Community Resistance to Gentrification: What is Effective?

An Annotated Bibliography Created for Rainier Beach: A Beautiful Safe Place for Youth

November 2020

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Community Resistance to Gentrification: What is Effective?

BACKGROUND

Rainier Beach: A Beautiful Safe Place for Youth (RB:ABSPY) is a community-led, place-based initiative that uses evidence-informed interventions in addressing youth victimization and crime in the Rainier Beach neighborhood. RB:ABSPY focuses on five small geographic locations in Rainier Beach where crime has been highly concentrated. This work is led by various organizations including Boys and Girls Clubs of King County, Rainier Beach Action Coalition, Seattle Neighborhood Group, George Mason University, Seattle Department of Neighborhoods, Seattle Office of City Auditor, Seattle Office of Planning and Community Development, Seattle Department of Parks and Recreation, Seattle Police Department, and Seattle Public Schools.

In 2017, the George Mason University’s Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy in collaboration with the City of Seattle Office of City Auditor was awarded a four-year research grant by the U.S. Department of Justice’s National Institute of Justice to build upon the RB:ABSPY initiative. This grant is intended to reduce school discipline and youth exposure to the criminal justice system in Rainier Beach by adapting evidence-based frameworks from the field of education that improve school climate and reduce suspensions and expulsions.

During the February 2020 meeting of the RB:ABSPY Core Team, several community partners raised the difficult decision they face about balancing the need to revitalize their neighborhood with the fear of gentrification. Studies have indicated the linkage between neighborhood improvement and environmental gentrification that leads to the displacement of the residents who worked to improve the conditions of their neighborhood.

This annotated bibliography documents the studies that have examined community-led solutions to gentrification and displacement. We provided annotation for seven articles with practical strategies that RB:ABSPY can adopt in resisting gentrification and displacement. This report was written by IB Osuntoki and Claudia Gross Shader of the Office of City Auditor, City of Seattle. Thanks to Luiza Barbato Montesanti, Shannon Harper, Patrice Thomas, and RB:ABSPY Core Team members for their review. All photographs in this report are courtesy of Rainier Beach Action Coalition.
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KEY TERMS

Community: any configuration of individuals, families, and groups whose values, characteristics, interests, geography, and/or social relations unite them in some ways. (NASEM, 2017)

Community Land Trusts: are nonprofit, community-based organizations that help create permanently affordable housing, build equity, and reduce the displacement that can accompany rapidly rising or falling property values. Community Land Trusts are a key strategy for helping low-income communities build assets through home ownership while mitigating the destructive consequences of speculation and large fluctuations in housing markets. (The Democracy Collaborative, 2015)

Displacement: occurs when any household is forced to move from its residence by conditions which affect the dwelling or immediate surrounding, and which 1) are beyond the household’s reasonable ability to control or prevent; 2) occur despite the household’s having met all previously-imposed conditions of occupancy; and 3) make continued occupancy by that household impossible, hazardous or unaffordable. (Grier & Grier, 1978)

Gentrification: a process of neighborhood change that includes economic change in a historically disinvested neighborhood – by means of real estate investment and new higher-income residents moving in – as well as demographic change, not only in terms of income level, but also in terms of changes in the education level or racial make-up of residents. (Zuk & Chapple, 2015)

Neighborhood: is generally thought of as a small residential area (size not exceeding the bounds of easy walking distance) where there is considerable social interaction between neighbors, and probably some degree of social homogeneity (as defined by class, ethnicity, or other social characteristics). Residents have common interests because they share the same physical space and are likely to have other common interests as well. (Urban Institute, 2003)
FOUR KEY THEMES FROM THE RESEARCH

We identified four key themes concerning community resistance to gentrification and displacement in our literature review: 1) strong community signaling that gentrification is unwelcome; 2) alliances among residents, businesses, and activists; 3) clearinghouse for information-sharing, and 4) pathways for community ownership of properties and land. The hyperlinks below are to research and popular literature that support each theme. For each theme, we identified some questions for possible consideration by RB:ABSPY as they work to address the potential displacement caused by gentrification.

1) **Strong Community Signaling that Gentrification is Unwelcome**

One of the most important things that communities can do to resist gentrification is to take a visible, vocal, unequivocal stance against the displacement of residents. In our literature review, we identified three important ways that communities can signal their resistance to gentrification and assert their rights to thrive in place.

a) **Establish Displacement-Free Zones (DFZs):** The DFZ is a strategy used by communities to defend tenants within a defined block of the neighborhood from eviction. Communities at risk of gentrification map out their neighborhood, inform landlords of their intent to ensure residents are not displaced, and establish protocols if landlords threaten eviction. Further, some communities (e.g. Atlanta) have been successful in advocating for legislation and funding to support their DFZs.

b) **Use Multi-Pronged Social Justice Activism Strategies:** Some communities have established reputations for activism such that no new development proposal goes uncontested. For many communities, resistance to gentrification takes decades of work. Communities that establish and sustain capacity for organizing around social justice strategies such as food justice, transportation justice, and others, can also draw on that strength and reputation to resist gentrification.

As one of the review articles which examined...
Chicago's Pilsen neighborhood stated “Resistance is painstaking work, but it does have an effect. Door-knocking, community meetings, ballot referendums, media coverage and electoral politics can all be marshalled as tools to demonstrate what a democratic vision for the neighbourhood looks like. While these strategies cannot completely forestall gentrification, they can help to draw attention to substantive issues like zoning, affordability, transparency and democratic process that serves to educate long-term residents and gentrifiers alike.”

c) **Build Strong Attachment to Treasured Community Places:**
Some research points to the importance of treasured community places as anchors in community resistance to gentrification. These may include local shops, parks, and arts or community centers. These community assets can create a context that promotes residents’ sense of place, social cohesion, and well-being. Proximity to visible identity in murals, landscape, and community arts also promote strong communal places. However, these community assets should be identified by the community itself. Author Brandi Thompson Summers cautions that the marketplace can “actually encourage(s) neoliberal exploitation” and commodification of diversity in which trendy Black-branded destinations push out small authentic Black-owned businesses. Identifying and supporting authentic small local businesses and places that are treasured by existing residents can provide a bulwark against these market forces.

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**Food for Thought: Questions for Consideration for RB:ABSPY**

- How does gentrification and the threat of gentrification affect the work of RB:ABSPY? Is it important for RB:ABSPY to take an official stance on gentrification?
- How might RB:ABSPY’s work help to signal that gentrification is unwelcome?
- Are there changes that could be made to RB:ABSPY’s logo or branding that might help reinforce the desire that existing residents not be pushed out, but rather remain and thrive in Rainier Beach?
- Might RB:ABSPY have a role in creating more opportunities for public art that celebrates the Rainier Beach community, such as the mural outside the Rainier Beach Action Coalition office?
- What are the places that RB:ABSPY might consider “treasured places”? How might RB:ABSPY further showcase and support these places?
- How might RB:ABSPY further support youth and young adults who are interested in working on anti-gentrification efforts?
- Are there other ideas that come from thinking about ways that community can signal that gentrification is unwelcome?
2) **Alliances Among Residents, Businesses, and Activists**

Gentrification can adversely affect residents, businesses, and other organizations alike. In fact, the Prevention Institute notes that “commercial displacement often precedes residential displacement in neighborhoods and can jeopardize community connectedness and stability. When small businesses, including community serving ‘mom and pop’ shops, are displaced, it can have a multiplying effect; they support not just the families of employees but their neighborhood as a whole.”

a) **Form Alliances with Other Groups and Organizations**: It makes sense for residents at risk of displacement to form alliances with local businesses, other organizations, and activist groups. Two examples of such coalitions are: United Neighbors in Defense Against Displacement (UNIDAD) in Los Angeles and Great Communities Collaborative in the San Francisco Bay area.

b) **Include Wide Array of Sectors**: The literature recommends including a wide array of sectors in these anti-gentrification alliances, including artists, art activists, and environmental justice activists, as demonstrated in the Little Village neighborhood of Chicago. The Pilsen Alliance in Chicago includes a number of artists on their board of directors. In Houston, the alliances established outside of Northern Third Ward neighborhood with several nonprofit organizations, academic institutions, and other stakeholders led to the formation of an economic development council whose mission is to resist gentrification.

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**Food for Thought: Questions for Consideration for RB:ABSPY**

- What are the alliances that RB:ABSPY already has in place with other organizations? Might it make sense to map-out these alliances so that RB:ABSPY can see what is in place and consider what might be missing or needed?

- As we learned from the February 2020 RB: ABSPY Core Team discussion, the issues of community safety and gentrification (and gentrification threat) are interrelated. How might RB:ABSPY want to continue this conversation in the community (e.g. town halls, virtual book club, youth-led anti-gentrification work) and what voices should be included?

- What more might RB:ABSPY do to continue the discussion and learning about the interplay between community safety and gentrification within the RB:ABSPY team (e.g., all-staff trainings that bring together Safe Passage, Corner Greeters, Circle Keepers, etc.)?

- In what additional ways might RB:ABSPY work with small businesses in Rainier Beach to promote community safety and resist gentrification?

- Are there other ideas that come from thinking about forming alliance in the Rainier Beach community?
3) **Clearinghouse for Information-Sharing**

The literature suggests that communities can strengthen their resistance to gentrification by proactively monitoring gentrification activities. Monitoring gentrification includes analyzing the **predictive factors of gentrification** in a neighborhood and collecting data on changes to buildings, real estate prices, rents, property taxes, demographics, zoning laws, and changes in street parking policies. A community organization usually serves as the hub for gathering and sharing this information.

a) **Set-up a System to Track Gentrification Activities:** The San Francisco Anti Displacement Coalition and Anti-Eviction Mapping Project use data-virtualization, data analysis, and storytelling collective to implement this strategy by tracking, documenting, and raising awareness about displacement.

4) **Pathways for Community Ownership of Properties and Land**

As identified in the literature review, one of the most effective ways for communities to resist gentrification is to control ownership of properties and land. Community control of land can take many forms, from the purchase of a single parcel of land by a community organization (see Rainier Beach Action Coalition photo below) to many parcels that are held by community land trusts. Community land trusts are community-run, nonprofit landholding organizations that sell or rent the units on the land they own, usually with the intent of keeping that housing affordable in perpetuity.

a) **Acquire Single Parcels to Raise Awareness and Build Capacity:** Community control of land is a strategy that has been effective even for very small grassroots community organizations, such as Moms4Housing in Oakland. Their efforts raised awareness for

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**Food for Thought: Questions for Consideration for RB:ABSPY**

- Is there currently an organization(s) in Rainier Beach that monitors gentrification activities? If so, how is that information shared, and how might RB:ABSPY connect to this work?
- Might it make sense for RB:ABSPY to become more involved in the proactive monitoring of gentrification activities? What might that look like? What might be the role in that for youth and young adults?
- Are there other ideas that come from thinking about information sharing and proactive monitoring?
housing equity in Oakland, and the house at the focus of their work was returned to community control.

b) **Explore Multiple Pathways to Community Ownership:** Some of the pathways in the extensive body of research that discussed community ownership of properties include:

- Promoting policies that deter interest-oriented land developers in favor of a community-oriented determination of land use for beneficial spaces that improve their well-being.
- Public/city acquiring private land and relinquishing control to the community.
- Identifying community members as stakeholders for public sector planners to engage.
- Promoting policies that support the formation of Community Land Trusts.
- Promoting policies that protect residents such as tenant’s first right to purchase which ensures that a landlord offers the sale of their property to the tenants at a reasonable price before considering other potential buyers.

**Food for Thought: Questions for Consideration for RB:ABSPY**

- The photo above illustrates some of the ways that RBAC’s strategies for community ownership of land are currently linked with RB:ABSPY work (e.g., the Positive Behavioral Interventions and Supports yard signs). Might it make sense to deepen or expand these linkages and make them more overt and intentional? If so, how might RB:ABSPY do that?
- Might it be helpful for RB:ABSPY to have an information-exchange with other communities that are working on the interrelated goals of community ownership and community safety? These might include organizations in other jurisdictions (e.g., Oakland) as well as other organizations in the Seattle area (e.g., Africatown Community Land Trust). What might that information-sharing look like, and what might be the role of youth and young adults?
- Are there other ideas that come from thinking about community land and connecting with other communities?

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1 Positive Behavioral Interventions and Supports is an evidence-based, proactive approach use to improve students’ social and academic outcomes by identifying, supporting, and promoting desired positive behaviors in school and community settings.
# ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

## Overview of the annotated studies

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‘x’ indicates the key strategies that each study describes

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### Study 1: Toward a socially acceptable gentrification: A review of strategies and practices against displacement


This article, from researchers in Canada, identifies the few strategies that have been proposed in studies for mitigating displacement. Even though a wide range of materials was excluded from this systematic review due to the rigorous methods used by the authors, a significant amount of recent works in English, French, and Spanish were added. The authors believe that gentrification can be controlled to avoid any kind of displacement. This study is innovative in categorizing the strategies and tools for controlling gentrification-induced displacement which include:

- Tenants’ protection strategies – relocation assistance, tax exemption/relief, laws against harassment, home purchase assistance, renovation assistance, tenant’s first right to purchase, location efficient mortgages, rent skewing, rent subsidies, rent control;
- Controlling ownership and development strategies – municipal land-use control, inclusionary zoning, housing cooperative, affordable housing provision, housing trust funds, property transfer taxes, anti-speculation taxes, luxury
housing taxes, progressive real property taxes, expropriation, community land trusts; and

- Community empowerment strategies – participation, social movements, local job creation, educating the local population, legal assistance, and community benefits agreement.

**Takeaways for RB:ABSPY**

This article identifies the main driving forces for successful strategies that RB:ABSPY can rely on, such as public intervention and political will, community participation, bottom-up planning processes, embedded local community solidarity, community movements, political activism, and public/private/community partnership.

**Study 2: “We want to do it differently”: Resisting gentrification in Houston’s Northern Third Ward**


This article discusses the community mobilization steps taken by one of Houston’s oldest African American communities in resisting gentrification. Defining community mobilization as a method of residents participating in institution building, setting goals around community control, assessing relationships, and creating linkage with other organizations, the authors propose that community mobilization should be the first stage in the community development process toward resisting gentrification. This article identifies the importance of local sociopolitical policies in accelerating gentrification. Houston policies tend to favor privatization, individualism, and lack progressive inclusionary community participation in neighborhood planning. The authors provide a comprehensive description of the revitalization activities focused on community control and preservation that the community group – Emancipation Economic Development Council (EEDC) – embarked on through democratic deliberation and shared decision-making. EEDC members learned about the concept of social control of land through a Community Learning Trust, permanent affordable housing, and community development advocacy and policy.

**Takeaways for RB:ABSPY**

Like Northern Third Ward, RB:ABSPY has few mechanisms in place that would enable lower-income renters and homeowners to remain in a gentrifying neighborhood. An important first step is mobilizing community members and allies inside and outside the neighborhood to study models like Community Land Trust as a mechanism for removing the private market as the determinant of land uses.


In this article, the author examines the use of tenant right-to-purchase rent control law in resisting developer-led gentrification and its accompanying displacement in the Adams-Morgan neighborhood of Washington, D.C. The author recognizes the strategies that were used during the mid-2000s by activists proactively engaged in community planning. Examples include disrupting the activities of San Francisco’s planning department; declaring a Brooklyn neighborhood a “Displacement Free Zone”; and directly influencing landlord decisions via negotiating evictions. He concludes that the gentrification process can be actively contested by organized communities as demonstrated by the Adams-Morgan Organization (AMO) while acknowledging the political and legal opportunities that need to be present for these efforts to be successful.

The author explains how the neighborhood group employed a clause from Washington D.C.’s rent control law to save an apartment building. The law was from the 1970s and gave tenants the right of first refusal if their landlords were to sell their housing units. AMO organized fund-raising events to generate enough money for down payment and closing costs and partnered with private groups, individuals and government agencies for legal assistance and loan acquisition. The author addressed how a redlined community can be subjected to gentrification. This article is a testament to how a community can use otherwise old policies in solving current issues.

**Takeaways for RB:ABSPY**

RB:ABSPY might consider examining existing housing policies and tenant protection rights that they can employ in their fight against displacement. In Washington State, laws about condominium conversion (i.e., RCW Chapter 64.34.440) give tenants the right to buy their own unit. RB:ABSPY might consider advocating for similar laws for tenants residing in other types of buildings.

Study 4: Organizing Against Gentrification, Fighting the Free Market: The Displacement-Free Zone Campaign

Dulchin, B. (2003). Organizing Against Gentrification, Fighting the Free Market: The Displacement-Free Zone

This article describes an approach used by a community group in Brooklyn’s Lower Park Slope neighborhood to stop gentrification and tenant displacement. Topics covered include the failure of rent regulations to protect tenants in a small apartment building and the history of the establishment of a Displacement-Free Zone (DFZ). The DFZ is a group of neighborhood square blocks. Committees of residents

takes steps to ensure that landlords are held accountable for evictions resulting from gentrification in the DFZ. The steps include:

1) The local clergy and community leaders sending landlords letters asking them to do the right thing and reconsider eviction.

2) If that fails, the local legal services office may mount an aggressive defense in court based on technicalities to prolong the eviction and make it more expensive for the landlord to proceed. The local community leaders will contact the landlord again in the hope that he or she will now negotiate.

3) If they are unsuccessful, the DFZ committee plans a campaign to hold the landlord publicly accountable for his or her actions. This may involve a picket at the landlord’s home, a boycott of the landlord’s business, or other creative, public strategies. The action is designed to bring the landlord to the negotiating table to arrange a compromise that allows the tenant to stay.

This article examined the proven effectiveness of limited DFZ campaigns in raising awareness about gentrification and proactively deterring landlords from evicting long-term residents.

**Takeaways for RB:ABSPY**

RB:ABSPY might consider mapping out zones that can be established as DFZs. This will involve identifying respected community leaders in Rainier Beach, outreach to tenants to inform them of the supports available to them, and sending landlords notice of the steps that will be taken if they try to evict their tenants as a result of gentrification-driven displacement.

**Study 5: When art meets monsters: Mapping art activism and anti-gentrification movements in Seoul**


This article examines the anti-commercial gentrification movements led by artists in Seoul, South Korea. The authors drew upon the recognition of commercial gentrification as the disagreement and social conflict between business tenants and landlords. They recognize the intricate connection between commercial gentrification and residential gentrification.

Takeout Drawing (TOD), an art gallery and café emerged as a sanctuary for artists to strategize and build their movement. With the objective of making sure their neighborhood remained a “boundless” land of opportunity and affordability for artists, the TOD resisted threats from private security officers contracted by landlords. The movement is comprised of a wide range of stakeholders – indie musicians, filmmakers, novelists, visual artists, performing artists, photographers, designers, business tenants, young residential tenants, and cultural
activists. Stakeholders recognize the impacts of gentrification on their livelihoods and joined the movement to ensure their right to remain.

**Takeaways for RB:ABSPY**

This case study demonstrates that persistent pressure from grassroots movements can create the shift in urban politics and power to result in social change. RB:ABSPY might consider how to partner with local artists who can use their skills and talents in showcasing community members’ perspectives on gentrification.

**Study 6: Environmental justice meets the right to stay put: mobilizing against environmental racism, gentrification, and xenophobia in Chicago’s Little Village**


In this article, the authors identified efforts the community used in response to gentrification in the Little Village neighborhood of Chicago. The authors acknowledge the intersecting and interlocking struggles against environmental racism, gentrification, and xenophobia and how the framework of environmental justice can be applied to these issues.

Environmental gentrification, which involves the capital accumulation that attracts investors as a result of a shift in a neighborhood’s greenness and pollution perception, leads to displacement of working-class and minority residents who might have been instrumental in fighting the pollution in their neighborhood. The article examines the efforts of the community organization, Little Village Environmental Justice Organization (LVEJO), in tracking the slow violence of gentrification and resisting displacement through an environmental justice lens by emphasizing the need for people to enjoy the benefits of their work in improving their environment. LVEJO’s sustainability plans for their neighborhood focus on creating green space, jobs and ensuring the community is affordable to working-class residents and Latinx immigrants, in addition to promoting both formal and informal economies.

**Takeaways for RB:ABSPY**

Rainier Beach might consider identifying existing movements with intersecting principles whose efforts can be amplified in resisting gentrification-induced displacements.
**Study 7: Gentrification, Displacement, and the Role of Public Investment: A Literature Review**


In this literature review, professors from the University of California examined the vast bodies of literature on the issues of neighborhood change leading to gentrification and its subsequent effect of displacement. The authors provided historical perspectives on neighborhoods and change by highlighting the roles of race, class, and segregation.

This article also documents the negative impacts of gentrification, mainly displacement, and the role of transit investment in neighborhood change. Although the authors concluded that the assessment tools they examined are limited in predicting and mitigating change, the predictors developed by the Brookings Institution and PolicyLink might be a tool for communities to conduct an initial risk assessment of their neighborhoods. The factors identified to be predictive factors of gentrification include:

a) a high rate of renters,
b) ease of access to job centers,
c) high and increasing levels of metropolitan congestion,
d) high architectural value,
e) comparatively low housing values,
f) high job growth,
g) constrained housing supply,
h) large rent gap,
i) urban amenities,
j) targeted public sector policies (tax incentives, public housing revitalization, construction of transit facilities, disposition of city-owned properties, code enforcement, etc.), and
k) growing preference for urban amenities.

**Takeaways for RB:ABSPY**

Some of the predictors identified in this article apply to the Rainier Beach neighborhood. RB: ABSPY might consider using one of the tools in this article to conduct a risk assessment of their community.
## ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

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▪ Our Anti-Gentrification, Buy-Back the Block Campaign (Community Movement Builders)  
▪ How This Philadelphia Neighborhood is Gentrifying Without Displacement (Next City)  
| **Alliances Among Residents, Businesses, and Activists (e.g., Art Activists)** | ▪ On the Path to Equitable Development: Partnerships are Key to Combating Gentrification and Displacement (Urban Waters Learning Network)  
▪ Healthy Development Without Displacement  
| **Clearinghouse for Information-Sharing** | ▪ Mapping the Anti-Eviction Struggle in the San Francisco Bay Area: Anti-Eviction Map  
| **Pathways for Community Ownership of Properties and Land** | ▪ Affordable Housing, Always (The Atlantic)  
▪ In Search of Answers on Gentrification (CityLab)  
▪ Combating Gentrification Through Equitable Development (Reimagine)  
SOME LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS IMPLEMENTING ANTI-GENTRIFICATION PROJECTS

1. Wa Na Wari - https://www.wanawari.org/
3. King County’s Communities of Opportunity - https://www.coopartnerships.org/about-coo

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION ON GENTRIFICATION AND DISPLACEMENT

1. Displacement Explainer Video by the Urban Displacement Project - https://www.urbandisplacement.org/pushedout
2. Gentrification Explainer Video by the Urban Displacement Project - https://www.urbandisplacement.org/gentrification-explained
3. The Legacy of Redlining Video by the Urban Displacement Project - https://www.urbandisplacement.org/redlining
4. PolicyLink’s All-In Cities Initiative Housing/Anti-Displacement Toolkit - https://allincities.org/toolkit
8. Infographic: Community Land Trusts - https://community-wealth.org/content/infographic-community-land-trusts
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