



The North Minneapolis Greenway: A Report on Anti-Displacement Strategies Along the Proposed Bike Trail

Prepared in Partnership with
Alliance for Metropolitan Stability

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December 16, 2016

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Executive Summary

Valid concerns exist regarding the potential for gentrification and a decrease in affordable housing opportunities for lower income residents and renters living in North Minneapolis. While an amenity such as a new greenway may not specifically be the catalyst that suddenly spurs gentrification, it can be viewed as part of a larger force in which communities that had previously experienced disinvestment become targets of investment and speculative housing practices.

The Alliance for Metropolitan Stability has been working in North Minneapolis to help better understand the impacts of the implementation of a greenway in North Minneapolis and the ways in which the proposed North Minneapolis Greenway can be developed to avoid the involuntary displacement of residents near the greenway. The focus of this research is related to the following question:

How can the North Minneapolis Greenway be developed in such a way as to avoid the involuntary displacement of residents near the Greenway and mitigate gentrification?

When examining the different housing and demographic characteristics of the neighborhoods along the Greenway, there is a lot of diversity. Based on a spatial analysis of the greenway, three distinct sections were identified with different demographic and geographic differences.

Through an analysis of literature reviews and case studies, we identified that strategies to mitigate gentrification involve a combination of Housing, Economic, and Social interaction. These strategies include:

- Housing: Partner with City of Lakes Community Land Trust, Property Tax Abatement and Rental Gap Assistance Funds, Urban Infill
- Economic: Community Benefit Agreement (CBA)/Tax Increment Financing (TIF) and Community Improvement District (CID)
- Social: Community-Oriented Crime Prevention, City-sponsored Community Events for Northside Residents, Co-op Model for Neighborhood Ownership and public art

Based on the diversity of neighborhoods along the proposed North Minneapolis Greenway, we conclude that in order to mitigate gentrification, specific strategies tied to specific geographies should be prioritized and applied. We recommend selecting a combination of Housing, Economic, and Social strategies to ensure that the development of the greenway does not perpetuate involuntary displacement.

Background & Gentrification

In 2012, the City of Minneapolis began exploring the idea of converting a low-traffic street in North Minneapolis into a linear park-like trail for bikes and pedestrians, known as the North Minneapolis Greenway. The project is currently in the community engagement phase of planning to decide whether or not the project should move forward, and if it does, what the implementation process should look like. One concern raised about the implementation of a greenway is its potential to cause gentrification in the areas of North Minneapolis that are in close proximity to the greenway.

What is Gentrification?

Gentrification is the economic and social investment into an area that had previously experienced disinvestment, which can lead to involuntary displacement of low-income renters and historically marginalized groups, which may result in changes to the interpersonal relationships between individuals in the community. This definition is a synthesis of definitions from peer-reviewed literature and the definitions put forward by Northside residents in focus groups.

How does Gentrification relate to the North Minneapolis Greenway?

A large public investment, like the creation of a greenway, can be an attractive amenity to upwardly mobile citizens. Those who are able may choose to locate closer to such amenities, which can drive up the demand for housing, in turn increasing the cost of living near the greenway. This can cause the involuntary displacement of residents who no longer can afford to pay their increasing rents or property taxes, forcing them to move to a more affordable area. This can have negative social and economic implications on the neighborhood and its community.

Gentrification in Minneapolis

A study conducted in 2016 by the Center for Urban and Regional Affairs (CURA) sought to examine gentrification in Minneapolis from 2000 to 2014 ¹. The research involved using three separate and respected gentrification studies using quantitative indices developed by Lance Freeman (2005), Lisa Bates (2013), and Lei Ding (2015). CURA looked for agreement between two of the three studies before labeling a tract as gentrifying when conducting their research in Minneapolis and Saint Paul.

A working definition of gentrification was initially applied to determine whether a census tract was gentrifiable or non-gentrifiable in these studies, which involved evidence of lower income residents being displaced from neighborhoods which had previously experienced disinvestment. Evidence of the influx of relatively affluent gentry, an increase in investment, and evidence of displacement were general indicators a neighborhood had been experiencing gentrification.

The Bates Model was selected for our analysis of gentrification to better understand the neighborhoods which the greenway will pass through. This method includes the most indices for understanding neighborhood change at a micro and macro level, while also including changes in the demographic composition of neighborhoods. The Bates Methodology uses the following indicators to measure vulnerability to gentrification:

¹ CURA Staff. "CURA Twin Cities Gentrification Project". Center of Urban and Regional Affairs, University of Minnesota. December 2016.

Vulnerable Population

3 /4 Conditions True in 2000

Metric	Operationalization
High % Renter	Tract % renter > City
High % People of Color	Tract % POC > City
Low % w/ College Degree	Tract % w/ Bachelors < City
Low Income	Tract % Poverty > City

Housing Market Changes

Type	Operationalization
Adjacent	Bottom 60% med value in 2010, low appreciation, touches high value tracts
Accelerating	Bottom 60% med value in 2010, High appreciation between 2000 and 2010.
Appreciated	Bottom 60% of med val in 1990. Top 40% in 2010

Demographic Changes

Any 3 /4 Conditions True OR BOTH White/College

Metric	Operationalization
Increase in Homeowners	Tract PP Δ share homeowners > City Change
Increase in White Pop	Tract PP Δ share white > City Change
Increase in College Degrees	Tract PP Δ share coll. deg. > City Change
Increase in Med HH Inc.	Tract % Δ > City Change

Bates, Lisa K., "Gentrification and Displacement Study: Implementing an Equitable Inclusive Development Strategy in the Context of Gentrification" (2013). Urban Studies and Planning Faculty Publications and Presentations. Paper 83.

For a tract to be considered gentrifiable, it must meet 3 of the 4 conditions provided under the Vulnerable Population category in 2000. For those tracts determined to be gentrifiable, at least 3 of the 4 Demographic Change conditions (or BOTH White/College) must have been met for a neighborhood to have gentrified during the study period.

The following table provides an overview of the Bates Typology and a classification/ranking of gentrification based on Neighborhood Type that includes a ranking of Housing Market Type to more thoroughly understand how different neighborhoods are positioned in accordance to their gentrification susceptibility.

Bates Typology

Neighborhood Type	Vulnerable Population?	Demographic Change?	Housing Market Type
Susceptible	Yes	No	Adjacent
Early: Type 1	Yes	No	Accelerating
Early: Type 2	Yes	Yes	Adjacent
Dynamic	Yes	Yes	Accelerating
Late	Yes	Yes	Appreciated
Continued Loss	No	Has % white and % with BA increasing	Appreciated

Bates, Lisa K., "Gentrification and Displacement Study: Implementing an Equitable Inclusive Development Strategy in the Context of Gentrification" (2013). Urban Studies and Planning Faculty Publications and Presentations. Paper 83.

As shown in Maps 1 of the Appendix, parts of Minneapolis have already gentrified, while others are vulnerable to gentrification. Zooming in on North Minneapolis, Map 2 of the Appendix shows that the southern end of the proposed greenway has already experienced gentrification, while most of the middle section of the proposed route is vulnerable to gentrification. Based on the Bates methodology, there are parts of the greenway that are not gentrifiable.

Spatial Analysis



The North Minneapolis Greenway is proposed to run along Irving Ave N from 14th Ave N on the southern end in the Near-North neighborhood to 47th Ave N on the northern end in the Lind-Bohanon neighborhood. A spatial analysis of Minneapolis, North Minneapolis, and the area immediately along the greenway was conducted to better understand the spatial context and makeup of the communities the greenway is proposed to pass through. Current demographics, land use, and the housing market were included in this analysis to help identify specific spatial strategies to apply along the greenway and determine which neighborhoods are most susceptible to gentrification.

Demographics

The demographic makeup of the neighborhoods becomes less diverse moving north, as the white percentage of the population incrementally increases in each neighborhood, though still proportionally less than the citywide average. Table 1 provides a breakdown of certain demographic and housing characteristics provided at the neighborhood level to better understand the social and physical makeup of these communities. All neighborhoods are below the median income, have more vacant housing units, and are more racially diverse, and all except Lind-Bohanon have a greater percentage of the population living below the poverty level when compared to all of Minneapolis.

Variable	Near-North	Jordan	Folwell	Webber-Camden	Lind-Bohanon	Minneapolis
Median Income	\$24,733	\$36,232	\$36,836	\$36,342	\$42,053	\$55,956
Median Rent Paid	\$670	\$1,086	\$1,011	\$855	\$993	\$871
Below Poverty	45.4%	34.7%	35.3%	26.5%	18.6%	22.6%
Total Housing Units	2,524	2,609	2,158	2,269	1,890	180,721
Total Vacant Housing Units	9.6%	15.3%	20%	12.8%	13.2%	7.7%
Owner Occupied	26.0%	38.8%	45.2%	46.3%	55.1%	44.9%
Renter Occupied	64.3%	45.9%	34.8%	41.0%	31.7%	47.4%
Race						
Asian	22%	20%	15%	9%	13%	5.9%
Black	53%	45%	44%	37%	25%	17.6%
Hispanic	8%	9%	xx	8%	3%	7.8%
White	12%	18%	28%	38%	44%	61.0%
Two or more	4%	8%	xx	5%	12%	4.3%

Table 1: American Community Survey, 2010-2014

Land Use

The land use along the proposed greenway contains mostly single-family residential land use, although commercial activity along West Broadway and Lowry Ave N dominate the land use along these commercial corridors. At the southern end near West Broadway Ave, the route runs through an area of commercial land use, though numerous vacant properties run along West Broadway where the route crosses (see Appendix B). Between 29th Ave N and Lowry Ave N, the greenway will pass through Jordan Park alongside the Hmong International Academy before crossing over Lowry Ave near some existing commercial activity. The greenway then passes through blocks of single family residential homes before approaching Folwell Park near Dowling Ave. From Dowling Ave to 41st Ave the greenway passes alongside the Crystal Lake Cemetery on the west and single-family residential properties until 44th Ave.

North of 44th Ave, the route runs next to commercial land use before crossing Victory Memorial/Webber Parkway, railroad tracks, and an area of industrial activity before ending in a residential area in the Lind-Bohanon neighborhood. Numerous parks and institutions are adjacent to and in close proximity to the proposed greenway route and should be considered as ‘anchor points’ through the new linkage provided. These institutions can also function as champions of the greenway, whether through the safe access it will provide children to nearby parks and amenities or the increased activity and social capital which may develop in these neighborhoods.

Land use specific to the proposed greenway and the larger community of North Minneapolis was considered as part of this spatial analysis and while developing strategies and priorities in the final section of this report.

Fig. 1:

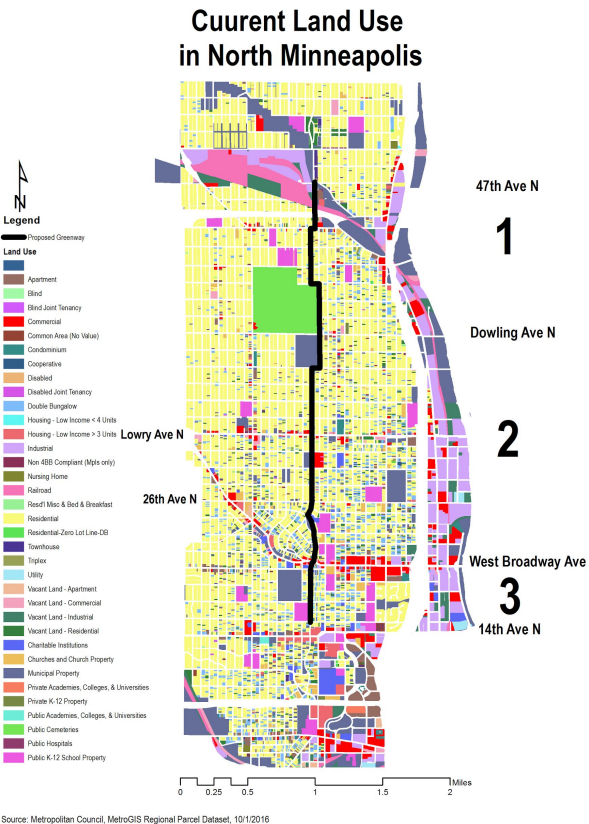
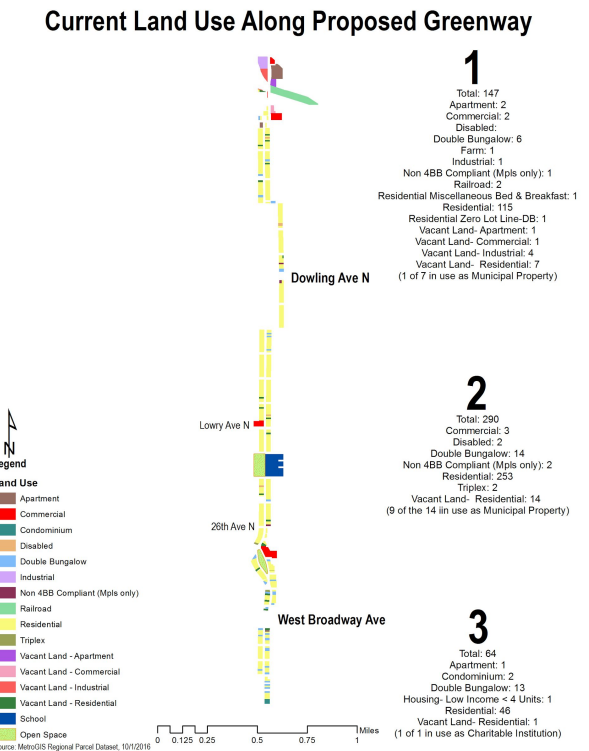


Fig. 2:



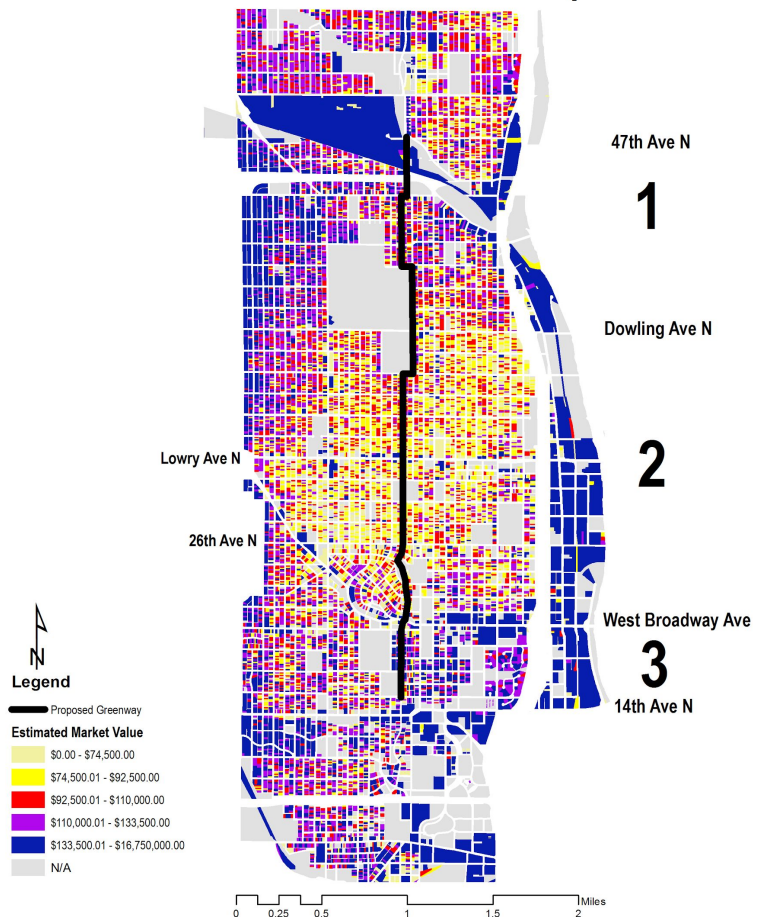
Housing Market

The housing market in North Minneapolis following years of disinvestment, the housing crash in 2009, and the tornado that ran through the community in 2011 are a few factors that help to explain recent gentrification in the community. These events have had an impact on many neighborhood characteristics including aesthetics as a result of deteriorating housing conditions, loss of the tree canopy, and an increase in vacant properties. A recent gentrification study conducted by CURA (CURA Staff, "CURA Twin Cities Gentrification Project," 2) identifies the majority of census tracts and neighborhoods in which the greenway passes through are susceptible to gentrification, though have not yet gentrified. Considering these findings along with other recent projects that have and will occur in North Minneapolis, concern regarding changes in the housing market and affordability are valid.

The North Minneapolis Greenway could potentially serve to foster more investment as an attraction for residents seeking out amenities, easy access to downtown and job opportunities, and more diverse communities. The housing market in the City of Minneapolis is becoming less affordable for both renters and homeowners of all races, which leaves lower income residents particularly vulnerable to exclusionary displacement through loss of affordable housing options (CURA Staff, "CURA Twin Cities Gentrification Project," 2). The Metro Blue Line, discussion regarding the potential for a streetcar system along West Broadway, and development slated to occur at the Upper Harbor Terminal are upcoming projects that will undoubtedly impact the North Minneapolis housing market as well. Efforts to mitigate displacement and impacts of gentrification should be conducted proactively, not reactively, especially considering recent trends in the housing market and the impact the combination of these projects could have on North Minneapolis.

Fig. 3:

Estimated Market Value for All Parcels in North Minneapolis



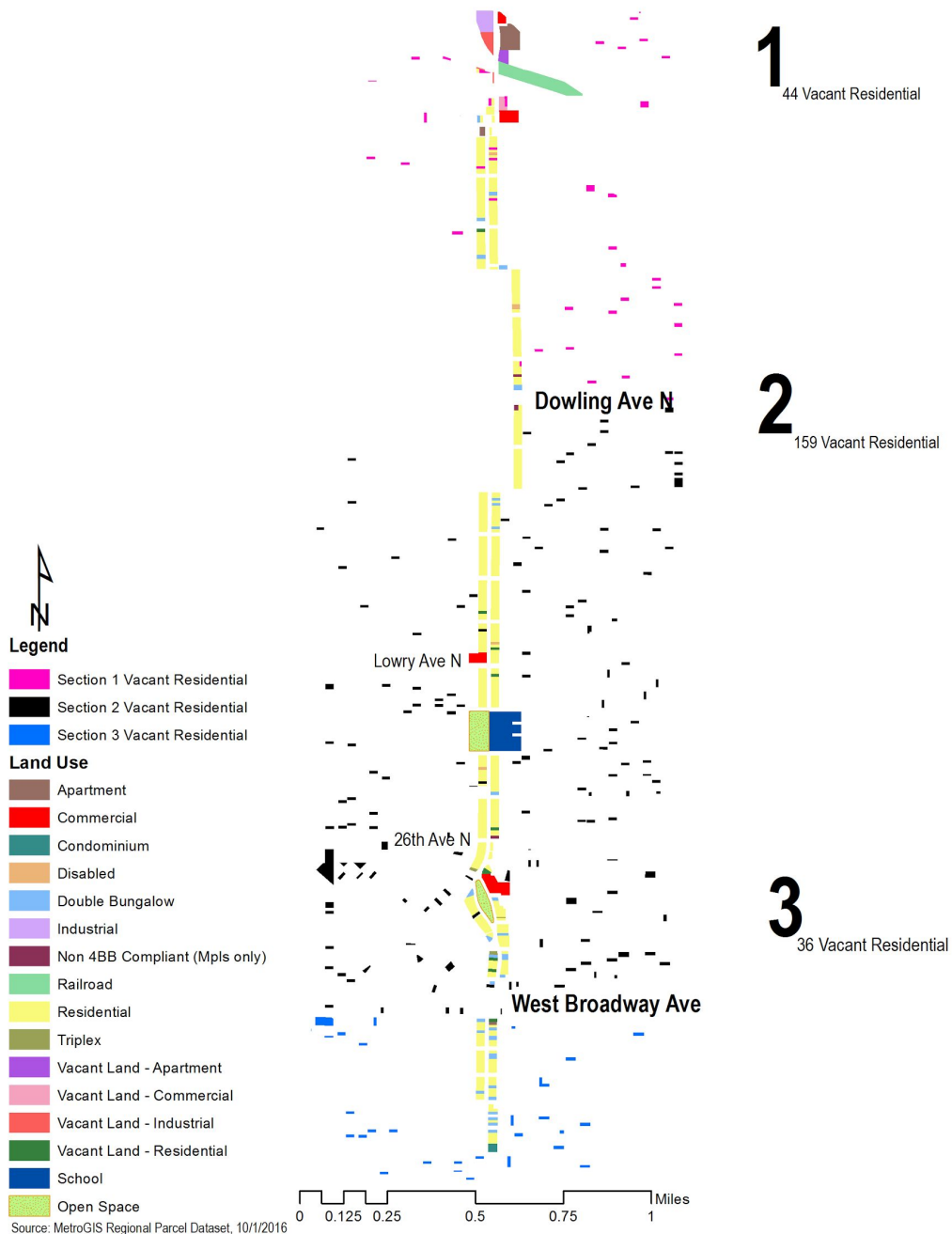
Source: Metropolitan Council, MetroGIS Regional Parcel Dataset, 10/1/2016

Total Estimated Market Value provides a method of analyzing the current housing market spatially, identifying how neighborhoods and locations are positioned, and determining areas most susceptible to gentrification and involuntary displacement of the existing residents. The following map uses Estimated Market Value to display potential trends found in the housing market and served to develop the sections-for-strategies explained later in the report (Fig. 3).

Housing Market

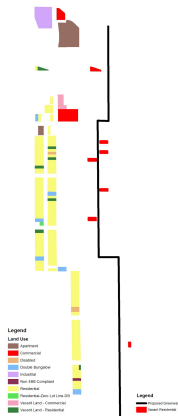
Sections are also positioned differently in relation to rates of homeownership and vacant housing units, with Section 2 containing the most vacant units, and also a great number of residential units with a non-homestead designation between Lowry Ave N and West Broadway Ave (Fig. 4 & Apx. B). The following three sections were developed while considering information regarding demographic changes, land use, and the housing market.

Fig. 4: Vacant Residential Parcels within 1/2 Mile of Proposed Greenway



Geographic-Specific Strategies

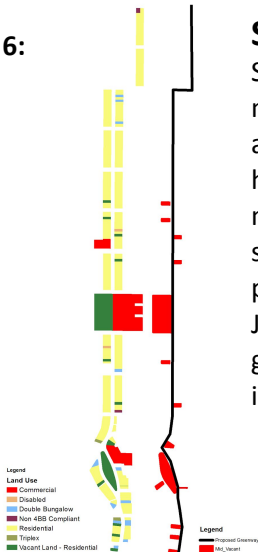
Fig. 5:



Section 1

Section 1 is the northernmost portion of the greenway, stretching from 47th Ave N at the north end to Dowling Ave N on the south end. This section passes through the Lind-Bohanon and Webber-Camden neighborhoods, the neighborhoods the greenway passes through which have both the highest proportions of homeowners and white residents, and lowest percentage of the population living in poverty (Table 1). Surprisingly, these two neighborhoods are also two out of the three neighborhoods with the lowest median rent paid. This section was chosen based on trends in both the housing market and demographic makeup of these two neighborhoods. Lind-Bohanon and Webber-Camden were identified as non-gentrifiable due to the higher percentage of homeowners and lower percentage of vacant housing units. There are 7 vacant residential parcels along the proposed route in this section, which are highlighted separately in red in the offset-right image (Fig. 5)

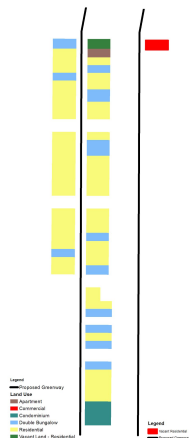
Fig. 6:



Section 2

Section 2 is the middle portion along the greenway and stretches from Dowling Ave N at the north end to West Broadway Ave at the south end. This section passes through the Jordan and Folwell neighborhoods, which are the two neighborhoods that contain the most vacant housing units as well as rather diverse communities in which the black population is the majority (Table 1). This section was chosen based on trends in the housing market that suggest lower median property values than each of the other two sections, the high percentage of vacant units, and the demographic composition of these neighborhoods. All of Jordan, McKinley, and Cleveland, and the eastern portion of Folwell are susceptible to gentrification. There are 14 vacant residential properties along the proposed greenway route in this section (Fig. 6).

Fig. 7:



Section 3

Section 3 is the southernmost section along the greenway, stretching from West Broadway Ave at the north to 14th Ave N at the southern end. The route begins/ends in the Near-North neighborhood, which includes the highest percentage of renters, the highest percentage of people living below the poverty level, and the lowest median rent paid. Gentrification trends suggest Near-North being susceptible, while Willard-Hay has already gentrified, which is not surprising considering the desirability of these neighborhoods in accessing downtown Minneapolis. Along this section, efforts should not be as focused on properties specifically *along* the greenway, but to the east in the Near-North neighborhood where there is a high percentage of renters, a high percentage of the population are low income, a high percentage of the population are people of color, and a low percentage of the population have a college degree, all of which are considered indicators of vulnerable populations (Bates, 2013). There is one residential property along the Greenway, as well as the lowest number of vacant residential parcels within ½ mile from the proposed route (Fig. 7).

Focus Groups

Focus groups were held during the initial phases of research for this project to better understand the desires and concerns of the communities through which the proposed greenway would be built. The Alliance invited community members, most of whom lived or worked in the surrounding area, to come to one of two focus groups to share their thoughts on the greenway. The individuals were invited because they are all active in the Northside community and had expertise or experience to offer regarding aspects of the greenway. The focus groups were held in the Northside as it is most convenient for attendees, with one held in the evening and one during the day. At each of the focus group, refreshments were provided.

Focus groups questions were developed with the input of the Alliance for Metropolitan Stability and centered around definitions of community and development, as well as the hopes, fears, and expectations of the participants as they relate to the greenway. Each focus group, lasting two hours, was facilitated by project group members, but the format was flexible and participants were encouraged to say whatever came to mind, even if it did not directly answer the question. The discussion was allowed to flow naturally and a conversation was not ended until a saturation of ideas had been reached.

The first focus group session was held on October 18th at the Camden Neighborhood Center in the early afternoon. A total of eight participants attended this initial session. Overall, the concepts of gentrification and development were viewed positively for the increased social and economic opportunity and property values for current residents. The greenway was thought to have the potential to be a great amenity for residents in the community as long as proactive methods were put in place to maintain the existing social fabric of the community. Many participants perceived the potential economic benefits a project of this nature would bring for those living along the greenway and for the community in general as great opportunities. As to how these participants regarded the idea of community, the participants quickly identified people as being the greatest assets in North Minneapolis. These particular comments helped to guide how we developed our themes and strategies to mitigate negative impacts of gentrification that may result from the implementation of the greenway.

Concerns surrounding development and gentrification were that members of the community were “never at the table” and that a paradigm shift and different narrative were needed. An example of this included how 3 years of planning went into implementing the demonstration project, to be squashed by 30 days of a “small minority that looks like the majority” complaining “up-the-ladder” to the city through their networks. The group also mentioned policing issues and the potential that the community would be used but receive little benefit. The group suggested keeping money and resources within the community by hiring locally or following cooperative models as ways to mitigate some of these concerns.

The second focus group session was held on October 19th at Folwell Recreation Center in the evening. This session was attended by two participants, both of whom live within a few blocks of the proposed Greenway (and one of whom lives on the demonstration). Compared to the previous focus group, this one expressed more reservations about implementing the greenway, most of which were related to gentrification and the fear that the benefits would not go to residents but to others. In particular, the discussion centered around racial justice in the context of the greenway, and what the greenway development and gentrification in the Northside generally would mean for residents of color. Race was included as a key part of the group’s definition of community, and the change in the racial makeup of an area due to gentrification was deemed harmful to the fabric of a community. Development, too, was not seen as an inherently positive force, and in fact was viewed with some skepticism as a tool used to change communities to make them more appealing to more affluent white people.

Focus Groups

The group discussed what it meant, both ethically and practically, to implement infrastructure like the greenway in a community that is majority people of color. The group felt that the greenway, under the idea of a bike trail and first initiated by a white resident, did not meet the needs of the community, even if people of color support the idea now. It was also brought up that, as a path rather than a park, it is metaphorically (and perhaps in reality) meant for people to move through the space rather than for the people who occupy it.

The group mentioned feeling as if the “decision has already been made” and that the greenway is inevitable. As such, they focused on ways to ensure that the community is harmed as little as possible by the resulting changes. Like the first focus group, the primary suggestion was to create a co-op/community ownership model that could help keep the financial benefits of the greenway in the surrounding area. This group also shared with the first focus group a fear that the greenway would lead to increased policing in an area where relations between law enforcement and community members are already tense in many ways.

The discussion in the focus groups played an important role in framing this project by contributing to our definitions of community, development, and gentrification, as well as by suggesting many of the strategies that will be recommended later in the report. Both groups acknowledged that gentrification is already occurring in the Northside, which helped shift the focus of our project from determining whether the greenway would cause gentrification to proposing strategies for mitigating existing gentrification that may be increased or sped up by implementation of the greenway. Most of the strategies in this report came out of the focus groups in some way, even if they were not directly suggested, because they address concerns brought up in the discussions.

Strategic Approach

In an effort to prioritize strategies within North Minneapolis and along the greenway, a strategic approach was designed to influence our recommendations. From our findings related to how the greenway would be positioned within in North Minneapolis and along Irving Ave N, three gentrification mitigation themes and strategies have been proposed that include a **Housing**, **Economic**, and **Social** lens. A combination of various strategies from each of these themes will be required to fully mitigate impacts associated with gentrification if the goal of neighborhoods in North Minneapolis is to maintain the demographic and social characteristics that make up these communities. A series of maps have been included in Appendix B for the Alliance and other organizations as they develop proactive strategies and connections with other stakeholders in relation to vacant residential and commercial land located within close proximity to the greenway.

Strategies were developed for each theme and have been applied to the greenway with a consideration as to the spatial context and composition of each of the three sections designated.

Matrix

A Strategic Approach Matrix was designed to guide recommendations and as a tool for future use in understanding how various approaches may be used in an effort to mitigate adverse impacts of gentrification along the greenway. Strategies are organized by theme and whether they have been recommended for prioritization in a specific section of the greenway area.

Strategies		Section 1	Section 2	Section 3
Housing	Partner with City of LakesCommunity Land Trust			
	Urban Infill			
	Property Tax Abatement and Rental Gap Assistance Funds			
Economic	Community Benefits Agreement (CBA)			
	Tax Increment Financing (TIF)			
	Community Improvement District (CID)			
Social	Co-Op Model for Neighborhood Ownership			
	Public Art Along Greenway			
	Community Policing			
	City-Sponsored Community Events for Northside Residents			

	Highest Priority Section
	Middle Priority Section
	Low Priority Section
	Equal Priority Across Sections

Housing Strategies

Partner with City of Lakes Community Land Trust

What is it? The City of Lakes Community Land Trust (CLCLT) is a non-profit organization located in Minneapolis that seeks to provide affordable and sustainable homeownership for community members through a community land trust model.

How does it work? CLCLT buys properties then builds, redevelops, or otherwise improves the properties. The homes on these properties are then sold, but the land trust permanently owns the land on which they sit. Because the price of the home is separate from the price of the land, owners can sell their homes on CLCLT land to other low income households for an affordable price.

A strategic partnership with the City of Lakes Community Land Trust could benefit the greenway if properties within a half of a mile were targeted and sold to current community members living near the Greenway. If CLCLT is able to buy properties within this radius of the greenway, it would ensure the long-term affordability of housing for current community members, in addition to the other positive effects that come with homeownership.

Who is involved?

- City of Lakes Community Land Trust
- Alliance for Metropolitan Stability
- Low-income community members seeking affordable homeownership options

Urban Infill

What is it? According to the Sustainable Cities Institute, urban infill is defined as “new development that is sited on vacant or undeveloped land within an existing community, that is enclosed by other types of development.”²

How does it work? The City of Minneapolis should identify undeveloped parcels within half a mile of the greenway for infill development and require and incentivize affordable housing development on these properties. This would increase the stock of affordable housing around the greenway so that there are more options for current renters whose privately-owned rental properties may increase in price due to the implementation of the North Minneapolis Greenway.

Who is involved?

- City of Minneapolis
- Affordable Housing Developers

²"Urban Infill & Brownfields Redevelopment." Sustainable Cities Institute. Accessed December 14, 2016.
<http://www.sustainablecitiesinstitute.org/topics/land-use-and-planning/urban-infill-and-brownfields-redevelopment>.

Housing Strategies

Property Tax Allocation District and Rental Gap Assistance Funds

What is it? Hennepin County should create a property tax abatement fund as well as a rental gap assistance fund through the use of real estate taxes. These two funds would split the money generated by local real estate taxes. The property tax abatement fund would use its share to help property owners pay their property taxes if they see an increase due to their proximity to the North Minneapolis Greenway. The rental gap assistance fund would use its share to help renters pay the increase in rent that may occur due to the investment of the greenway.

How does it work? In Minnesota, there are two real estate taxes: the mortgage registry tax (MRT) and the deed tax. MRT is paid by the mortgagor (borrower) and is “based on the amount of debt secured by a mortgage of real property.”³ The deed tax is most often paid by the seller and is the transfer tax that is based on the value of the real property. The current MRT rate is 0.23 percent of the total debt and the deed tax rate is 0.33 percent of the price paid for the real property. Minnesota state law authorizes Hennepin County to impose its own local mortgage and deed taxes. The current local rate is 0.01 percent. For properties sold within a half mile buffer of the North Minneapolis Greenway, half of the local real estate taxes collected from these sales should be put into a property tax allocation fund that assists homeowners in their payment of property taxes as the value of their homes rise in response to the building of the greenway. Based on 2016 sales data obtained from the Minneapolis Association of Realtors, funding under this mechanism could generate \$333,555 annually (assuming the area surrounding the greenway comprises approximately 50% of North Minneapolis). The other half of these funds should be put into a rental gap assistance fund that helps current renters within a half mile of the greenway pay the gap between their rent prior to the construction of the greenway and their rent after its implementation.

Who is involved?

- Hennepin County
- Property Owners within ½ mile buffer of the North Minneapolis Greenway
- Property Sellers within ½ mile buffer of the North Minneapolis Greenway
- Future Property Owners within ½ mile buffer of the North Minneapolis Greenway
- Current renters within ½ mile buffer of the North Minneapolis Greenway

³<http://www.house.leg.state.mn.us/hrd/pubs/ss/ssmtdtax.pdf>

Economic Strategies

Community Benefit Agreement (CBA)/Tax Increment Financing (TIF)

What is it? A Community Benefit Agreement (CBA) is a legally binding agreement between the community, the city, and a developer. The purpose of a CBA is ensure that community being affected by a development has a share in the benefit of the development project⁴. The economic benefit of a CBA is through terms negotiated between the community and the developer. Other social and economic benefits will be realized by the community and local contractors as a result of the CBA.

A Tax Increment Financing (TIF), also known as Tax Allocation District (TAD), is a national economic development tool that uses additional property tax - through an agreement between the city and the landowners - to TIF zone and finance new development in blighted and disinvested communities.⁵ The tool has been widely used all over the nation to ensure equitable development.

How does it work? To ensure the community's needs and interests are met from the greenway, it is essential for the community to establish a community coalition of residents - living on and adjacent to the Greenway - neighborhood organizations, businesses, and nonprofit champions. The purpose of the community coalition is to come up with benefit agreement terms that will be introduced to the city and competitive developers. The community coalition must work together to develop agreement terms based on the priorities of each geographical section identified in the analysis of this research paper. Some examples of benefit agreement terms that can ensure the community achieve economic benefit include hiring local residents during the development and construction phase of the project, developing affordable housing along the greenway, maintaining cultural and historical preservation of the neighborhood, creating an apprenticeship program for local residents, and funding public arts.

Prior to the development process, the City will have to designate the Greenway as a development district that will be the TIF zone. The city must identify the goals of the district, determine the means to achieve them, and incorporate CBA terms. The TIF district should identify the following:

- Existing uses and current zoning
- Proposed uses and any needed zoning changes
- Any planned construction or renovations
- Current and planned infrastructure
- A financial plan
- CBA Terms

⁴ Julian Gross, Greg Leroy and Madeline Janis-Aparicio, "Community Benefit Agreements: Making Development Projects Accountable" Good Job First, (2005): 3

⁵ "Tax Increment Financing," Minnesota Office of the Legislative Auditor. Accessed December, 2016.
<http://www.auditor.leg.state.mn.us/ped/1996/tif.htm>

Economic Strategies

Community Benefit Agreement (CBA)/Tax Incremental Financing (TIF) (continued)

In addition, the city must enter into an agreement with the landowners to pay additional property tax that will be used to benefit the community for up to 25 years. The city will have to undergo a voting process by the City Council for approval of the TIF zone. The role of the city is to process the TIF application and ensure developers agree with CBA terms and the goals of the TIF zone.

Once the City Council approves the TIF zone, developers can ask for TIF assistance. To obtain TIF assistance from the city, the potential developer must apply for TIF assistance and agree to the TIF goals and CBA terms, as the CBA is a binding contract under the TIF⁶. Upon approval from the city and agreement between the community coalition and the developer, the tax increments from the TIF will be used to finance the development costs.

Community Coalition	→	City	→	Developers
Establish a community coalition and create CBA terms	→	Allocate money through Tax Incremental Financing (TIF) and ensure CBA terms are clear	→	Apply for TIF Assistance at the city
Negotiate terms with city and developers	→	Ensure developers agree with CBA terms, and review and process TIF application	→	Agree with CBA terms
Benefit(s): Ensure community needs are met and community tax money are reinvested in the community		Benefit(s): Economic development opportunity and successful development project		Benefit(s): Get community support and get development project subsidize

Who is and should be involved?

- City of Minneapolis
- City Councils
- The residents living on and adjacent (½ mile) to the North Minneapolis Greenway
- Neighborhood organizations
- Developers and contractors both public and private

Example(s):

- Atlanta BeltLine

⁶ "Tax increment Financing"

Economic Strategies

Community Improvement District (CID)

What is it? A Community Improvement District (CID), traditionally, is the use of additional property tax generated by the community to maintain and improve a business corridor. The benefit of having a CID is to ensure that the money generated by property taxes is being allocated back into the community and to the people who live and work in the neighborhood.

How does it work? The City of Minneapolis will need to assess properties on and adjacent to the proposed Greenway. The additional revenue that is generated by the property owners in the form of increased property taxes will be used to hire local residents to maintain the aesthetic of the corridor. In collaboration with other recommended strategies, this economic strategy of implementing a CID can ensure the following services are provided:

- **Safety and policing** - providing outreach and staffing community prevention specialist patrol
- **Cleaning** - litter, trash, and recycling initiatives, removing graffiti, washing sidewalk, maintaining historical preservation infrastructure and more
- **Greening and enhancing the corridor** - planting, tactical urbanism
- **Maintaining public art**
- **Removal of snow and grass** - staff person for removing snow and maintaining the lawn and bike path
- **Communication** - marketing and promotion of local business adjacent to the North Minneapolis Greenway, annual report, maps, social media, promotion of the Greenway programs and activities
- **Wayfinding** - wayfinding signs to promote and market local businesses
- **Program management** - staff and professional services
- **Administration** - supplies, equipment, storage, financing costs, and other administrative costs

A community coalition, represented by the six neighborhood associations and residents who live adjacent to the greenway, should be given priority to serve and represent the coalition. This group will have voting rights to allocate funds to program, maintain, and improve the greenway. A bylaw should be created within this group to ensure equal representation and expectations of the coalition.

Who is and should be involved?

- City of Minneapolis
- The residents living on and adjacent to the North Minneapolis Greenway
- Six neighborhood Associations (Lind-Bohanon, Webber-Camden, Fowell, Jordan, Willard-Hay, Near-North)

Example(s):

- Downtown Improvement District
- West Broadway Improvement District

Social Strategies

Why social strategies?

Social connectedness and community cohesion are important aspects of individual and community wellbeing⁷ and are often negatively affected by gentrification as residents are displaced and the community changes⁸. High social connectedness and strong social cohesion can have protective effects. Therefore we believe that maintaining and improving these in the communities around the greenway will help to mitigate the ill effects of gentrification on the wellbeing of residents in the communities.

Co-Op Model for Neighborhood Ownership

What is it?

Community ownership of the greenway⁹ would help residents feel more connected to it while ensuring that the people most affected by its construction also receive the most benefits. This was the primary strategy recommended by both of the two focus groups.

How does it work?

Community ownership through a co-op model could take many forms, such as a bike co-op and a community garden co-op, but the one that is carried out should be agreed upon by residents and the City of Minneapolis. In one example, a new or existing organization (such as the Alliance) with the trust of the community would take over management of the greenway, including hiring people to maintain it, renting parts of it out for events¹⁰, and raising the funds to manage it. This would ensure that more of the money spent on maintenance would stay in the surrounding area and that residents would feel a sense of ownership over the greenway.

Another example would be a “Friends of the Greenway” group made up of resident volunteers that agrees to take over part or all of the management of the park, including fundraising for it. In this model it is likely that most of the maintenance would be done on a volunteer basis by residents, so there is less economic benefit to the local area, but such a group could be formed even in the absence of institutional support.

Who is involved?

- Residents within a certain radius of the greenway
- City of Minneapolis

Example(s)

- New York High Line
- The Hub Bike Co-operative
- WTB/CU (Chicago, IL)

⁷Full Frame Initiative. *Five Domains of Wellbeing: Social Connectedness*. Full Frame Initiative, 2013.

⁸Combs, Barbara. *The Ties that Bind: The Role of Place in Racial Identity Formation, Social Cohesion, Accord, and Discord in Two Historic, Black Gentrifying Atlanta Neighborhoods*. Sociology Dissertation, Georgia State University, 2010.

⁹Community Ownership and Management of Assets programme. *Community ownership and management of parks and green spaces*. My Community, 2016.

¹⁰Gursoy, Dogan, Kyungmi Kim, and Muzaffer Uysal. "Perceived impacts of festivals and special events by organizers: an extension and validation." *Tourism Management* 25, no. 2 (2004).

Social Strategies

City-Sponsored Community Events for Northside Residents

What is it?

The City of Minneapolis would sponsor quarterly or even monthly events on the Greenway that are specifically targeted toward Northside residents, especially those living on or near the greenway. These could include anything from cultural events to live music, fitness classes, and more. The goal of these events would be to maintain social connectedness in the area around the greenway to stave off the negative effects of greenway-related gentrification on community cohesion.

How does it work?

After conducting community engagement with residents around different sections of the greenway to determine what kind of events people would like to see, the City of Minneapolis would plan and fund events for residents on the greenway regularly throughout the year, weather permitting ^{11,12}. While people from other parts of the Northside or Minneapolis would not be turned away at these community events, they would be advertised as greenway resident events.

For most events the city should partner with local artists or businesses, which would help bring income back into the area and preserve the structure of the local community by funding local work.

Community events will also increase social connectedness and community cohesion by bringing individuals in the community together, preserving the unique culture that exists in these neighborhoods, and deepening the social support network that residents have in each other.

Who is involved?

- Residents of the neighborhoods around the greenway
- Local artists and businesses
- City of Minneapolis

¹¹ Merton Council. *Community Cohesion Event Toolkit*. Merton Council.

¹² "Perceived impacts of festivals and special events by organizers: an extension and validation."

Social Strategies

Community-Oriented Crime Prevention

What is it?

To prevent increased police presence in response to increased pedestrian and vehicle traffic along the greenway, a community-oriented crime prevention model will be implemented on and around the greenway. Design and implementation details will be decided upon by community members with the assistance of the City of Minneapolis.

How does it work?

In response to concerns voiced during both of the focus groups, we suggest that community-members receive technical assistance to design and implement a community-oriented crime prevention program to prevent over-policing in the area due to increased public investment and a new influx of people from outside the neighborhood ¹³.

The program could take many forms, from a volunteer neighborhood watch group to a team of trained mediators from within the community to diffuse potential crime. Existing law enforcement structures may or may not be partners in this. Most models share a few features, including unarmed patrols, mediation, and the significant (if not total) involvement of community members. Whether for payment or as volunteers, getting involved in such a program would increase individual connection the community while also helping to ensure that the neighborhood feels safe for current residents.

Who is involved?

- City of Minneapolis
- Community members
- Possibly local law enforcement

¹³ McCold, Paul and Benjamin Wachtel. *Community Is Not a Place: A New Look at Community Justice Initiatives*. Presentation to the International Conference on Justice Without Violence, (1997).

Social Strategies

Public Art Along the Greenway

What is it?

The City of Minneapolis would partner with local artists and local organizations like Juxtaposition Arts to feature art by and for Northside residents along the greenway.

How does it work?

Art and artists are an important part of a community's identity. Though the greenway will likely attract visitors and possibly new residents from outside of North Minneapolis, featuring local art will serve the dual purpose of providing income to local artists while also fostering and supporting a sense of community identity ¹⁴.

A concern expressed in one of the focus groups was that, though the benefits of the greenway to the local community were being touted to residents, the greenway would not really be *for* them, but for people from outside the area who would utilize it. By featuring and uplifting (and funding) the work of local artists it would be impossible to separate the greenway from the cultural context of the surrounding neighborhoods.

Who is involved?

- Residents of the neighborhoods around the greenway
- Local artists
- City of Minneapolis

¹⁴ Department of Culture and the Arts. *Healthy Arts*. Government of Western Australia, (2014).

Conclusion

Development and gentrification – although defined differently in cities all over the United States – have been perceived by many scholars and policy makers as having both positive and negative impacts in traditionally disinvested communities. Some scholars have argued that development and gentrification can be of benefit to blighted and disinvested neighborhoods from the result of economic, housing, and social investment. However, other scholars question this notion, arguing that both development and gentrification further perpetuate involuntary displacement and change the fabric of a community in ways that adversely impact the poor and powerless.

Our research provides a new understanding of the North Minneapolis Greenway by identifying where gentrification is already occurring and which neighborhoods are most vulnerable to gentrification. Through our analysis of the surrounding areas in and around the greenway, we recognized that gentrification is occurring at different rates in certain neighborhoods, and divided the greenway into three distinct sections. While it is uncertain whether the proposed North Minneapolis Greenway will induce gentrification in North Minneapolis, it does pass through many neighborhood identified as being susceptible to the negative impacts of gentrification. The greenway is just one factor that may perpetuate aspects of gentrification, and while this report focuses on the greenway, we recognize other dynamics at play throughout the City of Minneapolis that are influencing gentrification.

In order to mitigate any early indicators of gentrification along the greenway, we identified strategies based on three themes that surfaced in our review of gentrification literature, case studies, and focus groups with community members. These themes include Housing, Economic, and Social approaches to ensure involuntary displacement does not happen and other adverse impacts of gentrification are mitigated. We recommend that the community prioritize strategies specific to the geographic analysis. We also recommend selecting a combination of Housing, Economic, and Social strategies to ensure that the development of the greenway does not promote displacement and/or change the fabric of the community. Regardless of the development outcome of the greenway, we believe these strategies can be used to mitigate early indicators of gentrification around current developments occurring throughout the City of Minneapolis.

While development and an influx of middle-income white residents moving into the neighborhood does not pose an ultimate threat to the community, it is important that residents currently residing in the neighborhood economically and socially benefit from the development of the greenway and maintain the ability to access affordable housing.

Appendix A: Case Studies

Atlanta BeltLine- Atlanta, GA

Developed out of the vision of Ryan Gravel's master thesis while a graduate student in Architecture and City Planning at Georgia Tech in 1999, the Atlanta BeltLine (Jewel of Atlanta) is a major urban revitalization effort with plans dating back to the early 2000s. Ground broke in 2008 with the West End trail opening, followed by trails on the east end and a second phase involving the West End trail in 2010 and onward. When finished, the Atlanta BeltLine will be a 6,500 acre (22-miles) project encompassing the downtown Atlanta, GA. The project is being financed through Tax Increment Financing (TIF), with a goal of attracting \$4.3 billion in public/private investment by 2030. Current investment totals are \$362m as of December, 2013. Tax levels were frozen at 2005 levels. Renovation will occur along a non-operating freight rail line, including trails, parks, open spaces, and light-rail. The project is intended to serve as a major revitalization effort for much of the city, as it encompasses the entire downtown district. Development occurred through a portion of the corridor in the eastern part of the city, which was an area that had previously been experiencing gentrification. A project is now underway along a portion of the corridor in the west part of the city through predominantly African-American neighborhoods. A total of ten separate BeltLine Tax Allocation Districts (TAD) have been established along the project corridor. Overall, the project is expected to increase the City of Atlanta's tax-base by \$20 billion in a 25-year period. Each of the 10 TADs have sub-area plans that specify exactly what plans & policies are in place for the implementation of projects along the BeltLine, though no mitigation strategies are included in these plans, nor any mention of housing or economic development.

The BeltLine Equitable Development Plan and the BAHAB Statement of Guiding Principles are the two major factors addressing equity for the development and implementation of this project. Affordable housing, displacement strategies, and principles to guide development were established as some of the strategies developed to minimize impact on local communities. The large scope of this project means that impacts will materialize outside the TAD, which will require additional policies and strategies in place to consider the full spectrum of adverse impacts. Concerns regarding rising property values and gentrification have led to analyses of property values along the BeltLine¹⁵, along with strategies and plans implemented by city staff, city council, and the Atlanta BeltLine Inc. The Atlanta BeltLine Inc (ABI) is a separate entity formed that manages the implementation of the BeltLine program. Formed in 2006 by Invest Atlanta, formerly Atlanta Development Authority, ABI has led most project implementation and oversight of development along BeltLine with TAD. Strategies that have been implemented in addressing affordable housing and gentrification include incentive programs that target developers and homebuyers, proactive land acquisition, transfer of development rights, geographic and income targeting, CBAs, tax abatements, rent restrictions, and direct funding to maintain housing for lower-income families at affordable cost levels.

Observations

Development related to the 1996 Olympic Games provided evidence and reasoning for the City of Atlanta being proactive in mitigating gentrification surrounding development of a project of this scale. The Eastside Trail was completed in 2012 with indicators of gentrification present: Trader Joe's and Whole Foods just a few blocks apart. Large condo/apartment developments, lofts, and restaurants have been developed all along the trail corridor. These neighborhoods were experiencing gentrification before project broke ground¹⁶. Specifically, the neighborhoods of Inman Park, Kirkwood, Reynoldstown, Cabbagetown, and the Martin Luther King Historic District have experienced obvious gentrification¹⁶. The Eastside Trail projects seemed to promote development and the influx of new gentry, while more proactive steps have been taken in the neighborhoods in western Atlanta, historically African American neighborhoods. With that being said, many aspects of this project seem to promote development that could spur gentrification if these policies and practices are not enacted, both in specific neighborhoods and as a city-wide measure.

Appendix A: Case Studies

Atlanta BeltLine- Atlanta, GA



Major Takeaways

Guiding Principles:

- Housing should be mixed-income wherever possible (at least 50% market rate)
- Where feasible, we prefer owner-occupied housing, but view a balance of owner-occupied and rental as essential to an equitable housing strategy
- We wish to avoid an over-concentration of low-income units
- A discernable impact on community revitalization can be best realized by strategically targeting and leveraging AH subsidies in coordination with other public funding sources, including city, state, and federal
- We prefer to preserve the public subsidy for long-term affordability while allowing the resident to capture some of the equity build-up

¹⁵ Immergluck, Dan. "The Beltline and Rising Home Prices: Residential Appreciation Near the Beltline Tax Allocation District and." (2007).

¹⁶ Kaycee Elizabeth Mertz, A Thesis Presented to the Graduate School of the University of Florida in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in Urban and Regional Planning. University of Florida, 2008.

Source: Map of the Atlanta BeltLine:

<http://beltline.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/03/Get-Connected-map-June-2013.jpg>

Appendix A: Case Studies

Midtown Greenway- Minneapolis, Minnesota

The Midtown Greenway got its start as early as the 1980s when a group of bicycling advocates started sharing ideas about turning the rail corridor that ran down 29th Street in South Minneapolis into a bike trail ¹⁷. During this time, volunteers began meeting with neighborhood leaders along the corridor to discuss the possibility of an amenity-rich bike path along this rail corridor. This group of advocates was the beginning of what became the Midtown Greenway Coalition, a grassroots organization which was incorporated as a non-profit in 1995. By the early 1990s, rail traffic along the 29th Street corridor was slowing and, in 1993, the Hennepin County Regional Railroad Authority purchased the corridor in order to support future transit opportunities.

In the summer of 2000, Phase One of the Midtown Greenway bicycle and pedestrian trail finished construction and was open to the public. Phase Two opened four years later, with the final phase opening in 2006. All together, the Midtown Greenway runs for about five and a half miles and consists of two one-way bike lanes and one two-way pedestrian trail, crossing through six Minneapolis neighborhoods.

The Midtown Greenway Coalition, often referred to as “the Coalition,” played a vital role in the creation of the Midtown Greenway and continues to play an important role in decision-making along the corridor. From their early days of meeting with neighborhood leaders to working with public agencies to ensure the successful completion and implementation and programming of the Midtown Greenway, the Coalition has been paramount in the Greenway’s history.

The Coalition has launched many programming efforts that accompany the bike trail. They include community outreach efforts such as the Green Way to Go program, which offers bike rides for local children of color along the corridor, the Adopt-A-Greenway which includes 40 organizations that pay to adopt a section of the greenway and conduct clean-ups along their portion of the trail, the Greenway Glow Festival, an annual festival that features installations of glowing art produced by local artists, as well as a 5K run and 10-mile bike ride, as well as other programming focused on public safety and transit advocacy ¹⁸.

Observations:

In their early plans for the Midtown Greenway, it did not appear that the Coalition, the City of Minneapolis, or Hennepin County considered the effects of gentrification that the Greenway may have on the neighborhoods through which it runs. Many of the early plans emphasize the positive economic impacts the Greenway can have on the area without proactively pursuing policies that help with the potential for displacement from these economic gains. While the Coalition has been exploring ways to better connect the Greenway to business nodes along it, there do not appear to be explicit policies or programs in place that ensure the vitality of existing businesses along the Greenway or to ensure that rent stays affordable for properties in the surrounding area. There are areas along the Greenway, especially on the western end, which feature luxury apartments and upscale dining and entertainment, and are generally unaffordable to many residents of Minneapolis. While it is impossible to say that the Midtown Greenway is responsible for such developments, it is an attractive amenity that may attract certain demographics that change the economic and social landscapes along the corridor.

Additionally, a study conducted in 2010 found that properties within a quarter mile of the Midtown Greenway had appreciated faster than the Minneapolis average ¹⁹. However, it is nearly impossible to say that the Midtown Greenway was solely responsible for this change in property value. Other public investments, such as the Blue Line LRT which intersects the Midtown Greenway, likely played a large role in increased property values.

Appendix A: Case Studies

Midtown Greenway- Minneapolis, Minnesota



Map 1 – The Midtown Greenway in southern Minneapolis, Minnesota.

Major Takeaways

- It is beneficial to have a group or non-profit championing the vision for the Greenway
- With no explicit commitment to anti-gentrification or displacement, it is likely that the Greenway may cause an increase in adjacent property values
- It is difficult to separate the gentrifying effects of greenways from other public investments

¹⁷ "About the Greenway | Midtown Greenway Coalition." Midtown Greenway Coalition. Accessed November 2, 2016. <http://midtowngreenway.org/about-the-greenway/>.

¹⁸ "Projects & Programs | Midtown Greenway Coalition." Midtown Greenway Coalition. Accessed November 2, 2016. <http://midtowngreenway.org/projects-and-programs/>.

¹⁹ Brown, Aaron M. *A Greenway Runs Through It: The Midtown Greenway and the Social Landscape of Minneapolis, Minnesota*. Master's thesis, Macalaster College, 2010. 1-127.

Appendix A: Case Studies

New York High Line- New York, NY

The High Line is a 25-foot elevated urban park located in the Chelsea neighborhood in Manhattan. The park was originally a freight rail line that transported goods and services to Manhattan's largest industrial district. In the mid-1980s, after the last freight service, a number of property owners along the freight rail and the State Department of Transportation advocated to demolish the rail line. However, a Chelsea resident challenged the demolition proposal in court in order to keep and put the rail line back in service. Unfortunately, the High Line failed to re-establish rail service because it was suspected to be demolished, which caused the High Line to lose its connection with the rest of the freight rail services.

With no connection to any existing freight line, under mayor Rudy Giuliani in the early 1990s, the High Line was again slated for demolition. However, in 1999, a group of people founded Friends of the High Line, a nonprofit organization with the mission to preserve and repurpose the old freight rail line. In the early 2000s, Friends of the High Line conducted an analysis and found that the High Line had potential for spurring economic growth. They began to lead discussions to transform the old rail line into a public park and, through an open process, invited people to participate in a design competition to repurpose the High Line.

The nonprofit organization selected James Corner Field Operation's design concept and began ground breaking in 2006. The High Line is separated into three different sections. In 2009, the first section of the High Line was open to the public, and the second section followed two years later. The third and last section was finished in the fall of 2014.

Through public/private financing and grassroots initiatives, the High Line aims to "engage the vibrant and diverse community on and around the High Line, and to raise the essential private funding to help complete the High Line construction." ²⁰ Today, the park is currently owned by the City of New York, but is maintained, operated, and programmed by Friends of the High Line. The operation of the park is 98% privately funded through private donations and venue rental.

Observation:

Located in the Chelsea neighborhood, a community that is primarily white with a median household income above \$100,000²¹, the High Line only added value to the community. Today, the High Line generates almost 5 million tourists annually, which has brought a wealth of economic prosperity into the neighborhood and the city as a whole²². Additionally, according to Levere (2014) analysis, immediately after the opening of the High Line, home values increased by 10%²³. However, the High Line did not show signs of displacement. Instead, it leveraged economic and community growth into the neighborhood²⁴. The High Line focuses on sustainable practices, art, and economic development, which has inspired many private funders to donate and support the operation of the park.

Appendix A: Case Studies

New York High Line- Manhattan, NY



Major Takeaways

- Located in the Chelsea Neighborhood of Manhattan which is predominately white with an median household income above \$100,000
- Privately and publically funded
- Grassroot initiated by residents who wanted to see change in the neighborhood
- It is important to have a non-profit or group championing the establishment and operation of the park/greenway
- The High Line did not show signs of displacement, instead generated economic growth in the neighborhood

²⁰ Friends of the High Line. Accessed December 2016. <http://www.thehighline.org/about>

²¹ Chelsea neighborhood in New York, New York (NY), 10001, 10011 detailed profile. Accessed December 2016. <http://www.city-data.com/neighborhood/Chelsea-New-York-NY.html#ixzz4T1MICAeo>

²² Michael Levere, The High Line Park and Timing of Capitalization of Public Goods. Working Paper. Accessed December 2016. http://econweb.ucsd.edu/~mlevere/pdfs/highline_paper.pdf

²³ Michael Levere, "The High Line Park"

²⁴ Kate Ascher and Sabina Uffer, "The High Line Effect," *Global Interchanges: Resurgence of the Skyscraper City* (2015): 224-229

Source: Map of the New York High Line <http://www.thehighline.org/about>

Appendix A: Case Studies

Lafitte Greenway, New Orleans, Louisiana

The Lafitte Greenway in New Orleans, Louisiana is a new 2.6-mile bicycle and pedestrian trail that cuts through four neighborhoods in New Orleans, connecting the Bayou St. John neighborhood to the edge of the French Quarter. Once a canal and then a railway, the Lafitte Corridor has historically served as a path to transport people and goods into the heart of the city. It is now a greenway with green design features (such as LED lighting and native plants), recreation fields, and stormwater retention to mitigate flooding.

Advocates began pushing for redevelopment of the unused railway in 2006 after Hurricane Katrina. A group formed the the Friends of the Lafitte Greenway (FOLG) organization²⁵. A Washington, D.C.-based non-profit, the Rails to Trails Conservancy, partnered with FOLG, and the two organizations worked to gain local support for the project. In response, the New Orleans City Council formed the Lafitte Greenway Steering Advisory Committee to provide support to the development of the greenway and the goals of involved community groups. The advisory committee was comprised of members appointed by the mayor, city council members whose districts include portions of the corridor, and representatives from FOLG. Funding for the greenway came largely from federal Disaster Community Development Block Grant (D-CDBG) money as well as \$87,000 that raised from FOLG. The total cost of the project was \$9.1 million. It broke ground on March 2014 and was completed in November 2015. Upkeep of and events on the greenway are managed by the City of New Orleans.

Public opinion of the project was generally positive and development was generally seen as a force for good. In the wake of Hurricane Katrina any investment in rebuilding the city was seen as a good thing. The Lafitte Greenway runs through neighborhoods with varying socioeconomic and cultural characteristics, the French Quarter, Tremé, Bayou St. John, and Mid-City. All of the neighborhoods are high-density for the city, but the least of these is the French Quarter, which has a lower residential density due to its high commercial density as the tourist center of the city. The French Quarter is also the only neighborhood around the greenway with higher-than-average income for the city, however the Greenway only goes through the edge of the neighborhood. Mid-City and Bayou St. John have average incomes relative to the rest of the city, while Tremé's is lower than average.

Observation:

Though the Lafitte Greenway is still too new to assess its effects on gentrification in the surrounding neighborhoods, some attention has been paid to the concept. A mixed-income housing building on the greenway was proposed as part of development, however the developer recently requested a change to the contract for the building which would eliminate the low-income housing requirement and instead offer \$46,000 in a hard second mortgage to assist low-income renters to buy units, a move that some fair housing organizations oppose²⁶. It will be interesting to follow housing costs along the Lafitte Greenway over time, but for now there is hope²⁷.

Appendix A: Case Studies

Lafitte Greenway, New Orleans, Louisiana



Major Takeaways

- Running through four different neighborhoods in New Orleans, the Lafitte Greenway cost \$9.1 million
- Funded primarily through federal grants and money raised by non-profits
- Initiated after Hurricane Katrina by residents who wanted a voice in the city's redevelopment
- It is too early to assess whether gentrification or displacement occurred, but affordable housing and investment in the neighborhoods are topics of conversation among residents and city officials

²⁵ Friends of Lafitte Greenway. <http://www.lafittегreenway.org/aboutfolc>

²⁶ Hasselle, Della. *Housing alliance opposes proposed deal on affordable housing in apartments along Lafitte Greenway*. Mid-City Messenger. September 2, 2016.

²⁷ Buchanan, Susan. "Living along the Lafitte Greenway: Is it attainable or unaffordable?" The Louisiana Weekly. September 29, 2015.

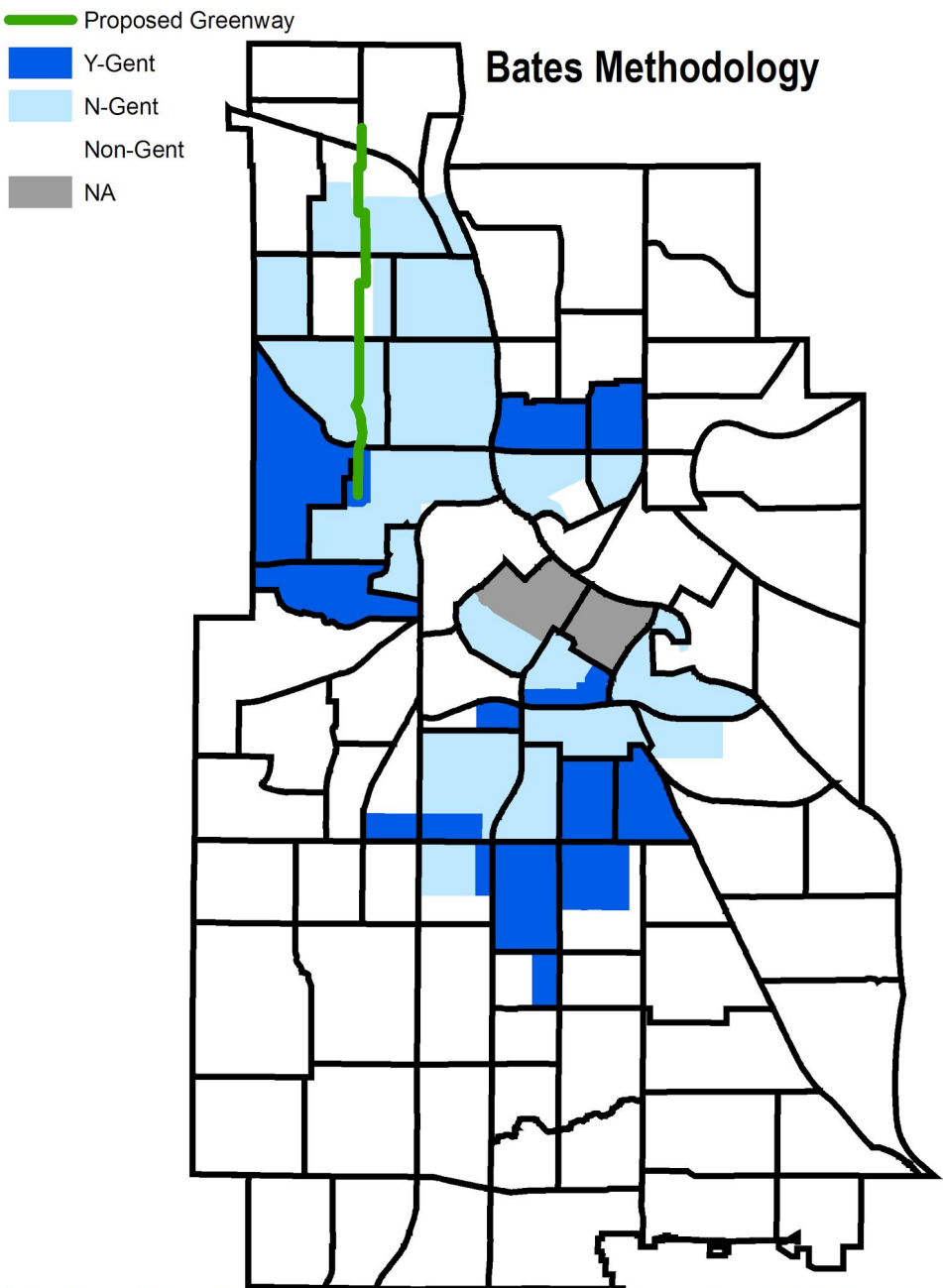
Source: Map of the Lafitte Greenway:

<http://www.railstotrails.org/build-trails/trail-building-services/engaging-and-empowering-communities/lafitte-corridor/>

Appendix B: Maps

Map 1

Gentrification in Minneapolis

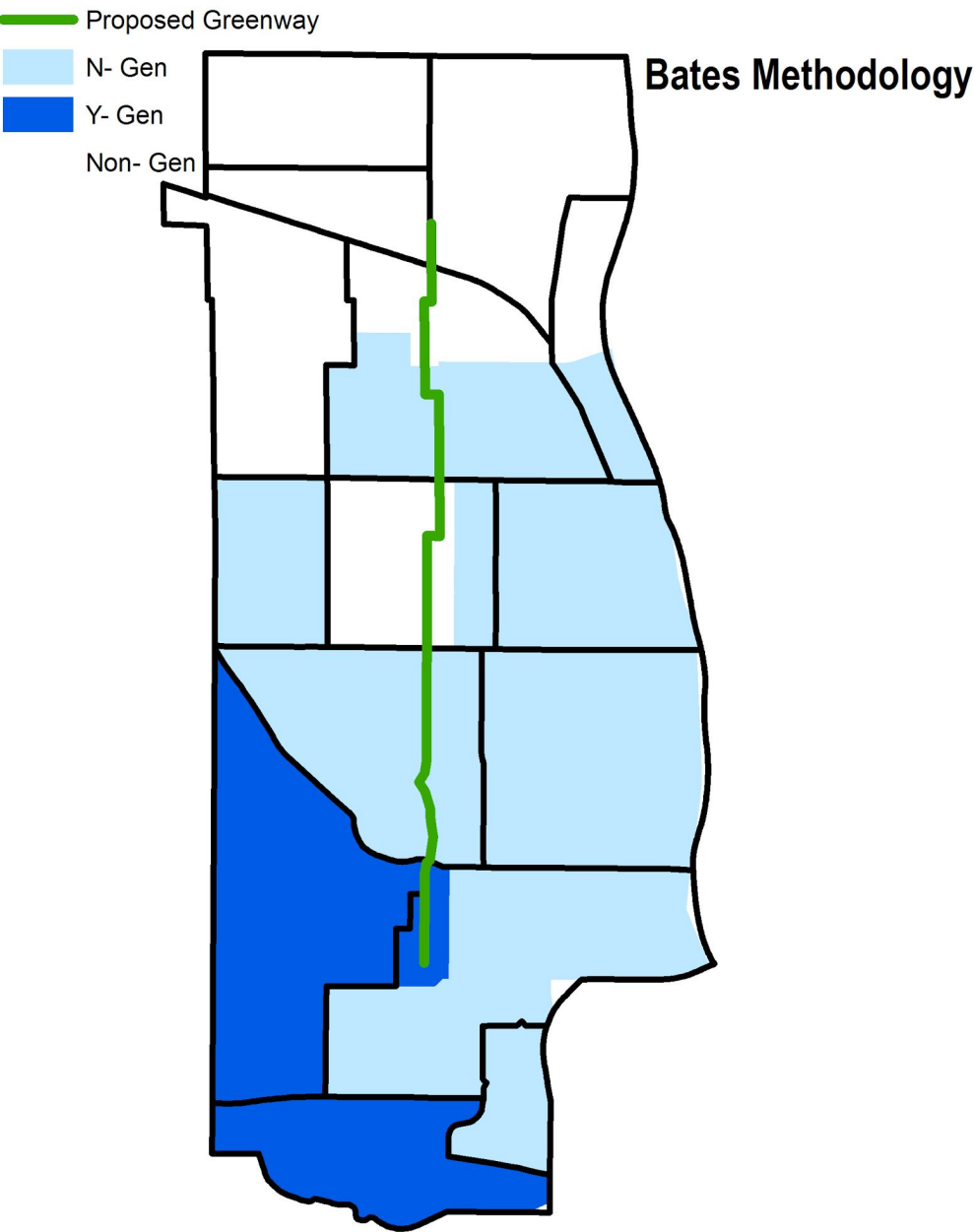


Source: CURA calculations, 2000 Census (Normalized to 2010 boundaries using Geolytics Neighborhood Change Database), 2010-2014 American Community Survey

Appendix B: Maps

Map 2

Gentrification in North Minneapolis

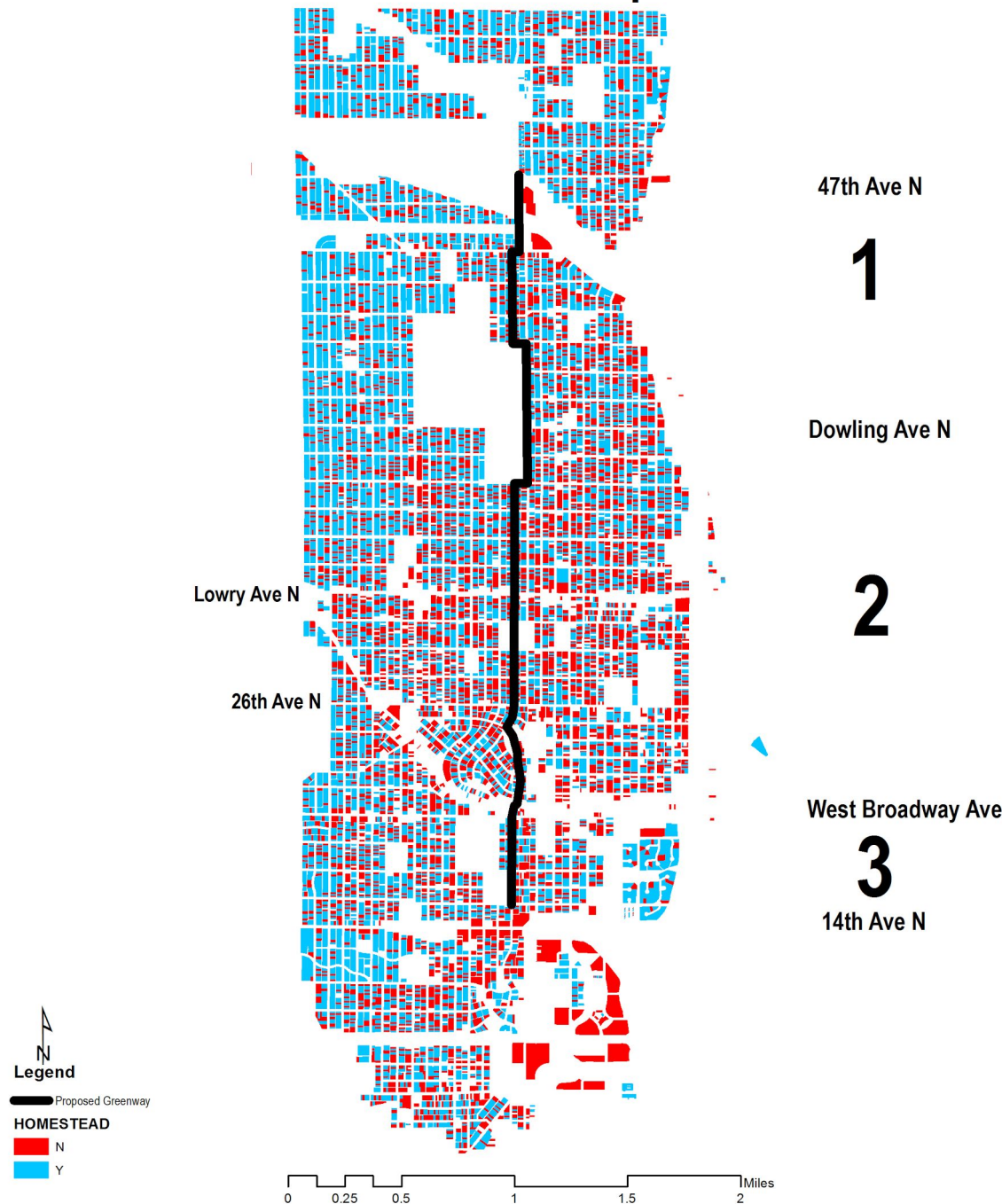


Source: CURA calculations, 2000 Census (Normalized to 2010 boundaries using Geolytics Neighborhood Change Database), 2010-2014 American Community Survey

Appendix B: Maps

Map 3

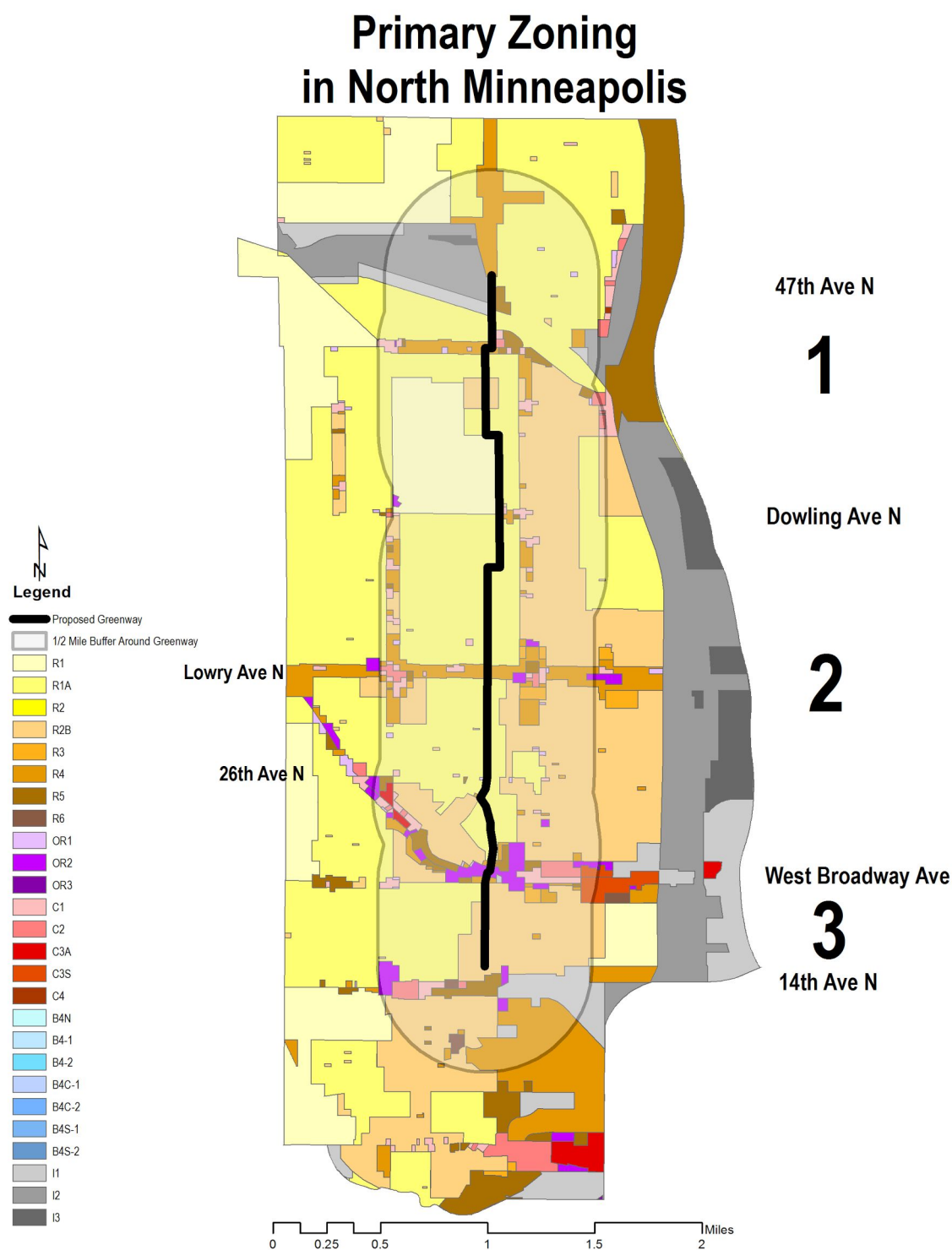
Homestead Status for Residential Properties in North Minneapolis



Source: Metropolitan Council, MetroGIS Regional Parcel Dataset, 10/1/2016

Appendix B: Maps

Map 4

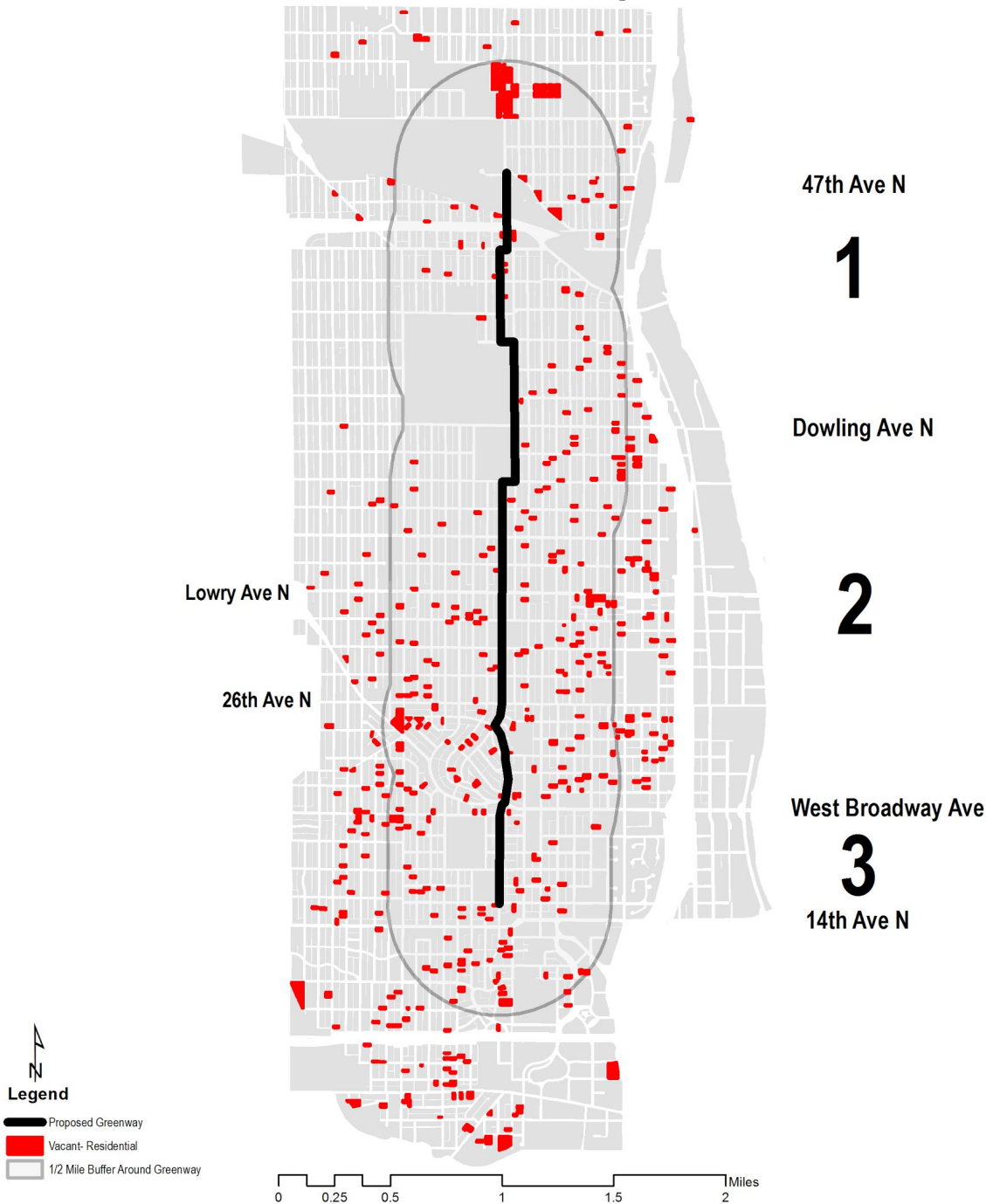


Source: Minneapolis CPED, 2016

Appendix B: Maps

Map 5

Vacant Residential Parcels in North Minneapolis

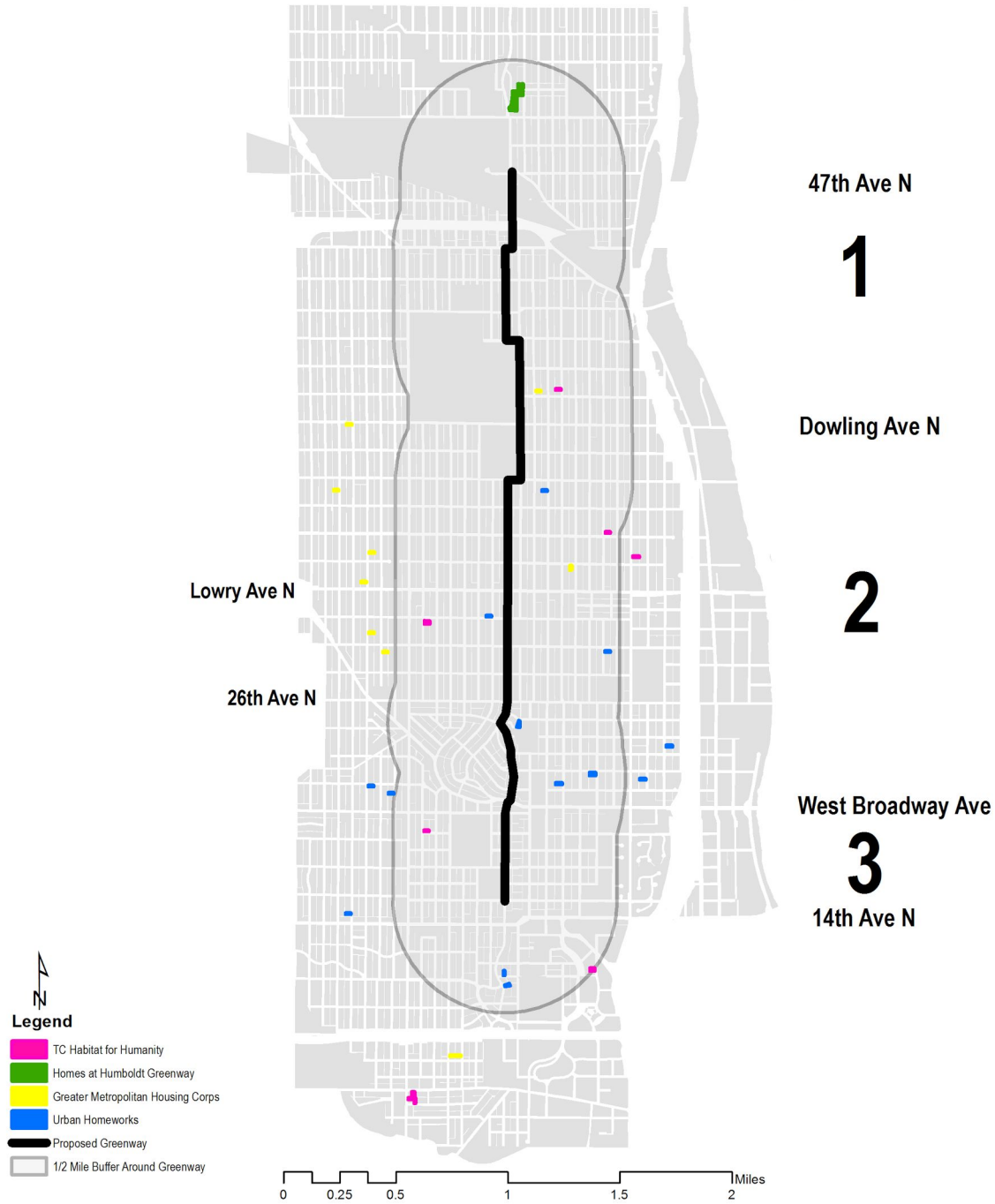


Source: Metropolitan Council, MetroGIS Regional Parcel Dataset, 10/1/2016

Appendix B: Maps

Map 6

Developer and Non Profit Owned Residential Land in North Minneapolis

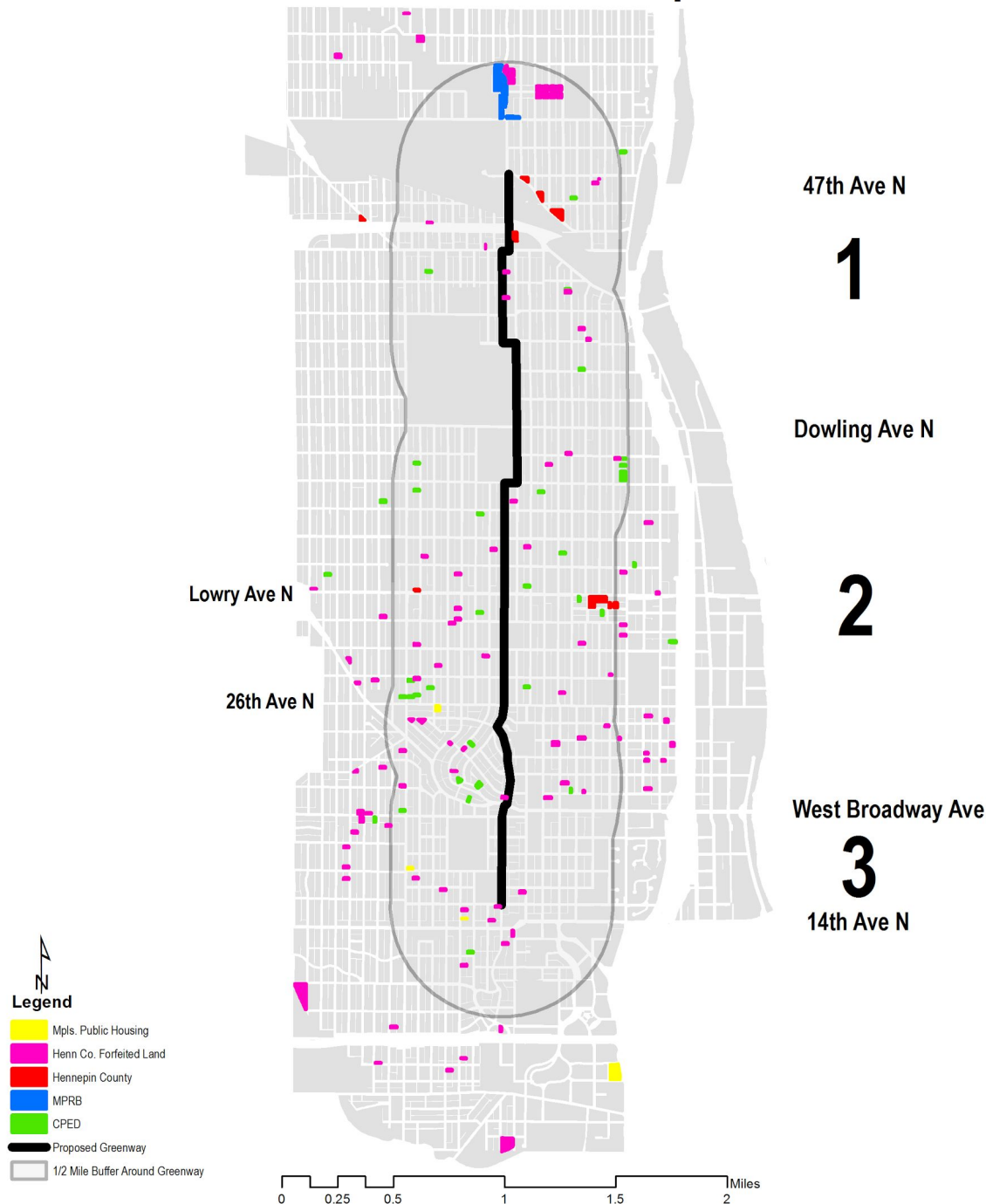


Source: Metropolitan Council, MetroGIS Regional Parcel Dataset, 10/1/2016

Appendix B: Maps

Map 7

City and County Owned Vacant Residential Land in North Minneapolis

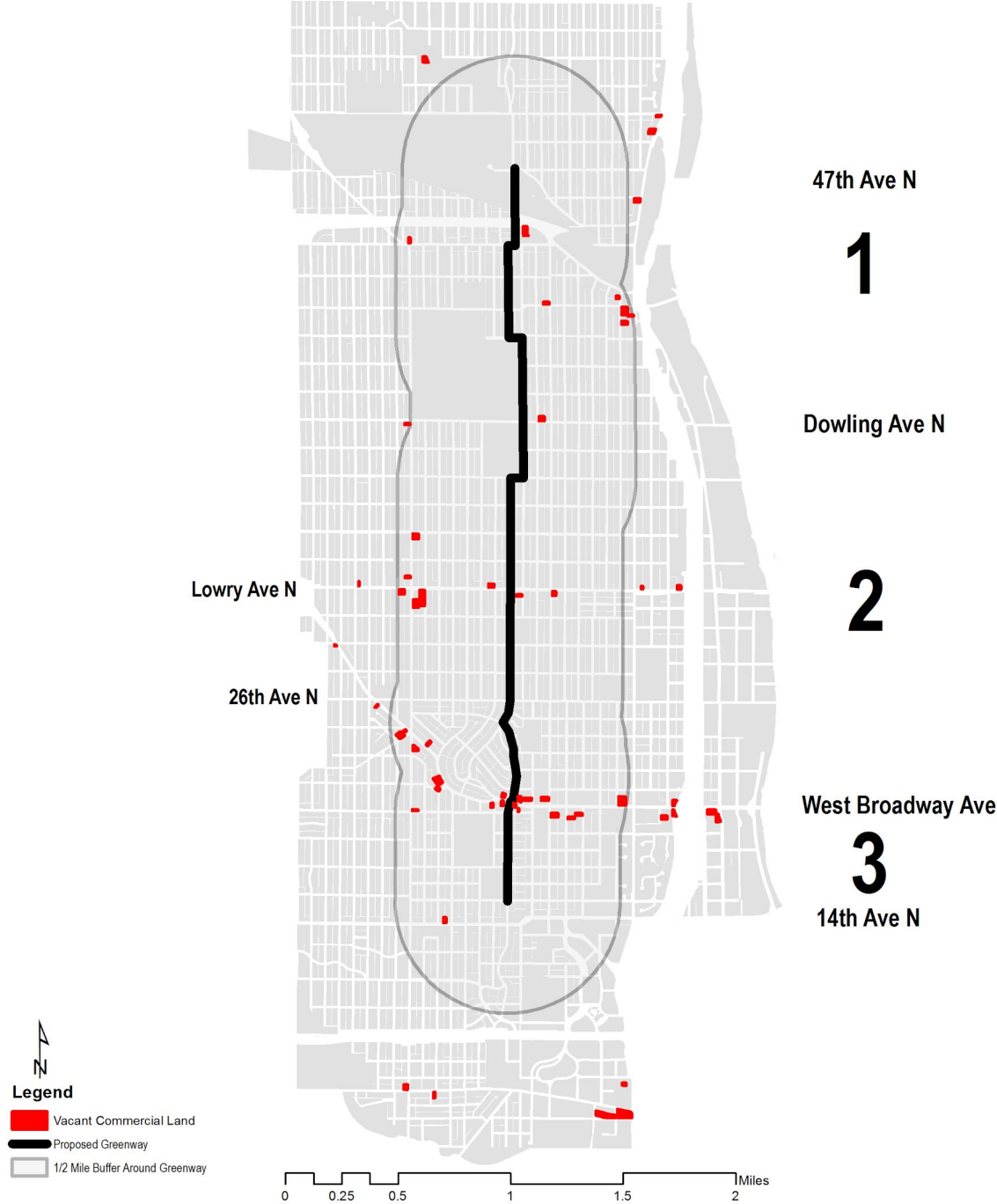


Source: Metropolitan Council, MetroGIS Regional Parcel Dataset, 10/1/2016

Appendix B: Maps

Map 8

Vacant Commercial Land in North Minneapolis

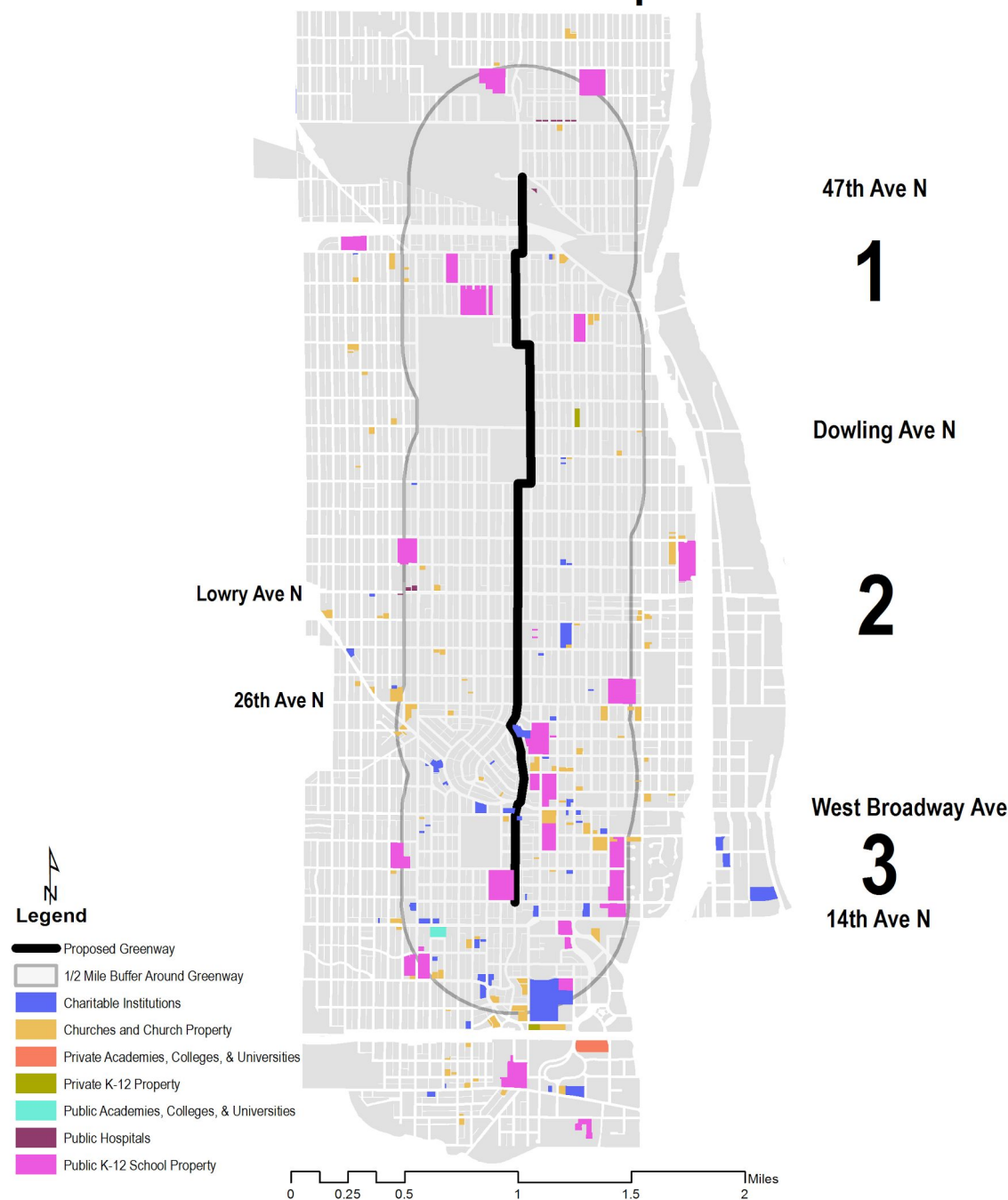


Source: Metropolitan Council, MetroGIS Regional Parcel Dataset, 10/1/2016

Appendix B: Maps

Map 9

Public Institutions in North Minneapolis



Source: Metropolitan Council, MetroGIS Regional Parcel Dataset, 10/1/2016

Appendix C: CPED-Owned Parcels

City-Owned Vacant Residential			
Building #	Street Name	Current Use	Owner Name
1008	21ST AVE N	Vacant Land - Residential	CITY OF MINNEAPOLIS
1017	LOWRY AVE N	Vacant Land - Residential	CITY OF MINNEAPOLIS
1207	KNOX AVE N	Vacant Land - Residential	CITY OF MINNEAPOLIS
1710	WEST BROADWAY	Vacant Land - Apartment	CITY OF MINNEAPOLIS
1911	PENN AVE N	Vacant Land - Residential	CITY OF MINNEAPOLIS
2034	JAMES AVE N	Vacant Land - Residential	CITY OF MINNEAPOLIS
2038	JAMES AVE N	Vacant Land - Residential	CITY OF MINNEAPOLIS
2114	JAMES AVE N	Vacant Land - Residential	CITY OF MINNEAPOLIS
2352	JAMES AVE N	Vacant Land - Residential	CITY OF MINNEAPOLIS
2407	GOLDEN VALLEY RD	Vacant Land - Residential	CITY OF MINNEAPOLIS
2614	PENN AVE N	Vacant Land - Residential	CITY OF MINNEAPOLIS
2615	PENN AVE N	Vacant Land - Residential	CITY OF MINNEAPOLIS
2619	OLIVER AVE N	Vacant Land - Residential	CITY OF MINNEAPOLIS
2635	NEWTON AVE N	Vacant Land - Residential	CITY OF MINNEAPOLIS
2639	GIRARD AVE N	Vacant Land - Residential	CITY OF MINNEAPOLIS
2648	PENN AVE N	Vacant Land - Residential	CITY OF MINNEAPOLIS
2919	3RD ST N	Vacant Land - Residential	CITY OF MINNEAPOLIS
3016	KNOX AVE N	Vacant Land - Residential	CITY OF MINNEAPOLIS
3215	GIRARD AVE N	Vacant Land - Residential	CITY OF MINNEAPOLIS
3238	VINCENT AVE N	Vacant Land - Residential	CITY OF MINNEAPOLIS
3326	EMERSON AVE N	Vacant Land - Residential	CITY OF MINNEAPOLIS
3454	KNOX AVE N	Vacant Land - Residential	CITY OF MINNEAPOLIS
3514	RUSSELL AVE N	Vacant Land - Residential	CITY OF MINNEAPOLIS
3543	FREMONT AVE N	Vacant Land - Residential	CITY OF MINNEAPOLIS
3543	OLIVER AVE N	Vacant Land - Residential	CITY OF MINNEAPOLIS
3611	LYNDALE AVE N	Vacant Land - Residential	CITY OF MINNEAPOLIS
3615	LYNDALE AVE N	Vacant Land - Residential	CITY OF MINNEAPOLIS
3619	LYNDALE AVE N	Vacant Land - Residential	CITY OF MINNEAPOLIS
3627	LYNDALE AVE N	Vacant Land - Residential	CITY OF MINNEAPOLIS
3633	OLIVER AVE N	Vacant Land - Residential	CITY OF MINNEAPOLIS
3643	LYNDALE AVE N	Vacant Land - Residential	CITY OF MINNEAPOLIS
3657	LYNDALE AVE N	Vacant Land - Residential	CITY OF MINNEAPOLIS
4001	COLFAX AVE N	Vacant Land - Residential	CITY OF MINNEAPOLIS
4241	DUPONT AVE N	Vacant Land - Residential	CITY OF MINNEAPOLIS
4323	NEWTON AVE N	Vacant Land - Residential	CITY OF MINNEAPOLIS
4611	COLFAX AVE N	Vacant Land - Residential	CITY OF MINNEAPOLIS
4754	CAMDEN AVE N	Vacant Land - Residential	CITY OF MINNEAPOLIS
614	33RD AVE N	Vacant Land - Residential	CITY OF MINNEAPOLIS
811	31ST AVE N	Vacant Land - Residential	CITY OF MINNEAPOLIS