UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA Santa Barbara

Evolution of a Boom Town: Isla Vista, California, 1915 - 1968

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by

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Table of Contents

	Pre	f a	ce	•	•		٠	•		•	٠	•	٠	•	•	•	٠	•						•	•		1
	Chap	pte	er	1:		A	Co	mm	un	it	y	in	G	es	ta	ti	o n	,	19	1 :	5	19	4	9			9
	Chap	te	er	2:		Th	e	Fo	u n	d1	ín	g,	1	94	9-	19	57			1			٠			4	3
	Chap	te	er	3:		Th	e	Ва	bу	В	00	ms		19	58	-1	96	8			•					. 9	5
Illustrations																											
	w	1.		т.	1 -	1/				10	26															,	2
	Мар	1:		13	ıа	· V	15	ta	•	19	20	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	*	•	•		1	٥
	Map	2:		Ιs	1a	٧	ís	ta		Аb	ou	t	19	44	•	•		•	٠			٠				2	4
	Мар	3:	:	Ιs	la	٧	is	ta	Z	o n	in	S	P1	an	•	19	54									5	4
Tables																											
	Tabl	e										ni 96														13	2
23	Tabl	e										ni 96														13	4
3	Tabl	e						is				ia	nc	e	Re	q u	e s	t s								12	٤

Preface

"'There is disorder because we shirk our duty as a community,' he stated, 'and we shirk our duty as a community because we believe in our hearts that we aren't a community. . . . We get together and pass a lot of resolutions, and go away with a satisfied feeling that we've really done something. . . . Trouble is, every mother's son tries to escape it in his own case. What is every one's business is no one's business. Every fellow thinks he's got away from being bothered with such things. Sooner or later he'll find out he hasn't, and then he'll have to pay for his vacation.'"!

These are the words of the town doctor, a detached and far-sighted character from Stewart Edward White's novel Gold, a tale of the California gold rush in 1849. The setting is the backroom of a gambling hall in a high Sierra mining town where rich placer deposits have for a year supported all comers. But by late 1849 hoards of gold seekers have descended on the town. As gold deposits shrink greed and lawlessness grows, and the doctor sees an urgent need to control the behavior of a booming population of free lance argonauts.

A little more than one hundred years later, the same sentiments would have been surprisingly apt if they had been expressed about the booming southern California community of Isla Vista. The object of concern in about 1960 would not have been undisciplined miners who were trying to extract their fortunes from the land, but unrestrained developers who were literally trying to build their fortunes on top of it. Like the inhabitants of the Sierra mining towns, twentieth century Isla Vista residents had "got together and passed a lot of resolutions" to control the behavior of their particular brand of fortune seekers, the developers. This meant laws governing land use, zoning to control density, and building codes to ensure community standards. But also like the nineteenth century gold seekers, nearly "every mother's son" among the twentieth century developers in Isla Vista tried to escape the codes when they applied to him.

Over the course of a hundred years the concept of "gold" in California had acquired a new meaning. The twentieth century gold rush was the rush to control, develop, and sell appropriately situated land. In the southern part of the state real estate

land boom of the 1880s. In the 1900s the number of new arrivals to California rarely dipped below 100,000 per year, and by the World War II decade of the 1940s the yearly increase was about 368,000.² In the post-war decade of the 1950s California's population swelled by 519,000 additional people per year, most of them settling along the southern California coast or in the San Francisco Bay area.³ It was axiomatic that the newcomers had to live somewhere, and providing homes and apartments produced big profits for some lucky speculators and developers.

What follows is a case study of the development of Isla Vista, California, a community that grew up next to the University of California at Santa Barbara in the 1950s and 1960s. The study's value is in its scrutiny of a California community that tried -- and failed -- to accommodate explosive growth in an orderly manner. Attempts to deal with the impact of rapid growth on the physical and social environment is a challenge at once enduring, pervasive, and current. It was precisely what faced the mining towns in 1849 and continues to confront the sunbelt today. Yet the problem is also complex and slippery. An area of

dynamic growth is also an area of rapid change and it is hard to get a handle on anything so much in flux. case study approach is well suited to such an investigation because it sharpens the focus. It sets an aperture appropriate for viewing difficult issues with clarity.

Isla Vista is a community of 13,000 that occupies about a half square mile west of the University of California, Santa Barbara. Its "gold rush" occurred in the 1950s and 1960s, when much of the rest of California was booming as well. The sources of Isla Vista's growth, however, distinguish it somewhat from other communities, for Isla Vista oves its existence directly to the University of California. In 1948 the university announced its decision to found a small campus adjacent to Isla Vista, population about In 1954 the university opened its doors on the 200. new site and Isla Vista property values skyrocketed. In 1958 the university projected a campus of 10,000 students and a ten-year building boom followed in Isla Vista.

By 1970 Isla Vista's half square mile area was crowded with 11,000 residents. Demographically Isla Vista was very unusual. Residents were young, mostly

between eighteen and twenty-five, from middle class backgrounds, and mostly white. The population was densely packed and highly transient: most were students and renters who lived in Isla Vista less than three years. Rows of similar apartment buildings of uninspired design lined narrow streets crowded with parked cars. Bicycles, pedestrians, cars, and buses traveled the streets inside the lines of parked cars making for dangerous conditions. There was virtually no landscaped open area and only a spotty distribution of sidewalks. 4

The crowded conditions, monotonous buildings, narrow streets, and insufficient parking were the unwitting result of distinctive patterns in Isla

Vista's development. The following narrative charts the course by which people and conditions shaped these patterns. There are three chapters. In the first which covers the period from 1915 to 1949 the preconditions for Isla Vista's growth take place. Most important are two events: (1) Isla Vista is subdivided into tiny lots and narrow streets, a plan that will determine -- and plague -- the community that later develops, and (2) the University of California procurs land immediately adjacent to Isla Vista with plans for

building a campus.

In chapter two which covers the years 1949 through 1957, residents form an improvement association and try to direct the community's future. However, they pursue mutually exclusive goals. On one hand they want a beautiful, well-planned community, and on the other hand they want a densely populated one. They achieve high density with a 1954 zoning ordinance which allows for the building of at least a duplex anywhere . in Isla Vista. It is the glimmer of gold that motivates high density; under such an ordinance any property holder can own income property by building a duplex. The high density zoning in combination with the awkward lots from the old subdivision seriously threaten plans for a beautiful community. The university opens in 1954 with 1700 students and soon afterwards property values skyrocket.

Chapter three begins with a 1958 announcement that the university will achieve an enrollment of 10,000 students. University officials perceive that something is seriously wrong with Isla Vista's layout and development plans and try unsuccessfully to fix them. Non-resident developers move into Isla Vista and dominate construction. They join the Isla Vista

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Improvement Association whose members they are and frustrate by successfully sidestepping the county requirements that earlier members thought would ensure high building standards. The Isla Vista Improvement Association splinters throughout the 1960s and finally breaks up. County efforts to control Isla Vista's growth are undermined by its own precedent of relinquishing control and Isla Vista mushrooms after 1962 virtually without restraint.

Notes

- White, Stewart Edward, Gold. Doubleday, Page and Co., Garden City, New York, 1913.
- Conard, Rebecca Ann, The Conservation of Local Autonomy: California's Agriculrual Land Policies, 1900-1966, July 1984. Dissertation, copyright by author. Pg. 7.
- 3 Ibid.
- 4 "Report On the Commission on Isla Vista," Martin Trow, Chairman. Prepared for University of California President Charles J. Hitch, October 9, 1970.

Chapter 1

Boomtown in Gestation, 1915 - 1949

We know very little about Pauline and John Ilharreguy. We know that they had one hundred dollars in gold in 1915, and that in the same year they traded it for 157 acres of vacant, windswept land on the edge of the Pacific Ocean. I We do not know why they bought the land, or whether they lived on it. If they did, they must have been sturdy and hardworking people who did not require many conveniences. The land was dry, suitable for raising hay or beans, but little else. The only water was found in small quantities by drilling twenty-foot wells, and was of variable quality. But the land was also beautiful. situated at a point where the southerrn California coast turned a corner and jutted out into the bluegreen ocean. Dotted along the horizon was a group of islands that protected the coast from the heaviest ocean swells. On the inland side, rugged graygreen mountains rose skyward.

We know very little about Pauline and John Ilharreguy, but we have to suspect that something of an entrepreneurial, speculative fever infused them. In the 1920s instead of buying stocks on margin or watching the ticker tape like many other Americans. they tried a more distinctively California way to prosperity. Since the time of the gold rush, California entrepreneurs had found ways to profit from what nature provided. Sometimes this meant digging out gold and mineral deposits, sometimes it meant sowing seed in rich, sun drenched soil, and sometimes it meant grabbing up the land itself to sell at a higher price to later arrivals. In 1925 the Ilharreguys subdivided their land for sale in a way imaginatively designed to profit from much that was distinctive and alluring about their area. They called their subdivision Isla Vista.

Their area was situated about 90 miles north of Los Angeles and about 300 miles south of San Franciso. Between Isla Vista and the mountains stretched the Goleta Valley. Santa Barbara just ten miles down the coast was the closest neighboring city. Its 30,000 citizens had long learned to bank on blue skies, sea breezes and a location neither too

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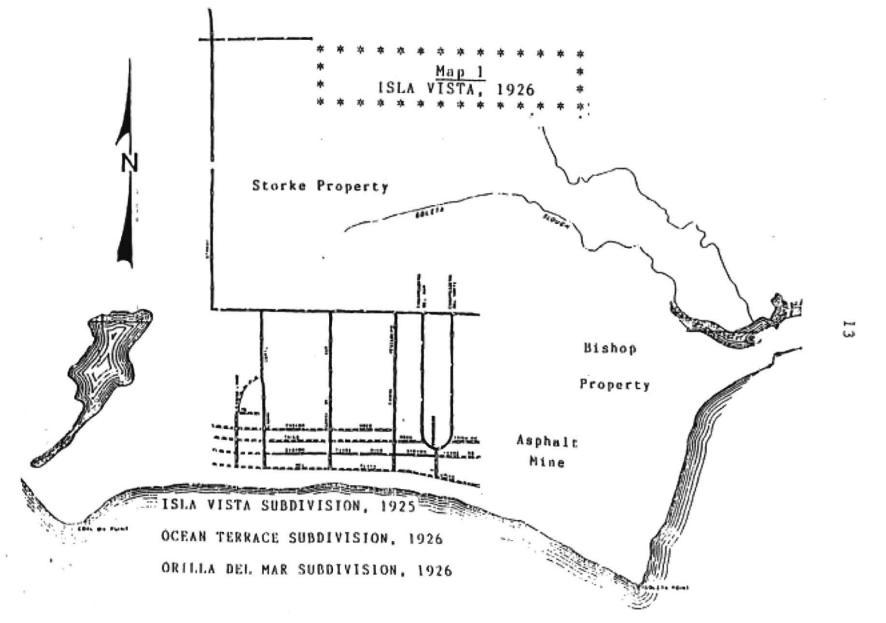
close nor too far from Los Angeles. In 1925 the city was digging itself out of the rubble of a major earthquake. Geologic faults lined the California coast, and while they sometimes brought destruction they also cradled wealth. Capriciously distributed beneath the surface were rich pockets of oil and natural gas in the Santa Barbara area.

The Isla Vista subdivision lay between two sites. with indications of petroleum activity. A rich asphalt mine that had produced the blacktop for many of San Franciso's streets was less than half a mile down the coast. 3 The 408 acre parcel including this mine had been optioned for sale in 1923 with the right to drill exploratory oil wells.4 Peter Cooper Bryce, the optioner, never exercised his option to buy which suggests disappointment in his search. Instead, a ranching concern called the Bishop company bought the same 408 acre parcel in 1925.5 Although this piece of land was not immediately adjacent to the Ilharreguy's land and would never really be considered part of Isla Vista, it would play an important role beginning in the 1950s as the site of the University of California in Santa Barbara. About a half mile up the coast on the other side of the Isla Vista

subdivision a natural tarry seepage occurred at a spot where the land jutted out to the sea, earning it the name Coal Oil Point. With evidence of petroleum on either side, oil could easily lurk beneath the Isla Vista subdivision.

It was oil that made up half the lure in Pauline and John Ilharreguy's real estate scheme. It was to be a residential ocean view subdivision that offered a chance to share in oil profits at a minimum risk. The Ilharreguys divided the beach frontage into narrow, twenty-five foot wide lots. Forty-five lots made up a section and there were two full sections. Anyone who bought a lot would share in oil profits struck from any of the twenty-five lots in their section. In a sense, the lots were like shares; it was not necessary for a well to be located directly on one's lot to realize profits. The more lots a person owned, the greater their percentage of profits from any well that might produce.

Inland from the the beach frontage, four roads ran parallel to the shore along which standard-sized home lots of fifty by one hundred feet were arranged. The Ilharreguys essentially ignored the inland two



three roads straight from the ocean to an existing coast highway access road. 6 Perhaps the picture the Ilharreguys would have liked investors to imagine was one of sitting out on a sunny front porch and looking out to the blue horizon over the rhythmic motion of their own producing oil wells. Whether or not they knew about Peter Cooper Bryce's apparently unsuccessful efforts to find oil just a few years before on nearby land is not known. If they had it might not have made any difference since the exploration had not occurred on their land. The whole notion of surveying the natural assets offered by the land and landscape and divining a way to work them to profitable advantage was a textbook example of the California entrepreneurial style.

The Spanish name "Isla Vista" given by the
Ilharreguys to their subdivision was in keeping with a
Spanish colonial theme then in use by Santa Barbara as
it rebuilt itself following the earthquake. In the
city of Santa Barbara an architectural board of review
was carefully scrutinizing plans for rebuilding in
order to create a romantically designed and
homogeneous center city. The many subdivisions that
burgeoned around the city and north toward the Goleta

Valley in the 1920s often chose Spanish sounding names such as San Roque, Loma Media and La Cumbre. 7 One thing we do know about the Ilharreguys is that they were not good at Spanish. Isla Vista was ungrammatical Spanish for Island View, and mistakes carried over to the names for the four roads that ran parallel with the beach as well. The names were Del Playa, Sabado Tarde, Trigo, and Pasado. The "Del" of Del Playa was ungrammatical, but it clearly meant The Beach or To The Beach. Sabado Tarde and Trigo, meaning Saturday Afternoon and Wheat, were both fine although a strange juxtaposition. Pasado was the oddest one. Pasada would have meant passage, but the "o" at the end changed the meaning to overripe or spoiled. Nevertheless, the mood that the subdivision tried to convey was clearly Spanish/Mediterranean and the Board of Supervisors approved and accepted it in November of 1925.8

Just three months later the strip of land between the Isla Vista tract and the Bishop Company's land was subdivided. Two Santa Barbara attorneys who had formerly worked out of the same suite of downtown offices headed up this venture. 10 Alfred W. . Robertson and James R. Thompson followed the

Ilharreguys' lead and divided the beach front lots in two sections of twenty-five foot wide lots for oil leases. The land that stretched inland from the oil lots was divided into fifty by one hundred foot residential lots, also like the Isla Vista tract.

Robertson and Thompson built three long roads that ran between the beachfront and the access road, two of which joined in a loop near the ocean. The area inside the loop they set aside for an athletic park.

They extended the four parallel streets from the Isla Vista subdivision onto their own, changing the name of the unfortunate Pasado Road to Sevilla. Unlike the Isla Vista tract subdividers, Robertson and Thompson filled up the rest of the inland portion of their subdivision with successions of parallel streets, all of which dead-ended into the Bishop property on one side and the Isla Vista tract on the However, only Del Playa, Sabado Tarde and Trigo actually existed on the site. The others were only roads on paper. 10 The Santa Barbara attorneys gave long names to the long roads that met in a loop, Embarcadero Del Mar and Embarcadero Del Norte. Translated, these became Ocean Wharf and North Wharf. The streets that crossed them were named after Spanish

cities and Spanish artists. They then made a curious departure from this theme by choosing an Anglo-Saxon name for the subdivision itself: Ocean Terrace.

The final strip that lay between the Isla Vista tract and the Coal Oil Point property was subdivided in the spring of 1926. Named Orilla Del Mar which meant Seashore or Edge of the Sea, this was the narrowest of the three tracts. The subdivision map showed the same sort of lot division as did the Isla Vista and Ocean Terrace tracts with its narrow oil lots along the beach front and its residential lots inland, with one exception. There was a small beach front park that interrupted the oil lots in the center of the seaside area. Del Playa, Sabado Tarde, Trigo and Pasado Roads extended from the Isla Vista tract through its beachfront area, and like the Isla Vista tract, the subdivision virtually ignored the inland two thirds of the property. A short road ran inland from the ocean park and then jogged over to an Isla Vista tract road that ran to the coast highway access road. Of the three tracts, Orilla Del Mar was the least developed. Only Del Playa Road which ran along the beachfront, and the short access road actually existed on the property. 11

The subdividers were the Moody sisters who lived with their father, a building contractor, in downtown Santa Barbara. 12 It is not known how many of the four sisters who lived at home in the 1920s took part in the development; only Harriet's name appears on the County Assessor's books. Harriet was a drafter who worked for the county under the direction of George D. Morrison, the civil engineer who had surveyed and mapped each of the three mesa subdivisions. Her sister Brenda had been County Recorder in the early 1920s, but by the time of the subdivision she was an escrow officer at the Pacific Southwest Bank, the mortgager of the Orilla Del Mar subdivision. It is possible that Harriet and Brenda saw the speculative trends in subdivision and oil exploration through their county jobs and decided to try it out themselves. It may be that their father Elmer Moody also took part. The year the subdivision occurred he no longer listed his occupation as building contractor, but as "real estate." Sisters Wilma the bookkeeper and Mildred the artist may have also played a role, but they were probably not the principle actors. 13

All three of the Isla Vista subdivisions fell

into the category of real estate promotions rather than real estate developments, a distinction made in the local newspaper in 1926. A development was well planned and well financed, resulting in permanent improvements on the land it occupied. A promotion was simply a lot-selling scheme which called for "the driving in of a few stakes, utterance of a few high-sounding promises of improvements, and anything to unload."14 In the 1920s there were no requirements that subdividers pave roads, put in sewers, provide access to utilities or even grade the roads that appeared on their maps. 15 Consequently, a few stakes were all that was needed to define a subdivision, and there was no legal framework to require anything more than these minimum standards. promotion was more dependent on an area's natural attributes and faith in its future than was a development. It was riskier for the buyer, but generally cheaper.

Two key ingredients for the success of the venture were missing in Isla Vista, as the three subdivisions together came to be known. The first was oil in significant quantities. The second was potable water. 16 Without oil there could be no oil play and

without water there could be no residential development. The lack of water had been apparent for quite some time. A few wells tapped shallow sources of ground water, but any drinking water had to be brought in from the outside. It took more effort to discover the apparent dearth of oil.

In the early 1930s a partnership known as R.A. McIntosh Scott-McIntosh drilled a well in the Ocean Terrace section of the coastal strip. They did not send the drill straight down, but angled it slightly toward the ocean so that by the time it was 4754 feet deep, it was about 900 feet closer to the ocean. Having not reached oil by this depth the partnership suspended drilling. Subsequently they must have fallen prey to thoughts that the big strike was just a few feet further, because they later resumed drilling. When they reached a depth of 4530 feet without hitting oil either their optimism or their money, or both, had been exhausted and they abandoned the well for good. Other oil companies including Bolsa Chica, Union, Texas, Superior, Southcrude Petroleum, Doyle Petroleum Corporation, Petroleum Securities and Earl Petroleum Company experienced similar disappointment on about twenty wells drilled

17

in the area. By the mid-1930s hopes for a little seaside community supported by its own oil production seemed futile indeed. The lots that sold remained largely undeveloped and many of those that had not sold in those financially troubled times had been deeded to the state in lieu of taxes owed. 18

The street and lot plans remained on the county books despite the commercial dormancy of the Isla Vista subdivisions and the lack of physical development in the area. Yet in the early 1940s, Isla Vista looked very much as if it had never been subdivided. Instead of a charming but profitable village, Isla Vista was a place where goats wandered, roosters crowed and an occasional old truck bumped in along the dirt road with the week's supply of water. A few of these roads had been added since the 1920s and were mostly located in the Isla Vista subdivision. They ran parallel to the beachfront but were located further back in the formerly "neglected" area of the subdivision. 19

Much of Isla Vista was covered by bean fields, punctuated by a few scattered houses and shacks with septic tanks in the yards. A few people lived in Isla Vista, probably less than fifty. 20 They were

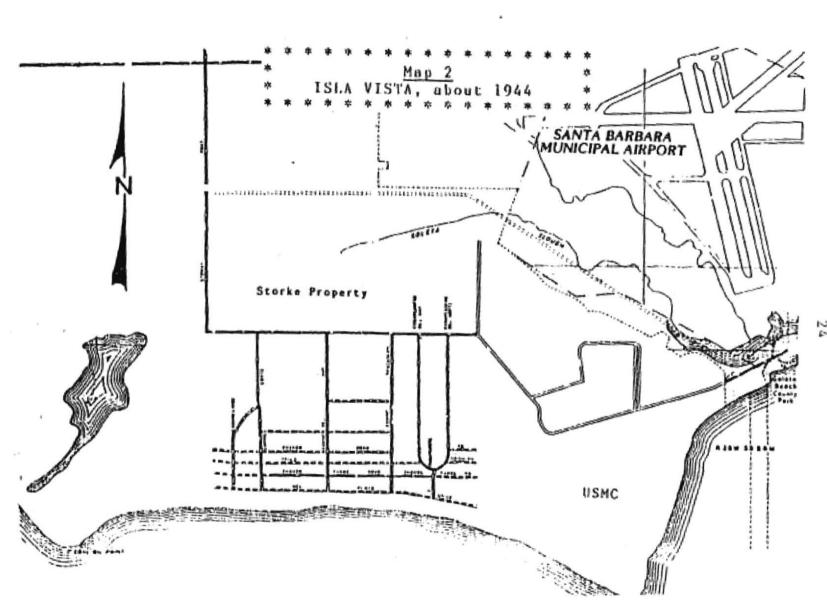
considered "Okies and Arkies" -- poor bean farmers and possibly squatters -- by those who lived in nearby Santa Barbara. Santa Barbarans classed the area as blighted, a place where cheap, desolate land attracted only those who could afford no better. 21 All that distinguished the area from any other rural backwater was the sea breezes and the area's twin view of the mountains and the sea. However, the decade of the 1940s would be decisive for the future of Isla Vista, not because of changes occurring within the area itself, but because the University of California would decide to locate a campus on the 408 acre parcel right next to it.

The transformation of the nearby Bishop land from farmland to university campus occurred in a series of events which at first glance seem unrelated. In an indirect way, the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor set events in motion. The December 1941 attack came ten months after Santa Barbara voters had approved a bond issue to buy land for an airport in the Goleta Slough. The slough marked the northern and eastern boundaries of the Bishop property.

the time of Pearl Harbor, but afterwards the work pace

accelerated because Santa Barbara's location on the Pacific rim made it ideal for training Marine Corps fighter pilots. The airport was ready for operation in April of 1942 and the Marine Corps immediately took control. They also acquired the neighboring 408 acre Bishop Ranch, the piece of land with the asphalt mine that bordered the Ocean Terrace tract, and built its base there. 22

The drone of fighter jets mixed with the more bucolic sounds of the Isla Vista area, but little else changed. A row of eucalyptus trees grew up between the base and the Ocean Terrace tract and any influences that the base may have had seemed to stopthere. The lone military extension into Isla Vista was the officers' riding stable, and it was there only because of its extremely unofficial Both the colonel and his intelligence officer were avid riders, and between them they scraped up the resources for a small stable. The colonel never actually bothered with the cumbersome matters of federal approval for this move. In fact, had the colonel asked, the relative luxury of a stable would almost certainly have been denied. As a result, equestrian-minded marines enjoyed the opportunity to



ride almost as much as the knowledge that their's was probably the only Marine Corps base in the country with its own stable. 23

The entry of the United States into World War II and the new Santa Barbara Airport's convenient location had changed the character of the land next to Isla Vista. At the same time a stirring of events in Sacramento began to draw the University of California closer to Santa Barbara. Since 1935 Santa Barbara had been the site of a state college with both liberal and industrial arts programs. Santa Barbara's State Assemblyman Alfred "Bobbie" Robertson had long harbored a dream of turning the state college into a branch of the University of California. 24 He was supported in his dream by his associate, State Senator Clarence Ward. Back in Santa Barbara the two assemblymen had a powerful ally, Thomas M. Storke.

Storke was a Santa Barbara native who counted among his ancestors a Spanish Presidio commandant, entrepreneurs who supplied the California gold rushers, and Yankee educators. By 1942 he was sixty-six and the owner and editor-in-chief of the two major newspapers in Santa Barbara. 25 He had recently finished a 1938 appointment by then-governor

Frank Merriam to complete the U.S. Senate term of William McAdoo. Storke had been in the Senate just long enough to earn himself the nickname "Old Curmudgeon" for his iron-willed guidance of \$10 million in California appropriations through the Senate. He was the kind of man who had always made friends easily, and in his mature years, he was a powerful man with lots of important connections. counted among his friends Senator William McAdoo and California Governor Earl Warren. Local people whose aims ran counter to his found him a determined opponent with a formidable arsenal of resources ranging from friends in Washington, D.C. to his prestigous family name. Yet once the issue was cleared away he often took pains to mend the breach by extending warmth and charm toward his past opponent.26

Storke took up a "determined" stance on the issue of attracting the University of California to Santa Barbara and Robertson was his equally determined counterpart in Sacramento. In the 1941 legislative session Robertson introduced a bill to establish Santa Barbara State College as a branch of the University. It received strenuous opposition from Dr. Walter

Dexter. Superintendent of Public Instruction, and Gardiner Johnson. Assemblyman from Berkeley, who were concerned that local ambition would blur the lines of distinction between the university and state colleges. If Santa Barbara were admitted they feared a dangerous precedent that would encourage other state colleges to bolt the state system in favor of the University of California. 27

To counter these forces, Robertson lobbied the other members of the Assembly incessantly using "every angle short of illegal tactics" to get his bill passed. He was rewarded with a 48-23 victory in the Assembly and would have been the first to admit that some of the "aye" votes came from exhausted assemblymen who simply wanted peace from his badgering. However, the Senate did not prove as receptive. The bill was assigned to the Committee on Education and needed six votes to clear. Three of the eight committee members had schools in their districts that came under Dexter, the Superintendent of Public Instruction who so stridently opposed the bill. The three did not find Santa Barbara's quest for University status important enough to risk the wrath of Dexter, and the bill died in committee. 28

Robertson and Storke then tried a new tactic. They printed up elegant invitations for all California legislators and their spouses offering them a visit to Santa Barbara for a weekend. Robertson called it an "on-the-spot investigation to educate the legislators about the unique qualifications Santa Barbara offered to the University of California." The Chamber of Commerce pitched in and organized a Spanish-style fiesta and local hotels provided free accommodations. The grand finale was a banquet at the elegant Coral Casino where Santa Barbara's popular Leo Carillo, better known to moviegoers as Pancho in the Cisco Kid series, delighted his guests as Master of Ceremonies. The weekend was pronounced a big success. When Robertson reintroduced his bill in the next session it passed by an overwhelming majority in the House without much lobbying on his part. In the Senate, however, the makeup of the Committee on Education had not changed and the bill once again died in committee.

In what was becoming a familiar pattern,

Robertson reintroduced the Santa Barbara College bill
in the 1943 legislative session. This time he had
more reason for optimism than ever before because a
new Senate President Pro Tempore had appointed new

Committee on Education members who were more favorable to his cause. BBut opposition this time came from an unexpected source. While the bill was pending in the house, the Regents of the University of California voted 14-4 not to accept Santa Barbara College into their system. The bill to add Santa Barbara to the University of California was always to be contingent on the Regent's acceptance. The "no" vote was a blow to the Santa Barbara faction, but they took solace in the fact that the vote was not binding since it occurred before the bill was actually enacted.

The bill sailed through both the House and the Senate. Then Storke, whom Robertson had kept informed with almost weekly communiques about the bill's progress, called from Santa Barbara with more bad news. Governor Earl Warren was considering a veto on the bill because the Regents were against it. Storke, Robertson and a prominent Santa Barbara attorney named Percy Heckendorf each called the Governor personally to talk him out of the veto. They pointed out that the bill merely offered the Regents an option to accept Santa Barbara College. Since they could easily turn it down, the Governor would not really be helping them with his veto. Warren acquiesced and signed the

bill into law. Storke and Robertson must have heaved a sigh a relief. They had a small space of time before the next regents' meeting in which to try to sway things their way.

They looked at the 14-4 nonacceptance vote and reasoned that they had four Regents on their side already. Robertson now planned to ply his gritty brand of lobbying on the remaining fourteen. He got in his car and drove up and down the state to visit each Regent not just once, but twice. He chose his first stop well when he called on Gordon Sproul, President of the University System. Sproul agreed to support the bill, which swung a very important vote in Robertson's favor. Although we do not know exactly what Robertson said to each regent, it is a safe assumption that news about Sproul's support topped the list. Another certain part of his pitch was a promise to oppose any other State College that might try to annex itself to the University of California. probably helped alleviate fears that accepting Santa Barbara would start a stampede by State Colleges into the University's fold. Only one Regent, San Francisco attorney Sidney Ehrman, completely eluded Robertson's determined efforts. At the next Regents' meeting,

Pearl Chase, a respected Santa Barbara citizen with well-honed powers of persuasion made a compelling presentation on behalf of Santa Barbara's proposal. This time the Regents voted 14-4 to accept Santa Barbara, completely reversing their prior vote. In June 1944 Santa Barbara became the seventh campus of the University system. 29

This legislative and administrative chain of events brought the University of California to Santa Barbara, but it still had not brought it to Isla Vista's doorstep. Santa Barbara College was located on a hillside near the Santa Barbara mission, more than ten miles from Isla Vista. The end of the war was the catalyst for the final step and it was Thomas Storke who brought it about. War's end meant that bases such as the one in Santa Barbara had to be closed up and sold. The War Assets Administration was the federal arm in charge of this process, and they offered first to resell the land to the original owner. The Bishop Company was no longer interested in its 408 acre parcel. In such cases the land was then offered for sale on the open market.

Storke's long years of participation in Democratic party politics and his term as U.S. Senator

gave him strong political connections in Washington, D.C. and he had excised them sometime before the spring of 1946 to take the Bishop site off the market. During that spring John Hass, a young attorney and the intelligence officer at the Marine Corps base in Santa Barbara, had been approached by a client interested in obtaining the base site for development after the war. Hass knew an officer in the War Assets Administration in Washington, D.C. whom he contacted for information about the site. Hass's friend told him in strictest confidense that the land was reserved for Tom Storke and the University of California. Until they made a decision about whether or not to take it, the property was to remain "on ice."30 The regents announced their intention to move Santa Barbara's university to the old marine corps fighter pilot training site in 1948. They completed deed transactions in 1949, paying one dollar to obtain title.31

The regents' decision to move the University of California, Santa Barbara College, as the school was called, to the old marine corps site was the final link in the chain of events that brought the University of California to Isla Vista's doorstep.

The decision certainly pleased Storke. The marine base site was one of breathtaking beauty and the quonset huts and roads built by the marines would give a head start to university building. Storke probably found the shear size of the site at least as beautiful as the setting. His son Charles A. Storke tells a story that his father told him. Tom Storke was walking the Marine Corps base with his friend, California Governor Earl Warren, whom he had brought out to see the site. Warren liked it but thought it was too big for the 2500 student campus that had been planned. Storke just laughed and said, "Oh, it will never stay at 2500."32 The prediction was to prove quite accurate.

While the regents, the War Assets

Administration and Tom Storke pursued the details of the property transfer, Isla Vista was on a pursuit of its own: a renewed search for oil. In the last week of January 1947 a joint venture of the Honolulu Oil Company and the Signal Oil and Gas Company began drilling along the Isla Vista ocean front. They chose a site not far from where the unsuccessful Scott-McIntosh well had been, but planned to drill straight down instead of angling out toward the sea as

Scott-McIntosh had done. In addition, the
Honolulu-Signal well was going deeper. Their goal was
the Vaqueros formation, a reportedly oil-rich geologic
layer 5000 feet below the surface which the
Scott-McIntosh well had missed by failing to drill
another 250 feet. If the Vaqueros sand did not
produce, the new well was situated so that its
drilling could be readjusted to reach out beneath the
ocean.33

Monolulu-Signal had paid Isla Vista property owners bonuses for the privilege of drilling, and had divided Isla Vista into three lease areas. The first included the entire ocean front, the second comprised the Orilla Del Mar and Isla Vista subdivisions minus their ocean frontage, and the last was the inland portion of the Ocean Terrace tract. There was an additional lease area situated just north of Isla Vista as well. If a strike came in property owners could look forward to an additional five per cent royalty which would be divided within the lease area by property ownership. 34 The oil companies absorbed all costs for drilling.

About six weeks after Honolulu-Signal Goleta Community No. 1 began drilling, the partnership spudded in a second well just northwest of the first. In the next months, a third, and a fourth followed. 35 For each of these wells the Vaqueros sand proved illusive and their drills were turned toward the ocean instead. The ocean floor also failed to yield a harvest of petroleum and the wells were abandoned one after another.

A fifth well located on the Ocean Terrace tract caused some excitement, however. In late May of 1947 it had been blown out by a natural gas explosion. Drilling later resumed and on a summer night in early September Honolulu-Signal-Macco State 309-1, Redrill A hit a petroleum pocket about a half mile offshore. Oil gushed out at a rate of 150 barrels a day with surges at a 500 barrel a day rate. Twelve hours after it hit, the fifth well ran into problems again. Ocean water broke into the line and workmen stopped the Repairs kept out most of the water, but within a week the well had slowed to sixty-five barrels a day and by the end of the year it was flowing at just a few barrels a day. A year later it was completely dry.36

By August 1948 the Honolulu-Signal partnership had spent about \$1,500,000 on drilling in Isla Vista,

and its sixth well was following a pattern disappointingly reminiscent of the well just described. A week after its strike, it was producing less than fifty barrels a day. 37 Despite six disappointments in a row, the oil partnership continued to drill throughout the close of the decade; as late as May 1949 they were working a new oil well in Isla Vista. 38 But if it was there at all, the black gold remained hidden from Honolulu-Signal in the 1940s just as it had from Scott-McIntosh and others in the 1930s and from optioneers in the 1920s.

While petroleum remained out of reach, however, another precious fluid came within grasp. In 1949, the same year the regents acquired their deed to the marine corps training base. Santa Barbara area voters gave overwhelming approval to plans for the Cachuma Dam project. 39 This huge reservoir, dam and connecting tunnel would significantly increase available supplies of water to county areas including Isla Vista. For the first time Isla Vista could look forward to a supply of fresh water. The area could anticipate indoor plumbing, modern sanitation and irrigation. This had the protential to make life in Isla Vista more convenient and also provided the

essential element for any future residential development. The water, the location next to a major university, and the climate and view suddenly made Isla Vista a desirable piece of property.

Throughout the decade of the 1940s separate decisions made outside Isla Vista gradually transformed the area's future. A military decision to locate a marine corps base on the Bishop property, a California legislative decision to offer Santa Barbara College to the University of California, a regents' decision to accept the offer, and a Washington D.C. decision to hold the marine corps base for the University of California were the string of dominoes that toppled one into another far beyond Isla Vista's boundaries and brought the University of California next to it. It seemed certain that the location of even a small branch of the University of California would affect undeveloped land immediately adjacent, although exactly what the effect would be was unclear.

Isla Vista's prospects in 1949 were dramatically different from what they had been at the beginning of the decade. A major university's plan to open next door and upcoming access to water transformed the blighted area into a blighted area.

with a future. Twenty five years after the Ilharreguy's had plotted a map for oceanside living with oil income, half of their plan seemed ready to materialize. The search for oil in Isla Vista had been a costly disappointment, but the charming, seaside community seemed within grasp. The subdivision maps of the Isla Vista, Ocean Terrace and Orilla Del Mar tracts which had been lying undisturbed for two decades in a county record book were about to be dusted off to serve as the basis for planning the new community. Narrow streets, which often serviced only one subdivision and dead-ended into the neighboring one, and tiny lots suited to an oil play but not to construction would come back to haunt community builders in the 1950s. Yet the land itself was undeveloped and there was still hope that creativity and careful planning could find a way to shape a settlement worthy of the beautiful area and the prestigious new neighbor.

Notes

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- This number is a very rough maximum determined by scrutinizing <u>Ibid</u>., observing the number of possible dwellings and allowing about six persons per dwelling.
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- One paper maintained a Republican editorial viewpoint and the other a Democratic viewpoint. The two papers merged in the 1940s into one paper, the Santa Barbara News-Press.
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 Note: The Cachuma Dam and Tecolote Tunnel project was another one to which the efforts and connections of Storke contributed significantly.

Chapter 2 The Foundling, 1948 - 1959

When Isla Vista residents read in 1948 of the regent's plans to relocate their Santa Barbara campus, it was as if the university had arrived, unexpected and unbidden, like a foundling on the doorstep. However, in terms of development, experience and sophistication, it was really Isla Vista that was the foundling. The university was a strong institution with a half century of state-funded stability behind it, even if it was not yet established on its Goleta site. Isla Vista was unorganized, unaffiliated, undeveloped, and poor. For the ten years that followed the university's announcement, Isla Vista would attempt to "grow up" both physically and politically through the mechanism of a resident property owner organization. Although relatively little building would occur, the decade would

be decisive for Isla Vista's future because the rules and patterns of development would be set.

Residents had organized the Isla Vista Improvement Association as soon as they learned of the university's decision to relocate. In November 1948. twenty-five people had gathered together in the home of a local couple to take Isla Vista's future into their own hands for the first time. 1 The population in Isla Vista at that time was between 150 and 190, so the people interested in the Improvement Association represented a relatively select few. 2 It is difficult to determine who Isla Vista's residents were at this time, that is, to determine what occupations they had, or why exactly they had chosen to live in Isla Vista. Certainly the group included more than "Okies and Arkies." Some were apparently retired people, and some were poor people attracted by low rent prices. At least one resident was a woman with a drinking problem whose son, a Santa Barbara doctor, wanted her live in Isla Vista because it was so difficult to get alcohol there. Aerial phtographs indicate fields of crops, so there were probably some farmers. In addition, the post-war years brought increasing numbers of people looking for pleasant

surroundings in which to buy or build a home inexpensively. 3

By forming an improvement association, Isla
Vista residents joined a growing number of Santa
Barbara area property owners who were organizing
similar neighborhood interest groups to affect their
area's development. Most improvement associations used
subdivision boundaries to define their geographic
scope. Road improvements and delivery of utilities
were the most frequent areas of interest, and the Santa
Barbara Mayor and City Council were often the ones to
whom they turned with requests.

Since Isla Vista was outside the city limits, it came under the jurisdiction of county governing bodies such as the Board of Supervisors and its Planning Commission. However, rather than appealing directly to these agencies, the Isla Vista Improvement Association initially chose to represent itself only to the Goleta Chamber of Commerce. At the second meeting, held in February 1949, the association appointed their first president to represent them on the Goleta Chamber of Commerce. This was probably not due to feelings of allegiance or connectedness with Goleta, but because it was the best way for Isla Vistans to get zoning, the

first item on their agenda.

Both Isla Vista and the Goleta Valley just to the north were county areas without any zoning regulations whatsoever. This was normal for unincorporated areeas at the time. The only way to change this, according to county policy, was by a formal request for zoning from property owners. 5 Zoning was an issue of increasing interest in the Goleta Valley. The valley was primarily agricultural in nature, much like Isla Vista, but the post-war period heralded a change in its land use patterns. The relocation of the University of California implied changes for the future of the Goleta Valley, just as it did for Isla Vista. A movement to request a zoning study was already under way in Goleta led by its Chamber of Commerce. It seemed to Isla Vista residents that this group knew its way through the obscure corridors of the county system, and it became the focus for Isla Vista zoning concerns.

In April 1949, two months after Isla Vista sent its representative to Goleta, the Chamber of Commerce presented a petition signed by 168 citizens from Isla Vista and the Goleta Valley asking for a permanent zoning ordinance. At first the County Planning

Commission balked, claiming that the number of signatures indicated too small an interest to make the issue worth pursuing. 6 It acquiesced a month later at a public hearing primarily because of the relocation of the University of California. 7 It was then the responsibility of the Planning Commission and its staff to study and work out an appropriate ordinance.

The Isla Vista/Goleta Valley zoning request was the eighth or ninth such request received by the Planning Commission. This meant that there were already six or seven other separate zoning ordinances that applied to various places in the county. Planning Department staffers who had formerly been able to memorize zoning regulations, already found themselves more and more frequently having to look up the answers to citizen inquiries because they simply could not keep track of them all.8 The Isla Vista/Goleta zoning request represented something of a critical mass in terms of special county zoning districts, and it caused the Planning Department Staff to approach the problem in a new way. Richard Whitehead, the County Planning Director, and Percy Heckendorf, the District Attorney, began to work on a single zoning ordinance that could be applied to the whole county. The task was to take

three years. Although Isla Vista would be the first area to be zoned under the new ordinance, it still meant three years of waiting.

Whitehead was the county official who worked most closely with the Isla Vista Improvement Association in the 1950s. A married man whose hobby was local history, he had graduated from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology with a degree in sanitary engineering. In the late 1930s the California State Planning Board had recruited him to work in its Sacramento offices because he was an engineer. At that time planners were most likely to have backgrounds in architecture, landscape architecture, or engineering. The area of state planning was controversial. To some, planning regulations seemed incompatible with the rights and autonomy of property owners, and many California legislators were opposed to it. As a result, when the army called Whitehead for service during World War II, the California State Legislature allowed his position to lapse.9

After the war, Whitehead joined the Santa Barbara County Planning Department. Since 1928 Santa Barbara County had had a Planning Department, supported initially by the people from its wealthiest suburb.

Montecito. Whitehead became Planning Director within six months of joining the staff, and occupied an ambiguous position in terms of his power and authority. As director he was head of the entire Planning Department staff. However, he answered to the County Planning Commission, a group of representatives from various county areas who were appointed by the Board of Supervisors. Whitehead and his staff made recommendations to the Planning Commission, and the Planning Commission made recommendations to the Board of Supervisors. The Board of Supervisors determined the final outcome of all recommendations by majority vote. If he chose, Whitehead could appeal directly to the Board of Supervisors, but a good relationship with the Planning Commission required that he use the direct avenue sparingly.

As he worked on the overall county zoning ordinance, Whitehead also met with the Isla Vista Improvement Association to begin work on their zoning plan. Although relations between him and the group were amicable, they did not always agree on plans for Isla Vista's future. Whitehead, as an engineer and a planner, tried to anticipate future problems. He knew that communities had a tendency to grow which sometimes

changed their characters, and believed that zoning could help regulate and plan for changes. Zoning was best when it fit an area, which in the case of tiny Isla Vista with its awkward subdivisions, meant low density because of the small lots, and careful planning for off-street parking because of its narrow streets.

Isla Vista property owners viewed zoning for their area differently than Whitehead did. They saw it as an opportunity for profit instead of a chance for control. There were nearly 500 property owners in the roughly 330 acres of Isla Vista. 10 This unusually large group was divided into two groups: those who lived in the area and those who did not. Most belonged to the non-resident group and were dispersed throughout half the states of the union. On the surface, it might have seemed that the interests of the two groups regarding zoning would have been quite different. Since zoning could sometimes result in a rise in property values, non-resident owners might be assumed to have had a primarily financial motive in any zoning changes. By contrast, resident owners would be the ones most directly affected by any changes in the area. and would be likely to be concerned with qualitative change as well as with profit:

However, the two groups were remarkably compatible on the issue of zoning and their common ground seemed to be in encouraging the highest possible property values for their land. "Everybody was going to make a killing," according to one former improvement association member. 11 It may have been that many owners had initially invested in Isla Vista for oil speculation. By the early 1950s with the harvest of petroleum royalties seeming less and less likely to appear, the university's location was a welcome windfall. Having been unable to control the resources that lay beneath the land, Isla Vista owners wanted to take control of what would go on top of it. generally accepted that higher density zoning made for higher property values. Consequently, the Isla Vista Improvement Association insisted on as much multiple residential area designation -- which would allow for duplex, apartment and dorm construction -- as they could wring from a reluctant Richard Whitehead.

The problem from Whitehead's perspective was that the 1926 subdivisions had to serve as the basis for any plans. They had been adopted by the Board of Supervisors and since that time had been a part of the county system. In addition, lots had been sold

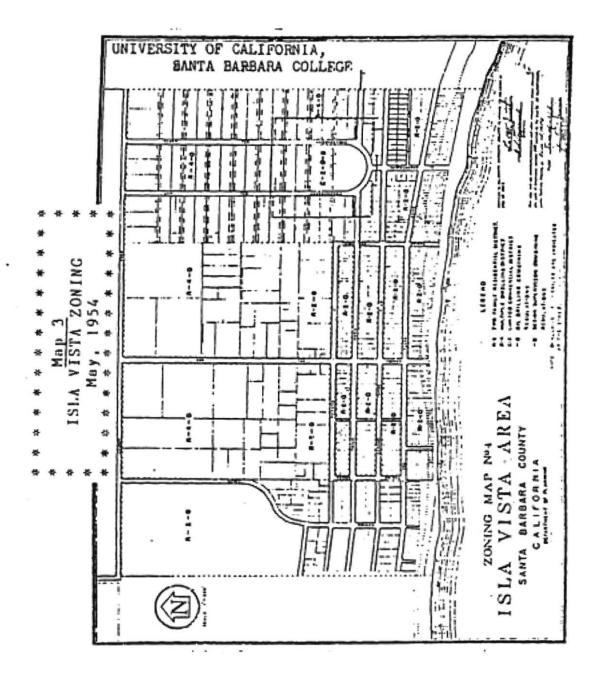
according to the plans. However, their legal status did not change the fact that they were a hinderance to future development. The streets were only forty feet wide, unacceptably narrow by 1950s standards. In addition, the twenty-five foot wide beach front lots were seriously substandard for building, and even the fifty by one hundred foot lots were small for the kind of high density zoning the Isla Vista property owners wanted. 12

Not all of the members of the Isla Vista Improvement Association were for relentlessly high density. A small group whose interest in financial profit was tempered by an intention to make Isla Vista their home argued for low density along the beachfront. Perhaps the most vocal member of this group was Ken Hendrickson who had moved to Isla Vista in 1951. Hendrickson and his wife had been married just a short while before moving to Isla Vista. They had been drawn there for the openness and nearness to the beach, and because "you could buy a house cheap."13 Hendrickson bought a "fixer-upper" and set about remodeling it. His desire to improve his home extended to a desire to improve his community and he quickly joined the Isla Vista Improvement Association,

later serving as its president. On the matter of low density zoning, however he and the few others like him were out of step with the community's general sentiments.

Zoning created more than the usual amount of interest in the improvement association and attendance at meetings was sometimes as high as fifty people. 14 Even with the support of people like Hendrickson, Whitehead found himself outnumbered as he presented logical plans for a low density area, and it was probably all he could do to keep from designating the entire area a dorm and apartment district in the face of the strong support for density from most of the improvement association. The zoning plan finally drawn up for submission to the county called for R-4 multiple residential zoning for nearly half of Isla Vista. This meant that lots adjoining the university in the Ocean Terrace tract and lots in all three subdivisions that touched El Colegio Road on its south side could support four or more units each. The loop where Embarcadero Del Mar and Embarcadero Del Norte met in the Ocean Terrace tract -- the area set aside in the 1920s for an athletic park -- was zoned commercial.

Any area that fell outside of these two



districts allowed for the building of one duplex per lot, the lowest density designation in Isla Vista. 15

The narrow beachfront lots with their crumbling cliffs belonged to this designation. Nowhere was there a district for single family home construction, although theoretically an owner could always build something less than the maximum allowed by the zoning. This was not an oversight, but was an exponent of Isla Vista property owners's desires to "make a killing." The duplex zoning designation allowed even a small property holder the chance to own income property by living in one half of a building and renting out the other half.

At the 1953 public hearings on the permanent zoning plans for Isla Vista, the Planning Commission noted that if fully developed according to the zoning plan, 13,000 residents would be allowed in Isla Vista's half square mile area. 16 That was an average of more than 43 people per acre, a density that did not exist anywhere west of the Mississippi River. Although Whitehead urged viewing this density as an item of concern, the Planning Commission did not find it troublesome enough to demand restudy. This was probably due to a combination of factors. The strong local support for the plan gave it a certain momentum,

particularly since residents had initiated the zoning.

Secondly, Santa Barbara county, like much of California, was development oriented in the mid-1950s. 17 The word "development" was almost synonymous with "progress"; it would not take on a pejorative cant for another fifteen years. addition, concerns about "the environment" and "over population" were not critically focused by most people. "Environmentalism" was not yet a word in common usage, and although most people wanted their surroundings to look nice, they were not in the habit of demanding it. This pro-development stance and lack of environmental consciousness probably helped the Planning Commission choose not to order the zoning plan redrawn. There was one final reason as well. The commissioner who represented Isla Vista was in favor of it. According to a sort of gentleman's agreemnt on the Planning Commission in the 1950s, the vote generally went according the the recommendation of the area commissioner. 18

On another subject, however, the commission agreed with Planning Director Whitehead and found the roads unacceptably narrow. Whitehead had pointed out that the 40 foot widths did not meet county standards,

and the commission ordered a restudy of both existing and proposed roads, with an aim toward widening them t 60 or 80 feet. 19 Any provisions to widen streets had to be made before many buildings were erected. year before the university opened its door, 1953, represented a sort of last chance for this effort. Road Department accomplished its task with an exhausting and novel approach. They contacted nearly 500 property owners and asked each to dedicate to the county, without charge, ten feet of streetside property. In an unusual show of cooperation, the property owners went along with this voluntary plan, providing Isla Vista with 60-foot wide streets. 20 Had the Planning Commission disregarded the roads as they had the density issue, the many problems that later developed in Isla Vista might have been even worse.

The ordinance laying out Isla Vista's zoning pattern passed the Board of Supervisors' scrutiny in mid-June 1954 with 60-foot wide streets throughout. 21 Apart from the small commercial area, Isla Vista was divided between zoning for duplexes and zoning for multiple dwellings, with the higher density areas located adjacent to the university on the west

and along the county road on the north. Overlying the entire area was an "O" or oil drilling regulation.

Isla Vista property owners were not yet ready to give up their hope that petroleum lay beneath the surface.

Some who owned Isla Vista land did not own rights to the minerals that might lie beneath it. Many property owners who sold a piece of land had retained rights to any oil that might later be discovered beneath it.

The split level ownership complicated property transactions in Isla Vista, and surely to some the "O" for oil might also have stood for "obstruction." In the spring of 1954 one potential purchaser of 100 acres, or roughly a third of Isla Vista, for a large subdivision was discouraged because title to the land was obscured with oil leases. He would have had to come to terms with about 30 individuals to gain a clear title to mineral rights on the land alone. An additional problem was that the Federal Housing Administration would not finance the purchase without quit-claim deeds from all oil lease holders. 22

Isla Vista's commercial district differed from the others in that it carried with it an additional zoning designation, a "D". This meant that any proposed building had to pass county regulations in its

design. A "D" was an attempt to control the quality and architectural style of buildings in order to produce pleasing and unified development. It was a concept then in use in the City of Santa Barbara and represented a sort of local planning state of the art for its time. The City of Santa Barbara had a history of applying architectural controls beginning with its effort to rebuild the downtown area after the destructive earthquake of 1925. An active, well organized and politically sophisticated citizen group had been instrumental in persuading city leadership to consider ways to regulate the form taken by new city development. The result was a downtown area rebuilt in a Spanish Colonial theme. Red tile roofs, white stucco, and arches created a charming and harmonious effect. In attaching a "D" to their as yet undeveloped commercial area, Isla Vistans tried to apply something that had worked in the neighboring city of Santa Barbara

The contrast between the elitist and carefully placed "D" in 1953 and the appearance of Isla Vista itself was striking. Shortly before the University of California opened at its new site, the Santa Barbara County Health Department conducted a survey of Isla

Vista. It revealed an area utterly lacking in the kinds of conveniences usually associated with 1950s suburbia. About 50 percent of the dwellings in Isla Vista were judged "substandard," with about 10 per cent "very substandard." Although 50 per cent of the homes had wells, 75 per cent used bottled drinking water. additional 20 per cent hauled their drinking water from various parts of Goleta or Santa Barbara leaving only 5 per cent who actually drank the ground water. About 50 per cent of the homes had underground systems for sewage or waste water disposal, and 35 per cent had privies. These statistics left out 15 per cent for whom sewage disposal methods were disturbingly unstated. 23

means." This meant that 12 per cent buried their trash, 20 per cent burnt it, and 30 per cent fed it to their animals. The numerous open trash piles that punctuated Isla Vista's landscape indicated where the missing 35 per cent could be found. Finally, the Health Department counted 1,384 animals in Isla Vista -- sheep, goats, horses, chickens, ducks, rabbits, and pigeons. Dogs and cats were not included in this count, but these animals existed in quantity as well.

The survey noted that several homes kept four or more dogs. Missing from the survey, but also unmistakable on the site were many open wells, pits of waste water disposal, and other depressions. 24 The roads were constructed of soft dirt and had never been properly packed and graded. As a result, they were riddled with ruts in which "you could bury a calf." 25

The Isla Vista Improvement Association knew that physical improvement was a necessity if it was to make something of the settlement, and knew that good roads and modern sewage disposal were the places to begin. The problems with the roads was another legacy left by the old subdivisions. The subdividers had not been required by law or county ordinance to provide adequate roadways. Since building them would have been an added expense, they merely scratched out tracks that roughly resembled roads. Some later property owners such as the Honolulu Oil Company put in and maintained their own roadways. 26 That left Isla Vista property owners in the early 1950s with roads they owned but could not give away. The county refused to accept responsibility for maintaining them until they came up to a minimum standard.

The way the Isla Vista Improvement Association

the group at its most resourceful and resolute. In late 1953 they created a special district called County Services Area No. 1 by which to tax themselves. Money collected from this tax went into the county budget under a special designation. Upon the request of the association, the Board of Supervisors would pass an official order budgeting this money for Isla Vista road projects. The first order was for \$3590 from the 1954-55 budget to grade and pave portions of three roads in Isla Vista. The work was to begin after the start of the new fiscal year in July 1954.27

If imitation is the sincerest form of flattery, then Isla Vista might well have felt complemented because other places in the county followed its lead and formed County Services areas in order to finance various local projects. Isla Vista had the distinction of being the first to raise money by such means. Their "can-do" spirit drew the group an admiring editorial from Tom Storke's daily, the Santa Barbara News-Press. It called the Isla Vistans "industrious people" who were "doing their share of building the kind of America we need." It scolded county officials for neglecting the area in the past and urged them to take up their

moral responsibility for helping an area where the people helped themselves -- particularly when that area was "in the very front yard of the University of California's beautiful new campus." 28

In September 1954, the University of California, Santa Barbara College (UCSBC), opened its doors to 1,725 students. According to announced plans it was to be a small, residential liberal arts college with an enrollment of 3500 students, 1000 more than the number first planned. The strengths of the former state college, industrial arts and home economics, were to be gradually phased out over a period of ten years. 29 In 1954, however, the active industrial arts department was one of the few to be housed in a new building. 30 The two new buildings were the library and a science building. They joined the quonset huts of the old marine corps to provide the new school's structures. Former officers quarters housed undergraduates and the Post Exchange became the Student Union. Almost immediately a women's residence hall and a Music building were hastened into construction to accommodate the increased student capacity of 3500.31 In the meantime students lived where they always had -- in Santa Barbara in rooms or apartments, with families,

and in rented sorority and fraternity houses. With the campus now in Goleta, they simply drove or road the bufurther.

The opening of the new campus seemed to signal nnew phase in Isla Vista's development. long-awaited change was a reality; the university had said it was coming and finally it was there. The Isla Vista Improvement Association had received the kind of zoning it wanted, they were working on the roads and had obtained water from the Tecolote Tunnel, part of the Cachuma Dam project. 32 Many of the pieces for a good development picture had fallen into place. Although much work was still needed particularly in the area of sanitation and area clean-up, the fact that the university was open and that students were enrolling stimulated continued efforts. A period of planning and of action on the part of the Isla Vista Improvement Association followed the completion of UCSBC's first academic year.

The Isla Vista Improvement Association was self-consciously a resident property owner's group. Because they represented an area with such a large number of non-resident property owners, the active, resident members of the group were a small minority of

the total. Yet they were also the members who were most knowledgeable about and connected to the area, as well as those whom changes would most directly affect. They protected their special status within the group through by-laws providing that only resident property owners could become board members. 33 Many of them worked in Goleta. The 1957 board included an employee of Johnson Fruit Company, the president of the Goleta Lemon Association, an employee of North American Weather Consultants, a gas company employee, a printer a district supervisor for the Goleta Union School District, and several University of California employees. 34 This was a group that was mixed in class, because it included agricultural workers, blue collar workers and professionals.

In the second half of the 1950s the group directed its efforts toward three major issues: physical improvement of the Isla Vista site, planning for aesthetically pleasing development, and maintaining the kind of zoning density they had achieved in 1954. Efforts at physical improvement were directed toward constructing a sewer and ridding the area of unsightly old shacks. Building the sewer, like road improvement,

was a major change that association members affected in

Isla Vista with virtually no help from any outside agency. They financed the project by forming the Isla Vista Sanitary District in 1954 through which they sold bonds to raise operating revenue. They employed a contractor, Shallock Construction Company of Bakersfield, California, and by the time the university opened for its third year at the new site, construction of Isla Vista's half-million-dollar sever line project was more than 80 per cent complete. 35

The year 1957 was the year of the great hook-up. The Isla Vista sewer linked with the Goleta system and Isla Vista homes began to tie in to the new sewer. Throughout 1957 Isla Vista Improvement Association meeting agendas usually included a monthly report on the number of new sewer hook-ups. 36 The numbers were announced with pride and greeted with great interest because they stood for a collective accomplishment and for an upgrading of the area. Bringing a sewer to Isla Vista was one of the primary purposes behind formation of the original group in the late 1940s, and they congratulated themselves that they had achieved their goal almost single-handedly.

The group also set out to clear the area of old, dilapidated buildings. This proved to be a task that

improved slowly one by one. Contacting owners, negotiating a solution and seeing the solution through to completion was long, slow work. 37 In the case of a reluctant property owner they had the county's uniform building code on their side, and a measure of support from the Board of Supervisors who had ordered a county building inspector to list all substandard dwellings. 38 The group also sent out the word that owners were to clean up their yards, fill in excavations and generally improve the appearance of their lots. 39

In a way, improvement association members tried to wipe the slate clean for the new Isla Vista they were planning. They felt that their commercial district would set the tone for the whole area, so they focused special attention on it. In the fall of 1956 the commercial district, much like the rest of Isla Vista, was undeveloped. It comprised twenty-five acres and there were nearly fifty owners in the district. 40 Charles Beguhl, one of the owners, saw "the potential for the most beautiful shopping center in the whole country." He believed that all commercial property owners should get together and

agree to uniform standards by which to build the commercial district. His feelings concurred with those of the Economic Development Committee of the Isla Vista Improvement Association which recommended building in an architectural style that would conform with the university's. The committee also wanted to plan for parking in the commercial district in excess of the requirements under the blanket county zoning ordinance. In this, they were "learning from the mistakes of Santa Barbara and Goleta" where the minimum allotment had been found insufficient. 42

These ideas met with general approval from the association membership. However, an increasingly familiar problem presented itself. Most of the fifty commercial property owners were not residents and were not present at the meeting. Yet resident or not, a property owner controlled the development of what he or she owned. The "D" for design supervision in the commercial district did not require that buildings look similar, but only that their architectural plans be passed by a county review board. Cooperation — or coercion — was necessary for architectural uniformity. Most of the improvement association members favored cooperation which they solicited by

sending out letters of inquiry to each of the commercial property owners. They asked whether the owners favored deed restrictions for architectural uniformity, and enclosed a return card. 43

At least one resident member, Ernest Hensley, viewed the attempt as impractical and believed that only coercion would get fifty property owners to conform. Hensley was a Realtor and perhaps past experience with property owner negotiations colored his outlook. Only a change in the zoning ordinance setting architectural policy, he maintained, would achieve truly uniform standards of appearance in an area with such a large and widely distributed group of owners. 44 As the response cards came back in from commercial property owners, however, most were in favor of deed restrictions on building. 45 Hensley would likely have been the first to point out the potentially great difference between a vote for deed restrictions and actually agreeing upon specific restrictions and their implications.

However, the real problem in developing the commercial district was economic. The commercial property owners themselves did not have the financial ability to create the kind of shopping centerr they had

in mind. The improvement association recognized this and charged its Economic Development Committee with attracting outside capital. 46 The eventual failure of this campaign effectively scuttled hopes for "the most beautiful shopping center in the whole country."

The shift in focus away from an architectural policy and toward capital recruitment had the additional effect of sidelining further discussions about architectural policy. As a result, the sort of · uniform standards of construction that did occur as the district was built in the 1960s were only a shadow of what the improvement association had hoped for. Buildings stopped at two stories, parking generally exceeded the minimum required by the blanket county ordinance, and sidewalks lined the district. With the large number of commercial owners and the fact that money was not abundant, perhaps these standards of uniformity should be considered a success. They were, however, a far cry from those discussed in the mid-1950s when the difficulties of design compromise under financial constraint were not fully realized.

In the summer of 1936, the Isla Vista

Improvement Association experienced problems with a proposed development that moved them toward favoring

legally enforced building restrictions in the residential district as well. The catalyst was the discovery in the summer of 1956 that some non-resident Isla Vista property owners planned to move a large building from a Santa Barbara suburb, cut it in half, turn it into two duplexes, and locate them in Isla Vista. 47 This provoked a storm of protest from the improvement association which was in the midst of the difficult task of clearing the area of shacks and unsightly dwellings. The relocation into Isla Vista of a building that the City of Santa Barbara seemed eager to get rid of and which its members considered ugly insulted the improvement association. One resident voiced the feelings of many when he said, "Do you think that's all we ought to settle for out here?"48

The association sent off a letter and a petition to the Board of Supervisors asking them to forbid moving the building into Isla Vista. At a public hearing on the matter, residents presented a vigorous protest and were supported by the University of California, Santa Barbara College. H. S. Thompson, business manager of the college, wrote a letter in which he reminded the supervisors that the regents were spending "a great deal" of money to make their Santa

Barbara campus architecturally beautiful. "May I respectfully request," he continued, "that the Board of Supervisors examine carefully all proposals concerning construction, land use and zoning on the perimeter of this campus. Undesirable land use or down grading of the land adjacent and contiguous to the campus would certainly not be complimentary to the present and the future architecture and environment of this land."49

The supervisors found themselves in a delicate position. The problem with the building was not its safety or its compliance with building codes, but its appearance. The only possible violation of the county building code was on the ground that the building was "unsightly." Such a determination was difficult to make since it fell into the realm of taste. The Board of Supervisors successfully sidestepped the issue by referring the building plans back to the County Board of Architectural Review. With the heat deflected, the board made a concession to the strident appeals of Isla Vista residents to protect and upgrade their area. They initiated a zoning amendment to provide for architectural supervision over Isla Vista. Such an amendment would extend the "D" or design overlay beyond

the commercial district so that it affected all of Isla

Vista and would create a board of architectural review

which would oversee all plans for construction and

remodeling in the area. 50

On a public level, this support for control of Isla Vista's development seemed to arise out of a respect for the efforts of residents in Isla Vista, and from a desire to help them help themselves. Supervisor R. B. McClellan, said, "I would hate to see this area downgraded with so much progress being made." Board of Supervisors Chair, William Hollister, acknowledged the improvement association's work to raise the standards of their district and, almost as if he remembered the editorial of two years ago in Tom Storke's paper, said that supervisors should assist the group wherever possible. 51

In May 1957, just before Memorial Day, the supervisors passed an emergency zoning regulation applying the "D" throughout Isla Vista. The interim ordinance protected the area for six months while the permanent one went through the regular but slower process of public hearings. Contained within the ordinance itself was the rationale for its hasty application. "It is necessary . . . to prevent the

construction, alteration or moving in of buildings in the vicinity of the University of California, Santa Barbara Campus at Goleta, which buildings would be in conflict with the type of development desired in said area. . . "52 The influence of the University of California expressed in support of the Isla Vista residents' protest had apparently persuaded county supervisors to aid the request for design controls.

While the county supervisors gave with one hand, however, they threatened to take away with the other. In November 1956, at the same time they had resolved to initiate residential design controls for Isla Vista, they also pledged to limit the density in multiple residential districts. 53 The density limitation came in response to the request of another improvement association, the Summerland Citizens Association. Summerland was a seaside community covering about a half square mile, the same area as Isla Vista. It lay in county lands about as far down the coast from Santa Barbara as Isla Vista was up the coast, and it was working to develop and improve itself in the Summerland was one of the communities that mid-1950s. had followed Isla Vista's lead and formed a community services district in order to make road improvements.

The community was built on a steep slope, and it was this factor that lead the Summerland Citizens Association to request a limit of one residential unit per 1500 square feet of building space. With this change they hoped to prevent the building of large apartment houses on small lots. 54

The Board of Supervisors found the request reasonable and drew up an amendment to the blanket county zoning ordinance instituting this change. It was not until early December of 1956 that anyone in Isla Vista realized that the "Summerland amendment" they had read about in the local newspapers would limit density in the entire county, including their area. Once again, a storm of protest arose. The Isla Vista Improvement Association estimated that the new amendment would cut the economic value of their land by about one third. 55 The Economic Development Committee suggested a figure as high as \$15,000,000 in potential losses should the Summerland amendment pass. 56 Isla Vista had counted on development according to the blanket zoning ordinance which allowed buildings to cover fifty per cent of a lot. The Summerland amendment would limit building size in Isla Vista to about two fifths of a lot. This would mean

fewer rental units per lot in the multi-residential district and smaller duplexes for the rest of Isla Vista.

By the time of the Summerland amendment, Isla Vistans could not afford to back down from the density set by their 1954 zoning ordinance. By late 1956, property values had soared beyond anyone's predictions. Land in the multi-residential district was selling for \$15,000 to \$20,000 an acre, a fantastic price in the mid-1950s, and fifteen to twenty times what it had been worth five or six years earlier. 57 However, the high property values did not come without consequences. Near the university, it was hopted that moderately priced living accommodations would serve the needs of students and university staff. With the cost of property so high, a good investment return required packing in the maximum number of rental units per lot, and building at a modest cost. If the maximum building space per lot went down, the cost per completed unit went up. This would be a deterrent to development.

The one way to mitigate such a deterrence was for property owners to drop the price of their land, but this the Isla Vista owners, like most owners anywhere, were not willing to do. Isla Vista owners

also knew that they did not have to drop their prices because they held a limited supply of a commodity that was in demand: land near the university. As they expressed it in a petition drafted for review by the Board of Supervisors, "Because the land available in the whole of [the] Isla Vista area for living accommodations is extremely limited in acreage compared to the potential growth and demand of the University . . .full and ultimate use of every square foot to us. seems most prudent and sound economics. . . "58

The Isla Vista Improvement Association was willing to fight to maintain control of its "prudent and sound economics." and played its trump card against the Summerland amendment: the university. Summerland amendment, the association argued, "would . . .deter or prohibit new construction . . . Approval of the [Summerland amendment] by the board would be tantamount to depriving the hundreds of people and the college students of a place to live in the vicinity of their work or studies."59 The Summerland Citizens Association, Richard Whitehead and the Planning Commission, and the Board of Supervisors were all amenable to modifying the amendment so that it would restrict development in Summerland, but allow Isla

Vista to grow to its chosen potential. The threat of the Summerland amendment never came to bear in Isla Vista and the improvement association viewed this as a victory.

The Isla Vista fight against the Summerland amendment in 1957 was significant because it made a clear choice for high density zoning. three-year-old plan that allowed for 13,000 residents in a 330 acre parcel had not been a fluke. Isla Vista residents liked what they had; they did not want to scale down potential population to a more manageable number. In the course of the fight against the Summerland amendment, the improvement association not only reaffirmed its choice for density, but set the pattern for future development. To produce moderately priced living spaces on high priced land required inexpensive construction, and "ultimate use of every square foot." This was exactly the formula followed by future development. Such a description could conjure up images of a crowded, squalid, low quality district, but this was clearly not the image in the minds of the improvement association members. They believed they could have high density "without committing violence on good planning."60 They placed their faith in

personal restraint, community good will, and zoning requirements.

Had the improvement association members looked into the Board of Supervisors's reecord in granting zoning variances from minimum standards in their area, their faith in zoning as a regulatory means might have been shaken. Since the year the university had opened in 1954 through the end of 1958, a total of twelve variances had been requested. The supervisors granted eleven. 61 Most of these were for back, front or sideyard setbacks of less than minimum width. The purpose of a setback requirement was to guarentee a certain distance between structures. This minimized the threat of fire spread, and also ensured some level of privacy and openness. 62. The ordinance required buildings to be set back at least forty feet from the centerline of the street. In the back there was a twenty-five foot space requirement between the building and the edge of the lot, and on the sides ten per cent of the width of the building was to be free. One parking space was required for each dwelling unit, and the entire building could not cover more than fifty per cent of the lot. 63

In Isla Vista, however, the minimum requirements

under the county's blanket zoning ordinance restricted development. When a developer tried to plan for the maximum number of units that the zoning allowed on one of the 5,000 or 6,000 square foot lots, he often found that setback requirements limited the number of bedspaces a lot could support. Since the greater the number of bedspaces, the greater the potential income from the developed property it made sense that a developer would try to obtain a variance from minimum county standards. The Board of Supervisors, in the first such cases brought to their attention, were convinced to go along with the developers's wishes.

There was another sort of variance granted as well. Single lots along the ocean front were substandard for building a duplex at only twenty-five feet wide and one hundred feet deep. Two lots together made 5,000 feet however, property enough for building if the supervisors would allow it. On the surface it must have seemed almost petty not to grant such a logical request, and supervisors acquiesced. The problem was apparent only when considering the sort of land included in the one hundred foot depth. These beach front parcels were the old oil lots and they measured from curbside, down a crumbling sea cliff to

the mean high tide line. This meant that on a significant portion of the 5,000 square feet nothing could be built. It would take three adjacent beach front lots to acquire enough land actually suitable for development. 64

Considering the conflict between Isla Vista's allowed density and building according to county standards, the Board of Supervisors may have viewed their free granting of zoning variances as support for development in an area that presented a particular challenge. With the sparce development in Isla Vista in 1958, granting a handful of front and sideyard variances did not create a fire hazard, nor did it affect privacy or openness in any serious degree. One or two isolated duplexes along the coast with less than the ideal property allotment was not particularly troublesome. However, by granting eleven out of twelve variances requested the supprvisors set a precedent that trapped them in the future. They had failed to fulfill their role as keepers of county standards, and once relinquished it became difficult to regain. As building boomed in the 1960s, so did requests for lot combining and sideyard setback variances. Having granted them in the past, the supervisors would find

themselves without foundation for denying requests in the future. As a result these restrictions of the county zoning ordinance seemed hardly to represent the force of law in Isla Vista and the community grew up, compact and crowded, as if they did not exist.

The high price of land in Isla Vista was at the root of the variance problem since expensive land required dense construction to realize profit. In the ·fall of 1956, the high price of land discouraged property acquisition by a potentially very interesting force in Isla Vista: the Regents of the University of California. Tom Storke had become a university regent in 1955, appointed by his old friend Governor Earl Warren to fill out the term of a regent who had resigned. 65 Storke's foray into Isla Vista land purchase came in the fall of 1956 as a result of his service on a regents' subcommittee which was looking into the feasibility of allowing a fraternity and sorority row on the Santa Barbara campus. subcommittee had investigated several campus locations. none of which was quite right, only to come back and finally address a larger problem. How could Greek societies be allowed space on the campus proper that would not interfere with future campus expansion?

In 1956 the regents' enrollment projections for the Santa Barbara campus had not changed since the campus opened; 3500 resident students was the capacity. None of the subcommittee members indicated knowledge of any planned change in that number. However, an increase in enrollment at some unspecified future time existed in most members' minds. The wave of mid-19940s babyboomers was just hitting junior high school in 1957. Behind that front wave came crushes of children under age twelve who were straining public elementary schools beyond capacity everywhere in California. University President Robert Gordon Sproul (a member of the subcommittee) observed, "No campus was ever large enough to accommodate necessary expansion."66 An engineer also in attendance pointed out that the 408 acres of the Santa Barbara campus was "not too large a campus."67 He noted that all other campuses of the University had experienced growth, but did not believe it was possible to predict when it would occur. 68 What remained unstated but understood by all on the subcommittee was that growth at the Santa Barbara campus would inevitably occur. Whenever and however that growth took place, the members did not want to be the ones who future planners could blame for

restricting expansion by carelessly granting campus space to fraternities and sororities.

As an alternative to sharing campus space, the subcommittee looked into buying the strip of land for the fraternities and sororities immediately adjacent to the university in the Ocean Terrace tract of Isla Vista. There the regents encountered the problems of multiple ownership and exorbitant land prices, just as others had. The parcel they were interested in was zoned multiple residential and totaled only seventeen acres. However, there were forty-three owners and some of the holdings were as small as fifty by eighty-three feet. 61 The regents had learned that some owners were unwilling to sell, which meant that negotiations with the large number of property owners were likely to be even more difficult and expensive than might have been expected. If a sale could be negotiated it was sure to come at an outrageous price. The regent's treasurer estimated that a purchase of twenty acres on the university's boundary would cost \$400,000 with an additional \$35,000 in sewer assessments. 70 Some of the subcommittee members including Storke thought this estimate low. Had the regents advised the Greek societies to buy adjacent land just five or six years

previously, they could have had it for about \$1,000 an acre. 71

This applied to the regents themselves who might have been able to buy up a significant portion, if not all of Isla Vista had they pursued such a transaction shortly after they procured the Marine Base. By 1956, the start of only the third UCSBC academic year at the new site, an Isla Vista purchase was too complex and too expensive for even the regents to undertake. In the end they dropped the search for an Isla Vista fraternity and sorority row site despite the belief of some, including Tom Storke, that the university had promised the Greek societies a place for their houses. The fraternities and sororities received neither campus space nor university-negotiated adjacent land, and instead were left to find land and construct or rent houses themselves. They scattered into Isla Vista and established themselves wherever they were able to negotiate an acceptable purchase of land. As a result, the influence of fraternities and sororities was never concentrated into a single neighborhood at UCSBC, but was dispersed throughout Isla Vista. This had an effect on the Greek societies who experienced problems creating the kind of cohesive culture that developed

from a housing "row," and they considered this a loss. 72 It also had consequences for later Isla Vista residents who complained that they could not get far enough away from the Greek houses. 73

The years 1956 - 1957 marked a turning point in Isla Vista's development. The skyrocketing property value was only the most obvious and quantifiable manifestation of the changes occurring in the area. Isla Vista had come of age rapidly as a group of resident property owners had taken control of planning their area's future. They had effectively represented both their own interests as well as the interests of large number of non-resident property owners, and by 1956 - 1957 were recognized in Santa Barbara county as the voice of their area. They had successfully wreste from the county the zoning they desired and had instituted innovative agencies to fund road and sever improvements. The dilligence of the improvement association along with the accident of the university' location was responsible for the desirability of Isla Vista land.

There is an old saying: beware of what you wan because you just might get it. Isla Vista property owners had what they wanted beyond their wildest dream:

by 1956 - 1957 with the astonishing 1500 to 2000 per cent increase in property values. The high land price brought other factors along with them. Isla Vista found itself committed to a density ceiling that was unsurpassed anywhere west of the Mississippi River. I addition, it had to expect inexpensive building becaus the high cost of land fixed so much of a developer's equation. By 1956 - 1957 the possibility of having th University of California Regents as an Isla Vista land owner seemed remote. Whether or not the Isla Vista Improvement Association would have found this very significant in 1956 - 1957 is not known, but by losing the regents as a fellow landowner, the improvement association lost a wealthy and powerful potential member. It also lost a chance to fasten the regents' concern securely to their area.

By 1956 - 1957 trends in Isla Vista's development were settling in as well. The County Boars of Supervisors had shown itself willing to pass the zoning ordinance Isla Vistans had requested, only to grant exceptions to it virtually every time a builder asked. The improvement association lacked the kind of financial muscle that might have made some plans, such as the one for a beautiful shopping center, more

feasible. They found themselves stuck between plans they felt their area deserved and the hard reality of meeting them. In addition, by refusing to compromise on the density ceiling set by their zoning ordinance, Isla Vistans placed a heavy burden on prospects for a pleasant and well-designed community.

Notes

- SBNP, Dec. 1, 1948.
- SBNP, July 13, 1947 -- This article contains a reprinted map from the Santa Barbara county Department of Planning and Public Works which says that there were 190 people in the Isla Vista area.
- 3 Interview with Kenneth Hendrickson, former president of the Isla Vista Improvement Association, November 21, 1986.
- 4 SBNP, February 19, 1949.
- 5 Hvolboll, Eric P., "Fifty Years of County Planning." Copyright 1982. [This is a report presented by the author to the Santa Barbara Public Library.]; Richard Whitehead Interview.
- 6 SBNP, April 21, 1949; Hvolboll, pg. 48.
- 7 Ibid.
- 8 Interview, Richard Whitehead, September 20, 1985.
- 9 <u>Ibid</u>.
- 10 SBNP, April 18, 1954.
- 11 Hendrickson Interview.
- 12 Whitehead Interview.
- 13 Hendrickson Interview.
- 14 SBNP, August 8, 1950.

- Santa Barbara Ordinance No. 755, Section 2.
 Zoning Map No. 4. [An ordinance amending Article IV of Ordinance No. 661, the Santa Barbara County Zoning Ordinance.] Adopted June 14, 1954. (This is from the Thomas Storke Papers, Bancroft Library.)
- 16 Hvolboll, pg. 50.
- 17 Ibid.: Interview with George Cldye, former Santa Barbara County Supervisor, December 13, 1050.
- 18 <u>Ibid</u>.
- 19 SBNP, June 16, 1953.
- Telephone interview, Richard Whitehead, July 18, 1985.
- 21 Ordinance No. 755, June 14, 1954.
- 22 SBNP, April 18, 1954.
- 23 SBNP, July 19, 1953.
- 24 Ibid.
- 25 SBNP, May 18, 1954.
- 26 <u>Ibid.</u>; SBNP, May 7, 1954.
- 27 SBNP, May 7, 1954; Interview, Kenneth Hendrickson, Former President, Isla Visti Improvement Association, November 22, 1954. The grading and paving was to occur on 1.150 feet of Turner Road (now called Abrego 2. 1.1). 1,180 feet of Sueno Road, and 360 feet at Camino Pescadero. That would pave all of Turner and the part of Sueno contained within the Isla Vista tract. The Camino Pescadero strip would stretch from the county road (which was soon to be renamed El Colegio) to where it connected with Sueno. This was the area with a good number of residential homes, including the homes of many active Isla Vista Improvement Association members.

- 28 SBNP, May 18, 1954.
- "Special Issue," Alumni Association, University of California, Santa Barbara, 1965, pg. 6.; Announcement, Regents of UC, 1948.
- 30 Interview, John Groebli, Industrial Arts Faculty Member and Former Dean of Men, University of California, Santa Barbara College, July 14, 1985.
- 31 "Special Issue," Alumni Association, University of California, Santa Barbara, 1965, pg. 6.
- 32 SBNP, April 18, 1954.
- 33 · SBNP, February 19, 1957.
- 34 SBNP, May 22, 1957; Polk's Santa Barbara City Directory. R.L. Polk and Co., Los Angeles, California, 1957.
- 35 SBNP October 24, 1956.
- 36 SBNP, April 24, 1957.
- 37 SBNP, January 19, 1957; October 16, 1957; May 27, 1959.
- 38 SBNP, January 19, 1957.
- 39 SBNP, April 24, 1957.
- 40 SBNP, October 16, 1957 says there were 48 property owners in the district; SBNP, Feb. 19, 1957 says there were 49 persons owning commercial property.
- 41 SBNP, September 18, 1956.
- 42 SBNP, October 16, 1956.
- SBNP, February 19, 1957; John Hass Interview, October 1, 1985.

- 44 SBNP, Oct. 16, 1956.
- 45 Ibid.
- 46 SBNP, April 24, 1957.
- 47 SBNP, November 20, 1956. The building was the former Adams Hall and had been located in the Hoff Heights area of the City of Santa Barbara.
- 48 SBNP, November 20, 1956.
- 49 SBNP, October 27, 1956.
- 50 SBNP, October 16, 1956; November 14, 1956.
- 51 SBNP, October 16, 1956.
- 52 Santa Barbara County, Ordinance No. 893.
 Adopted May 27, 1957. Certified and sealed by
 J. E. Lewis, County Clerk of the Board of
 Supervisors of the county of Santa Barbara, Sate
 of California.
- 53 SBNP, February 7, 1957.
- 54 SBNP, February 3, 1957.
- 55 SBNP, December 17, 1956; December 18, 1956.
- 56 SBNP, Feburary 3, 1958.
- 57 Minutes, Executive Session of the Regents
 Subcommittee on Santa Barbara Fraternities and
 Sororities, October 25, 1956. Thomas Storke
 Papers, Bancroft Libarary, University of
 California, Berkeley.
- 58 SBNP, January 22, 1957.
- 59 Ibid.
- 60 SBNP, February 7, 1957.
- 61 File: Santa Barbara County Zoning Variances. Santa Barbara County Department of Resource Management.

- 62 Whitehead interview; Hendrickson interview.
- 63 SBNP, January 22, 1957.
- 64 Hendrickson interview.
- The regent was John Francis Neylan of San Francisco who resigned because he was approaching 70. Storke was approaching 80, but took his place anyway. <u>California Editor</u>. Pg. 439.
- 66 Minutes, Executive Session of the Subcommittee on Santa Barbara Fraternities and Sororities of the Committee on Grounds and Buildings, September 27, 1956.
- 67 Ibid.
- 68 Minutes, Executive Session of the Subcommittee on Santa Barbara Fraternities and Sororities of the Committee on Grounds and Building, October 25, 1956.
- 69 Letter, Thomas Storke to Robert Gordon Sproul, October 4, 1956. Storke Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
- 70 Minutes, Executive Session of the Subcommittee on Santa Barbara Fraternities and Sororities, October 25, 1956. Storke Papers.
- 71 <u>Ibid</u>.
- 72 Hass interview; Student Paper, "The Problem of Greek Community Cohesion in Isla Vista", Pearl Chase Collection.

The author has lived three years in Isla Vista and cites her own experience. In any apartment building located near a fraternity, and to a lesser extent near a sorority, a common theme of neighbor-to-neighbor conversation deplores the proximity of the Greek house. This is particularly true during rush week or during weekend parties. Similarly among apartment hunting students, particularly graduate students, finding something "as far from the fraternities as possible" is a commonly expressed desire.

Chapter 3 The Baby Booms, 1958 - 1968

In 1958 the Regents of the University of California made a decision that dared Isla Vista to reach its improbable population ceiling of 13,000. "The Santa Barbara caampus," they announced, "will become a general campus of the University, with one or more undergraduate. colleges, with graduate programs leading to the highest degrees, and . . . enrollment of 10,000 students."1 A student population of that size, nearly triple the prior projected enrollment, and four times the actual 1958-1959 enrollment, would bring with it an estimated 2,000 to 3,000 faculty and staff positions as well. 2 In the decade following the 1958 announcement. Isla Vista would experience a period of intense growth, but first both the university and the county would wrestle one final, frustrating time with the problems of developing Isla

Vista.

When the regents announced their newly formulated plans for the Santa Barbara campus in 1958 they promised "to give the Santa Barbara campus new leadership, a new name, and a new mission." The new mission was for Santa Barbara College to become a general campus of the University of California, instead of the small liberal arts college that it had been. Its new name would be the University of California at Santa Barbara (UCSB), a change from its former name of University of California at Santa Barbara College. By dropping the word "college" the Regents intended to abandon the sense of smallness and to reduce ties to a more pedestrian intellectual past.

The new leadership meant a new man with a new title at the helm of the Santa Barbara campus. In September 1958, the regents released the name of their newly appointed chancellor at Santa Barbara, Dr. Samuel B. Gould. The chief campus officer previously had been called "provost." Gould was 47 and the President of Antioch College in Ohio when he was appointed Chancellor of UCSB. He had gained a reputation as an innovative educator whose contributions at Antioch included an Education Abroad program and a newly

designed general education curriculum, both the result of a three-year study initiated by Gould. A press release from Antioch College credited him with the belief that "one dimension of a college is its acceptance of responsibility for the general life enrichment of all who live nearby." Gould however, was not to start at UCSB until July of 1959, and until then Dr. Elmer Noble who had been reclassified Vice Chancellor from his former position as Acting Provost, was in charge.

Noble was well acquainted with Isla Vista and its problems of development. He had attended the 1956 regents's subcommittee meetings on fraternities and sororities when the problems of small lots, multiple ownerships, and high property values in Isla Vista had come to light. More recently, in the spring of 1958, Noble had written a letter to William Hollister, Chairman of the Board of Supervisors, to clarify the university's position on zoning variances. It had come to Noble's attention that the supervisors had been asked to grant a zoning variance as quickly as possible "in order to help the University relieve its housing shortage." 7 Noble said that the university's name had been invoked in vain, or at least without its

approval. Althoughh he acknowledged that a housing shortage existed, he emphasized that this "should in no way be construed too mean University endorsement of substandard housing or hasty, unjustifiable variances in zoning regulations." On the contrary, he argued, "the university is vitally interested in planned and orderly development of the community which surrounds this campus."8

Noble's request was followed by a year, 1959, in which the Board of Supervisors denied all zoning variance requests for Isla Vista. This year stands out as the only time during Isla Vista's development when this was the case. 9 Noble's letter was probably not entirely responsible for the change in the pattern of zoning variance approval. The year during which the rate of variance granting dropped was a time of more than usual accord and cooperation between UCSB officials and the Board of Supervisors. In addition, the Isla Vista Improvement Association had also begun to criticize the pattern of variance granting. Vista president Ken Hendrickson had been quoted in the Santa Barbara News-Press criticizing the loose enforcement of building codes just eight months Yet it would be wrong to underestimate

the effect of Noble's letter, or perhaps more accurately, the villingness of county supervisors too consider very seriously a request articulated by the university. Clear and direct requests from the university administration regarding Isla Viista had been heeded before by the Board of Supervisors. For example, in 1956 when UCSBC Business Manager H. S. Thompson supported the Isla Vista Improvement Association's efforts to keep an unsightly building out of Isla Vista the supervisors had been helpful. Noble's strongly stated stand on zoning variances probably did influence the Board of Supervisors. It also drew a supporting editorial from Tom Storke's newspaper, stressing the desirability of orderly growth in the university area. 11

The president of the Isla Vista Improvement Association responded with a letter to the editor that foreshadowed the very unorderly growth that was soon to follow. In 1958 the president was Ken Hendrickson, the man who had moved to Isla Vista seven years earlier as a newlywed because he liked its openness. He had been part of the group that had argued unsuccessfully for single family zoning along the beachfront in the 1953 zoning discussion. Orderly growth, he pointed out, was

what the improvement association had pursued for ten years. Hendrickson's letter pledged faith in zoning and building codes to "prevent any substandard housing from being built in Isla Vista," and then supported a recent variance regarding parking granted "one large developer who has worked very closely with the Isla Vista Improvement Association." In essence,

Hendrickson said that the improvement association had thought up the concept of orderly growth long ago and was well on the way to achieving it.

The letter was interesting because it built an argument by a sort of logical progression from A to B to C, which upon closer inspection, was not logical at all. Orderly growth, it reasoned, would follow if substandard housing was avoided, and substandard housing was prevented by zoning and building codes, which were sometimes justifiably waived. The first glich in logic was by equating orderly growth and soundly constructed housing. These were compatible concepts but they were not the same thing. Soundly constructed housing was just that -- buildings which met a certain standard. Orderly growth was a much broader notion encompassing not only buildings, but also how they fit the landscape, what the space around

them and between them was like, how conveniently people, cars, pets, utilities, and the other parts of a community that increased with growth fit into the picture.

The second problem in the letter was the assumption that either orderly growth or well constructed housing was protected sufficiently by zoning and building codes. Codes were dependent upon enforcement to have validity, and Hendrickson had certainly noticed problems with code enforcement. In the past year he had been quoted in the local newspaper criticizing the county for ignoring building codes. 13 It can only be surmised that Hendrickson continued to have faith in the laws themselves, and chose to view recent lax enforcement as an anomoly. His faith in zoning and building codes was to prove misplaced, but Hendrickson was merely one of a large number of peoplie, including university officials of the highest rank, who were thus beguiled.

Finally, the letter proclaimed zoning and building codes as the safeguard against substandard building in one breath, and supported a zoning variance in the next. This mirrored almost too perfectly the attitude the supervisors themselves would take and, in

fact, had been taking with regard to the Isla Vista zoning ordinance. The liberal granting of variances which had begun almost upon adoption of Isla Vista's 1954 zoning ordinance took a hiatus for the year 1959 following Noble's letter, Storke's editorial and Hendrickson's response. The following year the old pattern resumed. The difference in the 1960s would be that the large number of variances requested and granted would occur during the community's building boom, and Isla Vista would essentially be built without standards.

To scrutinize so closely a single letter to the editor which, it must be admitted, may ove its apparent flights of logic to brutal editing, might not seem worth the attention but for one thing. The confusions and apparent oversight were a remarkable foreshadowing of the pattern Isla Vista development took in the 1960s. Concentrating on building construction rather that on an overall plan of orderly growth was a tendency to which even the best Isla Vista watchdogs fell prey. As a result most buildings met minimum standards and a few exceeded them, but since no one was watching over Isla Vista as a whole, the overall development would be anything but orderly.

In 1958 there was a great demand for buildings that could house students. When Vice Chancellor Noble's letter to Chairman Hollister acknowledged a university area housing shortage it was not the revelation of a new development. Housing in the university area had been in short supply since just after the university's relocation in 1954. This was due to the undeveloped nature of Isla Vista and the Goleta Valley, the increased demands put on the area's housing supply by the university, and also the location into the university area of research and development firms such as Raytheon Manufacturing Company during the 1950s.14

Housing its women students was a particular problem for the Santa Barbara campus because according to the values and standards of the day, young, single women needed special protection and supervision. It was understood at the time that mothers and fathers who, sent their children to school transferred the job of supervising them to student affairs administrators, at least as long as they were at school. In the case of women students, this meant that university administrators took care to oversee the character of any housing they might procure. While male students

piled sometimes six at a time into Isla Vista homes
that they found to rent, or into Santa Barbara houses
and apartments, finding housing for female students was
a more complicated task. The campus itself, as it
continued to build, planned more on-campus "female
spaces" than "male spaces." In the meantime, women
students and local university officials looked for
acceptable places to house women.

One 1957 plan to house 100 female students in a former Montecito boarding school facility caused disapproval and protest on the part of the Montecito Protective and Improvement Association. The objection was on the grounds of "a serious traffic hazard" as well as a nagging fear that the "college girls would have more freedom from supervision" than their neighbors condoned. 15 The Santa Barbara campus administration supported the Montecito housing arrangement, and when it became apparent that the Montecito Improvement Association would have its way. Santa Barbara College Business Manager H. S. Thompson mourned publicly, "We just haven't the housing."16 The attorney who spoke on behalf of Dr. Barnes, the proprietor of the boarding school, stressed "the serious housing situation faced by Santa Barbara

17

College." These appeals were to no avail however, and the former boarding school was not approved to house university women.

From as early as the mid-1950s it had been apparent that the university itself could not build dormitories fast enough to house its student population. The regents were developing an entire campus, not just adding housing, and residence hall construction had to be balanced with needs for classroom, laboratory, and office space. In addition, all university construction proposals required approval by the campus and the regents before finally going out to bid, and this slowed development. However, the priority juggling and approval process unavoidable in university construction would not apply to private contractors building off campus. University administrators realized that private capital could fill their housing gap and that Isla Vista offered a likely site for this. 15

Many developers had been frightened away from Isla Vista by the high land prices, the necessity of obtaining several adjacent lots in order to build anything sizeable, the lingering mineral rights ownership, and the difficulty in securing financing.

In the late 1950s, with campus population projections rissing dramatically, Noble and his staff began activvely recruiting outside developers to build in Isla Vista. Lyle Reynolds, Dean of Students, took the lead in this effort. He traveled around the state in the late 1950s and early 1960s to try to find developers who would come in and build off-campus dorms. 19 He tried to go to areas where he heard that "someone was doing this kind of thing," but in fact nobody really seemed to be in the business of building off-campus dormitories. 20 Instead, Reynolds looked for developers with good reputations.

Reynolds considered finding George Sebits and convincing him to build in Isla Vista a coup. Sebits had developed many of the subdivisions in the San Fernando Valley that sprawled north of Los Angeles, and was already wealthy when Reynolds met him. 21 Yet, by Reynolds' description, Sebits was a "people-oriented" man who wanted his buildings to provide a pleasant environment for those who lived in them. He did not, however, know the first thing about what students needed in terms of space or room function. To help him with this, Reynolds put together a student committee that worked with Sebits to explain their needs, and

suggest ideas for a building plan. Reynolds, already a veteran of several campus dormitory building committees, worked with Sebits and the students as well. His goal was to make off-campus living as much like on-campus as possible, which meant providing similar facilities, and the same kind of staffing with a full-time Head Resident assisted by student Resident Advisors.

The result of these efforts was to be the Tropicana Gardens, a building located on the main road to the campus on the west, newly renamed El Colegio. It would open in 1962 for women only and the pool, recreation rooms, cafeteria, security entrance, and the palms and hibiscus made it highly desirable. 22 Some of the other attractive buildings to go up in the early and mid-1960s were also a result of Reynold's recruitment efforts and the willingness of developers to work with student committees. Many of these buildings opened for women students only, including the Fountainbleu, which offered a beauty parlor as one of its amenities, and the Westgate Apartments with its pool and wide indoor corridors. 23

Some southern California area developers found Isla Vista without recruitment. Jack Schwartz was a

Los Angeles area developer who became interested in Isla Vista in the late 1950s. He was short, stocky and wore several diamond rings. By the description of an acquaintance who professed a liking for him, Schwartz "looked a little like Al Capone."24 He made a similar impression on the Isla Vista Improvement Association when he first visited the group. "Uh-oh." thought one member, "here comes a real Chicago .hood."25 But despite first impressions, Schwartz got along well the the improvement association. Perhaps it was his "buddy-buddy", backslapping style. 26 He could certainly be personable. He made a motion in one improvement association meeting to give a vote of confidence to the president for the fine job he was doing.27. The motion carried unanimously.

When he first approached the improvement association in late 1957, it was to gain their support for a development project the scale of which must have awed the little association. Schwartz did not talk in terms of single buildings, but in terms of an entire subdivision. His plan was called Plaza Collegio and would cover several acres at the corner of Camino Del Sur and El Colegio Road. He needed variances to complete his plan, but he received strong support from

28

the Isla Vista Improvement Association. The variance that Hendrickson had supported in his prophetic letter for "one large developer who has worked closely with the Isla Vista Improvement Association" was for Jack Schwartz and the Plaza Colegio.

In 1958 Planning Director Richard Whitehead reluctantly recommended granting building permits for Plaza Colegio. 29 His reluctance came, not because a side-yard setback variance would follow the permit, but because he believed the project would cause a parking problem. Only one parking space was provided per unit, even though many of the units would house up to four students. The university had car ownershipp statistics on its students in 1958 which showed a one-to-one ratio of cars to male students and a one-to-four ratio of cars to female students. 30 It did not take much in the way of mathematical ability to realize that one space per apartment would leave a lot of tenant's cars parked in the street.

However, Whitehead had reason but not the force of law on his side. The zoning ordinance required only one space per unit and the developers were therefore in compliance with their parking allotment. In addition,

backing from the Isla Vista Improvement Association gave the project the stamp of local approval. Schwartz had done well to gain its support. By 1958 the improvement association was recognized as the voice of Isla Vista in the county, and members's attendence at public hearings and their letters to the editor were influential. 31 Special meetings held between Whitehead and the improvement association with Schwartz and his partner Roy Eaton present failed to induce the developers to reconsider their plans. Finally, without a voluntary change on the part of the developers, and supported by neither the law nor local public opinion, nor apparently by the Board of Supervisors who had also approved the plan. Whitehead had to back down and grant the building permit.

Allowing Plaza Colegio, a huge subdivision that joined fifty lots, to build only one parking space per apartment in 1958 became a precedent that was impossible to shake. This was partially because the developers behind Plaza Colegio, particularly Jack Schwartz, went on to build prodigiously in Isla Vista. Having pushed their will through at the onset, they did not give in to later pressure. In addition, Plaza Colegio was so big, that it was nearly impossible to

convince other builders that their developments required more liberal parking provisions. Whitehead tried, but failed, to get an ordinance passed that would require a total of one and a half parking spaces per unit in the year following the Plazaa Colegio permit. 32

In the late 1950s at about the same time that Reynolds first began recruiting developers, the Regent and the Santa Barbara campus studied Isla Vista development as a whole. It was Noble at the helm when the Regents engaged Pereira and Luckman, a Los Angeles-based architectural and planning firm, to do as extensive study of the university area including Isla Vista. Spurred on by the threat of a zoning change to the northwest of the campus that would have meant a shift toward more industrial development, the university initiated a study of present and future land use within a two mile radius of the Santa Barbara campus. The study, called the "Santa Barbara Campus Community Study," included the campus itself, the airport, Goleta, and Isla Vista. The purpose of the study was three-fold. First it was a sort of fact-finding mission to provide the consulting architects with an information base for intelligent

recommendations to the university. Secondly, it would point out areas in need of immediate attention to head off the development of future problems as the university grew. Finally, it would formulate a plan to guide future development. 33

The Pereira and Luckman firm was a distinguished partnership. William Pereira was a rising star in architectural circles noted for his creativity and sense of style. In just a few years Newsweek magazine would do a feature on him and the following year, 1963, he would make the cover of Time. 34 Charles Luckman had been known as "the wonder boy of the business world," rising to a \$300,000 per year position at the Lever Brothers Corporation by the time he was 40. In 1950 he had struck out on his own and, before going into partnership with Pereira, President Truman had tried to recruit him for a government post. 35 At the time of the Santa Barbara study, the Regents also engaged Pereira and Luckman to locate a site in both San Diego and Orange Counties for two new campuses of the University of California.36

The Santa Barbara study took nearly a year to complete, beginning in the late autumn of 1957.

Charles Luckman directed the study, perhaps because he

had participated in the Regents subcommittee on fraternities and sororities of the previous year. In the course of the preparation, Luckman and his staff consulted extensively with university administrators, the County Planning Commission, local agencies, land owners, and others. In September 1958 on the same day that the Regentss bestowed general campus status on the Santa Barbara branch they approved the "Santa Barbara College Community Study".37

A month later on an evening in mid-October, Vice Chancellor Noble, chief administrative officer at the Santa Barbara campus, introduced Charles Luckman to 270 people assembled at the university's dining commons. Luckman was to present the study's findings to those present, who included Santa Barbara city and county officials as well as representatives of the university, various Goleta Valley groups and of the Isla Vista Improvement Association. 38 The study was highly detailed and included recommendations for development of a college town center about a mile from the campus, reserving the Storke ranch for support facilities such as an athletic stadium and YMCA, constructing a golf course, and developing the Goleta slough into some sort of water recreation area, either a small boat harbor or

39

an inland lake.

Isla Vista, however, was the bone that stuck in Luckman's throat. During the presentation, he seemed hardly able to utter its name, at one point saying, with the university as his point of reference, "We have adjacent communities which exist . . . "40 The peculiar circumstances of Isla Vista's existence had presented problems to Luckman and his staff, just as it had to others who had investigated it previously. Luckman found an estimated 500 separate land ownerships, many absent owners, a poorly designed street pattern, roads in generally bad condition, many dilapidated structures, difficulty in securing financing, expensive utilities, and relatively high district taxes. 41 Yet despite these problems. Pereira and Luckman admitted that the community bore "a particularly important relationship to the University, not only because of its aesthetic influence on the physical environment, but because it [was] the area into which residential support for the University must expand. "42

Having heard an enumeration of the problems in Isla Vista, which was hardly news to many of those present, the audience waited for the solution.

Luckman, after all, represented a professional planning firm whose job it was to reconcile the fact of Isla Vista's troubled existence with its "important relationship" to the university. The proposed solution, by its drastic nature, was eloquent testimony to the frustration the problem must have posed to Luckman and his staff. The study suggested designating the area an urban renewal district in order to replan the street system, resubdivide the lots, rehabilitate the "worthy existing structures," and establish controls for future development. 43 Although Luckman went to some pains to convince his listeners that he was not suggesting that they "bulldoze" Isla Vista, he may not have been entirely convincing. It was clear that what he really wanted was to wish the problems of Isla Vista's development away, and to start all over.44

Urban reneval was an idea that gained currency in the mid-1950s with the passage of the Housing Act of 1954. Included within this law were mechanisms to clear and redevelop slums and blighted areas. Aimed primarily at the decaying American inner-cities, urban renewal, as redevelopment under the 1954 Housing Act came to be known, called first for a "workable plan"

for rehabilitating deteriorating communities.

According to federal government publications, the workable plan included seven facets: "adequate codes and ordinances, a comprehensive general plan, analysis of blight, a local administrative organization, financing, relocation of displaced families, and citizen participation." Once a general plan was complete, communities could apply for federal subsidies to supplement the work undertaken, including planning advances, temporary loans, capital grants, and special FHA mortgage insurance. 46

It was not entirely farfetched to include Isla
Vista in a plan for urban renewal. Government
brochures defined project areas as "areas that need
either planned rehabilitation, or clearance and
redevelopment, or a combination of rehabilitations and
clearance."⁴⁷ But in 1958 with increased enrollment
at the university ready to be implemented immediately,
with housing for students already scarce, and with big
developments such as Plaza Colegio already well into
the planning process urban renewal was not practical.
It could take years to develop a "workable plan", the
essential first step in acquiring urban renewal funds,
before approaching the federal government. This

promised another delay without a guarantee of federal support. In the meantime, what was Dean of Students Reynolds to tell developers like Sebits as he tried to recruit them to Isla Vista?

The urban renewal notion found some support before it faded entirely away, however. The UCSB student newspaper. El Gaucho, published an editorial supporting urban renewal stating that "The Isla Vista area , . . should immediately be redefined an urban renewal or redevelopment project area and redesigned in accordance with modern, imaginative principles and standards."48 For a time the hope of urban renewal burned inside Charles Luckman, as well. In January 1959 the Isla Vista Improvement Association received a letter from Charles Luckman Associates, a firm that resulted from a split between the two former partners. In it Luckman offered to prepare a three-part Isla Vista Master Plan, perhaps the beginnings of the "workable plan" required by urban renewal. For Phase I he asked \$4,000 plus mileage and per diem expenses. 49 Improvement association President Ada-Marie Bowers noted that the group's treasury totaled \$338. It was quickly moved, seconded and

passed to send Luckman a "thanks but no thanks"

50 letter.

Had urban renewal worked, the suggestion would have been heralded as the idea that saved the town. it was, the findings of the Pereira and Luckman study as well as their single, desperate solution did not bode well for Isla Vista. Assuming that the firm deserved its renowned status because of professionalism and quality work, it was discouraging that they encountered the same problems that the volunteer Isla Vista Improvement Association had dealt with for years, and even worse that their best solution was, despite protestations otherwise, to "bulldoze" the town. Too many owners, too small lots, too many run down buildings, and a poor street plan -- it was a litany that, by 1958, had been recited by County Planning Director Richard Whitehead, Tom Storke's newspaper, the Regents of the University of California, the Isla Vista Improvement Association, and finally by Pereira and Luckman.

The year 1958 was a watershed for Isla Vista.

University plans for a campus of 10,000 students meant that the community would probably reach its density potential of 13,000. It was changing incontrovertibly from a rural environment to an urban one. In 1958 Isla

Vista lost its rural mail delivery classification and for the first time received mail delivered by street address rather than by rural box number. 51 However. there was reason to worry about how that urban community would take shape by 1958. The end of that year concluded a five year stretch during which the Santa Barbara County Board of Supervisors had administered codes governing Isla Vista with a marked lack of firmness. Eleven out of twelve or 92 per cent of the requests for variances from minimum standards under zoning and building codes had been granted. climate of permissiveness had set in with the Board by 1958, and would change very little during the next decade. Jack Schwartz had discovered Isla Vista by 1958, and was planning construction on a magnitude previously unforseen. On his coattails would come a whole group of developers including his brother-in-law Al Sabino, partner Roy Eaton, and acquaintences James Ventura and R. Day. In addition, a precedent for requiring only one planned parking space per apartment had been set by allowing this standard for Schwartz's huge Plaza Colegio subdivision.

By the summer of 1959 the physical evidence that Isla Vista had turned a corner and was moving further

from hopes for a charming seaside community was mounting. "'The Real News,'" a column on real estate in the Santa Barbara News-Press written by Len Swanson. rendered a rather harsh verdict on the Isla Vista landscape that summer. "Taking an overall look at Isla Vista, it is a hodge-podge. It reminds this writer of the marriage of the beauty and the beast. There are large apartments and two-story duplexes all over the place. Property owners, land developers, contractors, architects, designers, landscapers and investors are about equally divided. Half of them sat on the side of the aisle reserved for the bride and the others on the side reserved for the family of the beast. It is obvious that many were out to make 'a fast buck.' Housing in the area was scarce. They could rent them to capacity at fancy prices. Then they could show a big profit and sell to another investor. However, many of these apartments look like cracker boxes. They have no style and, in the opinion of this writer, may become sub-standard housing in comparatively few years. . . .It seems that the County Planning Commission has been anything but "tough" with the developers in Isla Vista."52

A landscape such as this was precisely what the

Isla Vista Improvement Association had hoped to avoid by adding the "D" for Design Approval to their zoning ordinance in 1957. Clearly the "D" designation had not functioned the way the improvement association had hoped it would. Their idea had been that a group of architects would review all plans and offer suggestions for ways to make buildings fit well into the community.53 The County Architectural Board of Review defined its task less ambitiously. It was a group of architects who volunteered their time to advise the County Planning Commission on whether submitted plans were up to professional standards. They did not particularly judge a building's aesthetics, but confined themselves to a determination of sound structural design.

What Isla Vista desired by way of architectural review was probably something more on the order of what the City of Santa Barbara had. Since the rebuilding following the 1920s earthquake, Santa Barbara had carefully cultivated a Spanish Colonial look and an architectural review board had played a key role. A citizen's group, the Committee on Plans and Plantings, had actively lobbied for architectural control arguing effectively that architectural unity and beauty would

54

pay through tourism. In 1958 the Santa Barbara

City Council enacted a design regulation ordinance that

clearly defined and outlined architectural elements of

thee Spanish Colonial Santa Barbara look 55

Clearly Isla Vista lacked some of the key elements that made architectural review successful in Santa Barbara. It did not have a citizen committee with a thirty year tradition of actively supporting city beautification. It did not have a single building it could point to as a model for future construction. The board that administered its "D" for design also reviewed plans for the entire county of Santa Barbara. Finally, there is no evidence that Isla Vista ever devised any guidelines to clarify what architectural controls it wanted under the "D".

The gap between the expectations of some of members in the Isla Vista Improvement Association and the performance of the County Architectural Board produced a growing dissatisfaction that came to a head in 1960. In that year a developer friend of Jack Schwartz named R. Day built a set of apartments that looked like a row of barracks to improvement association members such as Ken Hendrickson, and the Architectural Board of Review had passed the plans.

This incensed some of the small-scale builders who had had trouble getting their plans past the board, and they hurled criticism at it. 56 In the words of Hendrickson, "the guy we wanted you to get you didn't get, and the other [little] guy you're making hop too high. It [isn't] fair."57

Stung by the criticism, the Architectural Board of Review refused to pass any plans for Isla Vista buildings until the community agreed on a unified attitude toward design. 58 The association tried to sidestep the county board by getting the supervisors to appoint three of their own members to a special board of review, but this the supervisors refused to do. 39 By the late summer of 1960 the situation was at an impasse. The Architectural Board's refusal to pass on building plans did not slow building, however, because the Planning Commission could not legally keep developers vaiting until they settled internal problems of architectural review. Although the "D" overlay was not officially lifted from the zoning regulation until 1962, it had lost all semblance of effectiveness by the summer of 1960.

One striking difference between attitudes toward development in the City of Santa Barbara where design

controls were successfully administrered and in Isla Vista where they were not was in the area of building density. The Santa Barbara policy for architectural control contained a clause which read, "overbuilding a site is discouraged. Open area with suitable landscaping enhancing the design should be provided. also front setbacks, patios, planters."60 By contrast, overbuilding defined Isla Vista. It was the inevitable result of high density zoning, high demand for space, and small lots. "Open area with suitable landscaping" would be sacrificed to building the maximum number of units per lot, and front setbacks, along with side setbacks, would be one of the most often requested -- and granted -- zoning variances.

The conflict over the administration of the "D" regulation pointed out a new development within the Isla Vista Improvement Association. Both R. Day, the builder of the "barracks" apartments, and Ken Hendrickson, their most outspoken critic, were members of the association. This indicated a change in the make-up of the organization. It began to include large-scale non-resident developers like Jack Schwartz and R. Day beginning in the late 1950s. In the early 1960s, the names of other area developers such as Roy

Eaton, James Ventura and John Harlan became regular fixtures in improvement association minutes. The bylaws prohibited them from holding office since they were non-resident owners, but they joined committees such as the zoning or the university liaison committee. They also served on the board of directors perhaps because, strictly defined, directors were not officers. Jack Schwartz was never an officer of the Isla Vista Improvement Association, but in the words of one member, "he didn't need to be." His tactics had been compared to a bulldog who "had a course and you could knock him off and he'd get right back on." 62

County and UCSB officials continued to be concerned about the problems of Isla Vista's development, particularly in light of the presence of growing numbers of determined developers, some with "bulldog tactics." In February and March of 1960 Planning Director Whitehead, other county officials, and administrators from UCSB met twice in closed meetings to discuss Isla Vista. 63 Both groups looked at Isla Vista and saw the same image that columnist Len Swanson had: a hodge-podge, crackerboxes, and far more beast than beauty: Perhaps they thought that if they

met privately, out of the public eye, they might be able to discuss problems more frankly. At the first meeting Whitehead was asked to draw up a list of things wrong with the regulations for Isla Vista. 64 At the second meeting he came with six items: parking, density, the commercial area, conditional permits, architectural board of review, and enforcement. Under parking he suggested changing the requirement from one space per unit to two spaces per unit. In addition, he suggested limiting density by restricting building height and only allowing building coverage on forty per cent of the land. 65

As a result of these meetings, Whitehead received a directive to conduct several studies, including a parking study for which the university offered the services of one of its staff members. There was another result of the closed meetings: the piqued curiosity and resentment of some never members of the Isla Vista Improvement Association, the developers. Although the improvement association president had attended the meetings on the invitation of Chancellor Gould, some, particularly Schwartz, were concerned that drastic changes for Isla Vista had been plotted. Rezoning was the specific fear. The

improvement association invited Whitehead to a May meeting that attracted ninety people. In a highly charged atmosphere Schwartz attacked and Whitehead parried in a verbal duel about the nature of the secret meeting, and the possible changes plotted for Isla Vista. 66

In fact, Schwartz might not have worried. Whitehead did his studies, and although the results pointed toward a dramatic need for more off-street parking, the next step was never successfully taken. 67 Whitehead's study predicted a shortage of "1,500 spaces, or nearly a mile of straight-line parking space [more] than is now available, taking into consideration all possible street curb space."68 Yet with reason and study results on his side, Whitehead was still never able to push through an Isla Vista parking ordinance change. He was blocked by the will of the developers who coveted the space extra parking would have taken from maximinal development on their land. By 1967 Whitehead would even lose the one space per unit requirement when Schwartz initiated and led a successful movement for an ordinance change. The change, which overlaid an "S" for "student" over all the multiple residential areas of Isla Vista, reduced

the parking requirement and allowed adjacent lots to provide required parking spaces if a conditional use permit was secured.69

The two secret meetings between the university and the county in early 1960 produced no apparent change in the direction Isla Vista was headed: toward a crowded, problematic, asthetically unpleasing boomtown. The ocean was still as blue and the mountains still as rugged and green, but the community that rested between them was in trouble. In 1961 a university report entitled "Design for Growth" predicted that UCSB's enrollment would reach 15,000 within a decade, 5,000 more than had previously been predicted. 70 That meant that UCSB had to grow in ten years the amount that UC Los Angeles had grown in twenty-five. UCSB Chancellor Gould resigned in 1961 and left the bulk of the task of building a major university to his successor. Vernon Cheadle, a botanist from the Davis campus who was hand-picked by the Regents for the difficult task of building a quality institution, came to UCSB in 1962. The demanding task of overseeing booming campus construction, faculty recruitment, curriculum expansion, community relations, new graduate programs.

and staff additions would cause him to juggle his limited time and concentrate on some things harder than others. Isla Vista was the ball that was dropped, relegated to county supervision and economic forces.

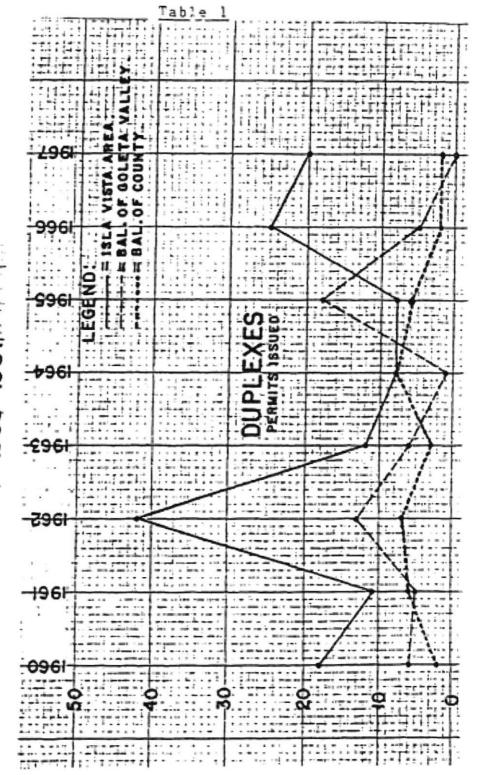
In the Isla Vista Improvement Association the large developers dominated the group. With a developer on the sub-committee in charge, the bylaws were rewritten in 1963 and the resident owner prerequisite for office holding was eliminated. There remained a property ownership requirement in order to be a member of the group, but under the new bylaws, the prerequisite for office-holding was that one be on the board of directors. 71 Beginning in the early 1960s, the improvement association began to fracture into distinct groups with different interests. The developers and big apartment owners formed one of these groups. Within the association, they concentrated on running their apartments easily and profitably and so concerned themselves with controlling student tenants, standardizing contracts, and mitigating the summer vacancy factor. Some of them such as Schwartz and Harlan looked ahead toward the next development and interested themselves in variances and zoning changes. Smaller apartment owners formed a second

group. Some of these were former homeowners who had moved out of Isla Vista and developed their old homesites into apartment buildings. Most of these people had other jobs; their Isla Vista property brought them additional income, but it did not support them. In the early 1960s, Hendrickson was among this group. Because they were apartment owners, members of this group had some of the same interests as the first, but because of their scale of operation they did not share all the same interests or tactics.

A third group within the improvement association was the growing Isla Vista business community which included the grocery store owner, book shop proprietors and, after 1963, the president of the local branch of the Bank of America. This group concerned itself with the peculiarities of doing business within a developing student community. A fourth group was the single family home owners, many of whom lived in the Orilla Del Mar tract where a section had received a single family zone designation in 1957.

Students and the management companies that rose up to administer the day-to-day operations of apartment buildings were excluded from membership because they did not meet the property ownership requirement, but

representatives of each group attended meetings. There was resentment directed toward the first group, the large developers, by all thee rest of the groups. People accused them of "running everything." 72 As the 1960s wore on, splinter groups broke off and formed groups outside the improvement association to better discuss and address their specific needs. The management companies formed the Beach Student Housing Committee, the business people formed the Isla Vista Business Association, and students formed the Isla Vista League. That left the apartment owners, large and small, and the homeowners to battle out issues within the Isla Vista Improvement Association. Meeting agendas throughout the 1960s tended to be dominated by the developers owners with variances and rezoning frequent agenda items. Although meetings were sometimes stormy, the improvement association held together 1967. In that year increased friction over the impending "S" for student zoning designation drew . the line between developers and everyone else so starkly, that the developers and apartment owners officially retreated from the group and took up their issues within the more sympathetic Beach Student Housing Committee. 73



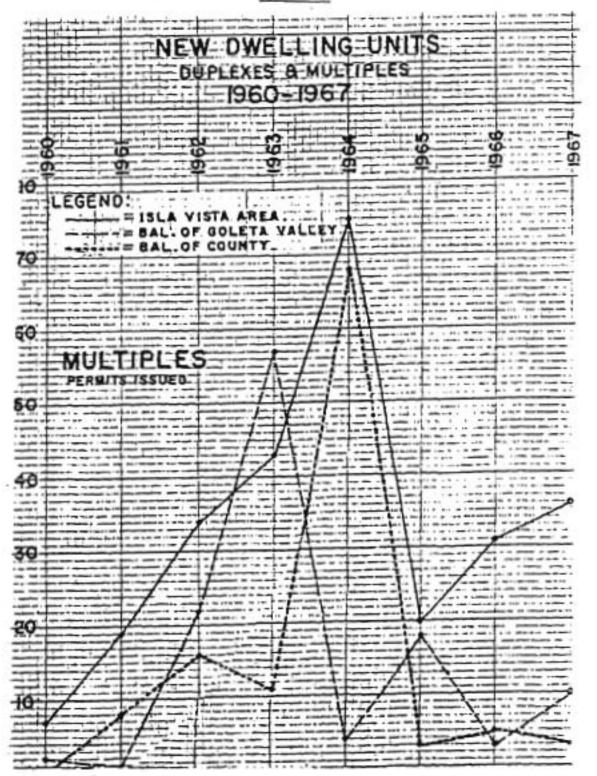
NEW DWELLING UNITS DUPLEKES & MULTIPLES 1960-1967

As the groups within the improvement association

shifted and realigned, building kept up at a steady pace throughout the 1960s. In 1961 building permits for Isla Vista totaled \$1,053,100, five times the amount from the previous year. 74 In 1962 the building permit total increased five times again, totaling \$5,178,900.75 The following year the increase slowed to a seventy-five per cent increase over the last, with \$6,736,200 in building permits approved. That year, 1963, developers built 952 apartment units. By 1964, sixty per cent of the land had been developed, but there were little signs of slowing. John Greene, a developer and Isla Vista Improvement Association member remarked cheerfully, "We'll build till we run out of room."76 Some developers, including Jack Schwartz, had plans underway to try to create more building opportunities by rezoning some of the duplex areas to multiple residential. In Schwartz's case, he was able to procure the rezoning of an eight acre parce! from duplex to multiple. 77 During the course of this building, the preferred size of a development complex changed.

Before 1964 complexes with less than twenty-five units were most common, and permits granted for duplex building in Isla Vista peaked in 1962.78 In 1964 the

Table 2



building trend was for larger complexes. The Tropicana Gardens, for example, opened for nearly 450 women in 1964 and the largest number of multiple unit building permits was issued that year. 79

The local newpaper joked that you had to take a drive through the area every few weeks to avoid being disoriented by changing landmarks. 80 At the end of 1966 there were 4,040 dwelling units in Isla Vista. In the following year, 409 new ones joined the old bringing the total to 4,449.81 The density of these units varied from 5.2 to 55.7 units per developed net acre. By 1967 seventy-five per cent of Isla Vista's land area was developed with either houses, apartments, commercial buildings, churches, parks or roads.

Variance granting kept pace with the building. In the first three years of 1960 a handful were requested and most were approved. In 1963, there were twenty-six requests for zoning variances. 82 Five were for signs and were disapproved. Of the remainder, the Board of Supervisors passed all but four. In 1964 out of twenty-five requests, only one was denied. In 1965 there were eighteen yes's and one no. 1966 was the bumper year for variances. Sixty-one requests yielded fifty approvals. Many of these requests were from Jack. Schwartz and some were granted for well below half of the

ISLA VISTA TABLE 3
VARIANCE REQUESTS,
1954-1968

Year	Number Requested	Number Granted	Per Cent Granted
1954	5	5	100
1955	1 .	1	100
1956	0	0	0
1957	2	1	50
1958	4	4	100
1959	6	0	0
1960	1	1	100
1961	3	3	100
1962	7	5	71
1963	26	15	58
1964	25	24	96
1965	18	17	94
1966	61	50	82
1967	33	28	8.5
1968	19	9	47
TOTAL:	211	163	77

83

minimum standard. Length and width of lots, minimum lot size and parking variances were most frequently requested.

In the spring of 1971 the Santa Barbara News-Press ran an article with the startling headline "No Mistakes Seen In Isla Vista Planning."84 The article began, "Looking back over the past 15 to 20 years, present and former county officials can't see any serious planning errors that were made in efforts to carve an attractive community out of . . . Isla Vista." The subject of variances made the second sentence with a dissenting voice, Montecito/Carpinteria area Supervisor George Clyde, suggesting that there may have been too many granted. Isla Vista/Goleta area Supervisor Dan Grant and then Planning Director Herbert H. Divelbiss disagreed. Even former Planning Director Richard Whitehead was quoted saying, "Variances are inevitable when attempts are made to develop old subdivisions and the price of land skyrockets." The article went on to say that, "Whitehead expressed the opinion that most variances granted over a period of 15 years were inevitable. 'Once a variance has been granted, 'he said, 'the same privilege must be extended to others.'"

This explanation is difficult to accept; it is too

blithe and simple, but it begins to get at the issue. In fact an explanation for the rate of variance granting must derive from a combination of factors. The Board of Supervisors had unwittingly undercut its ability to deny variance requests by its lax code enforcement during the first five years of the Isla Vista zoning ordinance. What Whitehead said in the newpaper article was true: once a requirement was vaived for one it was difficult to enforce it for another without charges of favoritism. However, this alone cannot explain the fifteen year, 77 percent variance approval run. The Supervisors reversed their trend in 1959 and completely shut down all requests, demonstrating that it was possible to do so.

Isla Vista did present a particular challenge for builders. The old subdivision was oddly laid out, and lots were small and expensive. Variances would not take care of the most basic problems in Isla Vista, but they could help. However, not everyone received variances in equal number. The frequency with which the names Schwartz, Harlan, and Ventura appear on the list of variances is striking. There was no accident in this because these men had special access to county government channels. This was not due to favoritism or bribery, but only to the fact that these men were leisured. They did

not work at a job, and wwere therefore free to take full advantage of public access to the government process. They attended any supervisor's meetings that they found appropriate, showed up at ppublic hearings, and were generally able to lobby for their interests whenever it was needed. Their familiarity with county government allowed them to gauge the mood at particular junctures or to vigorously support their requests. 85 By contrast many of those who might have argued against variances worked at jobs full time. They were usually out of touch with county issues and often did not know that decisions had been made until they read about them in the paper.

In any case, the accumulated effect of building in Isla Vista was conjected and uncoordinated, visually and practically. Driving was difficult because of streets that were lined with parked cars and which suddenly dead-ended or jogged one way or the other. A spotty and haphazard placement of sidewalks made pedestrians either walk gingerly along the curb, or down the streets along the line of parked cars. Thin walls and closely built apartment buildings full of densely packed units made sound carry all too well. In order to fit as many units into a building as possible, apartments frequently had windows on only one side, which made them stuffy and

dark. However, many students who graduated from UCSB in 1967 had been able to move into a brand new apartment during each of their four academic years. Perhaps this unusual benefit combined with the transiency of the typical student's sojourn in IIsla Vista, served to make student tenants willing to overlook the shortcomings of their community.86

It has been the intention of this narrative to chart the course of a California community that tried.

but failed, to accommodate rapid growth in an orderly manner. There are four critical points of departure in the Isla Vista story. The first occurred in the 1920s when the Ilharreguys, Moodys, and the pair of Santa Barbara lawyers first subdivided the windswept mesa. The odd assortment of narrow streets and tiny lots which were entered in county books, but whose effects were barely visible on the land itself, shaped all future development. Because the purpose of the subdivisions was speculative in nature, lots sold widely and by the 1950s there were 500 different land owners in the 330 acres.

The second turning point came in 1954 when the Board of Supervisors granted the zoning requested by Isla Vista residents. With this action, Isla Vista gained sanction for a population of 13,000, and R-2 "duplex"

zoning as the most restrictive building designation. The third critical period was the year 1956 when property values skyrocketed. Expensive land priced some potential Isla Vista developers out of the market, not least of which were the Regents of the University of California. It set the stage for development by large, well-financed builders which affected the character of construction.

The final critical year was 1958 when the University of California announced that the Santa Barbara campus would grow to 10,000 students. With the ocean on one side, an estuary on the second, and an airport on the third. Isla Vista on the university's remaining side was the heir apparent for growth. However, by 1958 the prospects for orderly growth on a large scale were already threatened. The poor subdivision, many ownerships, high density zoning, and expensive land were just part of the problem. By 1958 the Board of Supervisors had already been waiving building codes freely for five years, and were to find it impossible to tighten up. Finally, 1958 marked the year that Jack Schwartz got his first building permit for Isla Vista. Attracted by the shimmer of gold -- or at least a golden opportunity -- he was the first of the large scale developers to come to Isla Vista.

A crucial factor to understanding Isla Vista development was that very few people who built there ever intented to live there. People were primarily building for profit, and those with a long term investment in the community''s quality of life were in short supply. Initially the Isla Vista Improvement Association had had this interest. But although it continued to embody good intentions long afterward, it had unwittingly undercut its ability to achieve a good environment for the long-term as early as 1953 -- just five years into its existence -- by fighting for high density zoning. The nature of the subdivision and the numerous property owners had already made development of a quality settlement a challenge. The high density zoning elevated the task to something of a Herculean feat.

Still, with strict code enforcement by the County Board of Supervisors, standards might have been set that mitigated other threats to attractive development.

Instead, the near constant granting of variances from minimum standards remains one of the most frustrating aspects to the entire Isla Vista development story. The Board loosely administered a newly enacted ordinance, and later failed to call a moratorium on freely granted variances. This omission is particularly serious since

"community watchdogs" that might ordinarily emerge in a developing residential neighborhood were missing in Isla Vista due to the nature of its development. This made it all the more incumbent upon the Board of Supervisors to be particularly vigilant in Isla Vista. That they were not is by now, of course, history.

Administrators at UCSB might have acted as a conscience to the Board of Supervisors, but this also did not occur. Vernon Cheadle, Chancellor during Isla Vista''s incredible growth during the 1960s, regrets not taking on this role in retrospect. 87 However, much like others at the time. Cheadle put his faith in the enforcement of building and zoning codes. His focus was on building a first-rate academic institution, and his interests were oriented toward intellectual pursuits and . higher education administration. Housing was something that others could provide -- and did provide -- but overseeing such developments would never have been a natural top interest of Cheadle. Dean of Students Lyle Reynolds did take a role in building development which resulted in the construction of several very comfortable and university-compatible buildings. What Reynolds did he did well, but there was still no one left to oversee

Isla Vista development as a whole.

Only the county government was in a position to oversee Isla Vista development on the broad scale and, as has already been described, this it failed to do. Problems in Isla Vista development were already acute by the time the University of California announced its intention to grow, and necessarily dragged Isla Vista along with it. The old subdivision, the high density zoning, the exhorbitant property values, and the people that came along to exploit the opportunity offered by Isla Vista all contributed to a difficult situation, and an eventual failure of the community to grow gracefully.

Notes

- "Staatement of Intent: Santa Barbara Campus," Regents of the University of California, Office of the President. September 19, 1958. University of California, Santa Barbara, Special Collections, the University Collection.
- Enrollment in September 1958 was 2,722. SBNP, March 25, 1959.
- 3 "Isla Vista 1968: Analysis of Population and Housing Distribution," Special Report by the Santa Barbara County Planning Department. September 1968. University of California, Santa Barbara Special Collections.
- 4 "Statement of Intent."
- 5 <u>Ibid</u>.
- 6 "Press Release," Antioch College New Bureau. November 1957. University of California, Santa Barbara, Special Collections, the University Collection.
- "Letter," Elmer R. Noble, Acting Provost, to William Hollister, Chairman, Board of Supervisors. May 20, 1958. Storke Papers. (Tom Storke received a carbon copy of this letter, as did Richard Whitehead, a representative of the university's consulting architectural firm, and several university staff people.)
- 8 Ibid.
- 9 File: Variances. Santa Barbara County Department of Resource Management.
- 10 SBNP, September 25, 1957

- 11 SBNP, May 26, 1958.
- 12 SBNP, May 31, 1958
- 13 SBNP, September 225, 1957
- 14 SBNP, July 17, 1956.
- 15 SBNP, June 22, 1957.
- 16 SBNP, June 17, 1957.
- 17 <u>Ibid</u>.
- Interview with Lyle Reynolds, former Dean of Students at UCSB, May 2, 1986.
- 19 <u>Ibid</u>.
- 20 Ibid.
- 21 <u>Ibid</u>.
- 22 SBNP, July 12, 1964.
- As attitudes about housing standards for women changed throughout the decade of the 1960s, buildings designed for women only began to house both men and women. In the decade of the 1980s, the university would buy a few buildings in Isla Vista. Both the El Dorado West and the Westgate building, which the university bought had originally been designed for women only. These buildings tended to be a little more soundly constructed and to hold up better over time.
- 24 Reynolds interview.
- 25 Hendrickson interview, December 18, 1986. Hendrickson professed a liking for Schwartz as well.
- 26 Whitehead interview.
- 27 Minutes, Isla Vista Improvement Association, June 26, 1962.

- 28 SBNP, July 12, 1958.
- 29 SBNP, March 12, 1958.
- 30 SBNP, March 10, 1958
- 31 <u>Ibid.</u>; SBNP, May 5, 1958.
- 32 SBNP, May 25, 1960.
- Project Report, "Santa Barbara College Community Study." Pereira & Luckman, Los Angeles and New York, 1956, p. 3.
- Newsweek, May 7, 1962, pp. 90 91; <u>Time</u>, September 6, 1963, cover story.
- 35 Contra Costa Gazette, February 6, 1958. The article speculated that Truman wanted Luckman for the Atomic Energy Commission.
- 36 SBNP, October 23, 1958.
- 37 SBNP, September 21, 1958.
- 38 SBNP, October 23, 1958.
- "Santa Barbara College Community Study," p. 5 -11.
- 40 SBNP, October 23, 1958.
- 41 "Santa Barbara College Community Study," p. 39 -41.
- 42 <u>Ibid</u>, p. 40.
- 43 <u>Ibid</u>, p. 41.
- 44 SBNP, October 23, 1958.
- Reprinted Speech given by James W. Follin Commissioner of Urban Renewal Adminstration before the School of Public Health, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, May 3, 1955, "Slums and Blight . . . A Disease of Urban Life," Urban

Administration, Housing and Home Finance Agency, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 1955. Also saying essentially the same thing

(45 cont.) Renewal Bulletin No. 2, Urban Renewal

- are: "Urban Renewal, What It Is . . ," Housing and Home Finance Agency, Washington, D.C. November 1957.23 SBNP, January 25, 1959 and "The Workable Program, What It Is," Housing and Home Finance Agency, October 1957.
- "Urban Renewal, What It Is . . .," Housing and Home Finance Agency, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. November 1957.
- 49 SBNP, January 25, 1959.

El Gaucho, September 26, 1958.

- 51 SBNP, July 12, 1939.
- 52 <u>Ibid</u>. (But not the same article).
- 53 Hendrickson interview.

47

48

50

55

Ibid.

Ibid.

Gebhard, David, Santa Barbara: The Creation of New Spain in America. Santa Barbara: University Art Museum, 1982; Chase, Pearl, "Bernhard Hoffman -- Community Builder," Noticias, Summer 1959, pp. 3-11.

"Policy on Architectural Control," Santa Barbara

- Arts Council, Committee on Plans and Planting. September 1958. SBNP, May 5, 1960; May 25, 1960; Hendrickson
- interview.
- 57 Hendrickson interview.
- 58 SBNP, May 5, 1960; May 25, 1960.
- 59 SBNP, Aug 9, 1960.

- 60 SBNP, August 27, 1958.
- 61 Hendrickson interview.
- 62 <u>Ibid</u>.
- 63 SBNP, May 25, 1960.
- 64 Ibid.
- 65 <u>Ibid</u>.
- 66 <u>Ibid</u>.
- 67 <u>Ibid</u>.
- 68 SBNP, May 26, 1960.
- "Isla Vista Study," Directed by Noel Langle, Santa Barbara County Resources Management Department, Draft, 1985.
- 70 SBNP, July 12, 1964.
- 71 Minutes, Isla Vista Improvement Association, miscellaneous entries, 1960 - 1963.
- 72 Hendrickson interview.
- 73 Minutes, Isla Vista Improvement Association, 1960 - 1966.
- 74 SBNP, July 12, 1964.
- 75 <u>Ibid</u>.
- 76 <u>Ibid</u>.
- 77 SBNP, July 12, 1964.
- "Isla Vista 1968, Analysis of Population and Housing Distribution," Santa Barbara County Planning Department, Special Report. September 1968.
- 79 <u>Ibid.</u>; SBNP, July 12, 1964.

- 80 SBNP, July 12, 1964.
- 81 "Isla Vista 1968," Special Report by the Santa Barbara County Planning Department.
- 82 File: Variances. Santa Barbara County Departmen of Resource Management.
- 83 Hvolboll report.
- 84 SBNP, May 10, 1971
- 85 Clyde interview; Hendrickson interview.
- 86 Interview with Richard Jenson, May 21, 1986.
- 87 Cheadle interview.