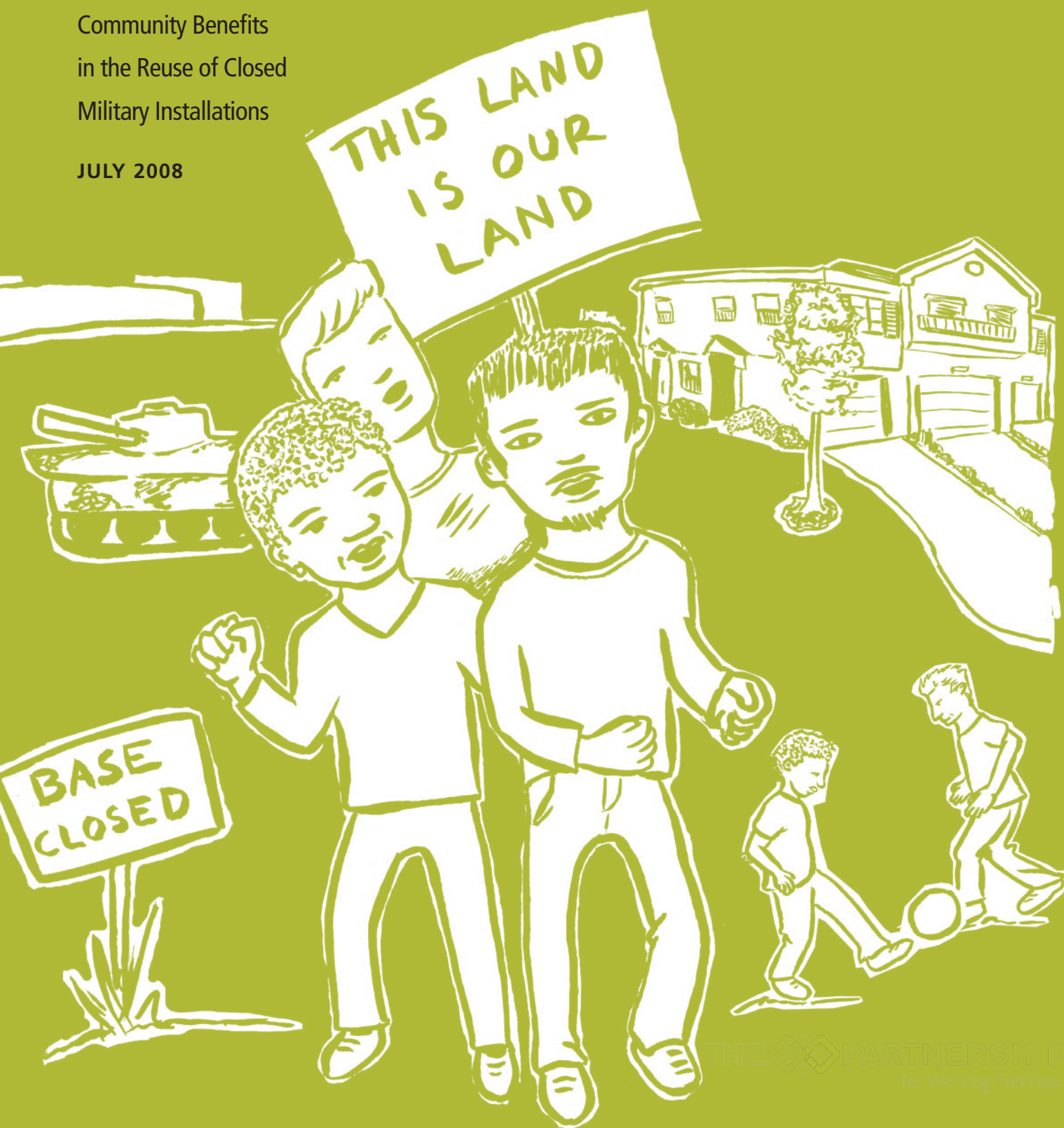


Base Building

Organizing for
Community Benefits
in the Reuse of Closed
Military Installations

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THE  PARTNERSHIP
for Working Families

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About The Partnership for Working Families

The Partnership for Working Families develops and promotes innovative strategies to build community power and reshape regional economies to transform the lives of workers and communities. We work to ensure that low and middle income workers and communities share in the benefits of economic growth and development in our new economy, emphasizing the creation of high quality jobs, affordable housing, environmental health, and career pipelines for shared prosperity.

Base Building

Organizing for Community Benefits in the Reuse of Closed Military Installations

- I. Introduction. 1**
 - Why focus on base closure and reuse?*
 - Community Benefits*
 - Base Realignment and Closure: What it Means, What it Means to You*
 - Why is base reuse important to you?*
 - This is YOUR Land*
 - The Opportunity*
- II. Okay, the Base is Closing 11**
 - The Local Reuse Authority*
 - The Planning Process*
 - Remediation/Environmental Cleanup*
 - Conveyance*
 - Implementation*
- III. Community Benefits and Base Reuse:
What are they? How can you pursue them? 23**
 - Why community benefits for base reuse?*
 - How to Include Community Benefits*
 - Base Reuse & Affordable Housing*
 - Base Reuse & Job Creation: Construction Jobs*
 - Base Reuse & Job Creation: Permanent Jobs*
 - Community Benefits and Environmental Issues*
 - Other Community Benefits*
- IV. Winning Community Benefits in Base Reuse 42**
 - Developing a Smart Strategy*
 - Organizing Your Base*
 - Building a Coalition*

Base Building

Organizing for Community Benefits in the Reuse of Closed Military Installations

1

I. Introduction

Why focus on base closure and reuse?

Since 1988, dozens of communities have faced economic crisis as a result of decisions by the Base Realignment and Closure Commission (BRAC) to close local military installations. Over the course of the first four BRAC processes, the economic impact of these base closures exceeded \$1.9 billion. The total economic losses to local communities will only increase as bases slated to close in the fifth BRAC round, announced in 2005, see civilian jobs eliminated and military jobs sent elsewhere.

It is easy to see the challenge and opportunity presented by these base closures. Communities face huge economic challenges when they lose the dynamic economic engines that historically provided high-quality, family-supporting jobs to civilian and military personnel while also creating markets for local businesses. But there are also huge opportunities. In many urban communities, most land is already developed. Base closures free up large tracts of land, presenting a once in a lifetime opportunity to address the most critical economic and community needs.

Unfortunately, previous research shows that local communities do not always make the most of this opportunity. There are many reasons why communities lose sight of the bigger goal. The process can drag on for years, even decades, while federal and local governments try to agree on a plan that can move communities forward. Meanwhile, changes in real estate markets send planners and developers alike back to the drawing board. In the end, there is great temptation to take whatever development project appears on the horizon, even if it will not meet community needs for housing, jobs, or a healthy environment.



BRAC —

stands for the Base Realignment and Closure Act. It is the process the Department of Defense uses to reorganize military infrastructure and property.

The community benefits movement provides a framework for communities to organize around a better approach to reusing closed military bases. The community benefits approach to economic development is based on a few key principles:

- Redevelopment that uses public resources should benefit all aspects of the community.
- Redevelopment decisions should be based on maximum public participation, to ensure that new ventures meet clearly identified community needs.
- Expectations for how redevelopment will benefit the community should be clearly articulated, and the mechanisms for achieving those benefits should be incorporated into all development documents.
- Elected officials and developers should be held accountable for making sure those expectations get met.

Across the country, communities are embracing this perspective, organizing coalitions of community and labor organizations to change how local governments and developers handle major urban projects. Closed military installations represent millions of dollars in public resources. It is critical that their redevelopment provide clear community benefits.

This manual provides concrete information on organizing communities to get more benefits out of military base reuse. It includes a detailed overview of the base reuse process and a discussion of the steps you need to take to attach community benefits principles to the base reuse plans in your community. The manual also includes information on organizing coalitions with other community and labor leaders to ensure community benefits are incorporated into the base reuse process.

The rest of this section provides an overview of the history of base closure, starting with the first round of BRAC closures in 1988, and outlines the opportunities and challenges base closure poses for local communities. Section two provides a detailed discussion of the base reuse process. Once the decision has been made to close the base, the federal government and local authorities begin a lengthy process to decide what to do with all the assets at the base and how to move forward with using the land to serve the community in other ways. Community residents have a lot at stake in this process. Section two explains what decisions will be made at each step along the way, and why they matter so much for the future. Section three discusses community benefits and provides suggestions for how to pursue community benefits at each stage in the reuse process. Section three also includes overviews of some of the main issue-areas that community benefits coalitions will want to address in their work: job quality and job access, housing and environmental needs. Finally, section four talks about organizing to win! Waging a community benefits campaign takes research, organizing, strategy, policy smarts and a lot

more. It may sound like a lot, but coalitions around the country have taken on big campaigns without a lot of money. Section four gives a preview of what resources you'll need, how to approach organizing the coalition and building a base of neighbors and workers who won't settle for less than the real community benefits they deserve.

Community Benefits

When people think of community benefits, they tend to think of the community benefits agreements (CBAs) that community-labor coalitions have negotiated with developers across the country. CBAs are legally enforceable documents that summarize the commitments developers make to the community. When coalitions sign CBAs with developers, they have legal standing to make sure those commitments are met.

But community benefits agreements are not the only way to make sure community benefits are incorporated into economic development. In fact, the principles that communities often put into CBAs can also be incorporated into the legal documents that local governments use to oversee development. Community benefits provisions can go into the general plans, the documents that outline what kind of development can happen in a particular area. They can also be incorporated into the documents that help determine which developer might be chosen to oversee a particular project.

What are community benefits provisions? Typically, they include a set of standards that ensure the development will improve the local economy rather than driving down the quality of jobs and making it harder for working families to earn enough money to pay for their basic needs. Community benefits standards usually include:

- **Job quality standards**, like requirements for employers to pay living wages (and prevailing wages for construction jobs) and agreements that give workers rights to collective bargaining.
- **Job access requirements**, which require employers to try to hire community residents for jobs created in the new development.
- **Affordable housing requirements**, which ensure that new residential development includes some units for working families.
- **Policies that enhance the health of the environment** by ensuring toxic sites are adequately cleaned up, providing greenspace, or requiring green building design and construction.
- **Other community needs**, as appropriate.

Since the first community benefits agreement was negotiated and signed in 2001, coalitions across the country have used this approach to make sure new development served their needs. In some cases, like with the Staples Center CBA negotiated in Los Angeles, the coalition negotiated directly with the developer. In other cases, like with Georgia Stand Up's work on the Atlanta Beltline, the coalition has worked to make sure that community benefits get incorporated into the plans for major multi-site projects.

For more information on community benefits and community benefits agreements, see the Partnership for Working Families website, www.communitybenefits.org, where you can find sample language, information on existing community benefits projects, and reports that can help your coalition understand what community benefits might help your community flourish.

Base Realignment and Closure: What It Means, What It Means to You

Base closures represent millions of dollars in public investment, including the value of the land and the federal and state funds required to remediate environmental degradation. When bases close, the tendency is to focus on the loss of economic value, but in fact base closures present tremendous opportunities too. In most urban areas, closed military bases offer a rare opportunity to think big, planning for major redevelopment projects that can radically improve the local economy. In order to start working toward that goal, community leaders need to understand the base closure process and how federal and local decision-makers approach the challenges and opportunities presented by reuse.

The First Four BRAC Rounds

The 1980s was a decade of change for the United States military. Technological advances and a changing political landscape changed the infrastructure needs of the military. Facing a declining budget, the Department of Defense initiated a process for closing and realigning excess military property and infrastructure. The Base Realignment and Closure Act of 1988 determined which bases would close and how to reorganize existing bases. The first round of closures began in 1988.

During the first round of BRAC 16 major installations were closed and 11 were realigned. Although the closure and realignments were completed, the reuse process was lengthy, complex and full of obstacles. Perhaps the most unfortunate requirement of this round of closure was the expectation that local governments would purchase land from the military at market rates. This requirement slowed the transfer and reuse process tremendously. In some cases,

local governments simply could not amass enough money to purchase the land. In other cases, the “market value” set for the land did not take into account the high cost of cleaning up the environmental hazards left behind when the base closed. As a result, reuse plans gathered dust and vacated land sat unused while community leaders tried to raise the money needed to reimburse the federal government.

Further legislation initiated the 1991, 1993 and 1995 rounds of base closures. The issue of local governments’ inability to purchase land from the military was addressed in the subsequent rounds of closure, through legislation that permitted a variety of no-cost transfers of ownership of former military property. Through the first four rounds of BRAC 97 military base have closed and 55 have been realigned.

5

BRAC Closure & Realignment Summary

BRAC Round	Major Base Closures	Major Base Realignments	Minor Closures & Realignments	Annual Recurring Savings
1988	16	4	23	\$900 million
1991	26	17	32	\$2.0 billion
1993	28	12	123	\$2.6 billion
1995	27	22	57	\$1.7 billion
2005	33	29	775	\$5.5 billion

BRAC 2005 Stats

- 33 Major Closures
- 29 Major Realignments
- 176 Army Reserve Facility Closures
- 211 Army National Guard Facility Closures
- 775 Small Military Location Closures and Realignments
- 29,000 Military and Civilian Jobs Lost

2005 BRAC Closures: the biggest impact yet

Under the Bush administration the decision was made to close more bases than ever before. The Department of Defense argued that even after four rounds of closures excess infrastructure was still costing \$3.5 billion in taxpayer dollars. As a result the Pentagon recommended that a further 25% of the military installations be closed. On May 13, 2005, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld announced the closure of 33 major installations and the realignment of 29 major installations. The following table provides the major closures and realignments of

BRAC 2005. There are no immediate plans to close bases in the future, but at any time the Department of Defense could initiate another BRAC round.

Base closure is when all activity at a base is stopped or relocated. All military, civilian and contractor positions are either eliminated or relocated. Base realignment is any action that reduces and/or relocates military and civilian jobs. Realignment does not result in an overall reduction in military force, but shifts operations from one location to another. While, realignment is cast as military personnel being moved from one base to another, the community impact of realignment can be as real as the impact of a base closure. Base realignment still represents a loss of jobs and spending within the local economy. The following table provides the major closures and realignments of BRAC 2005.

2005 Major Base Closures

California Riverbank Army Ammunition Plant Naval Support Activity, Corona Naval Weapons Station Seal Beach Onizuka Air Force Base	Virginia Fort Monroe	Wisconsin General Mitchell Air Reserve Station
Michigan Selfridge Army Activity W.K. Kellogg Airport Air Guard Station	New York Niagara Falls International Airport Air Guard Station	New Jersey Fort Monmouth
Georgia Fort Gillem Fort McPherson Naval Air Station Atlanta	Texas Lone Star Army Ammunition Plant Red River Army Depot Naval Station Ingleside Brooks City Base	Nevada Hawthorne Army Depot
Indiana Newport Chemical Depot	Pennsylvania Naval Air Station Willow Grove Pittsburgh International Airport Reserve Station	Connecticut Submarine Base New London
Kansas Kansas Army Ammunition Plant	Mississippi Mississippi Army Ammunition Plant Naval Station Pascagoula	Maine Naval Shipyard Portsmouth
South Dakota Ellsworth Air Force Base	Oregon Umatilla Chemical Depot	Louisiana Naval Support Activity New Orleans
Utah Deseret Chemical Depot		Arkansas Kulis Air Guard Station
		New Mexico Cannon Air Force Base
		Massachusetts Otis Air National Guard Base

2005 Major Base Realignments

District of Colombia Walter Reed National Military Medical Center National Capitol Region Leased Locations Naval District Washington	Arkansas Elmendorf Air Force Base Eielson Air Force Base	Kentucky Fort Knox
Texas Lackland Air Force Base Sheppard Air Force Base Naval Air Station Corpus Christi	Illinois Naval Station Great Lakes Rock Island Arsenal	North Dakota Grand Forks Air Force Base
California MCLB Barstow Naval Base Ventura City Naval Base Coronado	Missouri Army Reserve Personnel Center North Carolina Pope Air Force Base	Ohio Defense Finance and Accounting Service
Virginia Naval Medical Center Portsmouth Defense Finance and Accounting Service Fort Eustis	Florida Naval Air Station Pensacola	Indiana Naval Support Activity
	Oregon Portland International Airport AGS	Maine Naval Air Station Brunswick
	Idaho Mountain Home Air Force Base	Washington McChord Air Force Base
		Alabama Maxwell Air Force Base

State	Military Jobs Lost	Civilian Jobs Lost	Total Jobs Lost
Alabama	2,937	1,253	4,190
Alaska	4,624	824	5,448
Arizona	203	436	639
Arkansas	175	154	329
California	2,829	5,693	8,522
Colorado	189	1,494	1,683
Connecticut	7,159	1,056	8,215
Delaware	54	103	157
District of Columbia	2,990	3,548	6,538
Florida	1,520	1,905	3,425
Georgia	6,459	3,293	9,752
Hawaii	458	330	788
Idaho	1,264	116	1,380
Illinois	2,376	1,811	4,187
Indiana	326	1,093	1,419
Iowa	281	178	459
Kansas	65	247	312
Kentucky	10,689	1,044	11,733
Louisiana	2,178	1,062	3,240
Maine	2,525	4,334	6,859
Maryland	4,377	1,306	5,683
Massachusetts	222	853	1,075
Michigan	233	560	793
Minnesota	138	124	262
Mississippi	1,099	429	1,528
Missouri	1,249	2,463	3,712
Montana	40	84	124
Nebraska	96	234	330
Nevada	369	174	543
New Hampshire	39	5	44
New Jersey	823	4,845	5,668
New Mexico	2,457	550	3,007
New York	294	1,035	1,329
North Carolina	7,561	1,138	8,699
North Dakota	2,290	355	2,645
Ohio	374	3,569	3,943
Oklahoma	1,147	548	1,695
Oregon	246	837	1,083
Pennsylvania	1,453	1,494	2,947
Rhode Island	166	229	395
South Carolina	250	1,010	1,260
South Dakota	3,319	438	3,757
Tennessee	49	180	229
Texas	25,722	6,695	32,417
Utah	214	547	761
Vermont	0	0	0
Washington	719	387	1,106
West Virginia	132	129	261
Wisconsin	581	388	969
Wyoming	42	0	42
Total	105,002	60,580	165,582

Why is base reuse important to you?

When it comes to the closure of military bases, what matters to families, local businesses and the community is the loss of the base. Military bases provide high quality jobs for civilians, and opportunities for local businesses to thrive by selling goods and services to civilian and military families employed at the base. In many cases communities gave land to the federal government and welcomed the military into their communities. For decades the military and civilians lived as neighbors, mutually benefiting from a collaborative relationship. In many communities, the military provided hundreds of quality civilian and military jobs that paid living wages and provided family benefits. The military enjoyed the services of local businesses which benefited from military personnel spending throughout the economy. When the base closures and realignments are announced, communities experience the loss directly.



This is YOUR land!

Through the first four rounds of BRAC the federal government identified 504,000 acres of military property as excess land. As of 2004 72% of this land had been transferred to other federal departments or local governments. The remaining land remains in the transfer process.

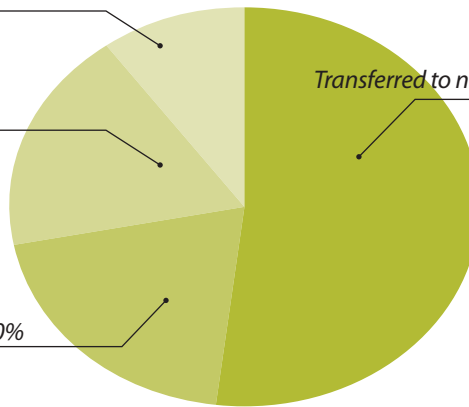
Status of Excess Military Property

Untransferred but leased 10%

Untransferred but leased 18%

Transferred to federal entities 20%

Transferred to nonfederal entities 52%



Military bases were built on public land and funded by public dollars. When bases close they are returned to the public and public funds are spent to redevelop the land. As a result you and your community should directly benefit from the redevelopment of the closed military base.

The Opportunity

Base reuse presents a once in a lifetime opportunity to improve economic welfare in your communities. Closed military bases free hundreds if not thousands of acres of land that can be rebuilt to provide good-paying jobs that lift families out of poverty. Bases can be used to grow industries and revitalize neighborhoods. Base redevelopment presents an opportunity to create quality jobs, affordable housing and other community assets. To get these benefits, your community must be involved and demand that the reuse process delivers tangible benefits to local residents.

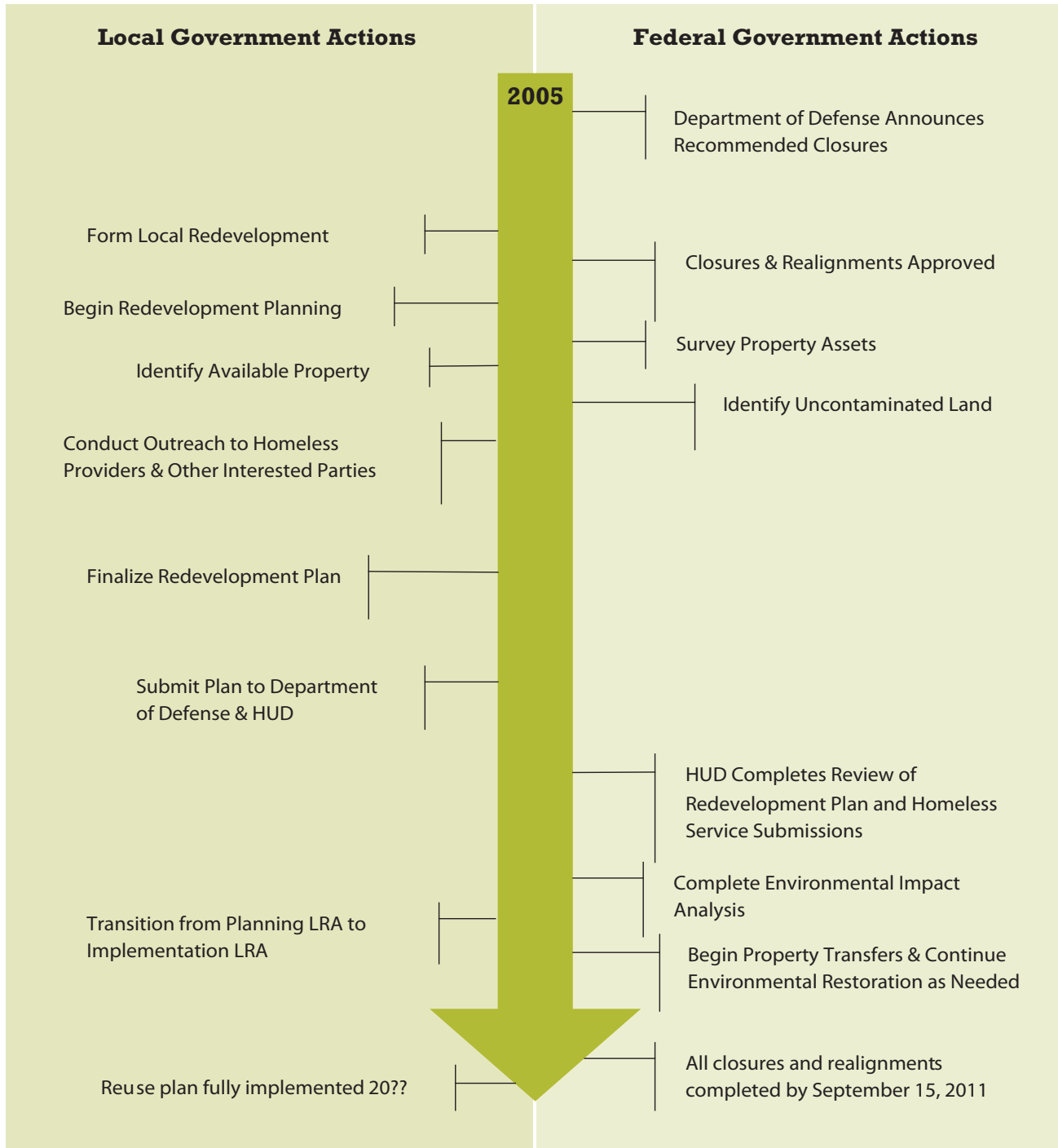
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Keep in mind:

- The base reuse process is long and complex. **This is a marathon not a sprint.**
- Base reuse can create good jobs that support families or it can create low-quality jobs for workers. Make it your mission to harness the redevelopment of the base for the benefit of the community. Don't accept the assumption that development will bring economic benefit to the local community. **Ensuring that the whole community benefits requires strong policies, reporting on outcomes, and monitoring along the way.**
- The impact that base closures have on the local economy is undeniable but the revitalizing effects the reuse process can have are invaluable. **The stakes are too high not to get involved!**

Base Realignment & Closure Process

10



This diagram is a simplified version of the base reuse process as described by the Department of Defense in the Base Realignment and Closure Manual. The timeline makes the process seem straightforward and linear but many of these steps require significant local work and require communication with federal agencies. As a result, at any point, the process might stall, and even after local authorities think they have completed a step, new problems might require them to start over.

II. Okay, the Base is Closing...

How does reuse work? How can you make it work for your community?

Once the federal government has decided to close or realign a military base, a long and complex process begins. This process involves the local government and the federal government working thru a regulated process together. While no two processes are completely alike, we have identified some key benchmarks for you to watch for in the reuse of a military base in your community.

Initially, the federal government will survey the assets and resources at the base and decide what will be kept, what will be moved elsewhere, and what to do with everything else. Meanwhile, the local community must begin to develop a plan for how redevelopment on the base will fit in with and enhance its assets while meeting its needs. Once the local plan has been finalized, it must be submitted to the federal government who then complete an environmental impact analysis and determine how much cleanup has to be done to make the land on the base ready for its redevelopment. Only once that step has been completed will the federal government officially transfer ownership of the land to the local community, a process that is commonly called conveyance.

After conveyance, the local community effectively owns the land, and the implementation of the reuse plan can begin. Generally a local reuse authority (LRA) is created to oversee the planning and implementation and to work directly with the federal government throughout. What follows is an explanation of what the LRA does and what happens in the planning and implementation phases respectively. In the next section, we will identify ways for you to intervene in each step of the process.

Local Reuse/ Redevelopment Authority (LRA) —

the organization created by the State or local government that is recognized by the Department of Defense. This organization is responsible for creating the base reuse plans or managing the implementation of reuse plans.

The Local Reuse Authority

A local reuse authority is responsible for planning and implementing the redevelopment of the military base. When the federal government decides to close a base, the Department of Defense designates the LRA as the official organization that will communicate with the federal government throughout the reuse process.

What does the LRA do?

The general responsibilities of the LRA are to:

- Develop reuse plans.
- Manage the environmental impact analyses and cleanup process.
- Oversee the actual redevelopment.

LRAs are **ALSO** supposed to:

- Solicit ideas for alternative uses.
- Conduct outreach activities that focus on community needs.

Even good LRA members may not fully understand the extent of community needs.

Community and labor coalitions have to reach out to these entities to make sure they understand what policies would help the community and to hold the LRA accountable for the level of community engagement throughout the reuse process.

What do you need to understand about the LRA?

Reuse/Redevelopment Plan —

is a plan that is approved by the local reuse authority. This is the plan for the redevelopment of the closed or realigned military base.

The reuse process is divided into two parts, the planning process and the implementation process. Some localities use two separate organizations to handle the reuse planning and implementation processes. For example, in the City of Oakland, the Oakland Base Reuse Authority was the LRA for the planning and conveyance of the land. Once the land was conveyed (to the Port of Oakland and the City of Oakland, respectively) the local agencies took on the LRA roles for implementation. In other communities, the same

LRA has overseen both parts of the process; once the planning LRA has completed the reuse plans they become the implementation LRA and focus on the implementing the reuse plans.

Planning and Implementation LRAs can be any of the following:

- Special purpose committee
- Local government
- Public corporation
- Joint powers authority
- Private nonprofit

Most planning LRAs are formed as special purpose committee while implementation LRAs tend to be run by branches of the local government. This means that reuse planning is generally managed by appointees and the implementation is run by elected officials. Elected officials tend to be more responsive to public opinions due to their position. Though this isn't always the case it's important to know who is running your LRA, which will help you understand the reasoning behind some of the decisions they make.

13

In cases where the land on the vacated base crosses the boundaries of multiple local governments, a joint powers authority may be created. A joint powers authority might include appointees from several neighboring towns, in order to ensure representation of all relevant local governments in the planning and implementation process.

The Planning Process

Often community organizations are so shocked and concerned about the impact of the base closure that they miss the opportunity to participate in developing reuse plans. Your community coalition needs to be a part of these conversations, alongside the local officials and business leaders who are usually involved in the process. It is important that you get a seat at the table as early in the process as possible. The planning process is the very first step. Most local reuse authorities try to have completed and approved redevelopment plans prior to the official closure of the military base.



Right of First Refusal

During the planning the process, the LRA will first entertain proposals from entities that have been given the right of first refusal in federal law. Some land owners, cities or organization may have first refusal rights. This means that before an LRA can develop reuse plans for former military property they must see if certain entities want the land first. Some of examples of entities that may have right of first refusal include:

- Cities or local governments that donated land to the federal government to open a military base.
- Cities or local governments that made agreements that if the base were to close the land would be returned to the city.
- Farms with land near missile silos.
- Native American Tribes.
- Public entities that would use the land for public benefit, like airports, hospitals, or universities, etc.
- Organizations that provide homeless services.

Make sure you know:

- What entities in your community have the right of first refusal.
- What they propose to do with the land.
- Whether your coalition can support their proposals. Do their plans maximize the benefits to the community? If not, will they negotiate a community benefits agreement with our coalition in order to improve their projects?

The Reuse Plan

The LRA is likely to write a plan for the redevelopment of the base. The plan provides a vision for what can be developed on the land. In some cases, reuse plans are very specific. For example, the reuse plan for the redevelopment of Sacramento's McClellan Air Force Base required new initiatives on the vacated land to create logistics and air traffic services industries that would serve the nearby airport. On the other hand, a reuse plan can also be very open-ended. After many years of working to develop a good plan for the reuse of the Oakland Army Base, the City of Oakland eventually approved a plan that calls for a "flexible alternative." Effectively, the plan said the City would entertain a broad range of proposals with different types of land uses, and would try to pick the one that fit the best.

15

By establishing what kind of development can take place on the site, the LRA's reuse plan sets the stage for what is to come later. For example, if community residents are advocating for the reuse to create high quality jobs in manufacturing or logistics industries, their efforts would be rendered moot if the reuse plan designates the land for service or retail jobs. If the reuse plan designates the land for high-end condominium or apartment development, then coalitions advocating for inclusion of affordable housing would have a harder time winning.

Know what your community needs and make sure you are working with the LRA to get those needs incorporated into the reuse plan!

Reuse plans often also include design requirements, like the height of the buildings, their placement on existing lots, construction materials, and other characteristics of the project that will help it integrate into the existing neighborhood or area.

The reuse plan might also specify whether and how any subsidies might be made available for the development. Subsidies might help make the land more attractive to developers who might otherwise take their business somewhere else. Types of subsidies include:

- Direct subsidies, in the form of grants and loans to a specific developer.
- Free or reduced cost land sales and transfers.
- Tax incentives, credits or abatements that essentially reduce the property taxes a developer would pay to local government.
- Infrastructure improvements, like roads, sidewalks, parking garages, etc. Rather than making the developer pay for these improvements, local governments sometimes pick up the tab themselves.
- Tax increment financing.

Finally, the reuse plan will likely explain whether the LRA or some local government entity intends to maintain ownership of the land and lease it to a developer for reuse, or sell the land directly to the developer. The decision to lease or sell the land has significant long-term implications for what money will come back to local government. If the land is sold (or given away), and property tax abatements are offered to the developer, then the community may ultimately get little or no benefit from the development. If local government maintains ownership, then the developer will make annual lease payments that can fund community needs. There are many arrangements that might ultimately benefit the community. **Make sure you know what is in reuse plan and whether your coalition believes it is the best way to provide scarce resources for community needs! Work to ensure the reuse plan includes job quality standards, job access requirements, affordable housing requirements and other community needs.**

The following is a brief description of the planning process that your local reuse authority and the federal government will undertake.

Federal survey of property and environmental impact analysis.

Once a base has been approved for closure or realignment, the military department will survey the property and decide which assets are excess and can be disposed of or transferred to non-federal entities. The federal government also starts the environmental impact analysis at this time.

Local Reuse Authority solicits notices of interest and homeless services needs.

Before developing the reuse plans for a closed base, the LRA must engage organizations that have “rights of first refusal.” This usually applies to organizations that provide a public service. These organizations have the first opportunity to claim property on the closed base. Homeless service providers, educational institutions, hospitals, etc. can submit a notice of interest to the LRA at this point.

LRA completes the reuse plans.

The LRA will then submit the reuse plans, homeless service and other organizations requests to the Department of Defense and HUD for approval. At this time the military will determine what environmental cleanup is needed for the reuse plans in an environmental impact report.

Transfer process begins and the LRA begins implementing the reuse plans.

Remediation/Environmental Cleanup

Most military bases leave behind significant toxins that must be cleaned up before converting the land into civilian housing, business and parks. Before the land can be transferred to the LRA it must be cleaned up first. The land on military bases is generally contaminated by toxins, chemicals, landfills and unexploded munitions. Not only is the environmental cleanup or remediation a long process but it is also very expensive.

What you should know

The federal government is required to have either cleaned the land or reached an agreement regarding cleanup before the land can be transferred to local authorities. However, different future uses require different levels of clean up. For example the cleanup requirements for residential housing are much stricter than the cleanup requirements for an industrial site. Therefore, on one hand, what the reuse plan establishes for the future use of the site may affect how clean the land becomes. On the other hand, what the city, the federal government and the developers are willing to pay for clean up may determine which uses can be considered. If the federal government has insufficient funds or interest in doing an extensive cleanup, the reuse plan may have to be altered accordingly. Transfer of ownership of the land may be delayed if the DOD does not want to pay for the amount of remediation required for the intended reuse.

Remediation —

is the environmental cleanup that is required before the military base can be transferred. This process may include toxin and chemical cleanup, capping land-fills and removing unexploded ammunitions.

17

Who actually does the cleanup?

It depends!

In recent years, the federal government began shifting the remediation process to the private sector in an effort to cut costs and speed up the transfer of land. The transfer of ownership cannot occur until the government either cleans up the land, or tells someone else to do it. Privatization is supposed to serve two clear interests. First, some people believe that if the private sector does the cleanup, then it will happen more quickly and reuse will proceed faster. Second, if the cleanup is done by a private entity, it appears that the federal government is not liable for enforcing the same degree of standards. If the developer



Environmental Cleanup Costs Through 2003

California	\$3 million
Texas	\$500,000
New York	\$245,000
Massachusetts	\$312,000
National Total	\$7 million

contracts privately for cleanup, then the liability shifts away from the federal government and to the developer. Communities may have difficulty holding developers accountable for high quality cleanup if the cleanup has been privatized.

Make sure you know:

- **What level of cleanup is required for the uses in the reuse plan?**
- **Who will do the cleanup?**
- **What toxins or pollutants are involved? How do those toxins affect quality of life in the surrounding area?**

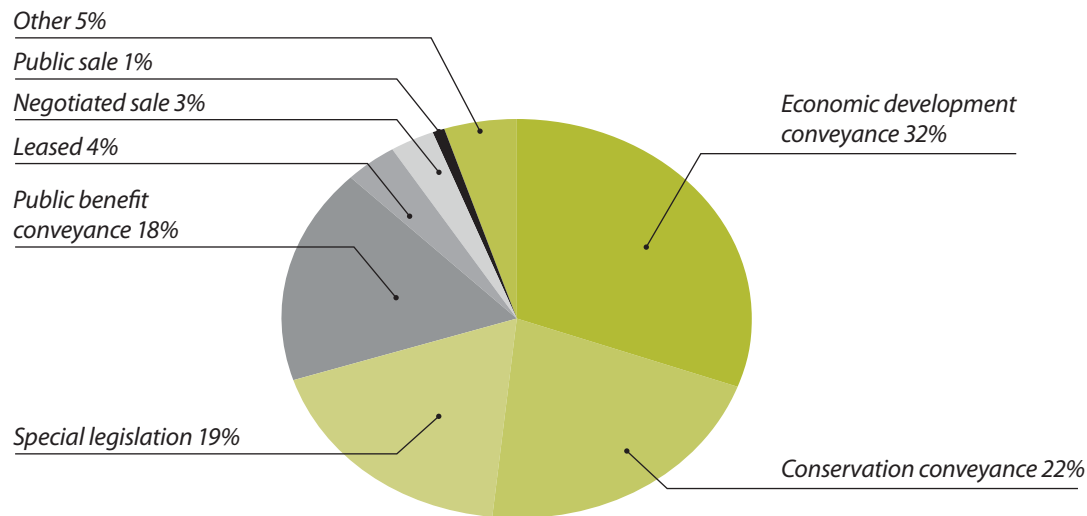
Be sure neighborhood residents are regularly informed about the progress of the cleanup. They should have a forum for expressing their concerns, getting accurate and timely information, and making sure clean-up benefits their families.

Conveyance

Conveyance is the legal process for transferring ownership of military property to local governments or LRAs for redevelopment. This is the step where the local government actually takes ownership of the former military base.

Generally, this conveyance cannot happen until the federal government has approved of the base reuse plan, but the types of conveyances anticipated may have a direct impact on what is written in the reuse plan. For example, one type of conveyance allows the ownership of the land to transfer at no cost to a homeless service provider, if they plan to use the land to provide transition housing or some other type of assistance. The actual ownership of the land would not be transferred until after the reuse plan was approved and the environmental remediation completed, but the reuse plan would identify the portion of the land slated for homeless assistance and would outline how it fit in with the rest of the land uses.

Conveyance —
is the legal process for transferring military property to local governments or LRAs for redevelopment.

Method Used to Transfer Former Military Property 1988-1995

19

Conveyances can take various forms. For some land use plans, ownership of the land can be conveyed to a local entity for free, or for limited cost. In other cases, ownership of the land requires payment of the market value. In still other instances, initial transfer may require payment of market value, but if the land is used for public benefit, the land cost is written down over time. See the Conveyance Method on the next page for a list of the different types of conveyances and what land uses are permitted or required for each type of conveyance.

The local reuse authority and the federal government decide on the format for the conveyance, which is tied to what types of land uses the base will be used for in the future. Understanding the conveyance will ensure that your demands are in line with the legal abilities of the local reuse authority.

Multiple types of conveyances can be used for different parcels of land on the same base. For example, when the LRA was working on a reuse plan for Ft. Ord, in Monterey County, some of the land was transferred to the University of California System for a local campus, while other tracts of land were transferred directly to the LRA and were redeveloped for luxury housing.

Conveyance Methods

Conveyance Method	Conditions	Examples
Public Benefit Conveyance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ The property is transferred at market value ■ A discounted value can be negotiated. ■ Title can be earned after 30 years of constructive use — or — ■ The land must be used permanently for public use. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Educational facilities ■ Health facilities ■ Historic Monument Transfers ■ Public Airports ■ Public Port Facilities ■ Correctional Facilities ■ Highways and Public Roads
Homeless Assistance Conveyance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ The property is transferred at no cost. ■ The property must be used for homeless assistance ■ If the property is not used for homeless services ownership is returned to the federal government 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Transitional housing ■ Job training facilities
Negotiated Sale	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Public agencies and Native American Tribes may purchase land at the fair market value. ■ Congress must approve the transfer ■ Property must be used for public benefit. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Schools ■ Housing ■ Health Facilities
Public Bid	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ The federal government can sell excess property through a public bid sale. ■ There are no restrictions placed on land use and development plans can range from housing, industrial or office space. ■ An LRA may choose to encourage the private sector to make bids on land that fit within reuse plans and zoning restrictions. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Retail Centers ■ Single Family Housing ■ Condos ■ Business Parks ■ Entertainment Facilities ■ Other uses
Economic Development Conveyance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Allows no-cost transfers to LRA if the land will be used to stimulate economic growth, i.e. job creation. ■ If an LRA then sells the land, the proceeds must be used to support economic development within the area for the first seven years. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Retail Centers ■ Manufacturing Facilities ■ Logistics Centers ■ Business Parks
Conservation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Transfer can be discounted up to 100%. ■ Property must be used for conservation purposes or it is returned to the federal government. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Park ■ Recreation ■ Wildlife Conservation

Implementation

Once the redevelopment plans have been approved by the Department of Defense (DoD), it's now time to put the plan in action. While the LRA and DoD are moving through the process, the LRA will start looking for developers to rebuild the base. The process for selecting a developer is complicated but it's important that your community coalition is a part of this process. This section will explain how the developer selection process often works. This section also explains how you can intervene in the planning and implementation phases to ensure community benefits in base redevelopment.

21

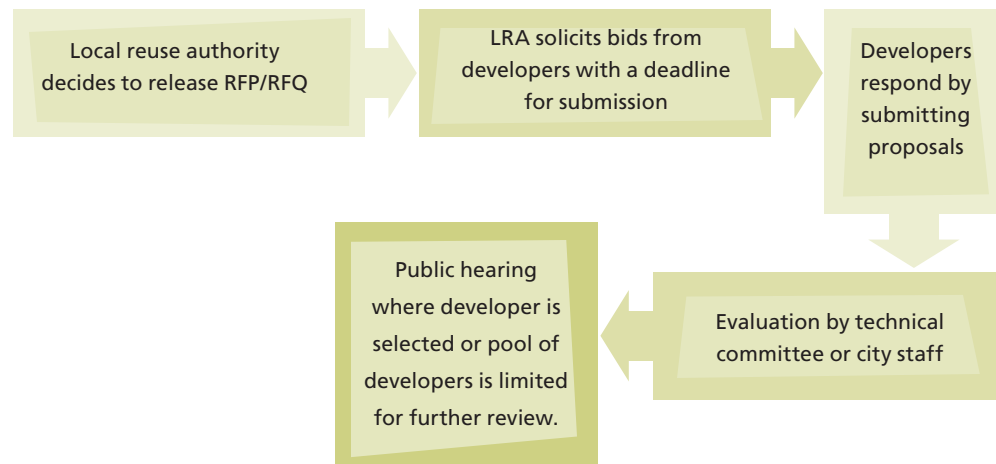
Selecting the Developer(s)

Most local reuse authorities decide to pick a private developer to handle the actual development of the former military site. Some LRAs will wait to involve a private developer after reuse plans have been approved. However an LRA may also choose to involve a private developer during the planning process.

In many communities, because the base is public land, the local government will use a formal bidding process to select a developer. This process will set out what the city is looking for in a developer and in a development and will allow developers to compete for the bid. Often, the local government will use a **request for qualifications** and/or **request for proposals** process to search for and select a developer. These are similar processes that can be used alone, in tandem or at the same time.

- **Request for Qualification (RFQ)** An RFQ asks developers to submit their qualifications for redeveloping the base. Interested developers are asked to submit bids that detail their qualifications and work history. This process is especially helpful when the site will need substantial environmental cleanup or other special precautions prior to construction. Generally base redevelopment is complex, takes many years and requires substantial funding. The RFQ will enable the city to identify which developers are capable of managing the process and ultimately producing a high quality development.
- **Request for Proposals (RFP)** An RFP usually asks developers to design a more specific project that meets the terms outlined by the LRA, and provides the kinds of benefits they want to see out of the project. Generally, the city will want to understand the financial feasibility of the project and what level of public funds the developer will need to complete the project.

How does this process work?



If an RFQ was issued the LRA may decide to narrow the pool of developers and go to an RFP phase with a smaller number of developers. Then the process begins again with the smaller group of developers.

Once a developer is picked, the LRA enters into an **Exclusive Negotiating Agreement (ENA)**. This is an agreement between a local government or LRA and a developer. The agreement grants the developer exclusive rights to negotiate and design a development proposal at a particular site. This process is usually 6 months or longer.

At the end of an ENA, a **Development Agreement (DA)** is developed. This is a contract between a developer and the local government or LRA that freezes land use and other regulations for a developer (over a negotiated period of time) and allows a city to gain concessions from the developer. The developer gains by having more certainty for a project that may take many years to complete and a city gains by achieving development standards that would not otherwise not happen.

Just as in the planning process, in the implementation process, the community can intervene at every step to demand that community benefits goals and outcomes are included in city documents and are a part of the evaluation process.

Once the developer has been selected, coalitions should start thinking about whether a stand-alone community benefits agreement is appropriate, and contact the developer to begin negotiations.

III. Community Benefits and Base Reuse

What are they? How can you pursue them?

The community benefits framework is centered on the simple proposition that the main purpose of economic development is to bring measurable, permanent improvements to the lives of affected residents, particularly those in low-income neighborhoods. Residents, especially those in low-income communities, should be meaningfully engaged in shaping and benefiting from development that comes to their neighborhoods.

23

Community benefits provisions hold local officials and developers responsible for the use of public subsidies and public resources, like the huge tracts of land freed up when the base closes. If public money and public land are used for redevelopment, then quality job creation and affordable housing should be high priorities. To achieve these outcomes, organizations working within the community benefits model intervene in plans being created, put policies in place and negotiate agreements that will deliver real benefits to residents when new development projects happen.

Within the base reuse process, the community benefits framework and tools can be used to ensure community benefits at every step in the process: from planning, to developer selection to final agreements. This section explains the community benefits tools that can be used. The following section describes what can be won.

Why community benefits for base reuse?

Base reuse is long and complicated, there are a variety of stakeholders and everyone has a different agenda. Community benefits tools enable you to consolidate the needs of the community. Also, the base reuse process can outlast the terms of elected and appointed officials. Due to the length of the process it is not enough to have elected officials on your side, you need to have policies that will hold even if officials leave their positions.

Including community benefits in base reuse redevelopment helps to clarify expectations over how public resources will be used. Community benefits provisions maximize enforceability of promises developers and reuse officials make to community members, and they ensure everyone's accountability to the community.

Community benefits tools ensure that the LRA's and developer's promises regarding community benefits are explicit and are legally enforced. Large development projects require some community support. Sometimes promises are made to communities that are never delivered. Developers will promise to create thousands of jobs, affordable housing or parks

and open space. While the intentions behind these promises may or may not be genuine, the only way to ensure that your community gets what they were promised is to have a legally binding agreement such as a community benefits agreement.

How to include Community Benefits?

Community benefits principles can be included in reuse planning and implementation throughout the process. The most commonly known community benefits tool is the community benefits agreement, signed between a labor-community coalition and a developer. However, the community benefits framework provides tools for every step in the process.

But waiting to negotiate with a developer means lots of decisions have already been made before community leaders start to get involved. The plan has already been written and approved, which takes some possible developments off the table. The developer has already been chosen.

Clearly, getting involved in the process early on can yield greater benefits.

- Community labor coalitions can help establish the approach to redevelopment, by insisting on reuse plans that maximize the number of good jobs that will be created, and by ensuring that housing developments include plans to require affordable units.
- By incorporating community benefits language into the RFQ/RFP process, community labor coalitions can ensure that the developers that ultimately get control of the land understand community expectations and are willing to work to meet them.

By getting involved right at the beginning, your coalition can influence how the process unfolds, rather than waiting to seek a community benefits agreement after lots of critical decisions have already been settled.

Even if it seems like the base reuse process is already far along, it is never too late to get involved. Communities often struggle for years, even decades, to make reuse plans work. Even after redevelopment appears to have made real progress, local reuse authorities find themselves reopening discussions, modifying the plan, and even starting all over again.

Once the reuse plan has been approved and the developers chosen, community labor coalitions can seek individual community benefits agreements with each developer involved in the project.

How can you get involved? Make sure you know the stage of your community's base reuse process.

Influence the Process

Stage of Reuse Process	Actions Your Coalition Should Take
Reuse Planning Process	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Attend hearings and community outreach events held by the local reuse authority. ■ Make sure that your coalition is represented on the Citizen Advisory board to the LRA. ■ Keep track of what organizations are seeking right of first refusal. Work with them to maximize community benefits incorporated into their proposals. ■ Research the former military site and facilities to gain a clear understanding of potential uses. ■ Begin discussions with local officials and LRA members about community benefits. Make sure they understand the community's needs around jobs, job access, housing, the environment and other services. ■ Develop a menu of community benefits provisions that express the community's hopes for how the reuse will address community needs. ■ Incorporate community benefits principles and language into the final reuse plans.
Developer Selection (RFQ/RFP)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Work with a lawyer to draw up community benefits language to be included in the Request for Qualification. ■ Work with the local reuse authority to get community benefits language incorporated into RFQ. ■ Research track records of qualifying developers. ■ Make sure community and labor leaders, elected officials, the LRA and the general public understand the track records of key developers so they can see how this decision will affect local residents. ■ Work with officials to include provision of community benefits into the grading system used to pick a master developer.
Development Agreement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Establish a relationship with the developer ■ Ensure that monitoring and enforcement policies are included in the final agreement with the developer. ■ Work to negotiate a community benefits agreement with the developer that will complement the community benefits language in the reuse plan and development agreement. Remember, without a CBA the coalition is unlikely to have legal standing to enforce these commitments!
Implementation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Monitor the implementation of the reuse plans to ensure commitments are carried out. ■ Keep the community fully informed of how whether the reuse is meeting expectations set out at the beginning of the process. ■ Work with elected officials to make sure they understand what is happening.

At each step in the process, community coalitions can work to ensure that the reuse planning responds to the needs of the community.

Including Community Benefits in the Reuse Plan

Many aspects of the future redevelopment are determined in the reuse plan. It is critical that community needs be heard as part of the process of writing the plan. This is where you can get in on the ground floor, and make sure that the reuse has maximum capacity to meet the needs of local residents.

How can you get involved? First, organize your coalition and be ready to get a seat at the table. The LRA is likely to hold hearings and public meetings to discuss potential uses. Your role is to make sure that members of the LRA don't only hear from businesses and developers, but also from the community residents who will live with this development for years to come.

In addition to attending meetings, gathering information on the process, and developing an agenda that speaks to community needs, your coalition should work to educate members of the LRA and their staff on what you think is the best use of the land.

Your LRA should also designate a Citizen Advisory Committee to help them understand community needs. Make sure your people are on it!

As the plan is being written, continue to push for approved uses that establish opportunities for high-quality job creation, create local hiring requirements that ensure local residents have first crack at the jobs, and include affordable housing in any residential development plans.

These are the steps you need to take to maximize opportunities for community benefits to be incorporated into the reuse plan:

- Research the former military site and have a clear understanding of the best uses for the site.
- Determine what community benefits make sense and are important to your community.
- Work with the LRA to educate them on community needs and how community benefits provisions can improve the plan.

Remember, including job quality standards, job access requirements, affordable housing language and other community services in the reuse plan gives the community the greatest assurance that these expectations will be met.

What can go wrong?

The Community was left out of the Redevelopment of Lowry Air Force Base

The Lowry Air Force Base was closed in 1994. The Lowry Redevelopment Authority (LRA) was created to plan and implement redevelopment of the 1,866 acre base. The reuse plans projected the creation of 7,000 jobs and 4,500 housing units. With approximately 80% of the redevelopment completed, Lowry is considered a success story locally and nationally.

Amongst the many success stories of Lowry is the disappointing story of an 80-acre plot of land commonly known as Lowry Vista, which caught the attention of the surrounding community. When the base was in operation, part of the land served as a military golf course and the rest was a low grade land-fill. When the base closed, the military and the LRA promised the public that this land would be developed for recreation and habitat preservation purposes. However, in April of 2008 the public learned that Lowry Vista was sold to a developer for \$10. Currently the plan is to pave the land and build retail stores and 1,000 housing units in an area that is already densely populated and congested.

The LRA claims that they had no choice but to give the land away because of the environmental cleanup needed to develop the land. They also argue that they tried to develop the land as a park, but that the Air Force refused to pay for the remediation needed to do so. The LRA also insist that they have not gone back on their promise to the public, because they have already met the open space goal set by the reuse plans.

In the end the LRA and the Air Force are pointing fingers at one another and no one is held accountable. Meanwhile the public is once again left out of the decision making process when it comes to public land.

This case study demonstrates the need for enforceable policies that hold officials accountable for the decisions they make regarding public assets. Community benefits tools hold developers and local officials to their promises and deliver real benefits to the surrounding community. Community benefits tools also help the public, community groups, government officials, and the media monitor and project's progress and outcomes. Having all the benefits set forth in one place allows everyone to understand and access commitments made to the public.

Including Community Benefits in RFQs/RFPs

The next step is to insert community benefits in the developer selection process. If a city uses an RFQ/RFP process, this is a perfect place to insert community benefits standards. The RFP/Q will usually outline the goals and standards for the development and ask developers to explain how they will meet those goals. By including community benefits in the RFP/RFQ you are establishing the standard that developers must meet if they want to work on the project.

28

NOTE:

Work with a lawyer to draft the language to be included in the RFP/RFQ

To incorporate community benefits into the reuse process:

- Educate council members or other elected officials to ensure that community benefits are included in the RFQ/RFP.
- Work closely with City Staff when drafting the RFP/RFQ to insert specific community benefit language.

RFP/RFQ language can include:

- Requirements for labor peace agreements (cities can only require this if the city has a financial stake or proprietary interest in the project).
- Requirements that developers show how they will meet local hire goals or provide for other community benefits (affordable housing, childcare, etc)

Additionally, RFP/RFQ language can explain how proposals will be scored. The language should make it clear that those developers who are willing to provide community benefits, or whose proposals go further towards meeting specified job quality targets, will receive extra points in the scoring process.

Remember that getting your language into the RFP/RFQ is not the end goal, though it is an important step in the process of getting real community benefits out of the redevelopment. Your coalition will have to keep monitoring the process and educating community members and elected officials on your concerns as the developer is selected.

Oakland Army Base RFQ

EBase is leading a community-labor effort to harness the redevelopment of the Oakland Army Base for the benefit of the community. This coalition has petitioned the City to ensure that the jobs created on the site will reduce and not increase working poverty in Oakland. As a result, the City has acknowledged the need for community benefits by including local hire, quality jobs, labor peace and job training in the RFQ as goals. The RFQ also required developers to report on the number, types and wages of jobs that their development will likely create. While these requirements do not ensure community benefits, they are a step in the right direction

Specific language in the Oakland Army Base RFQ: (p12-13)

Community Benefits. *The GDA should be developed in a way that provides real, long term benefits to the West Oakland community and to residents throughout Oakland. This development has the potential to create new job opportunities for local residents, business opportunities for local businesses, and/or amenities (such as shopping and open space) for the West Oakland community. Contractors and new developments at the Site will be expected to demonstrate they are meeting the goals of the City's Living Wage Ordinance and Local and Local/Small Business Enterprise ("L/SBE") participation. Please see <http://cces.oaklandnet.com/cceshome/>.*

Labor Relations. *The City has a long history of working collaboratively with organized labor. The Agency supports projects that have a declared Labor Harmony agreement, and at the time of executing a development agreement, the Agency anticipates working collaboratively to address the interests of organized labor.*

29

Negotiating a CBA with the Developer

Once the reuse plan has passed and the developer(s) chosen, your coalition faces the exciting prospect of negotiating a community benefits agreement that can make sure real community benefits come out of the development.

Even if you have been successful in getting community benefits principles and language incorporated into the reuse plan and the developer selection process, it can be useful to negotiate a community benefits agreement with the developer.

- A CBA creates another level of enforceability, giving your coalition legal standing to require that job quality standards, job access, housing affordability and other community needs are met.
- If multiple development projects and multiple developers will be working on the former base, a CBA negotiation provides opportunities to tailor the community benefits demands to the type of development. You may end up needing different programs or policies for different types of developments. The CBA process is uniquely suited to tailor the community benefits to the project.

- CBA negotiations give you the chance to win more for your community. Some developers may resist even doing the bare minimum, while others may have standard business practices that are conducive to community benefits. In a negotiation, you work together to come up with the best package of benefits.

Unlike other stages in the base reuse process, elected officials and members of the LRA do not have a direct role in community benefits agreements. Instead, you will want to negotiate directly with the developer. But it is important to keep local elected officials and LRA appointees aware of your efforts. Your coalition's support may be important for the developer's project to get the approvals it needs to move forward.

30



What you need to know

- What are the housing needs in your community?
- Are there affordable housing standards in any of the jurisdictions in which the project is located?
- How does your jurisdiction define "affordable"?

Base Reuse & Affordable Housing

While everyone's intention may be to revitalize the community after the base closure, there may be disagreement over how this should be done. Some people may want to build luxury homes that would attract wealth to the community and increase the tax base. Others may argue that affordable housing is needed. Ultimately the redevelopment of the base should benefit the current residents. If there is a need for affordable housing then the redevelopment of this public land, funded by public dollars should directly address this need.

A community benefits agreement can be used to promote affordable housing in both the rental housing market and the ownership market. Some jurisdictions have "inclusionary zoning" requirements, calling for a certain percentage of units in new residential developments to be "affordable." A typical affordability requirement is 10% to 15% of new units; the percentage often varies with the size of the development. Definitions of "affordable" tend to vary, but are usually linked to regional median incomes, with the goal that households should pay no more than 30% of income towards rent. Make sure you know how affordable housing is defined in your area. Sometimes affordable housing is not affordable for middle income families, let alone low income families. For example, the redevelopment of Fort Ord in Monterey County projected the construction of 9,000 housing units. The reuse plans say that 20% of

the housing must be affordable housing. However, in order to afford most of the affordable housing a family would need an annual income of approximately \$72,000 or 120% of the county median wage. This housing is obviously not priced for low income families.

What you could ask for:

- Require a percentage of the units be made affordable and not just below market rates.
- Define “affordable” to ensure that low income workers can afford the housing units.
- Establish the number of years after construction that the units must remain affordable.
- Require the developer to contribute money to an affordable housing fund.

FRESC (Denver) negotiated the Cherokee-Gates Community Benefits Agreement in 2006. This agreement will create 200 affordable rental units (20% of all new rental units) and 150 sale units (10% of all new sale units).

Good Jobs and Livable Neighborhoods (Milwaukee) worked to pass the Park East Redevelopment Compact (PERC) in 2005. Regarding Affordable housing, the agreement requires that affordable housing units be created to total 20% of all new housing built in the Park East development. Proceeds from land sales can be used to help provide financing for affordable housing.

31

Homeless Assistance

Base closures are a great opportunity to address the needs of homeless population. Closed bases free residential space that can serve as transitional homes as well as facilities where job training can occur. Incorporating homeless assistance services into the reuse plans are different than including other community benefits. Federal legislation (The McKinney Homeless Assistance Act of 1987 and the Base Closure Community Redevelopment and Homeless Assistance Act of 1994), gives homeless service providers priority in the reuse of former military property.

The Redevelopment Act applies to all base closures including and after BRAC 1995. This Act made the LRA responsible for reaching out to homeless service providers in their community. There is a strict timeline that service providers, the LRA and the federal government must follow.

- The military is required to publish a list of excess property on a base.
- **One month** after this list is published the LRA must solicit notice of interest in a local newspaper from homeless service providers that want to use the available space.
- Homeless service providers have between **90 and 180 days** to submit notice of interest to the LRA.

- Within **nine months** after the receiving notice of interest the LRA must submit reuse plans to HUD
- HUD will review the submitted documents and either approve them or request a resubmission.

While homeless service providers are legally given priority in base redevelopment projects, communities and even local officials may resist including these services in a new development. Many people envision expensive condos and upscale stores in big redevelopment projects and may not want to include homeless services in that vision. Regardless of this view the provision of homeless services is an important part of community development. Don't be scared off and don't settle for less than what is needed in your community.

Homeless Services in the Reuse of McClellan Air Force Base — Sacramento, CA

The closure of McClellan Air Force Base was announced in 1994 and Sacramento County was designated as the local reuse authority. Shortly after, Sacramento Cottage Housing Inc. (SCHI) submitted a notice of interest, proposing a 120 unit housing development for formerly homeless people with special needs, domestic violence survivors, persons with AIDS, women military veterans and other vulnerable populations. SCHI requested the existing base hotel and former pizza restaurant for job development. The County approved SCHI's request and submitted the reuse plans to HUD, who also approved the plan.

The County wanted to stimulate growth within the local economy, and in 2000 began to seek a private developer. At this time the County also released a final reuse plan, which excluded the previously approved SCHI plans. The County later modified the plans but began pressuring SCHI to give up the hotel site they had chosen. SCHI recognized that they were up for a fight and refused to have their plans pushed to the side, as they had entered into a legally binding agreement with the County. It was at this point that SCHI discovered that the County has transferred the hotel property to a private developer who they also gave \$118 million.

After a series of meetings and little progress, SCHI began to mobilize for a legal fight and took to the streets with their coalition demanding that the County meet with them. The County finally came back to the table and agreed to give SCHI a site that would be developed as a 100 unit development that would become Serna Village.

In the end SCHI got what they were promised, but it didn't come easily. It was a long, complicated process. SCHI's success demonstrates the need for strong leadership, legal assistance and community partnerships. SCHI proved that the provision of homeless services is an important part of community development and that the fight can be won.

Base Reuse & Job Creation: Construction Jobs

Historically, construction jobs provided opportunities for workers to support their families, and enabled many low-income workers to move into the middle class. More recently, though, construction job quality has declined. When closed military bases are rebuilt for other purposes, the construction phase can help workers in the area get a foothold in construction careers and can provide high quality jobs for new construction workers — but only if you work to enact high job quality standards and make sure programs are established to help low-income workers get access to construction jobs!

It is important to connect job quality standards with job access programs. Why work to help low-income local residents get construction jobs if they are not good jobs? Instead, make sure that you are working to help local residents get into the construction industry with credentials — like apprenticeship and journey-level status — that enable them to continue to work when this project is over.



33

Job Quality Standards

Not all construction jobs provide good wages and benefits, safe workplaces and good training. There are a variety of ways that you can work for high quality construction jobs.

Prevailing Wages

Prevailing wage requirements ensure that wages paid on construction projects reflect wages commonly paid in the state. Why require prevailing wages on base reuse projects? Because economic development that creates private profits based on public resources should not drive down wages in the region. If the reuse plans, development agreements, and any CBAs you negotiate with developers require payment of prevailing wages, then contractors will not be able to submit a lower bid merely by paying their workers lower wages. Typically, state governments conduct an annual survey of the construction industry and set prevailing wages for each trade.

Some states and local governments already have requirements that any subsidized redevelopment project must pay prevailing wages for construction work. ***Find out if your community already has this requirement and make sure base reuse construction has to comply!***

Contractors typically argue that prevailing wage requirements increase their costs, but recent research shows this claim to be untrue. For a full explanation of why, see the briefing paper by the Economic Policy Institute, “Prevailing Wages and Government Contracting Costs: A review of the research.” <http://www.epi.org/content.cfm/bp215>

Responsible Contractor Policies

Another way to ensure high-quality construction jobs is to establish a responsible contractor policy for the reuse. A responsible contractor policy sets out a list of qualifications that contractors must meet in order to be eligible to get work on the project. For example contractors might be required to show that they participate in apprenticeship programs, or some other organized and credentialed training program, or that they provide OSHA training to ensure a safe workplace.

Apprenticeship Utilization Requirements

Requiring contractors that work on base reuse construction to use the maximum number of apprentices allowed by state and federal regulations ensures that the project will create real training opportunities for new workers. This type of requirement also rewards contractors who are already contributing to the community by training new workers, making it easier for them to compete for the work. The allowable ratio of apprentices to journey-level workers varies depending on the type of work. For examples, electricians have a different ratio than bricklayers. In some states, the state government regulates apprenticeship. In states that do not have a State Apprenticeship Council, federal regulations oversee apprenticeship. Learn about the regulations that govern your state and make sure base reuse construction maximizes training opportunities for new workers!

Job Access

In order to maximize the impact that a major construction project can have on surrounding communities, coalitions should work toward creating local hire requirements. Local hire requirements ensure that residents of the neighborhoods most deeply affected by the base and its closure have a chance to get work through the reuse construction. Additionally, local hire requirements can help target new apprenticeship opportunities to low-income residents and job-seekers.

Getting new workers into these construction jobs is a long-term effort, and requires years of advance planning. ***Start preparing as soon as the base reuse planning begins, in order to have all the pieces in place when the construction starts!***

To make construction local hire programs work:

- ***Establish local hire requirements*** as part of the base reuse plan. Make sure that participation in a local hire program is prioritized in the RFP/RFQ process, and work with the developer, building trades unions, and contractors to make sure everyone understands the importance of this program.
- ***Ensure pre-apprentice programs are available*** to help orient job-seekers to the process of getting a construction job, and to help them get the skills and services they need to qualify for the work. Each union's apprenticeship program requires a different set of skills, and the programs accept new applicants on their own schedule. Some take new applicants every month, while others only accept new applicants every year or two. ***If your community does not already have a good pre-apprenticeship program, seek funding to get one set up!***
- ***Work with community organizations to do outreach to low-income job seekers***, so they understand the jobs that will become available and start getting ready now!
- ***Work with trades unions and contractors to solve problems with local hire programs as they arise.*** Get to know the apprenticeship coordinators and trades leaders who will have to make the program work. Educate them about the importance of the program and learn about the challenges that must be overcome to make the program work.

Pre-apprenticeship programs help low-income workers get ready for construction jobs. If your community doesn't have a pre-apprenticeship program, check out these models to see what might work best for your region:

- ***Big Step, Milwaukee, WI***
<http://www.wrtf.org/>
- ***Construction Skills 2000, New York***
<http://www.constructionskills.org/>
- ***NJ Institute for Social Justice***
<http://www.njisj.org/ecccp.html>

Los Angeles' Community Redevelopment Agency recently passed a landmark Construction Careers Policy, which will establish a project labor agreement for the construction of any project that receives city subsidy. As part of the project labor agreement, contractors will be required to employ local residents for 30% of all hours worked, and for 50% of all apprentice hours worked. The policy will create at least 5000 new job opportunities for residents of low-income neighborhoods in L.A.

Learn more about this policy at <http://www.communitybenefits.org/article.php?id=1197>

Base Reuse & Job Creation: Permanent Jobs

While nearly all reuse plans predict job creation that exceeds the number of jobs lost, few plans address the issue of job quality. Protecting the quality of permanent jobs is extremely

Permanent Jobs

are all jobs that are not construction jobs...

Retail

Service

Transportation

Hospitality

Manufacturing

Logistics

important in base reuse. In order to truly replace the jobs lost due to the base closure, quality jobs that pay living wages, provide family benefits and protect workers' rights to organize must be created.

Unless concrete job standards are attached to the jobs created on the base in your community, it is unlikely that many permanent jobs will pay a living wage or provide benefits. Your community coalition should work to incorporate job standards into the base reuse plans. Job quality and job access standards are tools that have proven to deliver family sustaining jobs to local residents. The best results occur when both standards are attached to a new development.

Job Quality Standards

Living Wage

Living wage requirements are based on a simple principle; that tax dollars should not support the creation of low-wage, poverty sustaining jobs. Instead only developers and employers that are willing to paying a living wage should receive public funds.

What is a living wage?

A living wage is a wage that will lift a worker out of poverty. This wage is generally higher than the minimum wage in your state. Living wages can be determined based on the federal

poverty line or the cost of living in your area. When trying to determine what the living wage is in your community, you should also consider the cost of health care and whether the employer in question will provide such benefits. Some living wage policies can also require employers to provide health insurance, and if they do not provide insurance then they must pay a higher wage. Other policies require a certain number of paid or unpaid days off and limitations on hours worked. For example in Los Angeles County the minimum wage is \$7.50 while the living wage is \$11.84, which is the amount each parent would need to earn to support a family.

Living Wage Resources

Economic Policy Institute, Living Wage Issue Guide, www.epinet.org

LAANE, Living Wage Technical Assistance Project, www.LAANE.org

ACORN, Living Wage Resource Center, www.livingwagecampaign.org

Policy Link, Equitable Development Toolkit, www.policylink.org

Good Jobs First, Best Practices, www.goodjobsfirst.org

What should you ask for if there is a local living wage requirement?

Some communities already have living wage requirements, but these requirements usually only extend to developers with city contracts. This means that the developer of a shopping center is required to pay living wages, but the tenants (i.e. Target) is not required to pay living wages. In these cases your coalition can request that the living wage requirements be extended to all jobs in the development.

Developers are often very resistant to requiring their tenants to pay living wages. One way of overcoming this is to incorporate an incentive program for tenants that agree to pay living wages. For example, a developer may reduce rent if the tenant agrees to pay living wages.

37

What should you ask for if there isn't a local living wage requirement?

If there is not a living wage policy in place in your community, such requirements can still be incorporated into a community benefits agreement. As previously discussed, most base redevelopments are supported by public subsidies and predict the creation of thousands of jobs. It is reasonable that these jobs pay wages on which local residents can raise their families.

Be aware that not only will developers resist such requirements, but local officials may oppose such requirements as well. Developers will especially resist requiring their tenants to pay living wages. However in the case of retail developments, it is likely that the retail stores are also receiving subsidies. As a result they should also be held accountable for the quality of the jobs they create.

Right to Organize Commitments

Unions deliver real wages and benefits to workers and although workers have a right to organize a union in their place of work, employers often use their power to discourage workers from organizing. This is why you should include a right-to-organize agreement in the base reuse plans or community benefits agreement. Such commitments include "card check" agreements, which greatly simplify the process of determining whether employees in a particular workplace wish to unionize, and "neutrality" agreements, which ensure that employers will not use their power over employees to discourage forming a union.

Responsible Contracting

Responsible contractor requirements encourage developers to enter into contracts with service providers that have high job quality standards. For example, if a developer builds a shopping mall, they will mostly likely seek a contractor that will provide cleaning or security services. Responsible contractor policies ensure that developers select contractors that pay living wage, provide benefits and allow workers to organize.

Job Access Standards

Local Hire

Local officials and developers will try to gain community support by saying that the redevelopment will create thousands of new jobs. But you may be asking “how do we make sure that the jobs created on the base benefit the local residents that were negatively impacted by the base closure?” Local hire policies are an excellent tool for accomplishing this and should be a part of your community benefits efforts.

Local hire requirements are an important part of the community benefits agenda because they ensure that when public funds are used for development projects, the benefits are directed to the impacted community. The point is not only to hire local residents, but create opportunities for low-income residents and people of color who might otherwise not benefit from new development projects.

Who should local hire programs benefit?

- People who lost their job when the base closed
- Residents in the neighborhoods surrounding the base
- Residents of low-income neighborhoods
- Ex-offenders



Local Hire Programs

Once construction is completed permanent jobs will be created by the business that are located on the base. Examples of permanent jobs include retail or industrial jobs, basically any jobs that are created on the new development once construction is completed. Local hire programs for permanent jobs should include a first source referral system. First source programs help connect local workers with developer and employers.

These programs screen, train and refer local workers to new employers. Employers are usually resistant to first source programs, but in the end they make the hiring process easier for job seekers and employers.

To make sure that your first source program has the greatest impact on local residents it should include the following:

- The agreement should require the developer **AND** employers at the development to participate in local hire programs.
- Strong policy language and a committed staff are essential to delivering real jobs to local residents.
- The program must be monitored to ensure developers and employers are in compliance.

39

Community Benefits and Environmental Cleanup

Low income neighborhoods and communities of color have long borne the brunt of dirty industrial development. As neighbors to industrial sites, these communities have dealt with air pollution, noise pollution and resulting escalated levels of respiratory complications. Communities that surround military bases have in some cases suffered no less. In fact the environmental risks associated with military bases are multiplied by toxins, landfills, and unexploded ammunitions.

Reused military bases should not simply maintain the environmental conditions, for example, by planning developments that will require the least amount of cleanup. The land on former military bases is invaluable to communities and the land should be cleaned up and used to its full potential.

Parks and Open Space

There is often a noticeable lack of green space in urban neighborhoods. Parks and open spaces are an important part of the development of any community. Due to the amount of land base closures free for development, the reuse process is a perfect opportunity to address this need in your community. The larger the development and the more public money the developer is receiving, the more your community coalition should consider including parks and open space requirements in reuse plans and a community benefits agreement with the developer.

Green Building Standards

Generally, the buildings on former military bases are old and in disrepair. Some buildings even house toxins like asbestos. Since many of the buildings on the base will be rebuilt it make sense to require that new buildings do not consume as much energy or resources as the old buildings. You can address this concern by including green building standards in a CBA. Green building is the practice of constructing energy and resource efficient buildings. Green buildings consume less water, energy and materials. Green building also has the potential to create new jobs in green industries.

Pollution Standards

Your coalition should encourage decision makers to choose developers and industries that are known for their environmental standards. Operating bases cause a great deal of pollution, but there is no reason that the new development should.

Community Involvement

The community should be involved in the decision making and monitoring of the remediation process. The only way to ensure meaningful community participation in this process is to include these requirements in a CBA. You could also request that the developer contribute to community education on the cleanup process to increase residents' ability to participate in meaningful ways.

Open Space Trust Fund

If parks and open space are not a feasible option for the redevelopment of the base in your community, you could demand that the developer contribute to a trust fund that supports open space. These funds could be used to develop parks in other parts of the city or contribute to the maintenance of existing or new parks.

Other Community Benefits

Community benefits principles and agreements produce the greatest results when they are tailored to the specific needs of the community in question. Your coalition should work to identify the most critical challenges faced by local residents. There's a wide range of issues that can be addressed by community benefits which is why it's important that your coalition should use an inclusive process to assess and prioritize the needs of the community.

Funding or Facilities for Community Services

41

Every neighborhood needs funding or facilities for community services. In the case of base reuse developers are receiving subsidies to develop large pieces of land and may be willing to provide space or funding for community facilities or services. Community benefits negotiations are an opportunity to solidify this willingness into detailed and enforceable plans. Your community may need facilities or funding for youth centers, health clinics; child care centers; community centers; senior centers; job training programs; educational programs; art programs; recreation facilities; or other neighborhood improvement projects. Your coalition should be prepared to remain involved in the implementation and monitoring of these kinds of projects to make sure promises are kept.

Shaping the Mix of Businesses in the Development

Your coalition may want to have a say in the types of businesses that will be developed on the military base. Some communities have pressed for a supermarket or a bank to be included in the reuse plans. The community may also press for space for non-profits, at a reduced rent if possible. Your coalition may also decide that it is important to keep certain businesses out of the neighborhood. This may include businesses that pay low wages or are environmentally damaging.

Local Businesses and Affirmative Action in Contracting

The redevelopment of the base is a unique opportunity to boost local businesses that lost business when the base closed. Your coalition may want to include community benefits that direct business opportunities to neighborhood businesses.

IV. Winning Community Benefits in Base Reuse

Now that we have looked at base reuse planning and implementation process and where the points of intervention are, let's look at how to actually win the benefits your community needs!

Military base reuse is a long and complex process. Winning community benefits in these projects requires developing a smart strategy and building power through organizing and coalition building. This section starts with the components of a successful campaign strategy and tips for developing each component. Then, we'll look at how to build the power you'll need to win via organizing your base and coalition building.

Developing a Smart Strategy

The strategy of a campaign is the overall analysis of **what you want to win**, who can give it to you, **what it will take** for them to give it to you and **how you will make that happen**. When you begin to work on winning community benefits, you may feel overwhelmed with information and questions and unclear where to start. Taking the time to step back, analyze the situation, and develop a strategy will help to guide the campaign. Below is a description of the five components of a successful strategy.

Define the Issues and Identify your Demands: Many organizations have already defined their general *issue areas* before starting a base reuse campaign. The issue of a campaign is the particular aspect of a social problem or condition that you aim to address through the campaign. To define the issue of your base reuse campaign, work with members and core allies, and picture what you want the rebuilt base to look like. What kinds of jobs will there be? Who will get them? What kinds of housing? What other neighborhood services could go there? Then, consider how does winning these benefits help to address the community problems or condition you are aiming to address? This will both help your organization focus your work and will help you to tell the story of how including community benefits in the military base reuse will help to resolve existing social conditions.

Once you have defined the issue or issues you are focusing on, then you are ready to identify your *demands*. The demands are the specific actions that you are asking a person or group of people to take in response to your campaign. The specific demands are the ways your campaign seeks to resolve a particular issue. For example, the issue you may be addressing is reducing poverty in your community. The demand, therefore, may be that the city council requires new

jobs on the base to pay living wages and developers to hire locally. That way, residents are hired into good-paying jobs which help to reduce poverty in the community. As you get more specific about your demands, you may want to talk with policy analysts or lawyers about what kinds of policy mechanisms will help you achieve your goals.

Know your Targets: The **target** is the person or people who have the power to meet your demands. Targets can be elected officials, developers or others. In development fights, there are often two sets of targets: the elected officials that make decisions and the developers that propose projects. With military base reuse, the federal government and other special agencies may also be decisions makers.

43

A target must be a specific person (i.e. Councilmember Brown) or specific people (Council members Brown, Smith and Jones) rather than an “entity” like a city council or a corporation. This is an important distinction to remember. At the end of the day, an individual or individuals will make decisions about whether to give you what you want. Understanding what influences that particular individual will help guide what actions you should take to affect them. This includes heads of corporations as well as elected or appointed officials.

As you consider your campaign, identify who has the power to meet your demands directly? This is your **primary target**. Answering this question will probably require you to understand what phase the planning and implementation process is in. Then, consider who can exercise pressure on the primary target to meet your demands — this could be a boss, a board member, a close friend, a pastor or any number of other people. These are your **secondary targets**. Once these individuals are identified, learn as much you can about them, including their company, their past work, the district they are elected from, and what they hope to do next.

The development companies that rebuild military bases are often national or international companies that have deep pockets. These big companies often partner with local, well-connected developers to help “grease the wheels.” Your job is to understand the corporate interests as well as the local partner and who influences each.

Name your Goals: The term **goal** can be used widely in campaigns. In this case, your goals are all that you hope to achieve by waging the campaign. Clearly, this includes the specific demands you are asking for. However, your goals also include any indirect or long-term impact you hope the campaign will have as well as internal goals for your organization. An **indirect impact** could be changing the terms of the debate about economic development in your community. It could also be building alliances across issue areas so that your community is stronger for the next fight down the road.

Internal goals are the ways you hope to build your organization through the campaign. This could mean developing 50 new member leaders, increasing staff capacity in a particular skill, or building your organization's credibility on a particular issue. Remember that military base reuse takes a long time. In some communities, organizations have come and gone during the time a base has been planned, conveyed and redeveloped. Considering how this campaign will help meet internal goals is one way to ensure that your organization can outlast a long fight.

Assess what it takes to win: In order to figure out what you will do to win, you should assess what the target needs or cares about, what type of pressure will likely make the target meet your demands and your own ability to generate that pressure. The target may ask the city council for public money to help pay for a project or the target may care about their upcoming re-election campaign. These are things that the target cares about and that you may be able to influence (i.e. city council approval of the subsidy or re-election).

What type of **pressure** will make the target consider your demands is related to what their priorities are. Pressure is based on the power you have to keep someone from getting what they want. You apply pressure by asserting that power, whether through **economic power** by refusing to shop at someone's store, **political power** based on existing power structures, social power by talking to the target's neighbors about what they are doing, or **people power** through elections or direct action. For example, if a local developer wants to maintain a positive public image for future projects, you could use your power challenge their public image by revealing in the media how he is refusing to meet with the community. Or if an elected official is interested in re-election and may want your organization's endorsement, you can use your electoral power to ensure she does the right thing. Generally, you should consider all the types of power you have, as pressure is most effective when it is applied from many directions at once. Understanding what kind of pressure is needed, how much power you already have and how much power you need will define the steps that you will take to win.

Next, assess your organization's ability to generate the kind of pressure that will make the target respond. This will help to define what you need to do and who you need to partner with. If you know that the re-election will be a significant place to put pressure on a city councilmember, but your organization does engage in electoral politics, consider who does electoral work that you can partner with. Or if you know that the developer responded to community interests in another city because he was afraid the community could delay his project, you may want to research the political and economic details of that situation.

Decide on your tactics: *Tactics* are the individual actions taken to implement a strategy.

Through tactics you build and assert the power needed to apply the pressure that will make the target respond to your demands. Tactics may involve holding a press conference to decry a developer's bad behavior, lobbying an elected official to explain your demands, writing a research report that frames the issues and reveals how your demands will resolve the issues, or organizing hundreds of people to march through the city at a strategic time. Your tactics should be driven by your strategy and your assessment of what it will take to win. If you can't explain how a tactic will apply pressure to the target, it's probably not strategic. Sometimes, organizations will become accustomed to using particular tactics (i.e. direct action, lawsuits, lobbying) and develop organizational skills in that area. Review your strategy to ensure that the tactics you are using makes sense and is not just what your organization usually does.

45

As you develop your tactics consider how they will **escalate** the pressure. To be effective, tactics should increase the pressure over time. This means, you may start with a small lobby delegation to an elected official and build to a major rally. The target should feel increased pressure for not responding to your demands, so make sure you have somewhere to go. With each tactic, try to identify the two or three tactics that would follow, to ensure you can continue to escalate the pressure.

A note about research: Campaigns on new development projects usually require some level of research. This is particularly true for military base reuse projects, as the process is very complex. You will likely need to conduct research in order to understand the development and decision-making process. You should also research your targets and identify policy mechanisms that will produce answers to your demands. In particular, understanding and tracking the process is key to knowing where to insert your demands and when to apply pressure. Each city has their own quirks regarding decision making and base redevelopment. Talk to city staff to find out which bodies advise, make and review decisions. Identify places to insert yourself to shift the goals and outcomes of the development. If your organization does not have research capacity, you could use the campaign to develop that capacity or to work with partners to meet your research needs.

Organizing Your Base

At the end of the day, our strongest asset is our people power. The development companies that rebuild military bases are often national or international companies that have deep pockets. We'll never have more money than them. However, we can move lots of people to influence local elected officials that make decisions on base reuse. Organizing your base means identifying people in your community or in your organization that share your goals for community benefits and mobilizing them into action. This section does not provide a full explanation of how to organize your community, but rather a few tips on how to use the base reuse process to your advantage as you organize. The next section, Coalition Building, will provide tips on building a broader and stronger alliance.

- **Draw out stories about community:** Members who have lived near the base for many years—even before it was closed—can paint the picture of what the community was like before the base closed. Who lived here? Who worked there? What was it like? This historical picture helps to make the case for why the community deserves to benefit from the base again. As you talk to members, draw out from them how the base redevelopment could affect their lives. What struggles they are facing—with jobs, housing, health or in other areas—that could be addressed through base reuse. Develop leaders to tell their stories to make the case for the particular community benefits your campaign is fighting for.
- **Utilize “down time” for leadership development:** Base reuse takes a long time and the cities' process often comes in waves, with crunch times when you have to respond quickly and down times when there is nothing to respond to. During these downtimes, interest may wane and momentum may lag. You'll need to be ready to move when a crunch time hits again. During down time, consider ways to keep members engaged:
 - Survey fellow residents about community needs, both as a way to organize new members and to produce research to make the case.
 - Develop particular skills related to the campaign, i.e. telling their story to the media, learning about the process, organizing their own neighbors.
 - Document personal stories and create interesting media pieces, i.e.: short movies, posters, newsletters, etc.

- **Set your own benchmarks:** Because the city process will wax and wane, you can set your own benchmarks to maintain momentum. This can include:
 - Setting goals for committee development,
 - Taking delegations to public meetings (even if the base reuse isn't on the agenda),
 - Holding actions related to external dates (i.e. holidays or anniversaries), or
 - Generating media attention by releasing reports or holding tours of the former base.
- **Look for movement building opportunities:** If your coalition involves membership organizations from different sectors (i.e. community, labor, faith-based), consider ways that members from various organizations can work together. Conduct joint door knocking, hold meetings where members hear each others' stories or visit each others' homes, worksites, places of worship, etc.
- **Celebrate victories:** Since you're in it for the long haul, celebrate whenever you can. This can include when the coalition hits a certain number of members, when you get community benefits goals in the city's documents, when you get a call back from the developer and of course, when you finally get your community benefits in a signed agreement!

Building a Coalition

A coalition is a group of organizations working towards a common goal. Coalitions are used when a single group cannot achieve a goal alone. Often, we need broad coalitions to move targets and defeat our well-funded opposition. Campaigning for community benefits in base reuse projects is a unique opportunity to build a broad coalition, because various organizations will have an interest in the base reuse.

Generally, we build coalitions when we can't win alone. Coalitions bring more power and more resources to a fight. Coalitions also require a lot of time to build and to maintain the relationships. Often, coalitions may involve some level of compromise, whether in goals or in tactics. So it is important to consider what you will get out of the coalition and what you'll be putting into it to make sure it's worth your while. Below are a few tips about building and maintaining a healthy coalition in military base reuse fights.

- **Start Small and Broaden Out:** If you do build a coalition, start with your core allies. These are people you have already worked with, whose organizations share your organization's values, and who have similar goals to your organization for this campaign. Identify your goals and assess the power you have and what you need to win. To broaden the coalition, consider who might be interested in this issue. Who influences the decision makers you need to move? What resources (time, money, people, and skills) do they bring to the table? Neighborhood and community groups, labor unions and worker organizations, parent and school organizations, churches, environmental and environmental justice groups, affordable housing organizations and homeless advocates.
- **Unlikely Allies:** Who are unlikely allies that would be interested in this development that might share your goals? What decision makers will they move? What resources (time, money, people, and skills) do they bring to the table? Be able to identify what their self-interest might be before going to talk to them. Understand what issues are at their core, and which of your goals they will or won't be able to support.
- **Be Honest and Take your Time:** Have frank conversations with potential coalition partners about your goals, their goals and each other's capacity. Decide if it makes sense to work together and at what level. Remember that building a coalition means building relationships and building trust. This takes time!

Coalition Maintenance

- **Support Shared Goals and Stay Focused:** Generally, each coalition member will be asked to endorse the shared goals that you have identified for the base reuse. As time goes on, you may want to formalize this relationship further to clarify if all the organizations will hold out for each other, rather than making side agreements with developers. To be most powerful, coalitions members should not make separate agreements and should instead make agreements as one entity. Also, realize that other issues will come up during the course of the campaign. If it is not directly relevant to the coalition's goal, don't let these issues interfere. Individual organizations may get involved with side issues, but keep the coalition focused on the goal.

- **Develop and maintain a shared strategy:** It's important to have all the core coalition partners on the same page regarding the strategy. Often different organizations will be most familiar or comfortable with particular strategies and tactics (i.e. inside lobbying vs. outside marching). Openly discuss the variety of strategies it will take to win, how to time tactics to have the biggest affect and who will bottom-line which pieces of the work.
- **Define Expectations and Membership Levels:** Each group may bring different resources to the table (i.e.: people turnout, research, political relationships, media support, money, etc.). Set clear expectations about what kind of commitment and level of action is needed from each coalition member. Often, it makes sense to establish various levels of involvement at which members join the coalition. For example, a steering committee member would be involved with most decisions and would contribute significant resources to the campaign. An active member would be involved with larger decisions and would contribute some resources the campaign. An endorser would likely not be involved in any decisions, but would lend their name and would publicly support the campaign. By setting these levels, decision making is tied to the level of commitment organizations are able to make to the campaign.
- **Communicate Regularly:** Figure out the best way to communicate with partners — via a listserve, phone tree, fax blasts or snail mail. Communicate regularly to keep partners up to date and to maintain momentum.
- **Share the work and share the credit.** Each organization wants to achieve individual goals as part of the coalition process. Find ways to give public credit to each member. And remember to publicly celebrate the victories! These are long fights and celebration will keep spirits high!

Base Reuse Resources

Community Benefits Agreements

Community Benefits Agreements: Making Development Projects Accountable

The Partnership for Working Families

<http://www.communitybenefits.org>

Rebuilding the Base: Lessons from Four California Communities' Efforts to Reuse Closed Military Installations

<http://www.communitybenefits.org>

Guides to the Base Reuse Process

From Barracks to Business

MIT Military Base Redevelopment Project.

www.eda.gov/Research/ResearchReports.xml.

The Community Base Reuse Planning Process: A Layman's Guide.

National Association of Installation Developers.

www.defensecommunities.org/ResourceCenter/Base_Reuse.pdf.

Department of Defense: Community Guide to Base Reuse

Office of Economic Adjustment

<http://www.defenselink.mil/brac/docs/oeacommunityguide97.pdf>

ICMA Base Reuse Handbook: A Navigational Guide for Local Government

ICMA

<http://www.lgean.org/documents/Base%20Reuse%20Handbook.pdf>

The Upside of Base Closure: Tools for Reinvesting in Communities

The East Bay Conversion and Reinvestment Commission

<http://www.ebcrc.org/projects.htm>

Homeless Services

HUD's Guidebook on Military Base Reuse and Homeless Assistance

US Department of Housing and Urban Development

<http://www.hud.gov/offices/cpd/homeless/programs/brac/guide/guide.pdf>

Job Quality Resources

Making Development Work for Local Residents: Local Hire Programs and Implementation Strategies That Serve Low-Income Communities

The Partnership for Working Families

www.communitybenefits.org

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