



Lori Droste
Vice Mayor, District 8

CONSENT CALENDAR
February 23, 2021

To: Honorable Mayor and Members of the City Council

From: Vice Mayor Lori Droste, Councilmember Terry Taplin, Councilmember Ben Bartlett, and Councilmember Rigel Robinson

Subject: Resolution to End Exclusionary Zoning in Berkeley

Recommendation

Adopt a resolution to state Berkeley City Council’s intent to end exclusionary zoning in Berkeley by December of 2022.

Current Problem and Its Effects

Single family residential zoning has its roots in racist exclusionary zoning policy and leads to racial and economic segregation.

Background

History of Exclusionary Zoning, Racial and Economic Segregation, and Current Zoning

Single family residential zoning was born in Berkeley in the Elmwood neighborhood in 1916. This zoning regulation forbade the construction of anything other than one home per lot. In 1915, Berkeley’s City Attorney Frank V. Cornish wrote “Apartment houses are the bane of the owner of the single family dwelling” while the consultant who penned Berkeley’s zoning ordinance stated, “[The] great principle of protecting the home

against the intrusion of the less desirable and floating renter class.”¹ Subsequently, the Mason McDuffie Company’s use of Berkeley’s zoning laws and racially-restrictive property deeds and covenants prevented Black, Indigenous, and People of Color from purchasing or leasing property in east Berkeley.²

Mason-McDuffie race-restrictive covenants stated, “if prior to the first day of January 1930 any person of African or Mongolian descent shall be allowed to purchase or lease said property or any part thereof, then this conveyance shall be and become void...”³ In 1916, McDuffie began lobbying for the exclusionary zoning ordinances in Berkeley to protect against the “disastrous effects of uncontrolled development”⁴ and restrict Chinese laundromats and African American dance halls, particularly in the Elmwood and Claremont neighborhoods.⁵

After *Buchanan v Wareley* in 1917, explicit racially restrictive zoning became illegal. However, consideration to maintaining the character of districts became paramount and Mason-McDuffie contracts still stipulated that property owners must be white.

In 1933, the federal government created a Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC), which produced residential maps of neighborhoods to identify mortgage lending risks for real estate agents, lenders, etc. These maps were based on racial composition, quality of housing stock, access to amenities, etc. and were color coded to identify best (green), still desirable (blue), definitely declining (yellow), and hazardous (red) neighborhoods. These maps enabled discriminatory lending practices (later called ‘redlining’) and allowed lenders to enforce local segregation standards.⁶ These maps extensively referenced single-family zoning as on par with racial covenants in appreciating property values, unaffordability and excluding people of color. For example, when describing the Berkeley Hills: “Zoned first residential, single family, deed restrictions prohibit Asiatics and Negroes.”

¹ Frank V. Cornish. “The Legal Status of Zone Ordinances” and Charles Cheney. “The Necessity for a Zone Ordinance in Berkeley.” *Berkeley Civic Bulletin*, May 18, 1915.

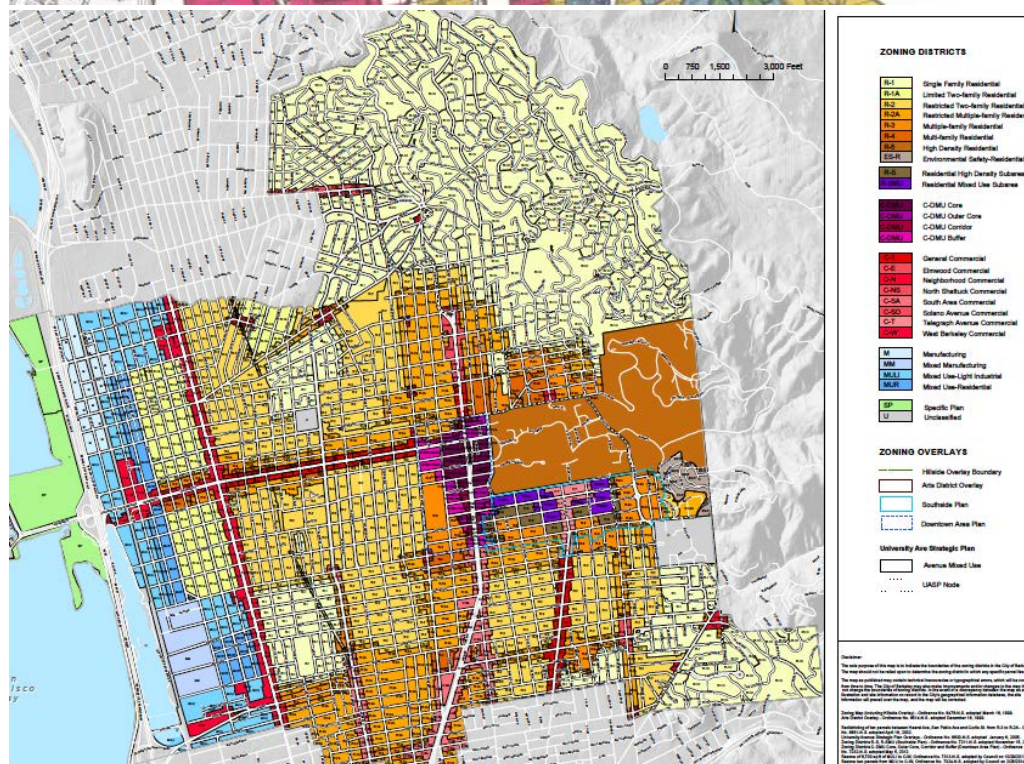
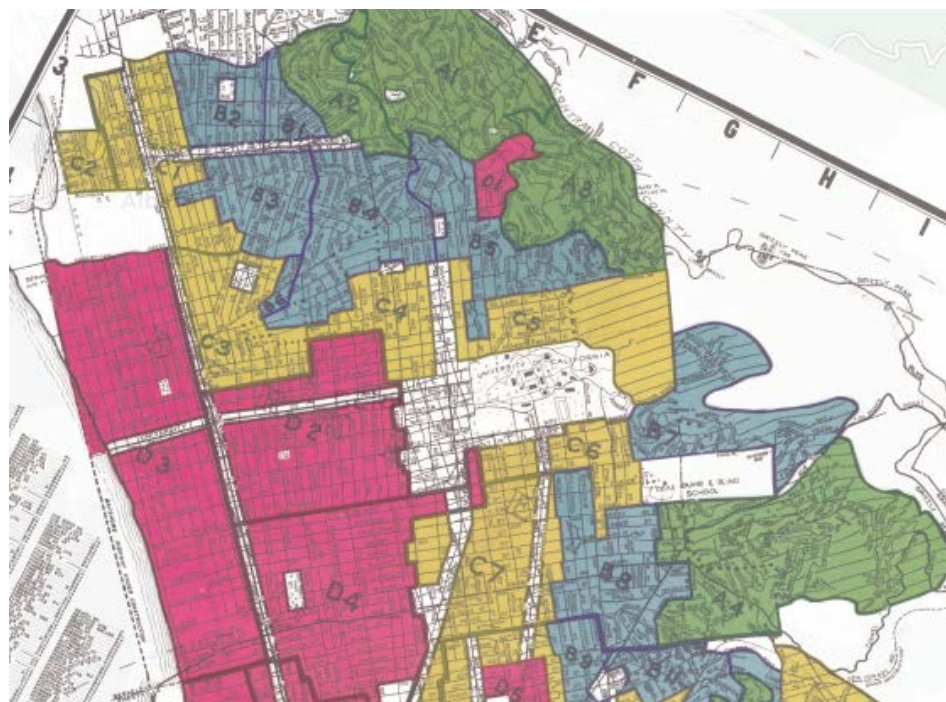
² Wollenberg, *Berkeley, A City in History*, 2008.

³ Claremont Park Company Indenture, 1910

⁴ Lory, Maya Tulip. “A History of Racial Segregation, 1878–1960.” *The Concord Review*, 2013. <http://www.schoolinfosystem.org/pdf/2014/06/04SegregationinCA24-2.pdf>

⁵ Weiss, M. A. (1986). Urban Land Developers and the Origins of Zoning Laws: The Case of Berkeley. *Berkeley Planning Journal*, 3(1). Retrieved from <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/26b8d8zh>

⁶ NCRC Opening Doors to Economic Opportunity, “HOLC “REDLINING” MAPS: The persistent structure of segregation and economic inequality.” Bruce Mitchell and Juan Franco. https://ncrc.org/wp-content/uploads/dlm_uploads/2018/02/NCRC-Research-HOLC-10.pdf



The images above compare a HOLC-era (Thomas Bros Map) map of Berkeley with a current zoning map. Neighborhoods identified as “best” in green on the HOLC-era map typically remain zoned as single family residential areas today. Red ‘hazardous’ neighborhoods in the first map are now largely zoned as manufacturing, mixed use, light industrial, or limited two family residential.⁷

⁷ Robert K. Nelson, LaDale Winling, Richard Marciano, Nathan Connolly, et al., “Mapping Inequality,” American Panorama, ed. Robert K. Nelson and Edward L. Ayers, <https://dsl.richmond.edu/panorama/redlining/#loc=10/37.8201/-122.4399&opacity=0.8&sort=17&city=oakland-ca&adview=full>

Prior to the 1970s and the passage of the Neighborhood Preservation Ordinance, a variety of missing middle housing --duplexes, triplexes, and other smaller multi-unit building typologies-- was still being produced and made available to families throughout the Bay Area, particularly in Berkeley. In 1973, the residents of Berkeley passed the Neighborhood Preservation Ordinance which outlawed multi-unit housing in certain parts of Berkeley. As Councilmember Ben Bartlett and Yelda Bartlett wrote in their 2017 *Berkeleyside* op-ed, the neighborhood preservation ordinance “[the Neighborhood Preservation Ordinance] did not mention race, but instead tried to preserve ‘neighborhood character.’ As a result, from 1970 to 2000, fewer than 600 dwelling units were built in Berkeley. Areas zoned for single family residential (R-1), limited two-family residential (R-1A), and restricted two-family residential (R-2) are now some of the most expensive parts of our city—especially on a per-unit basis.”⁸

Until 1984, Martin Luther King Jr Way was known as Grove Street. For decades, Grove Street created a wall of segregation down the center of Berkeley. Asian-Americans and African-Americans could not live east of Grove Street due to race-restrictive covenants that barred them from purchasing or leasing property. While race-restrictive covenants no longer prohibit individuals from purchasing or leasing homes, most cities still retain the vestiges of exclusionary zoning practices.

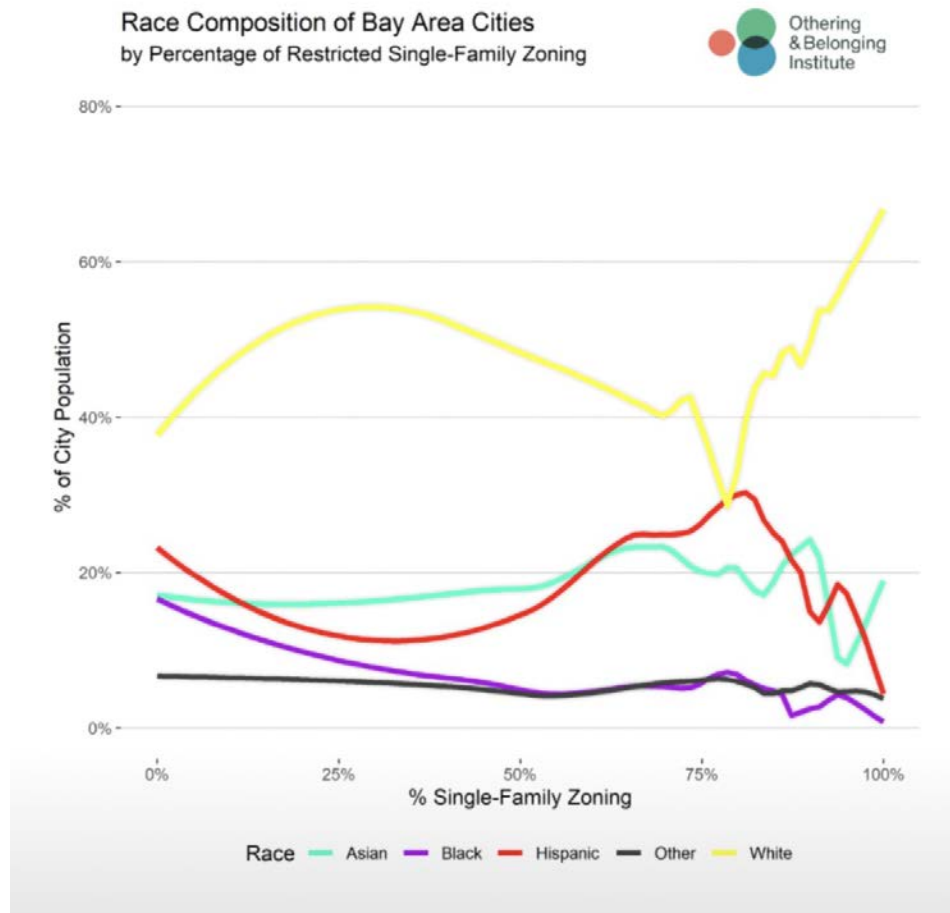
The UC Othering and Belonging Institute recently released a study on racial segregation and zoning practices which revealed that 83% of residential land in the Bay Area is zoned for single family homes.⁹ The authors found that the ramifications of such zoning practices leads to a greater percentage of white residents, as recounted in KQED’s “The Racist History of Single Family Zoning.”¹⁰ By banning less expensive housing options, such as duplexes, tri-/four-plexes, courtyard apartments, bungalow courts, and townhouses, in low-density, “desirable” places in Berkeley, the current zoning map dictates that only wealthier families will be able to live or rent in certain parts of Berkeley, mainly in North and East Berkeley. Today, with the median home sale price at \$1.3 million¹¹ and the typical White family having eight times the wealth of the typical Black family,¹² this de-facto form of segregation is even more pronounced.

⁸Ben Bartlett, Yelda Bartlett. "Berkeley's zoning laws wall off communities of color, seniors, low-income people and others." *Berkeleyside*, 13 June 2017. Op-ed. <https://www.berkeleyside.com/2017/06/13/opinion-berkeleys-zoning-laws-wall-off-communities-color-seniors-low-income-people-others>

⁹Racial Segregation in the San Francisco Bay Area (2020) UC Othering and Belonging Institute. <https://belonging.berkeley.edu/racial-segregation-san-francisco-bay-area-part-5>

¹⁰ Baldassari, Erin and Molly Solomon (2020). "The Racist History of Single Family Zoning." <https://www.kqed.org/news/11840548/the-racist-history-of-single-family-home-zoning>

¹¹ Berkeley, CA Real Estate Market (2021). https://www.realtor.com/realestateandhomes-search/Berkeley_CA/overview



According to the data mapped by UC Berkeley’s Urban Displacement Project, most of the low-income tracts in Berkeley are at-risk or have ongoing displacement and gentrification. Higher-income tracts in Berkeley are classified as ‘at-risk of exclusion’, currently feature ‘ongoing exclusion’, or are at stages of ‘advanced exclusion’. Degrees of exclusion are measured by a combination of data: the loss of low-income households over time, presence of high income households, being considered in a ‘hot housing market,’ and migration patterns. The Urban Displacement Project’s findings indicate that exclusion is more prevalent than gentrification in the Bay Area.¹³ While Berkeley has created policies and designated funding to prevent gentrification, policies that focus on preventing exclusion have lagged.

University of California-Berkeley Professor Karen Chapple, anti-displacement expert and director of the Urban Displacement Project, stated that “the Urban Displacement

¹² Survey of Consumer Finances (2020). Federal Reserve.

<https://www.federalreserve.gov/econres/scfindex.htm>

¹³ Zuk, M., & Chapple, K. (2015). Urban Displacement Project. <http://www.urbandisplacement.org/map/sf>

Project has established a direct connection between the neighborhood designations by the Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC), and 75% of today's exclusionary areas in the East Bay... Thus, this historic legacy, compounded by Berkeley's early exclusionary zoning practices, continues to shape housing opportunity and perpetuate inequities today."¹⁴ Not surprisingly, Chapple has indicated that zoning reform "has the potential not just to address the housing crisis but also to become a form of restorative or even transformative justice. There is no more important issue for planners to tackle today."¹⁵

Historic Redlining

Redlining was a practice whereby certain neighborhoods or areas were designated as being high-risk for investment. These high-risk designations were literally marked on maps using red coloring or lines, hence "redlining." The designations were typically applied to areas with large non-white and/or economically disadvantaged populations, and resulted in people who lived in or wanted to move to these areas being denied loans, or only being provided loans on much worse terms than their counterparts who could access non-redlined areas, due to their ethnicity or higher economic status.

Because redlining practices were contemporaneous with segregationist race-restricted deeds that largely locked minorities out of non-redlined neighborhoods, most non-white households were effectively forced to live in areas where buying and/or improving residential property was extremely difficult. Consequently, low-income and minority families were often locked out of homeownership, and all the opportunities for stability and wealth-building that entails. Therefore redlining tended to reinforce the economic stagnation of the areas to which it was applied, further depressing property values and leading to disinvestment. Although redlining is no longer formally practiced in the fashion it was historically, its effects continued to be felt in wealth disparities, educational opportunity gaps, and other impacts.

One way in which the practice of redlining continues to be felt is through the continuation of exclusionary zoning. By ensuring that only those wealthy enough to afford a single family home with a relatively large plot of land could live in certain areas, exclusionary zoning worked hand in hand with redlining to keep low-income families out of desirable neighborhoods with good schools and better economic opportunity. Cities, including Berkeley, adopted zoning that effectively prohibited multi-family homes in the same areas that relied on race restrictive deeds to keep out non-whites, meaning that

¹⁴ Karen Chapple's February 25, 2019 letter to Berkeley City Council in support of this proposal. <https://www.berkeleyside.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/Letter-on-Council-Item-22-Chapple-2.25.19.pdf>

¹⁵Ibid.

other areas, including redlined areas, were more likely to continue allowing multi-family buildings.

Ironically, because these patterns of zoning have persisted, many areas that were historically redlined are now appealing areas for new housing development precisely because they have continued to allow multi-family homes. Any area which sees its potential housing capacity increase will become more appealing for new housing development. When these changes are made in historically redlined areas where lower-income and minority households tend to be more concentrated, it is especially important to ensure those policies do not result in displacement or the loss of rent-controlled or naturally affordable housing units.

Current Discourse on Exclusionary Zoning Regulations

In 2019, Councilmembers Lori Droste, Ben Bartlett, Rashi Kesarwani and Rigel Robinson introduced Missing Middle Housing legislation in order to facilitate the construction of naturally affordable missing middle housing. The final legislation passed by Council was an agreement to **study** how the City of Berkeley can incorporate varying building types throughout Berkeley and address exclusionary practices. While the entire City Council voted unanimously to study this, the COVID-19 pandemic led to budget cuts which would have funded such a study. In July of 2020, Berkeley City Council additionally supported Senate Bill 902, which allowed for missing middle housing in transit-oriented or jobs-rich areas.¹⁶

Exclusionary zoning laws also became a prevalent national topic during the 2020 Presidential campaign under the guise of “protect[ing] America’s suburbs.”¹⁷ Celebrity Apprentice host and former President Donald Trump and his Housing and Urban Development Secretary Ben Carson expressed a concern that removing exclusionary zoning laws would prevent single family home ownership and “destroy suburbs” despite the fact that these reforms don’t bar single family home construction but allow the creation of duplexes, triplexes, and other multi-unit properties. Furthermore, exclusionary zoning practices were amplified with the termination of the 2015 Obama-era Fair Housing rule which outlawed discrimination in housing. In doing so, Trump stated that Democrats wanted to “eliminate single-family zoning, bringing who knows into your suburbs, so your communities will be unsafe and your housing values will go

¹⁶https://www.cityofberkeley.info/Clerk/City_Council/2020/07_Jul/Documents/07-28_Annotated_Agenda_pdf.aspx

¹⁷ Trump, Donald J and Ben Carson. “We’ll Protect America’s Suburbs.” Wall Street Journal. <https://www.wsj.com/articles/well-protect-americas-suburbs-11597608133>

down.”¹⁸ On the other hand, Democratic Presidential candidates embraced zoning reform, most notably Elizabeth Warren and Cory Booker. President Biden has also indicated that he plans to invest \$300 million in local housing policy grants to give communities the planning support they need to eliminate exclusionary zoning.¹⁹

In January 2021, the Association of Bay Area Governments voted to approve the implementation of Senate Bill 828 which was designed to address the extreme housing shortage across California. As a result, Bay Area cities will have to zone for 441,000 new homes. Berkeley will see a 19% increase — approximately 8,900 — in the number of homes for which it must zone.

According to the U.S. Census American Community Survey, newly built missing middle housing like duplexes and quadplexes more often houses middle and lower income families in Berkeley, while single-family homes, no matter what year built, are exclusively higher income.

Median household income, Berkeley & Albany, by building age & type					
	Pre-1950	1950-1969	1970-1989	1990-2004	2005-
Single-family detached	148,590	139,295	107,081	131,004	148,835
Single-family attached	84,903	126,930	96,233	167,025	134,460
2-4 units	79,012	63,973	53,335	45,403	48,691
5-19 units	46,037	41,104	39,811	42,243	27,950
20+ units	25,628	42,319	41,387	23,585	40,518

Source: American Community Survey, 2014-18, Public Use Microdata Set, US Census.

ALTERNATIVE ACTIONS CONSIDERED

Berkeley City Council previously authorized a study on missing middle housing. Due to the impending rezoning mandated by new Regional Housing Needs Allocations, Council wanted to ensure that there was a willingness on Council to address and acknowledge the implications of single family zoning on affordability and racial and economic segregation.

FINANCIAL IMPLICATIONS

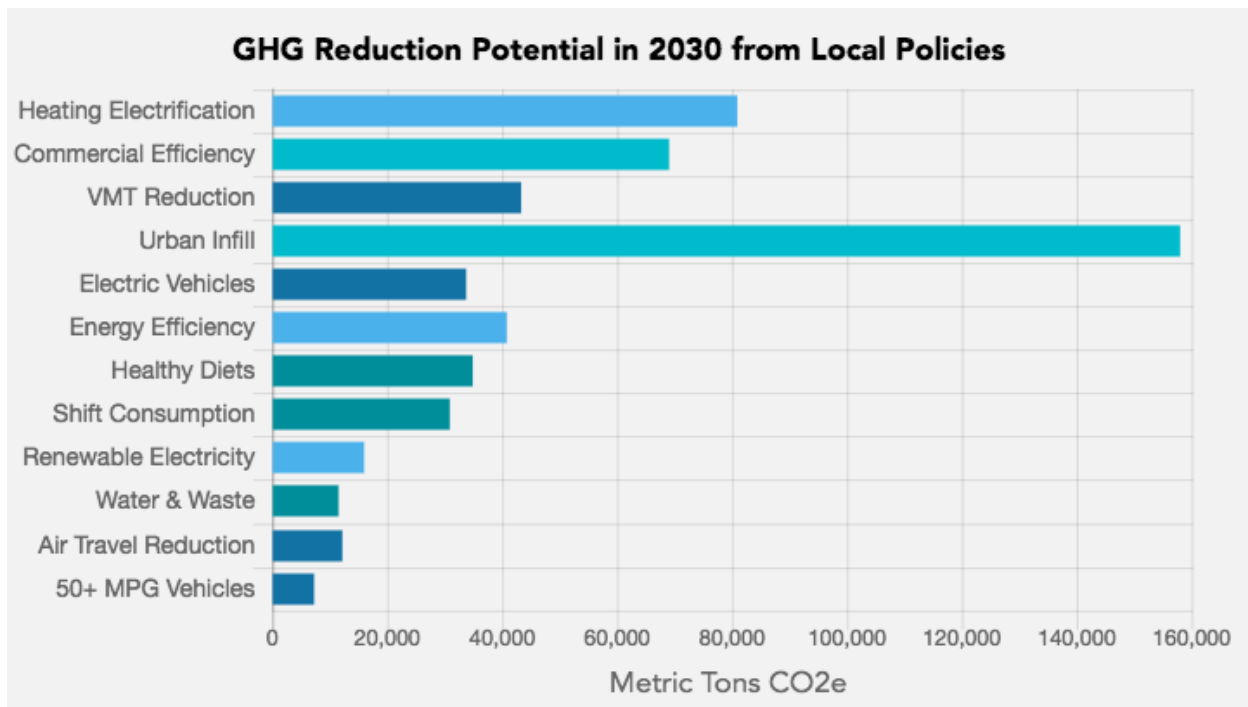
There are no financial implications in approving a resolution of intent.

¹⁸ “Seeking Suburban Votes, Trump to Repeal Rule Combating Racial Bias in Housing.” (2020). NPR <https://www.npr.org/2020/07/21/893471887/seeking-suburban-votes-trump-targets-rule-to-combat-racial-bias-in-housing>

¹⁹ “The Biden Plan for Investing in Our Communities Through Housing.” (2020) <https://joebiden.com/housing/>

ENVIRONMENTAL SUSTAINABILITY

Berkeley declared a climate emergency in 2018. Among other concerns, wildfires and sea level rise are constant ecological threats to our community. The City of Berkeley needs to act urgently to address this imminent danger. Last year, climate researchers in Berkeley quantified local and state opportunities to reduce greenhouse gases from a “comprehensive consumption-based perspective.”²⁰ The most impactful local policy to potentially reduce greenhouse gas consumption by 2030 is urban infill. In short, Berkeley can meaningfully address climate change if we allow the production of more homes near job centers and transit.²¹



CONTACT PERSON(S):

Lori Droste, 510-981-7180

²⁰ “Carbon Footprint Planning: Quantifying Local and State Mitigation Opportunities for 700 California Cities.” Christopher M. Jones, Stephen M. Wheeler, and Daniel M. Kammen. *Urban Planning* (ISSN: 2183–7635) 2018, Volume 3, Issue 2. <https://rael.berkeley.edu/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/Jones-Wheeler-Kammen-700-California-Cities-Carbon-Footprint-2018.pdf>

²¹ “Why Housing Policy Is Climate Policy.” Scott Wiener and Daniel Kammen. *New York Times*. March 25, 2019. <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/03/25/opinion/california-home-prices-climate.html>

RESOLUTION NO. XX

WHEREAS the City of Berkeley was the first city in the country to implement single-family zoning in 1916; and

WHEREAS the City of Berkeley's current zoning is still greatly influenced by maps developed by the federal government's Home Owners Loan Corporation which sought to maintain racial segregation through discriminatory lending practices; and

WHEREAS with the passage of the Neighborhood Preservation Ordinance in 1973, the City of Berkeley restricted the creation of multifamily units in residential zones;

WHEREAS the prohibition of apartments and multi-family homes in the City of Berkeley coincide with the most unaffordable neighborhoods and the origins of the City's affordability crisis starting in the late 1970s;²²

WHEREAS there is deeply racist history to zoning practices all over the country, particularly as a proxy for overt racial restrictions, and inequities still exist today as a result of redlining; and

WHEREAS exclusionary zoning creates a system of de facto rather than de jure racial and economic segregation, which creates strong adverse effects in life outcomes for residents; and

WHEREAS zoning reform does not ban single family homes but allows for a greater mix of home types and home affordability levels in more Berkeley neighborhoods; and

WHEREAS zoning reform can reduce real housing cost-burdens for low- and middle-income households; and

WHEREAS the League of California Cities called for cities to allow up to fourplexes in single family zones in their *Blueprint for More Housing 2020*;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the City of Berkeley registers its intent to allow for more multifamily housing throughout Berkeley; and

²²https://www.cityofberkeley.info/uploadedFiles/Rent_Stabilization_Board/Level_3_-_General/Berkeley_Rent_Control_1978-1994_1998_Planning_Dept_report.pdf

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that City Council will pursue zoning reform that takes into account the public safety in all parts of Berkeley, including areas within CalFire's Very High Hazard Severity Zones; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that in neighborhood interiors that already contain a mix of housing types from single family homes to apartments, allow new housing within that existing range; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the City of Berkeley encourage inclusion of homes that can accommodate families in new and rehabilitated multifamily housing developments; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the City of Berkeley will no longer ban multi-family housing, and by extension, affordable housing in certain parts of Berkeley.