Macalester College
DigitalCommons@Macalester College

Geography Honors Projects | Geography Department

4-25-2018

Why Is There Always A Winner and a Loser?: A Place-Based Study of Gentrification and Housing Resiliency for ReConnectRondo

Anna Dolde
Macalester College

Follow this and additional works at: https://digitalcommons.macalester.edu/geography_honors

Part of the Geography Commons

Recommended Citation
Dolde, Anna, "Why Is There Always A Winner and a Loser?: A Place-Based Study of Gentrification and Housing Resiliency for ReConnectRondo" (2018). *Geography Honors Projects*. 58.
https://digitalcommons.macalester.edu/geography_honors/58

This Honors Project - Open Access is brought to you for free and open access by the Geography Department at DigitalCommons@Macalester College. It has been accepted for inclusion in Geography Honors Projects by an authorized administrator of DigitalCommons@Macalester College. For more information, please contact scholarpub@macalester.edu.

Why Is There Always A Winner and a Loser?:
A Place-Based Study of Gentrification and Housing Resiliency for ReConnectRondo (RCR)

Anna Dolde
Advisor: Professor Daniel Trudeau
Macalester Geography Department
Submitted April 25th, 2018

Why Is There Always a Winner and a Loser?: A Place-Based Study of Gentrification and Housing Resiliency for ReConnectRondo (RCR)

Anna Dolde
Housing Research Assistant
A ReConnectRondo (RCR) Publication
Macalester Class of 2018

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction **5**

Greetings from the Author 5

Concepts and Approaches to Promoting Justice In Place-Based Research 6

Context for Study **10**

Historical Context of Rondo Community 10

Background of ReConnectRondo and RLB Project 14

RCR, the Rondo Land Bridge, and Concepts of Justice 15

SECTION 1: REVIEW OF GENTRIFICATION LITERATURE

Academic Perspectives on Gentrification **21**

Introduction: What Academic Literature Can Tell Us 21

Defining Gentrification **21**

Gentrification vs. Revitalization *22*

Gentrification as a Community Experience *26*

How Gentrification Works **28**

Capitalism and Urban Politics *28*

Debate Around Gentrification and Displacement *32*

Introduction to Place-Based Approach of Gentrification and Affordable Housing **36**

Review of National Anti-Gentrification Policies **38**

Affordable Housing Strategies 38

Mitigating Residential Instability Strategies..... 50

Land Control and Community Development Strategies..... 53

Business and Community Amenity Retention Strategies.... 55

Review of Anti-Gentrifying Affordable Housing Models 57

The Community Land Trust (CLT) Model..... 57

Limited/No Equity Cooperatives 60

Mutual Limited Equity Cooperatives..... 62

Cohousing and Communal Living..... 63

SECTION 2: PLACE-BASED CONSIDERATIONS FOR RCR ANTI-GENTRIFICATION AND AFFORDABLE HOUSING STRATEGY

Introduction to Place-Based Methodology..... 66

Saint Paul Anti-Gentrification and Affordable Housing.. 67

CURA Gentrification Study 67

Policymaker Findings: Gentrification and Affordable Housing 70

Perspectives on Gentrification and Housing in Rondo.... 73

What Can A Place-Based Study Look Like in Rondo? 73

Survey Data 73

March 15th Community Meeting 82

ULI Technical Advisory Panel (TAP) Recommendations 89

Conclusion: Considerations for Future Place-Based Study in Rondo..... **85**

Organizational Strategies for Anti-Gentrification and Affordable Housing Advocacy in Rondo..... 92

Considerations for Future Place-Based Study of Rondo Gentrification/Housing..... 99

Acknowledgements..... **101**

Sources..... **102**

Introduction

Greetings from the Writer

Hello my name is Anna Dolde, and I am a housing research assistant with ReConnectRondo (RCR), an organization which is thinking through the possibility of implementing a land bridge in the Rondo neighborhood of Saint Paul, MN. I am a student at Macalester College, studying geography and urban studies, and I started working with ReConnectRondo in the summer of 2017 as part of a research grant. I have continued to work with the organization since that time. I have also worked with the Rondo Community Land Trust since the spring of 2017. This study arose as a way to use my time and energy as a student to uplift the goal of the RCR organization to make well-informed, conscientious decisions regarding the Rondo Land Bridge project (which will be explained shortly).

My experiences working with ReConnectRondo, and the resulting conversations I had with community folks, both provided the context to deem this research relevant. During different interactions and events where I discussed housing with community members, many voiced their deep concerns related to housing needs and gentrification. They voiced nervousness about the idea of limited community ownership over the project, and that without extensive community input, the project would not address the needs of the community- both in terms of housing built for the land bridge and in terms of protecting community folks from gentrification linked to the land bridge.

With the repeated concerns voiced by different community members, the need for a place-based study of Rondo housing needs and gentrification presented itself as not only a helpful tool, but as a necessity to engaging holistically and authentically with community concerns and aspirations. I once met with Mr. Anderson, the Board Chair of RCR, to discuss what this project could look like, and he said the quote in the title which has stuck with me: Why is there always a winner and a loser? Why can't we build a development

for the Rondo community and have it actually support the existing community rather than outsiders? As a result of these questions and others from Rondo community, this research comes from an ambition to promote justice as part of local planning decisions related to gentrification and housing development, as well as through academic research.

My two research questions are as follows:

- **How can a land bridge project uplift the aspirations of Rondo while ensuring that this community can remain in place to reap the benefits?**
- **How can I promote justice through researching and compiling place-based knowledge for ReConnectRondo?**

The overarching goal of this project was to *promote justice* through uplifting community ambitions for a prosperous future for the neighborhood. Although not fully comprehensive or representative of all experiences, I hope that the following report can at least serve as a resource for conversation and debate. And I hope that it achieves its goal of promoting justice for a community that deserves deep respect and recognition.

If you have any comments or questions about the report, you can email me at anna@reconnectrondo.org and I would be more than happy to respond via email or to meet in person to talk with you about the report.

Thank you and take care,
Anna

Concepts and Approaches for Promoting Justice in Place-Based Research

The current study comes from an ambition to promote and pursue more just realities as part of local planning decisions, with a particular emphasis on gentrification and housing development. By including academic and policy research as well as community input, the goal of the study is to think more comprehensively about housing and anti-gentrification options that best fit the Rondo community context. However, the work presented here does not make definitive recommendations. Instead, I hope that the study can spark further debate and conversations about the future direction of RCR gentrification and housing work. The research compiled below will be

inherently limited and not fully applicable to the Rondo neighborhood, but can hopefully serve as a way to think through many of the options for promoting housing resiliency in the neighborhood.

The research questions outlined from the last section frames the analysis, and can be distilled into one question here: what are the ways to promote justice through study of gentrification and through personal academic research? To address this question, the first step was to recognize how justice can be defined in many varied ways, and to therefore conceptualize justice as related to the Rondo Land Bridge, ReConnectRondo, and to myself as a researcher. Using specific concepts of justice, the research illuminates how the extensive academic literature and policies on gentrification/housing align with the major ambition of ReConnectRondo: to promote justice as part of local planning and decision-making (see Figure 1).

The idea of justice that I use to think about the Rondo Land Bridge is the concept of **"the right to the city"**, a term used in academic literature to describe urban democracy and use of public space. Although this term has been defined many different ways, the "right to the city" in this case refers to the idea that all should be allowed to participate and actively shape the dynamics of the city, with a particular emphasis on marginalized groups who have been denied the opportunities to do so (Mitchell 2003). In other words, the "right to the city" represents the right for people in a particular place to transform spaces to fit their vision of the location, and for the community of people who claim ownership over this space to remain in place. **The "right to the city" in application to the RLB structure deems reclamation of highway space as a *right* to the community once negated and traumatized by other urban planning initiatives, and presents the opportunity to look ahead for justice while also not losing sight of past injustice.**

Another idea of justice that I use to think about the work of the ReConnectRondo organization is the concept of **"deliberative democracy"**, a term utilized by Iris Marion Young (2000) and described as a framework for democratic urban-planning and decision-making. The concept of "deliberative democracy" aims to promote justice through inclusive advocacy practices, and has four distinguishing components: 1) *inclusion*, in which a democratic decision is only adequate or effective if all those affected by the particular issue are included in the process of negotiation and decision-making; 2) *political equality*, where all must feel as though their opinions will be honored and upheld as equally important in the given discussion; 3) *reasonableness*, where all of us involved should be "willing to change our opinions or preferences because others persuade us that our initial opinions or preferences, as they are relevant to the collective problems

under discussion, are incorrect or inappropriate" (24); and 4) *publicity*, where all project activities are oriented towards and accountable to the public, which represents diverse interests and backgrounds. **The concept of "deliberative democracy" in application to RCR therefore encompasses the necessity of democratic decision-making as part of urban spatial justice, and hopes to uplift the aspirations of the Rondo community as part of a negotiated or mediated engagement process.** Many different influences participate in discussions of ReConnectRondo strategy, but with inclusive community engagement, RCR can mediate these influences and ultimately privilege Rondo perspectives in the formation of future RCR strategy.

- **"Right to the City"**
  - Concept of justice for RLB structure- way to reclaim land for community control and ownership that was once a source of trauma
  - Idea that all have a right to participate and actively shape the dynamics of the city/of a community
- **Deliberative Democracy**
  - Concept of justice for RCR- to uplift the aspirations of the Rondo community as part of a negotiated/mediated engagement process
  - Four parts: Inclusion, Political Equality, Reasonableness, Publicity
    - Inclusion: all affected by the issue are involved in the decision-making process
    - Political Equality: all involved in the decision-making process are heard and respected equally
    - Reasonableness: all involved should be in the position to change their stance based on relevant information from others
    - Publicity: all activities as part of decision-making should be oriented towards, and accountable to, the public
- **Learning Assemblage**
  - Concept of justice for myself, with all else in mind: How to promote justice as an academic researcher
  - Three parts: Translation, Coordination, and Dwelling
    - Translation: Being mindful about how knowledge is produced and by whom, and how knowledge is iterated in the report
    - Coordination: Role of representation in report, and moving between various interests and backgrounds
    - Dwelling: How practical engagements with the place of study impacts the resulting knowledge produced

Figure 1: Concepts of Justice for RCR Housing Resiliency Study

Lastly, a crucial concept of justice was that for myself as a researcher. I used the idea of **"learning assemblages"** to conceptualize my work as a researcher, which McFarlane (2011) used to describe how learning is produced as part of urban spaces. The concept aims to highlight "an important political and practical domain through which the city is assembled, lived and contested, and as a critical opportunity to develop a progressive urbanism" (1). In other words, it shows how urban processes are shaped by different kinds of knowledge present in the city. "Learning assemblages" have three main

components: 1) *translation*, where knowledge is recognized as emerging from multiple centers, and from different perspectives/time periods; 2) *coordinated learning*, where knowledge represents many different perspectives that should be accounted for and addressed explicitly; and 3) *dwelling*, where the level of participation and engagement with a particular context influences the knowledge produced. Together, these components of "learning assemblages" indicate the many overlapping influences that together created this report.

The following report recognizes multiple knowledge centers which can help RCR strategize its work, such as academic scholarship, national case studies, local policy initiatives, and Rondo-based findings. However, I purposefully took on this research with a vested interest in ReConnectRondo and the larger Rondo community, and thus also use a community oriented lens to approach all of the knowledge provided in the report. I call this a **"place-based approach"** to the study, and the "learning assemblage" presented as part of the "place-based" approach has an explicitly community oriented lens.

The "learning assemblages" paradigm also highlights the importance of my identity in influencing the report's findings. I am a white Cisgender woman who is not even from Minnesota, let alone from the Rondo community. I am also a student at an academic institution rather than a community member. I also can't help but note that I am the exact demographic of a potential gentrifier- a young white student graduating college and needing to move somewhere in the near future. Therefore I want to pre-emptively recognize the limitations I have as a researcher to speak about the Rondo context, and to adequately or accurately study it. I think it's important I hold myself accountable to the fact that I have also probably benefited from and/or contributed to gentrification, and that my ability to understand gentrification is limited by my privileged social standing. My ambition is to put my time and energy into this work in solidarity, and I am fully open to any critiques with the work presented in this report.

It should be noted that this report is written by me personally, so all narrative presented here should be attributed to me and not the ReConnectRondo organization. All photos included in the report are also courtesy of ReConnectRondo (RCR) and Rondo Avenue Inc. (RAI).

Context for Study

Historical Context of Rondo Community

In order to respect and honor the Rondo community as part of this report, the rich history of the neighborhood, and its resiliency despite immense trauma and struggle, must be highlighted. Through intentional engagement with the history of Rondo, we can consider particular legacies to encourage or discourage as part of the planning around gentrification/affordable housing in Rondo. Specifically, the commitment to community cohesion, the presence of strong cultural and spiritual institutions, and the robust commercial opportunities for Rondo residents are all positive legacies that can shape the work of ReConnectRondo in the future. In contrast, the legacies of exclusionary decision-making processes and oppressive urban planning must be avoided at all costs. Through adequately addressing both of these legacies, the Rondo neighborhood can be better served by the Rondo Land Bridge project.

To learn more about the history of Rondo, please visit: rondoavenueinc.org

As already mentioned, the Rondo neighborhood of Saint Paul is a community that has a long history of community cohesion and strong social networks. The community was established in the early twentieth century, when railroad workers and their families were housed there and other immigrant communities began to move there as well. The population of Rondo began as quite diverse, with African Americans, Russians, Polish, German, Italian, and Irish immigrants all living together in the area. However, the Rondo community served as one of the only Black/African American enclaves in Saint Paul, and as a result was one of the only areas in the city to have social and cultural institutions specifically serving the Black/African American community. These included, but were not nearly limited to, spiritual communities at St. James's Church and the Pilgrim Baptist Church; community centers such as the Neighborhood House, the Hallie Q. Brown Community Center, and the YMCA; social clubs such as the Credjafawn Social Club; and many prosperous businesses such as grocery stores, barber and beauty shops, union

halls, and restaurants/nightlife. The African American community in Rondo included households of various socioeconomic classes, but most Rondo residents were proud homeowners, demonstrating the prevalence of community member ownership of land (Avila, 2014; Cavett et. al, 2005).

Within the diversity of racial backgrounds and socioeconomic statuses in Rondo, the Rondo neighborhood had a strong commitment to mutual support (Avila, 2014). Although the Rondo neighborhood represented a cohesive and vibrant neighborhood, urban planners did not see nor respect Rondo in the same way. Avila (2014) notes how the presence of African Americans in Rondo deemed the neighborhood as 'black' within public discourse and policy, with negative associations being placed on these spatial clusterings of communities of color.

The division of the Rondo neighborhood represents an explicit example of an all too common historical trend: the displacement and destruction of marginalized communities at the whim of urban planners, governmental agencies, and public officials of the 20th century. In cities like New York, San Diego, and New Orleans, early highway planners intentionally and systematically built highways through communities of color, using imminent domain and other mechanisms to destroy and not replace large swaths of viable housing and commercial space (Avila, 2014). These highway projects represented an important component of the larger urban renewal movement of the 1960s, which in its entirety proved devastating to marginalized communities. Using buzz words such as "blight" and "dilapidation" to often discriminately define communities of color, urban planners justified the displacement and reconstruction of entire neighborhoods to attempt to renew its infrastructure, which often did not end up coming to fruition and left many neighborhoods in shambles (Fullilove, 2016).

Despite these challenges, Rondo community stakeholders have worked tirelessly to uplift and honor the history of Rondo, both through commemoration and through community-based planning initiatives. The Rondo Days Festival through Rondo Avenue Inc. attracts thousands each year to a parade and fair event that emphasizes the history and ongoing significance of the Rondo neighborhood as a center of Black/African American life. In addition, the Aurora St. Anthony Development Corporation (ASANDC), Model Cities, Community Stabilization Project (CSP), Frogtown Neighborhood Association (FNC), the Rondo Community Land Trust, and other vital community organizations have worked to ensure that current development reflects the needs and desires of Rondo and proximate neighborhoods such as Frogtown. Through these place-based efforts, Rondo stakeholders and community members honor the history of Rondo while also promoting projects which continue to empower an already empowered and resilient community.

Although projects related to urban renewal ended decades ago, it is known that the impacts of these egregious renewal efforts still live on in affected communities. Mindy Fullilove (2016) describes this phenomenon as **"root shock"**, in which the loss of the physical environment of a community also represents the loss of one's "emotional ecosystem", and induces a traumatic stress reaction for all those affected. As she describes in more detail:

> "The principle is simple: we- that is to say, all people- live in an emotional ecosystem that attaches us to the environment, not just as our individual selves, but as beings caught in a single, universal net of consciousness anchored in small niches we call neighborhoods or hamlets or villages. Because of the interconnectedness of the net, if your place is destroyed today, I will feel it today hereafter" (17)

Using the concept of "root shock", the research presented here does not view the historical events that occurred in Rondo as isolated from the present. The Rondo community has already experienced displacement and traumatic losses due to harmful transportation and development projects. Although the Rondo community has remained resilient in the midst of these struggles, it becomes clear why further displacement and exploitation due to gentrification are deep concerns. The Rondo community should never have to experience a trauma similar to that of the construction of I-94, and unfortunately development projects have the capability to create struggles of displacement and can not serve the needs of the community.

With the ongoing significance of Rondo's division in the lives of community members today, and with a land bridge project on the table, it makes sense that Rondo community folks would want planning processes to be as thorough and as community-driven as possible in order to ensure that the project *does* benefit community. That is why a Rondo-based study of gentrification and affordable housing is an essential part of ensuring that the work of ReConnectRondo, an organization which aims to approach a massive infrastructure project through a community-driven lens, remains beneficial to the community that it is meant to serve.

Before moving to discuss ReConnectRondo and its work, I first want to address some etymology that I use throughout the report. First, I refer to "resiliency" as a legacy and continued ambition of the Rondo community. This term is meant to emphasize how the Rondo community has already experienced much trauma, and how the community has been able to withstand these struggles to retain community legacy, identity, and social networks. However, communities who have shown resilience should not be labeled as inherently resilient, and should not be subjected to further trauma

due to perceptions that these communities can handle struggle (MacKinnon & Derickson, 2012). Therefore, “resiliency” in this case of this report serves to respect the past, but not to suggest anything about the future of the Rondo community.

In addition, throughout much of the report, I refer to the “Rondo community” as a single entity. The Rondo community clearly represents more than one single viewpoint. However, for the purpose of this analysis, I refer to the Rondo community as one entity due to the shared ambitions of Rondo community members to uplift the needs and desires of the neighborhood. Although even the definitions of Rondo needs and desires vary within the community, the overall shared ambition to uplift Rondo should frame the following analysis, as well as the work of ReConnectRondo. Therefore I refer to “Rondo community” as a way to connect RCR strategy to shared community goals.

ReConnectRondo (RCR) and the Rondo Land Bridge (RLB) Project

General Background

As described in the last section, there are many community-based initiatives that wish to change the traumatic dynamics of division and displacement as part of the creation of I-94. These projects mainly focus on community ownership and addressing community needs, while also thinking innovatively about what the future of Rondo can look like. **One of these recent efforts is the formation of the ReConnectRondo (RCR) organization, which was established as a collaboration between two organizations: Rondo Avenue Inc (RAI) and Friendly Streets Initiative (FSI).**

The idea for the project originated from a previous collaboration between these two organizations called the Better Bridges project which took place in 2015. This project aimed to revision the bridges over Interstate 94, and to provide more pedestrian/bike friendly crossings across the freeway. Figure 2 shows the locations of the 8 bridges included as part of the project, and the community values that each one of these bridges represents: dignity of work, importance of education, religion and faith, social interaction, hope for a better tomorrow, securing economic independence, homeownership, and respect for self and family. During the community engagement for the project, a local resident suggested considering a land bridge structure, which could connect the two sides of the freeway while also *covering* the freeway and providing development opportunities. From this point the idea of the Rondo Land Bridge emerged and warranted the creation of the organization ReConnectRondo (RCR).

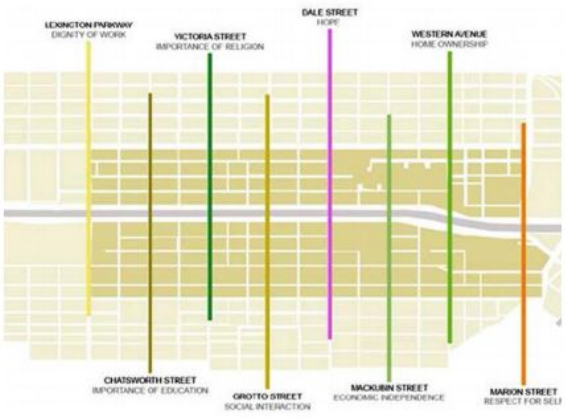


Figure 2: Better Bridges Project- 8 Values of Rondo

ReConnectRondo (RCR) is an organization which is currently considering, and actively advocating for, the creation of a land bridge structure over I-94. A land bridge (also known as a highway "lid" or "cap") is a structure which uses the air space above a highway to recreate the land at street grade across the highway. It creates a tunnel that covers the highway, and then uses the space above to provide a multitude of development opportunities. Most often, these land bridges have served to create more park space in downtown urban areas, but can also be used for creating commercial spaces, housing, public facilities, and other amenities.

Figure 3: Rondo Land Bridge rendering from "Every Place Counts" Workshop through MnDOT. This rendering is not finalized for the project.

However, the Rondo Land Bridge is distinct from other examples because it represents an opportunity to shape development to serve community needs and desires. The mission of RCR helps to illuminate this point:

ReConnectRondo's (RCR) mission is the realization of a Rondo Land Bridge (RLB) to reconnect communities proximate to I-94 in the Rondo neighborhood of Saint Paul. RCR will coordinate and oversee all RLB community, governmental and economic research efforts. RCR's goal is to persuasively shape transportation policy for the creation of the RLB to create opportunities that uplift the public health, economic, housing and social conditions of these communities and ensure a higher quality of life. (reconnectrondo.org)

Clearly RCR aims to create infrastructure that benefits the communities proximate to the highway. However, the aims and impacts of the organization go further than this succinct statement. To further explore the meaning of the mission statement from a personal standpoint, I now turn to an analysis of RCR and the Rondo Land Bridge project using concepts of justice outlined in the introduction of the report.

RCR, the Rondo Land Bridge, and Concepts of Justice

To get at some of the nuances of the organization's position as a community-driven organization, the mission of RCR will be unpacked using my personal observations, as well as two concepts of justice mentioned

earlier- the “right to the city” and “deliberative democracy”. I hope to illuminate the complexity of the community-driven work that RCR aims to do, as well as difficulty of encapsulating an organization and its dynamics in narrative form. By recognizing the complexity of RCR, this section acknowledges the difficulty of their work as a community-driven organization. Because of the challenges the organization faces, the conclusion of the report hopes to provide some considerations for approaching justice as a community organization attempting to build community-driven infrastructure.

To start, the Rondo Land Bridge (RLB) project aims to be contingent on community support, and informed by community concerns. The mission statement outlines how RCR hopes to uplift the various conditions of communities proximate to I-94, and how community engagement is the only way to ensure that the project benefits Rondo. Inclusive community engagement has always been the foundation of RCR- in fact, the land bridge project is still a consideration and not a finalized plan, due to the need for continued community engagement with Rondo about whether it should be built at all. Therefore the project aims to provide development opportunities to the neighborhood, but which that are controlled and steered by Rondo itself.

RCR community engagement has taken many forms. Community engagement events took many forms- hosting a Rondo Land Bridge block party for the project, tabling at other local events, presenting to neighborhood organizations and planning councils, attending neighborhood meetings and organizational meetings, and more. In order to record community engagement insights at local events, RCR also utilized surveys (paper format) and StoryMobile recording equipment (for recording interviews), which could provide detailed records of community perspectives. But in addition to engagement at these events, RCR engaged community through other less formal means- including by just having conversations about the project, and building relationships with different folks in the community.

RCR community engagement strategy also involves the creation of various subcommittees on topics related to the land bridge, including health, economic development, housing, arts/culture/history, youth, faith, education,

environment/green-space/food, and transportation. The ideal format of each committee would be to include professionals and community members that could discuss the recommended approaches to each topic for the land bridge. At this point, the Health committee is fully established and is in the middle of producing a Health Impact Assessment, where community and professional partners determine the possible health impacts of the land bridge, and researchers preemptively assess the likelihood/extent of these risks.

Particularly related to housing, RCR wanted to create a Housing Committee that includes community organizations, residents, and Twin Cities housing professionals who consider the possibility of adding housing to the RLB project. Over the summer of 2017, my main job was to compile and organize a housing committee for the project. To create a housing committee, I met with policymakers and staff from local organizations involved with housing work to gauge if they wanted to participate. Many housing committee members were chosen based on their association with an organization that could be a strategic ally for the project, or because they could provide needed insights for promoting housing in the RLB project. Although the housing committee has not begun to meet due to a lack of community voices able to be on the committee, the work was meant to help solidify relationships between RCR and key housing organizations.

In addition to the housing committee work, I participated in the public community engagement events throughout the summer. Through the various opportunities to engage with others, and to simultaneously represent the organization in a public setting, I learned a lot about how ReConnectRondo engages with community and how community views the organization.

I have always been very impressed with ReConnectRondo and its approach to community engagement. At first this excitement about ReConnecctRondo's work stemmed from the fact that I had seen few organizations take such a community oriented approach to planning initiatives. From the beginning the message was clear- the work of this organization can only succeed if community voices design and drive the entire Rondo Land Bridge project. The meaningful inclusion of community voices in infrastructure projects is not necessarily a norm, and I appreciated how the purpose of the project was to benefit community through community steering of the project more generally. In addition, community engagement did not seem to be for the sole purpose of the land bridge project- staff seemed authentically invested in getting to know folks and building relationships that weren't predicated on discussing RCR. Many organizations employ similar methods of inclusive community engagement. However I find that it is significant to have inclusive

community engagement efforts shape an infrastructure project, because planning entities traditionally have not take such in-depth measures to engage with community. So on a personal level, I enjoyed learning about what inclusive community engagement means and can look like through RCR.

But as I continued to work with RCR, I also deeply appreciated the level of skepticism that the organization maintained about itself and its engagement practices. To me the lifeblood of the organization is *authentic* community engagement, where RCR receives criticism as well as praise. Without raw insights from community partners and other community members, RCR realizes it could not call itself a community-driven organization (or at least in the way it was first designed). As discussed with the concept "deliberative democracy", organizations benefit from *reasonableness*, where through engagement with others an organization can adjust its approaches and strategies based on new information received. I found that RCR cultivated a high level of reasonableness as an organization- conversations at staff meetings often revolved around the community engagement received, and who was still missing from the discussion of the land bridge. The organization's self-criticism and constant ambition to improve its work not only represented ideals of inclusive community engagement, but also made me deeply admire and believe in the work of the organization.

At the same time, ReConnectRondo recognizes that it has a lot of work to do to expand its community engagement, and to further ensure that the community benefits from the project. In regards to improving community engagement, the concept of "deliberative democracy" can help assess the successes and areas for improvement. As I mentioned, I believe that RCR practices *reasonableness* quite well, where criticisms are used to change aspects of the organization. However, there are also internal conflicts about how best to approach reasonableness, or how to incorporate criticisms given. Who should we allow to shape the practices of RCR, and when should RCR stand its ground and not adjust due to criticisms? The organization has struggled with this question, as they aim to be community-steered, but of course community perspectives vary greatly. A danger here would be to privilege the criticisms of policymakers and organizational partners over those of community members, since inclusive community engagement calls for *political equality* (where all are treated equally in negotiations). Thus although perfect reasonableness and political equality are not possible in a project which involves so many voices, RCR will need to determine what their priorities are, and how to best incorporate criticisms from community while also holding true to the mission to create a land bridge.

But maybe more importantly, a main issue that RCR is working to address is that of *inclusion*, in which all involved in a particular issue are also involved in the work to create solutions. RCR recognizes how there are still many folks in the Rondo community and in other proximate communities who are not engaged in the project, or who have not voiced their opinions to RCR directly. Widespread community engagement allows RCR to understand whether folks who would be affected by the Rondo Land Bridge consider the project to be benefiting community, and if the project should proceed in general. Thus the work to include more voices must be a priority (as it already is) moving forward. Some sectors of the population that RCR wants to incorporate more include elders, youth, immigrant communities, and renters (these voices are also not incorporated into this report, which is addressed as a limitation later). In addition to this point, RCR engages with community organizations, but could expand these efforts and deepen those relationships to address the work they are already doing. Therefore as the project gains regional or national recognition through partnerships with entities such as the Urban Land Institute or the Minnesota Department of Transportation, RCR cannot lose sight of continuing its efforts to engage more folks, and to comprehensively assess whether the land bridge should be built based on these insights.

Second, the Rondo Land Bridge (RLB) project represents an opportunity for community voices to shape urban planning and infrastructure projects for the benefit of community. This point represents the "right to the city", in which those present in a city or community are able to determine the future of the city or a community. Not only is RCR trying to promote inclusive community engagement- they are also aiming to transform urban landscapes to reflect community needs and desires. Because of RCR's goal to link community engagement and urban planning practices, the RLB project presents a way to reshape traumatic infrastructure projects to being more positive for the community. Although no infrastructure project can change the traumatic history of I-94 for Rondo, the land bridge can help create new legacies of more equitable and prosperous futures.

Despite the best efforts of ReConnect Rondo, the proposed land bridge could still pose a threat to the resiliency of the neighborhood. As mentioned in the introduction, many community members have voiced concerns relating to gentrification, and the threat of displacement that is associated with development projects such as the Rondo Land Bridge. If these planning entities are not careful enough about assessing future impacts of the land bridge preemptively, and do not comprehensively engage community, then Rondo may not reap the benefits that the land bridge is meant to provide them. **So this report seeks to address the resulting question: what can RCR**

do/how can RCR strategize to ensure that this development project does benefit the community, and that folks are able to remain in place to benefit from this development?

To attempt to answer this question, I will look at gentrification and affordable housing from different perspectives which can help strategize its approach to addressing these issues. The report moves from larger scale ideas to the more local, and this will be explained later as part of the "place-based" approach to this study. Accordingly, I will turn to large-scale academic research on gentrification which can help contextualize the work of ReConnectRondo within the larger scale conversations about the phenomenon.

Before proceeding, although this report is for ReConnectRondo, the analysis maintains a certain level of concern with the project and its associated impacts. This concern is driven by the principles of RCR itself- it is an organization which aims to work directly with community and address their concerns, but it can be easy to let things slip through the cracks- to not address all concerns and just move ahead with development. This report therefore addresses the risks and challenges associated with mitigating gentrification and providing community-oriented affordable housing, in addition to the positives of these initiatives/appropriate strategies. Using a critical viewpoint underscores the gravity of this kind of development both as an opportunity and as a risk, and these perspectives can be held together to consider the best approaches for RCR's work.

Academic Perspectives on Gentrification

What Academic Literature Tells Us

From the above concerns communicated by Rondo community, a natural next question emerges: what is gentrification, and what exactly does it entail? To address this uncertainty, literature on gentrification is expansive and diverse, showing the differing perspectives and interests involved in academia and in policy decision-making around the issue. There is not a universal understanding of what gentrification means, what it looks like, or its effects on communities, and this presents an issue for addressing the threat of gentrification as well. Although mainstream academic conversations about gentrification are more theoretical than practical, engaging with the academic literature on this topic can help shape where ReConnectRondo stands in terms of the larger conversations happening in research. Policy responses to gentrification are also heavily influenced by academic studies of the term, and thus these academic perspectives can guide ReConnectRondo's future strategies from both academic and policy lenses. By thinking through the academic literature on gentrification, we can ultimately understand some of the opportunities and challenges that are involved with mitigating the negative effects of gentrification.

The approaches and definitions that will best support the desires of the community to remain in place, and to benefit from a community-based infrastructure project like the Rondo Land Bridge, provide the main focus of the following section. The conversations highlighted here represent only a small sliver of the research on the topic of gentrification, but seem particularly relevant to the work of ReConnectRondo as part of the Rondo Land Bridge project.

Defining Gentrification

The definition of "gentrification" is a highly contested amongst academics and policymakers alike. Each definition tells us something about the background and interests of each author, which vary immensely in the literature (Beauregard, 1986). The underlying ambitions of each perspective can help to discern the definitions which promote the interests of communities like Rondo, because not all involved in studying gentrification support community desires. Even those who do aim to uplift community aspirations can define gentrification in ways that do not reflect community perspectives. So similarly to being critical of ReConnectRondo and the Rondo Land Bridge project, one must remain critical of gentrification research and how it addresses particular communities.

The term “gentrification” was first coined by Ruth Glass, a renowned sociologist, in 1964 as part of her discussion of neighborhood change in London. One portion of this iconic essay helps to illustrate her definition of the phenomenon:

> “One by one, many of the working class quarters of London have been invaded by the middle classes- upper and lower…Once this process of ‘gentrification’ starts in a district, it goes on rapidly until all or most of the original working class occupiers are displaced, and the whole social character of the district is changed” (7)

As evidenced in her description, Glass sees gentrification as involving class politics and displacement of those with less economic resources. In addition, she notes that the aesthetic of a community is a foundational characteristic that once lost, signifies that gentrification has taken over a neighborhood.

However, from this first use of the term, scholars have defined gentrification in a staggering amount of ways and in innumerable contexts. For the sake of understanding the dominant conversations defining gentrification, I have identified two larger themes which encapsulate some of the nuances of this debate: a) *gentrification vs. revitalization*; and c) *gentrification as a community experience*. Again in both of these themes, the question of who formulates these definitions and for what purpose helps to sort through which perspectives will be helpful for guiding RCR strategy.

Gentrification vs. Revitalization

The first major theme associated with many gentrification definitions is defining “gentrification” in relation to “revitalization”, and the decision to treat these terms as two separate concepts. The difficulty to define the two terms, or to decide whether they are separate concepts at all, manifests both in academic study and in popular media, and further demonstrates how definitions of “gentrification” are influenced by the social standings of those aiming to define it. In other words, the main issue here is if gentrification can be defined as associated with *positive* outcomes or with more *negative* outcomes. **For RCR’s work, gentrification should be viewed in isolation from revitalization to acknowledge the negative effects of the phenomenon. A “community investment” frame can also serve the interests of RCR in place of a “revitalization” frame. With these ideas, RCR can critically assess different development possibilities for the project as part of understanding their true impacts for the Rondo community.**

The issue of defining “gentrification” vs. “revitalization” stems from the first wave of academic research on gentrification, and offers a good place starting place for discussing definitions. The first wave of gentrification literature occured in the 1970s, a time when suburbanization slightly slowed and a ‘back to the city’ movement emerged. The ‘back to the city’ movement slowly increased, and white suburbanites began to return to inner-city areas. This movement was seen by some as a way to reverse decades of disinvestment and urban decline that had occured due to white flight to suburban areas in the 1960s. As a result of characterizing the movement as a possible solution to economic inequalities, some scholars even deemed the back to the city movement as an ‘urban renaissance’ (Lees, Slater, & Wyly, 2008, 43).

At this point in the study of gentrification, and due to the influence of the ‘back to the city’ narrative, the definitions of “gentrification” focused on renewal, revitalization, and the supposedly positive attributes associated with gentrification. This rhetoric still plays out as part of “positive gentrification”, where academics encourage “social mixing” of middle class households as part of deconcentrating poor neighborhoods and providing amenities to these areas (Davidson, 2008; Duany, 2001). Due to the social mix concept and other academic perspectives, “revitalization” rhetoric is “increasingly promoted in policy circles on the assumption that it will lead to more socially mixed, less segregated, more livable and sustainable communities” (Lees 2008, 2449). However, many scholars have also been skeptical of the supposed positive benefits of gentrifying development, and further critique urban governments for promoting social mix policies (Holcomb & Beauregard, 1981; Lees, 2008; Davidson, 2008; Shaw, 2008). Some of these critiques include that displacement can occur, that benefits of new investment do not actually reach existing community members, or that social mix really are designed to allow local governments to receive more property taxes.

Therefore from these above critiques, gentrification can easily be defined in isolation from “revitalization”. Powell and Spencer (2003) find the difference between these two terms may lie with the role of capital, where “gentrification” involves revitalization for the good of the gentry wanting to move to new revitalized areas, and “revitalization” involves changing historical legacies of disinvestment for the good of existing disinvested communities. Therefore a key difference here is the role of capital in class transformation- *is it to serve outside gentry, or a community deserving of different contemporary legacies of investment?*

In scholarly literature, although many recognize the issue of conflating the two terms, others still fall into defining gentrification as “revitalization”. Byrne

(2003), for example, finds that these two terms are different, but only because "revitalization" is seen as a more politically correct of the divisive term of "gentrification". He continues to find that gentrification is not a problem but rather a solution- it does not cause significant displacement, it can bolster socio-economic integration, and can improve political efficacy and social isolation. In this way, his definition of gentrification still uses "revitalization" language, and disregards the potential for gentrification to have negative impacts on communities.

Clearly the act of conflating "gentrification" with "revitalization" has been practiced for a long time in academic research on the topic, but we should consider why this is the case. The particular assumptions or perspectives that these scholars privilege represents one reason for this conflation. Smith and Williams (1986) illuminate that:

> "With few exceptions, the focus was on the *gentrifying middle class*, not the displaced working class, and on the gentrifying neighborhood, not on the location and fate of displacees. Although often detached in tone, much of this early empirical work represented an uncritical celebration of the process and was at times indistinguishable from the fiscal boosterism which permeated treatments of gentrification in the popular and parochial press, especially in the United States" (2- emphasis added)

The focus on the white gentrifying middle class, and the resulting desire to define "gentrification" as a process producing positive outcomes, both negate the perspectives of those displaced or threatened to be displaced by this process. Instead, it gives those who choose to gentrify more credibility and more acceptance to participate and shape perceptions of this process. It lets people who choose to move into lower income neighborhoods to argue that they are "revitalizing" the neighborhood without considering or addressing the effects of their involvement in gentrification.

Another main difference between these two terms mainly relates to the agency of capital to change communities, and the effectiveness of new investment to uplift communities as well. For some authors, capital has free reign over all places, and therefore no neighborhood stays frozen in one social identity due to the influence of changing investments in places (Byrne, 2003). It is also argued that capitalism creates the most efficient or adequate response to any problem, making "revitalization" synonymous with positive neighborhood class change via gentrification (Duany, 2001). However, these viewpoints do not attempt to identify the capitalist system as inherently

unequal and unjust in its creation of uneven distribution of wealth. In fact, it normalizes economic inequality as a natural part of urban politics and land use. The logic underlying these theories is that money is more important than individuals, and that there is nothing we can do to protect people from the interests of capitalist ventures. That really is *only* true if we accept that governments should not limit the negative impacts of markets on people (Berg, Kaminer, Schoonderbeek & Zonneveld, 2009 as cited by Lees, Slater, & Wyly, 2010; Powell & Spencer, 2003).

Furthermore, even if a neighborhood is not "gentrifying" based on a traditional definition of the term, a neighborhood concern about gentrification risk should be addressed and respected instead of being criticized or ignored. The histories of marginalization and economic oppression provide necessary context for understanding both the emergence and concern of gentrification. In addition to this, the use of "gentrification" should evoke the same frame as the original definition by Ruth Glass, which defines *gentrification as an injustice*. Slater (2012) further finds that reading the original definition she wrote "is both illuminating and depressing; not just because Glass' predictions have proved correct, but because the principles of *social justice* that animated Glass' concerns about gentrification are not so apparent in much of the writing on the subject today" (172). A way to support principles of social justice involves viewing gentrification in a similar fashion, and not allowing positive attributes to define the phenomenon.

So to promote justice as a part of defining gentrification, RCR should think about promoting the revitalization of Rondo community spaces and resources as part of the Rondo Land Bridge project, but as a separate process from gentrification. By highlighting the differences between "gentrification" and "revitalization", the negative effects of gentrification define the phenomenon, and "revitalization" language does not obscure gentrification's effects on communities. Solely defining gentrification this way does not ensure that the project will not contribute to gentrification, or that revitalization in general can happen without the associated impacts of economic losses or displacement. But it can help to create priorities which do not fall prey to projects which claim to "revitalize" but which really gentrify.

I also think it is worthwhile for RCR to think through an alternative to the term "revitalization" itself. The term implicitly connotes that the area isn't vital unless it has a highly successful housing market or economy. Through the engagement I have done with ReConnectRondo, many Rondo community members have not appreciated terms that belittle the ongoing efforts and resources already present in the community, and "revitalization" as a term ignores these contributions and community assets. In addition, the

term could be somewhat traumatic, with its past use also being linked to urban renewal (Avila, 2014).

Therefore I suggest that the project frame the work as **"community investment"** rather than revitalization, and that RCR works tirelessly to make its work a true representation of the term. In other words, to not let the idea of revitalization take the project away from the community. There will be many agency partners and well-intended organizations involved with the project that may encourage revitalizing ideas as part of the project- putting in trendy new restaurants from outside the community, to build apartment buildings that would serve people outside of the community more than community members. By framing the whole project as a community investment project rather than a "revitalization" project, the hope would be to truly serve the community as RCR was established to do. In the conclusion of the report, community investment is defined using Rondo community engagement insights, and represent a major recommendation of the report.

Gentrification as a Community Experience

The discussion of gentrification versus revitalization reveals the varied interests and viewpoints used to define gentrification. One contention highlighted was that between community-oriented ideas of gentrification and market or policy-driven ideas of the same phenomenon. Some analyses privilege community experiences, with an emphasis on marginalized communities who have witnessed gentrification. Others, however, highlight gentrification as a generalizable and macro-level experience which can then be applied to a local context, with a particular emphasis on gentrification as a form of colonialism. **Thus the same contention from the previous section will be highlighted once more in this section, with a different conclusion to emphasize: that community understandings of gentrification should not only be highlighted during research, but should also guide and structure the theory and application of gentrification research in a local context.** With more attention paid to the distinct local manifestations of gentrification, communities like Rondo can plan solutions which fit the needs of community, and which effectively address community concerns.

Gentrification research has sparsely included marginalized community experiences in the study of the phenomenon. Many authors have prioritized proving the existence or extent of gentrification based on various definitions of the term, rather than focus on lived experiences of gentrification. **Where it has focused on community perspectives, it has put the phenomenon mainly in the context of *colonization* and conquest.** As Atkinson and Bridge (2005) note: "contemporary gentrification has elements of colonialism as a

cultural force in its privileging of whiteness, as well as more class-based identities and preferences in urban living. In fact not only are the new middle class gentrifiers predominantly white but the aesthetic and cultural aspects of the process assert a white Anglo appropriation of urban space and urban history" (2). This perspective therefore describes gentrification as an invasion of community and claim to space that is part of U.S. history. With colonization and neoliberal ideals being a national precedent, it highlights historical legacies as part of the present reality of gentrification.

Although the colonization perspective seems helpful in its denunciation of historical legacies, it also paradoxically plays into distancing academia from the lived realities of areas experiencing gentrification. Firstly, the colonial framework for gentrification creates one dimensional depictions of those involved in gentrification processes. Colonization perspectives describe gentrifiers as powerful and the gentrified as powerless to the historical legacies of colonization. Most important to this analysis is how marginalized communities are treated as experiencing a generalizable oppression due to gentrification and its colonial origins. This colonization narrative therefore *naturalizes* gentrification as a norm for privileged and marginalized communities alike (Smith, 1996). In addition, due to the limited view of marginalized communities and their experience of gentrification, this literature rarely uses local understandings of gentrification to define the extent and manifestation of colonial influences on communities.

Some authors have expanded on the community perspective of gentrification by emphasizing its relationship to particular identities and social locations. Powell and Spencer (2003) highlight several of these, including race and class. They describe racial injustice and gentrification using the work of Betancur (2002):

> Descriptions of gentrification as a market process allocating land to its best and most profitable use, or a process of replacing a lower for a higher income group, do not address the highly destructive processes of class, race, ethnicity, and alienation involved in gentrification... [T]he right to community is a function of a group's economic and political power .... [T]he hidden hand is not so hidden in the process of gentrification and that in fact, it has a face-a set of forces manipulating factors such as class and race to determine a market outcome .... The most traumatic aspect of this analysis is perhaps the destruction of the elaborate and complex community fabric that is crucial for low-income, immigrant, and minority communities-without any compensation (807).

The associations between race, class, and capitalist dynamics connect gentrification to particular communities and experiences which other literature overlooked. Of course, gentrification does not always manifest as solely white upper middle class infiltrating communities of color (Freeman, 2006). However, since the Rondo community has a significant community of color and because there are major efforts to respect the community as such, the possible racial and class changes associated with gentrification deserve recognition as processes which could alter or damage the community. In addition to race and class, the relationship between gentrification processes and renters, families, elderly folks with fixed income, women, and queer folks are important to address as well (Curran, 2018; Marcuse, 1986). Thus from these perspectives and those of authors such as Lees et. al (2008) and Lees (2008), gentrification research has increasingly focused on a more expansive view of the experience of gentrification.

However, current academic work on gentrification as a community experience often does not allow communities to actually define the phenomenon, or to shape the conversations around it. If anything, studies employ an ethnographic approach and use these findings as part of their analysis. But these contributions also keep local subjectivities away from academic work which is also inherently subjective. Why is that? **Gentrification, as we have seen, is defined in innumerable ways- so why do communities have less agency to shape this conversation?** As Holcomb and Beauregard (1981) underscore how "research into gentrification must be motivated by concerns to address its unjust and unequal outcomes" (247), and thus research must involve community perspectives as part of understanding what these unjust or unequal outcomes look like in particular places. The "place-based" study used for the report aims to promote community resiliency through community steering of gentrification research.

How Gentrification Works

Capitalism and Urban Politics

In addition to conversations seeking to define gentrification, scholars discuss how gentrification manifests and affects urban spaces. An aspect of the gentrification process which has been widely discussed in academic literature is the influence of the *capitalist agenda* on gentrification and urban politics. As mentioned, the earlier conversation about revitalization vs. gentrification relates to capitalist ambitions. Even if intentions to revitalize or reconstruct seem good, the class transformation of space proves profitable for developers and governments alike, with positive "revitalization" language being purported with little consideration of the long-term impacts of development (unless these conversations are prompted by communities themselves).

Therefore RCR's understanding of gentrification should be connected to both capital and capital interests- *how does new capital from gentrification impact communities, and how can ReConnectRondo organize against these interests to best serve community needs?*

Ultimately these conversations lead to some important considerations- for one, that community ownership of financial assets and of the land itself would most likely promote anti-capitalist ambitions, and prevent other capitalist interests from preventing community goals. However, in addition to this, we must frame the conversation around capitalist interests as not only applying to developers, but also to urban governments and community members themselves. With the knowledge that anyone involved could have capitalist interests, RCR can evaluate those who negotiate the terms of the land bridge based on their ambitions, actions, or rhetoric rather than on perceptions which would label some as allies of anti-capitalism. Furthermore, RCR can also serve as an advocate of anti-capitalist community development, and provide insights for other community-based planning initiatives.

Scholars have explored the connections between capitalism and gentrification extensively, with the goal of understanding the role of capital in the class transformation of space (Blomley, 2004; Brenner, Marcuse, & Mayer, 2012; Smith & Williams, 1986; Clark, 2005; Ley, 1994). Neil Smith has also added notable considerations to this topic, and will provide the underlying ideas for most of this section. More specifically, he provides key insights with his work with the rent gap theory, as well as his discussion of the consumption-side vs production-side debate. These two resources help to show how capitalism drives and shapes gentrification, as well as the opportunities for RCR to intervene in these processes.

To start, many of us know that gentrification is profitable for those capitalizing on increasing land values. But how exactly is it profitable for these people? How can we conceptualize the change of disinvested properties to profit-making agents, and when does that change begin to happen? Smith contributes a useful concept here which is depicted in Figure 4 below: the rent gap theory. This concept theorizes the change from disinested to gentrified as a result of the creation of a rent gap. As the graph shows, this rent gap maximizes profit by addressing the "shortfall between the actual economic return from a land parcel given its present land use (capitalizing ground rent) and the potential return if it were put to its optimal, highest, and best use" (Lees et. al, 2008). In other words, when developers and landlords realize that an area is increasing in housing demand, the gap between the rent paid and the potential land rent closes, increasing the actual rent in the process.

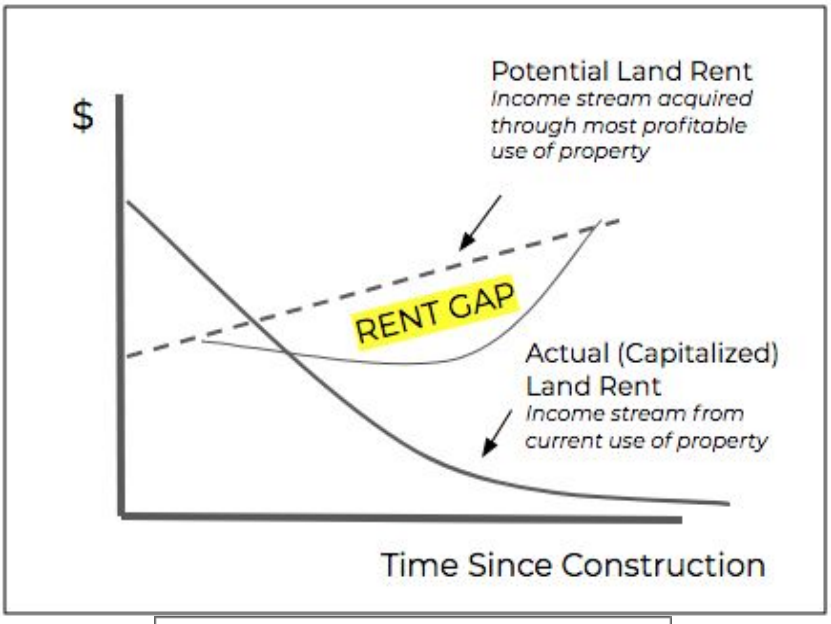


Figure 4: Graphical representation of rent gap, adapted from Lindeke (2018)

Using this perspective, we see how new perceptions of increased land value can actually create higher land values over time. As Smith (1979) notes in his explanation of the rent gap, gentrification can only exist where land is increasing in value and the actual rent is lower than potential rent- otherwise, if a property had reached its highest potential land rent, it is no longer profitable. Therefore, we see how the interest to develop may in part come from an ambition to increase the rent gap and to gain new lucrative development opportunities.

The rent gap theory proves relevant to RCR because it problematizes the Rondo Land Bridge as a development project which aims to serve community. Although development would hopefully benefit and serve the community, **this development inherently can increase the rent gap**, and provide opportunities for capitalist interests to gain from perceptions of the neighborhood as aesthetically pleasing based on new amenities. Therefore, it will be important to emphasize the true negative impact of gentrification and class reconfiguration as part of RCR messaging and strategy. If capitalist development can be seen as a threat to community resiliency, then there will be a higher chance of implementing policies which can protect the project from this kind of coercion. RCR uses the following definition of gentrification which is helpful for this point: **it is characterized "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" (Causa Justa Just Cause, 2015, 8). If this definition orients future work on gentrification, then capitalist development can be more effectively limited.

In addition to the rent gap theory, the consumption vs. production debate attempts to explain why class transformation and new capital flows emerge via gentrification. *What can explain the origins of gentrification, and who/what serves as the agents of this process?* Smith finds that the consumption-side privileges consumer choice as the driver of neighborhood class change, where "the changing urban patterns were the expression of changed consumption choices among certain sections of the middle class" (1986, 4). The agency to produce gentrification therefore falls on consumers, and naturalizes neighborhood change in a way similar to Byrne (2003) as described earlier. In contrast with this view, production-side arguments emphasize:

> The role of institutional agents and of capital, rather than consumers, in sculpting the urban landscape. Gentrification, according to this perspective, results from the private and public investment of capital in certain land uses, its devaluation through use and disinvestment, and the resulting opportunity for profitable reinvestment that is thereby created. (4)

With this perspective, the onus of class reconfiguration of space not only falls on individual actors, but on a mixture of influences all interested in profiting off of land speculation and increased investment. I affirm the production-side argument because it offers a helpful critique of the varied interests that will be involved in the project. One of these interests I want to highlight here is that of *urban governments and political entities*. Many authors such as Lees (2008), Atkinson (2008), Shaw (2008), Wyly & Hammel (2008), and Blomley (2004) have emphasized how governments not only witness or allow gentrification to occur, but can often incentivize gentrification for economic gains. With gentrification increasing property taxes and investment in previously disinvested areas, cities receive fiscal benefits from this kind of development. Where governments do try to mitigate gentrification, most attempts are weak at best. As Shaw (2008) elaborates:

> It is a complex relation: **policy can be used to drive gentrification, to modify gentrification and, theoretically, to stop gentrification.** Benign intents often go astray, usually because of flimsy bases and inadequate research. The possibilities of policy to produce more equitable cities are rarely realised, in part because of the lack of political will to intervene in any market processes and in part because the reasons for doing

> so, in the interests of those who lose from gentrification, are not well accepted by politicians and policy-makers. (2637- emphasis added)

Therefore **policy responses should be seen both as an asset and a possible danger to the work of RCR to provide a community benefitting project.** Even if urban government officials want to promote anti-gentrification, they may be unable to make it happen in practice due to political limitations, or they may propose policies which propel capitalist interests. In addition, due to budget constraints, many of the most feasible anti-gentrification policies involve harnessing funds from the private sector, and even encourage development by private developers. With this frame in mind, we can understand that neighborhood desires for Rondo to reap benefits from a large-scale infrastructure project are not so easily protected through policy initiatives, and how this must be considered as part of RCR strategy.

So fundamentally, the main question to emerge from all of the above considerations is this: *how can capitalist agendas be reduced while also promoting community revitalization?* For this I have several suggestions for RCR to consider that I listed at the beginning of the section. The first is promoting *community ownership of the project and its financial assets.* By keeping the amenities on top of the land bridge outside the influence of other interests, the project is more likely to serve community over profit-driven goals. But capitalist interests also exist everywhere- even in the Rondo community itself. Therefore to ensure that the project provides amenities to community and does not serve to financially benefit outsiders, consider a *community-based checks and balances system,* where multiple tiers of community participation ensure that development does not get co-opted by capitalist interests that could be present in the neighborhood. With this kind of system, the project can critically assess new development and work to limit the influence of capital interest over the project.

Debate around Gentrification-Induced Displacement

When considering the role of capital in restructuring urban communities, displacement of lower income households arises as a major concern in popular discourse. **Despite this, displacement is easily the most controversial aspect of the phenomenon in academia, and presents significant challenges to understanding what gentrification truly looks like in a local setting.** The definitions of displacement, its measurement, and the question of including it as part of the definition of gentrification, all contribute

to a lively debate regarding the negative effects of gentrification. By understanding these conversations, we can consider how to best substantiate local claims that gentrification is a valid concern to consider in Rondo, and how this can be achieved with or without the inclusion of displacement in the definition of gentrification. Displacement is an important aspect to consider, but as will be demonstrated in the next section, focusing on this term could limit RCR's ability to show that gentrification is occurring in the Rondo neighborhood.

To start, many authors on gentrification find that displacement is an inherent and essential part of defining the phenomenon and its effects. Glass (1984) included displacement in her original definition of the term, and many authors (Marcuse, 1985; Atkinson, 2000; Newman & Wyly, 2006; Slater, 2006; Shaw & Hagemans, 2015) have made significant contributions that support the idea that displacement is a key component of gentrification. Many of the early theorists who discussed displacement did not measure it quantitatively (Marcuse 1985), but other such as Atkinson (2000) and Newman and Wyly (2006) have increasingly employed quantitative analyses to provide evidence for gentrification-induced displacement.

However, other authors (Vigdor, 2002; Hamnett, 2003; Freeman & Braconi 2004) have challenged the idea that displacement is a major consequence of gentrification. In particular, these authors have mainly argued that gentrification either does not cause displacement (Vigdor, 2002), that it causes insignificant levels of displacement (Hammett, 2003), or that this displacement can be positive as those who are displaced may obtain more affordable housing as a result (Freeman & Braconi, 2004; Shaw 2015). Studies utilized particular quantitative frameworks to study demographic data, and further used this quantitative data to define a lived community experience. The results of the above studies significantly affected public understandings of gentrification, and without context, were used to undermine community-based understandings of the link between displacement and gentrification (Atkinson & Bridge, 2005; Newman & Wyly, 2006).

However, as Newman and Wyly (2006) discuss, the work of these authors cannot resolve the displacement debate on their own. For one, displacement is quite difficult to measure, and no measurement has encapsulated the full extent of displacement over time and at different stages of household tenure. Related to these methodological issues is *the definition of"displacement" itself- what does it mean, and how does it manifest?*

The plurality of ways to conceptualize displacement has been advocated by Marcuse (1985), who expands the notion of "displacement" to include

multiple ways in which people can be displaced, as well as multiple time periods which can be involved in the displacement process. To start this conversation, he finds that "direct displacement" is when a household is displaced from its current unit, and that this direct displacement can either manifest through "physical displacement" like evictions, or "economic displacement" like raising the rents beyond the households capacity (205). "Direct displacement" is thus the result of *current* market trends, and the neighborhood changes that are happening at the present moment. But Marcuse clarifies that "direct displacement" views the last tenant to live in a unit as the household experiencing displacement. He finds that this is a limited view of what displacement means, and that it can affect other households in addition to the last tenant. In particular, he describes that displacement via gentrification could have been experienced by *past* households via "chain displacement", or by *future* households as part of "exclusionary displacement" (206).

He uses **"chain displacement"** to recognize past displacement by noting how "another household…may have occupied that unit earlier, and also may have been forced to move at an earlier stage in the physical decline of the building or an earlier rent increase" (206). Thus a series of people may have had to be displaced in order to reach what is deemed a "gentrifying" level- in other words, it may not have happened overnight. Marcuse also recognizes future displacement through **"exclusionary displacement"** through the recognition that when a household unit gentrifies and increases in value/rent, another similar household has less options in the housing market and thus is "excluded from living where it would otherwise have lived" (206). With this definition, we can see how gentrification impacts the wider affordable housing market- not only is one family displaced through rising rents, but many other potential tenants as well. He also includes the following break-down of when "exclusionary displacement" occurs:

> Exclusionary displacement from gentrification occurs when any household is not permitted to move into a dwelling, by a change in conditions that affects the dwelling or its immediate surroundings, and that: 1) is beyond the household's reasonable ability to control or prevent; 2) occurs despite the household's being able to meet all previously imposed conditions of occupancy; 3) differs significantly…from changes in the housing market as a whole; and 4) makes occupancy by that household impossible, hazardous, or unaffordable. (207- emphasis added)

The idea of "exclusionary displacement" helps to see that gentrification imposes new unfair expectations that undermines a household's ability to

remain and thrive in the same place, and could help to frame RCR's idea of displacement as well.

Marcuse therefore presents displacement in a more nuanced fashion, and aims to look at the longevity of displacement processes over time. However, housing does not represent the only form of displacement pertinent to RCR's work. More specifically, **some recent scholars have expanded the idea of displacement to also address community amenity displacement, where gentrification ultimately leads to a sense of community identity loss.** Davidson (2008) and Shaw & Hagemans (2015) discuss the ways in which people who remained in a gentrified community also experience displacement due to new amenities not serving them, and due to the existing community identity being diminished in popular conceptions of the area. These discussions emerged as part of denying "social mix" arguments, where an existing community benefits from staying in the changing community and from new amenities provided by gentrification. Although some stayed in gentrifying areas, they did not really stay in the same community. This expansion of displacement to include community-level changes is also helpful for thinking about how gentrification could impact Rondo as a community, and how retaining the history of Rondo could at some point be challenged by gentrification processes.

All in all, these perspectives offered by Marcuse and Shaw specifically can aid ReConnectRondo, because they emphasize the difficulty and multiplicity of displacement as a phenomenon related to gentrification. Because displacement can be seen to occur at different times and with different circumstances and consequences, encapsulating the multiplicity of displacement experiences is extremely difficult. **Therefore I find that RCR should map out a definition of gentrification which doesn't rely solely on displacement, but rather uses other additional indicators to legitimize the real concerns of community members that gentrification is occurring in Rondo.** By doing so, quantitative study of displacement in the neighborhood, which would be inherently limited in scope, would not discredit the knowledge of the community. **In addition, RCR should highlight the diverse manifestations of displacement in the neighborhood,** and use this rhetoric to address different people affected over time and in different circumstances. This can allow for a discussion of uplifting folks already displaced by I-94, by gentrification which happened previously, or by any number of factors which emerged and produced displacement in Rondo. **Overall the advocacy of RCR should focus not only on preventing future displacement, but also addressing past displacement which prevents others to be in the community today.**

Introduction to Place-Based Study of Gentrification and Affordable Housing

The academic literature on gentrification illuminates the ways in which the phenomenon is defined, discussed, and applied in academic and political spheres. From compiling these academic perspectives, it becomes clear that most of these studies of gentrification do not adequately address how gentrification can vary across space and in different time periods. Lees (2000) describes the plurality of manifestations as the "**geographies of gentrification**", where "gentrification is not the same everywhere. Of course there are generalizable features, both internationally and within single cities, but there are also many important specificities that are equally important in any analysis of gentrification, and particularly in comparative research" (397). Expanding on Lees' geographies of gentrification theory, the rest of this report encourages the use of multiple scales and perspectives to define gentrification, as well as to shape responses to it. Different levels of analysis will be particularly relevant for considering anti-gentrification and affordable housing policy that is most feasible in Saint Paul, and most appropriate for the Rondo context.

However, thinking about the ambitions to promote justice for Rondo as part of the research, the report should privilege the geography of gentrification specifically in Rondo, and use community perspectives to drive what gentrification means and looks like in further analysis. Therefore I utilize a "place-based" methodology to address both the local political context and Rondo community-based knowledge as part of my considerations. **For this study I define "place-based" study as an analysis which privileges place-specific knowledge, and which uses this knowledge to structure the theory and application of subsequent gentrification research.** The use of a "place-based" approach came from the lack of place-specific considerations in gentrification research. Many of these analyses also use quantitative data to determine the presence of gentrification, and have influenced policymakers to see quantitative data as most compelling rather than local narratives.

The report aims to give more agency to communities vulnerable to gentrification in defining what this process means, what it looks like in the local context, and solutions to these issues. The main goal here was to address community concerns through privileging local understandings of these

concerns. However, this must be placed in balance with the limitations of local organizations and policymakers. Because local policy is heavily data-driven, defining and measuring gentrification are crucial to these entities as part of justifying funding or resources for mitigating it.

Therefore, a place-based study involves the negotiation between a variety of political and social interests that can shape local decision-making. Of course, a place-based analysis involves engaging with Rondo community, and privileges these perspectives over other influences. However, a place-based approach also involves many other factors which influence the feasibility of the Rondo Land Bridge project. These include ReConnectRondo (RCR), the Saint Paul government and political environment, community partners in Rondo, sponsors and funders of the organization, regional/state policy, and developers, amongst many other groups involved. Clearly there are many overlapping and even contentious influences that will shape the Rondo Land Bridge project. A place-based study should include all of these perspectives in determining feasible policies that ensure the community remains in place, and benefits from the new development.

But just as important as the local context are the ways in which the organization can think innovatively about changing the local context. These innovations could come in the form of bringing policies from other contexts to Saint Paul, or from using policies as a starting point to then build RCR's specific strategy. Consequently, a discussion of national anti-gentrification and affordable housing policy is essential- without information on the variety of policy options available, it would be difficult to determine what would work best for Rondo.

Review of National Anti-Gentrification Policies

In addition to organizational advocacy efforts, policy responses to gentrification risk will be an important component of ReConnectRondo's anti-gentrification work. **As an organization taking responsibility for the collaboration between the Rondo community, local organizational partners, and city/regional governance and partners, the coordination of policy which protects the Rondo community amongst these wide-ranging actors presents one of its main challenges.** For this reason, we must consider the policies and approaches which other localities used to mitigate or prevent gentrification in communities across the country. These policies have been implemented in particular places, and their feasibility may be altered by the local Saint Paul context (which will be discussed later in this report). However, from an understanding of available policy options, there are possibilities for changing current policy for the better, and RCR can use creative problem to address the Rondo community context.

Most of the information below comes from several key sources which include:

- NYU Furman Report: "Gentrification Response: A Survey of Strategies to Maintain Neighborhood Economic Diversity" (2016)
- PolicyLink: "Preventing Displacement Policy Fact Sheet" (2007)
- Kalima Rose (2001), "Beyond Gentrification" article for Shelterforce
- Causa Justa Just Cause (CJJC): "Development without Displacement: Resisting Gentrification in the Bay Area" (2015)

Affordable Housing Strategies

Although many publications on anti-gentrification vary in their approaches and recommendations, an unwavering consideration in most (if not all) of these documents is the role of affordable housing. These publications often conceptualize gentrification as a class transformation of space that displaces and excludes low income households. As a result, the protection and allocation of affordable housing indicates the need for community ownership over residential properties, as well as the need to serve community folks with lower socioeconomic status over possible gentrifiers of a higher socioeconomic status.

- **Theme: Preservation and Creation of Affordable Housing**
  - Strategic Preservation using City-Owned Land *Ground leases, restrict use of sale*
  - Preservation of NOAH Properties: *Rent control, local government rent subsidies, use of 4(d) ordinance for NOAH properties, second mortgage/mezzanine debt*
  - Mandated Creation of Affordable Housing: *Inclusionary zoning (mandated)*

The first theme related to affordable housing strategy is the **preservation and creation of affordable housing**, which probably gets mentioned the most as an anti-gentrification strategy (Rose, 2001). Localities can preserve and create affordable housing through different means, including through the housing models used for new development, requirements for building affordable housing, implementation of different levels of affordability, and other approaches. This section focuses on city-level or regional policies which help ensure affordable housing in any community. Anti-gentrifying affordable housing models are considered in their own section later in the report.

Strategic Preservation of City-Owned Land

The first sub-theme within affordable housing strategy is the strategic preservation of city-owned land, in which city governments can either utilize current city properties or buy new properties to provide affordable housing over the long-term. The price of land often creates the most significant challenge to providing affordable units, so many of these policies require city support to preserve or obtain properties to maintain affordability.

The first of these strategies is the use of a **ground lease** so that the city maintains ownership over the property and leases it to a household for a long-term lease. In order to spurr affordable housing development, the city government can lease the land at a discount if the participating developer follows affordability requirements set by the city. The benefit of leasing city-owned land is that the city maintains ownership of properties and can also theoretically ensure affordability over the long term. However, the revenues from leasing are significantly lower than selling the land, and thus a city government may have less incentive to maintain ownership if they can make more money from selling it. Although a ground lease could be paired with other housing subsidies to create higher city revenues, the city may still decide to sell regardless. In addition, because the city would own the land, they would have the ability to change the affordability requirements for prospective developers, and thus would not be accountable to the

community for maintaining affordability (NYU Furman Center, 2016).

The second strategy which falls into this category is to **restrict use after sale** through several city-imposed limits on privately-owned land. Restricted use can be accomplished through either a restrictive covenant or a restrictive declaration, which both legally stipulate parameters for the property. A restrictive covenant is a deed restriction which limits the land use of the property, including the household using the property. Although restrictive covenants have been used in the past to restrict households of color from particular communities, it can be used to ensure that a property only be sold at a particular price point/be occupied by a low-income household. In addition, a restrictive declaration is an agreement between a government actor and a private actor in regards to a property to ensure affordability. However, both restrictive covenants and declarations only work if officials do not remove them, and if they are enforced (NYU Furman Center, 2016).

Restricted use of sale strategies are most effective when the city is transferring its land to a private entity and wants to ensure it remains affordable over the long-term. However, restricted use is only effective if the stipulations are maintained and enforced, and the city may not have the capacity to support a program like this through staffing and funding. Despite this, any city effort would need to be in addition to community-controlled anti-gentrification and housing planning, so as to provide a checks and balance system between the city and community based organizations. This would be more effective in truly ensuring long-term affordability.

Preservation of NOAH Properties

"The Space Between" report by One Roof, the Housing Preservation Project, and the Urban Land Institute (ULI) is an incredibly helpful resource for the following discussion. Please refer to this report for more detailed information on NOAH preservation

In addition to utilizing city-owned land and maintaining its affordability, another affordable housing strategy for mitigating gentrification is implementing city policy which protects naturally occurring affordable housing (NOAH) properties. A NOAH property is affordable in the market without a government or nonprofit subsidy (unless that subsidy is a tenant-based rental assistance). A good way to understand what the importance of NOAH properties is to compare the Seattle housing market with the Saint Paul housing market, for example. Seattle is known for its expensive housing costs, and due to increasing housing demand, there is very little housing that is affordable without a subsidy. This puts the Seattle government, and governments in similar

markets, in a disadvantaged position, since affordable housing must now be ensured through building new units. In contrast, Saint Paul is in a advantageous position in that there still is naturally occurring affordable housing due to a less hot housing market (amongst other reasons). The presence of more NOAH properties in Saint Paul means the city should preserve NOAH housing while these properties still exist, and should not allow market escalation to decrease the unsubsidized affordable housing supply.

471.9996 RENT CONTROL PROHIBITED.

Subdivision 1. **In general.**

No statutory or home rule charter city, county, or town may adopt or renew by ordinance or otherwise any law to control rents on private residential property except as provided in subdivision 2. This section does not impair the right of any statutory or home rule charter city, county, or town: (1) to manage or control property in which it has a financial interest through a housing authority or similar agency; (2) to contract with a property owner; (3) to act as required or authorized by laws or regulations of the United States government or this state; or (4) to mediate between property owners and tenants for the purpose of negotiating rents.

Subd. 2.**Exception.**

Subdivision 1 does not preclude a statutory or home rule charter city, county, or town from controlling rents on private residential property to the extent that the city, county, or town has the power to adopt an ordinance, charter amendment, or law to control these rents if the ordinance, charter amendment, or law that controls rents is approved in a general election. Subdivision 1 does not limit any power or authority of the voters of a statutory or home rule charter city, county, or town to petition for an ordinance or charter amendment to control rents on private residential property to the extent that the power or authority is otherwise provided for by law, and if the ordinance or charter amendment is approved in a general election. This subdivision does not grant any additional power or authority to the citizens of a statutory or home rule charter city, county, or town to vote on any question beyond that contained in other law.

Figure 5: Minnesota Rent Control Law (Minnesota Legislature)

The loss of NOAH properties often occur quickly through upscaling markets and through deterioration or demolition of affordable units. Therefore NOAH strategies can only be employed while NOAH properties are still affordable for cities to protect. Ensuring that NOAH properties remain affordable is a much more cost-effective method for providing affordable housing than building new units. However, due to the limited funding already available for any kind of affordable housing work, there has been skepticism around using this funding for preservation rather than creation, particularly when the quality of NOAH properties can vary widely. City officials also may conceptualize upscaling as indicative of a “strong” rental market, and may want to capitalize from increased property taxes in “deflated” market area (Minnesota Preservation Plus Initiative, 2013). Despite these concerns, NOAH properties are increasingly regarded as an important consideration for saving costs in the long-run, and several policy interventions can help protect these NOAH properties from disappearing.

The first option is **rent control**, which preserves the affordability of existing renter properties (Great Communities, 2007). Although rent control represents a major way to preserve NOAH properties, Minnesota law prohibits rent control through Minn. Stat. 471.9996 (Housing Justice Center, 2017). This

means that local government or non profit organizations cannot limit the rent of properties in gentrifying areas, and proves to be a major barrier to protecting NOAH properties in the local Saint Paul context. One way to mitigate the lack of rent control would be to impose a 90 day delay after the sale of a NOAH property for rents to be increased by a landlord, therefore allowing the tenant more agency in the event of rising rents (Housing Justice Center, 2017). Despite the usefulness of a rent increase delay, the above anti-rent control statute poses a problem for organizations with limited funding and capacity to subsidize the protection of NOAH properties.

Due to the inability to implement rent control, another way to preserve NOAH housing would be to offer a **local government rent subsidy** to existing households with particular conditions, which include:

- Unsubsidized renter households serving incomes at or below 80% AMI
- Maintained by property owners that will reserve 30 to 60% of their units for affordable households (at or below 80% AMI) as part of receiving a subsidy
- Housing which is consistent with city code and rental license requirements (Minnesota Preservation Plus Initiative, 2013)

The nuances of allocating a local government rental subsidy would have to be sorted out, such as who would receive the subsidy (renter or property owner) and how much subsidy a household would receive (sliding scale based on percent of AMI is a consideration here). But all together, a local government rent subsidy can help to retain affordability now before the housing market escalates and gap funding becomes even more difficult. The main barrier to implementing a rent subsidy program is the capacity of the City of Saint Paul/RCR to finance and administer this program, and the difficulty of implementing this program at a regional scale (to protect proximate areas).

A third option is the **use of the 4(d) ordinance for NOAH properties**, which reduces the property tax burden on housing where property owners maintain affordability. The Low Income Rental Classification Program (LIRC), most commonly referred to as the 4(d) ordinance, offers a lower property tax rate to properties that serve low-income renter households (Minn. Stat. 273.128). The program originally covered both “deemed” properties (subsidized rental housing) and “pledged” properties (unsubsidized rental housing, but the property owner agrees to rent/income restrictions). The ordinance was repealed in 2003 by the legislature, but then reinstated in 2005 to only include “deemed”/subsidized properties (Housing Justice Center, 2017).

The 4(d) program does well to ease operating costs for operators of subsidized

housing, which can become more burdensome with housing market escalation. However, there are several ways that a 4(d) ordinance could be applied to currently unprotected NOAH properties. The first way would be to include "pledged" properties in the ordinance, which would be difficult to achieve but still advantageous. But more realistically, the current 4(d) ordinance could be combined with a local rent subsidy to expand the application of 4(d) to new properties. The current 4(d) ordinance stipulates that properties need to be subject to income/rent restrictions and receive local government subsidy to be considered "low-income rental properties" and eligible for 4(d) tax breaks. *Thus unsubsidized rental housing could be treated as "low-income rental properties" by applying a local rent subsidy and rent restrictions on these properties* (Minnesota Preservation Plus Initiative, 2013; Housing Justice Center, 2017). This represents the most feasible means to protect NOAH housing through the current 4(d) ordinance.

A fourth option is the use of a **second mortgage/mezzanine debt program**, which provides a longer term private sector debt for acquisition, rehab, and/or refinance of properties that offer affordable rents. This debt extension would be provided by a private lender in partnership with a partner government agency or non profit organization. Because lenders need to feel secure in their investment towards property owners, experienced property owners would need to be screened for consistency in their commitment to affordability and in their quality management of properties. This option is most relevant to property owners who manage less properties, and may not have the capacity to complete rehab projects on their housing. By pairing a level of debt protection with affordable housing, deterioration can be discouraged and reduced. Although less relevant to the project, these kinds of programs which benefit NOAH renters/property owners still need to be considered as part of overall protections from gentrification and housing instability (NYU Furman Center, 2016).

Although there are more ways to preserve NOAH housing, these policies are some of the most cited ways to approach this effort. Some next steps for considering these policies in the Rondo/Saint Paul context would be to strategize with city officials/urban planners, who aim to reduce costs through NOAH preservation for their own interest too. By thinking through the capacity of the city to implement these policies, affordable housing can be protected in Rondo as well as in Saint Paul at large.

Mandated Creation of Affordable Housing

As an initiative that can garner high levels of fiscal support for development, the Rondo Land Bridge project presents a powerful opportunity to implement

a regional commitment to creating more affordable housing. By placing affordability restrictions on development in a region, there is a greater likelihood that development will serve community need for more affordable housing.

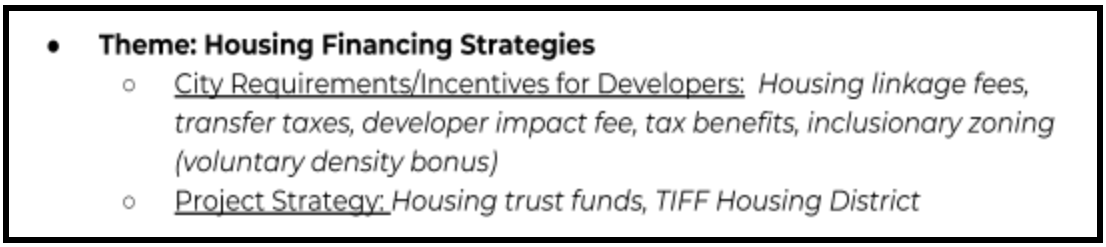
The most discussed way to mandate the creation of affordable housing is an **inclusionary zoning (IZ) ordinance**, which require that market-rate development be tied to affordable housing development. Through different ways, a certain percentage of affordable housing units is either required or encouraged in a new market-rate development. As made clear by the varied IZ programs across the country, inclusionary zoning ordinances can be implemented in many different ways, and each approach should be considered as part of RCR anti-gentrification strategy. For one, IZ ordinances can differ based on whether they are voluntary or mandatory- in other words, whether developers elect to participate based on an incentive, or if localities require affordable units be built as part of a market-rate development. In addition, IZ policies can be applied to different size and type of market rate developments, and may have different income level requirements for the affordable housing allocated (Furman Center for Real Estate and Urban Policy, 2008). There is even debate whether affordable units need to be allocated within the market-rate development, or can be developed off-site. ReConnectRondo will need to think through all of the above issues when considering the possibility of implementing IZ in Rondo.

There are common positive and negative effects cited in the discussion of IZ policy. One positive of IZ programs is that they require less direct public subsidy than traditional affordable housing programs, and put more responsibility on private developers for the creation of affordable housing. Although developers may lose money on affordable units, IZ intends to off-set these losses with incentives such as density bonuses and tax breaks, and therefore can support private entities in the creation of affordable housing. However, critics have also argued that inclusionary zoning, particularly mandated inclusionary zoning, will constrict development of market-rate housing and will increase general rents as part of constraining the supply of housing (Furman Center for Real Estate and Urban Policy, 2008). IZ policy therefore can be seen as a threat to development interests, as well as to the city government who may stand to gain from market-rate development (particularly in a place like Rondo).

As is evidenced in the concerns about IZ policy, this intervention works best within a popular housing market,where development is already occurring at a fast rate. *Several key stakeholders have mentioned that the land bridge project could spurr enough development to make IZ an effective policy for*

the Rondo Land Bridge. In addition to this, although other localities with anti-rent control laws are unable to implement inclusionary zoning, Minnesota implemented a law authorizing inclusionary policies after the rent control law, thus allowing Saint Paul to consider IZ policy without anti-rent control limitations.

However, it must be noted that IZ inherently encourages market-rate development as part of developing affordable housing, and thus could still increase rents and displacement risk for NOAH properties adjacent to new development. In addition, often IZ programs become more effective over time, and thus may not create large amounts of affordable housing until years after market-rate development. Therefore, the effectiveness and political feasibility of this policy must be considered in the local Saint Paul context, and this will be discussed later in the Local Policy section of this report.


- **Theme: Housing Financing Strategies**
  - City Requirements/Incentives for Developers: *Housing linkage fees, transfer taxes, developer impact fee, tax benefits, inclusionary zoning (voluntary density bonus)*
  - Project Strategy: *Housing trust funds, TIFF Housing District*

Another theme for affordable housing anti-gentrification strategy involves housing finance, which provides the opportunity to garner fiscal support for community aspirations. The strategies available commit developers and ReConnectRondo itself to providing fiscal support for affordable housing, as well as to other anti-gentrification efforts. Through these explicit requirements, there are legal mechanisms in place which make this commitment more than rhetoric but rather a long-term reality.

City Requirements/Incentives for Developers

Funds and resources are extremely tight for affordable housing development and associated initiatives. With average U.S. housing prices consistently rising as average incomes falling, the ability to provide for the increasing demand for affordable housing is becoming more difficult. Thus it is important to recognize the possibility of funding affordable housing through private development. There are several policy options which either penalize or reward developers based on their commitments to allocating affordable units as part of a development. Since the land bridge project will create high demand for development, ReConnectRondo will need to strategize the ways in which developers can commit to ensuring affordable housing throughout the

neighborhood and in the region more generally.

The first option for requiring allocation of affordable housing funds is through requiring developers to pay taxes which go towards the creation of new affordable housing. There are several kinds of taxes which accomplish this. One type of tax is the **housing linkage fee**, where economic development in a community must contribute funds to affordable housing (Great Communities 2007). Often a new business development will pay a fee based on the square footage of the building, and in return the business will receive their building permit. Thus linkage strategies are helpful in ensuring that "community benefit is derived from commercial development" (Preventing Displacement, 2007, 8), which are often treated as separate processes in market-rate developments. However, some also argue that linkage fees disencourage commercial development, and therefore can also cost the neighborhood jobs (NYU Furman Center, 2016).

In addition to this, another option is the **real estate transfer tax**, in which investors are charged on the profits they make from selling a property for increasing profit (a.k.a. "flipping" a property in a gentrifying area). Often this tax applies to properties that either have not been help by an owner for an extended period of time (often less than a year), or which have not been invested in through capital improvements. Transfer taxes therefore discourage investors from buying and reselling properties for huge profits without investing in the property itself (Great Communities, 2007). The funds from this kind of program can be used for funding other affordable housing or for community-driven initiatives.

Housing linkage fees and transfer taxes require developers and property owners to contribute to the allocation of affordable housing resources. The requirement to fund affordable housing as part of development makes all involved in development efforts committed to affordable housing goals. Despite this, these taxing plans do not create affordable units right away, putting the onus on local organizations to actually build affordable units from the taxes received from developers. What if there was enough development where affordable units had to be built outside of the community instead of as part of new development? Thus these taxing schemes should be considered in conjunction with other initiatives which require or incentivize developers to create affordable housing as part of a development itself.

There are several approaches which incentivize developers and others to create/preserve affordable housing as part of their work. The first of these incentive programs is the use of **tax benefits** to motivate developers to

allocate affordable units in a new development. In order to preserve affordable units, owners of multi-family buildings would agree to maintaining units as affordable for a particular amount of time in exchange for a tax exemption/benefit. In this case, affordability could be defined several ways: “in terms of a percentage of area median income or units benefitting from a tax break can enter into a rent stabilization program that slows their rent growth” (NYU Furman Center, 2016, 11). A limitation of this program is the fact that if these tax benefits are implemented in an area where rents may rise, the city would lose key tax revenues in order to entice property owners to keep units affordable over time. Therefore it could be a costly burden for the city that would be hard to sustain without other fiscal supports.

Lastly, developers can be incentivized to develop affordable housing through voluntary inclusionary zoning. Often this manifests as a **density bonus**, where “local zoning regulations set a base amount density and then offer a developer a greater density if he/she includes a certain amount of affordable housing” (NYU Furman Center, 2016, 12). In order for the developer to want the incentive, the value of the added density must more than offset the costs of building affordable housing.

Both tax benefits and a voluntary inclusionary zoning ordinance could help to actually create more affordable units through development. However, the longevity of these affordable units could be hard to secure. Would the city be able to require long-term affordability with these programs, and be able to still encourage development? Could the city offset the loss of long-term tax revenue from these developments?

Therefore, as part of all these affordable housing strategies, the capacity of the City of Saint Paul to provide these kinds of policies is hard to gauge. Work will have to be done to determine the feasibility of each policy within the local Saint Paul context. This report aims to discuss these feasibility questions later in the report, however RCR will also need to expand on my work to meet with policymakers in person to talk through what is possible. Luckily, as will be shown later, the City of Saint Paul is very supportive of affordable housing strategies, and thus will hopefully be receptive to these affordable housing approaches.

Project Strategy

Along with the above approaches which make developers contribute fiscal support for affordable housing or anti-gentrification efforts, the ReConnectRondo project can also create more fiscal support through its own

initiatives. By putting mechanisms in place which reserve funds from increased property taxes, sponsor partnerships, and other funding streams, ReConnectRondo can be active in obtaining funds for anti-gentrification efforts in Rondo. Because ReConnectRondo will theoretically be in control of development, all added funds or partnerships can be framed as a larger contribution to these anti-gentrification or affordable housing initiatives.

One way to provide affordable housing through the RCR project would be to create a **housing trust fund**, which dedicates ongoing revenue streams to affordable housing, and is most effective in preventing gentrification if these funds are used to provide long-term affordable housing (Rose, 2001). Often these trust funds come from tax revenue, but which are matched to developers who will pay a majority of development costs in order to receive trust fund dollars. Cities such as Seattle and and San Francisco have been able to raise significant funds through this kind of trust fund or levy, particularly as cities with high market demand for housing and with too few city dollars for affordable housing allocation. Without this kind of programs, these cities would lose significant revenue for important initiatives and would be less capable to serve the increasing need for affordable housing more generally.

In terms of a housing levy or trust fund for the RLB project itself, city requirements to allocate affordable housing can be used for this purpose. Linkage fees and transfer taxes in particular can go towards housing trust funds, and represent ways to ensure that the project includes affordable housing goals. However, the land bridge is creating land where there hasn't been any, and therefore also creating new developable land that was not available in the past. **So what if ReConnectRondo was able to use a proportion of the new property taxes from the land bridge to fund affordable housing?** What if all new development and all annual property taxes had a particular amount set aside for a housing trust fund? Although a project-based housing trust fund is not common, it could be a meaningful way for the RLB structure itself to contribute to the ambition of providing affordable housing.

Another funding option would be to utilize **tax-incremental financing (a.k.a. TIF)** or to establish a **TIF housing district.** TIF utilizes the increased property taxes from a new development to finance the costs of the development itself. The foregone future taxes are used as credit to secure bonds that pay for current developer costs. New taxes received over time bridge the gap between the existing tax base and new tax base, and how these incremental taxes can be used to fund development while the tax base grows (Minnesota House of Representatives, 2009). By doing so, development can occur while

also hopefully ensuring that these development costs get recouped by the foreseen property tax increase of the development.

In Minnesota, TIF is used for two primary purposes:

- "To induce or cause a development or redevelopment that otherwise would not occur—e.g., to convince a developer to build an office building, retail, industrial, or housing development that otherwise would not be constructed.
- To do so, the increased property taxes are used to pay for costs (e.g., land acquisition or site preparation) that the developer would normally pay. To finance public infrastructure (streets, sewer, water, or parking facilities) that are related to the development. In some cases, the developer would be required to pay for this infrastructure through special assessments or other charges. In other cases, all taxpayers would pay through general city taxes" (Michael, 2014)

Often TIF funds are framed as a way to fund renewal of areas of deterioration, spurring a redevelopment or renewal TIF district (Michael, 2014). However there are a variety of TIF districts that can be established, and for different durations of time.

TIF Housing Districts specifically can last for 25 years, and must involve projects which provide a certain level of affordability as part of new development. Federal law determines the eligibility of income levels by the 20-50 or 40-60 test. The 20-50 test stipulates that 20 percent of the units are occupied by individuals whose incomes are 50 percent or less of the area median income. The 40-60 test stipulates that 40 percent of the units are occupied by individuals whose incomes are 60 percent or less of the area median income. These tests help to ensure that affordability remains the explicit goal of TIF housing District funds. However, these stipulations do not address very low income households, and therefore allows housing development to over look households particularly at 30% of AMI or lower (Minnesota House of Representatives, 2009).

Despite these challenges, the rationale for TIF is that it often encourages development where there may not have been any otherwise. In fact, to create a TIF district, a development authority in charge of creating a TIF district use "but-for" tests to assess whether it should be made: "(1) the development would not occur without TIF assistance and (2) that the market value of the TIF development will be higher (after subtracting the value of the TIF assistance) than what would occur on the site, if TIF were not used" (Michael

2014). These “but-for” tests are used across the country, and are meant to prioritize revitalization projects which improve underdeveloped areas of a city.

Despite this goal, the “limitations” of TIF funding are actually very easy to surpass, and therefore many projects can receive TIF funds. Many projects can receive TIF funding despite the fact that the development would occur regardless. This creates a problem where too many projects receive TIF funds, putting more pressure on the taxpayer to pay off the TIF bonds issued for a particular project and taking funds from other worthy projects. In the Saint Paul context, we will see how projects such as the Ford Site Plan and the Midway Soccer Stadium have taken key TIF funds which ReConnectRondo would be interested in utilizing. Therefore, the timing of TIF proposals is key in ensuring that a project can take advantage of this program.

All in all, affordable housing strategies are essential to ReConnectRondo strategy, particularly in the creation of affordable housing, preservation of naturally occurring affordable housing, and in financing strategies which implicate action from both developers and RCR. After studying affordable housing strategies for preventing gentrification, I have come to find that this set of strategies represent the most studied and most well-respected approach to this prevention effort. However, these strategies should be encouraged in tandem with other approaches which aid current households and businesses. Thus from the consideration of affordable housing strategies, we must reflect on the ways in which residential stability can be ensured and protected in the local Rondo context.

Mitigating Residential Instability Strategies

The previous section discussed the loss of affordable housing as a major consequence of gentrification processes. Loss of affordable housing often results from rising rents, and from developers producing market-rate housing without contributing resources to affordable housing creation. But another harmful and traumatic consequence of gentrification and rising rents is **the displacement of low-income households.** Although we have seen how perspectives vary on the true extent to which displacement occurs, the risk of forced mobility through gentrification must be considered and mitigated as part of RCR’s work. Particular emphasis should be made on renters, who through rising rents are often more likely to be displaced more quickly than homeowners. The next section aims to think through protective policies which allow people the right to remain in place.

Due to the fact that affordable housing strategies and stabilizing renter

households closely relate and impact each other, some of the ways to stabilize existing renters have already been discussed. However, there are particular citywide policies which would drastically improve renter protections particularly for those who do not receive a subsidy for their housing (a.k.a. NOAH properties). With these kinds of strategies in addition to the availability of more affordable housing, renters and other vulnerable households can hopefully have the resources needed to retain residential stability.

- **Theme: Stabilization of Existing Renters and Other Vulnerable Households**
  - Community Assets for Renters: *Emergency rental assistance funds, rental rehab programs, tenant rights education/resources*
  - Policy Protections for Renters: *Just cause eviction ordinance, right of first refusal, ordinance of non-disclosure for Section 8, rent control (currently not possible)*
  - Policy Protections for Elders/Gentrifiable Households: *Tax abatement programs, rent control/4d ordinance*

Community Assets for Renters

Within this main theme of stabilizing existing renters and other vulnerable households, there are several approaches which can help make this a reality. The first is **providing community assets** for renters who may not have particular assets that aid in remaining in place. Within a housing market which has become less affordable, particular programs or services provided by municipalities could add a layer of protection or support to households not well-served by this increasingly inaccessible market. In other words, it is a way for cities to actively promote households remaining in place, depending on the scale of these programs as well as their level of services.

All of the "community assets for renters" policies involve fiscal support of programs which aid residentially unstable households. One first way to provide community assets which aid vulnerable renters are **emergency rental assistance funds** that can be offered to households who are behind on rent or experienced a household emergency that put them behind on rent. Another option is to have a **rental rehabilitation program**, which would allocate city funds for renters to access for rehabing their particular unit. Saint Paul already has a rental rehab program in place, but which can also grow and cover more households. Another important consideration would be to expand or develop **tenants rights education or legal resources** as part of the Rondo Land

Bridge project. Most of these programs would need significant funds that the city may not have. However, as part of the different initiatives taken on by RCR, the organization should consider how funds from the land bridge can help make these policies a reality, and to provide much needed services to renter households.

Policy Protections for Renters

In addition to providing community assets to renters, one of the most important ways to protect renter households from displacement is to implement protective policies that support tenants' right to stay. These policies have been implemented in localities across the country, and yet only one of the following policies has passed in the local Saint Paul context. Therefore, RCR will need to address the barriers to implementing renter protection laws, and should promote the passage of laws which aim to create more residential stability.

The first ordinance that can help protect renters is a **just cause eviction ordinance**, where evictions are only valid if rationalized with legitimate and appropriate reasons, such as nonpayment of rent or lease violations (Housing Justice Center, 2017). Because landlords can easily evict households solely to increase rents or upscale buildings, just cause eviction supports tenants by stipulating the particular circumstances in which eviction filings are valid. Despite the ambition of just cause eviction ordinances to protect renters, issues with termination of leases still would be contested in court, and many households that receive an eviction filing may not have the resources for legal counseling. However, just cause ordinances ultimately help renters by creating legal grounds for tenants to contest eviction filings based on their rationale. There is currently no just cause eviction ordinance in Saint Paul.

Another ordinance which can help renters is **right to first refusal**, where city staff, or tenants of the property, are given the first chance to buy a property if the owner hopes to sell it. Right to first refusal ordinances can allow tenants to remain in place, and/or provide the opportunity to maintain properties as affordable. Typically a sale of the property triggers the right to first refusal, but it could also include conversion or demolition of property. The timeframe which cities tenants have to make an offer varies greatly, and the challenge is to find a timeframe which allows tenant/city purchasers to mobilize and which also does not unreasonably delay the owner in the sale (Housing Justice Center, 2017). Right to first refusal would be challenging to pass in Saint Paul, mainly because it could represent a form of rent control. If the ordinance limits who can purchase the property, that could also limit the price

paid. Therefore, other options that allow for right to first refusal without controlling the price of sale should be formulated in the local Saint Paul context.

In regards to right to first refusal and just cause ordinances, RCR will need to determine its capacity to lobby for renter protection policies in governmental settings. Just cause evictions and right to first refusal are some of the most effective policies for increasing residential stability and renters rights. However, these policies may be hard to pass in the Saint Paul context, and RCR is a new organization with limited capacity to engage policymakers in discussions of renter protection policy. Therefore, RCR should discuss how it will advocate for renter protections while also recognizing the limitations of the organization.

In addition to just cause and right to first refusal, **an ordinance of non-disclosure for Section 8** can help to ensure that a household with a Section 8 voucher cannot be denied solely based on their voucher. In addition, landlords cannot intentionally raise rents in order to not participate in the program, therefore providing tenants with Section 8 vouchers the right to just cause eviction as well as rent control as a part of receiving a subsidy (Housing Justice Center, 2017). Although an ordinance of non-disclosure for Section 8 would greatly aid Section 8 recipients in gentrifying communities, many households do not receive Section 8, and the expansion of Section 8 programs would be difficult to change. Therefore this policy should be noted as a helpful strategy, but one which RCR may not be able to address as extensively.

Land Control and Community Development Strategies

Theme: Controlling Land for Community Development

- Land Use Policies: *Inclusionary zoning, eminent domain*
- Community Ownership over Development: *Community benefits agreement (CBA), MNvest crowdsourcing*

The next set of anti-gentrification strategies involve land control and development which are steered by community leadership. As Rose (2001) notes, “land use, tax and zoning policies all shape equitable developments...communities need to evaluate zoning and public land giveaways and steer them in the direction of their aspirations”. Therefore the connections between land use controls and community aspirations emerge

from these policy solutions, and aim to orient land policy towards community goals.

As previously discussed, inclusionary zoning represents a way to utilize land use policy for providing affordable housing. The main reason for including inclusionary zoning here is to frame this response as a way to control land use through neighborhood or city-level policy. When categorizing inclusionary zoning as a land use policy, thinking through the *scale* of this tool is important. If inclusionary zoning were only applied to the Rondo neighborhood, the market rate development discouraged or banned from Rondo could easily be displaced to a proximate community. Therefore, land use policy where development is controlled or influenced by the city may need to have a regional scope rather than a neighborhood-level scope. The feasibility of this level of policy in the local Twin Cities context will be considered later in the report.

Another method for using land use policy is to obtain **eminent domain rights** for community control and stewardship. Although incredibly difficult to obtain, organizations such as Dudley Street Initiative in Boston have procured and used eminent domain for community driven initiatives and infrastructure projects. Since eminent domain for the entire Rondo Land Bridge would be incredibly difficult to obtain, I will not discuss its implementation strategy at length. However I think RCR can discuss and consider eminent domain as a part of strategizing community control over the land bridge.

Another last method for promoting community land control and development, which probably will be the most important to the work of RCR, is a **community benefits agreement (CBA)**. A CBA is a way for residents who will be affected by a development to shape its formation through the creation of a legally binding contract made by the community and a developer. A community agrees to support the development project in exchange for a signed CBA agreement. The benefits provided to communities by a CBA can vary widely, as particular communities shape the agreements to fit their needs or desires. Gross, LeRoy, & Janis-Aparicio (2005) outline some of the possible benefits, which include:

- *A living wage requirement for workers employed in the development;*
- *A "first source" hiring system, to target job opportunities in the development to residents of low-income neighborhoods;*
- *A space for a neighborhood-serving childcare center;*
- *Construction of parks and recreational facilities;*
- *Community input in selection of tenants of the development;*
- *Construction of affordable housing*

Thus CBAs can represent a concrete way for community voices to directly shape the land bridge project. However, the process of actually defining the stipulations or terms of the CBA will be an incredibly long and difficult process if applied to the entire land bridge project. Because developments could negatively impact the community, and because Rondo residents want different outcomes from the project, using these contending ideas to create a CBA will take a significant amount of time. Despite this challenge, RCR should see a CBA as a major opportunity to promote the "right to the city", and as a way for ensuring that the project benefits the community.

Business and Community Amenity Retention Strategies

Theme: Business and Community Amenity Retention

- Residential services: *Daycare, healthcare facilities, educational opportunities*
- Local employment and businesses: *Local hiring requirements, CBA includes commitment to local business, expanding entrepreneurship programs*
- Community control over business development: *Expansion of local business association, commercial land trust*

The last theme that should be considered as part of anti-gentrification strategy is **retaining businesses and community amenities.** These public spaces often determine the identity/character of the neighborhood. Although housing and community displacement are incredibly important aspects to discuss, so too are community resources which shape the interactions in, and accessibility of, community space. Often in gentrifying areas, community-based restaurants, shops, and organizations can be pushed out, and this can ultimately lessen the resources available to existing community members (Shaw & Hagemans, 2015). Therefore, the inclusion of businesses and community resources in anti-gentrification strategy is essential.

The first of these business and community amenities that RCR can *provide*, rather than solely protect, are **residential services** which uplift current needs of community households. These could include, but are not limited to, *daycare services, healthcare facilities, and expanding educational opportunities*. This study will not provide a comprehensive review of these services and how they could be provided by RCR or the land bridge project. But the connection between these kinds of resources and community resiliency are undeniable. By offering high level services as a part of the

project, some costs could be offset from current households, and could further support a high quality of life as part of community resiliency. Of course preserving affordable housing and ensuring community control over development are essential- but how can the project claim to serve the needs of community without thinking through daily needs of households? These daily needs also impact a household's expendable income and ability to remain in place, and should be considered a possible barrier that can be addressed by RCR strategy.

In terms of funding these kinds of programs, a levy or trust fund could be used for this purpose. In addition, if a cooperative housing model were considered, the coop fees could be used to provide these kinds of programs within a housing community itself. Regardless, it is probably most feasible to consider funding that comes from the Rondo land bridge project or outside funders rather than directly from the city, who will probably not have funding to provide these high cost programs.

ReConnectRondo should also consider the ways in which gentrification impacts businesses and commercial amenities for the neighborhood. Scholars have noted how gentrification not only impacts affordable housing stock, but also can displace community businesses who relied on lower rents to remain in the neighborhood and provide space for maintaining social networks (Prevention Institute, 2017). Often new businesses which are built in gentrifying areas also do not serve the existing community, but rather are designed for more affluent newcomers (Shaw & Hagemans, 2015). Therefore RCR has an opportunity to support local Rondo businesses and entrepreneurship as part of the anti-gentrification strategy for the project.

The first option that could promote local business retainment or development are local hiring requirements for any new business development. The second option would be to ensure that community businesses remain an explicit focus of all future commercial development. Both of these options would require legal mechanisms to ensure that developers involved adhere to these requirements. However,

It is also important to reemphasize how the effectiveness of the above policies also involves the *scale* by which gentrification processes and/or risk are viewed. If policies such as inclusionary zoning were only applied to the extent of the Rondo neighborhood, processes of gentrification could be intensified in proximate areas to this neighborhood. Particularly when thinking about the possible impacts to Frogtown, Hamline-Midway, and the East side of Saint Paul, it is crucial to not only consider the feasibility of policy protections in the Rondo neighborhood, but also in nearby areas as well. Without larger scale

protections for other nearby communities, is a project with protections only for Rondo really a project worth promoting?

Review of Anti-Gentrifying Affordable Housing Models

In addition to city-level and regional anti-gentrification policies, there are particular anti-gentrifying affordable housing models that ReConnectRondo should consider as part of its work. What unites these housing models, and what make them "anti-gentrifying", is **community ownership over housing that either serves to provide opportunities to households often excluded from housing markets, or which redistributes wealth as part of a housing collective**. With this kind of community steering and ownership, particular affordable housing models can increase the equity in community control, and further influence land politics to be beyond the speculative market. Each of these anti-gentrifying housing models will be highlighted here, and further considerations regarding affordable housing that fits the community will be discussed later in the report.

Community Land Trust Model

Community land trusts (or CLTs) are community-based non-profit organizations that provide long-term affordable housing to low income or medium income households. These organizations achieve permanent, long-term housing affordability through the separation of house ownership from land ownership. Qualified tenants (usually at 80% of Area Median Income or lower- see Affordable Housing Concepts) only buy the house being offered by the CLT, and then sign a 99 year ground lease with the CLT that gives the tenant exclusive use of the land associated with the house. The ground lease stipulates that when the tenant has finished using the property, the house will be sold to another low or medium income household in the CLT. Thus through this system, not only is affordable housing provided to low-income tenants, but affordable housing is preserved over time and serves as an anti-gentrification tool (Greenstein & Sungu-Eryilmaz, 2005).

The community land trust (CLT) model emphasizes community ownership over housing by **taking properties off of the speculative market, and by maintaining affordability over the long term through community controlled management.** CLTs therefore align with anti-capitalistic ambitions outlined earlier in the report. Other positives of the model include:

- Designed to achieve homeowner stability over time through stable rents and a long-term ground lease

- Provides homeownership to households often not served by the market
- Community control and steering of affordable housing- including through CLT board often being composed of at least ⅓ CLT homeowners
- Ability to make physical improvements
- Organizational support in the event of default/foreclosure risk
- Cost effective- one investment ensures affordability for generations (Harmon, 2003; Clowdus, 2016)

As we will see later in this discussion, not all CLTs have all of these characteristics listed above. In fact, CLTs vary widely in their structures and approaches to providing affordable housing- with some even providing rental housing rather than homeownership. Thus each community land trust must be treated as its own model, due to its particular strategies and formulas which compose its particular structure.

Although the community land trust model is an extremely useful tool for mitigating gentrification through housing, it also has disadvantages which can determine whether it is appropriate for a particular context. One of the main disadvantages is that homeowners are often not able to benefit from property value increases, as many community land trusts significantly limit the appreciation that a household receives in resale (Davis, 2006). Although this money is used to maintain the CLT housing and programs, households are not as able to accumulate wealth, particularly in a gentrifying neighborhood. However, Harmon (2003) finds that community land trust households are able to accumulate wealth through the lower rent offered in the CLT model. This difference in price is not necessarily close to the possible resale appreciation- but it can fund education, nutrition/health, and other important components needed in any household that would otherwise be rent-burdened. Thus the question of appreciation is an important one which RCR will need to consider if choosing to implement the CLT model for the land bridge- do households want to gain appreciation through housing, or achieve long-term affordability over the long term. In terms of the gentrification question and ensuring housing stability, my inclination is to privilege the latter option.

Community land trusts all are committed to providing long-term affordable housing, but approach this task from many different angles. For example, some such as Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative function from a subsidiary structure (is owned by another organization), while others are standalone organizations. In addition, some such as Sawmill Community Land

Trust and Community Justice Land Trust have significantly more rental units than homeowner units. You will also notice that the last row identifies organizations which lead on community vision, with varying answers. This points to how each approaches community engagement differently as well, which is a critical insight to keep in mind (Axel-Lute & Hawkins-Simmons, 2015).

When considering the vast number of community land trusts and different approaches they have, it is important to address the land trust already serving the Rondo neighborhood: The Rondo Community Land Trust. The Rondo CLT was founded in 1993 to serve the Rondo community in Saint Paul. Several decades after I-94 ripped through the neighborhood, a taskforce of Rondo community members in collaboration with the Summit University Planning Council founded the Rondo CLT to ensure the presence of affordable housing in the area. The first properties to be included in the land trust were bought in 1995, and since then the land trust has secured over 50 properties throughout Ramsey County (Rondo Community Land Trust, 2016).

For their community land trust model, homeowners who wish to resale their land trust property would receive the purchase price amount plus 25% of the appreciation from the house. Rondo CLT also charges $15/month as a lease fee to all CLT homeowners to give the homeowner full use of the land and support services from Rondo CLT.

The Rondo CLT provides a multitude of different programs and housing options. Along with their resale and for-sale homes, they have a Homebuyer Initiated Program (HIP), in which participating households receive funds to purchase and rehab a house in Ramsey County. They are also actively involved in commercial and entrepreneurship opportunities for minority-owned businesses along Selby Avenue, including through sponsorship of a Neighborhood Development Center entrepreneurship program for new local entrepreneurs; and sponsorship and organizing of the Central Selby Association, a group of business, non-profit, and community leaders committed to targeted actions that support, guide and enhance the revitalization of Selby Avenue.

One of their most intriguing and important new projects related to economic development is the Selby Milton Victoria (SMV) project. This project represents the first commercial land trust project in the Twin Cities. The project uses a new model for a mixed-use, multi-level commercial/residential building, and serves as an anti-gentrification tool to retain, stabilize and promote small, local and minority owned businesses and housing on Selby Avenue. The goal of this project is to build two new multi-level buildings on Selby Avenue that will

stabilize the cost of commercial space on the first floor, and provide affordable housing units on the second and third levels. The project is targeted to benefit the Rondo community by creating affordable commercial space on Selby Avenue; by retaining, training, and stabilizing local, minority owned small businesses; and by creating more
affordable housing.

For more information on Community Land Trusts:

National Community Land Trust Examples

- Dudley Street Initiative: https://www.dsni.org/
- San Francisco Community Land Trust: http://sfclt.org/Resources
- Community Justice Land Trust: http://www.wcrpphila.org/cjlt
- Rondo Community Land Trust: https://www.rondoclt.org/

Publications

- Gabrielle Clowdus, "The Community Land Trust Model: Toward Best Practices for Promoting, Sustaining, and Growing": https://conservancy.umn.edu/handle/11299/184918
- National Community Land Trust Resources: http://cltnetwork.org/topics/community-land-trusts/

Limited or No Equity Housing Cooperatives

There are three types of housing cooperatives: market equity coops, limited equity coops, and no equity coops. These three types are distinguished by the amount paid and received in the buying and selling of cooperative shares. In a market equity cooperative, a market appraisal determines the cost of shares rather than any organization. In contrast, a limited and no equity cooperative achieve affordability through significantly limiting the cost of shares. In a limited equity housing cooperative, a seller can receive a modest appreciation from their original share investment in the selling of their property shares. In a zero equity housing cooperative, the homeowner sells their shares for around the same price that they bought their shares originally (Davis, 2006).

A limited and no equity cooperative are often treated as the same entity. In some cases this may be true- even if a cooperative was using a limited equity model, homeowners may not receive much more than a no equity cooperative household. In addition, both types of cooperatives do not vary much in structure or their missions (Davis, 2006). However, it is important to consider the possibility of gaining appreciation from cooperative housing- would a Rondo cooperative want to provide homeowners with this option?

Coops are often managed by state-chartered corporations, which are owned

and controlled by residents with shares. The housing cooperative is the owner of the deeds, holds the mortgages, and pays all municipal taxes and fees for the property. As a result, homeowners do not own the homes themselves, but instead sign a proprietary lease with the governing corporation to ensure exclusive use of their property. For this reason, coop households are all shareholders, members, and leaseholders all at once (Davis, 2006). In a limited or no equity cooperative, all of the homeowners control the assets and operation of the corporation/the cooperative itself. This is due to the fact that these cooperatives give each leaseholder one vote (rather than a market equity coop which determines voters based on the number of shares they have).

In a limited or no equity cooperative in particular, the limited resale price is maintained through several buyer contracts which place a cap on the amount a household can charge in the resale of their shares. The amount allowed is determined by a particular resale formula chosen by the cooperative, and they vary depending on the housing cooperative corporation (Davis, 2006). This resale formula is verified and approved by the current households of the cooperative.

The resale formula, and the organizational structure of the *limited* equity cooperative itself, pose an important disadvantage that should be discussed particularly within a gentrifying context. Limited equity cooperatives are controlled by households with shares. Because a limited equity cooperative allows households to gain from appreciation in a resale of shares, these residents have an interest in gaining from their original investment. Thus if the market value of the cooperative's shares grows to be much higher than the formula-determined price, the households controlling the cooperative may want to change the bylaws to allow for increased appreciation and higher share values (Davis, 2006). There are several cooperatives that began as limited equity which then became market equity, and **this interest in appreciation must be controlled for if cooperatives are to be included in the RLB project.** Because of this limitation and limitations with some of the other above models, the mutual shared-equity cooperative represents an intriguing alternative which draws from multiple models.

In addition, funding for cooperatives may be difficult to obtain. Cooperative housing was fiscally supported in the past through several federal programs including Section 221(d) BMIR and Section 236, which reduced developer costs for non-profit development (which included coops). Although these programs do not exist today, LIHTC and other federal housing funds can be applied to cooperative housing (Ortiz, 2017). The question is whether Saint Paul and

Minnesota housing policy-makers will allow state housing funding to be used for a cooperative housing model (this will be discussed later in the report).

For more information on Limited/No Equity Cooperatives:

Cooperative Examples:

- Cooperative Movement in Sweden: http://digital.lib.usu.edu/cdm/ref/collection/coops/id/23551
- D.C. Cooperative Housing Coalition: http://coopsdc.org/

Publications

- "Shared Equity Homeownership" Report for the National Housing Institute: https://shelterforce.org/wp-content/uploads/2008/04/SharedEquityHome.pdf
- "Will Limited Equity Cooperatives Make A Comeback?" from Shelterforce: https://shelterforce.org/2017/04/25/will-limited-equity-co-ops-make-comeback/

Mutual Shared-Equity Cooperative (or CLT-LEC)

A mutual shared-equity cooperative, also called a CLT-LEC (community land trust- limited equity partnership) represents an inventive strategy which pulls from the community land trust, mutual housing, and cooperative models. Davis (2006) describes this model as follows:

- A Community Land Trust is established and takes ownership of land;
- The CLT holds spare equity/land in order to ensure long-term affordability;
- One or multiple shared equity cooperatives are established and lease land from the community land trust for a 99 year ground lease;
- These cooperatives partner with the CLT to build, own, and maintain new multi-unit properties;
- Each cooperative will give equal representation to each household in its governing structure;
- Resale price is the same as the original sale price;
- Equity can be paid over time;
- And monthly payments to the coop and equity-building rate dependant on income- often this is 30% of income.

This model presents some clear advantages. For one, the model does not allow for a cooperative to change from a limited equity structure, since the community land trust maintains ownership of properties. In addition, the cooperative structure allows for all tenants to have equal representation in the

decisions of the housing community. All together, CLT-LECs represent a checks and balances system where affordability would be maintained over the long-term.

However, the feasibility of this model of housing may be limited. This complicated structure could be extremely difficult to legally and practically establish, especially when cooperatives and community land trusts on their own are still seen as unorthodox models. However, the San Francisco Community Land Trust and the Champlain Housing Trust in Vermont both have cooperatives that they manage, and thus are not impossible to accomplish if in the right context (Ortiz, 2017).

In addition, Ehlenz (2014) finds that CLT-LEC partnerships work best when the limited equity cooperative is initiated and planned by community members. The feasibility of mobilizing a community effort to create a cooperative must be considered, especially when this kind of work could pose a significant burden to community. Funds would most likely have to be reserved to hire community organizations to take on this cooperative formation. However, a CLT-LEC is an intriguing model which RCR could promote as an innovative and sustainable affordable housing option for the project.

For more information on Mutual Limited Equity Cooperatives (CLT-LECs):

CLT-LEC Examples:

- Affordable Housing CLT-LECs in the San Juan Islands of Washington: http://www.sibacs.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/San-Juan-Island-CLTs-Case-Studies.pdf
- "Limited Equity Coops by Community Land Trusts" Case Study Report for the National Community Land Trust Network: http://cltnetwork.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/2013-Limited-Equity-Coops-by-CLTs.pdf

Publications

- "Community Land Trusts And Limited Equity Cooperatives: A Marriage Of Affordable Homeownership Models?" Report for the Lincoln Institute of Land Policy: https://www.lincolninst.edu/sites/default/files/pubfiles/2485_1831_Ehlenz%20WP14ME1.pdf
- CLT-LEC Resources from the National Community Land Trust Network: http://cltnetwork.org/topics/cooperatives-mutual-housing-associations/

Cohousing/Intentional Communities

Cohousing is a form of intentional living that is meant to cultivate collaboration and shared lifestyles within a community. Unlike a cooperative or a CLT, cohousing represents a more descriptive ambition to share facilities

and lifestyles among private households of a community. Cohousing community members commit to living and contributing to the community, and each member helps to influence the rules and organization of the community as well. Many cohousing communities are within townhouse or condominium complexes, but there are also cooperatives which implement cohousing principles as well (Alexander, 2016).

In many cases, cohousing communities encourage shared community spaces while also maintaining private ownership of individual households of the community. Proponents of this type of cohousing find that it respects a household's need for privacy while also emphasizing the importance of social interaction in an intentional community setting. In terms of spaces that are shared, cohousing communities almost always have a shared common space for recreation, but then vary in the extent of shared services. Some have shared amenities such as daycare, laundry services, kitchen facilities, and/or work spaces, but it depends on the individual community (Alexander 2016).

Although the majority of cohousing communities use private ownership and have limited shared facilities, the cohousing model can be an important tool for providing affordable housing. For one thing, cohousing is a more cost-effective method for providing housing in general, as it allows for more efficient land use. More specifically, houses can be built to be smaller due to access to shared spaces, and these spaces require housing to be built in close proximity in order to access shared facilities. But in addition to this, cohousing can be used in a *renter* context in order to consider affordable renter cohousing. Renter units could be built to have multiple units accessing a shared kitchen or recreational space. This would reduce costs in developing the affordable housing units, and could be a way to promote more inclusive affordable housing that is less expensive (the cost barrier of affordable housing will be discussed later in the report).

Since cohousing have not been well-established in the Twin Cities context, it may be difficult to advocate for this housing model with local and regional planning officials. However, any future housing development could be more efficient and/or beneficial by utilizing cohousing strategy of share living spaces. By incorporating cohousing ideals in affordable housing development, RCR can consider how the housing added to the land bridge promotes intentional community-building and shared goals of prosperity.

For more information on Cohousing/Intentional Communities:

Cohousing Examples:

- Monterey Cohousing Community in Minnesota: https://montereycohousing.com/cohousing/
- Ubuntu Ecovillage in Minneapolis (proposed cohousing community with a racial identity focus): https://www.ic.org/directory/ubuntu-ecovillage/
- Background on Sweden's Cohousing Policy: http://www.housinginternational.coop/co-ops/sweden/

Publications

- "Cohousing in the United States" report by The Cohousing Association of the United States: http://www.cohousing.org/sites/default/files/attachments/StateofCohousingintheU.S.%204-1-16.pdf
- "Report on Survey of Cohousing Communities" report by he Cohousing Association of the United States: http://www.cohousing.org/sites/default/files/attachments/survey_of_cohousing_communities_2011_0.pdf

SECTION 2: PLACE-BASED CONSIDERATIONS FOR RCR ANTI-GENTRIFICATION AND AFFORDABLE HOUSING STRATEGY

Introduction to Place-Based Methodology

The above sections provided context for what has been done, and what could be possible, based on other examples across the country and around the world. To consider the ways in which local and community contexts influence these larger scale policy options, the analysis combines several scales of gentrification and affordable housing research to create a place-based study of these concepts in Rondo. Starting from large-scale considerations, the study first outlined academic research on gentrification and the ways this research helps RCR strategize approaches to its mitigation. In addition to these academic perspectives, the study also discussed large-scale or national examples of anti-gentrification and affordable housing efforts which were outlined as part of the report. These policy options give the organization a sense of what has been done around the country, and some of the options that could be discussed as part of the project.

Although ReConnectRondo can hope to utilize these policies theoretically, understanding the **local political context** is key to understanding the feasibility of particular initiatives or approaches. This local political context, in addition to Rondo based considerations of gentrification and affordable housing, create a sense of what community aspirations are feasible and most appropriate for ReConnectRondo to pursue in the local context. The local political context can also show what city governments attempted, and the political barriers to obtaining certain policies. Because of the importance of the regional scale, the analysis includes local Saint Paul policy as part of considerations for anti-gentrification and affordable housing strategy.

To make the study specifically focused on Rondo and the ReConnectRondo context, the study will also consider Rondo-based ideas of what gentrification looks like, and how Rondo may want to address gentrification threats as part of the future work of RCR. Therefore combining the large scale and the small scale ideas of gentrification and affordable housing policy can allow for a place-based study of what is possible for ReConnectRondo and the Rondo case.

Anti-Gentrification and Affordable Housing Policy in Saint Paul

Earlier sections discussed a range of approaches and tools implemented to mitigate gentrification or provide affordable housing. With the broader context of anti-gentrification and affordable housing work, ReConnectRondo can consider the implementation of these approaches, or can use these ideas to conceptualize new innovative solutions. However, despite the usefulness of this context, these policies cannot be viewed in isolation from their particular local political environment. The politics and agendas which organize urban areas thus determine the feasibility of implementing new policy in that place. The next section considers the local Saint Paul context for understanding the feasibility of anti-gentrification and affordable housing strategies that RCR can utilize.

CURA Gentrification Study

When discussing gentrification research in Saint Paul, I was planning to include local government reports on gentrification. However **there are little to no City of Saint Paul policy reports which name or discuss gentrification explicitly**. Certain reports only name gentrification in relation to affordable housing and strategies for increasing its supply, such as the Housing Chapter of the 2008-2018 Comprehensive Plan (see City of Saint Paul, 2005). Sometimes other reports labeled related processes of displacement as “fair housing” or as impediments to residential stability, such as in the Addendum to the 2014 Regional AI produced in 2017 (which discusses and implements fair housing initiatives) (Fair Housing Implementation Council, 2017). But few reports addressed gentrification and its existence in cities extensively, and has implications for the future partnership with the city. Some officials may refuse to discuss gentrification or will limit its importance, and RCR may have to convince them that gentrification deserves to be named and addressed as part of the project.

So instead of relying only on policy reports for a larger scale understanding of gentrification in Saint Paul, I instead turn to a invaluable resource which recently became accessible to the public: the Center for Regional and Urban Affairs report on gentrification from the University of Minnesota. In 2018 they released their study of gentrification in Saint Paul and in Minneapolis, which incorporated both quantitative and qualitative approaches to the local study of the phenomenon.

There are several main results from this report that help to contextualize the

local Saint Paul context for ReConnectRondo. The first is that through several quantitative analyses, Rondo was deemed “gentrifiable” rather than gentrified. A “gentrifiable” tract in this case meant a spatial clustering of low-income communities of color who had experienced previous displacement, with these indicators representing vulnerability to gentrification (and this relates to previous findings discussed earlier in this report). Although quantitatively this may be true, Rondo community members would disagree with this finding. Therefore quantitative analyses of gentrification on Rondo have limited the extent to which this has been experienced in the Rondo community (Center for Urban and Regional Affairs, 2018).

However, the qualitative work included in this study presents some resources which could be utilized in a place-based study of gentrification in Rondo. Dr. Brittany Lewis lead this qualitative research work, with her team assessing whether communities in gentrified tracts had similar perceptions of the situation as the quantitative analyses. When discussing the importance of this kind of ethnographic work, she noted that these analyses address the following aspects:

> ...the value of shared meaning-making with local community members experiencing the day-to-day realities of urban restructuring. ...the importance of showing a dynamic and negotiated set of realities giving individuals the chance to share how they feel or live a reality instead of relying solely on quantitative data analysis which assumes a fixed and measurable reality, by aiming to control for anomalies or difference. ...a deeper understanding of why and how major development and investment decisions impacts people the way that it does especially considering that there is an unsaid social and psychological distancing that often takes place between those making decisions and those everyday people most affected by change as they are trying to understand what is happening to them or with them at the table (Center for Urban and Regional Affairs, 2018).

Therefore this interpersonal perspective should lead all community-based understandings of gentrification, and should lead the results of this study as a result.

The qualitative study outlines the trends that occurred in all gentrifying tracts, which included *rapidly increasing rents and home values; change in demographics by race, income and age; displacement fears; and new*

commercial businesses and development (Center for Urban and Regional Affairs, 2018). These all support ideas discussed earlier in the report, as well as those voiced in Rondo.

But another important piece to come from this qualitative analysis are gentrification trends shown in Frogtown, which the quantitative study found to be a gentrified area. Although Frogtown is a different community from Rondo, Frogtown is proximate and quite similar to the Rondo neighborhood, and can serve as a way to assess some of the possible future impacts of increased gentrification. **Frogtown trends included that tax credit housing is not affordable for local residents; that many households are forced to "double up" or owners become renters; that there was a high level of anticipation of impending businesses with the often seen "coming soon" signs; and how local AMI limits did not fit community median income** (Center for Urban and Regional Affairs, 2018)**.** As will be discussed in future sections, most of these are already happening in Rondo, and therefore more will need to be done to protect the community from further gentrification. The CURA study helps with guiding place-based study in Rondo, but RCR will need to produce its own study of gentrification susceptibility (which incorporates both qualitative and quantitative data) to legitimize Rondo as a gentrifying rather than gentrified community.

One important connection between Frogtown trends from the CURA study and Rondo trends is that Area Median Income limits (AMIs), which are used to provide affordable housing, also do not fit Rondo community incomes. This discrepancy is important considering RCR's aim to provide affordable housing which meets the housing needs of the community. Many affordable housing units have been built, but many do not serve particularly low income households, and thus do not serve the needs that Rondo community members discuss. Figure 5 demonstrates this well by putting Rondo median incomes from 2016 right next to Area Median Incomes for the region (as defined by HUD). These were also broken down into 80%,

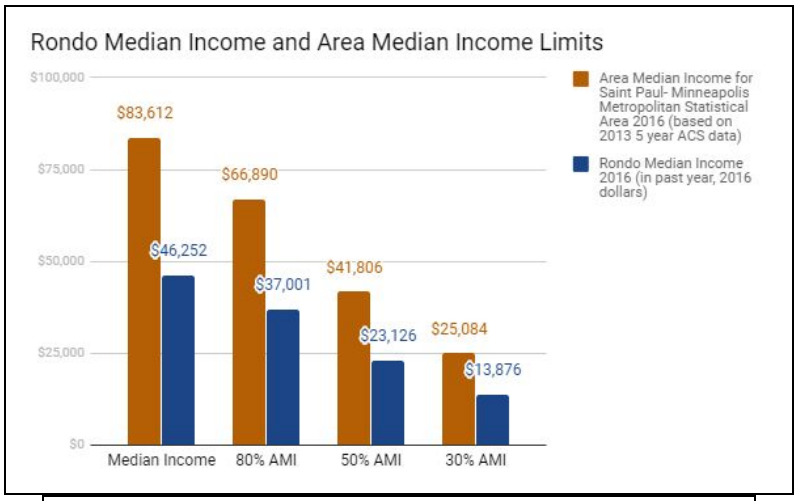


Figure 5: Rondo Median Incomes and Median Income Limits Bar Graph

50% and 30% of the median, which are delineations used by HUD to determine affordability levels. We see the huge gap between these median values- particularly with median income alone, where the Rondo median seems to be about half that of the region.

When thinking about affordable housing allocation, many complexes serve 50% of AMI and above. But when the median income of Rondo roughly equals 50% AMI, this population is particularly rent-burdened, and may have trouble finding affordable housing which serves this income level (affordable housing agencies have a hard time providing for very low income households). Therefore there is a need to think through affordable housing allocation which provides opportunities largely to very low income households, as well as more rent burdened households such as families.

Policymaker Findings: Gentrification and Affordable Housing

In order to assess the feasibility of anti-gentrification and affordable housing initiatives in the local Saint Paul context, I interviewed several Saint Paul policymakers as well as other Twin Cities housing professionals. These interviews included: Mai Chong Xiong, legislative aid to Councilmember Dai Thao; Patty Lilledahl, the Housing Director of the City of Saint Paul; Tony Johnson, City Planner with the City of Saint Paul (and is also actively engaged with RCR planning); Lael Robertson, staff attorney for the Housing Justice Center in Saint Paul; and Eric Hauge of HOME Line, a tenant advocacy organization for the Twin Cities. Over the summer I also interviewed local organizations and planning professionals who shall remain confidential due to the conversations occurring prior to the initiation of this project.

These interviews highlight the contrasting viewpoints on gentrification and affordable housing within the local context. Many interviewees put their perspectives on gentrification in relation to other perspectives perceived in the local political context, with this differentiation possibly shaping interactions between these entities in political interactions. Thus it is important to not only understand the feasibility of possible policy initiatives in Saint Paul, but also to understand what interactions amongst local organizations and city staff could look like as part of anti-gentrification and affordable housing work. Each perspective alone may not be able to comprehensively address anti-gentrification and affordable housing initiatives, but together these policymakers demonstrate key trends that ReConnectRondo should be aware of as part of its work.

There were several overarching themes to emerge from these interviews, with the first being policymaker perceptions of Saint Paul as a cold market in relation to Minneapolis. Some policymakers either voiced this view themselves, or perceived these responses out of other policymakers. Because Saint Paul is seen by some officials as less hot of a market than Minneapolis, this lead to an assumption that gentrification is less likely in Saint Paul. Furthermore, it made these policymakers more hesitant about anti-gentrification policies, particularly inclusionary zoning, since gentrification was seen as less of a threat. From this perspective it becomes clear that in the past, Saint Paul has taken a reactionary approach to gentrification mitigation, and could therefore produce displacement and economic losses before the city responds. Therefore RCR will need to influence Saint Paul policymakers to work proactively to prevent gentrification and serve community housing needs, since this does not seem to be the norm at this time.

In addition, interviewees both inside and outside the housing department of Saint Paul recognizes the department's role in protecting communities from displacement. But other housing initiatives through the department may get in the way. In particular, the department has an initiative to build affordable housing outside areas of concentrated poverty, or ACPs, and build more affordable housing in areas of "higher opportunity". Although Rondo is an area of concentrated poverty, there is still a need for affordable housing, particularly which serves the lowest income bracket of the population, and this must be addressed as part of the project. Several interviewees voiced frustration with the conflict between ACP affordable housing strategy, which moves housing out of low-income neighborhoods, and the need for affordable housing as a tool for anti-gentrification and providing very low income housing. From this discussion,

There is also a need to protect naturally occurring affordable housing (or NOAH properties), which is housing which does not receive a subsidy for it to remain affordable. This preservation of NOAH properties was seen by most interviewees as one of the most cost effective ways of providing affordable housing, and as an essential way to prevent gentrification. However a major barrier to this is goal is the fact that Minnesota state law does not allow for rent control, as was described earlier. This means that NOAH properties could easily be flipped over time unless explicitly owned by the city or a non-profit. Several interviewees were frustrated by the rent control ordinance, as it barred the protection of NOAH properties but also the passage of renter protections as well. Despite this, there was a recognition that the market still hasn't gotten too popular to not have naturally occurring affordable housing, so encouraging its preservation now rather than later was seen as essential.

Lastly, several interviewees discussed the need for renter protections along with the preservation of naturally occurring affordable housing. Although NOAH properties are important to preserve, **they are affordable for a reason.** In addition, many interviewees highlighted renters as most vulnerable to displacement, with rent burden increasing over time for these households in particular. Therefore interviewees urged the need for resources which allow renters to get repairs on their properties, legal services to protect their rights, as well as protections such as just cause evictions and right to first refusal which give more bargaining power to tenants in the midst of possible displacement.

- **Saint Paul perceived as a cold market in relation to Minneapolis**
  - Need to organize against this perspective to consider some solutions such as inclusionary zoning
  - Rondo Land Bridge could make market more valuable- pros and cons
- **"Integration" vs. Anti-Displacement/Affordability Strategies**
  - Two don't often match up
  - ACPs- Areas of Concentrated Poverty
    - Aiming to build affordable housing outside of these areas- must be kept in mind for advocacy purposes
- **Need for Protections of Naturally-Occurring Affordable Housing (NOAH) in Rondo**
  - "Cost-effective"
  - No rent control in Minnesota- need to think through other solutions
- **Renter Protections and Resources**
  - In addition to NOAH strategies- needs to be about improving pre-existing housing quality too
  - Protections from increasing rent without warning- can negotiate rents

Perspectives on Gentrification and Housing in Rondo

What Can A Place-Based Study Look Like in Rondo?

The above discussions aid in understanding some of the opportunities and challenges of anti-gentrification and affordable housing work at a larger scale. But the most important perspectives to gauge in this work are those of Rondo community, who deserve to lead the direction of RCR's work in all matters but

particularly in anti-gentrification and affordable housing work. The real question here is how local narratives can explicitly guide this place-based study, and the later policy responses to gentrification and affordable housing need. Although this study is quite limited in its Rondo based data, the resources RCR does have can help discuss and define gentrification with a local lens. This lens could change with more community input, but this study at least starts a conversation of what gentrification looks like in the specific Rondo space.

But just as important as this definition of gentrification is understanding how to best study these aspects in the Rondo community. How should this place-based study be organized, and what frames should be used for this work in the neighborhood? In order to answer these question, I spoke with researchers from the Center for Regional and Urban Affairs and Mr. Anderson, the board chair of RCR, to hear their perspectives. They mentioned the following insightful ideas:

- Looking at the "shared future of the Rondo neighborhood" *-Neeraj Mehta, CURA at the University of Minnesota*
- "Community ownership and who benefits from development" *-Tony Damiano, CURA at the University of Minnesota*
- "Recognizing the past, present, and future of Rondo throughout the whole process" *-Marvin Anderson, RCR*

These themes appear throughout the research on Rondo in particular, and guide the work to actively uplifting Rondo aspirations as part of the methodology of the report.

RCR Survey Data on Gentrification

As part of the community engagement effort through ReConnectRondo, a survey was formulated and later distributed at community events and through the RCR website. This survey represents an important tool for RCR's work, in that community perspectives and opinions can be distilled more easily for analysis and for reporting outward to partner organizations. However, as we will see in this section and in the March 15th Community Dialogue findings, a survey has disadvantages that must be recognized as part of this discussion of RCR data. The possibilities and limitations of this data will therefore be acknowledged throughout the section.

In addition to surveys helping organize information, the survey data summarizes many concerns around gentrification and affordable housing in the neighborhood, which is the reason for including these results in the

report. Consistently in my experiences with RCR community engagement, I heard community members voice support of the project contingent on gentrification mitigation and community ownership over the project. To have survey data which demonstrate these concerns, and which can easily be reported out to governmental and partner organizations, is an important asset. ReConnectRondo needs to be able to advocate for community concerns within the dominant paradigms of knowledge production, where many governmental and organizational institutions rely on empirical data for its considerations. Thus surveys are a way to make the connection between community knowledge and political knowledge/action.

All of the information put forth in this section of the report was analyzed and originally compiled by Lilli Post Johnson, the data analyst for ReConnectRondo. This data presented in the report was prepared for the March 15th Community Dialogue, which will be discussed in the following section. All credit goes to Lilli for this data, which helps RCR analytically strategize its work as an organization. It should be noted that this analysis is my own, and that the comments below reflect my opinions and not RCR/Lilli's.

General Background of Survey Data

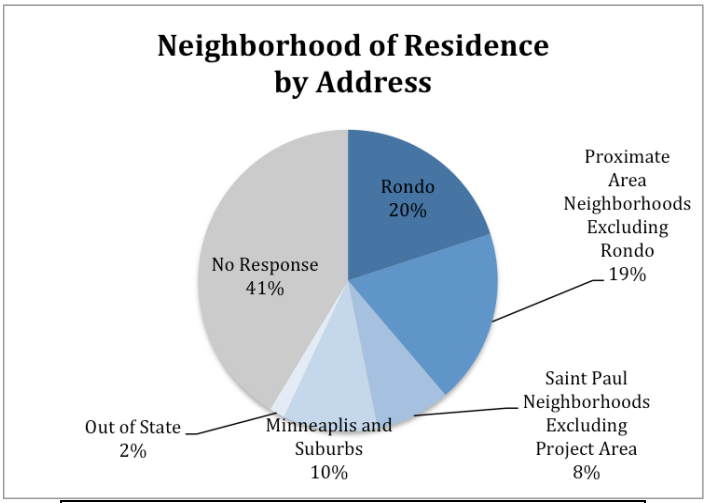


Figure 6: RCR Survey Data on Address of Residence

In order to understand any survey results, we must first understand the spatial context of the survey data and the demographic profile of respondents. There were 234 surveys collected by the time of the March 15th Community Dialogue. Figure __ shows the Neighborhood of Residence by Address, with 20% of respondents being from Rondo. The "proximate area neighborhoods excluding Rondo" category included Summit-University, Thomas-Dale, Summit-Hill, Hamline Midway (east of Hamline Ave), and Lexington-Hamline, and represented 19% of respondents. There were also 41% of respondents who did not give their address of residence, denoting the possibility that more respondents might have been from Rondo/proximate areas.

The neighborhood composition of respondents demonstrates the limited capacity of this data to speak to Rondo community perspectives. With only 20% of respondents actually coming from the Rondo community, this survey data is more reflective of proximate neighborhood or regional perspectives rather than the Rondo neighborhood perspective. Despite this idea, the proximate neighborhood/regional
perspectives still play an important role in determining general attitudes about the project. These assessments of the project are still helpful in terms of understanding the larger local context, and the responses the project is getting at a larger scale.

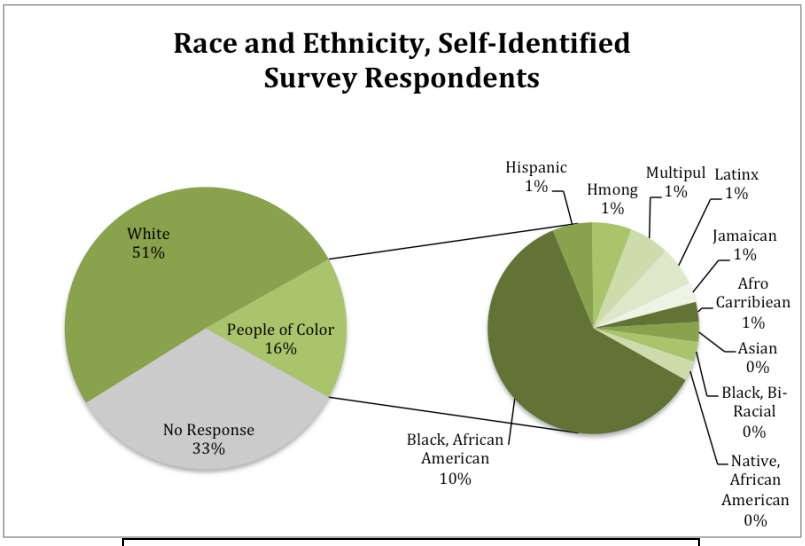


Figure 7: RCR Survey Data on Race of Respondent

A similar limitation of the survey involves the racial makeup of the survey respondents. As Figure 7 shows, 51% of the respondents were white, and 16% were people of color, with Black/African American respondents only representing 10% as a whole. This is an important aspect to be mindful of, particularly when the project has a fundamental racial justice lens. Although white respondents are an important perspective to understand, the project is designed to actively advocate for the Black/African
American legacy and continued reality of the Rondo neighborhood. Thus future work will have to be done to gather more feedback from Black/African American Rondo community members. As was mentioned at the March 15th Community Dialogue, this may also involve not using a survey as the main tool for collecting data (there are other methods employed through RCR, but expanding on these to not rely on surveys as much).

Despite the limitations of the data, these surveys also present important considerations for RCR's anti-gentrification and affordable housing work. This data can help conceptualize what people perceive about the project, and what people would like to see as part of it. In this discussion, we should keep in mind that these findings are limited by the above considerations, but still try to make the most out of this survey data as an asset to the organization's ambitions.

Concern about Negative Possible Outcomes: A Reflection of Gentrification Fears

ReConnectRondo has come to find that there is a "hesitant optimism" with the general idea of the Rondo Land Bridge project. Although it presents many exciting opportunities, survey respondents showed nervousness about the project's trajectory and its ability to actually benefit the community. The survey data also highlights how many respondents had concerns that the project would increase gentrification pressures. The following analysis aims to recognize these fears as presented in survey data.

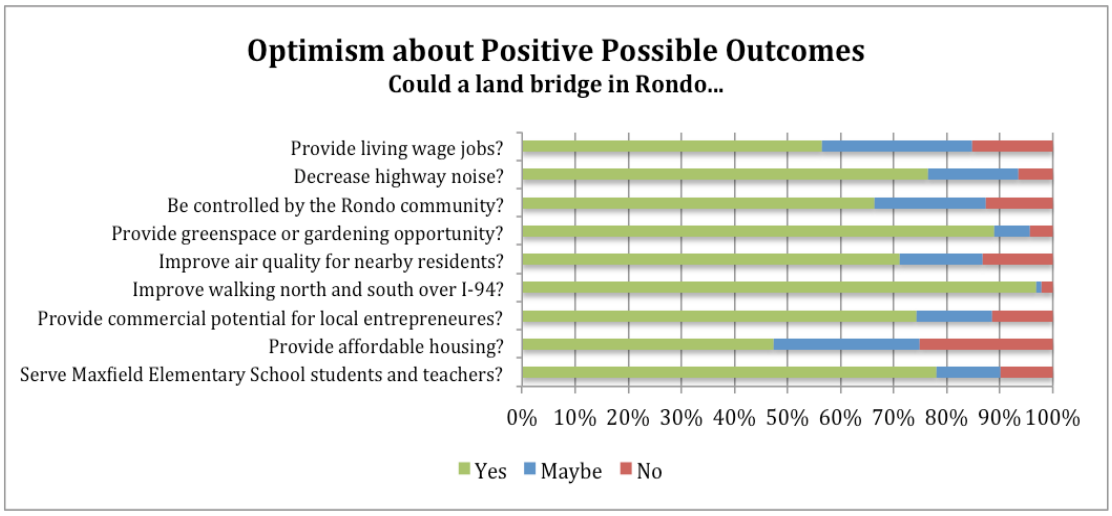


Figure 8: RCR Survey Data on Positive Possible Outcomes Associated with Land Bridge

Figure 8 demonstrates the optimism around particular aspects of the project, with green bars representing the percentage of "yes"/positive responses, red bars representing "no"/negative responses, and blue representing "maybe"/unsure responses to particular questions. As you can see in this graph, there are a lot of positive feelings about particular parts of the project, including improving walking across I-94 (over 95% said yes!) and providing greens pace or gardening opportunities (about 90% said yes). However, despite these optimistic possible outcomes, there are negative or unsure

responses to particular possible outcomes listed. In particular, it is interesting to note how there was a significantly less positive response to the project being able to provide affordable housing (about 47% said yes) and provide living wage jobs (about 57% said yes) . These relatively less positive responses seem to reflect the concerns over community ownership, and the project being able to serve the community's needs.

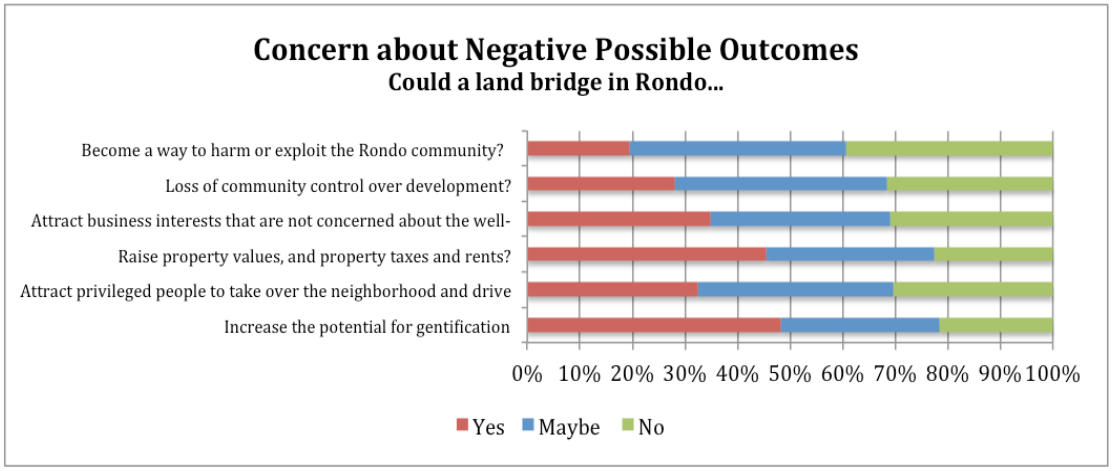


Figure 9: RCR Survey Data on Negative Possible Outcomes Associated with Land Bridge

In addition, the survey asked about negative possible outcomes, which together solidify the fact that the concern about gentrification is also high. Figure 9 depicts the concern about negative possible outcomes, with many of the survey questions being highly related to gentrification pressures and lack of community ownership. Each of these questions had at least 20% of respondents say that the land bridge could contribute to each negative outcome, however some questions received more negative responses than others.

The question from this section which received the least amount of negative responses was "could a land bridge in Rondo become a way to harm or exploit the Rondo community?" This question had about 20% of respondents answer "yes". The fact that this question received the least amount of concern could mean that RCR has garnered enough trust and support to not be seen as a possibly threatening organization. **However, on the flip side, the two responses with the highest amount of concern were "could a lang bridge raise property values and property taxes and rents?"** ***(around 45% said yes)*** **and "could a land bridge in Rondo increase the potential for gentrification?" (around 48% said yes).** The high level of concern for both questions point to the widespread knowledge that this project has the potential to increase gentrification risk. Especially in the local context of the Green Line and the

gentrification of proximate communities such as Frogtown, it's easy to see why people would have this fear.

Since the above data only demonstrates what is already known, the next question is how community wants to *address* these concerns. That is where survey quotes/qualitative data can help, since more detailed responses can unveil what the more precise concerns that people have with the project.

Survey Quotes: Community Control

The survey data not only provides quantitative data like that analyzed above, but also personal narratives/perspectives which can aid in more in-depth analysis of larger scale themes. In particular, the idea of "community control" is easy enough to support and name as a goal, but the nuances of what this means/what it looks like is much harder to gauge. The following survey narratives can help determine what this means, and will be vital to the analysis of how to truly encourage community ownership in the way that survey respondents want to see. These quotes reflect larger trends within the data, and will be treated as being indicative of these larger trends. RCR strategy for addressing these community ownership concerns are also included as part of these thoughts.

<u>Legal Community Ownership</u>

> *"Being careful about how MnDOT/the City sells "air" rights above 94. The community needs to have the largest say in that decision. Any housing on/next-to the land bridge must be affordable for people who live in the neighborhood today. Community members should have first rights to commercial space AND should receive the resources/training/start-up capital they need to get a business off the ground."*

This quote to me underscores the idea that community ownership involves legal ownership over the structures and all governmental deals made as part of the project. The respondent mentions MnDot/the City of Saint Paul, which could signify the anxiety around working with these partners and in the process losing community control over the infrastructure. Despite the involvement of a variety of funders and partners, this respondent finds that legal mechanisms to control the project need to remain with the community.

In addition to the legal community ownership, this response demonstrates how legal ownership can manifest to truly uplift the aspirations of the community. For example, affordable housing is highlighted as not only a requirement for the project, but as a mechanism to create housing that

actually serves community need. As we have seen in the discussion of barriers to housing, this may be referring to housing which does not have AMI restrictions or eviction/criminal record restrictions. But in addition to housing, the respondent also notes how commercial space and entrepreneurial resources need to be an explicit part of the project in order to truly make the land bridge economically beneficial. Thus all together, I interpret this quote as signifying the power of legal ownership to determine the community ownership over all aspects of the project. This legal ownership by community will be an important component to demonstrate to community supporters and partners, which can ease anxieties about what ownership would mean in a practical sense.

Political Community Control over Land Use and Policy

> *"Keep big developers out. Allow current residents to have control over policy and practices. Gardens are cool but they need to be controlled by community. Keep out dog parks. Keep out high rises. Invest money into culturally specific education and empowerment. Make sure current families have their needs met...housing, food, access to culturally relevant education and art."*

Similarly to the last quote, this response reflects a certain skepticism about the involvement of developers and partners which can influence the project to not benefit the community. **In this case though, the quote also demonstrates how community ownership is not just legally owning the infrastructure and its planning, but also shaping local land use policy to serve the ambitions of the community**. The respondent names particular land uses that would not fit the community, which would include dog parks, high rises, and big private developments. These considerations of what is and isn't appropriate land use in Rondo is a key insight that can be used to shape the plans for the project. In addition, with mention of community-controlled land uses, this comment makes the anti-gentrification policies which control land use a priority, including inclusionary zoning and eminent domain.

But in addition to particular policies that should be implemented to control land use/high rents, this comment also points to the importance of *community participation in shaping policy***.** Saint Paul city policies are influenced by neighborhood planning councils or particular stakeholders, but this still leaves out a large proportion of the constituents in particular communities like Rondo. RCR will need to think through *participatory policy planning initiatives* that actively include not just particular stakeholders in policy processes, but the community at large.

This comment also notes how RCR has to fulfill current Rondo community needs, and how this can be facilitated through land use. Thus community control and the "appropriateness" of land uses can work hand in hand to ensure that the development physically benefits and reflects the Rondo community.

Ownership through Community Leadership

> *"I believe a continued focus on community conversation and centering of the Rondo communities leadership in the development of this project are key in meeting these goals. Additionally, promoting and expanding some of the community workshops that take place around green space, business ownership, and political advocacy could help ensure the sustainability of community leadership and ownership of the space over time. Empowerment needs to be the focal point of this project."*

In addition to the inclusion of Rondo community in the shaping of land uses, the above quote addresses how community inclusion and leadership are the keys to success for the project. The importance of not just community engagement but community control has been consistent throughout my time with the organization, and operationalizing this desire is more complicated than it seems. What does community leadership entail, and how should people be asked to lead on the project in a way that respects their other commitments/duties?

This quote is helpful in that regard, because it indicates that community workshops are an important way for community to be involved more in-depth with particular parts of the project.

Ownership through RCR Commitment to Community

> *"Making sure the community has the long term control of the of the resources (monetary, management and political clout) to insure the continuation of the mission and purpose of the project".*

As a concluding point for the analysis of "community control", this quote nicely summarizes earlier points while also placing the onus on ReConnectRondo to stay committed to the Rondo community. For one, the respondent outlines that community control represents multiple ambitions such as control of "monetary, management, and political clout" resources. But in addition to this, the respondent explicitly names the mission of the project as one of the most valuable assets that the organization has. If RCR does not serve the community, then the project fails to accomplish its goals. These considerations about community control allows us to consider what

community may want in the development that does take place.

Survey Quotes: Concerns About Development

Along with the idea of community control of the project, the concept of "appropriate development" may be even more slippery of a term. Despite the fact that the project aims to unite Rondo in a unified vision of the future, in reality perspectives vary greatly amongst survey respondents. The two quotes below help to demonstrate this point:

> *"...keeping the land bridge strictly green space would be a way to ensure that exploitative/gentrifying businesses don't take it over. Connecting the use of the green space to local schools, rec-centers, etc., would help to ensure that it benefits the local community above all else."*

> *"Put some actually residential housing and retail on the land bridge so that it becomes a continuation of the existing neighborhoods on both sides of the highway. Merely putting in a park or place not continually inhabited by people will not truly unify the neighborhood, won't make crossing feel safer (particularly at night) and won't add to the city's tax base. Adding actual housing and perhaps some retail WOULD accomplish all these things."*

The first quote describes green space as a way to prevent gentrification, and as possible asset to local schools and other institutions. This first respondent seemed to see development as the key to increasing gentrification, and green space could prevent developer interests from negatively influencing the project. In contrast with this idea, the second quote prioritizes housing and retail for the land bridge, and sees parks as not being a valuable addition to the neighborhood. This second respondent found that a park wouldn't unite the neighborhood, and would not economically benefit the neighborhood like housing/retail would.

Therefore, just these two responses reflect the difficult that RCR will have in sorting through the different perspectives for "responsible" or "appropriate" development for the community. An important aspect to consider here is *who wants what kind of development in the neighborhood?* In other words, are there trends amongst Rondo residents that aren't as reflected in the responses of proximate neighborhoods/regional responses?

Thus in relation to deciding the best developments for serving the community/mitigating gentrification, the Rondo community voice should be specifically targeted and supported in this process, rather than other communities who are present in these survey results. By having more specific perspectives from the Rondo community, the project developments can be

prioritized to fit the desires of Rondo over all else.

March 15th Community Meeting

The demographic data and survey results presented above help to provide some larger scale findings from the Rondo community, and aids in analysis of larger scale trends in the neighborhood. However they do not provide an opportunity to interact directly with community members on these topics, and do not give agency to community for the interpretation of a place-based idea of gentrification/affordable housing. The research aim was to have Rondo community folks seeing or experiencing gentrification shape understandings of the phenomenon, so a space was needed to describe my research and to receive direct feedback and criticisms of my work. Furthermore, particularly with my positionality as a researcher, it was important to be held accountable for the work done on gentrification and affordable housing in the neighborhood.

So on March 15th 2018, I and the ReConnectRondo team held a Community Dialogue on Gentrification and Housing at the Rondo Community Library from 5:30-7:30 P.M. The goal of this event was to provide a space to discuss gentrification and affordable housing in relation to the land bridge concept, while also receiving feedback on what gentrification looks like in Rondo and the future vision of Rondo. Approximately 30-35 people attended the event, and this included several local organization staff members who agreed to help facilitate small group conversations at individual tables. The original agenda included an introduction by staff; a presentation by Lilli Post Johnson, the data analyst for ReConnectRondo, on current survey results; a presentation by myself to give context for my study and receive feedback; and then small group discussions on questions formulated by ReConnectRondo staff (see Appendix). This agenda would allow for general discussion of gentrification and affordable housing, while also ensuring that I would speak with community and receive feedback about the project.

But I didn't end up actually having this chance to speak to community about the project. The way that the event actually played out differed greatly from this plan, and demonstrated the deep anxieties and frustrations surrounding

the project in general (in addition to the threat of gentrification). To briefly summarize the events that transpired, in the midst of staff presentations, several community members began voicing their general concerns with the project, and other folks chimed in to either agree/disagree, or tried to orient the conversation back to the presentations. Many of these comments were related to not having enough information on the project itself, or ReConnectRondo not being proactive enough in its efforts to secure funding/political support for the project. In order to allow the dialogue to serve the needs/desires of community, the agenda was changed to continue the large-group discussion of the project. The large group discussion continued for about 45 minutes. At that point, we asked small groups to discuss gentrification/housing for about 40 minutes, and ended the program with a small group share-out to the whole room.

At the end of the event, each small group was asked to summarize the conversations that occurred at their table. Here is the list that I wrote based on these responses, and the context for each note (at the event, each bullet point was written on large sheets of paper for everyone to see/comment on). Each of these notes offers insights for RCR to think about as part of its strategy for gentrification/affordable housing, but also as an organization more generally.

- **This has been discussed/is already happening**

This comment came from a community member and community organization staff member who is actively involved with ReConnectRondo on multiple levels, and is an advocate for the organization. Despite her support of the organization, she also remains rightly critical of the land bridge, and of RCR organizational tactics as well. **To start, her commentary indicated that Rondo community folks believe and know that gentrification is already happening, and that the conversations about it don't necessarily make any difference.** Through the community engagement work I had done up until that point, these weren't surprising ideas for me to hear. However, I think it is vital that I name this in the report, because the community knowledge about this issue needs to be acknowledged just as much as the quantitative analyses. **Thus we must take community understandings of gentrification occurring in the neighborhood and uplift them as part of RCR's strategy. That is the only way in which community conversations can actually make a difference in promoting community goals.**

A criticism she also made at the event was the burden of attending community meetings, and how the time/energy given by community members was used inefficiently by RCR. Other folks had comments similar to this, with another community member noting how ReConnectRondo could

be using previous community input to actually further develop RCR strategy instead of continuously asking for community to lead that process.

This was an important moment to reckon with the commitment that community members and organizations make as part of working with RCR, and how this commitment could be a burden if not adequately acknowledged or reciprocated. In order for RCR to achieve its goals, community members and organizations must play a key role in shaping the work of the project. With organizations in particular, RCR recognizes how community organizations have similar end goals of preventing gentrification, and how they could provide key insights to aid RCR's work. In addition, some organizations have been more distant from the conversations regarding the land bridge, and so RCR wants to invite these organizations to shape the dialogue around the land bridge project. Thus as a result of the desire to collaborate with other organizations, RCR understandably calls on community organizations to guide, and be informants for, community-based political efforts. But despite the benefits that community organization involvement provides, these must be balanced with a recognition of the time, effort, and energies used to participate in RCR's engagement. RCR hopes that community organizations share their extensive expertise to guide the work of an entire organization, and this requires a lot of time/energy that RCR can work to recognize through actions such as sponsoring other community events, or even providing fiscal support for community organization consultation. Thus it is important to recognize how ReConnectRondo can continue its work with community organizations and also demonstrate its commitment to other initiatives present in the neighborhood. It also demonstrates how RCR can consider ways to distribute its resources so that these organizations can be involved consistently over time.

There was also frustration that RCR was looking to community to come up with anti-gentrification and housing strategies in general, instead of the organization being proactive and offering strategy considerations. Although this report outlines considerations for strategy and policy, I did not voice my insights from the project due to the fact that my work is *highly theoretical and in some ways inaccessible*. It aims to make educated guesses about feasibility, but does not take action to make these policies a reality. In addition, I would never want to name policies in a community meeting and have that be interpreted as promising these policies will be implemented. Actually making any policies a reality will not easy nor guaranteed, and RCR may face significant barriers in its anti-gentrification and affordable housing efforts. **In the future, ReConnectRondo will need to continue to assess policy feasibility in collaboration with local government in order to understand what practical steps the organization can take against gentrification.** The

collaboration with city or regional staff could involve informing community about policy and advocacy approaches (in a more accessible manner), and using their perspectives to further lobby for policy solutions from governmental partners of the organization. But this will hopefully come with time as RCR solidifies its relationships with both community and with agency partners.

- **Details of land bridge**
- **What is going to be on the land bridge?**
    - **Money raised?**
    - **How to know what will be "restored" without idea of what will be on it**

General questions and confusions about the land bridge project came up throughout the event. Because RCR had only hosted one other community dialogue at this point, several individuals who had not been present at the first Community Dialogue wanted to learn more about the project before moving to conversations around gentrification and housing. Since the March 15th meeting was only the second Community Dialogue, it probably was too early to move away from preliminary explanations/discussions of the land bridge itself. People were eager to get details about the land bridge and to critique the process of ReConnectRondo, and the event became a sounding board for more generalized questions/concerns about the development rather than strictly the issue of gentrification.

I talked privately with one community member who had not attended the first Community Dialogue and was pretty vocal at the March 15th meeting. They told me in this conversation that a land bridge would probably not help as much as RCR hopes, mainly because new infrastructure can tangentially help community, but that the most pressing current needs of the community would not be addressed. The land bridge would instead act as if the new infrastructure solves the problems of the neighborhood. Thus based on this conversation and other similar comments throughout the event, it seems that many of these comments question the true role the project will have in the community- *in other words, is a land bridge the best plan for benefiting the community, or are there better alternatives?* That debate will continue to pervade RCR's work, and will provide an opportunity to think through organizational strategies which acknowledge current needs in the community (this is considered in the conclusion of the report).

- **Specific city policies affecting ability to stay**

Thinking through RCR policies related to housing stability and gentrification is one thing, but then thinking through the *structural dynamics which currently prevent Rondo residents to stay* is another. Some folks wanted to see why gentrification was happening in Rondo/Frogtown, rather than just ask about what RCR can do to prevent it. The reasons why gentrification occurred in Frogtown and could happen in Rondo must be further investigated in a better equipped study than this present study. RCR cannot hope to implement protective policy without deep understandings of *how* it has manifested in the Rondo context, and in other proximate communities. Questions about how gentrification manifests indicated the frustration around knowledge production- the community knows that gentrification is happening in Rondo, and wants to further investigate why/how to stop it. **It will be the charge of RCR to analyze these structural inequalities, and to disseminate local knowledge to policymakers so as to affect real policy changes. Through this kind of work, local knowledge can be respected as part of policy.**

- **Lack of financial support for rehabilitation**

One individual pointed to the need to consider how landlords have a vested interest in increasing rents while also not maintaining properties, therefore creating a larger profit from gentrification processes in Rondo. To mitigate the lack of rehabilitation taken on by landlords, someone suggested providing support to renters/landlords for rehabilitation of dilapidated units. It is interesting to see the connection here to Mai Chong's comments on the Rental Rehab program, where the program has not been publicized to the extent that it could be. However, even if this individual knew about the Rental Rehab program, the program does not have the ability to fully address the overarching concern of dilapidation for profit.

This comment about addressing housing quality again points to how the Rondo Land Bridge project could easily not address certain community concerns that already exist in the neighborhood. These issues will continue to exist despite the land bridge's existence, and need to be addressed if RCR hopes to truly benefit the Rondo community through its efforts. *By addressing current issues, ReConnectRondo can truly represent a community-level advocacy effort rather than just an infrastructure project.*

- **Need to look outside/proximate to Rondo to study**

The need to address areas proximate to Rondo in the study of gentrification came up several times throughout the event. The first comment to address this issue came after Lilli Post Johnson, the data analyst at RCR, highlighted the neighborhoods represented in RCR surveys, with 20% coming from the

Rondo neighborhood and 80% coming from other neighborhoods/not indicating their neighborhood on the survey. In response to this data, this individual asked if the survey considered displacement as part of a respondents' neighborhood: in other words, did the survey ask people if they had moved out of Rondo based on being forcibly moved out/due to rising rents? The recognition of past displacement from Rondo/proximate communities was an important consideration that the survey did indeed overlook, and this study is also not equipped to address past displacement. RCR should consider studying past displacement in order to understand how displacement processes have changed Rondo residency over time, and the ways that this displacement can be prevented in the future.

In addition, a small group shared that the study of gentrification in Rondo needs to recognize the influence of other proximate projects, and how the presence of gentrifying areas proximate to Rondo increases the risk of gentrification in Rondo. Some of the proximate threats mentioned were the Green Line, the Midway stadium development, Selby/Snelling and Selby east of Dale, and Frogtown's high level of gentrification. **With these gentrifying influences already influencing the neighborhood, a question posed was "do we need another development that could threaten our ability to stay"?** This question has come up within almost all of the above bullet points as well, but in this case, the larger context of East Saint Paul and the whole city are considered as part of the question. It further connects back to conversations relating to the "right to the city", where community members may lose their right to the city by not being able to remain in place. Therefore, the threat of hurting other proximate communities must be addressed explicitly through RCR's work, and regional policies should be a priority to ensure larger scale protections from gentrification pressures.

- **Designated space for cultural preservation/neighborhood economic development by community**
    - **Enriching development**
- **Land trust for freeway properties**
    - **Land bridge as part of trust**
- **Up to community?**
    - **Small area plan**
    - **Co-option of RLB needs to be addressed**

These bullet points indicate the deep concern around community ownership over the Rondo Land Bridge project. As this was again only the second Community Dialogue, the idea of the land bridge is still relatively new to many folks, and thus the threat of the project not serving community came up consistently as preliminary reactions to the idea of the land bridge. Each of

these bullet points came from different folks in the room, and indicate the different lenses from which to conceptualize community-driven decision-making and ownership. The first bullet point describes community ownership as neighborhood cultural capital, where community is able to benefit from cultural institutions and economic opportunities as part of the Rondo Land Bridge. The second bullet point points to community ownership as legal rights, which ensure that the community can truly own and shape the land bridge and the areas near it in the future. The last bullet point implies that community ownership as active community participation, and points to a critique of ReConnectRondo as not inherently ensuring community ownership over the project. As a result of these comments highlighting community ownership, the conclusion of the report addresses ways in which RCR can promote community ownership through policy and through advocacy approaches. By supporting community ownership, RCR achieves its goals.

- **Include land bridge in Master Plan**
- **Bringing ideas to Capitol/legislature**

These comments connect the land bridge to the local political context, and indicated the frustration people felt with the position of ReConnectRondo as a young/early-stage organization advocating for an infrastructure project. It was interesting to note how many voiced deep concerns with the project, and yet many also voiced frustration with how ReConnectRondo wasn't *far enough* in its efforts to make a land bridge happen. I think that these comments indicate how community might feel limited to shaping the planning while it remains so theoretical/nebulous of a project. Although RCR wants to hear community voices before choosing to fully advocate for the project in government settings, the non-committal position of RCR makes it hard for community to know how to guide the process. Thus the way for RCR to still hold off on full advocacy, and yet to still advocate for the project in Rondo, needs to be fleshed out internally.

In terms of gentrification/housing, this logic can be applied to advocacy for policy responses. How can RCR be proactive in ensuring that community does not get displaced/is served by affordable housing, while also not committing to these initiatives? **As mentioned, RCR could meet with city staff to discuss the feasibility of these policies now, and be trying to see what would need to happen in order to achieve these policies. This would allow for policies to be considered in a more applied sense, which this report is not able to do**.

Thus although the event did not address what gentrification looks like to the extent we planned, the Community dialogue was productive in offering

considerations for RCR's future work on gentrification/housing. These include the considerations in Figure __:

Themes from March 15th Community Meeting:

- Addressing and respecting community knowledge on gentrification as part of RCR's efforts
- Limiting the burdens placed on community organizations by sponsoring events or providing fiscal support for other community initiatives
- Beginning and continuing to meet with policymakers to gauge practical feasibility of protective policies
- Addressing current community needs in RLB project
    - Assess current infrastructural/economic/social needs of the neighborhood
    - Incorporate responses to these issues as part of plans and messaging of RCR work
- Analyzing structural inequalities, and disseminating local knowledge on this to policymakers so as to affect real policy changes
- Addressing communities proximate to Rondo that could be affected by gentrification
    - Advocate for regional protective policies rather than just neighborhood-level policies
- Creating a unified vision for housing/gentrification approach and be able to be held accountable to this vision by the community

With these considerations, RCR can use the Community Dialogue event to bolster its work serving community through gentrification/housing work.

ULI Technical Advisory Panel (TAP) Recommendations

The week of March 18th-23rd 2018, the Urban Land Institute held their national Technical Advisory Panel (TAP) conference in Saint Paul to discuss the Rondo Land Bridge project. This conference included receptions, neighborhood tours, interviews with local stakeholders, and consultations with RCR staff amongst other events. The week culminated in a public presentation of the ULI findings and recommendations. I personally was only able to attend the welcome dinner at the beginning of the week, however I still find that the ULI recommendations should be considered as part of place-based considerations of gentrification/affordable housing policy.

To be more specific, the ULI TAP conference provides some insights into the possibilities and pitfalls of "place-based" approaches. Although the current study differs from the ULI TAP approach, both have similar aims- to study

larger scale phenomena within a local Rondo-based context. I therefore consider the ULI TAP recommendations as an example of a "place-based" analysis of land use policy and organizational strategy more generally.

Undoubtedly, the ULI TAP recommendations are an invaluable resource to ReConnectRondo, and should be seen as a vital asset to the organization's work. However, I think it is also important to address how the ULI uses a particular frame for discussing gentrification and community ownership, and how this frame relates to either the frame of this analysis or the frame of ReConnectRondo. All information below comes from the ULI Recommendations report, which can be found here: https://americas.uli.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/125/ULI-Documents/Rondo-Advisory-Services-Panel-FINAL_Web.pdf

The Urban Land Institute is an organization which The ULI is described as "a membership organization with nearly 40,000 members, worldwide representing the spectrum of real estate development, land use planning and financial disciplines, working in private enterprise and public service". The organization aims to guide land use policy and community building to be equitable and collaborative, with events such as technical advisory panels which work with different organizations or communities to think through best development practices.

In this case, I only want to briefly discuss a few of the findings of the ULI which may not exactly align with the analysis I have provided here. The first is the definition of gentrification that the ULI used for their analysis of the Rondo neighborhood: "the process of the renovation of deteriorated urban neighborhoods by means of the influx of more affluent residents". Although positive that the panel recognized gentrification, *this definition clearly uses revitalist language to describe gentrification, and uses a very vague definition of displacement as well*. Therefore this ULI perspective does not utilize community-oriented understandings of gentrification, and further encourages the image of gentrification as a more positive process than it is for Rondo.

Another one of their recommendations to address housing stabilization involves developing a database of residents' housing status. This recommendation is one which would greatly aid this analysis, and would provide meaningful data for demonstrating housing need in Rondo. But I think it is also important to recognize how other communities may be impacted by gentrification from the land bridge, and that local narratives about risk and concern should have an equal footing as quantitative data on

these issues. Since the ULI did not address these points in the rest of the recommendations, I find it valuable to voice these concerns here.

Lastly, the ULI discusses different land uses that they would recommend as part of the project, and these points demonstrate the difficulty of discussing place-based policy strategies in the local context (which I have struggled with in my research as well. For example, under housing, they recommend “family, work force, senior, and market housing”, as well as “maximize affordable housing”. Although these are great ideas, their feasibility, or even specific planning requirements, are not included. Therefore, although I have provided some critiques of the ULI report here, these critiques largely can also apply to my own research, and shows the difficult of attempting place-based analyses.

Concluding Thoughts

Organizational Strategies for Anti-Gentrification and Affordable Housing Advocacy in Rondo

From all of the academic conversations, the quantitative analyses, and the policy options discussed in this report, the goal of the research was to use the information on gentrification and housing resiliency to benefit ReConnectRondo and the larger Rondo community. In many academic conversations and policy responses, we have seen how the study of gentrification, ironically, can benefit the gentry. Whether through the influence of developers, policymakers, affluent individuals, or other actors, the research on gentrification has often reflected privileged viewpoints and have benefitted privileged individuals as well. Because of a lack of place-based and community oriented assessments of gentrification, the research presented here aimed to reject definitions of what gentrification is and what it looks like that aid privileged individuals.

To reject the "gentry"-oriented definition and study of gentrification, a key goal was to co-opt the definition, study, measurement, and application of the term "gentrification" to not serve the gentry, but rather the Rondo community. ReConnectRondo hopes to support Rondo community, and the main way to do this is to address and recognize local understandings of gentrification as well as ways that community would like to address these concerns. The traditional semantics and definition of "gentrification" almost do not matter for the purpose of this study, because the main goal is to address community concerns, regardless of the term used to do it. The fears related to gentrification alone should be enough to denote policy considerations and action for an equitable future.

However, the desire to redefine gentrification must balanced with the limitations of local organizations and policymakers. Because local policy is heavily data-driven, the definitions and viewpoints used by policymakers often justify funding or resources for mitigating it. And as we have seen, policymakers can conflict with perspectives of other policymakers, in addition to local residents and non-profit organizations who may see gentrification from a more experiential perspective.

So how can ReConnectRondo approach a place-based approach to addressing and mitigating gentrification that is both appropriate for Rondo and that is feasible through local policy?

Different facets of the study have attempted to answer the above question, and each section of the report provided various perspectives and resulting considerations for RCR. To summarize the findings of this study, the following section identifies overarching themes that provide strategic insights for RCR.

The overarching themes aim to provide a roadmap of future strategies for ReConnectRondo, and present ways to incorporate the above research in specific actions and approaches for the organization. Each overarching strategy theme will be defined, and the associated actions or ideas will be discussed in more detail as part of the larger theme.

Community Understandings in Gentrification Research and Strategy

Recognizing community concerns as first priority
- Acknowledge Rondo history while also envisioning equitable future
- Emphasize the right to stay put, inclusive community engagement and research which privileges community perspectives
- Frame Rondo Land Bridge as a community investment instead of a "revitalization" project (see below for more details)
- Use local understandings to frame the definition of gentrification in Rondo and legitimize community knowledge on the issue
- Serve to bridge gap between Rondo community concerns and Saint Paul policies
- Create community committee as part of RCR governing structure

Engaging political allies with community in mind
- Ask partner policymakers to act as consultants for assessing feasibility of RCR policy advocacy
- Despite policymaker involvement, prioritize community voices for determining development and policy plans (as assessed through community engagement)

Assessing and uplifting community visions for a shared vision of Rondo
- Use community meetings and one on one interviews to assess community desires and needs (that exist with or without a land bridge)
- Reserve a significant amount of time and resources for charrettes and the creation of a community benefits agreement
- Allow a community benefits agreement to shape the entities and developments included as part of the land bridge

The first theme of the strategy roadmap involves the inclusion of community understandings in future gentrification research and strategy. RCR has a duty to serve the Rondo community, and one way to approach this service is to support and underscore community knowledge in all research and advocacy strategies. Much of the above insights have been discussed throughout the report, but I would like to highlight the importance of each subsection included in the larger theme. The first subtheme is *recognizing community concerns as a first priority*. When discussing RCR in relation to concepts of

justice, RCR's approach to community inclusion was both praised and critiqued. While RCR does great community engagement work, there should be no possibility of community losing its voice in the negotiations of the land bridge. Therefore, through explicit messaging and actions on the part of RCR, the community can maintain its crucial position as part of the land bridge project. One element presented here which has not been mentioned previously is the creation of a community committee within the governance of RCR. This community committee would be made up of Rondo residents, and could serve as another way of implementing community voices in RCR decision-making. This committee could even represent a judicial branch, in which all decisions go through this committee, or they determine if there has been enough community engagement around particular decisions for RCR to move forward with proposed plans. Although the exact format of a community committee would need to be teased out, a community checks and balances system could help ensure that the community has more power to influence the land bridge project and the work of RCR.

Another subsection related to community understandings of gentrification is *engaging political allies with community in mind*. The "place-based" approach of the study illustrates how community efforts exist within a regional political environment, and how city or regional level politics need to be addressed as part of RCR's efforts. Because RCR will need to work under local political restraints, RCR should use allies from city departments to determine what policies are possible, and how to plan for advocacy which pushes the limits of current policies. At the same time, these policymakers should not fully determine the strategies that RCR pursue- those decisions should belong with community. By working with policymakers for the specific purpose of assessing feasibility, RCR can shape its work to fit local politics, but can also uplift community needs/desires throughout political processes related to the community.

The last subsection included under community understandings of gentrification is *assessing and uplifting community visions for a shared vision of Rondo.* Despite the fact that this report began to discuss what this "shared vision of Rondo" could look like, RCR still has a lot of work to do to gauge this future vision from Rondo community. Community engagement tools should be employed to assess what this vision can be, and the different variations that will inherently be present amongst different community members as well. One major point to underscore here is that a community benefits agreement represents a legal way to make a future vision a reality, and how formulating a CBA must be a huge priority for the organization. Creating a CBA takes a significant amount of time and effort, and RCR should prepare to do extensive work to make it happen. As Soja (2010) notes, "...almost every

effort to achieve spatial justice seeks some form of legal or legislative judgement" (49), and a community benefits agreement represents a legal way to ensure a future vision of Rondo is respected and acted upon by all involved in the project.

Community Investment

Addressing current needs in the neighborhood with or without a land bridge

- Build a coalition of neighborhood organizations to consider policy plans and advocacy approaches
- Ask community partners to help assess gaps in community engagement
- Continue assessment of infrastructural and residential needs- what barriers are present to obtaining the highest quality of life?

Making sure that community has the right to stay put

- Establish a housing and gentrification initiative or task force through RCR (to garner funds and provide staff that work on these issues)
- Work to institute more feasible/widely accepted policies early on
  - *These could include:* 4(d) tax break with rent subsidy; housing trust fund; rental assistance/education; rental rehab programs; just cause eviction ordinance
- Continue advocacy of policies with more barriers to implementation
  - *These include:* inclusionary zoning (IZ); use of 4(d) ordinance without a subsidy; right to first refusal; tax abatement programs; eminent domain
- Advocate for policies which cover a regional scale

Collaborating with community partners and knowledge centers in community

- Hire a housing consultant from community partner organization
- Find ways to be an active supporter of efforts already happening in the neighborhood

The next major theme that I encountered throughout the work was a need to address community needs and desires through **"community investment"**. As part of the "gentrification vs. revitalization" section, I suggest that the project use "community investment" rather than "revitalization" to frame the ambitions of the land bridge. I also note how defining what community investment means is highly subjective, and could represent a number of different approaches. Of course there is more work to be done to ask Rondo folks what "community investment" would mean to them personally. But I have also drawn some conclusions based on the "place-based" study that could aid RCR in its definition of community investment.

The first subtheme of community investment is *addressing current needs in the neighborhood with or without a land bridge*. Organizing and advocating for other needs or desires in the neighborhood can not only uplift community well-being, but can also create more trust and bonds with community in the process. By demonstrating that ReConnectRondo is dedicated to Rondo with or without a land bridge project, RCR can demonstrate its commitment to benefitting community over all else. Community partners represent a key way to assessing and addressing current needs, as they have been working to

address community needs and desires long before RCR began its work. Therefore, the inclusion of community organizations to both guide the advocacy work of the organization, and to engage with community, are essential ways to address current needs. They have a better sense of what has been done, what can be done, and who needs to be engaged in order to understand the future vision of the neighborhood.

Another component of community investment is making sure that the community has the right to stay put, which represents one of the major ambitions of the study. How can Rondo and other proximate communities stay put to benefit from the land bridge project? The answer is nowhere near simple, and involves all the rest of the considerations presented in the report. However, there are other recommendations which I have not outlined here that can help consider protections for community members already in the community. The first suggestion is to create a housing and anti-gentrification taskforce that would further discuss and plan anti-gentrification and housing strategy for the organization. The taskforce could involve community members as well as local organization staff, policy makers, or others who could advise this process. Ideally paid staff through RCR could also work to obtain grants and other funding for the taskforce and related housing initiatives. By creating this taskforce, RCR would create more capacity for the organization to engage with anti-gentrification and housing topics, and would receive advising that could allow the organization to be successful in its efforts.

Another set of suggestions for allowing community to stay put are related to the policies discussed at length in the earlier sections. Some of these policies seem more feasible than others, and it is important to recognize the timetable associated with the feasibility of each policy. For example, there are some policies which can be implemented early on or earlier than others, such as a 4(d) tax break with rent subsidy; a housing trust fund; rental assistance/education; rental rehab programs; or a just cause eviction ordinance for Saint Paul. The major barrier to making these policies a reality include funding and city support. However, these policies pose less barriers than other policies which policymakers have discussed as highly contentious. These include inclusionary zoning (IZ), use of 4(d) ordinance without a subsidy; right to first refusal; tax abatement programs; and eminent domain for the project, amongst other policies. Although these policies either are extremely difficult if not impossible to implement, RCR should not discount them, and could lobby over time for these policies as part of RCR strategy.

Lastly, another component for promoting community investment is collaborating with community partners and knowledge centers in the community. Community organizations have already been illustrated as vital to

the work of RCR and throughout the other suggestions presented here. Despite this, there are other ways in which RCR can further engage with community partners and members as part of investing in community. In other words, RCR can invest in community by recognizing and uplifting the efforts already present in the community. The first way is to hire a housing consultant from a community organization, and to compensate this person for their collaboration with RCR. By hiring a local housing consultant from Rondo, the project can show its commitment to recognizing local organizations and their work in the community, as well as receive consulting on RCR's initiatives. Another way is to expand the RCR Housing Committee to include community members and local organizations, and to take steps to ensure that no one is unable to serve on the committee based on particular barriers. Lastly, RCR should find ways to sponsor and support local organizations in all of their anti-gentrification and housing work, and to show solidarity in the collective efforts around these issues in the Rondo community.

The last major theme of the road map concerns community ownership- in terms of the RCR process, and in terms of the land bridge. Community ownership emerged consistently in the survey data and in community engagement in general, demonstrating its importance to RCR's work moving forward. What can community ownership mean? Instead of defining exactly what community ownership means, I find that it might be most helpful to consider how community can increasingly gain ownership through increased involvement and through legal/land ownership. Although not the full extent of what "community ownership" can mean for Rondo, these two sub themes had consistent support from Rondo community members, and should be addressed in RCR's future work.

The first subtheme is *increasing community leadership and community engagement*. Community ownership, and the general success of RCR, relies on community engagement and community control of the organizational process. Most of the associated points have already been discussed, however the first two stand out as important to address here. The suggestion to consider alternatives to surveys, and to create a housing stock/residential stability inventory (as recommended by the ULI TAP), both indicate how RCR can expand its community engagement data, and continue the work to determine important information missing from RCR's considerations. By considering the varied aspects and related impacts of the land bridge and using these to drive research, the "place-based" study can be expanded to include more varied perspectives, and can consider a broader range of issues than those addressed here.

The second and last subtheme is *land control and legal ownership*, where the right for the community to stay put and control land use remains with the Rondo community. To ensure community retain its power over the direction of the Rondo Land Bridge structure, RCR should maintain its ownership of the land bridge structure and also make sure that all involved agree to the terms of a community benefits agreement. Feasibility questions arise here, since selling some rights of land or having developers not agree to a CBA may become issues for the organization. Despite these challenges, RCR should hold steadfast in protecting community ownership of the RLB structure, as this ownership represents the major ambition of the project itself.

In addition to this kind of ownership, the possibility of adding affordable housing to the land bridge presents an opportunity to consider appropriate community controls over this housing. Since affordable housing represents a major anti-gentrification tool, it should be protected at all costs, and community should be able to shape new affordable housing developments to meet current neighborhood needs. I find that RCR should ensure affordability of housing over the long term through the affordable housing models discussed in the report. However, there should be a checks and balances system which allows for community to govern the affordable housing entity in charge of Rondo Land Bridge housing, so as to ensure that affordability cannot be rescinded at any time. Lastly, the affordable housing built should provide for populations which have not received adequate housing in Saint Paul, which I have been told are mainly families and very low income (30% or below AMI) individuals. There will need to be more work to determine the housing needs of the community, but regardless of what they are, they should shape the future affordable housing built for the Rondo Land Bridge project.

All together, the above roadmap for RCR utilized a place-based approach, and aimed to provide place-based insights for RCR to consider. There is important

work ahead for RCR. To ensure that an entire community can remain in place to reap the benefits of an infrastructure project is no easy task, let alone community engagement which reaches all those who could be affected by the project. As RCR grows and expands its network, the work of the organization can only get better and increase its understandings of community issues. I hope that the above considerations help frame where the future work of RCR can go from here, and some actions and approaches RCR can consider in their future endeavors.

Considerations for Future Place-Based Study of Rondo Gentrification/Housing

I now want to turn to some concluding thoughts on the research process, and some of the nuances of attempting to compile place-based knowledge for ReConnectRondo. There are several key points that matter to a place-based study of Rondo, or for study of any community for that matter. The first is that all publications relating to defining Rondo as a lived place and space must take all appropriate measures to represent the community well. In the context of Rondo, I have watched moments where RCR and other organizations have misstepped in this ambition- where the rhetoric used to describe the neighborhood did not match the community vision. This was particularly true when at a Health Impact Assessment (HIA) meeting, one Rondo stakeholder noted how the HIA process did not "empower" communities- "the Rondo community itself empowered and continued to empower themselves without help (when it was never given)". Another instance was at a February 2018 Community Dialogue event, when a planning expert was criticized for calling historic Rondo a "poor neighborhood" when in reality, as we know, Rondo was socioeconomically diverse and had many middle class residents before I-94.

That is why a place-based study of gentrification and housing need in Rondo would be its best not only with community input, but also if authored by a Rondo community member. Although I personally have aimed to write a report which respects and reflects the Rondo community, my position as a White female undergraduate from Macalester, and the limited community engagement as part of this report, mean that this report is deeply flawed. I also have not experienced gentrification or displacement, and thus cannot understand this experience particularly in the Rondo neighborhood as well. To expand on this effort, a future place-based study of gentrification and affordable housing in Rondo would need to enhance the relationship to the Rondo community, and to have more stakeholders involved in the report's creation.

Related to this point is how there also was very limited community engagement included as part of this report. Although the whole point of the report was to base academic and policy conversations in Rondo knowledge, the report does not include as many perspectives as would be needed to formulate truly place-based results. By continuing community dialogues and gaining more feedback from folks on these topics, this analysis could be better positioned to create and describe a place-based idea of gentrification and affordable housing in Rondo.

In addition, it becomes clear that this research is unable to serve as an advocacy tool at the present moment, despite the desire for it to be able to be. For one thing, many of the perspectives and conversations above are highly theoretical, even though the goal was to make this conversation less theoretical in the local context. On another note, this report cannot ensure that policies become implemented to allow Rondo community to remain in place. Therefore, the next steps would be to figure out how to move these considerations from theory to practice, with community leading the way. Since more community engagement is needed to strategize the best approaches, this may be a little premature. However, just because RCR aims to mitigate gentrification and provide affordable housing does not mean it will happen, so being proactive will help rather than hurt.

A last piece that I want to emphasize is how this analysis should in no way limit the desires of the community to shape local policy and community efforts. I think it can be helpful to know the possibilities and barriers presented at different scales of the work. But I also worry that this could limit the organization to only think about current feasibility rather than the ways to *shape* policy in the future. Despite the fact that this is probably already known, it is still important to highlight: **RCR is in the position to advocate for innovative policy responses, and to shape policy to reflect community needs**. That is the duty of the organization, and by attempting to change current political dynamics, **RCR can serve as advocates for equitable political realities**.

Because that is what this is all about- uplifting community, with community. The best in that regard is yet to come.

Acknowledgements

I would like to first deeply thank the whole ReConnectRondo organization, board, and staff. I feel so fortunate to have worked with such a passionate and inspiring group of people, and I appreciated all of your work/efforts to help me feel welcome and supported during this process. I want to recognize several ReConnectRondo members individually. Mr. Anderson, it has been an honor to know you and work with you, and I am so grateful for your belief in me and the opportunity you gave me to work on this project. I have appreciated and learned so much from our interactions, and you are an inspiration to many, including me. Darius Gray, I am so appreciative of the deep conscientiousness and support that you brought as a supervisor, as a staff member, and as a friend. You are intentionally very approachable and thoughtful, and you helped make this the best work experience I have ever had. Melvin Giles-thank you for your deep passion and commitment to community and peace-making. I learned so much from you, and you make this world a better place. Lars Christiansen, Kim Club, Lilli Post Johnson, and Brittany Lynch- thank you for your thoughtfulness, for your passion and dedication, and for helping me feel welcome from the start. Your work and mindfulness are so inspiring for me and I hope to emulate these qualities in my future work. Mr. Scroggins and Rick Cardenas- thank you for your wisdom and for your enduring positive energy. This project would not complete without your insights and your commitment to serving others. Walter Smith III and Mari Morgan-Sawyer, although I have not known you both for that long, your contributions and impact on the project is beyond measure, and I thank you both for your efforts to uplift my work. All in all, I am beyond thankful for this organization and the important work you are all doing- keep it up!

In addition to the ReConnectRondo team, I would like to thank Rondo community folks for making me feel welcome and supporting my work and my presence in Rondo. Your support and your critiques are more than I could have ever asked for/more than I deserve, and your time and energy put into serving the community is seen and deeply admired. I would also like to thank the individuals who were interviewed as part of this report, which include Mai Chong, Eric Hauge, Tony Johnson, Patty Lilledahl, Lael Robertson, Neeraj Mehta and Tony Damaniano. Your insights are incredibly important to this work as RCR considers next steps for the project to take.

I would also like to thank several faculty from Macalester College who helped me to write and compile this report. I would first like to deeply thank Rebecca Wingo, my advisor for summer research with ReConnectRondo. I am so grateful that you suggested that we apply for the summer 2017 grant through Macalester, because otherwise I would never have worked with RCR, let alone written a report for the project. You helped me not only improve my researching and working skills, but also helped me to prioritize myself and my goals, and I cannot thank you enough for your mentorship. I would also like to thank Professor Laura Smith. You are an inspiring academic and professor who has always been so encouraging of all your students, including me. I feel so fortunate to have received your guidance during this process, and I thank you for your commitment to uplifting students like myself. Lastly I would like to sincerely thank Professor Dan Trudeau. From early on in my college career you took notice of me and helped me believe in my own potential as a student, and I cannot thank you enough for the level of encouragement you have given me as a student. As my advisor for this project, you supported me during this process while also encouraging me to make my own decisions, and reminded me that my work was enough regardless of the product. Thank you for challenging me and helping me to grow throughout my entire college career. I would also like to thank my mom,

my sister, and my close friends at Mac- thank you for always being my support system throughout the process. I couldn't have done this without you.

Sources

Alexander, A. (2016). *Cohousing in the United States: An Innovative Model of Sustainable Neighborhoods*. The Cohousing Association of the United States. Retrieved from: http://www.cohousing.org/sites/default/files/attachments/StateofCohousingintheU.S.%204-1-16.pdf

Atkinson, R. (2000). Measuring gentrification and displacement in greater london. *Urban Studies, 37*(1), 149-165. doi:10.1080/0042098002339

Atkinson, R. (2008). Commentary: Gentrification, segregation and the vocabulary of affluent residential choice. *Urban Studies, 45*(12), 2626-2636. doi:10.1177/00420980080971l0

Atkinson, R., & Bridge, G. (2005). *Gentrification in a global context : The new urban colonialism* (Housing and society series). London: Routledge.

Avila, E. (2014). *The folklore of the freeway : Race and revolt in the modernist city* (A quadrant book). Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Axel-Lute, M., & Hawkins-Simmons, D. (2015). *Community Land Trusts Grown From Grassroots. Lincoln Institute of Land Policy*. Retrieved from: https://www.lincolninst.edu/publications/articles/community-land-trusts-grown-grassroots

Beauregard, R. A. (1986). The Chaos and Complexity of Gentrification. In L. Lees, T. Slater & E. Wyly (Eds.), *The Gentrification Reader* (11-23). New York, NY: Routledge.

Betancur, J. (2002). The politics of gentrification: The case of West Town in Chicago. *Urban Affairs Review, 37*(6), 780-814. doi:10.1177/107874037006002

Blomley, N. (2004). *Unsettling the city : Urban land and the politics of property*. New York: Routledge.

Brenner, N., Marcuse, P., & Mayer, M. (2012). *Cities for people, not for profit : Critical urban theory and the right to the city*. London: Routledge.

Brooks, R. (2004). *Atonement and forgiveness : A new model for black reparations* (The George Gund Foundation imprint in African American studies). Berkeley: University of California Press.

Byrne, J. (2003). Two cheers for gentrification." Howard Law Review 46(3): 405 – 432.

Causa Justa Just Cause (CJJC) (2015). *Development without Displacement: Resisting Gentrification in the Bay Area*. Retrieved from: https://cjjc.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/development-without-displacement.pdf

Cavett, K., Hand in Hand Productions (Saint Paul, Minn.), & Rondo Oral History Project. (2005). *Voices of rondo: Oral histories of saint paul's historic black community*. Minneapolis: Syren Book.

Center for Regional and Urban Affairs (2018). Gentrification in Minneapolis and Saint Paul [PowerPoint slides]. University of Minnesota. Retrieved from: http://gentrification.umn.edu/sites/g/files/pua4816/f/general/cura-gent-2-23-18-shared.pdf

City of Saint Paul (2005). *Housing Chapter of Comprehensive Plan, 2008-2018*. City of Saint Paul. Retrieved from: https://www.stpaul.gov/DocumentCenter/Government/Planning%20&%20Economic%20Development/Planning/Citywide%20Plans/web%20Housing%20Plan%202-18-10.pdf

Clark, E. (2005). The order and simplicity of gentrification: A political challenge. In Atkinson, R., & Bridge, G. (Eds.). (261-269). *Gentrification in a global context : The new urban colonialism* (Housing and society series). London: Routledge.

Clowdus, G. (2016). *The Community Land Trust Model: Toward Best Practices for Promoting, Sustaining, and Growing*. Resilient Communities Project (RCP) and University of Minnesota. Retrieved from: https://conservancy.umn.edu/handle/11299/184918

Curran, W. (2018). *Gender and gentrification* (Routledge critical studies in urbanism and the city). London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.

Davidson, M. (2008). Spoiled mixture: where does state-led `positive' gentrification end? *Urban Studies, 45*(12), 2385-2405. doi:10.1177/0042098008097105

Davis, J. E. (2006). *Shared Equity Homeownership: The Changing Landscape of Resale-Restricted, Owner-Occupied Housing*. National Housing Institute. Retrieved from: https://community-wealth.org/content/shared-equity-homeownership-changing-landscape-resale-restrictedowner-occupied-housing

Duany, A. (2001). Three Cheers for Gentrification. *American Enterprise Magazine*. April/May, 36-39.

Ehlenz, M. M. (2014). Community Land Trusts and Limited Equity Cooperatives: A Marriage of Affordable Homeownership Models? Lincoln Institute of Land Policy. Retrieved from: https://community-wealth.org/sites/clone.community-wealth.org/files/downloads/Ehlenz-report.pdf

Fair Housing Implementation Council (2017). *Addendum to the 2014 Regional AI: First Draft*. Retrieved from: https://www.ramseycounty.us/sites/default/files/Departments/Corrected%20AI%20Addendum%203.7.17.pdf

Freeman, L. (2006). *There goes the 'hood : Views of gentrification from the ground up*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
Freeman, L. (2005). Displacement or succession? *Urban Affairs Review, 40*(4), 463-491.

Freeman, L., & Braconi, F. (2004). Gentrification and displacement new york city in the 1990s. *Journal of the American Planning Association, 70*(1), 39-52.

Fullilove, M. (2016). *Root shock : How tearing up city neighborhoods hurts america, and what we can do about it* (New Village Press Edition. Second Edition. ed.). New York: New Village Press.

Furman Center for Real Estate and Urban Policy (2008). *The Effects of Inclusionary Zoning on Local Housing Markets: Lessons Learned from the San Francisco, Washington DC, and Suburban Boston Areas*. New York University. Retrieved from: http://furmancenter.org/files/publications/IZPolicyBrief.pdf

Glass, R. (1964). From “London: Aspects of Change”. In L. Lees, T. Slater & E. Wyly (Eds.), *The Gentrification Reader* (7). New York, NY: Routledge.

Great Communities (2007). *Preventing Displacement Policy Fact Sheet*. Great Communities Collaborative. Retrieved from: http://www.greatcommunities.org/

Greenstein, R. & Sungu-Eryilmaz, Y. (2005). Community Land Trusts: Leasing Land for Affordable Housing. *Lincoln Institute of Land Policy*. Retrieved from: https://www.lincolninst.edu/publications/articles/community-land-trusts

Gross, J., LeRoy, C., & Janis-Aparicio, M. (2005). *Good Jobs First and the California Partnership for Working Families*. Retrieved from: http://www.forworkingfamilies.org/sites/pwf/files/publications/2005CBAHandbook.pdf

Hamnett, C. (2003). Gentrification and the middle-class remaking of inner london, 1961-2001. *Urban Studies, 40*(12), 2401-2426. doi:10.1080/0042098032000136138

Harmon, T. (2003). *Integrating Social Equity and Growth Management: Linking Community Land Trusts and Smart Growth*. Institute for Community Economics. Retrieved from: https://community-wealth.org/sites/clone.community-wealth.org/files/downloads/paper-harmon03.pdf

Holcomb, H., & Beauregard, R. (1981). *Revitalizing cities* (Resource publications in geography). Washington, D.C.: Association of American Geographers.

Housing Justice Center (2017). *Frequently Asked Questions Policy Factsheets*. Retrieved from: http://hjcmn.org/resources/

Lees, L. (2000). A reappraisal of gentrification: Towards a 'geography of gentrification'. *Progress in Human Geography, 24*(3), 389-408. doi:10.1191/030913200701540483

Lees, L. (2008). Gentrification and social mixing: Towards an inclusive urban renaissance? *Urban Studies, 45*(12), 2449-2470. doi:10.1177/0042098008097099

Lees, L., Slater, T., & Wyly, E. (2008). *Gentrification*. New York: Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group.

Lees, L., Slater, T., & Wyly, E. (2010). In Lees, L., Slater, T., & Wyly, E. (Eds.), *The gentrification reader (xi-xxiii)*. London: Routledge.

Lefebvre, H., Kofman, E., & Lebas, E. (1996). *Writings on cities*. Cambridge, Mass, USA: Blackwell.

Ley, D. (1994). Gentrification and the Politics of the New Middle Class. In L. Lees, T. Slater & E. Wyly (Eds.), *The Gentrification Reader* (7). New York, NY: Routledge.

Lindeke, B. (2018). Chart of the Day: Rent Gap Theory. Streets MN. Retrieved from: https://streets.mn/2018/02/16/chart-of-the-day-rent-gap-theory/

MacKinnon, D., & Derickson, K. D. (2013). From resilience to resourcefulness : A critique of resilience policy and activism. *Progress in Human Geography, 37*(2), 253-270. doi:10.1177/0309132512454775

Marcuse, P. (1985). Gentrification, abandonment, and displacement : Connections, clauses, and policy responses in new york city. *Washington University Journal of Urban and Contemporary Law,Vol. 28 (1985)*.

Marcuse, P. (1986). In Smith, N., & Williams, P. (Eds.), *Gentrification of the city* (153-177). Boston: Allen & Unwin.

McFarlane, C. (2011). *Learning the city : Knowledge and translocal assemblage* (RGS-IBG book series). Malden: Wiley-Blackwell.

McKittrick, K., & Woods, C. (2007). No One Knows the Mysteries at the Bottom of the Ocean. In McKittrick, K., & Woods, C. (Eds.), *Black geographies and the politics of place* (pp. 1-13). Toronto, Ont.: Between the Lines.

Michael, J. (2014). *Tax Increment Financing*. *Minnesota House of Representatives*. Retrieved from: http://www.house.leg.state.mn.us/hrd/pubs/ss/sstif.pdf

Minnesota House of Representatives (2009). *How TIF Works: Basic Mechanics*. Retrieved from: http://www.house.leg.state.mn.us/hrd/issinfo/tif/mech.aspx

Minnesota Preservation Plus Initiative (MPPI). *The Space Between: Realities and Possibilities in Preserving Unsubsidized Affordable Rental Housing*. Housing Preservation Project, One Roof, and Urban Land Institute. Retrieved from: http://www.fhfund.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/06/Space_Between_ExecutiveSummary_June-2013.pdf

Minnesota Legislature. Statute 471.9996 RENT CONTROL PROHIBITED. Retrieved from: https://www.revisor.mn.gov/statutes/?id=471.9996

Mitchell, D. (2003). *The right to the city : Social justice and the fight for public space*. New York: Guilford Press.

Newman, K., & Wyly, E. (2006). The right to stay put, revisited: Gentrification and resistance to displacement in new york city. *Urban Studies, 43*(1), 23-57.

NYU Furman Center (2016). *Gentrification Response: A Survey of Strategies to Maintain Neighborhood Economic Diversity*. Retrieved from: http://furmancenter.org/files/NYUFurmanCenter_GentrificationResponse_26OCT2016.pdf

Ortiz, L. M. (2017). Will Limited-Equity Cooperatives Make a Comeback? *Shelterforce*. Retrieved from: https://shelterforce.org/2017/04/25/will-limited-equity-co-ops-make-comeback/

Pile (1997). Introduction: Opposition, political identities and spaces of resistance. In Pile, S., & Keith, M. (Eds.), *Geographies of resistance* (pp. 1-32). London: Routledge.

Powell, J., & Spencer, M. (2003). Giving Them The Old “One-Two”: Gentrification and the K.O. of Impoverished Urban Dwellers of Color. *Howard Law Journal* 46(3): 433 – 490.

Rondo Community Land Trust (2016). About Us/Homepage. Retrieved from: https://www.rondoclt.org/

Shaw, K. (2008). Commentary: Is there hope for policy? *Urban Studies, 45*(12), 2637-2642.

Shaw, K., & Hagemans, I. (2015). ‘Gentrification without displacement' and the consequent loss of place: The effects of class transition on low-income residents of secure housing in gentrifying areas. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 39*(2), 323-341. doi:10.1111/1468-2427.12164

Slater, T. (2012). Missing Marcuse: on gentrification and displacement. In Brenner, N., Marcuse, P., & Mayer, M. (2012). *Cities for people, not for profit : Critical urban theory and the right to the city*. London: Routledge.

Slater, T. (2006). The eviction of critical perspectives from gentrification research. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 30*(4), 737-757. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2427.2006.00689.x

Smith, N. (1979). Toward a Theory of Gentrification: A Back to the City Movement by Capital, not People". In L. Lees, T. Slater & E. Wyly (Eds.), *The Gentrification Reader* (85-96). New York, NY: Routledge.

Smith, N. (1996). *The new urban frontier : Gentrification and the revanchist city*. London: Routledge.

Smith, N., & Williams, P. (1986). *Gentrification of the city*. Boston: Allen & Unwin.

Soja, E. (2010). *Seeking spatial justice* (Globalization and community series). Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

ReConnectRondo. (2017). *About Us*. Retrieved from ReConnectRondo website: https://www.reconnectrondo.org/copy-of-about-us

Rose, K. (2001). "Beyond Gentrification". Shelterforce. Retrieved from: https://shelterforce.org/2001/05/01/beyond-gentrification/

Urban Land Institute (2018). Rondo Advisory Service Panel Presentation [PowerPoint slides]. Retrieved from: https://americas.uli.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/125/ULI-Documents/Rondo-Advisory-Services-Panel-FINAL_Web.pdf

Vigdor, J. (2002). Does gentrification harm the poor? *Brookings-Wharton Papers on Urban Affairs, 2002*(1), 133-182. doi:10.1353/urb.2002.0012

Wyly, E., & Hammel, D. (2008). Commentary: Urban policy frontiers. *Urban Studies, 45*(12), 2643-2648. doi:10.1177/0042098008097109

Young, I. M. (2000). *Inclusion and democracy* (Oxford political theory). Oxford: Oxford University Press.