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How Parks and Recreation System Master Plans are Addressing Displacement in Gentrifying Cities

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**How Parks and Recreation System Master Plans are Addressing
Displacement in Gentrifying Cities**

by

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Abstract

How Parks and Recreation System Master Plans are Addressing Displacement in Gentrifying Cities

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Park and recreation spaces and services provide social, economic, environmental, and health benefits, yet many communities face park inaccessibility and inequities. The movement of people to, and investment in historically marginalized neighborhoods has gentrified many communities. Investments and efforts to remedy the park deficiency and gap in these underserved neighborhoods often endanger the affordability of neighborhoods due to the attractiveness and desirability of the amenities. One of the avenues for planning for and responding to community concerns, such as these, are park system master plans, which can be utilized for determining policy, investment, and service priorities. To further understand how cities are responding to displacement patterns upon research of green gentrification and anti-displacement strategies being made more widely available, this report focuses on the treatment of green displacement in park system master plans through a systematic analysis of mentions of affordable housing, gentrification, and displacement. Focusing on park system master plans available for the country's cities with the greatest intensity of displacement between 2013

and 2017 and using an adaptation of Schrock, Bassett, and Green (2015)'s methodology for the review of the treatment of equity in climate plans, the type of mention is categorized into history, problem, goal, action plan, or other. Findings reveal that half of the cities studied acknowledge that green displacement due to park improvements or creation is a concern and less than half of the cities have at least one anti-displacement strategy. Not all plans that acknowledge the problem include an action plan to mitigate or prevent green displacement. The findings show that despite documented gentrification taking place, and at times, green displacement, parks and recreation agencies still have limited plans for working to prevent inaccessibility of the local parks and recreation amenities due to displacement.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AALR	American Association for Leisure and Recreation
EM of EJ	Ecological Model of Environmental Justice for Recreation
GIP	Greening in Place
GWG	Greening without Gentrification
NRPA	National Recreation and Parks Association
PRSMP	Parks and Recreation System Master Plan

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

Urban planning scholarship has demonstrated the significance of parks, the prevalence of park disparities, the nuances of green displacement, and grassroots and government-led strategies for preventing displacement. Case studies of communities working to mitigate displacement due to greening are being put forth in academic and professional literature. Park system master planning has evolved and is currently encouraging considerations of housing and cross-departmental work. To further understand how cities are dealing with gentrification patterns, displacement concerns, and strategies being made more widely available and known, this report focuses on the treatment of green displacement in park system master plans. More specifically, this report asks, “*How are anti-displacement policies emerging and being planned for in parks and recreation system master plans?*” and “*And, how can we adapt park planning processes to ensure accessibility to quality parks for current residents?*” This report focuses on the U.S metro areas with the greatest intensity of gentrification between 2013 and 2017, as studied and published by the National Community Reinvestment Coalition (Richardson, Mitchell, & Edlebi, 2020). The greatest intensity of gentrification means that 20% or more of the eligible neighborhoods for gentrification underwent increases in income, home values, and college attainment. Any parks and recreation system master plans adopted anytime between January 1, 2013 to December 31, 2022 qualify for the study. Related materials for plans currently being made also qualify. City plans are not studied as they are broader in scope and scale than parks and recreation system master

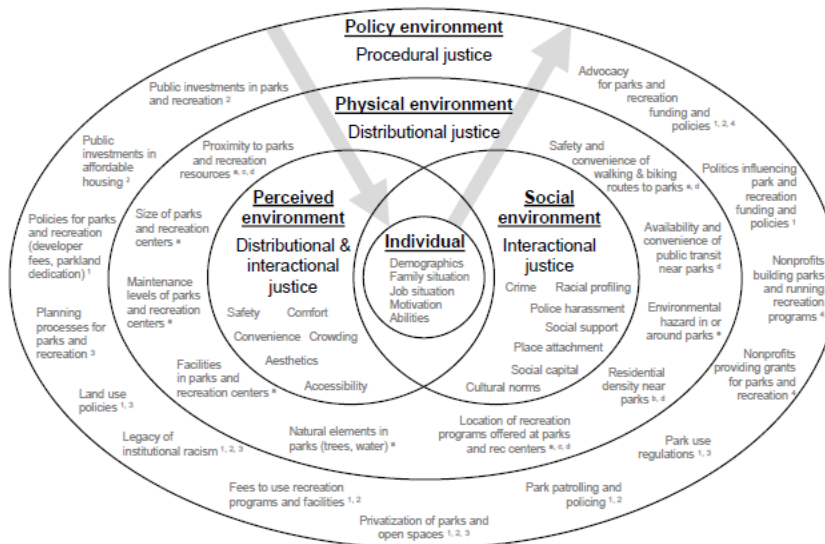
plans. Of the twenty metro areas (Table 1.1), plans are not available for the cities of Miami, New Orleans, Sacramento, Baltimore, Chicago, Phoenix, New York City, and Philadelphia. Community engagement results from current planning efforts are utilized for Miami and Sacramento. The Washington D.C. plan utilized is a draft that was being commented on while data was being collected for this study.

City	Total Tracts	Eligible Tracts	Gentrifying Tracts	Gentrifying %
San Francisco-Oakland	975	131	41	31.30%
Denver	619	80	22	27.50%
Boston	1003	75	16	21.30%
Miami-Ft. Lauderdale	1215	81	17	21.00%
New Orleans	392	64	13	20.30%
Austin	350	56	11	19.60%
New York City	4515	362	70	19.30%
San Jose	383	72	13	18.10%
Phoenix	991	162	29	17.90%
Sacramento	484	56	10	17.90%
Minneapolis	771	115	20	17.40%
Indianapolis	360	100	17	17.00%
Washington D.C.	1346	86	14	16.30%
San Diego	627	88	14	15.90%
Los Angeles	2921	404	48	11.90%
Baltimore	679	150	16	10.70%
Chicago	2210	324	28	8.60%
Philadelphia	1473	280	20	7.10%
Detroit	1294	293	14	4.80%
Dallas	1314	238	11	4.60%

Table 1.1 Top Gentrified Metro Areas from the National Community Reinvestment Coalition’s “Gentrification and Disinvestment 2020”

The treatment is narrowly studied through a search, text analysis, and categorization of passages with any of the following terms or phrases: housing,

gentrify/gentrifying/gentrification, displacement/displace, and affordable housing/public housing/subsidized housing. Following the methodology of the review of the treatment of equity in climate plans in Schrock, Bassett, and Green (2015), the type of passage is categorized into history/context, problem/need, goal/objective, action plan, or other. Doing so furthers the understanding of the treatment of green displacement. Any anti-displacement strategies identified will also be categorized into the ecological model of environmental justice as put forth by Rigolon et al. (2019) (Figure 1.1).



Notes. Policy environment: ¹ public policy, ² funding and investment, ³ planning initiatives, and ⁴ nonprofit/advocacy work. Physical environment: ^a park infrastructures, ^b housing, ^c land use, ^d transportation, ^e environmental hazards.

Figure 1.1: Model in “An Ecological Model of Environmental Justice for Recreation” Rigolon et al. (2019)

Finally, the analysis identifies similarities between strategies in the plans and those put forth in the “Greening in Place Toolkit” (2020) and Rigolon and Christensen’s

“Greening Without Gentrification” (2019). The comparison sheds light on trends of anti-displacement strategies or emerging methods. The analysis will also look at whether aspects of recently developed park system master planning approaches are being utilized. We can better understand the applicability of such approaches in addressing green gentrification or the need for further tools, research, and planning approaches. The report seeks to put forth methods and mechanisms for cities and planners to understand, evaluate, and act on displacement in their park plans.

CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

This literature review provides the context for the report topic. First, I review the relationship between green infrastructure and parks and recreation and their benefits to communities. Next, I look to understand the evolution of park planning approaches. This review does not include different new community models and green movements that have taken place since the 1800s. I then move into present-day challenges to securing equitable access to quality parks and recreation systems by describing some of the findings of park accessibility studies and the threats to park accessibility that gentrification poses. I conclude the literature review by describing responses to gentrification and displacement in park planning and reviews of responses that are made available through research and practitioners. This report seeks to address the gap in understanding how parks and recreation agencies are incorporating strategies made available and the relevancy of existing park planning models and frameworks for incorporating anti-displacement strategies.

Green infrastructure planning in cities has become essential for sustainability and community well-being (Outen, 2010). Green infrastructure is defined as “natural or artificial landforms and plant communities whose ecological processes provide benefits to human developments,” also referred to as “ecosystem services” (Morley, 2017). Like other forms of green infrastructure, a park is a part of a network of green spaces with benefits for other aspects of the natural ecosystem (Outen, 2010). Within the realm of green infrastructure planning and improvements, parks and open space are widely

acknowledged as an important part of a community and a standard element in city planning.

Parks and recreation spaces in cities create social, economic, environmental, and health benefits. Benefits include health, social integration, community engagement, and connections with nature (Dobson et al., 2019). A review of 2014 data from forty-four U.S. cities showed that park quantity, quality, and accessibility are positively associated with well-being, although quality and accessibility were not significant to improving well-being (Larson, Jennings, & Cloutier, 2016). The study finds that “expansive park networks are linked to multiple aspects of health and wellbeing in cities and positively impact urban quality of life” (Larson, Jennings, & Cloutier, 2016, 1). Green spaces can reduce urban heat island effect, which plagues many communities across the country that have high levels of concrete and disproportionately affects vulnerable populations (Kent, 2023a, 2). While green spaces, parks, and recreation mean something distinct to each community, the benefits to people directly and wider community priorities have been experienced, researched, and proven based on many contexts around the world (Powers et al., 2021).

HOW PARK PLANNING HAS EVOLVED

Planning for new parks and recreation infrastructure and service improvements takes place through multiple mechanisms, including individual park plans, comprehensive master plans, and parks and recreation system master planning, from here on referred to as ‘PRSMMP’. Comprehensive master plans guide the long-range planning

of communities in the U.S. Master plans can serve as a venue for putting forth solutions to community needs (Banner, Mummert, & Mendoza, 2019). While plans in the 20th century were compartmentalized and focused on land use and the physical development of communities, plans in recent decades have evolved (Rouse & Piro, 2021). This review discusses contemporary master planning values, park planning approaches as put forth by the American Association for Leisure and Recreation, thought leaders, and park practitioners from the 1980s until today.

In the contemporary moment, plans now ideally conduct the following actions, “engage community members and articulate their shared values through a collaborative process; organize plan content around cross-cutting themes; connect values and vision for the future to a defined action agenda; address issues that transcend jurisdictional boundaries; and use alternatives to paper documents to communicate the plan to different audiences” (Rouse & Piro, 2021, 3). The plan should be guided by themes of equity, resilience, and sustainability and promote a systems approach to planning (Rouse and Piro, 2021, 4). Kelly (2010), in an introduction to comprehensive master planning, defines systems analysis theory as being made up of three basic concepts: “everything is a system”, “every system is a part of one or more larger systems”, and “most systems are open systems that exchange energy with their environments” and argues that systems analysis can support and enhance planning efforts (Kelly, 2010, 33). A comprehensive plan for creating sustainable places will be guided by the principles “livable built environment”, “harmony with nature”, “resilient economy”, “interwoven equity”, “healthy community”, and “responsible regionalism” (Godschalk & Rouse, 2015, 2-3). In

this approach, parks and recreation are interwoven throughout the plan to address the overall principles. Comprehensive plans have the potential to significantly shape and influence the daily lives of residents of a place.

Park system master planning has traditionally remained narrow and confined to the boundaries of the physical spaces parks and recreation agencies manage. As long-time and influential parks and recreation consultant David Barth, PhD, AICP, ASLA, CPRP put it in a post for the landscape architecture blog, *The Field*, "The majority of parks and recreation system plans address traditional parks and recreation improvements, rather than community-wide issues" (Barth, 2020b). Barth (2020b) also states, critiquing common practice park planning methodology, that system master planning has not changed much since Horace Cleveland's *Suggestions for a System of Parks and Parkways for the City of Minneapolis* in 1883.

More recently, parks planners have taken steps toward taking a systems approach. The American Association for Leisure and Recreation (AALR), an association of the American Alliance for Health, Physical Education Recreation and Dance that brings together professionals in the fields of physical education, leisure, fitness, dance, health promotion, education, and healthy lifestyle specialties, states in their 1985 book on master planning for parks and recreation that a parks and recreation master plan is "a document that provides an inclusive framework for orderly and consistent planning; acquisition; development; and administration of the parks and recreation resources, programs, and facilities of the agency that sponsors the master plan" (Kelsey & Gray, 1985, 11). As described by the University of Delaware's Complete Communities

Toolbox’s section on parks and recreation master planning, “The purpose of a master plan is to develop a comprehensive vision for a park system, individual park, open space area, recreation facility, and/or programs in context of its location, natural resources, and visions of the community. This vision will serve as a framework for the long-term use and development of a park or facility” (Complete Communities). Like the Complete Communities Toolbox, the AALR states that the primary purpose of the plan is to equip leaders to make both immediate and long-range decisions. The plan, under the 1985 AALR guidance, should be focused only on parks and recreation while also taking into consideration entities of different types and levels that affect the parks and recreation facilities, spaces, and programs, such as the state or a private entity. Through this lens, park planning focuses primarily within the parameters of the parks and recreation agency and the assessment of park accessibility primarily focuses on physical proximity.

Much like the evolution of comprehensive system planning, PRSMP methods have evolved over time to adjust and adapt to the economic circumstances and political realities. A more recent PRSMP guide proposes that a new, more comprehensive, and contextualized planning approach should be used in communities (Barth, 2020a). The “New Approach” views parks as a part of a “larger interconnected public realm”, considers alternative dimensions of parks and recreation systems, and plans every site as a high-performance public space (Barth, 2020b). Housing, gentrification, homelessness, and neighborhood stabilization all appear in a non-exhaustive list of potential dimensions that a parks and recreation system can address through a park or park system master plan (Barth, 2020a, 36). As an example of the inclusion of an alternative dimension in a

PRSMF, Barth describes the multiple benefits that have come from the Atlanta BeltLine project. The project is a network of 250 miles of trails that has included the creation of 2,600 affordable housing units. This is an example, according to Barth (2020a), of a park project that has utilized the “New Approach” and has incorporated adjacent dimensions that have enhanced park accessibility and anti-displacement. An American Planning Association briefing paper published in 2017 puts forth four key points for park system master planning in the 21st century (Rouse, 2017). These key points include community engagement, maximizing benefits, equitable distribution, and securing funding. Key point number three suggests that gentrification and displacement can be addressed by coordinating solutions through the city’s comprehensive plan. Furthermore, Peter Harnik (2003)’s characteristics for an excellent city parks system include the following items: a clear expression of purpose; an ongoing planning and community involvement process; sufficient assets in land, staffing, and equipment to meet the system’s goals; equitable access; user satisfaction; safety from physical hazards and crime; and benefits for the city beyond the boundaries of the parks (Harnik, 2003). Twenty-first century comprehensive and PRSMF models utilize tools and methodologies that consider the interconnectedness of housing, park accessibility, and planning and facilitate paths toward anti-displacement solutions.

Varying assumptions, values, and principles for park planning have been set forth in toolkits and guidance documents. ChangeLab Solutions, an organization focused on health equity, published a complete parks toolkit as a part of its healthy neighborhoods work area. “Complete Parks Playbook: creating an equitable parks system” (2015)

authored by Dohm, McLaughlin, and Wooten (2015) puts forth that a complete park system achieves three goals. The goals of a complete park system are as follows,

Provide all residents with easy access to a great park that fulfills each community's needs for nature, open space, and recreational activities, recognizing that there is no one-size-fits-all solution; Close the gaps in parks access and quality by improving parks in neglected places and increasing park area for groups with the least access and the greatest need; and Support health and health equity by incorporating holistic health into how parks are distributed, operated, and used by people and communities (Dohm, McLaughlin, & Wooten, 2015, 2).

According to ChangeLab Solutions (2015), these goals are accomplished through incorporating the seven Complete Parks elements, which are engage, connect, locate, activate, grow, protect, and fund (Dohm, McLaughlin, & Wooten, 2015, 2). The toolkit provides an example from Philadelphia to demonstrate the Complete Parks approach.

One of the effects deemed as positive in the document is that of increased property value as a result of the City of Philadelphia's efforts to convert vacant lots to green space that also contributed to arts, culture, workforce development, public health, and public safety (Dohm, McLaughlin, & Wooten, 2015, 8). Park properties are well established as having an impact on surrounding property values whereby property values increase (Crompton, 2001). Government officials across the country hold different views on the values and benefits of green space and park development and enhancement. Often times, goals of equity can clash with those of economic development if not considered and planned for alongside one another. Frameworks such as ChangeLab Solutions's can further not just

parks, but healthy neighborhoods; green gentrification, however, is a threat to these goals that should be considered in planning and is further studied here.

PARKS AND EQUITY

Community leaders, government officials, and park planners have grown more concerned with equitable access to parks. In many cities of the U.S., park offerings are not equitably accessible, located, or funded. Literature related to park accessibility can often be found in research about environmental justice and environmental greening. Furthermore, access to quality parks is also a gap in underserved and historically marginalized communities that is a result of inequitable park funding. Such discrimination, exclusion, and injustices are rooted in the nation's history since its founding and systematic and legalized removal of peoples from their home and sacred lands across the country. The National Recreation and Parks Association (NRPA), a non-profit organization dedicated to advancing communities through supporting parks and recreation professionals, provides an extensive review of the multiple forms and methods of exclusion from land, public spaces, and parks and recreation since the 1600s in their Esri StoryMap titled "Equity in Parks and Recreation" (Equity in Parks and Recreation). Gaps in accessibility to quality living environments and healthy communities persist and racism is a leading driver of the inequities and inequalities (Melamed, 2015).

The literature has established the multiple forms of park inaccessibility experienced across the U.S. A comprehensive review of scholarship on park proximity, acreage, and quality found that low socio-economic status ethnic minority communities

have access to less parks, acreage, and parks with greater congestion (Rigolon, 2016, 168). A study of ninety-nine of the most populated 100 cities in the U.S. that utilized The Trust for Public Land's 2017 found that ParkScores, consisting of measurements of park access, park size, facilities, and investments, are higher in cities with higher median incomes and lower percentages of people of color (Rigolon, Browning, & Jennings, 2018, 156). A survey conducted in Houston, Texas found that "park users in majority-minority neighborhoods primarily wish to see better park amenities, such as more and revitalized infrastructure, enhanced maintenance, and a safer environment, but are less concerned with increasing or improving connections between parks and neighborhoods" (Smiley et al., 2016, 1). This is noteworthy as park systems across the U.S. focus on connecting parks, whereas local opinions for Houston, specifically, reveal that for majority-minority neighborhoods improving existing park infrastructure and quality is a higher priority. A study of non-profit provision of public parks reveals "that communities with a higher density of park-supporting nonprofits generate better park access for all racial-ethnic groups", with greater benefits accrued to whites, showing the important role of non-profit organizations in park accessibility (Cheng, Yeng, & Deng, 2022, 473). These findings show how parks are more limited to low-income, minority communities and strategies for increasing access and equity can address these gaps.

While park equity and accessibility are established priorities in parks and recreation agencies across the country, green displacement has emerged more recently as a component of equity and accessibility. Green displacement is acknowledged as one of the challenges of today in the 2021 NRPA "Equity in Parks and Recreation" Esri

StoryMap, alongside COVID-19 and health equity, transportation equity, law enforcement and police, climate change, civic participation, U.S. park names and historical monuments, and welcoming spaces (Equity in Parks and Recreation). “[Movement] of people and investment” taking place across the U.S. has resulted in displacement in many places (Richardson, Mitchell, & Edlebi, 2020). These investments have come in the form of park planning and creation in some places. Cities and organizations endeavor to increase park access or enhance quality of park offerings, which often result in increased property value, a social and cultural shift, and housing affordability and availability. Efforts to green and enhance sustainability through community engagement at times can make way for gentrification as the initiatives can undermine existing uses and ignore community requests (Checker, 2011). A present-day concern facing park professionals and planners is that investments and efforts to remedy the park deficiency and gap often endanger the affordability of neighborhoods due to the attractiveness and desirability of park space.

This “green gentrification” predominantly disadvantages long-term, low-income residents, who disproportionately are people of color. A similar term, environmental gentrification, is the combination of urban renewal, green initiatives, and environmental justice activism in a context of capital accumulation (Checker, 2011). Displacement is closely related to gentrification. While the definition of gentrification, has evolved, as Finio (2022) discusses, there is broad consensus that “gentrification is defined by an influx of new investment and new residents with higher incomes and educational attainment into a neighborhood” (Finio, 2022, 250). Gentrification is also defined as “the

transformation of a working-class or vacant area of a city into middle-class residential and/or commercial use” (Slater, 2010, 294). Gentrification can also be viewed as racially led and made up of “(1) capital reinvestment; (2) social upgrading by high-income in-movers; (3) landscape change; and (4) displacement of low-income groups” (Huante, 2021; Davidson & Lees, 2016). Among several consequences, gentrification processes can have significant effects on community relations, livelihoods, health, stability, and racial relations, specifically, the ranking of people based on race or the “racial hierarchy” (Huante, 2021, 64).

Interrelated yet not equivalent, displacement has been defined as “forced removal or blocked relocation of residents out of or into certain areas that have experienced rent or home price increases and further includes the phenomenon of indirect displacement via social and cultural shifts” or “what happens when forces outside the household make living there impossible, hazardous, or unaffordable” (Finio, 2022, 249; Hartman, 1982, 3). Displacement, in other words, focuses more specifically on housing security. Given the focus of this paper is on anti-displacement strategies, rather than preventing broader neighborhood transformation, the report utilizes the terms “green displacement” or “displacement” with the understanding that displacement is often a consequence of gentrification.

The relationship between greening and gentrification has been examined by urban studies and planning scholars. Some of the green infrastructure that has been associated with gentrification in the literature includes climate resilient infrastructure, green buildings, remediations, parks and gardens, and urban growth and greening (Busà, 2022).

Anguelovski et al. (2018) comment that the ways in which greening impacts proximate low-income and minority residents varies and needs to be understood in greater depth. Drawing from a global context, the authors propose the term ‘green gap’ to describe the inclusion of greening as a part of profit-driven development as a benefit to the community (Anguelovski et al., 2018, 1066). The green gap demonstrates the benefits of greening and economic incentives of displacement. Whether greening leads to gentrification or gentrification to greening is unresolved. Rigolon and Collins (2023) reaffirm the “complex relationships between urban greening and gentrification” (Rigolon and Collins, 2023, 782). Another focus of research and important consideration for practitioners is the magnitude or specific role greening plays as a part of development and neighborhood change (Anguelovski et al., 2022, 2). Understanding the complex relationship can be taken into consideration in parks and recreation planning.

The detrimental effects of greening in many places have been documented. A study of the property values in the aftermath of the construction of the 606 Trail in Chicago found that the west side of the newly developed trail, which did not already have demand for property, experienced a substantial increase in property values (Smith et al., 2016). A study of the impact on characteristics of neighborhoods near Superfund Cleanup sites on the National Priorities List found that areas where superfund sites were cleaned up caused low-income residents to move out and wealthier and educated households to move in (Gamper-Rabindran, 2011, 620). Young families experience benefits in the short term of increased access to green space, but potential losses in the long term for socially vulnerable families, as found in a study based on two neighborhoods in Barcelona

(Oscilowicz et al., 2010). As a result, people in these examples, the 606 trail, the National Priorities List sites, and the green space development, who would benefit the most from such improvements to their environment are no longer present to access them. These are a few of many studies and examples of green gentrification across the country and world.

Houselessness is an interconnected issue with green gentrification and displacement. The connection, put simply, can be understood through the following statement, “The accelerated cost burden ultimately leads to a tipping point, after which greater financial sacrifice or doubling up with friends and relatives become untenable and families fall into homelessness” (Greening in Place, 2020, 5). Limited models exist for planning a parks and recreation agency’s future for interacting and serving houseless people as it relates to their uses of public facilities. Honolulu, Hawaii converted a community center, the Hale Mauiola Navigation Center, into a temporary homeless shelter with ninety-three units (Greening in Place, 2019, 19). In a context of housing and houseless crises, Los Angeles community and elected leaders took steps toward furthering housing solutions. The Los Angeles Regional Open Space and Affordable Housing Collaborative (LA ROSAH) came together to “advance policies and strategies that prevent displacement in vulnerable communities related to green gentrification and to advocate for accessible, community-driven parks/open space and affordable housing joint development ” (LA RoSAH). LA ROSAH worked with the county of Los Angeles to incorporate anti-displacement strategies into the expenditure plan for Los Angeles County Measure A, a funding source for furthering park, recreation, and open space projects through a tax property in the county (Greening in Place, 2019, 20; LA County).

Green displacement and houselessness must be understood as related outcomes of greening and parks and equity can be furthered through finding solutions that consider the problems together and holistically.

RESPONSES TO GENTRIFICATION AND DISPLACEMENT IN PARK PLANNING

The emerging consequences and shifts of greening have led to research and documentation of practices and trends in the country for preventing displacement when greening. Many grassroots organizations and community leaders across the country have worked to remedy and prevent displacement through organizing and advocacy. Some cities and government organizations have also led in anti-displacement strategies. Environmental conservation non-profit organization Audubon Center at Debs Park and partners published a toolkit in 2020 called “Greening in Place” (GIP) that puts forth strategies to reduce detrimental economic impacts for vulnerable communities of green infrastructure investments (Greening in Place, 2019). Rigolon and Christensen (2019), also referred to here as ‘GWG’, puts forth strategies and case studies of anti-displacement planning and policies focused on communities where park development and improvements are taking place. Strategies in this literature include both city-and community-led strategies.

For several decades, legal scholars, and policy and planning practitioners have been studying displacement and methods to prevent it. More recent research has emerged focused on strategies for preventing green displacement. Some of the strategies are borrowed from anti-displacement case studies and literature from other sectors, such as

transportation, climate resilience, or economic development. Legal scholar and planning academic Peter Marcuse (1984) argues for a comprehensive approach to addressing displacement caused by gentrification and puts forth a policy recommendation called “Residential Stability or Anti-displacement Zoning” (Marcuse, 1984, 931). Cities can assess vulnerability to climate gentrification as a part of their planning (Anguelovski et al., 2022). Specifically focusing on parks, Wolch, Byrne, and Newell (2014) put forth an anti-displacement strategy called “just green enough” (Wolch, Byrne, & Newell, 2014). Building on Wolch, Byrne, & Newell’s “just green enough” strategy, Rigolon et al. (2020) put forth a “a more than “just green enough” approach”, specifically for park professionals to “combat environmental gentrification” (Rigolon et al., 2020, 30). The approach includes four steps:

First, park agencies need to partner with urban planners to establish or preserve a sufficient number of affordable housing units near new or renovated parks.

Second, park agencies need to ensure that their leadership staff and on-the-ground employees reflect the ethnoracial diversity of the communities around new or renovated parks. Third, community outreach activities for new or renovated parks should adequately engage people of different races/ethnicities, ages, and incomes, and prepare the most marginalized people to meaningfully participate. Fourth, new and renovated parks and their recreation programs should welcome and engage longtime residents, and not just wealthier newcomers. (Rigolon et al., 2020, 30).

A differing perspective, planner David Rouse, also looking at green infrastructure and park planning, states that “addressing gentrification” is “beyond the scope of a park or green infrastructure plan” (Rouse, 2017, 5). Instead, park and green infrastructure planning should be incorporated into city-wide comprehensive planning to integrate park and open space planning into the wide community system (Rouse, 2017). Preventing displacement due to greening goes beyond simply ensuring housing options are available to working with diverse stakeholders and partners and ensuring an inclusive environment at parks. There are many actions that can take place within a parks and recreation agency to address gentrification.

The American Planning Association’s briefing study, UCLA’s report, Rigolon et al. (2019), GIP, and GWG have overlapping goals, which include meaningful community engagement, collaboration with housing agencies and developers, and long-term solutions to displacement and gentrification threats. The UCLA School of Law Emmett Institute on Climate Change and the Environment provides a guide for creating green space and affordable housing joint development projects, including common challenges, funding strategies, the landscape, common processes, and successful strategies (Kent, 2023a). Their guide builds on the report “Pathway to Parks and Affordable Housing Joint Development”, which provides an overview of opportunities for joint development of affordable housing and urban greening from the experience of organizations from the LA ROSAH collaborative (Pathway, 2019). An additional tool for park professionals, the briefing paper published by the American Planning Association for NRPA for addressing social and environmental inequities through greening in parks states that a principle for

reaching this goal includes increasing availability of affordable housing, reducing pressures on low-income tenants and homeowners, and generating wealth among low-income residents (Morley, 2017). These scholars agree that parks planning that is attentive and includes ongoing engagement with communities is necessary for preventing displacement (Morley, 2017). These research and reports are relevant for understanding the tools that are available for park professionals for preventing displacement. Anti-displacement in park planning is emerging as essential in places with vulnerable populations; guides and case studies are available from a variety of contexts for use and incorporation in park planning.

Case studies from the GIP and GWG and preliminary research show that cities and community organizations alike are integrating anti-displacement strategies in park planning and advocacy. The City of Greenville in South Carolina and Atlanta are two examples that demonstrate some of the techniques and strategies put forth in the literature. In Greenville's planning effort, the city created a plan for Unity Park that included community input and experiences at the forefront. To prevent displacement around the park, the plan directs the city to earmark public land in the surrounding areas for affordable housing (Greening in Place, 2020, 19). The City of Atlanta has incorporated anti-displacement considerations and policies in their park system master plans. The city has worked with the Atlanta Beltline Inc., specifically, to increase affordable units along the Atlanta Beltline, although progress is still needed to meet its goals (Greening in Place, 2020, 6). Community-led efforts focused on advocacy for greater anti-displacement measures include passing legislation and securing access to

park space and affordable homes simultaneously. In Los Angeles, a grassroots coalition, United Neighbors in Defense Against Displacement, created a community platform of policy priorities including anti-displacement strategies, the People’s Plan, that was largely incorporated by the City Council unanimously for South and Southeast Los Angeles (Greening in Place, 2020, 14). A study of community responses to climate resilience projects in Brooklyn New York City reveal, “how a commitment to community-led planning, proactive community champions, and grassroots mobilizations are factors that enable communities to contest and resist environmental gentrification and influence outcomes of urban planning decisions” and provides transferable lessons for other climate and gentrification vulnerable communities (Nguyen and Leichenko, 2022, 26). The initiatives from the ground-up have been instrumental for preserving communities and increasing park accessibility. City-led efforts often align with and incorporate the community priorities in planning decisions.

The report will explain how parks and recreation system master plans in the country’s most gentrified cities are seeking to prevent further displacement through parks and recreation planning. The report asks, “*How are anti-displacement policies emerging and being planned for in park system master plans?*” and “*And, how can we adapt park planning processes to ensure accessibility to quality parks for current residents?*” This report builds on the existing review of strategies by focusing on PRSMPs specifically. As cities grow more acutely aware of park justice, equity, and accessibility, planning and investments face equally relevant concerns, which is that of future accessibility as a result of park justice efforts. The report will build on the existing repository of case studies of

anti-displacement park planning to assess common methods and strategies emerging in park plans since 2013. The report will put forth a strategy for cities and planners to better address accessibility and displacement in their park plans based on methods and lessons learned in the review.

CHAPTER 3. METHODOLOGY

By systematically reviewing PRSMPs for gentrifying cities, as well as relevant materials and tools referenced in the plans, this report identifies if and how park planning processes are addressing green displacement. The objective of this report will be to understand how cities are engaging, learning about, and responding to displacement vulnerability and related concerns in PRSMPs and planning processes.

QUALIFYING CITIES

This report focuses on gentrifying cities to better understand if and how cities, amid a changing housing and demographic landscape, are addressing affordability and equitable accessibility to quality parks through their PRSMPs. These planning processes encompass the entire stock of land in the jurisdiction's purview, services provided, the budget, areas of growth and needs, and the vision and goals for the agency. A PRSMP is able to look at the city or place holistically, while a park-specific plan will only concern a particular site. A park-specific plan may also deal with displacement and gentrification if it is vulnerable to such issues. To understand how cities experiencing gentrification are addressing or discussing green displacement through their park planning, this report focuses on PRSMPs, as opposed to park-specific plans.

The sample of cities are those identified in the 2020 NCRC report on gentrification and disinvestment. The NCRC report determined that half of the 954 neighborhoods experiencing gentrification in the country between 2013 and 2017 were in twenty metro areas (Richardson, Mitchell, & Edlebi, 2020). The neighborhoods that were

eligible for gentrification were census tracts based on 2008 to 2012 American Community Survey Census Data that had a population of greater than 500, a median home value in less than the 40th percentile, and a median household income in less than the 40th percentile. Neighborhoods that experienced gentrification were those that had an increase in median home value to greater than the 60th percentile, an increase in college educated individuals to greater than the 60th percentile, and an increase in median household income between 2013 and 2017 also based on the American Community Survey Census Data. The methodology is illustrated in Figure 3.1.

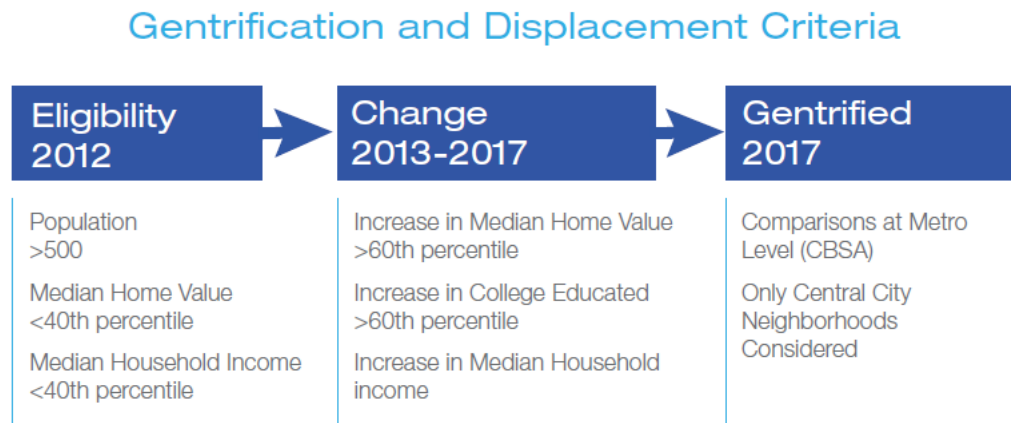


Figure 3.1: Gentrification and Displacement Criteria from the NCRC “Gentrification and Disinvestment 2020”

The NCRC utilized American Community Survey Data for the periods 2008 to 2012 and 2013 to 2017 and did not include an analysis of displacement by race and ethnicity, but rather socioeconomic data. The twenty metro areas are those with the greatest intensity of gentrification. Intensity of gentrification “was quantified as the

percentage of neighborhoods which were gentrifying out of those which were eligible to gentrify. Only urban central city neighborhoods were considered” (Richardson, Mitchell, & Edlebi, 2020, 9). Central city neighborhoods are determined by the U.S. White House Office of Management and Budget. The metro areas studied are depicted in Table 1.1. The metro areas of San Francisco/Oakland and Miami/Ft. Lauderdale are separated into individual cities for this study. This is due to PRSMPs for each city being created independently of each other.

Cities with publicly available PRSMPs that were approved on or after January 1, 2013 and before December 31, 2022 qualify for the study. Any documentation for park plans being made prior to December 31, 2022 that is available online or can be accessed through contacting the city were also included. While park planning exists in city-wide comprehensive master plans, this scope of the report does not include a review and analysis of these plans. The use and purpose of a comprehensive plan is different from a PRSMP. Cities without a PRSMP and without a park plan underway should be studied at a later point with a modified methodology.

Data in the NCRC report is from the 2017 ACS 5-year data study, which uses averages from 2013 to 2017. Using plans that were created during the NCRC report period means that the plans may be created under socioeconomic and demographic conditions that vary from the data for 2017. Plans created from 2013 to 2016 may not have seen or experienced the changes in home ownership, income rates, and education from the 2012 context. This does not signal that changes had not happened or were not

underway. The percent change is simply a calculation based off the change between 2017 and 2012.

Table 3.1: Parks and Recreation System Master Plan and Relevant Document findings for NCRC Top Gentrifying Cities 2020 List

Ranking	City (state)	Plan Title	Year
1	San Francisco (CA)	Strategic Plan 2021-2025 update	2021**
1	San Francisco (CA)	Strategic Plan 2016-2020	2016*
1	Oakland (CA)	N/A	N/A
2	Denver (CO)	Game Plan for a Healthy City – May 2019	2019**
3	Boston (MA)	Open Space and Recreation Plan 2015-2021	2015*
4	Miami (FL)	2022 Parks and Recreation Survey Findings Report	2022**
4	Ft. Lauderdale (FL)	Parks and Recreation System Master Plan	2016*
5	New Orleans (LA)	N/A	N/A
6	Austin (TX)	Our Parks, Our Future Long Range Plan (2020-2030)	2020**
7	New York City	N/A	N/A
8	San Jose (CA)	ActivateSJ Strategic Plan (2020-2040)	2020**
9	Phoenix (AZ)	N/A	N/A
10	Sacramento (CA)	Parks Master Plan 2040 Outreach Strategy and Findings	2020**

Table 3.1: Continued			
Ranking	City (state)	Plan Title	Year
11	Minneapolis (MN)	Parks for All Minneapolis Parks and Recreation Board Comprehensive Plan 2021-2036	2021**
12	Indianapolis (IN)	Indy Parks and Recreation Comprehensive Master Plan December 2016	2016*
13	Washington D.C. (DC)	Washington DC Parks and Recreation Master Plan 2022 Ready2Play - Draft Plan	est. 202 **
14	San Diego (CA)	Parks Master Plan - Parks for All of Us	2021**
15	Los Angeles (CA)	Department of Recreation and Parks Parks Proud LA 2018-2022	2018**
16	Baltimore (MD)	N/A	N/A
17	Chicago (IL)	Chicago Park District 2016 Strategic Plan Update	2016*
17	Chicago (IL)	Chicago Park District 2014 Strategic Plan Update	2014*
18	Philadelphia (PA)	N/A	N/A
19	Detroit (MI)	City of Detroit Parks and Recreation Strategic Plan 2022-2032	2022**
20	Dallas (TX)	Dallas Park and Recreation Department Comprehensive Plan	2016*

N/A= no plan or relevant materials available for this city

*Adopted or published between January 1, 2013 and December 31, 2017 (the NCRC date range)

** Adopted or published after January 1, 2018

CATEGORIZATION OF PASSAGES

This report borrows the Schrock, Bassett, and Green (2015) rating and analysis system. Schrock, Bassett, and Green (2015) seek to understand the extent to which cities are addressing equity in their climate and sustainability plans (Schrock, Bassett, & Green, 2015, 285). Schrock, Bassett, and Green (2015) use a scale ranging from 0 to 3 to determine the specificity and prominence of equity themes in plans (Schrock, Bassett, & Green, 2015, 286). The rating codes passages that reflect equity “as a problem, goal/objective, or an action of the plan” and then each plan receives a summary score based on the grader’s assessment of the “*quantity* and *quality* of the plan’s discussion of the issue” (Schrock, Bassett, & Green, 2015, 286). Similarly, this report codes passages based on the categories ‘history’, ‘problem’, ‘goal’/‘objective’, and ‘action’. These categories are defined in Table 3.2. Since this report seeks to uncover the range of possibilities that cities are dealing and grappling with in terms of green displacement, an ‘other’ category is provided to capture any other ways that a plan may deal with green displacement. The rating provided will simply be a 1 or 0 based on presence of the passage in that category. Any category addressed will receive a 1. Total points maximum possible are 4.

Category	Description
History/context	Looks at how green displacement has taken place in the near or distant past and what the current context is like for parks and housing. This section also looks at past actions.
Problem/need	Describes how green displacement is currently a problem or concern.
Goal/objective	A general, non-actionable item.
Action	Initiatives seeking to prevent displacement and increase access to low-income communities and households or specific recommendations. Past actions are included in history.
Other	A type of mention that does not qualify for any of the previous categories.

Table 3.2: Definitions for Categorization of Passages

Since this report does not put forth a norm for dealing with green displacement in a PRSMP, a higher number of times terms appeared per category does not signify greater success or accomplishment. The frequency of certain categories across plans, however, can reveal the type of passage that is most common among park master plans between 2013 and 2022 among the country’s most gentrifying cities.

To locate passages in the plans, referred to as “green displacement”, a control search is conducted for the following terms: housing, gentrify/gentrifying/gentrification, displacement/displace, affordable housing/public housing/subsidized housing. Where green displacement passages exist that qualify for any of the categories, a point will be given. Similarly, search terms count results are tracked. In the data analysis, counts for any of the terms are referred to simply as “housing”, “gentrification”, “displacement”, or “affordable housing” (Table 3.3).

Search term	Reference in the plan
housing	housing
gentrify/gentrifying/gentrification	gentrification
displacement/displace	displacement
affordable housing/public housing/subsidized housing	affordable housing

Table 3.3: Search Term Short Reference in Data and Discussion

ECOLOGICAL MODEL OF ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE

Like Schrock, Bassett, and Green (2015), which analyzes the plans for the type of equity they focus on based on Bullard (1994), this analysis will utilize the ecological model for environmental justice put forth in Rigolon et al. (2019), referred to here as the “EM of EJ” model. The ecological model is a framework in the public health literature for understanding the environmental effects at various levels on an individual’s health and the areas where public health interventions can target. Sallis et al. (2006) put forth an ecological model targeted toward physical activity as a result of emerging literature that has demonstrated the positive effects of public health interventions at the policy and environmental levels (Sallis et al., 2006). The model calls for an interdisciplinary approach to understand and respond to the multi-faceted environment that facilitates or inhibits physical activity. Researchers have created combined frameworks utilizing the ecological model to better understand specific segments of public health, such as the National Institute of Minority Health and Health Disparities Research Framework and the EM of EJ. Rigolon et al. (2019) utilizes the Sallis et al. (2006) model for active recreation, in addition to Shortt et al. (2013).

The EM of EJ model considers the overlap and interconnectivity between environmental justice components and “the range of factors that influence health behavior”, as seen in Figure 1.1 (Rigolon et al. 2019, 658). The lens will reveal whether anti-displacement strategies are taking place in the physical, environmental, or individual environments and as a result, addressing the procedural, distribution, or interactional component of environmental justice. To elaborate on the model, the authors state, “Our ecological model of environmental justice for recreation illustrates ways in which four environments—policy, physical, perceived, and social—and individual factors influence marginalized people’s opportunities to participate in recreation activities” (Rigolon et al. 2019, 659-660). To understand how strategies are furthering healthy living communities in an equitable manner, the model will serve as a useful lens to study the strategies put forth in PRSMPs.

DATA COLLECTION AND ORGANIZATION PROCESS

The steps taken to complete the data collection and organization are as follows:

1. Search for terms
2. Locate the terms and mark count in spreadsheet
3. Review each passage
4. Select category for the type of passages found
5. Mark any of the EM of EJ addressed

ANALYSIS PLAN

The analysis describes the types of passages that are emerging and where they reflect existing or additional strategies discussed in the review of green anti-displacement strategies literature. Any unique or outlier strategy is discussed. The analysis looks to understand the area of the ecological model that an anti-displacement strategy addresses. Patterns based on years are also noted. The relevancy of some existing PRSMP approaches are considered for anti-displacement planning.

Understanding the strategies utilized

To better understand the patterns and emerging strategies in park system planning for preventing green gentrification and displacement, the analysis will identify repeated strategies from the GIP toolkit and the GWG article and any different or new strategies employed. Together these toolkits provide an extensive view of the work happening in green anti-displacement up through 2020. Many strategies explained in other reports published since, such as Kent (2023a), overlap with those put forth in GIP and GWG. The equitable green development framework from GIP is a toolkit and collection of examples, case studies, and options, rather than a rigid approach or standard. Some specific strategies identified as comparable in plans may vary from the exact description provided in the toolkit and GWG article.

Comparing to new model for park system master planning

The analysis will shed light on the relevancy of new PRSMP approaches for addressing green displacement. These approaches include the “Parks and Recreation System Planning: A New Approach for Creating Sustainable, Resilient Communities”, referred to here as the “New Approach”, Harnik’s “The Excellent City Park System”, and Rouse’s “Park Infrastructure and Park System Planning”. The results will be used to understand if any of the aspects that are being utilized to address green displacement align with any of these new approaches. We can better understand the applicability of these 21st century approaches in addressing green displacement or the need for further tools, research, and planning approaches.

Understanding equity and accessibility planning is an important aspect of equitable park planning and important for preventing undesirable consequences, such as displacement. Several plans do have equity statements and access goals. Their relationship to and contribution to anti-displacement is outside the scope of this report. Furthermore, the methodology employed does not study all the possible forms of equity discussed in plans independent, as well as contributing to, green displacement. The reading of the plans went beyond the identified phrases to understand the context of the mentioned words or phrases. There may be discussions of anti-displacement strategies within plans, but the strategies do not appear in the findings because of not being discussed proximate the search terms. Proximate is defined as understanding the extent of the mention necessary, whether that is one paragraph or one page. The intent of this report is not to evaluate the origin of anti-displacement strategies in plans. Instead, this

report seeks to uncover how the issue is being addressed in the country's most gentrified cities, strategies being utilized, and methods and mediums through which cities are determining green displacement to be an issue to act on.

CHAPTER 4. HOW PLANS COVER DISPLACEMENT

The report set out to understand “*How are anti-displacement policies emerging and being planned for in park system master plans?*” and “*how can we adapt park planning processes to ensure accessibility to quality parks for current residents?*” Parks and recreation agencies across the country are hearing, reflecting on, and acting on green displacement concerns in their communities. The report examines and categorizes plan content, and applies the EM of EJ layers. Of the twenty metro areas in this study, fourteen cities had available plans. San Francisco and Oakland and Miami and Fort Lauderdale were looked at individually, although the NRDC report combines these two sets of cities into two metro areas. In addition, I examined community engagement data for two cities with planning processes currently underway. Of the sixteen cities studied, five cities did not have any mention of the key phrases.

Recap of documents reviewed (See full list in Table 3.1)

- 20 metro areas (22 cities)
- 16 cities total that had masterplans or masterplan planning process content
 - 14 cities with plans, draft and final
 - 2 plans, including updates, for 2 cities (San Francisco and Chicago)
 - 1 draft plan for a city
 - 2 sets of community engagement results

- 3 cities with no mention of green displacement
- 8 cities with no plan created from 2013 to 2022

FINDINGS

Below are the results of the data analysis by total term counts prior to and after 2017, the number of mentions per term per city, and the categories touched on across all fourteen plans.

TERM TOTAL COUNTS

The total number of mention of terms prior to 2017 and after for all plans included in this report for the given time period (2013-2022).

Term	Total number of mentions pre-2017	Total number of mentions post-2017
Displacement	1	58
Housing	68	49
Affordable Housing	10	11
Gentrification	0	38

Table 4.1: Term Total Counts Pre- and Post-2017

*7 documents total
 **11 documents total

MENTION RANKINGS

This table shows the number of term mentions for each city from greatest to least mentions. By having a greater number of mentions, cities are presumably dealing with the topic related to the term at a greater scale. A more in-depth analysis of each plan’s

mentions reveals how cities are dealing with green gentrification and anti-displacement within their PRSMP.

Mention Ranking	City (NCRC ranking)	Number of mentions	Year
Displacement			
1	Austin (6)	30	2020
2	Minneapolis (11)	19	2021
3	Miami (4)	3	2022
4	Sacramento (10)	2	2020
4	Denver (19)	2	2019
5	Detroit (20)	1	2022
5	Indianapolis (12)	1	2016
Housing			
	Ft. Lauderdale (4)	29	2016
1	Boston (3)	29	2015
2	San Diego (14)	10	2021
3	Indianapolis (12)	9	2016
4	Denver (2)	8	2019
4	Minneapolis (11)	8	2021
5	Austin (6)	6	2020
6	Miami (4)	5	2022
7	San Jose (8)	4	2020
8	Sacramento (10)	3	2020
9	Detroit (19)	2	2022
9	Washington D.C. (13)	2	2023

Table 4.2: Continued			
Mention Ranking	City (NCRC ranking)	Number of mentions	Year
10	San Francisco (1)	1	2021
10	San Francisco (1)	1	2016
Affordable Housing			
1	Boston (3)	7	2015
2	Austin (6)	5	2020
3	Miami (4)	3	2022
3	Ft. Lauderdale (4)	3	2016
4	Detroit (19)	2	2022
5	Minneapolis (11)	1	2021
Gentrification			
1	Minneapolis (11)	20	2021
2	Austin (6)	15	2020
3	Miami (4)	2	2022
3	Sacramento (10)	2	2020
4	Detroit (19)	1	2022

Table 4.2: Mention Rankings

CATEGORY RESULTS

The following table shows the category results for each plan where ‘1’ indicates at least one term result that deals with the category at hand.

City (NCRC Ranking)	Year	History/context	Problem/need	Goal/objective	Action plan	total
San Francisco (1)	2016	0	0	1	0	1
San Francisco (1)	2021	1	0	0	0	1
Oakland (1)	N/A	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	
Denver (2)	2019	1	0	1	0	2
Boston (3)	2015	1	1	1	1	4
Ft. Lauderdale (4)	2016	1	0	1	1	3
Miami (4)	2022	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	
New Orleans (5)	N/A	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	
Austin (6)	2020	1	1	1	1	4
New York City (7)	N/A	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	0
San Jose (8)	2020	1	1	1	1	4
Phoenix (9)	N/A	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	
Sacramento (10)	2020	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	
Minneapolis (11)	2021	1	1	1	0	3
Indianapolis (12)	2016	1	1	0	0	2
Washington D.C. (13)	est. 2023	0	0	0	0	0
San Diego (14)	2021	1	0	1	0	2
Los Angeles (15)	2018	0	0	0	0	0
Baltimore (16)	N/A	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	0
Chicago (17)	2016	0	0	0	0	0
Chicago (17)	2014	0	0	0	0	0
Philadelphia (18)	N/A	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	0
Detroit (19)	2022	0	0	1	1	2
Dallas (20)	2016	0	0	0	0	0

Table 4.3: Category Results

History

Nine of the fourteen plans have term results in a discussion of how green displacement has taken place in the near or distant past or the current context for parks and housing.

This category also includes any past actions that agencies have taken as a description of their history engaging with anti-displacement.

Problem

Five of the fourteen plans discuss green gentrification in communities face that agencies serve as a problem and the issues related to it.

Goal

A total of nine of fourteen plans have term mentions in the discussion of a goal or objective.

Action

Five of the fourteen plans put forth a specific action that engages with anti-displacement.

NO MENTIONS OF ANY TERMS

The City of Los Angeles, the City of Chicago, and the City of Dallas do not have any mentions of ‘Displacement’, ‘Housing’, ‘Affordable housing’, or ‘Gentrification’ in their PRSMPs. For many agencies, working on housing policy and projects is outside their purview and scope. Some cities do actively work on projects related to housing, houselessness, and anti-displacement and may not be acknowledging or describing their own work in their plans. Recent UCLA School of Law webinar from February 13, 2023 titled “Parks and Housing Together: A Win for Communities and the Environment” shared how the City of Los Angeles, for example, is taking many actions to support local communities living in and around parks, including serving as first responders and front-line workers during the COVID-19 pandemic and housing houseless individuals in

facilities, and yet do not recognize their work in their own plan (Kent, 2023b). Furthermore, the lack of mentions of specific search terms for this report, ‘displacement’, ‘housing’, ‘affordable housing’, or ‘gentrification’, does not preclude the possibility of cities working on anti-displacement efforts and their discussion of it in the plan. For example, the City of Los Angeles, as a part of its seventh goal to “Maintain a diverse and dynamic workforce” trains their own staff in interacting and serving houseless people and hosted an event on dealing with houselessness in parks (Los Angeles, 2017 54-55). With rapid changes, namely gentrification, taking place in these cities, and the other nineteen on the NCRC list, cities’ residents are at risk of being displaced by greening without preventative measures in place. The cities of Los Angeles, Chicago, and Dallas may benefit from determining and planning intentional steps to take to further greater inclusivity and access to quality parks, in addition to other beneficial actions for anti-displacement that may already be taking place.

SUMMARY OF RAW DATA

All reference terms appeared at least once. The number of mentions in a plan, if mentioned at all, varies greatly from one to thirty times. The terms with the greatest mentions from greatest to least are ‘housing’, ‘displacement’, ‘affordable housing’, and ‘gentrification’ (See Table 4.2). The term ‘housing’ had more mentions among the documents studied in the period prior to 2017, whereas ‘displacement’, ‘affordable housing’, and ‘gentrification’ had the most mentions after 2017. (See Table 4.1). Passages spanned all categories (See Table 4.3). Green gentrification was discussed the

most in plans in the categories of ‘history’ and ‘goal’ and the least in ‘problem’ and ‘action’. Not all plans had terms that touched on each topic. The cities of San Jose and Boston are the only cities that had term mentions in each category. An additional category was created for any types of passages that included the key terms that were not a part of the discussion of the history, need analysis, goals, or actions. Types of passages that were categorized as ‘other’ were regarded the description of agency partners and their mission and priorities. Cities with these types of passages were Washington D.C. and Austin. Findings show the cities vary in their approach to discussing green gentrification.

CHAPTER 5. HOW DISPLACEMENT ACTIONS REFLECT OR EXTEND DOCUMENTED STRATEGIES

ANTI-DISPLACEMENT STRATEGIES IN PLANS

To better understand the shift toward addressing green gentrification in cities, actions put forth in PRSMPs are organized by types of strategies as documented in GIP and GWG where there are similarities. The specific strategies identified in the plans were akin to those presented in GIP and GWG. A total of six different anti-displacement strategies like those described in the GIP and GWG are represented in the fourteen plans. The strategies represented as termed in GIP and GWG include General Plans and Housing Elements, Joint Development of Parks and Open Space and Housing, Inclusive Programming and Operations, Accountability and Monitoring, Design and Hostile Environment, Community Engagement, and Displacement Impact Reports.

Beside the cities that do not express any green displacement concerns, the cities of San Diego, Indianapolis, Washington D.C., Denver, and San Francisco do not mention any specific anti-displacement strategies. The cities of San Diego, Denver, and San Francisco set objectives that intend to pave the course for anti-displacement strategies, but do not describe the strategies that will be used. An action that does not correspond with any of the GIP or GWG strategies is goal alignment with the city comprehensive plan or other departmental plans. Cities that engage this action include Minneapolis, San Diego, San Jose, Denver, Minneapolis, Austin, and Washington D.C. We better understand through this analysis trends in strategy adoption in gentrifying cities.

Joint Development of Parks and Open Space and Housing - Land Use and Housing

This strategy “creates opportunities for joint development of affordable housing and urban greening to advance equitable, sustainable growth” (Greening in Place, 2020, 18).

Agencies can partner with a private or non-profit developer to further the development of parks and housing in tandem. In some cases, as seen in the plans, agencies partner with the city’s housing department to secure affordable housing in places proximate to green and open space developments.

Detroit. Looking at its progress since 2017, the City of Detroit in its Parks and Recreation Strategic Plan 2022-2032 reflects on the Strategic Neighborhood Fund. The program funded affordable housing near new park projects. This strategy is akin to the GIP Joint Development strategy. In Detroit, however, the Strategic Neighborhood Fund was a cross-departmental effort and the involvement of private or non-profit developers is not mentioned (Equitable Rebuilding).

San Jose. The City of San Jose’s “Activate SJ Strategic Plan (2020-2040)” deals with green displacement primarily through addressing the topic of houselessness in their parks, trails, and community centers. San Jose sets out to work with the Housing Department and other stakeholders to provide services for people experiencing houselessness in the parks.

Boston. The City of Boston Open Space and Recreation Plan 2015-2021 (OSRP) describes and analyzes displacement threats and concerns extensively through the discussion of the neighborhoods of Chinatown, Jamaica Plan, and East Boston. Through integrating open space, parks, and gardens in public housing, Boston is increasing the accessibility of green infrastructure. The Resource Protection Harbor Open Space planning framework and guidelines, which encourages mixed housing along the waterfront.

General Plans and Housing Elements - Land Use and Housing

A city's housing element of its general plan can further green infrastructure, including parks, that are linked to anti-displacement projects, including investments, standards, and policies.

Fort Lauderdale. The City of Fort Lauderdale's Parks and Recreation System Master Plan from 2016 looks at the current transitions and shifts in housing and demographics, the need to create places and open spaces in neighborhoods with affordable housing, and specific actions to mitigate green displacement. The strategies to maintain levels of service, foster a sense of place, and implement connectivity to parks touches on accountability and monitoring within the community engagement and ownership strategies and design and operations, specifically design and hostile environment. Park agencies can play a role in encouraging connectivity to parks, an action that is seen in the Fort Lauderdale plan through the EAR transportation recommendation. The city's strategy to be considered and included into other planning aspects of the city and to

reduce barriers to integrate open space and affordable housing is encouraged in the GIP Land Use and Housing strategy to incorporate park planning in comprehensive plans. The Community Health and Environmental Responsibility Plan considers a review of the enforcement of the “Homeless Disorder Behavior Management”, as it has been difficult to implement and “can lead to negative media coverage and messages about the safety of parks” (Ft. Lauderdale, 2016, 434). This shows an effort to create more inclusive operations; however, the policies themselves, rather than the enforcement of the policies, including the prohibition of “reclining in a horizontal position” in parks, are not reconsidered (Ft. Lauderdale, 2016, 434).

Inclusive programming and operations - Design and operations

According to GIP, inclusive design and operation of a park include developing and implementing strategies that are specifically geared for youth and seniors, as well as creating partnerships “that connect high need populations with programs and services rather than design that pushes them out, or worse, harassment and police intervention” (Greening in Place, 2020, 28). Inclusive programming and operations can include developing innovative partnerships that include high need populations, such as that of the Los Angeles’ Metropolitan Transit Authority which “funds homeless outreach teams on Metro buses and light rail lines” (Greening in Place, 2020, 28).

San Jose. The plan recognizes the role that community centers play in serving as shelters during emergencies for displaced residents (San Jose, 2020, 12). The plan also discusses

how the department and city will work with the unhoused population that live in parks, trails, and community centers.

Austin. In the city's PRSMP, top issues and current and future needs are covered for each area of the city. "Higher rates of poverty with large youth population" are identified as top issues in the Southwest and East areas. These areas are identified as at-risk of displacement and planning is set out to be inclusive of vulnerable groups. The plan states "According to studies of gentrification risk, households within these park planning areas are also at risk for continued displacement moving forward. Planned improvements in parks should be sensitive to the needs of current residents, including young adults and children. Programming should be focused on inclusivity and supporting paths out of poverty through education and health" (Austin, 2020,166). These identified steps demonstrate the potential for inclusive programming that can contribute to anti-displacement in the midst of green development.

San Francisco. The City of San Francisco objectives from the 2016 Strategic Plan and the accomplishment referenced in the 2021 Strategic Plan Update reflect inclusive programming. San Francisco's actions in the Strategic Plan and Strategic Plan Update take a step forward toward including youth living in subsidized housing and low-income neighborhoods. San Francisco is referenced in the GIP for an exclusive policy that was once in place. The policy is an example of how policies and programming can exclude marginalized individuals. This policy, in effect in 2014, required users to reserve and pay

for reserving a San Francisco public facility. The conflict that this created between residents is depicted in video footage that was captured and published online (Morse).

Design and Hostile Environment - Design and operations

Design elements can create inclusive or exclusive environments for individuals.

Exclusive design elements and policies that “disproportionately harm people of color, youth, and unhoused people, must be actively avoided” (Greening in Place, 2020, 27).

Fort Lauderdale. See previous mention.

Accountability and monitoring - Community engagement and ownership

As a way of ensuring community ownership of green infrastructure development, agencies can secure transparent engagement with the community, clear timelines, plans for ongoing support for anti-displacement measures, and regular assessments of policies and initiatives.

Fort Lauderdale. See previous mention.

Community Engagement and Ownership

Community engagement and ownership are identified in both GIP and GWG as critical for implementing anti-displacement strategies. Agencies can create structures and systems that create meaningful engagement and leadership in preventing green displacement.

Minneapolis. The Minneapolis Parks and Recreation Board Comprehensive Plan 2021-2036 titled “Parks for All” is the only plan of those studied that acknowledge the historic displacement since the origin of the city when the removal of the original inhabitants took place. Through its Goals 3.8, 4.9, and 7.4, the plan incorporates anti-displacement actions that are discussed in GWG. Minneapolis sets out to “implement parks-related anti-displacement strategies at the very early stages of park planning and development”, conduct community engagement with local residents and community-based organizations, and “create collaboratives that include park and housing advocates” (Rigolon & Christensen, 2019).

Austin. The City of Austin’s “Our Parks, Our Future Austin Parks and Recreation Long Range Plan” includes a treatment of green displacement that acknowledges the current gentrification vulnerable neighborhoods, the perceptions, and concerns of residents, and sets out goals and strategies to prevent green displacement. The four steps to take to “expand and improve park access for all” includes two of the five recommendations for parks-related anti-displacement strategies from GWG. Austin sets out to “implement parks-related anti-displacement strategies at the very early stages of park planning and development”, conduct community engagement with local residents and community-based organizations, and “create collaboratives that include park and housing advocates” (Rigolon & Christensen, 2019).

Washington D.C The Washington D.C. Parks and Recreation Department works to align with the city vision to minimize displacement and work with other entities. One way that the agency does this is through creating Cooperative Management Agreements, which are “a new mechanism available for shared use and management of national parks by the District government” (Ready2Play, 142). The plan acknowledges other parks and recreation providers, which includes the DC Housing Authority. This mention acknowledges other leaders and stakeholders that are involved in both housing and green space provision and services.

Displacement Impact Reports - Land Use and Housing

The Displacement Impact Reports “should analyze the direct or indirect impact of the project on the surrounding housing stock” (Greening in Place, 2020, 18).

Austin. One of the tools for understanding the context and conditions is working with the Office of Equity to adapt the Austin Equity Assessment Tool. Austin integrates data analysis and review at an early stage.

Whether utilizing a strategy from an existing report, toolkit, or research or creating a new method for greening without displacing, the body of knowledge, experiences, and approaches are growing across the country and world. Planners and researchers can look to existing case studies from the reviewed plans or elsewhere to further understand how some of the identified strategies are being implemented and functioning.

ROLE OF COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT IN IDENTIFYING DISPLACEMENT CONCERNS

While this report does not conduct an extensive review of how displacement and gentrification emerge as a focus or priority for agencies, mentions of green displacement or affordable housing through community engagement processes are separated here. In addition to PRSMPs available online or through requests to agencies, community engagement data are included for Sacramento and Miami, cities with parks and recreation system master planning underway. The cities that mentioned that displacement emerged as a concern through community engagement included Indianapolis, Sacramento, Miami, and Austin. The methods utilized across the sixteen cities included focus groups, virtual panel discussions, summits, and surveys.

The questions utilized through engagement with the public that yielded displacement concerns included the following:

- “Of the services and programs that will need the most attention, which need to be a made a priority?” (Indianapolis)
- Questions regarding the rate of conditions of parks in the city, access, availability, and quality of programs and services, distribution of quality parks and services, and pressing concerns. The conversation also dealt with critical populations and communities, pressing needs to deal with within programs, and pressing improvements in parks. (Sacramento)
- “Recreation and parks systems have the potential to help improve some of the difficult health, social, economic, and environmental challenges facing

communities. Please select the top FIVE areas of concern that are MOST IMPORTANT to you and your household” (Miami)

- “What is important to you?” (Austin)

Community engagement methods that revealed green displacement concerns:

- Indianapolis - focus groups
- Sacramento – community panel
- Miami - survey
- Austin – summit

The Miami 2022 Parks and Recreation Survey Findings Report question number thirteen has several response options that are related to green displacement. With 1,078 completed surveys collected, survey question thirteen of twenty-three stated and asked, “Recreation and parks systems have the potential to help improve some of the difficult health, social, economic, and environmental challenges facing communities. Please select the top FIVE areas of concern that are MOST IMPORTANT to you and your household” (Miami). The concern with the greatest response rate was “community safety/crime/violence” followed by “cost of healthy foods, such as fresh fruits, vegetables, and whole foods (i.e., healthy foods are too far away)” (Miami). Although neighborhood change and displacement is the second to lowest concern, affordable housing is the third greatest concern following access to healthy foods and above economic development. Since the definition of “area of concern” is not provided here and

the significance of the area of concern to the respondent is not stated, further qualitative research and analysis would need to be conducted in order to understand why affordable housing is a concern for respondents.

Like the City of Miami, the City of Sacramento has extensive green displacement-related concerns that appear in their community engagement. The community engagement process is documented in the “Parks Master Plan 2040 Outreach Strategy and Findings”. Participants of the community panels responded to questions regarding the rate of conditions of parks in the city, access, availability, and quality of programs and services, distribution of quality parks and services, and pressing concerns. The conversation also dealt with critical populations and communities, pressing needs to deal with within programs, and pressing improvements in parks. These questions and topics raised concerns regarding community engagement, housing options for individuals utilizing the parks for rest, and green displacement. To understand strategies for addressing these areas of concern and any other potential green displacement, the final Sacramento Park System Master Plan will need to be understood and reviewed.

Community engagement and ownership is a category for strategies put forth in GIP and GWG. As Rigolon and Christensen (2019) put it, community engagement is an opportunity for agencies to understand the threat of green gentrification and learn from community members and leaders about challenges and opportunities for solutions (Rigolon & Christensen, 2019, 4). Furthermore, “Community engagement is viewed as crucial for implementing [parks related anti-displacement strategies], especially in the early stages of park development projects. Indeed, the impetus and energy for much of

this work around the country has arisen from community-based organizations” (Rigolon & Christensen, 2019, 1). The perspective, experience, and needs of community members should drive and shape the priorities and outcomes of the PRSMP.

HOUSELESSNESS AND THE ROLE OF PARKS AND RECREATION

As mentioned previously, housing and houselessness in parks are intricately connected. Almost half of the cities discuss houseless people living in parks and recreation facilities or engagement with houseless people in a certain manner. These cities (nine total) include Fort Lauderdale, Washington D.C., Denver, Minneapolis, Los Angeles, Austin, Boston, Detroit, and San Jose. The presence of houseless people was a concern in the Miami and Sacramento community engagement data, as well. The San Jose plan discusses housing and houselessness together, which is described more extensively than any other plan’s mention of houselessness. San Jose creates a joint development solution together with their city’s housing department and other departments.

While this report did not include an extensive analysis or review of the responses to people experiencing houselessness in parks, a review of all the mentions of “homelessness” in the plans yields an array of approaches and responses to the issue in parks. The following is a list of concerns emerging and manners that cities are responding, both including inclusive and exclusive approaches. The prevalence of houselessness in parks and its interconnectedness with green gentrification and displacement can benefit from a joint analysis.

- Safety outcomes in parks and facilities
- Creating jobs for houseless people
- Health conditions of houseless people
- Cleanliness
- Barriers to access parks and recreation facilities
- Community outreach to people experiencing houselessness
- Securing dedicated staff and resources to supporting houseless individuals
- Exclusionary bench and park design
- Inclusive design
- Partnerships with agencies and organizations that serve houseless people

Housing crises taking place in many cities across the U.S. driven by lack of housing, underfunded social programs, gentrification, and more affect parks and recreation system. By broadening the scope of planning processes, the complexity of housing as it relates to greening may emerge. PRSMPs that further anti-displacement strategies are assisting with preventing people from being driven out of their homes and into houselessness; the plans have the potential to create spaces of healing, inclusion, community building, and relaxation in their facilities and programs, rather than policing, exclusion, and further discrimination for people experiencing houselessness.

CHAPTER 6. DISPLACEMENT COVERAGE IMPLICATIONS FOR ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE

ADDRESSING THE ECOLOGICAL MODEL FOR ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE THROUGH PLANNING

The ecological model is widely used across the public health sector for contextualizing poor health outcomes and designing interventions for positive strides. The ecological model provides areas where the three components of the tripartite model of environmental justice can be achieved. For example, the production and preservation of affordable housing takes place within the physical environment and is an important element for achieving environmental justice (Rigolon et al., 2022). The strategies found among the plans only take place in the policy and environment layers. Seven strategies take place within the policy layer and three within the physical environment. Zero identified strategies take place within the social, perceived, and individual layers. All five layers together are important for achieving both active living communities and environmental justice.

ANTI-DISPLACEMENT STRATEGIES ADDRESSING ECOLOGICAL MODEL LAYERS

Policy

- San Francisco – programs with individuals from low-income housing

- Boston – resource protection Harbor Open Space planning framework and guidelines furthers policy that addresses the EM of EJ
- Austin - Equity Assessment Tool and inclusive programming
- Indianapolis – financial resources
- San Diego - utilizing a prioritization framework that focuses investments that aligns with housing goals
- Detroit - Strategic Neighborhood Fund

Environment

- Boston - proximity of housing to green infrastructure
- San Diego - creating parks onsite where former recreation facilities existed
- Detroit - creation of housing near park projects through the Strategic Neighborhood Fund

In a review of forty-one documents that “make key contributions to EJ theory in recreation and parks”, “33 documents cover the *policy environment (80%)*, 25 the *physical environment (61%)*, 21 the social environment (51%), 16 the perceived environment (39%), and 14 individual factors (34%)” (Rigolon et al., 2020, 662). This finding shows that recreation and park articles engaging environmental justice cover the policy and physical layers more than others, as emphasized in italics, which is consistent with these research findings of this report as well. Environmental justice tends to contribute more to the policy and physical environments, whereas the “Framework for Equitable Green Development” from GIP touches on each layer. This shows that the

framework may be useful for creating environmental justice that contributes to healthy communities.

The methodology utilized in this report leads primarily to strategies that deal with the physical and policy layers. The GIP Toolkit broadens the possibilities of actions for anti-displacement to general equity and inclusion alongside greening efforts. The strategies in GIP touch on each of the ecological model layers from the personal experience of individuals in park and recreation settings to economic development workforce policies to open space-housing partnerships. An analysis of the plans through the lens of the “Framework for Equitable Green Development”, as put forth in GIP, may have revealed additional ways that plans and cities are preventing displacement and addressing areas of the ecological model. The framework can be organized into the Ecological Model of Environmental Justice, such as implementing public safety strategies for improving the perceived and social environments. The model can then prove as a useful tool for understanding how a plan, community, or organization is furthering active living communities, environmental justice, and anti-displacement. Researchers must decide whether to study anti-displacement through policies that focus strictly and explicitly on affordable housing and greening or develop and utilize a framework that considers the contribution of other policies to anti-displacement.

STANDARDS AND PARK SYSTEM MASTER PLANNING APPROACHES

The inclusion of housing concerns as they relate to parks and recreation improvements in most documents reviewed in this report align with new approaches,

standards, and guidelines to parks and recreation system master planning, such as Rouse's, Harnik's, Barth's, and the NRPA's CAPRA standards. The cities of Denver, Austin, Fort Lauderdale, Austin, San Jose, Minneapolis, Washington D.C., San Diego, and Detroit demonstrate collaboration for and alignment with broader city goals. Whether collaborating with other departments, aligning goals with city-wide or goals of other city departments, or identifying partners and necessary partnerships, these plans treat parks and recreation as the interconnected element of a community that they are and recognize and set out to deal with other dimensions of parks and recreation planning.

Although criticized for not dealing with some of the issues of today, such as economic and political challenges and inequities in society, Barth's "New Approach", in comparison with the 1883 and 1985 approaches, sets out to address community-wide issues through the parks and recreation planning (Varady, 2022). Ultimately, "adoption of this new approach can yield numerous benefits for communities, including an improved quality-of-life for residents and increased resiliency and sustainability (Barth, 2020b). The collaboration identified in plans shows that Barth's new proposed approach provides a framework for agencies and consultants to engage with green displacement. Similarly, Peter Harnik (2003)'s characteristics for an excellent city parks system include creating equitable access and benefits that extend beyond the boundaries of the parks (Harnik, 2003). Community organizations can likely benefit from adopting and modifying these frameworks for their context.

The Commission for Accreditation of Park and Recreation Agencies Accreditation, also referred to as CAPRA, is a rigorous process managed by the NRPA

that is made up of a set of standards that need to be met for accreditation and then for reaccreditation five years later (The National Accreditation Standards: Sixth Edition). A few of the standards signal and support actions that can support and further anti-displacement strategies, such as agency relationships, involvement in local planning, and community involvement requirements. These actions are listed below. David Barth discusses accreditation as one of the ways that discussing multidimensionality, or addressing other dimensions, in parks and recreation system master planning can be accomplished (Barth, 2020a, 35). The relevant standards and actions, as listed 2019 sixth edition standards, are as follows:

1.7 – Agency Relationships ↔ Standard: There shall be ongoing liaison roles with complementary organizations, such as nearby park and recreation agencies, social service organizations, and other governmental units and regulatory bodies.

2.2 – Involvement in Local Planning ↔ Standard: The agency shall be involved in local planning, e.g. comprehensive planning, strategic planning, and capital improvement planning by reviewing development proposals, monitoring the decisions of planning and zoning boards or commissions and participating on task forces and committees that will impact parks and recreation services within the jurisdiction.

2.9 – Community Involvement ↔ Standard: The agency shall include community involvement in the planning process that includes ongoing and systematic outreach to include the entire community. It is critical that the diversity of

individuals (i.e., all cultures, ages, and abilities) and local, regional, and national non-governmental community organizations, agencies, businesses, and service providers such as the Red Cross, Sierra Club, Trust for Public Land, YMCA/YWCA, Boys and Girls Club, and local foundations and employers are afforded opportunities for input.

The CAPRA standards require that agencies participate in broader local planning processes and engage in meaningful engagement with diverse stakeholders.

Multidimensionality is an important approach for learning about and addressing displacement concerns. Plans studied in this report that plan to address displacement or housing concerns utilize such an approach. By way of example, the City of Minneapolis will collaborate with park and housing advocates to prevent displacement and the City of Fort Lauderdale promotes the inclusion of open space in affordable housing plans.

Incentives are in place through the CAPRA process that support and further such multidimensional planning. While a critical eye is needed when using the approaches put forth here, as suggested by Varady (2022), reinvention of traditional system master planning processes is critical for preventing green displacement and ensuring equitable access to quality parks.

CHAPTER 7. DISCUSSION AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

FUTURE RESEARCH AND LIMITATIONS

There are a few ways that this report was limited and a few ways that the research can continue to evolve to further prevent displacement while greening. This report did not include the perspectives of park professionals or of communities experiencing displacement from the cities studied. The methodology limits a comprehensive illustration of all ways that agencies may be contributing to anti-displacement. Both an adjusted text search and analysis methodology and interview tool would aid in providing a more complete story of the work of agencies in gentrifying cities. For example, a future study can create an analysis tool utilizing the “Equitable Green Development” framework put forth in “Greening in Place”. The findings may also be limited by the manual term search and independent text analysis that is utilized as a part of the methodology. For this report, I did not use software to conduct the term search and did not have a team to work with to verify text analysis. Instead, I conducted the term search and text analysis as carefully and systematically as possible. These are a few possible limitations of the report.

The list of cities utilized for this report may also limit the findings and relevancy to the research questions given that gentrification has already taken place to a great extent in these cities. Since 2017, changes have continued to take place in cities and metro areas

that vulnerable communities are facing, resisting, and reacting to. The NCRC report is based on gentrified metro areas between 2013 and 2017. Six years later (2023), approximately, priorities in already gentrified cities may be different and anti-displacement planning may be taking place in a different set of cities. This report did not consider whether cities that experienced the greatest intensity of gentrification during the period, 2013-2017, continue to have gentrification and displacement-vulnerable communities within their boundaries. This may impact whether a gentrified city's plan created after 2017 would approach the topic of anti-displacement or displacement vulnerability. The report sought to understand themes and trends across the country in PRSMPs. Future research can understand cities that are projected to experience gentrification. Communities that are also economically diverse that are undergoing greening enhancements without experiencing displacement, such as suburbs with predominant communities of color, may also be important geographies for gaining insight into greening trends and equitable practices.

The literature shows that addressing displacement is a city-wide concern that should be worked on collaboratively across departments. City comprehensive plans and plans specific to other departments, such as housing departments, may address displacement and equitable greening. Affordable housing agencies, for example, often include green spaces, an important effort and action toward preventing green displacement and providing accessibility to parks and recreation space. Physical proximity is not sufficient, and quality, relevancy, and inclusivity should always be secured as well. Finally, this report utilized the draft plan for Washington D.C. and Miami and

Sacramento's community engagement results. Several cities, including these, without plans are currently undergoing planning. For these cities, the research can be conducted again when the finalized plans are made available with the same or modified methodology, taking into consideration lessons learned from this report.

CONCLUSION

For the top twenty-two metro areas that experienced the greatest intensity of gentrification between 2013 and 2017, the report looked at discussion of green displacement, determined by a term search for 'gentrification', 'displacement', 'housing', and 'affordable housing'. Four cities did not have a plan that was created between January 1, 2013 and December 31, 2022. Of the plans available, three cities had no discussion of green displacement. For eleven cities of the sixteen cities studied, houselessness in their parks was a concern, whether expressed by residents or stated in the plan. The strategies discussed align with six of the strategies from GIP and GWG. No additional unique strategies were revealed in the data. The community engagement results for Miami and Sacramento and those mentioned in Indianapolis and Austin both reveal that given the proper questions and platforms, residents may reveal other dimensions of parks and recreation than only the community's use of facilities and experience with agency services.

Gentrifying areas of the U.S. are critical for understanding due to their rapid recent change, the vulnerability of populations living within them and displaced from them, and the equity concerns resulting from processes happening within gentrifying

areas. Focusing research on gentrified neighborhoods is important and valuable for organizing and planning government services that properly meet the needs of communities and create equitable futures. According to NCRC, gentrified neighborhoods and central city areas make up a large percentage of the U.S. population (Richardson, Mitchell, & Edlebi, 2020, 19). Nearly one-third of the U.S. population lived in central city areas as of 2017 and four times the number of people living in urban areas experiencing some gentrification than the number of people living in cities without gentrification. Cities that experienced some gentrification in the NCRC report were “much more diverse in their racial and ethnic composition than those cities without any gentrification” (Richardson, Mitchell, & Edlebi, 2020, 19). Most gentrified communities, based on 2010 Census data, are of color with a total of 63% Black, Asian, and Hispanic and 37% White Non-Hispanic (Richardson, Mitchell, & Edlebi, 2020, 20). These demographic statistics pose concern of racial equity and injustice. The third concern is that housing stock can have a significant impact on gentrification, as decreased stock can increase rents (Richardson, Mitchell, & Edlebi, 2020, 21). Understanding whether a community has gentrified, is gentrifying, or is vulnerable to gentrifications is important as these areas are increasingly the location of residence for many Americans and is a foundational piece of planning equitably and securing housing for all.

As park improvements and enhancements are planned for across the country in the most gentrifying cities, the impact of these plans on remaining underserved residents of these cities should be considered. Planners and elected officials have an obligation and responsibility to the populations they serve and create policies, programs, and

opportunities that equitably incorporate all people. As planners that are held to the AICP Code of Ethics and Professional Conduct, finding solutions, and securing the necessary strategies and plans to prevent displacement, while greening is imperative. Among many reasons, planners are to “Urge the alteration of policies, institutions, and decisions that do not help meet their needs” (AICP). The problems of today are too grave to study and address in silos; cities know too well that this approach will lead to dead ends and tragic cycles.

The findings show that despite documented gentrification taking place, and at times, green displacement, parks and recreation agencies still have limited plans for working to prevent inaccessibility of the local parks and recreation amenities due to displacement. Few actions were put forth across all the studied plans. While recognizing that cities may not be representing their existing work thoroughly in a PRSMP, the limited attention to green gentrification when planning green infrastructure in these rapidly gentrifying cities raises flags. Just as parks and recreation services provide benefits across the city and help cities move closer to achieving strategic goals, parks and recreation agencies need to take proactive steps to consider how to prevent further gentrification through park creation and enhancements, as well as build partnerships, policies, and programs that secure lasting access to park developments. While working to determine these steps, cities should consider existing literature from similar contexts and prioritize community voices and input, rather assume common trends that are decontextualized.

Several plans demonstrate that community members see gentrification, affordable housing, and displacement as pressing concerns in their communities. Like the plans, Smiley et al. (2016) demonstrates how engaging with community members shares critical insight into the improvements needed, even ones that may be contrary to common trends and popular standards in planning. If parks and recreation agencies ignore these immediate needs and potential consequences, parks and recreation agencies may run the risk of losing their potential as vehicles for community improvement and drivers of positive change in their wider context. There are many potential reasons why the lack of actions established in plans may exist. Cities and agencies may be limited by policy as to their scope of work or their ability to work with other departments. This report may speak to the need for additional education, accountability, and incentives for the field in the housing dimension of park planning and provides an impetus for incorporating frameworks and strategies identified in this study, such as the “New Approach”, “The Excellent City Park System”, and “Park Infrastructure and Park System Planning”. Government leaders should work to reduce the burden on community organizations and act through education and policy change to create more equitable communities when greening.

A PRSMP has the potential to foster greater park accessibility, while addressing multiple city challenges simultaneously. With the pressures of gentrification underway in cities across the U.S., parks and recreation agencies need to recognize that their plans will further divide and disenfranchise populations without inclusive and anti-displacement strategies in place. We cannot ignore the possible repercussions of greening even if

agency intentions are “good”. Instead, cities and practitioners can adopt an existing approach or pave the path for a new strategy. Examples of community engagement tools that generate dialogue and input on broader topics are made available through this report. Professionals dealing with parks, recreation, open space, and other green and gray amenities should study and understand how vulnerable populations are affected by enhancements and improvements in their communities and work with them to find, create, and secure permanent solutions for enjoying the future of their communities.

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