

**Green Gentrification Analysis: A Case Study of the East Bay
Greenway in Oakland, California**

Valeria Sandoval

ABSTRACT

Green development provides a new public amenity to under-resourced Oakland communities in the San Francisco Bay Area of California. The lack of green spaces in these low-income and primarily minority communities exist due to the city's history of redlining and misguided urban planning. These new green space developments include parks, tree plantings, and gardens. Yet, the positive intention of providing these communities with improved open space access and healthier environments could also lead to an outcome of displacement and gentrification. Green gentrification consists of profit-driven developments in working class communities and communities of color that have suffered from a history of redlining in their neighborhoods. The process is observed through decreases of low-income, people of color in communities that begin to cater towards higher-income populations that are able to afford higher rent prices. In this context, displacement is the forced movement of current residents from their homes due to extreme changes in rent. To best understand how these communities are displaced through new green developments raising property values and rent prices, I did a case study of the planned East Bay Greenway in the preliminary phase of development. I then interviewed various stakeholders involved in the project's planning and development process from the City of Alameda. This included city government officials, community group representatives, and project designers and managers, whom are also governmental officials. I additionally interviewed academics and researchers who interact with the topic through projects and personal research. Through these interviews, this research aimed to identify issues that may eventually contribute to displacement as this project moves forward with development. The main challenges I identified were that stakeholders lacked an ability to address displacement in the planning process and various institutional, economic, and practical barriers prevented a procedural displacement dimension. The inability to communicate these displacement concerns during green development is likely a significant contributor to the possibility of green gentrification in the East Bay Area.

KEYWORDS

Green space, Green gentrification, East Bay Area, displacement of communities of color, urban planning, communicating gentrification, and just green enough projects

INTRODUCTION

Site Description

Developments in Oakland, California beautify, contribute more green space for both environmental and health concerns, and increase the overall quality of life for its residents. The East Bay Greenway is a new and upcoming development intended to promote public transportation, physical fitness, and a healthier environment (Urban Ecology, n.d.). This greenway path encompasses redeveloping the space underneath BART from Oakland to Hayward. The intention behind this project is to take back road space and create a wider path for bikers and encourage residents to walk and enjoy the mini parks that will be developed as well. This city of Oakland has about 4,549 bicyclists and about 14,696 pedestrians that will be well supported through these developments (“PWA EC Bicycle & Pedestrian Program | Bicycle & Pedestrian Program | City of Oakland | California,” n.d.). With approximately 121,873 vehicles on the road per year, this project hopes to promote BART and provide a clean, green, and safe space.

The surrounding areas around BART that run from Oakland to Hayward are considered to be areas with the highest poverty rates and lack of green space (Urban Ecology, n.d.). The National Recreation and Park Association suggest that a healthy amount of green space would consist of 6 acres of parks per 1,000 people and the City of Oakland suggest 4 acres per 1,000 residents, yet the areas surrounding the Greenway have between 0.6 acres and 2.1 acres per 1,000 people (Figure 1) (Urban Ecology n.d.). This impacts health conditions in the surrounding communities, so it is important to incorporate green space in these designated areas. With more green and open spaces, it will motivate people to not only use these spaces but use BART as well, which will improve both environmental and health attributes.



Figure 1: Urban Ecology 2008. Map indicating the lack of green space around black line which is the greenway pathway.

This development will be about 16 miles in length and extend from 47th Avenue Oakland to South Hayward BART station (Alameda CTC, n.d.). The project is currently going through the Environmental phase and Alameda Transportation Department will continue taking control of the developmental aspects of the process. It is underway at the moment and has passed through its first phase on the Oakland Coliseum BART station and is in process of receiving feedback from the surrounding neighborhood. The map below (Figure 2) developed by Urban Ecology, shows the map of where the development is going to take place. The highlight green color includes the areas the project will cover.



Figure 2: Urban Ecology 2008. Map showing Greenway path through BART stations highlighted in green

Research Objectives

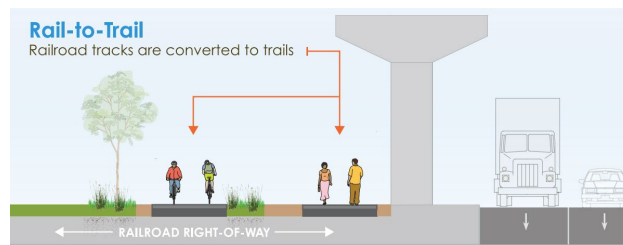
There is a gap in research suggesting that green infrastructure and green spaces are potentially correlated to gentrification. This is because there is research indicating displacement of working class, people of color with wealthier, whiter populations. I intend to investigate further how all stakeholders involved in the East Bay Greenway play a role in its development including community-based organizations, designers and planners, government officials, and other researchers in the field. This will capture the whole planning process involved with green development projects and allow for an identification of gaps that may contribute to gentrification. I want to identify the communication patterns between these stakeholder groups and any possible challenges faced with displacement when planning a green development. I intend to focus on this gap by performing semi-structured interviews and further investigating what the dynamic is currently, how it has been in the past, and how the relationship between the political and community aspect of development has changed over time. My central research question is: Who is responsible for addressing gentrification? This main question will be answered by asking: What does communication look like between stakeholders in the planning process of a green development and who does each stakeholder group feel is responsible to address these displacement concerns and mitigate them? These questions and observations will allow me to further analyze any gaps in the current process of green development that can be changed or adjusted to relief gentrification.

There are two project options that can take place for this project: either rail-to-trail or rail-with-trail, both implying different plans for the surrounding neighborhood. Rail-with-trail has limited trail space because it will only run underneath BART in contrast to having both underneath space and the area adjacent to BART (Figure 3). On the other hand, rail-to-trail project plan enables planners and developers to work with more space both underneath BART and adjacent to the structure, thus allowing for more development of green infrastructure and pathways for pedestrians and bicyclists (Figure 4). This option allows for more development to take place besides recreational space including small businesses.

Figure 3: Urban Ecology 2008.



Figure 4: Urban Ecology 2008.



Historically low-income, people of color dominated communities in Oakland have faced a lot of racial discrimination, thus placing them at risk for displacement through accelerated development. In many areas of the city such as North Oakland, West Oakland, Downtown Oakland, and San Antonio in Oakland there are a lot of historically disadvantaged communities that have been victims of redlining where banks refused to hand out loans based on race. They make up the majority of the renting community, making them vulnerable to any changes in prices. Developers enter these spaces with profit driven goals, thus increasing property values and rent prices. These developments are fast paced and attract wealthier populations that can afford new rent prices. Between 1990 and 2011, Oakland median monthly rent increased by 30% (Aldape, Volunteer, Zakon, & Flores, 2015). Moreover, the proportion of the African American population in these communities between 1990 and 2011 dropped by 40% (Aldape et al., 2015). As seen by these statistics of change throughout the recent years, the concern for the movement of gentrification is increasing, creating questions around who these new developments are catered towards and whether they are intended to increase the quality of life for current residents.

Green developments such as the East Bay Greenway are projects that have the potential of causing displacement and gentrification, however this project can be argued to be a ‘just’ project where no drastic change is created in the market and existing community members are able to benefit from these new amenities. Researchers have found patterns in the relationship between green developments and displacement as a result of gentrification; therefore, there is a possibility that this specific case can contribute to the movement or there is a possibility that it may be the perfect example of how integration of green space should take place.

Green Gentrification and the Just City Approach

Green gentrification challenges green, eco-friendly urban development by observing how these city changes contribute to gentrification of low-income, folks of color (Gould & Lewis, n.d.). There are three main approaches this thesis considers to analyzing green gentrification: theoretical approach, quantitative approach, and case-study approach.

The main theoretical approach begins with Susan Fainstein in her approach to the *Just City*. She uses her philosophical approaches to looking at social justice through the work of John Rawls from 1971 (Fainstein, 2010). John Rawls touches on four main points that Fainstein emphasizes to approach green gentrification. The four main points are (1) the relation of democratic processes to just outcomes; (2) the criterion of equity; (3) the criterion of recognition; (4) the tensions among democracy, equity, and diversity (Fainstein, 2010). Fainstein debates the democratic process that exists when making development decisions is flawed because it “overly idealizes open communication, but neglects debate” (Fainstein 2010). Moreover, she challenges the neoliberal formulations that dominate urban policy and decision-making in planning and public policy by demanding more transparency and community inclusion into the process. She focuses on the communicative model which is the standard for planning and policy making. It consists of the Epistemological and Practice-Oriented approaches. The Epistemological approach touches on its concern for alternative policies and their origin. The Practice-oriented approach examines the process of choosing among these alternatives. Both of these approaches contribute to the greater communicative model, which is what Fainstein claims is the standard. Her contributions to achieving urban justice are democracy, equity, and diversity even though they create conflicts with each other. She looks at history, specifically at the efforts made to create affordable housing after World War II, when factory production dominated. At these times, national governments played the biggest role in providing welfare and development programs.

Fainstein critiques the democratic planning process that is in place because it is a predominantly top-down and non-inclusive approach, meaning that community members are not strong voices in the process. Her work relates to green gentrification as a movement because it emphasizes the root of the issue: the politics behind planning processes for green development. There is a lack of transparency and debate, as well as developments dominated by developers, designers, and other officials with power and resources as opposed to community members. The

communication process between stakeholders in the process can be a main contributor to the movement of green gentrification.

Additionally, another example of a theoretical approach to research is through the work of Scott Campbell who brings up the idea of the 'Planner's Triangle'(Campbell, 1996). They explain the different aspects and tensions planners go through when attempting to create sustainable development. They explain the three main tensions include: environmental protection, economic development, and social equity with sustainable development in the center. These different tensions exist in order to reach the goal of sustainable development, but it is a struggle to balance them because it usually achieved through indirect ways. The solutions offered included 'environmental economic incentives, political compromise, and environmental technological innovations. However they mentioned that these types of solutions are usually offered after development and are typically guided through state or federal levels because planners struggle to address all of these issues at once. This work emphasizes the difficulty in considering many important factors impacting communities and cities and having to fall back to outside support needed to mitigate any social issues rising from these sustainable developments.

Quantifying gentrification typically is explained by the market and other economic factors that could influence real estate values (Leigh & Blakely, 2017). There are many factors that contribute to increasing cost of living in an area. There has always been a gap in opportunity between unions and manufacturing jobs in comparison to high tech and finance executive positions (Leigh, Blakely, 2017). More specifically, there has always been racial inequality in regards to income. In 2013, the median household for all races was \$51,939, which was an 8% increase since 2006 (DeNavas-Walt, n.d.). White households were 112% of that, Hispanics made up 79% and the Black community made up 67%, which emphasizes the inequality that existed between people of color and the White community, which tended to have higher income levels (DeNavas-Walt, n.d.). Throughout time, this has also applied to communities in Oakland. Studies that follow gentrification patterns through economics typically observe how income levels and real estate property values increase after a quick green development has taken place. According to Neil Smith, gentrification is an outcome from the investment on land that has historically been disinvested (Smith, 1979). Entering these spaces as developers, comes with the high possibility of creating large profit based projects because these are low value spaces. Running an economic analysis over the years and observing changes in not only income, but education levels and other

factors that contribute to the conclusion of one's income is how gentrification can be observed through a quantitative perspective.

Case Studies/Methodology

The case-based strategy approaches the understanding of green gentrification through different cases and personal anecdotes that people are enduring, an approach I will take for my work. Curran and Hamilton observe a couple of cases in Brooklyn, New York. They argue that green city ideas revolve around park space, waterfront cafes, LEED-certified buildings, but no space is left for industrial uses and the working class (Curran & Hamilton, 2012). The case studies observed are used to further understand what “just green enough” looks like and how future developments can achieve this. They also explore how developments could open up space for diversity and democracy in this capitalist country and also leave room for arguments that challenge the inevitability of gentrification. Creating awareness motivates people to improve the city environmentally and equitably (Quastel, 2009). The Greenpoint case studied by Curran and Hamilton is important because it explored new forms of direct democratic involvement and individual citizenship as well as increased the role of the state in achieving cleanup. Being “green enough” under their experiences with cases is that the developments need to serve as a place that makes room for continued industrial use and blue-collar work. These developments do not necessarily mean that they have to be parks, cafes, and riverwalks, but that they are aimed at existing work-class population. Ideally, a cleanup would improve health and quality of life but not as up-scale to attract LEED certified residential developments. Through interviews, the community identified the vision Greenpoint as a “just” project because it created jobs that kept the working class community present while still being able to cleanup and beautify the area (Curran, Hamilton 2012). These interviews reassured the researchers that this project was “just” because they felt this project did not displace anyone and also helped the community’s health improve. This strategy of study is how I want to approach my semi-structured interviews for the Greenway case study because I want to get a full scope of the project and its impacts. With feedback from community representatives, I will be able to obtain an analysis such as the New York case. Because of these interviews and insights of the perspectives of all parties impacted by the developments, researchers were able to conclude that this project was sustainable and

exemplified what other urban, green developments can follow to incorporate beautification, cleanups, and social justice. These reasons of success are why I am approaching my case study similarly.

Just like Curran and Hamilton approached their research with case studies, I will also use resources such as newspaper articles and other meeting notes held by grassroots organizations to capture the current reactions to the East Bay Greenway project. Semi-structured interviews will balance unstructured interviews that will not guide me in any direction and also strictly structured interviews that will provide me with narrow answers that I led them to answer. This balance will be essential for a topic such as gentrification where there is a lot of diversity of thoughts (Leech, 2002).

There is a gap in research suggesting that green infrastructure and green spaces directly correlate to gentrification, however there are suggestions that they relate due to the movement of people of color out of the community and more white people into them when green infrastructure is developed. I intend to investigate further how all parties involved in the East Bay Greenway play a role in its development including community members, local organizations, city planners, and other city officials that may be involved. This will capture the whole process taken for a green development project and allow for an identification of any gaps that may contribute to gentrification. I want to identify the differences in communication between community organizations with community members in comparison to city officials with community members and identify how this can change to improve the process. I intend to focus on this gap by performing semi-structured interviews and further investigating what the dynamic is currently, how it has been in the past, and how the relationship between the political side of development and community aspect has changed over time. These questions and observations will allow me to further analyze any gaps in the current process of green development that can be changed or adjusted to relief gentrification.

METHODS

To capture a wholesome discourse analysis of a green development planning process, I conducted semi-structured interviews with 10 stakeholders involved with the East Bay

Greenway. These stakeholders held a variety of perspectives because some were directly involved with the case, while others were indirectly involved, but it enabled me to understand and analyze the communication and policies integrated in the general process. The four main groups of stakeholders I interviewed included: city government officials, designers and planners, community-based organizations, and academics/researchers. City government officials included an Oakland planning commissioner and two Oakland planning officials. Planners and designers of the project involved Alameda County Transportation Commission (CTC), in particular the manager and designer and a BART official. The community group interviewed included Causa Justa Just Cause, an Oakland grassroots organization. Lastly, two academics and researchers in the field of planning and particularly gentrification were also interviewed.

Alameda CTC in partnership with an organization called Urban Ecology originated the idea of the East Bay Greenway. Alameda took ownership of writing grant requests and designing the plan for the project, meaning that they serve as the designers, planners, and developers of the project. They did this work in conjunction with BART, giving that the greenway itself involves the promotion of public transportation and is under governance of BART. The City of Oakland staff members do not serve the role of designing or planning this project, but instead have worked closely with Alameda CTC to create a plan for funding and deciding who will manage it moving forward. This explains why the staff members from Oakland in my research served the role of city government officials more so than planners themselves in this particular case. For this project, they must decide whether they will take management of the Greenway once it has been built, so their role serves more of the financial aspect. In regards to community members, there are limits to asking every community member that has the potential of being impacted by this project, so I interviewed Causa Justa Just Cause because they are a grassroots community organization that communicates closely to members of these neighborhoods who may be put at risk. With this organization, their voices are heard and united, emphasizing my rationale for interviewing this group. Lastly, academics and researchers in the planning field are aware of potential impacts such as gentrification, so I found it essential to my work to include their thoughts and opinions on this particular case.

With semi-structured interviews I found the balance between a conversation and a strict interview with narrowed questions (Leech, 2002). This allowed me to understand the communication and jurisdiction that takes place in the planning process. Interviews allowed me

to run a full discourse analysis on this project because I analyzed the opinions of city officials, community organizations, and third-party perspectives. This process allowed me to identify gaps and make recommendations on how we can best address the social justice components to these processes that can explain green gentrification.

RESULTS & DISCUSSION

I interviewed four main groups of stakeholders for the East Bay Greenway project including city government workers, planners and designers of the project part of the Alameda Transportation Department, community groups, and academics that research the topic to understand the communication dynamic between all groups. The experiences and opinions of these stakeholders varied widely when discussing the project's displacement possibility. This section will cover results from interviews that discussed communication between stakeholder groups when planning for a green development and what communication and processes consist of in regards to gentrification and displacement. Then, using the "Just City" lens, I will analyze the trends found for all stakeholder groups and then recommend various policies to mitigate displacement and gentrification, which may result from the project. Lastly, I will conclude with some limitations of these recommendations as well as a discussion of how this research will contribute to the overall work within green gentrification research.

City Government Stakeholders

When green developments are running through the planning process, city government stakeholders in this study ask themselves, ' Who is this for? '. All stakeholders felt that this project is intended for all who use public transportation and the surrounding areas of these stations that lack green space in their neighborhoods. They have felt communities do not feel encouraged to use other modes of transportation because these areas are not safe; however, with this project there will be more incentive to do so.

Many city staff members discuss gentrification, as displacement is an issue for a large population of Oakland renters. Whether the conversation comes up directly or indirectly, it is discussed. Direct discussions involve planning stakeholders discussing the topic and engaging

with it in order to mitigate the issue as much as possible. Indirect involvement with displacement and gentrification involves briefly discussing the topic when jobs and opportunities are a possible outcome from the development.

Each city governmental stakeholder explained the difficulty in asking displacement-related and gentrification-related questions with other stakeholders due to the vast diversity of mindsets each stakeholder group has when envisioning the project goal. The general planning process involves multiple jurisdictions, meaning there are a variety of agendas each group wants to accomplish, thus creating difficulty in achieving them all.

City Government Stakeholders-Technocratic/Economic Language

City government stakeholders have been found to use language that is data driven and technocratic. Mashael, City of Oakland planner explained how in many cities, the issue is that “the conversation is very top-down and solutions to displacement are very technocratic, meaning that they encompass solutions to the supply side of the market when discussing this topic”. This shows how this topic of conversation in planning is not culturally or socially driven, but most times is profit driven to improve the economy of the city. Additionally, the topic of displacement is seen as contradicting economical gains. As expressed by an Oakland Planning Commissioner, “It is complicated because we do not want to leave them [developers] without an investment, but we have to be careful (in reference to the effect of displacement)”. With many agendas and possible effects of a project, it has become difficult to stray away from a technocratic conversation for most city government stakeholders because they want to accommodate for as many agendas as possible.

City Government Communication

They also claim that in order to communicate well about every possible effect a development can have “everyone needs to be on the same page”. Moreover, they also discuss the gaps in communication in regards to resources available to other stakeholders such as the designers and developers. Many stakeholder groups feel limited by the resources available to communicate well with other stakeholder groups because they need to fulfill a deadline and time

to reassure the project proposal can run through. These outside constraints disable stakeholder groups from coming together to discuss effects of projects aside from the economic and other perspectives they determine are important.

City Government Finances

When discussing lack of finances, there are times when funds can be allocated to protection of low-income neighborhoods, but they are placed in other aspects of the project such as policing and taxes. Planning Commissioner of Oakland states, “ A lot of times developers claim they do not have the funds to reassure that their project does not lead to social problems in these neighborhoods such as gentrification, but most times they do.” Because the discussion of gentrification is not required, nor emphasized as an important topic, funds are not appropriately allocated to these projects to reassure protection for low-income families.

Community Groups

Community groups generally become involved in the planning process for green developments in order to ensure their concerns and opinions are considered in the development process. According to Oakland Planning Commissioner, there are times when developers and designers hold community-based meetings to obtain feedback on their project, “they are likely to come in with 75% of the project already done or with different scenarios for communities to provide input on,” so it can be predicted that there are times when these projects are not community-led when deciding on its design or development. Community groups and members emphasize the importance of community participation in these types of meetings because it is how demands are heard. Otherwise, it is a challenge for members of the community to communicate their concerns, given the limited contact there is with developers and designers.

Lack of Political Will

They further explain how there is a lack of political will to mitigate the movement, so creating a facilitative role in the process can create space to discuss it further and create solutions

when designing a project. Causa Justa Just Cause, a grassroots organization advocates for “community organizing, collective power-building, and community self-determination” as the basis for developments to stop or reverse gentrification. By prioritizing the needs of the community and encouraging their input on projects, this can allow for space to discuss effects like gentrification and reassure local community members can be protected. In general, community groups within developments demand space for their needs because there are limited amounts of spaces where they can provide feedback on developments entering their communities.

Government Designers/Planners

The designers and planners of the Alameda Transportation Department for the East Bay Greenway shared their limited experience with discussing displacement due to limiting resources, and institutional and practical barriers. The Alameda Transportation Department took initiative to design and plan this project for the rest of the cities ranging from Oakland to Hayward. They claim that there is no incentive or resources to truly investigate whether their project will result in displacement.

Difficulties in Organization of Projects

Alameda Transportation Department manager discusses how “it is difficult to coordinate with the variety of cities because they envision the project differently.” This highlights one of the main challenges with many green development projects: working with multiple jurisdictions with a diversity of visions. The discussion of displacement as a result of their potential gentrifying project is felt to not be their responsibility because the city involved with the project should address this. They can control property values more than they can, therefore the city should take on this task. They feel limited because they created the plan for the development and have an agenda that aspires to gain full funding and have all jurisdictions involved on board, so discussing the potential implications of gentrification and/or displacement is not a priority. Given their lack of funding, they feel their resources need to be intentional to progress the phases of the project; therefore, discussing and researching the potential social impacts of their projects is not

on the agenda. “We try not to talk about it too much because it is not a good use of money”. Although they express the concerns of displacement, nothing formal is arranged or required. Because there are no policies involved with the planning process that requires planners and developers to discuss displacement and protection plans, it is not emphasized and covered to a large extent. Given lack of funding and time, it is not a practical use of time to invest in gentrification effects of projects when it is not required.

Academics/Researchers

Academics and researchers in the field of green development and gentrification gave feedback on the lack of communication between different stakeholders and the uncontrollable speed of developments that have allowed displacement to take place. Jennifer Wolch expressed that a strategy to mitigate the outcomes of displacement, speed, and integration into the community is essential. Going into a community to fully understand the needs and wants of a neighborhood, it is necessary to integrate oneself to reassure projects are doing just that. Because developers are entering these spaces with plans to construct profit-based businesses at a fast pace, that pushes for increases in property values and creates the shift in population that can afford to utilize the services. Providing dominantly working class people of color communities with green space is essential to their health and quality of lives, so when green development enters these spaces, their opinions need to be considered to build services that will be most beneficial.

All stakeholder groups provided a variety of responses that highlighted the lack of communication between them and the technocratic and minimal conversations on displacement and gentrification, all due to the lack of resources, funding, and practicality in the planning process. Given all of the interviews and feedback from different stakeholders, the general findings were the following: within the development process, stakeholders do not claim ownership of needing to address gentrification and there are institutional, economic, and practical barriers that prevent them from addressing gentrification and social justice.

Recommendations

Throughout my research, I came to the conclusion that in order to improve the planning process there is a high need for transparency, inclusion, and negotiation. Susan B. Fainstein wrote the *The Just City* to follow up on the theory of John Rawls who wrote *A Theory of Justice* in 1971 which discusses planning issues centered on justice. Fainstein describes the problems with the democratic process of planning because it “overly idealizes open communication but neglects debate”, meaning that stakeholders communicate issues, concerns, or positive feedback with each other, but when it comes to debating a topic to then resolve, there are limitations. Moreover, she critiques the neoliberal forms of planning that have become a powerful influence on urban policy in general, which explains a lot of motives for development: profit. As some interviewees pointed out as well as Fainstein, she explains how there is a demand for transparency, inclusion, and negotiation when making decisions for the community, which is a response to the neoliberal, top-down approach to planning. The technocratic approach as she explains strays away from community input, which is a cause of displacement and gentrification. Her analysis focuses on communication and its importance to address all of these institutional problematic processes that exist and need to be mitigated.

Communication between stakeholders and institutional policies needs to be improved in order to address displacement. Throughout my research, I took the Just City approach to analyze my interview results and develop policy recommendations to address the gap in the planning process. To begin with community involvement, community meetings need to be marketed correctly, so neighborhoods are notified of upcoming developments. When being held, services to assist a diversity of families need to be funded such as childcare, translation services, and evening hours to appeal to working families. When developers create their projects, the community meetings are not inclusive enough to welcome in the family types that are surrounding the new development idea, thus leaving neighbors unaware of how their community is transforming.

Because community feedback is so essential to the impacts of projects, they should be required to be community oriented to reassure their needs and demands are accounted for. It is important to identify who the project is intended to serve and work backwards when creating the design to reassure that the population developers and planners are serving are benefiting from it. As professor Jennifer Wolch has mentioned, “integrating into the community and then deciding

on the design for the project can slow down the effects of displacement”. Moreover, this suggests a structural change to the green development planning process because developers can choose to take these actions; however, it contradicts their profit-driven goals. Therefore, unless there are new regulations integrated into the system, this action will not take place. Developing planning policies around community needs can start with the integration of protection for current community members. These types of protections can include affordable housing and working opportunities that involve blue-collar work that can serve a variety of education levels. All of these policy suggestions are created in order to create change in the planning process and develop change in the culture around discussion of displacement and gentrification. Creating space through policy to discuss these topics is essential to planning because it will protect a large renting and working class community.

Limitations and Future Directions

The limitations to this research that can be furthered include more stakeholder interviews, further policy-based investigation, and interviewing throughout the whole planning project from beginning to end to fully capture analysis of a planning project. Including more interviewees such as developers, real estate officials in the area, and city government officials throughout the whole East Bay Area would capture all opinions from all people being impacted by the project. This would allow for a more in depth analysis of how communication happens between all jurisdictions. Additionally, looking closely at all of the policies used to develop a green project and interpreting its language closely would provide more insight as to how technocratic social aspects of a project are and how they are addressed through regulations. Lastly, to fully understand all of the conversations regarding displacement in a project, it is essential to follow a project from start to finish to observe how the language changes from designing to development. Furthermore, investigating the communication that takes place in regards to notification would provide more insight to the flaws in the system with communication.

This research is a small part of a larger project that can further explore the impacts of lack of communication and policy implementation for social equity. Understanding how this impacts communities, how it gentrifies them, and ultimately displaces the working class people of color to appeal to a more affluent community. With this research, the planning field can work

to emphasize the importance of discussing any and all social injustices that may be effects of a development and reassuring that the community being built on is benefiting.

CONCLUSION

Green developments have been strategies to place efforts to mitigate environmental and health issues within cities, particularly cities with high population density. The communities within cities that require these needs the most are predominantly low-income, redlined neighborhoods. These communities have been observed to be primarily renting populations and therefore are more vulnerable to changes in rent prices. These new green developments have been invested on historically disinvested land properties and with their new projects are now placing larger property values to bring in more revenue for the city, thus causing gentrification (Aldape et al., 2015). There have been studies indicating possibilities that these types of green developments have been correlated to higher property values and therefore displacement of community members because these changes have caused rent prices to increase. The increase in rent has invited wealthier populations and has forced out low-income people of color. There are a lot of uncertainties that lie within this research because there are such vast conditions and contributors to change neighborhoods that it is difficult to pinpoint the exact reason why displacement is happening in gentrifying neighborhoods.

With my research, I concluded the following: the planning process has flaws in its communication process within all stakeholders groups, causing a lack of transparency and inclusion within the process. Moreover, stakeholder groups have their own agendas and jurisdictions, making it difficult for them to remain on the same page. Their lack of communication leads to the uncertainty of understanding who truly holds the responsibility of addressing gentrification when taking part in the planning process. Some stakeholder groups believe they all hold that responsibility while others do not. These factors are important to identify because the planning and design of a project is part of its foundation and if there are difficulties communicating ideas and integrating feedback, then these identified gaps could be a huge contributor to causes of gentrification. Gentrification is a complex issue that has risen from these new innovative developments in city areas that have not been invested in. Because of quick developments and lack of social justice awareness, communities become displaced from their

homes. Creating space for these conversations and implanting policy that requires stakeholder groups to meet, debate, and integrate everyone's demands can allow for developments to not only improve community conditions, but also serve the needs of the neighborhood it was originally intended to serve.

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