

GROUNDING JUSTICE:

Toward Reparative Spatial Futures in
Land and Housing

Tram Hoang

Rasheedah Phillips

Jasmine Rangel



PolicyLink

GROUNDING JUSTICE:

Toward Reparative Spatial Futures in
Land and Housing

Tram Hoang

Rasheedah Phillips

Jasmine Rangel

Cover: original photo by Cottonbro Studio

©2024 PolicyLink. All rights reserved.

PolicyLink is a national research and action institute advancing
racial and economic equity by Lifting Up What Works®.

<http://www.policylink.org>

Acknowledgments

We gratefully acknowledge the following individuals who provided invaluable feedback and significant input in shaping this report and in building a home for it through the Spatial Futures Initiative:

Angela Glover Blackwell
Claire Comiskey
Melody Buyukozer Dawkins
Ashleigh Gardere
Tina Grandinetti
Laura Hughes
Jerry Maldonado
Michael McAfee
Yopina Pertiwi
Nina Rosenblatt
Rashad Williams

We extend our profound appreciation to [Social Insights](#) for their partnership in orchestrating rich focus group discussions and conducting research on spatial reparations. Social Insights is a women-of-color-led firm whose members employ mixed methodologies “to decolonize evaluation and research in partnership with organizations that resource and center marginalized populations.” Their work has been indispensable to the development of this initiative. We also owe a deep debt of gratitude to the interviewees who participated in Social Insights’ spatial reparations study whose time, insights, expertise, and personal experiences enriched the depth and breadth of our understanding. We have refrained from disclosing the names of the interviewees to respect their confidentiality. Their voices and insights, however, remain integral to the core of this report.

Finally, special thanks to the PolicyLink editorial and production teams for their creative contributions.

Contents

Setting the Compass: Foreword from Michael McAfee	5
Introduction and Context Setting	6
The Spatial Futures Initiative	7
The Goals of the Spatial Futures Initiative	8
Research Methods and Tools	9
Commonly Used Terms	9
Foundations of Exclusion	11
Spatial Injustices and Racial Disparities	11
Psychological Impacts of Spatial Injustice	15
Laying the Groundwork for Repair	16
Reparative Frameworks for Addressing Spatialized Racism	16
• Economic Justice Approach	17
• Reparative Urban Planning	18
• Abolitionist Approach	19
• Land Sovereignty and Indigenous Movements	19
• Collective Land Stewardship	20
Insights from the Field: Research Findings by Social Insights	22
The “What” of Spatial Reparations	24
The “Who” of Spatial Reparations	24
The “How” of Spatial Reparations	25
The “Why” of Spatial Reparations	26
The “Where” of Spatial Reparations	26
The “When” of Spatial Reparations	27
Mapping Our Future Directions	28
Reflections: What Does Reparative Spatial Justice Mean to You?	30
Resources	32
Notes	33
Author Biographies	38

Setting the Compass:

Foreword from Michael McAfee

Spatial injustice shapes entire lives and communities. When I was a child in the 1960s and 70s, Black neighborhoods across the country were being systematically targeted and torn apart to make way for urban renewal projects and highway construction. My own community in Kansas City, Missouri, was fractured by the construction of a new freeway. While my parents were able to move our family to a better neighborhood, many others were not as fortunate, and those who stayed were cut off from opportunity and locked into a new geography that did not value their lives or livelihoods. Like many Black, Brown, and Indigenous communities, the spaces we had built around us were restructured to disrupt, displace, and exclude.

It is time to change how that story ends. The elegant design of structural racism and oppression baked spatial inequity into the very fabric of our streets and neighborhoods and determined who should have access to secure housing, quality public education, healthy food, and even a long, fulfilling life. But our zip code should not determine how long, or how well, we live.

As you will read in the coming pages, reparative spatial justice offers us a way of confronting these past harms so that we can begin the task of designing our futures. Across the country, people are already engaged in this work. From the recent return of ancestral land to the Tongva people in Los Angeles, to the housing reparations program established in Evanston, Illinois, we are seeing the beginnings of a movement of repair and redress in land and housing policy. However, we urgently need to scale this work up in order to confront the structural nature of the problem.

While a reparative frame is new to the PolicyLink portfolio, the spirit of repair has always been embedded in our work and in our solidarity with everyday people. That is why I am so thrilled about the Spatial Futures Initiative. This project is a commitment from PolicyLink to reckon with the foundational injustices that have shaped land and housing policy, so that we can begin to repair and transform these systems. Our inaugural Spatial Futures Fellowship is an opportunity to uplift, support, and elevate those who have committed to this undertaking. I see them as the founders of a new America grounded in rigorous love for our communities. They are moving beyond critique and into action. They are answering their ancestors' prayers by being bold in their truth-telling and ambitious in their world-building. They are setting about the real task of deciding what our collective futures will look like.

For those who are following along with this journey toward reparative spatial justice, I implore you to resist the urge to debate and critique. Confronting the violence of this country's history launches us right into the whitewater of democracy. Yet, we simply cannot get to equity without repair, and we cannot get to repair without love. That much is beyond debate. This is soul work, and it will require all of us.

Michael McAfee, EdD
President and CEO
PolicyLink

Introduction and Context Setting

The spaces and places where people live and work are not just physical, but are deeply political, and for too long, have been structured in ways that limit the resources and possibilities available to Black, Brown, and Indigenous communities. However, there are growing movements—by and for these communities—that seek to transform this reality, to envision and actualize new futures for land and housing justice by confronting past and present racial harms and injustices. Emerging movements led by affected communities are seeding new policies and programs to expand these futures in rural towns and big cities alike—calling for universal access to stable housing, repairing relationships with the land, and demanding restitution for historical and ongoing injustices. These initiatives, rooted in the very soil of the communities they represent, range from Indigenous land repatriation in Ohlone territory¹ to housing grants addressing discriminatory real estate practices in Evanston, Illinois.² They include efforts to pass federal legislation for reparations³ and the establishment of housing preference policies in Portland, Oregon, for those displaced by urban renewal projects.⁴

PolicyLink recognizes the intricate weave of housing and land within the broader tapestry of reparative work, noting the intersection of local movements with national calls for reparations to Black Americans. In fact, claims for restitution and reparations for enslavement preceded Emancipation, and early claims continue to inform and inspire the contemporary reparations movement.⁵ Today, calls for reparations, responding to the enduring legacies of slavery and systemic discrimination, range from direct financial reparations, to more comprehensive strategies like land-based compensation. Moreover, there's a growing emphasis on systemic solutions aimed at dismantling structural racism, as seen in legislative efforts such as the proposed H.R. 40, the Commission to Study and Develop Reparation Proposals for African Americans Act.⁶ By paralleling these wider reparative movements with grassroots efforts in spatial justice, we underscore the shared threads of restoration and repair woven through them.

The recent influx of infrastructure, climate, and disaster recovery funding presents a pivotal opportunity to embed a reparative framework in community investment. Initiatives such as the Department of Transportation's Reconnecting Communities and Neighborhoods Grant Program exemplify how communities can leverage these resources for reparative spatial justice.⁷ This initiative is redefining infrastructure not just as a foundation for transportation systems, but as a critical aspect of environmental justice and community well-being.

The transformational impact of community-driven solutions is vividly demonstrated in initiatives like the Sheridan Expressway Campaign in the Bronx and the Claiborne Corridor Cultural Innovation District in New Orleans.⁸ These models showcase how spaces traditionally viewed as mere transit corridors can be revitalized into hubs of cultural and communal vitality. They exemplify the potential of repurposing spaces for retail, cultural events, and community services, thereby enriching and empowering local communities.

This alignment and integration of efforts across various communities and scales of action represent a significant step in the journey toward **reparative spatial justice** (see the glossary for a full definition on page 10). This movement is not just about rectifying past injustices; it is an aspirational world-building endeavor. It reimagines and reshapes spaces to enable historically marginalized communities to reclaim their connection to land and obtain restitution for the long-standing impacts of racist policies and practices. Reparative spatial justice, by addressing both the *where* and *how* of justice, recognizes the temporal dimensions of justice, weaving together the past, present, and future. It aims not just to redistribute tangible assets like land and housing but to foster intangible yet vital elements like healing, growth, and well-being. In this transformative journey, leaders and activists are both critiquing existing paradigms and actively crafting spatially equitable futures.

In this expansive movement, PolicyLink is dedicated to interconnecting and elevating these diverse efforts. By situating housing and land justice initiatives within the expansive scope of reparative spatial justice, we aim to forge both theoretical and practical connections among varied movements. This collective approach is essential for ensuring equitable access to power, resources, and opportunities, thereby enabling historically marginalized communities to shape their spaces in harmony with their needs, dreams, and aspirations. In reckoning with the past, these leaders are becoming the architects of futures in which home and land are for all people, instead of mere commodities to be bought and sold.

The Spatial Futures Initiative

The PolicyLink **Spatial Futures Initiative** stands at the forefront of a bold, imaginative journey, dedicated to remolding the contours of our societal landscape. The Spatial Futures Initiative aims to be a potent catalyst and a visionary policy hub, unearthing and challenging the deep-seated racial inequities in this country's land use and housing policies. Our mission is to harness and direct a swell of resources to catalyze and co-create reparative spatial futures. Through this initiative, the PolicyLink housing team will research and maintain a database of spatial justice policies and projects, serving both to document effective practices and to actively sow the seeds for their widespread adoption and replication.

We are also cultivating the **Spatial Futures Fellowship**, a network of innovative practitioners who are crafting strategies for reparative spatial justice within their communities. Our database and network will collectively serve as a megaphone, amplifying local initiatives and community-driven strategies, advocating for their adoption on national and global stages. We envision a world where success in one community sparks inspiration and ignites change in others, creating a ripple effect of reparative spatial justice.

As we embark on this journey, we acknowledge that the path to repair and reckoning is an ongoing process, and we are committed to evolving alongside the communities we serve. Our aim is to join forces with those who dare to dream of futures where our homes and land are the very bedrock of community and well-being. This publication, "Grounding Justice: Toward Reparative Spatial Futures in Land and Housing," serves as both a call to action and an open invitation for collaboration and discussion, embracing the conversations, tensions, and collective growth that this path demands.

This initiative, however, is more than an isolated effort. It exemplifies PolicyLink's overarching commitment to a framework of reckoning, repair, and transformation, a philosophy that transcends all areas of our work, including infrastructure equity, environmental justice, and water equity. We recognize that each of these domains is deeply interwoven with spatial justice and that together, they form the fabric of a just and equitable society.

In this inaugural publication, we aim to illuminate the critical need for a reparative spatial justice framework in land and housing policy by uplifting research findings, policy recommendations, and a multitude of perspectives that each shed light on the multifaceted nature of reparative spatial justice. Drawing from a comprehensive literature review compiled by the PolicyLink housing team and the empirical insights of qualitative research conducted by Social Insights, this paper also offers a synthesis of conversations with advocates, practitioners, and thought leaders in the fields of spatial justice, reparations, housing justice, and land justice. The fusion of these insights frames a set of evidence-based recommendations, charting a course for practitioners, researchers, policymakers, organizers, and advocates dedicated to this transformative work.

We invite our readers to delve deep into introspection and dialogue, to explore what reparative spatial justice truly means for them and their communities, to explore how these concepts resonate with their lived experiences, and to consider how they might manifest in the tangible reality of their surroundings. This process of reflection is vital for fostering a deep, personal connection to reparative spatial justice, thereby collectively growing the movement for change.

The Goals of the Spatial Futures Initiative

The allocation and control of space is a stark testament to the systemic inequities at the foundation of our nation's past and present. Decisions about our spatial topography—from forcibly taken Indigenous lands to the urban redlining that segregates communities—have long reflected our dominant societal values, and, more critically, our systemic biases. The Spatial Futures Initiative is born out of a profound commitment to redress these spatial injustices that have left indelible marks on the topography of opportunity in our nation.

Goal 1: Illuminate Systemic Inequities in Policy Architecture

Rigorously identify and analyze policies that systemically perpetuate racial disparities in land use, housing, and economic domains. Establish an incontrovertible evidence base that exposes the mechanisms through which Black, Brown, and Indigenous communities are systematically stripped of land and communal wealth, and displaced.

Goal 2: Architect Transformative Policy Recommendations

Develop a detailed suite of policy recommendations rooted in a “reckon, repair, and transform” framework. Advance federal reparative land and housing policies, framing them as the cornerstone of a broader vision where housing is seen as a universal guarantee, not a privilege.

Goal 3: Amplify Reparative Spatial Justice Interventions

Accelerate wins in housing and land justice by testing and scaling groundbreaking organizing, market-influencing, financing, legal, and policy strategies. These interventions will be agile enough to adapt from local to national contexts. Spotlight and disseminate innovative models for public and private investment that amend both historical and ongoing injustices, especially those exacerbated by escalating climate change.

Goal 4: Build Movement Infrastructure

Champion the flow of resources, knowledge, and innovative research to equip communities, advocates, and policymakers with actionable and bold ideas to achieve housing and land justice. Foster radical approaches to spatial reparations, land restitution, and community land stewardship. Build synergistic networks with other movement leaders to collaborate, exchange best practices, and mobilize collective action.

Goal 5: Forge Narrative Strategies

Craft and implement powerful narratives to reframe and propel the national discourse on reparative spatial justice, thereby altering the intellectual and ethical framework that shapes land and housing access.

Research Methods and Tools

The Spatial Futures Initiative will employ a range of methodologies to produce a robust set of reparative spatial justice tools.

- **Spatial Futures Fellowship:** A cohort of emerging leaders in the field, fostering collaboration and nurturing the next generation of spatial justice advocates.
- **Policy Scan:** A comprehensive database of spatial reparations programs and projects, to serve as a repository of knowledge and best practices.
- **Policy Blueprints:** Sketches of model legislation and practical program ideas, designed to be both inspirational and immediately applicable.
- **Frontline Stories:** In-depth case studies that offer a granular view of challenges and opportunities while amplifying seldom-heard voices.
- **Beyond the Page:** An array of dynamic multimedia tools, such as educational videos, podcasts, and interactive platforms to disseminate pivotal research findings and policy recommendations.

Commonly Used Terms

Abolition: A movement that seeks to abolish societal structures rooted in harm, punishment, policing, and incarceration, and to build community safety by establishing new structures of care that meet people's basic needs. The term harkens back to slavery abolitionists, who were steadfast in their conviction that the institution of slavery was beyond reform.

Afrofuturism: A multidimensional socio-political and artistic movement that envisions liberated futures where Black culture, identities, agency, and creative expression are central to the construction of new worlds and realities. The movement challenges historical injustices and reimagines Black potentialities through speculative fiction, visual arts, and advanced technologies. It is not merely an aesthetic but a larger framework for critiquing present-day dilemmas and imagining new futures through a Black cultural lens.

Community Land Stewardship: Refers to the collective governance and management of land by the community, primarily for communal benefit. This model of stewardship is designed to ensure that the use, development, and management of land are directed toward serving the long-term interests of the community, particularly those of marginalized groups. It is a form of land tenure that resists speculative pressures and commodification, often utilizing legal and organizational structures, such as community land trusts, to hold land in trust for present and future generations.

Indigenous Futurisms: Indigenous Futurisms is a creative movement that imagines future or alternative realities through an Indigenous perspective, often blending elements of speculative fiction and Indigenous knowledge. In the context of reparative spatial justice, it challenges colonial narratives and advocates for Indigenous sovereignty and rights in land use, offering transformative visions that align with the principles of repairing historical and ongoing injustices related to land and space.

Land Rematriation: Refers to the return of Indigenous lands to Indigenous peoples. This involves both restoring sacred relationships between Indigenous peoples and their ancestral lands, and reclaiming Indigenous sovereignty. The concept challenges and subverts the patriarchal violence and capitalist drives of settler colonialism that have stripped Indigenous peoples of their lands, cultures, and self-determination. Rematriation, specifically, is called out in order to recognize the ways that Native land stewardship can undermine the patriarchal paradigm of capitalistic land ownership and possession. Rematriation highlights the importance of dismantling patriarchy, acknowledging the destructive role that it has played within colonialism, and positions the process of connecting and building relationships with ancestral homelands in order to combat and undermine colonial norms, laws, and policies.⁹

Racial Capitalism: First articulated by Black critical theorist Cedric Robinson, this concept holds that racism and capitalism are mutually constitutive, reinforcing systems.¹⁰ According to Robinson, capitalism from its origins has depended on racialized exploitation and expropriation. This relationship is particularly evident in structures like the transatlantic slave trade and colonialism, which facilitated the accumulation of capital by European powers through the systemic disenfranchisement of non-European populations.

Reparative Justice: A holistic framework to address harm that seeks to reckon with, repair, and transform its source in historical and ongoing oppression. Reparative justice forgoes punitive or compensatory measures to focus on the transformation of social systems and power relations that have perpetuated injustices against impacted communities. The aim is not merely to correct past wrongs, but to create sustainable frameworks for equitable futures.

Reparative Spatial Justice: A transformative approach to rectify historical and ongoing injustices in the allocation and use of space, housing, and land. It is an aspirational world-building endeavor, aimed at reconfiguring spaces where historically marginalized communities can reclaim their connection to land and gain restitution for enduring racist policies and practices. This approach involves rectifying past wrongs and shaping inclusive, equitable spatial futures, with a focus on communities' active participation and agency in creating their own spatial environments.

Restitution: A set of measures designed to restore victims or communities to the condition they were in prior to experiencing injustices or violations. This can take multiple forms, including financial compensation, land return, and public acknowledgment, among others. It aims for justice that is transformative rather than merely punitive or compensatory.

Settler Colonialism: Refers to a system in which a foreign colonial power occupies a territory with the aim of permanently replacing the existing people, culture, and society with its own. Unlike other forms of colonialism, which may involve temporary occupation or resource extraction, settler colonialism involves a persistent effort to erase and replace Indigenous populations and ways of life.

Spatial Justice: Popularized by geographer Edward Soja, spatial justice posits that space is inherently political: it is produced by, but also *produces*, the social relations in which we live. The concept emphasizes the “fair and equitable distribution in space of socially valued resources and opportunities to use them.”¹¹ It offers a framework for interrogating how spatial arrangements reinforce social inequities and provides tools for imagining more equitable spatial futures.

Spatial Reparations: Socioeconomic and political strategies aimed at redressing and repairing the environmental and spatialized consequences of historically racist displacement and dispossession.

Structural Racism: Structural racism refers to the mutually reinforcing systems, institutions, policies, practices, and social norms by which societies foster and perpetuate racial inequity. It is not dependent on individual acts of discrimination but rather embedded within the legal, cultural, and social frameworks that produce adverse outcomes for Black, Indigenous, and people of color, while conferring opportunities and advantages to white people. It manifests in various sectors, such as health care, education, employment, and criminal justice, in a self-sustaining cycle.

Temporal, Temporality: Of or relating to time; the state of existing within or having some relationship with time.

Foundations of Exclusion

In preparation for the crucial learning journey of the Spatial Futures Initiative, the PolicyLink housing team conducted an extensive literature review spanning a wide range of fields, including legal, policy, housing, planning, social science, and health. This exploration delved into issues of land access and housing inequity, examining the historical roots of spatial inequities and the generational impacts of housing insecurity. Moreover, it scrutinized various housing reparations approaches. Our review unearthed a spectrum of reparative frameworks and strategies, each offering a unique perspective on how to confront both historical and contemporary injustices in land and housing. These approaches are presented in the next section, “Laying the Groundwork for Repair.”

Spatial Injustices and Racial Disparities

The first step to collectively architect our just land and housing futures is to reckon with the historical continuum of entrenched systems and structures that have systematically dispossessed Black, Brown, and Indigenous communities of their spatial and temporal resources.

Since 1491, settler colonialism on the North American continent has sought to disrupt and erase Indigenous relationships to land in order to produce property for white European settlers. Prior to colonization, Indigenous people stewarded over 2.4 billion acres of land that would eventually become the United States. Due to genocide, forced migration, and mass land theft, today Indigenous people have been dispossessed of nearly 99 percent of these ancestral lands.¹² Chattel slavery, beginning in 1619, entangled race and property, creating conditions whereby enslaved Africans were considered property and forced to work on stolen land. Denied their full humanity under the law, enslaved Africans were forbidden from purchasing and owning land and property. After slavery was abolished, governments made decisions that controlled where Black and Indigenous people could live, limited their access to financial resources, and impeded the health of their neighborhoods, well-being, and even their life expectancy.

The United States’ foundational and violent policies have perpetuated a cycle of exclusion and spatial injustice, preventing Black, Indigenous, and people of color from securing housing, land, and generational wealth, while reinforcing the concentration of these resources for white populations. This structural imbalance continues to manifest in the 21st century as displacement, disenfranchisement, racialized exclusion, and other forms of spatial injustice. This cycle is characterized by segregation,

redlining, racially restrictive covenants, exclusionary zoning, and “urban renewal”—practices that entrenched spatial injustice and inequity across the country. Neighborhoods predominantly occupied by Black and Brown residents, labeled as “high-risk,” frequently faced rejection from lenders in securing financial investment essential for their economic stability.¹³ Meanwhile, governments encouraged the elimination of urban blight, making way for extractive policies like eminent domain,¹⁴ tax foreclosures, and evictions, robbing many Black families of economic security and their own futures.¹⁵

Decades of discriminatory zoning practices, federal discrimination, and historic disinvestment in communities of color have also led to large disparities in neighborhood housing quality and disproportionate exposure of Black and Brown communities to climate-related disasters, environmental pollution, and co-location to toxic waste sites. In neighborhoods across the country, local governments conspired with businesses to locate polluting operations—roadways, highways, industrial plants—in redlined communities. As a result, Black, Brown, and Indigenous people are more likely to be affected by health hazards such as the inability to regulate temperature and greater exposure to noxious pollutants and allergens (lead, smog, dust mites). These hazards can have immense negative health impacts, particularly on children, and have contributed to higher rates of Covid-19 infection and death in these same communities.¹⁶ A recent study found that groups residing in formerly redlined areas live with more pollutants from cars, trucks, buses, coal plants and other nearby industrial sources than neighborhoods that were graded “best” by Home Owners’ Loan Corporation (HOLC) maps.¹⁷

Today, Black people are 75 percent more likely to live near waste-producing facilities, while the US Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) owns, operates, or subsidizes 18,158 properties located within one mile of Superfund sites, with the majority of HUD tenants being people of color.¹⁸ Residential segregation is also closely related to food access, nutrition, and health. Even when adjusting for individual education, income, and employment status, people living in racially and economically segregated neighborhoods have higher instances of heart disease.¹⁹

1887

Dawes Act

The US government seized two-thirds of remaining sovereign Indigenous lands and forcibly converted those tribal lands into small, individually owned lots redistributed to white Americans.

1935-1939

Home Owners’ Loan Corporation underwriting

The US government seized two-thirds of remaining sovereign Indigenous lands and forcibly converted those tribal lands into small, individually owned lots redistributed to white Americans.

1944

GI Bill

This federal legislation secured housing and generational wealth for white American veterans, but allowed banks to discriminate against Black veterans and deny them home loans.

1956

Federal-Aid Highway Act

This legislation authorized the construction of highways throughout the nation, many of which were purposefully directed through Black and Brown communities and facilitated the theft of homes and land through eminent domain.²¹

1830

Indian Removal Act

The US government forcibly relocated Indigenous people in the United States to make room for white European settlement.

1934

Creation of the Federal Housing Administration (FHA)

The FHA established the foundation for federal housing discrimination for decades to come, institutionalizing divestment and redlining in Black and Brown communities while systematically privileging white communities with mortgages and suburban development.

1949

Housing Act of 1949

This act funded the demolition of disinvested neighborhoods under the guise of revitalization, ushering in the urban renewal era in which predominantly Black and Brown neighborhoods were destroyed.

Further, the historical practices of segregation, disinvestment, and the devaluation of Black and Brown communities created the conditions for the proliferation of predatory lending schemes in the early 2000s.²⁰ For many Black and Brown homeowners, these schemes were a precursor to disaster and many would lose their homes during the nation's foreclosure crisis and recession in 2008, leading to millions of dollars in generational wealth being lost. Conversely, what Black, Indigenous, and people of color lost through exclusion and segregation, white people gained via a long history of policies designed for them to accumulate wealth, passed on between generations through housing.

Today, under constant threat of displacement from their homes—and often preoccupied with financially surviving the next day, week, or month—Black, Brown, and Indigenous families are often denied the opportunity to dream about and plan for their futures. A few key examples of historical and ongoing mechanisms of spatial injustice are provided below—acts of exclusion, dispossession, and erasure that have limited not only physical spaces, but also intergenerational possibilities, for these communities. While this list is far from exhaustive, it serves as a critical cartography of the major eras of displacement, disenfranchisement, and denial of generational wealth in this country.

Gaps in Land Access and Usage

Current land usage in the US, the history of who has owned the land, and who continues to enjoy access to it have deep implications for the future of everyone living in the US, and especially people who have been systematically denied access to land or property. Land accessibility and rights are also a critical global priority, and the United Nations Human Rights Commission has identified land as a key foundation for the realization of human rights.²² As a report by the International Land Coalition emphasizes, there are interconnected, “social, economic, environmental and political consequences of land inequality.”²³ Forces such as climate change, rapid urbanization, socioeconomic polarization, displacement, and conflict continue to affect the ability for land to be effectively utilized for the aforementioned human rights goals.²⁴ International perspectives on land usage specifically highlight challenges in post-conflict land transactions, climate change resettlement, and land access for marginalized groups, such as women.²⁵

In the US, dominant narratives related to land access center on the utilization of land for farming or agricultural purposes.²⁶ Perspectives on housing or residential uses for land are frequently mired in debates about regulations, zoning, and the ever-increasing cost of land and housing prices, reinforcing a distinct scarcity model.²⁷ There are continued references in the literature, however, to the historic, cultural, and metaphysical ties to land for people, which prompt scholars to go beyond preconceived notions of the meaning and value of land, especially in relation to humanity.²⁸ Further, some scholars have advanced theoretical frameworks that rationalize the processes of spatial production by identifying how sociopolitical forces like race influence land use decisions.²⁹

How Land Is Utilized Now

According to a 2017 study conducted by the US Department of Agriculture's Economic Research Service, nearly three-quarters (74 percent) of the 2.3 billion acres that the US occupies is used for grassland pasture, rangeland, forest-use land, and cropland.³⁰ Comparatively, urban land area comprises just 3 percent of overall land use.³¹ Land usage also varies by region because of variations in environmental and climate factors and differences in regulation, topography, and population. Additionally, almost 60 percent of land in the US is privately owned whereas only 36 percent of land is owned by federal, state, or local governments. Only 3 percent of US land is owned by the Bureau of Indian Affairs.³²

The ownership of land has and continues to be dictated by the interests of a small number of landowners, rather than the interests and needs of communities or those who occupy the land. This owner-tenant power imbalance has affected various aspects of daily life for those who occupy the land, but do not exert legal control or ownership over it.³³ Specifically, literature regarding land use and housing largely focuses on regulatory actions that drive market prices of land and, in turn, housing and segregation patterns.³⁴ For example, a 2021 study evaluating the ways that concentrated land ownership in New York City affected rent prices found that a 10 percent increase in ownership concentration in a census tract was associated with a one percent increase in rent.³⁵ Other studies have shown how monopolized land ownership exacerbates housing costs, as a small group of powerful private owners treat land and housing exclusively as profit-producing commodities.^{36, 37} Addressing this challenge demands reckoning with the historical and cultural legacies of land dispossession, inaccessibility, and theft in the United States that undergird modern property ownership power dynamics.³⁸

Indigenous Land Theft and Black Land Dispossession

It is important to understand the magnitude of land dispossession that Indigenous nations and Black communities have experienced. Indigenous nations were dispossessed of 98.9 percent of their land, and over 40 percent of known Indigenous nations have no recognized land base.³⁹ Land dispossession for Black Americans began immediately following the Civil War and during Reconstruction. Reconstruction Era reparations policies that aimed to alleviate a looming hardship for the millions of newly freed Black southerners failed as soon as federal legislative actions were steered to benefit white men, and frequently, white Confederate landowners as "reparations for their losses."⁴⁰ Later, Black land dispossession continued: between 1910 and 1997, Black farmers in the US lost an estimated 90 percent of the 16 million acres of land they owned in 1910, representing a value loss of approximately \$329 billion.⁴¹

Land loss and dispossession among Black, Indigenous, and people of color reflect different historical contexts, and it's important to recognize this when considering the specific modes of racialization that impact these different communities. For Indigenous peoples, land dispossession is not just about land, but has contributed to and compounded the erasure of Indigenous language, culture, and sovereignty. Ultimately, the intergenerational loss of land, the historical trauma of forced dispossession, and the loss of highly revered cultural, ancestral, historic, spiritual, and economically valued land has had dramatic effects on the psyches of Black and Indigenous people. This is especially true as both Indigenous lands and majority-Black residential lands are more likely to face the harmful effects of the climate crisis, which has led to a continued loss of land and property.⁴²

Today, these spatially marginalized communities continue to suffer from systemic inequities. They face not only discriminatory public and private development policies, but also unequal access to fair mortgage lending, unfair and wealth-stripping tax property over-assessments, and inequitable distribution of recovery assistance in the aftermath of natural disasters. The following statistics illustrate the ongoing, cumulative impact of public policy and private practices engineered to disenfranchise Black, Brown, and Indigenous communities.

Between 1934 and 1962, the federal government backed \$120 billion in home loans. More than 98 percent were granted to white Americans.⁴³

A study covering 118 million US homes found that Black and Latinx residents face a 10–13 percent higher tax burden for the same bundle of public services, resulting in a differential tax burden of an extra \$300–\$390 per household annually.⁴⁴

The devaluation of homes in majority-Black neighborhoods penalizes homeowners in Black neighborhoods by an average of \$48,000 per home, amounting to \$156 billion in cumulative losses.⁴⁵

In 2020, the homeownership rate for white Americans was 72 percent, compared to 42 percent for Black Americans, 48 percent for Latinx people, and 58 percent for Native Americans.⁴⁶

In 2020, 56 percent of Black renter households were housing cost-burdened, meaning they spent more than 30 percent of their income on housing costs, compared to 45 percent of white renter households.⁴⁷

A study of the impacts of natural hazards on wealth inequality showed that in counties with extensive hazard damages of at least \$10 billion from 1999 to 2013, white households gained \$126,000 in wealth, on average. By comparison, Black households lost an average of \$27,000 in wealth and Latinx households lost \$29,000.⁴⁸

The Covid-19 pandemic, and the underlying inequities that were exacerbated as a result, caused over five million households, 65 percent of whom are people of color, to fall behind on rent and at risk of eviction.⁴⁹

What these statistics do not capture is the multitude of spatial futures that have been lost through the persistent denial of Black, Brown, and Indigenous communities' rights to shape the spaces around them according to their own dreams and desires.

Psychological Impacts of Spatial Injustice

The ongoing US housing crisis has led many researchers to evaluate the psychological impacts of housing insecurity on people at risk of losing their homes and their ties to place. The literature has widely identified that evictions, or forced moves, lead to significant negative mental health effects such as depression, anxiety, psychological distress, and even suicide.⁵⁰ These mental health impacts have been found to last for years after the initial eviction filing.⁵¹ Some scholars have examined the distinct effects felt by specific racial groups in various locations; for example, a study of eviction filings in Memphis, Tennessee, found that poor mental health was linked to higher eviction filing rates in majority Black neighborhoods, but the same pattern was not observed in majority white or racially diverse neighborhoods.⁵² Finally, the literature on the psychological impacts of housing insecurity mostly observes the ways racially motivated policies—such as redlining, segregation, and lending discrimination—intersect with existing spatial inequalities, resulting in disparate mental health outcomes among various demographic groups.⁵³

Laying the Groundwork for Repair

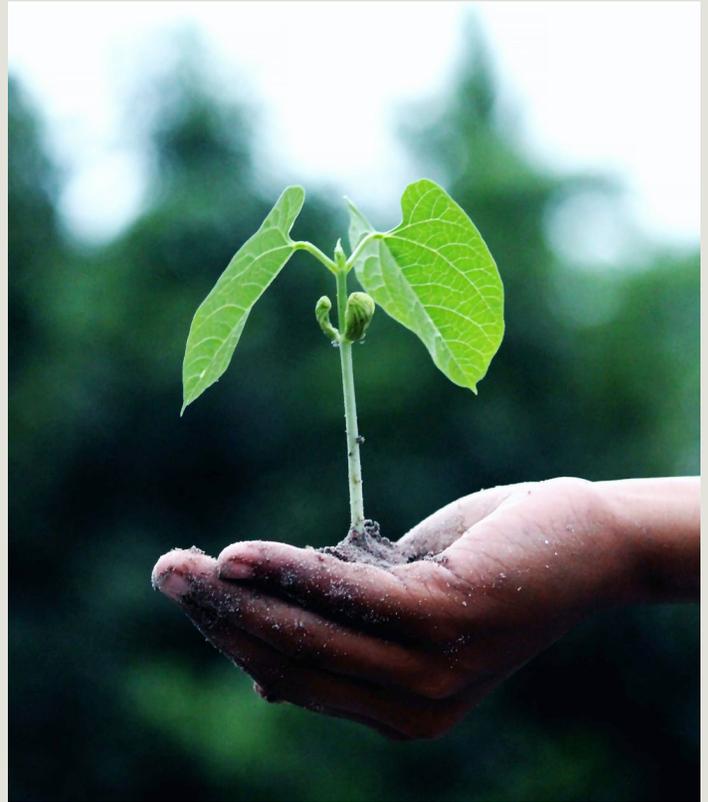


Photo by Akil Mazumder

Reparative Frameworks for Addressing Spatialized Racism

Addressing spatialized racism requires an unflinching commitment to a reparative framework. Dr. Michael McAfee’s insightful observation that it is “difficult to achieve results at scale when past wrongs have not been righted” encapsulates the essence of this approach. He advocates for reparations as a means to evolve our collective consciousness from mere charitable actions to true liberation.⁵⁴ This sentiment aligns with the findings of a 2021 policy brief from the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation which urges the establishment of a Presidential Commission on reparations to address and redress discriminatory federal housing policies that have historically restricted African Americans’ access to housing and opportunities.⁵⁵

Further emphasizing this need, the National African American Reparations Commission advocates for investing in spatial reparations, which they define as creating a geography that is both restorative and reparative in offering socioeconomic and political opportunities, particularly to those affected by American slavery and their descendants.⁵⁶ The Homes Guarantee Briefing Book takes this a step further by suggesting that a reparative framework should begin with a quantification of the losses

suffered by Black and Brown families due to a history marred by the genocide and removal of Native Americans, chattel slavery, Jim Crow-era state-sanctioned terrorism, and the denial of wealth-building opportunities through redlining, deed restrictions, and urban renewal.⁵⁷

The Covid-19 pandemic starkly highlighted the urgency for innovative approaches in housing justice. Designing solutions that tackle the root causes of systemic racial inequities will require adopting an ethical stance that encompasses reckoning, repair, healing, transformation, and equity. Imagine the possibilities if state and local governments, in partnership with community organizations, housing activists, policymakers, and private sector allies, were to amplify and replicate existing models that effectively address historic and ongoing housing discrimination and spatial injustice. Such collaborative efforts, blending public policy initiatives with grassroots activism and private sector engagement, hold immense potential to generate a wide-reaching, inclusive impact. This multistakeholder approach promises to create equitable housing landscapes for those communities that have long been marginalized and denied access to fundamental housing opportunities.

Definitions and Components

Across the many definitions of reparations and reparative justice, the following themes emerged as key components, each representing a fundamental aspect of the reparative process.⁵⁸

- 1. Recognition or acknowledgment of harms (repairing relationships)** involves openly acknowledging the historical and ongoing harms caused by spatialized racism, which is crucial in mending the fractured relationships between communities and the institutions that have perpetuated these injustices.
- 2. Reckoning (understanding why and how)** delves into a deep understanding of the causes and mechanisms of spatial injustice, unraveling the complex web of historical and systemic factors that have led to current disparities.
- 3. Guarantees of non-repetition (accountability)** entails a commitment to prevent the recurrence of past injustices, which requires systemic changes and robust accountability mechanisms.
- 4. Restitution, redress, and repatriation (amends)** involves tangible steps toward making amends, which can include financial compensation, land return, policy reforms, and other forms of redress aimed at rectifying past wrongs.

Reparative justice also serves as a vehicle through which people can imagine a different future for themselves and their community. For example, the Sogorea Te' Land Trust, an Indigenous women-led nonprofit leading land rematriation projects, envisions futures for all peoples living in respectful coexistence with Ohlone stewards. Sogorea Te' envisions places where neighborhood residents can build reciprocal relationships with the land and with each other. Reparations are efforts through which people can disrupt the colonial construction of place-as-property, and put forth meanings of land that extend beyond the spatial constructs of private property and the temporal frame of settler colonialism.⁵⁹

Key Frameworks

In addition to these components, five frameworks for reparations and reparative justice as applied to spatial injustice emerged: Economic Justice Approach, Reparative Urban Planning, Abolitionist Approach, Land Sovereignty and Indigenous Movements, and Collective Land Stewardship.

Economic Justice Approach

This framework focuses on the restoration of assets and resources to communities that have endured generational harm. It seeks to address the economic underpinnings of spatial inequities, advocating for financial restitution and economic empowerment of affected communities.⁶⁰ Some scholars argue that “focusing on the wealth gap as a target is advantageous because it captures, better than any other disparity, the cumulative disadvantages forced upon the present generation.”⁶¹ Therefore, it can be viewed as “embodying all of the effects of past atrocities of colonial slavery, U.S. slavery, post-Civil War massacres, Jim Crow discrimination, New Deal discrimination, segregation during World War II, post-War discrimination, and post-Civil Rights discrimination.”⁶² Prominent reparations scholars view the racial wealth gap as the “most robust indicator of the cumulative economic effects of white supremacy in the United States.”⁶³

Researchers have used many different approaches to calculate the economic cost of reparations, such as land-based, price-based, and wage-based estimates. Each method considers different factors, ranging from compounding the value of “40 acres and a mule,” to estimating the enslaved labor force’s cumulative wages over the period of enslavement—and results in estimates valued at the trillions of dollars. Craemer et al. suggest that the racial wealth gap between Black and White households in the US serves as a conservative measure for calculating the need for (or success of) reparations, which amounted to an average of \$795,500 per household in 2016.⁶⁴

Another proposed reference point for reparations, and targeted investments in Black homeownership, is the amount of money the federal government invested in white homeownership and wealth from 1933 until 1962, after President Franklin Delano Roosevelt signed the Home Owners’ Loan Act and the National Housing Act (\$120 billion in 1950s dollars, or more than \$1.239 quintillion in 2019 dollars).⁶⁵ Examples of these investments include assistance for Black homebuyers and housing revitalization grants for Black homeowners whose neighborhoods have suffered from underinvestment. In acknowledging the injustices of predatory lending, low- and fixed-interest rate mortgages and property tax caps in areas where housing prices are significantly devalued should also be considered as a part of any economic reparations package. After accounting for factors such as housing quality, neighborhood quality, education, and crime, owner-occupied homes in Black neighborhoods are undervalued by \$48,000 per home on average, amounting to \$156 billion that homeowners would have received if their homes were priced at market rates, according to Brookings research.⁶⁶

Reparative Urban Planning

Reparative urban planning aims to transform city and town planning processes to prioritize the voices and needs of those most impacted by spatial injustice. This framework involves redistributing decision-making power to communities affected by the inequitable distribution of public services and resources.⁶⁷ Much of this work has been advanced by grassroots and community-led organizations, who have worked through political education and community organizing to better understand planning processes in order to intervene and change them. This shift in power necessitates a relearning process for government actors, challenging them to abandon harmful practices and beliefs, particularly around community participation and consent, and to collectively envision oppression-free communities. One example of a local government attempting to pursue reparative planning is Boston, Massachusetts, where years of cross-sector grassroots organizing resulted in the 2021 passage of Article 80. In an effort to advance housing and planning policies that promote equity and decrease displacement, this municipal policy fuses fair housing and zoning regulations and requires large projects undergoing review by the Boston Planning & Development Agency to consider impacts on area residents who have been historically discriminated against.⁶⁸

Another reparative approach to planning is to intentionally reframe urban problems, not as the disadvantages found in communities of color but as the need to produce beneficial outcomes for all. For instance, planners should look beyond the traditional planning metrics that are “very good at prescribing the death of Black communities rather than the possibilities for Black life” to recognize new ways of seeing and understanding spaces.⁶⁹ Reparative planning requires the general discourse to shift from problematizing Black communities to explicitly focusing on the significant challenges of opportunity hoarding, racial animus, and discrimination that are endemic to exclusionary white communities.⁷⁰

The Black community in Los Angeles’s Crenshaw neighborhood is shifting narratives and centering Blackness through a community and economic development project led by Destination Crenshaw, which seeks to transform Crenshaw Boulevard into acres of cultural open spaces that will dramatically repair, revitalize, and sustain the historically disinvested neighborhood through the elevation of Black art and culture.⁷¹



Photo by RDNE Stock Project

Abolitionist Approach

This framework advocates for dismantling harmful systems and practices within housing policies, such as those rooted in punitive measures and policing. It promotes the creation of alternative systems centered on care, and meeting basic needs for shelter and safety.⁷² Rooted in the abolitionist movement, this framework seeks to deconstruct oppressive systems and structures that perpetuate housing inequality. It centers the dismantling of racial capitalism and decommodification by way of “resistance to organized abandonment.”⁷³ Abandonment refers to the withdrawal of state responsibility for the basic needs of its citizens, from jobs, schools, social services, and community resources. In this way, abolitionist practice can be described as the effort to resist abandonment by “seeking liberated life-ways through a commitment to radical place-making.”⁷⁴

Given the ways in which housing is becoming increasingly entangled with broader global financial markets, some scholars suggest that in order to subvert the relationship between housing and racial capitalism, actions must be taken to decommodify housing, or diminish the impact of market pressure on housing.⁷⁵ Proponents of this strategy call for removing housing from the speculative real estate market so that it can be treated as a basic human need, rather than a privilege or asset. In practice, this means embracing ownership models beyond traditional single-family homeownership, and advancing models like community land trusts, limited equity tenant cooperatives, and land banks. Furthermore, there is a need to reinforce pre-existing models of decommodified housing by reinvesting in the repair and long-term sustainability of America’s public housing system, and expanding and strengthening social housing programs.⁷⁶

Another pathway toward decommodification proposed by legal scholars in New York is the application of the public trust doctrine, which is inspired by English common law principles. The public trust doctrine is “based on an understanding that there are certain resources that are too fundamental to be individually appropriated and hoarded.”⁷⁷ A strong example of its application is through the New York City parks system, which sets aside public land in the form of parks for the well-being and enjoyment of all residents. Some legal scholars are calling for an expanded utilization of the public trust doctrine—replacing the public infrastructure benefit of parks with housing. In this way, publicly owned land can be dedicated to decommodified housing models that can decrease racial housing inequities, rather than the more common mechanism of granting land to private actors for private development.⁷⁸ This application of

the doctrine would be reparative in nature, as it “is rooted in accountability to the communities that have been historically harmed by state-sponsored development and systemic racism.”⁷⁹



Photo by Jeswin Thomas

Land Sovereignty and Indigenous Movements

Emerging from Indigenous-led activism, land back movements are environmental, cultural, and political movements that call for the return of land to Indigenous communities so that they may reestablish reciprocal relationships with the land.⁸⁰ Land back “can refer to language revitalization, repatriation efforts, stewardship of ancestral lands, waters, foods and cultures... [and] centers Indigenous self-determination and sovereignty, with the understanding that connection to ancestral land is directly related to cultural revitalization, consent, health, and community well-being.”⁸¹ Within the housing context, land back movements envision Indigenous sovereignty over land and resources, including the right to develop land and housing initiatives through practices that align with cultural and communal needs. Related to land back movements are land repatriation efforts, which center “Indigenous women-led work to restore sacred relationships between Indigenous people and our ancestral land, honoring our matrilineal societies, and in opposition of patriarchal violence and dynamics.”⁸²

Recognizing that there are a breadth of land back campaigns taking place across geographies, the NDN Collective was created to bring unity and cohesion across the field and be a policy, strategy, and narrative home for the land back movement. The NDN Collective acts as a grassroots intermediary by uplifting the intersections of land back movements to climate and racial equity work, and providing a narrative framework that the entire field can support. This narrative is built upon three pillars: defend (defending against resource extraction), develop (developing Indigenous communities in regenerative and sustainable ways), and decolonize (decolonizing people and communities through revitalization of Indigenous culture).⁸³ NDN Collective’s land back framework consists of four

demands: dismantling white supremacy, defunding white supremacy, returning Indigenous lands to Indigenous hands, and requiring consent when making decisions impacting Indigenous peoples.⁸⁴

Each of the identified frameworks offers a vital lens for dissecting the deep-seated roots of spatial inequity. They illuminate the complexities of policy approaches that have historically failed to confront these foundational issues. A critical aspect of these frameworks is their collective challenge to the established paradigms of property valuation and urban segregation. These practices have long perpetuated housing disparities by bolstering advantages for wealthier, predominantly white communities, thereby protecting and enhancing their assets. This systemic bias is further entrenched by the commodification of land and property and the associated legal and policy mechanisms designed to favor wealth extraction from racialized groups, prioritizing wealth creation and income generation for a select few over equitable access to housing and land for all.

Collective Land Stewardship

Many contemporary policies take a reparative angle by integrating reimagined governance structures in land ownership and tenure that previously undermined the power of Black and Indigenous groups to direct their futures. One example of this is New Communities Inc. in Albany, Georgia, a Black land collective that sits on land that formerly held one of the largest plantations in Georgia.⁸⁵ At one point, New Communities Inc. owned almost 6,000 acres that supported 500 families from 1969 to 1985.⁸⁶ Their work laid the foundation for the community land trust model, which has since grown into a robust movement. Another example is the Detroit Black Farmer Land Fund, a “coalition of 3 long-standing Detroit urban farming organizations on a collective mission to rebuild inter-generational land ownership for Black Farmers in Detroit.”⁸⁷ Together, their work has supported the development of infrastructure for 29 projects and the purchase of 10.4 acres of land in 2021 alone.⁸⁸

These successful endeavors for Black Americans echo many of the collective efforts that happened in the Deep South immediately after Emancipation. Formerly enslaved people from the Carolina Sea Islands, when they were gearing up to participate in the 1863 auction to purchase former plantation land, had very little capital to launch a competitive bid.⁸⁹ In order to have a chance at attaining this land, freedmen and women frequently pooled together their resources to collectively buy the land *and* buy the tools and equipment needed to live off the land.⁹⁰ As a result of

this work, 10 formerly enslaved people came together and made pre-emptive claims on land that previously functioned as a plantation. Five other freed people filed a claim for another plantation and even drafted corresponding maps to direct how they would divide the land among themselves.⁹¹ It is imperative to note that women frequently filed these claims for collective land ownership and also received land deeds in their names which was highly unheard of at the time, as even white women in South Carolina could not legally own property.⁹²

Another example of collective land ownership is the Sogorea Te' Land Trust, which has worked beyond addressing issues of land dispossession toward the decolonization of Indigenous land by “cultivating rematriation.”⁹³ Sogorea Te' has been able to steward several parcels of land across the East Bay region in California and in areas that are primarily home to low-income families of color. This is important because the spaces in which the Sogorea Te' Land trust operates bring forward unique lessons and understandings regarding what Margaret Ramírez identifies as the “complex entanglements of Indigenous, Black, and Latinx geographies to co-exist in these spaces/sites.”⁹⁴ Ramírez also notes that the Sogorea Te' Land Trust's successes are related to a lack of disruption from government officials.⁹⁵ In giving the land trust space to operate more freely, an opportunity has been created for them to foster these complex cultural entanglements and manage these spaces in a way that respects and reflects the diverse histories and needs of Indigenous, Black, and Latinx communities.

Photo by Kamaji Ogina



Toward a Definition of Reparative Spatial Justice

We see these frameworks as essential components of reparative spatial justice. Reparative spatial justice extends Edward Soja's formative work on spatial justice by weaving in elements of reparative justice. While Soja's work laid the groundwork by focusing on the equitable distribution and democratic control of resources in space, reparative spatial justice delves deeper into the intricate layers of historical and ongoing inequities, specifically addressing the unique challenges and systemic spatial injustices disproportionately faced by Black, Brown, and Indigenous communities.⁹⁶ This approach is intrinsically focused on healing and repairing the deep-seated wounds inflicted by practices such as land dispossession, environmental degradation, and other forms of spatial exploitation that are deeply entwined with the structures of racial capitalism. By reckoning with the historical context and ongoing impact of these injustices, reparative spatial justice strives not only to level the current playing field but also to actively repair the damages inflicted over generations.

Temporalities of Justice: Integrating Afrofuturism and Indigenous Futurisms into Spatial Justice Narratives

Our approach to reparative spatial justice is deeply rooted in the principles of Afrofuturism and enriched by the perspectives of Indigenous Futurisms. These frameworks collectively envision and seek to actualize new realities and futures where space itself is reimagined to foster agency, resilience, and restorative economies. This vision transcends the racial and class oppressions of both the past and present, utilizing the speculative and imaginative tools of Afrofuturism and Indigenous Futurisms to conceive new cartographies of justice and belonging.

Afrofuturism offers a unique toolbox of speculative thought and imaginative extrapolation, allowing us to draft new spatial blueprints that reject colonial imprints, and instead champion communal well-being, ecological sustainability, and narratives of liberation. Similarly, Indigenous Futurisms bring forth a powerful perspective that weaves in ancient wisdom and the richness of Indigenous cultures and knowledge systems. They imagine futures where Indigenous values and stewardship of land are central, creating spaces that honor ancestral ties and promote ecological harmony.

Together, these visionary approaches encourage a profound reimagining of spatial realities, fostering environments where communities that have faced historical marginalization can assert their narratives and shape their spaces. This integration is pivotal in conceptualizing reparative spatial justice as a holistic doctrine that intricately intertwines spatial and temporal dimensions. Reparative spatial justice goes beyond mere considerations of "what" and "where," diving deeper into understanding the "why" behind historical injustices and envisioning the "when" and "how" of a just future. It's not just about rectifying past wrongs, but also charting a future course that is intrinsically just and equitable. This temporal recalibration recognizes that both spatial justice and injustice extend across time. If historical inequities continue to produce many of our present-day challenges, then confronting those historical inequities can also create the conditions for more just futures.

At its core, reparative spatial justice doesn't just advocate for a redistribution of tangible assets; it champions a profound reimagining of our socio-spatial fabric. It aims to redistribute not just bricks and mortar, but also the intangible yet invaluable commodities of healing, growth, and well-being. This approach champions a future where spatial justice is achieved not only in physical terms but as a lived experience deeply ingrained in the cultural, spiritual, and ecological fabric of society.

Insights from the Field:

Research Findings by Social Insights



Photo by Barbara Olsen

Recognizing the rich diversity and multifaceted nature of the reparative spatial justice movement, the first step in the Spatial Futures Initiative was to map its current landscape. In spring 2023, a strategic partnership was formed with Social Insights, a women-of-color-led firm renowned for its innovative methodologies that decolonize evaluation and research. This firm, committed to empowering and prioritizing marginalized communities, played a pivotal role in shedding light on the multifaceted aspects of reparative spatial justice and spatial reparations.

The collaboration with Social Insights, led by researchers Melody Buyukozer Dawkins and Yopina G. Pertiwi, involved comprehensive focus groups and one-on-one interviews. In all, a total of 22 subject-matter experts and practitioners from across the United States were interviewed, each bringing a unique perspective to the table. These individuals represented a wide array of professional fields, ranging from community land trusts and affordable housing to urban planning, climate research, housing policy advocacy, and human rights law.

This research was designed as an exploratory study to understand diverse contexts, formulate actionable recommendations, and identify strategic pathways to achieve reparative spatial justice for communities historically subjected to displacement, disenfranchisement, redlining, and exclusion from equitable housing opportunities. It utilized a qualitative methodology including one-on-one semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions to gather nuanced insights. A total of 13 individual interviews and two focus group discussions were conducted, allowing for a deep and comprehensive exploration of the subject. The data gathered was subjected to thematic analysis, enabling the identification of key themes that surfaced during the discussions.

Throughout the research process, Social Insights and PolicyLink held regular discussions to interpret and understand key findings, engaging in several rounds of sensemaking. Significantly, our initial focus on spatial reparations evolved into a broader exploration of reparative spatial justice. This shift in focus reflects the dynamic and expansive nature of the movement and evolving understandings of its implications and strategies. The initial research, therefore, had a narrower lens, guided by pressing questions such as:

- What are spatial reparations? How and where should we start efforts for spatial reparations?
- What are the current practices, policies, and frameworks used in spatial reparations efforts?
- What are some of the considerations for a successful spatial reparations project?
- What is the future of spatial reparations?

The comprehensive synthesis of perspectives gathered by Social Insights has critically informed the strategic direction of the Spatial Futures Initiative. This section elucidates some of the key insights from the study and showcases the depth and breadth of understanding surrounding the concept of reparative spatial justice and spatial reparations. Social Insights employed a 5W+1H (What, Who, Why, Where, When, and How) analytical framework in analyzing the interviews, exploring the multifaceted dimensions of reparations and spatial reparations as perceived by subject-matter experts and practitioners.

This analytical approach delved into the essence and scope of reparations (“the what”), exploring the varied interpretations and definitions that experts and practitioners assign to this concept. It also scrutinized methods and strategies for enacting spatial reparations (“the how”), probing into the practical aspects of implementation. The research further examined the key stakeholders involved, identifying both the providers and the beneficiaries of reparations (“the who”), and pinpointing the geographical and community contexts where reparations efforts should be initiated (“the where”). The timing of these reparative processes (“the when”) was also a critical area of focus, reflecting on the pace and phases of implementation. Finally, the underlying motivations and justifications for spatial reparations (“the why”) were explored, highlighting the significance and impact of these efforts.

It is important to acknowledge that many participants in this study used the terms “spatial reparations” and “reparations” interchangeably, reflecting an understanding that spatial reparations are an integral component of the broader reparations movement, inseparable from the overarching goal of addressing historical injustices and inequities. This aspect is vividly captured in the summary of the interviews, illuminating the depth and complexity of the participants’ perspectives.

“I think it requires system-level change. That’s why I believe that reparation is for all of us as well. I think that if we do reparation right, it is a full sort of world-making project... That project is not just an economic project, but a cultural and political project as well, that, like we’re actually creating a world that doesn’t enable the kind of wealth hoarding that we see right now.”

— Focus Group Participant

The “What” of Spatial Reparations

While the term “spatial reparations” was not universally familiar, its thematic components—ranging from “reparations” to “reparative acts”—resonated with participants, albeit to varying degrees depending on the fields in which they worked. Notably, participants’ preference for alternative terms like “land justice” was often driven by the need to navigate contentious policy dialogues. Participants viewed the concept of “reparative spatial justice” in a holistic sense, seeing it as a pathway to “move Black people and society as a whole to collective well-being, better quality of life, and healing.”

Participants associated “spatial reparations” with terms such as time, space, healing, repair, equity, disgorgement, and repentance. One participant, referring to the concepts of Afrofuturism and Black Quantum Futurism,⁹⁷ associated “spatial” with both time and space. They posited that reparations could involve reclaiming pre-colonial ancestral and Indigenous practices to liberate communities from oppressive temporal structures, often referred to as the “master’s clock.” Another participant emphasized the transformative potential of reparations to establish new environments where marginalized individuals can access calm, peace, and safety—concepts historically alienated from their lived experiences.

The role of “healing” as an indispensable outcome of the reparations movement was a recurring theme, with “racial healing” cited as particularly crucial. The concept of “disgorgement,” or the restitution of ill-gotten gains, emerged as a form of economic justice, while “repentance” was brought up as a moral dimension, emphasizing not just repair but also the necessity for systemic change to prevent future harm.

“Well, I think it needs to be a little more holistic than just land or checks. And because the harm caused was intergenerational, the repair also needs to be intergenerational. So there needs to be an acknowledgment. There needs to be some compensation, and then there also needs to be an assurance that it doesn’t happen again, which in my mind happens in the form of policy. So it was policy that got us here, how do we create policy that sets Black folks up for success generations into the future?”

— Focus Group Participant

See how Evanston, Illinois, is starting to answer “What” reparations means to their community through local reparations efforts supported through the [Restorative Housing Program](#).



Photo by RDNE Stock Project

The “Who” of Spatial Reparations

Participants acknowledged the complexity of identifying who would be eligible to receive reparations. While there was a general agreement on the need to quantify the cost and delineate specific forms of reparations, a nuanced discussion emerged on extending the scope beyond the descendants of enslaved people. Some participants asserted that the broader Black community has faced subsequent historical injustices—from Jim Crow laws to housing discrimination and the exclusionary GI Bill—and should also be eligible for reparative acts.

There was also an insightful dialogue on the imperative of building solidarity among disenfranchised groups. Participants warned against the divisive tactics of antireparations movements, which often pit marginalized communities against one another, perpetuating a mindset of scarcity and competition instead of fostering unity and abundance.

A common thread was the call for unity within the Black community and a commitment to solidarity with other marginalized communities. Participants highlighted the distinctiveness of reparations owed to different communities, underscoring that while there may be common struggles, the nature and form of reparations would differ. For instance, Indigenous communities were robbed of and displaced from their ancestral lands, whereas Black communities have faced the dispossession of lands they worked on and/or purchased. Moreover, some participants noted that Indigenous communities have, albeit limited, sovereign governments and reservations, a form of autonomy that Black communities in the US currently lack.

On the question of “who” owes or provides spatial reparations, some advocated for federal government intervention as the most legitimate source of reparative acts, while others championed grassroots initiatives to tailor reparative efforts to specific community needs. Overall, the discussion emphasized that reparations cannot be a one-size-fits-all approach, but must be customized to address the unique historical and contemporary injustices each community has endured.

“I think that we have to have really deep solidarity with Indigenous communities and get asked that like, what about Indigenous communities? And our response is always, you know, we are focused on Black Americans, but we, of course, support the pursuit of reparation and repair for any community that has been [oppressed].”

— Focus Group Participant

Learn more about how St. Paul, Minnesota, is targeting [down payment assistance](#) to descendants of the Rondo neighborhood, which was a thriving African American community destroyed by the construction of Interstate 94.

The “How” of Spatial Reparations

Interviewees identified three key frameworks⁹⁸ as instrumental to justly and equitably implement reparative actions. First, the concept of harm repair views reparations from a restitution perspective and seeks to improve the lives of racially marginalized groups. Second, the concept of relationship repair focuses on reconciliation between groups of people to fix relationships damaged by centuries of injustice. The third concept identified is the constructive model, which focuses on building a fairer world.

In addition to these perspectives, participants called attention to the necessity of financial restitution specifically for Black Americans. Participants also made the argument that a holistic reparative approach requires a critique of racial capitalism as a socioeconomic system that facilitates the unethical accumulation, retention, and growth of wealth for white people. Participants raised the necessity of “historically-informed distributive justice,” which would prioritize future-focused economic transformation over mere retribution. A majority of participants saw the need to root systemic shifts and strategies in future-thinking.

“What about markets and capitalism requires dispossession? Specifically, what about them requires racialization? And if that is all true, that capitalism requires those things, then spatial reparations might not be about closing disparities or gaps within home ownership. It might be a conversation about decommodification, to modifying housing to be cooperative housing. It might be a community land trust. It might be any range of things that seek to challenge the place of the market in providing goods and services that should be guaranteed to everyone.”

— Focus Group Participant

See how Portland, Oregon, has started to answer “How” through their [preference policy](#) that aims to “address the harmful impacts of urban renewal by giving preference to housing applicants with generational ties to North/Northeast Portland.”

The “Why” of Spatial Reparations

For many participants in this qualitative study, the impetus for spatial reparations was straightforward, yet profound: as one put it, “to acknowledge and address historical harms that continue to oppress and marginalize individuals and communities, start a collective healing process, change our societal and cultural structures to build socioeconomically strong, healthy, and sustainable communities that support and depend on each other and protect and be better in tune with the environment.” This motivation lays the groundwork for a future with “the ability, capacity, and motivation for fairness and repair,” where “joy is not a luxury, but a reality that is celebrated daily.”

“I think it would mean living in a world that is repair literate, where we understand both the need and have the capabilities, skills, and the motivation to repair harm whatever its cost. And I think that it’s a world where everyone feels like they belong, where all of our multitudes are seen and held and respected, and where we actually have a true multiracial democracy where anti-Blackness is not embedded in our culture, and there is nothing in the way of people building solidarity and partnership across races.”

— Focus Group Participant

The “Where” of Spatial Reparations

Study participants offered two primary perspectives on the starting point for spatial reparations. Some advocated for federal-level action, while others preferred a multipronged, grassroots approach. For those who emphasized federal-level reparations, there was a nuanced understanding that such efforts should not be exclusively confined to that sphere. Proponents of a bottom-up, grassroots-focused strategy argued for the benefits of initiating reparations at a more localized scale, and how they could be more closely monitored and evaluated for impact.

The majority of participants, particularly those embracing a broader definition of reparations that includes various reparative acts, noted that these perspectives were not mutually exclusive. They contended that reparations should be pursued at community, local, state, and federal levels—and in concert with other parallel movements for social justice. They elevated the current momentum at the community and state levels, pointing out that these contexts offer a tailored approach to unique local needs and histories. In the event that the federal government would take up reparations, they expected federal support for enhancing community and state-level initiatives, rather than imposing a one-size-fits-all mandate. In sum, participants generally agreed that these diverse approaches should function as complementary interwoven movements, each amplifying the other.

“If we tried to spend a billion dollars forcing through a federal policy right now, and we were successful, I think that that policy would be very fragile because you need a culture change to accompany policy change in order for that policy change to be durable. That’s why I think it’s so important to have those grounds. Because that’s what actually changes people, hearts, minds, and culture along the way so that when the policy changes, people understand why it’s so needed, and aren’t susceptible to messages that we know come from our opposition about why it should be gutted.”

— Focus Group Participant

Learn more about how Louisville, Kentucky, identified their “Where” for the [REVERT Housing Trust Fund](#). REVERT HTF, which stands for Restoring Each Viable Economically Redlined Territory, “strives to provide homeownership opportunities for families disproportionately impacted by redlining in previously redlined neighborhoods.” Louisville Tenants Union (LTU) organizers have also been advancing the [Historically Black Neighborhoods Ordinance](#) to protect working-class residents of historically Black neighborhoods from displacement. This one-of-a-kind policy aims to prevent public funds from disrupting the lives of long-time residents and community members.

“There will be periods when there’ll be more interest in this kind of forward-thinking work. We know when we hit those kinds of periods, we have to take advantage of it, and really kind of move things forward as much as possible.”

— Focus Group Participant

The “When” of Spatial Reparations

When it comes to the timing of reparations, interview participants had two distinct perspectives. First, they consistently acknowledged that grassroots movements, activists, practitioners, and policymakers are already engaged in reparative initiatives. This viewpoint emphasized the work of repair as an ongoing process that encompasses a multitude of efforts across different sectors and scales.

Second, they noted the strategic importance of “opportunity windows,” when conditions are ripe for action and progress at the federal level. These are instances when a problem gains recognition, a solution is at hand, and the political landscape is conducive for change—all converging simultaneously.⁹⁹ The uprisings for racial justice that erupted in the wake of George Floyd’s murder in 2020 were cited as emblematic of such an opportunity window, which led to a period of heightened funding and broader support for Black movements.

Participants underscored the often fleeting and narrow nature of these windows of opportunity. They acknowledged that harnessing these moments requires significant preparatory work and the fortification of solidarity among different groups to be able to act swiftly when such opportunities arise. Furthermore, participants cautioned that these windows can close as quickly as they open, potentially triggering a backlash that might undermine progress or result in the revocation of rights. For this reason, they stressed the importance of preparedness and sustained solidarity to safeguard the gains that may be achieved during these pivotal moments.



Source: Graphic created by Social Insights, Melody Buyukozer Dawkins and Yopina G. Pertiwi, “Spatial Reparations, Housing Abolition, and Land Restitution” (Social Insights Report for PolicyLink, 2023).

Mapping Our Future Directions

“For a reparations-related project, I think what’s really important is determining what the compensation looks like. You have to have people that were subject to the specific area of harm. So it can’t just be practitioners or scholars or academics. If we are talking about how we compensate folks, we need to have those people in the conversation, and it can’t just be in an outreach way. They need an official role in the process... A person who hasn’t lost their home should not be able to determine what making someone whole who has lost their home looks like.”

—Focus Group Participant

Photo by RDNE Stock Project



The Social Insights research and recommendations, combined with our extensive literature review and ongoing dialogues in the field, have helped shape a roadmap for the evolution of the Spatial Futures Initiative. These next steps for the initiative encompass a comprehensive guide to support our goals in advancing reparative spatial justice.

Integrating Lived Experience and Community Expertise

Central to our future research is the incorporation of lived experiences, especially those of individuals and communities who have faced the brunt of displacement, disenfranchisement, redlining, and other exclusionary housing and land policies. The involvement of Indigenous experts, whose perspectives have been historically overlooked, is crucial for comprehensively addressing spatial injustices. Further, exploring the nexus between liberation and reparations, and widening the scope of institutional accountability (to include, for example, churches, universities, and medical systems), are critical for developing comprehensive and equitable solutions. Investigating the roles of educational and cultural institutions and the implications of private versus public ownership models will also help to unveil and address the structural racism embedded in housing and land use policies.

Catalyzing Collective Action and Building Coalitions

We are committed to establishing collaborative spaces where practitioners, activists, and scholars can come together to shape the future of reparative spatial justice while emphasizing coalition-building and nurturing deep, cross-movement solidarity. Prioritizing the mental health and emotional well-being of those involved in this challenging work is fundamental. In our planning and decision-making, we insist on the inclusion and leadership of those most directly impacted by historical and ongoing injustices. Advancing public advocacy and fostering persuasive discourse is key to resonating with broader audiences and garnering widespread support.

Elevating Community-Driven Approaches

Reparative spatial justice initiatives are not merely consultative but transformative, reflecting the insights and aspirations of entire communities. This approach ensures genuine power building and community ownership, moving beyond the tokenistic inclusion of community representatives.

Exposing and Addressing Systemic Inequities

Through our research, we aim to expose and scrutinize current policies and practices that perpetuate wealth stripping and displacement in Black, Indigenous, and Brown communities. We focus on racial inequities inherent in housing and land use policies that continue to drive displacement. By generating actionable recommendations for policy and systems change, we aim to align with a “reckon, repair, transform” framework, providing pathways for immediate action.

Elevating Conversations and Supporting Change Makers

Our goal is to elevate these recommendations to the forefront of public debate, supporting campaigns, policymakers, and communities actively pursuing these strategies. By convening a network of advocates, organizers, and community leaders, we nurture the growing movement for reparative spatial justice.

Rewiring Investments for Reparative Spatial Futures

The Spatial Futures Initiative seeks to redirect federal, state, and local investments toward repairing past harms. Our research and strategies aim to provide key insights to support the reparative spatial justice movement, equipping stakeholders with innovative approaches for achieving housing justice and equity at scale. We are focused on reshaping tax, subsidy, and finance policies to promote community land ownership and equitable development within the framework of reparative spatial justice.

Engaging Stakeholders Across the Spectrum

We strive to engage stakeholders at various levels in this movement, from community members to market actors. Our goal is to shape a market that supports equitable development and land use, ensuring that the benefits of reparations, land stewardship, and equitable housing are widely accessible and impactful for all. We view reparative spatial justice as an expansive framework that can unite diverse movements and galvanize collective action toward systemic change related to housing, land use, and our collective relationship to space itself.

The Spatial Futures Initiative invites and encourages active participation and support in this transformative journey. It aims to provide a blueprint for collective action, to dismantle the structural drivers of racial segregation, displacement, and asset stripping. The Spatial Futures Initiative envisions a future where spatial justice is not just an idea, but a lived reality, firmly rooted in place and time. Our commitment is to a future where Black, Brown, and Indigenous communities not only thrive but also reclaim their connections to the land, establishing safe and stable places to call home. Join us as we lay the groundwork for a future where justice is not just envisioned but embodied in every space and place.

Reflections:

What Does Reparative Spatial Justice Mean to You?



Photo by RDNE Stock Project

“This is a practice of creating space and constantly thinking of ways to dismantle the master’s clock we are on, you know, a colonial clock. All of our work is within the construct of this clock. This clock is not native to our practice, our cultural practices, so it’s forcing us to abandon our Indigenous practices, our Native practices of being in harmony with nature. And so there’s this huge cultural erasure and harm that’s occurring continuously. So then I think of spatial reparations and identifying pathways to get off the master’s clock... Where do these spaces exist that are outside of the master’s clock? And if they don’t exist, how can they be created? And how can I insist? I insist on the creation of those spaces.”

—Focus Group Participant

Through the Spatial Futures Initiative, we are collectively exploring the question, **What can our futures look like when space is restructured toward repair and justice?**

For this endeavor to succeed, it needs your experience, brilliance, and visions for the future. As we continue to learn and reflect with community members, leaders, advocates, and organizers around the country on what reparative spatial justice means to us, our work, and future generations, we encourage you to do the same. Taking the time to define what reparative spatial justice means for you will help guide all of our steps toward building reparative land and housing futures.

Please utilize this space to draw, doodle, or reflect on the following questions on what reparative spatial justice means to you. Feel free to share your reflections with us at housing-team@policylink.org!

What is your definition of reparative spatial justice?

How would future generations benefit from your vision of reparative spatial justice?

What would reparative spatial justice in your community look, feel, or smell like?

How do you plan to pursue reparative spatial justice in your daily life? In your work? With your community?

What harms from the past would be healed? What does that healing look like in your community?

How does your vision for reparative spatial justice reflect you, your identities, or community?

Choose one word that describes this reparative future. Why did you choose that word? What does it mean to you?

Resources

Books

- “The Black Reparations Project: A Handbook for Racial Justice” by William Darity Jr., A. Kirsten Mullen, and Lucas Hubbard
- “Colonial Lives of Property: Law, Land, and Racial Regimes of Ownership” by Brenna Bhandar
- “Fictions of Land and Flesh: Blackness, Indigeneity, Speculation” by Mark Rifkin
- “Race for Profit: How Banks and the Real Estate Industry Undermined Black Homeownership” by Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor
- “Reconsidering Reparations” by Olúfẹ́mi O. Táíwò
- “Theft Is Property! Dispossession and Critical Theory” by Robert Nichols
- “Toxic Communities: Environmental Racism, Industrial Pollution, and Residential Mobility” by Dorceta E. Taylor
- “Urban Alchemy: Restoring Joy in America’s Sorted-Out Cities” by Mindy Thompson Fullilove

Media

- “Afrofuturism and Housing Justice with Rasheedah Phillips,” <https://radicalimagination.us/episodes/afrofuturism-housing>
- “Land Back: Angela Glover Blackwell in conversation with Clyde Prout III, chairman of the Colfax Todd’s Valley Consolidated Tribe in California and Jeff Darlington, the director of the Placer Land Trust,” <https://radicalimagination.us/episodes/land-back>
- “Land Justice with Kavon Ward,” <https://radicalimagination.us/episodes/land-justice>
- “Realizing Spatial Reparations with Rasheedah Phillips,” <https://radicalimagination.us/episodes/spatial-justice>
- “Reparations with Melisande Short-Colomb and Ana Lucia Araujo,” <https://radicalimagination.us/episodes/reparations>

Organizations

- [First Repair](#) – A not-for-profit working nationally to educate and equip leaders, stakeholders, and allies who are advancing local reparations policies that remedy historic and ongoing anti-Black practices.
- [Liberation Ventures](#) – Dedicated to accelerating the Black-led movement for racial repair in the US by supporting organizations across the country that are building momentum toward federal reparations.
- [NDN Collective](#) – NDN Collective is an Indigenous-led organization dedicated to building Indigenous power. Their LANDBACK campaign is a multipronged effort to get Indigenous lands back into Indigenous hands and achieve justice for Indigenous people.
- [National African American Reparations Commission](#) – NAARC is a group of distinguished professionals with a common commitment to fight for reparatory justice, compensation, and restoration of African American communities that were plundered by the historical crimes of slavery, segregation, and colonialism.
- [National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America](#) – N’COBRA is a mass-based organization dedicated to obtaining reparations for African descendants in the United States.
- [Redress Movement](#) – The Redress Movement is a Black-led organization committed to leading a multiracial movement that empowers communities to take direct action to redress racial segregation.
- [Sogorea Te’ Land Trust](#) – Sogorea Te’ Land Trust is an urban Indigenous women-led land trust that facilitates the return of Indigenous land to Indigenous people.
- [Sustainable Economies Law Center](#) – The Law Center supports and develops projects that redistribute wealth, democratize governance, and provide long-term stewardship over common resources.

Notes

- 1 Deonna Anderson, "These Indigenous Women Are Reclaiming Stolen Land in the Bay Area," *YES! Magazine*, April 30, 2019, <https://www.yesmagazine.org/social-justice/2019/04/30/indigenous-women-reclaim-stolen-land-california-bay-area>.
- 2 Joe Barrett, "Chicago Suburb Pays Reparations to Black Residents in a 'Test Run for the Whole Country,'" *Wall Street Journal*, July 10, 2023, sec. US, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/a-small-city-pays-reparations-in-a-test-run-for-the-whole-country-c1cb07fc>.
- 3 Nicholas Fandos, "House Panel Advances Bill to Study Reparations in Historic Vote," *The New York Times*, April 14, 2021, sec. U.S., <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/14/us/politics/reparations-slavery-house.html>.
- 4 Amie Thurber, Lisa Bates, and Susan Halverson, "Evaluating the N/NE Preference Policy," *School of Social Work Faculty Publications and Presentations*, January 1, 2021, https://pdxscholar.library.pdx.edu/socwork_fac/552.
- 5 For a brief history of early claims for reparation, see LesLeigh Ford and John Sankofa, "The Next Reconstruction: Examining the Call for a National Reparations Program," Urban Institute, (March 2023) <https://www.urban.org/sites/default/files/2023-03/The%20Next%20Reconstruction.pdf>.
- 6 Commission to Study and Develop Reparation Proposals for African Americans Act, H.R. 40, 118th Cong. (2023), <https://www.congress.gov/118/bills/hr40/BILLS-118hr40ih.pdf>.
- 7 U.S. Department of Transportation, "Reconnecting Communities and Neighborhoods Grant Program," accessed November 21, 2023, <https://www.transportation.gov/grants/rcnprogram>.
- 8 "Transforming the Sheridan Corridor," Pratt Center for Community Development, accessed November 21, 2023, https://prattcenter.net/our_work/transforming_the_sheridan_corridor; "Claiborne Corridor Cultural Innovation District," Ujamaa Economic Development Corporation, accessed November 21, 2023, <https://ujamaaedc.org/about/cultural-innovation-district/cid/>.
- 9 Cayenne Reynoso, "Creating the Space to Reimagine and Rematriate Beyond a Settler-Colonial Present: The Importance of Land Rematriation and "Land Back" for Non-Federally Recognized California Native Nations," (Thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 2022), ProQuest ID: Reynoso_ucla_0031N_21305. Merritt ID: ark:/13030/m5nw6t64. Retrieved from <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/0rm7g69d>.
- 10 Cedric J. Robinson, *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 2000).
- 11 Edward W. Soja, *Seeking Spatial Justice* (United Kingdom: University of Minnesota Press, 2013).
- 12 Justin Farrell et al., "Effects of Land Dispossession and Forced Migration on Indigenous Peoples in North America," *Science* 374, no. 6567 (October 29, 2021): eabe4943, <https://doi.org/10.1126/science.abe4943>.
- 13 Michael Jones-Correa, "The Origins and Diffusion of Racial Restrictive Covenants." *Political Science Quarterly* 115, no. 4 (2000): 541–68, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2657609>; Bruce Mitchell PhD., Senior Research Analyst and Juan Franco, Senior GIS Specialist, NCRC, "HOLC "Redlining" Maps: The Persistent Structure Of Segregation And Economic Inequality" (2018), <https://nrcr.org/holc/>.
- 14 Note: Eminent Domain is a legal principle that allows governments or authorized entities to expropriate private property for public use, typically with monetary compensation to the owner. In the context of reparative spatial justice, this practice is critically examined for its historical and ongoing disproportionate impacts on marginalized communities, resulting in high displacement and lack of proportionate compensation for property loss.
- 15 Jonathan Kaplan and Andrew Valls, "Housing Discrimination as a Basis for Black Reparations," *Public Affairs Quarterly* 21, no. 3 (2007): 255–73, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40441462>.
- 16 Min Li and Faxi Yuan, "Historical Redlining and Resident Exposure to COVID-19: A Study of New York City," *Race and Social Problems* 2021: (1–16) <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12552-021-09338-z>.
- 17 Haley M. Lane, Rachel Morello-Frosch, Julian D. Marshall, and Joshua S. Apte, "Historical Redlining Is Associated with Present-Day Air Pollution Disparities in U.S. Cities," *Environmental Science & Technology Letters* Vol. 9(4) (2022): 345–350, <https://pubs.acs.org/doi/10.1021/acs.estlett.1c01012>.
- 18 U.S. Office of Inspector General, "Final Report—Contaminated Sites Pose Potential Health Risks to Residents at HUD-Funded Properties, 2019-OE-0003." (February 14, 2021) <https://www.hudoig.gov/sites/default/files/2021-02/2019-OE-0003.pdf>; Amaya Taylor, "Millions of Americans Live Near Toxic Waste Sites. How Does This Affect Their Health?" *Housing Matters: Urban Institute*, (February 16, 2022) <https://housingmatters.urban.org/articles/millions-americans-live-near-toxic-waste-sites-how-does-affect-their-health>.
- 19 David R. Williams and Chiquita Collins, "Racial Residential Segregation: A Fundamental Cause of Racial Disparities in Health," *Public Health Reports*, Vol. 116(5) (2001): 404–416 doi: [10.1093/phr/116.5.404](https://doi.org/10.1093/phr/116.5.404) PMID: 12042604; PMCID: PMC1497358.
- 20 Jacob S. Rugh and Douglas S. Massey, "Racial Segregation and the American Foreclosure Crisis." *American Sociological Review* 75, no. 5 (2010): 629–51, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20799483>.

- 21 For a detailed list of policies that have perpetuated structural racism and inequity, as well as those that have sought to remedy existing disparities, please see Ford and Sankofa, “The Next Reconstruction: Examining the Call for a National Reparations Program.”
- 22 “OHCHR and Land and Human Rights” United Nations Human Rights: Office of the High Commissioner on Human Rights, accessed June 1, 2023, <https://www.ohchr.org/en/land>.
- 23 Aranyxa Guereña and Marc Wegerif, *Land Inequality Framing Document* (International Land Coalition—United for Land Rights, October 2019) https://d3o3cb4w253x5q.cloudfront.net/media/documents/2019_8_report_land_inequality_framing_document_web_single_page.pdf.
- 24 OHCHR, <https://www.ohchr.org/en/land>.
- 25 Pauline E. Peters, “Inequality and Social Conflict Over Land in Africa,” *Journal of Agrarian Change* Vol.4(3) (July 2004): 269–314 <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-0366.2004.00080.x>; Millicent Odeny, “Improving Access to Land and Strengthening Women’s Land Rights in Africa,” *Annual World Bank Conference on Land and Poverty* (2013) https://landwise-production.s3.us-west-2.amazonaws.com/2022/03/odeny_improving-access-to-land-in-africa_2013-1.pdf; Elisabeth Wickeri and Anil Kalhan, “Land Rights Issues in International Human Rights Law,” *Malaysian Journal on Human Rights* Vol. 4, No. 10, *Drexel University Earle Mack School of Law Research Paper*, *Fordham Law Legal Studies Research Paper No. 1921447* (2010), Available at SSRN: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=1921447>; Rebecca Froese and Janpeter Schilling, “The Nexus of Climate Change, Land Use, and Conflicts,” *Current Climate Change Reports* 5, (2019): 24–35. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s40641-019-00122-1>; Evelyn Namubiru-Mwaura, “Land Tenure and Gender : Approaches and Challenges for Strengthening Rural Women’s Land Rights,” (World Bank: Washington, DC, 2014) <http://hdl.handle.net/10986/21033> License: CC BY 3.0 IGO; Jon Unruh, “Land Rights and Peacebuilding: Challenges and Responses for the International Community,” *International Journal of Peace Studies*, 15(2) (2020): 89–125, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41853008>; Eddie Smyth, Michael Steyn, Ana Maria Esteves, Daniel M. Franks and Kemal Vaz, “Five ‘Big’ Issues for Land Access, Resettlement and Livelihood Restoration Practice: Findings of an International Symposium,” *Impact Assessment and Project Appraisal*, (2015) DOI: [10.1080/14615517.2015.1037665](https://doi.org/10.1080/14615517.2015.1037665); Guereña and Wegerif, “Land Inequality Framing Document.”
- 26 Hannah Kass, “Land Reform Is America’s Long Lost Regulatory Frontier,” *The Regulatory Review*, June 15, 2021, <https://www.theregreview.org/2021/06/15/kass-land-reform-americas-long-lost-regulatory-frontier/>; Jess Gilbert, Spencer D. Wood, and Gwen Sharp, “Who Owns the Land? Agricultural Land Ownership by Race/Ethnicity,” *Rural America* 17(4) (2002): 55–62, https://www.ers.usda.gov/webdocs/publications/46984/19353_ra174h_1_.pdf; Ximena Bustillo, “There Aren’t Enough Young Farmers. Congress Is Looking to Change That,” *NPR*, September 1, 2022, <https://www.npr.org/2022/09/01/1120100449/farm-bill-not-enough-young-farmers-congress>; Sarah Taylor Lovell, “Multifunctional Urban Agriculture for Sustainable Land Use Planning in the United States” *Sustainability* 2, no. 8 (2010): 2499–2522. <https://doi.org/10.3390/su2082499>; Permanent Commission on Racial, Indigenous & Tribal Populations, *Land Access for Indigenous & African American Farmers in Maine: Report to the Joint Standing Committee on Agriculture, Conservation, and Forestry*, (February 2022) <https://legislature.maine.gov/doc/8225>.
- 27 Morris A. Davis and Jonathan Heathcote, “The Price and Quantity of Residential Land in the United States,” *Journal of Monetary Economics* 54(8) (2007): 2595–2620, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jmoneco.2007.06.023>; Konrad Putzier, “The U.S. is Running Short of Land for Housing,” *The Wall Street Journal*, September 25, 2022, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/the-u-s-is-running-short-of-land-for-housing-11664125841>; John Landis and Vincent J. Reina, “Do Restrictive Land Use Regulations Make Housing More Expensive Everywhere?” *Economic Development Quarterly*, 35(4) (2021): 305–324 <https://doi.org/10.1177/08912424211043500>; Alexander Hermann, “Increasing Land Prices Make Housing Less Affordable,” *Joint Center for Housing Studies of Harvard University*, July 22, 2019, <https://www.jchs.harvard.edu/blog/increasing-land-prices-make-housing-less-affordable>; John M. Quigley and Larry A. Rosenthal, “The Effects of Land Use Regulation on the Price of Housing: What Do We Know? What Can We Learn?” *Cityscape* 8, no. 1 (2005): 69–137, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20868572>.
- 28 Debbie Becher, “Land Inequalities in the United States,” *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 49 (July 2023), <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-soc-030420-122704>; Anne Bonds, “Race and Ethnicity I: Property, Race, and the Carceral State,” *Progress in Human Geography* 43(4) (2018):030913251775129, DOI: [10.1177/0309132517751297](https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132517751297); Sara Safransky, “Land Justice as a Historical Diagnostic: Thinking with Detroit. *Annals of the American Association of Geographers*,” *Social Justice and the City* 108(2) (2017): 499–512, <https://doi.org/10.1080/24694452.2017.1385380>.
- 29 Philip M. E. Garboden, “The Rents of Whiteness,” *Journal of the American Planning Association*, (2023) DOI: [10.1080/01944363.2022.2121308](https://doi.org/10.1080/01944363.2022.2121308).

- 30 However, according to one report, only 2 percent of farmland is actually used for crops that directly support healthy food systems while 59 percent is used for commodity crops. “Why Is Land Access Critical? Bridging the Gap Between Food, Health and Land,” Michigan Food & Farming Systems—MIFFS, accessed June 1, 2023, <https://www.canr.msu.edu/foodsystems/uploads/files/resources/why-is-land-access-critical.pdf>; Daniel P. Bigelow, and Allison Borchers, “Major Uses of Land in the United States,” *U.S. Department of Agriculture, Economic Research Service*, EIB-178 (August 2017), <https://www.ers.usda.gov/webdocs/publications/84880/eib-178.pdf?v>.
- 31 Bigelow and Borchers, “Major Uses of Land in the United States.”
- 32 Bigelow and Borchers, “Major Uses of Land in the United States.”
- 33 Donald J. Pisani, “Land Monopoly in Nineteenth-Century California,” *Agricultural History* Vol. 65, No. 4 (1991): 15–37, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3743944>.
- 34 Landis and Reina, “Do Restrictive Land Use Regulations Make Housing More Expensive Everywhere?”
- 35 C. Luke Watson and Oren Ziv, “Is the Rent Too High? Land Ownership and Monopoly Power,” CESifo Working Paper No. 8864, (2021), available at SSRN: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=3774672> or <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3774672>.
- 36 Watson and Ziv, “Is the Rent Too High? Land Ownership and Monopoly Power.”
- 37 Richard F. Babcock and Duane A. Feurer, “Land as a Commodity ‘Affected with a Public Interest,’” *Washington Law Review* Vol. 52(2) (1977): 289–334, <https://digitalcommons.law.uw.edu/wlr/vol52/iss2/4>; Samantha Fu and Gabi Velasco, “Decommodification and Its Role in Advancing Housing Justice,” *Urban Institute*, February 24, 2023, <https://www.urban.org/research/publication/decommodification-and-its-role-advancing-housing-justice#:~:text=The%20acceleration%20of%20the%20commodification,unprecedented%20levels%20of%20housing%20insecurity>.
- 38 Roderick Maltman Hills and Shitong Qiao, “Land Options for Housing: How New Property Rights Can Break Old Land Monopolies,” *University of Hong Kong Faculty of Law Research Paper No. 2022/06, Duke Law School Public Law & Legal Theory Series No. 2022-09, NYU School of Law, Public Law Research Paper No. 22-11, 44 U. Pa. J. Int’l L. 163* (2022), available at SSRN: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=4021239> or <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.4021239>.
- 39 Farrell et al., “Effects of Land Dispossession and Forced Migration on Indigenous Peoples in North America.”
- 40 Ford and Sankofa, “The Next Reconstruction: Examining the Call for a National Reparations Program.”
- 41 The authors of this study further contextualize this loss by stating that, “if this represented the gross domestic product (GDP) of a country, that country would rank 41st out of 213 countries in the world ranking of GDP in 2020. This would be in the top 20 percent of countries, ahead of South Africa, Finland, and New Zealand.” Dania V. Francis et al., “The Contemporary Relevance of Historic Black Land Loss,” *ABA:Human Rights Magazine* Vol. 48(2) (January 6, 2023) https://www.americanbar.org/groups/crsj/publications/human_rights_magazine_home/wealth-disparities-in-civil-rights/the-contemporary-relevance-of-historic-black-land-loss/.
- 42 Farrell et al., “Effects of Land Dispossession and Forced Migration on Indigenous Peoples in North America;” Sarah Sax, “Black Families Passed Their Homes from One Generation to the Next. Now They May Be Lost.” *The Guardian*, October 6, 2021, <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2021/oct/06/leading-cause-black-land-loss-how-climate-crisis-supercharging-dispossession>.
- 43 Larry Adelman, “Racial Preferences for Whites: The Houses That Racism Built,” *California Newsreel*, June 29, 2003, <https://www.racepowerofanillusion.org/articles/racial-preferences-whites-houses-racism-built>.
- 44 Carlos Avenancio-Leon and Troup Howard, “The Assessment Gap: Racial Inequalities in Property Taxation” *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Vol:137(3): 1383–1434 (October 5, 2019). Available at SSRN: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=3465010> or <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3465010>.
- 45 Andre Perry, Jonathan Rothwell, and David Harshbarger, “The Devaluation of Assets in Black Neighborhoods: The Case of Residential Property,” Metropolitan Policy Program at Brookings, (November 27, 2018) <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/devaluation-of-assets-in-black-neighborhoods/>.
- 46 National Equity Atlas, “Homeownership: United States, 2020,” PolicyLink and the USC Equity Research Institute, accessed October 11, 2023, <https://nationalequityatlas.org/indicators/Homeownership>.
- 47 National Equity Atlas, “Housing Burden: United States, 2020,” PolicyLink and the USC Equity Research Institute, accessed October 11, 2023, https://nationalequityatlas.org/indicators/Housing_burden#/.
- 48 Justin Dorazio, “How FEMA Can Prioritize Equity in Disaster Recovery Assistance,” Center for American Progress, July 19, 2022, <https://www.americanprogress.org/article/how-fema-can-prioritize-equity-in-disaster-recovery-assistance/>.
- 49 National Equity Atlas, “Rent Debt Dashboard: United States, 2023,” PolicyLink and Right to the City, accessed November 8, 2023, <https://nationalequityatlas.org/rent-debt>.
- 50 Hugo Vásquez-Vera et al., “The Threat of Home Eviction and Its Effects on Health Through the Equity Lens: A Systemic Review,” *Social Science & Medicine*. Volume 175 (2017): 199–208 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2017.01.010>.
- 51 Megan E. Hatch and Jinhee Yun, “Losing Your Home Is Bad for Your Health: Short- and Medium-Term Health Effects of Eviction on Young Adults,” *Housing Policy Debate* 31(3-5) (2020): 469–489 <https://doi.org/10.1080/10511482.2020.1812690>.

- 52 Courtnee Melton-Fant, Austin Harrison, and Katy Ramsey Mason, "Race, Mental Health, and Eviction Filings in Memphis, TN, USA," *Preventive Medicine Reports* Vol. 26 (2022) <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pmedr.2022.101736>.
- 53 Studies that have been employed, however, have had challenges in producing substantially reliable methodologies to observe causal effects between spatial disparities and varying mental health outcomes. Clemens Noelke et al., "Connecting Past to Present: Examining Different Approaches to Linking Historical Redlining to Present Day Health Inequities," *PLOS ONE* Vol. 17(5) (2022) :e0267606. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0267606>; Min-ah Lee, "Neighborhood Residential Segregation and Mental Health: A Multilevel Analysis on Hispanic Americans in Chicago," *Social Science @ Medicine*, Vol. 68(11) (2009): 1975–1984, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2009.02.040>; Anthony Nardone, Joey Chiang, and Jason Corburn, "Historic Redlining and Urban Health Today in U.S. Cities," *Environmental Justice* Vol. 13(4) (August 12, 2020) Doi: <https://doi.org/10.1089/env.2020.0011>; Emily E. Lynch et al., "The Legacy of Structural Racism: Associations Between Historic Redlining, Current Mortgage Lending, and Health," *SSM—Population Health* Vol. 14 (2021) <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssmph.2021.100793>; Elizabeth Murphy et al., "Exploring the Association Between Redlining Policies and Poor Mental Health in Redlined Cities," *The MITRE Corporation*, August 2022, https://sjp.mitre.org/resources/Redlining%20Mental%20Health%20Paper_FINAL_RELEASE.pdf.
- 54 Michael McAfee, "The Leading Edge of Collective Impact: Designing a Just and Fair Nation for All," *Stanford Social Innovation Review*, Cambridge, MA: Stanford Social Innovation Review, January 2022, https://ssir.org/articles/entry/the_leading_edge_of_collective_impact_designing_a_just_and_fair_nation_for_all#.
- 55 Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, "Issue Brief: Improving Housing Affordability and Stability to Advance Health Equity," January 2021, https://www.rwjf.org/content/dam/farm/reports/issue_briefs/2021/rwjf463804.
- 56 Marcus Anthony Hunter, "Radical Reparations," *Reparations News @ Views* (National African-American Reparations Commission, June 6, 2021) <https://reparationscomm.org/reparations-news/radical-reparations/>.
- 57 Homes Guarantee, *A National Homes Guarantee: Briefing Book*, (Homes Guarantee, September 2019), https://homesguarantee.com/wp-content/uploads/Homes-Guarantee_-Briefing-Book.pdf.
- 58 For more information on this framework, please see: Aria Florant, *A Dream in Our Name*, (Liberation Ventures, February 2023), <https://liberationventures.b-cdn.net/A%20Dream%20in%20Our%20Name.pdf>.
- 59 Andrea Ritchie and Marbre Stahly-Butts, *Reparations Now Toolkit*, (Movement for Black Lives, 2019), <https://m4bl.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/Reparations-Now-Toolkit-FINAL.pdf>.
- 60 Margaret Marietta Ramírez, "Take the Houses Back/Take the Land Back: Black and Indigenous Urban Futures in Oakland," *Urban Geography*, 41:5, (2020): 682–693, <https://doi.org/10.1080/02723638.2020.1736440>.
- 61 Thomas Craemer et al., "Wealth Implications of Slavery and Racial Discrimination for African American Descendants of the Enslaved," *The Review of Black Political Economy*, 47(3) (June 2020): 218–254. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0034644620926516>. William Darity, Jr., A. Kirsten Mullen, and Lucas Hubbard. *The Black Reparations Project: A Handbook for Racial Justice*, (Oakland: University of California Press, 2023).
- 62 Craemer et al., "Wealth Implications of Slavery and Racial Discrimination for African American Descendants of the Enslaved."
- 63 Darity, Mullen, and Hubbard, *The Black Reparations Project: A Handbook for Racial Justice*, p.25.
- 64 Craemer et al., "Wealth Implications of Slavery and Racial Discrimination for African American Descendants of the Enslaved." Lisa J. Dettling et al., "Recent Trends in Wealth-Holding by Race and Ethnicity: Evidence from the Survey of Consumer Finances," FEDS Notes, September 27, 2017, <https://www.federalreserve.gov/econres/notes/feds-notes/recent-trends-in-wealth-holding-by-race-and-ethnicity-evidence-from-the-survey-of-consumer-finances-20170927.htm>.
- 65 Danyelle Solomon, Connor Maxwell, and Abril Castro, "Systemic Inequality: Displacement, Exclusion, and Segregation," Center for American Progress, August 19, 2022, <https://www.americanprogress.org/article/systemic-inequality-displacement-exclusion-segregation/>.
- 66 Rashawn Ra and Andre Perry, *Why We Need Reparations for Black Americans*, (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, April 2020), <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/why-we-need-reparations-for-black-americans/>.
- 67 Rashad Akeem Williams, "From Racial to Reparative Planning: Confronting the White Side of Planning," *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 0(0) (August 2020) <https://doi.org/10.1177/0739456X20946416>.
- 68 Boston Planning & Development Agency, (n.d.), *Affirmatively Furthering Fair Housing Article 80*, <https://www.bostonplans.org/housing/affirmatively-furthering-fair-housing-article-80>.
- 69 L. Katie OConnell, "White Spatial Planning Practices: Deconstructing Narratives Around Race, Space, and Privilege," (PhD diss., Georgia Institute of Technology, 2021), <http://hdl.handle.net/1853/66089>.
- 70 Williams, "From Racial to Reparative Planning: Confronting the White Side of Planning."
- 71 "The Birth of Our Vision," Destination Crenshaw, <https://destinationcrenshaw.la/vision/>.
- 72 Sophie House and Krystle Okafor, "Under One Roof: Building an Abolitionist Approach to Housing Justice—N.Y.U. Journal of Legislation & Public Policy," *NYU Journal of Legislation and Public Policy*, November 1, 2020, <https://nyujlpp.org/quorum/house-okafor-building-abolitionist-approach-housing/>.
- 73 Ruth Wilson Gilmore, "CHANGE: A World Without Prisons—Ruth Wilson Gilmore in Conversation with Mariame Kaba." recorded live on Zoom on September 16, 2020, for The Graduate Center, City University of New York, video, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oeQmVpnRMYE> (last accessed November 22, 2023).

- 74 Nik Hynen and Megan Ybarra, "On Abolition Ecologies and Making "Freedom as a Place," *Antipode* Vol. 53 No. 1 (2021): 21–35 <https://doi.org/10.1111/anti.12666>.
- 75 Prentiss A. Dantzler and Aja D. Reynolds, "Making Our Way Home: Housing Policy, Racial Capitalism, and Reparations," *Journal of World-Systems Research* Vol 21(2) (2020): 155–167 DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5195/jwsr.2020.1008>.
- 76 Dantzler and Reynolds, "Making Our Way Home: Housing Policy, Racial Capitalism, and Reparations."
- 77 Akilah M. Browne and A. Mychal Johnson, "Public Land for Public Good: A Call for a Reparative Application of the Public Trust Doctrine in New York," *N.Y.U. Environmental Journal Law*, Vol 30 (2022) https://www.nyuelj.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/11/Browne_Johnson_ReadyForPrinter-Round-2-LS.pdf.
- 78 Browne and Johnson, "Public Land for Public Good: A Call for a Reparative Application of the Public Trust Doctrine in New York."
- 79 Browne and Johnson, "Public Land for Public Good: A Call for a Reparative Application of the Public Trust Doctrine in New York."
- 80 Nikki A. Pieratos, Sarah S. Manning, and Nick Tilsen, "Land Back: A Meta Narrative to Help Indigenous People Show Up as Movement Leaders," *Leadership*, 17(1) (2021): 47–61. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1742715020976204>; Cayenne Reynoso, "Creating the Space to Reimagine and Rematriate Beyond a Settler-Colonial Present: The Importance of Land Rematriation and "Land Back" for Non-Federally Recognized California Native Nations."
- 81 Cayenne Reynoso, "Creating the Space to Reimagine and Rematriate Beyond a Settler-Colonial Present: The Importance of Land Rematriation and "Land Back" for Non-Federally Recognized California Native Nations."
- 82 Sogorea Te' Land Trust, "What is Rematriation?" accessed June 8, 2023, <https://sogoreate-landtrust.org/what-is-rematriation/>.
- 83 Pieratos, Manning, and Tilsen, "Land Back: A Meta Narrative to Help Indigenous People Show Up as Movement Leaders."
- 84 NDN Collective, "Campaigns," accessed November 29, 2023, <https://ndncollective.org/campaigns/>.
- 85 New Communities Inc., "New Communities Inc. 50th Anniversary Celebration," accessed June 9, 2023, <https://www.newcommunitiesinc.com/>; New Communities Inc., "Our History," accessed June 9, 2023 <https://www.newcommunitiesinc.com/new-communities.html>; Farah Tanis, "Decolonizing Black Women's Health Through Land Reparations," *Yes Magazine*, April 11, 2023, <https://www.yesmagazine.org/opinion/2023/04/11/black-women-intergenerational-trauma-land-stewardship>.
- 86 Miriam Axel-Lute, "New Communities Inc. at 50: Thoughts on Identity and a Different Way Forward," *Shelterforce*, October 11, 2019, <https://shelterforce.org/2019/10/11/new-communities-inc-at-50-thoughts-on-identity-and-a-different-way-forward/>.
- 87 Detroit Black Farmer Fund, "Who We Are," accessed June 9, 2023, <https://www.detroitblackfarmer.com/>.
- 88 Detroit Black Farmer Fund, *Living Legacy: Detroit Black Farmer Fund Annual Review* (Detroit: Detroit Black Farmer Fund, Juneteenth 2020–2022) https://www.detroitblackfarmer.com/files/ugd/4f9acf_c93445419aed49f8845bf94512577a94.pdf.
- 89 Katherine Franke, *Repair: Redeeming the Promise of Abolition* (Chicago, Illinois: Haymarket Books, 2019) 41.
- 90 Franke, *Repair: Redeeming the Promise of Abolition*, 41.
- 91 Franke, *Repair: Redeeming the Promise of Abolition*, 48.
- 92 Franke, *Repair: Redeeming the Promise of Abolition*, 48–50.
- 93 Sogorea Te' Land Trust, accessed June 9, 2023, <https://sogoreate-landtrust.org/>.
- 94 Ramírez, "Take the Houses Back/Take the Land Back: Black and Indigenous Urban Futures in Oakland."
- 95 Ramírez, "Take the Houses Back/Take the Land Back: Black and Indigenous Urban Futures in Oakland."
- 96 Soja, *Seeking Spatial Justice*.
- 97 Black Quantum Futurism is both a theory and an interdisciplinary creative practice that "derives its facets, tenets, and qualities from quantum physics and Black/African cultural traditions of consciousness, time, and space. Under a BQF intersectional time orientation, the past and future are not cut off from the present—both dimensions have influence over the whole of our lives, who we are and who we become at any particular point in space-time." <https://www.blackquantumfuturism.com/about>.
- 98 Olúfémi O. Táíwò, "Reconsidering Reparations: The Movement for Black Lives and Self-Determination" in *The Movement For Black Lives: Philosophical Perspectives* eds. Brandon Hogan, Michael Cholbi, Alex Madva, and Benjamin S. Yost. (New York, 2021; online edn Oxford Academic, 21 Oct. 2021), pages 93–C4.P126 <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780197507773.003.0005>.
- 99 John W. Kingdon, *Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies* Vol. 45 (Boston: Little, Brown, 1984), 165–169.

Author Biographies

Tram Hoang, Senior Associate, is a skilled policy analyst and researcher whose work has been essential to advancing housing advocacy and narrative change. She has extensive experience working on ballot initiative campaigns, tenant protections, and housing and equitable development issues, having held roles with nonprofit community developers and city planning departments. In 2021, Tram led the historic Keep St. Paul Home campaign, which saw voters in St. Paul, Minnesota, pass the strongest rent stabilization ordinance in the country. Tram holds a master of urban and regional planning degree from the Humphrey School of Public Affairs. In her free time, she seeks elevation, ocean vibes, and recipes to replicate grandma-level food.

Rasheedah Phillips, Director of Housing, leads the team's national advocacy to support the growing tenants' rights, housing, and land use movements, working with grassroots partners, as well as movement, industry, and government leaders. Previously serving as managing attorney of housing policy at Community Legal Services of Philadelphia, Rasheedah has led various housing policy campaigns that resulted in significant legislative changes, including a right to counsel for tenants in Philadelphia, and the Renter's Access Act, one of the nation's strongest laws to address the disparate impact of blanket-ban eviction policies. Rasheedah has received numerous awards for leadership on housing law and racial justice and is an interdisciplinary afrofuturist artist whose work has been exhibited globally.

Jasmine Rangel, Senior Associate, conducts research, develops resources, and supports community leaders and policymakers to advance a more just housing system. Jasmine became interested in housing justice after an early introduction to community-engaged practices as a part of the Bonner Scholars program. She has supported housing advocacy in Charlottesville, Virginia, and conducted housing research with the Eviction Lab. Jasmine holds a master of public policy from the Frank Batten School of Leadership and Public Policy at the University of Virginia and a BS from Berry College in political science.

PolicyLink

Lifting Up What Works®

Oakland

1438 Webster Street
Suite 303
Oakland, CA 94612
t (510) 663-2333
f (510) 663-9684

New York

75 Broad Street
Suite 701
New York, NY 10004
t (212) 629-9570

policylink.org

Facebook: /PolicyLink
Twitter: @policylink
Instagram: @policylink