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Introduction
The Housing Needs and Trends Report is an effort by the Planning Department to understand San Francisco’s housing stock and how it serves the city’s residents as well as broad trends impacting housing across the city and region.

San Francisco and the Bay Area are currently in the midst of a housing affordability crisis unprecedented in their history. Increases in housing prices and displacement pressures have been a long-term trend, driven by policy decisions first established decades ago and amplified by regional and national economic trends. Over the last 5 years, the crisis has intensified as the region’s high-wage employment base has grown while regional housing production has not kept pace. Much of the policy debate around housing has focused primarily on new construction—should we build more market rate housing? can we expand resources to build more affordable units?—yet the vast majority of San Franciscans live in homes that were built decades ago. The Housing Needs and Trends Report is an effort by the Planning Department to understand San Francisco’s physical housing stock and how it serves the city’s residents as well as broad trends impacting housing across the city and region.

The report is divided into three sections. The first section explores the existing housing stock itself; including tenure, age, size, affordability, and production trends. The second section analyzes how the city’s housing stock serves households of different incomes, and how employment and demographic changes have impacted the composition of San Francisco’s residents and demand for housing in recent decades. The final section engages with changes to the city’s diverse population in relation to housing, in terms of race/ethnic identity, household types, and senior and disability status, adult students, and individuals experiencing homelessness.

The analysis contained in this report draws from a number of data sources in order to provide a rich picture of the housing needs of San Franciscans and broad trends impacting the region. The three main sources include Census data, data from City departments, and a public survey undertaken by the Planning Department. The Planning Department has analyzed US Census data published under the Public Use Microdata Sample (PUMS). PUMS allows users to divide and cross-tabulate Census data in myriad ways as well as combine individual level responses with household characteristics. The report also includes analysis of data produced by City departments, such as the Department of Building Inspection, the Rent Board, and Planning, which is available at the level of individual buildings, and inventories of affordable housing units managed by the Mayor’s Office of Housing and Community Development. Department staff undertook a major survey of San Francisco residents (more than 4,500 in total) to investigate questions that could not
be answered using PUMS or City generated data such as how San Franciscans find their places of residence and how secure or vulnerable they feel in their housing. For specific charts and maps, the Report also draws on data from commercial sources such as Zillow and State/Federal agencies like the California Department of Housing and Community Development (HCD) and the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD).

The analysis on this Report complements the Department’s in statutorily mandated reports on housing and land use issues and work products such as the Housing Element, Housing Inventory, the Housing Balance Report, and monitoring reports for the city’s Plan Areas, including the Eastern Neighborhoods, Market-Octavia, and the Downtown Plan. These existing reports are published on regular intervals, according to legislated local and state requirements. For example, the Department updates its Housing Element every seven years, analyzing the amount of zoned capacity the city has to accommodate residential growth. The Housing Inventory has been published annually for more than 50 years, summarizing permit data to show housing development activity by neighborhood, type, affordability levels, and other variables. Area Plan monitoring reports track residential and non-residential development activity in specific geographies designated for rezoning in recent years against policy goals outlined by those plans.

This Report draws on the information contained in the Department’s other housing-related publications, while taking a broader view in terms of scope and data sources. It is an attempt not just to understand the mix of housing units built in any given year (as does the Housing Inventory) or the ratio between market-rate and affordable housing production each quarter (Housing Balance Report), but a broader look at economic changes in recent decades and how they have impacted both residents and the city’s housing stock. The Report will support ongoing policy and planning work regarding housing policy for the City and County of San Francisco. The results of this work will provide valuable information to the public and decision makers as the Department embarks on a Housing Affordability Strategy, starting in summer 2018. The goals of the Strategy are to inform Planning Commission and Board of Supervisor actions on programs, policies, and potential changes to the Municipal Code to develop or expand programs to maintain the affordability of the existing housing supply and provide housing stability to city residents.
San Francisco’s Housing Stock
Characteristics of Our Housing Stock

San Francisco’s housing stock, developed and maintained over more than one and a half centuries, includes many building and unit types. The city’s housing serves a diverse set of household types—including families with and without children, roommates, single individuals, and multi-generational households—from a wide range of incomes. Some rental units are under rent control, some are restricted to low- and moderate-income households, while others are rented at market rates. This section explores the diversity of San Francisco’s housing stock, its geographic distribution, and how it has evolved over time.

Tenure and Rent Control Status

A significant majority of San Francisco’s households (65%) rent their place of residence; a much higher share than the region overall (45%).

San Francisco’s tenure mix is shown in FIGURE 1. A higher percentage of renters is a common phenomenon for central cities within metropolitan regions as compared to their suburbs. As will be discussed in later sections, the types of households that live in the city (higher proportions of single individuals and childless couples) tend to disproportionately be renters, though the city also has large numbers of families with children who rent.

Most of San Francisco’s rental units are subject to “rent control.”

The number of rent-controlled units is more than double the number rental units not under rent control. The fact that approximately 80% of San Francisco’s total housing stock and 77% of San Francisco’s multifamily housing stock was constructed prior to

1 By-and-large, units located in multi-family buildings constructed before 1979 are subject to The Residential Rent Stabilization and Arbitration Ordinance, commonly known as “Rent Control.” This law provides two principal protections against both evictions and rent raises. For the purposes of this report, discussion largely revolves around the price control of units. Under this law, rents are set from the date of first occupancy and can only be raised annually up to a pre-determined amount or to cover certain renovation costs. Once a unit is vacated, landlords can increase the rent to a market rate, a process known as vacancy de-control.

FIGURE 1.
Tenure of Occupied Housing Units in San Francisco and the Bay Area, 2015

Source: Planning Department calculations of data from the ACS (IPUMS-USA) and MOHCD

NOTE: Rent controlled units are estimated using the American Community Survey (ACS) estimates for renter-occupied units in multifamily buildings constructed before 1980. Income-targeted affordable units built before 1980 reported by the Mayor’s Office of Housing and Community Development (MOHCD) were subtracted from the rent controlled total. Affordable units built after 1980 were subtracted from the ACS estimates for renter occupied units built in 1980 or after and classified as renter-occupied, non-rent controlled.
1980 contributes to the high proportion of units that are under rent control. As shown in FIGURE 1, approximately 9% of San Francisco’s housing is comprised of deed-restricted affordable housing, developed and maintained under a variety of programs, including public housing, developments built by non-profit entities with public subsidies, below market-rate units built by developers in market-rate projects under inclusionary zoning, among others. The section on affordable housing, below, describes these affordable housing programs in San Francisco in further detail.

San Francisco renters stay in their units longer now than they did in 1990. Whereas one-third of renters had been in their units for less than 2 years in 1990, only one-quarter did by 2015. Similarly, 20% of renters lived in their units for 11 or more years in 1990, while by 2015, 29% had a tenure of 10 or more years, as shown in FIGURE 2.

How San Franciscans Find Housing

The Housing Survey conducted by the San Francisco Planning Department between December 2017 and March 2018 asked residents how they found their current place of residence. Responses for renters and owners differed significantly, as shown on FIGURE 3. A large majority (73%) of those who own their homes reported finding it through a real estate broker, while the rest found it through a family or friend or internet website. Renters found their current residence through a variety of channels. Almost half of all renters (46%) found their current residence through the internet or a newspaper advertisement and 27% found it through a family member or friend. Between 7% and 9% reported finding their residence from a tenant in the building, a roommate, or the landlord, and only 3% found it through a broker or rental agency.

FIGURE 2.
Length of Tenure of Renters in San Francisco, 1990 and 2015

FIGURE 3.
How San Francisco Renters and Owners Found Their Current Place of Residence
Building Size

Compared to the rest of the Bay Area\(^2\), San Franciscans are much more likely to live in multifamily housing, with a fairly even distribution of households living in single family homes and buildings with 2-4 units, 5-19 units and 20 units or more.

The rest of the region is dominated by single family homes. As shown in **FIGURE 4**, in San Francisco 31% of all units are single family homes, which is less than half of the proportion of single family units in the region (63%). The building type that accommodates the next largest share of units for both San Francisco and the Bay Area are large buildings with more than 20 units. In San Francisco, those buildings hold 27% of all units—almost twice the share of units in large buildings in the region (15%). Other categories of building types (2-4 units, 5-9 units, and 10-19 units) each hold between 10 and 22% of the city’s units in San Francisco, and between 6 and 10% of units throughout the region.

While San Francisco’s housing stock in general is quite different than the rest of the region, the pattern of building size by tenure is more similar, as shown in **FIGURE 5**. 66% of homeowners in San Francisco live in single family homes compared to 90% for the region. Another 11% of San Francisco homeowners live in two unit buildings. Given that multifamily housing is

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\( ^2 \) Unless otherwise noted, this report defines the Bay Area as the 9-county region that includes Alameda, Contra Costa, Marin, Napa, San Mateo, San Francisco, Santa Clara, Solano, and Sonoma Counties.
69% of San Francisco’s total, it is noteworthy that the vast majority of homeowners still live in single family homes. Rental Housing in San Francisco, like the Bay Area, is far more likely to be in multifamily buildings. San Francisco has far more rental units in larger buildings than the rest of the Bay Area, however. In addition, nearly one third (32%) of rental housing in the region is single family homes while in San Francisco the figure is just 14%.

Although San Francisco is denser than the region, much of this density is concentrated in the City’s central and northeastern neighborhoods. In the southern and western parts of the city, densities are more comparable to regional and statewide figures. MAPS 1 through 4 illustrate the distribution of units by building size throughout San Francisco.

As shown in MAP 1, the majority of the housing stock in the city’s western and southern neighborhoods is in one-unit buildings (the vast majority of which are single-family homes, though some are single units above ground floor retail uses). In the southwestern neighborhoods (with the exception of Lakeshore), more than 75% of units are in such low-density buildings. These neighborhoods include Sunset/Parkside, West of Twin Peaks, and Excelsior. In southeastern neighborhoods like Bernal Heights and Bayview Hunters Point, more than 50% of units are one-unit buildings. By contrast, all of the neighborhoods in the northeast of the city have low percentages of their housing made up of one-unit buildings.

Neighborhoods in the northeastern part of the city have the highest concentration of buildings of 20 or more units, as shown in MAP 2. In neighborhoods like South of Market, Japantown, Tenderloin, and Mission Bay, more than 75% of units are in buildings with 20 or more units. The only exception to this pattern is the Lakeshore neighborhood in the southwest corner of the city, where the Parkmerced development is located. Neighborhoods like Nob Hill, Chinatown, and Western Addition also have more than half of their units in these larger buildings. Conversely, most of the city’s neighborhoods, particularly in the southern and western parts of the city, have relatively small shares of their housing stock in buildings of 20 or more units.

The city’s central and northern neighborhoods have higher proportions of medium-density buildings, ranging from 2 to 4 units and 5 to 19 units. MAP 3 shows neighborhoods, largely in the central and northwestern neighborhoods of the city, which have relatively high percentages of their housing stock in buildings of 2 to 4 units. In neighborhoods like the Castro/Upper market and the Inner and Outer Richmond, close to half of all units are in these types of buildings. In central/eastern neighborhoods like the Mission, Noe Valley, and Potrero Hill, the share is between 30 and 45% of all units. Neighborhoods in the northern part of the city (north of Cesar Chavez Boulevard and Twin Peaks) also have higher shares of their units in buildings with between 6 and 20 units. As MAP 4 Shows, neighborhoods like Hayes Valley, the Marina, and Russian Hill have more than 30% of their stock in such buildings. Southern neighborhoods like the Outer Mission, Visitacion Valley, and Bayview Hunters Point have the lowest shares of their units in the moderate density building categories (either 2 to 4 or 5 to 19 units).

The amount of land occupied by each building size category varies greatly, with units in higher density buildings occupying a much lower amount of the city’s residential land area, as shown in TABLE 1. Buildings with 20 or more units, for example, hold a plurality (32%) of the total units in San Francisco. However, the total area that is occupied by these buildings (973 acres) accounts for only 10% of the city’s residential area. By contrast, single family homes hold 27% of all housing units and occupy 62% of the city’s land dedicated to residential uses.

### TABLE 1.
Number of Residential Units and Land Area per Unit by Building Size

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Building Size</th>
<th>Units</th>
<th>% of Total</th>
<th>Total Land Area (in acres)</th>
<th>% of Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20+ Units</td>
<td>115,888</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>973</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-19 Units</td>
<td>72,663</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>871</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-4 Units</td>
<td>77,529</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>2,016</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single Family</td>
<td>96,099</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>6,334</td>
<td>62%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>362,179</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>10,195</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

San Francisco Planning Department Land Use Database. Note that unit totals by building size in the Land Use Database are different than the Census.
MAP 1.
Percentage of Residential Units in 1-unit Buildings by San Francisco Neighborhood, 2016

MAP 2.
Percentage of Residential Units in Buildings with 20 or more units by San Francisco Neighborhood, 2016
MAP 3.
Percentage of Residential Units in Buildings with 2 to 4 Units by San Francisco Neighborhoods, 2016

MAP 4.
Percentage of Residential Units in Buildings with 5 to 19 Units by San Francisco Neighborhood, 2016

Source: San Francisco Planning Department Land Use Database
Unit Size

San Francisco has a relatively even distribution of units of various sizes (by number of bedrooms), whereas a majority of units in the Bay Area have 3 or more bedrooms.

As shown in FIGURE 6, San Francisco has almost an equal share of one bedroom (26%), two bedroom (29%), and three or more bedroom (29%) units, with an additional 16% of units as studios. However, in the Bay Area, the majority of units have 3 or more bedrooms. Furthermore, the Bay Area has a smaller share of studio units than San Francisco. As will be discussed later in the report, the city’s smaller unit sizes relative to the region also reflects differences in household sizes between the two geographies; San Francisco has a much higher proportion of households that are individuals or couples without children. As FIGURE 6 illustrates, units with 2 or more bedrooms make up the majority (58%) of San Francisco’s housing stock and house an even larger share of the population, about 75%, due to their larger size.

Larger units are generally located in smaller buildings, while larger buildings tend to hold smaller units.

Single family homes and residential buildings with 2 to 4 units contain the overwhelming majority (91%) of units with 3 or more bedrooms. Single family homes or 2 to 4 unit buildings hold 66% of two bedrooms units.
Building Ages

San Francisco’s housing is much older than the housing in the rest of the Bay Area. In part, this reflects the region’s historic development patterns, which emanated outward from the city’s downtown. Approximately half (47%) of San Francisco’s housing was built before 1940 compared to just 15% for the Bay Area, as shown in Figure 9. San Francisco has added relatively fewer housing units in recent decades compared to the rest of the region, as 19% of units have been built since 1980, compared to 33% for the region as a whole.

A plurality (roughly 35%) of buildings in San Francisco built before 1979 have only 1 unit, with other building size categories ranging between 9 and 13% of the total stock built in that period, as shown in Figure 10. Since 1980, the city’s stock has shifted towards multifamily buildings, which make up almost 40% of all buildings constructed between 1980 and 2004 and more than 60% of those built between 2005 and 2015. The dramatic difference in building sizes and types likely reflect the availability of large tracts for single-family home construction in the western areas of the city in the pre- and post-World War II periods. By the late 1960s, the last large tracts had been built out and by the 1980s, most large parcels available for development were for infill multifamily housing.

Vacancy

Since 1990, vacancy rates in San Francisco have fluctuated between 5 and 11%, sitting at 9% in 2015, as shown in Table 2. The city’s vacancy rate has been higher than the Bay Area’s and California’s for most of this time. The higher vacancy rate is likely due to the fact that a relatively large percentage of its housing stock is occupied by renters, which tend to turn over more frequently than owners and therefore create more regular periods of vacancy. Although vacancy rates across all three geographies are greater than they were in 1990, they have come down from their peak in 2010, during the depths of the Great Recession. ACS vacancy data for comparable cities shows a general increase since 2000 and that San Francisco vacancy rates in 2015 were higher than Seattle and Los Angeles and slightly lower than Boston and New York.

Table 2.
Vacancy Rate for Residential Units in San Francisco, Bay Area, and California, 1990–2015

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>San Francisco</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bay Area</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>California</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: ACS (IPUMS-USA)

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**Figure 9.** Percentage of Buildings in San Francisco and the Bay Area by Year Built, 2015

- **San Francisco:**
  - 1939 or Earlier: 47%
  - 1940-1979: 34%
  - 1980-2004: 15%
  - 2005-2015: 4%

- **Bay Area:**
  - 1939 or Earlier: 47%
  - 1940-1979: 52%
  - 1980-2004: 6%
  - 2005-2015: 15%

*Source: ACS (IPUMS-USA)*

**Figure 10.** San Francisco Buildings by Size and Year Built, 2015

- **Single Family Homes**
  - 1939 or Earlier: 20%
  - 1940-1979: 30%
  - 1980-2004: 10%
  - 2005-2015: 5%

- **2-4 Units**
  - 1939 or Earlier: 10%
  - 1940-1979: 20%
  - 1980-2004: 10%
  - 2005-2015: 5%

- **5-9 Units**
  - 1939 or Earlier: 15%
  - 1940-1979: 25%
  - 1980-2004: 15%
  - 2005-2015: 5%

- **10-19 Units**
  - 1939 or Earlier: 5%
  - 1940-1979: 15%
  - 1980-2004: 10%
  - 2005-2015: 5%

- **20+ Units**
  - 1939 or Earlier: 0%
  - 1940-1979: 5%
  - 1980-2004: 10%
  - 2005-2015: 5%

*Source: ACS (IPUMS-USA)*
Vacancy rates also vary by building age and unit size. San Francisco’s older housing stock has higher vacancy rates than the new construction housing, with approximately 10% of San Francisco’s pre-1939 units vacant; compared to lower rates (7%) for units built between 1940 and 1979 and those built since 1980, as shown on Table 3. Smaller housing units (studios and 1-bedrooms) also experience higher vacancies.

**Table 3.**

Vacancy Rate for Residential Units in San Francisco by Year Built and Unit Size, 2015

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year Built</th>
<th>San Francisco</th>
<th>Bay Area</th>
<th>California</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1939 or Earlier</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940-1979</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980-2015</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unit Size</th>
<th>San Francisco</th>
<th>Bay Area</th>
<th>California</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0 Studio</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Bedroom</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Bedroom</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: ACS (IPUMS-USA)

Although vacancy rates in San Francisco have remained relatively stable (with the exception of the higher rates during the Great Recession), the types of vacancies have changed since the 1990s, as shown in Figure 11. Specifically, three types of vacancy have increased: “Seasonal, Recreational, and Occasional Use”, covers temporary housing for business travelers, vacation rentals, and second homes, which includes short-term rentals like AirBnB and VRBO. The City’s recent legislation to limit the number of nights that these units may be rented on short-term rental platforms may lower vacancy rates under that category.\(^4\) The latter two categories, “Other Vacant” and “Rented or Sold, not Occupied”, include properties vacated after a death or due to foreclosure as well as those that have been rented or sold, but are still awaiting occupancy. An increase in major renovations to properties may be part of the cause of the increase in these types of vacancies.\(^5\)

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4 The City’s Office of Short Term Rentals has seen a sharp decrease in the number of full-time units posted in short-term rental online platforms though data to determine whether this has caused a decrease in vacancy rates is not yet available from the U.S. Census.

5 See Paige Dow (2018) “Unpacking the growth in San Francisco’s vacant housing stock.” Client Report completed for the University of California, Berkeley Department of City and Regional Planning.
SROs

Single-room occupancy hotels (SROs) have historically served as a type of housing that is relatively affordable to low-income households. The vast majority of SROs were built in the decade following the 1906 earthquake, as shown in Figure 12. Units in these buildings are small (the maximum gross floor area allowed in the Planning Code is 350 square feet), often with bathroom and kitchen facilities that are shared with other units. Although many of the households living in SROs are faced with difficult conditions such as overcrowding, building code violations, and health hazards like the presence of mold,6 these units can often serve as a foothold in San Francisco’s expensive housing market for many low-income households. SROs are operated by non-profit organizations, with rents set to be below a percentage of a household’s income, or by for-profit landlords. Rents in SROs vary greatly across the city, from just over $400 in neighborhoods like the Outer Mission to more than $1,250 in Haight Ashbury, according to the San Francisco Department of Building Inspection Housing Inspection Services.

MAP 5 shows the distribution of SRO buildings and units across San Francisco. There is a clear concentration of SROs in the northeastern corner of the city, particularly in neighborhoods like the Tenderloin, Chinatown, and South of Market, extending down to the northern portion of the Mission. Individual SRO buildings are also scattered throughout the city.

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MAP 5.
Distribution of SRO Properties in San Francisco, 2018

Source: San Francisco Department of Building Inspection
Group Quarters

In addition to households and vacant units, the Census tracks non-related individuals residing in group quarters. This category includes institutional residential facilities such as correctional or mental institutions, as well as settings like college dormitories and military quarters that the Census classifies as “non-institutional”. 7 San Francisco’s group quarters population is roughly 20,000 individuals, of which 3,000 are in institutional quarters while the majority resides in non-institutional group quarters. The population living in group quarters decreased by about 4,000 units between 1990 and 2000 largely due to closures of military facilities in the Presidio and Treasure Island. Since 2000, institutional group quarters dwellers have decreased slightly, while non-institutional residents have increased, likely as a result of growth of adult students living in dormitories or other student housing.

7 This category does not include many housing types that are commonly considered “group housing” in San Francisco, including SROs, boarding houses and other shared housing formats.
Housing Production

Since 1990, annual production has averaged roughly 1,900 units per year, of which 28% are deed-restricted affordable units.

Since 2011 housing construction has increased rapidly, reaching a peak of 5,046 units in 2016, which dropped to 4,441 in 2017.

Annual housing production has generally fluctuated upwards since 1990, with notable decreases in the mid-1990s, mid-2000s, and during the Great Recession, as shown in FIGURE 14. In the recession year of 2011, for example, the city saw the fewest number of units built since 1990 (269) though production has since rebounded.

Affordable and market rate housing development have generally ebbed and flowed together. This may be in large part because new market rate housing has been a major source of funding and construction of affordable housing.
Affordable Housing

Approximately 9% of San Francisco’s housing stock is subsidized and restricted to be rented or sold at affordable rates to households that earn at or below specified income levels.

These income targeted units are generally known as “affordable housing”. The affordable housing stock is comprised of over 33,000 units built under a variety of local, state, and federal programs, often combining multiple sources of subsidy.

Affordable housing in San Francisco includes public housing built and maintained by the San Francisco Housing Authority, units financed and funded by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) through grants, loans, or project-based rental assistance, units funded by loans or grants from the state Department of Housing and Community Development (HCD), developments built or rehabilitated with federal and state Low-Income Housing Tax Credits (LIHTC), and below market rate (BMR) rental and ownership units built by for-profit developers as “inclusionary housing” required as part of market-rate housing. Local funds also play a crucial role in the development and rehabilitation of affordable housing. Local funding sources include redevelopment area tax increment financing (TIF), housing trust fund dollars, and fees paid by developments (including in-lieu fees paid to meet inclusionary housing requirements, jobs-housing linkage fees, and development agreement negotiations).

Working with data provided from multiple sources, TABLE 4 groups units by major funding programs. Local funding provided by the Mayor’s Office of Housing and Community Development (MOHCD) plays an essential role in the development and rehabilitation of affordable housing and the majority of affordable units have some investment from MOHCD (this includes housing funded by the former Redevelopment Agency). LIHTC, as the current principal source of equity for affordable housing, has also funded the development or rehabilitation of the majority of San Francisco’s affordable housing stock typically in concert with MOHCD funds. Older developments originally built or acquired with federal and state programs that pre-date LIHTC may be counted as units funded by MOHCD and LIHTC if these modern funding sources allowed for the refinancing, rehabilitation, or rebuilding of these units. As an example, the majority of public housing either has been rehabilitated or rebuilt or is currently undergoing rehabilitation or rebuilding, using LIHTC, local funds, and federal programs including the Rental Assistance Demonstration (RAD) program.

**TABLE 4.** San Francisco’s Affordable Housing Stock by Program

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Funding Type / Affordable Type</th>
<th>Total Units</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BMR Ownership</td>
<td>1,215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BMR Rental</td>
<td>1,043</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Federal &amp; State (HCD/HUD/LIHTC)</td>
<td>11,051</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Housing</td>
<td>1,081</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIHTC &amp; MOHCD</td>
<td>15,611</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOHCD</td>
<td>3,660</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>33,661</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: State and federal data provided by California Housing Partnership Corporation (CHPC). Local funding data provided by MOHCD. Public Housing data provided by HUD eGIS.

Five neighborhoods in the eastern part of the city hold 60% of all of the city’s affordable units.

These five neighborhoods include the Tenderloin (18%), South of Market (12%), Western Addition (11%), Bayview Hunters Point (11%), and the Mission (8%).
**MAP 6A.**
Location of Affordable Housing Developments in San Francisco, by Type and Size

**BMR Ownership**

**1,215**
Total BMR Ownership Units

Source: State and federal data provided by California Housing Partnership Corporation (CHPC). Local funding data provided by MOHCD. Public Housing data provided by HUD eGIS.

**MAP 6B.**
Location of Affordable Housing Developments in San Francisco, by Type and Size

**BMR Rental**

**1,043**
Total BMR Rental Units

Source: State and federal data provided by California Housing Partnership Corporation (CHPC). Local funding data provided by MOHCD. Public Housing data provided by HUD eGIS.
MAP 6C.
Location of Affordable Housing Developments in San Francisco, by Type and Size

Federal & State

11,051
Total Federal or State Funded Affordable Units

Source: State and federal data provided by California Housing Partnership Corporation (CHPC). Local funding data provided by MOHCD. Public Housing data provided by HUD eGIS.

MAP 6D.
Location of Affordable Housing Developments in San Francisco, by Type and Size

Public Housing

1,081
Total SF Housing Authority Units

Source: State and federal data provided by California Housing Partnership Corporation (CHPC). Local funding data provided by MOHCD. Public Housing data provided by HUD eGIS.
MAP 6E.
Location of Affordable Housing Developments in San Francisco, by Type and Size

LIHTC & MOHCD
15,611
Total LIHTC and MOHCD Units

Source: State and federal data provided by California Housing Partnership Corporation (CHPC). Local funding data provided by MOHCD. Public Housing data provided by HUD eGIS.

MAP 6F.
Location of Affordable Housing Developments in San Francisco, by Type and Size

MOHCD
3,660
Total MOHCD Other Units

Source: State and federal data provided by California Housing Partnership Corporation (CHPC). Local funding data provided by MOHCD. Public Housing data provided by HUD eGIS.
Housing Choice Vouchers

Data provided by HUD shows the number and location by Census tract of Housing Choice Vouchers (HCVs- also known as Section 8 vouchers) in use in San Francisco. HCVs provide rental assistance to very low-income households by covering the difference between the rent charged by private landlords, up to an amount specified by HUD, and what the household can afford without paying more than 30% of income. The map below shows the location of the 9,476 HCVs in use in the city. HCVs are generally concentrated in areas that also have more affordable housing and more lower income households: the Western Addition, Tenderloin, South of Market, and the Bayview. Some portion of the HCVs in use in the city are project-based by the SF Housing Authority, meaning that they have been tied to a particular affordable housing development as a way to support the development’s financing and to provide deeper subsidy to tenants.

Source: HUD eGIS

Photo: Bruce Damonte

MAP 7.
Number of Units Occupied by Housing Choice Voucher Holders by Census Tract
Rent/Sales Prices

Home prices in San Francisco, the Bay Area, and California have increased steadily since the 1990s with a brief five-year decline between 2007 and 2011, as shown in FIGURE 15. Since 2011, median sale prices have appreciated rapidly, with increases of roughly 100% in each of the 3 geographies. The increase is most dramatic in San Francisco, which already started at a higher median home sales price in 2011 ($662,000), which more than doubled by the end of 2017, to $1.29 million. Median sales price in 2017 was $915,000 in the Bay Area and $527,000 in California. The household income needed to afford the median home in San Francisco is $250,000 based on the assumption that a household would not spend more than 30% of income on their mortgage after making a down payment of 10% of purchase price.

FIGURE 16 shows rents in San Francisco, the Bay Area and California have also trended upward since before the Great Recession. The figure shows that median asking rents grew significantly after the recession, though not quite as sharply as home prices. In San Francisco and the Bay Area, rents have begun to stabilize since a period of steep growth between 2012 and 2015, though they have not come down significantly. In San Francisco, median asking rent had been roughly $3,000 per month in 2012 and grew by 50% to $4,500 in 2015. In the Bay Area, median rent grew from about $2,400 in 2012 to almost $3,500 in 2015, where it has remained through the end of 2017. Median rent in California was less than $2,000 in 2012 and has grown steadily through the end of 2017, and is currently $2,500 per month. Median rents are significantly lower than asking rents in all three geographies. In San Francisco, this may reflect the impact of rent control, which stabilizes prices in the older housing stock for tenants who remain in their units, while asking rents reflect current market conditions. In 2016, the median rent in San Francisco was less than half of the median asking rent. The household income needed to afford the median asking rent in San Francisco is $180,000, assuming that a household would spend no more than 30% of income on rent.

Although home prices and asking rents have increased throughout San Francisco since the recession, this growth has varied across the city. MAP 8 illustrates these differences, showing the percent change in home values by ZIP code between 2010 and 2017. The ZIP codes encompassing neighborhoods such as Bayview Hunters Point, the Mission, Mission Bay, and around Golden Gate Park’s Panhandle have experienced the most dramatic increases in home values, ranging from 85-100%. The neighborhoods on the northeastern corner of the city have seen their home values increase the least rapidly during this period, but still by more than 55% in 7 years.
FIGURE 16.
Median Rent and Median Asking Rent for San Francisco, Bay Area, and California, 2005–2017

Source: Zillow (Median Asking Rent) and ACS (IPUMS-USA) (Median Rent)

NOTE: Median rent data available from the ACS for 2005 to 2016 and median asking rent available from Zillow for 2010 to 2017. Median asking rents from Zillow do not include Santa Clara county, which is included in the 9-county median rents from the ACS.
MAP 8.
Changes in Home Values by San Francisco ZIP Code, 2010-2017

Source: San Francisco Planning Department using Zillow data

MAP 9.
Changes in Rent by San Francisco ZIP Code, 2010-2017

Source: San Francisco Planning Department using Zillow data
Rent increases between 2010 and 2017 also varied across San Francisco, though they have been less steep than the rise of home values, as shown in MAP 9. The eastern part of the city, ranging from Bernal Heights in the south up to North Beach and the Embarcadero in the north have experienced rent increases of more than 40%. Throughout much of the central and western neighborhoods, these increases have been between 30 and 40%. The only neighborhoods that have experienced a rent increase of less than 20% in this period are those in ZIP code 94121 in the northwestern corner of the city, home to some of the most expensive real estate in San Francisco.

The increase in home prices in San Francisco has been similar for single-family homes and condominiums. FIGURE 17, below, shows that since 1996, the value of the median single-family home in the city has increased by almost 450%, while the median value of condos has increased by nearly 400%, not accounting for inflation. By comparison, inflation in the Bay Area during this period has increased by roughly 60%, when housing costs are excluded.

Between 2006 and 2016, single-family homes and condos roughly tracked each other in terms of changes to their values. However, since 2016, single-family home values have increased perceptibly faster than condos.

Security of Tenure

One of the main challenges posed by a housing market with rapidly rising rents is the disruption to the lives of residents and communities that arises from insecurity of tenure. As market rents become more expensive, the gap between the rents paid in rent control units and those in non-controlled housing grows wider, and landlords have a greater incentive to evict tenants. A recent study shows that, in tight housing markets such as San Francisco’s, landlords may be less willing to overlook relatively minor infractions in order to remove existing tenants and reset rents to market rates under vacancy decontrol, even where tenant protections are present.8

The San Francisco Rent Board tracks eviction notices filed by landlords as part of the process to legally remove tenants from their units. Under San Francisco’s “just cause” eviction law, landlords are required to provide a reason as to why they are carrying out an eviction. Evictions can be classified as “for cause”, for reasons that include late payments, breach of lease terms, and nuisance complaints or “no fault”, for reasons largely outside the tenant’s control, such as the landlord’s use of Ellis Act or owner move-in provisions. According

FIGURE 17.
Percent Change in Single Family Home and Condo Prices and Inflation, 1996-2018

Source: Zillow and Bureau of Labor Statistics CPI-U less shelter

to the San Francisco Housing Survey, 15% of respondents who are renters reported having been threatened with eviction in the previous 5 years, roughly half of which were for cause and half were no fault, as shown in FIGURE 18.

Eviction notices tracked by the Rent Board are down since the late 1990s, the earliest years for which this data is available, as shown in FIGURE 19. Evictions peaked at just less than 3,000 in 1998, dropping steadily to less than 1,250 at the bottom of the Great Recession in 2009. As rents escalated between 2010 and 2016, evictions also increased, reaching roughly 2,200 in 2015. Between 2015 and 2016, however, the number of eviction notices flattened, and dropped significantly to just over 1,500 in 2017. Though it is impossible to establish a causal relationship, the decrease in evictions correlates with a stabilization of rents since 2015, as shown in FIGURE 16.

The evolution in the types of evictions since the late 1990s is also noteworthy. No fault evictions (such as owner move-in and Ellis Act removals) have decreased substantially, from a peak of 1,750 in 1999 to just over 500 in 2017 (they were as low as 250 in 2011). For cause evictions, on the other hand, have not fluctuated as much, decreasing from 1,250 in 1997 to about 750 in 2004, then steadily increasing to 1,500 in 2014. Between 2014 and 2017, for cause evictions decreased to 1,000.
Housing by Income Group

Photo Source: MOHCD
Housing by Income Group

As the previous section highlighted, rents and home prices in San Francisco have increased rapidly in recent decades. A related phenomenon has been an increase in the absolute numbers and share of high income households in the city, which has occurred concurrently with a decrease in low and moderate-income households. Demand for housing is determined by the number of households looking for housing in a particular market and the amount that those households can pay for their unit. Household incomes vary widely in the Bay Area and San Francisco, with many higher income households that largely drive the price of available housing and many low and moderate income households who may find limited housing that they can afford without spending more than 30% of their income.

Some of the demand from lower-income households can be met through units that are restricted to families and individuals with incomes up to specified levels (generally referred to as “affordable housing”), though the amount of public and private funding limits the number of such units that have been built. Similarly, tenant protections and rent control policies can ensure that lower-income households have security of tenure within the units they currently occupy. Given the limited availability of resources to build new income restricted affordable housing, it is a reality that most residents must rely on the private housing market to meet their needs. In order to understand changes in the demand for housing in San Francisco, it is important to understand the changing composition of household incomes in the last few decades.

Trends in Household Incomes

FIGURE 20 shows the change in households by income group with 1990 as the base year.9 While households in the extremely low-income category (30% AMI or less) have not decreased in San Francisco, the increase in extremely-low income households in the city has been slower than in the region. San Francisco’s very low-income population (30-50% AMI) has declined by more than one quarter, while the region has increased the number of households in that income range by roughly one quarter. While the Bay Area has seen its low-income (50-80% AMI) population decline, the decline in San Francisco has been more noticeable, with about one-third fewer low-income households in 2015 compared to 1990. San Francisco and the Bay Area have both experienced reduction in their moderate-income households (80-120% AMI). However, San Francisco moderate-income households have declined at double the rate of the Bay Area.

Overall the number of low and moderate income households earning less than 120% of AMI dropped more in San Francisco than in the region. The exception was an increase in households earning less than 30% of AMI however the percentage increase was less than the region.

9 In order to adequately compare changing incomes across time, the analysis in the following sections inflated incomes to 2015 dollars using the US Bureau of Labor Statistics’ Consumer Price Index for all Urban Consumers (CPI-U), including housing costs. When inflating housing costs to 2015, the analysis uses the CPI-U, less shelter, in order to not duplicate the changes in inflation caused by housing itself. The aggregation of households into area median income (AMI) levels is done using 2015 AMI levels as defined by the San Francisco Mayor’s Office of Housing Maximum Income by Household Size derived from the Unadjusted Area Median Income for the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) Metro Fair Market Rent Area (HMFA) that contains San Francisco. In order to match the income limits of most affordable housing programs in San Francisco and for ease of analysis and comprehension, the income brackets in this section are those included in Table 5.
**FIGURE 20.**
Cumulative Percent Change in Number of Households Since 1990 by Income Group in 2000 and 2015, San Francisco and Bay Area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than 30% AMI</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 - 50% AMI</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 - 80% AMI</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80 - 120% AMI</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120 - 200% AMI</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than 200% AMI</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Decennial Census (1990 and 2000) and ACS (2015) (IPUMS-USA)

**FIGURE 21.**
Percentage of San Francisco and Bay Area Households by Household Income, 1990 and 2015

San Francisco 1990: 41% Low to Extremely Low Income Households

Bay Area 1990: 39% Low to Extremely Low Income Households

San Francisco 2015: 38% Low to Extremely Low Income Households

Bay Area 2015: 36% Low to Extremely Low Income Households

Source: Decennial Census (1990 and 2000) and ACS (2015) (IPUMS-USA)
TABLE 5.
Area Median Income Brackets and Corresponding Income Group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area Median Income Bracket</th>
<th>Income Group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than 30% AMI</td>
<td>Extremely Low Income</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 - 50% AMI</td>
<td>Very Low Income</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 - 80% AMI</td>
<td>Low Income</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80 - 120% AMI</td>
<td>Moderate Income</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120 - 200% AMI</td>
<td>Above Moderate Income</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than 200% AMI</td>
<td>High Income</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

San Francisco has seen the number of above-moderate income households earning more than 120% of Area Median Income (AMI) triple since 1990, a larger increase than the region, which also experienced a substantial increase in this income group. The vast majority of this growth (82%) in San Francisco was in high income households earning 200% or more of AMI.

As a result of the increase in above-moderate income households (above 120% of AMI) and decrease in low- and moderate-income households in San Francisco, the proportion of households in different income groups has also shifted. Whereas in 1990 the share of households earning less than 80% of AMI was more than 50% (in terms of 2015 income limits), by 2015 it had decreased to 38%. Conversely, households earning more than 120% of AMI have increased by more than two thirds from 28% to 47%. The region as a whole has not experienced a similar reduction in the number of households earning less than 80% of AMI since 1990, but higher-income households have also grown, from 35% in 1990 to 42% in 2015.

There are two general explanations for the shift towards higher income households in San Francisco and the Bay Area. The first explanation is that households in lower AMI groups might be earning more and shifting towards higher AMI groups. Studies have shown that in regions like the Bay Area, which have added a lot of high-wage jobs in recent decades, service sector wages have also increased as compared to the rest of the country. A restaurant server earning the median regional wage in 1990, for example, may be categorized as an above-moderate income worker in 2015 due to higher wages and tips.10

Another explanation is that high-wage earners are moving to San Francisco and the Bay Area from other regions—or moving to San Francisco from within the region—while lower-income households are displaced. The increase in the number of households with a greater ability to pay for housing signifies an increase in demand, which would lead to higher prices if supply does not increase at the same rate.

Because Census data only provides cross-sections at any given time, it is not possible to track individual lower-income households to determine whether they are earning higher wages and moving up in AMI levels, or whether they are moving out of the region and being replaced by higher-income households. It is likely that both of these things have occurred and each partially explains the shifts described above and the sharp increases in housing costs in recent decades.

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**FIGURE 22.**
Percentage of workers in San Francisco by Wage Group, 1990 and 2015

- 12% of workers in 1990 earned $100,000 or more.
- 24% of workers in 2015 earned $100,000 or more.

Source: Decennial Census (1990) and ACS (2015) (IPUMS-USA)

**FIGURE 23.**
Number of Workers in San Francisco by Wage Group, 1990 - 2015


**FIGURE 24.**
Household Income by Number of Workers per Household in San Francisco, 2011-2015

Source: ACS (IPUMS-USA)
Workers in San Francisco by Wages

Changes in the number and share of workers by wage groups in San Francisco—including both commuters and San Francisco residents—mirror the changes in households by income discussed above. In the period from 1990 to 2015, the census estimate of people working in the city increased by more than 145,000.

The majority of the increase in workers in San Francisco has been driven by growth in workers earning more than $100,000 per year, however, workers earning less than $75,000 continue to be the majority of workers in San Francisco.

62% of job growth since 1990 has been among workers earning $100,000 or more (adjusted for inflation). The percentage of workers in San Francisco earning more than $100,000 increased to 24% from 12% in 1990. This means there are at least 90,000 more people working in San Francisco earning more than $100,000.

Lower wage workers earning less than $50,000 per year declined in number from 1990 to 2005 and then rebounded through 2015, however, lower wage workers were just 20% of job growth since 1990. The number of middle wage workers earning $50,000 to $100,000 was relatively stable over the period but made up just 18% of total job growth.

Employment and real wages (calculated net of inflation) have increased in San Francisco for occupations in both low- and high-wage industries since 1990. The industries that added the greatest number of jobs since 1990 include professional and business services (65,000 more jobs) and educational and health services (30,000 more jobs), which have also seen increases in real wages of 4.6% and 4.1%, respectively. Low-wage industries like leisure and hospitality also increased their employment in San Francisco (by almost 5,000 jobs) and saw increases in real wages of 2.1%.

Higher income households nearly all have a worker in the household— and often more than one, as shown in Figure 24. In fact a majority of households of nearly all incomes have at least one worker present.

### TABLE 6.
Changes in Employment and Average Annual Real Wages for Select Industries in San Francisco

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>Change in Employment, San Francisco Residents, 1990 - 2012/16</th>
<th>Average Annual Change in Real Wages San Francisco, 1990 - 2015</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Leisure and hospitality</td>
<td>4,674</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other services</td>
<td>8,076</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education and health services</td>
<td>30,490</td>
<td>4.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>-5,766</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade, transportation, and utilities</td>
<td>5,456</td>
<td>2.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional and business services</td>
<td>64,781</td>
<td>4.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>-38</td>
<td>-0.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information</td>
<td>3,923</td>
<td>-0.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial activities</td>
<td>-735</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural resources and mining</td>
<td>888</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE: Industries ordered from lowest to highest average wages in 1990.
Source: Data from U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics analyzed by San Francisco Office of Economic Analysis

In contrast, over two thirds of extremely low income households earning less than 30% of AMI do not have a worker present.

The number of workers who work and live in San Francisco is at an all-time high at almost 500,000.

Trends in workers living in San Francisco grouped by their wages are similar to trends for households by income. These trends show that more of San Francisco’s higher-wage workers are living in the city than in the past, as shown in Table 7. Not only has the number of higher wage workers in the city increased, the number of higher wage workers choosing to live in the city has increased as well. At the same time, a lower percentage of the city’s lower-wage workers are living in the city, which corresponds to the drop in lower income households living in the city.
San Francisco receives about 200,000 net in-commuters every day, meaning that San Francisco employs 200,000 more workers than it houses. As TABLE 8 illustrates, the percentage of Bay Area workers living in San Francisco increased from 1990 to 2015 and this is primarily due to San Francisco housing a growing percentage and growing number of higher wage workers. While the number of lower wage workers living in San Francisco has remained relatively stable, the percentage of the region’s lower wage workers housed in San Francisco has declined over this time.

Job growth in San Francisco and the region, especially higher wage job growth, has not been accompanied by comparable growth in housing. Most of the Bay Area’s populous counties added far more jobs than housing units in recent decades—especially when compared to the nation or the state. Counties that historically had been more suburban, such as San Mateo, added jobs at a particularly rapid rate while limiting housing growth, as shown in FIGURE 25.

An analysis by San Francisco’s Chief Economist shows that increases to the region’s housing prices
(98% from 1995 to 2015) has been roughly equivalent to changes in total income (wages multiplied by number of jobs), which have increased by 87% during this period. Although employment and population have grown during this period—by 30% and 20%, respectively—these changes have been much lower than changes to housing prices, as shown in Figure 26.

**Housing Production and Changes in Households by Income**

Housing production in the region and in San Francisco has failed to keep up with growth in higher income households or to meet the needs of low and moderate income households. From 1990-2015 the number of households with incomes above 120% of AMI in San Francisco increased by an estimated 80,628. Most of this growth (66,000 households or 82%) was households earning more than 200% of AMI. Over this same period, San Francisco was home to an estimated 29,236 fewer low and moderate income households, despite the construction of over 12,881 affordable units according to San Francisco’s annual Housing Inventory Reports from 1990-2015.

The Housing Inventory Reports also show that the number of market rate units added from 1990-2015 was 31,019. Census data shows an additional 23,958 units in its estimate of housing units in San Francisco that do not appear in the Inventory Reports. Some of these units are likely to be former military housing in the Presidio or Treasure Island that were transferred to civilian use while other units may be un-permitted. In addition, there may be error in the Census estimate or error in the permit data used for the inventory reports.

**Accounting for both the market-rate units added from the Inventory Reports and the units appearing in Census data, there were an estimated 25,651 more above-moderate income households earning over 120% of AMI in 2015 than units added since 1990. This means that the existing housing stock absorbed these households.**

**Migration**

Migration rates from and to San Francisco have varied widely by income group. Between 2006 and 2015, for example, net in-migration to San Francisco from individuals in households earning more than 200% of AMI exceeded 1.5% of the population in that income group per year. By contrast, households earning between 50% and 80% of AMI experienced average annual net out-migration of more than 4% in this period. Net migration was also negative for households earning between 80% and 120% of AMI and 30% to 50% of AMI. Net migration for extremely low-income households (earning less than 30% of AMI) was positive during this period (slightly less than 1% annually) as shown in Figure 27.

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11 Migration rate is defined as the number of individuals who moved in or out of San Francisco in a given year, as a percentage of the number of people in that income group in that year. The rate is calculated as an annual average over the 10-year period 2006 to 2015.
FIGURE 28.
Number of Owner and Renter Households by Household Income in San Francisco, 2015

Source: ACS (IPUMS-USA)

FIGURE 29.
Percentage of Survey Respondents Who Reported Living in Income-Restricted, Rent-Controlled, or Non Rent-Controlled Housing in San Francisco, 2018

Source: San Francisco Planning Department Housing Survey

FIGURE 30.
Occupied Housing Units in San Francisco by Household Income, Tenure, and Rent Control Status, 2015

Source: ACS (IPUMS-USA)

NOTE: There are roughly 18,000 income-restricted units classified as non-controlled rentals, 14,000 units classified under rent control, and 1,200 classified as ownership units. Additionally, there is an unknown number of renter-occupied condominium units that are not subject to rent control, but are classified as “rent-controlled” in this analysis because they cannot be parsed out with ACS data.
Tenure

Unlike most cities in California, San Francisco’s housing stock is mostly occupied by renter households. There are roughly 225,000 renter households in the city, compared to 130,000 homeowner households. The split of renter households by income groups is generally even across income categories, with a higher proportion of households at the lowest (less than 30% of AMI) and highest (200%+ of AMI) brackets, as shown in FIGURE 28. Homeowners, on the other hand, are disproportionately made up of higher-income households, with those earning more than 120% of AMI making up almost half all owners.

Overall, the majority of homeowners earn more than 120% of AMI while the majority of renters earn less than 120% of AMI.

Rent Control

A high percentage of the city’s rental stock is subject to rent control and provides relative affordability for low and moderate income households with longer tenures. Households that moved into rent controlled units recently are much more likely to be higher income than in the past, tracking broader changes in the city.

As FIGURE 29 shows, the rent controlled stocks serves San Francisco households of all incomes, including more than 70% of low- and moderate-income residents (50% to 120% of AMI) surveyed by the Planning Department. Similarly, more than 70% of above moderate- and high-income survey respondents (more than 120% of AMI), reported living in rent-controlled housing. Lower income residents reported living in rent-controlled units at lower rates (about 55% of very low-income and 35% of extremely low-income respondents), though these residents were much more likely to live in income-targeted affordable housing.

Though existing data does not allow the determination of the incomes of households in rent-controlled units, ACS data pulled from IPUMS-USA can be cross tabbed to identify household incomes by unit tenure and building age and size. FIGURE 30 shows an approximation of the number of units estimated to be rent-controlled, non-rent-controlled, and owner-occupied by income. The figure also shows that the rent-controlled stock serves a broad range of incomes. Roughly 70,000 rental units in multifamily buildings built before 1980 are occupied by low-income households (earning less than 80% of AMI), though approximately 14,000 of this total are likely deed-restricted affordable units. In the non-rent-controlled stock (rental units built after 1980 and rental single family homes), close to 40,000 units are occupied by low-income households, though 18,000 are deed-restricted affordable housing. Households earning more than 120% of AMI occupy more than 60% of ownership units.

State law does not allow cities to regulate rents once a rent controlled unit is vacated, as a result landlords are able to raise rents to market rates. As rents have climbed steadily over the last few decades, the gap between what households pay in rent and what they would pay for their unit (or a similar unit) under market rates grows the longer the household stays in their unit. Therefore, one of the strategies that low- and moderate-income households can use to afford to live in San Francisco is to remain in their units, while higher income households can afford to move more regularly to find units that meet their changing needs.

FIGURE 31 shows that households that moved into their rent-controlled units more recently tend to be more affluent that those who moved in less recently.12 For example almost 35% of households that moved into a unit in an older, multifamily building in the previous 2 years earned more than 120% of AMI. By contrast, those households make up roughly 20% of the households who were in their units for more than 10

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12 In this report, the Planning Department approximated the number of units classified as rent-controlled based on tenure status (renter occupied), year of construction (built before 1980), and number of units (more than 1). Therefore, this approximate number of units also includes income-restricted units that cannot be parsed out using Census data. There are roughly 14,000 income-restricted units classified under rent control (since they were built before 1980), about 18,000 classified as non-rent-controlled rentals (affordable units built after 1980), and about 1,500 classified as ownership units.
**Figure 31.**
Percentage of Occupied Rent Controlled Housing by Household Income of Occupants by Move-in Year, 2011-2015

Source: ACS (IPUMS-USA)

**Figure 32.**
Number of Residential Multifamily Rental Units Built Before 1980 Affordable by Income Level in San Francisco, 1990-2015


**Figure 33.**
Number of Residential Multifamily Rental Units Built Before 1980 Rented in Previous 2 Years Affordable by Income Level in San Francisco, 1990-2015

NOTE: Residential Units in Multifamily Buildings Built Before 1980 provide a rough estimate for units subject to Rent Control Ordinance. However, at least 10,000 subsidized affordable units built before 1980 are included in this count, as is an unknown number of rented condominium units.

Top codes have been applied to the upper tier of rents in San Francisco in various years because these rents are outliers for the state. As a result, the exact rent amount for the top coded rents is not available.

years. Households earning less than 80% of AMI, on the other hand, make up almost 70% of households who have lived in their units for 20 or more years and more than 60% of those who have lived in their units between 10 and 19 years, while accounting for 40% of households who moved in in the previous 2 years.

In 2015, almost 100,000 out of San Francisco’s estimated 160,000 rent-controlled units (which includes deed-restricted affordable units built before 1980) are rented at rates that would be affordable to households earning less than 80% AMI. In 1990, more than 140,000 of rent-controlled units were affordable to those households (See Figure 32).

Units rented in the previous 2 years, show the erosion of affordability of the city’s rent controlled stock. Figure 33 shows that whereas in 1990 almost all recently rented rent-controlled units were rented at rates affordable to lower income households, by 2015, only 10,000 such available units were affordable to those households.

How San Franciscans of Different Incomes Find Housing

Finding housing in San Francisco is a process that varies widely by income, particularly for renters. According to the San Francisco Housing Survey, lower income renter households rely on family or friend networks to secure housing much more than higher income ones. A large plurality (42%) of extremely low-income households found their current place of residence through family or friends, and the percentage drops for each higher income category down to 10% for households earning more than 200% of AMI, as shown on Figure 34. The mirror opposite is true for households that found their current residence through internet or newspaper advertisements. High-income households were more than 3 times as likely to find their residence through ads published online or in newspapers than the lowest income households (74% to 24%, respectively).

While most owners across all income categories found housing through real estate brokers, a larger share (28%) of extremely low-income homeowners (those earning less than 30% of AMI) relied on family or friends to find their current place of residence.
Building and Unit Size

As discussed above, San Francisco’s housing stock is made up of a wide variety of building sizes, from single-family homes to large buildings with hundreds of units. The occupancy of different types of buildings varies by income and has undergone changes since the 1990s. Very low income households have declined across most small to medium size buildings (with the exception of single family homes) and have increased significantly in larger buildings of 20 units or more. Similarly, the number of low and moderate-income households (50 to 120% AMI) decreased in the city overall and in each of the building size categories except the largest buildings.

More of the city’s low and moderate income households are living in large multifamily buildings of 50 units or more compared to 1990.

The number of above moderate income households earning between 120% and 200% of AMI, on the other hand, expanded somewhat since 1990. The growth of these households has occurred in each of the building size categories. The number of high income households earning more than 200% of AMI increased substantially across all building types but the growth has been particularly intense in single-family homes, where they occupy 25,000 more units in 2015 than they did in 1990.

An analysis of the distribution of households of different incomes across units of various sizes (as measured by number of bedrooms) shows a similar story as described above. As shown in Figure 36, the number of very low income households remained stable across most unit sizes between 1990 and 2015. This may reflect a proportion of senior households who own homes but have lower incomes. Low- and moderate-income households decreased in most categories of unit size between 1990 and 2015 except for studios. The number of households earning between 120 and 200% of AMI increased or was stable across all unit sizes. High income households (earning more than 200% of AMI) have expanded in each of the unit size categories, but particularly in units with 2, 3 or more bedrooms. Whereas in 1990 23,000 high-income households occupied these larger units, by 2015 69,000 did.
**FIGURE 35.**
Number of Occupied Units by Building Size and Household Income, 1990 and 2015

Source: Decennial Census (1990) and ACS (2015) (IPUMS-USA)

**FIGURE 36.**
Number of Occupied Units by Number of Bedrooms and Household Income, 1990 and 2015

Source: Decennial Census (1990) and ACS (2015) (IPUMS-USA)
Building Age

Households of different incomes show little difference in the age of the housing that they occupy. Low and moderate income households are somewhat more likely to reside in housing built from 1940-1979 while higher income households are somewhat more likely to occupy both new housing and older housing built before 1940.

Lower income renters are somewhat more likely to live in housing built after 1940, likely reflecting the role that income targeted affordable housing plays in serving these households. Moderate income households are somewhat more likely to live in housing built between 1940-1979.

Housing Cost Burden

Housing cost burden is a widely-used measure of whether individuals and households spend an inordinate amount of their earnings to pay for housing, leaving little-to-no money to cover other expenses such as food, healthcare, education, and leisure. The US Census considers households to be cost burdened if they spend more than 30% of their incomes on housing costs, and severely cost burdened if they spend more than 50%.

Housing cost burden has increased for renters and owners of nearly all income groups. Extremely low income (earning less than 30% of AMI) and very low income households (earning less than 50% of AMI) continue to be the overwhelming majority of households facing cost burdens—particularly severe cost burden consuming 50% or more of income.

**FIGURE 37.** Percentage of Units by Age of Building and Household Income, 2011-2015

**FIGURE 38.** Percentage of Renter-Occupied Units by Age of Building and Household Income, 2011-2015
Between 1990 and 2015, the number of severely rent burdened households in San Francisco increased from roughly 38,000 to 49,000. In 1990 only households earning less than 80% of AMI were severely rent burdened; by 2015 some of those earning between 80 and 120% of AMI begin to show severe rent burden levels. For the lowest income group (30% AMI or less), more than 80% of households are rent burdened and more than 60% experience severe rent burden. Severe rent burden among households earning between 30 and 50% of AMI increased from roughly one-quarter of households to more than 40%. The share of low-income households (earning between 50 and 80% of AMI) under severe rent burden tripled from 5% to more than 15%.

Cost burdens for low and moderate income households worsened even as the number of these households declined.

Owner cost burdens have also increased. Every income group below 200% AMI has seen increases in their owner cost burden. A majority of homeowner households who are lower income (earning less than 80% of AMI) are now cost burdened. Owner cost burden has increased from less than 30% to more 40% of all moderate income households, with severe cost burden more than doubling from 8% to almost 20%.
Overcrowding

**FIGURE 41** shows that rates of overcrowding are highest (12%) among very low-income households and decrease by each income category to less than 2% for high-income households. Somewhat surprisingly, extremely low-income households have somewhat lower rates (8%) than very low and low-income, likely due to smaller household sizes within that income group.

Security of Tenure

The Planning Department’s survey of San Francisco residents—conducted between December 2017 and March 2018—asked whether respondents had been threatened with evictions in the previous 5 years, and specifically whether the eviction threat was “for...
cause” (late rent payments, nuisance complaints, breach of lease) or “no fault” (owner wanted to move into unit or used the state’s Ellis Act). Of all renters who took the survey, 15% had been threatened with evictions in the previous 5 years, with a roughly equal split of “for cause” and “at fault” eviction notices. Perhaps not surprisingly, the disproportionate share of eviction threats were reported by lower-income households. Seven percent of above moderate and high-income households (those earning more than 120% of AMI) were threatened with evictions, which is less than half of the rate for the overall sample of renters who were surveyed. By contrast, 24% of very low-income and 22% of extremely low-income households were threatened with an eviction. Survey respondents who said they lived in income-restricted units—who, by definition, are lower income—reported being threatened with an eviction at a rate comparable to the overall survey sample rather than those of lower income respondents. This finding illustrates the extent to which deed-restricted affordable housing can serve as a bulwark against housing insecurity for low-income tenants.

In addition to asking whether renters had been threatened with evictions, the survey asked whether residents had recently been faced with a situation in which they had no housing options other than moving in with friends or relatives, living on the street, in a car, or in a shelter. Homelessness point-in-time counts get at the number of individuals living on the street or staying in homeless shelters, but may miss

![FIGURE 44.](image-url)

**FIGURE 44.**

**Housing Choices for San Francisco Renters if They Were Forced Out of Current Residence, by Income, 2018**

- More than 200% AMI
- 120 - 200% AMI
- 80 - 120% AMI
- 50 - 80% AMI
- 30 - 50% AMI
- Less than 30% AMI
- ALL

- Rent or buy smaller residence in San Francisco
- Rent or buy similar or larger residence in San Francisco
- Rent or buy residence outside the Bay Area
- Rent or buy residence in other Bay Area city
- Move in with relatives/friends outside the Bay Area
- Move in with relatives/friends in the Bay Area
- Move in with relatives/friends in San Francisco
- I don’t know / I have no options

Source: San Francisco Planning Department Housing Survey

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13 This Report uses eviction threats rather than carried out evictions because they may be a better representation of housing insecurity. More households receive eviction threats than those who are actually evicted.
the number of people who may not have a secure place of residence for an extended period of time, having instead to piece together arrangements such as living in a car, staying with relatives, and the like. Of all respondents to the Planning Department survey, 22% reported having been in this situation in the previous 5 years. Again, income disparities in the responses to this question were sharp, with fewer than 9% of those earning more than 120% of AMI reporting having been in this situation, in contrast to 32% of those earning less than 50% of AMI. For those living in income-restricted units, the percentage that reported living in these conditions mirrored that of the overall sample, once again indicating the relatively stronger tenure security of that subset of low-income residents.

The survey further asked whether households that are currently housed would have satisfactory options in the event that they were to lose their housing (due to an eviction, loss of employment, damage to their building, and the like). Of all respondents, 28% reported not knowing or having no options, or 6% more than the number who would be able to move to a similar or larger residence in San Francisco. The rest reported that they would move to a smaller residence in San Francisco or have to move out of the city altogether. As with previous questions on tenure security, lower income residents were disproportionately more likely to have no options, with 35% of those earning 30% or less of AMI, 27% of those earning 30-50% of AMI responding this way. By contrast, only 12% of those earning between 120 and 200% of AMI and 6% of those earning more than 200% of AMI reported having no options.
Housing and San Francisco’s Diverse Population

Photo: MOHCD
The previous section analyzed different ways in which household income interacts with San Francisco’s housing stock, including changes in the way that different types of housing serve households of varying incomes. As the city’s income diversity has skewed towards higher income households, there have also been noteworthy changes to other forms of diversity. This section analyzes changes to San Francisco’s housing stock with regards to ethnic and racial diversity, household type, and senior status. This section also analyzes other important segments of the city’s population, including adult students and homeless individuals. A diversity of backgrounds and family types contributes to San Francisco’s character and vitality. It is important to understand how the city’s housing serves different types of individuals and families in order to develop strategies to ensure that this diversity continues to define San Francisco into the future.

### Housing Occupancy by Race/Ethnicity

In San Francisco and in America more broadly, race and ethnicity has been linked to the location and quality of housing that people have access to. Government-sanctioned racial discrimination in lending and the sale and renting of homes—from racial covenants to redlining to exclusionary zoning—has made housing a central feature of racial inequity in the city and the country. In recent decades, San Francisco’s increasing housing costs have been linked to changes in the city’s racial and ethnic composition and concerns about displacement of particular communities of color. Understanding how San Francisco’s housing stock serves the city’s population by race and ethnicity can help us better address housing inequities and support the city’s racial and ethnic diversity.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race/Ethnicity</th>
<th>1990-2000 % Change</th>
<th>2000-2015 % Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latino</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian or Pacific Islander</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**FIGURE 45.** Change in Population by Race and Ethnicity in San Francisco from 1990, 2000 and 2015

Source: Decennial Census (1990 and 2000) and ACS (2015)
**FIGURE 46.**
Share of San Francisco and Bay Area Populations of Different Racial and Ethnic Groups, 1990 and 2015

Source: Decennial Census (1990) and ACS (2015) (IPUMS-USA)

### Trends in Race/Ethnicity

Racial and ethnic minority populations have either declined, or grown at a slower rate in San Francisco compared to the region as shown in **FIGURE 45**. Notably, San Francisco has lost almost half of its Black population since 1990. While the Bay Area has also experienced a loss of its Black population, San Francisco has lost its population at nearly four times the rate of the Bay Area. About half of the decline for both geographies occurred between 1990 and 2000, with the other half of the decline occurring between 2000 and 2015.

The Black population in San Francisco has reduced by half, a more rapid decline than the change in the Bay Area, which has also lost Black population.

**FIGURE 46** shows that in 1990 San Francisco had a larger percentage of non-White households than the region. However, by 2015 the Bay Area had a slightly higher percentage of non-White households. As a proportion of the total population, the loss of Black residents in San Francisco is particularly stark, with a decline from 11% of the city’s population in 1990 to only 5% in 2015, while the decline in the Bay Area has been less severe, from 8% to 6%. The relative growth of the Asian/Pacific Islander and Latino populations from 1990 to 2015 has been faster in the Bay Area than in San Francisco. In the case of the Asian/Pacific Islander population, faster growth at the regional level has resulted in greater convergence with San Francisco, which has had a greater concentration of Asian and Pacific Islander people that continues today (see above that show the proportion of SF and the region by race/ ethnicity). The share of San Francisco’s population that is Latino increased modestly from 13% to 15%, while that growth in the region has increased the share of Latinos from 15% to 24%.
Household Income and Race/Ethnicity

The racial and ethnic makeup of San Francisco residents is strongly correlated with income, as Figure 47 shows. Higher-income individuals are disproportionately White, while people of color are disproportionately made up of lower-income individuals. In particular, approximately 10% of San Francisco’s extremely low-income households are Black, while in 2015 the Black population only comprises 5% of San Francisco’s residents. Conversely, White households, which make up 41% of the city’s population, account for almost 50% of households earning between 120 and 200% of AMI and more than 60% of those earning more than 200% of AMI.

Migration

Between 2006 and 2015, the average annual net migration rate was negative for Black and Hispanic/Latino residents. Average annual out-migration corresponded to 4.5% of the city’s Black population and 2% of its Hispanic/Latino population during this period. Conversely, Asian/Pacific Islander and White residents experienced in-migration equivalent to less than 1% of their population per year, as shown in Figure 48.
Tenure

Homeownership in San Francisco also varies significantly by race. Asian/Pacific Islander people have the highest ownership rates, with more than half (54%) owning their homes. Conversely, Black (31%) and Latino (32%) people have the lowest homeownership rates. Among White people, 39% own their homes, as shown in FIGURE 49.

How San Franciscans of Different Races/Ethnicities Find Housing

Households of different racial and ethnic groups also vary in the ways in which they find housing. These differences are particularly sharp for renter households, as shown in FIGURE 50, below. According to the San Francisco Housing Survey, a majority (58%) of White residents reported finding their current place of residence through the internet or a newspaper advertisement, while only 16% found it through a broker or rental agency. For Latino and African-American households, the opposite was true, as significant pluralities (45% and 43%, respectively) found their residence through family and friend networks and the share that found homes through advertisements was less than half of whites (respectively, 26% and 27%).
Asian/Pacific Islander households were roughly even in the percentages who found housing via internet and newspaper advertisements (40%) and family and friend networks (37%).

A majority of homeowners of all racial and ethnic groups who responded to the survey reported finding their homes through real estate brokers, though the percentage of Latino and African-American households who did so via family and friend networks was substantially higher than the overall sample and the percentage of White respondents.

### Building Size

The occupancy of building size categories varies by race and ethnicity, as shown in **Figure 51**. White individuals tend to occupy single family homes at lower rates than other groups, but at higher rates for low-to-medium density buildings (2 to 10 units). Single family homes house around 40% of Black and Latino individuals and nearly 55% of Asians and Pacific Islanders. Black and Asians and Pacific Islander individuals are slightly more likely to live in large buildings of 50 or more units.

**Figure 51.** Percentage of San Francisco Households by Size of Building and Race/Ethnicity, 2011-2015

**Figure 52.** Percentage of San Francisco Households that Are Cost Burdened by Race/Ethnicity, 2011-2015

Source: ACS (IPUMS-USA)
Housing Cost Burden

Figure 52 shows that people of color in San Francisco are more likely to experience cost burden and severe cost burden in particular. Black and Latino renters face the highest rates of cost burden with nearly half of both groups cost burdened or severely cost burdened. Asian and Pacific Islander renters also experience elevated rates of cost burden.

Homeowner households are slightly less cost burdened than renters, however, racial disparities persist for cost burden among homeowners. White people are least likely to live in a cost burdened homeowner household. People of color are more likely to live in a cost burdened home with Black people particularly likely to face cost burdens as homeowners.

Overcrowding

While overcrowding has declined since 1990, it is heavily concentrated within certain Racial and Ethnic groups. Latino and Asian/Pacific Islanders are particularly affected, as more than 20% live in overcrowded units. Black people also have elevated rates of overcrowding (8%) relative to the White population (3%).

Security of Tenure

The Planning Department survey found that racial and ethnic minorities face higher levels of tenure insecurity than White households. Overall, 15% of survey respondents who are renters reported having been threatened with an eviction in the previous 5 years. Among White and Asian/Pacific Islander respondents, 12% and 9%, respectively, said they had been threatened with an eviction. By contrast, 24% of Latino respondents and 21% of African-American respondents were threatened with an eviction, as shown on FIGURE 54.

The survey also asked whether residents had recently been facing with a situation in which they had no housing options other than moving in with friends or relatives, living on the street, in a car, or in a shelter. Of all respondents to the Planning Department survey, 22% reported to have been in this situation in the previous 5 years. White (15%) and Asian/Pacific Islander (19%) respondents were less likely to have experienced such unstable living situations. By contrast, 36% of African-American and 34% of Latino respondents answered that they had no housing options other than to move in with friends or relatives, or living without a home temporarily.

When asked whether residents would be able to remain in San Francisco if they were forced to move from their current living situation, 37% of respondents said they would find a new home in the city (14% in a smaller unit, and 23% in a similar or larger unit). However, 26% said they did not know or had no options. Among African-American respondents, only 27% said they would find a new home in San Francisco and 29% said they had no options. Among Latinos, 36% said they had no options.
FIGURE 54.
Percentage of San Francisco Housing Survey Respondents Who Reported Being Threatened with an Eviction in the Previous 5 Years, 2018

Source: ACS (IPUMS-USA)

FIGURE 55.
Percentage of San Francisco Housing Survey Respondents Who Reported Unstable Housing Conditions in Previous 5 Years by Race/Ethnicity, 2018

Source: San Francisco Planning Department Housing Survey

FIGURE 56.
Housing Choices for San Francisco Renters if They Were Forced Out of Current Residence, by Race, 2018

Source: San Francisco Planning Department Housing Survey
Household Type

People’s housing needs and choices vary depending on the type of household to which they belong. For instance, individuals without a spouse, partner, or family nearby may live alone or with roommates, either as a strategy to share housing costs or a desire for community (or both). Those living with a partner and/or children may need homes with 2 or 3 bedrooms that can accommodate multiple people. In addition, for those who have family nearby, living with other related adults may be both a practical and emotional choice. Each of these different household types may have different needs. Additionally, different household types may have different considerations about access to schools and open space. On the other hand, households may adapt to the city’s housing stock through a variety of strategies, such as delaying decisions about having children, living in smaller or more crowded units, or children living with parents into their adult years. Supporting the city’s diversity means understanding how the existing housing stock serves different household types and how the city’s households have been changing over time.

Trends in Household Type

While San Francisco has long been different from the rest of the region in its mix of household types, since 1990 the number of households with children declined slightly in the city while the region continued to gain these households, as shown in FIGURE 57. Related adults living together increased in San Francisco but increased at a much faster rate in the Bay Area. San Francisco has experienced approximately double the rate of growth in couple households compared to the Bay Area and faster rates of growth for roommates, particularly since 2000. San Francisco has about twice the percentage of roommate households as the rest of the Bay Area.

The number of households with children declined in San Francisco between 1990 and 2015 while the number in the region grew. Households with multiple children were particularly affected.
Households with children include households with a variety of circumstances including variation in income that greatly impacts housing choices. The number of children in a household impacts housing needs and choices as well. While the Bay Area has gained both households with one child and households with two or more children, San Francisco lost households with two or more children perhaps indicating the difficulty of securing housing that is large enough to accommodate the needs of these households.

**Household Income**

The city’s various household types differ by income significantly. As **FIGURE 58** illustrates, 1-person households are disproportionately lower-income. Households with children and related adults living together also are more likely to be lower income. This contrasts with roommates and couples, which are the two household types that have the highest proportion of high-income households. This may reflect the fact that roommates and childless couples tend to have two (or more) incomes rather than dependents or members of the household who are not working.

Changes in households by both income and type provides deeper insight into what types of households in particular have declined or increased in San Francisco from 1990 to 2015. Very Low Income Households earning up to 50% of AMI have been relatively stable in number though in fact, households with incomes between 30-50% of AMI have declined while households with incomes below 30% of AMI have increased. While the number of households below 50% AMI has been stable, the demographics of these households have shifted. Households with children declined in San Francisco while most other household types remained stable or, in the case of related adults, increased.

Low and moderate income households, earning between 50-120% of AMI, have declined in the city over this period but that drop has not been even among different household types. Low and moderate income households with children, one person households, and roommate households all saw significant declines while couples and related adults remained relatively stable.

Households, earning between 120-200% of AMI, have increased in San Francisco but this growth has primarily been driven by 1-person households and couples while other household types have been relatively stable.

High income household have increased significantly in San Francisco since 1990 and this is true across all households types but particularly couples, one person households, and households with children.

**Couple households have experienced the greatest growth in the city since 1990.**

Roughly 25% of couple households have a household member who is a senior and between 25% and 30% in each of the other adult age categories (50 to 64, 34 to 49, and 18 to 33), according to the Census. This distribution has remained largely unchanged since 1990. However, couple households of different ages occupy units of different sizes at significantly different rates. **FIGURE 64** shows that younger people in couples primarily occupy smaller units.
FIGURE 59.
Percentage of San Francisco Households by Household Type and Household Income, 2011-2015

Source: ACS (IPUMS-USA)

FIGURE 60.
Number of San Francisco Households Earning Less than 50% AMI by Household Type, 1990 and 2015

Source: Decennial Census (1990) and ACS (2015) (IPUMS-USA)

FIGURE 61.
Number of San Francisco Households Earning Between 50 and 120% AMI by Household Type, 1990 and 2015

FIGURE 62.
Number of San Francisco Households Earning between 120 and 200% AMI by Household Type, 1990 and 2015

FIGURE 63.
Number of San Francisco Households Earning More than 200% AMI by Household Type, 1990 and 2015

Source: Decennial Census (1990) and ACS (2015) (IPUMS-USA)
Middle-aged people and seniors in couples primarily occupy larger units of 2 and 3 or more bedrooms. This distribution likely reflects the fact that older couple households may have acquired housing during periods when it was less expensive (and therefore they were able to afford larger units), though it presents challenges to the goal of retaining families with children in San Francisco, as younger households may have difficulty finding units that are large enough to accommodate family growth.

**Race/Ethnicity**

The distribution of household types by race and ethnicity in San Francisco varies significantly, as shown in Figure 65. The majority of people of color live in family households with children or related adults. The white population, in contrast, is more likely to live alone, in a couple, or in roommate households with only about 30% of the white population living in households with children or with related adults. The Black population, like other communities of color, shows about 60% of the population living with related adults or in households with children but shares a higher percentage of people living alone with the White population.
Migration rates varied significantly for individuals in different household types between 2006 and 2015, as shown in Figure 66. Average annual migration rates for individuals who moved into roommate households accounted for more than 6% of the population living in roommate households during this period. Conversely, migration rates were negative for individuals in households with children and related adults. Couples without children experienced out-migration during this period, though their share of San Francisco households has increased, as documented above. This may be due to the fact that migration data does not show internal mobility within San Francisco, such as individuals forming couple households or couple households that result when grown children exit their parent(s) homes. Individuals in households with children had the highest average annual out-migration rate, with more than 2% of that population migrating out of San Francisco on average annually between 2006 and 2015.

Tenure

Figure 67 shows that single households as well as roommates are more likely to be renters. Larger family households, such as households with children and related adults, however, are more likely to be owners.

16 Migration rate is defined as the number of individuals who moved in or out of San Francisco in a given year, as a percentage of the number of people of a given household type in that year. The rate is calculated as an annual average over the 10-year period 2006 to 2015.
How San Franciscans of Different Household Types Find Housing

Different household types also secured housing through different channels, according to the San Francisco Housing Survey. For renters, the two most common ways through which residents found housing were internet and newspaper advertisements and family and friend networks. Related adults and households with children relied more on family and friends, with 57% of the former and 39% of the latter reporting that they found their residence via these close networks. Couples (61%), roommates (43%), and 1-person households (54%) were more likely to use online or printed advertisements. Owners of all household types were more likely to have used a real estate broker to find their home, though a larger share of related adults did so through family and friend networks.
**Building and Unit Size by Household Type**

A majority of units with three bedrooms or more are occupied by families with children or relates adults. More than 10% are also occupied by roommate households. Two bedroom units also have a large number of larger households. There are relatively few larger households in small units with one or fewer bedrooms.

Looking at households with children by building size shows that lower income households with children are more likely to live in multifamily housing than moderate or higher income households who are more likely to live in single family homes.

**Housing Cost Burden**

While rent burden affects a significant portion of all household types that rent, one person households, households with children, and related adult households are more impacted with rent burden overall and severe rent burden. Roommates and couples are those who are least rent burdened, perhaps due to the fact that those households are able to pool incomes in order to pay for housing. It is also possible that single individuals form roommate households, and couples may delay or abandon plans to have children (therefore remaining “couples” rather than “households with children”) specifically as a strategy to lessen their rent burden. On the other
hand, households with children and related adults may have household members who do not earn an income. The pattern for owner cost burden is similar to that of renters, though a smaller share of households is cost burdened, as shown in FIGURE 71.

**Overcrowding**

Overcrowding is overwhelmingly a problem faced by households with children. 15% of households with children experience overcrowding while other multi-person households experience overcrowding at a much lower rate. One person households, even living in a studio, by definition cannot be overcrowded.

**Security of Tenure**

Households with children actually have the highest eviction rate, reported having been threatened with evictions in the previous 5 years at higher rates than the overall survey respondents. While 15% of all respondents reported recent eviction threats, 19% of households with children and 17% of related adults did. By contrast, couples (12%) and 1-person households (14%) reported lower rates of eviction threats than the overall population.

Related adults and roommate households reported the highest percentage (32% and 33%, respectively) of having had no housing options in the previous 5 years other than living with family or friends, or living on the street, in a car, or in a shelter. Both rates are significantly higher than the share of the all respondents (22%) who said they experienced this type of housing instability. All other household types reported lower rates of instability than the overall population.

When asked whether residents would be able to remain in San Francisco if they were forced to move from their current living situation, 37% of respondents said they would find a new home in the city (14% in a smaller unit, and 23% in a similar or larger unit). However, 26% said they did not know or had no options. Related adults (33%), households with children (32%), and 1-person households (32%) each had similar percentages of residents who had no housing choices, above the overall population. Households with children and couples (27% and 26%, respectively) were the only groups that reported that living in a similar or larger unit in San Francisco would be their next long-term living situation, as shown in FIGURE 75.
FIGURE 73.
Percentage of San Francisco Housing Survey Respondents Who Reported Being Threatened with an Eviction in the Previous 5 Years by Household Type, 2018

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Household Type</th>
<th>2018</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Related Adults</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household with Child(ren)</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Couple</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roommates</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Person</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALL</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: San Francisco Planning Department Housing Survey

FIGURE 74.
Percentage of San Francisco Housing Survey Respondents Who Reported Unstable Housing Conditions in Previous 5 Years by Household Type, 2018

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Household Type</th>
<th>2018</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Related Adults</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household with Child(ren)</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Couple</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roommates</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Person</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALL</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: San Francisco Planning Department Housing Survey

FIGURE 75.
Housing Choices for San Francisco Renters if They Were Forced Out of Current Residence, by Household Type, 2018

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Household Type</th>
<th>2018</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Related Adults</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household with Child(ren)</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Couple</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roommates</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Person</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALL</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: San Francisco Planning Department Housing Survey
Senior Population

As the Baby Boomer generation continues to age, the housing needs and trends of senior households is a major focus on housing policy. Seniors have specific housing and mobility needs that become more difficult to meet in San Francisco’s older and expensive housing stock. Additionally, incentives for households to remain in their units for many decades (such as rent control and property tax limits imposed by Proposition 13) may create conflicts as younger generations seek to move into larger units to start families. In San Francisco, the overall lack of affordable options for households of all ages exacerbates these challenges.

Trends in the Senior Population

San Francisco’s senior population has remained relatively stable as a share of the overall population since 1990. During this time, the Bay Area’s senior population has increased from 11% to 14% of all residents, as shown on Table 9.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Geography</th>
<th>1990</th>
<th>2015</th>
<th>Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>San Francisco</td>
<td>14.6%</td>
<td>14.7%</td>
<td>+ 0.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bay Area</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>14.1%</td>
<td>+ 3.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Decennial Census (1990) and ACS (2015) (IPUMS-USA)

Household Income

Seniors are disproportionately lower-income, with over half of seniors earning less than 80% of AMI, as shown in Figure 76. San Francisco Senior Households by Income, 2011-2015. However, because seniors may have retirement savings that they can draw that are not counted as income, their overall economic resources may be greater than household income suggests.

17 Harvard University Joint Center for Housing Studies (2016) “Projections and Implications for Housing a Growing Population: Older Households 2015-2035.”
Race/Ethnicity

The distribution of seniors by race/ethnicity is similar to the distribution of the entire population but seniors do differ in a few ways. Seniors have a higher proportion of Asian/Pacific Islander residents (44% for seniors compared to 35% for all age groups) and Black residents (6% for seniors compared to 5% for all age groups), but a lower proportion of Latino residents (9% for seniors compared to 15% for all age groups). See FIGURE 77.

Household Type

Seniors have a higher percentage of residents living in households of related adults, and live in single person households at twice the rate of the rest of the population. Seniors are much less likely to live in couple households, roommate households, or households with children. See FIGURE 78.

Tenure

While the majority of San Francisco’s households are renter households, the majority of seniors are living in owner households. Of seniors in renter households, the share of seniors in rent controlled housing and non-rent controlled is similar to the distribution among renter households overall. See FIGURE 78.

Building and Unit Size

Seniors are more likely than the rest of the population to live in single family homes and larger buildings of 20 units or more. This distribution of senior households among different building sizes broadly reflects the distributions of buildings sizes in the city overall, as well as where low income residents live. However, the proportion of seniors who live in single family homes is larger than the overall population’s. See FIGURE 80.

Seniors are slightly more likely than the rest of the population to live in smaller units but in general the size of seniors’ units do not differ much from the city as a whole. See FIGURE 81.
**FiguRe 80.** Distribution of Building Sizes for Units Occupied by Senior Households, 2011-2015

**FiguRe 81.** Distribution of Bedroom Counts for Units Occupied by Senior Households, 2011-2015

**FiguRe 82.** Housing Cost Burden for San Francisco Renters and Owners by Senior Status, 2011-2015

**FiguRe 83.** Percentage of San Francisco Housing Survey Respondents Who Reported Being Threatened with an Eviction in the Previous 5 Years by Senior Status, 2018

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**Housing Cost Burden**

Of those seniors living in renter households, about half are rent burdened and about a quarter are severely rent burdened. This is a higher rate than the city as a whole for both rent burden and severe rent burden. Seniors living in homeowner households have a very similar cost burden rate as the rest of the city’s homeowners though a slightly elevated rate of severe cost burden. Cost burden for seniors may be overestimated as senior households are likelier to rely on savings in addition to income to meet their housing costs.

**Security of Tenure**

According to the Housing Survey conducted by the Planning Department, senior renter households were equally likely to have been threatened with an eviction in the previous 5 years as the overall population. Similarly, senior households have faced unstable living conditions (one in which they had no other options than to move in with relatives or friends, live in a shelter, a car, or on the street) at the same rates as the overall population (23% for senior households, 22% of all age groups).
Disability

San Francisco residents have a slightly higher rate of disability than the Bay Area as a whole, with 9.7% of the city’s residents reporting a disability compared to 9.1% for the region. Both San Francisco and the Bay Area show a drop in the percentage of disabled residents since 2000 though San Francisco’s has been more dramatic. In 2000, 14.6% of San Francisco residents reported a disability while for the Bay Area the rate was 12.3%.

Disability and Age

People with disabilities are much more likely to be older adults than the general population. 56% of disabled people in San Francisco are seniors 65 years or older and another 24% are between 50 and 64 years old for a total of 80% of the disabled population 50 years old or older. The strong correlation between aging and disability means that the housing needs for the two groups are strongly linked.

Income

People with disabilities are much more likely to be lower income than the rest of the city’s population. 37% of San Franciscans with disabilities are Extremely Low income and another 31% are Very Low or Low income. Similar to the relationship to aging, the high correlation between disability status and lower income means that housing affordability is of particular concern for the city’s disabled residents.
Race/Ethnicity

People with disabilities generally have similar racial and ethnic demographics as the city in general. An exception to this general trend is that people with disabilities are somewhat more likely to be Black than the rest of the population and somewhat less likely to be white.

Household Type

People with disabilities are much more likely to live alone or with related adults than the rest of the population and much less likely to live in households with children or with roommates. Not shown here but people with disabilities are more likely to live in group quarters. The distribution of people with disabilities by household type correlates strongly to seniors in San Francisco and those households may face similar challenges in terms of accessibility.

Tenure

The tenure of San Franciscans with disabilities is very similar to the rest of San Francisco residents with the majority being renters as shown in FIGURE 83.
Building and Unit Size

San Franciscans with disabilities are more likely than the rest of the population to live in larger buildings of 20 units or more. However, the majority of disabled residents still live in single family homes or small or medium size multifamily buildings.

San Franciscans with disabilities are more likely than the rest of the population to live in smaller units especially studios, however, the majority of residents with disabilities still live in larger units.

Housing Cost Burden

Renters with disabilities are more likely than other renters to be cost burdened with over half disabled renters experiencing rent burden and 30% with severe rent burden. San Franciscans with disabilities that live in homeowner households are somewhat more likely to experience cost burdens, especially severe cost burdens, than the rest of the population that live in homeowner households.
Adult Students

The number of adult students living in San Francisco has declined since 1990, from roughly 96,000 to 83,000 in 2015. Of all adult students, 11% live in group housing such as dormitories or other student housing and the balance live in homes that are not group quarters. The tenure distribution of adult students who live in households is very similar to the rest of the city with 34% of adult students living in homeowner households and 66% in renter households. Students over the age of 18 make up more than half of people living in group quarters who are not institutionalized. The number of adult students living in group quarters has more than doubled since 1990, from 4,300 to 9,500.

For the great majority of adult students who live in households rather than group housing, the number of students has declined across nearly all income groups except for the lowest and highest income households, those making less than 30% of AMI and or more than 200% of AMI respectively. A comparison of 1990 and 2015 data show that a higher percentage of full-time students do not work or do not receive compensation, resulting in an increase in adult students in extremely low income households. See **FIGURE 93**.

**FIGURE 92.**
Adult students living in San Francisco by Tenure, 1990 and 2015

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Owner</th>
<th>Renter</th>
<th>Group Housing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>32,033</td>
<td>59,369</td>
<td>4,329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2015</td>
<td>24,691</td>
<td>48,510</td>
<td>9,500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Decennial Census (1990) and ACS (2015) (IPUMS-USA)

**FIGURE 93.**
Adult Students in San Francisco by Household Income, 1990 and 2015

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income Level</th>
<th>1990</th>
<th>2015</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than 30% AMI</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 - 50% AMI</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 - 80% AMI</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80 - 120% AMI</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120 - 200% AMI</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than 200% AMI</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: San Francisco Housing Survey, 2018
Homelessness is a pervasive challenge for San Francisco housing policy. The lack of shelter for homeless individuals and families is an important gap in San Francisco’s housing stock and underscores the need to develop housing strategies that meet the needs of this population. In 2016, the City and County of San Francisco created a new city department, the Department of Homelessness and Supportive Housing, to address the ongoing issue of homelessness in the city.

In 2017, the point-in-time count (a bi-annual count of the homeless population in the city) identified almost 7,500 individuals as homeless in San Francisco, with approximately 4,350 counted as unsheltered (see figure below). Of the total number of unsheltered homeless individuals, a little over 500 were unaccompanied children or transitional-age youth (between the ages of 18 and 24).

The City’s stock of supportive housing units includes SROs that have been renovated by owners or managed by non-profit organizations providing supportive services, and also includes apartment buildings that offer housing to adults based on specific income eligibility. The map below shows the City’s permanent supportive housing portfolio, homeless shelters, and total count of homeless individuals from the 2017 point-in-time count by district. Most permanent supportive housing (PSH) developments exist in districts with a high percentage of the city’s homeless population, but there are districts with a sizeable portion of homeless persons and few permanent supportive housing options. District 10, for example, has four permanent supportive housing developments but more than 15% of the city’s homeless population, as shown in MAP 10.

Additionally, the City manages a network of shelters and Navigation Centers that provide beds, mats, or rooms, for up to 90-night stays for unsheltered homeless persons. Many shelters are designed only for single adults or couples, but a few specific shelters identify as family, women, or youth only shelters. The city also operates a temporary winter shelter system for week long stays during the more extreme weather conditions of winter months. As of January 2017, the city operates four Navigation Centers, where homeless
persons connect with case managers to help find more permanent housing solutions and services. Navigation Centers are generally low-barrier to entry unlike traditional shelters, which usually require referrals or have very limited capacity. Since opening, Navigation Centers in the city have brought over 1,150 highly vulnerable people off the streets, and a little over 70 percent have exited homelessness to housing.

Certain programs also target specific types of households and individuals who face housing challenges. For chronically homeless veterans, the City provides services such as housing search and placement, eviction prevention, rental assistance, utility payments, moving expense assistance, childcare expense assistance, transportation assistance, and application for SSI and SSDI support. According to the 2017 point-in-time count, the number of chronically homeless veterans decreased over the past five years, from 260 in 2013 to 137 in 2017, due to increased focus and investment on ending veteran homelessness by the City and its federal and local partners.

San Francisco’s 2017 point-in-time count found 190 families with minor children experiencing homelessness. About 97 percent were living in shelters or other homeless facilities. Assistance to homeless families includes a coordinated entry system for family shelters and other housing interventions, thus prioritizing families with children for access to system resources. To address youth homelessness, the City provides supportive housing for transitional age youth (TAY), which are ages 18 to 24, by referrals from local agencies. In 2016, the City created a new community plan to build and expand housing options targeted to the needs of TAY, as well as to prevent youth from becoming homeless. In 2017, the point-in-time count identified approximately 1,350 unaccompanied children and transition-age youth, which is 18 percent of the total number of homeless individuals counted that year. Of these youth, 96 unaccompanied children and 1,020 TAY were unsheltered, thus signifying the importance of providing supportive housing for homeless youth.

MAP 10.
Share of Citywide Homeless Population by Supervisor District and Location of Permanent Supportive Housing Projects and Shelters in San Francisco, 2018

Source: San Francisco Planning Department
Conclusion
This report tracks and analyzes changes to San Francisco’s housing stock in recent decades as well as socioeconomic and demographic trends that have been impacted by and have had an impact on the city’s housing. It is an effort by the Planning Department to understand the changing housing needs of San Franciscans and changes to the city economic, racial and ethnic compositions, as well as diversity of household types, ages, and disability status. The report shows some major, ongoing challenges, such as the loss of low and moderate-income households and people of color. It also highlights policy successes, such as the role of rent control is maintaining relative affordability and stability in the older housing stock and the city’s efforts to provide a significant amount of deed-restricted affordable units as part of its new housing production.

Some of the most salient findings in the report include:

A high percentage of the city’s rental stock is subject to rent control and provides relative affordability for low and moderate income households with tenures of greater length. Income-targeted affordable housing currently provides homes for a smaller segment of low and moderate income households. Households that moved into rent controlled units recently are much more likely to be higher income than in the past, tracking broader changes in the city affecting the housing market.

San Francisco has a more even mix of building and unit sizes relative to the region, though most neighborhoods with a high percentage of buildings with high unit counts (20 or more units) are clustered in the northeastern part of the City while the southern and western neighborhoods are dominated by single-family homes. Buildings with more than 5 units contain 52% of the city’s units and occupy only 19% of the land. Single-family homes provide 27% of the city’s units while occupying 62% of its land area.

The Report will serve as a resource for ongoing policy and planning work regarding housing policy for the City and County of San Francisco. The results of this work will provide valuable information as the Department embarks on a Housing Affordability Strategy, starting in summer 2018.
San Francisco has gained high income households while the number of low- and moderate-income households has dropped, with the exception of extremely low income households, which has grown slightly. Higher income households have occupied a larger share of existing housing as the growth in their numbers substantially exceeded new housing produced. Housing cost burdens worsened for all but the highest income households.

San Francisco new housing construction has averaged 1,900 new units per year since 1990 though the recent rate has increased substantially (to more than 5,000 in 2016 and an average of 4,000 between 2014 and 2017). Income targeted affordable housing was 28% of the total housing produced since 1990.

San Francisco has undergone additional demographic changes along with changes in households by income, including loss of the Black population and households with children. Housing cost burdens and overcrowding are more likely to impact people of color. Households with children are also particularly impacted by overcrowding.