### Memorandum



DATE March 25, 2022

Honorable members of the Housing and Homelessness Solutions Committee: Casey Thomas (Chair), Jesse Moreno (Vice Chair), Carolyn King Arnold, Paula Blackmon, Cara Mendelsohn, Paul Ridley, Jaynie Schultz

Consideration and Approval of the Comprehensive Housing Policy Racial Equity
Assessment Recommendations

On Monday, March 28, 2022, the Housing and Homelessness Solutions Committee is scheduled to be briefed on the proposed recommendations from the Comprehensive Housing Policy Racial Equity Assessment. Formal adoption of the recommendations is scheduled for the April 27, 2022, City Council Agenda.

### **SUMMARY**

The Comprehensive Housing Policy (CHP) was adopted in 2018 in response to compliance challenges, concerns with the growth of Racially/Ethnically Concentrated Areas of Poverty (RECAP) and the need for more affordable housing. The Racial Equity Assessment highlighted deficiencies of the CHP and offered policy enhancement recommendations, which will be used as the foundation for the next generation of housing policies.

#### **BACKGROUND**

In 2018, the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) had frozen the City's HOME Investment and Partnership Program grant because of historic noncompliance with program rules. The City Auditor had open findings with the Housing Department, and the HUD Office of Inspector General was embarking on two audits of the Housing Department. At the same time, former elected officials and property developers were being indicted on bribery charges related to housing activities. The University of Texas Arlington released a poverty study which showed the growth of RECAPs in Dallas, and Texas A&M Real Estate Center released a housing report that showed Dallas had a shortage of housing units. These were the circumstances confronting the City when City Council unanimously adopted the Comprehensive Housing Policy.

DATE March 28, 2022

SUBJECT

Consideration and Approval of the Comprehensive Housing Policy Racial Equit Recommendations

Over the past four years, the CHP has created structure, transparency, and accountability for housing projects with city investments. Development proposals seeking city subsidies are self-scored by applicants, verified by staff and underwritten by third parties. Low Income Housing Tax Credit Projects are evaluated by staff for compliance with the tax credit policy and assessed for fair housing before the City Council deliberates on granting resolutions of support or no objection. Mixed-Income Housing Development Bonuses are driving investment decisions on affordable housing and the Land Transfer Program is nearly sold out of inventory. These programs combined have produced a pipeline of nearly 10,000 housing units.

#### ISSUE

While staff and the City Council are proud of these accomplishments, it is premature for us to take a victory lap because there is so much more that needs to be done as pointed out in the Racial Equity Assessment of the CHP (See Appendix for complete Assessment). The Racial Equity Assessment found that the CHP is devoted to detailed descriptions of housing programs and administrative rules and regulations. Housing policy goals and strategies have limited coverage in the CHP, while racial equity was not covered at all. The Assessment identified the following equity blind spots:

#### SUBJECT

# Consideration and Approval of the Comprehensive Housing Policy Racial Equit Recommendations

CHP Section	Equity Blind Spots
Goals  1. Create and maintain available and affordable housing throughout Dallas, 2. Promote greater fair housing choices, and 3. Overcome patterns of segregation and concentrations of poverty through incentives and requirements.	Goals do not demonstrate the overall desired state of an equitable Dallas with a level playing field for accessing safe, quality, affordable housing. Without making this desired state clear in the initial goals, the Council, staff, and public are not pushed to consider CHP programs through an equity lens. Further, the strategy of using incentives and requirements does not adequately reflect or address the historical policies and practices that made the current playing field so tilted to the disadvantage of Black and Brown residents.
References to Existing Plans	The CHP lists the three plans: ForwardDallas! Neighborhood Plus, and The Consolidated Plan. However, the CHP does not discuss how these plans should work together or how they connect to the CHP. Further, there is no outline of who is accountable for ensuring the interdepartmental collaboration to integrate related plans and policies.  The CHP has no apparent connection to the Dallas Equity Indicators Report (2019). A connection to this report could help gauge how well the policy is moving Dallas toward the Council's equity goals.
Reinvestment Strategy Areas	The CHP lists the Reinvestment Strategy Areas:  Redevelopment Areas Stabilization Areas Emerging Market Areas These areas are described and defined. The gap is that there are no descriptions on how reinvesting in these areas addresses the historic racist policies or patterns of segregation. Nor are there connections made that outline how certain prioritized work or development in these areas will help achieve the CHP's goals. The CHP should include explanations of how different reinvestment strategies will specifically increase equity and decrease segregation.
Production Goals	In the absence of a whole-city vision for increased equitable affordable housing and revitalized neighborhoods, the production goals are a set of numbers with no connection to strategies that could lead Dallas toward the desired state. When production goals are established that align with the desired equitable impact, resources should be identified from multiple funding streams that will allow for those production goals to be achieved.
List of Programs	The CHP lists these programs and their requirements. The listing of these programs is not policy.  Many programs are under-resourced and difficult to access.  City Council management of city approval processes politicizes implementation, often to the detriment of progress toward the desired state of increased equity. These programs should be tools for an overall plan approved by the Council and managed by the staff.
Neighborhood Investment	The CHP defines Neighborhood Empowerment Zones and what they can be used for. NEZs could be used as a tool to build equity in the context of a broader strategic road map. This section, however, does not describe how NEZ are to be used strategically or with an eye to advancing equity.
Funding and Supporting Actions	This section lists the various federal, state, and local funding sources available to support the city's housing programs. Again, there is no description of how these funding sources should be used to achieve the desired state. Every CHP goal needs a developed strategy that includes how achieving the goal will be funded. Rather than just a list of funding sources, the CHP requires an outline of how each funding source will be leveraged and combined with other sources to achieve each goal. Each strategy must also include a timeframe.
Strategies, Tools, and Programs that will Require Additional Action	This section lists areas that require further exploration, but it provides no connection to the current CHP goals nor to needed goals around creating greater equity in Dallas's affordable housing landscape.

SUBJECT

### Consideration and Approval of the Comprehensive Housing Policy Racial Equit Recommendations

#### RECOMMENDATIONS

TDA Consulting offered recommendations on how the CHP can be improved to address the equity blind spots. The 11 recommendations offered were based on listening sessions with community stakeholders, tours of underserved areas and reviews of the CHP. The recommendations were further refined through town hall meetings with community stakeholders and follow up interviews. The attached Appendices includes a summary of their work. The table below shows how the recommendations have evolved since TDA Consulting first introduced them and community stakeholders influenced them:

Original Recommendations	Recommendations Influenced by Stakeholder Feedback	Recommendation Type
1. Create a CHP vision statement articulating how the affordable housing playing field will be leveled for all racial groups and across the North/South Divide	Craft a Vision Statement	Foundational
<ol><li>Create a comprehensive, city-wide strategic road map for coordinating the CHP's array of tools while also leveraging community partnerships to address the very different needs for change from one area of the city to another</li></ol>	*Comprehensive, Whole-City Strategic Roadmap	Strategic
<ol> <li>Establish SMART (Specific, Measurable, Achievable, Relevant, Time-Bound) goals for the CHP that point to the desired state</li> </ol>	SMART Goals	Strategic
4. Strengthen linkages between the CHP and neighborhood revitalization strategies that leverage infrastructure improvements, economic revitalization, and mixed-use master planning to build a foundation for increasing generational wealth in historically Black and Brown communities	Linked planning initiatives	Tactical
5. Add a CHP goal around remedying the enormous infrastructure deficit that has persisted in Southern Dallas for generations	*Comprehensive, Whole-City Strategic Roadmap	Strategic
6. Utilize an "All 14 Districts" model to combat ubiquitous NIMBYism across all areas of Dallas	All 14 Districts" Strategy	Tactical
7. Create a dedicated revenue stream that is scaled to the magnitude of Dallas' affordable housing shortage	Dedicated Funding and Resources	Strategic
<ol> <li>Expand and refine existing CHP programs to create a comprehensive, integrated strategy for preventing displacement during neighborhood revitalization</li> </ol>	Displacement Prevention	Strategic
9. Use the CHP to mandate education for the city staff, policymakers, and the public about what racial equity means in the context of affordable housing and community development	Invest in intensive community education	Foundational
	Invest in Robust Community Outreach and Engagement	Foundational
10. Strategically utilize Low Income Housing Tax Credit (LIHTC) financing in both high opportunity areas with low poverty rates and distressed areas with higher rates	Strategic use of Financing Toolbox	Tactical
11. The CHP should help dispel myths about affordable housing that fuel NIMBYism  *The Comprehensive Whole City Strategic Roadman	Myth Busting Campaign	Tactical

<sup>\*</sup>The Comprehensive, Whole-City Strategic Roadmap encompasses both recommendations

March 28, 2022

SUBJECT

DATE

Consideration and Approval of the Comprehensive Housing Policy Racial Equit Recommendations

### **NEXT STEPS**

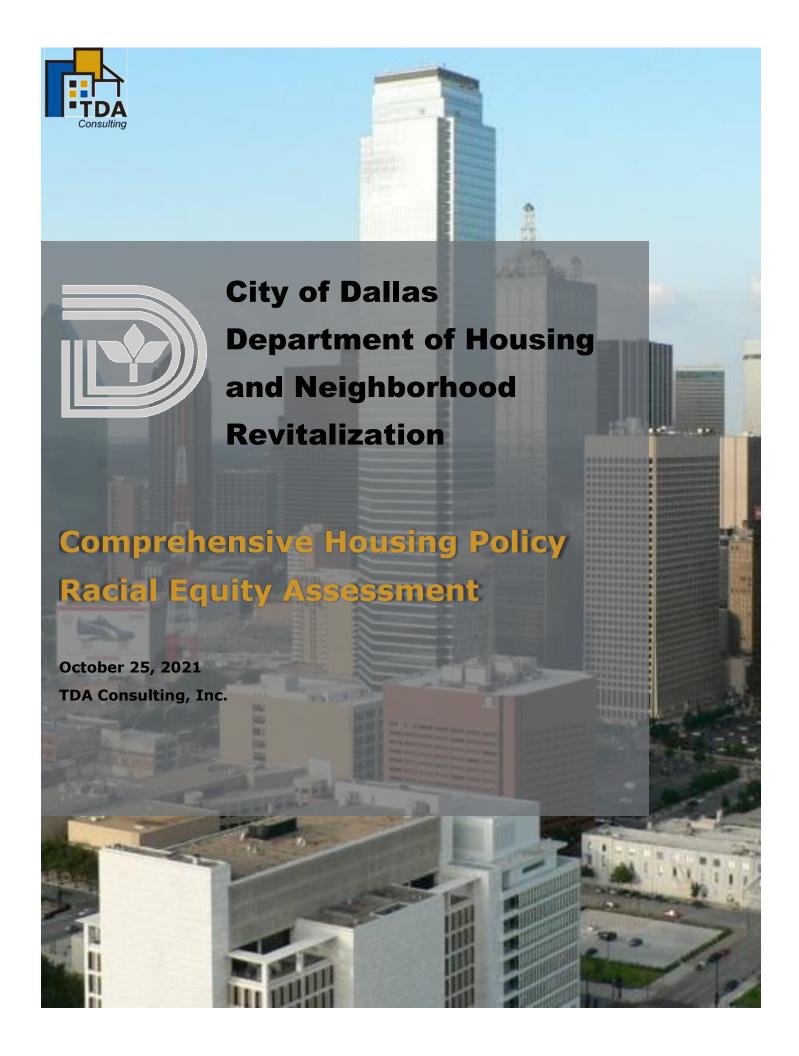
The recommendations provided address more than the production of housing. They encompass overall neighborhood revitalization, thereby improving the quality of life for all Dallas residents regardless of racial ethnicity or zip code. Staff is working across Departments to coordinate efforts on infrastructure improvements, public safety, economic development, transportation, and budget allocations. By end of calendar year, staff and consultants will lay out a housing plan with measurable goals and requests for resources that are not currently available. The 11 recommendations will serve as the policy direction for implementing the next housing plan.

Should you have any questions or require any additional information, please contact David Noguera, Director, Department of Housing & Neighborhood Revitalization at <a href="mailto:David.Noguera@DallasCityHall.com">David.Noguera@DallasCityHall.com</a> or 214-670-3619.

Majed A. Al-Ghafry, P.E. Assistant City Manager

c: Chris Caso, City Attorney
Mark Swann, City Auditor
Bilierae Johnson, City Secretary
Preston Robinson, Administrative Judge
Kimberly Bizor Tolbert, Deputy City Manager
Jon Fortune, Deputy City Manager

M. Elizabeth (Liz) Cedillo-Pereira, Assistant City Manager Robert Perez, Interim Assistant City Manager Carl Simpson, Interim Assistant City Manager M. Elizabeth Reich, Chief Financial Officer Genesis D. Gavino, Chief of Staff to the City Manager Directors and Assistant Directors



# **City of Dallas Comprehensive Housing Policy Racial Equity Assessment**

# **Table of Contents**

Introduction	2
Background	2
Assessment Approach and Research Questions	3
Assessment Process Outline	4
Content and Structure of the CHP	5
Gaps in the CHP	6
Structure of this Report	6
Using the Recommendations	7
Recommendations	8
Racial Disparities in Housing Outcomes	15
The Historical Causes of Current Racial Disparities	18
The Policy Roots of Inequity: A Legacy of Exclusion, Relegation, and Neglect	18
The Elephant in the Room	23
Challenges to Progress and Worsening Inequities	25
Advancing Equitable Impacts	27
Examining Alternatives and Improvements	33
Success Factors	36
Ensuring Viability and Sustainability	37
Addressing the Funding Gap	37
Additional Needs	38

### Introduction

### **Background**

The Comprehensive Housing Policy (CHP) represents the City of Dallas's primary tool for combatting the <u>local affordable housing crisis</u>. The City Council adopted the CHP and created the Dallas Housing Policy Task Force to (1) create and maintain available and affordable housing throughout Dallas; (2) promote greater fair housing choices; and (3) overcome patterns of segregation and concentrations of poverty through incentives and requirements (Resolution No. 18- 0704, May 9, 2018). The policy outlines 13 discrete housing programs administered by the City of Dallas: the Home Improvement and Preservation Program, Dallas Homebuyer Assistance Program, DHAP Targeted Homebuyer Incentive Program, Accessory Dwelling Units, Home Improvement and Preservation Rental Program, Tenant-Based Rental Assistance, New Construction and Substantial Rehabilitation Program, Mixed-Income Housing Development Bonus, Land Transfer Program, Title Clearing and Clouded Title Prevention Program, Community Land Trust Program, Targeted Rehabilitation Program, and Neighborhood Empowerment Zones.

In the three years since the CHP's adoption, city officials and community partners have committed to tackling persistent racial inequities by taking aim at the higher barriers Black and Brown residents face in meeting a variety of basic needs, including affordable, safe, quality housing. The 2018 North Texas Regional Housing Assessment and the 2019 Analysis of Impediments to Fair Housing Choice (a.k.a. The 2019 Fair Housing Study) outline numerous disparities in housing outcomes that continue to impact Black and Brown Dallas residents. These disparities include significantly lower homeownership rates, much higher housing cost burden, much lower median property value, higher likelihood of living in substandard housing, and greater exposure to airborne toxins and other environmental hazards associated with industrial operations abutting residential neighborhoods. The 2019 Fair Housing Study described "stark patterns of neighborhood inequities... within Dallas" and called for "coordinated and geographically targeted actions across City departments and agencies" to "address... this inequitable landscape of opportunity."

Southern Methodist University Economics Professor J.H. Collum Clark specifically flagged the ongoing challenges of Southern Dallas<sup>1</sup> in a <u>recent white paper about the Dallas Collaborative for Equitable Development</u>, a mixed-income housing, and small business support initiative developed by the Texas Real Estate Council, Dallas College, Lift Fund, and Texas Mezzanine Fund. The paper describes these Southern Dallas challenges as the "elephant in the room" within discussions about how Dallas's race-based policy legacy continues to limit opportunities to

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Clark defines Southern Dallas as "9 of the city's city council districts, mostly south of Interstate 30, but including several low- to moderate-income areas just north of I-30 (including West Dallas / Census Tract 205).

Black and Brown residents some 50 years after Congress passed laws outlawing segregation and discriminatory housing practices. Professor Clark's analysis suggests that these challenges are part and parcel of what many historians have termed <u>Dallas's North-South Divide</u>. He notes, for example, that present-day Southern Dallas is home to more Black and Hispanic people than the total population of Washington, D.C., yet contains only 10% of Dallas's total property tax value as assessed for tax purposes. This large geographic area with 64% of Dallas's total population but only 10% of its property tax value evidences an inequitable landscape indeed.

The City Council, the City Manager, the city's Office of Equity, and many local partners continue to reckon with the historical policies that created this landscape. For example, the Council has adopted a process to increase equity in budgeting as part of a broad initiative codified on May 22, 2019, authorizing "a resolution in furtherance of the City of Dallas' efforts to support diverse racial, ethnic, cultural, and socio-economic backgrounds and to promote equity in the Dallas community." These efforts also include the <u>Dallas Equity Indicators Project</u>, which the city developed as a tool to support a "sustained commitment by multiple agencies" to "address disparities in social and economic outcomes for many groups" that have resulted from "decades of institutionalized policies and practices."

In early summer 2021, the City of Dallas Department of Housing and Neighborhood Revitalization contracted with TDA Consulting to analyze the ways that the CHP helps or hinders the city in meeting its racial equity goals. A team of consultants, Christine Campbell, John Gilvar, and Michele Williams, conducted the racial equity assessment outlined below from July through October 2021.

## **Assessment Approach and Research Questions**

The consultant team approached this assignment using a root cause analysis lens. In other words, it started with analyzing the long-term root causes of the higher barriers to safe, quality, affordable housing experienced by Black and Brown residents of present-day Dallas. Research questions were informed by extensive discussions with a wide range of community stakeholders who provided a range of perspectives on the contours of the "landscape of inequitable opportunity" cited by the 2019 Fair Housing Study. This stakeholder input provided a critical local perspective on current racial disparities in housing outcomes and helped the team understand the policy history in which these disparities are rooted.

The team's primary research questions were:

1. What are the current barriers to safe, quality, affordable housing disproportionately experienced by Black and Brown Dallas residents?

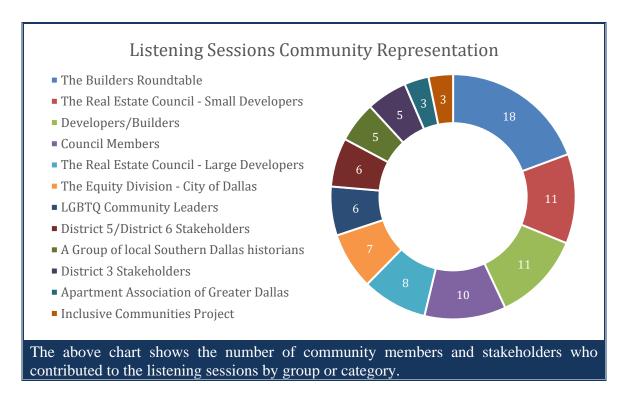
- 2. What are the historical root causes of these barriers, and how do these causes continue to shape the landscape of Dallas's affordable housing crisis?
- 3. How does the CHP empower or disempower city leaders to address these root causes by accelerating access to safe, quality, affordable housing in a way that reduces racial disparities and ameliorates Dallas's North/South Divide?

### **Assessment Process Outline**

Using the <u>Race Forward Framework</u> as a guide, the team utilized a variety of methods to gather the information necessary to complete the assessment. These methods included:

- Interviews/listening sessions with relevant community stakeholders
- Tours of neighborhoods, including historically African American communities in Southern Dallas as well as recently redeveloped areas
  - Historic 10th Street District
  - The Bottom
  - The Forest District
  - South Dallas
  - West Dallas
  - o Joppa
- Review of existing research on affordable housing challenges and local plans with affordable housing components
- Review of local historical accounts of race relations and race-based housing policies and practices
- Review of existing City of Dallas Housing Department data
- An in-depth interrogative review of the Comprehensive Housing Policy as currently written.

The community engagement process consisted of over twenty stakeholder listening sessions. The 93 participants included current and former City Council members, neighborhood activists, local historians, large and small developers and building contractors, a landlord association, the director and staff of the City of Dallas Office of Equity, and advocates for housing fairness and inclusion as well as LGBTQ rights. Participants were demographically representative of the diversity of the city in terms of race/ethnicity, age, gender, and sexual orientation. They represented communities across Northern and Southern Dallas, including areas most directly impacted by racial disparities in housing outcomes. Current Council members interviewed include Mayor Pro Tem West (D1), Council Member Moreno (D2), Council Member Casey Thomas (D3), Deputy Mayor Pro Team Resendez (D5), Council Member Atkins (D8), Council Member Blackmon (D9), Council Member Schultz (D11), Council Member Mendelsohn (D12), Council Member Willis (D13), and Council Member Ridley (D14).



Local plans, studies, and other documents reviewed include:

- Dallas 5-Year Comprehensive Plan
- forwardDallas! plan
- Neighborhood Plus plan
- 2019 Analysis of Impediments to Fair Housing Choice (2019 Fair Housing Study)
- 2018 North Texas Regional Housing Assessment
- Budgeting for Equity presentation to the Dallas City Council and evaluation tool
- Various reports, articles, and other research about Dallas housing issues referenced throughout this report.

### Content and Structure of the CHP

The lion's share of the CHP (131 out of 148 total pages) is devoted to detailed descriptions of 13 housing programs, including an accounting of the rules and regulations that city staff use in administering these programs and 20 technical appendices. The CHP introduces this programlevel administrative and technical information with a brief background section, starting with the City's goals of creating and maintaining available and affordable housing throughout Dallas, promoting greater fair housing choices, and overcoming patterns of segregation and concentrations of poverty. Additional background includes a brief description of the most recent Market Value Analysis (MVA), an outline of reinvestment strategy areas as defined by the MVA, affordable housing production goals, a high-level summary of the work of the Housing Policy Task Force, and a list of plans providing related information, including the *forwardDallas! Comprehensive Plan*, the *Neighborhood Plus Plan*, and *Consolidated Plan*.

### Gaps in the CHP

As currently written and structured, the CHP represents a better guide to compliance with federal, state, and local regulations than it does an outline of strategies for changing the affordable housing status quo. To use a sports analogy, the document contains a great deal of detailed material about Defense (for example, avoidance of federal audit findings and lawsuits) and almost nothing about Offense (for example, how to coordinate strategies and build partnerships to maximize opportunities within the parts of the city where development costs are relatively low and affordable housing needs are off the charts).

The assessment team identified the following specific gaps in the CHP:

- No vision or strategies for how to reach either the high-level goals or the production targets
- No reference to how to coordinate the 13 discrete programs or leverage them with other local public or private housing initiatives
- No road map for comprehensive planning that addresses localized impediments to affordable housing development, for example, the significant differences, from one area of the city to another, in land acquisition costs, infrastructure needs, and zoning issues
- No evaluation framework with which the Council and public can measure progress in reaching overarching CHP goals
- No guidance on how city staff should nimbly adjust subsidy terms as market dynamics evolve and rapidly impact the viability of affordable housing development projects
- No goals tied directly to increasing equity by reducing racial disparities
- No acknowledgment of policies that have promoted segregation and inequality
- No specific strategies for redressing deep-rooted inequities by leveling the playing field for Black and Brown residents and historically Black and Brown communities
- Insufficient funding to achieve affordable housing production targets and advance equity in affordable housing access, as compared to cities such as Austin, Atlanta, and Seattle.<sup>2</sup>

These gaps result in numerous blind spots—approaches to increasing affordable housing that make it difficult for the City Council, city staff, and the public to focus on the elephant in the room and how to address it. These blind spots are outlined in detail later in the <u>Advancing Equitable Impacts</u> of this report.

## **Structure of this Report**

The sections of this report that provide the analysis behind our recommendations are as follows:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The section of this report titled <u>Ensuring Viability and Sustainability</u> provides detailed information pertaining to this gap.

- Racial Disparities in Housing Outcomes
- The Historic Root Causes of Current Racial Disparities
- Advancing Equitable Impacts
- Examining Alternatives and Improvements
- Success Factors
- Ensuring Viability and Sustainability

The analysis outlined in these sections underpins the <u>consulting team's recommendations</u> for how the CHP could be improved to better empower the City Council to:

- 1. Reduce stark racial disparities in Dallas's housing outcomes
- 2. Strategically address the root causes of these disparities, and
- 3. Accelerate access to safe, quality, affordable housing in a way that ameliorates Dallas's profound North/South Divide.

### **Using the Recommendations**

Ultimately, the city's success will boil down to a limited number of critical choices its leaders must make if they are authentically committed to tackling its daunting array of housing disparities. The following three questions can best express these choices:

- Will city leaders create a strategic road map that sets a course toward redressing the vast North/South divide?
- Will they acknowledge that a 150-year-old legacy of race-based policy choices has saddled Southern Dallas with an enormous deficit in the basic infrastructure upon which the development of mixed-income neighborhoods depends?
- Will they hold themselves accountable for leveling the playing field that has been tilted in favor of predominantly White areas to the North by making significant investments in Southern Dallas?

These choices are necessary because moving forward in an equitable way will not come from tweaking the current policy document. Rather it requires expanding Dallas's affordable housing goals, making these goals measurable, and tying them to a comprehensive strategic roadmap toward the desired state.

This desired state will occur when neither the color of a person's skin nor their zip code predicts the chances of their living in safe, quality, affordable housing. The desired state reflects the Government Alliance on Race and Equity's definition of racial equity that the City of Dallas has employed for its Budgeting for Equity process. Progress will be made only when the Council can use its equity goals and a corresponding affordable housing strategic roadmap as oversight tools-- and when the public can use these same tools to hold the Council and city staff accountable.

### Recommendations

The recommendations below address different ways to re-craft the CHP to make it a more powerful tool, not just for accelerating the production of affordable housing units, but for advancing racial equity in alignment with the City's overarching equity goals. These recommendations are oriented toward building the public will and accountability needed to eliminate dramatic racial disparities in access to safe, quality, affordable housing.

After each recommendation, a brief summary ties it to the consultant team's analysis. The summaries contain hyperlinks that connect to the parts of this report offering more detailed descriptions of our findings, including background information, analysis, and descriptions of success factors from other communities.

1. Create a CHP vision statement articulating how the affordable housing playing field will be leveled for all racial groups and across the North/South Divide

This level playing field represents the desired state and is aligned with the city's overarching vision for increasing equity. As such, it needs to be front and center in the CHP, guiding the various strategies at the city's disposal for accelerating the production of affordable housing. This desired state will not be reached by merely avoiding public investment that risks exacerbating the concentration of poverty within historically redlined Southern and Western Dallas areas that has persisted over the decades since desegregation. It requires employing an array of proactive strategies guided by a vision for public investment in these marginalized areas to create vibrant, mixed-income neighborhoods. The vision statement would articulate a radical reversal of the broad policy patterns that over many decades promoted northward development while creating a Southern Dallas landscape marked by under-investment and neglect. It would also provide avenues for addressing the limitations of current strategies to move households struggling with housing affordability from historically segregated, high-poverty areas to areas that the MVA deems "high opportunity zones" with lower poverty rates, superior schools, transit options, and other infrastructure.

2. Create a comprehensive, whole-city strategic road map for coordinating the CHP's array of tools while also leveraging community partnerships to address the very different needs for change from one area of the city to another

City staff currently lack a strategic road map guiding how it should leverage CHP programs in partnership with community-based and private developers to affect the different types of change needed in different areas of the city. The City of Austin's

Strategic Housing Blueprint may provide a model for addressing this issue. Adopted by the Austin City Council in 2017, the blueprint represents a 10-year plan to help align resources and facilitate community partnerships around a single, strategic vision to create 60,000 affordable housing units for those making less than 80% of the median family income and ensure that there is affordable housing throughout the city. It outlines a multifaceted set of coordinated strategies to leverage different resources to maximize the production of new affordable units while mitigating the displacement of residents as neighborhoods gentrify.

A similar approach could prove critical to outlining different approaches for addressing the very different challenges to increasing access to safe, quality, affordable housing in Southern versus Northern Dallas. For example, Southern neighborhoods are much more susceptible than Northern neighborhoods to gentrification that displaces long-time Black and Brown residents. Southern Dallas, therefore, requires proactive and highly targeted strategies to induce mixed-income development at sufficient scale and speed to create a hedge against displacement. It also requires the flexibility to expand and refine successful CHP programs developed to assist long-time residents of Southern neighborhoods in remaining in their houses despite rising property taxes. Likewise, Northern Dallas's much higher land prices necessitate different area-specific targeted strategies, such as higher subsidies and other methods of inducing private developers to create more affordable housing, including workforce housing.

# 3. Establish SMART (Specific, Measurable, Achievable, Relevant, Time-Bound) goals for the CHP that point to the desired state

The CHP's goals of creating and maintaining available and affordable housing throughout Dallas, promoting greater fair housing choices, and overcoming patterns of segregation and concentrations of poverty all point *in the general direction* of the increased equity. Yet, as currently written, they offer no framework for measuring concrete progress. Without greater specificity and a connection to measurable outcomes, how can the City Council hold city staff accountable? Further, how can the public hold the Council accountable?

In other communities, SMART goals grounded in a clear vision statement have proven instrumental in increasing accountability to produce concrete results. SMART goals have also increased accountability to agreed-upon equity-based strategies. In Dallas, the City Council might establish a SMART goal calling for specific, measurable, time-bound progress on bringing the median property value of Black and Brown homeowners in line with the median property value of White homeowners. Another might specify targets and timelines for subsidized workforce housing units within Northern and other areas of the

city where median rents and house prices are currently beyond the reach of working people. These or other SMART goals would provide elected officials with:

- A. A mechanism with which to align affordable housing planning with equity-based planning in other city departments/divisions, such as the Office of Equity and the Office of Environmental Quality, and other public agencies, such the DART or DISD
- B. A framework to guide continuous community engagement, thus helping to ensure that the evolution of the recommended strategic road map reflects input from a wide array of community stakeholders, including the private developer community and people who live and work in historically marginalized areas
- C. A way to hold city staff accountable for results without micromanaging the way it administers programs or leverages external resources and partnerships to meet the Council's goals
- D. A clear basis for voting to approve proposed projects and initiatives that align with the Council's affordable housing strategic road map but meet with constituent opposition grounded in NIMBYism.
- 4. Strengthen linkages between the CHP and neighborhood revitalization strategies that leverage infrastructure improvements, economic revitalization, and mixed-use master planning to build a foundation for increasing generational wealth in historically Black and Brown communities

Strategically developing mixed-income neighborhoods can promote the health and wellbeing of residents in various ways and can also help improve economic opportunities in historically marginalized areas. Leveraging various public and private initiatives can facilitate such development by increasing workforce housing stock and attracting grocery stores to areas that are currently food deserts. This approach lies at the heart of the Dallas Collaborative for Economic Development, which brings for-profit and nonprofit organizations together to facilitate mixed-income housing development and provide small business support in targeted areas of Southern and Western Dallas. The current redevelopment work in The Bottom provides an example of how public investment in infrastructures like flood mitigation and street lighting can be creatively combined with support to small developers and contractors with roots in historically marginalized areas.

Stakeholder input from multiple listening sessions suggests that the city has barely scratched the surface in tapping the expertise, capacity, and motivation of both nonprofits

and private contractors to increase infill and rehab development in areas sorely in need of high-quality workforce housing options. The CHP should outline a flexible role for staff in leveraging a variety of incentives and supports to accelerate such development across Southern Dallas. In addition, the CHP should guide staff in supporting master-planned mixed-use projects in historically marginalized areas. The recent <a href="Redbird Mall">Redbird Mall</a> revitalization illustrates how development can succeed in attracting employers, new retail, and housing to areas of Southern Dallas that the Market Value Analysis all but writes off.

# 5. Add a CHP goal around remedying the enormous infrastructure deficit that has persisted in Southern Dallas for generations

Dallas's legacy of race-based policies and practices, which date back to the post-Civil War era, has left wide swaths of Southern Dallas without the necessary infrastructural foundation for mixed-income neighborhood development. In listening sessions, the assessment team learned that in one Council district alone, there are over 25 areas that have yet to be connected to the city sewer system and where all dwellings remain on septic tanks. Many areas have completely inadequate roads, insufficient flood control measures, and poor or non-existent street lighting. No equity-centered affordable housing strategy will succeed without a sufficient investment of public funds to remedy this situation and thereby create market conditions that make mixed-income development more viable. Investing in Southern Dallas at the necessary scale will require the City Council to recognize the need for greater investment in some districts than in others in its budget-setting process. In other words, it will require utilizing an equity-based, rather than an equality-based paradigm, as outlined in the section of this report titled Advancing Equitable Impacts.

# 6. Utilize an "All 14 Districts" model to combat ubiquitous NIMBYism across all areas of Dallas

The District of Columbia developed a successful model for ensuring that all 8 of the Council wards within the city hit specific benchmarks specified in the city's homelessness strategic road map. As outlined in the section of this report titled <a href="Examining Alternatives and Improvement Section">Examining Alternatives and Improvement Section</a>, this model can be adapted in formulating Dallas's affordable housing strategic roadmap.

# 7. Create a dedicated revenue stream that is scaled to the magnitude of Dallas's affordable housing shortage

From Atlanta to Seattle, cities facing growing affordable housing crises have linked comprehensive strategic housing plans with new mechanisms for generating local revenue to follow through on these plans. In early 2021, the Atlanta City Council approved legislation that will enable the city to deploy \$100 million in new housing opportunity bond funding. In 2016, Seattle voters signed on to a \$290 million property-tax levy for low-income housing, with 68% voting in favor. Closer to home, Austin, Texas approved a \$250 Million Affordable Housing Bond in 2018, with approval from 73% of residents who voted.

These funding initiatives and others across the country centered the goal of increasing affordable housing equity. Like Dallas, these cities have seen greater and greater numbers of working people, particularly people of color, priced out of neighborhoods within reasonable commuting distance of employers paying a living wage. They've also seen the widespread displacement of Black and Brown residents from neighborhoods experiencing rapid gentrification. The level of local public funding dedicated to affordable housing development in these communities now dwarfs the level in Dallas, however. While Dallas has many tools in its CHP toolkit, it will be unable to reverse its own worsening housing crisis without the investment of dedicated local funds at a scale that matches the enormity of the problem.

# 8. Expand and refine existing CHP programs to create a comprehensive, integrated strategy for preventing displacement during neighborhood revitalization

CHP programs such as Home Improvement and Preservation have proven effective in allowing long-time residents of neighborhoods threatened by gentrification to maintain their homes while mitigating the higher tax burden that comes with home improvements and rising property values. Yet the scale and capacity of these programs must be increased significantly to meet the level of unmet need. For example, city staff reports that the level of demand for assistance with home repairs by far exceeds the number of households assisted. This and other CHP programs offering some protection from displacement have proven inadequate to address the scope of the problem. The capacity of rehabilitation assistance programs should be expanded, and the CHP should expand its displacement strategies altogether to better address needs such as:

- A. Tax relief related to the school district and other taxes not currently addressed
- B. Increased employment opportunities
- C. Public transportation
- D. Food security
- E. Quality education
- F. Green and recreational space

# 9. Use the CHP to mandate education for the city staff, policymakers, and the public about what racial equity means in the context of affordable housing and community development

For the CHP to move Dallas toward more racially equitable outcomes, it must be amended to remove its many equity blind spots, as outlined in the section of this report titled <u>Advancing Equitable Impacts</u>. The process for eliminating these blind spots requires policymakers to be grounded in the meaning and benefits of equity. This grounding will help them to build public trust in the authenticity of their efforts to increase affordable housing equity. In turn, this trust will prove critical to overcoming widespread skepticism stemming from the number of past plans that have called for extensive community input yet have not progressed to implementation. Developers and neighborhood advocates alike need greater transparency. They also need a framework for understanding the Return-on-Investment for the entire community of increasing equity across the affordable housing landscape.

# 10. Strategically utilize Low Income Housing Tax Credit (LIHTC) financing in both high opportunity areas with low poverty rates and distressed areas with higher rates

Lawsuits, court orders, and federal findings about Dallas's history of concentrating subsidized affordable housing development in historically marginalized low-income areas with large Black and Brown populations explain why the city takes such a careful approach to approving LIHTC proposals.<sup>3</sup> The CHP's approach to increasing affordable housing stock while minimizing further concentrations of poverty entails placing subsidized affordable housing development in areas of the city classified by as "high opportunity areas" where the poverty rate is less than 20%. As the CHP was being developed, many argued that it should direct the city to use LIHTC to help people living in historically segregated areas with high poverty to move to these high opportunity areas.

Yet the scale of the housing affordability barriers for Black and Brown Dallas residents is massive; 80% of African American households and 74% of Hispanic households in Dallas earn below \$75,000, and thus, depending on household size, may qualify for City of Dallas housing programs<sup>4</sup>. The scale of the problem demands a more nuanced, wholecity LIHTC strategy. Writing off wide swaths of Southern Dallas because of higher poverty rates ignores the leverage LIHTC can provide to help catalyze broader

13

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The Walker Consent Decree, the Inclusive Communities lawsuit, HUD findings, and ongoing criticism about the siting of affordable housing developments all contribute to this caution.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> These statistics were provided to the consultant team by the City of Dallas Housing Department

development of workforce housing, retail, office and other uses that can revitalize neighborhoods. Moreover, market forces, such as the high cost of land, make the placement of sufficient numbers of affordable units in high opportunity areas challenging, as the Housing Department has indicated to the City Council.

While the CHP must guard against using LIHTC to further concentrate poverty and encourage siting viable LIHTC projects in Northern Dallas and other areas with lower poverty rates, it should also provide city staff with greater flexibility to nimbly support the leveraging of LIHTC funds throughout Dallas, regardless of the MVA. Otherwise, the city's rejections of LIHTC proposals in Southern and Western Dallas will continue to sow confusion within the developer community about how to gain support for proposals in these areas that could help the city achieve the goals of the CHP.

### 11. The CHP should help dispel myths about affordable housing that fuel NIMBYism

NIMBYism often has its roots in myths about what affordable housing means and what it does to neighborhoods and communities. The CHP should include myth-busting strategies that will help boost the approval rate for worthy affordable housing proposals that align with the goals of the CHP. Examples of common myths and myth-busting strategies include:

Myth: Affordable housing only benefits the very poor; everyone else pays.

Reality: Affordable housing in Dallas should address the needs of those earning less than 80% of AMI. For a family of four, this amount equates to \$70,000 per year. Some people impacted by a lack of affordable housing include employers, seniors, low-income people, immigrants, low-wage or entry-level workers, firefighters, police officers, military personnel, and teachers. The lack of affordable housing depresses the tax revenues needed to improve roads, schools, or air quality. It means businesses struggle to retain qualified workers and lowers the amount of money available to spend in those businesses. Affordable housing isn't about doing something to help the poor; it's about improving business and raising the standards of working- and middle-class families and the nation at large. <sup>5</sup>

Myth: Affordable housing drives down property values

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> <u>MythsStereotypes even more improved:</u>
<a href="http://www.bpichicago.org/documents/MythsStereotypesevenmoreimproved.pdf?fun\_cid=1577722290165785">http://www.bpichicago.org/documents/MythsStereotypesevenmoreimproved.pdf?fun\_cid=1577722290165785</a>
7800

Reality: According to the <u>National Low Income Housing Coalition</u>, 85% of affordable housing meets or exceeds federal quality standards, and over 40% of this housing is considered "excellent." That means affordable housing is likely either on-par with its surrounding neighborhood or in even better condition than its neighbors.

Myth: Affordable housing brings increased crime

Reality: There are no studies that show affordable housing brings crime to neighborhoods. In fact, increasing the number of families who own their own homes adds stability to a neighborhood and lowers the crime rate. In addition, increasing homeownership increases neighborhood cohesion and encourages cooperation in ridding communities of criminal activity. Families who live in affordable housing seek the same thing every family does – a safe place to raise children and the opportunity to enhance the value of what they own.

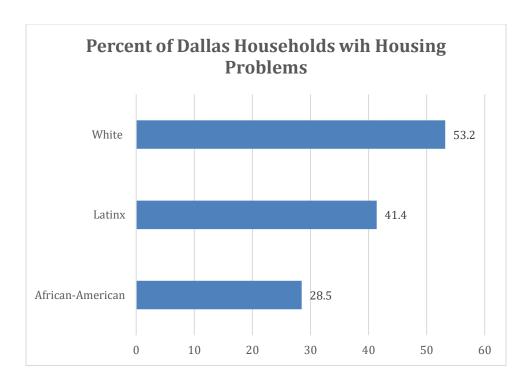
# **Racial Disparities in Housing Outcomes**

The most glaring disparities most pertinent to this equity assessment mirror those experienced by Black and Brown people in urban communities across the nation, from Boston to San Diego. These disparities directly connect to increased household vulnerability to rapidly escalating rents and home prices. They include:

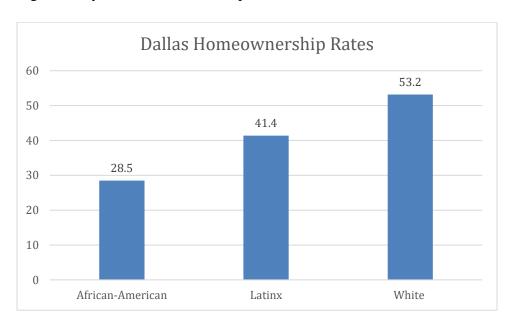
• Significantly higher rates of housing problems, defined as households experiencing one or more of the following: housing cost burden (paying more than 30% of income for monthly housing costs, including utilities), overcrowding (more than one person per room), lacking a complete kitchen, or lacking plumbing<sup>6</sup>

15

<sup>6</sup> https://dhantx.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/North-Texas-Regional-Housing-Assessment-2018.pdf

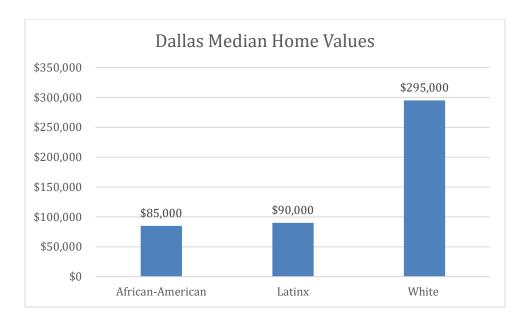


• Significantly lower homeownership rates<sup>7</sup>

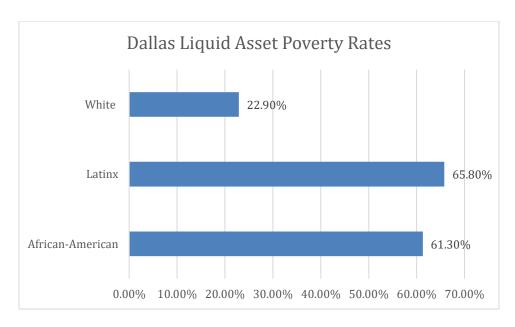


<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> https://prosperitynow.org/sites/default/files/resource/2018-10/Racial\_Wealth\_Divide\_in\_Dallas.pdf

• Significantly lower median home values<sup>8</sup>



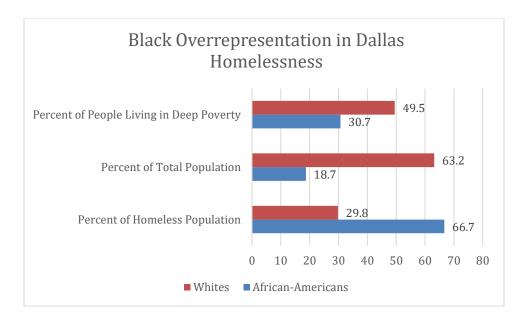
• Significantly higher rates of liquid asset poverty, defined as lacking savings to make ends meet for three months at the poverty level if a household's income is interrupted<sup>9</sup>



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> https://prosperitynow.org/sites/default/files/resource/2018-10/Racial\_Wealth\_Divide\_in\_Dallas.pdf

<sup>9</sup> https://prosperitynow.org/sites/default/files/resource/2018-10/Racial\_Wealth\_Divide\_in\_Dallas.pdf

• Significant overrepresentation of African Americans in the local homeless population <sup>10</sup>



These disparities relate closely to other factors exacerbating financial vulnerability and making market-rate housing inaccessible for many Black and Brown residents of communities with rising housing costs. For example, according to a <a href="Harvard University study">Harvard University study</a>, the typical white American family has roughly ten times as much wealth as the typical African American family and the typical Latino family. Other studies have tied this dramatic disparity to the <a href="struggle of families of color to build home equity">struggle of families of color to build home equity</a> because historic redlining and other discriminatory housing practices depressed homeownership rates and median home values. Researchers have argued that such factors help explain why the overrepresentation of Black people in the homeless population is so <a href="much larger than the overrepresentation of Black people among people living in deep poverty">much larger than the overrepresentation of Black people among people living in deep poverty</a>. They suggest that focusing solely on addressing income disparities will not lead to housing equity.

# The Historical Causes of Current Racial Disparities

## The Policy Roots of Inequity: A Legacy of Exclusion, Relegation, and Neglect

Any racial equity assessment of policies designed to increase access to affordable housing requires understanding the historical root causes of the higher barriers to affordable housing experienced by communities of color. We must also strive to understand how these root causes continue to perpetuate disparities. This kind of analysis starts with reviewing policy choices made by city leaders over the course of Dallas's history that fostered these disparities and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> https://www.dallasobserver.com/news/black-people-far-more-likely-than-whites-to-be-homeless-11981745

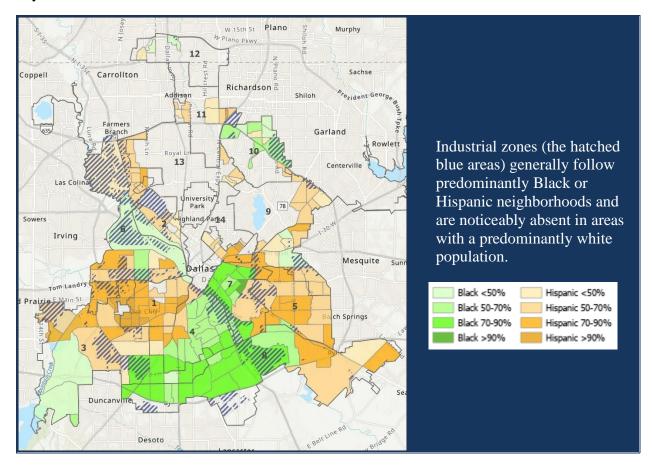
continue to sustain them. The long shadow that these historical policies casts on present-day Dallas emerged as a central theme of the listening sessions the consultant team held with Dallas stakeholders. Participants talked about the historical use of redlining, eminent domain, and other policies and practices that explicitly displaced Black and Brown residents from their homes and neighborhoods and excluded them from living in areas where the city invested significantly in the infrastructure that created economic opportunity and wealth.

The 2019 Fair Housing Study shares examples of "local, state and federal policies that mandated segregation and inevitably shaped the landscape of housing and opportunity for generations to come" in Dallas and other communities across the nation. These examples include:

- Redlining: The Federal Housing Administration, established in 1934, furthered segregation by refusing to insure mortgages in or near African American neighborhoods.
- Zoning laws: Neighborhoods that once had African American residents were rezoned to permit industrial and toxic uses. Those rezonings turned those neighborhoods into slums.
- Government regulations: The Underwriting Manual (1946) of the Federal Housing Administration:
  - Recommended that highways would be a good way to separate African Americans from white neighborhoods.
  - Stated that "incompatible racial groups should not be permitted to live in the same communities."
  - o "Properties shall continue to be occupied by the same social and racial classes."
- "Appraisers are instructed to predict the probability of the location being invaded by . . . incompatible racial and social groups."
- Loss of equity generation and appreciation: African American families who were forbidden to buy homes in suburbs from the '40s to the '60s were prevented from accruing equity, which could have been passed to their children.
- Public housing to be predominantly black and poor: White and black families lived in separate public housing projects. The subsidized development of white-only suburbs led to the depopulation of public housing of white families, leaving housing authorities.

When legal means failed to exclude upwardly mobile middle class and professional people of color, vigilante groups took matters into their own hands and terrorized families who moved into predominantly White neighborhoods. Often unchecked by law enforcement and the criminal justice system, these terror tactics were common in many communities; in Dallas, they included a string of bombings in the 1940s and 1950s.

Award-winning Dallas journalist Jim Shutze chronicled these bombings and the policy shifts made by city leaders in their aftermath in his 1986 book *The Accommodation*. The book outlines how these leaders established segregated single-family developments for upwardly mobile Black households as an alternative to having them move into White neighborhoods. It also describes in detail how city leaders intentionally concentrated poorer Black families in neighborhoods that they then proceeded to neglect, relegating these families to areas prone to flooding and other hazards, passing zoning allowing for heavy industry alongside their dwellings, and shutting them out of the massive investments in infrastructure that helped bring prosperity to White areas of the city.



With substandard infrastructure, these areas became less and less attractive to market-rate developers and, as a consequence, have, over the past 50+ years, seen large pockets remain entirely undeveloped, despite economic and real estate booms that have fueled massive development in far northern Dallas and suburban areas.

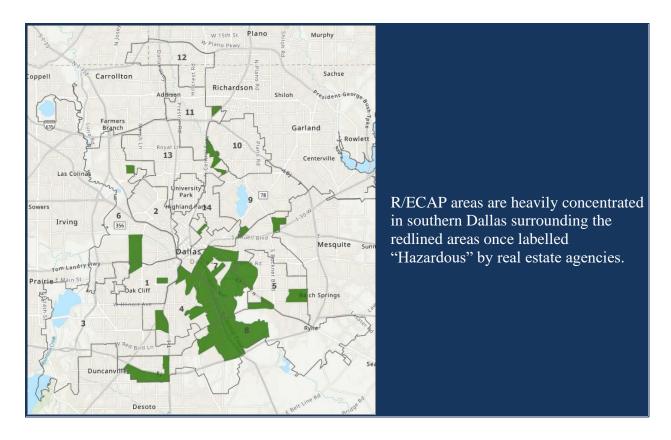
Much of the research on the relegation of communities of color to segregated, undesirable, and hazardous areas in U.S. cities focus on African-American communities, but <u>Latinx residents</u> were also excluded from areas with better housing and economic opportunities. Moreover,

because of redlining and <u>widespread housing discrimination</u> over several generations, Latinx people were more likely to settle in marginalized areas.

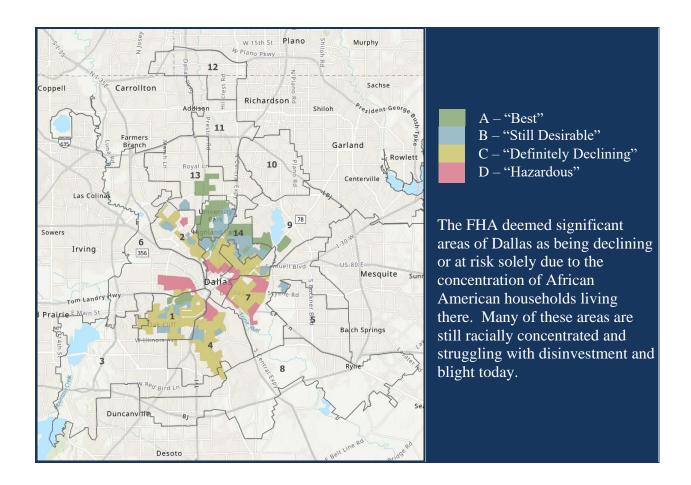
Despite the passage of federal civil rights laws that ended practices like redlining and led to mandated desegregation in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, city policy choices continued to concentrate low-income communities of color in areas south of the Trinity River. They also focused on the development of subsidized housing for low-income households in Black and Brown neighborhoods in Southern Dallas, which hastened the flight of Black and Brown middle class and professional people to the suburbs offering better schools and economic opportunities, and housing. The few thriving middle class and mixed-income neighborhoods in the area were hollowed out, unable to support local businesses owned and operated by members of the Black and Brown communities.

"Challenges include ...not enough emphasis on the historical data. We need to understand the stories and values of the people. We have to understand the millions of dollars spent that has kept white people in housing." Dallas City Council Member Schultz

Over the past twenty years, the legacy of policy choices stretching back to Reconstruction has continued to shape the contours of Dallas's housing landscape. The proliferation and persistence of Racially or Ethnically Concentrated Areas of Poverty (R/ECAPs) provides an example. The U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) defines R/ECAPs as areas in which: (1) the non-white population comprises 50 percent or more of the total population and (2) the percentage of individuals living in households with incomes below the poverty rate is either (a) 40 percent or above or (b) three times the average poverty rate for the metropolitan area, whichever is lower. According to the 2016 North Texas Regional Housing Assessment, the number of R/ECAPs in Dallas doubled between 1990 and 2016, with persistent patterns in Southern and Western parts of the city. The study also found that two-thirds of the 1990 R/ECAPs retained their designation.



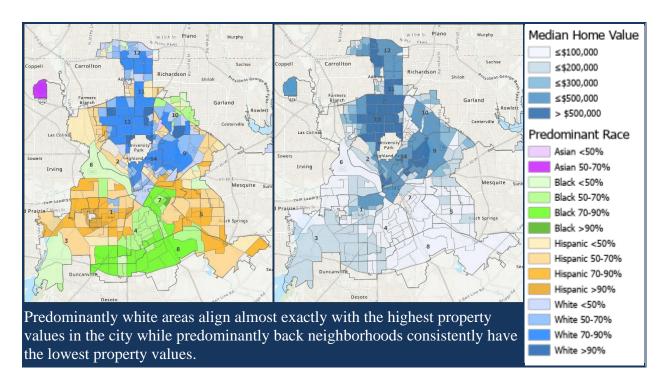
On one level, understanding the present-day impact of the historical legacy of race-based displacement, exclusion, and neglect is as simple as overlaying a map showing current R/ECAPs on top of redlining maps used by realtors and lenders in the 1930s. The close alignment between the current R/ECAPS and the neighborhoods south of the Trinity River set aside through redlining to contain Black and Brown residents tells the story of just how challenging it has been for the City of Dallas to reverse the effects of policies that denied people of color economic and housing opportunities over the course of many generations.



### The Elephant in the Room

Southern Methodist University Economics Professor J.H. Collum Clark refers to the ongoing challenges of Southern Dallas<sup>11</sup> as the "elephant in the room" in his description of how Dallas's race-based policy legacy continues to deny opportunities to Black and Brown Dallas residents some 50 years after Congress passed laws outlawing segregationist and discriminatory housing practices. In a recent white paper, Dr. Clark notes that "Southern Dallas...contains approximately 64% of the city of Dallas's population... has an area physically larger than the city of Atlanta,...[and a] Hispanic and Black populations amounting to 618,000 people in 2010-more than the total populations of Washington, Boston, or Seattle." Yet it "contains...only 10% of the total property value [within the Dallas city limits], as assessed for property tax purposes." Although the area has experienced moderate population growth since 2010, "the number of housing units and jobs in the area has declined over the same period."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Dr. Clark defines Southern Dallas as "9 of the city's city council districts, mostly south of Interstate 30, but including several low- to moderate-income areas just north of I-30 (including West Dallas / Census Tract 205).



### Dr. Clark continues:

"Even in this century, historical patterns of neglect and under-investment have continued. Southern Dallas has seen very little new housing development, either in the market rate or subsidized segments of the market. The number of Community Housing Development Organizations has declined from a peak of 20 a decade ago to four today. The City of Dallas has been able to allocate only very modest capital to affordable housing and has further restricted public sector investment in Southern Dallas as part of a policy to avoid "concentrating poverty" in long-time low-income neighborhoods."

Even today many residential areas of Southern Dallas remain disconnected from the city's sewer system, lack adequate roads, are prone to flooding, and have zoning that has allowed heavy industrial development to flourish right up against long-time Black and Brown residential neighborhoods. Families in Southern Dallas who manage to improve their economic lot continue to move away as a result, often to suburbs outside the city limits, so that the next generation can access the educational and other infrastructure that will make the path to prosperity less difficult. In turn, this ongoing flight of upwardly mobile Black and Brown households tends to perpetuate cycles of neighborhood poverty.

In contrast, the predominantly White and dramatically more prosperous areas of Northern Dallas have a considerable head start due to far greater levels of public investment in infrastructure that boosts economic opportunity. Examples include schools, roads, public transportation, and development that attracts high-paying employers, lenders, and other economic drivers. For the most part, these areas have not made room for working, disabled, or any other people who

struggle to afford market-rate housing in these areas, a group in which Black and Brown Dallas residents are grossly overrepresented.

Some neighborhoods south of I-30 have seen significant public and private investment in infrastructure in recent years, but these neighborhoods have also witnessed the displacement of numerous Black and Brown households as rents and property values have risen precipitously. These displaced households include working people and seniors living on fixed incomes. As Dr. Clark points out in his white paper, this dynamic adds another layer of complexity to seeding the development of mixed-income neighborhoods in Southern Dallas.

### **Challenges to Progress and Worsening Inequities**

Studies completed over the past five years indicate that Dallas has made little progress in reversing long-term housing inequities and that barriers to affordable housing for Black and Brown residents are in fact growing worse. For example,

• *The City of Dallas Equity Indicators 2019 Report states:* 

"Decades of disinvestment in Black and Hispanic neighborhoods have culminated in substantial differences in basic housing conditions, neighborhood quality, and access to amenities. The indicators in this theme demonstrate deep disparities along racial/ethnic lines, particularly in Access to Housing and Housing Affordability and Services—disparities that have worsened since the baseline year." <sup>12</sup>

- The Urban Institute ranks 274 American cities according to their degree of inclusion. These rankings address "overall inclusion," which reflects the ability of historically excluded populations to contribute to and benefit from economic prosperity. In 2016 it ranked Dallas 272nd out of 274 on overall inclusion, 270th out of 274 on economic inclusion, and 246th out of 274 on racial inclusion. <sup>13</sup>
- A <u>2018 economic opportunity assessment</u> of Dallas County conducted by the Center for Public Policy Priorities documented a growing divide in the economic opportunities available to its residents and increased difficulty for the lowest income residents, who are far more likely to be people of color, to pull themselves out of poverty.

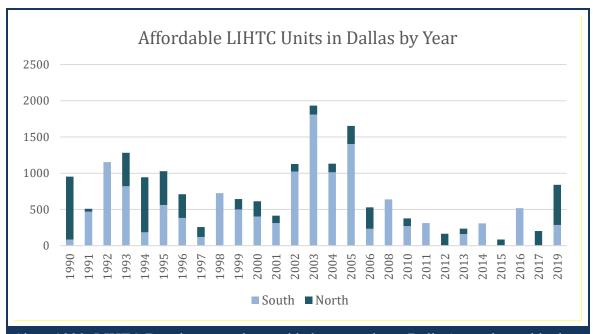
<sup>12</sup> https://dallascityhall.com/departments/office-of-equity/DCH%20Documents/equity-indicators-booklet-2019.pdf

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> The institute bases this overall inclusion ranking on both "economic inclusion" and "racial inclusion." It measures economic inclusion by looking at housing affordability, income segregation, the share of working poor residents, and the high school dropout rate. It measures racial inclusion by examining racial segregation; racial gaps in homeownership, poverty, and educational attainment; and the share of the city's population who are People of Color.

Present-day policy choices have played a part in this worsening landscape. These choices include the "peanut butter approach" that recent City Councils have applied to revitalize the city. Mike Koprowski, who worked on the development of the CHP <u>described the peanut butter approach</u> this way: "Take a pot of economic development money, and spread it evenly across the city, to all 14 districts, from the have-nots to the have-a-lots." Observers trace this problem back to 1991, when, after increasing pressure for greater representation of the communities most impacted by long-standing inequities, the City of Dallas changed its City Council format to include 14 council members elected by 14 separate districts with the mayor being elected atlarge.

Many of the stakeholders interviewed for this assessment expressed that under the current 14-1 system, the Council has struggled to act on remedying the huge infrastructure deficit that continues to hamstring economic opportunity and housing development in Southern Dallas. Individual Council members acknowledge that the present-day deficit has resulted from decades and decades of under-investment and the inequitable distribution of public funds under the former city governance formats, but such acknowledgment has not resulted in substantial budget allocations to level the playing field for historically neglected parts of the city.

Rather than committing to redressing the profound infrastructure disparities between Northern and Southern Dallas, city leaders have tended follow a long-standing pattern of placing subsidized housing in Southern Council districts. Absent any substantial concurrent investment in the infrastructural foundation needed in Southern Dallas for mixed-income neighborhoods, this pattern tended to exacerbate the concentration of poverty. In turn, this continued concentration discouraged the city away from strategically investing affordable housing funds in Southern Dallas.



Since 1990, LIHTC Developments have added more units to Dallas's southern side than in the northern districts, leading to concern and criticism from community stakeholders.

## **Advancing Equitable Impacts**

Racial equity is both an outcome and a process. As an outcome, racial equity is achieved when race no longer determines one's socioeconomic outcomes, when everyone has what they need to thrive, no matter where they live. As a process, we apply racial equity when those most impacted by structural racial inequity are meaningfully involved in creating and implementing the institutional policies and practices that impact their lives. Developing racially equitable goals and outcomes will result in improvements for all groups, but the strategies can be targeted based on the needs of a particular group. Systems that are failing communities of color are actually failing all of us. <sup>14</sup>

The Government Alliance for Race Equity Framework notes that "when we achieve equitable development, we increase the capacity of people of color to strengthen their communities and determine their own future and that of their neighborhoods. We distribute the benefits and burdens of growth equitably among people of all races, ethnic backgrounds, incomes, and geographies/neighborhoods. We encourage multicultural communities where tenured and newcomer residents can thrive. And we provide meaningful choices for the most impacted people of color to live, work, and define their own culture throughout all neighborhoods." <sup>15</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> https://www.racialequityalliance.org/about/our-approach/benefits/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> https://www.racialequityalliance.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/GARE-Equitable-Development.pdf

The CHP will advance racial equity and succeed in reducing the higher barriers to safe, quality, affordable housing for Black and Brown Dallas residents when the City Council, city staff, developers, neighborhood advocates, and other community stakeholders agree that racial equity in housing development is a goal worth attaining. City leaders and affordable housing stakeholders would therefore all benefit from a firm grounding in racial equity. Establishing a common understanding of the benefits and values of developing housing with racial equity will propel Dallas policies in the direction of maximizing impact. As City Council Member Thomas stated to the consultant team, we must "make sure there is an understanding [on the City Council] of what equity is and be intentional in how we develop policy and [assess] the impact of the policy we make."

# Step One: Understand and call out the historical legacy of policies and practices that caused present-day racial inequities

The City of Dallas Equity Indicators 2019 Report states that "decades of disinvestment in Black and Hispanic neighborhoods have culminated in substantial differences in basic housing conditions, neighborhood quality, and access to amenities." It also shares that "the indicators in this theme demonstrate deep disparities along racial/ethnic lines, particularly in Access to Housing and Housing Affordability and Services—disparities that have worsened since the baseline year." <sup>16</sup> As detailed in the section of this report titled The Historic Root Causes of Current Racial Disparities, Dallas's current housing landscape reflects structures and policies that were designed and implemented to segregate races and create unequal access to opportunity.

While the CHP provides the City Housing Department with the rules of the road for implementing 13 discrete programs, it lacks a comprehensive framework for dismantling the complex array of deep-rooted obstacles that have increased in scope and scale the longer the North-South Divide has been ignored. Moving forward, simple equality in the way the Council allocates resources and makes investments will not get to the root causes. Instead, proactive policies that dismantle structural racism will need to be developed, approved, and applied. Tackling root causes with proactive strategies requires establishing equity-centered goals that focus on the desired outcomes and thus build a foundation for all work to follow in advancing equitable impact.

28

-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> https://dallascityhall.com/departments/office-of-equity/DCH%20Documents/equity-indicators-booklet-2019.pdf

We need to acknowledge we are tackling this with our hands behind our backs. There are laws that prevented blacks from oning homes – structures that had generational effects. We can't fix it without legal remedies. It was illegal for blacks to own mortgages. We need to tackle root causes. Some infrastructure investment needs to be made. --Participant in LGBTQ Stakeholder Listening Session

### **Step Two: Plan for Advancing Equity**

The current goals of the CHP should be restructured to explicitly mandate comprehensive planning that advances racial and economic equity. Sample goals include:

- By 2023, city departments and divisions will effectively collaborate to ensure that there
  are plans in place for concurrent progress in all 14 districts toward reaching the
  affordable housing goals outlined in the CHP
- By 2025, city departments and divisions will present to Council collaborative projects across all 14 districts that each address multiple factors in neighborhood development, including equity in housing, education, transportation, health, economic, nutrition, infrastructure, planning, and zoning
- By 2022, the Council will approve a comprehensive plan to revise current policies to undo harmful structures that keep racism alive, including policies addressing the need for tax relief and infrastructure development and others prohibiting predatory lending practices, discriminatory rental policies, and restrictive zoning laws
- By 2035, Dallas will be a city where each neighborhood provides access to safe, quality housing and amenities for people in all racial and socio-economic groups so that residents can stay in their neighborhoods of choice.

Such goals will help to ensure that the CHP serves as an umbrella for all city plans that can contribute to supporting equitable housing development, including private, mixed-income, mixed-use, affordable, and supportive. The CHP should set the frame while the plans bring the policy to life. This approach was articulated well in Dallas City Council Member Blackmon's comments to the consulting team:

"On our end, knowing that what we decide today will have ramifications 5-10 years down the road. The world I am creating now will be for my grandkids. Segregated

school districts are a byproduct of...[past] political decisions. We don't have the investment for the plan."

### **Step 3: Revise the CHP to Correct its Equity Blind Spots**

The CHP outlines various programs equipped with tools that can contribute to addressing some of the impediments to equity, but it takes an equality rather than an equity approach to the implementation of these programs. It encourages one-size-fits-all solutions that turn a blind eye to historically rooted differences in the affordable housing needs and market conditions from neighborhood to neighborhood. The following chart outlines the CHP's many equity blind spots:

CHP Section	Equity Blind Spots	
Goals  1. Create and maintain available and affordable housing throughout Dallas,  2. Promote greater fair housing choices, and  3. Overcome patterns of segregation and concentrations of poverty through incentives and requirements.	Goals do not demonstrate the overall desired state of an equitable Dallas with a level playing field for accessing safe, quality, affordable housing. Without making this desired state clear in the initial goals, the Council, staff, and public are not pushed to consider CHP programs through an equity lens.  Further, the strategy of using incentives and requirements does not adequately reflect or address the historical policies and practices that made the current playing field so tilted to the disadvantage of Black and Brown residents.	
References to Existing Plans	The policy lists the three plans: forwardDallas! Neighborhood Plus, and The Consolidated Plan. However, the CHP does not discuss how these plans should work together or how they connect to the CHP. Further, there is no outline of who is accountable for ensuring the interdepartmental collaboration to integrate related plans and policies.  The CHP has no apparent connection to the Dallas Equity Indicators Report (2019). A connection to this report could help gauge how well the policy is moving Dallas toward the Council's equity goals.	
Reinvestment Strategy Areas	The CHP lists the Reinvestment Strategy Areas:  • Redevelopment Areas  • Stabilization Areas	

	Emerging Market Areas These areas are described and defined. The gap is that there are no descriptions on how reinvesting in these areas addresses the historic racist policies or patterns of segregation. Nor are there connections made that outline how certain prioritized work or development in these areas will help achieve the CHP's goals.  The CHP should include explanations of how different reinvestment strategies will specifically increase equity and decrease segregation.
Production Goals	In the absence of a whole-city vision for increased equitable affordable housing and revitalized neighborhoods, the production goals are a set of numbers with no connection to strategies that could lead Dallas toward the desired state. When production goals are established that align with the desired equitable impact, resources should be identified from multiple funding streams that will allow for those production goals to be achieved.
The Housing Policy Task Force	On the surface, the idea of a Task Force with citywide representation sounds like a great way of engaging the community. Yet it appears that the Task Force has over 600 members on its listserv, there is minimal participation, and there is no clearly outlined work plan showing how the Task Force will function as a body that can enhance strategies and increase accountability.  The Housing Policy Taskforce needs to have activities that align with the CHP, including reviewing progress, developing strategies for citywide communication of progress, and assisting the staff in thinking through how barriers can be addressed as they arise. In addition, the Housing Policy Task Force should play an evaluation role as activities are adjusted to achieve the desired results.

## List and Description of Programs

- Homeowner Programs
  - Home Improvement and Preservation
  - Subrecipient Minor Home Repair Major Rehabilitation Forgivable Loan Program
  - Housing Reconstruction Program
  - Dallas Homebuyer
     Assistance Program
  - DHAP Targeted Homebuyer Incentive Program
- Landlord Programs
  - Home Improvement and Preservation Rental Program
- Tenant Programs
  - Tenant-Based Rental Assistance Programs
- Developer Programs
  - New Construction and Substantial Rehabilitation Program
  - Mixed-Income Housing Development Bonus
  - Land Transfer Program
- Preserving Affordability
  - Title Clearing and Clouded
     Title Prevention Program
  - Community Land Trust Program
  - Targeted Rehabilitation Program

The CHP lists these programs and their requirements. The listing of these programs is not policy.

Many programs are under-resourced and difficult to access.

City Council management of city approval processes politicizes implementation, often to the detriment of progress toward the desired state of increased equity.

These programs should be tools for an overall plan approved by the Council and managed by the staff. The Council would oversee ensuring that benchmarks are reached and assist staff in overcoming barriers at the policy level. The comprehensive strategic roadmap described above would outline in detail how each program would be used to achieve the goals.

## Neighborhood Investment

The CHP defines Neighborhood Investment Zones and what they can be used for. NEZs could be used as a tool to build equity in the context of a broader strategic road map. This section, however, does not describe how NEZ are

	to be used strategically or with an eye to advancing equity.
Funding and Supporting Actions	This section lists the various federal, state, and local funding sources available to support the city's housing programs. Again, there is no description of how these funding sources should be used to achieve the desired state.  Every CHP goal needs a developed strategy that includes how achieving the goal will be funded. Rather than just a list of funding sources, the CHP requires an outline of how each funding source will be leveraged and combined with other sources to achieve each goal. Each strategy must also include a timeframe.
Strategies, Tools, and Programs that will Require Additional Action	This section lists areas that require further exploration, but it provides no connection to the current CHP goals nor to needed goals around creating greater equity in Dallas's affordable housing landscape.

The City Council could eliminate these blind spots by using the CHP to create a comprehensive strategic road map with an array of strategies specifically tailored to address racial equity and the differing needs and development opportunities from one city area to another. The road map would include strategies specific to each of the 14 districts' unique characteristics and outline corresponding development strategies and funding sources. In combination, these strategies would comprise a whole-city policy framework that utilizes all relevant programs and specifies the funding required to make this framework viable and sustainable.

# **Examining Alternatives and Improvements**

The roots of inequities in Dallas's housing landscape have been studied extensively over the years. Many plans and proposed solutions for addressing these inequities have been created. Yet the many gaps and blind spots in the CHP allow those plans and solutions to fall victim to politics—particularly the politics of NIMBYism. As a result most of these plans and solutions have not been fully implemented or have been shelved altogether.

The silence of the CHP around how equity-based strategies can be utilized to achieve community-wide goals, along with the absence of metrics to determine if the city is making progress toward such goals, contributes to this problem. These gaps in the policy enable

greater allegiance to the opinions of constituents advocating for their own Council district than to a whole-city approach to equitably increasing access to affordable housing in all 14 districts. They help support a system in which projects from well-resourced developers are approved without considering the impact on the larger system, while smaller developers in Southern Dallas bear a higher cost burden and contend with an increased likelihood that proposed projects will be rejected or will die while awaiting approval.

For example, one large developer spoke in a listening session of delays that cost more than \$1 million while awaiting approval. This is not the type of loss that smaller or nonprofit developers can shoulder and adds to the cost of the development overall. This imbalance of resources and revenue prioritizes Northern Dallas over other parts of the city.

Closing these gaps could help make the CHP a powerful tool for remedying the root causes of racial inequities and disparities. Required actions include:

- 1. Setting measurable targets for improvement and concrete benchmarks specific to each Council district
- 2. Specifying a detailed plan for effective Council oversight for achieving these targets and benchmarks across all districts
- 3. Allowing flexibility for city staff to use a variety of resources and leverage partnerships as needed to help each district meet established targets and benchmarks
- 4. Codifying a requirement that progress moves forward at a similar pace across all areas of the city
- 5. Investing in infrastructure acknowledging the lack of infrastructure development in Southern Dallas and laying out a plan for infrastructure improvements to these areas over a period of time to bring them commensurate with the infrastructure that exists in North Dallas
- 6. Establishing a basis for educating the Council, staff, and community members on the value of equity and thus building buy-in to the process
- 7. Requiring systemic change that addresses the historical disparities and overturns laws and practices that allow for racist practices to be promoted.

Such steps would need to be accompanied by a campaign to increase the public will to bring a whole-city plan for greater affordable housing equity to fruition. Success would also require the commitment of a critical mass of elected officials to the shared strategic vision for ensuring that *every district* carries its weight by bringing about needed change within its borders. Only then will the NIMBYism that affects too many Council decisions be reined in.

Washington, D.C. and Portland, Oregon have developed models for building the necessary public and political will that could provide models for Dallas.

The District of Columbia's "All 8 Wards" strategic vision for centering equity in its homeless response system called for short-term family shelters to be developed in all 8 Wards within 5 years. No facility could be developed until resources and sites were identified in all wards, ensuring that the developments were built concurrently. This type of approach mitigated against the temptation for City Council members to allow constituent opposition to projects within district borders to trump the commitment to achieving city-wide goals.

The strategy recognized that the costs and characteristics of each site would vary by location, but the city's commitment to ensuring equal access to for households across all parts of the city was vital. To that end, sites were designed to physically match the features of the neighborhood and included the input of all stakeholders in the design and decision-making process - Council, community members, and people experiencing homelessness.

<u>Portland's Southwest Corridor Equitable Development Strategy</u> integrates housing development with the light rail transit development. It provides support and services to move the city toward goals such as increasing wealth and preventing displacement in historically marginalized communities. Each goal has an implementation strategy tied to specific resources. The strategy also includes specific metrics to help the city measure overall progress and ensure concurrent progress to achieving each goal.

The Washington, D.C., and Portland strategic models both required City Council approval and included detailed plans for Council and community oversight. Both models build in accountability by transparently measuring progress toward specific benchmarks. Their oversight approaches both allow city leaders to address the availability of the resources needed as barriers to progress arise.

Since these models were adopted, the activities within the respective strategies have been revised based on conditions on the ground in each community. The respective Councils were updated on staff revisions to activities related to each strategy; however, such revisions did not require substantial change to the legislation approving the strategies.

In Dallas's case, such a model would need to center strategies that address the infrastructure needs of Southern Dallas neighborhoods. Investment by the city in access to sewer, water, and electricity, proper lighting, and the improvement of roads and transportation access to and from neglected areas of Southern Dallas would begin to establish neighborhoods where current residents can flourish. These neighborhoods would then become desirable to people of all income levels. Currently, historical infrastructure disinvestment results in costs that are often passed on to developers, which discourages the investment that the area so sorely needs.

## **Success Factors**

For the CHP to succeed in helping the city reach its equity goals, it will require specific indicators of that success--benchmarks against which the city can measure how equity-based goals are being implemented, how much progress is being made, and the need for additional resource allocation.

<u>Portland's Southwest Corridor Equitable Development Strategy</u> (pg. 13) provides a solid example of how to measure progress toward ambitious targets specifically aligned with affordable housing goals as well as required activities within lead agencies. It also provides an example of how measuring progress against these targets can work hand in hand with ongoing planning to adjust resources as the initiative progresses from one stage to the next.

City of Dallas departments and divisions perform intersecting work based on many intersecting plans, but there is little evidence that this work happens in an integrated way. In fact, stakeholder input gathered in listening sessions suggests that implementation work on one plan is often at cross purposes with work on another and. Dallas could benefit from a crosswalk between *fowardDallas!*, *The Consolidated Plan*, the *Neighborhood Plus* plan, and the *Equity Indicators*. Such a crosswalk would help align goals and indicators related to increasing affordable housing equity. It would thereby create a more integrated, unified approach that would enable staff to better work in concert toward the desired state.

Depending on the goals of a restructured CHP, benchmarks within a more integrated approach to implementing intersecting plans could include:

- Resources for infrastructure improvement have been identified for Southern Dallas districts
  - Infrastructure elements will need to be defined but must, at a minimum, include water, sewer, electricity, internet, and transportation/mobility
- Community-based organizations have been identified and funded to help prevent displacement
  - Organizations have been selected to assist residents in navigating the maze of government programs and agencies that provide housing support services
  - Strategies have been developed to ensure that within historically marginalized areas experiencing gentrification, long-time homeowners can both increase the value of their assets and afford to pay their taxes
- Quality transportation, education, food, and health care are available in all Dallas neighborhoods.
  - Based on the goals for each community, the number and scope of these elements would be defined as specific metrics.

Benchmarks of this kind would provide an oversight framework for measuring progress that the City Council, city staff, and community stakeholders can utilize to collectively hold themselves accountable as CHP strategies are developed and implemented. They would also provide a guide for discussions about how to continuously improve the implementation of any plan that could contribute to reaching the ultimate goal of a more equitable city.

## **Ensuring Viability and Sustainability**

## **Addressing the Funding Gap**

The success of any enhancements to the CHP in equitably increasing access to affordable housing depends on dedicating adequate resources for the endeavor. The City of Dallas has incorporated equity into its budgeting process, but only a significant financial commitment will redress the historic disinvestment in southern Dallas and accelerate the strategic and equitable production of affordable housing at scale. Such investment would entail restructuring the use of federal programs and substantially increasing local resources.

Dallas's current investment strategy to-date stands in stark contrast to those of other cities with comparable housing affordability problems. In 2017, Dallas voters approved a \$1.05 Billion bond program. This program included a proposition to use just over 5% of the total--\$55 Million-- to facilitate the revitalization of commercial corridors, transit-oriented development, mixed-use developments, mixed-income housing, and neighborhood revitalization throughout the City. The City Council can draw from this 5% pot to approve affordable housing initiatives, but they also draw from it for economic development and other initiatives. In Atlanta, Seattle, Austin, and other cities, new mechanisms for generating *dedicated* local revenue at much higher levels have substantially boosted capacity for affordable housing production and are allowing policy makers to through on comprehensive strategic housing plans. Voter-approved local funding for affordable housing in these communities now dwarfs the amount that the Dallas City Council could potentially allocate from the \$55 Million in 2017 bond funds intended to cover a wide range array of needs, including affordable housing.

For example, Atlanta recently deployed \$100 million in new housing opportunity bond funding. In 2016 Seattle voters signed on to a \$290 million property-tax levy for low-income housing. In 2018 Austin approved a \$250 Million Affordable Housing Bond. Following suit and creating a dedicated local revenue stream would allow Dallas to make an investment in affordable housing equity at a scale similar to the scale of these other communities. It would ultimately allow the Council to sustain its drive toward greater equity.

It is difficult to determine the exact amount of new resources Dallas requires, especially without a strategic roadmap, but the most recent biennial budget forecast provides clues about the size of the funding gap between Dallas's affordable housing investments and those being made in these other cities. The forecast, which shows a relatively level amount of funding and no dedication of funds needed to take the initial steps for building equity, shows Dallas dedicates a significantly smaller percentage of its overall budget to housing solutions. The following chart illustrates just how large the gap is:

Resources Dedicated for Key Housing Development Goals for FY 20-21

Dallas \$58.2 million of a \$3.8 billion budget<sup>17</sup> (2.2%)

Seattle: \$81.9 million of a \$6.5 billion budget<sup>18</sup> (5.3%)

Austin: \$90 million of a \$4.5 billion budget<sup>19</sup> (4%)

For FY 21-22, the City of Dallas annual budget was \$4.3 billion, of which housing programs received about \$40 million, which includes \$21M in ARPA funds. That allocation represents 1.7% of the overall budget, a decrease in the share shown in the FY 20-21 forecast.

For Dallas to achieve its equity and affordable housing goals, it needs to reverse this trend and substantially increase its investment and set aside significant dollars for community revitalization, including targeted increased investments toward remedying the historical disinvestment in Southern Dallas and the other historically Black and Brown areas.

## **Additional Needs**

In addition to adequate funding, ensuring viability and sustainability requires developing structures to effectively manage plans and the resources. For example, to increase the adaptability of the CHP, the city should regularly schedule reviews so that the City Council, city staff, and community stakeholders respond to changing conditions on the ground and strategize around removing barriers to success.

Viability and sustainability also require adequate affordable housing staff capacity well beyond what is needed to merely ensure that the 13 CHP programs are administered in compliance with local, state, and federal laws and regulations. In taking a more equity-centered approach to affordable housing strategic planning, the city Housing Department's staff will need sufficient dedicated time for collaboration with other city departments and divisions, external public agencies, and community stakeholders. This type of intensive collaboration demands not only

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> https://dallascityhall.com/departments/budget/financialtransparency/AnnualBudget/2122\_02\_Budget-Overview.pdf

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> https://www.seattle.gov/Documents/Departments/FinanceDepartment/21proposedbudget/OH.pdf

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> https://austintexas.gov/news/austin-city-council-approves-fiscal-year-2021-2022-budget

time but strong communication and negotiating skills. It also demands significant attention to the coordination of plans from department to department and agency to agency. Making the investment in the financial and human resources to increase equity while also accelerating the production of affordable housing will thus necessitate the use of General Fund dollars as much of the strategic and collaborative planning work needed will not always align with the expenses permitted in certain existing contracts.

Finally, viability and sustainability require continuous community engagement. In the listening sessions conducted for this assessment, many stakeholders reflected that there have been up to 168 plans created regarding City of Dallas housing problems. These stakeholders shared that little is known about the disposition of these plans--whether they were implemented, whether they were revised, or whether they were incorporated into other more comprehensive plans. Ensuring that a comprehensive strategic road map is implemented equitably entails devising a model for adjusting strategies based on ongoing, sustained engagement with all relevant community stakeholders. Successful elements of this approach used in other communities include dashboards to enhance transparency, online feedback tools, and community meetings with the specific purpose of sharing updates on progress toward SMART goals and the benchmarks created in alignment with those goals. Across the entire community, stakeholders should be able to see how the wide array of intersecting city plans administered by many different city departments and divisions are working in harmony and not at cross purposes.

# City of Dallas Comprehensive Housing Policy Racial Equity Assessment

Appendix:
Community Stakeholder Feedback
and Resulting Adjustments
to the Initial Recommendations

March 17, 2022

## Introduction

Following TDA Consulting's presentation to the Dallas City Council Housing and Homeless Solutions Committee on December 14, 2021, the Committee Chairman requested that TDA gather community stakeholder feedback on its Comprehensive Housing Policy Racial Equity Assessment and eleven initial recommendations. TDA subsequently received stakeholder feedback from over 100 individuals at four Town Hall meetings organized and publicized by the Committee during the week of January 17, 2022. TDA then held individual meetings to gather more in-depth feedback from individuals who testified at the Town Hall meetings and additional stakeholders, including planners working on the fowardDallas! comprehensive land use plan.

This appendix outlines the main themes of the feedback TDA gathered in these meetings and the adjustments TDA made to the recommendations based on these themes. It then provides notes taken by the TDA consultants summarizing the feedback received in these meetings.

## **Themes**

Stakeholders who testified at the Town Hall meetings and/or participated in in-depth interviews shared repeatedly that the TDA recommendations should stress the need for the following foundational building blocks for leveling the affordable housing playing field among racial groups and across the North-South Divide:

- Better community understanding of the difference between equity and equality
- An accurate and full telling of the historical policy choices made purposefully to exclude and disenfranchise Black and Brown people from the opportunities enjoyed by White Dallas
- Accountability to the communities most impacted by inequities
- Community-driven goals specifically developed to provide transparent and sustained measurement of progress toward equity
- Increased trust that the City of Dallas will follow through on action steps specifically developed by community stakeholders working in partnership with city staff
- A new public-private planning structure that can be sustained across political administrations and city council terms
- Significant investments of financial resources to outreach and gather input from everyday citizens and not just known leaders
- A dedicated funding stream for planning and development
- Sufficient additions to city staff capacity to facilitate community organizing and intradepartmental collaboration
- A planning and decision-making environment encouraging private developers to be a part
  of solutions such as master planning to create mixed income neighborhoods that include
  workforce housing.

As indicated in the meeting notes below, participating stakeholders believe that these foundational building blocks will prove critical to achieving greater equity through Dallas's housing policies. We heard clearly that without these building blocks, the City will be unable to create and implement the bold, community-driven, well-resourced action plan that is needed.

## **Adjustments to Recommendations**

In response to the feedback summarized above, the TDA consulting team reorganized its recommendations and made other adjustments to emphasize the need for immediate attention to the foundation upon which the recommended strategic road map should be developed. The team agrees with stakeholder feedback that community-wide will to act boldly in creating and implementing such a road map will depend on this foundational work.

The team also determined that strategic recommendations should be separated from tactical ones. This revision clarifies that developing new policies designed to achieve discrete programmatic goals will ultimately fall short of increasing equity unless a whole constellation of integrated and complimentary initiatives is developed and operationalized. Individual programs and programmatic policies can take aim at one or another of the obstacles at the root of housing inequities. The recommended strategic road map must take aim at the entire array of these obstacles and also address the complex ways that these obstacles reinforce one another.

As the George W. Bush Institute's SMU Economic Growth Initiative has pointed out, "developing mixed-income housing at scale, increasing small business start-up and success rates, and building organizational capacity in lower income neighborhoods are exceptionally difficult challenges without clear "playbooks" for external intervention." Success will depend on extraordinary coordination and intensive collaboration that pulls together not only numerous city departments, but also community members, private and non-profit development interests, and non-city public agencies, such as DART and DISD.

Without first creating an overarching strategy (built upon improved community trust, accountability, and transparency), tactical efforts to jump start programmatic change may in fact worsen, rather than alleviate, disparities experienced by predominately Black and Brown Southern Dallas communities. Tactical interventions designed to increase private investment and development in Southern Dallas, for example, may ultimately increase displacement of Black and Brown residents with multi-generational roots in Southern Dallas, exacerbate concentrations of poverty in historically segregated areas, and divert needed attention from environmental hazards disproportionately impacting historically segregated areas. A community-driven strategic road map grounded in racial equity will mitigate this risk.

The following summarizes the differences among the three types of recommendations:

Foundational: Immediate steps to increase chances of success by:

- Increasing understanding of equity and its impact on community development
- Building a culture of trust between community stakeholders and city officials
- Inspiring community-wide commitment to bold planning
- Creating a vision for the whole City that transcends "my back yard" thinking

## **Strategic**: High-level guide for:

- Coordinating and integrating programs and policies to systematically eliminate numerous obstacles to housing equity rooted in past policy decisions
- Establishing and sustaining momentum across political administrations
- Creating a dedicated funding mechanism to ensure adequate resources
- Outlining how a transparent progress measurement process will assure accountability and help overcome NIMBYism

**Tactical**: *The devil's in the details*. Detailed, agile, measurable action items that move the policy forward. Many of these are staff-managed activities that would not necessarily require political approval. For example:

- There are existing tools that could be made to work better and in a more coordinated way.
- There is a critical need for coordination among various local planning and funding processes that will directly impact the issue areas identified in our report, such as Southern Dallas' vast and deep infrastructure deficit.

The reorganized and revised recommendations are as follows:

### A. Foundational

- A-1. Invest in intensive community education about how an equitable approach can address historical structural discrimination, exclusion, and disinvestment
- A-2. Invest in intensive and broad community outreach and engagement to center the voices of the people most impacted and build community-wide ownership of the process for increasing equity in housing opportunity
  - "People support what they help to create."
- A-3. Create a vision statement outlining an affordable housing level playing field for all racial groups and across the North/South Divide

## B. Strategic

B-1. Create a comprehensive, whole-city strategic road map for coordinating the CHP's array of tools while also leveraging community partnerships to address the vastly different needs for change from one area of the City to another.

- Direct resources strategically to redress the vast generational wealth gap impacting historically Black and Brown communities.
- B-2. Establish SMART (Specific, Measurable, Achievable, Relevant, Time-Bound) goals that point to the desired state
- B-3. Create a dedicated revenue stream that is scaled to the magnitude of Dallas's affordable housing shortage and the enormous infrastructure deficit that has persisted in Southern Dallas for generations.
- B.4. Create a comprehensive, integrated strategy for preventing displacement during neighborhood revitalization
  - Ensure continuous and transparent progress measurement grounded in sustained community engagement and feedback loops enabling needed adjustments to the plan
  - Build grassroots capacity for ongoing neighborhood investment in equitable, affordable housing created through partnerships between neighborhood groups and the developer sector

#### C. Tactical

- C-1. Strengthen linkages among various planning initiatives around affordable housing development, neighborhood revitalization, infrastructure improvements, economic development, and land use to build a foundation for increasing generational wealth in historically Black and Brown communities.
  - Planning must include expanding and strengthening the displacement mitigation toolbox, including existing successful programs that routinely run out of money well short of meeting community demand.
- C.2 Utilize an "All 14 Districts" model to combat NIMBYism across all areas of Dallas.
  - Ensure that no district moves forward until all districts have plans and resources to move forward.
  - Planning, infrastructure and housing development
- C.3. Initiate a community education campaign to dispel myths about affordable housing that fuel NIMBYism
  - Affordable housing development includes housing for teachers, first responders, health care workers, etc.
  - Affordable housing does not equal increased crime and blight
- C-4. Strategically utilize Low Income Housing Tax Credit (LIHTC) financing in both high opportunity areas with low poverty rates and distressed areas with higher rates
  - While the City must guard against further concentrating poverty, it should also provide staff with greater flexibility to support the leveraging of LIHTC funds more nimbly throughout Dallas, regardless of the MVA. Otherwise, the City's rejections of LIHTC proposals in Southern and Western Dallas will continue to sow confusion

within the developer community about how to gain support for proposals in these areas that could help the City achieve the goals of the CHP. When used strategically, LIHTC can help create mixed-income neighborhoods with significant workforce housing.

# **Stakeholder Feedback Meeting Notes**

# **Town Hall Meetings and In-depth Interviews**

Stakeholder Name	Affiliation or Profession	Feedback on Recommendations Submitted to Council Housing Committee in December 2021 and Related Observations (Paraphrased)	Information
Ben Brown	NAACP Housing Committee & National Assoc of Real Estate Brokers (https://www.nar eb.com/)	I would like to make sure Black real estate broker perspective is represented.	bbrowntx.bb@g mail.com
Billy Lane	Innercity Community Development Corp (http://www.icdc.biz/)	I work at ICDC. The City must be willing to invest the money needed to gather input from everyday citizens and not just known leaders, such as neighborhood association officers. It must do evening outreach to people who work during the day. It must go to informal community gathering places to do outreach.  I only want to reemphasize how critical it is for the COD to invest in the accountability infrastructure. Housing policy is daunting even for those who are immersed in it on a regular basis. For those of us who are not, we rely on citizens who are organized to monitor, analyze, and report on the City's progress or lack thereof. This is a heavy lift, and we should not expect that our South Dallas/Fair Park HOA's and Crimewatch groups can add this to their plate – especially since they usually have no paid staff. There needs to be funding allocated to help support new, citizenorganized, citizen-led coalitions/groups in South Dallas/Fair Park who are specifically focused on how these policies are implemented.	blane@icdc.biz
Brenda Pegues	UNKNOWN	Community Land Trusts are a tool that the City should be more prominent in the City's policies and planning.	
Cassandra Davis	Realtor	I specialize in helping first-time home buyers get into homes. I constantly encounter problems because it's hard to find a single-family home under \$350K, even in DeSoto, outside Dallas city limits. Down payment assistance is needed for a broader range of incomes. The City needs to reexamine eligibility for assistance. High-paying jobs are needed in Southern Dallas. We're seeing rapid gentrification in Southern neighborhoods close to downtown. We need to include homeowner associations in these discussions. Environmental issues lower property values and keep	cassandra@realt yconceptstexas. com

		naighborhoods down Deal Fotate Investment Trusts (DEITs) and	
		neighborhoods down. Real Estate Investment Trusts (REITs) are buying up homes that could be going to first-time home buyers. We need to keep investors out of our neighborhoods.	
Cyndy Lutz	Former executive with Dallas Area Habitat for Humanity	Your consulting team should be aware of the level of frustration and cynicism that has developed among community leaders in Southern Dallas, including West Dallas, because of the lack of City follow-up on previous input and plans co-developed with neighborhood leaders and residents. For example, the Neighborhood Plus Plan died on the day that the City Council approved it. I believe that a great deal of past community engagement and planning was driven primarily by HUD noncompliance findings. In general, there has been insufficient Latinx community involvement in City of Dallas policy-making, equity work, and planning. This is a huge problem, especially given that the Latinx population represents over 40% of the population. My go-to Latinx community leaders, whom I think really represent the interests and concerns of many other residents, are Jessica Gonzales and Anna Maria Ramos.  Oftentimes, the City's community outreach on issues related to your recommendations devolves into very outreach to a limited number of groups and individuals who campaign for the re-election of Council Members. West Dallas is a very cohesive area that represents about 40% of the total geographic area of the City of Dallas. It was gerrymandered into three separate Council districts.	cynlutz@icloud
		Small developers and contractors who seek to build housing in Southern Dallas find themselves at a huge disadvantage in navigating a system that was never designed with the specific challenges of developing in Southern Dallas in mind. One example is the tree protection ordinance, which is designed to protect the tree canopy across the entire City from the impact of rapid development. In Southern Dallas, there are many otherwise developable lots that go undeveloped because they have so many trees on them and because there are per-tree penalties for removing them.	
Dr. Erica Solis	Southern Dallas pediatrician	West Dallas has a long history as the City's dumping ground with no running water until fairly recently and zoning that allowed for lead smelters and concrete batching plants alongside established residential areas. When I finished my residency program in Lubbock, I returned to work and hopefully live in this area where my family has lived for generations. Even with all of the heavy industry and air pollution, I couldn't find an affordable house to buy. New development is pushing single-family home prices up to \$750,000 to \$850,000 in the areas where I was looking.	
Edwin Robinson	UNKNOWN	I live in District 6. The City should focus first on the lack of good infrastructure in historically marginalized areas. We can't talk about affordable housing without first talking about economic development and high paying jobs to these areas	
Eric Anderson	UNKNOWN	The City's affordable housing budget is not commensurate with the need. We need more G.O. Bond money.	

Evelyn Mayo	UNKNOWN	Unlike San Antonio and other TX cities, Dallas has no community	
		engagement resolution nor metrics to accurately gauge whether a	
		neighborhood supports a given initiative.	
		We need neighborhood-led revitalization plans that include	
		displacement prevention.	
Jerry Hawkins	Dallas Truth,	Before we start planning, we need and accurate and full telling of	jerryh@dallastr
	Racial Healing,	what happened in our history, e.g., the 1931-68 city charter that	ht.org
	and	codified segregation and economic disinvestment in	
	Transformation	neighborhoods for people of color. The City needs to review <i>The</i>	
		Case for Reparations article by Ta-Nehisi Coates	
		(https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2014/06/the-case-	
		for-reparations/361631/). The City must acknowledge its	
		culpability. Our country has never gone through a reconciliation	
		process. The organization I lead, THRT, exists to facilitate that	
		work locally throughout TX. Communities of color require	
		acknowledgment of racial inequity and apology. We need markers,	
		monuments, memorials, annual events from the City. We also need	
		policies and practices that dismantle the legacy of exclusion and	
		exploitation to rectify the damage of past policies. We then need to	
		write new policies that lean in favor of Black and Brown People.	
		We need an accounting of the economic and emotional toll on the	
		population. We need a community-led process that moves beyond	
		what bodies appointed by the Mayor and/or Council can	
		accomplish. Council-appointed task forces can only give	
		recommendations.	
		The community itself needs to be able to choose the participants in	
		the processes I'm describing, and the community-led bodies must	
		have authority and power to change things and hold the City	
		accountable. Participants need to know that people's time is not	
		being wasted. The current 14+1 Council structure is only 30ish	
		years old. It was created because of a lawsuit forcing diversity on	
		the Council. We need more than this structure has been capable of	
		providing. We need either a different electoral process or a	
		committee that has the ability to make real change.	
		Go back and watch the "Goals for Dallas" film from the 1960s.	
		The Mayor at that time was tasked with rebranding Dallas, which	
		was known as the "City of Hate" following JFK's assassination.	
		Yet Dallas's Black and Brown communities needed to create their	
		own goals for Dallas because they were excluded. This time was	
		when you see the first racial equity documents in the 60's. There	
		are lessons from that period about how to pick folks who City	
		Council did not ever pick.	
		Who are some people who need to be at the table now? Evelyn	
		Mayo, Genifer Ranyal, and Victoria Farel; working on	
		neighborhood plan RAYO Planning; partnering to bring in an	
		urban planner. (Rojas) Demetria McCain, HUD Inclusive Housing	
		Project, Mayor Eric Johnson's Comprehensive Land Use	
		Committee. There is no way to move people out without paying	
		for them to stay. We need to focus on the wealth gap, income gap,	

		lower home appraisal rates for Black and Brown people.	
		The current Mayor wants to make Dallas the safest City, but the focus is all on public safety. These efforts have an insufficient focus on keeping community stalwarts in place, those who can be anchors in the community. We need to keep these people and institutions in the community and build around them.	
Jessica Jolly		The City should look at innovative reparations programs in DC and LA that are helping residents of historically neglected neighborhoods. We need a focus on property tax stabilization. We need to bring neighborhood associations such as Queen City to the table. We also must include small businesses, churches, independent builders into the discussion. We should focus on engaging community anchors like community health centers and churches.	jollyjollyjes@g mail.com
		I'm the Chief Organizational Development Officer for a community health center serving South Dallas. I'm in charge of community outreach, engagement, and partnership development. It's important for leaders of organizations serving vulnerable people to really get to know the fabric and culture of the community. So, when I moved here for this position, I wanted to live in South Dallas. I started attending church in the neighborhood and got involved in other ways. But when I tried to buy a house, I really struggled. I had to beg a small developer to sell to me because he only wanted cash offers, and I wasn't prepared to do that.	
		Fortunately, I eventually bought the house, but I see all the time how many of our patients struggle to access affordable housing. I also see how many of them feel excluded from the planning process for policy decisions that impact their lives in major ways. For example, I've heard from lots of people that they didn't realize until it was too late that DART was changing a lot of its bus routes in the area, and now their commute to work is even more difficult than before.	
		There's a lot of historical mistrust of government that needs to be overcome. People need more than just a town hall meeting inviting them to voice their concerns. They need a half-day or even a 2-day planning retreat held on a weekend so that they're the ones creating action steps to bring more affordable housing to their neighborhood. The City can partner with community anchors like health centers and churches to help organize people to attend more meaningful kinds of events like that.	
Ken Montgomery	UNKNOWN	We have more challenging production pipeline issues on the single-family side than the multi-family side. The Housing Dept does not have nearly enough funding, e.g., G.O. Bond funding, to	

Marilyn Clark		make a dent in our affordable housing deficit. Look at the success of The Bottom redevelopment for lessons. Look at how this project succeeded in inducing affordable infill development. We need an affordable housing fund that can be utilized flexibly to do lots more innovative projects.  The City should consider community receivership programs for some properties in South Dallas, for example, as a strategy to deal with slum lords. Consider the housing needs of home health workers, maids, landscapers, and daycare workers. The City must do better outreach to working people and small biz owners who are not the easy-to-identify community leaders.	
Mr. Stinson	UNKNOWN	Market rate single-family housing is unavailable in Southern Dallas compared with areas just outside the city limits to the south. Regarding LIHTC development, the City must respect our lived experience of having past LIHTC developments that did not lift up our neighborhoods up or increase property values. Look at the turnover in city planning staff and the loss of institutional knowledge of local neighborhood planning history and past neighborhood input.	
Mr. Patterson	UNKNOWN	The City should focus on the impact of rising property taxes on seniors and how it pushes people/families out of neighborhoods.	
Ms. McKinney		The City should focus more on mixed income neighborhood development and less on affordability by itself. Ask neighborhood residents what amenities they want in their areas. Include infill housing in mixed income neighborhood planning. The Housing Dept is just a part of the solution. We must concurrently address other equity issues requiring actions by other depts and agencies. We must also focus on eliminating the concentration of poverty in historically segregated areas. All of the issues raised in the report have been raised before. What we need is an action plan and an accountability plan that can allow the public to measure progress toward goals covered in the recommendations.	
Nathan Townsie	Teacher	I've been a middle school math teacher for almost 20 years in the Dallas and Grand Prairie school districts. I was born and raised in Dallas and currently live in Oak Cliff. The City's housing programs are missing the people in the middle like myself. They focus on helping people with very low incomes. Meanwhile, my friends, family, co-workers, and I see dilapidated shacks with a fresh coat of paint on them being bought up in our neighborhoods for \$400,000 and more by wealthy investors and transplants from other states. A lot of Council Members want to revitalize areas like Oak Cliff, but if they want their area to grow, they need to have working professionals. I've lived in Dallas my whole life, and I'd be able to take care of a house of my own and pay property taxes on it, but I can't afford to buy one in Dallas.	ntownsie1@gm ail.com

Olive Talley	UNKNOWN	I'm a neighborhood leader in East Dallas. The City has allowed up-zoning in stable lower and middle income neighborhoods and forced residents out of homes that were affordable, for example in Mount Auburn and areas west of Ross Ave to I-75. Homes are being replaced by apartments and pricing people out of neighborhoods. The City is also failing to protect neighborhoods from short-term rental owners who take away more affordable rental units.	
Rosalinda Bailey	Realtor	Dallas could offer something to their community, allowing people an opportunity to have a second chance and not penalize them. An incentive of some type and not basing so much on a credit score. Let's face it; your credit score will be bad if something bad happened. This is a Once in Lifetime opportunity. If you get behind, the system is designed to keep you behind. An incentive, for example, to assist a 2nd chance person by having them show they are capable of making payments for a certain amount of time in a timely manner. Assist them with the down payment or deposit. This would be for people who were doing good but for legitimate reasons lost the ability to pay bills, like COVID, MEDICAL, etc. As the problem no longer exists, they should be able to have some assistance. Otherwise, Dallas is going to have a LOT of homeless people. It is already hard for people to make it, but when you have to pay double, how will you make it. If credit is bad, you have to pay higher interest. If you lost your place of living to get another place, you have to pay double, maybe triple. People with money get lower interest and get incentives to skip payments. Why? They do not need the help. Please find a way to provide incentives to the ones on the bottom to do better in these harsh situations. Dallas allows investors to scam people from their homes for pennies on the dollar. Then that person becomes homeless while the investor becomes Wealthier. I apologize for venting it is just I Know from Personal Experience how difficult these times are. I have a granddaughter who just experienced this, but with HELP, she is now ok; she also got her a job, etc., because of incentives offered to her.	realtormslynn@gmail.com
Sandy Collier	MetroTex Association of Realtors, Diversity Committee Vice Chair	We need affordable housing in the communities we serve. I was born and raised in East Oak Cliff.  I wonder whether equity is truly a priority for the City or just clickbait. Are these Town Hall meetings really just about checking a box? The City needs to start with some deep introspective work. Right now, its core values are questionable. In terms of equity, it has not yet put its money where its mouth is. We know the City can bring into being the infrastructure and development needed in Southern Dallas because the City did that in Northern Dallas.  We need a task force to focus exclusively on the issue in the way that the Mayor's public safety task force focused exclusively on creating an action plan in response to increasing crime. In the past, the strategies discussed have never matched the scope of the problem. When faced with eating an elephant, you have to choose	

	1		T
		where to start. Creating accountability to a community-driven	
		action plan is that place.	
		A big part of that problem is how disjointed the City is with regard	
		to affordable housing development and housing development, in	
		general. At an administrative level, the left-hand doesn't know	
		what the right hand is doing. This is a huge underlying issue.	
Shelly White	MetroTex Association	I feel very frustrated. The City is very well versed in what all the	shellytherealtor
	of Realtors, Diversity	issues you cover in your recommendations. It's a matter of acting	@gmail.com
	Committee Chair	on this knowledge and impacting these issues. For example, the	
		income eligibility for down payment assistance is set at such a low	
		level that working people can't qualify. Also, developers seeking	
		to build housing in Southern Dallas have seen their deals break	
		apart because of the costs and wait time to get through all of the	
		City's permitting, lighting, and other requirements. Who can we	
		hold accountable for making development in Southern Dallas	
		more realistic more doable?	
Sherman	UNKNOWN	We need city staff to be educated about systemic racism. The line	
Roberts		staff is not all on board with all of the equity goals put forward by	
		executive leadership.	
Tyler(?)	UNKNOWN	Given that rent is unaffordable for many working people, we need	
		new jobs that pay enough to afford market-rate housing.	

## forwardDallas! Meeting Notes

## **February 4, 2022**

Attendees: Julia Ryan, Andrea Gilles

Paraphrased Comments and Observations from Julia and Andrea:

There is a significant overlap between the Equity Office planning work and forwardDallas! planning work. forwardDallas! is the second comprehensive plan. It will replace the one done in 2006.

The new plan will provide the strategic direction for the City for using resources and land, and accommodating expected and desired growth. The 2006 comprehensive plan did not allow Dallas to accommodate the need. We now need to create a future land use map to provide guidance for the city rezoning efforts needed to bring the plan to fruition.

The 2006 plan was not used in this way. As a result, zoning decisions have been made in isolation. There are a lot of misses in the way we develop. There are a lot of land use proximity issues that create problems that restrict how we develop in a way that accomplishes the overall goals.

There are many land use proximity issues that create opportunities in housing and infrastructure - what is the need in different areas? Understand where it is important to accommodate growth. Ensure that there's a good housing plan that fits with the desired growth patterns.

Look at housing and land use needs in the context of economic development planning - where do we want to put our resources? Where do we want tech, education, hospital campuses?

So far, there has not been a lot of community engagement in the forward Dallas! plan development. We don't just need data. We need genuine community engagement. We need continuous feedback.

We've developed an internal community engagement group. We plan to have internal engagement staff hosting virtual and in live community engagement events. We're looking at developing a tool kit for different audiences.

So far there has not been a lot of community engagement in the forward Dallas! plan development. This is a foundational step. It's critical to getting buy-in on the plan. We need more capacity for this - need more staff.

We're just starting to move in this direction. This fowardDallas! plan development is a huge project, and although we have a very dedicated staff, Dallas hasn't had a history of robust community engagement in land use planning in the past.

How can we coordinate community engagement efforts with other initiatives and departments? One important approach is to have various departmental entities coordinating on the big touch points for community engagement. Currently, we are trying to latch onto existing meetings - injecting Forward Dallas into those meetings. We have created a fD! technical advisory committee made up of representatives from different city depts. We need to use that group more strategically.

If we already had peer buy-in and we were coming up with this strategy on how affordable housing planning needs to fit into land use planning, then we could take a more unified City approach to taking on some heavy lifts in areas of the City that required significant change, such as parts of Southern Dallas.

We need to have some hard and honest conversations about land use choices that must be made in these areas as growth increases. The lack of needed infrastructure in a huge issue in some areas. We can't ignore infrastructure deficits when grappling with land uses and zoning that is incompatible with residential uses in areas where the community would like to see more residential development. We don't have a city team yet in place to work on these heavy lifts in areas where significant change is needed.

How can we build conviction among city leaders that community engagement is the place to start? We need to acknowledge that people in some areas needing the most significant change have been so ignored. For example, an area West Dallas has just set up a neighborhood association, but the City has not recognized them. City leadership needs to acknowledge the need for robust community engagement and prioritize funding.

Messaging - We need to target messaging that it makes sense for people want to get engaged. Quick easy painless way to get involved, relatively quickly. What does this mean to me and how can I influence it? Developing tools using various mechanisms, virtual and in person.

How are grassroots organizations involved in community engagement? We've started reaching out to those groups. Using engagement team, ambassadors. Want to map out the groups out there. Also using neighborhood engagement data base. Listening to Council members about what they have to say about their communities and which groups to contact. But we also need to make sure we're hearing from average residents. We need to be aware of political agendas of different groups.

Engagement Teams should be across departments, Compelling messaging. Need to move beyond planning to execution.

It needs to be someone's job to hold people accountable for forward movement.

Biggest Fear: We do all this work with collaborative decisions, and we can't move forward because decisions get bogged down in parochial concerns. We need to be able to sustain a system beyond the current administration.