

*Understanding Gentrification and Displacement:
Community Voices and
Changing Neighborhoods*

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This study has three objectives: 1) to collect and present quantitative and qualitative data that can help towards understanding how displacement related to gentrification is being experienced in parts of Roxbury; 2) to document the concerns of key voices about gentrification and displacement; and, 3) to propose guideposts and questions to frame the collection of data that can strengthen community organizing aimed at reducing displacement as a result of housing and commercial gentrification. This study was funded by the Hyams Foundation under its Special Opportunities Fund.

The report begins with an Introduction describing the purpose and organization of the report. The Introduction also provides a broad definition and description of gentrification, and includes a brief summary of ongoing anti-displacement efforts in Boston. The following section presents a discussion of themes emerging from meetings and conversations with 20 community voices, including residents (Appendix A). The themes are associated with how these key voices perceive gentrification and its effects. The conclusion and recommendations are based on the ideas proposed by key voices, but also based on current and ongoing anti-displacement initiatives. The study's methodology is described in Appendix B.

There are several appendices included in the report which serve to provide rich detail about the collection of data and information. Appendix C provides neighborhood characteristics and changes that could portend potential warning signs for displacement. Appendix D shows the neighborhood infrastructure for the study area. Appendix E is a list of community data queries that neighborhood-based groups can utilize in order to understand how gentrification is unfolding. And Appendix F is a comprehensive overview of ongoing anti-displacement strategies and proposals.

The report is undertaken amidst growing concern and angst about the gentrification of Boston's neighborhoods and the consequent displacement of low-income and working-class families. The angst is based on a sense on the part of many residents that recent changes threaten to disrupt the substantial community wealth that has been built over generations. Earlier phases of urban renewal displaced massive numbers of families. The contemporary array of municipal and private development efforts conjoined with rapidly rising housing costs threaten to achieve an outcome that is not dissimilar. There is a concern that the long struggle for a better neighborhood will not accrue to those who fought for it. Roxbury residents have fought consistently regarding a range of issues aimed at improving living conditions and the quality of life in a neighborhood that, for a long time, was predominantly African American and then also had increasing numbers of Latinos. These struggles took place in the face of tremendous economic challenges including poverty and economic neglect on the part of city administrations and the private sector over decades, and in a historical context where African Americans were always the 'Other' despite an integral presence throughout Boston's entire history.

Displacement is threatening housing but also to maintaining a community fabric. Roxbury has a vibrant neighborhood-based infrastructure with a rich network of community- and faith-based organizations, many of which have been involved in decades-long struggles to improve local living conditions involving education, housing, employment, youth, arts and culture, health, and economic development. There are hundreds of businesses that, although small, nevertheless generate an employment base for thousands of individuals. Within this context the study team collected hard data, attended community meetings, and met with community representatives about gentrification and displacement. Several key findings emerged based on a review of the data collected for this report. The data reported below pertains to the particular study area identified by the study team (see Appendix B).

Community Voices and Key Themes

In addition to participating in community meetings the study team spoke with a number of individuals who are familiar with Roxbury and have been involved in a range of community-building activities. Themes emerged from the conversations and meetings and included the following:

- Growing fears about housing and commercial displacement
- A sense of irony and frustration about many local efforts and initiatives to improve living conditions in the neighborhood and a belief that social capital built on history of neighborhood struggles is being endangered
- The weakening of small businesses with strong neighborhood ties
- A need for expansion of homeownership opportunities for long-term residents
- Importance of local government understanding better how particular implementation of policies and regulations can have negative impacts in vulnerable neighborhoods
- A need for greater emphasis on public education and community organizing, especially among youth and residents of subsidized housing
- Utilizing zoning as a key tool for preventing displacement
- A need for inter-neighborhood communication across the city
- The critical role of free and accessible data about ongoing or impending neighborhood and land changes

Population Shifts and Housing Concerns

The major population shifts identified include the following:

- The study area’s population grew from 21,284 persons to 22,287 persons between 2000 and 2010. In 2000 Blacks comprised 54.5% of all persons living in the study area, but this declined to 45.2% by 2010. Whites were 25.7% of all persons in 2000, but increased to 33.2% by 2010. The change for Asians moved from 2.3% to 5.4% of all persons by 2010. Latinos (who can be any race, and therefore can be slightly double-counted with racial groups) represented 20.3% in 2000, and 24.1% in 2010.
- Whites experienced the fastest rate of growth (36%) in population, compared to Latinos (any race) at 24.2%; the Asian population more than doubled, but small in total numbers. The Black population in the study area declined in numbers by 13.0 percent between 2000 and 2010.
- Black and Latino residents remain those with the deeper roots in the neighborhood, but they appear far more vulnerable to displacement because they are more likely to be poor, are predominantly renters, have higher rates of overcrowding, and tend not to fill the higher-paying managerial and professional occupations. Higher percentages of Blacks and Latinos are residing in family households.
- The in-migrating White population is comprised largely of high-income managerial and professional workers with high rates of homeownership. These are predominantly non-family households (whether people living alone or with others to whom they are not related).
- Asian in-migration appears to be comprised of two flows. Some may be part of a stream of affluent in-migrants (i.e., homeowners with professional occupations and high incomes), while others have more in common with long-time residents (i.e., low-income tenants).

Major housing characteristics and changes for the study area include:

- Housing data depict speculative activity on the rise, creating difficulties for tenants to remain in place.
- High numbers of distressed properties (foreclosures and auctions), housing court evictions, and vacancies combine to show that many residents have lost housing in recent years, and that there is strong availability of opportunities for speculative development.
- Over 1,500 units of subsidized housing are approaching “expiring use” dates when they will be at risk of converting to market-rate.
- There is substantial evidence of rent-burdened households, with more than half (54.6%) of renter households paying more than 30% of household income for gross rent.
- Real estate values have rapidly increased in the years since the housing-led financial crisis, conjoined with a sharp increase in the number and size of capital projects in the pipeline.

Recommendations for Action

As suggested above, residents have a history of struggle on behalf of strengthening Roxbury. These struggles continue today and many point towards the problems and challenges that gentrification and resulting displacement create for residents, other neighborhoods, and the entire city today. It is critical to these recommendations that racial equity is strengthened and expanded as a key value in planning and development processes and decisions.

The following recommendations, presented broadly here, are discussed in greater detail in the full report:

- Enhance the ability of current and long-time residents to remain in place
- Foster and support democratic participation and community control over land use
- Preserve and expand the stock of social housing, including creating opportunities for wealth-building through non-speculative homeownership
- Design development and city improvement to benefit the community of long-time residents and avoid their displacement as part of comprehensive local economic development
- Recognize, support and grow locally-based economic activity
- Increase data availability and tracking of real estate activity

There is a premier question framing the study and these kinds of recommendations, as well as the growing debate about gentrification and potential displacement: what economic and political factors will define and mold the future of Roxbury, as well as other places in Boston such as parts of Jamaica Plain, Codman Square, East Boston, and other neighborhoods? Will the response be primarily molded by a real estate market rife with concentrated wealth, and in a city ranked recently as the first nationally in terms of income inequality, resulting in displacement for many people and families? Or, will it be framed by public policies and politics emphasizing the importance of neighborhoods and residents and more favorable to balanced economic development? We, as did the community voices who shared their ideas, believe that the latter is critical for Boston's future social, racial, and economic wellbeing.

Study Team Members

Members of the study team include James Jennings, PhD, Professor Emeritus for Urban & Environmental Planning and Policy at Tufts University; Robert Terrell, MPP, Executive Director of the Fair Housing Center of Greater Boston, ; Jen Douglas, PhD, a consultant (and who wrote her dissertation on gentrification in the Jamaica Plain neighborhood of Boston); Ashley E. Harding, M.ED, Manager of Family and Community Engagement for KIPP DC;

Kalila Barnett, Executive Director of Alternatives for Communities & Environment (ACE) in Roxbury, Massachusetts and enrolled in the Masters of Public Policy program at Tufts University.

Special thanks and appreciation are extended to Maria Mulkeen, Program Officer of Affordable Housing and Angela Brown, Director of Programs at the Hyams Foundation for their input and support, not only as funders, but colleagues seeking to expand the use of racial and social justice lens in grant-making and neighborhood investments in Boston, Massachusetts.

We wish to acknowledge the input and contributions of individuals who assisted by agreeing to be interviewed, meeting with study team members, and corresponding via email (Appendix A). Collectively these individuals are helping to increase the level of communication and collaboration among a range of neighborhood organizations involved with anti-displacement strategies and actions across the city.

Table of Contents

List of Maps and Tables

I Introduction (p.9)

II Community Voices Speak about Gentrification and Anti-Displacement (p.15)

III Conclusion and Recommendations (p.25)

Appendix A: Study Contacts (p.30)

Appendix B: Methodological Note (p.31)

Appendix C: Neighborhood Characteristics and Changes - Potential Warning Signs for Displacement (p.33)

Appendix D: Neighborhood Infrastructure for Study Area (p.59)

Appendix E: Community Data Queries for Understanding Potential Displacement (p.69)

Appendix F: Overview of Ongoing Anti-Displacement Strategies and Proposals (p.70)

List of Maps and Tables

- Map 1: Study Area (p.31)
- Map 2: Percentage of Households with Non-Relatives (p.41)
- Map 3: New Residents with MI \$5K and Higher than Current Residents (p.45)
- Map 4: Housing Court Evictions in Study Area, 2011 (p.48)
- Map 5: Distressed Properties in Study Area 2010-2013, (p.49)
- Map 6: Location and Concentration of Subsidized Properties (p.51)
- Map 7: Expiring Use Properties in Study Area (p.52)
- Map 8: Subsidized Units Expiring Use Projection for December 2019 (p.53)
- Map 9: Number Households Pay 50%+ of Income for Gross Rent by Tracts (p.55)
- Map 10: Major Construction Projects in and Near Study Area (p.58)
- Map 11: Nonprofits and CBOs in Study Area (p.59)
- Map 12: Faith-based organizations in Study Area (p.60)
- Map 13: Boston Public Schools and Charter Schools in Study Area (p.62)
- Map 14: Housing Units Subsidized by MassHousing (p.63)
- Map 15: Demonstration Disposition Housing Sites (p.64)
- Map 16: BHA Housing Communities (p.65)
- Map 17: Businesses In and Near Study Area (p.66)
- Map 18: Location of Businesses, Dudley Sq. and Washington-Gateway Main Streets (p.67)
- Map 19: Public Transportation in Study Area (p.68)

- Table 1: Establishments by Major Category (p.34)
- Table 2: Total Employees, Daytime Population (p.34)
- Table 3: Consumer Expenditures (p.34)
- Table 4: Geographic Mobility by Race and Ethnicity (p.35)
- Table 5: Population by Race and Ethnicity, 2000 and 2010 (p.37)
- Table 6: Total Population by Race and Ethnicity (p.37)
- Table 7: Household by Family Type (p.39)
- Table 8: Housing Units with 1.01 or More Occupants Per Room by Race and Ethnicity (p.40)
- Table 9: Income Level by Poverty Level, by Race and Ethnicity (p.42)
- Table 10: Housing Tenure by Race and Ethnicity (p.43)
- Table 11: Housing Tenure by Age (p.44)
- Table 12: Family Income by Race/Ethnicity, \$100,000 or more, by Race and Ethnicity (p.46)
- Table 13: All Occupations for Workers 16 Years and Over, by Race and Ethnicity (p.47)
- Table 14: Vacant Properties by Type (p.50)
- Table 15: Buildings by Total Units (p.50)
- Table 16: Gross Rent as Percentage of Household Income (p.54)
- Table 17: Median sales Price, 2009 – 2015 -Jan to Oct (p.56)
- Table 18: Roxbury Proportion of All Sales in Boston, 2009 – 2015 (p.57)

- Chart 1: Number of Sales, All Properties, 2009-2015 (p.56)

I Introduction

This study had three objectives: 1) to collect and present in reader-friendly format of quantitative and qualitative data that can help towards understanding how displacement related to gentrification is being experienced in parts of Roxbury; 2) to document key voices and their concerns about gentrification and displacement; and, 3) to propose guideposts and questions to frame the collection of data that can strengthen community organizing aimed at reducing displacement as a result of housing and commercial gentrification.

The rationale for the study is the growing city-wide concern and angst in Boston, Massachusetts about the gentrification of neighborhoods resulting in the displacement of low income and working-class families.¹ The study team tapped community voices about their concerns and recommendations and contextualized this information with data about a neighborhood area in Roxbury. Based on these conversations the report documents how key voices are experiencing or perceiving displacement, and how these individuals see the effects of such on community vitality, public health or other areas critical for vibrant neighborhoods, and what they see as potential responses. The report also highlights the kind of data-led questions that could be useful for understanding how gentrification is taking place in neighborhoods across the City.

Ten key themes emerging from community voices, as well as recommendations for anti-displacement strategies are discussed in the following section. The ten key themes include the following:

- Growing fears about housing and commercial displacement
- A sense of irony and frustration about many local efforts and initiatives to improve living conditions in the neighborhood and a belief that social capital built on history of neighborhood struggles is being endangered
- The weakening of small businesses with strong neighborhood ties
- A need for expansion of homeownership opportunities for long-term residents
- Importance of local government understanding better how particular implementation of policies and regulations can have negative impacts in vulnerable neighborhoods
- A need for greater emphasis on public education and community organizing, especially among youth and residents of subsidized housing
- Utilizing zoning as a key tool for preventing displacement

¹ This concern and examples of displacement have been documented in numerous news accounts. The City's *Housing A Changing City Boston 2030* report also notes about gentrification that "In six of Boston's 15 neighborhoods, the share of the housing stock occupied by low-income households is declining, while the share occupied by more affluent households is on the rise." See, *Housing A Changing City Boston 2030*, Executive Summary (2014), p. 16

- A need for inter-neighborhood communication across the city
- The critical role of free and accessible data about ongoing or impending neighborhood and land changes

Along with a review of ongoing displacement initiatives, several recommendations also emerged from the community voices tapped and include:

- Enhance the ability of current and long-time residents to remain in place
- Foster and support democratic participation and community control over land use
- Preserve and expand the stock of social housing, including creating opportunities for wealth-building through non-speculative homeownership
- Design development and city improvement to benefit the community of long-time residents and avoid their displacement as part of comprehensive local economic development
- Recognize, support and grow locally-based economic activity
- Increase data availability and tracking of real estate activity

Gentrification is described as an economic, class, and racial dynamic in areas of the city that have experienced disinvestment — or lack of investment — but are nevertheless now experiencing significant and rapid increases in land and real estate values, at the same attracting increasing numbers of new and wealthier renters and home-owners.² These same areas may be witnessing a loss of lower-income individuals and families and long-time residents as well as very small businesses, or what has been described as commercial gentrification. There are a high number of subsidized housing units, but many housing units also in danger of losing subsidies. Compared to other parts of Boston there is a relatively high proportion of buildings with five or more units. And there are a substantial number of housing units that are vacant and not on the market that represent a potential opportunity for creative anti-displacement initiatives and for increasing affordable housing.

In many places, though not exclusively, gentrification contains a racial and ethnic dimension; neighborhood areas where residents were predominantly African-American, Black, Latino, or Asian find themselves no longer able to afford to live in their old communities, or are actively being displaced through rapid high increases in housing costs and replaced with new White residents who can afford those higher costs.

² There is not a consistent and concise definition of gentrification; the term remains more descriptive than analytic. It has been described in various ways in different social, economic and international settings; see, Horace R. Hall, Cynthia Cole Robinson and Amor Kohli, *Uprooting Urban America: multidisciplinary perspectives on race, class and gentrification* (Peter Lang Publishers: New York, 2014).

While reflecting greater economic distress than some other parts of the City, Roxbury is nevertheless receiving increasing attention on the part of real estate interests, developers, and higher income White households seeking to rent or buy homes. Currently the City is planning approximately \$152 million in development over the next several years.³ Ironically, this is occurring in a neighborhood that, except for many of its long-time residents, was not perceived as economically attractive by many in the public and private sectors.⁴

It should be noted that Roxbury and the study area reflect a vibrant neighborhood-based infrastructure that could become endangered as a result of gentrification. Appendix D shows that there are many long-time community-based organizations and nonprofits based in this part of Roxbury. This rich network of community based organizations and nonprofits serves to challenge any notion that the area lacks in neighborhood infrastructure or social capital. Many of these organizations have been involved in decades-long struggles to improve local living conditions involving education, housing, employment, youth, arts and culture, health, and economic development. Faith based organizations are also robust throughout the study area. There are 12 Boston public schools within the study area, including 4 public charter schools.

While the area faces a high level of poverty and other economic challenges, it also holds considerable economic resources in terms of disposable income and hundreds of very small businesses. In 2014 there were approximately 905 establishments in the study area, where 62% were in services; 15% in retail; and 12% in Finance, Insurance and Real Estate. Almost two thirds (64.8%) of these establishments employed between 1 to 4 employees, and another 17.5% employed between 5 to 9 employees.

This current study only complements the work and ideas proposed by a range of organizations seeking to mitigate the effects of gentrification, and to ensure that residents are not unfairly displaced from homes as renters or homeowners as a result of intense and speculative real estate activity. The following is a brief description of some of these ongoing initiatives in Boston.⁵

- The Chinese Progressive Association launched “R Visions” in 2014, a community campaign aimed at establishing moral site control over the remaining publicly owned vacant land in Chinatown, with the ultimate goal of developing affordable housing there.

³ See Map 6.

⁴ For an earlier discussion about the potential for gentrification in Dudley Square, but also strategies for reducing displacement see, Rian Amiton, Mathew Hammer, Joshua Morris, Elizabeth Nollner, Abigail Vladeck, *For Dudley, by Dudley: An analysis of gentrification risk in the Dudley Square Area of Roxbury, Boston*, Fieldwork Project, Department of Urban and Environmental Affairs and Planning, Tufts University (2009).

⁵ While not in Boston, a key example of relevant local work is the Somerville Community Corporation’s Union United, a broad coalition of small business owners, residents, activists, immigrant groups, religious congregations, labor unions, and community-based organizations that is working to ensure that the Union Square redevelopment process (in anticipation of a new stop on the Green Line Extension) results in tangible benefits, not displacement, for the Union Square community. Union United is working with the city and the master developer to negotiate a Community Benefits Agreement to secure affordable housing, local jobs, workers’ rights, small businesses, community resources, open space, arts and culture, public safety, and participatory planning as part of Union Square’s redevelopment.

- In May 2014, four CBOs held a forum called "Joining Forces to Resist Gentrification" (Urban League of Eastern Mass, Hispanic Black Gay Coalition, DSNI, Alternatives for Community Environment).
- The Boston Tenant Coalition led a campaign to strengthen Boston's inclusionary zoning policy (IDP), and in December 2015 secured significant gains when Mayor Martin Walsh issued an executive order revising the policy with much higher payments that developers must make to an affordable housing fund. Inclusionary zoning requires that a percentage of new units be rented or sold at prices affordable to low and moderate income people. The new rules require 13% of the new units to be affordable or the developer can pay the sum necessary to build that unit within another development. The BTC is also working to upgrade the City's Linkage Program, which redistributes some of the benefits of development to a broader swath of Boston residents by exacting fees from the developers of certain large-scale commercial projects and using those funds to support affordable housing and job training programs. Both of these reforms will make millions of dollars available to develop affordable housing.
- The Boston Right to the City Coalition, affiliated with the national Right To the City, is working to pass a Just Cause Eviction ordinance; this ordinance would require all 30-Day Notices to Quit to be filed with the City of Boston so tenants could be informed of their rights and provided with assistance.
- In October 2014 biennial convention of Mass Association of CDCs, over 150 people attended a workshop on gentrification featuring presentations on CDC campaigns by leaders from Jamaica Plain NDC and Codman Square NDC.
- A "Gentrification Learning Community" was organized by Boston LISC in 2014, bringing over 40 Boston-area community development practitioners, housing and neighborhood activists, and researchers together in a year-long learning process that resulted in a shared five-part agenda for addressing gentrification and preventing displacement.
- CEDAC has been involved in identifying and saving homes scheduled to lose subsidies and thereby reduce the availability of affordable housing for low- and moderate income households. There are many Expiring Use Restriction properties in Boston.
- City Life/Vida Urbana, a 40-year old housing rights action organization, is building the housing justice movement through a strategy of the sword (public protest) and the shield (legal defense). They organize residents who are one the front lines of displacement, including a Bank Tenant Association of foreclosed homeowners and tenants in foreclosed properties, and Tenant Associations Against Corporate Landlords (TAACL, pronounced "tackle"), a building-by-building campaign to form tenant associations in properties owned by a new breed of corporate investor.
- Fairmount Corridor Coalition emerged from the Four Corners Action Coalition to ensure transit equity in the renovation of the Fairmount Indigo line in 2000. In recent years the

Fairmount Corridor Coalition has sought to ensure that housing or commercial displacement does not occur as transportation is improved.

- Reclaiming Roxbury is an initiative started by City Councilor Tito Jackson; part of this planning initiative includes reviving the Roxbury Neighborhood Council.
- Keep it 100% for Egleston is a youth-led campaign demanding 100% affordability of all (re)development to households earning \$26,000 per year, a number identified by reviewing Census income data for tracts in this majority Black and Latino neighborhood at the edge of Roxbury and Jamaica Plain. They have come out in opposition to upscaling residential projects in the neighborhood and influenced the demands of housing activists in the BRA-led JP/Rox corridor planning process.
- COHIF, the Coalition for Occupied Homes in Foreclosure, encompasses 25 tenant, community, non-profit, legal, and government groups and organizations that are resisting foreclosure-driven displacement through a pilot project to acquire foreclosed buildings in the Four Corners neighborhood of Dorchester that will be run with resident participation as community assets.
- The Dominican Development Center commissioned a report on the health impacts of gentrification and displacement for Latinos.
- The Boston Displacement Mapping Project launched an effort to document the experience of displacement using interactive maps and personal narratives.
- Action for Regional Equity's Transit- Oriented Development is a project to create a TOD Overlay District along the Fairmount Line Corridor as part of the City's Zoning Code. This zoning district will help to create and preserve new affordable housing.
- Community organizations including the Dudley Square Neighborhood Initiative (DSNI), Chinese Progressive Association (CPA), the Coalition of Occupied Homes in Foreclosure (COHIF) and others are promoting community-based land trusts as a way of taking housing off the speculative market. An event in late April 2016 marked the launch of a Greater Boston Community Land Trust Network to coordinate the efforts of many groups.
- Mattapan United has sponsored a series of community forums on gentrification and displacement and is promoting the creation of a Mattapan Neighborhood Council.
- Residents of Mandela Homes are organizing to preserve the affordability of expiring-use units and to reassert tenant control over a resident-owned cooperative. Mandela Homes, with nearly 500 units in an area that has been part of Lower Roxbury. It has been operated as a resident-run co-op since the early 1990s incorporated in 1990 but now threatened by management policies accused of engaging practices of intimidation and harassment, including targeted discrimination against people of African descent. Leaders within the resident community are organizing to build unity in an overall climate of

distrust—including substantial tensions between African Americans, immigrants of African descent, and Latinos.

The policies, strategies, and actions utilized under these initiatives and others are further detailed in Appendix F: Overview of Ongoing Anti-Displacement Strategies and Proposals.

II Community Voices Speak about Gentrification and Potential Displacement

This section presents themes emerging from conversations and meetings with individuals contacted for the study (see Appendix A for list of individuals). The following sets of questions were raised in our discussions:

- 1) *Do you have concerns about potential displacement in this neighborhood? How do you see, define, or experience gentrification and displacement in this part of Boston?*
- 2) *What factors trigger gentrification as you define it? And, how does displacement occur, and have you witnessed any instances of such?*
- 3) *What are your ideas for reducing displacement in this neighborhood?*
- 4) *Is there a role for government regarding the mitigation of gentrification and displacement?*

Ten key themes emerged from our conversations and meetings based on these broad questions:

- Growing fears about housing and commercial displacement
- A sense of irony and frustration about many local efforts and initiatives to improve living conditions in the neighborhood and a belief that social capital built on history of neighborhood struggles is being endangered
- The weakening of small businesses with strong neighborhood ties
- A need for expansion of homeownership opportunities for long-term residents
- Importance of local government understanding better how particular implementation of policies and regulations can have negative impacts in vulnerable neighborhoods
- A need for greater emphasis on public education and community organizing, especially among youth and residents of subsidized housing
- Utilizing zoning as a key tool for preventing displacement
- A need for inter-neighborhood communication across the city
- The critical role of free and accessible data about ongoing or impending neighborhood and land changes

These themes are discussed below.

Growing fears about both, housing and commercial displacement

Data profiles pertaining to the study area show a changing demography from Black and Latino/a residents to wealthier Whites can portend major displacement of long-time residents. While a relatively high number of subsidized housing may buffer displacement for some residents, the data presented in Appendix D shows that most residents have significant vulnerability to private real estate interests that are advancing with little commitment to the well-being of the community or its long-time residents. This vulnerability is visible in the strong upward pressure on sales prices and high recent transaction volume, historically high development activity, approximately 900 units in expiring-use properties that are at risk of conversion from affordable to market rents, a concentration of the distressed and vacant properties that represent opportunities for an industry of flippers and up-scalers, in-migrants with incomes well above those of long-time residents, the dense presence of court-mediated evictions, and more than half of renters paying greater than 30% of income toward rent (half of whom pay upward of 50% of their incomes).

Those findings in the quantitative data were consistent with what interviewees described as some of the changes and challenges they have witnessed—things that “make the stew for why people are leaving and they don’t want to leave. . . [As] people have expressed at hearings and forums, ‘I didn’t want to leave but I was forced out’.”

It is not just demography and economic changes that are driving displacement concerns. There are several dimensions to displacement that were offered:

Speculators

One interviewee had to fight with a speculator who wanted to back out of a deal because he thought he could get a higher price. “When I purchased my home in Roxbury over a year ago it was from a developer who bought foreclosed homes in a bundle from the banks... I ended up in Superior Court suing the developer and it cost me a lot of money and a lot of time. We entered into a contract that he tried to get out of...I think this is widespread, he just didn’t think he was going to run up on somebody like me that said, ‘No’ and ‘I’m going to pursue this legally.’ . . . The court forced him to adhere to the contract.”

Another, a resident of 43 years, described the gradual push out of long-time residents who fought redlining to be able to buy houses in the neighborhood. “That community has been here for a long time but many are moving out because they have been offered opportunities to sell, primarily to developers who want to tear down the properties and build multi-family properties with no parking, apartments or condos... A lot of the Black people who lived here for a long time are leaving. This is Highland Park. Some developers also had bought land up here...A lot of the parcels that had been around, the developers are snapping them up, crowding people into multiunit buildings and the rents or prices are very high...I’ve been offered 10 million dollars for the three buildings [I have]. It’s not a just little bit of money you can make if you want to take it.”

One described “a great deal of interest in all the parcels in Dudley Square. From pretty successful for-profit outfits.” These are “all the people who’ve done Southie and the South End

and other parts of Roxbury. These are profiteers. There's a place for them, but when they have a plan and you don't have a plan, there's a problem."

Speculators are also commanding high rents by renting to students in some instances, or capturing large profits by converting rentals to higher cost ownership units through condo conversions. As noted by one person regarding rent increases: "Recently, on Ruggles Street, there is a landlord we've been going back and forth on and he's basically emptying out that building. I doubt it's to paint it and bring the current residents back. This is about displacement for people in that neighborhood."

Property taxes

Rising property values leave long-time homeowners with tax bills that are out of step with their incomes. This was claimed by several people contacted for this study.

"The city with its tax process makes it difficult for people to maintain their old homes that they bought at a reasonable price...They start responding to the market and raise taxes. For people on a fixed income those costs can be overbearing."

"Property taxes are a major issue...rent levels are going up and evictions are taking place in order to redevelop properties. The current law allows developers to do this."

Institutional expansion

One interviewee described increasing numbers of students coming into the area, and real estate actors who are converting existing housing for student occupancy.

"Now that Northeastern has moved closer to this area and built more property on Columbus Ave there are more students who have wanted to rent rooms in the area. Developers have bought some of the houses and now they're renting for like \$2500 per room per month and they have 4 rooms in there. These kids can afford it, maybe will put 2 people in a room."

Another made links between institutional expansion and changes in the surrounding housing market. "The pressures that are pushing into Tremont, Hampden, Northampton, those are students, we have huge pressures from students moving in. NE is attempting to build a huge 860 bed monstrosity... You have in particular institutional pressure."

Access to capital

One interviewee described two buildings that had been sites of neighborhood struggle, where Black or Black and Latino residents had fought to restore dilapidated structures to useful purpose as residential, commercial, and community center properties. In no small part due to the difficulty of accessing loans and grants, permanent solutions were not secured, but subsequent White owners and developers have been able to access funds to convert one property to upscale use and file plans to do the same with the other.

Sense of irony and frustration about the many local efforts to improve living conditions in the neighborhood over many years and a belief that social capital built on history of neighborhood struggles is being endangered

People also noted that the displacement takes place in a neighborhood where residents have a long history of attempts to improve living conditions. The residents of Roxbury have fought consistently regarding a range of issues aimed at improving living conditions and the quality of life in a neighborhood that, for a long time, was predominantly African-American and then also had increasing numbers of Latinos. These struggles took place in the face of tremendous economic challenges including poverty, and economic neglect on the part of city administrations and the private sector over decades, and in a historical context where African Americans were always the ‘Other’ despite an integral presence throughout Boston’s entire history.

Many of the contacts for the study expressed frustration and even anger that gentrification belittles this history of struggle and civic commitment on the part of Roxbury’s residents and leaders.

“I’ve been living in this neighborhood for 43 years. When we first moved here White people were in flight, the neighborhood was pretty run down, there was a lot of crime and drug use. . . . A lot of Black people like myself who were college graduates and were part of the ‘60s movement welcomed the opportunity to move into the community. . . . I said that maybe instead of naming it Dudley Station we could call it Mandela Station or something that conveyed this is a Black area. There’s no kind of self-determination for Black people to be able to say ‘this is what we’ve done.’ People go through the schools and don’t learn about their history, come out not having a context. . . , don’t know what their ancestors contributed to the neighborhood and they think they didn’t contribute anything.”

The very value and increasing attractiveness of the neighborhood is due to these earlier efforts that are directly associated with the struggles of people of color. This means that the long-time residents of this part of Boston have actually subsidized the newcomers and developers who have ‘discovered’ parts of the Roxbury neighborhood.

The displacement is not just raised in a physical sense, as important as this is. There is a strong community sense which reflects a remarkable degree of what social scientists refer to as both, bonding and bridging, social capital. A number of individuals described conflicts between the interests of long-time and in-migrating residents. In-migrating white professionals advocate for their own interests without understanding or caring that their concerns may not be representative of the community.

“When you go to the community meetings and those people are present some of what is talked about is not ‘how do we share the space?’ but how do we make the space serve our own needs and desires?’ — more cafes, a dog park, more greenery. They’re putting those things as a priority where folks of color are not. It’s not ‘like it or not we’re going to be neighbors, and what do we want to see from *our* community,’ not just a particular

perspective. They're seen as culturally tone deaf, just dismissing what existed and negating that and trying to white wash the area."

Another participant in community meetings, development debates, and neighborhood gatherings over four decades described the difficulty of carrying that work forward in the current context.

"When we moved in decades ago we did a lot to try to bring the community back in line, confront heroin, etc. There were White people who moved in and then moved back out [in a couple of waves] because they were intimidated by gang activity in the area. This time is different because they put two police stations in Roxbury... And they locked up all the kids who were in the gangs so they're not out intimidating people. . . . We've always had clean-ups and concerts and events for years. Now that the White people are here they send out emails saying 'First Street Clean-Up' or 'First Concert in the Park' and when people challenge them there's this sense of arrogance. Because we've been here 45 years, we used to attend all the meetings and every little thing, but now we've gotten older and we don't really feel like it and how many battles can we fight. . . You go to the meeting and you try to have a conversation around something like, 'It's not the first concert' and they say, 'What difference does it make? We are trying to start a new beginning' and they are so arrogant you don't feel like talking to them. There's a very clear racial divide, the Black people don't talk with the White people and that's the way it is."

Weakening of small businesses with strong neighborhood ties

Neighborhood-based businesses are being left out of opportunities to grow their markets. According to one account, although this part of Boston is seeing intense real estate activity and BRA-supported capital investments, the local and long-time small businesses are not linked or supported by the former. As rhetorically asked by one individual:

"...where are the Black stores in the Bolling Building? New Asian business people own the wig stores in Dudley. There are no jobs for Black people and this is another means of gentrification. We lose our homes because we cannot pay the mortgages. Condo conversion is a problem. People call local homeowners every week and ask them to sell their homes. They destroyed our schools and now promote charter schools instead...gentrification is deliberate but haphazard."

By the time of this writing the City is instituting a business set-aside program for small businesses owned by people of color and women. This kind of action was appreciated but several contacts noted that it is only the "tip of the iceberg" as discussed at one small community meeting. Here, there was a unanimous sentiment that unless the larger development projects are linked to small and neighborhood businesses through sub-contracting the latter's presence is endangered.

Along this line one contact asserted that "...small businesses in Dudley Square are not benefitting from the development that is occurring." Under this theme there was criticism of some community development corporations behaving more as partners to big developers than in

representing the direct economic interests of residents. It was offered that some of the CDCs are not leveraging the strong interest in Dudley Square or surrounding parcels on the part of developers to provide significant (in relation to the actual budgets involved in development projects) contracting opportunities to smaller businesses, and especially MBEs. One person exclaimed that the justification for this was actually a “CDC version of ‘trickle-down economics’.” Given their own growth over the years CDCs may be in a position to provide greater levels of capital to small businesses but also advocate that huge contracts be implemented in ways serve to strengthen neighborhood-based businesses.

Some contacts had specific ideas about the kinds of business supports that would be most relevant in the study area. One expert in assisting small businesses and microenterprises, called for designing an ‘At Risk’ category for small businesses in some neighborhoods experiencing intense real estate activity. According to her, such an “At Risk” categorization could include small businesses facing an expiring lease or where rents are increasing significantly. Areas facing rapid increases in rents can be identified and screened for impacts on very small businesses and microenterprises.

Need for expansion of homeownership opportunities and preservation of affordable housing overall for long-term residents

Study contacts’ impressions and experiences of the study area emphasized the comparatively low levels of homeownership for Blacks and Latinos that we saw in the Census data for the study area. Many individuals felt that long-time residents should have more opportunities to become homeowners. Contacts varied in their recommended approach, together addressing range of models including cooperative housing, community land trusts, and partnering younger residents with older residents who may be owners of housing with low mortgages and willing to trade ownership for cash, and tenancy for life. Several contacts emphasized how homeownership that is affordable and based on non-predatory arrangements can help to strengthen social and community networks.

“I would like to see support for people to be able to buy, so they cannot be easily displaced, whether it’s in the form of a coop, a condo, so people can lay claim to their community and have a stronger voice over how their community grows and is shaped.”

Contacts expressed that homeownership should not be confined to a traditional notion of a 1- or 2- or 3- family house, citing ample models of cooperative homeownership that can be part of an overall home ownership strategy, including cooperative-owned housing and community land trusts that have served to keep housing stable for low-income and working-class residents in the study area and beyond. Some reminded us that, even at the height of intense foreclosures, low-income residents living under arrangements of cooperative housing, or land trusts were not displaced.

Local government and public agencies should utilize an anti-displacement lens in evaluating policies and regulations which might have negative impacts and actually contribute to displacement

As real estate values for private homes have escalated enormously over the last several years in the study area, properties have been assessed at higher levels, with negative consequences for vulnerable homeowners.⁶ Boston does utilize personal exemptions and tax deferral programs in response to this situation.⁷ Nevertheless, a few individuals opined that these kinds of exceptions should be increased and targeted in areas where higher property tax abatements (assessments) could have negative impacts on homeowners, especially the elderly. “The city with its tax process makes it difficult for people to maintain their old homes that they bought at a reasonable price, the taxes went up, they start responding to the market and raise taxes.”

Another situation where some individuals felt that local government can help is with consistency in enforcing code violations. One person observed that city agencies will take strong action against homeowners or small stores and impose fines for non-compliance with building regulations, yet not pursue the contractors who have a responsibility to perform work according to regulations. In a related scenario this interviewee has observed crack-downs on ISD enforcement of code violations at owner-occupied properties, and been involved personally in cases where elderly homeowners struggled with the cost of required repairs. Meanwhile, he has witnessed “sidewalks un-shoveled for weeks, garbage that attracts rats, and no violations issued” at investor-owned properties. Similarly, at “Dudley Station, certain things were allowed to go unmaintained by absentee owners, abandoned for years. Then they decided they want to develop that as a secondary market area and started hammering people about what had to be closed up, fixed.”

Residents also perceived that some developers and landlords have inside relationship with ISD staff that enable them to build outside zoning rules and housing standards, sometimes without going through public processes. One interviewee spoke of one such developer who “develops stuff without any restrictions and does whatever he wants” at numerous properties in the area. Another described “cases where ISD will allow somebody to build housing in a way that exacerbates the overcrowding of the community and not hold them to the same standards. “This person will do a 4-foot deep foundation on a 35-foot structure because they’re cutting into a rock, but I know personally that’s not safe. . . . I watched somebody put a building on a property that didn’t have the required green space, didn’t have to come for a variance.”

Others perceived that inconsistencies in city services and rules reflect a city that responds differently to the needs of different groups in the neighborhood, tending to ignore the demands of longtime residents and cater to those of newcomers. One resident described inconsistencies in

⁶ According to the City of Boston Assessing Department’s *Property Tax Facts & Figures*, the assessed value of property in 2005 was approximately \$69.2 billion; this grew to approximately \$128 billion by 2016; see, City of Boston Assessing Department Fiscal Year 2016 *Property Tax Facts & Figures*, Figure 1: Total Assessed Value, Fiscal Years 1983-2016, p.3

⁷ The previously cited report notes, for example, “Preferential tax treatment for residential property is not required by the Commonwealth. However, in Boston, the City Council, with the approval of the Mayor, has chosen to fully implement classification—a local option—thereby reducing the residential tax rate to the lowest level allowed by law. Without classification, residential taxpayers would see their property taxed at a much higher rate.”, p.5

converting to resident-only parking on a street-by-street basis at the demand of newcomers, although long-time residents have voiced preference for parking in the entire area to remain unrestricted. “They have people in the city who can just do any kind of thing and just gerrymander what they want to see happen”. She also connected the recent improvements to a desire to serve in-migrants: “We are getting more city services, like some traffic lights and streets done over, but that’s because it’s gentrifying and they don’t want those people to move out.”

Need for greater emphasis on public education and community organizing

Several study contacts emphasized how anti-displacement efforts should include public education about the legal rights against evictions, saying that a number of community-based organizations are already pursuing this work but a broader effort is needed. Additionally, some felt that the leadership and staff of public schools should be aware about of housing challenges faced by students and how such might be impacting on school grades and family participation in school affairs. Noted by a lifetime Roxbury resident:

“To stop gentrification Black organizations need to set up classes to educate Black people in how to keep our property. What are our spending priorities? We need to save more. The community needs a mindset of activism, but it’s not seen in young people.”

A number of persons stated the importance of involving youth today in learning about the relationship between public policies, the free market, and displacement. This is probably not covered in the classroom, but is critical for the future well-being of youth.

“I think that tracing and teaching the history of how people have been displaced is important, so people will know and won’t believe falsehoods the next time. Like across the street from me where people feel that it’s all bad”—in a rental building where low-income Black and Latino residents are dealing with terrible conditions but the owner has drawn up plans to develop the property as luxury condos—“but that’s by design, because they want you to go. How can we arm the people with information so they can see that it’s a trick?”

Or, regarding public housing:

“We’re going to tear it all down and build some townhouses and let you move back in, but they didn’t let you move back in. So I think those people need to be organized in a way that lets them know the history of what happened that people didn’t get what they were promised.”

Utilizing zoning as a key tool for preventing displacement

Zoning as a strategy to mitigate displacement was highlighted in many of our meetings and conversations with a number of individuals. Essentially zoning can be a tool to protect housing for low-income, moderate, or working-class residents. It is also beneficial in preventing the economic movement of masses of people on the basis of race or ethnicity, which is exactly what happens when certain neighborhoods experience greater displacement than others. Some study contacts felt that making zoning decisions and the processes for such more transparent—public education about what actually is involved with zoning and how residents can become part of the decision-making and appeals processes, and the kinds of resources that may be available to ensure that zoning reflects community interests—is a way in which re-zoning decisions can help to prevent instead of accelerate displacement.

“If we had fair zoning policies across the city, where each neighborhood had to look at their zoning policies and practices and figure out how to take on more affordability in their cities and towns and neighborhoods, that would help to curtail what we see happening in Roxbury. Because we have a high amount of land to dispose of it makes us a target. Then when we don’t have policies in place to prevent displacement we don’t have the ability to say what kinds of development we want to see—when you’re talking about preservation, affordability, all of that comes into play. . . . The mayor has talked about [zoning] but I haven’t seen where he’s really [doing something] to force these wealthy communities to open up their neighborhoods to affordability, both within and outside of Boston.”

There was a call for more consistent zoning as a tool for preventing both residential and commercial displacement but also greater consistency in upholding zoning regulations. One interviewee noted, for example, that “Now at any given time I have between 25–40 construction projects going on in my district, exponentially higher than when I started. We need standards across the board. We plan, and then we change the zoning to what we want to see. We need to stop doing everything by variance. That means there are no rules.”

The spot planning occurring in neighborhoods selected by the BRA such as the one launched in Dudley Square is perceived by some, including Councilor Jackson, to be a model that will accelerate gentrification without regard for the needs of the existing community. The Councilor noted: “They’ve tried to accelerate the development of Dudley Square saying we’re going to miss the market. If we’re dancing for the market — most of our people aren’t even in the market. I have Census tracts where people are making \$22,000 for a family of four, \$24,000 for a family of four. This approach where you put the market lens on Dudley Square, that’s not going to fly.”

A need for inter-neighborhood communication and sharing of information across the city

Individuals spoke about the ongoing community organizing efforts in neighborhoods across the City—including Jamaica Plain, Codman Square, and East Boston—and the importance for community organizing to be used to build bridges of communication and collaboration across neighborhoods. Gentrification is multi-layered where displaced families and households trigger other problems faced by low-income and working-class areas of the city. Lost housing leads to

housing instability, homelessness, and overcrowding. This can have public health impacts, but also might be related to lower academic achievement. It can mean loss of small businesses and micro-enterprises leading to higher local unemployment.

Interviewees noted that these issues call for a stronger dose of community organizing aimed at bringing residents together who can help to sustain political support for anti-displacement strategies and policies. Very importantly, collective action by longstanding place-based communities can serve to challenge the discourse of gentrification as urban salvation, as though the neighborhoods in question did not have vibrant social life with deep roots. Such community organizing can represent a powerful and unifying dynamic for the entire city.

Need for data that is user friendly and that can be utilized for organizing purposes

While there have been important and significant changes in the availability of data, some of the persons we talked with, spoke of the difficulty of accessing housing and real estate data that can be very important in understanding patterns and trends related to displacement. (The study team confronted this challenge as well—for example, we could not obtain current information about housing evictions and where, and why, they may be occurring.)

One individual suggested that perhaps the City assign an office to document in a central place the location and rate housing evictions and reasons for such. This office could also collection information and data about the practices and patterns of real estate agents involving the purchasing and sales of properties in vulnerable areas, as well as documenting the location and patterns of rent changes.

III Conclusion and Recommendations

The concerns about displacement and strategies suggested by the interviews and meetings echo some of the findings and recommendations in the Mayor's *Housing A Changing City Boston 2030* report, cited earlier, where a goal of 53,000 new units of housing at the same time that there would be an expected \$21 billion in new development and 51,000 construction jobs. On top of this there are approximately 4,200 housing units, currently subsidized that are in danger of reverting to the free market.⁸ The pressure on maintaining homes affordable and reducing significantly displacement is acknowledged in this Report.

The City's report highlighted potential responses that were also mentioned by our key informants. For example, the report declared that to "Mitigate impacts of gentrification through targeted home buying programs, strategic acquisitions, community land trusts, tenant assistance, and expanded outreach to seniors."⁹ It also called to "Provide tax incentives that offer time-limited relief from property taxes in targeted middle-income development areas"¹⁰ It discussed acquisition and conversion strategy to acquire existing rental properties and convert to permanent affordable housing.¹¹

Some of the themes expressed above are reflected in the recommendations of City Councilor Tito Jackson under the auspices of his "Reclaim Roxbury" initiative. These include the building of accountability and governance processes under a revitalized Roxbury Neighborhood Council; greater attention to increasing and sustaining community organizing; insistence on job standards so that both workers and smaller businesses in Roxbury have guarantees for work and contracts; and greater communication and sharing of information and insights among residents and advocacy organizations.

The recommendations emerging from this study are informed by key informants and meetings as well as the literature on best practices for preventing displacement or mitigating gentrification. The recommendations reflect work that is already underway by community-based organizations. They represent approaches that serve to keep current residents in place, build democratic participation and community control over land, and conceptualize development as balanced economic growth, or to use an important phrase, "development without displacement." See Appendix D for additional details about these and other potential strategies.

Enhance the ability of current and long-time residents to remain in place

- *Just Cause Eviction.* A Just Cause Eviction Ordinance is under consideration by the Boston City Council. As proposed by advocates, it would address the problem of "profit-driven development" that has "taken place without regard to those who currently call Boston home" by slowing no-fault evictions in investor-owned properties and collecting data on large rent increases.

⁸ Op. cit.

⁹ Ibid., p. 17

¹⁰ Ibid., p.11

¹¹ Ibid., p.7

- *Tenant organizing.* Tenant organizing and the formation of tenant associations in investor-owned buildings is enabling some residents in neighborhoods hard hit by displacement to hold onto their housing and bargain for multi-year lease agreements with reasonable rent increases.
- *Preservation of expiring use properties.* There is a need for substantial tenant organizing in, as well as identification of resources to preserve, expiring use buildings. Residents may not even be aware that the buildings are on schedule to convert to market rate.
- *Community education.* Too many homeowners and potential homeowners are unaware of the array of programs to make their (continued) ownership viable and reduce vulnerability to speculators seeking condo conversion and redevelopment opportunities. These include: homebuyer assistance, repair and weatherization loans and grants, property tax deferral for long-time owner-occupants, and more. Renters may be unaware of their rights in the event of condo conversions or evictions. And tenants and former homeowners may not know that there are just cause eviction protections for tenants in foreclosed properties.
- *Property tax and water bill relief.* Provide tax relief for all homeowners who keep their housing at affordable levels for low and moderate income residents.

Foster and support democratic participation and community control over land use

- *Community organizing and community planning.* There are meetings occurring every week that allow community input into planning, but most residents are unaware of how development decisions are made and how they can have impact. Efforts are underway to create more effective mechanisms for distributing information, educating residents, and engaging community members in leadership and decision-making roles.

Preserve and expand the stock of social housing, including creating opportunities for wealth-building through non-speculative homeownership

- *Ensure that a considerable amount of the housing stock is not part of the speculative market.* The City's new Rental Acquisition Program allocates funding to subsidize nonprofits to purchase buildings with 6 or more units, maintain them with affordable rents for 50 years, and cause no displacement of current occupants. It may be possible to convert owner-occupied properties to social housing by paying out the equity that exceeds affordable homeownership guidelines, thus solving the problem of the current owner's wealth expectations, providing cash that could support repairs and taxes, and creating a community asset to be transferred to an income-eligible buyer later on; Community Preservation Act money (if adopted by Boston voters) would be one potential source of funding. To the extent possible, acquiring existing housing and placing it in an existing or newly-created scattered-site community land trust would permanently convert housing from speculative use to community asset.

- *Create deed-restricted ownership housing.* Limited equity housing co-ops (LEHCs) and community land trusts (CLTs) are models that allow residents to build wealth while preserving affordability and shielding residents from the displacing effects of speculative ownership.
- *Expand homebuyer programs and opportunities.* Develop a first-time homebuyer program that encourages collective ownership thru Joint Tenancies or Tenancies-In-Common. This would allow two or more households to divide the costs and keep such housing affordable.
- *Cooperative housing.* Encourage the development of new cooperative housing by using government grants to buy out developers, especially in expiring use restriction housing.
- *Creative seller financing for elders.* Use seller financing combined with a life estate to provide a mechanism for younger buyers to buy out senior owners but allow them to remain in their home.

Design development and city improvements to benefit the community of long-time residents and avoid their displacement as part of comprehensive local economic development

- *Use public land for public purposes.* If the municipality takes steps to reduce housing speculation, to create affordable or non-market forms of housing, that may set a different course of options into motion. City-owned parcels can be resources for affordable housing development, while affordable housing construction can be used to claim space that would otherwise be used for market housing that creates upward price pressures on surrounding housing.
- *Create Community Benefits Agreements (CBAs).* CBAs are binding agreements between communities and developers to ensure that development provides concrete local benefits such as good jobs, affordable housing and resources for small businesses.
- *Expand resident decision-making about development in hot real estate areas.* Consider strategic development moratoria to halt activity that accelerates resident displacement, and to allow time to engage the community and make plans that are in the community's interests. A moratorium is typically a temporary measure to give time for planning or problem solving. Other possibilities could be a moratorium on condo conversions, on large market-rate development, or on the issuance of zoning variances.
- *Use zoning tools to minimize displacement.* Utilize the City of Boston's Zoning Code and the BRA's various Planning Districts to preserve affordable housing in heavily gentrified parts of the City. While the current approach of planning by variance gives too much discretion and authority to developers, the spot planning process is likely to result in plans that increase market pressures in the area. Push for zoning reforms that prioritize the needs of low-income residents and locally-owned small businesses. Also, reestablish

previous City programs like the Homestead Program to create affordable homeownership from tax /water bill foreclosed property or the BHA's Turn-Key Program to create affordable rental housing.

- *Expand racial equity tools.* Continue and expand the number of community-based organizations involved and working on learning how to use a race and equity lens for the building of policies and institutional practices and that impact City practices in areas like planning and development.
- *Reform tax policies to support anti-displacement.* Work to pass an anti-speculation tax to discourage speculation and use the proceeds to replace lost housing units. Work to pass a condominium conversion tax where market rate housing replaces affordable housing and/or causes displacement of residents.

Recognize, support, and grow locally-based economic activity

- *Advocate for community standards.* Continue to demand adherence to community standards for good jobs, local hiring, and local contracting.
- *Provide local business supports.* Local businesses need access to capital and technical assistance.

Increase data availability and tracking of real estate activity

- *Increase transparency.* Make eviction data available in a user-friendly way that allows observation of the locations and reasons for evictions.
- *Make real estate activity data publicly available.* Track rent increases (the proposed Just Cause Eviction ordinance would do this for certain investor-owned properties). Provide resources to residents and community-based organizations to analyze the practices and patterns of real estate actors (brokers, developers, investor landlords) in vulnerable areas. Appendix E lists some of the data that can assist residents to understand how neighborhood changes may be pointing to potential gentrification and displacement.
- *Train and empower residents regarding data and how to use it.* Residents should focus directly on collecting and understanding data about their communities, and document neighborhood changes that might be associated with gentrification and displacement. Appendix C provides a list of some basic queries. These are based on the literature but also what we learned from our conversations and meetings.

A concluding question...

As we raised in the Executive Summary a premier question associated with Boston's discourse and debate about gentrification and potential displacement is: what economic and political factors will define and mold the future of Roxbury, as well as other places in Boston such as parts of Jamaica Plain, Codman Square, East Boston, and other neighborhoods? Will the response be primarily molded by a real estate market rife with concentrated wealth, and in a city ranked recently as the first nationally in terms of income inequality, resulting in displacement for many people and families? Or, will it be framed by public policies and politics emphasizing the importance of neighborhoods and residents and more favorable to balanced economic development? We, as did the community voices who shared their ideas, believe that the latter is critical for Boston's future social, racial, and economic wellbeing.

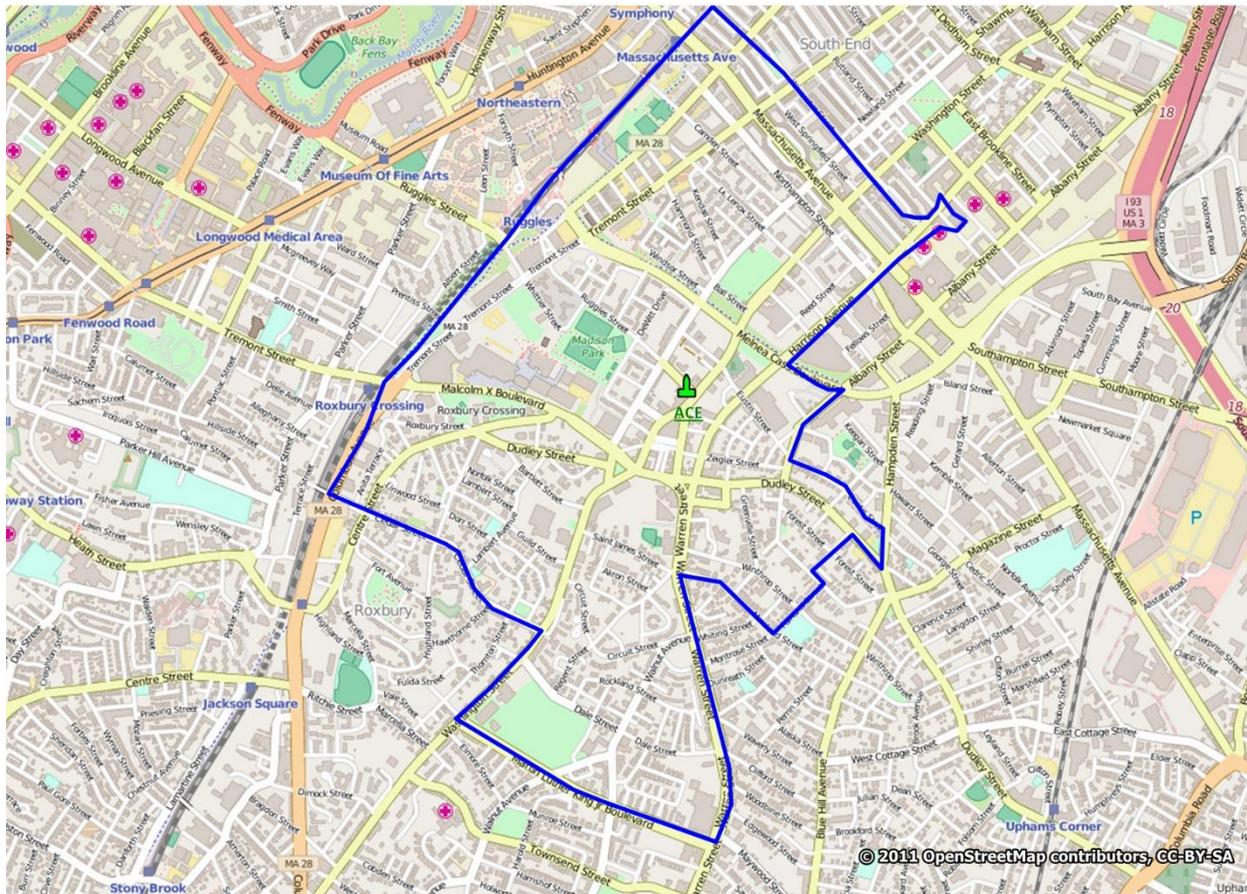
Appendix A: Study Contacts

Sister Virginia Morrison, Executive Director, Grove Hall NDC
Michael Curry, President, Boston Branch NAACP
Tito Jackson, Boston City Council, District 7
Karen Burch, Consultant, Grove Hall Main Streets
Bette Toney, Roxbury resident; Tommie's Rock Neighborhood Association
Ines Palmarin, Consultant
Bridgette Wallace, Roxbury resident, Founder of SkyLab
Louis Elisa, Roxbury resident; Garrison Neighborhood Association
Carole Warton, Roxbury resident and homeowner
Nina Coletta-Gaeta, East Boston resident and Educator;
Dr. Angela Paige Cook, Roxbury resident; Paige Academy
Joyce Stanley, Dudley Square Main Streets
Harry Smith, Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative
Dr. Flavia Perea, Assistant Professor of Public Health and Community Medicine, Tufts University
Yvette Modestin, Community Organizer, Codman Square NDC and *Encuentro Diaspora Afro*
Dr. Linda Sprague-Martinez, Roxbury resident, Asst. Professor of Social Work, Boston University
Magalis Tronscaso, Dominican Development Center
Mathew Goode, Roxbury resident; former Supervisor of the Suffolk County Conservation District
Robert Hector, Roxbury resident; Chairman, Grove Hall Main Streets
Anh Nguyen, Bowdoin Geneva Main Streets

Appendix B: Methodology

The study team decided to focus on parts of Roxbury adjacent to the Dudley Square area. The map below shows the boundaries that were used to generate information about the study area. It covers a relatively large proportion of what residents refer to as Dudley Square, but also sections of Lower Roxbury, Washington Park, and Mt. Pleasant neighborhoods. The ‘Fort Hill’ section of Roxbury was excluded from the study area since this neighborhood has been undergoing gentrification over a period of time, predating the current intense real estate developments.

Map 1: Study Area



These particular boundaries were used for several reasons. First, it includes all of the boundaries for the Dudley Square Main Streets, and some of the Washington – Gateway Main Streets as well (see Map 18). Second, while it is a relatively small area, it is sizeable enough to generate findings and conclusions that may have implications for other communities in Boston. Its size facilitated the collection of data and tapping of community voices. Further, the study area touches the BU Medical Center and Longwood Medical Center, anchor institutions which have a large role in nearby real estate development. The study area being assessed is also very ‘hot’ in terms of land development, and associated with rapidly rising real estate values.

A technical point regarding the selection of boundaries: it is possible to access a range of census data that can be configured by the area within the boundaries on the basis of block groups or census tracts. However, this process described as “block group pro-rating”, requires that the centroids of the census tracts are all within the designated study area, or polygon. By accommodating boundaries to location of census centroids more precise census data and information pertaining to the study area can be obtained.

The social and economic profile for the study area is based on the 2000 and 2010 decennial census and the *American Community Survey 2009 – 2013 5 Year Estimates*, and the *American Community Survey 2010 – 2014 5 Year Estimates*. While the decennial census represents an actual count of the population, the American Community Survey data is based on a national survey conducted by the U.S. Census Bureau; as such the latter values include “margins of errors” generated at a 90% level of confidence. This means that there may be some variation in the actual data reported from the American Community Survey.

The study team collected a range of information that can be utilized for understanding the neighborhood’s social and economic infrastructure and processes associated with gentrification. The team utilized administrative data from City of Boston Assessing Department: <http://www.cityofboston.gov/assessing/default.asp>; also, Boston Inspectional Services Department: <http://www.cityofboston.gov/isd/permitsearch/default.aspx>; the Suffolk County Land Records: <http://www.masslandrecords.com/suffolk/>; and the Boston Redevelopment Authority: <http://www.bostonredevelopmentauthority.org/>. We acquired data collected and reported by The Warren Group but also other organizations such as the Boston Housing Authority; MassHousing; Emanuel Gospel Center; City Life/Vida Urbana; and, others. Data about businesses is based on information reported in the *InfoUSA* database. Information about expiring use properties was obtained from CEDAC; it should be noted that they are not responsible for any errors with this information since they collect the data from third party sources.

The methodology included 23 open-ended conversations and meetings with community representatives between December 2015 and March 2016. These individuals included advocates of people who have been displaced, or in danger of such, business representatives, elected official, and nonprofit representatives. The conversations were framed by 4 guiding questions listed in Section II of this report.

Appendix C: Neighborhood Characteristics and Changes – Potential Warning Signs for Displacement

This appendix documents some of the neighborhood and land changes that have been occurring in the study area, and according to some of the individuals contacted for the study, represent warning signs for potential displacement. But before describing some of these changes, it is important to note that there is a rich foundation of economic activity. This is not an economically barren part of the city. There were approximately 905 establishments in the study area where 62% were in services; 15% in retail; and 12% in Finance, Insurance and Real Estate. Almost two thirds (64.8%) of these establishments employed between 1 to 4 employees, and another 17.5% employed between 5 to 9 employees.

Tables 1 and 2 shows that these establishments employed about 15,234 employees where 44.1% were in services, but 35.7% in public administration (compared to 5.9% for Boston). A miniscule proportion of workers were found in Transportation and Communications (6%), Retail Trade (7.7%), and FIRE (4.1%). Interestingly, and in spite of the construction and development currently occurring, less than 0.8% employees were in construction, or manufacturing (0.1%).

Table 1: Establishments by Major Category

	Study Area		Boston*	
	905		42,756	
Agricultural, Forestry, Fishing	2	0.2%	169	0.4%
Mining	0	0.0%	10	0.0%
Construction	20	2.2%	1,151	2.7%
Manufacturing	6	0.7%	628	1.5%
Transportation and Communications	15	1.7%	1,170	2.7%
Wholesale Trade	9	1.0%	752	1.8%
Retail Trade	136	15.0%	6,471	15.1%
Finance, Insurance And Real Estate	111	12.3%	5,113	12.0%
Services	559	61.8%	24,994	58.5%
Public Administration	19	2.1%	681	1.6%
Unclassified	28	3.1%	1617	3.8%

Source: Applied Geographic Solutions, 2014

*Figures for Boston do not include the study area values, unless otherwise indicated.

Table 2: Total Employees (Daytime Population)

	Study Area		Boston	
	15,234		648,307	
1 to 4 Employees	586	64.8%	26,648	62.3%
5 to 9 Employees	158	17.5%	7,695	18.0%
10 to 19 Employees	73	8.1%	4,167	9.7%
20 to 49 Employees	58	6.4%	2,446	5.7%
50 to 99 Employees	15	1.7%	899	2.1%
100 to 249 Employees	7	0.8%	594	1.4%
250 to 499 Employees	4	0.4%	171	0.4%
500 to 999 Employees	1	0.1%	62	0.1%
1000 or more Employees	3	0.3%	74	0.2%

Source: Applied Geographic Solutions, 2014

This section of Boston reports hundreds of millions of dollars in household disposable income. In 2015, based on BLS data compiled by AGS, the area reported a total household expenditure of \$699,028,264, including \$376,598,856 in non-retail expenditures, and \$322,429,409 in retail expenditures. Residents in this part of Boston also expended \$48,597,485 in mortgage interest, and \$25,561,880 in property taxes as shown in Table 3.

Table 3: Consumer Expenditures

	Study Area
Total Household Expenditure	\$ 699,028,264
Total Non- Retail Expenditures	\$ 376,598,856
Total Retail Expenditures	\$ 322,429,409
Mortgage Interest	\$ 48,597,485
Property Taxes	\$ 25,561,880

Source: Applied Geographic Solutions, 2014

Longtime Roots and Newcomers: Racial Change and Inequality

In describing the neighborhood context for this study it is important to note that Blacks and Latinos, up until recently, have lived in this part of the City longer than other groups. Based on the *ACS 2009-2013 5 Year Estimates*, the Black and Latino/a population living in the study area have been relatively stable as measured by those reporting that they live in the same house 1 year ago. An overwhelming 88.9% of all Black residents reported living in the same house 1 year ago; while 83.2% of Latino/as did. Only 60.1% of White residents, on the other hand, reported living in the same house as 1 year ago. This suggests that White residents are much ‘newer’ to this part of the city than other groups. (Table 4)¹²

Table 4: Geographic Mobility by Race and Ethnicity

	Study Area	
Black	10,417	
Same house 1 year ago	9,260	88.9%
Moved within same county	799	7.7%
Moved from different county within same state	214	2.1%
Moved from different state	126	1.2%
Moved from abroad	18	0.2%
Asian	2,520	
Same house 1 year ago	1,642	65.2%
Moved within same county	275	10.9%
Moved from different county within same state	89	3.5%
Moved from different state	374	14.8%
Moved from abroad	140	5.6%
White	8,659	
Same house 1 year ago	5,204	60.1%
Moved within same county	1,618	18.7%
Moved from different county within same state	663	7.7%
Moved from different state	1,033	11.9%
Moved from abroad	141	1.6%
Latino	6,893	
Same house 1 year ago	5,735	83.2%
Moved within same county	748	10.9%
Moved from different county within same state	251	3.6%
Moved from different state	100	1.5%
Moved from abroad	59	0.9%

Source: ACS 2009-2013 5 Year Estimates

There have been major changes in neighborhood characteristics over the last few years, some of which are raising concerns about gentrification and displacement. These changes include population and housing developments. In terms of population changes:

¹² Furthermore, this is occurring in a period of the City’s demography where Blacks, Latinos, and Asians represent the majority of its population, while the White population is continuing to decline in total numbers.

- Precipitous decline in the Black population, juxtaposed with increasing numbers of Whites and Asians¹³
- Major differences in family household types by race and ethnicity in the same neighborhood area
- Signs of Black and Latino/a overcrowding
- Relatively high level of impoverished Black, Latino/a, and Asian persons compared to Whites
- Low Black or Latino homeownership compared to White and Asian persons
- More recent residents tend to have significantly higher income than long-time residents
- White families are considerably wealthier than Black or Latino/a families
- Major occupational differences by race, ethnicity and gender

In terms of housing characteristics:

- High numbers of distressed properties, (evictions), and vacancies
- High number of subsidized housing units facing expiring use
- Substantial proportion of households are rent-burdened
- Rapidly increasing real estate costs conjoined with increase in the number and size of capital projects

The findings above are explained in greater detail below.

Precipitous decline in Black population, juxtaposed with increasing numbers of Whites and Asians

Table 5 shows the total population of the study area for 2000 and 2010. The study areas population grew from 21,284 persons to 22,287 persons in 2010. In 2000, Blacks comprised 54.5% of all persons living in the study area, but this declined to 45.2% by 2010. Whites were 25.7% of all persons in 2000, but increased to 33.2% by 2010. Asians moved from 2.3% of all persons to 5.4% of all persons by 2010. Latinos (any race) represented 20.3% in 2000, and 24.1% in 2010.

¹³ Although not investigated as part of the study's scope, the study team opines there is a difference among Asians moving into this part of Boston. Some tables and data suggests that the economic experiences of some Asians are closer to that of higher income Whites, other data shows Asians closer to that of Blacks and Latinos in terms of economic characteristics. It may be the case that while higher income Asians are moving into this part of Roxbury, and buying commercial properties as well as an influx of Asian-descent people and families displaced from Chinatown.

Table 5 also shows that Whites experienced the fastest rate of growth (36%), compared to Latinos (any race) at 24.2%, and a Black population decline of loss of 13.0 percent between 2000 and 2010. The Asian population more than doubled, but small in total numbers.

Table 5: Population by Race and Ethnicity, 2000 and 2010

	Study Area 2000	%Perc	Study Area 2010	%Perc	
Total Population	21,284		22,287		
Male	10,358	48.7%	10,628	47.7%	
Female	10,926	51.3%	11,659	52.3%	
White	5,468	25.7%	7,411	33.2%	
Black or African American	11,597	54.5%	10,095	45.2%	
American Indian & Alaska Native	204	1.0%	152	0.7%	
Asian	503	2.3%	1,140	5.1%	
Native Hawaiian & Other Pacific Islander	0	0.0%	6	0.0%	
Other race	2,251	11.2%	2,388	11.3%	
Two or More Races			1,095		
Latino/a (any race)	4,336	20.3%	5,386	24.1	

Source 2000 and 2010 decennial census

Recent survey data reported in the *American Community Survey 2009-2013 5 Year Estimates*, (Table 6) show an increase in the population to an estimated 28,928 persons. This survey also reports the population distribution by race and ethnicity, separating Latinos from other races.) and specific information about race and ethnicity. Blacks comprise 44.2% of the area's population, and Whites, who are not Latino/a, are counted at 40.0% of the total population. Latino/as comprise 24.3%, and Asians represented an estimated 11.8% of all persons.

Table 6: Total Population by Race and Ethnicity

	Study Area	
Total:	28,928	
Not Latino/a:	21,899	
White alone	8,761	40.0%
Black or African American alone	9,682	44.2%
American Indian and Alaska Native alone	35	0.2%
Asian alone	2,512	11.4%
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander alone	0	0.0%
Some other race alone	253	1.2%
Hispanic or Latino:	7,029	28.9%
White alone	2,038	
Black or African American alone	804	
American Indian and Alaska Native alone	17	
Asian alone	13	
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander alone	0	
Some other race alone	3,687	

Source: ACS 2009-2013 5 Year Estimates

The next set of tables, also based on the ACS 09-13 5 Year Estimates show family and non-family households in the study area, one in which 24% of the population are composed of youth under 20 years of age, and approximately 8.2% are persons 65 years and older.

Major differences in family households by race and ethnicity in the same neighborhood area

More than half (59.5%) of all households in the study area are non-family households, and 40.5% are family households (Table 7). But there are major differences in the type of household by race and ethnicity. Slightly greater than half (54.3%) of all Black households are non-families. The proportion of non-family households for Asians is 72.3%, for Whites it is 75.2%. Only 40.4% of Latino households are non-family types.

Table 7: Households by Family Type

Total:	12,663	
Family households:	5,124	40.5%
Married-couple family	1,912	
Other family:	3,212	
Male householder, no wife present	505	
Female householder, no husband present	2,707	
Nonfamily households:	7,539	59.5%
Householder living alone	5,658	
Householder not living alone	1,881	
1 Black	5,001	
2 Family households:	2,287	45.7%
3 Married-couple family	533	
4 Other family:	1,754	
5 Male householder, no wife present	313	
6 Female householder, no husband present	1,441	
7 Nonfamily households:	2,714	54.3%
8 Householder living alone	2,462	
9 Householder not living alone	252	
1 Asian	1,120	
2 Family households:	310	27.7%
3 Married-couple family	271	
4 Other family:	39	
5 Male householder, no wife present	8	
6 Female householder, no husband present	31	
7 Nonfamily households:	810	72.3%
8 Householder living alone	474	
9 Householder not living alone	336	
1 White	3,590	
2 Family households:	892	24.8%
3 Married-couple family	801	
4 Other family:	91	
5 Male householder, no wife present	68	
6 Female householder, no husband present	23	
7 Nonfamily households:	2,698	75.2%
8 Householder living alone	1,598	
9 Householder not living alone	1,100	
1 Latino	2,893	
2 Family households:	1,724	59.6%
3 Married-couple family	348	
4 Other family:	1,376	
5 Male householder, no wife present	109	
6 Female householder, no husband present	1,267	
7 Nonfamily households:	1,169	40.4%
8 Householder living alone	995	
9 Householder not living alone	174	

Source: ACS 2009-2013 5 Year Estimate

Signs of Black and Latino/a overcrowding

In earlier years the U.S. Census Bureau considered housing units with 1.01 or more occupants as possibly overcrowded.¹⁴ This definition has been dropped but it is still reported. In the study area we note that Latino/as and Blacks live in housing units with 1.01 or more occupants per room to a greater degree than White residents. (Table 8). Asian residents are between these two categories, but still relatively high (3.2%).

Table 8: Housing Units with 1.01 or More Occupants
Per Room by Race and Ethnicity

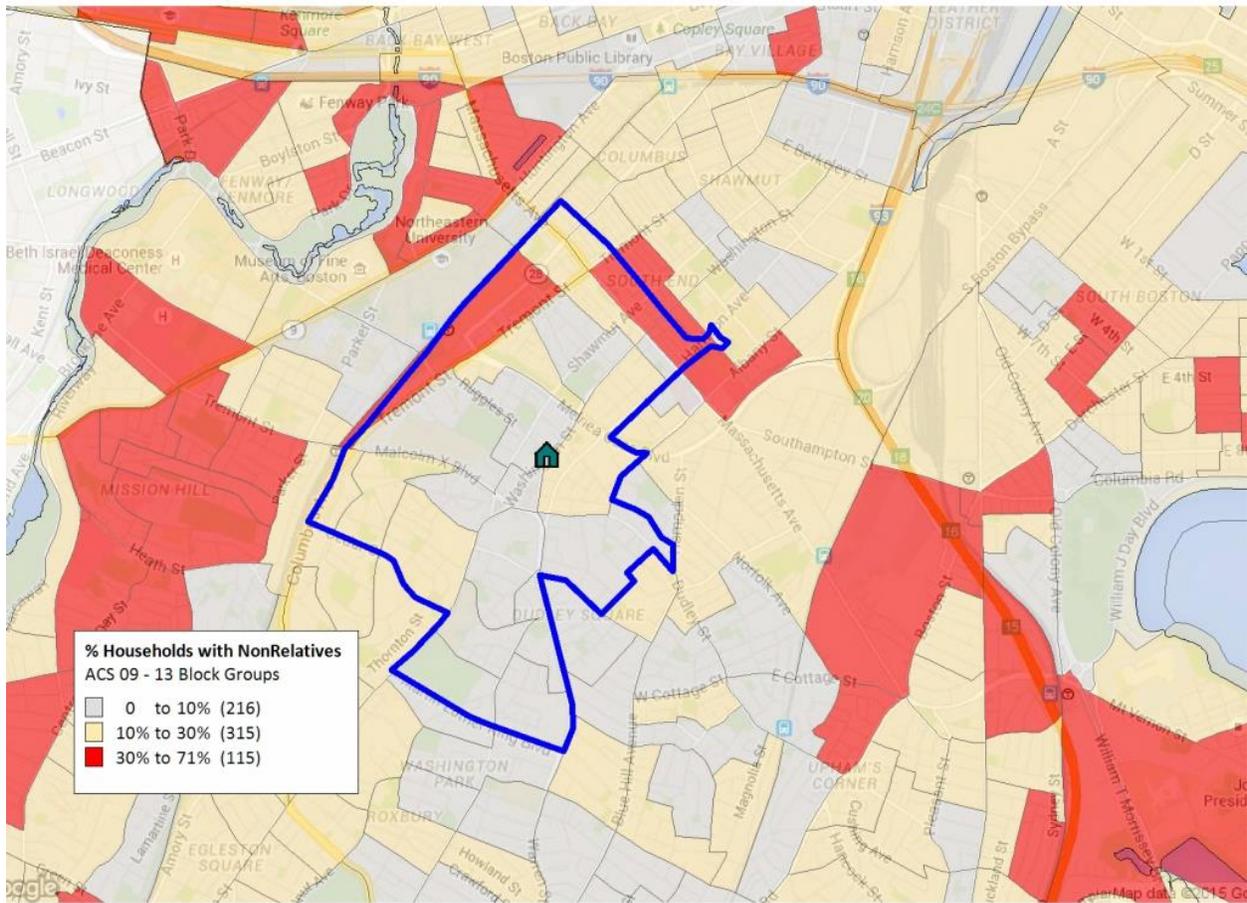
	Study Area
Black	3.2%
Asian	4.3%
White	1.6%
Latino/a	4.7%

Source: ACS 2009-2013 5 Year Estimates

The next map shows that there are some parts of the study area particularly outstanding in the number of nonrelatives reported living within households. This also could be an indicator of overcrowding.

¹⁴ Also see, CITY OF BOSTON 5 Year Consolidated Plan (July 1, 2013 – June 30, 2018) where “severely overcrowded” is described as 1.51 people per room (p.19)

Map 2: Percentage of Households with Non-Relatives



Source: ACS 2009-2013 5 Year Estimates

Relatively high level of impoverished Black, Latino/a, and Asian persons compared to Whites

The next Table 9 shows that more than a third (36.4%) of all Blacks lived in households with incomes below the official poverty level. Yet this was lower than the poverty level for Asians (38.7%). Almost half (46.3%) of all Latino persons lived in poverty-stricken households.

Table 9: Income Level by Poverty Level, by Race and Ethnicity

	Study Area	
BLACK	10,346	
Income in the past 12 months below poverty level:	3,770	36.4%
Under 6 years	462	
6 to 11 years	306	
12 to 17 years	320	
18 to 59 years	1,894	
60 to 74 years	549	
75 to 84 years	181	
85 years and over	58	
ASIAN	2,247	
Income in the past 12 months below poverty level:	870	38.7%
Under 6 years	0	
6 to 11 years	36	
12 to 17 years	0	
18 to 59 years	726	
60 to 74 years	48	
75 to 84 years	16	
85 years and over	44	
WHITE	7,577	
Income in the past 12 months below poverty level:	1,616	21.3%
Under 6 years	0	
6 to 11 years	11	
12 to 17 years	0	
18 to 59 years	1,514	
60 to 74 years	35	
75 to 84 years	56	
85 years and over	0	
LATINO	6,921	
Income in the past 12 months below poverty level:	3,202	46.3%
Under 6 years	505	
6 to 11 years	559	
12 to 17 years	336	
18 to 59 years	1,486	
60 to 74 years	214	
75 to 84 years	62	
85 years and over	40	

Source: ACS 2009-2013 5 Year Estimates

Low Black and Latino homeownership compared to White and Asian persons

The next table (Table 10) highlights major racial and ethnic differences within the study area regarding housing tenure. Only 21.2% of all housing units that are occupied in this part of the city are owner-occupied. This is an area primarily of renters (78.8%). But 86.1% of all Blacks occupying a housing unit are renters, and the figure for Latino/as is 95.7%. Homeownership for Blacks (13.9%), and especially Latino/as (4.3%) are extremely low compared to White homeownership at 41.5%. Even these low levels of Black and Latino homeownership were further reduced with waves of foreclosures beginning in the 2006 and 2007 and continuing for several years.

Table 10: Housing Tenure by Race and Ethnicity

	Study Area		Boston	
Housing Tenure				
All Occupied Housing Units	12,663			
Owner occupied	2,688	21.2%	82,289	34.8%
Renter occupied	9,975	78.8%	154,168	65.2%
Black Owner occupied	696	13.9%	15,302	29.8%
Black Renter occupied	4,305	86.1%	36,012	70.2%
Asian Owner occupied	336	30.0%	4,936	24.8%
Asian Renter occupied	784	70.0%	14,993	75.2%
White Owner occupied	1,490	41.5%	55,485	42.9%
White Renter occupied	2,100	58.5%	73,948	57.1%
Latino/a Owner occupied	124	4.3%	5,635	17.1%
Latino/a Renter occupied	2,769	95.7%	27,399	82.9%

Source: ACS 2009-2013 5 Year Estimates

Table 11 shows that 42.6% of all homeowners were in the age range of 25 to 44 years. This compares 33.4% for the rest of Boston. This suggests that there are many new homeowners in the area.

Table 11: Housing Tenure by Age

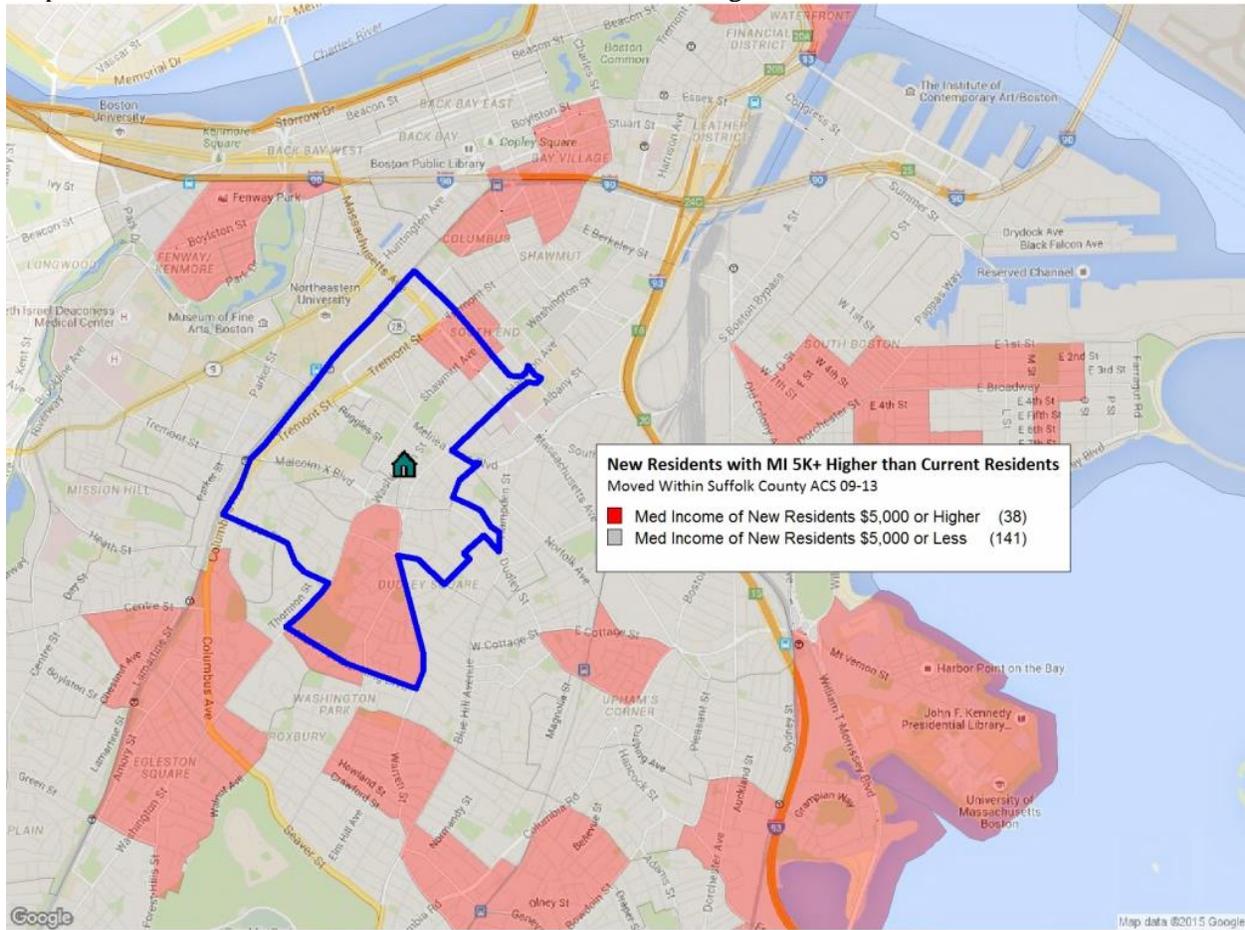
Tenure by Age	Study Area		Boston	
Total:	12,663		236,457	
Owner occupied:	26,88		82,289	
HH-15to24yrs	34	1.3%	547	0.7%
HH-25to34yrs	454	16.9%	12,244	14.9%
HH-35to44yrs	692	25.7%	15,217	18.5%
HH-45to54yrs	703	26.2%	17,558	21.3%
HH-55to59yrs	226	8.4%	8,596	10.4%
HH-60to64yrs	339	12.6%	8,480	10.3%
HH-65to74yrs	144	5.4%	10,905	13.3%
HH-75to84yrs	77	2.9%	6,219	7.6%
HH-85yrsandover	19	0.7%	2,523	3.1%
Renter occupied:	9,975		154,168	
RHH-15to24yrs	1,161	11.6%	19,559	12.7%
RHH-25to34yrs	2,689	27.0%	48,307	31.3%
RHH-35to44yrs	1,679	16.8%	26,156	17.0%
RHH-45to54yrs	1,160	11.6%	21,940	14.2%
RHH-55to59yrs	923	9.3%	9,362	6.1%
RHH-60to64yrs	616	6.2%	7,292	4.7%
RHH-65to74yrs	966	9.7%	11,391	7.4%
RHH-75to84yrs	578	5.8%	7,168	4.6%
RHH-85yrsandover	203	2.0%	2,993	1.9%

Source: ACS 2009-2013 5 Year Estimates

More recent residents tend to have significantly higher income than long-time residents

Map 3 shows places where residents moving into some areas have much higher incomes than long-time residents.

Map 3: New Residents with Median Income of \$5,000 and Higher than Current Residents



Source: ACS 2009-2013 5 Year Estimates

White families are considerably wealthier than Black or Latino/a families

There are significant differences in economic characteristics among the four groups. For example, in terms of the distribution of total family incomes, 76% of the White families living in the study area report incomes of \$100,000 or more; the rate for Blacks is 11%, and for Latino/as it is 1.6%. Again, Asian families are in between these extremes at 33.9%. (Table 12)

Table 12: Family Income by Race and Ethnicity, \$100,000 or more, by Race and Ethnicity

Black	
\$100,000 to \$124,999	5.7%
\$125,000 to \$149,999	2.3%
\$150,000 to \$199,999	1.6%
\$200,000 or more	1.4%
	<i>11.0%</i>
Asian	
\$100,000 to \$124,999	0.0%
\$125,000 to \$149,999	5.2%
\$150,000 to \$199,999	0.0%
\$200,000 or more	28.7%
	<i>33.9%</i>
White	
\$100,000 to \$124,999	8.3%
\$125,000 to \$149,999	6.4%
\$150,000 to \$199,999	24.9%
\$200,000 or more	37.0%
	<i>76.6%</i>
Latino	
\$100,000 to \$124,999	0.8%
\$125,000 to \$149,999	0.2%
\$150,000 to \$199,999	0.0%
\$200,000 or more	0.6%
	<i>1.6%</i>

Source: ACS 2009-2013 5 Year Estimates

Major differences occupational differences by race, ethnicity and gender

Almost a third (31.3%) of all Black males, and 25.6% of all Black females work in Service occupations; this is similar to the 31.0% of Latino males, and 27.2% of Latinas who work in similar occupations. This is very different than the comparable figure for White males (10.5%), White females (12.5%), and Asian males (10.4%). Asian females (26.7%) have a similar rate of working in Service occupations as Latinas and Black females. Table 13 indicates that newcomers are changing the occupational distribution for all residents.

Table 13: All Occupations for Workers 16 Years and Over, by Race and Ethnicity

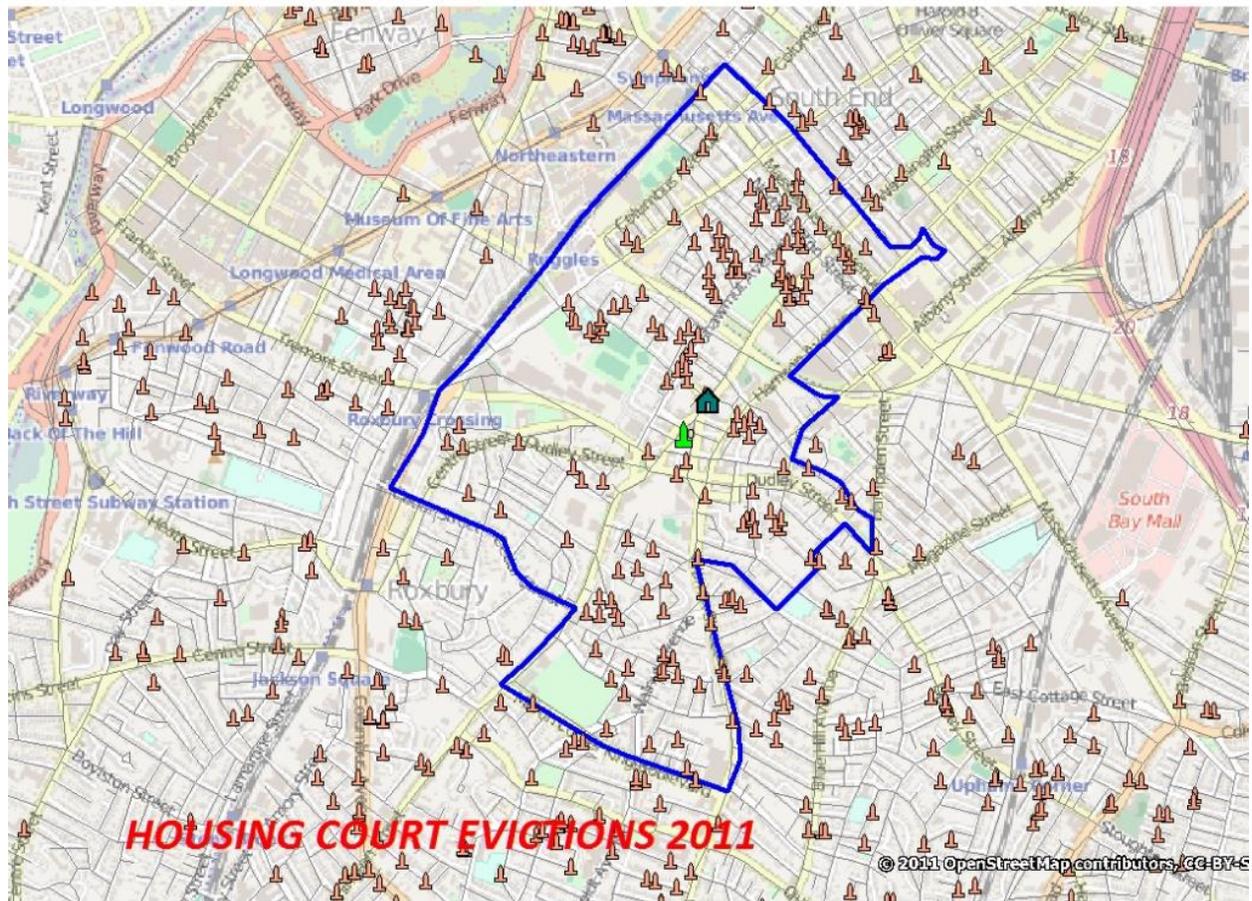
	Management, Business, Science, Arts	Service	Sales and Office	Natural Resources, Construction, Maintenance	Production, Transportation, Material Moving
Black Males (100%)	27.5%	31.3%	23.4%	2.8%	15.0%
Black Females (100%)	36.6%	25.6%	31.6%	0.0%	6.2%
Latino Males	19.8%	31.0%	28.9%	6.0%	14.4%
Latina Females	25.7%	27.2%	42.2%	0.0%	4.8%
Asian Males	80.7%	10.4%	8.3%	0.0%	0.6%
Asian Females	53.2%	26.7%	18.3%	0.0%	1.8%
White Males (not Latino)	61.9%	10.5%	24.1%	0.9%	2.6%
White Females (not Latina)	70.1%	12.5%	16.7%	0.0%	0.6%

Source: ACS 2010 – 2014 5 Year Estimates

High numbers of distressed properties (eviction; foreclosures; vacancies)

The next map shows that in 2011 there were parts of the study area with numerous housing evictions. This is followed by a map showing concentrations of distressed properties.

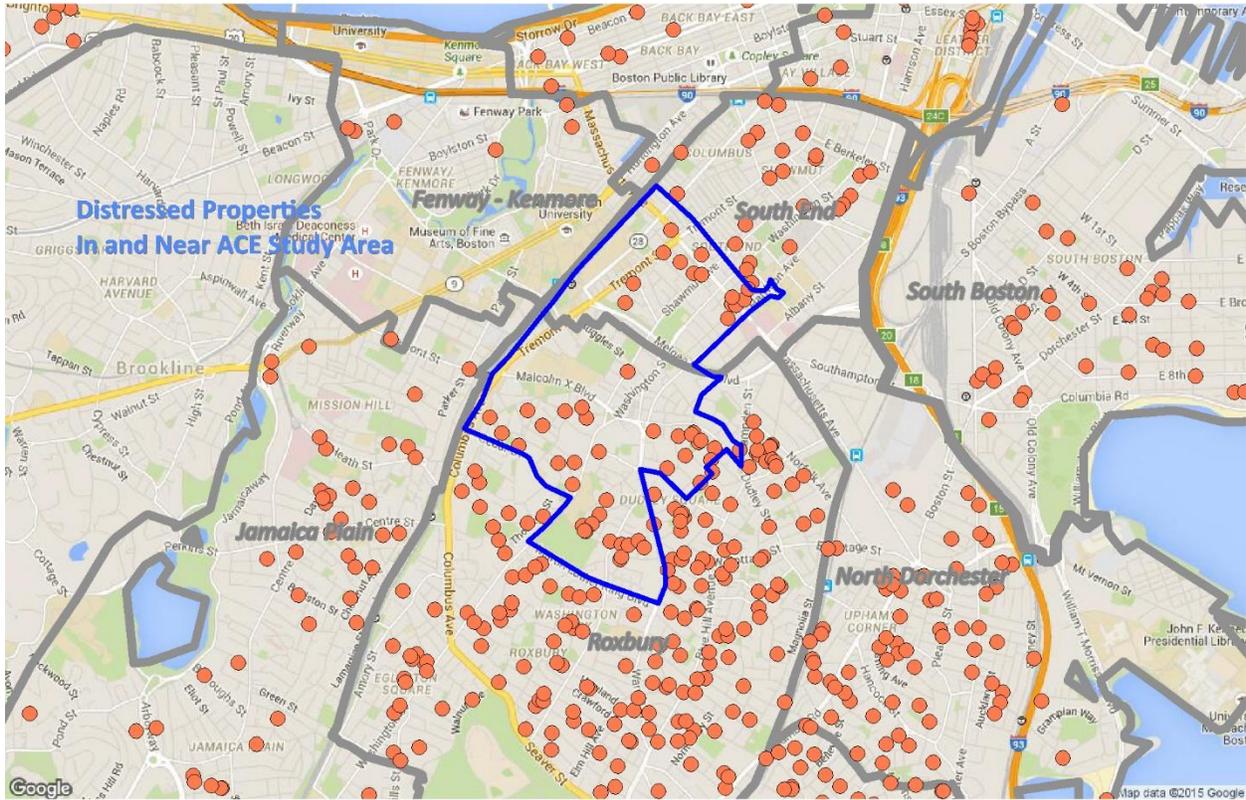
Map 4: Housing Court Evictions (2011)*



* This information was obtained by Project HOPE and geocoded for this organization by James Jennings in 2013. The study team for the current project was not able to obtain updated information and data about the specific location and type of evictions.

Contributing to the economic and housing vulnerability of the study area are the numbers of distressed properties (foreclosure petitions and auctions). Map 5 shows the location of distressed properties for the years 2010 through 2013.

Map 5: Distressed Properties (2010-2013)



Source: The Warren Group

As noted earlier there are a significant number of vacant properties in this part of Boston. Table 14 shows that at least one fifth of all the vacant housing units are ‘other vacant’ and not on the market. This information can be used to assess the reasons for housing turnover. It would be worthwhile to identify these actual properties to determine why they may not be on the market and when they may have become vacant.

Table 14: Vacancy Status by Type

	Study Area		Boston	
Total:	1,064		22,626	
For rent	465	43.7%	7,500	33.1%
Rented, not occupied	175	16.4%	3,336	14.7%
For sale only	36	3.4%	1,573	7.0%
Sold, not occupied	40	3.8%	1,283	5.7%
For seasonal, recreational, or occasional use	129	12.1%	1,996	8.8%
For migrant workers	0	0.0%	4	0.0%
Other vacant	219	20.6%	6,934	30.6%

Source: ACS 2009-2013 5 Year Estimates

Compared to Boston overall (42.1%) the study area has a much higher number of buildings with 5 or more units (59.8%). While this ratio includes some subsidized buildings, it is still high and could mean a higher possibility of condo conversions, moving building units from rentals, to condos.

Table 15: Buildings by Total Units

	Study Area			Boston		
Total Units in Buildings	13,727	100.0%		259,083		
1, detached	326	2.4%		32,304	12.5%	
1, attached	1,107	8.1%		15,329	5.9%	
2 Units	794	5.8%		35,149	13.6%	
3 or 4 Units	3,295	24.0%		66,845	25.8%	
5 to 9 Units	2,840	20.7%		28,617	11.0%	
10 to 19 Units	1,458	10.6%		21,750	8.4%	
20 to 49 Units	1,183	8.6%		23,651	9.1%	
50 or more Units	2,724	19.8%		35,123	13.6%	
			59.8%			42.1%

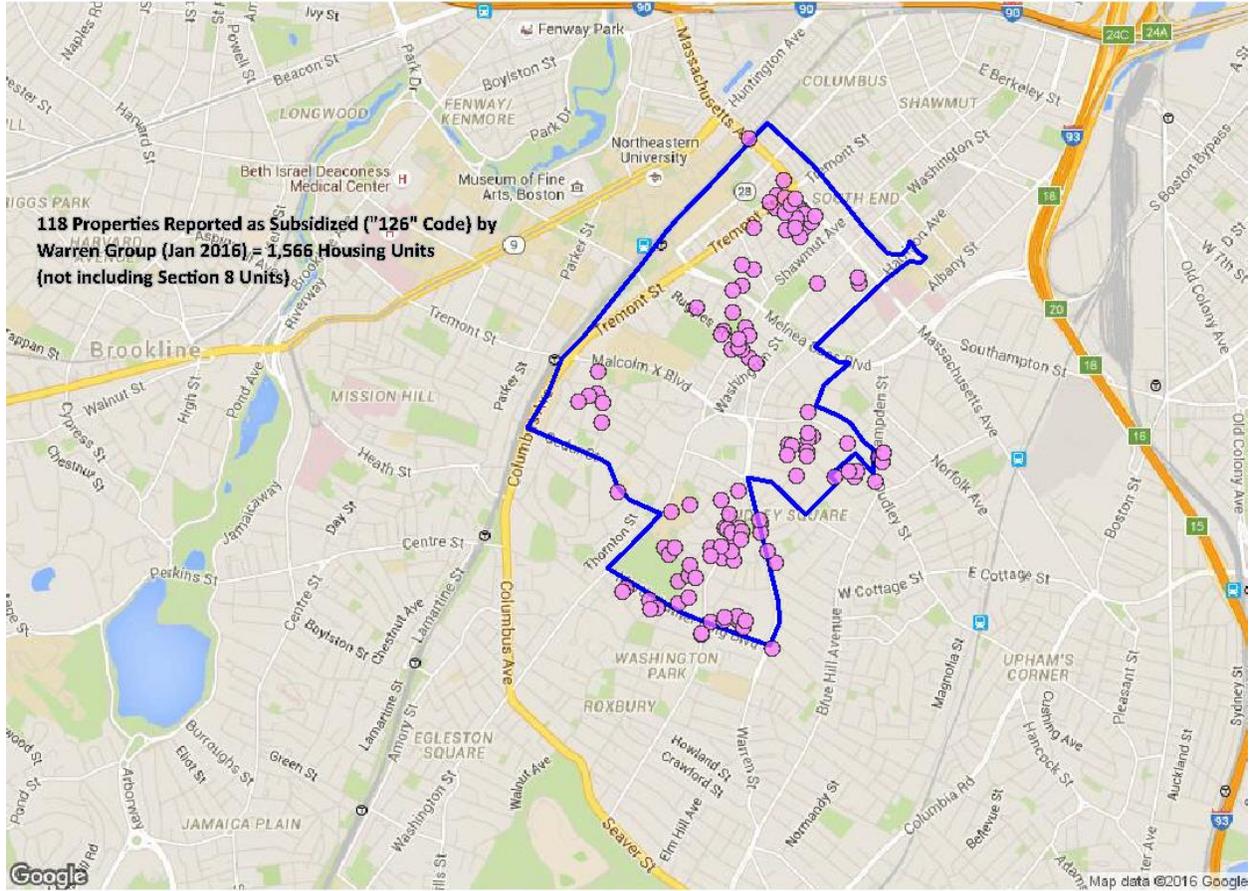
Source: ACS 2009-2013 5 Year Estimates

Subsidized housing units are found in relatively high numbers. The maps in Appendix D show the location and number of housing units subsidized by the MassHousing Agency, including the Demonstration Disposition sites, and those housing units pertaining to Boston Public Housing.

High number of subsidized housing units facing expiring use

The next Map 6 shows the location and concentrations of 118 subsidized properties (totaling 1,566 housing units) as reported by The Warren Group and categorized with a “126” housing code; these are properties with state- based subsidies that can also be set to expire during particular years.

Map 6: Location and Concentration of Subsidized Properties

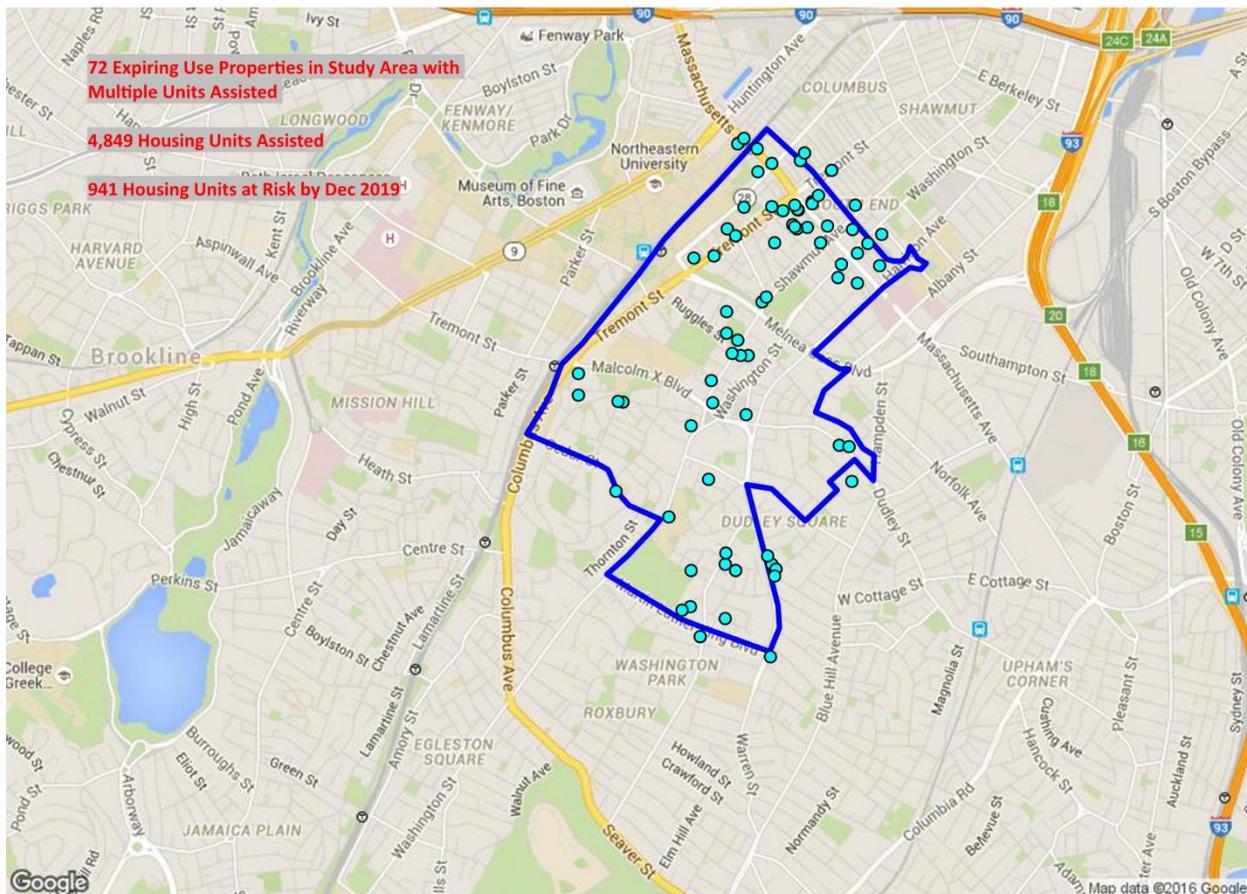


Source: The Warren Group

There are also other ‘expiring use’ properties in this area; a few may be in the same location as housing units shown in Map 7. These are privately-owned multi-unit properties that were developed with subsidies through one of several state and/or federal programs, in exchange for guarantees that units would be offered at affordable rents for periods typically lasting 20 to 40 years. At the end of that period, these “expiring use” units can be converted to market rents if steps are not taken to preserve them which usually require substantial tenant organizing and access to new sources of subsidy.

Map 7 also shows that there are 941 housing units at risk by December 2019.

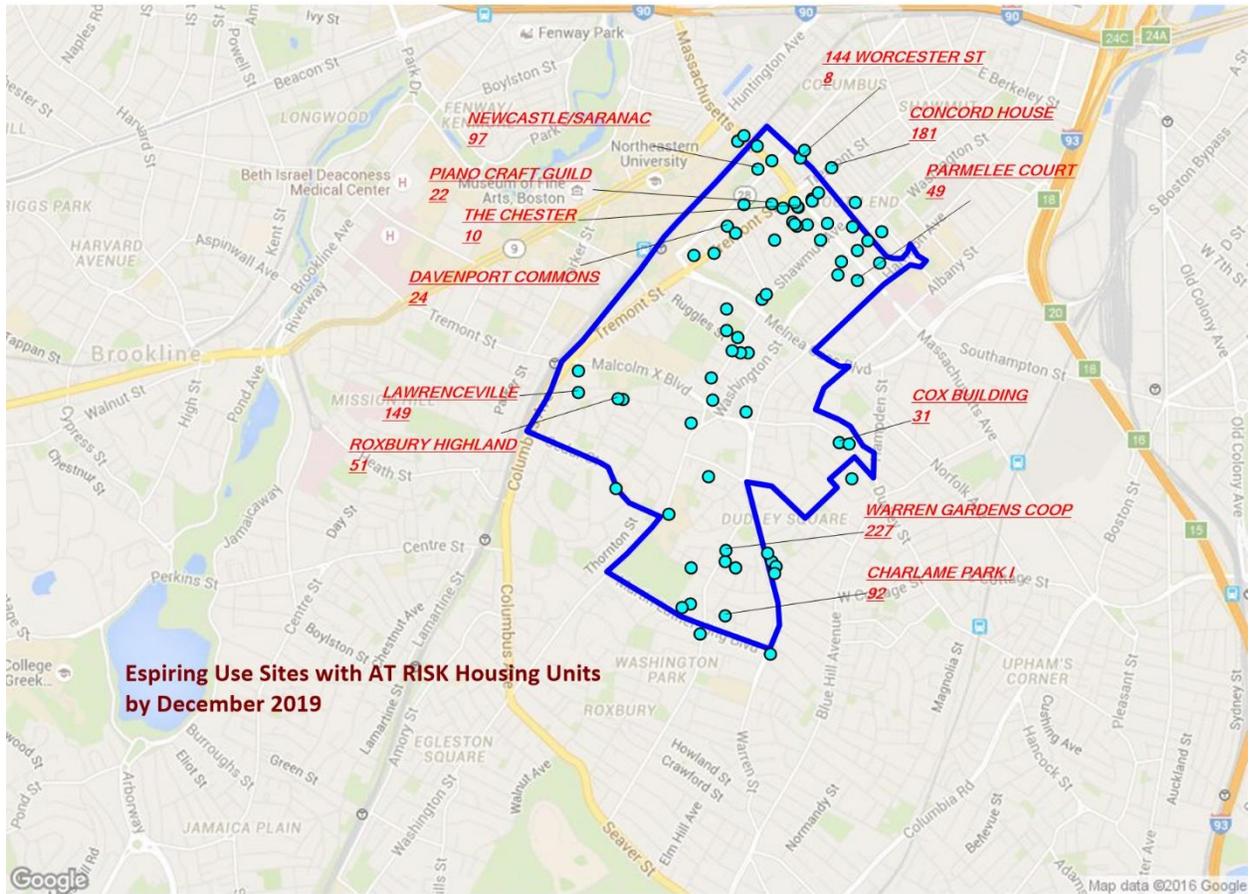
Map 7: Expiring Use Properties*



* The list of expiring use properties was provided by Bill Brauner at CEDAC; as advised by this organization the origin of the data are third party sources and CEDAC is not responsible for any errors with this information. The authors of the current report appreciate CEDAC’s assistance in obtaining this kind of data.

The next Map 8 identifies just those subsidized units that are immediately at risk, by December 2019.

Map 8: Subsidized Units Expiring Use Projection for December 2019**



** See note for previous map.

Substantial number of households are rent-burdened

This is also a high rent-burdened area part of Boston. More than half (54.6%) of rental households pay more than 30% of household income for gross rent; this compares to 51.7% for the rest of Boston.

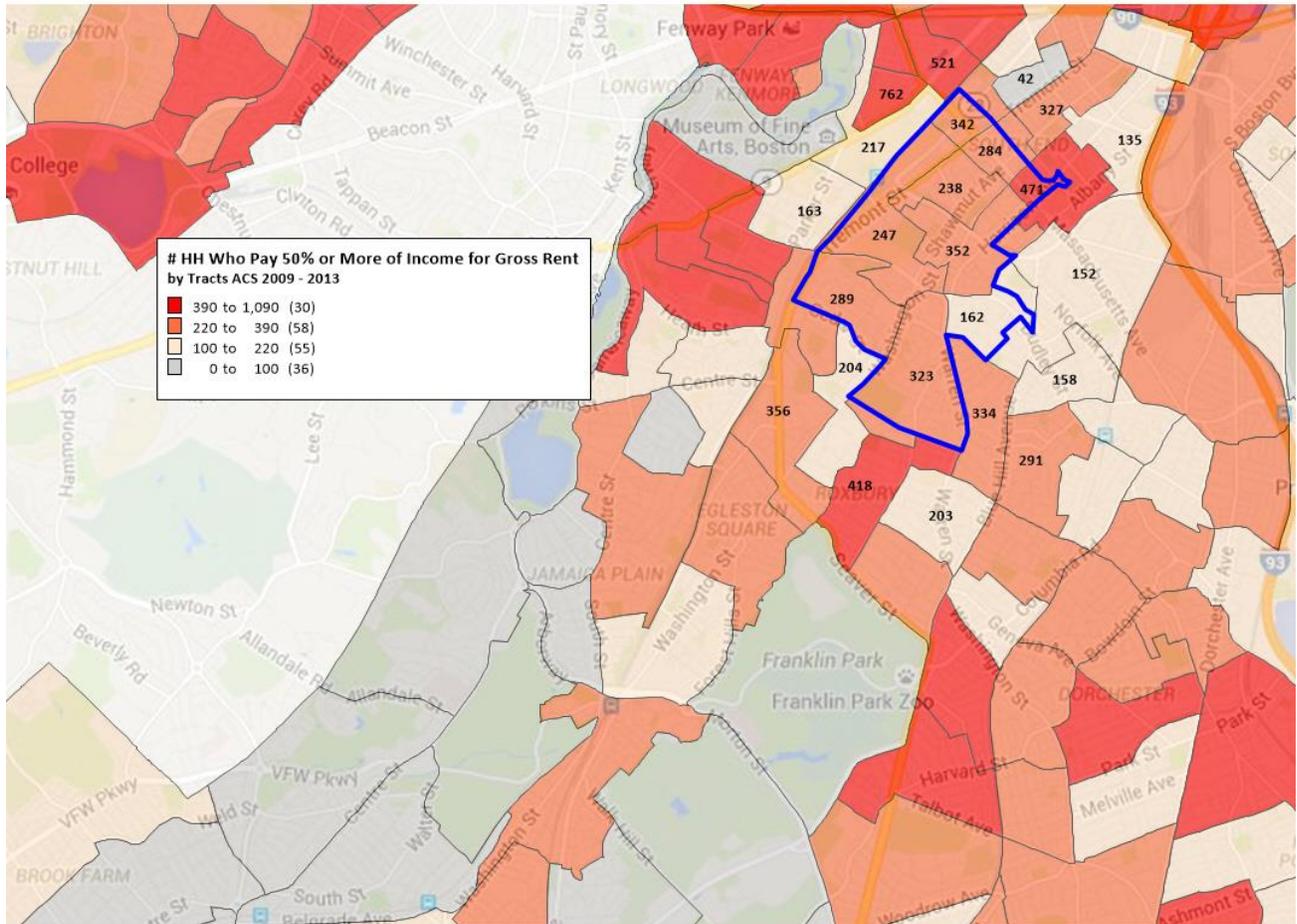
Table 16: Gross Rent As Percentage of HH Income

	Gross Rent	%		Boston		
Total Households	9,975			154,168		
Less than 10.0 percent	488	5.2%		5,712	3.9%	
10.0 to 14.9 percent	557	5.9%		11,274	7.8%	
15.0 to 19.9 percent	778	8.2%		16,392	11.3%	
20.0 to 24.9 percent	1,072	11.3%		16,269	11.2%	
25.0 to 29.9 percent	1,390	14.7%		20,543	14.1%	
30.0 to 34.9 percent	1,246	13.2%		14,861	10.2%	
35.0 to 39.9 percent	551	5.8%		9,538	6.6%	
40.0 to 49.9 percent	656	6.9%		10,493	7.2%	
50.0 percent or more	2,708	28.7%		40,178	27.7%	
30% or more			54.6%			51.7%

Source: ACS 2009-2013 5 Year Estimates

The next Map 9 shows the number of households who pay more than half of their income towards rent.

Map 9: Number Households that Pay 50% or More of Income for Gross Rent by Tracts



Source: ACS 2009-2013 5 Year Estimates

Rapidly increasing real estate costs conjoined with increase in the number and size of capital projects

In spite of the area’s level of poverty and lower levels of Black and Latino wealth, real estate activity is intense based on some information obtained from The Warren Group. Table 16 shows that for one of the poorest neighborhoods in the city, Roxbury’s median sales prices for all properties jumped 60.7% between a year after the Great Recession and 2015. This evidence indicates that real estate actors are developing and delivering housing for people other than the current residents of the neighborhood.

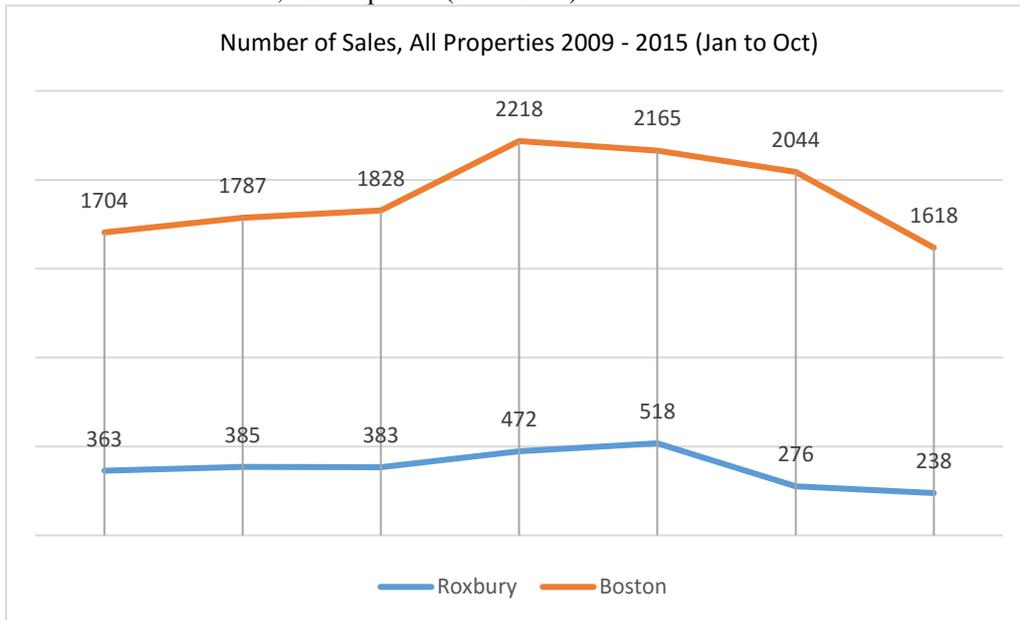
Table 17: Median sales Price, 2009 – 2015 (Jan to Oct)

Median Sales Price All Properties	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015 Jan to Oct	% Chg 2009 - 2015
Roxbury	\$ 280,000	\$ 310,000	\$ 399,000	\$ 448,500	\$ 497,000	\$ 400,000	\$ 461,500	60.7%
Boston	\$ 530,000	\$ 586,500	\$ 620,000	\$ 619,375	\$ 675,000	\$ 762,500	\$ 792,500	66.9%

Source: The Warren Group

Between January to October of 2009 through 2015, hundreds of properties have been sold in Roxbury, reaching 518 sales in 2013. Up until this year, Roxbury sales represented approximately one fifth of all properties sold in the entire city (Table 17).

Chart 1: Number of Sales, All Properties (2009-2015)



Source: The Warren Group

Table 18: Roxbury Proportion of All Sales in Boston, 2009 - 2015

2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015 Jan to Oct
21.3%	21.5%	21.0%	21.3%	23.9%	13.5%	14.7%

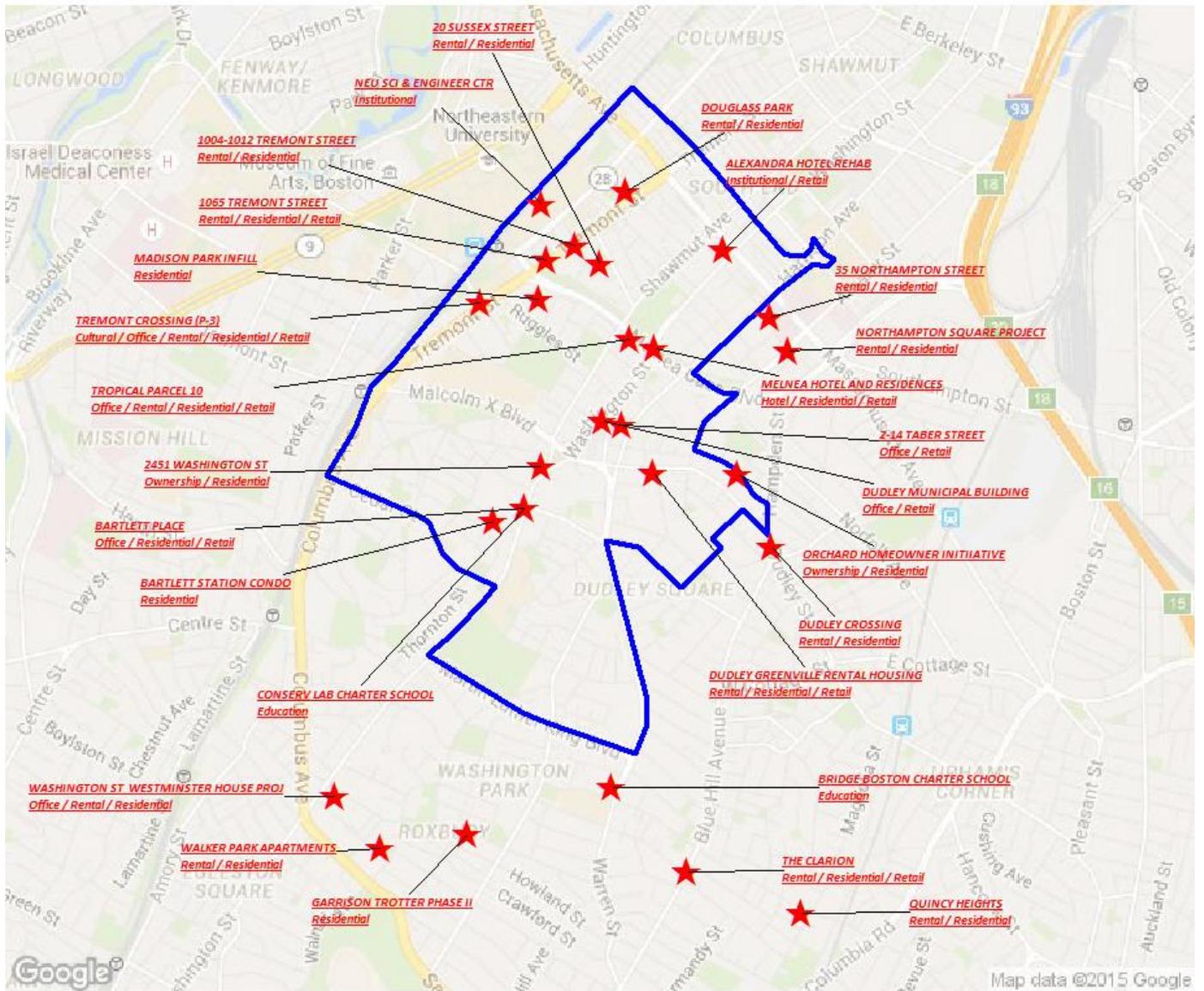
Source: The Warren Group

The Boston Redevelopment Authority has approved or is in the process of reviewing a number of major construction projects in Roxbury, and especially within the study area. While development is taking place in many other parts of the City, Roxbury is noteworthy in terms of recent increased attention. For fiscal years 2016 to 2020, Roxbury capital projects with a range of purposes will total \$152,677,545.

Dearborn School 6-12 STEM Early College Academy, in design - \$73,498,295
 Dudley Branch Library, renovation - \$14,718,000
 Fire Dept. Engine 42 new station - \$10,000,000
 Dudley Street, in design - \$9,000,000
 Melnea Cass Blvd/South Bay Harbor Trail Project, in design - \$8,037,000 (federal and state funds)
 Seaver Street, in construction - \$7,500,000
 Vine Street Community Center - \$5,340,000
 Warren Street and Blue Hill Ave (Dudley Sq. to Talbot Ave.), in design - \$2,977,900
 Choice Neighborhood/ Resurfacing various streets in the DSNI area, in design - \$3,130,000
 Madison Park Village, in design - \$3,050,000
 William Devin Golf Course (Franklin Park) - \$2,195,000
 Marcella Playground, in design - \$2,160,000
 Police Headquarters/ HVAC System, in construction - \$1,775,000
 Franklin Park gateway and Paths, in construction- \$1,510,000
 Parking Lot Improvement/Expand the Blair's Lot for Bolling Building Parking, in design-\$1,400,000
 Police Headquarters Study, new project - \$1,500,000
 Dudley Town Common, plaza rehab- \$972,000
 Egleston Sq. Library - \$916,267
 Burke High School/Roof Replacement, new project - \$900,000
 Police Headquarters, in design- \$750,000
 Mary Hanon Park/Upper Terrace, Phase I, in construction -\$914,083, Phase II, in design - \$896,000 Little Scobie
 Playground, in construction - \$598,000
 Children's Park Playground, in design- \$560,000
 Clifford Playground - \$415,000
 Malcolm X Park, in design- \$500,000
 Horatio Harris Park, in construction - \$370,000
 McLaughlin Playground/Upper Terrace, in construction- \$585,000
 Animal Shelter, in design - \$583,000
 Dudley Street Neighborhood School/new roof, in design - \$400,000
 King street Paly Area, new project- \$300,000
 Justice Gourdin Park/Vets Memorial Park, in design - \$152,000
 Franklin Park Master Plan Update, new project - \$75,000

Map 10 shows the location of some of these projects and by project type.

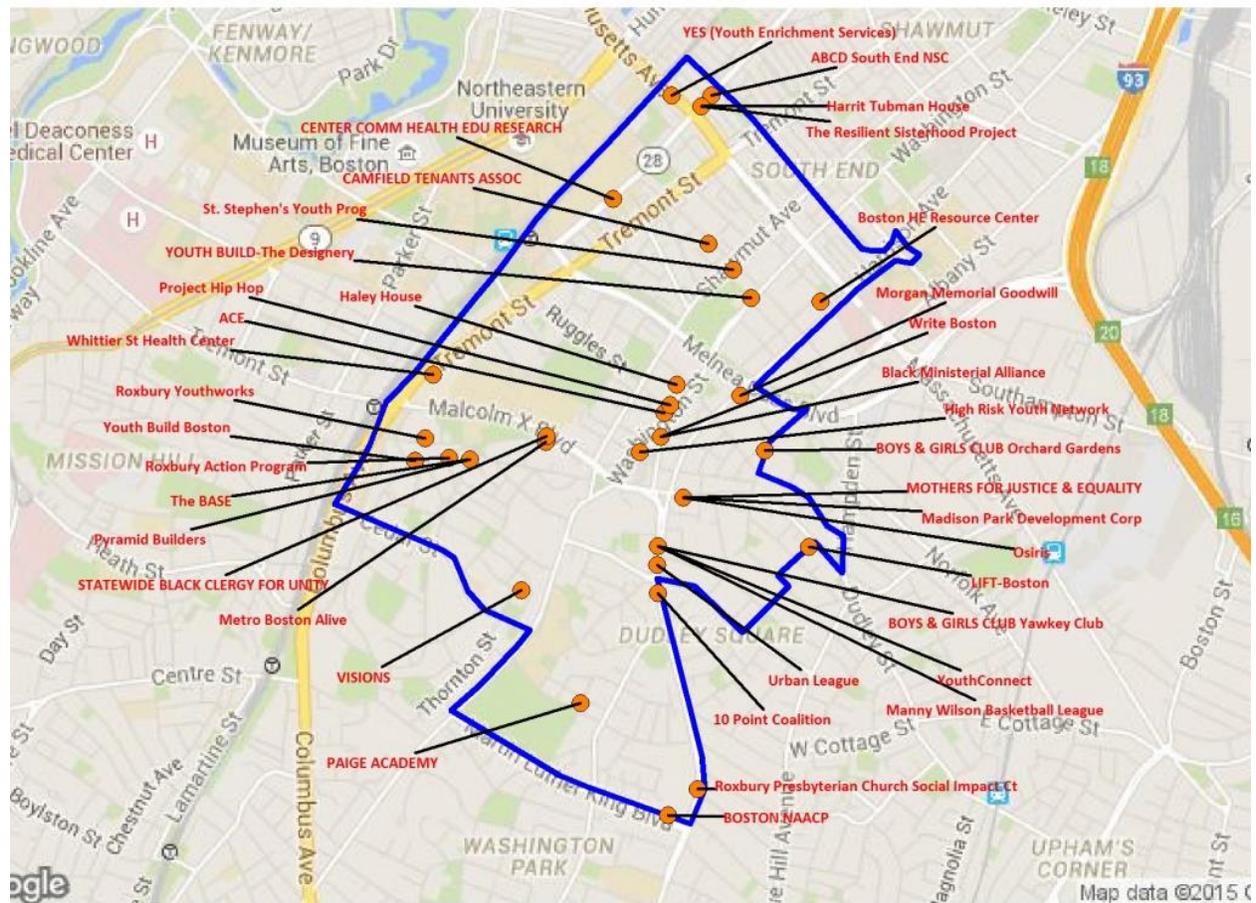
Map 10: Major Construction Projects in Study Area



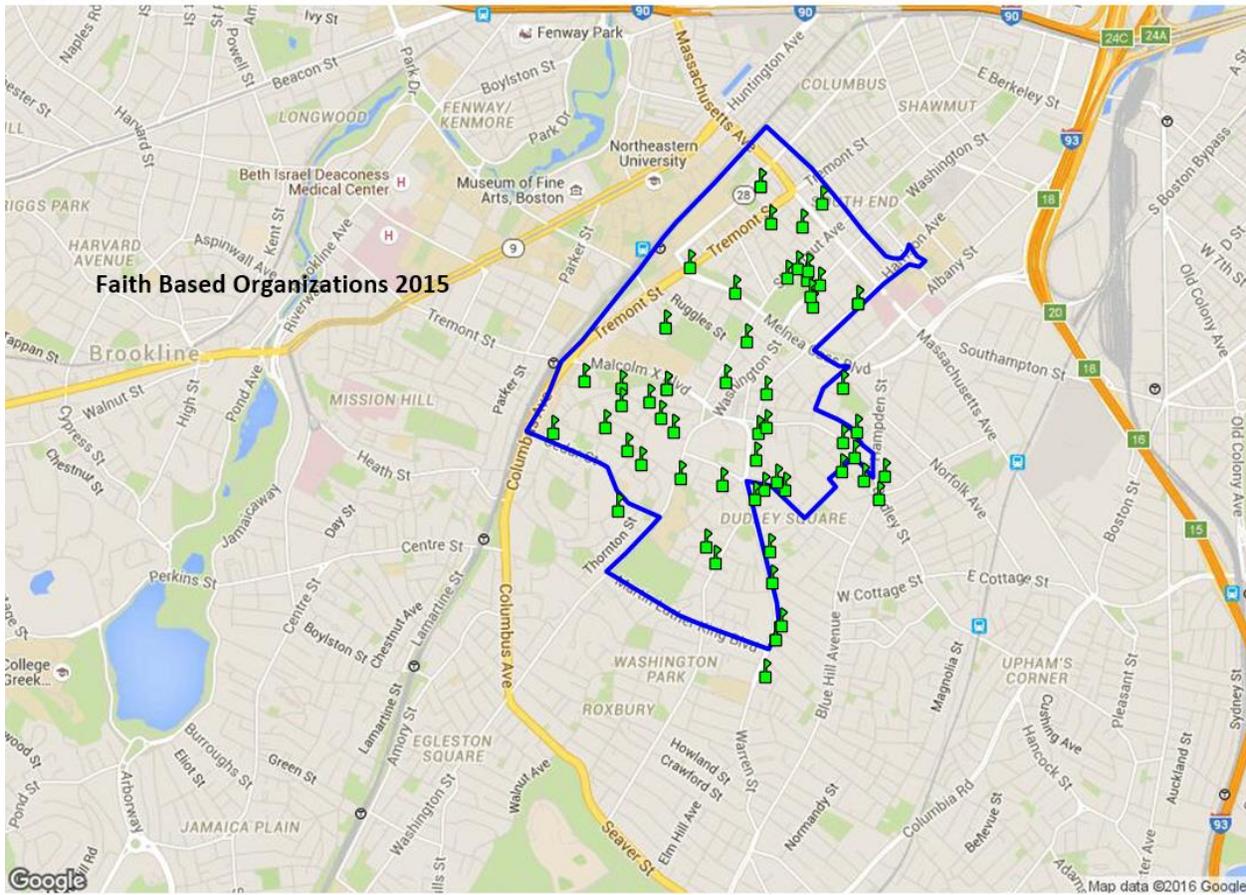
Source: Boston Redevelopment Authority

Appendix D: Neighborhood Infrastructure for Study Area

Map 11: Nonprofits and CBOs in Study Area



Map 12: Faith-based organizations



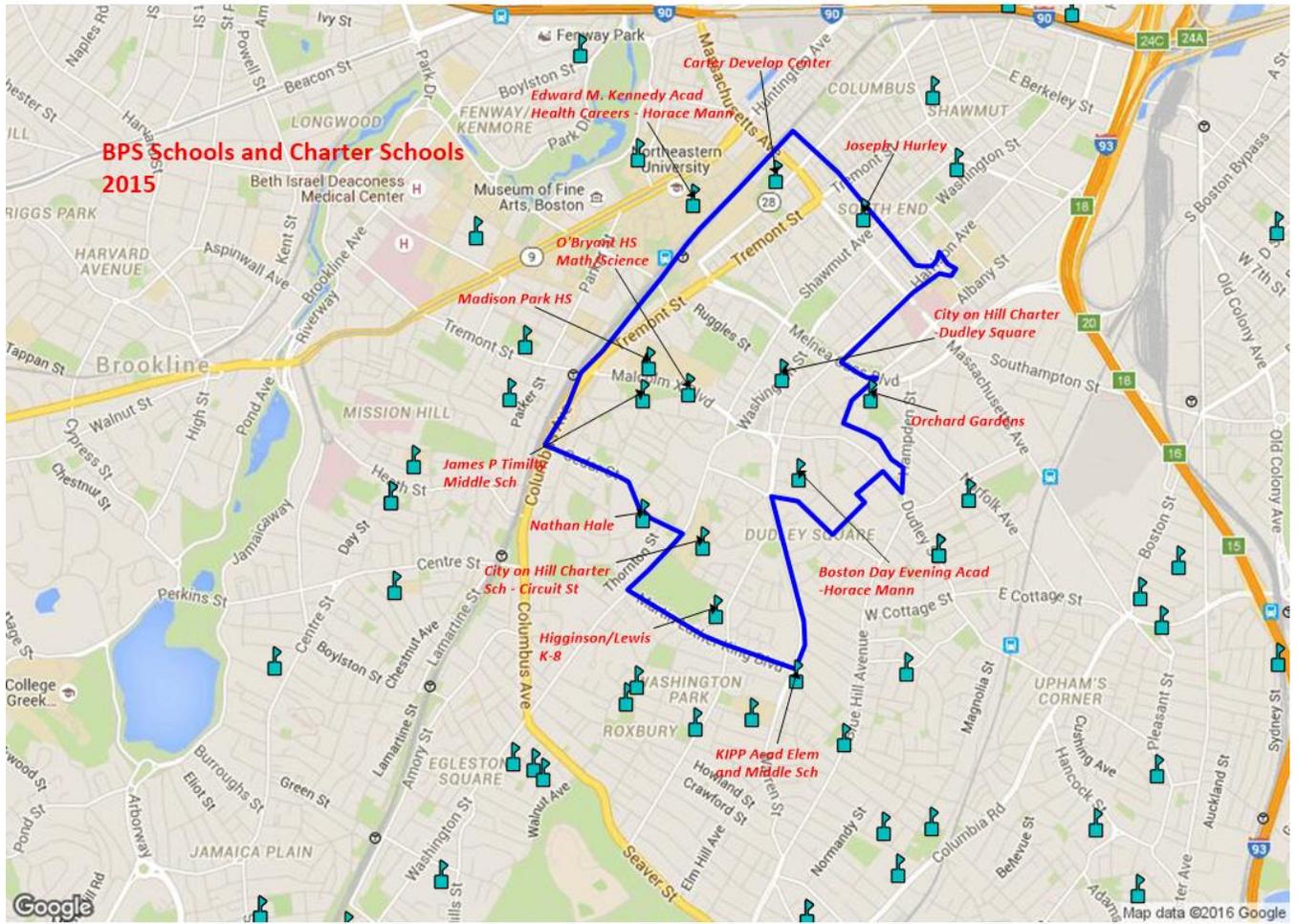
The following faith-based organizations are represented in Map 13:

- | | |
|--|---|
| All Saints Lutheran Church | Gathering of Champions of Boston |
| All Saints Pentecostal House of Prayer, Inc. | Good Shepherd Church of God in Christ |
| Anchor Church | Grant AME Church |
| Anglican Church of the Resurrection | Holy Temple Church, Inc. |
| Bethel Baptist Church | Iglesia de Dios de la Profecia |
| Bible Baptist Church | Iglesia de Dios Pentecostal, M.I. "Fuente de Vida" |
| Boston Central Hispanic Corps Community Center | Iglesia de Dios Templo del Evangelio Completo |
| Boston Missionary Baptist Church | Iglesia Samaria Evangelica, Inc. |
| Christ Temple Church of Personal Experience | Islamic Society of Boston Cultural Center |
| Church of Christ in Roxbury | Masjid Al Noor |
| Church of God of Prophecy, Inc., Roxbury | Masjid Al-Hamdulillah |
| Church of St. Augustine and St. Martin | Mt. Calvary Baptist Church |
| City of Praise Family Church | New Hope Baptist Church |
| Columbus Avenue AME Zion Church | New Life United African Church |
| Congregación León de Judá | Peoples Baptist Church |
| CrossTown Church | Redeemed Christian Church of God - Cornerstone Miracle Center |
| Ebenezer Baptist Church | Refuge Church of Christ |
| Eglise de Dieu Sinai | Refuge Temple Church of Jesus Christ Apostolic, Inc. |
| Ethiopian Evangelical Church | Resurrection Lutheran Church |
| Fellowship Mission Church | Roxbury Presbyterian Church |
| First Iglesia Jehova Es El Liberatador | Salem Hispanic Seventh Day Adventist Church |

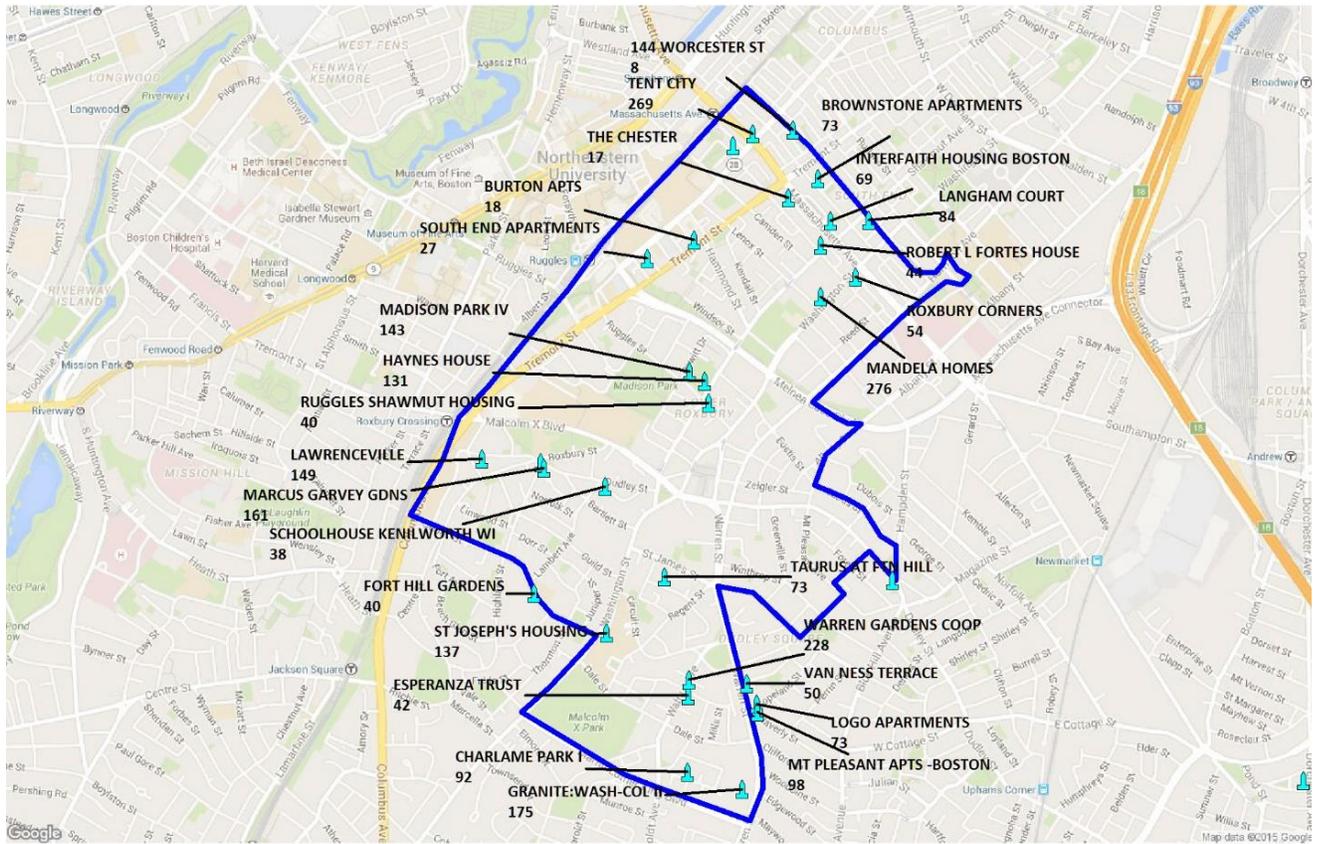
Shawmut Community Church of God
Southern Baptist Church Inc.
St. Cyprian's Episcopal Church
St. Frances Cabrini Old Catholic Mission
St. James African Orthodox Church
St. John and St. James Episcopal Church
St. John Missionary Baptist Church

Timothy Baptist Church
True Vine Missionary Baptist
Twelfth Baptist Church
United Emmanuel Holiness Church, Inc.
Warren Street Baptist Church
Zion Fire Baptized Holiness Church of God of the Americas

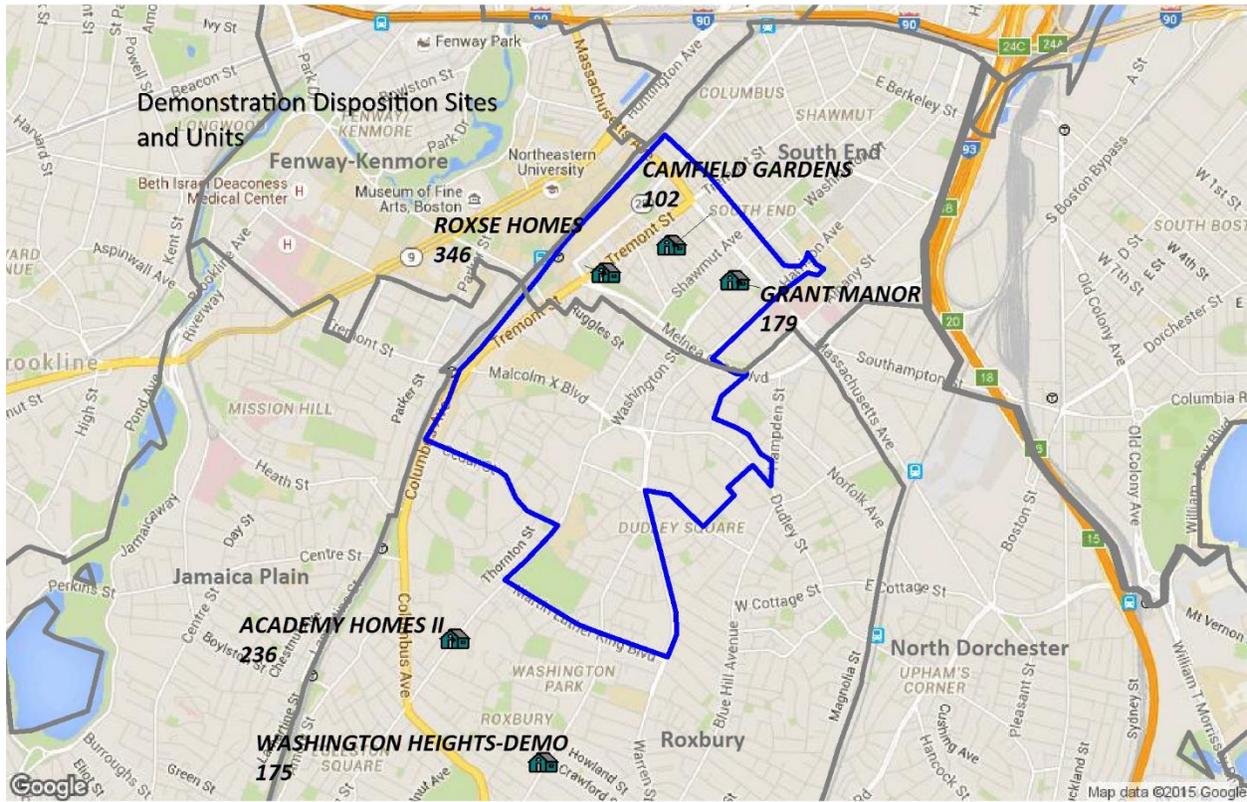
Map 13: Boston Public Schools and Charter Schools



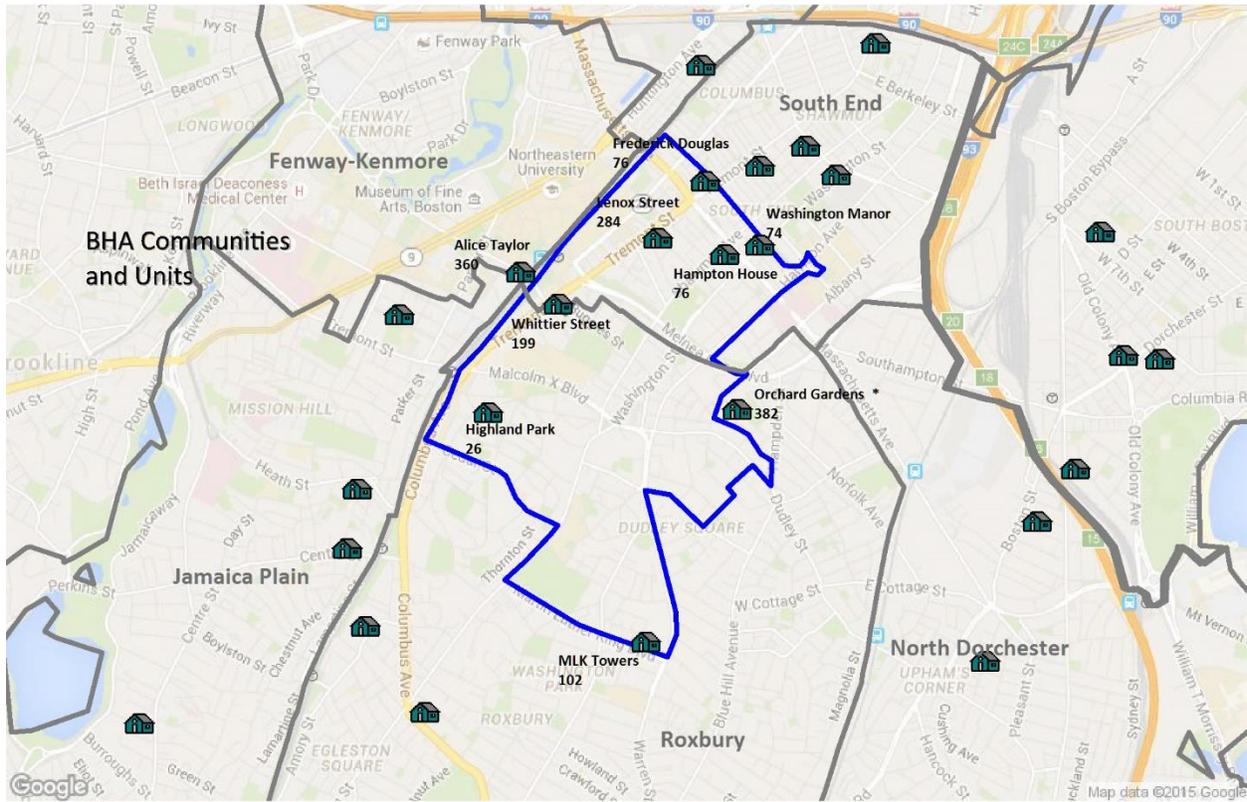
Map 14: Housing Units Subsidized by MassHousing



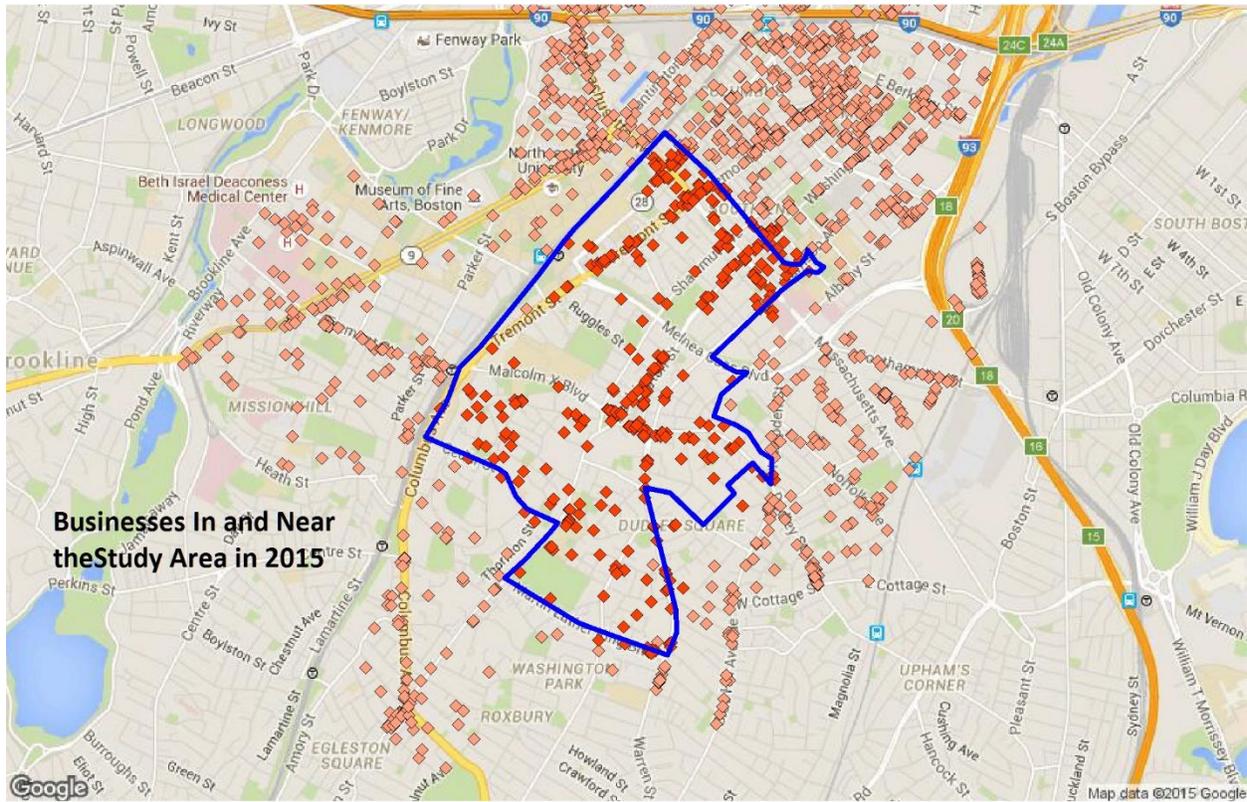
Map 15: Demonstration Disposition Housing Sites



Map 16: BHA Housing Communities

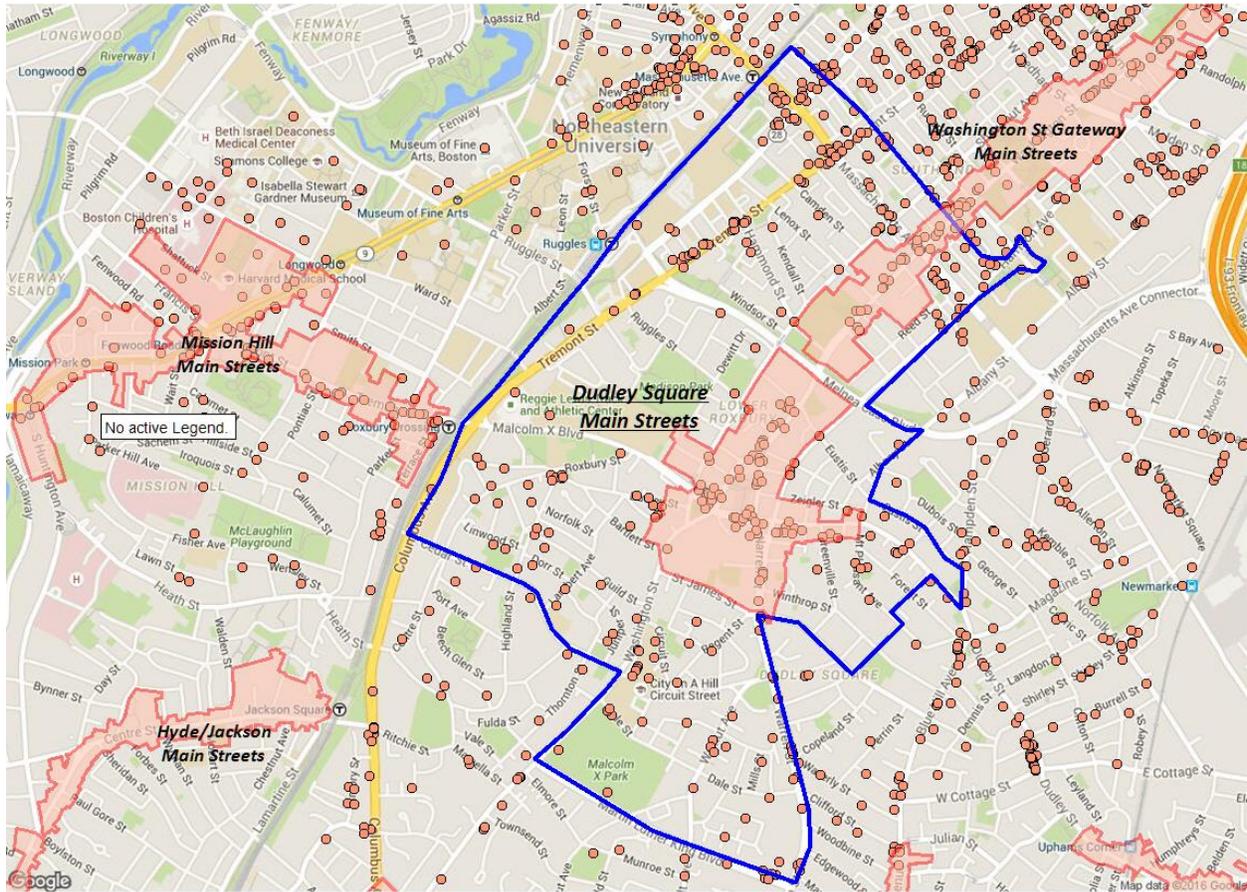


Map 17: Location of Businesses in Study Area



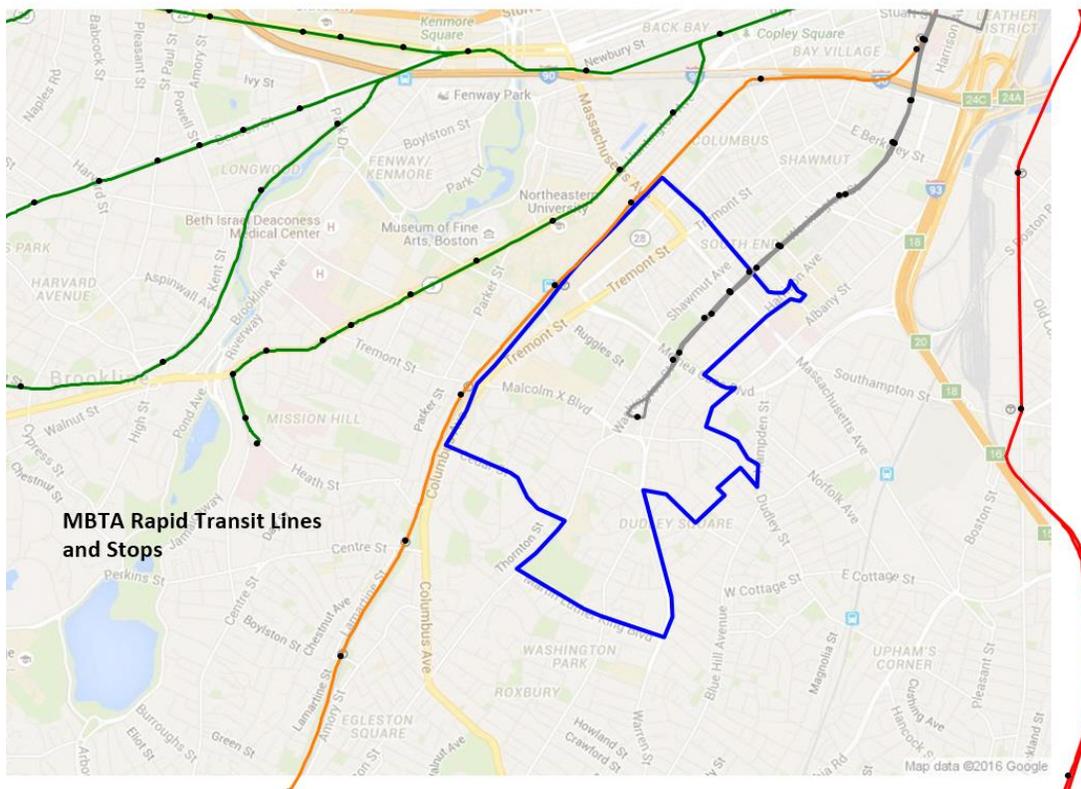
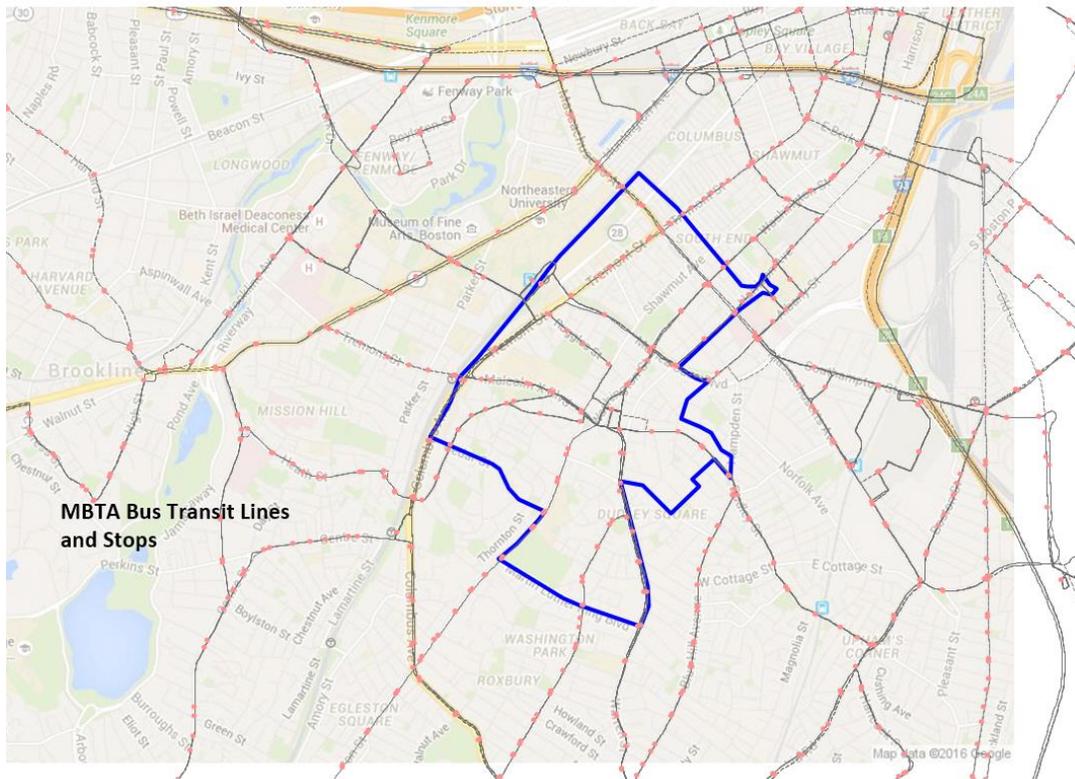
Source: Applied Geographic Solutions and InfoUSA, 2015

Map 18: Location of Businesses, Dudley Square Main Streets and Washington-Gateway Main Streets boundaries



Source: Applied Geographic Solutions and InfoUSA, 2015

Map 19: Public Transportation



Appendix E: Community Data Queries for Understanding Potential Displacement

- How is the demography and economic make-up of the area changing during a period of time? Are there racial changes in the population, as well as changes in family size and structure? Are newer residents much wealthier than older, longtime residents?
- Is there an emerging economic juxtaposition between higher income newcomers and more low-income, and impoverished older residents?
- How is city-based development taking place in the neighborhood area? What types and size of projects are in the pipeline? Are smaller and local businesses being tapped for significant number of contracts?
- What practices are being pursued by real estate interests and their representatives in vulnerable neighborhood areas? Are there noticeable patterns that can be documented by data or field-based evidence?
- Are there growing number of anecdotes about displacement? How can such stories be collected and documented?
- Are there nearby elite institutions that require housing, and how is this housing being met? Are there institutional-based proposals for housing to benefit long-time residents?
- Are there concentrations of distressed properties? How is the presence of distressed properties being addressed by government, or the private sector? Are distressed properties begin structurally transformed – from 2 or 3 families to condos; or rental properties to condos?
- What entities own and manage subsidized housing? Are there controls to ensure that expiring use does not result in displacement?
- Are there noted differences in policing and public safety patterns in the neighborhood area?
- Are there noticeable changes in municipal services, in the area of sanitation services or public lighting infrastructure? What changes and patterns are occurring with municipal services such as transportation and traffic, street lighting, sanitation services?
- Is subsidized housing becoming privatized, or reduced in any way?
- Are small businesses (1-4 employees) closing, or facing increasing rental costs? Are there changes in the size or type of businesses, and the markets being tapped?
- How is housing instability impacting public schools? Are charter schools replacing public schools in significant ways, and where?
- Are housing sales and rents increasing dramatically in the context of previously low-income and low rental housing?
- To what extent have residents already been displaced by more recent and newer households of students and professional/managerial workers?
- What patterns or practices are associated with house sales? What is the extent of transforming previously owner-occupied housing into condos, or rental units?
- Are there any locational patterns, or concentrations, of housing evictions, and for what reasons?

Appendix F: Overview and Summary of Anti-Displacement Strategies and Proposals

Domain	Priority	Strategy	Description	Campaigns underway	
				Lead Organizations	Scale
Housing	Increase tenant rights and protections	Just Cause Eviction	A Just-Cause Eviction law would help stabilize Boston’s neighborhoods by: halting building clear-outs by large property owners and post-foreclosure bank owners; require large property owners to provide a Just Cause -or eviction and to notify the city when terminating a tenancy for reasons other than nonpayment of rent or a contractual violation; inform tenants of their rights; and create city records of displacement resulting from rent increases and evictions.	Right to the City Boston and its member groups	City
		Tenant Associations	Building-by-building organizing for fair rents, good conditions, and the ability to stay put	City Life / Vida Urbana	City
	Protect and expand social housing	Preserve expiring use buildings as affordable housing	Expiring use properties are privately-owned multi-unit properties that were developed with subsidies through one of several state and/or federal programs, in exchange for guarantees that units would be offered at affordable rents for periods typically lasting 20 to 40 years. At the end of that period, these “expiring use” units can be converted to market rents if steps are not taken to preserve them which usually require substantial tenant organizing and access to new sources of subsidy.	Expand organizing among residents living in expiring use properties so that they may consider alternatives for preserving housing with ample planning time	Building-by-building
				The 2016 recommendations of the Mass. Special Senate Committee on Housing calls for authorizing an additional \$15 million to preserve affordability for some 8,600 units that were created in the 1970s through the Commonwealth’s expiring use program, known as 13A.	State
				The 2016 recommendations of the Mass. Special Senate Committee on Housing call for creation of a “13A” program under the State Low Income Housing Tax Credit (SLIHTC) that would create a Donation Tax Credit (DTC). The DTC, in combination with the federal charitable deduction, would make donation of existing	State

Domain	Priority	Strategy	Description	Campaigns underway	
				Lead Organizations	Scale
				properties to a nonprofit economically competitive with a cash sale. Participating nonprofits would commit to long-term affordability.	
		Create community land trusts (CLTs)	Community land trusts (CLTs), governed by community-controlled nonprofits, own land for community benefit. CLTs lease land to the owners of buildings that sit on the land, which can be for affordable ownership or rental housing, commercial use, or other purposes. Homeowners within a CLT build wealth through a formula outlined in their lease agreement rather than through increases in the speculative value of land.	Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative, Chinese Progressive Association / Chinatown Community Land Trust, Coalition of Occupied Homes in Foreclosure, and others	Neighborhood
				A seed grant and technical assistance program for CLTs, to address the problems of obtaining adequate capital, is part of the 2016 recommendations of the Mass. Special Senate Committee on Housing	State
		Defend public housing	Ensure that residents of public housing are aware of future development plans and participate in planning and implementation decision-making		Development-by-development
		Bring vacant units in public housing back online.	Local housing authorities require additional resources to perform maintenance necessary to bring vacant units back online.	The 2016 recommendations of the Mass. Special Senate Committee on Housing call for a new resident apprentice program to train and employ low-income residents to repair vacant units and get them back online.	State
		Convert existing housing from speculative to social ownership, without displacing the current occupants	Revisit strategies and lessons from earlier <i>Demonstration Disposition Program</i> (1994 – 2004) which rehabilitated almost 2,000 housing units, kept them affordable and used construction and labor costs to increase opportunities for local and neighborhood-based businesses. It also turned ownership to residents.		Neighborhood
			The City's new Rental Acquisition Program allocates funding to subsidize		City

Domain	Priority	Strategy	Description	Campaigns underway	
				Lead Organizations	Scale
			nonprofits to purchase 6+ unit buildings, maintain them with affordable rents for 50 years, and cause no displacement of current occupants		
			Convert owner-occupied properties to social housing by paying out the equity that exceeds affordable homeownership guidelines, thus solving the problem of the current owner's wealth expectations, providing cash that could support repairs and taxes, and creating a community asset to be transferred to an income-eligible buyer later on; Community Preservation Act money (if Boston adopts it) would be one potential source of funding.		City
	Preserve current occupants in place	Property tax relief and municipal right of first refusal	State legislation giving municipalities the option to allow homeowners over age 65 with income below the area median to defer up to 100% of property taxes on their own and up to two rental units, in exchange for restrictions on rent increases and the municipality's first right of refusal at the time the property is placed for sale	Part of the 2016 recommendations of the Mass. Special Senate Committee on Housing	State policy allowing municipal action
		Mortgage debt relief	State legislation would allow forgiven mortgage debt to not be counted as part of gross income for state taxes (a similar federal provision is already in place)	Part of the 2016 recommendations of the Mass. Special Senate Committee on Housing	State
		Financial supports to prevent tenants from losing housing due to short-term inability to pay housing costs	Provide assistance with first and last month's rent, security deposits, rental and utility arrearages, and other needs to very low-income households	The 2016 recommendations of the Mass. Special Senate Committee on Housing calls for an expansion of the Residential Assistance for Families in Transition (RAFT) program to provide services to very and extremely low-income households without minor children	State
		Ensure that local residents are aware of the Long-Term	Owner-occupants age 55 and up who have lived in their properties for at	Policy recently expanded under	City

Domain	Priority	Strategy	Description	Campaigns underway	
				Lead Organizations	Scale
		Homeowners Tax Deferral Home Rule Petition	least a decade, who meet certain income guidelines, where property values are sharply increasing, may be eligible to defer tax payments until their death or the property's transfer.	Mayor Walsh in 2015 ¹⁵	
		Ensure that local residents are aware of other public programs to assist with purchasing a home or maintaining one's property (e.g., repair and weatherization loans and grants)		Suzanne Lee of Chinatown Community Land Trust, in letter to <i>Globe</i> , ¹⁶ called for City to provide more substantial low-interest loans for home repair to longtime homeowners of moderate income in exchange for agreements that keep rents affordable	City
		Ensure that local residents are aware of "Tenant Protections in Foreclosed Properties"	This state statute provides just cause eviction protections for tenants in foreclosed properties.	Mass Alliance Against Predatory Lending and others	State
		Ensure that local residents are aware of existing protections for tenants under the City of Boston's Condo Ordinance	The ordinance, last updated in 2014, requires advance notification of tenancy termination due to condo conversion, caps annual rent increases during the notification period, gives the tenant limited options to purchase, and provides relocation assistance for elderly, low-income, and tenants with disabilities.		City
		Proactive and equitable code enforcement	Routine inspections with fines for noncompliance, combined with protections against rent hikes and displacement, for investor-owned properties. Proactive support for low-income homeowners to inform them of programs that can assist with maintenance costs.		
		Home equity conversion for multi-family owner-occupied properties	See above, under "Protect and expand social housing"		
		Just Cause Eviction	See above, under "Increase tenant rights and protections"		
		Tenant Associations:	See above, under "Increase tenant		

¹⁵ <http://www.cityofboston.gov/news/Default.aspx?id=18979>

¹⁶ <http://www.bostonglobe.com/opinion/editorials/2015/10/15/don-lose-triple-deckers-gentrification/V2Ib7Wm5uKS8v3LeP02c1K/story.html>

Domain	Priority	Strategy	Description	Campaigns underway	
				Lead Organizations	Scale
	Develop affordable housing	Building-by-building organizing	rights and protections”		
		Use city-owned parcels for permanently affordable housing	Affordable housing construction can be used to claim space that would otherwise be used for market housing	“In Highland Park, Singleton and other activists called for a moratorium on the disposition of more than 100 city-owned parcels while residents there develop guidelines on new development.” ¹⁷	City, neighborhood, or parcel-by-parcel
			State legislation (S.1649/H.2756) would allow municipalities to dispose of state-owned land at below market rates with re-use restrictions	Part of the 2016 recommendations of the Mass. Special Senate Committee on Housing	State policy allowing municipal action
		Bring abandoned and distressed properties into inhabitable condition	Municipalities require additional funding to redevelop distressed properties.	The 2016 recommendations of the Mass. Special Senate Committee on Housing calls for more funding to the Attorney General’s Abandoned Housing Initiative (AHI) revolving loan fund, which supports municipalities in placing properties into receivership and assists property owners with grants and loans.	State policy allowing municipal action
		Ensure that development includes units affordable to current occupants of the neighborhood	Push for a higher neighborhood percentage of affordable units than what is required by the city’s IDP		Neighborhood
		Increase funding available to create affordable housing by passing an act that would adopt the state Community Preservation Act in Boston	A 1% property tax surcharge (est. \$23/yr. for average SF property) would raise an estimated \$13 mil. and trigger \$6–7 million in state matching dollars for housing, parks, and preservation.	City Councilors Andrea Campbell and Michael Flaherty are co-sponsoring a measure to put the CPA on the ballot in November 2016 ¹⁸	City
		Increase homeownership	Build deed-restricted ownership housing, such as limited equity housing co-ops (LEHCs)	Limited equity housing allows residents to build wealth while remaining shielded from displacing effects of speculative ownership	Neighborhood or smaller area
		Preserve rental housing	Limit condo conversions, or impose fees (or a conversion tax) to mitigate the upward price pressure that condos	In Berkeley, California, housing mitigation fees are collected from condo conversions and used to help finance construction and rehabilitation	City

¹⁷ <http://baystatebanner.com/news/2015/dec/02/jackson-convening-roxbury-planning-meetings/>

¹⁸ <https://www.bostonglobe.com/business/2016/02/09/propertytax/ikqaGbpDqk9L72u0IU7ZBP/story.html>

Domain	Priority	Strategy	Description	Campaigns underway	
				Lead Organizations	Scale
		typically create on surrounding housing stock	of permanently affordable housing ¹⁹		
		Create a condo conversion regulation to limit the number and type of housing units that can convert from rental to for-sale condominium units within a given year.	San Francisco has long had an ordinance, last updated in 2013, that caps annual condo conversions to preserve rental units and curb speculation		City
Community organizing	Involve the community	Communicate and inform	Create mechanisms for informing wide range of residents about development activity in the neighborhood and opportunities for community input	Part of Tito Jackson’s Reclaim Roxbury effort	Neighborhood
			Many residents are unaware of the history of community struggles over land use, leaving low-income residents without awareness of common strategies used to displace them and in-migrating residents with disregard for those whose hard work shaped the neighborhood		Neighborhood
		Tenant Associations: Building-by-building organizing	See above, under “Increase tenant rights and protections”		
Jobs and Businesses	Circulate dollars locally	Contract locally for work performed with public dollars	Public expenditures can be used to support local businesses, creating a multiplier effect	Black Economic Council advocating for greater use of MBEs on the part of developers. Black Economic Justice Institute, Inc. and Boston Jobs Coalition advocating for city-wide Good Job Standards (already secured victory on Good Jobs Standards for Development in Roxbury)	City
	Community standards	Ensure that construction and permanent jobs from new development go to local residents and are good jobs	Ensure that the benefits of development are shared with local residents in the form of good-paying jobs.		City, also development project-by-project
	Support local businesses	Provide funding for technical assistance, trainings, façade improvement, etc.	Existing programs for small business loans and grants are insufficient to meet the need	Main Streets	City
Build Equity into Development	Ensure that development benefits the community	Community Benefits Agreements (CBA)	Enter into binding agreements with developers for local benefits including good jobs and housing This should be applied, especially, to the larger	ACE is interested in pursuing this strategy	Development project-by-project

¹⁹ Metropolitan Area Planning Council. (2011). Managing Neighborhood Change: Selected Anti-Displacement Strategies in Practice. Boston, Mass.: Metropolitan Area Planning Council.

Domain	Priority	Strategy	Description	Campaigns underway	
				Lead Organizations	Scale
			development projects in areas vulnerable to displacement.		
	Halt or disrupt development that doesn't serve the community	Development moratoria	A moratorium is typically a temporary measure to give time for planning or problem solving. In the study area, activists are already calling for a moratorium on the disposition of city-owned parcels. Other possibilities could be a moratorium on condo conversions, on large market-rate development, or on zoning variances.	In the Highland Park area, neighborhood activists have called for a moratorium on the disposition of more than 100 city-owned parcels to give residents time to develop guidelines for new development.	Neighborhood
	Advocate for equitable public investment	Track public investment at the neighborhood level	Track service provision, infrastructure spending, and public subsidies for private development to observe whether adequate and consistent resources are provided in historically disinvested areas, and to monitor the displacement impacts of large-scale planning and development projects.		Neighborhood
Planning	Engage community residents in planning to influence their individual and collective future	Support the creation of neighborhood-level planning councils comprised of residents who have the authority to represent their neighborhood in development and planning processes.	Neighborhood planning councils are formal vehicles for representing residents concern in land-use and development decisions.	A priority of Councilor Jackson's <i>Reclaim Roxbury</i>	Neighborhood
		Support community-based training for residents to participate in planning and development processes.	Many residents are unaware of how development and planning is done, and unaware that there are ways to participate in and influence the decisions that are made		Neighborhood
		Support community organizing and outreach on housing rights and opportunities.	Various strategies incorporated above—organizing tenant associations, providing information about tenant opportunities, homeowner resources, etc.		Neighborhood
	Make racial equity a central component in planning and	Design and implement policies and institutional practices that make racial equity a key value	The Government Alliance on Race and Equity has partnered with the City of Seattle to pilot a city-wide racial equity approach to governing and are	Boston Alliance on Race and Equity, City of Boston Office of Fair Housing and Equity, Boston Tenant Coalition, others	City

Domain	Priority	Strategy	Description	Campaigns underway	
				Lead Organizations	Scale
	development		sharing tools with other cities.		
	Use data to understand neighborhood dynamics	Advocate for useful eviction data for public use	The local state will play a key role in encouraging or inhibiting gentrification through actions including: demolition and redevelopment, selective investments in amenities and infrastructure, withdrawal or expansion of tenant protections, affordable housing creation, public-private partnerships to stimulate private investment, zoning decisions, planning priorities, and other means. Some neighborhood improvement efforts will facilitate gentrification.		City
		Track large rent increases (part of Just Cause Eviction)			City
		Track practices and patterns of real estate agents and investors			City
		Track public investment at the neighborhood level and use this information to improve equity in budgeting decisions.			City
	Make displacement prevention a priority	Create a publicly accessible regional database and map of neighborhood change.			City and beyond
		Require a community health impact analysis that includes an assessment of potential displacement impacts for all development projects above a certain size threshold.			City, neighborhood, project-by-project
	Zoning	Push for consistent zoning rules that prioritize land uses which meet the needs of the long-time community			City, neighborhood
Services	Financial stability	Support asset building and financial stability programs for low-income residents	These programs provide a range of services including financial literacy, asset building, and career planning.	The Mass. Special Senate Committee on Housing highlights three such programs.	
	Public Schools	Involve public school leadership, staff and parents in understanding neighborhood changes that might impact on education and schooling			