Not welcome in Miami:

An Interdisciplinary Inquiry Into Responding To The Effects Of Gentrification In Miami

Utrecht University

Course	Bachelor thesis Liberal Arts & Sciences (LA3V11003)
Student	Jonas van Diepen
Student number	6216684
Thesis referent	drs. Diederick van den Ende
Disciplinary referent #1	drs. Marija Aleksovska
Disciplinary referent #2	drs. Jan Overwijk
Date	27 November 2020

CONTENTS

1 INTRODUCTION

Low-income Miami neighbourhoods are experiencing a wave of gentrification by which many of their original residents are negatively impacted. Gentrification is the improvement of impoverished urban areas due to their popularization with affluent individuals (Ehrenhalt, 2015). An increasing number of cities have been experiencing this process since mid-twentieth century, a trend that correlates with worldwide urbanization (Smith & Williams, 2007). This is also the case for the city of Miami in the USA, whose low-income neighbourhoods (such as Little Haiti and Little Havana) have been gentrifying since the 1990s (Maciag, 2015). However, next to urbanizing factors, gentrification in Miami is also the result of a declining amount of developed and developable real estate due to rising sea levels, causing the gradual engulfment of Miami shores (Keenan, Hill, & Anurag, 2018). Because of this oceanic threat, geographically elevated areas in the city—home to many low-income neighbourhoods—are experiencing an increase in real estate value, contributing to the already ongoing process of gentrification. This climatological causation of gentrification is called *climate gentrification*. Climate gentrification is a young subject in terms of academic research, with the first academic paper on the phenomenon (using that phrasing) appearing as late as 2017. Due to the novelty and urgency of the subject, researching it could result in a significant and meaningful contribution to its base of information.

Although gentrification by definition improves impoverished neighbourhoods, its effects can be problematic for the original residents of the gentrifying areas. This group is often victim to forced displacement due to rising rents causing impoverishment, or due to the redevelopment of real estate (Kelly & Molina, 2020).[1] An example of this was seen in the Midtown area of Miami, which is now considered to be completely gentrified (Lopez, 2020). The two neighbourhoods in the area saw a rise in average home value from $180.616 in 2010 to $315.500 in 2017. This gentrification caused the forced displacement of many of its original citizens, and provides a glance into the probable future of other Miami

---

[1] *For a causal diagram of this process, see figure 1.*

neighbourhoods (Elliott, Srini, Kooragayala, & Hedman, 2017). Furthermore, such effects aggravate a broader problem present in Miami's society, namely the socio-economic and cultural inequality amongst its citizens. The residents of gentrifying areas are disproportionately populated by minority groups (National ALICE Advisory Council, 2018). Overall, individuals considered to be part of these groups are more likely to live in poverty than white residents: for African-Americans in Florida in 2018 the chances of this are 2.5 times, and for Hispanics two times as high (Viglucci, 2019). These pre-existing conditions can for a great part be ascribed to "institutionalized racism and ongoing discrimination" and are amplified by the effects of gentrification (National ALICE Advisory Council, 2018). These problematic developments have yet to be resolved, which is why this research asks the question: how should the actors involved with gentrification in Miami respond to its effects?

Finding an answer to this question is attempted by integrating the insights that result from literary research in two academic disciplines. First, the discipline of public governance sciences takes a look at the policy that the municipal government of Miami uses in dealing with the causes and effects of gentrification. It does so by researching the question: how effective will the city of Miami's policy on affordable housing be, with regards to the negative consequences of gentrification? Second, philosophy provides a normative direction to the research question by researching the morality of actions by the involved actors, and attempting to answer the question: what is the morally right thing to do for actors involved in gentrification in Miami?

An interdisciplinary approach to this phenomenon is necessary because of the inadequacy of the used disciplines to comprehend the complexity of gentrification in Miami by themselves (Repko & Szostak, 2017). Its causes and effects are spread across many aspects of the world and society, such as economy, social life, culture, and climate. Public governance is limited to studying policy and the workings of government and governance, and philosophy is mostly limited to studying fundamental and transcending subjects, such as ethics. This means that the disciplines have different reaches and can come to different conclusions when researching the same phenomenon (Repko & Szostak, 2017). The integration of

two disciplinary perspectives is therefore useful: firstly, because combining the insights of the two disciplines, more ground is covered with respect to information on gentrification. Secondly, because by integrating the common ground between these disciplinary insights, a more comprehensive understanding of gentrification is reached (Repko & Szostak, 2017). This is for example the case for the understanding of the different actors involved with gentrification: by integrating the public governance-perspective and the philosophy-perspective, a comprehensive image of the actors is drawn that includes both their agency and interests.

The two specific disciplines used have been chosen for this interdisciplinary approach because they both contain theories that answer to the complexity of gentrification: with public governance this is done by treating gentrification as a *wicked problem*, meaning a difficult problem for policy to resolve due to its broad causes and effects, and dynamic nature (Head & Alford, 2015). Philosophy answers to the complexity by using an *integrationist* approach, meaning it does not isolate the issue but attempts to incorporate as much of the problem's relevant context as possible (Caney, 2005).[2] Also, the disciplinary insights can build on each other because of the evaluative nature of both subquestions: it is expected that the moral assessment of the actions and their actors can contribute to the assessment of effectivity of the actions of one of the actors—the government.

Researching possible responses to the effects of gentrification is currently more relevant than ever before. Due to worldwide urbanization, and the increasing amount of urban areas threatened by the effects of climate change, dealing with gentrification will be an increasingly occurring and thus more important challenge (Smith & Williams, 2007). So, finding a right short-term response to this problem can not only prevent the original residents of gentrifying areas becoming its victims, but might even let them profit from the development. This may in turn also help to curtail the effects of institutionalized racism that a large percentage of these residents have to deal with. It may also help in battling overall inequality in Miami and other parts of the world experiencing gentrification.

---

[2] *Integrationism in philosophy is not to be confused with the integration of disciplinary insights.*

2 PUBLIC GOVERNANCE:
Evaluating Miami's affordable housing policy

2.1 Introduction

When problems within a governed society arise, its government will often attempt to solve them with policy. Gentrification in Miami is such a problem and is approached on a local level by the municipal government in Miami. Until recently, this local government was quite successful in doing so (Beyer, 2015). However, the stubbornly increasing rise of real estate value and the imminent climate change in the area show that gentrification is far from gone. The inevitability of the development motivated the government of Miami to battle its negative consequences through policy on stimulating the amount of affordable housing in the city. On January 7 2020, it presented its policy called *Miami Affordable Housing Master Plan* in cooperation with the Florida International University Jorge M. Pérez Metropolitan Center for studies on public affairs (Viglucci & Rene, 2020).

Evaluating this policy may contribute to answering the question: how effective will the city of Miami's policy on affordable housing be, with regards to the negative consequences of gentrification? The results of this evaluation may also offer useful contributions to future (local) policies on affordable housing and gentrification. This may be of extra relevance due to the increasing occurrence of climate gentrification (Kelly & Molina, 2020). Before evaluating the policy, an analysis is done of the problem and the policy. Then a theoretical framework is formed based on academic literature on policy design. Afterwards, the evaluation is done using this framework and on the basis of the outcome, a conclusion is formulated.

This study finds that the policy on affordable housing of the municipal government of Miami is effective against the negative consequences of gentrification through increasing affordable housing in the city, although it has failed to seize the opportunities identified by evaluating the policy. First, it has effectively used an approach to end-user participation called *co-production* by basing the policy on a report made by the city and the residents of the relevant areas. However,

in formulating the final policy, it fails to incorporate four important priorities and suggestions offered in the report. Second, the analytical and operational dimensions of the policy lack a realistic vision of future developments and the execution of the policy.

2.2 Gentrification in Miami

2.2.1 The problem

2.2.1.1 Causes and effects of gentrification in Miami

In the last half of the twentieth century, gentrification has become a common phenomenon within big cities (Smith & Williams, 2007). Global urbanization (boosted by economic and geographic factors) causes an increased demand for places to live in cities. The resulting scarcity of real estate induces a rise in the economic value of such property (Ehrenhalt, 2015). In the USA this often causes a rise in rents, which may lead to long-time residents not being able to afford their rents anymore. This is especially a problem for residents of low-income, inner-city neighbourhoods, who as a result may face eviction (Ehrenhalt, 2015).

With its relatively high percentage of low-income residents, high percentage of renters and rapid rise in property value—as of 2019 it is the US its third least affordable city to live in —Miami seems to be a fertile ground for gentrification (City of Miami & FIU Metropolitan Center, 2020; Florida & Pedigo, 2019). This is stimulated by Miami's tropical climate and its reputation for having a safe property investment market (Feldman & Jolivet, 2014). These factors make the city attractive for investing or buying secondary property to temporarily reside in during the year.

Next to this generic and well-known form of gentrification, Miami's problems are increased by a relatively new phenomenon called *climate gentrification* (Keenan et al., 2018). Climate gentrification occurs when a changing climate causes migration due to formerly liveable areas becoming unliveable (Weeman & Lynch, 2018). Due to melting ice caused by global warming, sea levels have risen 7.1 centimetres in the past 25 years (Weeman & Lynch, 2018). As an extremely low-lying coastal city, Miami is one of the first victims of this effect. With increasing amounts of flooding, the sea is slowly consuming the land, which causes a decrease in the already scarce amounts of land available for estate (re)development (Keenan et al., 2018). This results in (1) increased economic worth of developable land and (2) extra increased economic worth of developable land in high-lying areas of the city. The effect that the rising sea level has on the pricing

of single-family homes in low-lying areas is also known as the *Elevation Hypothesis* and has been supported by empirical evidence (Keenan et al., 2018). The areas subject to the second effect are mainly the low-income neighbourhoods of Miami, of which a relatively high percentage of residents rent its home. The increasing worth of the land in their neighbourhoods is associated with increasing rents. This causes the risk of low-income citizens facing eviction, and through this being forced out of their neighbourhood.

2.2.1.2 Gentrification in Miami as a public policy problem

It is clear that gentrification in Miami endangers the housing of the residents in low-income neighbourhoods. A threat to the wellbeing of citizens usually warrants (local) governments to engage in action through forming public policy, in order to protect these citizens. This is especially the case when the problem is a so-called *wicked problem*. These are public policy problems that are "complex, unpredictable, open ended, or intractable" (Head & Alford, 2015). The "wickedness" of wicked problems is mainly due to the large variety of stakeholders and interests, the interrelatedness of varying problems within the problem and the societal context in which the problem arises. Such complexities are acutely present in the case of the gentrification and housing problem in Miami. That is why the policy has to account for the possible effects on e.g. the city its small and big businesses, investors, low-income and high-income residents. Moreover, in evaluating the policy of the city of Miami using the criteria explained in *2.3.1.2 Evaluation criteria*, attention can be given to which extent the policy accounts for such complexities.

2.2.2 Miami's gentrification policy

2.2.2.1 Problem, goals and means

Miami's newest policy to battle the possible problems caused by gentrification in the city is based on solving this through creating more affordable housing and was presented in the beginning of 2020 (Viglucci & Rene, 2020). The design of the policy was a combined effort of the municipal government of Miami and the Jorge M. Pérez Metropolitan Center, the school of policy studies of Florida

International University (2020). It presents a five point-plan to increase affordable housing in the city, thus battling the increasing price of real estate and counteracting gentrification. This is done by "increasing the spectrum of choice, opportunity and quality of affordable owner and rental housing" (City of Miami & FIU Metropolitan Center, 2020).

The problem that the policy centres around is the decline in affordable housing, which in its core correlated with gentrification (Feldman & Jolivet, 2014). It gives seven explanations for the decline in affordable housing that is currently seen in the city (City of Miami & FIU Metropolitan Center, 2020). The first is that Miami's population has a high percentage of low skill occupations and earnings, fuelling the percentage of low-income population. The second explanation is a high-income disparity: Miami has one of the highest gaps between household incomes in the US. Third is the aforementioned rapidly rising home values, prices, and rents. Fourth is the growing affordability gaps, meaning that the high number of renters experience a faster rise in rent than their rise in income. Fifth is the low capacity of (re)developable land, feeding the rise in home values. Sixth is the rapid decline in supply of affordably priced housing units. The seventh explanation is the rapid decline in home ownership amongst Miami's population, meaning more people are dependent on the rent that landlords set, causing more potential subjects to the growing affordability gap (City of Miami & FIU Metropolitan Center, 2020).

As stated before, the primary goal that the policy sets is "increasing the spectrum of choice, opportunity and quality of affordable owner and rental housing" (City of Miami & FIU Metropolitan Center, 2020). To do this, the city plans to achieve a 20-25% increase in the supply of affordable housing by 2030, which amounts up to ±32.000 units. For achieving this, the policy contains a five point-plan:

1. Focus on affordable housing development
2. The establishment of the Miami Affordable Housing Finance Corporation
3. The establishment of the Miami Affordable Housing Fund
4. Streamlining affordable housing development for all residents

5. Creating new businesses and jobs

2.2.2.2 Stakeholder analysis

Identifying the stakeholders of this problem is an important step in order to assess the effectiveness of the policy towards solving the problem. The stakeholders and their interests have been identified by analysing the policy, and the *Connect Capital Miami*-report which was based on the interests of the residents (City of Miami & FIU Metropolitan Center, 2020; City of Miami & Miami Homes For All, 2019).[3]

Table 1

Stakeholder analysis of the Miami Affordable Housing Master Plan (City of Miami & FIU Metropolitan Center, 2020)*.*

Stakeholder	Interests
Government of Miami	To serve its citizens by supplying affordable housing and to keep the real estate climate in Miami attractive for investors.
Miami residents	To live in an affordable home.
Real estate investors	To profit from investing in real estate.
Local businesses	To profit from the development of the relevant areas.

---

[3] Connect Capital Miami *is a combined effort by the municipality, the Miami Homes For All company and the citizens of Miami. The report looks at the causes of the housing crisis and offers advice on measures to be included in the final policy. It also established a rough planning of deadlines of the final policy.*

2.3 Evaluation of the policy

2.3.1 Theoretical framework

2.3.1.1 Evaluation type

Since the evaluation of the policy is done before it is implemented and will not be done systematically, it is an *ex ante* and *ad-hoc* evaluation (Bressers, Herweijer, & Korsten, 1993). This means it does not evaluate the effects of the policy, but will use theoretical knowledge on the subject of policy design to evaluate the policy *a priori*. Policy design is the process of deciding on goals and means, the mechanisms through which these are given effect, and the outcome thereof captured within a policy (Howlett, 2014; Peters, 2018).

2.3.1.2 Evaluation criteria

To gain insight in aforementioned aspects of the policy, two criteria are assessed. These are (1) the policy design process; and (2) anticipation of the policy goals, means and mechanisms.

The first criterium focusses on the process by which a policy comes about (Howlett, 2014). Amongst other things, it may entail the actors involved in forming the policy, the bargaining between these actors, what knowledge the actors used in the process and how this has led to the formulation of the policy its goals and means (Van Buuren, Lewis, Peters, & Voorberg, 2020). The evaluation of the process will focus on the occurrence of *co-production*. Co-production is an approach to policy design in which the end users actively participate in the design of the policy (Voorberg, Bekkers, & Tummers, 2015). Increasing participation of end-users in the designing of policy can bring valuable experience and a greater variation in ideas to the table, and through involvement may reduce the chance of heavy opposition once the policy is implemented (Peters, 2018).

The second criterium, anticipation of the policy goals, means and mechanisms, focusses on the content of the policy and addresses the extent to which this accounts for the future, and through this its effectiveness (Bali, Capano, & Ramesh, 2019). After all, designing policy is about striving to create a desired situation. The measures that a certain policy describes are therefore inherently

processes playing out during the future. This makes planning for the effectiveness of a policy a matter of anticipating long-term sustainability and consequences of the implemented measures (Bali et al., 2019). Specifically, the analytical and operational dimensions of the policy instruments with regards to its effectiveness will be assessed. The choice of policy instruments is a useful parameter for evaluation as it can decide the success of a policy (Bovens et al., 2017).

2.3.2 Evaluation of Miami's 'Affordable Housing Master Plan'

2.3.2.1 Design process

Co-production is a way to democratize policy, make policy design and implementation more effective and stimulate active citizenship (Osborne, Radnor, & Strokosch, 2016). The process towards creating the *Miami Affordable Housing Master Plan* (2020) involved a community engagement trajectory, as described in the 2019 *Connect Capital Miami*-report. This trajectory started in July 2018 with a pipeline meeting[4] and several policy meetings in which a steering committee and varying working groups were formed (City of Miami & Miami Homes For All, 2019). After this, meetings with residents of the three most relevant neighbourhoods were planned. In 2019 this was followed by community meetings with residents of the relevant districts, a resident engagement task force meeting and a final pipeline meeting. Ultimately, all outcomes of the aforementioned process were presented in the *Connect Capital Miami*-report (City of Miami & Miami Homes For All, 2019). The report served as a basis of recommendations for the master plan and underlines the importance of determining shared priorities across different stakeholders and including these stakeholders in the process. It then identifies the most important priorities and offers development criteria, concrete recommendations for policy instruments and sets out a planning for when the final policy should be finished (City of Miami & Miami Homes For All, 2019).

The *Connect Capital Miami*-report (2019) shows that the municipal government of Miami prioritized end-user participation and utilized this in a useful process of co-production. A part of the priorities and recommended instruments

---

[4] *A pipeline meeting is a meeting in which the process of a policy is roughly created.*

named in the report were incorporated into the final policy, such as prioritizing the creation of mixed-income and mixed-use communities, prioritizing the development of affordable rental units, and the identification of new funding streams (City of Miami & FIU Metropolitan Center, 2020; City of Miami & Miami Homes For All, 2019). However, other priorities and recommended instruments did not make it to the final policy. Most noticeably, the report estimates about 10,000 naturally occurring affordable housing (NOAH) units could be preserved, although the final policy does not mention the preservation of NOAH units (City of Miami & FIU Metropolitan Center, 2020; City of Miami & Miami Homes For All, 2019). Also, the warning for environmental risks for affordable housing, mainly floods, have not been considered in the master plan. Another disposed priority is the presence of public services in the (re)developed areas. A final suggestion that has not been implemented in the final policy is the incorporation of an accountability mechanism for the execution of the policy (City of Miami & FIU Metropolitan Center, 2020; City of Miami & Miami Homes For All, 2019). More on the lack of accountability mechanisms can be found in *3.2.2 Anticipation*.

Ultimately, the municipal government have created legitimacy and effectiveness by taking the recommendations. However, it has also disposed of another great deal of the recommended measures and priorities, despite these suggestions being substantiated by research and analysis. The city could gain considerable ground by fully utilizing the fruits of co-production as is illustrated in the report.

2.3.2.2 Anticipation

The analytical dimension of the policy design is formed by the capability of the instruments used to solve the problem (Bali et al., 2019). The policy mainly uses physical and economic policy instruments of a broadening nature (Hoogerwerf & Herweijer, 2008 in Bovens et al., 2017). The main broadening physical instrument is point four of the five point-plan, namely the streamlining of affordable housing development for all residents. Examples of broadening economic instruments within the plans are the granting of low-cost loans to organizations and

people willing to develop affordable housing units, and the subsidizing of low-rent real estate redevelopment (City of Miami & FIU Metropolitan Center, 2020).

The broadening nature of the instruments is compatible with the municipality's goal of "increasing the spectrum of choice, opportunity and quality of affordable owner and rental housing" (City of Miami & FIU Metropolitan Center, 2020). However, instruments with a limiting nature would also be justified. For example, the decline in affordable housing is partially due to the large number of owned but unoccupied homes and real estate investors buying property and raising rents (PBS, 2019; Lopez, 2020). Introducing a limiting instrument such as a tax or an investment-prohibition would be effective towards increasing affordable housing, according to the *Connect Capital Miami*-report (2019). The same report states that "Miami will need to preserve at least 50,000 housing units just to meet the existing need", whilst the instruments presented in the policy are expected to create and preserve only 32,000 housing units. This means that the instruments used are not capable of solving the problem and limiting instruments, as recommended by the report, should be used to increase the effectiveness of the policy towards solving the affordable housing problem.

The extent to which the instruments currently utilized in the policy are incapable of reaching the creation and preservation of 50,000 housing units is virtually enlarged by the impending effects of climate gentrification. The scarcity of land usable for development of real estate, the consequential rise in real estate prices and the resulting decline in affordable housing units will speed up the process of gentrification as well as heighten the demand for affordable housing (Keenan et al., 2018; Mooney, 2020). The failure to mention climate change in relation to its effects on the housing crisis in the policy, is a default in the manner the policy accounts for future developments and therefore a weakness in the analytical dimension of the policy (Bali et al., 2019).

The operational dimension of the policy design is decided by the feasibility of the policy instruments (Bali et al., 2019). This depends on its accountability mechanisms, coordination mechanisms and the skills of the bureaucracy by which its implemented. Since the latter two cannot be assessed due to the lack of information on these factors, only the accountability mechanisms are evaluated.

Accountability mechanisms are an important part of designing effective policy (Peters, 2018). The phenomenon of accountability "can be understood as a mechanism designed to ensure that agents act in the best interest of their principals and do not abuse their authority" (Steets, 2010). The policy as presented by the municipality includes no accountability mechanisms, other than indeterminate statements such as the proceedings of the execution being subject to "close oversight by the city" (City of Miami & FIU Metropolitan Center, 2020). This is a default in its design, especially since the lion's share of the measures will be executed by the Miami Affordable Housing Finance Corporation, which the policy describes will be an independently functioning organization (City of Miami & FIU Metropolitan Center, 2020). This, combined with the plan to attain a great share of the funding in the execution of the policy through partnerships with banks and other privately owned organizations, and the decentralized governing of neighbourhoods in Miami, makes the presence of accountability mechanisms even more important (City of Miami & FIU Metropolitan Center, 2020; Feldman & Jolivet, 2014; Steets, 2010). Namely, assuming that the organisation and expertise of all included actors is sufficient to do so, defining responsibilities per actor by implementing an accountability mechanism can prevent negligence of said actors as well as increase legitimacy of the policy (Peters, 2018; Steets, 2010).

2.4 Discussion and conclusion

Based on the *ex ante* and *ad-hoc* evaluation of the city of Miami's policy on affordable housing with regards to the negative consequences of gentrification, is effective to a certain degree because it will lead to an increase in affordable housing units, but does not meet the demand and fails to utilize valuable opportunities within its design in doing so.

Firstly, the design process fails to fully utilize the potential of the citizen co-production in the form of the *Connect Capital Miami*-report (2019) that was facilitated by the municipal government itself. Although it incorporated a number of recommendations offered in the report, four critical aspects of the report were not, despite their scientific and societal legitimacy. Would the city have incorporated those recommendations, it would lead to a more effective and sustainable policy against the Miami affordable housing crisis.

Secondly, the anticipation for future developments and the execution of the policy fall short in fighting the housing crisis effectively. The analytical dimension of the policy fails to use limiting policy instruments, also despite the recommendations in the *Connect Capital Miami*-report (2019) to do so. It also fails to recognize and take into account the impending risks of climate change and its negative effects on the availability of affordable housing. In the operational dimension, the policy fails to implement any form of an accountability mechanism. There is much evidence pointing out the importance of accountability in the execution of public policy, especially when this execution is done in partnership with privately-owned organizations (Peters, 2018; Steets, 2010).

Although this evaluation of the *Miami Affordable Housing Master Plan* (2020) yields valuable results, it is limited to only two major aspects of the policy. Considering the widespread occurrence of gentrification and the imminent effect climate change will have on gentrification in other coastal cities, it is likely that in the future a large amount of policies will be made that will strive for goals similar to those of the Miami policy. To present public governments with the opportunity to be more informed in creating future policies, it is of importance to research and evaluate other aspects of the Miami policy. That way, future policies

can be more effective in fighting the negative effects of gentrification, like the Miami affordable housing crisis.

One of the aspects to possibly evaluate is the importance and effect of evidence-based policymaking for the policy. Namely, next to the social complexity of the wicked problem that is the Miami affordable housing crisis, fighting a housing crisis through policy has a technical dimension. Therefore it may be logical to desire the assumed causes and effects in the policy to be based on evidence, as is done in the Miami policy (City of Miami & FIU Metropolitan Center, 2020). However, evidence-based policymaking is also criticized, using arguments such as there being a gap between evidence and practice, or that the same evidence can serve multiple outcomes (Dahler-Larson, 2017). A second possible aspect of evaluation is the implementation of the policy through *street-level bureaucrats*, of which the parameters of success are extensively described in *Street-Level Bureaucracy* by Michael Lipsky (2010).

A practical addition to future policies could be the utilization of coastal adaption to battle the effects of climate gentrification. Due to rising sea levels, more and more coastal cities will lose liveable shore-areas (Weeman & Lynch, 2018). Research suggests that stimulating coastal adaptation is an effective method for public governments to prevent losing coastal areas (Bisaro & Hinkel, 2018). It is therefore worthwhile to research creating effective policies against housing crises and gentrification that encompass battling the effects of climate gentrification through coastal adaptation. Mobilizing private finance by the public sector, as the government of Miami already does extensively in its policy against the housing crises, can be an effective way in doing so (Bisaro & Hinkel, 2017; Pattberg, 2010).

3 PHILOSOPHY:
Determining utilitarian morality in Miami's gentrification

3.1 Introduction

Gentrification in Miami is a complex process entailing a plethora of interconnected causes and effects. These are influenced by various actors, of which some have the agency to decide over the fate of other actors. This can have negative consequences, the most prominent of which are currently being experienced by residents of low-income neighbourhoods in Miami, for example in the form of gentrification-induced displacement of these residents (Florida & Pedigo, 2019). This begs the question: what is the morally right thing to do for actors involved in gentrification in Miami?

Since the question directly regards the moral assessment of an action based on its (intended) consequences, the theory of utilitarianism is suitable to answer it (Stein, 2006). Also, because a great variety of factors contribute to gentrification in Miami, an integrationist view of gentrification is used (Scheer & Moss, 2019). This means that the approach to gentrification in this research aims to account for the context in which gentrification takes place (Caney, 2005). I hypothesize that a utilitarian view will conclude that actors able to influence the process of gentrification, are ought to do so in a way that results in an increase of welfare for the original citizens of the gentrifying, low-income areas.

To proof this hypothesis, I first lay out a theoretical framework that includes a framing of causes and effects of gentrification, and the establishment of utilitarian principles that enable us to concisely judge the morality of actions by the involved actors. These principles will be based on (1) John Stuart Mill (2014) his conceptualisation of the philosophy in his essay *Utilitarianism*, (2) interpretations thereof and (3) theory on the practical application of utilitarianism. Second, I analyse the situation based on the framing of causes and effects, by identifying the involved actors and describing the causes and effects of gentrification in Miami. I then give an indication of what morally right actions are in the situation, finally forming a conclusion.

With the increase in negative effects of gentrification being experienced by the original residents of gentrifying areas, also comes the increase in relevance of the question this research asks. Namely, the answer to this questions should provide us with a moral indication of the possible actions relevant actors can take amidst the process of gentrification. The relevancy of this research also lies in the fact that the researched situation is caused by some of the greatest challenges of modern times: urbanization and climate gentrification. Especially considering the impending effect of climate change and the omnipresent socio-economic inequality in the world, deciding how to distribute the burdens of these effects and what actions should be taken by whom in order to achieve this, is becoming more important (for example in the creation of policy and laws). This development is emphasized by the relatively recent increase in theories on the morally right distribution of the burdens climate change brings, known as *climate justice* (Pellegrini-Masini, Pirni, & Maran, 2020). Also, using utilitarianism to do so further explores ways in which this theory of ethics can still be valuable. In a broader sense, answering the research question contributes to the interpretation of the relatively new phenomenon of climate gentrification. Because although it is now only part of gentrification, and in this paper is treated as such, it is not unlikely that for some cities it will become the main instigator or even sole cause of gentrification.

3.2 Theoretical framework

3.2.1 Defining causes and effects of gentrification

In order to make a moral judgment of the actions taken within the process of gentrification, we need to be able to make a clear and comprehensible distinction between the causes and effects of gentrification. To do so, the developments within this process are categorized into three groups: causes of gentrification, causes of climate gentrification and effects of gentrification.

Gentrification due to urbanization is a well-known phenomenon, has been subject to many studies and is normally assumed to be the defining process when people speak of gentrification (Ehrenhalt, 2015). Therefore, gentrification due to urbanization is simply named *gentrification* in this research. However, climate change also plays an important role in the gentrification of Miami's low-income neighbourhoods (Keenan et al., 2018). This causal relation is a relatively new phenomenon and is named climate gentrification. In the case of Miami, climate gentrification is present in the form of the increased value of developable land due to coastal regression through rising water levels and floods (Keenan et al., 2018).

Using the known information on urbanization and climate change as causes of gentrification, and the effects thereof, we can define them precisely and apply them to the analysis of the process of gentrification in Miami (as can be seen in figure 1). The definitions are as follows:

- A development is regarded a cause of gentrification when it is: (1*) an impact or implication*; (2) *that can be proven to directly or indirectly stimulate the rise in demand of property in a low-income neighbourhood* (Ehrenhalt, 2015).
- A development is regarded a cause of climate gentrification when it is: (1) *an impact or implication*; (2) *directly or indirectly caused by climate change*; (3) *that can be proven to directly or indirectly stimulate the rise in demand of property in a low-income neighbourhood* (Scheer & Moss, 2019).

- A development is regarded an effect of gentrification when it is: (1) *an impact or implication* (2) *that can be proven to be directly or indirectly caused or stimulated by the rise in demand of property* (Ehrenhalt, 2015).

3.2.2 Defining utilitarian principles for assessment

3.2.2.1 Basics of Millian utilitarianism

Utilitarianism is a philosophy of morality with as central doctrine that an individual should always act in a way that the greatest amount of people can benefit the most from (De Lazari-Radek & Singer, 2017). As the theory its indication of the morality of an action depends on the intended result, utilitarianism is a consequentialist theory (Mill, 2014). The determining variable of what there is to benefit from, is called its *theory of the good* (Schroth, 2008). One of the most influential utilitarians of all time, 19th century philosopher John Stuart Mill (2014), maintains a hedonistic theory of the good, meaning that he assumed happiness to be an intrinsically good condition and an ultimate goal, not an end. A *benefit* is therefore something that increases happiness—defining happiness as the presence of pleasure and the absence of pain). Mill (2014) furthermore states that what is *good* is inseparable from what is *right*.

From these three suppositions—consequentialism, hedonism and the assumption of what is good determining what is right—derives the doctrine of Millian utilitarianism, namely that a morally right action is an action that intends to lead to the greatest amount of happiness for the greatest amount of people (Fuchs, 2006). However, because of the speculative nature of some aspects of Mill's theory, it has been subject to many discussions regarding its contents.

One range of discussions regards the vagueness of the concept of happiness. First, happiness is seen by most as a subjective experience and is therefore difficult to define, therefore making it difficult to measure. Second, even if the definition would be clearly demarcated, there is another debate on the measurement of happiness by its quantitative or qualitative presence. This is referred to as the *quantitative versus qualitative hedonism-debate* (Donner, 2006). A third problem is with the axiom of happiness as the greatest good: some wonder if

happiness should be considered as an end in itself, or as a means toward another end, e.g. wellbeing or nobility.

Another area of discussion is on the generality of actions that Millian utilitarianism proclaims. This debate that can be divided into two theories of *right* conduct: *rule-utilitarianism* and *act-utilitarianism* (Fuchs, 2006). While rule-utilitarianism claims that maximization of happiness can be achieved through general rules of action—much like Immanuel Kant his *categorical imperative*—act-utilitarianism claims that any action should be tailored to the specifics of the relevant situation (Fuchs, 2006). For example: a rule-utilitarian might say that it is always in the interest of the greater good to throw money into a beggar's hat, and therefore make it a moral rule. An act-utilitarian may object to this rule by making the deed dependent on the amount of money already in the beggar's hat, the amount of money the act-utilitarian owns him or herself, or any other condition.

The discussions mentioned above are a testimony to the ambiguity of utilitarianism and make it a difficult theory to apply to practical situations, as we attempt in this paper. Making utilitarianism practicably applicable is therefore done in the next paragraph by curtailing aforementioned ambiguities.

3.2.2.2 Practically applying Millian utilitarianism

First, because we practically apply utilitarianism to a societal matter, it is useful to combine utilitarianism its focus in political philosophy, with its focus as a philosophy of ethics. The fundamental question of the latter is "What am I as an individual ought to do?", whilst that of the former is "What are we as a society ought to do?" (De Lazari-Radek & Singer, 2017). Combining these two focal points is useful because through one can come the other: finding out what individual actors are ought to do can provide us with an indication of what the society involved in a practical matter is ought to do. From a Millian utilitarian perspective, the leading doctrine therein is that a member of society should act in a way that maximizes happiness across him or her and all other members of society.

Second, for assessing the morality of an action in a societal context, the disagreement on the generality of actions is settled by using the act-utilitarian interpretation of Millian utilitarianism. Because act-utilitarianism argues for

actions to be tailor-made to the relevant situation, it can provide a more accurate moral assessment for a practical case (Fuchs, 2006).

Third, to make Mill's utilitarianism more fitting for practical application, its hedonistic theory of the good is replaced with a *welfarist* theory of the good. This means that *welfare* is considered to be an ultimate goal that is intrinsically good and cannot be seen as an end (Schroth, 2008). With respect to utilitarianism, the concept of welfare is defined as the wellbeing of people as a result of a distribution of resources (Schroth, 2008; Stein, 2006). Using welfare instead of happiness as a theory of good is useful because welfare is more measurable and can be achieved through providing a minimum amount of resources, making it a more comprehensive concept in terms of the effects of actions with respect to societal developments (Stein, 2006). Moreover, changing this concept is justifiable because it does not affect the utilitarian principle: most contemporary philosophers agree that Mill identified pleasure with happiness and pain with unhappiness because they influence one's state of welfare (Shaw, 2006). From these two arguments it logically follows that the assumption of the intrinsic worth of welfare as an ultimate end, serves better as an axiom of a utilitarian assessment than happiness.

Fourth, utilitarianism holds that the best state of affairs is that in which the greatest amount of welfare for the greatest number of citizens is achieved (Stein, 2006). Therefore, until a completely balanced state of affairs arises, any means to achieve welfare are ought to be distributed to those who can benefit most. Further distribution above this threshold can be regarded as irrelevant from a practical utilitarian perspective.

3.2.2.3 Utilitarian principles for assessment in a societal situation

Mill's utilitarianism and its interpretation as a practically applicable theory as described above, provides us with a utilitarian framework for assessing a societal situation. In summary, the interpretation is framed as to supply an answer to the question: "What are we as a society ought to do in situation x?" by asking: "What are we as individuals ought to do in situation x?" through assessing the morality of an action using the following logic:

- Premiss 1: What is good determines what is right.
- Premiss 2: Welfare is a good condition and a goal in itself.
- Conclusion: Any right action is one that intends to achieve the greatest increase of welfare, or to prevent a decrease in welfare, for the greatest amount of people.

Finally, the reasoning above provides us with a utilitarian framework with which we can assess the morality of an action performed with respect to a societal development.

3.3 Analysis of gentrification in Miami

3.3.1 Actors in gentrification in Miami

Since the practical application of utilitarianism is used to assess the morality of actions within a societal context, and in a society different actors enjoy different levels of agency and influence, a distinction needs to be made between different groups of actors. An actor in this research is defined as a group of individuals or an organization that is subjected to and/or (at least partially) in control of the causes and effects of gentrification in Miami. The amount of agency and influence is used to distinguish these groups and organizations.

Using this logic, we can differentiate between four groups of actors: the *government*, the *beneficiaries* (being the individuals and organizations who economically capitalize on the gentrification), the *new residents* and the *original residents* of the gentrifying areas.[5] This categorization aims to provide a comprehensible and distinctive manner to look at the situation, without it differing from the real situation in a way that would cause this analysis to be out of touch with the real situation, making its conclusions unsubstantiated. However, the categorization is still theoretical and not empirical. For example: the government can be a beneficiary of gentrification by an increased amount of incoming taxes due to gentrification.

The extent to which the actors are subjected to the effects of gentrification is decided by the amount of agency and influence an actor has. This decides the ability to change the situation with actions, and therefore the distribution of welfare. This means that the assessment focusses on the morality of the actions by the actors with the highest amount of agency and influence. These are:

- the government, because they have the choice to influence the situation through policy;

---

[5] *In the assessment, an actor (and so a group of individuals) is equal to what is meant as an individual in the question: "What am I as an individual ought to do?" The moral indications given based on the assessment are therefore equally valid for all individuals connected to the actor. For example: a moral indication for beneficiaries that results from the assessment, is equally valid for individual estate agents because they belong to that group.*

- the beneficiaries, because they have the choice to influence the situation by capitalizing or not capitalizing on the gentrification (e.g. by keeping the rents low or not investing to resell);
- and the new residents, because they have the choice to influence the situation by moving or not moving to the gentrifying areas.

The original residents of low-income areas in Miami are excluded from this list. They are of course to a certain extent able to influence their own lives, but due to a lack in financial and power resources they are often mostly subjected to the choices other actors make (Keenan et al., 2018; PBS, 2019).

3.3.2 Process of gentrification in Miami

The process of gentrification is complex, especially when it is stimulated by climatological factors. To clarify this process, figure 1 provides an integrational causal diagram of the process of gentrification in Miami.

The causes and effects in the diagram that have the greatest effect on welfare are likely the displacement of low-income residents, and the aggravation of pre-existing socio-economic inequalities. The latter is also known as *double exposure* and occurs often when societies are confronted with the effects of globalization (of which urbanization is an integral part) and climate change (Leichenko & O'Brien, 2008).

Figure 1

A causal diagram of the process of gentrification in Miami. The causes and effects in this diagram are based on probability and so are not imperative (City of Miami & Miami Homes For All, 2019; Feldman & Jolivet, 2014; Florida & Pedigo, 2019; Keenan et al., 2018; Kelly & Molina, 2020; Mooney, 2020).[6]
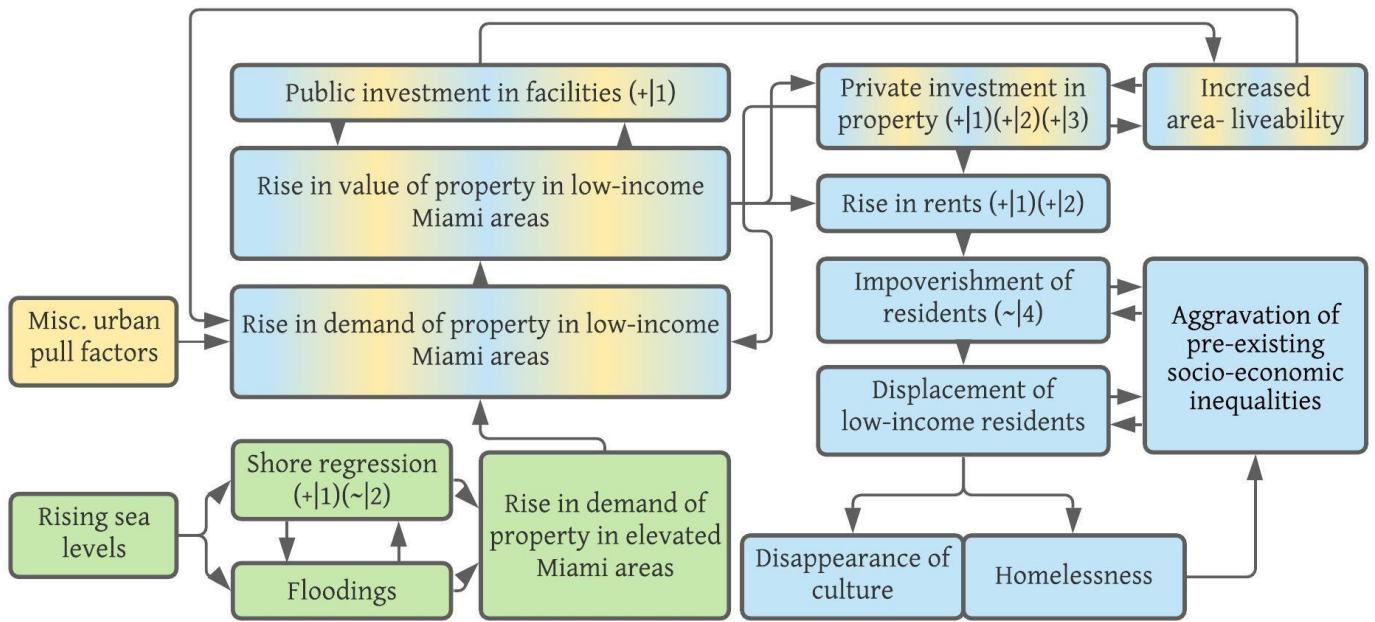
Cause of gentrification	
Cause of climate gentrification	
Result of gentrification	

Highly influencable by actor		(+|x)
Slightly influenceable by actor		(~|x)
Influencable by government		(x|1)
Influenceable by benificiaries		(x|2)
Influenceable by gentrifyers		(x|3)
Influenceable by orig. residents		(x|4)

---

[6] *The rise of sea levels can be influenced by all actors since it is an effect of climate change, which is an effect of human behaviour. However, this influence is not taken into consideration because it is excessively indirect and long-term compared to the other cause-and-effects.*

3.4 Moral indication of actions

Low-income areas in Miami are experiencing gentrification due to a combination of urbanization and climate change. By analysing the situation and the agency of its actors using the utilitarian framework, the following determinations can be made:

1. The government, beneficiaries and new residents have the most influence over gentrification in low-income Miami areas, whilst original residents are mostly subjected to their actions.
2. Original residents of gentrifying low-income Miami areas experience a low amount of welfare whilst new residents experience a high amount of welfare, and therefore original residents benefit most from an increase in welfare and suffer most from a decrease in welfare.
3. The current process of gentrification is likely to have a negative effect on the welfare of original residents.

From these three determinations can be concluded that the morally right thing to do for any actor are actions that increase the welfare of the original residents because they benefit most from this. However, they are also least able to instigate this, making the morality of the actions of the three remaining actors—the government, beneficiaries, and new residents—weigh more than the morality of the actions of the original residents.

For the government, moral action could mean implementing policies that limit the possibilities of beneficiaries to raise the rent, or to initiate projects that combine financial profitability with the possibility for original residents to enhance their life standards. For beneficiaries it would be right to refrain from investing in low-income areas with purely financial considerations, because it nullifies considerations on the welfare of the original residents. Taking such considerations into account, an example of moral action would be to prevent forced displacement by not raising rents or demolishing buildings in order to build new ones, because the increase of welfare that original residents would experience from this, would

outweigh the increase of welfare that the beneficiaries would experience from raising rents and redeveloping real estate.

Determining what is right for new residents is slightly more ambiguous. For example, they could prevent a decrease in welfare of the original residents by not moving into the gentrifying areas. However, moving into the areas is not a direct cause of the impoverishment of original residents: this is caused by effects of the reactions of beneficiaries to the demand of real estate. This matter of responsibility makes indicating the morality of actions difficult. It raises the question: if an action has a negative consequence, but this consequence is a result of a reaction from another actor, is the original action wrong? Also, one could argue that from our utilitarian point of view, it would not be wrong to move to a gentrifying area because welfare would remain low if they would not move, and there are ways to compensate for the loss of welfare of displaced original residents—e.g. by starting projects from which other original residents could profit and increasing their welfare.

3.4 Discussion and conclusion

From a utilitarian perspective, the morally right thing to do amidst the process of gentrification in Miami, is for the government, the beneficiaries and the new residents to act in a way that intends to increase the welfare, or prevent a decrease in the welfare, of the original residents of low-income areas. This conclusion is consistent with what was hypothesized and is based on three determinations that were systematically made. First, it was established that any right action is one that intends to achieve the greatest increase of welfare for the greatest amount of people—because welfare is an intrinsically good condition, and what is good determines what is right. Second, we determined that the government, the beneficiaries and the new residents of the gentrifying neighbourhoods are the actors that can exercise the most influence on the process of gentrification, and that the original residents of gentrifying low-income neighbourhoods in Miami are mostly subjected to their decisions, having little agency over their own situation. Thirdly and finally we determined that these original residents are at risk of experiencing a decrease in welfare due to the effects of gentrification.

This aforementioned conclusion might also be practically serviceable. Namely, it is based on a form of utilitarianism that employs a theoretical norm of what is good: welfare. However, one could argue that a state of welfare is not only theoretically, but also empirically something good. The conclusions offered in this paper could therefore be used as general directives of right actions for the actual actors involved with the process of gentrification in Miami. With this, this research demonstrates a practical use of utilitarianism in a modern situation that is caused by urbanization and climate change—two major challenges of the modern world. However, its practical value could be improved by including the causes of climate change in the equation. After all, actors involved with gentrification are likely to be guilty of contributing to climate change themselves, and through this to climate gentrification and the induced decline in welfare of original residents.

Moreover, the same reasons used to argue for the practical value of the conclusion, also show its contribution to the academic discourse on ethics: the process of reaching this conclusion included applying a well-known philosophy of ethics on a modern situation and this shows how utilitarianism can offer

implications that practically improve on the negative effects of this situation. It is therefore an argument for the value of consequentialist theories. A fitting way to improve on this discussion would be to assess the same case of gentrification using other theories on ethics, such as Kantianism or virtue ethics.

4 MIAMI'S GENTRIFICATION:
A more comprehensive understanding

4.1 Introduction

By creating a more comprehensive understanding of gentrification in Miami out of the integration of the disciplinary insights, this research attempts to provide a valuable answer to the research question (Repko & Szostak, 2017).

The integration is necessary in creating a conclusion that transcends the combined insights from both disciplines (Repko & Szostak, 2017). This is difficult due to the different perspectives the disciplines assert. From the perspective of public governance, gentrification seems to be a top-down process that can be mostly determined by policy on affordable housing. Increasing the effectivity of this policy is the way to improve on the negative sides of gentrification because all stakeholders in the process are subjected to policy. From the philosophical perspective it can be concluded that the situation in Miami is determined by the agency of actors and the morality of their actions.

Integrating these insights is done by describing the common ground between them. This covers the areas of actor definition, the process of gentrification, the need for limiting agency and the norms by which the situation in Miami could be improved. Complementary insights in these areas are found and described, and conflicts between them are resolved.

4.2 Common ground

4.2.1 Definition of actors

The actors involved with gentrification in Miami have differing interests as well as levels of agency. Therefore, the determination and distinction of the actors involved should be based on both of these properties. This is done in table 2.

Table 2

Interdisciplinary distinction of the actors involved with gentrification in low-income neighbourhoods in Miami.

Actor	Interests and agency
Government of Miami	Has the interest to supply affordable housing for its citizens whilst maintaining an attractive climate for real estate investment. It also has the agency to implement policy that can influence every other cause and actor involved with gentrification in Miami.
Beneficiaries	(Groups of) individuals that have an interest in capitalizing on the gentrification in the area, and at the same time have the agency to shape this process.
New residents	Individuals who have an interest in moving into a gentrifying area. They are able to do so and therefore have the agency to shape the process of gentrification.
Original residents	Individuals living in low-income neighbourhoods who have an interest in affordable housing because on average they do not possess the resources to afford e.g. increasing rents (Keenan et al., 2018). For the same reason they mostly lack the agency to drastically influence the process of gentrification.

This conclusion arises from a conflict between the disciplinary perspective regarding the determination and distinction of the involved actors. On the one side, public governance identifies actors on the basis of what individual or party holds an interest in the situation, and distinguishes four actors: government,

residents, investors, and local businesses. These stakeholders are the actors that public governance takes into account when evaluating the approach of the government with respect to gentrification. On the other side however, philosophy identifies the actors on the basis of the agency they have over the situation, and distinguishes four other actors: government, beneficiaries, new residents, and original residents. This is a vital conflict because the actors are one of the main focusses of this research and a discord on this subject could stand in the way of a more comprehensive understanding of gentrification.

Resolving the conflict means deciding what elements of the insights are most valuable in answering the main research question. It does not mean deciding what group of actors is the right one to address in order to achieve a more comprehensive understanding, because the understanding would not be more comprehensive if only one group of actors is chosen. Therefore, the most valuable way to resolve the conflict was by redefining what an actors means (Repko & Szostak, 2017). The outcomes of this redefinition is described in table 2.

Finally, as is described in the philosophy research, these actors are theoretical and not empirical. This means that, for example, a beneficiary could be the owner of a local business, as well as an original resident, and therefore have conflicting interests. This can be seen as a testimony to the complexity of this situation, which is partially clarified by this interdisciplinary distinction of actors as well.

4.2.2 Process of gentrification and hierarchical agency

The process of gentrification in Miami is a complex web of causes and effects and is influenced by the involved actors (as they have been identified above). However, the agency to exert influence on this process is not equal amongst actors, but instead a hierarchical relationship exists between them based on this agency and influence. The original residents of gentrifying areas are at the bottom of this hierarchy: they are subjected to the decisions of all other actors in the process. The government is the actor that holds the most influence over the outcomes, with its decisions able to have consequences for all other actors in the process. In between these two the beneficiaries and new residents are found.

This finding comes from complementary insights of public governance and philosophy. For public governance, it is no surprising finding because: it acquired this top-down perspective because it looks at the effect public policy has and can have on a situation and the actors involved, and only one actor can implement public policy: the government. This assumption is also found in every theory used in the public governance research. The philosophical research confirms the insight of public governance that the government has the most agency in the process of gentrification from an overhead view of the situation, giving the finding more merit. It also illustrates the high amount of agency that beneficiaries and new residents have by describing their possibilities and the manner in which they could influence the process. Doing the same for the original residents, the research confirms the way in which that actor is subjected to the choices other actors make.

This furthermore strengthens the finding that the gentrification process is complex. This is an insight shared by both disciplines. The public governance research emphasizes this complexity by defining gentrification as a *wicked problem*, a framing used in the discipline to indicate versatile societal situations that require public policy to intervene (Head & Alford, 2015). The philosophy research implies the complexity of the problem by utilizing an integrationist approach. Integrationism is the incorporation of the context in which a development takes place, and the need for this to properly analyse gentrification in Miami is an indicator of its versatility (Caney, 2005).

4.2.3 Limiting agency

Limiting the agency of the involved actors, and the influence that they can exert on the situation in Miami, can help in achieving a morally desirable outcome. Namely, by doing so the behaviour of the actors can be steered in a way that leads to an increase of welfare, or a prevention of welfare, for the original residents of gentrifying areas.

This finding is firstly grounded in the prior finding that the government is on top of the hierarchy of agency. Secondly, it is grounded in a conflict between disciplinary assumptions on the inherent implications of agency. The main

theories used in the public governance research all lean on the basic assumption of public policy: a societal outcome can only be achieved by controlling and steering the agency of the actors involved. For one, the theory on the merit of co-production argues for the inclusion of actors under public supervision. Also, the theory on the importance of accountability finds accountability measures to be essential in policy so that actors are forced to correctly implement it. A third theory used in this research, on instrumental effects in policy, strives to identify what policy instruments can be used to steer behaviour, making the assumption that this is an implicit part of policy.

The theory used in the philosophical inquiry however, utilitarianism, assumes agency not to be inherently good or bad, so does not find it necessary or unnecessary to be controlled. Notwithstanding, it does find that agency can have an effect on the weight of the morality of actions: the more influence an actor has, the more important it is for them to act morally. Therefore, by extending the idea of public governance theory on the importance of controlling agency for steering actors, an interdisciplinary finding originates that states that the agency and influence of the actors involved with climate gentrification, need to be controlled by the government (and within the government itself).

4.2.4 Norms for improvement

Policy designed to battle the negative effects of gentrification is morally right when it is effective and vice versa.

At first sight, public governance and philosophy offer conflicting insights on what needs to be done to improve on the effects of gentrification. Public governance offers an insight on the effectiveness of government action and assumes that increasing this effectiveness is key to solve problems. But the philosophical research done in this paper offers an insights on the morality of actions and, using utilitarian standards, implies that solving these problems should be centred around increasing welfare. However, the common ground between these conflicting insights becomes apparent when organizing them correctly (Repko & Szostak, 2017). In this case, acting morally can be seen as the most comprehensive norm for improvement of the situation in Miami, and implementing effective policy can

be part of this solution. Because, when a policy intends to increase welfare or to prevent a decrease in welfare of original residents, it strives with the utilitarian doctrine that was determined by the philosophical research.

Also, the morality can be complimentary to the effectivity by offering guidelines for determining what problem policy should focus on and how this should be done. After all, the effectivity public governance investigates means the extent to which it solves or aims to solve an existing problem. However, defining the exact problem and what solving that problem means is subject to interpretation. The utilitarian indication of moral action for actors involved with gentrification, can be used as a guideline for this interpretation. One might contest that utilitarianism only provides a theoretical view of what is right, but, as is argued in the philosophical conclusion, because of act-utilitarianism's focus on the intended outcome of actions, it can also be seen as a valuable theory to apply to practical situations.

4.3 Results

The integrated insights from public governance and philosophy show gentrification in Miami as a complex process. It finds that it is put in motion by urbanization and climate change, and is influenced both positively and negatively by four main actors, whose agency and influence differ and do not align with their respective interests. This creates a hierarchy of agency that is determinative to the outcome of the situation, and to the weight of the actors' conduct. In this hierarchy, the government is on top, the beneficiaries and new residents of gentrifying areas are in the middle, and the original residents are at the bottom. The latter are thus subjected to the decisions made by the former three, whilst their stakes are much higher since they face possible forced displacement from their homes. Meanwhile, policy meant to influence this process would be effective if it were to prevent forced displacement and other welfare-declining consequences of gentrification. It could do so by limiting the agency and thereby steering the influence that actors (including the government itself) can exert on the situation.

How should the actors involved with gentrification in Miami respond to its effects? In light of the above understanding, it can first of all be argued that the government should be leading in this response because it can influence all other actors. Second, its approach should aim to prevent the effects of gentrification that cause a decline in welfare of the original residents (which is mainly the effect of forced displacement). In creating policy to do so, the government should limit other influential actors' agency, which would steer their actions in a way that increases the welfare or prevents a decrease in welfare of the original residents. The government should also limit its own agency for the same reason, by including accountability mechanisms in their policy.

The many ways in which various factors contribute to the negative effects of gentrification, means that prevention of these effects is something that could also be achieved in different ways. One way is to start at the root of gentrification by creating policy that stimulates climate protection and inhibits urbanization. Another way is to diminish the socio-economic and racial and cultural inequality that gentrification aggravates, so that the original residents would not be subject to these pre-existing conditions in when exposed to the effects of gentrification.

4.4 Discussion and conclusion

The understanding of gentrification in Miami, its causes, effects and involved actors, yielded by the integration of insights from the public governance and philosophy research, is more comprehensive than the disciplines provide separate from each other. The value of the integrated insights also extends beyond the added results of both. For example: the disciplines show that actors involved with gentrification are both agents and stakeholders. However, what makes the understanding more comprehensive is its explanatory value with regards to the effect these double roles have on the effects of gentrification. Ultimately, from this understanding a valuable answer to the research question could be extracted.

Furthermore, the process towards achieving a more comprehensive understanding shows how the complexity of gentrification in Miami is caused by conflicting interests, differing levels of agency and the effects of the wrong use thereof: the government is at the top of the hierarchical chain and could alleviate much of the problematic aspects by taking responsibility in caring for their city and its citizens. The results also offer possibilities on how to do so by giving us a better understanding of its incentives and influence. The potential response offered in the answer to the research question, battles the negative effects of gentrification for the original citizens of gentrifying areas. In doing so, it also offers a way to counteract the effects of institutionalized racism (such as poverty and institutionalized inequality) experienced by many of the original residents. Furthermore, the conclusions drawn have useful implications for other cities in the world that are currently experiencing the effects of urban and climate gentrification, or will be in the future. The results are especially valuable for the finding ways to battle climate gentrification, since this research provides a mapping of how rising sea levels impact coastal urban societies.

However valuable the results, this research is also limited in some capacities. For one, the achieved understanding of the process of gentrification is simplified, and rooted in theory. This is for example true for the distinction that is made between actors: it is a clear distinction useful for theoretic reasoning, but such a simplification could distort a realistic understanding of the situation in Miami. Therefore, in future research it would be valuable to examine a more

detailed distinction between the actors. This could also contribute to solving another weakness in the solution this research poses: it does not account for the possible agency and influence that beneficiaries and both groups of residents have on the government. Big companies, belonging to the former, would probably go far to protect their own interests: if the government would restrict their agency too much in order to protect the original residents, the companies might move to another city. This would result in a loss of jobs and tax income, which is a counterproductive development in achieving an increase in welfare. Also, the residents of Miami can influence the municipal government electorally when a policy in which their agency, to for example buy a house, is restricted too much. This would create an incentive for the next government to abolish the policy, which is also counterproductive. All these aforementioned limitations and possible negative effects of the proposed solution could be examined in a follow-up research. This would result in an even more comprehensive understanding.

Another way to make the understanding of gentrification arisen from this research more comprehensive, is further research on gentrification in the used disciplinary fields. For example, the public governance research was now limited to assessment using two major aspects of the policy: its design process and its level of anticipation. Future research could additionally look into the policy's inclusion of evidence-based management. This extended evaluation could then also be carried out in when the actual effects of the policy are clear, in order to link these effects to the results of the evaluation. Also, the philosophy research could be expanded by assessing the morality of actions with respect to gentrification using other moral theories, such as *Kantianism* and *virtue ethics*.

A second way of furthering the understanding in future research, is by utilizing and integrating the perspectives of even more disciplines. Albeit that this research offers a more comprehensive understanding of gentrification in Miami, it is still limited to the perspectives of only two disciplines. Therefore, by embracing the research with yet another discipline, or even more disciplines, interdisciplinary research could make the understanding even more comprehensive.

For example, sociology could contribute by researching the social dynamic that underlies gentrification in Miami. This would be done in order to find out how

societal structures and developments create a situation in which the effects of gentrification so negatively impact the original residents of the relevant areas. The results of such research could enable policy to more effectively steer the agency of specific societal actors. Another example is a contribution by cultural anthropology, which could research the cultural implications that gentrification has in the low-income neighbourhoods in Miami. These neighbourhoods are experiencing the replacement of residents on a mass scale, and this logically causes a grand change in a neighbourhood's culture. Finding out the exact changes would contribute to mapping the exact effects of gentrification. Also, climatology could research ways to reclaim land that is now lost to the sea, and with this offer ways to reduce the process of climate gentrification. Finally, urban studies could for example research how the design of Miami, and its surrounding area, enables gentrification to take place. This would also offer insights on how to design future cities that limit the risks of gentrification, and with this the negative effects of gentrification.

5 REFERENCES

Bali, A. S., Capano, G., & Ramesh, M. (2019). Anticipating and designing for policy effectiveness. *Policy and Society*, 38, 1-13.

Beyer, S. (2015, July). *How Miami Fought Gentrification and Won (for Now)*. Retrieved from Governing: The Future of States and Localities: https://www.governing.com/columns/urban-notebook/gov-miami-gentrification.html

Bisaro, A., & Hinkel, J. (2018). Mobilizing private finance for coastal adaptation: A literature review. *WIREs Climate Change*, 9(3), e514.

Bovens, M. A., 't Hart, P., Van Twist, M. J., Van den Berg, C. F., Van der Steen, M. A., & Tummers, L. G. (2017). Beleidsprocessen. In M. A. Bovens, P. 't Hart, M. J. Van Twist, C. F. Van den Berg, M. A. Van der Steen, & L. G. Tummers, *Openbaar bestuur, beleid, organisatie en politiek* (pp. 104-130). Den Haag: Wolters Kluwers.

Bressers, J. T., Herweijer, M., & Korsten, A. F. (1993). Beleidsevaluatie. In J. T. Bressers, J. J. Thomassen, & F. A. Van Vught, *Politicologie en het openbaar bestuur* (pp. 230-247). Alphen aan de Rijn: Samsom Tjeenk Willink.

Caney, S. (2005). Cosmopolitan Justice, Responsibility, and Global Climate Change. *Leiden Journal of International Law*, 18, 747-775.

City of Miami & FIU Metropolitan Center. (2020). *Miami Affordable Housing Master Plan (draft).* Miami: City of Miami.

City of Miami & Miami Homes For All. (2019). *Connect Capital Miami.* MIami: City of Miami.

Dahler-Larson, P. (2017). Critical perspectives on using evidence in social policy. In B. Greve, *Handbook of Social Policy Evaluation* (pp. 242-262). Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited.

De Lazari-Radek, K., & Singer, P. (2017). *Utilitarianism: A Very Short Introduction.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Donner, W. (2006). Mill's Theory of Value. In H. R. West, *The Blackwell Guide to Mill's Utilitarianism* (pp. 117-138). Malden: Blackwell Publishing.

Ehrenhalt, A. (2015, February). *What, Exactly, Is Gentrification?* Retrieved from Governing: The Future of States and Localities: https://www.governing.com/topics/urban/gov-gentrification-definition-series.html

Elliott, D., Srini, T., Kooragayala, S., & Hedman, C. (2017). *Miami and the State of Low- and Middle-Income Housing: Strategies to Preserve Affordability and Opportunities for the Future.* Urban Institute.

Feldman, M., & Jolivet, V. (2014). Back to Little Havana: Controlling Gentrification in the Heart of Cuban Miami. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 38(4), 1266-85.

Florida, R., & Pedigo, S. (2019). *Miami's Housing Affordability Crisis.* Miami: Miami Urban Future Initiative.

Fuchs, A. E. (2006). Mill's Theory of Morally Correct Action. In H. R. West, *The Blackwell Guide to Mill's Utilitarianism* (pp. 139-158). Malden: Blackwell Publishing.

Head, B. W., & Alford, J. (2015). Wicked Problems: Implications for Public Policy and Management. *Administration & Society*, 47(6), 711-739.

Howlett, M. (2014). Policy Design: What, Who, How and Why? In C. Halpern, P. Lascoumes, & P. Le Galès, *L'instrumentation de l'action publique: Controverses, résistance, effets* (pp. 281-315). Paris: Presses de Sciences Po.

Keenan, J. M., Hill, T., & Anurag, G. (2018). Climate gentrification: from theory to empiricism in Miami-Dade County, Florida. *Environmental Research Letters*, 13, 1-11.

Kelly, D. L., & Molina, R. (2020, August 20). *Climate gentrification and affordable housing policies*. Retrieved from The Hill: https://thehill.com/opinion/energy-environment/520158-climate-gentrification-and-affordable-housing-policies

Leichenko, R. M., & O'Brien, K. (2008). *Environmental Change and Globalization: Double Exposures.* Oxford University Press: New York.

Lipsky, M. (2010). *Street-Level Bureaucracy: Dilemmas of the individual in public services.* New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Lopez, Y. (2020, June 23). *Miami metro among most 'intensely gentrified' in U.S., study says*. Retrieved from Miami Herald: https://www.miamiherald.com/article243635807.html

Maciag, M. (2015, February 1). *Miami Gentrification Maps and Data*. Retrieved from Governing.com: https://www.governing.com/gov-data/miami-gentrification-maps-demographic-data.html

Mill, J. S. (2014). *Utilitarianism.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

National ALICE Advisory Council. (2018). *ALICE: A Study of Financial Hardship in Florida.* United Way.

Osborne, S. P., Radnor, Z., & Strokosch, K. (2016). Co-production and the co-creation of value in public service: a suitable case for treatment? *Public Management Review*, 18(5), 639-653.

Pattberg, P. (2010). Public–private partnerships in global climate governance. *WIREs Climate Change*, 1(2), 279-87.

PBS. (2019, October 26). *Miami residents priced out of a city built for the rich*. Retrieved from PBS: https://www.pbs.org/newshour/show/miami-residents-priced-out-of-a-city-built-for-the-rich

Pellegrini-Masini, G., Pirni, A., & Maran, S. (2020). Energy justice revisited: A critical review on the philosophical and political origins of equality. *Energy Research & Social Science*, 59, accessed on Octobre 29 from https://doi.org/10.1016/j.erss.2019.101310.

Peters, B. (2018). Conclusion: toward better policy design. In B. Peters, *Policy Problems and Policy Design* (pp. 130-143). Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited.

Repko, A. F., & Szostak, R. (2017). *Interdisciplinary Research: Process and Theory.* Los Angeles: Sage.

Scheer, R., & Moss, D. (2019, December 5). *Is Climate Gentrification Killing Our Communities?* Retrieved from The Environmental Magazine: https://emagazine.com/climate-gentrification/#:~:text=Climate%20gentrification%20is%20a%20relatively,as%20stronger%2C%20more%20frequent%20hurricanes%2C

Schroth, J. (2008). Distributive Justice and Welfarism in Utilitarianism. *Inquiry*, 51:2, 123-146.

Shaw, W. H. (2006). Contemporary Criticisms of Utilitarianisms: a Response. In H. R. West, *The Blackwell Guide to Mill's Utilitarianism* (pp. 201-216). Malden: Blackwell Publishing.

Smith, N., & Williams, P. (2007). Alternatives to orthodoxy: invitiation to a debate. In N. Smith, & P. Williams, *Gentrification of the City* (pp. 1-15). Winchester: Allen & Unwin Inc.

Steets, J. (2010). *Accountability in Public Policy Partnerships.* Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

Stein, M. S. (2006). *Distributive Justice and Disability.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Van Buuren, A., Lewis, J. M., Peters, B., & Voorberg, W. (2020). Improving public policy and administration: exploring the potential of design. *Policy & Politics*, 48(1), 3-19.

Viglucci, A. (2019, 24 April). *Miami-Dade's tale of two cities: 30 billionaires and the economic inequality of Colombia*. Retrieved from Miami Herald: https://www.miamiherald.com/news/local/community/miami-dade/article229441144.html

Viglucci, A., & Rene, R. (2020, January 7). *Miami finally has a strategy to tackle its housing affordability crisis. Here's the plan*. Retrieved from Miami Herald: https://www.miamiherald.com/news/business/real-estate-news/article238954388.html

Voorberg, W. H., Bekkers, V. J., & Tummers, L. (2015). A Systematic Review of Co-Creation and Co-Production: Embarking on the social innovation journey. *Public Management Review*, 17(9), 1333-1357.

Weeman, K., & Lynch, P. (2018, February 13). *New study finds sea level rise accelerating*. Retrieved from NASA Global Climate Change: https://climate.nasa.gov/news/2680/new-study-finds-sea-level-rise-accelerating/