

EQUITABLE DEVELOPMENT AND RISK OF DISPLACEMENT:

Profiles of Four Santa Fe
Neighborhoods



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This report was authored by Human Impact Partners with collaboration from Chainbreaker Collective and the New Mexico Health Equity Partnership

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The purpose of the NMHEP is to strengthen the capacity of New Mexico communities to shift power relations through advocating for systems and policy change that will improve the conditions where children, families, and communities are healthy. This requires addressing structural and institutionalized inequities based on race, class, gender and geography.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Population shifts in cities don't happen by accident. Federal, state, and local decisions all encourage or discourage people's choices of where to live. A city's choices on where to put infrastructure, transit, affordable housing, and other resources significantly influence shifts in population, which can occur unequally across income, race, age, and other demographic characteristics. Where people live – whether by individual choice or influenced by resource allocation – has serious, long-lasting impacts on health and well-being.

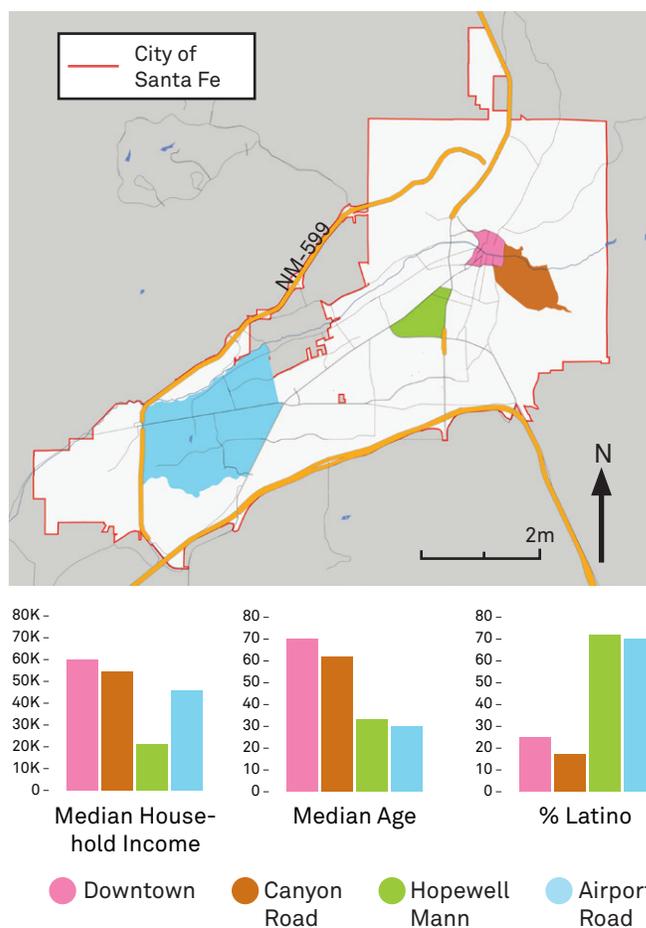
Many Santa Feans are concerned that a significant shift of low-income Latino residents is underway, and that the City's housing and infrastructure decisions are contributing to this shift. To help understand whether this is true, this report describes existing conditions for a number of indicators of gentrification and displacement, and examines public resource investment in four neighborhoods: Downtown, Canyon Road, Hopewell-Mann and the Airport Road corridor. We also conducted two focus groups with residents of Hopewell-Mann and the Airport Road Corridor.

Over the last 50 years, as tourism, the arts, upscale dining and retail transformed the core of Santa Fe, residents who could no longer afford to live close to Downtown moved to the outskirts. To accommodate this migration, the city annexed previously unincorporated territory and new housing developments sprang up. Over time, these changes shifted where and how people live, splintering the city into more distinct – but more stratified – neighborhoods. As a resident of the Airport Road Corridor said in a focus group: “When you get pushed out to these areas, it's already decided – who you are. Because you live here.”

NEIGHBORHOOD DISTINCTIONS

Half of Santa Feans are Latino. But while Hopewell-Mann is almost three-fourths Latino, only about 1 in 6 residents of Canyon Road are Latino. The median annual household income is more than \$60,000 in Downtown and more than \$54,000 in Canyon Road, but only \$21,000 in Hopewell-Mann. The median age in Canyon Road is over 60, but only about half that in both Hopewell-Mann and the Airport Road Corridor.

Figure 1: Santa Fe Profiled Neighborhoods with Age, Latino Population, and Income Levels, 2009–2013



Many other distinctions among the neighborhoods have emerged.

- **Downtown** is primarily a commercial neighborhood. Its small, declining and aging population is mostly white. Downtown residents are less car-dependent, so they walk more. Downtown experienced gentrification and displacement in the 1960s and 1970s, but these trends are not active currently.
- **Canyon Road** enjoys proximity to downtown and is a destination for tourists and “snowbirds.” Housing costs in Canyon Road are higher than in Santa Fe as a whole, but it has the lowest percentage of households that are housing cost-burdened.* It has the lowest proportion

of Latino residents in the city, and since 2000 has become older and whiter. It is not facing the challenges of gentrification and displacement; rather, a challenge is that it is a fairly inaccessible community that others in Santa Fe feel isolated from and unable to enjoy the benefits of.

- **Hopewell-Mann** is a majority renter-occupied and Latino neighborhood. Rents are lower than elsewhere, but over a third of residents are poor and 60 percent are burdened by housing costs. One in four residents are under 18. Proximity to Downtown, a small but growing number of upscale retail amenities, and access to pedestrian and bicycle infrastructure are indicators that may put Hopewell-Mann at risk for gentrification, with subsequent risk of displacement.
- **The Airport Road Corridor**, largest of the four neighborhoods, has had a significant population increase since 2000. It has the city's largest proportion of Latinos and of people 18 and under. Two-thirds of houses are owner-occupied; nearly one-third of houses are mobile homes. Home values and rents are the lowest among the four neighborhoods. Rents are increasing, but the proportion of households that are housing cost-burdened has decreased. Overall, it is a source of relatively affordable housing for Santa Fe's middle and lower income Latino households and for youth. These factors and its distance from Downtown place the Airport Road Corridor at low risk of gentrification and displacement, particularly when compared to Hopewell-Mann.

CURRENT DISTRIBUTION OF RESOURCES

Our analysis focused on four areas of the City's investment in the public resources that shape neighborhoods, influence population shifts, and affect health, but may not always be distributed equitably.

- **Housing.** Housing costs in Santa Fe are higher than in Albuquerque and in New Mexico as a whole. Rents and home prices declined during the recession but are on the rise again. The City has made some significant efforts to provide affordable housing through zoning requirements and facilitating private developments. Affordable

rental housing is clustered in Hopewell-Mann and in the Airport Road Corridor, but there is still not enough supply to meet the demand, spurring some longtime residents to leave the city.

- **Green Space.** Some areas of the city are well-served by parks: Canyon Road has 7 acres of parks per 1,000 residents and Downtown over twice as much. But Hopewell-Mann has less than a third of an acre per 1,000 residents, and the Airport Road Corridor is also poorly served. The City has allocated about 30 percent of available funds from a 2008 parks and trails bond to the city council district where Downtown and Canyon Road are, and almost as much to the Hopewell-Mann council district, but less than 20 percent to the Airport Road Corridor council district (the remainder is in the council district that does not include our profiled neighborhoods). Given the large youth populations in Hopewell-Mann and Airport Road, this is a significant gap.
- **Sidewalks and bike lanes.** Downtown, Canyon Road, and Hopewell-Mann appear to be well-served with sidewalks, but the Airport Road Corridor appears to be lacking. Regional agencies are creating a Pedestrian Master Plan to identify priority projects in all four neighborhoods, but those projects are currently unfunded. City data indicate that Downtown, Canyon Road and Hopewell-Mann also seem well-served by bike lanes. But Hopewell-Mann residents say as a practical matter there is really only one bike lane, and again the Airport Road Corridor is lacking. From one recent bond issue, Airport Road received only 12 percent of bicycle and trail funds, far less than the other three neighborhoods.
- **Bus access.** The city's main travel corridors – such as Cerillos, Agua Fria, St. Francis Drive, and Rodeo Road – seem to have a fairly good network of bus routes. But many Santa Feans have to walk 15 or more minutes from bus stops to their ultimate destination, have a one-hour wait for a bus, and have limited access to public transportation in the evenings. Overall, bus access in Canyon Road and the Airport Road Corridor is limited. This is not a concern for Canyon Road, but because the Airport Road Corridor is farther from downtown jobs and other designations, its residents are highly car-dependent and would benefit from better bus service.

* The U.S. Census Bureau defines housing cost-burden as renters or homeowners who spend 30 percent or more of their income on housing.

A PATH TO MORE EQUITABLE PUBLIC INVESTMENT

Available Santa Fe data shows that there are inequities among the profiled neighborhoods. Residents of the profiled neighborhoods experience vastly different conditions in demographics, housing, and public resources. Across Santa Fe's neighborhoods, displacement and the risk of gentrification are playing out unevenly and inequitably.

Increasing housing costs and declining incomes create a risk of displacement for some residents, particularly Latino and low-income residents of Hopewell-Mann and similar neighborhoods. Residents of Airport Road may not be as exposed to this risk, but this protection may come at the cost of having fewer public resources. In contrast, residents of more affluent neighborhoods such as Downtown and Canyon Road appear largely immune to these risks, all the while experiencing the benefits of public resource investment that low-income, majority Latino neighborhoods do not enjoy to the same degree.

To counter this imbalance, policymakers in Santa Fe should commit to a shared vision and code of ethics for equitable public investment – a set of principles that guide decisions, maintain the integrity of city planning, and hold elected officials accountable. We urge the City to embrace these steps:

- **The Resident's Bill of Rights.** Recently passed by the City Council, the Resident's Bill of Rights resolution identifies five indispensable pillars to ensure equity in public infrastructure investment and land use planning: 1) affordability; 2) quality, sustainability, and health; 3) accessibility, fairness, and equity; 4) stability and protection from displacement; and 5) community control.
- **Racial Equity and Health Assessments.** Conducting assessments of how proposed policies and projects will affect health and equity will help reduce, eliminate, and prevent persistence of racial disparities and divisions in Santa Fe, and improve health for the most vulnerable populations.
- **Community-Wide Affirmative Action.** Governing bodies should enact legislation requiring prioritization of the needs of communities of color for ongoing and new infrastructure, maintenance, and service provision.

- **Monitoring Change.** To achieve progress in planning and programs to address concerns raised in this report, for each neighborhood the City should track the distribution of funding for public resources; residents' participation in planning and economic development decisions; use of existing infrastructure; and the addition of new infrastructure.

Different levels of investment in public resources ultimately have health impacts on stress and anxiety, physical activity, injury, respiratory disease, and access to essential needs such as health care and healthy food. We hope that decision-makers in Santa Fe will take these health impacts into consideration and move forward on these recommendations.

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

Population changes in cities do not occur by happenstance. While people make decisions to move in and out of their homes based on their personal needs and circumstances, there is also a complex mix of federal, state, and local policies as well as economic forces that encourage or discourage decisions about where to live. Where a municipality decides to target resources to improve neighborhoods and what resources are offered and maintained significantly influences population shifts, and these shifts may occur unequally across income, race and ethnicity, education, and age. Fundamentally, the decisions that people make about where to live have serious and long-lasting impacts on their health and well-being.

Current residents of Santa Fe and surrounding areas have expressed concern that a significant population shift of low-income Latino residents is underway in Santa Fe, and that policy choices related to housing and public resource investment are playing a role in driving people in and out of certain neighborhoods. To understand whether this is the case, this report describes existing conditions for a number of indicators associated with gentrification and displacement, and also examines public resource investment in four neighborhoods of Santa Fe: Downtown, Canyon Road, Hopewell-Mann and Airport Corridor. Our goal is to shed light on how residents of the same city may be experiencing gentrification and the risk of displacement differently, and how public resource investment varies across these communities in ways that may contribute to gentrification and displacement and ultimately, health. Based on this data, we make a series of recommendations about how Santa Fe can consider more equitable investment of resources to support people who want to stay in their communities.

HISTORY OF INVESTMENT AND DISPLACEMENT IN SANTA FE

Thomas Romero, executive director of the Northern Rio Grande National Heritage Area, contributed the following history of investment and displacement in Santa Fe. Since 1998, he has served on the Board of El Museo Cultural de Santa Fe and on other community boards, including the founding board of Creative Santa Fe. Romero has lived in Santa Fe since 1948, when he was two years old.

1950s: During the 1950s, most of the economic activity of Santa Fe was centered downtown, around the Plaza and surrounding streets. My father worked in the De Vargas Hotel barber-shop, so I grew up seeing the hotel, department stores and other downtown establishments that are now gone, all replaced by tourism-oriented businesses.

Canyon Road had a few galleries, but most of the east side was residential, inhabited by longtime locals. Cerro Gordo, in the current Canyon Road area, was considered a low-income neighborhood. Developments in outlying areas were sparse, and much of the town ended around where the current College of Santa Fe campus is. Toward the end of the decade, new tract housing developments were built in Casa Alegre and the Kearney Subdivision off Baca Street, serving the needs of a growing working class.

1960s: The 1960s brought a sizable expansion of housing developments to the south of Cerrillos Road and the College, with the entrance of developers from Albuquerque. The expansion of Interstate 25 led to construction of a cross-town bypass to connect the Interstate with roads to Taos. The highway split the Guadalupe neighborhoods and stimulated business development outside of the downtown area, moving business activity and consumer presence away from the downtown. Motels and gas stations emerged along Cerrillos Road to support the new automobile culture. Some homes were built along Airport

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Road and Agua Fria, but most housing development was in tract subdivisions supported loans through the GI Bill and Federal Housing Authority.

Anchor stores remained downtown until new strip mall shopping centers were created farther out. The late 1960s and early 1970s saw the shift of secondary public schools and parochial schools to the outskirts and suburbs. The City of Santa Fe moved its administrative offices from downtown, and a new State Legislative Executive Building (the Roundhouse) was built not far from downtown. There was a general shift to serve a growing tourist industry and an expanded government services presence.

1970s: Expanding tourism and arts markets fueled growth in the 1970s, leading to new downtown hotels, parking structures, and banks. Many anchor department and clothing stores relocated when Villa Linda Mall (now Santa Fe Place) was built. With the departure of anchor stores to the suburbs, many small businesses closed; galleries and businesses catering to tourists replaced them. An influx of new money and transplants led to turnover of eastside housing and increased housing prices. Art galleries along Canyon Road and in the downtown area opened. Businesses serving the new economy – restaurants and specialty stores – grew while basic services like gas stations, general clothing, and grocery stores left Downtown.

The working population continued to shift to suburban neighborhoods, with new developments along the new Rodeo Road and along Airport Road. Those with jobs, like government workers, drove the purchase of housing and the ever-expanding boundaries of the City. The old centers of residences surrounding the city center deteriorated, leaving downtown housing to evolve into rental units. At the end of the decade, newcomers bought and remodeled small houses. Longtime residents who could not move into suburban houses migrated further south into mobile home parks or applied for housing assistance in subsidized housing complexes. Downtown holdouts included the elderly, who owned their houses and lived without mortgaged debt.

1980s, 1990s and today: By the 1980s suburban development furthered the creation of new subdivisions throughout Santa Fe. With a growing population, rising middle-class incomes driven by government and tourism, and a growing retirement and second home market spurred by arts and culture, a new market for upscale housing took hold. There was a proliferation of housing along the ridge tops, outside the city boundaries. Within the city, old neighborhoods were bought up and houses remodeled. Lower income residents continued to move away from downtown or were forced into apartment complexes developed along the south of the city. One example of this came from a lifetime Santa Fe resident, who said, “My cousin’s family lived on West Alto Street for generations; then their house was condemned by the city, bought out, and now it’s a casita/B&B. They all now live on the Southside.”

Economically, Santa Fe relies on tourism and the arts. Large-scale hotels have multiplied downtown and other hotels have been established south of the city. Concerns raised about these trends have been the loss of Downtown for locals, that the several classes of society in Santa Fe seldom mix, and that there is a separation of income levels and access to social amenities. In fact, one resident of the Airport Road Corridor in the southern part of the city said in focus groups conducted for this report, “When you get pushed out to these areas, it’s already decided – who you are. Because you live here.”

In more recent years, Santa Fe has developed the Railyard, expanded parking facilities, and continues to upgrade the city center. Santa Fe also annexed areas to expand city boundaries. At the south end of town, a new community college district emerged with planned housing, expansion of the community college and other educational institutions, and big box retail outlets extending to the junction with I-25. From all appearances, Santa Fe has entered a period of sustained growth, but in reality there is a large underclass with social issues such as lack of affordable housing and poverty.

METHODS

DEFINING AND MEASURING GENTRIFICATION AND DISPLACEMENT

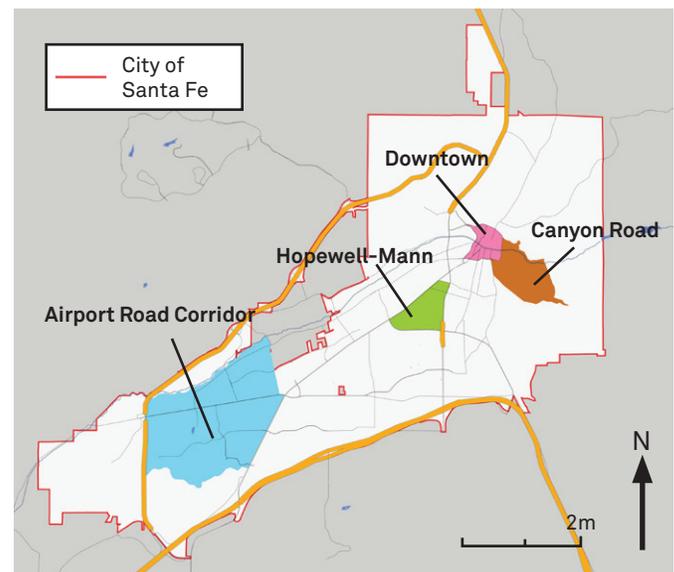
There is considerable debate among researchers, planners, and community members about the definition and causes of gentrification. Generally, gentrification is a process that occurs when an urban neighborhood has relatively low housing costs along with desirable qualities such as proximity to employment centers or attractive housing stock. Gentrification occurs as this area becomes attractive to higher income residents and investors, housing costs rise, and new public and private investment is tailored to the needs and tastes of higher income residents.¹ In many urban areas, gentrification is a racialized process, and occurs as wealthier White residents move into historically African American and Latino neighborhoods.

While new investments can have positive impacts on neighborhood residents and health, displacement as a consequence of gentrification is a major concern for health. Displacement can occur directly, for example through evictions if property owners have opportunities to raise rents or to sell properties for a profit; as well as indirectly, if households move because of the loss of community and relevant institutions in gentrified neighborhoods.¹ In some cases low income household moves are voluntary. For example, if long time homeowners sell their homes in order to realize a profit, gentrification can lead to a process of “exclusionary displacement.” This occurs as housing values appreciate and high-income households replace low-income households, making newly resourced neighborhoods no longer accessible to lower income people.²

The report focuses on four neighborhoods within Santa Fe – Downtown, Canyon Road, Hopewell-Mann, and Airport Corridor. The analysis relies on secondary data gathered from local, regional and national sources, qualitative data gathered from Santa Fe residents, and literature review about the connection between neighborhood resources, housing, and

health. Figure 2 identifies the neighborhoods, whose boundaries were approximated using census tracts.

Figure 2: Downtown, Canyon Road, Hopewell-Mann, and Airport Road Corridor Neighborhoods



Over 20 indicators of gentrification, displacement, and investment are used to describe existing conditions in these neighborhoods, considering change from 2000 to the present. Tracking displacement explicitly is challenging because it requires individual household level data, along with reasons for moving, which generally only exist in private datasets. Therefore this report relies primarily on examining changes within neighborhoods that are likely to indicate gentrification and displacement. This methodology is designed to assess susceptibility to gentrification and anticipate potential market changes by focusing on a small set of indicators that measure vulnerability to displacement, recent demographic changes, and housing market conditions.¹ For example:

- **Vulnerability to housing displacement.** Neighborhoods where there are larger proportions of people for whom resisting displacement is difficult. Specifically, if there are more renters than homeowners, a higher proportion of communities of color, residents without college degrees, and lower incomes. These measures indicate

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a reduced ability to withstand housing price increases.

- **Demographic changes.** Increases in White residents, homeowners, college-educated residents, and household incomes over the last decade capture both the in-migration of “gentrifiers” and the out-migration of previous residents.
- **Housing market appreciation.** This measures the increase in median home values (relative to the citywide median) and appreciation rates for owner-occupied units. While increasing values in already high-value neighborhoods is also a type of neighborhood change, it is not associated with gentrification, as gentrifying neighborhoods start with low or moderate home values, compared to citywide averages.

To assess the risk of gentrification and displacement, we examined the following indicators:

- Demographics, such as changes in Latino and White population, percent Latino and White population, change in overall population, change in median income, change in median age, percent of households below poverty line, and housing cost burden.
- Housing characteristics such as housing tenure, change in median home value, and change in rental costs.

To assess public resource investment, we examined the following indicators:

- Transportation related indicators such as vehicle access, bus access, presence of sidewalks and bicycle lanes, and planned bike and trail spending.
- Park indicators such as parks acreage per capita and planned park spending.
- Affordable housing for rent and sale.

As much as was possible, we examined city investments made or planned for Santa Fe’s four City Council Districts. Downtown and Canyon Road are in District 1, Hopewell-Mann is in District 2, and the Airport Road Corridor is in District 3. None of the neighborhoods considered in this report were in District 4. When a resource was shared by two or more city council districts, we adjusted resource allocation to reflect that. Please note that when data sources identified that resources were going to an entire

council district, it does not mean that all of those resources are targeted to the specific neighborhood we profiled. For example, if City Council District 2 received \$8.5 million dollars in parks funding, not all goes to Hopewell-Mann.

Data for demographic and housing characteristics came primarily from the 2000 U.S. Census and 2009-2013 American Community Survey (ACS), and U.S. Census data from Brown University’s Longitudinal Tract Database was used to create maps showing change over time. We used the five-year ACS because it is more accurate for small areas, although this means the data is less up to date. For comparisons to the four profiled neighborhoods, we also include data points for the City of Santa Fe and for the entire Santa Fe Urban Area, which includes additional census tracts outside the city boundaries. In select places we include one-year ACS data for these larger areas, which is noted in the text. For further details on mapping methods see Appendix B. All census data in dollar amounts are adjusted to 2015 dollars using the Consumer Price Index.

Data sources for public resource investment include the City of Santa Fe Housing and Community Development Division, City of Santa Fe GIS Division, and the Santa Fe Metropolitan Planning Organization, as well as planning reports available on Santa Fe city websites. Data for dollar amount of public investment are not adjusted for inflation.

Data limitations are described in Appendix C. However, it bears mentioning that community members stated several times to Human Impact Partners that the data provided by municipal and regional sources did not always match residents’ lived experience, particularly with regard to the distribution of public infrastructure in their neighborhoods. Where this conflict emerged, it is noted in the report and we elaborate on community perspectives of neighborhood conditions to describe these differences.

Human Impact Partners also conducted two focus groups with Santa Fe residents on April 25, 2015 to gather qualitative data from community members about the issues assessed in this report. The first was held in Hopewell-Mann and the second in the Airport Road Corridor. Residents were recruited by Chainbreaker Collective, and offered a gift of a \$25 grocery store card for their participation. For the Focus Group Guide, see Appendix A.

FINDINGS

I. DEMOGRAPHIC OVERVIEW

We profile four neighborhoods – Downtown, Canyon Road, Hopewell-Mann, and the Airport Road Corridor – to describe how Santa Fe communities are experiencing indicators of gentrification, displacement, and public resource investment differently. We begin by describing several demographic characteristics of these neighborhoods – race and ethnicity, income, and age – along with discussion of how these neighborhoods and Santa Fe overall have changed over time.

DEMOGRAPHIC SUMMARY

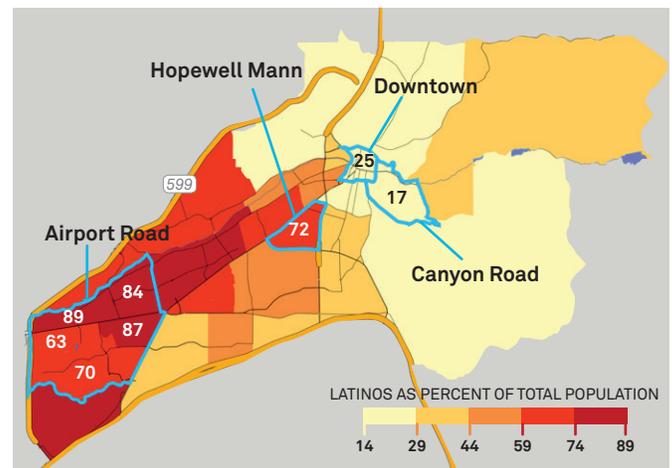
Half of Santa Feans are Latino, though the distribution of Latinos varies significantly by neighborhood. Hopewell-Mann's Latino population is 72% Latino while Canyon Road's is just 17%. The neighborhoods immediately adjacent to Downtown have disproportionately lost Latinos as a percentage of their overall population over time; while several neighborhoods in the south and southwest have seen major increases in Latinos as a portion of overall population.

Residents in Canyon Road and Downtown enjoy higher incomes than in Hopewell-Mann and most of the tracts in the Airport Road Corridor. Hopewell-Mann has the lowest median income in Santa Fe, while the Airport Road Corridor is mixed. Incomes have not fully recovered to pre-recession levels. And while the city has adopted a city-wide minimum wage, this is far lower than the wage required to rent a market rate apartment.

Santa Fe has a significant elderly population – the median age is 70 in Downtown and 62 in Canyon Road. Hopewell-Mann, and the fast growing neighborhoods in the southwest in Airport Road Corridor have many more youth, with a median age of 33 in Hopewell-Mann and of 30 in the Airport Road Corridor.

Race and Ethnic Makeup of Neighborhoods. Overall, 50% of Santa Feans are Latino and about 44% are White. As seen in Figure 3, 25% of residents in Downtown and 17% of residents in Canyon Road are Latino. The Latino population is much greater in the south and western areas of the city. Hopewell-Mann, with a 72% Latino population, has the greatest proportion of Latino residents of any neighborhood near Downtown, while the greatest percentage of Latino residents is found in the rapidly growing neighborhoods on Santa Fe's southwest side, with some census tracts as high as 89% Latino.

Figure 3: Percent Latino Population in Santa Fe by Census Tract, 2009-2013

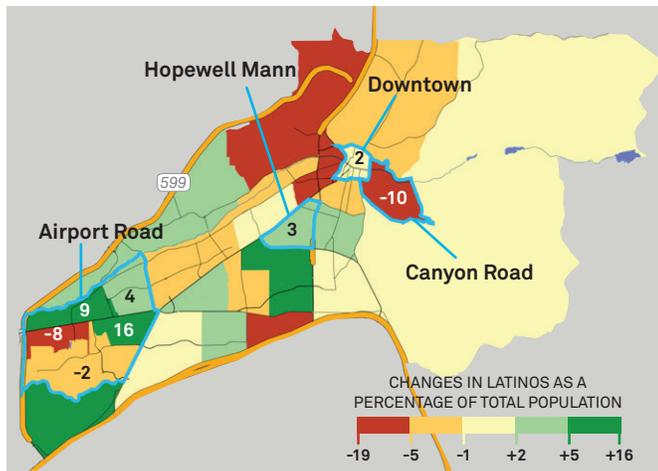


Source: U.S. Census; American Community Survey 2009 – 2013

Figure 4 shows how the Latino population has changed over time as a percentage of overall population. In the red tracts, Latinos have become a smaller share of the overall population, while in the green tracts they have become a larger share of the overall population. The neighborhoods immediately adjacent to Downtown have disproportionately lost Latinos as a percentage of their overall population, while several neighborhoods in the south and southwest, including some tracts in the Airport Road Corridor, have seen major increases in Latinos as a portion of overall population.

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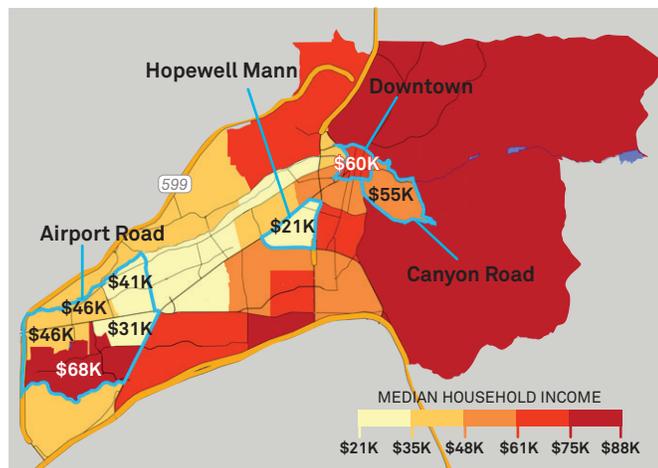
Figure 4: Change in Latinos as a Percent of Total Population by Census Tract from 2000 to 2009-2013



Source: U.S. Census 2000; American Community Survey 2009 - 2013

Income. As shown in Figure 5, some of the wealthiest census tracts in Santa Fe are on the eastern edges of the city and were not our profiled neighborhoods. With regard to our profiled neighborhoods, Santa Feans living in Canyon Road and Downtown generally enjoy higher median annual household incomes than Hopewell-Mann and Airport Road Corridor, at about \$55,000 and \$60,000 respectively. Hopewell-Mann has the area’s lowest median income, at about \$21,000. Airport Road Corridor has a range of incomes, with one higher income tract in the south where a large development project called Tierra Contenta is located.

Figure 5: Median Income in Santa Fe by Census Tract, 2009-2013 (2015 dollars)



Source: U.S. Census; American Community Survey 2009 - 2013

Owing to the recession, median incomes in the Santa Fe Urban Area as a whole dropped during the 2000’s and have not fully recovered. Median household income fell from about \$53,200 to about \$51,300 from 2000 to 2009-2013, though these changes vary across neighborhoods, as discussed further in the neighborhood profiles that follow.

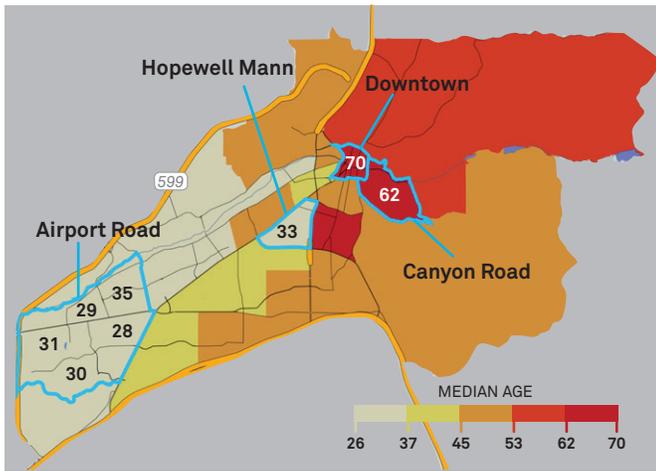
According to the most recent U.S. Census data, 18% of Santa Feans were living in poverty from 2009-2013, an increase from 12% in 2000. An even larger percentage of children live in poverty; 30% of children in 2009-2013 up from 16% in 2000. Furthermore, poverty disproportionately affects Latino residents. From 2009-2013 25% of Latinos lived in poverty compared to 11% of whites.

In an effort to combat the mismatch between wages in Santa Fe and the cost of living, Santa Fe adopted a Living Wage Ordinance in 2003. Since the ordinance’s initial passage, and in response to the urging of local advocates, the wage has been raised and expanded to apply to all businesses within the city, and is adjusted annually to reflect changes in the Consumer Price Index.³ Currently at \$10.84, the city’s minimum hourly wage is the fourth highest in nation, but this is still far lower than the wage required to rent a decent market rate apartment. The National Low Income Housing Coalition estimates that an hourly wage of \$15.46 is necessary to rent an average one-bedroom apartment in Santa Fe for a single person, and a wage of \$18.33 is needed for a two bedroom.⁴

Age. As a popular destination for retirees, Santa Fe has a significant elderly population – the median age is 70 in Downtown and 62 in Canyon Road. Some central neighborhoods have many more youth, as shown in Figure 6. Hopewell-Mann has a median age of 33, and fast growing Airport Road Corridor neighborhood has a median age of 30, with median ages of individual tracts in the neighborhood ranging from 28 – 35.

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Figure 6: Median Age in Santa Fe by Census Tract, 2009-2013



Source: U.S. Census; American Community Survey 2009 - 2013

II. NEIGHBORHOOD PROFILES OF THE RISK OF GENTRIFICATION AND DISPLACEMENT

In this section, we profile of each neighborhood with a focus on indicators of gentrification and displacement and summarize our assessment of how communities are experiencing gentrification and the risk of displacement differently.

NEIGHBORHOOD PROFILES SUMMARY: INDICATORS OF GENTRIFICATION AND DISPLACEMENT RISK

Downtown is a primarily commercial neighborhood. To the extent that people live there, it is an aging neighborhood that is primarily White and has experienced a decline in population and housing costs in recent years. Compared to the other neighborhoods, it is the *only* neighborhood that had an increase in household income in the time period assessed. The few residents who do live there walk more and are less car-dependent than other neighborhoods. Concerns with gentrification and displacement risk are generally not applicable the Downtown neighborhood. This has not always been the case as Downtown in particular witnessed demographic and economic changes in the 1960s and 1970s in ways that changed the make-up of the community to look more like it does today – in other words, the Downtown neighborhood gentrification occurred in decades past. Today, as Downtown is not a

residential neighborhood, few people live there and those that do live there do not experience the economic vulnerabilities and housing insecurity that typically put people at risk of displacement.

Canyon Road enjoys close proximity to downtown and is a destination for tourists and “snowbirds,” or retirees who travel to warm climates for the winter months, with nearly one-third of housing units classified as seasonal vacancies. Home values are much higher than in Santa Fe as a whole, and the neighborhood has the lowest percent of households that are housing cost-burdened. Canyon Road, a fairly exclusive residential neighborhood, has grown more so since 2000 as the population has decreased and become both significantly older and whiter. The community has the lowest proportion of Latino residents in Santa Fe. Overall, Canyon Road is not a community confronted with the challenges of gentrification and displacement; like Downtown, any gentrification has already occurred. Home values continue to appreciate for higher income residents, and there appears to be no risk of continued loss of affordable housing. Rather, a challenge in Canyon Road may be that it is a fairly inaccessible community that others in Santa Fe feel isolated from, and unable to enjoy the benefits of.

Hopewell-Mann is a majority renter-occupied and Latino neighborhood with households earning far less than other neighborhoods. While rents are lower than elsewhere, over one-third of households live in poverty and 60% of households are burdened by housing costs, with renters particularly at risk. One in four residents are under age 18. Rents have remained flat over time; however, there has been a drastic decline in the income of residents and a significant increase in housing cost burden and insecurity.

Proximity to Downtown, a small but growing number of upscale retail amenities, and access to pedestrian and bicycle infrastructure may make Hopewell-Mann susceptible to gentrification, with subsequent risk of displacement for current residents. While Hopewell-Mann has not experienced demographic changes associated with gentrification during the period we looked at, the data indicate that neighborhood residents – specifically, a majority Latino, renter population with high housing cost burden and insecurity – could be susceptible to gentrification and

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displacement, particularly if housing insecurity continues unabated.

Airport Road Corridor is the largest of the four neighborhoods, and most of this area has been only recently annexed into the City of Santa Fe. Large amounts of housing have been built in the area in the past several decades. Airport Road Corridor experienced a significant population increase since 2000 and has the highest proportion of people under the age of 18. A majority Latino neighborhood, two-thirds of homes are owner-occupied. There is also a high proportion of mobile homes - nearly one-third of all houses are mobile homes (almost 80% of which are owner-occupied). Although owner-occupied home values were the lowest of the four neighborhoods in 2013, rents were comparable to Downtown and Canyon Road. Though rents and home values have increased since 2000, the proportion of households experiencing housing cost burden has actually decreased slightly over time. This may reflect low cost mortgages available to homebuyers through Santa Fe's affordable housing programs. Overall, Airport Road Corridor is providing a source of relatively affordable housing - much of which is owner-occupied - for Santa Fe's middle and lower income Latino households, and especially for its many youth. Given these factors, and its greater distance to Downtown, the Airport Road Corridor community has few risk factors for gentrification and displacement, particularly when compared to Hopewell-Mann.

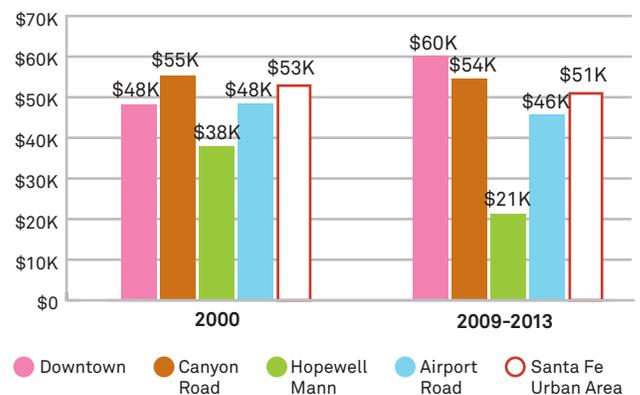
DOWNTOWN

Shops, restaurants, and hotels dominate the Downtown neighborhood located at the heart of Santa Fe. Since early waves of gentrification in 1960s and 1970s, Downtown has not been a neighborhood where many people live. In fact, it lost approximately 31% of its small population from 2000 to 2009-2013, dropping from 556 people to 384 people. The current population is primarily limited to a retirement community, with 66% of residents aged 60 or over. Overall, 70% of Downtown residents are White. In 2009-2013, median household income was about \$60,162, higher than the Santa Fe Urban Area's at \$51,278.

The few Downtown residents walk more and are less car-dependent than the other profiled neighborhoods. In 2009-2013, Downtown households were nearly five times more likely to not own a car (28% of households are carless) and almost eight more times as likely to walk to work (19% of people walk to work) as compared to the Santa Fe Urban Area where only 6% of households are carless and only 2% of people walk to work. Downtown is highly resourced with sidewalks, which supports walking (see Figure 20 and Public Resource Investment section below).

From 2000 to 2009-2013, while the overall population fell, people 60 years old and over grew from 60% to 66% of residents. During the same time, the majority renter-occupied neighborhood had the steepest decline in rent, which dropped by 16% as compared to a 5% increase in the Santa Fe Urban Area. Median house values mimicked this pattern: house values fell by 32% from 2000 to 2009-2013 (Figure 10). Though Downtown experienced the most significant decrease in housing costs of the neighborhoods, it had the greatest increase in median household income from 2000-2013: a 25% increase from \$48,086 to \$60,162 (see Figure 7 and Figure 8). It was, in fact, the only one of our case study neighborhoods that showed an increase in median household income over this time period. Related to this, the percent of housing cost-burdened households - households paying 30% or more of household income on housing costs - decreased from 62% in 2000 to 46% in 2009-2013 as compared to the 65% of households that were cost burdened in the Santa Fe Urban Area in 2009-2013.

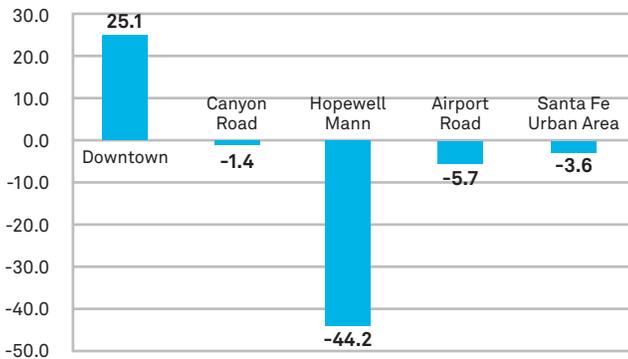
Figure 7: Median Household Income in Santa Fe, 2000 and 2009-2013 (2015 dollars)



Source: U.S. Census; American Community Survey 2009 - 2013

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Figure 8: Percent Change in Median Income in Neighborhoods in Santa Fe from 2000 to 2009-2013



Source: U.S. Census; American Community Survey 2009 - 2013

CANYON ROAD

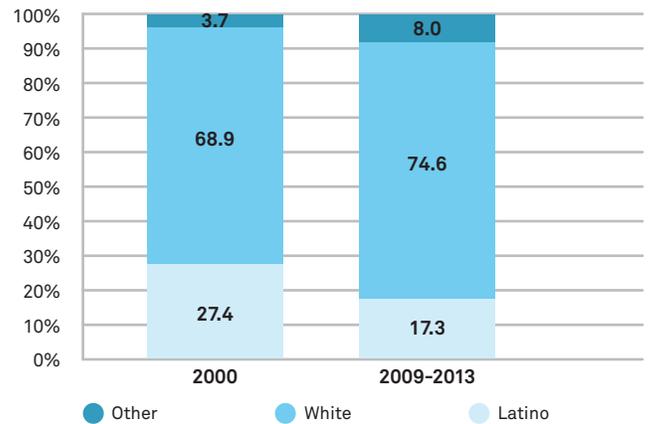
Canyon Road enjoys close proximity to Downtown, which makes it an attractive neighborhood to live in. Based on the number of seasonal vacancies, it is also clearly a destination for tourists and “snowbirds” – 29% of the housing units from 2009-2013 were classified as seasonal vacancies (however residents are only included in the Census if the home is their primary place of residents.) The percent of seasonal vacancies in our comparison neighborhoods is very low, ranging from 0% in parts of the Airport Road Corridor to 2% in Hopewell-Mann.

Median house values (Figure 10) in the Canyon Road neighborhood have consistently been about 2.5 times higher than the Santa Fe Urban Area and have grown significantly since 2000. Median home prices in 2009-2013 were \$667,000 in Canyon Road compared to \$262,000. Median rent, however, is comparable to the Santa Fe Urban Area as a whole (about \$976 in 2000 and \$964 in 2009-2013 in Canyon Road, compared to \$929 in 2000 and \$973 in 2009-2013 in the Urban Area) and median household income is only marginally higher than the Urban Area (Figure 7). This neighborhood also has the lowest percent of households that are housing cost-burdened (34% of households in 2009-2013). From 2000 to 2009-2013, cost-burdened households remained approximately the same (about 34% of households).

Like Downtown, Canyon Road experienced a decline in total population, from 2,574 people in 2000 to 1,939 in 2009-2013. White people also increased from 69% of the population in 2000 to 75% of the population in 2009-2013. In contrast, the Latino population

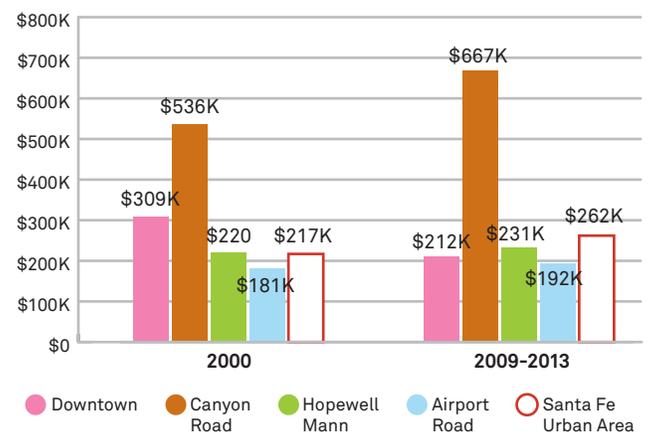
living in Canyon Road fell by 10 percentage points to 17% of the population in 2009-2013 (Figure 9), the lowest proportion of Latino residents in any of the neighborhoods. Canyon Road also saw a major shift towards senior residents; from 2000 to 2009-2013 the percentage of people 60 years of age and older increased from 27% to 56% while the proportion of those under the age of 18 decreased from 12% to 6%.

Figure 9: Change in Race/Ethnicity in Canyon Road, 2000 to 2009 to 2013



Source: U.S. Census 2000; American Community Survey 2009 - 2013

Figure 10: Median House Value in Neighborhoods in Santa Fe, 2000 to 2009-2013 (2015 dollars)



Source: U.S. Census 2000; American Community Survey 2009 - 2013

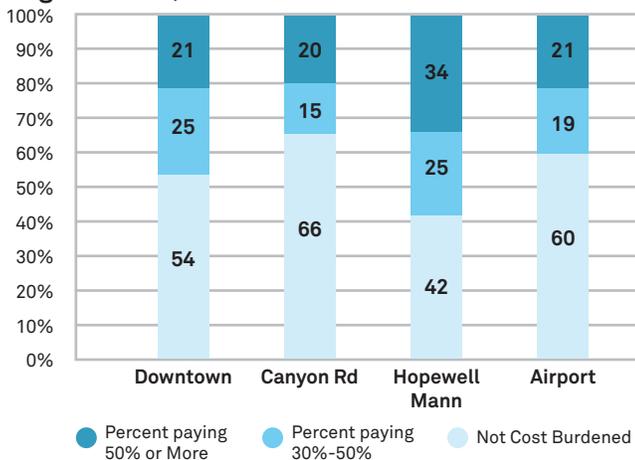
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HOPEWELL-MANN

Hopewell-Mann is a majority renter-occupied and Latino neighborhood with the lowest median household income in the Santa Fe Urban Area in both 2000 (at \$37,900) and 2009-2013 (at \$21,100). These figures reflect a drastic 44% decline over time (Figure 8). Hopewell-Mann had the lowest median rent in 2000 and 2009-2013 (about \$725 and \$724, respectively) and the highest percentage of people living below the poverty line (36% in 2009-2013, up from 32% in 2000 (Figure 12). Additionally, approximately 25% of its population is under 18 years old. The proportion of Latino residents has essentially remained steady, from 70% in 2000 to 72% in 2009-2013.

Being “housing cost-burdened” means paying more than 30% of one’s income on rent or a mortgage, a standard set by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). While less than half of households in Downtown, Canyon Road, and Airport Road Corridor are considered housing cost-burdened (Figure 11), nearly 60% of Hopewell-Mann residents are housing cost-burdened, with renters being particularly at-risk—two-thirds of renters in Hopewell-Mann are cost-burdened. The community also had the largest increase (73% increase) in housing cost burdened households from 2000 to 2009-2013 of the four neighborhoods – the percentage of households paying over 30% of their income towards housing costs grew from 33% to 59%. This strain on the household may be a result of a decline in income rather than an increase in housing costs as there was noted by the 44% decline in income from 2000 to 2009-2013 mentioned above (Figure 7).

Figure 11: Housing Cost-Burdened Households by Neighborhood, 2009-2013



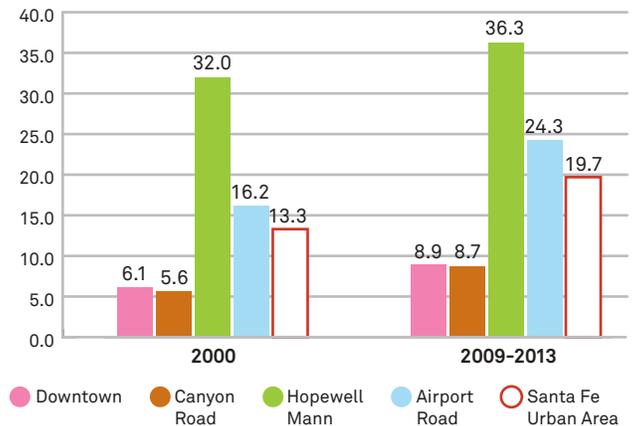
Source: U.S. Census; American Community Survey 2009 – 2013

Hopewell-Mann is relatively close to Downtown and according to data provided by the Santa Fe Metropolitan Planning Organization, has many public resources such as sidewalks and bike lanes (see Public Resource Investment section below for more information). There are pockets of development nearby in the Railyard location: a farmer’s market, coffeehouses, a youth center, and recently some upscale retail developments have been established within the neighborhood itself.

These developments in and near Hopewell-Mann bear mentioning when considering the potential risk for displacement. Proximity to Downtown, upscale amenities, and access to pedestrian and bicycle infrastructure, coupled with low housing costs, may put Hopewell at risk for gentrification. While rents have remained flat over time, there has been a drastic decline in median income of residents of Hopewell-Mann, and a huge increase in housing cost-burden. While Hopewell-Mann has not experienced demographic changes associated with gentrification during the period we looked at, the data – specifically, a majority Latino, renter population with high cost burdens – indicate that residents could be susceptible to displacement.

“I was told that there are plans of remodeling the apartments where I live because usually that means that the people are going to go. And I’m really worried about that; they’re already remodeling in the nearby housing, and there’s a lot of people that live there.”
- Hopewell-Mann resident

Figure 12: Percent of the Population Living Below the Poverty Line in Neighborhoods in Santa Fe



Source: U.S. Census 2000; American Community Survey 2009 – 2013

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AIRPORT ROAD CORRIDOR

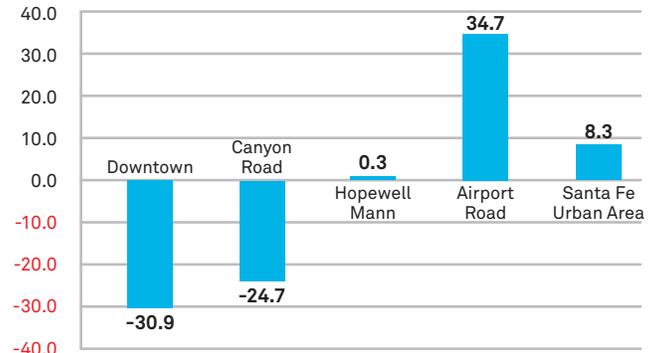
The Airport Road Corridor is by far the largest of the four neighborhoods with a population of about 22,700 in 2009-2013 and has the highest proportion of people under the age of 18 - approximately one-third of its population. Growth in this neighborhood reflects that the City of Santa Fe has responded to the need for lower-cost housing by annexing previously unincorporated portions of the county and focusing the development of housing there. Housing development in this neighborhood includes the master planned Tierra Contenta subdivision, which began construction in the 1990's and includes significant percentages of below market rate housing.

From 2000 to 2009-2013, Airport Road Corridor experienced a huge population gain, approximately a 36% increase or four times the population growth of the urban area as a whole, which was approximately 8% (Figure 13).

“On this side of town...[the] youth are here. They are our future. We have to create services so that they don't leave.”
-Airport Corridor resident

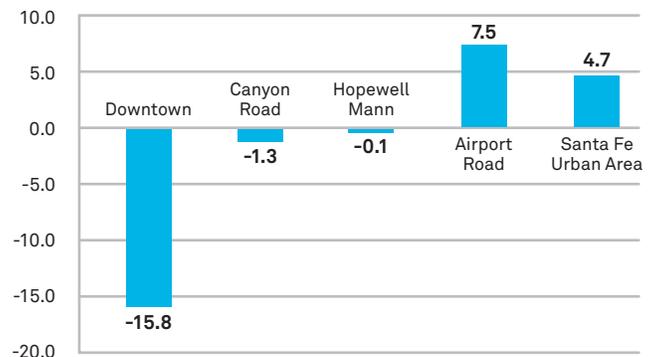
The Airport Road Corridor is a majority Latino neighborhood, and about 64% of homes are owner-occupied and nearly one-third of houses are mobile homes. There is a high proportion of mobile homes – nearly one-third of all houses are mobile homes (almost 80% of which are owner-occupied). Median house values are the lowest in the Airport Road Corridor compared to the other profiled neighborhoods (Figure 8). However, while rent is lower than the Urban Area as a whole, the Airport Road Corridor experienced the highest increase in rent from 2000 to 2009-2013 (a 7.5% increase as compared to the 5% increase in the Urban Area, shown in Figure 14). Still, with comparably low housing costs and rent, the overall number of cost-burdened households decreased from 2000 to 2009-2013 (Figure 11).

Figure 13: Percent Change in Total Population in Neighborhoods in Santa Fe from 2000 to 2009-2013



Source: U.S. Census 2000; American Community Survey 2009 - 2013

Figure 14: Percent Change in Median Rent in Neighborhoods in Santa Fe from 2000 to 2009-2013



Source: U.S. Census; American Community Survey 2009 - 2013

III. PUBLIC RESOURCE INVESTMENT IN SANTA FE NEIGHBORHOODS

In this section, we highlight public resource investment in each of the four neighborhoods and describe how these resources are known to promote health. We begin with affordable housing and follow with a review of green space, sidewalk and bicycle infrastructure, and bus access in the communities. Where possible, we examine municipal investment patterns in each neighborhood. In addition to being important for health, these resources play a direct and indirect role in gentrification and, without proper protections, the risk of displacement for existing communities.

PUBLIC RESOURCE INVESTMENT SUMMARY

Housing: Housing costs in Santa Fe are higher than in Albuquerque and New Mexico as a whole. While rents and home prices declined during the recession, prices are on the rise again. The City of Santa Fe has made some significant efforts to provide affordable rental and ownership housing, both through facilitating privately constructed below-market-rate developments, and through an inclusionary zoning program known as the Santa Fe Homes Program. Affordable rental housing appears to be clustered in Hopewell-Mann and in the Airport Road Corridor. However, there is still insufficient supply of affordable housing to meet the demand, as evidenced by an ongoing out-migration of Santa Feans. As one Santa Fean who moved due to housing costs put it, “[Neighboring county] Rio Arriba is a crime-ridden [area]; the overdose rate is bad. But it’s a little bit cheaper, sometimes you have make that choice.”

Green Space: Certain areas of Santa Fe have many public parks. Notably Downtown has 19.3 acres of park and open space per 1,000 residents, and Canyon Road has 7 acres per 1,000 residents. In contrast, Hopewell-Mann has only 0.3 acres of park or open space per 1,000 residents and the more populated areas of the Airport Road Corridor are also poorly served. The city has also only allocated 19% of recent park and trails funding to the Airport Road Corridor city council district, compared to 28% to the Hopewell-Mann district and 30% in the district where both Downtown and Canyon Road are (the remaining 22% is in District 4, where none of our profiled neighborhoods are). Given the large youth populations in Hopewell-Mann and the Airport Road Corridor, this lack of parks reflects a significant gap. As one resident put it, “I try to find awesome things to do with my children and we always have to drive away from the neighborhood. There are couple parks, but you have to cross big streets.”

Sidewalk and bicycle infrastructure: From the data provided, Downtown, Canyon Road, and Hopewell-Mann appear well-served with sidewalks, while the Airport Road Corridor is lacking in sidewalks. Regional agencies are creating a Pedestrian Master Plan to identify priority projects in all four neighborhoods; however, these

projects are currently unfunded. In the meantime, one Airport Road Corridor resident stated, “I don’t like the fact that there’s few sidewalks. It’s dangerous for my little girl to walk around, to walk to the park or school.” And one Hopewell-Mann resident stated “I notice underdevelopment - I feel like there’s more investment in parks and public spaces on the east side, or even the farmers market, but it’s hard for us to even get sidewalks.”

With respect to bicycle lanes, data show a lower proportion of streets with bike infrastructure in the Airport Road Corridor. Downtown is well-equipped with bike infrastructure, and Canyon Road is moderately well-served. While the data shared by the Metropolitan Planning Organization shows that Hopewell-Mann has a fairly high proportion of bicycling infrastructure, residents of Hopewell-Mann have indicated that many roads do not feel safe for cycling and that in reality there is only one bike lane in all of Hopewell-Mann. Allocation of funding for one \$6 million bond showed that the Airport Road Corridor Council district only received only 12% of bicycle and trail funds, far less than is allocated in each of the other three districts.

Bus access: There seems to be a fairly good network of bus routes on the main travel corridors such as Cerillos, Agua Fria, St. Francis Drive, and Rodeo Road. However, a large proportion of residents have to walk 15 or more minutes from their destination, have a one-hour wait for a bus, and have no access to public transportation in the evenings. Residents express concern with the frequency and the schedule of the buses: “The bus stops running at like 6 o clock. We need later buses. There are tons of new developments going on at the end of Cerillos, new housing projects, but they need something like free buses on Saturdays.” Overall, bus access in the Canyon Road and the Airport Road Corridor is limited. However, because of the greater distance between residents of Airport Road Corridor and jobs and destinations downtown, they are highly car dependent and would benefit from greater transportation options. This is not a concern for Hopewell-Mann, Downtown, or Canyon Road.

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HOUSING

Housing quality, affordability, and location are directly connected to health status and quality of life. When families are burdened by high housing costs, they have less money to spend on other necessities, such as nutritious food, health care, or transportation. High housing costs also make it difficult for families to withstand financial emergencies, including those due to health problems.⁵ This can create a reciprocal relationship between poor health and housing instability, so that episodes of illness or injury make it difficult for families to continue to pay their rent or mortgages.⁵ These detrimental impacts are likely to be greater for individuals and households with lower incomes, who have even less disposable income to spend on necessities or to weather shocks.

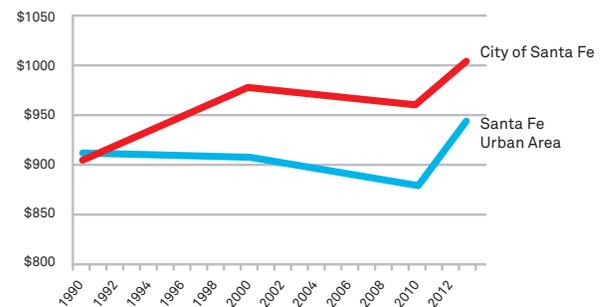
In addition to cutting directly into other necessary expenditures, high housing costs and financial instability can lead to depression and stress. For low-income households, moving to unaffordable housing is associated with poor mental health outcomes.⁵ Housing insecurity, defined by overcrowding or frequent moves, has been found to be associated with poor health and development in young children, and stress and disruption in childhood may lead to chronic disease later in life.⁶ While some families may choose to live in multi-generational households based on preference, involuntary crowding can contribute to stress and depression.⁷ In extreme cases, people may be pushed into homelessness, which is associated with major deterioration of health and exacerbation of chronic illnesses.⁷

When quality housing is not affordable, people are more likely to live in lower quality units. Poorly constructed or poorly maintained housing may allow moisture into homes and permit growth of mold, an allergen and asthma trigger.⁸ Moisture and poor maintenance can also create conditions susceptible to pest infestations.⁸ Unsafe housing can also lead directly to acute injuries such as falls and burns if appliances and fixtures are not safely installed and maintained.⁸

In some cases investments in health promoting resources in a neighborhood can spur gentrification, which often leads to the displacement of lower income residents as those neighborhoods become more desirable and housing costs rise. As housing costs rise in urban centers, low income people and families often find that the only housing affordable to them is located further from their jobs and core resources, leading to more expensive and time-consuming commutes.⁸

Housing Costs in Santa Fe. Santa Fe has long had high housing costs in comparison to New Mexico overall, and to nearby Albuquerque. In 2009–2013, median gross rent, which includes utility costs paid by renters, in the City of Santa Fe was \$935, compared to \$805 in Albuquerque and \$774 in the state of New Mexico. When adjusting for inflation, rental prices in the City of Santa Fe and the Urban Area declined during the 2000's, likely owing to the recession, as shown in Figure 15. However, rents have been climbing in recent years and have now surpassed 2000 levels.

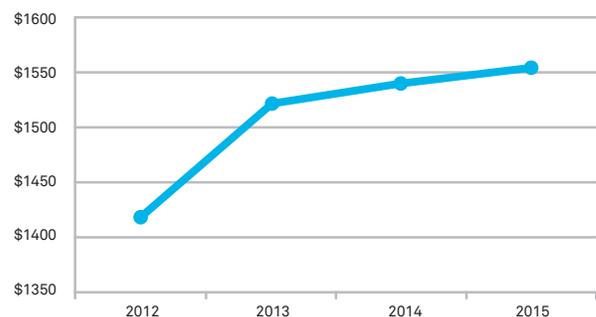
Figure 15: Median Gross Rent in Santa Fe and the Santa Fe Urban Area, 1990 – 2013 (2015 dollars)



Source: U.S. Census 1990, 2000, 2010; American Community Survey 2013. Note: Only exact values from 1990, 2000, 2010 and 2013 are shown, and values for in-between years are interpolated, so fluctuation between those years is not shown

While census data on rents is not available after 2013 and much rental data is proprietary, there is further evidence that rents continue to climb. Real estate data from Zillow, an online real estate database company, shows rents climbing from 2012 to 2015, as seen in Figure 16.

Figure 16: Zillow Rent Index for Santa Fe, 2012-2015 (2015 dollars)



Note: Zillow data is derived from available market-rate apartments posted on their website, and likely represents the high end of the market. These values should not be taken to represent rents overall, but rather a trend of increasing rents. Source: Zillow Real Estate Research

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Affordable Housing in Santa Fe. Santa Fe's Five Year Consolidated Action Plan, 2013 – 2017 describes the proportion of Santa Fe residents making varying levels of income compared to the Area Median Income (Table 1). Area Median Income (AMI) is determined based on county level incomes and established each year by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development as criteria for assistance with housing costs. Over 40% of households in Santa Fe make less than the Area Median Income (\$62,400 for a family of four), and 36% make less than 80% of the AMI. As a result, more than one-third of households would qualify for some level of low-income housing assistance considering the City's threshold for eligibility.

Table 1. Santa Fe Households at Varying Levels of Income, 2011

| % Earning Area Median Income | # of households | % of households |
|---|-----------------|-----------------|
| 0 – 30% | 3,970 | 11% |
| 31-50% | 3,525 | 10% |
| 51-80% | 5,135 | 14% |
| 81-100% | 2,665 | 7% |
| Total number of households in Santa Fe | 36,907 | |
| Households making less than AMI | 15,295 | 41% |
| Households making over AMI | 21,612 | 49% |

Source: Santa Fe Five Year Consolidated Action Plan, using 2011 American Community Survey data

According to Santa Fe's 2013 Housing Needs Assessment Update,¹⁰ the proportion of renters in Santa Fe who earn less than 50% of AMI has increased substantially, from 36% to 54% (Table 2). Yet in 2011 only 10% of rental units were priced at a level affordable to those with very low incomes, with no guarantee that these units would even be available to those needing them the most.

Table 2. Distribution of Rents, Santa Fe, 2011

| Income (% of AMI) | Max Affordable Rent | Distribution of rents | Distribution of renters |
|-------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| 0-30% | \$515 | 10% | 34% |
| 31-50% | \$859 | 31% | 20% |
| 51-60% | \$1,030 | 16% | 7% |
| 61-80% | \$1,374 | 24% | 11% |
| 81-100% | \$1,717 | 9% | 8% |
| More than 100% | \$1,718+ | 10% | 19% |

Source: Modified from City of Santa Fe, Housing Needs Assessment Update, 2013.

The Update concludes, "The biggest mismatch in market supply and demand is for very low income renters." One of every three renters earns less than 30% of the AMI – about \$17,000 for a family of 3 – meaning that any rent greater than \$500/month is unaffordable.

Table 3 below identifies the number of units available to low-income renters across multiple programs and subsidies. Overall, however, the supply of affordable housing is inadequate to meet the demand.

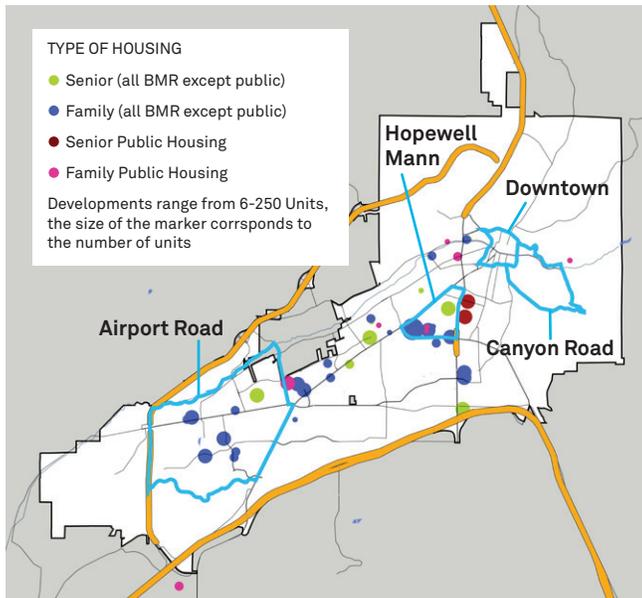
Table 3. Rental Units in Santa Fe as of 2012

| Type of funding | # of units | Notes |
|--|------------|---|
| Low Income Housing Tax Credit for developers: multi-unit buildings constructed | 2,018 | "Affordable" – for 80% of AMI, renters pay no more than 25% of income |
| Section 8 and similar programs | 444 | 228 Section 8 units – nearing contract term 216 units are for elderly or disabled only |
| Public housing | 139 | 2 year waiting list "affordable" to < 50% AMI |
| Housing choice vouchers | 1,441 | 2-3 year waiting list |

Source: City of Santa Fe, Housing Needs Assessment Update, 2013.

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Figure 17: Below Market Rate Rental Housing in Santa Fe



Source: City of Santa Fe Housing and Community Development

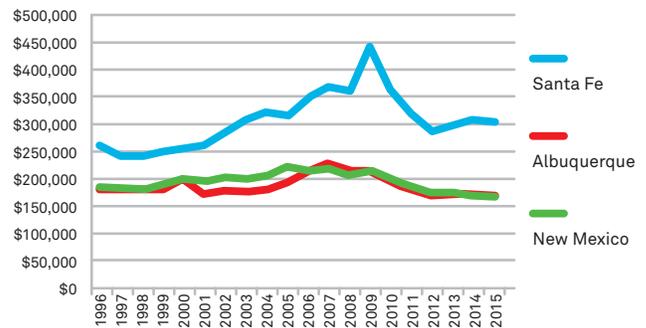
Figure 17 shows the location of affordable rental developments throughout Santa Fe, based on information provided by the City of Santa Fe and supplemented with online research. This includes affordable rental housing developed by non-profits, units that have been developed through Santa Fe Homes Program by private developers, and public housing. In some cases these developments may mix public housing units managed Santa Fe Housing authority with those managed by non-profit developers. Units have been colored according to the dominant type of units. No detailed data on the mix of incomes served by each development was available. Based on the available information, there are clusters of affordable rental housing both in Hopewell-Mann and in Airport Road Corridor and no affordable rental housing in Downtown or in Canyon Road. Affordable rental housing in Airport Road Corridor is part of what has drawn new residents to the area, while in Hopewell-Mann this housing will provide some protections against displacement for households with incomes in the range of 30-80% of AMI. However it is also important to ensure that these neighborhoods have additional health supporting resources, as discussed below.

Zillow also provides values of homes sold. Santa Fe consistently has much higher home values than the state of New Mexico or nearby Albuquerque,

and costs appear to be rebounding after their steep decline during the recession (Figure 18).

The city of Santa Fe has made some significant efforts to provide affordable rental housing, both through facilitating privately constructed below-market-rate developments, and through an inclusionary zoning program known as the Santa Fe Homes Program. This program currently requires 15% of all new rental housing and 20% of all new ownership housing to be affordable to families making between 50% and 80% of the Area Median Income (AMI)¹⁰ with households paying no more than 30% of their incomes towards housing costs¹⁰. Privately developed below market rate housing is generally affordable to a mix of households making between 30% and 80% of AMI. Furthermore, the Tierra Contenta master planned development in the Airport Road Corridor was designed to have at least 40% of homes for sale be affordable to households making less than 80% of AMI.

Figure 18: Zillow Home Value Index for Santa, Fe Albuquerque and State of New Mexico (2015 dollars)



Source: Zillow Real Estate Research

Source: City of Santa Fe Housing and Community Development

The number of building permits issued for housing construction has decreased dramatically in recent years. In 2002, there were 815 building permits issued; in 2011 only 147. The number issued has declined every year, with a dramatic drop between 2008 (560 issued) and 2009 (187 issued).

Since the 1990's the city's inclusionary zoning policy has been responsible for the construction of at least 624 affordable ownership units, and the Tierra Contenta Corporation has built more than 2,000 homes since 1995, 40% of which are affordable¹⁰. According to City of Santa Fe data as of March 2015, 921 below-market rate homes had been sold in Tierra Contenta since 1995, along with 1,078 market

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rate homes.¹¹ Non-profit organizations (Habitat for Humanity, Homewise, Housing Trust) have built 1,038 affordable homes. In total, affordable home construction totals 2,583 units since 1990. Between 2000 and 2011, 1,650 affordable ownership units for sale have been built.¹⁰ A majority of those are owner-occupied.

The City of Santa Fe also provides financial down payment assistance for low-income homebuyers, administered through nonprofit organizations. A variety of technical assistance programs have helped residents navigate home-buying and repair of housing, and a substantial amount of emergency homelessness programs exist.

The story about affordable housing in Santa Fe is a complex one, and cannot be untied from the economy, job availability, and the quality of jobs available. An analysis of wages and the jobs/education mismatch is beyond the scope of this report, but impacts people's ability to afford to live in Santa Fe. A focus group participant commented about the job earnings/housing affordability mismatch.

"People work just to pay rent, they don't have time to do anything else. They work day and night, no time to exercise. Barely making enough money to buy junkie food you buy in streets."

- Santa Fe resident

However, it is clear that the high cost of living, including a lack of affordable housing, has led to an out-migration of residents. A city survey found that only 38% of people who work in Santa Fe live in the city, down from 51% in 2002. When asked why they moved out, 72% said that it was because housing was too expensive.¹⁰ Participants from our focus groups also commented on affordability. In some cases even people with housing public assistance still had affordability issues:

"Rio Arriba is a crime-ridden [area]; the overdose rate is bad. But it's a little bit cheaper; sometimes you have make that choice."

- Former Santa Fean who moved due to housing costs

"Hard to catch up on bills, if you have a car payment and car insurance – it's more bills on top of more bills. Very hard. At one point we lost the Section 8 and had to pay the rent payment. We couldn't do it; we had to leave."

- Santa Clara Pueblo resident (formerly Downtown resident)

"A number of Santa Feans moved to Rio Rancho because of affordability, and they commute every day. Most of my high school class has done this, as well as a number of Santa Fe Police because the city allows them to take their cars home at night. A lot of Santa Feans are taken out of the local economy."

- Lifetime Santa Fe resident

Overcrowding and Housing Quality. While overcrowding can be a concern when housing costs exceed ability to pay, the 2013 Housing Needs Assessment Update found that the proportion of overcrowded units had decreased from 5% of units in 2000 to 3% of units in 2010.

However, the quality of housing that is affordable is a concern. In 2007 and 2012, the city conducted surveys of homeowners and renters in Santa Fe as part of the Housing Needs Assessment processes. In 2007, 15% of renters rated the quality of their homes as either "poor" or "poor to fair". In 2012 the proportion declined only slightly; 13% of renters felt the same. Of homeowners, only 4% felt the same in 2012.¹⁰

On the quality of low-cost housing, a resident of the Airport Road Corridor described their experience of the poor quality of below-market rate housing construction:

"The minimum standards are not met on this side of town. They do a bad job here because the company wants to do a fast job. We needed to fix the bathroom, and went into the wall for the [pipes]. There were no [pipes], just sheet rock, insulation, then the outer wall! So it keeps adding up because they have to keep fixing what should have happened."

- Airport Corridor resident

In sum, the City of Santa Fe has guided the construction of many affordable housing units both for rent and for sale, however the need remains great.

GREEN SPACE

A recent review of the health benefits of green space – parks, trails and open spaces – found that having access to green space may influence health by promoting physical activity and social contact; mitigating stress; and mitigating air pollution, noise, and heat exposure.¹² Access to green spaces improves individual and community health by providing a sanctuary from stress and attention fatigue,

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encouragement of physical activity, fostering social support, and decreasing feelings of loneliness.^{13, 14,} ¹⁵ Parks and green space have been associated with increased outdoor playtime and decreased screen time for children.¹² Despite these protective qualities, there is not equal access to these types of amenities. Studies suggest that some populations, particularly minority communities, have lower levels of green space access.¹² Notably, the term “green space” may not be applicable in a desert community like Santa Fe, where parks may reflect the desert ecosystem rather than being green. Recreation and community centers also positively impact physical activity and mental health. For example, one long-term study of more than 17,000 teenagers found that teens using recreation centers were 75% more likely to engage in the highest category of moderate-to-vigorous physical activity.¹⁶

“Green space” In Santa Fe. The National Recreation and Park Association suggests a benchmark of 10 acres per 1,000 residents as a standard for parkland.¹⁷ Figure 19 illustrates park and public open space in Santa Fe. Certain areas of Santa Fe enjoy abundant public parks, including Downtown, which has 19.3 acres of parks per 1,000 residents, partly because the Downtown census tract has very few residents. Canyon Road has over 7 acres per 1,000 residents. Hopewell-Mann has only 0.3 acres of park space per 1,000 residents and the more populated areas of the Airport Road Corridor are very poorly served as well (Figure 19). One of the Airport Road Corridor census tracts looks from the data to have a large amount of parkland, however this actually reflects a park that has not yet been constructed (the Southwest Activity Node Park) but is in planning stages.

Focus group participants expressed concerns about parks and community centers:

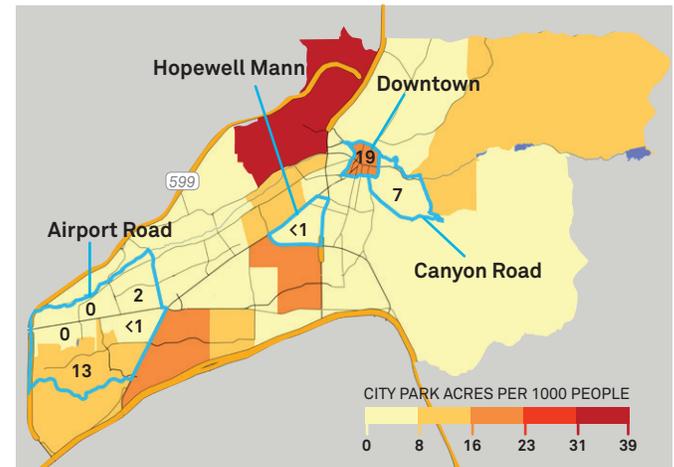
“I try to find awesome things to do with my children and we always have to drive away from the neighborhood. There are couple parks, but you have to cross big streets.”

– Hopewell-Mann resident

“Here there’s one [park] and it is not even here yet. There is Kid’s Park, but that was not meant for us; it wasn’t a public park. But we just invaded it...If you’re playing with your child and someone hits them with a soccer ball, you can’t be mad because it is just so overcrowded because you have nothing.”

– Airport Road Corridor resident

Figure 19: City Parks in Neighborhoods in Santa Fe



Source: City of Santa Fe GIS Division

Presence of parks and open space is only one factor that promotes park usage. Poor maintenance and lack of amenities targeted to community need is also a problem that leads to lack of use:

“There’s no place to go in public spaces to sit. They are just fields of grass. Plus the city doesn’t maintain – you have to go and check for human fecal matter because of the homeless problem.”

– Airport Corridor resident

“If you look at the park in Calle Lorca, it’s been redone but all it was was a basketball court. Now they put grass, but not picnic tables. Parks in other parts of town are nicer – [such as] the one on St. Francis where they have soccer fields and tables. When you see parks that are in the richer neighborhoods, the play equipment is beautiful and there’s lots of it and there are places to sit. But parks near us, it’s unbalanced.”

– Airport Corridor resident

One resident described an incident of social exclusion in the Plaza:

“Recently I was downtown – my children are brown skin, with brown hair and brown eyes – and I was told [by the police] that the plaza is not for them; it’s for tourists.”

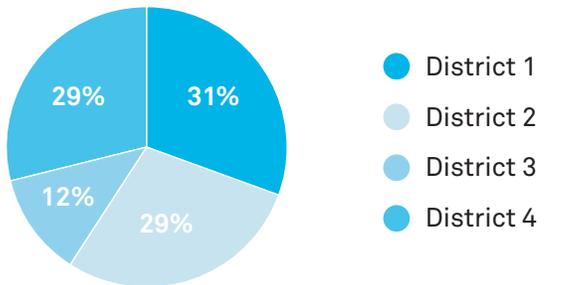
The city describes investment in parks in its 2009 Parks Master Plan.¹⁸ Based on data provided in the Plan, which allocates funding from a \$30 million dollar bond passed in 2008 to upgrade parks and trails, investment in each of the City Council District

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is uneven, with District 3 – where the Airport Road Corridor is located – receiving the lowest proportion of funding (Table 4). For the detailed analysis, please see Appendix D. Of note, voters approved an additional \$14 million in funding for parks and trails, which is allocated in the 2012 Parks Master Plan. However, the 2012 Parks Master Plan is publicly unavailable for analysis at this time.

Table 4. Summary of 2009 Parks Master Plan Funding Allocations by City Council District

| District | Funding Amount |
|----------------------------|----------------|
| 1 (Downtown and Canyon Rd) | \$8,921,167 |
| 2 (Hopewell-Mann) | \$8,537,688 |
| 3 (Airport Road Corridor) | \$5,591,787 |
| 4 (No study areas) | \$6,738,210 |
| Total | \$30,269,000 |



Source: Santa Fe Parks Master Plan, 2009.

Based on our assessment of park acreage per capita in different neighborhoods, park funding allocation, and resident input, Hopewell-Mann and the Airport Road Corridor have unmet needs for more parkland and recreation space. Given the large youth populations in both of these neighborhoods, this lack of parks reflects a significant gap.

SIDEWALKS AND BICYCLE INFRASTRUCTURE

Transportation investments – for example, in transportation infrastructure for walking and biking – can support health. The presence of sidewalks and bicycle infrastructure (e.g., bike lanes, separate paths, or bike boulevards), road connectivity, distance to transit, neighborhood attractiveness, and proximity of local destinations correlates with physical health through increased active transportation and physical activity.^{19, 20, 21} Conversely, lengthy distances to

destinations, poor maintenance of facilities, and real or perceived fear of crime or traffic deter physical activity.²² Additionally, there is mounting evidence that bicycle infrastructure, and bike lanes in particular, are associated with the lowest risk of injury.²³ The presence of sidewalks and bike infrastructure also increases perceptions of safety.^{23,24} Importantly, a comprehensive approach to planning bicycle and pedestrian infrastructure will likely have a greater impact on walking and biking and perceptions of safety and injury than small and uncoordinated projects.²⁵

Sidewalks In Santa Fe. Based on data provided by the Santa Fe Metropolitan Planning Organization (MPO), Downtown, Canyon Road, and Hopewell-Mann are well-equipped with sidewalks while the Airport Road Corridor lacks pedestrian infrastructure (Figure 20). The MPO is currently creating a Pedestrian Master Plan, which would identify priority projects in corridors in all four neighborhoods.

“I don’t like the fact that there’s few sidewalks. It’s dangerous for my little girl to walk around, to walk to the park or school.”
- Airport Corridor resident

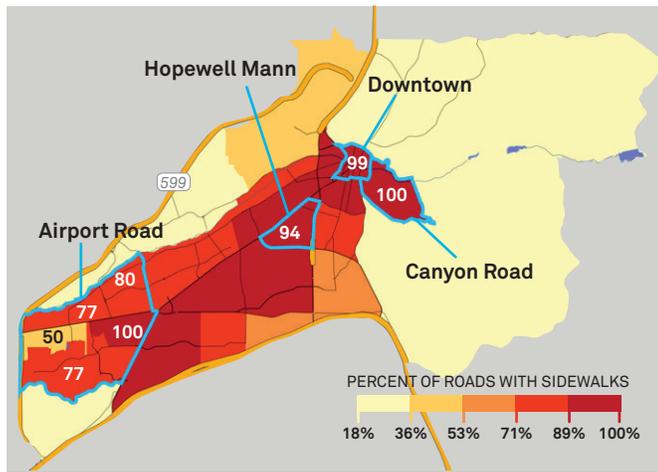
“I notice underdevelopment - I feel like there’s more investment in parks and public spaces on the east side, or even the farmers market, but it’s hard for us to even get sidewalks.”
- Hopewell-Mann resident

Again, these data do not speak to sidewalk maintenance and quality, which may affect pedestrian usage.

Between 2006-2011, there were 160 vehicle-pedestrian crashes in Santa Fe. Thirteen were fatal and 130 resulted in pedestrian injuries; the rest resulted in property damage only. Crashes are concentrated downtown, all along Cerillos, St. Michaels’ Drive, and some along Airport Road.²⁶

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Figure 20: Percent of Roads with Sidewalks in Neighborhoods in Santa Fe



Source: Santa Fe Metropolitan Planning Organization

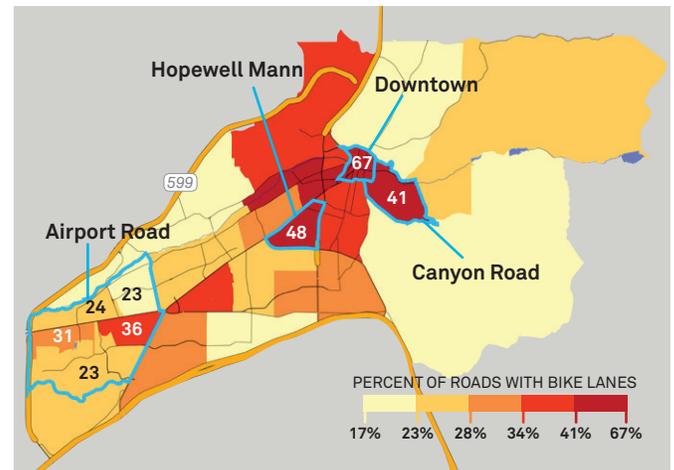
Bicycle Infrastructure in Santa Fe. In Santa Fe, 2.3% of people commute to work by bicycle.²⁶ This is higher than the national average of 0.6%.²⁷ The Santa Fe Metropolitan Planning Organization provided bike lane (marking lanes with painted lines for cyclists) data for Santa Fe, or roads identified by residents as “Share the Road” where bicyclists can share road space with cars (Figure 21). Notably, “Share the Road” designations do not fully indicate the safety or perceived safety of these roads for bicycling; actual bicycle lanes are safer.

As with sidewalks, there is a lower proportion of streets with bike infrastructure in the Airport Road Corridor. Downtown has a high proportion of bike lanes and Share the Road designated routes, and Canyon Road has less bicycling infrastructure than Downtown but more than the Airport Road Corridor. While the data shared by the MPO shows that Hopewell-Mann has a fairly high proportion of bicycling infrastructure, residents of Hopewell-Mann have indicated that many roads do not feel safe for cycling and that in reality there is only one bike lane in all of Hopewell-Mann. The MPO recently created a Bicycle Master Plan, but it is very general and does not prioritize projects geographically.

“If we weren’t so car dependent we would be a lot healthier. For example, [another resident] rides his bike all the time. I’m scared to ride the bike.”
 - Airport Corridor resident

Between 2006-2011, there were 99 vehicle-bicycle crashes. None were fatal, but 71 – nearly three-quarters – resulted in bicyclist injuries. The crashes are concentrated along Cerillos, Siringo, and along the Old Santa Fe trail near Downtown.²⁶

Figure 21: Percent of Roads with Bicycle Lanes or identified as “Share the Road” routes in Santa Fe



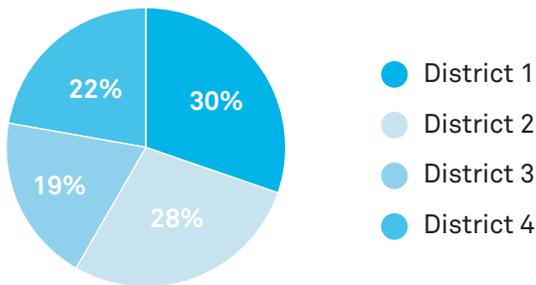
Source: Santa Fe Metropolitan Planning Organization

In 2014, Santa Fe’s Bicycle Trails Advisory Committee, a subcommittee of City Council that advises the council on bicycle and trails issues and infrastructure, approved funding allocations from a \$6 million 2012 General Obligation bond.²⁸ This funding does not constitute all funding for bicycle and trails infrastructure in Santa Fe, but it provides a snapshot of priorities. Again, District 3, where the Airport Road Corridor is located, receives significantly less funding in comparison to the other districts – only 12% (Table 5).

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Table 5. Summary of 2012 General Obligation Bond Funding Allocation by City Council District

| District | Funding Amount |
|----------------------------|----------------|
| 1 (Downtown and Canyon Rd) | \$1,835,360 |
| 2 (Hopewell-Mann) | \$1,717,840 |
| 3 (Airport Road Corridor) | \$725,300 |
| 4 (No study areas) | \$1,721,500 |
| Total | \$6,000,000 |



Source: Santa Fe Bicycle Trails Advisory Committee Meeting, August 20, 2014

BUS ACCESS

For those who do not own a car, public transportation is a lifeline to work, school, grocery stores, recreation, medical care, and family and friends – all of which are essential for individual health and wellbeing. In the United States in 2006, 8% of all households did not own a car, but these numbers are much higher for certain subpopulations. For example, 20% of those living below the poverty level, 16% of elderly households, and 14% of Latino households do not own a car.²⁹ Nationwide, the average income of a transit rider is lower than for the entire US population,³⁰ and Latinos are three times more likely to use public transit than whites.³¹ A spatial mismatch between homes and jobs exists in most American cities, which has been linked to deepened poverty for low-income populations. Lack of access to adequate public transportation impedes securing employment.^{32,33,34}

In Santa Fe, low-income residents and people of color who rely heavily on buses are also populations who also face disproportionate health burdens.³⁵ A study of decreased bus service conducted in California showed that because of a lack of bus service, people experienced stressful commutes, long waits, long hauls, and fear of crime while waiting. They also missed work and wages, experienced social isolation because of skipped social events (especially seniors

and the disabled), and suffered reduced access to medical appointments.³⁶

Bus Access in Santa Fe. In the Metropolitan Planning area, Santa Feans take about 2 million one-way trips annually, 60% of which are on Santa Fe Trails, the city bus system. The MPO notes that this ridership is far beyond like-sized peer cities around the country.³⁵

According to MPO data, there seems to be a fairly good network of bus routes on the main travel corridors such as Cerrillos, Agua Fria, St. Francis Drive, and Rodeo Road, however the connections between main routes are less frequent (Figure 22). In fact, travel times for Santa Fe Trails bus riders once they get off the bus to get to their destination is more than 15 minutes for one-third of riders. Of the ten bus lines serving the city of Santa Fe, four of them operate until 10 pm on the weekdays while others run between 6:30 pm and 9:30 pm. Five bus lines start between 5:45 am – 6:30, but five start at around 7 am or after. Eight run on Saturdays and six run on Sundays. Buses do not run at all on six major holidays of the year.

While one bus has 15-minute headways during the week (frequency between buses) and three have half-hour headways, the rest have at least a one-hour wait between buses. On the weekends, all but one has at least a one-hour headway.

The experiences of focus group participants corroborate that frequency and the schedule of the buses are troublesome:

“With transportation we have a bus per street. In CA, they have a bus stop but there are 5 buses that stop in that bus stop and go to different directions. More routes, why can’t we have more routes here instead of having to walk all the way to Airport to get one route?”
- Airport Corridor resident

“The bus stops running at like 6 o’clock. We need later buses. There are tons of new developments going on at the end of Cerrillos, new housing projects, but they need something like free buses on Saturdays.”
- Airport Corridor resident

“There’s not even enough transportation in the city to be without a car. There’s no transportation, but then you have to own a car and that adds to your bills.”
-Airport Corridor resident

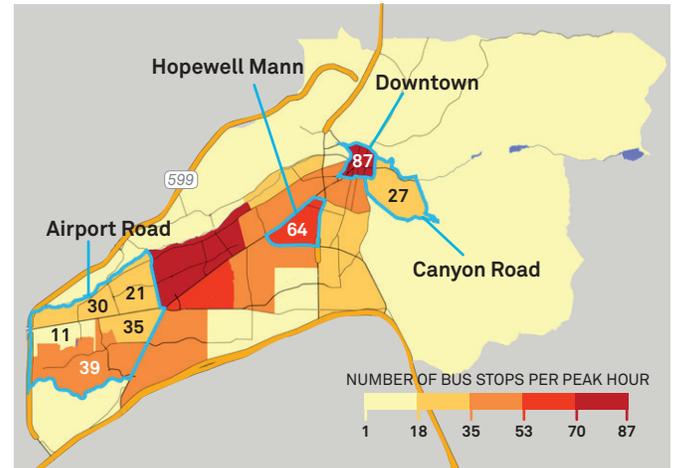
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However, in a 2015 Public Transit Master Plan survey, satisfaction with the bus service was fairly high. Looking in more detail at survey findings, the categories that were rated lower included hours of service (rated 6.8 out of 10), frequency of service (7.1). Driver courtesy (8.8), availability of information (8.6) and cleanliness of the buses (8.3) were rated highly. The MPO notes that frequency and hours of operation were a main concern that ran throughout all of their public outreach on the Public Transit Master Plan.

One of the “key themes” that the Public Transit Master Plan found was that future growth areas are to the south and southwest of the city, and that much of the growth is for moderate- and low-income families in need of transit service. The Master Plan states that these growth areas “will be a challenge to serve.” The Plan also designates portions of the Airport Road Corridor, Hopewell-Mann, and a portion of Agua Fria (not one of the neighborhoods of study in this report) as environmental justice and high transit-dependence areas. Both types of populations need good transit service.

In Canyon Road and Airport Road Corridor, bus access is somewhat sparse (Figure 22). Hopewell-Mann has an adequate number of bus lines running through the neighborhood, and most buses originate or terminate Downtown. Many jobs and other destinations are Downtown, which means that residents of Airport Road Corridor have to travel further than Canyon Road residents to get Downtown. Residents in the Airport Road Corridor are highly car-dependent, even more so than in Canyon Road (4.2% and 7.5% of households are carless, respectively).³⁷ Given these factors, Airport Road Corridor residents would benefit from greater transportation options.

Figure 22: Bus Stops per Peak Hour in Neighborhoods in Santa Fe



Source: City of Santa Fe GIS Division

KEY TAKE-AWAYS

This assessment was conducted to shed light on various indicators of gentrification and displacement in four neighborhoods of Santa Fe. Available Santa Fe data shows that there are inequities among the profiled neighborhoods. Residents of these four neighborhoods experience vastly different conditions with respect to demographic make-up and change, housing cost and value, and the community resources available to residents. These lived experiences and community characteristics demonstrate that the risks of gentrification and displacement are playing out unevenly – and inequitably – across Santa Fe communities.

Gentrification and displacement are not challenges confronted by the neighborhoods of Downtown and Canyon Road, primarily because these communities are already developed with few risk factors for such change. This has not always been the case, as Downtown in particular, witnessed demographic and economic changes in the 1960s and 1970s in ways that changed the make-up of the community to look more like it does today – in other words, its gentrification and resultant displacement occurred in decades past. Today, residents of these communities have higher incomes, reflect an aging population, are more White and less Latino, and enjoy public services and amenities such as parks and trails, bus access, and pedestrian infrastructure. While both communities have lost population over time, in Canyon Road, that loss since the 2000s is not necessarily due to gentrification. These communities do not appear to have above average levels of vulnerable populations who may be susceptible to displacement. Indeed, in Canyon Road, home values continue to appreciate for the higher income residents who live there. There is a low risk for losing affordable housing Downtown or in Canyon Road, partly because so little currently exists; the loss occurred decades ago. Perhaps the challenge for Canyon Road is that it is a fairly inaccessible community that others in Santa Fe feel isolated from, and unable to enjoy the benefits of.

In contrast, though the community of Hopewell-Mann does not currently exhibit the demographic changes associated with gentrification, the community does have various risk factors that may lead to displacement should such gentrification occur. Hopewell-Mann's proximity to Downtown and growing provision

of public resources – such as bus access and pedestrian/bike infrastructure – make it a potentially attractive location for higher income individuals to relocate. Meanwhile, a large renter population, plummeting income levels, and high housing cost burden make the primarily lower-income and Latino residents (and the large youth population) susceptible to the negative consequences of gentrification – specifically, an inability to withstand future increases in housing costs and the attendant risk of being displaced should housing insecurity continue unabated.

Finally, the Airport Road Corridor community has fewer risk factors for gentrification and displacement when compared to Hopewell-Mann. The neighborhood has a source of relatively affordable housing, much of which is owner-occupied and provides a buffer for many of Santa Fe's middle and lower income Latino households, and for the many youth who live there. However, the area is far removed from central Santa Fe and lacks many key resource investments – such as bike and pedestrian infrastructure, parks and recreational facilities, bus access, and healthy food – that could support the health and wellbeing of community residents. Based on our limited analysis, there also appears to be less planned investment for parks and bicycle infrastructure in the future. Ironically, it is this lack of resources that may prevent newer, higher income residents to be drawn to the area, and which may serve as a kind of protection against gentrification and displacement risk.

Taken together, the data suggest uneven experiences across the City of Santa Fe, where increasing housing costs and falling incomes may create a risk of displacement for some residents, particularly those who are Latino and lower-income and living in communities like Hopewell-Mann. And while residents of Airport Road Corridor may not be exposed to this risk in the same way, this protection may come at the cost of having fewer public resources in their community. In contrast, the residents of more affluent communities such as Downtown and Canyon Road appear largely immune to these risks, experiencing the benefits of public resource investment that low-income, majority Latino neighborhoods do not enjoy to the same degree.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Evidence from elsewhere tells us that land use, transportation, and housing policy are partially responsible for gentrification and displacement. The City of Santa Fe has successfully provided housing support for some low-income residents – specifically, those who can afford to buy subsidized housing – to prevent against displacement. This effort notwithstanding, many continue to feel priced out of the Santa Fe housing market and are experiencing both housing insecurity and a lack of public resource investment in their communities.

Based on the fact that Santa Fe residents are living different experiences across neighborhoods of the city – and many of whom are in precarious living and economic conditions with little room to withstand even small housing cost and income changes – we make a series of recommendations for the city to consider more equitable investment of resources and how to track those investments over time to further support Santa Feans, many of whom want to stay in the communities they call home.

Factors well outside of the scope of local policymakers influence the dynamics discussed in this report; however, there are many ways in which local policymakers can have significant positive impacts on conditions in these communities. These recommendations can serve as critical steps to steer Santa Fe towards development that is rooted in stability, displacement prevention, and health promotion.

EQUITABLE DEVELOPMENT

Policymakers in Santa Fe should commit to a shared vision and code of ethics for equitable city investment. From that shared vision, they should create policies that ensure all neighborhoods receive more equitable resource allocation for infrastructure, services and amenities, particularly in communities with high concentrations of people of color. Legislation should be enacted to require that equity is considered before allocating the city's resources in an effort to guard against impacts that disproportionately put people of color at risk for poor health. Egalitarian infrastructure investment can ensure equity for future generations.

“They need to think more about the people who live here and not just the tourists. What about us who are low income, we want a future and we are not getting the opportunity.”

- Santa Fe resident

Specifically, the following policies should be considered:

1) A Committed Code of Ethics – the Resident's Bill of Rights

City planning policies made today will have lasting effects and continue to impact residents for generations. Therefore, it is critical to have a framework for policymakers to craft policy in a way that is consistent over time and across administrations. A set of principles that guide policymakers, maintain the integrity of city planning and hold elected officials accountable should be established. The Santa Fe City Council has recently passed a Resident's Bill of Rights resolution, which can serve as a foundation for this. The resolution identifies five pillars that are indispensable to ensure equity in public infrastructure investment and land use planning: 1) affordability; 2) quality, sustainability, and health; 3) accessibility, fairness, and equity; 4) stability and protection from displacement; and 5) community control. Policymakers should commit to honor these pillars and use them as a framework for future legislation.

2) Racial Equity and Health Assessments

A systematic examination of how different racial and ethnic groups will likely be affected by a proposed city action or decision should be instituted. Such assessments should be conducted during the decision-making process, prior to enacting new proposals to inform decisions, much like environmental impact statements or fiscal impact reports. Such assessment should be done by municipalities with deep, compensated collaboration and participation of community representatives. Enacting a policy of conducting racial equity and health assessments will help reduce, eliminate, and prevent the persistence of racial disparities and divisions in Santa Fe, and improve health for the most vulnerable populations.

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3) Community-Wide Affirmative Action

Governing bodies should enact legislation requiring prioritization of the needs of communities of color for ongoing infrastructure, maintenance, service provision, and new infrastructure. The legislation should lay out that advisory boards and/or resident councils should oversee resource allocation and ensure that current residents have a meaningful voice in how their neighborhoods develop. Legislation should include remedies and penalties for government bodies that fail to allocate resources equitably, regardless of intent. Such a policy would ensure that the Racial Equity and Health Assessments listed above have meaningful outcomes, and lay out guidance for resident involvement in co-assessing needs with community groups.

4) Monitoring Change Over Time

In order to achieve positive change in development planning and programs that address the concerns raised in this report, it is important to identify several indicators for monitoring over time. Below are four priority indicators to track and publicly report over time to ensure that equitable development is happening in Santa Fe. We recommend a collaborative resident-municipal partnership be created to develop a joint monitoring plan that includes indicators representing resident priorities.

Indicator 1: Amount of city, regional, and state funding for different infrastructure projects and programs devoted to each neighborhood. Specific examples include:

- Active transportation and transit infrastructure
- Automobile, pedestrian and bicycle infrastructure
- Parks, open space, and community center access
- Affordability of housing units built and assistance given

All infrastructure to be monitored should be decided by the resident-municipal partnership. This data should be collected annually by the MPO, the Planning Division, and Economic Development, and overseen by the resident-municipal partnership. Staff from one agency should publish an annual report documenting how different infrastructure dollars are spent.

Indicator 2: Participation by residents in planning and economic development decisions. This can include resident involvement on individual projects,

on citywide task forces, on budgeting committees, and other processes. The MPO, Planning Division, and Economic Development should collect this data annually, and agency staff should be identified to write a report once every two years documenting how resident voices were included in decisions.

Indicator 3: Use of infrastructure, such as trail counts, park and recreations center counts, bus ridership, and the like. The data should be collected annually by the Parks and Recreation Department, the transit system, and the MPO, as per the expertise of the municipality, and reported out in a public document once every five years.

Indicator 4: Actual infrastructure built in different neighborhoods of Santa Fe, such as:

- Bike lanes constructed
- Changes in bus routes and service
- Park acreage by neighborhood
- Affordable housing units for sale and rent built

Data should be collected annually by the MPO, the Planning Division, and Economic Development and overseen by the resident-municipal partnership. Staff should be identified to write and publish a report every other year documenting what infrastructure and resources have been added to the community and where.

PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

Santa Fe residents in our focus groups felt alienated from the planning decisions being made for their neighborhoods. One person stated, “I was the person writing stickies for the pedestrian master planning map for the Airport Corridor. Not many people from the Airport Corridor showed up; I don’t think the word got out to them. So they concluded that the Airport Corridor needed just a few sidewalks.” One very involved person gave an example: “[The city] brought these people from [outside of Santa Fe] to do this audit and they didn’t listen to what the community said. I was talking on behalf of [the community] ... The city listened to me but they never ... got back to me. They got a copy of my thing that I talked off of and it has my name and number. And they haven’t got back to me.” These feelings notwithstanding, residents and others noted that the community still wanted to be engaged in decisions. One focus group participant said, “We need to have better communication so people from the

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

city hear from people in the neighborhoods. Folks in my neighborhood have good ideas.”

Given this context, many of the aforementioned recommendations focus on the need for improved public participation in development and land use decision-making. Residents can be effective, empowered,^{38 39} and help contribute to changes in their neighborhoods that are good for health, such as bringing in additional community resources.⁴⁰ A lack of public participation in planning decisions can result in changes that people do not want or are outright harmful.⁴¹ Long-term needs in a neighborhood can go unnoticed and unmet, and a lack of thorough and meaningful engagement can leave people bitter and cynical about city processes and the city itself. By adopting these recommendations for improved public participation in planning processes, we believe the city can go a long way towards repairing the cynicism and mistrust that many residents feel. Doing so will support city goals as well, as more authentic engagement of impacted populations in decision-making leads to greater acceptance by the public of decision outcomes.⁴⁰

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APPENDIX A: FOCUS GROUP GUIDE

| | |
|---------------------------------|---|
| Population | 1. Hopewell-Mann residents 2. Airport Corridor residents |
| Target # of participants | No less than 6 and no more than 10 |
| Length of focus group | 2 hours |

SANTA FE EQUITABLE DEVELOPMENT AND HEALTH FOCUS GROUP GUIDE

Date: Saturday, April 25, 2015

Time: 11 – 1: 1515 5th Ave, Santa Fe (Chainbreaker office); 3 - 5: Airport Corridor (private home in Tierra Contenta)

Facilitators: Kim Gilhuly (HIP) and SonyaMaria Martinez (Chainbreaker)

Note taker: Logan Harris

Interpreter: Gabriel de Pablo

Chainbreaker Contact:

- Chainbreaker Collective: Tomás Rivera, 505-310-0609
- Human Impact Partners: Kim Gilhuly, 510-684-1275

Set up: sign-in sheet, nametags (they can make up a name for the day), info sheet on project, chairs in a circle, food/beverages, audio recorder (HIP will bring this)

Introduction:

- Thank you for agreeing to participate in this focus group!
- Facilitators introduce themselves and their organizations. (Tomás, Maria, HIP)

Background on the project: see handout

Our Goals:

- We hope to gather information on how current housing development practices and investments in different communities in Santa Fe might impact your health, and the health of your family and the community.
- The goal is to use this information to inform city decision-makers about equitable investment and the Residents' Bill of Rights

You are here because

- Your stories about cost of housing and its impacts on where you live are important to us.
- We want to make sure we include your perspective in our report.

Before we start, here are some guidelines for our discussion:

Anonymity

- Participation is voluntary – you can choose not to participate or leave at any time
- Discussion is anonymous. We may include comments and quotes from today but will never write your name down. We will not keep participants' names or addresses with the answers to the questions.
- You can use a name you make up for today, instead of your real name, if it's more comfortable.
- Your opinions and feedback during this discussion will be combined with other information from our study.

Time

- We have scheduled 2 hours total for this group.

Introducing people's roles:

- My role and the role of the co-facilitator is to guide the discussion.
- Your role is to answer the questions and tell us

APPENDIX A: FOCUS GROUP GUIDE

about your experiences

- [Note taker] will be taking notes to jot down what you have said.
- Staff from Human Impact Partners will write the report and compile the research.
- If you are interested in the report, please indicate that and Tomás and SonyaMaria will make sure a copy gets to you!

Consent for audio recording:

- In addition to taking notes, we would also like to record the conversation, to make sure we correctly capture what was said, if that's ok with folks. This will help us make sure our notes are correct, and also help us get quotes word-for-word. The recording will not be shared with anybody outside this room.
- Is everyone OK with being recorded? Is everyone ok with us using the comments you make today – but not your names – in a final report or other materials?

Ground rules for the discussion:

- Speak one at a time.
- Give everyone a chance to speak. If you find yourself speaking a lot, then please give others a turn to speak.
- There are no right or wrong answers. We all have different points of view. Feel free to react – agree or disagree – with what others say, just make sure you do so in a respectful way.
- To respect each other's confidentiality we ask that no one here repeats who was at this meeting or what certain people said.
- Sometimes I might have to move everyone onto another question so we can get through it – or to give everyone a chance to speak. Please don't take it personally!
- So, as a group, can we all agree on these guidelines? (wait for group to say yes)

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

Introduction/Icebreaker (5-7 minutes)

Let's go around and get to know one another. Please think of 2 things that you want people to know about you—it can be anything! For example, two things that describe me are sister and runner.

START AUDIO RECORDING HERE IF CONSENTED

1. Tell us about your experience living in Santa Fe, specifically with regard to your housing and affordability of housing in Santa Fe?
2. How long have you lived in your house? In your community? How long has your family lived here?
 - If you moved recently, how long had you lived in your former neighborhood? Why did you move?
3. Have you or anyone else you know had to move because of high housing costs? If so, where did you or they move from and to? Why those areas?
4. What types of amenities do you use in your neighborhood (things like grocery stores, banks, clothing stores, restaurants, hardware stores, etc)? What do you wish you had in your neighborhood? If there are things that you don't have, how far do you have to drive or take the bus to get to them?
5. What is your opinion about the city services, like public transit and other city services, in your neighborhood? Are they adequate? If not, what more do you need?
6. Has anyone here been involved in the community outreach that the City of Santa Fe does for housing development? Ok, consider this Ladder of Community Participation (facilitator hands out copies, explains it, explains all the rungs). In the community outreach process you were involved in, how would you say the City involved you?
7. Is there anything particularly about this neighborhood that you like or dislike? Have there been any particularly positive or negative changes in this neighborhood? Please name a positive experience and a negative experience you have had in the last year in your neighborhood. Do you feel like you, your neighbors or your neighborhood have been fairly treated while living in your neighborhood?

APPENDIX A: FOCUS GROUP GUIDE

8. Is there anything that we haven't asked that you would like to comment on? Like any general comments about gentrification? About displacement? About the impact of anything that we've discussed on your family's and your health?

Wrap-up Logistics

- Hand out information sheet with contact information
- Distribute sign-up sheet for receiving a copy of the executive summary/report (expected to be completed sometime in August/September).
- Check that we have: sign-in sheets, sign-up sheets for final report, audio recorders, any other materials used

APPENDIX B: TECHNICAL NOTES ON METHODOLOGY

Maps were created with QGIS mapping software. For each map, relevant data was divided into five categories and maps were shaded by “equal intervals,” which means that each category contains an equal range of values.

In order to select the census tracts that make up the Santa Fe Urban Area, we used QGIS to select the census tracts that had their centroid completely within the Urban Area boundaries provided by the City of Santa Fe GIS Division. However, there were four large census tracts that fell partially in the Urban Area. To determine whether or not most of those census tracts’ population lived within the Urban Area, we used 2010 population data by census block. We selected by location the blocks that fell within the Urban Area in these respective census tracts. We included any census tract that had more than 80% of its population within the Urban Area. Through this method, we included two additional census tracts in which 81% and 98% of the population of the census tract lived within the Urban Area. We compared our results to a City presentation and found that our census tract definition of the Urban Area aligned with their presentation.

When providing data on the Airport Road Corridor, which consists of multiple census tracts, and the Santa Fe Urban Area, data was combined from all relevant census tracts. Where data for each tract came as a median (for example median gross rent) we used an average median, and where noted weighted the values for each tract according to population or housing units.

APPENDIX C: LIMITATIONS

There are limitations associated with using the American Community Survey (ACS), which is based on a survey sample, and thus provides estimated values rather than exact values. In some cases the differences between different census tracts may be due to sampling error rather than a reflection of true differences. In order to minimize this error, we used the five-year 2009-2013 ACS samples, which means that the data is not as current as for one year samples.

There are further limitations associated with comparing Census data from 2000 and 2009-2013 due to changing census tract boundaries. While we used the Longitudinal Tract Database, which normalizes 2000 data to current census tracts, this data includes various assumptions about population distribution within tracts. For our focus neighborhoods, this was primarily an issue in the Airport Road Corridor, which was just two census tracts in 2000, and split into many for the 2010 census due to significant population growth. Thus there may be some inaccuracies for individual tracts within the Airport Road Corridor.

When combining data reported as medians for multiple tracts (such as rent or income), either for Airport Road Corridor or for the Santa Fe Urban Area, we used an average median, and a weighted average median where noted. Averaged medians from multiple tracts may distort the data to some extent.

At times our analysis did not fully agree with data provided by the city. For example, a prior city analysis did not adjust changing rental costs for inflation, while our report does, leading to a different assessment of changes in rental costs. Other data from the city may not have been fully up to date or representative of current conditions on the ground. For example our mapping of affordable housing developments included “at least” the number of current units, but may not have been complete. The parks data we received included some parks that had been planned but not yet constructed.

It was also challenging to reconcile investment data with our analysis based on neighborhoods. Tracking investment by Council District was not simple based on the way project information was reported in various city planning documents. When using data from published City reports, even if they used Census

data, the reports did not rely of the exact same data set. Occasionally the City had access to proprietary data, such as rental rates, that we did not have access to. In these cases, the data we present may not be in complete agreement but tends to be very close.

We focused on the change in Latino and White populations, and did not assess change in African American, Native American, Asian/Pacific Islander, or other populations. For all other populations, census data shows that each different population totals 2% or less of the population. While it would be ideal to look at changes in each, it was beyond the scope of this report.

Finally and more broadly, in conducting this assessment, it became clear that access to affordable housing and better investment in communities does not entirely explain why displacement occurs. Income inequality and a dearth of jobs that pay self-sufficiency wages (despite the Living Wage Ordinance) and that match education levels of residents are issues that community members contend with – but that were beyond the scope of this analysis to consider.

APPENDIX D: DETAILED 2009 PARKS MASTER PLAN FUNDING ALLOCATION

| District parks | \$ | % of total allocated | |
|---|--------------------|----------------------|------------|
| District 1 | | | |
| Any parks completely in District 1 | \$2,218,579 | | |
| SF River Parkway (categorized as regional) | \$2,297,500 | | |
| St. Francis/Cerrillos Ped Overpass (1 & 2)(BTAC*) Total funding: \$1,740,000 42% of this (rest from BTAC): \$730,800 Half to District 1: \$365,400 | \$ 365,400 | | |
| River Trail – Camino Alire to Frenchy’s Field (1 & 3) (BTAC *) Total \$3,232,000 42% of BTAC (rest from BTAC): \$1,357,440 Half to District 1: \$678,720 | \$678,720 | | |
| River Trail (all 4 districts)(BTAC*) Total \$3,768,000 42% of this (rest from BTAC): \$1,582,560 Divided by 4: \$395,640 | \$395,640 | | |
| Northwest Quadrant Open Space/Trails Request | \$2,965,328 | | |
| Subtotal for District 1 parks | \$8,921,167 | | 29% |
| District 2 | | | |
| Any parks completely in District 2 | \$2,117,375 | | |
| Franklin E. Miles (categorized as regional) | \$2,151,273 | | |
| Arroyo Chamiso East – St. Francis | \$3,508,000 | | |
| St. Francis/Cerrillos Ped Overpass (1 & 2)(BTAC*) Total funding: \$1,740,000 42% of this (rest from BTAC): \$730,800 Half to District 2: \$365,400 | \$ 365,400 | | |
| River Trail (all 4 districts)(BTAC*) Total \$3,768,000 42% of this (rest from BTAC): \$1,582,560 Divided by 4: \$395,640 | \$395,640 | | |
| Subtotal for District 2 parks | \$8,537,688 | | 28% |

APPENDIX D: DETAILED 2009 PARKS MASTER PLAN FUNDING ALLOCATION

| District 3 | | |
|---|---------------------|--|
| Any parks completely in District 3 | \$2,038,675 | |
| Municipal Recreation Complex (categorized as regional) | \$1,150,000 | |
| Salvador Perez (classified as regional) | \$325,687 | |
| Acequia Trail (BTAC*) Total: \$2,388,250 42% of this cost (rest paid for by BTAC): \$1,003,065 | \$1,003,065 | |
| River Trail – Camino Alire to Frenchy’s Field (1 & 3) (BTAC *) Total \$3,232,000 42% of BTAC (rest from BTAC): \$1,357,440 Half to District 3: \$678,720 | \$678,720 | |
| River Trail (all 4 districts)(BTAC*) Total \$3,768,000 42% of this (rest from BTAC): \$1,582,560 Divided by 4: \$395,640 | \$395,640 | |
| Subtotal District 3 | \$5,591,787 | |
| District 4 | | |
| Any parks completely in District 4 | \$2,601,325 | |
| Genoveva Chavez Community Center (categorized as regional) | \$921,250 | |
| Ragle (categorized as regional) | \$2,305,762 | |
| Arroyo Chamiso West – Rodeo to Nava Ade (BTAC*) Total: \$1,224,365 42% of total (rest paid out of BTAC): \$514,233 | \$514,233 | |
| River Trail (all 4 districts)(BTAC*) Total \$3,768,000 42% of this (rest from BTAC): \$1,582,560 Divided by 4: \$395,640 | \$395,640 | |
| Subtotal District 4 | \$6,738,210 | |
| Total allocated | \$30,269,000 | |

Human Impact Partners is a national non-profit working to transform the policies and places people need to live healthy lives by increasing the consideration of health and equity in decision-making. Through research, advocacy, and capacity-building, we bring the power of public health science to campaigns and movements for a just society.

For more information, contact Kim Gilhuly at Human Impact Partners, 510-452-9442 ext 114 or visit www.humanimpact.org.