

Moderating Gentrification in the Harrison Neighborhood of North Minneapolis

MPP/MURP Professional Paper

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Section 1: History of Harrison and Future Developments

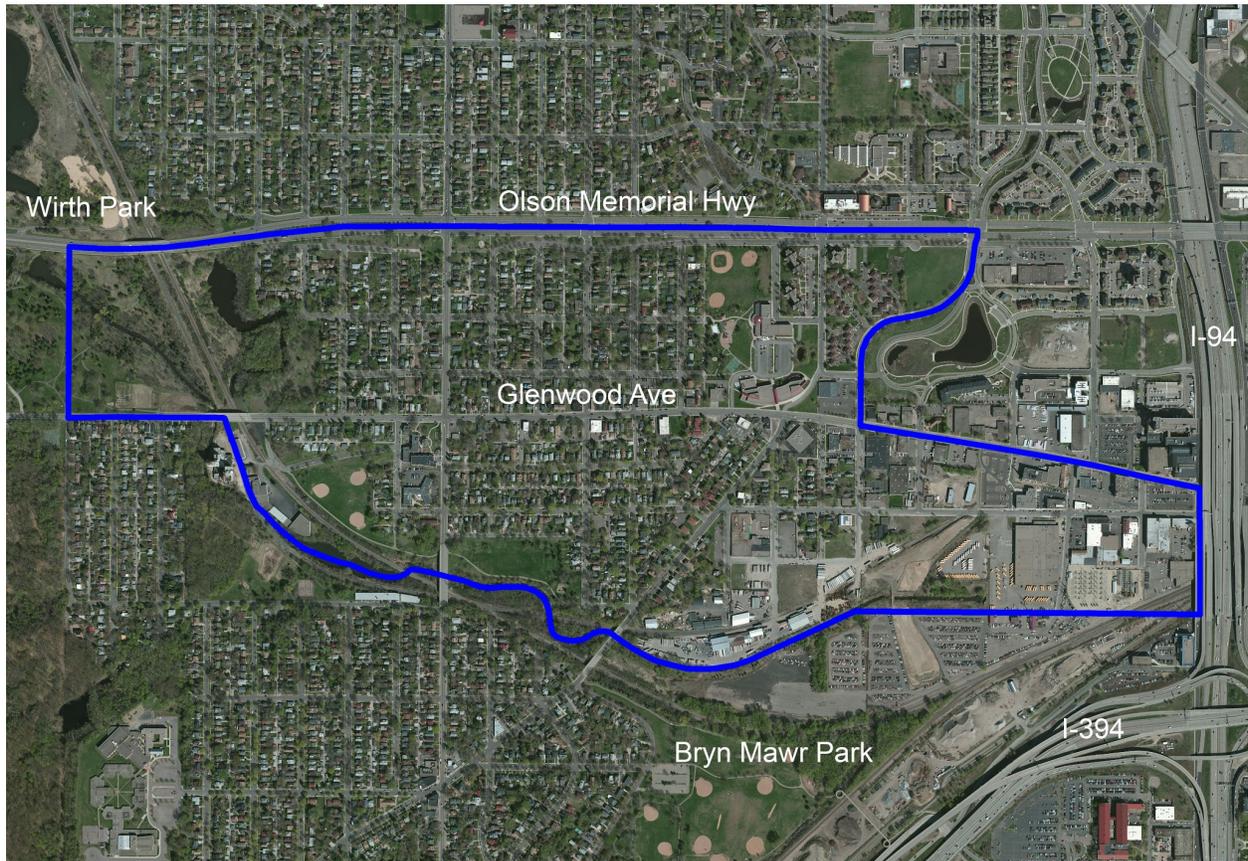
The Harrison neighborhood sits adjacent to the western edge of downtown Minneapolis and is located within the larger Near North community. Bordered by Interstate 94 to the east, Olson Memorial Highway to the north, Theodore Wirth Park to the west, and Bassett's Creek to the south, Harrison is clearly demarcated from its surrounding neighborhoods (City of Minneapolis, 2011). Those who call the neighborhood home have a long history of facing discrimination, including the pre-WWII wave of Jewish residents. After WWII, with anti-Semitism waning, many of these Jewish residents chose to migrate from Harrison into other parts of the city and the suburbs. As is the case with much of North Minneapolis, the racist housing policies of the 1950s resulted in people of color, particularly African-Americans, becoming the majority of residents in the Harrison neighborhood. In the past few decades, Harrison has also become home to immigrants. In the 1980s and 1990s, this was mostly Hmong and Lao immigrants, while Latino and Somali immigrants have come to Harrison more recently (HNA). Along with a non-Hispanic White population accounting for slightly less than one-third of the neighborhood's population, diversity exists as a prominent characteristic of Harrison.



Today, Harrison is home to mostly low- and moderate-income residents and people of color; however, due to its close proximity to downtown and a number of pending developments, Harrison is experiencing gentrification pressures that might lead to upward pressure on housing prices that could threaten the affordability of Harrison for

its current residents. Expansion of transit infrastructure, especially light rail expansion, exerts one of the primary gentrification pressures. Two projects in particular could substantially affect the neighborhood: the proposed Bottineau Transitway (METRO Blue Line expansion) and the Southwest LRT (Metro Green Line expansion). The proposed Bottineau Transitway would extend the METRO Blue line to the northwest from Target Field Station in Minneapolis through Golden Valley, Robbinsdale, Crystal and Brooklyn Park. Heavy construction on the project is anticipated to begin in 2018 and passenger service is anticipated to begin in 2021. The Southwest LRT project will extend the METRO Green Line from downtown Minneapolis through St. Louis Park, Hopkins, Minnetonka and Eden Prairie. Heavy construction on the Green Line extension is scheduled to begin in 2017 and passenger service is scheduled to begin in 2020 (Metropolitan Council). Both projects include at least one stop on the borders of Harrison, potentially increasing the community's connectedness to jobs throughout the metro area. The question remains whether the current residents of Harrison will be the primary beneficiaries of this investment in the neighborhood.

Section 2: Neighborhood Characteristics



The neighborhood of Harrison stands apart from its surrounding communities. To the south lies the Bryn Mawr neighborhood, which skews toward an older non-Hispanic White population with a housing stock of mostly detached single-family homes.¹ Bryn Mawr experiences low levels of poverty, and half of its households make an annual income over \$100,000. The neighborhoods of Near North and Willard-Hay are situated to the north of Harrison. Both of these communities contain a sizeable Asian population, with Willard-Hay having a predominantly Black or African-American racial makeup. Economically, the average resident is similar in these neighborhoods to the average Harrison resident; however, Near North and Willard-Hay are more likely to be home to high-income earners. To the west, the downtown North Loop neighborhood contains a predominantly White population that lives mostly in large multi-family buildings. Like

¹ Unless stated otherwise, demographic statistics are based on the 2010-2014 American Community Survey

Bryn Mawr, the North Loop has few residents living below the poverty line and a median household income over \$100,000. Finally, the Sumner-Glenwood neighborhood is located adjacent to the northeast corner of Harrison. Sumner-Glenwood, previously the site of four public housing developments, now acts as home to the mixed-income Heritage Park development, built with HOPE VI funds. Two-thirds of households in Sumner-Glenwood are below the poverty line. The racial mix of this community is three-fourths Black or African-American, with the rest predominantly Hispanic. Most of the housing stock is in multifamily buildings.

Demographics

While the previous paragraph highlights the ways in which the surrounding community differs from Harrison, it is important to understand Harrison itself. The following are key characteristics and trends of the Harrison neighborhood:

Subject	Harrison (Census Tract 1041)		
	2000 Census	2010-2014 ACS	Change
Total Population	4,156	3,352	-804
Non-Hispanic Black or African-American	38.7%	41.3%	+2.6%
Non-Hispanic White	22.5%	32.7%	+10.2%
Hispanic	5.1%	13.5%	+8.4%
Asian	26.8%	5.1%	-21.7%
Total Housing Units	1,331	1,446	+115
Average Persons per Household	3.07	2.39	-0.68

Source: U.S. Census Bureau

- Harrison has a diverse racial population and this racial integration shows evidence of stability. Since 2000, the percentage of non-Hispanic Whites in Harrison has increased, while the share of non-Hispanic Blacks has remained stable and the share of Hispanics has increased.
- The large Asian population (1,114 residents) from the 2000 Census has virtually disappeared (171 residents).

- These lost residents have mostly not been replaced, leading to a 20% decline in Harrison’s total population between the 2000 Census and the 2010-2014 5-year American Community Survey.
- Due to a doubling of the small Hispanic population in this time, from approximately 200 residents to approximately 400 residents, Harrison has avoided an even more drastic loss to its total population.

Subject	2010-2014 American Community Survey	
	Harrison	Minneapolis
Ratio of Children to Working Age	42.8	28.1
Ratio of Elderly to Working Age	9.5	11.9
Males per 100 Females	74.6	101.6
Bachelors Degree or Higher	17.9%	47.0%
Population Below Poverty Level	43.3%	22.6%
Median Household Income	\$29,239	\$50,767
Owner-occupied Housing Units	28.0%	48.6%
Renter-occupied Housing Units	72.0%	51.4%
Source: U.S. Census Bureau		

- Relative to Harrison’s working age population (18-64), there are a large number of children (under 18) in the neighborhood. In Harrison, the child population is over 40% the size of the working age population. The proportion of residents over the age of 65 in Harrison (9.5% the size of the working age population) mirrors that of the broader Minneapolis city.
- The economic characteristics of Harrison suggest most residents have low current and prospective incomes: nearly half of Harrison residents are below the poverty line, the median household income is less than 60% the city-wide median income, and only 17.9% of Harrison adults have a bachelor’s degree or higher in a city where 47% of adults are college educated. To the extent a college education leads to higher-income jobs, the residents of Harrison are at a disadvantage in the labor market.

Subject	2010-2014 American Community Survey	
	Harrison	Minneapolis
Total Housing Units	1,446	180,737
Single-unit, detached	35.6%	44.4%
Single-unit, attached	5.9%	4.0%
2-unit	22.3%	8.9%
3-unit to 19-unit	21.5%	16.1%
20+ units	14.7%	26.4%
Single bedroom	25.9%	25.7%
Two bedroom	35.5%	29.8%
Three bedroom	22.1%	26.0%
Four or more bedrooms	15.2%	12.9%

Source: U.S. Census Bureau

- Fitting of a diverse neighborhood, the housing mix in Harrison offers a suitable quantity of housing types for a wide range of needs.

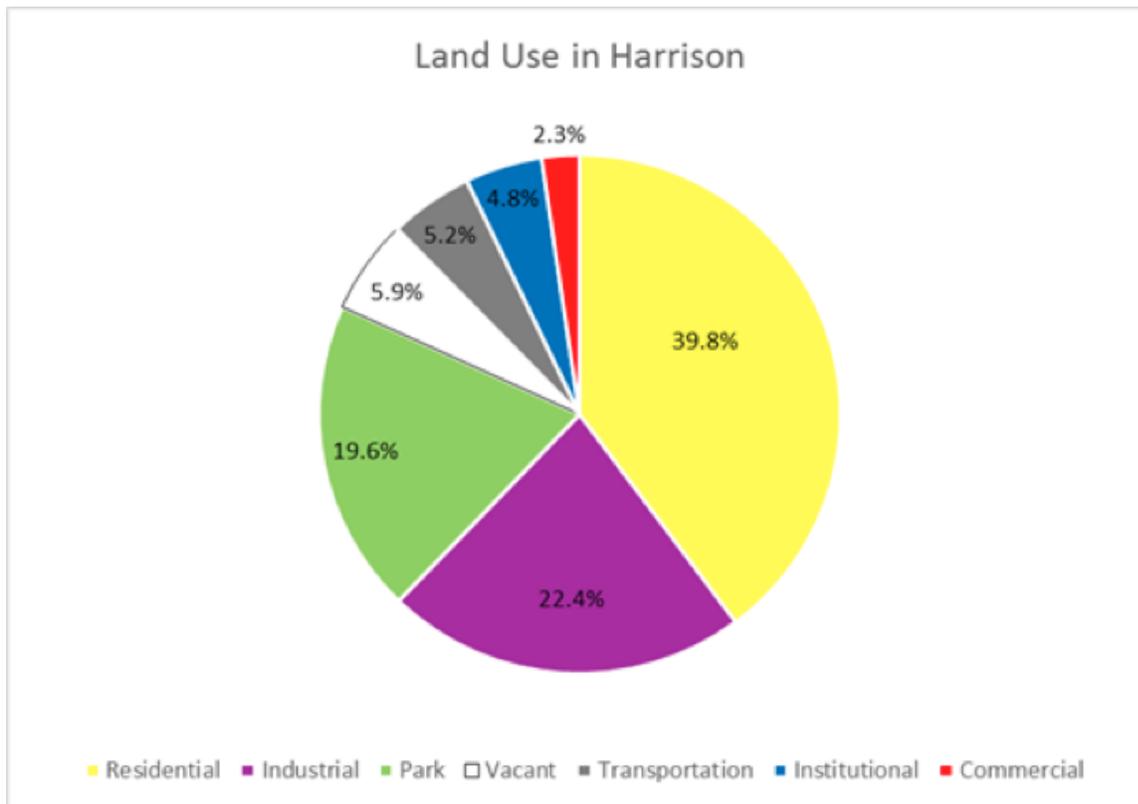
Land Use and Zoning



Harrison, like most Minneapolis neighborhoods, covers a relatively small geographic area: approximately 364 acres (0.57 square miles). The plurality of this land is residential, with industrial and park space constituting the next two largest categories (see Figure A below). This large quantity of industrial land provides an excellent opportunity for the neighborhood, as industrial zoning has perhaps the most lenient restrictions on use. This allows the land to be used for a wide variety of developments.

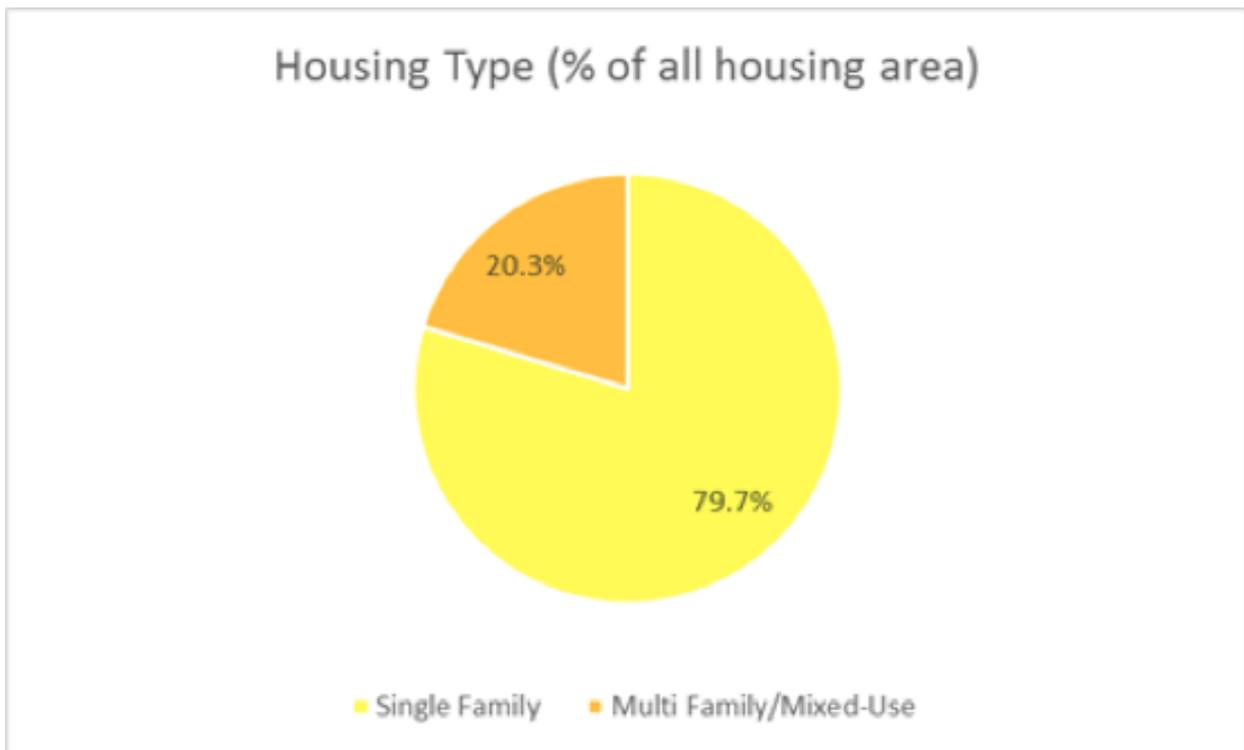
The substantial portion of land devoted to parks affords Harrison a significant natural amenity. Few neighborhoods in the city of Minneapolis have such a high proportion of park space. Theodore Wirth Regional Park (adjacent to the neighborhood in the city of Golden Valley) in particular acts as a major regional attraction, with excellent hiking and biking trails, lake beaches, and picnic areas.

Figure A



As for the residential land in Harrison, the vast majority contains single-family homes (see Figure B below). Single-family properties provide relatively little opportunity for increasing density and affordability. This represents a potentially significant restraint on the future population of the neighborhood, as any new development would need to be of single-family homes, which accommodate fewer people and are generally less affordable to low-income residents.

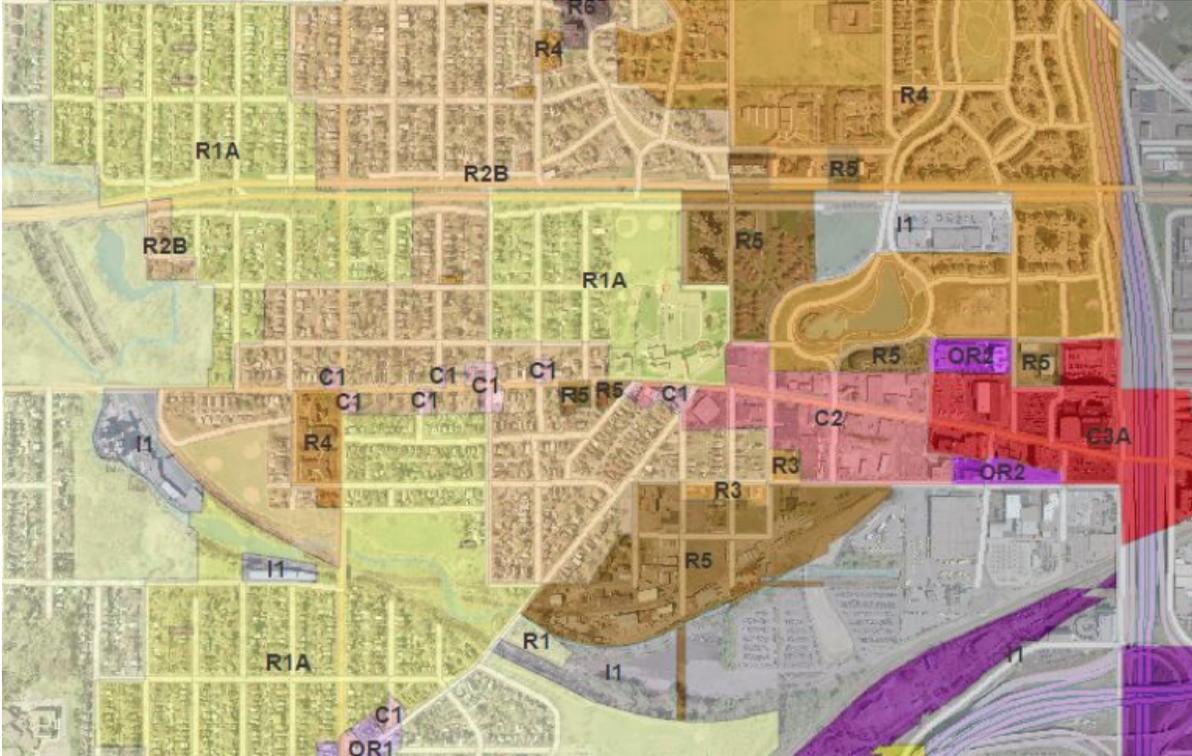
Figure B



It should be noted that existing land use does not necessarily reflect the official zoning of an area, as can be seen in the below map (Figure C). For example, a portion of the area currently zoned as high-density residential (R5) in the southern portion of Harrison is currently used as industrial land, not as housing. The residential land in Harrison primarily has zone designations R1A (low-density single-family homes) or R2B (single-family or two-family housing). This zoning represents a barrier to the construction of additional affordable housing, which typically must be larger multi-family developments.

These types of larger developments are able to achieve affordability through efficiency of scale.

Figure C



Section 3: Vision for the Future of Harrison

Redeemer Center for Life's mission is to act as an agent of hope and transformation to preserve a vibrant community in the Harrison neighborhood of North Minneapolis. As such, Redeemer Center for Life seeks to moderate gentrification in the Harrison neighborhood and provide affordable housing options in Harrison to current residents. This will permit the long-term residents of Harrison to remain in the neighborhood. The hope is that moderating gentrification will allow current residents, specifically low-income residents and residents of color, to benefit from the increased housing and transportation investments ongoing in and around Harrison. Ultimately, Redeemer envisions Harrison as a strong, vibrant, multicultural, and mixed-income community, rather than a community of concentrated wealth that fails to invest in its most vulnerable residents.

Harrison's close proximity to the high-income neighborhoods of Bryn Mawr and the North Loop make the community a likely location for future gentrification. Due to the arrival of higher-income residents, an increase in housing prices will likely follow, potentially forcing the current, lower-income Harrison residents from their neighborhood (Guerrieri et al, 2013). The question being asked by Redeemer Center for Life is whether or not Harrison can act to moderate this displacement and become one of the few neighborhoods in the Twin Cities and the United States to host housing and amenities in perpetuity for a socioeconomically and racially diverse mix of people (see Section 4 for case studies of successful neighborhoods).

Redeemer Center for Life's vision for the Harrison neighborhood can be broken down into the following core components:

1. Affordable housing options for all income levels
2. Job opportunities within the community and for the community
3. Effective and efficient transportation options for everyone
4. A thriving business district that is accessible to all Harrison residents

Through its congregation, Redeemer represents a large portion of the Harrison population. Through that representation, they have created this strong and cohesive vision; therefore, future actions must focus on developing strategies to push this vision toward becoming a reality. In the next section, recommendations are presented that are likely to have a high potential impact. Each recommendation serves as a step toward addressing the core components of Redeemer's vision and, thus, the ultimate achievement of this vision.

Section 4: Neighborhood Case Studies

Case Study #1: Frogtown

The St. Paul neighborhood of Frogtown is located on the north side of University Avenue, between Lexington Avenue and I35-E. The residents form a diverse racial mix with 34% Asian, 30% Black, 21% White and 10% Hispanic. With 61% of households renter-occupied, construction of the Central Corridor Light Rail created substantial apprehension that it would bring about significant gentrification in the area via rising rents and new development (Minnesota Compass). To this point, however, Frogtown appears to have successfully mitigated these anticipated drawbacks.

Organizations such as the Frogtown Neighborhood Association have been largely responsible for this success. They have spearheaded various initiatives aimed at giving the community a voice and bringing people together. Some of the Association's initiatives have included the following:

- **WFNU 94.1 FM Frogtown Community Radio:** A local, community-owned radio station based out of Frogtown providing a space for conversation among their diverse population.
- **Creative Thinkers:** A movement amongst Frogtown Artists, uplifting the community through art-based initiatives that utilize art to engage and enlighten their community.
- **Lot Squats:** Events held regularly at different vacant lots within Frogtown to facilitate conversation around what these lots could be and how the community could reclaim these spaces.
- **SMAPL:** A 10-year vision built by and for the community that involves housing, transportation, quality of life issues and the arts.

- Preserve Frogtown: An LLC that has purchased its first home with plans to rehabilitate it and sell to a Frogtown resident this summer. They intend to expand this program as a means for engaging the community in ongoing development and preserving existing homeownership in the area (Frogtown Neighborhood Association).

Frogtown/Rondo Home Fund (FRHF) has also largely contributed toward Frogtown's success in mitigating gentrification. FRHF is a coalition organization made up of more than 30 partners. It was formed in 2013 to monitor and increase housing stability in the area, as the Central Corridor was moving in. FRHF has approached this through a variety of strategies, some of which include the following:

- Housing Investment Focus Areas: A strategy that guides development in block-scale areas in the hopes of making improvements in the neighborhoods without sacrificing their identity. This is done through targeting areas of four to eight blocks, then employing place-making techniques to engage residents, improve existing housing, monitor rental housing and prioritize bringing vacant homes and lots to occupancy. This strategy has been impactful to this point, resulting in a 65% reduction in bank-owned properties, a 3% reduction in vacant properties and \$45,000 in awards for resident engagement (Frogtown Rondo Home Fund).
- Housing Justice Project: Because of rental statistics in the neighborhood, FRHF has partnered with other organizations to assure that tenants understand their rights, have means for exercising them and avoid displacement due to the poor condition of their housing.
- Strategic Opportunity Fund: A grant program investing in opportunities that evolve naturally through the work of the neighborhood and may not otherwise be funded (Frogtown Rondo Home Fund).

While not identical, Frogtown shares many similarities with Harrison: a racially diverse population, a majority of renters, and light rail expansion that increases gentrification pressures. The partnerships and creative means of engaging, retaining and solidifying the Frogtown community are certainly efforts for Harrison to consider as it experiences similar types of development and exposure.

***Case Study #2: Stable Racially Integrated Chicago Neighborhoods of
Rogers Park, Edgewater, Uptown, and Chicago Lawn***

This section discusses the experiences of four Chicago neighborhoods that, as of the late 1990s, had been stable racially integrated neighborhoods for at least two decades. In a city such as Chicago, with a long history of racial intolerance and segregation, this was no small feat. Three of these four neighborhoods have managed to maintain their racial integration to the present day, while Chicago Lawn saw its White population almost completely fade away. The success of Rogers Park, Edgewater, and Uptown shows that institutions and individual actors can intervene to prevent the displacement of lower-income and minority residents and/or the flight of White residents. In other words, integrated neighborhoods like Harrison can remain stable over the long-term.

Rogers Park

Rogers Park is a middle class neighborhood of renters. With a White population of nearly 75% in 1980, Rogers Park has experienced large in-migration of Blacks and Hispanics. Today, the White population sits around 40% with Blacks and Hispanics each making up 25% of the population. This demographic mix has been stable since at least 1990. Despite this stability, residents of different races “probably coexist fairly well, but then there’s not as much mixing together as one might think” (Nyden, p. 138). The dynamics of this racial flow have been one of an aging White population remaining in the neighborhood as younger Black and Hispanic families moved into Rogers Park.

The presence of community-based organizations that facilitate cooperation across the diverse residents stands as a particular strength of Rogers Park. Further, religious institutions play a key factor in this process of collective problem solving in the face of racial and economic diversity. For example, Rogers Park Baptist Church, established in 1891, states that “as Rogers Park has changed, so has Rogers Park Baptist Church... [into] an ethnically diverse congregation with a rich mosaic of people” (Rogers Park Baptist Church). Their shared faith unites otherwise different people.

In addition, the housing units within Rogers Park are quite uniformly distributed across number of units. This mix of housing unit types allows for greater choice, which is fitting for a neighborhood with diverse needs. As will be seen with the other Chicago neighborhoods, maintaining a diverse population requires that residents can find suitable housing for their specific stage in life.

Edgewater

In 1970, the Edgewater neighborhood was 94% White. Despite welcoming a diverse population into the neighborhood over the past several decades, Edgewater has experienced slightly less “White flight” than other Chicago neighborhoods. Today, approximately half of the residents are White, while the rest of the residents are a relatively even distribution of Black, Hispanic, and Asian. The neighborhood of Edgewater contains three distinct areas, denoted by the housing types constructed in the mid-1900s: “the high-rise apartments and condos on Sheridan; the multifamily and mid rise apartment complexes along the Winthrop-Kenmore corridor, including many subsidized housing units; and single-family homes west of Broadway” (Nyden, p. 139). While this mix does help to meet the needs of a diverse population, the geographic segregation represents a class divide.

Like in Rogers Park, community organizations have taken a leading role in representing the interests of the minority populations in the neighborhood, as well as helping to prevent gentrification. Specifically, these groups work to bring and maintain affordable

housing in Edgewater. A notable anti-gentrification initiative identified undesirable owners, managers and buildings in the neighborhood. The bad owners and managers were removed, while 30 abandoned buildings were rehabilitated for low- and moderate-income occupancy. The presence of affordable housing in the neighborhood has helped “spur economic development across the board” and “attracted market-rate development” (Nyden, p. 142).

Uptown

Similarly to Edgewater, Uptown’s White population in 1960 was a staggering 95%. By 1990, the proportions of Whites, Blacks, Hispanics, and Asians were nearly equivalently split. Over the next two decades, there was a return of Whites that partially replaced the Hispanic population; however, Uptown remains racially diverse with each of the minority populations still representing greater than 10% of the neighborhood. Clearly, this increase in minority populations did not inevitably lead to substantial “White flight”, as “Uptown’s loss of White residents during the 1980s mirrors that of the city and came nowhere near the degree” seen elsewhere in Chicago (Nyden, p. 144). Further, most of the “White flight” that was experienced proved to be temporary.

Further paralleling Edgewater, the housing mix of Uptown has a history of geographically segregating the neighborhood by class. Pre-WWII, there were “mansions near the lake, apartment buildings east of Broadway, and more inconspicuous single-family homes and three-flat buildings located west of Broadway.” This mix was slightly altered by the housing shortage of WWII necessitating a shift from single-family to multi-family units, but this geographic economic segregation still remains a trait of Uptown. Thus, even Chicago’s “most stable diverse community” experiences marked internal segregation (Nyden, p. 144).

Similar to Rogers Park and Edgewater, Uptown largely owes its maintained diversity to a strong presence of community groups and activists. One important movement within Uptown was a resistance against landlords paying back HUD mortgages (which come

with rent restrictions) early and shifting an affordable unit to a market-rate unit. In one instance, a high-rise building was bought by an organized group of tenants. In three other instances, Community Economic Development Corporations (CEDC) mobilized to buy the building from the landlord. In yet another instance, a landlord chose to cooperate with tenants to preserve the units as affordable, rather than face community backlash. In total 1,318 affordable units were saved through tenant-led efforts (Nyden, p. 147). Partially due to this tenant-led movement to save affordable housing, the Uptown neighborhood has a diverse housing stock in terms of the number of units in a building and the income level served. This allows for the diverse population of Uptown to find suitable housing throughout different life stages without it being necessary to leave the Uptown community.

Chicago Lawn

While the three Chicago neighborhoods discussed above have remained racially integrated for decades, Chicago Lawn has had a very different experience. The portion of White residents fell from 99.9 percent in 1960 to only 43 percent in 1990, as Black and Hispanic persons moved into Chicago Lawn at very high rates. This declining trend continued, and today less than 5 percent of residents are White.

Unlike the northern lakefront neighborhoods of Rogers Park, Edgewater, and Uptown, Chicago Lawn is situated in the southwestern corner of Chicago near low-income and African-American neighborhoods. The history of Chicago Lawn is one of racial intolerance and violent opposition to integration (Nyden, p. 148). As the demographics of Chicago Lawn transitioned toward those of its surroundings, residents presumably began to fear their home values were in danger of falling and, more generally, that the neighborhood was destined to suffer from the ills White residents perceived in the surrounding African-American communities. As a result, the neighborhood experienced “White flight” to a considerably greater degree than the other case study neighborhoods.

The housing stock of Chicago Lawn also sets it apart from the lakefront neighborhoods. While the lakefront communities provide a diverse housing mix for a diverse population, Chicago Lawn does not. Its homes are mostly single-family detached units with a few small multifamily structures. Thus, this community does not facilitate a wide range of housing needs. This lack of housing options was likely partially responsible for the near disappearance of White residents in Chicago Lawn. As White residents aged out of needing a single-family home, the option to downsize or move into assisted living did not exist within the community. As these persons were forced to leave Chicago Lawn, their affordable homes turned over to incoming Black and Hispanic families. Further, Chicago Lawn has historically had higher ownership rates than the lakefront neighborhoods (Nyden, p. 150). Thus, the fears of falling home values were likely more visceral to the residents of Chicago Lawn, leading more affluent families to get out whenever possible.

One of the major community organizations in Chicago Lawn during the 1990s was the Southwest Catholic Cluster Projects (SWCCP). SWCCP supported community organizations to “become active participants in an effort to achieve an economically stable, open, long-term, multiracial community in Southwest Chicago” (Nyden, p. 150-151). In the mid-1990s, the SWCCP became the Southwest Organizing Project (SWOP), seeking to build a broad-based organization of churches, mosques, schools, and other institutions in Southwest Chicago, which will enable families to exercise common values, determine their own future and connect with each other to improve life in their neighborhoods (SWOP).

SWOP leaders have done this through “building relationships across racial, ethnic and faith differences and to bringing the common concerns of their institutions into the public life of the community as they act to ‘stand for the whole’.” They are successful at building common bonds by appealing to “justice values” that are universally taught and shared across religions. This accumulation of relationships provide SWOP with the power to better achieve its goals in the community, which include a wide range of

issues, such as crime reduction, lending practices, immigrant rights, and school mentoring. To this end, SWOP is also active in training additional leaders.

Case Study #3: Sherman Park/Common Ground

The Sherman Park neighborhood lies within the predominantly Black North Side of Milwaukee. The foreclosure crisis of the mid-aughts severely impacted the neighborhood, leaving hundreds of homes vacant. According to Zillow, property values dropped from an average of \$97,600 in 2008 to \$52,000 by 2012, remaining stagnant since 2012.

Common Ground, a collaboration of dozens of Milwaukee churches, schools, and other community-focused organizations, started the Milwaukee Rising campaign to help stem the impacts of the foreclosure crisis. Using a combination of grants from major banks such as Bank of America and Deutsche Bank, low-interest loans, and Neighborhood Stabilization Project funds, Milwaukee Rising has worked to rehabilitate and resell 70 vacant homes in the neighborhood. The organization also coordinates volunteers who supervise other vacant homes, protect them from vandalism, and attempt to reduce the negative impacts of having a high rate of vacant buildings in a compact area (O'Brien; Milwaukee Rising; Pabst). In order to help maintain the housing stock of the neighborhood and improve property values, Milwaukee Rising offers \$5,000 matching grants to Sherman Park homeowners for home improvements such as roof repairs and window upgrades.

Sherman Park is experiencing a different dynamic than Harrison: widespread disinvestment and historic rates of foreclosure, rather than Harrison's likelihood of massive investment and new construction. Yet, the Milwaukee Rising campaign provides a useful example of utilizing grants and fundraising to create opportunities for low-income homeownership. Their strategy also exemplifies the possibilities of collaborations between churches and other faith-based organizations.

Applications to Harrison

- A **mix of housing** is crucial to maintain residents as they age into a new stage of life. Harrison has a high proportion of residents under the age of 18. Without affordable housing options, these children will eventually be forced to find housing outside of Harrison and lose their community.
- **Strong community organizations**, including religious institutions, are the common thread in the Chicago neighborhoods that succeeded in remaining racially integrated. These organizations are essential to maintaining affordable housing in the face of pro-gentrification forces. As an organizer in Chicago stated, “what tends to happen in communities is that the [pro-poor rights] pole doesn’t exist,” while the “[pro-gentrification leader] on one side saying we’re going to kick every one of your nasty poor butts out of the neighborhood” does exist (Nyden, p. 148). Community organizations are needed to act with, and on behalf of, the poor residents to counteract the organized pro-gentrification forces.
- The involvement of religious institutions is a key component to **inter-class and inter-racial cohesion**. In Chicago Lawn, a neighborhood with a long history of racial tensions, Southwest Catholic Cluster Projects (SWCCP) “stimulated dialogue... about economic and racial issues” (Nyden, p. 151). It was important to the political success of SWCCP to build relationships across a large number of community institutions, united by **universal values of justice**.
- **Churches should strive to reflect the racial mix of the community**. Doing so will promote social cohesion within the broader community, as shared churchgoing experiences will facilitate unity to a greater extent than a shared residential area (see “Social Capital and Cohesion Building” recommendation for more details).
- Even in long-term stable racially integrated neighborhoods, segregation can often be found within the neighborhood. This geographic segregation may contribute to

the ability of the broader neighborhood community to remain racially integrated, assuming **shared space** exists within the neighborhood for interaction across race and class. In the Chicago neighborhoods, shopping centers and amenities located along the streets that racially divided the neighborhood frequently played this role.

Section 5: Action Plan

Recommendation #1: Social Capital and Cohesion Building

Without an effective response, residential turnover in Harrison neighborhood will likely weaken the social bonds and cohesion of the community. The recommendations presented in this section draw heavily from the collective wisdom of the social capital and social cohesion academic literature. While it can often be difficult to distinguish between the two concepts, this paper will generally use social capital as a micro-level term and social cohesion as a macro-level term. In other words, social capital describes the relationships that benefit an individual, such as the job opportunities, childcare assistance, and advice a person receives through his or her social network. Similarly, social cohesion describes the individual's relationship to broader community institutions and groups, including the degree to which a resident trusts the institutions, a sense of belonging, and levels of community volunteerism.

Having established these concepts, the discussion naturally turns to the sources of social capital and cohesion. First, residential stability in a neighborhood has been linked to higher levels of social capital and community involvement (Kasarda 1974; Sampson 1997, 1988; DiPasquale 1999). As outlined in DiPasquale (1999), investment in social capital is expected to be greater when residents remain in a neighborhood. This stability is conducive to building a "common stock of social relationships." In the Displacement Mitigation section of the Action Plan, recommendations for promoting residential stability are offered.

In addition to residential stability, access to quality jobs promotes social capital and social cohesion in a community (Wietzke 2014). A good job acts as a conduit through which the positive outcomes associated with employment result in greater social cohesion. In other words, persons with a quality job are more likely to report higher subjective well-being, social associations, and personal levels of social and political activism. In turn, these characteristics are highly correlated with social capital and social

cohesion. The Neighborhood Economic Development section of the Action Plan discusses the potential role Redeemer could play in promoting quality job creation within the Harrison neighborhood.

The remainder of this section details recommendations for building social cohesion in Harrison.

Mixing Across Social Class

It is important to note that Nast (2013) strongly suggests mixing at the level of neighborhood institutions (e.g. schools, shopping centers, neighborhood associations) builds social capital amongst diverse populations, while mixing at the residential level might not have the same positive effect. Thus, “people bridge class gaps in certain contexts, for fixed periods and for specific resources”. The context of a typical residential neighborhood does not make contact between neighbors necessary, or even likely. The failures of HOPE VI mixed-income communities to benefit social capital and social cohesion formation are a prime example of the insufficiency of mixing at the residential level (Clampet-Lundquist 2004, 2007; Greenbaum 2008). Lower-income residents of these communities were largely unable to rebuild the social capital and social cohesion of their former neighborhoods, as their new, higher-income neighbors were often resistant to develop the necessary social ties.

These findings have two implications for Redeemer: first, to the extent higher income residents move into Harrison, institutions should be created to “force” between-class interaction; second, to the extent higher income residents are prevented from displacing current Harrison residents, the social cohesion of the community will remain higher and grow at a swifter pace.



Facilitate the Development of Class-Mixing Institutions

As neighborhoods change, new institutions will likely be created, and existing ones altered, to deepen connections between new residents and those who have been in an area for a long time. Without institutions that compel residents of different social class to share the proper context, experience strongly suggests social capital will not be exchanged. Redeemer is specially equipped to facilitate the development of such community-building institutions. Among the institutions that may help to forge these connections are community gardens. Social science research has indicated that community gardens can have many positive effects on those who use them, and on their surrounding environment. Aside from the health impacts, such as improving nutrition, community gardens can also strengthen social cohesion.

One study of Denver community gardens found that interactions within the gardens increased gardeners' sense of collective efficacy and allowed diverse gardeners to trust one another. Researchers also found increases in the rates of volunteerism in other settings among gardeners (Teig et al 2009). A study from the highly segregated city of St. Louis found that those who used a community garden interacted with people of other races at a higher rate, and saw the garden as a means of bringing diverse groups together (Shinew et al 2004). Similar research in the United Kingdom found that gardens can be effective sites of connecting neighborhood residents to other organizations, which may contribute to a greater sense of belonging and collective efficacy, while strengthening the fabric of the community (Firth et al 2011). Finally, research in Flint, MI, has found that participation in community gardens increases social capital for gardeners and has suggested that gardening participation complements participation in neighborhood associations. In sum, community gardens should be an important opportunity for residents to come together to build community; however, it should only be one of many such opportunities.

Redeemer can continue its practice of creating community gardens, ensuring that such places are available throughout the neighborhood and that all residents are encouraged to participate. This action will improve both the physical health of individual residents, as well as promote the continued health and strength of the community. Redeemer should consider the possibility of obtaining city-owned vacant lots at low or no cost for conversion to community gardens (See map of vacant city owned properties in Appendix 5).

In addition to community garden development, Redeemer and community organizations of Harrison neighborhood should consider hosting a neighborhood farmer's market. While the Minneapolis Farmers Market is located just east of Harrison, most residents live more than one mile from the market, requiring a long walk, waiting for public transit, or driving. Making a farmers market available closer to the residential core of Harrison would better promote social cohesion and interactions that bridge diverse members of

the Harrison community, i.e. across racial and class lines. Based on a survey of Los Angeles farmers markets:

- 75% came to market to do more than shop
- 55% felt the market increased their connection to the community
- 53% believed the market improves the perceptions of the neighborhood

One shopper reported “[feeling] more comfortable, less intimidated at the market”, while another shopper noted “[seeing] people I didn’t know existed” (McCarthy). As residents of a different racial and economic mix move into the Harrison neighborhood, it will be important to provide opportunities for interactions to occur with the current residents. Both community gardens and a strategically placed farmers market would provide such opportunities.



Engage in Class-Mixing Within Existing Institutions

As covered in the Chicago Lawn case study, the Southwest Organizing Project (formerly, Southwest Catholic Cluster Projects) has built a collaborative of community institutions with the goal of an “economically stable, open, long-term, multiracial community in Southwest Chicago.” The SWOP model of “building relationships across racial, ethnic and faith differences and to bringing the common concerns of their institutions into the public life of the community” should be of great interest to Redeemer. SWOP currently has 34 member institutions, of which approximately one-third are churches, one-half are schools, and the rest are a synagogue, a community development corporation, a hospital, a Muslim community organization, a family counseling organization, and a neighborhood housing service. The original Catholic parishes were able to build this diverse network of institutions by focusing on the shared value of justice. Additionally, collective action produces greater political clout.

In order to build social capital and social cohesion, Redeemer should consider initiatives to encourage even greater participation by Harrison families in school activities and meetings, such as PTA meetings. Certainly, the parents present at such gatherings have a common bond in a better school and neighborhood for their children. Facilitating a greater number of interactions between parents will increase their ability to form social capital and increase their collective voice. As a basic step, Redeemer could begin by promoting school activities to its congregation.

Stress the Social Capital Formation and Social Cohesion Risks of Gentrification

The academic literature points strongly toward residential turnover weakening social capital and social cohesion in a community. Since gentrification essentially causes residential turnover by definition, it is expected that gentrification will have the negative impacts associated with residential turnover. Indeed, Colic-Peisker (2015) found that gentrification could aid in the process of bifurcating a neighborhood socioeconomically and lessening its social cohesion. Suggestions for mitigating displacement will be

discussed in the upcoming section; however, it is important to briefly note that Redeemer should consider making these risks to social capital formation and social cohesion a central piece of advocacy efforts.

Recommendation #2: Displacement Mitigation

As Harrison continues to change over time and admit residents of higher incomes, it is essential that efforts be taken to minimize the number of current, lower-income residents who are displaced by rising property values and rents. If current residents cannot afford to remain in Harrison, they will likely be forced to move to less expensive parts of the North Side or other parts of the city and metropolitan area. Not only is moving expensive (e.g. the cost of searching for and securing new housing, the cost of hiring a moving van, etc.), it also strains relationships and may remove people from a neighborhood where they have friends, family, and deep community ties. The displacement of long-term residents is harmful to the individuals displaced, to their friends and family, to their neighborhood, and to the city as a whole, as they may contribute less time and energy to volunteerism and civic activities in their new neighborhoods.

As Harrison and other neighborhoods in close proximity to downtown Minneapolis (e.g. Stevens Square, Phillips, Cedar-Riverside, etc.) demonstrate, it is essential that local advocates and city government take steps early to create and preserve affordable housing. This will allow areas with excellent location and natural amenities to remain affordable to all people, even as the city experiences a dramatic increase in development pressure. If the goal of neighborhood activists, local elected officials, and residents of the city of Minneapolis is to create a beloved community in which all people, regardless of their race, ethnicity, religion, or socioeconomic status can live happy, healthy, productive lives, then it is essential to ensure that there are housing opportunities for all people in all neighborhoods. Our current model of development favors the highest bidder above all else, without regard to maintaining the community fabric of established neighborhoods and without regard to the rights of residents to remain a part of the communities that they may have lived in for decades or generations.

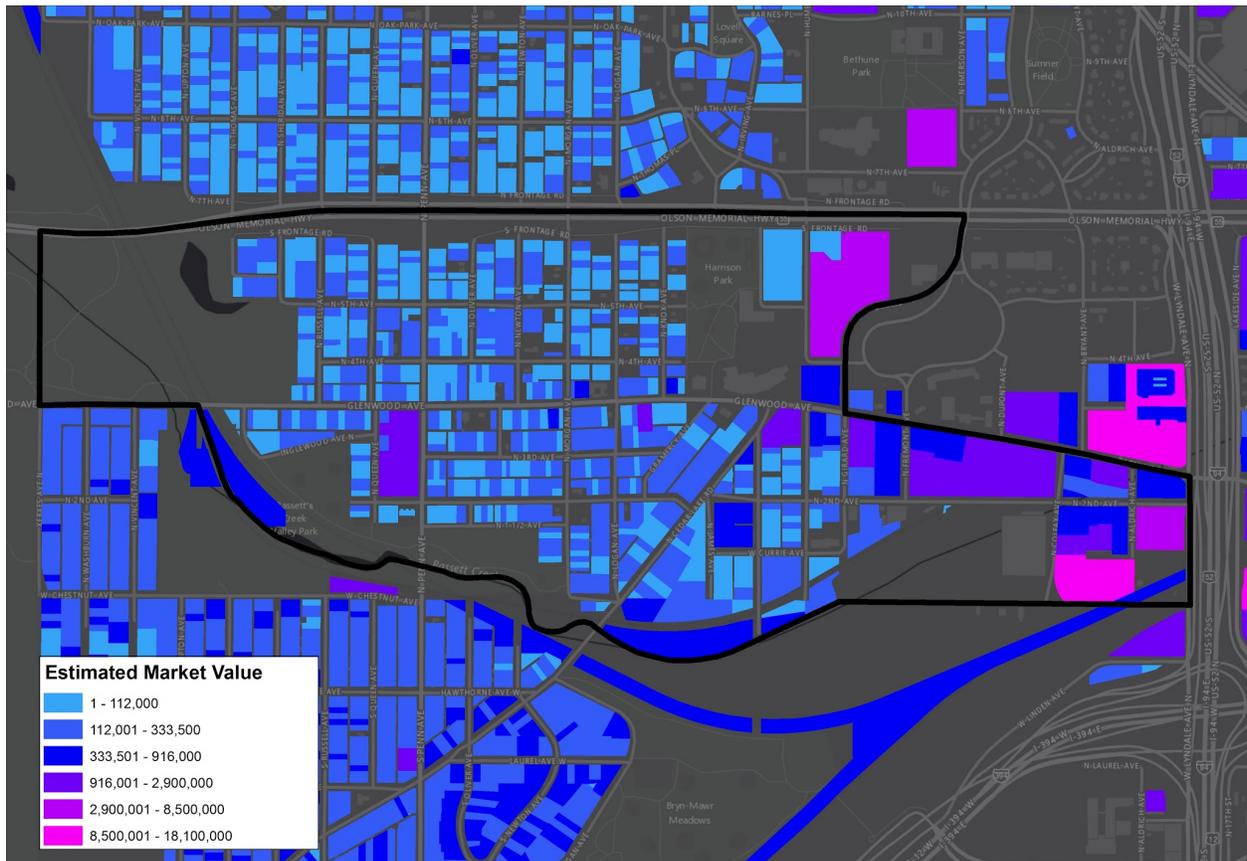
Neighborhoods and cities across the nation have recognized the importance of preserving communities in the face of rising property values and gentrifying pressures and have attempted countless public policy and other solutions to help keep people in their homes and neighborhoods. Such policies vary widely in their efficacy, expense, and the amount of public and government buy-in required in order to enact them. Some of the more effective and feasible policies are laid out below.



Preserve Existing Affordable Housing

As property values increase, the first concern must be with preserving the affordability of housing that already exists in the neighborhood. It is not enough to later create thousands of units of affordable housing if the residents who were in the neighborhood prior to gentrification have long been displaced and have little ability or incentive to return. Redeemer should pursue short, medium, and long-term strategies to ensure that existing affordable housing remains affordable.

Figure D



Community Land Trusts

While most housing affordability strategies emphasize low-cost rental units, significant benefits may also be found in encouraging low-cost homeownership. One model of ensuring affordability among owner-occupied units is the community land trust (CLT). CLTs operate by purchasing houses and then reselling those houses with a CLT-

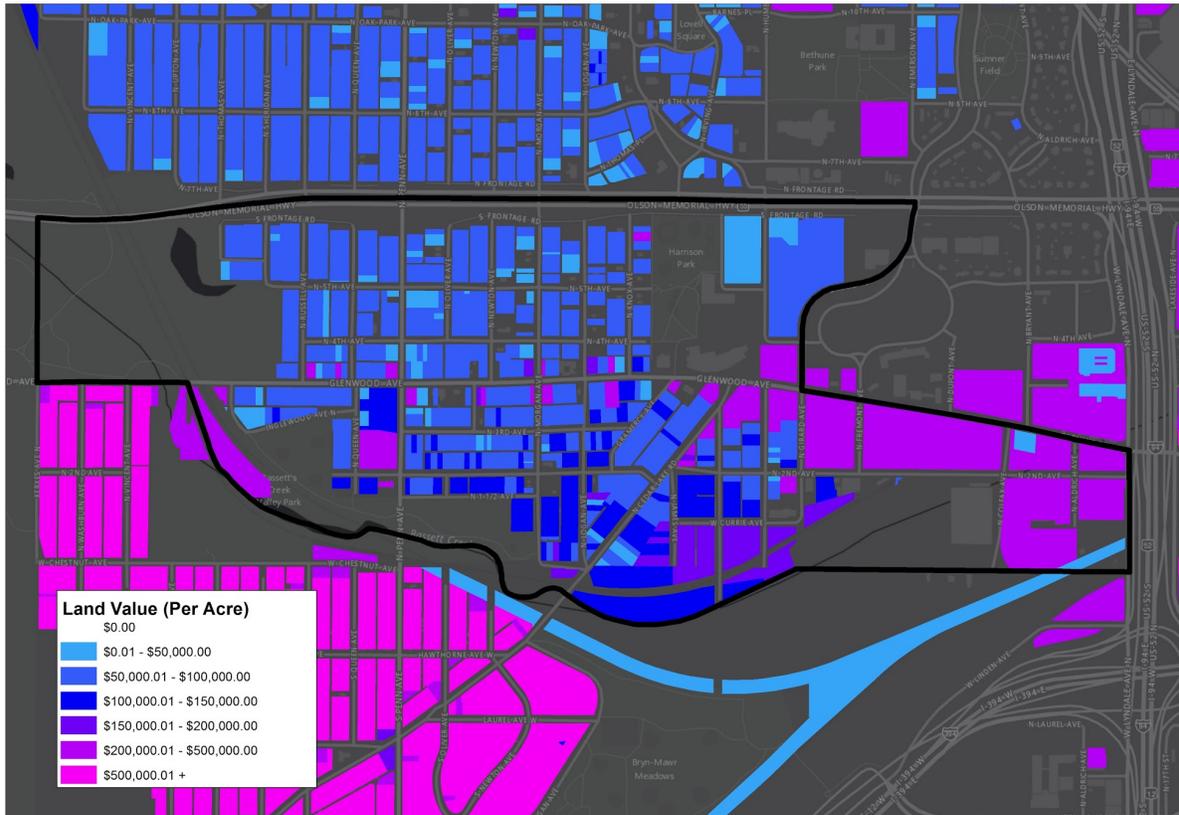
controlled ground lease. This lease grants the CLT perpetual control over the affordability of the unit. Buyers agree to forgo a certain portion of any appreciation in exchange for a subsidized purchase price on the house, in part because the owner is only purchasing the building, and not the land underneath it, which may be worth tens of thousands of dollars.

CLTs manage to sell homes to lower-income families (generally around 80% of area median income) while remaining financially stable over the long-run and ensuring that units stay affordable even though they may change owners, due to the ground leases and covenants. Increasing opportunities for homeownership also helps to ensure that current low-income residents can retain some of the benefits of increases in property values that come with gentrification, since they will be able to retain equity and appreciation in their homes as those properties' values increase dramatically. Such increases also benefit CLTs' financial future because they can then reinvest the proceeds into further properties: the more equity they recoup quickly, the faster they can develop more units. Since the subsidy the organization can provide is shallow and insufficient to counteract extremely high real estate prices, the CLT model relies heavily on purchasing homes and properties for relatively low prices.

In Harrison, there exist tremendous opportunities for partnership with existing CLT networks, including the City of Lakes Community Land Trust. Home values are significantly lower in Harrison than in neighborhoods to the south like Bryn Mawr, creating an opportunity for affordable homeownership preservation in the southern end of the North Side (See Figure E). CLCLT has preserved hundreds of homes throughout Minneapolis and surrounding suburbs as long-term affordable homeownership properties. By partnering with such groups, both Redeemer and CLCLT can magnify their impact. These organizations can collaborate to focus their interventions in smaller geographic areas that are experiencing the strongest upward pressure on home prices. This will ensure that low-income individuals and families are able to remain in neighborhoods like Harrison even after periods of sustained gentrification and will preserve access to housing affordability in central neighborhoods. This will allow people

of all income ranges to have choice in where they live and the ability to live close to their places of work.

Figure E



Section 8/Housing Choice Voucher

Section 8 is a federal housing subsidy that provides low-income families with a voucher that they can use to obtain rental housing in the private market. Once the family has secured an apartment, the voucher will pay some of the cost of the rent so that the family only pays 30% of their income for housing. Landlords must adhere to strict inspections and limits on how much they can increase their rent over time.

Although this is a federal program administered locally by the Minneapolis Public Housing Authority, there is a role for local neighborhood organizations to play in

improving access to the program. This can be accomplished by reaching out both to prospective landlords and prospective tenants who would benefit from the program. Currently, landlords are not required to accept the vouchers or Section 8 tenants. Some landlords are aware of the program and decline to accept it, but others are unaware of the program and its advantages, such as improving tenant stability and reducing the likelihood of missed rent payments (HUD). By undertaking outreach to Harrison landlords and encouraging landlords to accept Housing Choice Vouchers, Redeemer can help to ensure that low-income residents have an additional avenue to pursue in order to stay in their homes or their neighborhoods as area rents increase beyond what may otherwise be affordable to them. Similarly, Redeemer may partner with other organizations to inform low-income residents of their ability to obtain a Housing Choice Voucher from MPHA, which would allow them to spend less of their incomes on housing expenses. This may make it more financially feasible for them to remain in the neighborhood.

Rent Control

Cities like New York and Los Angeles have established rent control policies that prevent excessive increases in rent in certain subsections of units, typically those existing in eligible properties at the time of enacting legislation. In LA, rent increases in eligible units are tied to inflation (calculated annually), allowing landlords to receive nominal increases in rent but preventing speculative or rapid shifts (“RSO Overview”). However, in both of these cities, the number of eligible units has steadily declined over time. Further, little political will exists to expand these programs.

While Minneapolis does not currently have a rent control program, it may be a reasonable next step to consider, perhaps as a pilot project in particular neighborhoods that are likely to have extremely high upward pressure on rents in the future. Such a program can help to preserve affordable rental units at minimal cost to the City government.

Preservation of NOAH through Investment

Although rent control and other strategies can be effective means to preserve housing affordability, they require legislative support, which may or may not be forthcoming. It is therefore important to consider ways to marshal private investment and private resources to preserve housing affordability. While Redeemer may not have the financial capital to invest in housing itself, it may act as a coordinator or advocate to encourage organizations that do have the resources to invest those resources into the preservation of naturally-occurring affordable housing (NOAH). This may be a particularly appealing avenue for Redeemer to pursue when working with large Lutheran organizations that have large amounts of capital to invest and have a mission-based motivation for making those investments in socially responsible ways. The Greater Minnesota Housing Fund, a non-profit affordable housing lender, currently coordinates a fund (called the Impact Investment Fund) that leverages private investments to preserve housing affordability for the long term.

Create New Affordable Housing

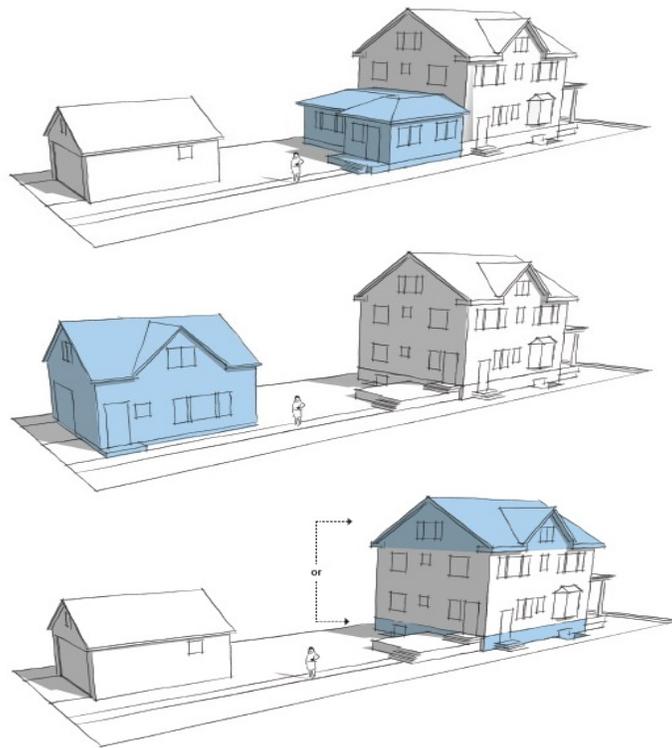
In tandem with efforts to preserve Harrison's existing affordable housing, Redeemer should pursue efforts to create new affordable housing, both through advocating for inclusive land use policies and also by collaborating to fund new affordable housing developments. It is likely that even extensive efforts toward preserving housing affordability will not be enough to prevent the conversion of currently affordable units to higher rents; therefore, there must also be new affordable housing units created in order to prevent displacing large segments of the neighborhood's population.

Inclusionary Zoning

As opposed to imposing rent control on existing units, inclusionary zoning is a policy of requiring the construction of affordable units in new housing developments. Such zoning is typically a part of city policy either for all development of a certain size or for new housing developments in certain types of area or neighborhoods. Many cities offer regulatory relief or density bonuses for developments that include affordable housing units, giving developers a financial incentive to include such units and offsetting the additional costs they would incur to do so. While inclusionary zoning is one of the few means of ensuring that new affordable housing is constructed, it has been criticized for numerous drawbacks: increasing the cost of market-rate units, which must essentially subsidize the affordable units, and many such developments draw clear distinctions between affordable and market-rate units (e.g. “poor doors” in New York City). Additionally, such zoning requirements generally fail to provide adequate numbers of affordable units to meet demand.

However, despite the limitations of inclusionary zoning, it may be a crucial piece of the puzzle for ensuring that any new development in Harrison includes housing that is affordable to current neighborhood residents. Redeemer might join a coalition of other organizations advocating for the creation of inclusionary zoning and other city policies that mandate the creation of affordable housing in any new development in the city, or that give developers strong incentives to do so.

Accessory Dwelling Units



2

Minneapolis, among other cities, has begun to allow the construction and conversion of accessory dwelling units (ADUs). These can be either internal, like a basement or attic dwelling, attached, or detached, as in a mother-in-law suite over an existing garage. ADUs are typically a smaller and more affordable type of apartment, which provide benefits to both landowners and renters. Renters are able to find a more affordable unit than may otherwise exist in the market, while homeowners are able to generate additional income without significantly expanding their property tax liability. This tax benefit to homeowners occurs since property owners are only assessed for the square footage of the additional living space, not for having an income-generating unit. While external units may require significant construction expense, internal ADUs may be created relatively inexpensively and provide another alternative for renters seeking affordable housing and for landlords/homeowners hoping to stay in their homes while continuing to be able to afford mortgage payments and rising property taxes. ADUs can

² http://apps.startribune.com/blogs/user_images/ericroper_1415730042_ADUexamples2.jpg

be built on lots with an existing residential structure and sufficient space, pursuant to Minneapolis City Ordinance 520.160.

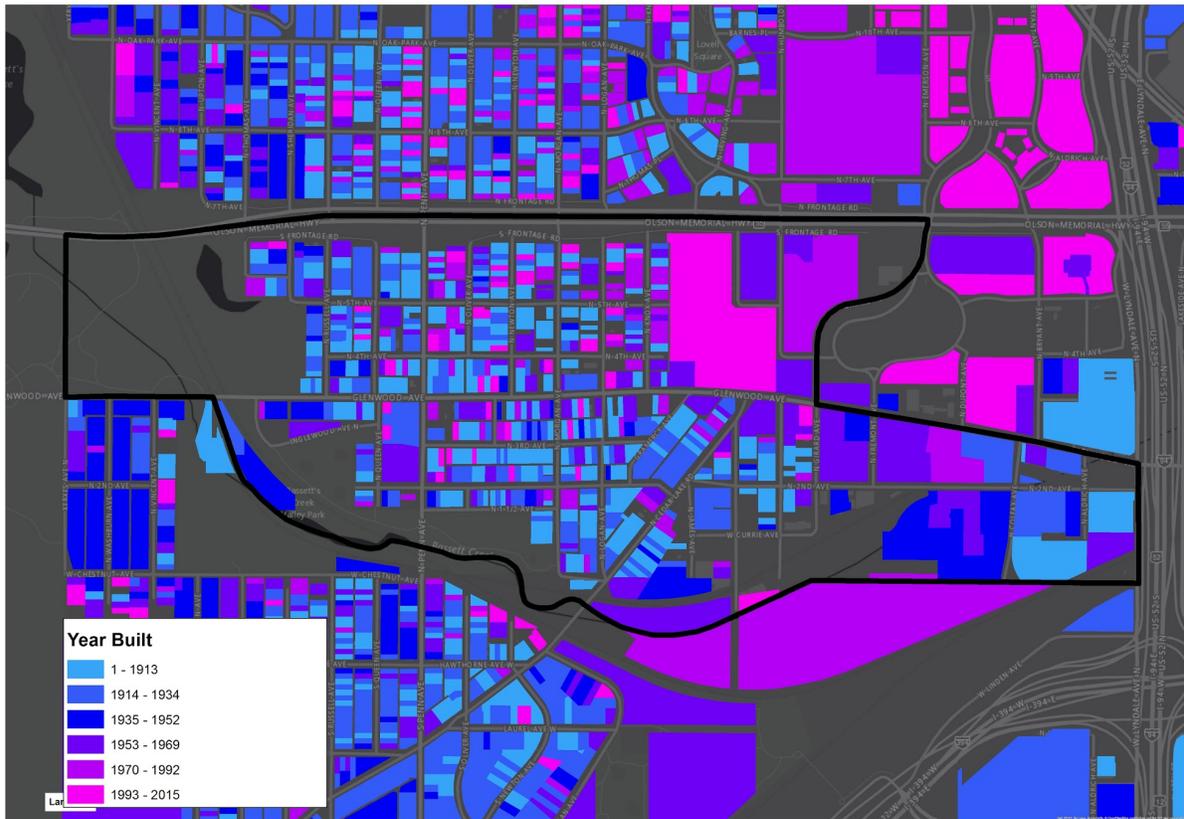
Redeemer can work to implement ADUs by connecting area homeowners to resources on how they can create an ADU on their property. Additionally, Redeemer can create loan funds to assist in financing ADU creation and conversion. Redeemer might also look into partnerships with organizations like Urban Homeworks and CLCLT to provide construction assistance to homeowners and to provide guidance on maintaining an ADU as a high-quality affordable rental unit.

Additional Strategies

Housing Rehabilitation and Maintenance

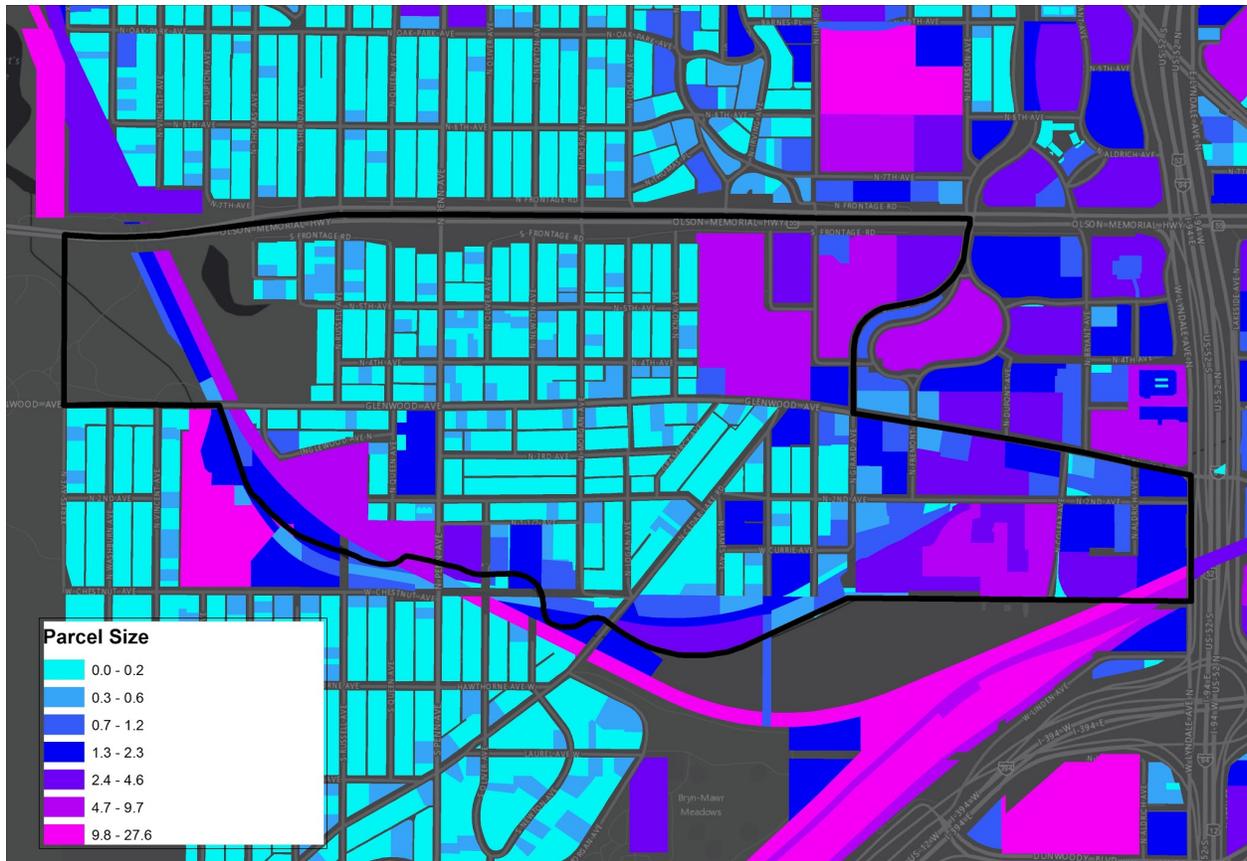
In the face of rising expenses along with stagnant existing tenant/resident incomes, cities have pursued a slew of additional strategies to prevent displacement. In several cities, local governments provide funding to low-income homeowners to renovate or rehabilitate their homes, allowing for housing quality to be maintained for multiple income levels. This is of particular importance in neighborhoods like Harrison that have aging housing stock that can become dilapidated (See Figure F below). This both lowers the quality of housing stock for low-income renters and also creates opportunities for gentrification through teardowns of condemned properties. In Seattle, this assistance is funneled through neighborhood organizations so that the money serves both to aid residents by improving housing and also strengthens the local institutions that build community cohesion. Similar initiatives are currently performed by Minneapolis neighborhood organizations under the auspices of the Neighborhood Revitalization Program, although it does not appear that Harrison Neighborhood Association is currently running such a program. Redeemer might act to fill this gap by administering a revolving loan fund to help preserve the quality of the housing stock in the neighborhood.

Figure F



policies are aligned to reduce the upward pressure on property values and rents in the neighborhood.

Figure H



Note: Parcel size in acres

Promoting Higher Density Development

Along with infill development, an emphasis on higher density development would help to reduce the upward price pressure that can result from increased levels of new development. As some neighborhoods in the Twin Cities have become wealthier, smaller, older homes have been replaced by larger new-construction single-family homes, which can radically increase the value of a property and entails a corresponding drop in affordability. Currently, the construction of new single family homes is permitted in all of the residentially-zoned areas of Harrison with the exception of small pockets that are currently zoned R5, a high-density residential classification. Redeemer can help

to promote higher density development that preserves existing naturally occurring affordable housing while simultaneously creating additional opportunities for rental in the neighborhood by advocating for the rezoning of key corridors within the neighborhood to R5 or R6 zoning classifications. Such rezoning might be particularly advantageous in those areas that are most likely to benefit from Transit Oriented Development (TOD), including along Olson Memorial Highway and the proposed Bottineau Extension, and in the southern tier of the neighborhood close to the proposed Southwest Light Rail Extension.

Renter Equity

In addition to strategies that improve affordability of rental and ownership housing units, Redeemer can contribute to the building of wealth of existing Harrison residents. Renter equity is a means of providing wealth-building to renters, a group whose housing expenses generally do not contribute to their own wealth and equity building, as is the case for homeowners. Because African Americans and other people of color are likely to have radically lower levels of wealth than Whites, providing additional means of wealth-building is essential (Shin 2015). In a renter equity system, the landlord/property owner typically sets aside a portion of the tenant's rent payment and gives the tenant a "credit" as long as the tenant meets certain lease requirements, e.g. timely rent payment, attending building meetings, volunteering in the community, etc. These credits have a cash value, but the tenant must remain in the building for several years in order to become vested and exchange the credits for cash or zero interest loans (Locke). Not only do such programs help to build the wealth of lower-income residents, they also help to maintain residential stability as tenants have a financial incentive to remain in their rental units for an extended period of time. The longer they stay, the more equity they accrue. Such programs could be combined with others to help create a more fertile setting for the creation of new affordable units, which ensures that people of a wider income range may live in an area.

Planning for Inclusive Communities

In order to create a baseline and a firm foundation for the goals that Redeemer has for the Harrison neighborhood, it may be useful to ensure that neighborhood plans are crafted to accommodate a mix of incomes and a range of housing affordability. In the Over-the-Rhine neighborhood of Cincinnati, a working-class historic neighborhood that has experienced gentrifying pressure in recent years, the neighborhood plan sets specific goals for the proportion of the neighborhood’s housing stock that should remain affordable in the coming decades. While these goals in planning documents do not have the same force as an explicit inclusionary zoning policy, they do indicate to developers and city staff the kind of projects that the community wants to see and what the community is likely to support. Redeemer can advocate for the inclusion of such targets in the Harrison neighborhood plan, as well as for similar goals in the city’s comprehensive plan.

Total Housing Units In Over-The-Rhine				
Rental or Mortgage Costs	1-5 Years	5 - 10 Years	10 - 15 Years	15 - 20 Years
Market Rate Housing				
Unlimited	20%	20%	20%	25%
61% to 100% of AMI (\$60,500 in 2001)	20%	20%	30%	25%
Affordable Housing				
31% to 60% of AMI (\$36,500 in 2001)	20%	35%	25%	25%
Up to 30% of AMI (\$18,150 in 2001)	40%	25%	25%	25%

Source: The Over-the-Rhine Comprehensive Plan

Potential Sources of Funding by Lutheran Organizations

To the extent Redeemer seeks to renovate its housing units and purchase or build additional homes, financing options specific to Christian institutions should be considered. For example, Thrivent Financial for Lutherans, headquartered in

Minneapolis, offers loans to churches and Christian organizations solely. Such lenders may be able to better provide financing options that meet the specific needs of Redeemer. In addition, Thrivent Financial partners with Habitat for Humanity to build and repair affordable homes for low-income families through the Thrivent Builds program. Redeemer could explore options for partnering with a funding source that has expressed interest in affordable housing, such as Thrivent Financial, or Redeemer could connect members of the Harrison community with opportunities such as Thrivent Builds.

As one of its roles, Lutheran Social Services of Minnesota acts on behalf of the state and federal government to administer rental subsidies to property owners. Since Redeemer owns rental units that are leased at affordable rates, Redeemer should consider getting approved to receive rental subsidies. This subsidy could allow for Redeemer to expand its ownership of affordable rental housing, meeting the needs of a greater number of low-income families.

Recommendation #3: Neighborhood Economic Development

Thriving local businesses are often a staple of strong and sustainable communities. They provide jobs, keep money circulating within the neighborhood and contribute to a vibrant commercial district. Healthy businesses and job opportunities support a neighborhood's overall economic well-being and are vitally important to consider in an endeavor such as mitigating gentrification in a small urban community (Policylink "Equitable Development Toolkit").

As mentioned in the Social Capital and Cohesion Building section of the Action Plan, there are numerous benefits associated with high-quality employment within neighborhoods. Creating these good, quality jobs that pay a livable wage stands as one of the greatest challenges for community and economic developers. Credible, well-respected organizations such as Redeemer are well positioned to bridge the gap between business needs and the needs of the local, employable population. To an extent, Redeemer currently exercises this role. The recommendations below attempt to suggest how Redeemer can expand upon their existing strengths and success in this area.



Continuing and Expanding Direct Job Creation

Continuing to create jobs through social enterprises like Venture North is immensely important to the Harrison community. The existing youth intern and apprenticeship programs facilitated by Redeemer are successful in providing young people an opportunity to gain experience and increase the competitiveness of their applications for both college admissions and a future in the full-time workforce. Continuing participation in programs like STEP-UP and seeking out other such grant opportunities is essential. These programs are an important service; therefore, it would be quite valuable to extend this type of attention to a greater number of current Harrison residents who are already of working age. In other words, Redeemer should work to identify opportunities for creation of full-time, paid positions within the Harrison community.

Job Training

Redeemer can draw in these sorts of opportunities by being a facilitator of various job and employment training sessions. There are many potential partners in the broader North Minneapolis area including the Minnesota Workforce Center, Hennepin County, EMERGE and others that could assist in the creation, facilitation and execution of such trainings. With its access to a large congregation, as well as a significant amount of physical space, Redeemer is in a strong position to coordinate this type of programming and make it readily accessible to the Harrison community. Further, it could be impactful to include specific business training for local, would-be entrepreneurs. The only people who are going to be more devoted to the community than those who live in Harrison are those who were also trained and given the opportunity to open a business in Harrison. By initiating an entrepreneurship program, one barrier to Harrison residents starting their own businesses is eliminated. The next logical step would be in exploring opportunities for providing incentives to graduates of that program to open their businesses in the neighborhood.



Advocate for Local Hiring

A natural complement to the above recommendation is robust advocacy. Redeemer is in a position to foster strong, cooperative relationships with new and existing businesses in the neighborhood, while also educating them on the values of the Harrison community. Encouraging these businesses to hire locally could be significant in terms of not only providing employment, but also of strengthening the social cohesion aspect discussed earlier in this report. Related to the above job training recommendation, Redeemer could leverage the partnerships they create with these businesses to target trainings for local need, with the intention of these businesses employing graduates of these training programs.

This advocacy could involve a targeted, comprehensive effort for Redeemer representation to meet face-to-face with all the businesses within, and possibly on the immediate periphery of, the Harrison neighborhood. The following businesses currently exist within Harrison and offer a good place to initiate this effort:

- Pennwood Market
- Rogers Market

- Boost Mobile
- Silver Clip
- Eyebobs Eyewear
- Further Performance
- Blasted Art, Inc.
- Northwestern Tire Company
- Mandile Fruit Company
- MN Builders Exchange
- The Firm
- HiFi Sound Electronics
- Downtown Dogs
- Heritage Park YMCA
- Utepils Brewing Company

The Twin Cities Equitable Development scorecard could be a useful tool in these conversations, providing a measure by which to both illustrate and gauge any given businesses' role in the community. By creating and strengthening these relationships, businesses in the area could become catalysts for community-based stewardship for the Harrison neighborhood as a whole (Great Communities Collaborative).

Conclusion

With access to a large congregation and a significant standing within the community, Redeemer Center for Life is well positioned to support and facilitate the mitigation of impending gentrification of the Harrison neighborhood. These recommendations are intended to act as a guide for Redeemer in that process. We recognize that Redeemer is a relatively small organization without the large staff capacity of some of the major non-profits in the Twin Cities. Nevertheless, our research indicates that even small organizations can make a significant difference in the trajectory of a neighborhood if those organizations have a variety of tools at their disposal and a willingness to collaborate with other organizations and government entities.

Creating and preserving a beloved community, a place where all people, regardless of their race, ethnicity, religion, or socioeconomic status, can live happy and productive lives, requires a high level of energy and effort, sustained for the long term. There are no silver bullet solutions to right the wrongs of generations of systemic oppression of the poor and of people of color. Instead, we must constantly make improvements, large and small, to ensure that our neighborhoods and our public policies are more inclusive and serve those populations who have been most disadvantaged in the past.

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Appendices

1. Further Discussion of Social Capital/Cohesion Literature

While social capital and social cohesion may have inherent value (e.g. political participation, community trust, and the ability to turn relationships into economic gains), the presence of one or both in a community have been linked to auxiliary benefits. First, greater social cohesion has been linked to improved health at both the personal and neighborhood levels. Cramm (2013) finds that social cohesion and social capital in a neighborhood are linked to the well-being of the elderly. Specifically, social capital, social cohesion, and neighborhood services were predictive of the well-being of older adults. Thus, they may “act as a buffer against the adverse effects of being single and poor on the well-being of older adults.” Similar results have been widely found throughout the literature on social capital, social cohesion, and the well-being of the elderly (Choi 2015; Greenfield 2014; Tiernan 2013; Toma 2015). Kim (2013) concludes that “perceived neighborhood social cohesion plays an important role in protecting” against the risk of stroke in the elderly population.

Brittin (2015) simulated the impact of a social cohesion intervention in a low-income urban neighborhood of Chicago, which would aim to “address and improve levels of resident satisfaction, commitment and desire to stay in the neighbourhood, and social inter-connectedness within the community.” The results showed that bolstering social cohesion could improve the health of neighborhood residents and, eventually, have a positive impact on community-wide health indicators. Baum (2009) finds similar results: safety and social cohesion are two primary drivers of health improvement in low-income areas. Further, safety and social cohesion have an interactive effect on neighborhood health, suggesting both factors should be addressed by neighborhood interventions.

Beyond physical health, social capital and cohesion appear to improve the mental health of residents. Klein (2013) investigated the small country of Luxembourg, a culturally diverse place (160 different nationalities), and found that social capital and

social cohesion are positively associated with subjective well-being. Chambers (2015) found that the mental health of low-income Latino adults in New York City was significantly impacted by neighborhood factors, primarily the level of social cohesion. The broader literature suggests that this effect may be due to the high correlation between social cohesion and neighborhoods “supportive of overall well-being and characterized by lower crime rates, more civic participation, and better access to healthcare among others”.

Finally, research has shown that social cohesion has a positive impact on community violence and crime rates. Sampson (1997) finds that neighborhoods in Chicago with higher levels of social cohesion have lower crime rates. Indeed, social cohesion appears to have the potential to moderate the effect of poverty and residential instability on crime. Mazerolle (2010) similarly concludes that social cohesion is “a significant mechanism in explaining the spatial distribution” of violent crime.”

Discussion of the Concept of Social Capital

The concept of social capital was originally defined in the 1980s. Pierre Bourdieu (1985) spoke of social capital as “the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network” of mutual relationships. This social capital existed largely to produce economic or social/cultural returns to an individual or a family. James Coleman altered this definition in the late 1980s. According to Coleman (1988), social capital was closely related to the concept of “closure”: “mutual knowledge and social ties between community members who support each other and sanction deviance” (Portes 2015). Like Bourdieu’s definition, Coleman focused on individual relationships; however, Coleman expanded upon Bourdieu to include community-wide benefits such as lower levels of “deviance.” By the 1990s, Putnam (1995) transformed the working definition of social capital to a concept completely beyond the level of the individual. It was the ability for individuals to “act together effectively to pursue shared objectives.” To Putnam, social capital was a public good, measured by community-level

proxies such as membership in community organizations or clubs, informal socializing and visiting others, collective political participation.

2. Major Landlords in Harrison (3+ Rental Licenses)

Number of Licenses	Rental License Applicant	Name Associated if Corporation	Contact Street Address	Contact City						
11	DANIEL P and ANNIE OFSTEDAL		241 PENINSULA RD	MEDICINE LAKE						
5	GREMAR PROPERTIES LLC	RICHARD GOLDMAN	821 DOUGLAS AVE S #400	MINNEAPOLIS						
5	LING WANG		16600 50TH CT N	PLYMOUTH						
4	ANTHONY REAL ESTATE HOLDINGS, LLC	ANTHONY A ZUCKER	4829 MINNETONKA BLVD #203	ST LOUIS PARK						
4	EAGLE NESTERS REAL ESTATE	GARLAND D FAVORS	18215 WACO ST NW	ANOKA						
4	MRIPELY LIMITED PARTNERSHIP	CAROLINE A HORTON	901 N 3RD STREET #150	MINNEAPOLIS						
4	WENRICH PROPERTY & DEVELOPMENT LLC	BLAKE F WILLIAMS	2701 BRYANT AVE N #3	MINNEAPOLIS						
4	WILLIAM H MCGAUGHEY		1702 GLENWOOD AVE NORTH	MINNEAPOLIS						
3	ANTHONY D KARLEN		1665 EVERGREEN LN N	PLYMOUTH						
3	CHDC PARK PLAZA LTD PARTNERSHIP		614 N 1ST ST SUITE 100	MINNEAPOLIS						
3	DAVIC DETLOFF		2747 XERXES AVE N	ROBBINSDALE						
3	DAVID A HALVORSON		9201 140TH ST NW	SOUTH HAVEN						
3	ISAAC W BRADLICH		518 QUEEN AVE N	MINNEAPOLIS						
3	KENNETH C WISTUK		2511 GLENWOOD AVE N	MINNEAPOLIS						
3	ROBERT D ZEMAN		5865 FERNWOOD STREET	SHOREVIEW						
3	RW MANAGEMENT, LLC	RYAN J WALSETH	2419 GLENWOOD AVENUE NORTH	MINNEAPOLIS						
<table border="1" style="width: 100%; background-color: #cccccc;"> <tr> <td style="width: 30%;"></td> <td style="width: 30%; text-align: center;">65</td> <td style="width: 30%; text-align: center;">TOTAL BY THESE APPLICANTS</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td style="text-align: center;">22.8%</td> <td style="text-align: center;">PERCENT OF ALL LICENSES</td> </tr> </table>						65	TOTAL BY THESE APPLICANTS		22.8%	PERCENT OF ALL LICENSES
	65	TOTAL BY THESE APPLICANTS								
	22.8%	PERCENT OF ALL LICENSES								

3. Map of Rental Licenses



4. Table of City-Owned Vacant Parcels

PIN	BUILDING NUMBER	STREET NAME	CITY	ACRES	LAND DESCRIPTION	DEPARTMENT NAME	USE DESCRIPTION
053-2802924410039	750	CHESTNUT AVE W	MINNEAPOLIS	6.32	Vacant Land - Commercial	CITY OF MINNEAPOLIS	HIGHWAY RIGHT-OF-WAY
053-2102924430096	1129	2ND AVE N	MINNEAPOLIS	2.81	Vacant Land - Apartment	DEPT OF COMM PLAN/ECON DEVEL	MUNI CIPAL PROPERTY
053-2102924430118	105	FREMONT AVE N	MINNEAPOLIS	2.40	Vacant Land - Industrial	DEPT OF COMM PLAN/ECON DEVEL	HIGHWAY RIGHT-OF-WAY
053-28029244210001	100	IRVING AVE N	MINNEAPOLIS	1.08	Vacant Land - Commercial	CITY OF MINNEAPOLIS	MUNI CIPAL PROPERTY
053-2102924430089	1207	2ND AVE N	MINNEAPOLIS	0.65	Vacant Land - Apartment	DEPT OF COMM PLAN/ECON DEVEL	MUNI CIPAL PROPERTY
053-2102924430095	205	GIRARD AVE N	MINNEAPOLIS	0.63	Vacant Land - Apartment	DEPT OF COMM PLAN/ECON DEVEL	MUNI CIPAL PROPERTY
053-2102924430013	1221	2ND AVE N	MINNEAPOLIS	0.38	Vacant Land - Apartment	DEPT OF COMM PLAN/ECON DEVEL	MUNI CIPAL PROPERTY
053-2102924430034	101	FREMONT AVE N	MINNEAPOLIS	0.38	Vacant Land - Industrial	CITY OF MPLS CPED	MUNI CIPAL PROPERTY
053-2102924440041	100	CULFAX AVE N	MINNEAPOLIS	0.20	Vacant Land - Industrial	CITY OF MINNEAPOLIS	MUNI CIPAL PROPERTY
053-2102924430090	1131	2ND AVE N	MINNEAPOLIS	0.17	Vacant Land - Apartment	DEPT OF COMM PLAN/ECON DEVEL	MUNI CIPAL PROPERTY
053-2002924410134	2214	4TH AVE N	MINNEAPOLIS	0.15	Vacant Land - Residential	CITY OF MINNEAPOLIS	MUNI CIPAL PROPERTY
053-2102924340189	1601	GLENWOOD AVE N	MINNEAPOLIS	0.15	Vacant Land - Commercial	DEPT OF COMM PLAN/ECON DEVEL	MUNI CIPAL PROPERTY
053-2102924340045	246	IRVING AVE N	MINNEAPOLIS	0.12	Vacant Land - Residential	DEPT OF COMM PLAN/ECON DEVEL	MUNI CIPAL PROPERTY
053-2102924320170	1909	5TH AVE N	MINNEAPOLIS	0.11	Vacant Land - Residential	DEPT OF COMM PLAN/ECON DEVEL	MUNI CIPAL PROPERTY
053-2102924330112	2113	GLENWOOD AVE N	MINNEAPOLIS	0.11	Vacant Land - Residential	DEPT OF COMM PLAN/ECON DEVEL	MUNI CIPAL PROPERTY
053-2102924320086	419	LOGAN AVE N	MINNEAPOLIS	0.10	Vacant Land - Residential	DEPT OF COMM PLAN/ECON DEVEL	MUNI CIPAL PROPERTY
053-2102924310044	418	LOGAN AVE N	MINNEAPOLIS	0.10	Vacant Land - Residential	CITY OF MINNEAPOLIS	MUNI CIPAL PROPERTY
053-2102924320074	511	MORGAN AVE N	MINNEAPOLIS	0.10	Vacant Land - Residential	DEPT OF COMM PLAN/ECON DEVEL	MUNI CIPAL PROPERTY
053-2002924410029	537	QUEEN AVE N	MINNEAPOLIS	0.09	Vacant Land - Residential	DEPT OF COMM PLAN/ECON DEVEL	MUNI CIPAL PROPERTY
053-2102924320169	1905	5TH AVE N	MINNEAPOLIS	0.08	Vacant Land - Residential	DEPT OF COMM PLAN/ECON DEVEL	MUNI CIPAL PROPERTY
053-2102924340136	1421	GLENWOOD AVE N	MINNEAPOLIS	0.08	Vacant Land - Commercial	CITY OF MINNEAPOLIS	MUNI CIPAL PROPERTY
053-2002924410128	425	PENN AVE N	MINNEAPOLIS	0.08	Vacant Land - Residential	DEPT OF COMM PLAN/ECON DEVEL	MUNI CIPAL PROPERTY
053-2102924430060	232	HUMBOLDT AVE N	MINNEAPOLIS	0.07	Vacant Land - Residential	DEPT OF COMM PLAN/ECON DEVEL	MUNI CIPAL PROPERTY
053-2102924430066	214	HUMBOLDT AVE N	MINNEAPOLIS	0.07	Vacant Land - Apartment	DEPT OF COMM PLAN/ECON DEVEL	MUNI CIPAL PROPERTY
053-2102924330042	2017	2ND AVE N	MINNEAPOLIS	0.06	Vacant Land - Residential	MPLS PUBLIC HOUSING AUTH	MUNI CIPAL PROPERTY
053-2102924430117	113	GIRARD AVE N	MINNEAPOLIS	0.06	Vacant Land - Industrial	CITY OF MINNEAPOLIS	HIGHWAY RIGHT-OF-WAY
053-2102924430067	210	HUMBOLDT AVE N	MINNEAPOLIS	0.06	Vacant Land - Apartment	DEPT OF COMM PLAN/ECON DEVEL	MUNI CIPAL PROPERTY
053-2102924330135	223	MORGAN AVE N	MINNEAPOLIS	0.04	Vacant Land - Commercial	CITY OF MINNEAPOLIS	MUNI CIPAL PROPERTY

6. Images of Potential Sites for Community Gardens on City-Owned Vacant Parcels



2214 4th Ave N



419 Logan Ave N

