

# **TEMPORALIDADE PERMANENTE**

Estudo sobre a habitação temporária

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Fevereiro 2017





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*É através da arquitectura que um lugar é transformado  
actualmente em espaço doméstico.*

(Carvalho, 2006, p.34)



## *Agradeço,*

*ao Professor António Lousa pelo conhecimento transmitido, pelas conversas e pela orientação nesta dissertação.*

*aos amigos de Lisboa e de Coimbra, pelo apoio incondicional, pelos bons momentos e pelo companheirismo nas duas fases do curso.*

*às minhas amigas de sempre, por tudo.*

*ao João, por todo o apoio, força e carinho.*

*à minha família, especialmente aos meus avós e à minha irmã que sempre me apoiaram.*

*aos meus pais, a quem dedico este trabalho, à minha mãe por todo o esforço e por todo o amor, e à memória do meu querido pai, que sempre me incentivou.*





## RESUMO

A habitação é como um abrigo, designado para servir de proteção e segurança aos seus utilizadores. Existe, por vezes, necessidade de recorrer a esta de forma temporária, no entanto este conceito tem um carácter um pouco incerto e com tendência para se difundir. Sendo a habitação um tema que tem sido recorrentemente estudado por parte dos arquitetos e tornando-se objeto de estudo sistemático essencialmente no século XX, tendo sido um dos temas discutidos nos Congressos Internacionais de Arquitetura Moderna. Não havendo muitos ensaios teóricos específicos sobre a habitação temporária, no entanto a cidade mostra-se como palco para diversos casos deste tipo de habitar, a presente dissertação tem como principal objetivo perceber, definir e clarificar as várias definições e diferenças dos vários tipos de habitação temporária. Começando por analisar o programa da habitação permanente para posteriormente relacionar esse conceito com a habitação mínima e a flexibilidade, que ambos os conceitos se mostram importantes para a definição deste habitar, e posteriormente explicar esta questão da temporalidade, exemplificando as várias ocasiões em que existe necessidade de recorrer a este tipo de habitação, utilizando projetos que exemplificam o que é dito com maior clareza. Os casos de estudo propostos mostram que este conceito pode ser uma potencial resposta para alguns problemas que estão presentes na cidade, que são suporte para fundamentar esta teoria e que ajudam a concluir que este tipo de habitação poderá evoluir com a sociedade.

**Palavras-chave:** *programa; habitação temporária; transitoriedade.*



## ABSTRACT

Dwelling is like a shelter, it's designed to protect and secure its users. Even though sometimes there is a need to resort to this temporary source, this concept still has a somewhat uncertain character and therefore it tends to disseminate. Dwelling has been a matter that has constantly been studied by architects, becoming an object of systematic study essentially in the 20th century, and it has been one of the most discussed themes on the International Congresses of Modern Architecture. Having in consideration that there are no theoretical essays about temporary dwelling, even though the city displays itself as a stage for several cases of this kind of housing, this thesis aims to understand and clarify the various definitions and differences of the several types of temporary dwelling. It begins by analyzing the permanent housing program and then it follows by relating that concept with minimum housing and flexibility, where both of these concepts come out as very significant to this definition of dwell, and it explains the question of temporality, giving examples for the various occasions where there is a need to reach for this type of dwelling, by showing some projects that exemplify what is being said throughout this thesis with more clarity. The suggested study cases illustrate that this concept can be a potential answer to some of the problems existing in the city, serving as support to substantiate this theory and helping reach the conclusion that this type of dwelling may undergo evolution along with society.

**Keywords:** *program; temporary housing; transitoriness.*



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## INTRODUÇÃO

A habitação é um “*tema central à arquitectura e indissociável da história da civilização e da construção da cidade*” (Adrião & Carvalho, 2006, p.2). A casa é considerada um abrigo, designado para servir de proteção e segurança aos seus utilizadores. Tem sido recorrentemente objeto de estudo por parte de arquitetos, e a sua evolução é paralelamente trabalhada, acompanhando e adaptando-se à sociedade e às pessoas, tendo ainda um papel fulcral na criação e expansão da cidade.

Por evolução entendo com a forma como se vivia a casa antes e depois da revolução industrial. Esta tornou-se objeto de estudo sistemático essencialmente no século XX, tendo sido um dos temas discutidos nos Congressos Internacionais de Arquitetura Moderna (CIAM).

Os arquitetos têm vindo a estudar as várias vertentes da habitação, tal como a habitação coletiva ou a habitação a custos controlados, e esta dissertação segue esse mesmo caminho. O objetivo central desta dissertação é estudar a habitação temporária, matéria que tem tendência a ser minorizada, mas que se mostra como potencial resposta em algumas problemáticas que a sociedade encontra. Não havendo muitos ensaios teóricos específicos sobre o tema, o ato





de selecionar e cruzar informação faz parte deste objetivo. Pretende-se estudar e descrever os tipos habitacionais que podem caracterizar a habitação temporária, entre os quais a habitação mínima e a flexibilidade. A habitação evolutiva, que muitas vezes se associa à habitação mínima, não se enquadra nesta temática por ser o oposto da temporalidade: evolui-se a habitação para aumentar a permanência na casa.

Podemos incluir o conceito da transitoriedade neste tema. Enquanto que o tempo da cidade é longo e esta significa permanência por parte dos habitantes, sugerir fazer habitação temporária no centro da cidade é contraditório e sugere uma vivência curta na cidade, no entanto é uma situação transitória.

A questão da temporalidade também não é concretamente definida, pois esta pode ser uma semana, um mês, um ano. Esta temporalidade varia de acordo com o uso desta tipologia habitacional e é explorado neste trabalho. No entanto, e para além dos exemplos dados mais à frente, temos um exemplo em que o tempo de ocupação é indefinido, mas temporário, e vai ao encontro de um problema que a cidade atravessa. Consideremos como exemplo o caso de Lisboa e o *boom* turístico de que tem sido alvo. As grandes empresas nacionais e internacionais têm mostrado um crescente interesse em expandir os seus negócios para a capital portuguesa e, naturalmente, o que antes eram negócios locais tornam-se em negócios virados para os turistas, assim como o que era antes um prédio residencial com habitantes residentes há décadas torna-se num hotel ou em apartamentos reconicionados para serem arrendados por plataformas como o *airbnb*. As consequências que estas conversões programáticas têm na cidade e nas pessoas, para além da cidade perder este aspeto sedutor que os turistas tanto gostavam, que são os habitantes locais, as pessoas que forçadamente são despejadas das suas casas para que estas deem lugar a alojamento turístico, não têm condições financeiras para arrendar outra unidade na vizinhança. Com esta situação a acontecer em vários pontos de Lisboa, a cidade acaba por se tornar numa cidade turística. No entanto, a habitação temporária pode ajudar a combater esta desertificação.



Se a atividade hoteleira for substituída por um prédio com habitação mínima, com carácter temporário, abre a possibilidade a jovens apropriarem aquele espaço enquanto se estabilizam financeiramente, pois este tipo de habitação também implica um menor custo de renda. Este tipo de solução mostra-se vantajoso também pela capacidade de manter uma sociedade jovem, que em três, quatro, cinco anos tem uma condição financeira estável e sai para dar lugar a outras pessoas, tornando-se assim um sistema rotativo.

A pertinência deste trabalho passa, para além do exemplo descrito acima, também pelo facto de não ser muito claro o uso que se pode dar a este tipo de habitar, dado que quando se fala em habitação temporária há uma certa tendência para associar diretamente ao carácter urgente, surgindo assim necessidade de expor as várias vertentes e utilizações desta tipologia e ainda mostrar vários casos de temporalidade habitacional na cidade.

Outros objetivos que se pretendem alcançar com este trabalho é sobretudo a caracterização da habitação temporária, incluindo uma comparação programática com a habitação permanente, pois ambas as tipologias têm capacidade de gerar vida localmente, no entanto as características específicas de cada um delas são diferentes; caracterizar e entender a habitação mínima, de que modo é que a flexibilidade intervém e como é que estes podem ter um papel fundamental na definição da habitação temporária. Ainda se pretende fazer uma abordagem crítica ao programa e sugerir um programa habitacional para esta tipologia temporária, resultado do cruzamento de informações e da análise de projetos com o mesmo carácter.

O trabalho divide-se em dois capítulos, um que explora estes diferentes tipos de habitação, e outro com os casos de estudo, sendo os dois acompanhados por imagens que complementam e facilitam a linha de pensamento. O primeiro capítulo explora as características programáticas da habitação permanente de forma a que haja uma base de comparação com a habitação temporária, seguindo-se a caracterização da habitação mínima e a inclusão do conceito de flexibi-



lidade em arquitetura, que surge para responder a um maior número de pessoas que possam apropriar o espaço habitável. O capítulo termina com a caracterização da habitação temporária, com a proposta de um programa e com exemplos que recorrem à habitação temporária como resposta. O segundo capítulo, que é referente aos casos de estudo, explora o problema habitacional que a cidade americana de São Francisco tem, explorando as causas e as consequências desse problema. O segundo caso de estudo apresenta-se como um paradigma deste tipo de habitar, sendo um projeto que se situa na capital do sul da Coreia, Seul, e mostra corresponder às características da habitação temporária.

Temporalidade Permanente: a justaposição destas duas palavras gera um confronto único, numa primeira leitura remete-nos para duas condições temporais contrárias, o “carácter do que é temporal ou provisório” contra “ininterrupto”, uma oposição que neste choque se eleva e aumenta o impacto da ideia que propõe. Uma interpretação arquitetónica ajuda a clarificar o significado desta antítese, considerando a condição elementar da arquitetura, a “casa”, a comparação entre habitação temporária e habitação permanente é essencial para o estudo realizado pois permite perceber e fundamentar o que torna a habitação temporária uma tipologia exclusiva e com interesse em desenvolver. Com temporalidade permanente está também implícito que o tema da transitoriedade na arquitetura não só não vai acabar, como ainda vai ganhando relevância numa sociedade em que a impermanência não mostra sinais de abrandamento.



## **1 A HABITAÇÃO**

## LISTA DAS FUNÇÕES E ACTIVIDADES DA HABITAÇÃO

Actividades	Designação do grupo	Número
— dormir ou descanso — fazer a cama — tratar de doentes ou crianças — vestir-se e arranjar-se — arrumar roupas, etc.	Dormir Descanso pessoal	1
— receber, conservar alimentos — preparar, lavar, cortar alimentos — cozinhar — preparar pratos — lavar a loiça e talheres — arrumar trém cozinha e de mesa — eliminar detritos	Alimentação Preparação	2
— pôr a mesa — servir os alimentos	Alimentação Refeições correntes	3
— comer — levantar a mesa	Alimentação Refeições formais	4
— conversar, jogar — descanso, leitura, escrita individual — ouvir rádio, ver TV, discos — actividade de bricolagem, tocar música, etc. — atender telefone	Estar Reunião tempos livres	5
— receber e acompanhar desde e até à entrada — actividades diversas como em (5)	Estar Receber	6
— actividade lúdica — vigilância e tratamento	Recreio — Crianças	7
— trabalhos escolares ou outros — reunir amigos: act. como em (5)	Estudo recreio — Jovens	8
— estudo ou trabalho — escritório — trabalho oficial (reparações, bricolagem, etc.) — trabalho artesanal (tecelagem, costura, etc.)	Trabalho recreio — Adultos	9
— passar, limpar — arrumar roupas — costurar à mão ou à máquina	Tratamento roupas a) Passar a ferro b) Costura	10
— lavagem, manual — lavagem mecânica	Tratamento roupas Lavagem	11
— secagem natural ou activada	Tratamento roupas Secagem	12
— lavar mãos e rosto — banhar-se ou dar banho a crianças — excreções — vestir-se, fazer «toilette», barbear-se — proceder a curativos — fazer exercícios físicos	Higiene pessoal	13
— descansar, reunião, solário — cuidar de flores ou animais — jogos ao ar livre	Permanência em exterior	14
— introdução na casa, espera — independências de grupos ou zonas — comunicação directa ou só audiovisual de zonas	Comunicação-separação	15
— guardar roupas de casa ou pessoais — guardar calçado — idem, artigos alimentares — idem, artigos de limpeza e combustíveis — idem, meios de transporte privativo	Arrumação a) Roupas b) Reserva vária	16

Fig. 1 “Funções e exigências de áreas da habitação” - quadros de funções



## 1.1 CARACTERIZAÇÃO DO ESPAÇO DOMÉSTICO

*Para a maioria das disciplinas humanísticas, o “habitar” está essencialmente relacionado com a procura de um abrigo. Contudo, utilizamos o termo a partir da obra do filósofo Martin Heidegger (1889-1976). “Habitação quer então dizer algo mais do que um ‘refúgio’: implica que os espaços onde a vida se desenvolve sejam lugares no verdadeiro sentido da palavra” (Carvalho, 2006, p.34)*

Habitar faz parte da natureza do ser humano. Qualquer espaço que seja delimitado por algum elemento físico é habitável, e é esse espaço que vai compondo a cidade. O espaço habitável chamado de casa pode ser dividido em duas vertentes, a habitação unifamiliar e a habitação coletiva, que gera uma vivência social mais intensa. No entanto o programa não deixa de ser comum nestas duas tipologias.

Nuno Portas, em 1969, publica uma análise aprofundada sobre as Funções e Exigências de Áreas da Habitação, partindo da identificação das principais funções e atividades que se fazem na habitação, e analisa as exigências desses espaços de forma a recolher dados suficientes, tais como a duração da frequência dos espaços, para posteriormente dividir o programa habitacional em dezasseis

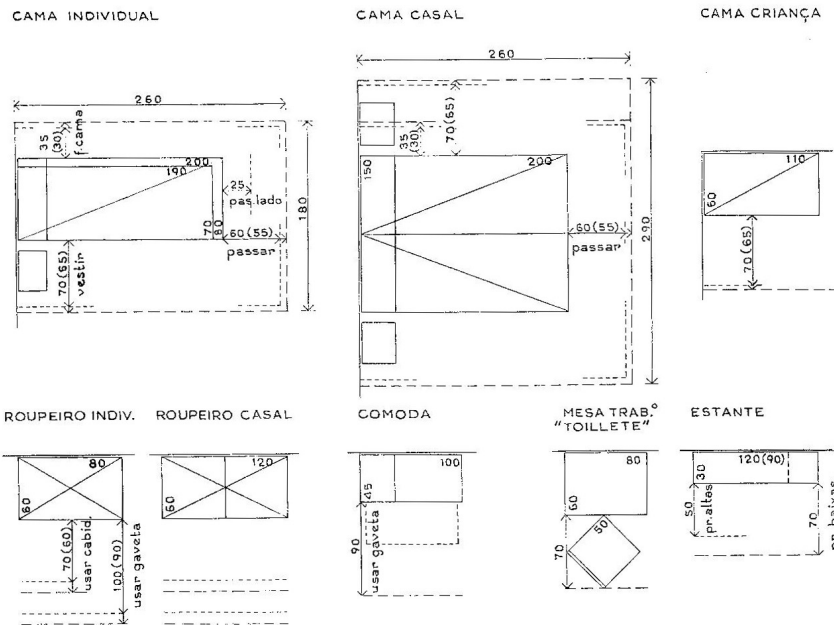


Fig. 2 "Funções e exigências de áreas da habitação" - necessidade de espaço resultante do equipamento.

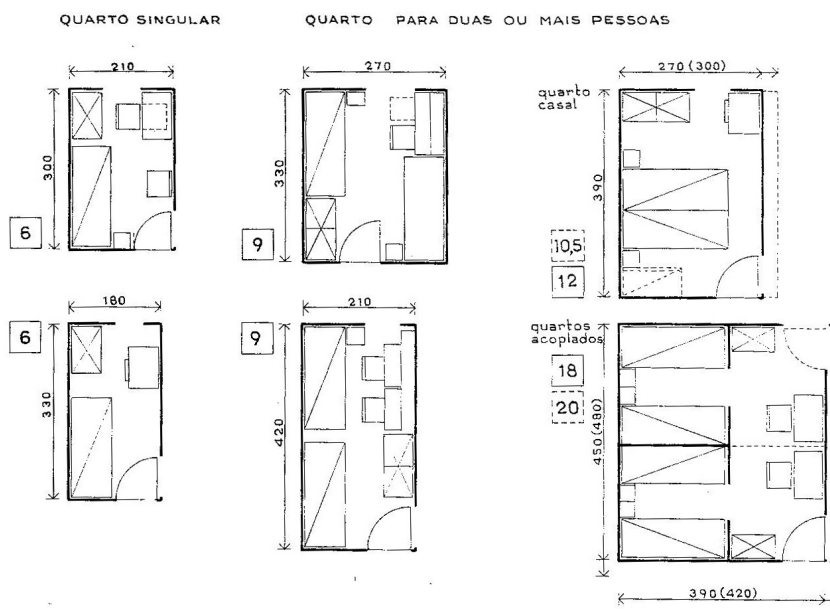


Fig. 3 "Funções e exigências de áreas da habitação" - propostas de organização de quartos

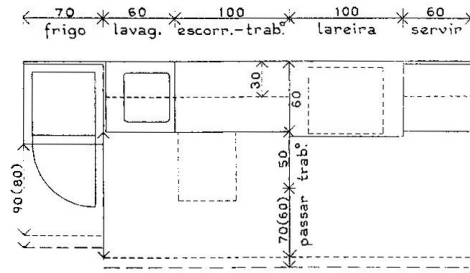
funções que hoje se mostram atuais. É com base nesta análise que estas dezasseis funções, que são: dormir (1); alimentação e preparação (2); alimentação – refeições correntes (3) e alimentação – refeições formais (4) (que são analisadas em conjunto); assim como estar – reunião e tempos livres (5) e estar – receber (6); atividades particulares – recreio (7), que é analisado separadamente das outras duas atividades particulares de estudo (8) e trabalho (9); o tratamento de roupa é igualmente analisado em conjunto, discriminando o passar a ferro e costura (10), a secagem (11) e a lavagem (12); a higiene é analisada individualmente (13); os espaços de permanência no exterior (14) também são abordados; assim como a separação e comunicação de zonas (15); e finalmente os arrumos interiores (16).

O primeiro ponto analisado, dormir, designado para repouso do corpo, normalmente abrange no seu espaço ainda outras utilizações particulares, como o recreio para crianças, o estudo para jovens, ou o trabalho para adultos, englobando também outras atividades descritas no quadro. A nível de utilização por parte do habitante, para além de ter o quarto de casal para os pais e o quarto dos filhos, ainda podemos incorporar outras pessoas do agregado familiar ou outras pessoas fora deste, em condições mais permanente que os visitantes ocasionais.

A caracterização do espaço do quarto diferencia-se de acordo com o seu ocupante. No caso do quarto de casal, é essencial que os pais não sejam forçados a partilhar o mesmo espaço de dormir que os filhos, no entanto é importante prever um espaço temporário para a colocação de um berço cuja a área deverá ser no mínimo dez metros quadrados e meio. Quando os filhos atingem uma certa idade, é necessário perceber que o número de quartos deve responder a fatores como a faixa etária e o sexo, não desconsiderando que a permanência em quarto duplo poderá ser vantajosa na adolescência, ao invés de um quarto individual para cada. No caso do quarto duplo o mínimo proposto é nove metros quadrados, enquanto que no quarto individual é seis metros quadrados.

Estes espaços devem garantir privacidade, conforto acústico, impedir a entrada da luz do dia quando desejado, garantindo no entanto a penetração solar matinal e oferecendo a possibilidade de controlo da radiação e contacto visual

(2) PREPARAÇÃO



(3) REFEIÇÕES

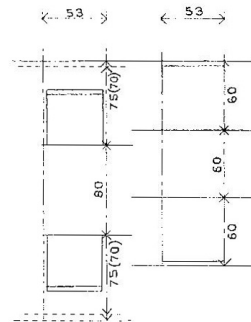
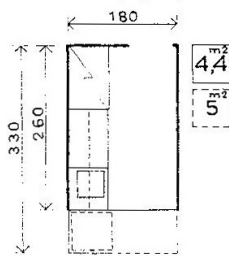


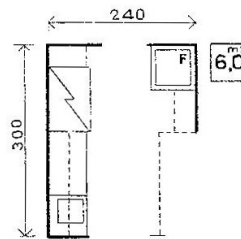
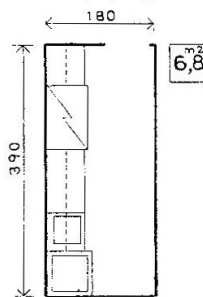
Fig. 4 "Funções e exigências de áreas da habitação" - necessidade de espaço resultante do equipamento

COZINHAS RESTRITAS À FUNÇÃO (2) PREPARAÇÃO

sem frigorífico



com frigorífico



COZINHAS COMPOSTAS COM (3) REFEIÇÕES E (11) LAVAGEM

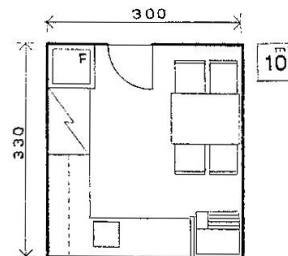
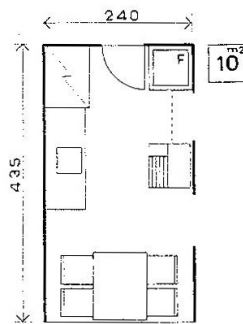
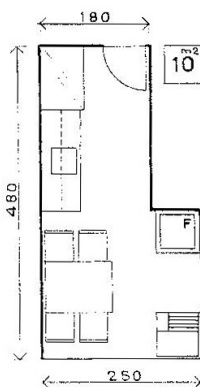


Fig. 5 "Funções e exigências de áreas da habitação" - diferentes organizações de cozinhas

com o exterior.

O ponto dois é referente à preparação de alimentos e a todas as atividades que estão relacionadas com a confecção destes, sendo mais conhecido como cozinha. No entanto poderá abranger outras atividades como as refeições correntes e formais, e todas as atividades relacionadas com o tratamento da roupa, podendo causar problemas na articulação destes espaços. Dado que é um espaço onde decorre parte da atividade diária, convém que esta tenha boas condições de iluminação, tanto natural como artificial. A iluminação natural deve estar articulada com a ventilação, sendo estas exigências de maior importância. Enquanto que a ventilação natural reduz os pontos negativos da cozinha, como a propagação de maus cheiros, esta torna-se mais suscetível de ser utilizada para outras atividades que não estejam relacionadas com a alimentação. A nível de áreas, a cozinha completa enquanto espaço que serve unicamente para as suas atividades de trabalho e confecção, as áreas mínimas propostas são de cinco metros quadrados e vinte, dificultando assim a utilização da cozinha para articular outros espaços. Quando esta está articulada com espaços de refeições e tratamento de roupa, o mínimo é sete metros quadrados e sessenta, e oito metros quadrados e sessenta respetivamente.

Estes espaços de refeições são considerados dois tipos: a refeição corrente, que corresponde ao ponto três de análise e que se refere a refeições mais informais e rápidas; e a refeição formal, o ponto quatro, que se refere, tal como o nome indica, a refeições que requerem mais atenção por incluir pessoas que não pertencem ao agregado familiar, ou por ser uma data especial. Sendo que só o tipo de utilização difere, estas duas atividades são realizadas no mesmo local. O local previsto não é necessariamente um espaço autónomo, pois tanto pode ser uma sala de jantar, como esse espaço pode estar diferenciado na sala de estar ou ainda na cozinha, assim concluindo que este espaço não tem propriamente uma área definida, pois a localização deste varia de acordo com os gostos da família e as possibilidades de espaço para este fim. Quando existe possibilidade de ter este

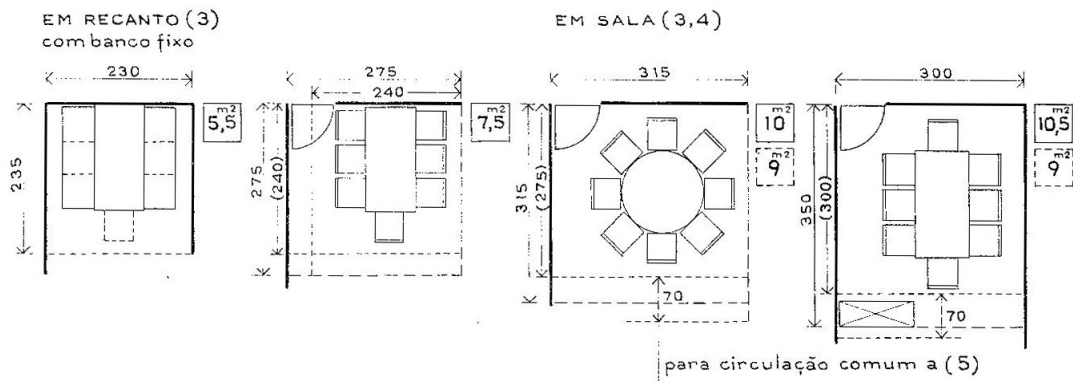


Fig. 6 “Funções e exigências de áreas da habitação” - necessidade de espaço resultante do equipamento

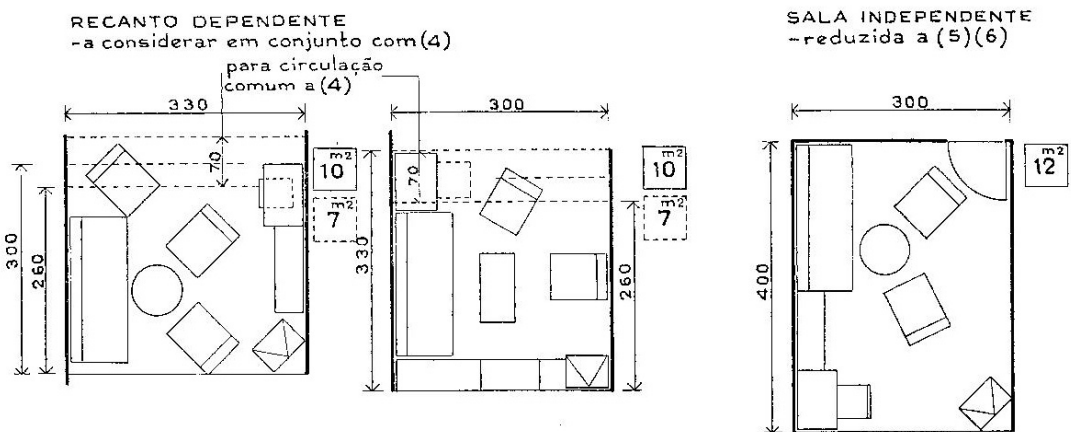


Fig. 7 “Funções e exigências de áreas da habitação” - diferentes organizações da sala de estar

espaço independente, seja unicamente para refeições formais ou para usufruir de ambos os tipos de refeições, este deve ser confortável espacialmente, isto é, o mobiliário deve estar organizado de forma apropriada com as paredes; não é obrigatório que haja iluminação natural, principalmente se este espaço se encontrar complementado por outro espaço. Este espaço, podendo ser utilizado para outro tipo de atividades, convém estar num local onde a comunicação possa ser feita com outras zonas da casa, isto é, se o espaço de refeições não estiver complementado com a cozinha, a distância entre estes deve ser curta, facilitando ainda assim a ligação com outros espaços como a lavandaria e os espaços de estar.

Os espaços de estar, que são igualmente analisados em conjunto, também se podem dividir em duas atividades diferentes: reunião e tempos livres, que corresponde ao ponto cinco, e o espaço de estar para receber, o ponto seis. As atividades de ambos estes pontos são diferentes e variáveis de família para família, no entanto são atividades de grupo e de tempos livres. No segundo grupo de atividades, tal como acontecia no nas refeições formais, a diferença é a inclusão de pessoas que não fazem parte do agregado familiar. Por função de reunião e tempos livres e receber entendem-se atividades que envolvam interações sociais entre os elementos da família, ou eventualmente com estranhos, e muitas vezes este espaço associa-se também a espaço de estudo, recreio e trabalho. A área mínima para este espaço quando está conjugado com o espaço de refeições é de catorze metros quadrados, sendo que o espaço independente requer onze metros quadrados no mínimo. O espaço destinado a estas atividades deve, tal como o espaço de refeições, estar localizado estrategicamente de forma a que a relação com outros espaços seja mais direta.

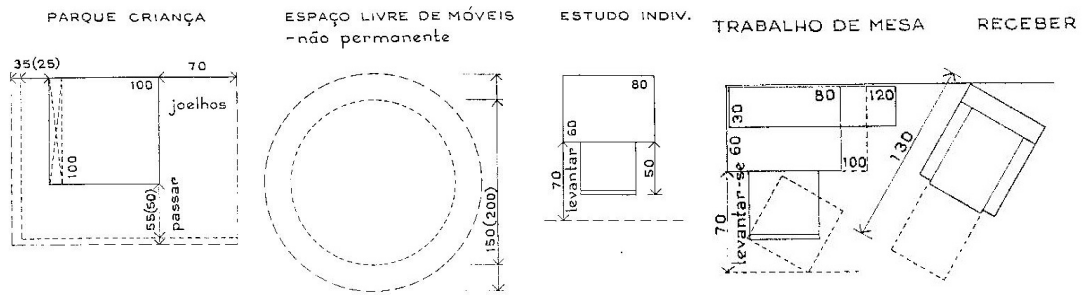


Fig. 8 "Funções e exigências de áreas de habitação" - necessidade de espaço resultante do equipamento

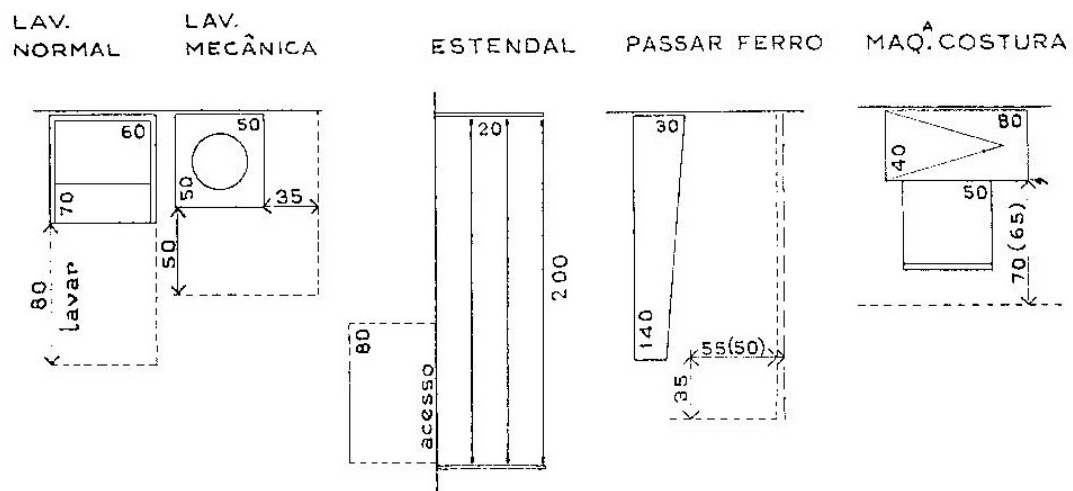


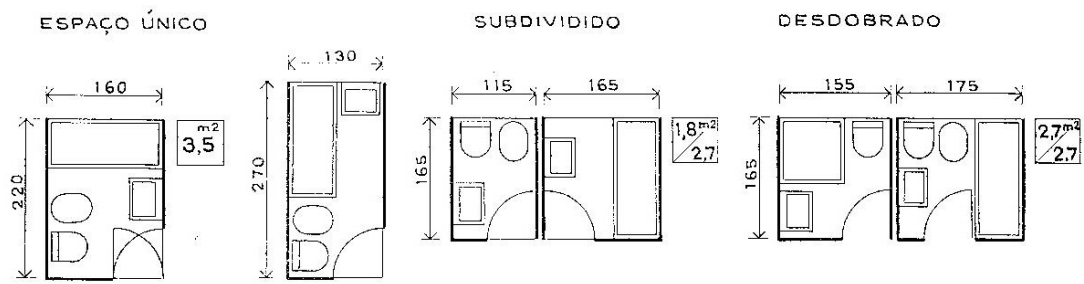
Fig.9 "Funções e exigências de áreas de habitação" - necessidade de espaço resultante do equipamento



Os espaços de recreio (7), estudo (8) e trabalho (9) não têm um espaço físico designado. O espaço de recreio corresponde às atividades da criança no lar, sendo complicado atribuir um espaço específico dado que este espaço requer vigilância das crianças, podendo considerar que os espaços mais adequados são os quartos dos filhos, a sala comum e a cozinha. As atividades de estudo e de trabalho estão ligadas a adolescentes e jovens em frequência escolar e adultos, respetivamente. No caso do estudo, o espaço deverá garantir independência para o estudante e isolamento que permita concentração, sendo que o quarto costuma ser o local preferido no caso da impossibilidade de concentração na sala de estar ou da inexistência de um escritório. No caso dos adultos, estes mais facilmente optam por se instalar na sala de estar ou no escritório, de acordo com a atividade profissional por realizar. Em ambos os casos, é importante que os espaços tenham bom isolamento acústico e que os níveis de iluminação natural e artificial sejam adequados, e poderá considerar-se uma área pessoal de dois metros quadrados.

Os espaços referentes a tratamento da roupa, que são passar a ferro e costura (10), secagem (11) e lavagem (12), são atividades são normalmente realizadas pela mulher dona de casa, e enquanto que passar a ferro e costura são atividades que podem ser deslocadas em casa de acordo com a vontade da dona de casa, os lugares de secagem e lavagem requerem um espaço fixo para instalação de máquinas e estendais. Enquanto que as atividades de passar a ferro e costura costumam ser instaladas de acordo com a iluminação pretendida, no caso das zonas de secar e de lavagem é importante que tenham exposição solar e ventilação disponível.

A higiene pessoal, o ponto treze, conhecido pelas instalações sanitárias, é constituído por um grupo de lavabo, banho e retrete e é utilizado pelo agregado familiar e por eventuais convidados, sendo que é mais um espaço onde as crianças necessitam de acompanhamento. Relativamente às exigências gerais destes espaços, para além da iluminação, da ventilação e do conforto acústico, é importante ter em consideração também a instalação de infraestruturas como o fornecimento de águas e tratamento de esgotos. Quanto à sua localização no fogo, existe uma



**Fig.10** “Funções e exigências de áreas de habitação” - necessidade de espaço resultante do equipamento

divisão de opinião entre a periferia, que pode fornecer ventilação e iluminação natural, e entre o interior da habitação, sendo os elementos de ventilação são fornecidos por mangas e iluminação artificial. A nível de áreas, podemos considerar que quando uma instalação sanitária serve quatro ou menos pessoas, será necessário apenas um espaço único com, no mínimo, três metros quadrados; para servir entre cinco a sete pessoas, podemos subdividir o espaço, em que numa das partes temos a zona de banho e no outro a retrete, totalizando assim, no mínimo, quatro metros quadrados; quando as instalações sanitárias servem oito ou mais pessoas, este espaço deverá ser desdobrado, sendo que área total é, no mínimo, cinco metros quadrados.

O ponto catorze, a permanência exterior, é caracterizado essencialmente pela necessidade de prolongamento do espaço doméstico para o exterior. Este espaço pode estar articulado com outras funções da casa, como o tratamento de roupa, a preparação parcial de refeições, recreio de crianças, refeições e espaços de estar. É importante que estes espaços estejam orientados de forma a receber insolação direta durante todo o ano, no entanto deverá igualmente prever a proteção da radiação excessiva.

A separação e comunicação de zonas são o penúltimo ponto abordado por Nuno Portas, e refere-se aos espaços de entrada do espaço doméstico e a espaços de transição. A entrada na casa permite que haja um filtro entre o exterior e o resto do espaço privado. Os espaços de transição referem-se essencialmente aos espaços de circulação e distribuição da casa enquanto meio articulador, criando igualmente um filtro sonoro entre a zona de silêncio e a zona ruidosa.

Por fim, o ponto dezasseis refere-se aos espaços de arrumação. Estes espaços servem outros espaços da casa, como as funções de dormir, preparação de alimentos e objetos que estejam relacionados com refeições, entre outros. Estes espaços materializam-se enquanto roupeiro geral e arrumo-reserva, ou despensa, e enquanto que o primeiro pode estar presente noutros espaços da casa, articulando-se assim com eles, como no vestíbulo de entrada ou na zona de trabalho

CATEGORIAS BASE E TIPOS PROPOSTOS											
Exigências funcionais a satisfazer	A. Parcelares	A					B				
		t1	t2	t3	t4	t5	t1	t2	t3	t4	t5
<b>REPOUSO (Quartos)</b>											
limitados a função dormir (1)	11+9+9+6	11,0	20,0	29,0	38,0	44,0	11,0	20,0	29,0	38,0	44,0
adicional para Jogos (7) estudo (8) ou trabalho individual (9)		—	—	—	—	—	1,0	3,0	5,0	7,0	8,0
<b>COZINHAR — REFEIÇÕES CORRENTES — TRABALHOS</b>											
limitada à preparação de refeições (2)	4,0	4,0	4,0	4,0	4,0	4,0	4,0	4,0	4,0	4,0	4,0
adicional para refeições correntes (3) ou arranjo roupas (10)	4,0	4,0	4,0	4,0	4,0	4,0	4,0	4,0	4,0	4,0	4,0
adicional para lavagem roupas (11)	2,0	2,0	2,0	2,0	2,0	2,0	2,0	2,0	2,0	2,0	2,0
adicional para separação de arranjo roupas (10) e máq. lavar (11)	3,0	—	—	—	—	—	3,0	3,0	3,0	3,0	3,0
<b>REFEIÇÕES — ESTAR — RECEBER</b>											
limitada a sala única indiferenciada (4) (5) (6)	14,0	14,0	14,0	14,0	14,0	14,0	16,0	16,0	16,0	16,0	18,0
adicional para definição zonas de refeições (4) e estar (5) (6)	2,0	—	2,0	2,0	4,0	4,0	—	—	—	—	—
adicional para separação de uma das zonas (2 espaços de estar)		—	—	—	—	—	—	4,0	6,0	8,0	8,0
<b>PROLONGAMENTO EXTERIOR (TRABALHOS-ESTAR)</b>											
limitada a secagem roupas (12) e trabalhos (10, 11)	2,0	2,0	2,0	2,0	2,0	2,0	2,0	2,0	2,0	2,0	2,0
adicional para local estar (5) ou repouso	2,0	—	2,0	2,0	2,0	2,0	—	—	—	—	—
adicional para separação zonas de estar (5) e trabalhos (12)	4,0	—	—	—	—	—	4,0	4,0	4,0	4,0	4,0
<b>ENTRADA — DISTRIBUIÇÃO INTERIOR</b>											
limitada a entrada independente (15-a)	2,5	2,0	2,0	2,5	2,5	2,5	3,0	3,0	3,5	3,5	3,5
limitada a distribuição parcial (de zona repouso) (15-b)	1,5	1,5	1,5	1,5	1,5	2,0	—	—	—	—	—
adicional para maior independência de acessos e isolamento	2,5	—	—	—	—	—	3,0	3,0	4,0	4,0	4,0
<b>HIGIENE PESSOAL</b>											
limitada a peça única (lavabo, banho, W.C.)	3,5	3,5	3,5	3,5	3,5	3,5	3,5	3,5	3,5	3,5	3,5
adicional para subdivisão lavabo banho/lavabo W.C.	1,5	—	—	1,5	1,5	—	—	1,5	1,5	—	—
adicional para desdobramento lavabo banho W.C./lavabo W.C.	3,0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3,0	3,0
<b>ARRUMOS GERAIS</b>											
roupão geral	1,0	1,0	1,0	1,0	1,0	1,0	1,0	1,0	2,0	2,0	2,0
arrumo-reserva	1,0	1,0	1,0	1,0	1,0	1,0	1,0	1,0	2,0	2,0	2,0
<b>Áreas totais</b>		<b>46</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>106</b>	<b>113</b>

**Fig.11** “Funções e exigências de áreas da habitação” - Tabela de áreas úteis - Au + Av - Mínimas

de roupas, o segundo deve ter ligação direta com a preparação de alimentos, podendo considerar-se prolongamento da cozinha.

A análise do programa habitacional é importante para perceber a qualidade espacial do mesmo e a forma como todo o programa se articula entre si. Apesar de todos os espaços estarem descritos, nem sempre existe a necessidade ou possibilidade de os ter fisicamente, acabando por agrupar várias funções no mesmo espaço, como o espaço de refeições incorporado na cozinha. Assim, temos uma noção dos espaços que compõem a casa e que dimensões mínimas estes podem ter de forma a proporcionar qualidade habitacional com espaços pequenos, sendo este estudo prévio essencial para perceber de seguida a habitação mínima.



## 1.2 HABITAÇÃO MÍNIMA E FLEXIBILIDADE

A habitação mínima não pode ser vista como um tipo de habitação reduzida de um apartamento considerado normal, nem deve ser confundido com habitações que veem os seus espaços rentabilizados ao máximo para serem posteriormente arrendados. Pelo contrário, a habitação mínima deve significar um novo tipo de habitação.

Esta tipologia começou a ser idealizada após a revolução industrial para responder à sobrelotação populacional por parte das pessoas que vinham do campo para trabalhar na indústria. Acabando por ser uma componente de intervenção social, o objetivo era dar condições de habitabilidade a todos os setores da sociedade, começando assim a produzir conjuntos habitacionais com standards mínimos. O que inicialmente era uma intenção positiva, rapidamente foi modernizada devido ao aumento da procura por casas pequenas e baratas, fazendo com que o sector privado construísse mais casas com pequenos apartamentos tornando assim numa atraente proposta especulativa. No entanto, sendo demasiado dispendioso para os menos ricos, confirmou que o lucro seria maior nos piores e menores apartamentos, dado que os custos das suas construções manter-se-iam nos mínimos possíveis, e porque providenciavam um nível básico de conforto

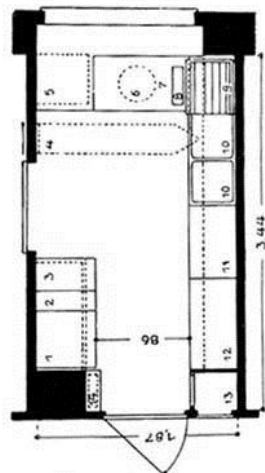


Fig. 12 Cozinha de Frankfurt

G. Schütte Lihotzky, Frankfurter küche. Das Neue Frankfurt, n.º 5, 1926.



comparado aos apartamentos maiores. As rendas não desceram proporcionalmente ao tamanho dos apartamentos, visto que um apartamento com um quarto não custava uma quinta parte de um apartamento com cinco quartos, o que poderia ser rentável, mas tinha como contrapartida um grande custo em instalação de infraestruturas, e que acabaria por ficar mais cara num apartamento pequeno do que num grande. Com estes problemas, começa a existir uma necessidade de simplificar estas instalações de forma a reduzir os custos de construção, acabando por construir com o mínimo possível para corresponder às condições mínimas de habitabilidade, sem qualquer tipo de conforto.

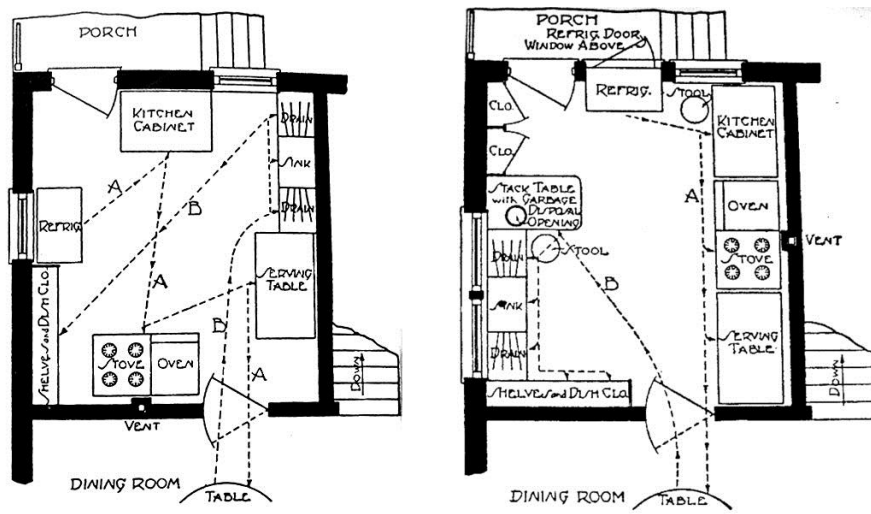
*A reforma e a modernização dos pequenos apartamentos populares pela arquitetura moderna tornaram claro que o problema da habitação mínima não poderia ser resolvido pela mera redução e simplificação da planta dos grandes apartamentos dos ricos, sejam eles tradicionais ou modernos.*<sup>1</sup> (Teige, 2002, p.239)

De forma a colmatar este problema, começou a haver uma maior racionalização de espaços, pois não bastava ter uma sala grande se em contrapartida havia três cubículos para dormir, visto que isso seria precisamente uma redução de uma habitação grande. A racionalização e a melhoria da organização dos espaços iria proporcionar mais conforto e habitabilidade com menos área, não deixando que a habitação ficasse abaixo dos padrões mínimos para a sobrevivência biológica, proporcionando luz suficiente, iluminação solar e ventilação natural, rotulando este conceito habitacional como o “*mini-max*”.<sup>2</sup> O desenho da planta envolveria a redução do número e do tamanho de espaços, da organização diferente de espaços e ainda do mobiliário diferente.

Com o repensar dos espaços da casa, veio também um repensar da forma como se iriam usar esses espaços. Tomando a cozinha como espaço que mais alterações sofreu, essencialmente por ter sido objeto de estudo várias vezes de forma

<sup>1</sup> Tradução da autora: “The reform and modernization of small popular apartments by modern architecture made it abundantly clear that the problem of the minimum dwelling could not be solved by the mere reduction and simplification of the floor plan of the large apartments of the wealthy, whether traditional or modernizes.” (Teige, 2002, p.239)

<sup>2</sup> Teige, 2002, p33.



**Fig. 13** Cozinha de Frankfurt - estudo de eficiência: movimentos numa cozinha mal organizada à esquerda e numa cozinha bem organizada à direita.

a entender os movimentos realizados neste local, a arquiteta Margaret Schutte-Lihotzky, a pedido do arquiteto Ernst May que em 1926 lhe encarregara de projetar as cozinhas das habitações mínimas que tinha de construir em Frankfurt, chegou a um modelo pequeno e funcional. Assim ficou conhecida a Cozinha de Frankfurt. O que antes era uma divisão à parte que também servia de espaço de convívio, viu o seu tamanho adequado ao seu uso e todas as suas atividades domésticas meticulosamente estudadas, passando a ser um espaço de serviço, onde já não estava presente a questão do convívio familiar, mas tornou-se num espaço eficiente onde era possível realizar o trabalho doméstico. No entanto, ao longo do tempo, a cozinha tem ganho cada vez menos importância na composição da casa e tem vindo a ser um espaço cada vez mais reduzido, por vezes existindo unicamente uma pequena bancada ou havendo uma junção da cozinha com outros espaços, em casos de casas em *open space*.

O conceito de flexibilidade entra nesta temática como resposta a uma máxima apropriação do espaço. Segundo Manuel Gausa, este conceito de flexibilidade vai além da ideia generalizada de “*handyman*” que continuamente transforma a sua casa, “*deve ser associado com a ideia própria de polivalência e versatilidade do espaço.*”<sup>3</sup> (Gausa, 1998, p.31) , referindo também que é importante o planeamento estrutural, que permite o uso de grandes vãos e minimização da estrutura, e jogar igualmente com módulos técnicos (que contenham espaços de serviços como, por exemplo a cozinha e as instalações sanitárias). No entanto, esta também não deve ser a “*antecipação exaustiva de todas as modificações possíveis. Muitas dessas alterações são imprevisíveis (...)*”<sup>4</sup> (Koolhaas, 1995, p.240) e fora do controlo do arquiteto, daí a necessidade de projetar espaços com a maior polivalência possível, de forma a poder ser facilmente adaptável às diferentes vivências de cada um e possibilitando várias apropriações por pessoas diferentes.

<sup>3</sup> Tradução da autora: “The new Conception of flexibility (going beyond the caricature of the handy man user dedicated to continually transforming the interior of his house) must be associated today with the idea itself of the polyvalence and versatility of space.” (Gausa, 1998, p.31)

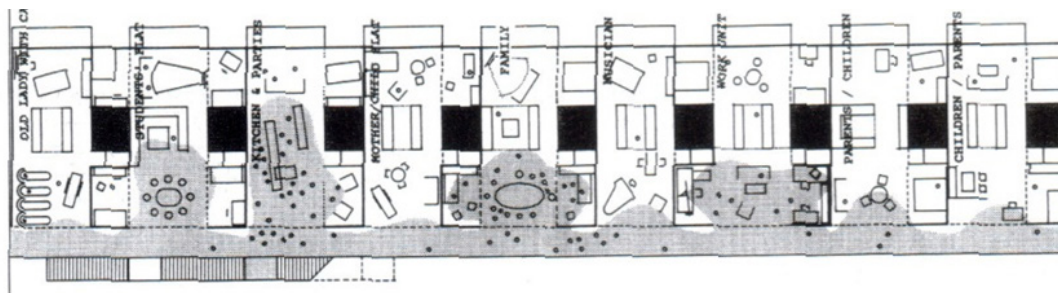
<sup>4</sup> Tradução da autora: “Flexibility is not the exhaustive anticipation of all possible changes. Most changes are unpredictable.” (Koolhaas, 1995, p.240)



**Fig.14** Planta dos módulos A,B e C do projeto de 300 unidades habitacionais em Maiorca de ACTAR Arquitectura



**Fig.15** Njiric+Njiric - unidades habitacionais em Den Bosch: composição do conjunto



**Fig.16** Njiric+Njiric - unidades habitacionais em Den Bosch: apropriação do espaço por parte de diferentes pessoas: Idosos, estudantes, cozinha e festas, apartamento de mãe e filho, apartamento de família, músico, unidade de trabalho, pais e filhos / filhos e pais.

Esta conceção de flexibilidade vem possibilitar novos desenhos de plantas mais abertas que possibilitam um maior jogo de organização de espaço, e que parte do arquiteto facilitar as alterações dos usos destes e em alguns casos, a *“falta de flexibilidade é considerada uma das principais razões para a demolição parcial ou total de muitos edifícios.”* (Fonseca, 2011, p.105)

O projeto de trezentas unidades habitacionais em maiorca de ACTAR Arquitetura exemplificado por Gausa, mostra-nos as diversas composições que se podem fazer em planta com a mesma área, utilizando a lógica do módulo técnico organizado de formas diferentes no espaço em cada exemplo A, B e C. Neste mesmo contexto compara com as unidades habitacionais em Den Bosch da dupla Njiric + Njiric, onde podemos ver as várias organizações espaciais de habitações construídas em módulos fixos e as diferentes apropriações por pessoas em meios familiares diferentes. Gausa mostra este estudo comparativo para demonstrar a diversidade tipológica e a flexibilidade espacial dos projectos, que são planeados como sistemas combinatórios usando módulos fixos e nós repetidos em ritmos variados, mostrando assim a composição espacial da habitação mínima, coletiva e flexível.

Com estas tipologias coletivas, que mostram uma maior necessidade de flexibilidade, e dado que um dos principais papeis do arquiteto é responder às necessidades do cliente, tal torna-se ainda mais reforçado nestes conjuntos habitacionais, pois não sendo possível prever todas as exigências e mudanças no quotidiano do homem, a flexibilidade tem o papel de aumentar o número de respostas de habitabilidade adaptado aos moradores, isto leva-nos à seriação de uma tipologia que funciona, e que apresenta um grande número de respostas às diferentes organizações espaciais requeridas.

*Baseado à primeira vista numa simples divisão convencional de espaços, a ligação flexibilidade-série-repetição levaria, por exemplo, à imaginação de um espaço mais isotrópico, através da designação de divisões suficientemente semelhantes em tamanho para serem*



*funcionalmente não-determinantes, favorecendo assim várias mudanças na ocupação e uso, como num tabuleiro de xadrez.*<sup>5</sup> (Gausa, 1998, p.31)

Existem vários elementos que nos possibilitam esta flexibilidade espacial, que se aliam diretamente com o desenho de planta, como painéis deslizantes com a possibilidade de serem facilmente desmontados, unidades giratórias que nos permitem abrir um espaço e fechar outro, espaços que são versáteis e que tanto são elementos divisores do espaço como simultaneamente, por exemplo, espaços de armazenamento.

Este último conceito torna-se aliado durante a conceção de unidades habitacionais mínimas, sejam elas ou não coletivas, pois havendo uma menor margem de área projetável, existe a natural necessidade de recorrer a estes elementos construtivos de forma a tirar máximo proveito deste. No entanto, quando o arquiteto projeta uma unidade habitacional sem recorrer à flexibilidade, tal projeto torna-se rígido, desinteressante e desprovido de criatividade, revelando falta de preocupação a diversidade de modos de vida com as diferentes apropriações dos espaços. A flexibilidade mostra-se assim como uma resposta que vai ao encontro das necessidades dos utentes, dado que um dos principais problemas resultantes da falta de comunicação entre o arquiteto e o morador resulta na insatisfação por parte destes.

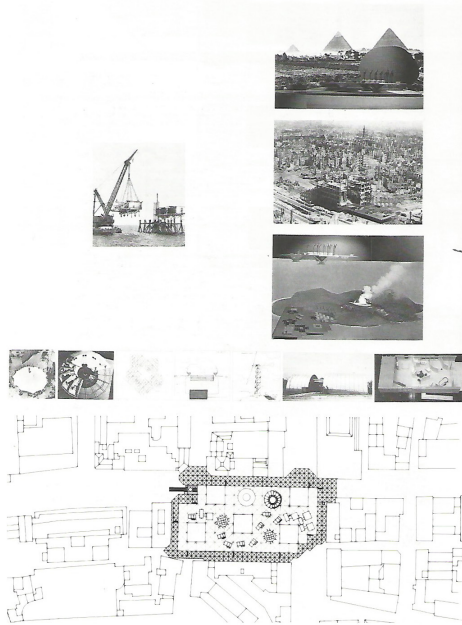
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<sup>5</sup> Tradução da autora: “Based at first sight on a simple, conventional partitioning of rooms, the flexibility-serialization-repetition nexus would lead, for example, to a more isotropic space being imagined, by means of the appointing of rooms sufficiently similar in size as to be functionally non-determinant, thus favoring various changes in occupancy and use, as in virtual checkerboard.” (Gausa, 1998, p.31)

**ENANOS EN HOMBROS DE GIGANTES**

José de Coca Leicher (Arquitecto)  
 Josemia Hervás y Heras (Arquitecto)  
 Esteban H. Cantalapedra (Arquitecto)

**ENANOS EN HOMBROS DE GIGANTES**



**¿ QUE ES UN ASENTAMIENTO TEMPORAL?**

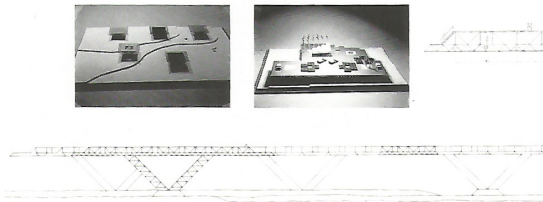
El concepto asentamiento temporal puede referirse a PERSONAS, OBJETOS, y LUGARES, utilizando estos parámetros aislados o combinados entre sí.  
 Si nos atenemos estrictamente a la PERSONA que lo habita, estaríamos hablando de un HOTEL.  
 Si hablamos del OBJETO propiamente dicho, la temporalidad se da en su montaje y desmontaje. Una TIENDA DE CAMPAÑA aparece y desaparece en su bolsa tantas veces como la necesitamos.  
 Por último, el LUGAR es otro factor que añade temporalidad a un asentamiento.  
 Una FOLCLÓTICA DE CIRCO es habitada siempre por la misma persona en todo momento, pero no permanece fija en ningún emplazamiento.  
 Nuestro planteamiento es solucionar el problema mezclando los tres supuestos diseñando para personas que van a habitarlo eventualmente, de fácil montaje y desmontaje sin que el terreno sufra especiales daños, y una vez que haya cumplido su misión en un lugar determinado, puede emplearse a continuación en otro emplazamiento por lejano que este sea.

Otra característica de nuestro asentamiento es su POLIFUNCIONALIDAD. Lo que facilitamos es un SOPORTE para que en él se desarrolle todo tipo de actividad.  
 Nuestro soporte es mucho más que un suelo inteligente, es un SUELO VIVO. Es un terreno fértil del que extraemos todo lo que necesitamos para la confortabilidad de un asentamiento: agua, luz, saneamiento, redes de comunicación, energía y CRECIMIENTO. Nuestro suelo puede crecer según las necesidades de cada tipo de asentamiento: caballos naturales, reconstrucción de ciudades devastadas por las guerras, eventos importantes (olimpiadas, expo...), excavaciones arqueológicas en lugares inhóspitos, expediciones científicas.  
 Cada una de estas circunstancias requiere edificaciones acorde con su uso: hospitales, centros de trabajo, instalaciones deportivas, talleres de fabricación, viviendas...

El sistema de montaje es muy sencillo: sobre el terreno se anclan unos soportes—depósito en forma de pirámide invertida—. A continuación y mediante el empleo de grúas situadas en el eje de los soportes, se van elevando y colocando sobre ellos "placas" de suelo ya perfectamente acabadas de 15X15X3 m de suelo, de tal manera que cada soporte abarca una corona de dos módulos en torno a él, por último se unirán los del ámbito de un soporte con los del contiguo en una tercera corona de un módulo de anchura, siendo el proceso constructivo como el de un puente. El sistema es claramente ESCOLÓGICO, puesto que las instalaciones discurren a través de nuestra plataforma, de esta manera no dañamos en absoluto el suelo sobre el que nos asentamos y sobre los EDIFICIOS de POSARÁN en nuestro suelo vivo. Este mecanismo permite asentamientos en ciudades sin alterar su trama urbana, liberando el suelo (debajo de nuestra plataforma seguirá existiendo ciudad).

Como se ha indicado anteriormente, los soportes son también depósitos de agua—combustible, zonas verdes, almacén de centros móviles...—, de esta manera aprovechamos sus grandes dimensiones para ahorrar espacio en la plataforma, y nos aseguramos mayor estabilidad al vuelo.  
 Este asentamiento gozaría de gran autonomía, puesto que se intenta, en la medida de lo posible, que se mantenga con energías alternativas que le permiten cierto grado de autonomía.

Al proponer la creación de un terreno artificial, que lleva en sí mismo todo el equipamiento necesario para la configuración de un asentamiento, la EDIFICACIÓN que se colorea, puede ser CUALQUIERA, preferiblemente dentro del mundo de la prefabricación. La totalidad de las propuestas de nuestros compañeros de concurso podrían servir de ejemplo de los diversos edificios que existirían en nuestra plataforma. En cualquier caso, la elección de los edificios quedaría en manos de los usuarios, EVITANDO LA MONOTONÍA que un único sistema ofrece. Como reconocimiento a los arquitectos que llevan años trabajando en este campo, y siendo consciente de que SOMOS ENANOS, PARA PODER VER MÁS ALLÁ, NOS SUBIMOS EN LOS HOMBROS DE LOS SIGUIENTES GIGANTES: Norman Foster, Jean Prouvé, Renzo Piano, Richard Rogers, y muchos más que no aparecen en el panel, pero que han servido de apoyo.



**Fig.17** Proposta *Enanos en hombros de gigantes*



### 1.3 HABITAÇÃO PERMANENTE E TEMPORÁRIA

Dado que o principal objeto de estudo deste trabalho é a habitação temporária, sublinha-se a importância de expor as exigências e as necessidades que caracterizam e distinguem este tipo de habitação da habitação permanente. Após a análise da habitação permanente, da habitação mínima e da flexibilidade, podemos concluir que aquilo que distingue primariamente a habitação temporária das restantes mencionadas, para além da questão da ocupação temporal, é o programa. Esta vertente da habitação tem como premissa a criação de condições essenciais de habitabilidade, ligado diretamente com a noção de flexibilidade, de forma a que a utilização dos espaços seja maximizada e rentabilizada, pensado para um público desconhecido.

Em 1995, a Fundação Cultural COAM<sup>1</sup> lançou um concurso de ideias sobre habitação temporária, com o principal objetivo de encontrar respostas inovadoras e obter diferentes alternativas tipológicas para este tipo de habitar segundo a interpretação de arquitetos e estudantes de arquitetura. Com base nos programas propostos neste concurso de ideias, existem duas propostas que se destacaram

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<sup>1</sup>O COAM é o Colégio Oficial de Arquitetos de Madrid e é um organismo público que representa e defende os interesses profissionais dos arquitetos de Madrid e procura preservar os valores culturais e ambientais da arquitetura para o benefício da sociedade.



pela reflexão teórica feita sobre o tema.

A proposta *Enanos en hombros de gigantes* (COAM, 1996, p.71) faz uma reflexão sobre o que é uma solução temporária e explica que este conceito se pode referir a: pessoas, em que a estadia da pessoa é temporária no entanto o espaço que ela ocupa é fixo, referindo hotéis e residências de estudantes; objetos, dizendo que a temporalidade de objetos se deve à sua montagem e desmontagem; lugares, exemplificando uma rulote de circo, que é habitada pelas mesmas pessoas mas não permanecem fixas em nenhum lugar, no entanto aquilo que lhes dá abrigo move-se com elas.

*Rizoma 6-6* (COAM, 1996, p.78) faz igualmente uma reflexão teórica interessante, referindo que numa grande cidade existem diversos casos de temporalidade na habitação, desde a residências de estudantes, investigadores que passam temporadas estudando algo concreto, artistas, famílias que se encontram em situações transitórias enquanto esperam que lhes seja entregue a habitação definitiva, ou famílias que residam na zona histórica da cidade e que necessitem de habitação temporária enquanto se repara um edifício que tenha sofrido algum tipo de desastre, ou outros casos que seja necessário este tipo de habitação e que assim permita uma maior fluidez nestes procedimentos.

Cruzando as informações programáticas das sete propostas consideradas mais relevantes do catálogo, conclui-se que tanto houve a separação física de espaços, como a fusão de alguns, como ainda a proposta de espaços que não são comuns neste tipo de habitação. As instalações sanitárias, a cozinha e o dormitório estão presentes em todas as propostas, no entanto, há casos em que o dormitório se funde com espaço de estudo e o espaço de estar, recorrendo a mobiliário prático que permite a transformação do espaço do dia para a noite, e outros casos em que se propõe juntar as infraestruturas num só bloco, juntando assim instalações sanitárias e cozinha. O espaço comunitário também é algo que é tido em conta nalgumas propostas, estando presente cozinhas, zonas de comer e de estar, sendo considerados espaços de carácter público. Pontualmente propõem-se também

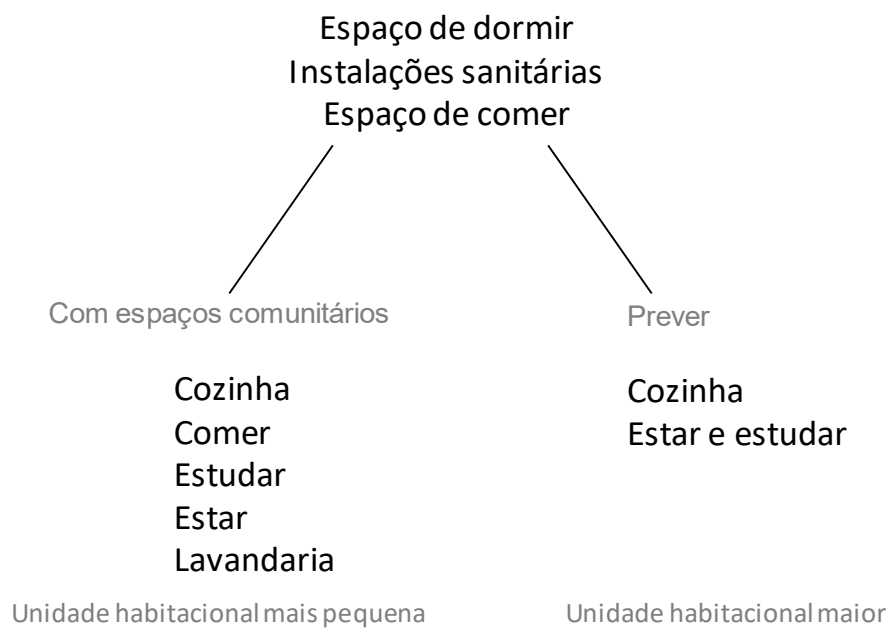


Diagrama explicativo do programa proposto

espaços de tratamento de roupa, locais de observação e compartimento para armazenar colchões. Outros aspetos referidos pontualmente foram a consideração pela radiação solar e a questão de a estrutura ser de fácil montagem e desmontagem, principalmente quando são projetos em casos de urgência.

Com base nesta informação, sugere-se assim um programa adequado à habitação temporária. Não podemos, no entanto, considerar esta solução como homogênea, e há necessidade de ser o mais generalista possível dado que nem todas as pessoas habitam o espaço de igual modo e nem todas as sociedades são semelhantes entre si, daí a importância da flexibilidade.

Podemos projetar este tipo de habitação considerando ou não o sentido comunitário, no entanto deve haver preferência pela inclusão do espaço público nesta tipologia, tentando evitar que esta seja uma habitação mínima comum. Considerando a célula habitacional como o programa comum entre os dois tipos, esta engloba instalações sanitárias, dormitório e uma pequena zona de armazenamento e preparação de alimentos. Quando adicionado um sentido comunitário, em que as zonas comuns como a cozinha, os espaços de comer e de estar, a lavandaria e espaços de estudo devem ser projetados com maior conforto espacial de forma a que haja uma tendência por parte dos moradores de os frequentar, e é importante que a flexibilidade esteja igualmente presente nestes espaços, não no mesmo sentido que na unidade habitacional, mas deve permitir a polivalência dos espaços. E quando tal acontece, a célula habitacional será naturalmente menor. Pelo contrário, quando não há possibilidade ou não se quer incluir uma vertente comunitária na projeção destas habitações, a unidade habitacional deverá incluir uma pequena cozinha e deverá ter-se em consideração um espaço de estar e de comer.

Devido ao facto de falarmos sobre um tipo de habitação que implica uma ocupação temporária, a capacidade de enraizamento diminui. Este tipo de habitação é concebido para pessoas que por alguma razão precisam de o ocupar num sentido temporário, durante um período de uma semana, um mês, um ano ou



**Fig.19** Residência universitária do Polo II da Universidade de Coimbra dos arquitetos Carlos Martins e Elisário Miranda

num prazo mais alargado, dependendo do seu uso, que irá ser explorado mais à frente.

Fazendo uma reflexão sobre as pessoas que ocupam a habitação temporária, podemos rapidamente chegar a uma explicação destas diferentes temporalidades. Começando por falar do que tem sido matéria de estudo por parte de vários arquitetos, a ocupação temporária de habitações por parte de estudantes é o exemplo mais comum de temporalidade na cidade, seja por residências projetadas especificamente para estes ou em apartamentos particulares. Em ambos os casos, a ocupação é feita por meses ou anos, não podendo ser definida com precisão. Na questão da vivência comunitária, o melhor exemplo que guia esta linha de pensamento será as residências, que em termos programáticos estão previstos os espaços sociais que estimulam as interações entre pessoas. Podemos exemplificar com a residência projetada pelos arquitetos Carlos Martins e Elisário Miranda no Polo II da Universidade de Coimbra, que aloja cento e sessenta e seis estudantes e tem como espaços comuns duas salas de estudo, a cozinha está articulada com o espaço de comer e o espaço de estar e ainda dispõe de um pátio exterior enquanto espaço social.

Exemplificado mais à frente, temos o exemplo da habitação temporária de urgência e quando esta se encontra associada a uma entidade. A habitação de carácter urgente lida com a questão de ter de ser algo de fácil e rápida montagem devido à imprevisibilidade que tem. Muitas vezes os projetos de habitação temporária de urgência têm de dar uma rápida resposta a um grande número de pessoas e estas ocupam esse espaço durante um espaço de tempo indeterminado. Contrariamente, a habitação temporária associada a uma entidade, tem um número limitado de pessoas e é projetado com antecedência e de forma a dar resposta de acordo com as necessidades que a própria entidade exige, dado que unidades habitacionais para biólogos marinhos será necessariamente diferente de uma habitação para um investigador teórico. A ocupação temporal neste caso é definida e programada e prevê um número de ocupantes limitado.



**Fig.20** Centro de Alto Rendimento de Remo do Pocinho



Num sentido mais impercetível e pontual para a sociedade, podemos referir a habitação temporária enquanto ocupação profissional, como o Centro de Alto Rendimento de Remo do Pocinho, projetado pelo Arquiteto Álvaro Fernandes Andrade, e tem um programa especificamente desenvolvido para o treino de atletas de alto desempenho e pode ser dividido em três componentes: zona social, zona de treino e zona de alojamento. Esta zona de alojamento é composta por oitenta e quatro quartos e aloja cento e trinta atletas.

Assim, podemos concluir que a habitação temporária utiliza as premissas conceituais da habitação mínima, mas enquanto que a habitação mínima tem tendência a ser utilizada em tipologias que estão previstas adotar uma postura evolutiva, seja por iniciativa do arquiteto ou não, a habitação temporária requer uma componente de flexibilidade para compensar essa questão da impossibilidade da evolução da casa, sendo que esta tem de se adaptar de acordo com os diferentes moradores. Outra diferença, para além da relação direta que a habitação temporária tem com os outros dois conceitos mencionados, é a preocupação que deve haver em projetar espaços comuns aos moradores, que sejam igualmente flexíveis como as habitações.



## 1.4 USOS DA HABITAÇÃO TEMPORÁRIA

A habitação temporária é um conceito que se desdobra devido à variedade de utilizações que tem, sendo que há uma tendência natural para associar este tema diretamente à habitação temporária de urgência o que faz com que haja uma necessidade de expor, entender e clarificar algumas vertentes deste tipo de habitar que tende a ser pouco conhecido e exemplificar dois usos referidos anteriormente.

Retomando as ideias do concurso de ideias sobre habitação temporária lançado pelo COAM, e sendo um concurso de ideias, não havia portanto um programa proposto nem local de intervenção, o arquiteto e júri Andres Perea Ortega e o responsável da “Área Vivenda” da fundação cultural COAM Jose M<sup>a</sup> Fernandez concluíram que foram poucos os que pensaram de uma maneira mais generalizada, sendo que a maioria pensou em cenários de pobreza e urgência:

*Contudo, a maioria abordou os problemas referidos às formas de vida coletivas e privadas num ambiente sujeito à precariedade e à urgência. Não só os critérios ético-sociais (em algumas soluções prioritárias) mas também os problemas da definição de um lugar, os de construção de espaço social e privado e os que são próprios de*



Fig.21 Vistas do projeto



Fig.22 Axonometria geral do projeto

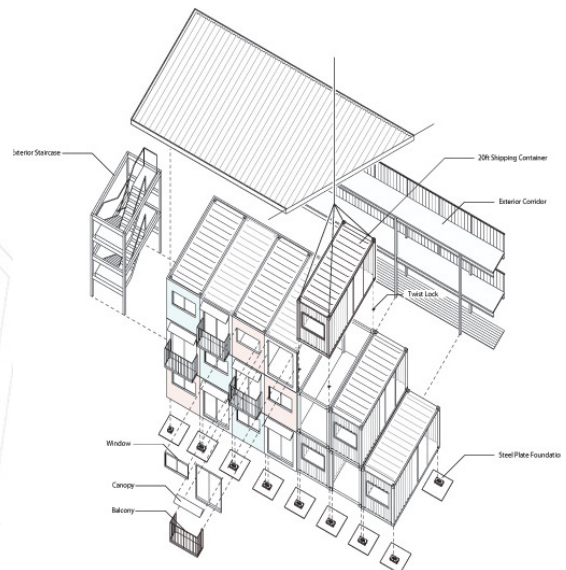


Fig. 23 Axonometria do esquema de montagem



Fig.24 Esquema de organização tipológica

*forma que de tudo isto resulta, que foram protagonistas gerais nas propostas apresentadas.*<sup>1</sup> (COAM, 1996, p11)

Com base no que foi exposto anteriormente, a habitação temporária de urgência e a habitação temporária associada a uma entidade mostram-se adversos enquanto utilização e ocupação temporal: um é imprevisível e o outro completamente planeado, mostrando-se assim pertinente a sua exposição mais aprofundada.

Na habitação temporária com carácter urgente podemos referir que acontecem por causas provocadas por terceiros, como em catástrofes naturais, guerra ou conflitos religiosos. Tomando como exemplo as catástrofes naturais, o mais frequente dos três, a habitação temporária mostra-se uma solução rápida para acomodar pessoas que ficaram sem as suas habitações devido a uma adversidade meteorológica. O arquiteto ao projetar uma solução para estas situações, já tem em consideração que seja de rápida montagem e tenta criar uma comunidade temporária e espaços contêmham todas as necessidades básicas.

Foi a pensar nestas características, que o atelier japonês *Shigeru Ban Architects* projectou o *Container Temporary Housing* como resposta à dificuldade em construir habitação para todos os sobreviventes do sismo que afetou a área de Onagawa em março de 2011 devido à falta de terrenos planos para o efeito. A proposta passa por construir edifícios de três pisos com contentores de transporte e que facilmente responde ao problema do terreno.

As características e vantagens deste projeto, para além de ser da sua rápida montagem devido à utilização de contentores existentes, torna-se mais fácil de construir em locais mais inclinados e estreitos, e devido à sua excelente performance sísmica existe a possibilidade de os moradores tornarem estas habitações em habitações permanentes. Como os arquitetos queriam desenhar a habitação

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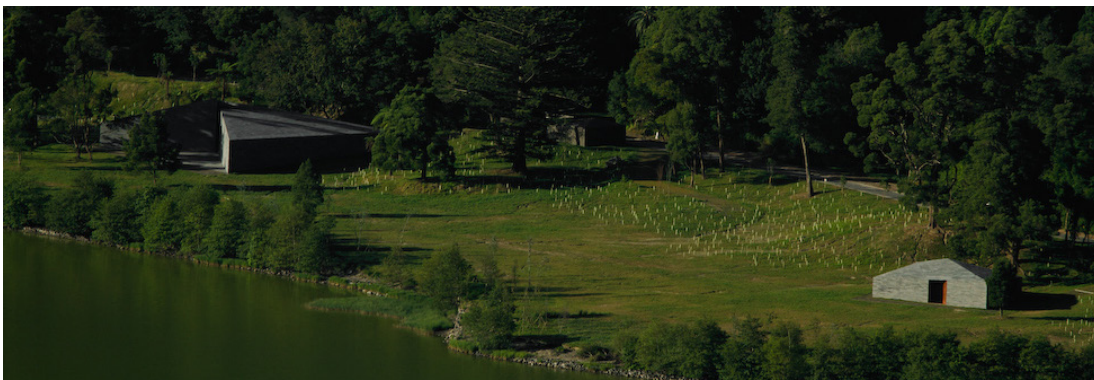
<sup>1</sup> Tradução da autora: “Sin embargo, la mayoría ha abordado los problemas referidos a las formas de vida colectivas y privada en un medio físico sometidas a la precariedad y urgencia. No sólo los criterios ético-sociales (en algunas soluciones prioritarias) sino los problemas propios de la definición de un lugar, los de construcción del espacio social y provado y los propios de la forma que de todo ello resulta han protagonizado en general las propuestas presentadas.” (COAM, 1996, p11)



**Fig.25** Planta das tipologias: para 3 ou 4 pessoas; para mais de 4 pessoas; para 1 ou 2 pessoas.



**Fig.26** Fotografia interior do módulo 2DK

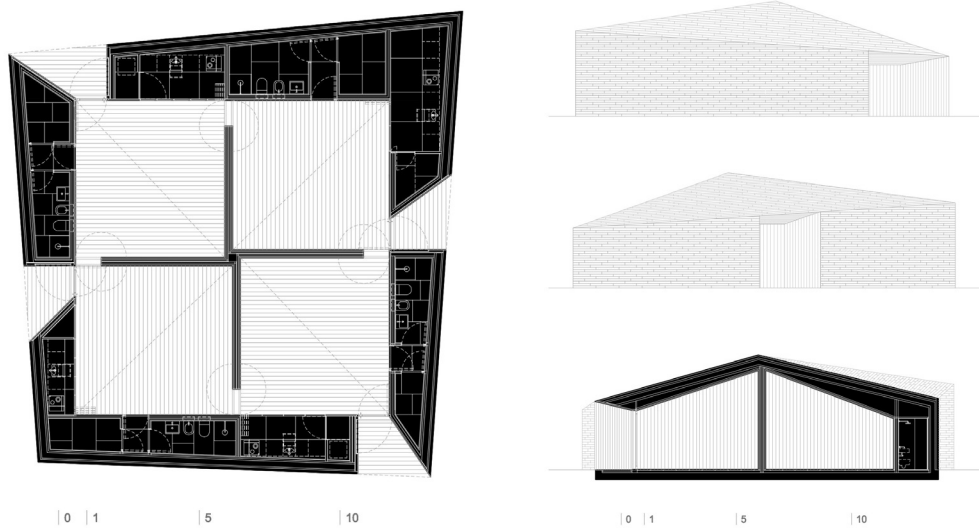


**Fig.27** Centro de monitorização e interpretação das Furnas

temporária de forma a permitir aos residentes a formação de uma nova comunidade, criaram um espaço social no meio da intervenção, onde podemos encontrar um mercado, que abre a possibilidade de abertura de lojas por parte dos habitantes ao mesmo tempo que se torna num espaço de convívio e um espaço de *workshop* para as crianças aprenderem e estudarem.

O projeto serve para acomodar cento e oitenta e nove famílias em nove blocos habitacionais, em que três blocos são constituídos por dois pisos e os outros seis por três pisos. Existem três tipos de apartamentos modelados com os contentores que têm aproximadamente dois metros e meio de largura e seis de comprimento. A junção de três contentores forma dois apartamentos que acomoda um ou dois residentes em cada e tem quase vinte metros quadrados. O apartamento em si é constituído por um módulo e meio e é composto por uma pequena bancada para confeção de alimentos, uma área para comer, um espaço polivalente que tanto serve de espaço de estar como de espaço de dormir e tem possibilidade de ser fechado por um painel, no meio módulo encontram-se as instalações sanitárias e pequenos arrumos. O apartamento que aloja três ou quatro pessoas tem quase trinta metros quadrados e é composto por dois módulos e a base organizacional é a mesma do apartamento mais pequeno, no entanto tem a adição de um espaço de dormir de forma a completar o segundo módulo. O apartamento maior acolhe famílias com mais de quatro pessoas, tem quase quarenta metros quadrados e é formado por três módulos, sendo que a planta é semelhante ao apartamento anterior, mas com a adição de dois espaços extra que são polivalentes e possibilitam a estadia de mais pessoas.

Quando se fala de habitação temporária associada a uma entidade, como centros de investigação ou universidades, estas normalmente dispõem de habitações para acomodar os investigadores durante um período de tempo. Tomando a habitação temporária associada a centros de investigação independentes, o Centro de Monitorização e Interpretação das Furnas dos arquitetos Aires Mateus é um exemplo de como um centro de interpretação disponibiliza alojamento no



**Fig.28** Planta onde se mostra o local fixo da cozinha e das Instalações sanitárias e a abertura do espaço restante; Alçados e corte das habitações.



**Fig.29** Fotografia exterior e interior



local aos seus investigadores. O projeto tinha como intenção invocar o paisagismo açoriano com uma área total de construção de mil cento e trinta metros quadrados, composto por dois edifícios de diferentes tamanhos revestidos por pedra basáltica local mantendo ambos com a mesma linguagem. O edifício maior tem no seu centro um pátio que reforça a relação entre o interior e o exterior e dá acesso aos diferentes espaços programáticos como o auditório e o espaço expositivo. O edifício menor contém as quatro habitações temporárias. Cada fachada tem uma abertura de madeira que serve de vão e de acesso a cada habitação e todas têm diferentes pés direitos relacionados à orientação solar de cada unidade.

A planta das habitações organiza-se em torno de um quadrado inserido num losango, em que o espaço compreendido entre estas duas formas acomoda as instalações sanitárias e a cozinha, que são projetados e têm o seu lugar próprio. Assim, o resto do espaço habitacional é aberto e a questão da flexibilidade é vista de um outro ponto de vista. O próprio utilizador é que organiza o espaço como lhe é mais conveniente, podendo assim organizar livremente o espaço de dormir e o espaço de comer, e ainda incluir outros espaços que sejam da própria necessidade.



## 2 CASOS DE ESTUDO

Com um tema tão abrangente como o da habitação temporária, e dado que o tema deste trabalho se centrou numa vertente pouco usual da temporalidade/transitoriedade, os casos de estudo seguem uma lógica de problema e solução paradigmática.

Falar sobre o caso de São Francisco torna-se interessante devido à crise habitacional que a cidade atravessa desde os anos sessenta, grande parte devido à má política urbana, que mais tarde se veio a agravar com o crescimento tecnológico e com a implementação de várias empresas e conseqüentemente a grande afluência de pessoas a mudarem-se para a zona, o que veio gerar uma população descontente, um aumento do número de sem-abrigos e dá a São Francisco um primeiro lugar nas cidades mais caras para arrendar dos Estados Unidos, nos últimos anos.

Songpa vem como uma solução paradigmática. Um projeto simples que inclui as temáticas faladas nesta dissertação: habitação temporária, habitação mínima e flexibilidade. Mostra-se assim uma solução simples para um problema crescente, adaptável a várias realidades e versátil na composição da cidade, estimulando vivências comunitárias.

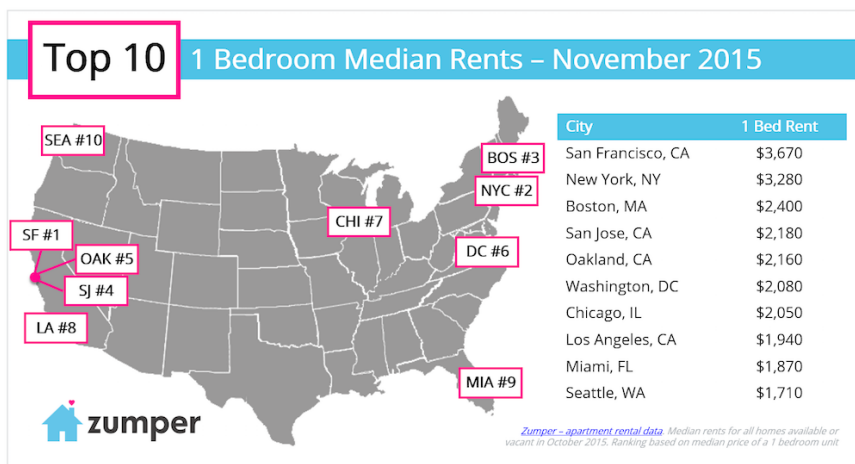


Fig.30 Mapa informativo dos preços de arrendamento de Novembro de 2015

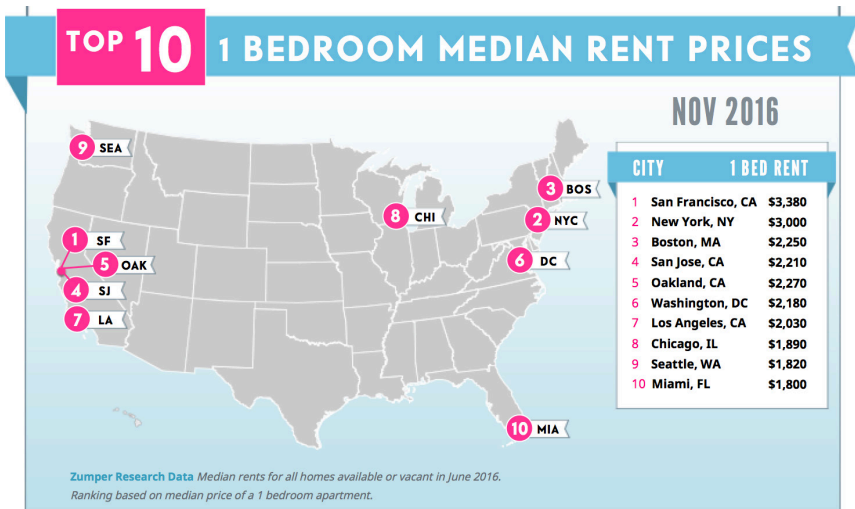


Fig.31 Mapa informativo dos preços de arrendamento de Novembro de 2016

## 2.1 SÃO FRANCISCO E O PROBLEMA

São Francisco é uma cidade americana situada no centro da Califórnia e é considerada a segunda cidade mais densa dos Estados Unidos. Está enquadrada a norte da península de São Francisco o que a torna numa das cidades de eleição para os trabalhadores das empresas sediadas principalmente em Silicon Valley, o que contribuiu para a crise habitacional que está a acontecer, havendo pouca oferta e muita procura e uma tendência natural para o crescimento das rendas da oferta existente. Em 2015 S.Francisco foi considerada a cidade mais cara para habitar, não mudando de posição em comparação com os anos anteriores, sendo seguido por S.José em quarto lugar e Oakland em sexto, ambas cidades da baía.

A Zumper, uma empresa imobiliária dos Estados Unidos, todos os meses faz um relatório nacional com os preços de renda que são praticados nas diferentes cidades americanas. Em novembro de 2015, arrendar um apartamento com um quarto em S.Francisco custava em média três mil seiscientos e setenta dólares por mês, enquanto que um apartamento com dois quartos rondava à volta dos cinco mil dólares. Um ano depois, os valores baixaram para três mil trezentos e oitenta dólares e para quatro mil seiscientos e setenta dólares respetivamente, continuando a ocupar o primeiro lugar da lista.

# SAN FRANCISCO RENTS DOWN 4.9% IN 2016

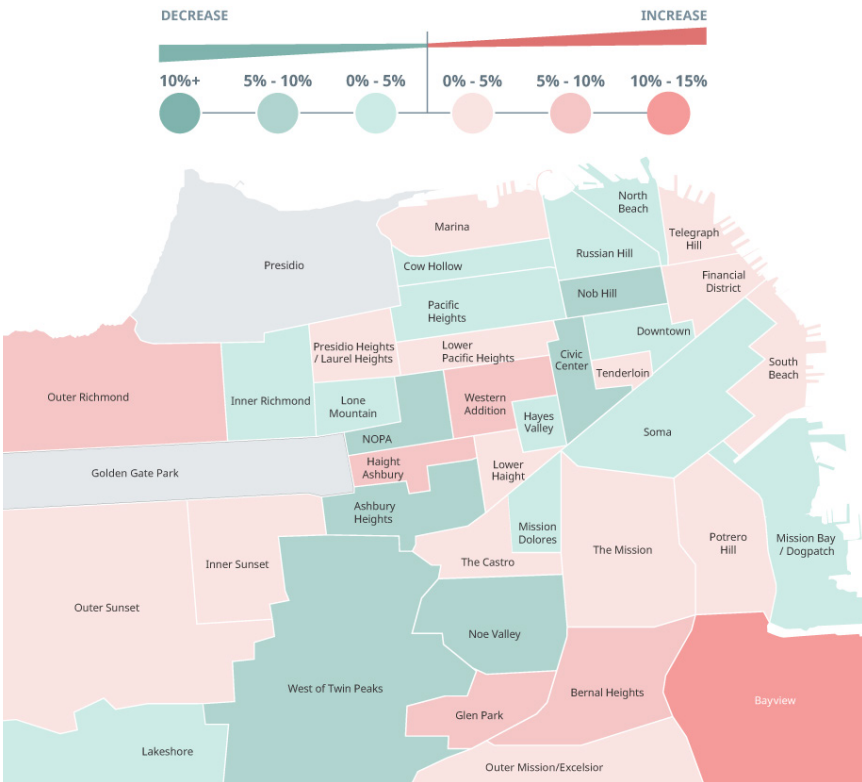


Fig.32 Evolução dos preços de arrendamento de 2016

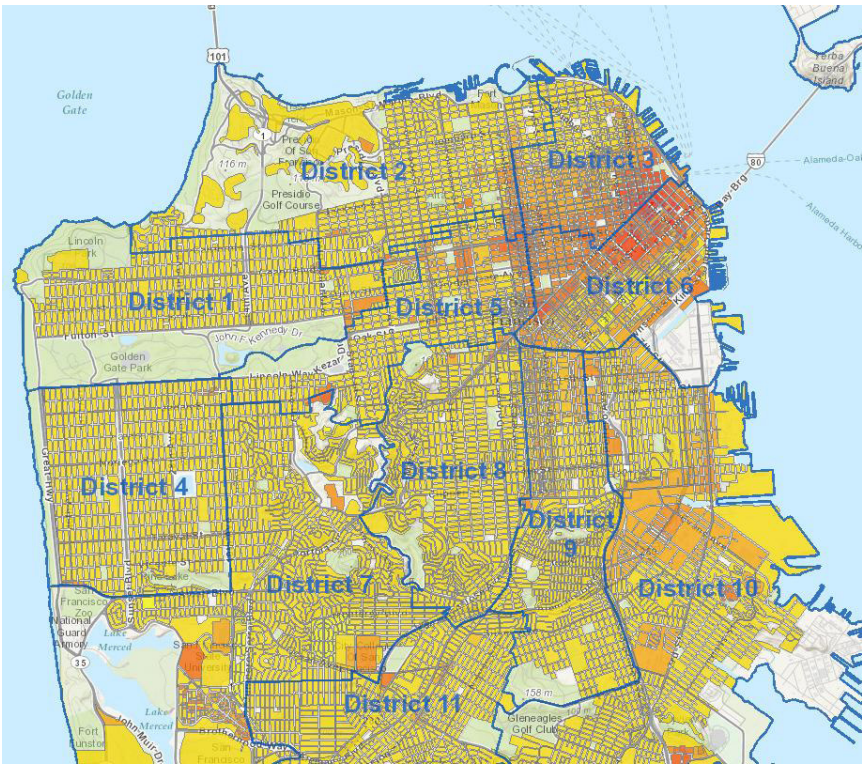


Fig.33 Mapas esquemático com que indica o limite de altura de construção, sendo o amarelo o limite menor e o vermelho o limite maior

*Entre 1995 e 2000, o número de empregos em S. Francisco aumentou em cinquenta e dois mil trezentos e quarenta. Enquanto isso, o número de famílias, só aumentou oito mil trezentos e cinquenta. As cidades crescem, mas S.Francisco recusa-se a crescer.<sup>1</sup> (Smith,1999)*

Existem vários fatores que provocaram esta desproporção entre oferta e procura habitacional, desde a política urbana que a cidade segue até à alta apelabilidade da cidade para os empreendedores.

A cidade segue um plano de *zoning* que consiste em incentivar a criação de parques e outros espaços abertos e limitar a altura máxima dos edifícios construídos na maior parte da cidade, autorizando a construção de arranha céus apenas numa zona. A cidade, que tinha medo de perder as suas vistas icónicas, aprovou um referendo para estabelecer o *sunset zoning* (zoneamento do pôr-do-sol) que impede a construção de qualquer edifício alto sombrear qualquer parque ou praça pública durante mais de uma hora depois do nascer-do-sol ou uma hora antes do pôr-do-sol<sup>2</sup> (Russel, 2014). Outros referendos aprovados impedem a construção de edifícios altos perto de bairros residenciais, tornando assim mais complicado para a cidade de se expandir fora da baixa da cidade, dado que ainda há zonas que não estão a ser desenvolvidas pois têm necessidade de preservar edifícios históricos que outrora foram armazéns e serviam a zona industrial da cidade.

*A cidade também requer um amplo aviso público dos projectos propostos, mesmo que estes vão ao encontro aos planos do bairro, que levaram vários anos de deliberação para produzir. A vizinhança pode pedir recurso de um projeto para algo tão insignificante como a cor da pintura, embora o departamento e a comissão de planeamento*

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<sup>1</sup> Adaptado da tradução: “From 1995 to 2000, the number of jobs in San Francisco will have grown by 52,340. The number of households, meanwhile, will only have grown by 8,350 homes. Cities grow, but San Francisco refuses to.” (Smith, 1999)

<sup>2</sup> Tradução da autora: “Afraid of losing their iconic views, San Franciscans started passing referendums that established “sunset zoning,” making it illegal for tall buildings to put any city park or public square in shadow for more than an hour after sunrise or an hour before sunset.” (Russel, 2014)





*da cidade tentem passar esses recursos menores mais rapidamente.*<sup>3</sup>  
(Kutler, 2014)

A população tem um papel importante no planeamento da cidade e enquanto que metade era contra construir em altura, para evitar que a cidade passasse por uma manhattanização, achava também que grandes edifícios arruinavam vistas e destruíam o carácter único de San Francisco, mas a outra metade defendia que criava emprego e reforçava a economia da cidade. Este controlo que a população tem também facilita o movimento NIMBY (*not in my backyard*), que tem como princípio apoiar a mudança desde que esta seja feita o mais longe possível e de forma a não interferir com o quotidiano da pessoa. No entanto, existe um fator que a população não pode controlar, a Lei de Ellis, e tem vindo a gerar uma onda de contestação por parte dos habitantes.

Esta lei é uma lei do estado Californiano, adaptada a cada cidade do estado, que permite que o senhorio despeje os inquilinos das suas unidades arrendadas se este pretender sair do negócio dos arrendamentos.

Esta lei só pode ser aplicada quando o senhorio é proprietário do imóvel há pelo menos cinco anos e quando aplicada deve ser feita em todas as unidades arrendadas que o senhorio possui. Este ainda tem a obrigação de avisar os seus inquilinos com uma antecedência de cento e vinte dias e terá de pagar uma taxa de realojamento, que em 2015 rondava os cinco mil dólares, no caso de algum dos inquilinos ter mais de sessenta e dois anos ou algum tipo de deficiência o aviso terá de ser feito um ano antes e as taxas de realojamento crescem aos cinco mil dólares aproximadamente três mil e quinhentos. Caso o proprietário desejar voltar a arrendar as unidades habitacionais num espaço de dez anos, este deverá propor primeiro ao inquilino despejado se este tem deseja voltar a arrendar a mesma propriedade, se tal acontecer num prazo de cinco anos, esta proposta

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<sup>3</sup> Tradução da autora: “The city also requires extensive public notice of proposed projects even if they already meet neighborhood plans, which have taken several years of deliberation to produce. Neighbors can appeal your project for something as insignificant as the shade of paint, although the city’s planning department and commission tries to get through minor appeals quickly.” (Kutler, 2014)



deverá incluir o mesmo valor da renda que este pagava no momento do despejo.

Enquanto que esta lei, que foi aprovada em 1985, foi pensada para autorizar e facilitar os senhorios a saírem do negócio imobiliário, fazendo parte da lista de despejos por justa causa, hoje em dia esta lei é abusadamente utilizada pelas empresas de consultadoria imobiliária. Estas empresas despejam os inquilinos seguindo as normas, requalificam as unidades habitacionais de forma a que estas saiam do estatuto de apartamento a baixo custo e possam ser arrendados ou vendidos a preços mais altos, aumentando assim o lucro. <sup>4</sup> (Kutler, 2014)

*O extenso ponto aqui é que enquanto o crescimento económico alimentado pela tecnologia pode ser bom, a gentrificação carrega custos enormes e muitas vezes trágicos para alguns indivíduos e comunidades. Se esses custos não são reconhecidos por um sistema puro baseado no mercado, então o sistema político deve retificá-lo.*<sup>5</sup>  
(Kutler, 2014)

Assim, a gentrificação faz-se sentir fortemente na cidade. Na década de noventa, a economia da cidade prosperou graças à bolha tecnológica, os bairros decadentes da cidade foram revitalizados, o que resultou no aumento dos preços de aluguer e de bens de consumo. Como houve uma reestruturação de espaços urbanos, enobrecendo assim bairros que outrora eram populares e frequentados por residentes de rendas médias e baixas, estes viram-se obrigados a sair, encerrando pequenos estabelecimentos comerciais e industriais.

Com esta situação fora de controlo, pequenos grupos de pessoas encontram nos protestos uma forma de sensibilizar o resto da população, vendo pessoas despejadas e não usufruindo de realojamento como a lei prevê, que muitas vezes acabam por viver nos carros ou em casa de amigos numa situação tempo-

<sup>4</sup> Adaptado da autora: “That’s because the law, which was passed in 1985, was explicitly designed to let landlords go out of business. Tenants activists say that the Ellis Act is instead abused by real estate speculators, who evict their tenants, turn these rent-controlled apartments into tenancies-in-common and sell them at a profit.” (Kutler, 2014)

<sup>5</sup> Tradução da autora: “The broad point here is that while tech-fueled economic growth can be good, gentrification carries enormous and often tragic costs for certain individuals and communities. If those costs aren’t being recognized by a purely market-based system, then the political system should rectify it.” (Kutler, 2014)



rária ou ainda se tornam sem-abrigos e acabam por falecer daí a pouco tempo. Os protestantes, para além de intervir na sede de algumas empresas de forma a conseguir destabilizar o funcionamento destas, também vandalizam o transporte dos trabalhadores e atacam pessoas que mostrem apoio a estas empresas. Eles lutam também para haver um melhor controlo no sistema de arrendamento.

*O sistema de controlo de rendas de São Francisco tem em falta o controlo de vagas, que significa que os senhorios atualizam as suas rendas de acordo com as médias do mercado quando têm novos inquilinos. A lógica é que com o controlo de vagas, os senhorios não vão investir em preservar as suas propriedades. Mas por outro lado, o senhorio também tem um grande incentivo económico para despejar os inquilinos que estão há muito tempo a pagar uma renda abaixo do preço de mercado. Assim, cada década durante um boom, há um rosto trágico e idoso para a história do despejo<sup>6</sup>. (Kutler, 2014)*

Em 2012, a cidade votou para a autorizar a construção de apartamentos com vinte metros quadrados e serem considerados apartamentos de habitação mínima (considerados apartamentos mais pequenos do que é permitido por lei) como tentativa de aliviar a crise habitacional e previam que um estúdio rondasse em média dois mil dólares por mês. As cidades adjacentes a S.Francisco, entre 2007 e 2014, basearam-se no crescimento populacional derivado ao crescimento económico e permitiram construção suficiente para preencher metade da procura e com isto, o presidente Ed Lee, propôs a construção de trinta mil unidades habitacionais até 2020, sendo que trezentos e dez milhões de dólares seriam para investir em alojamento economicamente acessível.

As grandes empresas também tentam combater esta crise. Apesar da Goo-

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<sup>6</sup> Tradução da autora: “San Francisco’s version of rent control lacks vacancy controls, which means landlords can re-set rents at whatever the market will bear when new rent-controlled tenants move in. The logic is that with vacancy controls, landlords won’t invest in maintaining their properties. But the flipside is that the landlord also has a strong financial incentive to evict longstanding tenants who are paying below-market rates. So every decade during a boom, there is a tragic, elderly face for the story of displacement.” (Kutler, 2014)



gle ter sido proibida de construir habitação no seu campus<sup>7</sup>, o *Facebook* associou-se com a empresa *St. Anton Partners* para construir um complexo habitacional com trezentos e noventa e quatro unidades a uma curta distância da sua sede em *Menlo Park*<sup>8</sup>. Apesar de isto não ser suficiente para os seus seis mil trabalhadores, pode ser considerado um ponto de partida e eventualmente uma inspiração para as outras empresas.

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<sup>7</sup> Protestantes dizem que a google deve construir habitação para os seus empregados no seu campus, mas o conselho de Mountain View proibiu a google de o fazer justificando que é necessário preservar e proteger a raça de mocho daquela área. (Kutler, 2014)

<sup>8</sup> Tradução da autora: “Certain cities like Menlo Park seem more collaborative. Facebook partnered with developer St. Anton Partners to build a 394-unit complex within walking distance of its Menlo Park headquarters. But that’s 394 units for a company with more than 6,000 employees.” (Kutler, 2014)



Fig.34 Vista aérea do projeto



## 2.2 SONGPA E A SOLUÇÃO

*Songpa Micro Housing* é um projeto de 2014 do atelier *SsD Architecture* em situado no meio urbano no distrito de Songpa-Gu em Seul, na Coreia do Sul. Esta cidade passou por um período de modernização, depois da destruição que sofreu após a guerra da Coreia na década de cinquenta, onde os materiais do passado foram substituídos por betão, aço e vidro, assim como cresceu a apreciação do espaço exterior e da natureza, típico da arquitetura que já tinha sido globalizada. No entanto, a densidade urbana e os custos de habitação são um problema global e tal reflete-se na capital coreana, e à medida que os tipos de unidades habitacionais ficam menores, os custos das terras quando somados com as margens de lucro criam um tipo de imóvel provisório e com pouco valor social.

*“Em vez de proporcionar uma vida de subsistência mínima, as relações entre moradores, arte, retalho e a comunidade urbana são formadas para criar um novo tipo de fine-grain urbanism”*<sup>1</sup> (Hill, 2014)

O projeto pretendia ser um gerador de cidade por si só. Para além das unidades habitacionais, igualmente programa semi-público e espaço exterior como

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<sup>1</sup> Tradução da autora: “Instead of providing minimal subsistence living therefore, relationships between residents, art and retail spaces, and the urban community are formed to create a new kind of fine-grain urbanism.” (Hill, 2014)

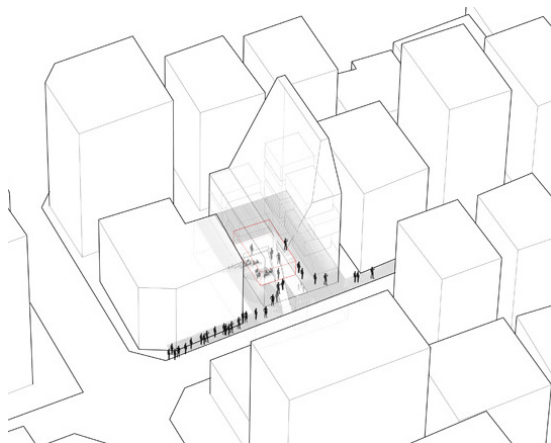


Fig. 35 Axonometria

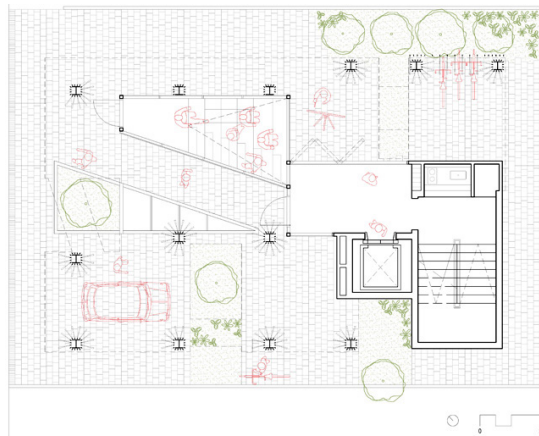


Fig. 36 Planta do piso térreo



Fig. 37 Alçado desdobrado

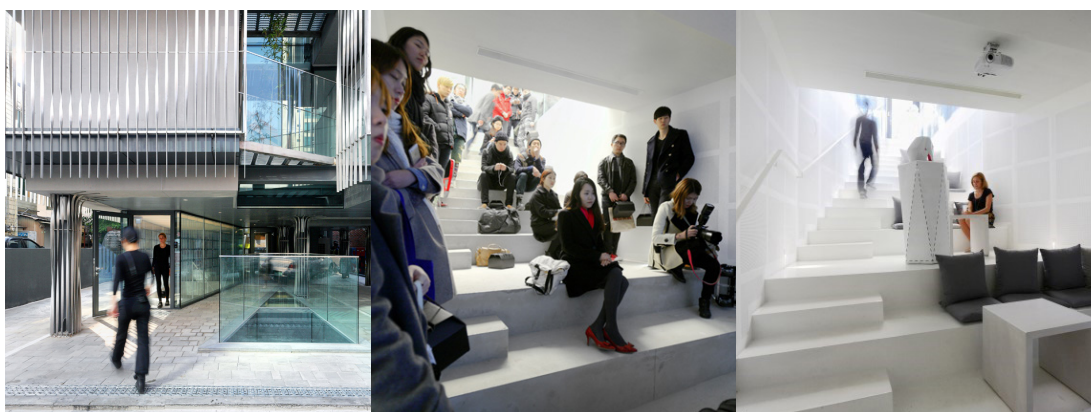


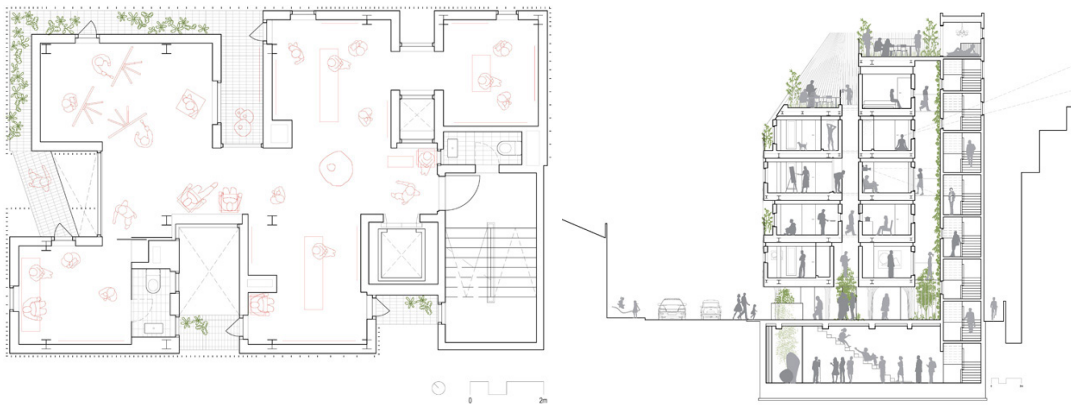
Fig. 38 Zona de entrada da cave; mini-auditório / café com diferentes ocupações

varandas e pátios fazem parte do edifício, cria intersecções entre o público/privado, interior/exterior, criando tecidos sociais entre vizinhos. A flexibilidade do projeto acomoda mudanças nas condições de vida e de trabalho, fazendo com que os moradores ocupem o edifício durante mais tempo. Todos os espaços são cuidadosamente organizados de forma a chamar uma variedade de utilizadores, permitindo uma variedade de ocupação espacial do piso semi-público que ao mesmo tempo serve de extensão de espaço social das habitações.

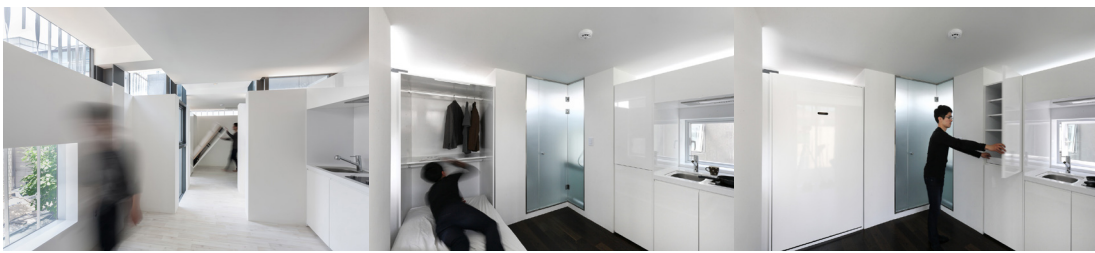
O edifício insere-se num lote urbano com um total de duzentos e quatro metros quadrados, e tem uma área total construída de quinhentos e dez metros quadrados. O edifício é revestido por tiras de aço inoxidável desenvolvidos parametricamente e que funcionam como moduladores de privacidade, como uma barreira de segurança dos pisos mais abaixo e como guarda das varandas. Ainda servem como drenagem de água e servem também para esconder as infraestruturas de gás e de luz, ficando ainda de fácil acesso como o plano regulador da cidade prevê.

A ideia de comunidade é uma das palavras-chave da intervenção. Enquanto espaço social, o edifício alberga, no espaço da cave, um pequeno espaço expositivo em conjunto com um café, onde no seu acesso os degraus possibilitam que se torne num miniauditório para quando há performances, ou uma extensão de espaço de estar para os moradores. O piso térreo é um plano aberto que se torna apelativo para os pedestres entrarem. O edifício encontra-se elevado do chão, como o plano regulador prevê, de forma a poder receber um pequeno estacionamento e ao mesmo tempo possibilita que o espaço sirva de praça pública para receber eventos.

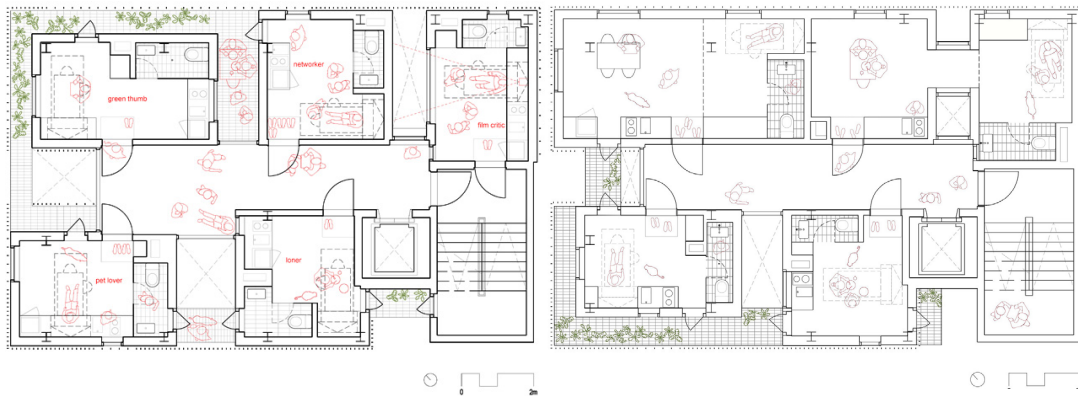
Todo o espaço restante serve essencialmente para os moradores usufruírem, tanto a cave como o primeiro piso, que tem micro-unidades que podem ser convertidas em galerias ou serem utilizadas para outros fins de acordo com a vontade dos moradores, estão ligados às unidades como espaço partilhado. Todo o espaço de circulação possibilita interação social, sendo um espaço sem obstá-



**Fig. 39** Planta do piso 1 e corte



**Fig. 40** Imagens interiores dos apartamentos duplo e individual



**Fig. 41** Planta do piso 2 e do piso 3 mostrando diferentes utilizações por pessoas diferentes

culos visuais, a luz natural apodera-se de todo o espaço, reforçando a ideia de gerador de micro-cidade dentro do edifício.

O complexo é formado por catorze unidades habitacionais flexíveis que permite que os residentes reivindiquem de um espaço ou, no caso de ser um casal ou dois amigos, haja a possibilidade de combinar dois blocos graças às adjacências e às pontes, permitindo assim outras configurações do espaço. Existe assim a possibilidade de configurar dois tipos de unidades habitacionais para diferentes tipos de pessoas, que já foram hipoteticamente pensadas como refere na imagem 41: desde a pessoas amigas do ambiente, a solitários, a amantes de animais de estimação e críticos de filmes.

A unidade básica tem cerca de onze metros quadrados e a dupla tem pouco mais de vinte e dois metros quadrados, para além de pequenas janelas em sítios pontuais e de grandes entradas de luz na zona superior da parede, o que dá uma sensação de ampliação do espaço, tem ainda pelo menos uma abertura para as varandas por casa apartamento.

As habitações permitem todos os aspetos da vida diária através de paredes eficientes, que permitem a multifuncionalidade de cada unidade. O armazenamento é planeado para a máxima eficiência, temos por exemplo a zona de dormir, que durante o dia é rebatida para dentro do armário deixando esse espaço aberto que poderá mais tarde ter a zona de refeições nesse mesmo sítio. As instalações sanitárias são um pequeno espaço com o essencial e a zona de confeção de refeições limita-se a uma pequena bancada.

Este projeto mostra-se como solução devido à sua resposta urbana, ocupando um pequeno lote na cidade e é gerador de espaço público, semipúblico, semiprivado e privado, sendo que o espaço privado é dotado de flexibilidade que possibilita a utilização por diferentes pessoas com diferentes estilos de vida, conjugado com a habitação mínima e dá resposta às premissas da habitação temporária, dispondo ainda de uma solução de modo a prolongar a estadia. Enquanto resposta para o problema do caso de estudo anterior, não podemos afirmar com



certeza que é algo que seria construível na cidade de São Francisco tal como foi construído em Seul devido às diferenças culturais, mas torna-se numa solução paradigmática devido às suas premissas que podem ser adaptáveis de acordo com várias realidades, pois é um projeto simples, que articula diferentes unidades habitacionais mínimas que por sua vez compreendem características flexíveis, juntando ainda uma componente social polivalente que não exclui os restantes habitantes que queiram usufruir do espaço.





## CONSIDERAÇÕES FINAIS

A habitação é um tema que tem sido recorrentemente estudado ao longo dos anos, ramificando em várias tipologias que diferem e se relacionam entre si. A habitação temporária é uma dessas ramificações e sempre foi um tema cuja caracterização me despertou particular interesse. Assim, e de modo a compreender uma dessas ramificações houve necessidade de explorar o programa da habitação comum, como estudo de raiz para perceber esta ramificação. Este estudo do programa habitacional fez-me perceber a forma como todos os espaços da casa estão articulados entre si, que um espaço específico não significa obrigatoriamente que seja utilizado unicamente para aquela função, e permitiu-me também perceber os espaços que não são indispensáveis na habitação ou que podem ser conjugados num contexto comunitário.

Com este raciocínio, e dado que a análise do programa habitacional foi feita através do estudo que o Arquiteto Nuno Portas fez sobre as exigências da habitação, num carácter mínimo, era importante que o passo seguinte fosse entender a habitação mínima e no que é que esta se diferenciava da tipologia anterior, percebendo que com a necessidade de proporcionar o mínimo habitável, havia uma conjugação de espaços, isto é, não seria tão comum haver uma cozinha e uma sala



de refeições, mas sim uma cozinha com uma pequena zona de refeições.

A partir deste raciocínio, esta linha de pensamento pode dividir-se, partindo ou para a questão evolutiva da habitação, em que o utilizador expande a sua habitação de forma a que esta se vá adaptando às suas necessidades ou à evolução do seu agregado, ou parte para a aproveitamento máximo do espaço habitado, permitindo que o mesmo espaço seja apropriado para as mais variadas atividades.

Esta última ideia é o que caracteriza a flexibilidade dos espaços e é igualmente tema de estudo neste trabalho, procurando perceber de que forma este conceito permite prolongar o leque de utentes possíveis de acordo com as suas ocupações. Esta questão da flexibilidade pode ser igualmente entendida de duas formas, por um lado a flexibilidade enquanto espaço aberto que permite ao utilizador de organizar o espaço habitável de acordo com as suas necessidades e preferências e assim o mesmo espaço pode ser organizado de forma diferente que um outro utente daquele espaço que o usufruiu anteriormente, e por outro um espaço pode ser flexível através do mobiliário, que permite por exemplo, que o espaço de estar se transforme em espaço de dormir para a estadia noturna, adaptando assim o espaço de acordo com as necessidades diárias do utente.

Após a análise da habitação permanente, da habitação mínima e da flexibilidade, posso concluir que aquilo que distingue primariamente a habitação temporária das restantes mencionadas, para além da questão da ocupação temporal, o programa tem o papel mais importante nesta distinção dado que existem espaços na habitação permanente que não justifica a sua presença no caso temporário. No caso da diferença entre esta tipologia e a habitação mínima, temos de ter em consideração que a inclusão de espaços comuns, como espaços de estar ou de estudo, por exemplo, não se torna num ponto comum na habitação mínima, sendo que se torna um ponto importante na caracterização desta tipologia podendo ser considerado que estes espaços surgem como resposta para a falta de espaços mais abertos na unidade habitacional fomentando ainda a interação social entre moradores. A questão da flexibilidade pode ser relacionada em todas



**Fig.42** Bairro da Malagueira em Évora

as tipologias mencionadas, mostrando-se chave de resolução do espaço mínimo habitacional.

Enquanto objeto de estudo, a habitação temporária mostrou ser mais versátil do que pensava ser inicialmente, seguindo a associação de que habitação temporária era para casos de urgência, podendo assim concluir de acordo com os projetos analisados que existem vários casos de temporalidade na cidade.

Os casos de estudo escolhidos forçaram-me a perceber as razões para alguns problemas da cidade. Apesar de São Francisco ser um caso bastante especial e pouco comum, a questão de problemas habitacionais devido a má gestão urbana já é algo mais usual, o que mexe também com a mentalidade da sociedade e da forma como esta vê o problema. O caso de estudo escolhido enquanto solução programática prova que é possível construir soluções arrojadas num meio sobrelotado e que procura dar uma rápida resposta à procura habitacional, mantendo ainda a ideia de comunidade e adaptando as tipologias de acordo com as necessidades de cada utilizador.

Enquanto resposta para a problemática apresentada, o termo mais correto a utilizar será o de transitoriedade, concluindo com este trabalho que todo o habitar é temporário, vendo a palavra enquanto tempo de permanência, seja este um ano ou dez, no entanto quando se habita numa questão de transição as condições requeridas são diferentes pois é a causa pelo qual se habita que é transitória. No entanto mostra-se difícil controlar as alterações tipológicas que procuram dar resposta à procura turística que as cidades portuguesas enfrentam e esta questão aumenta casos de gentrificação na cidade.

Pensando no bairro da Malagueira em Évora, projetado pelo arquiteto Álvaro Siza Vieira, caso de habitação mínima evolutiva, se este bairro tivesse sido construído no centro da cidade de Lisboa, possivelmente já teria sido caso de gentrificação, isto é, ou era demolida ou os habitantes seriam forçados a sair por vontade de se querer utilizar esse espaço de forma mais rentável economicamente, fosse para tornar em unidades hoteleiras ou para transformar as habitações



**Fig. 43** Bairro da Bouça no Porto

em negócios rentáveis, acabando por não preservar a sua utilidade inicial.

Utilizando também o exemplo do bairro da Bouça no Porto, também do arquiteto Álvaro Siza Vieira e também exemplo de habitação mínima, é o exemplo de uma habitação social construída no meio da cidade, e o que antes era considerado gueto e foi muitas vezes alvo de ameaça de demolição por parte da câmara, no entanto hoje é um ponto central na cidade e bairro de referência, sobretudo para novos moradores jovens que vêm aquele bairro enquanto bairro cosmopolita, por vezes esquecendo o verdadeiro propósito que levou à sua construção. Este bairro pode servir como exemplo do que poderia ter acontecido à Malagueira se esta tivesse sido construída nos mesmos meios urbanos que a Bouça, no entanto por hoje em dia estar totalmente habitado com população jovem e mais velha, não quer dizer que daqui a uns anos investidores não vejam o bairro como forma de fazer negócio, force a saída dos habitantes, tornando assim a bouça num bairro para turistas. Estas questões estão fora do alcance das pessoas que habitam a cidade, no entanto convém haver soluções disponíveis para o caso de acontecer.

Assim, a habitação temporária pode efetivamente ser uma resposta para casos de transitoriedade que a cidade procura, no entanto talvez haja falta de conhecimentos sobre a existência desta tipologia pouco consolidada ou ainda pouca informação sobre os usos que se podem dar. Esta dissertação pretende ser uma base de definições e informações sobre esta tipologia, deixando em aberto caminhos que se possam seguir a partir desta. É importante perceber que a sociedade está a mudar e existe necessidade de adaptação, mas também é preciso travar estes processos de gentrificação e esta tipologia responde à necessidade deste tipo de habitação e acompanha a evolução da sociedade contemporânea.





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## FONTES DE IMAGENS

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**Fig. 16** <https://1.bp.blogspot.com/-Q3GLMa6GfNo/VxUCfi91arI/AAAAAAAAAFaE/u9Qd9rTdw2EYCUxgQmpaEtnw74TmmzwagCKgB/s1600/Njiric%252BNjiric-EUROPAN.jpg>

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**Fig. 26** [http://cdn2.world-architects.com/files/projects/35682/images/\\_MG\\_1353\\_2.jpg](http://cdn2.world-architects.com/files/projects/35682/images/_MG_1353_2.jpg)

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**Fig. 30** <https://www.zumper.com/blog/2015/11/zumper-national-rent-report-november-2015/>

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b300/015a/slideshow/songpa\_elevation\_labels.jpg?1418170532

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**Fig. 42** [http://www.archdaily.com.br/br/01-49523/classicos-da-arquitetura-quinta-da-malagueira-alvaro-siza/usuario-flickr\\_gva\\_jb\\_1329748522-gva-jb/](http://www.archdaily.com.br/br/01-49523/classicos-da-arquitetura-quinta-da-malagueira-alvaro-siza/usuario-flickr_gva_jb_1329748522-gva-jb/)

**Fig. 43** [http://www.porto24.pt/wp-content/uploads/Conjunto-habitacional-da-Bouca\\_DR1-983x550-2zf2ocfij15zbimrokiwq0.jpg](http://www.porto24.pt/wp-content/uploads/Conjunto-habitacional-da-Bouca_DR1-983x550-2zf2ocfij15zbimrokiwq0.jpg)



## ANEXOS

Projectos escolhidos para análise do catálogo do concurso de ideias para alojamentos temporais:

Anexo 1 - “TM1000”

Anexo 2 - “Habitat Movil”

Anexo 3 - “Intro”

Anexo 4 - “Nomada”

Anexo 5 - “Enanos en hombros de gigantes”

Anexo 6 - “Rizoma 6-6”

Anexo 7 - “Divac”

Anexo 8 - Artigo de Smith, M. (1999). *How shortsighted neighborhood activism fuels the city’s housing crisis, and pushes the best of San Francisco deeper and deeper into the suburbs.*

Anexo 9 - Artigo de Russel, K. (2014) *This one intersection explain why housing is so expensive in San Francisco.*

Anexo 10 - Artigo de Cutler, K. (2014) *How burrowing owls lead to vomiting anarchists (Or SF’s housing crisis explained).*

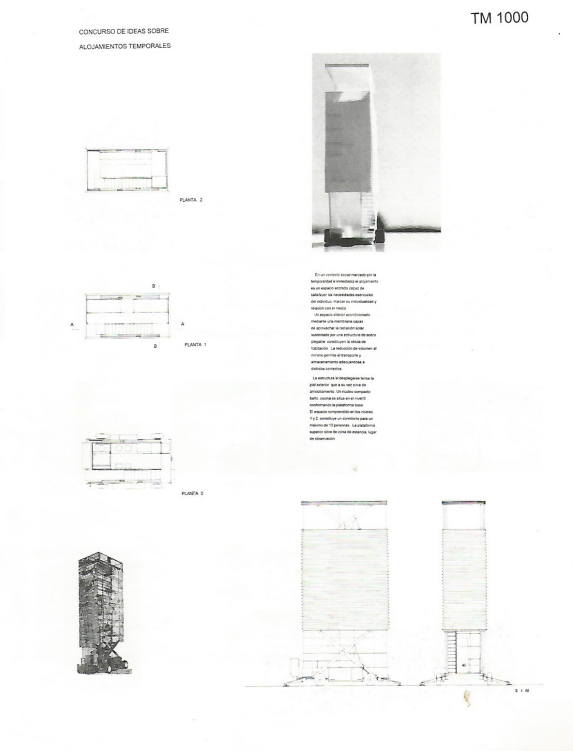
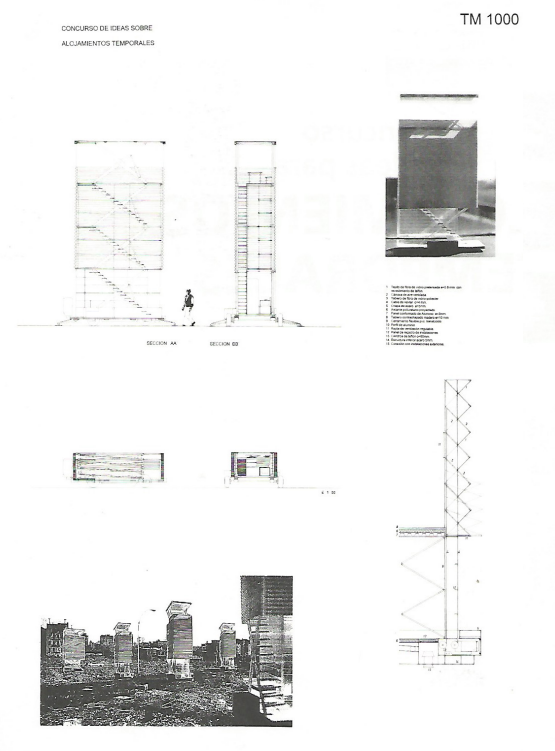


# Anexo 1 - TM1000

PRIMER PREMIO

T.M. 1.000

Angel García de Celis (Estudiante de la ETSAM)  
 Jorge Jareño Ibarra (Estudiante de la ETSAM)











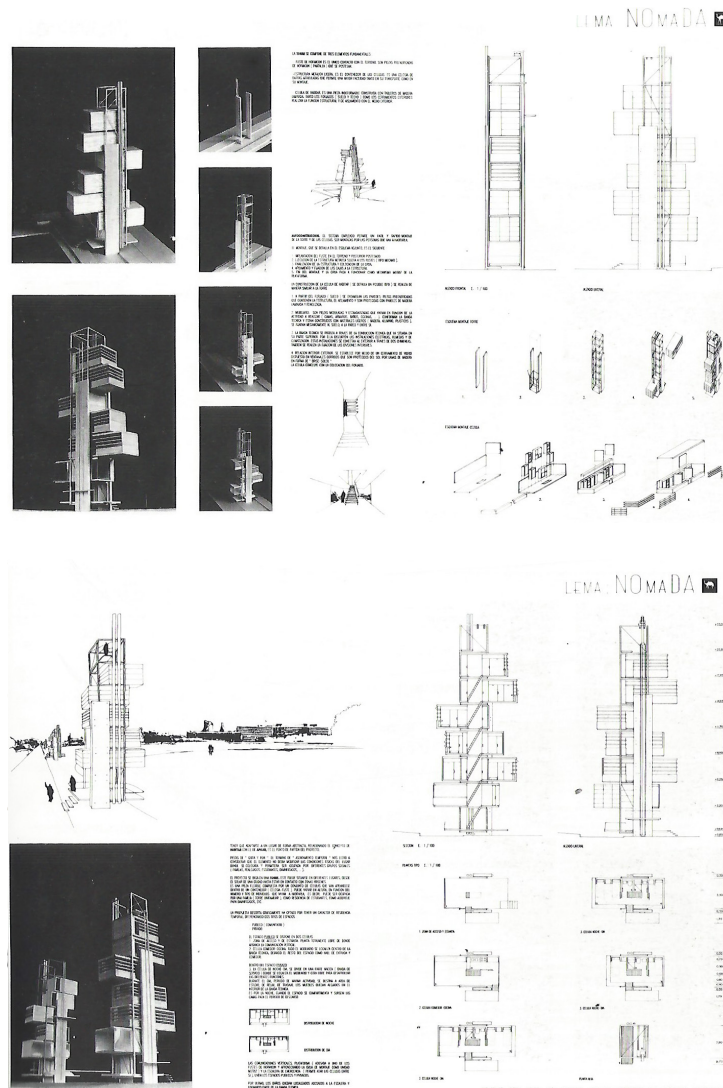




# Anexo 4 - Nomada

## NOMADA

Javier Rodríguez Alcoba (Estudiante de la ETSAM)  
 Carlos Rodríguez Alcoba (Estudiante de la ETSAM)



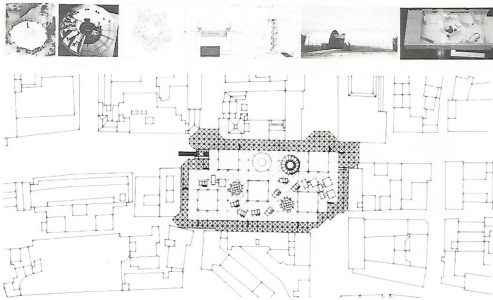
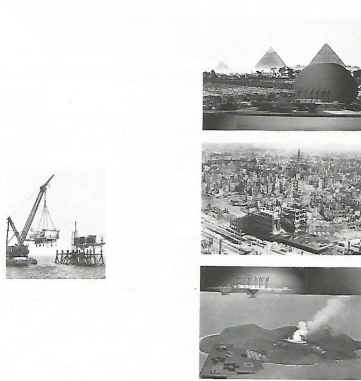


# Anexo 5 - Enanos en hombros de gigantes

## ENANOS EN HOMBROS DE GIGANTES

José de Coca Leicher (Arquitecto)  
 Josemía Hervás y Heras (Arquitecto)  
 Esteban H. Cantalapiedra (Arquitecto)

### ENANOS EN HOMBROS DE GIGANTES



### ENANOS EN HOMBROS DE GIGANTES

#### ¿QUE ES UN ASENTAMIENTO TEMPORAL?

El concepto asentamiento temporal puede referirse a PERSONAS, OBJETOS, y LUGARES, utilizando estos perímetros aislados e interrelacionados entre sí. Si nos atenemos estrictamente a la PERSONA que lo habita, estaríamos hablando de un HOTEL. Si hablamos del OBJETO propiamente dicho, la temporalidad se debe a su montaje y desmontaje. Una TIENDA DE CAMPAÑA aparece y desaparece en su bolsa lona veces como la necesidad.

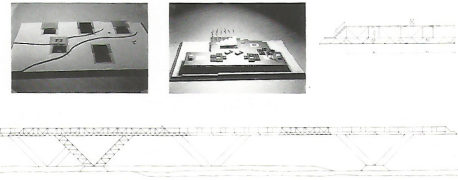
Por último, el LUGAR es otro factor que añade temporalidad a un asentamiento. Una ROULETTE DE CIRCO es habitada siempre por la misma persona en todo momento, pero no permanece fija en ningún emplazamiento. Nuestro planteamiento era solucionar el problema manteniendo los tres supuestos diseñados para personas que van a trabajar eventualmente, de fácil montaje y desmontaje sin que el terreno sufra especiales daños, y una vez que haya cumplido su misión en un lugar determinado, puede emprenderse a continuación en otro emplazamiento por fíjase que está sea.

Otra característica de nuestro asentamiento es su POLIFUNCIONALIDAD. Lo que facilitamos es un SOPORTE para que en él se desarrolle todo tipo de actividad. Nuestro soporte es mucho más que un suelo inteligente, es un SUELO VIVO. Es un terreno fértil del que extraemos todo lo que necesitamos para la sustentabilidad de un asentamiento: agua, luz, saneamiento, redes de comunicación, energía y CRECIMIENTO. Nuestro suelo puede crear ciudades olvidadas por las ruinas, eventos importantes (fiestas, exposiciones, etc.), excavaciones arqueológicas en lugares privilegiados, expediciones científicas. Cada una de estas circunstancias requiere edificaciones acordes con su uso: hospitales, centros de trabajo, instalaciones deportivas, talleres de fabricación, viviendas...

El sistema de montaje es muy sencillo, sobre el terreno se anclan unos soportes -depósito en forma de pirámide invertida. A continuación y mediante el empleo de grúas situadas en el eje de los soportes, se van elevando y colocando sobre ellos. Tras de sujeción se perfectamente acabados de 10/1000 m de suelo, se da forma que cada soporte abraza una corona de dos módulos en torno a él, por último se unirá los del borde de un soporte con los del contiguo en una tercera corona de un módulo de anchura, siendo el proceso constructivo como el de un puente. El sistema es claramente ECOLÓGICO puesto que las instalaciones discurren a través de nuestra plataforma, de esta manera no dañamos ni alteramos el suelo sobre el que nos asentamos y todos los EDIFICIOS se PROBARÁN en nuestro suelo vivo. Este mecanismo permite asentamientos en ciudades sin alterar su trama urbana, liberando el suelo (debajo de nuestra plataforma seguiría existiendo ciudad).

Como se ha indicado anteriormente, los soportes son también depósitos de agua, combustible, zonas verdes, instalación de centros médicos... de esta manera aprovechamos sus grandes dimensiones para ahorrar espacio en la plataforma, y nos aseguran mayor estabilidad al suelo. Este asentamiento gozará de gran autonomía, puesto que se integra en la medida de lo posible, que se mantenga con energías alternativas que le permitan cierto grado de autarquía.

Al proponer la creación de un terreno artificial, que lleva en sí mismo todo el equipamiento necesario para la configuración de un asentamiento, la EDIFICACIÓN que en cualquier caso, preferiblemente dentro del mundo de la prefabricación. La totalidad de las propuestas de nuestros compañeros de concurso podían servir de ejemplo de los diversos edificios que existirán en nuestra plataforma. En cualquier caso, la elección de los edificios quedará en manos de los usuarios, EVITANDO LA MONOTONÍA que un único sistema ofrece. Como reconocimiento a los arquitectos que llevan años trabajando en este campo, y siendo consciente de que SOMOS ENANOS, PERO PROBLEMAS MÁS ALLÁ, NOS SUBIMOS EN LOS HOMBROS DE LOS SIGILIENTES GIGANTES: Norman Foster, Jean Prouvé, Renzo Piano, Richard Rogers, y muchos más que no aparecen en el panel, pero que han servido de apoyo.











# Anexo 7 - Divac

## DIVAC

Enrique Sanz Neira (Arquitecto)

### CONCURSO DE IDEAS PROYECTOS ARQUITECTONICOS PARA LA RECONSTRUCCION DE DIVAC

#### DIVAC

Elaboración de un proyecto arquitectónico para la reconstrucción de la zona de Divac, en el barrio de San Sebastián de los Reyes, Madrid. El proyecto se basa en la recuperación de la estructura existente y la mejora de las condiciones de habitabilidad y de los espacios públicos.

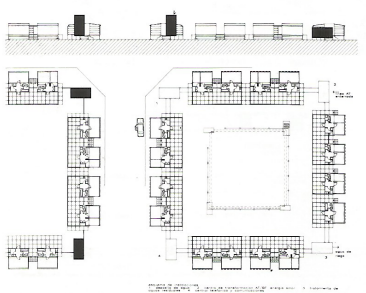
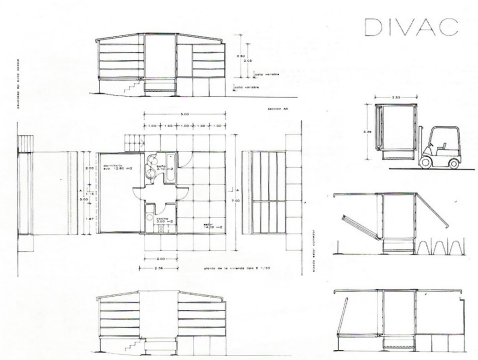
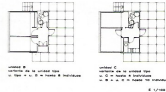
El objetivo del concurso es la elaboración de un proyecto de reconstrucción que permita mejorar las condiciones de habitabilidad y de los espacios públicos de la zona de Divac, en el barrio de San Sebastián de los Reyes, Madrid.

Puede considerarse el procedimiento de planificación urbanística de un barrio de vivienda, en el que se recupera la estructura existente y se mejora las condiciones de habitabilidad y de los espacios públicos. El objetivo del concurso es la elaboración de un proyecto de reconstrucción que permita mejorar las condiciones de habitabilidad y de los espacios públicos de la zona de Divac, en el barrio de San Sebastián de los Reyes, Madrid.

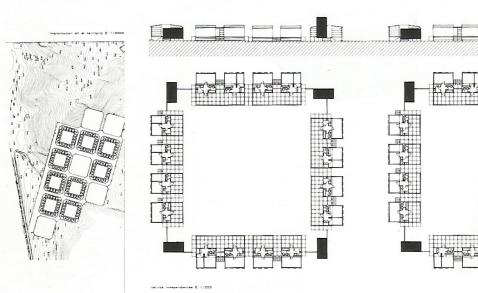
Las intervenciones propuestas para cada una de las parcelas de vivienda se basan en la recuperación de la estructura existente y la mejora de las condiciones de habitabilidad y de los espacios públicos. El objetivo del concurso es la elaboración de un proyecto de reconstrucción que permita mejorar las condiciones de habitabilidad y de los espacios públicos de la zona de Divac, en el barrio de San Sebastián de los Reyes, Madrid.

Los tres tipos de urbanización propuestas se caracterizan por su estructura de vivienda y por su integración con el entorno urbano.

## DIVAC



1. Planta de planta principal de 117 metros cuadrados de superficie.
2. Planta de planta principal de 117 metros cuadrados de superficie.
3. Planta de planta principal de 117 metros cuadrados de superficie.
4. Planta de planta principal de 117 metros cuadrados de superficie.
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20. Planta de planta principal de 117 metros cuadrados de superficie.
21. Planta de planta principal de 117 metros cuadrados de superficie.
22. Planta de planta principal de 117 metros cuadrados de superficie.
23. Planta de planta principal de 117 metros cuadrados de superficie.





**Anexo 8 - Artigo de Smith, M. (1999).** How shortsighted neighborhood activism fuels the city's housing crisis, and pushes the best of San Francisco deeper and deeper into the suburbs, disponível em [https://web.archive.org/web/20001001083046/http://www.sfweekly.com/issues/1999-08-18/feature.html/printable\\_page](https://web.archive.org/web/20001001083046/http://www.sfweekly.com/issues/1999-08-18/feature.html/printable_page) , disponível a 17-02-2017.

About a half-mile from California's fastest-growing town, signs sprout from the alfalfa fields, heralding a new sort of growth: The Estates at Dallas Ranch; Highland Ranch at Somersville; Country Living at Toureville; California Grove -- Now Selling; Summerset -- 14 Floor Plans. The signs portend the future of Brentwood, a town of 18,000 -- for now -- between Stockton and Antioch. "I guess this means Brentwood isn't going to be a small farm town anymore," says Guiga Arno, a thin woman with a winning smile who sells cough drops and soda at Brentwood Boulevard Beacon Gas. "The sad thing is that those fields, the farms, were the best thing about living here."

Down Highway 4 from Arno's gas station counter lie hundreds of acres of freshly bulldozed fields, sprinkled every half-acre with bales of plumbing and electrical conduit, framed with cul-de-sacs to nowhere. Farther south, more such fields host half-finished houses the size of small apartment buildings. At the edge of all this, inside a row of grass-trimmed, newly completed sample homes, Linda Russell "sells dirt," as the practice of flogging unbuilt houses is known. Russell's employer, Morrison Homes, is one of a dozen builders creating subdivisions out of farmland around Brentwood, offering affordable luxury homes like the Hallmark (\$239,990), the Cardinal (\$256,990), and the Tribute (\$266,990). San Francisco is 45 miles to the southwest, Silicon Valley farther, commutes of at least three hours a day on congested highways. But the buyers keep coming. "I've had 50 people who commute to San Francisco," Russell effuses. "A lot of them commute to Silicon Valley, to San Jose."

Brentwood's newest residents get in their cars each workday and they drive: down Highway 4, through the 10,000-acre housing tracts of Antioch, through the endless office parks of San Ramon, past Hayward and San Leandro and Oakland, and across the Bay Bridge to San Francisco.

Here, on a sunny Sunday in August, an enthusiastic carpenter and sometime real estate salesman named Raymond Morgan bounds across the floorboards of a smallish house on Wisconsin Street, in the once-blue-collar neighborhood of Potrero Hill. Morgan sweeps his arm dramatically to take in the house's small interior, talking of amenities to come. It has potential, he says. It has a great view. The small yard could be a gardener's delight.

Morgan's verve seems odd, given that the house, which is selling for \$439,000, has been gutted to the frame. There are no interior walls, plumbing, electrical wiring, bathrooms, doors, or any of the other niceties that make a house a home. It will cost at least another \$100,000 to finish the place, and that would be in the humblest way.

Still, Morgan remains untempered. The price is low considering what other houses are going for in the neighborhood. "There was a place down the block that went for \$700,000, and it didn't have near the view of this one," he says.

A pack of home-seekers -- three young couples, an older man, two young men -- who have spent the morning plodding through such houses stare blankly at Morgan's bare-stud walls, peer down holes in the plywood where toilets used to be, then walk silently out, expressionless. Like members of the ghost pack that roams the city's available rental apartments -- whose prices have similarly gone up by 60 percent during the past five years -- many of these people will eventually give up on the idea of living in San Francisco.

"A lot of them," Morgan confides, "they're not serious."

While they may seem worlds apart, the lives of Arno, Russell, and Morgan are inexorably linked, and, in turn, deeply intertwined with the destiny of San Francisco. Each of them plays a role in the swiftly evolving San Francisco-area housing market, which during the span of a half-decade has gone from being merely expensive, to one of the most inaccessible in the world. An average two-bedroom/two-bath apartment renting for \$1,556 a month in 1994 went for \$2,239 last year, according to the latest available figures, and rents continue to go up.

This means couples with children are generally shifted toward the bottom of the pages-long lists of applicants for scarce vacant apartments. It means people of modest or even middling means don't even think about living here. It means that ravenous home-buyers bid for properties, pushing sales prices well beyond the already-exorbitant asking prices.



It means that the future for many who work in San Francisco, or simply want to live in the area, lies in places like the alfalfa fields of Brentwood. Suburbs 45 miles away -- which one might ordinarily imagine as bastions of white flight -- are beginning to appear more economically and racially diverse than San Francisco, as high housing prices push people ever farther away.

The Bay Area urban sprawl, which had been crawling toward the Central Valley for decades, has begun to race toward the Interstate 5 corridor, a minimum one-hour drive from workplaces in San Francisco and on the lower Peninsula. Now, every day during working hours, San Francisco's population of 780,000 increases temporarily by around 215,000 people, who in the evening leave for distant homes.

The reason for all this seems on its face to be profanely simple: In the most economically vital region in the world, job growth has outpaced housing construction, making it harder for everyone to find affordable places to live.

There's a rub hidden in this simple formula for disaster, though, one that doesn't get bandied about much here: San Francisco has the room to build the housing the city needs, to slow spiraling rents and sales prices, to forestall manic sprawl, to restore sanity to a market wholly out of kilter.

But it won't.

If the mayor, supervisors, and citizens of San Francisco were to wake up one day and decide they wanted to confront the housing crisis, they could do so with relative ease. It would require nothing more than building the housing already permitted under existing laws and zoning plans, creating enough homes and apartments to house tens of thousands of people. According to the Planning Department, the city could build around 80,000 units -- or nine Brentwoods -- without changing current zoning laws one bit. And that's assuming most of the new housing would be built on vacant land.

If the city were merely to build part of this capacity, and produce enough housing to satisfy demand -- 25,000 units, according to some estimates; twice or thrice that, according to others -- housing prices would likely stabilize.

Fully satisfying San Francisco's housing demand would over time cause a cascading price-stabilizing effect at all levels. Over a span of years, such a satiation of demand could result in an adjusted-for-inflation lowering of prices, as happened during the early '90s, following a brief construction boom.

Among economists, environmentalists, academic urban studies researchers, and professional urban planners, this is not a controversial idea. It is simply the way housing markets work. It's an acknowledgment of an inescapable reality -- more people require more housing.

From 1995 to 2000, the number of jobs in San Francisco will have grown by 52,340. The number of households, meanwhile, will only have grown by 8,350 homes. Cities grow, but San Francisco refuses to. So while in other metropolitan areas the suburbs bloom as wealthier white urban dwellers flee the downtown area, in San Francisco people are pushed to the hinterlands by a local populace that doesn't want any more neighbors.

San Francisco's drum-tight housing market is not the result of a newfound NIMBY attitude, the sort of adolescent suburban fussiness that comes from waiting too long at a stop sign. It's the end product of a unique -- and chronically shortsighted -- political culture 50 years in the making that is now part of the city's genetic structure.

What would seem to be the most urbane city in the western United States was born, grew up, and survives with a deeply conflicted sense of its own urbanity. To this day, the city's most pitched civic battles are fought over seemingly suburban issues such as maintaining parking, preserving yard space, avoiding shadows, and maintaining, at all costs, unfettered bay views.

The tale of how San Francisco began transforming itself into an exclusive enclave for the wealthy -- and subdivision fertilizer for the Brentwood plains -- is also the tale of this city's dramatically declining expectations. During the years just after World War II, San Francisco fancied itself one of the world's great social, economic, and political capitals. It would be the greatest city of the west, its early dreamers imagined. The city was zoned to become a grand urban metropolis, with tightly packed apartment housing along Ocean Beach, along the Panhandle, around Golden Gate Park, on Potrero Hill. A modern transit line would connect BART to Ocean Beach, and be flanked by densely packed apartment buildings to its terminus. But in the years that ensued, San Francisco's dreams of urbanity dispersed into a much more modest proposal: San Francisco simply would be kept a nice place to live.

In wave after wave of downzoning, successive San Francisco governments shut out ever more housing, until today, the most densely zoned parts of the city are sparser than the areas that during the 1950s were zoned lowest-density. San Francisco's total population, meanwhile, decreased from 830,000 during the years after World War II to 780,000 now.

This change of vision evolved during decades-long political battles over redevelopment, private housing construction, parking, and transit. But more important, it was the result of thousands of tiny individual and collective choices about how San Franciscans wished to live their civic lives.

In 1999, every acre of the city is wired tight with neighborhood improvement associations, some decades old, some months old, many born of planning battles long past. Today, every inch of San Francisco is subject to the claims of some neighborhood group that assumes the right to control planning decisions there. The Planning Department lists 400 neighborhood associations and related groups -- or about eight per square mile -- that it must consider, inform, and appease as part of every move it makes.

Much about this is good: San Francisco enjoys one of the more vibrant grass-roots participatory democracies of any city, largely as the result of housing battles. Neighborhood associations have kept the city



from being smothered by freeways, have halted ill-conceived projects, and have forced the improvement of some development that was, at conception, badly designed.

But at century's end, something has gotten lost in this process, something that is important to the way San Franciscans imagine themselves. As we push thousands more people out toward Brentwood, we become the engine of unprecedented environmental destruction, and globally unmatched energy consumption. We become complicit in the construction of far-flung cityscapes hostile to walking, to bicycling, to public life, and the resultant mingling of social and racial groups that such public life engenders. And by squeezing out successively higher rungs of the lower and middle classes, our city's own public life loses flesh. By allowing unmet demand to cascade downward through the price levels, we force the downtrodden to choose the street, rather than \$25-a-night tenement rooms.

It doesn't have to be this way, but San Francisco's political culture, and the culture of its surrounding communities, will make it so. And Brentwood commuters will be joined by hundreds of thousands of neighbors in San Joaquin County, San Benito County, and Yolo County. Billions of dollars of economic capacity will be wasted, families will be drained of life by their breadwinners' lengthening commutes. Thousands and thousands of cars driven by thousands and thousands of commuters will fill the highways and foul the air. Bay Area residents will become lonelier, poorer, and more tired -- all as a matter of collective, civic choice.

The northeast corner of Fulton and Masonic streets is now occupied by a half-block parking lot, a low-slung grocery store called Falletti's, and an occasional Goodwill tractor trailer, where a man accepts donated castoffs. The grocery store is the run-down, homey sort, and that's the way many neighbors say they like it.

Next year, however, a new project will be built on the corner, including a new grocery store, some small storefronts, and a 135-unit apartment complex. It is a modest plan, really. But for San Francisco, it is a minor miracle that the project is going forward, says developer Oz Erickson.

The painstaking diplomacy required to appease neighborhood groups and receive city approval for the project required more than a year, around 15 redrafted architectural plans, and the hiring and firing of at least two sets of architects, all at a cost of hundreds of thousands of dollars. Petitions were circulated, gentrification debated, alliances formed, countless meetings held, and a compromise finally hammered out.

The Fulton/Masonic battle began, as all such affairs do, when developers formally informed neighbors of the project, as city statute requires. Several neighborhood associations immediately jumped into the fray. The best organized, the North of Panhandle Neighborhood Association, swiftly formed a special task force, called Future of the Plaza Coalition, with the aim of working full time to rein in the project. As such groups typically are, they were relentless.

"For a neighborhood group to deal with a project like this it's definitely a huge amount of work," says Michael Helquist, president of the North of Panhandle Neighborhood Association. "The steering committee probably spent hundreds of hours dealing with the development. It takes really focused attention working with planning and finding out regulations, zoning codes, how similar projects have worked in the past."

Jim Cowan, chairman of the Future of the Plaza Coalition, recalls weeks and months of long, contentious meetings, fiery debates, and invigorating brainstorming sessions. One early community meeting drew 150 neighbors, he recalls. Many were spoiling for a fight.

"People were very edgy," Cowan recalls. "Volunteers formed a steering committee of 10 to 12 people, and they guided the work from then on. We were meeting once a week -- pretty frequently, and it was a very, very intense process. Some of the loudest people were at the big public meetings we had. They weren't committed to orderly procedures, necessarily, but they were committed."

Other groups, meanwhile, circulated petitions to halt the development outright. Several decided to form their own neighborhood associations. David Tornheim, who created one group called Central City Tenants, says his allies objected to the project because it brought in a chain grocery store -- Lucky's -- and contained too much housing. The units were likely to be destined for the rich. And the project didn't receive a thorough enough environmental review, he says. Central City Tenants circulated a petition condemning the development that garnered 1,000 signatures, Tornheim says.

In the end, Tornheim's complaints of gentrification were ignored -- it's hard to gentrify a neighborhood where people are already paying \$1,500 per month for small one-bedroom apartments -- and a plan was forged. By San Francisco standards, the process was a success, and ground will be broken early next year. The neighbors are, to a large extent, satisfied: They got the developer to provide more parking than originally planned, reduce the number of apartments, and change the design to one the neighbors liked better. The developer will get to build a fairly significant housing project in a city famous for its NIMBY giant killers. The city Planning Department will see much-needed housing built.

But just as it represents the best possible scenario, the Fulton/Masonic project also illustrates the worst effects of San Francisco's localized planning process. As a microsolution to neighborhood diplomacy, it feeds every macro problem the Bay Area has.

Like virtually all housing projects proposed in San Francisco, it will be built with significantly fewer units than was possible, in order to appease neighbors' complaints about "excessive density." So it will do little to help the San Francisco housing crunch. The units will still be expensive. In fact, the extra parking the neighbors demanded will add about \$30,000 to the cost of each unit.





For the neighbors, this is a victory of sorts. They got their parking, after all. A large portion of San Francisco housing battles, in the end, come down to parking spaces -- characterized by euphemisms such as "density," "congestion," and "livability."

"Our first concern was that parking not impact the neighborhood. Our main interest was not to put more pressure on limited parking we have," says Cowan. "The question was, could we, in this issue, have an impact? This is really a citywide issue that should be taken up by San Francisco as a whole."

But, in order to grow into a more vibrant -- and pleasant -- city, San Francisco must break the link between increased housing and increased parking. In a denser city, things are easier to walk to, to bike to, or to ride the bus to, because businesses, homes, cultural attractions, and other amenities are closer together. A lack of parking, and the resultant lack of cars, creates a critical mass of political demand for efficient transit -- a process under way right now in San Francisco, as bicycle commuters take to the streets to demand rights of way, and Muni riders seize their place among San Francisco power brokers. Just as increased parking creates a vicious cycle where citizens clamor for increased road space and reduced density, eliminating parking creates a virtuous cycle, in which citizens force improvements in auto-free transit options.

When it comes to housing, these two opposing scenarios are crucial, because every single parking space added to a housing development, shopping center, street, or elsewhere reduces the city's ability to house its people. Every urban parking space housing developers build adds another car to the city. These car owners demand more parking spaces at stores, government buildings, and wherever else they drive.

At rest, a car needs three parking spaces on its daily rounds: one at home, one at work, and one in a shopping center. The cost associated with having to eliminate housing units to allow for more parking undermines a developer's economies of scale, and further adds to the cost of each apartment. In smaller buildings the effect can be striking -- adding more parking spaces in areas zoned for three-story buildings or lower can eliminate an entire story of housing.

And the drivers of all those cars want wider city streets and more freeways, often at the expense of even more housing. These demands compete with public transit, the widespread use of which would make it easier for developers to build buildings without parking.

Every time parking wins, housing loses, just as it did in the neighborhood battle over the development at Fulton and Masonic. Such outcomes are part and parcel of the way San Francisco now makes its planning decisions. Small interests are served, small groups placated, and the city grows in tiny fits and starts that add up to no rational whole.

During 1998, the year much of the wrangling over density at Fulton and Masonic took place, a total of 874 units of housing were added in San Francisco. That year, jobs grew by about 10,000.

That makes no sense.

"The real problem with building housing in San Francisco is that the stakeholders who would want housing to be developed are not particularly active," says Erickson. "The major beneficiaries of additional housing are renters and potential buyers. Potential buyers don't get active and potential renters don't get active. Homeowners have a huge stake ... they tend, as a group, to oppose more housing. They are very organized and very powerful."

San Francisco's status as a largely suburban city -- and the tightly woven patchwork of neighborhood associations that fight to keep it so -- has evolved steadily over the last half-century, as NIMBY associations were forged block by block in the heat of individual housing battles. Typically, a group of neighbors would band together to defeat a project, and win. Thus emboldened, such groups often remained as neighborhood associations, involving themselves in the planning of any future neighborhood development.

"We have what are called 'professional citizens.' You see the same faces at every planning meeting," says John Hirten, who recently stepped down from heading the mayor's Muni task force.

Some of these groups are decades old, dating back to the 1930s. Others were formed just months ago: The Outer Mission Residents Association, in the Crocker Amazon neighborhood, for example, formed last year to oppose a nonprofit apartment building that would have housed 48 old folks.

These associations emerged with San Francisco's various citywide development battles: the 1960s battle against freeways, the backlash against the 1970s redevelopment of the Western Addition, the construction of the Fontana Towers near Fisherman's Wharf, and the development of garish condominium buildings toward the top of Twin Peaks.

"Historically, too often in the past, the city did not do its job in developing housing that was sensitive and fitting with the neighborhoods in which they were built," says Gabriel Metcalf, program director at the San Francisco Planning and Urban Research Association, a nonprofit think tank. "You had bad projects, projects that were out of scale, projects that were ugly. They gave housing a bad name."

With the battles came citywide downzonings, banning whichever type of housing development was thought offensive at the time. The cumulative effect was to severely limit housing of all types.

In 1960, a new general plan was drafted amending the old, 1920s plan, which had set only a few density limits, in the Sea Cliff area, the Sunset, and some of the city's southernmost neighborhoods. The new general plan was still friendly to the idea of citified living, though.

"All of Ocean Beach was zoned for high density and no height limit," says Bob Passmore, who last year retired as the city's zoning administrator after 20 years with the Planning Department. "Potrero Hill was zoned for high densities. Along the Panhandle, Golden Gate Park, all those areas were zoned for high



densities.”

In 1962 and 1963, neighborhood associations began forming to complain about large apartment buildings being built under the 1960 rules, so planners went to their drawing board again, halving densities allowed in residential districts. In the early 1970s, neighborhood groups in the Inner Sunset and the Haight-Ashbury neighborhoods began petitioning for lower-density restrictions on housing development there. The political winds clearly favored a clampdown on new housing.

The Planning Department responded to increased neighborhood complaints with a new set of zoning codes, dramatically cutting once again the amount of housing that could be built in the city. The legal density in the Richmond District, for instance, was cut by half.

During the early 1990s, San Francisco neighborhood groups agitated against the construction of smallish apartment buildings in the city’s western residential districts. The buildings, dubbed “Richmond Specials,” were denounced as tacky, out of character with the neighborhoods they were built in, and, most important, adding undesired population density to these neighborhoods. Once again, the Planning Department began to consider drafting a new general plan in response.

But by then the number of neighborhood groups, and the corresponding number of narrow interests, had grown so great that creating a new general plan to please them all had become a gargantuan task. Thousands of employee hours were spent on the project, but it was eventually abandoned in favor of a seemingly minor change in the city code favoring increased citizen participation in the planning process. Given the unassuming name “Code Section 311,” the provision requires that neighbors be advised of any zoning or permit applications impacting their neighborhood, then given a chance to appeal them. While not as dramatic on paper as the earlier downzonings, the provision has had the effect of further paralyzing housing construction, developers and planners say. As part of this neighbor-friendly planning ethic, the Planning Department three years ago organized itself into “Neighborhood Planning Teams” to replace the previous organizational structure, where individual planners were responsible for particular types of zoning problems. Planners are now assigned to specialize in an individual neighborhood, rather than a type of code classifications.

Today, the neighborhood agitation is over live-work lofts, which under current zoning could provide 20,000 housing units. A moratorium against further construction of this type of housing will likely pass soon, and the aftermath of such a measure is hard to predict.

What is predictable is the role neighborhood groups will continue to have in the planning process. “The political structure is overly sensitive to neighbors and people who don’t want housing. We have to reorient the political structure to be more friendly to housing,” says UC Berkeley Professor John Landis. “We have neighborhood groups that profess to have ownership of the approval process, and City Hall buys into that.”

The area’s housing crisis is not limited to San Francisco, of course, a fact illustrated by the maddeningly difficult task of calculating San Francisco’s real housing demand. You can count the number of new jobs created in the city, the number of employees living in every household, and the number of new housing units built in a given year. And you can compare these numbers with 1990, a year when San Francisco’s housing demand was more or less satisfied, with a 6.2 percent vacancy rate.

But those figures don’t necessarily mean anything, because the Bay Area’s housing market must be viewed as a whole. “Figuring demand is really a crazy game,” says Allan Jacobs, a UC Berkeley planning professor who was San Francisco’s director of planning during the 1960s. “There’s really too much involved.”

Demographics, economics, and culture pay no mind to political boundaries such as counties and towns. “The market is like water,” says Paul Silvern, a partner with Hamilton, Rabinovitz & Alschuler, a policy consulting firm in Los Angeles and New York. “It looks for the path of least resistance.”

Events in the recent history of the Bay Area have created massive resistance everywhere.

Patrick Kennedy, an outspoken veteran of East Bay housing wars, is particularly familiar with this fact. Like anyone who’s lived there, developer Kennedy enjoys a love-hate relationship with the city of Berkeley. He’s won approval for a multistory apartment complex in downtown Berkeley. He’s advocated for an environmentally friendly, European-style downtown with smaller apartment units, taller buildings, and reduced parking. He has been an outspoken proponent of a new general plan for Berkeley, which will allow taller apartments to be built in the downtown area. He’s been the city’s leading campaigner to “decriminalize housing,” according to one local environmental group. In doing these things, he has earned the wrath of his fellow Berkeleyites. He’s capitalist developer scum, they say, and he ought to be run out of town.

“Berkeley is a perfect example of cognitive dissonance,” says Kennedy. “They talk and talk about affordable housing, then trash the general plan. Berkeley’s the only city in the Bay Area that’s lost housing in the last 20 years.”

During the past 10 years, Berkeley has torn down 800 more housing units than it has built. And the remaining units accommodate fewer people: Since 1970, the city has lost 5,182 people, according to U.S. Census and California Department of Finance data.

Quaint, Berkeley. But far from unique. That city’s approach to new housing construction -- don’t let it approach -- has been repeated in communities around the Bay Area for two decades. Where once communities in Marin County, San Mateo County, Alameda County, and Contra Costa County welcomed housing development, one by one they have passed ordinances limiting density, and pushing housing construction



to the next community beyond. Former deep-suburb “bedroom” cities like Walnut Creek, San Ramon, and Pleasanton are now considered job sources that people commute to rather than from. This trend has gained speed since the 1970s, when the anti-property tax initiative, Proposition 13, served to stop local governments from raising property tax rates, making it hard to fund infrastructure for new residents.

The change in the economics of the Bay Area’s suburbs was little noticed, but dramatic. As if to mock developers who built office and industrial parks near where their potential employees presumably lived, anti-housing ordinances typically gained momentum just as groundbreaking began on jobs-oriented projects. In Pleasanton, for example, jobs grew by 365 percent during the 1980s. The city had begun passing growth-moratoria starting in the 1970s, so that during the next decade, housing grew by only 66 percent. During this period, the federal government cut funding for local civic infrastructure, making increased housing more expensive for communities. And the Environmental Quality Act made it much easier for neighbors to complain about individual projects, slowing housing growth further.

In the late 1980s, Pleasanton residents halted the developers of the 860-acre Hacienda Business Park from building over 2,000 housing units, including moderately dense apartments, that had been penciled into the park’s master plan.

By the 1990s, most people who worked in Pleasanton lived elsewhere, and most people who lived there drove elsewhere to their jobs. By the time the Bay Area economic explosion of the late 1990s dawned, people filling the hundreds of thousands of new jobs being created found refuge wherever they could find it, driving up housing costs from Vacaville to San Benito.

This trend of suburban anti-growth sentiment is about to enter a new, more aggressive phase, one that economists say will make new employees even more desperate for housing, further inflating prices, and commutes.

In San Ramon, Dublin, and Pleasanton, voters will consider “anti-sprawl” ballot initiatives in November that would require the approval of any housing development over 10 units to be put to a vote of the citizenry. Livermore is considering such a measure next year, while petitions are circulating in Antioch that would require any development of 20 or more housing units to, likewise, be put to a citywide vote.

In San Ramon, some 900,000 square feet of office space has been built at the mammoth Bishop Ranch office park entirely on spec, in anticipation of new jobs coming to the area. Economic forecasters say the offices are sure to sell, and each office cubicle will be occupied by a new employee. And if the sprawl initiative passes, each new employee will have to find somewhere else to live.

“Most of these cities like San Francisco and Berkeley are proud of their diversity, but their solution to this issue is in not providing opportunities. If you want different people, you have to provide opportunities for people, including opportunities for places to live. San Francisco tries to do that, but there is a disconnect between what it says it wants and what it does,” says Landis, the UC Berkeley professor. “A living city needs economic diversity in the long term. The people who move out of the cities for schools need to be replaced by other young people. You need a recharge of young people, and other ethnic groups. Without them, the city is the poorer for it.”

John Hirten, John Jacobs, and Bob Passmore -- two old-time planning professionals and a just-retired zoning administrator, order fish plates at Sam’s Grill & Seafood Restaurant, and talk about old times.

They’ve all lived and relived San Francisco’s housing wars, and come out crusty yet congenial, fanciful yet practical, erudite raconteurs. Jacobs ran the redevelopment agency in Stockton during the 1960s, directed a San Francisco housing think tank during the 1970s, and was president of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce until he retired in 1989. Hirten, a warm, gracious, insistent man, was U.S. deputy director of urban mass transit during the Nixon administration, was subsequently director of the American Planning Association, and director of transportation for the City and County of Honolulu. As the man long responsible for applying San Francisco’s zoning laws, Passmore is the group’s sagely Solomon.

The three talk of neighborhood housing battles past. They talk about how San Francisco, if it wanted to, just might be able to provide enough housing so that people who wanted to live here, could.

“Abolishing the Board of Permit Appeals, that would do it,” Jacobs jests.

“The city does have a plan to build housing,” Passmore protests.

“But we don’t have politicians who would actually build it,” Jacobs says. “You’d have to have a mayor who didn’t want to get elected, and you’d have to have a Board of Supervisors that was complacent.”

In order for San Francisco to solve its housing crisis, city leaders would have to decide that too many people were being hurt, that it had to be curbed, then take action.

“I think, first of all, from the top down, from the mayor, it has to be a policy determination that we need to create more housing. Secondly, we need as good an inventory as we can get, in terms of numbers and price range and character. Then we need a statement that says, ‘Where are some good areas where we can do housing?’” says Hirten.

“The mayor wants to put up \$100 million for the stadium shopping complex up there at Hunters Point. They ought to forget the ballpark -- let it go to San Mateo or whatever -- and develop that area as a really fine, middle-income housing area. Just as he’s matching private funds for the stadium mall complex, do the same thing there for housing instead. Why not make a major commitment for good housing? If the demand is there for housing, why build a big ballpark, and commercial [property] that is going to compete with what is already in place? Can you imagine the traffic?”



“That shopping mall, they talk about all the jobs it’s creating. But jobs doesn’t seem to be the problem. It’s housing.”

But to begin with, it wouldn’t be necessary to kill sacred cows -- even wasteful, destructive ones like the new Candlestick Park project.

For starters, we could simply build within the city’s current low-density zoning scheme. Vast swaths of the city aren’t built to the limits prescribed under the current zoning code, says Allan Jacobs, the UC Berkeley professor who was once S.F. planning director.

“We have in San Francisco zoning that is either 40 feet high or less. Let’s just stop there,” says Jacobs.

“You go over and see what’s actually in that area. What you find is that most of the buildings are actually lower” than 40 feet, Jacobs says. “You say, ‘Well, what if you build up to the 40 feet,’ that would give you a certain amount of space. You can do that with all the different districts you have. That difference between what is there now and what they’ve determined what is OK to go to is a huge difference. You could supply a lot more in San Francisco under the existing laws.”

That would house nearly a dozen Brentwoods.

To house a few more, the city could take other, piecemeal steps. It could rezone empty industrial and commercial land along the waterfront for high-density housing. It could increase heights and densities along transit routes and commercial corridors -- the Richmond and the Sunset come to mind as practical yet politically impossible venues for this. Quit requiring apartment buildings built on small, half-acre lots to meet density, rear yard, and parking requirements meant for individual houses. Nudge height limits up in residential areas, so that builders don’t have to chop off entire floors in order to meet an 80-foot height limit. San Francisco could banish to history the one-unit, one-parking-space requirement for new development.

If residents really wanted to avoid having San Francisco become purely a rich enclave, they would wrench the planning process away from NIMBY neighbors. The Planning Department could become less receptive to the opinions of neighborhood groups and homeowner associations, and more sensitive to the city’s silent constituency -- the families and workers just now looking for a place to live.

We could hearken back to the vision our city fathers had during the 1950s, of a truly urban city.

We could allow dozens of multistory condo projects in the Potrero waterfront area, dozens of the same atop Potrero Hill, and dozens more condo high-rises in SOMA. We could return to the post-World War II plan for high-rises along Ocean Beach, with a modern transit line serving them along Geary. We could plan a row of tall condo buildings along Golden Gate Park -- à la Vancouver, where thousands of high-rise apartment residents have a park for a back yard. We could reduce impediments to in-law apartments. This new housing would include massive loftlike spaces, cavernous Park Avenue-style condos, cozy two-bedroom apartments, tiny studios, and everything in between.

Such a city would suffer the potential for traffic gridlock: indeed, every single debate against such development -- and they are held every week at the Planning Commission -- comes down to cars, parking spaces, traffic. But cut the number of parking spaces and urban San Francisco would be a delight. Combined commercial and dense residential districts would sprout up on blocks all over the city. Neighbors on foot would mingle on sidewalks. This is the kind of city San Francisco fancies itself as, yet this sort of civic life is actually limited to a handful of places -- the Haight, the Marina, the Fillmore, Clement Street, Cole Valley, North Beach, Chinatown, Downtown, the Inner Mission.

Currently, the most dense areas of the city -- Nob Hill, Telegraph Hill, Russian Hill -- are considered its most desirable. Manhattan, with a density four times San Francisco’s 16,000 people per square mile, was honored by U.S. News & World Report two years ago as America’s Most Livable City. Paris, which is likewise four times as densely packed as San Francisco, has often been described as livable.

In an urban, rather than suburban, San Francisco, more people would walk, bike, and take public transit to work. Cafes and small shops would germinate on blocks that now aren’t densely populated enough to support them. The Bay Area’s vital economy would serve as an engine that added to the vibrancy of San Francisco’s diverse, eclectic cultural life, rather than what it now is: a force that strips the city of the artists, musicians, students, minorities, and low-income groups who can’t afford to live here.

It’s possible, but given the current political culture here, it’s fantasy.

But it’s a valuable fantasy, providing a counterweight to the denial-laced civic dream-state that is San Francisco. In this dream, it’s possible to ignore the social, political, and economic forces that are transforming the Bay Area; it’s possible to ignore the devastating consequences of the city’s anti-housing political culture.

It’s a dream that spawns the model homes of Brentwood, where some of San Francisco’s banished residents will go to live. The Hallmark, like the Cardinal, and the Tribute, is generously decorated for visitors. Dining rooms sport thick-legged dinner tables dressed with handblown dinner glasses, which are stuck to rough-woven place mats with silicone caulk to prevent pilferage. The houses are filled with large-screen televisions, computers, and stereo systems that aren’t really electronic equipment, but hollow, plastic facsimiles. The larders are generously stocked with boxes of Potato Buds, Crunch Berries, and Cinnamon Grahams, empty, yet homey and colorful.

It’s a surreal, remote universe, a pleasant, fantastic dream.

San Francisco, welcome home.





Anexo 9 - *Artigo de Russel, K. (2014)*. This one intersection explain why housing is so expensive in San Francisco, disponível em <http://www.businessinsider.com/why-housing-is-so-expensive-in-san-francisco-2014-4> , disponível a 17-02-2017.

San Francisco is a great place to live, if you can afford it.

The only problem is, many can't. Median rent in the city is more than \$1,463 per month. That's higher than every other major city in the U.S.

Like any other economic problem, we can boil this one down to supply and demand.

With all of the recent fervor over employees at tech giants moving to the city, most of the attention has been placed on the demand side of the problem: people are upset that well-paid software engineers are driving up their rents.

But there's also a supply side to the issue that needs to be considered: Maybe there isn't enough housing in the city to go around. If people want to live in San Francisco, and they don't want rent to go up, then we need to build more units for people to live in.

Since San Francisco is located on a peninsula, there's pretty much only one way for the city to add new housing units: by growing vertically. With taller buildings, San Francisco would be able to fit more housing and thus lower rents. But as Y Combinator partner Garry Tan pointed out in a tweet this weekend, that's not even an option under current city zoning regulations.

The map below, which was made by Mike Schiraldi, shows building height zoning for the entire city. Areas in yellow are zoned to have buildings no taller than 40 feet. Unfortunately, most buildings in these areas don't even go that high.

This intersection is a better representation of a neighborhood in the city, just south of Golden Gate Park. In one direction, its buildings are all one- to three-stories tall. sf housing regulations small buildings Google Maps

Same thing in the other direction. This isn't urban sprawl — it looks like a mixed residential/commercial area in a suburb.

Many neighborhoods are ready to expand. As this slide from a UC Berkeley study shows, there are already a number of “main drags” where increased density could happen naturally — the intersection above is one of them. So why has so little of the city “grown up,” and why isn't there more pressure to do it now? Expansion has been a concern in San Francisco for decades. Some policies that are still affecting the development of the city to this day were established back in the 1980s, when residents of the city were concerned that it was going through “Manhattanization.”

Afraid of losing their iconic views, San Franciscans started passing referendums that established “sunset zoning,” making it illegal for tall buildings to put any city park or public square in shadow for more than an hour after sunrise or an hour before sunset.

Other referendums made it easier for communities to prevent the development of tall buildings near residential neighborhoods, effectively cutting off major expansion outside of the downtown area.

Some areas aren't being developed in order to preserve San Francisco's historic buildings. In the South of Market area, there are a number of old buildings that used to serve as warehouses for the city's powerful industries. While they're beautiful to look at, they were built for a purpose that demanded lots of lateral space, not building up.

As with everything in San Francisco these days, this situation has been exacerbated by rising concerns about gentrification and inequality. When there is development, it can face backlash for targeting the high end of the market:

Is there any chance of this changing soon?

It doesn't seem that way.

The policies and concerns have established a distinct anti-growth culture in San Francisco. As Matt Yglesias pointed out at Slate last year, the city seems to have primarily concerned itself with policies that deal with the housing situation by subsidizing and preserving the existing stock of housing available, through rent control and tenant's rights laws.

While areas of downtown are “upzoning,” allowing for taller buildings and thus more housing, other neighborhoods have proven resistant. In a phone call, San Francisco Board of Supervisors and Land Use Committee member Jane Kim told Business Insider that no major proposals have been put forward to increase density west of the downtown and South of Market areas — so the only places that are getting taller were already more dense than the majority of the city.



**Anexo 10 - *Artigo de* Cutler, K. (2014). How burrowing owls lead to vomiting anarchists (Or SF's housing crisis explained), disponível em <https://techcrunch.com/2014/04/14/sf-housing/>, disponível a 17-02-2017.**

The Santa Clara Valley was some of the most valuable agricultural land in the entire world, but it was paved over to create today's Silicon Valley. This was simply the result of bad planning and layers of leadership failure — nobody thinks farms literally needed to be destroyed to create the technology industry's success.

Today, the tech industry is apparently on track to destroy one of the world's most valuable cultural treasures, San Francisco, by pushing out the diverse people who have helped create it. At least that's the story you've read in hundreds of articles lately.

It doesn't have to be this way. But everyone who lives in the Bay Area today needs to accept responsibility for making changes where they live so that everyone who wants to be here, can.

The alternative — inaction and self-absorption — very well could create the cynical elite paradise and middle-class dystopia that many fear. I've spent time looking into the city's historical housing and development policies. With the protests escalating again, I am pretty tired of seeing the city's young and disenfranchised fight each other amid an extreme housing shortage created by 30 to 40 years of NIMBYism (or "Not-In-My-Backyard-ism") from the old wealth of the city and down from the peninsula suburbs. Here is a very long explainer. Sorry, this isn't a shorter post or that I didn't break it into 20 pieces. If you're wondering why people are protesting you, how we got to this housing crisis, why rent control exists or why tech is even shifting to San Francisco in the first place, this is meant to provide some common points of understanding.

This is a complex problem, and I'm not going to distill it into young, rich tech douchebags-versus-helpless old ladies facing eviction. There are many other places where you can read that story.

It does us all no justice.

**1) First off, understand the math of the region. San Francisco has a roughly thirty-five percent homeownership rate. Then 172,000 units of the city's 376,940 housing units are under rent control. (That's about 75 percent of the city's rental stock.)**

Homeowners have a strong economic incentive to restrict supply because it supports price appreciation of their own homes. It's understandable. Many of them have put the bulk of their net worth into their homes and they don't want to lose that. So they engage in NIMBYism under the name of preservationism or environmentalism, even though denying in-fill development here creates pressures for sprawl elsewhere. They do this through hundreds of politically powerful neighborhood groups throughout San Francisco like the Telegraph Hill Dwellers.

Then the rent-controlled tenants care far more about eviction protections than increasing supply. That's because their most vulnerable constituents are paying rents that are so far below market-rate, that only an ungodly amount of construction could possibly help them. Plus, that construction wouldn't happen fast enough — especially for elderly tenants.

So we're looking at as much as 80 percent of the city that isn't naturally oriented to add to the housing stock.

Oh, and tech? The industry is about 8 percent of San Francisco's workforce.

Then if you look at the cities down on the peninsula and in the traditional heart of Silicon Valley, where home-ownership rates are higher, it's even worse.

The true culprit behind our housing problems: let us deflect blame to Mountain View's burrowing owl!

The true culprit behind our housing problems: let us deflect blame to Mountain View's burrowing owl!

The Google Bus protesters have said that the company should build housing on its campus, but the Mountain View city council has explicitly forbidden Google from doing just that. They've argued that it's to protect the city's burrowing owl population. (The city council even created a feral cat taskforce last week to protect the owls.)

Even more mind-bogglingly, Mountain View is discussing new office development that would bring as many as 42,550 office workers to the city. But the city's zoning plan only allows for a maximum of 7,000 new homes by 2030.

Then, if you look at the job-to-housing ratios in some of the other peninsula cities like Palo Alto, it's pretty terrible. Palo Alto voters just killed an affordable housing development for seniors by ballot measure last November.

So the wealthy voting classes of the peninsula are also strangling themselves of housing too. The median rent in Mountain View is \$2,700 compared to \$3,400 in San Francisco, according to Zillow. Once you



factor in the cost of owning a car — estimated at slightly more than \$9,000 a year by the AAA — it's not that much cheaper.

If you look even closer to the Caltrain stations, rents go way up. The newly-opened Madera complex in downtown Mountain View rents out 1-bedroom units starting at \$3,299 all the way up to 2-bedroom apartments at \$8,000 per month.

Certain cities like Menlo Park seem more collaborative. Facebook partnered with developer St. Anton Partners to build a 394-unit complex within walking distance of its Menlo Park headquarters. But that's 394 units for a company with more than 6,000 employees.

So one contributor to the tech industry's spread into San Francisco is that the peninsula cities are more than happy to vote for jobs, just not homes.

## 2) Why is the tech industry migrating to cities anyway?

This is a demographic shift that is much larger than the technology industry itself — although there are some tech-specific reasons that have fueled a migration north from the historic heart of Silicon Valley over the last 10 years.

This is what urbanist Alan Ehrenhalt calls “The Great Inversion,” a major shift where cities and suburbs have traded places over the last 30 to 40 years. As people marry later and employment becomes more temporal, young adults and affluent retirees are moving into the urban core, while immigrants and the less affluent are moving out.

San Francisco's population hit a trough around 1980, after steadily declining since the 1950s as the city's socially conservative white and Irish-Catholic population left for the suburbs. Into the vacuum of relatively cheaper rents they left behind, came the misfits, hippies and immigrants that fomented so many of San Francisco's beautifully weird cultural and sexual revolutions.

But that out-migration reversed around 1980, and the city's population has been steadily rising for the last 30 years.

This is a phenomenon that's happening to cities all over the United States.

It's happening in Seattle, Atlanta, New York City, Boston and Washington, D.C.

Its rapacious speed may even be accelerating. Witness hyper-gentrification in Brooklyn and Manhattan, or the “Shoreditch-ification” of London.

Why?

People are getting married later and are living longer. Nearly 50 percent of Americans, or more than 100 million people are unmarried today, up from around 22 percent in 1950.

The job market has changed as well. In 1978, the U.S.'s manufacturing employment peaked and the noise and grit of the blue-collar factories that once fueled the flight of the upper-middle-class disappeared.

These vacant manufacturing warehouses turned into the live-work spaces and lofts that emerged in the 1980s and 1990s in cities like New York and San Francisco.

The concept of lifetime employment also faded. Today, San Francisco's younger workers derive their job security not from any single employer but instead from a large network of weak ties that lasts from one company to the next. The density of cities favors this job-hopping behavior more than the relative isolation of suburbia.

San Francisco led the Bay Area's venture capital investments in 2012, according to a study by Richard Florida, the urban theorist who wrote “The Rise of the Creative Class.”

There are also some tech industry-specific reasons too. The capital costs required to found a company and launch a minimum viable product are much lower than a decade ago. Startups also need fewer people, especially with the low distribution costs provided by platforms like Apple's iOS app store or Facebook. So it's easier for lots of small companies to find pockets of commercial real estate in the city for new offices. It's also easier for VCs to fund an order of magnitude more experiments, even if the same proportion of them fails.

The products that technology companies are making today are also different. In the 1970s, “Silicon Valley” literally meant making semiconductors in large fabs that required expensive equipment and clean rooms.

But the big wave of the last decade has been social networking. And every notable consumer web or mobile product of this wave has been seeded through critical mass in the “analog” world. Facebook had university campuses. Snapchat had Southern California high schools. Foursquare had Lower Manhattan. Twitter had San Francisco. These products favor social density.

An even newer generation of startups addresses distinctly urban questions. Airbnb exists because in 2007, San Francisco didn't have enough hotel capacity to house visitors in town for an industrial design conference. Uber exists because the city's taxi market was under-supplied with drivers and smartphones offered a new way of summoning transportation on demand. Then there are very young startups like Campus, which is like a venture-backed communal living movement, Leap Transit, which is trying to shake up scheduled transport, or any of the companies out of Tumml, an urban ventures incubator

As tech workers have moved into cities, the industry has changed San Francisco's culture and San Francisco has changed the technology industry.

Nevertheless, while tech is fueling San Francisco's current boom and has helped cut the city's unemployment rate by about half since 2010, this gentrification wave has been going on for decades longer than the



word “dot-com” has existed.

And it’s happening all over the country.

So a great question of our time is how American cities handle this shift. They have to do this in the face of global economic changes that are dividing our workforce into highly-skilled knowledge workers who are disproportionately benefiting from growth and lower-skilled service workers that are not seeing their wages rise at all.

### 3) OK, let’s build more housing!

Wouldn’t that be simple?

But it’s not that easy. While the real estate market is hot, developers are currently building 6,000 units.

To go beyond that, you have to build political will.

You have to win hearts and minds.

You have to make sure that people don’t get pushed out or left behind.

Origins of SF’s cautious approach to growth are rooted in the freeway revolt and urban renewal struggles of the 1950s and 1960s.

San Francisco’s orientation towards growth control has 50 years of history behind it and more than 80 percent of the city’s housing stock is either owner-occupied or rent controlled. The city’s height limits, its rent control and its formidable permitting process are all products of tenant, environmental and preservationist movements that have arisen and fallen over decades.

Even back in 1967, thousands of Latino residents in the Mission — the heart of the gentrification battle today — organized and convinced the city’s Board of Supervisors to vote down an urban renewal program in the neighborhood. They saw what happened to the Fillmore — once the “Harlem of the West” — when the city’s re-development agency razed it, displacing tens of thousands of black residents and the businesses they had created after World War II.

To this day, there’s distrust and fear that the same thing will happen again, especially if it’s carried out by private developers. Advocacy group Causa Justa has been documenting this displacement through Census data, noting that the Mission has lost 1,400 Latino households while adding 2,900 white households between 1990 and 2011. In the same time period, Oakland lost 40 percent of its black residents.

During the first tech boom, there was the Mission Anti-Displacement Coalition, which pushed for a moratorium on new market-rate housing and live-work lofts in the neighborhood. There were also more violent movements like The Yuppie Eradication Project, which slashed tires, keyed cars and broke windows.

Throughout the years, these movements have found alliances with other neighborhood organizations, preservationist and environmental interests.

There were struggles in the 1950s and 60s to stop freeways from cutting through the Panhandle and Golden Gate Park, which gave way to another slow growth political movement in the 1970s to push back on downtown high-rises as they encroached into North Beach and Chinatown. In 1986, the city passed a resolution to control the amount of new commercial real estate space that could be built in any single year.

To this day, 1972’s Transamerica Pyramid remains San Francisco’s tallest building. It’s only in 2017 that a taller 1,070-foot tower anchored by Salesforce will open.

As political scientist and longtime San Francisco observer Richard DeLeon puts it:

San Francisco has emerged as a “semi-sovereign city” — a city that imposes as many limits on capital as capital imposes on it. Mislabeled by some detractors as socialist or radical in the Marxist tradition, San Francisco’s progressivism is concerned with consumption more than production, residence more than workplace, meaning more than materialism, community empowerment more than class struggle. Its first priority is not revolution but protection — protection of the city’s environment, architectural heritage, neighborhoods, diversity, and overall quality of life from the radical transformations of turbulent American capitalism.

While we have to thank these movements for preserving so much of the land surrounding San Francisco and the city’s beautiful Victorians, one side effect is that the city has added an average of 1,500 units per year for the last 20 years. Meanwhile, the U.S. Census estimates that the city’s population grew by 32,000 people from 2010 to 2013 alone.

Even today, you can see these factions engaging in behavior that might seem absurd in the context of a housing shortage.

On the ballot this June, is an initiative that will require voters to individually approve height limit exemptions for developments on the city’s waterfront. It jeopardizes three major projects including the Warriors stadium (pictured below) and a plan to turn Pier 70 into a mixed-use development with office space and apartments.

Those developments are slated to deliver as much as 3,690 housing units and \$124 million in affordable housing fees, according to a memo written by John Arntz, the director of the city’s department of elections. This initiative is funded overwhelmingly by a non-tech couple named Barbara and Richard Stewart, who gave \$75,000. (They did not reply to requests for comment.)

It is overwhelmingly expected to pass, so even the mayor isn’t taking a position on it.

“Would you like free ice cream San Francisco? ‘Why yes I would,’” is how one political consultant sum-





med up Prop. B's voter appeal to John Cote at the San Francisco Chronicle. "Why stand up against something where 60 to 70 percent are going to vote with the other side?"

No. This is not free ice cream!

Exhibit B: Protests Against New Housing Developments That Don't Get Rid Of Any Existing Housing You'll also end up seeing demonstrations like this one at 16th and Mission, which protest a proposed 351-unit condominium development that replaces a Walgreens and a Burger King. It does not remove any existing housing or directly displace anyone.

At face value, this might not make sense. But there are a couple reasons that this happens. One is that gentrification raises the gap between market-rate rents and rent-controlled rents, strengthening the financial incentive for landlords to evict longtime tenants.

Two is that neighborhood organizations representing historically disenfranchised groups have used San Francisco's byzantine planning process to win concessions from the city's development elite for the last 30 to 40 years.

Unlike the wealthy waterfront NIMBYists, these communities are at risk of being displaced. If they don't speak up for themselves, who will?

Will you?

Look at Vida on Mission Street, which is a fancy new mixed-use building slated to open up next January (pictured below).

As Lauren Smiley wrote in San Francisco magazine last month, when developer Dean Givas wanted to build luxury condos in the heart of the Mission District, he bent over backward for local community groups to get the project quickly green-lighted.

Over two years of negotiations with community groups, Givas agreed to buy a plot on nearby Shotwell Street for the city to develop 40 units of affordable housing, dwarfing the 14 units that would have been required within the Vida building. He was already on the hook to pay \$1.4 million in city-mandated impact fees, yet the community got him to agree to much more. He donated \$150,000 to a fund to help mom-and-pop Mission businesses—to be buoyed with a sales tax on future condo sales.

Then, in what the project's attorney called an unprecedented move by a developer in the Mission, he donated \$650,000 to 23 community groups, a strategy that drew sellout criticisms from purists in the nonprofit community and shakedown charges from pro-development forces worried that his philanthropic palm greasing would set a precedent. Next, Givas donated \$1 million for the Texas-based Alamo Draft House Cinema chain to renovate the long-shuttered New Mission Theater next door into a five-screen dinner-and-a-movie cineplex. The Texans agreed to hire 50 percent of its staff from the neighborhood and to let nonprofits host at-cost benefits at the facility.

In principle, it's fine to use the levers of urban politics to redistribute the wealth an economic boom creates in San Francisco.

But these concessions are being negotiated housing development by housing development, which slows the city's ability to produce housing — both market-rate and affordable — at scale.

Mayor Ed Lee and others are trying to speed this up, by giving affordable housing projects first priority in the planning department's approval process, followed by market rate projects with a higher inclusionary percentage of below-market-rate housing.

It's a good first step, but....

#### **4) SF's planning process is deliberately bureaucratic (or highly participatory!) for political reasons:**

One of the things that makes housing development different in San Francisco compared to other major U.S. cities is that building permits are discretionary rather than as-of-right. In other cities, if a developer already matches the existing zoning and height restrictions of the city plan, they can get issued a permit relatively quickly.

But for new housing developments in San Francisco, there's a preliminary review, which takes six months. Then there are also chances for your neighbors to appeal your permit on either an entitlement or environmental basis. The city also requires extensive public notice of proposed projects even if they already meet neighborhood plans, which have taken several years of deliberation to produce. Neighbors can appeal your project for something as insignificant as the shade of paint, although the city's planning department and commission tries to get through minor appeals quickly.

If those fail, neighborhood groups can also file a CEQA or environmental lawsuit under California state law, challenging the environment impact of the project. Perversely, CEQA lawsuits have been used to challenge a city plan to add 34 miles of bike lanes.

Then if that fails, opponents can put a development directly on a citywide ballot with enough signatures. (Thanks, Hiram Johnson?) That's what happened with the controversial 8 Washington luxury condo project last November even though it had already gone through eight years of deliberation.

These barriers add unpredictable costs and years of delays for every developer, which are ultimately passed onto buyers and renters. It also means that developers have problems attracting capital financing in weaker economic years because of the political uncertainty around getting a project passed.

The sophistication with which neighborhood groups wield San Francisco's arcane land-use and zoning regulations for activist purposes is one of the very unique things about the city's politics.



But the city's political leadership doesn't want to change it, because it fears backlash from powerful neighborhood groups, which actually deliver votes.

**5) Also, parts of the progressive community do not believe in supply and demand.**

Yeah, I was surprised by this.

"We can't build our way to affordability," is a common refrain. Tim Redmond, who used to edit the San Francisco Bay Guardian, even suggested today that the government should take 60 percent of the city's housing off the private market over the next 20 years. (I have no idea how you would fund this.)

Admirably, Welch has been fighting for affordable housing in San Francisco for the last forty years and is part of the politically powerful Haight Ashbury Neighborhood Council, which has seen that neighborhood through, well, everything.

But this paper conflates correlation with causation. He argues that when there is a decline in new housing units, there is also a decline in price.

Namely, he points to 2001 and 2002, while brushing off the mega-gigantic-enormous confounding variable of the dot-com bust and a regional recession.

**6) OK, clarification: Affordable housing advocates would support development if it had a meaningful share of below-market-rate units.**

So I met Welch and he made good points. (He's been working on this for nearly forty years.)

His organization, the Council of Community Housing Organizations, argues that raw, additional construction will not make housing more affordable to working-class or lower-income San Franciscans. Left to its own devices, the market will only produce housing that chases the very richest buyers. In a time of rising inequality, those market-rate units are increasingly out of reach, even for middle-class San Franciscans.

He points to tables like this one, which shows San Francisco's residential housing pipeline for the last quarter of 2013. Under state mandate, each city has a 'Regional Housing Need' allocation or RHNA. In San Francisco, the market is producing almost double the number of housing units for people with 'Above Moderate' incomes, or 120 percent of the area's median income, as the RHNA says it needs to build.

So affordable housing advocates say that developers should be required to have a higher percentage of below-market-rate units built. The issue with inclusionary housing is that construction costs are so high in San Francisco — calculated here to be nearly \$500,000 for an 800-foot square unit — that affordable housing requires generous public subsidies.

The Mayor's Office of Housing and Community Development says there are 1,759 units of affordable housing that are currently being built or preserved at a cost of \$824.5 million. About \$274.1 million of that funding is coming from the city, and the remaining \$550.3 million has to come from somewhere else. The federal and state government used to help with this, but their assistance has dropped off dramatically since the 1980s. (Cuts to the federal Housing and Urban Development department budget under the Reagan administration coincided with the rise of urban homelessness in San Francisco.)

When below-market rate units do get built, the lines are massive: 2,800 people applied for the 60 units at this SOMA affordable housing.

Also, inclusionary housing has its own trade-offs. It can pass on the costs of building below-market-rate units to market-rate buyers, cutting out units that would be affordable to middle-class buyers. Hence, another reason for the disappearance of the San Francisco's middle-class.

You'll see in the table above that the market is mostly producing housing for 'above moderate' incomes, then some 'low income' housing units, but hardly anything for 'moderate incomes.' The lack of options for middle-class San Franciscans in turn feeds the two-tier systems that we're seeing in transportation with MUNI-versus-Uber and in education, where 30 percent of the city's students go to private schools at \$30,000 per year while the public school system will see almost all of its enrollment growth coming from public housing over the next three decades.

Pro-development advocates like the non-profit SPUR tend to say that market-rate construction will alleviate demand for the city's existing housing stock. (They still supporting inclusionary housing though.)

Meanwhile, supervisor Jane Kim, who represents the Tenderloin, is pushing legislation that aims for a ratio of 30 percent below-market-rate housing to 70 percent market-rate housing.

SPUR says that ratio means the math will no longer work out for developers, meaning they'll lose money by default, so they won't build at all. Over the past decade, the city had carefully negotiated a requirement for developers to either build 12 percent affordable housing on-site for projects with more than 10 units or 20 percent off-site or the equivalent of 20 percent into a city fund.

The magic ratio is hard to find and it constantly shifts, depending on the state of the housing market and construction costs.

**7) Yet we're arguing over shades of gray. Sorry, supply and demand still totally matter.**

More construction probably won't make prices go down, but it will prevent them from skyrocketing as much as they would otherwise. If you look at this Trulia study examining housing production since 1990



and prices in 10 of the U.S.'s biggest tech hubs, you'll see that San Francisco had the highest median prices per square foot and had the lowest number of new construction permits per 1,000 units between 1990 and 2013.

There are also many long-term studies like this one or this one or this one from economists like Edward Glaeser of Harvard University and Joseph Gyourko at the University of Pennsylvania examining the impact of land-use restrictions and zoning on U.S. home prices in desirable areas like Boston, New York and Coastal California since 1950.

They found that in most parts of the country, home prices are at or near the raw costs of construction. (As of February, the median U.S. home price is \$261,800.)

But in places where zoning regulations create artificial limits on home production, the final prices to home buyers jump far above construction costs. In the 1980s and 1990s, they found that virtually all of San Francisco's home prices were at least 140 percent above base construction costs.

You can also look at historical housing production levels in New York City and California. Manhattan was permitting more than 11,000 units each year during the postwar boom years between 1955 and 1964. But between 1980 and 1999, the New York City borough was permitting just an average of 3,120 units per year. Between 1970 and 2000, the median price of a Manhattan housing unit increased by 284 percent in constant dollars.

Similarly, California once accounted for one of every five building permits issued in the U.S. during the 1960s. That construction rate slowed down, and real housing prices in the state have increased by 385 percent from 1970 to 2010.

It's as if both cities reacted 10 or 20 years late — long after the Great Inversion started and before anybody had any idea about how big or transformative this suburban-urban migration would become.

This issue is profound. Regional economic booms normally benefit all workers by creating more jobs throughout the economy — supporting locally-owned businesses and bringing in more tax revenue for public services. Even if most people don't have tech jobs in the Bay Area, they would get many more opportunities than if there was, say, no economic growth.

The point is that if the entire Bay Area had a more elastic housing supply, it would not only make living affordable for most people, it would allow a far larger portion of the population to find jobs and do things like save or spend money instead of moving somewhere distant and spending their money on driving, or even being unemployed.

UC Berkeley economist Enrico Moretti calculated that a single tech job typically produces five additional local-services jobs.

But in San Francisco, that spillover effect is much smaller. This is in no small part because so much of our incomes end up going toward housing costs. The city's economist Ted Egan estimates that each San Francisco tech job likely creates somewhere slightly north of two extra jobs, not five.

However, it's hard to have even basic debates over modest increases in the housing supply here because of this ideological dispute.

## 8) 1978 and 1979: Proposition 13 and Rent Control

I keep coming back to the late 1970s because both the city of San Francisco and the state of California made choices that have had enduring impacts on housing to this day.

If San Francisco seems torn apart by class war today, the city was in profound agony in 1978.

A charismatic, religious leader named Jim Jones had won the favor of city's political elite and helped deliver the mayorship to George Moscone. Amid emerging allegations of physical abuse, Jones and hundreds of his followers defected from San Francisco to Guyana, where he sought to build a utopia.

Instead, he convinced more than 900 of his followers, including mothers and infants, to ingest cyanide mixed with punch in a mass suicide. It was an enormous tragedy for the city; nearly every family in the black Fillmore district knew someone they had lost in Jonestown.

Then, just nine days later, there was a double blow. Supervisor Dan White murdered mayor Moscone and gay political icon Harvey Milk in the heart of San Francisco's beaux-arts City Hall. Tens of thousands of grief-stricken people marched down Market Street in a candlelight vigil.

It was into this chaos that Dianne Feinstein, who had recently been widowed after her husband passed away from colon cancer, stepped into power and assumed mayorship.

The broader U.S. economic picture was not great. Inflation shot from 9 percent at the time Feinstein became mayor to 13.3 percent a year later as the Iranian revolution triggered another energy crisis. Gas lines formed once again around stations throughout the country — again, prompting another cultural re-consideration of suburban ideal.

Earlier in the summer of 1978, a cantankerous former small-town newspaper publisher named Howard Jarvis led a "taxpayer revolt" as property prices were soaring, threatening to throw home owners out of their homes because of rising tax bills. Jarvis' idea was to cap property taxes at 1 percent of their assessed value and to prevent them from rising by more than 2 percent each year until the property was sold again and its taxes were reset at a new market value.

One argument that Jarvis used to rally tenant support for Proposition 13, was that he promised that landlords would pass on their tax savings to renters.

They didn't. They pocketed the savings for themselves.



Tenants were furious, and rent control movements erupted in at least a dozen cities throughout California, from Berkeley to Santa Monica.

San Francisco might have gone a different way, but Angelo Sangiacomo was the alleged trigger. The Italian-American landlord, who was born and raised in the Richmond District, demanded across-the-board rent increases of 25 to 65 percent in seventeen hundred apartments in March of 1979.

Amid the outrage, Feinstein pushed for a 60-day rent freeze that would ward off the rise of a tenant-backed mayoral challenger.

Both policies have had far-reaching and unanticipated ripple effects.

Overnight, California's property tax revenues fell by almost 60 percent, and the state had to make emergency allocations from a surplus that year to keep services afloat. Because the state's K-12 schools are financed largely by property taxes, California's spending per student fell from 5th in the nation in the mid-1960s to 50th in this decade.

Without the ability to rely as heavily on property taxes, city governments throughout the state had to favor office and retail development over housing in order to boost sales taxes. It may have even accelerated the homogeneity of suburbs as smaller city governments had to cut deals to attract "big box" retailers to boost sales tax revenue, crowding out independently-run stores.

It also created a lock-in effect as California property values soared, creating a bigger gap in property taxes on newly-sold properties and ones that homeowners had held onto for a long time. That rigidity further enhanced the political power that NIMBY-ist homeowners accumulated in suburban city councils throughout the state.

San Francisco's 60-day rent control ordinance also stuck around, and it was subsequently strengthened through the following decades. The maximum allowable annual rent increase went from 7 percent to 4 percent in mid-1980s and then to a fraction of the inflation rate set by the Rent Board in 1992.

Because both Proposition 13 and rent control insulate homeowners and rent-controlled tenants from dramatic tax or rent increases when the market undersupplies housing, they undermined political will for building homes. Both of these policies were enacted just as the "Great Inversion" started.

### **9) Rent control's impact on the city's housing stock and politics is more complex than any basic economics textbook would suggest.**

Rent control is a naturally divisive topic in the tech community. Progressives view it as a sacred right that protects the remnants of a working- and middle-class in the city. "It's a non-renewable resource," Erin McElroy, who is part of the Anti-Eviction Mapping Project, explained to me.

But the tech community is both socially liberal and market-oriented, with more than 90 percent of political donations from Apple and Google employees going to Barack Obama in the last election. So, price controls in the name of community stability and equity just makes people's brains explode.

Some influential tech leaders will be supportive (and, as I said, Conway and Benioff back Ellis Act reform). Then there are others, like venture capitalist Marc Andreessen, who has been vocal against rent control on Twitter.

Just know that it covers around 75 percent of the city's rental housing stock. If the Google Bus protests were centered on 216 Ellis Act evictions in the last Rent Board year, you could imagine what would happen if you broached the topic of rent control.

Want to alienate about half of San Francisco? Have fun.

Yes, rent control is a blunt instrument of income re-distribution in an increasingly unequal world. It is not means-tested, meaning anyone from well-salaried, white-collar workers to very low-income residents can benefit from it. It also forces a number of small-time, mom-and-pop landlords to individually subsidize someone else's cost of living in the city.

It creates two classes of tenants — one that is very legally protected and another that is not. For market-rate tenants, there is no law compelling their landlords to give them as much as \$44,842 in relocation expenses under new city legislation like they will for Ellis Act evictees if they raise rents beyond what they can afford.

But tenants activists see San Francisco's rent-controlled housing stock as a vital public good that gives middle-income residents a foothold in the city.

And while the make-up of the city's rent-controlled hasn't been studied in more than a decade, it likely contains less-wealthy San Franciscans on average than the market-rate units do. In studies of other cities where rent control unexpectedly ended via a change in state law like Cambridge, Massachusetts, tenants in these apartments had lower incomes than those of market-rate renters.

San Francisco's version of rent control also does not apply to buildings constructed after 1979, so it shouldn't dis-incentivize developers from producing new units.

Instead, a lot of other factors are constricting supply. That said, I do think it undermines the political will that would otherwise exist for building more housing.

### **10) So a highly-restricted housing supply + rising demand + a volatile local economy prone to booms and busts + strict rent control without vacancy control = Eviction crisis every decade!**

San Francisco's version of rent control lacks vacancy controls, which means landlords can re-set rents at





whatever the market will bear when new rent-controlled tenants move in.

The logic is that with vacancy controls, landlords won't invest in maintaining their properties. But the flip-side is that the landlord also has a strong financial incentive to evict longstanding tenants who are paying below-market rates.

So every decade during a boom, there is a tragic, elderly face for the story of displacement.

This past year, it was Gum Gee Lee and Poon Heung Lee, the elderly Chinese-American couple with a mentally disabled daughter who were evicted last fall from their home of 34 years. But back in the 1990s, there was Lola McKay. A year after her eviction fight started, McKay died alone in her Mission apartment of 42 years at age 83 in 2000.

It sucks. I sat in a high school gym in the Tenderloin full of terrified elderly and disabled people at the citywide tenant convention.

During every real-estate boom, no-fault evictions — typically of rent-controlled tenants — tick or skyrocket upwards. (From an October 2013 memo to city supervisor David Campos.)

### 11) What is the Ellis Act?

At the heart of the Google Bus protests are a specific kind of eviction called an Ellis Act eviction.

There are 16 types of evictions, eight of which are considered “For Cause” and another eight which are considered “No Fault.”

No fault evictions are up across-the-board, according to this Rent Board report from last month.

The Ellis Act is one of these. While it's hard to fight a surge in other kinds of no-fault evictions like “Owner Move-In” evictions, the tenants movement has a stronger moral upper hand with the Ellis Act.

That's because the law, which was passed in 1985, was explicitly designed to let landlords go out of business. Tenants activists say that the Ellis Act is instead abused by real estate speculators, who evict their tenants, turn these rent-controlled apartments into tenancies-in-common and sell them at a profit.

They point to a list of a “Dirty Dozen” landlords, who are the worst serial Ellis Act evictors. One of them is Urban Green Investments, which is evicting 98-year-old Mary Elizabeth Phillips and Balboa High School teacher Sarah Brant, who live up my street.

Phillips moved to the city in the late 1930s as a war bride and moved into this 1950s-era apartment building on Dolores Street, across the way from what is now a huge apartment complex containing a brand-new bottom-floor Whole Foods Market.

Her last day was supposed to be six days ago, on April 8. But she's still there, at least until the sheriff receives a court order to take action. At 98, she has nowhere to go.

The city government is trying to respond as quickly as it can, but it can only do so much because the Ellis Act is state law.

Earlier this week, city supervisor David Campos, who represents the other part of the Mission, pushed legislation through the Board of Supervisors that would raise compensation for Ellis Act evictees. It's going from \$5,200 per tenant to the difference between the tenant's current rent and the market-rate rent for a comparable apartment over two years. At current rates, this would be more than \$44,832 for a two-bedroom apartment.

They're trying to change the law at the state level too. Mark Leno, who represents San Francisco in the California State Senate, also introduced a bill that would require landlords to hold a property for five years before invoking the Ellis Act to evict tenants. It just passed the Senate Transportation and Housing Committee earlier this week.

### 12) F\*\*k, this is complicated. Anti-tech sentiment becomes a catalyst.

Tenants-rights activists had struggled to generate momentum for protections against Ellis Act evictions, but villains like real-estate speculators are too nebulous. Indeed, many of the landlords responsible for the bulk of Ellis Act evictions hide behind strangely-named entities like ‘Pineapple Boy LLC.’

But the Google Bus protests worked.

They were a media sensation.

They tapped into this inchoate sense of frustration around everything from rising income inequality to privacy to surveillance to the environmental impact of the hardware we buy to a dubious sense that today's leading technology companies aren't living up to their missions of not being evil.

“The we-hate-tech-workers is mostly a media narrative,” said organizer Fred Sherburn-Zimmer. “It's not about that. It's about income disparity. It's about speculators using high-income workers to displace communities.”

Sherburn-Zimmer acknowledged that the bus protests were a tactic. But she said, without them, the movement wouldn't have been able to get 500 people to march in Sacramento for Ellis Act reform.

She also said that the support of Conway, the advocacy group he founded called sf.citi and other tech companies will be invaluable in turning votes on the peninsula to get Leno's bill moving. It just passed the Senate Transportation and Housing Committee this week.

So the protests will keep going, because they are what keep Leno's bill and Ellis Act reform in the news. (Don't take it too personally. You can blame us — the media — for finding protests against globally-recognized brands like Google much sexier than protests against individual Mountain View city council



members.)

### 13) Who are the protesters and what do they want?

Like the tech community itself, the activist community is pretty heterogeneous. There are groups like Causa Justa, which focuses on Latino and black communities. The area housing focused groups like the Housing Rights Committee and others affiliated with the San Francisco Tenants Union. There are efforts like the Anti-Eviction Mapping Project, which is asking San Franciscans to boycott renting at places where Ellis Act evictions have happened.

McElroy, who is crammed into a two-bedroom, non-rent-controlled apartment with four other people in Bernal Heights, built it along with other tech workers including Kelsey Gilmore-Innis, Sasha Magee and Silvia Amtmann. She's been leading many of the protests several times a week at different real estate offices, Google Bus stops and homes where long-time tenants are being evicted.

The broad point here is that while tech-fueled economic growth can be good, gentrification carries enormous and often tragic costs for certain individuals and communities. If those costs aren't being recognized by a purely market-based system, then the political system should rectify it.

"We implore tech to start talking to us. Come out into the streets with us. I don't think it occurs to people that they can be a body too. People live in bubbles here," McElroy said. "If you're scared, what does that compare to people who are being forced out of their homes?"

But there are times when it can just get weird or borderline disturbing.

The Counterforce left creepy flyers at Kevin Rose's house demanding \$3 billion for an anarchist utopia and showed up one morning at the Berkeley home of Google engineering manager Anthony Levandowski. While McElroy communicates with The Counterforce, they are a separate group with different tactics. And it often feels like protests meant to stir meaningful discussion about income inequality, gentrification and housing veer off into misguided anger or hatred.

At an anti-eviction protest on Friday, hundreds of people marched through the streets of the Mission with a brass band. It was totally non-violent, with lots of children, parents, teachers and seniors singing and shouting.

Lowell High School senior Natalia Arguello-Inglis took the microphone and said, "We can't blindly hate on the techies and yuppies. Who are we to judge who can come into this city and who can not? Gentrification is not going to go away. But we can work with the people who are causing it."

But there was also one 'Tech = Death' sign in a visual reference to early 1990s anti-AIDS documentary 'Silence = Death' and a few other people carried pictures of Jack Halprin, the Google lawyer who is evicting multiple tenants from his house on Guerrero Street.

Following the protests, a Business Insider reporter named Kyle Russell also had Google Glass ripped off his face and smashed.

Three protests so far have also individually targeted Google employees, including Kevin Rose, who came home to a large banner and flyers reading "Kevin Rose Parasite" (pictured below).

Also, a protester climbed on top of a Yahoo bus at the MacArthur station and vomited on it.

Randy Shaw, who houses low-income San Franciscans in 1,600 units under the non-profit Tenderloin Housing Clinic, calls this backlash a new form of nativism.

When he moved here in the late 1970s, he remembered straight residents making the same complaints about an influx of gays into the Castro or a flood of Latino immigrants into what was a largely Irish-American Mission District a generation ago.

He says:

"...the war on tech workers—as opposed to tech companies or policies—is not really a "class war."

Rather, it is about one group of predominately white people complaining about a similar demographic group that likes many of the same restaurants, bars, street festivals, and Samba classes that they do—but who makes more money."

He points out that many of the union-affiliated protesters blasting Twitter in front of the company's headquarters are simultaneously requesting budget increases from the mayor's office, which is largely possible because of the tech-fueled economic boom.

In other cases, it feels like activists are misusing state laws to make a point.

Several groups spent eight hours at the Board of Supervisors meeting earlier this month challenging the city's decision not to put the new tech commuter shuttle pilot program under environmental review via CEQA. This is even though the buses take cars off the road for as many as 4,000 commuters every day. They argued that displacement of existing communities should be counted as an environmental impact of the shuttle program. The Board of Supervisors disagreed, voting 8-2 to uphold the exemption.

"We're not saying no buses," Sherburn-Zimmer said. "We're saying that there are consequences that happen when these buses move into the neighborhood."

Certainly, charging \$1 per use of a public bus stop is low when the regular MUNI fare is \$2. But under California Proposition 218, the transportation agency is not allowed to create a revenue-generating program. So the program can only pay for its \$1.7 million in costs now.

Google tried to rectify the situation in an unorthodox way by donating \$6.8 million for free rides on MUNI for low-income youth.

But the activists aren't happy with that. "Google never came to us and asked us what we would like to



see,” McElroy said. “We are not into backdoor deal-making with politicians.”

Also, none of this — the increased eviction protections, the push to stall the shuttle program under CEQA, Ellis Act reform — amounts to massive, systems-level change. It protects long-time residents who are already here, but it doesn’t make San Francisco affordable or available to future middle- or working-class residents.

The activists know this.

“We’re playing fastball right now,” McElroy said. “These are Band-Aid solutions.”

Indeed, this is politics!

#### **14) So complicated! What are compromises that have actually worked?**

Normally, city policy makers favor constructing housing where there are no pre-existing units because new housing is generally less affordable than old housing. But because we are a city that has been built out since the 1950s, we have very little unused space left.

One project that could point the way is Trinity Plaza at 8th and Mission. It’s a 1,900-unit complex that came about through an agreement in 2005 between the unlikeliest of allies.

On one side was the infamous “Father of Rent Control” Sangiacomo.

On the other side was Chris Daly, a progressive city supervisor who once vowed to use the word “fuck” in all of his remaining Board of Supervisor meetings.

Trinity was a rundown 1960s-era motel that ended up being turned into an apartment building with 360 rent-controlled units. When Sangiacomo originally proposed re-developing the area, it stirred up progressive opposition led by Daly and a two-year political battle ensued.

But Sangiacomo eventually made an unprecedented concession in 2005. He vowed to drop eviction proceedings for the existing residents and allow them to move into newly-constructed units at rents near their old rates.

Ironically, he became the first San Francisco landlord to voluntarily place newly-constructed housing under rent control.

It was a big win. Longtime residents weren’t displaced and got brand-new homes at near their old rent, plus the city got to provide many more homes to other San Franciscans.

#### **15) What is the city government doing?**

If you can see any possible silver lining in being antagonized every day in protests, it’s that the city government will be really, really, really focused on housing.

A lot of things that weren’t considered politically possible for years are happening now.

The Board of Supervisors was able to pass a bill to legalize in-law units, which can be anything from garages to attics that have illegally housed tens of thousands of San Franciscans for decades in a shadow housing market.

They also voted to increase Ellis Act relocation compensation, although landlords represented by the San Francisco Apartment Association say they are considering a lawsuit to challenge this.

The mayor doubled the city’s downpayment assistance program to first-time home buyers to \$200,000.

The mayor pledged to build or rehabilitate 30,000 units in the next six years, with one-third of those being permanently affordable to lower and moderate-income families.

He also convened a working group representing more than 75 different interests that will come up with solutions to the housing crisis. You can read different ideas for solving the housing crisis here from SPUR, the San Francisco Housing Action Coalition or the Council of Community Housing Organizations. There is no silver bullet in any of these. It’s a hard problem.

Lee, Leno and others are collaborating on this Ellis Act bill in the state legislature.

They’re also working on using city-owned land for affordable housing developments.

Ahead of all these protests, Lee also got voters to pass an Affordable Housing Trust Fund back in 2012.

But any projects from it are also likely to be mired in that crazy planning process.

#### **16) What is the tech industry doing?**

Ron Conway is asking tech CEOs across the industry to speak up in favor of Ellis Act reform, which would help longtime tenants at risk of no-fault evictions stay in their rent-controlled units.

Google also gave \$6.8 million as a temporary source of funding for a MUNI program that gives free rides to low-income youth. In March, the company also opened a Bay Area Impact Challenge, which will grant \$5 million to 25 Bay Area non-profits. Two weeks ago, they also funded all of the Bay Area projects on Donors Choose, which is a platform where teachers can list projects that they need funding for in their classrooms. The amount was roughly \$600,000 for 600 area projects.

Salesforce CEO Marc Benioff also challenged tech industry workers to raise \$10 million in the next 60 days for anti-poverty organizations. Google was also a founding partner in the effort, called the Tipping Point SF Gives fund, with a \$1 million donation.

Just a few days ago, Benioff and his wife also gave a second \$100 million to the UCSF Benioff Children’s Hospital and its affiliate, the Children’s Hospital & Research Center in Oakland.

The mayor and sf.citi have been brokering meetings between tech companies like Jawbone, Pinterest, Air-



bnb and non-profits like the YMCA, the Tenderloin Housing Clinic and the Mission Economic Development Agency. Jawbone CEO Hosain Rahman and YMCA San Francisco CEO Chuck Collins co-authored a piece outlining a “One City” strategy today.

Airbnb is now remitting San Francisco’s 14 percent hotel occupancy tax.

Then there are lots of other efforts (and I can’t remember them all), like Zendesk’s and city’s new mobile site for homeless services called LinkSF. Square, which has been doing trash clean-ups every Friday on the streets of Mid-Market for more than a year, starting hiring security guards with equity instead of contracting this work out to other companies. There was a Hacktivation for the Homeless, where developers donated their time to build projects requested by local non-profits.

Consider these things just a start.

### 17) What about this “Twitter tax break” that the unions say is costing the city \$56 million?

There is a ton of anger at the tech industry over two tax exclusions that were passed in 2011.

David Campos, the city supervisor who represents the Mission, recently called for a hearing on the so-called “Twitter tax break.” (Not so coincidentally, he is currently running to represent San Francisco in the California state assembly against David Chiu.)

It’s a complicated issue if you look into it. Yes, San Francisco is an extremely desirable place and it has more leverage than most cities in the entire country to squeeze corporations for additional taxes or concessions.

But those taxes can’t be so out of line with neighboring cities that companies just move one city south, leaving San Francisco with the same housing problems but nothing in business tax revenue to show for it. This is one reason for why the biotechnology industry has historically been centered in South San Francisco with companies like Genentech, even though San Francisco is home to UCSF, one of the best medical schools and research facilities in the world.

At the time that the city passed both exclusions, San Francisco was the only city in the state of California to derive all of its business tax revenue from payrolls and one of the few in the nation that taxed employee stock options.

Other cities in Silicon Valley like Palo Alto and Mountain View had almost non-existent business tax burdens. Mountain View just charges an annual fee ranging from \$30 to \$100, while Palo Alto has a one-time \$413 fee for a certificate of use and occupancy. Both cities are more dependent on property and sales taxes. If Twitter moved to South San Francisco at that time, the company would have paid that city government \$15 per employee per year, or \$37,500 a year for 2,500 employees.

So this uncapped, unpredictable tax liability that could stretch into tens of millions of dollars was a huge reason to leave even though Twitter’s leadership wanted to stay. At the same time, San Francisco’s unemployment rate was north of 8 percent at that time, so the city’s priority was to create jobs.

The Mid-Market payroll tax exclusion (a.k.a. “Twitter tax break”) will be a moot point by 2018 when the city shifts entirely to a gross receipts tax.

The Mid-Market payroll tax exclusion, was created with Twitter in mind in 2011 to incentivize companies to stay in San Francisco and move to a part of Market Street that had 30 percent storefront vacancy rates. The point was to create a tech cluster that would generate meaningful tax revenues over the long-run through an estimated \$54 million over 20 years and boost economic activity in the area.

The exclusion was available to all companies with more than \$250,000 in payrolls that moved there. Twitter was the anchor, and it moved its headquarters to a Shorestein-owned SF Mart building that had been vacant for five years.

Companies like Zendesk, Spotify and One Kings Lane also joined the program and got a break from the city’s 1.5 percent payroll tax on additional headcount for up to six years if they moved to Mid-Market. In 2012, this amounted to \$1.9 million in foregone taxes on \$126.8 million in payroll expenses.

Because these companies had more than \$1 million in payroll expenses, they also had to create ‘Community Benefit Agreements’ that documented how they’re giving back to the community through donations and volunteership. While the advisory committee overseeing the program loves IPO candidate Zendesk, its members are frustrated with Twitter and other companies for being too vague on commitments or not even showing up to meetings.

Then, the whole payroll tax was subsequently reformed or scrapped by voters the following year through Proposition E in favor of a tax on gross receipts that’s starting to be phased in. The argument was that payroll taxes penalize job creation. On top of that, the city was only collecting the payroll taxes from less than 10 percent of the roughly 100,000 registered companies in the city at that time.

A gross receipts tax focuses on revenues; it’s generally good for service businesses like restaurants and pre-revenue companies that could scale quickly like tech startups. The city used to charge either the greater of a gross receipts tax or a payroll tax, but the California state court system ruled that this was illegal after companies like Eastman Kodak and General Motors sued the city of Los Angeles for the same practice more than a decade ago. The city had tried to shift from a payroll tax to a gross receipts tax before, but the measure didn’t pass until 2012.

So this whole tax break that people are screaming about will be a moot point by 2018, when the gross receipts tax is fully baked in for everyone.

And if San Francisco is able to convince tech companies to stay instead of moving down south to the





peninsula, and one of them turns into a Facebook, Oracle or Google-sized company, the city will be able to capture a percentage of what will be billions of dollars in annual revenues.

The city said today that the program had already helped generate \$8.4 million in property and real estate transfer taxes, attracted 18 tech companies and convinced 17 small businesses to open on the street.

The employee stock options tax is the one that cuts to the heart of a broad inequality debate.

There was a second temporary tax exemption that was passed in 2011 that focused on employee stock options and was created to retain pre-IPO companies in San Francisco like Zynga, Twitter and Zendesk. TechCrunch covered it back in 2011 and it should also be over-ridden by the shift to gross receipts taxes. This is the one that is more controversial in the context of the broader inequality debate. James Temple, who now works at Re/Code, wrote a piece for the San Francisco Chronicle last fall saying that this tax break cost the city \$34 million on top of the projected \$22 million in foregone revenue from the Mid-Market program.

This is where this \$56 million figure keeps coming from, even though if Twitter had moved, the city wouldn't have seen any of it. It's phantom money.

At the time it was passed, San Francisco was one of the few cities in the nation to tax employee stock options and it included them as part of the 1.5 percent payroll tax.

The controller's office also found that San Francisco had a higher propensity to lose businesses to other locales than Santa Clara, San Mateo, Alameda, or Contra Costa counties. The city government studied more than a dozen San Francisco-based IPOs since 1997, and found that no single company paid more than \$685,000 in taxes on employee stock options in any one year. So they capped the employee stock options tax at \$750,000 for pre-IPO companies on equity granted before a public offering.

The city's leadership made a choice to retain startups as they matured into growth companies, keep those jobs and then earn taxes on gross receipts later.

Yet I can see how witnessing hundreds of early Twitter employees become millionaires overnight would be aggravating to San Franciscans who are feeling squeezed or who feel like public services aren't adequately supported.

Everyone is also disturbed by rising income inequality, which is growing at the fastest rate in the country in San Francisco, according to this Brookings study.

A lot of other VCs and founders are also digesting Thomas Piketty's new book, "Capital in the 21st Century." With more than 200 years of data, it chronicles an inexorable rise in inequality that was punctuated in the middle of the 20th century by the Great Depression and World War II followed by 30 years of evenly-spread prosperity. Ultimately, it advocates a globally-coordinated tax on wealth.

The keyword there is coordinated. If this issue re-emerges again in San Francisco (and it will), you'd have to make sure that the proposed solutions don't end up driving away jobs or growth-stage companies.

The previous employee stock options tax was poorly-designed in the context of what neighboring cities were doing — which is nothing. Moreover, it's a highly volatile source of tax revenue. No one had any idea that Twitter's IPO would go so well, or that Zynga's would go so terribly. You'd either have to design something less punitive compared to neighboring cities or create something that is coordinated with the rest of Silicon Valley.

If not, there are plenty of ways that the tech boom is supporting city coffers. At an annual \$7.9 billion, the city's current budget is more than \$1.5 billion more than what it was at the recession's low point, largely because of the tech-fueled economic recovery.

Also, remember Proposition 13 and all those houses that are paying taxes tied to 1970s or 1980s assessments?

Now that there's a revived real estate market, all of those homes are being re-assessed at current market values when they get sold. So the city expects to see \$79 million more in property taxes than the \$1.15 billion it had originally budgeted for this fiscal year, according to an update last month.

And again, we're switching over to gross receipts anyway.

### **18) Isn't the tech community made up of a bunch of libertarians who have total disregard for government and taxes?**

Not exactly.

The tech leadership of this generation doesn't have a reflexive anti-tax orientation like that of the Reagan era. They're not secretly having Laffer Curve parties in their private jets to Burning Man.

It's more nuanced. I sat in on a recent talk where the tech community's most famous libertarian Peter Thiel surprisingly said:

"I wouldn't mind paying more in taxes if I could do anything I wanted to do with the rest of the money, which I'm largely restricted in what I can do, from the FDA on down to the San Francisco zoning department."

He added:

"I live in the Marina area in San Francisco. They built the Golden Gate Bridge in three and a half years in the 1930s, '33 to '36. They're now building an access road to the bridge that's taken eight years and possibly will end up costing more in inflation adjusted dollars than the whole bridge cost in the '30s. So it's one of the reasons I personally don't want to pay more taxes, because I feel the government spends the money so extraordinarily badly. I'd be fine with paying more if I felt the government was run as well as it



was run in the '50s, '60s, '30s."

Then Sam Altman, who is now running the Valley's most selective accelerator Y Combinator, has also ruminated on income redistribution through a universal basic income.

Even venture capitalist Tim Draper, who is pushing this far-out plan to break California into six states, conceded that Silicon Valley was the least likely to support it out of all the hypothetical Californias he wants to create. He didn't say why though.

And your renegade law-breaking companies of Airbnb, Lyft and Uber? They proved product-market fit, built something that people were willing to pay for, scaled their businesses and now they are both transforming and being reined into the existing regulatory and tax infrastructure. Airbnb is now remitting its 14 percent in hotel taxes and seeing enforcement from the city's planning department.

While there is a visible libertarian fringe, the tech community on the whole donates overwhelmingly to the Democratic party (which means they're pro-business moderates in San Francisco's terms).

**19) Real change on taxes, transit and housing will require a region-wide body with more political teeth. Screen Shot 2014-04-05 at 6.04.05 PM In 1912, a Greater San Francisco movement emerged and the city tried to annex Oakland. Understandably, Oakland refused.**

For more than a century, the Bay Area's housing, transit infrastructure and tax system has been haunted by the region's fragmented governance.

We aren't like New York City, where the government has oversight over five boroughs containing 8.4 million people.

For the 7 million people of the San Francisco Bay Area, it's every city and county for themselves. While there is a council of city governments called the Association of Bay Area Governments that was started in 1961, it's not sufficiently powerful.

That means NIMBY-ists in every city try and shove the housing issue onto someone else.

That means it's a race-to-the-bottom on business taxes.

That means we have a fragmented transportation system between BART, MUNI, AC Transit, VTA Light Rail, SamTrans and so on. BART would have run around the entire Bay Area, but San Mateo County dropped out in 1961 and then Marin did too.

Not only is transportation down the peninsula fragmented between all of these different systems, the suburbs have also blocked many denser housing developments along the Caltrain stations that would have supported workforces for companies like Google and Facebook.

**20) This seems overwhelming. Why doesn't Google just move to Detroit?**

Actually, this is happening. Just not in Detroit. Yet.

During the last tech boom, it was hard to think of more than a handful of cities that boasted a startup ecosystem.

Today, there are many. The high cost of living in the Bay Area is the rest of the world's gain.

Look all over the world. In the Mitte and Kreuzberg neighborhoods of Berlin. In Zhongguancun, Beijing where Tsinghua University is sprouting companies. In Greenpoint, Brooklyn where Kickstarter is headquartered. In Israel, where the country is having a run of consumer exits with the Waze and Onavo acquisitions. In Noida and Gurgaon.

The world's leading Bitcoin exchange came out of Slovenia.

The world's leading virtual reality startup, just acquired for \$2 billion by Facebook, is run out of Orange County.

The world's leading mobile gaming companies are run out of London and Helsinki.

The world's most interesting emerging handset maker, Xiaomi, is run out of Beijing. Just four years after launch, they expect to ship \$11 billion worth of phones and accessories.

Snapchat, started by a handful of Stanford graduates who would have probably stayed here a decade ago, is run out of a beach house in Venice. Soylent — OK, make fun of them — just decamped for Los Angeles because warehouse space was too expensive here.

Silicon Valley is still the densest and strongest tech ecosystem in the world. But it is only ahead because — in startup parlance — it was a first mover.

Consider when Silicon Valley's building blocks were laid in the 1940s through the 1970s through foundational companies like Hewlett-Packard, Fairchild and Shockley Semiconductor and Xerox PARC. At that time, the rest of the world's major economies were being rebuilt. Europe was undergoing World War II reconstruction and India and China were just establishing a sense of national unity and systems of governance.

Both India and China have made major economic reforms and today, the choice between Bangalore, Beijing and Silicon Valley is more of a coin toss for entrepreneurial talent than a no-brainer.

While Silicon Valley certainly isn't in peril, its continued resilience depends on whether it can keep attracting the best talent and new ideas from everywhere.

**21) We're f\*\*\*ed.**

No, we're not fucked. If you've actually read this far, you know why we're here.



We're paying crazy rents and mortgages or rolling around on gMuni bouncy balls in the streets because the Bay Area has done a lot of things right.

I know that the Brookings study showing that San Francisco had the largest increases in income inequality in the country is distressing.

But do you know what else is true?

San Francisco and San Jose have the highest levels of income mobility in the country. Harvard and Berkeley economists Raj Chetty, Nathaniel Hendren, Patrick Kline and Emmanuel Saez examined federal income tax records for 40 million children and their parents between 1996 and 2012.

They found that children in San Jose and San Francisco had the highest chances of moving from the bottom income quintile to the top quintile out of all major metropolitan areas in the United States.

There are the absurd stories, like that of WhatsApp founder Jan Koum, who went from food stamps to selling a messaging app to Facebook for \$19 billion.

Then there are the more realistic ones, like that of my mother, who moved to the Bay Area in the late 1970s as a Vietnamese refugee. Because my grandparents were too old to work and they couldn't speak English, my mother and her five sisters pooled together their earnings to collectively buy a home in San Jose all while in their mid-twenties. They then parlayed the equity from that home into buying homes of their own when they were ready to start families.

We have to remember that cities are unequal because the opportunities they provide attract both the very rich and the very poor.

San Francisco's extreme juxtapositions of wealth and poverty exist because the city is both an extremely desirable place to live and it maintains protections for residents through programs like rent control and \$165 million a year in spending on homelessness.

The gleaming, onyx NEMA towers exist side-by-side with homelessness because San Francisco created the Mid-Market program to lure companies like Twitter and the single-room-occupancy hotels and non-profits that house and feed the city's poorest residents have been politically protected in the Tenderloin for decades.

Both the tech industry and San Francisco have delicate ecologies that have taken decades to cultivate. As they become more intertwined, the political winds of the city are shifting. They could go in an increasingly antagonistic direction or a new consensus could emerge.

What will it be?

Tech workers: It's not as easy as just building up. This battle has been raging on since the sand dunes of the Sunset district were flattened for single-family homes in the 1950s.

Try to understand where others are coming from. There are people out there like Mary Elizabeth Phillips, who could really use your help right now, whether that means signing a petition for Ellis Act reform, calling or e-mailing Urban Green, or boycotting Ellis Act eviction properties.

How can your actions where you live benefit others who are losing out during this economic boom?

How will you participate in your community? Will it be through charity? Through volunteership? Through taxes?

Are you willing to fight the political battles and form the alliances necessary to create housing for tech workers and teachers alike? You need to vote, to show the city government that there is political will for development or else the old, anti-growth regime will keep dictating preservationist policies that turn housing into a zero-sum game.

Companies like Gap, Wells Fargo, Levi Strauss & Co. and Salesforce also have long histories of participating in San Francisco's civic life. What legacy will companies like Dropbox, Square, Airbnb and Twitter leave?

Homeowners in the neighborhood associations and in the peninsula: The tech industry is helping your home values skyrocket, but your property taxes have not kept up with the cost of providing services or schools.

Stop sitting in the background while the city's workers, the poor, the elderly and its young duke out in this ugly charade.

While there are some tech workers who do strike it rich, most just have salaries and would love to raise families in the Bay Area just as you did when you came here years ago.

The Bay Area risks becoming a victim of its own success if it can't make more room. At this point, blocking individual housing developments to protect your views is tantamount to generational theft.

Activists: Invoking CEQA clauses to stall the city's tech shuttle program through an environmental impact review so that 1,400 of 4,000 tech bus riders may or may not decide to move slightly south is not a game-changing way to address housing affordability in San Francisco.

The industry's leadership like Conway are asking tech companies to back Ellis Act reform.

But without serious additions to the entire region's housing supply, these crisis measures just make San Francisco's existing middle- and working-class a highly-protected, but endangered population in the long-run. With such limited rental stock available on the market at any time, what kind of person can afford to move here today when the city's median rent is \$3,350?

For the more extreme groups, you cannot logically fight both development and displacement. The real estate speculation running through the city right now is just as much a bet on political paralysis in the face



of a long-term housing shortage as it is on San Francisco's desirability as a place to live.

Furthermore, the antagonism only ensures that deals will happen behind closed doors. The unfortunate path of least resistance for most tech companies will be to just pay their workers more, instead of engaging in regional politics. That is a loss for everyone.

For the more pragmatic groups, the tech community could easily be persuaded to support inclusionary housing, provided the numbers still work out profitably for developers and that lots more overall housing units gets built. The same goes for Trinity-like projects.

In conclusion: The crisis we're seeing is the result of decades of choices, and while the tech industry is a sexy, attention-grabbing target, it cannot shoulder blame for this alone.

Unless a new direction emerges, this will keep getting worse until the next economic crash, and then it will re-surface again eight years later. Or it will keep spilling over into Oakland, which is a whole other Pandora's box of gentrification issues.

The high housing costs aren't healthy for the city, nor are they healthy for the industry. Both thrive on a constant flow of ideas and people.

So while Google may not be opening a giant office in Detroit anytime soon, the people of Detroit and the Midwest are coming here.

I meet them every day.

There are people like Brian Clark, who actually did move from Detroit, and was living off various hackathon winnings while teaching coding in MissionBit's after-school programs for San Francisco's public school students. Earlier this spring, he was literally sleeping on friends' couches, eating one meal a day. But he won the Launch Hackathon and now has initial funding for a new startup called Vue, a mobile feedback and user engagement tool he built.

Or like Rey Faustino, who I wrote about last month. He grew up in a working-class family in Southern California that relied on social services to make ends meet. Now he's working on fixing the problems he remembered as a child through One Degree, which is a Yelp-like platform that helps Bay Area families find the right non-profits and social services for them. It's supported by Y Combinator and has thousands of users.

Many of the people who come here will stay, and make vital contributions for decades through their work, their taxes and their charitable contributions. Some will come for awhile and then go back and invigorate entrepreneurial ecosystems back home. This circulation of creative talent is crucial not only for the Bay Area, but for the rest of the United States.

I would not want to deny anyone — rich or poor — the chance to transform or be transformed by this place.

