

PUSHED OUT

MASS LIBERATION AZ
#SPEAKFREEDOM & #GETORGANIZED



DISPLACEMENT IN
SOUTH PHOENIX

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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ABOUT MLAZ

Mass Liberation Arizona seeks to end mass incarceration by building power in our communities to demand government and community divestment from carceral systems. We are a Black liberation focused, directly impacted led abolitionist movement seeking to reclaim the power to determine what restores us by putting people before property, investing in solutions that strengthen our communities, centering healing and personal transformation. We are a statewide organization, headquartered in South Phoenix, with a growing membership in Black communities, as well as inside prison facilities.



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NOTE ABOUT LANGUAGE

Throughout this report, language is used intentionally. There are often times when an issue affects a specific racial or ethnic group and there are other times when it affects all non-white people. There is often another scenario when people with lived experience know it affects a large group of people, but the available research only looked at a specific group. By using the language that supports each statement, we seek to not only do our due-diligence in delivering a report reinforced by nearly 150 citations, but to also visibilize the inequities in investments that institutions make when choosing who gets their narrative centered in research, journalism, and scholarship. These citations often use terminology and language that is harmful and does not embody the values of liberation work.

As a result, this note, as well as elements throughout the paper, seek to both name and reduce the harm when that language is used. For the purpose of this paper, Black refers to people who are of African or Caribbean descent, Latino/Latinx refers to people who trace their ancestry to countries of Latin America, Indigenous refers to the native people of Arizona including the tribes (Fig.1), and non-white refers to people who are Latinx, Indigenous, Hispanic, and Asian together. This report seeks to center Black and local Indigenous displacement and names those groups and their experience whenever possible.

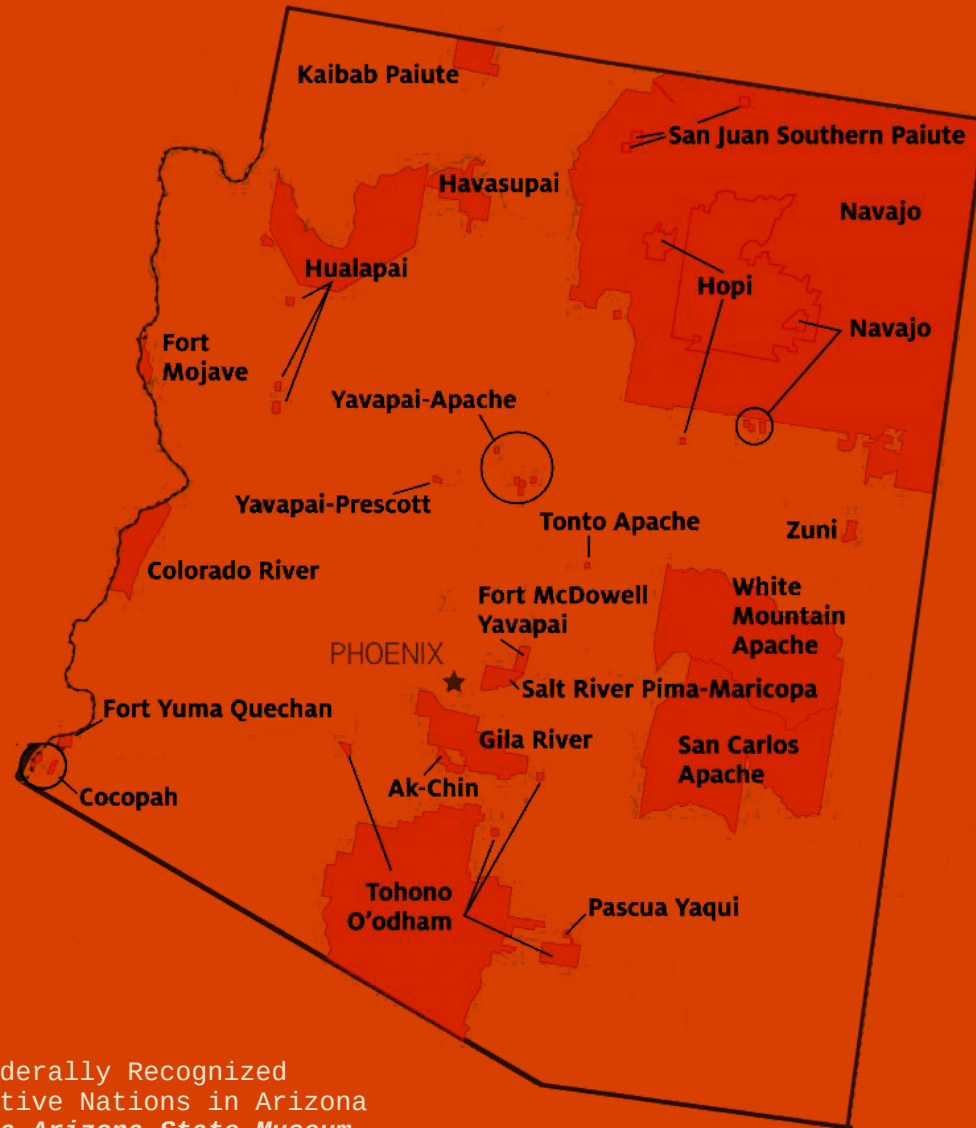


Fig 1 - Federally Recognized Native Nations in Arizona via Arizona State Museum

INTRODUCTION

Hundreds of years before any cities on the East coast had become inhabited, a settled and innovative community occupied the land we know as Phoenix. The Hohokam tribe are the first known settlers of the area and for 2000 years made Phoenix their home (City of Phoenix, 2008). They were known to inhabit the South Mountain area as it was close in proximity to both the Salt River and Gila River (Gonzalez, 2020). Historians and archaeologists believe that this area first attracted the Hohokam because it was “cooler, and with greater diversity of creatures than the river basins,” and South Mountain was ideal for ancient desert farmers (Gonzalez, 2020). Thus the Hohokam gave life to this area, making it “the most populous and agricultural productive valley in the West before 1500 CE” (Bostwick as cited in Gonzalez, 2020). The Hohokam were able to survive and transform a dusty desert into great farmland by constructing a widespread system of irrigation canals reaching over 135 miles (Gonzalez, 2020).

In 1450 CE, historians believe that the area was destroyed by a prolonged drought, and the people were given the name ‘Ho Ho Kam’ or ‘the people who have gone’ (City of Phoenix, 2008). However, several tribes do not accept the Hohokam to have vanished. The Akimel O’odham/Pima and the Tohono O’odham/Papago tribes are believed to be direct descendants of the Hohokam. The Gila River Indian Community have alternatively named them Huhugam meaning “loved ones who have passed” (Gonzalez, 2020).

After the tribe descended, the United States gained control of the Phoenix area from Mexico in 1848 at the end of the Mexican-American War, and Phoenix was founded twenty years later in 1868 (City of Phoenix, 2008). In 1887, the Southern Pacific Train arrived in Phoenix and changed the city forever. With the arrival of the railroad, the economy was altered, and Phoenix moved from being a purely agricultural city to becoming a trade market. (City of Phoenix, 2008). This colonization disrupted the communal responsibility to land inherent in Indigenous nationhood and turned the land into a private commodity for wealth extraction and accumulation (Belfi & Sandiford, 2021). It is also here that our story transitions from colonization, to racial segregation.

The fate of the city’s oldest Black and Latino neighborhoods “was cemented nearly a century ago, linked to a complex of factors including pervasive racial exclusion, class domination, political disenfranchisement, and a racially segmented economy” (Bolin et al., 2005). Collectively, these processes have confined Black and Latino city residents to an area that has been overlooked and underserved by local governments, financial institutions, and private developers (Smyton, 2020).

And while Phoenix never truly desegregated (Flaherty, 2021), over the past half century, we’ve seen the destruction of the infrastructure put in place by the victories of the civil rights movement and are seeing resegregation happen at an alarming pace (Chang as cited in Kai-Hwa Wang, 2016). Resegregation can be seen through disparities in life expectancy,

policing, incarceration, health, wealth, income, housing, and schooling (Chang as cited in Kai-Hwa Wang, 2016). This connection to the history of segregation and oppression is why gentrification cannot tell a complete story (Chang as cited in Mock, 2016). As Jeff Chang writes, “When the rents reach the tipping point... when poor residents have to leave... gentrification has no room for the question, ‘where did the displaced go?’” (Chang, 2016). Often, “the displaced join the disappeared” (Chang, 2016) leaving some to wonder if the fate of displacement in South Phoenix will be the same as the Hohokam.

The resegregation of Phoenix today has been driven by decades of discriminatory practices. Like many cities, it was built through acts of racial violence across a spectrum such as policing and hyperincarceration including some of the “broadest and strictest anti-illegal-immigration measures” (Arizona State University, 2018), the use of zoning laws and urban renewal, and environmental injustice (Smyton, 2020). In the case of Phoenix, no area has been more marginalized than South Phoenix (Bolin et al., 2005). This report takes into account race, place, and history in a way that other discussions of displacement don’t in order to understand displacement in South Phoenix in a deeper way.

01

CRIMINALIZATION

THERE IS
A DIFFERENCE
BETWEEN
'CRIME' & 'HARM'

“Crime” is defined by
people with power, often
to preserve that power;
it has no connection to
what actually harms the
community



sive substance use disorders alone, for which they'll spend a significantly longer time incarcerated than in other states, and most of whom will never receive treatment (Wood, 2019). Further, more than half of these women are mothers whose children often suffer from emotional stress, financial and school challenges, and social isolation (Wood, 2019).

Hyperincarceration does not just affect people and communities while they are incarcerated—these sentences have lasting impacts on individuals and communities. There are housing and employment prerequisites that discriminate against previously incarcerated individuals (Prins & Story, 2020); thus it has a direct influence on an individual's ability to also secure stable income and healthcare insurance, further displacing individuals through lack of access to housing and increased poverty (Prins & Story, 2020).

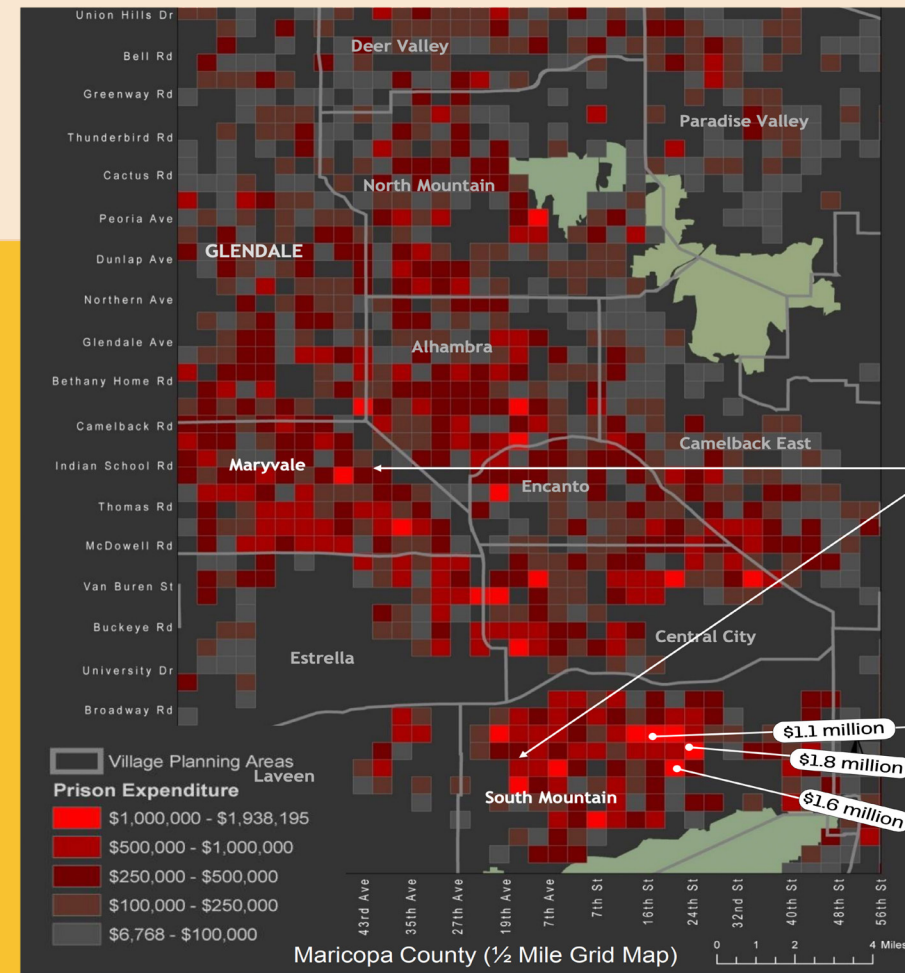
In addition to the alarming number of people who are incarcerated, there is a large population of people under mass supervision through jails, probation, and parole. Arizona has nearly twice as many people on probation as they do in state prisons, and with probation as a key driver of mass incarceration, Arizonans become trapped in the revolving door (Jones, 2018). Probation sets people up to fail with strict conditions, long and costly supervision, and intense surveillance; more than half of people aren't able to complete their supervision terms and become incarcerated (Jones, 2018). In Arizona, projections indicate that the "state prison population will grow by 52 percent over next ten years, twice the rate of increase

projected for the state's general population" (Greene & Strategies, 2011). The primary driving factor behind this prison growth is the high rate of failure among people on community supervision (Greene & Strategies, 2011).

With this high number of South Phoenixians being incarcerated (ACLU, 2018; Zetino, 2018), it means that many members of the community aren't home to be counted in the census or shape the future of their community. In many rural white towns, like Florence, population numbers are boosted by Black and Latino people in prisons (Wang & Devarajan, 2019). In fact, 71% of Maricopa County's state prisoners are incarcerated and represented outside the county (Prison Policy Initiative, n.d.). This process, called prison gerrymandering, is used to "bolster the voting strength where incarceration facilities are located, an average of 100 miles away from the homes of people who are incarcerated" (Osaki et al., 2021) and causes political power to be lost in the communities of color that most incarcerated people call home (Prison Policy Initiative, n.d.). Through the census, this distribution of power is then sealed for a decade leading many scholars to liken prison gerrymandering to the Three-Fifths Compromise (Osaki et al., 2021).

Hyperpolicing and incarceration also affects a person's ability to shape their community through voting rights. In Arizona, over 7% of all Latino voters cannot vote (Uggen & Fetig, 2021), and Arizona has the eighth highest rate of Black disenfranchisement in the country with Black Arizonans comprising 11.89% of the disenfranchised population despite only com-

prising 4% of the state's voting age population (ACLU of Arizona, 2018). This is partly a result of Arizona having more restrictive felony disenfranchisement laws than 40 other states including neighboring states like New Mexico, Utah, Colorado, California, and Texas (ACLU of Arizona, 2018). Further, only 20% of the disenfranchised population in Arizona is incarcerated and about 53% have fully completed their sentences (ACLU of Arizona, 2018). This means the vast majority of our disenfranchised population is not in prison or jail, but living in our communities and barred from shaping the society in which they live (ACLU of Arizona, 2018).



Nowhere is the relationship and history between segregation and resegregation (disinvestment, historic redlining) more glaring than **MILLION DOLLAR BLOCKS**. South Phoenix is the home of the million dollar block, where the government spends excess of one million dollars a year incarcerating the residents of a single city block.

FIG. 3 - This maps hows that in 2004, Maryvale & South Mountain accounted for more than \$100 million in prison expenditures. *via LECC Reentry Initiative*

Just as ‘white flight’ contributes to segregation, ‘white return’ to these hyperincarcerated and nonwhite areas contributes to the resegregation of communities. As communities like South Phoenix see historic levels of investment (Jaramillo Valencia, 2017), the level of redevelopment and potential for profit margins often result in secondary displacement pressures like “high rent, rising evictions, tenant harassment, excessive housing code enforcement, increased policing, and loss of small businesses” (Li, 2016). This displacement ultimately resegregates poor populations as neighborhoods become concentrated with more wealth and a significantly greater white population (Li, 2016). As the population of white, middle-class residents increases, so does misdemeanor-focused policing (Beck, 2022). For every 5% increase in property values, neighborhoods experience a 0.2 to 0.3% increase in discretionary arrests (Beck, 2022). This type of misdemeanor-focused policing does not reduce crime, but does increase police violence and community trauma (Beck, 2022). Another kind of policing that occurs is white residents calling in quality-of-life complaints (Stolper, 2019). These can range from noise complaints, to selling water without a permit, to people having a barbecue (Vo, 2018). The highest number of quality-of-life complaints and those most likely to end in an arrest or summons, occur in low-income communities with large influxes of white residents (Stolper, 2019). As South Phoenix becomes a “high growth” and “up and coming” area (Enriquez & Harper, 2019), the impacts of white return and resegregation are likely to be felt through increased policing.

As these areas attract more white people, police and security budgets often go along with them. As of 2018, the City of Phoenix spent \$341 per resident or 41% of its funding on policing (Vera, 2018). This money is primarily spent on hyperpolicing in communities of color. In Phoenix, Black people were arrested at a rate 2.95 times higher than white people (Vera, 2018). And despite investigations revealing the department lied and exaggerated details in arrests leading to gang charges in the summer of 2020 (Valdes, 2021), Phoenix City Council approved a 744 million dollar police budget for 2020-21 fiscal year, a 25 million dollar increase (Sparks, 2020). This growth in budget and expenditures does not make communities safe, but instead allows police departments to “increase force size, militarize equipment, and sustain high arrest rates”; an approach that oppresses and criminalizes nonwhite people, but especially Black people (Vera, 2018).

Police budgets often also follow light rail with similar consequences of criminalization. In 2017, the City of Phoenix spent 7.5 million on their transit enforcement unit, a division of the Phoenix Police Department dedicated to enforcement on public transit as well another 2 million mainly spent on private security (Estes, 2017). Additionally, Valley Metro in FY 2021 budgeted 8.6 million largely for their private security (Valley Metro, 2020). One of the most present functions of these security teams is fare enforcement. Nationally, nonwhite people are five times more likely than white persons to be ticketed for fare evasion along mass-transit lines (Abel, 2021). However, more than 90% of light rail riders paid the appropriate

fare according to Valley Metro (KTAR, 2017). Valley Metro’s fare enforcement is focused on “crime analysis” and on “community where it is believed they will have the greatest impact” (Gómez, 2019) but when fare enforcement and Respect the Ride, Valley Metro’s code of conduct, is being harshly enforced, the effect is hyperpolicing (Gómez, 2019), primarily affecting nonwhite communities (Abel, 2021). In Phoenix, it also goes beyond fare enforcement and citation. With the assistance of Valley Metro’s security staff, Phoenix police officers escalate minor fare infractions by running background checks and arresting people for outstanding warrants, a practice not executed in Tempe or Mesa, the other two cities where the light rail operates (Gómez, 2019). Increases in budget and over-citation of nonwhite people is often the result of “policies designed to attract new residents to rapidly gentrifying urban neighborhoods” to present an image of safety to new home and business owners (Abel, 2021).

This is a stark contrast to the city’s lack of investment into Black neighborhoods that reinforces a legacy of public service neglect. Police, elected officials, business owners, and empowered residents demand officers to ‘protect and service’ the downtown and middle-class neighborhoods because these areas are seen as vital to the city’s economic health (Smyton, 2020). These practices come at the expense of other parts of the city such as response time to emergency calls, investments that would enhance community safety and strength, and a systemic undervaluing of assets, contributions, and potentials of Black communities (Smyton, 2020). The resource commitments currently

provided to Black neighborhoods only merit them to exist as areas to be controlled and contained (Smyton, 2020).

Beyond property, the people displaced and resegregated through policing also face disparate outcomes when it comes to personal safety (Demby, 2018). Black women experiencing domestic violence are the most common evictees under ‘nuisance ordinance’ clauses that allow landlords to evict residents who call police on more than one occasion, which forces these women to choose their safety or their housing (Roberts et al., 2019). Further, when areas are deemed ‘high crime’ or saturated with police, there are vast racial differences in stop practices which lead to disproportionate exposure to police violence (Smyton, 2020). Research from the Boston University School of Public Health reports “the more racially segregated the neighborhood is in a state, the more striking the ratio of black to white police shootings of unarmed victims” (Demby, 2018). With one of the deadliest police forces in the nation (Tate et al., 2020), on average being involved in a shooting every eight days (Burkitt & Garcia, 2021), resegregation through policing in Phoenix has fatal results.

02

ZONING

WE CENTER BLACK LIBERATION

Despite the fact brown and poor people get caught up in the system, it was designed to target and oppress Black people. By liberating Black people, we all get free!

ZONING SPATIALLY ALLOCATES WEALTH, PRESTIGE, AND OPPORTUNITIES WITHIN COMMUNITIES, AND SINCE ITS INDUCTION HAS BEEN A POWERFUL TOOL FOR MAINTAINING CLASS AND RACIAL SEGREGATION.

In South Phoenix, a combination of historically racist zoning and current oppressive policies have had generational impacts on residents (Bolin et al., 2005). Critical to understanding this pattern are the zoning events throughout time in South Phoenix and the code that shapes our development process today.

Zoning and land development in Phoenix has had a long history of creating and reinforcing patterns of segregation. Access to water, transportation, and the urban core were reserved for white people, creating a narrative that central Phoenix in the 1920s was “a modern town of forty thousand people, and the best kind of people too. A very small percentage of Mexicans, Negroes, or foreigners” (Kotlanger 1983, p. 396 as cited in Bolin et al., 2005). Planning and investment decisions ensured that ‘Anglo’ Phoenix was growing, profitable, and accumulating capital while race and place were woven together into policies creating another section of town: South Phoenix, an undesirable area of nonwhite residential and industrial land uses (Bolin et al., 2005).

While “95% of the city’s Black population lived in the most deteriorated districts” and zoning ordinances kept white neighborhoods homogeneous, South Phoenix’s industrial de-

velopment began to take shape (Bolin et al., 2005). With no efforts in planning, public investment, or land use regulation and banks considering the area too “hazardous” for housing, manufacturers and the toxic waste that came with them moved into South Phoenix (Bolin et al., 2005) This happened so much so that by 1950, three-quarters of Phoenix’s manufacturing facilities would be on the South side, and by 1970, tax incentives were being used to entice further industrialization (Bolin et al., 2005).

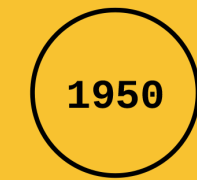
Despite the continued blight from developers, Black and nonwhite people still called South Phoenix home. For many, this would be true until the desire for highways and airports would cause “wholesale removal of entire minority neighborhoods, environmental contamination, industrialization and neighborhood decline” (Bolin et al., 2005). Beginning in 1977, residential areas, including the Golden Gate barrio, were dutifully removed for the airport; this pattern continued as the Interstate 17

and I-10 freeway corridors were constructed (Bolin et al., 2005)(Fig. 5). Between 1980 and 1990 alone, 40% of residential land in the area was converted to industrial uses, displacing hundreds of families and leaving those remaining to live amongst the noise and air pollution (Bolin et al., 2005).

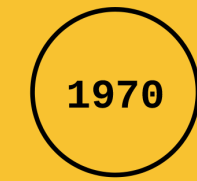
The zoning and land use in South Phoenix has caused more than a century of harm. Decisions to place hazardous infrastructure in the center of nonwhite communities, to remove families, and to maintain conditions that cause poverty and early death has permanently shaped a community (Bolin et al., 2005). Today, zoning data shows us that 35% of neighborhoods in South Phoenix directly border industrial zoning compared to 3% in the metro (Bolin et al., 2005). Without mandated changes in urban infrastructure or disallowing residentially incompatible land uses, South Phoenix will continue to bear the burden of environmental and social-spatial inequalities.



FIG. 5 - Edited photo of Sacred Heart Church, former Barrio Golden Gate via *Wikimedia Commons*



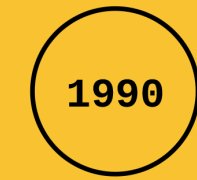
75% of Phoenix’s manufacturing facilities are in South Phoenix



tax incentives are used to entice further industrialization



residential areas like the Golden Gate barrio begin being removed for airport expansion



40% of residential land in South Phoenix converted for industrial use

HOLC described D areas as "characterized by detrimental influences in a pronounced degree, underdesirable population or an infiltration of it." They recommended lenders "refuse to make loans in these areas [or] only on a conservative basis."

D3

This section, adjoining the railroad station and yards, is a semi-industrial section, with very poor houses. Negroes, Mexicans and different classes of foreigners are rapidly occupying this area.

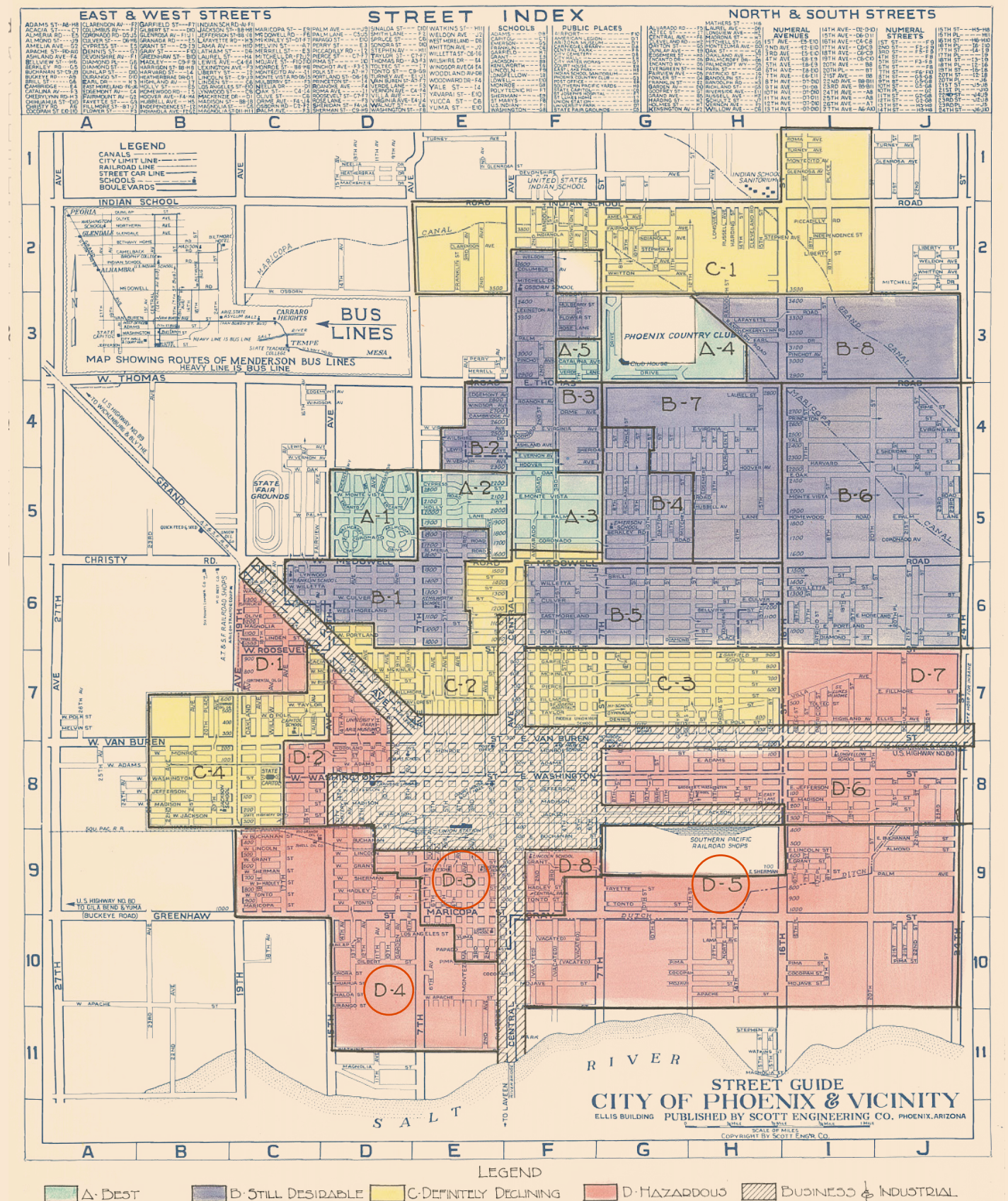
D4

This section, lying outside the city limits, is very ragged, occupied by Mexicans, Negroes and the low class of white people. There is no sale for property herein.

D5

This wide area, all outside the city limits, is occupied by low salaried working people, but the district has suffered no encroachment by Negroes, Mexicans, etc. Most of the houses therein are small frame houses, but the surroundings are well kept. There is a good school in the area. This district will continue to be occupied by a hard working class of people with low incomes.

FIG. 6 - Area descriptions of Phoenix created by the Home Owners' Loan Corporation (HOLC) between 1935 and 1940, via *Mapping Inequality: Redlining in New Deal America*



There are also more subtle zoning laws and codes on the books that continue a pattern of white idealism and prevent solutions to the City's housing crisis. Extended and non-nuclear families have long been the lifeblood in communities like South Phoenix, but single family zoning has long been used to prevent the expansion of people of color into white middle-class areas (Thomas & Ritzdorf, 1997). Despite the need and the history, there is significantly more single-family than multi-family housing in South Mountain, and the City caps the definition of family at five people (Phoenix Municipal Code, 2021). This not only enforces a particular vision for socioeconomic life, but also makes other solutions to the housing crisis more difficult (Thomas & Ritzdorf, 1997).

One solution identified by the City of Phoenix Housing Plan is Accessory Dwelling Units (ADUs) (City of Phoenix, 2021a). These are secondary residences located on single-family lots that increase housing options within a neighborhood. However, due to current codes and zoning ordinances, creation and expansion of this option will need to be approved by the City (City of Phoenix, 2021b). This is only one example of planning policies that will need to be developed to build on the strengths of multiple forms of family and seek to undo the harm of current zoning (Thomas & Ritzdorf, 1997).

Another way of correcting some of these wrongs that can no longer be leveraged is inclusionary zoning. Inclusionary zoning is a policy that requires market-rate builders to fund or construct affordable housing (Robustelli et

al., 2020) and has been around and leveraged by cities since 1974 (Chicago Metropolitan Agency for Planning [CMAP], 2019). While the three largest cities in the country have adopted it (CMAP, 2019), Phoenix, the fifth largest city, has not, and as a result of 2015 legislation, can no longer (Fischer, 2016). With a state-wide housing shortage of 153,331 units for extremely low-income households and South Phoenix having one of the worst eviction rates in the county (Robustelli et al., 2020), the time for Phoenix to adopt tools to create permanent affordable housing before state preemption is more critical than ever.

Another way that we see resegregation in the modern zoning process is that by the time the public is involved, it is too little, too late. This is by design as cities' land use and planning procedures center the relationship between themselves and the developer, ejecting the public to a subsequent conversation without due process (Marcello, 2007). Further, the conversations where the public is involved are often relegated to the operational and physical aspects of a project such as height, setbacks, and lighting versus conversations meaningful to a community like affordability, benefits to the local area, and living wage jobs (Marcello, 2007). This is in contrast to the bilateral negotiation model where the developer and community are connected early and actively when the project has much more flexibility and opportunity for negotiation (Marcello, 2007). Without this shift in timeline and agenda, public participation in the zoning process remains superficial and futile (Marcello, 2007).

While all of the other factors above contribute to how zoning drives displacement, none may be more relevant than transit oriented development. Transit oriented development (TOD) has been a growing trend over the last 20 years but, as the focus has shifted to achieving mobility, many analysts have identified the social costs and group displacement that often comes with it (Padeiro et. al, 2019). TOD is intended to maximize ridership and address the high cost of development related to zoning and place making (Padeiro et. al, 2019). For many cities, including Phoenix, this development is intended to serve low-income neighborhoods who are the most reliant and frequent users of public transit (Klein et.al, 2020). However, the value capture of TOD clearly demonstrates a connection between transit and higher property values (Klein et.al, 2020) as well as its history of attracting private-led developments that produce housing oriented to upper income households (Padeiro et. al, 2019). As a result, low income renters have increased difficulty accessing housing and remaining in the area (Padeiro et. al, 2019), pushing them into neighborhoods with fewer transit options and forcing them to spend a higher percentage of income on transit (Klein et.al, 2020). This results in actually diminishing the use of transit amongst the demographic it was intended to serve (Klein et.al, 2020) and having further negative impacts on the population. When moved to neighborhoods with fewer options, the residents again experience long wait and travel times that "contribute to chronic stress, sleep deprivation, and poorer job/school performance" and further increase the negative cycle of issues that can lead to job instability, higher blood pressure, and greater

risk for mental illness (Lopez et.al, 2015). The processes involved in zoning for TOD are often no different than zoning for other projects, meaning those most impacted aren't involved meaningfully or in a way that can positively influence their community until the opportunity for change has passed (Marcello, 2007). This trend can be seen nationally when residents lose in each stage of public participation and are unable to obtain meaningful change through the traditional avenues for challenging land use decisions (Li, 2016). The business and commercial property owners have financial interest and access that allows them to attend the meetings or be involved earlier in the process, and funding received for the TOD project includes assistance for businesses, but not those who would be displaced (Federal Transit Administration, 2016). The result is the community who would be displaced are not in the meetings where decisions are being made. These zoning practices, including racially motivated zoning, are ultimately about providing favorable conditions to developers and the business community for their ability to make profits (Fischel, 2004). Further, these zoning decisions are not often laden with intentional discrimination, but the outcomes that result in displacement may be cloaked in seemingly neutral concerns like traffic or even well meaning goals like affordable housing (Li, 2016). As policies create economic incentives, encourage development by private parties, and change land values, it is not only the light rail that causes displacement, but the public policies supporting it (Arizona State University, 2018).

03

HOUSING VIOLENCE

PEOPLE OVER PROPERTY

Human life is always
more important than
profit and property

LIVING AND BEING HOUSED IN SOUTH PHOENIX WAS NOT OFTEN A CHOICE DURING SEGREGATION

Residential segregation and the demarcated line from the rail corridor and the Salt River separated nonwhite districts from the rest of Phoenix (Bolin et al., 2005). This separation kept poor Black and Latino people from working in the central business district and instead working in agriculture, food processing, and other environmentally dangerous industrial work (Bolin et al., 2005) (Fig. 7). It also separated residents from potable water, sanitation, and any hospitals or healthcare northward (Bolin et al., 2005). When the Salt River flooded, people in South Phoenix had no access to work or resources and went without communication (Honker, 2002). It was decades “that we in South Phoenix fought for bridges to cross the Salt River when we had flood and rains” (Brooks, Rio Salado Public Hearing, 1998) and when the bridge was built, it was largely funded by residents (Towne, 2013). Even with a connection to north Phoenix, there was still formal segregation in addition to work, cultural, and housing discrimination that kept Black and Latino people in South Phoenix (Bolin et al., 2005). These conditions, combined with deed restrictions and lending practices from segregation have kept Black residents restricted to the area for generations, but decades later, this community’s ability to remain is now threatened (Bolin et al., 2005) (Fig. 8).

South Phoenix has had a long history of housing violence. Housing violence is the systemic and structural way that eviction, ex-

clusion, and enforcement is used to control, remove, and transform places (Rannila, 2021). This process, which is justified and legalized by urban development, uses violence to legitimize the foundation and operation of the regime of private property (Rannila, 2021). Whether it be discreet or public violence, property owners, eviction enforcement agencies, and developers use their spatial power to determine worthiness and exclusion from land (Rannila, 2021). This housing violence is what fuels the displacement both directly and indirectly through rent increases, limited affordable housing choices, and drastic shifts in community services and support systems (US Department of Housing and Urban Development [HUD], 2018). Whether a resident is renting, has a mortgage, or owns their housing, this legacy of housing violence in South Phoenix causes resegregation through enforcement, eviction, and exclusion from housing.

There are several ways that enforcement shapes and resegregates space in South Phoenix. Some of this enforcement is unpacked in earlier discussions on zoning and criminalization, but others are specific to housing violence like blight and housing code enforcement. Housing code enforcement is a tool used by cities in multiple ways to control space. Like many tools, it can be used deliberately or unintentionally to target, punish, and displace vulnerable populations, particularly nonwhite and low income communities (Cities Responsible Investment and Strategic Enforcement [Cities RISE], 2019). In poor neighborhoods, codes are often casually enforced, until—under the guise of improving housing conditions,



FIG. 7 - Camp for cotton pickers in Buckeye, 1940 via Wikimedia Commons

FIG. 8 - Percent Distribution of African American Population, 1970 via City of Phoenix

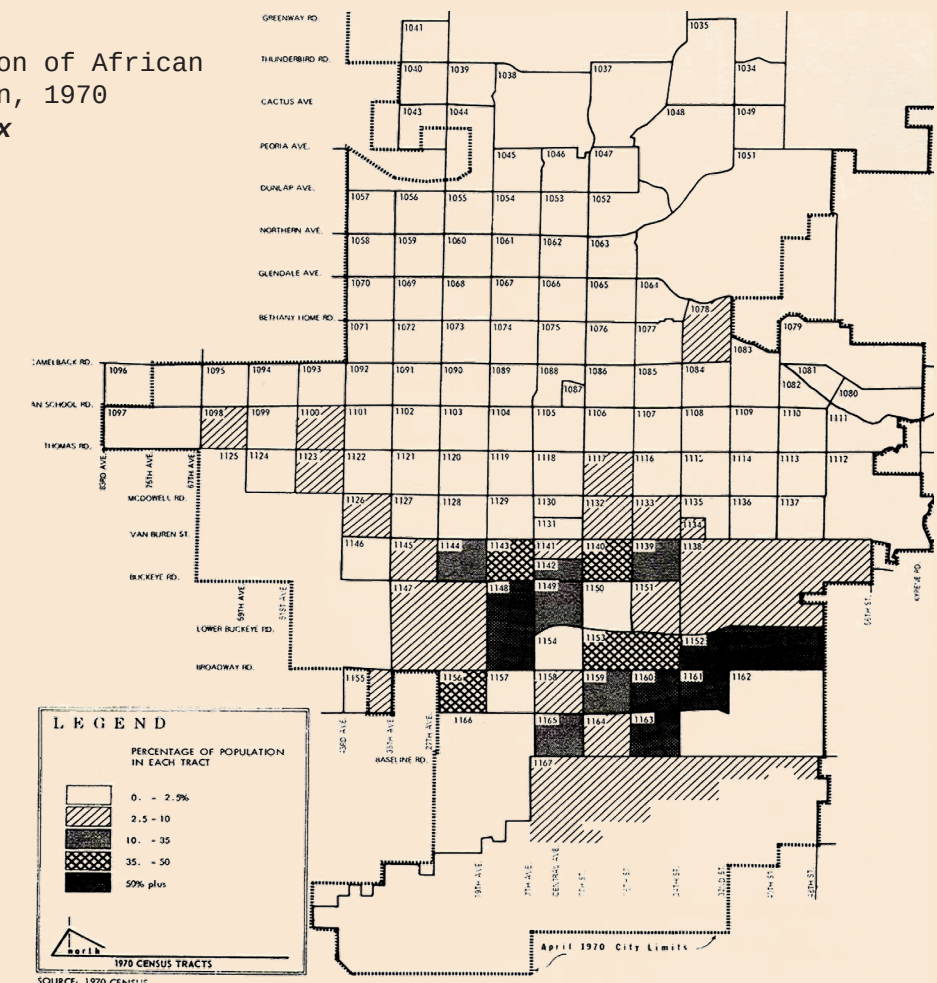


FIG. 9 - Common Blight Violations via City of Phoenix



like in target area B—codes become aggressively enforced to displace low-income residents (Li, 2016).

Code enforcement systems are also often reactive, which privileges those who are comfortable making complaints (Cities RISE, 2019). For example, complaints about noise and overcrowding may be instigated by racist sentiments putting nonwhite tenants at risk of displacement (Cities RISE, 2019). Conversely, renters who are afraid of retaliation from their landlords may not complain, often leaving them in dangerous conditions (Cities RISE, 2019). If codes are truly meant to promote health and safety over community aesthetics, then officials should be focused on proactively inspecting large multifamily complexes with multiple violations (often run by negligent landlords) as those cases pose a more serious risk to health and safety over blight (De Leon & Schilling, 2017).

As cities experience blight, which means they are being “spoiled” or “damaged,” local governments often turn to ‘urban renewal’, which critics have paralleled to the removal of Black people throughout history (Li, 2016). Urban renewal has historically destroyed more housing units than it replaced and pushed non-white people into further segregated communities (Li, 2016). In the present, cities use enforcement to get rid of blight. Blight, according to the City of Phoenix, includes such violations as dead and dried vegetation, inoperable vehicles, junk or litter, outside storage, fences in disrepair, and non-dust-proof parking (City of Phoenix, 2022)(Fig. 9). But studies have shown that poor families are forced to live in substan-

dard housing through a combination of poverty, lack of affordable housing, and local eviction systems and cannot afford to correct the blight on the property they live on (De Leon & Schilling, 2017). With more than 29% of people in South Phoenix living below the federal poverty level compared to 13% countywide, and the average South Phoenix household income at \$34,789 compared to the \$64,000 county average (Robustelli et al., 2020), there are often no funds to repair the inoperable vehicle, purchase a storage container, or fix a broken fence.

Some of this enforcement started as the City of Phoenix identified the area, namely target area B, for redevelopment (City of Phoenix, 2001). The South Mountain Village was designated a Neighborhood Initiative Area which is specifically funded to target programs such as code enforcement, blight elimination, and redevelopment (City of Phoenix, 2001). At the time of the report, nearly half of the properties had zoning or maintenance violations and 42% of the buildings were in need of major repairs and were economically infeasible to rehabilitate (City of Phoenix, 2001). According to research, in most cities, “neighborhoods with a disproportionate number of problem properties correspond almost exactly with areas labeled undesirable and disposable by Federal Housing Administration redlining maps and urban renewal projects of the 1930s-1960s” (Cities RISE, 2019). In Phoenix, this left many people being “encouraged to relocate” (City of Phoenix, 2001).

For renters, South Phoenix, which was

redlined during the 1930s, is visibilizing the consequences of systemic racism and housing violence through evictions. In these Black and Latinx communities, “eviction rates are between 10-20%, and foreclosure rates range between 3-7%, some of the highest in the county” (Robustelli et al., 2020). One violation that impacts low-income renters in Phoenix is the failure to pay utilities. With most families already spending more than 30% of their income on rent, the intense heat demands people to spend even more to meet basic needs (Robustelli et al., 2020). To cool a home in Phoenix, families spend an average of \$477 a month, the most expensive rate in the country; failure to afford this can mean housing loss or enduring dangerous temperatures (Robustelli et al., 2020). As mentioned previously, Black women experiencing domestic violence are some of the most commonly evicted nationally (Roberts et al. 2019). This is no exception in Phoenix where some landlords often don’t leverage the formal eviction process. By raising prices, telling a family to leave, or changing the locks, many evictions go unreported and without support (Desmond & Shollenberger, 2015).

Even when faced with a formal eviction, most tenants in Maricopa County lack access to legal counsel which results in distinct disparities in case judgements. Based on data from the Maricopa County Justice Courts, “87% of landlords have legal representation, compared to just 0.3% of tenants, resulting in 99% of cases with judgment information being decided in favor of landlords” (Robustelli et al., 2020). With no representation or power, individuals and families are charged with evictions that

negatively and permanently impact their ability to find housing (Desmond & Shollenberger, 2015).

These inequalities do not just affect those who rent; persons in South Phoenix with mortgages have also been adversely impacted. Phoenix as a whole was the “hardest-hit metro area during the Great Recession” with homes dropping an average 56 percent in value before foreclosures swept across the city (Robustelli et al., 2020). Between 2000 and 2016, the census tracts directly south of the airport show a 4.1% foreclosure rate, nearly 150% of the county average and total housing loss rates being more than double the county average (Robustelli et al., 2020). These tracts are over 50% Latinx and have lost 14% of their low-income households in the same time period (Robustelli et al., 2020). American Community Survey data in the area also shows that the majority of these tracts are rent burdened and many housing units are designated as overcrowded (US Census Bureau, 2017).

Unfortunately, for the number of issues with eviction and enforcement, there are also people who are excluded and don't have access to housing in South Phoenix. One of the barriers to housing can be cost. Data obtained during the COVID-19 pandemic reports income loss for many households already struggling with housing in the Phoenix Metro area. A Census Bureau survey conducted between July 16 and July 24 2020 found that “27 percent of households were housing insecure, meaning that they either missed their rent or mortgage payments last month or believe they will not

be able to pay this month, and 52 percent of households reported that at least one person in their household has lost employment income” (Robustelli et al., 2020). Further, data from the Bureau of Labor Statistics from the same period reported that Maricopa County had an unemployment rate of 9.7 percent, more than double the rate of the year prior (US Bureau of Labor Statistics [BLS], 2020).

When residents are impoverished and displaced, the community bears the structural transformation of development and the daily violence of chronic inequity (Elliott-Cooper et al., 2019). Rents in South Phoenix have risen an average of 57% in the last five years, leaving many renters without an affordable unit (Taros, 2022). With lack of supports and housing access, homelessness becomes a reality for many individuals and families and is made worse when available land is sold to developers (Taros, 2022; Fowler et al., 2019). Phoenix's affordable housing supply has long been insufficient, but as South Phoenix's 'naturally occurring' affordable housing changes into luxury apartments and million-dollar homes, lower-income earners are forced out, and often onto the street (Reagor, 2020).

One later discussed solution could be rent control; however, developers, landlords, and their lobbyists have significant political and legal power, and Arizona has prevented local governments from being able to adopt it (Robustelli et al., 2020). Lack of rent control and the looming light rail has set the stage for landlords to seize the most profitable opportunities (Van Horn, 2019). This includes drastically increas-

ing rent beyond what current residents can afford, engaging in subtle forms of harassment to make tenants leave, or selling their property to a developer (Van Horn, 2019).

Beyond pricing, even if residents do have the funds, people are often excluded from housing opportunities due to background. Many landlords and multifamily housing options use background checks to disqualify individuals from access to housing. Many of these checks are looking beyond credit and the ability to afford the unit and into criminal and arrest records with a devastating effect. According to the Prison Policy Initiative, former inmates are almost 10 times more likely to become homeless than the general population primarily due to their exclusion from housing (Couloute, 2018). Rental management companies and developers often lament that if they're providing HUD housing or using federal funds, then they have to run background checks and exclude “criminals.” However, HUD specifically reports that there are “only two permanent disbarments: individuals who have been convicted of making methamphetamine on public housing property and individuals listed in the lifetime sex offender registry” (Ray, 2016). They also clarify that arrest records may not be used to “deny admission, terminate assistance, or evict tenants” (Ray, 2016). Further, HUD also reports that as a result of the disproportionate number of Black and Latino people being arrested, convicted, and incarcerated that the effect “resulting from a policy or practice that denies housing to anyone with a prior arrest or any kind of criminal conviction cannot be justified, and therefore such a practice would violate the

Fair Housing Act” (HUD, 2016a). This, however, does not stop landlords from denying housing to formerly incarcerated people who often don't have the time, money, or access to be able to fight these violations (National Housing Law Project, 2018).

Discriminatory housing practices resound in south Phoenix today

'It's collapsing on them': Few options for south Phoenix renters as prices surge

A Wave Of Evictions Is Beginning In Maricopa County

Metro Phoenix's eviction and foreclosure rates double U.S. average, new report says

Phoenix emergency rental aid still slow to move applications

Black Americans Are Moving to Phoenix in Historic Numbers. Few Are Finding a Better Life.

Phoenix is America's fastest-growing large city, driven in large part by an influx of new Black residents. But building a sustainable community there is a challenge.

Adam Mahoney 6:00 AM EST on Feb 6, 2023



Collette Blakeney says she felt daunted when she first arrived in Phoenix. “I felt stuck in a place where leaders didn't prioritize making it livable for people who aren't rich,” she says.

FIG. 10 - Articles on housing violence via AZ Central, Phoenix New Times, ABC 15, Capital B News

“ Many people see drug dealers and other violent offenders as large rocks that cannot be moved that will just sit there if you ignore them. They are not rocks, in fact, they are plants. Just like a weed, they grow, root, and choke out healthier plants. The best way to kill a plant is to keep uprooting it. Eviction serves that purpose.

”

**PHOENIX CRIME
FREE MULTI-HOUSING
PROGRAM, OVERVIEW AND GUIDELINES**

Even when landlords and rental companies don't take federal funding, they'll often use crime-free housing ordinances. Crime-free housing ordinances are “local laws that either encourage or require private landlords to evict or exclude tenants who have had varying levels of contact with the criminal legal system” (Archer, 2019). Though formally race neutral, government housing policy is never neutral in its impact on racial segregation (Archer, 2019). What makes these crime-free background checks and rental agreements even more significant is a resident does not have to be convicted; mere arrests or even stops are sufficient enough to deny someone housing or evict them from their home (Archer, 2019).

Eviction or rejection of a housing application based on contact with the criminal legal system furthers resegregation because of the racial disparities in every stage of the criminal legal process (Archer, 2019). Black people are disproportionately surveilled, stopped, arrested, and convicted and through these crime-free ordinances, racial biases are imported into the private housing market (Archer, 2019). Although crime is brandished as the motivation to exclude, it is not actual crime or harm, but the dark prejudices to exile anyone perceived as a threat, reinforcing the narrative of Black dangerousness (Archer, 2019). By relying on criteria destined to exclude, power is exercised to relegate nonwhite people to marginalized, resource-starved neighborhoods, further producing and sustaining resegregation (Archer, 2019).

While the City of Phoenix does not require crime-free housing ordinances, landlords and property managers are encouraged to attend and receive the training from the Phoenix Police Department free of charge (Phoenix Police Department, 2021). Once trained, background checks and addendums must be completed for new residents (City of Phoenix, 2013). Additionally, in Phoenix, property managers are notified of any police incidents on the property to “facilitate the removal of criminally inclined residents, as well as non-compliant residents” or proceed with “an immediate eviction” (City of Phoenix, 2013). By “combining the brutal efficiency of mass criminalization, the racism of the criminal legal system, and the policies governing private rental housing” crime-free housing ordinances risk profound individual damage and contribute to further resegregation in Phoenix (Archer, 2019).





FIG. 10 - Light rail expansion into South Phoenix plan Valley Metro via Valley Metro / Phoenix New Times

In addition to the existing housing violence, South Phoenix residents are now troubled by the light rail driving gentrification and displacement of long standing local businesses and residents (Robustelli et al., 2020)(Fig. 10). The fact that light rail drives up property values has been well-documented (Pettit et al., 2019) and has many residents worried about worsening the resegregation they are already experiencing. When residents attempted to voice these concerns about their community, their campaign was co-opted by outside money and influence (Hsieh, 2021). In 2018, the Koch brothers launched campaigns across the country to stop light rail projects and advance their financial interests in oil, automobiles, and highways (Tabuchi, 2018). Their specific strategy was to align with grassroots groups and appear as a part of the community (Tabuchi, 2018), which positioned them to transform the campaign from stopping the light rail in South Phoenix to stopping the light rail altogether (Hsieh, 2021). However, once the ballot initiative failed, the monetary and community support disappeared, much like many of the investments made by private interests or businesses owners who can afford to play the long game.

While the light rail is not yet operating in South Phoenix, there is already an influx of changes in residents' neighborhoods and communities. Another negative shift in community occurs when children must change schools when their families are displaced (Robustelli et al., 2020). A 2011 policy brief found that there are areas of Phoenix where children switch schools from year to year or even multiple times

a year. While 90% of students across Phoenix remained in the same schools, children in South and Central Phoenix were often forced to move multiple times, facing higher levels of school instability, which has been proven to impact educational attainment (Robustelli et al., 2020).

This type of displacement affects the whole family. Displacement is not just a loss of housing, but a loss of community and an experience of un-homing (Elliott-Cooper et al., 2019). Living in a place is "experiential, financial, social, familial, and ecological" and when communities shift, history and a sense of belonging is lost as the residents experience emotional and material rupture (Elliott-Cooper et al., 2019). It also changes the political landscape. When long-time residents lose power and control and as new leaders ignore the needs of the generational community, there is both a shift in dynamic and far reaching impact (National Low Income Housing Coalition [NLIHC], 2019). Across the community, as friends and family are pushed to the suburbs, local businesses turn over to chains for other demographics, and transportation and support services shift, the pressure of displacement is severe as the area becomes less livable for those who have called it their home for generations (Elliott-Cooper et al., 2019).

04

ENVIRONMENTAL INJUSTICE

ALL OF US OR NONE OF US

Liberation for one person at the expense of another is not liberation at all. We seek liberation for all people, regardless of differences—we don't discriminate.

WE RECOGNIZE AN INDIGENOUS ORGANIZING FRAMEWORK WHEN APPROACHING ENVIRONMENTAL INJUSTICE

This pursuit requires a different lens that can both accommodate the weight of settler colonialism and embrace the differences in the ways Indigenous peoples are stewards of the land (Gilio-Whitaker, 2020). The difference between environmental equity and environmental justice is how risk is distributed (Gilio-Whitaker, 2020). While “equity says that the burden of environmental risk should be equally distributed among all populations... justice guarantees protection from environmental degradation, prevention of adverse health impacts, mechanisms for accountability, and the availability of remedial action and resources” (Gilio-Whitaker, 2020). Holding an indigenized environmental justice framework acknowledges native nations as capable, recognizes a sacred relationship to land that does not separate people or culture, and provides non-human life-forms with agency that they don’t have in dominant Western world views (Gilio-Whitaker, 2020).

However, this type of justice hasn’t been guaranteed or provided to Black and Indigenous peoples. In these communities, wounds of civil rights and environmental issues have been festering for decades (Gilio-Whitaker, 2020). This world view, enacted through historical land use and zoning practices, has defined the South Phoenix we know today. Black communities have been subjected to discriminatory exposure to both toxic substances and unwanted land uses (Thomas & Ritzdorf, 1997). In the

1890s, many land uses were not permissible in the white areas of Phoenix; these included “stock yards, factories, rendering plants, meat packing facilities, sewage facilities, and landfills,” all of which can still be found in South Phoenix today (Bolin et al., 2005). In the 1920s, as South Phoenix lacked potable water, white neighborhoods continued to be built and needed more water and sewage infrastructure (Bolin et al., 2005). While the city did not extend these utilities into South Phoenix for decades after, they imminently placed the first sewage processing plant and dumped the majority of the hazardous chemicals and waste from the expansion into South Phoenix (Bolin et al., 2005).

The industrialization and pollution of South Phoenix continues today as industries continue to locate near the transportation corridors and waste disposal facilities (Bolin et al., 2005). This was made possible through racialized zoning code, which largely has not been amended or changed in a way that addresses the entrenched discrimination (Demsas, 2021; Davis-Young, 2019). Justice, in general, “guarantees three basic rights: the right to information, the right to hearings, and the right to compensation” (Gilio-Whitaker, 2020); however, when it comes to zoning laws, justice has not been possible for Black and Indigenous people. This is largely due to the exploitation of land as property, and policy at all levels that incentivized industrial uses resulting in the systematic segregation of Black people and the displacement and disappearance of Indigenous peoples (Gilio-Whitaker, 2020 and Rothstein as cited in Shapiro, 2017).

As there have been no changes to stop or discourage harmful types of zoning or land use, the low-income residents of South Phoenix bear the consequences of the accumulations of hazardous sites in their communities (Bolin et al., 2005). Despite the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) and the Arizona Department of Environmental Quality (ADEQ) acknowledging the persistently growing presence of environmental burdens in South Phoenix, few to no mitigation or rehabilitation efforts or resources are currently being directed to the community, reinforcing centuries of racial exclusion and neglect by state and city officials (Bolin et al., 2005).

When the insufficient efforts of environmental justice are happening, their policies and practices are not connected to environmental racism and decolonization (Casimir, 2019; Jones, 2021). Current environmental justice frameworks fail to acknowledge the broader histories of colonization, pre-state connections to ancestral homelands, and being in a different relationship to the government as a result of treaties and sovereignty (Gilio-Whitaker, 2020). Colonization was not just a process of invasion, but began as environmental injustice when settlers sought to eliminate the resources and dominate the land and people (Gilio-Whitaker, 2020). A similar tactic was taken on as racism and white supremacy excluded Black and Indigenous people from environmental policy, conversation, and public health issues (Jones, 2021). Unfortunately, this is not a historical problem. Present day lack of leadership and institutional blind spots don’t create space to understand how racism and colonization shapes

lives and places and therefore cannot illuminate and rectify the injustices faced (Jones, 2021; Pulido, 2000).

This can be seen with the advancement of the Loop 202 freeway through South Mountain (Newton, 2017). South Mountain has long been a traditional cultural property to the O’odham and Pee Posh people, but in 2018, 33 acres of desert peak were demolished in order to make way for the freeway (Utacia Krol, 2021). Local tribes were forced to take the issue to court and lost when non-Indigenous people said there was “no cultural context” to the area (Utacia Krol, 2021) despite construction crews finding the remains of an estimated 20 O’odham ancestors (Newton, 2017). This continued colonization and theft of land and resources exemplifies the disconnection between government and local Indigenous leaders (Newton, 2017). It is also seen directly in issues of environmental justice. The City of Phoenix Climate Action plan reports that “overburdened or disproportionately impacted communities must be identified, and involved in climate action processes.” However, organizations like the Arizona Commerce Authority, GPEC and other metro cities participated in the plan while local Indigenous tribes were left out (City of Phoenix, 2021b).

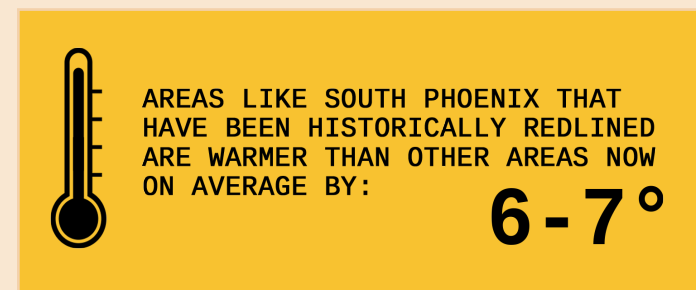


FIG. 11 - Loop 202 South Mountain Fwy via AZDOT

When environmental justice is disconnected, whitewashed, and happening in silos (Koscher, 2017), we get modern day resegregation through issues of climate change (Syed, 2021). The industrial development in nonwhite areas not only brings in toxins and pollutants that affect residents' health, but also increases the amount of materials in the area that absorb, store, and release additional heat (Declet-Barreto, 2021). This is often known as the 'urban heat island effect' and causes temperatures to vary substantially between neighborhoods (Harlan et al., 2013). In areas with reduced natural resources and dense infrastructure like buildings, concrete and pavement, or bare soil, the temperature is higher. Comparatively, in areas where there is more vegetation like trees, yards, and parks, the ground and air are cooler (Harlan et al., 2013). In Phoenix, these investments are not made equally.

Urban heat islands tend to be worse in low-income communities of color due to disparities in landscaping and urban design (Gregg & Braddock, 2020). Some of this effect can be attributed to environmental injustice that occurred right before the surge of suburbanization in the 1950's, in which the Home Owners' Loan Corporation (HOLC) redlined neighborhoods considered "high risk" for lending institutions (Mitchell & Franco, 2018). Today, the temperature is 6 to 7 degrees warmer on average in areas that experienced redlining (Hoffman et al., 2020). Further, a study conducted in 2019 mapped out the hotter and cooler sections of the Phoenix metro area, finding that hotter zones were located in low-income and nonwhite housing areas, and cooler zones were

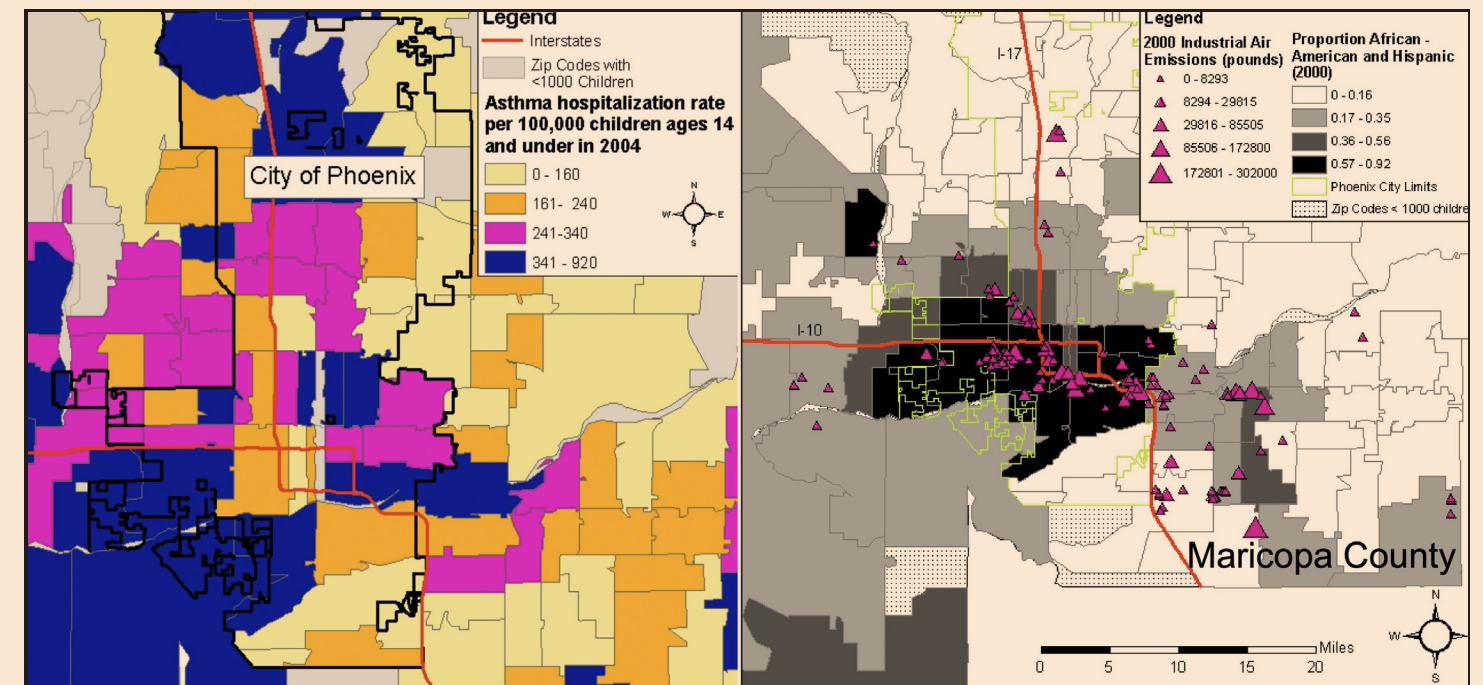
located in wealthier suburbs (James, 2021). In some areas of Phoenix, there are neighborhoods as little as two miles apart with a 13 degree difference in temperature (Harlan et al., 2006). If development continues at the current rate, the warming effect from the urban heat island could be similar to the warming effect of greenhouse gas-induced climate change (Hermosillo, 2021).



This heat also affects health and mortality (Harlan et al., 2013). Neighborhoods in Maricopa County that had more socioeconomic challenges and lacked vegetation had more heat related deaths than neighborhoods with younger white populations and greener landscapes (Harlan et al., 2013). However, the majority of heat deaths occur amongst the homeless population and are concentrated along industrial and transportation corridors, like those found in South Phoenix (Harlan et al., 2013). In 2020, Arizona marked its hottest summer on record, which caused 315 heat-related deaths in Maricopa County, 155 of which were individuals experiencing homelessness (James, 2021). Without equitable intervention, the urban heat-island effect is a deadly and growing concern for people in South Phoenix and will drive the displacement of residents.

Another factor that contributes to inequitable health impacts and displacement is air quality (Avila et al., 2021). In South Phoenix, the variety of land uses such as stock yards, factories, hazardous facilities, and landfills have contributed to the presence of toxic chemical and air pollution (Bolin et al., 2005) (Fig. 12). The EPA defines air pollutants "as any substance in the air that can cause harm to humans or the environment. Pollutants may be natural or human-made and may take the form of solid particles, liquid droplets, or gases" (Environmental Protection Agency [EPA], n.d.a). These pollutants can cause respiratory effects like worsening bronchitis and emphysema as well as triggering asthma and car-

diovascular effects like high blood pressure, arteriosclerosis, heart attack, and stroke (Environmental Protection Agency [EPA], n.d.a.). The high presence of these pollutants caused Phoenix to be ranked the 5th most ozone-polluted metro in the country by the American Lung Association, and independent studies suggest that South Phoenix is disproportionately impacted (Pope et al., 2016). Some communities are now creating clean air initiatives to combat this; however, studies have shown that current residents may not benefit (Avila et al., 2021). As the environment becomes cleaner and greener, white, wealthier residents are more likely to locate there, displacing the persons who bore the impact (Avila et al., 2021).



"Air emissions from industrial facilities, criteria pollution (carbon monoxide, nitrous oxides and ozone) levels, percent of residents that are African American, and social class were important predictors of children's asthma hospitalizations at a zip code level in Maricopa County."

FIG. 12 - Criteria Air Pollution and Marginalized Populations: Environmental Inequity in Metropolitan Phoenix, Arizona via Grineski, Bolin, & Boone (2007), Social Science Quarterly

Displacement also happens with other types of green infrastructure or urban greening (Klein et al., 2020). City and federal policies continue to push for a switch from “gray infrastructure” (like metal or concrete) to more natural or green materials as well as an increase in open spaces, parks, or trees (Klein et al., 2020). This change can be transformative—cooling neighborhoods, lowering stress and electric bills, improving physical and mental health, strengthening community bonds, and even reducing death (Plumer et al., 2020; Klein et al., 2020). The South Central TOD has many neighborhoods that are not within walking distance to a park, and with the South Mountain YMCA being sold, many residents are without cool or green spaces (Lopez et al., 2015).

In 2021, The City of Phoenix created the Office of Heat Response and Mitigation that plans to create cool corridors in the most heat-vulnerable areas of the city and reduce heat exposure to make communities more resilient and walkable (City of Phoenix, 2021b). When efforts are made towards climate mitigation or adaptation, like adding more green space, the increase in property values can be an unintentional consequence that leads to displacement as well (Cash et al., 2020). This is often called “green gentrification” and amplifies the historical burden of racialized disinvestment, environmental harm, wealth inequality, and housing inaccessibility (Klein et al., 2020). However, if equity and community collaboration are prioritized during the development process, environmental justice can be achieved for those who need it the most (Klein et al., 2020).

Another aspect of green infrastructure is farmland and food. With South Phoenix remaining outside the city limits until the 1960s, industrial development displaced agricultural land (Albright, 2020). The trend continues today as only 8% of our total land in Maricopa County is used for farmland and only 30% of that is used for food production (Albright, 2020). While Maricopa County ranks nationally for its production of vegetables, melons, and potatoes, water use is a constant concern (Albright, 2020). As a result of the Groundwater Management Act, new farmland in ‘active management’ areas is prohibited, and agricultural use is limited to two acres or less (Albright, 2020). These limitations plus ongoing droughts spell disaster for the future of food production. Data from 2019 on Maricopa County shows that land for farming decreased 36% and land for residential increased 39% over the course of two decades; this rate projects farmland availability to reach zero in approximately 36 years (Hill, 2021). This decrease impacts communities’ food supply and has economic impacts for farmworker communities (Cash et al., 2020).

One impact of this availability is food deserts or food apartheid. Food deserts, as defined by the US Department of Agriculture (USDA), are an area without ready access to fresh, healthy, and affordable food. We use the language of food apartheid over the USDA’s ‘food deserts’ for two main reasons. The first being that ‘desert’ invisibilizes the vibrant food systems that people have built despite the systematic destruction of Black and Indigenous self-determination to control one’s food (Cooper as cited in Lu, 2021). The second being

that it implies that these areas are naturally occurring (Sevilla, 2021; Lu, 2021). Food deserts are not naturally occurring; they are a result of systemic racism and oppression in the form of lending practices, zoning codes, and malicious capitalist forces that followed the flight of white people from inner cities (Sevilla, 2021; Lu, 2021). As food justice is deeply tied to the struggle for economic justice, it represents the man-made economic and political systems that have segregated and discriminated in South Africa based on race (Lu, 2021).

Nearly half of Phoenix’s population lives in an area experiencing food apartheid: 13.7% of Maricopa County is food insecure and 43.4% of residents “only sometimes” have enough money for basic needs like food (Albright, 2020). In South Phoenix, more than 29% of residents live below the federal poverty level (Robustelli et al., 2020) and have “limited time to cook, live far distances from grocers, and are on a tight budget” (Albright, 2020). Proximity to nutritious food is directly correlated with health issues and diseases (Lopez et al., 2015). In the TOD area, there are currently more than 100 fast food restaurants compared to 7 full-service grocery stores (Lopez et al., 2015). With hunger and diet-related diseases in Maricopa county being higher than the US average (Albright, 2020), food insecurity means life or death for many residents (Lopez et al., 2015).

Unfortunately, the health impacts of living in South Phoenix go beyond food insecurity and have plagued the area for generations (Bolin et al., 2005). Life expectancy is worse in South Phoenix than anywhere else in the metro, with a 14-year gap in life expectancy between South Phoenix and Scottsdale (Virginia Commonwealth University, 2021). This has been the case since the origin of South Phoenix with heat-related deaths, high infant mortality, malnutrition, typhoid, and tuberculosis running rampant across the area in the 1920s and 1930s (Bolin et al., 2005); problems that persist to this day.

The lack of access to adequate diet, healthcare, and the presence of toxic industries has contributed to the chronic health



problems of South Phoenix residents (Bolin et al., 2005). Residents in the TOD area have “higher rates for heart disease, cancer, respiratory ailments, and diabetes,” and their overall death rate is 34% higher than it is in Maricopa County (Lopez et al., 2015). Hospitalizations are also much higher with diabetes and obesity related hospitalizations for those living in the Roosevelt School District, the local public elementary school district, being nearly twice as high as the rate in the county (Shared-use Roosevelt Health Impact Assessment [SHUR], 2015). These hospitalizations disproportionately impact Latinx and Black residents, with Black residents being three and a half times more likely to be hospitalized for diabetes than white residents living in South Phoenix (SHUR, 2015). Similarly, asthma related hospitalizations in the school district area are two and a half times higher than the county as a whole,

and Black residents are nine times as likely to be hospitalized than white residents in the area (SHUR, 2015).

These health disparities also have deadly impacts for infants. Infant mortality data from the Depression era clearly shows that death rates for Black and nonwhite babies in South Phoenix was three times higher than the white rate (Bolin et al., 2005). Today, in Maricopa County, Black babies are two and a half more likely than non-Hispanic white babies to die before the age of one (South Phoenix Healthy Start, 2018). In the TOD area, babies were found to have lower birth weight, premature deliveries, and higher rates of infant mortality (Lopez et al., 2015). There are many factors that contribute to this disparity including health-care options and the lived environment. Publicly funded births are 30% higher in the TOD

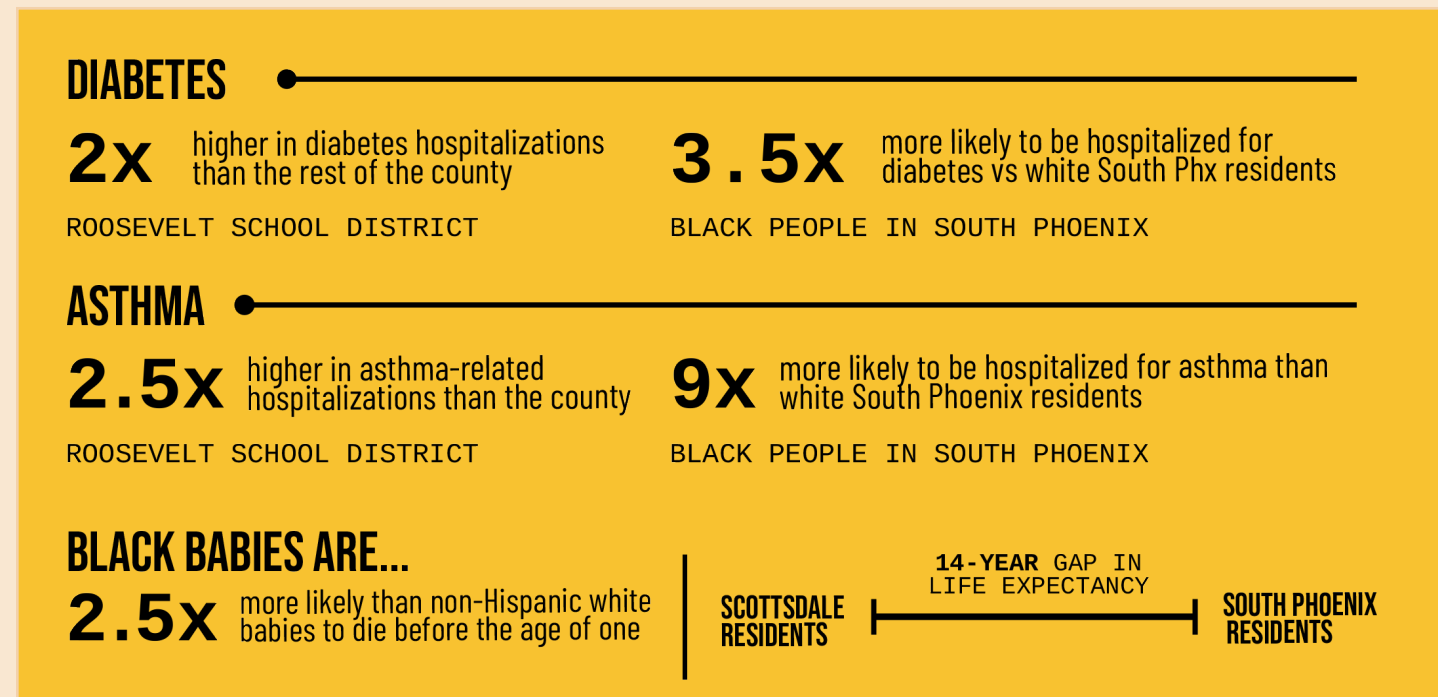
than the rest of the county and have poorer outcomes by comparison (Lopez et al., 2015). Further, environment continues to play a role as a study “revealed a significant relationship between living in greener, shaded spaces and healthier birth outcomes,” even after controlling for incomes (Xiao et al., 2021). These disparities are already deadly for South Phoenix residents, but are expected to be exacerbated by TOD and the displacement that comes with it (Robustelli et al., 2020).

Outside of physical health issues, displacement also has a significant impact on the mental health of displaced residents. Loss of valuable assets combined with an inability to meet one’s basic needs like food, clean air, and water can lead to or increase symptoms of anxiety, depression, and other conditions (Cazabat & Lennard, 2018). Multiple studies show that displacement causes the following impacts: “onset of depression, exacerbation of mental illness, domestic violence, marital breakdown, increased substance abuse, decreased academic performance, and homelessness” (Avila et al., 2021). Additional research shows that these symptoms do not resolve when people relocate. One study that tracked mothers one and two years after being displaced found that they had “significantly higher rates of depression” than their peers (Desmond & Kimbro, 2015 as cited in Cash et al., 2020).

al., 2015). For children, effects of displacement often increase behavioral and emotional problems, and participation in risky behaviors like substance use and unprotected sex (Cash et al., 2020; Jelleyman & Spencer, 2008). Persons also often experience social impacts, such as greater discrimination in their new neighborhood, loss of services essential to their health and well being, or being forced to leave their families and social supports (Lopez et al., 2015).

As research shows that neighborhoods with rail stations are more likely to experience direct displacement and “green gentrification,” it is critical that all investment is made with a community-based, environmental justice lens (Gregg & Braddock, 2020). If it is not, the re-segregated city will return to its patterns of divestment, mass surveillance, and becoming an unsafe place for the nonwhite people who fought for its existence.

It can also have a cyclical impact on physical health as chronic stress from relocation can lead to “poor exercise and eating routines, obesity, cardiovascular disease, diabetes, and lower life expectancies” (Lopez et





05 SOLUTIONS

JUSTICE REINVESTMENT

The money that currently goes into caging people should be spent strengthening our communities!



MUTUAL AID

WHAT IS MUTUAL AID?

Mutual aid is a “form of political participation in which people take responsibility for caring for one another and not just through symbolic acts or putting pressure on representatives but by actually building new social relationships that are more survivable” (Spade & Carillo as cited in Kaba, 2020). On top of being unpaid, mutual aid is different from charity work for a multitude of reasons. Charity blames poor people for poverty, affirms the existing distribution of wealth and life changes, and is about control, hierarchy, and isolation (Spade & Carillo as cited in Kaba, 2020). Mutual aid blames the system for making people poor, says everyone deserves everything they need, and is about solidarity, liberation, and participation (Spade & Carillo as cited in Kaba, 2020). When organizing of informal mutual aid efforts, like one-to-one exchanges with kin and/or non-kin relations (White, 2011), are not possible for

a community in crisis, or when additional aid is needed, support groups, cooperatives, unions, solidarity economies or networks can all adopt the mutual aid model to help the communities they serve (Izlar, 2019). These groups’ efforts are sustained through the formation of community relationships and identification of additional resource or skill offerings that the community members are willing to share in the future.

Mutual aid helps to fulfill basic survival needs like food, healthcare, shelter, and social connection (Dominguez et al, 2020), making it a form of political participation in communities. It requires individuals to actively work to create or rebuild community resources that strengthen the community as a whole. This form of social transformation increases the viability of the community moving forward, even in the face of new challenges (Dominguez et al, 2020). The first to connect this idea of mutual aid as a po-

“ Community matters. Collectivity matters. To me that’s the whole thing. And if we can’t get along with each other, and we can’t take responsibility for what we do with each other, then what the hell are we doing? For me, that’s the bottom line. If anybody is listening to this who is a young person working in this moment, please be a part of the community of folks who are building an accountable community with each other. ”

**MARIAME KABA, WE DO THIS ‘TIL WE FREE US -
ABOLITIONIST ORGANIZING AND TRANSFORMING JUSTICE**



litical concept was anarchist and scientist Peter Kropotkin, author of *Mutual Aid: A Factor in Evolution*. He argued that the survival of our species has been facilitated by human cooperation over competition and because of this, the best systems of economic and social organization are based on mutual exchanges (Wallace, 2020). During mutual aid efforts, it is important to avoid developing a permanent concentration or hierarchy so that all community members have an equal voice, regardless of position or resources, because the expectation is that help is a shared community (Wallace, 2020).

WHAT IMPACT DOES MUTUAL AID HAVE IN COMMUNITIES?

Because the benefits of sharing resources and services among community members are reciprocated, mutual aid helps to remove the reliance on government aid and empower the community to be self-sufficient. For many marginalized communities in crisis, federal or state government responses are delayed or insufficient (Dominguez et al., 2020). The mutual aid model responds to this neglect by centering community voices. As community members identify their own areas of need and connect with their network to find a local community member or organization that can provide support, they ensure that a need will be met appropriately. There is also a natural development of new community relationships during the ongoing exchange of resources to meet essential needs that strengthens the community's foundation.

Mutual aid also increases education and consciousness around power relations in communities (Wallace, 2020) and is an opportunity to build the relationships and analysis to understand why we are in the conditions that we're in (Kaba, 2020). Before the term mutual aid was created, there were social justice groups who had been doing work that was similar to the current mutual aid model. One popular example that is rooted in Black liberation is the Black Panther Party's Free Breakfast Program (Fig. 14). This program is not technically considered a mutual aid model because it does not work on the expectation that benefits will be reciprocated; however, the Black Panther Party provided this support with the goal of helping to revolutionize Black communities that were forced into poverty. Their motivation for creating this program aligns with Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs model: people cannot address higher level needs until their basic physiological needs are met (Wallace, 2020).

Once community members have recovered from hardship, they can begin fighting against the systems of exploitation that have a clear history of causing harm (Spade & Carillo as cited in Kaba, 2020). Mutual aid projects cultivate solidarity by influencing greater collaboration, participation, and decision making among community members rather than relying on authority or hierarchy (Kaba, 2020; Spade, 2020).

HOW DOES MUTUAL AID HELP THE ISSUE OF DISPLACEMENT?

Mutual aid is a model communities can adopt to also help prevent drivers of displacement. One unique aspect of mutual aid is political solidarity, organizing, and capacity building. Solidarity is a key resource for political engagement, especially among Black and other nonwhite people (Chong & Rogers, 2005). Providing political education and building this capacity is essential so persons can understand how power is attained and wielded and can be leveraged to eradicate systemic and institutional racism (National Gender & Equity Campaign [NGEC], 2009; East Bay Community Foundation [EBCF], 2022).

By expanding and reimagining the politically possible, a community can be built that strengthens collective power to influence policy, shape narratives, and create political opportunities (Hunter, 2020; EBCF, 2022). Those who have the best political analysis of the community's conditions typically begin working together to expose the failures of the current system, mobilize against it, and rebuild a new system that reduces or removes the impact of future crises (Spade, 2020). As community collaboration increases, community members' voices are centered in the discussions around community development. This allows them to continue advocating for themselves and working to ensure that community efforts continue to align with and support the needs of its community members.

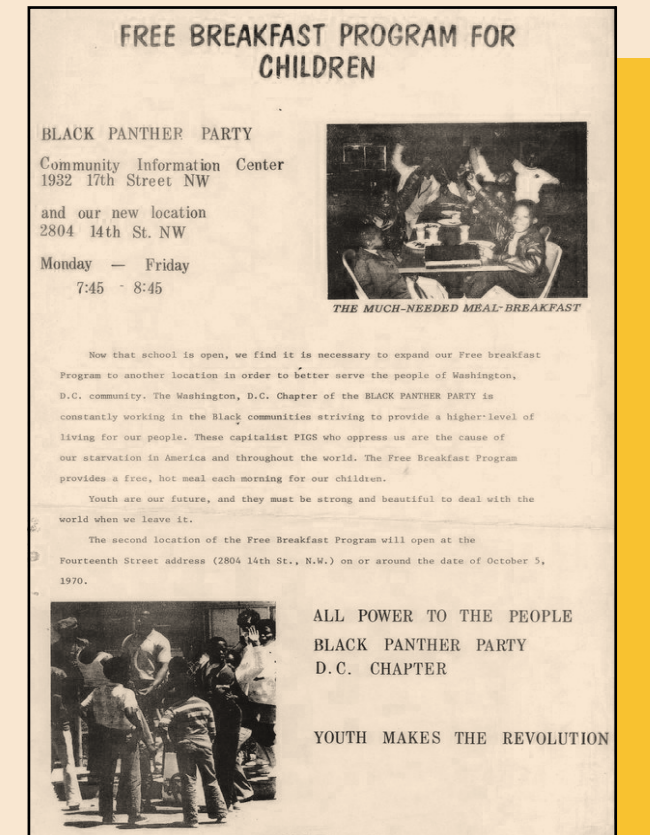


FIG. 14 - Flyer announcing Black Panther Party's expansion of free breakfast for children program, 1970 via *Washington Area Spark*

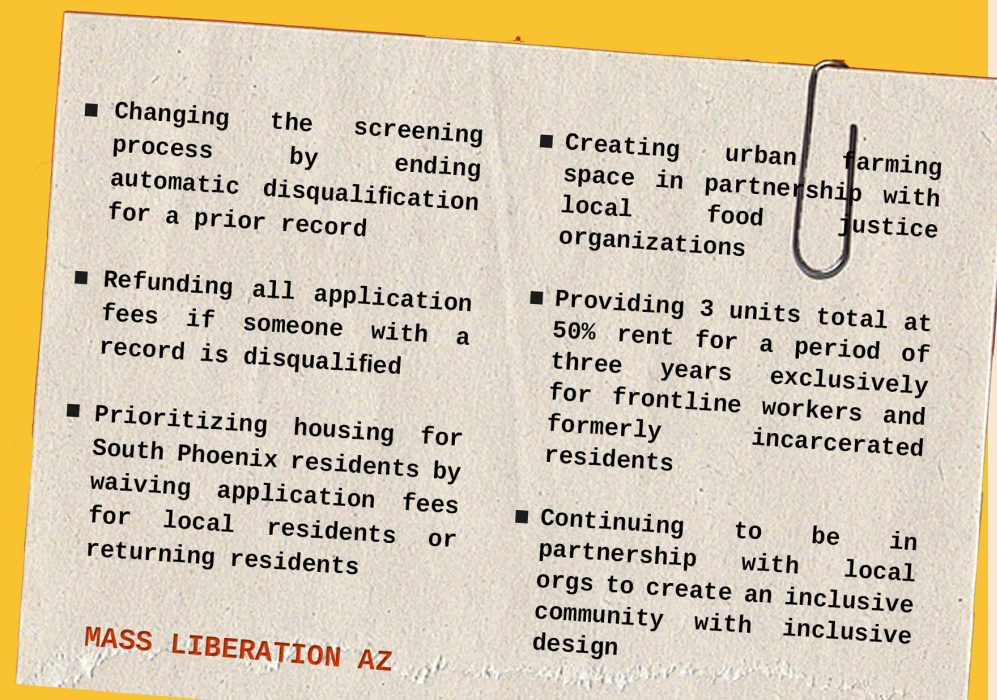
ZONING & LAND USE

COMMUNITY BENEFITS AGREEMENT

Community benefits agreements (CBAs) are legal contracts developed for the purpose of requiring a private developer to provide community agreed amenities/concessions, in order to account for the large impact their development project will have on current residents (Van Horn, 2019). CBAs promote the core values of inclusiveness and accountability by providing a mechanism to ensure that a broad range of community concerns are heard and addressed (Community Benefits Law Center, 2018). These agreements can help ensure more equitable development, enabling existing residents to benefit from new activity and opportunities in neighborhoods threatened by gentrification and displacement (Local Initiatives Support Corporation, 2021). This can include a multitude of benefits and remedies to challenges mentioned like removing barriers to housing for the formerly incarcerated, adding community gardens, or improving affordability (Fig. 15).

FIG. 15 - The People Over Property initiative (POPi) passed a housing project in 2021 with a CBA. Agreements between the developer and community are listed here:

This Community Benefits Agreement was for a housing project in South Phoenix that ensured accessibility, including reduced rent, to formerly incarcerated members of our community.



COMMUNITY LAND TRUSTS

Community land trusts (CLTs) are agreements between a nonprofit and community to ensure ownership and long-term affordability of housing (The Fourth Regional Plan, 2021). The process generally involves a nonprofit, who has community members on their board to ensure that it serves the community's needs, buying land and leasing parcels to individuals or families at an affordable price, separating the cost of the land from the cost of housing (Broad, 2020). This allows Black and nonwhite residents to own their neighborhoods, build equity, and remove the land permanently from the private market and rapid value escalation (Broad, 2020; National Low Income Housing Coalition [NLIHC], 2019). CLTs also have adjacent benefits beyond housing equity. Studies have shown that CLTs result in creating mixed-use commercial spaces, transforming vacant lots into urban gardens, and leveraging partnerships for programs such as good education and job training (Broad, 2020). Research also suggests that CLTs are most effectively utilized in central areas or transit-oriented neighborhoods (Chapple & Loukaitou-Sideris, 2021), making South Central a prime candidate for the opportunity that the City already plans to execute (City of Phoenix, 2021c).

LAND BANKS

Land banks are entities, typically government or nonprofit organizations, that work to redevelop vacant, abandoned, or foreclosed properties for productive use again (Klein et.al,

2020). Land banks only maintain the property until it is repurposed and a responsible buyer is identified to transfer ownership to. They often work in collaboration with community organizations to address displacement and other equitable housing issues (Klein et.al, 2020). The City of Phoenix plans to identify target areas and use land banking as an affordable housing preservation tool to prevent displacement (City of Phoenix, 2021b).

SMART GROWTH AND EQUITY SCORECARDS

Smart growth is an alternative to traditional decision-making in land use and shifts the resources from satisfying zoning rules and the private sector to prioritizing equity, environment, and the economy (Gross et al., 2005). As government-led urban development has shifted its abilities to processing permit and land use applications, smart growth challenges its abilities to engage in endeavors such as creating family-sustaining jobs in the urban core, reducing displacement of low-income and middle-income families, including by assessing whether housing can benefit formerly incarcerated people, and providing the range of public services like child care, health care, and parks and open space (Gross et al., 2005).

One way of implementing and assessing this approach is to require community-driven equity scorecards in the development process (Klein et.al, 2020). Equity scorecards are crafted by residents, community organizations, and local stakeholders to evaluate how well an or-

ganization or development may suit the community (Klein et.al, 2020). These may include categories like community engagement, equitable housing, and economic development. Overall, they allow developers and communities to examine areas of growth and commitment to equity to co-create spaces that benefit all (Klein et.al, 2020).

IMPROVE PUBLIC PROCESSES

The zoning processing by design is not accessible and public participation is done too little and too late in the process (Marcello, 2007). When the community is involved in the development process early, there is active and significant opportunity for preliminary negotiation within the project approval process which benefits the City, the developer, and the community (Marcello, 2007). Beyond the planning department, the community needs to be involved in all portions of the land use process from issue identification, planning, implementation, monitoring, evaluation, accountability, and enforcement (Redefine, 2017). This requires a transparent, well-designed, and culturally responsive public process for land-use decision making with specific and meaningful emphasis on equitable involvement with communities of color and low-income residents (Redefine, 2017).

ZONING RULE CHANGES

Displacement can also be reduced by making changes to the current zoning ordinances. These could include incentives for cre-

ating affordable housing or allowances around standards like height, density, lot coverage and setbacks to make more housing possible (City of Phoenix, 2021c). Another way to make more housing possible is through the increased density and housing options provided by accessory dwelling units (ADUs), which allow secondary residences to be located on single-family lots (City of Phoenix, 2021c). Other options may include creating and incorporating a housing overlay zone (HOZ). This creates a specific district in which developers are offered a set of incentives like density bonuses, streamlined permits and processing, and relaxed development standards in exchange for a certain amount of below-market housing (Chapple & Loukaitou-Sideris, 2021).

VACANCY TAXES

Another promising strategy is to implement vacancy taxes. Vacant properties do not provide any contribution to housing, and in fact, in areas where gentrification is predicted to take place like around a rail station (Cash & Zuk, 2021), it causes 'speculation' (NLIHC, 2019). Speculation occurs when investors buy land for relatively cheap and intentionally allow it to sit empty because that costs less than creating or managing a building (NLIHC, 2019). Some jurisdictions have implemented a vacancy tax on investors who refuse to leverage the lot or make any housing on the parcel available in the market (NLIHC, 2019). In Oakland, this tax is expected to generate about \$10 million annually which the city will then invest in affordable housing (NLIHC, 2019).

ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE

ADDING TREES AND URBAN GREENING

Increasing green infrastructure would have an impact on the urban heat island effect and centuries of environment injustice in South Phoenix (Bolin et. al, 2005). Incorporating nature-based elements into the environment and focusing on projects like ecosystem restoration and greening brownfields have shown to have significant impacts (Elliot et al., 2020). One of the most important elements is increasing the number of trees (McDonald et al., 2016). Trees increase the amount of shade, reduce the temperature of the ground and homes, allow stormwater to be used more effectively, and reduce pollution by cleaning the air (McDonald et al., 2016). Unfortunately, tree canopy cover is concentrated in wealthier neighborhoods in Phoenix (Harlan et al. 2006; Jenerette et al. 2011) and the city is "far short" on their tree canopy progress (Estes, 2021). This impacts many areas, such as transit-dependent residents delaying medical attention in the summer because of the intense heat (Shared-use Roosevelt Health Impact Assessment [SHUR], 2015). Increased trees and shade also make the city more walkable. When Phoenix Metro residents were asked, 'if there was a shaded pathway from where you live to nearby stores, would you walk more often than you do now?' 85% of people said yes. Thus, trees an opportunity to reduce heat, build neighborhood cohesion, and reduce air pollutants (Mark Hartman, personal communication, 2021).

INCREASING ACCESS TO CULTURALLY RELEVANT HEALTHCARE

Another aspect that increases environmental justice is to increase access to care. In South Phoenix, healthcare is often not accessible due to many factors. Arizona is currently only meeting 42% of its primary care provider needs (Koch et al., 2019). Without primary care providers, people have less access to preventative medicine and health issues escalate, resulting in an over reliance on emergency departments, higher rates of preventable illness, and shorter lifespan (SHUR, 2015). If a primary care provider does exist in their area, Black and nonwhite people in the United States still face disparities in their healthcare outcomes and quality of care (Hall et al., 2015), and this only escalates as an area gentrifies (Roshanak et al., 2019). One way to combat these disparities is to increase the number of culturally relevant healthcare providers in the area. With less than 3% of physicians in the Phoenix Metro area being Black (American Community Survey, 2020) and South Phoenix having some of the most disparate outcomes for health (Virginia Commonwealth University, 2021), there is a need not only to increase the number of physicians and specialists in the area (SHUR, 2015) but also to increase the amount of care available from non-Western medicine providers.

FIG. 15 - Aerial view of agricultural fields in Phoenix, 2018; Carol Highsmith via Carol M. Highsmith Archive, Library of Congress



INCREASE ACCESS TO FARMLAND AND FOOD

The Phoenix Food Action Plan lays out many goals to increase the depth and strength of the food system in South Phoenix. Many of these goals are interrelated with zoning and other displacement factors. Some of these goals include access to healthy, local, and culturally appropriate food; integrate food into land use and economic development plans; eliminate code and ordinance barriers to encourage a healthy food infrastructure; and build a food system that is resilient to climate change (Albright, 2020). In an area with an abundance of fast food, a shortage of full-service grocery stores and spaces to grow food, and the challenging health outcomes that come with it (SHUR, 2015), meeting the goals of the Food Action Plan is critically important to South Phoenix.

GREEN HOUSING

When considering building affordable housing or increasing the stock in an area, it is important to make sure that that housing is sustainable for both its inhabitants and the environment. While there may be a perception that green housing costs more, in reality the reduction in resource usage and waste generation often has immediate impacts for developers (Foy, 2012). It also has impacts on the residents that live in them, like reducing energy costs up to three quarters (Foy, 2012). In a city where the average cost to cool a home in the summer is \$477, the most expensive rate in the country (Robustelli et al., 2020), green housing is crucial not only to the environment but also to the financial viability of the residents. When housing is built green, it is often planned more thoughtfully and not in environmentally high-risk areas like floodplains or fire zones and uses more resilient materials (Cash & Zuk, 2021), allowing the building to meet the needs of residents more completely and for longer.

HOUSING VIOLENCE

PUBLIC AND AFFORDABLE HOUSING

One of the most critical solutions to reducing displacement is increasing the amount of public housing. Public housing is typically funded by the government and owned/managed by a public housing authority, subsidizing the cost and providing low income families with an affordable place to rent. Public housing has shown to be one of the most effective ways to produce the large volume of residential locations needed, but unfortunately has continued to see a decrease in funding over the past several decades (Van Horn, 2019). Arizona laws do not allow the mandate of affordable housing developments by localities. This creates a barrier to the passage of legislation for affordable housing policies. Creating local policies that incentivize greater development of housing can ease pressures on overall housing affordability (U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development [HUD], 2016b). Further, policies can implement protections for existing 'naturally occurring' affordable housing, like those that currently exist in South Phoenix. Every year, the nation loses more than 400,000 affordable housing units due to disinvestment and disrepair (HUD, 2016b). Cities and municipalities have instituted protections, acquisitions, and rehabilitation of units to keep the housing stock intact and prevent further displacement (Chapple & Loukaitou-Sideris, 2021).

RENT CONTROL

Rent regulation or rent control is another effective policy to mitigate displacement caused by sharp increases in rent. It works quickly to keep low-income residents in place who would otherwise be unable to maintain stable housing (The Fourth Regional Plan, 2021). These protections are often paired with and made more effective by just-cause evictions, making a scenario like doubling rent effectively forcing someone to move out a barred eviction without just cause (NLIHC, 2019). However, the best kind of rent control is a high vacancy rate: encouraging and facilitating a plethora of housing stock shifts the market power to the tenants themselves (Durning, 2020).

UNIONS

Tenants' unions are led by renters to advocate for tenant rights. They typically are formed by tenants who share the same landlord, rent at the same location, or experience similar low-quality living conditions. Tenant unions work to push forward renter policies that build renter power and protections, especially those related to displacement (Van Horn, 2019). State law protects tenants' rights to organize, which reduces the chance for tenant harassment by landlords and property owners. In Arizona, there are multiple tenant groups that exist to help strengthen tenant protections including the Arizona Tenants Union, Inc. and Arizona Tenants Advocates.

RENTER'S BILL OF RIGHTS

A renter's bill of rights is a reinforcement of guarantees meant for the protection of renters from exploitation by a landlord or property manager. Clauses found in a typical renter's bill of rights can include, but are not limited to: fee limitations, relocation assistance, prevention of criminal history consideration, rental application first submission priority, renter agency for repairs, surprise building inspections, right to organize, just-cause eviction, adequate rent change notice, right of first refusal, and right to counsel (Van Horn, 2019). Landlord and Tenant rights in Arizona are established by the Arizona Residential Landlord and Tenant Act; however, cities have been prohibited from establishing their own landlord and tenant rights following the passage of House Bill 2115 in December 2018.

TENANT RIGHT TO COUNSEL

Tenant Right to Counsel programs offer renters access to legal representation in eviction cases. In Maricopa County, 87% of landlords have legal representation, compared to just 0.3% of tenants, resulting in 99% of cases with judgment information being decided in favor of landlords (Robustelli et al., 2020). By educating renters on their rights and providing legal assistance to them, those most vulnerable to displacement have more protections (Adkins et al., 2020). This can look like hosting education events on tenants' rights, providing fee waivers or deferments on the cost of legal services, or providing free or subsidized legal services (Adkins et al., 2020).

TENANT OPTION TO PURCHASE

Tenant option to purchase (TOP) is a tool for residents facing eviction or displacement when the owner intends to sell, demolish, or convert the property to another use (NLIHC, 2019). TOP policies require that any housing unit undergoing such changes is offered to residents first before being sold, demolished, or re-rented on the private market. This creates housing stability for existing tenants, can increase living standards, and creates legal rights for individuals and families facing displacement (NLIHC, 2019). TOP can also often be paired with home purchasing assistance or other financing tools to make it more feasible for individuals and groups to remain in place (Ghaffari et al., 2017).

FIG. 16 - Photo of community board from Mass Liberation AZ's event Let's Talk Displacement in South

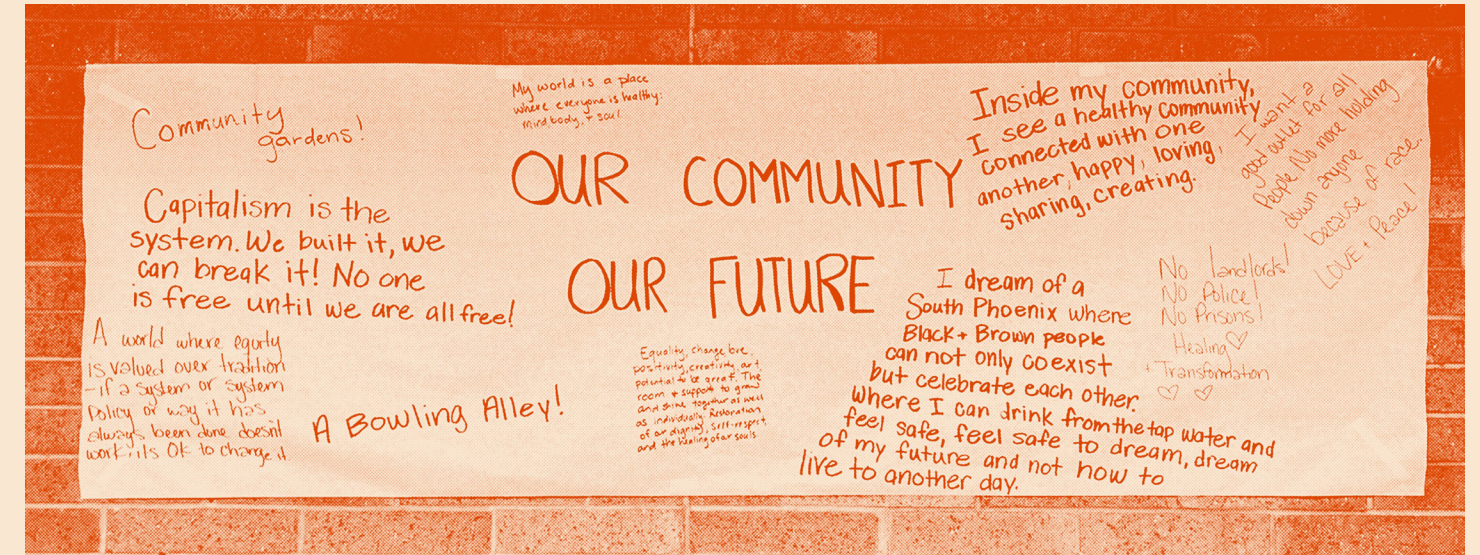


FIG. 17 - Photo from Mass Liberation AZ's Housing Violence People's Court, 2022 via Noemí Alejandra Gonzalez



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