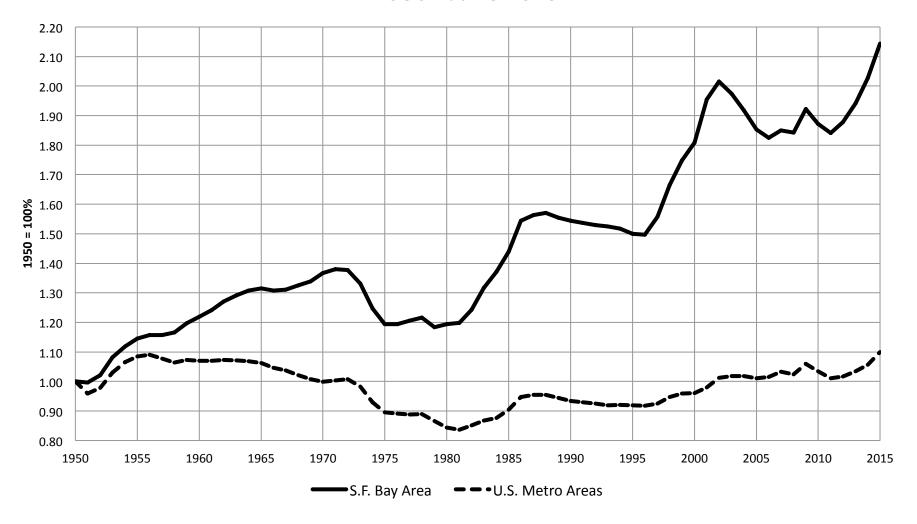
# Berkeley's Proposed Affordable Housing Tax

Stephen Barton, Ph.D.
Berkeley Committee, East Bay
Housing Organizations

## **High Bay Area Rents Created Over Decades**

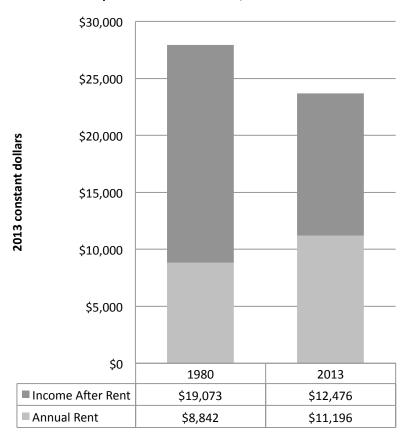
Change in Real (Inflation-Adjusted) Rents: Bay Area & U.S. Cities, 1950 - June 2015



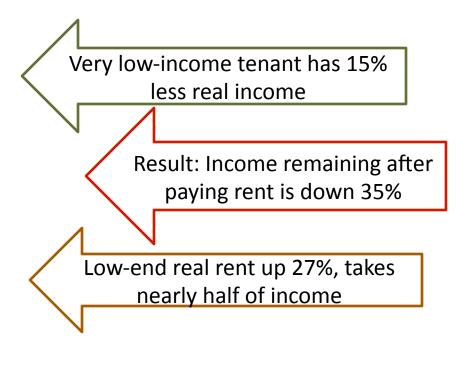
## Very Low-Income Tenants Hard Hit by Rising Rents & Declining Incomes

## Income Remaining to Very Low Income Tenants After Paying Low End Rent: 1980 - 2013

25th percentile income & rent, Census Bureau



• 1980 and 2013 (constant 2013 dollars)



## **High Rents Are Not Economically Necessary**

#### Operating Expenses and NOI for Apartment Buildings in 2010



- Operating Expenses per square foot
- Net Operating Income (NOI) per square foot

- Non-profit housing operating expenses and reserve set-aside \$600 to \$700 a month.
- Bay Area rents far above what is necessary for older housing with construction costs paid off years ago.
- In a fully competitive market, rents are minimum necessary to profitably operate and maintain rental housing.

## Rents Are So High Because the Rental Housing Market Does Not Work

## Strong Demand

- Natural beauty
- Diverse creative culture
- Quality public services
- Strong regional economy
  - anchored in Berkeley
     by University of
     California

### **Constrained supply**

- Bay, ocean & hills limit land to build on
- Redeveloping urbanized land to higher densities costs more
- Suburban land use regs limit apartments
- Time lag

## **High Rents Reflect Value of Land/Location**

- A large part of the rent is "admission charge" for the privilege of living here – for location, not the building.
- = unearned income, windfall profit.
- The public is morally and legally entitled to use taxes to recapture the value of the location instead of allowing real estate investors to take it all for private profit, because the public created that value.
- Equity: Homeowners contributions to area quality of life raise their property values. Renters contributions raise their rents and raise landlords' property values.
- Tax land values to fund affordable, non-profit housing.

## Increase Local Business Tax on Landlords to Fund Affordable Housing

- Berkeley's current business license tax is 1.08% of gross receipts from residential rental properties with 3+ units.
- A 1.8% increase (average cost \$30 per unit per month) to 2.88% would bring in \$5 million annually with exemptions.
  - $\circ$  2.8% increase (\$45 unit/month) = \$8 million annually.
  - Receipts increase as rents increase.
- Council workshop tentatively set for Nov. 17<sup>th</sup> to plan polling on tax level and exemptions.

## **Key Political Considerations**

- Tax increase will not be passed on to tenants.
  - No pass-through in rent stabilized cities
  - Owners of uncontrolled rents will raise rents anyway
- Can pass with majority vote as "general" tax.
  - Propose structure similar to Berkeley's "soda tax".
  - Special, parcel, & real estate transfer tax all need 2/3.
- Other Nov. 2016: "Split Roll" to tax non-residential commercial property at current market value.
  - Leaves windfall increases in property value from rising rents largely untaxed. In Berkeley 2/3 of apartments under same ownership since 1998.

## **Tax Exemptions**

- 1 & 2 unit and non-profit rentals fully exempt.
- Tax reduction for current low and moderate income landlords with less than 10 units.
- "Old rent control" units with pre-1999 tenants and "inclusionary" & "density bonus" BMR units have no windfall profits – exempt from increase.
- Hardship exemptions, criteria to be set by Council.
- New construction temporarily exempt for 10 years after certificate of occupancy.
- Units occupied by Section 8 tenants exempt to encourage landlords to rent to them.

## **Building the Campaign in Berkeley**

- 2014 gathered signatures for initiative. Only got half but gained significant support for concept.
- 2015 two leading candidates for Mayor agreed to place on ballot for Nov. 2016. Broad Council support. Agreed polling will guide specifics.
- Beginning outreach to create broad campaign committee.
- Multiple cities would get more media coverage and spread out opposition campaign money.
- Landlord response: tripling the business tax is excessive, unfair to single out landlords.

## No matter how high the rent...

- Some new investors will speculate on future rent increases and pay so much for a property they have low or no cash flow after paying mortgage.
- Some long-term investors will borrow against increased value of a property, often to buy more property, and have a low or no cash flow after paying the mortgage.
- Then they claim they're hardly making any money and couldn't maintain their buildings if higher taxes, rent regulation.
- As rents go up, new investors pay even more, longterm investors borrow even more, the cycle continues – no matter how high the rent.

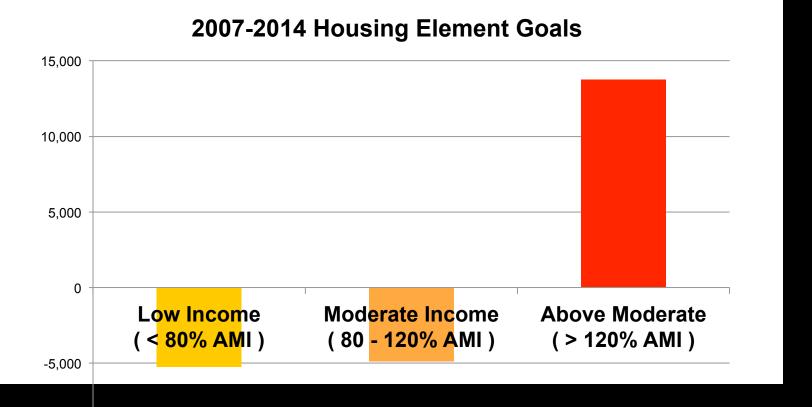
## Summary

- Dysfunctional regional housing market = high rents & windfall profits for owners, harms tenants
- A large part of rent is based on location, whose value is created by the public. The public has a moral and legal right to recapture all or part of the value it creates, rather than allowing it all to be taken for private profit.
- Berkeley City Council proposal for Nov. 2016 ballot measure to increase the business tax on landlords by at least 1.8% of gross rent to raise \$5 million annually.
- Exemptions for small, low & moderate income owners, hardship cases, new construction, Section 8.
- Can be passed by majority of voters, general tax with advisory committee on affordable housing.



## A HOUSING AGENDA:

What will it take for San Francisco to remain an affordable housing leader?



The City's Housing Element tells us what we NEED, based on local job growth, but in reality over the last seven years we have built or entitled...

- 212% of the need for "market-rate" housing
- 28% of need for moderate-income units
- 58% of need for low-income units

- A Housing Agenda -
- 1. PROTECT tenants who made this city

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- 1. PROTECT tenants who made this city
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- 4. Compel **PRIVATE** development to provide moderate and middle-income housing

## SF's 2020 Housing Agenda

- 30,000 units by 2020 —
- 1. 20,000 units, at least, to be market-rate or "middle class"
- 2. 30%, or 10,000 units, to be low- or moderate-income (0-120% AMI), new <u>or rehab</u>.
  - Over half will be rehabilitation of public housing.
  - Based on already committed funding, 3,395 low-income units recently completed, under construction, or estimated 2020 completion.

## SF's Affordable Housing Programs

- SF's 2020 Housing Agenda -

- 1. Low-income Housing Production
- 2. Small sites acquisition
- 3. Public Housing rehab (RAD plus HOPE-SF)
- 4. Down-payment assistance loans
- 5. "Middle-income" Production (???)

- 1. Federal HOME Funds
- 2. Federal CDBG Rehab Funds
- 3. Tax Increment Financing
  Redevelopment Area (Bonds) plus
  Expired Redevelopment Area TIF to
  "accelerate" existing obligations (SB-441)

#### 4. Housing Trust Fund

30-year General Fund Set-Aside based on former Redevelopment Agency bond repayments plus portion of Hotel Tax and 2012 gross receipts tax increase

- 5. General Fund (HOPE-SF)
- 6. Debt Borrowing against General Fund or Housing Trust Fund (Certificates of Participation)
  - \$50 Million in 2014 budget
  - \$25 Million in 2015 budget

#### 7. Development Impact Fees

- Inclusionary Housing Fees
- Jobs-Housing Linkage Fees
- 1-time Development Agreement Fees (ie, CPMC mitigation)

#### 7. Development Impact Fees

These are "volatile" sources that go up and down with cycles of the real estate investment market, unlike other stable public finance sources.

- 2010/11 \$83,326
- 2011/12 \$2,103,912
- 2012/13 \$14,865,329
- 2013/14 \$41,886,782

#### 7. Development Impact Fees

- "Impact fees" pay for IMPACTS of development per nexus analysis
- As the City's nexus analysis makes clear, the affordable housing demand created by market-rate housing is nearly twice the amount of "mitigation" that is required through impact fees.

#### 8. Affordable Housing Bond

November 2015 Prop A, 66% threshold \$310 Million total

- \$150 Million for low-income housing (at \$250,000/unit, will account for about 600 units)
- \$80 Million for public housing rehab (RAD)
- \$80 Million for down-payment assistance plus "middle-income" production subsidy

## What are we building with this?



## What are we building with this?

- Affordable housing production is not evenly distributed across the front line working class neighborhoods of the city
- Much of the affordable housing production is in the big three" Redevelopment Areas, which is a different geography than the neighborhoods where gentrification and displacement are acute

## What are we building with this?

- All this affordable housing for now through 2020 adds up to about 3,500 new units
- This may perhaps increase by another 1,000 units between the "accelerated" projects from SB 441 tax increment and Prop A Housing Bond.
- That is in contrast to AT LEAST 20,000 units of new market-rate housing development expected by 2020

## What MORE can we look to locally?

- We need a comprehensive, sustainable long-term funding plan that looks to new stable local sources
- We also need to take a leadership in promoting new regional and State sources

GO Bond – regular Capital Plan Schedule (Property Tax Assessment) GO Bond – regular Capital Plan Schedule (Property Tax Assessment)

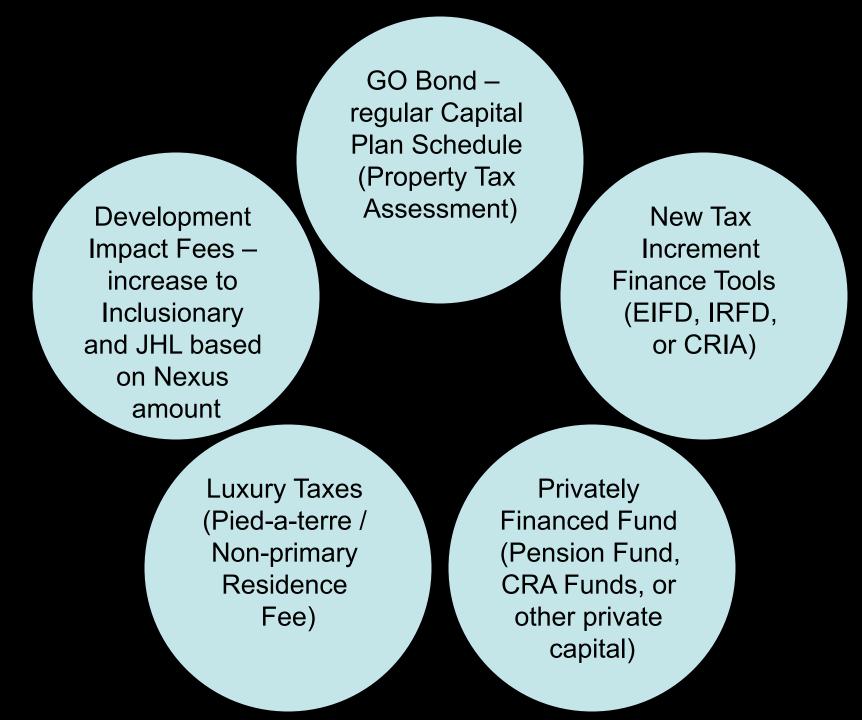
New Tax Increment Finance Tools (EIFD, IRFD, or CRIA) Development
Impact Fees –
increase to
Inclusionary
and JHL based
on Nexus
amount

GO Bond – regular Capital Plan Schedule (Property Tax Assessment)

New Tax Increment Finance Tools (EIFD, IRFD, or CRIA)



New Tax Increment Finance Tools (EIFD, IRFD, or CRIA)







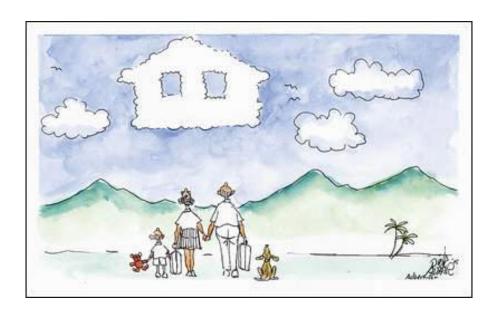
# THE COUNCIL OF COMMUNITY HOUSING ORGANIZATIONS www.sfccho.org

#### FOR AFFORDABLE HOUSING!

Oakland Boomerang Fund Campaign



#### **Our Goal**



- Vision goal: Ensure everyone has access to safe, affordable, healthy place to call home
- Mid-term goal: Make sure Oakland decision makers prioritize Housing For All
- Immediate goal: Immediate and permanent source of funding for AH on local level

#### Issue: Boomerang Funds

- Redevelopment Agency (RDA) Dissolved by Gov. Jerry Brown in 2012
- CA lost \$1 Billion in funding for affordable housing every year
- Money in the form of property tax increment that used to flow to RDAs for Affordable Housing now flow from City to the state back to the city (hence, "boomerang") for General Funds (not specific to housing)

#### Immediate Campaign Goals

- Set aside 25% of boomerang funds to be dedicated to affordable housing, both in one-time and ongoing.
- Set aside 25% of all sales of former RDA land for Affordable Housing Trust Fund.
- Why, when amount for Boomerang is relatively small?
  - Leverage for state and federal monies
  - Percent would grow as property prices increase
  - Permanent source of funding for affordable housing
  - "Makes a statement we are not turning our back on affordable housing" – Councilmember Dan Kalb

### Setting: Oakland Budget Process

Budget Development	<b>Budget Adoption</b>	Budget Amendment
(Odd years)		(Even years)
Baseline Development	By June 30: Council Budget Adoption	Midcycle Budget Amendment
Special Budget Workshop		Year-Round Budget Amendments
May: Proposed Policy Budget Released		
Proposed Budget Presented to City Council		
Budget Town Hall Meetings and Community Input		
June: City Council Deliberations		

Allocating through funds for

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### Strategy

Goals	Organizational Considerations	Constituents, Allies, & Opponents	Decision makers	Tactics
	to mov	e them to our visio	on	
that achieve	e our goals			
				ge the decision aker
while	building our mo		s are what we do	

#### **Power Mapping**







**Strongly oppose** 







Least influential



**Strongly support** 

Speak Out for Affordable Housing: Strategy Chart				
Goals	Organizational Considerations	Constituents, Allies, & Opponents	Decision makers	Tactics
Vision goal: Ensure everyone has access to safe, affordable, healthy place to call home  Mid-term goal: Make sure Oakland decision makers prioritize Housing For All  Immediate goal: Immediate and permanent source of funding for AH on local level	Considerations	Opponents		
				9

Goals	Organizational			
Goals	Organizational	Constituents, Allies, &	Decision makers	Tactics
	Considerations	Opponents		
Vision goal: Ensure everyone has access to safe, affordable, healthy place to call home  Mid-term goal: Make sure Oakland decision makers prioritize Housing For All  Immediate goal: Immediate and permanent source of funding for AH on local level	Considerations  Resources to Put in:  Ya Time Organizer  Ya Policy Staffer  Transportation, flyers, materials, etc.  Organizational Gains:  Increase base by 100 members  Ensure EBHO taken into account in City's decision making process  Deepen relationships between various EBHO membership  Demonstrate importance of organizing among EBHO membership  Internal Issues:  Ist organizing campaign	Opponents		
				10

## ReFund and ReBuild Oakland Coalition













<u> </u>	Cak Out 101 An	TOTABLE TIOUSII	ig: Strategy Cit	art .
Goals	Organizational	Constituents, Allies, &	Decision makers	Tactics
	Considerations	Opponents		
Vision goal: Ensure everyone	Resources to Put in:	**Numbers listed are goals**		
has access to safe, affordable,				
healthy place to call home	• ½ Time Organizer	Constituents:		
	• ½ Policy Staffer	Oakland Committee- 10		
Mid-term goal: Make sure	• ~\$1000 for	Active NPHDs		
Oakland decision makers	transportation, flyers,	14 Active Affordable		
prioritize Housing For All	materials, etc.	Housing Properties (~500		
		residents)		
Immediate goal: Immediate	Organizational Gains:	7 Active Faith Leaders and		
and permanent source of		Communities		
funding for AH on local level	• Increase base by 100	Allian		
	members	Allies:  12 Organizational Allies		
	Ensure EBHO taken into account in City's decision	<ul><li>12 Organizational Allies</li><li>Oakland City Housing &amp;</li></ul>		
	making process	Community Development		
	Deepen relationships	Staff		
	between various EBHO	Oakland Jobs and Housing		
	membership	Coalition***		
	Demonstrate importance	Councion		
	of organizing among EBHO	Opponents:		
	membership	Other City Programs and		
	i i	Services		
	Internal Issues:	CM Larry Reid		
		CM Desley Brooks		
	1st organizing campaign	CM Noel Gallo (maybe)		
				40
				12

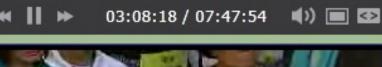
Goals	Organizational Considerations	Constituents, Allies, & Opponents	Decision makers	Tactics
Vision goal: Ensure everyone has access to safe, affordable, healthy place to call home  Mid-term goal: Make sure Oakland decision makers prioritize Housing For All  Immediate goal: Immediate and permanent source of funding for AH on local level	Resources to Put in:  1. ½ Time Organizer  1. ½ Policy Staffer  1. ~\$1000 for transportation, flyers, materials, etc.  1. Organizational Gains:  1. Increase base by 100 members  1. Ensure EBHO taken into account in City's decision making process  1. Deepen relationships between various EBHO membership  1. Demonstrate importance of organizing among EBHO membership  1. Internal Issues:  1. 1st organizing campaign	**Numbers listed are goals**  Constituents: Oakland Committee- 10 Active NPHDs 14 Active Affordable Housing Properties (~500 residents) 7 Active Faith Leaders and Communities  Allies: 12 Organizational Allies Oakland City Housing & Community Development Staff Oakland Jobs and Housing Coalition***  Opponents: Other City Programs and Services CM Larry Reid CM Desley Brooks CM Noel Gallo (maybe)	Primary:  Mayor Jean Quan (before budget released)  Oakland City Council (after budget released)  Dan Kalb (D1) Pat Kernighan (D2) Lynette McElhaney (D3) Libby Schaaf (D4) Noel Gallo (D5) Desley Brooks (D6) Larry Reid (D7) Rebecca Kaplan (At-Large)  Secondary: City Administrator  ACCE (Kaplan)  Allen Temple Church (Reid)	
				13

<ul> <li>Mid-term goal: Make sure Oakland decision makers prioritize Housing For All  Immediate goal: Immediate and permanent source of funding for AH on local level  Tensure EBHO taken into account in City's decision</li> <li>Oakland Committee- 10 Active NPHDs Active Affordable Housing Properties (~500  Tesidents:  Oakland Committee- 10 Active NPHDs  Active NPHDs  Active Affordable Housing Properties (~500  Tesidents)  Tesidents:  Active Faith Leaders and Communities  Allies: Allies: Allies: Designments</li> <li>Dan Housing Properties (~500)  Active Faith Leaders and Allies: Allies: Designments</li> <li>Dan Housing Properties (~500)  Tesidents</li> <li>Dan Housing Properties (~500)  Active Faith Leaders and Allies: Allies: Designments</li> <li>Dan Housing Properties (~500)  Active NPHDs  Dan Housing Properties (~500)  Active Faith Leaders and Allies: Allies: Designments</li> <li>Dan Housing Properties (~500)  Active NPHDs  Dan Housing Properties (~500)  Active NPHDs  Active NPHDs  Dan Housing Properties (~500)  Active NPHDs  Dan Housing Properties (~500)  Active NPHDs  Date Notice NPHDs  Active NPHDs  Date Notice NPHDs  Active NPHDs  Active NPHDs  Date Notice NPHDs  Active NPHDs  Date Notice NPHDs  Active NPHDs  Active NPHDs  Date Notice NPHDs  Active NPHDs  Active NPHDs  Active NPHDs  Date Notice NPHDs  Active NPHDs  Active NPHDs  Active NPHDs  Date Notice NPHDs  Active NPHDs  Active NPHDs  Date Notice NPHDs  Active NPHDs  Active NPHDs  Active NPHDs  Active NPHDs  Date Notice NPHDs  Active NPHDs  Acti</li></ul>	ion makers Tactics
Deepen relationships     between various EBHO     membership     Demonstrate importance     of organizing among EBHO     membership      Demonstrate importance     of organizing among EBHO     membership      Opponents:     Other City Programs and     Services     Community Development     Staff     Oakland Jobs and Housing     Coalition***      Opponents:     Other City Programs and     Services     City Administration     Community Development     Large     Coalition***      Opponents:     Other City Programs and     Services     CM Larry Reid	affordable housing buildings  y Council (after ased)  Mobilize for District Community Meetings on Budget  Mobilize for Public Budget Hearings  Schaaf (D4) Gallo (D5) y Brooks (D6) Reid (D7) cca Kaplan (At- )  Emphasize through Social Media  Affordable Housing Tours in Districts where CMs are new

#### **MESSAGING**











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#### Prescott Circus Theatre Presents: GIVIN' IT OUR ALL!



July 17 & 18, two shows each day, FREE

ABOUT ♥ TOPICS Y ADVERTISE TRAININGS & WORKSHOPS **OUR TEAM** PRESS CONTACT



- Jun 23, 2013
- sharoncornu
- 2 comments
- Community Voices

#### **CONTINUOUS ACTIONS**





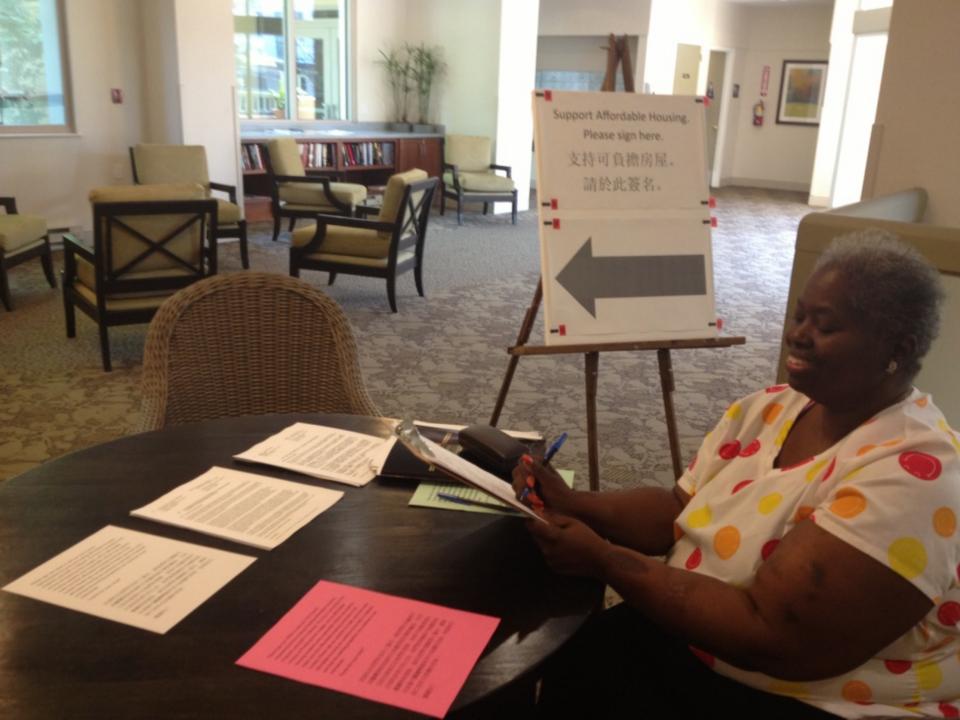






### LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT OF RESIDENT LEADERS AS ORGANIZERS





#### Did we win?

• First victory on June 27: City Council voted for a budget that included \$1.8 million for affordable housing - enough to secure the continuation of core programs for FY2013-2015.

 Second victory on July 30<sup>th</sup>: City Council unanimously passed policy proposal that set aside 25% of all future boomerang funds for affordable housing, and the ordinance became official in October.

#### Impacts of the Speak Out! Campaign

- Alameda County Boomerang Funds
- Narrative of Housing as a Priority lasting
  - FY2015-2017 Budget
- Stronger unity with organizational allies
- Set the stage for resident leadership and organizing
  - In advocating for more affordable housing: Specific Plans, General Plans, Statewide Bills
  - In leading campaigns: Impact Fees, Coliseum City, Healthy Development Guidelines
  - In leading the movement: Resident United Network