Regional Equity and Smart Growth: Opportunities for Advancing Social and Economic Justice in America

This paper was written by Angela Glover Blackwell and Radhika K. Fox of PolicyLink1 and commissioned by the Funders’ Network for Smart Growth and Livable Communities*. It is part of a series sponsored by the Funders’ Network to translate the impact of sprawling development patterns and urban disinvestment on our communities and environment and to highlight the opportunities that could be created by smarter growth policies and practices. A previous edition, also written by PolicyLink** and released by the Funders’ Network in 1999, focused on issues of social equity and smart growth. It can be downloaded from the Funders’ Network website. Other issues addressed in the series of translation papers include air quality, energy, water, community development, arts, health, biodiversity, children and families, education, aging, transportation, agriculture, civic participation, open space, and workforce development.

Abstract

Since the post World War II era, the nation’s dominant development pattern has been characterized by the outward movement of jobs, population, investment capital, and opportunity from cities and older suburbs to the fringes of metropolitan areas, a pattern commonly referred to as sprawl. One troubling consequence of this metropolitan decentralization is the isolation of low-income communities and residents of color in neighborhoods that lack the economic opportunities, services, and social networks critical for full participation in society. This condition is a result of public planning and development policies that have provided powerful incentives for suburban growth, at the expense of central cities, older suburbs, rural communities, and their low-income residents. Until relatively recently, the interplay between regional development patterns and inequality/inequity has not been widely addressed by social justice advocates nor has it been deeply embedded in the search for solutions. This is beginning to change. This translation paper reflects what PolicyLink has learned over the past six years working to advance regional equity. At its core, regional equity seeks to ensure that individuals and families in all communities can participate in and benefit from economic growth and activity throughout the metropolitan region—including access to high-performing schools, decent affordable housing located in attractive neighborhoods, living wage jobs, and proximity to public transit and important amenities, such as supermarkets and parks. This paper begins by discussing the emergence and evolution of the regional equity concept and its use by diverse groups across the country. Then, a framework for action is presented which includes four arenas for advancing regional equity: living near regional opportunity; linking to regional opportunity; promoting equitable public investment; and making all neighborhoods stable, healthy, and livable. The paper concludes with a survey of resources needed to deepen and strengthen the growing regional equity movement.

* The Funders’ Network works to strengthen funders’ abilities to support organizations working to build more livable communities through smarter growth policies and practices. For more information, visit www.fundersnetwork.org.

** PolicyLink is a national nonprofit research, communications, capacity building, and advocacy organization dedicated to advancing policies to achieve economic and social equity based on the wisdom, voice, and experience of local constituencies. PolicyLink is based in Oakland, Calif., with an additional office in New York City. For more information, visit www.policylink.org.
Introduction: 
Equal Opportunity in the 21st Century

2004 marked the 50th anniversary of *Brown v. Board of Education*, the historic Supreme Court ruling that advanced the doctrine that separate is not equal in public education. This landmark decision is a cornerstone of civil rights laws that seek full inclusion and participation for all residents of the United States. The Brown decision opened an important door to opportunity for the nation’s children of color and helped usher in a full-fledged struggle for inclusion in other important areas—most notably voting, employment, and housing.

Reflecting on the past 50 years, it’s clear that, despite impressive gains, the promise of the Brown decision—and what it signaled for America—remains unfulfilled. Because of Brown, segregation in public schools is illegal. Yet segregation and inequality continue. In metropolitan Boston, for example, seven in ten white students attend schools in the outer suburbs that are over 90 percent white, while almost eight in ten African American and Latino students attend schools in the city of Boston or in one of the urbanized satellite cities. In the state of California, the problem of critically overcrowded schools disproportionately affects students of color who attend urban schools. Seventy-one percent of California’s most severely overcrowded schools are located in large cities. Within these schools, 90.4 percent are students of color (68.2 percent Latino, 11.9 percent African American, 7 percent Asian). As the more affluent members of our society move out of central cities and older suburbs, public investments in schools follow. Settlement patterns, and the development decisions and public policies that support these patterns, are systematically maintaining separate and unequal school systems across metropolitan regions.

The same dynamic is at work in housing. While housing discrimination has been outlawed, housing today is starkly divided by race and income. Historically, the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) restricted loans on a racial basis. It supported and encouraged the movement of middle-class, white households to the suburbs, moving population and resources out of central cities. Current state and local practices continue to reinforce these regional disparities. For instance, suburban jurisdictions often enact exclusionary land use policies (such as requiring expensive multi-car garages or allowing only single-family homes on large lots) that make it very difficult for lower-income families to find places to live in newer developments.

Low-income people are stuck and concentrated in disinvested communities, which are more likely to be located in urban centers and older, declining, inner-ring suburbs. One telling indicator of this decline is the proliferation of vacant and abandoned properties. For example, in the city of Detroit, there are over 50,000 vacant and abandoned properties. Concentrated poverty is high in many urban communities, and poverty rates are rising in older suburbs. The number of people living in suburban areas with high poverty concentrations shot up by more than 121 percent from 1980-2000.

While laws have been established to promote equal employment, real access to jobs has diminished as employers have moved out of older urban areas to suburban office parks. As of 1996, only 16 percent of jobs in the average metropolitan area were within three miles of the central business district. The challenge of regional access to jobs and services is further exacerbated due to limited public transit options, as public policy and funding continues to favor investments in roads over other transportation options.

White flight to the suburbs coincided with the Brown decision, undercutting what could have been a monumental step forward in the struggle for equality for people of color. We must integrate a regional perspective more completely into the civil rights agenda.

— Wade Henderson, Leadership Conference on Civil Rights
Regional growth and development patterns also affect people’s health. A recent study conducted in the lower-income, African American community of Harlem, N.Y., found that 25.5 percent of the children have asthma, compared to the national average of 6 percent.9 As a hub for regional movement of people and goods in New York, the Harlem community has a heavy concentration of diesel bus and truck traffic, and the tiny particles in diesel exhaust are thought to be a serious asthma trigger.

Clearly, many low-income communities and people of color are now isolated in neighborhoods that lack good schools, jobs, basic services, and social networks. Until relatively recently, the relationship between regional development patterns and inequality/inequity had not been widely addressed by social justice advocates nor has it been deeply embedded in the search for solutions. Five years ago, in the first translation paper published by the Funders’ Network, we asserted that development and growth patterns were a tremendous roadblock to fully realizing social and economic justice in America. Since then, the pursuit of regional equity has become an important and growing part of the work of advocates for social and economic justice and proponents for better growth management. A growing number of advocates are employing a range of strategies to connect low-income communities and people of color to resources and opportunities available throughout metropolitan areas. Advocates for smarter growth strategies now have an opportunity to advance regional equity in policy and development decisions. This paper, which examines the evolution of regional equity as an organizing framework for policy and practice, has three sections:

I. The Concept, Appeal, and Use of Regional Equity reviews the use of the regional equity framework by diverse groups across the country;

II. A Framework for Action considers four arenas for action—living near regional opportunity, linking people to regional opportunity, promoting equitable public investment, and making all neighborhoods stable, healthy, and livable—to realize the vision of regional equity; and

III. The Way Forward surveys the resources needed to deepen and strengthen the growing regional equity movement and strengthen alliances with important partners, such as those advocating for smarter choices about how communities grow.

The previous discussion revealed how regional development patterns impact nearly every arena of potential opportunity for low-income people and communities of color. Current development patterns are not the natural result of the free market economy. Rather, they flow from public policies that have provided powerful incentives for suburban growth, at the expense of central cities, older suburbs, rural communities, and their low-income residents.

In response to these patterns of regional growth and investment that have severely disadvantaged many families and communities, regional equity has emerged as an important goal or concept around which to organize advocacy and action to promote social and economic justice. At its core, regional equity seeks to ensure that individuals and families in all communities can participate in and benefit from economic growth and activity throughout the metropolitan region—including access to high-performing schools, decent affordable housing located in attractive neighborhoods, living wage jobs, and proximity to public transit and important amenities, such as supermarkets and parks.

In today’s economy, the region is the backdrop against which opportunity and exclusion play out in America. When regional equity is prioritized as a goal,
development and investment choices facing a community are evaluated in terms of how growth can create opportunity for all residents, helping to build a strong, healthy region.

It is increasingly apparent to advocates for social and economic justice that efforts to improve the quality of life in low-income communities of color cannot be successful without using regional analysis and action. Efforts seeking access to quality education, decent housing, jobs, and services will succeed only by changing the way resources, investments, and opportunities are allocated throughout regions.

When the concept of regional equity began to emerge in the late-1990s as a mechanism for understanding and changing opportunity structures in the United States, it was unclear if it would be embraced by social justice advocates. These advocates struggle to do the difficult on-the-ground work of protecting rights, rebuilding neighborhoods, and ensuring the availability of essential social services in low-income communities. In recent years, societal apathy and dwindling resources have made their work even more urgent and difficult. Would a regional equity framework help with these challenges? Additionally, to be effective in the regional arena, it is clear that expertise in planning, transportation, public finance, and zoning will be required—skills not traditionally associated with the social justice arena outside of community development. In the 1990s, many of the conversations about regionalism were driven from a smart growth perspective and rarely did these discussions lead with race and equity. Moreover, there had been limited participation from people of color in the smart growth movement. Could meaningful coalitions be built between proponents for smart growth and advocates for equity who would necessarily introduce race and the tough challenge of inner-city disinvestment into the mix?

It is remarkable how quickly the regional equity framework has taken root in the minds and practices of change agents across the country. Many local and national organizations see that it offers a useful analysis of the structural roots of concentrated poverty in America. More importantly, regional equity ties that analysis to strategies and policies to more fairly steer development and investment. As a vehicle for extending opportunity, regional equity has been inspired and informed by the movements for sustainable development, smart growth, and environmental justice. The quest for regional equity also builds on the vast experience and wisdom of other important social change movements. From the civil rights movement, regional equity advocates adopt a racial perspective for analyzing development and growth patterns. Building on neighborhood revitalization and community development efforts, regional equity efforts recognize that “place matters” and that revitalizing the physical environment of distressed communities improves outcomes for residents who live there. Drawing from the community building movement, the regional equity movement seeks holistic, comprehensive approaches to the needs of low-income communities, underscoring the connection between “people” and “place” based strategies.

The deep interest in this perspective was reflected in the enthusiastic response to Promoting Regional Equity: A National Summit on Equitable Development, Social Justice, and Smart Growth, held in the fall of 2002 and co-hosted by PolicyLink and the Funders’ Network for Smart Growth and Livable Communities. The conference drew over 650 community organizers; neighborhood, community, and faith leaders; public officials and academics; and representatives of foundations, regional agencies, and state and national policy organizations—half of whom were people of color and working on a range of issue areas. The summit created a rich exchange of strategies and was the first major public national coming together of regional equity and smart growth advocates.
Many smart growth proponents recognize regional equity as an opportunity to connect to new constituents and bring an urgent human dimension to policy discussions focused on planning, density, and architecture. This recognition was reflected in the fourth annual 2004 New Partners for Smart Growth conference in Portland, Ore. Participants focused on social equity through the opening plenary and a series of panel sessions that provided concrete tools and techniques for ensuring that equity concerns are at the forefront of the smart growth movement.

**Adoption of Regional Equity**

Indicators of the growing adoption of the regional equity framework include:

- Growth in Research that Documents Regional Inequities;
- Diverse Constituencies and Coalitions Engaged in Policy Campaigns;
- Community Organizing and Base Building; and
- Funder Engagement and Leadership.

**Growth in Research that Documents Regional Inequities.** A growing body of research documenting regional inequities has fostered broad dialogue and has served as a catalyst for action. Leading academics such as Myron Orfield, John a. powell, and David Rusk are framing these issues for a wide variety of audiences. Additionally, PolicyLink and other policy and advocacy organizations such as Working Partnerships USA, Strategic Concepts in Organizing and Policy Education (SCOPE), and the Atlanta Neighborhood Development Partnership (ANDP) have developed action-based research to inform policy campaigns. For example, ANDP just completed an extensive research and data project on regional housing disparities and has developed a set of policy recommendations for promoting mixed-income housing across the Atlanta metro region.

**Diverse Constituencies and Coalitions Engaged in Policy Campaigns for Regional Equity.** In the Boston metropolitan area, Action for Regional Equity (Action!) is advancing analysis and policy solutions to address the critical development challenges facing the region. The coalition consists of 20 Massachusetts organizations united to address continuing disparities in affordable housing, transportation investment, and environmental justice across the Boston region. Action! has initiated a campaign for a dedicated permanent revenue stream for affordable housing that meets specific equity criteria, and is engaged in building the capacity of local leaders to advocate for equitable transit investments. Driving all of their work is a commitment to increased civic participation in policymaking.

In California, the Sustainable Communities Working Group, a collaboration of several statewide organizations, funded by The James Irvine Foundation, is advancing state policies for smart growth and regional equity. The Working Group comprises civil rights, social justice, and economic development organizations that are advancing a range of land use and fiscal reform issues, including addressing the inequitable distribution of school construction dollars.

**Community Organizing and Base Building.** Regional equity will not fulfill its potential as a movement unless it connects to people in their neighborhoods and daily lives. This is beginning to happen through the work of a growing number of national organizing networks such as Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now (ACORN), Pacific Institute for Community Organization (PICO), and the Gamaliel Foundation. These groups are actively building a base of power in low-income communities to advocate for policies addressing the inequitable impact of regional development. New organizing tactics and alliances are emerging at both the community and

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**Partnering with smart growth and land use organizations has brought new ways of thinking and new skills to our mission of promoting educational equity for Latino children. As a leading civil rights organization, we have historically focused on legal interventions; now we are getting involved in new approaches to educational equity, such as school siting.**

— Francisco Estrada, Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund
regional level, with special attention on organizing across racial and geographic lines.

**Funder Engagement and Leadership.** The philanthropic community increasingly views regional equity as an important framework for assessing the systems and policy changes needed to connect low-income communities to opportunity. Over the past five years, the Funders’ Network for Smart Growth and Livable Communities has worked to seed and promote philanthropic and community initiatives that integrate the goals of social equity and smart growth. Early on, the Network recognized that more conscious and deep attention needs to be paid to the social equity component. To build understanding of the importance of equity-centered smart growth, the Network convenes leaders from a range of sectors—philanthropy, nonprofit, academic, private, and public—at national meetings that serve as forums for developing common understandings about the relationship between smart growth and equity. Most recently, the Network launched the Regional and Neighborhood Equity Project (RNEP), a funder-initiated effort to identify, support, and replicate regional equity projects across the country.

A growing number of community and regional foundations are supporting their grantees in regional initiatives. For example, The McKnight Foundation in Minneapolis supports a People of Color Caucus to advance equity-centered smart growth policies. National funders like the Ford Foundation are supporting regional equity demonstration projects in such diverse places as Atlanta, Baltimore, Camden, N.J., Detroit, and Richmond, Calif.

All of this activity demonstrates the potential for building a broad-based social movement for regional equity. Fully realizing this potential will require deeper engagement from both social justice advocates and the smart growth movement. Experience has shown that achieving authentic, sustainable progress requires that those who live in low-income communities and their advocates be fully engaged and in positions of leadership. Fortunately there are excellent examples of this in the work of leading advocates from across the country. The next section explores key arenas where communities, organizations, and institutions are embracing the regional equity framework.

**MOSES: Faith-Based Leaders Organizing for Regional Equity**

Faith-based organizations have a unique ability to bring together diverse political constituencies on the common grounds of faith and community action, allowing them to mobilize large groups for change. The Metropolitan Organizing Strategy Enabling Strength (MOSES)—an interfaith community organization based in the Detroit region and dedicated to helping congregations and citizens gain greater influence in public policy debates—is an example of bringing community organizing strategies to the work of advancing regional equity.

Founded in 1998, MOSES realized that many of the neighborhood problems it was struggling to address in Detroit stem from political, economic, and social forces that are regional in nature. The centerpiece of MOSES’ regional equity approach is transportation justice. It actively supports increasing funds for public transit and a range of land use reforms. A recent victory for MOSES was advocating for the inclusion of “Fix It First” land use policies—mandates that prioritize repairing infrastructure and transportation in existing areas—as a central component of the recommendations that are part of Michigan Governor Jennifer Granholm’s Land Use Leadership Council.

The work of MOSES is not an isolated example of faith-based leaders advocating for regional equity. It is an affiliate of the Gamaliel Foundation, a large national organizing network, whose American Metropolitan Equity Network (AMEN) recognizes sprawl as the driving force behind racial and economic segregation in the United States. The Ford Foundation and the C.S. Mott Foundation are key supporters of these efforts.
and pursuing policies and strategies to realize its promise for achieving social and economic justice.

II. A Framework for Action

To achieve regional equity, development policies that neglect central cities, older suburbs, and rural communities for the benefit of new suburban growth must be replaced with strategies that promote regional equity. This will improve the overall well-being of communities as opportunity in employment, education, transportation, and housing become more evenly available. As more people find paths to success, the entire region benefits from greater stability, security, and prosperity.

During the past five years PolicyLink, working with dedicated advocates for change, has promoted equitable development as a framework for achieving regional equity. Equitable development is guided by the following principles:

- **Integrate People- and Place-Focused Strategies.** Advance development and revitalization policies and practices that integrate people-focused strategies—efforts that support community residents and families—with place-focused strategies—those that stabilize and improve the neighborhood environment.

- **Reduce Local and Regional Disparities.** Craft solutions that simultaneously improve outcomes for low-income communities and build healthy metropolitan regions. Metropolitan areas that pay systematic attention to both regional growth and central city, suburban, and rural poverty issues are more likely to be competitive for national and international economic opportunities.

- **Promote Double Bottom Line Investments.** Seek public and private investments that offer fair financial returns for investors and community benefits for residents (e.g., jobs, homes, businesses).

- **Ensure Meaningful Community Participation, Leadership, and Ownership.** For community residents and organizations to become fully engaged in impacting development decisions, they must have access to the tools, knowledge, and resources that can guarantee meaningful participation.

Using these equitable development principles as guides, advocates across the country are working in a number of different arenas including:

- Living near regional opportunity;
- Linking to regional opportunity;
- Promoting equitable public investment; and
- Making all neighborhoods stable, healthy, and livable.

The examples that follow are illustrative of the many diverse actors and entry points for achieving regional equity.
Living Near Regional Opportunity

A home is more than shelter—when located in a community with resources and amenities it is a critical determinant of opportunity. Living in quality affordable housing in an opportunity-rich neighborhood creates access to good schools, employment, social networks, quality public services, and opportunities for physical activity. Having a home at an affordable rent or mortgage leaves some resources available for other important needs such as health insurance, transportation, and investing in the education of one’s children.

Owning a home is how most Americans build wealth. Yet, despite some closing of the gap, significant racial disparities exist in homeownership rates. According to the 2000 Census, 73 percent of white households own their home, compared to 47 percent of African Americans and 48 percent of Latinos. The bipartisan Millennial Housing Commission notes: “housing is inextricably linked to access to jobs and healthy communities and the social behavior of the families who occupy it.”

Given this fact, a key arena for promoting regional equity is ensuring that quality housing is affordable and available throughout metropolitan areas. Low-income families who reside in affordable housing close to good schools, employment centers, transportation systems, parks, grocery stores, civic institutions, and services are better positioned to succeed economically and socially. While large-scale public housing projects are no longer built in the most undesirable places and there exists an explicit goal of deconcentrating poverty through housing policy (Housing Choice Vouchers, Hope VI, Low Income Housing Tax Credits), the nation’s housing markets remain starkly divided by race and income. This division is not simply an urban vs. suburban phenomenon. Many older, inner-ring suburbs are increasingly the destination for working families of color looking for affordable and safe housing choices. Often, these declining first-tier suburbs face many of the same challenges found in the urban communities being left behind.

Multiple forces conspire to prevent the production of more affordable homes and apartments in opportunity-rich communities. Discrimination and the practice of steering people of certain racial and ethnic groups to neighborhoods dominated by people of that same group, limit housing choices, especially for people of color. A multi-faceted approach is required to overcome the barriers these forces create.

Dismantling Exclusionary Land Use Practices

Throughout America there are exclusionary land use and zoning practices that function to maintain regional inequity. These regulations—such as minimum square footage, or large lot and setback requirements—serve to deny whole groups and classes of people access to opportunity-rich neighborhoods. A survey in the 25 largest metropolitan areas showed that low-density zoning consistently reduced rental housing. The resulting shortage limited the number of African Americans and Latinos in those communities.

Regulatory policies, if designed to increase regional equity, can open up opportunity-rich communities for development of homes and apartments that are affordable to a wider range of income groups. Such policies include fair share housing agreements, inclusionary zoning, and zoning overlays that raise density and allow multi-family housing development.

Inclusionary zoning is being successfully adopted in many communities. Zoning rules are changed to require or provide incentives for private developers to create projects that include more affordable housing choices. In return, development costs are reduced through zoning variances, density bonuses, development rights, or expedited permits.
Montgomery County, Md., passed the first inclusionary zoning ordinance in 1974. Since then, numerous jurisdictions as varied as Sacramento, Calif., Santa Fe, N.M., Denver, Boulder, Colo., Cambridge, Mass., and East Palo Alto, Calif., have found inclusionary zoning to be an important tool in providing more affordable housing choices. From Los Angeles to Madison, Wis., and Washington, D.C., diverse coalitions are calling for more inclusionary zoning to both produce and equitably distribute affordable housing in line with smart growth principles.

**Applying Regional Equity Criteria to Affordable Housing Funding Streams**

Another important vehicle for achieving a more equitable distribution of affordable housing across regions is to apply regional equity criteria to public revenue streams that fund affordable housing production. For instance, by attaching requirements—such as locating affordable homes and apartments close to transit, new employment centers, and schools—to important capital streams like the Community Development Block Grant Program, Low Income Housing Tax Credits, and local/state housing bonds, jurisdictions are attempting to strategically place low-income people close to much needed structures and supports. More analysis, research, and policy proposals are needed to realize the full potential of such efforts.

The goal of distributing housing dollars based on regional equity criteria, however, should not lead to drawing limited resources away from communities in need. Rather, as jurisdictions consider the best

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**Thinking Regionally About Inclusionary Zoning in the San Francisco Bay Area**

An innovative approach to thinking regionally about inclusionary zoning can be found in the San Francisco Bay Area. The Bay Area Inclusionary Housing Initiative is a unique partnership of community organizations and foundations advancing a multi-year, regional campaign to help Bay Area cities and counties accelerate adoption of inclusionary housing policies. Led by the Nonprofit Housing Association of Northern California, the goal of this regional initiative is to double the rate of inclusionary housing production. Communities that already have inclusionary zoning policies in place have demonstrated that it is a critical tool for providing much needed low- and moderate-income housing for working families.

The participating foundations are S. H. Cowell Foundation, Fannie Mae Foundation, Evelyn and Walter Haas, Jr. Fund, Marin Community Foundation, Peninsula Community Foundation, The San Francisco Foundation, and Charles and Helen Schwab Foundation. The community partners include the Institute for Local Self-Government, Greenbelt Alliance, the California Affordable Housing Law Project, the Nine County Housing Advocacy Network, and the Western Center on Law and Poverty.
ways to leverage existing resources, efforts must be made to expand the available pool of dollars for affordable housing. The “Applying Regional Equity Criteria” text box reviews how California and Massachusetts are attempting to leverage the use of their Low Income Housing Tax Credit dollars.

Regional equity criteria can also apply to the distribution of dollars for state housing trust funds or housing bond allocations. For example, Florida allocates housing trust dollars to counties on a per capita basis, ensuring affordable home ownership opportunities across the state and broad distribution of multifamily rental housing.

Applying Regional Equity Criteria to the Allocation of Low Income Housing Tax Credits:
Massachusetts and California

The federal Low Income Housing Tax Credit (LIHTC) program is the largest financing source for the construction and rehabilitation of affordable housing in the United States. Established in 1986, the LIHTC program provides tax credits to investors in developments where a portion of units are made affordable for lower-income renters. Tax credits are given to states on a per capita basis by the federal government; state housing finance agencies are then given fairly broad discretion to develop a distribution plan for the funds, based on the needs of regional housing markets. While better than previous housing policies in terms of geographic distribution, LIHTC projects remain concentrated in some of the most distressed neighborhoods.13

The allocation of LIHTCs could be amended to proactively further the goal of creating affordable housing near opportunity centers and promoting diverse, mixed income communities. California’s allocation criteria seek to advance smart growth and equity criteria by prioritizing projects:
- Close to transit (e.g., part of a transit-oriented development, within one-quarter mile of a transit or rail station, sited within one-third mile of a bus stop that has regular service);
- Near public amenities such as a public park or a community center;
- Near a grocery store where staples such as fresh meat and fresh produce are sold;
- Or in proximity of public, elementary, or middle schools.14

In June 2003, the Massachusetts Housing Finance Agency adopted ten guiding principles for its LIHTC program that were developed by the Office of Commonwealth Development. These include such regional equity principles as: prioritizing the revitalization of older communities; increasing job opportunities and access; locating new development near transit; and fostering the provision of multifamily housing to expand housing opportunities for everyone.15

More research and analysis is needed to assess the impacts of these promising criteria to promote regional equity through the strategic use of LIHTC dollars.
Linking People to Regional Opportunity

While development should equitably distribute housing choices across the region to reduce isolation and concentrated poverty, it is equally important to improve options and accessibility for low-income people and communities of color where they currently live. Regional equity advocates actively pursue strategies and policy changes that connect low-income people to employment and other opportunities through improved transportation options.

As of 1996, on average, less than 16 percent of jobs nationwide were within three miles of central business districts. Given the movement of jobs away from cities, transportation systems consciously designed to link low-income communities to economic corridors and jobs are fundamental to advancing regional equity. Transportation advocates are working on multiple fronts to promote more equitable transportation policies. Two arenas are reviewed in this paper: promoting transit-oriented development in low-income neighborhoods and engaging in policy campaigns to steer transportation dollars towards more equitable investment patterns.

Promoting Development and Investment Around Transit Stations

Transit-oriented development (TOD) is development centered around transit stations as a way to improve transit accessibility and the surrounding community. In historically neglected neighborhoods, development near transit stations can spark revitalization, connecting more people in the area to jobs and creating (or, often, re-creating) a vital commercial center.

No longer the exclusive purview of planning agencies and private developers, TOD projects are increasingly being led by equity advocates, most notably community development corporations (CDCs). While transit-oriented developments in low-income communities can be a lifeline to opportunities across the region, such development can also fuel gentrification. The work of Chicago’s Bethel New Life and Oakland’s Spanish Speaking Unity Council are recognized national models of how to strike the balance between revitalization and preservation of affordability.

Immigrants: The New Dimension of Regional Equity

One of the big stories emerging from Census 2000 is that immigration was responsible for much of the nation’s growth—and that this trend shows no sign of slowing. There are interesting shifts happening in settlement patterns: immigrants who first settled in central cities are moving to the suburbs, and more recent immigrants are bypassing urban areas altogether and heading directly for suburbia. This shift is due in large part to sprawl-related job growth patterns. For immigrants to acquire new jobs that are increasingly located far from city centers, they must either live where the jobs are, though affordable housing is scarce, or utilize public transit, which is limited or lacking in many metro areas. This is a new dimension of a fundamental regional equity challenge known as “spatial mismatch” between jobs and housing.

Against this backdrop, in September of 2003, California Governor Gray Davis signed Senate Bill 60. The legislation, allowing undocumented immigrants to obtain a driver’s license in California, was a pragmatic decision to respond to the realities of California’s labor markets. It was repealed by Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger less than a month after he took office in November of the same year.

In the public debate, the bill was framed as an issue of equal rights for immigrants. Yet, at its heart was a workforce issue and could have had more universal appeal if it had been advocated for in terms of employer needs. Hope, and a chance to reframe the issue, still exists. Reborn as Senate Bill 1160, the driver’s license legislation was recently approved by the California State Senate Transportation Committee and is winding its way through the legislative process.

While TOD projects have historically been planned around existing stations, regional equity advocates are also engaging in planning and decision making about where new transit lines and stations should be located. This planning is an opportunity to anticipate how such development can help achieve greater regional equity. As a result of community organizing and involvement, a regional development plan was created for the Interstate Avenue light rail line in...
Portland, Ore. The plan cites “benefit the existing community” as a guiding principle, and includes statements about preventing resident displacement in both the housing and economic development sections. Inclusion of such language is a notable step forward in planning for regional equity.

**Advocating for a More Equitable Use of Transportation Dollars**

In addition to improving physical development around transit stops, growing numbers of robust coalitions are advocating for shifting transportation dollars to gain greater mobility for low-income people. Some coalitions, such as the Transportation and Land Use Coalition (TALC) in the San Francisco Bay Area, have succeeded in achieving a more equitable allocation of federal, state, and local transportation dollars.

**Promoting Equitable Public Investment**

Public investment decisions ultimately determine the quality of transit systems, the condition of public schools and facilities, and the presence of parks and open space. Too often, policymakers fail to consider the impact of investment decisions on low-income communities. Using public investments to promote regional equity is becoming an important strategy among social justice advocates. Advocates are taking a particular interest in the growing community benefits movement and in promoting equitable infrastructure investments at the state level.

**Requiring Community Benefits**

Large-scale economic development projects to build regional destinations—sport stadiums, entertainment arenas, hotels, office parks, and “big box” retail services—often depend on taxpayer supported public subsidies. The community benefits movement is based on the premise that public investments must yield defined public benefits, including good jobs, affordable housing, and childcare. The movement is being driven by broad and diverse coalitions that include labor unions, community builders, housing developers, neighborhood advocates, and environmentalists.

The community benefits movement began in California when organizations in Los Angeles, San Diego, San Jose, and the East Bay began leveraging the potential of large economic development projects to benefit low-income communities. Perhaps the most comprehensive community benefits agreement to date was negotiated by the Figueroa Corridor Coalition for Economic Justice around the development of the downtown Los Angeles Sports and Entertainment District (Staples Center). This agreement included living wage jobs, local hiring requirements, job training, a 20 percent set-aside of affordable housing, and a commitment of $1 million for

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**Diverse Coalition Advocating for Transportation Equity**

The Transportation and Land Use Coalition (TALC) is a partnership of over 90 groups working for an environmentally sustainable and socially just Bay Area. The coalition analyzes county and regional policies and works with member groups to develop alternatives. It usually kicks off grassroots campaigns with high-quality reports that generate headlines and outline their key recommendations. To date, TALC has been credited with a major shift in the Bay Area’s transportation funding priorities with victories such as:

- Steering $375 million in the 1998 Regional Transportation Plan from highway expansion to maintaining public transit;
- Securing a commitment in December 2003 for the region to spend over $700 million of transportation funding to build transit-oriented housing, with bonuses for affordable units and safer streets; and
- Helping develop and then leading a campaign for a $1 toll increase on seven bridges that will generate over $100 million per year, in perpetuity, for public transit. Passed by the voters in March 2004, the measure includes major funding to connect low-income communities with job and education centers.
community parks and recreation, in exchange for organized community support of the project. Following this mutually beneficial agreement, one of the coalition members, the Los Angeles Alliance for New Economy, has been tracking development proposals in the broader Los Angeles region to determine when community benefits can be negotiated in exchange for support of a project.

The idea that communities must benefit from publicly-subsidized development is spreading rapidly. It is being forwarded in metro regions across the country including Milwaukee, Wis., Atlanta, Boston, Seattle, New York, and Washington, D.C. In early 2004, a community benefits agreement was made for developments in the former Park East Freeway area of downtown Milwaukee. The Institute for Wisconsin’s Future was a key advocate in this effort. The agreement ensures that affordable housing and union-level wages for construction workers will be part of all developments receiving public subsidies or built on public land.

**Influencing Public Infrastructure Investments**

Advocates are exerting increased influence on state public infrastructure investments through their focus on regional equity. Infrastructure dollars account for a large percentage of state spending, and affect virtually every aspect of neighborhoods, cities, and regions. These decisions affect where housing is located; the variety and range of housing to be built; if and how people can get to jobs; the quality of education in the community; and maintenance of basic public health and safety. Equitable public infrastructure policies provide a path to real social and economic equity in, and between, communities.

Infrastructure issues are complex and highly technical; rarely the focus of public debate. This is likely to change, in part because a growing number of states are facing infrastructure crises stemming from long-term inattention to needed infrastructure improvements and flawed tax policies. Advocates for social and economic justice

**Linking Economic Development Subsidies and Transit Access**

A recent 50-state survey of economic development subsidy programs (e.g., loans, grants, and tax incentives) conducted by Good Jobs First revealed that not one state effectively coordinates its economic development spending with public transportation planning. The survey also found that only four states—Ohio, Minnesota, Maine, and Connecticut—have any kind of system to collect even fragmentary data on corporate relocations that receive economic development incentives. In other words, only four states collect data that could help them determine if their economic development programs are reducing or increasing access to jobs for workers who cannot afford a car, or if they are harming or improving commuter choice when jobs get relocated. These are troubling findings, because in virtually all major metropolitan areas there is a spatial mismatch between jobs and housing. The study recommends that economic development subsidies should be granted in a manner that is “location efficient” by restricting subsidies to projects that have access to public transit.
As community developers, we continually struggle to do the hard work of rebuilding inner city communities. Sprawl undermines our efforts, and regional equity offers an important framework for getting at the systemic issues of abandonment and decline that are at the heart of our work. We’re never going to dismantle the master’s house with the master’s tools. We need new approaches to rebuilding neighborhoods that get at the root causes of inequity across the region.

— Kim Burnett, The Community Development Partnership Network

### Promoting More Equitable Use of School Construction Dollars: Ohio, Maryland, and California

**Ohio.** In 1997, a state Supreme Court legal decision found Ohio’s K-12 school system to be unconstitutional because students were not receiving a “thorough and efficient” education. The deficient physical state of the schools was cited as a major factor in the decision. As a result, Ohio has revamped its funding for school facilities so that schools in need are priorities, and the state has become a national model of how to more equitably distribute school construction dollars. The litigation behind this action was spearheaded by the Ohio Coalition for Equity and Adequacy of School Funding.

**Maryland.** Similar to Ohio, Maryland’s constitution contains a provision requiring the state to provide a “thorough and efficient” education. Maryland assessed all of its schools for health and safety standards as well as the ability to support educational programming. This survey covered approximately 121,046,176 square feet of school space. The resulting inventory helped to establish minimum facilities standards, determine the level of need, and target resources to where they are most needed. The state currently increases its share of construction costs for low-wealth communities, with plans to increase the funds to low-wealth districts even further beginning in 2005 under the Guaranteed Tax Base Program.

**California.** In California, the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF) and PolicyLink are working with a range of equity advocates and smart growth leaders to push for the redistribution of school construction funds so that overcrowded schools in low-income communities become more of a priority for state spending than greenfield school development. A new program, begun in 2002 and refunded in 2004, set aside $4.14 billion for new construction to relieve critically overcrowded schools.

### Making All Neighborhoods Stable, Healthy, and Livable

Regional equity will be achieved when every neighborhood in the region has the essentials for healthy, productive living and is connected to opportunities throughout the region. This requires recognizing and meeting a minimum standard of livability below which no community falls.

According to Census 2000, approximately one-quarter of all large cities (those with populations of more than 100,000) continue to face significant population decline and the disinvestment that follows. These cities are primarily located in the Northeast and Midwest and include such places as Cleveland, Detroit, Philadelphia, and Pittsburgh. The Community Development Partnership Network (CDPN) is working to bring greater attention to the challenges that these “weak market” cities face, such as declining home values and equity, diminishing tax bases that lead to fewer public amenities, large-scale vacant and abandoned property, brownfields, racial concentration of poverty, loss of social networks, and lower median incomes.

Rebuilding neighborhoods in cities with weak real estate markets so that they become or remain vibrant, supportive communities is a fundamental regional equity challenge. All communities in a region should be “places of choice,” with the services and support individuals and families need in order to be economically and socially stable. Many distressed communities lack basic amenities (e.g., banks, grocery stores, neighborhood parks, cultural centers) that families need to lead healthy, productive lives. Transforming distressed communities requires recognizing the competitive advantage of these places relative to the region, and tailoring strategies to attract reinvestment while connecting existing residents to the benefits of future revitalization.

A promising example of such transformation is the Healthy Neighborhoods Initiative (HNI) in Baltimore. The HNI recognizes the
critical role that healthy, attractive neighborhoods play in making the city and region thrive. The initiative focuses on “in the middle” neighborhoods that usually do not have compelling enough problems to attract headlines, yet also fail to attract investment dollars because of troubled properties. The Healthy Neighborhoods Initiative builds from neighborhood strength, harnessing assets and utilizing market forces to reinvigorate the targeted neighborhoods. Housing investments that increase home ownership and value are coupled with civic engagement activities that strengthen the social fabric of the neighborhood. In the Belair-Edison neighborhood, for instance, median sale prices for homes on target blocks increased over 9 percent from 2002 to 2003—and it is existing residents who are benefiting from this revitalization. Foundations such as the Goldseker Foundation and the Baltimore Community Foundation have made strategic investments in the Healthy Neighborhoods Initiative, recognizing the importance of this approach to building thriving neighborhoods that are connected to the broader region.

Another important arena for action is reclaiming vacant and abandoned properties. Many distressed communities are not capturing the opportunity to transform vacant or abandoned properties into valuable, revenue-generating sites that can help revitalize a neighborhood. A promising local effort is in Genesee County, Mich., where the Treasurer’s Office has launched an ambitious effort to take ownership of abandoned and vacant properties. As of March 2003, the county had taken ownership of over 2,100 properties in the city of Flint and has established a Land Reutilization Council to help return the roughly 1,800 sites it currently holds back to productive use.22 On the national front, Smart Growth America (SGA) is spearheading the National Vacant Properties Campaign to make the issue of vacant properties a local and national policy priority and building a national network of leaders and experts working on these issues. The challenge is not limited to weak market cities. Economically vibrant regions also have distressed neighborhoods that are not sharing in the benefits of growth. Strategies to rebuild such places and create vital, stable, and supportive neighborhoods that are regional destinations—such as the Diamond Neighborhood that is home to Market Creek Plaza in San Diego—are a critical arena for regional equity action.

**Grocery Stores: Ensuring Neighborhood Livability**

**Market Creek Plaza, San Diego.** Located in the low-income, diverse Diamond Neighborhoods in San Diego, Market Creek Plaza extends over nine acres on a property that once housed a munitions factory. This commercial and cultural center—anchored by a Food 4 Less supermarket—includes ethnic restaurants, a fitness center, and an open-air community amphitheater. An outdoor public art collection—mosaics, totems, and murals—in combination with the design of the plaza’s buildings reflects the artistic traditions of the diverse ethnic and cultural groups in the neighborhoods. A trolley stop located at Market Creek Plaza connects neighborhood residents to other locales across the region, and also helps make this cultural and commercial center in the heart of the Diamond Neighborhoods a regional destination. A project of the Jacobs Family Foundation, Market Creek Plaza is a wonderful example of revitalizing a neighborhood and improving opportunities for its residents, using a much needed grocery store to anchor these efforts.

**State of Pennsylvania.** The state of Pennsylvania recently adopted a supermarket development initiative using state economic development dollars for planning grants and low-interest loans to bring supermarkets into underserved urban and rural communities. This is critically important since Pennsylvania has the second-lowest number of supermarkets per capita of any state in the nation. The supermarket initiative is part of a larger economic stimulus package, recognizing that supermarkets can be economic development drivers in disinvested communities, while also helping to meet the food needs of the residents who live there.
important to guarantee that residents who stayed during difficult times can remain in neighborhoods experiencing revival if they choose. In-depth information on tools and strategies to prevent resident displacement through the process of revitalization can be found in the PolicyLink Equitable Development Toolkit.

III. The Way Forward

Regional equity will improve the overall well-being of all communities as opportunity in employment, education, transportation, and housing become more evenly available. As more people find paths to success, the entire region realizes benefits through increased stability, security, and prosperity.

There has been notable progress toward regional equity in the past several years. Examples cited in this paper show the dynamic efforts underway around the country. The diversity of issue areas in which regional equity is being advanced, and the breadth of actors who are leading this work, is exciting and inspiring. While there is much progress to celebrate, the road to building more equitable and inclusive regions is long. Some important areas of investment that are needed to sustain and bring to scale the promising efforts discussed in this paper include:

More Resources. The goal of regional equity cannot be achieved without more resources to support the types of policies and programs highlighted in this article. Redirected and new public, private, and philanthropic revenue sources are needed to support the innovative policies needed to realize the vision of regional equity. More funding is also needed to support organizations who are working on regional equity, as well as to bring new stakeholders to these efforts.

Community and social justice advocates understand the importance of regional analysis and action, but for the most part they are only positioned to work in low-income, inner-city communities. There is usually no funding support for work that reaches outside those boundaries.

Supporting regional equity approaches is a smart investment for the public, private, and philanthropic sectors. Investing in transit systems that connect to employment centers should help more people find good jobs; over time, this may reduce their dependence on public benefits and help them contribute to the tax base. Likewise, fostering greater educational equity will strengthen the economic vitality of the region by preparing more people to be productive workers; and improving the environmental factors that contribute to maintaining good health will reduce health care expenditures.

New Capacities. Working regionally requires different skills and knowledge than working at the neighborhood or city level. It is critical that individuals and organizations build the capacity in planning, land use, and fiscal issues necessary to be active in regional equity decisions. Some of the skills and techniques that need to be acquired and improved include: the use of data, mapping, and information to support policy change and inform campaigns; communications skills and messages to make the case for regional equity; identifying and engaging diverse stakeholders; and organizing urban core/inner-ring alliances. Sometimes this requires action in more than one jurisdiction. Other times, action must move to the state level to reach the desired impact. Training, technical assistance, and translating existing research on regionalism into “practical on-the-ground solutions” is an important area in need of continued and enhanced investment.

New Collaborations, New Venues for Conversation and Action. Collaborations across sectors, across neighborhoods, and across jurisdictions are essential for moving the regional equity agenda. Examples of collaborations between smart growth and social justice advocates highlighted in this article are promising. They need to be stronger, more inclusive, and more frequent.
There are a growing number of urban-suburban alliances and inner-ring suburban coalitions that need to be supported and strengthened. Additionally, there are new constituencies that, if more deeply engaged, could be powerful allies. For instance, there is a great need to better understand regional equity issues for rural communities, and make connections to rural constituents.

Regional equity requires analyzing and tackling deep-rooted issues of inequity in America—it cannot be accomplished without honest and frank conversations about race. Venues for having these kinds of tough conversations in a focused, productive way are crucial.

**Leadership.** Organizations mentioned in this paper are home to a new cadre of leaders. Support and cultivation of new, bold regional equity leadership in the community, philanthropic, public sector, and private sector should be encouraged.

- **Social Justice and People of Color Leadership.** This paper points to the way in which social justice advocates and people of color are increasingly engaging in regional action. Strategies to support their involvement and deepen their analysis are needed. One promising effort supported by the Ford Foundation is the African American Forum on Race and Regionalism. Convened by Angela Glover Blackwell, Robert Bullard, and John a. powell—African American leaders with strong organizations seeking to promote regional equity—the purpose of the forum is to craft a multifaceted agenda designed to promote broad alliances for regional equity.23

- **Philanthropic Leadership.** This paper highlighted foundations that are leading the way in terms of funding and convening regional equity efforts. The Funders’ Network for Smart Growth and Livable Communities’ Regional and Neighborhood Equity Project is an important venue for building foundation leadership and collaboration on these issues.

- **Elected Officials.** Local and state elected officials who are trained on regional equity issues and solutions, networked with each other, and connected to social justice advocates, are critical to advancing this work. For example, a bipartisan and growing number of governors—including Jennifer Granholm (Michigan), Ed Rendell (Pennsylvania), Mitt Romney (Massachusetts), and Mark Sanford (South Carolina)—are putting forward a smart growth agenda. These important state leaders need the regional equity framework to ensure that their efforts reflect the needs, voice, and perspective of low-income communities and people of color. On the local level, the National League of Cities and other membership associations can educate public officials on regional equity principles, approaches, and solutions.

- **Private Sector.** Efforts to engage the private sector—developers, corporate executives, bankers/investors—on issues of regional growth and development should offer specific ways that they can participate in advancing the goals of regional equity. The work of Richard Baron, president and chief executive of McCormack Baron Salazar, exemplifies how private developers can profit while also promoting the goals of regional equity. Baron works to revitalize neglected urban neighborhoods in ways that both physically revitalize an area and include needed services such as quality public schools and recreational areas. Chris Leinberger, another private developer, has developed an innovative “value latching” concept. This approach will capture revenue from improving property values stimulated by downtown revitalization to fund affordable housing initiatives in Albuquerque, N.M.

In order to realize the promise of full participation and inclusion in American society, African Americans and other communities of color must join and help to lead the struggle for metropolitan reform in the United States. This is the civil rights movement of the 21st century.

— Carl Anthony, Ford Foundation
A Supportive Infrastructure. Given the new alliances, strategies, and analyses that are needed, it is very challenging for social justice advocates to engage in regional conversations. Anchor institutions that can serve as intermediaries for broadly engaging a range of stakeholders on regional equity action are critical for fostering relationships and supporting change.

Conclusion

In the United States, as much as one-third of our built environment will need to be renovated or replaced between the years 2002-2025. When combined with population growth, at least one-half the development needed by 2025 has yet to be built. How government, the private sector, and philanthropy respond to these development needs and related investment decisions will shape the country’s future.

Applying regional equity values and policies can chart an equitable course for future development and investment decisions, helping to build a nation of inclusion and broad opportunity. The opportunity to build stronger alliances between advocates for social and economic justice and proponents for smarter growth management represents a potent force for change.
Author Acknowledgments

We would like to thank Regan Douglass at PolicyLink for her research assistance in developing this article. We also thank PolicyLink program staff for their review of a draft manuscript.

Special thanks to Carl Anthony at the Ford Foundation, Earl Johnson at the Rockefeller Foundation, and Ben Starrett and Jesse Leon at the Funders’ Network for Smart Growth and Livable Communities for their review of draft manuscripts.

Finally, we also thank several of our colleagues in the field with whom we had conversations about the state of regional equity. They include:

- Carl Anthony, Ford Foundation
- Richard Baron, McCormack Baron Salazar, Inc.
- Hooper Brooks, Surdna Foundation
- Kim Burnett, Community Development Partnership Network (CDPN)
- Anne Canby, Surface Transportation Policy Project (STPP)
- Christine Doby, C.S. Mott Foundation
- Francisco Estrada, Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF)
- Michael Fix, The Urban Institute
- Anika Goss-Foster, Detroit LISC
- Wade Henderson, Leadership Conference on Civil Rights
- M. von Nkosi, Atlanta Neighborhood Development Partnership/Mixed Income Communities Initiative
- Carey Shea, formerly with the Surdna Foundation
- Ben Starrett, Funders’ Network for Smart Growth and Livable Communities
- Debby Warren, Southern Rural Development Initiative
**List of Referenced Organizations and Initiatives**

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1 Angela Glover Blackwell is the founder and CEO and Radhika K. Fox is a senior associate at PolicyLink.

2 The use of residents, instead of citizens, is intentional. It seeks to connect the principles of the civil rights movement to the current struggle (most apparent in California) for the rights of all residents, regardless of nationality or immigration status.


5 See, for example, the Federal Housing Administration Underwriting Manual: Underwriting and Valuation Procedure Under Title II of the National Housing Act (1938). Some applicable excerpts:
   [Section] 935 . . . Natural or artificially established barriers will prove effective in protecting a neighborhood and the locations within it from adverse influences . . . [including] prevention of the infiltration of business and industrial uses, lower class occupancy, and inharmonious racial groups . . .
   [Section] 937. Quality of Neighboring Development . . . Areas surrounding a location are investigated to determine whether incompatible racial and social groups are present, for the purpose of making a prediction regarding the probability of the location being invaded by such groups. If a neighborhood is to retain stability, it is necessary that properties shall continue to be occupied by the same social and racial classes.


10 Myron Orfield is the Director of the Institute on Race and Poverty at the University of Minnesota; john a. powell is the Director of the Kirwan Institute for the Study of Race and Ethnicity at Ohio State University; and David Rusk is a consultant based in Washington, D.C.


17 See PolicyLink Equitable Development Toolkit: Equity in Transit Oriented Development Tool for a more comprehensive discussion: http://www.policylink.org/EDTK.


Endnotes (cont’d)


23 See PolicyLink publication, Leadership for Policy Change, for a more comprehensive discussion: http://www.policylink.org/Research/Leadership/.

The Funders' Network's series of translation papers are designed to assist funders and other interested parties to better understand the connection between spread-out patterns of development and urban disinvestment and specific issue areas and to articulate opportunities for progress that would be created by smarter growth policies and practices. Sixteen topics were covered by first editions. Updated second editions, such as this one on regional equity, are in development. Visit www.fundersnetwork.org to download electronic copies or request printed versions.

#16  *Air Quality and Smart Growth: Planning for Cleaner Air.* January 2005.


#11  *Health and Smart Growth: Building Health, Promoting Active Communities.* February 2003.

#10  *Biodiversity and Smart Growth: Sprawl Threatens Our Natural Heritage.* October 2002.

#9   *Children, Youth and Families and Smart Growth: Building Family Friendly Communities.* August 2002.

#8   *Education and Smart Growth: Reversing School Sprawl for Better Schools and Communities.* March 2002.

#7   *Aging and Smart Growth: Building Aging-Sensitive Communities.* December 2001.

#6   *Transportation Reform and Smart Growth: A Nation at the Tipping Point.* August 2001.

#5  *Agricultural Sustainability and Smart Growth: Saving Urban-Influenced Farmland.* April 2001.

#4   *Civic Participation and Smart Growth: Transforming Sprawl into a Broader Sense of Citizenship.* November 2000.


#1  *Opportunities for Smarter Growth: Social Equity and the Smart Growth Movement.* December 1999.