

**Governing Collaborative Planning Initiatives for Equitable Transit-oriented
Development: A Case Study of the Purple Line Corridor Coalition in Maryland**

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Statement of authenticity of material

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any institution and to the best of my knowledge and belief, the research contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text of the thesis.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Eyal Li', written in a cursive style.

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Berlin, January 24th, 2023

Abstract

In the United States, a growing number of planners and elected officials are promoting transit-oriented development (TOD) in suburban neighborhoods as a strategy to increase access to economic opportunity while reducing car-dependency and the negative social and environmental impacts of urban sprawl. In transit-adjacent neighborhoods with higher proportions of low-income households, TOD planning initiatives often lead to concerns about rising housing costs, gentrification, and displacement of lower-income residents. In several metropolitan areas where new light rail lines are being built, community organizations, public authorities, and other institutional stakeholders have joined together to plan and advocate for socioeconomically- and racially-inclusive growth around the rail line. As of yet, scholars have paid little attention to the organizational structures of such collaborative planning initiatives and how such structures can impact process and outcomes.

This exploratory case study investigates the structure and achievements of one such collaborative advocating for equitable TOD around the Purple Line light rail under construction in suburban Maryland: the Purple Line Corridor Coalition (PLCC). The PLCC convenes institutional stakeholders including NGOs and affordable housing developers with elected officials and public authorities to discuss issues of concern, and develop goals and strategies to influence the course of neighborhood change along the light rail. Using Ostrom's Institutional Analysis and Development framework, I have analyzed the strengths and weaknesses of the PLCC's model for advancing housing affordability in neighborhoods along the Purple Line corridor. This study is based on archival research and interviews with fourteen PLCC members and local stakeholders.

The analysis finds that the PLCC's organizational structure enables a flexible approach to prevent displacement and promote inclusive housing development, centered around stakeholder engagement and information-sharing. The coalition's collaborative planning process aligns stakeholders and showcases broad buy-in to its goals and strategies, helping to build political will to address the Purple Line's expected impacts on housing affordability for nearby residents. Throughout the delayed construction of the light rail, the PLCC has so far successfully pushed local authorities to adopt specific housing affordability regulations, and helped secure public and private investments in affordable housing in the corridor. This analysis suggests that the coalition has maintained political momentum on promoting housing affordability around the Purple Line in the face of private development interests and countless other constituencies and lobbyist groups. Moreover, this inquiry finds that the PLCC's NGO-led planning efforts reflect a more inclusive and relatable planning process than those of the siloed housing and planning agencies in the two local jurisdictions.

Yet, this study shows that the PLCC's consensus-based decision-making process may, without consideration of the power imbalances inherent to the diverse leadership committee, restrict the scope of policy discussions and limit possible outcomes. This research also identifies some of the challenges facing the coalition to increase collaboration with residents of, and organizations based in, ethnic minority and low-income communities. Furthermore, this work considers forward-thinking solutions the PLCC can pursue to address the shortcomings of existing

housing policy frameworks. Though it is still too early to evaluate the full extent of the PLCC's impact on the inclusivity of neighborhood change in the corridor, these suggestions may help it further its goals in the coming years when the Purple Line opens.

This research demonstrates one method of analyzing the institutional arrangements of collaborative spatial planning initiatives. Moreover, it highlights how such analyses can improve our understanding of effective equitable TOD coalition-building efforts, and how they fit into a region's urban governance dynamics. This study lays the foundation for future analyses of collaborative planning initiatives, with the intention of identifying challenges and opportunities for such initiatives to achieve more equitable planning processes and outcomes in US metropolitan areas.

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List of Abbreviations

- AMI: Area Median Income
- CDA: Community Development Agreement
- CSG: Coalition for Smarter Growth, a sustainable land use and transportation advocacy organization in the Washington D.C. region. CSG is a PLCC member.
- DC: District of Columbia, referring to Washington D.C.
- DHCA: The Montgomery County Department of Housing and Community Affairs
- DHCD: The Prince George's County Department of Housing and Community Development
- ECP: Enterprise Community Partners, a national non-profit organization that finances, develops, and advocates for affordable housing. ECP is a PLCC member.
- ETOD: Equitable transit-oriented development
- IAD: Institutional Analysis and Development framework, a framework to analyze the institutional arrangements of policy-making groups. Developed by Elenor Ostrom.
- LVC: Land Value Capture
- MD: Maryland
- MWCOG: Metropolitan Washington Council of Governments
- NCSG: National Center for Smart Growth, an institute at the University of Maryland
- PG: Prince George's, referring to Prince George's County, Maryland
- PLCC: Purple Line Corridor Coalition
- TOD: Transit-oriented development
- TPB: Transportation Planning Board, the Washington D.C. region's federally designated Metropolitan Planning Organization
- UMD: University of Maryland
- VMT: Vehicle Miles Traveled

1 Introduction

Over the last quarter century, urban planners and elected officials have struggled to balance transit-oriented development (TOD) and socioeconomic integration in transit-adjacent communities across the US. Transit-oriented development is a land use development strategy centered on creating compact, walkable, mixed-use communities around fixed-route public transportation (US Federal Transit Administration, 2022). Urban planners have promoted TOD as a way to retrofit urban sprawl, clustering new development around public transit to increase access to opportunity and reduce car dependency (Smart Growth Network, 2006). This movement to reform suburbia coincides with the growth of poverty and newly-arrived immigrant populations in the urban periphery, and particularly in inner-ring suburbs (Lung-Amam, 2014). The suburbanization of poverty has outpaced the adaptation of anti-poverty infrastructure historically suited to dealing with inner-city or rural low-income populations (Kneebone and Berube, 2014).

In response to this concerning trend, policy advocates have argued for new public transportation service coordinated with mixed-income, mixed-use development as a strategy to increase access to economic opportunity, stimulate inclusive economic development, and combat concentrated poverty in the suburbs (ibid; Orfield, 2006). Yet, where new transit infrastructure is built, increased accessibility created by the project often raises land and property values in surrounding neighborhoods (Pendall *et al.*, 2012). In low-income communities, TOD planning efforts and the expectation of increased land values resulting from a transit project lead many residents to fear that the project will displace existing residents and small businesses (Lung-Amam, 2014; Dawkins and Moeckel, 2016).

While research highlights the heterogeneity of changes in the socioeconomic composition of transit-adjacent neighborhoods after the opening of new transit projects (Dawkins and Moeckel, 2016; Baker and Lee, 2019), planners, elected officials, and community stakeholders around the country have developed collaborative planning processes to steer the change that new public transport projects bring to neighborhoods (Pendall *et al.*, 2012; Lung-Amam, 2014). These diverse initiatives to plan inclusive community development around public transportation infrastructure have fallen under the umbrella term “equitable transit-oriented development (ETOD)” (PolicyLink, 2016).

This paper investigates the successes and limitations of one planning effort led by the Purple Line Corridor Coalition (PLCC), a collaborative composed of institutional actors from public, private, and NGO sectors in Washington DC's Maryland suburbs. The PLCC was formed by the National Center for Smart Growth (NCSG) at the University of Maryland to proactively plan, implement, and advocate for equitable community change in the Purple Line corridor. This research focuses on the institutional arrangements of the PLCC; analyzing which structures support or hinder its mission and assessing the broader applications of this work to similar planning efforts.

1.1 Research Question and Hypothesis

Given the challenges of planning land use development and providing affordable housing in a diverse, suburban, and multi-jurisdictional transit corridor, how does the organizational structure of the PLCC influence its effectiveness in advancing inclusive housing development along the Purple Line corridor? To address this question, I take a governance approach to analyze the actors, relations, and decision-making processes underlying the operations of the PLCC. Specifically, I use Ostrom's Institutional Analysis and Development framework to analyze the PLCC and evaluate its impact on housing affordability in the Purple Line corridor (Polski and Ostrom, 1999). The case study focuses on the PLCC's efforts to advance housing affordability in the Silver Spring and International Corridor sub-areas of the Purple Line Corridor. This research draws from archival research on the PLCC and the region, and from my interviews with PLCC members and relevant stakeholders. In order to provide a comprehensive overview of the Coalition's work, this paper also analyzes the political context of land use and housing politics in which the PLCC operates.

Communities along the planned path of the Purple Line, and especially those in the eastern section of the corridor, are particularly vulnerable to gentrification-fueled displacement from the rail project. Langley Park, for instance, is an unincorporated community that straddles the border between Prince George's (PG) County and Montgomery County. It is subject to inter-jurisdictional authority, has a large number of aging, privately-owned, non-income restricted affordable housing units, low rates of public engagement in planning processes, and higher numbers low-income households and residents who do not speak native English than other neighborhoods along the corridor (Lung-Amam, Pendall and Knaap, 2019).

Building on the work of researchers at the NCSG, the PLCC has convened researchers, community advocates, and practitioners to study these place-based vulnerabilities, and develop and implement comprehensive strategies to steer inclusive neighborhood change in anticipation of the arrival of the Purple Line.

Drawing from this case study research, this thesis hypothesizes that the university-led, institutional PLCC model centered on engaging a wide range of stakeholders and sharing detailed spatial data enables an inclusive planning approach to advance equitable TOD in diverse, politically-fragmented suburbs. The PLCC's targeted public engagement and collaboration with grass-tops leaders can provide a crucial link for community members to relay their needs and desires to elected officials, planners, and administrators outside of the formal planning process. The fine-grained spatial data shared by NCSG researchers and other experts can help stakeholders develop a mutual understanding of complex place-based issues. The iterative planning process helps build stakeholders' ownership of strategic plans and political will to address issues raised in communities along the corridor.

This investigation evaluates these hypotheses. It finds that the PLCC structure has certain strengths and limitations. On the one hand, the public and private composition of the coalition leadership constrains its strategy to what is within the bounds of acceptable political discourse in the broader jurisdictions. This arrangement only allows incremental policy action, which may be inappropriate to address the concerns of the most vulnerable community members. On the other hand, although diverse public and private leadership limits the scope of the PLCC's advocacy, it also leads to many of its strengths. First, elected officials in the PLCC leadership help the coalition direct its limited advocacy capacity toward goals that are likely achievable. Moreover, the public authorities in the PLCC can help advocates determine which strategies require a more grassroots advocacy approach. Second, the diverse leadership enables the coalition to coordinate activities among diverse actors and build political will to make progress towards the PLCC's goals.

Furthermore, the NGO-led model is well-suited to maintain a drumbeat on issues of ETOD through successive political administrations and unforeseen events such as the COVID-19 pandemic and delayed Purple Line construction. This case study concludes that the coalition has yet to develop a comprehensive community engagement strategy that would allow it to be more responsive to the needs of the residents in the affected corridor. This is in part due to the fact that the coalition has struggled to secure funding for sustained community

engagement; the PLCC requires additional public and private funding for community engagement activities and collaboration with community-based organizations. Overall, this study finds in the PLCC's planning model an imperfect but promising approach to achieve more inclusive TOD in diverse suburban neighborhoods.

1.2 Introduce TOD

In the Washington DC metropolitan area, planners from the region's multiple jurisdictions have promoted urban growth near transit corridors to accommodate the region's growing population in a way that mitigates environmental impacts, reduces inequities in access to economic opportunities, and fosters economic development (Montgomery Planning, 2022c; National Capital Region TPB, 2022). This section evaluates the economic, social, and environmental reasons why planners in the region support TOD.

Economic impacts of TOD

The Washington region Transportation Planning Board's "Visualize 2045" long-range plan prioritizes bringing people and jobs closer together to create a stronger economy by increasing access to economic opportunity (National Capital Region TPB, 2022). In Montgomery County, Maryland's comprehensive land use plan, compact corridor-focused growth is promoted to lower the cost of public infrastructure while meeting the growing demand among residents and businesses to locate in walkable, transit-oriented neighborhoods (Montgomery Planning, 2021, p. 24). The plan also praises how "amenity rich, walkable areas near transit" attract employers and new investment, creating a foundation for economic growth (ibid).

In theory, compact mixed-use development near transit allows people to live closer to jobs and urban amenities, increasing their access to economic opportunity and improving their quality of life. For transit agencies, TOD can increase ridership and farebox revenue. For individual neighborhoods, TOD has localized economic benefits. Higher density development and economies of scale lower the per-capita cost of public infrastructure for local governments (Smart Growth America, 2013).

By promoting local and regional economic growth and individuals' access to economic opportunity, TOD has broad appeal among elected officials and business interests, especially those with a stake in real-estate development.

Environmental Impacts of TOD

Both Montgomery County's comprehensive land use plan and the TPB's long-range transportation plan emphasize TOD as a central strategy to reduce per-capita vehicle miles traveled and related carbon emissions (Montgomery Planning, 2022c; National Capital Region TPB, 2022). Similarly, Montgomery County's land use plan emphasizes TOD as a way to ease development pressure on the county's agricultural preserve, a northwest portion of the county designated for farm land and rural space, which helps to protect ecosystems and the region's watersheds (Montgomery Planning, 2021, p. 27).

Compared to the conventional suburban development pattern in the United States, transit-oriented development reduces environmental impacts in multiple ways. Compact development allows for less land consumption per capita, while infill or redevelopment projects lead to more intense uses of land that is already built on, sparing green fields from development. Moreover, households living in neighborhoods near transit use less energy in their homes and for transportation than those living in equivalent-sized homes in low-density suburbs far from transit (US EPA and Jonathan Rose Companies, 2011). In particular, households living in multi-family buildings typically use about half the energy of those living in detached single family homes (US EIA, 2015). And households living near mass transit drive between 20 to 40% fewer miles than those living in low-density suburbs, depending on the extent of the sprawl (Ewing *et al.*, 2007).

Social equity impacts of TOD

In addition to the economic and environmental benefits, TOD can help address social inequities. For low-income households, living near a public transit stop can increase their access to jobs without the financial burden of car ownership. TPB's long-range transportation plan highlights the benefits of bringing jobs and housing closer together for low-income households in particular (National Capital Region TPB, 2022, p. 85). To this point, analyzing the "location efficiency" of neighborhoods, researchers have found that higher residential density and transit access in a neighborhood are correlated with lower household transportation expenditures (Haas *et al.*, 2013). With this research in mind, policy advocates have stressed the importance of considering both housing and transportation costs when evaluating neighborhood affordability and developing land use policy (Cortright, 2019).

By providing individuals with affordable access to jobs and opportunities, transit-oriented communities can provide the footing for inclusive economic growth. Montgomery Planning's "Thrive 2050" plan promotes compact growth along transit corridors in eastern parts of the county long neglected by public and private investment decisions due in part to discriminatory public policies (Montgomery Planning, 2021, p. 25). This strategy is presented as a way to advance racial and economic equity by spreading "the benefits of growth" to disadvantaged communities (ibid). The plan acknowledges that while monitoring and addressing displacement is needed, public and private investment—centered around TOD—is crucial to drive inclusive economic growth in communities plagued by concentrated poverty (ibid).

TOD's widespread benefits gain it many political supporters. Alan Altshuler and David Luberoff claim that TOD appeals to actors "across the political spectrum ... who perceive transit as a way of reconciling development, equity and amenity goals" (2003, p. 217; cited in Dawkins and Moeckel, 2016). These supporters include business interests, construction and labor groups, environmental groups, advocates for social equity, and transit agencies, among others (ibid). In the face of this broad political backing, TOD plans in low-income communities have been met with tepid support by some and outright opposition by other residents and community groups who fear that such plans will lead to displacement from transit-accessible neighborhoods (Schweitzer, 2021). The following section details the impacts of displacement and reviews the research evaluating whether transit investments and TOD plans lead to the displacement of low-income residents.

1.3 The Problem of Displacement and Transit-oriented Development

In neighborhoods with higher proportions of low-income residents, transit projects and TOD are strategies to spur economic development and increase local residents' access to opportunity (Orfield, 2006). For policymakers, the ideal scenario under such economic development strategies is for low-income residents to increase their incomes over time and stay in their community. Yet, due to prevailing economic trends in the US such as limited economic mobility and wage growth trailing the cost of living, this scenario is more an ideal than reality for most low-income residents today. The alternative scenario is described in what Padeiro et al. call the "transit-gentrification hypothesis."

Displacement Undermines Inclusive Economic Growth

The transit-gentrification hypothesis predicts that as transit projects are built, new development and community amenities emerge, increasing the desirability of the neighborhood which is reflected in rising costs of housing and commercial property (Padeiro, Louro and da Costa, 2019). Without proper policies in place, low-income residents can be priced out of their homes and unable to find other affordable housing options nearby. This phenomenon, in which low-income residents cannot find housing in a neighborhood due to rising costs, discriminatory behavior (such as landlords not leasing to tenants with housing vouchers), or discriminatory policy (such as a zoning that prohibits building units for families with children) has been called “exclusionary displacement” (Marcuse, 1985, p. 206). For TOD intended to reduce concentrated poverty and economic segregation, displacement can force low-income residents to relocate to other poor neighborhoods, shifting centers of poverty and preventing them from sharing in the benefits of economic development. Not only do displaced households have less access to the new transit line, jobs, and amenities, involuntary displacement has enduring, multidimensional effects on individuals, households, and communities.

Studying the systematic forced relocation of African-American households by federally-led urban renewal policies in the 1950s, urban health scholar Dr. Mindy Fullilove draws a metaphor between the traumatic impact of displacement on individuals and the “root shock” experienced by plants during transplanting (2004). After replanting, plants often cannot recover from damage done by repeated uprooting. Fullilove argues that displacement “undermines trust, ... destabilizes relationships, destroys social, emotional, and financial resources, and increases the risk for every kind of stress-related disease, from depression to heart attack” (2004, p. 14). At the community level, the gradual displacement of longtime residents leads to the loss of friendships, social networks, and neighborhood cohesion (Fullilove 2016, Freeman 2007). Moreover, researchers have characterized involuntary displacement as a driver of poverty, partly attributed to the high levels of instability in housing, education, and employment resulting from displacement (Desmond et al. 2015). Involuntary displacement thus poses a threat to individuals and communities that equity-minded policymakers and planners should confront. On top of the damage that transit-related displacement poses to low-income communities, the objectives of transit-oriented development are themselves undermined by displacement.

Easing the Burden of Transport Costs

As mentioned above, transit-oriented development can be a tool for economic equity because it provides low-income households with an affordable alternative to the automobile. Logically, if low-income families are displaced from transit-oriented communities, they will not be able to benefit from the lower transportation costs that living near jobs, amenities, and public transit provides.

Alternatively, Clagett argues that mixed-income neighborhoods are integral to TOD because low- or middle-income residents tend to use transit more than higher-income residents, and mixed-income neighborhoods provide transit agencies with a reliable customer base, helping to increase transit ridership (2014). For instance, a study analyzing 2000-2005 National Household Travel Survey data found that the 47.1 % of the US population earning under \$50,000 per year account for 68.8 % of transit trips (Chu, 2012, p. 31), and the 6.1 % of the population that lives in a car-free household account for nearly half of all transit trips (Chu, 2012, p. 34). On the other hand, if displacement of low-income residents leads to an exclusively upper-middle and higher-income community, Clagett argues that fewer residents will use transit since wealthier social groups have higher rates of car ownership and vehicle miles traveled (VMT) than low and middle-income groups (2014). To this point, researchers have found that per-capita income is a strong predictor of how much a person drives, after residential density, transit access, and household size (Holtzclaw *et al.*, 2002). Yet, this study found that VMT increases with per-capita income up to about \$30,000 per year, but levels off with incomes up to around \$100,000 per year and even decreases slightly with incomes rising above that (*ibid*). Research is inconclusive on how much less wealthier households living near transit drive than those living in low-density suburbs, but this research suggests low-income households living in transit-oriented communities are more likely to use transit more often than their wealthier neighbors.

Displacement can also push lower-income residents to live in neighborhoods without transit, forcing them to rely on a car or have limited access to jobs and opportunities without one. Taken together, the displacement of low-income residents and concentration of higher-income residents in transit-oriented communities lead to fewer benefits for households that stand to gain the most from new transit service, and lower ridership for transit agencies. In other words, displacement undercuts the economic, social, and environmental objectives of TOD.

Reviewing the Evidence of Transit-related Gentrification & Displacement

Low-income residents of neighborhoods near new transit projects have empirical grounds for concern about rising housing costs and displacement. Researchers have found that residential properties located near rail lines in the US have higher market values than equivalent properties elsewhere (Cervero *et al.*, 2004). Researchers studying the relationship between new transit projects and gentrification have highlighted the variability of outcomes in different US neighborhoods (Kahn, 2007). Gentrification is an amorphous process by which disadvantaged neighborhoods “experience a reversal, reinvestment, and the in-migration of a relatively well-off middle- and upper middle-class population” that is associated with rising housing costs (Smith, 1998, p. 198). The relationship between gentrification and the displacement of low-income residents is heterogeneous in US cities. While some neighborhoods have experienced widespread displacement as a result of gentrification (Richardson, Mitchell and Franco, 2019), others have gentrified without any clear signs of displacing local residents (Ding, Hwang and Divringi, 2016; Dragan, Ellen and Glied, 2020). In Washington DC, research has shown a strong link between gentrification and the displacement of low-income residents and of low-income African-Americans, in particular (Jackson, 2015; Institute on Metropolitan Opportunity, 2019).

Studies investigating the relationship between new transit projects, gentrification and the displacement of low-income or minority residents have produced mixed results, many of which are undermined by methodological flaws in study design including failing to account for bias and the risk of non-transit factors contributing to gentrification (Padeiro, Louro and da Costa, 2019). Studying federally-designated census block groups in which new rail lines were built, Pollack et al. found that in the majority of block groups, household incomes rose, home values increased, and car ownership became more common - especially in neighborhoods with higher proportions of renters (2010). In an analysis of neighborhoods near transit projects in 14 US metropolitan areas, Kahn found that in some cities, including Washington DC, transit-adjacent neighborhoods saw increases in household incomes and shares of residents who are college graduates, while transit-oriented neighborhoods in other cities saw no evidence of gentrification (2007).

Notably, these studies say little about whether low-income residents were displaced from these neighborhoods. Pollack et al. point out that even if displacement of low-income households is not clearly occurring in gentrifying neighborhoods, households that stay in the neighborhood may face higher housing cost burdens; though with new transit service nearby, higher housing costs may be offset by lower transportation expenditures (2010). In a review of 35 quantitative studies, Padeiro et al. found that there is some evidence supporting the

hypothesis that transit lines contribute to gentrification-related displacement, but the variability of the results suggest that displacement may be more related to local dynamics, the attributes of the built environment, and policies accompanying the transit project (2019). Of the studies focusing on Washington DC included in Padeiro et al.'s review, two found evidence of transit-related gentrification and displacement and one found variable results (ibid). Understanding the relationship between new transit projects, TOD, and the displacement of low-income residents is critical to helping policy makers and planners anticipate and prevent these impacts, in order to achieve both the objectives of TOD and of inclusive economic growth.

Measuring Displacement

Research on displacement is complicated by the challenge of accurately measuring demographic shifts in a neighborhood. A commonly used method of quantitatively evaluating neighborhood change involves analyzing demographic data from two different periods, and evaluating whether the change in the number of residents of a certain demographic group meets the researchers definition of gentrification-related displacement, inclusive growth, or another type of neighborhood change (Institute on Metropolitan Opportunity, 2019; Kraft, 2022). For instance, the Institute on Metropolitan Opportunity measured four types of neighborhood change, defined by the difference in the numbers of low-income residents and non-low-income residents, between 2000 and 2016 (2019). "Economically expanding" areas are those where the proportion of low-income residents has fallen, and the absolute number of non-low-income residents has increased. These neighborhoods are characterized either by displacement, where the number of low-income residents decreases, or by "overall growth", in which the number of low-income residents increases. "Economically declining" areas are characterized by a growing proportion of low-income residents, and a declining absolute number of non-low-income residents. These neighborhoods are split into those with "abandonment", in which the number of low-income residents declines, or with "poverty concentration", in which the number of low-income residents increases. This method of measuring neighborhood change accounts for expected levels of residential mobility (Frost, 2020) and measures the availability of housing options affordable to households of different income levels in a neighborhood.

The Montgomery Planning department employed this research methodology to evaluate how different neighborhoods in the Washington region are changing (Kraft, 2022). Their analysis concluded that neighborhoods in which more housing was built experienced more inclusive economic growth, while neighborhoods in which less housing was built experienced either displacement or concentration of low-income residents (ibid). In a blog post, the author of the

planning department's analysis and the former chair of the Montgomery County planning board argue that this analysis shows that increased housing construction, especially with policies like inclusionary zoning (IZ), is key to growing inclusively (Benjamin Kraft and Casey Anderson, 2022). While this methodology sheds light on demographic change and housing affordability, it may obscure certain elements of changing neighborhoods such as increased housing cost burdens and the displacement of specific tenants when a property is redeveloped. Moreover, the argument to drastically increase housing construction may be less suitable in certain neighborhoods, including lower-income neighborhoods that have had less housing construction in recent decades due to a lack of investment. In such communities, adding new housing requires a more careful approach with policies to channel investment in ways that preserve housing opportunities for low-income residents.

Alternately, Chapple et al. measure displacement by examining residential mobility and the type of neighborhood a household moved to, with moves to equivalent or less affluent neighborhoods characterizing a "constrained move," indicating likely involuntary displacement (2022). Moreover, exclusionary displacement is measured by analyzing the socio-economic characteristics of people who move in or out of neighborhoods (ibid). This methodology is also used to analyze communities' racial and ethnic demographic change (Richardson, Mitchell and Franco, 2019). This approach of focusing on the socioeconomic characteristics of movers and of the neighborhoods from or to which they move estimates the extent to which affordability played a role in a households' decision to move, thereby assessing the changing affordability levels of the neighborhood of interest.

These demographic-focused methods of measuring residential displacement fail to account for political and cultural displacement that can occur in neighborhoods experiencing gentrification. Political displacement occurs when a long-term racial or ethnic group "become(s) outvoted or outnumbered by new residents' leading to the loss of decision-making power by the former group" (Martin, 2007, p. 605; cited in Hyra, 2015), and also when long-standing low-income residents remain in a neighborhood, but are overpowered by more affluent newcomers with more political capital (Hyra, 2015). Cultural displacement occurs when the "norms, behaviours (sic) and values of the new resident cohort dominate and prevail over the tastes and preferences of long-term residents" (Zukin, 2010; cited in Hyra, 2015). Political and cultural displacement can leave long-standing low-income residents with a lost sense of place that can push them to leave a neighborhood even if housing options are available to them, contributing to socio-economic segregation (Hyra, 2015). Although this text focuses on the governance of affordable housing provision, political and cultural displacement can hinder the

development of multi-racial, economically diverse neighborhoods, and thus deserve the attention of policymakers and advocates, alike.

Principles of Equitable Transit-oriented Development

In response to the increasing prevalence of transit-oriented development projects and related concerns about displacement in communities across the US, alliances of diverse interests have emerged to develop and advocate for more inclusive TOD planning processes. These groups have employed varied strategies to advance equitable transit-oriented development, and researchers have documented their approaches and achievements to inform future planning efforts (Center for Transit Oriented Development, 2009, 2010; Pollack, Bluestone and Billingham, 2010; PolicyLink, 2016). Pollack et al. analyzed dozens of ETOD case studies around the US and classified interventions into three categories: planning tools, housing market policies, and transportation demand management tools (2010). The initiatives described in this study include “bottom-up” initiatives led by citizen groups, “top-down” programs managed by government agencies, and mixed political strategies advanced by multi-stakeholder collaboratives (ibid). Alternately, PolicyLink, a think tank focused on racial and economic equity, analyzed community-led ETOD collaboratives in the Twin Cities, Los Angeles, Denver and Seattle and identified high-level “lessons learned” to guide future coalition-building efforts (2016). The report recommends coalitions to collaborate with grass-tops partners from national institutions and local advocates, seek out joint development opportunities with transit agencies, leverage publicly held real estate for affordable housing, and adopt explicit measures to track the racial impacts of policies, plans and investments (ibid).

Research on ETOD has focused primarily on sharing best practices for policies and planning. The literature provides extensive case studies of interventions intended to advance inclusive TOD (Pollack, Bluestone and Billingham, 2010; PolicyLink, 2016). While policies and planning best practices can help guide emerging ETOD advocacy efforts, the diversity of historical, socio-economic, and community attributes in different metropolitan areas can make successful policies in one region inappropriate for another. With this in mind, some research explicitly reflects on how ETOD interventions are achieved, with recommendations for effective coalition-building and community engagement (PolicyLink, 2016). Yet little attention has been paid to the institutional framework of ETOD collaboratives.

The institutional structure of an organization includes the actors, interactions between actors, and the institutions — or formal and informal rules — that shape interactions (Ostrom, 2005). Within a multi-stakeholder coalition, plans are conceived and policy positions negotiated through a deliberative process in which several institutions guide actors' behavior (ibid). Ostrom argues that institutions shape a decision-making process by “defining what actions and outcomes are required or prohibited, by whom, and what information should be exchanged among actors” (Ostrom, 2005; cited in Lee et al., 2022). The explicit bylaws and unspoken rules that constitute the institutional framework of a coalition influence patterns of interaction and flows of information between actors, thus shaping the outcomes of their work. Furthermore, Ostrom posited that institutional frameworks contain and are nested in multi-tier frameworks including socioeconomic, political, and ecological systems that affect and are affected by the institutional framework of interest (Ostrom, 2007). In other words, the institutional setting of a coalition should be investigated alongside the broader systems in which the coalition is embedded to better understand why outcomes occur.

This exploratory case study intends to lay the foundation for future analyses of collaborative planning processes by demonstrating how researchers can apply Ostrom's Institutional Analysis and Development (IAD) framework to such initiatives (2005). Parsing out the structures that guide processes of engagement and decision making, the IAD framework is one approach to operationalize a governance approach to urban planning. Urban governance is a broad field of political science that encompasses discourse on government, democracy, and politics in cities (Raco, 2020). A background on urban governance discourse is provided in the theoretical framework chapter below.

2 Theoretical Framework

This chapter provides a brief history of urban governance discourse and introduces theories relevant to the case study of the PLCC's collaborative planning initiative. This research focuses on the spatial planning and policy making process in the United States and thus limits the scope of literature review to discourse on urban governance in the Western liberal democratic context.

2.1 Relation Between Governance Theory and Urban Planning

Urban governance broadly encompasses the processes of policy making and relations between government, the private sector, and civil society in cities and their environs (Raco, 2020). The Commission on Global Governance defines governance as “the sum of the many ways individuals and institutions, public and private, manage their common affairs. It is a continuing process through which conflicting or diverse interests may be accommodated and co-operative action may be taken” (1995). Moreover, the term ‘governance’ is used to refer to both a conceptual approach that centers the “processes of government, urban politics, accountability, and democracy,” as well as an empirical method that focuses on actors, their relationships, and rules outlining their responsibilities and behaviors within a political system (Nuissl and Heinrichs, 2011; Raco, 2020). The conceptual approach provides theories to connect, evaluate and contextualize findings of the empirical method. In this paper, the term ‘governance’ will apply to the conceptual approach unless otherwise specified.

Urban governance discourse has clear applications in the fields of spatial planning and urban development (Nuissl and Heinrichs, 2011). Healey defines spatial planning as “a social practice through which those concerned with the ... spatial organization of urban regions collaborate to produce strategies, policies and plans to help guide specific decisions in order to regulate and invest in development activity” (Healey, 1997, p. 20). A governance lens can help those interested in urban development disentangle complex planning processes to better understand how change occurs and how they can influence that change.

This section provides an overview of the urban governance discourse in four sections: the evolution of governance from a state-centric to a pluralist concept, the power-centric theories of urban politics, the theories analyzing the scale of urban political systems, and the focus on institutional frameworks underpinning governance systems. Later, after reconciling the

urban governance theory with methods to empirically analyze governance systems, the methodology used in this study is situated within the urban governance literature.

2.2 State-centered Urban Governance Discourse

Since its inception in the 1980s, governance discourse has evolved around different conceptions of the role of government (Nuisssl and Heinrichs, 2011). Healey identified four institutionalist modes of governance characterized by the role of the state in urban planning: the provider state, the “negotiative (sic) state”, the technical-regulatory state, and the collaborative state (1997).

The provider state characterized welfare-oriented political systems in 1950s through 1970s Europe, in which governments had the power and resources to carry out land development in order to control social and economic outcomes. Such modes of governance assume a one-way relationship between the state and the citizens it claims to serve. This top-down planning approach was met with criticisms over the state’s inability to meet the peoples’ needs.

The negotiative, techno-corporatist, and collaborative modes of governance shift the balance of power beyond the state, and each assign a specific role to the public sector (Nuisssl and Heinrichs, 2011, p. 48). The negotiative state shifts focus from strategies and plans to bargaining over specific development projects. In such entrepreneurial planning systems, the state holds an enabling role, allowing private development in exchange for community benefits such as affordable housing or stormwater infrastructure. Negotiative modes of governance have been criticized for placing too much emphasis on the interests of actors who have a seat at the table, neglecting power structures inherent to project-specific bargaining processes, and ignoring the institutional framework in which actors develop their objectives (Healey, 1997). The negotiative state “emphasizes interaction, but does not see the wider connotations of the institutional learning that takes place through interaction” (Healey, 1997, p. 28).

The technical-regulatory and collaborative modes of governance address the limitations of the provider and negotiative modes by retreating from and embracing public participation in planning, respectively. Minimizing the role of public engagement in planning, the technical-regulatory state reduces regulations to encourage private investment. Spatial plans with long-term objectives that guide regulatory and investment decisions are replaced by subject-specific policy criteria, which are used to evaluate projects and monitor conditions. This neoliberal planning approach shifts away from public development in favor of the provision of

subsidies based on performance indicators to encourage efficiency in private development. Under this system, private developers and businesses have greater certainty about regulatory requirements and lower transaction costs. Conflicts are resolved in the courts, rather than through political negotiations. The criteria-driven technical regulatory approach has been criticized for failing to capture interrelations between social, economic, and environmental issues, neglecting qualitative and location-specific attributes, and relying too heavily on experts rather than residents to develop criteria (Healey, 1997).

The collaborative state recognizes the distinctive interests and expertise of diverse stakeholders, and makes an effort to engage them in planning processes. The state plays a coordinating role and focuses on inclusive dialogue to identify issues, policy approaches, and strategic plans “in ways that enhance consensus-building rather than exaggerate conflicts” (Healey, 1997). Under this system, actors engage in an interactive planning process, in which participants “develop understanding and ownership of the issues and ideas,” helping to build their social, intellectual and political capital. This institutional capacity builds broad trust in the planning process and facilitates coordination on strategic frameworks for plans rather than individual projects (Healey, 1997). While this system could be co-opted by narrow alliances between specific actors, Healey argues that with active involvement from the public, collaborative systems naturally encourage more engagement and produce more representative plans (1997).

By focusing on the balance of power between the state, the private sector and civil society, Healey’s latter three modes of governance embody the contemporary understanding of governance as a process of decision-making in a “shared-power world” (Crosby and Bryson, 2005). Indeed, city governments are influenced by vertical and horizontal divisions of government, concerted lobbying by special interests, and democratic appeals, among other forces (Mossberger and Stoker, 2001). Recognizing that power is distributed among actors outside of government, many researchers have analyzed governance by focusing on the relational and contextual factors in politics, or what some have referred to as an institutional approach, which is explained in Section 2.5 (DiGaetano and Strom, 2003). Other researchers have developed theories explaining how power is distributed between actors in urban areas, several of which are explored in the following section.

2.3 Governance Typologies of Political Power

Pluralism and Elite Theory

By contrast, other scholars have developed descriptive governance models based on who wields decision-making power in a city and how decisions are made. In 1961, Robert Dahl released an empirical study of urban development processes in New Haven, Connecticut that became the foundation for the pluralist theory of governance. Dahl argued that urban politics in the United States reflect a democratic process in which diverse interest groups compete to shape public policy, with the government acting as a mediator (Dahl, 1961). In contrast, elite theory posits that a small number of “elite” individuals or groups hold power and make decisions behind closed doors (Mills, 1956). Elite theory sparked a discussion about the transparency of political decision-making in cities, and the relationship between government institutions and their constituents (Raco, 2020).

Growth Machine

Alternatively, researchers have theorized that US cities are run by coalitions of powerful actors with a shared interest in increasing their wealth and power through urban development (Molotch, 1976). This structuralist approach argues that for individuals with a fiscal stake in urban growth, whether they be land owners, business owners, or elected officials seeking to attract private investment, this vested interest drives their participation in politics and facilitates the formation of “urban growth machines” or pro-growth governing coalitions (Logan and Molotch, 1987). Growth machine politics tend to operate through public-private partnerships, with few opportunities for public participation. Molotch argues that urban development benefits the ruling coalition at the expense of the environment and residents’ quality of life (1976). Within pro-growth regimes, local governments vary in their approach to economic development, whom to include in planning and development activities, and their relationship to higher levels of government, among other policy decisions (Logan and Molotch, 1987; Pierre, 1999).

Urban Regime Theory

In a rebuke to Dahl’s pluralist theory, Stone argues that enduring coalitions of public and private interests shape urban political agendas (1993). Stone’s urban regime theory rejects both the pluralist idea that democratic government authority is sufficient to craft and implement policy, and the structuralist notion that the mode of production shapes politics. Based on the belief that

“economic forces both shape and are shaped by political arrangements,” regime theory posits that neither government nor the private sector has the power to govern on its own (Stone, 1993). Urban regimes bring together the legitimacy and policy-making authority of elected officials, and the financial capital of private interests to develop and carry out governing agendas (Mossberger and Stoker, 2001). A regime’s public policies are influenced by the actors involved, the relations between actors, and the resources that the actors bring to the table (Stone, 1993). In an effort to characterize different modes of governance, Stone identified four types of urban regimes: maintenance regimes, which aim to preserve existing social and economic conditions, and keep taxes low; development regimes, which intend to alter land use to promote growth or reverse decline; middle-class progressive regimes, which focus on supporting objectives such as historic preservation and environmental protection; and regimes devoted to lower-class opportunity expansion, which focus on investing in social and economic programs to support educational, employment, and ownership opportunities in disadvantaged communities (Stone, 1993). The latter two governing modes are based on negotiating specific social policy outcomes from private sector actors during the investment and development process. These frameworks rarely, if ever, model existing political arrangements, but can help explain the workings of urban politics and identify ways to improve the political process and achieve specific outcomes.

2.4 Governance Theories by Scale

Regionalism

Other researchers have approached urban governance by analyzing the geographic scales at which decisions are made. The fragmented politics of metropolitan areas in the United States have led many researchers to explore regional governance frameworks. Between 1900 to 1960, researchers supported the formation of metropolitan governments to solve the inefficiencies and inequities associated with politically fragmented urban regions (Maxey, 1922; Studenski, 1930; Jones, 1942). Proponents of regional governments claimed they would improve planning and coordination to solve regional problems. Metropolitan governments would be formed through jurisdictional consolidation, central cities annexing surrounding jurisdictions, or the creation of an upper-tier metropolitan government tasked with issues of regional significance (Savitch and Vogel, 2009). This metropolitan government system, dubbed the “old regionalism” school, has been criticized for resulting in higher public expenditures, a lack of responsiveness to constituents, and concerns about representational equity (Savitch and Vogel, 2009).

In the second half of the 20th century, proponents of public choice theory promoted a polycentric regional governance model (Tiebout, 1956; Ostrom, Tiebout and Warren, 1961; Parks and Oakerson, 1989). This model contends that complex multi-jurisdictional government operates most efficiently under a market-based approach in which residents vote with their feet for which jurisdiction to live in (Tiebout, 1956). In essence, local governments compete for residents by minimizing taxes, providing quality public services, and offering a deregulated business environment. Proponents of public choice theory argue that extensive interlocal systems of service provision exist not because of metropolitan government but because of the market. This public choice approach to regional governance has been criticized for neglecting equity concerns since lower income households cannot move as easily as their more affluent neighbors, and because residents lack enough information about taxes and public services in surrounding jurisdictions to make informed decisions (Savitch and Vogel, 2009). Moreover, public choice theory reduces a household's decision about where to live to self-interested economic considerations, ignoring social and environmental factors.

Beginning in the 1990s, responding to the difficulties in establishing regional governments in the US, researchers promoted multi-stakeholder governance to deal with issues of regional concern (Rusk, 1995; Savitch, 1996; Altshuler *et al.*, 1999). The "new regionalism" model promotes collaboration between jurisdictions instead of government reform, typically organized around issues of equity and interregional competitiveness (Savitch and Vogel, 2009). In the Washington DC region, Lung-Amam developed recommendations for the non-governmental Metropolitan Washington Council of Governments (MWCOG) and local jurisdictions to collaborate with local stakeholders to address regional issues of affordable housing and economic disparities (Lung-Amam, 2018). The approach has been criticized for its disparate and limited results in addressing inequities (Altshuler *et al.*, 1999).

Rescaling & Reterritorialization

More recently, urban governance theorists have interpreted increasing political mobilization at the regional scale as a localized response to the pressures of contemporary globalized capitalism. Under this view, globalization has led to an ad-hoc and heterogenous restructuring of governing systems to promote regional competitiveness on a global scale (Brenner, 2004). This theory of "rescaling and reterritorialization" posits that regional governments are shifting the boundaries, roles, and relations of market and civil-society actors in response to "new forms of sociospatial polarization and uneven geographical development" resulting from late 20th Century economic and neoliberal political trends in industrialized regions

(Brenner, 2004). This rescaling has manifested itself in different ways across regions, with one result being the increasingly common marketing of metropolitan regions, rather than individual cities or urban neighborhoods, as desirable places for multinational corporations to locate their business. This theory has been criticized for focusing narrowly on economic relations without considering politics, and trending toward abstractions with little practical guidance on how to address changes at the regional level (Savitch and Vogel, 2009).

2.5 Governance Typologies by Institutional Framework

Building on the common understanding that governance occurs “at the threshold between state, markets, and civil society,” scholars have drawn attention to the relations between actors by studying the institutional frameworks in which actors operate (Enrico Guarini, 2005, p. 298; [Nuissl and Heinrichs, 2011](#)). Institutional frameworks are the formal and informal rules that shape the relations and behavior of actors in a political system (Polski and Ostrom, 1999, p. 11). Recognizing that institutional frameworks influence policy making processes and outcomes, researchers have categorized them to inform public decision-making (Pierre, 1999; DiGaetano and Strom, 2003). DiGaetano and Strom developed a classification system based on governing relations, decision making processes, key decision makers, and political objectives (DiGaetano and Strom, 2003). This study employs an institutional approach to analyzing the structure of the PLCC. By focusing on the constituent parts of a governance system, the institutional approach shifts toward a more empirical methodology of analyzing and understanding political systems.

2.6 Overview of Urban Governance Discourse

Taken together, the scholarly discourse on urban governance has helped shed light on the political process in cities, and particularly on issues of participation, democracy, and engagement (da Cruz, Rode and McQuarrie, 2019). Yet, the majority of scholarly governance discourse has focused on individual case studies or theories with little empirical evidence (ibid). This has contributed to a growing gap between the scholarly discourse and the issues that city officials are focused on, and has prompted some researchers to call for more comparative analyses of urban governance between regions (LSE Cities, UN Habitat and United Cities and Local Governments, 2016). Still, comparative governance research is complicated by the difficulties involved in collecting data in a concerted and systematic way.

Empirical Governance Analysis Frameworks

In the past few decades, researchers have developed structured methods to analyze governance systems (Polski and Ostrom, 1999; Motte, 2006). Ostrom's institutional analysis and development (IAD) framework is one such tool that focuses on institutions and their formation in the policy-making process (Polski and Ostrom, 1999). In this context, "institutions" refer to the formal and informal rules that guide behavior in a group. The IAD framework has been used in a variety of contexts, including but not limited to common-pool resource management, local government service provision, and the integration of transportation and land use planning (Polski and Ostrom, 1999; Lee, Arts and Vanclay, 2022). Similarly, Alain Motte developed a governance-oriented empirical framework to analyze the spatial planning decision-making process, which studies agents, their relations, and referents (Motte, 2006). In Motte's framework, "referents" refers to shared conceptions related to the field of planning - similar to Ostrom's "institutions." Nuisl and Heinrichs apply Motte's framework to loosely analyze a large-scale residential development on the periphery of an unspecified Latin American city, in a case study of how the framework enables empirical study of an urban governance system (Nuisl and Heinrichs, 2011). These two methodologies provide tools with which to develop standardized analyses of governance systems, allowing comparative studies of contrasting systems and regional attributes.

3 Methodology

3.1 Research Methods

Data Collection methods

As part of this study, I conducted fourteen semi-structured interviews with PLCC members and planning experts in the region. The interviewees are listed in Table 1 in the appendix. The interviews were conducted online via Google Meets from Berlin, Germany, and recorded for ease of analysis.

For each of the interviews, I prepared a list of about twenty questions to guide the conversation. I modified the list of questions to reflect the role and expertise of each interviewee. If the conversation touched on a topic that I wanted to learn more about, I chose to deviate from the prepared questions. I asked the following questions in one form or another of most interviewees:

- Hypothetically, if the PLCC did not exist, how do you think neighborhood change in the Purple Line corridor would be different from what is occurring today?
- What do you see as the PLCC's significant accomplishments with regard to housing affordability in Montgomery or PG County?
- How do you evaluate the PLCC's community engagement strategy?
- How does the PLCC's vision for more inclusive development and affordable housing along the Purple Line corridor conflict with other political interests in Montgomery or Prince George's County?
- How does the PLCC evaluate its progress towards its housing goals?

Beyond these questions, I asked questions to understand the formal and informal rules that actors follow as part of coalition planning efforts. Additional questions probed issues including but not limited to the politics of land use development, factional politics of minority representation, and conflicts within the PLCC.

Secondary Research

In addition to interviews, this research drew on documents, technical reports, and interactive data displays developed by the PLCC, in addition to recorded videos of online PLCC meetings. Moreover, for the background information and theoretical framework, I analyzed

demographic data and academic literature on TOD, neighborhood change, urban governance, and demographics of the Washington, DC and suburban Maryland region. All archival research drew on publicly available sources, except a sample of the PLCC's Memorandum of Partnership (MOP), which Sheila Somashekhar shared with me and which is included in Figure 1 in the appendix.

3.2 Research Framework

The IAD framework provides an empirical or theoretical approach to analyze actors, roles, and institutions involved in a decision-making process, as visualized in Figure 1. This study uses the IAD framework to conduct an empirical analysis of the PLCC's institutional arrangements.

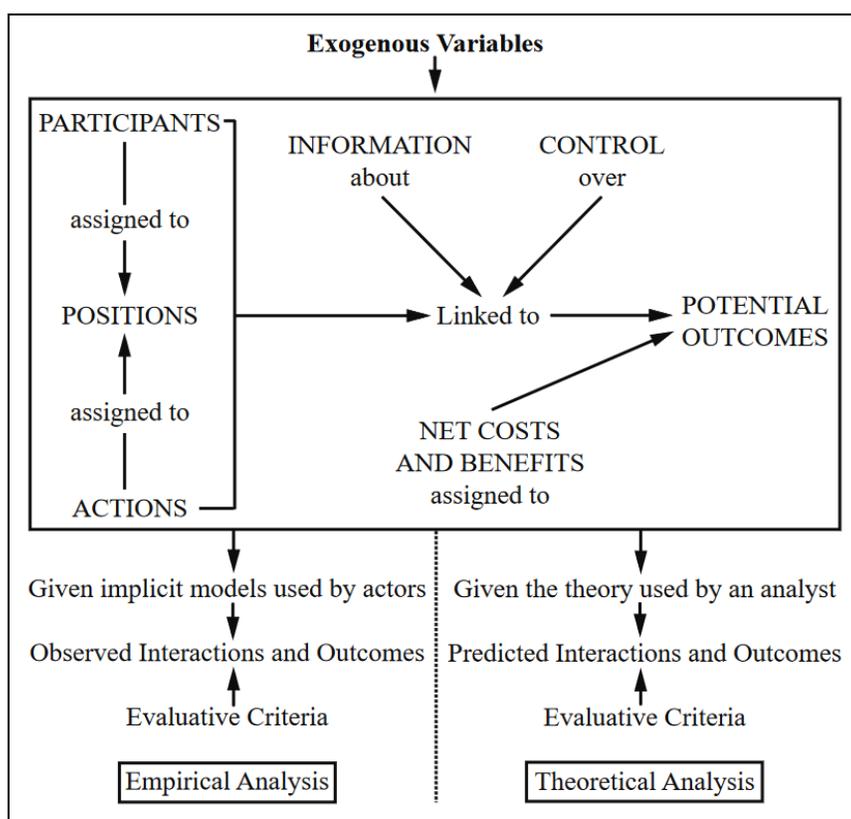


Figure 1. Flow chart outlining the structure of an action situation in Ostrom's Institutional Analysis and Development framework (Ostrom, 2005, p. 33)

The IAD framework focuses on the level of an "action arena," which Ostrom defines as a "social space where participants with diverse preferences interact, exchange goods and services, solve problems, dominate one another, or fight," among other behaviors (Ostrom,

2005, p. 31). These action arenas are typically linked with other arenas, which have beneficial or harmful effects on the outcomes of the arena of interest (Ostrom, 2005). For example, the achievement of PLCC goals are influenced by policy making arenas in the Montgomery and Prince George's county councils. Further, action arenas are embedded in and influenced by broader systems. For instance, the funding available for affordable housing investments at the local government level is often made up of contributions from state and federal governments. Action arenas are also shaped by the formal and informal rules that guide actors' behavior. Both the external attributes and rules in use are exogenous variables that affect which outcomes are possible, which outcomes are achieved, and what information is shared between actors in the action arena (Ostrom, 2005, p. 31).

Ostrom characterizes seven types of rules which can shape an action situation (Ostrom, 2005, p. 186). These are summarized by Lee, Arts and Vanclay:

First, position rules specify the positions that actors could hold in a decision-making process. Second, boundary rules specify who may enter or exit a position and how they do this. Third, choice rules specify the sets of action that can, may be, or must not be taken at specific points in time. Fourth, information rules specify the amount and type of information that should be available to participants and how this information is used and shared among actors. Fifth, aggregation rules specify how decisions are made, e.g., by an individual actor or in collaboration with others. Sixth, pay-off rules specify the costs and benefits that derive from particular actions or outcomes. Seventh, scope rules specify sets of possible outcomes, as well as who has jurisdiction. (2022, p. 4)

Though Ostrom recognizes that these rules may be absent or ambiguous in certain action arenas (Ostrom, 2005), they are a useful template to identify formal or informal rules at play in the PLCC. The application of the IAD Framework in the context of the PLCC involves five steps.

First, identifying an action arena in which the PLCC influences housing affordability along the Purple Line. Second, analyzing which actors are involved and how they interact with each other in the action arena. This step involves assessing how involved various stakeholders are in different parts of the PLCC's planning process. Since the PLCC doesn't have an ongoing community engagement strategy, I describe the comprehensive engagement strategy organized by a consultant retained by the PLCC for the development of the 2019 Housing Action Plan. Third, examining the exogenous variables, or physical, community, and political characteristics of the groups involved in the action arena to understand how and why they develop certain

political preferences. Fourth, examining the formal and informal rules that shape the planning process and the operations of the PLCC. And fifth, evaluating outcomes for each of the action situations through which the arenas influence housing affordability.

I use the PLCC and the two corridor sub-areas of Silver Spring and the International Corridor as a case study to evaluate the potential of such a collaborative planning model to achieve ETOD outcomes near new transit projects. This rail project was selected for several reasons. First, the Purple Line travels through socioeconomically and physically diverse communities in the Maryland suburbs of Washington, DC. Second, the PLCC is a cross-jurisdictional collaboration between elected officials, public authorities, and experts from Montgomery and Prince George's counties. And third, the risk of displacement around the Purple Line is an increasingly common concern in metropolitan areas across the US where new train lines are being built. Stakeholders in diverse, multi-jurisdictional regions can learn from the PLCC's approach to fighting for ETOD in Maryland. In addition, the Silver Spring and International Corridor sub-areas were selected because they demonstrate different built environment and development patterns, vulnerabilities to displacement, and political landscapes due to their location in Montgomery and PG counties, respectively. The International Corridor sub-area, located along University Boulevard between Takoma Park, Adelphi, and Langley Park is known as a vibrant mix of Latin American, African and Asian communities. The following chapter introduces the Purple Line light rail, the characteristics of the Silver Spring and International Corridor sub-areas, and the PLCC.

4 Case Study Background

4.1 Background on the Purple Line

In August of 2017, surrounded by hundreds of Purple Line supporters and local elected officials, Maryland Governor Larry Hogan climbed into an excavator and tore down a small shed in New Carrollton, Maryland (Metcalf, 2017). This gathering celebrated breaking ground for the construction of the Purple Line light rail. Projected to open in 2026¹, the Purple Line route travels through diverse neighborhoods in the inner suburbs of Washington, DC. Initially proposed in 1989 by then-Governor William Donald Schaefer, the light rail project was planned to run along a recently abandoned 3-mile section of freight tracks in Montgomery County (Ross, 2014, p. 165). The proposed light rail route would connect the county's two largest job centers, Bethesda and Silver Spring. In 1997, as part of a study of transit alternatives to expanding the Washington DC Beltway, the MD State Highway administration developed plans for an extended light rail route that continued to the University of Maryland's College Park campus, Riverdale, and to New Carrollton in Prince George's County. The Purple Line project languished for two and-a-half decades under the on-again, off-again support of successive county executive and state gubernatorial administrations, and a lack of dedicated funding sources (Ross, 2014, pp. 165–171). Through this period, a grassroots advocacy organization, the Action Committee for Transit (ACT), organized a political coalition of homeowners, business interests, environmental groups, labor unions, and groups representing ethnic minorities to advance a bold vision for the Purple Line framed on social justice and the popular benefits that the line would provide (ibid). ACT's grassroots organizing helped align elected officials at the local and state levels in favor of the project, which moved forward with Governor Hogan's approval and federal funding secured in 2017 (ibid).

¹ As of this writing in August 2022

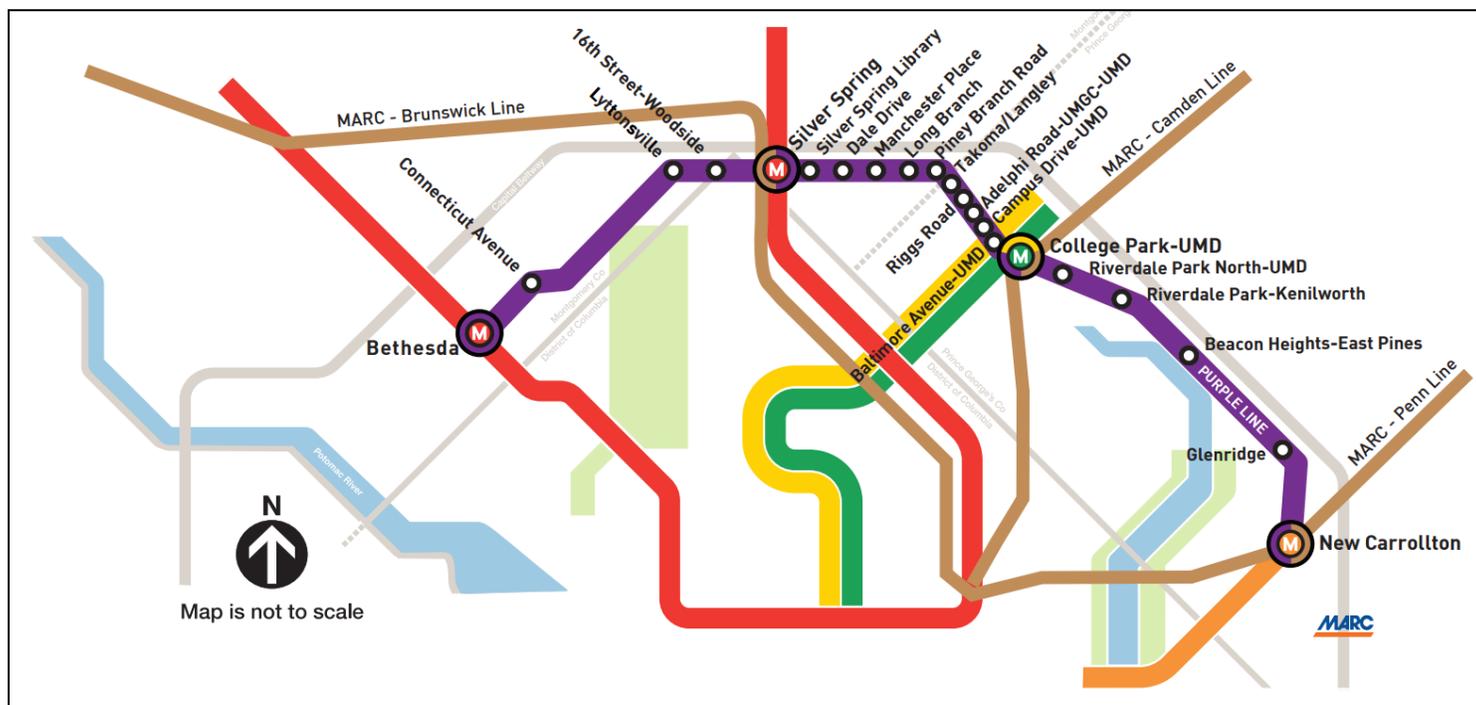


Figure 2. Purple Line Transit Map (MDOT MTA, 2022)

The Purple Line, depicted in Figure 2, deviates from the hub and spoke pattern of the Washington Metro system — originally designed to shuttle commuters from the suburbs to downtown — connecting job centers and neighborhoods in Washington’s inner suburbs previously unserved by rapid transit. As the Washington region matures into a polycentric form, with job growth increasingly concentrated in activity centers outside the urban core, the Purple Line is projected to increase residents’ access to jobs and opportunities across the region (National Capital Region TPB, 2022). The project, currently under construction, includes stops that connect to the Washington Metro system’s Red line (in Bethesda and Silver Spring), the Green and Yellow lines (in College Park), and the Orange line (in New Carrollton), along with three Maryland Area Rail Commuter (MARC) lines and an Amtrak route to New York City and beyond on the Northeast corridor. At a regional level, the Purple Line could provide opportunities to increase economic development in the east of the region, which has lacked the prosperity, jobs, and amenities concentrated in the west (Brookings Institute, 1999; Lung-Amam, 2018). Moreover, the line runs roughly parallel to, and inside the northern half of the DC Beltway, providing residents with an alternative to driving on the increasingly congested highway.

4.2 Housing and Community Characteristics Along the Purple Line Corridor

Serving as a bridge between the east and western halves of the region, and traversing some of its most affluent and impoverished neighborhoods, the Purple Line offers an opportunity for the region to become a model for how a transit project can spur equitable and sustainable urban development in North America. Yet, as mentioned above, TOD could also potentially contribute to localized displacement that would undermine the benefits of such growth patterns. Some neighborhoods are more vulnerable to displacement than others. This chapter provides an analysis of the socioeconomic and housing conditions in two different neighborhoods along the Purple Line, an overview of the history of land use planning in the region, and brief introduction to housing policy in local jurisdictions.

To help the reader understand the crux of the PLCC's organizing efforts, this section examines why certain neighborhoods are particularly vulnerable to inequitable development with the arrival of the Purple Line, focusing on these neighborhoods' demographic, housing, and transport characteristics.

Regional Profile

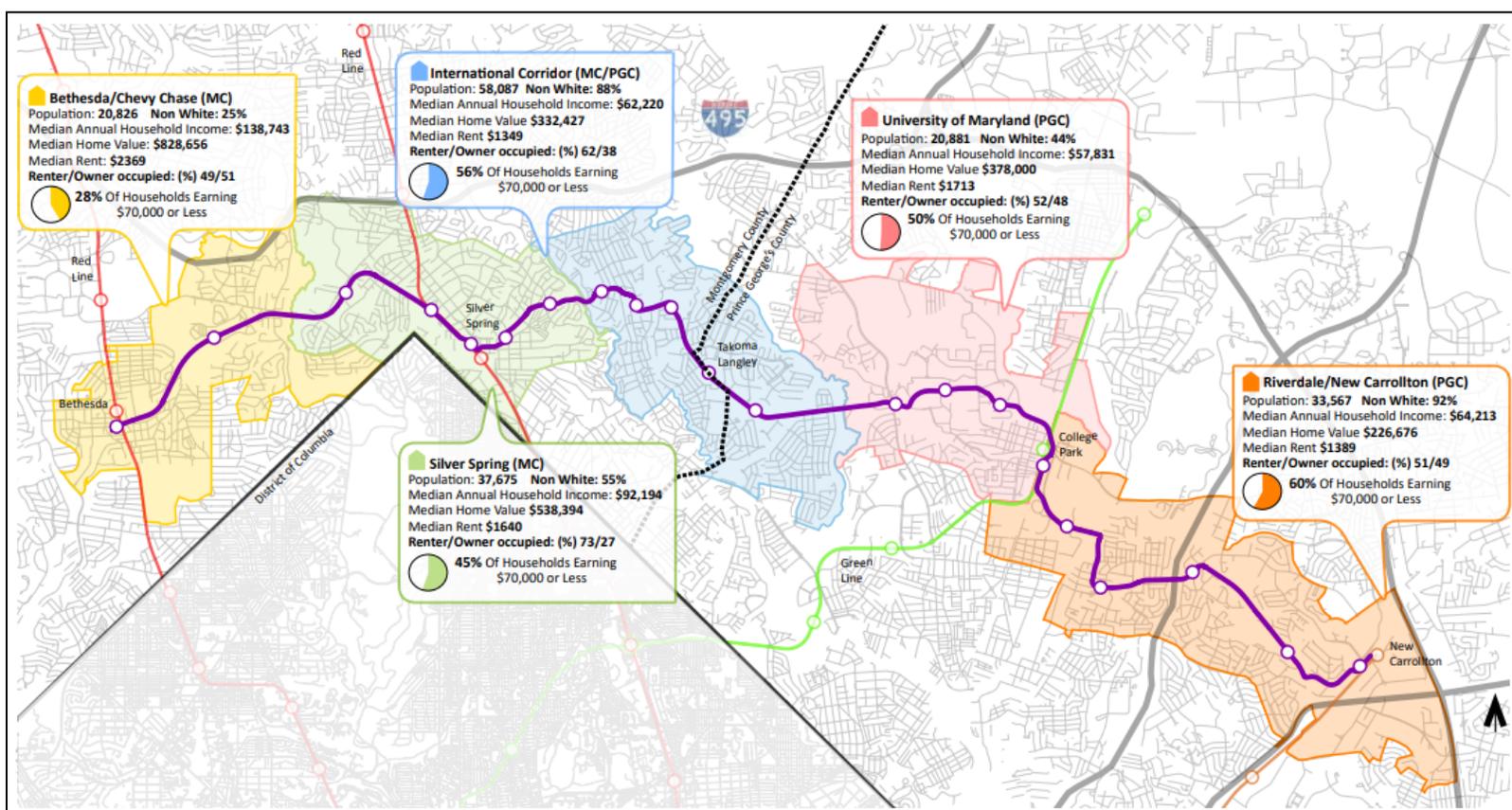
The greater Washington region is centered around the District of Columbia, which is sandwiched between two states: Maryland and Virginia. According to the 2020 U.S. Census, the Washington metropolitan area is home to about 6.4 million people, with about 1.06 million living in Montgomery County and about 967,000 in PG County (Tatian, 2022). The region's population grew by 13% between 2010 and 2020, the sixth fastest growing metropolitan region in the US during this period (ibid). The majority of the populations of both Montgomery and PG counties are concentrated in D.C.'s inner suburbs. These inner ring suburbs, bounded by the Washington Beltway, include streetcar suburbs and post-World War II subdivisions interspersed among dense urban centers. Today, the inner Maryland suburbs are served by the Red, Yellow/Green, and Orange Metro lines, as well as bus service operated by the Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority, Montgomery County, and Prince George's County.

Background on the Purple Line Corridor

The Purple Line corridor can neatly be divided into 5 sub-areas, as shown in a map from the PLCC's 2019 Housing Action Plan (Figure 3). The sub-areas include Bethesda/Chevy Chase and Silver Spring in Montgomery County, the International Corridor straddling the

Montgomery and Prince George's County line, and the University of Maryland and Riverdale/New Carrollton sub-areas in Prince George's County. According to the PLCC designation, the Purple Line corridor includes "block groups whose geographic centers are located within a half-mile of the Purple Line, and those block groups with more than 50 % area in the Purple Line half-mile buffer" (Purple Line Corridor Coalition, 2015b).

Figure 3. Purple Line sub-areas from PLCC Housing Action Plan (Purple Line Corridor Coalition, 2019, p. 62)



In the Purple Line corridor, gentrification-related displacement pressures seem to be distributed along the corridor but appear especially strong in low-income communities where individuals have less housing options available to them, and in communities that have seen less real estate investment than other neighborhoods in the region.

In a study of neighborhood change near new transit projects, Pollack et al. find that neighborhoods with a high number of renters are more susceptible to gentrification (Pollack, Bluestone and Billingham, 2010). Silver Spring, Long Branch, Langley Park and Riverdale are all communities with higher proportions of low-income residents along the corridor. In a

September 2022 interview, NCSG Director Gerrit Knapp pointed out that communities that currently lack Metro stations will experience more significant gains in transportation accessibility and thus may be subject to more dramatic changes in land market dynamics (Shaver, 2022). The International Corridor neighborhoods and Riverdale stand out as neighborhoods further from existing Metro stations. This research will examine the socio-economic and housing conditions prevalent in the International Corridor and Silver Spring sub-areas as a case study of how the PLCC influences housing affordability in Montgomery and Prince George's counties.

Overview of Housing Conditions in the Purple Line Corridor

The Purple Line Corridor contains a diverse mix of housing types from tall multi-family buildings near the Red Line metro in Bethesda and Silver Spring, to low-rise multi-family apartments in Langley Park, to single-family homes and townhouses in Riverdale. The majority of the housing stock throughout the corridor is over 40 years old. Two-thirds of homes in multi-family buildings and nearly nine out of every ten single family homes were constructed before 1979 (Purple Line Corridor Coalition, 2019, p. 65). The relative lack of newly constructed homes points to the trend of home construction lagging population growth in the last two decades. In order for the number of housing units in the region to match the projected job growth by 2030, an analysis by the Urban Institute and MWCOG estimates that at least 37,000 housing units should be constructed every year between 2020 and 2030 (Turner *et al.*, 2019). For reference, about 16,100 units were added each year on average between 2010 and 2018 (*ibid*).

The housing supply shortage leads to pressure on housing costs for households at all income levels, and makes it harder for households who move (for any reason) to find suitable housing in the region. Reflecting the trend in the broader metropolitan region, in the Purple Line Corridor, average rent and home prices steadily increased between 2006 and 2017 (Purple Line Corridor Coalition, 2019, p. 64). In addition to the housing supply targets, to increase housing affordability and meet the region's climate targets, MWCOG established goals of making 75% of new housing affordable to low- and middle-income households, and locating 75% of housing in activity centers or near high-capacity transit (Metropolitan Washington Council of Governments, 2019). Within the context of the regional housing supply shortage, the Purple Line would both stimulate demand for housing along the corridor and offer an opportunity for Montgomery and Prince George's counties to build denser, transit-accessible housing.

Generally, the median property value and median household incomes in each sub-area decrease from the west of the Corridor to the east (Purple Line Corridor Coalition, 2015a). Similarly, the median household income decreases from Bethesda to the International Corridor, then remains about the same through Riverdale/New Carrollton. Basic demographic and socio-economic data for each sub-area is displayed in Figure 2, above. In the International Corridor, 41% of the population makes below 60% of the AMI, with 16% making less than 30% of the area median income (AMI) (Purple Line Corridor Coalition, 2021b). In the Silver Spring sub-area, 28% of the population makes less than 60% of AMI with 16% making less than 30% of AMI (ibid).

Aside from the large student renter population in the University of Maryland sub-area, Latinx renter households have the highest housing cost burdens throughout the Corridor, with concentrations of Latinx households paying more than 30% of their income on housing in the International Corridor and surrounding neighborhoods, along with the neighborhoods of Lyttonsville north of Silver Spring, and Riverdale Park (ibid). Nearly three out of four households in Langley Park pay more than 30% of their income on housing with about 22% spending more than half (Purple Line Corridor Coalition, 2021b; Lung-Amam *et al.*, 2017). The largest absolute number of households paying more than 30% of their income on housing costs are located in the Silver Spring and International Corridor sub-areas (Purple Line Corridor Coalition, 2019, p. 64).

The Silver Spring and International Corridor sub-areas are also home to concentrations of lower cost market-rate housing units and units subsidized by the low-income Housing Tax Credit (LIHTC), Section 8 vouchers, and FHA mortgage insurance on loans. Inclusionary zoning in Montgomery County and low-income tax credit programs in both counties have also provided income-restricted affordable housing. Yet both federally subsidized and locally produced affordable units come with expiration dates. Many of the affordability restrictions on these units are set to expire in the coming decade, and preserving formal restrictions is a challenge to securing housing affordability in the Corridor. Reflecting this challenge, a central goal of the PLCC's housing platform is to preserve 17,000 homes affordable to households earning \$70,000 or less annually (Purple Line Corridor Coalition, 2019, p. 55). Of these 17,000 homes, three-quarters are located in PG County, and slightly more than half have formal affordability restrictions (Purple Line Corridor Coalition, 2019, p. 65).

International Corridor Profile

The International Corridor sub-area is split between Montgomery and PG counties. This sub-area has several characteristics that make it particularly vulnerable to gentrification-fueled displacement with the arrival of the Purple Line. These include low rates of political participation, a high proportion of renter households, and a concentration of so-called naturally occurring affordable housing.

Demographics

Home to about 56,000 residents, the International Corridor sub-area is concentrated around the neighborhood of Langley Park. Langley Park extends beyond the boundaries of the official Langley Park CDP, into parts of Montgomery County, including a section of the City of Takoma Park. The Langley Park census designated place (CDP)² is home to 20,000 residents, of which about 82% are Hispanic, and three-fifths are foreign born, many of whom come from South and Central America (US Census Bureau, 2022, Lung-Amam *et al.*, 2017). 21.7% of Langley Park residents live in poverty and 87.5% speak a language other than English at home (US Census Bureau, 2022). According to the Migration Policy Institute, Langley Park is home to the largest concentration of PG County's estimated 68,000 undocumented immigrants (Park and McHugh, 2014; Lung-Amam *et al.*, 2017).

Housing Profile

In the International Corridor, housing density is concentrated in Langley Park, where several large low-rise apartment complexes are distributed around the intersection of University Boulevard and New Hampshire Avenue. In 2019, the housing stock in the sub-area was about 59% multi-family units and 41% single family homes with about 61% of households renting their homes (Purple Line Corridor Coalition, 2021b). The majority of multi-family buildings in the International Corridor are low-rise garden-style apartment complexes, built between 1940 and 1979 (Lung-Amam *et al.*, 2017, p. 15). Lung-Amam *et al.* noted 69% of units in Langley Park are considered substandard due to high cost burdens, overcrowding, incomplete kitchens or incomplete plumbing (2017).

² This research cites demographic data for the CDP which excludes parts of the neighborhood outside of PG County.

With many complexes constructed in the mid-20th Century, tenants have reported pests, mold, and health hazards compounded by neglectful landlords (Lung-Amam, Pendall and Knaap, 2019). Advocates have reported predatory practices among landlords, including avoiding maintenance investments (*ibid*). In many Langley Park apartments, undocumented residents avoid reporting code violations and predatory landlord practices out of fear of deportation (not to mention eviction for residents who report code violations, with or without documents) (*ibid*). Planners must balance the ongoing challenges of improving the quality of housing today with longer-term efforts to prevent displacement and pursue affordable housing investments.

Overcrowding, another indicator of housing affordability, is five times more common in Langley Park than it is on average in PG County or Maryland (Lung-Amam *et al.*, 2017). In 2021, the average household size in Langley Park was 4.07, compared to 2.83 in PG County (US Bureau of the Census, 2022). In overcrowded housing units, unrelated individuals — often male workers — typically share the same unit to afford rent (Lung-Amam *et al.*, 2017).

Many such rental apartment units are affordable for lower-income households without government subsidies because they are in older buildings, have fewer amenities, and are in less desirable neighborhoods. These units are dubbed naturally occurring affordable housing (NOAH), because they lack income-restrictions but are cost-efficient to low-income households. Nationally, residents of NOAH units typically receive housing choice vouchers to help them cover housing costs. Lung-Amam *et al.* discuss how less than 1% of households in Langley Park receive housing assistance, attributing this to limited awareness of housing assistance programs and the lack of available funding for households who apply (*ibid*). Prince George's County has also struggled with outreach to Latinx residents, which some observers attribute to the lack of Latinx representation in the county government (Chason, 2022).

The arrival of the Purple Line is going to pose a high risk of displacement for residents living in NOAH units, because there are no restrictions on rent increases. Neither Montgomery nor PG County have residential rent stabilization programs. Only the city of Takoma Park (in Montgomery County) has a rent stabilization program, which affects about a dozen multi-family buildings in the Purple Line corridor near Langley Park (City of Takoma Park, 2016). For residents of NOAH units, the Purple Line is expected to cause rents to increase and create opportunities for property owners to redevelop buildings to cater to more affluent residents.

In Langley Park, in 2017, the majority of apartment complexes were owned by one of three companies, concentrating the fate of hundreds of residents' housing stability in the hands of a few property owners (Lung-Amam *et al.*, 2017, p. 16). Moreover, many of the affordability restrictions on housing units have set expiration dates agreed upon in the policies or negotiations at the time of their creation. The affordability agreement of 1577 units in the international corridor will expire in the next 30 years, including nearly 800 in the next decade (Purple Line Corridor Coalition, 2022b). The prevalence of high housing cost burdens highlights the vulnerability of households living in lower-cost housing to the market impacts of the Purple Line.

Transport Profile

In the International Corridor, about 25% of residents regularly use public transportation, which is equivalent to the rate of users in the entire Purple Line corridor, and much higher than the rates in both PG and Montgomery counties as a whole, and the rate in Maryland (Purple Line Corridor Coalition, 2015a, p. 12). In addition, 25% of sub-area residents regularly carpool (*ibid*). Carpooling and public transit access is facilitated by the centrally located Takoma-Langley transit center, which will house a future Purple Line station. This relatively high proportion of residents regularly taking public transit is only lower than the Silver Spring sub-area, which is served by the Red Line Metro. The 25% of International Corridor residents who regularly use transit rely on several bus lines that serve Long Branch and Langley Park. Moreover, Langley Park is home to many residents who are considered transit-dependent, with about a quarter of households not owning a vehicle and many adult residents lacking a driver's license (Lung-Amam, Pendall and Knaap, 2019). The relatively low levels of car ownership in Langley Park and of higher transit use in the International Corridor underscore the benefits that the Purple Line could bring to local residents. The map created by the NCSG in Figure 4, below, shows the substantial gains in accessibility that individuals starting a trip from the Takoma/Langley Transit station are expected to receive from the Purple Line.

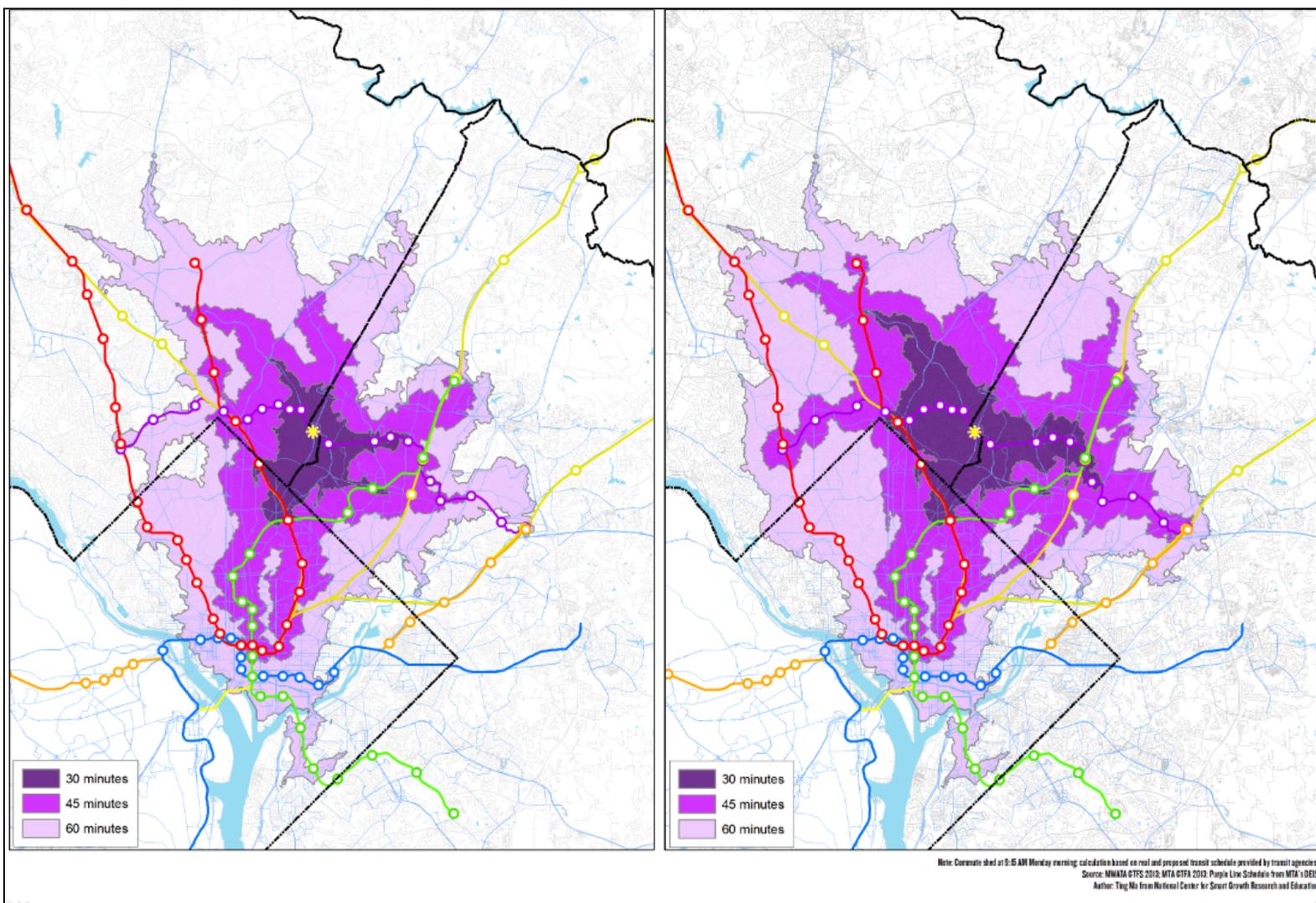


Figure 4. Transit Commute Shed of Takoma/Langley Transit Station without Purple Line (left) versus with Purple Line (right). The dark purple, magenta, and violet colors indicate the range of locations accessible in 30, 45, and 60 minutes by public transit, respectively (National Center for Smart Growth, 2015)

Silver Spring Profile

Demographics

Home to about 39,000 residents, the Silver Spring sub-area is centered on Downtown Silver Spring, a post-war mixed-use downtown area surrounded by the neighborhoods of Woodside, Lyttonsville, East Silver Spring, and Long Branch. The Silver Spring sub-area's population is about 43% non-Hispanic white, 34% African American, 14% Latinx, and 7% Asian. Located in Montgomery County, the Silver Spring sub-area does not include any incorporated

jurisdictions. The sub-area is home to the largest proportion of renters and multi-family units respectively, out of any corridor sub-area.

Housing Profile

In the Silver Spring sub-area, three quarters of households live in multi-family buildings and the other quarter in attached or detached single-family homes (Purple Line Corridor Coalition, 2021b). Out of the sub-area's population, 73% are renters, of whom about 44% spend more than 30% of their income on housing costs (ibid). Out of the 20,000 or so housing units in the sub-area, 2531 units have affordability agreements that are set to expire in the coming three decades, including 491 in the next decade (ibid). In all of the Purple Line Corridor, the highest housing densities are found around existing Red Line metro stations, including the Silver Spring station. The census tract that includes the Silver Spring station is home to about 8100 residents and had 4127 new housing units built between 2000-2019, 3935 of which were in multi-family buildings (Purple Line Corridor Coalition, 2019, p. 65). High-density residential TOD in Silver Spring and Bethesda account for the vast majority of new housing construction in the Corridor.

Long Branch is a community in the eastern portion of the Silver Spring sub-areas that is illustrative of the acute displacement risks that affect specific corridor neighborhoods. Similar to Langley Park, Long Branch includes a higher proportion of non-white, lower-income, and housing cost-burdened renter households than the Purple Line corridor as a whole, many of whom live in aging garden-style apartments that are classified as NOAH units (Montgomery Planning, 2010). In contrast to residents of similar apartments in Langley Park (or at least Langley Park residents that live in PG County), Long Branch is located in Montgomery County, and thus residents of NOAH units have more resources available to them to avoid being priced out of their homes, as is explained in Section 4.6.

Transport Profile

The Silver Spring sub-area has the largest share of residents who regularly use public transportation out of each of the five sub-areas, at 35% (Purple Line Corridor Coalition, 2015b). This is largely due to the Red Line Metro station in Silver Spring and the concerted planning efforts to surround it with high density TOD. Recent efforts to improve pedestrian, transit and bike infrastructure around Downtown Silver Spring, along with the opening of the Paul Sarbanes Transit Center have made it easier for residents to get around without a private car. In

Downtown Silver Spring, 45% of workers take public transportation to work, compared to 28% in adjacent communities (Montgomery Planning, 2021). The future Silver Spring Purple Line station will be located in the transit center, facilitating seamless connections between the Purple Line and the Red Line, Flash bus rapid transit service along Route 29, free VanGo circulator bus service operating in Downtown Silver Spring, local buses, and regional MARC trains.

Other neighborhoods in the Silver Spring sub-area have more suburban land use patterns with fewer public transportation options. Long Branch in particular is far from a Metro station, but has lower rates of commuting by car than the rest of Montgomery County, 60% versus 74% countywide (Montgomery Planning, 2010). Furthermore, of the Long Branch residents living in multi-family buildings, only 50% commute by car, while 37% take public transit and 8% walk or bike — more than twice the proportion of county residents who regularly take public transit, or walk or bike (ibid). Thus, the Purple Line is expected to provide significant gains in transport accessibility for residents of Long Branch.

To effectively plan neighborhood development, planners should not only be familiar with current socioeconomic conditions and behavior, but also with historical forces that shaped the present neighborhood. The following section recounts a brief history of the social and economic policies of the 20th Century that contributed to the segregation and uneven development of neighborhoods in the Washington region.

4.3 History of Discriminatory Urban Planning in the Region

Historians and scholars have studied how the socio-economic conditions in neighborhoods along the Purple Line corridor in Montgomery and PG counties today reflect land use development patterns set in motion by widespread and deliberate racially discriminatory policies adopted by every level of government until the late 20th century. Researchers have documented the extent of the federal Home Owners Loan Corporation's (HOLC) redlining maps in both counties, which established discriminatory lending guidelines based largely on the location of racial minority residents (Montgomery Planning, 2022a). Building on the HOLC maps, the Federal Housing Administration developed similar maps that guaranteed loan insurance and mortgage refinancing to developers and homeowners in predominantly white neighborhoods but largely forbade them in neighborhoods home to racial minority residents (Rothstein, 2017). In addition, racially restrictive housing covenants and deed restrictions permeated residential neighborhoods in the inner suburbs of both counties, explicitly prohibiting

racial and ethnic minorities from leasing or purchasing homes (Mohammadi and Woehlke, 2021). Though such covenants were ruled judicially unenforceable in the Supreme Court's *Shelley v. Kramer* decision in 1948, they were permitted in land records and perpetuated racial segregation until the Fair Housing Act in 1968. In his book *The Color of Law*, Richard Rothstein documents how these and other policies perpetuated de jure racial segregation and locked African Americans and other racial minorities out of the post-WWII boom in suburban homeownership that granted millions of white Americans and their children access to the middle class (2017).

In the DC region, the legacy of discriminatory housing and land use policy is reflected in the racial wealth gap between white, African-American, and Latinx households (Elizondo, 2022). Today, prevalent exclusionary single-family zoning in DC's inner ring suburbs prohibits the construction of multi-family homes, restricting who can afford to live in high-opportunity neighborhoods and perpetuating racial and economic segregation (Manville, Monkkonen and Lens, 2020).

Racist land use and housing policy of the 20th century and present-day policies that preserve segregated spatial arrangements have influenced the socio-economic composition of neighborhoods along the Purple Line corridor. Two examples illustrate the subtle, and not-so-subtle ways in which discriminatory land use policy decisions can lead to decades-long patterns of inequity. In Montgomery County, in 1964, planners decided to remove the I-95/Route 29 corridor in the eastern part of the county from a list of areas suitable for growth in the *On Wedges and Corridors* general plan (Montgomery Planning, 2022c, p. 25). This decision led to cycles of public and private investments in infrastructure in western areas of the county, while neighborhoods in the east, home to many African-Americans and ethnic minorities, stagnated economically (ibid).

In PG County, in 1970, the tight-knit African American community in Lakeland near College Park was largely uprooted by a federally-funded urban renewal plan (Lakeland Community Heritage Project, 2009). The plan led to the demolition of homes and the construction of townhomes and multi-family buildings, largely for students at UMD. The urban renewal process displaced over two-thirds of households, who were unable to resettle in Lakeland later on. Similar to other federally-funded urban renewal projects around the Washington area, the planning process had disparate impacts on an African-American community, preventing its residents from sharing in the prosperity of living (and owning a home)

in an well-resourced community with an established social network. In 2021, the PLCC and several partners held a webinar with residents of Lakeland and other communities to discuss the racially discriminatory impacts of 20th Century planning decisions, and to stress the need to pursue deliberately inclusive plans around the Purple Line today to avoid repeating these inequitable development patterns (*Connecting the Corridor: A Century of Racism and Resilience Along the Purple Line*, 2021). For the Purple Line to be a tool for racial and economic equity, planners and policymakers have to reckon with the history of urban planning decisions to not only prevent harm, but to ensure just community development in the region.

4.4 Regional Economic and Demographic Trends

The Growth of Suburban Poverty

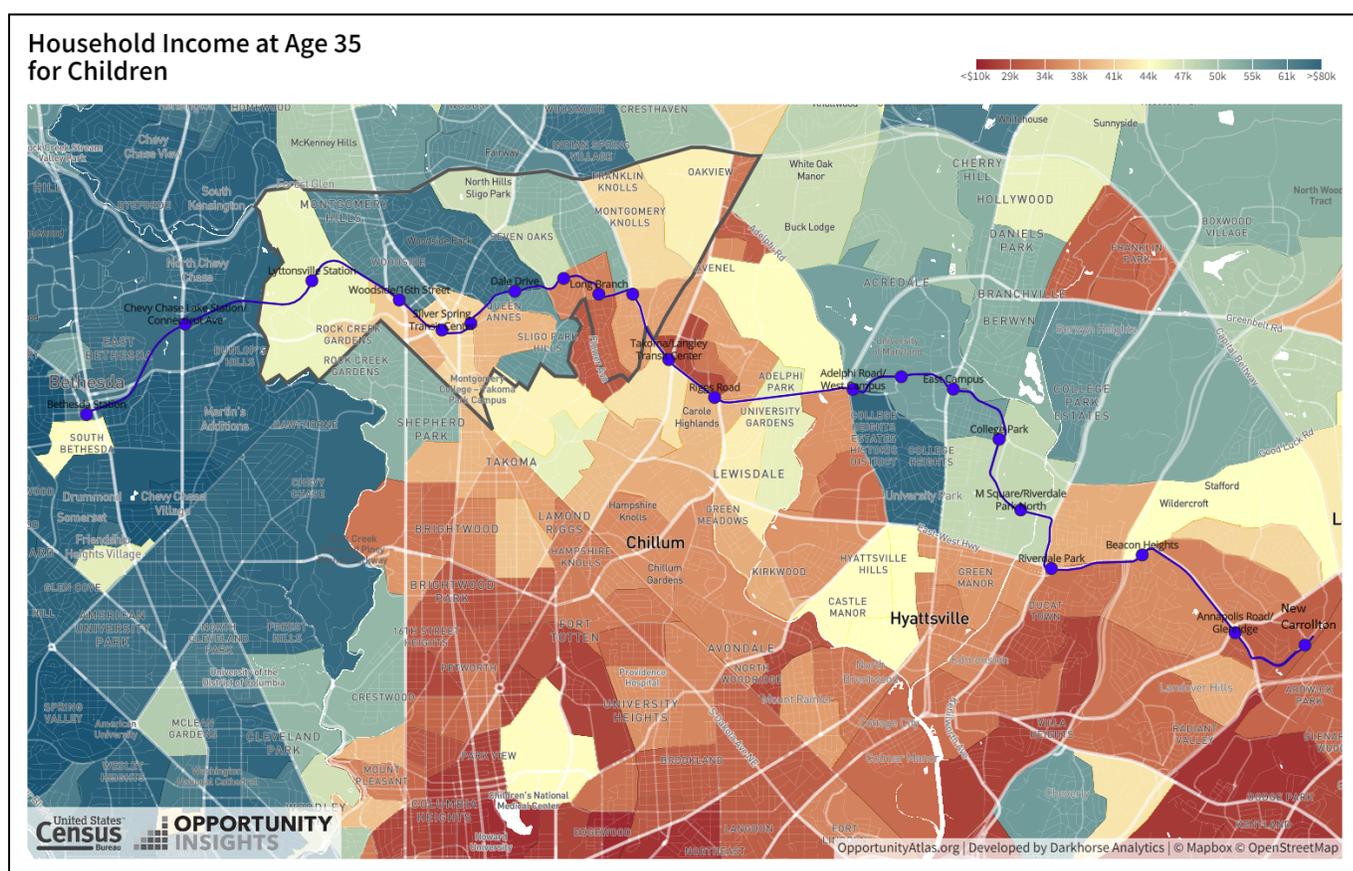
The PLCC's efforts to promote ETOD around the Purple Line are intended to strike a balance between reforming low-density, auto-oriented neighborhoods and remediating growing poverty levels in suburbia. Since the early 1990s, in what researchers have called the *urban inversion*, the inner-ring suburbs of many US metropolitan areas have seen a rise in poverty, coinciding with an influx of upper- and middle-class residents in urban cores (Hanlon, 2012; Ehrenhalt, 2013). This trend has been attributed to the aging and thus more affordable housing stock in inner-ring suburbs, gentrification (and displacement) in urban centers, and the growth of immigration directly to suburban neighborhoods (Lung-Amam, Anacker and Finio, 2022). The growth of poverty in the suburbs has accelerated since 2000, and especially after the Great Recession starting in 2007 (Roth and Allard, 2015). By 2010, America's inner suburbs contained a larger number of low-income residents, minorities, and immigrants than urban areas (Kneebone and Berube, 2014).

Many researchers have studied how the characteristics of the neighborhood one grows up and lives in influences their life outcomes (Ellen and Turner, 1997). Galster introduced an influential theory of "neighborhood effects" which posits that neighborhoods influence individuals through social-interactive, geographical, environmental, and institutional mechanisms (2012). High-poverty neighborhoods negatively influence residents through all four mechanisms. Chetty et al. recently evaluated how children's lifetime earnings are influenced by the neighborhoods they grow up in, and found that children from poor and socio-economically segregated neighborhoods tend to have low economic mobility (2014).

To illustrate one measure of the neighborhood effects of communities in the Purple Line corridor, I mapped the Purple Line route onto maps displaying data from Chetty et al.'s

Opportunity Atlas project (2020). The upward mobility of children growing up in neighborhoods in the Purple Line corridor is displayed in Figure 5, below; upward mobility is measured in terms of the household income at age 35 of a child who grew up in a specific census tract, relative to the national median household income. The lower adult-incomes of children who grew up along the Purple Line corridor are in and around Langley Park, Long Branch, Riverdale and New Carrollton.

Figure 5. Household income at age 35 for children growing up in census tracts in the Purple Line corridor overlaid with the Purple Line route and stations. The coloring indicates income relative to national median income levels (Chetty et al., 2020; modified by author, 2022)



To respond to the needs of residents living in neighborhoods with concentrated poverty, many urban areas have developed social service infrastructure provided by public, private, and non-profit organizations. However, these services are less developed or non-existent in many suburbs (Roth and Allard, 2015). Concentrated poverty in suburbs has proven more difficult to address than urban poverty due to a variety of reasons including a lack of public and private funding for social service organizations, the burden of operating in multiple, spread-out jurisdictions, and weak networks for collaboration (ibid). Moreover, the widespread perception of

poverty as an urban problem, combined with anti-immigrant and exclusionary “not in my backyard” (NIMBY) political sentiments hamper the efforts of social service providers operating in suburban neighborhoods (ibid).

An urban inversion has clearly taken place in the D.C. region over the last three decades. Though concentrated poverty (neighborhoods with poverty levels above 40%) has remained prevalent in D.C.’s Northeast and Southeast neighborhoods, the number of neighborhoods with poverty levels between 10 and 30% have grown rapidly in the region’s inner and outer suburbs (Lung-Amam, Anacker and Finio, 2022). During this period, neighborhoods in Montgomery and Prince George’s counties have both experienced rising poverty rates. Lung-Amam et al. documented the suburbanization of poverty in PG County’s inner suburbs like Langley Park, which they attribute in part to the increase in immigrant arrivals to the neighborhood over the last three decades. Rather than move to urban ethnic enclaves like earlier generations of immigrants, many recent immigrants moved directly to suburban “edge gateways” instead (Price and Singer, 2005, as cited in Lung-Amam, Anacker and Finio, 2022). Reflecting this trend, between 1970 and 1990, the percentage of Latinx residents grew from 2% to almost 20% of those living in poverty in the DC region (ibid).

As the Washington D.C. region’s population has grown, the percentage of the population living below the federal poverty line is still two-thirds of the national average — 8.7% compared to 12.8% — reflecting the region’s relative prosperity (US Bureau of the Census, 2021c). Nevertheless, as poverty in the region expands to inner-ring suburbs, new planning, policy, and organizing strategies are necessary to remediate poverty in the suburban governing context. The deliberate efforts to plan inclusive development in the Purple Line corridor are intended as one such strategy to reduce poverty in Maryland’s inner-ring suburbs without displacing lower income residents. In Langley Park, researchers from the nearby University of Maryland have studied ongoing efforts to engage community members in Purple Line planning, including efforts to preserve affordable housing in a community with few subsidized housing options and a low rate of homeownership (Lung-Amam, 2014).

This study intends to investigate the organization of collaborative ETOD planning efforts, with a focus on the efforts to promote equitable growth and to deconcentrate poverty in low-income suburban neighborhoods. Central to these efforts is the provision of stable and affordable housing. What follows is an overview of the affordable housing policy in Montgomery and Prince George’s counties.

4.5 Local Affordable Housing Policy

The state of Maryland has long been a center of smart growth planning, with a history of elected officials promoting initiatives to curb sprawl and focus compact development around public transport. Montgomery County, in particular, has also been a national leader in affordable housing policy. In 1973, Montgomery County adopted one of the first inclusionary zoning programs in the United States, called the Moderately Priced Dwelling Unit (MPDU) program. The MPDU program requires developers to provide between 12.5% to 15% of units in developments of 20 or more units county-wide to households that earn between 50 to 80% of AMI (Montgomery County DHCA, 2014). The county also grants the public housing authority, the Housing Opportunities Commission (HOC), and other non-profit housing organizations the right to purchase up to 40% of MPDUs, helping to create deeper affordability levels and longer-lasting income restrictions (ibid, Hickey, 2014, p. 74). As of 2014, the program created over 14,000 rental and for-sale units affordable to low and moderate income households (Hickey, 2014, p. 74). This program has been touted as a successful model of socio-economic integration, rather than a policy to meet aggregate demand for affordable housing (Orfield, 2006; Ross, 2014). For example, in a study of the program, Schwartz found that children living in MPDUs attend schools that have lower poverty levels and tend to perform better in school than children from similar socioeconomic backgrounds perform elsewhere (2012).

Montgomery County also operates a housing trust fund, called the Housing Initiative Fund (HIF), which was created in 1988³. The HIF is entirely funded by county revenue, and is invested in affordable multi-family housing acquisition, preservation, and development. HIF funds are distributed as loans, typically supplementing other financing sources, with income restrictions recorded in rental agreements and deeds. Since 2010, the HIF has helped preserve over 6500 housing units countywide (Montgomery County DHCA, 2019). The HIF supports the operations of the Housing Opportunities Commission, which has owned and managed affordable housing since 1974.

³ Initially largely funded by the federal government, the HOC shifted in model in response to cuts in federal funding for affordable housing in the 1980s. Since the late 1980s, the HOC has developed and operated mixed-income public housing, funded entirely by its revenue and local and state funds (Housing Opportunities Commission of Montgomery County, 2022). Currently operating over 14,000 homes in the County, the HOC is touted as a model for locally-funded public housing development in the United States (Williams, 2022).

HOC and other non-profit housing organizations have benefited from Montgomery County's right of first refusal (ROFR) program, which grants the County the right to purchase or assign a mission-driven developer the right to purchase a multi-family property that goes up for sale or condominium conversion. This program intends to preserve affordability levels in multi-family housing units, and requires deed restrictions in properties sold to third-party developers.

Montgomery County also uses various tools to negotiate with property owners. DHCA has used a payments in lieu of taxes (PILOTs) program to negotiate lower property and special area taxes for property owners in return for their providing affordable housing units (Montgomery County DHCA, 2019). The sum of all tax abatements under the PILOT program is capped as part of the annual county budget. The Planning Department has also negotiated redevelopment approvals with property owners in return for a certain number of income restricted units (interview with Lisa Govoni, August 22, 2022). This strategy is typically used to preserve or create "workforce housing" units, which are restricted to rents between 80% and 120 % of AMI. In sum, the County employs a combination of tools on a property-by-property basis to preserve and develop affordable housing.

In comparison, PG County has only recently developed its affordable housing policy toolbox. The county first funded its Housing Production Trust Fund in 2018. It adopted a ROFR policy in 2013, which it didn't use until the program was amended and given a dedicated source of funding in 2021 (Prince George's County DHCD, 2022b). Similar to Montgomery County, PG also uses PILOTs to negotiate rental agreements with property owners and subsidize affordable housing developments. In contrast to Montgomery County, PG County does not have an inclusionary zoning ordinance, after a short-lived program was repealed in 1996 (Lung-Amam *et al.*, 2017, p. 32).

PG County's relative lack of mature affordable housing policies compared to Montgomery County reflects differences in socio-economic conditions and political history in the two counties. More than 6 out of 10 residents in Prince George's County are African-American, and 2 out of 10 are Latinx (US Bureau of the Census, 2021b). Despite living in one of the wealthiest majority African-American counties in the US, PG County's sizable African-American population falls largely in the middle-class of the affluent D.C. region (Lung-Amam, 2014, p. 11). PG has lagged behind Montgomery County and other neighboring jurisdictions in population and economic growth. In 2021, 9.5% of PG County residents lived in poverty, compared to 6.7%

in Montgomery County (US Bureau of the Census, 2021b, 2021a). In the same year, median home values and rents in Montgomery County were 53% and 19% higher than those in PG, respectively (US Bureau of the Census, 2021b, 2021a). Emblematic of the broader east-west divide that afflicts the Washington D.C. region, the economic divide between PG and Montgomery County has been attributed to institutional racial discrimination and a history of corruption in PG County's government (Lung-Amam, 2014).

Inequality between PG County and the rest of the DC region has contributed to distinct dynamics in the politics of urban development within PG County. In the 1990s and early 2000s, PG County elected officials felt that their county provided an outsize number of affordable homes compared to other jurisdictions in the region. Fueled by a desire to increase the county's tax base and improve public services to appeal to the large middle-class population, elected officials in the late 1990s rejected efforts to increase affordable housing development in favor of higher-priced single family homes (Lung-Amam *et al.*, 2017, p. 6). Urban development researcher Willow Lung-Amam describes how in 1998, PG County Executive Wayne K. Curry set a goal of reducing the number of apartments in PG County by 30%, in part by ramping up property inspections and forcing property owners with code violations to renovate or lose their property (*ibid*).

The opposition to affordable housing development reflected complex race and class dynamics in PG County, including the disproportionate lack of Latinx populations' representation in the county government. Latinx neighborhoods in PG County, such as Langley Park, have traditionally lacked representation on the County Council, which has historically been made up of African-American members who represent wealthier African-American neighborhoods with more homeowners (Lung-Amam, Pendall and Knaap, 2019). Despite Latinx residents making up over a fifth of the County population, there was only one Latinx County Council member on the eleven member Council serving in 2022, Council Member Taveras, whose term ended in December 2022 and whose successor is African American. Council Member Taveras's district has the highest poverty rate in the county, and is predominately Latinx. The lack of representation has led to less political attention given to issues facing Latinx populations, including affordable housing policies (interview with Council Member Taveras, November 15th, 2022, Chason, 2022).

Elected officials' outright rejection of policies to increase housing affordability for low-income residents of PG County continued until the early 2010s, when CE Rushern Baker

and the PG County Council slowly shifted to advance affordable housing plans and programs. These efforts grew as PG County residents increasingly struggled with the region's rising housing costs and advocates mobilized for affordable housing policy. Since she was first elected in 2018, CE Alsobrooks and the County Council have spearheaded the development of PG County's affordable housing policy toolbox, which is only starting to catch up to that of Montgomery County.

4.6 Overview of Purple Line

The Purple Line has the potential to remake the landscape of the built environment and with it, the demographics and fabric of neighborhoods along its path. The increased accessibility created by the light rail is expected to create new economic and social dynamics in neighborhoods along the corridor. The Purple Line under construction may already be attracting investment to communities that have long been overlooked by real estate investors, such as Langley Park and Long Branch (interview with Deni Taveras, November 15, 2022). Renewed investment can support higher densities in areas that previously couldn't, provided the zoning regulations allow it. The increased density and accessibility provided by new rail lines tend to raise surrounding land values (Baker and Lee, 2019). Research on land market dynamics around new rail lines in US cities suggests that rising land values are typically more pronounced in neighborhoods with concentrations of low-cost housing, where large numbers of low-income, renter households live (Pollack, Bluestone and Billingham, 2010). Both the Silver Spring and International Corridor sub-areas include communities with high numbers of renters already burdened by high housing costs. On top of this, several communities including Langley Park have large numbers of non-native English speakers and documented and undocumented immigrant residents, who tend to be less involved in local politics and have less social capital to influence the course of development in their communities.

The increased appetite for development threatens to disrupt these communities by increasing housing costs and displacement risks, preventing those who stand to gain the most from the benefits of the Purple Line. On the other hand, increased investment creates an opportunity for inclusive economic development for lower-income communities. This research investigates the planning initiative led by the Purple Line Corridor Coalition, which aims to complement the organizing efforts of local community-based organizations and push for the policy changes and investments needed to steer the neighborhood change created by the Purple Line toward equitable outcomes.

4.7 Introduce PLCC

Started in 2013, the Purple Line Corridor Coalition is an institutional collaborative aspiring to promote “equitable growth, with inclusive benefits for those who live, work and invest in the corridor through a commitment to increasing access via public transportation to housing choices, job and small business opportunities, and communities that are vibrant and sustainable” (Purple Line Corridor Coalition, 2017a). The coalition is led and administered by the University of Maryland’s National Center for Smart Growth (NCSG), a research institute that focuses on sustainable urban and regional planning. Started by NCSG Director Gerrit Knaap, the PLCC initially was operated by NCSG staff and student researchers. The coalition now has one full-time staff member, Director Sheila Somashekhar, several consultants, and support staff who work with the NCSG, along with members that include elected officials, government agency staff, community advocates, developers, and experts from charitable organizations. The cross-jurisdiction, institutional structure of the coalition took after other models of ETOD collaboratives including the Central Corridor Funders Collaborative organized around the Green Line light rail project in Minneapolis and Mile High Connects, a coalition working towards ETOD across the Denver region (Purple Line Corridor Coalition, 2014a). Moreover, Knaap and other early coalition leaders said they were inspired by research on collective impact, a systems-thinking approach to tackling complex social issues (ibid). Collective impact initiatives align diverse actors with a common commitment to address a specific social problem (Kania, John and Kramer, Mark, 2011). Collective impact collaboratives “involve a centralized infrastructure, a dedicated staff, and a structured process that leads to a common agenda, shared measurement, continuous communication, and mutually-reinforcing activities among all participants” (ibid). In Maryland, PLCC founders wanted to align public, private, and community organizations who were ostensibly committed to the same overarching goal of inclusive growth around Purple Line stations to increase their capacity and power to influence urban development in the corridor (interview with Sheila Somashekhar, October 3, 2022).

The Coalition structure, depicted in Figure 6 below, is composed of one staff member, an operations committee, steering committee, four subgroups working on the Coalition’s primary goals, advisory tables, and other members and stakeholders. The Coalition’s four goal areas are providing housing choices for all, supporting and growing local businesses, building a thriving labor market, and supporting vibrant communities. The steering committee is composed of the NCSG and 13 other stakeholders including elected officials from Montgomery and Prince George’s counties, the planning and housing departments from both counties, non-profit

organizations, community-based organizations, charitable groups, and a private sector firm. The members are listed in Table 1 below, with their assigned subgroup roles and organizational types.

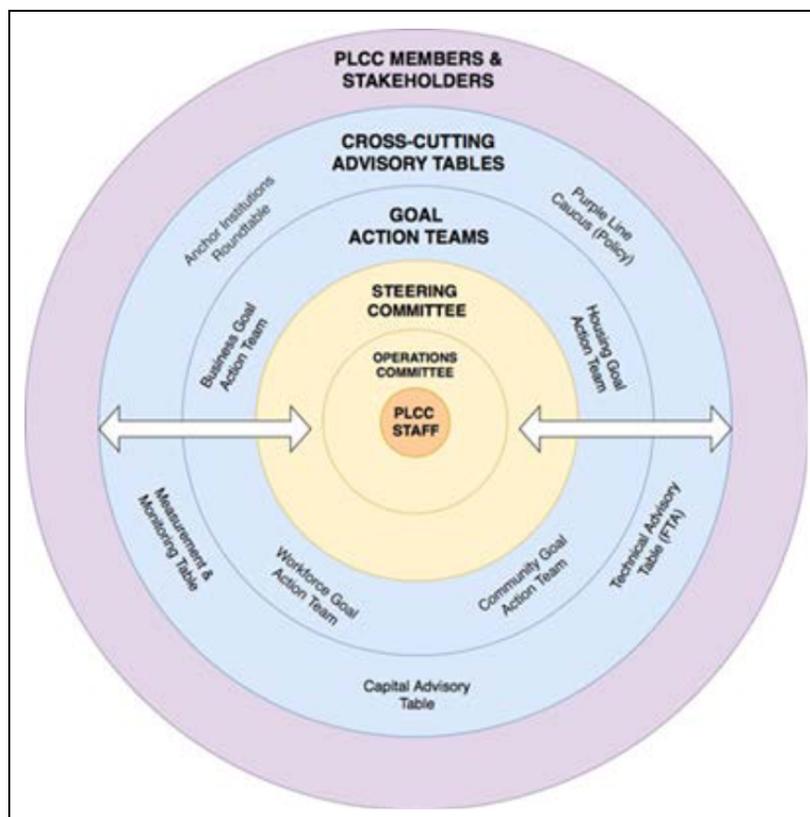


Figure 6. Diagram of PLCC Structure from the Housing Action Plan (Purple Line (Purple Line Corridor Coalition, 2019)

Table 1. PLCC Steering Committee members

PLCC Steering Committee Member and (role)	Type of Actor
National Center for Smart Growth at University of Maryland (co-chair, PLCC lead)	Academic institute at a public university
Enterprise Community Partners (co-chair, Housing)	National non-profit housing organization

Montgomery County Executive's office	Elected official's office
Prince George's County Executive's office	Elected official's office
Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission Prince George's	Government agency
Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission Montgomery	Government agency
CASA (co-chair, Small Business)	Community-based organization
Montgomery Housing Partnership (co-chair, Housing)	Non-profit housing provider
Housing Initiative Partnership (co-chair, Housing)	Non-profit housing provider
Latino Economic Development Center (co-chair, Small Business)	Regional non-profit organization
Purple Line Now (co-chair, Sustainable Neighborhoods)	Non-profit advocacy organization
Kaiser Permanente (co-chair, Housing)	Consortium of for-profit and non-profit healthcare organizations
Prince George's County Councilmember Dannielle Glaros	Elected official
Montgomery County Councilmember Evan Glass	Elected official

To date, the most significant achievement of the PLCC was the adoption of *Pathways to Opportunity*, a community development agreement (CDA) for the Purple Line Corridor in November 2017. Developed by over 300 residents, business owners, non-profit leaders, and public officials (Lung-Amam, Pendall and Knaap, 2019), this non-binding agreement acknowledged that the Purple Line created both an economic opportunity for the region and a risk of displacement for low- and middle-income residents and small businesses without policy safeguards in place (Purple Line Corridor Coalition, 2017b). The CDA codified signatories' "strong commitment" towards the four aforementioned goal areas, including one related to housing: "Housing opportunities are available for people of all incomes in communities throughout the corridor, especially current low- and middle-income, and transit-dependent residents" (Purple Line Corridor Coalition, 2017b). Signatories, including PLCC leaders and dozens of local elected officials, municipalities, organizations and businesses, agreed to pursue and evaluate annual progress toward the goals, strategies, and indicators set out in the Agreement (Purple Line Corridor Coalition, 2017b). The following chapter documents the findings of this research into the organization structure of the PLCC.

5 Findings: Analyzing the PLCC Structure

In Chapter 5, I report the findings of my research into the organizational arrangements of the PLCC, organized into the categories of the Institutional Analysis and Development framework. Building on the case study background information in Chapter 4, this chapter presents the structure of the PLCC, divided into five sections: the action arena, the actors, the modes of interaction, the rules in use, and the outcomes.

5.1 Action Arena

What does the PLCC do or how does it advocate for its goals and influence decision-making? The actions are initiated and led by the PLCC steering committee. The committee's main responsibilities are to align members toward general goals, demonstrate thought leadership on ETOD around the Purple Line, and ensure the coalition is institutionally set up to operate smoothly. The detailed work on housing advocacy and planning occurs primarily in the Housing Accelerator Action Team (HAAT) working group. Thus, my focus on housing issues leads me to use the HAAT as an "action arena," the scale of analysis of the IAD framework. The HAAT holds regular meetings every two to three months, in which the group typically focuses on discussing a recently released PLCC report, receiving updates from housing or planning agency staff, or hosting a panel discussion with stakeholders who have expertise on a specific subject. Meetings are open to the public and have been held online since early 2020 due to COVID-19 precautions. This study evaluates the HAAT's structure and organizing strategy.

5.2 Actors

The actors involved in the HAAT working group include a wide range of stakeholders with different levels of participation. The HAAT is co-chaired by Montgomery Housing Partnership (MHP), Housing Initiative Partnership (HIP), Enterprise Community Partners, and Kaiser Permanente. Both MHP and HIP are non-profit housing developers and providers operating primarily in Montgomery and Prince George's counties, respectively. Enterprise Community Partners is a national non-profit housing organization that finances, develops, and advocates for affordable housing. Kaiser Permanente is a national consortium of for- and non-profit healthcare entities. Kaiser's community health arm in the mid-Atlantic region participates in the HAAT. Working group chairs are expected to organize action team meetings,

plan agendas, facilitate meetings, speak on behalf of the PLCC, and co-lead the team's policy development and organizing work (Purple Line Corridor Coalition, 2014b).

Non-chair HAAT members include Montgomery County's public housing authority Housing Opportunities Commission, and transit and environmental advocacy organizations such as Purple Line Now and the Coalition for Smarter Growth. Other members of the PLCC and local stakeholders regularly participate in HAAT meetings, notably staff from the two counties' government housing departments.

During the March 2022 meeting, for instance, several people joined the meeting to discuss opportunities to increase home ownership in the corridor, including staff from the state of Maryland, Montgomery and Prince George's County's respective housing departments, a staff member from Centro de Apoyo Familiar, a non-profit housing counseling agency primarily serving Latinx residents in PG County, a mortgage loan officer from M&T Bank, the Housing manager from the City of Takoma Park, and a staff member from Habitat for Humanity Metro Maryland. These attendees are representative of the diverse and rotating cast of actors from different regional housing stakeholder groups who attend the bimonthly HAAT meetings.

Ostensibly, according to the memorandum of partnership, the HAAT members are motivated to participate in the PLCC by a desire to further the common objectives of the coalition, and specifically those related to housing, which are spelled out in the community development agreement (Purple Line Corridor Coalition, 2014b, 2017b). Yet, each of the actors also seems to have distinct individual interests that motivate them to engage in the PLCC. MHP and HIP, for instance, likely want to gain access to competitive grants, affordable housing development opportunities, and loan financing through the coalition's network. In an interview, Chris Gillis of MHP expressed that while his participation in the coalition aligns with the advocacy objectives of his organization, MHP's participation has been materially awarded by the PLCC: "They [the PLCC] helped secure private capital from JP Morgan Chase and Kaiser [Permanente] for some of our [MHP's] affordable housing projects," Gillis noted (interview with author, September 30, 2022). Moreover, the PLCC helped MHP receive a \$100,000 grant from the Montgomery County Economic Development Corporation to support small businesses in Long Branch (*ibid*).

In another example, the national affordable housing NGO Enterprise Community Partners likely engages with the PLCC to leverage local government and NGO expertise, and the network's financing opportunities for affordable housing development projects.

Meanwhile, Kaiser Permanente outwardly seeks to increase housing affordability in the region as part of its efforts to improve community health. Kaiser has contributed \$5M to a

flexible loan fund for affordable housing along the Purple Line as part of its legally required community benefit contributions as a private healthcare provider (Kaiser Permanente, 2021).

Though I have no proof, observers might speculate that elected officials' participation in the PLCC is a means of gaining the political support of constituents who favor equitable development.

Thus, the various actors have distinct interests and goals that motivate them in different ways to participate in the PLCC. This study analyzes how these different motivating factors influence actors' decision-making, shape the operations of the coalition as a whole, and how the coalition resolves any conflicts arising out of these differences.

5.3 Patterns of Interaction

In this section, I present the two primary types of interactions that I identified in the HAAT, and discuss how they have shaped the group's work on housing affordability issues. The two types are: (1) sharing data and policy expertise, and (2) engaging community members and stakeholders.

Sharing data and technical expertise

One of the primary activities that the HAAT engages in is producing, gathering, and sharing information related to Purple Line corridor housing conditions, socioeconomic dynamics, policy tools, and the affordable housing development process. The NCSG and other PLCC members have developed databases and reports documenting neighborhood and property level characteristics along the Purple Line corridor. A trove of data is housed in four interactive tools, which are described in Table 2, below. Each tool has a detailed tutorial to help users access the data.

Table 2. Interactive data tools managed by the PLCC (Purple Line Corridor Coalition, 2017e)

Tool	Description
Purple Line Plan and Regulation Information Tool (National Center for Smart Growth, 2021)	An interactive map aggregating land use regulations and plans for each parcel in the Purple Line corridor. A tutorial is provided with step-by-step use cases for developers, community advocates, planners, small business owners, and field researchers.
Purple Line Corridor Data Dashboard (National Center for Smart Growth and Purple Line Corridor Coalition, 2021)	A dashboard with demographic, economic, employment, and housing data for the Purple Line Corridor. The data is interactively displayed in maps and graphs, for each of the five corridor sub-areas. This tool is occasionally updated to track progress towards the PLCC's goals, which are listed next to relevant data displays.
Purple Line Corridor Data Maps (National Center for Smart Growth, 2015)	A compendium of maps visualizing demographic, economic, land use, and transport characteristics by census block group or Purple Line station. These maps were created as part of the <i>Understanding Opportunities and Challenges</i> report (Purple Line Corridor Coalition, 2015b)
Purple Line Corridor Housing Data (National Center for Smart Growth and Colvin Institute, 2021)	A map of multifamily housing properties in Montgomery and Prince George's counties. The data includes characteristics of housing including rent by number of bedrooms (in 2016), % change in rent by number of bedrooms (2015-16), age, zoning, type of ownership, % vacant, subsidies, proximity to Purple Line and Metro stations, and a number

	<p>of metrics indicating the relative affordability and redevelopment potential of a property. The rental data is from Montgomery and PG County rental surveys, MD state tax assessments, and a HUD housing preservation database.</p>
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In addition to data tools, the PLCC has released several reports on housing issues authored jointly by members, NCSG staff, and paid consultants. These include:

- *Beyond the Tracks: An Agenda for Community and Economic Development in the Purple Line Corridor* (2014), which codified the commitments made by dozens of nonprofit, civic, philanthropic, private, and public sector stakeholder organizations and laid out an agenda to support inclusive community and economic development in neighborhoods adjacent to Purple Line stations (Purple Line Corridor Coalition, 2014, p. 6). These include commitments to preserve existing affordable housing, develop inclusive housing policies, and “prevent extensive displacement” (ibid).
- *Understanding Opportunities and Challenges: A Review of the Purple Line Transit Corridor* (2015), which provided an overview of housing conditions in the corridor and highlighted areas of concern including the concentration of rent-burdened households in the International Corridor sub-area (Purple Line Corridor Coalition, 2015b, p. 27). This report also highlighted the large number of subsidized housing units in Silver Spring and in the International Corridor in which the formal income restrictions were set to expire before 2020 (ibid).
- *Preparing for the Purple Line: Affordable Housing Strategies for Langley Park, Maryland* (2017), which provides an in-depth overview of Langley Park’s housing and socioeconomic characteristics, examines why it is particularly vulnerable to displacement from the Purple Line, and recommends specific strategies to preserve and create affordable housing (Lung-Amam *et al.*, 2017).
- *Housing Action Plan 2019-2022*, which was coordinated and authored by consultant Maria Zimmerman of MZ strategies, provides an overview of the housing conditions in different parts of the Purple Line corridor and details twelve actions that coalition members can take between 2019 and 2022 to advance PLCC’s housing goals (Purple Line Corridor Coalition, 2019).

- *Two-Year Roadmap to Preserve Aging and Distressed Multifamily Properties along the Purple Line* (2021), which provides an account of substandard housing units along the corridor with recommendations to improve their conditions in 2022 and 2023 (Purple Line Corridor Coalition, 2021a).
- Lastly, *Equitable Transit Oriented Development* (2022), authored jointly by NCSG staff and ECONorthwest consultants, which outlines high-level ETOD strategies to preserve and improve existing low-cost housing units, and create new affordable and market-rate housing units through a mix of subsidies, regulatory mechanisms to increase supply of housing at different price points, and policies to secure community benefits from private developers (Knaap *et al.*, 2022).

The wide range of evidence-based interactive tools and reports has been made publicly available. In interviews, several PLCC members and public authorities said that the data and technical expertise shared by the PLCC has been helpful to understand complex housing issues and develop strategic approaches to address them. The freely accessible resources shared by the PLCC indicate an absence of explicit “information rules” that restrict members’ access to data and technical guidance (Ostrom, 2005, chap. 7). The aggregation of data and research into issues facing communities along the Purple Line corridor positions the PLCC as a sort of “think tank” for advancing ETOD in the region.

Moreover, within the HAAT several members also share their expertise in the affordable housing development process. In the United States, building affordable housing is a complex process that depends on changing real estate markets, financing mechanisms, political environments, and the support (or lack thereof) of neighboring community members. The HAAT co-chairs include two local affordable housing developers and property managers (MHP and HIP), and a national affordable housing developer and advocacy organization, Enterprise Community Partners. These groups, among others, bring extensive knowledge of local affordable housing policy and development processes, and relationships with local agencies and stakeholders. In addition, the HAAT offers on-demand technical assistance for developers, faith-based organizations, and community organizations looking to access capital to develop affordable housing (Purple Line Corridor Coalition, 2022).

In my assessment, the production and sharing of data helps advance the PLCC’s mission in two ways:

First, PLCC resources compile inter-jurisdictional policies and regulatory information, helping stakeholders understand what policies and resources are available in Montgomery and

PG counties (and to a lesser extent, at the state and federal levels). Absent this body of information, advocates are hampered by the disparate information shared by county housing and planning agencies. To this point, local urban scholar Lung-Amam has argued that inter-jurisdictional cooperation is necessary for coordinating policy action along the Purple Line Corridor (2014). The PLCC's inter-jurisdictional knowledge sharing and coordination is particularly useful in Langley Park, which straddles Montgomery and PG counties. Taken together, PLCC resources and meetings help inform bi-county elected officials, agency staff, and other stakeholders about jurisdictions' planned and ongoing housing interventions and the latest political discourse related to housing issues in the region.

Second, the PLCC's focus on researching, documenting, and sharing data about neighborhoods in the bi-county Purple Line corridor is unparalleled. The level of detail in the PLCC's interactive data tools and reports has never been reached by any public agencies (or other groups) in the region. Whether due to a lack of funding, technical capacity, or interest, the public agencies have opted to collaborate with or leave it to the PLCC to do this research. The PLCC evidence base helps stakeholders understand the issues facing communities along the corridor, building institutional capacity. Institutional capacity includes the social, intellectual, and political capital necessary to make strategic plans and coordinate the activities of diverse actors toward a plan's goals (Healey, 1997, p. 30). In 2019, the PLCC's body of research helped generate the institutional momentum to develop the Housing Action Plan (Purple Line Corridor Coalition, 2019).

Information sharing is crucial to build institutional capacity to plan and advocate for ETOD, but this capacity can only be leveraged into inclusive and effective action if it is not only shared by institutional stakeholders but also developed in residents and organizations based in the affected communities. The following section evaluates how the PLCC engages community members and organizations to participate in the planning process.

Engaging the Affected Communities

In this section, I examine the PLCC's community engagement strategy, with a focus on the engagement process for the Housing Action Plan.

Interviewing members of the PLCC, I quickly learned that the PLCC is still developing a comprehensive community engagement strategy. Outside of the open-door HAAT meetings, opportunities for community residents to participate in PLCC discussions are only occasional. In an interview, PLCC Director Sheila Somashekhar shared that she had recently been meeting with members of community-based organizations from neighborhoods in the Purple Line

corridor, and the PLCC had been trying to figuring out how to operationally integrate these groups into its work (interview with author, October 3, 2022). She added that the PLCC has wanted to “make sure that every homeowner, ... every block is aware of what is happening [with the Purple Line] and is able to respond to it” (ibid). The PLCC needed to figure out effective methods to empower residents to engage in the multi-layered, multi-jurisdictional planning processes around the Purple Line, including translating materials and potentially holding training sessions for residents, Somashekhar said.

Speaking about the PLCC’s work in communities vulnerable to displacement from the Purple Line, Laura Searfoss of Enterprise Community Partners characterized the PLCC’s community relations as an unanswered question: “How do we work in those communities as institutions? What is going to be our interaction with community members? How are we going to reflect the needs and desires and aspirations of residents?” (interview with author, September 26th, 2022). She added that the non-profit housing providers in the coalition such as MHP have a direct line of communication to residents in the properties it owns, but this relationship has a distinct landlord-tenant power dynamic, and the residents of these non-profit buildings aren’t representative of the majority of corridor residents (ibid).

The 2019 Housing Action Plan implementation illustrates how the PLCC has tried to pursue a comprehensive community and stakeholder engagement process. The PLCC retained a consultant, Maria Zimmerman of MZ Strategies, to coordinate the public engagement and development of the plan. The consultants developed an engagement plan consisting of a series of meetings to involve different institutional stakeholders, focus groups with residents, and a corridor-wide resident survey (Purple Line Corridor Coalition, 2019, p. 66). The meetings included cross-agency meetings with agency staff and elected officials from each county, one with housing developers, and another with cross-corridor civic groups (ibid). A separate consultant worked with CASA de Maryland to organize a focus group with residents of International Corridor neighborhoods. Lastly, a survey was developed to solicit broader community perspectives that was completed by more than 600 corridor residents.

After developing a first draft of the plan, the consultants reconvened groups of stakeholders to review the draft, gather additional feedback and refine the plan’s recommendations. The plan includes recommendations to improve the PLCC’s community engagement strategy: hire a bilingual community liaison staff member and raise more funding to support community leadership and engagement. The latter strategy explicitly calls for committing “resources to compensate community groups or members for their participation in key implementation activities,” and to “include locally-based organizations in funding proposals,”

especially when working with low-income residents or with organizations from communities of color, since “grassroots partners are chronically underfunded” (Purple Line Corridor Coalition, 2019, p. 49).

This engagement process and the resulting comprehensive Housing Action Plan, I argue, shows the value of engaging community members to identify issues of shared concern and solutions that the majority of residents support. However, the process also highlights the significant time and resource investments needed to reach out to and effectively involve a broad base of community members and other stakeholders.

Challenges to Public Participation

In an interview, Council Member Deni Taveras expressed concerns that the PLCC has not been representative of the Purple Line Corridor communities in District 2 in PG county. She argued that the PLCC has been a coalition of experts from the “ivory tower” of academia and other institutions, which tend to impose their plans and strategies on the community, rather than engaging residents and respecting ongoing community organizing efforts (interview with author, November 15, 2022). When I asked her what strategies communities like Langley Park should pursue to prevent residential displacement, she replied by listing many of the same strategies that the PLCC has been promoting including preserving affordable housing through strategic acquisitions using the ROFR. She also promoted the ideas of creating a “green bank” and passing enabling legislation to create a business improvement district to raise money for inclusive community development through tax increment financing mechanisms (ibid). This unfavorable opinion of the PLCC’s planning process raises the question of what representative community engagement looks like, especially for stakeholders with divergent approaches to achieving the coalition’s objectives.

The main community in Council Member Taveras’s district in the Purple Line Corridor is Langley Park. Langley Park has low rates of participation in formal political and planning processes, similar to other low-income immigrant communities with low levels of formal education and English proficiency, and widespread economic and cultural barriers to participation (Lung-Amam, Pendall and Knaap, 2019). In Langley Park, many households immigrated from countries such as El Salvador, where political participation levels are low, and in some places actively repressed. In an interview with Lung-Amam et al. (2019, p. 10), Council Member Deni Taveras commented that this “left a bad taste in people’s mouths and they’re not as politically engaged here as you would like them to be.” Somashekhar and Searfoss both pointed out that the PLCC has been trying to identify ways to improve its community outreach,

yet these efforts have been hampered by the high cost and staff time necessary to sustain a community engagement strategy.

Two interviewees suggested that CASA de Maryland's participation in meetings is one way in which the needs and desires of residents could be represented in PLCC discussions (interview with Sheila Somashekhar, October 3, 2022; interview with Council Member Deni Taveras, November 15, 2022). CASA de MD, henceforth referred to as CASA, is a member-based non-profit organization that provides human services for, and engages in community organizing and advocacy on behalf of its mostly Latinx immigrant members. CASA's headquarters are located in the center of Langley Park and the International Corridor area is a stronghold of CASA's member base in the region. Council Member Taveras described CASA as "a political machine" that is representative of some, but not all of the Latinx community in PG County (interview with author, November 15, 2022). PLCC Director Somashekhar added that CASA has been the primary avenue through which the PLCC has collected input from undocumented residents living in the Purple Line corridor (interview with author, October 3, 2022).

In 2010, CASA organized the Fair Development Coalition (FDC), a grassroots coalition of representatives from communities, businesses, faith groups, labor organizers, and educational organizations leading community engagement and advocacy on equitable development issues (Lung-Amam, Pendall and Knaap, 2019; CASA de Maryland, 2022). In a study of ETOD organizing around the Purple Line in Langley Park, Lung-Amam et al. characterized the PLCC as complementing the FDC's grassroots advocacy with grassroots data analysis, planning, and policymaking (Lung-Amam, Pendall and Knaap, 2019, p. 6).

CASA staff have not responded to multiple requests I made for input and thus I don't have direct information about the FDC or CASA's engagement in the PLCC. Nonetheless, CASA's involvement in the PLCC, upon further study, highlights the value of collaboration between institutional stakeholders and community organizations - as highlighted in the Housing Action Plan.

Overall, several stakeholders I interviewed concurred that the PLCC has not had an ongoing robust strategy to solicit community input, more so relying on individual member groups with connections to residents to relay their interests. Yet, all the interviewees except for Council Member Taveras agreed that pursuing additional community engagement and partnerships with community-based organizations would further advance the PLCC's mission. Various interviewees suggested that additional community engagement would allow the PLCC's to more

accurately reflect residents' needs and increase the coalitions' political leverage with local elected officials.

5.4 Rules in use

In this section, I discuss several formal and informal rules that govern the operations of the PLCC, which I identified in this research. To contextualize these rules, I refer to the types of rules Ostrom described in her IAD framework (see Section 3.2 above).

The first rule I identified concerns who is part of the PLCC steering committee. The steering is made up of organizations and their representatives who agree to the PLCC MOP. The MOP, included in Figure 1 in the Appendix, outlines the responsibilities of steering committee members, including strategic planning, evaluation, fundraising, and communication tasks as well as attendance in PLCC meetings (Purple Line Corridor Coalition, 2014b, p. 1). Additional responsibilities are customized to the roles of each partner, including those required of working group chairs to manage, plan, and coordinate community engagement to advance the goals of each working group (Purple Line Corridor Coalition, 2014b, p. 2). These are the "position" rules that determine who is responsible for making decisions: in the case of the PLCC, the steering committee and working group chairs. The MOP also defines "boundary" rules that specify who may enter or exit a position. The steering committee seems to be open to any group that shares the values and objectives of the PLCC, and has the time and resources to take on the steering committee responsibilities; I did not learn of any instance in which the PLCC rejected a group's request to become a member.

Ostrom's "aggregation rules" concern how decisions are made. In the steering committee, policy and planning decisions are made by consensus. The PLCC and individual working groups such as the HAAT adopt official policy positions or planning goals if every member agrees on the matter. PLCC Director Sheila Somashekhar explained in an interview that the steering committee would go through a process of deliberations to reach consensus, and would not move forward on an issue if there is vocal opposition from any party (interview with author, October 3, 2022).

The consensus-based leadership of the PLCC requires a clear understanding of the composition of the PLCC steering committee. The steering committee is composed of both advocates (for instance representatives from CASA and the Coalition for Smarter Growth) and targets of advocacy (County Executives, Council Members, and staff in public agencies). By definition, advocates push elected officials and other individuals in positions of power to adopt

policies or programs that advance the advocates' cause. This composition is key to understanding an ongoing tension in PLCC decision-making. Moreover, elected officials and agency staff within and between jurisdictions may have vastly different policy positions. For example, career staff from the Montgomery County Planning Department (whose board is selected by the County Council) and staff from the Montgomery County DHCA (whose director is appointed by the County Executive) may have stark differences of opinion regarding policy matters. Somashekhar acknowledged that these diverse perspectives “change the dynamic [and] change the conversations that we [the steering committee] have” (interview with author, October 3, 2022). The presence of advocates and elected officials around the same table and the consensus-based decision-making process of the PLCC steering committee set the stage for actors to abide by informal rules that influence the scope of the PLCC's policy positions and planning goals, as well as their strategic approach and the outcomes they achieve.

The joint leadership of elected officials and advocates in the PLCC leads to an informal, fourth rule — the “scope” rule — that limits the PLCC's possible policy positions to those that have the support of all steering committee members. In theory, since the advocates in the PLCC are pushing for more aggressive political action to protect affordable housing and prevent displacement, elected officials would be the ones likely to raise objections to certain policy proposals, thus constraining the policy positions and goals of the coalition.

One instance of the limitations of the PLCC's consensus-based approach was brought up during my interview with the Coalition for Smarter Growth's Policy Director Cheryl Cort. Cort explained why, in September 2021, CSG supported CASA's effort to organize a demonstration with residents of the Bedford Station and Victoria Station apartment complex in Langley Park to protest PG County's proposed Countywide Sectional Map Amendment (CSMA) (interview with author, September 1, 2022). CASA and CSG feared that the proposed zoning regulations allowing increased residential density along the Purple Line in Langley Park would, without adequate protections for low-income households, increase the incentive for multifamily property owners to redevelop their property or sell it to someone who would, thereby increasing the risk of displacement for low-income households (Schweitzer, 2021). Despite CASA and CSG both being members of the PLCC steering committee, the PLCC did not advocate for or against PG County's zoning proposal, because CASA and CSG, knowing that there wouldn't be a consensus, didn't raise the issue in PLCC discussions (interview with Nicholas Finio, October 27, 2022).

This case illustrates how the consensus-based model limits the discussion of seemingly controversial or thorny positions, especially those that run counter to the positions of PLCC

members who wield political power. In this case, both Council Member Glaros and members of the PG County Planning Department supported the CSMA. Although CASA's and CSG's concerns that the plan would increase the risk of residential displacement were valid, it was unlikely that all PLCC members would oppose the CMA until proper affordability protections were put in place, particularly since the rezoning to accommodate more density along the Purple Line in PG County was also a stated goal in the PLCC's Housing Action Plan (Purple Line Corridor Coalition, 2019, p.20).

One may argue that the diversity of the steering committee membership limits the discussion of policies that may appear bold or challenging to the status quo. Nevertheless, this constraining influence would have been anticipated when the coalition was initially formed. This raises the question of whether the inclusion of public authorities in the PLCC steering committee makes it more effective in advancing its mission than a coalition without public officials.

When asked how the diverse, consensus-based leadership of the PLCC influences its effectiveness in achieving its ETOD goals, NCSG researcher and PLCC member Nicholas Finio responded that the PLCC model helps build consensus around changes that would be palatable to public officials (interview with author, October 27, 2022). He added that agency bureaucrats and elected officials share information about the administrative and political constraints of local governments with the PLCC, helping it to identify areas in which incremental short- and medium-term changes could be achieved (ibid). By convening advocates and public officials, Finio continued, the PLCC pushes bureaucrats to advance certain issues within their agencies, while publicly advocating for change in a way that elected officials could accept (ibid). Finio acknowledged that the PLCC's consensus-based approach may work to advance incremental changes, adding that consensus is necessary for change. This is precisely one of the key insights of the pluralist view of governance: that broad consensus is necessary for lasting change.

Finio remarked that it was unclear how much the membership of the two County Executives and two County Councilmembers in the PLCC steering committee leads to their endorsement of PLCC policy positions and goals (interview with author, October 27, 2022). Under the consensus-based approach, an elected officials' support for a policy within the coalition steering committee doesn't indicate their level of support for that policy in the public realm. On the other hand, the public agencies have support from elected officials to participate in the PLCC planning process, implying that these elected officials endorse the agencies work with the PLCC. Yet, there are no explicit rules outlining elected officials' obligations to use their power to politically or legislatively advance the PLCC goals and policy positions they approve of.

The application of the IAD framework's rules to the PLCC is summarized in Table 3, below.

Table 3. Rules of the IAD Framework used in the PLCC

IAD Framework Rule	PLCC Rule-in-use
Position rules (specify decision-making roles)	Steering committee and working group members make decisions in the PLCC
Boundary rules (specify who may enter or exit a position and how)	Requirement to agree to steering committee and/or working group memorandum of partnership
Choice rules (specify order of actions)	Unclear
Information rules (specify availability of information and how it is shared and used by actors)	Information in the PLCC is generally publicly available
Aggregation rules (specify how decisions are made)	Decisions made by consensus of the Steering committee
Pay-off rules (specify costs and benefits of actions or outcomes)	Unclear
Scope rules (specify possible outcomes)	Consensus-based decision-making process may restrict the scope of proposed policies and outcomes

5.5 Evaluating the Impact of the PLCC on Housing Affordability

In May 2022, nine months after CASA organized the demonstration to protest the proposed rezoning in Langley Park, the PG County DHCD partnered with a developer to purchase the 587-unit Bedford Station and Victoria Station multifamily property through its ROFR program. Under the ROFR agreement, Jair Lynch Real Estate Partners purchased the property at the market-rate and agreed to preserve 75% of units (441 out of 587 units) at rents affordable to households making less than 80% of the area median income (AMI) for 15 years. Bedford Station and Victoria Station's former owner had been the target of many complaints for negligent management practices that fostered substandard living conditions including "active water leaks, holes in their [tenant's] ceilings, broken appliances, mold, rodent infestations, and piles of garbage at the community's dumpsters" (Gallaher, 2022). Jair Lynch promised to invest in immediate capital improvements and renovations, and to hire low-income residents and

businesses operated by residents living in the community (Jair Lynch Real Estate Partners, 2022). It is yet to be seen whether residents' living conditions in the property improve, but the creation of 15-year income restrictions for three quarters of the property's units is a clear net benefit for residents compared to what would have happened with the building had it been sold in a private transaction.

This intervention is one instance of the PG County's more frequent use of its ROFR policy in recent years, which is a result of multiple forces including long-running advocacy efforts by affordable housing activists, political leadership from Council Member Taveras and CE Alsobrooks and at least in part, the PLCC's advocacy around promoting strategic acquisitions using the ROFR program. In this section, I assess to what extent the PLCC has had an influence on the development of new policies and investments that could help advance PLCC's goals as articulated in the Corridor Action Plan.

Several interviewees told me that much of the impact of the PLCC seems intangible and indirect. This is due to the PLCC's main focus on making efforts to convene and align stakeholders, to showcase the broad buy-in to their goals and strategies, and to build political will to address the Purple Line's expected impacts on housing affordability for lower-income residents in neighborhoods along the corridor. In an interview, John Maneval, a consultant for PG County's DHCD, claimed that the PLCC "keeps things front and center in the minds of key decision makers within the [Prince George's] county as well as elected officials so that when something comes up about a potential new source of financing or capital or a new regulatory intervention, [the Purple Line] is already at the front of mind" (interview with author, December 9, 2022). Maneval also said that the PLCC "enhances the willingness of key stakeholders at the county level and elected officials to stand up, to fight back against the natural inclination of the private market to try to suppress government intervention" by showing the widespread political support for public action to create or preserve income-restricted affordable housing along the Purple Line corridor (ibid).

As one example of the coalition's strategic alignment efforts, the PLCC played a central role in getting many stakeholders to sign the *Pathways to Opportunity: A Community Development Agreement for the Purple Line Corridor*, including advocacy and community-based organizations, public agencies, both County Executives along with other elected officials and dozens of other local stakeholders (Purple Line Corridor Coalition, 2017b). This non-legally binding community development agreement committed these stakeholders to advance the goals, strategies, and action items listed in the *Corridor Action Plan* (Purple Line Corridor Coalition, 2017c). Among other commitments, the action plan established a notable goal of "no

net loss of units affordable to low- and moderate-income persons,” which was codified in the Housing Action Plan as a goal to preserve at least 17,000 homes affordable to households earning less than 60% of AMI (Purple Line Corridor Coalition, 2017c, p. 11, 2019, p. 6).

My research identifies two direct pathways through which the PLCC has influenced housing affordability along the Purple Line. The first pathway is through changes in public regulatory and economic tools, and the second pathway is through fundraising and coordination of non-governmental capital for affordable housing development in the Purple Line corridor.

First Pathway: Changes in county legislation, budgets, and plans

County government legislation and budgets are the first pathway through which the PLCC advances its housing affordability goals. The relevant legislation includes county housing laws and regulations such as those concerning tenant protections, development procedures, and budgetary allocations for affordable housing acquisition, redevelopment, or renovation. These measures can be evaluated both in terms of their adoption and in the change in budgetary allocations — such as the growth in either County’s year-to-year funding for affordable housing. Many laws and regulations require additional government action to impact housing development. In this section, I will also evaluate whether the PLCC has influenced the frequency of voluntary government action on housing development and the location of interventions — such as the number of ROFR projects in the Purple Line corridor.

Changes in land use plans that allow denser, mixed-use development are a precursor to TOD. While the PLCC has mentioned the need for zoning changes in neighborhoods near Purple Line stations to allow for denser, mixed-use development in its reports (Knaap *et al.*, 2022), it hasn’t advocated strongly for zoning reform since county planning departments have for the most part willingly proposed such changes around Purple Line stations. Since the creation of the PLCC, both Montgomery and Prince George’s counties have approved land use plans that adapted zoning regulations around future Purple Line stations to accommodate higher density and mixed-use developments (Prince George’s County Legislative Branch, 2021; Montgomery Planning, 2022b). In this case, the pathway to change has not largely been influenced by the PLCC.

I now take a close look at how the PLCC may have played a role in the adoption of regulatory and economic measures that advance its CDA goals by Montgomery County and Prince George County.

Montgomery County

In my assessments, the Montgomery County government has adopted the following regulations or measures to advance the PLCC's CDA goals:

- New or revised regulations: The Montgomery County Council adopted the Thrive 2050 comprehensive plan and the sector plan for Silver Spring's downtown and adjacent communities in 2022 (Montgomery Planning, 2022c, p. 65, 2022b). Both plans included a "no net loss" approach to preserving housing affordability. This reflects the county's adoption of the PLCC's preferred approach to ensuring a minimum availability of housing affordable to households earning a specified income throughout the implementation of a plan.
- Increased funding: In recent years, there has been a steady increase in general revenue funding allocations for affordable housing loan funds. The DHCA received a 30% increase in funding allocations for multi-family housing programs from FY2018 to FY2023 (Montgomery County Maryland Operating Budget, 2022). Funding for the Housing Initiative Fund, which provides long-term loans for gap financing, has steadily increased in recent years to over \$49M, except for a decrease in FY2021 due to a reallocation of spending to address the impacts of COVID-19 (Montgomery County Maryland Operating Budget, 2022). Funding also increased for the Affordable Housing Acquisition and Preservation project, which provides loans exclusively for ROFR projects. In addition, the County created and funded a new Affordable Housing Opportunity Fund in 2022, managed by the National Housing Trust community development financial institution (CDFI). This fund leverages \$4 of private funding for every dollar of public funding to provide "seed money to establish a public-private ... commitment of funds, which will proactively leverage public and private capital to support affordable housing developers in preserving and producing targeted affordable housing" (Herron, 2022; Montgomery County, MD Capital Budget, 2022). Loans with lower interest rates are also made available for projects that are located within a one-mile radius of a future Purple Line station (National Housing Trust, 2022). The County Executive Marc Elrich also dedicated \$40M in one-time funding for a Preservation of Naturally Occurring Affordable Housing Fund, to accelerate efforts to preserve NOAH units (Montgomery County, MD Capital Budget, 2022). These funding increases reflect a broader political commitment to preserving and creating income-restricted affordable housing by the county.

- New housing code regulations: Montgomery County adopted new code enforcement regulations in 2017 and started a “troubled properties registry” in 2018 to track the status of properties with reported code violations (Turque, 2017; Lung-Amam, Pendall and Knaap, 2019; Data Montgomery, 2022). The code enforcement regulations help build on grassroots tenant organizing efforts led by CASA and supported by the PLCC.

These regulations and measures seem to be the result of years of advocacy by multiple groups beyond that of the PLCC. But the PLCC’s efforts have made some visible impact. The impact can be seen, e.g., in language adopted by the regulations, specifying that loans from the Affordable Housing Opportunity Fund should be prioritized for, and available at more favorable financing rates for projects located along the Purple Line corridor (Montgomery County DHCA, 2022, p. 2). The imprint of PLCC advocacy is also evident in the explicit mention of the additional considerations required for housing developments in Purple Line neighborhoods in Montgomery County’s comprehensive land use plan and its neighborhood master plans, notably the increasing use of the “no net loss” of affordable units approach to master planning and property redevelopment negotiations.

Prince George’s County

My assessment shows that Prince George County has adopted the following measures to advance the PLCC’s CDA goals in recent years:

- Funding increases: Overall, Prince George’s County has adopted more significant policy changes to increase housing affordability than Montgomery County. This reflects PG County’s relative lack of affordable housing programs in the early 2010s. This began to change in 2018, when PG County first funded its Housing Production Trust Fund with \$5M. This funding has increased to \$22M in FY2023, with about half of the funding coming from recordation tax revenue and the other half from a state grant (Prince George’s County Budget Portal, 2022). The county also created a \$15M ROFR fund in December 2021 using funding from the federal American Rescue Plan COVID-19 recovery bill (Prince George’s County DHCD, 2021).
- New or amended regulations: In 2013, Prince George’s adopted legislation granting the county government authority to purchase multi-family properties when they go up for sale or are converted to condominiums (Prince George’s County DHCD, 2022a). The county expanded the ROFR program to apply to the entire county rather than specifically designated areas in 2015, then amended and relaunched it in 2020. Since its

amendment, the County has coordinated the purchase of six properties through ROFR, preserving 1213 units with income restrictions, including 625 units within one mile of a Purple Line station (Prince George's County DHCD, 2021). PG County's DHCD evaluates potential ROFR projects based on the property's rental affordability and geographic proximity to existing or future rail transit stations (Prince George's County DHCD, 2022b).

- New housing code regulations: Similar to efforts in Montgomery County, in 2017, Council Member Taveras led the passage of a bill to impose penalties on multi-family property owners in PG County whose properties have housing code violations (Lung-Amam, Pendall and Knaap, 2019).
- Housing policy development initiatives: In 2019, the PG County Council also created the Housing Opportunities for All working group, composed of public, private, and community experts to study and advise the council on housing legislation (Prince George's County Legislative Branch, 2022). The working group builds on the PLCC's advocacy, and has advocated for the prioritization of affordable housing loans in neighborhoods along the Purple Line corridor (Prince George's County DHCD, 2021).

These efforts by PG county show the imprint of the PLCC's push for a more inclusive housing policy framework in Purple Line corridor neighborhoods in Prince George's County. Other areas of the PLCC's housing advocacy have fallen short of their goals. In 2020, PG County hired a consultant to study market conditions within a half-mile radius of proposed Purple Line stations to evaluate whether adopting an inclusionary zoning (IZ) policy would advance the County's housing goals, and recommended against adopting an IZ policy based on market conditions at the time (Prince George's County DHCD, 2020). This reflects the tension between the county government's desire to spur real estate investment in certain neighborhoods and its interest in preserving and creating affordable housing during the process of re-investment. The 2020 IZ study determined an IZ program would deter investment and suggested the county study and implement other methods to increase housing affordability instead, including negotiating tax abatements with property owners in exchange for affordability requirements, a mandatory affordability requirement for properties built on public land, and a housing impact fee for affordable housing (Prince George's County DHCD, 2020, p. 93). Overall, the Housing Opportunities for All working group and PG County's new housing programs reflect increased political attention and a more proactive and strategic approach to furthering housing affordability in the county.

PLCC members also advocate for Maryland state legislation, but this is less of a priority than county-level advocacy. In 2021, a group of PLCC members successfully lobbied the state to give the Purple Line corridor priority designation for growth-related infrastructure funds in communities near transit lines (interview with Sheila Somashekhar, October 2, 2022). Maryland state legislators from local districts also occasionally engage in PLCC meetings. Yet, since the bulk of land use and housing regulations are enacted at the local level, the two county governments are the primary focus of the coalition's advocacy.

Second Pathway: Coordination of Affordable Housing Development

The second pathway that I have identified, through which the PLCC influences housing affordability in the corridor, is by facilitating the coordination of private sector capital to preserve or create affordability restrictions in multifamily affordable housing properties. The PLCC has convened public, private, and non-profit affordable housing development stakeholders to identify potential projects, policy tools, and capital for housing acquisition, preservation, and development (interview with Sheila Somashekhar, October 3, 2022). Through a staff consultant, the PLCC has also kept an ongoing tab on development opportunities and proposed developments around future Purple Line stations, aided by the NCSG's analyses of zoning regulations and special financing districts. As an example, the PLCC infographic in Figure 7 below, displays development opportunities around the future Takoma/Langley station. This graphic was shared with stakeholders in a development roundtable organized by the PLCC in May 2021.

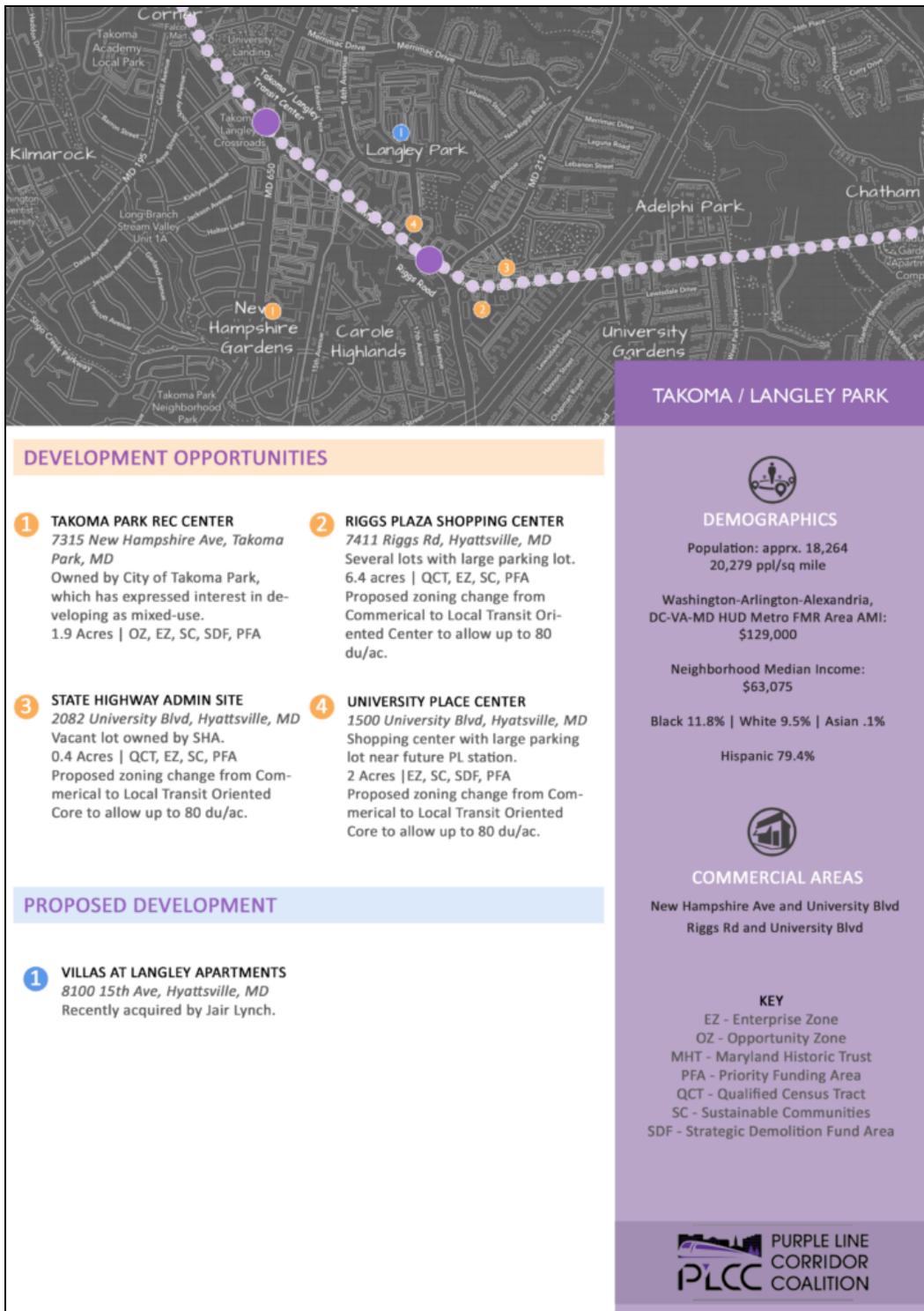


Figure 7. PLCC infographic detailing development opportunities and proposed developments around the future Takoma/Langley Purple Line station (Purple Line Corridor Coalition, 2021c)

In addition, the PLCC has worked closely with two community development financial institutions (CDFI), the National Housing Trust (NHT) and the Enterprise Community Loan Fund, which provide supplemental capital for developers, community or faith-based organizations looking to preserve or develop affordable housing projects. CDFIs are organizations that provide flexible “loan capital and financial services to businesses, individuals, and organizations in underserved urban and rural communities that traditional banking institutions might avoid because of concerns about higher risks or lower returns” (Bogle et al., 2022, p. 11). The NHT manages a revolving loan pool of about \$11M made up of funding from a 2019 JP Morgan Chase PRO Neighborhoods grant and from the Accelerating Investments for Healthy Communities initiative, which was funded by Kaiser Permanente and the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation (National Housing Trust, 2021). This loan fund provides mostly smaller flexible, pre-development loans to mission-driven developers within one mile of a future Purple Line station (ibid).

In interviews, Laura Searfoss of ECP and John Maneval, a consultant for the DHCD, both observed that by providing rapidly accessible financing, the NHT loan pool helps attract other sources of financing to affordable housing projects in the corridor (interview with Laura Searfoss, September 26, 2022; interview with John Maneval, December 9, 2022). Maneval described how PG County learned that if it could align financing incentives to help a prospective buyer purchase a property, and make financing rapidly accessible, these steps would improve the ROFR program’s success in preserving affordability restrictions in multifamily properties (interview with John Maneval, December 9, 2022). PG County authorities seized on these lessons to set aside \$15M of their COVID-relief funding for a county-administered ROFR loan fund and speed up the process for approving real-estate tax abatements to subsidize affordability restrictions in ROFR projects (ibid).

Similarly to the NHT loan pool, Enterprise Community Partners’ Community Loan Fund leverages equity financing through conventional real estate funds and federal tax-credit programs, and debt financing through private banks and Enterprise’s CDFI to provide larger loans for all stages of development. Both NHT and Enterprise (who is a HAAT co-chair) also share expertise on the financing process with PLCC members and community stakeholders.

According to an evaluation conducted by Bogle et al. from the Urban Institute focused on the performance of JP Morgan Chase’s PRO Neighborhoods grant in 2022, during the first two years of the three-year grant, NHT and ECP funding made a modest contribution. The grant was disbursed to projects aimed at developing and preserving affordable housing in the Silver Spring, International Corridor, and Riverdale/New Carrollton sub-areas of the Purple Line

(Bogle, Gwam and Park, 2022). The funded projects helped create 290 affordable housing units and preserve 97 more, exceeding their goals for new units, but falling short of their goal of preserving 750 affordable units (Bogle, Gwam and Park, 2022, p. 17).

The evaluation highlights the difficulty that non-profit developers face when they compete with for-profit developers. For-profit developers can quickly access capital to develop NOAH into market-rate units. Dedicated funding from county governments, grants, and private capital can help non-profit developers compete, but they still lack the capital necessary to purchase larger multi-family properties. The report of the evaluation considers PG County's recent increase in funding for its HITF and ROFR fund, along with its heightened ambition to use the ROFR program, as a welcome move in support of non-profit developers to make progress towards the HAAT's "no net loss" goal. On the other hand, the report also points out that PG County's lack of an inclusionary zoning ordinance constitutes a barrier to equitable development. Though it produces a relatively small number of units per year, Montgomery County's IZ program ensures a minimum level of inclusivity (and socioeconomic mixing) in the redevelopment of older apartment buildings.

This report also highlights the value of the PLCC's consultant, Vonette Harris, providing additional development monitoring capacity (*ibid*). Harris is assembling a pipeline of properties with NOAH and income-restricted units with expiring deed restrictions to target for strategic acquisition in both counties along the Purple Line corridor (*ibid*).

Moreover, the evaluation highlights the importance of convening diverse actors to address more complex problems identified by community members, such as the neglected Bedford Station and Victoria Station apartments in Langley Park. After CASA organized a group of renters from these apartments to sue their landlord for neglecting to follow the landlord's contractual maintenance obligations in 2021, Council Member Taveras and the DHCD sought mission-driven developers who would purchase the project (interview with Council Member Taveras, November 15, 2022). The county contacted their list of "mission-driven" developers which includes for-profit and non-profit developers committed to the county's affordable housing goals. In October of 2022, the PG County Council approved a ROFR sale to Jair Lynch with a \$7M loan from the county's ROFR preservation loan fund and a PILOT agreement amounting to an estimated \$11.25M in foregone tax revenue over the agreement's 15-year affordability restrictions (PG County Office of Audits and Investigations, 2022). The agreement included several million dollars in short- and medium-term planned rehabilitation investments from the new property owner, helping to address tenants' complaints over substandard housing conditions.

Before the Bedford/Victoria property was acquired through the ROFR program, CDFI partners told the Urban Institute researchers that “they hope that the PLCC can act as an example for how other CDFIs can leverage their networks and assets and activate close ties with residents to advocate for long-marginalized populations” (Bogle et al., 2022, p. 25). In hindsight, the partial preservation of the Bedford/Victoria property’s affordability levels through the ROFR program in 2022 represents a more tangible success of the PLCC’s organizing model to advocate for and address the needs of marginalized residents. Speaking about the coalition’s planning process, Maneval observed:

It can't be underestimated, the importance of having some sort of a broad understanding that we're all moving in one direction because if you don't, individual elements of the strategy like Right of First Refusal will tend to get lost and political and institutional will will quickly wane and be eroded by pressures to discourage government engagement (interview with author, December 9, 2022).

My research leads me to conclude that, given the fragmented and cross-jurisdictional governance of the Purple Line corridor, the PLCC planning process helps generate and maintain political energy to advance and coordinate a comprehensive housing strategy composed of mutually reinforcing interventions led by diverse actors.

6 Discussion

This research examines how effective the PLCC's expert stakeholder model is in advancing housing affordability in the Purple Line corridor. To answer this question, I analyzed the institutional arrangements of the PLCC, focusing on the actors, their interactions, the rules in use, and the pathways for change. The objective was to examine whether and how these elements enable the PLCC to achieve ETOD outcomes. I started this investigation with the hypothesis that two elements of the PLCC's model contribute to its success: (1) sharing data and policy expertise, and (2) engaging community members and stakeholders.

In this section, I contextualize the findings of my analysis, evaluate the utility of the IAD framework for analyzing the PLCC model, and discuss the political dynamics of collaborative decision-making. Later, I compare and contrast the PLCC's model with theories of urban governance, and address how the PLCC wrestles with the realities of fighting gentrification-related displacement in a market-oriented urban development system.

6.1 PLCC Governance Typology

The PLCC can be characterized as an alliance of actors with a publicly stated interest in ETOD, who pull together the resources and generate concerted efforts to participate in and influence the policymaking and planning processes. PLCC actors are predominately experts from political, non-profit, for-profit and charitable institutions. These include individuals with policy expertise from local and national organizations, as well as individuals with on-the-ground expertise such as staff from an influential community-based organization, CASA.

My inquiry focused on analyzing the Housing Accelerator Action Team of the PLCC. By convening stakeholders and engaging in advocacy and planning, the HAAT aims to influence housing affordability through several avenues. This inquiry identified its main approaches as advocating for local government policy action and convening stakeholders to finance and implement affordable housing development projects. Moreover, I highlighted two key interactions between the actors on the HAAT: sharing data and engaging stakeholders.

My archival research and interviews with coalition members support the view that the PLCC made valuable contributions with its expertise – its research reports and data collections – to inform the processes of planning and policymaking. The PLCCs evidence-base helps actors understand complex cross-jurisdictional issues, facilitates consensus-building around areas of contention, and shapes strategies and actions to address them. Drawing from detailed

data, deliberations, and consensus-based decision-making, the coalition builds individual actors' ownership in the planning process.

This study also identified some limitations of the PLCC model. Despite engaging a wide array of institutional stakeholders, the PLCC's community engagement activities tend to be intermittent, and it seems to lack a clearer comprehensive engagement strategy. Although interviewees did not articulate what constitutes an adequate level of community engagement, those PLCC members whom I interviewed generally agreed on the need for more and ongoing engagement, especially with residents of marginalized communities.

With the acknowledgment that soliciting direct engagement with residents requires extensive time and funding, especially in low-income, immigrant neighborhoods, I identified some approaches that the PLCC could take in addressing these inadequacies. First, the PLCC could start by implementing its own recommendation to collaborate more with community-based organizations and grassroots leaders — with compensation and funding assistance — to give residents more chances to have their voices heard in ongoing advocacy and planning efforts. Secondly, the PLCC could also implement targeted programming to leverage its extensive data resources to empower residents to engage in planning processes. For either of these approaches for more consistent engagement with the most affected residents, the PLCC needs to devote more staff time and resources to build relations with community-based organizations and compensate them for their time. It follows that funding for community engagement will need to be secured.

My analysis of the rules used by the PLCC focused on the consensus-based decision-making process of the PLCC's steering committee. The diverse composition of the steering committee, with advocates at the same table as elected officials, may have the unintended effect that some actors at the table followed certain informal rules. Such informal rules may limit the scope of discussions among steering committee members, constraining the discussion and adoption of planning goals and policy positions, and thus negatively impacting the achievement of intended outcomes. For example, the lack of discussion in the PLCC of CASA and CSG's opposition to the proposed upzoning of parts of Langley Park in PG County's 2021 zoning update demonstrates how certain actors may avoid raising issues of concern that run counter to the preferences of actors in positions of authority. The adoption of informal rules is intrinsic to the imbalance of power held by representatives on the committee. The PLCC should explicitly discuss these dynamics and evaluate how to adjust its model to offset this power imbalance in order to achieve more equitable participation.

6.2 Utility of IAD Framework

As part of this inquiry, I developed a case study of the utility of the IAD framework for analyzing collaborative urban planning initiatives in the United States. Given the complexity of the IAD framework, I chose to use it as a starting point to operationalize an analysis of the governance of the PLCC. The format of this investigation started with the framework's focus on an action arena, which links together actors, roles, actions and interactions, with outcomes. This process is influenced by external attributes, which in the PLCC case study included community attributes, housing conditions, and policy tools. I chose not to strictly adhere to Ostrom's types of rules, instead using them as a reference to reflect on the rules uncovered in the empirical study.

Throughout this analysis, I found the framework useful for picking apart the structure of the coalition and identifying the working mechanisms of the decision-making process. The analysis of rules in use draws attention to the power structures inherent in such a diverse coalition like the PLCC, and the informal rules that may arise in response to these dynamics. An example of this would be the steering members' possible adherence to a scope rule that limits the discussion of certain topics supported by a minority of coalition members or those members that wield less political power. Overall, the IAD framework proved to be a useful guide to conduct an empirical analysis of the governance structure of a collaborative planning initiative.

6.3 Political Dynamics of Consensus-based Decision-making

In this study, the institutional analysis of the PLCC reveals the political dynamics involved in decision-making in a diverse collaborative. The analysis identified one challenge to the PLCC's consensus-based approach: policy solutions that fit within the administrative and political constraints of local jurisdictions are not always effective in dealing with the systemic issues, such as high housing cost burdens, that low-income residents face. Furthermore, in policy deliberations, the steering committee of the PLCC deals with questions of balancing local and regional issues, and present and future housing affordability. I also discuss the PLCC's lack of support for a common tool to finance community benefits around new public transit lines: land value capture. The following sections explore these political dynamics in depth.

The Role of the PLCC

My inquiry finds that the PLCC is limited in its role in addressing issues related to systemic poverty, which results from a combination of local, state, and federal government policies. This is partly due to the fact that the local government entities that the PLCC works with are often either fiscally or politically unable to implement the policies necessary to address such issues in the short term.

For instance, in an interview, Somashekhar said that community organizations based in communities with many low-income renters have asked the PLCC what it can do to help renters deal with large increases in rent (interview with author, October 3, 2022). The PLCC's consensus-based approach limits the policy solutions it could support to address rent hikes (such as adequate rental assistance programs or rent stabilization), because of limited local government funding or existing political barriers that prevent reaching a consensus within the steering committee. With rent stabilization programs, for instance, elected officials in the coalition need to respond to other constituents in their jurisdictions, such as landlords who may oppose rent stabilization, or staunch advocates of increasing housing supply who are wary that rent stabilization programs would suppress already lagging housing production. However, following a tenant mobilization by grassroots advocacy organizations during the COVID-19 pandemic, public support for rent stabilization is growing in Montgomery County (Schweitzer, 2022). In my interview with Finio, he expressed that if the issue gains prominence in coming years, the PLCC will likely develop a position on rent stabilization programs (interview with author, October 27, 2022). This example highlights the role of grassroots organizing efforts in advancing the political discourse around more polarizing policies before the PLCC weighs in on them.

Another instance showing the limitations of the PLCC's consensus-based approach is the PLCC's lack of a position on the PG County rezoning proposal in 2021, discussed in section 5.5. After CSG and CASA organized a tenant protest against the rezoning, the PLCC didn't publicly comment on the matter, presumably because the issue was not brought up in PLCC deliberations. Though it didn't publicly support or oppose the rezoning, the PLCC has advocated for PG County to enact a Purple Line Corridor Inclusionary Zoning pilot program that, if enacted, would help some lower-income residents remain in properties that are redeveloped (*ibid*). However, in 2020, the PG County DHCD decided against implementing an IZ program at the time, due to an assessment that market conditions were not conducive to supporting mandatory income-restricted units in new developments (Prince George's County DHCD, 2020). This case highlights the power dynamics involved in the deliberations of the PLCC steering committee, the

challenge of balancing the objectives of different coalition members, and the difficulties of coordinating the timeline of actions between agencies to minimize adverse impacts on community members.

Though the consensus-based model of the PLCC steering committee may restrict the ability of the PLCC to mitigate the negative impacts of the Purple Line on the lowest-income and most marginalized corridor residents, the PLCC plays a convening role that could complement and amplify the efforts of grassroots activists pushing for more radical change. Searfoss shared that elected officials in the coalition have helped other members understand the political realities of moving policies through the legislative process (interview with author, September 26, 2022). While the PLCC doesn't advocate more drastic policy solutions, its consensus-based model lends itself to identifying which policy interventions are politically feasible in the short term, and which may become feasible with additional advocacy from the coalition. Thus, the PLCC is well suited to strategically identify priorities for policy implementation, advocacy, and collaboration with external groups that could mobilize at the grassroots level to generate political momentum behind policies considered radical.

Political Dynamics of Anti-displacement Policy

The PLCC's lack of a position on rent stabilization and on the PG County zoning amendment also illustrates two central points of contention between steering committee members: the balance between policies' local and regional impacts, on the one hand, and policies that increase housing affordability for current residents at the expense of future residents, on the other.

In an interview, Somashekhar told me that the PLCC focuses on advocating for increasing formal affordability protections for current and future residents rather than market manipulation policies (interview with author, October 3, 2022). Despite the coalition's focus on formal affordability protections, all local housing policies can have regional impacts, either by influencing the housing market or by diverting funds away from investments in other neighborhoods. Since elected officials are responsive to regional political dynamics, housing policy considerations from outside of the Purple Line corridor may be factored in the decision-making of the coalition.

In the case of addressing rent hikes, planners from Montgomery Planning and elected officials are hesitant to implement rent stabilization programs to benefit current residents out of a concern that such a program would suppress housing construction, worsening the already large housing shortage and reducing housing affordability for future residents (interview with Lisa

Govoni, August 22, 2022). This clashes with the support expressed by CASA, Montgomery County Executive Marc Elrich, and the DHCA for rent stabilization programs in the Purple Line corridor to protect housing stability for current tenants, particularly those living in NOAH units at risk of rent increases (Montgomery County Planning Department and DHCA, 2020). The PG County's upzoning of Langley Park reflects the tension between local and regional, and present and future constituencies over who would benefit from the policy: an increase in allowed housing capacity near the Purple Line helps the county increase transit-accessible housing, meet regional housing supply targets, and increase PG County tax revenue, in exchange for a potentially increased risk of localized displacement. The effort to balance these considerations has influenced the PLCC's planning and policy advocacy efforts.

This investigation has also led me to scrutinize the boundary between public authority and the non-government advocacy of the PLCC. While conducting this research, I found it unclear how much the respective members of the PLCC were uniformly committed to the stated goals of the PLCC. For example, if a member who holds a position of public authority endorses a PLCC policy position, is this member obliged to advance that position in their own capacity in the public realm or in their position in government office? For instance, if the PG County DHCA endorses an IZ pilot program in the Purple Line corridor as part of the PLCC Housing Action Plan, what responsibility does the agency have to advocate for such a program with PG County legislators? Or by extension, if the respective County Executives endorse the PLCC objectives and authorize their housing agencies to participate in the PLCC-led planning process, will decisions taken by the housing agencies within the PLCC reflect the positions held by the County Executives?

My inquiry also led me to question the role of the PLCC in furthering inclusive policy dialogue on housing policy. To what extent does the coalition encourage discussion of dissenting opinions? The consideration and deliberation of varied policy proposals, especially those that aren't likely to garner consensus support, may provide strategic value to their supporters. Savvy political observers in the coalition can help identify political barriers to moving these policies forward or highlight ways the PLCC can support other groups advocating for these solutions. These questions of inclusive dialogue and clarified roles and responsibilities are relevant to future research on collaborative urban planning initiatives.

Land Value Capture

A common approach to financing infrastructure improvements and community benefits in transit-adjacent communities is to use land-based financing mechanisms to capture a portion of

the private land value generated by public transit investment (OECD and Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, 2022). Discussion of this approach, often referred to as Land Value Capture (LVC), was notably limited in my study of the PLCC's efforts to promote equitable development and mobilize affected communities along the Purple Line corridor. LVC tools promoted in PLCC reports include inclusionary zoning (IZ) and impact fee regulations that require multi-family apartment developers to produce affordable units on-site, or contribute money for off-site affordable housing (Purple Line Corridor Coalition, 2019; Knaap *et al.*, 2022). The focus on IZ and impact fees relies on developer exactions to capture value accruing to property owners near the Purple Line. These tools allow the local governments to capture land value only when properties are developed (or redeveloped), and thus yield little value in the absence of development. IZ requirements and impact fees can, when set at higher levels, also discourage development or raise the cost of the market-rate housing units that are built.

In my investigation, I found little information about another potential LVC tool to fund affordable housing in the Purple Line corridor: tax-increment financing (TIF). TIF programs temporarily raise property taxes in specific neighborhoods to fund infrastructure improvements or neighborhood amenities. In Washington DC in 2004, local authorities created a Special Assessment District in the NoMa neighborhood to fund transit-oriented infill development around the newly opened NoMa - Gallaudet U Metro station. Through this arrangement, property owners within a 2500-foot radius of the station agreed to pay increased property taxes to help fund development costs around the station (OECD, 2022, p. 22). Such a tool could be helpful in financing community benefits in Purple Line corridor neighborhoods such as affordable housing and pedestrian and bike infrastructure. In my research, there was no mention of TIF programs, aside from CM Deni Taveras's proposal to create a business improvement district in Langley Park and leverage a TIF to fund community benefits (interview with author, November 15th, 2022).

State law allows municipalities to create TIF programs to fund affordable housing (Maryland Department of Planning, 2013). Yet, the creation of a TIF in corridor neighborhoods may be impeded by the large number of property owners with varied interests in each neighborhood. Property owners may disagree on the need for neighborhood investments and on which types of projects to fund with tax-increment revenue. Moreover, the increased taxes from a TIF program may be untenable for lower-income property owners or tenants in certain neighborhoods (if the taxes are passed onto tenants through rent increases), leading to increased financial pressures that won't necessarily be relieved by newly funded affordable

housing programs. Another clear barrier would be the political opposition to any additional taxes imposed by a TIF program.

Yet, as discussed in Section 1, the increase in land values for property owners near public transit investments tend to be lucrative, and it makes sense for local governments to recuperate at least part of this value to make investments that benefit the overall community. It is crucial to plan TIF programs early in the development process, and the PLCC is well situated to coordinate deliberations with property owners about the potential of a TIF program in specific neighborhoods as we approach the opening of the Purple Line in 2026. Both Montgomery and Prince George's counties have employed TIF programs in the past to fund infrastructure improvements (*ibid*), and these programs should be studied by the PLCC to support its ETOD goals including affordable housing, in the Purple Line Corridor.

6.4 Evaluating the PLCC Through the Lens of Governance Theory

This institutional analysis of the PLCC's collaborative planning model has applied concepts from the theoretical discourse on urban governance. This section reviews the relationship between the PLCC's collaborative planning model and the governance theory. I first characterize the PLCC's model of spatial planning, and then evaluate how different theories of political power can apply the PLCC's efforts to advance ETOD.

The PLCC's institutional arrangements most closely resemble Healey's "collaborative consensus-building" model of spatial planning (Healey, 1997, p. 30). I find facets of this model useful for analyzing the coalition: the PLCC's attempts to widen the tent to include all interested stakeholders; PLCC members' efforts to further knowledge-sharing and capacity building; and the coalitions' focus on a dialogue-driven consensus-building process. By building institutional capacity, engaging in dialogue to identify and understand issues, and pursuing planning and policy approaches that foster "consensus rather than exaggerate conflicts," the PLCC establishes the legitimacy of its strategic plans (Healey, 1997, p. 30). This legitimacy is embodied in the endorsement of the public authorities involved, and equally importantly in stakeholders' and community members' trust in the plan-making process and ownership of the plan's goals and strategies.

Where the PLCC model diverges from the collaborative planning model is the role of the public sector. Instead of the local government acting as a convener, the NCSG and multi-stakeholder steering committee manage the PLCC. Healey claims that a collaborative

planning model can help reduce conflicts “down-stream” of the development of a strategic plan (Healey, 1997, p. 31). Although the PLCC includes elected officials and public agencies, its plans aren’t legally binding, and thus only elevate ETOD goals and strategies, which are often then subjected to political barriers. On the other hand, while the PLCC’s plans don’t have the importance or weight of a legislatively adopted land use plan, the Coalition can help coordinate the actions of diverse actors and agencies, and promote policy stability beyond the terms of individual elected officials and during unexpected events such as the COVID-19 pandemic. Where land use plans are limited in the regulatory tools they can employ, PLCC plans can integrate solutions from different agencies, jurisdictions, and from nongovernmental actors, helping to develop a more comprehensive strategy to pursue goals. Furthermore, through its deliberate efforts to increase community engagement, its focus on building consensus and political will, and its initiatives to monitor and evaluate outcomes indicators, the PLCC has focused stakeholders’ attention on issues of procedural equity in ETOD planning (Lung-Amam, Pendall and Knaap, 2019).

Growth Machine

In pushing for ETOD, the PLCC also can be viewed as a “growth machine” alliance (Logan and Molotch, 1987). As Pendall et al. explain, the coalition-building of ETOD advocates may seem like a setting for pro-development actors to co-opt the interests of equity and environmental activists, whose interests have been left out of the conventional development process, by “directing growth and development in ways that benefit previously ignored constituencies” (Pendall *et al.*, 2012, p. 28). By the same token, TOD does serve the goals of the prototypical boosters, developers, and other actors with a vested interest in localized real estate development.

Yet, two points complicate this diagnosis of the PLCC as a growth machine alliance:

First, though the PLCC supports creating new opportunities for real estate development and economic growth along the Purple Line Corridor, it advocates more forcefully for policies and funding that support income-restricted or non-market housing that provides longer-term affordability for residents. And although affordable housing policies such as inclusionary zoning can be seen as a small concession from developers to equity advocates in exchange for larger profit-generating ventures, many of the PLCC’s policy goals such as increased strategic acquisitions directly compete with private developers seeking to acquire and redevelop properties into market-rate housing. More to this point, many non-profit developers share concerns and policy priorities with for-profit developers, such as a desire to loosen single-family

zoning near transit stations, thus the PLCC's advocacy for upzoning transit-adjacent neighborhoods is supported by non-profit housing providers as well as pro-development actors (interview with Chris Gillis, September 30, 2022).

Second, as Pendall et al. point out, the alternative winner to the growth machine interests isn't an anti-growth (or slow-growth) redistributive coalition with collective land ownership,⁴ but "another growth machine whose stake is in low-density peripheral development" (Pendall *et al.*, 2012, p. 28). Pendall et al. acknowledge that while TOD may have unwanted impacts in low-income neighborhoods (which ETOD advocates seek to mitigate), these are preferable to the negative impacts of low-density suburban development, which burdens low-income households with car dependency, entrenches racial and economic segregation, and allows many wealthy residents to retreat from their social responsibility in exclusive suburban enclaves (*ibid.*). Given the pressing need for increased housing development in the D.C. region, and for housing near transit to reduce greenhouse gas emissions and limit climate change, Pendall et al. argue, and I agree, that it is critical that the TOD-oriented growth machine prevails over one favoring sprawl (Metropolitan Washington Council of Governments, 2019).

Urban Regime

Alternatively, my case study supports the argument that the PLCC model could be seen as an effort to instill a governing regime intent on furthering the goal of ETOD along the Purple Line. By bringing together public policy-making authority, non-profit housing developers, and charitable capital to advance inclusive housing development, the PLCC assembles the building blocks of Clarence Stone's regime devoted to lower-class opportunity expansion (1993). The PLCC's convening and consensus-building processes align the activities of institutional stakeholders, and build political will to advance affordable housing investments and regulations along the Purple Line. Similar to Stone's lower-class opportunity expansion regime, the PLCC advocates in part for negotiating redistributive outcomes from the private sector during the investment and development process. The diverse composition of the PLCC allows it to outlast the terms of individual elected officials, maintaining the regime beyond electoral cycles.

This comparison draws our attention to the selective benefits that attract diverse PLCC members to the coalition. For instance, the PLCC helped non-profit housing provider MHP receive private capital for affordable housing development from JP Morgan Chase and Kaiser

⁴ The PLCC also supports studying collective land ownership opportunities such as community land trusts or housing cooperatives (Purple Line Corridor Coalition, 2017d, p. 12).

Permanente. Given the voluntary nature of the coalition, regime theory prods the observer to assess what benefits, material or political, each member gains from participating in the PLCC.

A constituent of any urban regime is private sector actors contributing resources to further the agenda of the regime. JP Morgan Chase's and Kaiser Permanente's grants to the NHT's Purple Line affordable housing fund can be seen as private sector interests seeking to improve their public image and buy influence with the PLCC and with local elected officials. On the one hand, Kaiser Permanente invested in the NHT's Purple Line housing fund as part of its legally-required community benefit contributions as a private healthcare provider (interview with George Leventhal, September 19, 2022). On the other hand, JP Morgan Chase is likely seeking to equity-wash its image as a bank. The \$5M PRO Neighborhoods grant will tangibly help advance affordable housing projects along the Purple Line corridor. Yet, Chase's \$14 billion commitment to preserve affordable rental housing between 2021 and 2025 is but a small fraction — however significant to affordable housing advocates operating in jurisdictions with underfunded local governments — of its gross profit of over \$128 billion in 2022 alone (JP Morgan Chase, 2022; Macrotrends, 2023). Moreover, as an effort to boost its environmental credentials, Chase's grant for transit-adjacent affordable housing pales in comparison to the more than \$51.3 billion it invested in the fossil fuel industry in 2021, securing it the title of the “world's worst contributor to fossil fuel investment” in that year (Gilman, 2022).

Beyond the marketing value for large private actors, these charitable contributions raise the broader question of the value of soliciting private capital to fund social services such as affordable housing, in the absence of a robust social safety net. Moreover at the local level, JP Morgan Chase and Kaiser may seek political favors from public authorities in the form of land or preferential treatment when it comes to conducting business in the Purple Line corridor. With regard to these concerns, I found no indication that the PLCC is biased toward these actors or is prioritizing the solicitation of private capital over advocacy for public interventions in the housing market to achieve its housing affordability goals.

Extending the urban regime comparison beyond the PLCC, Montgomery and Prince George's counties can be characterized as dynamic regimes of their own. Montgomery County can be classified as an (upper) “middle-class progressive regime” (Stone, 1993, p. 19). Montgomery County authorities have focused on historic preservation and environmental protection in low-density suburban neighborhoods, such as Chevy Chase and Woodside. Yet, it also promotes growth in transit-adjacent activity centers such as Bethesda and Downtown Silver Spring, which is moderated by complex regulations that secure exactions from developers for affordable housing or other community benefits. This regime is monitored by an attentive

electorate in Montgomery County that supports progressive causes, including efforts to prevent displacement of and expand opportunities to low-income residents.

The urban development dynamics inherent to Montgomery County's middle-class progressive regime resembles Ben Ross's account of the political trade-off to accommodate TOD along the Orange Line Metro in Arlington, Virginia in the early 1970s (2014, p. 164). Suburban homeowners, developers, and planners agreed to allow higher-density buildings within a quarter-mile radius of Orange Line stations, in exchange for preserving single-family zoning beyond the quarter-mile radius. As of this writing, Montgomery County has been unable to challenge suburban homeowners' grip on single-family zoning in established neighborhoods near Red Line Metro stations, and is now pursuing a more measured approach to amend zoning in neighborhoods around future Purple Line stations.

Prince George's County on the other hand can be characterized as a "development regime" with some elements of the "middle-class progressive regime" (Stone, 1993, p. 18-19). In PG County, there is a longstanding focus on supporting development to increase countywide tax revenue with the goal of increasing the number and quality of schools and public services. Prevalent economic and political shifts in recent decades have led to the county government's support of progressive causes such as environmental protection and affordable housing. Negotiations with developers have increasingly balanced these social benefits with the desire to encourage development.

In summary, within Clarence Stone's theory of urban political power, the PLCC can be understood as a diverse coalition pushing local governments to adopt more of the strategies and practices of a regime devoted to lower-class opportunity expansion. The efforts of the PLCC, coupled with many other advocacy forces, contributed to both counties' shifts to more redistributive political agendas in the previous decade.

New Regionalism

Operating on a cross-jurisdictional scale, the PLCC displays elements of the new regionalism school of urban governance. The coalition's advocacy for interjurisdictional cooperation between Montgomery and PG counties serves in the place of a regional government to plan, coordinate, and fund efforts to promote ETOD along the Purple Line. As a matter of fact, the PLCC works with the Metropolitan Washington Council of Governments, a non-profit organization chaired by a rotating group of elected officials from the region's jurisdictions that provides planning expertise and coordinating capacity. In 2022, MWCOG

awarded the PLCC a \$75,000 grant to assist the monitoring of their affordable housing goals (MWCOG, 2022).

Yet, the lack of a regional government body with land use planning authority leaves individual jurisdictions with discretion to develop their land use and housing policies, contributing to inequitable development patterns within and between jurisdictions. Hypothetically, even without land use planning authority, a regional governmental authority could wield fiscal tools to fund or incentivize more equitable housing and land use regulations in local jurisdictions. In a study of regional governance and affordable housing issues in the Washington D.C. region, Lung-Amam puts forward recommendations to increase MWCOG's authority to enable it to pursue strategies to more aggressively advance inclusive housing development across the region. These recommendations include building on existing regional issue-specific coalitions to preserve existing affordable housing, capturing land value to produce affordable housing, increasing the density and diversity of suburban housing, and developing regional fair share policies that balance the amount of affordable units developed across the region (Lung-Amam, 2018).

Though it may seem beyond the scope of the PLCC's advocacy, promoting regional governance reforms could facilitate future initiatives to plan ETOD in the region and should be a part of any discussion of regional policy issues.

6.5 Fighting displacement in the market-oriented development system

On a rudimentary level, the PLCC advocates for more public intervention in the real estate market around the Purple Line to prevent the gentrification-fueled displacement normalized as part of the market-oriented mode of urban development in the DC region. This strategy brings up the question: Can efforts to plan TOD in neighborhoods along a new light rail line avoid gentrification-related displacement while operating under the capitalist urban development model? Multiple interviewees I spoke with expressed that there will inevitably be some displacement in corridor neighborhoods from rising housing costs due to the Purple Line.

Yet, according to the Montgomery Planning department's neighborhood change research, with enough new housing development and affordable housing programs such as IZ, neighborhoods can grow while increasing the number of units affordable to low-income households, ostensibly avoiding gentrification-related displacement (Kraft, 2022). However, as mentioned in Section 1.2, this approach can obscure specific instances of displacement and

other undesirable impacts of rapid neighborhood change, such as increasing housing cost burdens. In contrast to this approach, the PLCC seeks to mobilize residents (and tenants in particular) to shape how their neighborhoods grow, by increasing residents' power in relation to the market - mainly through the means of government intervention. While many of the interventions the PLCC supports have temporary impacts — like IZ units whose income restrictions expire after a set number of years — other interventions reflect more structural reforms, like stronger tenant protections and the increasing number of publicly-owned housing units in Montgomery County that operate according to non-market principles.

In advocating for ETOD, the PLCC rejects the normalization of gentrification and racialized displacement prevalent in the Washington DC region and charts a path toward a more equitable urban development model that prioritizes community stability and well-being over the unimpeded influence of the market. Through these efforts, the PLCC joins a long list of advocates fighting against gentrification-related displacement with context-specific strategies in cities across the world (Kern, 2022).

6.6 Looking forward

The success of the PLCC's collaborative planning model will be determined by decisions made in the coming decade, before and after the opening of the Purple Line. The coalition's achievement of its goals depends in part upon its ability to address the issues discussed above, including improving engagement with community-based organizations and residents. In addition, the coalition's success depends on its ability to advance different solutions that compensate for the weaknesses of existing political frameworks.

In our interview, Laura Searfoss of ECP discussed the need to look at “a whole suite of tools yet unexplored” that address the shortcomings of existing policies and circumvent political barriers (interview with author, September 26, 2022). For example, given the lack of consensus regarding rent control in the PLCC and the high housing cost burdens facing certain households in the corridor, Searfoss raised the idea of developing a non-governmental fund to offer a local rent supplement or housing voucher program (ibid). Non-governmental management would help increase undocumented or unemployed residents' access to such funds, who are directly or indirectly excluded from many existing financial assistance programs that ask for residency status or employment history. Searfoss also raised the possibility of PLCC supporting the creation of a community land trust that would provide residents with perpetually affordable housing and a cooperatively managed community asset (ibid). Following the community

wealth-building model, the PLCC could promote the development of mutually-reinforcing local institutions such as a CDFI or worker cooperatives in lower-income suburban neighborhoods to advance a model of collaborative and inclusive local economic development (Democracy Collaborative, 2020). On the financing side, promoting the creation of a TIF program, a one-time betterment fee, or other LVC tools to capture private land value to fund affordable housing could accelerate progress toward housing affordability in the corridor. Such envelope-pushing solutions could help fill the gaps in existing affordable housing programs, enabling the PLCC to further achieve its housing goals.

As the Purple Line construction progresses, the PLCC will need to operationalize its monitoring and evaluation strategies to assess its progress and adjust its strategies where needs arise. Searfoss pointed out that the coalition is evaluating the number of committed affordable units in each sub-area to measure the coalition's progress towards its "no net loss" goal, including measuring housing units the PLCC has helped preserve through its members' loan pools (interview with author, September 26, 2022).

In addition, to evaluate this goal, the PLCC hopes to develop a tool with up-to-date housing market data to evaluate what portion of homes are affordable to lower income households on any given day (ibid). Moreover, Searfoss shared that the PLCC plans to evaluate additional qualitative measures including what portion of loans and grants have gone to developers or organizations led by people of color, which I presume is intended to measure racial equity in the disbursement of financing (ibid). Somashekhar told me that the PLCC is working on a "report card" evaluating the coalition's housing goals (interview with author, October 3, 2022). More broadly, the PLCC plans to use storytelling to evaluate and share how residents feel about living in the corridor. While different corridor residents and stakeholders will surely disagree on the extent of inclusive neighborhood development, the coalition's evaluation methods will both help members understand its impact and serve as a model for other collaborative planning initiatives to monitor quantitative and qualitative elements of neighborhood change.

7 Conclusion

In 2013, concerned by a trend of new light rail projects in US metropolitan areas contributing to the displacement of nearby low-income residents, and inspired by collaborative efforts to avoid such outcomes, researchers at the National Center for Smart Growth convened elected officials, community advocates, developers, and other stakeholders to coordinate efforts to leverage the largest transit investment in Maryland's history toward inclusive neighborhood change. That same year, the PLCC was formed to advance equitable growth around the Purple Line light rail project in Maryland. This mission reconciles the objectives of reforming auto-oriented suburbia with TOD and stimulating inclusive economic growth in suburban neighborhoods with high levels of poverty. Central to the latter goal is preventing displacement of low-income residents from communities adjacent to the light rail as new development occurs. To effectively influence the course of land use development around the Purple Line, the PLCC has to navigate complex multi-jurisdictional governance between the various elected officials, agencies, and funding arrangements in Montgomery and Prince George's counties.

Despite fiscal and political barriers, and countervailing housing market trends, the PLCC employs a flexible approach to prevent displacement and stimulate inclusive economic growth. The coalition's planning process helps generate and maintain political will to advance an affordable housing strategy composed of mutually-reinforcing interventions led by diverse actors. It tries to increase public participation in the planning process and seeks all the tools available to mount a comprehensive approach to achieve its goals. Additionally, the PLCC's collaborative planning model represents a shift to a more inclusive and relatable planning process than those employed by the siloed planning and housing agencies in Montgomery and PG counties. The PLCC still faces the challenge of inadequate engagement with residents from low-income communities. It must continue to find effective ways to improve the inclusivity of its planning process. Moreover, as the Purple Line approaches completion and changes in real estate conditions are expected to accelerate along the corridor, the PLCC will have to ramp up its monitoring efforts to evaluate progress toward its outcomes.

This research highlights the value of analyzing the institutional arrangements of collaborative urban planning initiatives. Investigating the membership, decision-making structures, and interactions between actors can bring to light the power dynamics that shape the visions and agendas of such collaboratives. This methodology also has the power to contextualize a collaborative within the political dynamics of a region, contributing to a deeper understanding of urban governance processes. In this case, focused on planning for ETOD

around the Purple Line in Maryland, the analysis reveals the competing approaches to achieve inclusive development in the Washington D.C. region, and the strengths and limitations of organizing a broad-based coalition to advance ETOD. Moreover, given the limited federal and state funding available for public housing development, and divisive debates over the role of the government in regulating the real estate market at the local level, as this study has highlighted, the PLCC demonstrates the range of political outcomes made possible by a sustained collaborative planning and advocacy initiative.

As planners and elected officials in metropolitan areas in the United States evolve their land use planning processes to pursue more sustainable residential development patterns and advance socio-economic equity in low-income communities, they are increasingly turning to collaborative planning models, in one form or another, to pursue these goals. The PLCC offers an example of such a model that demonstrates the ability of a broad-based collaborative to move forward complex planning goals in a bifurcated political environment with countless other constituencies competing for attention. As the PLCC continues its advocacy, and other collaborative planning initiatives emerge around the country, their efforts to increase engagement with residents and grassroots organizations will determine what power residents have in shaping the future of their communities. Paying attention to the institutional arrangement of such coalitions, and particularly to their public engagement strategies, is crucial to achieving more equitable collaborative planning processes. This thesis provides a template for investigating the institutional arrangements of collaborative planning initiatives, which could expand and deepen our understanding of effective ways to advance sustainable and inclusive urban development in U.S. cities.

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Appendix

Table 1. List of Interviewees

Interviewee	Role
John Maneval	Consultant working on ROFR at Prince George's County DHCD
Council Member Deni Taveras	Prince George's County Council Member, District 2
Sheila Somashekhar	Director, Purple Line Corridor Coalition
Nicholas Finio	Associate Director of the National Center for Smart Growth, University of Maryland, PLCC Member
Lisa Govoni	Housing Planner, Montgomery Planning
Robert Kronenberg	Deputy Planning Director, Montgomery Planning
Casey Anderson	Former Chair, Montgomery County Planning Board
Benjamin Ross	Former President of Action Committee for Transit, Chair of Maryland Transit Opportunities Coalition, longtime transit advocate
Paul Desjardins	Director, Department of Community Planning and Services, Metropolitan Washington Council of Governments
Cheryl Cort	Policy Director, Coalition for Smarter Growth, PLCC member

Jane Lyons	Former Advocacy Manager, Coalition for Smarter Growth, PLCC member
George Leventhal	Director, Community Health, Kaiser Permanente, PLCC Member
Laura Searfoss	Senior Program Director, Enterprise Community Partners, Mid-atlantic, PLCC Member
Chris Gillis	Policy and Neighborhood Development Director, Montgomery Housing Partnership

Figure 1. Sample Memorandum of Partnership for PLCC Steering Committee and working group members

MEMORANDUM OF PARTNERSHIP

This **MEMORANDUM OF PARTNERSHIP** is made and entered into by and between the undersigned parties. Its purpose is to communicate shared goals and define the undersigned parties' roles and responsibilities.

The undersigned parties are interested in bringing their collective resources together in order to strengthen communities through Equitable Transit Oriented Development (ETOD).

The undersigned parties agree to lead and coordinate large-scale action around four key goals that drive the Purple Line Corridor Coalition's (PLCC's) work, as members of the Steering Committee:

- Diverse, locally established **businesses prosper** both during and after the construction period.
- **Workers in the corridor are well-trained**, grow in number, and are well-matched with employers in skills and location.
- **Housing opportunities** are available for **people of all incomes** in communities throughout the corridor, especially current low- and middle-income, and transit-dependent residents.
- **Vibrant and sustainable communities** enhance health, culture, and a sense of place.

The undersigned parties, each acting by and through their duly authorized officers, agree to the following Steering Committee responsibilities:

- Monitor the **implementation of the work of the Action Teams and Cross-Cutting Tables** that derive from the PLCC's original **Community Development Agreement (CDA)**
- Advise on and **shape strategic decisions** on the use of resources
- Actively support **raising, aligning, and leveraging of resources, including** advising the coalition on opportunities, providing support letters, and sharing information about individual Purple Line fundraising efforts.
- Articulate the **key targets for results** and outcomes
- Weigh in on **key budget decisions** and project investments
- Participate in coordinated **PLCC communications efforts**, including, for example, social media campaigns or flyer outreach
- **Speak on behalf of PLCC** at public meetings and events, including but not limited to those organized by PLCC staff
- Either **co-lead or heavily participate** in action teams or cross-cutting tables
- **Attend** (or ensure attendance of a senior representative from the organization) **all the face-to-face, bi-monthly steering committee meetings** (and periodic calls that are absolutely necessary)
- Serve (renewable) **two-year term**
- Sign a **Memorandum of Partnership on roles and responsibilities** as a PLCC partner

The leadership-level commitment of Steering Committee members is key to the viability of the PLCC's work. This Memorandum of Partnership will be reviewed annually to ensure that the formalized commitments of Steering Committee members are resulting in maximal progress toward the goals of the CDA.

In addition, **PARTNER** will do the following, which builds on unique strengths that support the goals of the CDA.

1. Serve in the following roles:
 - a. Co-chair the Small Business Action Team, which entails:
 - i. Organizing small business stakeholders to drive 2021-2022 Action Plan goals and help build plans for 2022 and beyond
 - ii. Playing a visible role in Action Team meetings, speaking on behalf of PLCC
 - iii. Co-leading the Action Team's policy development and organizing work
 - iv. Helping to organize larger Action Team meetings, including team outreach and agenda setting
 - b. Member of the Housing Accelerator Action Team

2. Provide the following to advance the CDA Goals for 2021-2022:
 - a. Help build PLCC's larger policy and organizing strategy through active participation in PLCC's Equity Leadership Council
 - b. Support PLCC in strategic planning and outreach to directly engage community residents in a leadership capacity

3. Advise and support PLCC's central fundraising efforts, including -- when appropriate and possible -- active participation in coalition-led fundraising efforts that support on-the-ground implementation of the CDA, and including backbone support for PLCC in grant applications.

The undersigned parties, by and through their respective duly authorized representatives, executed this **Memorandum of Partnership** on and as of the date written below.

Signature _____

Name and Position _____

Organization Name _____

Date _____