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Artist Housing Support in San Francisco

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Artist Housing Support in San Francisco

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Abstract

This study addresses the research question of whether San Francisco taxpayers are willing to support a 0.03 percent sales tax increase to fund affordable housing for city artists. This tax initiative seeks to maintain and increase the number of artists living in the city during economic hardships because San Francisco attracts many visitors by being a cultural center for artistic expression. Published studies in literature were used to inform the subtopics of this study: the cost of rent, artists' incomes, artists' contributions, sales tax effectiveness, tax popularity with voters, and affordable housing. Survey data was used from one hundred San Francisco residents to assess the extent to which they supported this proposal. Findings from interviews with artists in the city and professionals at artist-supporting organizations were used for further insight. The study provided information as to the level of interest in supporting artists through a local tax initiative.

Chapter 1: Introduction

In December 2016 there was an “Oakland warehouse fire, which killed at least 36 people” (Gajanan, 2016). Gajanan (2016) reports that artists were living in this warehouse because “high local rents” in the Bay Area make finding a place to live difficult. It was discovered that “many people knew the space was technically unsafe, but didn’t report it because” of fear it would drive rent prices up (Gajanan, 2016). This incident leads to a question in this study of whether more affordable housing should be provided for artists living in expensive Bay Area cities such as San Francisco.

This study seeks to discover whether San Francisco citizens support a 0.03 percent sales tax raise to fund affordable artist housing in the city. This initiative strives to expand San Francisco affordable housing for low-income artists who can’t afford the high city rent prices and to offer incentives for artists to live in the city so they can enrich it culturally and economically. To provide an answer to this study, data was collected from secondary sources in literature and primary sources using surveys and interviews. For the survey, a convenience sample of one hundred San Francisco citizens was compiled in a questionnaire asking if they supported this tax proposal. A less accurate convenience sample taken around San Francisco libraries was chosen because a truly randomized sample was not possible with the time and resources given for the study. For the interviews, ten participants who worked with the arts in San Francisco were selected and given a series of questions to answer via email. Once again, due to time constraints, the interviews were done with text instead of spoken dialogue, which provided less detailed answers. The following sub-questions of this study are examined in San Francisco and other cities:

- How do the contributions of artists justify or not justify affordable artist housing?
- How does the cost of rent justify or not justify affordable artist housing?
- How do the average incomes of artists justify or not justify affordable artist housing?
- How do the implications of affordable housing justify or not justify affordable artist housing?
- How does the effectiveness of sales taxes justify or not justify using them for affordable artist housing?
- How do voters feel about the increase of sales taxes?

These sub-questions help provide subtopics that inform the study. This chapter gives background on the following subtopics: artists' contributions, cost of rent, artists' incomes, affordable housing, sales taxes, and voters.

Artists' Contributions

This section explores whether artists' contributions to San Francisco are enough to justify affordable artist housing. Florida (2014) defines "art, design, and entertainment" as part of what he calls the creative class (p. 197). This includes visual, performing, and literary artists. Florida (2014) theorizes that members of the creative class are part of what makes a city's economy strong because they make "a location attractive to industries" (p. 198). The findings here are that businesses seem to go where the creative individuals are to seek new ideas that enhance their product. As an example, Versel (2009) pointed out that the cities of Biddeford and Saco, Maine had recovered from a financially difficult situation by using "massive, redbrick mill buildings as the

center of a creative economy” (p. 20). This finding provides proof that the creative class strengthens a city financially. For the purpose of this study, the artist population of the creative class is examined.

The theory as to why artists attract businesses to a city is examined. Florida (2014) notes that organizations are attracted to the creative class because they “can enhance efficiency, innovation” (p. 197). This theory suggests that the creative class has the potential to bring new ideas that are beneficial to businesses. Boschma and Fritsch (2009) also provide “evidence of a positive relationship among creative class occupation, employment growth, and entrepreneurship” (p. 391). These findings uncover that artists enhance a city’s business sector, finances, and number of jobs. Tähtinen, Kojo, and Nenonen (2016) add to this argument by suggesting, “stimulating the creative class is an opportunity to transform urban areas and improve the economic foundation and competitiveness of a city” (p. 581). According to this theory, it is important to stimulate the visual, literary, and performing artists because they provide a positive impact on a community. O’Sullivan (2013) furthers this theory by mentioning that “studies that have shown where artists live, money and capital growth will follow” (p. 462). This finding points to a pattern of economic increase that comes to a city with a strong creative class.

This study also looks at the skepticism surrounding the creative class theory. For instance, Boren’ and Young (2013) suggest that this theory has a “lack of empirical knowledge with which to evaluate its core assumptions” (p. 207). This finding suggests that there is not enough evidence provided to claim that the creative class economically enhances a city. Hoyman and Faricy (2008) also give skeptical findings by mentioning,

“the creative class is not related to growth” (p. 311). This statement claims that the creative class does not contribute to economic expansion.

Cost of Rent and Artists' Income

This study goes on to examine whether the cost of rent in San Francisco in comparison to the income of its artists justifies affordable artist housing. In terms of artist income, Lindström (2016) suggests that artists usually have “irregular and low income” (p. 43). This information implies that many artists have difficulty affording rent in San Francisco where, as Barton (2011) notes, “rent is among the highest in the United States” (p. 845). Barton’s (2011) findings convey that lower paid workers struggle with San Francisco being an expensive city to gain residence in. Rosen and Sullivan (2014) further this theory by stating that San Francisco has been known for “diminished housing affordability and displaced residents” (p. 121). These findings imply that many low-income citizens, like artists, cannot find an affordable home or have lost their homes. This idea is affirmed further by Voith and Wachter (2009) mentioning, “in 1970, the price of the median San Francisco house was 2.797 times greater than the median household income, but by 2000, this ratio had ballooned to 7.655” (p. 112). This finding shows the widening gap between the income of lower paid citizens and the prices of housing in San Francisco.

This study further discusses the relation between artist income and high costs of rent. For instance, O’Sullivan (2013) points out, “artists are often portrayed as starving” (p. 462). These findings highlight a perception among citizens that artists do not have reliable income. In San Francisco, these artists are faced with a situation that Naughton (2000) describes: “as the increasing need for housing continues to drive up rents and

property prices, the vacancy rate has fallen below one percent” (p. 537). This theory implies that low-income citizens like artists are challenged with climbing rent prices and heavy competition for available housing.

Affordable Artist Housing

This study analyzes affordable artist housing usefulness and whether it justifies said housing. For instance, Strom (2010) notices, “never before have city governments so actively sought to court artists, most notably by supporting the development of subsidized artist housing” (p. 367). This theory suggests a demand for artists in cities is on the rise and a common method to meet that demand is affordable housing. Grodach (2010) notices these affordable housing trends are part of a “growing interest in the arts in community and economic development” (p. 74). Trask (2015) goes on to mention that these “residential lofts had cultural value in postindustrial cities” (p. 1017). These studies point out benefits created for a city with the addition of affordable artist housing. Vale, Shamsuddin, Gray, and Bertumen (2014) suggest that these affordable housing programs could be successful if they do the following:

- Support the community social structure and economic livelihoods of residents,
- Reduce the vulnerability of residents to environmental risks and stresses,
- Enhance the personal security of residents in the face of violence or threats of displacement, and
- Empower communities through enhanced capacities to share in their own governance (p. 21).

This theory implies that an affordable artist-housing program can be successful if it incorporates the correct conditions.

There are also indications that affordable housing has a negative impact on a city. For example, Beitel (2007) explains, “increasing the supply of affordable housing in San Francisco will therefore require large-scale public subsidies to compensate for the failure of the market” (p. 741). This finding implies that affordable housing is very costly for the government and taxpayers. Beitel (2007) states that expensive housing problems “are all ‘normal’ products of the private urban land market” (p. 754). This theory suggests that affordable artist housing programs interfere with a natural part of the city’s development. Tighe (2010) mentions that this kind of housing seems like “unwanted land use” (p. 3). This finding proposes that affordable housing has a negative association among many residents and is not a preferable solution to assist low-income citizens.

Voters and Sales Tax

Since this study suggests a sales tax increase to fund affordable artist housing, there is an examination of both the positive and negative effects of sales taxes on a city. To address a positive effect, Alfonso (2014) points out that local sales taxes “are shown to reduce property tax burdens” (p. 24). This theory suggests that sales taxes are beneficial because the government can decrease other forms of more undesirable taxes. Cornia, Grimshaw, Nelson, and Walters (2010) point out another positive effect by mentioning, “retail sales taxes generate substantial revenue for many local governments” (p. 659). This finding implies that sales taxes bring in more finances for a city government than many other forms of taxes. Foster (2014) continues the sales tax optimism by pointing out that “the incidence of taxes levied on firms is likely to be less apparent to voters than the incidence of direct taxes” (p. 81). This theory suggests a sales

tax increase has a better chance of passing than other tax proposals because the taxes are not coming directly out of the taxpayer's income.

However, those who are skeptics of sales tax point to its negative effects. Propheter (2015) feels the sales tax "future looks grim due in no small part to the continued proliferation of exemptions" (p. 1). This theory suggests that the long-term reliability of sales taxes is non-existent and they do not bring in the funding that local governments expect. Carson (2008) points out that a negative effect of sales tax is that the "rate is applied against the purchase or sales price" (p. 85). This theory suggests that sales taxes are harming city businesses because they are dissuading customers from buying products due to the added cost. Niemi, Stanley, and Vogel (1995) state that increases in taxes "contribute to votes against incumbent governors and their parties" (p. 936). This finding suggests that there is a negative association for many voters regarding taxes and that there are political consequences for many public officials who increase them.

Summary

Various reports have differing findings in the subsections of this study. Artists are found to have given both high and low contributions to a city. The cost of rent and the income of artists in San Francisco tend to fluctuate from study to study. The different reports on affordable housing effectiveness appear to be inconsistent. Different perspectives are presented on sales taxes and their effect on voters. This study seeks to gain clarity among these conflicting findings in these various subsections. This clarity helps to answer the main research question of whether San Francisco citizens support a

sales tax increase for affordable artist housing. These subtopics are explored further through the following chapters:

- A review of literature to gain insight from previous studies,
- A research plan to collect data from interviews and surveys,
- An analysis of the results and findings of the data collected,
- A series of conclusions and recommendations based on the data collected.

These chapters are informed by this exploration of subtopics.

Chapter 2: Review of Literature

Since this study proposes a 0.03 percent sales tax increase to fund affordable artist housing in San Francisco, this chapter reviews sources of literature compiled on relevant subtopics. The first section takes a look at varying studies on artists' contributions to a city. The second section examines articles that inform on the cost of rent compared to artists' incomes in San Francisco. The third section addresses articles with different viewpoints on affordable housing effectiveness for a community. Lastly, the fourth section explores works that have a variety of findings on sales tax and its effect on voters. These pieces of literature are taken into consideration when analyzing the data from the interviews and surveys conducted in this study.

Artists' Contributions

Published studies in literature show different levels of artists' contributions to cities. These studies are relevant because artists' contributions might be a factor in citizens' decisions to support affordable artist housing. For example, in *Creative Class and Regional Growth: Empirical Evidence from Seven European Countries*, Boschma and Fritsch (2009) provide evidence that "creative people are key drivers of urban and regional growth" (p. 392). Artists are considered to be a part of this definition of creative people and have an economic importance. Versel's (2009) article, *Reimagining a Mill Community*, shows evidence of this importance by exploring example communities whose "overall economy survived the textile industry's decline" (p. 20) by investing in their creative class. This piece displays an example of a successful use of the creative class. In *How Art Economically Benefits Cities*, the Project for Public Spaces (2009) shows examples of how artists benefit cities:

- In New York City, art activity generated 17.7 billion dollars annually;
- In Chicago, art installations brought two million more visitors to the city;
- In Cincinnati, artist events drew visitors to spend 59.4 million on local businesses.

These examples show the successes that cities have with investing in their artists.

Pieces of literature that discuss the creative class theory are also examined. In *The Creative Class and Economic Development*, Florida (2014) defines creative people as part of the term he calls the “creative class” (p. 197). The creative class includes visual, literary, and performing artists. His findings are that the creative class comes up with society’s most economically beneficial and innovative ideas. In *User Experience of Creative Class District: Punavuori Neighborhood*, Tähtinen, Kojo, and Nenonen (2016) add to Florida’s (2014) theory by describing how the creative class “development appears to be a positive phenomenon” (p. 580). This work provides an indication that creative people are consistently providing good impressions in various cities.

Studies in literature also provide ideas that the creative class is not as effective as Florida (2014) describes. In *The Migration Dynamics of the ‘Creative Class’: Evidence from a Study of Artists in Stockholm, Sweden*, Boren’ and Young (2013) state that there is no proof that the financial success of a city is “due to the movement of creative individuals” (p. 207). This piece suggests that more research is needed on artists’ contributions before coming to a positive conclusion. Hoyman and Faricy (2009) reject creative class theories in *It Takes a Village: A Test of the Creative Class, Social Capital, and Human Capital Theories* by suggesting that their “findings should warn policy makers against the use of ‘creative’ strategies for urban economic development” (p.

311). This article offers alternate findings to those describing the creative class as an economic asset.

Cost of Rent and Artists' Salary

More works in literature address the high cost of rent in San Francisco in relation to artists' incomes. These works reveal the level of need for an affordable artist-housing proposal. In *Land Rent and Housing Policy: A Case Study of the San Francisco Bay Area Rental Housing Market*, Barton (2011) gives insight into how low-income Bay Area tenants have "less income remaining after payment of rent than tenants did in 1960" (p. 845). This article suggests that rental inflation in San Francisco causes financial hardships on low-income citizens like artists. In *Urban Growth and Housing Affordability: The Conflict*, Voith and Wachter (2009) add to this argument by suggesting that around the year 2000, "San Francisco became unaffordable" (p. 112). This work proposes that San Francisco housing is not affordable for artists due to rent increasing over time.

Reviewed works of literature further describe the disproportionate relationship between rent and income in San Francisco. For instance, in *San Francisco's Owner Move-In Legislation: Rent Control or Out of Control?*, Naughton (2000) notes that there are "various social problems created by the housing crisis" (p. 537). This article suggests there is a need to make "laws that equitably handle the problems posed by the ever-worsening housing shortage" (Naughton, 2000, p. 537). This theory implies that there is a housing problem in San Francisco in need of addressing. Lindström's (2016) *Artists and Multiple Job Holding-Breadwinning Work as Mediating Between Bohemian and Entrepreneurial Identities and Behavior* suggests that artists struggle with this housing

crisis because they generally have “low income and work insecurity” (p. 43). This article makes the case that many artists receive minimal pay and opportunities.

The literature reviewed in this study also discusses statistics that show the differences between artists’ incomes and the cost of rent in San Francisco. In *13 Facts About San Francisco That Will Make You Think Twice About Whether You Can Afford to Live There*, Elkins (2015) mention, “the median rent for a one-bedroom apartment stands at \$3,460 a month.” In *This Bay Area Artist is Challenging the Dominant Narrative Around Gentrification*, Jackson and Simas (2016) point out that these high rent prices are because of “a different class of newcomer—young, tech-employed, and able to pay crazy sums for housing.” Meanwhile, *Artist Salaries in San Francisco* show that employed artists make “a range usually between \$53,133-\$72,698” (2016). These figures do not include the income of many independent artists. The San Francisco Health Improvement Partnership shows that the median income in San Francisco is \$84,160 (2016). These statistics suggest that many artists make a significant amount less than the average income in San Francisco.

Affordable Housing

Reviewed studies in literature also show the benefits and consequences of providing affordable housing, which may be a factor for citizens deciding on supporting artist housing. In *Home is Where the Art Is: The Impact that Housing Laws and Gentrification Policies Have Had on the Availability and Affordability of Artist Live/Work Spaces*, O’Sullivan (2013) suggests that affordable artist housing is provided in order “to facilitate the revitalization of cities, neighborhoods, and towns” (p. 462). This article implies that affordable artist housing brings many benefits to a city. In *Art*

Spaces in Community and Economic Development: Connections to Neighborhoods, Artists, and the Cultural Economy, Grodach (2010) continues this argument by mentioning how artist programs like affordable housing are part of an “interest in how governments can capture and enhance their positive spin-off effects” (p. 74). This piece is showing a high level of intrigue that many governments have with supporting artists through affordable housing.

The literature reviewed in this study continues to examine the large interest in affordable artist housing. In *Artist Garret as Growth Machine? Local Policy and Artist Housing in U.S. Cities*, Strom (2016) notes that “in most cities, artist-housing programs are considered part of an economic development agenda” (p. 367). This suggests that many cities are investing in affordable artist housing because it leads to financial success. In *What Affordable Housing Should Afford: Housing for Resilient Cities*, Vale, Shamsuddin, Gray, and Bertumen (2014) suggest the potential of success in affordable housing programs if they support the community in the process (p. 21). This implies that affordable housing can be effective if implemented correctly.

There are sources that refer to San Francisco’s current affordable artist housing programs. The San Francisco Arts Commission participates in a program called Access to Housing - San Francisco Artist & Arts Worker Outreach Program. This program seeks “to provide a pipeline and safety net to support those artists and arts workers in need of affordable housing” (2016). The San Francisco Arts Commission is also involved in the Shared Prosperity for the Arts Package and Cultural Equity Endowment that seeks to “explore exciting new opportunities to build housing for the artists who contribute so much to San Francisco’s diverse neighborhoods” (2015). Despite these

programs, Kelly (2016) points out that there are still “numerous signs of artist displacement” and actual affordable artist housing in San Francisco has not yet truly been implemented. This implies that even more affordable housing initiatives are needed in the city to make these units a reality.

A number of the articles mentioned in this study pointed to consequences in implementing affordable housing programs. In *Did Overzealous Activists Destroy Housing Affordability in San Francisco? A Time-Series Test of the Effects of Rezoning on Construction and Home Prices, 1967–1998*, Beitel (2007) suggests that it is very expensive to meet the “housing needs of low-to-moderate-income households” (p. 754). This article helps to consider the financial impact of affordable artist housing programs. In *Public Opinion and Affordable Housing: A Review of Literature*, Tighe (2010) also mentions a downside to affordable housing by stating, “neighborhood opposition can be a particularly effective barrier” (p. 3). This piece shows that there are negative feelings about affordable housing with many citizens.

Voters and Sales Tax

Many of the articles reviewed in this study address the effectiveness of sales tax on a city and its voters. This also may be an important subject to citizens deciding to support affordable artist housing. In *Local Sales Taxes as a Means of Increasing Revenues and Reducing Property Tax Burdens: An Analysis Using Propensity Score Matching*, Alfonso (2014) suggests that one of the positives of sales tax is that it helps government “increase own source revenue” (p. 24). This article implies that sales tax is an effective way for the government to gain finances to support certain initiatives. In *Tax Exporting and the Business Share of Sales Tax Levies*, Foster (2014) states another

positive aspect of implementing sales taxes: “the political costs of taxing business purchases may be relatively low” (p. 81). This study suggests that sales taxes seem less burdensome to citizens than other forms of taxes because they aren’t being directly taken from incomes, so it is less risky for politicians to propose.

There are also works in literature that show skepticism toward sales taxes. For instance, in *The Effect of Local Options Sales Taxes on Local Sales*, Cornia, Grimshaw, Nelson, and Walters (2010) point out that government officials must “carefully assess the potential impacts of such decisions on purchasing decisions” (p. 659). This suggests that there needs to be caution of how the sales tax initiative might affect city businesses. In *Rethinking the Impact of Sales Taxes on Government Procurement Practices: Unintended Consequences or Good Policy?*, Carson (2008) suggests that an unlimited power to tax involves “a power to destroy” (p. 85). This finding reveals the government has potential to misuse these taxes and cause damage to businesses. In *Political Institutions and State Sales Tax Base Erosion*, Propheter (2015) suggests another negative side of sales tax: “changing consumer behavior and technological innovations has undermined the sales tax’s reliability” (p. 1). This piece suggests that sales taxes are not trustworthy in some situations. In *State Economies and State Taxes: Do Voters Hold Governors Accountable?*, Niemi, Stanley, and Vogel (1995) suggest governors are “held responsible for increased rates” (p. 936). This article implies that there are political consequences for politicians implementing sales tax increases because of the stigma surrounding them.

Summary

This chapter reviewed literature that showed varying findings on the subtopics of this study. Certain findings reveal that artists' contributions to a city are many, while other research provides no evidence of significant contributions. Many findings show a wide gap between artists' income and the cost of living in San Francisco. Some studies find that affordable artist housing is an effective way to support artists, while other studies show that this housing causes more damage. Various findings reveal that sales taxes are a beneficial way to draw in revenue for affordable artist housing, while other research finds that these taxes are more burdensome. Due to a variety of results in previous studies, a research plan for this study was assembled to gain clarity on these subtopics and find out if San Francisco citizens support the 0.03 percent sales tax increase for affordable artist housing. The following chapter discusses these research methods.

Chapter 3: Research Methods

Overview of Methodology

This chapter describes the research question, hypothesis, operational definitions, limitations, and plan for this study. For the research plan, a survey and a series of interviews were conducted to see if San Francisco citizens supported a 0.03 percent sales tax increase to fund affordable artist housing. The survey was passed out to one hundred San Francisco residents who answered “yes” or “no” to the sales tax increase. If sixty-seven participants voted “yes,” then the increase would have been supported. If less than sixty-seven people voted “yes,” then the increase would not have been supported. Email interviews were held with San Francisco professionals who worked in or with the arts to explain the results and findings of this study. The interviews helped to form conclusions and recommendations. The literature reviewed in Chapter 2 was also used to formulate the results, findings, conclusions, and recommendations.

Research Question

If a 0.03 percent sales tax increase is proposed in San Francisco to fund affordable housing for local artists, will the citizens support it? The data collected in this study sought to answer this question.

Research Hypothesis

If a 0.03 percent sales tax increase is proposed in San Francisco to fund affordable housing for local artists, the citizens will support it. The data collected in this study sought to support or refute this statement.

Independent Variable

If a 0.03 percent sales tax increase was proposed in San Francisco to fund affordable housing for local artists.

Dependent Variable

The citizens will support it.

Sub-questions

Six sub-questions stemming from the main research question were used throughout the research. The research and interview questions were directly influenced by these sub-questions and helped to inform the results, findings, conclusions, and recommendations. These sub-questions were as follows:

- How do the contributions of artists justify or not justify an affordable artist housing increase? This answers the question of whether artists contribute enough to a city to warrant affordable housing that keeps them in the city.
- How does the high cost of rent justify or not justify affordable artist housing? This informs of whether rent is high enough to suggest a need for affordable housing for low-income artists.
- How does the income of artists justify or not justify affordable artist housing? This helps to discover whether artists' incomes are low enough to suggest a need to provide them with affordable housing.
- How do the implications of affordable housing justify or not justify affordable artist housing? This provides an answer as to whether affordable housing is an effective method for supporting low-income artists.

- How do the implications of sales taxes justify or not justify using it to fund affordable artist housing? This helps to resolve the question as to whether the benefits of sales taxes outweigh the costs.
- How do voters feel about the increase of sales taxes? This assists in figuring out the level of willingness possess have to have their taxes increased for a cause.

Operational Definitions

Operational definitions were provided to give clarification to key terms in the hypothesis statement. These definitions are as follows:

0.03 percent. This represents the percentage to be added onto the already existing sales tax rate. According to *California Sales Tax Rate: San Francisco*, the sales tax rate in San Francisco is “8.75 percent” (2016).

Sales tax. This represents a tax that takes a certain percentage of the total cost of a sale and adds it to the total. The extra sum collected is handed over to the government to be used for certain causes. Items exempt from sales tax are not applied.

Increase. This represents an increase to the sales tax rate already in place in the city of San Francisco. The sales tax rate is 8.75 percent making the new tax rate 8.78. The duration is indefinite until a measure takes away the extra tax or redistributes it.

Proposed. This represents an initiative that is suggested to the voters of San Francisco. The voters approve or disapprove it on a voter ballot.

San Francisco. This represents the city and county of San Francisco in the state of California in the United States of America. It also represents the city and county government that can initiate a sales tax increase.

Fund. This represents the 0.03 sales tax that would be collected and how it would go toward the specific cause of affordable artist housing.

Affordable housing. This represents the housing low-income artists can afford with their current salary. In San Francisco, this is considered “\$861-\$1,346” (2016) rent per month for studios and one to three bedroom apartments according to *Affordable Housing Developments in San Francisco*.

Local artists. This represents any visual, performing, or literary artist who qualifies as low-income in the city of San Francisco, which is less than \$53,235 a year for an individual according to *Earning \$81K Qualifies One For Below Market Rate Housing In SF*. Applicants need to provide a recent body of work, evidence that their art has been shown in a public space, evidence of training in the arts, and letters of reference in order to assure they are making consistent, valid artistic contributions to a community. These are the factors that would qualify applicants as artists.

Citizens. This represents any person who is living in the city and county of San Francisco. Residency in the city means that they pay city taxes and have the ability to vote on a special tax measure such as the one proposed in this study.

Support. This represents the 66.7 percent vote needed for special sales tax measures to be approved as required by California law.

Data Collection:

The following data collection methods were used to help answer the research questions in this study:

Surveys. One-hundred citizens of San Francisco took part in a short survey distributed around the following local libraries across the city: San Francisco Public Library, Presidio Branch Library, Park Branch Library, Sunset Branch Library, and Marina Branch Library. Twenty surveys were gathered from each of these areas. This survey method involved a convenience sample. These citizens provided insight into if San Franciscans support the 0.03 percent sales tax increase for affordable artist housing. It was first clarified that the participants were San Francisco residents. Then, they were given an informed consent statement and voted whether they supported it or not. Since 66.7 percent of voters in California need to vote “yes” in order to pass a sales tax increase, at least sixty-seven of these citizens must have voted “yes” in order for the hypothesis to be supported. However, if less than sixty-seven voters said “yes,” then the hypothesis was unsupported. The full survey is displayed in FIGURE A of the appendix section.

Interviews. In addition, San Francisco professionals were interviewed to gain insight. These interviewees were artists who worked in the city and people who worked for an organization that supported artists. All of the interviewees had sufficient knowledge of the cost of rent challenges that low-income artists faced and informed the study with their insight on the San Francisco community. They were asked questions that directly reflected the sub-questions of this study and helped to explain the results of the survey. They were asked about:

- Their work and how it relates to the arts,
- How artists’ contributions to San Francisco justify or don’t justify affordable housing,

- How artists' salaries in San Francisco justify or don't justify affordable housing,
- How the cost of rent in San Francisco justifies or doesn't justify affordable housing,
- Their feelings on how effective affordable housing is in supporting artists in San Francisco,
- Their feelings on a sales tax increase as a method to fund affordable artist housing in San Francisco,
- Their feelings on how San Francisco voters would feel about a sales tax increase.

The full interview layout is displayed in FIGURE B in the appendices section.

Secondary data. The works in literature described in Chapter 2 were used to analyze the results and findings of the survey conducted. These works were also used to supplement the interview responses and draw conclusions and recommendations.

Limitations of Research

There were limitations to this research. Initially, online interviews were going to be conducted from SurveyMonkey.com, but narrowing down the respondents to only San Francisco residents proved to be too costly and time consuming. As an alternative, surveys were conducted in person. While qualitative questions were planned for the survey, the high amount of surveys that had to be done in a short time only allowed time for one quantitative question per person. Due to the inability to have a truly randomized sample of all San Francisco residents, a convenience sample had to be taken. Surveys were handed out in front of public libraries, but they may only have caught a certain demographic. Therefore, this sample may not have been truly representative of the entire San Francisco population. Due to time constraints, the interviews were conducted over

email instead of in person. Therefore, the written answers may not have informed the study as well as the natural dialogue from an in-person interview. Despite these limitations, the data collected gave indications of certain patterns that provided answers for the study.

Internal Validity

The factors that could have affected internal validity included: a change in the San Francisco economy, a shift in the San Francisco population, a change in the San Francisco tax laws, a shift in the San Francisco housing, a sales tax proposal for the homeless, a presidential election, a general mistrust for government, stigmas about tax increases, and a fatal Oakland fire at an artist warehouse.

External Validity

This research should have external validity with government organizations dealing with the arts, nonprofit organizations dealing with the arts, professionals working in the arts, citizens involved with the arts, and other cities wishing to invest in artists.

Summary

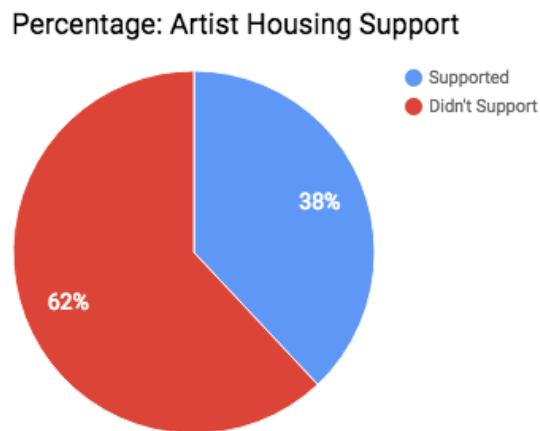
A hypothesis was provided in this chapter to test whether the sales tax increase for affordable artist housing was supported or not. A research question and sub-questions were formed to invoke information as to why the initiative was supported or not. Operational definitions were given to clarify terms within the hypothesis. A survey and interview setup was given to answer the research questions, test the hypothesis, and help explain the results. Internal validity was provided to explain why results might have

varied. External validity was provided to explain how others might have used the results of this study. All of these elements provided a research plan that led to substantial results and findings. These results and findings are reviewed in the next chapter.

Chapter 4: Results and Findings

Review of Methodology

One hundred San Francisco residents were surveyed at local libraries across the city to see if they would have supported a 0.03 percent sales tax increase that would have funded affordable artist housing. The findings were as follows:



The Hypothesis statement was: If a 0.03 percent sales tax increase was proposed in San Francisco to fund affordable housing for local artists, the citizens will support it. This statement was disproven because only thirty-eight out of the one hundred survey participants said that they would have supported this measure. Since sixty-seven percent of citizens needed to support a tax measure in order for it to pass in California, this study found that San Francisco citizens would not have supported this measure. The research question was: If a 0.03 percent sales tax increase is proposed in San Francisco to fund an increase in affordable housing for local artists, will the citizens support it? The answer to this question was “no” because sixty-two participants said that they would not have supported this measure. This chapter explores the results and findings of the e-mail

interviews conducted on ten professionals who work in the arts. These interviews helped to analyze the survey results and answer the sub-questions. The pieces of literature reviewed in this study also helped to explain the results.

Artists' Contributions

While this study found that the hypothesis was not supported, the interviews revealed that it was not because of lack of contributions that artists made to San Francisco. A children's book illustrator in San Francisco confirms that artists contribute highly to the city because "without the many artists that live in SF, this city would not be known as one of the most beautiful cities in the world" (Artist A, personal communication, November 1, 2016). This idea suggests that San Francisco obtains a great deal of its visual appeal from its artists. Asher, a previous coordinator of art programs in San Francisco, furthers this idea by explaining, "artists have long been a part of this city's cultural identity" (personal communication, October 29, 2016). This statement points out that artists make San Francisco a culturally desirable city.

The interviews conducted also reveal that the visual and cultural appeal of San Francisco draws in revenue by attracting tourists. For instance, Wicht, a musician in San Francisco, mentions the following: "because our city relies so heavily upon tourism, and because our local arts are such a 'draw' for tourists, we must view the arts as an essential piece of what makes San Francisco unique" (personal communication, November 7, 2016). This statement indicates that artists contribute to San Francisco's tourism revenue. Patterson, a spokesperson for the San Francisco Arts Commission, adds to this argument by suggesting, "arts and culture tourism is a 1.7 billion dollar industry" (personal communication, November 16, 2016). Izu, a public relations worker for the

Community Arts Stabilization Trust in San Francisco, affirms this claim by noting, “artists generate revenue and interest for the city in addition to attracting tourism dollars” (personal communication, November 30, 2016). These ideas suggest that artists bring in high amounts of finances. These findings aligned with Florida’s (2014) findings that artists are part of a creative class that economically and financially contributes to a city.

This study finds that there is a belief among citizens that artists do not contribute as significantly as other professionals. This may be one of the reasons that citizens do not support the tax increase proposed in this study. An employee of an arts museum notes that she does not think “the public sees artists as contributing to society in the same way they would view another profession such as an educator” (Artist C, personal communication, November 8, 2016). This statement implies that initiatives supporting more valued citizens in San Francisco are more likely to pass than ones for artists. J. Gallegos, a jewelry designer in San Francisco, describes the reason for this is that “art is considered a luxury or at least non-essential” (personal communication, November 9, 2016). This suggests that citizens feel artists are not in need of support as much as other professionals because they provide a more recreational service.

Cost of Rent and Artists’ Income

Even though citizens turned down the initiative in this study, findings suggest that there is an understanding that rent is too high for the average artist income. J. Gallegos notes, “high rents contribute to artists leaving cities” (personal communication, November 9, 2016). This finding implies that artists are driven from the city because rent costs are too much for them to afford. G. Gallegos, a musical conductor, furthered

these findings by suggesting, “most artists don’t earn nearly enough income to keep pace with the rising cost of SF market rate housing” (personal communication, November 12, 2016). This idea implies that San Francisco rents are unaffordable for many low-income citizens, including artists. The children’s book illustrator contributes to these findings by mentioning, “with rent being so high, many artists cannot afford to stay in the city and are moving further out, taking the thriving SF art scene with them” (Artist A, personal communication, November 1, 2016). These findings affirm the findings of Barton (2011) that recognize the cost of rent in San Francisco is exceptionally high.

There is recognition among citizens that most artists tend to make lower incomes. For instance, the arts museum employee states that financially many artists “are treading water to survive in the city” (Artist C, personal communication, November 8, 2016). This finding implicates many artists make such low income that it becomes difficult for them to find a place to live in San Francisco. J. Benton, a contract designer, mentions, “a career in the arts is rarely a lucrative path” (personal communication, November 9, 2016). This suggests that most artists are not bringing in a financially profitable salary. Wicht adds to this argument by mentioning all those “employed in the arts usually earn far less than their counterparts in other industries” (personal communication, November 7, 2016). This idea implies that artists usually make less money than professionals in other fields. These findings coincide with Lindström’s (2016) findings in that they point to a pattern of low incomes among many artists. However, Patterson points out that “first responders, teachers, and service workers” must also be considered (personal communication, November 16, 2016). She suggests artists are not the only ones struggling with low income.

Affordable Housing

The interviews resulted in mixed feelings about affordable housing. There is both positive and negative feedback. The negative feedback partially explains why the sales tax increase is not supported. An educator in the arts conveyed the following: “having an option for affordable artist housing in San Francisco would have a positive impact on the artist community and could potentially promote more opportunities to generate revenue” (Artist B, personal communication, November 29, 2016). This idea suggests that affordable artist housing has the potential to be an effective method of financially supporting artists and San Francisco. Patterson adds to this by suggesting, “affordable housing helps to ensure diversity in our city” (personal communication, November 16, 2016). This finding implies that affordable artist housing is culturally successful for San Francisco. These findings coincide with O’Sullivan’s (2013) findings that affordable artist housing has a positive impact on cities.

However, there is also skepticism about affordable housing that has caused citizens to not support the initiative in this study. While not an opponent of affordable housing, J. Gallegos expresses a concern that the government would be deciding who qualifies for affordable artist housing and would have the power to define who is an artist, which limits the artistic community. Asher is also not opposed to affordable housing, but points to a much larger problem: “a culture that recognizes the basic humanity of every individual, versus a culture that worships wealth over human life” (personal communication, October 29, 2016). This suggests that affordable housing is a way of coping with the problem, but does not solve the problem itself.

Voters and Sales Tax

The interviews conducted also produce mixed results on the effectiveness of sales tax. Asher believes that sales tax “can be a valuable fund generating tactic to help provide affordable housing” (personal communication, October 29, 2016). This view suggests that sales tax is useful in supporting the artist initiative in this study. However, Asher also points out that it may “be bad for local business and make it even less affordable for those who are already struggling to live in San Francisco” (personal communication, October 29, 2016). This aligns with Carson’s (2008) findings that the implementation of sales tax has consequences for businesses. The children’s book illustrator states the following: “much like we pay taxes to keep our streets paved and our freeways clean, I think it's acceptable that we pay taxes to keep San Francisco beautiful by supporting public art and public art spaces” (Artist A, personal communication, November 1, 2016). This coincided with Alfonso’s (2014) findings that sales tax is a useful way to bring in revenue for certain causes.

The interview findings show that a sales tax increase is not the preferred method by citizens for providing funding to affordable artist housing. This may be one of the reasons why citizens do not support the initiative in this study. While Artist B is a supporter of this sales tax initiative, she notes that the citizens’ view of San Francisco “already reflects grossly inflated prices, but additionally, an array of extra taxes and fees that are city ordained” (personal communication, November 29, 2016). Artist B predicts that citizens do not want to pay any more than they already are. J. Gallegos also shows the lack of desire citizens have to pay more taxes by stating, “they’d rather move existing funds from elsewhere than pay more tax anywhere” (personal communication,

November 9, 2016). This idea suggests that citizens may be more inclined to redistributing a tax toward affordable artist housing rather than having one risen. These findings relate to Niemi, Stanley, and Vogel's (1995) findings that tax increases are usually not popular with the citizens affected.

Further reasons were discovered for why sales tax increases are not well received with San Francisco citizens. Artist C comments that she can't "comprehend how such a small percentage of tax increase could be effective in assisting something as grand as city housing" (personal communication, November 8, 2016). This suggests that a 0.03 percent sales tax increase is not enough to make a significant impact on affordable artist housing. Benton mentions it is a possibility that "the government takes this opportunity to raise funds to be used once and reallocated the following year" (personal communication, November 9, 2016). This idea describes citizen mistrust of their government using taxes for their designated purposes. Due to this factor, Asher recommends "sufficient oversight to prevent the good intentions of the measure from getting mired in local politics and corruption" (October 29, 2016). This statement also suggests a distrust of government functioning as it is expected to.

Summary

This chapter described how through a survey of one-hundred San Francisco citizens, it was found that there would not be support for a 0.03 percent sales tax increase to fund affordable artist housing. Interviews and works in literature were reviewed to answer the sub-questions of this study, which helped to explain why the initiative was not supported. While citizens have an appreciation for artists' contributions to the city, they feel that supporting other professions is a priority. Citizens

tend to agree that the cost of rent in San Francisco is high and artists' incomes are low in comparison. While there is recognition among citizens that affordable housing is beneficial, there is a distrust of government defining what an artist is and a recognition that it does not help to solve the larger problem of rent inflation. While some citizens recognize the usefulness of sales tax, many feel taxes are already too high for more increases and that the government would use the revenue for undesigned purposes. These findings lead to conclusions and recommendations that are discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 5: Conclusions and Recommendations

Overview

This chapter lists the conclusions and recommendations drawn from the surveys, interviews, and literature reviewed in this study. The conclusions explain the sub-question results and why the proposed 0.03 percent sales tax to fund affordable artist housing in San Francisco was not supported by the one hundred city residents who took the survey. The recommendations suggest courses of action to improve the initiative or provide alternate initiatives that could accomplish the same goals. Areas for further research are supplied that could help with planning more successful artist support initiatives and alternatives. These conclusions and recommendations are based on the subsections of this study: the contribution level of artists to the city, the cost of rent in the city, the incomes of artists in the city, the implications of affordable housing in the city, the effectiveness of sales taxes to fund initiatives in the city, and the attitudes of city voters toward sales tax increases. These subsections provide factors that may have affected the decisions of the survey participants to not support the sales tax increase. By addressing these areas, this chapter develops suggestions that may be useful for future San Francisco artist support initiatives.

Artists' Contributions

Conclusions. The sub-question of this section is: How do the contributions of artists justify or not justify affordable artist housing? The conclusions of this study show, as Artist A puts it, “artists contribute to keeping the city running as much as any other industry” (personal communication, November 1, 2016). These conclusions coincided with Boschma and Fritsch’s (2009) findings that the existence of a strong

creative class in a city leads to many advantages. These ideas help to conclude that artists' contributions are significant enough that an effort to keep them in the city is warranted. However, it is concluded that the public generally does not fully recognize these contributions and that may have be one of the reasons the sales tax increase is not supported.

Recommendations. Artist A concludes that one of the reasons the sales tax increase is not supported is that “artistry is not as well respected as many other businesses” (personal communication, November 1, 2016). It appears this attitude toward artists needs to be addressed for change to occur. Therefore, the recommendation for San Francisco government workers and artist supporters is, as Artist C puts it, to offer “sufficient evidence and persuasion to convince the public of how artists” make a difference in their community (personal communication, November 8, 2016). If the public becomes more aware that “the arts provide culture and an identity to a place as well as providing a voice for its inhabitants” (Benton, personal communication, November 9, 2016), then they may be more willing to support artist initiatives.

Areas for further research. Further research is recommended on how awareness can be created to help San Francisco citizens recognize the value of artists in the city. If further information is uncovered on how to implement this awareness, then society may be more likely to think “of an artist as an important contributor” (Artist C, personal communication, November 8, 2016). This research may uncover ways that citizens can be persuaded to support artist initiatives in San Francisco.

Cost of Rent and Artists' Salary

Conclusions. The first sub-question of this section is: How does the high cost of rent justify or not justify affordable artist housing? The findings in this study show that the high cost of rent does justify financial assistance for artists. The conclusion is that, as J. Gallegos mentions, cities “can’t have artists in any number without cheap rent” (personal communication, November 9, 2016). This implies that many artists are in need of lower rent in order to stay in cities. This aligns with Rosen and Sullivan’s (2014) conclusions that housing has become unaffordable for those not equipped with a higher income. However, it is concluded that many other professionals who also struggle with these high rents are just as important to support as artists. This may be why artists aren’t given priority for the sales tax increase to be supported.

The second sub-question of this section is: How does the income of artists justify or not justify affordable artist housing? The findings in this study show that artists generally have low enough income to justify financial assistance. The conclusions here are that, as Artist A states, artists “are paid significantly less than the average worker” (personal communication, November 1, 2016). These findings match the portrayal O’Sullivan (2013) mentions in his study that depicts artists as those with significantly low incomes. However, it is concluded that many other professionals who also struggle with low pay are just as important to support as artists. This may also be why artists aren’t given the priority for the sales tax increase to be supported.

Recommendations. Therefore, it is recommended that San Francisco find initiatives like affordable housing that include other low-income citizens besides just

artists. If these initiatives are more inclusive, they may have a broader appeal to the public and increase the likelihood of support.

Areas for further research. Further research is recommended on finding ways to financially support other low-income citizens that include artists. Artist A described this area of research as keeping artists in the city by finding “more options that were affordable for someone making an artist's income (personal communication, November 1, 2016). If artist initiatives do not pass in San Francisco, artists may still benefit from initiatives for financially struggling citizens in general.

Affordable Housing

The sub-question of this section is: How do the implications of affordable housing justify or not justify affordable artist housing? The findings in this study shows that affordable housing is a justified technique in supporting artists, but it is “ultimately a stopgap measure” (Asher, personal communication, October 29, 2016). Regarding the expansions made to affordable housing, Artist B questions whether they are “significant enough through taxes alone” (personal communication, November 29, 2016). This concludes that the sales tax increase is not enough to make significant increases in affordable artist housing. However, since the voters already turned down this sales tax increase, it is likely they would turn down a higher increase. More revenue has to come from other sources in order to meet the financial needs of affordable artist housing.

Recommendations. Asher recommends, “the best solution is a wholesale societal re evaluation of housing at all levels as a basic human right” (personal communication, October 29, 2016). Since affordable housing does not solve the high cost of rent and low artist wages, it is recommended that San Francisco government and

citizens find other methods that address these issues directly. Citizens may be more likely to support an initiative that seems like progress toward a solution for rental inflation. It is also recommended that other sources of revenue be found to fund affordable housing since it may cost more than the sales tax increase could cover. The citizens may support an initiative that seems more realistic in the amount of revenue it generates.

Areas for further research. Further research is recommended on other ways to generate revenue for affordable artist housing since G. Gallegos mentions that this is “an extremely modest tax increase” (personal communication, November 12, 2016). This research may provide methods that increase funding. Further research is recommended on policies that show “a commitment to local residents and a commitment to sustainable housing for everyone” (Wicht, personal communication, November 7, 2016). This research may help to solve the problems of rental inflation and low income in San Francisco since affordable housing does not provide a solution to these problems.

Voters and Sales Tax

Conclusions. The first sub-question of this section is: How do the implications of sales taxes justify or not justify using them for affordable artist housing? The conclusion of this study suggests that sales taxes are a justified method for funding affordable artist housing, but they must be implemented in such a way that prevents harm to business and assures they “actually be used for this purpose not just once but annually” (Benton, personal communication, November 9, 2016). Carson’s (2008) conclusion that sales taxes have the ability to negatively affect local businesses has also been reflected in these conclusions.

The second sub-question of this section is: How do voters feel about the increase of sales taxes? The conclusions from this study imply that, as Benton points out, “voters never usually support an increase in sales tax” (personal communication, November 9, 2016). G. Gallegos affirmed this by mentioning “the idea of an additional tax of any kind, can be met with significant resistance” (personal communication, November 12, 2016). Patterson confirms this conclusion by pointing out that San Francisco “voters just voted against an increase in the sales tax for housing for the homeless” (personal communication, November 16, 2016). This finding concludes that if citizens do not approve a sales tax increase for the homeless, they probably will not for artists.

Recommendations. It is recommended that San Francisco government and artist supporters find other sources of revenue to support artists since sales taxes are unpopular and might not provide enough funds. Citizens may be more likely to support artist initiatives if other fund generating methods are used besides sales tax increases. It is also recommended that stricter rules be implemented on sales taxes to avoid harm to business and government misuse of the funds collected. Citizens may be more likely to support a sales tax initiative if they have assurance that businesses will continue to thrive and the government will be honest with the revenue collected.

Areas for further research. Further research is suggested on how funds can be collected from other sources of revenue to support artists and avoid an unpopular sales tax increase. Further research is also recommended on how to effectively implement a sales tax to bring minimal harm to businesses and keep the government accountable. This research may help to build an artist support proposal that is supported by the public.

Summary

This chapter has concluded several reasons as to why this study's proposed 0.03 percent sales tax increase in San Francisco to fund affordable artist housing is not supported by the one hundred survey participants. Based on the interviews and literature collected to answer the sub-questions of the study, discoveries were made that evoked recommendations and areas for further study. These discoveries were:

- Artists contribute significantly to the economic and cultural development of San Francisco, but not all citizens are aware of this.
- The cost of rent in San Francisco is too high for many artists to afford, but many other professions struggle with rent affordability as well.
- Artists' incomes tend to be too low to afford rent in San Francisco, but many other professions struggle with low incomes as well.
- Affordable housing is beneficial, but does not solve rental inflation;
- Sales tax initiatives are effective, but they harm business and are subject to misuse by the government.
- Sales taxes are unpopular with the San Francisco community and may not draw in enough funds.

The recommendations are:

- San Francisco citizens need to be convinced of artist importance.
- Affordable housing needs to encompass other professions besides just artists.
- Alternatives to affordable housing need to be found.
- More effective ways to implement sales taxes need to be found.
- Alternatives to sales taxes need to be found.

Further areas of research need to be conducted on:

- How to increase awareness among the public on artist importance,
- How affordable housing could be used for a wider range of professions,
- Alternatives to affordable housing that solve rental inflation,
- Ways to implement sales taxes that don't allow business harm or government corruption,
- Other ways to fund affordable housing besides the unpopular sales tax.

These recommendations and further studies may help the San Francisco government and community build successful initiatives for supporting artists. These recommendations may also help cities to avoid tragic incidents like the Oakland warehouse fire.

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Appendices

Figure A: Survey

Informed consent.

Purpose of the study. This is a study in public administration that is being conducted by Shawn Carrera, a graduate student in the Executive Public Administration program at Golden Gate University in San Francisco, CA. The purpose of this study is to inform whether San Francisco citizens will pass a theoretical sales tax increase that will go toward affordable artist housing in the city. The initiative strives to create affordable housing in San Francisco for low-income artists who can't afford the high rent prices in the city. This proposal also aims to offer incentives for artists to stay in residences in San Francisco so that they can enrich the city culturally and economically.

What will be done. You will complete a survey, which will take three to five minutes to complete. You will be asked a question related to the topic of this study, based on your personal opinion, or perception.

Risks or discomforts. No risks or discomforts are anticipated from taking part in this study. If you feel uncomfortable with a question, you may withdraw from the study any time. If you decide to quit at any time before you have finished the questionnaire, your answers will NOT be recorded.

Confidentiality. Your responses will be kept completely confidential.

Questions.

Question #1. Would you be willing to support a .03 percent sales tax increase to fund affordable artist housing in the city?

The answer options will be as follows (survey participants can select only one):

- Yes
- No

Figure B: Interview

Informed consent.

Purpose of the study. This is a study in public administration that is being conducted by Shawn Carrera, a graduate student in the Executive Public Administration program at Golden Gate University in San Francisco, CA. The purpose of this study is to inform whether San Francisco citizens will pass a theoretical sales tax increase to fund affordable artist housing.

What will be done. You will complete an interview via email, which will take thirty minutes to complete. You will be asked questions related to the topic of this study, based on your personal opinion, or perception. Your words will be used in the study unless you indicate you prefer otherwise.

Risks or discomforts. No risks or discomforts are anticipated from taking part in this study. If you feel uncomfortable with a question, you withdraw from the study any time. If you decide to quit at any time before you have finished the interview, your answers will NOT be recorded.

Confidentiality. Your responses will be kept completely confidential unless you otherwise indicate you don't mind your name and/or organization being used in the study. Only the researcher will know your identity. Your personal information will not

be shared with anyone and only your responses will be revealed in the study unless you otherwise specify.

Questions:

- Please describe your work experience (or past work experience) in dealing with the arts, artists, and/or affordable artist housing.
- How do artists' contributions to San Francisco justify or not justify affordable artist housing?
- How does the high cost of rent in San Francisco justify or not justify affordable artist housing?
- How does the income of artists justify or not justify their need for affordable housing in San Francisco?
- Please describe your feelings on the effectiveness of affordable housing in supporting artists and the community in San Francisco.
- Please describe your feelings on the effectiveness of sales tax in funding affordable artist housing in San Francisco.
- Please describe your feelings on how you think voters would react to a sales tax increase to fund affordable artist housing in San Francisco.
- Please describe how you feel about a 0.03 percent sales tax increase in San Francisco to fund affordable artist housing.

Figure C: Survey Results

