**The Philadelphia Association of Community Development Corporation’s Response to the Negative Effects of Gentrification on Philadelphia Residents**

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**Abstract**

As gentrification becomes more pervasive in cities across the country, a closer look into the economic and societal costs on long-time residents of these cities becomes imperative. Gentrification has the ability to generate a number of negative impacts on residents throughout Philadelphia. Based on a qualitative methodological approach, a total of 15 in-depth interviews with these residents throughout the city were conducted and analyzed to uncover the greatest harms gentrification is posing on Philadelphia communities. An additional 15 interviews were conducted with members of the Philadelphia Association of Community Development Corporations in order to highlight the ways in which local nonprofit organizations are successfully pushing back on these negative consequences that often pair with urbanization.
This comprehensive examination highlights the great extent of economic and societal benefits that such organizations advocating for community investment contribute to the city. This study may contribute to positive change by informing the strategies employed by the PACDC in striving for equitability all across Philadelphia. Upon concluding this research, I challenge people to view gentrification in a more nuanced way. This study will prove that, with proper investment and collective city collaboration, the benefits of revitalization can extend to all of those living in Philadelphia’s neighborhoods.

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**Chapter One
Introduction
Statement of the Problem**Gentrification has a wide range of definitions, depending on who you ask. For the purpose of this research, we will define gentrification as the shift from a predominantly low-income sector of the population to a noticeably higher-income one. Gentrification, although a growing issue in many urban cities, often does not receive the research or policy attention it so desperately needs. According to US news, Philadelphia ranks among the country’s top 10 most gentrified cities as of 2016. Gentrification alone is not the issue, however. The issue arises when this cycle of gentrification creates various types of disruption and displacement among current, often long-time residents of the neighborhoods. Despite several generations of research, surprisingly little is known about the extent and consequences of gentrification in cities across the United States.

Gentrification in Philadelphia continues to create high levels of disruption politically, socially, and economically. These disruptions would be largely swept under the rug if it wasn’t for organizations such as the Philadelphia Association of Community Development Corporations (PACDC), whose mission includes creating an equitable city where every Philadelphian lives, works, and thrives in a neighborhood that offers an excellent quality of life. This research aims to identify the negative effects of gentrification in Philadelphia neighborhoods and the vigilant action being taken by this local nonprofit organization in response to it.

**Research Questions**
1. How do different types of public investments influence Philadelphia neighborhoods and residential displacement?

2. How has economic, social, and racial displacement caused by gentrification affected long-time residents in Philadelphia neighborhoods in recent decades?

3. What types of PACDC anti displacement strategies are most beneficial in Philadelphia?

**Purpose of the Study**Constant construction noise is something most residents in parts of Philadelphia have grown used to hearing. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania is experiencing large influxes of people, particularly in its downtown neighborhoods. In response, the city has proposed an increase of revitalization projects in its urban core. These revitalization efforts have planted the seed for a growing phenomenon known as gentrification. Gentrification has led to a number of negative effects on long-time residents of certain Philadelphia neighborhoods, such as economic, political, and social displacement. Given this, the purpose of this phenomenological study is to examine the negative impacts gentrification has had on Philadelphia residents, as well as how efforts from The Philadelphia Association of Community Development Corporations have greatly reduced the amount of people experiencing these negative effects.

Come fall of 2020, participants in the community recruited through snowball sampling, will be interviewed through in-depth, one on one studies. By doing so, I intend to gain a deeper understanding of how this local nonprofit is attempting to correct the negative consequences brought on by gentrification. To fully understand this concern, I will review the literature on the negative effects that gentrification has produced in major cities in recent decades. This data aids in guiding future research, which will hopefully shed light on this growing disturbance many cities are facing. My hope is that, upon seeing the successful efforts of the PACDC, other cities experiencing the same issues will do their part in managing the negative effects brought on by gentrification.

**Background**
The Philadelphia Association of Community Development Corporations collaborates with its members in order to seek opportunities to work on structural problems within the city that cannot be solved overnight. This local nonprofit strives to create a Philadelphia that includes diverse cultures that are treated equitably. As much as we need to celebrate and encourage redevelopment, the enthusiasm about this renewed Philadelphia can feel like it’s about a different city if you are one of the many Philadelphians still struggling or live in a neighborhood fighting decline. The PACDC urges politicians and citizens alike that Philadelphia must create new market-rate development and investment in order to strengthen the tax base, turn vacant properties into vibrant spaces, and make Philadelphia city a world-class destination. Additionally, it must be recognized that the new private investment transforming some of Philadelphia’s neighborhoods does not automatically “trickle down” and benefit those who are most economically disadvantaged. This research aims to identify the consequences of gentrification in Philadelphia neighborhoods and the vigilant action being taken by this local nonprofit organization in response to it. Upon completing this research, I hope to uncover the negative effects of gentrification on long-time residents living in Philadelphia neighborhoods, as well as contribute knowledge and solutions in the pursuit of developing these neighborhoods in such a way that everyone benefits, and displacement abolished. (PACDC, 2017)

**Significance of the Study**By conducting this study, I intend to contribute knowledge and solutions in the pursuit of developing Philadelphia’s neighborhoods in such a way that everyone benefits, and displacement is abolished. Everyone has the right to benefit from growth and development in their communities. I find this issue to be particularly significant because neighborhood development should be beneficial to everyone, not just those with money. The PACDC’s in-depth platform calls for a pro-growth strategy that confronts structural and institutional forms of inequality by creating sustained equality for low- and moderate-income Philadelphians.

**Chapter Two
Literature Review
Residential/ Economic Displacement**Scholars remain largely divided on the definitions and issues surrounding gentrification. The US Department of Housing and Urban Development defines gentrification as “a form of neighborhood change that occurs when higher-income groups move into lower-income areas, potentially altering the financial landscape of the original neighborhood.” (US HUD, 2018). Because there are a number of concerns surrounding the economic consequences of gentrification, the subject has inspired decades of intense, interdisciplinary debate. One of the greatest fears about gentrification is involuntary displacement: long-time residents and small businesses that want to stay in their neighborhoods but can no longer afford rising rents or property taxes.

The PACDC is calling on Philadelphia’s mayor to use his leadership to gain a commitment from developers and their contractors to create EOPs and reports for large projects that are not publicly subsidized. The Philadelphia Association of Community Development Corporations values equity, collaboration, and integrity. This local nonprofit understands that inequities exist and is one of the leading forces in the community for promoting equity in the policies they seek to advance that will pave the way for a better Philadelphia.

The entire process of gentrification would grind to a halt if it were not profitable. In studying different sources on the economics of gentrification, one would quickly see how it moves from being an unexplainable phenomenon to a knowable and replicable act. It becomes clear that the effects of gentrification are not an accident, but the predictable effects that make cities beneficial to those who control capital. In every gentrifying city, you can usually trace the start to a combination of federal, local, and state policies that favor the creation of wealth over the creation of community (Moskowitz, 2018). “If Center City is the heart of commerce in Philadelphia, our neighborhood commercial corridors are its economic veins.” (PACDC, 2018). This organization continues to advocate for expanded tax credit programs that support neighborhood economic development.

Large employers in Philadelphia have an important role to play in advancing equitable development. Decades of disinvestment and declining conditions in some Philadelphia neighborhoods has created a scourge of vacant lots, abandoned buildings, and poor property conditions. Many investors will try to capitalize on these poor conditions by buying an abandoned building or vacant lot for cheap, fixing it up and rising prices. This influx of outside investors is profiting off of a community that they are not a part of. Advocacy by PACDC has led to an agreement between City Council and Philadelphia Mayor Kenney on a 5-year plan that will more than double funding for the Philadelphia Housing Trust Fund. This agreement has already resulted in $40 million in new funds and is projected to bring in another $41 million or more in the next three years (Sauer & Bridgeforth, 2015).

A report released by the Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia highlights gentrification and changes in the stock of low-cost rental housing (Chizeck, 2017). It reported that between 2000 and 2014, the city lost one out of five units that fell in the threshold of low-cost housing. These losses hit gentrifying neighborhoods hard, as these areas lost low-cost units at nearly five times the rate of non-gentrifying neighborhoods. Of particular concern are the 23 federally subsidized properties that are located in gentrifying neighborhoods and owned by for-profit entities. These may be at high risk of converting to market rate and becoming unaffordable for lower-income renters.

These findings confirm that gentrification has been associated with especially acute losses of low-cost rental housing in Philadelphia. The preservation of federally subsidized units would help stem the city’s loss of housing that is affordable to lower-income residents and would give these residents greater access to improving neighborhoods that may otherwise be financially unattainable (Chizeck, 2017). The PACDC believes that housing policies are a significant way to attack economic segregation in Philadelphia.

Because development is critical for any neighborhood, a local nonprofit organization has launched a campaign called Development without Displacement (Sauer & Bridgeforth, 2015). The Philadelphia Coalition for Affordable Communities, partnered with the PACDC, aims to preserve affordability in gentrifying neighborhoods so that those who are committed to and invested in these communities can afford to stay. This local nonprofit organization is calling for the passage of a package of bills that would create new resources to expand and protect affordability in neighborhoods undergoing gentrification. They work tirelessly to advocate for legislation that generates more dedicated, permanent resources to support the preservation and creation of affordable homes. This organization highlights the fact that the city’s loss of low-cost rental units would be less concerning if households experienced a corresponding increase in income. Because this isn’t the case, these people are unable to keep pace with rising rents. This organization continuously calls on the City Council to pass legislation which would impose a housing impact fee on developers building market rate homes to raise money for affordable housing.

In a case study on gentrification and segregation in American urban cities conducted by Wyly and Hammel, these authors relayed the idea of economic displacement bluntly when they stated that “gentrification is fundamentally about the reconstruction of the inner-city to serve middle class interests.” (Wyly, & Hammel, 2004). They refer to gentrification as the disruption of social ties and loss of affordable housing that accompanies the middle class colonizing of working-class neighborhoods. For many researchers and authors, gentrification is more than just a demographic shift. Its meaning is inherently pejorative.

Philadelphia’s low-income renters face several concurrent challenges. By gathering information from several sources, it is clear that gentrification is an accelerant for losses of low-cost units in various neighborhoods. The shrinking stock of affordable housing in Philadelphia leaves lower-income renters with greater financial distress and insecure housing arrangements. With the growing body of research highlighting the influence of gentrification on residents’ economic outcomes, these trends merit serious consideration from policymakers concerned with community inclusivity and economic mobility. The PACDC is one of the leading forces in the charge to create a more equitable city, where community development benefits all residents. If we prize economic integration, we must ensure that affordable housing opportunities remain in gentrifying neighborhoods.

**Political Displacement**Besides residential displacement, the negative consequences of gentrifying neighborhoods goes beyond. Gentrification in most areas is also associated with political displacement. (Hyra, 2014). Some gentrifying areas once dominated by low-income minorities demonstrate an association between the movement of upper-income people and a loss of minority political representation. New residents of gentrifying neighborhoods often take over political institutions and advocate for amenities and services that best fit their needs, rather than the needs of the long-time residents. The PACDC recognizes that strong neighborhoods are made up of neighbors who care about their communities and welcome community-based organizations that provide a forum for input and action to create inclusive neighborhoods (PACDC, 2018). This nonprofit plays a vital role in engaging neighborhood residents and connecting them to vital services and programs. In his book, “How to Kill a city” Peter Moskowitz describes gentrification as the inevitable result of a political system that is focused more on the creation and expansion of business and economic opportunity than on the well-being of its own citizens (Moskowitz, 2018).

As writer and director King Williams puts it, gentrification is derived from the French word gentrice, which is the state or quality of being born into high power. Gentrification is largely about power and class. Political discussions surrounding gentrification have been increasing in Philadelphia. Many opposers of the idea that gentrification produces negative consequences will argue that it’s simply revitalization. Revitalization, however, can be done in a way where everyone in the community benefits from it. Local Philadelphia activists and nonprofit organizations tout that long-term residents never benefit from these new opportunities. The PACDC emphasizes that if we want to have any hope of ensuring that as our cities change and low-income people have their needs met just as much as moderate- and upper-income residents, we have to understand the politics of gentrification. A large part of their mission involves advocating for resources and policies for individuals, families, and small businesses across Philadelphia. Because of their efforts, City Council has passed legislation aimed at stemming gentrification, including a “just cause” eviction bill adding protections for renters, as well as expanding eligibility of the Longtime Owner Occupants Program, which are tax breaks more commonly known as LOOP. Politicians in the city are finally coming to terms with the fact that this is a growing problem, and if they refuse to act, Philadelphia voters will find someone who will. John Michell, a writer for the Philadelphia Tribune said it best when he wrote “Today, more than ever, our city is being segregated along the lines of the haves and the have-nots. Furthermore, the fact that Philadelphia is 44% African American and has the highest percentage of poor among the nation’s 10 largest cities sets in motion the inevitability that this friction isn’t going anywhere.” (Mitchell, 2019).

In his case study on the processes of political and cultural displacement, Derek Hyra investigates the political and cultural consequences of the back-to-the-city movement. This contributes to the ideal that gentrification can have impactful social implications. While affordable housing efforts help to keep a portion of long-term, low-income residents in place, political displacement is occurring as upper-income newcomers flock to the neighborhood. This often occurs in areas of redevelopment when low income residents remain but become outnumbered by upper-income newcomers. Hyra offers a number of reasons why scholars should be more concerned with this idea of political displacement. Evidence suggests that these long-standing citizens will withdraw from public participation once their neighborhood becomes significantly gentrified. They recognize that their voice no longer matters when residents with more money have differing opinions. This also makes it increasingly difficult for relationships to be built between old and new residents of the community, furthering tensions even greater. Political displacement occurs when the norms, behaviors, and values of new residents dominate and prevail over the preferences of longer-term residents. (Hyra, 2014)

In The New Urban Frontier: Gentrification and the Revanchist City, Neil Smith examines the cases of Harlem in New York City and Society Hill in Philadelphia in the 1960s. In this book, Smith discusses gentrification of Society Hill as “brought about by an intricate intertwining of state and financial institutions together with an early and influential prototype of the public-private development corporation” (p. 119). In this case, it was a class action of these groups against low-income black residents. These low-income residents organized themselves in order to fight displacement, but their claims were ignored, and the population became displaced without any relocation assistance. Those in power often have distorted political incentives in order to secure donor support; it may be more profitable to make policies that disadvantage the already disadvantaged. Long-term residents in gentrifying cities see this at interpersonal levels in their daily lives. Gentrification essentially leads to complete corporate control of neighborhoods. Corporations and their political allies are the only entities powerful enough to gentrify any given landscape of their choosing. Cities gentrify not because of the wishes of citizens, but those of politicians and heads of corporations.

“WHYY” is the leading public media organization in the Philadelphia Region, deeply committed to bringing the community together through critical conversations about civic issues. In an article found in a series titled, “Gentrified: stories of rapidly changing Philadelphia,” the authors give us a look into how past political displacement has affected the residents of Philadelphia. The reinvention of Society Hill I discussed previously is widely considered one of the first instances of gentrification. Policymakers went into this urban reinvention plan with the understanding, based on calculations, that 34 percent of existing residents would be displaced. Edmund Bacon, the planner behind the neighborhood’s reinvention, decades later recalls that “it was more important to restore this area than to maintain the low-income residents.” (Moselle & John-Hall, 2018).

In hindsight, Bacon’s efforts unfolded in ways that are much more transparent than the messy politics and reality playing out in Philadelphia today. To attempt such a wholesale clearance of a working-class population in the name of urban betterment in today’s world would be political suicide. What is understood today that was often disregarded back then, is that the issues that communities face are multifaceted and deal with a whole variety of social and economic issues tied together in a number of ways. Philadelphia politicians today are working to navigate the complex web of cause and effect in order for Philadelphia to prosper in such a way that all residents benefit. The PACDC tirelessly works to ensure that development in Philadelphia happens equitably. In their platform named “Beyond Gentrification, Toward Equitable Neighborhoods: An Equitable Development Policy Agenda for Philadelphia,” this group calls for a pro-growth strategy that confronts structural and institutional forms of inequality by creating sustained equality for low and moderate-income Philadelphians. They deeply encourage all local candidates and politicians to champion these ideas in order to create a more equitable city for all to enjoy. (PACDC, 2017)

Gentrification is not a fluke or an accident. Rather, it is a system that places the needs of capital above the needs of citizens. By identifying these players, policies, and effects, we find that gentrification is not inevitable, but manageable. When we think of it as some mysterious process, we accept the displacement of countless citizens, the destruction of culture, and the decreased affordability of life for everyone.

**Segregation in Gentrification**This process of political displacement can be linked with cultural displacement, a change in the neighborhood norms, preferences, and service amenities. Cultural displacement is a breeding ground for intense social tensions between long-time residents and newcomers, resulting in microlevel segregation due to the lack of social interaction across race and class. The PACDC continuously examines that, in Philadelphia, one of the more detrimental effects of gentrification is the potential for a decreased sense of neighborhood community.

In his book, “The Great Inversion,” Alan Ehrenhalt agrees that gentrification creates an opportunity for class conflict, displacement, and community upheavals. He believes we must look beyond residential and economic displacement impacts to understand how to effectively facilitate community conditions in these economically transitioning neighborhoods to better support social interaction among traditionally segregated populations. We need to better understand how changing racial prejudices, biases, and inequalities drive and mediate the outcomes of America’s contemporary urban gentrification wave (Ehrenhalt, 2012).

 Author Rebecca Solnit mirrors these feelings by adding that “the invisible lines of segregation can be as real and hard as the bricks of any row home.” (Solnit, 2016). In an article titled “Coming Apart” historian and activist Rebecca Solnit paints us a bleak picture about segregation in present-day society. She discusses in great detail how gentrification trends are highlighting the segregation that still exists within our communities. Decades after civil rights laws overruled racist policies that greatly disadvantaged non-white neighborhoods, new analysis shows that deep disparities still linger. Just earlier this year, the Washington Post noted that the number of schools in which low-income and non-white students make up more than 90% of the population, otherwise known as “the most intensively segregated schools”, more than double between 2001 and 2014 (Solnit, 2016). In 2015, nearly 42 percent of people in North Philadelphia neighborhoods were living below the poverty line, according to data from the US Census Bureau. ⅔ of this population identified as black. Systemic disinvestment between the federal government, private sector, and individual citizens has caused long-term damage, particularly to urban neighborhoods of color (US HUD, 2018).

The return of segregation limits us all, whatever our race and class, in who we are and how we connect to one another. It locks the poor into poverty, and the affluent into insular obliviousness. Solnit asserts that if gentrification continues to happen by boundary movements, then the block level will never be able to desegregate. Incoming white residents in older cities, statistically, are moving to areas that are around other white residents. Solnit metaphorically described redevelopment as an oil spill- with a single cause, and a responsible party. Gentrification, on the other hand, she described as air pollution- many unlinked individuals make contributions whose effect is only cumulatively disastrous. Like air pollution, gentrification can come from many different sources, but those sources are an example of a large, underlying system. This is why it is able to thrive- it's dispersed nature makes gentrifiers unaware of the role they play in displacing people of color. She poses the question- What would happen if gentrifiers saw themselves as active members in a community rather than consumers? This would be a big step in the right direction toward desegregation of our communities.

Alan Ehrenhalt in his book “The Great Inversion,” reveals how the roles of America’s cities and suburbs are trading places- young adults and affluent retirees moving in, while immigrants and the less affluent are moving out. He believes that “the massive outward migration of the affluent that characterized the second half of the 20th century is coming to an end.” (Ehrenhalt, 2012). He notes that we are moving toward a society in which only people with substantial earning power or ample savings will have the option of living wherever they want. Ehrenhalt claims that the great inversion, in which the roles of cities and suburbs will very nearly reverse themselves, is slowly becoming a reality.

Ehrenhalt believes that gentrification, as it creates racial and class divides, leads to a lost sense of community. In some places, the phenomenon of demographic inversion as he describes it is centered on racial rearrangement. He urges that we need to better understand how changing racial prejudices, biases, and inequalities drive and mediate the outcomes of America’s contemporary urban gentrification wave. Until we do, gentrification and cultural displacement will almost always go hand in hand. If we were all equal, there could not be a gentrifier or gentrified.

Philadelphia ranks among the worst cities for black displacement, with more than 12,000 affected by cultural displacement since 2000. The neighborhood of point breeze, for example, went from 80% African American to just 40% from 2000-2016. Residents of the neighborhood feel as though they are being swallowed up by the changes. The three predominantly working-class African-American tracts that gentrified the most were all in the Graduate Hospital neighborhood. The black population of those three tracts fell from 7,793 in 2000 to 3,450 in 2014. At the same time, the number of white residents more than tripled in the neighborhood (Moselle & John-Hall, 2018). Beth McConnell, policy director of the Philadelphia Association of Community Development Corporations recognizes that “As wealth and opportunity flow back into the city after decades of decline, it is the responsibility of policymakers to embrace ideas that not only prevent the deepening of inequality, but also begin to compensate for the errors of the past.” McConnell notes that the only way to grow Philadelphia is to grow it equitably and attacking displacement in all of its forms is critical to that work (McConnell, 2019).

**Conclusion**It is impossible to create a list of all of the causes and consequences associated with gentrification, but this was intended to point toward some promising research and groundbreaking efforts by the PACDC. Philadelphia can sometimes feel like two separate cities: one impoverished, one revitalized. The goal of the PACDC is to bridge that gap, making an ideal, equitable Philadelphia for all to enjoy. Other researchers cited in this review invite this same idea of managing gentrification and taking the proper steps to ensure that our city develops without displacing long-time residents.

My research is intended to shed light on just how real gentrification is in our American cities. I also highlight the successful efforts of The Philadelphia Association of Community Development Corporations in responding to these negative effects and working to create an equitable city where every Philadelphian lives, works, and thrives in a neighborhood that offers an excellent quality of life. I contribute to the growing body of research regarding how gentrification is not simply revitalizing cities, but rather displacing thousands of citizens in a number of ways. Moskowitz said it best when he wrote “Much like past and current debates about climate change, we won’t all agree that the effects of gentrification are real until they have arrived on our doorstep. The impacts of displacement are quickly becoming evident.”

**Chapter Three
Methodology
Theory**This study of the effects of gentrification on residents in Philadelphia neighborhoods lent itself to a qualitative research approach due to its focus on the personal experiences of neighborhood residents. This study utilizes a phenomenological design under the ethnography approach to qualitative research, which stems from the 20th century school of philosophy that focuses on the lived experience. Phenomenological research is based on the notion that there is an “essence” to shared experiences. These can be understood through a phenomenon that is commonly experienced by everyone in the community (Groenewald, 2004). This approach to qualitative research is best suited for studies of emotional human experiences. The strategy is useful for this research in particular, as I intend to understand the personal experiences felt by residents in Philadelphia neighborhoods experiencing the effects of gentrification. The phenomenological strategy was a major factor in shaping the research, as it allowed focus to be placed on the commonality of a lived experience within a particular group of people. Using this strategy, I am able to gain a deeper understanding about the impacts of displacement and gentrification in Philadelphia communities. The fundamental goal of this approach is to arrive at a description of the nature of gentrification impacts on residents. Through this process, I intend to arrive at a more profound understanding of how it affects residents in Philadelphia. Further, I intend to highlight how effective local nonprofits are at mitigating these negative impacts.

This research builds on earlier studies to consider a broader interpretation of displacement that encompasses changes in neighborhoods as a whole. These changes result in a neighborhood’s ability to cater to both long-time and new residents. Additionally, this study highlights the continued efforts of local nonprofit organizations in order to manage the negative effects brought on by gentrification in Philadelphia neighborhoods. Using qualitative methods, I intend to focus on the nuances of how gentrification unfolds over time. Through my research, I have found that many conclusions and assumptions about gentrification and displacement have been conflicted due to methodological flaws and failure to examine different forms of displacement. To better address the needs of policy makers, community activists, and researchers, there is an urgent need to improve the body of research related to public investments, gentrification, and its potential negative effects. I intend to use this phenomenological design in order to achieve this. Drawing the analytical distinction between gentrification and displacement is critical to advancing methodological approaches. Until the methodological challenges are addressed, empirical research on gentrification and displacement will only have limited application in policy making and urban planning efforts to prevent the negative effects caused by gentrification.

**Conceptual Model**

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| Causes of Gentrification  |
| Revitalization EffortsUrban Renewal ProjectsHousing DevelopmentsNeoliberalism |

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| --- |
| Gentrification in Philadelphia Neighborhoods |

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| The Negative Effects  |

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| Economic Displacement | Political Displacement | Racial Displacement |
| Low IncomeInequalityPovertyDisinvestmentRaised TaxesResidential Displacement | NonprofitDisenfranchisement NeoliberalismAdvocacy Public ParticipationPolicy | SegregationCultural DisplacementCommunityMinorities Racial PrejudicesEquity |

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| --- |
| PACDC Response |

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| --- |
| AdvocacyLOOPPhiladelphia Land BankHousing Trust Fund |

**Research Design**This study is a qualitative methodology research. Qualitative research is used to uncover trends and opinions and dive deeper into an established problem. This research utilizes ethnography as a design for sampling strategy, data collection, and analysis. Ethnography is a type of qualitative research that gathers observations, interviews, and documentary data to produce detailed and comprehensive accounts of social phenomena. Ethnography is beneficial in its ability to deliver detailed and faithful representations of participants’ behaviors and attitudes about a certain topic. Because of its subjective nature, I found it to be very useful in uncovering and analyzing participants' attitudes and emotions. The population of this study consists of long-term residents within Philadelphia neighborhoods who have been affected by the negative impacts of gentrification. The residents largely impacted by gentrification are predominantly low-income minorities.

Ethnography qualitative data has a number of strengths and weaknesses when it comes to covering the negative effects of gentrification and displacement. Qualitative research makes it difficult for researchers to understand the analysis process, as well as how the findings have emerged from the data. However, data on many of the drivers and impacts of gentrification and displacement are hard to quantify. Quantitative research has come up short in examining just how serious the effects of gentrification can be. Because the portions of a city undergoing gentrification are almost always a relatively small portion of the overall metropolis, its impacts may often be muted. It is therefore more effective to use an ethnography qualitative design of research to better understand the impacts felt by neighborhood changes.

This research design is useful when examining a single neighborhood and how they have felt certain impacts. It is also effective in examining a single organization and how it is responding to the needs of its neighborhood. The limitations of the study will likely include limitations imposed by the very nature of qualitative research including human error and ambiguity, as well as external reliability. Additionally, findings cannot be generalized and extended to a greater population to the same degree as quantitative research.

**Target Population**The targeted population in this research are citizens in Philadelphia neighborhoods affected by gentrification. Additionally, members of the PACDC will provide insight into their efforts to combat those affected by gentrification.

**Sample**This study will gain access to participants through the snowball sampling method, using early participants to gain further access to potential participants in Philadelphia neighborhoods. In this study, I will use smaller sample sizes in order to gain insight into the personal experiences of those affected by gentrification. I plan on contacting these participants by inquiry through the nonprofit organization that I am researching.

**Questionnaires**The type of questionnaires I will use in this study will include one on one, in depth interviews. I will offer a qualitative analysis based on interviews with community organizations, as well as resident’s documents of the continued political salience of displacement. By examining the efforts by the PACDC, I will use these questionnaires to help create an array of methods used to resist displacement across the board.

**Concepts**

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| Concept | Definition |
| Advocacy | Actively supporting a cause or proposal |
| Affluent | Wealthy or well-off  |
| Census Bureau | Provides quality data about the people and economy in the United States |
| Community | A group of people, living in the same place, sharing particular characteristics in common |
| Cultural Displacement | When the tastes, norms, and desires of newcomers supplant and replace those of the incumbent residents, and can also entail the loss of historically and culturally significant institutions for a community (ncrc) |
| Disenfranchisement | Depriving someone of a right or privilege |
| Disinvestment | Taking money away or not providing money for a certain project |
| Displacement | The moving of someone from their current place to a different place |
| Disruption | Problems that interrupt people's lives |
| Equity | Being fair or impartial across the board |
| Fleeting | Coming or going quickly  |
| Gentrification | Redefining a community in all aspects |
| Inequality | Uneven distribution of opportunity  |
| Low Income | Relatively little wealth |
| Micro-level Segregation | Less obvious methods of separating people because of their race |
| Minorities | Any demographic of people not in the majority |
| Neoliberalism | Policy approach that favors free market capitalism and deregulation of government |
| Nonprofit | Not conducted for the purpose of making a profit |
| Policy | A course of action adopted by the government, person, or business |
| Poverty | Extremely poor |
| Public Participation | Being involved in the activities of any organization or government |

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| --- | --- |
| Racial prejudices | Hostility to people of another race |
| Residential Displacement | When someone is forced to move from their residence because of factors beyond their own control |
| Revitalization | Giving new life to a certain area |
| Taxes | Contribution to state revenue |
| Urban Reinvention | Development and change in urban areas |

**Confidentiality**This research follows IRB and federal guidelines in establishing confidentiality, protecting human subjects, assures the voluntary nature of participation, and establishes a procedure in data collection and storing that adheres to strict confidentiality guidelines as outlined by IRB and the federal government. In order to comply with these guidelines, this research will obtain respondents permission before any audiotape recordings, explain the reasons for recording, and respect the wishes of participants. Additionally, the identity of all participants will be protected at all times and handled with the utmost care and responsibility.

**Chapter Four
Data Presentation**Gentrification is an infamously confusing term to quality. It’s ambiguity over whether it yields positive or negative impacts is hotly contested among researchers. In hopes of gaining a better understanding of how the negative impacts of gentrification can be mitigated, I interviewed a number of Philadelphia residents, as well as working members of the Philadelphia Association of Community Development Corporations, a local nonprofit organization fighting for a more equitable Philadelphia for all. This research is not interested in attaching an overall connotation to the term gentrification, but rather it seeks to highlight how the work of local nonprofits such as the PACDC can lessen the negative impacts that effect residents in gentrifying neighborhoods. Many studies have shed light on the displacing impacts of gentrification in major cities across America. Few, however, have examined the specific ways in which negative displacement affects residents on the ground, and what communities are doing to pushback against it. Drawing on the experiences of long-term residents in a number of Philadelphia neighborhoods, this data illustrates the negative impacts of gentrification from a local perspective. Additionally, it seeks to examine the influence that public investment has on gentrifying communities and the benefits of PACDC efforts in these neighborhoods. 15 members interviewed at the PACDC provided detailed information on construction, rehabilitation, and other physical investment projects they have undertaken. This was supplemented by independent research done previously and documented in the literature review.

Participants for this study were gathered by inquiry through the PACDC. Interviews with participants aimed to explore their personal experiences with gentrification in their neighborhoods, how they perceive it, and how it has shaped the way they live in their communities. Additionally, members at the PACDC were interviewed to explore their efforts to combat gentrification and displacement of all kinds throughout the city. By using qualitative methods for data collection, it allowed me to focus on the nuances of how gentrification unfolds in a community, rather than letting numbers do the talking. Detailed video interviews with participants lasted between 45 minutes to one hour, in which they were asked to describe their neighborhoods, any changes they have noticed over the years, and whether they believe that gentrification has any impact on neighborhoods in Philadelphia. After obtaining informed consent from participants, interviews were recorded and then erased once transcribed into a word document. Conducting a thematic analysis approach, I closely examined the data and responses from all interview participants in order to gather common themes that prevailed. By using explicit evaluation criteria throughout the research process, I strive to ensure quality data, increase transparency of the research, and discuss the strengths and limitations of the overall study.

The most notable expected impact of gentrification is often financial. This study goes beyond economic impacts of neighborhood change, however, and also considers the importance of social and cultural consequences that affect people’s quality of life. I seek to conceptualize and highlight these various forms of indirect displacement that emerge when long-time residents see their community cultures, their access to familiar services, and their channels of local political representation disrupted by a younger, more affluent population influx. Members at the PACDC interviewed were all consistent in their claims that displacement is occurring in gentrifying neighborhoods in some form or another. The displacement described by some of these respondents were both physical and cultural, and happening disproportionately to low income residents and people of color. When asked what gentrification meant to them personally, there were four dominant themes that prevailed across interview responses by local residents in a number of different neighborhoods in the Philadelphia area. These major themes include housing affordability, cultural displacement, white influx, and social exclusion. These reoccurring trends present a dire need to deepen our understanding of how gentrification can impact long-time residents throughout the city. Figure 1 shown at the end of this chapter illustrates a number of descriptors used by local residents interviewed when asked how they would describe the gentrification they are seeing in their neighborhoods.

The results of this study have suggested that the negative impacts of gentrification are not uniform across populations. Unfortunately, how a person will be affected by gentrification can often be predicted by their demographic categories. Of the members interviewed at the PACDC, all conceded that those most negatively affected are low-income and marginalized populations, such as black residents and the elderly. To understand why this is, it is important to know how Philadelphia neighborhoods got so segregated in the first place. Gentrification is tied to historical patterns of residential segregation in Philadelphia and across the United States. Government and discriminatory policies have played a key role in creating these patterns through redlining districts in the city. In doing so, the city directed public and private capital in ways that advantaged white neighborhoods, while denying access to investment in minority neighborhoods. Philadelphia faces a more uphill battle in terms of increasing access to affordable housing because of its strong history of redlining. This exacerbation of racial wealth disparities and housing segregation by the government is a large reason for existing wealth gaps experienced across neighborhoods in Philadelphia today. One PACDC member interviewed explained that although there have been demographic shifts, the redlined portions of the city still exhibit negative economic outcomes. “These areas of Philadelphia have suffered from a legacy of disinvestment and deserve more attention from policymakers in the city to right their wrongs of the past.” These residual effects of redlining suggest that residential segregation throughout Philadelphia remains endemic, albeit unofficial.

A major cause for shrinking housing affordability given by local residents is private renovating properties driving down their home values and driving up their rental costs. A Hispanic woman interviewed, living in the Fishtown neighborhood, described her inability to afford increasing property taxes as a result of gentrification. Living in the neighborhood for nearly 25 years, on a fixed income, she fears she may soon have to move elsewhere. Out of the 15 resident respondents interviewed, all reported that real estate values and rents have increased substantially in recent years. While some homeowners interviewed acknowledge how there is benefit in the increased value of their homes, they still see private developments as negative in failing to meet the needs of families and low-income residents of their neighborhoods. An African American male, living in the Graduate Hospital neighborhood, noted that the neighborhood has become so expensive, it prevented members of his family from settling there.

Although perhaps most evident, displacement as a result of gentrification in Philadelphia is not exclusive to residential. Additional negative consequences noted by interviewees include cultural displacement and social isolation due to an influx of younger, more affluent white residents to their neighborhoods. An elder female respondent living in Point Breeze, one of Philadelphia’s fastest gentrifying neighborhoods, characterized her neighborhood that she has resided in for 60 years as, “unrecognizable.” She described how this white influx of new residents often boast about growing the economy, but have little respect for the homes, values, and traditions they are encroaching on. “The way I see it, this is about cultures clashing, not economics,” this woman stated. She got emotional as she recounted her neighborhood rapidly losing its sense of community over the past few years. “These new residents come into our communities, take over political institutions and advocate for amenities and services that fit their needs and their definition of community improvement.” Two-thirds of local residents interviewed noted a growing apathy for civic engagement as their neighborhoods become gentrified. When asked why, some answers I received were feelings of “hopelessness, isolation, and pointlessness.”



Figure 1

**Chapter Five
Data Analysis**As noted in previous chapters, the term gentrification generates a range of connotations, depending on the person asked. I believe that gentrification is characterized as a specific type of neighborhood revitalization because of its ability to have these displacement effects. This analysis examines the ways in which gentrification has been affecting long-time residents in Philadelphia neighborhoods. I consider how different types of public investments influence Philadelphia neighborhoods and residents feeling these negative impacts of gentrification. Additionally, I seek to determine which policies and strategies implemented by the PACDC are most effective and beneficial to the city and its residents. Through this study, I have witnessed how cultural displacement as a result of gentrification breeds social tensions and creates limits to meaningful community interactions between long-term residents and newcomers. By talking with residents in gentrifying neighborhoods in Philadelphia, it is clear that the city must look beyond residential displacement impacts to understand how to effectively enhance community conditions in revitalizing neighborhoods. In doing so, this will better support social cohesion and interaction among populations that have been traditionally segregated throughout the years.

This study has made clear that there is no magic comprehensive solution to solving the problems that gentrification creates in neighborhoods throughout Philadelphia. Creating a mutual accommodation between urbanization and equity must require a persistent narrative of inclusive prosperity, intentional strategy, and a focused effort by all leaders in the city. Through my interviews with members of the PACDC, I found that public investments in neighborhoods experiencing gentrification is the leading source in combating residential displacement. A major themed discussed by members of the PACDC was the urgency for more affordable housing in Philadelphia neighborhoods. They explained that housing policies are a significant way to attack economic segregation that persists in Philadelphia. When asked how they have addressed this need, members interviewed relayed their impressive accomplishments. “In 2019, our members and allies won more than $28 million in additional local dollars for the Philadelphia Housing Trust Fund.” The Philadelphia Housing Trust Fund was established in 2005 thanks to the efforts of the PACDC. Since its inception, the Philadelphia HTF has addressed a range of housing needs for nearly 50,000 households, one member illustrated. “These needs typically include affordable units, home repair, and a number of programs aimed at preventing and combatting homelessness in the city.” Over the course of 20 years, Philadelphia CDC investments have contributed $3.3 billion to the local economy one member boasted. “Our investments reach nearly all of Philadelphia’s neighborhoods,” another membered added. Their programs and advocacy help to improve these neighborhoods through the construction and preservation of affordable housing and rental units so lower-income residents need not worry about residential displacement. With more than 150 affiliates within the PACDC, this network provides critical programs and services that positively impact residents, families, and neighborhoods throughout the city.

In October of 2018, the PACDC campaign titled “Affordable Homes for a Growing Philly” came to life with the creation of the Mixed Income Housing program. Described by one member of the PACDC, this program allows developers to use density bonuses if they either a) provide affordable units on site, or b) pay a fee in lieu for the Philadelphia Housing Trust Fund. “In the first year of its enactment, the program has already led to a number of homes for low-income families, as well as a number of projected projects.” Through speaking with these members of the PACDC, all of the benefits to creating mixed-income housing are evident. It allows lower-income, often marginalized residents, access to quality homes they can afford in higher-income neighborhoods with good amenities and opportunities. As this study has shown, the negative impacts of gentrification are often discriminatory. One PACDC member pointed out that most people do not even realize that this discrimination is going on. “Many people are unsure how to recognize or define it. Black residents in Philadelphia are three times more likely to be denied a mortgage loan than white residents- and that’s just a fact.” Even if approved, she added, their rates are typically much higher than their white counterparts, even with similar incomes. Another member recounted the shocking prejudicial practices of the Federal Housing Authority throughout its history. “It’s hard to describe just how enormous the power of the FHA is,” this member noted. “Their policies set the standard for mortgage lending throughout the entire country, and they are historically notorious for prohibiting mortgage loans to African Americans.” Although many may see these racist practices as a thing of the past, members at the PACDC describe the abiding difficultly for minority residents to obtain mortgage loans. This has affected the equity wealth and property ownership of black residents in Philadelphia today. Because of this, it is clear to see why black residents are more likely to rent and thus are more susceptible to residential displacement when gentrification takes hold of their neighborhoods. “It’s past time for Philadelphia’s building boom to provide equal benefits for these marginalized residents,” a PACDC member plainly stated.

This study proves the PACDC to be one of the most advantageous organizations in Philadelphia in terms of mitigating the negative impacts that gentrification. This nonprofit tirelessly works to create an equitable city where all residents benefit and thrive. When asked what they thought is most urgently needed to help avoid all types of displacement as a result of gentrification, all members of the PACDC interviewed agreed that community investment is the biggest necessity. The organization has a platform titled “Beyond Gentrification: Toward Equitable Neighborhoods”, which stands as an equitable development policy agenda for Philadelphia. “Strong neighborhoods are made up of neighbors who care about their communities and welcome new residents, as well as community-based organizations that provide a forum for input and action to create inclusive communities,” one PACDC member expressed. This member went on to describe the organization’s desire to find ways to welcome more affluent incoming residents into the community while still enabling lower income families to stay and enjoy the fruits of revitalization. All of the members interviewed agreed that the best answer to gentrification is not to push back against private investment, but rather boost public investment in local communities throughout these gentrifying neighborhoods. “Gentrification does not need to be synonymous with displacement,” one member expressed. “Our goal as an organization is to ensure that Philadelphia is able to revitalize in a way that benefits everyone, including those long-time, often low-income residents who have spent their entire lives in these neighborhoods.”

The breadth of impact from these investments championed by the PACDC prove incredibly important, as they affect the fabric of these neighborhoods throughout the city. Based on a methodological study done by the PACDC, results estimate that construction projects, as well as other neighborhood investments, positively influenced nearby property values by nearly 6 percent, resulting in a $2.4 billion increase in property values within Philadelphia. In other words, if these projects had not taken place, property values within the city would be $2.4 billion less, which would represent a significant reduction in household wealth. (FY 2019 annual report) These results brilliantly depict how investments in affordable housing work to improve real estate value while simultaneously avoiding residential displacement by assuring more affordable places to live. An important objective of the PACDC is to focus on and improve areas that have experienced extreme disinvestment throughout the years. This study has shown that the work of the PACDC in communities throughout Philadelphia is statistically significant in creating sustained improvement at the neighborhood level. These types of anti-displacement investments produce extraordinary economic incentive for the city to invest more in the PACDC.

**Chapter Six
Conclusion
Summary**This study has highlighted how gentrification can negatively affect Philadelphia residents in a number of ways through different forms of displacement. Through policy proposals and strong advocacy, the PACDC is helping residents and neighborhoods by alleviating the harms of displacement through investments around the city. By conducting this study, I can conclude that organizations such as the PACDC have the ability to re-envision what revitalization means in urban cities across the country. They have shown that anti-displacement efforts aiming to development without displacement can have overreaching benefits to the city and its economy. Although this organization has made significant progress in its efforts to help those negatively impacted by gentrification, their work is far from over. City officials and policymakers must work alongside these community development organizations and fund these policies that so greatly help those in need, as well as the city of Philadelphia as a whole. By failing to do so, I believe Philadelphia runs the risk of growing the already existing race and class divide seen throughout neighborhoods in the city. Upon concluding this research, I believe that gentrification can and should be looked at in a more nuanced way. With the help of the progress made by the PACDC in combatting displacement in the city, the negative connotation attached to the word may begin to shift. Most people believe the general premise of revitalization and its benefits. If the PACDC has taught us anything through this research, it’s that revitalization need not mean displacement. Their efforts have proved that, with enough neighborhood and community investment in these areas being rapidly gentrified, the negative impacts that residents face as a result of gentrification can be greatly mitigated. Many members of the PACDC described this as a unique time for Philadelphia; a time where the city can welcome new investment while being deliberate about ensuring it improves life for all Philadelphians. As this study has shown, the PACDC has already made tremendous strides in improving the local economy. At a time where funding is scare and simultaneously in desperate need, the PACDC effectively uses its resources to develop affordable housing, community engagement, and invest in the future of Philadelphia’s neighborhoods and residents. With a strong sense of purpose, Philadelphia can work toward a more inclusive tomorrow. By aggressively funding and extending the current trajectory the PACDC is on, Philadelphia can save itself from the fate that so many other large urban cities are facing due to gentrification. I believe that Philadelphia still has the opportunity to be a national example for more inclusive prosperity through its impressive efforts of community investment.

**Recommendations**Displacement is a negative, sometimes inevitable effect of revitalization. The major problem lies in a city’s lack of plan or initiative to deal with these unintended consequences. The PACDC has stepped up in a number of ways to help combat the displacement that so often partners gentrification, but they cannot do this alone. Inclusive prosperity will require persistent and intentional collaboration by city officials, institutions, and other stakeholders in Philadelphia. As this study shows, Philadelphia’s growing economic divide has not been and is not going to solve itself. Without decisive, vigilant efforts from the public and private sectors, the city’s urban crisis cannot be improved. Because the PACDC only proposes policies rather than implementing them, there is only so much they can achieve on their own. Private sector support is indispensable for achieving success in equitability. Philanthropic foundations, private institutions, and business firms all can and should play a critical role in funding community development. As highlighted in chapter four of this study, programs supported by the Housing Trust Fund have been critical to low-income and marginalized residents in Philadelphia. The need has far outpaced available resources, however, creating years-long waiting lists. Because of this, the HTF needs more funding and resources in order to support the tens of thousands of Philadelphia residents on these waiting lists.

The best answer to gentrification is not to push back against private investment, but rather boost public investment in local residents and communities. Neighborhood Advisory Committees are neighborhood-based groups under the PACDC that play an important role in engaging communities and connecting them to vital services and programs throughout Philadelphia. In doing so, they play a pivotal role in the health and vitality of the city’s neighborhoods. Despite this, these organizations are widely under resourced and underfunded. By investing in these committees, I believe that the city will help mixed race and mixed class neighborhoods live more harmoniously and avoid cultural displacement. Beyond housing, the city must ensure low-income and more affluent residents interact in meaningful and productive ways in economically diverse communities. Housing alone will not address microlevel segregation or build the social cohesion that is needed in these gentrifying neighborhoods. Equally important is reviving the hopes, optimism, and ambitions of people who become economically or socially distressed from impacts due to gentrification. Public and private funding must support community-led organizations to provide programming and events that help stimulate meaningful connections among these growingly diverse communities. Additionally, the city should ensure that long-time, lower income residents maintain a certain level of political power and control when more affluent people move into their communities. City government must partner with community organizations in making it a high priority to eliminate racial disparities in economic and social life. With a strong drive along with meaningful collaboration by city leaders, Philadelphia can work toward a more inclusive tomorrow. **Challenges to the Research**All effort was made to ensure that a comprehensive literature review was conducted prior to collecting data for this study. Even the most careful and systematic research studies are limited in their ability to provide precise and all-encompassing information about how gentrification is affecting large cities across the country. It is possible, however, that a number of perspectives and viewpoints may have been missed for a number of reasons, including time. Because gentrification in Philadelphia is rapid and ongoing, it is possible that views and research on the phenomena will change in the near or distance future. Additionally, the PACDC is always striving and advocating for policies that will ultimately change the structure and experiences seen throughout Philadelphia neighborhoods. By tracing attempts to define and measure different forms of displacement in the city, I need highlight significant methodological limitations, including data availability as well as timing of displacement, which potentially mask the impacts of public investments on communities. I must also note that generalizing from smaller group studies may not be reflective to the phenomenon as a whole. Finally, it remains clear that gentrification is a vague, often politically loaded term. Because of this, it can sometimes be difficult to find objective ways to measure and define it.

**Suggestions for Future Research**Although researchers experience severe data and analytic challenges in measuring the extent of displacement in large cities, most studies agree that gentrification, at a minimum, leads to some form of displacement on lower-income residents, albeit intended or unintended. I believe that, in order to better address the impacts of gentrification on residents in Philadelphia neighborhoods, there is an urgent need to improve the body of research related to it. There is still much unknown about the widespread occurrence of different forms of displacement due to gentrification in large cities. It is difficult methodologically to map out the reasons for and consequences of gentrification, but the accumulation of personal experiences of residents and community organizations here and elsewhere can point toward some valuable research and policy direction. There are many under-researched areas surrounding the phenomenon of gentrification. An area I would encourage future researchers to undertake is how changing perceptions of race in newer generations contributes to the gentrification process. I think that better understanding how changing racial prejudices, biases, and inequalities drive the gentrification wave can aid in combating its negative effects. Another area that requires more research is how low-income residents’ benefit from mixed-race and mixed-class communities that have been well invested in. If such research yields positive benefits, more equitable policy is likely to follow.

**Annotated Bibliography**

Blumgart. (2017, December). How Redlining Segregated Philadelphia. Retrieved 2020, from https://nextcity.org/features/view/redlining-race-philadelphia-segregation

This article traces the history of how redlining segregated the entire city of Philadelphia. Blumgart goes on to explain how the federal housing administration played the biggest role in segregated Philadelphia, as well as the entire country. He goes on to describe how the effects of redlining are still felt all over the city today.

Bridgeforth, P. (2015). Race and Community Development: The Philadelphia Story (R. Sauer, Ed.). Retrieved 2020, from http://pacdc.org/2017/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/2015-PACDC-Magazine.pdf

The PACDC discusses equitable development as they confront the intersection of race and class and how each plays a role in why the issue of equity is so complex and yet so crucial to meaningful neighborhood revitalization. They speak candidly and with intent in their work by stating that the real issue with equity is race.

Chizeck, S. (2017). *Gentrification and changes in the stock of Low-Cost rental housing in Philadelphia, 2000 to 2014* (pp. 1-14, Rep.). Philadelphia, PA: Cascade Focus. doi:https://www.philadelphiafed.org/-/media/community-development/publications/cascade-focus/gentrification-and-changes-in-the-stock-of-low-cost-rental-housing/cascade-focus\_5.pdf This article explores one aspect of gentrification’s impact on housing costs by examining its association with change in Philadelphia's stock of low cost rental units. Using tract-level US census Bureau data, this report finds that the city lost a considerable amount of low cost rental units in the past decade. These losses were especially acute in gentrifying neighborhoods, as these neighborhoods lost low-cost units at nearly five times the rate of non-gentrifying neighborhoods.

Ehrenhalt, A. (2012). *The Great Inversion and the future of the American city*. Knopf. Alan Ehrenhalt reveals how the roles of America’s cities and suburbs are trading places. He describes young adults and affluent retirees moving in, while immigrants and less affluent people are moving out. He addresses the implications of these shifts for the future of our society. Ehrenhalt shows us how the commercial canyons in large cities are becoming residential neighborhoods, and how mass transit has revitalized inner-city communities. He describes this trend using examples from a number of major cities, such as Chicago and New York City.

Freeman. (n.d.). Causes and Consequences of Gentrification and the Future of Equitable Development Policy. *JSTOR,* *18*(3). doi:www.jstor.org/stable/26328279 In this commentary, the author aims to show how this research complements our understanding of the process of gentrification and also shows how current efforts might be informed by understanding past scholarship. He argues that gentrification’s causes and consequences are complex and multilayered. He concludes with a few remaining research puzzles and policy proscriptions to facilitate equitable gentrification and ensuring low and moderate-income people receive maximum benefit from the revitalization of their neighborhoods.

Groenewald, T. (2004). A phenomenological research design illustrated. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods,* *3*(1), 42-55. doi:10.1177/160940690400300104

This article explains core principles of a phenomenological research design and illustrates the phenomenological methodology. The article contains commentary about the validity and truthfulness measures, as well as a synopsis of the findings of the study.

Hwang, & Lin, J. (2016). What have we learned about the causes of recent gentrification? Retrieved 2020, from https://www.jstor.org/stable/26328271

The authors discuss how increased gentrification in cities and neighborhoods has renewed interest from policymakers, researchers, and the public in the causes of this. By identifying causal factors, this article helps inform analyses of welfare, policy responses, and forecasts of future neighborhood change. The authors highlight some features of recent gentrification that popular understandings often do not emphasize, and review progress on identifying some causal factors.

Hyra S. (2017). *Race, class, and politics in the Cappuccino City*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press. Hyra describes the study of gentrification as one that threatens to fundamentally alter so many of the nation's urban black ghettos, not only by displacing the poor and increasing local property values, but also by effectively changing the color of people who reside in the inner city.

Hyra. (2014). The back-to-the-city movement: Neighborhood redevelopment and processes of political and cultural displacement. *Urban Studies,* *52*(10), 1753-1773. doi:10.1177/0042098014539403 This study examines the effects of the "back to the city" movement felt by African American neighborhoods. While affordable housing efforts help to keep a portion of long-term, low-income residents in place, political and cultural displacement is occurring as upper-income newcomers flock into these neighborhoods. This article contributes to the urban literature by highlighting that population influx, and associated neighborhood revitalization, can have important social implications.

Lees, L., & Ley, D. (2008). Introduction to a special issue on gentrification and public policy. *Urban Studies,* *45*(12), 2379-2384. doi:10.1177/0042098008097098

The authors offer research that may aid a first step towards a more inclusive policy platform that addresses head on the unequal life-chances associated with the contemporary gentrification project.

McConnell. (2019, March 19). Learning from our mistakes: Anti-displacement strategies in Philadelphia " NCRC. Retrieved May 04, 2020, from https://ncrc.org/gentrification-philadelphia/

McConnell explains that, as wealth and opportunity flow back into Philadelphia after decades of decline, it is the responsibility of policymakers to embrace ideas that not only prevent the deepening of inequality, but also begin to compensate for the errors of the past. Anti-displacement strategies are one part of that effort. She describes how Philadelphia has taken a few steps forward but needs to move much quicker.

Mitchell N. (2019, June 04). Mitchell: Gentrification is bigger, more powerful than ANY Philly pol. Retrieved 2020, from https://www.phillytrib.com/commentary/johnmitchell/mitchell-gentrification-is-bigger-more-powerful-than-any-philly-pol/article\_9d1563e1-e494-5615-94e1-855009c3f8f7.html

Mitchell describes Philadelphia as being segregated along the lines of the haves and the have-nots. He notes the correlation between the African American population and the percentage of poor in relation to other major cities. He urges that it is up to politicians in the city of Philadelphia to correct these trends of segregation for the betterment of the city.

Moselle, A., & John-Hall, A. (2018, March 13). The surprising truth behind the racial dynamics of gentrification in Philly. Retrieved 2020, from https://whyy.org/articles/surprising-truth-behind-racial-dynamics-gentrification-philly/ The article discusses the trends of gentrification in various neighborhoods as well as residents' response and feelings on the matter.

Moskowitz, P. E. (2018). *How to kill a city: Gentrification, inequality, and the fight for the neighborhood*. New York, NY, NY: Nation Books. Peter Moskowitz delivers some clarity to the idea of gentrification. He bluntly suggests that while gentrification naturally brings some improvements to a city, it simultaneously kills cultural traditions and diversity. He argues that these dying concepts are ones that make cities so dynamic and desirable to begin with. He explains how gentrification swept through some of America’s largest cities, including case studies from Detroit, San Francisco, New York, and New Orleans. He addresses the specific problems of each, and how the actions of politicians and developers negatively affected the poor residents in these areas.

P. (Ed.). (2017). An Equitable Development Policy Platform for Philadelphia. Retrieved 2020, from http://pacdc.org/2017/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/PACDC\_EcDevPlat\_Full\_PlatformWEB2.pdf A report of the policies recommended in this document are designed to create a more Equitable Philadelphia: one in which those who are most disadvantaged in today’s social and economic systems are given opportunities to benefit from an improving City. This includes having strong neighborhood based-organizations; being part of decision making about projects that could change their neighborhoods; having quality, affordable homes in healthy, vibrant and safe communities; and having opportunities to move out of poverty and create wealth.

Sauer (Ed.). (2019). FY 2019 annual report. Retrieved 2020, from http://pacdc.org/2017/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/PACDC19\_AR\_Fin\_Web.pdf An annual report of the Philadelphia Association of Community Development Corporation's activities and accomplishments throughout the year of 2019.

Smith, N. (2005). *The new URBAN frontier: Gentrification and the revanchist city*. London: Routledge.

Neil Smith attempts to reveal gentrification as part of a much larger shift in the political economy and culture of the late 20th century. He addressed the conflicts that gentrification has brought to the new urban frontiers. The book dives into urban policy, investment patterns, eviction and homelessness. He writes how public policy and the private market are working together to displace minorities, and low-income workers.

Solnit, R. (2016). Coming Apart. *Harper's Magazine*.

Historian and activist Rebecca Solnit paints us a bleak picture about segregation in present-day society. She discusses in great detail how gentrification trends are highlighting the segregation that still exists within our communities.

United States of America, U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Office of Policy Development and Research. (2018). *Displacement of lower-income families in urban areas report* (pp. 1-25). US Department of Housing and Urban Development.

A detailed report that examines the effects of rapidly rising rents in urban areas across the nation and avoiding displacement. This report reviews the recent research on the causes and consequences of gentrification and identifies key steps policymakers can take to foster neighborhood change that is both inclusive and equitable.

Wyly K., & Hammel, D. J. (2004). Gentrification, segregation, and discrimination in the American urban system. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space,* *36*(7), 1215-1241. doi:10.1068/a3610

In this case study, Wyly and Hammel relay the idea of economic displacement bluntly when they describe how gentrification is fundamentally about the reconstruction of the inner-city to serve middle class interests. They refer to gentrification as the disruption of social ties and loss of affordable housing that accompanies the middle class colonizing of working-class neighborhoods.