



JUST CITIES RACIAL EQUITY AND RESTORATIVE JUSTICE IN PLANNING ANALYSIS

East Oakland Displacement Status and Impacts from the BRT Project Summary

A Racial Equity Planning and Policy Justice Report for OakDOT's East Oakland Mobility Action Plan

JUNE 2021

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Cover Photos Top: Unity Mural - Black & Brown Dreams on International Blvd. and 86th Ave. by 67 Sueños and Allen Temple Baptist Church, photo taken by 2019 UC Berkeley Transportation Studio; Bottom: HOLC Map of Oakland, 1937 University of Maryland's T-RACES project

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As East Oakland natives, Just Cities staff members **John Jones III** and **Vanessa Zamora** ensured that our work continues to be grounded in community realities and solutions. Out of concern for the Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) project impacts on small businesses, John led advocacy to push the City of Oakland to be more responsive to business needs. Vanessa Zamora has led the convening of the Resident Advisory Council (RAC), leaders representing diverse communities in East Oakland: **Ms. Sherry** from Causa Justa: Just Cause and Faith in Action, **Carina Lieu** with the Oakland Youth Advisory Commission, **Nehanda Imara** with the Black Cultural Zone Collaborative, **Silvia Guzman** with La Clínica de la Raza, **Andy Nelson** formerly with East Bay Asian Youth Center, **Pastor Jeremy McCants** with Allen Temple Baptist Church, and **Isabel Cuevas**, a student at San Jose State University. These community leaders have devoted many hours to ensure that the analysis represents community realities and that Just Cities follows the best practice planning principle of planning with community.

Resident Advisory Council Members



Pictured (Left to Right) : Ms. Sherry, Carina Lieu, Nehanda Imara, Silvia Guzman, Pastor Jeremy McCants, Isabel Cuevas
Not pictured: Andy Nelson

Integral to the analysis was assessing the severity of the BRT construction in displacing East Oakland legacy businesses. The definition and identification of these legacy businesses would not have been possible without the participation of John, Vanessa, Silvia, and Nehanda.

Bryantee Brown, a racial justice planner formerly with OakDOT, was responsible for including Just Cities in the East Oakland Mobility Action Plan and requesting our lens of racial equity, restorative justice and anti-displacement. It has been an honor to work with the rest of the EOMAP team: **Manuel Corona** with OakDOT, **Marquita Price** and **Danielle Dynes** with East Oakland Collective, **Jamario Jackson** and **Clarrissa Cabansagan** from **TransForm**, **Andrew Saephan**, and **Karina Schneider** and **Carrie Modi** with Fehr and Peers.

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Many of the planning and policy justice recommendations stem from the brilliant and dedicated work of East Oakland residents over the past 15 years, including those who were part of the Oakland Sustainable Neighborhoods Initiative's Community Planning Leaders program and the East Oakland Building Healthy Communities Collaborative.

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

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Margaretta also teaches planning and policy justice as a lecturer at UC Berkeley City and Regional Planning and Goldman Public Policy School. She received her JD from Berkeley Law, MA in Asian Studies from UC Berkeley, and BA from the University of Virginia.

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I. INTRODUCTION

East Oakland carries a rich legacy as the birthplace of innovative leaders who shape international racial justice movements, arts, and community development. **The nation's most ethnically diverse population resides in East Oakland with newer South East Asian immigrants living alongside fourth generation Black and Latinx residents.**

Unfortunately, Just Cities' analysis shows that residents in neighborhoods in East Oakland that were once ethnic enclaves for inclusion, belonging, and resilience for Black/African American, Latinx, and Asian American people have been gravely impacted by recent human made conditions. These include:

- **Gentrification and racialized displacement from City Hall's 10k plan to turn Oakland into a bedroom community for higher income San Francisco workers,**
- **Predatory lending and subsequent foreclosures,**
- **The tech tsunami,**
- **Safety and business displacement impacts from the BRT project**

As OakDOT and other transportation agencies engage in planning both current and future projects, this state of extreme vulnerability to racial displacement and homelessness must be centered into ethical and compassionate planning strategies. Government and private agencies must plan to PREVENT HARM, which requires local partnerships and local knowledge. Planning in a vacuum or planning utilizing a mitigation framework may otherwise result in irreversible harm of furthering displacement and homelessness.

This Summary of a more extensive Report includes the following components of Just Cities' analyses:

- Racial equity analysis of current neighborhood conditions of housing precarity, displacement, and homelessness.
- Identifying the major causal and contributing factors to today's neighborhood conditions of displacement and homelessness.
- Identifying specific safety and business displacement impacts from the BRT project.
- Voices of long-time racially diverse East Oakland community leaders.
- Specific racial equity planning and policy recommendations for OakDOT and other transportation agencies.

II. RACIAL EQUITY ANALYSIS OF 11 EAST OAKLAND NEIGHBORHOODS

Based upon the guidance of racially diverse East Oakland leaders, Just Cities selected 11 East Oakland neighborhoods for our analysis. These neighborhoods were selected for their racial/ethnic and income diversity to understand these differences across neighborhoods. Elements of Just Cities' analysis were conducted for OakDOT's East Oakland Mobility Action Plan (EOMAP), especially the 6 neighborhoods in EOMAP's focus geography of neighborhoods east of High Street below the 580 Freeway: Brookfield, Coliseum, Durant, Eastmont, Frick, and Sobrante Park. We use the term "EOMAP neighborhoods" to describe these 6 neighborhoods, which are outlined in green-black on the map below. The remaining 5 neighborhoods of our selected 11 are outlined in black on the map.

Figure 1. Selected East Oakland Neighborhoods by Predominant Race and Income



Prominent Racial Group(s) and Income Status

- | | | | | |
|---|--|---|---|---|
| ● Lower Income Hispanic/Latinx | ● Lower Income Hispanic/Latinx + Black | ● Lower Income Asian + Hispanic/Latinx | ● Lower Income White + Asian | 11 Selected Neighborhoods |
| ● Moderate Income Hispanic/Latinx | ● Moderate Income Black + Hispanic/Latinx | ● Lower Income Asian | ● Moderate Income White | ▲ OUSD Schools |
| ● Moderate Hispanic/Latinx + Black | ● Moderate Income Black | ● Moderate Income Asian | — Major Highway | BART Stations |
| | | | | ● BRT International Blvd. Line |

Table 1. 11 East Oakland Race/Income Diverse Neighborhoods

Neighborhood Predominant* Race/Ethnic Make-up 2018	Neighborhood
Moderate Income Hispanic/Latinx (55%); Black (34%)	Brookfield (EOMAP)
Moderate Income Asian (37%)	Clinton
Lower Income Hispanic/Latinx (55%); Black (33%)	Coliseum (EOMAP)
Moderate Income Hispanic/Latinx (49%); Black (34%)	Durant (EOMAP)
Lower Income Hispanic/Latinx (45%); Black (38%)	Eastmont (EOMAP)
Lower Income Asian (44%)	East Peralta
Moderate Income Black (44%); Hispanic/Latinx (35%)	Frick (EOMAP)
Moderate Income Hispanic/Latinx (58%)	Fruitvale
Lower Income White (33%); Asian (32%)	Merritt
Moderate Income White (31%)	Reservoir Hill
Moderate Income Hispanic/Latinx (55%); Black (32%)	Sobrante Park (EOMAP)
<small>*Predominant representation includes racial/ethnic populations comprising at least 30% of the neighborhood. Sources: American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates (2014-2018); Just Cities, 2021.</small>	

We define “**ethnic enclaves**” as neighborhoods with a predominant racial/ethnic group(s) with strong cultural identity. We define “**predominant**” racial/ethnic groups as those groups with at least 30% of the overall population.

III. RACIAL EQUITY ANALYSIS OF HOUSING PRECARITY, DISPLACEMENT, HOMELESSNESS

A. East Oakland Neighborhood Housing Conditions, 2000–2018

Just Cities’ racial equity analysis corroborates the claims made by an overwhelming chorus of East Oakland residents who call attention to the state of extreme vulnerability of lower income people and neighborhoods as racialized displacement and homelessness have become epidemics. From 2000 to 2018, we witnessed the erosion of ethnic enclaves in East Oakland by human made forces.



Ms. Sherry

Ms. Sherry, [Generation of Oakland: The People's Portrait](#)

“I've been in Oakland for almost 40 years. I have six grandchildren who lived here in East Oakland. And now all of them are living in different places. Two live in Antioch. Another lives in San Leandro. Another two live in Sacramento. And so I don't get a chance to see them like I used to. And that's very disheartening.

Oakland has changed very much from when I originally moved here. When I moved to East Oakland, it was predominantly African-American. It was semi-vibrant and it had a lot of things going on with a lot of businesses that were especially on what is called International Boulevard.

We knew it as East 14th Street and there was a lot of art and other activities for the people who lived in the neighborhood. But as time progressed, a lot of businesses left the area. And when that flight took place, we saw a lot of people lose their jobs and people were starting to be forced out of East Oakland. We could no longer stay here. A lot of people could no longer afford to stay here. And they followed the jobs out of town. Then around 2008, when the Great Recession happened (I'll call it the Great Recession, we could call it a depression), a large number of African Americans and Latinx people were being displaced from East Oakland.

What we saw was that people who had been there all their lives were displaced. One couple from my church had lived in their home for 23 years. They're a much older couple and they thought they could keep their home and they did everything possible. And I've felt so sad because by the time I found out that they were losing their home, they didn't tell anyone because they were ashamed. They were ashamed like a lot of folks because they felt they should have been able to pay off these huge loans. As a result, they winded up losing their beautiful home and had to move in with their daughter and son-in-law in Patterson, California. That kind of displacement was very disheartening. And it was typical. A lot of people didn't have attorneys and didn't have the money for attorneys. And so we saw a huge amount of folks being pushed out and what we saw was these predatory lenders and other folks coming in, not just buying one or two homes, but buying up blocks of homes. They had auctions on the courthouse steps, auctioning off folks' homes, but not just their homes, their lives.

I'm hoping that you realize the importance of preserving the communities where people live. If not, that history is lost, the people are lost, the whole sense of what the community looks like is lost.”



Carina is a Program Analyst and an expert in youth and community engagement. She currently leads the City of Oakland Youth Advisory Commission. Carina grew up in Uptown and Laurel and spent a significant amount of time in Oakland's Chinatown as a student and youth activist. She now lives in the San Antonio District with her partner and 1-year-old child.

Carina Lieu

Carina Lieu, [Nina Riggio/Special to The Chronicle](#)

“Regarding Asian American residents in [Clinton and East Peralta], [today] I rarely see people I grew up with. I see elder Asian residents, but I don’t see people my age that are Asian, and that tells me that the demographic of people that grew up in Oakland, have left.

A lot of homes [in Clinton and East Peralta] are [now] remodeled or updated. I infer that people who are able to do that are outsiders coming in that can afford the house and the remodeling. In 2013, my family was trying to buy a home in Oakland. However, people were coming in and overbidding on these homes with cash, so we gave up on purchasing. ”



Silvia grew up in East Oakland and currently lives in the Fruitvale District as a parent of 3 children. She is a leader with Faith in Action East Bay and has extensive experience working on community health, wellness, and engagement. Silvia has worked with La Clínica de la Raza and now works with the Alameda County Public Health Department on multiple East Oakland projects.

Silvia Guzman

Silvia Guzman, [Brian Watt/KQED](#)

“From my interpretation sessions and work at La Clinica, I could definitely see a big change and rapid increase in the Latino community within the [Fruitvale]... because of the migration that’s been happening... The largest increase I have seen is in the Mam community, [a Mayan language spoken in the western highlands of Guatemala]. Now I get why Fruitvale is known as the new “Little Guatemala.” The Mam community has their own indication of what the area represents for them... It brings a lot of access to services... in their native language.

The Fruitvale is one of the largest areas that has not been rapidly transformed by gentrification.... I think that’s because the Fruitvale has more apartments... and larger living spaces where a lot of people can live together. I see most people and families [sharing] homes. I’ve also seen a lot of long-term community members move out, but then they leave their home to another family member. So you don’t see those big changes in the community because... the families still remain there.”

B. Racial Displacement and Racial Income Decline



Homes for All Campaign Launch at Oakland City Hall. [Causa Justa::Just Cause](#)

East Oakland is home to the nation's most ethnically diverse population with new immigrants from Burma and Mongolia residing near third and fourth generation Black and Latinx residents. Between 1970 and 2000, East Oakland saw a growing number of people of color. However, human made conditions including gentrification, predatory lending and foreclosures, and the tech tsunami have led to displacement. Long time residents have lost their homes and many continue to be pushed out by newer, higher income residents. Between 2000 and 2018, many of the ethnic enclaves in our study saw decreases in their predominant racial/ethnic group. The following findings are a summary of fuller analyses and demographic data tables included in the Appendix.

FINDING 1

Predatory lending practices and the following foreclosure crisis disproportionately affected the Black/African American population in Oakland, causing major declines of this population in their ethnic enclaves. By 2013, while populations of other racial groups increased, the long-time East Oakland Black/African American ethnic enclaves were no longer majority Black/African American.

- From 2000 to 2018, all Black/African American enclaves experienced declines in the Black/African American population.
- All of these Black/African American enclaves (**Brookfield, Coliseum, Durant, Eastmont, Frick, Reservoir Hill, and Sobrante Park**) experienced double digit foreclosure rates from 2007-2011.

FINDING 2

Long-time Asian American ethnic enclaves have experienced declines in the Asian American population because of their proximity to Lake Merritt and Downtown Oakland, areas where gentrification was facilitated by intentional City Hall policies such as Mayor Brown's 10k Plan.

- Although **Clinton** and **East Peralta** remained predominantly Asian American from 2000-2018, the Asian American population declined by 23% and 8%, respectively.
- Meanwhile, White residents have steadily moved into these neighborhoods. From 2000-2018, the White population in **Clinton and East Peralta** increased by 93% and 51%, respectively.

FINDING 3

While the Latinx population increased, the median household income of Latinx residents in the 11 neighborhoods declined, making it more difficult to afford housing. In order to afford rising housing costs, many Latinx residents moving into East Oakland are joining existing households.

- Although the Latinx population increased in former Black/African American ethnic enclaves and Oakland overall, Latinx median household incomes in those neighborhoods actually declined.

FINDING 4

Across East Oakland, investors bought up and flipped foreclosed properties and marketed them to new higher income households, which attracted higher income White residents. From 2000 to 2018, all 11 neighborhoods, except for Merritt, saw an increase in White residents. The Black/African American ethnic enclaves that had double digit foreclosure rates between 2007 and 2011 saw the greatest increases in White residents.

- In ***Eastmont, Merritt, Reservoir Hill and Sobrante Park***, the White population only increased from 2013-2018, following the foreclosure crisis. The influx of White residents during this time contributed to ***Reservoir Hill and Merritt*** becoming predominantly White neighborhoods by 2018 (the only 2 of the 11 neighborhoods).
- From 2000-2018, the White median household income increased in 8 of the neighborhoods as wealthier Whites moved in.

C. Racial Equity and Housing Precarity: Unaffordable Rents, Homeownership Loss, Homelessness Risk

It is hard for newcomers to Oakland to understand that today's proliferation of homeless encampments is a new phenomenon. Housing costs have always been an issue, but working class people of color were able to afford and sustain housing, including homeownership. Intentional and discriminatory policies and practices created today's housing and homelessness crises, and continue to harm long time communities of color. The following is a summary of more extensive findings analyzed by race/ethnicity that demonstrate the rapid changes that occurred in East Oakland neighborhoods from 2000 to 2018. Supporting data and tables are provided in greater detail in the Appendix.

FINDING 1

Housing unaffordability for most East Oakland neighborhoods is worse than citywide, demonstrating that East Oakland residents experience more housing instability than other residents of Oakland.

- 9 of the 11 neighborhoods have higher rental unaffordability rates than the citywide rate of 65%. East Oakland tenants making the median household income would have to pay between 58% to 143% of their income to afford median rent costs in their neighborhood.
- For the 6 EOMAP neighborhoods, housing unaffordability rates are extremely high: **Coliseum** (142.6%), **Brookfield** (84.3%), **Frick** (83.9%), **Sobrante Park** (79.8%), **Eastmont** (77.6%). Only **Durant** (57.6%) has an unaffordability rate lower than the citywide rate of 63%

FINDING 2

There are significant disparities in the rental housing unaffordability rate across racial/ethnic populations within neighborhoods, with the once predominant racial/ethnic group bearing the heaviest unaffordability burden. This is a product of policy failures and has had a significant role in eroding East Oakland's ethnic enclaves.

Housing affordability is a solvable problem and requires the right types of investments and courageous policy solutions. See Section V Policy Recommendations.

- In many of the neighborhoods that are predominantly Black, Asian, or Latinx, the predominant racial/ethnic population's housing unaffordability rate was higher than the White rate and overall neighborhood rate.

FINDING 3

East Oakland neighborhood homeownership rates have plummeted between 2000-2018, including in neighborhoods that once had high Black/African American homeownership rates. This means that many residents have lost the safety net of homeownership stability, putting people at the whim of rent increases and evictions, housing unaffordability and at risk of experiencing displacement and homelessness. See Section VII for how this process occurred.

- There were large declines in the Black homeownership rate from 2000-2018 in neighborhoods that were predominantly Black in 2000, such as **Coliseum** (-36.3%), **Brookfield** (-27.4%), **Frick** (-24.6%), **Durant** (-18.1%), **Eastmont** (-15.9%) and **Sobrante Park** (-9.2%).
 - Except for **Durant**, all of these neighborhoods also saw a decline in Black median household income from 2000-2018. **The rise in home values, and decline in income for the Black population, essentially locks communities out of future homeownership opportunities.**
- In the predominantly Asian American neighborhoods of **Clinton and East Peralta**, Asian American homeownership rates dropped from 2000-2013 before increasing from 2013-2018. This rise in Asian American homeownership rates may be due to an increase in new higher income Asian American residents, rather than income levels of long-time residents increasing.

FINDING 4

Homeownership is inaccessible to East Oakland residents because their neighborhoods have recently become “hot” housing markets. Renters making the median household income and previous homeowners impacted by foreclosure would not be able to afford homeownership due to skyrocketed home values.

- Between 2011 and 2018, the City’s overall home values rose by 113%, while the home values in the 11 neighborhoods rose by 131.8%-188.9%.
- Homeownership unaffordability is worse for renters in most of the East Oakland neighborhoods than citywide.

- 6 of the 11 neighborhoods have higher homeownership unaffordability rates than citywide (**East Peralta, Merritt, Coliseum, Frick, Reservoir Hill, and Fruitvale**).
- For the 6 EOMAP neighborhoods, in 2018 renters would have to dedicate an estimated 67.8%-131.6% of their income toward monthly homeownership costs.

FINDING 5

East Oakland neighborhoods were severely harmed by the foreclosure crisis, and many people continue to experience ongoing effects. People of color were targeted for predatory lending practices, and as a result, the most significant racialized displacement occurred in East Oakland neighborhoods with the highest rates of foreclosures. See Section VII for more information.

- **The foreclosure crisis deeply impacted Black populations in almost every neighborhood**, as indicated by declines in the Black population, homeownership rate, and median household income from 2000-2013 in 8 of the neighborhoods.
 - Foreclosure rates were highest in **Sobrante Park** (28.0%), **Eastmont** (27.1%), **Coliseum** (24.3%), **Durant** (24.1%), **Brookfield** (23.1%), **Frick** (16.5%), and **Reservoir Hill** (13.2%) – all neighborhoods that were predominantly Black or Black and Latinx in 2000 and experienced a decrease in the Black population ranging from 20.7%-52.5% from 2000-2018.
- None of these ethnic enclaves fully recovered from the foreclosure crisis. **In most of the Black/African American ethnic enclaves, the Black population decline continued from 2013-2018** while new non-Black residents moved in.
 - The historically Black neighborhoods of **Brookfield, Coliseum, Durant, Eastmont, Merritt, Reservoir Hill, and Sobrante Park**, continued to experience Black population declines from 2013-2018.
- **The foreclosure crisis also deeply impacted the Asian American population, particularly in predominantly Asian American neighborhoods.** Meanwhile, White residents steadily moved into these neighborhoods throughout 2000-2018.
 - For example, in **Clinton**, the Asian American population and homeownership rate declined by 19% and 48%, respectively, from 2000-2013. Meanwhile, wealthier White residents moved in.

FINDING 6

Many of the East Oakland neighborhoods, especially the once Black/African American ethnic enclaves, are at higher risk for homelessness than citywide, which speaks to the lasting impact of the foreclosure crisis and ongoing displacement across East Oakland. See Section VI for explanation of “homelessness risk” rate.

- Homelessness risk ranges from 10% of renters in Durant to 25% of renters in Coliseum
- 7 of the 11 neighborhoods (*Brookfield, Clinton, Coliseum, Eastmont, Merritt, Reservoir Hill, and Sobrante Park*) have higher homelessness risk rates than citywide. 5 of these neighborhoods were predominantly Black in 2000 and 4 became predominantly Hispanic/Latinx and Black. *Reservoir Hill* became predominantly White.

IV. RACIAL EQUITY TRANSPORTATION ANALYSIS: BRT PROJECT SAFETY, DISPLACEMENT, AND CULTURAL BELONGING IMPACTS ON EAST OAKLAND COMMUNITIES



International Blvd and 53rd Street Under Construction, 2019 UC Berkeley Transportation Studio.

BRT BACKGROUND: The International Blvd Corridor, formerly known as East 14th Street, is a major corridor that runs the entire length of East Oakland neighborhoods. It serves as East Oakland’s portal to downtown on the west and to San Leandro and Silicon Valley to the east. Since 2002, Alameda County (AC) Transit has had a dream of developing a Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) system connecting San Leandro to downtown Berkeley. A darling of transportation planners worldwide, BRT systems have been hailed as a lower-cost option of providing “rail like” public bus service since buses operate on dedicated bus lanes.¹ However, the City of Berkeley rejected the BRT due to Berkeley business concerns about construction impacts and the loss of parking.

In addition, the Corridor areas are in Priority Development Areas (PDAs), a designation of regional planning agencies regarding priority areas in the nine-county Bay Area for long-range growth including economic development, transportation, and housing.

In 2012, after several years of negotiations, public hearings, and opposition from East Oakland leaders and organizations concerned about construction and parking impacts, the Oakland City Council eventually approved the BRT project for Downtown, Chinatown, and the entire stretch of the International Blvd Corridor for 9.5 miles of BRT in Oakland and San Leandro. This BRT project is formally called the East Bay BRT (EBBRT), but will be referred to as “BRT” throughout this report. While the BRT project did not officially break ground until 2017, predevelopment work on the Corridor, such as closing off parts of the street and limiting traffic to one lane in each direction, started in 2015. **The BRT project construction timeline was severely delayed and the BRT line launched in August 2020, 12 years since the initial street closures, 4 years late and \$54 million over budget.**

Transit activists supported the BRT project due to its promise of ridership benefits such as decreasing the wait and ride times for buses by about 3 minutes, increased reliability of buses thanks to a dedicated bus lane, enhanced bus technology, and improved lighting of the bus stops.¹

However, a number of East Oakland community leaders were concerned about displacement impacts of the BRT construction on Corridor small businesses; the removal of parking spaces in front of businesses, churches, and other locations; and the mobility impacts on elderly or disabled residents from the loss of 30 bus stops along the Corridor.

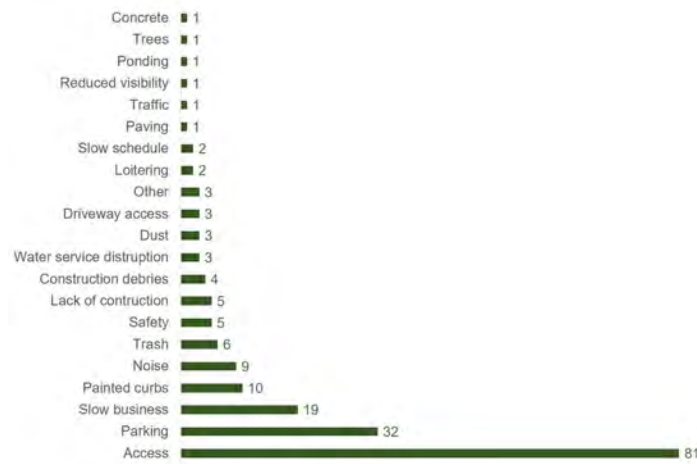
In response to resident concerns, the City of Oakland led efforts to create a **BRT Business Assistance Fund** program where the City would provide forgivable loans for impacted businesses and AC Transit would fund Technical Assistance (TA) providers to assist impacted businesses.

This section’s analysis includes work conducted by Just Cities staff, Just Cities planning consultant, and UC Berkeley Masters in City Planning students enrolled in Professor Karen Frick’s Transportation Studio (Berkeley team).

¹ The former 1 Bus Route made seventy-six stops along International (both east & westbound), whereas the BRT will be making forty-six stops, a loss of thirty stops. This equates to a forty percent reduction in the total number of bus stops.²

GENERAL POPULATION CONCERNS ABOUT BRT IMPACTS: The Berkeley Team analyzed the 195 complaints tracked by the AC Transit outreach team from February 2018 to September 2019. Access to businesses during construction was the top major complaint with 81 out of 195 complaints filed.¹⁷

Figure 2. Tracked International Blvd Complaints, Feb 2018 to Sept 2019



Source: Berkeley Team’s Analysis of AC Transit’s Staff Monthly Reports to the AC Transit Board of Directors.

COMMUNITIES OF COLOR CONCERNS ABOUT BRT IMPACTS: In Fall 2019, the Berkeley team interviewed 25 stakeholders from AC Transit, the City of Oakland, Corridor merchants, and East Oakland community and faith leaders. They found that the community continues to experience adverse impacts from several years of construction, parking disruptions, and shuttering small businesses. This retrospective from racially diverse stakeholders provides critical insight for transportation planners seeking to prevent harmful impacts from their projects.

Table 2. Summary of Feedback of Community Leaders and Professional Voices.

Community Leaders	Professional Voices
<p>Recommendations</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Engage community early in the planning process • Find ways to fix the mitigation fund allocation • Offer incentives for residents to use transit • Improve bus network connections <p>Overall Positives</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hopeful about reduction in pollution emissions • Increase in property values - future development <p>Disinvestment and Gentrification Concerns</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Concerns of gentrification and displacement <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ How is the city going to address it moving forward? ◦ EBBRT signals displacement and gentrification • Long-time disinvestment in East Oakland • Disparities in construction build out • Cut down (loss) of trees • Businesses wanted to be left alone <p>Lack of Engagement and Accountability</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The community the project is intended for was not engaged • Project created by “technocrats” - disconnected from the community • Lack of accountability across institutional actors • People supported the project (idea) but not how it developed • Lack of business input on mitigation fund process 	<p>Overall Positives</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • EBBRT will improve commute time • EBBRT will add construction jobs • Oakland’s busiest corridor will see an improvement • EBBRT will improve road conditions • EBBRT is AC Transit’s coveted project • AC Transit: Important to have a physical presence in the corridor <p>Small Business Impacts</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Construction creates disruptive impacts on merchants • Small businesses need “hand holding” (technical assistance) • City of Oakland and AC Transit have structural challenges • Limited attention was paid to mitigation impacts and funding • Businesses don’t understand the mitigation funds process • Difficult to keep track of local hiring goals • Small businesses are not the only constituents, but they have more opportunity to vocalize concerns <p>Other Concerns</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • EBBRT does not have a vision • Some people do not know the project is happening • Internal political difficulties • Connection between EBBRT and displacement/gentrification isn’t proven



John Jones III

John Jones III, [Dale Ramos](#)

“Any time a decision is made, it’s not just about the geographical infrastructure of the community, it’s about understanding the social and economic infrastructure that’s taking place here. What is taking place here? Where are the places people speed? Where are the places where people buy drugs? Where are the places where sex trafficking takes place? The BRT project unintentionally decreased safety and increased threats to residents. None of that was in consideration to the BRT.”

Any time a decision is made, it’s not just about the geographical infrastructure of the community, it’s about understanding the social and economic infrastructure that’s taking place here. What is taking place here? Where are the places people speed? Where are the places where people buy drugs? Where are the places where sex trafficking takes place? The BRT project unintentionally decreased safety and increased threats to residents. None of that was in consideration to the BRT.

[The pre-construction] was just a weird process. Many residents didn’t even know what was going on, they didn’t even know what the BRT was, didn’t know what they were doing. Number two, it wasn’t a clear window in terms of how long the construction was going to happen. [...] So all of that wreaked havoc, not just in transportation, but just really a sense of how you get around, and where you go. It was just very chaotic.

The construction removed 300 parking spaces from International and created an inability to park. And that caused a couple of things to happen. The first is there were customers who were utilizing the bus only lane as a parking space. That’s obviously an issue because now that will result in the ticket. Number two, that forces more customers who were in their vehicles to have to park on the side streets, the residential areas, and that had an unintended impact on the residents because there are already limited parking spaces, [...] So now you’ve got to park further away from your home. And that leads to some real safety issues because on those streets, usually the lighting is poor, and let’s face it, these are areas that have a lot of crime and violence in it.

As an East Oakland resident, the thing that concerned me the most is the impact on safety. There are certain streets and intersections where people congregate and it doesn’t engender a sense of safety. I’d rather just not go there at all. I don’t want to park on a street where a number of people have been shot and murdered. I’d rather not go there at all. I want to go where the lighting is excellent and the parking spaces look more inviting. (continued on next page)

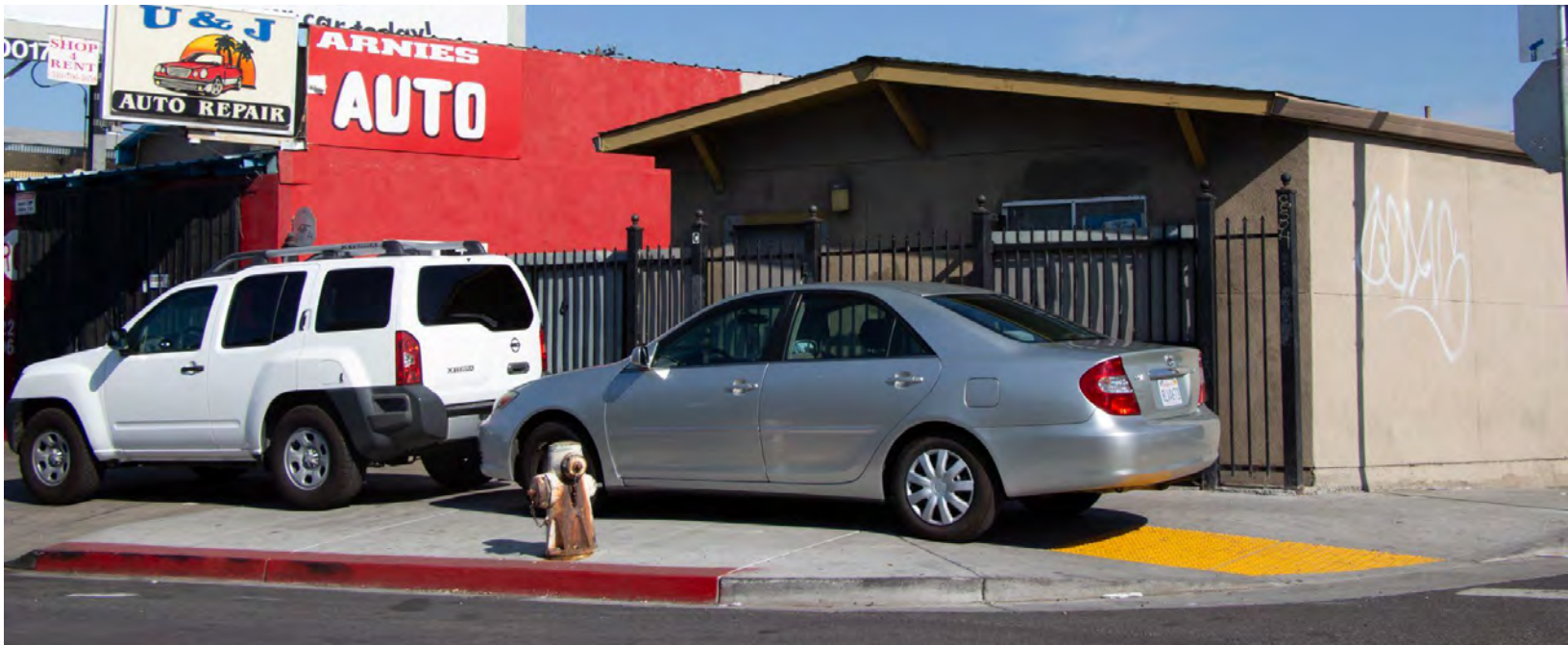
Sex trafficking typically took place on the corridor, where there was more visibility, lighting, and awareness. When BRT construction began, it displaced sex trafficking onto the side streets and alleys, which are not

well lit, and increased the risk of a sex worker to be harmed where there are no witnesses around. It's all about what's seen and what's unseen.

I believe in the word community - common unity. Every institution (businesses, homes, schools, churches) is part of the fabric of the community. What we call home is not just a physical structure, it's everything around us. If any piece of that is disrupted or altered, it changes what makes us feel safe or what makes us feel at home.

For example, a business is not just about a service. A business is a place where as a resident I feel safe. For example, there are stores I went to as a child that I would feel more than safe if my kids went there. I feel safe going to a business I've been going to for 10 years. You go there enough times that you get on a first name basis. "Hey, how's it going?" It's not just about business or capitalism -- in a lot of ways it is about community. It's about socializing. I feel safe going to a place I'm familiar with. If I'm required to go somewhere else because a business went out of business or because it's hard to access a business due to construction or a lack of parking spaces, now I have to go to an unfamiliar territory, an unfamiliar part of Oakland. When I have to go somewhere else, I feel tense, guarded. I have to learn who folks are. So that to me is also an element of public safety, because not only are you familiar with business owners and staff, but more often than not, you're also familiar with customers. For example, I go to a store where I live at now around the corner. I see people that I see every day there, so I feel safe. I see neighbors. So all of that is a part of the fabric of public safety in our community."

A. Equity Impacts on Pedestrian Safety



Parked Vehicle Obstructing Sidewalk Access, 2019 [UC Berkeley Transportation Studio](#)

Just Cities and its partners conducted an analysis of the impacts of the BRT construction on pedestrian and bike safety as well as small business displacement. The findings provide important insight and guidance on lessons learned from the BRT project and what could be done differently in future transportation projects.

From a traffic safety perspective, International Blvd is dangerous; "It has been identified as part of Oakland's high injury network, meaning that it is one of several streets that is disproportionately burdened with severe and fatal collisions."³ While the implementation of the BRT strives to "improve safety outcomes" along International Blvd, its construction and design may actually be exacerbating the safety of pedestrians.⁴

These safety threats fall disproportionately on people of color, who primarily comprise the diverse neighborhoods of East Oakland. East Oakland is majority Hispanic/Latinx and Black, who comprise 42% and 28% of the population, respectively. 14% of East Oakland is Asian, while 11.4% is White.⁵



Nehanda is a dedicated Oakland activist, organizer, and educator. Her work includes being an adjunct professor for African American and Environmental Studies at Merritt College, an organizer with Communities for a Better Environment (CBE), and a leader in East Oakland Building Healthy Communities (EOBHC). She is a longtime East Oakland resident and currently lives in Deep East Oakland.

Nehanda Imara

Nehanda Imara, [Amir Aziz/LaptrinhX](#)

“Around 2015, When I was on a funder’s tour with Andy working together with Asian Pacific Environmental Network (APEN), Causa Justa::Just Cause, and other organizations, one of our stops was at an appliance repair store owned by a Latinx family on 20th Ave and East 14th. The owner shared with us that they were losing business because of the construction because there was nowhere to park.

Construction made International Blvd more unsafe. On 100th Avenue and International Blvd., while the street was under construction, I saw an accident. The elderly driver was confused and hit someone. Even though it’s finished now, people still don’t understand the traffic changes [brought on by the BRT]...

*People used to get from one side of International [Blvd.] through the other side to get to your neighborhood. Now you have to do all kinds of turns [due to the medians]. It’s caused people to use the bus lane and make illegal U-turns. There just hasn’t been enough education about it. There hasn’t been enough signage or visibility, stuff to let people know what’s going on because some people are not doing it just because they just wanna do it. They don’t know that they’re **not supposed to do it**. Normally if you’re making a left turn, you’re on the inside, but that’s the bus lane and the [car] lane is on the right of the bus lane. And so people are in that lane thinking, “Oh, I’m getting ready to turn.” It’s utter confusion.*

Once you get into San Leandro, everything calms back down. I haven’t seen the kind of confusion and disruption [in San Leandro] that I’ve seen when you get further East in East Oakland with the bus rapid transit. It feels different when you get from 98th, 99th up to, like, 105th. It’s almost like a zone I don’t even want to drive in anymore.”

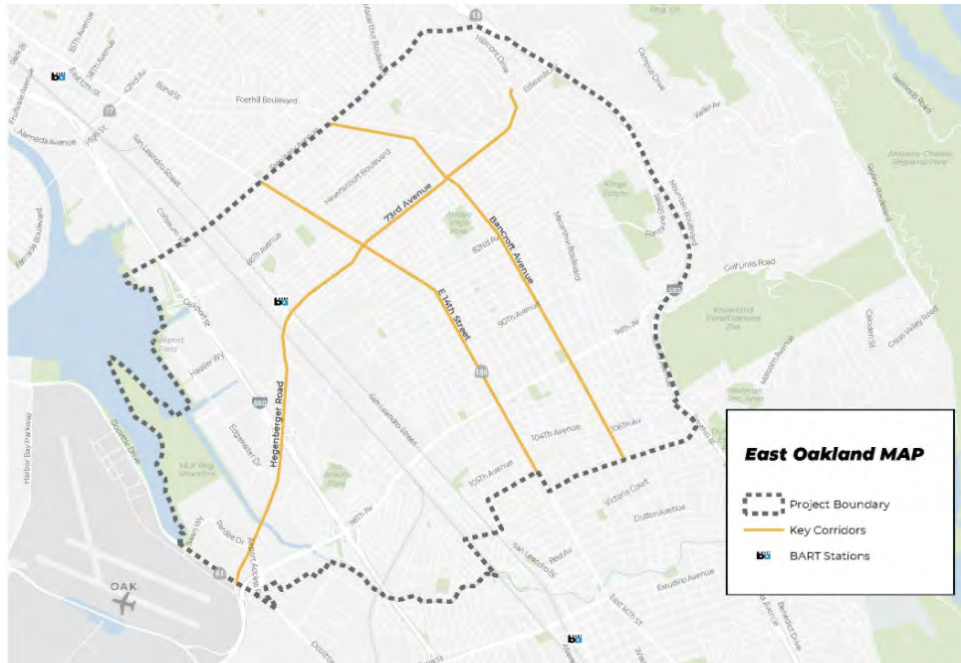
AC Transit and the City of Oakland were aware of traffic, pedestrian safety and mobility concerns long before the BRT construction efforts began in 2014 and 2015. A Draft Environmental Impact Report in 2007 identified traffic and parking as “potentially adverse environmental impacts.”⁶ While the Final Environmental Impact Report (FEIR), published in early 2012, described some modifications in response to these concerns, issues lingered and were not fully addressed. The FEIR acknowledges that the BRT’s replacement of existing local and rapid bus systems has a “negative impact to the pedestrians and particularly to older adults and persons with disabilities who have more difficulty with mobility” due in part to the BRT’s 40% reduction in bus stops. It also states that **“traffic is the area where the greatest environmental impacts are expected.”** Dedicating bus-only lanes meant that the remaining single automobile lane each way would “serve automobiles at a slower speed” **and force some “auto trips [to] divert to parallel routes.”** Furthermore, the FEIR conceded the negative “localized” impact of parking losses, sharing that “individual businesses may be understandably concerned if a significant portion of parking is removed from their block face, particularly if they depend on automobile access to support their business.”⁷

Analysis of collisions focused on the 9.5 miles of the BRT as well as the 3 mile stretch within the EOMAP area (boundary depicted in Figure 3). From 2014 to 2015, when BRT construction efforts began, collisions along the future BRT route increased by 26%, from 144 collisions in 2014 to 181 collisions in 2015. Collision counts remained above 180 per year as construction continued in 2016 and 2017. In the EOMAP area, there was only a 13% increase in collisions. See Figure 4. Similarly, pedestrian collisions along the future BRT route showed a slight upward trend in 2016 and 2017 with the highest pedestrian collision count during construction of 48 each year. See Figure 5.⁸ Fatality and injury data shown in Figure 6 represents the number of fatalities and injuries resulting from collisions along the BRT route, which reached highs from 2015-2017. There can be numerous fatalities and/or injuries per collision. Transportation planners use the number of fatalities and severe injury collisions as a measure to track dangerous roads. There was an all-time high of 21 collisions that were fatal or produced a severe injury in 2015 along the BRT route and 7 in the EOMAP area. See Figure 7. These figures show that there were increases in collisions across the BRT line from 2014 to 2015 when street closures first began for the project.

Safety concerns among pedestrians and bikers should be prioritized. Community resident interviewees from the UC Berkeley Report expressed safety concerns about the BRT design, particularly navigating the median stations. As mentioned, these median stations are a major feature of the BRT, providing a halfway point for transit users and pedestrians crossing International Blvd. While the median stations are intended to “improve accessibility and safety,”

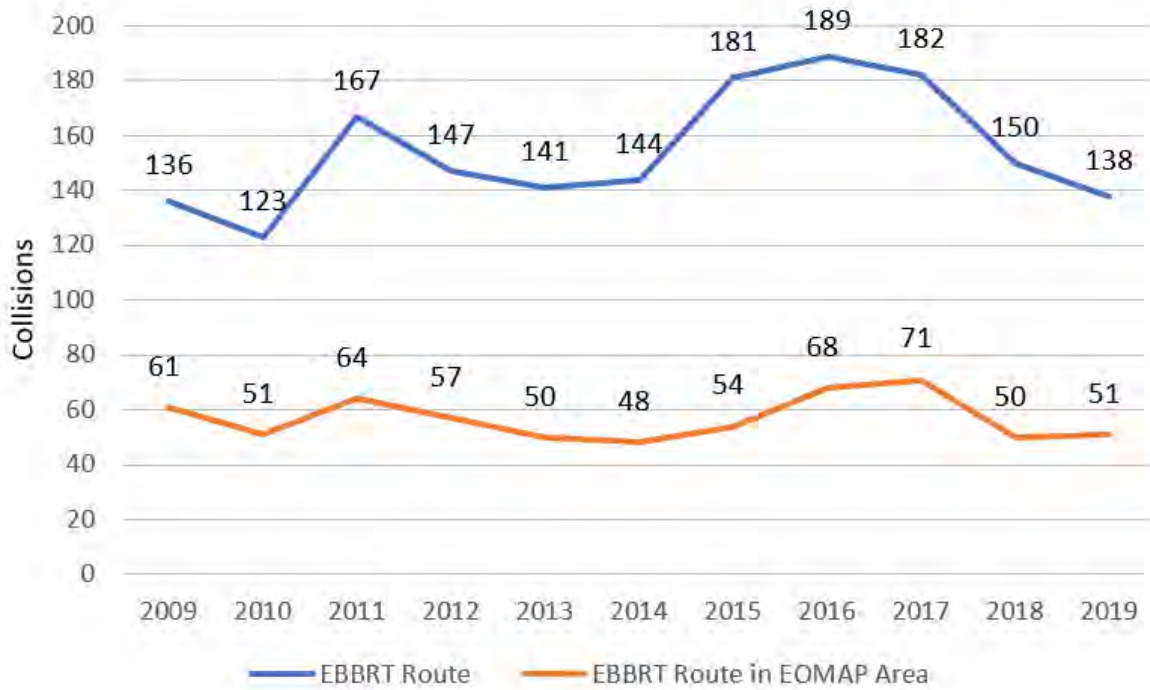
according to AC Transit staff, resident interviewees shared “feelings of discomfort and danger” about passing oncoming traffic. “If motorists are still speeding along International Blvd. and/or illegally driving into the BRT lane, such concerns may become a reality.”

Figure 3: EOMAP Boundary Map



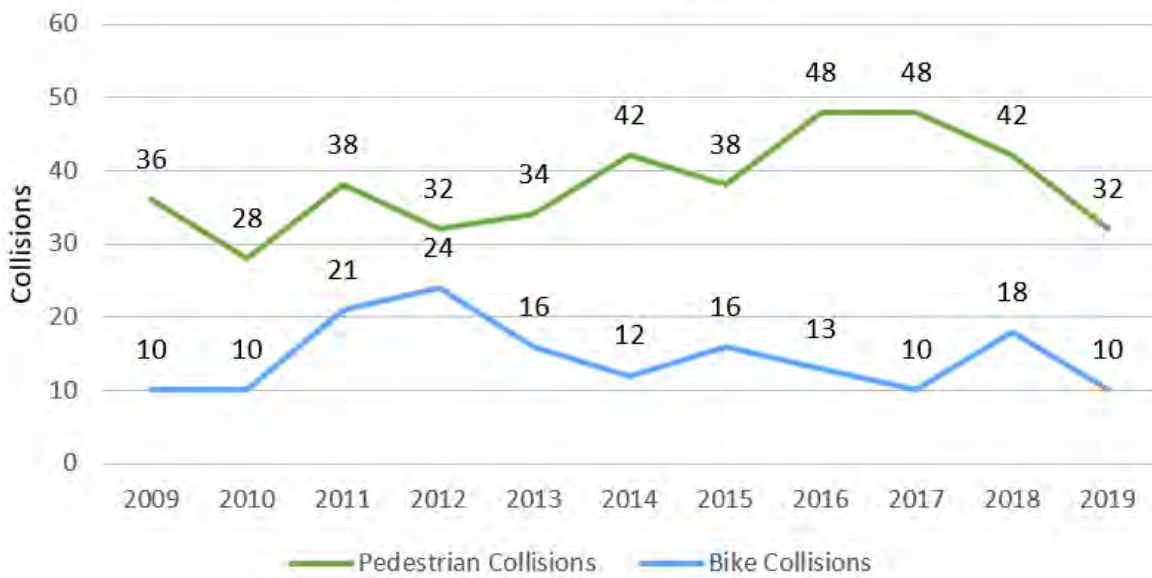
Source: OakDOT, “East Oakland Mobility Action Plan.” <https://www.oaklandca.gov/projects/eastoakmap>

Figure 4. Reported Collisions on the EBBRT Route



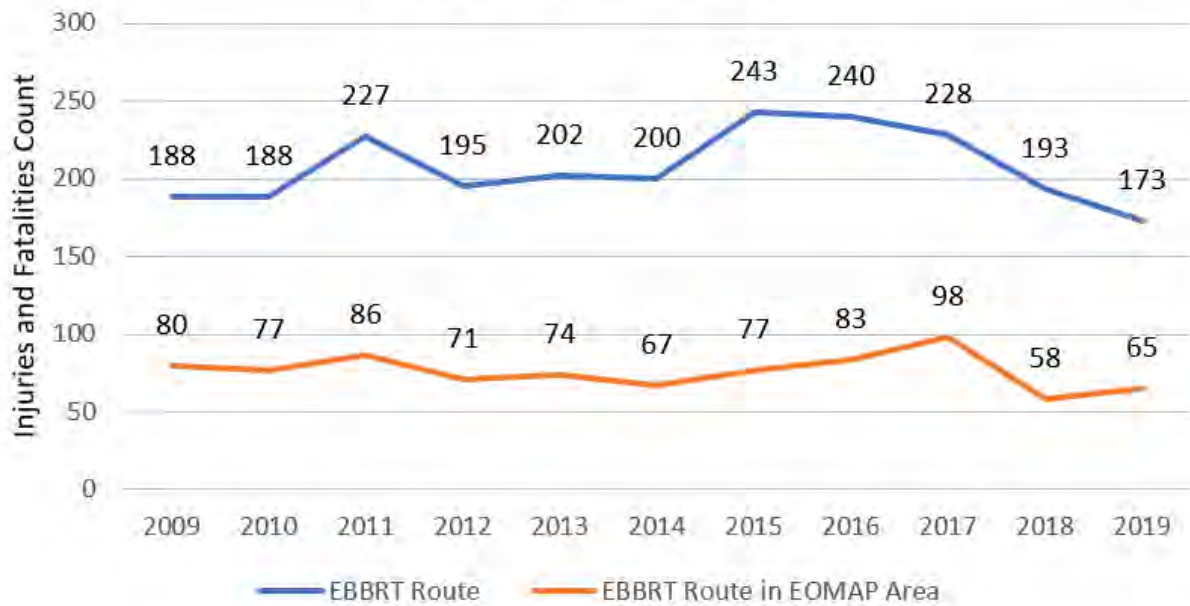
Source: Statewide Integrated Traffic Systems via UC Berkeley Transportation Injury Mapping System, 2009-2019. 2019 data is provisional and subject to change. Data may be under-reported.

Figure 5. Collisions Involving Pedestrians and Bikers on the EBBRT Route



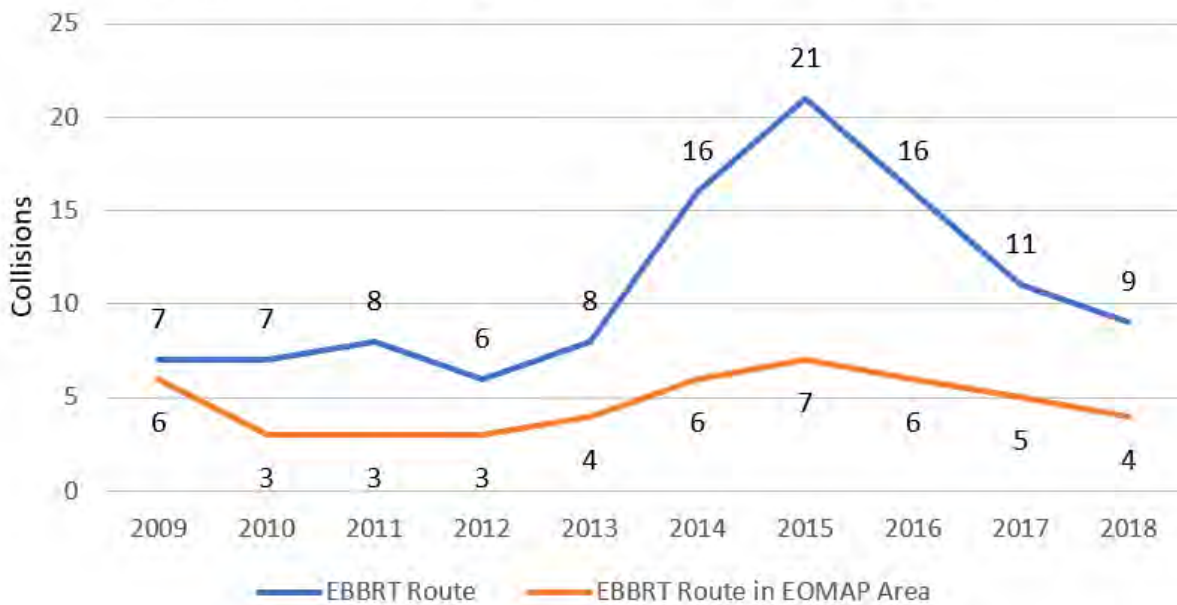
Source: Statewide Integrated Traffic Systems via UC Berkeley Transportation Injury Mapping System, 2007-2019. 2019 data is provisional and subject to change. Data may be under-reported.

Figure 6. Fatalities and Injuries For All Mode Types on the EBBRT Route



Source: Statewide Integrated Traffic Systems via UC Berkeley Transportation Injury Mapping System, 2009-2019. 2019 data is provisional and subject to change. Data may be under-reported.

Figure 7. The Rising Numbers of Fatality and Severe Injury Collisions on the EBBRT Route



Source: Statewide Integrated Traffic Systems via UC Berkeley Transportation Injury Mapping System, 2009-2018.

B. Racial Equity Business Mitigation Fund Analysis: Too Many City Operational Barriers Prevented Timely Business Access to the Funds

A 2015 assessment from Main Street Launch, one of the Technical Assistance (TA) providers, determined that **84% of Corridor businesses were identified as minority owned**, 37% as women owned, and 85% as renters of their business space.¹⁰

As many East Oakland residents of color uplifted throughout multiple community forums about the BRT project, and as supported by displacement research and studies, legacy businesses help to define a neighborhood and are part of the fabric of creating a sense of “belonging” to one’s community. When these businesses, especially the “Mom and Pop” establishments, disappear, it can speed up residential gentrification and displacement as they are replaced by newer businesses that cater to a higher income population, as well as negatively impact the sense of community belonging for longtime residents.



Silvia Guzman

My parents were displaced from Oakland, but they visit me [in the Fruitvale]. I've seen the change in the city every time they visit. We used to go to special stores to get essentials for quinceañeras but my mom was so disappointed because last time the store was no longer there. A couple visits back, my parents went to mass like usual. My mom thought it was easy to walk down International and then down Saint Elizabeth because that's what they would always do. But [because of construction]

it was so hard for them to navigate the street to cross, she just didn't feel safe. They ended up getting to church, but she didn't want to take the same way back and decided to take the bus to come back home. But then she couldn't identify which corner to get off. She was telling me, "I just didn't recognize the streets anymore." Now she says, "I can't go out anymore because I get lost." The last time they visited, they had a really bad experience crossing International [Blvd.]. There were too many cars and [they] couldn't tell where the bus stops were. My parents decided that they were not going to walk International anymore because it was too crazy for them. I have empathy for the elder community and those with disabilities. Those that don't drive, have to walk, be in a wheelchair, [or] bike. It's especially not of access to those people.

In response to community organizing efforts led by the East Bay Asian Youth Center, the City of Oakland worked with AC Transit to create a \$4 million Business Mitigation Assistance Program (BMAP) to support businesses impacted by the BRT infrastructure changes. The City of Oakland provided \$2 million for forgivable business loans, with \$1 million allocated to Zone 1 (the area east of Lake Merritt Blvd. and west of 52nd Ave.) and \$1 million allocated to Zone 2 (the area west of Lake Merritt Blvd. and east of 52nd Ave.). AC Transit contributed \$2 million for Technical Assistance after concluding that its federal transportation funds could not legally be utilized to pay for construction impacts.¹¹

The BMAP launched in 2015 with Technical Assistance to Corridor businesses, which continued with different providers from 2016 to 2019. Business' access to the funds began in 2016 and was to be available three years after construction ended. However, **by the end of 2019 only two businesses had been awarded funding**, one for relocation and the other for equipment.¹²

From Just Cities outreach efforts, many small businesses identified multiple barriers to accessing the BRT Mitigation Fund, including:

- Long and cumbersome application form and process.
- Funds were initially not available to address revenue loss from construction impacts and the operating costs needed to sustain the business.
- Funding structure as a reimbursement program prevented small businesses with cash flow issues from accessing the program.
- Mailers and phone calls from the City and TA providers were not being received by business owners because their businesses were closed due to COVID shelter-in-place orders.

After Just Cities organized a community forum with impacted businesses and City officials right before COVID's shelter in place occurred, the City Council in May 2020 finally modified terms of the Fund, allowing the funds to be used for operating costs.¹³ With COVID impacts, the City transformed the Fund into a \$10,000 operating cost grant exclusively for Zone 1 and 2 businesses impacted by COVID-19.¹⁴

As of September 16, 2020, **Zone 1 funds were fully committed and \$100,000 of Zone 2 funds still remained.**¹⁵ City staff stated that 20 applications, the majority of which were from East Oakland businesses, had been submitted to be reviewed for the remaining 10 operating grants.¹⁶

C. Racial Equity and Business Displacement Analysis: the BRT Project Unnecessarily Resulted in Displacement of Legacy Businesses

To advance OakDOT and the City of Oakland's racial and social equity goals, it is critical to understand the full scope of business displacement from the BRT project in order to learn from these experiences and repair harm that occurred. It is also critical that OakDOT, other City leaders, AC Transit and other transportation agencies engage in a courageous acknowledgement of the failures to take human sense, race forward actions. This is the only way that the preventable negative impacts from the BRT project can be prevented from being repeated in future transportation projects and plans.

There is much to be learned from the history of the City's internal processes regarding the BRT project. When community activists raised concerns about the negative impacts of the BRT project, the then Mayor Jean Quan requested the OSNI City leadership, Margaretta Lin, to lead efforts with the City Economic Development staff to analyze potential business impacts from the

BRT project and recommend mitigation strategies. Internal efforts began to learn from similar experiences of other jurisdictions and to analyze International Boulevard business data by type and revenue in order to develop potential impact scenarios based upon anticipated construction timelines. These impact scenarios were to arrive at potential fiscal impacts that certain types of businesses may face and recommend mitigation funding strategies.

However, the City Public Works leadership worked internally to stop the impact scenarios analysis for fear of any information that could be utilized to prevent the BRT project from proceeding.

This led the Just Cities team to conduct a business displacement analysis along International Blvd. to understand what businesses had been lost during the BRT project process. However, the only available official dataset comes from the City's business license registry, which is limited to businesses that register and by timeline-- the City does not have datasets before 2013. Just Cities' analysis is based upon comparing the registered businesses in 2014 – pre-BRT construction– and in 2019– prior to COVID impacts. To address the data gaps and to arrive at a preliminary understanding of displacement impacts, Just Cities conducted community-based research and interviewed a sample of East Oakland residents. Just Cities intends on continuing the business displacement analysis by interviewing more informants and conducting White Book listing analysis.

DISPLACED BUSINESS PROFILES

Thalia's Jewelry Shop

***Thalia's Jewelry Shop** was a small business in Fruitvale owned by Fernando. This jewelry shop had been around for over a decade. It was a small hole in the wall place that everyone knew of because he sold custom-made quality jewelry for affordable prices. He displayed his jewelry at this location while his wife sold AVON and other catalog-based beauty items. As rents began to rise in Fruitvale, he had to rent a portion of his shop to someone for storage to split the rent. For many years he shared his shop with others. When the BRT construction began to evolve, his landlord raised the rent even more, and he could no longer afford to stay there. He was paying more rent than he was making revenue. He and his wife not only had to move out of their business location in Fruitvale, but they were utterly displaced out of Oakland and had to move to Modesto. Now Fernando's jewelry business is based out of his living room. Most of his clients are still based in Oakland, so when they ask to see what he's made, he drives back to Oakland and makes his sales.*



Perry's furniture store, [Laura A. Oda/Bay Area News Group](#)

DISPLACED BUSINESS PROFILES

Perry's Fine French Furniture

***Perry's Fine French Furniture** was in business for 67 years before the 2008 recession slowed business, and the BRT project and ensuing construction exacerbated conditions and forced Sean Perry to close his family's intergenerational business in 2018.¹⁸ As a furniture store with a unique collection of antique furniture and other home goods, Perry's Furniture was an institution for many East Oakland residents. As stated by Perry in a media interview, "Sixty-seven years anywhere, for any store to survive, and especially in this kind of town, you have to be doing something right [...] people have to like you, so you have to take care of your customers, because they're loyal to you." The construction and traffic deterred Perry's potential customers, and Perry received no clear information about the resources available to him to preserve his business. Perry also spoke to the fact that many old merchants are being displaced from the neighborhood, and that "It's going to be higher-end, clean shops, restaurants, apartments. It'll be different."¹⁹*

STATUS OF INTERNATIONAL BLVD BUSINESSES

502 out of 1,356 businesses closed their doors by 2019.

(190 of the 502 were retail, food service and auto businesses)

**In a sampling of 52 closed businesses, 27 were identified as legacy businesses—
52% of the sampled businesses.**

We estimate that the preliminary sampling legacy business displacement rate is 52%, with significant displacement impacts from BRT construction.

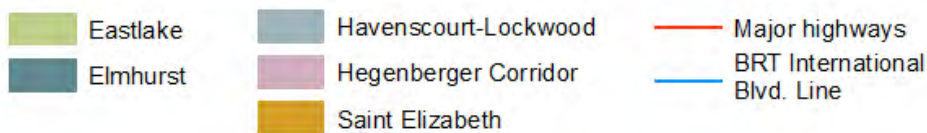
* Legacy Businesses: In business for at least five years or more before 2014.

This analysis combined neighborhoods to larger sub areas similar to the International Blvd. Transit Oriented Development Plan to identify lost businesses as of 2019 and displaced legacy businesses along International Blvd. The map below shows what boundaries were selected for Eastlake/San Antonio, Elmhurst, Fruitvale, Havenscourt-Lockwood, and Hegenberger Corridor. The displaced legacy businesses were identified by Oakland leaders based on the list of businesses lost by 2019 on International Blvd. It was important to have Oakland residents identify legacy businesses and also identify what businesses were still around even though City data had identified them as closed. The following is a summary of lost businesses along International Blvd and a preliminary sampling of displaced legacy businesses.

Figure 8. Selected East Oakland Neighborhood Groupings for Business and Displacement Analysis



Neighborhood Groupings



FINDING I: 37% (502) of businesses along International Blvd in 2014 closed by 2019.

- There were 1,356 unique business licenses registered with the City in 2014 and 1,147 in 2019, with a 15% overall decline in business license count. However, 502 of those businesses that were there in 2014 were lost on International Blvd by 2019.

Table 3. 2014 Businesses that Experienced Decline on International Blvd in 2019 by NAICS Code

NAICS	Total 2014 Business	Lost Businesses in 2019
Accommodation and Food Services	9% (121)	7% (34)
Administrative and Support and Waste Management and Remediation Services	3% (34)	4% (19)
Arts, Entertainment, and Recreation	0% (2)	0% (0)
Construction	0% (3)	0.6% (3)
Educational Services	0% (5)	0.6% (3)
Finance and Insurance	2% (32)	4% (21)
Health Care and Social Assistance	2% (27)	2% (10)
Information	0% (3)	0.4% (2)
Manufacturing	1% (14)	2% (11)
Other Services (except Public Administration)	13% (179)	11% (54)
Professional, Scientific, and Technical Services	2% (31)	4% (18)
Real Estate Rental and Leasing	35% (478)	45% (225)
Retail Trade	21% (288)	18% (92)
Transportation and Warehousing	0% (2)	0% (1)
Wholesale Trade	1% (15)	1% (4)
Blank	9% (122)	1% (5)
<i>Grand Total</i>	100% (1356)	100% (502)

FINDING 2: Out of the 502 businesses no longer there by 2019, 190 (38%) were retail, food service, and auto businesses.ⁱⁱ

FINDING 3: Of the 52 sampled closed retail, food service, and auto businesses in different parts of International Blvd, and found that 27 had been legacy businesses in business for at least five years or more before 2014. Some of the businesses had been around for decades. The preliminary sampling legacy business **displacement rate is 52%**.

FINDING 4: The main types of businesses that experienced decline by 2019 were **1) Real Estate Rental and Leasing Companies; 2) Retail Trade; 3) Automobile-related Services; and 4) Food Services and Accommodations.**

- The majority of businesses that experienced decline on International Blvd in 2019 were **Real Estate Rental and Leasing Companies (45%)**. These lost businesses were concentrated in ***East Lake/San Antonio, and Fruitvale***.
- The second largest business type that experienced decline in the corridor in 2019 were **Retail Trade Businesses (18%)**, concentrated in ***Elmhurst, Fruitvale, and Havenscourt***.ⁱⁱⁱ
- **6% of businesses** that experienced decline on International Blvd in 2019 are **Automobile-related Services**.^{iv} These lost businesses were concentrated in ***Havenscourt-Lockwood, Elmhurst, and Hegenberger Corridor***.
- **9% of businesses** that experienced decline on International Blvd in 2019 are **Food services and accommodation businesses**.

ⁱⁱ Auto-related businesses are under four NAICS codes: Retail Trade, Other Services, Wholesale Trade, and Educational services. They include auto body and repair shops, tire stores, used car dealerships, car washes, parking lots and garages, and gas stations.

ⁱⁱⁱ The top Retail Trade businesses classifications include various stores such as miscellaneous store retailers; merchandise stores; gift, novelty, and souvenir stores; super markets and other grocery stores (except convenience stores); and other clothing stores.

FINDING 5: 38% of businesses that experienced decline on International Blvd by 2019 are located in *Eastlake/San Antonio*. The concentrated lost businesses in this area were Real Estate Rental and Leasing, Accommodation and Food Services, Retail Trade, and Other Services.

Table 4. 2014 Businesses That Experienced Decline on International Blvd by 2019 by Geographic Area

NAICS	East Lake/San Antonio	Elmhurst	Fruitvale	Havenscourt-Lockwood	Hegenberger Corridor
Accommodation and Food Services	9% (17)	5% (4)	4% (4)	9% (8)	4% (1)
Administrative and Support and Waste Management and Remediation Services	6% (11)	1% (1)	2% (2)	5% (4)	4% (1)
Construction	1% (1)	0% (0)	1% (1)	1% (1)	0% (0)
Educational Services	1% (1)	1% (1)	1% (1)	0% (0)	0% (0)
Finance and Insurance	1% (2)	7% (6)	8% (9)	5% (4)	0% (0)
Health Care and Social Assistance	2% (4)	1% (1)	4% (4)	0% (0)	4% (1)
Information	0% (0)	0% (0)	2% (2)	0% (0)	0% (0)
Manufacturing	2% (3)	6% (5)	3% (3)	0% (0)	0% (0)
Other Services (except Public Administration)	7% (14)	9% (8)	8% (9)	16% (14)	32% (9)
Professional, Scientific, and Technical Services	5% (9)	3% (3)	3% (3)	4% (3)	0% (0)
Real Estate Rental and Leasing	60% (115)	32% (28)	39% (42)	33% (28)	43% (12)
Retail Trade	7% (14)	32% (28)	26% (28)	21% (18)	14% (4)
Transportation and Warehousing	1% (1)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)
Wholesale Trade	0% (0)	1% (1)	0% (0)	4% (3)	0% (0)
Blank	1% (1)	1% (1)	1% (1)	2% (2)	0% (0)
Grand Total	100% (193)	100% (87)	100% (109)	100% (85)	100% (28)

FINDING 6: In a similar analysis conducted along Piedmont Avenue, a more affluent business corridor in Oakland, 26% (42) of businesses from 2014 experienced a decline by 2019.

- Whereas International Blvd saw an overall decline in business count (-15%) from 2014-2019, **businesses along Piedmont Ave increased by 159% from 2014 to 2019.** There were 163 businesses along Piedmont Ave in 2014 and about 422 in 2019.^v

The data analysis integrated with interviews from impacted businesses and residents provides evidence that BRT construction disruption with significant impacts to business access was a significant cause and/or contributor to displacement of legacy businesses, those that had managed to survive for at least five years and sometimes decades. Had the City of Oakland and AC Transit taken community concerns about business displacement impacts seriously in 2014, conducted a displacement impacts analysis, and created a displacement prevention program, perhaps many of these businesses that were part of creating community cohesion and belonging would still be here today.

^{iv} The top auto-related businesses classifications include automotive body, paint, and interior repair and maintenance; all other automotive repair and maintenance; used car dealers; automotive transmission repair; automotive parts and accessories stores; and general automotive repair.

^v Just Cities has yet to conduct a legacy status business analysis along Piedmont Avenue Corridor.

V. RACIAL EQUITY PLANNING AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS



Community Planning Leaders, Just Cities

We emphasize the reality of **human made forces**– the devastation that has occurred in East Oakland was not a hurricane, earthquake or flood. The forces that caused and contributed to people of color losing their homes and communities were due to intentional, human enacted policies and practices. For example, at multiple community meetings that AC Transit and/or the City of Oakland organized regarding the BRT project, community residents and small businesses expressed concerns about potential displacement impacts from the BRT project. These concerns were largely trivialized and/or ignored by the transportation officials working on the BRT project at that time.

What does it mean then for OakDOT and other transportation agencies who seek to do good in the world? We believe that it requires a mindshift in planning frameworks, methodology, policies and practices, and the people who lead planning efforts. A framework of MITIGATION of harm will only perpetuate the grave injustices that have already occurred. We must instead advance a new understanding of the PREVENTION OF HARM. We believe that all of us as planners shoulder a responsibility to understand the broader community ecosystem, including

current community displacement conditions, and the historic roots of current problems and challenges.

We, as people who have inherited an ignoble planning history of racism and injustice, have a duty to both understand these community vulnerabilities and to **prevent**, not just mitigate, harm from our planning and projects, especially in the realm of transportation.

The following recommendations seek to repair the harm that transportation planning and projects have contributed to or caused for East Oakland residents and communities.

Centering Community Safety and Belonging Needs and Voices

1. The Community-Serving Purpose of OakDOT's EOMAP Signals a Significant Transformation in Transportation Planning and Should Continue

Historically and currently, the role of transportation has been to serve as an engine for greater economic development purposes, rather than meeting the daily mobility needs of low income neighborhoods of color. For example, the BRT connects people more quickly from downtown Oakland to downtown San Leandro. But the location of the stops fail to serve the needs of local residents, some of whom must now walk longer distances to their homes. OakDOT's EOMAP that was co-developed with community partners is a paradigm shift that centers the mobility needs of lower income Black East Oakland residents. It will be critical for OakDOT to integrate the model started with EOMAP into how it continues its ongoing planning work.

"The goal of the BRT is to move people from other parts of the city into Downtown because that's where the financial centers and jobs are. But that happened at the expense of the mom and pop shops along the Corridor. Can we stop thinking about transportation as a means to get to financial centers? Can we instead think of transportation as serving the local communities?"

-Carina Lieu

2. OakDOT Must Address Safety Impacts of the BRT Through Community Partnerships

It's urgent to prevent further safety impacts at the BRT stops in the median of a busy Corridor with hazardous drivers. As evidenced by both pedestrian and vehicle safety data and lived experiences of East Oakland residents, the placement of BRT stops impacts the safety of transit commuters, particularly for disabled, elderly, and people with small children. In addition, based upon community experiences, the changed lane structure on International Blvd has been extremely confusing to drivers, leading to collisions and, sometimes, auto passenger and pedestrian injuries.

We strongly recommend that OakDOT develop a Safety Plan for the BRT medians that is co-designed with BRT bus riders who have mobility challenges. This Safety Plan would also need to include a multilingual and multicultural Public Information campaign to educate drivers, many of whom are confused about the changed lane structure.

"I spoke to John Henry, the owner of 365 Barber Shop located on International Blvd in Deep East Oakland. His business has been in place for over 15 years in this location. We spent some time talking about his concerns with the BRT's impacts on his business and the businesses around him. He shared, 'There is an accident almost every day! It has gotten out of control. It was hard to get people to slow down before the BRT. Now people drive recklessly and cause accidents. My car has gotten crashed [into] twice since I reopened. Not only that, but this bus also took all my parking. My customers have stopped coming by because they are scared to have their car wrecked or because they might get a huge ticket on their windshield.'"

-Vanessa Zamora

3. OakDOT Should Engage in Restorative Justice on BRT Caused Business Displacement

City decisions made to ignore community concerns about the BRT project's impacts on business displacement and mobility safety preceded OakDOT's formation in 2015. However, as the successor agency to Oakland's Public Works Transportation Division, OakDOT also bears the responsibility to repair the harm created by the Public Works department leadership. We recommend that OakDOT leadership engage in restorative justice listening circles to hear from

impacted residents and businesses about the unintended consequences that flowed from the BRT project and to design together what remedies to those harms should look like today.

Thalia's Jewelry Shop was a tiny business in Fruitvale. We knew of it because our families bought jewelry from them for over a decade. Fernando had quality pieces for affordable prices. When the BRT construction began, he and his family were forced to leave their business location in Oakland and even leave their home in Oakland. This place was special for us. We all would buy the traditional "esclavas" (gold bracelet) with your name on it from them. Now that they've left Oakland and moved to Modesto, it has made it harder to support his businesses. We still give him a call to tell him what we are looking for, and he drives to Oakland to serve us. We know this is not the most ideal, but he was a part of our community, his loyal customers are in Oakland, and he is the jeweler we trust. We do our best to keep supporting him even though he is no longer in Oakland.

-Vanessa Zamora

4. OakDOT Should Integrate Access to Anti-Displacement Resources as part of Community Engagement Activities

Another best practice strategy that OakDOT has invested in has been the concept of integrating anti-displacement services into its community engagement activities. For example, community engagement groups like The East Oakland Collective (EOC) have been providing community education available resources including housing and food services.

Practicing Racial Equity in Staffing, Contracting, and Partnerships

5. OakDOT Should Practice Racial Equity through Racial Diversity of Its Planning Staff and Private Planning Contractors

Planners, be they government staff or contractors to government agencies, wield enormous power in defining planning processes, priorities, interpretation of information, and what's feasible. However, they rarely represent the racial/ethnic diversity or lived experiences of the communities in which they are planning on/for. OakDOT has a progressive reputation in the planning industry, yet falls short in terms of the racial diversity of its planners and prime contractors.

The OakDOT Director has made a commitment to rectifying hiring and retention issues within OakDOT planning staff. Community partners including Just Cities, East Oakland Collective, and TransForm will be working to support and hold OakDOT accountable to these critical racial justice priorities.

In addition, the Oakland City Council's racial disparity in public contracting study has revealed major racial inequities in the City's public contracting process. For example, OakDOT's use of close bidding opportunities only available to primarily White-led planning firms is one example of how this racial disparity is perpetuated. While OakDOT created a RFP a few years ago to expand its list of approved contractors, the RFP was only for community engagement activities. Contracts to conduct the meat and potato work of OakDOT--developing plans, conducting transportation analyses and feasibility studies--are still exclusively held by primarily White-led planning firms. We strongly recommend that OakDOT open up public bidding opportunities to create a more inclusive and racially diverse bench of prime contractors.

6. OakDOT Should Engage in Community Partnership and Shared Power

The City of Oakland has sponsored or held community engagement activities in East Oakland neighborhoods for decades. As residents have expressed, people are asked the same questions over and over again about community priorities, concerns, and conditions. And then very little is actually delivered as a direct response to specific community feedback. This type of community engagement that checks the boxes for government planning is a waste of public resources and fosters cynicism about government and planning.

For example, the City of Oakland and AC Transit held numerous community meetings about the proposed BRT project. Numerous East Oakland residents took time out of their busy lives to come out, attend the meetings and voice their concerns. However, many of the legitimate community concerns, especially regarding potential displacement, fell on deaf ears because the transportation planners either lacked the training to understand how a major transportation project like the BRT could create harm rather than benefit and/or were taught the mindset that there were always going to be tradeoffs to transportation improvements.

In the City of Oakland's sponsored **Oakland Sustainable Neighborhoods Initiative (OSNI)**, City officials and East Oakland community leaders attempted to change course by creating vehicles for authentic partnerships and shared power. First, City Administration leadership invited long-time East Oakland community and faith organizations to partner with the City and raised

private foundation and City funds to resource that participation. In order to meet the goal of inclusion, Councilmembers representing East Oakland were also invited to include any missing community and faith organizations. A stipended **Community Planning Leaders** program was created to provide training on planning issues and resource resident leaders to be at the table with the City and funded community organizations. Working groups on community priority areas of Housing, Transportation, and Economic Development were co-chaired by City staff and community leaders. Workplans created by these working groups were used for City implementation activities, such as defining the City's competitive State grants for affordable housing and transportation or the development of the BRT Business Mitigation program. Community priorities defined what actions were taken, rather than grants or City limitations driving the process.

The OSNI work demonstrates that the City is capable of moving from tokenized community engagement to authentic community partnership.

In addition, the OSNI Community Planning Leaders designed a sustainable model for community shared power or **community governance body over planning and projects** in East Oakland. PolicyLink and Causa Justa: Just Cause produced a report that lays out their proposal and research. The City of Los Angeles has a similar model through its Neighborhood Councils. The closest model in existence in Oakland is the Rockridge Community Planning Council, although it operates as an independent body rather than through the City of Oakland.

Preventing Not Just Mitigating Harm

7. OakDOT Should Require a Racial Equity, Health, and Displacement Impact Analysis and Prevention Strategies Implemented Prior to the Start of a Project

My parents used to live [in Oakland] [...] The last time my mom came to visit, she didn't even recognize our neighborhoods anymore. The streets are different, the bus stops have completely changed, and she says it's just not the same place she used to live in. Now she says, "I can't go out anymore because I get lost." The last time they visited, they had a really bad experience crossing International. There were too many cars & couldn't tell where the bus stops were. My parents decided that they were not going to walk International anymore because it was too crazy for them. I have empathy for the elder community & those with disabilities. Those that don't drive, have to walk, be in a wheelchair, bike. It's especially not of access to those people."

- Silvia Guzman

This recommendation is based upon the City of Oakland's Housing Equity Roadmap policy framework adopted by the City Council in 2015. It is possible to understand the potential impacts, including health and displacement impacts, from any transportation or other development project. There's precedence in Oakland for conducting an impact analysis. For example, the City of Oakland Planning Director had commissioned an impact analysis of the West Oakland Wood Street market rate housing project in 2005. Other cities including San Francisco and Denver have conducted similar analyses.

In addition, as the BRT project demonstrates, it is insufficient to adopt mitigation strategies and implement those strategies concurrent with project construction/implementation. Instead, the City of Oakland, as the governmental body charged with protecting the public health and safety of Oakland residents, should ensure that prevention measures are actually implemented well before any project construction begins. The City had an opportunity to conduct an Impact Analysis of the BRT project, but this effort was derailed by the then Public Works Department leadership, the predecessor agency to OakDOT.

The **Racial Equity, Health, and Displacement Impact Analysis** should include the following components:

- 1) Neighborhood level analysis disaggregated by race and income.
- 2) Understanding of the history of the area that has caused or contributed to current community vulnerabilities that can be exacerbated by the proposed project.
- 3) Who lives in the area, disaggregated by race/ethnicity and income.
- 4) What are the major survival stressors that people are facing.
- 5) What are the displacement risks and vulnerabilities of each neighborhood.
- 6) What are potential community sensitivities and experiences given the changing demographics in the area.
- 7) Who needs to be recruited in order to provide culturally appropriate outreach and engagement.
- 8) What anti-displacement strategies need to be in place and in which areas prior to any transportation systems improvements in order to prevent escalation of displacement forces.
- 9) Accountability measures to ensure that prevention strategies are being implemented in a timely manner with ongoing assessment of conditions and public communication of the assessment findings.

8. OakDOT Should Support ONLY TOD housing development projects in East Oakland that utilize an East Oakland household income affordability rate rather than a citywide or metro regional income standard AND also prioritizing current and displaced East Oakland residents for new affordable housing units.

“We are still asking for things like the right to return. That means if you've been pushed out of where you've been raised here in Oakland, that if you want, when they build new apartments and affordable housing, that people have a right to come back and apply for that housing. [...] It has not been easy. It's been long term, but the thing is that the fight is here to make sure that we can still retain what we have here in East Oakland, and in Oakland overall. We've had to make sure that this helps to benefit as many people as possible. I'm hoping that people realize the importance of preserving the communities where people live. If not, that history is lost, the people are lost, the whole sense of what the community looks like is lost.”

-Ms. Sherry

While the affordable housing development standard is to use the metropolitan Area Median Income, this can result in housing projects in East Oakland becoming unattainable for East Oakland residents who make far less than other people in Oakland and the surrounding area. Instead, we propose that OakDOT ONLY supports TOD projects that utilize East Oakland household income affordability rate for that specific neighborhood.

This practice is the standard used in East New York, championed by Assemblymember Charles Barron and Councilmember Inez Barron of New York City Council District 42. Using their political power, Inez Barron has rejected proposals for market-rate housing developments whose costs would be higher than the local Area Median Income.²⁰ Similar efforts are being pursued in Los Angeles by Damien Goodmon and the Crenshaw Subway Coalition to actively prevent the displacement of the Black community.²¹

In Berkeley, efforts to prioritize the needs of current and displaced residents include a proposal for 100% affordable housing at the Ashby BART station for the Berkeley Adeline Corridor Plan, and a local preference policy that creates a right to return for people who have been displaced or are at risk of displacement.

Integrate Existing Community-Driven Strategies

9. OakDOT Should Implement the East Oakland Building Healthy Communities' Healthy Development Guidelines

"The Healthy Development Guidelines are the voice of Oakland residents, youth and CBOs, especially from East Oakland, a community in Oakland that needs health equity the most. The HDG is the standard for development and the Oakland community that shaped them knows that this is what development is."

--Nehanda Imara

As outlined by EOBHC, the Healthy Development Guidelines "require new development projects in Oakland to consider health impacts on residents and community engagement in the City of Oakland's planning process."²⁰ The Healthy Development Guidelines are constantly being added to and strengthened based on the community's needs on issues such as housing, healthy food access, and environmental health. These guidelines have been successful in holding developers accountable to community engagement and have become incorporated into the training and standards of the Oakland Planning and Building Department.²¹ In 2018, the Healthy Development Guidelines were recognized by Oakland City Council for their collaborative and engaging partnership with the Planning and Building Department and have also been recognized as a leading example of environmental justice and equity practices by the California Office of Planning and Research.²²

The Healthy Development Guidelines team continues to work with the city and its departments for the guidelines' implementation. Future implementation plans include conducting more trainings for city planning staff and integrating the Healthy Development Guidelines into specific plans, general plans, and an East Oakland plan on climate change, environmental justice, health

equity and economic opportunity. In addition, the Healthy Development Guidelines team is proposing five policy priorities for City Council consideration.²³

The Healthy Development Guidelines can be found at <https://www.eastoaklandbhc.org/healthy-development-guidelines>

Use Political Capital for Solidarity

10. OakDOT Can Use Its Political Capital to Support the End of Redlining from Banks and CDFIs for East Oakland Homeowners and Communities

As Just Cities' analysis demonstrates, neighborhoods in Deep East Oakland have been devastated by predatory lending and subsequent foreclosures by big banks. These same banks and the Community Development Financial Institutions (CDFIs) they invest in are currently redlining these same neighborhoods and fail to fund many community-based affordable housing and economic development projects in Deep East Oakland.²⁴

OakDOT and other transportation public agencies cannot turn a blind eye to this injustice. What can OakDOT as a transportation agency do given that it does not regulate banks? Here are our ideas to catalyze the creativity of OakDOT leaders. TOD projects commonly have bank investments--ask those Banks investing in the TOD project to provide information about their current investments in East Oakland community-based projects and homeownership loans in East Oakland, especially in Deep East Oakland neighborhoods. Refuse to participate/be complicit in TOD projects with unaccountable Bank investors.

APPENDICES

VI. RACIAL EQUITY HOUSING PRECARITY, DISPLACEMENT, HOMELESSNESS: EAST OAKLAND NEIGHBORHOOD HOUSING CONDITIONS (2000–2018)

A. Racial Displacement and Racial Income Decline

FINDING 1

Predatory lending practices and the following foreclosure crisis disproportionately affected the Black/African American population in Oakland, causing major declines in the Black/African American population in their ethnic enclaves. By 2013, while populations of other racial groups increased, the long-time East Oakland Black/African American ethnic enclaves were no longer majority Black/African American.

Table 1. Black/African American Population Change in Black/African American Enclaves 2000-2018

Black/African American Population Change in Black/African American Enclaves 2000-2018						
	2000	2013	2018	% Change 2000 - 2013	% Change 2013 - 2018	% Change 2000 - 2018
Brookfield	68.1% (1,473)	36.4% (812)	33.9% (788)	-44.9%	-3.0%	-46.5%
Coliseum	51.2% (7,040)	39.3% (6,016)	32.6% (5,579)	-14.5%	-7.3%	-20.8%
Durant	53.5% (1,799)	35% (1,475)	34.1% (1,426)	-18.0%	-3.3%	-20.7%
Eastmont	64.4% (2,437)	48.7% (1,800)	37.5% (1,157)	-26.1%	-35.7%	-52.5%
Frick	58.7% (7,100)	42.9% (4,883)	44.1% (5,251)	-31.2%	7.5%	-26.0%
Reservoir Hill	37.5% (853)	29.1% (686)	20.8% (513)	-19.6%	-25.2%	-39.9%
Sobrante	55.5% (1,760)	47.8% (1,462)	31.5% (1,127)	-16.9%	-22.9%	-36.0%
Oakland	35.1% (140,139)	26.5% (105,362)	23.1% (97,053)	-24.8%	-7.9%	-30.7%

Sources: American Community Survey (2009 - 2013) and (2014 - 2018); U.S. Census 2000; U.S. Census 2000 on 2010 Geographies.

- Of the selected 11 neighborhoods, 7 were identified as Black/African American ethnic enclaves: **Brookfield**, **Coliseum**, **Durant**, **Eastmont**, **Frick**, **Reservoir Hill**, and **Sobrante Park**.

- In these 7 neighborhoods, the Black/African American population was the predominant racial/ethnic group, constituting 36%-68% of the neighborhood population in 2000. The Black/African American population had been the predominant racial/ethnic group in these neighborhoods since 1970-1980.
- From 2000-2018, the 7 Black/African American ethnic enclaves experienced a decrease in the Black/African American population. By 2013, all Black/African American ethnic enclaves were no longer majority Black/African American.
 - For example, from 2000 to 2018, Eastmont experienced a 53% decrease in Black/African American population. The percentage of Black/African American households went from 2,437 to 1,800 of the neighborhood population from 2000 to 2018.
- All 7 Black/African American enclaves experienced double digit foreclosure rates from 2007-2011. See Table 11 below.
 - The 11 neighborhoods with the highest rates of foreclosure were **Sobrante Park** (28%), **Eastmont** (27%), **Coliseum** (24%), **Durant** (24%), and **Brookfield** (23%), all formerly Black/African American enclaves and located in Deep East Oakland.

FINDING 2

East Oakland neighborhood homeownership rates have plummeted between 2000-2018, including in neighborhoods that once had high Black/African American homeownership rates. This means that many residents have lost the safety net of homeownership stability, putting people at the whim of rent increases and evictions, housing unaffordability and at risk of experiencing displacement and homelessness. See Section VII for how this process occurred.

Table 2. Asian American Population Change in Asian American Enclaves 2000-2018

Asian American Population Change in Asian American Enclaves 2000-2018						
	2000	2013	2018	% Change 2000 - 2013	% Change 2013 - 2018	% Change 2000 - 2018
Clinton	44.9% (3,491)	43.7% (2,837)	36.7% (2,695)	-18.7%	-5.0%	-22.8%
East Peralta	43.9% (1,603)	39.1% (1,298)	44.2% (1,477)	-19.0%	13.8%	-7.9%
Oakland	15.1% (60,393)	16.4% (64,955)	15.6% (65,591)	7.6%	1.0%	8.6%

Sources: American Community Survey (2009 - 2013) and (2014 - 2018); U.S. Census 2000; U.S. Census 2000 on 2010 Geographies.

- Although **Clinton** and **East Peralta** remained predominantly Asian American from 2000-2018, the Asian American population declined by 23% and 8%, respectively. In 2000, Asian Americans constituted 3,491 of Clinton’s and 1,603 of East Peralta’s population. By 2018, Asian Americans constituted 2,695 of Clinton’s and 1,477 of East Peralta’s population.
- Meanwhile, White residents have steadily moved into these neighborhoods. From 2000-2018, the White population in **Clinton** and **East Peralta** increased by 93% and 51%, respectively. In 2000, Whites only constituted 10% of Clinton’s and 11% of East Peralta’s population. By 2018, Whites constituted 20% of Clinton’s and 18% of East Peralta’s population. See Table 5 below.

FINDING 3

East Oakland neighborhood homeownership rates have plummeted between 2000-2018, including in neighborhoods that once had high Black/African American homeownership rates. This means that many residents have lost the safety net of homeownership stability, putting people at the whim of rent increases and evictions, housing unaffordability and at risk of experiencing displacement and homelessness. See Section VII for how this process occurred.

Table 3. Latinx Population Change in the 11 Neighborhoods 2000-2018

Latinx Population Change 2000-2018						
	2000	2013	2018	% Change 2000 - 2013	% Change 2013 - 2018	% Change 2000 - 2018
Brookfield	28.1% (607)	39.8% (888)	55.1% (1,282)	46.3%	44.4%	111.2%
Clinton	16.9% (1,310)	17.7% (1,148)	16.2% (1,185)	-12.4%	3.2%	-9.5%
Coliseum	37.3% (5,125)	48.8% (7,474)	54.7% (9,368)	45.8%	25.3%	82.8%
Durant	35.5% (1,195)	46.5% (1,957)	48.6% (2,032)	63.8%	3.8%	70.0%
Eastmont	27.1% (1,026)	37.5% (1,385)	44.6% (1,378)	35.0%	-0.5%	34.3%
East Peralta	30.3% (1,107)	20.9% (694)	19.6% (655)	-37.3%	-5.6%	-40.8%
Frick	25.4% (3,071)	36.1% (4,112)	34.6% (4,127)	33.9%	0.4%	34.4%
Fruitvale	63.2% (2,720)	67% (3,022)	57.9% (2,696)	11.1%	-10.8%	-0.9%
Merritt	11.4% (331)	18.6% (456)	15.2% (372)	37.8%	-18.4%	12.4%
Reservoir Hill	14.5% (331)	25.2% (594)	18.1% (447)	79.5%	-24.7%	35.0%
Sobrante	33.8% (1,072)	38.7% (1,185)	54.8% (1,961)	10.5%	65.5%	82.9%
Oakland	21.9% (87,467)	25.7% (102,090)	26.9% (113,134)	16.7%	10.8%	29.3%

Sources: American Community Survey (2009 - 2013) and (2014 - 2018); U.S. Census 2000; U.S. Census 2000 on 2010 Geographies.

- In 5 of the 7 Black/African American ethnic enclaves, the Latinx population became the most predominant racial/ethnic group by 2018. These neighborhoods are **Brookfield, Coliseum, Durant, Eastmont, and Sobrante Park**.
 - In 2000, in these 5 neighborhoods, Latinx constituted 27%-37% of the neighborhood population. By 2018, Latinx constituted 45%-55% of the neighborhood population.
 - For example, from 2000 to 2018, **Brookfield** experienced a 111% increase in the Latinx population, from 28% to 55% of the neighborhood population.

Table 4. Latinx Median Household Income Change in the 11 Neighborhoods 2000-2018

Latinx Median Household Income Change 2000-2018						
	2000	2013	2018	% Change 2000 - 2013	% Change 2013 - 2018	% Change 2000 - 2018
Brookfield	\$71,376	\$39,525	\$78,696	-44.6%	99.1%	10.3%
Clinton	\$50,731	\$25,516	\$53,078	-49.7%	108.0%	4.6%
Coliseum	\$60,238	\$39,684	\$52,836	-34.1%	33.1%	-12.3%
Durant	\$74,983	\$65,706	\$59,453	-12.4%	-9.5%	-20.7%
Eastmont	\$57,585	\$51,691	\$47,788	-10.2%	-7.6%	-17.0%
East Peralta	\$63,146	\$20,452	\$58,125	-67.6%	184.2%	-8.0%
Frick	\$68,239	\$47,997	\$62,877	-29.7%	31.0%	-7.9%
Fruitvale	\$60,474	\$61,783	\$38,164	2.2%	-38.2%	-36.9%
Merritt	\$48,786	\$50,527	\$32,097	3.6%	-36.5%	-34.2%
Reservoir Hill	\$52,277	\$40,219	-	-23.1%	-	-
Sobrante	\$77,970	\$62,983	\$57,176	-19.2%	-9.2%	-26.7%
Oakland	\$58,628	\$49,892	\$55,603	-14.9%	11.4%	-5.2%

Sources: American Community Survey (2009 - 2013) and (2014 - 2018); U.S. Census 2000; U.S. Census 2000 on 2010 Geographies.

- Although the Latinx population increased in former Black/African American ethnic enclaves and Oakland overall, Latinx median household incomes in those neighborhoods actually declined.
- From 2000-2018, Latinx median household incomes declined in 8 of the 11 neighborhoods.
 - For example, in Fruitvale, the Latinx median household income decreased by 37% from 2000-2018. In 2000, Latinx median household income was \$60,474. In 2018, it was \$38,164.

FINDING 4

Across East Oakland, investors bought up and flipped foreclosed properties and marketed them to new higher income households, which attracted higher income White residents. From 2000 to 2018, all 11 neighborhoods, except for **Merritt**, saw an increase in White residents. The Black/African American ethnic enclaves that had double digit foreclosure rates between 2007 and 2011 saw the greatest increases in White residents.

Table 5. White Population Change in the 11 Neighborhoods 2000-2018

White Population Change 2000-2018						
	2000	2013	2018	% Change 2000 - 2013	% Change 2013 - 2018	% Change 2000 - 2018
Brookfield	1.0% (21)	8.3% (185)	1.5% (34)	781.0%	-81.6%	61.9%
Clinton	9.8% (762)	15% (974)	20.1% (1,473)	27.8%	51.2%	93.3%
Coliseum	2.6% (353)	3.5% (531)	4.0% (685)	50.4%	29.0%	94.1%
Durant	5.8% (194)	5.3% (221)	5.8% (243)	13.9%	10.0%	25.3%
Eastmont	2.5% (93)	2.4% (88)	9% (278)	-5.4%	215.9%	198.9%
East Peralta	11.1% (404)	17.1% (566)	18.2% (608)	40.1%	7.4%	50.5%
Frick	8.4% (1,018)	11.0% (1,257)	13.2% (1,571)	23.5%	25.0%	54.3%
Fruitvale	11.9% (513)	12.1% (544)	13.6% (635)	6.0%	16.7%	23.8%
Merritt	30.2% (875)	27.2% (667)	32.5% (797)	-23.8%	19.5%	-8.9%
Reservoir Hill	22.3% (507)	19.7% (464)	31.1% (767)	-8.5%	65.3%	51.3%
Sobrante	2.3% (74)	1.8% (54)	4.2% (149)	-26.8%	175.9%	102.0%
Oakland	23.5% (93,953)	26.1% (103,603)	28.2% (118,713)	10.3%	14.6%	26.4%

Sources: American Community Survey (2009 - 2013) and (2014 - 2018); U.S. Census 2000; U.S. Census 2000 on 2010 Geographies.

- In Eastmont, Merritt, Reservoir Hill and Sobrante Park, the White population only increased from 2013-2018, following the foreclosure crisis.** The influx of White residents during this time **contributed to Reservoir Hill and Merritt becoming predominantly White neighborhoods by 2018** (the only 2 of the 11 neighborhoods).

 - For example, **Reservoir Hill** was predominantly Black in 2000 (37.5% of the neighborhood), with 22.3% being White. Some white residents were impacted by the foreclosures– the White population declined by 8.5% and White MHI declined by 38.4%. But 2013-2018 saw an influx of newer,

wealthier White residents; the White population increased by 65.3%, comprising 31.1% of the neighborhood by 2018, which made it predominantly White. White MHI increased from about \$50,000 to \$89,000.

Table 6. White Median Household Income Change in the 11 Neighborhoods 2000-2018

White Median Household Income Change 2000-2018						
	2000	2013	2018	% Change 2000 - 2013	% Change 2013 - 2018	% Change 2000 - 2018
Brookfield	\$132,287	\$143,884	-	8.8%	-	-
Clinton	\$62,706	\$71,077	\$91,315	13.3%	28.5%	45.6%
Coliseum	\$30,242	\$57,071	\$54,647	88.7%	-4.2%	80.7%
Durant	\$52,913	\$86,677	\$103,750	63.8%	19.7%	96.1%
Eastmont	\$31,292	\$58,169	-	85.9%	-	-
East Peralta	\$49,005	\$86,977	\$108,875	77.5%	25.2%	122.2%
Frick	\$84,420	\$89,645	\$111,813	6.2%	24.7%	32.4%
Fruitvale	\$47,998	\$65,925	\$84,375	37.3%	28.0%	75.8%
Merritt	\$55,918	\$41,119	\$75,313	-26.5%	83.2%	34.7%
Reservoir Hill	\$80,651	\$49,712	\$88,750	-38.4%	78.5%	10.0%
Sobrante	\$63,302	\$19,975	\$53,750	-68.4%	169.1%	-15.1%
Oakland	\$86,779	\$91,480	\$110,206	5.4%	20.5%	27.0%

Sources: American Community Survey (2009 - 2013) and (2014 - 2018); U.S. Census 2000; U.S. Census 2000 on 2010 Geographies.

- From 2000-2018, the White median household income increased in 8 of the neighborhoods as wealthier Whites moved in.
 - For example, in **East Peralta**, in 2000, White residents comprised 11% of the population. By 2013, as many Asian American homeowners were being displaced, the White population increased by 40%, comprising 17% of the neighborhood. By 2018, White residents increased by another 7.4%. From 2000-2018, while the Asian American median household income declined by 18.1% (from \$28,000 in 2000 to \$23,000 in 2018), the White median household income increased by 122.2% (from \$49,000 to \$108,875).

B. Housing Precarity: Unaffordable Rents, Homeownership Loss, Homelessness Risk

FINDING 1

Housing unaffordability for most East Oakland neighborhoods is worse than citywide, demonstrating that East Oakland residents experience more housing instability than other residents of Oakland.

- 9 of the 11 neighborhoods have higher rental unaffordability rates than the citywide unaffordability rate of 64.8%. East Oakland tenants making the median household income would have to pay between 58% to 143% of their income to afford median rent costs in their neighborhood.
- For the 6 EOMAP neighborhoods, housing unaffordability rates are extremely high: **Coliseum** (142.6%), **Brookfield** (84.3%), **Frick** (83.9%), **Sobrante Park** (79.8%), **Eastmont** (77.6%). Only **Durant** (62.6%) has an unaffordability rate lower than the citywide rate of 64.8%

Table 7. Housing Unaffordability Rate Over Time

Housing Unaffordability Rate: Median Rent to Median Renter Household Income				
	2011	2013	2018	Change in Unaffordability (2011-2018)
Brookfield	45.2%	49.2%	84.3%	39.1%
Clinton	64.5%	69.1%	57.6%	-6.9%
Coliseum	88.9%	96.4%	142.6%	53.7%
Durant	69.5%	75.8%	62.6%	-6.9%
East Peralta	100.3%	109.2%	90.6%	-9.7%
Eastmont	67.0%	70.8%	77.6%	10.6%
Frick	43.7%	44.0%	83.9%	40.2%
Fruitvale	33.4%	37.1%	88.7%	55.3%
Merritt	58.2%	59.7%	78.2%	20.0%
Reservoir Hill	51.3%	54.0%	86.7%	35.4%
Sobrante Park	55.2%	61.5%	79.8%	24.6%
City of Oakland	43.8%	48.0%	64.8%	21.0%
Source: Zillow ZRI; ACS 2009-2013 and 2014-2018				
Note: Change in Unaffordability denotes percentage point change				

FINDING 2

There are significant disparities in the rental housing unaffordability rate across racial/ethnic populations within neighborhoods, with the once predominant racial/ethnic group bearing the heaviest unaffordability burden. This is a product of policy failures and has had a significant role in eroding East Oakland's ethnic enclaves.

Housing affordability is a solvable problem and requires the right types of investments and courageous policy solutions. See Section IV Policy Recommendations.

- In many of the neighborhoods that are predominantly Black, Asian, or Latinx, the predominant racial/ethnic population's housing unaffordability rate was higher than the White rate and overall neighborhood rate.
- From 2011-2018, **Fruitvale** and **Coliseum** neighborhoods had the largest increases in unaffordability. In Fruitvale the unaffordability rate more than doubled, rising from 33.4% to 88.7%. In Coliseum, the rate rose from 88.9% to 142.6%. These are also neighborhoods that are within close walking distance of a BART station.
 - Unaffordability rates almost doubled in **Brookfield** and **Frick**, and also rose in **Eastmont**, **Merritt**, **Reservoir Hill**, and **Sobrante Park**.
- **Clinton**, **Durant**, and **East Peralta** saw slight decreases in the housing unaffordability rates, but renter households making the median household income would still need to pay 58%, 63%, or 91% of their income to afford the median rent costs, respectively.
- Except for **Durant**, the EOMAP neighborhoods all experienced increases in the unaffordability rates.

Table 8. Housing Unaffordability Rate

Housing Unaffordability Rate: Median Rent to Median Renter Household Income				
	2011	2013	2018	Change in Unaffordability (2011-2018)
Brookfield	45.2%	49.2%	84.3%	39.1%
Clinton	64.5%	69.1%	57.6%	-6.9%
Coliseum	88.9%	96.4%	142.6%	53.7%
Durant	69.5%	75.8%	62.6%	-6.9%
East Peralta	100.3%	109.2%	90.6%	-9.7%
Eastmont	67.0%	70.8%	77.6%	10.6%
Frick	43.7%	44.0%	83.9%	40.2%
Fruitvale	33.4%	37.1%	88.7%	55.3%
Merritt	58.2%	59.7%	78.2%	20.0%
Reservoir Hill	51.3%	54.0%	86.7%	35.4%
Sobrante Park	55.2%	61.5%	79.8%	24.6%
City of Oakland	43.8%	48.0%	64.8%	21.0%
Source: Zillow ZRI; ACS 2009-2013 and 2014-2018				
Note: Change in Unaffordability denotes percentage point change				

FINDING 3

East Oakland neighborhood homeownership rates have plummeted between 2000-2018, including in neighborhoods that once had high Black/African American homeownership rates. This means that many residents have lost the safety net of homeownership stability, putting people at the whim of rent increases and evictions, housing unaffordability and at risk of experiencing displacement and homelessness. See Section VII for how this process occurred.

- There are significant **disparities in the rental housing unaffordability rate across racial/ethnic populations within neighborhoods. In many of the neighborhoods that are predominantly Black, Asian, or Latinx, the predominant racial/ethnic population’s housing unaffordability rate was higher than the White rate** and overall neighborhood rate.

- In **East Peralta**, which was predominantly Asian and Hispanic/Latinx in 2018, **the unaffordability rate for Asian residents was 142.0%, compared to 30.3% for White residents.** East Peralta’s overall unaffordability rate was 78.5%. The other predominantly Asian neighborhoods, **Clinton** and **Merritt** had similar comparisons.
- In **Fruitvale**, which was predominantly Hispanic/Latinx in 2018, the **unaffordability rate for Hispanic/Latinx residents was 80.5% compared to 36.4% for White residents.** Fruitvale’s overall unaffordability rate was 64.6%.
 - **Durant** (Hispanic/Latinx and Black) and **Frick** (Black and Hispanic/Latinx) had similar comparisons when also compared to White residents.
- 5 of the 6 EOMAP neighborhoods were predominantly Black in 2000, but predominantly Hispanic/Latinx by 2018 (**Durant, Coliseum, Sobrante Park, Brookfield, Eastmont**). In 2018, **the Black unaffordability rate was higher than the Hispanic/Latinx unaffordability rate in Coliseum, Sobrante Park, Brookfield and Eastmont.**
 - **Frick** is the only EOMAP neighborhood that has remained predominantly Black. However, the Black housing unaffordability rate (56%) is much higher than the overall neighborhood rate (46%), and higher than any other racial group.

Table 9. Housing Unaffordability Rate by Race in 2018

Housing Unaffordability Rate by Race in 2018: Median Rent to Median Household Income Ratio												
	Brookfield	Clinton	Coliseum	Durant	East Peralta	Eastmont	Frick	Fruitvale	Merritt	Reservoir Hill	Sobrante	City of Oakland
Overall Median Rent to Median Household Income Ratio	59.70%	55.3%	100.6%	49.10%	78.5%	68.1%	45.8%	64.6%	74.5%	47.7%	57.70%	46.4%
Asian	30.50%	67.4%	121.3%	39.30%	142.0%	-	25.5%	43.7%	136.4%	48.2%	63.70%	56.8%
Black	95.80%	61.7%	168.2%	52.00%	103.2%	69.6%	56.1%	63.5%	-	-	63.50%	76.8%
Hispanic/Latinx	37.60%	58.8%	61.5%	53.10%	56.7%	58.8%	45.8%	80.5%	99.1%	-	53.20%	57.1%
White	-	34.2%	59.5%	30.40%	30.3%	-	25.7%	36.4%	42.2%	36.8%	56.60%	28.8%
Native American	-	56.7%	118.7%	33.70%	-	-	-	-	-	-	25.80%	58.4%
Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander	-	164.7%	50.5%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	50.8%
Other	38.00%	57.4%	63.2%	57.00%	89.6%	57.3%	49.4%	71.6%	-	-	56.10%	61.0%
Two or More Races	-	49.4%	96.7%	-	-	-	51.2%	-	87.7%	-	58.20%	40.9%

Sources: American Community Survey (2014-2018); Zillow Rent Index (ZRI); 2018 dollars

FINDING 4

Homeownership is inaccessible to East Oakland residents because their neighborhoods have recently become “hot” housing markets. Renters making the median household income (or less) and previous homeowners impacted by foreclosure would not be able to afford homeownership due to skyrocketed home values.

- Except for **Clinton**, overall homeownership rates in the East Oakland neighborhoods fell much more than the citywide drop from 2000-2018.
 - In Clinton, the homeownership rate fell by 0.8%. In the remaining 10 neighborhoods, overall homeownership rates fell by 10.0%- 29.2% compared to the citywide decline of 2.6%.
- There were large declines in the Black homeownership rate from 2000-2018 in neighborhoods that were predominantly Black in 2000, such as **Coliseum** (-36.3%), **Brookfield** (-27.4%), **Frick** (-24.6%), **Durant** (-18.1%), **Eastmont** (-15.9%) and **Sobrante Park** (-9.2%). The Black homeownership rates for these 6 neighborhoods in 2000 ranged from 40.6%-72.8%. By 2018, the Black homeownership rate for these same neighborhoods ranged from 25.9%-66.1%.
 - Except for **Durant**, all of these neighborhoods also saw a decline in Black median household income from 2000-2018. **This rise in home values, and decline in income for the Black population, essentially locked communities out of future homeownership opportunities.**
- In the predominantly Asian American neighborhoods of **Clinton** and **East Peralta**, Asian American homeownership rates dropped from 2000-2013 before increasing from 2013-2018.
 - From 2000-2013, Asian American homeownership rates fell by 47.9% in **Clinton** and by 27.7% in **East Peralta**. From 2013-2018, Asian American homeownership rates increased by 93.4% in Clinton, and by 61.7% in East Peralta. At the same time, the Asian American median household income in Clinton increased and in East Peralta slightly decreased from 2000 to 2018. This rise in Asian American homeownership rates may be due to an increase in new higher income Asian American residents, rather than income levels of long-time residents increasing.

FINDING 5

East Oakland neighborhoods were severely harmed by the foreclosure crisis, and many people continue to experience ongoing effects. People of color were targeted for predatory lending practices, and as a result, the most significant racialized displacement occurred in East Oakland neighborhoods with the highest rates of foreclosures. See Section VII for more information.

- Between 2011 and 2018, the City's overall home values rose by 113%, while the home values in the 11 neighborhoods rose by 120.2%-188.9%.

Table 10. Home Values Over Time

Home Values Over Time- Zillow Home Value Index			
	ZHVI Apr 2011	ZHVI Apr 2018	Percent Change in Home Values (2011-2018)
Brookfield	\$155,753	\$407,816	161.8%
Clinton	\$277,431	\$702,431	153.2%
Coliseum	\$161,018	\$407,064	152.8%
Durant	\$236,815	\$521,456	120.2%
East Peralta	\$248,751	\$718,617	188.9%
Eastmont	\$196,878	\$456,299	131.8%
Frick	\$247,206	\$585,585	136.9%
Fruitvale Station	\$223,503	\$527,215	135.9%
Merritt	\$254,691	\$702,562	175.8%
Reservoir Hill	\$208,483	\$573,881	175.3%
Sobrante Park	\$182,068	\$441,636	142.6%
City of Oakland	\$333,821	\$711,069	113.0%

Source: Zillow Home Value Index (ZHVI); 2018 dollars

- Homeownership across Oakland is incredibly out of reach for renters earning median income levels. Assuming a 10-20% down payment, City of Oakland renters would need to make 3.2-3.6 times the current median income in order to afford monthly housing costs. Paying the monthly housing costs on the current median income, would mean that renters would have to pay 95-107% of their income toward housing costs.
- Homeownership unaffordability is worse for renters in most of the East Oakland neighborhoods than citywide.
 - 6 of the 11 neighborhoods have higher homeownership unaffordability rates than citywide (**East Peralta, Merritt, Coliseum, Frick, Reservoir Hill, and Fruitvale**).

- For the 6 EOMAP neighborhoods, in 2018 renters would have to dedicate an estimated 67.8%-131.6% of their income toward monthly homeownership costs.

Table 11. 2018 Homeownership Access Rate

2018 Homeownership Access Rate						
	Median Home Values	Renter Median Household Income	Affordable Monthly Owner Cost	Estimated Monthly owner housing costs based on median home value	Estimated Annual Income needed to afford monthly housing payments	% of Monthly Income to Pay for Estimate Monthly Owner Costs if Making Median Household Income
Brookfield	\$407,816	\$35,100	\$878	\$2,227-\$2,506	\$89,087-\$100,223	76.1%-85.7%
Clinton	\$702,431	\$54,179	\$1,354	\$3,836-\$4,316	\$153,446-\$172,626	85.0%-95.59%
Coliseum	\$407,064	\$22,805	\$570	\$2,223-\$2,501	\$88,923-\$100,038	116.98%-131.6%
Durant	\$521,456	\$50,417	\$1,260	\$2,848-\$3,204	\$51,732-\$58,199	67.8%-76.3%
East Peralta	\$718,617	\$36,371	\$909	\$3,925-\$4,416	\$156,981-\$176,605	129.5%-145.7%
Eastmont	\$456,299	\$36,250	\$906	\$2,492-\$2,803	\$99,678-\$112,138	82.5%-92.8%
Frick	\$585,585	\$34,297	\$857	\$3,198-\$3,598	\$127,921-\$143,911	111.9%-125.9%
Fruitvale Station	\$527,215	\$34,615	\$865	\$2,879-\$3,239	\$115,170-\$129,566	99.8%-112.3%
Merritt	\$702,562	\$40,665	\$1,017	\$3,837-\$4,316	\$153,474-\$172,659	113.2%-127.4%
Reservoir Hill	\$573,881	\$37,629	\$941	\$3,134-\$3,526	\$125,364-\$141,035	100.0%-112.4%
Sobrante	\$441,636	\$38,125	\$953	\$2,412-\$2,713	\$96,475-\$108,535	75.9%-85.4%
City of Oakland	\$711,069	\$48,972	\$1,224	\$3,883-\$4,369	\$155,332-\$174,749	95.16%-107.05%

Source: 2014-2018 ACS Median Income Estimates; Zillow ZHVI April 2018; 2018 dollars

Notes: Homeownership access rate and monthly owner costs were calculated using the the PITI and the following assumptions: Monthly affordable monthly owner costs is defined as 30% or less of income; monthly owner costs are calculated using a 20% downpayment and a 10% downpayment, to demonstrate the broadest possible range. Other assumptions include a 30 year fixed rate loan of 5%, 1.4% for property taxes, 0.35% for insurance, and no mortgage insurance.

FINDING 6

Many of the East Oakland neighborhoods, especially the once Black/African American ethnic enclaves, are at higher risk for homelessness than citywide, which speaks to the lasting impact of the foreclosure crisis and ongoing displacement across East Oakland. See Table 13 for an explanation of the “homelessness risk” rate.

Table 12. Foreclosure Rate (2007-2011)

Neighborhood	2011 Predominant Race(s)	Foreclosure Rate (2007-2011)	Foreclosure Abandonment Risk Score (NSP2)
Brookfield	Black; Hispanic/Latinx	23.1%	17
Clinton	Asian	8.5%	12-14
Coliseum	Black; Hispanic/Latinx	24.3%	18-20
Durant	Black; Hispanic/Latinx	24.1%	19
East Peralta	Asian; Hispanic/Latinx	11.1%	13
Eastmont	Hispanic/Latinx; Black	27.1%	19
Frick	Black; Hispanic/Latinx	16.5%	19-20
Fruitvale	Hispanic/Latinx	8.1%	15
Merritt	Hispanic/Latinx; White; Asian	5.7%	11
Reservoir Hill	Black	13.2%	13
Sobrante Park	Black; Hispanic/Latinx	28.0%	18
City of Oakland	Black; White; Hispanic/Latinx	36.0%	–

Notes: NSP2's Foreclosure Abandonment Risk Score has a range of 1-20. Foreclosure rate was calculated by dividing neighborhoods' foreclosure count (2007-2011) by its 2013 residential parcel count.

Sources: HUD Neighborhood Stabilization Program 2009; Oakland Open Data Portal 2020; Just Cities 2020.

- **The foreclosure crisis deeply impacted Black populations in almost every neighborhood**, as indicated by declines in the Black population, homeownership rate, and median household income (MHI) from 2000-2013 in 8 of the neighborhoods.
 - Foreclosure rates were highest in **Sobrante Park** (28.0%), **Eastmont** (27.1%), **Coliseum** (24.3%), **Durant** (24.1%), **Brookfield** (23.1%), **Frick** (16.5%), and **Reservoir Hill** (13.2%) all neighborhoods that were predominantly Black or Black and Latinx in 2000 and experienced a decrease in the Black population ranging from 20.7%-52.5% from 2000-2018.
 - The remaining 4 neighborhoods are predominantly Asian, Latinx or White, and had foreclosure rates ranging from 5.7%–11.1%.
- None of these ethnic enclaves fully recovered from the foreclosure crisis. **In most of the Black/African American ethnic enclaves, the Black population decline continued from 2013-2018** while new non-Black residents moved in.
 - For example, **Coliseum** in 2000 was a predominantly Black and Hispanic/Latinx neighborhood, with the Black population comprising 51% of the neighborhood. At the time, 41% of Black households were homeowners and the Black median household income (MHI) was \$44,000. By 2013, the

Black population in Coliseum had declined by 15% and Hispanic/Latinx residents became the most prominent racial group in the neighborhood. Also by 2013, the Black homeownership rate declined by 46%, down to 22%. The Black MHI also declined by 59% to \$18,000. By 2018, Coliseum's Black population declined another 7%, comprising only 33% of the neighborhood.

- **Similar impacts** of the foreclosure crisis on Black residents– characterized by declines in the Black population, homeownership rate, and MHI from 2000-2013– as well as Black population decline from 2013-2018, **occurred in Eastmont, Sobrante Park, Brookfield, Durant, Merritt, and Reservoir Hill.**
- There were similar impacts of the foreclosure crisis on Black residents in **Frick**, too. However, of the 7 neighborhoods that were predominantly Black in 2000, Frick is the only neighborhood where the Black population actually *increased* from 2013-2018 (by 7.5%). During that time there was an influx in Black renters. **By 2018, Frick was the only neighborhood of the 7 that remained predominantly Black.**

- **The foreclosure crisis also deeply impacted the Asian American population, particularly in predominantly Asian American neighborhoods.** Meanwhile, White residents steadily moved into these neighborhoods throughout 2000-2018.
 - For example, Asian American residents comprised 45% of **Clinton** residents in 2000, with White residents comprising 10%. At the time, 29% of Asian American households were homeowners and the Asian American MHI was \$37,000. By 2013, the Asian American population in Clinton had declined by 19%. Also by 2013, the Asian American homeownership rate declined by 48%, down to 15%. The Asian American MHI also declined by 29% to \$27,000. By 2018, Clinton's Asian American population had declined another 5%, comprising only 37% of the neighborhood. Meanwhile, wealthier White residents moved in (93% increase in population from 2000-2018). White MHI increased by 46%, from \$63,000 in 2000 to \$91,000 in 2018.

FINDING 7

Many of the East Oakland neighborhoods, especially the once Black/African American ethnic enclaves, are at higher risk for homelessness than citywide.

- Homelessness risk is prevalent among renters in all 11 neighborhoods, ranging from 12% of renters in **East Peralta** to 25% of renters in **Coliseum**, which speaks to the lasting impact of the foreclosure crisis and ongoing displacement across East Oakland.
- **7 of the 11 neighborhoods (Brookfield, Clinton, Coliseum, Eastmont, Merritt, and Sobrante Park) have higher homelessness risk rates than citywide**, where 14% of renters overall are at risk. Six of these neighborhoods were predominantly Black in 2000 and have since become predominantly Hispanic/Latinx and Black.
- For EOMAP neighborhoods, there is a wide range of homelessness risk. **Coliseum** (25%) and **Sobrante Park** (24%) have homelessness risk rates far above the citywide rate, while **Durant** (10%) and **Frick** (13%) have homelessness risk rates lower than the citywide rate.

Table 13. Homelessness Risk Rate (2018)

East Oakland Neighborhoods Homelessness Risk 2018												
	Brookfield	Clinton	Coliseum	Durant	Eastmont	East Peralta	Frick	Fruitvale	Merritt	Reservoir Hill	Sobrante	City of Oakland
Share of Renters at Risk for Homelessness	15.4%	18.1%	25.0%	9.6%	20.9%	12.1%	12.5%	13.5%	15.8%	16.6%	24.2%	14.2%

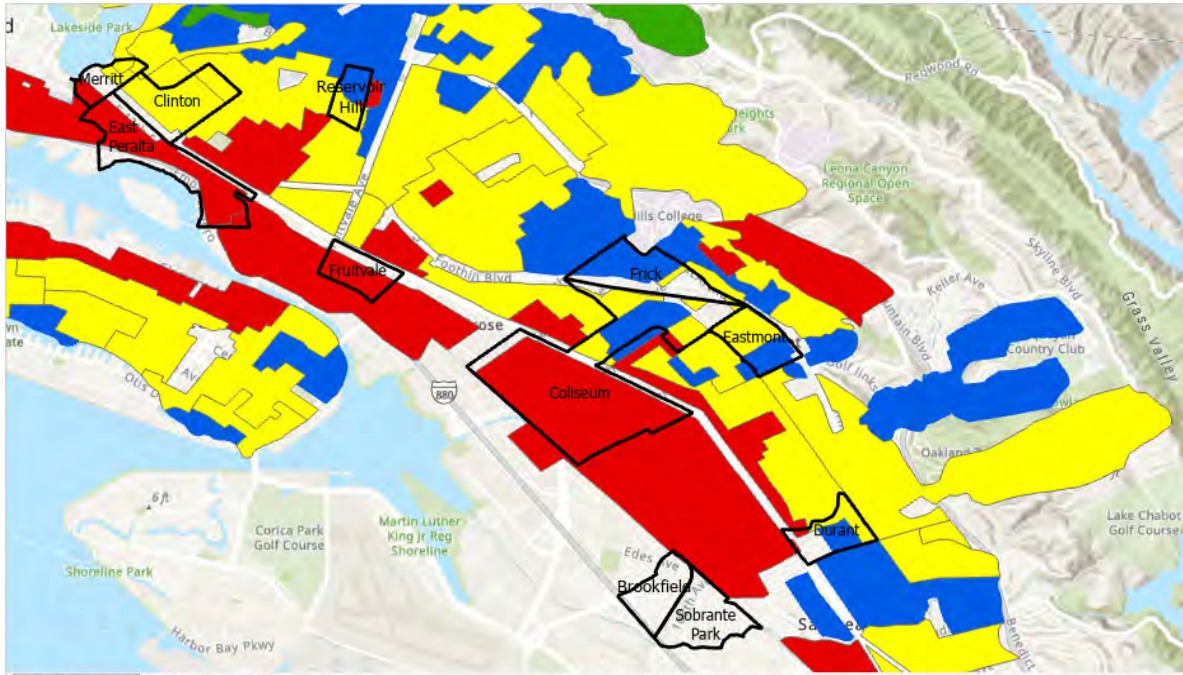
Note: Homelessness risk was defined by the neighborhood's share of renters who are severely rent burdened and either extremely low or very low income. "Severely Rent Burdened" is defined as households spending 50% or more of household income on rent. "Extremely Low Income" households are those with household incomes of less than \$10,000. "Very Low Income" households are those with household incomes between \$10,000 and \$19,999.
Sources: American Community Survey (2014-2018); Just Cities, 2020.

VII. RACIAL EQUITY HISTORICAL THROUGHLINE– HOW DID WE GET HERE?

There is a direct historical throughline connecting today's housing unaffordability and displacement across East Oakland to prior discriminatory planning policies and practices, such as redlining, government sponsored white flight, urban renewal, and predatory lending leading up to the foreclosure crisis. This summary provides insight into the ongoing impacts of these intentional policies and practices.

Many neighborhoods across the Bay Area, including in East Oakland, were originally developed with **racially restrictive housing covenants** during the 20th century, prohibiting the sale or lease of these properties by mainly **Asian and Black** residents.²⁵ Although many East Oakland neighborhoods were originally developed as exclusively White, by the 1930s, the practice of **redlining also became widespread across the country, in which neighborhoods with high populations of people of color, particularly Black people, were denied financial services by private and public lenders.**²⁶ Across the country, private developers, realtors, and homeowners alike were encouraged to write racially restrictive covenants into their deeds in order to prevent a neighborhood from being redlined.²⁷ East and West Oakland neighborhoods were among those severely redlined and left vulnerable to disinvestment as White residents fled to racially exclusive suburban developments.²⁸ Just Cities' analysis shows that neighborhoods across East Oakland were severely redlined, including **Clinton** (85.1% redlined), **Coliseum** (76%), **Fruitvale** (71%) and **East Peralta** (69%).

Figure 1. Redlining Map



Source: 1937 HOLC Oakland Redlining Map Shapefile: University of Richmond’s “Mapping Inequality” Project; Just Cities, 2020.

Table 14. Redlining Status by Neighborhood

Redlining Status by Neighborhood					
Neighborhood	A Rating	B Rating	C Rating	D Rating	Redlining Percentage (Percentage of Neighborhood with C+D Rating)
Brookfield	—	—	—	2%	2%
Clinton	N/A	N/A	85%	0.1%	85.1%
Coliseum	N/A	11%	13%	63%	76%
Durant	N/A	29%	35%	5%	40%
East Peralta	N/A	N/A	N/A	69%	69%
Eastmont	N/A	36%	58%	N/A	58%
Frick	N/A	54%	7%	N/A	7%
Fruitvale	N/A	N/A	N/A	71%	71%
Merritt	N/A	N/A	40%	26%	66%
Reservoir Hill	N/A	46%	51%	2%	53%
Sobrante Park	—	—	—	2%	2%

Source: 1937 HOLC Oakland Redlining Map Shapefile: University of Richmond’s “Mapping Inequality” Project; Just Cities, 2020.

Notes: Redlining status is defined by a “C” and “D” rating, which are the lowest ratings that could be given by the Federal Homeowner Loan Corporation.

As a result of the WWII industries in the 1940s, Oakland became a hub for economic opportunity and jobs, prompting migration from Black and African Americans from the South.²⁹ Just Cities' analysis shows that from 1940 to 1960, 9 out of 11 neighborhoods experienced an influx of Black and African American populations, with the most in **Brookfield and Sobrante Park** where Black and African Americans already made up 80.9% of the neighborhood population by 1960. Although population data was not disaggregated by Hispanic origin yet, in 1960, 28.4% of Fruitvale's population had a Spanish surname.

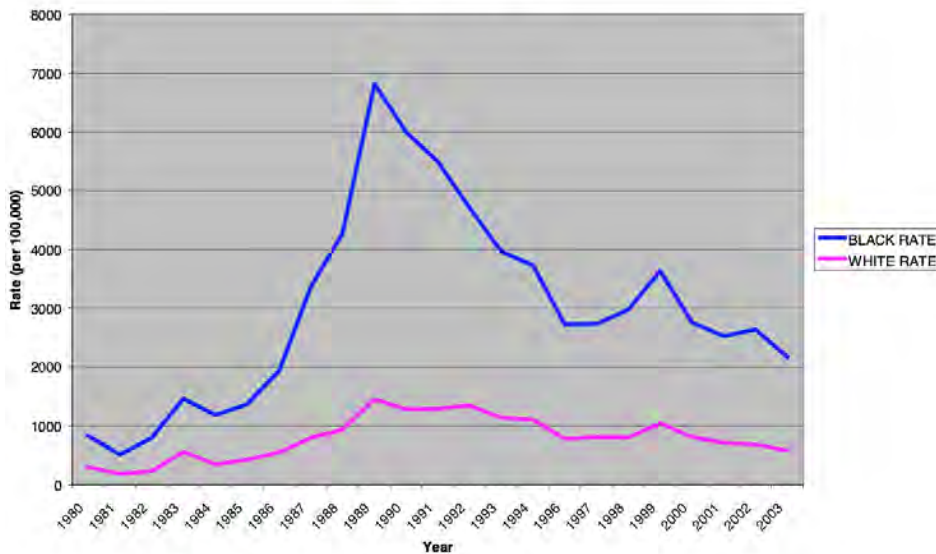
Following WWII, policies such as the GI Bill incentivized returning White veterans to move and settle their families into suburbs by providing low interest mortgages and loans that made homeownership accessible.³⁰ These same **financial incentives were denied to veterans of color, and discriminatory practices such as redlining and racial covenants continued in suburbs, inhibiting people of color from accessing housing in these new developments.**³¹ This White Flight intensified racial and economic disparity in cities.

As part of **White Flight**, from 1970 to 2000, Just Cities' analysis shows that all selected neighborhoods experienced a steep decline in White populations. From 1980 to 2000, all neighborhoods experienced an increase in Asian and Hispanic or Latinx populations. By 1980, in 10 of the 11 selected neighborhoods, Whites were no longer the largest racial group.

Communities of color in West and East Oakland became targets of Urban Renewal and transportation developments such as freeways that served to connect residents of the newly developed suburbs.³² Years of construction physically divided communities and displaced residents and businesses, further weakening the community infrastructure.³³ Neighborhoods experienced disinvestment from government institutions that failed to provide the health, education, and economic services the people needed to thrive.

The crack epidemic and crime waves of the 1980s and 1990s and mass incarceration policies devastated East Oakland residents and communities. Between 1985-2000, Oakland had the 7th highest crack cocaine level in United States cities.³⁴ At the national level, from 1980-2003, the drug offense arrest rate for African Americans was 238% higher than for Whites, making an African American person 3.4 times more likely to be arrested for a drug offense compared to a White person.³⁵ The Black/White ratio of drug arrests in Oakland was 2.84 in 1980, and by 2003, Black people were arrested for drug offenses 3.75 times more than White people.

Figure 2. Drug Arrest Rate by Race in the City of Oakland, 1980-2003

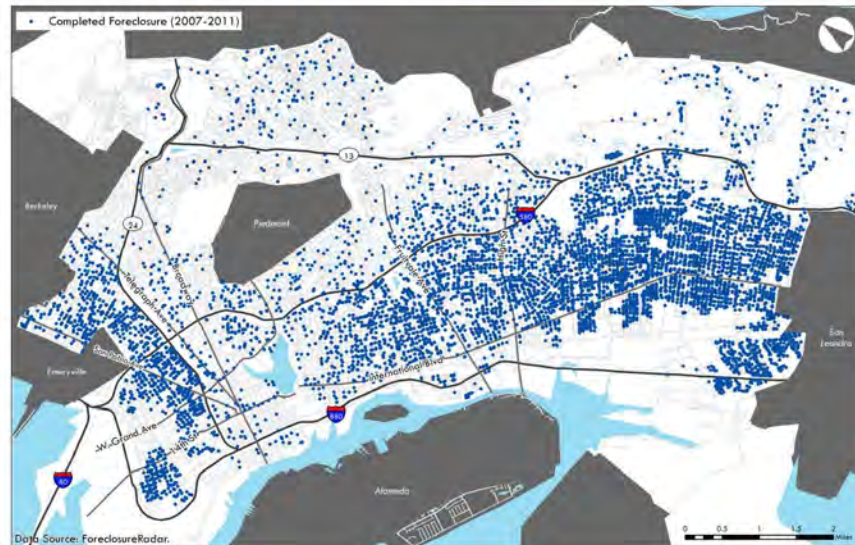


Source: The Sentencing Project, *Disparity By Geography: The War on Drugs in America's Cities*.³⁶

Long time residents in East Oakland survived redlining and financial discrimination, public and private disinvestment, under-resourced public schools, crumbling streets and blight, the crack epidemic, and continued to take care of one another and build community. These decades of community building and care were wiped out by predatory lending practices and policies that research and evidence, including from the Oakland City Attorney's office, showed intentionally targeted people of color for subprime mortgages.³⁷

From 2007 to 2011, there were over 11,000 foreclosures in Oakland--these foreclosures were concentrated in the low-income flatland neighborhoods of East and West Oakland. The first wave of foreclosures in Oakland targeted mainly first-time homebuyers, some of whom may not have been able to sustain homeownership.³⁸ The second wave targeted long-time homeowners, including elderly residents who had taken out second mortgages or home equity lines of credit to fix aging homes or to assist family members. The targeted predatory lending policies and practices that resulted in great numbers of foreclosures and harm to individuals, families, and neighborhoods also created the structure for today's racial and geographic displacement and homelessness crises.

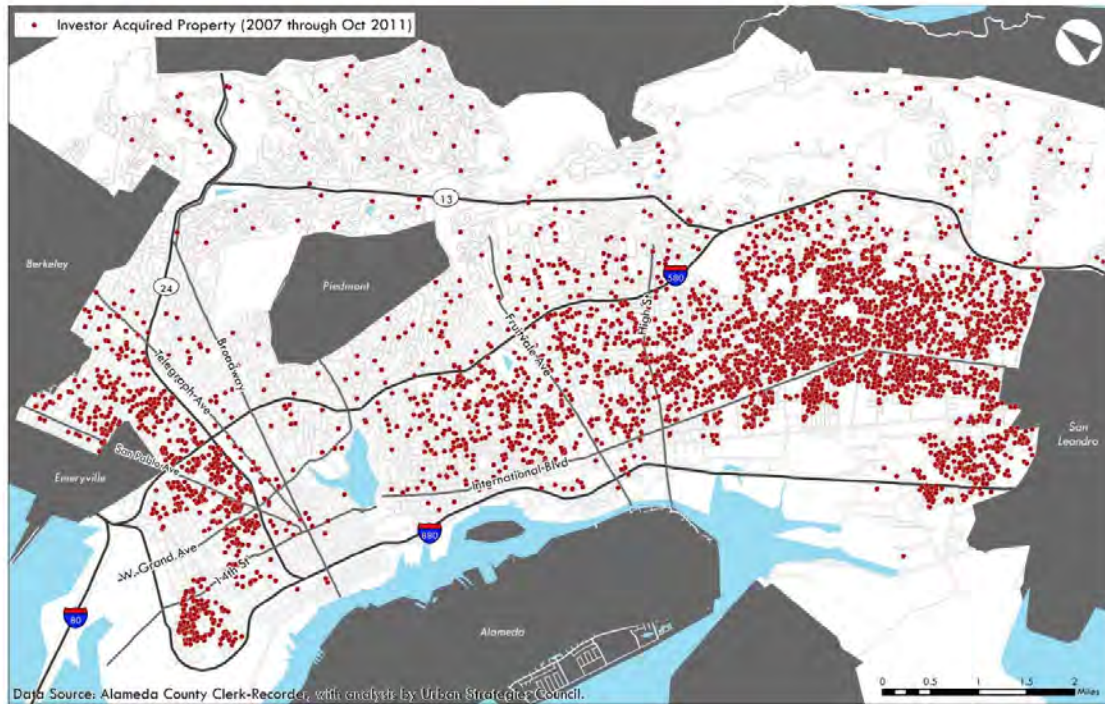
Figure 3. Completed Foreclosures in the City of Oakland, 2007-2011



Source: Urban Strategies Council, *Who Owns Your Neighborhood? The Role of Investors in Post-Foreclosure Oakland*.

The targeting of Black neighborhoods for subprime mortgages and predatory lending practices leading up to the foreclosure crisis made East Oakland especially vulnerable to the acquisition of foreclosed homes by investors. 93% of investor-acquired foreclosed properties were located in low-income, flatland neighborhoods of Oakland, which were specifically targeted by predatory lenders leading up to the foreclosure crisis.³⁹

Figure 4. Investor-Acquired Foreclosures in the City of Oakland 2007- Oct. 2011



Source: Urban Strategies Council, *Who Owns Your Neighborhood? The Role of Investors in Post-Foreclosure Oakland*.

Once investors bought up and rented out many of the defaulted and foreclosed properties in flatland East Oakland, what was once affordable homeownership for lower and moderate-income families transformed overnight into market rate rental housing units with no rent protections available. Under the State Costa Hawkins law, cities in California are unable to attach rent protections to certain types of properties, including single family homes. This is a major factor for escalating rent and home prices in these neighborhoods. Just Cities' analysis shows that in 7 of the 11 neighborhoods, the median renter household income declined by 3.9%-31.5% from 2000 to 2018, while rents increased by 46.9%-89.1%. In all of the 11 neighborhoods, renters making the median renter household income would need to pay an estimated 57.6%-142.6% of their income to afford the median rents!

The direct connection between today's racial displacement and yesterday's foreclosure crisis is found in analyzing the neighborhoods that were predominantly Black and Asian in 2000: Brookfield, Coliseum, Clinton, Durant, East Peralta, Eastmont, Frick, Reservoir Hill, and Sobrante Park. In these 9 neighborhoods, the predominant racial group of Black or Asian in 2000 had all declined by 2018. These 9 neighborhoods all had the highest foreclosure rates of the 11 neighborhoods. By 2018, the White population had dramatically increased in these 9 neighborhoods, by over 25%, most likely in part due to investors flipping or renting formerly defaulted/foreclosed properties.

In the 11 East Oakland neighborhoods, home values increased by 120%-189% between 2011 and 2018, compared to the citywide increase of 113%. Additionally, there were large declines in the Black homeownership rate from 2000-2018 in neighborhoods that were predominantly Black in 2000, such as **Coliseum** (-36.3%), **Brookfield** (-27.4%), **Frick** (-24.6%), **Durant** (-18.1%), **Eastmont** (-15.9%) and **Sobrante Park** (-9.2%). Except for **Durant**, all of these neighborhoods also saw a decline in Black median household income from 2000-2018. This rise in home values, and decline in income for the Black population, essentially locks communities out of future homeownership opportunities.

Without the safety net of homeownership, renters are at the whim of rent increases, housing unaffordability and other factors that influence one's risk of experiencing homelessness. Homelessness risk is prevalent among renters in all 11 neighborhoods, ranging from 12% of renters in **East Peralta** to 25% of renters in Coliseum, which speaks to the lasting impact of the foreclosure crisis and ongoing displacement across East Oakland.

Regional displacement, along with the foreclosure crisis, has exacerbated renters' vulnerability to experiencing homelessness. When people lose their homes or experience severe financial burden, they will likely turn to their family, friends, and wider community for support to meet their basic needs. For instance, churches and other institutions often provide a safety net for vulnerable community members by arranging informal living arrangements between patrons. A homeowner may take in a family friend who can no longer afford to pay their rent. However, as displacement has ravaged ethnic enclaves and forced long-term residents out of their neighborhoods, many social networks of support have altered or crumbled, leaving low income, severely rent burdened populations with nowhere to go. The erosion of social networks of support by the forces of displacement highlights the severe implications of displacement on communities' overall vulnerability, which includes homelessness risk, as well as the inability to quantify the full impact of this relationship.

The combination of redlining, racial housing covenants, and White flight restricted East Oakland residents' mobility, and locked entire neighborhoods out of financial opportunities-- both at the individual level in accessing financial services, and at the neighborhood level, where severe disinvestment occurred. The racialized foreclosure crisis then disrupted community networks by displacing longtime residents of color, and paving the way for regional displacement and increased homelessness risk. Intentional and discriminatory planning policies and practice have caused immense harm to East Oakland and its residents. This requires that moving forward, policy and planning in East Oakland must prevent and repair harm and injustice.

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