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ABSTRACT

During May 1972, the Adult Education Center of Santa Barbara City College sponsored a symposium on the goals and purposes of planning for community development. Through lecture and discussion, members of the community undertook a critical review of the related problems of community, growth, population, taxes, transportation, zoning and water. This pamphlet represents the work of the World Game class in Continuing Education of Santa Barbara City College. The pamphlet is divided into three parts. Part one deals with Perspective, Past and Present and covers the meaning of community growth and progress, and the county general plan. Part two, entitled Unlimited Expansion: County Cost or County Benefit?, encompasses population, property taxes, transportation, zoning and water. The third part, The Challenge and the Opportunity deals with the consequences of today's actions and offers an alternative approach to community development. Acknowledgments and a formula for action conclude this pamphlet. (BT)

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## THE GENERAL PLAN – NOT A BEGINNING OR AN END

A long and successful history of planning and development preceded the initiation of the General Plan Program in Santa Barbara County. The very selection of the site for the City of Santa Barbara, and the fine locations for residential estate developments point this up.

In a world filled with change, it is mandatory that premature or unwise alterations not destroy the beauty and quality that make the land and the living values of Santa Barbara County what they are. The people of the County must view the adopted Plan as more than a gesture. It is a statement of public policy that should be adhered to until there is valid reason for modification. The flexible aspects of the Plan are spelled out. Such flexibility does not, and should not, include either ignoring its policy statements or disregarding the relationships that it establishes between people and the facilities they require. Only with continued enlightened participation by the people of the County in the planning process can the Plan withstand the dangers of oblivion through the nibbling away or shrugging away process. The Planning Commission and Board of Supervisors must have a continuous working relationship with the citizens whom they represent.

The General Plan for Santa Barbara grew out of the inspiration of local interested people. It has been developed to its present status with their help and it will remain meaningful only as long as that interest remains as a persistent force in upholding the principles and standards set forth.

### Introduction to the General Plan for Santa Barbara County

This publication is a special, one-time project of the Community Environmental Council, Inc., a nonprofit organization with offices at the Ecology Center, 15 W. Anapamu, Santa Barbara, California, 93104. It is not sold on a subscription basis but is available to members of the Ecology Center in lieu of one issue of the *Survival Times*, the regular publication of the Community Environmental Council, Inc., and to the general public, on order, at \$2.00 per copy. Such charges are made to help defray actual costs of publication. Ecology Center membership annual dues are \$12.00, of which \$4.00 is set aside for twelve issues of the *Survival Times*. Printed by Repro Typesetting Service, Santa Barbara, California. Second-class postage is paid at Santa Barbara, California.

July, 1972

# TODAY'S ACTION TOMORROW'S PROFIT

## AN ALTERNATIVE APPROACH TO COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

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**A review of the multiple crises facing the South Coast of  
Santa Barbara County and a proposal for their resolution.**

**A special report on a  
citizens' symposium held  
at Santa Barbara, California  
May 1 - May 22, 1972**

**PUBLISHED BY  
THE COMMUNITY ENVIRONMENTAL COUNCIL, INC.  
SANTA BARBARA, CALIFORNIA**

To

SELMER O. WAKE

*whose vision and leadership have contributed  
so substantially to the excellence of  
adult education in Santa Barbara  
and whose continuing interest  
in the welfare of the community  
has made possible this present study and the  
public presentation of these critical issues  
through the forum series, 'Last Call for Santa Barbara —  
The Good Life or Megalopolis?'*

# Foreword

**T**he Santa Barbara County South Coast area is rapidly reaching a point of no return. Basic and far-reaching decisions must be made within the next one to three or four years if our present environment is to be carried forward into the nineteen-eighties and nineteen-nineties.

Until approximately two years ago, the South Coast was being developed in an almost indiscriminate manner. The General Plan had little effect, and any "good" development was almost automatically approved regardless of its long-term effect upon the environment. Attitudes of elective officials have changed somewhat in the past two years, and there is a possibility — a slim one — that the drastic decisions needed to preserve our environment will be made.

Two of the prime decisions that must be made are:

- 1) the adoption of a new General Plan, radically limiting future population growth; and
- 2) the rolling back of zoning to conform to such a new General Plan.

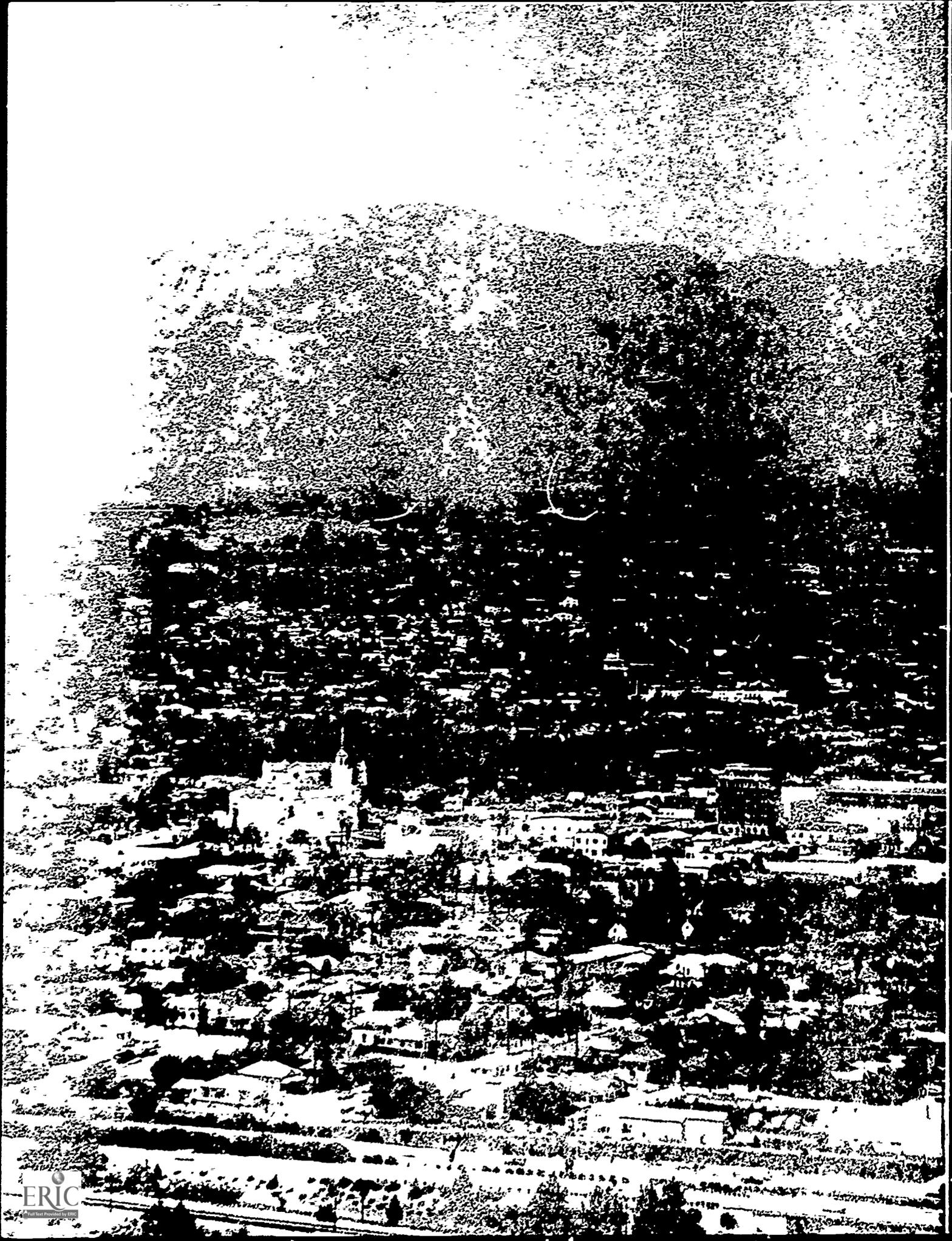
If these two steps are not taken, the environment of the South Coast area of Santa Barbara will be degraded simply by an overabundance of people. Population projections show a South Coast total in the year 2000 of nearly three-hundred-thousand persons — and this figure is *below* the holding capacity of the present General Plan. We can probably live with some growth, but we cannot live in a quality environment as we know it today with anything like three-hundred-thousand people in the South Coast area.

The only way a dramatically new General Plan can be adopted and zoning rolled back is through intense and constant political pressure. This means that persons who are sympathetic to this philosophy must be elected to office. It also means that continual pressure must be applied by the people on local legislators to see that these decisions are made. It can be done, but only if the will to do it exists and the needed constant effort is applied.



George H. Clyde

Santa Barbara, California  
July 24, 1972



# Contents

During May, 1972, the Adult Education Center of Santa Barbara City College sponsored a symposium on the goals and purposes of planning. Through lecture and discussion, concerned members of the community undertook a critical review of the related problems of community, growth, population, taxes, transportation, zoning, and water. The symposium was called in response to a mounting sense of crisis among citizens of the South Coast, a feeling that Santa Barbara is faced with not one but a series of crises — in politics, in economics, in environmental quality, and in resources.

For fifteen months a serious group of citizens had been meeting weekly to study all aspects of planning for the South Coast of Santa Barbara County. They were members of Continuing Education's World Game class, and the more they investigated the more they became concerned about the community's inability to cope with change, which is the common denominator of all these crises. They viewed with alarm the frequency of decisions sure to affect the lives of coming generations and the absence of any simultaneous effort to understand the far-reaching consequences. Believing with Richard Hofstadter, one of America's great historians, that "democracy is not a self-congratulatory society," members of the class began a process of self-criticism in the hope that the quality of the community might be preserved and improved by a frank examination of its pressing problems. This pamphlet reflects the work of that class as it was presented to the community during that symposium in May. Both the World Game class and the symposium were coordinated by Daniel Sisson, a PhD candidate in American history, who also wrote the brief contextual passages that introduce each of the sections of this pamphlet.

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## PART ONE

# PERSPECTIVES, PAST AND PRESENT

The crisis that is rapidly building along the South Coast of Santa Barbara is part of a greater crisis facing all of America. One of its symptoms is the current sad state of the nation's great cities. We call their present condition "megapolis," and the forces that have produced megapolis elsewhere are at work in Santa Barbara today.

At root, the problem is one of "planning." Megapolis did not just happen; it was planned that way. For most of our history, Americans have not anticipated conditions; they have reacted to them instead. They have planned for the short span, for five to ten years ahead, ignoring the long-span perspective. Americans have traditionally given little or no thought to posterity or to the question of man's chance for survival as a species. Grave contradictions have existed between planning means and planning ends; consequently America's urban areas face disintegration and disaster.

Santa Barbara cannot claim immunity to the disintegrative process. Already megapolis is approaching from the south with relentless determination. On almost any Sunday afternoon, traffic jams extend from the Santa Barbara-Ventura border to the limits of Los Angeles, a grim reminder that the South Coast lies on the very edge of one of the greatest urban centers of them all.

Meanwhile, planning for Santa Barbara seems to be taking place in a vacuum. A recent discussion on growth and planning between Stanley C. Lowry, executive vice-president of the Santa Barbara Chamber of Commerce, and George H. Clyde, a County supervisor, illustrates one of the conflicts in values that is creating this vacuum. In Mr. Lowry's view, citizens may develop their property any way they wish, and zoning "is a citizen's right." Mr. Clyde, however, interprets zoning as a privilege and denies that the individual has the right to develop his property in a manner damaging to the interests of the community. The community cannot endorse both views simultaneously if planning is to have

meaning or consistency.

The point is further illustrated by the statement of another supervisor, Daniel G. Grant, who said that traditionally the Third District supervisor accepts the recommendations of the Goleta Chamber of Commerce in the appointment of planning commissioners. To what degree can a chamber of commerce reflect the views of an entire community? Is it possible to have good planning if any one segment of the community exerts a dominant influence on any planning board?

The County General Plan represents the single recent effort to place planning in an overall environmental framework. Important as it is, the General Plan was meant only as a beginning, as a start at comprehensive planning, and its framers frankly stated as much.

In practice, planning efforts are fragmented. The County governing body appoints a planning commission. An advisory staff of professionals counsels both the Board of Supervisors and the County Planning Commission. The task of the Planning Commission is to consider conservation and housing, circulation and transportation plans, park and recreation plans, public-service and utility plans, flood control and drainage plans, all in relation to the General Plan. In the words of one expert, the result is "an overemphasis on detail at the expense of comprehensive planning." Commissioners can become discouraged by the complexity of the planning process and prevented from taking a comprehensive view.

On another level, in the recent debate on Santa Barbara's crosstown-freeway project, citizens have been arguing over nothing more than highway design. They have not been arguing over the values that the freeway will create when it is put into place or considering what the freeway will do to preserve or destroy Santa Barbara as they know it.

The planning staff, which advises commissioners and supervisors, has no constituency, no real authority, no way of making contact with the community to ascertain its interests. No County agency has the responsibility for finding out what the definition of "community" for the South Coast or other areas of the County should be.

If the Santa Barbara area hopes to avoid the catastrophe of megapolis, it must begin to see itself in perspective and to ponder the contradictions and conflicting priorities that now characterize its planning. Only with such perspective can the greater community of the South Coast address itself to the crises that confront it.

# THE MEANING OF COMMUNITY

Elaine H. Burnell

*The people of Santa Barbara County constitute the most precious resource. . . . The love that many hold for Santa Barbara County and the institutions located here make them a significant force behind the physical development planned for the future of the area.\**

Community has been man's necessity and pleasure almost from the beginning. All through history, as the sense of community has flourished in any time or place, individuals have grown strong and waxed prosperous; as community spirit has waned men have lapsed into decadence, corruption, and confusion.

Today genuine communities are hard to find except among those peoples who are late in emerging into modern civilized life. The communities of old seem to have disappeared in favor of fast- and oft-moving populations whose members dart in and out of cities, suburbs, and country resorts. It is fair to ask if the community concept is obsolete. Is it perhaps a relic of less advanced times, no longer applicable to fast-paced modern life?

The answer, not surprisingly, may be found in Ann Landers. Devotees of Ann Landers will have noticed that the human misery she deals with derives from problems long familiar to men. Most of the complaints that cross her desk with regularity have to do with love — unrequited love, faithless love, over-zealous love, and all the pesky consequences of true love. There is another complaint, however, just as regular, just as persistent, and it has nothing to do with love except the lack of it. It is loneliness — the suffering of being uprooted, the despair of being isolated, either

in solitude or in the midst of a hurrying mob. Ann Landers can tell us with certainty that the human spirit still yearns for community.

Many of the letters that reveal this yearning begin, "My husband had a chance for a better job, and we had to leave our community," or simply, "We have just moved to a new community." The unhappiness that these letters convey is genuine but the phrasing all too often betrays a lack of understanding of the nature of community. Perhaps people still do move *from* real communities, but no one has ever yet moved *to* a community. A community is not a place. It is a complex of human relationships, of give and take, of living and loving and laughing and learning — together. Geographic boundaries are common to communities but not necessary to them. The boundaries provide a container, as did ancient city walls, but community must develop within. Just as a house is built by artisans but a home by those who occupy the barren structure, so it is with communities. Some good homes never saw a nail, and some solidly successful communities know no geographical bounds at all.

Creating a community is not a matter of names and boards and master plans; it is a matter of human desire and necessity, effort and energy.

In order to discern the potential for community in the Santa Barbara area, we must examine some of the conditions that have contributed to the health of great communities elsewhere. The first of

\* This and the quotations before each of the other chapters are from the Santa Barbara County General Plan.

these conditions is an overwhelming common need for community and its benefits. Need is not the same as interest. Need implies a sense of urgency, a perception of threat. It involves the basic drives of man. Communities arise in response to man's instinct for self-preservation; they are formed to insure survival.

During World War II, all of Britain became one community, united, and, as a community, it accomplished what no group of individuals or government structure could have accomplished. It survived a relentless, automated barrage of superior demolition weapons sent to destroy it. The common need, born of crisis, inspired community in order to insure survival.

The second condition of community since ancient times has been the presence of an adequate food and water supply and the necessity for preserving it. Modern man has come to take these basics for granted. A twist of the tap, a quick trip to the supermarket, and food and water have been in abundance for all who could afford them. No one living along the South Coast today, however, can escape the mounting evidence that we are short on water and growing shorter. Most of us do not yet detect any real threat to our food supply, but who can ignore the fact that a dollar buys precious little lettuce or tomatoes or fruit? And, in an area close by the sea, who can pretend that the government has suddenly turned uncharacteristically alarmist when it issues a blanket ban on mercury-laden fish? The South Coast is now covering much of its cropland with asphalt and concrete and pouring pollutants into its streams and coastal waters. Supermarkets still glitter with every imaginable product in every possible variation, but daily come the warnings from officialdom of a new contaminant suspected here, another carcinogen reported there. Preservation of the food and water supply may well be a vital consideration propelling us toward community in this modern day.

The third condition of community has always been communication. Without the means or desire for communication, we can have houses, markets, parks, streets, theatres, beaches, and schools, but we cannot build community. Communication is the very purpose of community, as the derivation of both words implies. Both have their roots in the Latin word for "common," meaning shared. The maximum limit of any community has always been set by the range of possible communication. During the Second World War, Britain was able to maintain

essential communication throughout its unusually large community by a singularly ancient device -- the ringing of church bells to spread the alarm. This limited means of communication was, of course, for a limited purpose, but it amounted to a vital exchange of information and it produced a vital protective response.

Ours is presumably the age of communication, but we do not communicate well in any real sense. Too often, bombarded by a steady stream of electronically broadcast news items, we receive but never transmit, and learning is often one-sided or altogether distorted.

A fourth condition for community, shocking as it may seem, is growth. In nature, all things grow or else they wither and die, and so it is with men. Our prejudice against growth has its roots in our faulty perceptions. Those phenomena we are accustomed to regard as growth are in reality its diametric opposite -- an endless proliferation of sterile forms and meaningless activities. Real growth occurs when there is challenge -- new ideas, new solutions, new forms, new concepts. Growth insures the fluidity that keeps the human condition dynamic. When growth ceases, our institutions stultify, our creative capacity disappears, we lose our ability to adapt, we sicken and shrivel and perish.

If we are to grow, we must recognize the signs that growth has ceased. One of the surest of these signs is the *voluntary* and escapist immersion of people everywhere in life-denying routines. Another telltale sign is our compulsive devotion to the accumulation of things, the substitution of superfluous material wealth for the wealth that comes from ideas and friends and accomplishment. Material wealth in itself is neither good nor evil, but when it is the source of our only satisfaction, we are the victims of arrested growth.

Our insistence on unsatisfying and life-defeating repetition has shaped much of the South Coast in recent times, and it continues to dessicate it, stifle it, and destroy it. Nevertheless, there is true growth here also, and we should know it and exalt in it and take heart from it. Within an old stucco building on San Ysidro Road, new methods and new ideas are giving to the time-tested routines of elementary education a new dimension, and the children growing up in that area have the opportunity to grow in spirit and mind as well as body. Several miles from them, in Santa Barbara, small groups of citizens from every background have begun to put aside their apathy and their differences and to join in a mutual exchange of ideas. Occasionally we see

exciting new housing concepts or the development of an industry that brings challenging new dimensions to our civic life, at the same time that it offers economic opportunity. All these represent growth in the true sense and they are good, for without growth we cannot survive.

Still another condition of community is fitness. Fitness denotes appropriateness, suitability, the physical individuality that distinguishes each community from all others. Its antitheses are uniformity, imitation, mindless repetition. Central Park is fit for New York; it would be inappropriate for Santa Barbara.



We may not even be conscious that many of our structures are not fitted to their surroundings, but we are aware of their inappropriateness nonetheless. A winding, wild creek seems out of place in the midst of overly-tidy stucco houses, and we can derive no sense of tranquility when we look on a proliferation of gables jutting awkwardly from the sun-filled plain.

The importance of appropriateness in the physical dimensions of communities is that public buildings and street plans and private shelters are extensions of the people themselves. As such, they must not only reflect the culture of the inhabitants but also enhance the security and richness of individual and community alike. Structures can bring the community into equilibrium with the geography and climate of any area. The Acropolis of Athens seemed to rise directly from the irregular rock of the mountain guarding the city and gave to the populace spread below a sense of the unity of

earth and sky. So should the structures of the South Coast unite twentieth-century people with their surroundings, and the materials used in these structures should reflect the sensibilities and the acculturation of Americans in the technological age.

The next condition of community is perhaps the most essential and the most difficult to achieve and sustain. This condition is participation by all members in some aspect of the community's vital life. Participation cannot be forced or achieved by exhortation, civic-minded hustling, registration drives, or door-to-door solicitation. It can be achieved only through attraction, never by promotion.

The great strength of ancient Athens was that all its citizens participated in all its activities. The great weakness of Athens was that it excluded foreigners, merchants, businessmen, and slaves from citizenship. As traders entered the city in great numbers, they were denied the benefits of citizenship and the power to participate in community life. These men of commerce felt no sense of responsibility. It was every man for himself, and under this kind of pressure the Athenian community declined and fell.

We can learn much from the Athenian experience. One lesson stands out above the rest: every time that those in power, or those involved in planning, fail to listen to the voice of a citizen or deny him the right or the opportunity to participate in the shaping and enrichment of his community, they grant him simultaneous license to be irresponsible. Those who are barred from group participation, for whatever reason, cannot ensure their own survival by contributing to the health of the whole. They become narrowly self-serving in self-defense.

Another attribute of a true community is economic and cultural self-sufficiency. No community can flourish if it depends on uninterested outsiders for its lifeblood. In every vital area, it must have the resources for its own support or maintain sufficient hard cash to barter effectively for them. To be beholden is to be controlled by those beyond effective reach; and to depend for necessities on the distant city or on state, federal, or private largesse is to become a pawn of all who contribute.

A final requirement is that a community must always maintain singleness of purpose. Communities exist to insure life and prosperity for their members. All else is peripheral to this central concern. Foreign relations, national poverty,

judicial injustice, and the like are properly the concerns of individuals and groups *within* the community, for they are members of the larger community of man. When those who speak for the community, however, place it as an entity on record on either side of any outside issue, they exclude all who disagree.

By now we can see, in essence at least, what goes into the making of a human community. As people feel a common need, they find in community a means to communication, growth, expression, and prosperity.

If we accept the demonstrated truth that through community individual men in the past have found the opportunity for the highest personal attainment and happiness, how can we explain the scarcity of true communities today? The deep answer, perhaps, is that in the process of societal evolution from simple primitive to complex technological men have somehow lost touch with their beginnings and lost sight of both their interdependence—and their dependence on the natural world that is their home. There are specific difficulties also.

Every city has its formal and informal civic organizations and clubs. The work of these organizations often brings great public benefit, but none are devoted to bringing ordinary citizens into the mainstream of community life.

Instead of contributing to the enhancement of community spirit, many informal or voluntary associations actually encourage anti-community feeling, even though they do so without malice aforethought. The reason is that most of their appeal is based on exclusivity, which is the enemy of community. *La Casa de la Raza*, for example, does not solicit membership from white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant areas, which it quite properly regards as outside its sphere of interest or influence. And no one ever heard of the Junior League looking for members among the residents of Haley Street.

Another difficulty is that most informal, voluntary associations attract members of the upper and upper-middle classes. Because of their superior opportunity, members of this class have much to offer, but in terms of community, these civic decision-makers often make very poor leaders indeed. In the amorphous sprawl that now passes for community, these people are the least deprived and the best served. To build a real community requires greater diversity of leadership.

Today we as a people have formed emotional attachments to modes and patterns that prevent

community development. We have come to worship space and speed, propulsion and professionalism. These are not rational attachments because they have little or no relationship to our happiness or welfare.

We Americans, without doubt, are the inventors of the geographical cure. Whatever the ill that besets us, we relieve it by moving. If we feel a sense of isolation in our 130-unit apartment building, we move to the low-density suburb where isolation is more profound. If one city offers nothing but economic failure, we move to another, start over, and fail again.



Seemingly, all of America is on the wing, or on the pavement, to be more accurate. The automobile is our symbol. Everywhere we go we take ourselves with us, and with every move we deepen our dilemma.

We complete our isolation by defending the need for flight and calling it "freedom." Far from free, we are many of us prisoners of an alienation so deep that it prevents us from participation at any level. We feel powerless; we remain goalless; we withdraw, in spirit if not in body. We cease to communicate. We begin to see decay as progress, constant mobility as stability, routine as living.

Those of us who do participate often mistake circular motion for accomplishment and status-seeking for civic-mindedness. In our effort to find simple answers to the complex problems that confront us, we have adopted a conspiratorial view of history, a Good-Guys-versus-Bad-Guys approach,

which in itself prevents community.

The South Coast has been peculiarly blessed by nature, for we are enclosed and contained by natural boundaries just enough to feel ourselves an entity but not so thoroughly that we can lapse into fatal complacency. The way through the Rincon, south, is open, and the South Coast can feel the pressure from the metropolis beyond. If we should elect to make of this natural haven a true community, the pressure can flow on around us. If we wish to reject community in favor of automobile-supported mobility, we can do that too and probably make room for Los Angeles.

The most hopeful sign today is that many of us love this area and are uneasy at the threat we now perceive, if ever so dimly. As the crisis deepens, and it surely will, many of us, in a spirit of cooperation born of necessity, will seek to turn back the threat, in the process we may discover the road to true community.

There are many other hopeful signs. Within the broad lap of the South Coast are several areas that might honestly be called pre-communities. Aside from Santa Barbara, two come to mind, at opposite sides of the coastal basin, radically different in structure, temperament, and style.

Montecito on the east has the closest thing to the marketplace of old in its village center where Montecitans can meet for food and good talk. In this day of mass culture, a surprising number of Montecitans know each other by name, surprising because Montecito has the lowest average density of any South Coast region, and low density is normally inimical to a spirit of community. What

Montecito loses through low density it makes up for in stability. Montecitans come to stay, and they seek to protect and improve their environment.

In direct contrast to Montecito is Isla Vista on the west. Where Montecito is stable, spacious, and wealthy, Isla Vista is young, transient, crowded, and poor, but it is nonetheless increasingly offering its citizens a chance to communicate and participate. The spirit that is just developing in Isla Vista has arisen from the crisis of recent trouble, in answer to a deep-felt need.

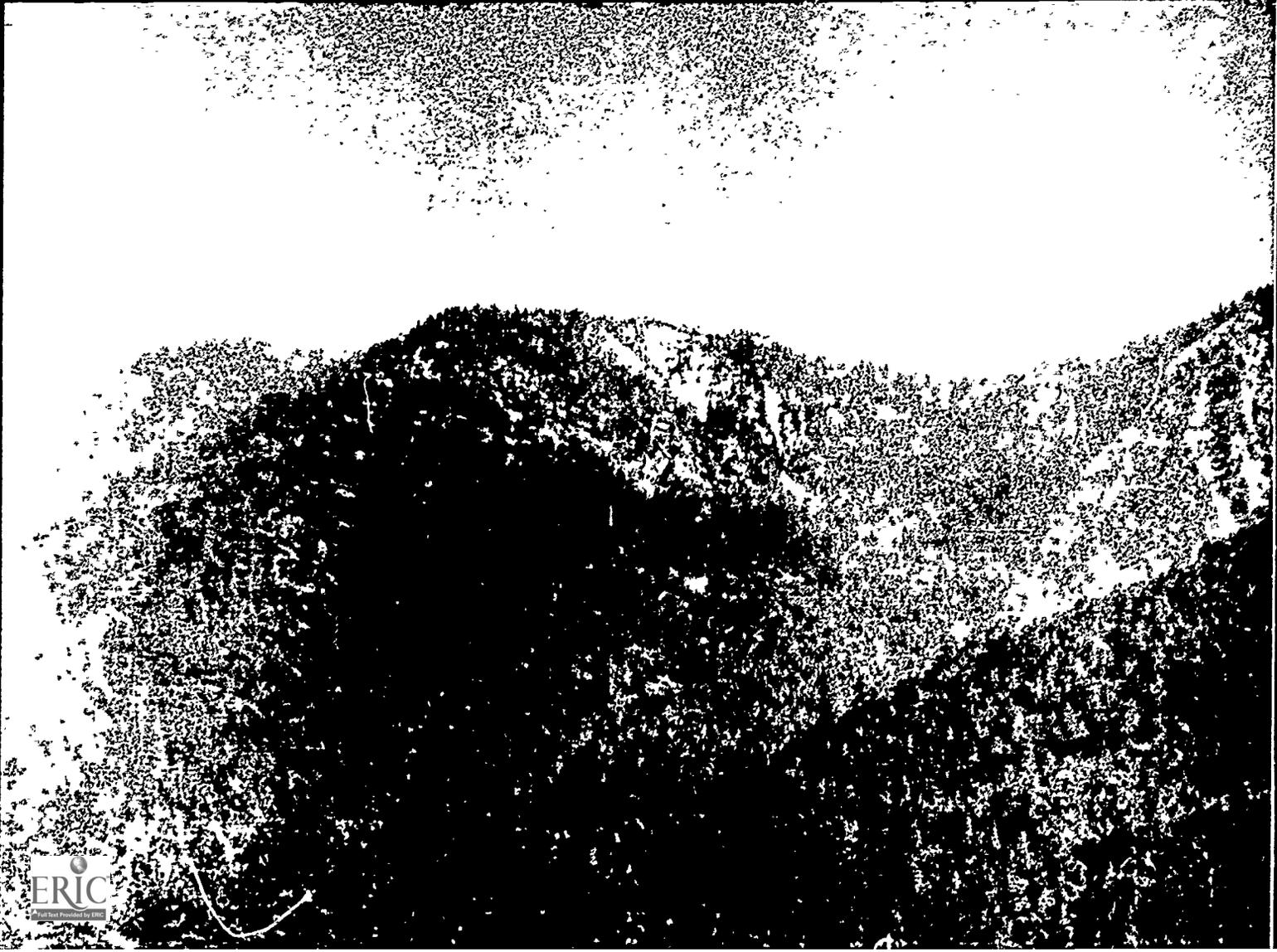
When it happens that the many crises now pressing on us meld into one large threat to tranquility and peace of mind and the good life, and as this threat is seen as a menace even to our economic well-being, a broader community spirit might emerge. As each separate entity along the South Coast perceives more and more clearly that its own welfare and the welfare of the whole South Coast are one — when the threat becomes at once deeper and more generalized — the entire area could unite to form a genuine community.

If and when that happens, it will *not* happen in a spirit of great self-sacrifice. No matter what the rhetoric, people do not like to sacrifice what they have worked to attain. Community does not demand sacrifice. Quite the contrary. It offers opportunity. It offers more than any of us could hope to gain individually or at odds with one another. Community gives man the chance for attainment — economic as well as social, intellectual, physical, and spiritual. In the morass that we solemnly call civilization today, could anyone ask for more?

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*Elaine H. Burnell graduated from Smith College and the Naval Japanese Language Post-Graduate School at the University of Colorado. She has worked for Encyclopaedia Britannica and the Library of Congress and has been a senior book editor at the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions.*





# THE MYTHS OF GROWTH AND PROGRESS

Gilbert LaFreniere

*Growth can change many things, including the very fiber of an area. The roseate glow that comes to some with the thought of unlimited expansion sometimes palls with the cold realization of what such growth implies in terms of the responsibilities assigned to the public bodies.*

Forty-five air miles northeast of Santa Barbara, the dome-like mass of the San Emigdio Mountains rises to elevations of nearly nine thousand feet. Their granitic and metamorphic rocks are studded with White Fir and Ponderosa Pine. Snow-capped in winter, the range is cleft east to west by a deep valley caused by the San Andreas fault, where Pinon Pine joins Ponderosa to enhance the magnificence of open meadows. The most splendid of these meadows is Mil Potrero, framed by the snow-covered north slopes of Mount Pinos, reminiscent of the eastern face of the Sierra Nevada.

Today piped music shatters the remote stillness of Mil Potrero, now the site of a golf course and an artificial lake. The meadowland is splotted with parking lots and prefabricated cabins. Tenneco West, Inc., a subsidiary of Tenneco, Inc. of Houston Texas, has plans for twenty-eight hundred "second homes" along and adjacent to the San Andreas fault zone within this spectacular, fireprone valley of the Los Padres National Forest. This is good, it is said by many, for economic growth is a necessary condition of the good life. This, we are told, is progress.



Americans today are faced with the prospect of ecological disaster, but they are prevented by both their conditioning and their implicitly held values from undertaking the political, social, and environmental reform necessary to avert that long-term disaster. The idea of progress is the belief that civilization has moved, is moving, and will continue to move in a desirable direction, implying that we will see a steady increase in human knowledge and, somewhat less certainly, in human happiness. A majority of today's adults, along with most of today's children, assume that the amenities of our technological society are a heritage that Americans can claim by the very fact of being Americans; by the fact that we are riding the crest of the greatest golden age of material wealth the world has ever known. Past and future costs of these amenities rarely occur to us: we accept without question our right to the wealth bought by the brutal enslavement of colonial peoples and subsistence wage-earners in mines and mills; and we ignore, when we can, the hundred and five billion dollars we know we must contribute in taxes by 1975 just to keep the environment from becoming virtually unlivable.

Even as we continue to accumulate private possessions and services, we notice a rapid downgrading of the public sector or commons, but for the most part we continue to adhere unquestioningly to our unexamined faith in

"progress" and to an optimistic vision of the future. The major American myth is that we have gotten, and can continue to get, something for nothing.

In *The Future as History*, one of the best modern short volumes on American attitudes toward growth and progress, Robert Heilbroner wrote in 1959, "[T]o hope for the best in a situation where every indication leads us to expect a worsening is hardly the way to fortify ourselves against the future. Optimism as a philosophy of historic expectations can no longer be considered a national virtue. It has become a dangerous national delusion, . . . something very much akin to the faith of the early classical economists in the 'inevitability' of progress . . . ."

In spite of recent setbacks, the myth of historic optimism prevails today. Americans in the sixties spent two billion a year on jewelry, as much as the total federal budget for the War on Poverty; they spent twice as much on pleasure boating as they expended for peaceful foreign aid. Americans today still believe that individual spending for comfort and pleasure takes priority over expenditures aimed at upgrading the community as a whole. Their notions of the nature of freedom and responsibility in a democratic society still lead them to support the principle of something for nothing. Why?

Like the attitudes of all other peoples in all other nations, American assumptions have their roots in history. Western man has seen the evolution of essentially three different interpretations of the meaning of historical events: these three are the ideas of cycles, providence, and progress and are world views that arose successively in the ancient, medieval, and modern worlds. The latter two have strongly influenced American thinking. The Christian idea of Providence may or may not be challenged by the idea of secular human progress implicit in modern scientific teaching. Such modern versions of the cyclical view of history as Spengler's *Decline of the West* or Toynbee's *Study of History* had not influenced popular American thought until the crisis of the sixties.

In the classical world of Greece and Rome, the idea of cycles predominated. Man's condition in the universe was seen as essentially fixed and static. The ancients had little expectation of any substantive change in the human situation and therefore did not entertain a belief in progress. Even the classical interpretations that did not agree with the theory of cycles saw man as having declined from an earlier golden age or saw reality as a condition of eternal change without direction or ultimate purpose.

By the fifth century, A.D., the classical world-view had been displaced by the Christian idea of Providence, as set forth in St. Augustine's great synthesis, *The City of God*. According to this view of reality, the universe was designed by God for a specific purpose, presumably for the salvation of the souls of the chosen. These elect human beings were thought to be those considered worthy in the eyes of the Lord. Early Christians also believed in the millenium — a second coming of Christ leading to a thousand-year reign of the elect, followed by the Last Judgment — an idea later to be revived with vigor during the Protestant Reformation and the early colonization of America.

A belief in progress was not possible during the Middle Ages because men accepted without question the biblical truth of man's fall from grace in the Garden of Eden. This view of man's degeneration was reinforced during the late Middle Ages by a renewed reverence for Greek and Roman thought, particularly for the logic and philosophy of Aristotle, and a concomitant sense of the inferiority of medieval thinking.

By the late sixteenth century, the increasing commercial activity, individualism, and secularism of the Renaissance led Europeans to question the intellectual superiority of the ancients, and the seventeenth-century achievements of Bacon, Descartes, and Newton finally convinced Western Europeans of their own superiority. With these intellects, the notion of progress in human knowledge was born. The modern idea of progress came into its own a century later during the Age of Enlightenment, with the emergence of a faith in man's ability to perfect himself through the application of reason.

During the second half of the eighteenth century, there emerged two major schools of thought on the nature of human progress. The idealists considered progress the result of the precarious gains of reason over the irrational and emotional elements of human nature. The realists, on the other hand, taking their cue from laissez-faire economic theory in France, viewed progress as an inevitable and automatic phenomenon. This belief was popularized by the English economist Adam Smith and later fortified by Darwin's theory of evolution. Only a short step was required to proceed from the notion of the survival of the fittest to a belief in the amoral ideal of rugged individualism.

17 It would be hard to exaggerate the importance of the idea of progress as inevitable and automatic on the average American's conception of citizenship.

Largely on the basis of this idea, Americans have tended to focus on their inalienable rights and privileges while they have neglected their responsibility to take thought and action on behalf of the community.

Although the idea of progress had its origins in seventeenth- and eighteenth- century Europe, it has flourished most vigorously in America. This apparent paradox can be explained, at least in part, by the historical fact that the Christian idea of Providence and the philosophy of progress enunciated by eighteenth-century realists have overlapped and influenced one another through much of American history.

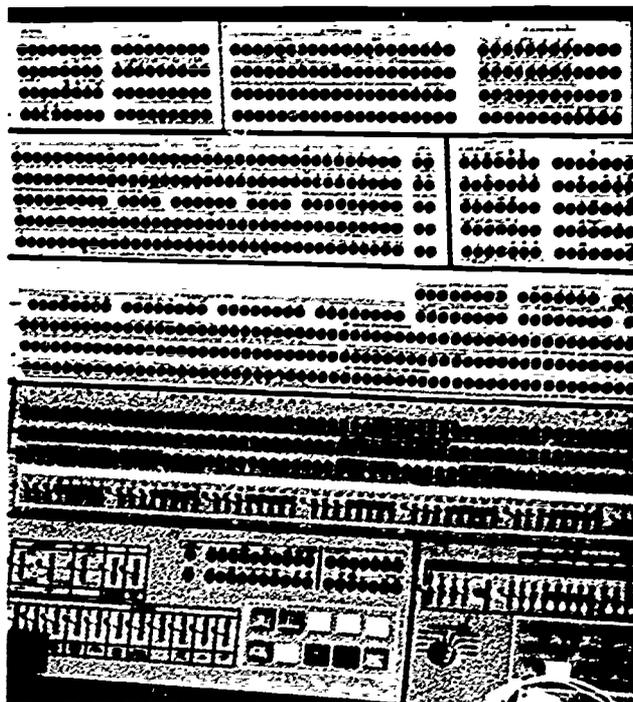
The period of colonization coincided with a period of renewed belief in the Christian millenium. Protestant and Catholic ecclesiastics alike developed the vision of the millenium to include the belief that the second coming of Christ was to be preceded by the conquest of America and the conversion of the Indians. When the second coming proved less imminent than anticipated, the Puritan ethic of glorified work and deferred or sublimated gratification began to take root in the American commercial milieu.

Following the American Revolution, industrialization began to complement colonial commerce, and in the late eighteenth century the spirit of capitalistic economic individualism was as strong as the spirit of political democracy. Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, published in 1776, found many in America receptive to the economic theory that the hidden hand of Providence would direct individual actions to produce higher levels of knowledge and material wealth even as men pursued their greedy, selfish ends.

Had the United States not enjoyed enormous economic advantages over Europe in the nineteenth century, Americans might not have believed so readily that the pursuit of profit and power was a benign manifestation of a law of progress inherent in the economic process itself. Part of a virgin continent of enormous natural wealth, isolated from Europe, bordered by militarily weak polities to the north and south, and free from the historical strictures that complicated the Industrial Revolution in Europe, America came to accept the intensely powerful myth of optimistic futurism. Thus, at the very beginning of their history, Americans began to see themselves as a "chosen people." The two centuries it has taken them to squander most of their natural resources has seen them approach the limits imposed upon all societies

by space, resources, and history with their eyes closed to the fact that the United States, like all nations, *has* a history.

Today we cling to the myth that science, technology, and industry will bring us further marvels and comforts while they provide easy solutions to the problems associated with economic growth. Take, for example, the enormous



popularity among college youth of Buckminster Fuller, whose unqualified faith in the inevitable success of a world technological society knows no bounds. His popularity remains undiminished in the face of the dismal prognostications of a recent study that followed Fuller's own suggestion of turning the ecological crisis over to the computer.

The computer model used by a seventeen-man M.I.T. team focused on the interrelationship through time of five variables: population; food supply; natural resources; industrial production; and pollution. (Note the absence of qualitative values in this list.) The model projected known trends of the five variables into the future: the projections indicated that population and industrial capacity will continue to expand, generating a growing demand for natural resources; as resources diminish, prices will be forced higher, leaving less money for investment in future industrial expansion; new investment will therefore fall below the cost of depreciation, eventuating in the collapse of the industrial base; collapse of service industries and agriculture soon will follow; and the still-rising population will begin to decline precipitously from

lack of food and health services. Numerous variations in the model resulted in similarly disastrous projections.

A more conventional study by the world-renowned economic geologist Charles Park of Stanford indicates that the last decades of the twentieth century will see not cooperation and world unity but a grim struggle among the great powers for the remaining resources.



Santa Barbara County, because of its great natural beauty, is a focal point in the mounting controversy over uncontrolled growth. Here the balance between man and nature is still capable of being preserved if we can cast aside our false conviction that stable population and economic equilibrium are equivalent to social stagnation and abandon our idea that "growth" is good per se.

Should we succumb to the notion that long-term prosperity will come from a temporary boom,

provided by such things as the space-shuttle contract, or should we support the argument that we must have imported water to permit "inevitable" expansion, then growth for Santa Barbara County can mean nothing but decay.

Nearly two centuries ago, the French philosopher Diderot, reflecting on the American Revolution, expressed the hope that Americans might "ward off . . . extreme growth and unequal distribution of wealth . . . that they may maintain their liberty and their government . . . [and] postpone . . . the decree pronounced on all earthly things . . . which condemns [them] to follow a succession of birth, vigor, decrepitude, and destruction."

Heilbroner's conclusion's in 1959 suggest that Diderot's fears were justified. "Economic growth is . . . a process of change; and the alternative it offers us is whether we will attempt to control that change or permit it to obey its own internal economic momentum. In all probability we shall follow the latter course."

Today, thirteen years later, our own development pattern in Santa Barbara County offers little to indicate that either man was wrong.

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# THE COUNTY GENERAL PLAN, ITS STRENGTHS AND CONTRADICTIONS

Damon Rickard

*No goal for the future can be too high,  
No hope is beyond attainment,  
No idea is too grandiose to be realized,  
For, in this County, there is the  
potential for greatness.*

The Santa Barbara County General Plan represents one of the most ambitious efforts undertaken by citizens of the County and their representatives in government. The General Plan attempts no less than to translate the ideals of the people of this area into workable policy and to express in concrete terms the kinds of effort required for sound community development.

In order to understand the significance of the General Plan and to appraise its strengths and weaknesses, it is necessary to review briefly the circumstances that encouraged its preparation and the scope of its recommendations. During the middle and late nineteen-fifties, several developments added to the long-standing attraction provided by Santa Barbara's environment to precipitate a vigorous burst of growth. The completion of Cachuma Reservoir guaranteed an ample supply of water; the University of California acquired four hundred acres in Goleta on which to build a large campus; and the federal government, in 1957, developed Vandenberg Air Force Base as a major defense installation, which, together with the Point Arguello Naval Station, accounted directly for the influx of fifty thousand people. As a result, the population of the County swelled until, by 1961, seventy thousand new inhabitants were calling Santa Barbara home.

Recognizing the implications of this kind of growth and confronted by unprecedented pressure

for development, the County Board of Supervisors decided in 1960 to secure the services of Simon Eisner and Associates, a Pasadena firm of planning consultants, to assist the County Planning Department in developing a master land-use plan. The objective was to establish a workable relationship between the aspirations of the people and their needs for housing, transportation, education, community development, recreation, and cultural facilities.

As a basis for this planning, statistical analyses of the area were developed, and, more significantly, the Board of Supervisors appointed numerous citizens' committees throughout the County. Their task was to evaluate specific proposals in community-wide terms, to develop goals and priorities, to insure the realization of these goals in the plan that finally emerged, and to publicize and gain support for the General Plan.

The General Plan is not a law, but it was adopted by a resolution of the Board of Supervisors in 1964 as the land-use policy for the unincorporated areas of the County. Together with a U.S. Forest Service plan and the plans of the various incorporated cities like Lompoc, Santa Barbara, Santa Maria, and Guadalupe, the General Plan became the basis for determining land use throughout the County.

Part of the General Plan is devoted to a brief summary of the history and characteristics of the respective geographical areas of the County. Much

of it, however, deals with the specific problems of growth and development. It offers suggestions for effectuating its general principles and makes recommendations concerning the use of zoning ordinances, subdivision laws, building-height regulations, and land-assessment practices.

Beyond recommendations of this nature, the General Plan addresses itself to the economic history of the region, extrapolating into the future the effects of certain stimuli – the university, agriculture, tourism, mining, manufacturing, and the like – on the County's economic development. In addition, it analyzes the effects of these economic stimuli on population growth and predicts future population trends for the County. Finally, it defines standards for respective land uses. Agriculture, for example, is one classification of open-space use, and the standard for agriculture gives specific definitions and recommendations.

This, in brief, is the scope and content of the General Plan. But what of its philosophy – the goals on which its principles and standards are based? In paraphrase, the stated goals are:

**TO PROTECT THE FERTILE LANDS FOR GROWING CROPS AND FOR OTHER AGRICULTURAL USES.**

**TO PROVIDE FOR THE SOUND GROWTH OF URBAN AREAS BY ORDERLY EXPANSION OUTWARD FROM URBANIZED CENTERS.**

**TO PROVIDE THE ESSENTIALS FOR SAFE AND ECONOMICAL TRANSPORTATION.**

**TO ENCOURAGE THE MAINTENANCE OF THOSE FEATURES THAT DISTINGUISH SANTA BARBARA AS A DESIRABLE PLACE TO WORK AND LIVE.**

**TO RECOGNIZE THE MOUNTAINOUS FOREST LAND AS A VALUABLE RESOURCE FOR ITS ROLE AS WATERSHED, ITS BEAUTY AS A BACKDROP, AND ITS POTENTIAL FOR WILDERNESS AND RECREATION.**

**TO PROTECT AND ENHANCE THE USEFULNESS OF THE SEASHORE.**

**TO PROTECT AGAINST POLLUTION.**

**TO PROVIDE FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE COUNTY'S HISTORICAL HERITAGE.**

**TO PROVIDE OPPORTUNITIES FOR RECREATION.**

**TO PRESERVE THE BEAUTY OF THE LANDSCAPE WHILE PROVIDING FOR DESIRABLE GROWTH.**

At first impression, these goals are lofty and appropriate for an area known for its beauty. A deeper study, however, reveals some basic contradictions: "To protect the fertile lands" and "To provide for the sound growth of urbanized areas outward?" Which one takes precedence? Where are the priorities listed? How can an urbanized area grow outward without using fertile lands? How can the goals of protecting against pollution and protecting our historical heritage be reconciled with steady expansion?

A study of the principles on which the Plan's specific recommendations are based does nothing to clear the confusion. The second principle states that the fertile lands shall be preserved for agricultural uses as long as economically feasible. Since agriculture is known to be one activity that traditionally pays its own way and more, in terms of the cost of County services, the questions must be asked: "Economically feasible for whom? For the County government? For the community as a whole? For landowners? For developers?" Answers can be found in recent history.

The early sixties was a period of economic boom, and the community was divided essentially into two groups: one group included businessmen, developers, and speculators, who accepted the traditional view that progress is synonymous with expansion and fought for land-use policies consonant with this approach; the other included ranchers, farmers, conservationists, and those concerned with the implications of uncontrolled growth and its probable effect on their way of life and the environment of the County. Both groups were well represented on the citizens' committees set up by the Board of Supervisors.

The goals and principles that finally emerged in the General Plan represent an attempt at compromise between the widely divergent interests of these two groups, with the views of developers and business interests prevailing. Although the concerns of agriculturalists and conservationists are reflected, we find in the General Plan an acceptance of the inevitability and desirability of expansion under restrictions of only the widest possible bounds.

For the most part, the tone of early statements describing this expansion was exuberant. "The recent housing projects, some on the sites of visionary pioneers in land development, are forming the nucleus of the fine community of homes that will be the Goleta of tomorrow," proclaimed Eugene Sexton, who is now a planning

commissioner. Richard Whitehead, then the planning director, declared, "Tomorrow rubs elbows with the past in the Goleta Valley, but only for an instant, for there is no static position in this valley of opportunity."

Not all commentators were optimistic. Some like T.M. Storke, then publisher, editor, and owner of the Santa Barbara *News-Press*, warned that "those who are here ten or fifteen years from now will have many problems because of the expansive growth." Simon Eisner himself, as early as 1961, declared that never had he "run up against such an

aggressive bunch of landhawks."

Despite its weaknesses and contradictions, however, the General Plan still stands as a tremendous achievement by the people and officials of this County. With revision, it still has the potential for guiding the County to the greatness that its framers recognized as the County's potential. The challenge to citizens today is to determine which of those goals set forth in 1964 are still the true goals of the community in 1972 and to find effective means of converting today's goals into tomorrow's reality.



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## UNLIMITED EXPANSION: COUNTY COST OR COUNTY BENEFIT?

When we survey the development that has occurred along the South Coast over the past ten years, the overwhelming impression is that we have had little sense of the limitations imposed by finite resources on the process of growth. Planning has seemingly been based on our implicit endorsement of nearly unlimited expansion. Everywhere is evidence that planning has been in response to the economic imperative, the notion that the primary meaning of progress is an increase in property values.

Correct or incorrect, this concept creates a conflict between the lofty purposes set forth in the General Plan and the day-to-day results of the application of zoning ordinances. This conflict is especially acute in the matter of the Plan's agricultural-lands policy. Premature zoning tends to encourage the disappearance of farmland, and a tax policy of reassessment to urban uses works to assure its eventual eradication.

The relationship of the General Plan to zoning has immediate significance in light of the recent decision by the state legislature that general plans and zoning must be brought into consistency. If the decision in this County should be to modify the Plan to conform to zoning, might we then freeze into the planning process a value system regarding growth that may be already obsolete?

A serious deficiency in planning at present is the limitation placed on citizen participation. In the majority of cases, decisions are reached at meetings held during daylight hours, with the consequence that interested citizens who must work cannot attend. Such a basic denial of democratic principles in the planning process guarantees the rights of special-privilege groups over those of ordinary citizens and reinforces any tendency planners might have to a status-quo orientation.

One of the difficulties with planning in the County today is that the professional planning staff finds itself spread thin and overburdened with administrative detail. Of the twenty-four authorized

full-time personnel in the County Planning Department, four devote time to advanced planning, two are assigned to current planning, and the remainder, including secretaries, are engaged almost exclusively in administration. In other terms, the Planning Department averages about 37,200 man-hours per year in all of its activities. Of this, approximately 33,300 man-hours are spent on departmental and ordinance administration and area planning, leaving 3,900 man-hours, less than eleven percent of the total, for advanced planning.

These figures represent, in terms of staff, a total of two persons out of twenty-four spending full time on advanced planning each year.

Much emphasis is given to the preparation of federal-grant proposals. The Public Services Allocation Study consumed 2,189.5 man-days last year. Aside from the time and energy it diverts from planning for the County's immediate and long-term needs, this heavy preoccupation with securing federal money raises deeper, more subtle questions. To what extent is the County free to implement the values of its citizens? To preserve the intangibles of beauty and community? To set its own priorities? And to what degree must it have a care to implement the ideas of those in federal government who control the purse strings?

Quite apart from the formal planning process, providing multiple services to a county of our present size creates planning problems in itself. No matter how well the road department performs, for example, it is still one department among many, concerned only with its specialty. The same is true of sewage and flood control and water and all the rest. Flow of traffic and its volume are only a portion of the total problem of roads, improving creeks and constructing dams only a small part of the question of streams. Efficiency itself produces fragmentation, and the qualitative values that give this County its distinction are often, in the interests of good administration, left in limbo.

If we in this County have been correct in giving priority to economics in our planning, struggling to preserve our less quantifiable values when economic feasibility permitted, the benefit to the County should by now be clear. After nearly a decade of increasing population, rising property values, elevating taxes, and multiplying traffic arteries, are we — the citizens and the government of this County — seeing a profit? How large is the overall benefit and how great the sacrifice in qualitative terms? Now is a time for audit, for a tallying of the black against the red.

# POPULATION

Else Ocskay

*Changes in density can mean . . . in final retrospect, one kind of a community or an entirely different one. Density standards determine the nature of the community and the many areas within it and the need that can be anticipated for the services that people will demand under stated conditions.*

**T**he question of population, and the pressures it generates, is basic to most problems plaguing American cities and towns. Population is a generic term used to denote numbers of people, but when we speak of population we are speaking really of human beings and of their aspirations, hopes, and fears. "Population" connotes the many faces and multiple voices of individuals from all walks of life as they come together to form groups and sometimes even communities.

Population is usually considered from one of two approaches — size or distribution. Since world population has risen from about five hundred million in the mid-sixteenth century to 3.6 billion today, and is mounting by seventy million a year, size is of major concern to historians, scientists, sociologists, and technologists. Their reactions vary from glowing optimism at the prospect of a computer-controlled, genetically manipulated future golden age to deep pessimism over the effects of superindustrialized, prepackaged societies on human creativity and potential. Distribution usually concerns localities, as controversies over population density clearly indicate. Distribution determines the impact of people on the immediate physical and social environment and on the fabric of communities.

In 1970 California reached the twenty-million mark to become the most populous state in the nation. Between 1900 and 1940, California's

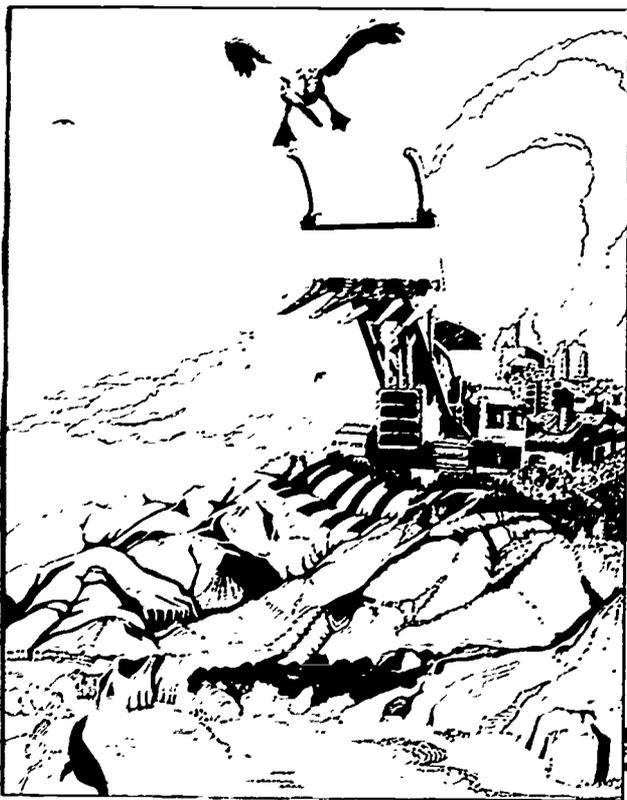
population grew from one million to seven million. Ten years later, it had reached ten million. Within twenty years that figure had doubled, a vastly accelerated rate of growth, caused largely by migration. During the past ten years, California's growth rate of twenty-eight percent has been exactly double the rate of the nation.

What of Santa Barbara County? The 1972 *World Almanac* lists Santa Barbara as *the fastest growing county in the United States*, with an expansion rate of fifty-six percent between 1960 and 1970. This rate is twice that of the state and four times that of the nation. The area of most intensive growth has been Goleta, where the population jumped from twenty thousand in 1960 to sixty thousand by 1970. There, the idea of progress as rampant growth in the name of economic health is most manifest, as orchards and farms have given way to houses, shopping centers, and technical-service industries. Second to Goleta in terms of rapid growth has been Isla Vista, now one of the densest half square miles outside the central cities, with a population of twelve thousand. Expansion along the South Coast reached its peak rate during the first five years of the sixties, leveling off to two percent per year thereafter.

Of great interest to the South Coast because of their proximity are greater Los Angeles and Oxnard-Ventura. The Los Angeles-Long Beach area reflects the accelerated migration of people from

country to city characteristic of the whole country: a statistical analysis reveals that seventy-three percent of Americans now live in urban areas; and the most urbanized state is California with 90.5 percent of its population living in central cities, their suburbs, or communities numbering twenty-five hundred persons or more. With a population of 7,032,075, Los Angeles-Long Beach has become the second largest metropolis in America, larger than Chicago and outranked only by New York. Oxnard-Ventura has had a growth rate of eighty-nine percent during the past decade, outstripped only by Las Vegas and Anaheim.

Los Angeles is still ninety minutes away, and Oxnard-Ventura thirty, but many of the symptoms associated with their state of urban congestion are manifesting themselves in the Santa Barbara area.



Residents of the South Coast, in self-protection, would do well to consider the causes of rising drug abuse, vandalism, theft, vagrancy, and other social ills characteristic of impersonal cities. The pleasant streets, modest homes, and neatly kept gardens of some of our tracts give no evidence of social ills, but beneath the veneer are typical qualities that engender suburban crime—working mothers, a lack of nurseries and playgrounds, and the absence of community spirit.

Much of the Goleta environment is sparkling new, and its recently arrived inhabitants are

without roots, nomads of the modern age. Now a suburb of sixty thousand people, Goleta has no core in the form of a town center. Mobile, rootless populations always suffer a disruption in normal human relations, often manifested by a lack of community identity and the rise of social problems. The usual pattern in such suburbs is that local planning deteriorates into a weapon for the protection of powerful small groups: rapid influx prevents the consolidation necessary to development of the community consciousness that leads to community action. Anger and frustration tend to replace participation as a channel for expressing energy.

To understand census figures and interpret them in terms of community character requires a knowledge of the make-up of the population -- its age, its economic power, its social hierarchy. One critical factor in a community is its housing pattern. In Santa Barbara County, this pattern is relatively encouraging. Fifty-eight percent of houses are owner-occupied, which represents a slight drop from 1960, as apartments are becoming more popular; today only 1.3 percent of houses lack some or all plumbing facilities, a great improvement over 1960 when this lack was fourteen percent; only 2.1 percent of today's houses are without complete kitchens.

Santa Barbara County figures show about eighty-four thousand households, with an average of 2.99 persons in each, and these households account for about 251,000 of the total population of 264,324. Nearly one of twelve are one-person households, and ten percent of family households are headed by women, a figure of some significance in terms of the need for nurseries, subsidized income, and other services associated with fatherless homes. Almost fourteen thousand people live in group quarters, presumably young people, including students.

The income of nearly thirteen percent of all households falls below the federal poverty line of \$350 a month for four in the city and \$300 for four in rural areas. Stated in other terms, 7.6 percent of all families, and 11.6 percent of all persons, in the County are "poor," according to federal standards. (Families include about seventy percent of County population.) The median annual family income is \$10,455, and about fifty percent of families earn less than \$10,000 per year. Only 4.5 percent of families earn over \$25,000. [These figures are taken from the most recent Department of Commerce analysis, *1970 Census of Population*

and Housing: Census Tracts, Santa Barbara, California, Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area, April, 1972.]

Such large percentages of poor and middle income people will have an important effect on the possibility of raising taxes or passing bond issues to balance County budgets or pay for future improvements.

Ethnic minorities increased between 1960 and 1970 from 3.7 percent to 5.6 percent, with the heaviest concentration in the City of Santa Barbara and Guadalupe.

Age groups are represented in the following chart:

1-18	32%	25% elementary and secondary school 7% pre-school
18-24	15%	18,000 are students
24-65	44%	
Over 65	9%	13,000 in Santa Barbara 3,100 in Goleta 1,200 in Montecito

A rapidly rising population has brought with it a parallel increase in the number of the socially dependent and in the need for services. The certified medically needy have formed the largest dependent group. Projections for 1972, however, indicate increases in other categories of the needy.

Estimated yearly budgets for 1972-73 are:

Families with dependent children:	\$11,168,190
Disabled needy:	\$ 3,232,238
Recipients of old-age benefits	\$ 4,259,565

The County Welfare Department estimates that all its aid programs for the year 1972-73 will come to \$19,318,321. The County's share of this cost will be \$2,878,571.

These figures take on added significance in light of population projections to the year 2000. The General Plan envisions a jump from a population of 264,324 in 1970 to 365,937 by 1985 and to 466,001 in 2000. For Santa Barbara, this means an increment of 35,621 persons, for Goleta an increase of 83,753, and for Santa Ynez a doubling of its population to 16,781.

In spite of these projections, there is little evidence of advanced planning to provide for the housing, health, and recreational needs certain to increase at a corresponding rate or of a serious attempt to anticipate the social and physical impact of such a large increment of newcomers. Without real forethought, the environment cannot help but deteriorate drastically and the cost of services like water rise beyond conception.

The total work force of the County in 1972, according to the Department of Human Resources Development, numbered 105,500, of whom 98,700 were employed. The major employer was the government, with services a close second, and trade, manufacturing, construction, and agriculture, in descending order, accounting for the rest.

Quite aside from present employment patterns, a glance at the primary sources of County income over the past twenty years could supply guidelines for future growth. This would be particularly true if past trends could point up the means to improving profits without environmental devastation.

Until the development of Vandenberg in 1950, agriculture topped all other sources of income. The area was famous for its orchards — walnut, lemon, orange, and avocado — for its vegetables, and for its flower seed. By 1970, agriculture had dropped off to a mere nine percent from a previous high of 27.4 percent, as farmland gave way to urban pressure. If present planning trends continue, agricultural lands may be expected to disappear within the next fifteen years.

Vandenberg, at the peak of its activity, accounted for about twenty-eight percent of County income. Now down to 20.5 percent, income from this source may be expected to rise again until the space-shuttle construction period is over, when it will probably drop sharply.

Next in rank to agriculture over a twenty-year period has been income from higher-priced properties and from affluent pensioners attracted to Santa Barbara by the unusual qualities of the area. This income amounted to approximately sixteen percent of the total in 1960. Close to it has been the income from visitors attracted by many of these same qualities. The three categories of properties, pensioners, and visitors still constitute over thirty percent of total income, a figure expected to rise to thirty-five percent by 1985. Income from these three sources exceeded that from mining, manufacturing, and trade. Like agriculture, moreover, these categories place comparatively little drain on public funds.

An economic study of the County, commissioned last year to ascertain whether the goals of the General Plan were still realistic, confirmed the importance of properties, pensioners, and visitors but also warned that preservation of a quality environment is crucial to their maintenance as a major source of County income.

Increasingly, cities and towns throughout the country, are recognizing the need for new economic thinking. Lincoln, outside Boston, has discovered an economic advantage in buying lands as a public trust to preserve their historic value. Amherst, Massachusetts, has turned down an ambitious, architecturally desirable, open-space housing project on the economic grounds that purchasing and preserving agricultural lands is more profitable in the long run. Nevada and Hawaii too are having second thoughts about the advantages of rapid growth.

Recently a Los Angeles radio station has been

carrying nightly commercials run by the Santa Barbara Chamber of Commerce. A composite of the three messages broadcast pictures the Santa Barbara that was and, in some measure, still is:

Santa Barbara, the city with seashore and mountains and old Spanish charm. More of the good things about California than you ever dreamed were still around. Beauty, fresh air, serenity - no noisy jangle, no neon jungle. Remember how happy you once were that you were living in California? Come! Recapture that happiness for a few days!

Population is more than a matter of statistics. The number, distribution, and motivation of people shape the fundamental character of any area. Immediate decisions regarding population and its control by the people and officials of the South Coast will determine whether the image projected by the Chamber of Commerce remains the truth or becomes a bitter piece of irony by 1985. 

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# PROPERTY TAXES AND GROWTH

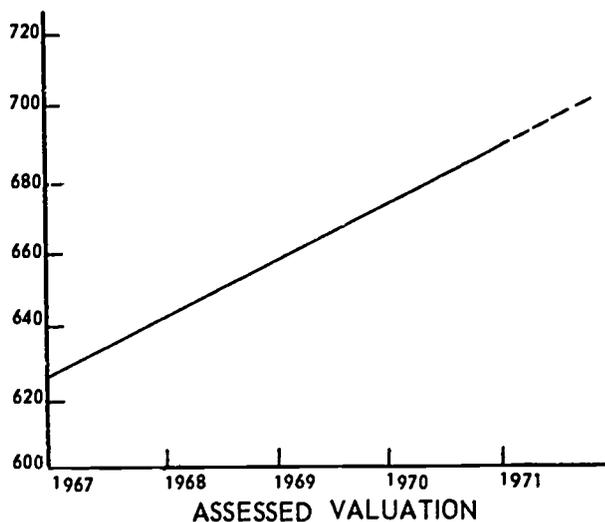
C. H. Van Hartesveldt

*The lack of a balanced economy, in which . . . industrial and commercial uses pick up the bill for a portion of the costs of . . . residential developments, points up the need for careful protection of the qualities of the County. The more expensive homes, with their high assessed valuations, usually are attracted . . . where the quality of the living environment is excellent.*

Over the past several years much agricultural land along the South Coast has been converted to urban use in order to accommodate in rising population. As our property tax system operates, this conversion has been producing a net loss in County government funds. As a result, the County faces the imminent prospect of having its costs exceed its revenue, and the City of Santa Barbara is similarly confronted with a need for austerity.

To understand the reasons for this impending deficit, it is first necessary to compare the rise in

population and in assessed valuation with the rise in cost of government. As the following table indicates, from 1965 to 1971 County population rose from 238,100 to 267,500, an average increase of two percent per year. (Some areas, like Goleta, absorbed a greater percentage of the total growth and have the most potential for future growth as well.) During this period, assessed valuation rose 2.6 percent per year, from \$623 million to \$690 million, which appears to be a normal relationship to the population growth.

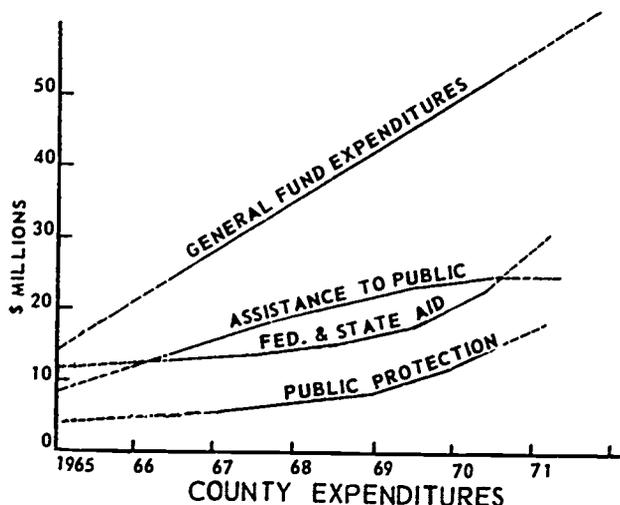


Over the same period, total expenditures for County government increased from \$27,700,000 for the fiscal year 1966-67 to \$50,200,000 for the

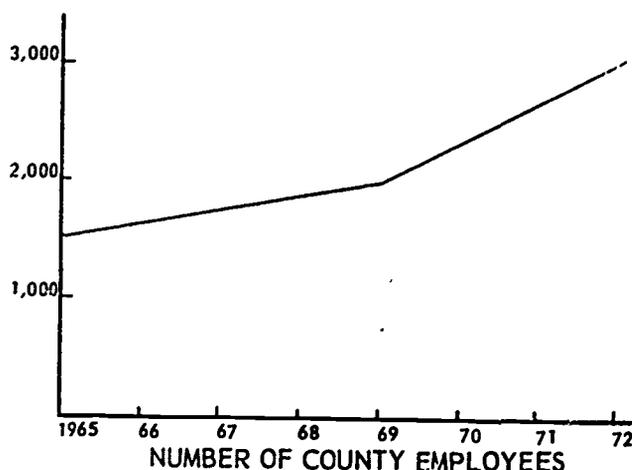
fiscal year 1970-71, an average growth of twenty-one percent per year or ten times the population growth rate. The number of County

employees increased from 1,575 in 1965 to 2,848 in 1972, an average increase of twenty percent per year, closely matching the rate of increase in expenditures.

Two categories of expenditures are the principal reasons for the increase in costs. One is the cost of public assistance, of which welfare payments are a major part. Public assistance has more than doubled in cost in four years, going from \$12,600,000 in the 1966-67 fiscal year to \$25,200,000 in the 1970-71 fiscal year. The other category is public protection, which has increased from \$5,800,000 in 1966-67 to \$11,800,000 in 1970-71.



Only increased taxes and contributions from state and federal governments have delayed the day of reckoning for the County. County taxes have increased 6.5 percent over the past four years, and reassessment upward of property values is also increasing the County's tax income. Federal and state contributions to the County increased from \$12,400,000 in 1966-67 to \$23,000,000 in 1970-71. Although the City of Santa Barbara obtains only twenty percent of its revenue from property taxes, it also faces difficulties, and both the City and the County are at the point of reducing public services if taxes cannot be increased.



While taxes are certainly one tool for shaping future growth, a tax system is also made up of economic, social, and political factors of great complexity. The following analysis does not attempt to present a case for higher or lower taxes or for tax reform, but it does point up the need for tax control.

The County has 566 separate tax districts, each made up of a few common components and as many as ten to twenty different components. With this many tax districts located in thirty-two school districts and approximately forty other types of districts (sewage, water, and so forth), citizens find it virtually impossible to achieve an overall view.

A serious deficiency in the property-tax system is the lack of any budget for depreciation of facilities, an oversight that can constitute a series of time bombs in the form of new bond issues in the future. The present property-tax make-up does, however, have two saving graces: first, each district must pay for the specific amenities it desires and can therefore control its tax rate to some degree through its district supervisors or by its vote on bond issues specific to its district; and second, each

district may decide in some instances what services or facilities it is willing to do without in the interest of cutting its taxes, which is probably the only reasonable approach to tax reduction.

In each tax district, the tax rate is broken down into components similar to those of Code Area No. 69-025, shown below.

County Tax	3.60
Goleta Cemetery	.06
Goleta County Water	.46
S.B. County Water Agency	.02
S.B. County Fire Protection	.32
S.B. County Fire Protection Zone No. 5	.29
S.B. County Flood Control	.03
Feather River Project	.05
Goleta Flood Zone No. 1	.10
Goleta Sanitary District Exp.	.07
Goleta Sanitary District Bond	.04
Goleta Valley Mosquito Control	.02
S.B. Metropolitan Transit	.05
School Tax	6.23
<b>Total Tax Rate (\$ Per \$100 of Assessed Value)</b>	<b>\$11.34</b>

The total tax rate of \$11.34 is near the average for the County, which is \$11.11; the rate goes as low as \$4 on the Channel Islands and rises to \$20 in the highest districts. Districts located in the City of Santa Barbara have a component of \$1.46 per \$100 that is turned over to the City. As mentioned, tax income pays only twenty percent of the City's budget.

According to state law, the County may not borrow money to pay expenses but may spend only what it collects. The County acts merely as a collector for approximately three-eighths of the taxes it takes in, dispersing this proportion to other agencies. The remaining five-eighths is spent by the County, not set aside. Intake is therefore equivalent to the County's costs. During fiscal year 1970-71, the County collected \$76,730,000 in taxes, or \$287 for each person in the County. If additional City expenditures of about twenty million are added, the total per person reaches \$365, but, for the purposes of this study, \$287 will be considered the County cost for each person.

Land use is of major importance in the balance between County revenues and County costs. A recent study in Ventura County, which has a per-capita cost similar to Santa Barbara County's, revealed that 6,200 acres of agricultural land had a population of seventy-two persons, or .0116 persons per acre. A similar agricultural area in Santa Barbara County would cost the government \$3.33 per acre, figured by multiplying the cost per person (\$287) by the number of persons (.0116). At an assessed valuation of \$1,100 per acre and at the average County tax rate of \$11.11 per \$100 of

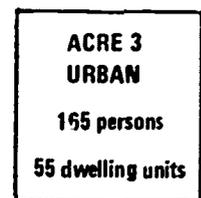
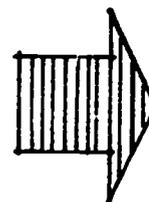
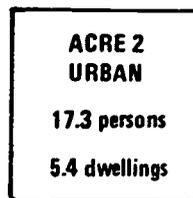
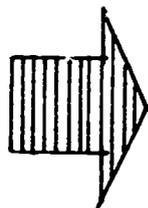
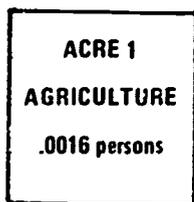
assessed valuation, the income per acre emerges as \$122. This figure is arrived at by multiplying the rate times one one-hundredth of the assessed valuation ( $\$1,100 \times .01 \times \$11.11$ ). As the chart below indicates, income is greater than cost. Land in agriculture therefore eases the tax burden on the community.

If an acre of agricultural land is urbanized, an average result, according to the Ventura study, is 17.3 people per acre. At an average family size of 3.2, this density requires 5.4 dwelling units per acre. Assuming that families purchase or rent homes worth approximately two and a half times an annual income of \$8,500, the total market value of these homes would be \$114,750 ( $\$8,500 \times 2.5 \times 5.4$ ), with an assessed value of \$28,688. At the average tax rate of \$11.11 per \$100, the tax income would amount to \$3,187 per acre. County government cost for the 17.3 people occupying this acre would be \$4,965 ( $17.3 \times \$287$ ), a net loss of \$1,778, plus the loss of the previous profit of \$118.67, for a total loss of \$1,896.67 per acre.

An even worse situation can result from use of an acre for a maximum-occupancy apartment building. If basement parking is used, a fifty-five-unit apartment building with a market value of \$1,000,000 is feasible on one acre. If the average is three persons to a unit, or 165 people in all, the cost to the County government would be \$47,355 ( $165 \times \$287$ ). The acre would have an assessed valuation of \$250,000. Taxes paid, therefore, would be only \$27,775 ( $\$250,000 \times .01 \times \$11.11$ ). The loss in this case would be \$19,580, plus the loss of the previous profit.

**ANALYSIS: AGRICULTURE VS. URBAN**

Average County Real Estate Taxes: \$287 Per Person



Assessed Value \$1,100

COST To County: \$3.33

REVENUE To County: \$122.00

Apparent GAIN: \$118.67

Assessed Value \$28,688

COST To County: \$4,965

REVENUE To County: \$3,187

Apparent LOSS: \$1,778

Assessed Value \$250,000

COST To County: \$47,355

REVENUE To County: \$27,775

Apparent LOSS: \$19,580

**TO BREAK EVEN ON URBAN ACRES COUNTY REQUIRES AN ADDITIONAL MARKET VALUE ON PLACE OF EMPLOYMENT OF \$3,737.08 PER PERSON FOR ACRE 2 AND \$4,314.92 PER PERSON FOR ACRE 3 OR TAX LOSS MUST BE MADE UP BY OTHERS IN COMMUNITY**

On the face of it, therefore, the conversion of one acre of agricultural land to urban use results in a net loss of revenue to the County. This loss can be partially, or even entirely, offset by the employment of new urban residents in local businesses whose property taxes per employee are high enough to make up the difference. Purely from a tax standpoint, therefore, population growth should be paralleled by commercial installations of high property value per employee. People who work outside the County and school or government

employees whose "plant" pays no taxes do not help to offset revenue losses.

Tourist facilities can help to lessen the deficit, and homes of high value -- at least \$10,000 of market value per occupant -- can reduce the tax burden for the rest of the community. As things stand at present, funds for civic or environmental improvement can be provided only by additional taxes or government grants since neither the County nor the City has any excess for community projects. e

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## TRANSPORTATION ON THE SOUTH COAST

Josephine H. Webster

*[The] street and highway system must be viewed as more than just the way to get to work or home. It is the streambed for the flow of people and commodities, opening access to recreational, cultural, social, and economic opportunities, contacts, and experiences.*

**A**t present most residents of this area would probably say that, except for the matter of the crosstown freeway, we have no serious transportation problems. We are rarely caught in intolerable traffic jams; we do not choke on smog. It is easy for us to go where we wish, if we own cars. If we have any problem at all, it is the happy assumption that we have no problem.

But what does the future hold? It holds chaos and congestion, unless we plan ahead. As we plan, it is essential that we realize how our every decision concerning transportation will have an impact on the manner in which this South Coast community grows and on the quality of life that will be enjoyed by its residents. Transportation and land use are inextricably linked. Furthermore, no matter how successful we are in controlling all kinds of development in this area, we will to some extent be affected by the "San-San" that is predicted for this entire coast of California: a city that will stretch from San Diego to San Francisco, pavement and ticky-tacky everywhere.

Transportation is the moving of people and goods by various methods. The criteria for the suitability of any method would be: 1) its safety; 2) its cost; and 3) its pleasure and comfort for the traveler. To the traveler, cost involves considerations of speed (for time is money), efficiency, and convenience, but the costs to communities must also be considered. Pleasure and

comfort must always be secondary to the effects any transportation system might have on the communities through which it passes.

Today transportation planners think in terms of systems that involve all modes of transport, which must be interconnected in such a way that a traveler can easily transfer from one mode to another. This kind of approach requires planning of regional scope. The South Coast may be regarded as such a region, and it is fortunate in that its topography lends itself to a linear layout, which is the most efficient.

It is unfortunate that its narrow coastal plain is the only place for automobile and rail traffic in this part of California. Residents must accept this fact, but they can at least insist that the town matters more than the travelers who pass through it. Of course, the freeway offers residents of the South Coast the most efficient way to move from one end of the region to another, at least for the present.

The transportation needs of this area have not been ignored by government and professional planners. The chief result of their studies is the excellent Comprehensive Transportation Action Plan for the Santa Barbara County Area, made by the Santa Barbara County-Cities Area Planning Council. There are also the SCOTS studies: SCOTS is an acronym for South Coast Transportation Study, Santa Barbara County.

The various types of transportation available can

be divided into public and private. In the field of private transportation, the automobile, of course, dominates the scene. It has long offered the individual the ideal way to move about, for it gives him: great mobility, taking him where he wishes to go, when he wishes to go there, in privacy, and with a certain amount of protection from various dangers to which a pedestrian is exposed.

However, the excessive proliferation of the automobile can deprive it of much of its prized mobility. (If we did not know how much these machines cost, we might suspect them of spawning in the still of the night, so rapidly do they seem to multiply.) It is expected that by the year 2000 the number of cars will double, the number of miles traveled will triple, and sixty-five percent of all mileage will be in urban areas. The Regional Plan Association of New York discovered that "the saturation point for the square mile at the heart of every city was nearly identical and the size of the city seemed to make little difference in the number of cars its downtown area could handle." By 1990, the hundred and two square miles of the South Coast will be classified as an urbanized area; by 1976 cars may be banned in the Santa Barbara central business district.

It is expensive to own and operate a car, but American drivers do not pay the full cost of the roads and streets they use or of the social damage their driving produces. In cities, each automobile is subsidized from the property taxes of the city by about ten cents a mile. (This subsidy includes the cost of land in streets and roads as it then produces no property taxes: cost of building roads and their maintenance; and cost of all types of traffic control.) According to the New York study, "the League of California Cities estimated that city residents in that state paid an average of \$440 a year in various taxes to subsidize automobiles."

Here in Santa Barbara, we have seen an increase of parking lots in the central business district, which in part is a response to the competition of the outlying shopping centers. As the value of real estate increases, it will surely become more desirable, and entirely economical, to build more parking garages, since the present one now pays for itself. Eventually charges for parking may have to be scaled to make the alternative of public transport more attractive, but such a policy must obviously be preceded by the availability of good public transportation.

As congestion increases, a slight staggering of arrival and departure hours by business and

industry can assist in relieving rush-hour traffic, as can the use of car pools. Various incentives could be used to encourage the formation of car pools. Some large cities, for example, are considering a car toll to be levied for the privilege of entering the central business district.



Small cars would help to solve some problems, and most cars could conveniently be smaller, as many are used most of the time to transport only one or two people. Here again, some form of government intervention may be necessary — the carrot or the stick or both.

No one likes the prospect of burgeoning bureaucracies, of increased regulation of our lives, of more and more government intervention. As population increases and life in general becomes more complex, such public management of private life, however, seems unavoidable. Moreover, regulation would be nothing new. The average citizen is usually not aware that at present there is a great deal of government regulation. For instance, the Interstate Commerce Commission has today an unindexed file of forty-three trillion different rates that apply to moving different goods varying distances! The citizen's concern should be whether existing regulations are for his benefit or for the benefit of special-interest groups. The highway lobby is one of the most powerful in the nation, and citizens might well ask, "In whose interest does it lobby?"

When experts in the field of transportation talk to the general public, they are prone to dazzle the imagination of the layman, and thus also to obscure some of the unpleasant realities of our problems, by speaking of the fantastic hardware that the future offers: people in capsules being propelled at high speed through tubes, computer-controlled vehicles zipping safely along the freeways of the future. Indeed, we may have such devices some day, but not tomorrow.

In the meantime, most problems can be solved by the proper use of what we already have. We need a systems-analysis approach, to which transportation is probably more suited than any other problem of modern society. This approach means planning, and it will probably require, from a people obsessed with speed and accustomed to mobility and independence, a reluctant acceptance of less speed, less mobility, less independence.

Another form of private transportation is the bicycle. In 1971 more than eight million bicycles were produced, and by now the bicycle must be considered a valid form of transportation. A bicycle costs far less than a car, both to own and to operate. It consumes no fuel, does not pollute, and takes little space.

We need bike paths, bike lanes, and bikeways, — all manner of accommodation to the bicyclist so that his exemplary mode of travel will be safe, pleasant, and expeditious. It is to the advantage of the motorist and the pedestrian, as well as of the bicyclist, to establish clearly marked bicycle lanes or separate bikeways.

We lag behind many communities in giving the bicycle the attention it deserves. In answer to those who would plead cost as an excuse for inaction, many inexpensive recourses are open. In parts of the city there are sidewalks on which one rarely sees a pedestrian. The bicyclist, uncomfortably conscious of the cars and trucks around him, has been told that sidewalks are not for him. In such areas, why not halve the sidewalk? All that would be needed are some signs and a little paint. The City successfully experimented with bike lanes recently by banning parking on one side of a street used extensively by student bicyclists going to and from school. Buses and trains could be equipped with racks so that passengers could carry bicycles. These and many more possibilities cost little money.

In an area where tourism is one of the most important sources of income, safe bikeways would be a great economic as well as recreational asset.

As for the pedestrian, he cannot get far very fast,

and he usually has no safe place in which to walk. Portions of the South Coast avoid sidewalks in order to preserve a rural atmosphere, but in many areas, sidewalks would provide children with safe places for play and, in addition, serve the neglected pedestrian.

It does not seem acceptable for this wealthiest of nations to deny mobility, and therefore the right to share fully in its prosperity, to twenty-five percent of all Americans — the young, the handicapped, the elderly, and the poor. These are the groups who can travel only by public transportation, so often inadequate in California. It seems unlikely that the South Coast will need or be able to support typical forms of mass transit in the near future. It sprawls too much; but “mass transit” and “public transportation” are not completely interchangeable terms. We do have public transportation, at least to some extent.

There is the taxi, a specialized service for which one must pay well. There are buses, those of the Metropolitan Transit District and the Greyhound Company. Eventually what will probably provide the greatest flexibility with the minimum of investment will be a fleet of minibuses that will swing through residential neighborhoods, feeding into main routes handled by the conventional large bus. Such a hybrid bus system could serve each community on the South Coast, with express buses connecting the different towns. Even buses three days a week would be a great improvement over “never-ever” in those areas now without service.

There are railroads. The tracks are there, and the day will surely come when they will see more frequent use. Amtrack's problems are not insurmountable, and necessity may compel a solution. We could have commuter trains, morning and evening express runs for those who live and work in different communities along the South Coast, from Vandenberg to Port Hueneme. We can also anticipate the kind of auto-train that is already popular on the East Coast, taking families and their cars from the Washington area to Florida. Service of this sort for the West Coast could reduce to some extent the number of vehicles on freeways.

One other mode of public transportation is the airplane. We have an airport. It does not make a very good neighbor, and air is a mode of travel too expensive for many. For those who can afford it, it is ideal for the quick trip away.

When we consider such matters as fuel consumption and air and noise pollution, fast ground transport is to be preferred to airplanes.

High-speed trains are proving successful on the East Coast. As population density on the West Coast approaches that of the East, it is to be hoped that the railroad will offer airlines stiff competition.



What is especially important is a passenger depot that will connect *all* modes of transportation. It must be planned now, so that the commuter may one day be able to leave the train he took from Vandenberg and at the depot in Santa Barbara take a bus, and perhaps then a minibus, direct to his car or to his door.

As the South Coast population grows, every new housing development or business will have an impact on transportation. Every new road that is built will have some effect on the value of the land through which it passes and to which it leads. Transportation truly "opens up the frontiers," big or little. If we are to have efficient public transportation systems at reasonable cost, we must restrain our sprawl a bit.

Many claim that Santa Barbara is the "environmental capital" of the country. True, an oil spill in the channel did much to spark national concern and unite local government and citizens in protest. Most of the recent environmental efforts, however, are splendid examples of what determined individuals can do, not evidence of strong local political leadership. If we are indeed to be the environmental capital of the country, truly aggressive leadership is required. It would be especially appropriate to see such leadership in the

area of transportation, for the mess in the channel had to do with a nonrenewable resource that is the lifeblood of transportation. Large sums of money are not essential; willingness and innovation are.

Transportation is much in the news these days, and some of the news is good. Consider these various recent headlines in the Santa Barbara *News-Press*:

AUTO CLUB CALLS FOR TOTAL  
TRANSPORTATION

MASS TRANSIT GETS  
AUTO DEALER BOOST

TRANSIT DISTRICT HERE  
QUALIFIES FOR FUNDS

PROPOSAL IN "TALKING STAGE" FOR  
DOWNTOWN MINIBUS PLAN

Such evidence of rising interest in transportation and its effects is coming none too soon. John Burby, who was special assistant to Secretary of Transportation Alan Boyd, published a book in 1971 entitled *The Great American Motion Sickness: or Why You Can't Get There From Here*. In his final paragraph, Burby makes clear the scope of imminent decisions on transportation facing our own South Coast today:

Transportation is more than three-dimensional. It has a fourth dimension, which is its power to change lives for better or worse. It has a fifth dimension, which is time. Transportation systems tend to stay with the people who build them for many generations, as the Roman aqueducts and the Spanish trail in Florida have endured. Unless Americans through their government begin to treat the transportation system as more than an abstraction, the sins of the father's Packard, which have been visited upon the son's station wagon and his wife's Volkswagen and his son's Honda will be revisited upon a future so polluted and so congested as to be no future at all.

*Josephine H. (Fifi) Webster graduated magna cum laude from Wheaton College in Massachusetts. For many years a conservationist, she has been active in both the Sierra Club and the Audubon Society. She is also on the board of directors of the Santa Barbara Botanic Garden and has participated in the American Field Service student exchange program.*

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# ZONING

Kathleen Sullivan

*Is there a maximum density beyond which it would be imprudent to build in Santa Barbara County? That point of diminishing return would appear to come from the attitude of the people . . . based on the type of area they want to live in. In recent years all too much emphasis has been given to the demands of speculative builders . . .*

Zoning grew out of man's desire for comfort and pleasant surroundings. As land took on values other than agricultural, residences needed protection from obnoxious neighbors. No one wished to live near a garbage dump or a factory, and, through zoning, various land uses were segregated according to function.

The chaotic growth of American cities dictated by laissez-faire economics expanded the purpose of zoning. As it was first legally defined in New York City in 1916, zoning came to mean "the regulation by districts, under the police power, of the height, bulk, and use of buildings, the use of land, and the density of population."

Since then, cities have continued to grow and zoning has grown with them. By now zoning has changed from a local mechanism for nuisance prevention to a vehicle for community development. Its intention is still regulation, but the danger has been, and is, that it was created as a value-laden defense system. Ideally, zoning promotes the interests of community over the ambitions of selfish landed individuals, but zoning as an ideal and zoning in practice are only distantly related. Zoning today is a strictly local regulatory system to be used or abused at will. Subject to entrepreneurial exploitation, the process originally developed to protect communities has in most cases become the tool that destroys them. The goal, all too often, is great growth, the approach a piecemeal

and shortsighted one. As a result, the word "zoning" often refers to a labyrinth of unworkable regulations that promote areas of suburban sprawl where densities are too low to permit efficient public service. The outcome is a total loss of any sense of community.

Before the development of the General Plan for Santa Barbara County, zoning had created many opportunities for land abuse by confining itself to specific uses. It had dealt with separate land developments without any concept of the whole. The consequent need for a comprehensive land-use plan to replace piecemeal zoning ordinances resulted in the adoption of the General Plan.

The General Plan is theoretically a guide to orderly development promoting the health, safety, and welfare of the people of the County. It is an attempt at an overall designation of land use to rectify the hodgepodge of zoning. It looks to both present and future use of land — a sort of "advance zoning." The General Plan expresses basic policies that shape community character, and the zoning ordinance, in theory, establishes specific limitations that presumably help to achieve the goals set forth in the Plan. Zoning is meant to act not as a substitute for the Plan but as a tool for its implementation.

The Santa Barbara Zoning Ordinance "classifies and regulates the use of land, building, and structures in accordance with a General Plan to

assure orderly and beneficial development of the County; to encourage the most appropriate uses of land; to maintain and stabilize the value of property; to conserve and protect the natural resources; to reduce fire hazards and improve public safety; to safeguard the public health; to prevent undue concentration of population; to decrease traffic congestion; and to create a comprehensive and stable pattern of land use upon which to plan transportation, water supply, sewage, park, school, and other facilities and public services."

These goals leave much room for specific interpretation. Unhappily, there has been a tendency to regard the General Plan "only as a guide," while the zoning ordinance has been considered law. Since it is only a guide, the argument goes, the General Plan can be ignored and zoning allowed to dictate land-use policy. Only recently, the Board of Supervisors affirmed their view that the General Plan is nothing more than a statement of development policy. In light of this pronouncement and in consideration of the amount of land zoned contrary to the recommendations of the General Plan, it seems that zoning has taken precedence in the planning of this County.

While the General Plan may also have its shortcomings, legally it should be superior to zoning ordinances. California law requires that each county or city planning agency prepare a comprehensive, long-term general plan for the physical development of its region. The plan must then be adopted and implemented. While every county must have a general plan by law, none are required to have zoning. Zoning is described simply as one of many implementing tools. If a planning commission agrees to a zoning change that conflicts with general-plan recommendations, the plan is not being implemented and is ineffective.

A number of court decisions in recent years have made even more explicit the relationship between zoning and general plans. In *O'Loane v. O'Rourke* in 1965, the judge called the general plan a "constitution" for all future development within the City of Commerce. He felt that zoning ordinances should be judged in terms of their fidelity to the plan and went on to say, "It surely cannot be contemplated that the council, in adoption of future zoning ordinances, will go contrary to the general plan that it adopts."

In Milpitas, in the case of *Van Sicklen v. Brown* last year, the California Court of Appeals ruled in favor of the general plan over a zoning ordinance. Zoning for a highway-service district allowed a

conditional-use permit for a gas station, although the general plan did not indicate this type of use. The court denied the building of the gas station because, even though it met zoning requirements, it did not conform to the objectives of the general plan. Santa Barbara's zoning ordinance, as it is written, is in agreement with this view: "This ordinance classifies and regulates the uses of land, buildings, and structures in the area in accordance with a master plan."

Notwithstanding, the working relationship between zoning and the General Plan remains confused. Although zoning has often been used to do the job of planning, it is by nature incapable of substituting for a master land-use plan. Zoning laws were established as defensive measures, subject to economic pressure. It is little wonder, then, that they have failed in establishing standards of urban development that produce good communities.

Zoning decisions have greater impact on individual pocketbooks than any other kind of decision made by local officials. Especially is this true in view of the broad discretion that officials have and the ease with which improper actions or inactions can be concealed. Zoning might be called a thermometer: it measures the amount of heat on a given piece of property at a given moment. As pressure for development increases, zoning responds, and property can be zoned for the use that brings the highest price at any particular time.

Conditional-use permits and variances, used as methods of obtaining relief from zoning regulations, are usually allowed in compliance with vague standards and are subject to official indulgence. As a consequence, public interest is often a minimum factor in zoning changes.

Isla Vista is a prime example of the damage that can come from rezoning and the granting of variances. Most changes there have been made against the recommendations of the Planning Department and the County Planning Commission and have been granted on appeal to the Board of Supervisors. The Estero Road area, for example, was rezoned in 1957 from duplexes to multiple units (four) in order to increase apartment density and land value. This change was allowed in spite of protests from ninety-nine Isla Vistans. At the time, the County Planning Department commented that enough housing capacity was provided for by existing zoning to accommodate twice the number of students living off campus with a university enrollment of fifteen thousand.

Isla Vista was again rezoned in 1967 to make it a

special student residential district; this change substantially reduced the amount of space in and around buildings, permitted higher building coverage and more units per acre, and substituted paved parking areas for landscaped yards. Rezoning thus made Isla Vista, in effect, a planned ghetto. On beachfront lots, the footage used to calculate bedspaces for rezoning included the cliff and the ocean!

If all vacant land in Isla Vista is developed under current zoning, there could be 23,000 people living in one-half square mile where there are now about 12,000. And if Isla Vista were to be razed and rebuilt according to current zoning, landowners could, quite legally, pack in 43,000 people!

Isla Vista is not alone in suffering from the inadequacy of zoning procedures. The development of the Goleta Valley epitomizes the destructive pattern created by zoning in the South Coast area. Zoning ordinances in Goleta have been out of step with actual needs and have been subject to speculative pressure and short-sighted planning practices.

After the Second World War, the influx of those desiring single-family housing in an area supplied with ample water, served by a university, distinguished by clean industry, and favored by a rural setting disturbed the leisurely pace of the predominantly agricultural Goleta Valley. Agriculture immediately became less profitable than it had been as land assessments were altered to reflect potential, rather than actual, use. Farmers thus profited by selling out to large economic interests. A self-perpetuating urbanization machine was set into motion as more and more land was made available for housing and industry. Growth was considered good.

The question before planners and citizens of the community was how to control this growth. Pressure for development was high, time scarce, and accurate information lacking. As a result, initial zoning met little opposition in the Isla Vista area, and only sixty people attended a meeting in July, 1950, called to approve zoning for the Goleta Valley.

As noted, zoning in Isla Vista proved to be a developer's dream. During the fifties, developers entertained similar hopes for the town of Goleta and its environs. Industrial zones were extended south of Hollister Avenue from Fairview to Glen Annie to "protect" residences from industry, although some farmers registered protests at increasing urbanization. In 1955 Richard

Whitehead, who was then planning director, commented that the Goleta Valley was entering a period of accelerated growth. "[T]he Los Angeles basin is filling up and we are becoming the flood plain." Although most newspaper articles and editorials during this period posed anxious questions as to the future of the Valley, the atmosphere was basically one of confusion, and the voices of concern were too often drowned out by the roar of bulldozers.

People were aware that some way must be found to guard against the wholesale destruction of agricultural land. Zoning, however, was not the answer. Much of what zoning had accomplished had been based on the often arbitrary concept of radiating bands: the town center was zoned commercial; the airport and the area beside the freeway were made industrial; residential zones followed in a series of bands ranging from high density near the center to low density in areas close to the foothills. The result was that the inner ring tended to become a hodgepodge mixture of gas stations and hamburger stands — called "garbage growth" by the Planning Department — while subdivisions and shopping centers leapfrogged into the remaining open space.

Richard Whitehead estimated that every acre zoned industrial would bring a population increase of about 350 people. The zoning of several hundred acres of commercial and industrial property, therefore, required the development of residential zones to meet demand. Subdivisions multiplied and roads divided the once fertile Valley. Conflicts arose. Some felt that residential development was proceeding at too fast a pace and that zoning policy should be revised to redirect any further development into the more hilly, less fertile lands, leaving prime bottom land for agriculture; others argued that it was inconsistent to promote industrial development without providing sufficient homesites for workers, and the flat lands seemed ideally suited for building. The forces for development prevailed and the Valley continued to grow more urban.

Zoning could not control development because it depended primarily on economic criteria and its purposes were shortsighted in terms of community welfare. As growth progressed, property values soared, and whoever could afford to buy could determine the use of the land.

The General Plan was adopted to change this haphazard, piecemeal pattern and to provide the means for sound growth and development with "an

eye to quality rather than quantity; to beauty rather than the commonplace; to economically sound growth, not boom or bust." However sincere its ideals, the General Plan was rendered immediately ineffective. The Plan revoked no zoning privileges and established no specific land-use criteria. It did not contain the now mandatory elements of conservation and open space. It left unresolved the conflict between land-use designations and zoning's conditional-use permits. Where the Plan indicated residential, therefore, it was possible for zoning to interpret the designation as a resort hotel or a public stable.

One great inconsistency between the Plan and zoning has been the concept of pyramid zoning. Pyramid zoning permits a number of choices within broadly defined land uses where the General Plan permits only one use. For example, C-2 zones combine commercial with residential where the General Plan indicates commercial only; an M-1-B zone allows both industrial and commercial use where the General Plan indicates Industrial Park. Zoning symbols are not restrictive enough.

Zoning has enabled planners to weave in and out of the loopholes of the Plan. A patchwork of scattered subdivisions has been created that puts a burden on the County in terms of efficient public service, on agriculture as a result of the profits to be made by conversion to urban use, and on every citizen in consequence of a diluted sense of community, a diminished potential for open space, and an elevation of taxes.

The pattern that has emerged in the Goleta Valley since the adoption of the General Plan has been one of upzoning and rezoning for growth. Officials concede that at least half the increase in Goleta's population since 1965 has resulted from rezonings contrary to the General Plan. Once an exception is granted -- say for a trailer park where the General Plan indicates residential -- every developer feels entitled to similar treatment. The Plan's vague guidelines for "controlled" growth thus give way to zoning's razor edge.

Since the successful campaign to prevent

rezoning of the El Capitan ranch, citizens' groups have injected themselves more emphatically into the planning process. Associations like the Goleta Valley Citizens' Planning Group have sensed a need for greater public control and for a revision of procedures to contain aggressive private interests. They are recognizing that too little communication between planners and the community has resulted in short-range, limited planning goals running counter to the public interest.

State Law AB 1301 states: "County zoning ordinances shall be consistent with the General Plan by January, 1973." Hearings are being held to assure compliance with this law, seemingly the logical culmination of the state's original intent to institute a firm yet flexible approach to coordinated regional planning.

Unfortunately, the language of AB 1301 is vague and the current open hearings may therefore concern themselves with nothing more than semantics. If they are to have meaning, residents of the South Coast must ask themselves what kind of a community they want and how they may achieve and preserve it. Should zoning continue to play a key role in the planning process? If the General Plan is to be a functional guide to stable development, should its ideals and goals be redefined?

Some argue that if zoning and the General Plan are made consistent, they will cancel each other out. If the spirit as well as the letter of AB 1301 is followed, however, the General Plan will indicate the nature of land use, and zoning will limit itself to specifics -- height, bulk, setback, and perhaps density. To change zoning to make it consistent with a weak, imprecise Plan or to change the Plan to make it consistent with zoning as it has thus far been manipulated is to lock the South Coast into a growth pattern leading to destruction.

Definitions of performance-oriented criteria that define the function of land and the nature of land use are needed *before* the arrival of the bulldozer. Once land is in buildings, the community cannot call back its other alternatives.

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# WATER! THE ECONOMICS OF THE FEATHER RIVER PROJECT

Daniel Sisson

*Generally speaking, in nearly all areas of the County where recent urbanization has occurred . . . . it has resulted in an increase in net water use — because it has occurred largely on dry land or on orchard lands in areas of confined ground water.*

**W**ithout water, the South Coast cannot prosper. Scarcity or abundance of this simple yet vital resource can make the difference between poverty and wealth, or even sickness and health. For this drought-prone area, imminent decisions on when and how to supplement the present water supply could involve the County in the most massive expenditure in its history.

Light rainfall and rapid population growth over the past several years have combined to produce the worrisome possibility of a water crisis. Local headlines proclaim a shortage in Goleta, and there is talk of rationing. Residents of all sections feel a growing apprehension.

The time of decision for the County is approaching. To evaluate alternatives and appreciate the significance of possible commitments that will affect South Coast residents for many years to come, we must review the history of the County's involvement in the Feather River Project; we must examine the costs outlined by Max Bookman and R.M. Edmonston, the official consultants to the County; and we must search out "hidden costs" often not explained in the consultants' reports. Only with an understanding of the ultimate cost and impact of importing state project water can citizens weigh the alternatives or appreciate the stakes involved.

In 1963 when the County of Santa Barbara believed it must make a hard decision on whether

or not to become a part of the California Water Project, the state seemed the only dependable source of supplemental water. Only the state had the physical capability and the capital to begin construction of a massive aqueduct system to serve southern California. The technology for desalinating water and converting effluents into a potable supply did not at that time exist. The County, therefore, considered only four factors in its deliberations: timing; economics; physical problems; and legal requirements.

Because the South Coast had a prior history of water shortage, the County faced an obligation to plan far in advance. Population was projected to expand, and supplemental water had to be transported over long distances. To have sufficient water available when it would be needed required decisions many years ahead.

The cost of importing water was prohibitive for a single county with limited resources. Mountain ranges had to be crossed, pipelines and pumping stations constructed, and entire counties traversed in order to deliver northern California water to the Southland. Such a project demanded the commitment of many counties to long-term contracts if the state was not to be burdened with the costs at some future date. Participating counties were required to sign binding legal contracts to ensure that those who intended to use the water would actually pay for it.

It is not surprising that, given the enormous barriers existing at the time and with no apparent alternatives or easy technological solutions, the County fathers of Santa Barbara made a commitment for Feather River water. It then appeared the only sensible method of averting a critical water shortage some time in the future, especially in view of rising County population.

In February, 1963, the Santa Barbara County Flood Control and Water Conservation District entered into a contract with the state to provide water from the Feather River Project. By 1965, the County maximum entitlement had been set at 57,700 acre feet per year. At that time the County — in conjunction with San Luis Obispo County — officially contracted to build the coastal stub, a fourteen-mile tube running off the main California aqueduct in the San Joaquin Valley. A five-year advance clause was also agreed upon at that time whereby the County would give five years' notice of the date certain it wished to receive its first drop of imported water.

In addition to the stub, the County committed itself to build a "ditch" or coastal aqueduct. This aqueduct, together with the stub, was to be one hundred miles in length; it was to run from Kettleman City in Kings County to San Luis Obispo County and bring water to the Santa Barbara County line at Santa Maria. Before the water-short South Coast could actually get Feather River water, however, still another conduit — the Santa Maria-Cachuma conduit — would be required to run from Santa Maria to Lake Cachuma. In addition, a lateral conduit would later be needed to supply Lompoc and Vandenberg Air Force Base, and modifications to the Tecolote Tunnel would be necessary to make it capable of delivery to the South Coast.

These, in general, were the commitments made by the County to ensure an adequate water supply.

The costs of these commitments, as compared to the price we currently pay for water, bear close examination. In 1971 the entire South Coast used 45,900 acre feet of water. This water had an average "raw" cost of twenty-five dollars per acre foot. (This figure is derived by averaging the assumed ten-dollar-a-foot cost of well water with the cost of Cachuma water, which goes as high as thirty-five dollars an acre foot.) At this average cost, South Coast residents spent approximately \$1,147,500 for water in 1971.

When we compare this figure with the estimated capital costs of Feather River water, serious doubts

arise as to the County's ability to pay for imported water. The coastal stub, which has been completed, carries an initial cost to the County of an estimated four million dollars, plus the cost of maintenance in perpetuity. To repay our share of the cost of the main aqueduct and the stub, the County is committed to pay \$365,000 a year at present. Beginning in 1975, however, that cost will increase until it reaches a maximum of \$.14 per \$100 of assessed valuation, or \$1,465,000 per year, indefinitely.

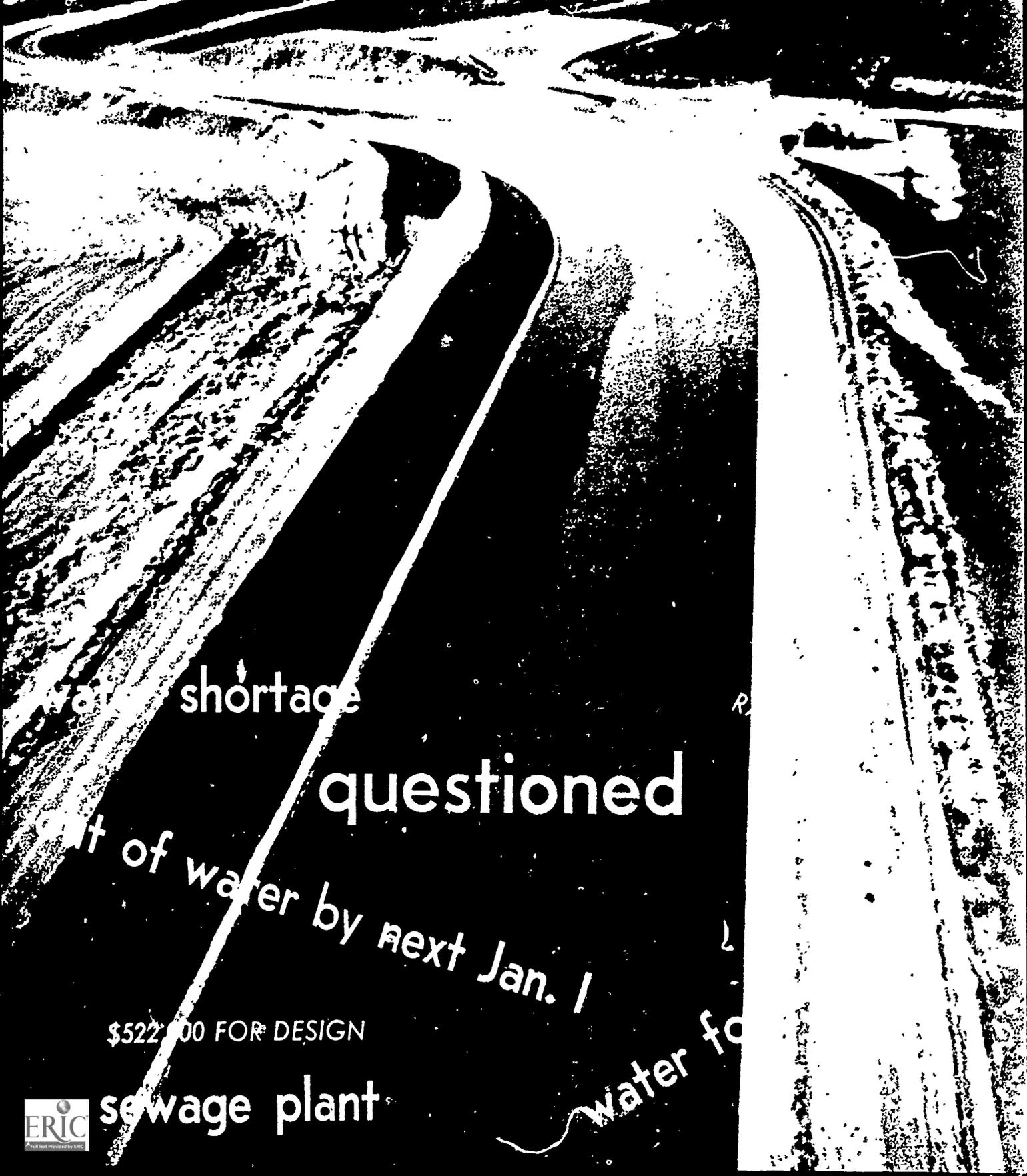
The coastal aqueduct will cost Santa Barbara County an additional forty-five million dollars if San Luis Obispo County participates. If San Luis Obispo fails to use Feather River water (and recent indications are that it will not use it), the costs of a slightly smaller coastal aqueduct will be borne entirely by Santa Barbara County taxpayers.

Another major capital investment will be the Santa Maria-Cachuma conduit. For twenty-one million dollars, this additional aqueduct, stretching forty-odd miles, will bring water to the point where the South Coast can use it. Included in this estimate are the lateral conduit to serve Lompoc and Vandenberg and the modifications necessary to the Tecolote Tunnel.

Total initial capital costs amount to approximately \$71,000,000 if San Luis Obispo County participates and an estimated \$81,000,000 if it does not. In addition, the County must pay added variable costs, like the Delta water charge, which is approximately ten dollars per acre foot, as well as pumping costs.

The official Bookman and Edmondston reports speak of costs in terms of dollars per acre foot. An initial cost of \$205 per acre foot to each user has been quoted, diminishing to \$131 per acre foot by the year 2001. These figures theoretically include capital costs, interest rates, maintenance, administration and overhead, and such additional charges as may be necessary.

A more realistic way of understanding the true cost of Feather River water is to examine the present and future cost of water *at the meter*, which is the price the customer actually pays. Today a resident of the South Coast typically pays \$120 per acre foot for water at the meter. If we deduct from this figure the assumed average cost of raw water, which is twenty-five dollars per acre foot, we see that residents on the average pay an implied surcharge of roughly ninety-five dollars per acre foot to cover treatment, local distribution, and administrative expenses.



water shortage  
questioned  
of water by next Jan. 1  
\$522,000 FOR DESIGN  
sewage plant  
water fo

In 1971, as mentioned, the South Coast used about 45,900 acre feet of water. Consider the impact on a water bill if an equal amount of Feather River water is added at an average raw cost of \$205 per acre foot as quoted by Edmonston. One half of the raw cost would be \$25 per acre foot, the other half \$205 per acre foot, for an average raw cost of \$115 per acre foot, if the cost of Feather River water is spread equally over all existing, and new, water users. Add to this raw cost the ninety-five-dollar surcharge, and most people would be paying \$219 per acre foot at the meter, or roughly twice what they pay now.

If, on the other hand, Feather River water costs were borne only by new users, meter costs would include an average raw cost of roughly \$700 per acre foot in the first years of delivery. This amount would gradually decrease to \$131 per acre foot by the year 2001 when the "ditch" is expected to run full. Meter costs to these new users would be \$795 per acre foot at first and \$226 by the year 2001!

These figures have been calculated directly from Edmonston's reports, but, startling as they are, they do not include a multitude of hidden costs. To quote one water expert, Raymond Baughman, assistant water director, City of Santa Barbara, "The \$205 figure is not realistic; it is way out in space!" In order to comprehend the reason for his statement, we must examine the hidden costs that will make County involvement in the Feather River project a matter of truly staggering expense.

Arve Sjovold, a former water commissioner for the City of Santa Barbara, has noted "an inconsistency between Edmonston's earlier estimates of capital costs (1961 report), his latest estimates (1970 report), and his assumed rates of inflation that are supposed to represent the differences in these two estimates. The current estimate seems in error (i.e., low) by three million dollars. In addition, it may be fairly stated that his assumed rate of four percent per year between 1970 and 1976 is unrealistically low, which would add even more to the total costs in the late nineteen-seventies."

Another related factor, not referred to explicitly by the consultants, is the high rate of inflation for construction materials. The *Engineering News Record*, the most reliable index for prices on the West Coast, states that the costs for construction materials rose twenty-three percent from January, 1969, to mid-1971. To illustrate concretely, one linear foot of 16"-diameter pipe cost \$18.20 in 1969 and \$23.70 in mid-1971. Most engineers

expect this trend to continue well into the future. At a conservative estimate, rising costs of construction materials might raise the cost of the coastal aqueduct - estimated at forty-five million dollars in 1967 - to sixty-six million dollars today.

Another cost not included in the consultants' estimates, and referred to only obliquely, is the expense of constructing an equalizing reservoir. This new reservoir will be required to balance summer peak demands with winter lows when the ditch runs full. If a new reservoir is not built and Cachuma is used for this purpose, excess water during a wet cycle might have to be dumped over the spillway. Such dumping would not only waste expensive water but would have yet another unfortunate effect for the taxpayer. As the water spilled over the dam, it would recharge aquifers downstream, making it unnecessary for those downstream to buy imported water. Potential customers would thus be lost.

One cost alluded to by the consultants is San Luis Obispo's share of the project. Edmonston says it is "about nine dollars per acre foot." This figure, as well as its reference, is misleading and imprecise. A more realistic figure was supplied by Sjovold: if San Luis Obispo does not use Feather River water, Santa Barbara County's capital costs will be increased by fourteen percent of the total cost, or approximately ten million dollars.

Other costs not mentioned in the consultants' reports are operation and maintenance costs: depreciation, movement, and the caulking for leaking joints. Administrative costs amount to almost seventy percent of the average hourly wage.

Another cost not mentioned, one which presages a massive increase in water charges, is expenditure for a "backbone system." This is a system of parallel, supplementary conduits that will be necessary as the main conduits run full; the supplements will be major arteries used by wholesale and retail distributors. While the necessity for these conduits must be determined by each water district separately, they are factors of enormous import if and when the capital costs of new arteries are passed on to the consumer.

Related to this hidden cost is the need for "middle men," the water service contractors who sell water. Baughman notes that "not all the water will be used and some must be sold at discount rates." The questions then arise: Who will buy the water? At what price? And at what loss to the taxpayer?

Other related questions naturally arise. In light of

stricter federal and state regulations, who would be responsible for the treatment of this water after it is used? Would this cost be passed on to the consumer? Or would it be included in a County-wide tax?

If large investments are required for tertiary as well as primary and secondary treatment, the costs may fall unfairly upon the general population. A densely developed acre of land uses much more water, for example, than an acre in agricultural use, while some industries use more than either farmers and ranchers or suburban residents. In the past we have allowed large users to pay less per acre foot than small consumers. Is this preferential treatment still justified? Should it be reversed? Should rates be charged perhaps by the acre rather than by the consumer?

The assumption behind the County's original commitment to the Feather River Water Project was that we had entered an age of unlimited population growth. The population figures presented by the consultants assumed that the County would grow from its present size to 466,001 people by the year 2000. The 1970 census, however, shows those figures to be curving downward. It is no longer reasonable to expect an explosive growth pattern in the future.

The costs of Feather River water have been scaled to rapid growth. As we witness a reduction in growth, we will also see an increase in per-capita costs. In this perspective, it may no longer be consistent with community goals to import 57,700 acre feet of water. The danger is that, once the project is initiated, the County will, in effect, be committed to growth in order to build a tax base large enough to pay for the project.

The County now has an irrevocable commitment to pay its share of costs for the main aqueduct and the stub and to pay the Delta water charge on a schedule of minimum annual entitlements beginning in 1980. These charges are now reflected on our property-tax bills; they guarantee our right to a certain amount of Feather River water when and if we need it.

The County is *not yet* irrevocably committed to take that water at any specified time or to build the Santa-Maria Cachuma conduit. Our contract states that we may delay our request for water. Our option can remain open in perpetuity.

What the residents of the South Coast need now is time -- time to determine whether technology is capable of providing us with a feasible alternative that is truly within our ability to pay. Baughman

has stated that a new "crash" water reclamation program by Du Pont will in all likelihood provide us with a cheaper alternative in less than three years. He believes that Du Pont can build a million-gallon-per-day plant for less than half a million dollars to produce potable water.

The South Coast today pours about 17,850 acre feet of effluent into the ocean every year. With more efficient collection, this amount could be raised to twenty thousand acre feet each year. Roughly half that amount is now reclaimable. If technology can improve on that ratio, the County might be able to postpone its decision on Feather River water for fifteen, perhaps twenty, years. The logic of delaying that decision seems irrefutable. Recently John Hamilton, chairman of the City Water Commission, stated, "The South Coast can save four million dollars a year in interest costs alone for each year it delays importation of state project water."

Questions for current consideration are whether or not the County has, or will have, the economic resources to embark on a project of such great expense and whether it might not be economically of great advantage to explore thoroughly the costs of imminent technological alternatives. These questions have especial pertinence in the perspective of current County income levels. With 11.6 percent of County residents on or below the poverty line, with about fifty percent of county families drawing an income of less than \$10,000 per year, the County has no large middle class to take on the financial burden. Rather than wait to consider possibly cheaper alternatives, should we sacrifice social services we now enjoy for the sake of Feather River water? This sacrifice would be a further "hidden cost" that might have adverse effects on minorities, senior citizens, wage earners, small entrepreneurs, and, certainly not least, wealthier citizens.

Questions concerning the Feather River Project raise an even more fundamental question for residents of the South Coast: Are those who doubt the advisability of continued rapid growth the "impractical dreamers?" Or are they, perhaps, the true realists of our time? The answer citizens give will determine the future of Santa Barbara County.

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## THE CHALLENGE AND THE OPPORTUNITY

The urbanization of the South Coast, begun in the sixties, has continued unabated into the seventies. In spite of increased unemployment, at least temporarily reduced corporate profits, and an impending water shortage, enthusiasm for expansion has remained high in the business community. The 1971 Annual Report of one of Santa Barbara's most prestigious financial institutions reflects the growth-oriented optimism still prevalent among many South Coast businessmen:

According to demographers, the coastal region from Santa Barbara to San Diego will someday be one "megalopolis," a great concentration of population and economic power. . . . [M]anagement is prepared to capitalize on this situation as the Company becomes well established in those areas of the state's populous southern third where population trends will result in future growth.

Requests from developers continue to mount for rezoning to higher densities and for conversion of agricultural land to urban uses. Pressure for development has urbanized more than one thousand acres of undeveloped land each year. Without a change in policy, this trend can be expected to continue and intensify.

Rising environmental concern among the residents of the South Coast has thus far failed to blunt the trend toward expansion. Rapid growth, however, affects more than environmental quality. Its impact on the nature of human associations and on the perspective of individuals alters the fundamental character of communities. A rapidly rising population usually brings an increase in the proportion of young people. The normal balance that exists in slower-growing areas is suddenly upset. Unemployment rises as the young swell the labor force. At the same time a "generation gap" develops between them and the relatively fewer older citizens whose taxes skyrocket to provide for schools and whose values are abruptly challenged.

The culmination of this process is the breakdown of communication and the build-up of resentment.

Rapid growth also brings with it new values, in particular an emphasis on efficiency and productivity. Since large, centrally controlled enterprises can be more productive and efficient than a number of small operations, supermarkets tend to replace mom-and-pop stores, large farming corporations to take over small farms, and a few large businesses to displace the many little businesses of slower, smaller times. Gradually the community finds itself with less variety and more uniformity. Its physical aspect becomes monotonous, its people bored with mediocrity.

Lack of variety carries with it the potential for catastrophe. Dependence on limited sources of supply can mean instant scarcity in the event of even the smallest emergency. Striking meat cutters or retail clerks may, for instance, cut off staple foods for a whole community dependent on two or three large food chains. If electricity is the only source of power, an outage can cause crisis within hours. The bankruptcy of a single major industry can bankrupt an entire city where that industry has been the dominant economic force; failure to recognize the importance of variety can create ghost towns overnight and thrust thriving communities like Seattle and Santa Maria into sudden depression.

The face of the South Coast is changing through more than the loss of its agricultural lands. During recent years the trend has been away from the many and the varied toward the few and the look-alike. Some of the newer shopping centers in Goleta, Carpinteria, Santa Barbara, and even Montecito — dominated by the food chains, banks, and drug and liquor combines — are barely distinguishable from those in Ohio, Alabama, or New York. With every move toward homogeneity and mediocrity, the South Coast gives up more of its identity and its special character. As communication between age groups becomes more difficult, as the bored silence of supermarket lines replaces friendly, small-market give and take, as the mechanics of living and getting to and fro increasingly preoccupies its residents, the South Coast cannot help but lose its pride in being.

To retain the richness of its own individuality will require a conscious effort. Otherwise, the predictions of the growth enthusiasts will come true, and the South Coast may well become the northern terminal of an undifferentiated coastal "megalopolis" extending south to San Diego.

# TODAY'S ACTION, TOMORROW'S PROFIT: AN ALTERNATIVE APPROACH TO COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Paul Relis

*With recent pressures, it has been all too easy to overlook the fact that, in haste to accommodate growth, the very reasons for it may be destroyed. There have been tendencies to let the "bars" down, to do things as they do in Los Angeles, in Orange County, or in other places that are not at all like Santa Barbara County.*

For residents of Montecito, Hope Ranch, and portions of Santa Barbara, urbanization and its attendant ills seem remote indeed. The quality environment characteristic of these areas was established well before the emergence of the General Plan by respected, visionary citizens who used their influence to assure that the General Plan would protect their cherished aesthetic values.

For all their beauty, these communities cannot stand in proud isolation under modern conditions. Smog from glutted highways respects no economic or social class. Crime and ill-health in one small area can threaten all the rest. Effluents move with the littoral drift to foul the beaches of rich and poor alike. Fire consults no planning board in determining the direction it will choose. And oil moves with the wind and tide to coat waters far from the source of spill.

The future of the most attractive South Coast communities will be determined by decisions made in areas beyond their direct control — in the unincorporated communities of Goleta, Isla Vista, and Summerland, in the new city of Carpinteria, and in the relatively young towns of Lompoc, Santa Ynez, and Santa Maria — where the battle is being fought and lost. These communities have been and continue to be victimized by a value system that has long since proved its bankruptcy in countless towns and cities across America.

Unless it is revised, the County General Plan will

be a blueprint for the destruction of the South Coast. Despite its far-sighted features, the General Plan will, if followed to the letter, bring about the ruin of the Goleta Valley, despoil the Carpinteria flood plain, alter the character of Lompoc and the Santa Ynez Valley, and jeopardize the future of Santa Maria.

Stripped of its lofty verbiage, the General Plan is little more than an economic model that prescribes land use in terms of *single functions*. It speaks of zones — residential, highway-related, commercial, professional, and the like — as if these separate zones were in no way interrelated or interacting.

Economics alone is no longer an adequate standard for planning because it leads to the inhibition of all other aspects of life. Studies in the natural sciences have revealed that single standards destroy stability. In the forest, for example, many species coexist and are arranged in a definite hierarchy, descending from dominant tree species through subdominates to soil micro-organisms. These multiple species play cooperative or symbiotic roles, and any simplification of this natural diversity can jeopardize the forest's stability and even destroy it.

Diversity is no less important to human communities. Automation, wherein complex, perceptive human beings have been forced to think of and perform a single function repeatedly, has resulted in intense boredom leading to neurosis and

antisocial behavior. Evidence of a belated understanding of the importance of diversity is the decision by one automobile corporation to de-automate its operations, with a resulting improvement in both quality and productivity.

The South Coast can no longer ignore the proven relationship between diversity and stability. If monotony is not to reign supreme, if congestion is not to bring irreversible damage to the remaining land, citizens must reexamine the concepts that gave rise to the General Plan and present zoning ordinances. Deficient planning concepts can mean irreversible damage to the fragile ecosystems on which future generations must depend for survival and can lead to a fatigued and frustrated human community of malfunctioning neurotics.

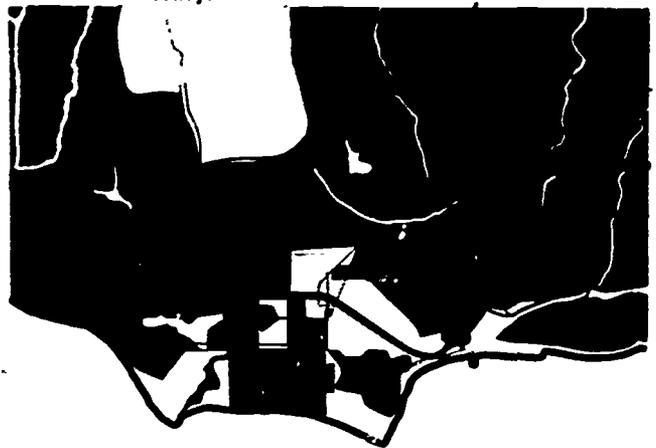
Perhaps the most graphic example of the destruction being wrought in the name of the General Plan is the change in character of the Goleta Valley over the past twenty years.



From 1965 to the present, construction has proceeded at an undiminished pace, filling the entire eastern portion of the Valley with new development, except for bits of agricultural, marsh, and brush lands. At the same time large arterial extensions have been constructed to penetrate the western end of the Valley, assuring access to still undeveloped tracts far from the heavily urbanized areas to the east. Also, the first developments have appeared in the western section of the Valley.



Prior to 1950, Goleta remained a small town surrounded by vast tracts of orchards and croplands of fine quality.

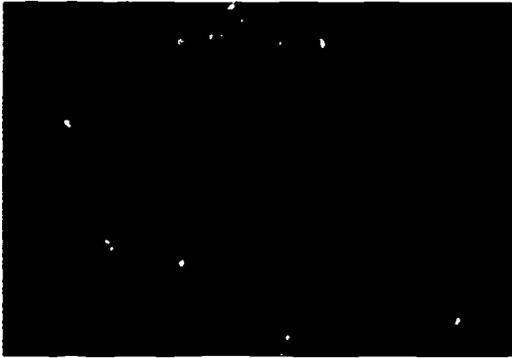


Unless planning perspectives change, the Valley is destined for complete urbanization in the future, as shown in THE SPECTRE above. Open space will retreat to the perimeters of urban areas except for strips around coastal streambeds and parks, indicated in white. The larger white areas represent golf courses, the University's lagoon area, and private or public holdings with limited public access. The largest white area is land now in agricultural preserve and may be permitted to convert to another use in ten years if the owners so request. (This area is in Los Carneros Canyon, the location of the finest County lemon and avocado orchards.)

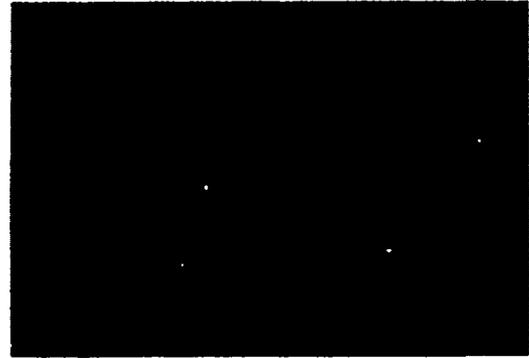


Goleta urbanized rapidly during the late fifties and early sixties, with development spreading outward from the town center. By 1965 the Valley was well on its way to saturation.

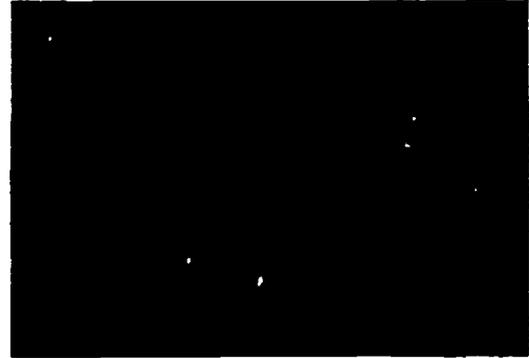
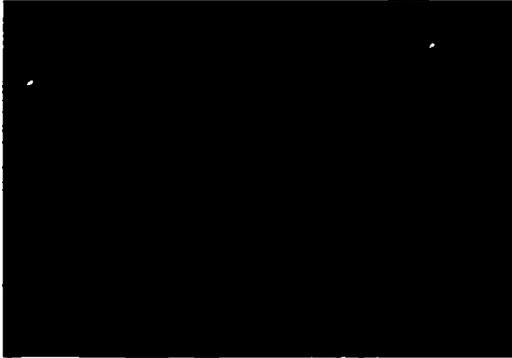
The plight of the Valley can be appreciated even more from comparative pictures. In the following photographs, each plot of presently undeveloped land is pictured with an existing Goleta development of the same density as that proposed by the General Plan and zoning ordinances for the undeveloped area.



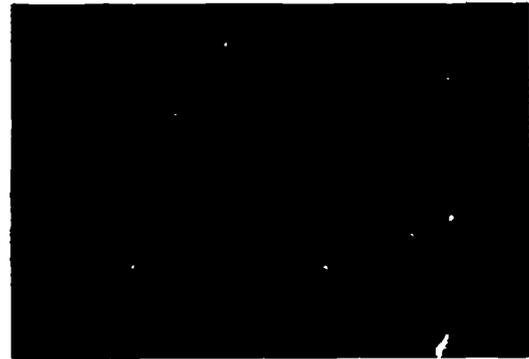
**A walnut orchard in Winchester Canyon. The General Plan allows six units to the acre, similar to the development on the right.**



**An open field containing the largest Eucalyptus forest in the Valley, a breeding ground for Monarch butterflies. A map has been filed for 329 of 500 houses planned for fifteen acres. Most of the trees will be cut.**



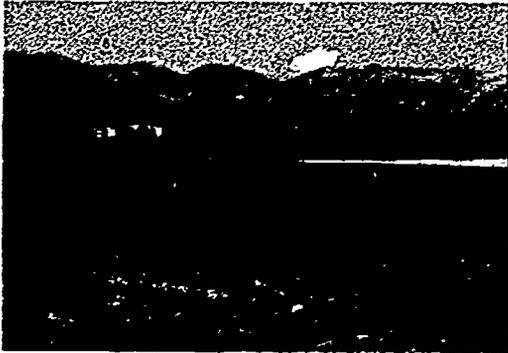
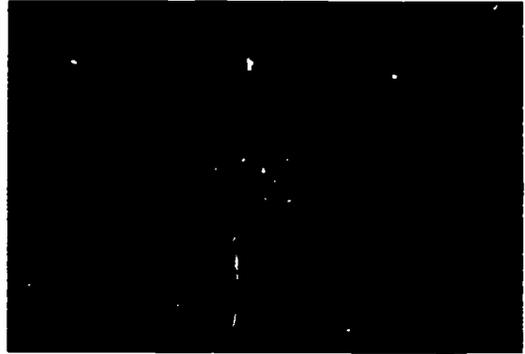
**Lemon and avocado orchard on the corner of Patterson and Cathedral Oaks. According to the General Plan, this land will be developed to look similar to the tract on the right.**



**Corona Del Mar Rancho just off the freeway at Glen Annie Road. It is destined for six units to the acre.**



**Area surrounding Los Cameros Lake. The General Plan calls for six units per acre, but there is pressure for making this the site of a County park.**



**Prime agricultural land on Patterson Avenue, now in organically grown lettuce but surrounded by buildings. The area is designated Professional-Institutional on the General Plan and is probably destined for office buildings.**



**An orchard on Cathedral Oaks Road, neglected in anticipation of development containing six houses to the acre, similar to the new tract on the right.**



**The last of the truck farms along Calle Real between**



**Patterson and Fairview. The General Plan indicates highway-related use for this land.**

Clearly, an exclusively economic perspective is inadequate if the South Coast wishes to protect its remaining open lands from the fate that has befallen those in Santa Monica, Long Beach, and similar communities. Planning for the Valley, and for all other open areas, needs the benefit of an approach that gives weight to the full range of natural and social values indispensable to human life and genuine progress.

"Nature," Ian McHarg has said, "is the arena of life." Using this simple proposition as his foundation, McHarg, who is professor of regional planning and landscape architecture at the University of Pennsylvania, has developed a dynamic and revolutionary approach based on a concept called intrinsic suitability.

"Let us accept," he urges, "that nature is process, that it is interacting, that it responds to laws, representing values and opportunities for human use with certain limitations and even prohibitions to certain of these."

To employ intrinsic suitability as a basis for planning means, in simplest terms, to consider every section of land in the context of its natural function and to calculate in precise terms what losses the community might suffer from interference with this function. Man — even technological man — depends upon the sun, the rain, the ocean, and the soil for every amenity and for existence itself. If nature is "the arena of life," then a respect for natural processes is essential to survival. Natural processes must therefore be given social value and must be considered in advance of any development.

Once we accept the need for such an ecological perspective, for a land-use policy based on the functions of various types of land, many of our present problems will be amenable to solution. This approach offers unique advantages: its method is rational, since it depends on evidence provided by exact sciences and data from substantial sources; much necessary information is already available; any two people, applying the method to a given area, are likely to reach the same conclusions; and, most important of all, the community can apply its own value system in determining land use, thus preserving attributes of especial importance to it. Montecito is a prime example of a community whose distinction has been maintained by close attention to the values cherished by its residents.

With a moment's thought, for example, we can appreciate the long-term economic advantage of considering farmland in terms of its function and its

potential for contribution. Prime agricultural land is the product of thousands of years of alluvium deposits, and this land is therefore as enduring and priceless a community asset as mountains and ocean vistas. Farmers forced by urbanization to abandon prime soils must turn to those of inferior quality. An enormous capital investment is required to bring these inferior lands into full production; even so, it is uncertain how long they can be kept productive with chemical fertilization and pesticides to compensate for their lack of native fertility.

With our present perspective, it is extremely difficult to protect even the best land when highway-commercial zoning multiplies its value twenty times over or when rezoning to residential use increases market value tenfold. To protect all farmland might be as undesirable as it is impossible, but a suitability study might reveal that the ultimate costs of converting the best soils to development would be too high. Such a study might therefore lead us to classify some lands as "Productive-Commercial," amenable only to such uses as agriculture, recreation, or one-residence-per-ten-acres, which are compatible with preservation of their natural superiority.

If all land is viewed in terms of its function and its possible long-term value to the community — not merely in terms of current market value — land use will be determined by an evaluation of many social, economic, aesthetic, and ecological factors, ranked in order of their importance to the health and livability of the area. Preserving ecological values is not necessarily incompatible with development.

Take, for example, a shoreline area with a sand dune running the length of the beach. On the dune lives a community of grasses whose roots help to stabilize the dune and which are totally vulnerable to any kind of human activity. Behind the dune is a relatively flat area covered with a greater variety of grasses and plants. A housing development constructed on the dune destroys the grasses with their stabilizing roots, making the dune and the houses vulnerable to the forces of the wind and sea. As the dune erodes, houses are battered by the ocean, as happened in Oxnard Shores. A development built in the flat area is protected by the dune and its grasses and is safe from sea erosion. From a building standpoint, the flat land is of greater value than the dune; from an ecological viewpoint, the dune itself is of more value than the land behind.

To determine the best use of land along the

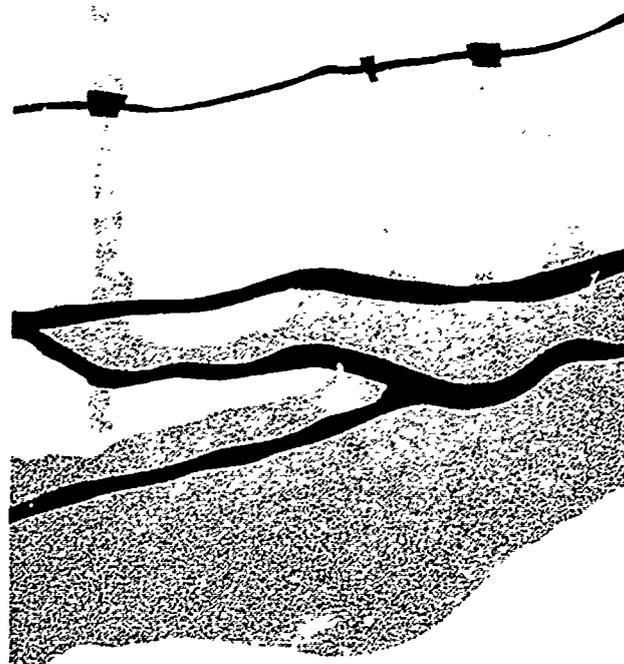
South Coast requires a series of value-determination studies in the form of maps. When overlaid one on the other, these maps constitute a synthesis of all values, and the composite that results provides a guide for determining optimum use of each parcel of land. Those areas of greatest suitability for urban development will be revealed by mapping each of the following: soil expansiveness; seismic hazard; tsunami (tidal wave) hazard; flood hazard; slope; soil erosion; fire hazard; cliff retreat seiche; scenic

quality; historic value; and so forth.

As a demonstration of the method, six maps have been prepared of a portion of the South Coast west of Ellwood. Six factors have been chosen for representation and each map is an evaluation within the context of one factor. In terms of flood hazard, for example, the greatest hazard is shown by the darkest tone and areas of least hazard are shown on the map in white.



FLOOD HAZARD



SEISMIC HAZARD



SOIL EXPANSIVENESS



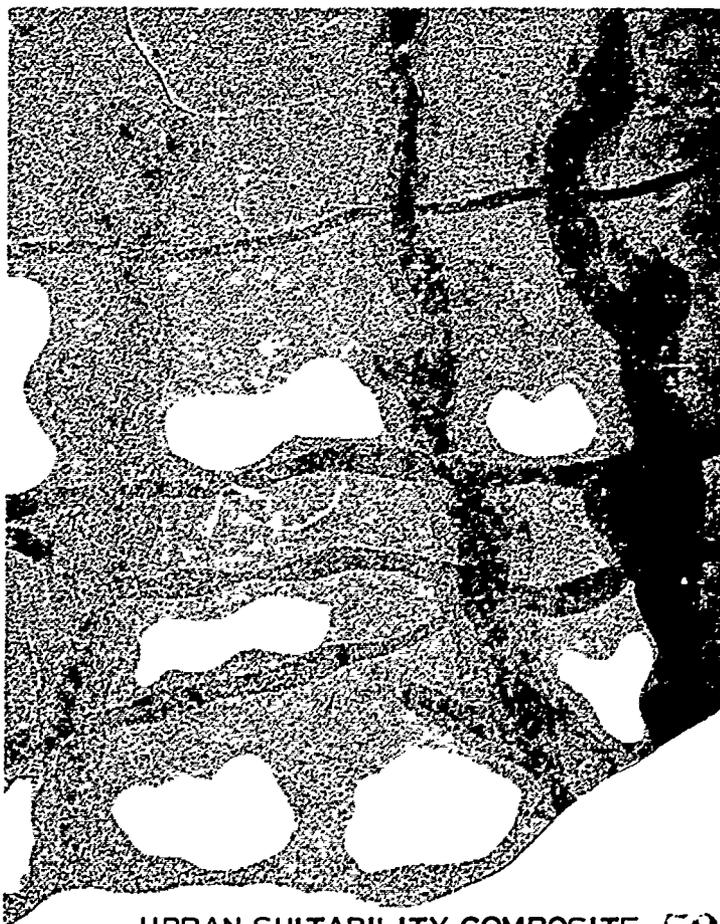
FIRE HAZARD



SLOPE



SOIL EROSION



URBAN SUITABILITY COMPOSITE 52

Areas highly suitable for urban development are determined by overlaying these and other constituent maps. In the resulting composite, the lightest color indicates land where development would be most compatible with the natural landscape. Urbanization is contraindicated where several hazards interact to make land unsuited for high density or for expensive investment (the dark tones). The composite will also preclude urban development where land of unique scenic, scientific, or educational interest might be adversely affected.

It will be seen that this composite resembles a mosaic. Normal land-use maps, like the General Plan map, are more like posters, with each land use carefully segregated. Conventional maps fail to reveal environmental variability and therefore prevent us from responding to it in our planning.

A thorough application of the intrinsic-suitability method to the South Coast would reveal our options for the future. From the standpoint of urban development, the most valuable lands would be those capable of accommodating a wide range of complementary uses simultaneously — agriculture, housing, recreation, and conservation. When certain lands emerge as potentially suitable for several conflicting uses, the General Plan could provide the basis for decision. If its goals were restated to indicate the community's priorities, specific determinations could be made without political pressure. The criteria used in this method are neutral and objective, and a priority ranking of community goals would guarantee a similar objectivity in the administration of the Plan.

A system that considers land uses in terms of most to least desirable for each specific area has enormous advantages over our present system. First, it makes possible the consideration of vital factors that cannot be precisely priced according to economic absolutes. Second, it enables the inclusion of unquantifiable values of utmost importance to community residents, giving citizens the right to insist that the development process respect these values. Third, it makes it possible to determine with some precision the total cost — social, aesthetic, and ecological, as well as economic — of any planning proposal.

The temptation today is to believe that increasing concern for the environment among South Coast residents will alter the pattern of development. Such optimism might be justified if remaining open lands were owned exclusively by local citizens with a stake in the community. But they are not. Again Goleta provides an example.

A glance at the ownership of the largest open acreage surrounding Goleta offers little encouragement to those who hope that the peripheries may be spared. Wallover, Inc. of New York owns 1,138.19 acres, extending from high in the mountains to the beach. Transamerica Corporation of San Francisco, with a mailing address in Corona Del Mar, holds 3,308.63 acres penetrating into the front country. Surrounding Lake Los Carneros is the property of Boise Cascade, with 19.68 acres. R.A. Watt Company, with 37.91

acres, and Bowatt Properties of Gardena, with 76.06 acres. American National Insurance Company of Galveston, Texas, owns 591.65 acres of foothill land on the Santa Barbara side of Goleta. Choice beach property on both sides of the freeway is held by Security Pacific National Bank — 442.08 acres. Other giant tracts are owned by Hollister Company (919.73 acres), Ellwood Ranch Company (1,119.67 acres), Stow Company (267.92 acres), and La Patera Cattle Ranch (449.50 acres).

If citizens of greater Santa Barbara desire a reevaluation of their planning means and planning ends, if they wish to discover what development is most suitable for the South Coast and where it should occur, all that is necessary is their mandate for a strengthening of the General Plan to make it responsive to current needs. A suitability study of the South Coast is well within the expertise of a number of local residents, and the astronomical costs usually associated with such studies, therefore, need not apply. Furthermore, such a mandate would not be without precedence.

Palo Alto, California, some ten months ago, initiated a moratorium on development in a large and vulnerable portion of the urban fringe. Its authority was Government Code 65558, which gives a charter city the power to declare a moratorium without a popular vote, providing a bona fide study has been made or is in process. Palo Alto's city attorney cited the case of *Mang v. County of Santa Barbara* as legal precedent for adopting an interim ordinance to protect the public safety, health, and welfare. Palo Alto's Foothill Design Study has recommended that one parcel be developed and that others, some of them as small as ten acres, be placed under the Williamson Act, which is the basis for agricultural preserve.

Once it is understood that the major deficiency of the General Plan is its reliance on planning concepts that are far too limiting, the need for revision becomes clear. A call for revision would not imply a permanent cessation of development or a rejection of economic growth. A mandate for revising the General Plan would, instead, recognize the truth that neglect of social, ecological, and human values predisposes toward eventual bankruptcy, prevents long-term prosperity, and reduces the community's chances for survival.

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*Paul Relis received his bachelor's degree from the University of California, Santa Barbara. He has worked for the U.S. Forest Service and been involved in a research project for the County. He is at present director of the Ecology Center.*



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