

Development without Displacement

RESISTING GENTRIFICATION
IN THE BAY AREA



Written by Causa Justa :: Just Cause
with health impact research and data and policy analysis contributed
by the Alameda County Public Health Department, Place Matters Team

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Causa Justa :: Just Cause (CJC): A multi-racial, grassroots organization building community leadership to achieve justice for low-income San Francisco and Oakland residents.

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Contents

Foreword	2	Urban Renewal and Displacement: Moving People in the Name of Health	40
Candelario Melendez	2	New Approaches to Healthy Housing and Healthy Development	48
Dr. Richard Walker	3		
Executive Summary	6	Organizing Toward a New Vision for Community Development	50
Purpose of the Report	6	Human Development for Healthy and Sustainable Neighborhoods	50
Data Analysis	6	Collective Action Creates Human Development	50
Gentrification as a Historic Process.....	8	Gentrification Can Be Prevented	51
Health Impacts.....	8	The Role of Public Agencies in Promoting Human Development	53
Policy Recommendations.....	9		
Introduction	11	Policy Findings & Recommendations	55
What Is Gentrification?.....	11	Cross-Cutting Recommendations for Policy Effectiveness	55
Regional Historical Perspective.....	13		
Redefining Human Development: Organizing Communities	13	Principles, Policies & Practices for Preventing Displacement: Advancing a Comprehensive Housing Rights Framework	59
Research Scope & Methodology	14	A. Baseline Protections for Vulnerable Residents.....	60
Gentrification Typologies Analysis	14	B. Production and Preservation of Affordable Housing.....	67
Global Cities: A Brief Political Economy of the Bay Area	16	C. Stabilization of Existing Communities.....	75
Immigration and Migration to the Bay Area	17	D. Non-Market Based Approaches to Housing and Community Development	80
Decades of Race and Class Inequities.....	19	E. Displacement Prevention as a Regional Priority	82
Gentrification: The Rent Gap in the New Economy	20	F. Planning as a Participatory Process.....	85
Urban Development Under Neoliberalism.....	30		
Gentrification is a Public Health Issue	38	Taking Action	90
The Historic Role of Public Health Departments in Urban Development.....	39	Works Cited	92
		Appendix A	100

Foreword

Candelario Melendez



Causa Justa :: Just Cause, Member, and Mission District Resident

My name is Candelario Melendez, I am a member of Causa Justa :: Just Cause. I came to this organization back

when it was located on Valencia Street in San Francisco. Back then it was called “Comité de Vivienda San Pedro.” I learned there that people would receive help around their housing issues regardless of one’s color, gender, or race, and that the organization asked for nothing in return. It was since then that I joined this organization at the start of 2012, the same year I suffered an accident, and became disabled, and unable to work.

For 21 years I lived in a building in the Mission. In 1991, I was evicted for no fault of my own and without just cause. Based on my own experience and from my work at Causa Justa, I have heard many similar stories like the ones told in this report. The problems for tenants are very severe and we need a strategy that closely studies the situation, with the step-by-step goal of reversing this wave of evictions and harassment that too many are experiencing.

In my neighborhood, for example, rents for all apartments are going up every day and forcing more and more people to have to move out of the Mission and even out of San Francisco. Many of the residents we work with cannot

afford a whole apartment for their family and they end up living in one room. Even in these cases people pay as much as \$800 per month for a small space, which is just too much given the low wages that most of us are making. I know of landlords who increase the rent on tenants over three times, often resorting to harassment to evict tenants illegally. Also, many families do not live in good conditions because landlords do not invest in fixing the apartment. I’ve heard of times when, because of neglect and lack of repairs, families go hungry because they have no kitchen to cook in. Children have no space to study or play, and their health and development are affected.

In my opinion, both neighborhood residents and community organizations need to organize broadly so that our community loses our fear and becomes committed to fighting for our right to a just rent and freedom from harassment. It is because I have seen too many people evicted that I am organizing. We cannot allow private capital to change our community. We all need to unite: Latino and Black / African American folks. Together we will lose fear and the politicians will be more likely to listen to us. Together we have to demand that they craft better laws and ensure the implementation of these laws.

This report describes some of the important policies that can help deal with the negative effects of gentrification. It is urgent that we push for as many of these as possible. We need to realize our shared strength and vision. We need to take action together. It’s not easy to go up against rich and powerful people, and I hope our report will inspire communities in the Bay Area and around the country to do that.

Dr. Richard Walker



Professor Emeritus of Geography, University of California, Berkeley

To housing and social justice organizers across the United States, gentrification is a scourge. They have seen the damage done to hundreds

of thousands, if not millions, of families, and the disruption of schooling, friendships, and habits accompanied by the costs of finding new housing, jobs, support networks, and more. They witness the cruel unfairness of the way the suffering falls so disproportionately on the heads of innocent children, poor parents, and people of color. Against the current tide of displacement, a forceful movement has emerged in defense of housing rights and urban justice, operating under the rubric of “The Right to the City” and bringing together a broad coalition of tenants’ rights, affordable housing, and anti-foreclosure advocates. I had the honor of participating in the founding of the national Right to the City Alliance a decade ago, and I have watched as the groups in the alliance have grown stronger, wiser, and more tenacious in their struggle to protect those being swept from our cities by the blind forces of economic growth and urban redevelopment.

Nowhere is the fight for housing justice more acute than in the Bay Area, where San Francisco is widely considered the most gentrified city in the country, and Oakland is not far behind. The region has many valiant organizations working for better housing for the disadvantaged and displaced. Among these groups, Causa Justa :: Just Cause stands out for its work in defense of tenants’ rights and against evictions of all kinds on both sides of the bay. Groups like this have a lot to teach us all about the harsh realities of Bay Area housing that rarely make the pages or broadcasts of the major

media outlets and are, therefore, little known to most policymakers in the region. This report gives these groups a chance to speak and for us to learn.

So what is this thing called “gentrification?” It has divergent meanings to different people and has long been disputed, even among urban scholars. It is usually heard as a term of approbation against landlords carrying out forcible evictions and new buyers displacing former residents of low-income neighborhoods. Conversely, it is a rallying cry for affordable housing and limits on high-rises and building conversions. But is it more than a political slogan? As this report makes clear, there are cold, hard facts behind the popular terminology.

Without some clarity about what is at stake in gentrification, public debate easily bogs down in mutual incomprehension. There are plenty of cheerleaders for the current makeover of the Bay Area who cite the evidence for a high tech boom, rising average incomes, an expanding housing stock, and more. They are quick to dismiss the critics of gentrification. But gentrification is a many-sided phenomenon, so it is essential to unpack its dimensions to see why housing organizers have so much to teach us about the dark side of the shining new urban landscapes going up all around the bay.

For one, cities are living things that change over time. They look solid and fixed, but they are shaken up repeatedly by the dynamic forces of capitalism and modernity, their landscapes and ways of life torn apart and reconstructed. The Bay Area is undergoing just such a radical makeover today as new technology companies sprout, new people migrate in, and older activities and jobs disappear. Thanks to Silicon Valley, the region is a global leader in innovation, making change a way of life here. This, then, is the first facet of gentrification: the shock of the new and the loss of the old. The restructuring of the city has knocked the feet out from under old industries, vaporized formerly reliable jobs, and

left thousands of workers who depended on them out of luck.

A second dimension of gentrification is that urban growth drives up land values and the price of housing along with them, mounting up the highest in city centers. In turn, the pressure to maximize rents on precious urban space pushes up the height and density of buildings. The Bay Area has grown rapidly and, along with an outward explosion (all the way into the Central Valley), it has climbed upward. It is now the second densest urbanized area in the country after – surprise – metropolitan Los Angeles and ahead of metro New York. With increased pressure on the inner cities, old buildings are demolished to make way for the new and older neighborhoods are invaded by new investors, developers and residents, putting the squeeze on formerly affordable districts.

In addition, the Bay Area has become richer as it has grown. It has reaped the profits of leadership in electronics, medicine, management, and more. The bounteous profits pouring out of tech businesses, the health-medical complex, and financial operations have made this the highest income big city in the United States, per capita, which has only intensified the pressure on housing. This is a third sense of gentrification: the huge amounts of new money chasing housing, especially the limited housing stock of the favored parts of San Francisco, Oakland, and all around the bay. The result of a booming urban region is, in short, that thousands of people have been forced out of formerly affordable housing and communities, from the South of Market to West Oakland, the Mission to Fruitvale, ending up as far away as Brentwood and Stockton.

But growth, change, and affluence are not, by themselves, the worst sources of urban displacement – not by a long shot. What rankles housing advocates the most about contemporary urban upheaval is the “gentry” in gentrification. The remaking of our cities is fundamentally

perverted by inequality and social injustice, which have only gotten worse over the last generation. Inequality comes in many forms, but the ones that matter most in today’s cities are the chasms of class, race, and political power. Critics of gentrification are not simply railing against new technology, new buildings, or new people, nor are they calling for an older and simpler life; they are after something deeper, something that is rending the basic fabric of our cities and democracy.

Americans like to imagine that they are all “middle class,” but that is less true than ever, given the gulf that has opened up between the rich and the rest. There really is a 1 percent of the populace who have grabbed almost all the gains in social income over the last 20 years, making the United States the most unequal of all the developed countries. The Bay Area has been a leader in this trend by funneling the vast majority of the newfound wealth from electronics, finance, medicine, and the rest into the pockets of a relatively small elite. The Bay Area today has more millionaires and billionaires per capita than any other big city, even New York, and upper layers of the labor force are also very well paid here. The enrichment of the upper classes is what gives gentrification such force in San Francisco and Oakland. The new companies and new people who come to buy houses and occupy old neighborhoods do so with fistfuls of dollars, outbidding those outside their charmed circle. Ordinary working people, as well as the poor, the aged and the infirm, are all too easily swept aside by the new masters of the urban universe. This is a fourth dimension of gentrification, and it is far crueler than the mere shock of the new and the pressures of the land market.

If the cresting waves of class-driven gentrification are not bad enough, the undertow of race is always there to drag down thousands more folks. This is another face of gentrification. The sad fact of class in America is that it is raced. Whites are no longer a majority in the cities



Auction Action At the Alameda County Court House, Oakland

of California, but they hold the overwhelming percentage of the wealth. Housing is regularly considered the measure of the middle class, but access to it is badly skewed by racial inequality. Most of the wealthy and well paid in the Bay Area are White, along with a few Asian Americans. These are the gentrifiers. Meanwhile, most of those being displaced are Black / African American, Latino, Filipino, or other people of color. Not only do they have less income to bid competitively for housing, they are much more likely to be renters, and therefore exposed to eviction. Those who did own houses were disproportionately hit by foreclosures in the meltdown of the subprime housing bubble.

Finally, there is the question of control over government and its powers to ameliorate the assault on city neighborhoods. As this report

details, there are many reasonable policies at the local and regional levels that can help hold back the tide of gentrification and modify the worst effects of urban transformation. The problem is getting such policies enacted, enforced, and financed. The promise of American democracy lies in the power of popular representation and the assurance of a modicum of fairness imposed on the capitalist free-for-all by government. But the harsh reality is that too often politics fall prey to the same inequities that rule the market, an unpleasant reality that has only grown harsher in the moneyed campaigns and lobbying of the present day. This is the last sense of gentrification – the power of the upper classes to claim the city for themselves without opposition from the common people – and it feels the most unjust of all.

Executive Summary

Purpose of the Report

This report contributes to the conversation and understanding of gentrification and displacement from the perspective of a frontline organization working in neighborhoods most impacted by the crisis. We aim to challenge existing definitions and assumptions about gentrification and displacement that portrays it as positive, needed progress; as well as highlight the devastating health impacts that gentrification and displacement have on working-class people of color. We will offer an alternative vision of community development that centralizes the interest and needs of working-class communities of color. We feel this vision will ultimately create healthier and more sustainable neighborhoods for all residents in our cities.

Important to this vision is a set of development, housing, and tenant related policy recommendations and organizing strategies that will help bring this vision to light. This policy focus stems from our belief that the state has a central role to play in ensuring development benefits working class communities. Our policy recommendations are designed to support organizers and advocates in identifying appropriate solutions for their communities that they can turn into strong campaigns. Ultimately it will be as a result of sustained, effective organizing that policy change occurs. It is our goal that this document contributes to inspiring and sustaining neighbors and organizations coming together to fight and win their vision of change.

While the report is best positioned to support organizing for policy changes, we recognize the numerous other critical tactics that can and must be used in any effective strategy against

gentrification. A few of these include occupying vacant homes, doing eviction blockades, turning unused or under-used land into community space or gardens, etc. While we strongly believe in these tactics, our emphasis on policy was largely an attempt to focus our efforts on one critical aspect of a broader strategy and do it well.

In this report, we develop and share a comprehensive definition of gentrification and recommend effective ways to combat the displacement of low-income communities of color in the name of development. Our definition is made comprehensive by our attention to historical, local and global, economic, and policy trends, as well as to the public health dimensions of corporate-led urban development that result in gentrification.

Our report places gentrification on a historical timeline of racial, economic, and social discrimination, exacerbated by the progressive public disinvestment by government at all levels. However, the present configuration of these historical trends revolves around the dramatic increase in private financial investment in Bay Area real estate markets, the inflow of non-distributive technology wealth held by a small labor force, and the continued disinvestment by government in public services and programs, whose model of development is often to invite more private investment.

Data Analysis

Anchoring our analysis and recommendations is a “neighborhood typology” that uses demographic, socioeconomic, and property data from 1990 and 2011 to illustrate the changing char-

Gentrification by the Numbers

All analyses were conducted by Alameda County Public Health Department, using data from Census 1990, Census 2000, and American Community Survey 2007-2011.

- ▶ **Gentrification is happening in historically disinvested areas** where property values have accelerated, homeownership and incomes have risen, and neighborhoods have become wealthier and whiter over the last two decades. Neighborhoods in late stages of gentrification include the Mission in San Francisco and North Oakland in Oakland. Neighborhoods in middle stages of gentrification include the Bayview-Hunters Point in San Francisco, and West Oakland, Downtown, and San Antonio in Oakland.
- ▶ **Rental housing costs have skyrocketed in gentrifying neighborhoods, and in some cases, they have surpassed rental housing costs in historically affluent neighborhoods.** In San Francisco, the median monthly rent in neighborhoods in the latest stages of gentrification increased by \$460 dollars, or 40 percent, between 1990 and 2011. In Oakland, neighborhoods in the latest stages of gentrification had higher median rents in 2011 than historically affluent neighborhoods such as Rockridge and the Oakland Hills. Between 1990 and 2011, the median monthly rent in these neighborhoods increased by \$280, or 30 percent. This means that urban areas that were formerly affordable to working families are now out of reach except to the wealthiest segments of our society.
- ▶ **There has been substantial and disproportionate displacement of African Americans in gentrifying neighborhoods, as well as a loss in African American homeownership.** Between 1990 and 2011, the proportion of African Americans in all Oakland neighborhoods decreased by nearly 40 percent. In North Oakland, the number of African American households decreased by more than 2,000. Furthermore, African Americans dropped from being 50 percent to 25 percent of all homeowners in North Oakland, and within the Black community, homeownership decreased while renters grew. We see a similar loss of black homeownership in West Oakland and Bayview-Hunters Point in San Francisco.
- ▶ **Latinos are being displaced at a significant rate from the Mission district while white residents and homeowners have increased.** Between 1990 and 2011, the number of Latino households in the Mission decreased by 1,400, while the number of White households increased by 2,900. White homeownership more than doubled during this time.
- ▶ **Gentrification is changing the population of Oakland and San Francisco as a whole.** Between 1990 and 2011, Oakland's African American population decreased from 43 percent to 26 percent of the population, the largest drop by far of any population group. During the same period of time, San Francisco's Black population was cut in half from about 10 percent to only 5 percent of the population. While gentrification may bring much-needed investment to urban neighborhoods, displacement prevents these changes from benefitting residents who may need them the most.
- ▶ **Gentrification affects housing quality and health and exacerbates inequalities.** In Oakland, neighborhoods in the latest stages of gentrification have the greatest disparity between Black and White mortality rates. We also found that rates of overcrowding increased in San Francisco neighborhoods between early and late stages of gentrification.

acteristics of neighborhoods in the San Francisco Bay Area. This typology, adapted from a 2013 Portland study, is based on a theory of change that recognizes how neighborhoods progress through different stages of gentrification and have distinct needs and characteristics along the way. The resulting typology categorizes neighborhoods into different types based on the amount and kind of change that has occurred. It also allows solutions to be developed based on the distinct needs of neighborhoods. Together, this neighborhood typology, our historical analysis of political economy, and our qualitative interviews with affected populations present a holistic analysis of gentrification in the Bay Area. For a more detailed discussion of this typology analysis, including definitions of neighborhood types, see page 100.

Gentrification as a Historic Process

Displacement in gentrifying communities is, more often than not, an involuntary occurrence in which residents are forced out and development is pushed forward by the profit motive of investors, developers, landlords, and government. These gentrifying communities are overwhelmingly working-class communities of color that have faced historical racial discrimination such as redlining, in which banks refused to lend to neighborhood residents based on race. These were the same communities that bore the brunt of urban renewal policies beginning in the 1950s that destroyed homes to make way for new highways serving White residents from the growing suburban areas. Most recently, low-income communities of color were preyed upon as targets for predatory lending practices during the recent foreclosure crisis. As a result, many lost their homes. These communities need to be shielded from future instability caused by gentrification and displacement. Although investment in these communities is crucial, without a comprehensive approach to development, existing residents will continue to be at risk for displacement.

Health Impacts

Our health impact analysis highlights the individual, family, and community-level health impacts of gentrification and displacement, based on literature review, resident stories, and original data analysis. We found that longtime residents in gentrifying neighborhoods face financial distress, loss of community services and institutions, and overcrowded and substandard housing conditions; while displaced residents experience relocation costs, longer commutes, disruptions to health care, fragmentation of community support networks, and direct impacts on mental and psychological wellbeing. Finally, gentrification and displacement may harm our cities and society as a whole – by exacerbating segregation, increasing social and health inequities, and contributing to increased rates of chronic and infectious disease. Our focus on the health impacts of gentrification and displacement is important because historically, public health has been involved in decisions that have led to displacement of low-income

What Is Gentrification?

We define gentrification as a profit-driven racial and class reconfiguration of urban, working-class and communities of color that have suffered from a history of disinvestment and abandonment. The process is characterized by declines in the number of low-income, people of color in neighborhoods that begin to cater to higher-income workers willing to pay higher rents. Gentrification is driven by private developers, landlords, businesses, and corporations, and supported by the government through policies that facilitate the process of displacement, often in the form of public subsidies. Gentrification happens in areas where commercial and residential land is cheap, relative to other areas in the city and region, and where the potential to turn a profit either through repurposing existing structures or building new ones is great.

communities and communities of color. More recently, development advanced in the name of health and sustainability is contributing to gentrification and displacement yet again. Therefore, a pro-active strategy to prevent displacement must be central to our collective efforts to build healthy communities for all. For a full discussion of health impacts, including sources, see page 38.

Policy Recommendations

Gentrification can be stopped! Gentrification is not the inevitable result of economic development. Quite the opposite, it is the result of fundamentally unjust economic development policies, widespread public disinvestment in historically marginalized communities, and lack of protections for existing residents. By advancing a vision of human development that is based on true community development, this report makes clear that community organizing, collective power-building, and community self-determination must be the foundation for any strategy to prevent or reverse gentrification and displacement. The recommendations in this report stand in contrast to popular “equitable development strategies,” such as transit-oriented development (TOD), mixed-income development, and deconcentration of poverty approaches. Rather than focus primarily on physical improvements or require the movement of existing residents, we suggest policies that empower local residents and communities with rights, protections, and a voice in determining the development of their own neighborhoods. We also recommend policies that regulate government, landlord, and developer activity to promote equitable investment, affordability and stability, and maximum benefits for existing residents.

The below policy recommendations are based on review of key literature, existing policies, and interviews with experts, allies, and affected residents.

1. Multiple policies must be advanced in order to effectively prevent gentrification and displacement. In this report, we discuss **six key principles for preventing displacement** from a housing rights perspective. These principles address distinct but complementary policy goals, including:

- ▶ **Baseline protections for vulnerable residents**, including policies that protect tenants and homeowners in the face of gentrification pressure and ensure access to services, just compensation, and the right to return in cases of displacement;
- ▶ **Preservation and production of affordable housing**, including efforts to preserve the overall supply and affordability levels of existing housing;
- ▶ **Stabilization of existing communities**, through ongoing and equitable investment in all homes and neighborhoods;
- ▶ **Non-market based approaches to housing and community development**, including development of cooperative housing models;
- ▶ **Displacement prevention as a regional priority**, including the creation of regional incentives, data, and funding to support local anti-displacement efforts; and
- ▶ **Planning as a participatory process**, including practices to build greater participation, accountability, and transparency into local land use and development decision-making.

2. Policies should be advanced at the appropriate stage of gentrification, based on an analysis of neighborhood and city-level change, in order to effectively meet local needs.

3. **Resident outreach, community organizing, and leadership development are essential to any anti-displacement strategy**, in order to secure and strengthen rights and opportunities for vulnerable residents, ensure communities are informed and involved in key development decisions, and contribute to successful policy design and enforcement.
4. **Affordable housing policies and programs should serve the needs of people in the same neighborhood.** This can be achieved by prioritizing longtime, low-income residents for eligibility within new affordable housing, earmarking taxes and fees triggered by development for use in the same neighborhood, and establishing affordability requirements in new developments that are based on local neighborhood income needs.
5. **Equity impacts should be central to the policy debate about development and neighborhood change.** This can be achieved by requiring community health impact analyses for all new development projects above a certain threshold. These analyses should address impacts for

longtime residents and trigger mitigations for potential displacement.

6. All policies would benefit from the below components:
 - ▶ **Pro-active enforcement efforts**, including penalties for non-compliance, so that the burden of enforcement does not fall onto vulnerable residents;
 - ▶ **Protections for vulnerable populations**, including policy design features to minimize displacement, rights for residents faced with eviction, just compensation in cases of displacement, right to return if temporary relocation is required, and access to information about rights and opportunities;
 - ▶ **Mechanisms to trigger relocation funding**, particularly for policies that aim to minimize loss of affordable housing and mitigate displacement impacts; and
 - ▶ **Dedicated staff and funding for enforcement**, which can be supported by local, regional, state, and federal funding sources.

For a more detailed discussion of our policy findings and recommendations, see page 55.

Introduction

“The Mission right now is in chaos with evictions. There is also nowhere to go. The units available are for people who earn \$6,000-7,000 more than I do per month — not for middle-class or working-class families, which had always been the status of the Mission — families with kids.”

— Cecilia Alvarado, Causa Justa :: Just Cause (CJJC) Member

Over the summer of 2013, a series of protests took place in the Bay Area highlighting the stark increases in concentrated tech wealth. The most visible of these actions targeted tech companies' private shuttle systems and attracted national attention. While mainstream commentators framed protestors as disruptive and aimless, these social protests reflect residents' growing desperation about housing vulnerability, uncontrollably steep rent increases, and the rampant eviction of long-term tenants who are overwhelmingly working-class people of color. Gentrification has become a national buzzword to describe the emergence of high-end restaurants and shops and the changing socioeconomic and racial configuration of historically working-class Black / African American, Latino, and multi-racial neighborhoods.

While observed changes in the composition of inner cities have been the subject of academic debate since the 1970s, in recent years the exponential growth of the information and communications industry in the Bay Area has intensified and made visible both the processes of gentrification and a social pushback. In the context of



Mission Residents Standing Up For Their Neighborhood

this renewed focus on neighborhood change and given several competing notions of urban “development,” we hope to put forward a comprehensive definition of gentrification in the Bay Area, suggest a method of diagnosing and tracking gentrification, and propose a set of policies to stop and reverse the eviction of working-class communities of color from the Bay Area.

What Is Gentrification?

We define gentrification as a profit-driven racial and class reconfiguration of urban, working-class and communities of color that have suffered from a history of disinvestment and abandonment. The process is characterized by declines in the number of low-income, people of color in neighborhoods that begin to cater to higher-income workers willing to pay higher rents. Gentrification is driven by private developers, landlords, businesses, and corporations, and supported by the government through policies that facilitate the process of displacement, often in the form of public subsidies. Gentrification happens in areas where commercial and residential land is cheap,

relative to other areas in the city and region, and where the potential to turn a profit either through repurposing existing structures or building new ones is great. As we will elaborate after our Methodology, the recent wave of gentrification is deeply tied to the emergence of a significant rent gap. For the typology analysis, the data used to define gentrification are changes in renters, people of color, low-income households, residents with less than a bachelor's degree, and property values.

Some key elements of gentrification include:

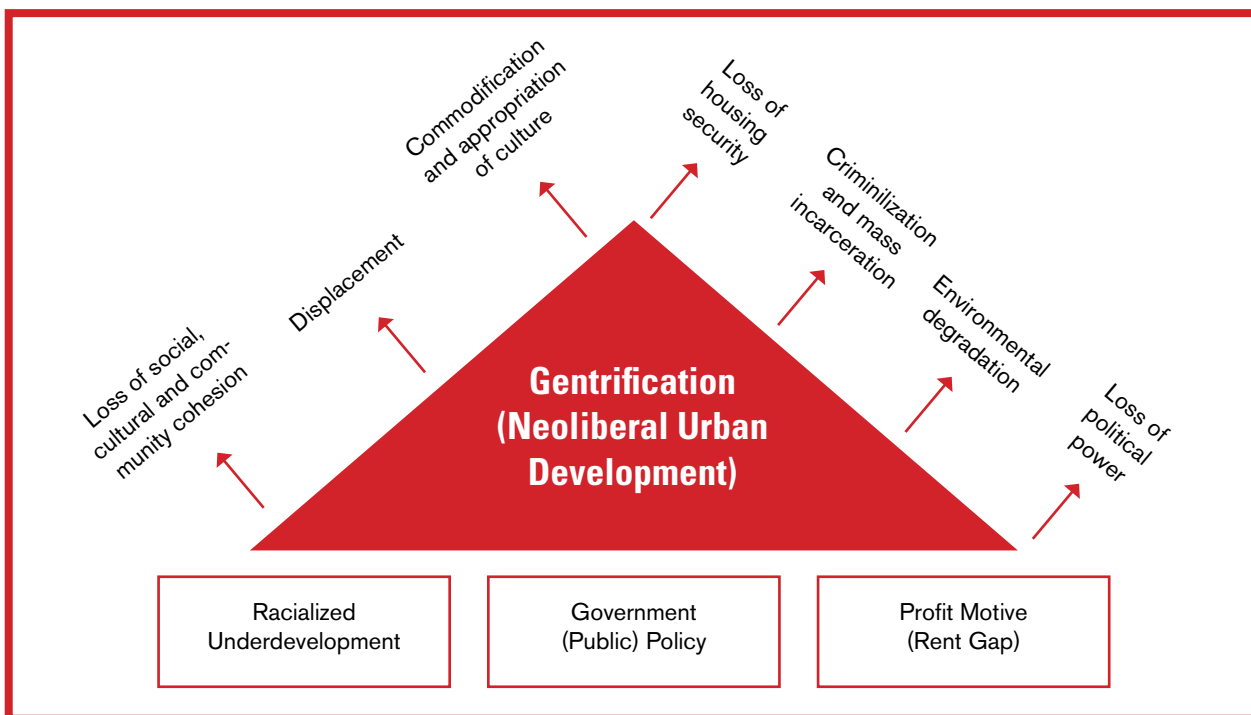
- ▶ A history of disinvestment of money, jobs, and other resources from the neighborhoods and the city
- ▶ Speculators or developers buying property inexpensively and “flipping”¹ it to make huge profits
- ▶ Rezoning, subsidies, and other policies to make development of expensive housing easier and to court new, wealthier – and often – White people moving into the neighborhoods

- ▶ Increasing housing costs that price out poor and working-class people and people of color to make way for wealthier residents

What is the “Rent Gap”?

An insight first introduced by geographer Neil Smith, the rent gap refers to the growing potential for rental profits in buildings with low rents and increasing property values, alongside a pool of wage earners willing to pay higher rents. In short, the rent gap represents the incentive for the eviction of low-wage renters in order to tap into the rental profits of high-wage residents and inflate the rental market rate. Paying close attention to the rent gap also exposes the role of wage inequality in contributing to gentrification. This frame is particularly timely when considering the effects of financial investment on Bay Area properties and the inflow of high-wage tech workers.

Developed by Causa Justa :: Just Cause



Displacing a group of people in favor of newcomers dilutes the political power of working-class communities and communities of color by breaking up families, communities, and voting blocs. It's happening in cities all over the country and the world.

Measuring Gentrification

While there is danger in abstracting the dynamics of gentrification from their specific geographic and historical context, there is valuable policy and political work to be achieved with an abstract measurement of gentrification. This is the work that our Typology of Gentrification attempts to enable. The specific method of our adapted typology will be specified below in our Methodology section and in detail in Appendix A. Using a typology that measures *intensity*, rather than a chronological linear path, we hope to suggest policy and organizing strategies that address the different intensities of gentrification in specific neighborhoods around the Bay Area.

Regional Historical Perspective

Following an explanation of our research methodology, we will frame the process of gentrification as deeply related to the newest reconfiguration of the Bay Area in the global and national political economy, particularly the rise of finance and tech industries in producing profits for the national economy. To do this, we will summarize the past function of the East Bay in the global political economy, as well as stress the role of migration (domestic and international) and racial segregation in past regional economic configurations. Key to contextualizing the histories and changes of urban development strategies will be an exploration of public health perspectives on urban development, which we explore in

depth in a section on the public health history and impacts of urban renewal and gentrification.

Redefining Human Development: Organizing Communities

Finally, while our analysis will be fundamentally historical and typological, our historical framing makes explicit that any effective effort for inclusive development must be a community-wide struggle for power and communal self-determination. Deeply related to our analysis of the public health effects of gentrification will be a redefinition of community and human development under the framing of "The Right to the City," which advocates for collective organizing to reshape the process of urbanization and development.



Taking Our Message To The Streets, San Francisco

Research Scope & Methodology

At the earlier stages of the project we reached out to experts in the field of gentrification, displacement, and community development to elicit feedback on our gentrification and human development framework, and later conducted feedback sessions on the framework, policy, and health analyses with ally organizations and colleagues. We also conducted one-on-one interviews with individuals involved in anti-displacement work and with CJC members and other residents affected by gentrification in order to provide tangible and relevant examples of how gentrification and displacement impact everyday life.

Gentrification Typologies Analysis

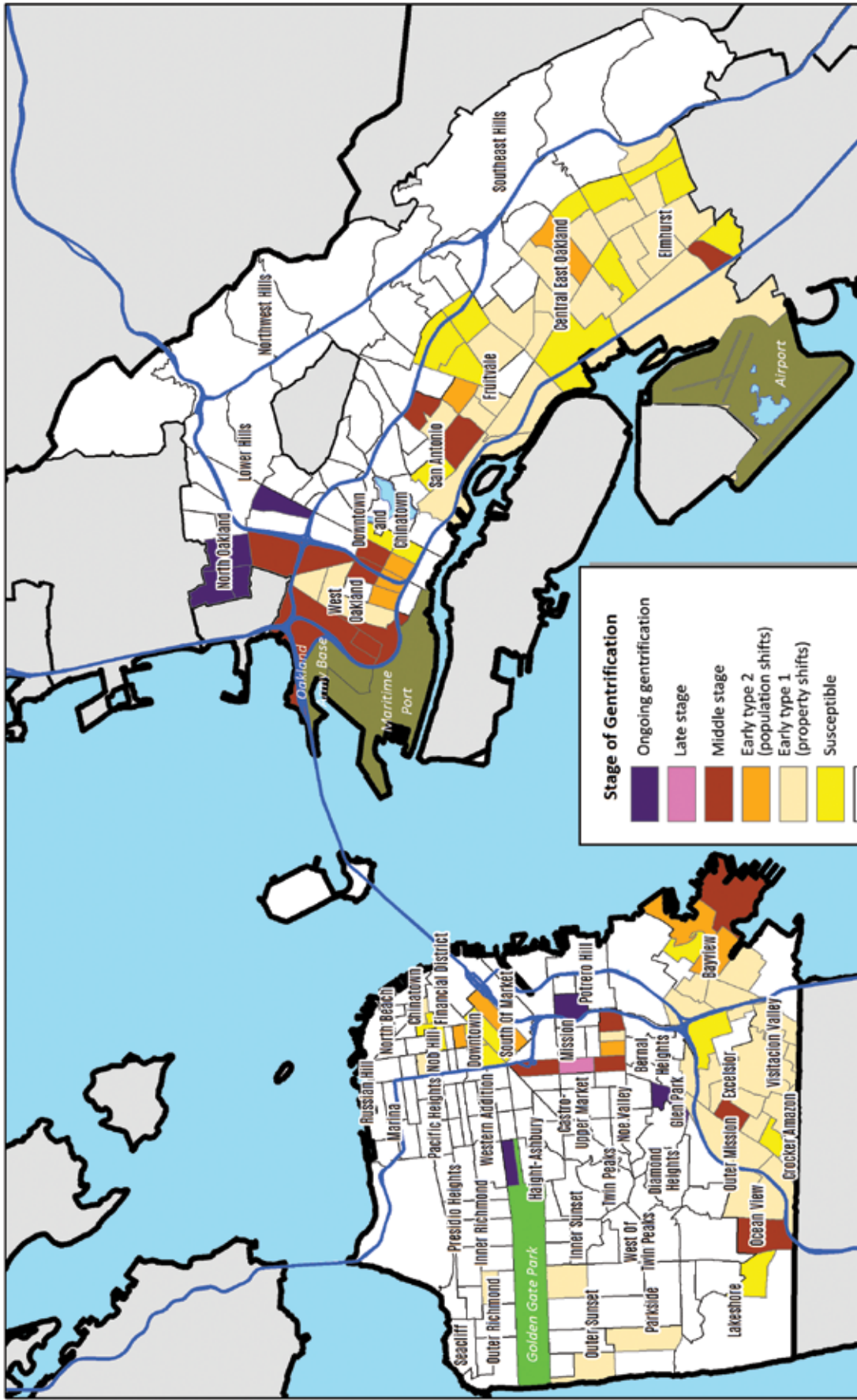
For this report, we conducted an analysis of gentrification between 1990 and 2011 in San Francisco and Oakland, based on the methods used in the 2013 Portland study, *Gentrification and Displacement Study: Implementing an Equitable Inclusive Development Strategy in the Context of Gentrification* by Lisa K. Bates.

This methodology uses demographic, socioeconomic, and property data to quantify how much gentrification-related change has occurred at the census tract level over a specified period of time, and to categorize census tracts into neighborhood types that correlate to different stages in the process of gentrification (See Appendix A). This analysis is illustrated in the map on the next page and much of our data analysis references the categories described in this typology.



Wells Fargo Shareholders Action, San Francisco

Stage of Gentrification, San Francisco and Oakland



Stage of Gentrification

- Ongoing gentrification
- Late stage
- Middle stage
- Early type 2 (population shifts)
- Early type 1 (property shifts)
- Susceptible
- Not applicable

White areas are those that were already affluent/high White population in 1990. Grey areas are outside the analysis area.

Source: CAPE, with data from Census 1990, Census 2000, and American Community Survey 2007-2011.
 Note: Typology followed from "Gentrification and Displacement Study—Implementing an Equitable Inclusive Development Strategy in the Context of Gentrification," by Lisa K. Bates, 2013.

Global Cities

A Brief Political Economy Of The Bay Area

Without timely action on the part of the government, the rent gap causing the displacement of service sector and low income Bay Area residents will only worsen. As mainstream economists are beginning to recognize, the profits of the technology sector, responsible for flooding Bay Area markets with high wage workers, will not automatically distribute wealth across the region and will likely cause long term unemployment and inequity.

We have all heard the adage that it is important to know history “so as to not repeat it.” Yet, this implies the stories of the past have concluded. Quite the opposite, history allows us to understand present dynamics as reconfigurations, continuations, or departures from historical trends. Before our analysis of gentrification in the “New Economy,” we will present a historical sketch that shows how the economic development of the Bay Area has been shaped by global and national changes, and fundamentally influenced by dynamics of migration and attempts to manage its multi-racial populations. By illuminating changes in the productive capacities of the area, shifts in the urban labor force caused by domestic and international migration, and the politics of suburban and urban migration, we can locate contemporary gentrification in a longer history. We will suggest that these historical changes were profoundly unjust because of deep inequalities, as well as racial

divides and failures of democracy in the process of urban development. Perhaps alternatively to the opening adage is writer William Faulkner’s assertion that “the past is never dead, it’s not even past.”

Regional Histories of Development

Displacement and evictions are not new to the Bay Area. The area’s founding was the result of colonial expansion by Spain, requiring the forced removal and effectively genocide of approximately 50,000 of the region’s Indigenous inhabitants, the Ohlone people. With the United States’ continental conquest, nearly half of Mexico was annexed, along with California, in 1846.² San Francisco and Oakland began to grow with the Gold Rush of 1848–1855, and while they did not directly experience the mass



Aerial photograph of the Moore Dry Dock Shipyard, Oakland Estuary, circa 1918.⁴ Photograph courtesy of Calisphere.

displacement of native peoples and environmental degradation of the Gold Country in the Sierra Nevada region, they profited handsomely from the growth of the mining era.

In this era, San Francisco emerged as a financial hub, where international investment companies located their offices to profit from gold mining and trading. Quicksilver was California's next largest export after gold and the San Francisco Mining Exchange was established in 1862 to support trading and speculation of both these valuable metals. The location of numerous banks, insurance, and brokerage firms in San Francisco all served to consolidate her role as a financial "command center" where international banking and trade was coordinated and huge profits generated.³

Across the bay, Oakland was developed as a transportation hub with initial activity centered around her waterfront and the Central Pacific Railroad terminal that served as the company's West Coast stop on its transcontinental line. By late 1869 the joining of the Central Pacific and Union Pacific lines linked California with the rest of the country by rail, with Oakland serving as a receiving point for westward travelers.

Moore Dry Dock Shipyard was the largest shipyard on the Oakland Estuary. It specialized in shipbuilding and repair and reached its heyday when production was high during the First World War.⁵

Both cities had a robust manufacturing base in the late 1800s, producing everything from mechanical equipment, to ships and boats, to household goods and clothing. By the early 20th century, however, Oakland emerged as the region's manufacturing center – and home to what was believed to be the world's largest food processing plant, J. Lusk and Company.⁶ And just as investment and financial firms located their branch offices in San Francisco, national manufacturing companies located their Bay Area factories in Oakland, adding automobile

and truck building to the base of activity in the 1900s.

The economic base of a city has a great impact on how the urban environment develops. San Francisco's character as a financial center led to the construction of numerous high-rise buildings and plentiful office space. Oakland's development as a manufacturing center gave rise to factories of all sizes, particularly along railway lines, with some developing right next to homes and schools as the city grew. In San Francisco the concentration of factories and warehouses was primarily along the waterfront, including food processing and apparel manufacturing.⁷ Economic activity was critical in determining the spatial organization of the city, as well as determining the type of workers these cities would house.

Immigration and Migration to the Bay Area

With the start of the Gold Rush, people from all over the world rushed to San Francisco. By 1880 it boasted the highest percentage of immigrants in the country. By the 1900s San Francisco and Oakland had grown significantly, both economically and in terms of population size. San Francisco's population of more than 350,000 made it the seventh largest city in the country, while Oakland's population of 150,000 made it the second largest city in the Bay Area and one of the fastest growing in the country.⁸ Both cities' growth and vitality were fueled in large part by two key groups – immigrant and Black / African American workers. Working-class neighborhoods developed in both San Francisco and Oakland to house the workers who powered the region's economic engines.

Until the Immigration Act of 1924, which restricted the entry of Southern and Eastern Europeans, early European immigration faced little restriction and regulation by the federal government. Chinese immigration, however,

faced significant restrictions as a result of a series of discriminatory policies, including the Page Act of 1875 and the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. These policies prohibited the immigration of male Chinese laborers and Asian women to the United States, effectively ending Chinese migration to the region for a generation, and relegating Asian workers to highly exploitable second-class status. Despite racial exclusion laws, San Francisco had the largest concentration of Chinese residents in the country in 1890.⁹ Oakland and San Francisco both relied on heavily immigrant workforces at this time, including large numbers of Asian (Chinese, Filipino, Korean, and Japanese) and European workers (German, Irish, Scots, English, Portuguese, and Italian).

For Blacks / African Americans neither the outcome of the Civil War, nor the abolition of slavery through the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment in 1864, actually ended racial segregation and discrimination in the South. The system of White Supremacy was rebuilt after the collapse of Reconstruction in the form of the “Black Codes,” which restricted Black peoples’ freedom in numerous ways – limiting the right to free movement and assembly, literacy, and the ownership of land, property, and businesses. Sharecropping and Jim Crow laws made life in the South very hard, so when jobs began opening up in the North and West during World War I, Black / African American workers began to leave the southern states in droves. During the “Black Exodus” between 1910 and 1950, nearly 1.5 million Blacks / African Americans headed to northern and western cities. Whereas scarcely 5,000 Blacks / African Americans lived in San Francisco, Oakland, and Los Angeles in 1900, by 1930 the number had grown to nearly 50,000 and by 1950 it spiked to more than 250,000.¹⁰ In Oakland alone, between 1940 and 1950, the Black / African American population grew from 8,000 to 42,355.¹¹ In a staggering illustration of racialized urbanization, researchers conclude that “in 1910 nearly 90 percent of Blacks / African Americans lived in

rural areas of the southeastern United States (i.e., the South). One generation after the end of World War II, nearly 90 percent of them resided in urban areas throughout the United States, most often outside the South.”¹²

The greatest number of Black / African American migrants settled in the East Bay, first in West Oakland, then North Oakland, South Berkeley and the city of Richmond, during World War II. Because of its racist history, most Blacks / African Americans avoided San Francisco until the Second World War, when they took up residence in the Fillmore (where Japanese people had been displaced by Internment) and in Hunters Point. Coming from the South with its low wages, oppressive laws, and collapsing cotton economy, Black migrants in the Bay Area were especially vulnerable to racialized labor exploitation.¹³

The same could be said of Mexican migrants, who began to reenter California in the early 20th century. They were fleeing rural poverty, the land takeovers of the Pofirriato Era, and the Revolutionary upheavals of 1910–17. Because the 1924 Immigration Act did not restrict Latino immigration and as labor demand increased in agriculture, construction, and industry in the early 20th century, hundreds of thousands of Mexicans began immigrating to the southwestern United States. Their population swelled from 100,000 in 1890 to 1.5 million in 1930, with a significant portion of them coming to



May First March, San Francisco

California. Most Mexicans headed for booming Southern California, but a good number found their way north to the Bay Area, settling in enclaves such as Fruitvale in Oakland, the Mission District in San Francisco, and East San Jose.¹⁴ Since then, immigrant labor has been central to U.S. agriculture and to the political economy of California. First with the Bracero Program (1942–1964), and later with porously designed immigration laws, the agricultural industry continued to depend on a vulnerable immigrant population for cheap labor – creating what has been referred to as the “revolving door” of Mexican migration.¹⁵

Immigrant and Black / African American workers came to the Bay Area to do the work of building and growing these global cities. By doing so they were simultaneously providing for their families and responding to the needs of bankers, shipyard, factory and business owners to provide critical labor to these various economic enterprises at the heart of the wealth and development of the region. Black / African American and immigrant laborers concentrated geographically around the cities’ industrial zones, in neighborhoods that would become progressively segregated by zoning and redlining, environmental neglect associated with industry, and public disinvestment.¹⁶

Decades of Race and Class Inequities

While the contributions of these workers were indispensable to the development of our cities, their physical presence has always been contested. In both San Francisco and Oakland, state and local policies were used to restrict Black / African American and immigrant families to specific neighborhoods. Housing covenants and redlining were some of the policies that created invisible, though very real, boundaries to contain residents of color.¹⁷ In San Francisco, Market Street became the dividing line between working-class, heavily immigrant districts on the



Residents protesting redevelopment in the Filmore District of San Francisco.

south side, and middle- and upper-class neighborhoods of U.S.-born Whites on the north side. In Oakland, the same physical separation is dramatically displayed, with the wealthy enclave of Piedmont existing right in the middle of the city, separate and unequal. This racial segregation was reinforced by aggressive police action, a form of social control that remains a painful reality for both immigrants and Blacks / African Americans even today.¹⁸

The race and class dynamics of San Francisco and Oakland have also played out in the fight for resources. In both cities there has been a long struggle over the development of “downtown,” where financial and corporate activities are centered, and the need for equal investment in neighborhoods where working families live. Both cities have always had powerful downtown interests, shaping the vision and development of the cities.¹⁹ At the heart of this fight was the question of whether Oakland and San Francisco should develop in ways primarily



The effects of redevelopment in the Filmore District in San Francisco.

serving the needs of wealthier White people or should be places where working-class families not only come to work, but to live and thrive. These were the race and class fault lines that shaped and informed the urban landscape of San Francisco and Oakland as the cities entered into the 1970s.

Gentrification: The Rent Gap in the New Economy

Positioning gentrification in a contemporary political economy means focusing on two widely consequential transformations in the U.S. economy following the 1970s. In fact, if one had to point to the most significant dynamics in the post-1970s U.S. economy, the first would be the exponential growth in income inequality²⁰ and a closely related second would be the transition away from industrial profitability toward profits extracted from financial services and related speculative practices.²¹ On a national level, the U.S. economy moved from one based largely on manufacturing to one heavily dependent on imports, retail, and logistics. This shift necessitated a greatly expanded financial sector, including banking, investment, stock trading, and exotic new financial instruments. California's economy shifted in line with these national trends.



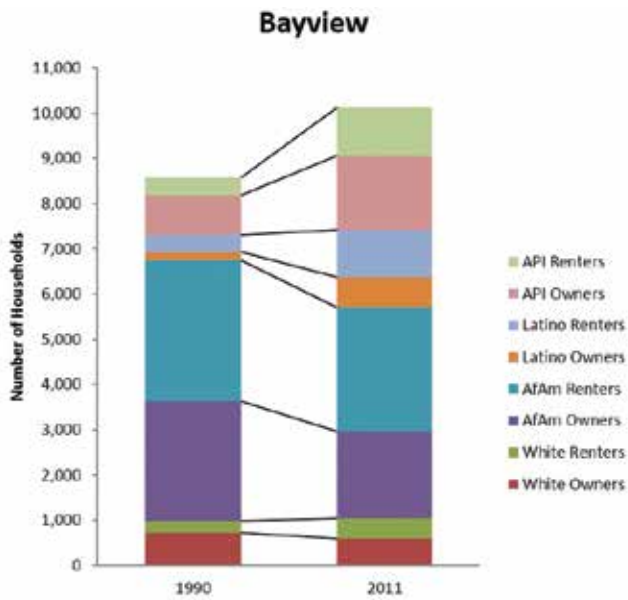
Day laborers looking for work

While we focus more on the domestic impacts of these changes, the deindustrialization of the U.S. economy had global causes and effects. In a reaction to global competition and economic stagnation, American manufacturers acted to close unprofitable factories, layoff millions of workers, and decertify unions. To further lower labor costs and circumvent the power and achievements of organized labor, corporations moved industrial production from North America and Europe to the Global South (Latin America, Africa, Asia).²² In each case, the outcome was the loss of a critical base of well-paid union jobs that previously provided working-class families, many of them Black / African American and Latino, real economic stability.

While U.S. manufacturing was leaving the country, displaced workers from Latin America were immigrating in large numbers to the United States. The first wave included Central Americans fleeing political violence in the 1970s and early 90s (in which the CIA was deeply implicated). The second wave included Mexicans displaced by the “structural adjustment” austerity policies demanded by the International Monetary Fund after the financial crises of 1982 and 1994 – these displaced workers included southern Mexican farmers displaced by cheap grain imports under NAFTA and Maquiladora workers along the border undercut by cheaper Chinese exports.²⁴



This graphic shows the decline of U.S. manufacturing jobs between 1940 and 2013.²³ Photograph courtesy of the Blogger, [CARPE DIEM](#), by Professor Mark J. Perry's Blog for Economics and Finance.

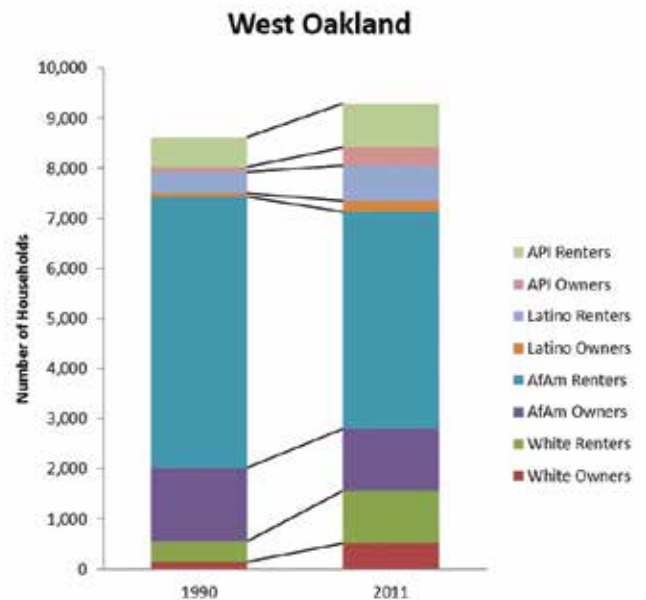


Source: ACPHD CAPE, with data from ACS 2007-11, Geolytics equivalents of 2010-vintage Census tract data from the 1990 decennial Census, and neighborhood aggregations from the San Francisco Planning Department.

In the predominantly Black / African American San Francisco neighborhood of Bayview-Hunters Point, we see a demographic shift between 1990 and 2011 with a notable loss of Black / African American owners and renters alike and a rise across all other groups, except for White homeowners who decreased slightly in population.

These economic transformations did create a small number of high-paying jobs in financial and information services, but in general de-industrialization gave rise to a vast low-wage service economy, characterized by declining real wages over time. Factory jobs were replaced by food service, retail, transport, warehouse, and domestic work. This shift in the economic base created a new class of white-collar workers – most often White and well paid – needed to manage and coordinate global financial and corporate activities. The notable exception in the U.S. industrial economy was in electronics and informational technology, centered in the Bay Area. But even there, growth was chiefly in management and design, while production moved offshore. The changes to the labor force of once-industrial cities paralleled changes in the populations of urban neighborhoods.

Implied in the changes to the urban labor force was the changed relationship between urban centers and profitable industries. Cities were



Source: ACPHD CAPE, with data from ACS 2007-11, Geolytics equivalents of 2010-vintage Census tract data from the 1990 decennial Census, and neighborhood aggregations from the Alameda County Public Health Department.

In West Oakland, White, Latino, and Asian/Pacific Islander homeowners and renters have increased between 1990 and 2000, while the numbers of Black / African American homeowners and renters have declined.

no longer the essential centers of industrial manufacturing that had driven White managerial workers to the suburbs in the Postwar Era. De-industrialization provided the economic impetus for a “return to the city” by non-industrial workers. The transformation that began with de-industrialization has reached new levels of both profits and inequality with the rise of the information and communications technology sector. Wages for this labor are often high when compared to average real wages, which have stagnated since the 1970s, but the numbers of new technology workers are relatively small compared to previous losses in manufacturing nationally.²⁵

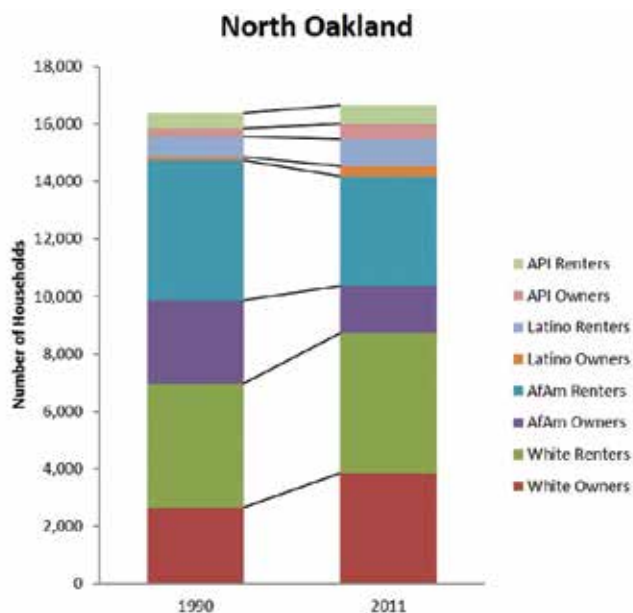
In a full-circle reversal, the White populations that fled urban centers in the Postwar Era have returned to city centers that now drive Internet and communications technology development rather than manufacturing. Conversely, communities of color are being evicted to the suburbs, many as far as the Central Valley.²⁶

Starting in the 1990's San Francisco positioned itself as the metropolitan center of the internet economy, where financial investment would be matched with technology startups. The city developed itself as a second hub for technology investment with the goal of rivaling Silicon Valley as the driver of the new economy. While this growth started gradually with San Francisco initially financing at only a fraction of Silicon Valley's output²⁷ the investment of hundreds of millions of dollars resulted nonetheless in the first wave of gentrification in San Francisco and Oakland neighborhoods.

The first "dot com" boom which lasted between 2000 - 2003²⁸ resulted in a 17.3 percent increase in the overall income of San Francisco, causing neighborhoods like the Mission to be overrun by new millionaires looking for housing and office space.²⁹ This boom generated huge wealth and in 2000 alone, San Francisco collected \$544 million in property taxes, with the city's total revenue increasing 62 percent from 10 years before.³⁰ Accompanying this rise of all things tech, were increases in private and public capital investment in the form of urban development and condo construction. New developments popped up in neighborhoods all over the city but were not sufficient to meet the huge demand. Landlords got into the game as well, looking to capitalize on huge profits. In 2000 they were responsible for evictions reaching a historic high in the city with over 2,000 cases reported.³¹

As housing pressure and costs mounted in San Francisco, her sister city began to feel the ripple effects of gentrification and displacement as well. Oakland began to experience the displacement of Black / African American residents in a very similar way that happened in San Francisco during this period.

Much of what develops in San Francisco ends up crossing the Bay. Oakland experiences her own proliferation of luxury condo developments with the most notable being Jerry Brown's 10K



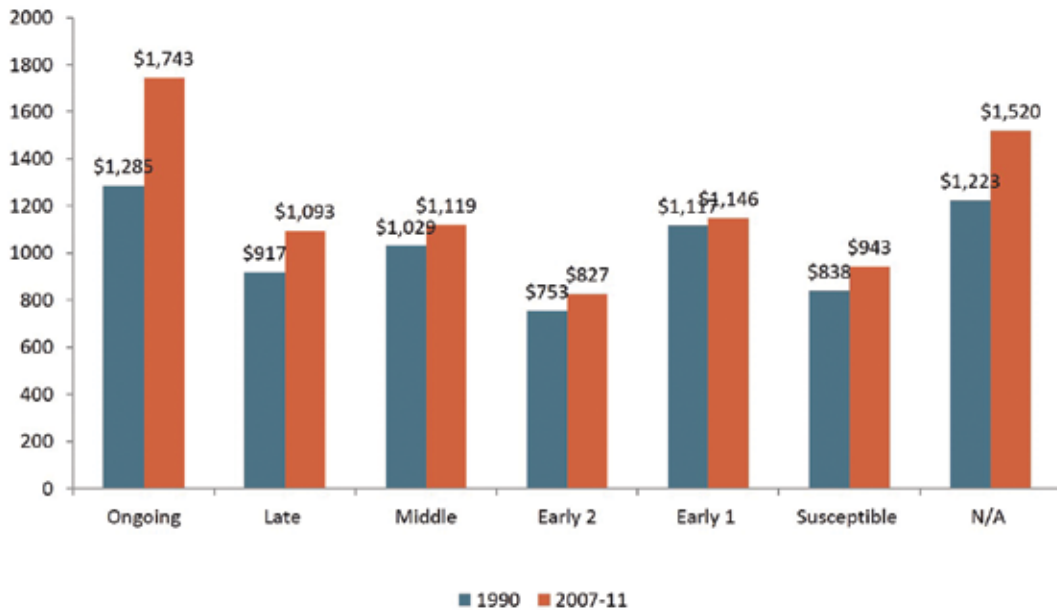
Source: ACPHD CAPE, with data from ACS 2007-11, Geolytics equivalents of 2010 vintage Census tract data from the 1990 decennial Census, and neighborhood aggregations from the Alameda County Public Health Department.

In 1990, nearly half of homeowners and renters in North Oakland were Black / African American. By 2011, that half shifted to White homeowners and renters, with Blacks / African Americans dropping to a third of all owners and renters. Latino and Asian/Pacific Islander owners and renters alike increased during this period.

initiative for Downtown Oakland. Despite its many promised virtues, the project provided less than 400 affordable units out of almost 6,000 total new units.³² With the arrival of residents willing and able to pay a lot more for rent, landlords saw huge incentives in evicting existing tenants as a way to vacate previously occupied units, and bring in higher income residents. Between 1998 and 2002, the number of "no fault" evictions tripled in Oakland at the same time that rents increased 100 percent.³³ This first wave of gentrification and displacement fueled by venture capital and the technology sector fully exploited the rent gap that existed in neighborhoods like the Bayview, West Oakland and the Mission.

Decades of disinvestment had created cheap pockets of real estate in cities that were becoming sought after destinations for a new, wealthy class of people. These neighborhoods were attractive to investors equally for their urban nature, "cultural diversity" (coded language

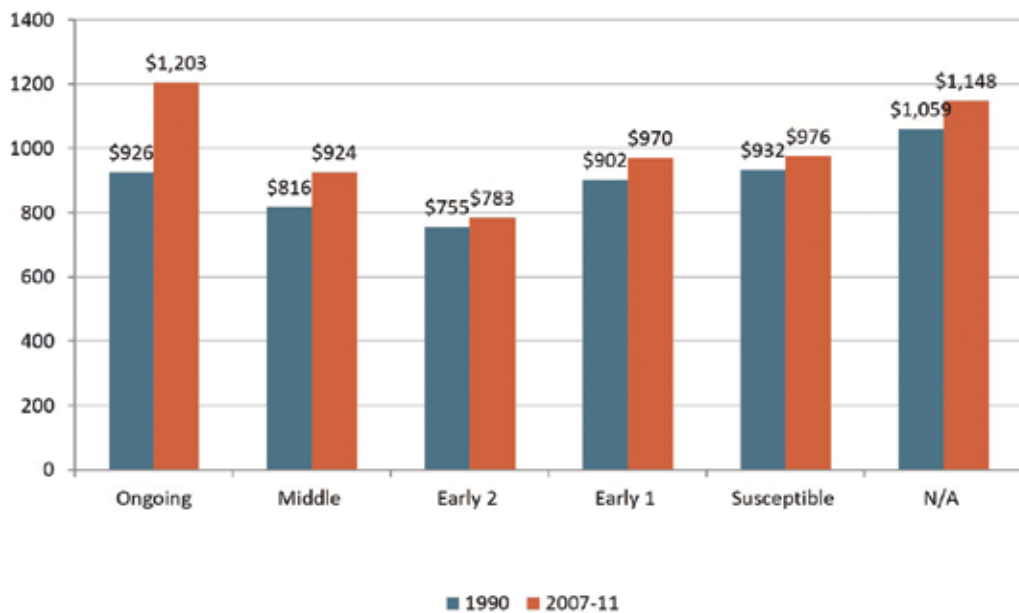
Median Gross Rent, SF, 1990 vs. 2007-11



Note: 1990 figures have been adjusted for inflation using the Consumer Price Index (CPI).
 Source: ACPHD CAPE, with data from Census 1990 and ACS 2007-11

With an influx in higher income residents between 1990 and 2007–11, we also see an increase in median rents in San Francisco, particularly in areas experiencing ongoing gentrification where rents increased by more than \$450 per month in the same period.

Median Gross Rent, Oakland, 1990 vs. 2007-11



Note: 1990 figures have been adjusted for inflation using the Consumer Price Index (CPI).
 Source: ACPHD CAPE, with data from Census 1990 and ACS 2007-11

Oakland has seen a similar trend, with the largest increase in rents occurring in areas experiencing ongoing gentrification (\$277 increase in monthly rent between 1990 and 2007-11).

for the presence of communities of color) and relatively affordable land and housing prices. Profits generated from tech investments were largely responsible for the public and private investments that flowed in these neighborhoods and drove up housing costs, evictions and the subsequent displacement of working class families and other vulnerable residents like seniors and those on fixed incomes. And though this wave did subside when the dot com bubble burst in 2002, the damage for many Oakland and San Francisco families had been done.

The dot com bust slowed the process of gentrification down momentarily while simultaneously setting the stage for the next phase of its evolution. Between the highest and lowest point of the tech bubble, there was an estimated loss of almost 72 percent in the value of the Internet Index where tech stocks were traded.³⁴ The loss of value in stocks continued to fall for several years after, leading investors to look elsewhere for profit making opportunities. Many shifted investments into real estate.³⁵

Between 2007 and 2009 there were significant investments that were made into housing and real estate nationally and internationally. Financial institutions and investors looking to increase profits invested heavily in mortgage-backed securities which gambled on the ability of homeowners to pay their loans.³⁶ Existing homeowners were enticed with easy credit and many refinanced their home loans. New homeownership was encouraged for millions with a range of new loan instruments that allowed people to buy property with no money down and lenient to non-existent income verification processes.

This housing speculation had a decided racialized aspect as well. In their report “From Foreclosures to Re-Redlining”, the California Reinvestment Coalition details the ways in which Black / African American and Latino communities were flooded with predatory loans that set millions up to have their homes foreclosed.³⁷

As a result of all this speculation and investment, housing and real estate prices began to increase tremendously. In June 2013, the Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco stated, “House price appreciation in recent years has been nearly double the growth rate of per capita disposable income. In some geographic areas, the ratio of house prices to rents is at an all-time high, thus raising concerns about the existence of a housing bubble. For the U.S. economy as a whole, the ratio of house prices to rents is currently about 16 percent above its 30-year average.”³⁸

Foreclosures resulted in 35,000 homes lost in Oakland between 2007 and 2012,³⁹ 2 million in California by 2012 and many more millions nationally.⁴⁰ It was not only homeowners that were affected, an estimated 40 percent of households facing evictions due to foreclosures were tenants.⁴¹ In San Francisco, there was more than a doubling in the number of foreclosure related evictions that we saw in our tenant rights clinic during this period.

The housing crisis created a second wave of gentrification in working-class neighborhoods. Rising prices as a result of speculation drove many longtime residents and owners out. In some cases families decided to take the best offer for their homes and move to cheaper suburban communities in the region, or in some cases out of state. In many cases they were priced out against their will, no longer able to afford neighborhoods that were becoming increasingly expensive. For tenants the impacts were significant, everything from evictions, to having their utilities shut off, to losing their security deposit, and living in deplorable conditions without necessary maintenance and upkeep.⁴² The tidal wave of investment aimed at working class neighborhoods ended up further destabilizing and impoverishing them⁴³ as well as continued the trend of displacement.

San Francisco and Oakland are now facing our third round of gentrification driven once

again by the fortunes of the new tech giants, like Google and Facebook.⁴⁴ Many of the similar features from the first tech boom are being re-visited. Homeownership, rental prices and evictions are all simultaneously rising.⁴⁵ This quote from the Wall Street Journal sums up current conditions, “San Francisco led the top-50 U.S. metropolitan areas in average rent growth during the second quarter, jumping 7.8 percent to \$2,498, while Oakland was No. 2 at a 6.9 percent increase...The 6.8 percent increase for the combined San Francisco Bay area was more than double the nation’s 3.1 percent increase...”⁴⁶ Housing pressures in San Francisco are once again increasing as the stock of affordable rental units continue to shrink, owners turn rental units into condos and rental prices skyrocket.⁴⁷

While the foreclosure crisis has not totally abated, housing investors are already evolving their profit making methods from investing in mortgage securities to rental securities, with a potential \$1.5 trillion in such investments projected nationally.⁴⁸ Oakland based Waypoint Homes is one company that has bought up thousands of properties.⁴⁹

This new round of gentrification caused both by recent tech arrivals and continued speculation in real estate is not just having an impact on housing costs, it is changing the entire character and nature of neighborhoods. Institutions and businesses that have historically served existing residents have been replaced by high-end bars, restaurants and yoga studios. One notable example is the closing of Esta Noche a beloved, long time, gay bar in the Mission that served the neighborhood’s immigrant Latino community. Only a block away a neighborhood grocery also closed down after years of providing residents food and other essentials.

The signs of commercial gentrification are visible in both San Francisco and Oakland

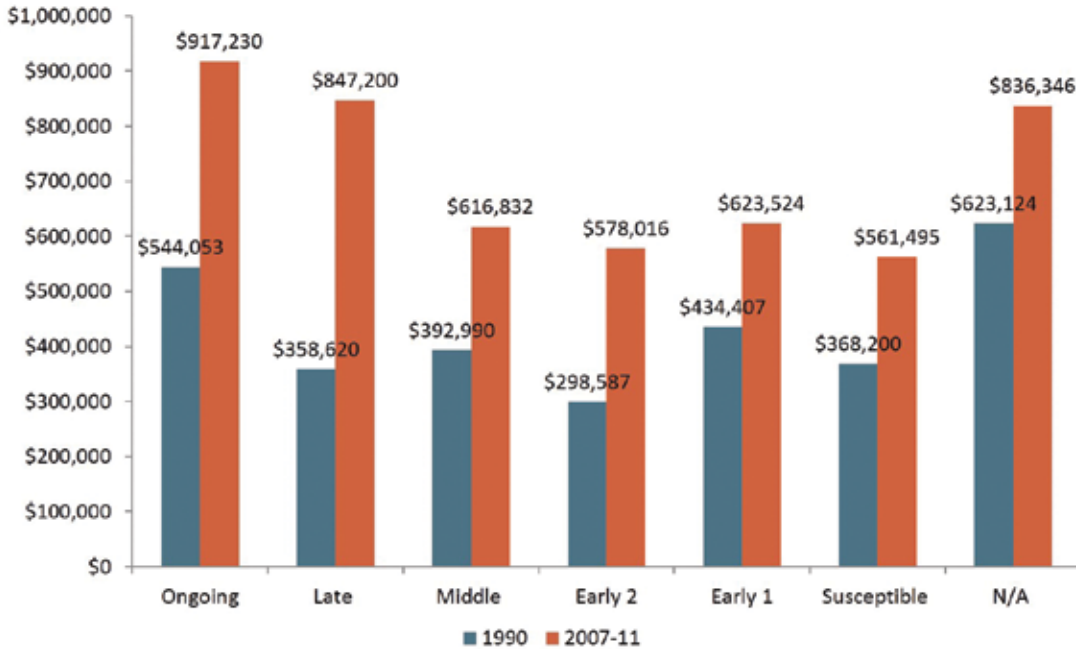
neighborhoods. Oakland is loudly and boldly being declared a west coast Brooklyn, where affluent, but often younger, city workers live and play.⁵⁰ But more than simply housing workers, tech is moving into Oakland as well.⁵¹ In this way, Oakland embodies numerous pressures of gentrification, ranging from the intake of tenants evicted from San Francisco, the commuting tech workers settling around areas of commercial and transportation development, and the growing number of tech companies moving to Oakland for cheaper commercial space.

Though contrary to popular commentary, it is not only a declining rental stock that puts renters at risk of facing a rent gap, but the rise of investor-owned rental properties that dispossess communities from housing and places them under pressure of price speculation.⁵² The post-recession inflow of investors who snatched up foreclosed properties and began to offer “rental-back securities” are placing rents and property values at risk of new rounds of speculation.⁵³ Together, the growth of a non-distributive industry and financial speculation on rental properties fuel a worsening rent gap and make gentrification highly profitable.

Without timely action on the part of the government, the rent gap causing the displacement of service sector and low-income Bay Area workers will only worsen. As mainstream economists are beginning to recognize, the profits of the technology sector, responsible for flooding Bay Area rental markets with high wage workers, will not automatically distribute wealth across the region and will likely cause long term unemployment and deepening inequity.⁵⁴

The convergence of these global, national, regional, and local conditions and policies has made our neighborhoods and cities susceptible to ongoing gentrification. The charts below illustrate the socioeconomic and racial transformations resulting from the dynamics we just outlined.

Median Value, Owner-Occupied, SF



Note: 1990 figures have been adjusted for inflation using the Consumer Price Index (CPI).
Source: ACPHD CAPE, with data from Census 1990 and ACS 2007-11

Median Value, Owner-Occupied, Oakland

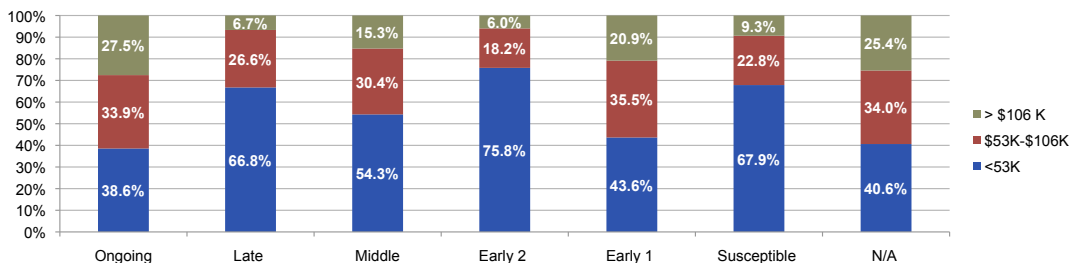


Note: 1990 figures have been adjusted for inflation using the Consumer Price Index (CPI).
Source: ACPHD CAPE, with data from Census 1990 and ACS 2007-11

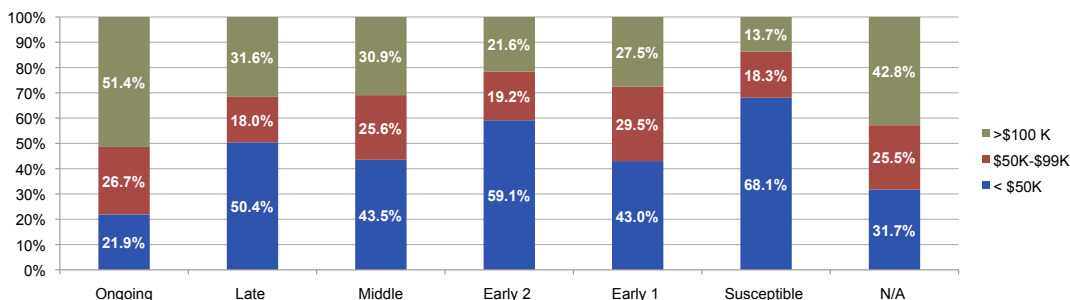
Median housing values increased dramatically in both San Francisco and Oakland between 1990 and 2007–11 across all typologies. The 2007–11 median housing value in San Francisco areas experiencing ongoing gentrification (\$917,230) and in the Late typology (\$847,200) surpassed that of historically affluent areas (\$836,346). In Oakland, although historically affluent areas still had the highest median housing values in 2007–11 (\$646,194 compared to \$497,986 in areas experiencing ongoing gentrification), areas experiencing ongoing gentrification saw the largest increase in housing values between 1990 and 2007–11 (\$274,760 increase).

Income Ranges, San Francisco

1990



2007-11

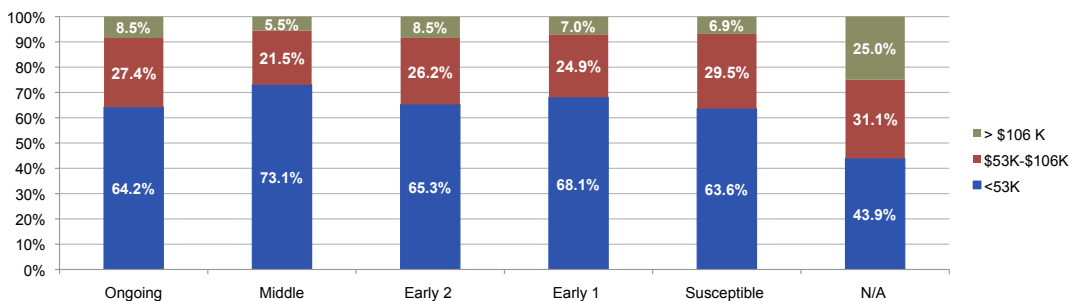


Source: ACPHD CAPE, with data from Census 1990 and ACS 2007-11

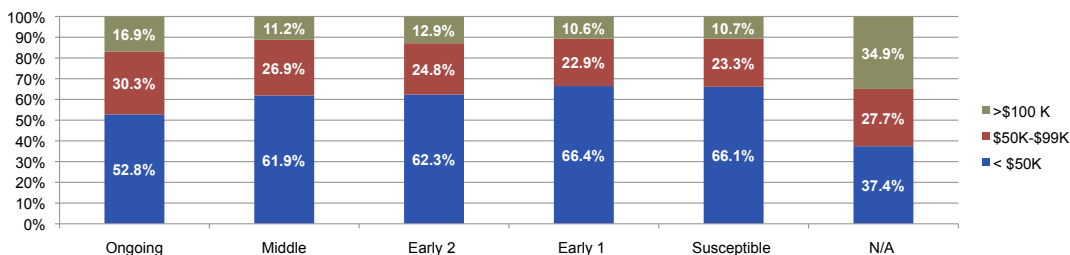
Affluent households in San Francisco (households making at least \$100,000 per year) comprised a larger share of all households in 2007–11 compared to 1990 across all neighborhood types. The largest increase in the share of affluent households took place in neighborhoods in the Late stage of acentrifcation.

Income Ranges, Oakland

1990



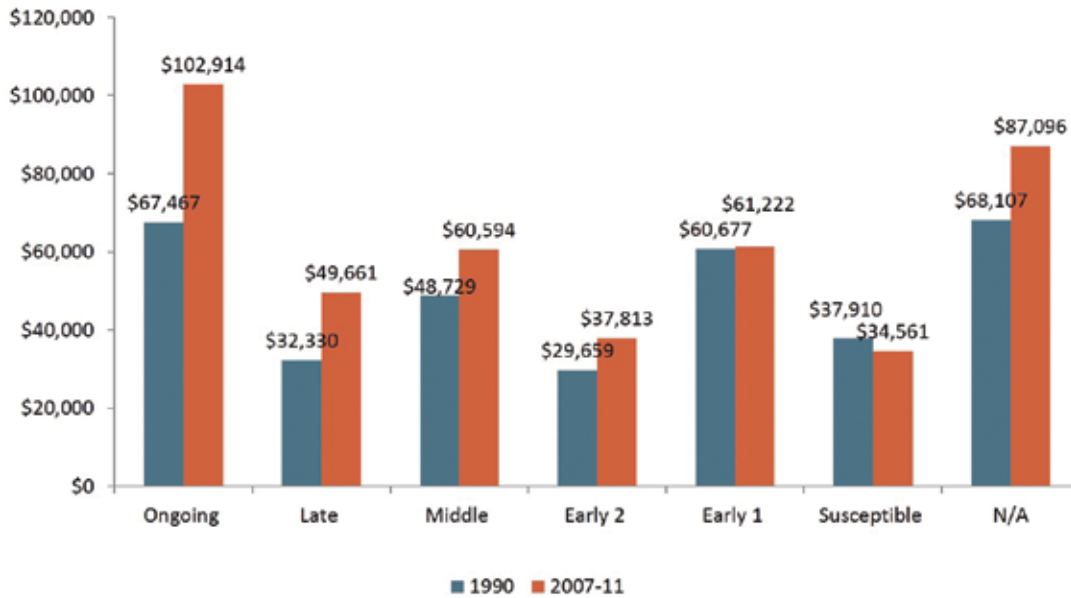
2007-11



Source: ACPHD CAPE, with data from Census 1990 and ACS 2007-11

In Oakland, affluent households (those making at least \$100,000 per year) comprised a larger share of all households in 2007–11 compared to 1990 across all neighborhood types. The largest increase in the share of affluent households took place in neighborhoods in the Middle and Ongoing stages of gentrifcation.

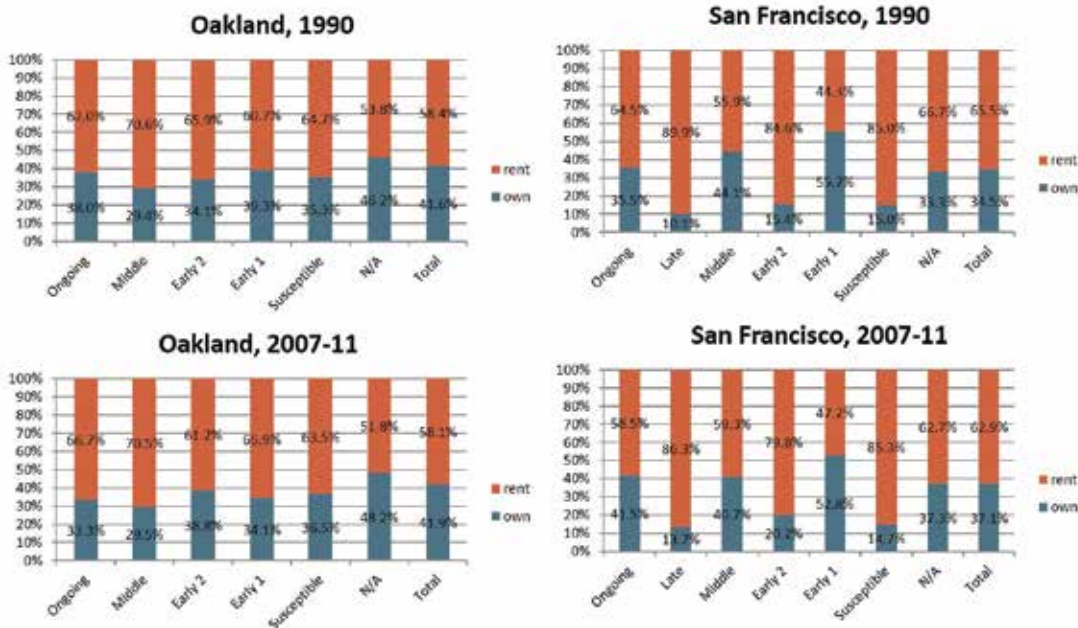
Median Household Income, SF



Note: 1990 figures have been adjusted for inflation using the Consumer Price Index (CPI).
Source: ACPHD CAPE, with data from Census 1990 and ACS 2007-11.

The median household income in San Francisco has increased across all neighborhood types, except for susceptible areas in which median household income decreased by \$3,349 between 1990 and 2007-11. Areas experiencing ongoing gentrification saw the greatest increase in median household income, with a jump of \$35,447.

Owning vs. Renting

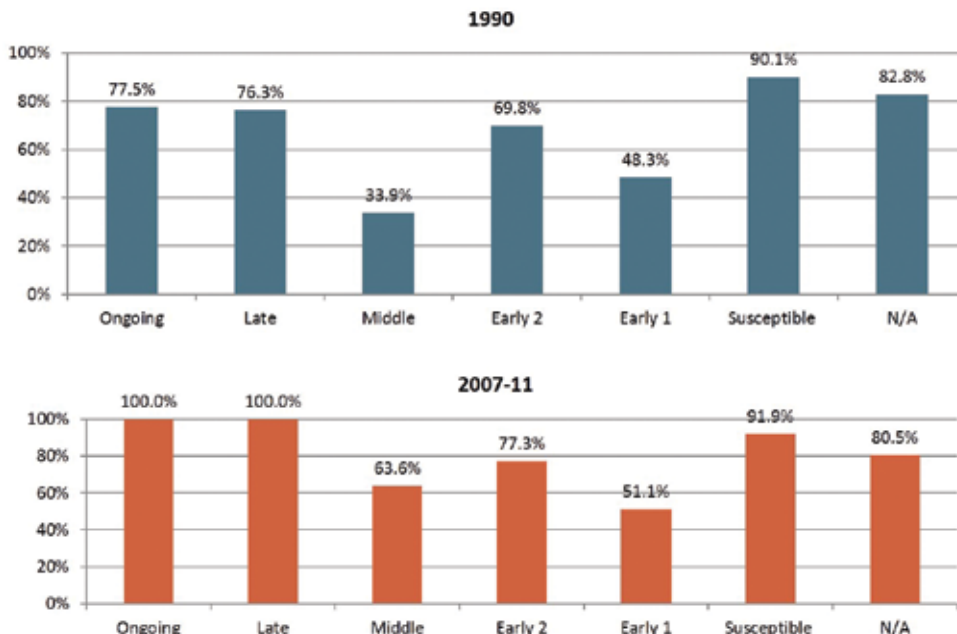


Source: ACPHD CAPE, with data from Census 1990 and ACS 2007-11.

In Oakland, the overall proportion of renters decreased (from 58.4% to 58.1%) between 1990 and 2007-11, but the total number of renters still increased in number, as the overall population increased. There were 59,944 total owner-occupied housing units in 1990 and 83,996 total renter-occupied units. In 2007-11, there were 64,676 owner-occupied housing units and 89,824 renter-occupied housing units. The proportion of renters increased in Ongoing and Early Type 1 typologies

In San Francisco, the overall proportion of renters decreased, but the number of renters still increased in number, since the overall population increased. There were 104,691 owner-occupied housing units in 1990 and 199,084 renter-occupied housing units. In 2007-11 there were 125,502 owner-occupied housing units and 212,864 renter-occupied housing units. The proportion of renters increased in Middle, Early 1 and Susceptible typologies.

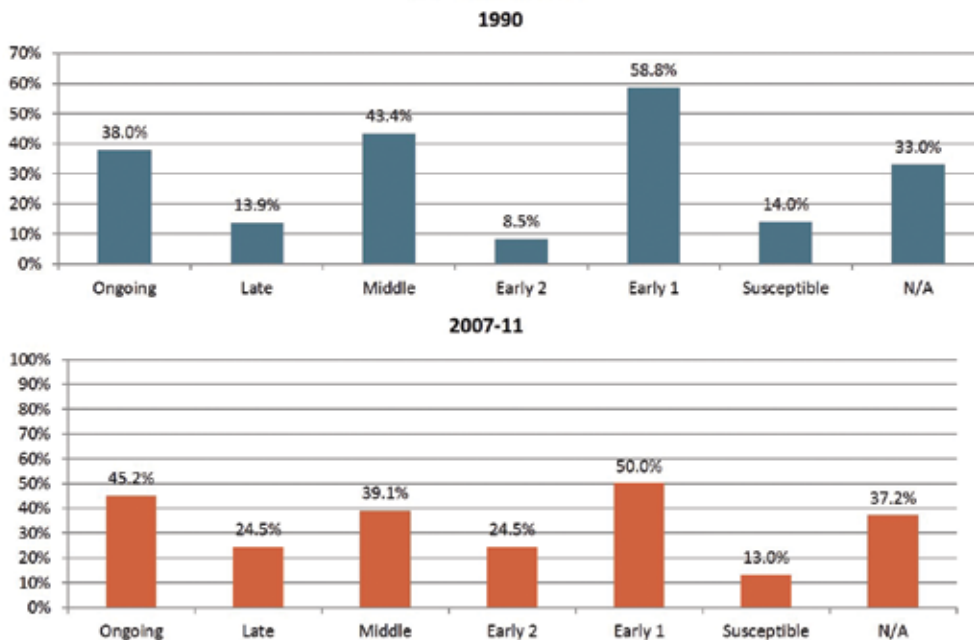
% African American Headed Households Who Rent, SF



Source: ACPHD CAPE, with data from Census 1990 and ACS 2007-11

In 1990 a little over three-quarters of Blacks / African Americans in San Francisco's Ongoing and Late areas were renters. By 2007-11, all Blacks / African Americans in those areas rented, meaning that homeownership rates for Blacks / African Americans dropped from one-quarter to zero during that period. We see similar trends of growing Black / African American rentership in the Middle typology (34% to 64%). All other areas saw slight to moderate increases in the proportion of Blacks / African Americans who rent, except for already affluent areas (N/A typology).

% White Headed Households Who Own, San Francisco



Source: ACPHD CAPE, with data from Census 1990 and ACS 2007-11

As a contrast to the rising rates of rentership among Blacks / African Americans in San Francisco, White rentership is actually going down in certain areas (that is, homeownership rates are going up). We see this occurring especially in Ongoing, Late and Early Type 2 areas, where Black / African American homeownership rates have declined by 7 to 24 percentage points just as White homeownership rates have increased by 7 to 16 percentage points.

Urban Development Under Neoliberalism

As a result of the economic shifts described above, many U.S. cities prioritized profit-driven activities to build up new economic bases and revenue streams. Without prioritizing comprehensive and community-driven policies, however, these changes rarely accounted for the needs and interests of existing residents. We know this to be a neoliberal approach to development. While neoliberalism as a political ideology was developed nationally and globally, it is characterized by a specific set of local policies, described in this section, that have helped manifest the specific urban landscape we see today.

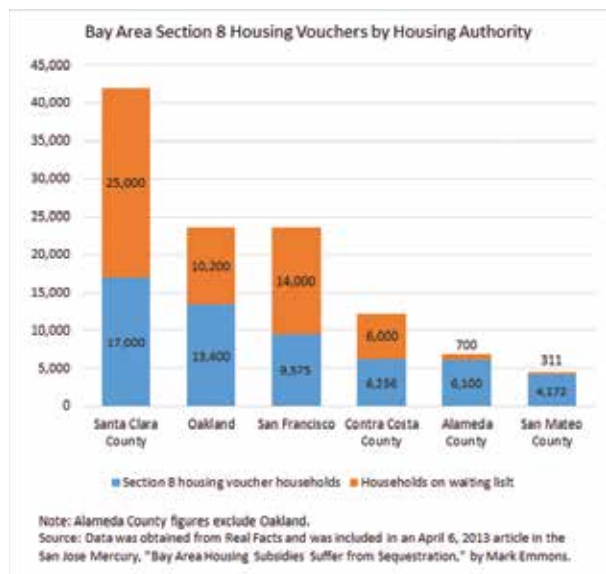
Most major U.S. cities have been deeply affected by a neoliberal program, which began in the 1970s and solidified itself in the decades since. San Francisco and Oakland have been

no different. Some of the key features of the “neoliberal city” include:

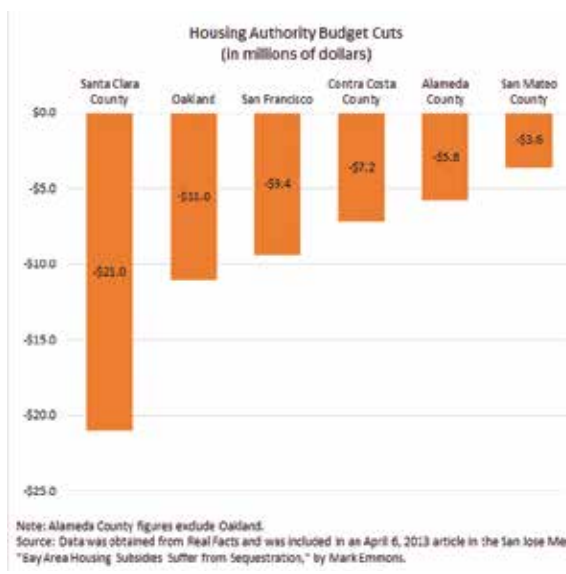
1. Shrinking public funding and privatization of public programs and services

Over the last 30 years cities like Oakland and San Francisco have seen a huge decline in federal support for urban programs and services.

On the federal level, the budget for Community Development Block Grants (CDBGs) was cut by \$650 million between 2010 and 2011, which reduced the amount of funds available to municipalities across the nation for affordable housing, job creation, senior and youth services, and neighborhood improvements.⁵⁹ These cuts have forced mayors, city councils, supervisors, and city managers to reduce funding for numerous local programs, including libraries,



Data courtesy of the *San Jose Mercury News* and Real Facts.⁵⁵



Data courtesy of the *San Jose Mercury News* and Real Facts.⁵⁶

The most recent decline in federal dollars, which has left many cities with very little resources, is a result of the sequester, automatic federal budget cuts that went into effect March 1, 2013. These cuts resulted after Congress failed to agree on a plan to reduce the federal deficit by \$4 trillion.⁵⁷ Cuts to federal discretionary spending could have devastating consequences for families in need. Possible cuts to public housing authorities have put many administrators in a difficult position when deciding how to spend dwindling resources typically used to serve the working poor, seniors, and people with disabilities. Executive Director of the Santa Clara County Housing Authority, Alex Sanchez, was quoted in the San Jose Mercury News as saying, “We’re being put in an untenable position of having to decide winners and losers among the most vulnerable. ... We’re forced to pit one group of poor people against another group. Seniors versus the disabled. Homeless versus working-poor families. It’s an impossible choice with terrible consequences.” California has about 350,000 families in the Housing Choice Voucher Program; according to Bill Lowery, the San Mateo County Housing Authority Executive Director, 21,000 of these households could lose their vouchers given 6% budget cuts.⁵⁸



House Keys Not Handcuffs Action, San Francisco

youth services, housing, and public assistance programs. For example, the \$400 million, or 5.3 percent cut, in federal funds for Head Start programs resulted in 57,265 children nationally unable to take advantage of the Head Start program.⁶⁰ According to Early Edge California, 8,200 low-income children in California could lose Head Start and Early Head Start services, 2,000 could lose access to childcare, and 1,210 teachers and aides could lose their jobs.⁶¹ Cuts to critical social programs are devastating to working-class neighborhoods where individual families and the community as a whole have already been destabilized by a shrinking safety net.

Cities have worked to develop new revenue streams to contend with a range of cuts over the years; these include hikes in sales taxes, hotel and entertainment taxes, and new property taxes. Not only are cities today run like businesses, the pressure to generate funds means that elected officials are constantly pursuing



Valencia Gardens, public housing project, on 15th and Valencia Streets in the Mission, San Francisco, CA.⁶⁴ Photograph courtesy of Mark Pritchard, Flickr Creative Commons, under the following license: <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/2.0/>.

Due to government budgetary constraints, privatization in the housing market is coming to life through a federal program called the Rental Assistance Demonstration (RAD), which could convert up to 3,000 of the San Francisco Housing Authority's 6,054 units to private management.⁶⁵ On the ground, this translates into the government ceding control of public assets to private parties, according to Sara Shortt, Executive Director of the Housing Rights Committee, in the *San Francisco Examiner*.⁶⁶

projects that will generate the most revenue, as opposed to projects that serve the greatest community need or good. In cities like San Francisco and Oakland, local land use decisions have been greatly impacted by these revenue-generation pressures, which in turn reshape the physical environment of the cities.

One such example is the repurposing of land through zoning. Historically, cities like San Francisco and Oakland with their large industrial and manufacturing bases, have had significant sections of the city zoned to support such activities. It is this history that gave rise to auto body shops, small factories producing mechanical parts, and steel and iron foundries in the Mission and East Oakland. Many of these businesses provided employment for neighborhood residents and contributed to a stable local economy.⁶² For local governments, rezoning former industrial land so that developers can build expensive housing in place of the shops and factories, is now economically desirable. Yet, longtime neighborhood residents see few benefits from the new lofts and condos. The closing of these businesses represents an immediate loss of local employment, and the rezoning of



Tassafaronga Village in Oakland. Photograph courtesy of Mark Hogan, Flickr Creative Commons, under the following license: <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/2.0/>. Tassafaronga Village is an affordable housing redevelopment project with units available to households making up to 60% of Area Median Income (AMI).⁶⁸

Deemed a neighborhood blight by Oakland's Community and Economic Development Agency, the 87 Sixties-era affordable housing units that make up Tassafaronga Village were slated to be demolished. Demolition began in 2008 and by 2010 the new development, which consisted of 157 new affordable rental-housing units and 22 new affordable for-sale homes, was complete.⁶⁹ According to the Relocation Plan for Tassafaronga Village, existing residents with a valid lease were given a 90-day notice to vacate, were provided with a Section 8 housing voucher (if eligible), and were provided relocation assistance, which included advisory services and moving assistance. However, less than 15% of these residents who had extremely low (30% of AMI) and very low incomes (50% of AMI), actually moved back to Tassafaronga Village after the redevelopment was complete.⁷⁰

the land creates a more permanent barrier to similar opportunities returning any time soon.⁶³

Privatization is the other aspect of this feature of neoliberalism. Urban centers have been drastically altered by a steady and accelerating trend of decreased government support for services like housing, health care, and education. Where public housing once ensured that millions of families were able to maintain basic housing security, the move toward disposing of these public housing units and turning them into mixed-income housing developments in partnership with private investors through programs like Hope VI, has decreased the stock of publicly owned and managed housing, while growing the private housing market.⁶⁷ With privatization, the protections, rights, and affordability controls associated with public housing are permanently eradicated for millions of low-income and working-class people. There is also a more



Old 16th Street Station, Oakland, 2013.⁷¹ The abandoned 16th Street Station is slated for redevelopment as part of the Wood Street Development project. Photograph courtesy of Richard Johnstone, Flickr Creative Commons, under the license: <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/2.0/>.

In addition to the industrial and commercial development, the Oakland Army Base redevelopment project also includes the Wood Street Development, a mixed-used project that will consist of residential, retail and commercial uses, and open space.⁷² West Oakland's Wood Street Development had a special tax levied for it, and received a subsidy of \$10.35 million for 36 affordable housing units in the Zephyr Gate and Cannery projects. The City also provided \$5.6 million to assist in down payments for 40 first-time homebuyers in the Wood Street Development area. Although this is not a direct subsidy to the developers, it does benefit them in the sale of their housing units.⁷³ The Wood Street Development, in particular, has drawn support and criticism. For example, the West Oakland Project Area Committee, made up of residents, property owners, and businesses, supported the project, while labor, environmental, tenants' rights, and affordable housing groups have voiced concern over whether the project adequately addressed affordable housing, living wage jobs, and the historic preservation of the 16th Street train station and its importance to the Black / African American community.⁷⁴

limited ability to demand improvements and hold private owners and management companies accountable for conditions in the new housing, as there is a reduced expectation that they must answer to residents, community institutions, and stakeholders regarding these issues.

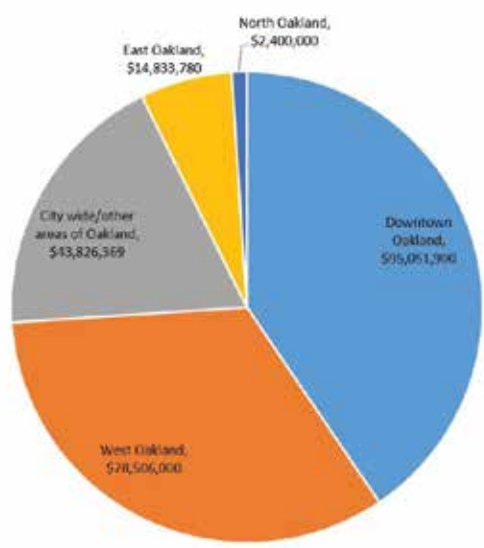
2. Reliance on the private sector to serve as the primary driver of economic growth and urban development

Most development in our cities reflects the priorities of private investors, corporate landlords, and large business interests. Whether it is a stadium project like the proposed Golden State Warriors waterfront stadium, a new campus for the biotech industry like Mission Bay, or

hundreds of units of condos in downtown like Forest City, private interests dominate decisions about what gets developed, where, and when. Local residents and communities are, time and again, left out of the process and decision making about neighborhood and city development and very rarely get to weigh in on development priorities and community needs. For example, the \$91 million Fox Theater redevelopment, and Ellis Partners LLC's \$400 million development in Jack London Square, each anchor the expansion of Oakland's downtown district. Once again the development of the downtown business center was done at the expense of working-class neighborhoods and their residents, further accelerating the gentrification of these areas. Perhaps because of its sheer size, East Oakland had by far the most affordable housing development over the last decade and the greatest all-around development of any area in the city; however, the development in East Oakland lacked the subsidies that were seen in downtown Oakland.⁷⁵

City agencies and their staff – whose role should be one of balancing and facilitating

Public Subsidies for Development Projects in Oakland By Neighborhood, 2000-2010



Source: Oakland City Council Meeting Minutes and The New York Times article, "As Mayor, Brown Remade Oakland's Downtown and Himself," by Elinson, Z. (2010, September 2). Retrieved from http://www.nytimes.com/2010/09/03/us/politics/03bcbrown.html?pagewanted=all&_r=1&...

processes to ensure that the varied interests and needs are considered in these development process – often conciliate to the demands of private investors, who threaten to take their capital and projects elsewhere if they do not get the deal they want. In order to encourage private investment, cities often ease existing land use or building regulations and provide generous subsidies to private developers. The \$61 million subsidy given to Forest City for the Uptown development project by the City of Oakland is but one example. The Uptown also received an additional \$1 million via grants in addition to the tax credits and Tax Increment Financing (TIF) that was given to the development project, both of which are forms of subsidies.^{76, 77} Cities then take on the role of supporting developers in creating the most advantageous conditions for maximizing profits, and step too far back in the role of regulating and managing local development and economic activity.

This type of development approach results in a severe mismatch between the needs of local residents and the profit-motivated interests of those driving urban development. While many working-class communities of color are crying out for basic infrastructure – like grocery stores, family-serving retail stores, and low-cost housing for a range of family sizes – what often ends up in these neighborhoods are new businesses and services designed to serve incoming residents. For most working-class communities of color, the arrival of



Shut Down ICE And The Financial District, San Francisco

boutiques, art galleries, and high-priced coffee shops does little to improve living conditions and neighborhood sustainability. The private sector in general is not well positioned to meet the needs of all Oakland and San Francisco residents, in particular low-income and working-class families, or to ensure that their housing, infrastructure, and service needs are realized.

3. Increasingly militarized cities

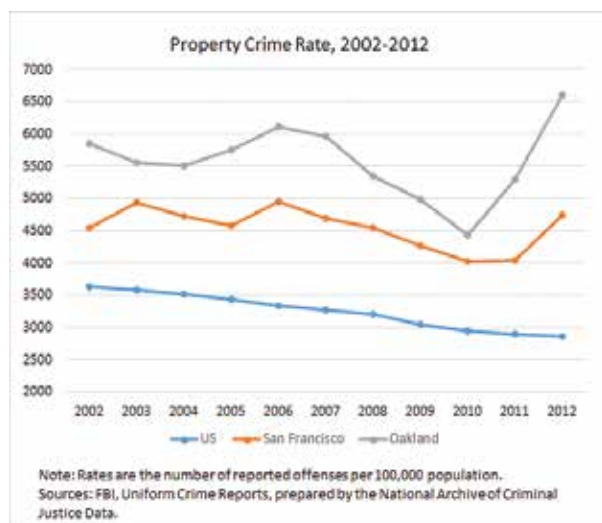
There has been a direct correlation between the decrease in national funding for public programs and services and the rise in funding for law enforcement. While cities have had to cut budgets for libraries, youth services, housing, and public assistance programs, public officials have placed clear priority on funding for increased policing, advanced weapons, and surveillance technology in urban centers. As opposed to housing, education, and health, urban policing is an area of government growth and expansion, both in terms of funding and overall focus locally and nationally.

Policing dominates discussions about everything from the city budget, to debates about civil rights and education. Both Oakland and

San Francisco have followed national trends to enact more aggressive law enforcement policies under the guise of controlling crime and violence. Examples include “sit and lie” policies that criminalize the homeless, making it a crime to utilize public space, and “gang injunctions,” which give police sweeping powers in areas under injunction, redefining gangs so broadly that any group of young people in public space is assumed to be gang affiliated.

Further, national programs like the “war on drugs” and “Secure Communities” increase collaboration between local, state, and federal law enforcement agencies, and together with local efforts, contribute to the criminalization of low-income and working-class communities of color, homeless people, immigrants, and young people, resulting in historic rates of incarceration nationally.

As urban centers are transformed by neoliberalism there is a pitched contest for public space, sending a clear message to low-income and working-class communities of color that they have no right to occupy that space at all. Aggressive policing measures and policies are part of the strategy for pushing those determined to be undesirable out of urban public space, clearing the way for wealthier newcomers.



Although national property crime rates have steadily decreased over the past decade, it is unclear that increased spending on law enforcement has had any effect on property crime rates in Oakland and San Francisco.⁷⁸



Wells Fargo Shareholders Action, San Francisco

4. Weak democratic processes and practices

Decisions about the direction and development of cities are increasingly concentrated in the hands of a few. Private investors and corporations are



May First March, San Francisco

hugely influential with policymakers because of their ability to generate revenue, create jobs and initiate development projects. Those with wealth are not just valued business partners, but potential contributors to political campaigns and elections as well. As the cost of running for public office has skyrocketed in the last decade, money has become a determining factor in local elections. When even a mayoral race can run in the millions of dollars, those with money enjoy a disproportionate level of influence over those with little or none to put in the game.

Over time, neighborhood groups, labor unions, community and faith organizations have seen their political power diminish with local decision makers. In some cases it has become increasingly challenging for community groups to access elected officials and their time. Even when groups are able to sit down and express their needs, it has become harder and harder to see those needs realized in the passage of policies or other forms of implementation.

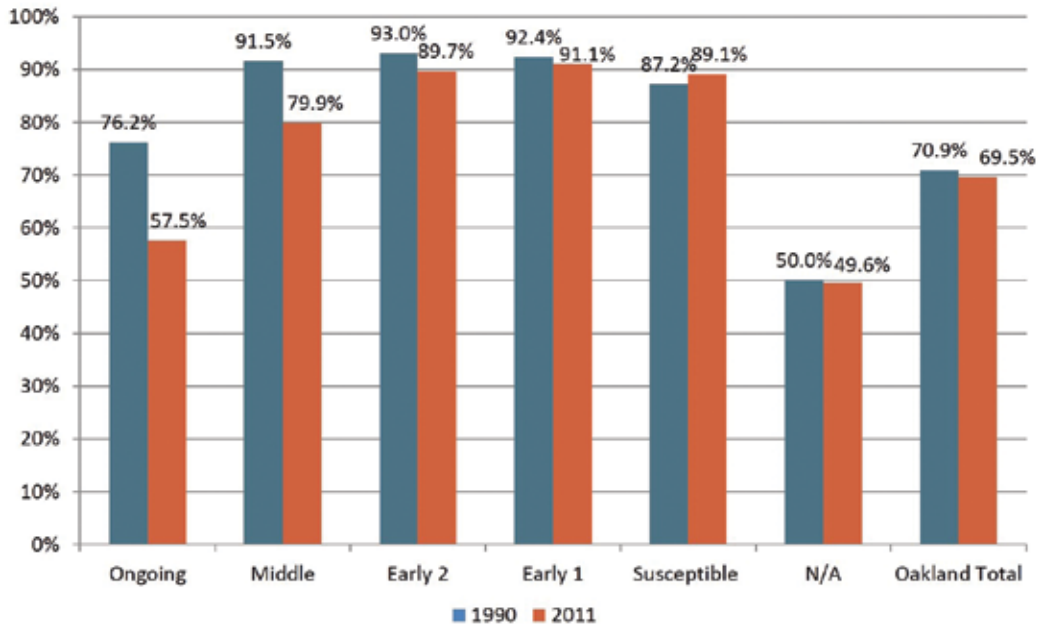
Many critical municipal decisions, like ones regarding land use and local resource expenditures, for example, are decided in meetings and hearings with little or no public participation. Both the format and content of these discussions are highly technical in nature and dominated by presenters and speakers who are lobbyists or lawyers representing private investors, or

by specialized technical experts. These processes are generally not well publicized and can drag on for years, making it incredibly challenging to engage residents. There is little interest in ensuring meaningful public participation in the process or the decisions, and most residents do not learn of the real impact of these hearings until years later. An organized and well-informed “public” is largely missing from these “public hearings.”

Neoliberal policies – advanced through these opaque processes – have fundamentally shifted conditions in cities like San Francisco and Oakland, and have deeply impacted the lives of working-class communities of color.

In addition to the neoliberal policies of the last 30 years, and the historical race and class fault lines that have developed with the evolution of Oakland and San Francisco, shifting demographics are also exaggerating preexisting tensions and creating new ones. As new immigrants arrive in the region due to a range of global policies, initiated in many cases by the U.S., joining communities of color already here, urban areas in particular and the country in general will soon see populations in which people of color are the majority. There are tremendous new pressures and fights around how our cities should develop and around the role working-class people of color should play in the next chapter of this story.

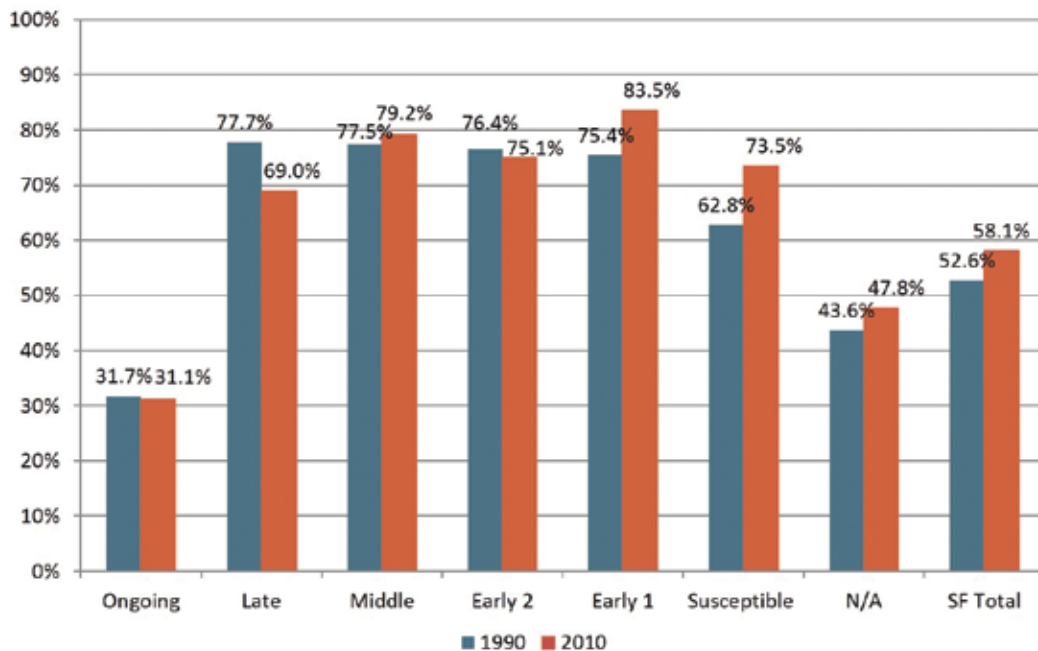
Proportion People of Color, Oakland



Source: ACPHD CAPE, with data from Census 1990 and 2010.

Although people of color comprise the majority in virtually all typologies in Oakland, they comprise a significantly smaller majority in areas experiencing ongoing gentrification and in already affluent neighborhoods ("N/A" category).

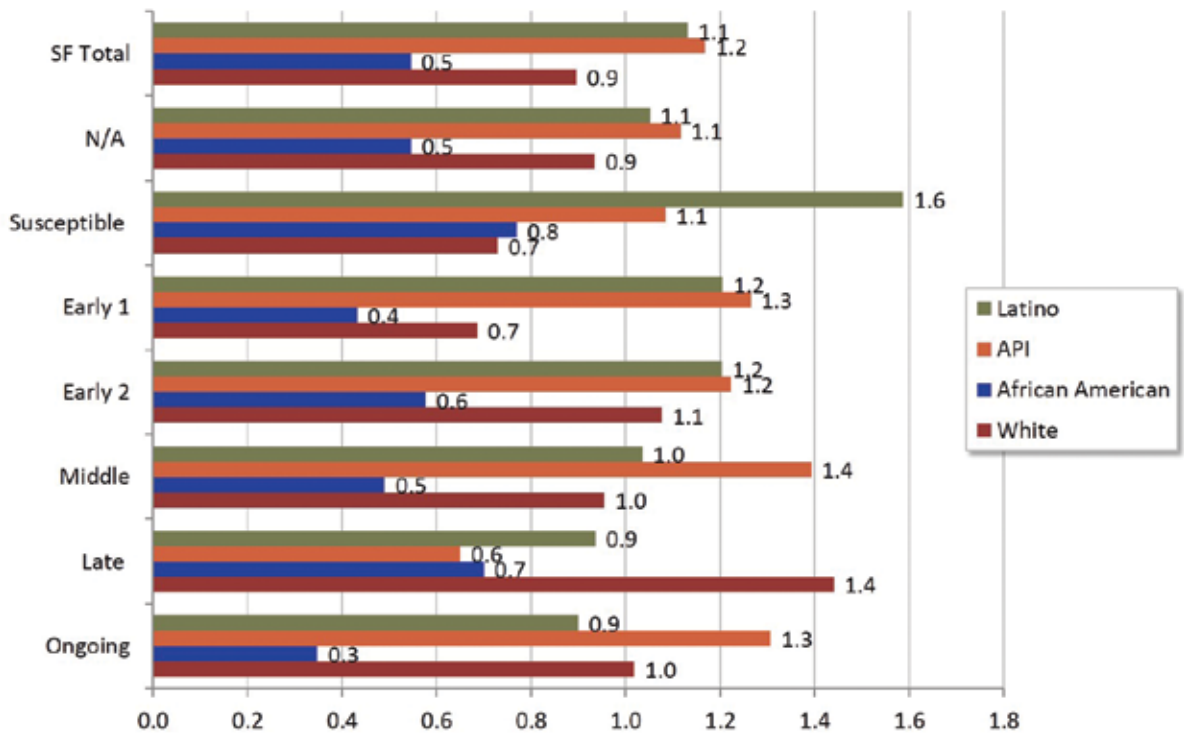
Proportion People of Color, San Francisco



Source: ACPHD CAPE, with data from Census 1990 and 2010.

San Francisco affluent areas ("N/A" category) and those with ongoing gentrification are the only typologies where people of color do not comprise the majority.

Ratio of Population Change by Race/Ethnicity, San Francisco, 2010/1990



Source: ACPHD CAPE, with data from Census 1990 and 2010.

From 1990 to 2011 in San Francisco, the proportion of Blacks / African Americans decreased 1.8-fold, from 10.7% to 5.8%. The proportion of Whites decreased slightly (1.1-fold) from 46.8% to 41.9%. The proportion of Latinos increased slightly (1.1-fold), from 13.4% to 15.1%, and the proportion of Asian/Pacific Islanders increased 1.2-fold from 28.6% to 33.4%.

Gentrification is a Public Health Issue

Black / African American households, if displaced, are more likely to find themselves in neighborhoods with fewer health-promoting resources and/or lower quality amenities, as average neighborhood income is closely tied to the availability of neighborhood resources.^{129, 130}

Gentrification is rapidly changing our cities at the expense of residents who have long called their neighborhoods home. A strong body of literature shows that our environments, including the physical, economic, and social environment, matters for our health. Furthermore, when people are moved from their long-term homes and communities, a number of negative individual and community health consequences result.

This section provides an overview of the role that public health has played in urban development, including decisions that lead to displacement, as well as the public health impacts of gentrification and displacement. It also makes a case for why public agencies, including public health departments and organizations, must make displacement prevention central to their work on healthy community development.



Foreclosures Are A Health Issue Action, Oakland

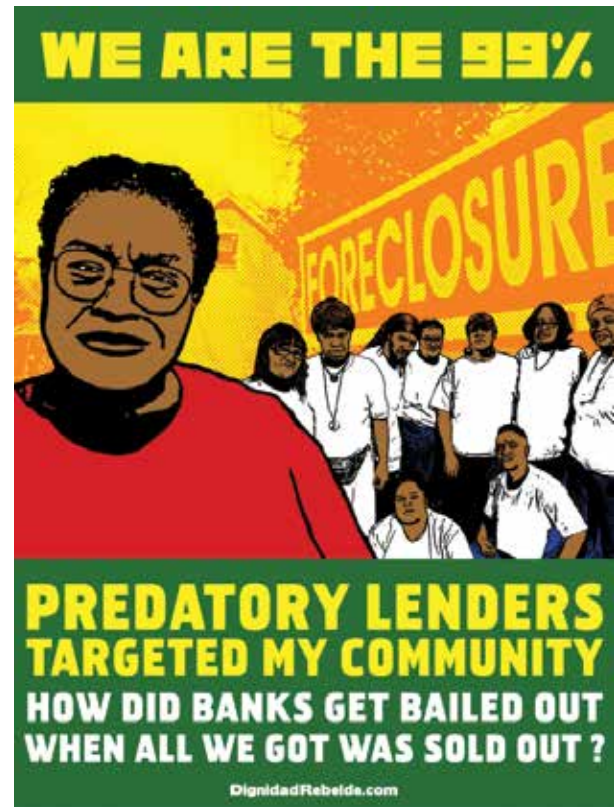
The Historic Role of Public Health Departments in Urban Development

As discussed in previous sections, urban development policy has critically impacted urban residents through positive and negative changes in their environments. Even when these changes have been positive, however, the policy-driven transformation of urban neighborhoods has repeatedly resulted in displacement without improvements for existing communities, particularly when these communities were predominantly low-income residents and people of color.⁷⁹ A number of public agencies at multiple levels have driven change in urban neighborhoods. Local government agencies, such as local planning departments, redevelopment agencies, and community and economic development agencies, have played a particularly important role. Less well known is the role that local public health departments have historically played in urban community development and neighborhood change.

The work of many public health departments emerged in relation to cities and the conditions created by rapid urban industrial growth. Early public health officials worked to improve sanitation and health conditions in new industrial cities in the late 19th century, a period of time when infectious diseases were the leading cause of death.⁸⁰ These efforts focused on improving housing conditions for the poor, including the tenement style housing where many urban immigrants and factory workers lived.⁸¹ During the late 19th and early 20th centuries, public health workers were involved in a number of important social policy reforms that led to improvements in health, including the creation of minimum housing habitability standards, the creation of workplace safety standards, and the shifting of legal responsibility for housing conditions from tenants to property owners.⁸² By the early 20th century, many cities had designated their health departments as the creators and

enforcers of housing codes.⁸³

While early public health efforts to improve housing conditions had positive results, they were limited, as many of the newly adopted housing codes focused on new construction rather than existing housing and most were inadequately enforced.⁸⁴ As a result, substandard housing conditions were still widespread in cities of the mid-20th century. Rather than focusing on improving existing housing, however, public and government attitude toward housing had shifted to viewing entire neighborhoods and districts as “blighted,” with the potential to spread and infect other parts of the city much like a disease.⁸⁵ By the mid-20th century, the growing consensus among many public health and urban reformers was that, in order to improve health, the worst housing should be demolished and replaced with new housing. This belief was one of the justifications for the federal program of “urban renewal.”⁸⁶



Art by Dignidad Rebelde

Urban Renewal and Displacement: Moving People in the Name of Health

As discussed in earlier sections, “urban renewal” was a federal program enacted in 1949, which enabled local redevelopment agencies to use federal funds to demolish and redevelop entire sections of a neighborhood based on their “blighted” conditions. This program was widely supported by city officials and business interests as well as public health and social welfare advocates. While improvement of housing conditions was a justification for the program, in the end, thousands of existing residents were displaced and their houses destroyed to make way for new public housing complexes, large entertainment centers, and civic buildings. Not only were many of the projects funded by urban renewal largely unresponsive to the needs of existing residents, but they resulted in destruction of longtime residents’ homes and businesses, and ultimately the displacement and dispossession of entire communities. Furthermore, while new housing was produced via the construction of large public housing projects, the number of units produced never came close to meeting the number destroyed.⁸⁷

The harmful impacts of this program on existing residents’ health and well-being are now well documented.⁸⁸ In particular, because the neighborhoods targeted for urban renewal were predominantly Black / African American, this era of urban policy initiated a pivotal decline in the population of Blacks / African Americans from cities like San Francisco,⁸⁹ with ripple effects on the social, economic, and physical well-being of Black / African American communities for generations. Such policies also solidified a deep sense of distrust between communities of color and local government.⁹⁰

While mayors, business interests, and redevelopment agencies drove this program at the local level, public health departments also played an important role. Researcher Russ



Auction Action To Save Nelson Myhand and Cynthia Green's Home, Oakland

Lopez discusses how, under the rubric of urban renewal, many cities gave health departments the central task of surveying housing and neighborhoods for “blight,” based on American Public Health Association (APHA) guidelines for healthy housing.⁹¹ “Blight” was a subjective term, so the APHA guidelines provided a scientifically objective assessment of blight based on physical housing conditions. While these healthy housing guidelines were created with the intention of improving public health for low-income urban residents, they became central to the process of identifying blight via housing and neighborhood surveys, which were used to target and legally justify which neighborhoods would be razed under urban renewal.⁹²

Over the last several decades, the definition of “health” in public health has been broadened. But at the time of urban renewal, many public health departments had a more limited definition, ignoring the community and social dimensions of well-being. Lopez states, “the guidelines did not consider the positive aspects of urban neighborhoods, such as the human element [of community] that made city living tolerable. They did not incorporate scales indicating that residents’ families were nearby or that children’s playmates were next door. They did not consider that the grocer extended credit to regular customers or that residents attached decades of memories to buildings. [They] attempted only to measure independent

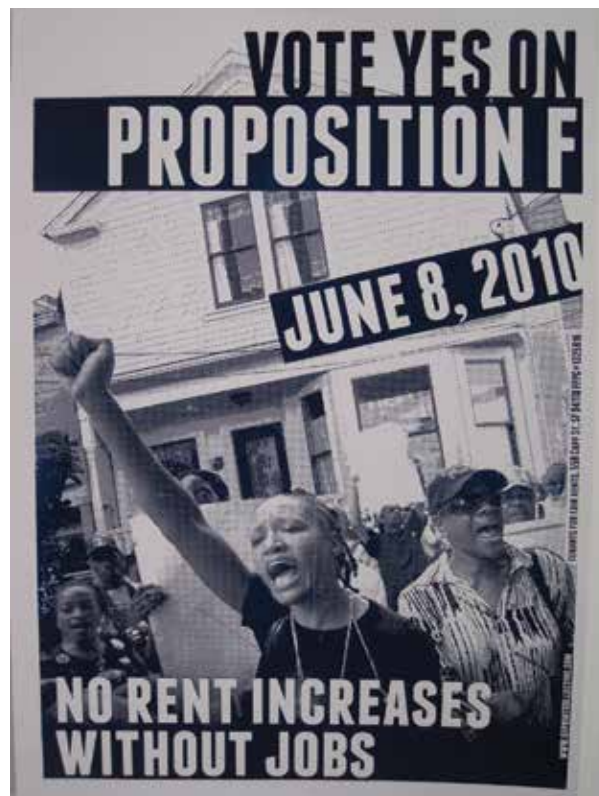
objective aspects of healthy housing and neighborhoods.”⁹³

Furthermore, these surveys were used to penalize residents for the housing conditions in which they were forced to live. Historical disinvestment and a racially discriminatory housing market had limited opportunities for homeownership and constrained people of color, particularly Black / African Americans, to particular parts of the city. These dynamics resulted in densely populated neighborhoods where many residents were both renters and people of color with limited power over their housing conditions, including the ability to make needed repairs.⁹⁴ Furthermore, many cities also explicitly looked for the “presence of non-White communities” in determining where “blight” was located.⁹⁵ In both explicit and implicit ways, neighborhoods of color were targeted, declared blighted, and slated for removal from the city. While public health workers and health departments made critical contributions to the health of urban communities during the 19th and 20th centuries, the role of public health in this era of racially discriminatory housing policy cannot be forgotten. Furthermore, the impacts of this period of massive displacement for low-income communities and communities of color must be acknowledged in contemporary public health efforts to engage in housing and community development decisions.

The Public Health Consequences of Gentrification and Displacement

As discussed in prior sections, gentrification is a relatively recent form of urban development that involves the social, economic, and cultural transformation of historically disinvested urban neighborhoods. While gentrification is driven by the private sector – through private development that targets the needs of new, higher income residents over existing residents, and the individual movement of more affluent residents into older urban neighborhoods – the

public sector paves the way. By announcing new investments and plans to revitalize commercial areas, and providing tax breaks, subsidies, and other benefits to incentivize private development, public sector actions reduce the costs and risks for developers while introducing amenities that appeal to outside residents and may be disconnected from the real needs and desires of existing residents.⁹⁶ Without adequate public sector protections and regulations, longtime residents are often displaced or excluded from the benefits of new development. While gentrification may bring much-needed investment to neighborhoods, including new stores and commercial services, as well as upgrades to infrastructure and amenities like parks,⁹⁷ displacement prevents these changes from benefitting those who need investment the most. Furthermore, gentrification has a number of serious public health consequences for those who stay, those who leave their neighborhoods behind, and our broader society.



This poster was designed by Mariana Viturro in 2010 to support a campaign for a local San Francisco proposition that would have prevented rent increases for people most impacted by the economic crisis. The mayor had vetoed a similar proposition the year before.

In addition to having an impact on health outcomes, research suggests that gentrification may increase health inequities, or differences in health outcomes that are “unnecessary and avoidable but, in addition, are also considered unfair and unjust.”⁹⁸ These differences in health outcomes across place, income, race, and other demographics are tied to underlying social, political, economic, and environmental factors, such as access to safe and affordable housing, quality jobs, good schools, and safe places to play and work.⁹⁹ These factors impact multiple health outcomes, including how long people live (life expectancy) and their quality of life. Because it affects multiple pathways to health and can increase inequities between groups, it is critical for the public health field to understand and address displacement in order to improve health outcomes and advance health equity.

As discussed in the previous section, displacement can happen in a variety of ways and in both the public and private housing market, including residents being forcibly relocated in order to make way for renovation of their housing, landlords raising rents to unaffordable levels, tenants being evicted so landlords can rent or sell their units for a higher price, and residents moving because their friends and family have moved away. **In this report, displacement is defined as the out-migration of low-income people and people of color from their existing homes and neighborhoods due to social, economic, or environmental conditions that make their neighborhoods uninhabitable or unaffordable.** While some residents may choose to move in certain cases, this report understands displacement in the context of gentrification as involuntary and, therefore, unjust due to the role of public policy in **repeatedly uprooting and destabilizing urban low-income populations and people of color through disinvestment and inequitable development.**



Art by Favianna Rodriguez

Impacts on Existing Residents

For lower income and longtime residents, gentrification can result in financial burden due to the increasing cost of rent. When housing costs rise above 30 percent of household income (also known as rent burden), families may cope by sacrificing other basic needs such as health care, transportation, or healthy food, each of which is critical for good health and well-being.¹⁰⁰ Furthermore, in the context of gentrification, landlords may attempt to force tenants out of their homes through intimidation, buy-out offers, and eviction notices. Data on San Francisco evictions over the last 30 years shows that eviction notices of all types peaked in 1997–98, correlating with the peak of the “dot com boom,” which resulted in skyrocketing housing values and the transformation of San Francisco neighborhoods, particularly the Mission district.¹⁰¹ Since this time, the Mission district has consistently experienced eviction

notices from Owner Move-In (OMI), a no-fault cause for eviction that is often used to displace tenants and raise rents, at an annual rate far above any other neighborhood.¹⁰²

As fixed income and elderly homeowners in the neighborhood cope with rising taxes and housing costs, they may face the threat of foreclosure. Foreclosure, in turn, can result in major loss of wealth, increased stress and anxiety, and can force foreclosed residents into substandard housing where they may be exposed to health hazards like mold and pests.¹⁰³



"There's a woman... that lives just north of the University and she's an older woman who has long lived in this neighborhood – 40, 50 years – and she owns her house be-

cause her mom had bought it 40 years ago and she inherited it. Her neighbors around her have slowly been pushed out of her neighborhood. And her good friend who lives right next door, she would have coffee with her every morning. And she loved it... It was a stress relief. It's an emotional tie you make with somebody. And one day the woman became very ill and couldn't get out of bed and didn't make the coffee that morning and her neighbor was calling and calling and calling her and couldn't find her. [The neighbor] went and knocked on her door and was able to get in. The woman was close to a diabetic coma. And that is exactly what neighbors do for each other. And so if you lose that you lose health, you lose emotional well-being and you lose that safety net that people rely on to be able to live healthy full lives."

– Paulina Gonzalez, Former Executive Director, Strategic Actions for a Just Economy (SAJE), Los Angeles



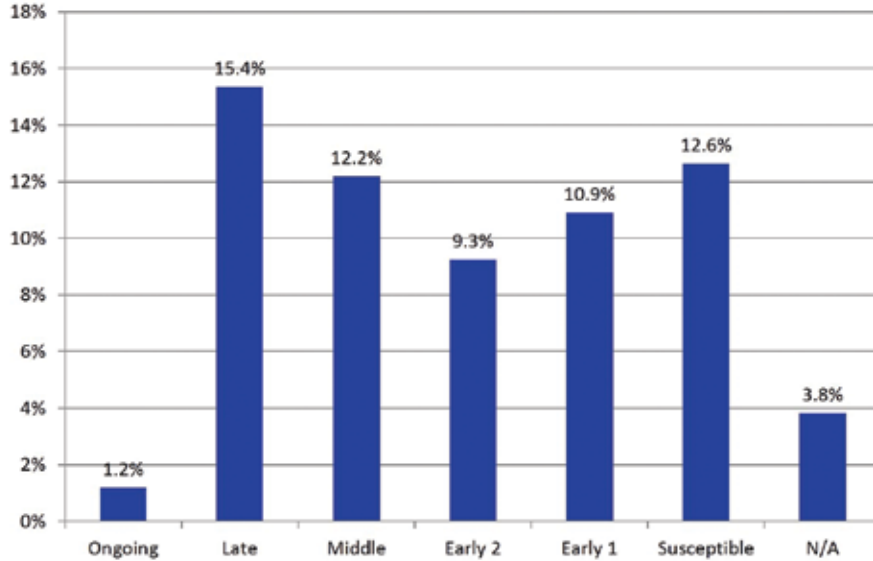
Gerthina Harris has been a member of CJC for four years and has lived in her West Oakland home for the past seven years. Gerthina is a senior on a fixed income and pays

more than 50 percent of her income on rent, a considerable rent burden. Due to the high cost of rent, Gerthina has less to spend on other essential expenses and is often forced to decide which bills to pay on time each month. Not only does Gerthina face a financial hardship, but also an emotional and physical one, as the stress of living on a fixed income can be highly taxing.

When residents face rising housing costs, some may choose to move in with friends or family, share rooms, or subdivide units to save money.¹⁰⁴ While shared and intergenerational housing is not inherently bad for health and can increase social support, moving in with others out of financial need can lead to overcrowding, a situation which compromises health and well-being.¹⁰⁵ Based on our analysis of housing conditions and gentrification in San Francisco, we saw a general correlation between the progression of gentrification and overcrowding (measured as greater than one occupant per room), with rates of overcrowding increasing from early to late stages of gentrification.¹⁰⁶

This pattern is illustrated in the following graph, which shows overcrowding (measured as the percentage of housing units with more than one occupant per room) by San Francisco neighborhood type. Note that the drop in overcrowding rates from late to ongoing stages of gentrification may be due to the loss of low-income households and simultaneous increase in higher income households who are able to afford more space.

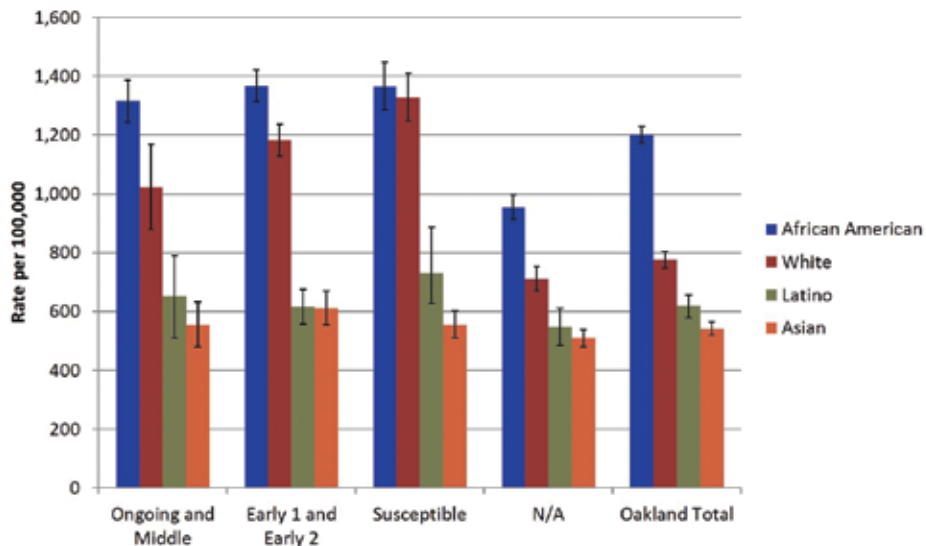
Housing Units in which >1 Occupant per Room, SF 2007-11



Source: ACPHD CAPE, with data from ACS 2007-11

Percent of housing units with more than one occupant per room can be a measure of overcrowding, although cultural considerations may be a part of the picture as well. The highest percent of housing units in which there is more than one occupant per room is in the Late, Susceptible, and Middle typologies in San Francisco. The lowest percentage is in Ongoing and N/A. The percent of households with more than one occupant per room is more than 12 times higher in the Late vs. Ongoing typology.

Mortality Rate by Race/Ethnicity, Oakland, 2008-12



Source: ACPHD CAPE, with data from AC Vital Statistics, 2008-12

As housing prices increase and the cultural fabric of neighborhoods change, gentrification can result in the closure of needed services and institutions that are vital for existing residents' well-being.¹⁰⁷

Even when development brings in much needed resources, the benefits of new services and resources can be out of reach for those who need them the most due to financial and cultural barriers. New retail stores and restaurants may be unaffordable and/or based on the cultural tastes and preferences of new rather than longtime residents. When development is not based on the needs and desires of existing residents, it may be experienced as alienating and exclusive, resulting in longtime residents feeling out of place in their own neighborhood.¹⁰⁸

Impacts on Displaced Residents

Residents who are displaced due to gentrification face multiple, overlapping health impacts. Displacement can introduce financial hardship due to relocation and the costs of setting up a new household.¹⁰⁹ These costs reduce disposable income, particularly for households already surviving on a tight

budget. Socioeconomic status, which reflects income, education, and occupation, is one of the strongest determinants of health.¹¹⁰ When people have the money they need to cover basic goods and services, as well as the access to health-promoting resources and information, they live longer and are less likely to experience health problems across the lifecycle, including chronic disease and mental illness.¹¹¹

Residents who move farther from central city areas may also face increased transportation costs due to longer commutes to work, school, places of worship, or health care facilities.¹¹² Long commutes have been shown to contribute to stress and reduce time for health-promoting activities like sleep and exercise, as well as reducing the time parents or caregivers can spend with their children.¹¹³ A growing body of research has suggested that chronic stress, particularly stress that is driven by financial burden and limited control over one's life conditions, can be toxic. Chronic stress can effect health and mental functioning in the short term, and can contribute to chronic disease and death in the long term.¹¹⁴

Displacement can also mean loss of irreplaceable assets, including investments made in a home, job, or business.¹¹⁵ These losses can result in severe disruption to financial well-being and stability.

Displacement disrupts employment and can result in job and income loss, as residents who move may have difficulty sustaining jobs due to lack of public transportation options and the length of their new commute.¹¹⁶ For children, displacement is destabilizing to their social networks and routines, and can result in declining school performance.¹¹⁷ Education is a key determinant of health as well. Children and youth have lifelong health benefits tied to educational achievement.¹¹⁸ In addition, recent studies have suggested a correlation between gentrification and increasing numbers of people entering the homeless shelter system from the same neighborhood, perhaps due to an extremely



Homes For All National Campaign Launch, Oakland

tight housing market and insufficient support systems.¹¹⁹ Given the San Francisco Bay Area's skyrocketing rents, homelessness and the health consequences it brings¹²⁰ are a serious risk for those who are being priced out of the city.

When residents are forced to relocate, it is not just the physical environment that changes but the social and cultural environment as well. A substantial amount of research documents the importance of social networks, as well as social capital (or a community's level of trust and cooperation), for individual and community health.¹²¹ When neighbors trust each other and are willing to help each other out, rates of violence, self-rated poor health, and mortality go down.¹²² On the flipside, having fewer trusted neighbors, living farther from family and friends, and having to attend a new school, workplace, or health care provider can all disrupt one's health and well-being.¹²³

Displacement and social network disruption have significant impacts on mental as well as physical well-being.¹²⁴ Research has documented how relocation, even when voluntary, almost unavoidably results in psychological distress and can increase family conflict, as emotional needs increase and social supports decrease.¹²⁵ Furthermore, the longer someone has lived in their current neighborhood, the greater their experience of stress, anxiety, and depression after a move.¹²⁶ By disrupting familiarity with place and attachment to community, displacement can also result in disorientation and alienation, experiences that are particularly detrimental to health in older adulthood.¹²⁷

Depending on where people move, displacement can result in relocation to neighborhoods with fewer health-promoting resources and amenities, like high quality jobs, healthy food options, accessible public transit, safe and walkable streets, and parks and open space.¹²⁸ Based on an analysis of migration patterns at the national and local levels, we found that Black / African American households,

regardless of income, are more likely to end up in a neighborhood with lower income residents than their current neighborhood. This differs from the pattern of migration for White, Latino, and Asian households, each of which are more likely to move to a neighborhood with residents at the same or higher income level.¹²⁹

Regardless of where they move, displaced residents may be unfamiliar with their new neighborhood, which inhibits their access to needed goods and services.¹³¹ As displacement contributes to the suburbanization of poverty, public agencies outside of urban city centers may either not offer services needed by displaced populations or the services they do offer may be geographically inaccessible or culturally or linguistically inappropriate.¹³² When people are pushed out of their homes and neighborhoods, they are also more vulnerable and may be forced to turn to safety net services, including community clinics, unemployment benefits, nutrition assistance programs, and homeless shelters.¹³³ Erosion of social networks makes it harder to respond to economic, social, and health hardship.¹³⁴ Whereas residents might have turned to a neighbor during an emergency, they may have few alternatives in their new neighborhood. As displaced residents seek out new routine health care and social service providers, they may also face difficulty in obtaining their medical records and needed prescriptions.¹³⁵ Furthermore, residents who move may face new social and cultural tensions that lead to increased exposure to violence in their new neighborhoods.¹³⁶

At the community level, displacement can result in severe social, economic, and political fragmentation. Residents who are dispersed from other members of their community may have less political power as voting blocs are diluted and communities become less organized, inhibiting their ability to advocate for needed changes to ensure long-term health and well-being.¹³⁷ Displacement from gentrification is particularly concerning, as it is only the latest in a pattern in of displacement for low-income communities of color. As

Fullilove and Wallace have argued, a series of U.S. urban policies has resulted in the systematic “serial displacement” of Black / African American communities, a phenomenon that has continuously uprooted the same communities and, in some cases the same families, for generations, creating multi-generational impacts across the life course.¹³⁸ The series of policies they discuss includes segregation, redlining, urban renewal, deindustrialization, planned shrinkage/catastrophic disinvestment, HOPE VI, and now gentrification.¹³⁹ These policies and practices have introduced repeated stressors, limited access to opportunity and created barriers to building financial security, social capital, and political power among affected communities. This continued assault on the conditions that are necessary for community well-being has led to multiple, negative health impacts that have persisted across generations, including increased risk of chronic and infectious disease, mental illness, and intra-community violence.¹⁴⁰

Impacts on Our Cities and Society

Gentrification and displacement also cost our cities and society as a whole. Without regional strategies to distribute community investment equitably based on need, new development may simply result in the displacement of poverty rather than the improvement of living conditions and health outcomes. Furthermore, as central cities become less hospitable to low-income residents due to gentrification, outlying parts of the region may be strained as they face a sudden influx of residents needing services, infrastructure, and affordable housing.¹⁴¹ These areas may also become new places of concentrated poverty, and segregation throughout the region may increase. A growing body of research suggests that racial and economic segregation at the metropolitan level compromises economic mobility and health for individuals. Segregation can also exacerbate racial disparities in health outcomes.¹⁴² As people move farther away from central cities, displacement may also negatively affect air quality for all residents in the region, as residents have



Art by Design Action Collective

to commute farther to get to old places of employment, school, and health care.¹⁴³ Recent research has also suggested that neighborhoods experiencing new transit-oriented investment may displace residents most likely to use public transit while attracting more residents who own cars and are likely to drive.¹⁴⁴

Perhaps most importantly, evidence suggests that gentrification can exacerbate segregation and discrimination in the housing market¹⁴⁵ and increase social and health inequities.¹⁴⁶ Mortality rates, which measure death by population by year, can be used to illustrate differences in health and wellbeing across groups. Our analysis of mortality rates in San Francisco and Oakland revealed that Black residents experience the highest rates of mortality across all neighborhood types.

Furthermore, our analysis of racial disparities in mortality for Oakland revealed that neighborhoods in the latest stages of gentrification have the greatest disparity between Black / African American and White mortality rates, compared with other neighborhoods.¹⁴⁷ Furthermore, this disparity in Black and White mortality rates increases from early to late stages of gentrification.

Research is showing that social inequities can compromise health for all people in a society, not just those who are struggling, with more unequal societies having poorer health outcomes than societies that are more egalitarian.¹⁴⁸ As gentrification exacerbates wealth and income inequality, this evidence suggests that it may also take a toll on overall population health. Furthermore, as Fullilove and Wallace have documented, gentrification, as the latest form of serial displacement for low-income communities and communities of color, may contribute to increased rates of disease within and beyond our cities. By separating communities by race and class, destabilizing urban neighborhoods, and undermining resilience among our most vulnerable populations, gentrification and the displacement it brings may compromise public health for our society as a whole.¹⁴⁹

New Approaches to Healthy Housing and Healthy Development

The concerns and approaches of public health have shifted since the mid-20th century. Chronic diseases such as diabetes, heart disease, and hypertension have replaced infectious diseases as the leading causes of death,¹⁵⁰ and health inequities have remained or increased across many health outcomes. These realities have led the field to a more complex understanding of health, which now recognizes the importance of place (including the social, cultural, economic, and physical environment) in shaping the

choices and opportunities that lead to health and disease.¹⁵¹ It is now well recognized that “social determinants of health,”¹⁵² such as the quality of one’s housing, job, education, or social support networks, are among the primary factors that affect health – determining, as well, significant differences in health outcomes seen by race and ethnicity.¹⁵³ Furthermore, these factors are generally considered to be both beyond an individual’s control and greatly influenced by policy.¹⁵⁴

Local public health departments’ focus and activities have evolved over time, but today public health departments are responsible for monitoring health status and environmental health conditions, enforcing policies, linking people to needed services and resources, and working with community residents and other sectors to advance policies that improve health.¹⁵⁵ These core functions, combined with growing evidence of the public health consequences of environmental conditions like urban sprawl, unsafe and unwalkable streets, and pollution, have led public health departments to become more active in urban design, planning, and development decisions in order to positively affect health outcomes for communities.¹⁵⁶

Alongside this shift, the fields of urban planning and development have moved toward a more health conscious and environmentally conscious approach to land use planning. The emergence of “smart growth” planning principles has encouraged urban planners to locate new development, including housing, in high-density areas that are close to transit and job centers in order to cut down on greenhouse gas emissions and increase the opportunities for walking, biking, and public transportation.¹⁵⁷ Public health practitioners are also working with urban planners to invest in healthy changes to the built environment. These changes include new and renovated food stores that offer healthy options, parks, playgrounds, and urban gardens, and street improvements that promote physical activity.¹⁵⁸ While these trends have brought sorely needed resources to neighborhoods that have suffered from decades of

disinvestment, research and community experience are showing that even the most well-intentioned projects can lead to gentrification and displacement.¹⁵⁹ Without protections to ensure that existing residents can stay and benefit from neighborhood change, the same communities who suffered from disinvestment and displacement in the past may be displaced yet again.

While public health has progressed in its approaches to health and neighborhood development, the field still needs to recognize the dangers of displacement. As Wallace and Fullilove have argued, serial displacement has been driven by a consistent policy of moving people rather than improving their living conditions in place.¹⁶⁰ Public health practitioners committed to the well-being of vulnerable communities must learn from mistakes of the past, including the need for a broader understanding of health that recognizes

the importance of place and the health-protective elements of social and community support systems. This means re-examining the assumption that moving people is necessarily good for health, and ensuring that other public agencies, government officials, and policymakers do the same.¹⁶¹

As improving neighborhood health becomes a more commonly accepted goal of urban planning and development, public health departments have a unique and pressing responsibility to ensure that neighborhood change happens in a way that is beneficial for all. Otherwise, planning and development strategies advanced in the name of health may not be healthy or sustainable. This is not a task that public health departments can take on alone. The next section outlines the role that public agencies, including public health departments, can play in advancing a healthier and more humane version of development.



Beatriz Eugenia Mendez has been a member of CJC since July 2012. Originally from Guatemala, she moved to the U.S. in 1997 looking for a better future and better opportunities. Beatriz

has lived in the Excelsior neighborhood of San Francisco for the past nine years, having moved there after she was evicted from another unit; the landlord simply told her she had to leave. After nine years in her current home, Beatriz is once again facing eviction and harassment from her landlord. Fortunately, Beatriz sought out assistance and was referred to CJC where she was informed of her rights as a tenant and told that the landlord needed a just cause for eviction. Beatriz was also advised to leave a paper trail and began paying rent by check and requesting repairs in writing. The landlord didn't respond well and continued to threaten eviction, this time by having the property management company send an (invalid) eviction notice. This eviction

experience has been very different from Beatriz's eviction from her previous home. This time around she had the support of her CJC counselor and, knowing her rights, has been able to stay in her home since she was first threatened seven months ago. However, the landlord has refused to address repairs over the last seven months and Beatriz suspects he wants to make her desperate enough to vacate on her own.

"I'm thankful that all these protections are in place ... and every time there are protections people try to find ways to go around them. I think it's important to defend yourself and stay strong, because it's difficult to move around especially when there are not enough economic resources. Now, the rent is really high and one has to earn at least \$5,000, which is nearly impossible. Protections have supported me immensely because my economic situation has changed very much and knowing my rights and how to defend myself and how to be stable in one place has supported me very much."

– Beatriz Mendez, CJC Member

Organizing Toward a New Vision for Community Development

Human Development for Healthy and Sustainable Neighborhoods

As discussed above, the growing focus on sustainability has led to neighborhood developments addressing the environmental effects of industrial production (automobiles, industrial pollution, and the degradation of urban green spaces). Unfortunately this approach to sustainability while necessary, do not address the historic role of government deregulation and disinvestment. It has for the most part opened the door for a greenwashed, yet market-friendly, brand of corporate-led development. While more “walkable”, transit accessible developments serve eco-conscious new residents seeking to live closer to amenities and work, long time neighborhood residents reap few benefits. So-called “sustainable” developments generally create many of the same pressures that fuel gentrification and do not have the effect of increasing stability for long time residents and businesses. Working class communities of color have for decades suffered the brunt of environmental degradation but this new environmentally conscious approach to development does not seem to address either the history of environmental racism, nor the numerous health impacts facing working class communities today.

Even as cities strive to develop more “sustainable” development plans, or to encourage “transit-oriented development” and “walkable cities,” most of the fundamental processes remain the same. Success is measured primarily by the

amount of new economic activity that occurs, and the number of new, higher-income residents that move in. Little consideration is given to whether the health or economic stability of current residents is improved.

Collective Action Creates Human Development

Central to challenging this cosmetic brand of urban development is challenging the individualism embedded in popular ideas of “human development” that pervade urban redevelopment initiatives. Originating from 1970s rational choice theory and the ideas of conservative economist Gary Becker, this version describes the idea of human development as the accumulation of skills that enable individuals to make rational and profitable decisions. Rather than strengthening communities and social networks,



Paula Beal’s interest in housing and immigrant rights drew her to the work of CJJC. Paula is very active in her community and has been renting her current home in West

Oakland for the past four years. She knows many of her neighbors and has strong roots in the community. She has been a member of CJJC for 10 years.

proponents of this idea of human development breed competition and individualism.

This version of human development erases the history and current lived reality of communities most impacted by development. It inaccurately portrays gentrification as a result of competition between individuals with different levels of human capital, each exercising their personal choices about where they live, work, and play, as opposed to a phenomenon rooted in a long history of disinvestment and marginalization.

In an individualistic model of human development, gentrification is addressed by “empowering” individuals to be more competitive in the high-pressure technology and housing markets, both as a worker and as someone looking for housing. Instead, we propose putting a re-envisioned version of collective need and interest back into the concept of human development. In our framework of human development, the goal is to unite, organize, and empower communities to challenge historic and current inequities as a means towards building a new vision of



Young CJJC Members Uniting For Justice, Oakland

community health and sustainability that benefits all residents. Relationships and alliances have to be built between different groups that have been historically impacted by racialized disinvestment. Communities that have had to compete with each other for good jobs, housing, education, need to realize that individualistic conceptions of human development have prevented them from identifying shared interest and common struggle. Community organizing, and not competition between individuals, should be the basis of human development for working class communities of color.

Gentrification Can Be Prevented

Gentrification can be prevented, and it can be stopped in neighborhoods where it is occurring right now. Gentrification is not inevitable. While the forces that cause it are global, almost all development decisions and regulations are set at the local level. With organized working-class communities pushing for alternative forms of development a lot can be done. With a bold local public agency leading the way – without undue influence by political donations from developers, real estate interests, corporate lobbyists and landlords – much harm can be prevented.

Many urban theorists, and development theorists generally, point out that a “rising tide lifts



Homes For All National Campaign Launch, Oakland

all boats” model does not work for economic development, particularly under capitalism. Reagan’s trickle-down economics have been refuted. In fact, is it understood that economic development in our context is closer to a zero-sum game, though not entirely. This means as some get wealthier, others must get poorer.

In urban economics you can see versions of this playing out with the development of the suburbs at the expense of the development of the urban core. As the suburbs developed and capital development flowed there, the same capital flowed out of the cities, and those communities became underdeveloped. As the suburbs prospered, people in cities saw very little, if any, of the benefits of that development. This process has begun to reverse over the past several decades, with certain urban communities receiving a large influx of investment and outer-ring suburbs experiencing disinvestment.



Art by Melanie Cervantes

Those who cannot afford to remain in hot-market areas (where investment is happening) end up in the underdeveloped areas, whether by direct or indirect forces.

In a single-city model, one could argue that increased tax revenue from development could lift the boats of all residents by providing more services and amenities. Unfortunately, this is not how the urban development process works. Those with the financial and political means tend to advocate for additional resources for services that benefit them and for amenities that serve their interests – a dog park around Lake Merritt, for example, or additional police patrols in higher-income communities. Services that meet the needs of low-income communities of color in historically underdeveloped areas, like increased bus services or affordable, fresh foods, are rarely expanded substantially.

So as economic development is poised to enter a community, what can be done to capture the economic and human benefits of that development for the existing residents, and what models of development can be encouraged that maximize human development? Also, what models of development can be encouraged that do not take resources from one place and put them in another, but instead expand resources for all?

Cities and communities need a new vision for development that will actually improve outcomes for longtime, working-class residents and people of color.

In our vision, human development empowers a community to identify the types of housing, services and infrastructure that should be located in their neighborhood. It ensures that the needs and opinions of longtime residents are a central part in defining the vision for neighborhood development and change. It supports residents to do this by providing resources, tools and information; as well as centralizing decision-making power in the community. This approach to community development fosters institutions and enterprises

Positive development models should:

- ▶ Centralize the stability of working-class residents who reside in the communities
- ▶ Support community organizing and involve residents in making the actual decisions that impact the neighborhood
- ▶ Promote and measure positive human development outcomes in addition to economic indicators
- ▶ Acknowledge and support the importance of racial equity, community, and culture as parts of a healthy community

that have value to the residents, puts protections in place that prevent displacement and gentrification, and results in positive human development outcomes for all residents of the community.

The Role of Public Agencies in Promoting Human Development

Local governments have a unique responsibility and power to advance this vision of human development. This new approach must include a shift in governmental understandings of development and health, substantial changes in how land use planning and development decisions are made, and implementation of policies to protect against displacement and promote healthy development for all. This includes acknowledging the role that the public sector has played in enabling gentrification and displacement through both action and inaction, and the health consequences of these decisions. Furthermore, local governments must learn from mistakes of the past, including recognizing and protecting against the dangers of displacement. As urban development and land use planning practices move toward a greater focus on health and equity, public agencies must also broaden their understanding of health, including

The Mission Anti-Displacement Coalition Planning Principles For Community Development

- ▶ We are committed to a community driven planning process done in an inclusive manner—through community organizing, leadership training, focus groups and popular education --that ensures the participation of those members of our community who are disenfranchised, marginalized, and not usually heard.
- ▶ Our planning process will address the economic, racial, and social inequalities of the status quo.
- ▶ Our planning process will strive to advance the capacity of the community to address planning and development issues far into the future.
- ▶ Through our planning process we strive for transparency in the planning and rezoning process and city accountability.
- ▶ We will struggle to improve democracy in San Francisco by increasing the participation of Mission District residents in the decision-making bodies.
- ▶ We believe that all tenants have a right to safe, secure, and affordable places to live We support strong public policies that protect those rights
- ▶ We believe that real estate speculation destabilizes neighborhoods, communities and economies. We support regulation and controls on such speculation.
- ▶ We believe that the future of San Francisco as a culturally vibrant and creative city depends on its capacity to protect tenants from displacement and neighborhoods from gentrification.
- ▶ We are committed to building a democratic, inclusive, and nonviolent movement for social change to advance these values, beliefs, and policies.

recognizing the importance of strong community ties and social support for good health. The fields of public health and urban development must respect the needs and desires of existing residents, and see value in the assets, resources, and relationships that make every community a home, regardless of income.

Public agencies must also shift their fundamental approach to development, so that the



Homes For All Action, San Francisco

needs of existing communities are prioritized and residents are viewed as valued partners and change makers in their own neighborhoods. This should include significant changes in how development and land use planning processes occur, including proactive efforts to partner with community residents and community-based organizations to envision and decide on neighborhood change. While important shifts are happening in many places, such as the improvement of community engagement practices, the growth of research and planning partnerships between public agencies and community-based organizations, and the increased use of health impact assessments as a decision-making tool, these approaches must be strengthened, expanded, and implemented in other cities/regions so that they become standard practice. Furthermore, public agencies must measure the success of development in terms that go beyond economic activity to capture community

well-being, including the social, cultural, and health dimensions of prosperity.

Finally, local and regional agencies must implement policies and practices that promote development without displacement. This means working with residents to improve their lives, environments, and opportunities in the place they call home, including the development of housing and land use models that support asset-building and community ownership. Further, these agencies must ensure that neighborhood investments include protections against displacement and opportunities for existing residents to thrive in the places they live. Local governments can also use their power to protect existing residents from predatory private development and to incentivize ongoing investment in all neighborhoods.

As public agencies, community-based organizations, residents, and private sector actors all engage in discussions and action around displacement, public health can play a critical role in many aspects of this process. While public health departments are just one organization in a complex array of agencies, each with a different role in development, there are key opportunities for public health to support needed changes. Public health departments can disseminate research on the health impacts of displacement, weigh in on the potential health impacts of new development, connect community residents to decision-making processes, and support policy change to promote community stability, neighborhood affordability, and equitable investment in all neighborhoods.

Only when residents and communities are stabilized in the places they call home and included in the decisions shaping their neighborhoods will the “improvements” made to their environments be truly healthy and sustainable. Preventing displacement may be the single greatest challenge and the most important task in our collective efforts to create healthy communities for all.

Policy Findings & Recommendations

The following section outlines a set of recommendations based on our analysis of 14 key policy solutions for preventing displacement. Our research included a review of primary and secondary literature, and our analysis focused on policy design and function from tenants' rights and public health perspectives. The methodology for this research and analysis, including sources consulted, is described in detail in Appendix A. Based on this analysis, we developed a set of cross-cutting recommendations to strengthen all policies, and a framework of six key principles for preventing displacement. Within this framework, we make specific recommendations for how to maximize impact for each policy, and we also identify new "promising policies" that would support displacement prevention on a broader scale.

Cross-Cutting Recommendations for Policy Effectiveness



"Our housing groups traditionally have been either organizations of or advocates for homeless individuals and families, renters, and tenant organizations, or

private housing groups/anti-foreclosure groups. And so, much of their work has

happened in a very siloed way...Homes for All is the first place where we're bringing together all of those constituencies to begin local grassroots and national campaigns around [a] housing justice platform ... We have a lawsuit that we just filed last year against the FHFA, the Federal Housing and Finance Agency, because in 2008 under the HERA Law (Housing and Economic Recovery Act) they established something called a National Housing Trust Fund. And the purpose of the fund is to put money towards the creation and preservation of affordable housing, which has been divested from over the last 20 years. The revenue mechanisms for the National Housing Trust Fund were intended to be Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac. So, here you have what has become a public entity, essentially a public bank since they've been in receivership by the federal government that is supposed to be putting up a percentage of their profits each year into the National Housing Trust Fund in order to have that go into an investment in affordable housing. So far we know that they made \$382 million dollars in profit for 2012 and put not a penny into the Trust Fund. So, the lawsuit is an example of where we're able to link the private homeowner constituencies with the renter constituencies, because Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac are screwing the homeowners and at the same time with all of the profits that they're making they are pushing people out of their homes, they're also reneging on

the commitment and responsibility to fund affordable housing for people who would be renters. So it's been a really powerful piece of work that has unified those two constituents in a really solid way."

– Rachel La Forest, Executive Director, Right to the City (RTTC), New York

Based on our research and analysis, all policies would benefit from the below components:

- ▶ **Enforcement** is key to ensuring that policies actually achieve their intended impact on the ground, both in terms of protecting vulnerable residents and penalizing negligent landlords, developers, and/or government agencies. Enforcement efforts need to be funded, staffed and undertaken proactively rather than in response to resident complaints or appeals, so that residents do not have the burden of proving non-compliance.¹⁶² In addition, penalties for non-compliance should be incorporated into policies that aim to regulate developer, landlord, and government activity. For example, code enforcement activities should involve strong penalties, such as fees and building seizure and transfer, for negligent landlords in order to compel action on housing violations.¹⁶³ Tenant protection policies should include the right to administrative, legislative and judicial review.¹⁶⁴ In addition, penalties and incentives for all policies should be designed in order to leverage policies so that their impact goes beyond the primary policy goal to incentivize action on anti-displacement efforts more broadly.
- ▶ **Protections for vulnerable residents** are crucial in order to avoid negative unintended consequences for residents caught in the middle of enforcement.¹⁶⁵ For example, if adequate protections are not established, enforcement of a city's housing code could involve building closure and displacement of the building's residents, even if enforcement is intended to benefit residents' health.¹⁶⁶ Protections can be incorporated through establishment of legal rights for tenants under specific policies and through policy design features that minimize the potential for displacement. Protections should address rights under eviction, just compensation in cases of displacement, right to return if temporary relocation is necessary, and access to information about rights and opportunities.
- ▶ **Community organizing and resident outreach** are crucial in order for policies to be developed, implemented, and enforced for maximum positive impact on the populations who need them most.¹⁶⁷ Research has shown that when residents are directly contacted about their rights and opportunities under eviction protection law, they are nearly twice as likely to utilize the policy and legal processes in place by filing an appeal.¹⁶⁸ This finding can apply to other policies as well. Furthermore, engaging residents and community-based organizations in policy development can help to identify and prevent unintended consequences for vulnerable populations, such as low-income tenants.¹⁶⁹ Community organizing and outreach ensure that residents have access to the information they need and can act in a timely manner in response to changes in their housing and neighborhood conditions.¹⁷⁰ Without such support, residents may not be able to take advantage of critical windows of opportunity to preserve affordable housing and utilize existing protections against. Community organizing and outreach efforts should therefore be funded in connection to local and regional anti-displacement strategies.
- ▶ **Relocation benefits** should be incorporated into any policy that seeks to regulate housing activity and the loss of affordable rental units.¹⁷¹ For example, condominium conversion regulations should incorporate relocation benefits as compensation for residents who are displaced as a result of their unit's conversion. In addition, local

governments should explore ways to generate relocation funding through fees and taxes that are triggered by community stabilizing and displacement prevention policies that regulate developer activity (such as Real Estate Transfer Taxes, condominium conversion regulations, and displacement impact mitigation fees).

- ▶ **Affordable housing policies and programs should be tied to people in the same neighborhood.** Gentrification and displacement have neighborhood-level impacts and thus require solutions that can be targeted to the specific needs of a given neighborhood. Mitigation fees and taxes designed to minimize the impacts of displacement and raise funds for affordable housing are not often designated for use in particular neighborhoods. Furthermore, “in-lieu” fees incorporated into inclusionary housing policies are often chosen over on-site development of affordable units.¹⁷² Thus, policies designed to regulate housing activity through monetary penalties may not benefit residents in the same neighborhood where the development is taking place. Furthermore, affordable homeownership programs like homebuyer assistance programs do not often focus on supporting residents to stay in their existing homes and neighborhoods. Without this focus, homebuyer assistance programs may support low and moderate income residents in building valuable assets, but they are less likely to prevent displacement at the neighborhood level.¹⁷³ To address these issues, policies or programs that provide affordable housing through new construction or rehabilitation should include preferences for existing, low-income, and longtime residents in the same neighborhood. In addition, affordability requirements and incentives within new housing (such as inclusionary zoning policies) should be based on actual resident income and affordability needs within the neighborhood. Finally, any mitigation fees or “in-lieu” fees generated by new development should be prioritized for use within the same

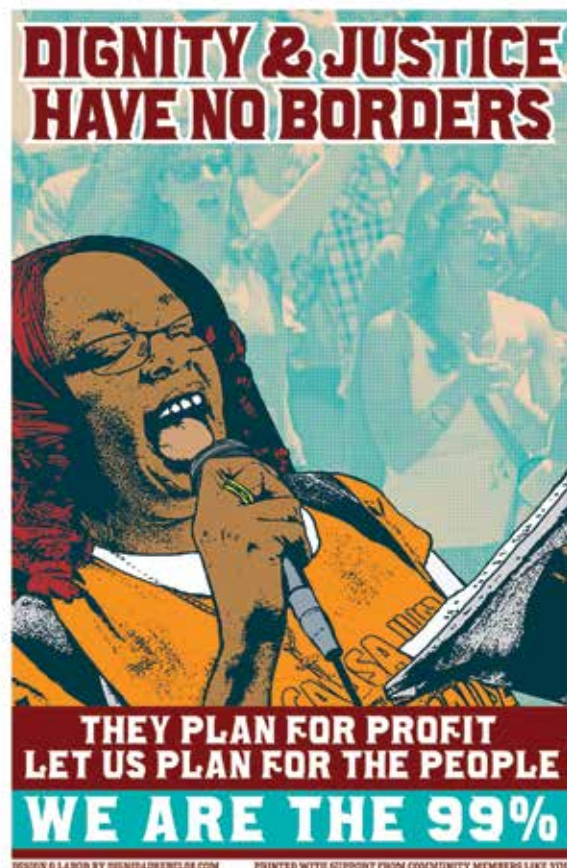
neighborhood where the triggering development is located.

- ▶ **Policies need to be advanced at the right stage.** While some policies are most effective and feasible in later stages of gentrification, many policies should be implemented when neighborhoods are susceptible to or in early stages of gentrification, in order to prevent substantial loss of affordable housing and protect vulnerable residents before the community is destabilized.¹⁷⁴ In addition, because policies take time to implement and neighborhoods can change quickly, all policies should be implemented in the earliest stage appropriate. See our below recommendations for notes on staging each policy based on neighborhood type. For an overview of our neighborhood typologies analysis and definitions of neighborhood types, see Appendix A.
- ▶ **Multiple policies need to be advanced at once** to address the complex nature of displacement. Multiple forces and actors drive displacement, including government, landlord, developer, investor, and individual resident activity. Similarly, displacement is impacted by different levels of decision-making, including federal, state, regional, and local. Individual policies often intervene in only one of these driving forces and/or compel action by one kind of actor at a time. The most promising strategy for preventing and minimizing displacement is by advancing multiple policies and practices, at multiple scales, and tailored to the specific needs of neighborhoods and cities.¹⁷⁵ The framework presented in the *Principles, Policies and Practices* section, below, organizes our individual policy recommendations under six key principles, each of which is essential for preventing displacement.
- ▶ **Equity impacts should be central to the policy debate about development and neighborhood change.** One way to support the adoption of stronger anti-displacement policies is to proactively shape

the public and policy debate on development and gentrification by ensuring that social equity impacts are always discussed and considered in relation to development decisions.¹⁷⁶ This means acknowledging the structural causes of gentrification and displacement, including the public sector actions and decisions that lead to gentrification, and discussing/documenting the potential impacts of planning and development decisions on long-term residents of the city. This approach can be built into policy decisions at the local and regional level through community health impact analyses that include targeted questions about equity impacts, a methodology for predicting displacement-related impacts, and a formula for calculating monetary value of impacts for translation into mitigation fees, as discussed later in this report.

- ▶ **Dedicated funding** is needed to ensure the success of many of the policies, programs, and practices discussed in this report. Funding is necessary not only for policies that involve subsidies but also for adequate enforcement and outreach to affected residents about their rights and opportunities. Local and regional governments should explore multiple funding sources to support anti-displacement efforts, including:
 - ▶ **Fees** collected on landlords through fines and registration of buildings, and fees levied on developers through mitigation fees.
 - ▶ **Taxes** attached to property sales (including Real Estate Transfer Taxes), and other taxes such as document recording fees. Care should be taken to avoid regressive taxes.
 - ▶ **Local funds**, such as housing trust funds and relocation funds, which may already exist in several cities. If they don't already exist, relocation funds should be created at the local level to ensure adequate support is available for the exclusive purpose of compensating residents faced with displacement and assisting them in identifying and securing high quality replacement housing.

- ▶ **State funding sources**, such as potential cap-and-trade revenue that may become available to support healthy and sustainable development projects.
- ▶ **Federal funding sources**, such as Community Development Block Grant (CDBG), HOME, and Federal Promise Zone funding. The downward trend in federal funding for affordable housing creates an environment in which revenue-driven development projects are supported by local governments, and it is difficult to provide the depth of subsidies that are needed to ensure truly affordable housing to long-term residents. Local and regional agencies should seek creative ways to apply existing federal funding sources and advocate for increased and/or renewed funding for affordable housing and community development.



Art by Dignidad Rebelde

Principles, Policies & Practices for Preventing Displacement:

Advancing a Comprehensive Housing Rights Framework

Displacement is driven by multiple forces, actors, and levels of decision-making and thus requires multi-faceted solutions. The below framework outlines six complementary principles that we believe are essential for preventing displacement. No single principle is a solution on its own; rather, these principles should be advanced in tandem, as each addresses a unique aspect or cause of displacement.

OUR SIX KEY PRINCIPLES INCLUDE:

- 1. Baseline protections for vulnerable residents**
- 2. Production and preservation of affordable housing**
- 3. Stabilization of existing communities**
- 4. Non-market based approaches to housing and community development**
- 5. Displacement prevention as a regional priority**
- 6. Planning as a participatory process**

On the following pages, we discuss policies and practices that fall under each principle and make recommendations for how to strengthen each policy for maximum impact. As each is introduced, we provide our synthesized findings

from the research and analysis, and we also highlight examples of strong “model” policies. We include implementation considerations, including responsible agency, stage of gentrification most effective, and where possible, ideas for enforcement. In addition to the policies that were researched and analyzed in depth, we also highlight several “new” policies and practice ideas revealed through our research or arising from dialogue with partners and stakeholders. These are promising policies and practices for which there may be limited existing research. We include these in our recommendations because we believe they would support displacement prevention on a broader scale by addressing gaps in other policies and/or by increasing transparency, participation, and accountability in local land use planning and development processes. Each of these policy ideas is indicated with a **[PP]** for “Promising Policy” and introduced with a rationale for inclusion. Where possible, we also highlight examples of where these ideas have been implemented.

Note on staging: We highlight the stage(s) of gentrification at which the policy would be most appropriate or effective in preventing displacement, due to housing activity, affordability of housing and land, and/or likelihood of displacement pressure on vulnerable residents. Our assessment of staging is based on recommendations from literature and our own analysis. Because many policies discussed in this document would

be implemented citywide, these policies should be implemented as soon as any neighborhood within the city reaches the stage of gentrification indicated. In addition, some policies include a suggested staging of “early and always” as they do not depend on specific neighborhood conditions and may be critical to establishing an environment in which other anti-displacement efforts will be successful. These stages correlate with the neighborhood typologies analysis and definitions outlined in Appendix A. For the purpose of these

recommendations, we have grouped the neighborhood types into three broad stages: Early, Middle, and Late. The below table outlines which neighborhood types fall under each of these stages:

EARLY	MIDDLE	LATE
Susceptible	Middle stages	Late stages
Early type 1		Ongoing gentrification
Early type 2		

A. Baseline Protections for Vulnerable Residents






Implementing baseline protections to prevent displacement of existing vulnerable residents is an essential foundation for any anti-displacement strategy. These include protections to: 1) keep people in their homes in the face of gentrification and displacement pressures from landlords and the housing market; 2) ensure that new affordable housing resources are made available to those who need them most; and 3) provide just compensation measures to assist residents with relocation in cases of displacement.

1. Protect vulnerable residents from displacement through “Just Cause” eviction ordinances. Local data and existing research has shown that evictions increase as neighborhoods experience gentrification.¹⁷⁷ When housing markets are tight and residents are given minimal warning and support to find replacement housing, evictions can lead to permanent displacement from neighborhoods. In order to prevent low-income tenants from being unfairly evicted by their landlords in the context of gentrification, cities should implement these ordinances to protect tenants in all residential rental properties within the city. Included in these ordinances should be a list of “just causes” for eviction and legal rights for tenants who are faced with eviction, including a clear legal process for filing eviction petitions as well as penalties, including fees and limited access to tax and other financial assistance, for landlords who unjustly evict tenants. Ordinances should require an

adequate window of time, at least 30 days, is given for tenants to respond to eviction notices. Relocation benefits should be required for all “no-fault” evictions (including Owner Move-In, Ellis Act, capital improvement/rehabilitation, demolition, and code enforcement activities). See A4 below for more details on relocation benefits recommendations. Furthermore, evictions should be prohibited in cases of building seizure and transfer due to code violations, and no-fault evictions should be prohibited for those particularly vulnerable to the impacts of displacement, such as the elderly, disabled, pregnant women, households with infants, and chronically ill tenants.

- ▶ **Implementing Agency:** Cities
- ▶ **Staging:** Early and always
- ▶ **Model:** San Francisco, CA: Just Cause for Eviction ordinance¹⁷⁸

SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS FOR JUST CAUSE EVICTION ORDINANCES

Community Ownership and Power	
Affordability and Housing Stability	
Housing Quality / Habitability	
Permanence and Loopholes	
Unintended Consequences	

Policy strengths:

- » Some evidence suggests that Just Cause Eviction ordinances can pave the way for future tenant protections.
- » Creates new legal rights for tenants to prevent eviction and protect them in cases of eviction.
- » Promotes housing stability for renters by supporting them to stay in their homes.
- » When combined with rent control, can promote neighborhood-level affordability by preventing and minimizing opportunities for rent hikes during vacancies caused by evictions. In California, because of vacancy decontrol, it's particularly critical to have strong local eviction protections.
- » If combined with code enforcement efforts, can promote housing quality for

renters by providing right of first refusal in cases of temporary “no-fault” evictions due to housing renovation, capital improvement, and rehabilitation.

- » Scale may be larger than rent control, as state level laws (such as in CA) limiting which buildings can be covered by rent control may not affect buildings covered by just cause eviction protections.

Concerns and considerations:

- » Only effective if tenants know their rights and how to respond to eviction through legal means.
- » May be ineffective in preventing displacement without rent control or vacancy control laws, even when right of first refusal provisions are included, as newly renovated unit may be unaffordable to original tenant.
- » May be ineffective in stopping displacement in cases where landlords consistently use “buy-out” offers to encourage tenants to move out of their units.



Cecilia Alvarado, CJC member since October 2013.

Cecilia Alvarado, 43, has been living in the area around San Francisco's Mission neighborhood since she emigrated from El Salvador at the age of 19. Her experience as an immigrant highlights the community resources that get dispersed, then lost, as a result of gentrification. Cecilia grew up in Cali, Colombia. After violence broke out in the 1970s, Cecilia's parents moved the family to El Salvador, just as political coercion was resulting in widespread violence. After a violent confrontation with militants just

across from her university, Cecilia moved to the U.S., with the phone number of her grandfather, a San Francisco resident, in hand. While Cecilia did not find her grandfather, she found a deeply supportive community in San Francisco's Mission district, where a priest and Salvadoran refugee groups gave her shelter and helped her find employment and housing. Decades later she has raised three children in San Francisco, all of whom grew up “in the heart of the Mission.”

Late last summer, Cecilia's landlord, who lives in Foster City, announced a spike in rent that Cecilia found unjust and exaggerated. She experienced phone threats and harassment by the bond attorneys hired by her landlord, who went as far as to post multiple eviction notices in public

view. Later, Cecilia found out that her landlord intended to evict her, make repairs to the small Potrero studio, and rent it for \$1,500, whereas she paid \$850 for the studio in need of repairs. Cecilia sought help from Causa Justa and looked into the legality of the eviction threats she was experiencing. She found that her landlord had her studio registered as a commercial property, enabling her to avoid rent control restrictions and to pass on utility charges to tenants. Cecilia also found a history of renting to undocumented immigrants, who were easily evicted in the past. Cecilia, who did not receive receipts for her rent payments, began to pay using money orders or checks to keep a personal record of her payments. When confronted with the information Cecilia gathered, the San Francisco Rent Board found her eviction unjust. After a personally draining and expensive court procedure, Cecilia was unable to prevent the \$200 rent increase, but was able to change her rental studio's status from commercial to residential, removing the burden of utility payments and uncontrolled future rent increases.

Cecilia laments the rapid transformation of the community that helped her settle in after escaping political unrest in El Salvador.

2. Establish strong anti-harassment policies to prevent landlords from coercing tenants into leaving their homes due to negligence, intimidation, or buy-out offers. [PPJ] Even when eviction protections exist, landlords may still push tenants out of their homes through various forms of harassment, coercion,¹⁷⁹ and/or neglect of basic property maintenance and repairs. These kinds of action and inaction can make low-income tenants' housing conditions uninhabitable and thus result in their displacement. Cities should establish policies that prohibit tenant harassment by clearly defining harassment to include: failure to provide housing services in line with housing, health, and safety laws; attempts to coerce tenants to vacate units with intimidation and offers of payment; and

interference with a tenant's right to quiet use and enjoyment of rental housing. Cities should set limits on the number of "buy-out" offers a landlord can make to each tenant and within the same building, and establish a registry of buy-out evictions that can be tracked at the neighborhood level by local rent boards or another administrative body charged with overseeing local tenant protection and housing policies. Incidents of harassment should result in citations and fines as part of a city's existing practice of enforcing housing and health codes, and the policy should include the right of action for individuals and organizations to sue landlords on behalf of tenants.

► **Implementing Agency:** Cities

► **Staging:** Early and always

3. Implement a comprehensive "right of first refusal policy" to maximize opportunities for existing residents to stay in their homes. Even when "just cause" eviction ordinances are in place, temporary relocation required for housing repair, rehabilitation, or conversion activities can lead to permanent displacement of existing residents.






This is particularly likely if residents do not receive clear information about when units are ready to be re-inhabited, or if they do not know their landlord intends to re-rent or sell the unit at a higher price. In order to minimize displacement of existing residents, cities should pass a "right of first refusal" policy to require any housing unit renovated through

redevelopment, rehabilitation (including due to code enforcement activities), conversion, or subdivision to be offered to existing tenants first, *before* being sold or re-rented on the private market. Furthermore, original tenants should be given the right to return at

prior rent levels, including any covered rent adjustments.

- ▶ **Implementing Agency:** Cities
- ▶ **Staging:** Early and always

SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS FOR RIGHT OF FIRST REFUSAL POLICY

Community Ownership and Power	
Affordability and Housing Stability	
Housing Quality / Habitability	
Permanence and Loopholes	
Unintended Consequences	

Policy Strengths:

- » Creates legal rights for individuals and families faced with displacement.
- » Can support housing stability for existing tenants by giving them an opportunity to

return to their original homes after temporary relocation.

- » Can increase housing quality by supporting tenants to return and benefit from renovations or rehabilitation of their original unit.

Concerns and Considerations:

- » Right of first refusal policies may be ineffective in preventing permanent displacement because newly renovated / converted units may be unaffordable to original tenants.

4. Strengthen local relocation policies to ensure that any resident displaced as a result of a no-fault eviction, including building closure due to uninhabitable conditions, or publicly funded development activity receives just compensation and comprehensive relocation assistance. Federal law requires relocation assistance be paid to any resident displaced as a result of federally funded development activity.¹⁸⁰ However, this assistance has historically been inadequate and residents have fallen through the cracks due to poor record keeping, inadequate staffing, and unmet or vague promises to return residents to their neighborhoods.¹⁸¹ To address these holes, cities should pass relocation policies attached to dedicated funding that will provide comprehensive benefits above and beyond what federal law requires, including benefits for residents displaced due to no-fault evictions in the private market. Relocation fees should be paid

to residents by the city in cases of publicly funded development activity and by landlords in cases of no-fault eviction. This assistance should include direct monetary compensation for the costs of moving (calculated retroactively), as well as the cost of at least three months' fair market rent plus additional benefits for households with residents who are elderly (65 years or older), children below age 18, or disabled and/or chronically ill. In addition, all displaced residents should receive access to case management services that will work with them to identify affordable, high quality replacement housing that meets their needs within the same neighborhood, if possible, or within the same city at a minimum. Case managers should work with residents to secure new housing, including navigating any barriers to eligibility related to credit and outstanding utility and rent bills. As part of these case management services, all residents should be consulted about their housing needs and






interest in staying in the city, and their contact info should be tracked in a database of relocation information. Relocation policies should also include a “build or find it first” provision to protect residents from being moved before adequate replacement housing is identified, and all replacement housing should be inspected for compliance with housing codes before being offered to displaced residents.

For residents relocated by public development activity, efforts should be made to minimize barriers to eligibility for replacement housing, and new criteria beyond what was required for original housing – such as eviction history and criminal records – should not be a basis for acceptance into new subsidized housing. If no adequate relocation housing is available within the city at the time it is needed, cities should consider paying additional benefits to residents to compensate them for displacement from the city.

In cases of temporary relocation due to rehabilitation or code enforcement activities, residents should be given clear timelines for relocation. They should also be paid relocation expenses up-front and an additional amount retroactively, depending on the length of time they were displaced. In addition, temporarily displaced residents should have the right to return at prior rent levels, including any covered rent adjustments. Residents should also receive additional benefits if displaced for more than one year. Local relocation funds can be generated in part by impact fees as discussed in F5.

- ▶ **Implementing Agency:** Cities
- ▶ **Staging:** Early and always
- ▶ **Models:** San Francisco, CA: Tenants’ Rights to Relocation for No-Fault Evictions¹⁸

SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS FOR RELOCATION POLICIES

Community Ownership and Power	
Affordability and Housing Stability	
Housing Quality / Habitability	
Permanence and Loopholes	
Unintended Consequences	

Policy Strengths:

- » Create legal rights for residents facing displacement.
- » Can support improved housing quality if residents are able to move to a higher quality replacement unit and/or a neighborhood with greater access to health-promoting resources.
- » If strong provisions are included to incentivize relocation within the same neighborhood and/or city, could slow or minimize displacement of existing residents.

Concerns and Considerations:

- » Relocation benefits often do not prevent displacement; rather, they compensate residents for displacement and support residents in moving to new homes and neighborhoods.
- » Without adequate support identifying high-quality replacement housing in a preferred location, residents could end up in a neighborhood with fewer health-promoting resources and institutions.
- » Without strong penalties and enforcement, including incentives for the city to identify affordable replacement housing within the same neighborhood/city, relocation benefits could actually facilitate displacement of residents from the city.
- » Relocation services are costly to staff, and adequate staffing is a crucial for successful relocation services.



Melissa Jackson, one of the newest members of CJJC, joined the organization a few months ago because her rent increased by more than she could afford. Melissa had been renting a condo in Oakland's Chinatown since 2009. The landlord found out from the Housing Authority that it was illegal to charge Melissa for electricity as a Section 8 holder and, therefore, raised rents to make up the difference. The Housing Authority was unwilling to pay the difference in rent at the higher rate, forcing Melissa to relocate. At 78 years old, this was a very stressful situation for Melissa who worried she may end up homeless. With help






from her granddaughter she was able to eventually locate another rental unit in West Oakland, but the experience was extremely stressful. Her only relocation assistance came from her family network. Without family she would likely have ended up in a far worse situation.

5. Implement a “reparations and right to return” policy that prioritizes a certain percentage of new affordable housing units for residents and families who were displaced from the same city due to publicly funded redevelopment projects. This policy should be considered and adopted by cities in which past redevelopment projects resulted in permanent displacement of large numbers of residents. This policy should be tied to the creation of a centralized database of contact information for residents and families displaced by publicly funded redevelopment projects. It should also include funding for outreach staff to consult with residents about their interest in returning to the city, and inform displaced residents about their rights, financial resources, and housing opportunities. Goals should be set for returning a certain number of displaced residents and family members each year, and

priority should be given to residents from populations who were disproportionately affected by publicly funded redevelopment, including populations of color and low-income residents. The same relocation assistance as discussed in A4 should apply, including pre-inspection of all eligible housing to ensure compliance with housing codes and assurance that eligible residents have clear information about available housing, a timeline for relocation, and financial assistance opportunities. Funding for this could come from a local relocation fund and be supplemented with federal sources.

- ▶ **Implementing Agency:** Cities
- ▶ **Staging:** Early and always
- ▶ **Model:** Hamtramck, MI: Housing reparations for residents and families formerly displaced by urban renewal.¹⁸

SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS FOR RIGHT OF RETURN POLICIES

Community Ownership and Power	
Affordability and Housing Stability	
Housing Quality / Habitability	
Permanence and Loopholes	
Unintended Consequences	

Policy Strengths:

- » Can provide justice to communities harmed by historic urban policy and reverse patterns of displacement.
- » Creates new rights and preferences for residents affected by displacement in the past and contributes to restoration

of community social networks and institutions.

- » Can increase housing quality if residents are able to move to new units that are of higher quality compared with their old homes.

Concerns and Considerations:

- » Without substantial affordable housing production connected to long term affordability conditions, clear timelines, goals, and penalties, this policy may be ineffective or extremely slow in returning displaced residents and families to their original neighborhoods.

- » Right of return policies are primarily mitigation policies, designed to minimize or redress the harms of past displacement. However they are not displacement prevention strategies.
- » Right of return policies are limited to residents who are displaced due to publicly funded housing activity. This would not address residents displaced as a result of private housing activity, including unjust evictions.
- » Because they prioritize displaced residents, right of return policies could limit the supply of affordable housing for existing/new low and moderate income residents in search of housing.



Gilda Haas, organizer, urban planner, and faculty at Antioch University in Los Angeles, discusses the Scott-Carver Homes Project in Miami, FL, and Right of Return policies.

“There was an example in Miami where they tore down public housing and they were negotiating to build some public housing and they realized that the housing authority had kept terrible records of who was displaced and where they were, because it was years later, and they couldn’t retrieve any information. So the Miami Workers Center put up a huge sign on the lot [where the former housing project stood] and

asked people to come and put down names of people that they [used to know/who used to live there] – because the community remembered ... and the community became the owner of the knowledge and producer of the knowledge...

...In order to have a right to return it has to be meaningful, it has to be protective. Having a timing mechanism is really important ... One of the problems about relocation and the right to return is that it’s separated from any housing stock. It’s a disembodied right. It doesn’t have any units connected to it. It doesn’t have any permanence. So even if you put someone in housing that is comparable in terms of price, how long is it going to be that way? Or, if you say we’re going to make up for the difference, we’re going to give you relocation benefits to make up for the difference in the price, what happens when those expire? ... People have to be really, really clear on the goals as opposed to a negotiated agreement in the moment. So if the goal is to keep people whole, for how long? Does it have to be in this neighborhood? What are you trying to accomplish?”

– Gilda Haas, Organizer, Urban Planner, and Faculty, Antioch University

B. Production and Preservation of Affordable Housing





While new affordable housing construction is most often recommended as an anti-displacement strategy in new development, this strategy does not actually prevent displacement of existing residents without a simultaneous effort to preserve existing supply. Furthermore, preserving affordability within existing units is more cost-effective than producing new affordable units altogether.¹⁸⁴ In order to maintain neighborhood affordability and truly prevent displacement, affordable housing resources should be dedicated to the preservation of existing affordable housing stock, including both the number of affordable housing units as well as the preservation of affordability within specific buildings. In order to maintain overall supply of affordable housing in relation to new market-rate housing, efforts should be made to incentivize affordable housing production within all new development. Affordable housing stock should be understood to include any privately or publicly owned housing that is affordable to families earning below 80 percent of the Area Median Income (AMI). Furthermore, cities and counties can play a key role in preservation by utilizing public assets (including public land) for affordable housing preservation efforts¹⁸⁵ and advocating for increased and renewed funding for affordable housing at the state and federal levels.

1. Implement a “No Net Loss” policy at the city level to require all affordable units lost through renovation, conversion, or demolition be replaced within the same neighborhood if possible and within the same city at a minimum. Cities should pass this policy to ensure preservation of all housing units in the public or private market that are affordable for households that fall within low, very low, and extremely low income brackets (80 percent Area Median Income and below, 50 percent AMI and below, and 30 percent AMI and below). Conduct a baseline assessment of affordable housing units within the city, broken down by neighborhood and affordability level (by income bracket). This inventory should include information on number of units, rent level of units, household size, and income of inhabitants. Inventory should include non-traditional housing units, such as residential hotel units. A moratorium on demolition, conversion, or other major rehabilitation that would result in loss of affordable housing should be established until inventory is complete. Based on this inventory, cities

should set goals for preservation within each bracket by neighborhood. These goals can be met through a combination of preservation, production, and inclusionary housing policies. All future housing activity within the city (including production and loss of affordable units due to demolition, conversion, expiring subsidies, rehabilitation, and rent increases) should be measured against the preservation goals set in each income bracket. In order to incentivize cities to meet housing preservation goals, regional agencies should consider making preservation performance part of the eligibility criteria for regional grant funding opportunities.

- ▶ **Implementing Agency:** Cities
- ▶ **Staging:** Middle to late stages of gentrification
- ▶ **Models:** Portland, OR: Central City No Net Loss Policy;¹⁸⁶ and Los Angeles, CA: Downtown Redevelopment Plan No Net Loss Policy¹⁸⁷

SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS FOR NO NET LOSS POLICY

Community Ownership and Power	N/A
Affordability and Housing Stability	
Housing Quality / Habitability	
Permanence and Loopholes	
Unintended Consequences	

Policy Strengths:

- » Supports long-term neighborhood and city-level affordability by ensuring that the overall supply of affordable units does not decrease over time, even as specific units or buildings are lost.
- » If used to incentivize preservation of existing units, including renewal of subsidy contracts and/or affordable rents, can support housing stability for existing residents.
- » If adequately enforced, may be the most effective way to guide preservation efforts within a city as they create a

comprehensive and accurate portrait of affordable housing supply.

Concerns and Considerations:

- » No net loss policies are only meaningful if the baseline inventory includes both subsidized and unsubsidized housing, as well as non-traditional housing units (such as residential hotel units). If staff are not funded to undertake the inventory in a comprehensive and quick manner, undetected loss of units may occur while the inventory is being completed, limiting the impact of preservation goals and delaying the implementation of monitoring activity.
- » If preservation goals are not specified at the neighborhood level, may not stop displacement from gentrifying areas.
- » Monitoring all housing activity in a given area may be costly and time-intensive.
- » Without strong penalties and funding, preservation goals may be difficult to meet.

“The crux of the matter is, how do you take units off the speculative market? What are anti-speculation devices? Because it doesn’t matter what you do. You can slow things down, but if everything else is increasing property values and increasing the desire to push people out then that’s what will happen. And inflated property values are the biggest source of displacement ... In poor neighborhoods that are changing, that are becoming rich neighborhoods, or low-value neighborhoods that are becoming high-value neighborhoods real estate-wise, it might be counterintuitive, but slum housing conditions actually get worse when property values go up because if it’s a slum landlord it’s not like they’re a good guy. And their intention is either to flip the property or tear it down. And so they’re not going to invest any money in repairs. People get pushed out because they [landlords] stop operating the elevator or people get pushed out because the plumbing hasn’t worked. There are lots of ways to push people out. There’s examples in Skid Row [in Los Angeles] where people got pushed out because someone came to their door with a gun and said you have to move right now. That’s an extreme example. Most of the other examples are increasing the immiseration of poor folks. Making it scary. You know, calling child protection on them because the children are living in conditions that the landlords themselves ... provided. ... It’s really speculation. So to the extent that the requirements ... for replacing units upfront [are clear and create] a situation where there’s never any net loss of units [is key].”

– Gilda Haas, Organizer, Urban Planner, and Faculty, Antioch University






2. Advance an affordable housing preservation strategy that is tied to preservation goals set at the city level. Cities should initiate proactive affordable housing preservation strategies that include the renewal of affordable housing contracts and/or affordable rents, as well as the purchase and transfer of vacant or neglected property to non-profits or tenants' groups for maintenance as affordable housing. In order to encourage preservation of affordable housing in the private market, cities should create compelling incentives for landlords to renew affordable housing contracts (if subsidized) and maintain affordable rents in private housing market if properties are not covered by rent control and vacancy control. Incentives could include financial assistance to cover the cost of needed repairs and rehabilitation or tax abatements in exchange for renewing long-term affordability contracts.

Cities should target their acquisition efforts on properties currently held by negligent landlords and banks in neighborhoods where foreclosure impacts are high. To support these efforts, cities should consider establishing the "right of first refusal" for the city, non-profit

organizations, and tenants' associations when the owner of any publicly subsidized housing property proposes to sell or transfer their property. Efforts to acquire and/or transfer property should include protections that prevent eviction of existing tenants during property transfer and sale. As part of a proactive preservation strategy, cities should actively monitor rent levels and affordable housing contracts for expiration and mortgage pre-payment, and this data should be shared with community groups and regional agencies for inclusion in a publicly accessible "early warning" database, as recommended in A5. This data should be used to target contract renewal and acquisition efforts on properties that are due for expiration and/or conversion to market rate housing.

- ▶ **Implementing Agency:** Cities
- ▶ **Staging:** Early, middle, and late stages of gentrification
- ▶ **Models:** San Francisco, CA: Assisted Housing Preservation Ordinance;¹⁸⁸ and Chicago, IL: Organization of the Northeast (ONE) preservation efforts⁸⁹

SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS FOR AFFORDABLE HOUSING PRESERVATION EFFORTS

Community Ownership and Power	
Affordability and Housing Stability	
Housing Quality / Habitability	
Permanence and Loopholes	
Unintended Consequences	

Policy Strengths:

- » If coupled with a property acquisition and tenant ownership strategy, preservation efforts can expand community ownership over housing and neighborhood conditions.
- » Can prevent displacement by maintaining affordable rent levels for low-income residents.

- » Contributes to neighborhood and city level affordability by maintaining supply or minimizing the loss of affordable housing.
- » Preservation efforts can improve housing conditions if the incentives provided to landlords involve financial assistance for rehabilitation and repairs.

Concerns and Considerations:






- » If preservation efforts focus on contract renewal for project-based housing subsidies, the permanence of these efforts will only be as long as the new contracts.
- » Contract renewal efforts are only effective if tenants, community organizations, and the city keep track of buildings with subsidy contracts, type of subsidies, and contract expiration dates.

3. Implement rent control policies to set maximum annual rent increases and provide clear legal avenues for tenants to dispute rent increases, in order to minimize displacement of low-income tenants. Cities should pass rent control along with the establishment of a rent board or other administrative agency tasked with enforcing rent policies, educating the public about tenants' rights, and responding to tenant and landlord disputes. Rent control policies should cover all residential rental properties, depending on state legislation.¹⁹⁰ As part of a rent control policy, cities should prohibit or limit rent increases due to needed rehabilitation, renovation, or mortgage and debt service (capital improvements), which serve to maintain basic levels of housing habitability. If not prohibited by state legislation, rent control policies should include vacancy control measures to prohibit the raising of rent upon

vacancy of covered units. Fees should be paid by landlords of covered buildings to cover administration and enforcement costs. Cities should ensure significant tenant representation on rent boards or any other administrative oversight body tasked with making decisions on rent disputes and amending and enforcing rent control policies. Local and regional jurisdictions should advocate for needed changes at the state level, including changing legislation that limits vacancy control and the number and type of buildings covered by rent control.

- ▶ **Implementing Agency:** Cities
- ▶ **Staging:** Middle to late stages of gentrification
- ▶ **Model:** San Francisco, CA. Rent Ordinance⁹¹

SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS FOR RENT CONTROL

Community Ownership and Power	
Affordability and Housing Stability	
Housing Quality / Habitability	
Permanence and Loopholes	
Unintended Consequences	

Policy Strengths:

- » Establishes new legal rights for tenants, and can establish the foundation for broader tenant protections within a city.
- » Very directly affects affordability at neighborhood level by limiting rent increases within private housing market.
- » If rent control policies prohibit rent hikes due to renovation and rehabilitation, they can support improvements in housing quality by maintaining affordability for existing residents and allowing them to benefit from improvements.

Concerns and Considerations:

- » Affordability controls are not tied to specific residents, so there is no way to ensure that those who benefit are those who need protections the most.
- » Impact of rent control in California is limited due to state level legislation that prohibits vacancy control and excludes condos and single-family buildings from being covered by rent control policies. Without vacancy control, rent control policies are easily avoided by landlords who find reasons to evict residents.
- » Rent control is regularly attacked by landlords and developers and requires a strong tenants' rights coalition to sustain over time.
- » If enforcement is solely based on tenant appeal, and if tenants don't have access to legal services and information about their rights, landlords may get away with illegal rent hikes.



Cleo Pitts, a CJJC member for more than a decade, has lived in East Oakland for the last 32 years. He had been the manager of his apartment complex for almost three decades, until 2005. As a neighborhood watch captain and former housing manager, residents often come to Cleo for assistance. In addition to resident safety and building maintenance concerns, Cleo has also been battling with the landlord over unlawful rent increases and has had to prepare for hearings on the matter. Being on a fixed income, like many other tenants in the complex, he sees the rent hikes as unfair and unlawful. As an advocate and representative of his community he is committed to fighting for what is right.

4. Establish condominium conversion regulations to limit the number and type of housing units that can convert from rental to for-sale condominium units within a given year. Cities should establish these kinds of regulations in order to minimize loss of affordable rental housing and the resulting displacement that can occur for low-income tenants. Eligibility for conversion should be based on a lottery system, plus code violation history, eviction history, and majority of units in building owner occupied. Regulations should specify tenant protections to prevent displacement of vulnerable residents during the conversion process, including right of first refusal for existing tenants and relocation benefits for any tenant who is forced to move because they cannot afford the new price of the unit. In addition, seniors, disabled, and chronically ill tenants should have the right to a lifetime rent-controlled lease under any conversion. All other tenants should have the right to one year of a rent-controlled lease after the unit is converted. Owners should be

charged a fee for conversion that is based on the sales price of the converted condominium, and fees should go towards a local housing trust fund and/or relocation fund. As part of these regulations, cities should require one-to-one replacement of converted units, which can be met through production of new rental units, purchasing “conversion rights” from a builder of rental units, or paying into a relocation or housing trust fund. Cities should also consider tying the number of conversions allowed per year to affordable housing preservation goals for the city, with no or limited conversions allowed if the city falls below its preservation goals for the year. Include special protections for populations particularly vulnerable to the impacts of displacement, including residents who are elderly, disabled, pregnant women, households with infants, and chronically ill.

- ▶ **Implementing Agency:** Cities
- ▶ **Staging:** Middle to late stages of gentrification

SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS FOR CONDOMINIUM CONVERSION REGULATIONS

Community Ownership and Power	
Affordability and Housing Stability	
Housing Quality / Habitability	
Permanence and Loopholes	
Unintended Consequences	

Policy Strengths:

- » Can introduce new legal rights for tenants in conversion process.
- » If regulations are used to limit the number of type of conversions, can support neighborhood level affordability by slowing the loss of affordable rental units.
- » In cities and neighborhoods with strong housing markets, condo conversion

regulations are direct way to slow displacement of existing residents who may be unable to purchase their units after conversion.

- » If residents are given right of first refusal and they're able to stay after conversion, can support improvements in housing quality for existing residents.
- » If fees or 1:1 replacement requirements are included in conversion regulations, can raise funds for affordable housing, relocation, and/or displacement prevention activities.

Concerns and Considerations:

- » May be temporary, based on the housing

market conditions, and are also vulnerable to attack from landlords and real estate.

- » Without strong eligibility requirements for conversion, conversion regulations may enable many units to convert without slowing loss of affordable units.
- » While conversion regulations slow displacement of existing residents and mitigate the impacts, they do not prevent displacement altogether, as many residents will eventually be forced to move due to unaffordable cost of converted units.
- » Depending on concessions made during the policy making process, could result in a policy with limited impact due to exempted buildings.

Model: San Francisco, CA. Condominium Conversion Legislation¹⁹² San Francisco Condo Conversion Win

In 1984, the city amended its 1979 Condominium Conversion Ordinance by placing a 200-unit cap on annual conversions, in order to preserve the availability of the city's rent-controlled housing stock and curb speculation.¹⁹³ Along with the cap is a lottery system that determines which units are allowed to be converted to condos. The wait can often take years, and the cap and lottery have been challenged on a number of occasions since the legislation was passed. Although tenants' rights groups have always stepped up to defeat any challenges, 2013 proved to be a different year.

There is a loophole in the condo conversion cap and lottery system called Tenancy in Common (TIC), which allows concurrent ownership of a property across two or more owners. Under condo conversion legislation, existing apartment buildings with more than six units cannot be converted to condominiums, although a group of tenants or investors may buy the building under a shared

mortgage through a TIC. Ellis Act evictions, when a landlord removes its rental property from the market and essentially goes out of business, is a tactic that landlords often use to evict existing rental tenants and clear the way for TIC tenants. Under the Ellis Act, landlords cannot evict a single tenant paying a lower rent, all tenants must be evicted. In addition, landlords face restrictions on re-renting the property under the Ellis Act and must charge the same rent as evicted tenants within five years of the evictions. These restrictions do not apply however, if the owner were to convert the units to TICs, in which case the property is collectively purchased, often with the expectation to sell or go condo within a short timeframe and make a large return. TICs are often a draw for middle-class residents looking for affordable homeownership and investment opportunities through a shared mortgage on a property, wherein each owner resides in a particular unit. The downside is that if one owner defaults on the mortgage, all default. Also, with new financing restrictions

placed on TICs after the 2008 financial crisis, many TIC owners were eager to convert to condominiums, which don't face the same financial restrictions.¹⁹⁴ The condo cap and lottery system was a hindrance for many TIC owners who wanted to convert their units to condos and improve their economic conditions. The situation came to a head in 2013 when legislation was introduced to approve the 2,400 TIC conversions on the waiting list, essentially eliminating the 200 per year cap altogether.

Speculators had been advocating for minimal condo conversion regulations for years and had voiced concerns over the cap and lottery since its existence. They were always met with fierce opposition (and rightly so) from tenants' rights groups protecting the interest of struggling tenants. TIC owners, however, were facing financial hardships due to tightening financing regulations for TICs, and had made a strong case as to why their units should be allowed to go condo in order to improve their financial situation.¹⁹⁵ The concern for tenants' rights groups was that allowing the conversion of the 2,000-plus TICs on the condo conversion waiting list, some of which had been waiting for nearly a decade, would deliver a severe blow to the rent-controlled housing stock in San Francisco (TIC units are technically still considered rent-controlled units). Not only would converting a TIC to condo allow for refinancing, condos are attractive investments due to a state law called the Costa-Hawkins Act, passed in 1996, which excludes condos from rent control, meaning that once a rental unit is converted to a condo it is no longer subject to rent control, even if the owner rents it out. This statement from Fernando Martí, Co-Director of the Council of Community Housing Organizations in San Francisco, and Sara Shortt, Director of San Francisco Housing Rights Committee, rings true: "Every condo-converted housing unit is one rent-controlled unit that the City will never

get back."¹⁹⁶ Because condo conversions are often a speculative practice in which owners "flip" a property in order to earn a big payout, both homeownership and rental opportunities in newly converted condos remain financially out of reach for the many struggling, working-class San Franciscans.

The new legislation introduced in 2013 would have eliminated the cap and lottery system altogether but stakeholders, including tenants' rights groups, environmental organizations, affordable housing advocates and developers, labor groups, law firms, and public policy organizations worked together to broker a compromise allowing the 2,000-plus TIC owners currently in the condo lottery to be approved, while instituting a moratorium on condo conversions for the next 10 years. The amended legislation was passed by the San Francisco Board of Supervisors by an 8–3 vote. The 200-unit yearly cap on conversions amounted to 2,000 condo conversions over a 10-year period; so while 2,000-plus units were converted, 2,000 other units were saved from conversion during the 10-year moratorium. Tenants' rights groups and affordable housing advocates conceded to the agreement since the TIC units on the waiting list were already seen as units that had "left" the rental housing market. The deal also includes other protections for tenants, for example, every unit converted must be replaced with a new affordable unit or the moratorium will continue; tenants in apartments going condo must receive lifetime leases; condo conversions will be prohibited in existing 5–6 unit buildings (the 200 per year condo conversion cap applies to 3–6 unit buildings) after the 10-year moratorium to emphasize that the goal of conversions are to create homeownership opportunities not housing market speculation; and there would need to be a two-thirds owner occupancy requirement in a building in order for it to go condo (under previous legislation only one-third owner occupancy was required).¹⁹⁷



"This policy isn't the end-all-be-all. It's not even going to stop – it hasn't stopped – many of the evictions that we're fighting now. What it did do is that it gave us ... positioning, created the relationships that we needed to continue building coalition and movement, and it gave us the effective talking points and analysis that we needed to be able to move the work forward in a really effective way. One of the biggest wins, I think, of the campaign on condo conversions was not the policy wins, but rather, that San Francisco legislators are now having conversations about speculation. The mayor said 'speculation' the other day; he was

like, speculation in the housing market is not acceptable, which is something that had never happened before last year [2013]. We were very clear that the reason why we were moving this policy and this legislation in the way that we were was to minimize, regulate, and disincentivize the kind of gold rush speculation of housing in this new boom. I think that's one of the key ways, being able to have an effective narrative that kind of changes the public conversation into a direction that you want it to go and is going to effectively feed into the other efforts that you have."

– Maria Zamudio, San Francisco Housing Rights Campaign Organizer, Causa Justa :: Just Cause






5. Incentivize affordable housing construction through Inclusionary Zoning (IZ) policies.

Cities should establish inclusionary zoning policies in order to encourage production of affordable housing units within new market-rate housing developments. These policies should apply to all residential development projects above a certain threshold and include specific requirements for very and extremely low income levels (50 percent AMI and below, and 30 percent AMI and below). In states where mandatory IZ is not prohibited for rental housing, cities should prioritize mandatory policies over voluntary policies, as they have proven to be more effective in producing affordable housing.¹⁹⁸ For onsite inclusion of affordable units, require that affordability levels are set based on actual need and

distribution of household income in the neighborhood. If offering an "in-lieu fee" option, set fees at a level high enough to incentivize onsite construction based on nexus study, and require that fees go into a city housing trust fund or relocation fund and be prioritized for use within the same neighborhood as the triggering development, if possible. Consider adopting a "tiered" approach to inclusionary zoning, which would tie affordable housing requirements to sales or rental prices of new market rate units, requiring higher proportions of affordable housing in areas with stronger housing markets.

- ▶ **Implementing Agency:** Cities
- ▶ **Staging:** Middle to late stages of gentrification

SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS FOR INCLUSIONARY ZONING (IZ)

Community Ownership and Power	
Affordability and Housing Stability	
Housing Quality / Habitability	
Permanence and Loopholes	
Unintended Consequences	

Policy Strengths:

- » Can support neighborhood level affordability by maintaining supply of affordable housing in relation to new market rate housing.
- » Can increase funding for anti-displacement activities and affordable housing production via in-lieu fees.
- » If existing residents in the neighborhood are prioritized for new affordable units, could support improved housing quality.
- » If IZ policies in-lieu fees for developers that do not build affordable units, can raise funds for affordable housing, relocation assistance, and/or other displacement prevention activities.

Concerns and Considerations:

- » Limited efficacy due to a recent California court ruling outlawing mandatory IZ for rental housing projects.
- » Even if mandatory IZ is adopted, in-lieu fees may not be high enough to encourage developers to build affordable housing on-site.
- » If in-lieu fees are not used for affordable housing production in the same neighborhood where fees were generated, this policy may do nothing to stop displacement and loss of affordable housing in gentrifying neighborhoods.
- » If IZ remains voluntary and if proportion of affordable units required for incentives isn't high enough, it may function as a subsidy for market rate housing without effectively increasing the supply of affordable housing to needed levels, thus increasing the overall ratio of market rate to affordable housing.
- » Depending on strength of penalties or incentives, IZ may discourage new housing development altogether
- » IZ depends on a strong housing market to raise revenue through in-lieu fees.

C. Stabilization of Existing Communities

Gentrification is largely driven by histories of uneven investment, including a legacy of disinvestment in low-income neighborhoods and communities of color. In order to prevent the rapid real estate value increases and displacement that come with a sudden influx of investment in historically disinvested neighborhoods, cities should move toward a balanced development approach that involves ongoing investment in and maintenance of housing, community resources, and infrastructure in all neighborhoods, particularly low and moderate income neighborhoods with a history of disinvestment. In addition, cities should support home ownership and other forms of asset building for existing low- and moderate-income residents, in order to increase stability and resilience against the forces of neighborhood change.¹⁹⁹ Finally, cities should implement policies to penalize speculative investment in order to reduce the amount of property flipping that can catalyze housing price increases and displacement in neighborhoods that are in early or middle stages of gentrification.

1. **Advance a more proactive approach to code enforcement.** Cities should implement a proactive rental housing inspection policy to identify, document, and address any code






violations in rental housing in order to ensure that landlords maintain habitable conditions for tenants. Code violations should be tracked geographically so that inspections can be

targeted to the buildings with the greatest violations and/or history of violations. In addition, owner residence within a building should not exclude a building from being inspected. Cities should work with community-based organizations and health departments to ensure that any violations hazardous to health are addressed swiftly, and that residents are informed and protected from retaliation throughout the process. Before undertaking a proactive inspection, cities should ensure that tenant protections are in place to prevent eviction or displacement of existing residents due to code violations and ensure relocation benefits are made available in cases where tenants must move. Building seizure and transfer should be prioritized over building closure, unless major habitability issues jeopardize tenants' well-being. In cases of property seizure and transfer, rent hikes should be prohibited at least until the building is brought up to code, and the costs of any repairs made in response to code violations should not be allowed to be charged to tenants. Fees for code violations should accumulate, so that

greater costs are levied as the number of violations increases. Landlords should have the option of transferring property to non-profit housing developers, oversight organizations for cooperative housing models, such as those discussed in D1, and tenants' associations in exchange for reduced fees. After a certain number of violations, a building should be seized by the city as part of an affordable housing preservation strategy as discussed in B2 and transferred to non-profit organizations or a tenants' association for maintenance as affordable housing. Annual fees should be paid by landlords of covered buildings to pay for inspection and enforcement activities.

- ▶ **Implementing Agency:** Cities
- ▶ **Staging:** Early to middle stages of gentrification
- ▶ **Model:** Washington, D.C.: Columbia Heights tenant organizing and negotiations around negligent landlord and code enforcement activity;²⁰⁰ Los Angeles, CA: Systematic Code Enforcement Program (SCE)²⁰¹

SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS FOR PRO-ACTIVE CODE ENFORCEMENT EFFORTS

Community Ownership and Power	
Affordability and Housing Stability	
Housing Quality / Habitability	
Permanence and Loopholes	
Unintended Consequences	

Policy Strengths:

- » If the city responds to major code violations with building seizure and property transfer to non-profit or tenants' groups, code enforcement activities can support tenant ownership of housing.
- » Supports housing quality and habitability for tenants if pursued pro-actively and with strong tenant protections in place.

- » If strong tenant protections are respected and if tenants' organizations are involved in code enforcement efforts, code enforcement can support housing stability and affordability for existing residents by enabling them to stay in their units during process of addressing violations.

Concerns and Considerations:

- » Even in cases where strong tenant protections are observed, major code violations that threaten health and safety can result in building closure and relocation for tenants.
- » Code enforcement practices are dependent on positive working relationships between city staff, community organizations, and local health departments and are thus vulnerable to changes in staffing and associated priorities.



Krista Sampson, a member of CJC for the past two years, was displaced from her East Oakland apartment after her landlord refused to address housing code violations. The landlord, who often harassed tenants, refused to make repairs and made living conditions difficult for Krista and her family. Krista eventually contacted the Housing Authority and was given an abatement voucher, which meant she had to move because the Housing Authority could not provide rental assistance for a unit that was substandard. Krista was given three months to find new housing on her own and did not receive relocation assistance. The landlords were not held accountable for their actions.

2. Track public investment at the neighborhood level and use this information to improve equity in budgeting decisions.

[PP] Tracking investment at the neighborhood level has the potential to reveal patterns of uneven investment that can lead to gentrification and displacement, while supporting equitable shifts in investment priorities.²⁰² Cities should adopt a policy that requires all city agencies to track budgeting decisions, including provision of services, infrastructure, and public subsidies for private development, by neighborhood. This tracking should include capital, operating, and maintenance budgets, and efforts should be made to distinguish staffing costs from other operations expenses so as to accurately capture investments that are attached to place. Cities should use this information to prioritize and target spending in

neighborhoods with currently low investment, as well as in neighborhoods that have been historically disinvested. In neighborhoods with currently or historically low investment, cities should consider small scale, regular investments in infrastructure, services, and housing and commercial development rather than large, “catalytic” development projects. As discussed in E4, data on historic and planned investment should be combined with an analysis of neighborhood change, in order to inform appropriate types of public investment and policy strategies to prevent displacement.²⁰³

- ▶ **Implementing Agency:** Cities
- ▶ **Staging:** Early and always
- ▶ **Model:** Portland, OR. Budget mapping initiative²⁰⁴








Margarita Ramirez faced eviction from her home in Oakland while modifying her loan with the bank. With the help of CJC, Margarita was able to negotiate lower monthly payments, but the bank was also brokering a deal to sell the home to a third party, which ultimately went through. Margarita has lived in Oakland for the past 23 years, 16 of which have been in her current home. She is still fighting to keep her home. Margarita has been a member of CJC for the past three years.

3. Create and/or support existing homeowner and renter protection programs to assist low-income, longtime, and/or elderly renters and homeowners stay in their homes and maintain habitable housing conditions. Cities should establish or support existing programs with a focus on low-income homeowners in gentrifying and/or susceptible neighborhoods. Financial assistance to applicants could include tax relief, grants, and loans to cover down payments, mortgage payments, and the costs of making needed repairs to support healthy housing conditions. These repairs could include roof repair, plumbing, electrical work, energy efficiency retrofits, and the creation of affordable (below market rate) in-law

rental units within homes to provide a source of income. Consider funding programs that provide one-time cash assistance to families falling behind on rent or mortgage payments so that they do not lose their housing due to temporary hardship. Funding for this program could come from a regional anti-displacement fund.

- ▶ **Implementing Agency:** Cities
- ▶ **Staging:** Middle to late stages of gentrification
- ▶ **Model:** Alameda County, CA: Alameda County Priority Home Partnership;²⁰⁵ Philadelphia, PA: Longtime Owner Occupants' Program (OOP)²⁰⁶

SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS FOR HOMEOWNER PROTECTION POLICIES

Community Ownership and Power	
Affordability and Housing Stability	
Housing Quality / Habitability	
Permanence and Loopholes	
Unintended Consequences	

Policy Strengths:

- » Secures the benefits of homeownership for existing residents by helping them to stay in and keep their homes in the face of gentrification pressures.
- » Contributes to housing stability of existing community by increasing affordability for long-time homeowners through tax breaks, grants, and other forms of financial assistance.

- » If combined with grants to support repairs and rehabilitation, can support healthy improvements to housing.
- » Directly prevents displacement of longtime residents and supports a mix of homeowners and tenants.

Concerns and Considerations:

- » Deferred or low-interest loans could be a burden to pay off for low-income households.
- » Homeowner protection programs that involve tax relief for low-income households may require changes to local legislation and thus are more complex to pursue.
- » These programs are costly to administer and reliant on grant funding. Also needed repairs may be more extensive and costly than expected.



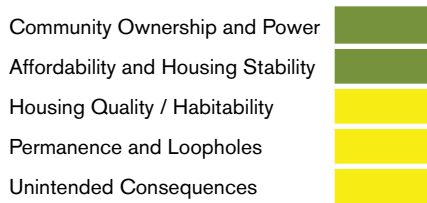
Wallace Hill was given a subprime loan for his four-unit rental property in West Oakland that accelerated to the point where he could not afford it. His rents were going down and the loan was going up. Wallace owed nearly three times the depreciated value of the home and did not have the opportunity to refinance. Wallace ultimately lost his property to foreclosure. Wallace has been a member of CJJC for the last four years.

4. Create and/or support existing homebuyer assistance programs that assist low- and moderate-income tenants to purchase homes for the first time, with a focus on supporting tenants in susceptible and gentrifying neighborhoods to purchase their own homes and/or other homes in the same neighborhood. Cities should partner with non-profit organizations to establish and/or expand existing programs. Eligibility criteria for applicants should include, but not be limited to, residence in a low-income, gentrifying, or susceptible neighborhood, income status, and residence in a property being put up for sale by the landlord. Fast-tracking options should be made available to residents facing hardship due to family illness or foreclosure. Eligible homes for purchase should include property acquired by the city as part of a proactive preservation strategy,

as well as applicants' existing homes. All properties up for purchase should be inspected to ensure compliance with housing and health codes and, if needed, rehabilitation funding should be made available to tenants in advance of purchasing their new homes. Efforts should be made to pair applicants with properties in their own neighborhood (if residents desire to stay). These programs should combine financial assistance, including low-interest loans, grants, and tax abatements, with homeownership and foreclosure prevention counseling. Funding for this program could come from a regional anti-displacement fund.

- ▶ **Implementing Agency:** Cities
- ▶ **Staging:** Early to middle stages of gentrification

SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS FOR HOMEBUYER ASSISTANCE POLICIES



Policy Strengths:

- » If designed to support existing tenants purchase homes in their own neighborhood, can increase tenant and existing community ownership over housing and neighborhood resources.
- » Homeownership significantly increases stability by giving residents power over their housing terms and conditions in the long term.
- » If tied to appropriate counseling, education, and financial assistance, can prevent mortgage delinquency and foreclosure in the face of hardship.
- » Homeownership programs may enable

residents to better control and address needed repairs, thus supporting improved habitability and housing quality.

Concerns and Considerations:

- » If eligibility is not tied to income and neighborhood of residence, homebuyer assistance programs may not stop displacement of existing residents from gentrifying neighborhoods.
- » If inadequate financial assistance and counseling are offered, mortgage payments could introduce a new financial burden onto low-income residents.
- » If designed to support tenants in purchasing converted rental housing, may decrease overall supply of affordable rental housing in the neighborhood, further squeezing low-income tenants.
- » Requires substantial funding to be renewed for staff administration, grants, loans, and financial assistance and counseling.

D. Non-Market Based Approaches to Housing and Community Development

In order for development to have different results than it has in the past, public agencies must support models of housing and community development that prioritize resident ownership and capacity-building over profit generation. At the same time, the negative influence of speculation – or property-based profit generation without investment in the local community – must be actively discouraged. The below strategies can be used to build community cohesion and capacity, expand the supply of permanently affordable housing, build resident ownership, and slow the tide of gentrification and displacement.






1. Support the development of Community Land Trusts (CLTs), Limited Equity Housing Co-Ops (LEHCs), and other cooperative land and housing arrangements

in order to build low-income resident capacity and ownership over housing conditions, while providing long-term affordable housing. Cities should seek opportunities to partner with existing organizations (including CLTs and LEHC support organizations) to implement these models at a larger scale. Cities can support these models by prioritizing CLT's and LEHC's within local and regional funding streams, designating and transferring public land and property for development of these models, and establishing "seed" organizations to support and train residents in forming and joining CLT's and LEHC's. In designing CLT and LEHC programs, cities and/or oversight organizations should prioritize resident membership based on income status and lack of access to private wealth. In addition, cities should seek partnerships with Community Development Finance Institutions (CDFI's) to support eligible low-income, low-wealth residents in obtaining access to affordable credit to cover the cost of a mortgage and down payment. In addition,

consider reserving some units as transitional temporary rental housing for applicants who have satisfied preliminary application requirements and are in the process of obtaining and/or restoring the necessary credit and cash for final purchase. These applicants should also have access to homeownership and foreclosure prevention counseling, as discussed in C3. Individual for-sale units should have long-term affordability terms that limit resale value. Decisions over land and property use should rest with CLT and LEHC membership structure. In order to maximize funding opportunities, cities and regional agencies should also advocate for eligibility of these models within state and federal funding streams, including the costs of forming an oversight organization and acquiring property.

- ▶ **Implementing Agency:** Cities, counties, and regional agencies
- ▶ **Staging:** Early to middle stages of gentrification
- ▶ **Model:** Oakland, CA: Oakland Community Land Trust;²⁰⁷ Burlington, VT: Burlington Community Land Trust⁰⁸

SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS FOR LIMITED EQUITY HOUSING CO-OPS AND COMMUNITY LAND TRUSTS

Community Ownership and Power	
Affordability and Housing Stability	
Housing Quality / Habitability	
Permanence and Loopholes	
Unintended Consequences	

Policy Strengths:

- » Both models of housing promote community ownership over housing and neighborhood resources as well as decision-making power within the community.
- » Because both models are designed to limit resale price increases, they provide long-term affordability for current and future residents.
- » Both models support improved housing quality and habitability by giving members decision-making power over their buildings and units, and saving costs to members which can enable residents to make needed repairs and rehabilitation.

Concerns and Considerations:




- » Depending on eligibility criteria for membership, these models might not benefit existing residents who most need affordable housing and instead attract new, moderate and/or middle income residents.
- » LEHC's have more limited affordability controls as they are not tied to the land and they also tend to allow residents greater equity through resale than CLT's. While this may benefit individual residents who choose to sell, over time, the relative affordability of covered housing may decrease.
- » Some of the common state and federal funding sources for affordable housing need to be adjusted to include LEHC's and tenant-owned housing as an eligible use of funding.
- » These housing models are costly to implement and require substantial funding and subsidies, particularly in gentrifying neighborhoods where land value is increasing.
- » CLT's and LEHC's usually operate at a small scale. Cities should support these models at greater scale by designating public land for development of these models and establishing or supporting existing organizations to build co-ops and CLT's.

2. Penalize speculative investment. Cities should create penalties, including taxes and fees, for development or investment activity that focuses on profit generation without benefits to existing residents. One way to do this is through a Real Estate Transfer Tax on all commercial and residential property sales above a certain threshold. Include exemptions for property sales below a certain threshold, so as to avoid penalizing low-income property and homeowners. In order to discourage

speculation, tax rates should be set at higher levels for properties held under a certain period of time and/or where profit margin is above a certain threshold. Direct this revenue to a citywide housing trust or relocation fund, and prioritize use of funds within the neighborhood where it was generated.

- ▶ **Implementing Agency:** Cities
- ▶ **Staging:** Middle to late stages of gentrification

SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS REAL ESTATE TRANSFER TAXES (RETT'S)

Community Ownership and Power	N/A
Affordability and Housing Stability	
Housing Quality / Habitability	N/A
Permanence and Loopholes	
Unintended Consequences	

Policy Strengths:

- » Can discourage speculation and associated housing price increases by taxing property “flipping” after minimal investment
- » Can help maintain neighborhood affordability if taxes are high enough to discourage rapid property “flipping” and associated housing price increases.
- » Depending on where revenue from taxes are directed, can raise funds for affordable

housing, relocation assistance, and other displacement prevention activities.

Concerns and Considerations:

- » If tax is not high enough to discourage predatory property sales, may do little to stop loss of affordable units and/or rental units in gentrifying neighborhoods
- » If exemptions are not made to protect low-income and elderly homeowners from burdensome taxes, could hurt the same people it is designed to protect.
- » RETT's depend on housing activity to generate funds; thus limiting their ability to raise revenue in places/times where housing market is slow or weak
- » RETT's are strongly opposed by landlords and developers and thus regularly up for repeal.

E. Displacement Prevention as a Regional Priority

Displacement is a regional issue. In many cases, low-income residents who can no longer afford to stay within a central city neighborhood move to lower-cost, outlying areas of the same city or metropolitan region.²⁰⁹ Displacement not only effects the people who are forced to move, but also the places they are moving to and from. In order to incentivize action against displacement, regional agencies must advance a proactive anti-displacement strategy that is tied to funding sources for local jurisdictions that take action against displacement. At the same time, regional agencies should track gentrification and displacement related data so that local jurisdictions and community organizations can take action based on an awareness of displacement patterns and neighborhood change. Funding is needed to support anti-displacement activities at the local level, and regional funding sources can be used to catalyze innovative process and practice shifts that may otherwise be challenging to implement.

- 1. Create regional funding streams to incentivize displacement prevention efforts. [PP]** Many of the policies and practices discussed in this document require significant funding to implement and enforce. Regional agencies should create a displacement prevention fund to supplement cities as they implement anti-displacement efforts. These efforts should include, but not be limited to, affordable housing preservation strategies, targeted

homeowner and renter assistance, proactive code enforcement, enforcement of tenant protection laws, relocation assistance, community health impact assessments, community-based training and leadership development, and participatory planning practices. Revenue could come from state and federal sources, and use of funds should be limited to the above activities over affordable housing production. In addition, regional agencies should consider

requiring proof of displacement prevention activities from cities as a criteria for regional grant funding opportunities, including meeting affordable housing preservation goals as part of a “No Net Loss” policy as discussed in B1.

- ▶ **Implementing Agency:** Regional agencies and metropolitan planning organizations
- ▶ **Staging:** Early and always



“We targeted one particular program which was called the One Bay Area Grant program, which is something that was created by the MTC [Metropolitan Transportation Commission], the regional transportation body, as part of this plan [the Bay Area’s long range land use and transportation plan, Plan Bay Area], and the program itself is taking a pool of mostly federal, local, and transit-related infrastructure money, and rather than giving it out by formula to different cities, instead say, ‘Hey, this is going to be money that is going to help with local implementation of this regional plan.’ And we saw this as an opportunity ... If we could get strings tied to that money so that in order to be eligible for that infrastructure funding, local jurisdictions needed to have anti-displacement and affordable housing creation policies in place, that would be really powerful... And therefore we should take a better look and adapt stronger anti-displacement policies in order to make Oakland competitive for or eligible for that money. So that was the vision ... We were pushing for much stronger links between this money and anti-displacement policies, but I think it was still an important first step of getting some money at least linked in discussions with local anti-displacement measures.”

– Sam Tepperman-Gelfant, Senior Staff Attorney, Public Advocates, a member organization of the 6 Big Wins for Social Equity Network, a collaborative of social justice, faith, public health, and environmental organizations across the Bay Area focused on targeting and shaping how regional planning decisions effect struggling, working families

2. Advocate for state and federal policy changes to support local anti-displacement efforts. [PP] Many local strategies to prevent displacement are limited by state legislation and/or lack of state and federal funding to implement and enforce these strategies. For example, California state law limits the impact of rent control by reducing the types of housing that can be covered under local rent control policies and enabling rent hikes upon unit vacancy (“vacancy decontrol”). Similarly, California state law now prohibits Inclusionary Zoning policies from being mandatory for new

rental housing, which significantly limits the impact of this policy on production of new affordable rental units. Regional agencies should work with local jurisdictions to identify and advocate for needed policy changes at the state and federal levels in order to maximize the strength and impact of local displacement prevention efforts.

- ▶ **Implementing Agency:** Regional agencies, metropolitan planning organizations, and cities
- ▶ **Staging:** Early and always

3. Develop methods for assessing a development or redevelopment project's potential displacement impacts and establish associated mitigation fees.

[PP] The California Environmental Quality Act (CEQA) currently requires an assessment of displacement-related impacts for development projects above a certain threshold, but the definition of displacement is focused solely on displacement that happens as a result of physical demolition or redevelopment, rather than economic or other forms of displacement.²¹⁰ In order to better predict and mitigate displacement, regional agencies should develop methods for assessing potential displacement-related impacts using a broader definition of displacement, one that includes any potential out-migration of existing residents due to development-induced changes in the physical, economic, and social environment. These methods should address residential, business, and cultural impacts related

4. Create a publicly accessible regional database and map of neighborhood change.

[PP] Information on neighborhood change, including property, demographic, and investment changes, can be critical in order to respond to gentrification in a timely and effective way.²¹² Regions should create a database of information on neighborhood change that is accessible to the public and connected to local jurisdictions and community organizations. This database should include, but not be limited to, information on planned development projects, planned and approved investment, historical property value change, demographic change, rent levels, subsidized housing contracts, and code violations. Regional agencies should make sure local jurisdictions have access to relevant data, and should use this database to create an “early warning map” that identifies geographic areas that are susceptible to gentrification and/or displacement, using a neighborhood typologies analysis that is based on existing and

to displacement and be developed based on existing impact assessment tools, frameworks and methodologies, including health impact assessments and international eviction impact assessment tools.²¹¹ Regional agencies should conduct a public process with robust community engagement and work with local health departments, community groups, and other public agency stakeholders to develop a methodology for assessing potential displacement-related impacts and calculate the monetary value of impacts to include in their planning processes and CEQA analyses. These methods should support local planning departments in conducting community health impact assessments and levying associated mitigation fees, as recommended in F5.

- ▶ **Implementing Agency:** Regional agencies and metropolitan planning organizations
- ▶ **Staging:** Early and always

emerging methodologies. The focus should be on getting information to affected communities and community-based organizations so they can act early if their constituents are vulnerable to experiencing displacement. This project should involve funding for regional planning staff to develop, update, and maintain an interactive map, and for partnerships with community-based organizations to conduct outreach and organizing in response to neighborhood change.

- ▶ **Implementing Agency:** Regional agencies and metropolitan planning organizations
- ▶ **Staging:** Early and always
- ▶ **Models:** San Francisco Bay Area, CA: Metropolitan Transportation Commission (MTC) Early Warning Toolkit project;²¹³ and Los Angeles, CA: Neighborhood Knowledge Los Angeles;²¹⁴ Portland, OR: interactive gentrification map²¹⁵

F. Planning as a Participatory Process

In order to prevent displacement, public agencies must change land use planning and development processes in a number of ways. If projects and plans are designed to benefit existing residents based on their needs and priorities, displacement and other negative consequences for the existing community are less likely to occur. In order to ensure that development is based on the needs of existing residents, land use planning and development processes should not only involve input from affected community residents, but also happen in partnership with communities on an ongoing basis. To this end, affected communities must be: 1) involved in creating a vision for the neighborhood's future; 2) prepared to actively engage and participate in development and planning discussions; 3) lead development decisions related to their neighborhood, including decisions related to development trade-offs and potential community health impacts and benefits; and 4) informed of any approved investment in their neighborhood and potential consequences. The below recommendations should be adopted as standard practice by cities, and regional agencies can help catalyze action by incentivizing these practices through regional funding opportunities.

1. **Incorporate best practices in community and public engagement for both ongoing and project-specific planning. [PP]**

While public engagement processes are legally required for many development and land use planning decisions, standard practices are often not strong enough to ensure that existing residents are given adequate opportunity to learn about proposed projects in their neighborhoods, participate in discussions about the future of their community, and have actual impact on the final decisions.²¹⁶ Cities should pass policies that set strong standards for public engagement in land use planning and development decision-making. Refer to public

engagement guides released by the City of Seattle and PolicyLink.²¹⁷ Standards should address, but not be limited to, accessibility (including language, time/location of meetings, disability access, food, and childcare), ongoing engagement, adequate notice and number of public meetings, participatory planning activities and decision-making processes, and partnerships with community-based organizations to engage and train residents on the issues.

- ▶ **Implementing Agency:** Cities, counties, regional agencies, and metropolitan planning organizations
- ▶ **Staging:** Early and always

“The one story that sticks out the most to me is that there was a meeting of the full ABAG [Association of Bay Area Governments] board, the regional land use agency ... The meeting went late into the night and our agenda item didn't come up until like 9:30 ... But the most inspiring moment to me was a youth leader from Genesis, a faith-based organizing group, [who] spent the time that we were sitting around waiting for our item to come up writing a poem about his experience growing up in Oakland, and the disparities that he had seen between his resources and opportunities and other people in the Bay Area. And he got up at public comment and read this poem and it was incredible, just an incredible moment. And the look on the faces of the elected officials that were listening to this was just priceless. I mean, they just never expected to see someone like this guy talking to them about these issues. He didn't look like the people they were used to hearing from, he didn't sound like the people they were used to hearing from. And they were all listening. And, in part, because of that and in part because of all of the background work that we had all done, the Board voted unanimously to include the land use scenario [of the community-developed Equity, Environment, and Jobs Scenario] that we were proposing in the slate of alternatives that they wanted to see studied and that was just a really high moment in the campaign.”

— Sam Tepperman-Gelfant, Senior Staff Attorney, Public Advocates, a member organization of the 6 Big Wins for Social Equity Network, a collaborative of social justice, faith, public health, and environmental organizations across the Bay Area focused on targeting and shaping how regional planning decisions effect struggling, working families. In 2011, the 6 Big Wins for Social Equity Network developed the Equity, Environment and Jobs (EEJ) Scenario, a plan which focuses on creating a more healthy, prosperous, and sustainable future for Bay Area residents of all races and incomes, including struggling families.

2. Support community-based training for residents to participate in planning and development processes. [PP] Without adequate preparation, including training on the issues, terms, and legal/public processes related to land use planning and development, community residents are at a disadvantage to effectively participate in public engagement processes, regardless of how they are set up. Cities should dedicate funding, including money secured through a regional displacement prevention fund, for developing contracts with community-based organizations to lead training programs that prepare residents for effective participation and engagement in local land use planning and development processes. Eligibility for training programs should include, but not be limited to, length of residence in the city and interest in participating in decision-making. Priority should be given to

residents who have faced historical disinvestment and discrimination, including low-income people and people of color. Training should be used to prepare leaders for participating on neighborhood planning councils, as discussed in F3, and for engagement in local and regional decision-making.

- ▶ **Implementing Agency:** Cities, counties, regional agencies, and metropolitan planning organizations
- ▶ **Staging:** Early and always
- ▶ **Models:** Los Angeles, CA: People's Planning School (Strategic Actions for a Just Economy);²¹⁸ Oakland, CA: “Gearing up for Action” curriculum (Pacific Institute)²¹⁹



"We have a People's Planning School that we do twice a year which is [a] popular education based, land use organizing school where people can learn about the tools that govern these developments in their neighborhoods. And then can take that knowledge, put together policies or recommendations and then take them to the city. What we found is it's kind of like a whack-a-mole process ... as we're working on one development another is popping up. And we don't have the resources to be able to engage in all of them. [Through the People's Planning School] we put together a list of recommendations and principles – they started out as principles – that the community put together about the new community plan process that the city is going through. And so those principles were then put into recommendation language with some affordable housing experts and now we're meeting with the city through their community plan process to see if we can get these into the community plan, so we're not chasing development after development after development. And there's some standards that are set in place. But it's gonna be an uphill battle; first hearing from the city ... they say it's too late in the process even though we've been engaged around this for five years. And we're hearing from neighborhood councils, which are mostly homeowners, that they don't want density and they didn't want affordable housing and poor people living in their communities, so it's gonna be a battle and that's what we're in engaged in now."

– Paulina Gonzalez, Former Executive Director, Strategic Actions for a Just Economy (SAJE), Los Angeles



Towanda Sherry has been a member of CJJC for the last five years and currently resides near the proposed Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) development occurring along International Boulevard in Oakland. She has been in her home for the last 26 years. She became a member of CJJC after attending a community meeting in which CJJC raised concerns about the displacement of residents in Oakland, an issue of importance to Ms. Sherry. As a resident, bus commuter, and consumer impacted by the BRT proposal, Ms. Sherry applied and was accepted as a Community Planning Leader for the Oakland Sustainable Neighborhoods Initiative (OSNI).

The OSNI program is designed to support people who live or work along International Boulevard to have the tools they need to effectively give input on the BRT plan and development along International Boulevard, and to participate in the planning process.

"[As Community Planning Leaders] we get the chance to meet with people who are with the city about how the city functions, how we can give input. We also get a chance to talk to people who are with [regional transit organizations] and how they work and what the long-range effect of Bus Rapid Transit will be along the corridor: how it will affect people's lives, whether businesses will have to move, whether people's houses will be eliminated, the effect of blight in the area, but also, what kind of housing is coming in. Will that housing displace longtime residents in the area? And if it does, how do they plan to remedy that and make sure that those people are able to come back and stay in this area? And also, [we advocate] that any new housing include low-income housing as well as affordable housing."

– Towanda Sherry, Oakland Community Planning Leader and CJJC Member

3. Support the creation of neighborhood-level planning councils [PP] comprised of residents who have the authority to represent their neighborhood in development and planning processes. The public engagement processes required for many land use planning and development decisions often invite only token input from residents on pre-existing plans and projects, with little space for residents to envision and/or propose their own ideas for development based on existing neighborhood needs. Rarely do residents get opportunities to make actual decisions about whether projects should move forward or not.²²⁰ Neighborhood planning councils would provide a formal space for planning staff to engage with a representative body of residents about planning and development issues at the neighborhood level. Furthermore, these spaces would provide room for planning in a more ongoing way than project or plan-specific advisory committees. Local planning staff should come to neighborhood councils to learn about ongoing

4. Support community organizing and outreach on housing rights and opportunities. [PP] As discussed above, community organizing and outreach are crucial to ensuring residents have access to information and resources necessary to avoid and minimize displacement.²²¹ Furthermore, our research revealed that policies that include penalties for government agencies or landlords, including relocation policies and code inspections, are often implemented and enforced only after substantial community organizing campaigns. While organizing cannot replace dedicated funding for enforcement at the government level, regional agencies should view community organizing as a complementary strategy to ensure enforcement of anti-displacement policies. As such, resident organizing and outreach about housing rights and opportunities

neighborhood needs and share upcoming opportunities, including proposed plans and projects as well as funding for neighborhood projects. Cities should work with community organizations and other stakeholders to design council structures and processes based on best practices and with the goal of maximizing equity, inclusion, and resident decision-making, including membership selection criteria and procedures, tenure, decision-making authority, and integration of planning councils into existing land use planning and development processes. Efforts should be made to ensure that council membership reflects the race, gender, income, language, ability, tenure, diversity, and other demographics of the neighborhood. Translation services should be made available to support language diversity among membership.

- ▶ **Implementing Agency:** Cities, counties, and local planning departments
- ▶ **Staging:** Early and always

among vulnerable populations, along with broader community organizing efforts to ensure enforcement of existing policies, should be funded as part of regional and local efforts to prevent displacement. Organizing could be funded through subcontracts awarded from a regional anti-displacement fund as discussed in E1, and contracts should be prioritized for organizations with an existing or growing membership base in areas of the city/region that are currently undergoing or susceptible to gentrification, based on ongoing analysis of neighborhood change as discussed in E4.

- ▶ **Implementing Agency:** Cities, counties, regional agencies, and metropolitan planning organizations
- ▶ **Staging:** Early and always



“We use the sword and the shield. The sword refers to direct action strategies and utilizing all types of actions to leverage people power, including leveraging power of elected officials and leveraging elected official support. It includes eviction blockades and vigils, and direct action to the banks. The shield is a legal defense so, depending on what city you’re in, most of us have relationships with volunteer attorneys or legal services attorneys. So we have both a partnership with community legal aid, which is a legal services agency in Western Mass, and then we have a number of private attorneys who volunteer to support the

movement. And the shield works to defend against evictions in court. We’ve won some victories directly in court and we’ve won some victories ... where there is no court involvement. The shield helps to put pressure through the legal system to delay the eviction process and increase the eviction costs on the banks. The sword works to put direct action pressure on the banks, and most are used to try and force banks and investment companies to negotiate with families ... This model was formed by City Life / Vida Urbana and they’ve been using it for a long time. They’ve been using it for tenant organizing since the ’80s but it’s been adopted in the foreclosure fight. We adopted it here [in Springfield, Massachusetts]. I think we’ve all made our own adaptations that make sense locally. But yes, it’s a City Life / Vida Urbana model.”

– Malcolm Chu, Bank Tenant Organizer, Springfield No One Leaves/Nadie Se Mude (SNOL/NSM), which along with City Life / Vida Urbana is a member of the NEW ROAD Network (New England Workers and Residents Organizing Against Displacement) and the Right to the City Alliance.

5. Require a community health impact analysis that includes an assessment of potential displacement impacts [PP] for all new or modified development projects above a certain threshold and for plans before approvals and environmental review. Cities and counties should adopt a policy to require local planning departments to conduct community health impact analyses for all projects above a certain threshold in the project application stage, and this analysis should include an assessment of displacement-related impacts, based on methods developed at the regional level as recommended in E4. In addition to displacement-related impacts, this analysis should analyze and address impacts on the social determinants of health including, but not limited to, housing, transportation, education, employment, and social cohesion, as well as equity impacts for groups that have been historically disadvantaged by development (low-income communities and communities of color) and populations that are already vulnerable based on their health conditions. This tool should be developed through a multi-sector public process, involving

robust community engagement, to ensure that community-prioritized issues of concerns are incorporated and that residents, other stakeholders, planners, and decision-makers understand the scope and use of the tool. If multiple projects within a given area are being considered at once, they should be analyzed together in order to assess cumulative impacts in the neighborhood. Every analysis should result in a publicly accessible report that includes recommendations for mitigating any potential negative impacts, along with the calculated monetary value of impacts. If substantial monetized impacts from displacement are found in this analysis, based on thresholds of significance set by planning departments through an engagement process, cities and counties should consider requiring community health or displacement impact fees to be paid by developers into a local relocation fund, earmarked for use in that planning area.

- ▶ **Implementing Agency:** Cities, counties, and local planning departments
- ▶ **Staging:** Early and always

Taking Action...

The Time To Organize Is Now

This report is a call to action.

We hope that the stories and ideas we shared resonate with your experiences and help inspire you to get together with neighbors, family, and friends to push against the gentrification and displacement in your community. For those of you who are already doing that, we hope you found some helpful tools to advance your fight.

Though both our past and future efforts include working to change the minds and actions of politicians and city administrators, we do not ultimately believe that equitable human development will come about as a result of policy change alone. It is only through the hard work of collective vision, action, and consistent engagement by community residents in every facet of community development, that truly sustainable and healthy communities will be created.

Those of us most impacted by historical disinvestment and underdevelopment must be active protagonists in leading the charge for a fundamental shift in how community development happens in the future. We know that when planning centralizes the needs and interests of low-income, working-class communities of color, those outcomes benefit all other community residents, whether those improvements are better schools, parks, bus service, or affordable food sources.

Gentrification is affecting our neighborhoods, cities, and regions on every level and we need a range of organizing approaches and tactics to stop it. Because the forces against us are powerful, we need to hit them every way we know how. Whether you are about direct action protests, passing policy, influencing the media, cultural resistance, or talking to your neighbors,



Mission No Eviction March, San Francisco

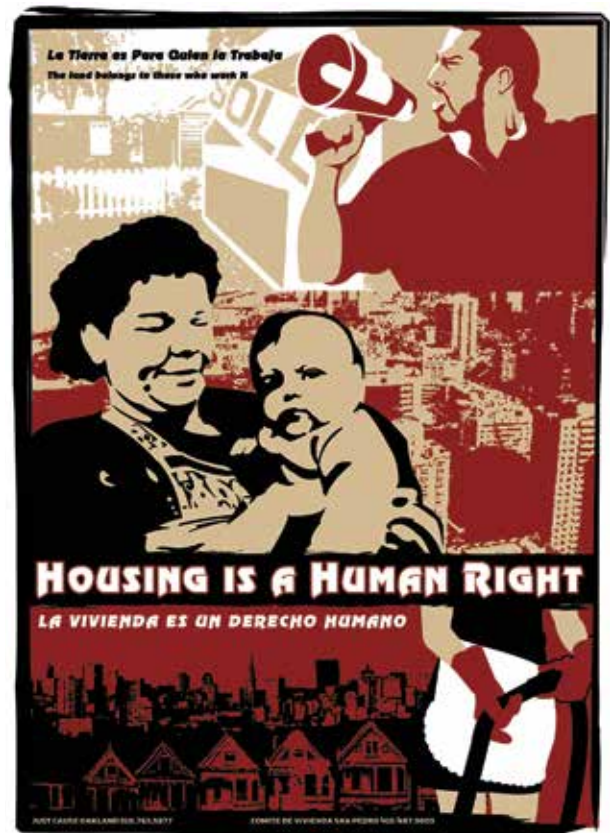
what is most important right now is for all of us to get into the fight against gentrification.

Causa Justa :: Just Cause is deeply engaged in a range of gentrification, displacement, and development-related campaigns this year. Here are two especially critical fights that we need your support on:

In San Francisco we are a part of the Plaza 16th Coalición that is working to ensure that a projected development on the corner of 16th Street and Mission Street will reflect the needs of existing residents as opposed to the developer's profit-driven plan. The project, which includes more than 350 units of luxury housing as well as retail space, would have a range of harmful effects on a neighborhood already hard hit by gentrification. The 16th Street development would create dramatic income disparities and housing pressures in a part of the Mission that is home to the largest concentration of very low-income adults and families in Single Room Occupancy (SRO) housing. This large development would cast a shadow over the elementary school next door, literally blocking out their light, even though the project's housing units and amenities remain largely inaccessible to the school's Latino students, their families, and their teachers. Working with a broad coalition of homeless, tenant, Queer, and police accountability advocates, affordable housing developers, small business owners, and individual activists, CJC will fight to ensure that current community residents are supported to envision a use for that land that reflects their needs and prevents further displacement of immigrant families and extremely low-income adults. Come join us in the fight to promote human development at the 16th Street and Mission project.

In Oakland we are pushing the Oakland City Council to put an anti-tenant harassment policy on the November 2014 ballot. We have heard numerous complaints from tenants about landlord refusals to perform basic maintenance of their units, repeated attempts to illegally evict tenants, and landlords who threaten immigrant tenants with raids by Immigration and Customs

Enforcement (ICE) agents. Landlord harassment is a tactic to circumvent existing legal protections like Just Cause Eviction and Rent Board regulations. Additionally, it creates a hostile environment and results in families deciding it would be better to move out of their homes, rather than have to battle their landlord to ensure their housing is safe and habitable. The adoption of an anti-harassment policy will have a direct effect on slowing gentrification and displacement for low-income and working-class residents of color. It will prevent landlords from raising rents after they successfully pressure current tenants to move from their homes, strengthen tenants' rights in Oakland, and contribute to keeping rents from rising dramatically. We have a two-part plan to make this happen. We are currently working to ensure the City Council puts the policy on the ballot, and in the summer we will begin talking to community residents about the importance of the measure to ensure voters turn out to pass it on Election Day. Come join us in the fight to strengthen tenant rights and to keep housing affordable for working families in Oakland.



Art by Favianna Rodriguez

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Endnotes

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Appendix A

Gentrification Typologies Methodology

For this report, we conducted an analysis of gentrification between 1990 and 2011 in San Francisco and Oakland, based on the methods used in the Portland study, *Gentrification and Displacement Study: Implementing an Equitable Inclusive Development Strategy in the Context of Gentrification* by Lisa K. Bates, 2013. This methodology uses demographic, socioeconomic, and property data to quantify how much gentrification-related change has occurred at the census tract level over a specified period of time, and to categorize census tracts into neighborhood types that correlate to different stages in the process of gentrification. This analysis is illustrated in map form in the report Introduction in the section entitled “What is Gentrification?”

This methodology is compelling for a number of reasons. It is based on a definition of gentrification which takes into account a complex interaction of factors – including historic increases in property value, central location within cities, proximity to other neighborhoods with high property values, the initial presence and decline of “vulnerable populations” (specifically renters, people of color, low-income residents, and residents with less than a college degree), and demographic change (specifically, an increase in residents who are highly educated, high income, and white). It also based on a theory of change which recognizes that neighborhoods progress through different stages of gentrification and have distinct needs and characteristics along the way. The resulting “typology” allows neighborhoods to be categorized into different types based on the amount and kind of change

that has occurred, and it also allows solutions to be developed based on the distinct needs of neighborhoods.

It is important to note that some neighborhoods do not fall anywhere along the spectrum of gentrification, either because they started out as an affluent neighborhood (as defined by racial and socio-economic characteristics and/or property values) in 1990 or because property values have remained relatively low and population change has been minimal. Furthermore, not all neighborhoods will progress through all stages of gentrification, and it is not inevitable that susceptible neighborhoods will “gentrify,” particularly if appropriate policy responses are put in place. However, this typology is based on a nuanced understanding of gentrification as a dynamic process, and it allows policies and other solutions to be targeted strategically and in a timely manner based on local needs of neighborhoods, so as to most effectively intervene in the process of change.

Three major categories of data are used to define neighborhood types. These include: presence of vulnerable population, gentrification-related demographic change, and housing market conditions. The data thresholds used for each category are illustrated in Table 1. Based on this data, neighborhoods were categorized into one of seven types: Susceptible, Early type 1, Early type 2, Middle stage, Late stage, Ongoing gentrification, or N/A (for neighborhoods which did not indicate gentrification-related change). A summary of characteristics used to define each neighborhood type are included in Table 2.

Table 1: Data Thresholds and Definitions

		San Francisco	Oakland
Vulnerable population in 2011	Renter households	> 37.1%	> 41.9%
<i>Vulnerable tracts are those with 3 out of these 4</i>	Population of color	> 58.0%	> 73.5%
	Education <bachelor degree	> 48.6%	> 62.8%
	Households less than 80% HAMFI	> 47.1%	> 52.4%
2000-2011 demographic change	Homeowner households	> 2.1 %-pt gain	> 0.4 %-pt gain
<i>Gentrification-related change if 3 out of 4 are true (or last two alone are true)</i>	Household income	> 2.6 % gain	> -1.1 % gain
	White population	> -1.7 %-pt gain	> 3.0 %-pt gain
	Education bachelor+	> 6.4 %-pt gain	> 6.3 %-pt gain
Housing market condition	Adjacent tracts	Low or moderate 2011 value	
		Low or moderate 2000-2011 appreciation	
		Touch boundary of a tract with high 2011 value or high 2000-2011 appreciation	
	Accelerating tracts	Low or moderate 2011 value	
		High 2000-2011 appreciation	
	Appreciated tracts	Low or moderate 1990 value	
		High 2011 value	
		High 1990-2011 appreciation	

Table 2: Neighborhood Typologies Definitions

Neighborhood type	Vulnerable population	Demographic change	Housing market condition
Susceptible	Yes	No	Adjacent
Early phase 1 (property shifts)	Yes	No	Accelerating
Early phase 2 (population shifts)	Yes	Yes	Adjacent
Middle stage	Yes	Yes	Accelerating
Late stage	Yes	Yes	Appreciated
Ongoing gentrification	No	% white and % with bachelor increasing	Appreciated

The following sources were used for each category of data:

Vulnerable population in 2011: Thresholds for the vulnerable populations data that came from the American Community Survey 2011 5-year files (renter households, population of color, education less than bachelor degree) were determined by looking at the city rates' lower margins of error. Thresholds for the households less than 80 percent HAMFI (HUD-Adjusted Median Family Income) were set by HUD from the city values; data were downloaded from HUD for this portion of the analysis.

2000-2011 demographic change: Demographic change for each census tract between Census 2000 and American Community Survey 2011 5-year files (homeowner households, household income, White population, education bachelor degree or higher) was compared to that of each city. For example, the median household income in San Francisco experienced a real gain of 2.6 percentage points. So those tracts that had more gain than this received a point in the equally weighted demographic change section. However, the median household income in Oakland had a real loss of 1.1 percent. So tracts that lost less than 1.1 percent or had a gain received a point.

Housing market condition: For this analysis, each census tract in each city was compared to all the census tracts of that city. Low and moderate value and appreciation were those tracts that fell in the 60th percentile or less.

The following is a more complete methodology, reprinted from *Gentrification and Displacement Study: Implementing an Equitable Inclusive Development Strategy in the Context of Gentrification* courtesy of Lisa K. Bates, PhD, with changes to the data included.

For each dimension of neighborhood change, tracts are assigned as "high" or "low" on the

measure based on the relative level of the city-wide variable. The dimensions are vulnerability to housing displacement; population changes indicative of potential displacement; and housing market changes.

1. 2010 Vulnerability

Census tracts were assigned a "vulnerability score" between 0 and 4, with a weight of 1 for each of the following that is true:

- ▶ For Oakland, greater than 57.2 percent of households are renters; for San Francisco, greater than 62.3 percent of households are renters
- ▶ For Oakland, greater than 72.9 percent of the population are communities of color; for San Francisco, greater than 58.0 percent
- ▶ For Oakland, greater than 36.6 percent of the population 25 years and older do not have a bachelor's degree; for San Francisco, 50.9 percent
- ▶ For Oakland, greater than 52.4 percent of households have incomes at or below at or below 80 percent of the HUD-adjusted median family income (MFI); for San Francisco, 47.1 percent [Note: The FY 2011 HUD-adjusted MFI for the Oakland was \$73,840; for San Francisco it was \$81,280.]

We defined vulnerable tracts as those with a vulnerability score of at least 3 out of 4.

Data sources

Data for the first three variables was drawn from tract-level 2007-2011 American Community Survey (ACS) estimates. We defined communities of color as all residents except for non-Hispanic whites.

The percentage of households with incomes at or below 80 percent of the HUD-adjusted MFI was calculated from 2006-2010 HUD Comprehensive Housing Affordability Strategy

(CHAS) data. At this time, the CHAS tract-level data is available only as a very large raw data file containing values for all U.S. census tracts. The values relevant to this calculation come from Table 8 of the census tracts dataset. Tracts with boundaries in more than one local jurisdiction are split into 60 multiple rows; values for each portion were summed before calculating percentages for the overall tract.

Calculation of thresholds

For the three variables drawn from ACS data, the threshold was defined as the citywide percentage adjusted by the margin of error (MOE) to the lower bound for a more sensitive cutoff.

No MOEs are available for the 2006-2010 CHAS data. The threshold for the last variable was defined as the citywide percentage of households with incomes at or below 80 percent of the HUD-adjusted MFI (calculated from values in Table 8 of the CHAS census places dataset).

2. 2000-2010 Demographic Change

We defined census tracts with gentrification-related demographic change from 2000 to 2011 as those that experienced *either* at least 3 of the following 4:

- ▶ For Oakland, the share of homeowners increased more than 0.4 percentage points; for San Francisco, 2.1 percentage points
- ▶ For Oakland, The white population share increased more 3.0 percentage points; for San Francisco, it either increased or decreased less than 1.7 percentage points
- ▶ For Oakland, the share of the population 25 years and older with a bachelor's degree increased more than 6.3 percentage points; for San Francisco, more than 6.4 percentage points
- ▶ For Oakland, the median household income either increased or it decreased less than

1.1 percent; for San Francisco, is increased more than 2.6 percent

- ▶ or experienced only 2 out of 4, which were:
- ▶ For Oakland, The white population share increased more 3.0 percentage points; for San Francisco, it either increased or decreased less than 1.7 percentage points
- ▶ For Oakland, the share of the population 25 years and older with a bachelor's degree increased more than 6.3 percentage points; for San Francisco, more than 6.4 percentage points

Data sources

Data for 2000 and 2011 was drawn from the 2000 Decennial Census and 2007-2011 ACS estimates, respectively. We converted 2000 median household income values to 2011 dollars before calculating the percent change.

Census tract boundary changes

There were a few instances where tract boundaries changed between 2000 and 2011; one tract was split into two, or two tracts were combined into one. In either case, we averaged the values for the two resulting tracts or the two original tracts before calculating the percentage-point difference or percent change.

Some tract boundary lines were redrawn slightly without significantly changing the tract geography; we did not alter our calculation method for these cases.

3. Housing Market Conditions

All census tracts were assigned a home value for 1990, 2000, and 2011 equal to the ratio of the tract median home value to the citywide median home value. We defined tracts with low or moderate values as those with ratios in the bottom three quintiles; tracts with high values were defined as those with ratios in the top two quintiles.

Home value appreciation rates (i.e., the percent change in median home value) from 1990 to 2000, 2000 to 2011, and 1990 to 2011 were also calculated for each tract. We defined tracts that experienced low or moderate appreciation as those with appreciation values in the bottom three quintiles; tracts with high appreciation were defined as those with appreciation values in the top two quintiles.

Using this data, we identified three gentrification related housing market typologies:

Adjacent tracts:

- ▶ Had a low or moderate 2011 value
- ▶ Experienced low or moderate 2000-2011 appreciation
- ▶ Touch the boundary of at least one tract with a high 2011 value and/or high 2000-2011 appreciation
- ▶ *Accelerating* tracts:
- ▶ Had a low or moderate 2011 value
- ▶ Experienced high 2000-2011 appreciation

Policy Analysis Methodology

Purpose

To inform our recommendations for this report, ACPHD researched and analyzed several policies and strategies for preventing displacement. Our goals for this analysis include:

- ▶ **Analyze policy design and function** from a tenants' rights and public health perspective;
- ▶ **Identify strengths, weaknesses, key considerations, and best practices** for each policy;
- ▶ **Reveal new policies and practices needed** to address gaps and strengthen

- ▶ *Appreciated* tracts:
- ▶ Had a low or moderate 1990 value
- ▶ Had a high 2011 value
- ▶ Experienced high 1990-2011 appreciation

The adjacent typology attempts to capture the spillover effects of gentrification, whereby neighborhoods next to gentrifying areas are at-risk of gentrifying as housing pressures and commercial investment expand outward. The accelerating and accelerated typologies capture housing market changes associated with gentrifying and gentrified neighborhoods, respectively.

Data sources

Tract median and citywide median home values for 1990, 2000, and 2011 were drawn from the 1990 Decennial Census, the 2000 Decennial Census, and 2007-2011 ACS estimates, respectively. Median home values for 1990 and 2000 were converted to 2011 dollars prior to calculating appreciation rate

existing policies;

- ▶ **Organize policies within a framework** based on key principles for preventing displacement;
- ▶ **Recommend ways to maximize impact**, including design, implementation, and enforcement features.

Methodology for Analysis

In order to come up with a list of policies to analyze, we started with the policies recommended in ABAG's "Development without Displacement" report, released in December

2009. This list represented a pool of policies which were both viable and “on the table” for regional implementation. In order to meet our capacity for analysis, we narrowed this list by factoring in two additional criteria. These include policies that build on the knowledge/work of ACPHD and CJJC, and policies which focus on housing. Our final list is below:

- ▶ “Just Cause” eviction protection ordinances
- ▶ Relocation policies
- ▶ Right of return policies
- ▶ Homeowner protection policies
- ▶ Homebuyer assistance programs
- ▶ Pro-active model of code enforcement
- ▶ Condo conversion regulations
- ▶ Rent control
- ▶ “No Net Loss” policies
- ▶ Incentives and contract renewal for preservation of affordable housing
- ▶ Limited Equity Housing Co-ops (LEHC’s)
- ▶ Community Land Trusts (CLT’s)
- ▶ Real Estate Transfer Taxes (RETT’s)
- ▶ Inclusionary Zoning (IZ)

We used recent literature to analyze the above policies, including both secondary literature –reports, studies, news articles, and toolkits focused on displacement – as well as primary literature – actual policies and ordinances. In a few cases, we interviewed experts and practitioners in the field.

To analyze the policies, ACPHD and CJJC came up with a set of criteria to assess policy design and function from a public health and tenants’ rights perspective. Each policy was analyzed based on the best / strongest example of the policy that we could find in the literature or the field. We used a matrix to assess how strong each policy performed against our criteria, using

a key of green, yellow, and red. A more detailed explanation of our policy matrix key can be found on page 107.

The criteria we used for the matrix analysis include:

- ▶ **Community Ownership and Power** - To what extent does this policy increase low-income residents’ access to decision-making power, ownership over neighborhood resources, and/or legal protections in relation to landlords, developers, and government agencies?
- ▶ **Affordability and Housing Stability** - To what extent does this policy maintain neighborhood level affordability and/or increase ability of existing residents to stay in their homes and neighborhoods?
- ▶ **Housing Quality and Habitability** - To what extent does this policy improve environmental health and other healthy housing conditions for existing, low-income residents?
- ▶ **Permanence and Enforceability** - How likely is this policy to last once implemented (including funding and political support), and how many loopholes does it have?
- ▶ **Unintended Consequences** - Does this policy have the potential to introduce new, harmful consequences (related to displacement, affordability, and health), even in its strongest form?

In addition to the above criteria, we gathered information in the following categories to inform our recommendations for design, implementation, and enforcement of each policy:

- ▶ **Resident focus** - Does the policy primarily benefit tenants, homeowners, existing or incoming residents?
- ▶ **Scale of impact** - Is the impact usually city-level, neighborhood, or project-specific?
- ▶ **Key players** – What kinds of agencies,

organizations, or individuals are critical for this policy to be implemented and enforced effectively?

- ▶ **Stage of gentrification most effective** - Is this policy most relevant/effective in early, middle, or late stages of gentrification?
- ▶ **Political climate considerations** - Is this policy more or less controversial? Is there strong opposition among certain groups? Does it require passage of new legislation?
- ▶ **Housing market considerations** - Does this policy require certain housing market conditions to be effective?
- ▶ **Costs** - How costly is the policy, and what are some of the typical funding sources?
- ▶ **How well documented is this policy?** - Is it recommended in 3+ anti-displacement toolkits? *For the purposes of our review, we referred to anti-displacement toolkits/ reports produced by PolicyLink, Center for Transit-Oriented Development, Dukakis Center, and Urban Institute.*

To develop recommendations, we synthesized findings from our research and analysis as well as discussion with partners and key stakeholders about what is needed to strengthen each policy and shift development and planning processes so that displacement is not an inevitable feature of neighborhood change. Based on these sources of information, we developed a framework for preventing displacement, which includes both the policies we analyzed in depth as well as “promising policies” encountered through research and discussion.

Limitations

This analysis represents our qualitative assessment of policy design and function from a public health and tenants’ rights perspective. However, we were unable to assess policy effectiveness based on impact at the neighborhood level. We found very few sources in the literature which

evaluate policy impact, and our time and staff capacity did not allow us to undertake an original analysis of policy impact. This research – in particular, a comparative analysis of policy effectiveness in stopping or slowing displacement at the neighborhood level – will be essential for the advancement of effective and timely solutions to the pressing issue of gentrification. In addition, our analysis of these policies represents a review of major literature, and our recommendations address key components and issues to be addressed in design and to some extent, implementation. Because of the number of policies researched, we were unable to conduct an exhaustive analysis of every policy, and neither were we able to make detailed recommendations about implementation and enforcement in all cases. Therefore, additional expertise should be consulted in designing, implementing, and enforcing these policies for maximum impact at the local and regional level.

The list of policies analyzed for this report was based on a number of factors, including the interests and issue areas of the author organization. This means that our policy analysis is focused on housing and excludes issues of business and cultural impacts. While these aspects of gentrification and displacement are significant and merit their own analysis, we were not able to address these issues in the scope of this report. Furthermore, the final list of policies recommended in this report are not meant to be an exhaustive list of possible solutions; rather they are a representative sample of the kinds of policies we believe are necessary for preventing and minimizing displacement, based on our research and analysis. Furthermore, as discussed above, the “promising policies” which are included in our recommendations are not based on the same level of research and analysis as the other policies. As such, we do not include a summary of analysis or detailed recommendations for these policies. Instead, we have marked these policies with a “PP” to distinguish them from the other policies, and we have included a rationale for inclusion as they are recommended as well as examples of how these ideas have been implemented in specific places.

Policy Analysis Matrix: Color Key by Criteria

Color	Community Ownership and Power	Affordability and Housing Stability	Housing Quality / Habitability	Permanence and Loopholes	Unintended Consequences
	If adequately enforced, policy would directly improve one of the following for low-income tenants and existing residents: access to decision-making power, ownership over housing and neighborhood conditions, legal rights in relation to landlords, developers, and government.	If adequately enforced, policy would maintain or improve affordability and/or increase ability of existing residents to stay in their homes/ neighborhoods.	If adequately enforced, policy would directly improve environmental health / habitability of housing.	Policy is strong in multiple areas: few loopholes, tends to last once implemented.	Policy has no potential unintended consequences related to displacement, affordability, and health. (At worst, it would be ineffective).
	If adequately enforced, policy <i>could</i> improve access, ownership, and legal rights, but only indirectly and/or if coupled with other efforts.	If adequately enforced, policy <i>could</i> maintain or improve affordability or stability for existing residents - but only if coupled with other efforts.	If adequately enforced, policy <i>could</i> improve housing quality / habitability, but only indirectly and/or if coupled with other efforts.	Policy may be strong in one area but weak in others.	Policy has some potential unintended consequences, but none of them are major or related to displacement, affordability, and health.
	Even if adequately enforced, policy would not improve (or may even worsen) access, ownership, and legal rights.	Even if adequately enforced, policy would not maintain or improve (and may even worsen) housing affordability or stability.	Even if adequately enforced, policy would not improve (and may even worsen) housing quality / habitability.	Policy tends to be weak in multiple areas: many loopholes, vulnerable to repeal, requires advocacy on project-by- project basis.	Policy has major potential unintended consequences related to displacement, affordability, and health.
N / A	Policy not designed to address this issue.	Policy not designed to address this issue.	Policy not designed to address this issue.	Policy not designed to address this issue.	Policy not designed to address this issue.

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