PBF Policy Fund Cohort 2

PARTNERSHIP FOR THE BAY'S FUTURE

Evaluation Report

Building Regional Power for Equity-Centered Housing Policy

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Acknowledgments

Informing Change would like to acknowledge and express our gratitude to those who participated in this evaluation. This includes Partnership for the Bay's Future, San Francisco Foundation, CORO Northern California, Enterprise Community Partners, city and organizational partners, and PBF Fellows.

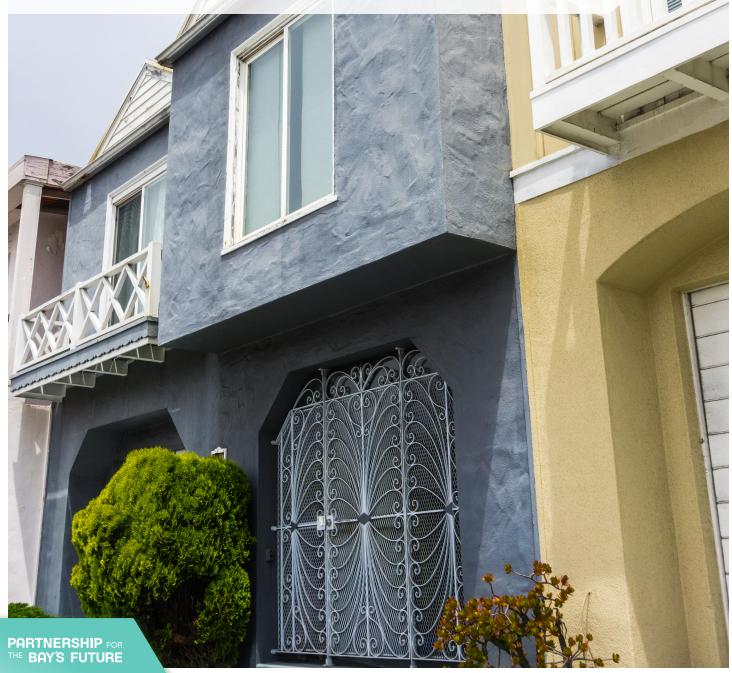
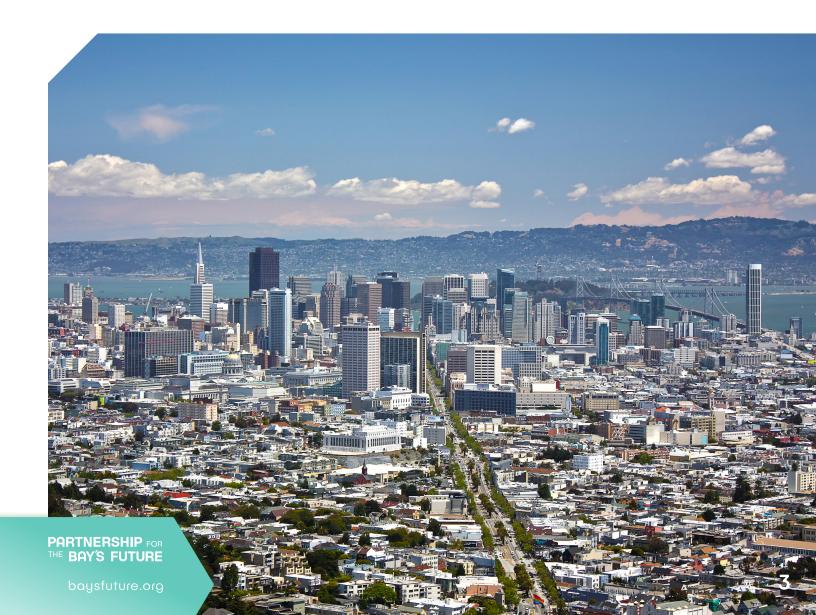


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The Partnership for The Bay's Future

The Partnership for the Bay's Future (PBF) is an innovative and collaborative initiative focused on equitably producing and preserving affordable housing and protecting renters across the San Francisco Bay Area. Guided by the principles of racial and economic equity, PBF aims to create vibrant, diverse, and inclusive communities. PBF is managed by the San Francisco Foundation (SFF) and Local Initiatives Support Corporation (LISC) and supported by a broad coalition of foundations, corporations, financial institutions, community-based organizations, government agencies, and housing advocates.

Because the housing affordability crisis requires comprehensive solutions, PBF pairs game-changing policies with innovative investment to transform the systems and policies that have put the Bay Area beyond the reach of too many individuals and families. This dual approach includes:

- The Family of Loan Funds addresses the significant affordable housing shortages—a reality that disproportionately impacts households of color—by bridging critical funding gaps to produce and preserve affordable homes across the Bay Area. Aiming to invest \$500 million by the end of 2025, these loan products demonstrate the viability of innovative approaches that can be scaled and replicated to respond to the demands of an ever-changing market.
- The Policy Fund builds strong partnerships between local governments and the community, forming a robust network dedicated to creating and implementing equitable housing policies. Bolstered by full-time policy Fellows, grants, and added capacity and support, the Policy Fund ensures significant community involvement and expertise in policymaking.

PBF's integrated design allows these two programs to collaborate and inform one another under one initiative. By bringing together leaders across sectors to develop solutions and build lasting political will, PBF creates an enabling environment to help affordable housing go from concepts to powerful and effective results.

The Policy Fund

The Policy Fund establishes and strengthens trusting partnerships between local governments and communitybased organizations (CBOs, or community partners), fostering innovative and equitable housing policies through collaborative development and implementation. Central to this effort, full-time policy Fellows (PBF Fellows) are placed within local governments, where they enhance policymaking capacities while working closely with CBOs to infuse community insights and expertise. Strengthened by funding, technical assistance, evaluations, and a support network, the Policy Fund creates an environment ripe for developing policies responsive to the community's needs. This approach integrates government capacity with community advocacy also known as an "inside-outside strategy"—promoting sustainable and adaptable long-term housing solutions across the region.

PBF has completed two rounds of the Policy Fund: Cohort 1 (2020–2022) included seven site teams, and Cohort 2 (2022–2024), the subject of this evaluation report, comprises 11 site teams, including four that returned from Cohort 1. This report primarily discusses activities from Cohort 2, though returning site teams continued earlier initiatives. See Exhibit 1 for a map of Cohort 2 site teams and Table 1 for a complete list of site team partners and PBF Fellows.

Each site team was comprised of the following:

- The Local Governments leverage their in-depth knowledge of city structures and previous policy efforts to guide site teams through the policy-making process effectively. By actively collaborating with CBOs, they ensure community participation in developing equitable housing policies. They also provide oversight and support to the Fellows, ensuring they are effectively integrated within government operations and contribute meaningfully to policy initiatives.
- Community-Based Organizations facilitate essential community mobilization and engagement, ensuring the voices of those most affected by housing issues are heard and integrated into the policy-making process.
 With a strong history of advocating for historically underresourced, excluded, or marginalized groups, CBOs have a profound understanding of community dynamics and needs.
- PBF Fellows are mid-career professionals who add capacity to local governments and CBOs by serving as integral facilitators for the policy-making process.

Embedded full-time within the government, Fellows apply their project management skills and relationship-building expertise to effectively bridge communication and engagement between government entities and CBOs. Fellows ensure that strategic insights and community

voices are effectively integrated into policy development and implementation.

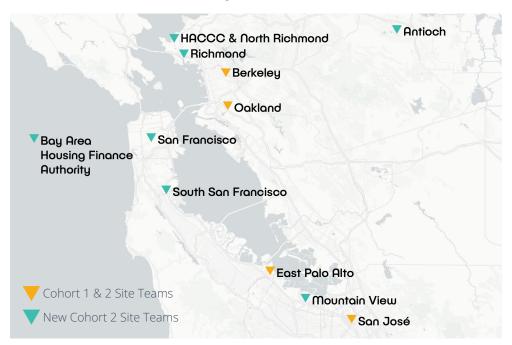


Exhibit 1. PBF Policy Fund Cohort 2 Site Teams

PBF Policy Fund Resources & Supports

Policy Fund site teams receive funding, capacity building, and technical assistance (TA) to design, pass, and implement equity-focused housing policies. The supports site teams receive include:

- Funds for community engagement, professional development, and cohort-wide learning and activities;
- Resources for policy development, such as equity and policy-focused trainings, policy research, and technical guidance;
- Technical assistance, such as local and regional data collection, housing analysis, and legal technical assistance;
- · General operating grants for community partners;
- · Quarterly convenings with all Policy Fund partners; and
- · Peer cohort meetings and resource-sharing.

Table 1. Policy Fund Cohort 2 Site Teams

Government Partner	PBF Fellow	Lead Community Partner	Additional Community Partner
City of Antioch	Meredith Rupp	Hope Solutions	Multi-Faith Action
Bay Area Housing Finance Authority (BAHFA)	Sharron Watts	Urban Habitat	Bay Area Community Land Trust The Unity Council
City of Berkeley	Gail McGuire	Healthy Black Families	-
Housing Authority of Contra Costa County (HACCC)	Hannah Tinsley (Phalen)	Richmond LAND	Community Housing Development Corporation
City of East Palo Alto	Benjamin Toney	East Palo Alto Community Alliance and Neighborhood Development Organization (EPACANDO) Youth United for Community Action (YUCA)	Community Legal Services in East Palo Alto
City of Mountain View	Trisha Gonzalez	SV@Home	Housing Trust Silicon Valley
City of Oakland	Gregory Earnest	Richmond Neighborhood Housing Services	-
City of Richmond	Kaitlyn Quackenbush	Richmond LAND	-
City of San José	Heather Bromfield	SOMOS Mayfair	-
City and County of San Francisco	Anthony Jacquez	Urban Land Institute	-
City of South San Francisco	Nori Dubon Danielle Thoe	Housing Leadership Council (HLC) of San Mateo County	-

The Evaluation

In March 2022, PBF commissioned Informing Change to evaluate how Policy Fund partnerships drive policy change, strengthen government-community collaboration, and empower communities to have a greater influence on housing policies and decisions. The evaluation of Cohort 1 revealed both successes and challenges of the Policy Fund's innovative multi-partner model. Notably, the evaluation highlighted the importance of supporting Fellows to implement an "inside-outside" strategy, where internal government operations are complemented by external community advocacy.

We documented the typical journey that site teams navigated towards their policy goals, emphasizing how equity was prioritized in policy development. One thing was evident across all site teams: adaptability to shifting conditions and a firm commitment to elevating community voices were crucial to success.

Building on these lessons, the Cohort 2 evaluation provides deeper insights across three learning cycles into site teams' goals, progress, and challenges. This ongoing exploration surfaces timely lessons for cross-team learning. To collect data, we conducted focus groups with site teams, reviewed proposals, and analyzed grant and progress reports.

During the first learning cycle, each site team co-developed performance indicators that they tracked throughout the evaluation. These metrics—some shared across teams, others specific to individual sites—allowed us to track progress and gain insights throughout the process. See the Appendix for full details on the evaluation approaches.



Site Team Goals & Pursuits

Developing Inside-Outside Partnerships

The Policy Fund seeks to foster effective and equitable policy by bridging local governments and community partners. Anchored by the PBF Fellow, this innovative "inside-outside" structure, first piloted at scale in Cohort 1, has proven effective in developing equitycentered housing policies. As we heard in the Cohort 1 evaluation, these successful insideoutside partnerships require time, intention to build, and flexibility to be practical.¹ Grantees across Cohorts 1 and 2 identified key practices that enhance collaboration and improve outcomes:

- · Collectively define a shared purpose with clear and measurable goals.
- Designate a champion—typically the PBF Fellow—to manage the process and maintain progress.
- Plan for change, devote time for onboarding and relationship development when collaboration representatives change, or keep representatives consistent when possible.
- Build meeting agendas to include objectives that cannot be achieved asynchronously.

Policy Directions & Approaches

Site teams have made significant progress in advancing equity-centered housing policies, protecting renters, and preserving and developing affordable housing options.

Each site team's policy focus draws upon previous work of government and community partners, including four site teams that were part of Cohort 1 (Berkeley, East Palo Alto, Oakland, and San José). The policy work selected by Cohort 2 site teams falls into three major categories: (1) preferential land use and transfer, (2) preserving access to affordable housing (including Opportunity to Purchase Acts or OPA²), and (3) equitable development. Although these categories are broad, specific policy goals often overlap, allowing site teams to address local priorities within a shared regional framework.

Preferential Land Use & Transfer: Antioch, HACCC
 & North Richmond, and Richmond site teams focused on (1) transferring under-utilized land or blighted properties for further development or rehabilitation or
 (2) exploring alternative land use policies to increase affordable housing development. These efforts are highly localized, leveraging each community's unique

Cohort 2 Key Metrics



13 ordinances or policies adopted



135 community meetings with over 2,845 people engaged



Average of 150 interested groups engaged each quarter



Over \$76.2 million in additional project funding secured or leveraged

1 You can read more about the first Policy Fund (formerly the Challenge Grant) in this <u>evaluation report</u> published in 2022.

2 The Tenant Community Opportunity to Purchase Act (TOPA) is a policy offering tenants living in multi-family housing advance notice about the sale of their building, giving them an opportunity to purchase it collectively. The Community Opportunity to Purchase Act (COPA) is a TOPA alternative, providing an opportunity for a qualified nonprofit to purchase the building. Versions of OPA first passed in Washington, D.C., in 1980 and recently in San Francisco in 2020. They offer an innovative anti-displacement measure to address residential instability and increase the stock of affordable housing.

land assets and resources to address specific housing needs. By prioritizing local resources, site teams aim to develop sustainable, community-centered housing options tailored to meet each area's needs.

- 2. Preserving Access to Affordable Housing: BAHFA, Berkeley, East Palo Alto, Mountain View, San José, and South San Francisco site teams primarily developed legislation and strategies to keep housing affordable and prioritize local residents in affordable housing opportunities. Site teams researched the best strategy for their local contexts, pursued local preference policies, and explored anti-displacement strategies. Building on work from Cohort 1, East Palo Alto and San José continued their efforts to pass OPA policies, dedicating years to research, organizing, and building community support. Despite extensive policy design, community engagement, and housing education to City Council members, organized opposition campaigns ultimately prevented OPA from passing in San José and East Palo Alto. As a result, both site teams, plus others considering OPA variations, pivoted to pursue other local preservation efforts.
- 3. Equitable Development: Oakland and San Francisco site teams focused on advancing equitable development policies, including conducting a careful review of local development-focused administrative policies and processes, recommending and enacting modifications to the policies, and engaging communities in development processes. They also supported emerging developers of color through capacity-building, training, and networking opportunities. These efforts aim to expand the pool of qualified developers equipped to address community needs.

Table 2. Policy Fund Site Team Pursuits & Status (as of April 2024)
* Site teams with an asterisk were also a part of Policy Fund Cohort 1 (2020-2022)

Site Team	Policy Pursuits	Key Accomplishments
Antioch	 Leverage unused land owned by faith-based organizations to develop micro-homes Encourage accessory dwelling units (ADUs) for low-income homeowners Develop community leaders to facilitate greater community-government dialogue 	 Passed Faith-Owned Land Ordinance Launched pre-approved ADU plan program Supported Resident Empowerment Team Formed a Faith Leaders Advisory group and a Community Voices Advisory group Developed regional housing coalition Published reports on community-driven policy work and innovative land ordinance Co-founded a new regional housing coalition

Site Team	Policy Pursuits	Key Accomplishments
BAHFA	 Host regional network preservation convenings Advance preservation through Regional Housing Need Allocation (RHNA) goals 	Leveraged Regional Early Action Planning (REAP) funding and networked with regional organizations to advance preservation
		 Advanced research into how preservation wins can count toward RHNA Identified roughly \$250,000 in technical assistance (TA) grants for developers and community land trusts to fund preservation work Created a preservation pipeline tool
Berkeley*	 Adopt a housing preference policy Engage in reparative community work Advance community-informed equitable development near BART Secure funding streams 	 Passed and implemented a housing preference policy Engaged community in support of housing preference policy and to build data capacity and community power with Equitable Black Berkeley
East Palo Alto*	 Pass a TOPA/COPA ordinance Build resources to secure sustainable funding from public and private sources Pursue preservation and prevent displacement at local site teams via cooperative ownership opportunities Build institutional capacity of tenant and community organizations 	 Passed the gross receipts business tax Increased funds designated for affordable housing Established affordable housing preservation guidelines for the city
HACCC & North Richmond	 Create homeownership opportunities for residents displaced from the Las Deltas public housing community (which closed in 2019) and North Richmond Establish a memorandum of understanding between housing entities in the region formalizing a commitment to working together to improve living conditions in North Richmond 	 Sold below-market-rate portion of Las Deltas, which included a preference policy Drafted Request for Qualifications for market-rate sale Secured additional funding and staffing to continue work Established shared communication channels for development work Co-founded a new regional housing coalition
Mountain View	 Develop a displacement response strategy Develop and implement a housing funding strategy Develop a housing engagement strategy 	 Committed up to \$4 million in City housing funds to catalyze outside funding of at least \$16 million for acquisition and preservation Initiated the development of a Community Ownership Action Plan Secured funding for and began filming and production of a documentary about transforming the Crestview Hotel into residential units

Site Team	Policy Pursuits	Key Accomplishments
Oakland*	 Promote policies and programs to support emerging and Black, Indigenous, and People of Color (BIPOC) developers Create policies and programs to stimulate the pipeline of properties 	 Improved administrative policies to be more inclusive of emerging and BIPOC developers Created a playbook to disseminate best practices to encourage equitable development through the support of emerging and BIPOC developers in the region
Richmond	Create a Community Land Policy Package that encourages and enables the production of permanently affordable housing	 Received unanimous City Council approval of an Equitable Land Disposition Policy Incorporated Policy Fund priorities into the City's Housing Element Co-founded a new regional housing coalition
San Francisco	 Support the ULI San Francisco's Bay Area Developers of Color Cohort in 2022 and 2023 Create recommendations for the City's request for proposals process, underwriting guidelines, and other internal processes to support BIPOC developers 	 Launched and supported the ULI Developers of Color cohorts Secured funding for a third cohort Provided policy recommendations to MOHCD based on cohort insights
San José*	Pass a Community Opportunity to Purchase (COPA) Act	 Passed a Tenant Preference Policy Elevated the importance of the "3 Ps" strategy to the City Council Launched NOFAs for acquisition/preservation and capacity-building Advancing research for the city's inaugural Housing Balance report
South San Francisco	 Create an Anti-Displacement roadmap, including legislative options for preference policies, housing rehabilitation, and a housing spending plan Collect community data to inform the roadmap Provide community workshops 	 Engaged community members in workshops and preparing for the Community Advisory Committee Advanced planning and research to inform the Anti-Displacement Roadmap Collected community data to inform a single room occupancy unit (SRO) and Mobile Home Park Conversion Ordinance Expanded capacity to reach Spanish-speaking community members

To advance their work, some site teams adjusted the scope of their policy goals or focused on "little p" policies—administrative measures that addressed specific process challenges and can be implemented without extensive community and council support. Pursuing 'little p' policies enabled site teams to advance housing solutions within their sphere of influence, addressing specific process challenges while building momentum for future, larger-scale changes that may require council or ballot approval. Over time, these "little p" policy changes lay a foundation for achieving longer-term housing goals.

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Cohort 2 site teams modified, passed, or adopted 13 policies (Table 3). While some sites did not pass a policy within the Cohort 2 timeframe, all sites reported important progress toward their policy goals. Table 3 includes policies confirmed to have passed during the Cohort 2 timeframe that the Policy Fund directly supported.

Table 3. Policy Fund Cohort 2 Policy Indicators

Site Team	Number of New/ Modified Policies
Antioch	4
BAHFA	Not tracking
Berkeley	1
East Palo Alto	2
HACCC & North Richmond	0
Mountain View	0
Oakland	4
Richmond	1
San Francisco	Not tracking
San José	1
South San Francisco	Not tracking
TOTAL	13

Contextual Drivers & Challenges

Site teams faced significant economic and political challenges that affected their policy progress.

Economic conditions like inflationary pressures and interest rate hikes hampered site teams' ability to increase affordable housing stock. Rising material and labor costs posed a challenge to housing production and rehabilitation, while elevated interest rates limited financing options and increased competition for state funding and subsidies. Site teams securing below-market land also faced difficulties, as rising costs hindered their ability to ensure long-term affordability.

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These economic barriers also affected site teams ability to increase the pool of developers of color, who often have less access to assets and resources to fund their housing developments.

Political conditions and the level of political support towards housing policies varied widely among site teams. Not long after the launch of Cohort 2, the 2022 election ushered in new officials across jurisdictions, leaving site teams uncertain about the future of their policy pursuits. Some new officials were unsupportive of Policy Fund priorities, while others, such as a former Cohort 1 team member appointed to the Mountain View City Council, offered favorable conditions for advancing housing policies.

Additionally, opposition from special interests, especially organized real estate and landlord groups, added another layer of complexity. These groups placed pressure on elected officials to oppose pro-housing policies and stalled efforts to advance new housing developments.

Despite these often-challenging conditions, site teams successfully secured new and creative funding streams; rallied communities to support equity-centered housing policies; and educated new council members on the importance of their policies, gradually building momentum for change.



Reflections & Learnings about Advancing Policy Pursuits

During evaluation focus groups, site teams reflected on their community-government collaboration, community engagement, and the factors that aided or inhibited their progress toward advancing equity-centered housing policies. These learnings are shared here to support other practitioners and funders involved in equity-centered housing initiatives or relationship-based projects to help navigate the complexities and build more resilient partnerships.

Engaging & Activating Communities

Community engagement and activation were core strategies for the site teams to advance equity-centered housing solutions. These strategies reflect a commitment to ensuring that community voices actively shape housing policies and build lasting community power.

Site teams tailored their community engagement activities to meet their local community's specific needs and align with the site team's specific policy pursuits. Many site teams offered educational programming and learning opportunities for community members to build knowledge and skills related to housing, tenant rights, organizing, data, and more. These efforts built infrastructure and community power needed to support equity-centered housing policy.

Cohort 2 site teams hosted 137 community meetings involving 2,845 attendees (Table 4). These extensive efforts to engage and educate residents have built a foundation of informed, empowered community members who can continue to support and advocate for housing policies, strengthening their relationship with local government that will endure beyond the cohort.

Table 4. Policy Fund Cohort 2 Community Engagement Indicators

Site Team	# of Community Meetings	# of Attendees at Community Meetings ¹	# of Interested Groups Engaged ²
Antioch	13	282	144
BAHFA	Not tracking	Not tracking	Not tracking
Berkeley	10	514	29
East Palo Alto	23	297	54
HACCC & North Richmond	14	740	94
Mountain View	16	70	6

¹ This measure includes duplicate counts. For example, if one person attended three community meetings, they are counted three times.

² This measure includes duplicate counts. For example, if an interested group was engaged in each quarter of reporting, they are counted once for each quarter in which they were engaged.

Site Team	# of Community Meetings	# of Attendees at Community Meetings	# of Interested Groups Engaged
Oakland	5	230	180
Richmond	33	241	28
San Francisco	Not tracking	Not tracking	Not tracking
San José	10	398	199
South San Francisco	13	73	19
TOTAL	137	2,845	753

Five key themes about effective community engagement emerged from the evaluation focus groups, which are outlined below with examples of how site teams successfully engaged community members.

1. Working with partners who have deep community ties boosted site teams' efforts. Some site teams' community partners have been active in local communities for decades. The partners' connections and familiarity provided site teams with someone community members already trusted, easing and increasing the speed of community engagement. Local partners leveraged their existing connections to the community to gather and amplify community input about equity-centered housing directions. In cases where relationships were newer or no longer present, the PBF Fellow and site teams devoted significant time and resources to conducting community outreach and building community members' trust.

For example, Healthy Black Families, the **Berkeley** site team community partner, leveraged their trusted community bases with various organizations—including the mayor's office, East Bay Community Law Center, and local community groups—to rally support for housing policy efforts and continuously contribute to building community members' capacity and power. They organized people's assemblies to gather community input, conducted policy advocacy and organizing training, and facilitated a data analysis fellowship to engage community members in understanding data relevant to their advocacy. Through these activities, Healthy Black Families provided community members with the training and knowledge needed for sustained advocacy and influence in local policy-making.

"Our community partner invested a lot of time and capacity to build interest and engagement from the community here. When we started conversations just under two years ago about what housing advocacy and engagement looked like in the city, it was nearly nonexistent. I think that's a huge thing and we want to make sure to keep folks engaged moving forward."

- Government Partner

- 2. Engaging a broad coalition of developers, realtors, and homeowners was essential to site teams' success. One challenge site teams faced was navigating conflicting views and competing priorities of different actors in the housing realm. To address these diverse perspectives and present a unified voice to city councils, site teams engaged a mix of stakeholders in planning conversations, including community members, real estate professionals, transportation developers, and community development specialists. This inclusive approach allowed site teams to build broader support and effectively advocate for policies that addressed community needs.
- 3. Educating and building the capacity of community members was essential for shifting existing power dynamics. Site teams devoted time and energy to organizing community members to learn and be part of community decision-making processes. They organized Know Your Rights trainings, conducted voter engagement campaigns, and offered data capacity-building fellowships, all while amplifying community feedback and input on housing policy. These educational initiatives not only prepared community members for immediate policy work but also sustained their engagement as future advocates in formal community committees.

For example, The **City of South San Francisco** pursued a community-driven Anti-Displacement Roadmap to address housing instability. The site team drew on input and guidance from a community advisory committee to shape the roadmap and inform legislative options for preference policies, housing rehabilitation, and a housing spending plan. Prior to the Community Advisory Committee's launch, the site team provided community education to keep community members engaged in housing work and to build their skills, knowledge, and enthusiasm to prepare them for

4. Establishing community advisory committees builds lasting infrastructure and amplifies community priorities. Due to housing preservation's complexity, site teams strategically built the infrastructure necessary for the work to progress over the long term. They typically achieved this by creating formal community advisory boards backed by jurisdiction and financial support. These committees are comprised of community members who will serve as stews

the work ahead.

are comprised of community members who will serve as stewards of the housing development, sustain the project over time, and provide community input into the process.

For example, the **Antioch** site team established a Faith Leadership Advisory group to support ongoing community engagement and collaboration with faith-based organizations. These groups provide long-term infrastructure to maintain community involvement in transforming unused faith-based land into micro-homes, expanding affordable housing options. Community partner Hope Solutions brings individuals experiencing homelessness into the conversation through its Resident Empowerment Program, ensuring their input informs project development.

"[We are] making sure we are doing our due diligence to reach our constituents and the folks that we work with and prioritize in our mission—the folks least likely to be at the table when it comes to policymaking. Those are the voices that we want to make sure continue to participate."

Community Partner

5. Educating and building relationships with city council members was necessary to advance equity-centered housing policies. Site teams found that by providing elected officials with education on complex housing issues and opportunities for discussion, the council members had a more precise, nuanced understanding of these issues. After the sessions, council members could make more informed decisions about housing policies. As housing issues evolve and new council members take office, ongoing education remains essential to support informed, equity-centered decisions that align with community needs.

For example, the **Mountain View** site team exemplifies effective city council education. The site team hosted two City Council learning discussions about the city's overall displacement response strategy, which included replacement requirements, acquisition, and preservation. The discussions focused mainly on the future of housing in Mountain View with specific consideration for SB 330, which prohibits local jurisdictions from enacting new laws that would reduce the legal limit on new housing. These efforts equipped councilmembers to make informed, equitable decisions supporting housing stability.

Embedding Fairness & Equity by Strengthening Accountability & Infrastructure

Displacement and displacement risk throughout the Bay Area is significant and well-documented.¹ Site teams strategically addressed the structures driving displacement and, in turn, addressed the needs of local BIPOC communities who face the highest displacement rates. They focused on supporting community members displaced via eminent domain seizures or closure of public housing due to dwindling funding, as well as those with a multigenerational history in their community. They pursued one of three main policy approaches: (1) implementing housing preference policies, (2) strengthening renter protections, and (3) reducing barriers for emerging BIPOC developers who often work with mission-driven firms that develop projects that are responsive to community needs and priorities. Each of these policy approaches discussed below—along with selected examples of how site teams pursued them—reflects the commitment to advancing equity and addressing the root causes of displacement.

1. The Berkeley, HACCC & North Richmond, and San José site teams implemented housing preference policies to address the harms of displacement on/faced by community members from their neighborhoods. These policies prioritize placing displaced families and their descendants in new affordable housing developments, bringing former residents back to their neighborhoods and, in turn, restoring communities. The high demand for these policies was evident; for example, the Berkeley site team received a disproportionate number of applications compared to the number of available units in a new affordable housing development: 9,700 applications for the 87 units available (111 applications per unit). The site team is now using the data from the application process to make the case for expanding the preference policy to additional new affordable housing developments and to garner support from the Berkeley Mayor. Similarly, the HACCC & North Richmond site team conducted outreach to former residents from the Las Deltas public housing community (which closed in 2019). They were able to reach 66% of the former residents and found that 94% indicated an interest in returning to the neighborhood.

¹ Berkeleyside provides an overview of historic redlining in the area https://of-berkeleys-segregated-neighborhoods, while Vital Signs details an overview of current displacement risk in the Bay Area, https://witalsigns.mtc.ca.gov/indicators/displacement-risk, and Axios documents how the Black population throughout the Bay Area has dwindled over time, despite an overall increase in population (https://www.axios.com/local/san-francisco/2022/08/03/san-francisco-black-race-population).

- 2. The East Palo Alto and South San Francisco site teams pursued tenant protections to address displacement. These policies advance equity in housing by protecting lowincome residents and communities of color, who are often most at risk of displacement. By helping renters stay in their homes, these policies also contribute to community stability. In focus groups, site teams reflected that passing protection policies comes at a lower cost and on a faster timeline than production projects, making them strategic policies to pursue for impactful short-term solutions. In **East Palo Alto**, the site team secured \$150,000 to fund the city's new rental registry program, which requires landlords with three or more rental units to register their housing units and report any renter-related events, like rent increases or evictions. The rental registry will serve as an accountability structure for landlords and a monitoring tool for understanding practices around tenant retention and displacement. The site team also secured \$100,000 for an emergency rental assistance program, providing crucial financial relief for tenants in urgent need. In South San Francisco, the site team worked on an SRO and Mobile Home Park Conversion Ordinance, which includes guidance on relocation assistance funding for SRO and mobile home sales. The site team also collected resident data through door-to-door canvasing to inform the city's community-driven anti-displacement roadmap. Through these efforts, the site team is laying the groundwork for policies that provide stability and protection for at-risk residents.
- 3. The San Francisco and Oakland site teams pursued policy adjustments to city requirements to reduce barriers for emerging developers, broadening the pool of developers eligible for affordable housing project. The San Francisco site team pursued this strategy partly in response to feedback the Mayor's Office of Housing and Community Development (MOHCD) received from emerging BIPOC developers who felt that the city's underwriting and procurement policies limited their eligibility and opportunities to partner with the city on affordable housing projects. MOHCD found that many BIPOC developers work in mission-driven firms interested in projects that advance long-term housing affordability and are responsive to community needs. While MOHCD shares in this mission, BIPOC developers felt that the city's underwriting and procurement policies limited their eligibility and opportunities to partner with the city on affordable housing projects. To address these issues, the site team first revised administrative processes to make the Notice of Finance Availability (NOFA) more inclusive by lowering minimum experience requirements, broadening the definition of "emerging developers" to include more BIPOC developers, and increasing application points for emerging developers. Secondly, the site team convened two cohorts of the Urban Land Institute Bay Area Developers of Color Cohort to build participants' capacity and network, and provide support while navigating the City's affordable housing development process. In **Oakland**, the site team created a playbook that shares best practices to encourage equitable development by supporting emerging and BIPOC developers in the region.

Securing Funding & Exploring Creative Development/Ownership Models

When faced with limited housing stock, astronomical housing costs, skyrocketing construction costs, and general funding shortages, **site teams pursued creative funding sources and development or ownership models to advance equity-centered housing policies and put housing assets into the hands of their community.** While the tech industry was once a significant funding source—especially for South Bay site teams—these resources have become more limited, prompting teams to seek alternative solutions. Creative approaches enabled site teams to leverage funding that would otherwise have been out of reach, while simultaneously prioritizing community members in the newly funded housing. Overall, site teams secured, leveraged, or committed \$76,096,412 during Cohort 2 (Table 5), demonstrating the impact of their resourcefulness.

Table 5. Policy Fund Cohort 2 Funding Indicators

Site Team	Amount of funding secured, leveraged, or committed	
Antioch	\$0	
ВАНҒА	\$250,000	
Berkeley	\$90,000	
East Palo Alto	\$125,000	
HACCC & North Richmond	\$355,000	
Mountain View	\$4,000,000	
Oakland	\$65,025,000	
Richmond	\$113,812	
San Francisco	\$0	
San José	\$6,000,000	
South San Francisco	\$387,600	
TOTAL	\$76,346,412	

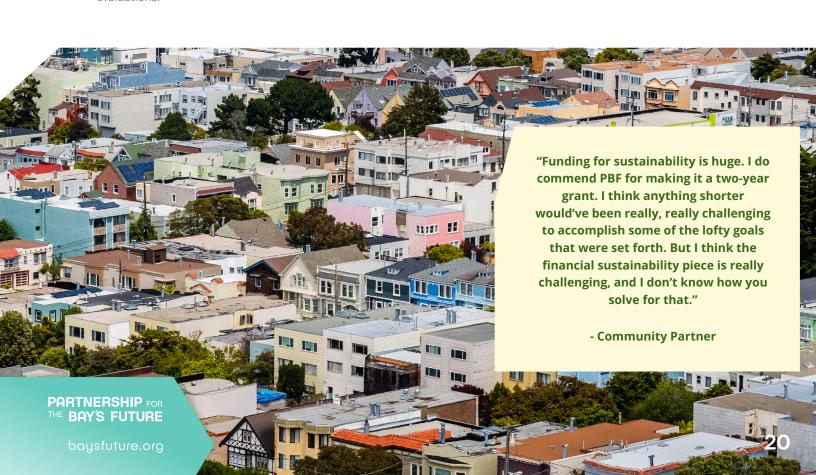
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Site teams successfully secured funding from various government funding sources or exemptions. Without sufficient external funding availability, site teams turned to their city and state governments for new opportunities. The East Palo Alto site team collaborated with the City Council to commit a percentage of the gross receipts business tax on residential properties to fund affordable housing initiatives. The BAHFA site team improved the state welfare tax exemption program, which now exempts developers and community land trusts from property taxes, enabling them to maintain feasible, affordable rents while covering operating costs. This program that also expedited the exemption process and has already helped five projects move quickly and easily through the administrative process.

Site teams that pursued innovative development or ownership models employed multi-pronged strategies to secure funding, contract with developers, and promote permanently affordable housing. By leveraging unique community land assets—such as public land or land owned by faith-based organizations—site teams transformed unused properties into housing opportunities that will benefit communities over the long term. While these projects extend beyond the two-year Policy Fund Cohort term, site teams have made significant progress and continue to work toward completion.

In **North Richmond, the HACCC** the site team sold 16 properties to local developers for \$1 each, with three additional properties sold at market rate. The sale agreement included a HUD-approved local preference policy to ensure that housing remains accessible to North Richmond families. This multi-pronged strategy enables developers to rebuild affordably and restore affordable housing options for previously displaced community members.

In **Richmond**, the site team advanced the Equitable Public Land Disposition Policy, which the City Council unanimously approved. The policy establishes the criteria for development on city-owned land and includes a preference for permanently affordable community ownership projects. The city has already identified up to four sites for development and is actively assessing other locations while seeking additional grant funding for further site evaluations.



Building Regional Power Through Collaboration

By working together, Cohort 2 site team members are building regional power and networks, leveraging new and regional opportunities, and finding strength in numbers to tackle shared challenges.

As discussed earlier, the San José and East Palo Alto site teams pursued OPA policies and encountered organized opposition. Although neither OPA policy passed, they met with other sites pursuing various OPA policies to share their insights about advancing these policies and responding to opposition. The time together helped teams learn from each other's work, plan for more effective approaches, and refine or revise strategic directions, including shifting to other preservation work when strategic.

The regional networking spurred through the Policy Fund also led to the Antioch, HACCC & North Richmond, and Richmond site teams forming the Housing Our Future Coalition. This new coalition seeks to foster collaboration between community-based organizations, advocates, and government agencies in local housing solutions. The coalition grown to 15 members, hired a coordinator through PBF funding, and will define its future priorities after the November 2024 election. This long-term regional coalition will further housing efforts in the region even as the PBF Policy Fund cohort ends.



Conclusion

The Policy Fund's second cohort fostered powerful collaborations between local Bay Area governments and community-based organizations, advancing housing policies centered on equity and community resilience. These partnerships, strengthened by the dedicated efforts of PBF Fellows, have catalyzed important steps in addressing housing challenges unique to each site's context.

Through their policy journeys, site teams made substantial progress across three critical areas:

- Preserving Affordable Housing and Protecting Renters: Site teams enacted
 policies like tenant preference and rental assistance initiatives that help protect
 communities from displacement. These policies, rooted in addressing historical
 harms, provide strategic, cost-effective solutions with immediate and lasting
 impacts.
- Building Community Infrastructure and Advocacy: By establishing advisory
 boards and fostering long-term community engagement, site teams have laid
 foundational structures that will support housing initiatives beyond the cohort's
 timeframe. This infrastructure ensures ongoing community representation in
 housing policy, bolstering both immediate projects and future equity-centered
 housing policy.
- Strengthening Regional Networks for Broader Impact: Cohort 2 has amplified regional power by connecting site teams in collaborative efforts like the Housing Our Future Coalition, enabling a coordinated approach to tackle shared housing challenges and strengthening a network committed to longterm, equity-centered solutions.

The Policy Fund enables site teams to collaborate in an environment that helps affordable housing solutions grow from concepts to powerful and effective results. Despite facing economic and political challenges, the site teams remained adaptable and resourceful. They secured diverse funding sources, implemented innovative policy solutions, and fostered relationships with city councils to build political will. As the Bay Area's housing needs continue to evolve, the lessons and models developed by the Policy Fund's second cohort serve as a guide for future efforts in equity-centered housing policy. This report aims to inspire future investments and support for initiatives that prioritize community-driven solutions to housing challenges.



Appendix: Evaluation Methods

In March 2022, PBF commissioned Informing Change to explore how Policy Fund partnerships further policy change, deepen collaboration between government and community partners, and shift power to communities. Informing Change also conducted the Policy Fund Cohort 1 evaluation, which we structured as a developmental evaluation given the program was in its pilot phase. Building on the success of the first cohort and it's evaluation, and considering the evolving needs of policy change efforts as well as the varied contexts and approaches across teams, we adopted a developmental evaluation approach for the second cohort.

We designed the Cohort 2 evaluation around three learning cycles, each exploring site goals, contextual factors, policy progress, stakeholder engagement, and community-government collaboration. Learning Cycle 1 established a baseline for understanding each site team's goal, context, and a method for assessing policy progress through measurable indicators. During Learning Cycles 2 and 3, we examined each site's goals, progress, and challenges. Indicators were tracked quarterly, with Fellows providing reports that informed evaluation activities and guided questions for subsequent learning cycles based on site teams' feedback.

Our iterative and developmental evaluation approach surfaced insights and feedback, enabling timely learning across site teams. These findings informed adjustments and shifts in evaluation direction as needed.

Table A1. Evaluation Questions by Cycle & Area of Inquiry *Bolded questions indicate priority evaluation questions within an evaluation cycle.

Cycle 1 Cycle 2 Cycle 3 **Policy Journey** · What milestones are expected as What pain points in the policy Where are sites in their policy part of the policy process? journey? Where have sites journey have been addressed, and how? What pain points are focused their energy since the fall What are the biggest barriers to still present and why? interviews and why? success? Where are sites focusing their To what extent have teams What other measures of success shifted or pivoted their strategy, energy at this midpoint and why? exist, other than passing a new and why? What has worked well policy? To what extent have teams shifted for teams and what has been or pivoted in their strategy? How do challenging? What are significant factors in these shifts differ from the original whether a policy advances and expectations/objectives? Where are we seeing policy passes? innovations? What new Where are we seeing policy opportunities and challenges are · What pain points in the policy innovations? What new emerging from these innovations? journey have been addressed, and opportunities and challenges are how? What pain points are still emerging from these innovations? · What pain points in the policy present and why? journey have been addressed and How is the cross-site collaboration how? What pain points are still benefitting site teams' policy present and why? pursuits? What recommendations do sites have for PBF or other organizations interested in funding similar work?

	Cycle 1	Cycle 2	Cycle 3
Community Engagement	 What stakeholders need to be engaged early on? How do groups define stakeholders and how does their engagement influence the policy process, and at which points? Who benefits from the policy? Who is threatened? What is at stake for the different groups? How are tradeoffs determined? 	 How do groups define interest groups and how does their engagement influence the policy process, and at which points? What is at stake for the different groups? How are tradeoffs determined? What is working in tackling misinformation? Who have been the sites' most powerful/effective allies, and why? How are you activating and educating your target communities? 	 What works in shifting power to community proponents while effectively reducing opposition? What strategies are effective in engaging groups most affected by policy goals? Who have been the sites' most powerful/effective allies, and why? How do sites define opposition groups and how does their engagement (or lack of) influence the policy process and outcomes?
Community- Government Collaboration	 What learning can be shared when government and community partners don't agree? What works well with Fellows as the in-between space of government and community partnerships? What does not work well? Is the Fellowship infrastructure sized correctly? What can we learn from this program about effective insideoutside strategies as a whole? What does it take for community- 	 What does it take for community-government partnerships to effectively, efficiently, and equitably address housing challenges? What challenges are sites encountering in securing funding? How can sites enable institutional relationships given staff changes? 	 How are teams collaborating across sites? How are sites' policy pursuits benefiting from the collaborations? What challenges are sites navigating in their collaborations? What is needed to build cross-site or community-government relationships to effectively, efficiently, and equitably address housing challenges? How will sites sustain policy work after the Fellowship ends? What challenges are sites navigating in

their sustainability planning?

Focus Groups

In Learning Cycles 1 and 3, Informing Change held a focus group with each site team to discuss their specific goals, progress, and challenges. Each group included the PBF Fellow, a community partner representative, and the site team's city representative.

· What does it take for community-

government partnerships to effectively, efficiently, and equitably address housing challenges?

In Learning Cycle 2, we facilitated focus groups organized around four policy themes: (1) COPA/TOPA, (2) Equitable Development/Production, (3) Preferential Land Use, and (4) Preservation. These policy themes emerged organically based on the site teams' self-identified policy goals articulated in their initial grant applications and scopes of work. It's important to note that most site teams worked on a range of policy areas beyond these four categories. As a result, focus group discussions covered the full spectrum of their policy work.

Background Document Review

The evaluation also draws on secondary sources, mainly a review of grant materials such as Policy Fund proposals and grant reports.

Indicators

The Cohort 2 evaluation introduced the collaborative creation and development of policy indicators, which Informing Change tracked quarterly. The indicators served three main purposes:

- To aggregate data from all site teams, providing a comprehensive view of their progress across the cohort and tell the larger story of PBF's collective impact.
- 2. To track site teams' focus over time, visually illustrating progress across different categories. For example, many teams concentrated on community engagement early on, with activity declining in later quarters.
- 3. To keep the evaluation informed of each site team's focus between learning cycles, enabling more productive conversations during data collection.

In Learning Cycle 1, we developed indicators through a collaborative and participatory process with the design team (San Francisco Foundation, Coro, and Enterprise) and individual site teams. This process began with a review of grant applications, generative conversations with the design team, and a proposal of indicator categories (e.g., policy journey, community-government collaboration). We then engaged each site team in virtual focus groups to refine and codevelop indicators based on their feedback. The Informing Change and design teams consolidated this information and asked site teams to prioritize the indicators they were most interested in and capable of tracking to capture their policy journey.

The process resulted in two sets of indicators: (1) common indicators tracked by most site teams and (2) unique, site-specific indicators tailored to each team's context and policy goals. These indicators were finalized in collaborations with the site teams and design team.

The common indicators provide the San Francisco Foundation and other housing funders and advocates with a quick understanding of overall progress. However, site teams also pursue distinct policies requiring tailored approaches, best understood through site-specific indicators and discussions that capture the context, pivots, and challenges of their policy journey.

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Common Indicators

Table A2 shows the aggregate common indicators tracked by the majority of Cohort 2 site teams.

Each site team pursued localized policies tailored to its community's needs and governmental structure, making direct comparisons of indicators across teams impractical. For example, Berkeley and San José pursued policies that required significant community engagement, supported by their long histories of activism and political participation. In contrast, South San Francisco faced multiple pivots in its policy journey, had a smaller population, and lacked the extensive community engagement infrastructure and history of the other cities. Because of the nature of their policy pursuits, the BAHFA and San Francisco site teams did not track any of the common indicators but still participated in generative conversations.

Nonetheless, the common indicators reflect where site teams expected to focus most of their efforts and the activities they deemed feasible to track based on their original plans and grant applications.

Definitions of Common Indicators

- Number of policies modified/passed/adopted: These include administrative
 policies and procedures at the department level within City government, as well as
 broader policies that require Council approval or a ballot measure.
- Number of pilot projects: These primarily include "test" projects related to a site team's policy pursuits (e.g., selling properties in a certain manner, or using certain techniques to develop housing).
- Number of community meetings: Site teams had the discretion to determine
 what to count as a community meeting. Generally, community meetings involve an
 open event where community members can attend and discuss matters related to
 policy pursuits.
- **Number of attendees at community meetings:** As possible, site teams generated estimates of the number of attendees at each community meeting. Attendees are counted more than once if they attended multiple meetings.
- Number of interested groups engaged: Interested groups (commonly referred
 to as "stakeholders") are specific groups or individuals whose expertise has been
 requested as part of the policy pursuit process. These are typically more targeted
 than a community meeting.
- Number of funding commitments leveraged/secured: These are the number
 of funding sources or specific commitments that site teams have secured for their
 policy work. For the most part, these include outside sources of funding that would
 not have been available to the site on a regular basis through other government
 processes.
- Dollar amount of funding leveraged/secured: The combined dollar amount, of the funding commitments.

Site Team	# of Policies Modified / Passed / Adopted	# of Pilot Projects	# of Community Meetings	# of Attendees at Community Meetings ¹	# of Interested Groups Engaged ²	# of Funding Commitments Leveraged / Secured	\$ Amount of Funding Leveraged / Secured
Antioch	4	Not tracking	13	282	144	0	\$0
ВАНҒА	Not tracking	1	Not tracking	Not tracking	Not tracking	Not tracking	Not tracking
Berkeley	1	Not tracking	10	514	29	2	\$90,000
HACCC & North Richmond	1	1	23	297	54	1	\$125,000
East Palo Alto	0	0	14	740	94	4	\$355,000
Mountain View	0	Not tracking	16	70	6	1	\$4,000,000
Oakland	4	0	5	230	180	15	\$65,025,000
Richmond	1	0	33	241	28	2	\$113,812
San Francisco	Not tracking	1	Not tracking	Not tracking	Not tracking	0	\$0
San José	1	Not tracking	10	398	199	3	\$6,000,000
South San Francisco	Not tracking	Not tracking	13	73	19	1	\$387,600
TOTAL	12	3	137	2,845	753	28	\$76,096,412

¹ This measure includes duplicate counts. For example, if one person attended three community meetings, they are counted three times.

² This measure includes duplicate counts. For example, if an interested group was engaged in each quarter of reporting, they are counted once for each quarter in which they were engaged.

Unique Indicators

In addition to the indicators listed in Table A2, site teams developed unique indicators, some of which were tracked by only a few teams. These unique indicators reflect the highly specific work required to achieve each site's policy goals. Often qualitative in nature, they address the challenges of capturing the full scope of policy pursuits using purely quantitative measures.

Unique indicators generally fall into four categories:

- 1. Specifics about the types of community engagement.
- 2. Specifics about the policy process (e.g., number of presentations given to City Council).
- 3. Outcomes related to policy pursuits (e.g., number of housing units produced).
- 4. Open-ended indicators about the demographics of community engagement participants.

Site teams used unique indicators during meetings and discussions to identify gaps in their processes. Table A3 highlights a selection of unique indicators collected by site teams.

Table A3 Site-Specific Policy Indicators

Antioch	Community Engagement	Policy Pursuits
	# of meetings with unhoused residents	# of homeowners who submit an ADU application
	Policy Process	# of low-income homeowners who submit an application
	# of REP trainings	Open-ended Indicators
	# of hours receiving trainings	Demographics of community meeting attendees
	# of presentations REPs gave to City government	Types of interested groups engaged
BAHFA	Community Engagement	Policy Pursuits
	Not tracking	# of convenings hosted by BAHFA
	Policy Process	# of convenings by community partners
	Not tracking	# of TA resources provided
		# of supporters of the bill, if proposed
		Open-ended Indicators
		Types of interested groups engaged

Berkeley **Policy Pursuits Community Engagement** Not tracking Not tracking **Policy Process Open-ended Indicators** Not tracking Demographics of community meeting attendees Types of interested groups engaged HACCC & **Community Engagement Policy Pursuits** North # of attendees at community meetings who live in North # properties sold and for what development model Richmond Richmond, former Las Deltas, and tracking where else they % of housing production that are affordable for more than 20 years % of former Las Deltas residents contacted interested in % of housing affordable at below 80% AMI returning **Open-ended Indicators** # of people engaging with Las Deltas updates at MAC meetings Demographics of community meeting attendees **Policy Process** Types of interested groups engaged # of standing/ad-hoc committees where policy was presented/ discussed % or # of former Las Deltas residents contacted who could affordably purchase or live in the new properties developed East Palo Alto **Community Engagement Policy Pursuits** Not tracking Not tracking **Open-ended Indicators Policy Process** # of government standing/ad-hoc committees with CBO Demographics of community meeting attendees participation **Mountain View Community Engagement Policy Pursuits** # of regional engagements (convenings or conversations) Not tracking **Policy Process Open-ended Indicators** Not tracking Types of interested groups engaged Oakland **Policy Pursuits Community Engagement** Not tracking # of tax defaulted or foreclosed properties in pipeline **Policy Process** Increase in the number of emerging developers who qualify for Oakland HCD loan/grant products Not tracking Codifications of new definitions **Open-ended Indicators** Demographics of community meeting attendees

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Types of interested groups engaged

Richmond

Community Engagement

of residents reached through other methods (e.g., phone calls, social media)

Policy Process

of units with habitability issues / # of blighted properties

of units as risk of foreclosure or tax default

and type of data collection, analysis, and visualization

Policy Pursuits

Not tracking

Open-ended Indicators

Demographics of community meeting attendees

Types of interested groups engaged

San Francisco

Community Engagement

of meetings with developers of color cohort members for feedback

Policy Process

of cohort teams to participate in mock NOFA and complete it

of city departments engaged to serve cohort

Policy Pursuits

of equity initiatives evaluated

of equity initiatives with process improvements suggested/ implemented

of equity-related NOFAs/RFPs released

Open-ended Indicators

Demographics of cohort members

San José

Community Engagement

of community members who testify at public meetings (commissions, committees, city council, etc.) (low priority)

Policy Process

of changes responsive to the input of community members and stakeholders most impacted by displacement or displacement risk

of discussions with decision-makers where the voice of community members who are most impacted by displacement is heard/presented

of pro-policy media placements (e.g., blog posts, opinion pieces)

of CBOs and stakeholders that endorse a policy

Policy Pursuits

Not tracking

Open-ended Indicators

Types of interested groups engaged

Number of signatories on COPA petition

South San Francisco

Community Engagement

of comments at public meetings

Policy Process

of standing/ad-hoc committees where policy was presented/ discussed

of discussions with decision-makers where community voice is heard/presented

Policy Pursuits

Not tracking

Open-ended Indicators

Not tracking

Challenges & Limitations

From the outset, site teams were hesitant about the concept of indicators. They recognized that policy work requires time and involves subtle, intangible efforts such as building relationships, shifting perspectives, and applying incremental pressure on decision-makers. The indicators process aimed to establish a common set of quantitative metrics for all site teams to track, enabling cross-team comparisons. However, this proved challenging due to the unique contexts, varying governmental processes, and significantly different policy goals of each site team. The final shared and unique indicators represent Informing Change's best attempt to methodically quantify aspects of the site teams' policy work.

Tracking the indicators posed logistical challenges for many site teams. Staff capacity was a key issue, as PBF Fellows—primarily responsible for indicator tracking—often required input from multiple sources to complete the task. Some indicators required highly specific details, such as the demographics of community meeting attendees, which further strained the Fellows' capacity. And revised work plans often rendered some indicators irrelevant to the site teams' updated policy pursuits.

Relying solely on indicator comparisons can create a misleading understanding of a site's policy journey. For instance, some site teams set clear and realistic goals to raise funds through repositioning existing City funds, while others primarily applied to small grants to fund specific time-limited positions. Comparing these funding levels may lead to false conclusions about the site's work. Therefore, it is our practice to employ mixed method evaluation approaches in our work because context is so important in understanding the quantitative indicators.

