



# Berkeley Upzoning Report: Initial Findings

The Anti-Eviction Mapping Project



November 18, 2021

# About us: The Anti-Eviction Mapping Project

TENANTS TOGETHER

CALIFORNIA'S STATEWIDE ORGANIZATION FOR RENTERS' RIGHTS



The Anti-Eviction Mapping Project (AEMP) is a data-visualization, critical cartography, and multimedia storytelling collective. We study and visualize entanglements of housing policy, race, class, and political economy in the San Francisco Bay Area, Los Angeles, and New York City.

We produce digital maps and tools, software, reports, and other media. AEMP has published a myriad of reports documenting and visualizing data about eviction, rent control, and displacement (among other topics) that have informed policy and movement building at both governmental and grassroots levels.

Our process brings together team members from diverse professional backgrounds in order to develop the strongest outcomes. We are professional researchers, data analysts, and digital cartographers.

Image source:

[https://static1.squarespace.com/static/52b7d7a6e4b0b3e376ac8ea2/t/5b1273ca0e2e72ec53ab0655/1527935949227/CA\\_Evictions\\_are\\_Fast\\_and\\_Frequent.pdf](https://static1.squarespace.com/static/52b7d7a6e4b0b3e376ac8ea2/t/5b1273ca0e2e72ec53ab0655/1527935949227/CA_Evictions_are_Fast_and_Frequent.pdf)

## Project Management & Consultants

**Erin McElroy, Ph.D.** is an Assistant Professor of American Studies and Digital Studies at the University of Texas at Austin with a focus on San Francisco Bay Area gentrification and landlord technologies, and is cofounder of the Anti-Eviction Mapping Project and the Radical Housing Journal.

**Manon Vergerio** has produced collaborative maps and research for numerous clients including UC Berkeley, UCLA, NYU. She holds an MS in Design and Urban Ecologies from Parsons School of Design.

**Alexandra Lacey** has successfully managed multiple projects for AEMP. She is a filmmaker and educator who holds an MFA from SF State University in media studies and production.

## Data & Mapping

**Alex Ferrer** is an urban planning graduate student at UCLA. He has been a housing researcher with Strategic Actions for a Just Economy in Los Angeles for over 5 years, producing a series of housing reports and statistical web-based displacement risk tool currently used by the Los Angeles County Development Authority.

**Nathan Kim** is a student at Yale University and a researcher, data analyst, and digital humanist.

**Ciera Dudley** is a researcher and cartographer who has produced reports and maps with UC Berkeley and Pratt Institute. She holds a BA in Urban Studies from UC Berkeley and a professional certificate in Design & GIS from Pratt Institute.

**Claire Morton** studies Mathematical and Computational Science at Stanford University. She has collaborated with groups such as the United Nations, the Local Government Commission, and the City of Oakland on data analysis and presentation.

## Research

**Amy Lee** teaches at UC Berkeley's Fall Program for Freshmen. She has published articles on the mediascapes of displacement, gentrification, and the disappearance of Chinatowns.

**Carla Leshne** has worked with AEMP since 2014 and contributed to the production of maps, articles, exhibits, presentations and actions. She has collaborated on a number of reports and online resources.

**Catherine Guimond, Ph.D** is a Supervising Research & Policy Analyst at Centro Legal, managing the program's data and analyzing local policies and services. Katy has taught classes on geography and urban studies at University of California, Berkeley and the San Francisco Art Institute.

**Anna Ferrarie** is a writer, filmmaker, and public health professional. While pursuing her Master's in Public Health (MPH) at UCLA she was awarded the Public Health Fellowship in Population Health Advocacy in 2016.

# Presentation Overview

- I. What is upzoning?
- II. Overview of socio-demographic change in Berkeley, 2009-2019
- III. Berkeley Vulnerability Index
- IV. Case studies and research
- V. Berkeley upzoning case studies
- VI. Preliminary research on policy interventions & future directions
- VII. Feedback/ Q&A

# The push to upzone in Berkeley

“Berkeley’s plans to reassess single-family zoning have generated a lot of attention, but this proposal is a part of our city’s larger, coordinated approach to developing housing in order to reduce rents and displacement, make homeownership more attainable, and end epidemic levels of homelessness.” - *Berkeley Mayor Jesse Arreguín, March 25, 2021*

**In March 2021**, Berkeley City Council unanimously passed a resolution to end single-family zoning by 2022, aiming to densify housing and reverse historic racist policies

**In September 2021**, Gavin Newsom signed Senate Bill 9 (SB9), a law that enables upzoning of single-family zoned areas statewide, aiming to address the housing crisis

<https://www.berkeleyside.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/02/Resolution-to-end-exclusionary-zoning-in-Berkeley.pdf>

<https://www.berkeleyside.org/2021/03/25/opinion-california-faces-a-housing-crisis-and-berkeley-can-set-example-of-how-a-courageous-city-can-grow-sustainably-and-responsibly>

# What is Upzoning?

“Upzoning” encompasses any zoning changes that increase the density or increase the utility of a parcel’s land use.

# Types of Upzoning

<b>Form-based code</b>	Prescriptive code that describes how the built land form will appear, rather than specific allowances of use. <i>Example: Minneapolis</i>
<b>Incentive zoning</b>	Zoning incentives for developers that guide them to certain types of investments (e.g. affordable units). <i>Example: Seattle; Minneapolis</i>
<b>“Smart Growth” / Transit Oriented Development (“TOD”)</b>	Targeted residential upzoning or development incentives within walking distance of transit stations. <i>Example: Seattle</i>
<b>Wholesale Density changes</b>	Maintaining typical use-based codes, but raising the densities of single-family residential to allow for multi-units. <i>Example: Sacramento</i>

# Upzoning & Equity: 2 Points of View

- The **hope** for upzoning, by its proponents, is that it will reverse the impact of redlining and zoning for single-family homes, policies that embedded racism in the city's landscape
- The **concern** is that upzoning will accelerate displacement, especially of Black, brown and low-income Berkeley residents, paradoxically intensifying the racist impacts of existing land use policy

# Berkeley's RHNA Progress

**Table 2. 2020 RHNA Allocation Progress**

<b>Income Level<sup>1</sup></b>	<b>5<sup>th</sup> Cycle RHNA Allocation</b>	<b>Units Permitted (2020)</b>	<b>Total Units Permitted (2015-2020)</b>	<b>Remaining Units</b>	<b>Percent Progress</b>
Very Low (< 50% AMI)	532	38	172	360	32%
Low (50 – 80% AMI)	442	13	61	382	14%
Moderate (80 – 120% AMI)	584	-	-	584	0%
Above Moderate (> 120% AMI)	1401	539	2476	-	177%
<b>Total RHNA</b>	<b>2959</b>				
<b>Total Units Permitted</b>		<b>590</b>	<b>2709</b>		

Berkeley's Housing Element Update and Annual Progress Report, April 28, 2021,

[https://www.cityofberkeley.info/uploadedFiles/Clerk/Level\\_3 - General/Housing%20Element%20Update%20042821.pdf](https://www.cityofberkeley.info/uploadedFiles/Clerk/Level_3_-_General/Housing%20Element%20Update%20042821.pdf)

# Berkeley Socio-Demographic Profile 2009-2019

# Socio-Demographic Profile: Methodology

## Data source: American Community Survey 5-year estimates from 2009, 2014, and 2019

- Data is at **census tract level** in 5-year estimates due to greatest accuracy
  - The 5-year estimates show data aggregated during the periods of 2005-2009, 2010-2014, 2015-2019
- <https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/acs/data.html>

## Datasets explored in this analysis at census tract level:

- *% of Renter occupancy*
- *Median Gross Rent (dollars)*
- *Median Home Value (dollars)*
- *% of Rent Burdened Households*
- *% Black, Indigenous, and People of Color*
- *% White Population*
- *% Latinx Population*
- *% Population Experiencing Poverty*
- *Median Household Income*

## Data presentation:

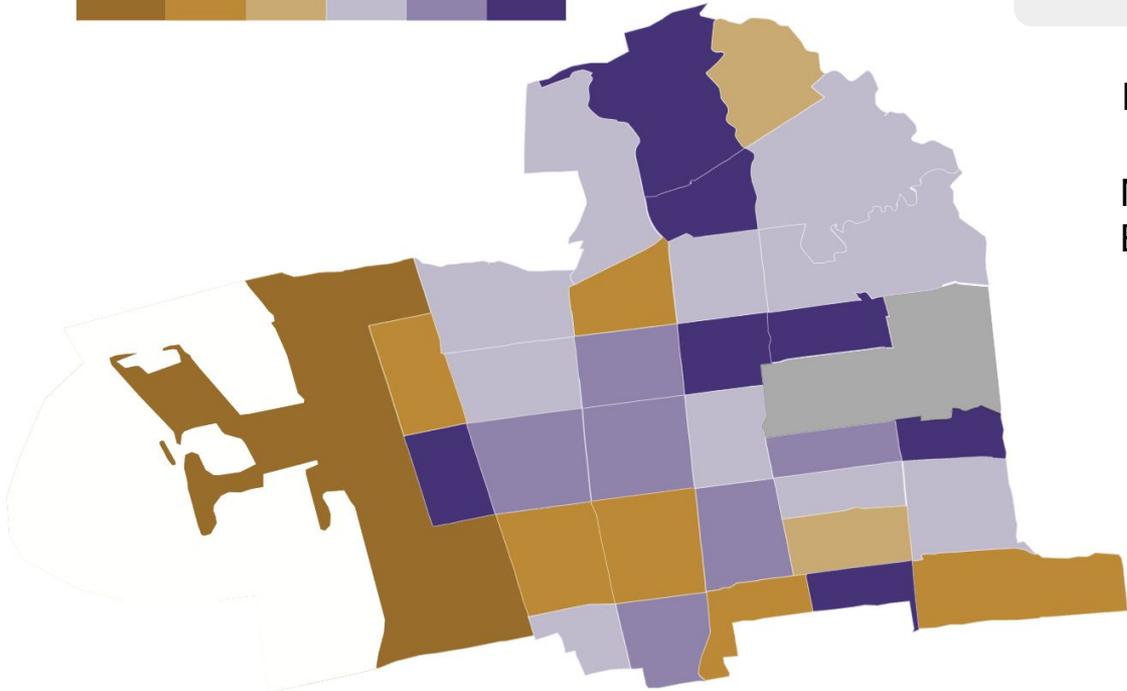
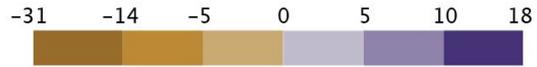
- The following maps represent change over time between the 2009-2019 datasets (2019 values - 2009 values / population changes)

# Race & ethnicity

## Berkeley, 2009–2019

# Black, Indigenous, and People of Color

% change in BIPOC population, 2009-2019



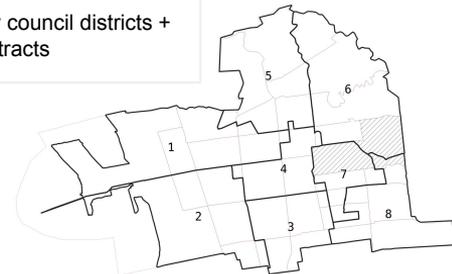
**Avg. change in City of Berkeley: + 13.29%**

Increases seen across Berkeley

Most extreme decrease in West Berkeley (districts 1+ 2): -31%

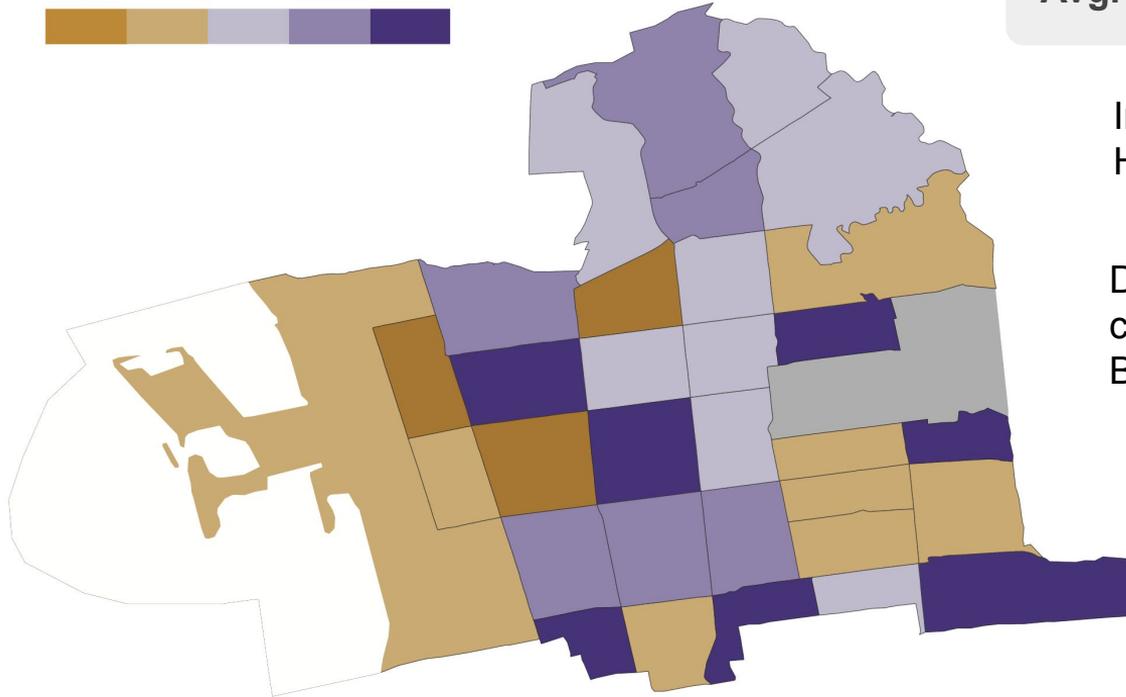
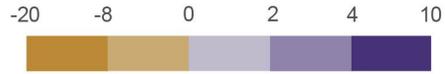
UC Berkeley

Berkeley council districts +  
census tracts



# Latinx Population

% change in Latinx population, 2009-2019

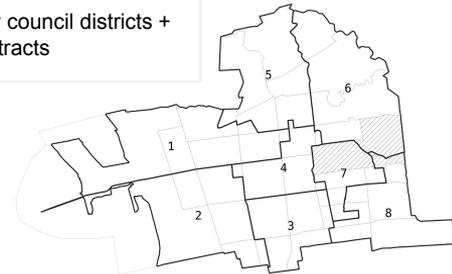


**Avg. change in City of Berkeley: + 9.16%**

Increases across City of Berkeley.  
Highest increase over time: 10%

Decreases concentrated in south of  
campus/south-east Berkeley and West  
Berkeley

Berkeley council districts +  
census tracts



UC Berkeley

# White Population

% change in white population, 2009-2019

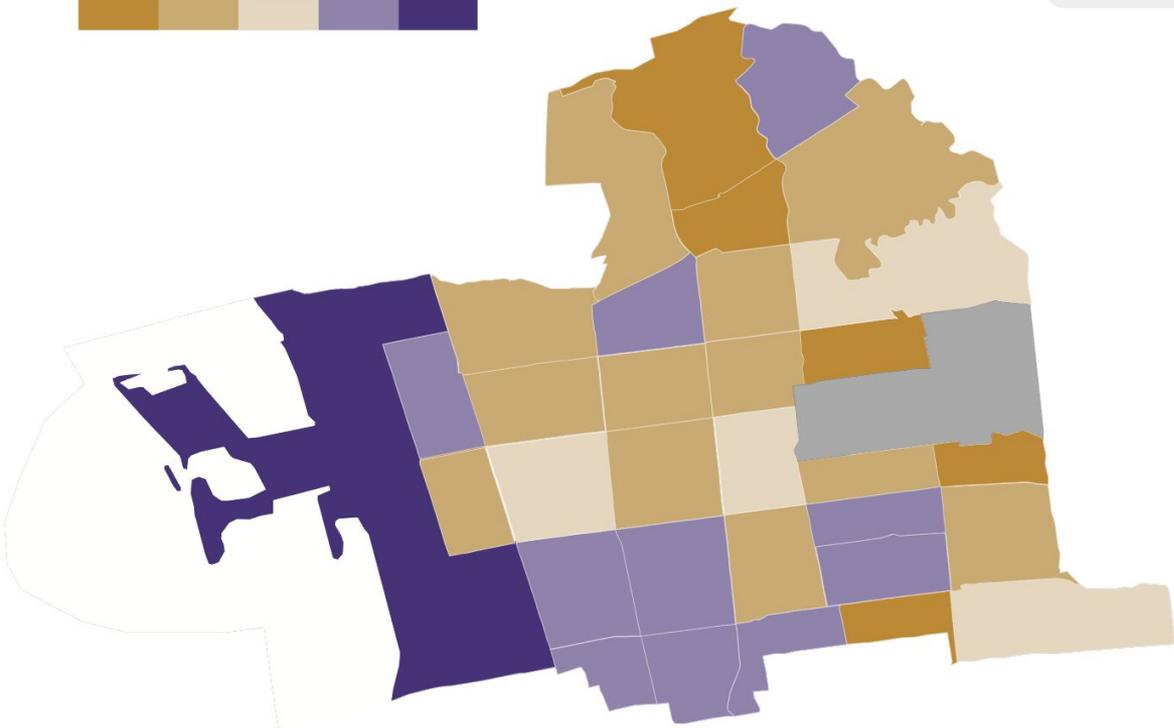
-21 -11 -2 0 17 27



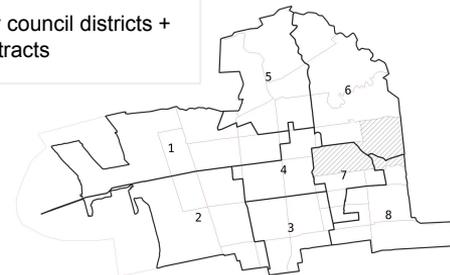
**Avg. change in City of Berkeley: - 7.59%**

Cluster of increase through South-west Berkeley (districts 2+3): +1-17%

Most extreme increase in West Berkeley (districts 1+2): +27%



Berkeley council districts + census tracts

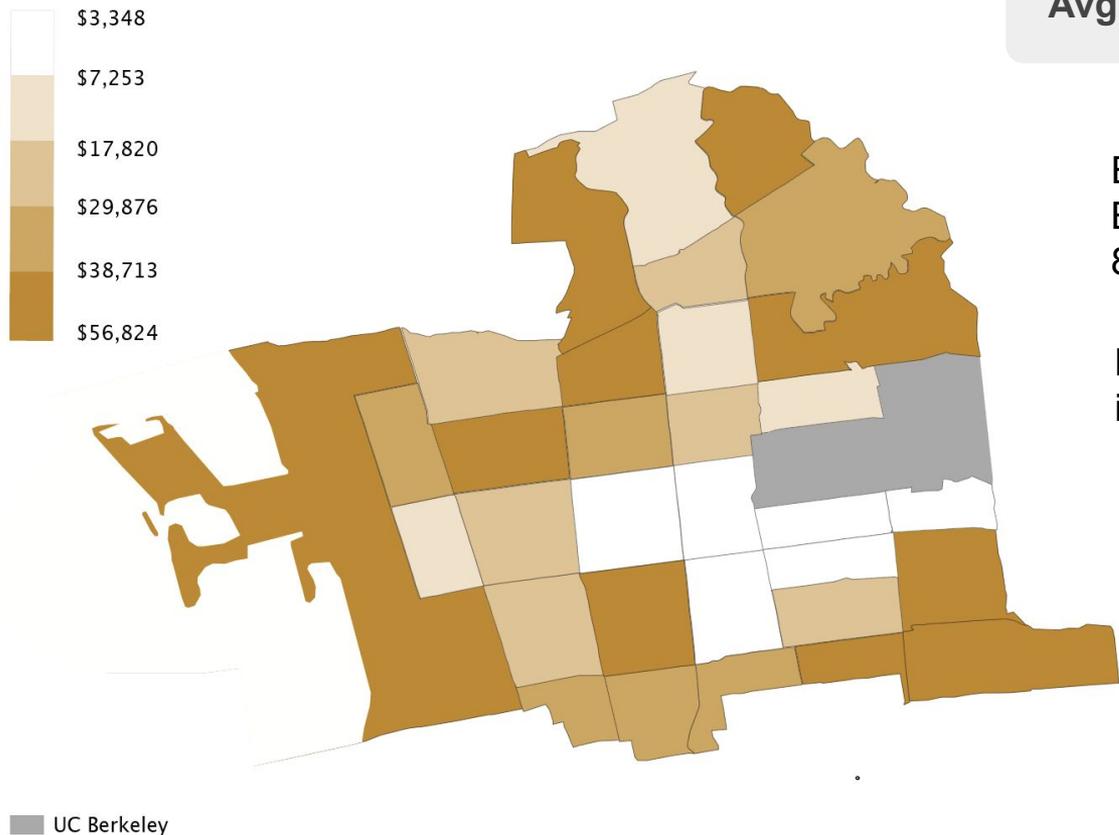


UC Berkeley

# Income, rent burden & poverty level Berkeley, 2009-2019

# Median Income

Change in median income (in US dollars) 2009-2019

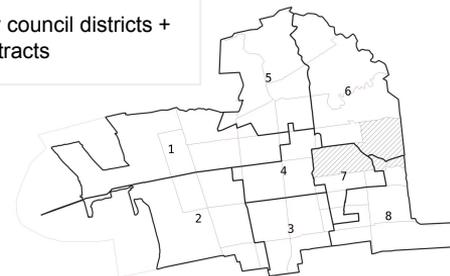


**Avg. change in City of Berkeley: + \$26,960**

Extreme increases in West Berkeley, North Berkeley, and South-east Berkeley (district 8): +\$38,713 - \$56,824

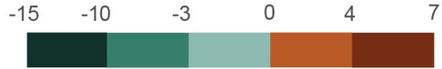
Low increases over time can be attributed in part to dense student populations

Berkeley council districts + census tracts



# Poverty Rate

% change in households experiencing poverty



**Avg. change in City of Berkeley: + 1.96%**

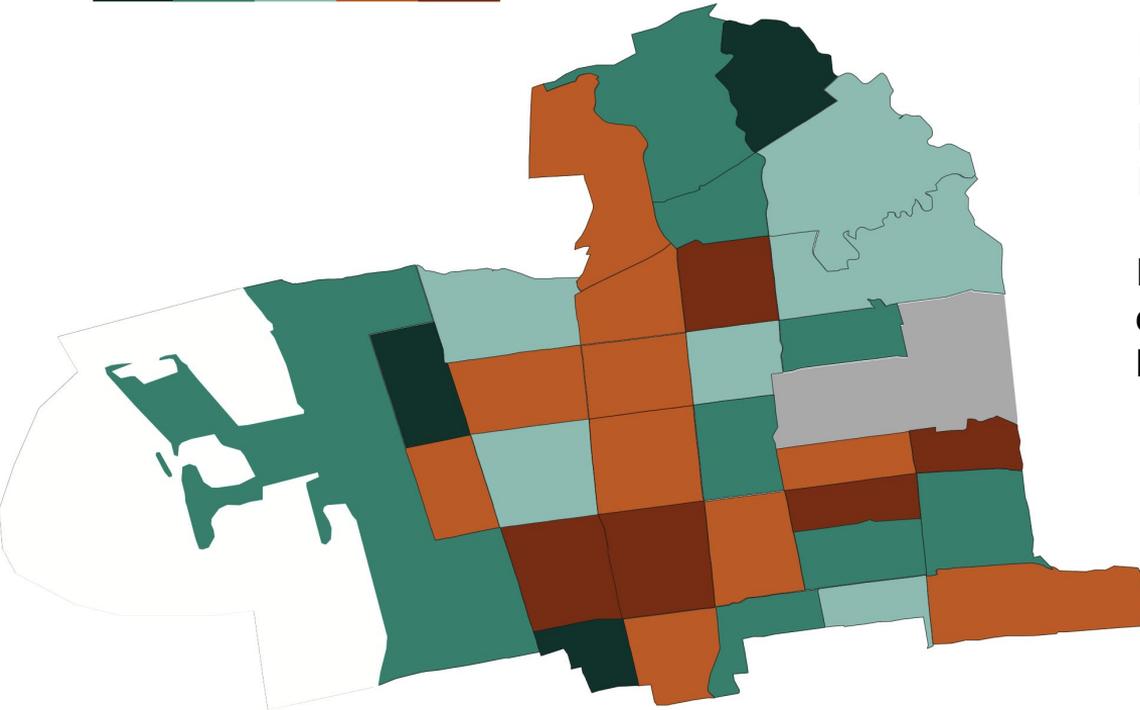
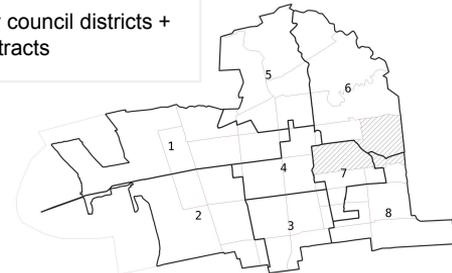
Particular decreases are seen in North Berkeley (especially district 6) and West Berkeley.

Maximum decrease over time: 15%.

Increases in the poverty rate over time occurred throughout Berkeley.

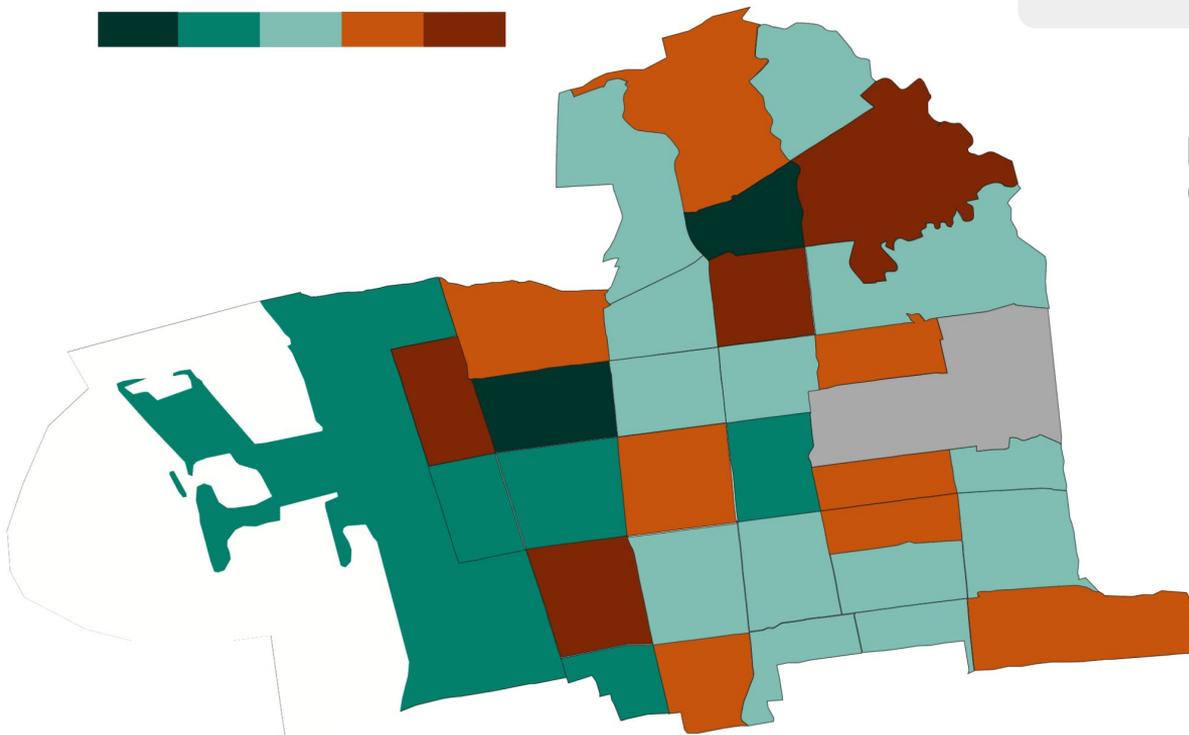
Maximum percent increase: 7%.

Berkeley council districts +  
census tracts



# Rent Burden

% change in rent burdened households 2009-2019



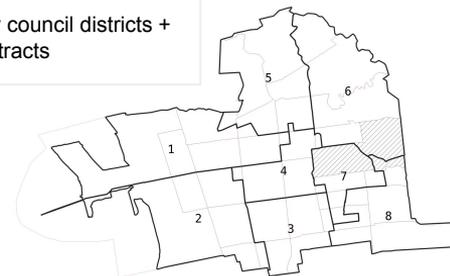
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**Avg. change in the City of Berkeley: + 1.81%**

Extreme decreases in rent burdened populations in West Berkeley (especially district 2): -1 - -10%

Increases in rent burdened populations around UC Berkeley and north Berkeley: +1-12%

Berkeley council districts + census tracts

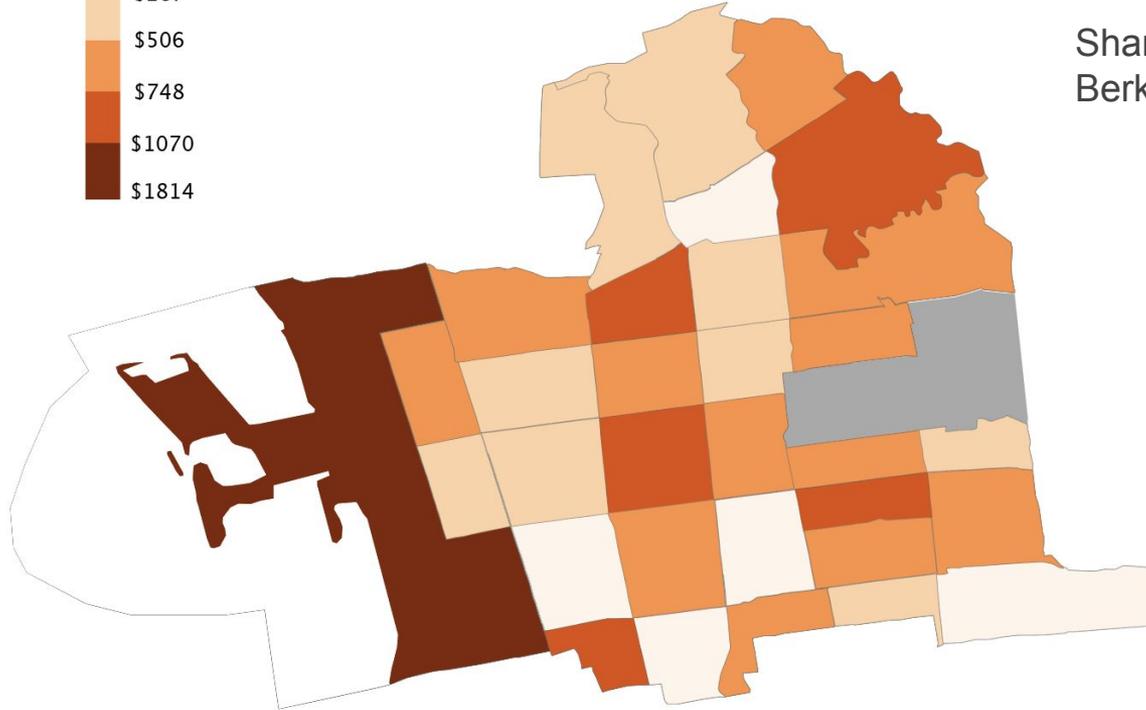


# Rent, tenure & home value

Berkeley, 2009-2019

# Median Monthly Rent (including utilities)

Change in median gross rent between 2009-2019 (in US dollars)

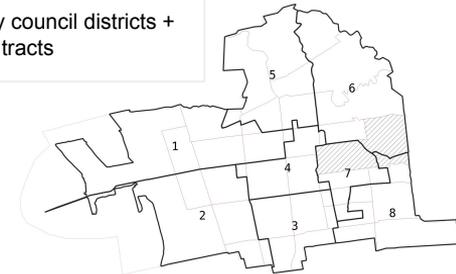


■ UC Berkeley

**Avg. change in City of Berkeley: + \$600**

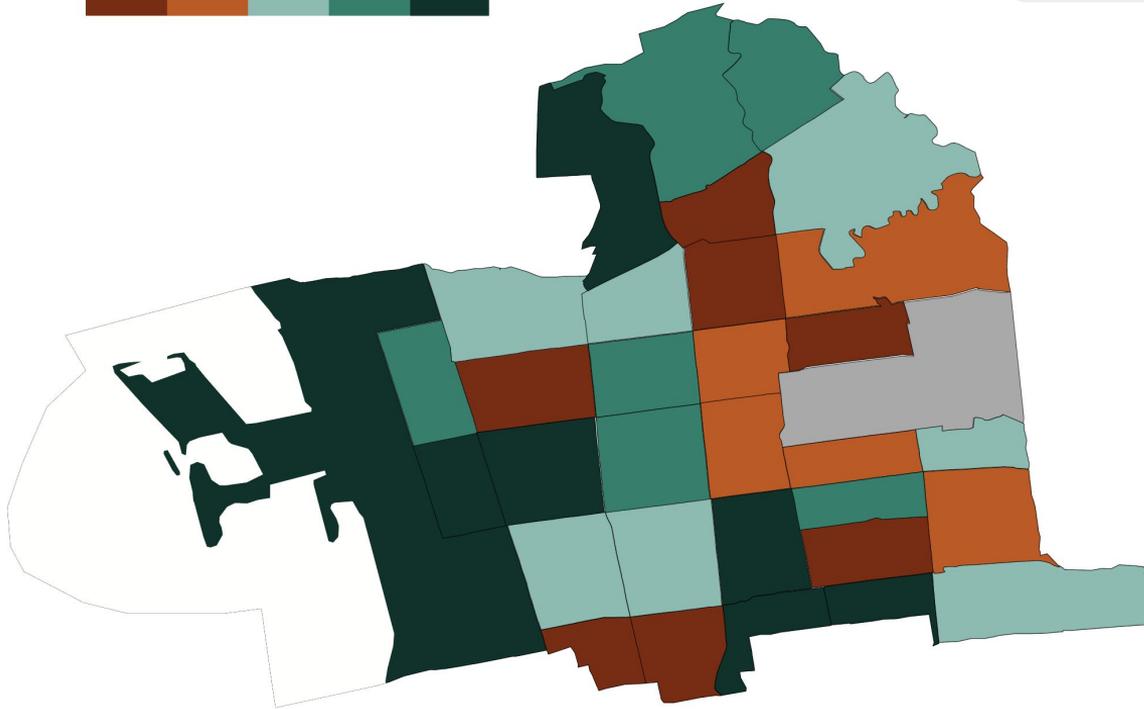
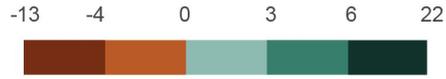
Sharpest average increase is in West Berkeley (districts 1 + 2): +\$1814

Berkeley council districts + census tracts



# Renter Occupancy

% change in renter occupancy between 2009-2019



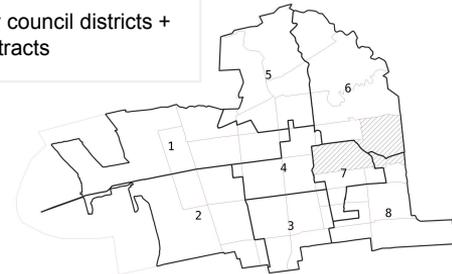
UC Berkeley

**Avg. change in City of Berkeley: + 3.85%**

Decreased avg. rentership near  
UC Berkeley: 0 - - 4%

Increased avg. rentership in West and  
South Berkeley: +6 - 22 %

Berkeley council districts +  
census tracts



# Median Home Value

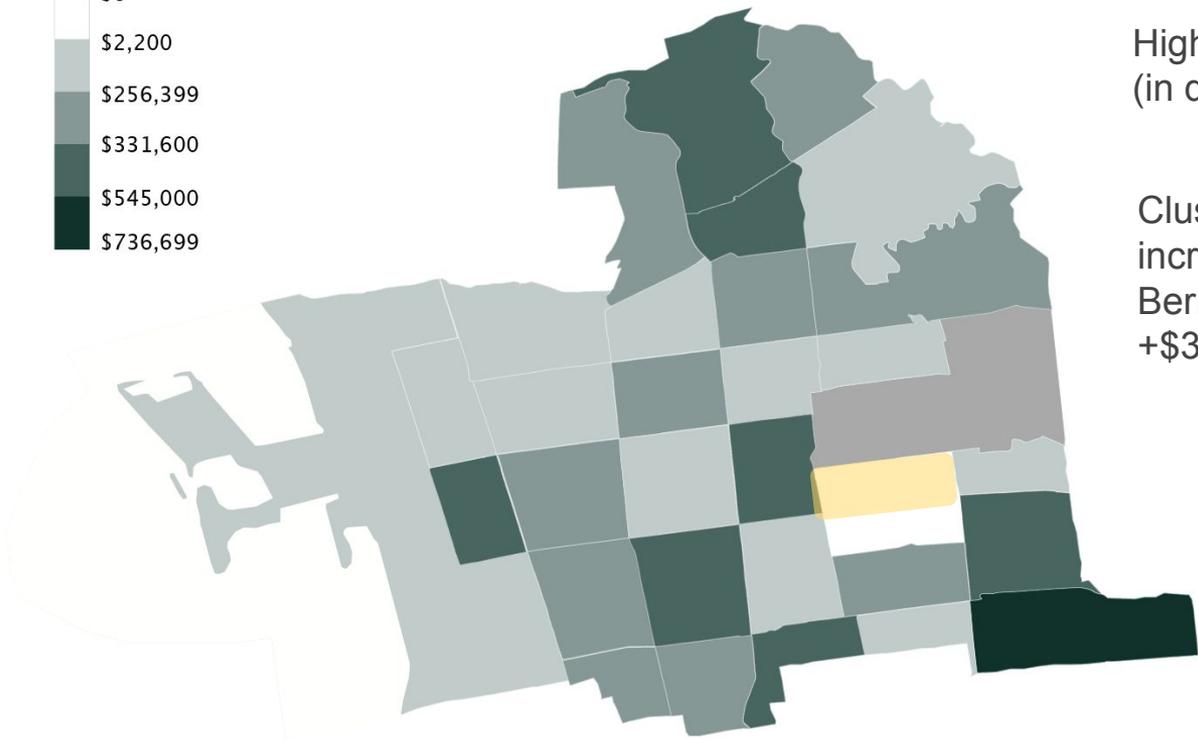
Change in median home value (in US dollars) between 2009-2019



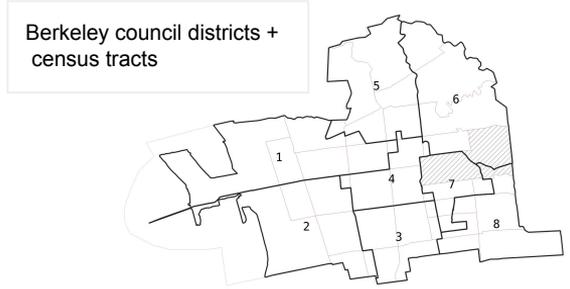
**Avg. change in City of Berkeley: + \$285,000**

Highest increase in south-east Berkeley  
(in district 8): +\$736,699

Clusters of higher than average  
increases in south-west and north  
Berkeley (districts 5, 2, and 3):  
+\$331,600-545,000



Insufficient Data  
 UC Berkeley



# Berkeley Vulnerability Index

- The Vulnerability index evaluates the relative threat of displacement facing each census tract in Berkeley by analyzing 8 predictive metrics
- Derived from a similar methodology developed in Los Angeles, used in publications and by LA County Development Authority (internal)
  - SAJE report, [Displacement Zones: How Opportunity Zones Turn Communities into Tax Shelters for the Rich](#)
- Metrics chosen are established predictors of displacement risk in the academic literature, substantiated by empirical work
  - Conducted extensive literature review of similar tools and efforts to inform selection
- We highlight tracts with large student populations which necessitate independent consideration

# Vulnerability Index: Methodology

- Analyzes relative performance of Berkeley census tracts across 8 indicators of displacement threat using data from 2019 ACS 5-year survey:
  - *% renters*
  - *% rent burdened*
  - *% owners cost burdened*
  - *% renters non-white*
  - *Median household income*
  - *% residents unemployed*
  - *% units overcrowded*
  - *% renters long time renters*
- The performance of each census tract is compared to the Berkeley citywide average: if it differs in the direction indicating vulnerability the tract is scored with a “1”
- Indicators are summed to reflect dimensions of vulnerability present in each census tract

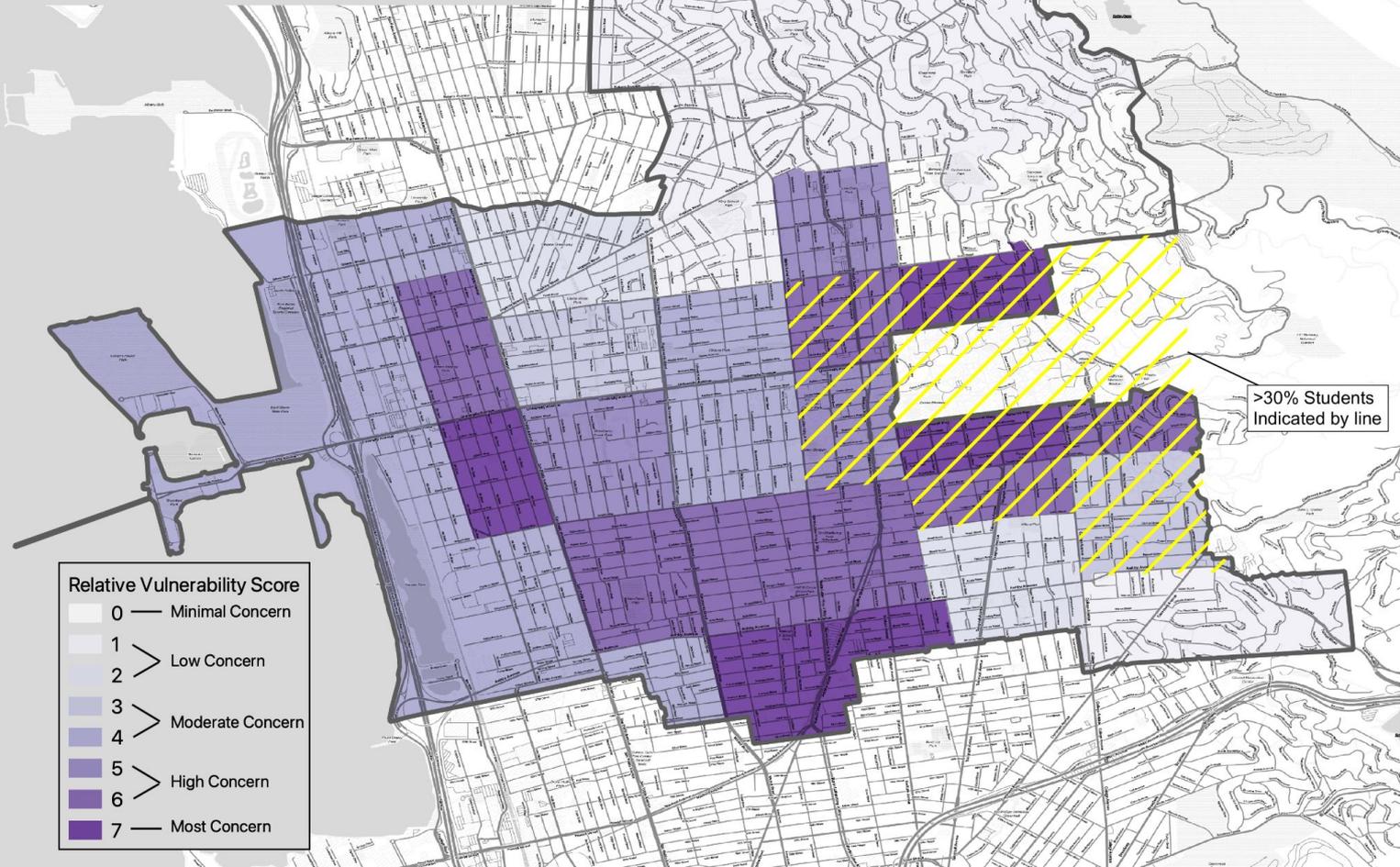
# Vulnerability Index: Application

- Establishes which parts of Berkeley are more or less likely to see resident displacement under conditions of redevelopment
- Helps establish recommendations for targeting of any potential upzoning that might occur
- Later stages: evaluates the relative likelihood that upzoning will result in new development across Berkeley neighborhoods



Photo of 900 Fourth St. rendering. Photo: West Berkeley Investments, <https://www.berkeleyside.org/2018/03/08/developer-invokes-new-state-law-force-berkeley-approve-260-unit-fourth-street>

# Displacement Vulnerability Analysis Berkeley Census Tracts



Relative Vulnerability Score	
0	Minimal Concern
1	Low Concern
2	
3	Moderate Concern
4	
5	High Concern
6	
7	Most Concern

>30% Students  
Indicated by line

# Vulnerability Index: Preliminary Findings

- **Vulnerability is concentrated in South-Southwest and West Berkeley, adjacent portions of the city, in addition to the student areas next to UC Berkeley.**
- Special attention should be given to census tracts with greater than 30% of students, as the student population is the reason for the vulnerability there to a large degree.
- Census tracts in South and West Berkeley do not have high student populations and are still demonstrating concerning levels of vulnerability.
- Southeast (including some student tracts!) and Northern parts of Berkeley are less vulnerable.

# Next Steps for Spatial Indices

- Produce new estimates of vulnerability in Berkeley that reflect the same indicators but exclude student populations.
    - Produce a map with students included but with averages based on students excluded, and a map which estimates the effect of removing students altogether
  - Complete parcel level analysis based on physical characteristics of parcels as well as tract level demographics and economic conditions that predict which parcels are likely to be targeted for redevelopment in light of new up-zoning policies.
- Are there additional key indicators of interest to the board?
  - Does this reflect the board's understanding of Berkeley dynamics?
  - Do you have preferences or suggestions for dealing with student heavy tracts?

# Case Studies & Research

# Literature on Upzoning

- To date, there are few studies on how upzoning impacts displacement
- The research on upzoning is diverse in perspective and emphasis
- Our focus is on evaluations of real-world impact, not solely theoretical models

TERNER  
CENTER  
FOR HOUSING  
INNOVATION  
UC BERKELEY

NYU  
Furman  
Center



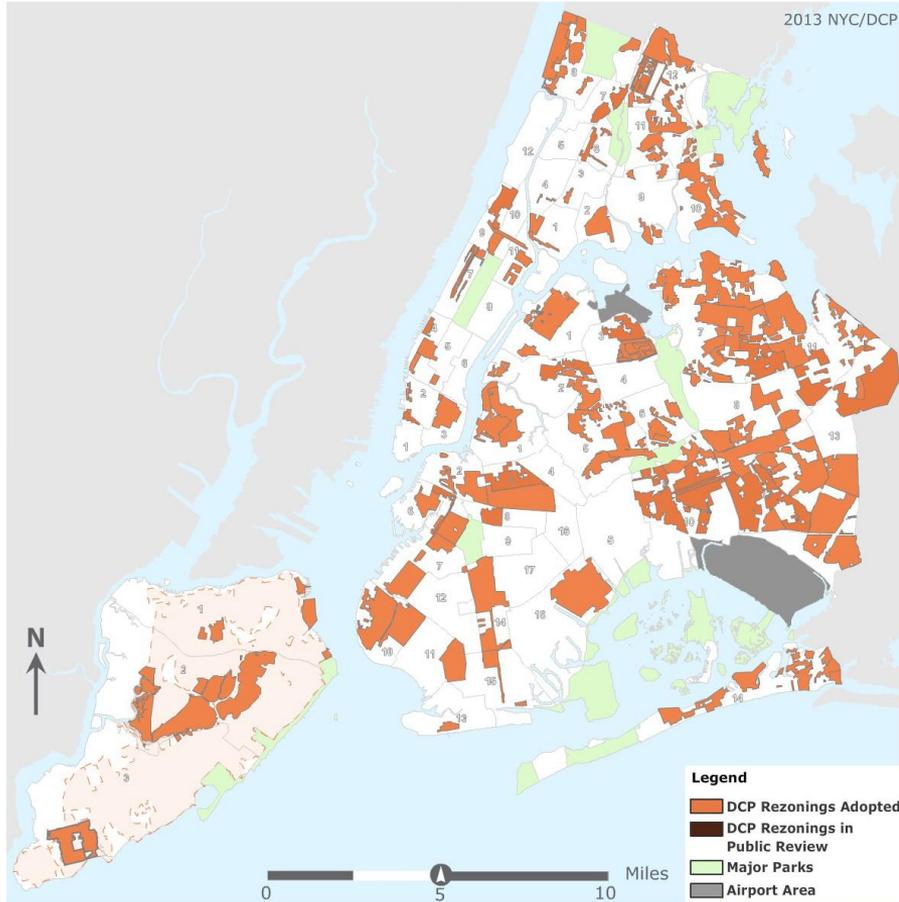
# Upzoning Debates

<b>Proponents</b>	<b>Critiques</b>
Private developers need to be incentivized to build more housing	Upzoning enables private developers to amass massive profits disproportionate to community benefits
Restrictive land use policies such as single family zoning have contributed to racial exclusion and segregation.	Upzoning often increases displacement of Black, brown, and low-income residents, compounding the effects of racist land use policies.
The theory of supply and demand means that increasing housing supply through upzoning would make housing more affordable	Increased affordability is not always seen in practice. Upzoning increases land values and speculation, which leads to higher rents and displacement pressures.
The long-term benefits of upzoning will outweigh near-term displacement risks.	Black, brown, and low-income residents disproportionately bear the risks of upzoning while whiter, middle class residents reap the benefits.

# Upzoning in NYC: Background (context and relevance)

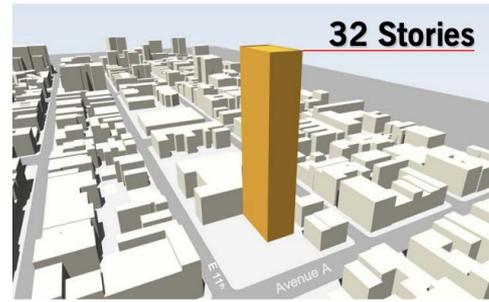
- Literature on impact of upzoning is limited because many upzoning policies were enacted very recently.
- NYC one of the earliest cities to upzone beginning in the 2000s and thus provides some evidence of the effects of upzoning.
- NYC is a useful case study for Berkeley because NYC has strong rent control laws. We can see if tenant protections can blunt displacement effects.
- Bloomberg administration:  $\frac{1}{3}$  of city's total landmass was upzoned.  
Voluntary Inclusionary Housing: created density bonus for affordable units.
- De Blasio Administration: Mandatory Inclusionary Housing, which *requires* developers to produce a certain percentage of permanently affordable units.

# Voluntary Inclusionary Zoning in NYC



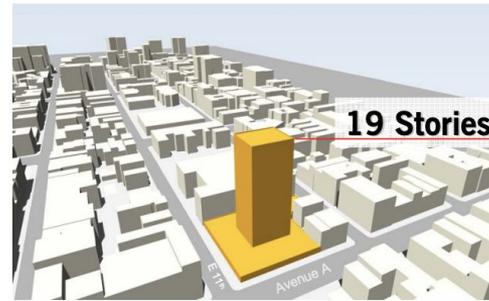
Areas rezoned by Bloomberg administration, 2002-2013  
DCP Map, <https://urbanomnibus.net/2014/02/what-is-zoning/>

# East Village Lower East Side Rezoning 2008



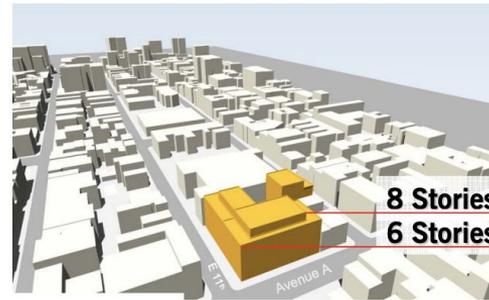
## **Existing R7-2**

Community Facility FAR: 6.5



## **Existing R7-2**

Residential FAR: 3.44



## **Proposed R7A**

Residential FAR: 4.0  
40'-65' Streetwall  
80' Max Height

<https://www1.nyc.gov/assets/planning/download/pdf/plans/east-village-lower-east-side/evles.pdf>



**Northwest Corner, East 11<sup>th</sup> Street & Avenue A  
East Village / Lower East Side Rezoning**

DEPARTMENT OF CITY PLANNING New York City MANHATTAN OFFICE

# Mandatory Inclusionary Zoning in NYC

	Boston	Chicago	District of Columbia	San Francisco	Seattle*	Existing NYC Voluntary IH Program	New NYC MIH Program
Year Adopted	2000	2003	2006	2002	2001	1987 (R10) 2005 (IHDA)	2016
Program Type	Voluntary	Voluntary	Mandatory	Mandatory	Voluntary	Voluntary	Mandatory
Duration of Affordability	50 years	30 or 99 years	Permanent	Permanent	50 years	Permanent	Permanent
Set Aside (%)	15%	10%	Varies	12% onsite 20% offsite	5%	4-5% (R10) 20% (IHDA)	<b>20 to 30% onsite 25 to 35% offsite</b>
Income Targets (AMI)	<70 to 100%	≤60 to 100%	<50 to 80%	≤55 to 90%	80 to 100%	< 80%**	Basic options at average of 60% and/or 80%; additional options at average of 40% and/or 115%

\*MIH,” <https://www1.nyc.gov/site/planning/plans/mih/mandatory-inclusionary-housing.page>

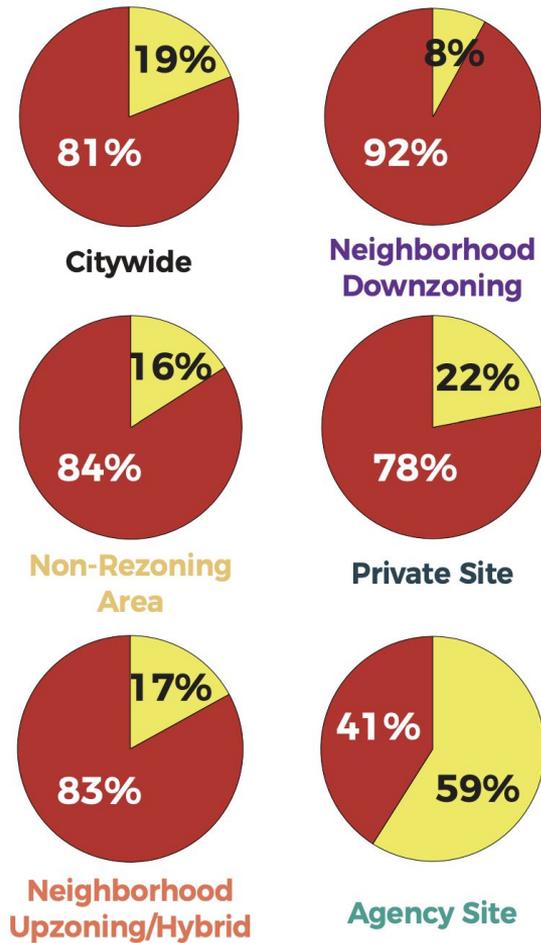
# Mandatory Inclusionary Zoning in NYC

Two years before zoning reform was passed in East New York:

- Home prices jumped 63% (\$480K to \$1.4 million)
- Median rents rose 16% to \$1850 even though median income was only \$32000



# Most rezonings in New York produced little affordable housing



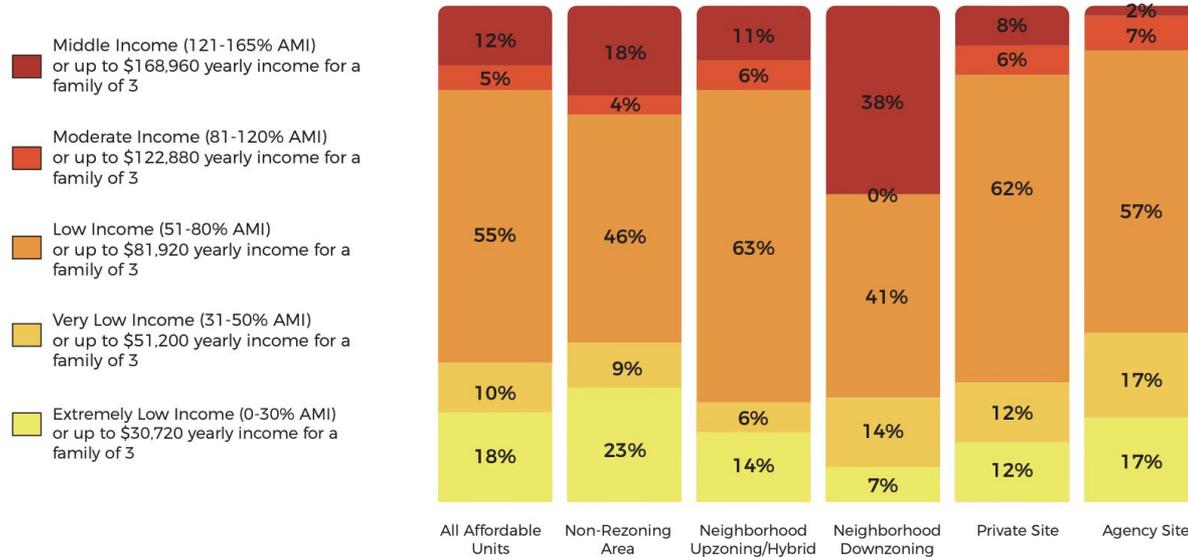
**Figure 1:  
Unit Breakdown  
Within Rezoning  
Types**



Only agency site rezonings have been effective at producing development where a majority of units are affordable.

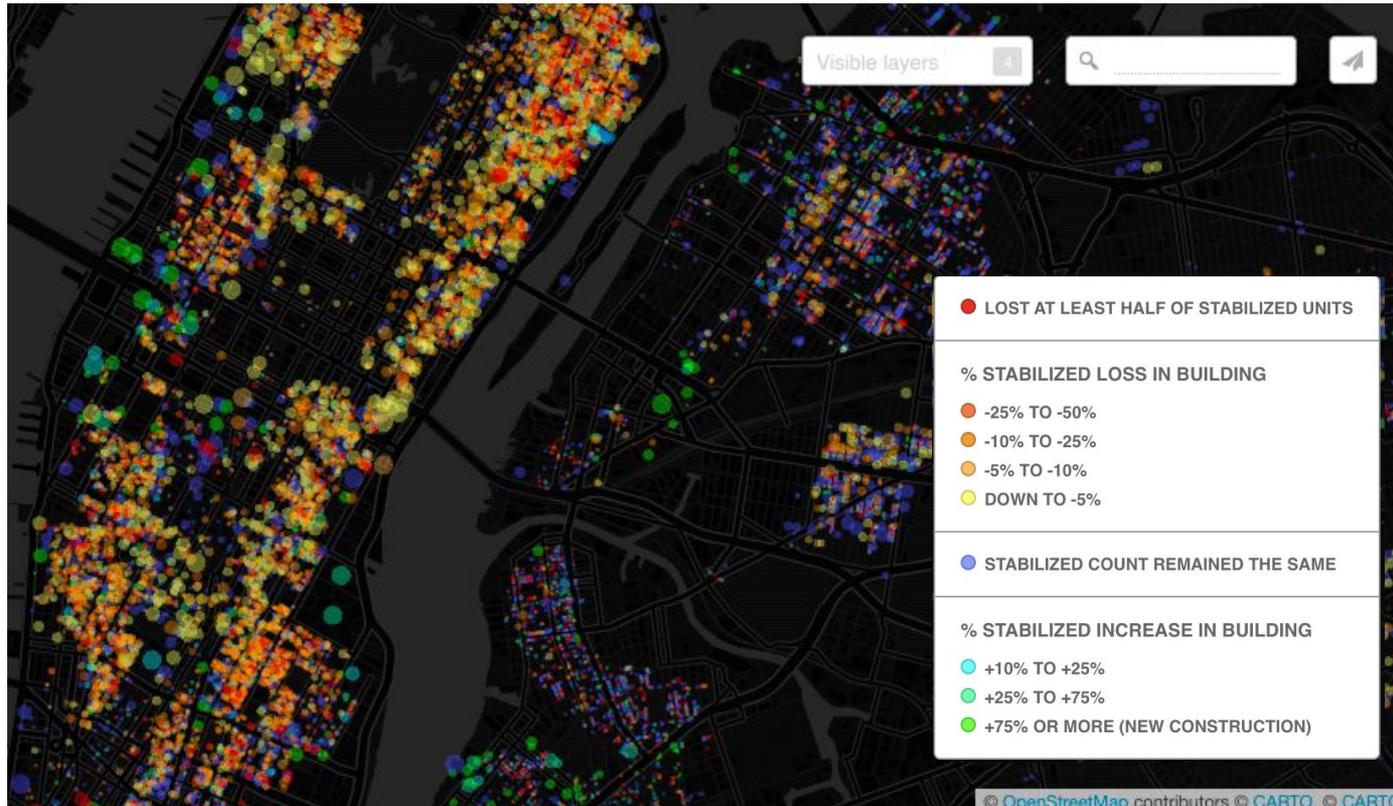
# “Affordable” housing is not necessarily affordable to those most affected by the housing crisis

**Figure 2:  
AMI Breakdown Within Rezoning Type**



# Can the market preserve housing affordability & stability?

## Lessons from NYC



Changes in Rent Stabilization 2007-2014, [https://docker4data.carto.com/viz/766a0f32-1ea1-11e5-b267-0e49835281d6/public\\_map](https://docker4data.carto.com/viz/766a0f32-1ea1-11e5-b267-0e49835281d6/public_map)

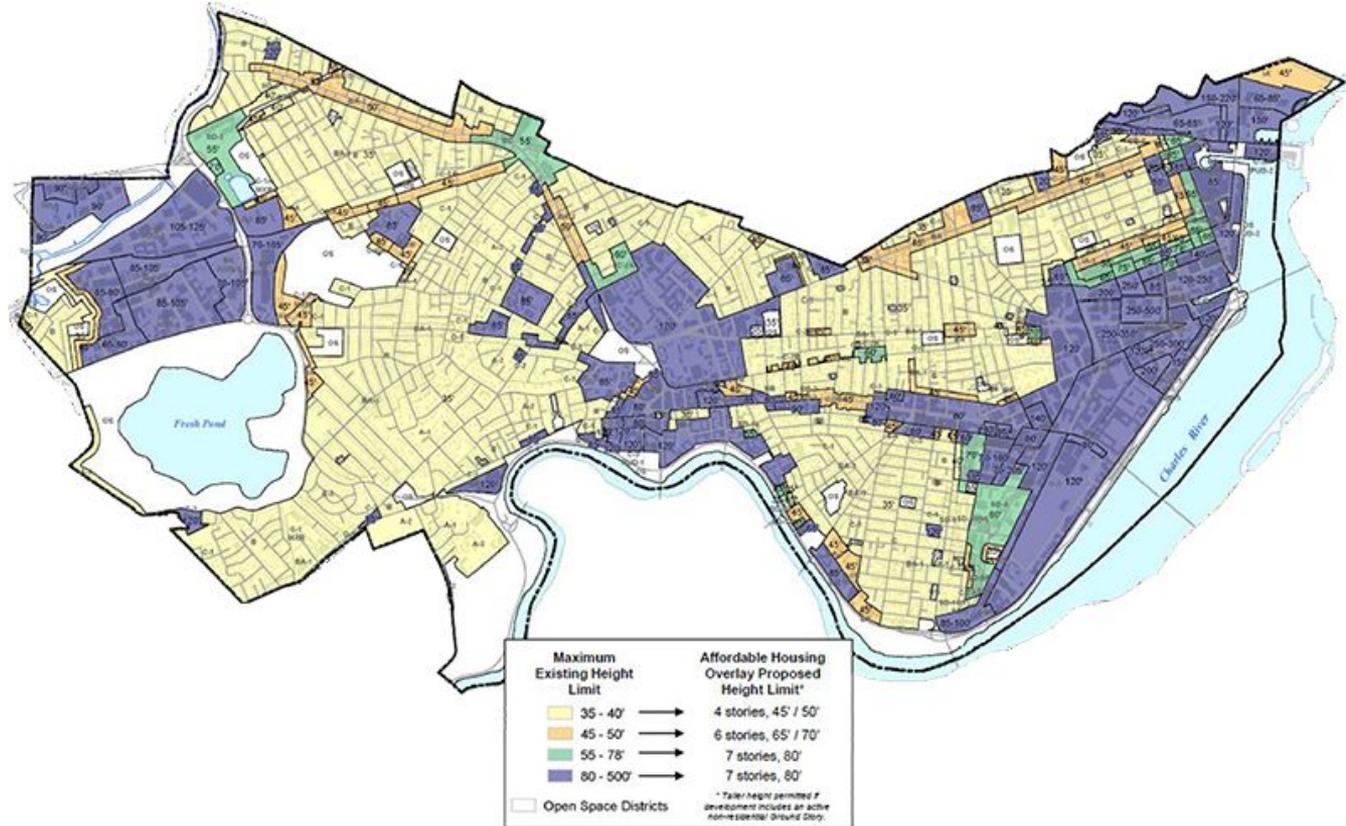
# Case Study: Chicago

- Upzoned in 2013 and 2015
- Short term effects:  
increase in land value  
& property transaction prices.  
No change in permit volume.



Yonah Freemark, “Upzoning Chicago: Impacts of a Zoning Reform on Property Values and Housing Construction,” *Urban Affairs Review* 56, no. 3 (2020): 758-789.

# Cambridge, MA: 100% Affordable Overlay



# Portland: “Middle Housing” model

# Portland's Residential Infill Project

## Re-legalizing “middle housing” citywide



Rendering by Alfred Twu,  
<https://www.sightline.org/2020/08/11/on-wednesday-portland-will-pass-the-best-low-density-zoning-reform-in-us-history/>

\* Maximum building sizes based on floor area ratio allowed on a typical 50' x 100' lot in the R-5 zone.

# Berkeley Upzoning Case Studies

# Downtown & Southside Area Plans

The City of Berkeley has previously enacted upzoning policies in neighborhood plans, including:

- **Southside Area Plan (passed in 2011)**

Designated new densification for residential sub-areas

Revised zoning regulations for the Telegraph Corridor (C-T) to reduce parking requirements and raise height limits

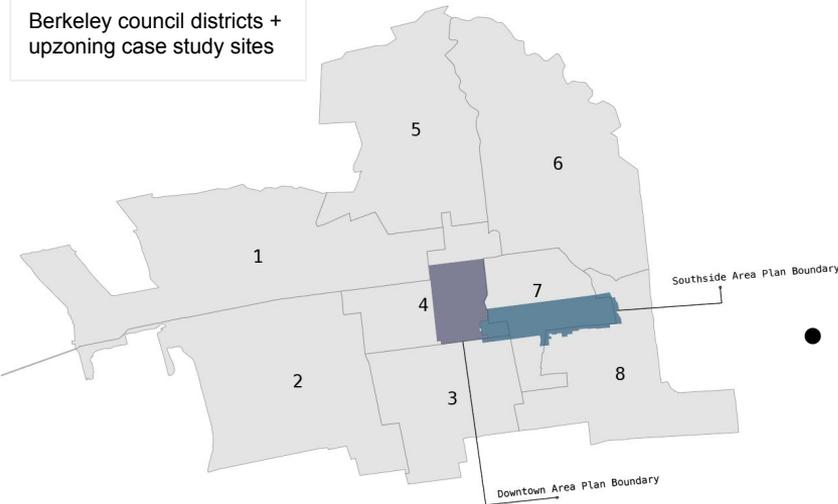
Improved the discretionary review process for projects that complied with the Zoning Standards

- **Downtown Area Plan (passed in 2012)**

Encouraged high rise development in Core Area (up to 180') and Outer Core (up to 120') in areas within ½ mile of Downtown BART

**Did not rezone in residential single-family areas**

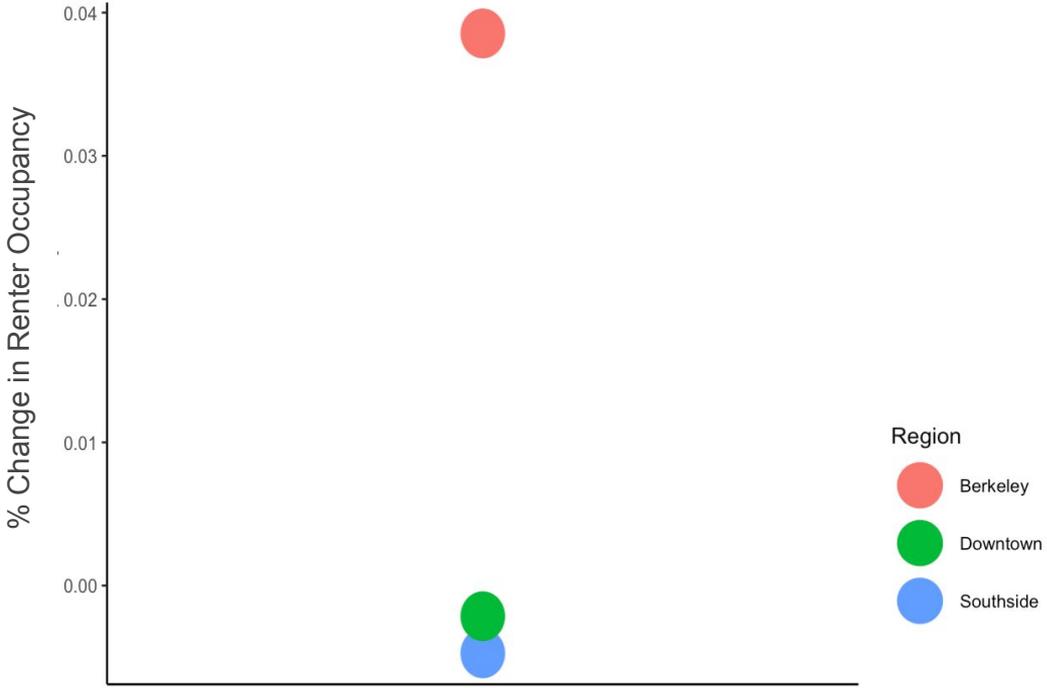
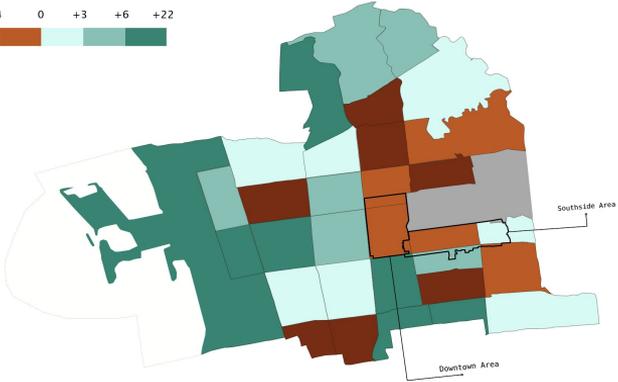
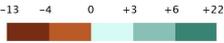
Berkeley council districts +  
upzoning case study sites



# Renter Occupancy, 2009-2019

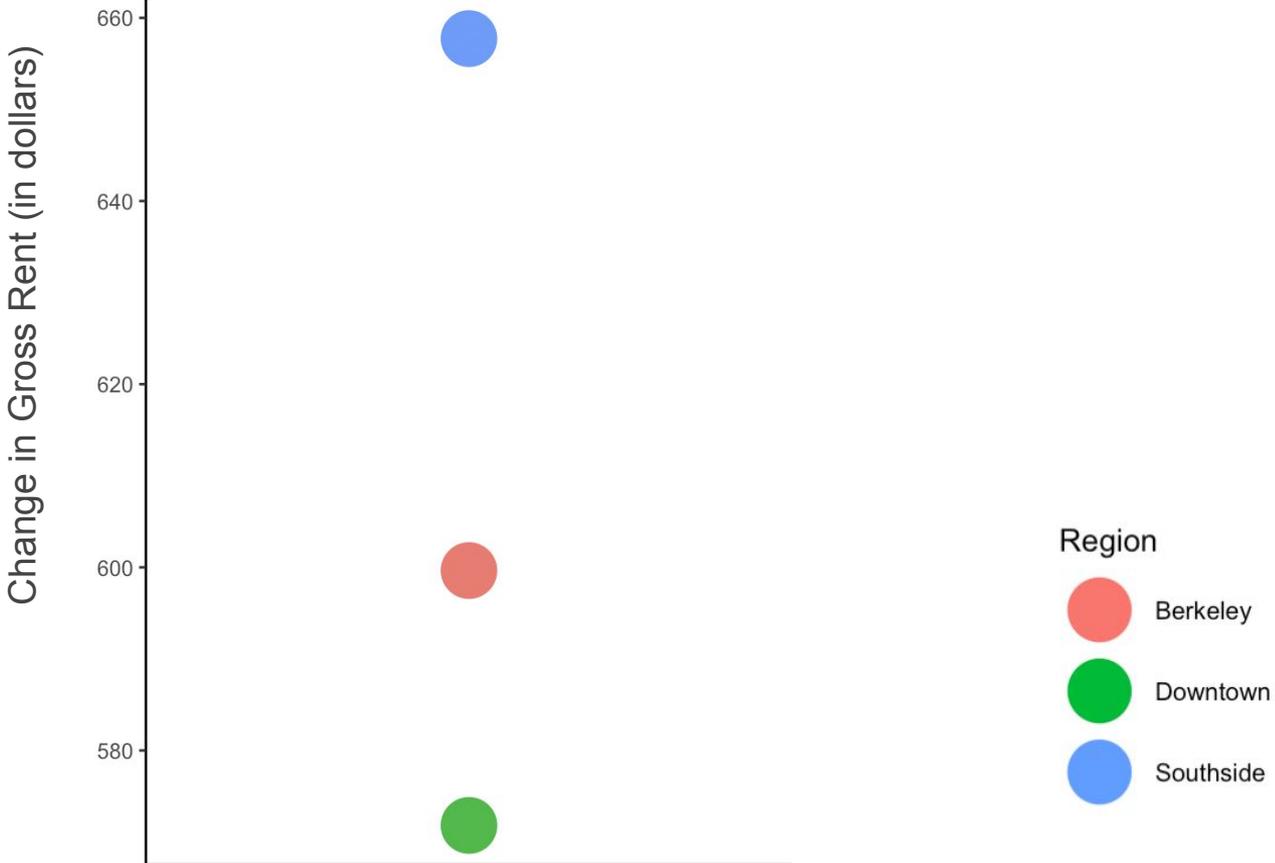
**City of Berkeley: + 3.85%**  
**Downtown Area: -0.21%**  
**Southside Area: -0.47%**

% change in renter occupancy between 2009-2019



# Median Gross Rent (including utilities), 2009-2019

**City of Berkeley: + \$600**  
**Downtown Area: + \$572**  
**Southside Area: + \$658**



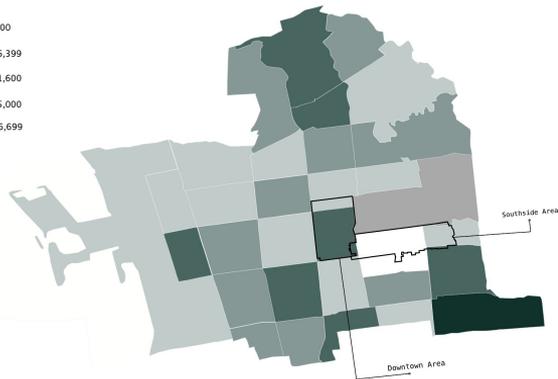
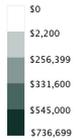
# Median Home Value

**City of Berkeley: + \$285,000**

**Downtown Area: + \$433,000**

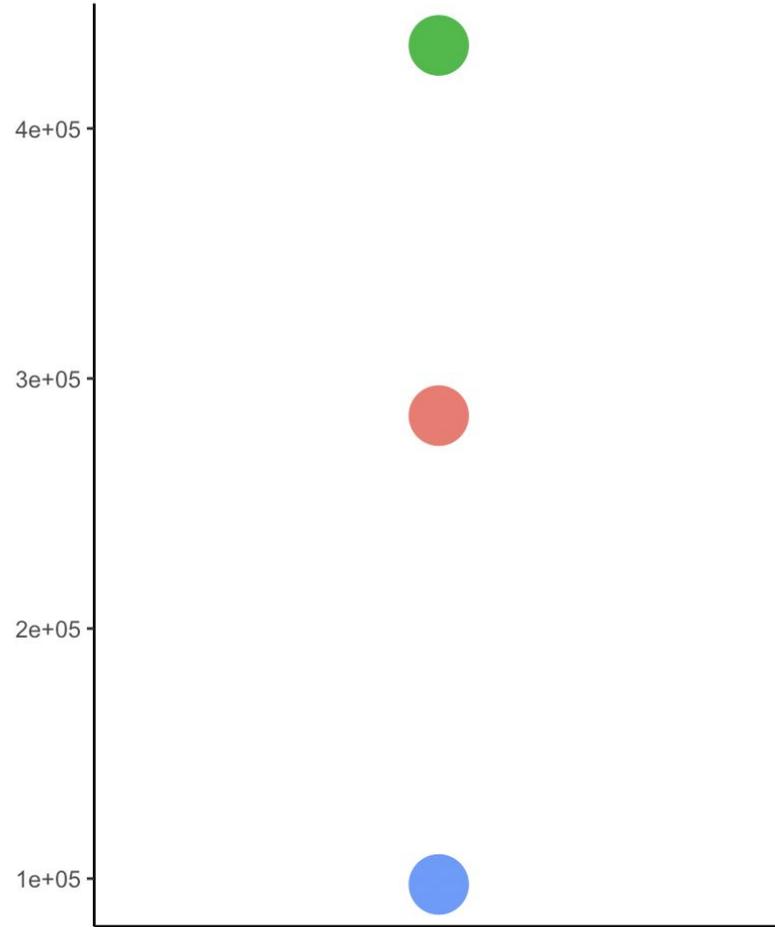
**Southside Area: NULL**

Change in median home value (in US dollars) between 2009-2019



UC Berkeley

Change in Median Home Value

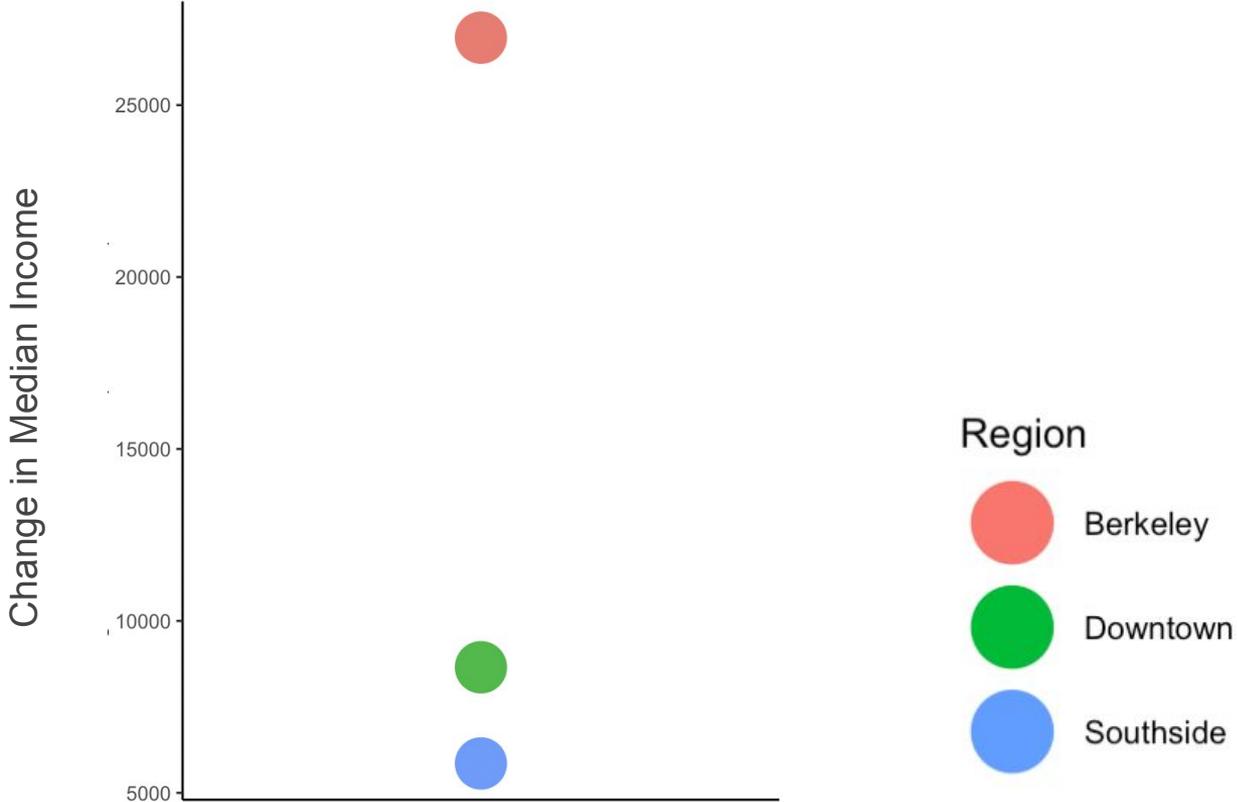


Region

- Berkeley
- Downtown
- Southside

# Median Income, 2009-2019

**City of Berkeley: + \$26960**  
**Downtown Area: + \$8650**  
**Southside Area: + \$5850**



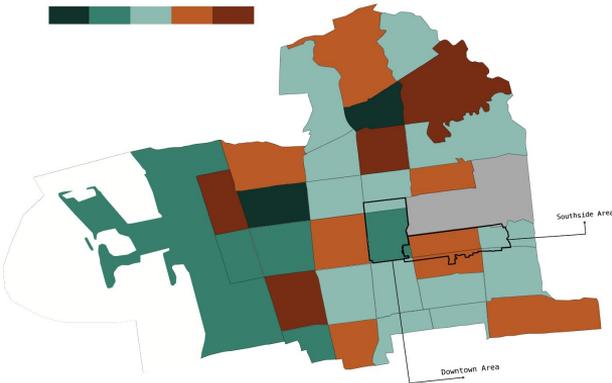
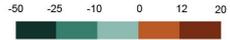
# Rent Burdened Households, 2009-2019

**City of Berkeley: + 1.81%**

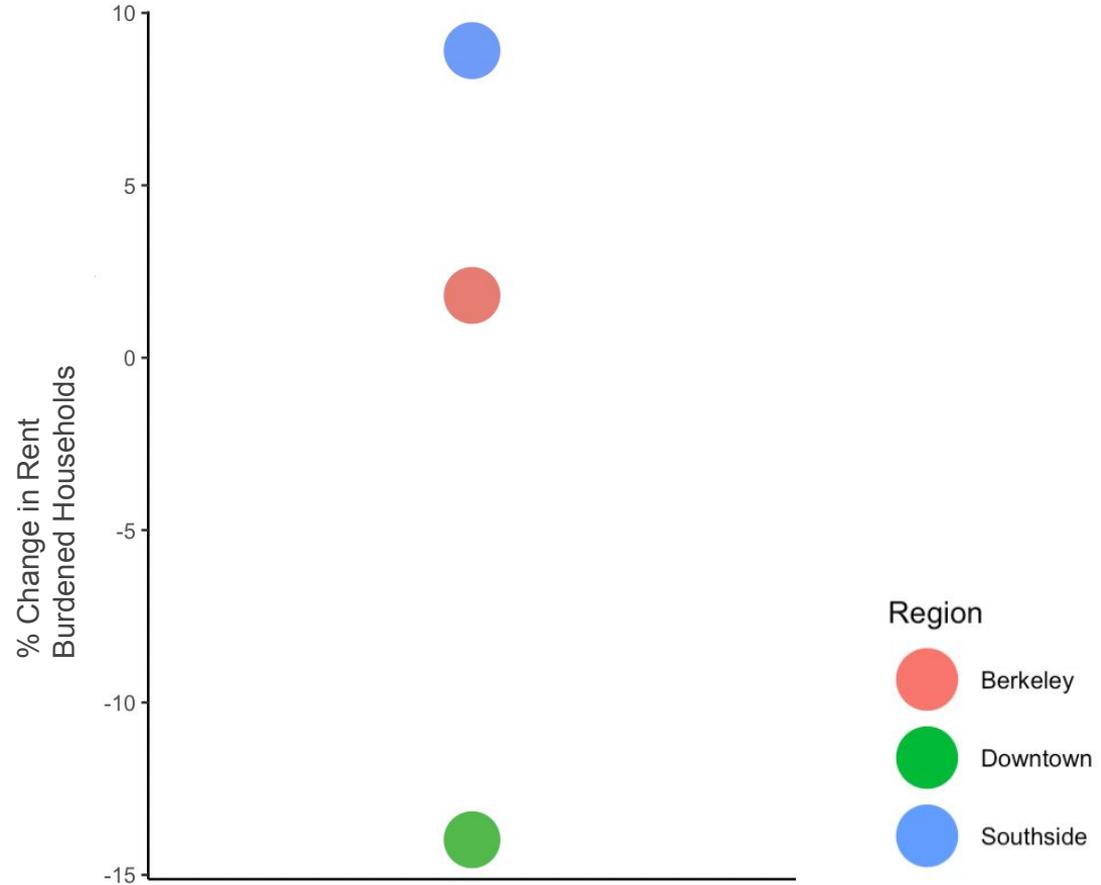
**Downtown Area: - 13.98%**

**Southside Area: + 8.91%**

% change in rent burdened households between 2009-2019

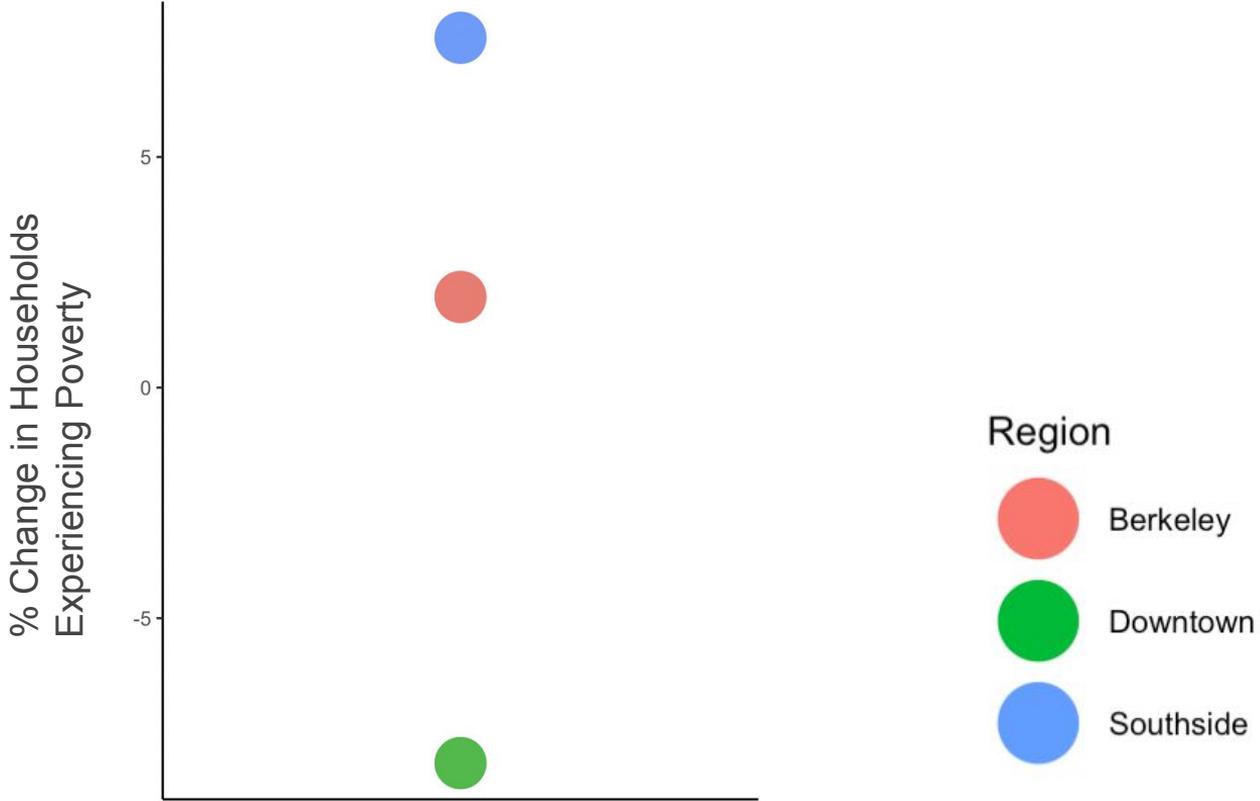


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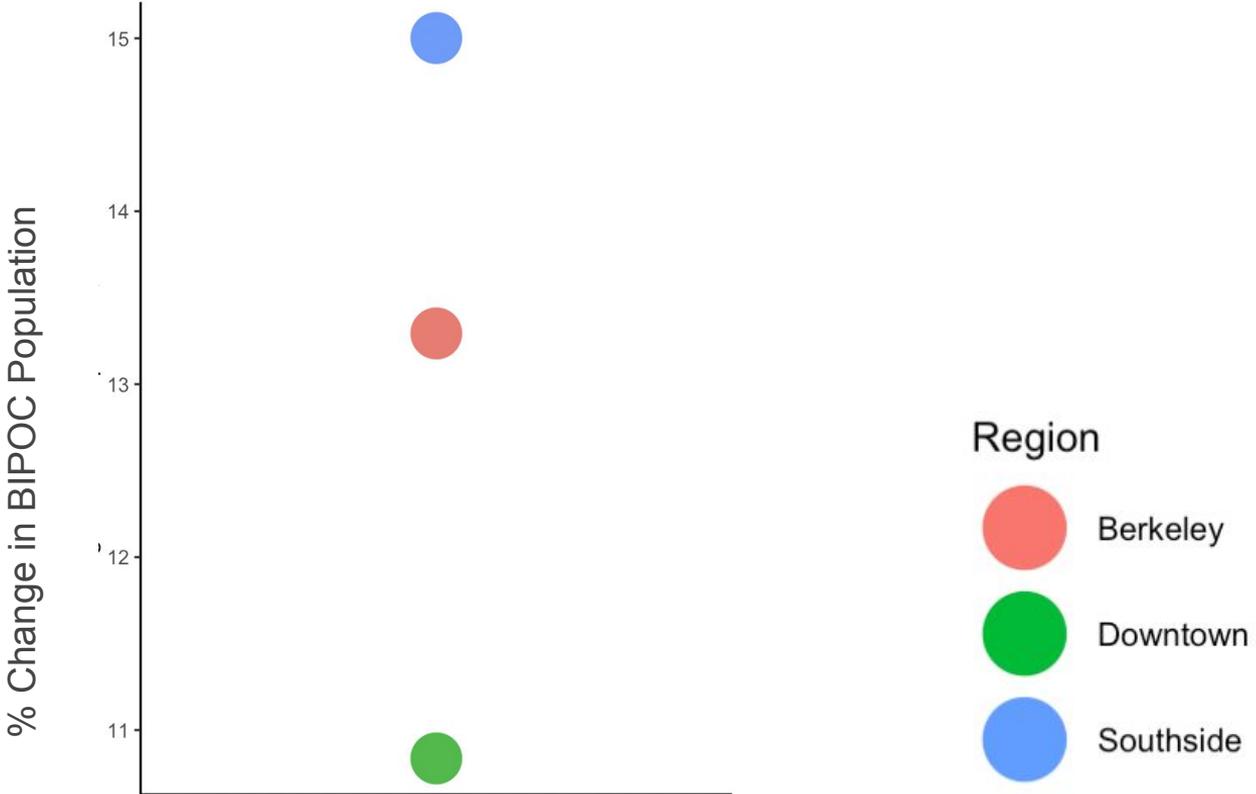
# Poverty Rate, 2009-2019

**City of Berkeley: + 1.96%**  
**Downtown Area: - 8.14%**  
**Southside Area: + 7.58%**



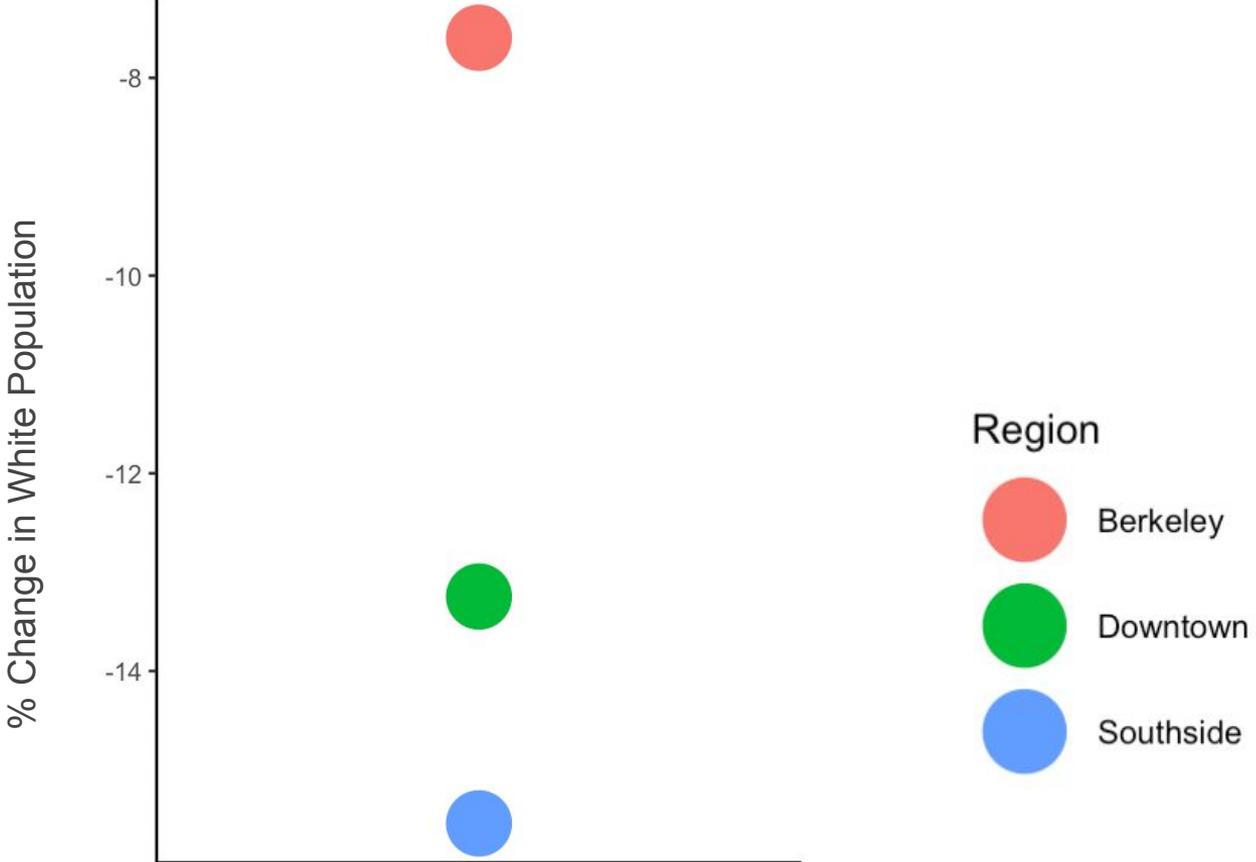
# Black, Indigenous, and People of Color, 2009-2019

**City of Berkeley: + 13.29%**  
**Downtown Area: + 10.84%**  
**Southside Area: + 15%**



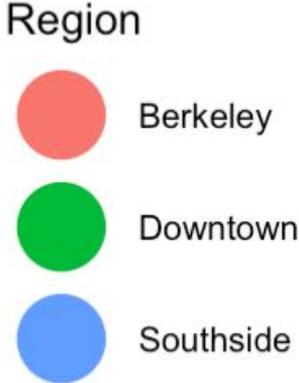
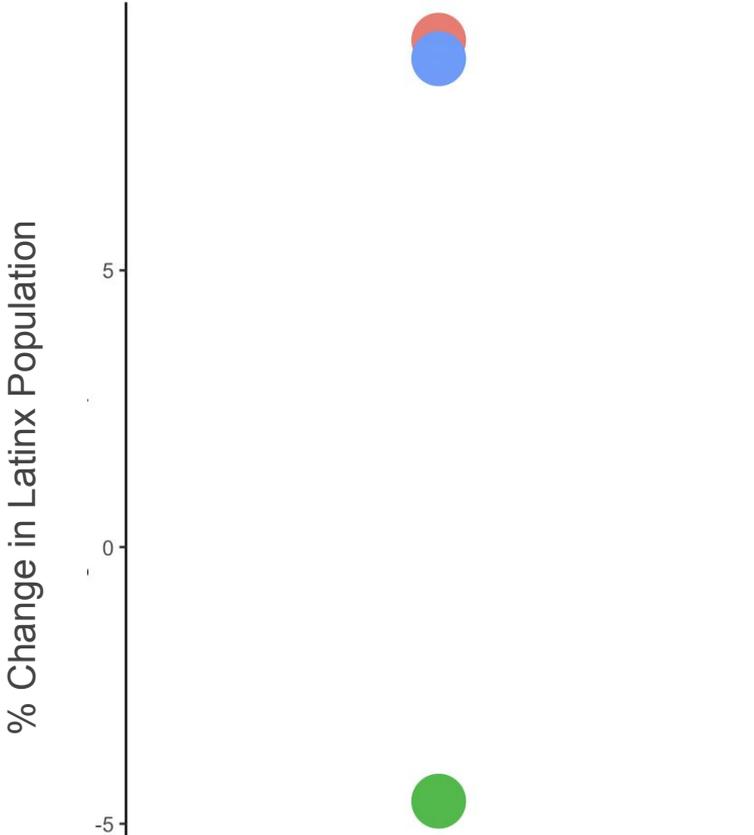
# White Population, 2009-2019

**City of Berkeley: - 7.59%**  
**Downtown Area: - 13.25%**  
**Southside Area: - 15.54%**



# Latinx Population, 2009-2019

**City of Berkeley: + 9.16%**  
**Downtown Area: - 4.59%**  
**Southside Area: + 8.82%**



# Initial findings & next steps

While we cannot draw causal conclusions about the impacts of upzoning from these datasets, **the trends do not align** with claims that up-zoning policies alone maintain affordability and stem displacement.

- More research is necessary to fully analyze the demographic changes we see. We will continue to explore this through:
  - Parcel data from new developments in the area
  - Permit data showing demolition, building of market rate and affordable units
- We will further explore possible indicators of displacement in the Downtown Area, including:
  - Increase in income over time
  - Increase in median home value over time
  - Decrease in renter occupancy over time
  - Decrease in poverty rate over time

# Preliminary Research on Policy Interventions & Future Directions

# Policy Considerations

- [Incentivize preservation of rent-regulated units](#)
- [Enact protections against tenant harassment, including construction nuisances](#)
- [Mandatory Inclusionary Housing that includes larger percentage of VLI and ELI units](#)
- [Mandate displacement impact studies \(similar to Environmental Impact Studies\)](#)
- [Consider the use of special overlays such as an affordable or special district overlay](#)
- [Rental relief programs](#)
- [100% affordable housing on publicly owned land](#)
- [Land value capture](#)
- [Community-led planning process](#)
- Review policy research for permanently affordable units

# Future directions for this report

- Conduct more detailed analysis of specific upzoning policies being considered in Berkeley including:
  - Inclusionary housing + zoning
  - Expansion of Accessory Dwelling Units (ADUs)
  - Impact of state and regional upzoning policies
- Further develop the Berkeley Vulnerability Index using parcel-level data
- Conduct analysis of building permits to explore the impact of speculation in advance of upzoning
- Utilize Rent Board data about rent ceilings to understand turnover, rent increases, and loss of rent controlled units
- Research construction budgets for development of ADUs, duplexes, triplexes and other housing types to better understand expenditure break down in new construction

# Concluding Thoughts

Unless land use policies are created with equity and the creation and maintenance of affordable housing as their primary goal- and use proven methods to achieve that goal- upzoning will accelerate the displacement of Black, brown and low-income Berkeley residents, paradoxically intensifying the racist impacts of existing land use policy.

Thank you for listening!

We encourage feedback and questions