In 2001, the OHPP was revised to include affordable housing requirements for all types of commercial development projects and was renamed the Jobs-Housing Linkage Program. In 1986, stemming from San Francisco's continuing rapid development of office space and its negative effects on local communities, Proposition M was placed on the ballot and approved by voters.

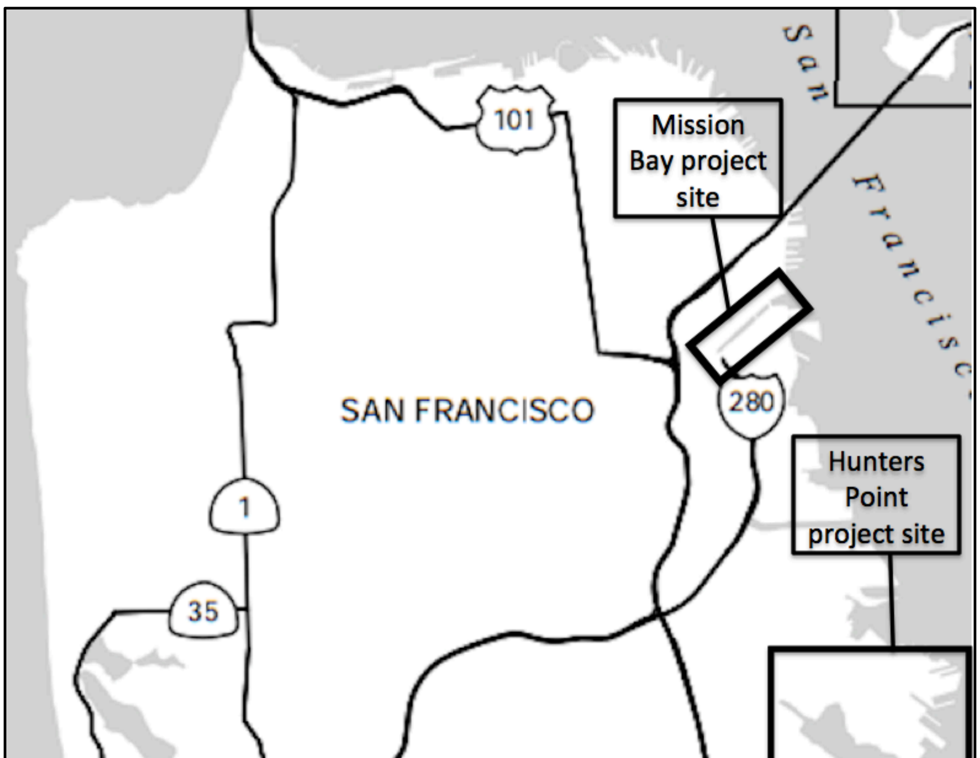
Another groundbreaking piece of legislation, Proposition M limited the amount of approvable office development to 475,000 square feet annually. Proposition M also revised San Francisco's General Plan to include policies requiring that San Francisco's affordable housing stock be preserved and enhanced. Consequently, the General Plan directed San Francisco to construct between 1,000 and 1,500 affordable housing units per year in order to address the housing demand placed upon San Francisco by office development. It must be stated that the OHPP and Proposition M can't be considered a complete success as they produced fewer than 1,500 affordable units as of 2012. Nevertheless, the adoption of such measures is a clear indicator that San Francisco's affordable housing advocacy groups were continuing to make significant headway in regards to the inclusion of affordable housing in San Francisco's development projects. (PRRAC and NHLP, 2012)

The 1980s ushered in two additional major victories for San Francisco's affordable housing advocates: a boost in affordable housing funding from the state and federal government; and a demand by residents of the South of Market, Chinatown, North Beach and Tenderloin areas to further change the General Plan to protect affordable housing. In 1986, Congress adopted the Low-income Housing Tax Credit program thereby incentivizing private developers to create affordable housing. The Low-Income Housing Tax Credit is currently the largest source of financing for San Francisco's non-profit developers (such as TODCO). At the same time, affordable housing advocacy groups from the aforementioned areas of San Francisco successfully forced the adoption of a new provision of the Downtown Plan. The provision is both a set of policies and amendments to San Francisco's zoning code and allows only for the demolition of housing units in San Francisco's downtown under a difficult-to-obtain conditional use permit (San Francisco Planning Code Section 212(e)). Moreover, the provision implemented conditional use permits to allow for higher density downtown residential development, assuming the units in excess of the density limit (i.e. floor area ratios) are affordably priced (San Francisco Planning Code Section 212(e)). Thus, the 1980s marked the emergence of new funding mechanisms and policies that have proven critical to the health of San Francisco's affordable housing advocacy groups. (PRRAC and NHLP, 2012)

The Loma Prieta earthquake of 1989 was estimated to have damaged 6,300 affordable housing units in San Francisco (PRRAC and NHLP, 2012). In an effort to address San Francisco's diminished affordable housing stock, San Francisco adopted the South of Market Earthquake Recovery Redevelopment Plan in June of 1990. The plan enabled the SFRA to both repair and replace buildings damaged by the earthquake. Housing was a critical component of the SFRA's work under the plan; in particular remaking the area's skid row (along 6th Street) into a functioning community again (Hartman, 2002). This marked a major turning point for the SFRA: namely, that the construction of affordable housing units was now a priority for redevelopment projects. Consequently, two major redevelopment projects, Mission Bay and Hunters Point (Map 4, page 67), reflected the post-quake aims of the SFRA with the Earthquake Recovery Redevelopment Plan now in its toolbelt.

The Mission Bay project began as a straightforward development project, with no SFRA involvement. Consisting of 320 acres of what were formerly rail yards, the site had been considered for development since the early 1980s with negotiations between various parties carrying through to the mid 1980s. Riding the momentum of Proposition M, affordable housing advocacy groups joined forces and played a major role in these formative years of negotiations and public hearings. The BOS approved the development project in February of 1991. The real estate recession of the early 1990s put the project on hold and, in 1996, the property owner (Santa Fe Pacific Realty) pulled out of the development agreement. However, new Mayor Willie Brown made the project a cornerstone of his administration and succeeded in having Mission Bay redefined as a redevelopment project and the SFRA's tax increment financing reinvigorated the project. (PRRAC and NHLP, 2012)

The final development plan (adopted by the BOS in 1998) provides for a new University of California San Francisco campus, commercial and office space, and 6,000 housing units, of which 1,700 (or 28 percent) will be affordable to moderate-, low-, and



Map 4 – Mission Bay and Hunter's Point project sites (CCSF PD, 2011)

very low-income households. The plan also links the development of affordable units with market rate units in such a manner that the two are required to be developed simultaneously (as opposed to the affordable units being constructed as a final phase of the project). This plan, a product of years of negotiations between the SFRA, affordable housing advocacy groups (largely defined by San Francisco's Council of Community Housing Organizations (CCHO)) and developers, has proven to effectively "set the standard for affordable housing and public benefits in large scale development that has since been followed" including Hunters Point and the Project (PRRAC and NHLP, 2012).

Similar to Treasure Island, the Hunters Point Naval Shipyard was decommissioned by the Department of Defense under the 1991 Base Realignment and Closure list. In 1993, the BOS moved to have the SFRA survey the shipyard's 500 acres for future development. Following years of planning, community outreach and public hearings, the BOS adopted the Hunters Point Naval Shipyard Redevelopment Plan in 1997. In 2010, an additional 280 acres owned by San Francisco within the Bayview area were integrated into the plan. The Project area is divided into six parcels, which are being transferred in phases from the Navy to San Francisco following environmental remediation. The Project, when completed, will include 12,100 housing units, of which 3,872 (32 percent) will be affordable to moderate-, low-, and very low-income households.

Thus, by the time the Project's design began to be negotiated between TICD and TIDA in the late 1990s, the groundwork for the Project's affordable housing plan was already established. Nearly half a century of affordable housing advocacy efforts and the resulting adoption of the aforementioned legislation have produced localized governance in San Francisco that, since the 1990s, requires the incorporation of a significant amount of affordable housing in San Francisco's large-scale urban redevelopment projects. Thus, the Project's negotiating parties clearly understood the expectations regarding the Project's affordable housing plan. TIDA Project management staff stated that the Project was designed to be a model of social sustainability, and 30 percent affordable housing was integral to achieving that goal (interview, August 23, 2013). Moreover, Project management staff at the Mayor's Office of Economic and Workforce Development stated that the Mission Bay and Hunters Point projects set the affordable housing template for Treasure Island (interview, August 27, 2013). TIDA would look to the Mission Bay project for guidance on affordable housing for the Project (TIDAB, February 2010). A TIDA commissioner explicitly stated that the designation of 30 percent of a project's total housing units as affordable became San Francisco's standard figure for large-scale development projects after approval of the Mission Bay project (interview, June 24, 2013). The precedent had been set by San Francisco's governance, and by the Mission Bay and Hunters Point projects, in particular.

Decommissioning Naval Station Treasure Island and TIHDI

The development of Treasure and Yerba Buena Islands only began to be a possibility in 1990 when the United States Navy began to decommission the Naval Station Treasure Island pursuant to the Defense Realignment and Closure Act of 1990.

In 1994, San Francisco elected for the Yerba Buena and Treasure Islands' transfer of ownership from the Navy to San Francisco to be governed by a process prescribed by the federal government in the Base Closure Community Redevelopment and Homeless Assistance Act. This Act, which defines processes by which the Navy may close down its bases, is a joint effort between HUD and the U.S. Department of Defense. Moreover, the Act's protocols reflect policies of the Stewart B. McKinney Homeless Assistance Act of 1986, which requires the Department of Defense and other federal agencies to give priority consideration for homeless assistance over other uses for surplus property. Thus, the conditions of the transfer of ownership from the Navy to San Francisco involved a binding agreement that San Francisco would develop a homeless assistance program on Treasure Island. In order to manage this program, San Francisco created the Treasure Island Homeless Development Initiative (TIHDI) in 1996, at the time the Navy has completed decommissioning the Naval Station Treasures Island.

TIHDI, a nationally recognized coalition with decades of experience providing a broad range of support services and housing to homeless and low-income populations, was charged with managing the 375 existing affordable units (for extremely low-income individuals on Treasure Island, though less than a third of these units were in a condition to be considered habitable. Moreover, as part of the Homeless Assistance Program, it was determined that TIHDI would receive conveyance of land suitable for the construction of affordable housing at a rate in direct proportion to new market rate housing of one acre for every new 1,000 units. TIHDI's establishment at the early stages of the decommissioning of the Naval Station Treasure Island allowed it to be an integral part of the planning process from the very start. TIHDI functioned to help develop and coordinate the Project's affordable housing plan, representing the affordable housing community at large, reviewing the affordable housing component of development proposals and providing feedback to the Mayor's Office and TIDA. As a member, TIHDI also provided updates on the Project to the CCHO: a collective of 23 of San Francisco's affordable housing advocacy groups (interview, TIHDI board member, June 19, 2013). Thus, it was only appropriate that as TIDA began to convene in the late 1990s, Sherry Williams (TIHDI's executive director, Photograph 2, page 71) and her staff were present to welcome TIDA's commissioners and request that a standing item be added to the Authority's agenda to discuss the Homeless Assistance Program and affordable housing (TIDAB, February 2008 and TIDAB, May 2008).

Photograph 2 (left) – Sherry Williams, executive director of TIHDI (TIHDI staff member, n.d.); Photograph 3 (right) – TIDA Commissioner John Elberling (Anderson, 2012)

Notably, this request was granted by TIDA Commissioner John Elberling (Photograph 3, page 71), the lone holdover from TIDA's earliest lineup of commissioners. In addition to serving on TIDA's board, Mr. Elberling is a founding member of TIHDI and the Director of the Tenant Owners and Development Corporation (TODCO). TODCO, a non-profit, is a community-focused housing development group based in San Francisco's South of Market (SOMA) area with the goal of creating an inclusive neighborhood by working to ensure that the low-income and working-class residents of SOMA aren't displaced by redevelopment and rising housing costs (http://www.todco.org/). Moreover, TODCO is a key member of the CCHO. Both of these organizations have been fundamentally involved in San Francisco's affordable housing movement since the 1970s, including the Mission Bay and Hunters Point projects.

2002 - 2005: The Affordable Housing Element Begins to Take Form

While affordable housing was understood to be an integral component of the Project, TIDA did not begin to develop the specifics of the Project's affordable housing plan until the early 2000s. At a February 2002 TIDA public hearing, Eve Bauch (representing non-profit Arc Ecology, a San Franciscan public interest organization focused on social justice) requested that TIDA provide greater clarification as to the Project's affordable housing component. In response to Ms. Bauch's comment, Commissioner Rosen replied that TIDA ought to put together a requirement that the

Request for Proposal for the development of the Project be revised to include specific requirements regarding the percentage and number of affordable units to be incorporated, as well as the duration of the affordability of the units (TIDAB, February 2002). TIDA Commissioner Cheng followed by asking the Deputy City Attorney (Michael Cohen) as to the state, city and redevelopment affordable housing requirements. Mr. Cohen responded that the Authority had "quite a bit of discretion" in increasing the affordable housing requirements for the Project (TIDAB, February 2002). Commissioner Elberling then commented that the Authority should be "setting important goals" and recommended a 30 percent affordable housing rate (TIDAB, February 2002).

The affordable housing topic was revisited at the next TIDA public hearing in March of 2002. Commissioner Elberling stated that "the affordable housing section has no goals" and that "he would like to see specific targets" for the affordable housing plan (TIDAB, March 2002). Commissioner Elberling then reiterated his comment that a 30 percent standard for affordable housing be implemented for the Project. TIDA Commissioner Green stated that the evaluation criteria for development proposals may need to be weighted so that policymakers can emphasize one component of the Project over another and that, for example, affordable housing may be more important than other parts of urban development. Commissioner Green further commented that establishing such criteria is an effective means by which to convey to the developer the Project's important issues, such as affordable housing. Commissioner Green then called for a minimum figure for affordable housing to be declared by TIDA to convey to developers the importance of affordable housing. Sherry Williams (executive director of TIHDI) then commented that TIHDI would like to assist the Authority in defining the affordable housing section of the Request for Proposal.

In April of 2002, TIDA's Deputy Director, Stephen Proud, discussed the changes that had been made to the draft Request for Proposal (RFP) in response to the Authority's comments regarding affordable housing at the March 2002 meeting. These changes also addressed questions as to the definition of affordability raised by the CAB, a group formed in 2000 by TIDA to provide broad-based community policy guidance and oversight regarding the redevelopment of Treasure Island. The TI CAB has 25 members (12 appointed by the Mayor, nine appointed by the BOS, and four Yerba Buena or Treasure Island residents elected by a vote of the Yerba Buena and Treasure Islands residents). Since its inception, the TI CAB has held more than 100 meetings regarding the redevelopment of Treasure Island. Mr. Proud stated that a new section had been added to the RFP, specifically Section 3 (TIDAB, April 2002). Section B of Section 3 addressed affordable housing for the Project and incorporated the following into the RFP to develop the Project (TIDA, 2002):

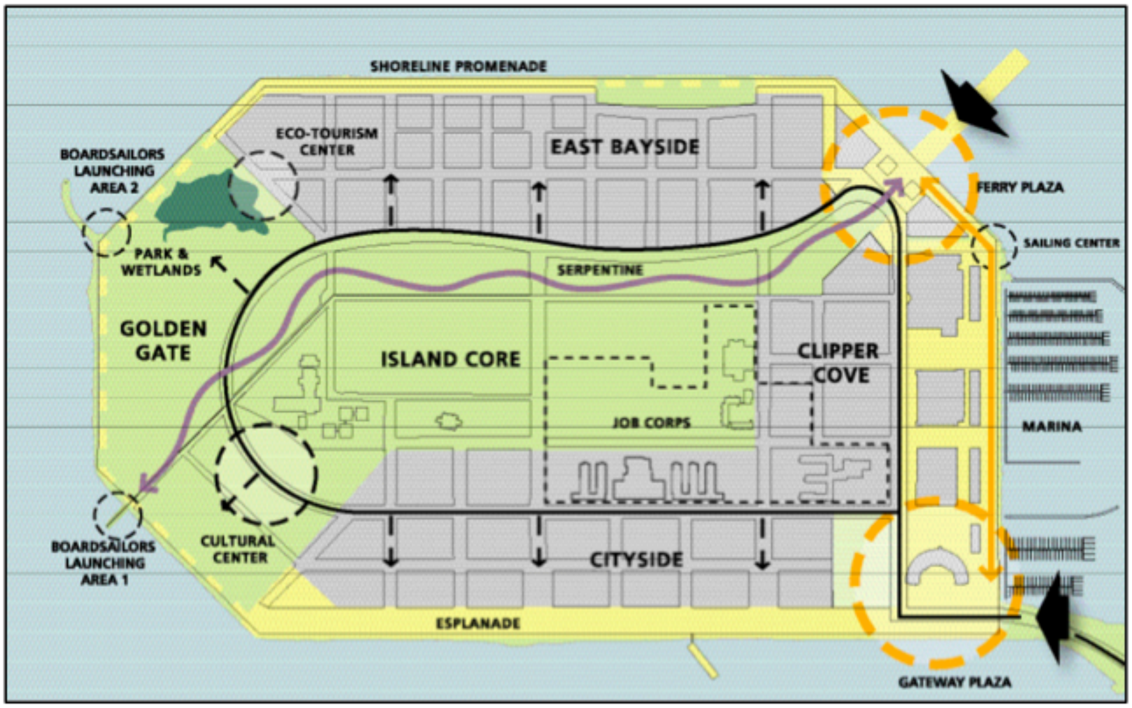
- That at any point in time, 30 percent of all housing units – inclusive of the TIHDI units – must be affordable (the phased construction of affordable units with market rate units);

- Inclusion of at least 15 percent affordable units in all new housing development (the inclusionary Housing). Moreover, the inclusionary units must be phased in proportionately at the same pace as market rate units;
- Compliance with the requirement in the TIHDI Agreement that TIHDI receive conveyance of land suitable for the construction of affordable housing at a rate in direct proportion to new market rate housing of one acre for every new 1,000 units (the TIHDI set-aside);
- If together the TIHDI Set-Aside Units and the Inclusionary Units do not account for 30 percent of the total housing, TICD shall make available to the Authority improved land suitable for the construction of such additional housing units as is necessary to achieve such 30 percent minimum;
- Affordable for these purposes shall mean that for-sale units will be priced to be affordable to households earning no more than 100 percent of AMI. Rental units will be priced at rental rates to be affordable to households earning no more than 60 percent of AMI;
- Affordable units will be price and income restricted until the earlier of (a) 75 years from the date of issuance of the Certificate of Occupancy; or (b) such shorter period of time as required by the terms of any first mortgage financing for the purchaser, but in no event less than 55 years; and

- Affordable units, including the Inclusionary Units, the TIHDI Set-Aside Units and any other affordable units, must be evenly distributed throughout the housing area. The Inclusionary Units shall be equivalent in bedroom count, size, quality, and finish as market rate units.

Thus, over the course of just a few months, TIDA had agreed on the affordable housing expectations for the Project, specifying the in the Project's RFP not just the minimum amount of affordable housing (30 percent), but the manner in which affordable would be defined, and the quality, location and duration of the affordable units. According to a TIHDI board member, the TIDA Board, the BOS, TIHDI, and the CCHO all quickly agreed on this affordable housing requirement (interview, June 9, 2013). Moreover, the cultural and political history of San Francisco was such that the developer was prepared to accept this figure. To quote a TIHDI board member, there "wasn't really resistance from developer" regarding the Project's affordable housing plan; rather, it was "just about figuring out how best to finance it" (interview, June 9, 2013).

TICD continued to develop its first substantive proposal for the Project and in July of 2002, Jay Wallace (of TICD) attended the TIDA meeting to discuss the proposal before the Authority. Mr. Wallace stated that the proposal included the construction of 2,800 new homes, both affordable and market rate, including 935 new affordable units (33 percent of total units constructed) (TIDAB, July 2002). TICD's July 2002 proposal divided up the development of Yerba Buena and Treasure Islands into three neighborhood districts (Map 5, page 77).



Map 5 - TICD 2002 proposal for development, Treasure Island Districts (TICD, 2002)

According to the proposal (TICD, 2002), the first district, referred to as Cityside District, would be located on the western side of Treasure Island, featuring views back to the Financial District and out to the Golden Gate Bridge. This area was planned to include 747 market rate and 374 affordable units. The second district, the Clipper Cove District, would include 80 units to be constructed above ground-floor retail. 1,460 units priced for both affordable and market rate residents would be constructed in the East Bayside District, located on the eastern side of Treasure Island featuring views to Berkeley, Oakland, and the Bay. Yerba Buena Island would include 140 units as well, priced for both affordable and market rate residents. The proposal also explicitly stated that all affordable housing requirements found in the RFP would be satisfied. Upon a request from Commissioner Elberling as to the net gain of affordable units on the Island, Mr. Wallace responded that there would be an additional 71 TIHDI units and 481 affordable units as a result of the Project as proposed (TIDAB, July 2002).

In December of 2004, a report titled “Conceptual Framework – Affordable Housing Section” was jointly authored by TIDA, TICD and TIHDI (TIDA, TICD, TIHDI, 2004). The report served to provide a summation of the affordable housing plan of the development proposal to date, including the financing of the affordable units. The report reiterates that approximately 30 percent of all housing units would be affordable. As before, affordable for-sale units and rental units were priced at 100 percent and 60 percent of AMI, respectively. Moreover, at least six percent of the project’s units would be affordable to very low- and low-income households (earning between 31 to 80 percent of AMI). These very low- and low-income units would largely consist of TIHDI units providing supportive housing for the homeless. The location of affordable units is also addressed, with affordable units distributed throughout the various areas designated for residential use, intermixed with the market rate units, indistinguishable in exterior appearance from the market rate units. Furthermore, three providers of affordable housing are identified: TIDA, TIHDI, and private market rate “vertical” developers, including TICD and its affiliates. The draft report broke down the development of affordable units as follows:

- TIHDI would develop and operate, or cause to be developed and operated, approximately 321 supportive housing units for the homeless, affordable to very low- and low-income households (an increase from TIHDI's current occupied unit count of 196 units);
- TIDA would develop and operate, or cause to be developed and operated, approximately 173 units; and
- Third-party vertical developers (including TICD affiliates) would develop and operate approximately 346 inclusionary units (representing 15 percent of the total of all privately developed units) as development proceeds.

The December 2004 report also specified that the Project should meet or exceed all of the affordable housing requirements under California Redevelopment Law (CRL). Specifically, the Report states the Project will exceed the CRL housing production requirement that 15 percent of all newly constructed units be affordable to very low-, low- and moderate-income residents. Moreover, through the construction of the TIHDI and TIDA units, the Project would meet (an possibly even exceed) the CRL housing production requirement that 6 percent of all newly constructed units be affordable to very low-income households earning no more than 50 percent of AMI. The report also stipulates that units will be affordable to designated households by income level at the affordable housing cost for not less than 55 years for the rental units and 45 years for the ownership (for-sale) units.

Regarding the financing of the affordable units, the December 2004 report states that, pursuant to direction from the TIDA Board and as set forth in TIDA's Request For Proposal, in order for units to be designated as affordable, TICD must describe an overall financing/subsidy plan that demonstrates that the ultimate construction of such units is reasonably feasible. The affordable housing financing plan provided by TICD, as included in the Report, involves a variety of private and public funding sources to accomplish this goal, including a substantial developer subsidy, debt supported by rents, redevelopment tax increment funding (with TIDA designating at least 20 percent of all tax increment generated from Treasure Island and Yerba Buena Island for the sole purpose of improving, preserving and/or producing affordable housing), low-income housing tax credit proceeds, and housing impact fees. According to these figures, public funding (in the form of tax increment financing and housing impact fees) would provide less than 10 percent of the total costs of constructing the Project's affordable units.

2006: Greater Density

In early 2006, TICD came before TIDA and declared that the Project would require greater density to be financially feasible. TIDA directed TICD to revise the Project's housing plan to address the problem. A revised draft housing plan released by TIDA, TICD, and TIHDI in April of 2006 increased the size of the project to 5,500 residential units. This new draft housing plan (TIDA, TICD, TIHDI, 2006) retained the 30 percent affordable housing mark and, thus, resulted in an additional 715 affordable units for the Project. This brought the total number of affordable units for the Project to 1,650. Affordable for-sale unit and rental unit prices remained fixed at 100 percent and 60 percent of AMI, respectively. Six percent of the project's units remained affordable to very low- and low-income households as well. Also intended to improve the profitability of the Project, the tax increment financing and housing impact fees now accounted for 16.1 percent of the funding for the affordable units (previously, public funding had been pegged for covering just under 10 percent). Otherwise, the details of the affordable housing plan (i.e. levels of affordability, responsibility for development and maintenance, construction phasing, the lifespan of the affordable units) remained the same.

The revised draft housing plan was presented at the April 17, 2006 TIDA meeting. The TIDA Commissioners' response was largely to discuss the inclusionary nature of the affordable housing plan. Commissioners Rosen, Blumenfield, Franklin and Elberling each reiterated the important role of inclusionary housing in creating a socio-economically just community on the Islands (TIDAB, April 2006). Director Rosen recommended adopting an approach to inclusionary housing utilized by the Mission Bay project: namely, to rank the various development sites of the islands on a scale from most desirable to least desirable and institute an affordable housing pro-rate share of the more desirable sites (once more underlying the significance of the affordable housing precedent set by the Mission Bay project). Upon discussion with Jack Sylvan (Mayor's Office of Base Reuse and Development), TIDA determined that such an approach would be defined when the Design for Development Agreement between San Francisco and TICD was formalized.

The increase in density was welcomed by the Treasure Island Citizens Advisory Board, receiving a 17-0-1 favorable vote. The CAB had been voicing concerns that the Project's lack of density would prevent a fully-fledged community from being produced on the Islands (TIDAB, February 2006). Sherry Williams (executive director of TIHDI) voiced her support of the new housing plan. Ruth Gravanis (Sierra Club Bay Chapter and San Francisco Commission on the Environment) commended TIDA for addressing the equitable distribution of affordable units, but emphasized the importance of public spaces in creating a true community. The affordable housing plan of the Project remained essentially undisturbed as the scope of the Project nearly doubled. No cuts to the affordable housing percentage were even proposed by TICD nor considered by TIDA. Rather, the discussion focused on financing and how to ensure the affordable units were fairly integrated into the to-be-built environment. TIDA voted 6-0 to approve the plan, and the BOS followed with a 10-1 vote in favor of the plan. In 2008, the Project received the California Governor's Environmental and Economic Leadership Award for Sustainable Communities in part for its affordable housing plan. Both locally and on a state level, the Project's affordable-housing-minded approach to redevelopment was being welcomed with open arms.

2010-2011: Still Greater Density, Less Affordable Housing and Final Approval

In May of 2010, TIDA and the BOS unanimously approved an update to the Project's development plan. Most significantly, the housing plan for the Project was increased, from 5,500 total units to 7,540 total units (though up to 8,000 units were allowed for), in order to better support on-island services, including transportation, retail, schooling and health services, as well as improving the profitability of the Project of course (CCSF MOEWD, 2010). The footprint of development remained in the same location and, accordingly, the Project's density increased. In a lengthy, formal memorandum to the BOS addressing the updates to the development plan, Jack Sylvan, of San Francisco's Economic Workforce and Development Department, stated that his mandate for the development of the Islands has been to "maximize public benefits without relying on San Francisco's General Fund" (CCSF MOEWD, 2010). Mr. Sylvan goes on to state that considering that "ever stingier federal and state governments have significantly limited the ability of cities to pay for the creation of new public benefits like parks and affordable housing," the way to effectuate that mandate is "by leveraging private capital and land value created from the redevelopment itself to the greatest extent possible." (CCSF MOEWD, 2010). These statements are significant in that they clearly convey that San Francisco was not interested in opening the doors to its coffers in order to attract private capital for the Project. Rather, San Francisco was intent on ensuring that private capital worked to provide the affordable housing required for the Project.

The latest iteration of the development proposal maintained an affordable housing plan of 30 percent of the residential units to be developed. Thus, the Project now included the creation of 2,260 new affordable housing units, with TIHDI, TICD and TIDA developing 435, 275 and 1,550 units, respectively. Again, the for-sale unit and rental unit prices remained fixed at 100 percent and 60 percent of AMI, respectively, and six percent of the project's units remained affordable to very low- and low-income households. However, this increase in the number of affordable units included a significant drop in the number of inclusionary affordable units. Whereas previous iterations of the Project had maintained an inclusionary figure of 15 percent, the 2010 design reduced to five percent the number affordable units to be co-located with market rate units (CCSF MOEWD, 2010). Public funding (in the form of tax increment financing and housing impact fees) was now slotted to provide less than 15.2 percent of the total cost of constructing the Project's affordable units. The nearly one percent decrease in public funding for the Project's affordable units was largely due to TICD providing an additional $91 million to fund the affordable units (CCSF MOEWD, 2010). In effect, with the increase in profitability that came with the increase in the Project's density, San Francisco managed to extract an additional $91 million from TICD to maintain the affordable housing percentage for the Project at 30 percent.

However, larger forces soon altered the Project's affordable housing plan. Thus far, the Project's affordable housing plan had been designed to benefit from the tax increment financing dollars provided by CRL. Specifically, under redevelopment and tax increment financing (i.e. Using future property tax revenue increases resulting from the Project's completion to finance bonds to pay for constructing the Project), the Project was able to receive 80 percent of new tax increment dollars, of which 60 percent could be used for infrastructure (including affordable housing), and 20 percent is required to be used for affordable housing. The Project's retention of 80 percent of its tax increment money under redevelopment meant that money was not finding its way to other local services and systems in the same municipality as it would have otherwise. For example, local school districts received a smaller "pass-through" of the tax increment funding (known as Educational Revenue Augmentation Funds). However, this "pass-through" was balanced by additional funding from the state to school districts.

In 2010, with California facing multi-billion-dollar budget deficits, Governor Brown began to dissolve redevelopment agencies statewide to eliminate the financial burden placed upon state coffers by redevelopment tax increment financing. To avoid the Project's funding being thrown into disarray, TIDA and TICD moved quickly. With the assistance of the Mayor's Office of Economic and Workforce Development, TIDA and TICD transitioned the Project from a redevelopment area to an infrastructure financing district (IFD). In April of 2011, the Mayor's Office of Economic and Workforce Development gave a presentation to the Treasure Island Citizens Advisory Board explaining the intent to move from redevelopment financing to an IFD and its ramifications. Akin to redevelopment financing, IFDs allow for a portion of the tax increment produced by the Project to be used to fund public infrastructure improvements, such as affordable housing. However, unlike redevelopment financing, IFD law does not allow for tax increment money that would go to the state for funding public schools (again, the Educational Revenue Augmentation Funds) to be bonded against to subsidize the cost of a Project's infrastructure improvements (such as affordable housing). Moreover, whereas CRL allowed for approximately 80 percent of the Project's tax increment to be retained for infrastructure improvements, this figure drops to approximately 65 percent for IFDs. In the case of the Project's IFD, this figure was estimated to be closer to 57 percent. This 23 percentage point decrease in tax increment financing for the Project amounted to a loss of over $130 million in funding (CCSF MOEWD, 2011).

With environmental review for the Project already complete, increasing the total number of units was not seen as a viable option by the Mayor's Office, TIDA, or TICD. Accordingly, the Mayor's Office of Economic and Workforce Development, TIDA, and TICD now had the difficult task of identifying what to eliminate from the Project to generate cost savings and bridge the $130 million funding gap. While other means by which to address the budget shortfall were explored, such as reducing transit subsidies or cutting parks, the Mayor's Office of Economic and Workforce Development felt such cuts to community services would make the Project far less desirable to future residents than cutting affordable housing (Kane, May 2011a). Moreover, the replacement of affordable housing units with market rate units had a triplicate financial benefit: by reducing the costs (borne by the developer) of constructing affordable units, providing greater profits by increasing the number of market rate units, and increasing the property taxes against which to bond to finance the Project. The reduction of the Project's other types of public benefits could not provide this multiplicative financial benefit.

Accordingly, discussions began between TICD, TIHDI, TIDA, the Mayor's Office, the Treasure Island Citizens Advisory Board and affordable housing advocates (such as the CCHO) to identify how many affordable housing units would need to be shifted to market rate to make the Project financially feasible. These discussions sought to minimize impacts to the Project's affordable housing plan and ultimately resulted in the elimination of 400 affordable units (equal to a five percent reduction) (interview, Project management staff at the Mayor's Office of Economic and Workforce Development, August 23, 2013). Moreover, the Project's affordable housing units became less affordable. Up until this point, the plan had priced for-sale units and rental units at 100 percent and 60 percent of AMI, respectively. Now, for sale-units and rental units were priced at no more than 120 percent of AMI. TIHDI retained its allotment of 435 units and six percent of the project's total units remained priced for very-low and low-income households. This filled the funding gap left by the dissolution of redevelopment agencies and still provided more affordable housing units than would have been constructed under the previous proposal for 6,000 total housing units, 30 percent (or 1,800 units) of which would be affordably priced.

Nevertheless, the five percent reduction in the affordable housing rate of the Project was met with resistance from a variety of sources. With strong ties to the University of

California – Berkeley, San Francisco's planning department has a tradition of being sensitive to social needs such as affordable housing (Rubin, 2010). Accordingly, then Planning Commissioners Christina Olague, Bill Sugaya and Kathrin Moore said the Project was a bad deal for San Francisco (Kane, April 2011). Additionally, a reduction in affordable housing caused the San Francisco Bay Guardian to publish an editorial urging San Francisco to wait for a better deal (Editorial, 2011) and incensed Aaron Peskin (former TIDA commissioner and affordable housing advocate), who promised to fight the Project (Elinson, 2011). In response to such criticism, the Mayor's Office, TIDA commissioners, and TIHDI board members emphasized that the Project would provide 2,000 more units than currently existed in San Francisco (interview, TIDA commissioner, June 24, 2013; interview, TIHDI board member, June 9, 2013). Furthermore, while the affordable housing ratio had been reduced by 5 percent as part of the final proposal for 8,000 total housing units, the affordable housing plan for the Project still increased by 200 units overall as compared to the previous proposal for 6,000 homes with 30 percent affordability that provided 1,800 affordable units. Despite serious reservations about the reduction in affordable housing, the Planning Commission voted 4-3 to approve the Project in April of 2011, allowing for what would become the final iteration of the Project to be sent to the BOS for approval (Kane, April 2011).

In an effort to recapture the affordable housing units lost due to the dissolution of redevelopment agencies, San Francisco Supervisor Jane Kim (in whose district the Project was located) and Assemblyman Tom Ammiano put together a plan to bring the

Project's affordable housing ratio back up to 30 percent. Unlike redevelopment agencies, which give local governments the authority to fund Projects with little state oversight, IFDs require that each plan be approved by the state Assembly and Senate and then signed into law by the Governor. This process, in effect, provided Governor Brown with the power to provide state support to development projects on a case-by-case basis, as well as for project's to customize the financial mechanisms of their respective IFDs on a project-by-project basis. Aiming to take advantage of this scenario, Supervisor Kim and Assemblyman Ammiano announced in May of 2011 that they would pursue an IFD for the Project that would return the affordable housing figures to the original 30 percent (Elinson, 2011).

This legislative fix, AB 664, would consist of the state contributing approximately $140 million in expected tax revenue from the Project's development (money that would otherwise go to the state's general fund) to finance the construction of 400 additional affordable housing units for the Project (Kane, May 2011b). In effect, Supervisor Kim and Assemblyman Ammiano proposed a bill that would allow the IFD to finance the Project's affordable housing akin to a redevelopment project. The bill was introduced to the State Assembly in May of 2012 and buoyed by strong support from the Mayor's Office of Economic and Workforce Development and the recently sworn in Mayor Lee himself (Kane, May 2011b). At the time, the fate of AB 644 was very much uncertain. Governor Brown's Office had initially expressed hesitation at approving the bill, as it could set a precedent for redevelopment funding to continue under the guise of IFDs, essentially undermining the Governor's decision to dissolve redevelopment agencies. Unfortunately for the Project, Governor Brown's initial hesitation would eventually harden into a veto warning and AB 664 would stall and be abandoned (interview, Project management staff at the Mayor's Office of Economic and Workforce Development, August 23, 2013).

On June 7, 2011, the Project went before the BOS. TIDA and TICD presented the Project as an urban village designed to be sustainable, beautiful, and socio-economically diverse. Others' concerns regarding the loss of 400 affordable housing units clearly resonated with the BOS and, in a final demonstration of commitment to affordable housing for the Project, the BOS reallocated 173 market rate units as affordable units as part of the Project's final approval. Accordingly, the Project's final affordable housing plan was increased from 25 percent to 27.2 percent of the Project's total housing units (TIDAB, June 2011). Furthermore, at this time, there was still hope that AB 664 would prove successful and the Project's affordable housing plan would once again reach the 30 percent mark.

With this revision incorporated, whatever misgivings the Planning Commission expressed regarding the affordable housing plan of the Project with their 4-3 vote were alleviated and the BOS voted 11-0 to approve the Project. The BOS, unequivocal in its support, stated that the Project would "breathe new life into the old Navy base in the middle of San Francisco Bay" (Kane, June 2011). Public comment on the Project at the BOS hearing was resoundingly supportive; so much that Supervisor Kim decided not to issue a statement of her own, citing the public's comments at the BOS hearing as more than enough (Kane, June 2011).

The Project was delayed until 2014, when a lawsuit alleging that the Project failed to complete adequate environmental review was rejected by the state's Supreme Court (Li, 2016). In 2016, demolition and infrastructure work began for the Project, which is expected to take 15 – 20 years to complete (Chavez, 2016). However, during the same year, a funding shortage of $380 million for the affordable housing plan was identified due to unanticipated increases in construction costs (Johnson, 2016). Unwilling to move forward with the Project until this issue was addressed, the BOS delayed an October 2016 vote on approving the Project's IFD (Sabatini, 2016). Subsequently, the Mayor's Office and Housing and Community Development contributed $250 million to fund construction of the Project's affordable housing plan and TIDA committed to working with California state government to extend the lifetime of the Project's IFD and pursue state grants to fill the remaining $130 million funding gap; appeased, the BOS approved the project's IFD in January 2017 and no changes were made to the affordable housing plan (Johnson, 2017). Residential development for the project has not yet begun.

Analysis and Conclusion

When I moved to San Francisco in 2010 to attend San Francisco State University, I was immediately struck by the high cost of housing. Affording rent was challenging for me; actually ever owning a home was unfathomable. As I began to research the Project, I became intrigued by its incorporation of a robust affordable housing plan. Clearly there was enough demand to sell as many market rate units as could possibly be developed; yet 27.2 percent of the Project's units are required to be affordable. Neoliberal urban development theory allows one to examine how local factors were responsible for the Project's affordable housing plan and provides a national and historical context for comparison.

In order to understand how local factors were responsible for the Project's affordable housing plan, neoliberal urban development theory (Brenner and Theodore 2002, Harvey 1989, Wilson 2004) identifies three lines of inquiry. The first line of inquiry explores if and how a locality (i.e. San Francisco) has manifested a unique, localized version of neoliberal urban development with respect to affordable housing. As previously stated, under the sway of neoliberal governance, socio-economic disparity within urban areas has been exacerbated nationally (Zimmerman, 2008). This phenomenon is largely attributed to federal and state retrenchment forcing cities to compete for private capital investment, which in turn has led cities to engage in development projects unconcerned with social welfare, such as affordable housing (Harvey, 1989). In contrast to these national trends, since the 1960s, San Francisco's governance has worked hard to incorporate affordable housing into its development. San Francisco's governance has pioneered financing mechanisms for and enacted policies to protect and expand its affordable housing stock. The fruits of this labor are clearly illustrated by San Francisco allocating nearly one third of the Mission Bay, Hunters

Point, and Treasure Island development projects' housing as affordable housing.

The second line of inquiry explores how local governance (i.e. coalitions of public and private power) brought about San Francisco's localized version of neoliberal urban development with respect to affordable housing. San Francisco's history of governance regarding affordable housing advocacy can be traced back to the 1970s. During this time, San Francisco's housing prices dramatically increased due to San Francisco's shift from an industrial to a service economy. This in turn jumpstarted city-wide concern about housing affordability, resulting in the creation of neighborhood organizations and advocacy groups. Groups such as TOOR and WACO were instrumental in bringing about policy changes to the SFRA, requiring the SFRA to replace affordable housing units it demolished and designate 20 percent of its to-be constructed housing units as affordable (PRRAC and NHLP, 2012). San Francisco's numerous affordable housing advocacy groups ultimately formed the CCHO, a collective of 23 affordable housing advocacy groups and San Francisco's foremost affordable housing advocate today. A TIDA commissioner cited San Francisco's "well established, well coordinated, politically organized" affordable housing advocacy as making a concerted and highly effective effort to ensure affordable housing was carefully considered for the Project (interview, June 24, 2013).

Affordable housing advocates further pressed San Francisco's government to codify affordable housing protections during the 1980s, resulting in the OHPP (requiring office space developers to develop affordable housing) and changes to the city's General

Plan (i.e. Proposition M and revisions to South of Market, Chinatown, North Beach, and Tenderloin development regulations). The approval of the Mission Bay and Hunters Point projects in the late 1990s served to create a benchmark affordability percentage for large-scale urban development projects housing plans. San Francisco's governance (i.e. elected officials, San Francisco's affordable housing advocacy, and private developers) had now established a shared understanding that 30 percent of the housing units for such projects would be designated as affordable.

This brings us to the third line of inquiry, which explores how San Francisco's localized version of neoliberal urban development and governance impacted the Project's affordable housing plan. Essentially, San Francisco's approval of the Mission Bay and Hunters Point projects paved the way for the Project's affordable housing plan. Moreover, TIHDI had been intimately involved in the Project's planning since its nascent stages and worked to ensure that the affordable housing plan would be effectively designed. As the Project's affordable housing plan began to take form in 2002, TIDA established a requirement that development proposals must designate 30 percent of the total housing units as affordable. TIDA commissioners, project managers in the Mayor's Office, and affordable housing advocates (such as TIHDI and Council on Community Housing Organizations) stated that this figure was derived from the precedent set by the Mission Bay and Hunters Point projects. TICD was prepared to comply because it too was well aware of this precedent. Thus, San Francisco's governance was unified in this regard and 30 percent of the Project's housing units (amounting to 2,400 units) were designated as affordable early on and without debate. While changes to the development plan would occur in the following years, the 30 percent benchmark for the affordable housing plan would remain constant until forces beyond the control of San Francisco's governance intervened.

This intervention came in the form of Governor Brown's decision to dissolve redevelopment agencies statewide. The Project had been designated as a redevelopment area and, therefore, relied upon the tax increment financing dollars provided by CRL to fund infrastructure improvements (including affordable housing). Without redevelopment as an option, the Project was forced to designate itself as an IFD to obtain tax increment financing. This resulted in the Project capturing 23 percentage points less tax increment financing dollars, equivalent to a loss of over $130 million in funding. The total number of housing units could not be increased to address this funding gap because environmental review had already been completed. Accordingly, the Project was forced to cut public services, and affordable housing was the only viable option because doing so provided a triplicate financial benefit: it reduced the costs (borne by the developer) of constructing affordable units, it provided greater profits by increasing the number of market rate units, and it increased the property taxes against which to bond to finance the Project. To generate the necessary additional $130 million, five percent (or 400 units) of the Project's affordable housing units were reallocated as market rate units. Furthermore, the pricing of the affordable units was increased. Previously, the affordable housing plan had priced for-sale units and rental units at 100 percent and 60 percent of AMI, respectively. Now, for sale-units and rental units were priced at no more than 120 percent of AMI.

San Francisco's governance would fight to regain these affordable housing units. San Francisco Supervisor Jane Kim (in whose district the Project was located) and State Assemblyman Tom Ammiano sponsored AB 664, which would allow the Project's IFD to capture tax increment financing commensurate to CRL. However, Governor Brown would not approve the bill because he felt it would set a precedent for IFDs to function as redevelopment areas and, thereby, undermine his recent decision to dissolve redevelopment agencies. Taking matters into its own hands, the BOS reallocated 173 market rate units as affordable units as part of the Project's final approval in 2011. Accordingly, the BOS ultimately approved an affordable housing plan that incorporated 2,173 affordable units (amounting to 27.2 percent of the Project's total housing units), priced at no more than 120 percent of AMI (equivalent to $138,000 for a family of four in 2017). Furthermore, at least six percent of the project's total units are to be priced for very-low and low-income households (earning from 31 to 80 percent of AMI). Without a doubt, this is a significant number of affordable housing units, a portion of which are intended for households with significantly limited income. Nevertheless, it must be pointed out that the majority of the affordable units are intended for households located at the middle of San Francisco's top-heavy economic spectrum.

San Francisco governance would again show its willingness to protect the Project's affordable housing plan in 2016 when another major funding gap emerged. Due to unforeseen increases in construction costs, the development of the Project's affordable housing units required $380 million in excess of its budget. The BOS, clearly demonstrating its commitment to the affordable housing plan, delayed its vote to approve the IFD for the project at large until this funding gap was addressed. Accordingly, the Mayor's Office and Housing and Community Development contributed $250 million to the affordable housing plan. Moreover, TIDA provided a plan to extend the lifetime of the Project's financing districts and pursue state grants to fill the remaining $130 million funding gap. However the success of these efforts is yet to be determined. As illustrated by its previous reduction in number and increase in pricing in 2011, the Project's affordable housing plan funding is susceptible to financial dilemmas. Accordingly, the final form of the Project's affordable housing plan may not ultimately reflect what has been approved.

Nevertheless, there is cause for optimism. The Project's final approval requires market rate and affordable housing units to be developed simultaneously (though the development of market rate units is front-loaded to generate revenue streams to help fund construction of affordable units). Moreover, the trajectory of the Mission Bay project indicates that San Francisco's governance is capable of effectuating the affordable housing plans of its large-scale urban development projects. As of January 2017, the Mission Bay project had generated 2,835 housing units, 24 percent of which are affordable units (Sabatini, 2017). In an era of neoliberal urban development characterized by disregard for affordable housing, San Francisco's governance has fought hard to protect the Project's affordable housing plan from forces beyond its control and it is reasonable to expect that the Project will ultimately generate a significant amount of affordable housing.

The impacts of neoliberalism on affordable housing are not uniform across the urban landscape. Local culture and politics, it is argued, function as a filter through which neoliberalism must pass. In this way neoliberalism is manifested in various ways (some more egalitarian than others) across America's cities. The capacity for localized governance to produce real change in terms of neoliberal affordable housing policy and governance on a national level is not clear. That said, the linking together of localized affordable housing efforts could provide a platform by which to contest neoliberalism's assault on affordable housing on a larger scale (Leitner, Peck, and Sheppard, 2007). Accordingly, an understanding of how neoliberal governance functions locally with respect to the development of affordable housing is useful.

This case study demonstrates that, through a well-organized and sustained effort, affordable housing advocacy can effectively integrate itself into localized neoliberal governance and its implementation of large-scale urban development projects. San Francisco's long history of affordable housing activism and its booming real estate market produced governance with a unified desire to designate 30 percent of the Project's housing units as affordable. However, many other cities do not benefit from such activism or desirable real estate. Accordingly, the replicability of the Project's formula for large-scale development of affordable housing under different socioeconomic circumstances is uncertain. Nevertheless, understanding this success contributes to the body of research that can be used to protect and expand the increasingly scarce resource that is affordable housing.

Appendix 1: Treasure Island Development Project Historic Timeline

Date	Event
1990	United States Navy begins the process of decommissioning Naval Station Treasure Island.
1994	San Francisco begins process of transferring ownership of the Yerba Buena and Treasure Islands the United States Navy to San Francisco.
1996	1) Naval Station Treasure Island Decommissioned by Navy. 2) San Francisco creates redevelopment survey area for Treasure and Yerba Buena Islands. 3) San Francisco's 1996 Naval Station Treasure Island Reuse Plan approved by Board of Supervisors. 4) San Francisco creates Treasure Island Homeless Development Initiative to develop homeless assistance plan required for Navy to transfer ownership of Treasure and Yerba Buena Islands to San Francisco.
1997	San Francisco Mayor Brown's AB 699 approved by California state legislature, thereby creating the Treasure Island Development Authority (TIDA).
2000	Treasure Island Citizens Advisory Board established by TIDA.
2000 - 2001	1) TIDA receives and reviews initial development proposals from Navillus Associates and Treasue Island Community Development, LLC (TICD). 2) TIDA votes unanimously to deem TICD as the sole qualified bidder for the Treasure Island Development Project.
2002	1) TIDA revises its request for proposal document to include language stipulating that at least 30 percent of the Project's housing units must be designated as affordable units. Affordable for-sale units and rental units priced at 100 percent and 60 percent of AMI, respectively. 2) TICD submits draft development proposal providing 2,800 housing units, 924 (or 33 percent) of which would be affordable units.

Date	Event
2006	1) TICD submits draft development proposal providing 5,500 housing units, 1650 (or 30 percent) of which would be affordable units. 2) TIDA and San Francisco Board of Supervisors (BOS) grant preliminary approval to TICD's 2005 development proposal. 30 percent of the Project's housing units designated as affordable units. Affordable for-sale units and rental units priced at 100 percent and 60 percent of AMI, respectively. Six percent of the Project's units affordable to very low- and low-income households (earning between 31 to 80 percent of AMI).
2010	1) TIDA and the BOS approve an update to the Project's development plan, allowing for 8,000 housing units, 2,400 (or 30 percent) of which would be affordable units. Affordable for-sale units and rental units priced at 100 percent and 60 percent of AMI, respectively. Six percent of the Project's units affordable to very low- and low-income households (earning between 31 to 80 percent of AMI). 2) California Governor Brown declares intention to dissolve redevelopment agencies statewide.
2011	1) Mayor's Office of Economic and Workforce Development, TIDA, and TICD shift the Project from a redevelopment area to an infrastructure financing district, resulting in a $130 million funding gap. To fill the $130 million funding gap Mayor's Office of Economic and Workforce Development, TIDA, and TICD eliminate 400 (or five percent) of the previously proposed 2,400 affordable housing units from the Project. Six percent of Project's total units still affordable to very low- and low-income households (earning 31 percent to 80 percent of AMI). Pricing of remaining affordable units increased from 100 percent and 60 percent of AMI for for-sale and rental units (respectively) to 120 percent of AMI for for-sale and rental units. 2) TIDA and San Francisco Planning Commission approve TICD's revised development proposal. 3) BOS grants project final approval, reallocating 173 market rate units as affordable units. The Project's affordable housing plan ultimately includes 27.2 percent of its total housing units.

Date	Event
2012	San Francisco Supervisor Kim and Assemblyman Ammiano propose AB 664 to modify the Project's IFD to fund affordable housing akin to a redevelopment financing. AB 664 stalls in the California state legislature under threat of Governor Brown's veto and is eventually abandoned.
2012 - 2014	Project delayed until 2014, when a lawsuit alleging that the Project failed to complete adequate environmental review was rejected by the state's Supreme Court document.
2015	Ownership of Treasure Island transferred from Navy to San Francisco.
2016	1) Demolition and infrastructure work begin. Project estimated to take 15 – 20 years to complete. 2) Funding shortage of $380 million for affordable housing plan identified due to unanticipated increases in construction costs. BOS delays approval of Project's IFD.
2017	1) Mayor's Office and Housing and Community Development contribute $250 million to Project's affordable housing plan. TIDA begins effort to extend lifetime of Project's IFD and pursue state grants to fill affordable housing plan's remaining $130 million funding gap. No changes made to affordable housing plan. 2) BOS approves Project's IFD. Demolition and infrastructure work underway.

Appendix 2: List of Abbreviations, Acronyms, and Initialisms

Area median income – AMI

California Community Redevelopment Law – CRL

Council of Community Housing Organizations – CCHO

Infrastructure financing district – IFD

Treasure Island Citizen's Advisory Board – CAB

Treasure Island Community Development – TICD

Treasure Island Development Authority – TIDA

Treasure Island development project – Project

Treasure Island Homeless Development Initiative – TIHDI

Request for proposals – RFP

San Francisco Bay – bay

San Francisco Board of Supervisors – BOS

San Francisco Office Housing Production Program – OHPP

San Francisco Redevelopment Agency – SFRA

San Francisco's South of Market Area – SOMA

Tenants and Owners Development Corporation – TODCO

Tenants and Owners in Opposition to Redevelopment – TOOR

United States Department of Housing and Urban Development – HUD

Western Addition Community Organization – WACO

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