



September 30, 2024 | 30 de septiembre de 2024

# From Tenant Organizing to the Halls of Congress: Advancing Social Housing Nationally

## De la organización de inquilinos al Congreso:

Impulsar la vivienda social a escala  
nacional

Hosted by | Auspiciado por

Socio-Spatial  
Climate  
Collaborative  
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**PolicyLink**

- Urban
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TENANTS TOGETHER  
California's Statewide Organization  
for Renters' Rights  
[www.tenantstogether.org](http://www.tenantstogether.org)



**Share in the Chat // Compartir en el Chat**

## **Who's in the room? ¿Quién está en el salón?**

Who are we today in this room?  
What brought us here?

¿Quiénes estamos aquí hoy?  
¿Qué nos trajo aquí?



Report Illustrations by Gabriel Hernández-Solano

**What is social housing?  
Qué es la vivienda social?**  
**Daniel Aldana Cohen**  
UC Berkeley and Climate & Community  
Institute

**Grassroots Perspectives  
Perspectivas populares**  
**Shanti Singh**  
Tenants Together and San Francisco  
Community Land Trust

**Margarita**  
Beverly-Vermont Community Land Trust

**Panel- Moderator | Moderador**  
**Gianpaolo Baiocchi**  
NYU, Urban Democracy Lab

**Alfonso Directo, Jr., ACT-LA**  
**Shanti Singh, Tenants Together**  
**Katie Goldstein, CPD Action**

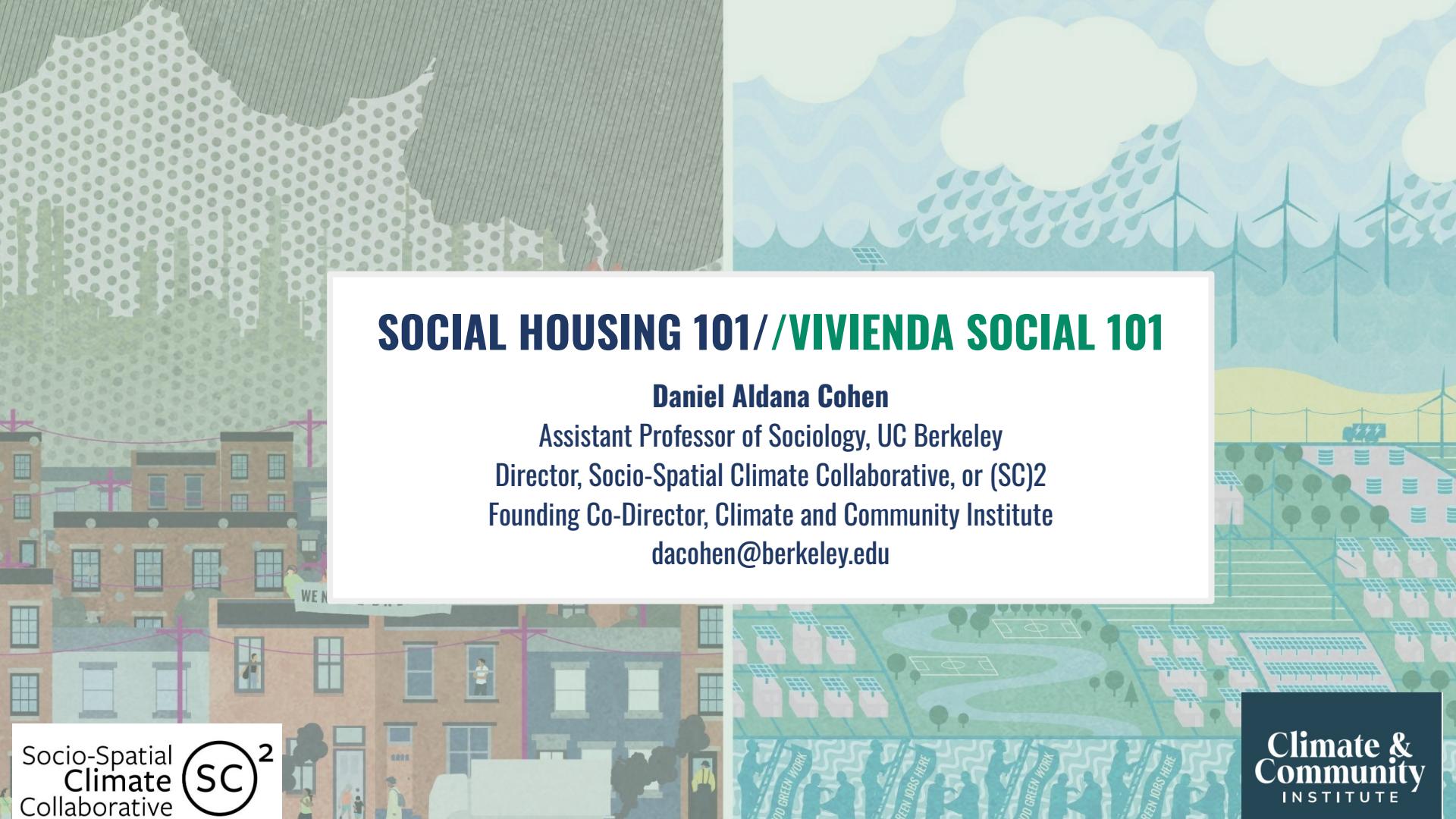
**Q&A | Preguntas**

## Agenda | Agenda



Report Illustrations by Gabriel Hernández-Solano





# SOCIAL HOUSING 101//VIVIENDA SOCIAL 101

Daniel Aldana Cohen

Assistant Professor of Sociology, UC Berkeley  
Director, Socio-Spatial Climate Collaborative, or (SC)2  
Founding Co-Director, Climate and Community Institute  
[dacohen@berkeley.edu](mailto:dacohen@berkeley.edu)

# THREE BIG CRISES | TRES GRANDES CRISIS

1. **Supply:** not enough permanently affordable housing, and existing programs don't work

**Oferta de vivienda:** No hay suficientes viviendas permanentemente asequibles, y los programas existentes no funcionan

2. **Price-gouging:** landlords hiking rent and/or evicting people from market-rate low-income housing

**Escalada de precios:** les propietaries aumentan la renta y desalojan a les inquilines de bajos ingresos de las viviendas al precio de mercado

3. **Climate and energy:** utility bills too high, carbon pollution in homes, exposed to climate disasters

**Clima y energía:** facturas de servicios demasiado altas, contaminación de carbón en las viviendas, vulnerabilidad a los desastres climáticos

# WORKING ON IT | ENCAMINADES

CityLab | Housing

## AOC Proposes \$30 Billion Social Housing Authority

Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez's far-reaching bill in Congress would create a public alternative to private developers, in a bid to fill the immense affordable housing need.



Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez's bill would create a new social housing authority to bolster affordable housing development. *Photographer: Chip Somodevilla/Getty Images North America*

JUNE 2024

## Green Social Housing at Scale:

How a Federal Green Social Housing Development Authority Can Build, Repair, and Finance Homes for All



climate  
+ community  
project

Urban  
Democracy  
Lab  
NYU GALLATIN

Socio-Spatial Climate Collaborative  
 <sup>2</sup>

# SOCIAL HOUSING 101 | VIVIENDA SOCIAL 101

1. Housing that is **permanently protected** from the speculative real estate market. New and retrofit.  
Vivienda que está **protegida permanentemente** del mercado inmobiliario especulativo. Nuevo y reacondicionado.
2. **Permanently affordable** housing for a range of incomes, with most units for people in greatest need.  
Vivienda **permanentemente asequible** para una gama de ingresos, con la mayoría de las unidades para las personas con mayor necesidad.
3. **Resident and community control** across a diversity of structures: public Section 9, senior, mixed-use, cooperatives, community land trusts, etc.  
**Control comunitario y de residentes** en diversas estructuras: Sección 9 pública, para envejecientes, de uso mixto, cooperativas,, fideicomisos de tierras comunitarias, etc.
4. Strong **resident protections** to ensure stability and security.  
**Protecciones** sólidas para **residentes** para asegurar la estabilidad y seguridad.
5. **Resilient, carbon-free housing** to ensure climate safety and develop a high-road green economy.  
**Vivienda resiliente, libre de carbono** para asegurar seguridad climática y desarrollar una economía verde de nivel elevado.

*Social housing is an ecosystem, not a single species of building.*  
*La vivienda social es un ecosistema, no una especie única de edificio.*

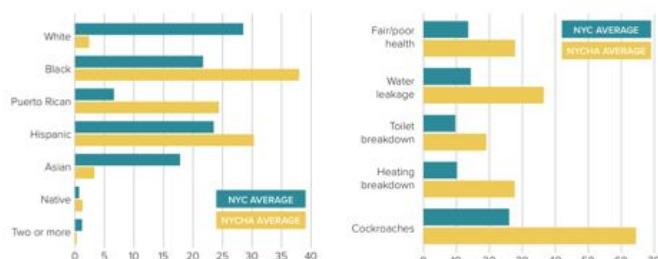
# GLOBAL RESEARCH | INVESTIGACIÓN MUNDIAL: SÃO PAULO



# GLOBAL RESEARCH: NEW YORK INVESTIGACIÓN MUNDIAL: NUEVA YORK



Figure 4. NYCHA is subject to racist disinvestment that exposes public housing residents to unacceptable housing conditions



Racial disparities in resident background (left) and unsafe conditions of NYCHA apartments compared to New York average (right).<sup>6</sup>



# GLOBAL RESEARCH: VIENNA

## INVESTIGACIÓN MUNDIAL: VIENA

**The 'world's most livable city' has a proven, 100-year-old approach to affordable housing**

More than 60% of this city of 1.9 million people lives in government-subsidized housing.

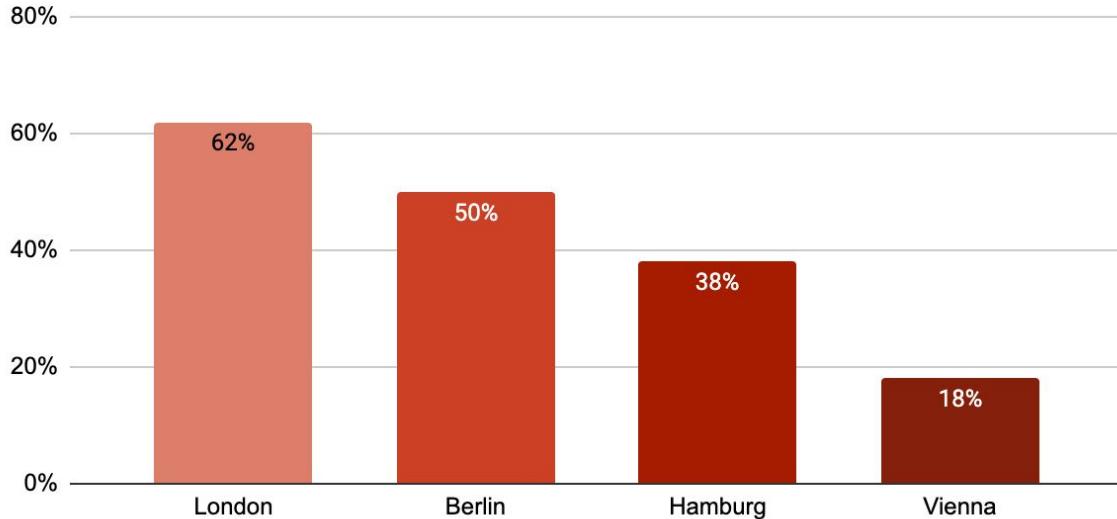
By Annie Renaeu, Upworthy Staff

08.18.24



Percentage of households overburdened by rental costs in key European Cities

Overburdened defined as paying at least 40% of disposable income on rent



# GLOBAL RESEARCH: VIENNA

## INVESTIGACIÓN MUNDIAL: VIENA



# GLOBAL RESEARCH: VIENNA

# INVESTIGACIÓN MUNDIAL: VIENA



# GLOBAL RESEARCH: VIENNA

# INVESTIGACIÓN MUNDIAL: VIENA



The New York Times Magazine

GIVE THE TIMES

## Imagine a Renters' Utopia.

An aerial photograph of a modern apartment complex. The top part shows a large, rectangular swimming pool with a small figure in it. Below the pool, the complex consists of several white, angular buildings with extensive green roofs covered in plants and trees. The overall design is architectural and sustainable.

It Might Look Like Vienna.

# SOCIAL HOUSING IS THE CUTTING EDGE OF GLOBAL GREEN DESIGN



The screenshot shows the header of The Guardian website with navigation links for Search jobs, Sign in, Search, US edition, Sport, Culture, Lifestyle, More, and categories like Asia, Australia, Middle East, Africa, Inequality, Cities, Global development. Below the header, a headline reads "Grand Parc, Bordeaux review - a rush of light, air and views" with a photograph of a modern apartment balcony with large glass doors and a person standing on it.

# LA VIVIENDA SOCIAL ESTÁ A LA VANGUARDIA DEL DISEÑO VERDE GLOBAL

'A masterpiece': Norwich council houses win Stirling architecture prize

Street of 105 homes hailed as high-quality architecture in its most environmentally and socially conscious form



▲ A marvel ... victory for Goldsmith Street marks first time the Stirling prize has gone to social housing. Photograph: Tim Crocker/RIBA/PA

One hundred years since the 1919 Addison Act paved the way for the country's programme of mass council housing, the prize for the best new building in the UK has been awarded to one of the first new council housing projects in a generation.

# GLORIOUS SOCIAL HOUSING HERE TOO GLORIOSA VIVIENDA SOCIAL AQUÍ TAMBIÉN

The New Rolland Curtis Gardens Preserves and Expands Transit-Adjacent Affordable Housing in Los Angeles



Studio Libeskind unveils social housing that feels "like home" in Brooklyn



Tom Ravenscroft | 24 May 2024 | 102 comments



# BACK TO VIENNA: HOW SOCIAL HOUSING EMPOWERS BUILDING WORKERS | DE REGRESO A VIENA: CÓMO LA VIVIENDA SOCIAL EMPODERA A LOS TRABAJADORES DE LA CONSTRUCCIÓN



# BACK TO VIENNA: HOW SOCIAL HOUSING EMPOWERS BUILDING WORKERS | DE REGRESO A VIENA: CÓMO LA VIVIENDA SOCIAL EMPODERA A LOS TRABAJADORES DE LA CONSTRUCCIÓN



# **SOCIAL HOUSING 201 | VIVIENDA SOCIAL 201**

- 1. People | Personas**
- 2. Diversity | Diversidad**
- 3. Beauty | Belleza**
- 4. Climate action | Acción climática**
- 5. Agency | Autonomía**

**dacohen@berkeley.edu**

2024

LINK IN BIO

# BUILDING OUR FUTURE

grassroots reflections on social housing



Shanti Singh, Tenants Together / Inquilines Juntes | [shanti@tenantstogether.org](mailto:shanti@tenantstogether.org)



\*not all social housing campaigns are represented in this map, just the ones that participated in this project

\*No todas las campañas de vivienda social están representadas en este mapa, solo las que participaron en este proyecto

# Types of social housing initiatives

## Funding & public investment

Progressive real estate & anti-speculation taxes

State & local bond measures

Budget \$ for existing public housing, CLTs, LEHCs, etc

## Government infrastructure

Creating new agencies, development authorities

Strengthening & repurposing existing agencies to build and buy social housing

## Private market regulation

Expanding rent control & just-cause protections

COPA/TOPA & first right of refusal programs

Keeping public lands in public hands



## Tenant organizing & community demands

There is no one “correct” path – local coalitions must respond to different local conditions. ***How do we unify and support one another’s strategies?***

# Tipos de iniciativas de vivienda social

## Financiación e inversión pública

Impuestos inmobiliarios progresivos y anti-especulación

Medidas de emisión de bonos estatales y locales

Presupuesto en dólares para viviendas públicas existentes, CLT, LEHC, etc.

## Infraestructura gubernamental

Creación de nuevas agencias y autoridades de desarrollo

Fortalecimiento y reorientación de las agencias existentes para construir y comprar viviendas sociales

## Regulación del mercado inmobiliario

Ampliación del control de alquileres y protecciones por causa justa

Programas COPA/TOPA y de derecho de preferencia

Mantener las tierras públicas en manos públicas

## Organización de inquilinos y demandas comunitarias

No existe un único camino “correcto”: las coaliciones locales deben responder a diferentes condiciones locales. **¿Cómo podemos unificarnos y apoyar nuestras estrategias?**

# **Beverly-Vermont Community Land Trust**

## **Fideicomiso de Tierras Comunitarias Beverly-Vermont**



# Panel Speakers | Hablantes del Panel

**Moderator | Moderador:** Gianpaolo Baiocchi

NYU, Urban Democracy Lab

**Alfonso Directo, Jr.**

ACT-LA

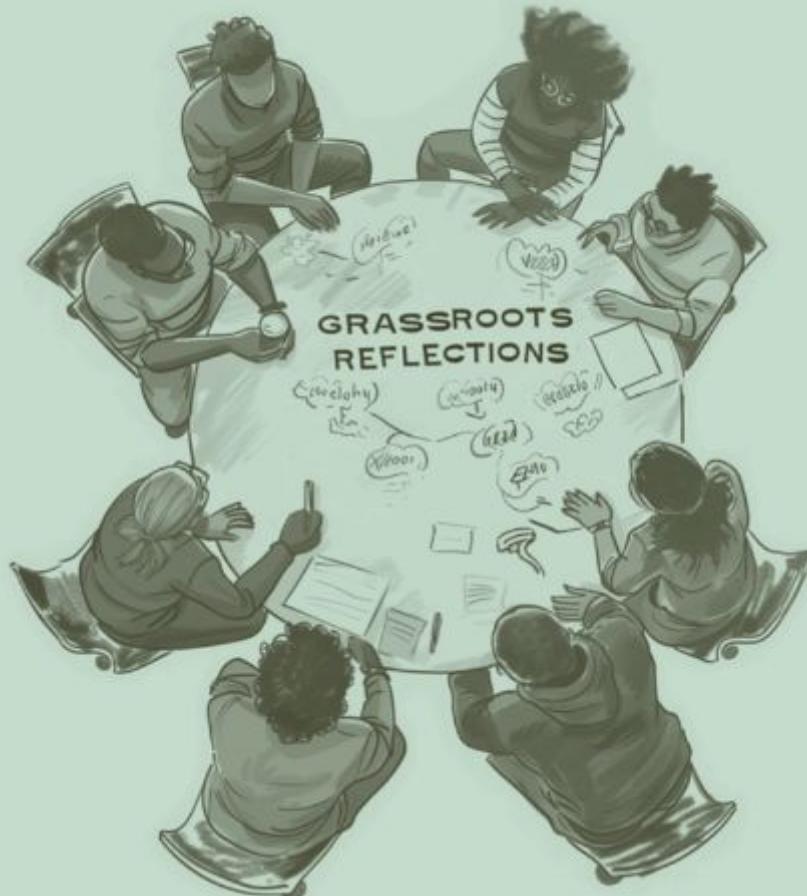
**Shanti Singh**

Tenants Together | Inquilinos Juntos

**Katie Goldstein**

CPD Action | Centro para la Democracia Popular

Ref



# Alfonso Directo, Jr., Coalition | Coaliciones ACT-LA + United to House LA



# Shanti Singh, Tenants Together | Inquilinos Juntos



Katie Goldstein

Center for Popular Democracy | Centro para la Democracia Popular



# Q & A

# Preguntas

Questions, answers, and more to think about  
Preguntas, respuestas, y más en qué pensar



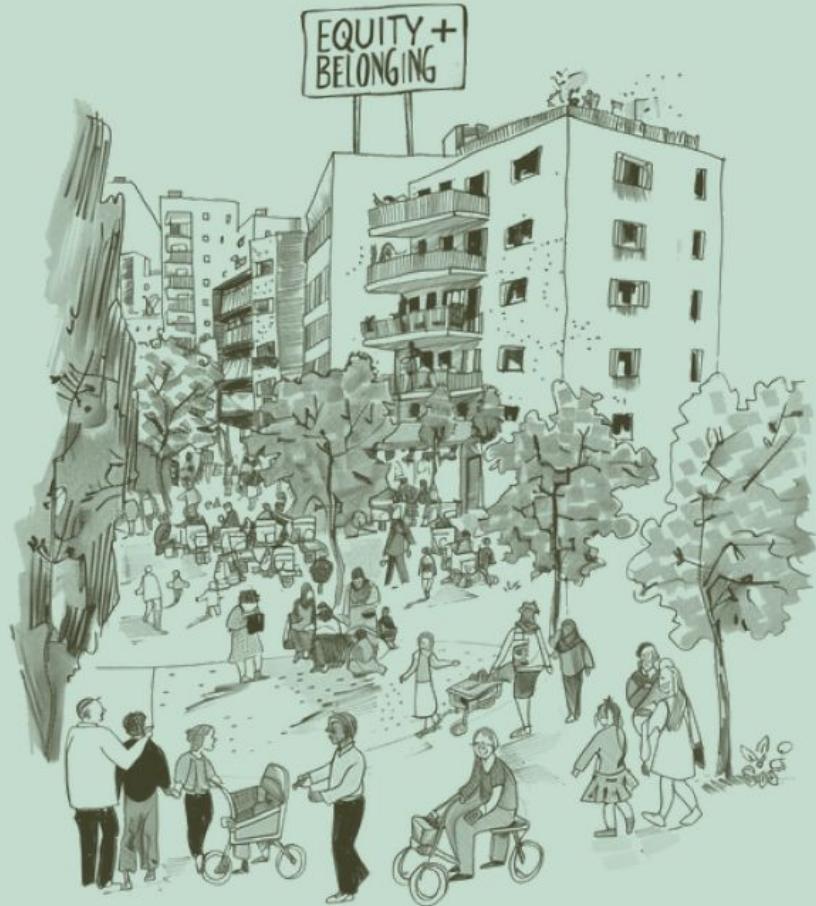
Report Illustrations by Gabriel Hernández-Solano

**Let's keep the conversation going**  
**Continuemos esta conversación**

**Let's stay in touch**  
**Vamos a mantenernos  
en contacto**

Rae Huang,  
[rhuang@housingnowca.org](mailto:rhuang@housingnowca.org)

Housing Now CA Coalition



Report Illustrations by Gabriel Hernández-Solano

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**Thank you! | ¡Gracias!**

