SHARING IN THE BENEFITS OF A GREENING CITY

A POLICY TOOLKIT IN PURSUIT OF ECONOMIC, ENVIRONMENTAL, AND RACIAL JUSTICE

CO-CREATING RESEARCH AND ENGAGED APPROACHES TO TRANSFORMING ENVIRONMENTS

The CREATE Initiative advances research and education at the intersection of the environment and equity through community engagement, interdisciplinary scholarship, and graduate training. Our work is made possible by the University of Minnesota's Grand Challenges Research Initiative, the Institute on the Environment, the Hubert Humphrey School of Public Affairs, and the McKnight Foundation.

Mira Klein, *Research Associate, University of Minnesota*
Bonnie Keeler, *Assistant Professor, University of Minnesota*
Kate Derickson, *Associate Professor, University of Minnesota*
Kaleigh Swift, *Program Coordinator, University of Minnesota*
Fayola Jacobs, *Assistant Professor, University of Minnesota*
Hillary Waters, *Postdoctoral Research Associate, University of Minnesota*
Rebecca Walker, *PhD Student, University of Minnesota*

Klein, M., B.L. Keeler, K. Derickson, K. Swift, F. Jacobs, H. Waters, R. Walker. (2020). Sharing in the benefits of a greening city. A policy toolkit to address the intersections of housing and environmental justice. Available: https://create.umn.edu/toolkit/

LAND ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The University of Minnesota - Twin Cities is located on the traditional, ancestral, and contemporary homelands of the Dakota people, the original inhabitants of this land since time immemorial. In occupying this land ceded in the Treaties of 1837 and 1851, we recognize the tribal sovereignty of this place. We offer this land acknowledgement in affirmation of Indigenous sovereignty here and in territories beyond.

SHARING IN THE BENEFITS OF A GREENING CITY

Public investments in parks and green infrastructure have historically created wealth for some communities while extracting wealth from others. Displacement is one manifestation of this extraction. Legacies of displacement have disproportionately impacted Indigenous communities, communities of color, and low-income and working class communities. At the same time, communities that have been underserved by urban greening also bear a disproportionate burden of environmental harms through degraded air and water quality, poorly maintained infrastructure, and lack of access to urban nature.

Recent trends in green investments replicate these historic patterns by harnessing the value of greening to capitalize on real estate, in turn threatening the ability of marginalized communities to stay in place. This is called "green gentrification."

Green gentrification is an issue that sits at the intersection of environmental, housing, and racial justice; it demonstrates that green investments are neither neutral nor a-political. This toolkit emerged through a demand from our community partners that any environmental equity work must root itself at these intersections.

Despite green gentrification pressures, our partners have been tirelessly working to improve environmental conditions in their communities, all with environmental, housing, and racial justice at the forefront. In doing so they insist that the choice between high quality environments and displacement is a false one. Instead, our partners have asked: What does it look like to envision green spaces as sites through which to build a more equitable and just world? **Sharing in the Benefits of a Greening City** is a toolkit that comes out of this question.

GRATITUDE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

CREATE wishes to thank the many contributors whose insights and feedback made this toolkit into a reality. In particular we thank our Policy Think Tank, who have driven the direction, scope, and intent of this toolkit throughout its many iterations.

We would also like to thank a long list of community-based organizers, environmental stewards, affordable housing experts, and movement leaders who shared their time and expertise to help this document grow and deepen over its many iterations: Hassan Bouchareb, Ned Brooks, Carrie Ann Christensen, Sasha Forbes, Darryl Haddock, Amy Hadiaris, Erica Holloman, Rick Howdan, Dan Immergluck, Seema Kairam, Shruthi Kamisetti, Margaret Kaplan, Robin Mark, Richard Milligan, Kelly Muellman, Lauren Mullenbach, Colleen Toberman, Sissy Trinh, Jake Virden, Dayne Walling & Natalie Zappella.

POLICY THINK TANK

The CREATE Policy Think Tank is a collaboration between community-based practitioners and academic researchers dedicated to developing new tools for realizing socially just environmental futures.

LYEKIYAPIWIN DARLENE ST.CLAIR
Associate Professor - St. Cloud State University
Minneapolis, MN

SAM GRANT
Lead Consultant - Public Policy Project
Minneapolis, MN

NA'TAKI OSBORNE JELKS
Assistant Professor - Spelman College
Atlanta, GA

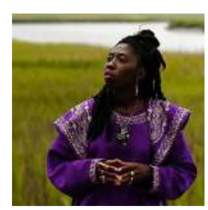
GLENDA SIMMONS-JENKINS
Representative - Gullah/Geechee Nation
Nassau County, FL

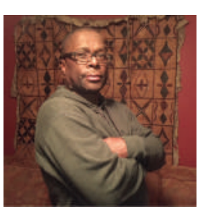
SHANNON JONES
Executive Director - Hope Community Inc
Minneapolis, MN

ADAIR MOSLEY
President & CEO - Pillsbury United Communities
Minneapolis, MN

YOMI NOIBI
Executive Director - Eco-Action
Atlanta, GA

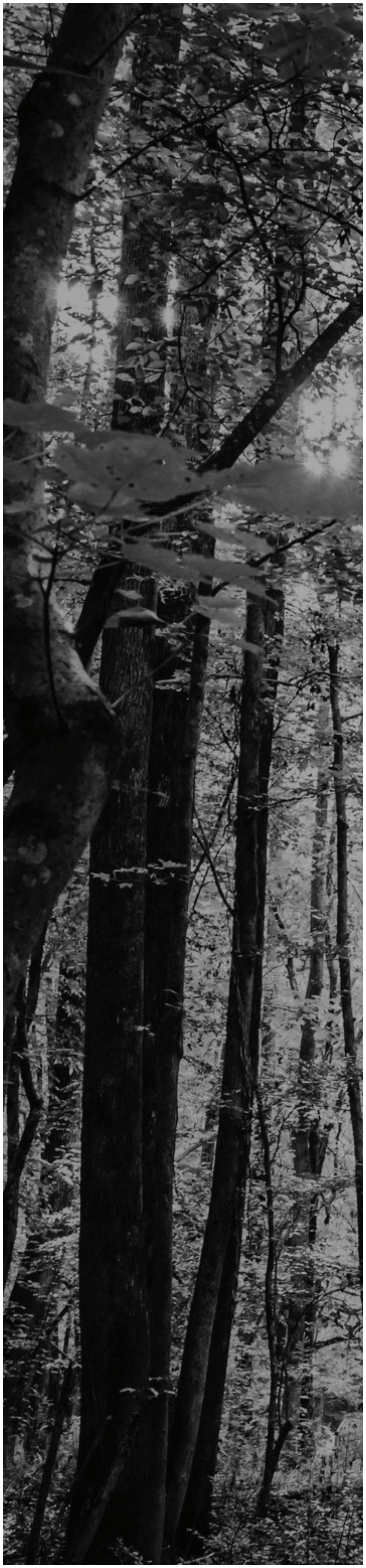
QUEEN QUET
Chieftess - Gullah/Geechee Nation
Nassau County, FL





JAMES TRICE
Founder and CEO - Public Policy Project
Minneapolis, MN

TABLE OF CONTENTS



The Outdoor Activity Center is a certified old growth forest in the heart of Atlanta's West Side. Stewarded by the West Atlanta Watershed Alliance since 2007, the forest still nourishes pine trees that survived the burning of Atlanta during the United States Civil War. From the forced removal of the Muskeegee Creek Nation, to the institutional brutality of slavery, to the mass terrorization of the Black residents of the Bush Mountain community, this old forest carries many layers of trauma.

"We are more ancient than recent"

Dr. Erica Holloman, Program Manager at the West Atlanta Watershed Alliance, knows that this layered history is essential if we are to understand, embody, and meaningfully act on contemporary iterations of historical oppressions. "If we don't understand the historical context of how we got here, I think we may be doomed to repeat it," she said.

"As a scientist I often think in these big scopes," Holloman said. "And I think that we are more ancient than recent." For Holloman, the ancientness of human beings has embedded a deeply genetic desire to move towards older ways of being in relationship to our environments. Doing so, as Holloman attests, is "putting us back to who we are...as humans."

When it comes to addressing green gentrification, Holloman encourages us to understand the deeply interconnected nature of human and environmental trauma. "We're in the south, strange fruit hung from a lot trees," Holloman said. Using the language of W. E. B. Du Bois, "In this double consciousness of understanding, we can look at a tree, see the strange fruit, but also see the deep rootedness of the roots and community," she said. "We are part of that landscape. We do the healing of the landscape and it heals us too."

INTRODUCTION

Urban green spaces are uneven landscapes. They embody generations of investment practices that have perpetuated racialized disinvestment in low-income, indigenous, and communities of color while investing green resources in wealthy, white neighborhoods. The recognition of these historical harms coupled with a better understanding of the benefits of green infrastructure has led cities to pour money into green investments. But through green gentrification, parks, greenways, and other green investments threaten to reproduce the same historic inequities that cities are purportedly seeking to remedy.

Green gentrification is the process by which environmental investments increase an area's property values, rent burdens, and perceived desirability — all of which amplify displacement pressures. In doing so, green investments are tangled up in the same system of wealth inequality, ownership concentration, and housing inaccess that characterizes urban spaces around the country. In the midst of a chronic and increasingly severe affordable housing crisis, these pressures are even more acute. The effect of green gentrification is to once again deny low-income, indigenous, and communities of color access to the high quality green spaces that form the backbone infrastructure for living dignified and healthy lives.

Addressing green gentrification does not diminish the importance of green amenities as worthy investments. Rather, it merely expands the realm of considerations that these investments must take into account so that they can do the justice work we say we want them to do.

WHO IS THIS TOOLKIT FOR?

Drawing from academic research, lessons from planning practice and the lived experiences of affected communities, this toolkit aims to equip readers with the language and tools needed to evaluate gentrification risks and advocate for equitable access to healthy environments. This resource is written with multiple audiences in mind; community members, local activists, policymakers and planning practitioners are all encouraged to leverage this toolkit as a resource in your work.

At the same time, this toolkit highlights where participation in equitable green space advocacy is necessarily differentiated. Who you are — your professional position, your personal identity, and your relationship to displacement — changes how you will approach this toolkit and the policy tools it includes.

GOALS

1. Validate long-held community knowledge and lived experience.
2. Build shared language to talk about green gentrification.
3. Consider existing anti-displacement tools in the context of greening cities, highlighting limitations and potential partnerships.
4. Promote collaboration across environmental and housing sectors.
5. Lay a foundation for imagining more creative, radical, and just environmental futures.

These goals are ambitious, but not meant to be all-encompassing. By being transparent and specific about goals, we hope you are able to strategically utilize this resource accordingly.

QUESTIONS AND CONSIDERATIONS

Communities know that green gentrification is happening. **But what can be done about it?** There are gaps in both academic literature and policy practice when it comes to addressing green gentrification. Some unanswered questions include:

- How is green gentrification embedded in public policy around green infrastructure investments and how can these impacts be measured?
- How do we continue to provide green amenities without the associated harms that green gentrification presents?
- How can green infrastructure be uniquely leveraged to uplift conditions of equitable access, collective ownership, and wealth creation in marginalized communities?

At the same time, green gentrification is not widely accounted for among agencies and organizations that plan, implement, and regulate many of the projects that raise green gentrification concerns. These organizations may not accept green gentrification as a real process, and even if they do they might not see addressing it as within their mandate. There are several obstacles communities face in communicating the importance of green gentrification concerns, including:

- Proponents of a green infrastructure project might cite the "objectivity" of natural science as a reason for why equity is not relevant.
- The "win-win" language of sustainability obscures negative externalities.
- Green infrastructure projects may be small and/or dispersed which makes it harder to observe their impacts on property values or other displacement metrics.
- Housing and green space implementing agencies are siloed from on another in governance, communication, expertise, and financing.
- Green infrastructure funding may come from "Big Green" philanthropies that have few external mechanisms for accountability.

DISPLACEMENT AND INDIGENEITY

The University of Minnesota occupies Dakota homelands and profits from settler colonialism. As a land grant institution, the University's mandate of educational access for settlers has simultaneously meant dispossession for Dakota people. The University's very existence demonstrates one way that infrastructural investment and displacement are tightly linked - an ongoing process of harm that implicates this toolkit and the University researchers that helped produce it.

In this toolkit we situate green gentrification as another layer of displacement on land that has already witnessed many layers of displacement, recognizing both the similarities and differences between green gentrification and settler colonialism. In doing so, the goal of this work is not to affirm the rights of settlers to property, but rather to better situate urban property dynamics and green infrastructure in a social and historical context.

NAVIGATING THE TOOLKIT

Section 1 sets the stage for understanding how to use this toolkit by unpacking key concepts related to green gentrification, housing, and the urban planning process.

Section 2 includes anti-displacement policy tools that can be used to address green gentrification. Each policy tool includes an explanation of how it works, limiting factors, and examples of how it is related to green infrastructure investment. At the bottom of each tool, related resources are highlighted to draw attention to connections across policies and ideas.

Section 3 is geared towards turning these resources into action. This includes intervening in the urban planning process, implementing the policy tools, and considerations for policymakers.

Additional resources, case studies, and citations can be found in the appendices.

This toolkit is long. We encourage you to navigate its contents in ways best suited to your particular organization, position, and interests. Printable versions of individual concepts, policy tools, and action items are available for download on our website at **create.umn.edu**.

Brownfield redevelopment has traditionally treated economic development as a central and uncontested goal. As Amy Hadiaris, a supervisor in the Minnesota Pollution Control Agency Voluntary Brownfield Cleanup Program explained, “In the brownfield community, success has traditionally been measured by increases in the tax base and property values, and by the number of jobs created.”

Hadiaris understands that this language isn’t neutral. But pulling in environmental justice and concepts like green gentrification highlights the limitations of using economic language to measure success. The tax base, property values, and jobs “is how we speak in the world of brownfield redevelopment,” she said. “And that language re-enforces gentrification.”

“I don’t think we were really asking, who is it making it healthier for?”

According to Economic Development Specialist Rick Howden, these considerations are particularly relevant in a contemporary context where brownfield redevelopment is more economically advantageous than ever in the Twin Cities metro.

In his work with Ramsey County Community and Economic Development, Howden has observed a near universal incorporation of sustainability into every sector of redevelopment projects. “How does [sustainable redevelopment] impact the communities that have grown up around these sites and how can we make sure that we’re not making it more difficult for them?” he asked.

That green gentrification has recently emerged as a concern in the brownfield redevelopment community does not mean that the process itself is new. “I think we can look back knowing what we know now…and we could say yes [green gentrification is happening and has happened with these projects],” Howden said. But for a long time these projects have focused on the public good of cleaning brownfield sites up and making them healthier for people, he explained. “But I don’t think we were really asking, who is it making it healthier for?”

SECTION I
CONCEPTS
&
CONTEXT

KEY DEFINITIONS

AFFORDABILITY

Affordability is highly contextual. The common understanding of housing affordability is when monthly payments constitute no more than 30% of household income. Experiences of affordability, however, are shaped by both personal histories and systemic social structures. These factors include financial security and familial support systems, along with legacies of economic exploitation through generations of indigenous land theft, Black enslavement and institutional anti-Black racism.

GREEN GENTRIFICATION

Green gentrification is the process by which environmental investments, sustainability programs, and green rhetoric contribute to growth in property values, higher rents, and other financial pressures. What results can be a mix of new wealthier residents and businesses that cater to their tastes, while lower-income, longer-term residents face rising costs of living, vanishing community institutions, and physical displacement. Often green gentrification is masked by language that paints green investments as a-political, neutral, and/or universally good.

ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE

Environmental justice is both a concept and a political movement. As a concept, environmental justice identifies the way that racism, classism, and other systems of oppression unjustly shape the distribution of environmental amenities and burdens. Environmental justice works to redistribute power over ownership and decision-making processes. The contemporary environmental justice movement in the United States grew out of Black leadership, originating among communities who were organizing against disproportionate exposure to pollution.

REAL ESTATE

Real estate is the economic sector that deals in the buying and selling of property. This market involves not only real estate agents and individual homeowners, but also the banks that finance loans and mortgages, the entities that use property as a place to store wealth, and the hedge funds that leverage property as investments.

URBAN PLANNING

Urban planning refers to the practice of designing how people move through and use urban space. Focused on more than just the physical layout of cities, planning entails broad visioning of what a space can be with several - and often conflicting - political and social goals in mind. The outcomes of this planning process get condensed and synthesized into planning documents that suggest guidelines and best practices. Urban planning holds power to open access to some while foreclosing access for others.

BUILDING SHARED LANGUAGE

Often the language used to talk about gentrification and development is itself a barrier for building effective collaboration for environmental justice. For some this language evokes emotional reactions rooted in personal experience or collective trauma. For others it can evoke shame and fear of being wrong or of messing up. Even when people are comfortable using the language of gentrification, definitions and communication styles vary and make it difficult for people to understand one another. When these translation issues occur, it is often tied up in structural dynamics that privilege the definitions and communication styles of those in power while dismissing those of marginalized communities who are often closer to the actual experiences that gentrification speaks to.

The goal of this section is to build a shared understanding of how to talk about green gentrification within and across institutions. It is at once an educational primer and a communication tool. Depending on where you and your organization are at, this section addresses three primary goals:

1. Introduce essential concepts that will help break down the complexities of green gentrification while opening space for deeper learning and questioning.
2. Present green gentrification concepts in conversation with ongoing movement and policy work.
3. Validate the wisdom and ideas that have been long-expressed in marginalized and exploited communities.

There is no doubt that the concepts covered in this section are contested. Definitions and descriptions found here come from a compilation of academic research and social justice literature, all with the intention of asking:

1. What concepts are used to justify business-as-usual?
2. What language helps disrupt the comfortability of the status quo?

GENTRIFICATION

Gentrification has become deeply ingrained into popular understandings of how cities function in the United States. It connotes meanings beyond the 'textbook definitions' from urban planners and policymakers, making gentrification both an emotionally triggering and difficult to define topic. Generally speaking, gentrification describes the process whereby new residents move into historically low-income neighborhoods, driving up rents and property values and thereby pushing out long-time residents. This often looks like whiter demographics, the breaking of community support networks, and a loss of cultural identities. Gentrification can sound like different music at the grocery store, or look like the arrival of dockless bikes littering the sidewalk. It can feel like social disconnection marked by new neighbors that don't make eye contact or the closure of a long-time community gathering place. Rather than trying to distill a single definition of gentrification, some of the components associated with the process include: race, class, mobility, land-use, investment patterns, cultural markers, and neighborhood desirability.

THE STUDY OF GENTRIFICATION

While processes of displacement and spatial exclusion have been happening for a long time, the term "gentrification" was first coined by British sociologist Ruth Glass in the 1960s. The word "gentrification" indicated a process of higher-wealth residents ("the gentry") moving into working class neighborhoods and replacing poorer residents. But gentrification is not such a binary nor linear process. The ways that neighborhoods change in U.S. cities today is different from what Glass observed in mid-century London.

Academics have used differing methods to understand gentrification as a temporal process. Early studies posited that gentrification occurred in patterns of "invasion and succession" or "neighborhood life cycles." Later scholars theorized "stages" of gentrification using economic markers. Despite these different models, we can understand gentrification through a few common factors: systemic and racialized disinvestment, narratives around neighborhood decay, reinvestment through property speculation, and physical, cultural and/or community displacement.

THE COMPLEXITIES OF MEASURING GENTRIFICATION

Measuring gentrification is complex not only because of multi-layered and interlocking social dynamics, but also because of limitations in the available data. Most gentrification research relies on census tract data, a unit of measure that the Federal Census Bureau uses nation-wide. But census tracts don't necessarily match up with the ways that people define and experience their own neighborhoods. In addition, the scale and recurrence of data collection is too big to capture block- or street-level displacement, and too infrequent to capture fast-paced change respectively.

Researchers have used a wide variety of methods and metrics to understand these neighborhood changes with inconsistent results. Discrepancies come from differences in characteristics used to describe neighborhood change, the scale at which change is measured, and how one tracks levels of displacement. Despite these differences, some of the key ways that gentrification is quantitatively tracked over time include changing racial demographics, income levels, educational attainment, speculative property purchasing, levels of tenant harassment, and rent burden.

CONTEXTUALIZING GENTRIFICATION

Gentrification is a process in historical context. It's not just about individual artists or yuppies who decide to move into a refurbished warehouse. There are structural systems at play.

When neighborhoods change and long-time residents are forced to leave, we must ask several questions, including: What made the "original" neighborhood look the way it did? Why was the land undervalued and the housing more affordable? What economic and political structures have historically neglected or harmed that neighborhood while pouring resources into others? Why do many legacy residents face limited economic mobility? Why is the neighborhood receiving investment — whether public or private — now? Who are those investments meant to serve?

It is important for us to understand this context, because we need to be able to differentiate between structurally racist economic systems and neighborhood improvements that residents want and deserve.

In other words, to critique gentrification is not the same as critiquing neighborhood improvements or neighborhood change at large. Rather, critiquing gentrification is about pointing out the disparity between those who benefit and profit from those improvements, and those who face harm as a result.

GENTRIFICATION IS A CONTESTED CONCEPT

While gentrification has been increasingly incorporated into mainstream political discourse, to many it is still a scary word fraught with controversial social implications. Some embrace gentrification as a means towards economic revitalization and neighborhood improvement. Those that do may resist the negative connotations of gentrification, and dismiss naysayers as simply anti-change. Furthermore, the rates at which gentrification physically displaces residents through eviction, raising rents, or other barriers is highly debated. But while gentrification may have its proponents, it is increasingly at the center of community mobilization in cities around the country. From local activists to national coalitions, these organizations are working to ensure that the question of gentrification — and the right for low income communities and communities of color to thrive in urban settings — is not going anywhere.

Further Reading on Gentrification

- Gentrification: Framing Our Perceptions (Enterprise Community Partners)
- In the Face of Gentrification (The Urban Institute)
- Gentrification Explained (Urban Displacement Project)
- Shifting Neighborhoods (National Community Reinvestment Coalition)

GREEN GENTRIFICATION

Green gentrification is the process by which environmental greening leads to increases in perceived local desirability that result in higher property values and rents. Greening can mean anything from environmental investments to sustainability programs and green rhetoric, all increasingly popular “win-win” tools in the context of climate change and urban sustainability logic. Under conditions of green gentrification, these different methods of greening are leveraged to drive capital and wealth accumulation. What results can be a mix of new wealthier residents and businesses that cater to their tastes, while lower-income, longer-term residents face rising costs of living, vanishing community institutions, and physical displacement.

GREEN INVESTMENTS IN CONTEXT

We are in the midst of an ever-worsening housing crisis. Over the past two decades unprecedented increases in housing costs coupled with stagnant wages have left low- and middle-income families with few affordable housing options. In urban spaces across the United States, the effects of this affordability crisis manifest through gentrification, in which low-income communities and communities of color are priced out of their long-time homes and neighborhoods. At the same time, the populartization of green infrastructure and the urgent need to mitigate negative climate impacts have led to the proliferation of green investments in urban centers.

While there is much to learn from community anti-gentrification efforts in general, issues of green gentrification raise a particular set of questions and concerns. What green gentrification shows us is that sustainability policies must be viewed **within their political and social context**. Green investments interact with an economic system that incentivizes property speculation, private profit, and growth. In this context, viewing environmental investments as universal goods and without a sincere consideration for who benefits misses the impact of **privilege and power**, an impact that the environmental justice movement so clearly brings to light.

To understand green gentrification as a system, Melissa Checker (2011) offers the following definition:

“Environmental gentrification describes the convergence of urban redevelopment, ecologically minded initiatives and environmental activism in an era of advanced capitalism. Operating under the seemingly a-political rubric of sustainability, environmental gentrification builds on the material and discursive successes of the urban environmental justice movement and appropriates them to serve high-end redevelopment that displaces low income residents.”

Spotlight on: The High Line (NYC)

The High Line is 1.5 mile long elevated park atop an abandoned railway in lower Manhattan. Since the first section of the park opened in 2009, the High Line has become one of the city’s top attractions, drawing millions of annual visitors and architectural accolades. The neighborhood surrounding the park has also been drastically transformed. Real estate values directly adjacent to the park are more than 100% higher than just one block further away. So dramatic are these impacts, that green gentrification is sometimes called “the High Line Effect.”

GREEN GENTRIFICATION IS NOT INEVITABLE

Green investments are still a good thing. Green gentrification is not a reason to stop investing in greening our communities, nor is it a reason to lower the quality of these green amenities to avoid raising property values. Research has shown that access to environmental goods can improve physical and mental health, strengthen community bonds, and aid child development. Equitable access to high-quality green amenities is part of building a more just world.

Green gentrification presents us with an opportunity and obligation to understand green infrastructure in conversation with systems of housing, ownership, and property. **Green gentrification is only inevitable if we incorrectly assume that our political, economic, and development processes cannot be changed**. Instead, we can ask questions about how green investments and anti-displacement policy can effectively be tied together. We can investigate how green spaces can be sites of community wealth building. And we can examine alternative systems of owning and inhabiting land that allow people to stay in place for more equitable green infrastructure benefits.

Defining Green Infrastructure

In technical terms, green infrastructure is the practice of harnessing natural processes to serve infrastructure needs in human-built environments. City and federal policy have increasingly championed the switch “from gray to green” wherein “gray infrastructure” (using materials like metal and concrete) is replaced by soils, plants, and other natural materials. Infrastructure such as green roofs, permeable pavement, and rain gardens can help divert water runoff, absorb chemical pollutants before reaching waterways, and improve urban air quality. Not only are green infrastructure practices effective, they often have compounding benefits such as cost-efficient maintenance, providing pollinator habitat, and urban beautification.

When it comes to green gentrification, the definition of green infrastructure is used more broadly. In addition to engineered water and land management practices, here green infrastructure includes open spaces, parks, and greenways where the primary intent might be social or recreational.

ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE

The environmental justice movement was born from communities of color - and Black communities in particular - organizing in opposition to environmental policies that systematically expose them to disproportionate levels of toxins and pollution. This racist distribution of environmental burdens is accompanied by the unjust distribution of environmental benefits as well. In addition to fighting for distributional justice, the environmental justice movement has grown to encompass procedural justice as well by working to redistribute power over ownership and environmental decision-making processes.

Principles of Environmental Justice

At the First National People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit in 1991, delegates drafted and adopted 17 principles of Environmental Justice, including:

- Environmental Justice affirms the fundamental right to political, economic, cultural and environmental self-determination of all peoples.
- Environmental Justice demands the cessation of the production of all toxins, hazardous wastes, and radioactive materials, and that all past and current producers be held strictly accountable to the people for detoxification and the containment at the point of production.
- Environmental Justice demands the right to participate as equal partners at every level of decision-making, including needs assessment, planning, implementation, enforcement and evaluation.
- Environmental Justice affirms the right of all workers to a safe and healthy work environment without being forced to choose between an unsafe livelihood and unemployment. It also affirms the right of those who work at home to be free from environmental hazards.

MOVEMENT HISTORY

1982 was a foundational year for the contemporary environmental justice movement in the United States. That year, residents in Warren County, North Carolina mobilized in opposition to a toxic landfill where the state proposed to dump large amounts of PCB-contaminated soil in the middle of a predominantly Black and long disinvested community. Largely organized by the NAACP and the United Church of Christ, the protest resulted in the arrest of over 500 protestors. While the protest did not prevent the state from siting the toxic landfill in the community, it mobilized activists and communities across the country to begin taking stands against environmental racism.

Five years later, Robert Bullard together with the United Church of Christ Commission for Racial Justice published the landmark report Toxic Wastes and Race in the United States which systematically analyzed the racialized nature of exposure to hazardous waste sites across the country. While there have been many watershed moments in the environmental justice movement, legal decisions around environmental justice still largely rest on protections put in place by the Civil Rights Act of 1964 which stipulates that federal agencies cannot discriminate on the basis of race, color or national origin.

TRANSFORMATION OF THE MOVEMENT OVER TIME

Early environmental justice efforts were focused on the siting of toxic land uses such as hazardous waste landfills and incinerators in communities of color. Studies mapped contamination sites and compared the racial and ethnic demographics of the areas around toxic facilities to those of the larger population.

Over the past 35 years, environmental justice activism and scholarship began to tackle a wider range of environmental issues such as vulnerability to flooding, climate change and access to parks and other green spaces. The language and principles of environmental justice have also grown to address issues of pollution, environmental degradation and climate change in the Global South.

Environmental Justice and Environmental Gentrification

Environmental justice-driven work to remove and remediate hazardous sites brings significant improvements in terms of health and aesthetic appeal. As environmental gentrification has become increasingly pressing, however, these improvements also carry risk of negative social outcomes. Indeed, there is evidence linking brownfield remediation and waste clean up to environmental gentrification processes. Some have suggested that the environmental justice movement is inadvertently causing environmental gentrification by improving polluted neighborhoods that draw in whiter and wealthier residents. These criticisms paint the environmental justice and anti-displacement movements in opposition to one another. But **anti-displacement work is itself an environmental justice issue** because it demands access to green amenities through staying in place. Thus, resisting green gentrification is itself an act of environmental justice.

CRITICISMS

Some critics of environmental justice activism and scholarship argue that the movement has been watered down, drifting further from its radical roots. Early articulations of environmental justice agendas were grounded in understandings of systematic racism that required the eradication of militarization, multinational conglomerates and other oppressive institutions that subjugate communities of color globally. These critics argue that the movement has been co-opted by government and corporate interests that are, at best, not well-positioned to provide leadership on environmental justice and, at worst, intentionally subverting the radical principles that the early movement was committed to.

One example of this de-radicalizing shift is the replacement of anti-racist language with language around inclusion. The Environmental Protection Agency, for example, defines environmental justice as “the fair treatment and meaningful involvement of all people **regardless of** race, color, national origin, or income, with respect to the development, implementation, and enforcement of environmental laws, regulations, and policies.” In doing so, the EPA effectively paints environmental justice as a race-neutral concept despite its distinctly race-aware origins. And even while environmental justice has been increasingly embraced by mainstream institutions rhetorically, the implementation of environmental justice principles has been inconsistent. In 2017, the EPA’s Office of Environmental Justice was completely dismantled, demonstrating how swiftly environmental justice can be sacrificed depending on the political moment.

AFFORDABLE HOUSING

Affordability means different things to different people. Defining affordability is impacted by histories of financial insecurity, personal trauma around housing instability, availability of familial support systems, and institutional barriers to wealth-building. Of course, these factors are closely connected with long histories of economic exploitation through generations of indigenous land theft, Black enslavement and institutional anti-Black racism, and a myriad of other oppressive systems. These ongoing systems have not only impacted material wealth-building over time, but also the levels to which people are willing to take financial risks. Despite these differences, affordable housing is regulated through a fairly rigid understanding of what affordability is and how it should be accessed.

COST BURDEN AND THE HOUSING MARKET

The federal government considers families who pay more than 30 percent of their income towards housing to be **cost burdened**. According to the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), there are currently an estimated 12 million households that pay **more than 50 percent** of their income towards housing. This means less money for other necessities, such as food, transportation, and medical care. HUD also points out that "a family with one full-time worker earning the minimum wage cannot afford the local fair-market rent for a two-bedroom apartment anywhere in the United States."

The process of securing affordable housing is just one more example of how **it's expensive to be poor**. For example, when a person qualifies for subsidized housing vouchers they may have to lose many days worth of pay in order to meet with prospective landlords; moving is more expensive when you don't have access to a personal vehicle; and affordable housing is often further away from jobs and family networks, compounding cost burdens such as childcare and transportation.

Affordable Housing by the Numbers

- About 50% of renters today are cost-burdened, spending at least 30% of their income on rent. In 1960, the share of cost-burdened renters was 20%.
- In 2018 there was a national shortage of seven million rental homes for households at 30% AMI or below. This comes out to 37 affordable homes for every 100 extremely low-income households.
- Renters working 40 hours a week at minimum wage can't afford a two bedroom apartment in any county in the United States.
- As housing costs decline further from urban centers, the percentage of income spent on transportation increases up to five times.
- Renters are paying a greater percentage of income towards rent than they did in 1980, while the monthly percentage that homeowners put towards housing has fallen.
- Households in the lowest quartile of income make 27% of median household income but pay 79% of what that same median household pays in rent.
- Almost two-thirds of renters nationally report that they cannot afford to buy a home.

Area Median Income (AMI)

Area Median Income (AMI) is the primary mechanism by which jurisdictions define what constitutes affordable housing. This number is important because it is used by policymakers and developers when they make and implement housing policy; it dictates the affordability of housing and who will be able to live there. This is why it is important to understand how AMI is calculated and to examine at what percentage of AMI affordable housing is priced.

In 2018 the AMI in San Francisco was over $82,000 for a single person household. Because federal conventions set 80% of AMI as the threshold for being considered low-income, anybody making less than $65,600/year in 2018 was considered low-income. But if low-income housing in San Francisco is priced for people who make $65,600 a year, what happens to San Franciscoans who make 50% AMI, or $41,000 a year?

The boundaries of a given calculation area affect AMI. For example, San Francisco's AMI is calculated with data for the entire San Francisco metro area, which includes wealthy Marin and San Mateo counties. When wealthier neighborhoods are included the AMI is skewed upward, raising the income at which something is considered affordable and further disadvantaging those at very low income levels.

But simply shrinking the geographic area for AMI calculations isn't a universal solution. In cities where wealth is highly concentrated in the urban core, a smaller AMI boundary may produce a higher calculation than metro-wide thresholds. For this reason, some affordable housing advocates focus on using lower AMI percentages rather than changing the methodology for AMI calculation.

FEDERAL IMPLICATIONS

The federal government defines affordable housing to be housing which costs **30 percent or less** of individual or family income. This definition rests on the assumption of traditional family structures, and uses income as a proxy for affordability. Furthermore, it does not account for other accessibility considerations. Despite limitations, these assumptions drive discourse around affordability, impact data collection methodologies, dictate federal affordable housing programs and grants, and shape local policymaking around housing access.

ROOTS OF THE CRISIS

How did we get here? There are market forces, policy changes, and demographic trends to consider:

- People are living longer and more independently than in previous generations, increasing housing pressure from renters who may otherwise be homeowners.
- Government spending and tax structures favor homeowners over renters.
- Federal housing subsidies have not kept pace with rising housing costs nor the growing number of low-income families in need.
- High labor and raw materials costs have raised the price of affordable housing construction.
- Local land use regulations limit high density residential building.
- Property is increasingly bought and traded as an investment, driving up prices while leaving luxury apartments empty.
- The concentration of property ownership has priced out many small-time landlords and put control in the hands of rental companies more focused on optimizing returns.

URBAN PLANNING

Urban planning refers to the practice of designing how people move through and use urban space. While planning happens in many forms, here we define "planners" as those who work and consult for government entities in a professional capacity. The planning process is different from physical plans themselves. Planning entails broad visioning of what a space can be with particular goals in mind, and can involve a wide range of mediums and stakeholders. Plans, on the other hand, are documents that reflect, condense, and suggest guidelines based on this process. There are many types of plans that may be layered on top of one another, each with different standards, procedures, and jurisdictional enforcement.

WHY PLANNING MATTERS

Urban planning is about more than just the physical shape of cities. It can make gathering spaces and enclose private ones. It can sever neighborhoods with highways and connect them with parks. Planning has power.

Planning embodies a range of mandates, often in conflict with one another:

- Improve sense of place and quality of life
- Protect property values and spur economic development
- Ensure public health, public safety, and environmental protection
- Promote equity, access, and opportunity
- Design for public infrastructure from transit to schools to libraries

Recently the field has become more explicit about its social and political obligations, partially in response to planning practices that have displaced low income communities and communities of color. For example, the code of ethics adopted by the American Planning Association in 2005 states:

"We shall seek social justice by working to expand choice and opportunity for all persons, recognizing a special responsibility to plan for the needs of the disadvantaged and to promote racial and economic integration. We shall urge the alteration of policies, institutions, and decisions that oppose such needs."

ERAS IN URBAN PLANNING

1) **Early 1900s:** Designing for Public Health

Urban planning brought architecture, public health, and social work together as a new professional practice. This new field came out of industrial urban pressures, characterized by overcrowding, spread of disease, widespread poverty, and inadequate infrastructure.

2) **1950s - 1970s:** Urban Renewal

Harnessing money and incentives from the federal government, urban planners embarked on mass redevelopment programs aimed at revitalizing urban centers in the wake of white flight and urban infrastructure degradation. This involved the widespread demolition of "blighted" communities disproportionately impacting low income communities of color. From 1950-1980, approximately 7.5 million dwelling units in the United States were demolished - 1 out of every 17.

3) **Contemporary Urban Planning:** From Urban Development to Urban Management

Contemporary urban planning is characterized by land use management practices as opposed to large scale urban revisioning. In the wake of suburbanization and car-centric infrastructure development, urban planners have focused on controlling urban sprawl, creating dense and walkable neighborhoods, and considering resilience to climate change.

URBAN PLANNING CONCEPTS

High level: tools and policies that shape planning at a jurisdictional level

- **Dillon's Rule and Home Rule** are ways of understanding what level of government has jurisdictional control over the planning process. Dillon's Rule holds a narrow interpretation of local government authority. Under this interpretation, a local jurisdiction can only engage in activities that are explicitly sanctioned by the state government. In states with Home Rule, on the other hand, sub-state jurisdictions possess greater autonomy over local self-governance.
- **Zoning** is a tool of land use planning. It designates the general purpose of different land in different areas (or "zones"). There are many different types of zoning, including euclidean, inclusionary, form-based, and overlay.
- **Eminent Domain** is a legal power that state and federal governments hold to expropriate private property for public use with just compensation to the owner. In urban planning, the definitions of "public use" and "just compensation" are subjective ones. Eminent domain has been used for everything from public transit infrastructure to private redevelopment deemed to be in the public interest.
- **Comprehensive Plans** are used to guide the direction of an entire jurisdiction over a long period of time. They are an opportunity for long term visioning and bring together all the different aspects of city functions.

Project-based: tools and policies that dictate how a particular project unfolds

- **Design Review** is a process that focuses on the architectural and aesthetic elements of proposed developments. It is used to ensure that new structures match the character of the surrounding area through a set of design standards.
- **Environmental Review** is a process that analyzes proposed projects based on environmental impact for the purpose of environmental protection. Environmental review is used to assess the degree of impact and potential mitigatory alternatives.
- **Conditional Use Permits** are used in cases where a project land use may only be approved if it meets a set of conditions, such as limiting hours of operation or soundproofing.
- **Variances** are granted in special cases where property owners argue that the conditions or use of a property impose a particular hardship under zoning codes.
- **Dedications and Fees** are imposed to offset increased cost and demand for public infrastructure that a new development brings, such as roads, sewers, or schools. Dedication refers to the transfer of infrastructure ownership to a public entity while fees are payments that a developer makes.
- **Development Agreements** are a tool that developers use to provide assurance for their project over the long term in order to offset financial risk. Public agencies can use these agreements to extract concessions from developers. These agreements are typically used for large, long term projects that are constructed in multiple phases.

REAL ESTATE SPECULATION

Real estate speculation is the practice under which housing is primarily treated as a market investment - one to be bought, sold, and flipped in order to maximize profits. Through deregulation, corporate consolidation, and technological innovation, the practice of real estate speculation has a growing stake in the housing market. These tactics impact everything from housing costs and building management to eviction and vacancy rates, encouraging predatory landlord practices and amplifying displacement pressures. Understanding real estate speculation is a key lever to drawing the connections between local housing issues and global financial markets; it illuminates where jurisdictional housing policies must target not only physical infrastructure, but financial systems as well.

SPECULATION VS. INVESTMENT

Property speculation is an approach to real estate investment where anticipated profits are based on predicted changes in local market conditions rather than physical improvements or rents. This makes property speculation a high risk, high reward endeavor, where properties are often bought and sold at a rapid pace.

In some cases, real estate speculation won't provide homes for anyone at all. A real estate investor may buy a residential property with no plan to rent the units. Rather than investing the capital to renovate or manage a building, a speculator may determine that it is more profitable to simple hold onto a building until the neighborhood housing market heats, reaping profits from the property sale itself. Thus, there is a tight connection between real estate speculation and residential vacancy.

Like speculation, investment seeks to maximize returns. Even absent speculative practices, real estate investment can inflict harm, such as the upscaling of previously unsubsidized and affordable housing. For this reason, it is not only important to differentiate between speculation and investment, but between types of investment as well.

Municipal Policies for Combating Real Estate Speculation

- **Residential Vacancy Tax:** a tax on residential property owners designed to open up supply in the housing market. It is applied when a home is not the owner's primary residence and is left empty for a certain amount of time
- **Anti-Speculation Tax:** a transfer tax levied on a property when it is sold within a certain time period after purchase to discourage property flipping.
- **Foreign Property Purchase Tax:** a tax on vacant properties held by foreign investors who don't contribute taxes to the local economy.
- **Targeted Property Surtax:** a model that applies taxes on buildings that attract speculators.
- **Capital Gains Tax:** a tax on the appreciated value of property when sold.
- **Public Lease Registry:** a centralized hub for sharing and disclosing rental rates in a jurisdiction.

FINANCIALIZATION AND THE GREAT RECESSION

The groundwork for the current real estate economy was laid in the 1980s, when deregulation and the growth of the financial service industry bolstered the power of real estate ventures. Together with urban renewal programs and deindustrialization, property became a primary assets for investors. The 2008 financial crash accelerated this process.

The foreclosure crisis — a crisis which disproportionately impacted Black households — opened a new opportunity to deepen real estate financialization. Eyeing foreclosed properties and extremely discounted homes, institutional investors poured money and quickly amassed gigantic portfolios.

That these homes are a financial commodity is no exaggeration. Starting in 2013 the financial industry began selling bonds based on future rent checks, also known as **single family rent-backed securitization**. This process has similarities to mortgage-backed securitization, the infamous financialization process in the mortgage industry that played a big role in setting off the housing market collapse in the first place.

In addition to securitization, some institutional real estate investment firms are themselves publicly traded companies, further entrenching rental homes as an investment venture. By incentivizing maximum returns on investment, publicly traded real estate companies invite the same type of predatory behavior that typifies predatory mortgage lending. These corporate landlords have financial incentive to maximize rents and minimize maintenance.

Spotlight on: Blackstone Financial Group

After a merger with Starwood Waypoint Homes in 2017, Invitation Homes became the largest landlord for single family rentals in the country. At the time of the merger, Invitation Homes controlled approximately 82,000 single family rentals nationwide. The Blackstone Financial Group - a hedge fund based in New York City - poured big money into this financial venture. In 2019 Blackstone sold off its shares in Invitation Homes, taking home $1.7 billion.

Institutional investors like banks and hedge funds now own one quarter of all single family rentals in the United States. Not only do these real estate practices outcompete small-time local landlords, but they increasingly bind rental property to Wall Street finance. This is part of process often referred to as the **financialization** of the housing market.

SPECULATION AND GREEN INFRASTRUCTURE

Real estate speculation primarily applies to areas of the housing market where significant changes in value are anticipated. Green infrastructure investments, particularly at a large scale, are one such driver of large value changes. High impact green development projects, such as new park or greenway construction, invite real estate speculation. Investors may buy up surrounding properties years before a project is realized, driving up property values, displacing residents, and contributing to the consolidation of property ownership. In doing so, speculative practices restrict who is able to access and enjoy the fruits of these investments.

TRANSIT-ORIENTED DEVLOPMENT

Transit-oriented development is a regional planning approach characterized by transit infrastructure, high-density development, and walkable urban landscapes. Implemented through coordinated planning and financing mechanisms, transit-oriented districts seek to remake the way people move through metro areas by maximizing mobility and localizing amenities. As urban centers around the country continue to boom, this development strategy is an increasingly popular antidote to urban sprawl, vehicle congestion, and public health concerns. Like green infrastructure investment, transit-oriented development has impacts on property values, neighborhood change, and displacement by funneling public and private investment into targeted areas. Examining the practices and impacts of transit-oriented development offers important lessons for understanding green gentrification.

THE POPULARITY OF TRANSIT-ORIENTED DEVELOPMENT

Transit-oriented development can deliver benefits ranging from increased foot traffic for curb-side businesses and more flexible transit options to reduced air pollution and shorter commutes. In addition to popularity among urbanists and density advocates, these benefits are recognized through regional and federal programs alike which incentivize transit-oriented development-based land-use strategies.

LESSONS FROM TRANSIT

When it comes to the connection between public investment and gentrification, transit and green infrastructure have a lot in common. Both are publicly-funded, desirable amenities that are likely to raise nearby property values. Perhaps where transit and green infrastructure differ most is in terms of scale; transit developments almost always have wide reaching geographic impacts while green infrastructure projects can be more localized. Because transit projects are so high-impact, they present good test cases for analyzing the relationships between investment and displacement.

TRANSIT-ORIENTED DEVELOPMENT AND GENTRIFICATION

Part of the reason that transit-oriented development has been so successful is that city leaders, business owners, and property holders know that promoting transit generates value, whether through saving commute times or inflating the value of adjacent properties. The existence of transit-oriented value-capture has been backed up by quantitative research that clearly demonstrates the connections between transit and higher property values.

In many cases, transit-related gentrification and the resulting influx of wealthier residents has displaced those who are the most reliant and frequent transit users: primarily low-income people and people of color. Some research has raised the possibility that transit-oriented development may actually lead to an increase in area car ownership as neighborhood incomes rise. At the same time, displacement can compound impacts on vulnerable residents by pushing them into neighborhoods with fewer accessible and affordable transit options, forcing them to spend a higher percentage of income on transit even as they seek more affordable housing.

Spotlight on: Denver Regional Transit-Oriented Development Fund

In 2010, a partnership of public agencies, non-profit funders, and private philanthropy launched a first-of-its-kind Regional Transit-Oriented Development Fund. The creation of the fund came from a recognition that the Denver region needed to act proactively on affordable housing as it planned to invest heavily in expanding transit networks. The fund provides loans to organizations that want to preserve or build affordable housing in proximity to public transit as mitigation for transit-induced displacement pressures.

Denver's transit-oriented development fund is managed as a Community Development Financial Institution (CDFI). It is designed to ease the loan and acquisition process for housing authorities and affordable housing developers by providing fixed-interest, below-market rate loans with flexible financing terms. These terms allow affordable housing developers to compete with market-rate real estate interests. Similarly structured funds are managed in the Bay Area, Puget Sound Region, and Los Angeles.

TRANSIT AND HOUSING JOINT FINANCING MECHANISMS

Transit-oriented development by definition integrates transit and development planning. The real innovation in transit-oriented development is in the new financing structures that allow transit and housing to uplift one another, particularly when it comes to affordable housing. These joint-financing mechanisms are a useful blueprint for considering models that could allow for similar joint-financing between housing and parks.

- **Dedicated transit-oriented development acquisition funds** to acquire sites near transit lines for future development before rising property values make such proximate development less feasible.
- Incorporating transit criteria into regional- and state-level affordable **housing trust funds** and the state allocation of **low-income housing tax credits**.
- Using **tax increment financing** specifically targeted at transit corridors.
- Harnessing **development fees** and **inclusionary zoning** to leverage demand for high density housing near transit development and bolster affordable housing funding pools.
- Jurisdictions can leverage federal transportation funding to incentivize dense affordable housing near transit.
- Local transit authorities may participate directly in **joint-development projects**. Projects could include selling or leasing agency-owned land near transit corridors

In 2017, HotSpot Rentals named Old Fourth Ward the 9th hottest neighborhood in the country. At the center of this neighborhood is Historic Fourth Ward Park, a 17 acre green space just off the 22-mile Atlanta Beltline trail.

As Darryl Haddock, the West Atlanta Watershed Alliance Environmental Education Director explained, Historic Fourth Ward Park was designed as an innovative flood management tool. Built to absorb a 100-year flood event and reduce pressure on Altanta's already flood prone stormwater infrastructure, the park was only realized through millions of dollars in public and private investment.

Standing above the park's drainage basin, Haddock has an unrestricted view of the massive changes that have unfolded in the years since the park opened. "The challenge is that when this property was developed, it had a solid working class, mixed community," he said. "This project and the Beltline prompted a wave of development that essentially is now on its 4th wave of gentrification."

For Haddock, Historic Fourth Ward Park is a lesson in getting ahead of market forces. "We actually see what green infrastructure leads to in terms of that ability for developers to be very nimble, to get into the speculation game early, to start to buy properties and raise property values." While he is clear that flooding abatement infrastructure is absolutely necessary, vulnerable and poor residents need to be able to stay in place in order to access the benefits of those infrastructure improvements.

"When you know better, you're supposed to do better"

Historic Fourth Ward Park is just one example of green gentrification in Atlanta, a process which is unfolding at a rapid pace in a city that historically had few green infrastructure investments compared to other major metro areas. "Atlanta is ground zero for income inequality," said Dr. Na'Taki Osborne Jelks, a faculty member at Spelman College and Board Chair of the West Atlanta Watershed Alliance.

"My contention is at this point if the city isn't doing anything proactively for the spaces they are looking to develop, than this is what they want to happen," Osborne Jelks said. Because you keep hearing about "unintended consequences," but when did they go from being unintended to intended? When you know better you're supposed to do better."

SECTION II
POLICY TOOLS

KEY DEFINITIONS

PUBLIC-PRIVATE PARTNERSHIP

Public-private partnerships are collaborations between public and private entities to plan, fund, operate, and/or maintain particular projects. The logic of these partnerships is to leverage private sector resources for both public and private benefit. Often these collaborations occupy a gray area between the public and private realm, where jurisdiction is fuzzy and regulatory accountability unclear. Because of their quasi-public nature, public-private partnerships are often critiqued as a model that contributes to the privatization of public assets.

PUBLIC POLICY

Public policy refers to the political and social norms established through state-sanctioned governing entities, including laws, budgets, and governance infrastructure. Influencing public policy is one way the people seek to make social change. Public policy is not the only way to pursue change; community organizing, direct action, and other non-institutional pathways play a vital role in social transformation.

CAPITALISM

Capitalism is an economic system based on an assumption of perpetual growth through the accumulation of capital. Capitalist thinkers valorize "free market" competition as the most efficient way for a society to function. Capitalism has always depended, however, on expliotation of people and land to sustain the need for growth. In other words, capitalism can only produce winners by producing losers as well. Capitalism merges with other systems of domination to facilitate this exploitation, as observed through settler colonialism, anti-Black racism, and many other forms of structural oppression.

PRIVATE PROPERTY

Private property is a legal and social framework under which land ownership is held individually, and a product to be bought and sold on the market like any other material good. Under private property, the land itself is monetized. In other words, land holds inherent market value beyond what it produces or what structures it contains. Thus, under capitalism, the accumulation of land is an essential vehicle for the accumulation of wealth. One of the primary functions of the contemporary nation state is to protect private property in order to protect capitalist economies.

COOPERATIVE ECONOMIES

Cooperative economies are economic systems based on shared prosperity, enacted through practices like collective ownership, redistribution, and shared resources. Cooperative economics can look like worker-owned businesses, work- and skill-trading, or shared land ownership. By collectivizing ownership and wealth, cooperative economies suggest that systems based in sharing are better suited to democratizing access, reducing inequalities, and building healthy societies. Sharing economies can touch every part of the way people live, from education to food production to interpersonal relationships.

POLICY OPTIONS

For decades, frontline communities and their organizational allies have drawn on personal observation, data analysis, policy expertise, and collective wisdom in order to identify, compile, and create new tools to advance equitable housing access and ability to stay in place. The anti-green gentrification policy tools described here build on this long history of work.

These policy tools cover the landscape of existing solutions. From market-based strategies to community capacity-building approaches, the set contains a wide range of ideological and strategic visions. While many are stronger in tandem, some do come into conflict with one another. Nevertheless, we have decided to keep the full set available for reference. While this analysis privileges a more “pragmatic” policy orientation, it doesn’t preclude more radical and imaginative approaches for how cities could organize housing and green space. By stretching the consideration of tools that are currently available, we hope this analysis makes space in the policy world for these more transformative possibilties.

The policy tools are divided into five categories: market-based, public subsidy, cooperative ownership, regulatory, and community capacity. Each description includes considerations with an eye towards best practices for implementation.

Community Capacity	Public Subsidy	Cooperative Ownership	Regulatory	Market-Based
Tenants’ Unions	Public Housing	Limited-Equity Cooperatives	Renter’s Bill of Rights	Community Benefits Agreements
Job Training	Land Banks	Community Land Trusts	Rent Control	Inclusionary Zoning
Cultural Corridors	Affordable Housing Financing	Co-Housing		
Equity Scorecards				

TENANTS' UNIONS

Tenants' unions are renter-led organizations that advocate for tenant rights, build renter power, and push for renter-friendly policy change. These unions may choose to affiliate based on living in the same building, renting from a particular landlord, or experiencing similar negative living conditions. Tenants' unions provide infrastructure to organize into bigger networks beyond municipal boundaries. Advocates for affordable housing and anti-displacement policy note that tenants' unions play an essential role in building a political base necessary for realizing anti-displacement policy and enforcing tenant protections.

HOW A TENANTS' UNION WORKS

Renters can start the process of forming a tenants' union by canvassing their neighbors and fellow renters to gauge interest. Unions can form in a single building, across multiple buildings in a neighborhood, or even across an entire city or state.

Anyone who lives in the area of the tenants' union can be a member, but not everyone must be an active member for the tenants' union to exist. Higher and more active membership increases the union's power.

When a union first forms, members set up a structure for how it will operate. For example, a tenants' union may choose a few spokespeople to represent them and liaise with landlords. In addition, a tenants' union may decide to designate several other positions such floor captains, secretary, or treasurer.

A well-organized tenants' union can have the power to self-advocate regarding a variety of grievances. Organizing tactics can include forcing direct negotiations with building managers, filing collective complaints to city or state agencies, or even calling for a rent strike.

Becoming a member of a tenants' union may involve paying dues, often on a sliding-scale, depending on the union's institutional capacity. In some states and jurisdictions, tenants' unions have a legal right to organize.

CONDITIONS FOR SUCCESS

- Third party **dispute resolution and mediation** between unions and landlords can help tenants' unions meet their needs under tense circumstances.
- **Code enforcement and inspection** is a municipal tool that tenants can use to enforce legal living conditions and pressure unresponsive landlords.
- Unions are stronger when representatives are familiar with **legal resources** (both public and nonprofit) and have relationships with legal advisors.
- Tracking all **documentation** from negotiations with landlords, building inspections, and mediations can help renters better understand and assert their rights.
- Tenants' unions have **strength in numbers**. Authentic interpersonal relationships, opportunities for leadership, accessibility and other factors impact recruitment and sustained participation.

HISTORY OF TENANTS' UNIONS

Tenants have been organizing themselves for as long as the renter-landlord binary has existed. The landscape of tenants' unions has shifted significantly over the last 50 years, however, mediated by changes in governmental housing initiatives, urban development policy, as well as shifts in the power and tactics of racial and economic justice movements.

Through the fall of public housing and the disruptive effects of “urban renewal” policies, many organized tenants' unions shrank, disappeared, or merged with other housing-based organizations. In the face of these changes, renter mobilization was incorporated into local non-profit organizations, often swallowed by the institutional focus on affordable housing development. Under these conditions, tenant-specific activism was largely replaced by community development goals. Renter organizing has recently witnessed a resurgence, however, bolstered by a growing tenant population and the urgency of rising rent burdens.

Organizing for Green Infrastructure

Tenants' unions are a powerful way for renters to advocate for green amenities. By presenting a united front, renters can promote access to green space, composting programs, and other green building features. It is important to note that green amenities are deeply tied to quality-of-life conditions that tenants' unions already fiercely organize around: healthy buildings, safe infrastructure, and good air quality. Organizing for green infrastructure is not always confrontational; when it comes to energy-efficient features, landlords may find mutually-beneficial financial incentives to participate.

CONSIDERATIONS

Dependent on Tenant Energy and Labor

Tenants' unions aren't a one time policy fix; they require constant work to maintain their power and efficacy. Over-burdened renters may not have the time or energy to dedicate towards this type of union structure.

Landlord Retaliation

Tenants who organize with a union may face backlash from landlords, particularly as renters begin to show a real threat to landlord power. Some jurisdictions have passed legislation which recognizes that renters have the right to organize, but this is not the case everywhere. Depending on the strength and enforcement of tenant protections in a given jurisdiction, retaliation can look like worsening living conditions, harassment, or eviction.

Mediating Informal Structure and Interpersonal Conflict

Forming and participating in a tenants' union is organizing. This means it can come with all the hardships and pitfalls that organizing a community entails: clashing personalities, conflicts over leadership, and differences in strategy.

JOB TRAINING

Job training programs provide participants with the technical skills and certifications needed to participate in specific job markets. They can be used to address employment barriers such as workplace discrimination and discriminatory hiring practices that reinforce the racial wealth gap and deny marginalized communities access to wealth-building opportunities. Job training programs have been identified as one of the key strategies to address racialized gaps in both employment and earnings, and a key component of building economic equity. Green sector programs in particular are an important mechanism not only to open access to new green job markets, but also redistribute the wealth and benefits from the growing green economy. Job training is an often overlooked anti-displacement tool that can be used to build community capacity, place-based wealth, and the in-house technical skills to both own and benefit from community development.

HOW JOB TRAINING PROGRAMS WORK

In the green sector alone, job training programs can cover a variety of employable skills from green infrastructure installation and maintenance to education and auditing.

Usually these programs are targeted towards skill-building for entry-level jobs, but can also include more advanced certification programs to support career advancement

These programs vary in structure, from 1-2 week professional certification processes, to multi-month hands-on technical skill development courses.

Job training programs may be funded and operated by a variety of entities, both public and private, including city agencies, educational institutions, and economic development nonprofits.

CONDITIONS FOR SUCCESSFUL PROGRAMS

- Agencies prioritize contracting with job training programs, and implement **local-hire and first-source hiring** to hire program graduates and economically disadvantaged job seekers.
- Programs offer **short-term stop gap employment** for trainees while they are looking for more permanent work.
- **Low-cost or free trainings** with benefits such as **food and childcare** more effectively reach participants who are facing employment obstacles.
- Job training programs enforce **safe working conditions and livable wages**, and promote these community benefits as conditions of the contracts themselves.
- Programs work in **partnership with existing community institutions** such as community and technical colleges, libraries, and local nonprofits.
- **Consistent and long-term funding sources** ensure the longevity and reciprocity of green sector partnerships to better facilitate employment opportunities for participants.
- **Designated liaisons** mediate the transition between training participants and potential employers.

ECONOMIC JUSTICE IN THE GREEN ECONOMY

The green sector requires a skilled workforce for installation, operation, and maintenance of green infrastructure projects. These positions are often entry-level, but require specialized job training for qualification, leading to a demand that can outpace supply. Consequently, there has been a nation-wide emphasis on professional training within the green sector.

But even a green economy does not guarantee equitable access to the benefits of these new jobs. Without specific attention to **economic justice**, the green economy will merely reproduce existing conditions of wealth concentration and worker exploitation. Job training is part of a pathway for under-resourced communities to access career opportunities and financial stability. When paired with other tools like **worker-owned cooperatives**, the potential of job training programs to build community wealth is even greater.

Spotlight on: Atlanta CREW

Atlanta CREW (Culture-Resilience-Environment-Workforce) is a free green infrastructure job training program operated in partnership between Southface and the West Atlanta Watershed Alliance, two Atlanta-based environmental nonprofits. Through Atlanta CREW, participants go through trainings on installing and maintaining green infrastructure, have access to job fairs and employment opportunities, and receive a stipend for their participation. The program is targeted towards marginalized communities whose neighborhoods disproportionately suffer from flooding as a result of poorly maintained infrastructure in the first place. As Atlanta looks towards growing its green economy, Atlanta CREW is one avenue to redistribute both the environmental and economic benefits of this economic growth.

CONSIDERATIONS

Inconsistency Across Programs

There is little to no uniformity among certification programs. This means that job training can vary wildly from one place to the next, putting workers at a disadvantage for accessing jobs elsewhere. Those trainings that do offer nationally standardized curricula are often the most expensive and least accessible to entry-level workers.

Accessibility

Required training and certification programs can be expensive, may have non-flexible scheduling, may only be provided in English, can require certain levels of education, and may only be advertised to certain audiences. Because of this, there is a need to make necessary qualification trainings more obtainable for communities who may otherwise be kept out by monetary, linguistic, and educational barriers.

Wages and Unions

Despite the growing importance of green infrastructure projects in municipalities around the country, the accompanying jobs are often viewed and treated as low-skill, low-wage work. Park staff, landscapers, and other green infrastructure workers may face job markets with few worker protections, lower wages, and a lack of union support.

CULTURAL CORRIDORS

Cultural corridors aim to foster equitable community development through the celebration of local arts and culture in a particular geographic area. Through a combination of public and private dollars, cultural corridors are place-making projects that use cultural heritage as a lever for further economic investment. In a twist on traditional planning models, cultural corridors demonstrate the interconnected nature of cultural and physical infrastructure. They are based on the premise that investing in a sense of place is also an investment in the place itself.

HOW CULTURAL CORRIDORS WORK

Cultural corridors work to uplift the **cultural heritage** of a particular geographic area through artistic celebration. This can include both permanent and temporary installations. Cultural corridors contribute to **"creative placemaking,"** or the practice of intentionally shaping the physical and social character of an area.

Arts-based work can help bring material uplift to under-resourced communities. Through investments in neighborhood cultural infrastructure, they foster **community wealth** by drawing people and business to an area so that communities can profit off of their own cultural labor.

Cultural corridors can be established through a combination of public and private investment; their creation often happens alongside other planned or ongoing development projects.

Cultural corridors employ a **community-rooted and participatory approach** to the artistic process, situating culturally-reflective place-making at the center of equitable development processes. Cultural corridors practice equitable development by investing in artists of color and engaging in authentic community **co-creation** to make space for institutionally disenfranchised communities to define and celebrate their spaces for themselves.

ART AND CULTURE AS A GENTRIFICATION-MARKER

Gentrification is not just about physical displacement; it is about cultural displacement as well, marked by a toll on sense-of-place, emotional well-being and community support networks. Art is a poignant visual indicator for these neighborhood changes. It is an aesthetic marker of cultural, racial, and class norms.

The role that the arts play in gentrification processes complicates the relationship between cultural corridors and displacement. Still, cultural corridors can be a tool to help combat gentrification by countering its "cultural displacement" effects and uplifting the work of local artists. In the face of rapid neighborhood change, they utilize community-centered art as a lynchpin for fostering neighborhood pride by grounding community members in a sense of place.

Cultural Corridors and Green Infrastructure

New developments are often an opportunity to capture investments to put towards artistic projects. Cultural corridors are well-positioned to leverage this artistic re-visioning in concert with green infrastructure. Together, cultural corridors and green infrastructure can insist on culturally-significant, historically-aware, and environmentally-healthy user experiences.

Spotlight on: The Twin Cities Central Corridor Cultural Corridor

Anticipating constuction of the Green Line, a new light rail line connecting Minneapolis and St. Paul, the economic development nonprofit LISC-Twin Cities launched an accompanying cultural corridor campaign in 2013. The Central Corridor as Cultural Corridor (C4) Initiative aimed to coordinate and financinally support arts and culture organizations who work and serve communities all along the transit path. Under the banner of "beyond the rail," this effort sought to harness the major public investment in the Green Line to bolster local economic growth, cultural celebration, and ability to stay in place.

LISC's Initiative was all the more significant because the transit line moves through many neighborhoods facing displacement pressures, bringing heightened investment and development in its wake. Indeed, since construction was completed in 2014, the Metropolitan Council estimates more $5.8 billion in development been invested in areas within a half mile of Green Line stops.

CONSIDERATIONS

Gentrification Potential

Cultural corridors are public investments that promote neighborhood desirability by growing both cultural and infrastructural value. Property values respond to heightened desirability. Thus, cultural corridors are subject to the same forces as environmental gentrification; cultural corridors participate in increasing land values through the commodification of an area's cultural identity. This relationship is further entrenched because cultural corridors are often explicitly paired with other large infrastructure projects.

Cultural is Diverse

There is no single "authentic" or "real" cultural identity for any particular cultural group. It is impossible to capture the diversity of ways that people experience, relate to, and celebrate cultural heritage. Still, planners, artists, and participants can keep this challenge in mind while trying to bring a diversity of cultural experiences and representations to the table.

Cultural is Dynamic

The desire to tell a story about cultural heritage can erase the ways that culture takes living, breathing, and changing forms. This is particularly important when considering celebrations of indigenous cultures that so often get painted as historical, a false narrative that reproduces Indigenous erasure, and ignores contemporary Indigenous communities and cultural expression.

EQUITY SCORECARDS

Equity scorecards are a way for communities and developers to assess if they are meeting their priorities, goals, and values related to equitable development. Through a series of questions, prompts, and self-assessments, scorecards can serve as an accountability check on decision-makers through reflection and documentation of their process. Sometimes scorecards are used in anticipation of future development but without any particular project in mind, setting preemptive parameters around what equity metrics developers should consider before breaking ground. In this way they are a tool for communities to build a shared understanding of what they want their neighborhoods to look like, and to increase participation around who decides what counts as an important consideration when it comes to development.

HOW EQUITY SCORECARDS WORK

Equity scorecards are **crafted collaboratively** between community residents, organizations, and other local stakeholders. While a scorecard template may be written as a general tool, users may add or tweak elements to make it more relevant to a particular context.

City agencies, development teams, and/or neighborhood associations may choose to use an equity scorecard in the development process.

Much like a report card, these evaluations are broken into sections to assess how well an organization is doing on a given issue area. For each section, scorecards present a series of questions or statements to which stakeholders are asked to rank themselves, often on a scale of one to five. After stakeholders discuss and agree on subscores for each category they tally up the total to complete the equity scorecard.

These cards do not provide an optimal score, nor do they prescribe how to proceed upon completion. Still, once the scorecard is complete an organization or development team may choose to make changes to address areas where they fall short on meeting equity goals.

WHAT AN EQUITY SCORECARD INCLUDES

Equity scorecards are composed of a series of prompts. They ask developers and communities to examine areas of potential growth and stretch their equity commitments. When used to evaluate development processes, equity scorecards typically include (but are not limited to) the following categories:

- **Community Engagement**
  Eg. *Are community members engaged within the first six months of the planning process?*
- **Equitable Housing**
  Eg. *Are at least 20% of the project's units are affordable to current residents at or below 50% Area Median Income?*
- **Environment/ Sustainability**
  Eg. *Are all new houses built with energy efficiency to reduce utility bills for residents?*
- **Economic Development/ Land Use**
  Eg. *Do lease agreements give priority to neighborhood business opportunities?*
- **Transportation Access**
  Eg. *Does the project increase connections to all modes of public transit and make walking, biking, and public transit an easy choice?*

Spotlight on: Trust for Public Land Community Capacity-Building Scorecard

The Trust for Public Land (TPL) is a national land stewardship organization that primarily works in the acquisition and development of new green spaces. While a longtime advocate of participatory planning processes, TPL has recently recognized a need to consider a broader suite of social implications in its green space advocacy work. In particular, how does a park interact with its neighborhood after the planning and construction is done?

In order to bring these considerations into the planning process, TPL created a scorecard for equitable green space development through community capacity-building. Some of these capacity-building metrics include leadership development, collaboration between nonprofits, cities, and developers, and elevating community voices.

The goal of the scorecard is to build parks with community longevity, where parks can be sites of agency, stewardship, and neighborhood connection beyond the participatory planning process alone. The capacity-building scorecard pushes TPL park planners to reframe community engagement through a new set of considerations.

CONSIDERATIONS

No Regulatory Mandate

A scorecard is not a regulatory tool. It is a facilitation guide for examining equitable development. Although scorecards enable people in power to have tough conversations about policy topics, they don't require those conversations to turn into action.

Community Burden

The responsibility to create equity scorecards typically falls on a combination of local non-profits and community residents that are often already under-resourced and overburdened. Communities may feel obligated to create these scorecards in order to highlight inequities that they already know to be true from experience. While community truth-telling is valuable in itself, it is a tool with limited capacity to address underlying power imbalances that make equity scorecards relevant in the first place.

Self-Reported

All of the scores on equity scorecards are self-reported. This means that developers or cities may grade themselves differently than community members who actually live in the neighborhood would.

PUBLIC HOUSING

Public housing is housing that is subsidized through public funding and managed by a public housing authority. Through demolition and decreased funding, public housing has been on the decline over the last several decades. In response, philanthropy, nonprofit development, and private-market incentives have become the primary mechanisms to address affordable housing shortfalls. Despite these efforts, housing research has demonstrated that public housing is one of the most effective ways to produce the volume of low-income housing to meet residential needs. Public housing proponents continue to battle a negative reputation from decades of disinvestment, government neglect, and the racialized criminalization of poverty.

HOW PUBLIC HOUSING WORKS

Public housing is **overseen and funded by the federal government** through the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD).

Public housing is owned and managed by local public housing authorities. These housing authorities receive subsidies through HUD. The amount of HUD-allocated funding is re-evaluated on a yearly basis through the federal budget process. Further operational funding comes through tenant rents.

The process to apply for public housing varies by local housing authority, but might incorporate factors such as criminal, rental, and credit history. Because public housing stocks are in such short supply, waitlists for public housing are notoriously long.

Once accepted to a unit, tenants pay a portion of their income in rent to the housing authority, usually around 30%.

Public housing tenants are subject to conditions and restrictions that vary by building and housing authority, but can include smoking bans and mandatory community service. Like tenants in the private rental market, public housing renters can be evicted.

HISTORY OF PUBLIC HOUSING

The number of public housing units has decreased by more than 250,000 nationally since the mid-1990s. In 2012 there were 1.64 million families waiting for public housing and an additional 2.76 million on waitlists for publicly subsidized housing vouchers.

- **1937 -** The Housing Act of 1937 established the U.S. Housing Administration and was the first federal policy for publicly subsidized housing.
- **1965 -** Congress established the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD).
- **1973 -** President Nixon issued a moratorium on almost all public housing programs effectively ending the expansion of public housing stocks.
- **1974 -** The Housing and Community Development Act established the Section 8 voucher program.
- **1992 -** Passage of the HOPE VI urban-revitalization program provided grants to demolish and replace dilapidated public housing, leading to a net loss of public housing units.
- **1999 -** The Faircloth Amendment to the 1937 Housing Act prohibited HUD-funding for public housing construction that would result in a net increase of public housing units.
- **2012 -** The Rental Assistance Demonstration Program opened up public housing to private investment in order to finance repairs and redevelopment.

Public Housing vs. Voucher-Subsidized Housing vs. Tax Credits : What's the Difference?

Public housing, housing vouchers, and low-income housing tax credits (LIHTC) operate through fundamentally different models. In public housing, prospective tenants are limited to designated housing that is owned and operated by a public housing authority. Public housing waitlists are generally shorter than for voucher-subsidized housing, and public housing tenants typically pay a smaller percentage of their income than they would in a voucher unit.

The voucher system, like public housing, is funded through HUD. It works by subsidizing private building owners for the difference between a low-income renter's contribution and the determined "fair market rate." Tenants are tasked with identifying and securing a unit within a designated period of time, otherwise they risk losing their voucher. Landlords and property owners hold authority to accept or deny voucher tenants. Depending on the fair market calculation, landlords may be unwilling to rent to prospective voucher holders. While some localities have laws that require landlords to accept vouchers, enforcement is necessary to make these laws effective.

LIHTC accounts for the vast majority of affordable housing units created today. These credits provide a tax incentive to private investors to finance affordable housing development. Ultimately this incentive-based program costs the Federal governmnet more in lost taxes than the affordable investments generated.

An increasing percentage of federal housing funding is directed towards housing vouchers and tax credits rather than public housing authorities.

CONSIDERATIONS

Restrictive Application Processes

Public housing application measures falsely differentiate between "deserving" and "undeserving" tenants through qualification restrictions based on criminal and credit histories. This reinforces an approach to shelter as an earned reward rather than a rightful need.

Bad Reputation

Public housing in the United States has a bad reputation. It is criticized for being ugly, imposing, and architecturally unimaginative, as well as a hotbed of public safety concern through the concentration of poverty. This reputation does not hold everywhere; other countries have successfully demonstrated that public housing can be a desirable, beautiful place to live for a range of income levels.

Unpredictable Funding

Because HUD funding is subject to the yearly budget appropriation process, the amount of money that local housing authorities receive changes year to year. This makes it hard for local authorities to plan future operations, particularly for capital-heavy projects to update infrastructure and implement cost-intensive repairs.

Predictably Underfunded

Federal funding for public housing has been on the decline for years. According to the Coalition of Large Public Housing Authorities, the Public Housing Operating Fund has been fully funded for only four of the sixteen annual budgets between 2001 and 2016, while at the same time capital funding needs have ballooned to over $35 billion as public housing ages and maintenance costs swell.

LAND BANKS

Land banks are public or quasi-public entities that acquire and repurpose vacant, abandoned, or foreclosed properties in order to transform them into productive use. Established in the mid-twentieth century out of concern about urban disinvestment and to counteract the negative community impacts of property abandonment, land banks are being re-examined as an anti-displacement tool. By leveraging their legal powers to hold and transfer land title, land banks have the potential to boost affordable housing stocks when paired with other anti-displacement policies.

HOW LAND BANKS WORK

Land banks are entities with **state-sanctioned powers** to bypass legal and financial barriers for the acquisition and redevelopment of vacant or abandoned properties. These special powers include: the right of first refusal for purchase, holding the land tax-free, clearing land titles, extinguishing back taxes, and temporarily leasing the property before resale.

Land banks have traditionally been used as a tactic **to revitalize areas with high rates of property vacancy or abandonment** to increase local property values. These properties are often facing legal issues connected to tax delinquency or land title – issues which may prevent the property from being repurposed and used.

Land banks are not long-term land owners; they are **short-term stewards**. Once it acquires and remediates a property, a land bank will maintain stewardship until it can identify a "responsible" owner to sell to. Once sold, the land bank has no further relationship with the property; there are no conditions placed on affordability or property upkeep.

Land banks have little restriction placed on who they can sell property to; sometimes they sell to individual buyers or larger housing entities (both nonprofit and for-profit). The only restrictions involve standards regarding past code violations and tax histories.

LAND BANKS AND COMMUNITY LAND TRUSTS

When land banks and community land trusts work together, they can mutually address the weaknesses in the other: land banks are better equipped to acquire properties while land trusts are better structured to maintain affordability over time. In this collaborative model, land banks can use their specially-sanctioned acquisition powers to pass off abandoned land holdings directly to the stewardship of local land trusts. Some have termed this partnership model "The Co-operative Land Bank."

While the collaborative framework between land banks and community land trusts is promising, land banks don't always have the best track record supporting land trusts. To a certain degree, this is rooted in the fact that the two types of entities have conflicting ideologies and governance structures: the mission of a land bank is revitalization while the mission of a land trust is cooperative and affordable land ownership. Making use of land bank powers to combat gentrification will require building mutual knowledge and understanding between land bank and land trust entities.

HISTORY OF LAND BANKS

Contemporary land banks (as opposed to colonial-era land banks) were first established as an urban planning tactic to combat the effects of mass white urban abandonment and disinvestment during the 1970s-1990s. St. Louis, Cleveland, Louisville, and Atlanta established the first land banks during that time to address large quantities of vacant properties as a result of property foreclosure laws. The powers and activities of these early land banks were fairly limited in scope, dealing with up to only a few hundred properties annually. In a second wave of land bank legislation, Michigan and Ohio expanded land bank powers in the early to mid-2000s.

The creation of land banks was greatly accelerated after the 2008 financial collapse, resulting in foreclosures en-masse across the country. Land banking was explicitly recognized as part of the Housing and Economic Recovery Act of 2008 which allocated federal funding towards the redevelopment of foreclosed homes. In rapid succession, land bank legislation was newly adopted in several states. The role of land banks was expanded to act on a multijurisdictional level through newly developed financing mechanisms. As of late 2016, there were roughly 150 land banks operating across 20 states.

Land Banks and Environmental Remediation

Land banks are well equipped to address sites in need of environmental clean up. They can use their special powers to clear title to contaminated land where remediation steps are not being taken by the parties responsible. In some states, brownfield-specific land banks have been established explicitly for this purpose. When it comes to brownfields, however, land banks often don't take a very proactive approach to land acquistition. Barriers include finding suitable buyers for contaminated sites, the fear of liability, and securing funding for remediation costs.

CONSIDERATIONS

Not Explicitly about Affordability

Land banks were not established nor are they explicitly designed to build affordable housing and combat displacement. In fact, they participate in many of the real estate processes tightly linked with gentrification: raising property values, unregulated private market sales, and neighborhood revitalization with no long-term accountability.

Difficult to Enact on a Local Level

Most local governments do not have the legal authority to establish land banks because foreclosure law and code enforcement is often applied statewide. This means that to establish a land bank requires state-level legislative efforts.

Spotlight on: The Detroit People's Platform

When the Great Recession hit, Detroit absorbed the blow particularly hard. As of 2015, one in six Detroit homes were facing foreclosure. As families were evicted and speculative developers bought up large swaths of the city, local activists organized around community land trusts as a mechanism to help themselves and their neighbors stay in their homes. The young CLT movement called on the Detroit Land Bank Authority to transfer its property assets to a Community Land Trust model — a call which went unmet. Still, as a member of the Detroit Community Land Trust Coalition, the Detroit People's Platform has offered land policy recommendations for the Land Bank, and the two entities are increasingly finding ways to collaborate.

AFFORDABLE HOUSING FINANCING

Affordable housing financing is the process by which a public or private entity secures capital to pay for the building, maintenance, and/or renovation costs of affordable units. Affordable housing by its very nature cannot be sustained without financial subsidy. This is because tenant rents do not cover acquisition, construction, and operational costs. Through a patchwork of public and private financing mechanisms, local and federal entities operate a resource pool to fill that funding gap. These financing mechanisms may be targeted at lowering construction, renovation, or maintenance costs to make affordable housing development a financially viable option for housing authorities and private developers alike.

HOW AFFORDABLE HOUSING FINANCING WORKS

Direct funding for affordable housing gets applied to the initial cost of a project through government-funded subsidies. Because of lengthy and expensive application and review processes, direct funding sources are typically only accessible to developers.

Indirect funding methods aim to lower the month-to-month cost of housing. These include government funded energy efficiency programs, maintenance funds, income-based utilities payment agreements, tenant rights enforcement, and tenant-landlord relationship building. Indirect funding methods may also require significant capacity to implement.

Tax credits and incentives generate funding for affordable housing through programs like Tax Increment Financing (TIF), Mixed-Finance Public Housing, New Market Tax Credits (NMTC), and Opportunity Zones.

Land value capture financing tools subsidize affordable housing through land use and development policy. These programs include **transit-oriented development** and **inclusionary zoning**.

Tax Increment Financing (TIF)

Tax Increment Financing (TIF) is an economic development tool that uses anticipated increases in property tax revenue to subsidize a particular development project.

- TIF funding is authorized at the state level and administered locally. Regulations vary from one jurisdiction to the next.
- In order for TIF funds to be collected and distributed, a project must satisfy a "but for" test, meaning "but for TIF this project would not be feasible."
- TIF is a value-capture tool, allocated based on property tax increases in the area surrounding the development called a "TIF district." TIF district boundaries are decided by local housing authorities.
- Applying for TIF financing is expensive. While review process fees vary, in Minneapolis for example, costs include a $3,000 application fee and a $10,000-$15,000 project analysis fee.
- Housing TIF agreements stipulate that direct funding will be applied to a project in exchange for guaranteed affordability for up to 25 years.
- TIF funds are available for all types of projects including new construction and housing renovation. TIF is often used in combination with other financing tools.

AFFORDABLE HOUSING FINANCING THROUGHOUT HISTORY

As public housing has faced systematic disinvestment over time, the nonprofit industry and private sector stepped in. The result is a complex patchwork of financing that is increasingly grant-based and dependent on public-private partnerships. With insufficient funding from the federal level moving through local housing authorities, affordable housing developers face the burdensome task of aligning several types of funding at once from private contributions, federal grants, bank loans and more in order to realize a single project.

Housing and Park Financing Partnerships

Governed by separate agencies or even different elected bodies, there is very little coordination between housing and parks financing. There is a growing push to integrate these financing mechanisms to reflect how parks and housing impact one another. Implementing a joint financing strategy will require leveraging different funding access points for mutual benefit and sharing technical knowledge across sectors. Potential models include expanding the scope of public and grant-funded green infrastructure financing to contribute to nearby affordable housing projects or using affordable housing maintenance dollars to develop green space next to affordable housing units.

Affordability Expiration Dates

Traditional financing programs do not have safeguards to ensure long-term community affordability. Direct funding programs mandate that developments maintain affordability ranging anywhere from 10 to 25 years after construction. Once that time period expires, however, a publicly subsidized project can easily convert its affordable units to market-rate.

CONSIDERATIONS

Access and Technical Assistance

Securing funding can include lengthy and expensive application processes, making it more difficult for small community-based housing developers to access. While large developers have entire teams of managers and lawyers dedicated to navigating the logistical layers of financing their projects, without adaquate technical assistance non-profit housing developers and under-resourced public agencies are at a disadvantage in competing for affordable housing dollars.

Limited Funding Pool

There are a finite number of affordable housing dollars available. This means that affordable housing projects have to compete with one another to access the capital necessary to turn a proposed project into reality. Through increasing scarcity and program complexity, affordable housing developers have to use significant capacity applying to multiple funding sources to piece together viable projects.

Profitability-Dependent

Financing programs such as TIF and Low-Income Housing Tax Credits (LIHTC) are restricted by profitability. This is true when profits are realized by both public and private entities. In the case of TIF, funds are generated through higher property taxes, thus incentivizing affordable housing development to simultaneously raise property values and threatening higher cost-burdens in the surrounding area. For LIHTC, affordable housing developments can only leverage the value of tax credits by selling them off to investors. These tax credits are often purchased by large financial entities like banks or venture capital firms who, in turn, receive substantial tax deductions.

LIMITED EQUITY COOPERATIVES

Limited equity cooperatives are a type of cooperative housing characterized by restrictions on resale value to maintain housing affordability over the long term. While there are many different types of cooperative housing, limited equity cooperatives are specifically designed to provide permanent and affordable housing to low- and middle-income residents, often with more deeply affordable income thresholds than other limited-equity models. While historically cooperatives in the U.S. were supported by federal programs, today these cooperatives are formed and sustained through local efforts.

HOW A LIMITED EQUITY COOPERATIVE WORKS

Like all cooperatives, limited equity cooperatives start when residents decide to organize a building, either by forming a cooperative in a new building or deciding to turn an existing building into one.

Limited equity cooperatives are different from other cooperative models because the terms of co-ownership limit the price of resale. In other words, they limit the amount of equity a unit-owner can accrue over time.

In a limited equity cooperative, the building itself is formally under the ownership of a nonprofit cooperative corporation into which residents buy membership shares to cover housing and operating expenses. Members participate in the governance and management of the building, often using a voting process to create the rules that dictate how residents live and share the space.

Limited equity cooperatives set their own conditions for joining. The most significant of these conditions is the income limitation for potential member-residents to ensure that the housing is utilized by low- and middle-income residents.

CONDITIONS FOR AN EFFECTIVE LIMITED EQUITY COOPERATIVE

- Turning buildings into limited equity cooperatives is more successful **when tenants are organized**. This organizing is most effective when tenants build on networks of existing interpersonal relationships.
- Jurisdictions with **right of first refusal** are more likely to promote limited equity coo-prative creation. This legal provision gives existing tenants the opportunity to make the first bid on a building when the owner puts it up for sale.
- **Nonprofit financial institutions** can provide key support to help tenants buy their buildings, including financing for acquisition and rehabilitation, and offering **share loans** for tenants to buy into the cooperative.

PRESERVING LIMITED EQUITY COOPERATIVES USING COMMUNITY LAND TRUSTS

The limited equity cooperative model first emerged in the 1960s. Governed by a mix of state and federal regulations, the growth of these cooperatives was aided by low federal interest rates, and later by a program to subsidize mortgage payments. Using these programs, almost 150,000 limited equity cooperative units were created in the 1960s and early 1970s. However these subsidies were ended by the mid-1970s, drastically slowing production. As the creation of new units has slowed, existing limited equity units have also been converted to unrestricted cooperative or market-rate housing. Presented with the opportunity to take in a huge financial windfall, many limited equity cooperatives in hot housing markets have chosen to go market-rate upon resale. In other cases, co-ops have been unable to obtain necessary financing to maintain their buildings and lost limited equity status as a result.

Given the loss of limited equity cooperatives over time, there have been recent attempts to restructure limited equity cooperatives as permanently affordable housing in combination with community land trusts. While land trusts are primarily stewards of single family homes, they can hold long-term ground leases for multi-unit buildings as well. Like a traditional land trust, a non-profit land trust entity would own the land underneath a multi-unit building which co-op residents collectively lease. This also adds an additional layer of affordability oversight, through which the land trust can ensure that when a co-op resident sells a unit they are in compliance with affordability mandates. To date, the number of community land trust / limited equity cooperative partnerships is small, with approximately 10 in operation nationally.

CONSIDERATIONS

Tenant Burden

When institutional support for limited equity cooperatives is lacking, co-op creation is limited to the initiative of tenants. In cases where housing conditions are substandard or landlords threaten tenants with eviction, tenants that decide to organize into a cooperative model are often already vulnerable to displacement or retaliation.

Financial Investments

There is a cost-burden associated with the transition to member-ownership. Tenants have to acquire a share loan in order to purchase their unit. This loan type is difficult to secure because it generates less profit for lenders. Some non-profits and state agencies combat these obstacles by directly subsidizing limited equity cooperative buy-in costs.

Technical Expertise

Navigating a property purchase is time-consuming and convoluted, and coordinating among several tenants only further serves to complicate the process. There are still some federal mechanisms to partially subsidize co-ops, but many groups are simply unfamiliar with how these policies work.

Maintaining the Co-op

Maintaining a co-op requires a significant time investment. This is why converting a traditional rental building to a limited equity cooperative is most successful when the building's tenants are already organized, with support to distribute responsibilities among the collective.

COMMUNITY LAND TRUSTS

Community land trusts are a cooperative land ownership model to ensure permanently affordable housing. Originally born from land reform movements, land trusts provide a path to home ownership outside of the private real estate market by holding land collectively and limiting home resale prices. In doing so, community land trusts challenge the commodification of property and its role in wealth accumulation under capitalism. Originally utilized to collectively organize agricultural land, community land trusts have emerged as a popular mechanism to grow access to affordable housing in urban areas.

HOW COMMUNITY LAND TRUSTS WORK

Community land trusts are non-profit entities that maintain land holdings "in trust" on behalf of the community in perpetuity. Even though the land is held collectively, property on the land is owned individually, **separating land ownership from building ownership**.

Land trusts sell housing at below-market rates under a long-term ground-lease; buyers purchase a home but lease the land underneath it. Buyers are restricted by income limitations so as to benefit those who may not otherwise be able to afford home ownership. The sale process also involves wrap-around financial services.

When a homeowner wants to move, they sell their property back to the land trust. Thus, housing in a community land trust portfolio is removed permanently from the conventional housing market.

A community land trust maintains affordability from one owner to the next by capping rates at which the property can be sold, known as **limited equity ownership**.

Traditionally, community land trust operations and organizational changes are voted on by a membership board consisting of both home owners and other community members.

USING COMMUNITY LAND TRUSTS IN PARTNERSHIP

Community land trusts are a powerful tool and they can become even more effective in partnership with other tools and organizations.

- Limited equity cooperatives can put their buildings into a land trust, pairing cooperative land ownership and cooperative property ownership.
- Land banks can use their governmentally-derived powers to acquire foreclosed or blighted properties, and then sell the property to a land trust.
- Cities may choose to transfer affordable housing management to community land trusts, taking advantage of the technical expertise and support services they provide.
- Land trust homes have historically been out of the price range for extremely low income households, but this is changing. One example is In New York City, where the East Harlem-El Barrio Community Land Trust is targeting its services at families at risk of homelessness in partnership with a housing association.
- Building working relationships between community land trusts and community development corporations can allow land trusts to access community development financing.

Spotlight on: NeighborSpace (Chicago)

NeighborSpace uses the land trust model to preserve and affordably lease green space and community gardening land in Chicago. This is different from most open space land trusts which operate in rural areas and focus on large agricultural properties or large-scale restoration efforts. Just as residential communiy land trusts incorporate services like financial planning and technical assistance, NeighborSpace provide resources including a tool lending library, environmental education, and garden planning assistance. The organization also serves as a fiscal agent for groups that want to fundraise for their plot or garden space. As access to urban agriculture becomes increasingly difficult to sustain long-term, particularly in places with high land values, other cities are turning to NeighborSpace as a model.

Community Land Trusts and Green Infrastructure

Land trusts that focus on homes and those that focus on green space almost always operate separately. This is due to a number of factors, including organizational capacity, limited housing resources, tax law considerations, and the relative infrequency of urban green space land trusts like NeighborSpace. However, one can imagine opportunities for community land trusts to coordinate land and property acquisition with green space revitalization.

CONSIDERATIONS

Acquisition

Buying property is an expensive endeavor, particularly for a non-profit with limited financial resources. This means that community land trusts are limited by access to capital.

Location vs. Quantity

Land trusts have to make tough decisions over where they purchase (or build) housing: should they buy a single home in a more rapidly gentrifying central neighborhood or should they buy more homes for the same price at the city edge?

Institutionalization

As community land trusts become at once both further entrenched in city policy and increasingly beholden to philanthropic organizations to finance their nonprofit efforts, many have moved away from their radical roots. This is particularly noticeable in watered down communal decision making and community participation, two practices which combat the disenfranchising impacts of gentrification.

Securing Loans

Banks usually provide loans based on speculative value; because land trusts remove land from the speculative market and set caps on resales, financial institutions are often hesitant to provide loans, either denying loan applications all together or stipulating less favorable conditions. Furthermore, at a basic level, banks may be unfamiliar with structuring home loans to suit cases where the recipient is not a land-owner. Problems with securing loans can increase building costs and set a barrier for prospective home buyers, particularly low-income individuals who already have trouble qualifying for loans in the first place.

CO-HOUSING

Co-housing is a model for communal living that aims to foster hyper-local interpersonal networks through shared space and collaborative decision-making. While the housing itself is separated into individual units, co-housing communities are built around shared spaces. Co-housing is a "relationships-first" housing approach; it is designed to strengthen neighborly connection in the face of a housing system that often serves to undermine such networks. While co-housing is not explicitly an affordable housing model, its principles could be applied to foster local sense-of-place and long-term stability as an anti-displacement measure.

HOW CO-HOUSING WORKS

Co-housing communities are created by groups of people with a **shared interest in living communally**; this group is typically established before the community is physically built. Co-housing may be designed around a specific type of community or set of shared principles, such as multigenerational or senior living.

From home size to common spaces to architectural features, co-housing communities are designed in away that fosters interpersonal relationships. Shared spaces include a "Common House" with a kitchen and dining area, and green spaces that can include playgrounds and gardens. These shared spaces can also be used as gathering points for the greater community.

Each resident or residential group owns their own home in the co-housing community. Communities range in shape and size, but most incorporate 20-40 individual housing units.

Co-housing communities are usually planned, owned, and managed by the residents themselves, using **collective decision-making** to maintain shared property.

MAKING CO-HOUSING AFFORDABLE

Many co-housing principles are aligned with anti-displacement efforts, including cooperative ownership and building self-governance capacity. Most co-housing communities, however, do not explicitly incorporate affordability measures to ensure that low-wealth individuals can access the benefits of this communal model.

The Partnership for Affordable Co-Housing (PFAC), a nonprofit based out of Colorado, works to build relationships between co-housing communities and affordable housing advocates to promote mixed-income co-housing communities. Through this partnership, PFAC helps establish co-housing units wherein residents pay no more than 30-50% of their income towards housing and utilities. PFAC also provides technical assistance to co-housing groups that are committed to ensuring affordable housing in their communities.

While co-housing can be cost-prohibitive, there are aspects of community design that lower cost of living for co-housing residents. Cost savings could come through shared labor like community childcare or exchanging household necessities and other goods.

GREENING THROUGH A SHARING ECONOMY

Co-housing is built on sharing, both in terms of space and material goods. Between energy usage, carpooling, and food-sharing, being in intentional relationship with neighbors means that co-housing residents can more efficiently distribute resources among the whole. In this way, environmental sustainability is naturally aligned with the principles of communal living.

Spotlight on: Troy Gardens (Madison, WI)

Troy Gardens is the only co-housing project in the United States developed by a community land trust. Through collaboration between the Lincoln Institute of Land Policy and the Madison Area Community Land Trust, Troy Gardens contains 30 housing units with 20 reserved for low to moderate income residents. The 31-acre project also features community gardens, a working farm, and restored prairie land.

Troy Gardens operates in partnership with Community Groundworks, formerly known as The Friends of Troy Gardens. Community Groundworks works to connect people to Troy Gardens' natural assets through education, urban farming, and stewardship programs. These programs are accessible both to Troy Gardens residents as well as those living off-site. In doing so, the property integrates an unusually wide variety of land uses.

CONSIDERATIONS

Class and Accessibility

Co-housing costs about the same as a home purchase on the traditional houing market. It is also primarily employed as an ownership (not rental) model, necessitating access to loans or upfront capital. These communities have significant class barriers and tend to be largely made up of white people and those with economic means.

Land and Location

Because co-housing is designed and built from scratch, it requires finding space where these new communities can set up shop. This means that co-housing is often located in ex-urban or rural environments, far from resources, jobs, transit, and community networks.

Long Term Planning

Co-housing communities take a long time to put into action. Between identifying a good group to partner with, working with architects and designers, and actually building, these communities can take years to actualize. Those in more precarious living situations may not be able to afford such a long process.

RENTER'S BILL OF RIGHTS

A renter's bill of rights is a suite of legal mechanisms that protect renters from landlord exploitation. These laws work to affirm the rights of renters against health hazards, harassment, and displacement. While framed here as a cohesive policy tool, these tenant protections are often enacted independently. The "bill of rights" terminology points to a broad narrative grounded in a universal right to safe and healthy housing. This coordinated framework also acknowledges that one or two solutions alone will not be enough to guarantee renter protection.

CLAUSES THAT MAY BE INCLUDED IN A RENTER'S BILL OF RIGHTS

- **Fee limitations** restrict application fees and/or the percentage of rent that a landlord can charge for a rental deposit.
- **Relocation assistance** stipulates that a landlord must pay a certain amount towards moving costs for tenants who are displaced by housing rehabilitation, demolition, or other breaks in the lease agreement.
- **Preventing consideration of criminal history** is an anti-discrimintion measure wherein landlords cannot consider the criminal history of an applicant when evaluating potential tenants.
- **First come, first served** requires landlords to accept the first rental application that meets their publicly stated rental requirements.
- **Renter agency for repairs** allows tenants to take care of repairs themselves and charge the landlord accordingly; it is a policy aimed at landlords who often take a long time or refuse outright to make necessary repairs.
- **Surprise building inspections** work to enforce landlord accountability by increasing the frequency of city inspections to assure the quality and safety of rental units.
- **Right to organize** prevents landlords from interfering if renters decide to form a tenants' union.
- **Just-cause eviction** strictly limits when and how landlords can remove tenants by forcing them to prove that the situation meets a certain standard to justify eviction.
- **Adequate notice for rent changes** means that landlords must give a certain amount of warning before they raise rents.
- **Right of first refusal** applies to when a landlord puts a building up for sale, and gives tenants the power to band together and put up the money to purchase the building for themselves; in some cases, tenants may also assign this right to a local nonprofit like a community land trust.
- **Right-to-counsel** is a guarantee that all renters should have publicly subsidized legal representation in housing court.

Know Your Rights

In addtion to the legal protections themselves, public campaigns around a renter's bill of rights serve as an important reminder that renters have rights in the first place. This can help to empower renters to build power for themselves in other ways, like setting up a **tenants' union** or connecting with tenants' rights organizations.

CURRENT STATUS OF TENANT PROTECTIONS

There are several long-standing federal- and state-level renter protections. At the federal level, renter protections are primarily regulated by the Fair Housing Act (FHA). This Act was part of the Civil Rights Act of 1968 and signed into law by President Johnson. It prohibits housing discrimination (including rental discrimination) based on religion, race, sex, and national origin. Upon later amendment, these protections were expanded to account for disability and family status. State-wide protections vary significantly, but the Department of Housing and Urban Development provides a central repository for state-by-state regulations.

The demand for municipal level tenant protections to bolster insufficient state and federal regulations has grown as the displacement crisis has worsened. Washington D.C., for example, enacted a tenants bill of rights in 2015, which even requires landlords to supply rental applicants with a copy of the legislation. Other municipalities have recently passed increasingly stringent renter protection laws including Seattle, Portland, and Palo Alto.

Other cities been focusing efforts on right-to-counsel. The most robust example comes out of New York City, which in 2017 became the first place in the country to guarantee a lawyer to every tenant facing eviction, dedicating $155 million to the effort. Cities in Pennsylvania, California, Massachusetts, along with Washington D.C. are currently pursuing similar **right-to-counsel** measures.

CONSIDERATIONS

Local Context

Just as the rental market is highly variable from one municipality to the next, the obstacles that renters face depends on market conditions, landlord incentives, and existing housing policy. A renter's bill of rights presents an opportunity to examine the landscape as it currently stands and address it accordingly.

Burden of Enforcement

Once legal protections are in place, enforcement remains an obstacle. In cases where landlords don't follow these laws, the burden falls on the renter to both know their rights and take their complaint to the city. Furthermore, municipalities often do not have the resources nor the infrastructure to enforce these laws fully.

Legal Challenges

Many of the measures included in a renter's bill of rights directly challenge a power structure upheld by decades of legal precedent affirming the rights of private property owners. Because of this, municipalities are likely to face legal challenges to newly enshrined renter protection laws. In Seattle, for example, a judge overturned the city's **first come, first served** rental law, declaring it unconstitutional. The legal challenge, brought by a group of landlords, claimed that these requirements violated their rights to property, free speech, and due process.

RENT CONTROL

Rent control refers to government-imposed regulation on whether and by how much landlords can raise rents. Unlike affordable housing tools that aim to grow housing stocks, rent control responds to the affordable housing crisis by regulating the existing private housing market directly. Under "free market" logic, rent control is a highly controversial approach, seen by detractors both as an imposition on property rights and squeezing profits that would otherwise produce new housing. There is a conflicting body of literature that accompanies this debate, throwing into question the efficacy of rent control measures. But despite conflicting analyses about the relationship between rent control and housing markets at large, the immediate benefits of rent control for rent-burdened tenants cannot be ignored. Rent control is a redistributive policy; when imposed, it offers direct and immediate reprieve. This reprieve is one of the only regulations keeping renters in their homes in some of this country's hottest housing markets where they would otherwise be facing displacement.

HOW RENT CONTROL WORKS

Rent control places limitations on rents. This can be through strict price ceilings or, more commonly, capping the amount by which rents can be raised annually (also known as **rent stabilization**).

Unlike many other affordable housing mechanisms, rent control has no designated expiration date. This affords tenants a measure of **long-term financial stability**, allowing them to more securely plan for their futures and invest in their neighborhoods.

Rent control is a policy that is both **unit-specific and tenant-specific**. That means when a renter moves out of a rent controlled unit, a landlord often retains the power to increase the rent to whatever market-rate they please, resetting the regulatory price ceiling for new renters who move in.

While rent control ordinances can vary wildly in their specifics, often they stipulate conditions wherein the policy applies differently to different types of rental units. For example, laws may limit rent control to buildings constructed before a certain year or above a threshold of units per building.

RENT CONTROL WASN'T ALWAYS SO "RADICAL"

The practice of rent regulation is not a new one. Beyond U.S. borders, it is a tactic that many governments have used, particularly in times of upheaval and housing scarcity. Contemporary domestic understandings of rent control can be traced to WWII-era housing policy which oversaw the most widespread imposition of rent control in the history of the United States.

The wartime economy brought a huge population influx into urban areas for military production. Facing a corresponding urban housing shortage, in 1942 the federal government instituted a national rent control program in which approximately 80% of the rental stock nationally became rent-regulated. These regulations enforced rental caps matching pre-war prices. This form of rent control stayed in place until the late-1940s / mid-1950s when housing stocks went through a period of "decontrol." Despite the undoing of many rent control measures, six jurisdictions have some form of rent control or stabilization: California, New York, New Jersey, Maryland, D.C, and Oregon.

RENT CONTROL AND TENANT PROTECTIONS

Opponents of rent control often see rent-capping measures as a violation of the rights of landlords to get a “fair return” on their investments as property owners. Rent control advocates argue that there are already plenty of legislative protections in place for landlords, and that renters have little legal protection in an often-hostile rental market that structurally favor ownerships. Tenant protection measures such as **just-cause eviction** are important to pair with rent control, particularly in cases where landlords cite rent control as an incentive to evict, harass, or otherwise remove tenants.

Spotlight on: Costa-Hawkins (California)

There are 15 municipalities in California with rent control on the books, but these policies are strictly mediated by the Costa-Hawkins Rental Housing Act of 1995. Costa-Hawkins limits the kinds of rent control policies cities can implement by protecting landlords’ rights to raise rents when tenants move out, preventing the imposition of rent control on units constructed after 1995, and exempting condos and single family homes.

In 2018, statewide housing justice advocates successfully campaigned to get Proposition 10 on the California ballot, a proposition which would have repealed Costa-Hawkins. While the Proposition was ultimately defeated, the campaign’s success mobilizating California renters highlighted a growing call for rent control expansion. Costa-Hawkins demonstrates the importance of analyzing the efficacy of rent control alongside other housing policy.

CONSIDERATIONS

Legal Hurdles

Many jurisdictions preempt rent control through local or state-wide bans. As of 2019, 37 states have laws prohibiting the adoption of rent control regulations.

Effects on the Rental Market

Without additional external measures in place, rent control may negatively impact total affordable housing stocks over the long term. This is because limiting landlord profits in rent controlled units incentivizes them to look for additional profits elsewhere. To do so, landlords may convert previously affordable units into owner-occupied units that are exempt from rent control regulations (i.e. condo conversion) or take more aggressive measures to evict tenants from rent controlled apartments.

Policy Loopholes

Most rent control measures have notable loopholes that enable landlords to work around regulations. For example, without sufficient tenant protections and enforcement, landlords can get away with removing tenants in rent controlled units through harassment and eviction. These loopholes undermine the efficacy of rent control policies.

Individualistic Application

Rent control applies to a particular renter in a particular unit; when a renter leaves, the rent regulation leaves with them. This unit-by-unit implementation can undermine renter solidarity as landlords work to push tenants out one by one.

COMMUNITY BENEFITS AGREEMENTS

Community benefits agreements are a mechanism for communities to extract concessions from private developers who are planning to build large-scale, impact-heavy projects. Community benefits agreements are a way to intervene in the development process by negotiating directly with developers. The purpose is to share in the economic wealth these projects generate and mitigate negative neighborhood impacts. These agreements have the potential to democratize access to the inner-workings of high profile development projects while building community organizing capacity based on a particular, tangible target.

HOW COMMUNITY BENEFITS AGREEMENTS WORK

A community benefits agreement is a **legally-binding** contract signed between a community coalition, project developer(s), and (often) governmental entities. This contract specifies the obligations that each signatory is committed to meeting, **subject to civil law**.

Agreements can include requirements such as local hiring, living-wage employment, and affordable housing.

Community benefits agreement contracts have a certain time frame of applicability during which they can be enforced. It is up to community coalitions, and in some cases local governments, to enforce the conditions of the agreement.

The community benefits agreement process requires that communities form united coalitions. Forming a coalition can be challenging given the inevitable diversity of community opinion. These coalitions also require access to legal expertise in order to bring the text of the agreement to life.

CONDITIONS FOR SUCCESSFUL AGREEMENTS

- Local stakeholders present a **threat to delay or prevent** project construction.
- Community coalitions have the **organizational capacity** to operate a long-term, legally-intensive campaign through many rounds of negotiation.
- The project has public implications that bring local governments to the table.
- The coalition can articulate **clear, measurable and enforcable demands**.

Community Benefits Agreements and Green Infrastructure

Large developments often include elements like landscaping, park space, sustainable building materials, water filtration systems, and other forms of green investment. Increasingly, developers tout sustainable features as evidence of doing right by a community. Community benefits agreements offer a language for tying together "green" developments to issues of labor and economic access. They are also an opportunity to make environmentally-based demands that are more than cosmetic beautification or self-congratulatory rhetoric.

Examples of Conditions and Demands in a Community Benefits Agreement

- **Community amenities** such as dedicated space for a childcare facility or grocery store.
- **Affordable housing requirements** setting aside at least 25% of new units for workforce housing.
- **Living wage guarantees** mandating that all workers involved a development are paid at least $15/hr.
- **Workforce support** including job training programs and employment counseling services.
- **Local hiring** ensuring that 51% of employees will come from area neighborhoods.
- **Community access** to development amenities such as local priority for using athletic facilities or priority for occupying business space.
- **Dedicating funds** to the community organizing body to sustain oversight of agreement compliance.

CONSIDERATIONS

Project-Specific

Each community benefits agreement has to be individually worked out between developers and community groups. This is a long and arduous process, often calling on under-resourced communities to force developers to the negotiating table. Even after an agreement is signed, these communities bear the burden of monitoring and enforcing its implementation.

Developer Benefits

Community benefits agreements are often billed as “win-win” situations for developers and community groups – but in terms of economic gain developers benefit more. In an effort to boost local economies, governments will often grant millions in public subsidies to the developers in question. These subsidies are sometimes even increased as a “reward” for signing a benefits agreement.

Accountability

Developers have great financial incentive to complete projects as quickly as possible, and so community benefits agreements can be used to hasten or evade regulatory processes. For example, in exchange for signing an agreement, a city might fast-track a project permit, undermining community input. At the same time, developers use these agreements to claim community support for their projects even if strong opposition remains.

Community Representation

Community benefits agreements operate under the assumption that a given community coalition represents the community as a whole. Establishing community representation is a difficult task, and inherently privileges some voices and interests over others. When governments get involved in the negotiations, policy experts have observed that community demands are diluted by the shift in negotiating power.

INCLUSIONARY ZONING

Inclusionary zoning policies work by mandating or incentivizing affordable housing through market-rate development. Rather than putting municipal dollars directly into public housing or rental assistance, inclusionary zoning generates affordable units through private developers who are already planning to build. Some view inclusionary zoning as an indirect tax on private development, one that demands that either developers, land owners, or prospective renters pay more to subsidize affordable housing construction. Others view inclusionary zoning as a way to partially capture value that is generated through public investments but is currently largely captured by the private sector alone. While inclusionary zoning is popular among policy makers, some argue that by relying on private development it is a tool that only makes affordable housing more beholden to the whims and terms of the private market.

HOW INCLUSIONARY ZONING WORKS

Inclusionary zoning includes a suite of municipal-level policies to create affordable units in otherwise market-rate development. These policies vary based on degree of affordability, developer incentives, duration of affordability mandates, and policy enforcement.

Inclusionary zoning only applies to new development; it cannot retroactively create affordable units in existing residential buildings. This means that **inclusionary zoning will create the most affordable housing in economic boom times** when private housing development is high.

Inclusionary zoning can be applied either by mandate or incentive. In the former, new developments are required to generate a certain percentage of affordable units. In the latter, municipalities may incentivize affordable housing development through easing zoning limitations, design concessions, and/or fast-tracking the permitting process.

Outside the cost of enforcement, inclusionary zoning does not require finding significant public funds and can generate units quickly because developers want to build as fast as possible.

INCLUSIONARY ZONING BEST PRACTICES

- The success of inclusionary zoning is predicated on capacity to **monitor its implementation.** This capacity is essential both to enforce the policy and keep track of data to assess its efficacy.
- Implementing inclusionary zoning at a **regional scale** can help prevent jurisdiction-hopping whereby developers simply move their plans to nearby municipalities with fewer restrictions.
- Studies have shown that **mandatory policies** have been more successful than voluntary ones.
- The specifics of an inclusionary zoning policy won't be perfect the first time; policies are more successful when they build in capacity to **re-evaluate and re-iterate** over time.
- Private developers are not affordable housing experts. Cities should dentify places where public or nonprofit partners can take over policy implementation, particularly with respect to tenant interfacing.
- Inclusionary zoning should be **implemented alongside other affordable housing policies** targeted at higher volumes of affordable housing creation at lower income restrictions.

THE INCLUSION FACTOR

The history of inclusionary zoning is connected to the ongoing legacy of exclusionary zoning. Land use restrictions like redlining and racial covenants have historically been tools of racialized exclusion while preserving the status quo and concentrating wealth in white neighborhoods. While some of the most blatant exclusionary zoning has been made illegal, discrimination, unaffordability, and systemic racism perpetuate exclusion. Today, inclusionary zoning proponents argue that a mixed-income housing strategy can combat segregation. However, some developers still enact measures to preserve segregation within inclusionary zoning policy, going so far as constructing separate entryways for residents living in the affordable units.

The Diversity of Inclusionary Zoning Regulations

Since inclusionary zoning emerged in the 1970s, it has grown to be one of the most frequently enacted municipal regulatory tools to spur the construction of affordable units. As of 2016, there were 886 jurisdictions in the United States with inclusionary housing policies on the books. Three states (New Jersey, Massachusetts, and California) have state-wide policies in place to encourage implementation. However, policies vary dramatically. Some of the conditions that characterize these policy differences include:

- Income level requirements
- What kind of development triggers the inclusionary zoning policy
- If and what kinds of incentives will be used
- Program compliance monitoring
- Duration of affordability requirements

CONSIDERATIONS

Upzoning Impacts

Inclusionary zoning policies often accompany zoning changes that encourage larger, higher density housing (i.e. "upzoning"). Upzoning often raises property values which can exacerbate displacement even as affordable units are created.

Limited Quantity of Units

Inclusionary zoning is critiqued as having too little material impact while continuing to give large concessions to developers. Indeed, the number of affordable housing units produced through inclusionary zoning is often small compared to overall housing stocks and demand for affordable units.

Market-Dependent

Inclusionary zoning depends on new construction and a strong private housing market. While the approach may contribute to affordable housing stocks when the market is strong, this won't stay true when the market inevitably takes a downturn.

Affordability Expirations

Though it varies, affordable units are only required to stay affordable from 10-25 years under inclusionary zoning policy. Once these requirements expire, property owners are free to flip the units to market-rate rentals. Once lost, inclulsionary zoning has no mechanisms to make these units affordable again.

Lack of Deep Affordability

While inclusionary zoning has affordability mandates, they are often set at 80% of Area Median Income (AMI) or higher. This means that the policy does not generate the deeply affordable units that many residents need.

SECTION III FROM TOOLKIT TO ACTION

KEY DEFINITIONS

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

Technical assistance is the process of sharing knowledge and skills between groups with different expertise. It involves the recognition that not everyone needs to be an expert in everything, and that the desire to do so can actually be counterproductive. Some assets to support technical assistance include open source online content, designated time and resources for consultation, and support structures geared towards small organizations that have less in-house capacity.

ORGANIZATIONAL CAPACITY

Organizational capacity is the resource pool an entity can draw on in order to follow through on a project or goal. Organizational capacity is an essential quality for turning ideas into reality and sustaining them over time. Building this capacity includes allocating enough funding, labor, internal infrastructure, and leadership resources for viable implementation.

POSITIONALITY

Positionality is a framework for individuals or groups to understand identity and experience in relationship to power structures. Positionality embodies an understanding that political decisions are always made in context; they reflect the biases, histories, and ideologies of the people who enact them. Understanding where people are coming from helps readers and listeners better discern meaning and intent. It can involve asking questions like: What systems and experiences shaped my approach to this work? What institutional privileges and barriers impact how my organization views this project? In doing so, positionality can indicate weak points and places of growth.

PROCEDURAL JUSTICE

Procedural justice involves interrogating decision-making processes through a lens of privilege and power. In the environmental justice movement, procedural justice inherently recognizes that environmental decision-making is impacted by the same systemic structures of supremacy and exploitation that lead to environmental benefits for some and burdens for others. Working towards procedural justice means questioning who is making decisions, deepening access to decision-making processes, and re-evaluating decision-making norms themselves.

DIVERSITY OF TACTICS

"Diversity of tactics" is a phrase that comes out of social movements embracing the importance of a range of approaches to social change rather than a single tactical solution. While groups might hold different beliefs about how change happens, a multitude of approaches can work strategically to uplift one another. A diversity of tactics also recognizes a diversity of skills and resources. One organization may be better equipped to use a particular approach than another.

ANALYSIS TO ACTION

The actions that emerge through engaging this material are not prescriptions; they will inevitably be in conversation with local context, resources, and political analysis. In this toolkit, the liberatory potential of environmentally just anti-displacement work grows from three foundational pillars:

1. **Democratization of knowledge**, ensuring that everyone has access to rigorous research, prioritizing the wisdom of marginalized and affected communities, and resourcing those on the frontlines to challenge systemic barriers on their own behalf.

2. **Strong social movements**, sustaining campaigns for change, recognizing the work of community elders, leaders, and organizers, and providing the resources that make space for marginalized communities to participate in movement work.

3. **Policy change**, where the way we allocate and make decisions about environmental and housing resources reflects our visions and theories of justice.

Democratizing knowledge, building strong social movements, and enacting policy change can take numerous forms. It can look like reimagined workplace trainings, changing grantmaking criteria, or launching a new political campaign. It could look like skilling up community organizations or building coalitions across sectors and silos. All of these types of actions are possible and valid outcomes from using this toolkit.

This section offers activities, visualizations, and considerations for how to turn knowledge and resources into action. Putting personal, organizational, and project-based strengths into context with the anti-displacement policy tools can direct efforts, maximize efficacy, and consciously ground action in the context of relationships and power.

TAKING ACTION IN CONTEXT

Before taking action it is important to situate yourself in context. This process of situating should happen repeatedly throughout the interventions you make; afterall, both your position and your context will inevitably change over time. Situating is both a question of justice and a question of strategy. It is a question of justice because procedural justice requires that our processes and interventions center those at the margins. It is a question of strategy because effective interventions bring together organizations with different and complementary resources.

SITUATING YOURSELF *Check all that apply*

Toolkit User

- ☐ Policymaker
- ☐ Regulator, public agency employee
- ☐ Planner, project manager
- ☐ Non-profit
- ☐ Community organizer
- ☐ Community development, philanthropy
- ☐ Community resident, local leader

Expertise and Resources:

- ☐ Proximity to political power
- ☐ Technical expertise
- ☐ Institutional knowledge
- ☐ Non-financial material resources
- ☐ Coalition-building and facilitation
- ☐ Financial resources
- ☐ Local knowledge, community leadership

UNDERSTAND YOUR STRENGTHS

What capacity, knowledge, and expertise do you have to offer? What are you good at?

UNDERSTAND YOUR LIMITATIONS

What resources, connections, or coalition-building do you need to be successful? Who else is well-positioned to address these needs?

UNDERSTANDING YOUR CONTEXT *Check all that apply*

Scale of issue or intervention:

- ☐ Small-scale, project-based
- ☐ Regional, project-based
- ☐ Neighborhood development plan
- ☐ Comprehensive development plan

Jurisdiction over issue:

- ☐ Public, city
- ☐ Public, county or regional sub-state
- ☐ Public, state
- ☐ Private

GROUND YOURSELF IN THE PRESENT

What interventions do you have the capacity to make right now? Who holds power in the present?

ENVISION THE FUTURE

What conditions do you need to change to make other interventions possible? Who do you need to build power with to get there?

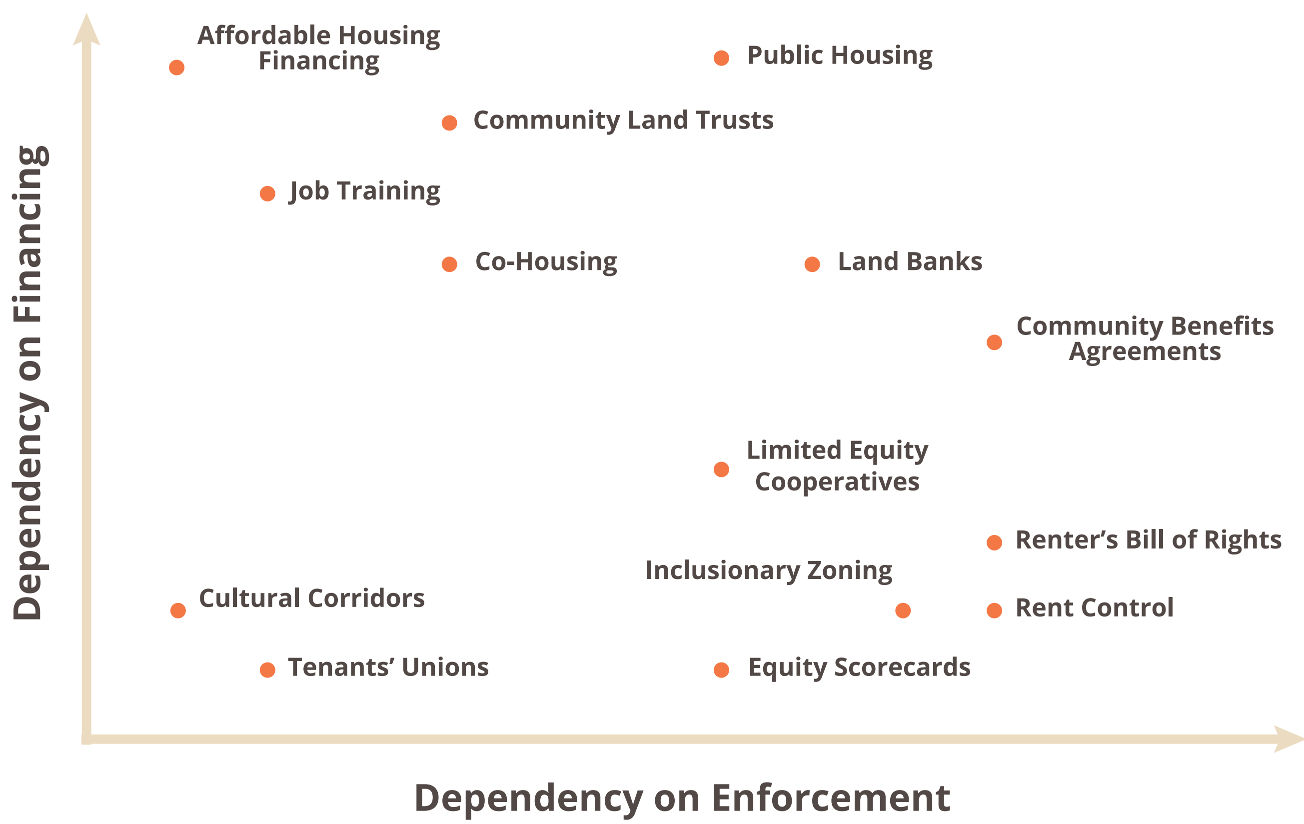
Interventions in the Urban Planning Context

- **Request for proposals:** Who is structuring proposal criteria, evaluating submissions and selecting design firms? What are the mechanisms for transparency and accountability in this process to center community agency from the very beginning?
- **Impact assessments:** What would happen if these assessments constituted the baseline of development processes rather than a regulatory checkbox to go through at the end? What if they include measures of displacement and environmental justice?
- **Brownfield mitigation:** How can there be incentives for clean up before a development is proposed?
- **Research and project evaluation:** What public data repositories can be established? How can we cultivate vehicles and respect for community-led research?
- **Sale of public land:** Who is first approached about land purchases? What opportunities exist for communities to buy land collectively?
- **Accountability:** What institutions and entities have the capacity to hold developers and cities accountable to development standards? How can this capacity be sustained and grown?

AUDIENCE-BASED EVALUATION: POLICY MATRIX

This matrix identifies which policy tools particular audiences are best-positioned to implement, taking into account legal authority, institutional resources, technical expertise, and political will. It is not a definitive prescription for policy pursuits. Rather, this assessment is a generalized attempt to help toolkit users navigate the complex and potentially-overwhelming diversity of policy possibilities. It can also help users identify strategic allies in other sectors in order to advocate in partnership.

CONDITIONS FOR SUCCESS: ENFORCEMENT AND FINANCING



	Policymakers	Regulators and Public Agencies	Planners and Project Managers	Non-Profits	Community Organizers	Community Development and Philanthrophy
Tenants Unions	X			X	X	
Job Training			X	X		X
Cultural Corridors			X	X		X
Equity Scorecards			X	X	X	
Public Housing	X	X	X			
Land Banks		X	X			
Affordable Housing Financing	X	X				X
Limited Equity Cooperatives	X			X	X	
Community Land Trusts				X		X
Co-housing			X	X		X
Renters Bill of Rights	X	X			X	
Rent Control	X	X			X	
Community Benefits Agreements		X			X	
Inclusionary Zoning	X	X				

POLICYMAKERS

As the public face of policy change, policymakers have particular power in shaping the public narrative around what is politically possible. When it comes to green gentrification, there is opportunity to lay the public-facing and infrastructural groundwork that can facilitate housing-environmental collaboration in both high-level policy and project implementation. Policymakers also shape the regulatory measures, financial incentives, and other public support structures that take aim at displacement and environmental disparities.

AUDIENCE

- Elected officials
- Policy aides and consultants
- Public policy researchers

GUIDING CONSIDERATIONS

1) There is a wealth of existing knowledge to be drawn upon, through local organizing, academia, and residential wisdom; policymakers don't have to reinvent the wheel
2) Legislation should account for the time, energy, and expenses necessary for long-term effective implementation
3) Existing local institutions, community organizations, and environmental and housing justice networks will mediate the success of policy, both in turning the tide of political will and in supporting effective implementation

Example Best Practices

- Build policy with and alongside long-time advocates, particularly in the case of pre-existing local campaigns
- Include environmental justice in housing policy and housing justice in environmental policy, both in name and substance
- Support open data gathering efforts to better account for housing and environmental justice metrics, including rent burden, localized environmental toxicity, and eviction
- Incorporate racial justice metrics into budgetary allocation for both environmental and housing funds

REGULATORS AND PUBLIC AGENCIES

Regulators and public agencies hold power through policy enforcement, identifying and describing the scope of problems and the public mandate to respond, mediating public involvement in the regulatory process, accessing research capacity, distributing information and technical support, and allocating public financial resources to respond to identified public mandates.

AUDIENCE

- Environmental regulators at local and state agencies
- Brownfield and superfund site remediators
- Public sector green infrastructure technicians
- Public employees working on environmental justice
- Sustainability program workers
- Public housing authority employees
- Housing program policy and case managers
- Public advocates in tenants rights and supportive housing programs
- Local and state housing access program staff
- Housing inspection and enforcement
- Green building and residential energy efficiency regulators

GUIDING CONSIDERATIONS

1) Public enforcement is necessary in order for many anti-displacement policies to be effective
2) Tackling a cross-sector issue like green gentrification means expanding what is included in the regulatory mandate for any given environmental or housing agency
3) The fact that the public sector is generally not set up to collaborate efficiently across different bureaucratic structures requires thinking creatively, but new pathways are possible
4) Qualitative and emotive-responses to regulatory measures are useful and necessary pieces of data, and should be considered as such when analyzing, measuring, and implementing public programs

Example Best Practices

- Train staff to understand displacement concerns that arise through environmental remediation and green infrastructure construction
- Make tenants' rights and advocacy resources available in public-facing environmental work
- Allocate resources to housing and environmental justice as part of policy enforcement and implementation
- Expand access to green programs for renters
- Develop methodology for recording and considering emotionally-driven public comment

PLANNERS AND PROJECT MANAGERS

Planners and project managers set the parameters of both the material outcomes and emotional connections to project sites, mediating relationships between governmental, private, and community stakeholders. While the conditions that making green gentrification possible are structural, the impacts of this process are often felt on a hyper-local basis. This opens an opportunity to intervene and build community power around particular projects, setting examples for how the status quo can shift. Planners and project managers are often the most publicly-accessible representatives of urban planning policy, presenting a path to share community concerns and shift day-to-day operations.

AUDIENCE

- Urban Planners
- Architects
- Landscape architects
- Long-range planners
- Community engagement coordinators
- “Placemaking” professionals
- Artists and designers who work in public space

GUIDING CONSIDERATIONS

1) Deep engagement presents opportunity for redistributing power through all aspects of a project process, from ideation to implementation
2) In the context of gentrification, “placemaking” must also contend with the principles of “place keeping” - uplifting the labor and emotional investment that has made a place into what it is
3) Incorporating justice into the execution of a project is not just procedural, it is material as well, considering questions of who owns and profits from its outcomes
4) Each project is inevitably shaped by historical and ongoing structural conditions
5) While many anti-displacement policies are not carried out on a project-by-project basis, planners and project managers can leverage their positions to mobilize their colleagues and residential constituents to advocate for broader policy changes

Example Best Practices

- Include community input in developing requests for proposals
- Hire and pay community stewards to inform and build cohesion around individual projects
- Consider community job access and wealth-building opportunities in every stage of planning and implementation (from community outreach to technical consultation)
- Prepare to address green gentrification concerns in public project meetings and have housing resources on hand

NON-PROFITS

Nonprofits are a key vehicle for funding, building, and shaping affordable housing and green infrastructure projects. These organizations are also key private-sector advocates on behalf of environmental and housing policy, able to dedicate paid staff times towards researching, lobbying, and mobilizing on behalf of their organizational interests. With technical expertise and ability to hone in on particular areas of concern, nonprofits are well-recognized players in both housing and environmental policymaking.

AUDIENCE

- Affordable housing developers
- Supportive housing staff
- Community land trust employees
- Tenant advocates
- Tenant legal services
- Environmental advocacy and conservation organizations
- Park conservancies
- Neighborhood associations

GUIDING CONSIDERATIONS

1) Greening and sustainability are essential for creating a healthier world, both for people and the planet. Green gentrification does not negate the importance of these investments, it just necessitates approaching this work through an intersectional, historically-rooted lens
2) Limited resources, scarcity mentalities, and the risks of "mission creep" are obstacles for housing and environmental nonprofits in expanding their realm of consideration to holistically account for green gentrification. Resource-sharing and technical assistance are valuable tools
3) Environmental justice and housing justice efforts will not be as successful without deep consideration of the other
4) Realigning environmental and housing nonprofits to better account for the intersections of environment and housing can be a model for public bureaucracy

Example Best Practices

- Incorporate lessons and case studies about green gentrification into staff trainings
- Develop clear organizational language around green gentrification in policy advocacy
- Dedicate organizational capacity to face the complicated nature of green investments head on, leaving adequate space for the conflict and tension that may arise in the process
- Set aside material resources for building housing work into environmental advocacy and vice versa
- Use institutional capacity and reputation to publicly stand behind enforcement of anti-displacement policies, uplifting community voices in the process

COMMUNITY ORGANIZERS

Community organizers and the communities they organize are the backbone of anti-displacement and environmental justice work. When it comes to policy implementation, community organizers play a key role not only in advocacy and implementation, but in pushing the boundaries of what policies are considered possible or pragmatic. In agitating against institutional constraints, community organizers can help shift power towards marginalized and oppressed communities to better get at the root of housing and environmental injustices.

AUDIENCE

- Place-based community-building
- Environmental and housing justice campaigns
- Citizen scientists
- Public forum testifiers
- Community storytellers
- Community elders and tradition-holders
- Tenants unions
- Community gardeners, artists, and other place-keepers
- Anti-displacement activists

GUIDING CONSIDERATIONS

1) Advocating for, enacting, and enforcing effective anti-displacement and environmentally-just policy requires a well-organized base to both work with and challenge the implementing parties
2) The win-win language of sustainability or the narrative that spins green gentrification as inevitable are powerful institutional obstacles; clear and direct popular education that politicizes these assumptions can effectively move power away from these arguments
3) Highlighting deeper questions of ownership and decommodification can effectively center the power and agency of communities being organized
4) Policy is just one outlet for making change to tackle the urgency and size of housing and environmental concerns

Example Best Practices

- Community organizers are particularly well suited to build tenant power - power which can then be leveraged to advocate for a host of other anti-displacement strategies
- Build power across housing and environmental justice campaigns to mobilize around the intersection of these two issues and build stronger public narratives
- Demand more than inclusion; green gentrification necessitates material redistribution

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND PHILANTHROPY

Community development and philanthropy are central players in both housing and green space development, representing the private organizational and financial backbone that can make or break projects. Traditionally operating behind the scenes, these organizations quietly shape the flow of money and access to capital. They can also be a powerful lever for community agency and resetting standards for what considerations development takes into account.

AUDIENCE

- Community development corporations
- Community wealth-building organizations
- Cooperative businesses and business hubs
- Job skills and technical training centers
- Grant-writers and reviewers
- Private philanthropic agents
- Technical assistance providers
- Credit unions, community investment funds, and other financial institutions
- Neighborhood improvement district organizations

GUIDING CONSIDERATIONS

1) Measuring the success of development should consider questions of land and business ownership
2) Community development is just one tool to build community wealth and power, not the end goal; in this context, development is not a universal desirable good
3) Democratizing access and participation includes democratizing financial control
4) Long-term implementation, evaluation, and community organizing needs are vital yet under-funded components of community development

Example Best Practices

- Embed anti-displacement mandates into grant applications and funding allocation
- Support the development of local, independent, and community-controlled financial institutions
- Set up financial support systems that incentivize collaboration across environmental and housing sectors
- Include community in financial processes, as board members, grant reviewers, and organization staff
- Establish infrastructure through which local residents can become owners and/or investors in neighborhood development projects

PROJECT-BASED EVALUATION: ANTI-DISPLACEMENT MATRIX

This matrix is a tool for evaluating green gentrification pressures for a particular green infrastructure project or investment plan. It is geared towards city planners, public officials, and private or non-profit developers. The goal of this matrix is to highlight to what extent a project is prepared to support and implement anti-displacement measures.

Step 1: Complete the matrix on the back side of this sheet.

- There are **seven project categories** to consider: funding, land ownership, planning process, construction, operation and maintenance, housing joint-development, and environmental justice evaluation.
- Each anti-displacement tactic within the project categories are evaluated based on **four implementation metrics**: financial support, planning, capacity, and pre-existing infrastructure.
- Determine a rating for each implementation metric on a scale of zero to two. Zero means that a green infrastructure project has not implemented support structures for a particular anti-displacement tactic, one means partial implementation, and two means full implementation.
- **Add up the totals** for each anti-displacement tactic. Based on those sums, add up totals for each anti-displacement project category.

Step 2: Consider the strengths and weaknesses of your project or plan within the context of different anti-displacement policy tools and their conditions for success.

- **Community Capacity** tools support community-based resilience to navigate gentrification and build community power. These tools are most effective when there is adequate funding to pay community organizers and this organizing leadership comes from within a community.
- **Public Subsidies** provide direct funding for affordable housing through a variety of ownership structures both public and private. These tools are most effective when there is adequate and reliable funding.
- **Cooperative Ownership** models give communities ownership over their own housing. These tools are most effective when residents have access to technical assistance for self-governance as well as regulatory support.
- **Regulatory** tools use public policy to help change the landscape of traditional housing markets. These tools are most effective when public entities have the capacity to enforce policy and residents have access to legal support when enforcement falls short.
- **Market-Based** tools leverage private development to generate community benefits, whether it is affordable housing units or job creation. These tools are most effective when they have clear and consistent enforcement.

	None = 0, Partial = 1, Full = 2				
	Financial Support	**Implementation Plan**	**Implementation Capacity**	**Pre-Existing Infrastructure**	**Total**
Funding					**/40**
Anti-displacement plan					
Public investment accountability plan					
Community input in grant/ contract allocation process					
Funding allocation prioritizes BIPOC leadership/contractors					
Grant writing support systems					
Land Ownership					**/32**
Public ownership					
Cooperative ownership					
Ownership reflects local community					
Indigenous land reparations					
Planning Process					**/48**
Uses anti-racist framework					
Provides tenant protection technical assistance					
Provides affordable homeownership technical assistance					
Community feedback plan					
Planned in partnership with community organizers					
Participatory design process					
Construction					**/40**
Meets local hire standards					
Includes job training programs					
Union labor					
Living wage labor					
Employee owned labor					
Operation and Maintenance					**/40**
Meets local hire standards					
Includes job training and/or education programs					
Union labor					
Living wage labor					
Employee owned labor					
Housing Joint-Development					**/24**
Pays into housing trust fund or joint development fund					
Holds or sets aside land for future housing development					
Builds affordable housing on site					
Environmental Justice Evaluation					**/32**
Environmental burden assessment					
Displacement risk assessment					
Evaluates historical contexts					
Accessible by public transit					

This toolkit does not and cannot answer the question of what a future without green gentrification - a future without the exploitation of land and people - will look like. It doesn't represent the biggest our dreams can or should get. As Sam Grant, educator and co-founder of the Environmental Justice Coordinating Council said, "A structurally violent world means that there is no place I can go where these tools aren't relevant. And at the same time, [pursuing] a bottom-up reality means acknowledging the inherent limitation of these tools. This tool speaks to our consensus reality; it is harm reduction not harm eradication."

"What is our experience on this piece of land? How are we holding it and how is it holding us?"

Can we use this toolkit to move towards harm eradication? Or at least, to open up bolder and more deeply daring possibilities for how to get there? Grant's reflections suggest that we must meditate on these questions not only in terms of policy, but in terms of somatic dialogue.

SECTION IV APPENDIX

GLOSSARY

ACCOUNTABILITY involves processes and systems used to hold individuals or institutions in check for their actions and decisions.

AFFORDABILITY is not a particular number; it is a marker for how much someone can comfortably afford without having to sacrifice other basic needs. When it comes to housing, affordability is measured as being no more than 30% of household monthly income.

ANTI-RACIST refers to the active process of identifying and eliminating racism by changing systems, organizational structures, policies and practices and attitudes, so that power is redistributed and shared equitably. (from NAC International Perspectives: Women and Global Solidarity)

AREA MEDIAN INCOME is a measure for median income for a specific area, where half of the population earns more and half earn less.

CAPITALISM is an economic system that depends on constant growth through the accumulation of capital (wealth). **Anticapitalism** is the movement and ideological opposition to this system, rooted in a critique of colonialism, imperialism, and exploitation.

CO-CREATION is a framework for participatory action wherein power, decision-making, and planning are democratized so as to build an environment where ideas are formulated and actualized collectively with a focus on community involvement.

COMMODIFICATION refers to the process of treating a material, service, or idea as a commodity to be bought, sold, or traded in the open market. **Decommodification**, therefore, is the separation of a material, service, or idea from market valuation.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT generally refers to practices that promote local economic growth and community vitality.

COOPERATIVE ECONOMIES are economic systems based on shared prosperity, enacted through practices like collective ownership, redistribution, and shared resources.

DISPLACEMENT is the forced physical, cultural, or emotional severance that an individual or group might experience from an area where they historically found home and community. The “force” here is not necessarily direct, but rather refers to the conditions that lay the groundwork for displacement to take place.

ENVIRONMENTAL AMENITIES are natural benefits that we get from our environment including clean air, water, beauty, and much more. Other green amenities are part of the built environment like parks and gardens.

ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE is a movement that came out of Black struggle against disproportionate environmental burdens. Environmental justice understands that environmental conditions interact with and reflect systems of oppression.

EQUITY (SOCIAL) is a measure of justice where all can thrive and prosper, taking into account the impacts of historic and ongoing oppression.

EQUITY (FINANCIAL) refers to the net monetary value an asset holds. In the housing market, when property gets more valuable over time it is building equity, whereas limited-equity housing places caps on how much value home assets can accrue.

FINANCIALIZATION is a process whereby financial markets, financial institutions and financial elites gain greater influence over economic policy and economic outcomes.

GENTRIFICATION describes the transition of a community from low-income or working-class status to middle-class or affluent status, largely through in-migration and replacement of existing residents. Gentrification usually has highly racialized impacts and connotations.

GREEN/ENVIRONMENTAL GENTRIFICATION is the process whereby green investments and the seemingly progressive discourse of urban sustainability drive up property values and increase displacement pressures on communities of color and low-income residents.

GREEN INFRASTRUCTURE, in its technical definition, is infrastructure that provides traditional municipal services working with and harnessing the power of natural systems. More broadly, it is all physical infrastructure involving green amenities.

GOVERNANCE refers to how institutions both public and private plan, finance and manage policies or projects. It involves a continuous process of negotiation and contestation over the allocation of social and material resources and political power.

INVESTMENTS are assets acquired with the goal of generating income or appreciation over time.

JURISDICTION is the power or right of a legal or political agency to exercise its authority over a person, subject matter, or particular territory.

JUST GREEN ENOUGH is a park revitalization framework from the green gentrification academic literature. It suggests countering gentrification through community-centered park development rather than splashy large-scale remodels. Some critique this theory as one that promotes lower quality parks for communities of color and low-income neighborhoods.

MARGINALIZATION refers to the systemic exploitation of a person or group through systems that deny access to participation, power, and resources.

PRIVATIZATION is the process of moving control from the public sphere to private business or private non-profit interests, employing the argument that privatization maximizes efficiency and minimizes costs.

PROPERTY is something with market value held in ownership by an individual or group and protected by law.

PUBLIC-PRIVATE PARTNERSHIPS involve collaboration between a government agency and a private-sector entity that can be used to finance, build, and operate projects for both public and private benefit.

RACIALIZATION is the process of externlly imposing ethnic or racial identities to a relationship, social practice, or group that did not identify itself as such.

RENT-BACKED SECURITIZATION is a way for banks to bundle rents and sell them to investors through the stock market. Turning rental housing into an investment mechanism has encouraged landlords to minimize basic housing maintenance while maximizing rents.

RENT GAP is a theory that describes the disparity between the current rental income of a property and the potentially achievable rental income.

SOLIDARITY reflects an understanding of shared liberation through building actions and systems of mutual support across identity and experience of oppression.

SPECULATIVE DEVELOPMENT is a real estate practice wherein developers purchase property with the expectation of turning a profit through sale or demolition rather than rental income or land use.

SUSTAINABILITY is the physical development and institutional operating practices that meet the needs of present users without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs, particularly with regard to use and waste of natural resources.

SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT lies at the intersection of economic, environmental, and societal interests to build economies that work for everyone in the context of environmental concerns.

TYPOLOGY is a method of classification according to general type. Urban typologies then refer to different classifications of cities based on factors such as size, governance structures, and environments.

URBAN PLANNING refers both to a process and a professional practice of designing the physical development of a city or region using a variety of regulatory and legal tools.

URBAN RENEWAL is a system of urban "revitalization" involving demolition, reconstruction, and displacement. It is most notably associated with a period of urban planning in the second half of the twentieth century.

VULNERABILITY describes the characteristics and circumstances of a community, system or asset that make it susceptible to the damaging effects of a hazard.

RESOURCES

ANTI-DISPLACEMENT POLICY TOOLKITS

- What About Housing? A Policy Toolkit for Inclusive Growth, *Grounded Solutions Network*
- Dealing with Gentrification: A Toolkit for Equitable Development, *University of Pennsylvania PennDesign*
- Affordable Housing Equity Tools, *Policy Link*
- What is Affordable Housing? *Center for Urban Pedagogy*
- The Anti-Displacement Policy Toolkit, *Association for Neighborhood Housing and Development*
- Asian American and Pacific Islander Anti-Displacement Strategies, *National Coalition for Asian Pacific American Community Development and Native Hawaiian Advancement*
- Value Capture in the Commons: Tools for Sustaining our Public Places while Benefiting Existing Communities, *Reimagining the Civic Commons*
- Public Benefit from Publicly Owned Parcels: Effective Practices in Affordable Housing Development and Proven Local Strategies for Expanding the Supply of Affordable Homes and Addressing Cost Challenges, *Enterprise Community Partners*
- Gentrification and Neighborhood Change: Helpful Tools for Communities, *Voorhees Center at University of Illinois at Chicago*

LOCATION-SPECIFIC ANTI-DISPLACEMENT REPORTS

- Managing Neighborhood Change: Selected Anti-Displacement Strategies in Practice, *Boston, MA*
- The People's Plan to Combat Displacement and Austin Anti-Displacement Task Force Recommendations, *Austin, TX*
- A Place in the Neighborhood, *Milwaukee, WI*
- Reside Vancouver: An Anti-Displacement Plan, *Vancouver, Canada*
- Anti-Displacement and Affordable Housing, *Roseland, CA*
- Seattle 2035L: Growth and Equity and Equitable Development Implementation Plan, *Seattle, WA*
- Gentrification and Displacement Study: Implementing in Equitable Inclusive Development Strategy in the Context of Gentrification, *Portland, OR*

RESOURCES BY CONCEPT

Affordable Housing

- The Gap: A Shortage of Affordable Housing Homes and Housing needs by State, *National Low Income Housing Coalition*
- Mapping America's Rental Housing Crisis, *Urban Institute*
- America's Rental Housing 2020 and The State of the Nation's Housing 2019, *Joint Center for Housing Studies of Harvard University*

Environmental Justice

- Principles of Environmental Justice, *First National People of Color Environmental Leadership* Summit, 1991
- Toxic Wastes and Race in the United States, *Commission for Racial Justice, 1987*

- 700 Protest Proposed North Carolina Chemical Dump, *New York Times, 1979*
- Coopted Environmental Justice? Activists' Roles in Shaping EJ Policy Implementation, *Jill Lindsey Harrison*
- Environmental Justice Scorecard, *California Environmental Justice Alliance*

Gentrification

- Gentrification: Framing Our Perceptions and Does the Definition of Gentrification Matter? *Enterprise Community Partners*
- In the Face of Gentrification, *Urban Institute*
- Gentrification Explained, Urban Displacement Project, *University of California, Berkeley*
- Shifting Neighborhoods, *National Community Reinvestment Coalition*
- The Gentrification Reader, Volume 1, *Loretta Lees, Tom Slater, and Elvin K. Wiley, 2010*

Green Gentrification (see also Selected Academic Literature on Green Gentrification)

- Changing Grid: Exploring the Impact of the High Line, *StreetEasy*
- Community, Equity, and Placemaking with Green Infrastructure in Seattle, *Green Infrastructure Foundation*
- The Value of Green Infrastructure: A Guide to Recognizing its Economic, Environmental, and Social Benefits, *Center for Neighborhood Technology and American Rivers*

Real Estate Speculation

- The Rise of the Corporate Landlord: The Institutionalization of the Single Family Rental Market and Potential Impacts on Renters, *Right to the City Alliance*
- The Case for a Property Speculation Tax, *Smith Institute*
- A Housing Crisis, a Failed Law, and a Property Conflict: The US Urban Speculation Tax, *Katie J. Wells, 2015*
- How Real Estate Speculators are Targeting New York City's Most Affordable Neighborhoods, *Center for New York City Neighborhoods*
- Financialization of Single-Family Rentals: The Rise of Wall Street's New Rental Empire and Wall Street Landlords Turn American Dream into a Nightmare, *Alliance of Californians for Community Empowerment*
- Real Estate Speculation: An Age of Gentrification, Archive, *Marjolaine Boutin-Sweet*

Transit-Oriented Development

- Safeguarding Against Displacement: Stabilizing Transit Neighborhoods, *Urban Displacement Project*
- Equitable Transit Oriented Development, *Poverty and Race Research Action Council*
- An Equitable TOD Typology for the Atlanta Region, *Reconnecting America*
- Maintaining Diversity in America's Transit-Rich Neighborhoods: Tools for Equitable Neighborhood Change, *Dukakis Center for Urban and Regional Policy*
- Financing the Development in Transit-Oriented Deveopment, *Urban Institute*

Urban Planning

- Upzoning Chicago: Impacts of a Zoning Reform on Property Values and Housing Construction, *Yonah Freemark, 2019*
- Capital City: Gentrification and the Real Estate State, *Samuel Stein, 2019*
- American Institute of Certified Planners Code of Ethics and Professional Conduct, *American Planning Association*

- Planners Network Disorientation Guide: Your How-to Manual for a Progressive Planning Education, *Planners Network*
- Grand Reductions: Ten Diagrams that Changed City Planning, *San Fransisco Bay Area Planning and Urban Research Association*

RESOURCES BY POLICY TOOL

Affordable Housing Financing

- Pathways to Parks & Affordable Housing Joint Development, *LA THRIVES and Los Angeles Regional Open Space and Affordable Housing*
- The Cost of Affordable Housing: Does it Pencil Out? and The Low-Income Housing Tax Credit, *Urban Institute*
- Financing and Funding, *Housing Toolbox for Massachusetts Communities*
- Tax-Increment Financing: The Need for Increased Transparency and Accountability in Local Economic Development Subsidies, *Public Interest Research Group*
- Financing and Funding, *National Center for Healthy Housing*

Co-housing

- Partnership for Affordable Cohousing
- Community and Conservation Land Trusts as Unlikely Partners? The Case of Troy Gardens, Madison, Wisconsin, *Marcia C. Campbell and Danielle A. Salus, 2002*

Community Benefits Agreements

- Delivering Community Benefits through Economic Development: A Guide for Elected and Appointed Officials, Common Challenges for Negotiating Community Benefits Agreements - And How to Avoid Them, and Community Benefits Agreements and Policies Currently in Effect, *Partnership for Working Families*
- Community Benefits Agreements: Growing a Movement in Minnesota, *The Alliance*
- Community Benefits Agreements: Making Development Projects Accountable, *Good Jobs First*
- Making Community Benefits Agreements Count, *Shelterforce*
- Pittsburgh Penguins Hockey Arena CBA, *Pittsburgh UNITED*
- Understanding Community Benefits Agreements: Equitable Development, Social Justice and Other Considerations for Developers, Municipalities and Community Organizations, *Patricia Salkin and Amy Lavine*
- Do Community Benefits Agreements Benefit Communities? *Federal Reserve Bank of Boston*

Community Land Trusts

- National Community Land Trust Network Tools and Resources
- Community Land Trust Technical Manual, *Grounded Solutions Network*
- Land Tenure for Urban Farming: Towards a Scaleable Model: Case Study: NeighborSpace, *Greg Rosenberg and Nate Ela*
- Community Land Trusts & Community Development: Partners Against Displacement, *Local Initiatives Support Corporation*
- Community Land Trusts Grown from the Grassroots: Neighborhood Organizers Become Housing Developers, *Lincoln Institute of Land Policy*

- Origins and Evolution of the Community Land Trust in the United States, *John Emmeus Davis, 2014*
- Keeping 'Community' in a Community Land Trust, *Karen A. Gray and Mugdha Glande, 2011*
- The Problem with Community Land Trusts, *Jacobin*

Cultural Corridors

- Art, Culture, and Equitable Development Policy Primer, *Policy Link*
- How to do Creative Placemaking, *National Endowment for the Arts*
- What is Placemaking and Eleven Principles for Creating Great Community Places, *Project for Public Spaces*
- Creative Placemaking Toolbox, *D.I.Y. Creative Placemaking*
- Spatial Justice: Rasquachification, Race, and the City, *Roberty Bedoya*
- The Future of Creative Placemaking, *A Blade of Grass*
- About Community, Not a Commute: Investing Beyond the Rail, *Central Corridor Funders Collaborative*

Equity Scorecards

- Equitable Development Principles & Scorecard, *The Alliance*
- Equitable Development Scorecard, *West Side Community Organization*
- Equitable Development Scorecard: Blue Line Extension Corridor, *Blue Line Coalition*

Inclusionary Zoning

- A Guide to Developing an Inclusionary Housing Program, *Richard Drdla Associates*
- Inclusionary Housing Calculator 2.0, *Grounded Solutions Network*
- Equitable Development Toolkit: Inclusionary Zoning, *Policy Link*
- Developing an Inclusionary Housing Program: Key Considerations for the Policy and Regulations, *National Community Land Trust Network*
- What is Zoning? *Center for Urban Pedagogy*

Job Training

- Redefining Green Jobs for a Sustainable Economy, *Century Foundation*
- Building Resiliency through Green Infrastructure: A Community Wealth Building Approach and Broad-Based Ownership Models as Tools for Job Creation and Community Development, *Democracy Collaborative*
- Green Infrastructure and Resilience Institute, *Southface and Atlanta CREW*
- The Goals and Dimensions of Employer Engagement in Workforce Development Programs, *Urban Institute*
- The Roadmap for Racial Equity: An Imperative for Workforce Development Advocates, *National Skills Coalition*

Land Banks

- Land Banking 101: What is a Land Bank? *U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development*
- Land Banks and Land Banking, *Center for Community Progress*
- The Cooperative Land Bank, *Michael Lewis*
- How to Fund Land Banks, *Shelterforce*
- National Map of Land Banks & Land Banking Programs, *Center for Community Progress*

Limited Equity Cooperatives

- Community Land Trusts and Limited Equity Cooperatives: A Marraige of Affordable Homeownership Models? *Lincoln Institute of Land Policy*
- The Developers Toolbox, *National Association of Housing Cooperatives*
- Co-op Resource Library, *Urban Homesteading Assistance Board*
- Will Limited-Equity Cooperatives Make a Comeback? *Shelterforce*

Public Housing

- We Call These Projects Home: Solving the Housing Crisis from the Ground Up, *Right to the City*
- 151 Years of America's Housing History, *The Nation*
- Myths and Realities about Public Housing and Public Housing: Where Do We Stand? *National Low Income Housing Coalition*

Rent Control

- Rent Control Laws by State, *National Multifamily Housing Council*
- Rent Control: What Does the Research Tell Us about the Effectiveness of Local Action? *Urban Institute*
- Communities Thrive with Rent Control: A Guide for California Cities, *Tenants Together*
- Costa Hawkins: the California Law Renters Want Repealed, Explained, Curbed, *Los Angeles*

Renters Bill of Rights

- Tenants Rights by State, *US Department of Housing and Urban Development*
- Eviction (Without) Notice: Renters and the Foreclosure Crisis, *National Law Center on Homelessness and Poverty, see survey of State laws, pg. 34*
- District of Columbia Tenant Bill of Rights
- Establishing a Tenants Bill of Rights in the City of Kansas City, Missouri
- State, Local, and Federal Laws Barring Source-of-Income Discrimination Poverty & Race, *Research Action Council*

Tenants Unions

- Tenant Organizing Manual, *New York City Democratic Socialists of America*
- Forming a Tenants Association, *Metropolitan Council on Housing*
- List of Tenant Organizations by State, *Tenants Union of Washington State*
- Forming a Tenant Group, *Tenants United to Save Our Homes / National Alliance of HUD Tenants*

COMMUNITY VISIONING, COALITION BUILDING AND ORGANIZING STRATEGIES

- Coalition Work Tools, *CoalitionsWork*
- Community Tool Box, Center for Community Health and Development, *University of Kansas*
- Why Am I Always Being Researched? *Chicago Beyond*
- Organizational Capacity Building, *Racial Equity Tools*

SELECTED ACADEMIC LITERATURE ON GREEN GENTRIFICATION

- Anguelovski, I. (2016). From toxic sites to parks as (green) LULUs? New challenges of inequity, privilege, gentrification, and exclusion for urban environmental justice. Journal of Planning Literature, 31(1), 23-36.
- Bunce, S. (2017). Sustainability policy, planning and gentrification in cities. Routledge.
- Checker, M. (2011). Wiped out by the “greenwave”: Environmental gentrification and the paradoxical politics of urban sustainability. City & Society, 23(2), 210-229.
- Curran, W., & Hamilton, T. (2018). Just green enough: Urban development and environmental gentrification. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Dale, A., & Newman, L. L. (2009). Sustainable development for some: green urban development and affordability. Local environment, 14(7), 669-681.
- Dooling, S. (2009). Ecological gentrification: A research agenda exploring justice in the city. International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 33(3), 621-639.
- Eckerd, A. (2011). Cleaning up without clearing out? A spatial assessment of environmental gentrification. Urban Affairs Review, 47(1), 31-59.
- Gould, K. A., & Lewis, T. L. (2016). Green gentrification: Urban sustainability and the struggle for environmental justice. Routledge.
- Immergluck, D., & Balan, T. (2018). Sustainable for whom? Green urban development, environmental gentrification, and the Atlanta Beltline. Urban Geography, 39(4), 546-562.
- Kern, L. (2015). From toxic wreck to crunchy chic: Environmental gentrification through the body. Environment and Planning D: Society and Space, 33(1), 67-83.
- Parish, J. (2019). Re-wilding Parkdale? Environmental gentrification, settler colonialism, and the reconfiguration of nature in 21st century Toronto. Environment and Planning E: Nature and Space, 2514848619868110.
- Pearsall, H. (2010). From brown to green? Assessing social vulnerability to environmental gentrification in New York City. Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, 28(5), 872-886.
- Rice, J. L., Cohen, D. A., Long, J., & Jurjevich, J. R. (2019). Contradictions of the Climate-Friendly City: New Perspectives on Eco-Gentrification and Housing Justice. International Journal of Urban and Regional Research.
- Rigolon, A., & Németh, J. (2018). “We're not in the business of housing:” Environmental gentrification and the nonprofitization of green infrastructure projects. Cities, 81, 71-80.
- Rigolon, A., & Christensen J. (2019). Greening without Gentrification: Learning from Parks-Related Anti-Displacement Strategies Nationwide.
- Rigolon, A., & Németh, J. (2019). Toward a socioecological model of gentrification: How people, place, and policy shape neighborhood change. Journal of Urban Affairs, 1-23.
- Wolch, J. R., Byrne, J., & Newell, J. P. (2014). Urban green space, public health, and environmental justice: The challenge of making cities ‘just green enough’. Landscape and urban planning, 125, 234-244.