

# Social Seams in Mixed-Income Neighborhoods

## A Case Study of Garfield Square Park



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## Introduction

The goal of mixing incomes in housing is increasingly driving housing policy in the United States, from HOPE VI to various tax credit programs to voucher programs. Yet, developing mixed-income housing without addressing income mix at the larger neighborhood level may be creating isolated islands of diversity. These islands may act as catalysts for change, but it is not well understood whether the subsequent neighborhood change will also diversify the area – or whether it will transform the neighborhood into a segregated high-income area. There is also little research that makes the case for diversity, particularly income (rather than racial/ethnic) mixing, and even less research that shows how developments can help build or maintain diversity.<sup>1</sup>

Proponents of mixed-income developments suggest they will affect the social networks and norms of their residents, particularly the low-income households.<sup>2</sup> The presence of higher income residents should expand social networks and social capital for low-income residents, while also leading to higher levels of accountability to norms and rules among low-income residents (thus increasing order and safety for the entire community). But how might this work in practice?

The purpose of this study is to explore how social interaction occurs in a diverse neighborhood. Specifically, we look at a neighborhood park to see if it functions as a “social seam,” or a place where interaction between different groups is “sewn together.”<sup>3</sup> Other research has found that the presence of social seams such as grocery stores, schools, and parks helps neighborhoods to maintain a mixed-race or mixed-ethnic population. We hypothesize that social seams serve a similar function in *economically* diverse neighborhoods. Parks and other social seams in mixed-income neighborhoods may further social networks, cultural and behavioral norms, and social control by facilitating interaction and networking among people from different backgrounds.

## Study Background

This study looks at how Garfield Square, a neighborhood park in the income-diverse Mission District of San Francisco, functions as a social seam. This research has important policy implications for planners looking to stabilize mixed-income neighborhoods and enhances our understanding of a complicated policy issue.

Research on social interaction in mixed-income neighborhoods in the United States is very limited. However, several recent studies of mixed-income *developments* have found evidence of social interaction among residents to different degrees. A study of Lake Parc Place, a mixed-income development in Chicago, found that both low-income and moderate-income residents were engaged in the community and were not isolated from one another.<sup>4</sup> In NewHolly, an even more diverse development in Seattle that serves as home to public housing residents, low-income housing tax-credit renters, and market-rate homeowners, results indicated that homeowners and renters had few overlapping networks and were more likely to know others within the same tenure group despite relatively high levels of neighboring.<sup>5</sup>

Parks can act as particularly effective catalysts for community formation and involvement. In many communities, neighborhood residents work together with the government to plan and design parks. The two most frequently cited reasons for going to neighborhood parks today are to be in a natural setting and to satisfy a desire for human contact – both overt and covert social contact. Two types of overt socializing occur at neighborhood parks: (1) coming to the park with others to talk, eat, or play together; and (2) coming to the park in the hope of meeting other regular park goers.<sup>6</sup> Many people also engage in covert socializing, going to parks to watch people with no intention of conversing or meeting with them. Yet, studies of park usage patterns and the meaning of neighborhood parks to different user groups suggest that different social groups coexist in parks but do not intermix.<sup>7</sup>



## Study Approach

In this study, we ask four questions. First, who from the neighborhood spends time at social seams? And, does a representative cross section of the mixed-income population use these public spaces? Identifying the population that uses social seams is important for understanding whether these spaces provide an opportunity for people of different socio-economic backgrounds to interact. If certain sub-groups of the population are present at social seams more than others, the potential for cross-group interaction may be limited.

The second question is whether people do in fact interact and whether they interact across socio-economic classes. Even if a diverse group of people uses social seams in a neighborhood, they may interact only with people of similar backgrounds. If low- and moderate-income or higher-income individuals share a public space, but do not interact with each other, are positive impacts of mixed-income neighborhoods still associated with the social seam?

A third question is whether there are conflicts between people of different backgrounds at social seams. Are there tensions between residents of diverse neighborhoods or do people peacefully coexist in social seams? Even without interaction, does mere coexistence have positive impacts such as promoting greater tolerance among people of different socio-economic backgrounds?

Finally, we explore whether there are aspects of informal social control occurring at social seams. Social control is another pathway through which mixed-income housing may be creating better communities, which in turn benefits low-income households. Does the presence of higher-income individuals at social seams lead to higher levels of accountability in all residents through increased informal social control?

We selected Garfield Square in San Francisco's Mission District as a case study for this research. A unique, single case study is sometimes appropriate to test well-formulated theories.<sup>8</sup> If parks do not function as social seams in the ideal case, then they are unlikely to do so in most cases. Garfield Square is an ideal single case study for social seams research in a mixed-income neighborhood for several reasons: the diverse character of the neighborhood, the presence of the adjacent HOPE VI Bernal Dwellings, the recent renovations and high use of the park, and San Francisco's overall progressive character.

This study employed a mixed-methods approach to understanding the role of Garfield Square in its mixed-income neighborhood. The research utilized two survey instruments: the first surveyed unorganized park users at Garfield Square, while the second was mailed to residents who live near the park. In addition to survey research, we conducted observations of park use and point in time counts of park users. Finally, discussions with several individuals and organizations informed the analysis of Garfield Square as a social seam.

The user survey questions addressed the four research areas: diversity of users, interaction, conflict, and social control. The survey also asked a series of questions about the respondents' levels of social interaction generally, in order to provide context for the responses relating to Garfield Square.

Before studying how locals use the park, we first needed to ascertain whether the people using the park are a representative sample of the nearby neighborhood. Thus, we simultaneously mailed surveys (in both English and Spanish) to all of the residents who lived within a 1/8-mile radius of the park (henceforth the "resident" survey) and conducted intercept surveys with unorganized park users at Garfield Square (the "user" survey).

The resident survey contacted 920 households, of which 233 returned surveys, resulting in a response rate of 25 percent. Among the survey respondents, Hispanic residents were underrepresented, and white residents and homeowners were overrepresented; however, the income distribution of respondents was roughly representative of the neighborhood as a whole.

The user survey was conducted over seven survey sessions, in which approximately 68 percent of the park visitors approached agreed to participate. In total, 185 park visitors completed the on-site survey, 63 percent in English and the remainder in Spanish. Similar to the resident survey, Hispanics were underrepresented in the user survey while whites were overrepresented. In addition, higher-income users were overrepresented in the user survey and lower-income residents were underrepresented.

**“The user survey questions addressed the four research areas: diversity of users, interaction, conflict, and social control.”**

# Garfield Square and the Neighborhood

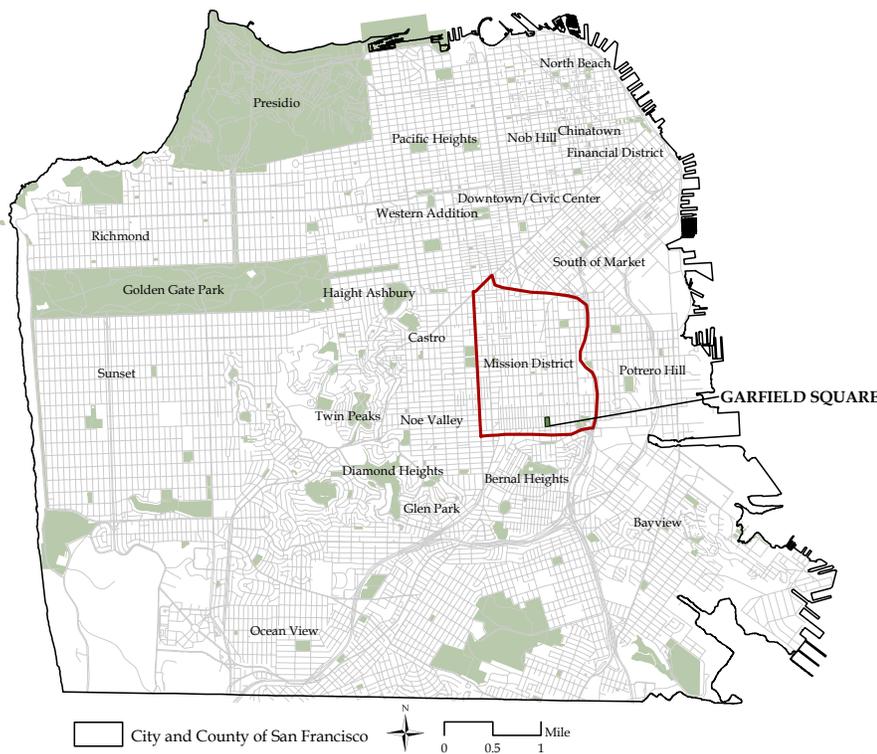


Figure 1. Garfield Square in San Francisco

The park occupies one city block and comprises approximately 3.5 acres of land (Figure 1). The site of Garfield Square was reserved for a public square by 1873, with the first development in the area, but improvements were not made to the park until 1887.<sup>9, 10</sup> Garfield Square was one of 28 parks that existed in San Francisco before 1910.<sup>11</sup>

The park includes a playground area, an indoor swimming pool, a staffed recreation center, an artificial turf soccer field, a multi-purpose court, and open grassy areas (Figure 2). The recreation center and swimming pool divide Garfield Square into two halves. The recreation center, which includes restrooms, game rooms, a computer room, and staff offices, is located on the west side of the park while the swimming pool is on the east side. North of the recreation center is the artificial turf soccer field. A grassy area with bleachers and picnic tables is located at the northeastern portion of the park. A fenced-in playground area is located at the southwestern corner of the park, across the street from the Bernal Dwellings public housing complex. The playground area has several play structures, benches, and picnic tables. An open grassy area is located at the southeastern corner of Garfield Square. The playground area was renovated in 2005 and the artificial turf field was installed by the City Fields Foundation in partnership with the Recreation and Parks Department in October of 2006, replacing an overused and poorly maintained playing field – and probably playing a role in

attracting many more people to the park.<sup>12</sup> Even before the recent improvements were made at Garfield Square, the park was a popular community resource, particularly on weekends. Behavioral mapping, observations, and interviews with park users from a 1982 study of the park indicate Garfield Square was well used by many people in the neighborhood. At that time, two Hispanic teenage boys said that the entire park was heavily used and was often overloaded on Sundays, hot days, or holidays by “all kinds of people.”<sup>13</sup> The 1982 study also indicates that Garfield Square has changed since the 1980s when a baseball field was located in the area that is now occupied by the soccer field and a portion of 26<sup>th</sup> Street was closed off for a basketball court. While park use changes over time as parks go through different lifecycles, the findings from the 1982 study suggest that Garfield Square has had a significant presence in the neighborhood for at least two decades.

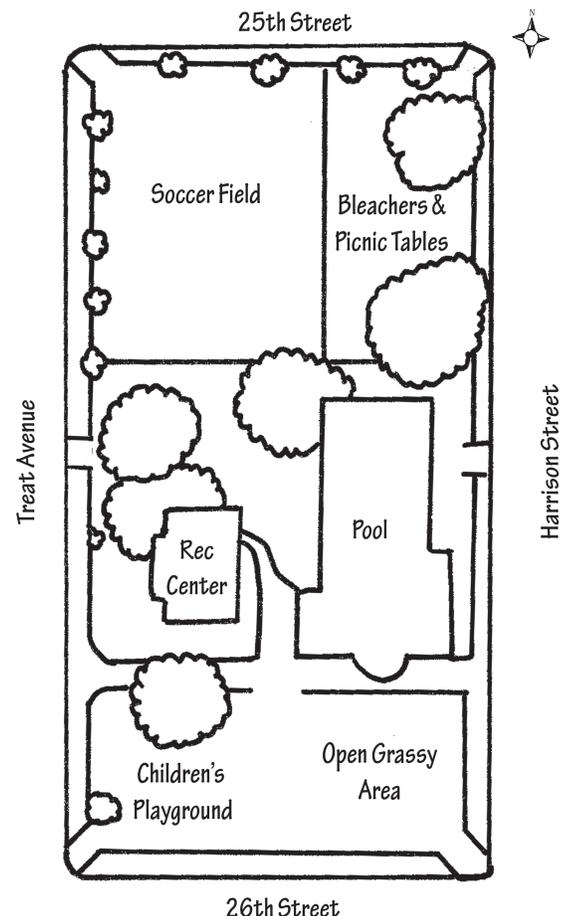


Figure 2. Garfield Square Park

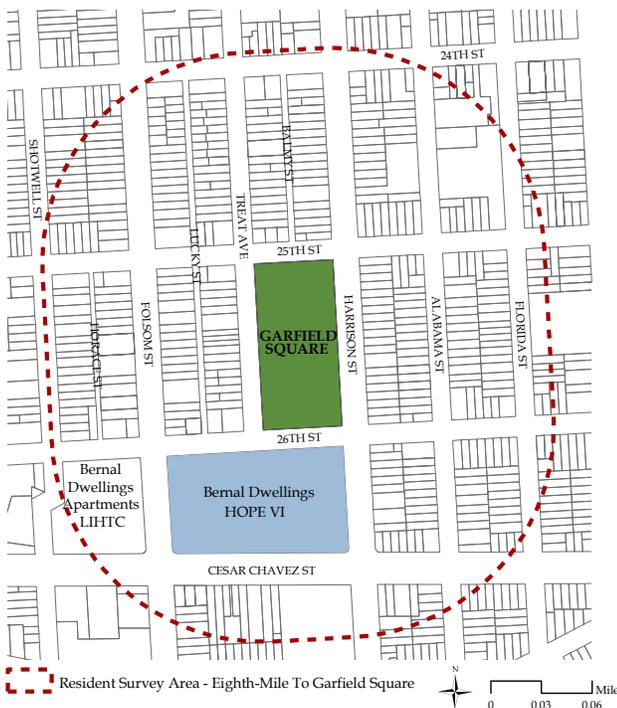


Figure 3. Resident Survey Area Surrounding Garfield Square

The park’s surrounding neighborhood is primarily composed of Victorian townhouses and apartments, with the Bernal Dwellings HOPE VI project located to the south (Figure 3). Completed in 2001 by the San Francisco Housing Authority, the Bernal Dwellings development consists of 160 townhouses on the site of a public housing project that had fallen into disrepair. Commercial establishments are scattered throughout the residential neighborhood; the 24<sup>th</sup> Street commercial corridor is located one block north of the park. Street life surrounding Garfield Square is often lively in this warm and sunny neighborhood with people sitting on porches outside their homes, pedestrians and dog walkers passing through the neighborhood, and children riding bikes and skateboards on the streets and through the park.

The neighborhood in which Garfield Square is located is predominantly Hispanic (70%, compared to 14% in San Francisco as a whole).<sup>14</sup> The Garfield Square neighborhood is more economically diverse than the city of San Francisco as a whole, with an entropy index of income diversity of .89 or .90 for its two census tracts compared to .81 for San Francisco as a whole (a perfectly diverse neighborhood would score 1 on the index).<sup>15</sup> Overall, the distribution of households across the six income groups that comprise the index (<50% AMI, 50-80%, 80-100%, 100-120%, 120-150%, >150% AMI) is relatively balanced.

### Where do people interact in the neighborhood?

Before looking at interaction in Garfield Square, we examine how locals interact in other neighborhood venues generally (Figure 4). Respondents most frequently meet others on the street (76%) and at neighborhood parks (38%).<sup>16</sup> Local restaurants and stores are also important venues for meeting.

Socio-economic background does not make much difference in the places people meet in the neighborhood. The presence of children makes the biggest difference in places people meet: households with children are more likely to meet people at children’s schools, neighborhood parks, and community centers (and less likely to meet people at local restaurants and bars). In addition, renters have slightly different activity patterns, more likely to meet people in their apartment complexes, local bars, and corner stores.

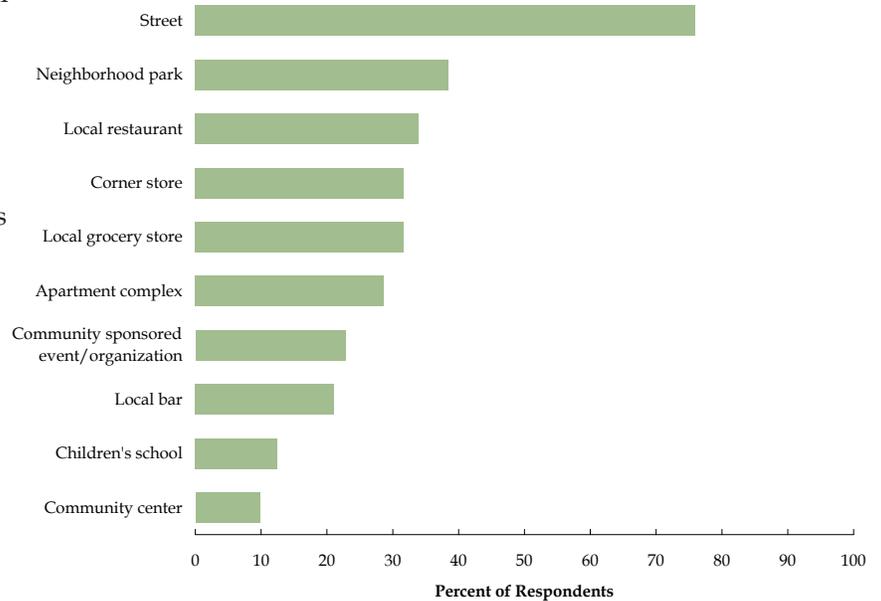


Figure 4. Where Residents Meet People in the Neighborhood

Source: Resident Survey

“The presence of children makes the biggest difference in places people meet...”

# Study Findings

## Park Use Patterns

Garfield Square is an active public space that is well used by residents in the neighborhood. Observations and park user counts indicate that the park is heavily used throughout the week and on weekends. The total number of park visitors counted ranged from a low of 28 people on a weekday evening after sunset to a high of 170 people on a Sunday afternoon.<sup>17</sup>

The soccer field and areas surrounding the soccer field are the most heavily used areas of Garfield Square during the week and on weekends. Family members and friends of soccer players heavily utilize the picnic area next to the soccer field and the area surrounding the field, particularly during weekend games. However, most of the unorganized or “casual” park users at Garfield Square are found in the children’s playground area. Figure 5 shows the average number of park users by area, during both weekdays and weekends.<sup>18</sup>

Because of the various amenities offered at Garfield Square, the park serves several functions. In one sense, the park is somewhat of a regional facility as the soccer field attracts people and teams from across San Francisco. At the same time, Garfield Square is very much a neighborhood park.

As Figure 6 shows, the residences of about half of the user survey respondents are concentrated in the blocks surrounding the park.

Garfield Square is very well known in the immediate neighborhood. Ninety-eight percent of mail-out survey respondents were familiar with the park. Over three-fourths of local residents familiar with Garfield Square use the park at least once a year; 40 percent of residents use the park on a regular basis (at least a few times a month). One reason some residents do not go to Garfield Square may be that they do not go to parks in general.

Garfield Square acts as a community resource for all residents in the neighborhood regardless of whether they have a backyard or not. It is clear the park serves many people who live within close proximity to the park as a majority of users walk to the park.

In addition to being a neighborhood park with frequent use, the user survey also found that Garfield Square is heavily used by families. Park users with children tend to stay at Garfield Square for longer periods of time than visitors without children. That a majority of respondents go to Garfield Square with family or children is noteworthy because of findings in earlier studies that interaction often occurs through children.<sup>19, 20</sup>

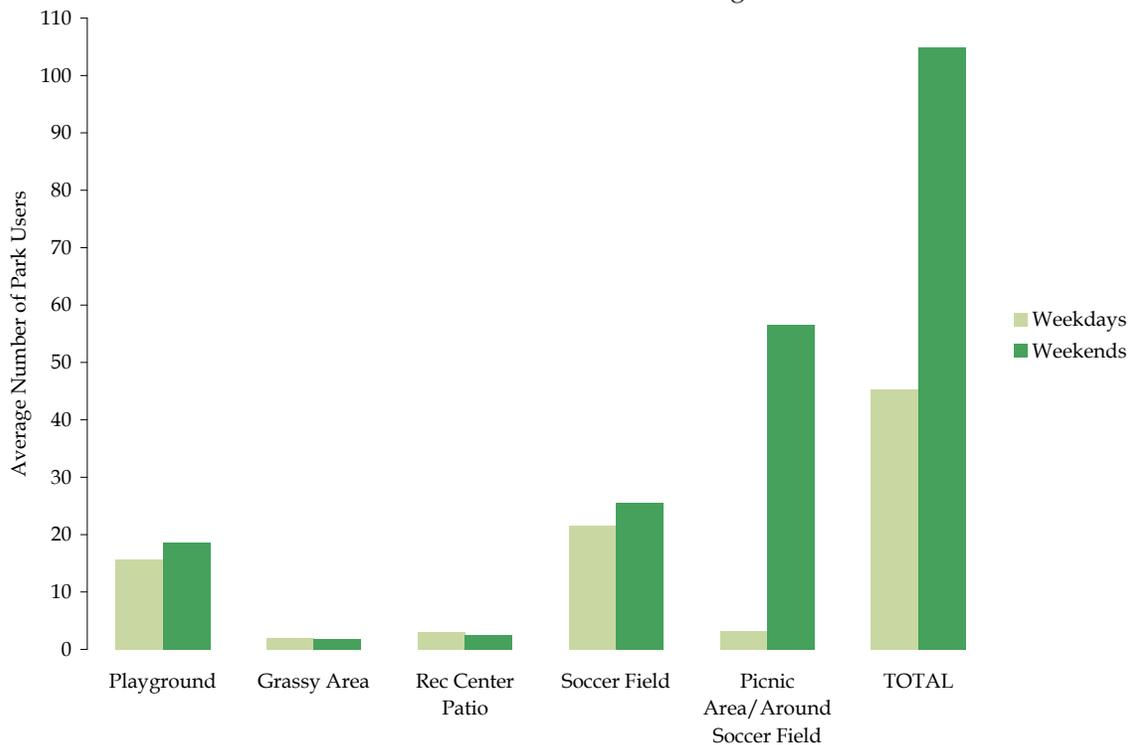


Figure 5. Average Number of Park Users on Weekdays and Weekends, by Area

Source: Authors’ Park User Counts

### Economic Diversity Among Garfield Square Park Users

Does a representative cross section of the neighborhood use the park? If one income or tenure (renter vs. owner) group disproportionately utilizes Garfield Square relative to other groups in the neighborhood, the potential for cross-group interaction is severely limited. To the degree that positive impacts of mixed-income neighborhoods are realized through interaction, a diverse and representative population of park visitors is important.

Local residents of all economic backgrounds go to Garfield Square. There is no significant difference in income, tenure, or length of local residence in the frequency of park use. The only significant difference is between households with or without children: households with children go to Garfield Square more frequently. Thus, even accounting for issues of survey representativeness, it appears that a diverse group of people use the park.

Perceived and actual safety at Garfield Square largely influences the degree to which visitors go to the park. The issue of safety influences how well Garfield Square acts as a social seam in the neighborhood. According to park employees and survey respondents, the neighborhood in which Garfield Square is located has a history of crime, gang issues, and drug problems. Though perceptions of park crime may thus be deterring local residents from

visiting, a majority of those who actually use the park feel “somewhat safe” or “very safe” at the park; only five percent feel “unsafe.”<sup>21</sup>

### Interaction Among Garfield Square Park Users

It is important to understand whether people of different backgrounds participate in the same or different activities as this affects the potential for interaction. This research found that, in general, people of different backgrounds do not engage in different activities at the park. An exception is that users with household incomes less than \$40,000 are more likely to go to the Recreation Center, play indoor games, and play soccer. While low, middle, and higher income users are equally likely to participate in all other activities at the park, it is particularly noteworthy that users of all groups play with children, watch their children play, and walk their dog. Thus, there is the potential for people of all income backgrounds to interact while engaging in these key activities.

Do park visitors actually interact with others at Garfield Square? The overall perception of friendliness at Garfield Square supports the notion that there is potential for cross-group interaction at the park. No matter what the socio-economic background, the degree to which people recognize others at Garfield Square and their perception of friendliness of others at the park does not vary. This

finding is significant as it suggests that the park provides a friendly atmosphere to people of all backgrounds, not just for one subset of the population. This further supports the notion of Garfield Square acting as a social seam in the neighborhood.

Social interaction can take many forms, ranging from simply greeting someone as they walk by to stopping to have a lengthy conversation or establishing a friendship or relationship with someone. Middle-income survey respondents, those with a household income between \$40,000 and \$80,000, are most likely to greet others at Garfield Square. However, the survey found they are also more friendly generally, being more likely to greet others on the street they live on and at the grocery store, and more likely to ask others for help. This finding suggests that the presence of middle-income households in mixed-income neighborhoods and at social seams is important.



Figure 6. Garfield Square Park Users' Residences

Source: User Survey

Despite the friendliness of a majority of park users, many do not interact with others beyond this most casual level. Conversations of at least five minutes are much less frequent at Garfield Square, as well as on the street, than at the grocery store. This finding is consistent with the characterization of grocery stores as common social seams.<sup>22</sup>

Neighborhood stability – living in the area for a long time – increases interaction. Residents who have lived in the neighborhood longer are more likely to recognize others, be greeted, and have conversations at Garfield Square than those who have not been around as long. This suggests that neighborhood stability makes parks work better as social seams.<sup>23</sup>

Even so, this interaction is not very extensive. Park visitors do not know much about the people they meet at Garfield Square: many do not know if the person they are meeting lives in the neighborhood, and most do not know whether the person rents or owns their home. However, park users with children are slightly more likely to know the tenure of the people they meet, suggesting more in-depth interaction.

Relatively few park users learn about new opportunities from others at Garfield Square. People who do learn about new opportunities report learning about things such as community events like the Day of the Dead festivities held at the park and community organizations.

Overall, Garfield Square has a friendly atmosphere where people often greet people they see but do not engage in more demanding forms of interaction such as having conversations of at least five minutes or asking for assistance. Yet, there is the potential for cross-group interaction, given the propensity for greeting others, as well as the presence of middle-income residents.



“A majority of residents and park users also believe that Garfield Square specifically helps to build a sense of community.”

## The Role of Informal Social Control

At a minimum, people of different socio-economic backgrounds co-exist at Garfield Square and share the public space. Few park users, whatever their background, have experienced a conflict at Garfield Square. This may occur in part because of informal social controls.

Most users appreciate the many rules at Garfield Square, such as keeping dogs on leash and banning alcohol, smoking, loud music, skateboarding, and other disruptive activities. However, people of different socio-economic backgrounds express different opinions regarding park rules at Garfield Square. Higher-income users tend to disagree that there are too many park rules while lower-income users are more likely to agree that there are too many rules.

If rules are considered to be a proxy for general expectations for accountability at the park, the differences noted among people of various income groups imply that aspects of social control may be present at Garfield Square. Wealthier park visitors desire greater accountability to rules. The presence of higher-income individuals seems to create higher expectations for responsibility in these shared spaces. However, it is unknown whether behaviors change as a result of the presence of higher-income individuals and their expectations at Garfield Square.

## The Role of Garfield Square in the Community

Perhaps most telling of the role Garfield Square plays in the neighborhood is the overwhelmingly positive view that residents and users have of the park. About 90 percent of respondents in both surveys believe that the park has a positive impact on the neighborhood. When compared to overall satisfaction levels of parks in San Francisco, the rating for Garfield Square appears to be slightly better than the 27 parks studied in the *Survey of San Francisco Park Users 2007*. In the 2007 study, 43 percent of park users rated parks as excellent while 44 percent rated them as good; only 2 percent rated parks as poor or very poor.<sup>24</sup> A majority of residents and park users also believe that Garfield Square specifically helps to build a sense of community.

## Conclusion

This case study of Garfield Square found that diverse groups of residents use the park. The economic profile of users is fairly representative of the income-diverse neighborhood in which Garfield Square is located. Furthermore, based on the survey of residents, it seems that there is no significant difference in frequency of park use between different income and tenure groups. Because the profile of the resident survey respondents is also fairly representative of the neighborhood, this suggests that people of all socio-economic backgrounds go to Garfield Square. The diverse population of park users establishes the potential for social interaction and for Garfield Square to serve as a social seam.

The second question of whether people interact and whether interaction takes place across socio-economic groups was more difficult to determine. The user survey found that park visitors are more likely to engage in casual forms of interaction such as greeting other park users, but are much less likely to have conversations with the people there. While more in-depth forms of interaction such as conversations are limited among park users at Garfield Square, several factors increase the likelihood of extended interaction. The longer residents live in the neighborhood, the more likely they are to recognize, be greeted by, and have conversations with others at the park. In addition, middle-income residents (\$40,000-\$80,000) are more likely to greet others at Garfield Square. More than anything else, the presence of children facilitates interaction at Garfield Square. Furthermore, park visitors with children are more likely to know the tenure of the last person they met, suggesting more in-depth interaction.

For the most part, park users share the space and coexist peacefully at Garfield Square. More importantly, people from different income or tenure groups experience conflicts at the same rate. While this does not provide any indication about whether the conflicts that do occur are between or within different socio-economic groups, it does show that conflicts do not deter any group from park use.

Finally, it seems that elements of informal social control may be present at Garfield Square. There is a greater desire for more rules at the park from higher-income users. The effect of the expectation for more rules, however, remains unclear.

### The Role of Social Seams in Mixed-Income Neighborhoods

Several limitations in this study should be noted before making generalizations based on these conclusions. First of all, this is a single case study. The inclusion of one or more additional parks in mixed-income neighborhoods would increase the robustness of the results. There are different life cycles and stages for parks and the recent renovations at Garfield Square may skew the data. Finally, the low sample size for some ethnic groups places limitations on the potential to do statistical comparisons of patterns based on race or ethnicity.

Garfield Square can arguably be considered a social seam. While interaction at Garfield Square is largely limited to casual greetings, a diverse cross-section of residents use the park. It is worthwhile to consider how Garfield Square, as a social seam, functions in the mixed-income neighborhood in which it is located. The survey results suggest that social networks are not likely to be formed at Garfield Square. Because most people do not have conversations with people they meet at the park and given that a large majority of respondents did not know the tenure of the people they met, one may conclude that social networking is not taking place at Garfield Square.<sup>25</sup> However, there does seem to be potential for role-modeling at Garfield Square. The fact that people of different socio-economic backgrounds coexist and share the public space indicates at the very least that passive behavioral norming may be occurring. Yet, the user survey findings on social control suggest that different income groups disagree about what those norms should be.

**“The longer residents live in the neighborhood, the more likely they are to recognize, be greeted by, and have conversations with others at the park.”**

## Policy Implications and Future Research

This study did not seek to address the question of whether local policymakers and planners should seek to increase income diversity in their areas. Instead, it simply looked at how interaction works in public space in a diverse neighborhood. Does interaction provide any benefits? Arguably, interaction increases awareness of others, possibly reinforces norms, and most likely also enhances social control. Though it is unknown whether this stabilizes neighborhood change and preserves income diversity, it may at least increase appreciation of income diversity.

What can policymakers do to ensure that their social seams result in beneficial interaction? Four clear findings follow from this research. First, we should encourage families with children to locate in urban neighborhoods. Second, we need to continue efforts to retain middle-income residents along with preserving housing opportunities for low-income households. Third, these efforts mean little without some policy mechanism to ensure neighborhood stability, i.e., via the neighborhood-wide provision of permanently affordable housing through rent control, new construction, or other means. Fourth, planners can use park design and regulations to help attract families with children and dogs to the park, which should help maintain diversity.

A difficult question to answer in this case study of Garfield Square was whether people were interacting with others of the same or different backgrounds. While other studies of mixed-income developments asked residents about the tenure of people they interacted with, Garfield Square park users were, for the most part, unaware of the background of people they met at the park. These questions, among others, are important to understanding how mixed-income communities produce positive benefits. As mixed-income development becomes an increasingly large part of the public policy agenda, more research is needed on both the mechanisms through which mixed income housing produces positive outcomes and the extent to which community facilities such as parks can promote social interaction among residents of diverse backgrounds. Garfield Square demonstrates that public spaces are able to attract a diverse group of users from a mixed-income neighborhood. However, more research is needed on the degree to which community facilities can promote social interaction between people of different backgrounds and work as social seams. Also, research is needed on the role of design in facilitating interaction in public spaces in mixed-income neighborhoods.

**“Garfield Square Park demonstrates that public spaces are able to attract a diverse group of users from a mixed-income neighborhood.”**



## Notes

- 1 In fact, the most recent research on diversity by Robert D. Putnam – arguably the most systematic empirical work done to date – suggests that it may decrease interaction in neighborhoods. Putnam, Robert D. “E Pluribus Unum: Diversity and Community in the Twenty-First Century – The 2006 Johan Skytte Prize.” *Scandinavian Political Studies* 30.2 (2007): 137-174.
- 2 Joseph, Mark L., Robert J. Chaskin, and Henry S. Webber. “The Theoretical Basis for Addressing Poverty Through Mixed-Income Development.” *Urban Affairs Review* 42.3 (2007): 369-409. Joseph, Chaskin and Webber also put forth two other claims that are not investigated herein: first, that lower income families will adopt more socially acceptable and constructive behavior, and second, that mixed-income development may affect the political economy of place, by generating new market demand and political pressure for higher-quality good and services that will be available to all members in the community.
- 3 Nyden, Philip, Michael Maly, and John Lukehart. “The Emergence of Stable Racially and Ethnically Diverse Urban Communities: A Case Study of Nine U.S. Cities.” *Housing Policy Debate* 8.2 (1997): 491-534.
- 4 Rosenbaum, James E., Linda K. Stroh, and Cathy A. Flynn. “Lake Parc Place: A Study of Mixed Income Housing.” *Housing Policy Debate* 9.4 (1998): 703-740.
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- 6 Cooper Marcus, Clare, Clare Miller Watsky, Elliot Insley, and Carolyn Francis. “Neighborhood Parks.” *People Places: Design Guidelines for Urban Open Space*. Eds. Clare Cooper Marcus and Carolyn Francis. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1998. 85-109.
- 7 Loukaitou-Sideris, Anastasia. “Urban Form and Social Context: Cultural Differentiation in the Uses of Urban Parks.” *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 14.2 (1995): 89-102.
- 8 Yin, Robert K. *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. Applied Social Research Methods Series. Third ed. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2003.
- 9 Bancroft, A.L. *Bancroft’s Official Guide Map Of City And County Of San Francisco, Compiled From Official Maps In Surveyor’s Office*. San Francisco: A.L. Bancroft & Co, 1873.
- 10 Board of Supervisors. *San Francisco Municipal Reports for the Fiscal Year 1887-1888, Ending June 30, 1888*. San Francisco: The City and County of San Francisco, 1888.
- 11 Young, Terrance. *Building San Francisco’s Parks, 1850-1930*. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2004.
- 12 Cooper Marcus, et. al., op. cit. Various design features can be incorporated into public parks and open spaces to encourage social interaction and create more enjoyable and usable spaces. In *People Places*, Clare Cooper Marcus and Carolyn Francis discuss research-based recommendations and guidelines for designing parks and creating people-friendly places.
- 13 “Garfield Square Park.” Unknown student author. Unpublished student paper from Landscape Architecture 140, Social and Psychological Factors in Open Space Design, taught by Clare Cooper Marcus. Berkeley: University of California, 1982.
- 14 Based on data from the 2000 U.S. Census SF1, Tracts 229.01 and 229.02. There are also more foreign-born residents in the two tracts.
- 15 The entropy index is one of several indices which provide a single statistic to compare the diversity of one neighborhood to another. The entropy index, the most commonly used diversity index, assumes a value of one when income groups are equally represented in the neighborhood. A value of zero indicates that only one of the groups is represented in the neighborhood.
- 16 The reported percentage of respondents who meet people at parks may be inflated because of the nature of the survey. With a majority of the survey questions relating to Garfield Square and other parks, people may be more likely to think of parks as a place they meet others.
- 17 Park user counts represent a single point-in-time count of visitors at Garfield Square. User counts were conducted at various times throughout the day during the week and weekends within a one month span.
- 18 All park users were included in user counts, including soccer team members.
- 19 Jupp, Ben, James Sainsbury, and Oliver Akers-Douglas. *Living Together: Community Life on Mixed-Tenure Estates*. London: Demos, 1999.
- 20 Loukaitou-Sideris, op. cit.
- 21 Although the issue of safety was not raised in the mail-out survey, eight respondents voluntarily noted crime and safety concerns as reasons for not going to Garfield Square. In particular, respondents voiced concerns regarding gang problems and drug dealing in both the park and the surrounding neighborhood.
- 22 Nyden, et. al., op. cit.
- 23 Jupp, et. al., op. cit. This is consistent with Jupp’s findings that social contact in mixed neighborhoods increases over time.
- 24 City of San Francisco. Office of the Controller, City Services Auditor. *Survey of San Francisco Park Users Spring 2007*. San Francisco: Office of the Controller, 2007. While the measures (impact and satisfaction) are not completely analogous, the 2007 study serves as a good contextual reference for the results at Garfield Square.
- 25 Joseph, Mark L. “Is Mixed-Income Development an Antidote to Urban Poverty?” *Housing Policy Debate*. 17.2 (2006): 209-234. This is consistent with Joseph’s conclusion that the social networking theory has not proven to be compelling based on existing research.

