



Transit-Oriented Displacement or Community Dividends? Understanding the Effects of Smarter Growth on Communities

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Legacy of urban renewal – traumatized neighborhoods



Robert Moses, John D. Rockefeller III, along with various other people involved are sitting on a rooftop in the neighborhood they are demolishing, Lincoln Square, the following day. They are posing with the model of Lincoln Center, which will be built in the neighborhood's place. Seventeen blocks were demolished during Urban Renewal, and 7000 families displaced. -- *Old New York blog*

Defining Displacement

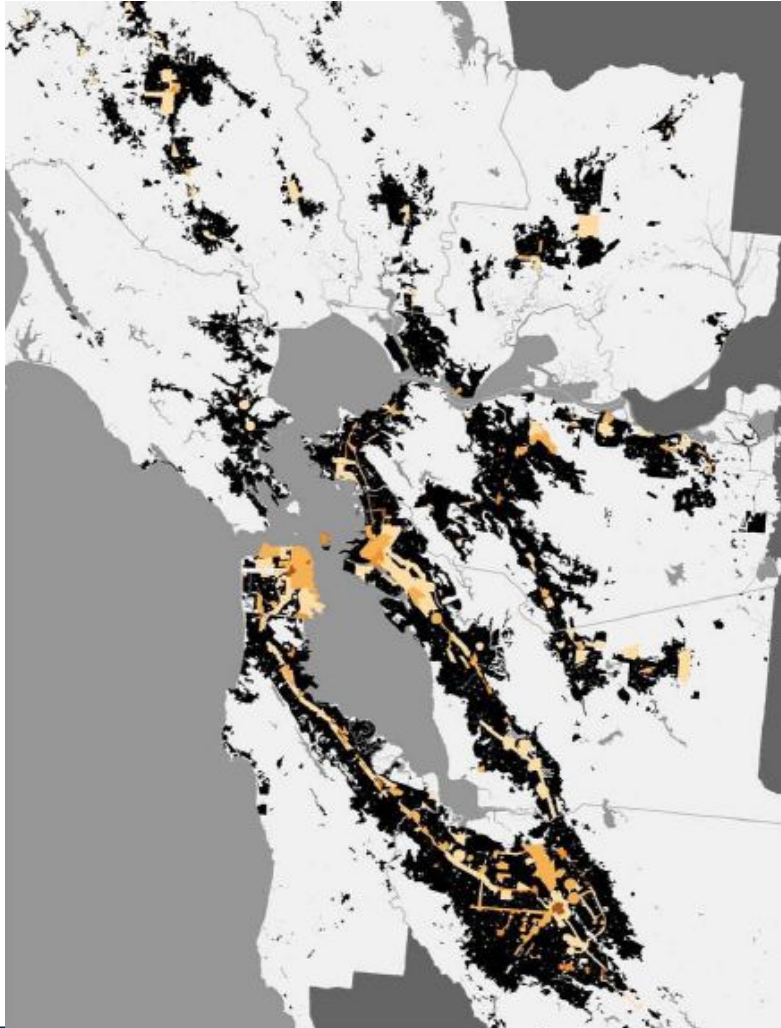
- Displacement can take many different forms:

- | | |
|---|---|
| • Abandonment | • Military base expansion |
| • Accidental fire | • Natural disaster |
| • Airport construction or expansion | • Partition sales |
| • Arson | • Planning and zoning decisions |
| • Code enforcement (incl. overcrowding) | • Public building construction |
| • Conversion of rental apartments to condominiums | • Redlining |
| • Demolition to make way for new housing | • Rehabilitation (private market) |
| • Demolition for safety/health reasons | • Rehabilitation (publicly aided) |
| • Foreclosure | • Renovation of public housing |
| • Highway or transit constructions/ expansion | • Rising market prices and rents |
| • Historic area designation | • School construction |
| • Institutional expansion (universities/hospitals, etc) | • Urban renewal |
| | • Withdrawal of private services from neighborhood or structure |

Source: Grier & Grier, 1978

- Not just evictions and renters, not just “involuntary” and not always about existing residents (exclusionary displacement)
- Not just gentrification:
 - Gentrification = influx of capital and higher-income, higher-educated residents
 - Displacement = forced moves and exclusion related to either investment or *disinvestment*

Regional sustainability planning, urban displacement?



2040 Plan Bay Area:

- 2 million new residents, 1 million new jobs
- 80% of new growth in 5% of land area

=



Methodologies for Analyzing Potential Displacement near Transit

*Funded by California Air Resources Board and
Department of Transportation*



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What do we know?

- **Transit-oriented development around the world**
 - Contradictory goals
 - Challenges of implementing in context of market-driven urbanism
- **Gentrification around transit**
 - Occurring around the world
 - Lack of evidence on displacement
- **Does gentrification mean displacement?**
 - Models that find little relationship between gentrification and displacement, due to poor proxies, limited timeframe (e.g. 1990–2000) and units of analysis...and misspecification
 - Underspecification of models analyzing causes of gentrification (particularly public investment)

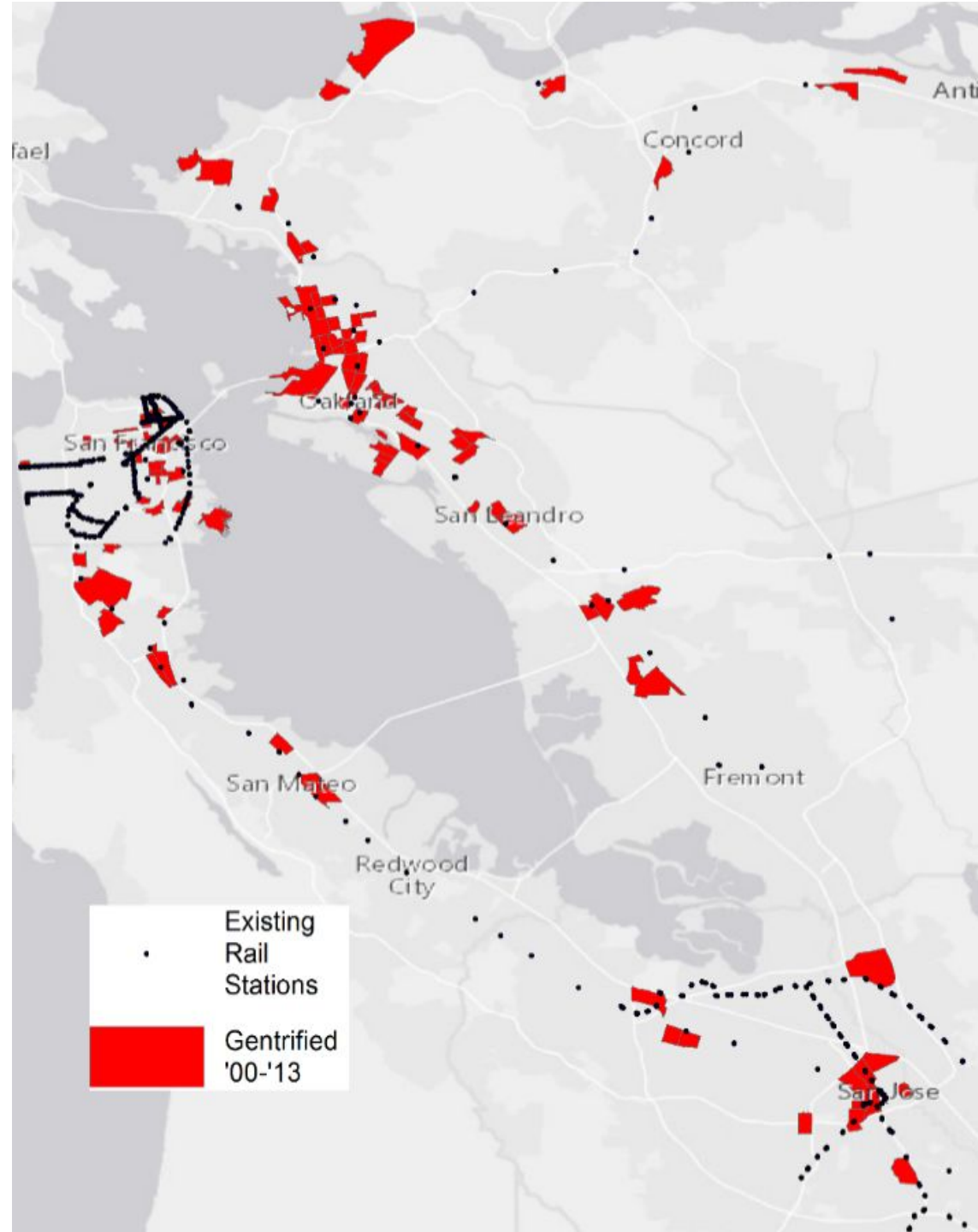
Mixed-methods approach

- Fieldwork and interviews conducted jointly with community-based organizations
- Multi-level (parcel-tract-city) database:

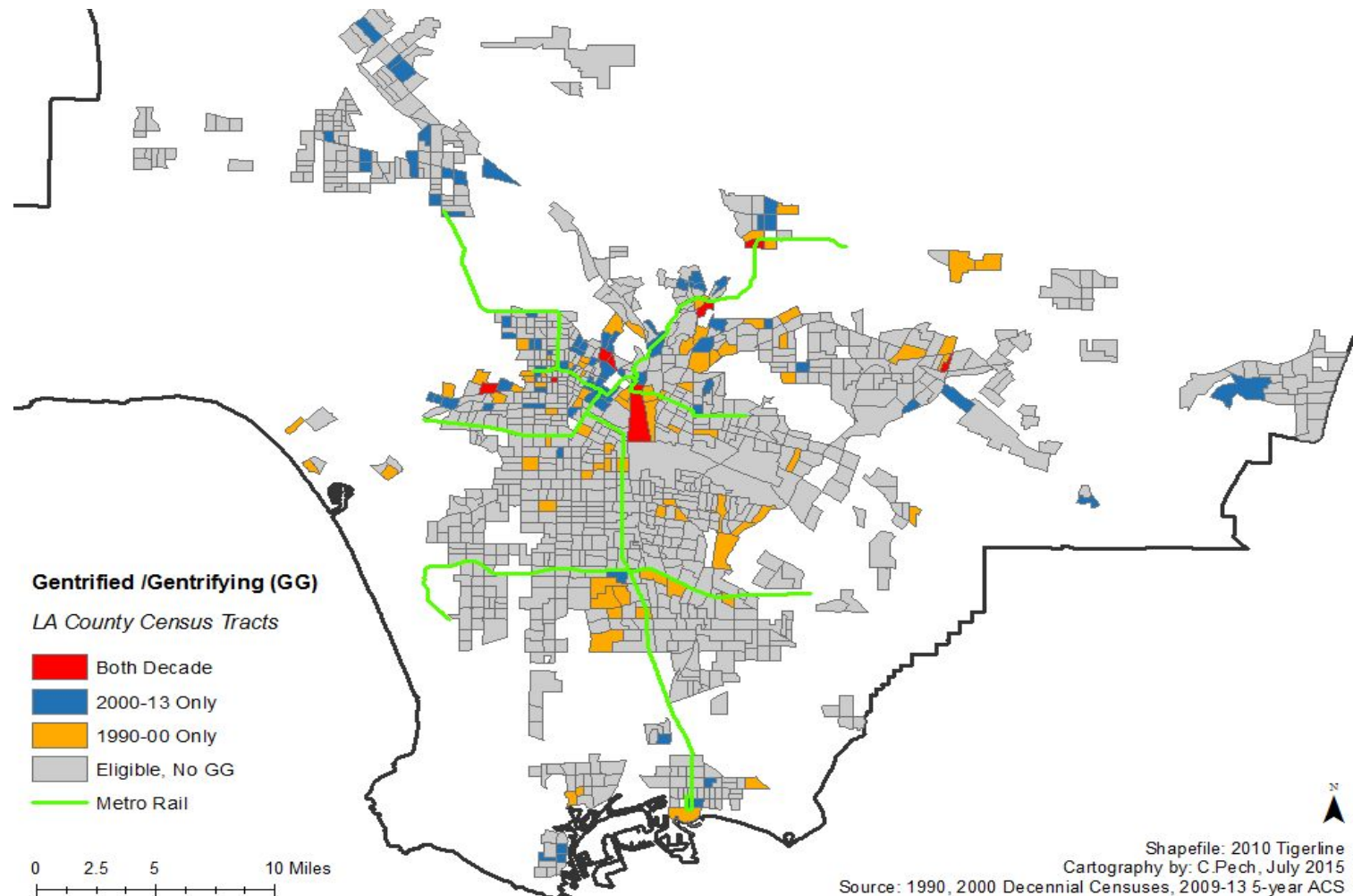
Dataset	Variables	Years
Census	Race, income, age, educational attainment, HH composition, employment, jobs, tenure, vacancies, crowding, housing units, housing burdened, commute mode, car ownership, rent paid, immigration status, nativity, linguistic isolation, income inequality, racial segregation, income bipolarity, % moved-in within last year (by race, education, income, tenure)	1990, 2000, 2010, 2009-2013
Parks/Open Space	Small parks (acres/1000 people) and protected areas (acres/1000 people)	2014
Transit Stations	# rail stations per acre and population	1990, 2000, 2014
Walkability	Average score	2014
Transit ridership (BART, VTA, CalTrain)	# weekday entrances or exits	1992-2014
Residential Building Permits	# permits per year	1980-2013
Potentially rent controlled units	# of potentially rent controlled apt as percentage of total units	
Evictions (SF & LA only)		1998-2013
Non-profits	Total, rec, youth, social services and housing/advocacy-related	1995, 2000, 2010
PUMS	Movement in/out of neighborhood (with race, income, education)	2011, 2010, 2000
Affordable Housing	# deed restricted and public housing units	1990, 2000, 2013
Section 8	# of vouchers	2000-2013
NETS	# jobs, establishments, sales	
Budget	% of general revenue from property taxes	1992-2011
Anti-displacement policies	Production and preservation policies	

There is a
strong
relationship
between
transit
stations and
gentrification

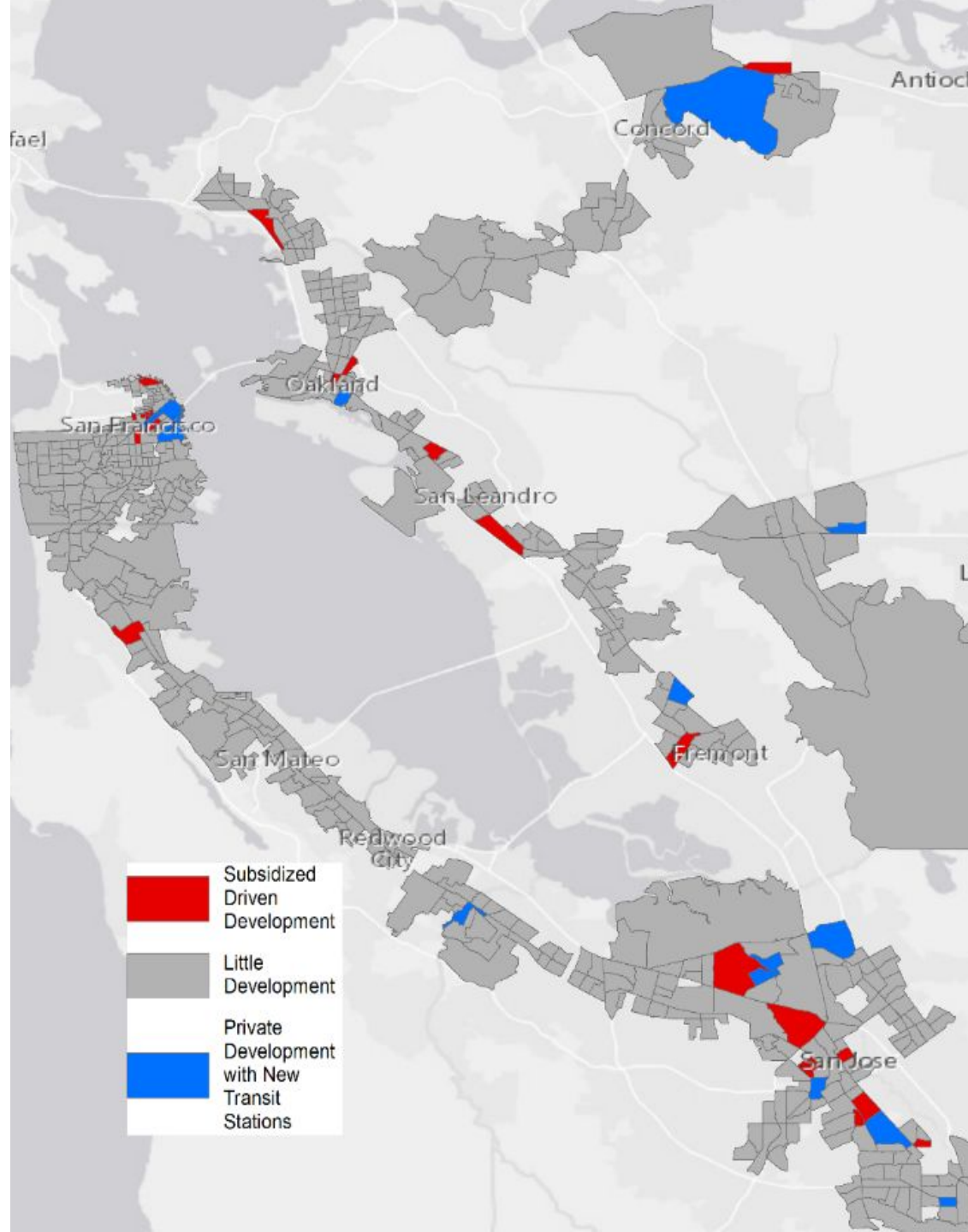
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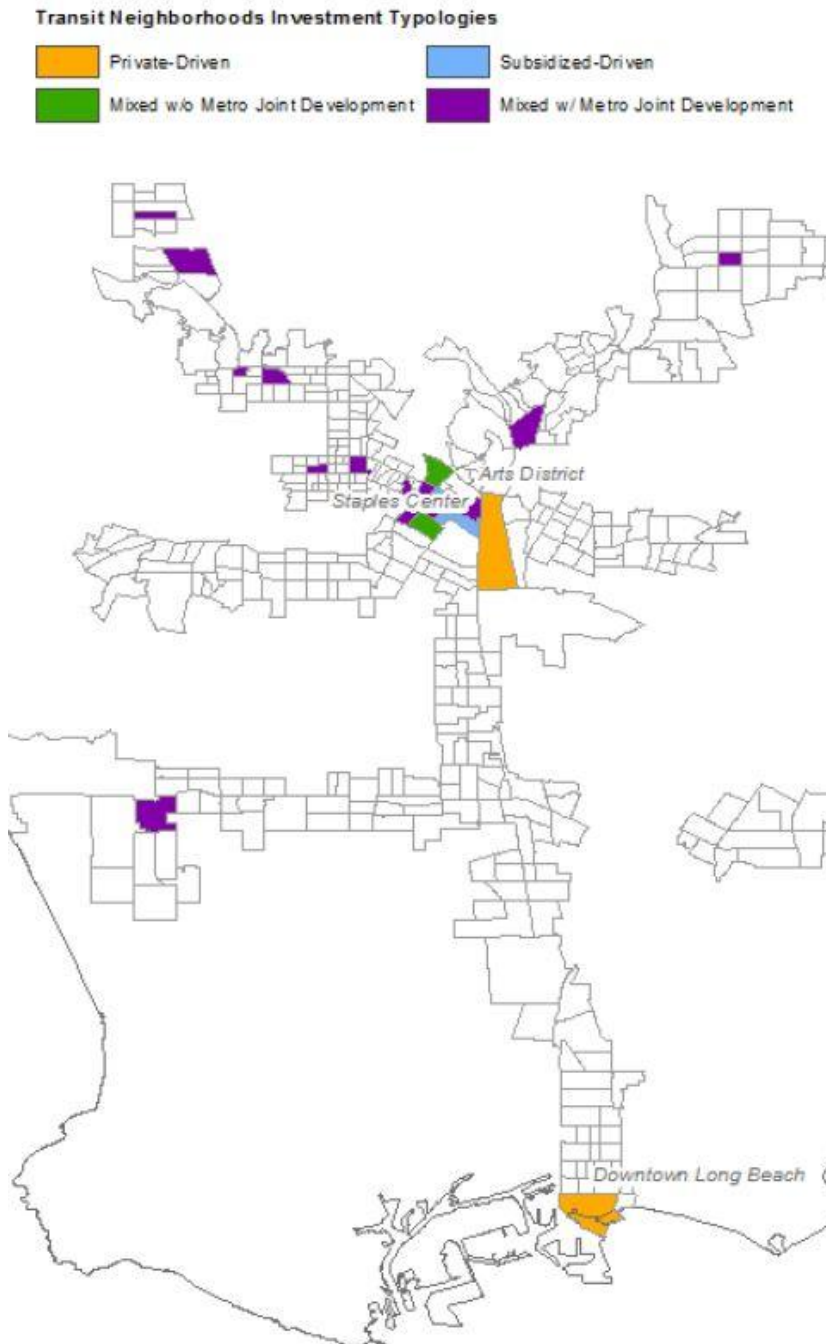
Gentrifying and Gentrified Tracts in Los Angeles



But we are
seeing TOD
without
development



Los Angeles
has had more
success with
joint
development
in TOD areas



Does TOD drive gentrification? It depends: Context and time period matter.

Logit regressions of gentrification, 1990–2000 and 2000–2013, San Francisco Bay Area gentrification-eligible tracts

	1990–2000	2000–2013
Intercept	−6.690***	−4.861***
Median household income (/10,000)	0.692**	0.332
Income squared	−0.032	−0.011
% Non-Hispanic black	0.012	2.030**
% Asian	−0.890	−0.362
% Hispanic	−0.711	−0.242
% Renters	2.373***	0.598
Downtown TOD	1.906***	0.782**
Non-downtown TOD	0.841**	−0.269
TOD 1990s	0.823**	−0.465
TOD 2000–2013		0.354
% Housing units built before 1950	0.438	1.783***
Employment density (# jobs/square mile)	0.000	0.000
Likelihood ratio	219.9***	229.9***
<i>n</i>	640	626

Sources: 1990 and 2000 decennial censuses, 2009–2013 five-year ACS.

Notes: Downtown refers to the entirety of Oakland, San Francisco, and San Jose. TOD refers to transit neighborhoods. Calculations by M. Zuk.

Community-based participatory research



case studies

on Gentrification and Displacement
in the San Francisco Bay Area



WORKING PARTNERSHIPS USA



Regional chains of displacement: Displacement as not an event, but a process



Concord: Displacement with Gentrification Nowhere in Plain Sight



Developer: *"We market to a lot of BART riders. I call them the 'laptop crowd.' ... We have radically modified the population since we took it over in the bankruptcy. At that time it was 99% Latino, either large families or extended families or mercenary groups [e.g., renting beds to unrelated individuals]. ... We've gotten rid of all of that market, we have gotten rid of all the excessive occupation units."*

"I am thinking that the time will come when market prices will sustain a price level here that will make it irresistible for us to no longer run it as a rental operation"

490-square feet “casita” in BoHe for
\$1,600 per month

Mariachi Plaza

T-Mobile 92% 7:25 AM

← Furnished Casita! 5 Min Uber to...
losangeles.craigslist.org

You have everything you need: a place to sleep, a shower, shampoo, fresh towels, soap, convenience to LA, perhaps a new conversation & Ubers are running everywhere around this area.

It's FIVE to EVERYWHERE:

+5 seconds to the MARKET on the corner (mom and pop)

+5 dollars to LA and \$20-25 to the West-side. This is the new neighborhood for artists and hipsters yet it remains a working class neighborhood for the Latino community -- location to LA Arts District however, cannot be beat.

+5 minutes to LA Arts District! My neighbors in the new remodeled units here are young Asians, White-American and Hipsters.

My BoHe Bungalow features new floors, completely remodeled and brand new kitchen, cabinets, appliances, deep sink and a nice landscape.

If you're looking just for a place to crash and enjoy the city it's a perfect little room in a bungalow. Fresh and new. No frills, but cozy.

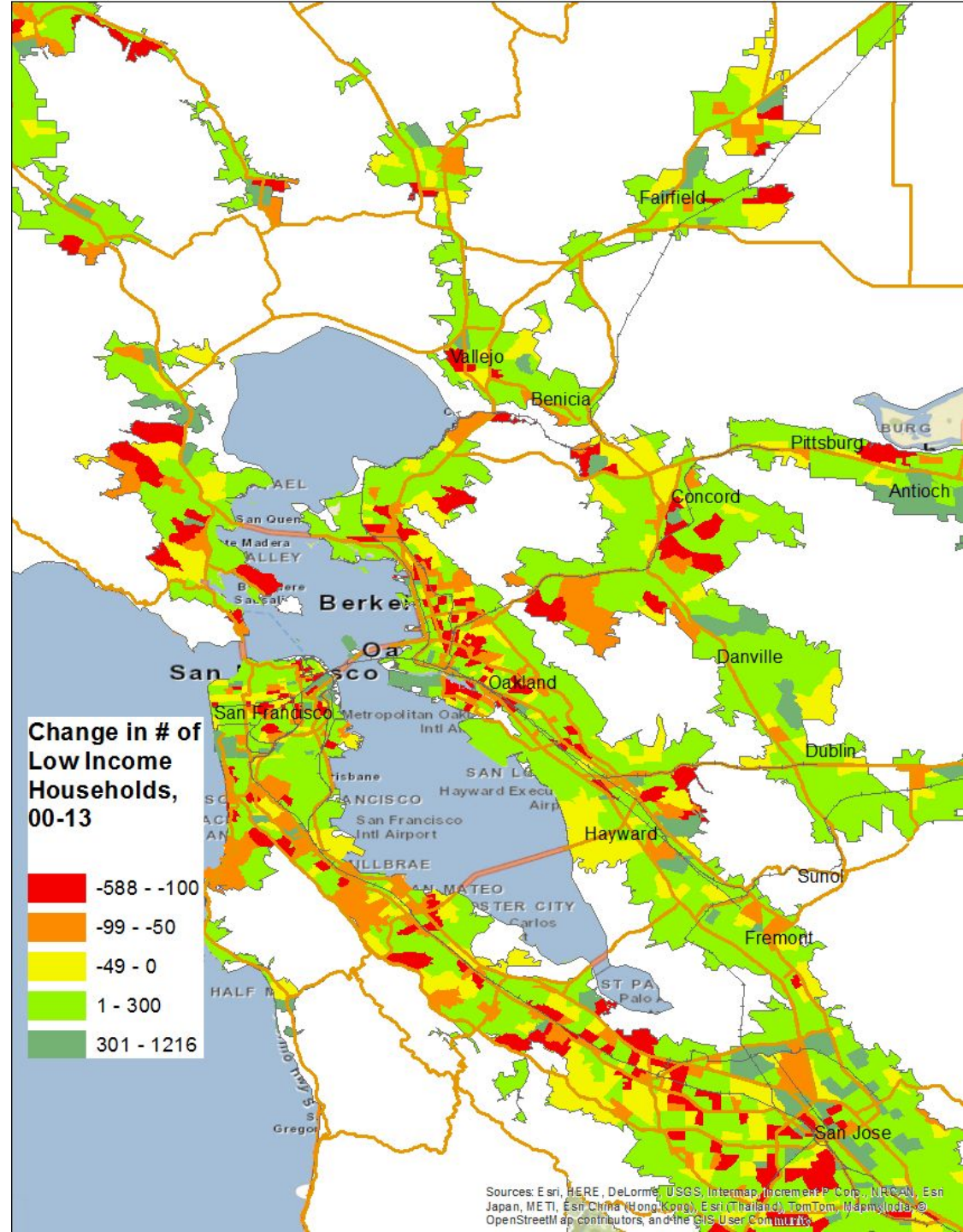


“Since the opening of the station, Mariachi Plaza and its weekly market are increasingly being marketed for cultural tourism. The plaza no longer serves the community but is mostly portrayed and promoted as a place for tourists” (Union de Vecinos, interview)

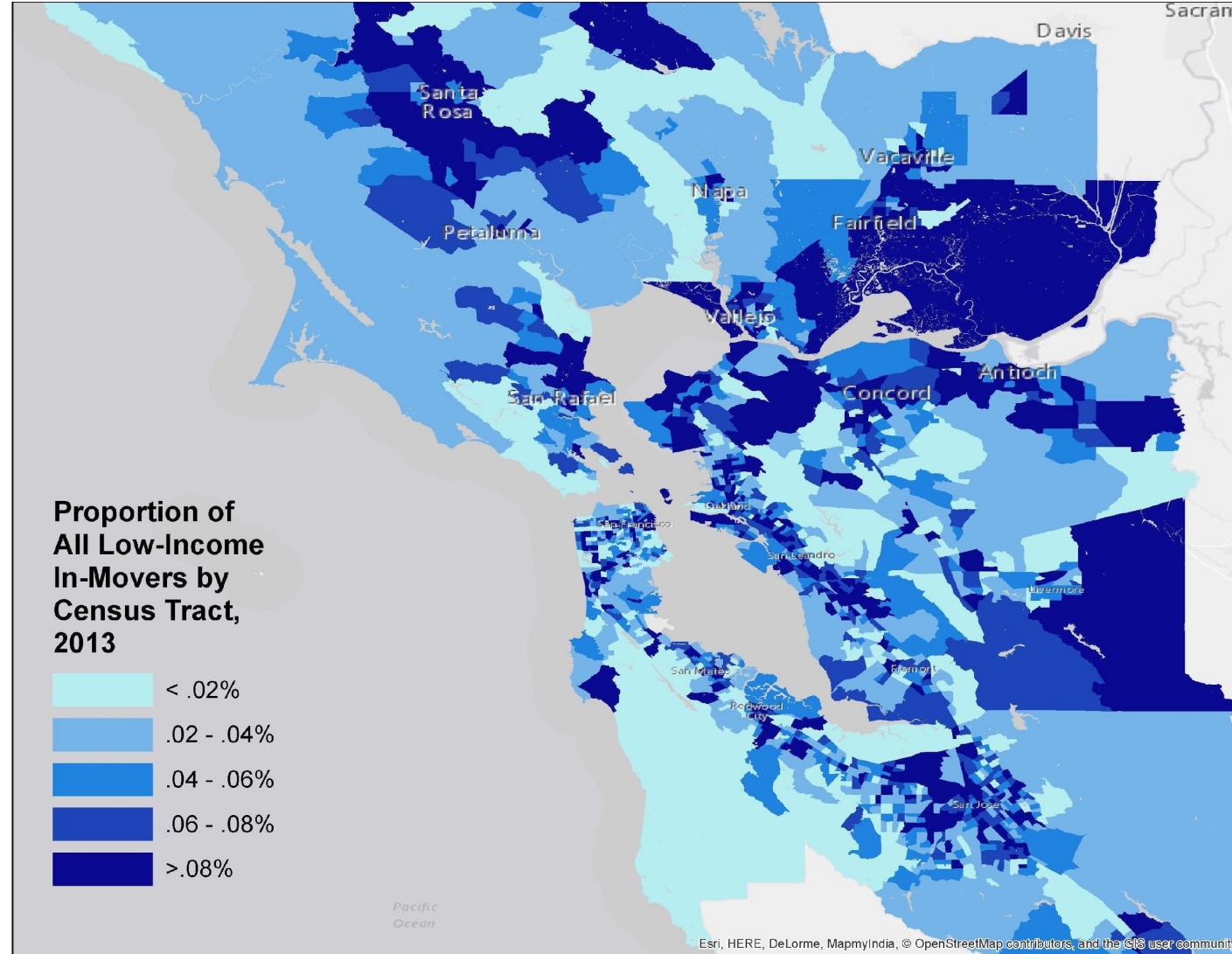
Displacement Indicator #1: Change in Low Income Households

On average tracts **gained** 60 low income households.

Loss proxies for displacement

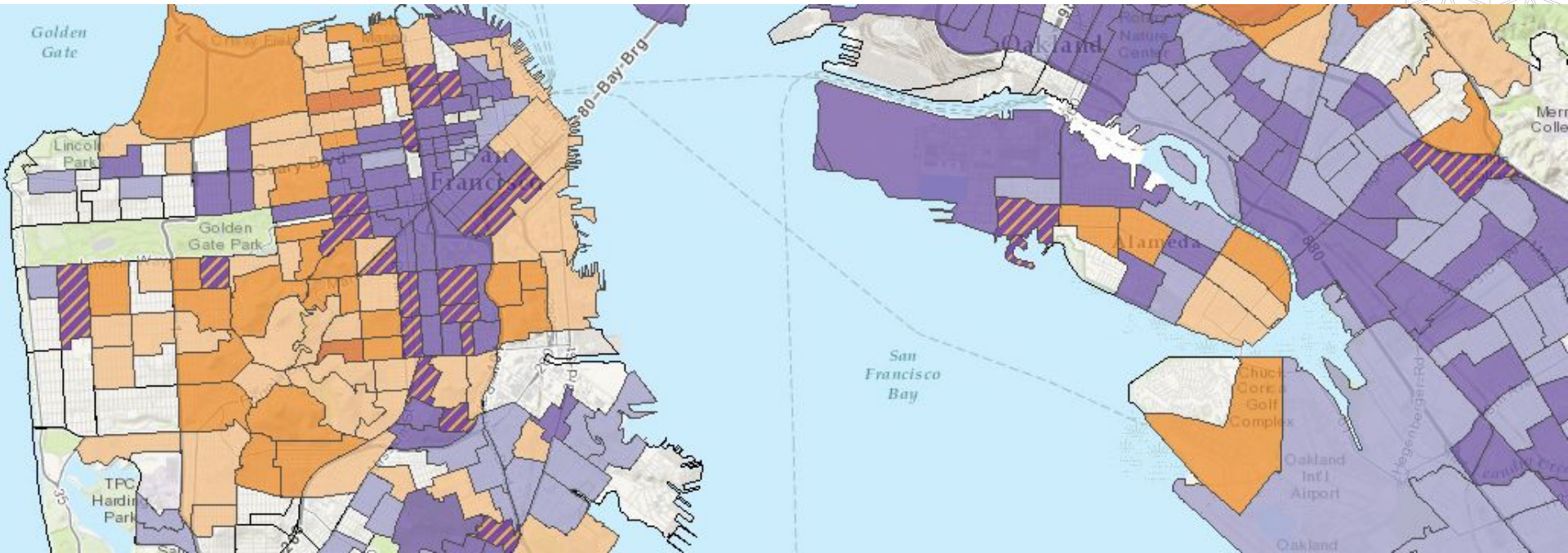


Displacement Indicator #3: Exclusionary displacement of low-income households



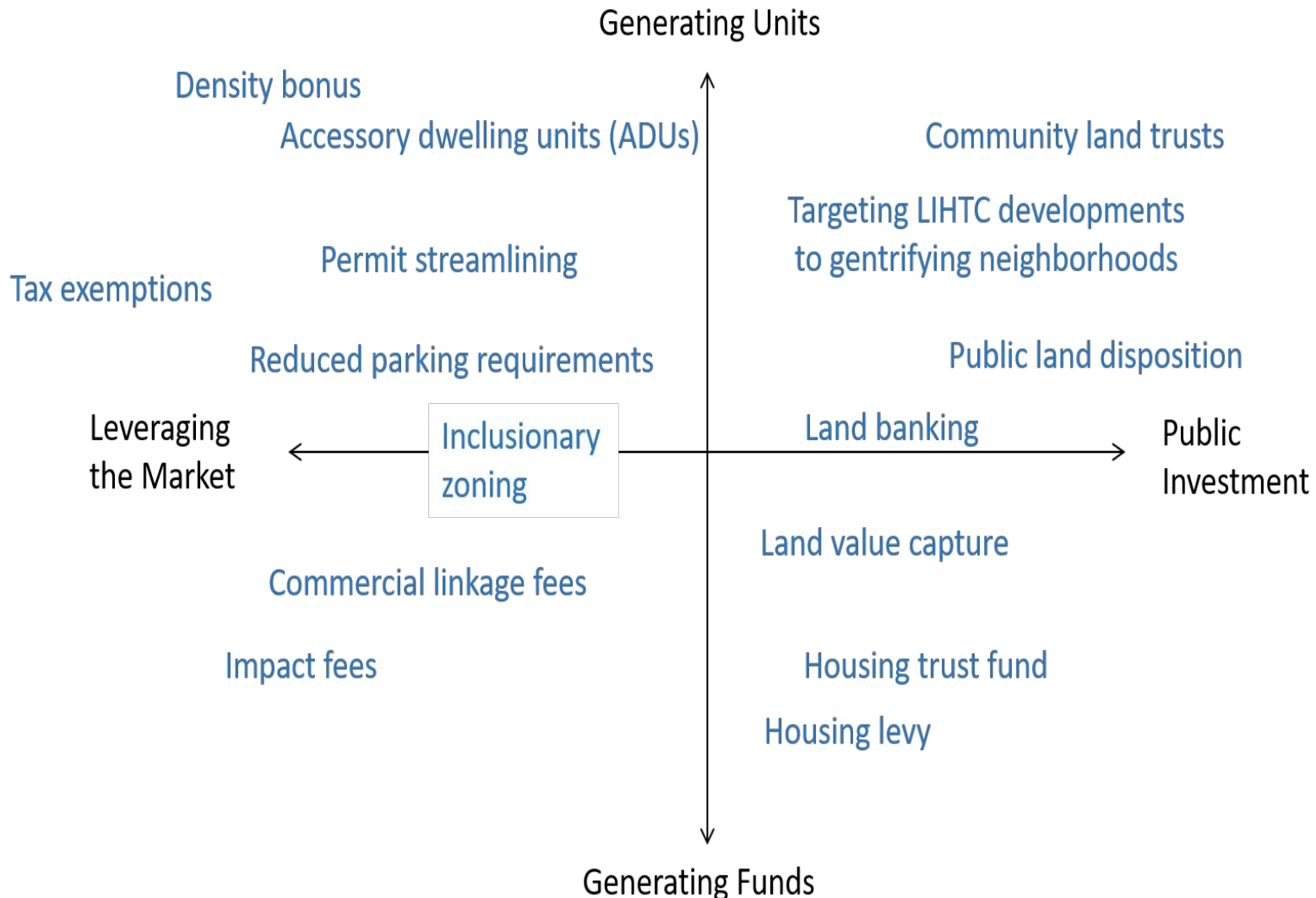
Gentrification typology maps (1990 – 2015)

- Purple = **Low-income**
- Orange = **Moderate/High-income**



urbandisplacement.org

Framework of Affordable Housing Strategies



Framework for Organizing Neighborhood Stabilization Strategies

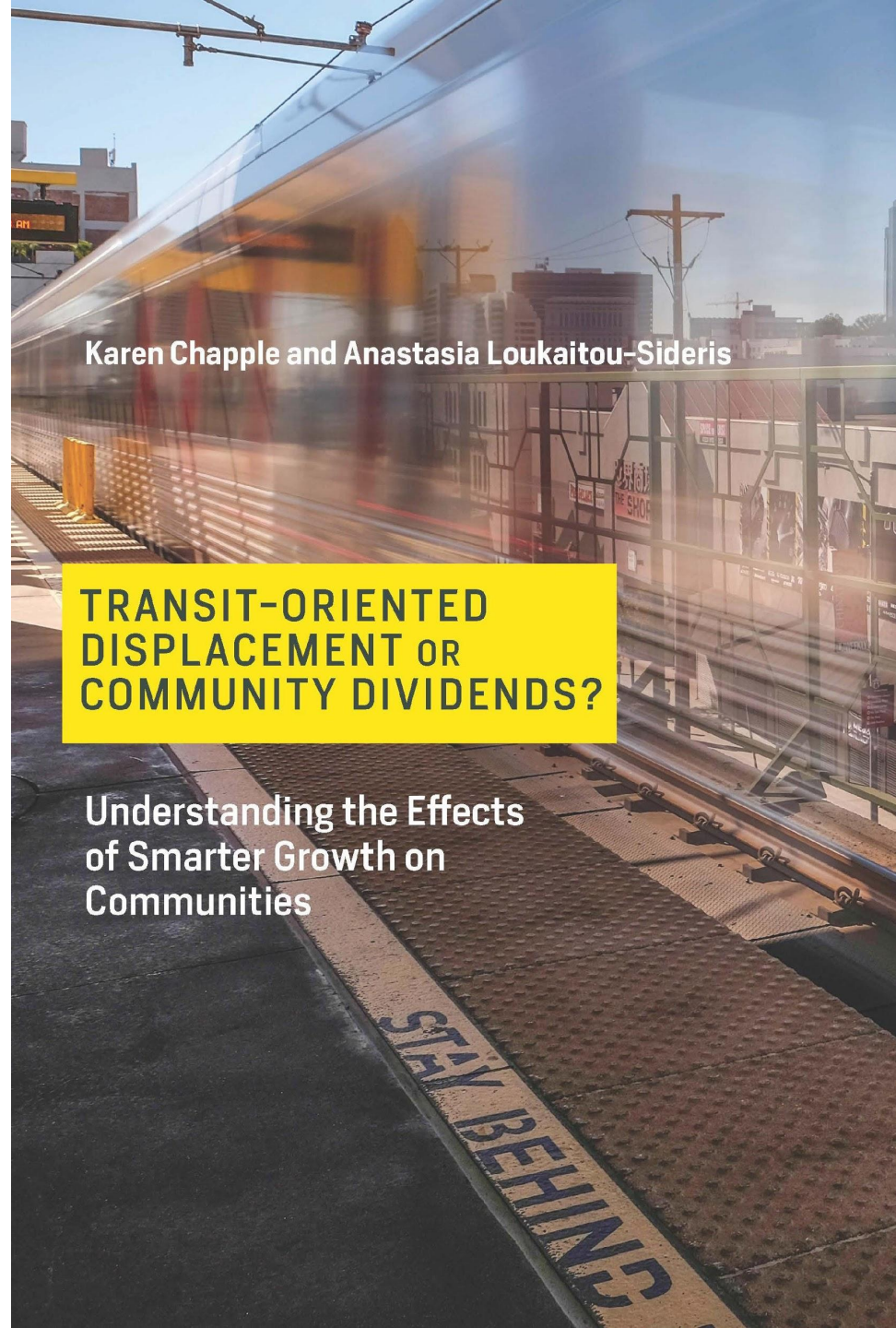
	Preventive	Responsive
People-focused strategies	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Landlord anti-harassment protections• Just cause for evictions ordinances• Rental/foreclosure assistance• Tenant counseling	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Relocation benefits• Right to return policies• Evictee or neighborhood preference policies in housing subsidies
Place/housing unit-focused strategies	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Condominium conversion restrictions• Rent regulation• Right of first refusal• Community land trusts• Proactive code enforcement	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Vacancy control in rent regulations• No-net loss or one-for-one replacement

Available for
FREE download at
www.mitpress.edu

Karen Chapple and Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris

**TRANSIT-ORIENTED
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Understanding the Effects
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For more information, see
www.urbandisplacement.org



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WHAT IS THE NATURE OF GENTRIFICATION AND
DISPLACEMENT IN AMERICAN CITIES?

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URBAN DISPLACEMENT