



LINCOLN INSTITUTE
OF LAND POLICY

What Drives Neighborhood Revival? Qualitative Research Findings from Baltimore and St. Louis

Working Paper WP18AM1

Alan Mallach

Center for Community Progress

Karen Beck Pooley

Lehigh University

October 2018

The findings and conclusions of this Working Paper reflect the views of the author(s) and have not been subject to a detailed review by the staff of the Lincoln Institute of Land Policy. Contact the Lincoln Institute with questions or requests for permission to reprint this paper.

help@lincolninst.edu

© 2018 Lincoln Institute of Land Policy

Abstract

We conduct a case study of neighborhood revival in St. Louis and Baltimore, two legacy cities showing both significant signs of revival along with persistent poverty and neighborhood distress. Looking at neighborhoods that showed significant change in household income, educational attainment and house value between 1990 and 2000, and 2000 and 2014, we find that reviving neighborhoods in both cities share key features. All had market potential based on being well-situated spatially relative to existing strong neighborhoods, major amenities and/or anchor institutions, as well as having an intact, attractive neighborhood fabric. All were the subject of interventions that changed that market potential into effect demand for the neighborhood's housing stock. We discuss the nature of those interventions in detail and propose a model of neighborhood revival, as well as explore why certain neighborhoods revived while others didn't, as well as the racial and economic equity implications of these neighborhoods' revival.

Keywords:

- Neighborhood change
- Location
- Housing demand
- Racial equity

About the Authors

Alan Mallach is a senior fellow at the Center for Community Progress and a visiting professor in the Graduate Center for Planning and the Environment at Pratt Institute. His latest book, *The Divided City: Poverty and Prosperity in Urban America* will appear in May 2018.

PO Box 623
Roosevelt NJ 08555
609.448.5614
amallach@communityprogress.net

Karen Beck Pooley is a Senior Associate at czb LLC and a Professor of Practice in Political Science at Lehigh University, where she heads the Environmental Policy Master's Program. Her research and professional work focus on neighborhood revitalization strategies and the evolution of federal, state and local housing policy.

Lehigh University
Maginnes Hall, Room 307
9 West Packer Avenue
Bethlehem, PA 18015
(610) 758-1238
kbp312@lehigh.edu

Table of Contents

Introduction.....	1
St. Louis Case Study	3
Overview.....	3
Physical and Locational Factors	7
Organizational and Institutional Roles and Interventions.....	10
Baltimore Case Study	19
Overview.....	19
Physical and Locational Factors	23
Organizational and Institutional Roles and Interventions.....	26
Observations on the Case Studies.....	29
What Drives Neighborhood Revival: Key Themes and Issues	31
Threshold Characteristics.....	33
Drivers of Change	36
Other Factors Affecting Neighborhood Revival.....	39
Spatial Factors in Revival and the Role of Race.....	39
The Equity Challenge: Neighborhood Revival, Race and Income	44
Toward a Further Qualitative Research Agenda into Neighborhood Change	50
References	53
Appendix: Interview Respondents	56
Endnotes.....	57

What Drives Neighborhood Revival? Qualitative Research Findings from Baltimore and St Louis

Introduction

Neighborhoods are not only physical environments, but complex social entities, which change in ways that are in part predictable and in part unpredictable (Mallach 2015). While certain underlying factors appear to create the framework for neighborhood revival, most notably proximity to already-strong neighborhoods (Guerrieri et al 2010), the factors that lead to the revival of particular neighborhoods rather than others, and determine the strength of that revival, are less well understood. Moreover, the quantitative studies that look at the effect of individual interventions such as housing demolition or vacant lot greening on isolated variables such as crime rates or house prices contribute little to our understanding of the dynamics of change. Not only do they not reflect the complex interactions between different factors that take place when a neighborhood is changing, but the threshold definition of what constitutes meaningful change; that is, statistical significance at reasonable levels of confidence, is neither a sound proxy for the sort of change that is experienced by residents and visible to visitors nor a meaningful predictor of sustained change.¹

Moreover, the critical question that needs to be asked about neighborhood change, particularly if the answers are to be useful for practitioners as well as scholars, is not *whether* change is taking place, but *why* and *how* it is taking place. While quantitative research may be able to tell one that a certain type of change is taking place, and to what extent, it is unable to go further. We believe that, by combining quantitative and qualitative research, it should be possible to uncover the nature of the factors that lead some neighborhoods to revive, others to remain more or less the same, and still others to decline over time. Specifically, by looking at neighborhoods that have revived significantly over the past 10 to 15 years, observing the physical and locational features of those neighborhoods, and, above all, talking to people who have been involved in shaping or experiencing what has taken place in those neighborhoods, we believe that we may be able to identify salient factors and interventions that have affected those neighborhoods' trajectories and the relationships between those factors and the neighborhoods' underlying conditions, and by so doing materially add to our understanding of the dynamics of neighborhood change and provide valuable insights for policy and practice.

We undertook a modest, time-limited case study assessment of reviving neighborhoods in two cities in order to test this hypothesis and evaluate whether such an approach could be a model for more extensive future research. We chose to examine neighborhoods in Baltimore and in St. Louis. These cities were selected for a number of reasons. First, our particular interest is in neighborhoods in older industrial cities that have experienced significant distress over the past five or more decades, and where overall housing market conditions are still not generally strong. Put differently, in cities like Baltimore and St. Louis reviving neighborhoods are the exception; thus, understanding why they have changed where others have not is significantly more interesting than studying revival in, say, Washington DC or San Francisco, where revival is arguably the norm and decline the increasingly rare exception. Second, within the universe of older industrial cities, we wanted to look at cities which are experiencing relatively strong

revival, and where reviving neighborhoods, while they may still be the exception, are not so rare as to be unique or unusual phenomena. Based on many different criteria, Baltimore and St. Louis are experiencing relatively strong market revival among their industrial city peers. Third, both cities exhibit relatively straightforward spatial patterns; they have simple shapes, and few if any significant topographical features or rivers to complicate matters.²

In studying neighborhood revival, we are well aware that that term has many meanings and is fraught with complex implications. For purposes of this analysis, we have followed the widely-used approach that looks at change in key social and economic indicators, specifically change in median house prices, median household incomes, and the percentage of adults with BA or higher degrees. Those are robust measures of change, but do not reflect the full measure of change taking place in a neighborhood; and, as we will discuss later in this paper, may obscure negative effects for some residents of neighborhoods seeing positive change in those indicators. Part of the value of qualitative analysis, we believe, is that it may uncover those variations and interactions in ways that available quantitative information cannot.

Using the Geolytics/Urban Institute Neighborhood Change Data Base, we examined each of these cities at the census tract level to identify which tracts had shown significant upward change relative to the city as a whole with respect to three variables between 1990 and 2000, and between 2000 and 2014:³ (1) change in median household income; (2) change in median house value;⁴ and (3) change in the percentage of adults with a BA/BS or higher degree. Specifically, we identified tracts where the Z score of the percentage change during each of these periods, relative to the citywide level of change, was $>.25$ with respect to median household income and either or both of the other two variables. We excluded tracts which had shown significant change between 1990 and 2000, but not between 2000 and 2014.⁵ Subsequently, we looked at current house sales data for each of the tracts and excluded tracts where the median sales price reported by Boxwood Means in 2014 was below the citywide median. Census tracts are, of course, an imperfect proxy for neighborhoods; the relationship between the two, and some of the adjustments that were needed, are discussed in the individual case study sections of this paper.

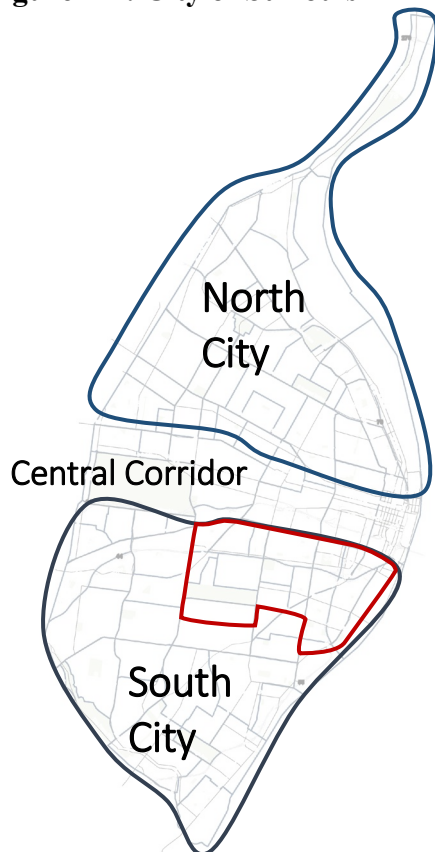
The following section presents the case study findings, divided into four sections: (1) overview of the two cities and their respective patterns of neighborhood change; (2) physical and locational factors; (3) key organizational roles and interventions; and finally, (4) where revival is not taking place. That section is followed by a section in which we discuss common themes and potentially generalizable findings about the dynamics of neighborhood change, and the potential value of further research in this area. That section presents a proposed model of neighborhood change, as well as looking at the complex relationship between change, race and income. As we discuss in that section, we not only believe that this study, while raising many questions for future work, nonetheless not only demonstrates the potential value of the qualitative approach to studying neighborhood change but offers valuable insights and observations into the dynamics of neighborhood revival in America's older cities.

St. Louis Case Study

Overview

The city of St Louis has experienced among the most drastic population loss of any major American city, going from nearly 857,000 in 1950 to an estimated 316,000 today, losing 63% of its peak population. As Figure 2-1 shows, the city is clearly divided into three sectors, each of which contains a large number of distinct neighborhoods. North City, located to the north of Delmar Boulevard, includes most of the city's historically African-American neighborhoods, many of which have been extensively disinvested and abandoned since the 1950s. The Central Corridor, a strip 1 to 1.5 miles wide between Delmar Boulevard and Chouteau Avenue, contains the city's downtown, its major employers and anchor institutions, important amenities like Olmsted's Forest Park, and well-established strong neighborhoods like the Central West End. While the Central West End today is a highly desirable neighborhood, where some of the finer houses sell for upward of \$2 million, it was not always such an area; although an elite neighborhood in the late 19th century, it showed significant decline, although never to the point of widespread abandonment, in the 1950s and 60s. South City, south of Chouteau Boulevard, has been called a 'checkerboard' of strong, weak and middling neighborhoods; and, in recent years, a diverse racial and ethnic mix.

Figure 2-1: City of St Louis



Map prepared by Hallah Elbeidy

In common with many other United States cities, but more than most of its older industrial peers, St Louis has seen a strong influx of college-educated young adults in recent years. Adults 25 to 34 with a BA or higher degree made up 4.1% of the city's population in 2000, roughly comparable to the national average, 7.4% in 2010, and 9.1% or more than double the national average in 2014. During the five years from 2010 to 2014, the city saw net in-migration of adults 25 to 34 with a BA or higher degree of 1311 per year, while both younger and older age cohorts continued to decline. This demographic shift is clearly visible in the many old industrial and commercial buildings that have been restored for residential use as well as the growth of restaurants, brewpubs and other venues serving this distinct demographic. As will be discussed below, this trend has had a significant effect on neighborhood change in St Louis, most dramatically along Washington Avenue in the northeastern part of the Central Corridor.

With isolated exceptions, the city's reviving neighborhoods are concentrated inside the red outline in Figure 2-1, a single area in South City paralleling the Central Corridor with its amenities and anchor institutions. Their salient data are given in Table 2-1 on the following page. These neighborhoods will be the principal focus of the case study. The neighborhoods in this tier, and the principal institutions and amenities are shown in Figure 2-2. The neighborhoods meeting the criteria described earlier and identified in the census tract analysis are only part of the picture in this area. They are part of an entire tier of neighborhoods shown in the map, all of which are showing either some revival or sustained market strength (as in Compton Heights).

Figure 2-2: Southern Tier Neighborhoods and Key Anchors in St Louis



Table 2-1: St Louis Study Neighborhoods (Part 1)

NEIGHBORHOOD		MEDIAN HOUSE VALUE			MEDIAN SALES PRICE		
		1990	2000	2014	2006	2010	2014
1042	Hi-Pointe	49,400	67,500	135,200	\$116,500	\$92,000	\$131,000
1051.98	Skinker-DeBaliviere	130,000	202,700	350,600	\$360,000	\$387,000	\$248,014
1162	Tower Grove South (West)	51,500	63,800	137,300	\$125,000	\$128,450	\$118,175
1163.01	Tower Grove South (East)	57,000	70,200	202,200	\$112,596	\$130,966	\$200,800
1165 BG 5	Tower Grove East*	NA	99,400	268,100	\$189,136	\$255,000	\$307,750
1171	Southwest Garden	73,300	96,900	143,800	\$159,500	\$135,000	\$240,000
1172	Shaw	72,000	88,800	171,100	\$145,250	\$121,175	\$187,550
1174	Compton Heights*	79,000	138,100	195,600	\$192,000	\$227,000	\$200,000
1181 BG 1	Botanical Heights*	NA	24,000	212,500	NA	NA	\$99,750
1231	Fox Park	54,100	79,000	154,600	\$134,000	\$100,000	\$99,000
1232	Lafayette Square	87,500	138,000	234,300	\$237,000	\$174,250	\$205,000
1233	McKinley Heights	56,900	89,700	204,500	\$185,000	\$150,000	\$182,400
1243	Benton Park	41,900	65,700	162,400	\$144,500	\$110,750	\$124,980
1273	The Gate/Tiffany*	74,160	107,660	183,000	\$169,850	\$95,675	\$243,500
1275	Downtown West	14,050	69,547	160,200	\$171,826	\$121,247	\$134,900
1276	Soulard	80,800	110,900	197,600	\$168,500	\$157,900	\$187,000
	CITY OF ST LOUIS	50,600	63,500	118,600	\$87,000	\$83,908	\$97,000

SOURCE: Median house value, US Census and American Community Survey; Median Sales Price, Boxwood Means from PolicyMap

*Not identified as a reviving neighborhood for 2000-2014 at the census tract level

Table 2-1: St Louis Study Neighborhoods (Part 2)

TRACT	NEIGHBORHOOD	MEDIAN HOUSEHOLD INCOME			PERCENT WITH BA OR HIGHER DEGREE		
		1990	2000	2014	1990	2000	2014
1042	Hi-Pointe	25193	32932	50038	27.1%	39.6%	54.6%
1051.98	Skinker-DeBaliviere	29609	32800	55588	56.8%	65.5%	81.8%
1162	Tower Grove South (West)	23486	28738	50488	14.7%	18.1%	53.0%
1163.01	Tower Grove South (East)	21952	26964	53281	16.4%	17.3%	51.3%
1165 BG 5	Tower Grove East*		42721	67188	NA	49.3%	46.2%
1171	Southwest Garden	19262	26020	37415	32.6%	35.8%	59.0%
1172	Shaw	19529	27268	46797	24.7%	26.1%	52.3%
1174	Compton Heights*	23404	33307	49527	29.4%	32.9%	50.8%
1181 BG 1	Botanical Heights*	NA	20500	32188	NA	11.3%	37.1%
1231	Fox Park	15034	26392	50729	13.1%	15.2%	37.1%
1232	Lafayette Square	16717	30529	46025	24.3%	39.2%	51.7%
1233	McKinley Heights	19511	28401	52010	27.6%	27.6%	48.2%
1243	Benton Park	19985	24375	48148	16.5%	15.4%	36.4%
1273	The Gate/Tiffany*	16356	34110	37838	19.3%	23.0%	34.8%
1275	Downtown West	5352	9471	25000	1.6%	5.8%	26.6%
1276	Soulard	25375	32519	50378	31.8%	42.5%	52.4%
	CITY OF ST LOUIS	19458	27156	34800	15.3%	19.1%	30.4%

SOURCE: US Census and American Community Survey

* Not identified as a reviving neighborhood for 2000-2014 at the census tract level

The significance of the in-migration of college-educated Millennials in the revival of both St Louis’ and Baltimore’s neighborhoods cannot be overstated. Table 2-2 on the following page shows both the numerical and percentage change in the college-educated population age 25 to 34 in selected parts St Louis between 2000 and 2014. During this period, the size of this demographic group more than doubled in this part of St Louis, although as we will see, the impact has been even greater in Baltimore. The city’s reviving tracts are disproportionately oriented to young college graduates, a demographic that made up 4.4% of the United States population in 2014.

Table 2-2: Increase in Adults 25 to 34 Year with Ba+ Degree in Selected St Louis Tracts

Tract	Neighborhood	2000		2014	
		Number	% of tract population	Number	% of tract population
1171	SW Garden	298	17.3%	433	28.8%
1172	Shaw	293	4.3	598	10.9
1231	Fox Park	91	2.3	421	11.7
1232	Lafayette Square	80	3.9	479	21.9
1243	Benton Park	107	3.0	386	13.0
1276*	Soulard	509	17.3	695	21.5
	All Tracts	1378	6.6%	3012	15.9%

SOURCE: US Census and American Community Survey *Tract 1234 in 2000

Few of St Louis’ reviving census tracts were low-income census tracts in 1990. As Table 2-3 shows, in both cities, a substantial majority of these tracts were middle neighborhoods in 1990 with incomes between 80% and 120% of the city median. A modest upward shift took place between 1990 and 2000, but truly dramatic change in these neighborhoods’ trajectories has been largely a post-2000 phenomenon. Downtown West in St Louis, the only tract in either city to both start and remain a low-income tract, is an anomaly. Although it contains most of the revived Washington Avenue corridor – which accounts for the dramatic income growth since 2000 – it also contains large low-income housing projects north of the corridor.

Physical and Locational Factors

Neighborhoods in both St Louis and Baltimore share two significant salient features. First, they are all characterized by an intact neighborhood fabric and a rich historic texture of attractive and often distinguished 19th century and early 20th century houses. In other respects, they are quite different. The St Louis neighborhoods are much greener, with a more extensive network of parks and open spaces, and a mature, and generally well-maintained green streetscape.

The St Louis neighborhoods are unusual in that they do not fit the pattern of the single-family monoculture that disproportionately characterizes the residential neighborhoods of older American cities (Mallach 2016); all contain a diverse mix of housing types, including single family attached and detached houses, small multifamily properties (typically four to eight units), and large apartment buildings. This not only leads to higher residential densities capable of better supporting neighborhood commercial and civic life, but more importantly, have allowed these neighborhoods to maintain a diverse tenure mix and an economically and demographically

Table 2-3: Distribution of Neighborhoods by Median Household Income and Category

ST LOUIS		1990	2000	2014
1042	Hi-Pointe	\$25193	\$32932	\$50038
1051.98	Skinker-DeBaliviere	\$29609	\$32800	\$55588
1162	Tower Grove South (west)	\$23486	\$28738	\$50488
1163.01	Tower Grove South (East)	\$21952	\$26964	\$53281
1171	Southwest Garden	\$19262	\$26020	\$37415
1172	Shaw	\$19529	\$27268	\$46797
1174	Compton Heights*	\$23404	\$33307	\$49527
1231	Fox Park	\$15034	\$26392	\$50729
1232	Lafayette Square	\$16717	\$30529	\$46025
1233	McKinley Heights	\$19511	\$28401	\$52010
1243	Benton Park	\$19985	\$24375	\$48148
1273	The Gate/Tiffany*	\$16356	\$34110	\$37838
1275	Downtown West	\$5352	\$9471	\$25000
1276	Soulard	\$25375	\$32519	\$50378
	City of St Louis	\$19458	\$27156	\$34800
	Average of all tracts	\$20055	\$28134	\$46632
	Tract average as percentage of citywide average	103.1%	103.6%	134.0%

SOURCE: US Census and American Community Survey

KEY

Lower income tract (<80% citywide median)		Middle income tract (80-120%)		Upper income tract (>120%)	
---	--	-------------------------------	--	----------------------------	--

diverse population in the course of revitalization. As Table 2-4 shows, even though the overwhelming majority of single-family houses (including detached, semi-detached and row houses) in these neighborhoods are owner-occupied, the opposite is true of the large number of 2 unit or more properties. Figures 2-3A and B illustrate the mix of housing types as well as the mature green landscape that are characteristic of these neighborhoods.

The second key common feature of all of St Louis’ reviving neighborhoods is their proximity to the Central Corridor and to the city’s principal anchor institutions, centers of employment, and major amenities. BJC Health, with some 27,000 employees, is the largest employer in St Louis, and after Wal-Mart, the largest employer in Missouri. St Louis University (SLU) and SSM Health are both major employers, while downtown St Louis contains 60,000 to 70,000 jobs.

The Cortex Innovation Community, established in 2002 as a partnership of BJC, Washington University, SLU and other institutions has completed or has under construction 1 million square feet of new and rehabilitated space totaling \$350 million of investment and generating 2,500 technology-related jobs. When fully implemented, the Cortex expects to contain 13,000 technology-related jobs. It is worth noting, however, that the proximity of these neighborhoods

to these major employers is to some extent compromised by a series of man-made barriers, including two Interstate highways, rail yards, and other features that both limit the number of streets linking the southern neighborhoods to the Central Corridor and discourage pedestrian and bicycle movement between the two areas. This does not appear to have prevented their benefiting from their proximity to the Central Corridor and its growth as a job and business center.

Figure 2-3A: Verdant Streetscape on Flora Avenue in Shaw Neighborhood



Figure 2-3B: Mix of Single Family and Multifamily Buildings in Compton Heights



SOURCE: Google Earth

The Central Corridor also offers significant recreational and cultural amenities, most notably world-renowned Forest Park, which is the major regional center of open space, recreation and cultural activity, as well as other cultural amenities such as theaters, concert halls and major league sports facilities. Strong amenities are also present in and around these neighborhoods, in particular the Missouri Botanical Gardens and Tower Grove Park. Both of these have played significant, although different, roles in the revival of the area.

The role of commercial areas as a locational factor in revival appears less powerful, but not necessarily insignificant. There is clearly an iterative relationship between the growth of the

Table 2- 4: Housing Distribution by Tenure and Type in Selected Neighborhoods 2014

		TOWER GROVE SOUTH	SHAW	COMPTON HTS	LAFAYETTE SQ	SOUARD
SINGLE FAMILY	Owner-occupied	1536	1054	741	733	688
	Renter-occupied	345	227	168	227	338
	TOTAL SF DU	1881	1281	909	960	1026
	% Owner-Occupied	81.7%	82.3%	81.5%	76.4%	67.1%
2+ FAMILY	Owner-occupied	128	199	112	158	149
	Renter-occupied	1476	1159	927	612	1378
	TOTAL 2+ DU	1604	1358	1039	770	1527
	% Renter-occupied	92.0%	85.3%	89.2%	79.5%	90.2%
	TOTAL UNITS	3485	2636	1948	1730	2553

SOURCE: American Community Survey

more affluent residential population and the growth of commercial activity, but it is hard to say that existing commercial – retail, services, restaurants and the like – represent an underlying threshold condition for revival. The commercial areas within the St Louis neighborhoods appear to have grown in the wake of residential revival, rather than having led revival; the extent to which commercial development along South Grand Boulevard, smaller neighborhood commercial areas in Souard or Lafayette Square, the alternative music/entertainment scene along Manchester Avenue in SE Forest Park known as The Grove, or the eclectic commercial development along Cherokee Street further south, have contributed to further market growth in those areas is uncertain, although worth further investigation.

We saw no evidence, however, that proximity to transit was relevant to the revival of either city’s neighborhoods. The only light rail line in St Louis runs through the Central Corridor; while MetroLink stations are not *far* from this area, they are not really close enough for convenient use by residents of the neighborhoods. This does not mean that transit is irrelevant to revival; there are ample examples from other cities showing the relationship. It suggests, however, that in cities lacking a significant transit infrastructure, its absence is not a barrier to revival.

Institutional and Organizational Roles and Interventions

Institutions and organizations, including both major anchor institutions and neighborhood-based organizations, have played significant roles in the revival of St Louis’ neighborhoods. Indeed, St Louis is unusual in the extent to which private, institutionally-sponsored, entities have played a central role in redevelopment. Under Missouri Revised Statutes Chapter 353 in effect up to 2006, cities could grant the power of eminent domain as well as exemption from local taxes for up to 10 years to privately-controlled urban redevelopment corporations (McBride 1990). Although statutory amendment that year removed the power of the city to delegate eminent domain to these corporations, the other provisions of the law remain in effect.

Under this law, the city has routinely delegated eminent domain power to private entities, including at least two notable examples within the area under discussion, the Cortext West Redevelopment Corporation, a subsidiary of the Cortex Innovation Community; and the Garden District Commission (GDC), created by the Missouri Botanical Garden mainly to carry out the redevelopment of the McRee Town neighborhood to the north of the Garden.⁶

The Missouri Botanical Garden, a National Historic Landmark, is not only a nationally known horticultural center, but a major tourist and visitor destination. The redevelopment of McRee Town, a distressed area to the Garden's north and a major gateway to the Garden, was largely prompted by the Garden's interest in improving its surroundings. Having recruited a seasoned redevelopment professional to head the GDC in 1997, the GDC raised a total of \$18 million in public and private funds and proceeded to clear six of the fourteen blocks in the designated redevelopment area, selling the land to a developer to build a new single-family development of relatively suburban character, rebranding the area Botanical Heights (Figure 2-4A). Although the redevelopment was temporarily stalled by the recession, it has since resumed, and in addition to the six blocks of new construction, rehabilitation and infill development is taking place in the rest of the redevelopment area (Figure 2-4B)

Botanical Heights represents the only large-scale residential redevelopment activity in the entire cluster of southern neighborhoods during the 25-year period being explored here, although a not dissimilar project took place in The Gate neighborhood in the 1980s. There is no question that it has transformed the character of the neighborhood, but the question arises: at what price? Both at the time of the initial redevelopment activity and since, questions have been raised about the loss of affordable housing, potential abuse of eminent domain powers, displacement and relocation, and the destruction of the area's historic fabric (Smithson 2003). Redevelopment elsewhere has been incremental and small-scale, focusing more on rehabilitation than new construction.

Figure 2-4A: New Houses in Botanical Heights (formerly McRee Town)



SOURCE: Google Earth

Figure 2-4B: Infill Housing in Botanical Heights (formerly McRee Town)



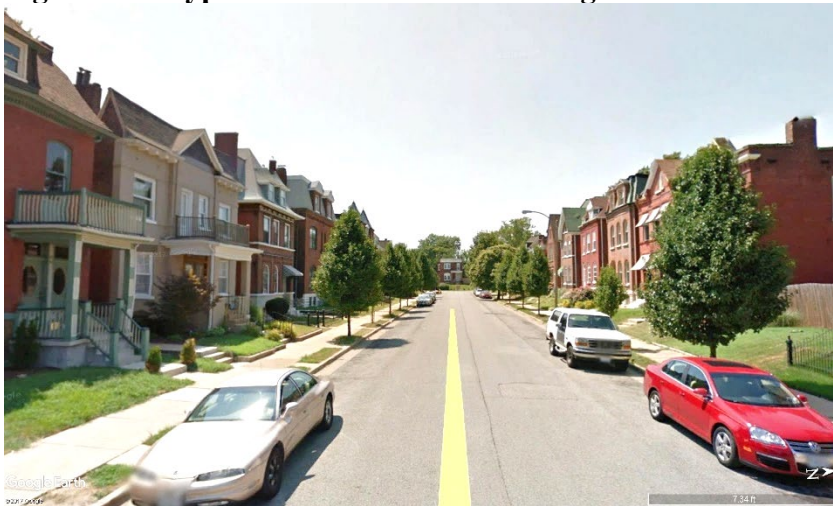
SOURCE: Google Earth

While large-scale institutional intervention through redevelopment companies represents one model of neighborhood change driver, such developments tend to be un-replicable “one-offs” as well as problematic in their larger implications. A number of neighborhood-level organizations or institutions in both St Louis and Baltimore offer a different model. Two community development corporations were cited by informants in St Louis as having played significant roles in revitalization: DeSales Community Housing Corporation in Fox Park (now DeSales Community Development), and the Shaw Neighborhood Housing Corporation (now part of the Tower Grove Neighborhoods CDC) in Shaw. A similar role was played by the (now defunct) Patterson Park CDC in Baltimore discussed later in this paper.

In both cases, intentional market-building strategies by these CDCs were cited as having had potentially catalytic effects. Fox Park, in the heart of St Louis’ southern tier, was a physically intact neighborhood with an attractive, historic housing stock (Figure 2-5), but in 1990 was also the most economically distressed neighborhood in the area, with little market demand for its historic houses.

DeSales’ strategy in Fox Park was to focus on the large number of visibly vacant and dilapidated small multi-family properties that were undermining neighborhood residents’ quality of life as well as acting as a deterrent to families buying the neighborhood’s single-family houses. This was particularly significant in Fox Park, since over two-thirds of the neighborhood’s housing stock was multifamily housing, almost all of it in two to four family structures. By acquiring abandoned rental properties and rehabilitating them, using funds obtained through sale of Low Income Tax Credits to ensure long-term affordability, De Sales saw an opportunity to pursue an intentional strategy to simultaneously improve living conditions for tenants and improve the visible appeal of the neighborhood, thus making it more attractive to potential homebuyers.⁷ As described by Tom Pickel, DeSales’ long-term executive director, their strategy was based on the proposition that once the impediment represented by the derelict multifamily properties was removed, the market would ensure that the single family properties would find buyers, which appears to have been the case. DeSales today owns 242 rental units in the neighborhood.

Figure 2-5: Typical Street in Fox Park Neighborhood



SOURCE: Google Earth

In order to ensure that the quality of the newly created rental housing would be maintained, DeSales created their own property management company, which manages those units as well as some 1500 units elsewhere in St Louis. Housing values and incomes have risen significantly in the Fox Park area since 2000, while the number of owner-occupied single-family houses in the neighborhood has increased by 114 or 46%.⁸ At the beginning of 2017, Fox Park was dubbed “the hottest neighborhood in the St. Louis metropolitan area” for the year by the real estate website Redfin (Fenske 2017).

While DeSales’ strategy appears to have been the starting point for neighborhood change, its impact was almost certainly enhanced by the subsequent opening of two new significant educational facilities in the neighborhood, a state-of-the-art early childhood center and a KIPP charter elementary school.⁹ This points out the importance of cumulative interventions or investments in the neighborhood-building process.

The Shaw NHC focused on gaining control of vacant properties and making them available to small contractors and developers, typically entities that developed 1 to at most 6 properties at a time, in order to create a steady development pipeline. This strategy was very similar to that pursued by the city of Baltimore in key target areas through their Vacants to Value program, where the city government uses the receivership process to create a similar pipeline for developers in designated neighborhoods (Mallach 2017b). At the same time, they devoted a parallel effort to marketing the neighborhood, both to developers and homebuyers. Just as LIHTC funds facilitated the DeSales strategy, the Shaw strategy was facilitated both by access to CDBG funds as well as by the historic preservation tax credits allowed under Missouri law.¹⁰

Although many of them were hard hit by the end of the housing bubble and the recession, the presence of a large pool of small contractors and developers rehabilitating houses in these neighborhoods, often restoring single family occupancy of houses formerly converted into multifamily housing, was widely seen as an important factor in revival. It is important to stress that, with the obvious exception of Botanical Heights, no large-scale developers have been active

in St Louis' reviving neighborhoods. The physical transformation of these neighborhoods has been a product of the cumulative effect of large numbers of small-scale, individual interventions.

Another important feature that has contributed to the revival of surrounding neighborhoods is Tower Grove Park, which was characterized by one informant as the “finest example of a Victorian walking park in the United States.”¹¹ This park had deteriorated to the point that it was seen as both unsound and dangerous in the 1980s. Under the leadership of John Karel, who was park superintendent from 1987 to 2014,¹² a successful effort was made both to raise the funds to restore the park and create a level of activity and security to turn the park into a community asset. Tower Grove Park is seen today as a major draw for all of the neighborhoods that surround it, in particularly Tower Grove South, which is farther removed from the Central Corridor than the other southern tier neighborhoods.

A further widely cited neighborhood anchor in the Shaw area is the parish church of St. Margaret of Scotland, which strong leadership has made into a major neighborhood anchor. At a time when the Catholic Church is closing urban parochial schools across the country, St. Margaret's pre-K through 8th grade school has become in many respects a community school beyond the area's Catholic population. School enrollment has increased by around 20 students per year during the past decade, and the school recently competed a \$2 million expansion (Moore 2014). The language from the school's website epitomizes what our informants told us: “As a parish and school we have committed ourselves to the Shaw neighborhood and to our surrounding neighborhoods. We are committed, also, to the diversity that comes with being a city school: diversity in color, diversity in economics, diversity in culture, habits and beliefs. We belong to this little piece of the city and it belongs to us”.¹³ The value of this school to the Shaw community also highlights the extent to which the closing of parochial schools in urban neighborhoods across the United States may have undermined the fabric of those areas. At the same time, further investigation into how this school carries out its mission, in terms of outreach, financial assistance for children of neighborhood residents, and other features that may further define its role in the community could be valuable.

A second important neighborhood school in this area is the City Garden Montessori school, a K-8 charter school sponsored by SLU located in the Botanical Heights neighborhood. The majority of students at City Garden are drawn from a catchment area that includes the Shaw, Botanical Heights, Forest Park Southeast, Tiffany and Southwest Garden neighborhoods.¹⁴ City Garden was widely cited by informants as a strong enough factor to draw families with children into neighborhoods in its catchment area.

The role of schools in revitalization, as well as the extent to which the problems of urban public schools prompt child-rearing families to leave cities is well known. The observations about the KIPP school in Fox Park, St. Margaret, and City Garden suggest that the growth of diverse school options has facilitated families' remaining in cities and moving to these neighborhoods by offering a ‘workaround’ of the public school system. That notwithstanding, the number of children – particularly school-age children – living in these neighborhoods has dropped by over half since 2000, as Table 2-5 shows. The pattern is uneven, but except for increases in pre-school children in Lafayette Square and Tower Grove South,¹⁵ it is one of precipitous decline.

While the presence of these schools has clearly made a difference for some families, our informants may perceive the influence of these schools as greater than it really is in terms of its impact to date on the demographic trajectory of these neighborhoods. That does not mean, however, that the presence of these schools is not a meaningful factor in their neighborhoods' revival. Even if their presence is not translating at present into drawing more families with school aged children, it may have significant effects in terms of how these neighborhoods are perceived, which will be discussed further below.

Table 2-5: Change in Population Under 18 for Selected Neighborhoods 2000 to 2014

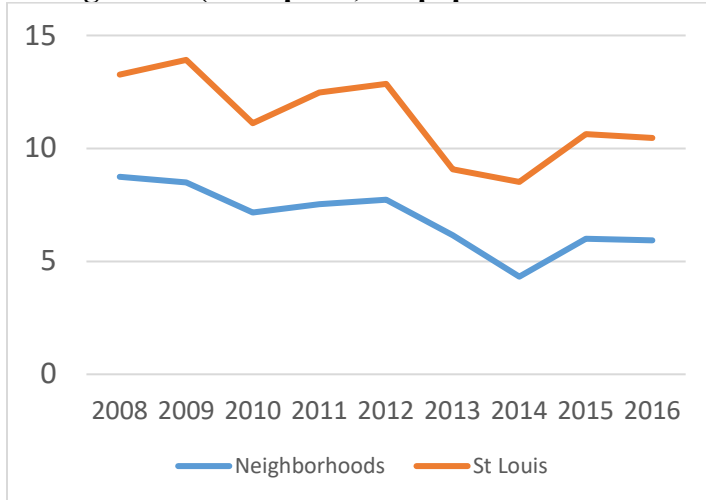
	0-4 YEARS OLD			5-17 YEARS OLD		
	2000	2014	Δ%	2000	2014	Δ%
SHAW	642	238	-62.9%	1723	780	-54.3%
TOWER GROVE SOUTH	576	691	+20%	1728	820	-52.5%
COMPTON HEIGHTS	335	242	-27.8%	1088	518	-52.4%
LAFAYETTE SQUARE	108	189	+75%	373	173	-53.6%
SOULARD	104	36	-65.8%	272	194	-28.7%

Crime, which has long since been recognized as a significant factor in driving a neighborhood's trajectory (Kirk and Laub 2010, Hipp 2013), was not pursued extensively in the case study interviews. This remains a subject for further exploration, both with respect to the current conditions and trends in the reviving neighborhoods, as well as with respect to any intentional anti-crime strategies that have been employed in the course of their revival.

Crime data from the St Louis Metropolitan Police Department from 2008 through 2016 by neighborhood allows us, however, to assess crime levels and trends at least since 2008 by neighborhood and compare them with citywide data. Figure 2-6A shows violent crime rates for the first half of each year over time for a cluster of southern tier neighborhoods¹⁶ and the city as a whole. Both show a generally consistent trend of decline from 2008 through 2014, with an increase since then; the neighborhoods as a whole have a crime rate roughly 60% that of the city as a whole. Although the trend lines are generally parallel, because of the initially lower base, the proportionate decline in the incidence of crime rate has been much greater in the reviving neighborhoods than citywide; from 2008 to 2016 violent crime declined by 33% in the southern tier neighborhoods, and 22% citywide.

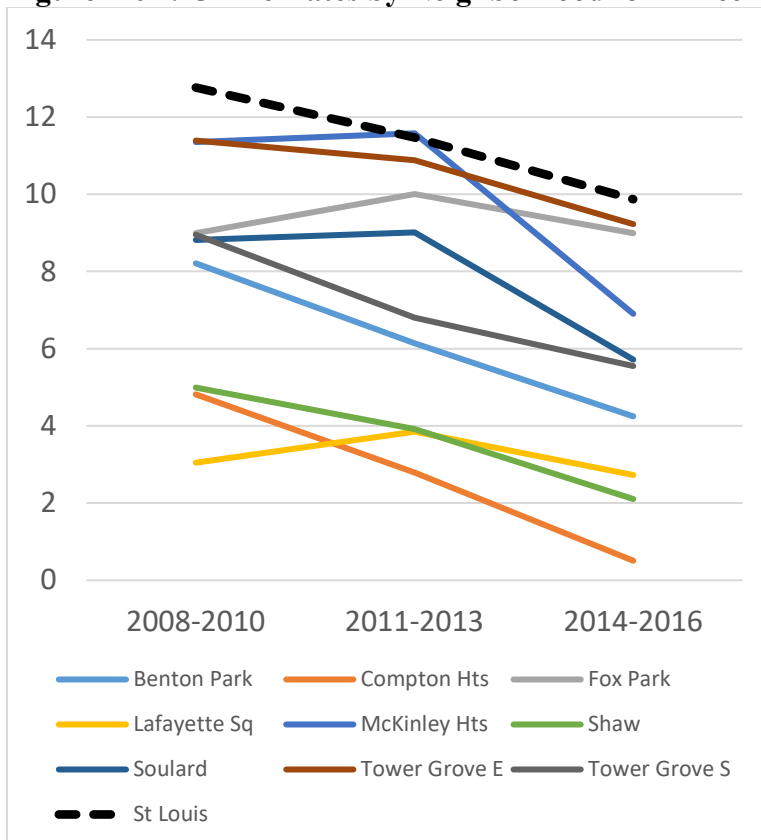
That picture masks significant differences, however, from neighborhood to neighborhood. In order to compare neighborhoods, and control for some of the fluctuations that take place from year to year, we grouped the data into three three-year periods (2008-2010, 2011-2013 and 2014-2016). Individual neighborhoods are compared in Figure 2-6B. Crime levels in Tower Grove East and Fox Park in 2014-2016 were only slightly lower than citywide levels; crime rates in Compton Heights, Lafayette Square and Shaw, on the other hand, were less than one-third citywide rates. Violent crime dropped by over 50% in Shaw from 2008-2010 to 2014-2016.¹⁷

Figure 2-6A: Crime Rates for Southern Tier Neighborhoods and St Louis City 2008 through 2016 (rates per 1,000 population for January-June of each year)



SOURCE: City of St Louis Metropolitan Police Department

Figure 2-6B: Crime Rates by Neighborhood for Three Year Periods 2008 through 2016¹⁸



SOURCE: City of St Louis Metropolitan Police Department

While the southern tier neighborhoods that have been discussed above account for the most substantial, concentrated neighborhood revitalization in St Louis, a few outliers should be noted. We do not discuss the Skinker-De Baliviere neighborhood in the NW corner of the Central

Corridor, as household incomes and house values in this neighborhood were already well above citywide levels as early as 1990, and it has simply become more upscale during the subsequent decades. It benefits from close proximity to Forest Park as well as to Washington University, just west of the park.

Downtown West, better known as the Washington Avenue area, is a historic late 19th century industrial area, largely abandoned during the second half of the 20th century, which has become over the past 15 years the epicenter of St. Louis’ Millennial in-migration, and a major regional dining and entertainment destination. As noted earlier, the census tract in which Washington Avenue is located saw explosive income growth between 2000 and 2014, despite the presence of large low-income housing projects in the same tract. Table 2-7 shows the change in the block group that most closely corresponds to the Washington Avenue corridor from 2000 and 2015.

Table 2-7: Change in Key Characteristics in Washington Avenue Block Group

	Population	Median Household income	Number of renter households	Number of owner households	Median house value
2000	122	\$6875	79	6	NA
2011-2015	1349	\$32571	689	169	\$160,300

SOURCE: US Census and American Community Survey

Informants cited three major interventions or activities affecting Washington Avenue around 2000: (1) the enactment of the Missouri historic preservation tax credit in 1998, which allowed developers to layer that credit onto the federal tax credit, generating a combined 40% credit; (2) creation of a special improvement district for the area; and (3) a \$13 million commitment by the city to improve the area’s streetscape. Activity took off in the area, with the rehabilitation of dozens of massive late 19th century industrial and warehouse buildings for residential use, with ground-floor areas used for restaurants, entertainment venues, and retail activity.

It would be easy but misleading to draw a causal link between these activities and the all but simultaneous explosion in private investment and in-migration to the area. It is misleading, since there is abundant evidence that similar interventions have taken place in many settings with no comparable effect. We would suggest – a point that is relevant to the southern tier areas as well – that, while these interventions may have had *some* effect on Washington Avenue’s trajectory, the relationship between them and the subsequent revival of the area was more coincidental than causal.

A partial exception may be made for the state tax credit, which by leveraging the federal tax credit appears to have improved the developers’ balance sheets to the point where projects become economically viable, which they would not have in the absence of the tax credit. From 1998 to 2013, the state of Missouri issued \$83 million in tax credits for 35 properties along Washington Avenue, with a total rehabilitation cost of \$332 million (Rosenbaum 2013). A parallel can be seen in Philadelphia’s enactment of a generous tax abatement for new residential projects in 2000, which appears to have spurred a comparable boom in residential development in Center City Philadelphia (Gillen 2017). The extent to which this tax credit became a ‘but for’ element in financial feasibility is worth further investigation.

Two important developments, however, preceded enactment of the tax credit. One was a subsidized artists' housing development, and the other was the creation of the unique City Museum, which opened its doors in 1997 in a former shoe factory. By the time the tax credit program was in place, moreover, many of the street's distinctive buildings had already been acquired by potential developers in anticipation of future opportunities (Tucci 1997).

The tax credit was only meaningful because demand had already started to emerge for the type of housing and neighborhood that Washington Avenue potentially offered. Had the tax credit been enacted in 1980, for example, it is unlikely that it would have resulted in any comparable amount of rehabilitation activity. Moreover, *once the demand had emerged and the tax credit had made it economically feasible for developers to rehabilitate significant amounts of housing to meet the price points of that demand*, activities such as the SID and the streetscape improvements helped sustain the revival of the area. In the absence of those conditions, it is unlikely that they too would have had any effect.

Once all of these pieces were in place, however, redevelopment of the vacant industrial buildings accelerated. Before the end of 1999, eight separate redevelopment projects had been announced along Washington Avenue. By the end of 2000, nearly 500 apartments were under construction, and another 800 planned. By the end of 2004, 1,400 apartments had been completed since 1999, and another 1,000 were on the way. As buildings were restored, stores and restaurants opened their doors, with 18 bars and restaurants along the avenue between 10th and 14th streets alone. By 2007, although a building here or there still awaited renovation, the transformation of Washington Avenue was effectively complete. It took only twelve years, almost overnight in the real estate world (Zundel 2008).

Washington Avenue should perhaps be considered an example of neighborhood *invention*, rather than neighborhood *revival* or *stabilization*; that is, the creation of a new market-driven residential neighborhood out of a formerly non-residential area. These distinctions have significant implications for both policy and research.

Another outlier, which did not appear in the quantitative analysis, but was noted by a number of informants, is the Cherokee Street corridor, running from east to west just south of the area shown in Figure 2-2.¹⁹ This street has become a vital, eclectic, commercial corridor. Between Lamp Street and Jefferson Street, its stores cater to a more upscale market, including a number of antique stores, while west of Jefferson Street, it becomes the commercial hub for St Louis' Mexican immigrant community. In contrast to most other neighborhoods, no deliberate interventions by any public or private non-profit entity along Cherokee Street were cited.

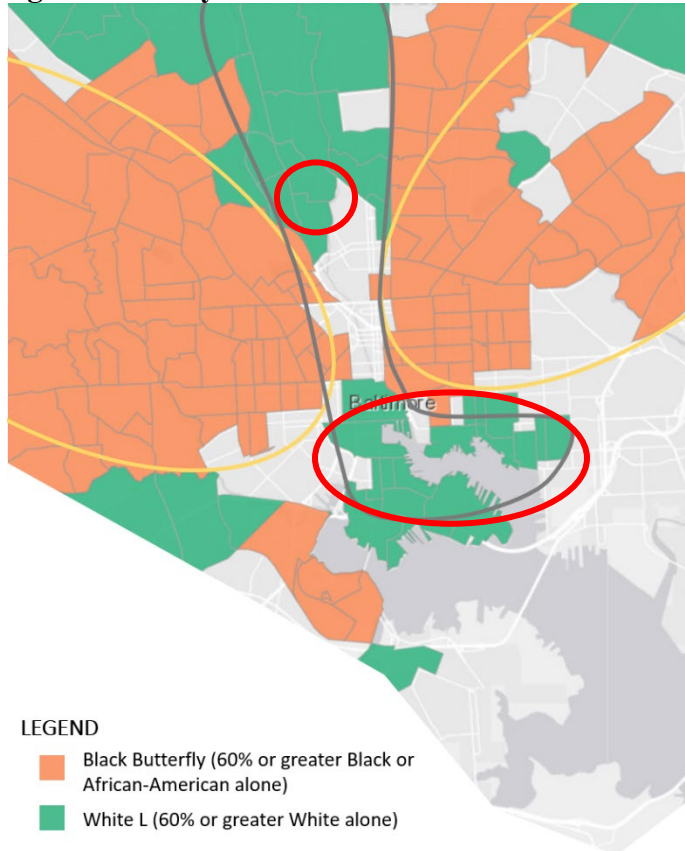
Residential revival in the immediate area appears to be patchy, and the relationship between the growth of the Cherokee Street corridor and any residential revival in the immediate area is not immediately apparent, and worth a closer look. Visual observation of the neighborhood suggests that some rehabilitation is taking place, but many vacancies remain. In contrast to most of the southern tier neighborhoods, the areas on both sides of Cherokee Street show extensive gaps in the residential fabric resulting from demolition in years past, which may impede residential revival.

Baltimore Case Study

Overview

Baltimore has much in common with St. Louis and other post-industrial cities of the Northeast and Midwest. The city's population has declined by one-third (34%) from its 1950 peak; at its peak, roughly 950,000 people lived in Baltimore; today, nearly 622,000 do. The greatest part of that loss occurred during the 1970s, when the city lost nearly 120,000 people, and in the 1990s,

Figure 3-1: City of Baltimore



Map prepared by Hallah Elbeleidy

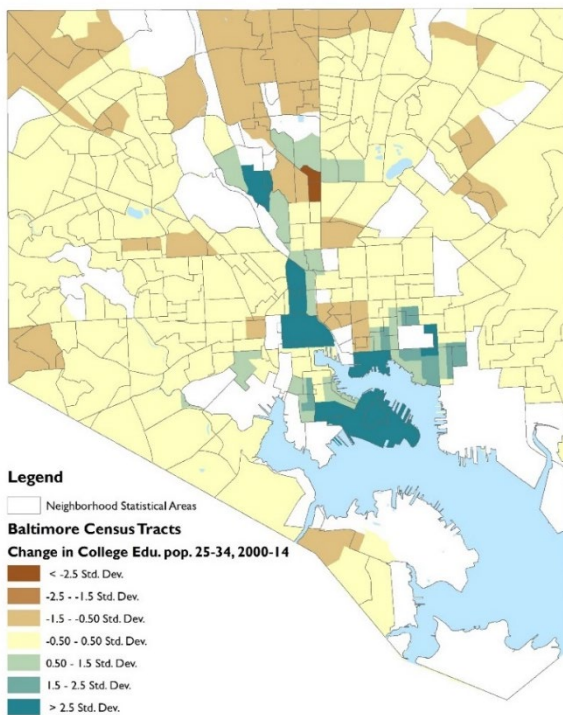
when it lost nearly 90,000 people. The city's reviving neighborhoods, outlined in red on Figure 3-1, form a large area around the Inner Harbor and downtown and a small but growing area around the Johns Hopkins University campus to the north. Both are part of the larger area a local blogger has dubbed Baltimore's "white L," a predominately white area juxtaposed against the "Black Butterfly" in a city roughly 63% African-American (Brown 2017), as can be seen from the map.

Despite urban homesteading in the 1970s and the successful revival of the Inner Harbor in the 1980s, Baltimore's revival lagged. As some cities began to rebound, Baltimore was in the midst of both a crime wave largely fueled by the drug trade and widespread property flipping and a spike in foreclosures resulting from these predatory practices (Bouie 2015). High crime rates and fear of crime arguably are still significant limiting factors affecting the city's future revival.

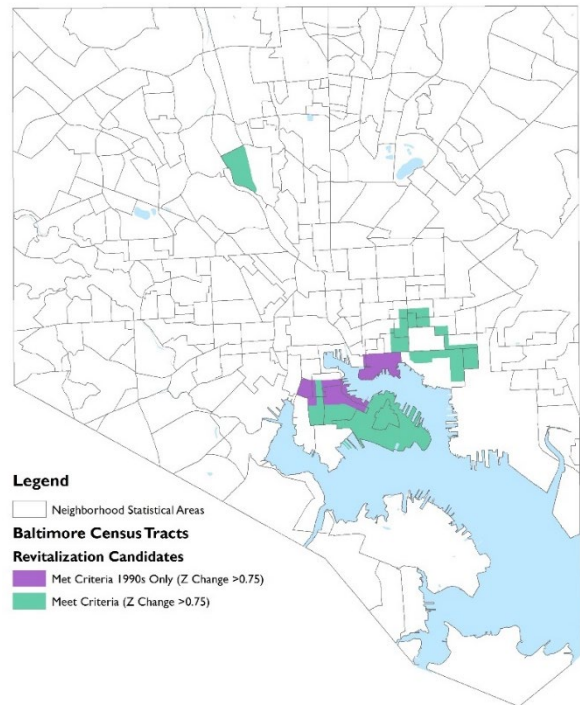
Yet in the 2000s, as the city experienced a much slower rate of population decline than in past decades, and particularly since 2010, this started to change, driven by a strong influx of Millennials – specifically college-educated 25- to 34-year-olds – into Baltimore. Between 2000 and 2014, Baltimore gained nearly 20,000 Millennials, a 75% increase. While college-educated 25- to 34-year-olds accounted for just 4% of Baltimore’s population in 2000, roughly the same share as the national average, their share had nearly doubled by 2014 to 7.2%, one of the most dramatic increases among large American cities. Baltimore offers a many urban amenities yet significantly lower costs than nearby cities like Washington DC and New York. The city’s gains in college-educated 25- to 34-year-olds are largely concentrated in a handful of neighborhoods which are to a large extent coterminous with those that our quantitative analysis flagged as reviving neighborhoods (Figure 3-2). These census tracts are located along the southern (South Baltimore) and northeastern (Harbor East) flanks of the Inner Harbor, and Hampden, adjacent to Johns Hopkins.

Figure 3-2: Neighborhood Revival and Millennial Concentration in Baltimore

A Millennial Concentration



B Reviving Neighborhoods



SOURCE: US Census and American Community Survey

Table 3-1: Baltimore Study Neighborhoods (Part 1)

NEIGHBORHOOD*		MEDIAN HOUSE VALUE			MEDIAN SALES PRICE		
		1990	2000	2014	2006	2010	2014
102	Patterson Park/Canton	\$50,500	\$65,300	\$219,600	\$241,000	\$188,900	\$222,100
103	Patterson Park/Canton	\$42,400	\$75,400	\$261,500	\$228,750	\$186,000	\$239,400
105	Butcher's Hill/Upper Fells Point	\$41,900	\$84,800	\$316,700	\$155,000	\$207,000	\$204,839
201	Butcher's Hill/Upper Fells Point	\$43,800	\$84,500	\$322,500	\$244,900	\$225,000	\$219,450
203	Fells Point	\$77,600	\$121,900	\$381,300	\$250,000	\$220,803	\$349,650
602	Patterson Park/McElderry Park	\$37,300	\$44,200	\$235,700	\$89,200	\$78,210	\$101,550
603	Patterson Place/Butcher's Hill	\$34,500	\$52,400	\$204,500	\$113,000	\$135,000	\$138,050
1308.04	Hampden	\$46,500	\$61,600	\$199,400	\$149,900	\$94,500	\$142,000
2301	Sharp-Leadenhall/South Baltimore	\$45,233	\$84,796	\$342,900	\$290,000	\$262,500	\$258,950
2302	Federal Hill/South Baltimore	\$51,100	\$93,400	\$298,300	\$272,000	\$251,500	\$257,600
2303	South Baltimore	\$34,845	\$60,090	\$229,500	\$200,450	\$215,000	\$234,600
2401	Locust Point	\$51,700	\$74,900	\$278,300	\$231,838	\$219,950	\$314,400
2402	Riverside	\$64,300	\$112,400	\$374,900	\$337,500	\$293,750	\$292,550
2403	Federal Hill/Riverside	\$80,500	\$141,000	\$357,800	\$336,000	\$255,000	\$299,850
2404	Riverside	\$56,195	\$95,179	\$285,000	\$253,000	\$230,000	\$262,000
2609	Brewers Hill/Canton	\$53,000	\$72,500	\$223,300	\$257,000	\$209,900	\$247,250
2611	Canton	\$50,300	\$71,500	\$295,300	\$286,950	\$239,000	\$312,750
	CITY OF BALTIMORE	NA	\$69,900	\$150,800	\$79,000	\$83,084	\$79,750

SOURCE: Median house value, US Census and American Community Survey; Median Sales Price, Boxwood Means from PolicyMap

*Census tract boundaries do not coincide closely with Neighborhood Statistical Area (NSA) boundaries defined by the city of Baltimore. Where only a small part of an NSA is located within a particular tract (as with small parts of Highlandtown in tracts 2609 and 2611) they have not been listed in the tables in the interest of clarity.

Table 3-1: Baltimore Study Neighborhoods (Part 2)

TRACT	NEIGHBORHOOD	MEDIAN HOUSEHOLD INCOME			PERCENT WITH BA OR HIGHER DEGREE		
		1990	2000	2014	1990	2000	2014
102	Patterson Park/Canton	\$26,148	\$31,971	\$82,399	9.0%	15.7%	58.1%
103	Patterson Park/Canton	\$23,664	\$33,250	\$91,471	9.0%	25.1%	59.4%
105	Butcher's Hill/Upper Fells Point	\$21,541	\$37,670	\$96,000	26.2%	42.3%	66.5%
201	Butcher's Hill/Upper Fells Point	\$22,643	\$32,593	\$85,707	21.3%	30.3%	69.5%
203	Fells Point	\$23,194	\$47,917	\$69,339	32.8%	57.3%	69.5%
602	Patterson Park/McElderry Park	\$23,304	\$24,359	\$51,523	6.4%	11.9%	36.9%
603	Patterson Place/Butcher's Hill	\$17,440	\$20,720	\$53,362	13.8%	16.9%	52.0%
1308.04	Hampden	\$25,556	\$28,594	\$59,150	8.1%	14.7%	50.4%
2301	Sharp-Leadenhall/South Baltimore	\$17,886	\$32,282	\$63,750	15.4%	29.2%	54.0%
2302	Federal Hill/South Baltimore	\$28,875	\$44,414	\$99,183	23.1%	31.8%	66.4%
2303	South Baltimore	\$25,545	\$31,615	\$79,135	3.2%	7.6%	55.1%
2401	Locust Point	\$27,723	\$38,224	\$90,268	4.8%	16.1%	62.8%
2402	Riverside	\$32,459	\$77,340	\$129,965	25.4%	49.5%	76.0%
2403	Federal Hill/Riverside	\$30,163	\$53,917	\$93,162	31.6%	55.1%	76.7%
2404	Riverside	\$29,641	\$41,455	\$87,385	7.9%	30.1%	59.3%
2609	Brewers Hill/Canton	\$24,458	\$32,717	\$78,988	7.2%	16.8%	53.4%
2611	Canton	\$27,853	\$30,028	\$94,500	7.9%	29.0%	60.3%
	CITY OF BALTIMORE	\$24015	\$30078	\$41819	15.5%	19.1%	28.7%

SOURCE: US Census and American Community Survey

The significance of the in-migration of college-educated Millennials in the revival of both St Louis' and Baltimore's neighborhoods cannot be overstated. Table 3-2 shows both the numerical and percentage change in the college-educated population age 25 to 34 in selected parts of Baltimore between 2000 and 2014. Although this demographic group grew significantly in St Louis, its growth was even greater in Baltimore, more than *tripling* in the Harbor East area. Baltimore's reviving tracts are disproportionately oriented to young college graduates. Over 15% of Baltimore's 'young grads' live in these nine census tracts, which contain only 3% of the city's total population.

It is also worth noting that as in St Louis few of the reviving tracts were low-income census tracts in 1990 (Table 3-3). In both cities a substantial majority of these tracts were middle neighborhoods in 1990 with incomes between 80% and 120% of the city median. A modest upward shift took place between 1990 and 2000, but dramatic change in these neighborhoods' trajectories has been largely a post-2000 phenomenon. Today, *all* of Baltimore's reviving neighborhoods have median incomes well above the citywide median.

Table 3-2: Increase in population 25 to 34 with BA+ Degree in Selected Baltimore Tracts

Tract	Neighborhood	2000		2014	
		Number	% of tract population	Number	% of tract population
102	Patterson Park/Canton	196	5.9%	1084	32.5%
103	Patterson Park/Canton	194	11.1	751	31.4
105	Butcher's Hill/Upper Fells Point	348	17.7	662	21.9
201	Butcher's Hill/Upper Fells Point	230	11.5	763	37.2
203	Fells Point	651	27.2	1416	68.1
602	Patterson Park/ McElderry Park	55	1.6	380	21.3
603	Patterson Park/Butcher's Hill	106	5.6	718	27.5
2609	Brewers Hill/Canton	167	7.4	718	27.5
2611	Canton	262	14.4	656	32.3
	All tracts	2209	10.5%	6924	31.8%

SOURCE: US Census and American Community Survey

Physical and Locational Factors

The reviving neighborhoods in both St Louis and Baltimore are all characterized by intact neighborhood fabric and a rich historic texture of attractive and often distinguished 19th century and early 20th century houses. In other respects, they are quite different. While St Louis neighborhoods tend to be eclectic in their mix of housing types, those of Baltimore are dominated by a single housing type, the single-family row house adapted from earlier British models. While some outlying Baltimore neighborhoods tend to have green landscapes, most of the inner neighborhoods where revival is taking place tend to have much more of a 'hardscape,' a landscape dominated by buildings, streets and sidewalks rather than trees or grass (Figure 3-3).

Table 3-3: Distribution of Neighborhoods by Median Household Income Category

BALTIMORE		1990	2000	2014
102	Patterson Park/Canton	\$26148	\$31971	\$82399
103	Patterson Park/Canton	\$23664	\$33250	\$91471
105	Butcher's Hill/Upper Fells Point	\$21541	\$37670	\$96000
201	Butcher's Hill/Upper Fells Point	\$22643	\$32593	\$85707
203	Fells Point	\$23194	\$47917	\$69339
602	Patterson Park/McElderry Park	\$23304	\$24359	\$51523
603	Patterson Place/Butcher's Hill	\$17440	\$20720	\$53362
1308.04	Hampden	\$25556	\$28594	\$59150
2301	Sharp-Leadenhall/South Baltimore	\$17886	\$32282	\$63750
2302	Federal Hill/South Baltimore	\$28875	\$44414	\$99183
2303	South Baltimore	\$25545	\$31615	\$79135
2401	Locust Point	\$27723	\$38224	\$90268
2402	Riverside	\$32459	\$77340	\$129965
2403	Federal Hill/Riverside	\$30163	\$53917	\$93162
2404	Riverside	\$29641	\$41455	\$87385
2609	Brewers Hill/Canton	\$24458	\$32717	\$78988
2611	Canton	\$27853	\$30028	\$94500
	CITY OF BALTIMORE	\$24045	\$30078	\$41819
	AVERAGE OF ALL TRACTS	\$25247	\$37510	\$82802
	TRACT AVERAGE AS PERCENTAGE OF CITYWIDE AVERAGE	1.05	1.25	1.98

SOURCE: US Census and American Community Survey

KEY

Lower income tract (<80% citywide median)		Middle income tract (80-120%)		Upper income tract (>120%)	
---	--	-------------------------------	--	----------------------------	--

While over 40% of the dwellings in St Louis' reviving neighborhoods were 2+ unit structures, the same was true of only 22% of the units in Baltimore's neighborhoods. Because the typical single-family unit is a row house, however, Baltimore's neighborhoods offer net densities excluding street rights of way as high as 40 units/acre, while maintaining the single-family model. Much of the city's multifamily housing is in discrete, large-scale, projects rather than mixed in with the single-family stock. In contrast to St Louis, over half of the renters in the Baltimore reviving neighborhoods rented single family houses.

The second key common feature of all neighborhoods in both cities is their proximity to the city's principal anchor institutions, centers of employment, and major amenities. As shown in Figure 3-4, Baltimore's reviving neighborhoods cluster around the city's downtown and the Inner Harbor, and to a lesser extent Johns Hopkins University (outside the map). The University and its affiliated medical center, taken together, are the largest employer in the state of Maryland

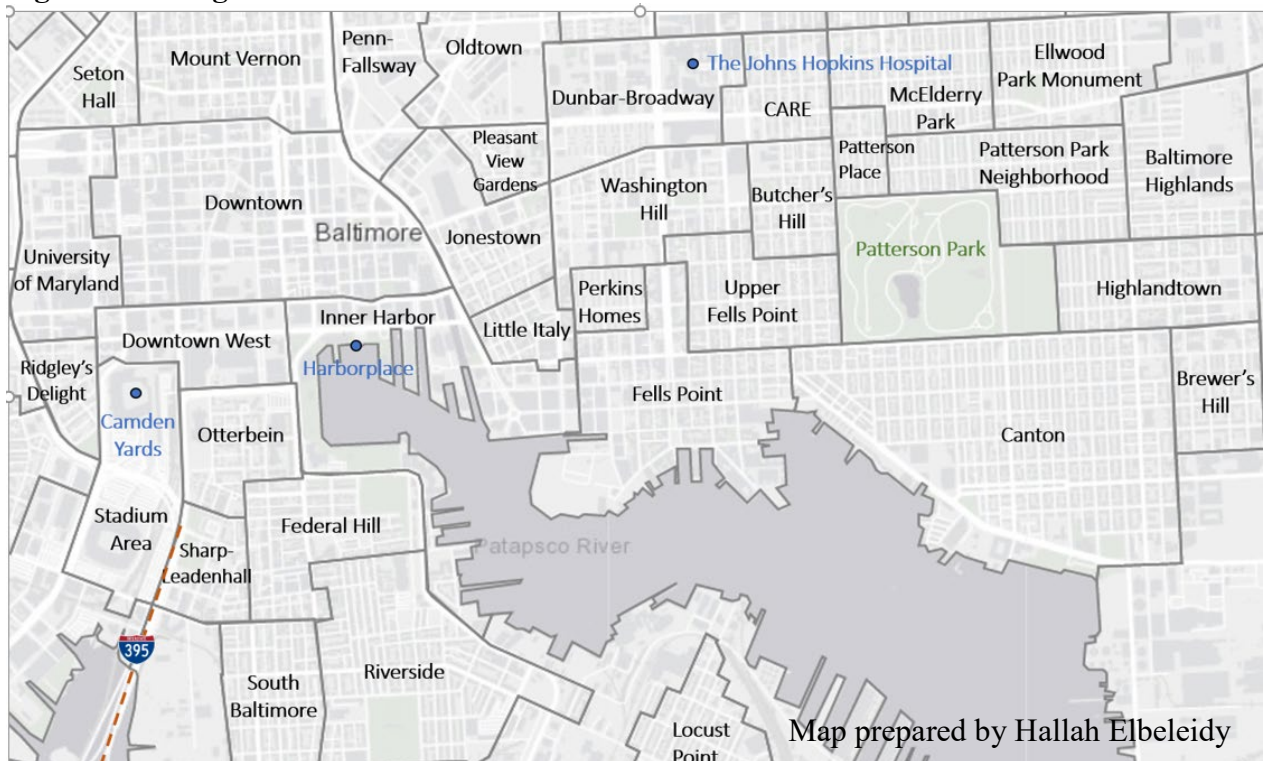
Figure 3-3: Hardscape North of Patterson Park in Baltimore



SOURCE: Google Earth

with some 44,000 jobs.²⁰ The progress of revival to the north of Patterson Park reflects not only the amenity value of the park and the vitality of the neighborhoods to the south, but the proximity of the main campus of the Johns Hopkins Medical Center, a few blocks to the northeast. The Inner Harbor is Baltimore’s principal both visual and recreational amenity, including a vast array of dining and entertainment options. As we will discuss later, the restoration of Patterson Park – a step that parallels the restoration of Tower Grove Park in St Louis – has also played an important role in catalyzing revival.

Figure 3-4: Neighborhoods around Downtown and Inner Harbor



The role of commercial areas as a locational factor in revival appears less powerful, but not necessarily insignificant. There is clearly an iterative relationship between the growth of the more affluent residential population and the growth of commercial activity, but it is hard to say that existing commercial – retail, services, restaurants and the like – represent an underlying threshold condition for revival. Non-residential development, broadly speaking, appears to have played a more significant role in Baltimore than in St Louis. Clearly, the emergence of the Inner Harbor as a major recreational and entertainment destination beginning in the 1980s played a significant role in the revival of the neighborhoods to the harbor’s south and east. The Inner Harbor, however, is a large-scale recreational and entertainment amenity far more than a commercial center as such, in that its commercial outlets cater largely to visitors rather than neighborhood residents. The 36th Street commercial corridor in Hampden, adjacent to the Johns Hopkins campus, has also been a potentially significant factor in that area’s revival, although the Hampden area also met the salient criteria for revival in terms of its location and neighborhood texture.

In the early 1990s, while 36th Street was struggling with long-term vacancies and deterioration, it offered low-cost commercial space in a low-crime area adjacent to some of the city’s more affluent neighborhoods. It also had the Hampden Village Merchants Association, formed in 1993, explicitly organized around a mission to “promote the positive, and build pride in Hampden” (Cané 1997). The combination of nearby strong neighborhoods providing demand for retail and restaurants, and a strong booster in the merchants association, helped transform 36th Street into a fully occupied and restored corridor with an eclectic mix of locally-owned stores the neighborhood’s image and restaurants. This, in turn, has had a profound impact on and on the demand for neighborhood housing. In fact, the revitalized 36th Street corridor has been seen by city officials as a lesson in the importance of neighborhood retail as a means of stimulating neighborhood housing demand, and led to the creation of a city-funded Main Street Program to replicate this achievement in other city neighborhoods.

As with St Louis, we saw no evidence that proximity to transit was relevant to the revival of Baltimore’s neighborhoods. Baltimore’s transit system is only modestly more extensive transit than that of St Louis, and, with the exception of Hampden, which shares a light rail station with the adjacent Woodberry neighborhood, none of the reviving neighborhoods are served by either the modest Metro or light rail lines.

Institutional and Organizational Roles and Interventions

Two non-profit community development corporations, Patterson Park CDC and Southeast CDC, appear to have played the catalytic role in the expansion of revival to the east of Baltimore’s downtown and Inner Harbor beginning in the 1990s. By 1990, some small areas directly south and east of the harbor such as Otterbein had already established themselves as stable areas, in the latter area largely as a result of a concerted effort, including a highly successful homesteading program which capitalized on a stock of vacant houses resulting from an abortive highway project cancelled as a result of public pressure in the 1970s. Parts of Fells Point and Canton near the water were also showing signs of change by the 1990s.

Figure 3-5: Revival Trajectories in Neighborhoods East of Inner Harbor and Downtown



SOURCE: Map from Baltimore Department of Planning. Trajectories by authors.

Unlike those areas, the neighborhoods surrounding Patterson Park, especially to the north and east of the park, were experiencing severe distress, plummeting homeownership rates, rising levels of vacant and abandoned property, as well as, according to informants, stresses arising from the relocation of tenants in 1993 and 1994 from a public housing project demolished in 1995 as well as from extensive predatory buying and flipping practices. The Patterson Park area was one of the hardest hit in the city.²¹

The public dollars spent in these neighborhoods were far surpassed by the private dollars they leveraged. While Patterson Park CDC was transforming the unit block of N. Decker Avenue, pursuing additional scattered-site rehabilitation projects, and acquiring additional vacant properties to keep them out of the hands of problematic investor owners, private developers' activity increased to the point where they were rehabilitating three times as many homes. According to Rutkowski, while the CDC received roughly \$10 million in grants and borrowed another \$70 million to support its own development projects, the area received at least \$200 million in total investment. At the same time, the level of community engagement in the Patterson Park area was notable and neighborhood, volunteer-based organizations proliferated, reflecting the energy growing within the neighborhood as well as that emerging around the park itself; as Rutkowski commented, "it seemed like it just kept happening." Buzz generated more buzz, and any effort (large or small) became "something else in the air" getting current and potential residents excited about the area.

The conversion of the 134-acre Patterson Park (Figure 3-5) from a neighborhood liability to a significant neighborhood asset was another critical turning point. While Canton and Fells Point have waterfront access, the other Southeast Baltimore neighborhoods are a step removed from the harbor. Unlike South Baltimore and Hampden, they also offer relatively few neighborhood-level commercial, retail, or dining options. This area needed a major urban amenity to compete with other neighborhoods, which was what Patterson Park became, roughly simultaneously with Patterson Park CDC's revitalization efforts.

Patterson Park is a classic Victorian park, with a pagoda built in 1891 as its centerpiece. By the 1990s, it had badly deteriorated. In 1994, the city approved a \$1 million bond for park improvements, and a master plan for the park was approved in 1998, same year that the Friends of Patterson Park was formed. The Friends increased community participation in park projects, brought new events and programming to the park, and helped raise funds to complement city dollars, which paid for new lighting, renovations to the Pagoda and swimming pool, restoration of Boat Lake, and a new playground. Today, the park has become a popular destination for both neighborhood residents and visitors from elsewhere in the city and beyond.

Figure 3-6: The Pagoda, Patterson Park



SOURCE: Visit Baltimore

The two CDCs also realized that they needed to do more than rehabilitate houses in order to establish these neighborhoods as worthwhile investments, by identifying and building upon local assets and “magnifying the positives” of the area, in Chris Ryer’s words. Patterson Park CDC pursued the “healthy neighborhoods” approach to revitalization pioneered in Baltimore in Highlandtown and Patterson Park Neighborhood, including neighborhood marketing, community organizing, greening projects, and incentives to entice new homeowners into the area, coupled with those made available by the city and by Johns Hopkins University. Southeast CDC was

also involved in creating Highlandtown's Main Street Program and its arts & entertainment district. Intent on helping the area navigate what was a period of significant transition, that organization focused its efforts on "managing neighborhood affairs," or the area's overall *housing package*, not just on individual housing units. With its partners, the CDC facilitated improved relationships between neighbors, recast potentially divisive issues to decrease tensions between long-time residents and newcomers, and helped create a clear, inclusive vision for what the community, reinvested, might look like.

By the onset of the Great Recession, with many entities engaged in sustaining the neighborhoods surrounding Patterson Park, no single one faced the pressure of being wholly responsible for the area surrounding Patterson Park. This proved to be especially important when Patterson Park CDC was forced to file for bankruptcy in the midst of the Great Recession. Not only was there a cadre of developers capable of continuing its neighborhood revitalization work, but the CDC also left behind a body of neighborhood associations and organizers capable of continuing its resident engagement and resident-driven community improvement efforts. If "neighborhood management" had at one point been the explicit goal of public and non-profit partners in the area, the task ultimately devolved to the market and the residents.

Closing Observations on the Case Studies

While the final section of this paper will explore the larger themes and relationships that have emerged in both the St Louis and Baltimore case studies, a few brief observations about the revitalization picture in St Louis and Baltimore are worth noting here. We have already commented on the sharply limited spatial profile of revival in both cities, with almost all of the significant revival taking place in a single contiguous band south of the Central Corridor, which we have dubbed the city's 'southern tier', in St Louis, and in equally tight clusters, principally around the Inner Harbor and Patterson Park, in Baltimore. All of these areas share important common features, in both their proximity to their cities' principal employment centers and amenities, and their visual quality and intact historic fabric. That has not only made them attractive to in-migrants, but particularly in St Louis has facilitated certain forms of investment, including substantial investment from the Botanical Garden, Cortex and Saint Louis University, as well as access to the state and federal historic preservation tax credit. The pattern in both cities the pattern confirms prior research that revival moves outward from areas of strength; in this case, from east to west and from north to south. *Neighborhood revival does not play hopscotch; it is a linear or incremental spatial process.*

While locational and physical factors appear to dominate, the role of institutions, organizations and their interventions should not be underestimated. We found that a number of CDCs appear to have played significant roles in the revival of their respective neighborhoods; notably, in all cases the CDCs were pursuing explicit, intentional market-building strategies, rather than focusing on housing development for its own sake. Similarly, the presence of strong institutionally-based development corporations has clearly had an impact on the area. The Botanical Heights redevelopment project has been discussed earlier, but other potentially important roles appear to have been played by St Louis University in Tiffany, and more recently, by the Cortex and its affiliated medical institutions in the Central Corridor in the trajectory of

Forest Park Southeast, and by Johns Hopkins University and its affiliated Medical Center in Baltimore.

Government, partly in terms of statutory provisions such as those that allowed the Botanical Garden to exercise eminent domain to acquire, clear and redevelopment a large part of McRee Town, but more in terms of its ability to provide catalytic financial support, has played a key role not in the form of direct intervention, but in terms of making the interventions proposed by Patterson Park CDC, DeSales CHC, or for that matter, the developers who had acquired properties along Washington Avenue, feasible. In the absence of public funds or, in the last case, tax credits, the changes to those neighborhoods might not have taken place, or at best, would have taken place far more slowly.

Neighborhood-based institutions can also play important roles; in Shaw, both St. Margaret of Scotland church and school, and the volunteer Shaw Neighborhood Improvement Association were important actors, although the role of the church and school may be as much symbolic as substantive. While available data suggests that the revival of the neighborhoods served by St. Margaret and the highly-regarded City Garden school is being largely if not entirely driven by young and predominantly childless households, we believe that good schools still have a significant effect, which will be explored in the next section of this paper.

Finally, though, timing is everything. As we noted, it is unlikely that the interventions that took place with respect to Washington Avenue around 2000 would have had any effect, were it not for the fact that that they took place at a moment when demand for urban environments of that sort from educated young adults was surging both nationally and locally. The same is true of many of the other reviving neighborhoods; if the potential demand had not been present, the actions that were taken to trigger it would have fallen on deaf ears.

As positive as these developments are, the future for these neighborhoods, as well as others in both cities, remains far from certain. How strong the continued flow of well-educated young immigrants may be over the coming years is far from certain, as is the extent to which those in the city will remain as they begin to raise families, and their children reach school age (See Myers 2016, Cortright 2016, Mallach 2017a). Recently, the founder of Baltimore-based Under Armour has announced plans for a major “new town in town” in Port Covington, south of the Inner Harbor and adjacent to the reviving Riverside and South Baltimore neighborhoods, to contain some 15,000 housing units. If it comes to pass, one can only speculate on whether it will generate additional demand for city living, or instead absorb demand that might otherwise have gone into the city’s neighborhoods. No one can answer these questions, but it is important to see revitalization in cities like Baltimore and St Louis as a work in progress, rather than a fait accompli.

What Drives Neighborhood Revival? Key Themes and Issues

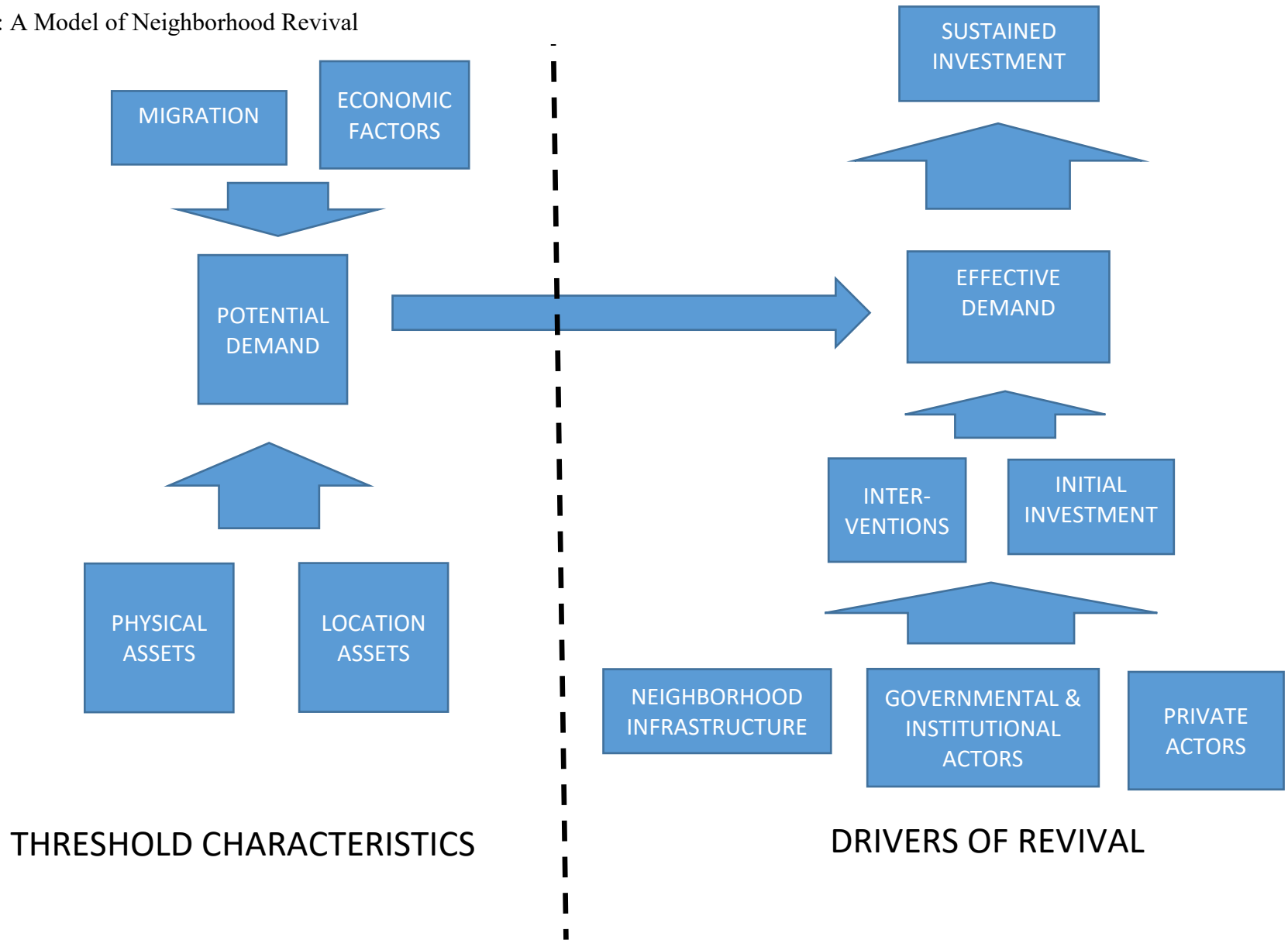
The purpose of this section is to identify and briefly discuss the principal themes, issues and questions that emerge from the two case studies. While the discussion will not be exhaustive, it will try to point out both key findings from the case studies and key questions that the case studies raise, but do not resolve. The latter is particularly important in light of our hope that this paper will serve as a potential frame for further and more intensive qualitative research into neighborhood change. While the case studies yielded many useful findings, they also raised many questions that can only be answered by further qualitative research into the history of these neighborhoods' transformation, along with gathering of additional quantitative data to support or challenge respondents' perceptions and recollections. This is particularly the case with respect to the manner in which different interactions and events interacted to create the ultimate outcomes observed. Thus, this section deliberately raises as many questions as it attempts to resolve.

The case studies suggest a straightforward model of the factors that drive neighborhood revival, which is illustrated in simplified form in Figure 5-1. We hypothesize that the process of neighborhood revival is one of inducing demand; that is, turning potential demand for the neighborhood into effective demand. We see this as a two-step process. First, a combination of endogenous and exogenous factors must create the threshold conditions for potential demand to exist. Second, some form of intervention or initial investment must be present to translate potential into actual or effective demand and trigger sustained neighborhood investment. Potential demand need not be limited to potential demand from *outside* the neighborhood but should be seen as encompassing the potential demand on the part of neighborhood residents to upgrade their housing in the neighborhood (either through improving existing housing or buying new housing), as well as to engage in other neighborhood improvement activities.

The source of that intervention or investment is likely to vary widely; it can come from a CDC, an anchor institution, local government, or even a series of quiet, uncoordinated decisions by private sector actors to begin investing in a particular area, as appears to have started the revival of Washington Street, and to be taking place currently in St. Louis' Cherokee Street corridor.

The discussion in this section will focus on the threshold characteristics, the roles of different actors, the nature of the interventions associated with neighborhood revival, both suggesting what we may know about these matters, and raising questions to highlight what we do not know. We will discuss some of the critical questions raised by neighborhood revival, including the question of why revival takes place where it does and not elsewhere, as well as the closely-related issues of race and diversity in both the process and the outcomes of neighborhood change. A closing part of this section will address the implications of this project for future qualitative research into the dynamics of neighborhood change.

Figure 5-1: A Model of Neighborhood Revival



Threshold characteristics

Exogenous Factors

No neighborhood can capture demand unless it exists in potential somewhere. While one can hypothesize extreme cases where *no* demand exists that can potentially be captured, in most cases, including many highly distressed legacy cities, *some* regional demand for housing exists, some of which may be potentially captured by some urban neighborhoods.²² The extent of this demand is determined by many different factors, including the level of economic growth in the region, the level of in-migration and immigration into the region, the economic and demographic characteristics of those moving into the region, and their propensity to seek out urban neighborhood options. All of these factors vary widely by region and have varied widely over time. In that respect, timing can be critical. Demographic trends are constantly shifting, as are consumer preferences. Assuming that regional demand is greater than zero, one can expect *some* neighborhoods to revive; in a city in a low-demand region, however, the number of neighborhoods that are likely to see revival will be far fewer than in one in a high-demand region. The extent of neighborhood revival will also be affected by the extent to which alternative sources of housing supply exist elsewhere that meet in-migrants' demand criteria, including the creation of upscale housing stocks in downtowns through adaptive reuse of formerly non-residential properties, as well as the presence of attractive quasi-urban locations in the city's older suburbs.

Potential demand for certain types of urban neighborhood has been greater over the past decade or so than at any time in recent history, largely if not entirely because of the love affair that highly educated young adults, the Millennial Generation, are having with the cities (Cortright 2014). At the same time, many urban neighborhoods still face powerful centrifugal factors working against revival; while there are many reasons for their decline, not the least significant is the dramatic decline in the United States overall, and in central cities in particular, of middle-class families and child-rearing married-couple households (Mallach 2016).

Endogenous Factors

- Location

Realtors are correct; it's location, location, location. Of the two clear endogenous threshold factors that appear to exist for neighborhood revival, location appears to be the dominant one. While all neighborhoods identified as reviving neighborhoods in the case studies shared both location and physical characteristics, the physical features of the reviving neighborhoods are far from unique in their respective communities, particularly in Baltimore, where the underlying physical fabric of many of the city's most distressed neighborhoods is largely identical to that of the strongest neighborhoods (Figure 5-2). The same is largely true in St Louis as well, where a number of struggling North City neighborhoods have physical features not markedly different from those in the reviving South City areas.

The three location features that appear to be most significant for revival are (1) proximity to

Figure 5-2 Similar Houses in Two Baltimore Neighborhoods



SOURCE: Google Earth. The two blocks shown are approximately .85 miles apart

already-strong neighborhoods; that is, areas with higher income households, strong demand and strong property values; (2) proximity to major anchor institutions and employment centers; and (3) proximity to significant amenities or assets, such as waterfronts or major parks.

All of these features are seen clearly in Baltimore, where revival has spread incrementally from the Inner Harbor and a small cluster of strong neighborhoods in South Baltimore eastward, taking advantage of the area's proximity to the harbor and waterfront; major employment centers in downtown and at the Johns Hopkins Medical Center; and the asset represented by Patterson Park. Hampden is adjacent to the Johns Hopkins University campus. Similarly, the reviving neighborhoods in St Louis are situated in close proximity to the city's major employment centers, as well as to major amenities such as Forest Park and Tower Grove Park. It is notable, however, that parks like Tower Grove Park and Patterson Park are not *inherently* amenities; both were the subject of extensive efforts with respect to both physical upgrading and instigation of park activity during the period discussed in this paper, as a result of which they became powerful locational amenities.

One notable location element which did *not* appear to play a significant role in either city was accessibility to rail transit. Although there is research suggesting that rail, if not bus, transit creates a house price premium (see Zuk et al 2015), there was no evidence that transit had played any role in neighborhood revival in either Baltimore or St. Louis. That, however, may be attributable to the reality that neither Baltimore nor St. Louis have an extensive rail transit network. St. Louis has a single rail line, the MetroLink, that runs through the Central Corridor. While Baltimore has a slightly more extensive network, it does not provide access to most of the city's residential neighborhoods. Neighborhoods in either city that meet other locational criteria *and* have good transit access are few and far between.

It would be worth exploring in cities with more extensive transit systems, such as Philadelphia or Chicago, whether transit appears to be a factor in where revival has taken place in those cities. Anecdotally, it would appear that the Blue Line has been a significant factor in the revival of a cluster of Chicago neighborhoods running along that line northwest of downtown Chicago, including Wicker Park and Bucktown. At the same time, it is important to bear in mind that

‘transit’ is not a goal in itself; its value is a function of where it can take one. The value of the Blue Line to those neighborhoods is that it allows their residents to be in the Loop, the city’s business and office center, in 15 minutes or less, and to O’Hare Airport in 30 minutes.

- Physical Character

Although there are significant regional variations in housing form between the two cities, all of the reviving neighborhoods in Baltimore and St. Louis share important underlying physical characteristics. They have a largely intact 19th or early 20th century neighborhood form and historic character, typically made up of high quality if not necessarily individually distinguished vernacular residential structures, and in St Louis often set in a landscape of mature trees and plantings. The key element appears to be the intact nature of the historic neighborhood fabric, much more so than the architectural or historical quality of individual houses. While some St Louis streets are architecturally distinguished, others are not, while the houses in Hampden, while attractive, are quite ordinary.

While Baltimore’s streetscape is typically one of continuous row houses, and that of St. Louis a more complex mix of housing types, they share common features. Brick is the predominant building material, houses where not attached are closely spaced, structures are rarely more than three stories high, and despite this, residential densities are relatively high – net block residential density (excluding streets) in many blocks in Patterson Park and nearby Southeast Baltimore neighborhoods runs as high as 40 dwelling units/acre. Many blocks in both cities have service alleys running down the middle of the block, an amenity that also helps to preserve the integrity of the blocks’ street wall.

An unusual feature of the St Louis neighborhoods is the variety of housing options offered within this physical frame; as shown in the St. Louis case study (see Table 2-2), 40% to 60% of the housing units in that city’s reviving neighborhoods are multifamily units, the great majority of which are rental housing. This factor may increase effective demand by offering a greater variety of housing options; it may also help maintain economic diversity in the course of their revival. Baltimore neighborhoods are much closer to the single-family monoculture the author has written about elsewhere (Mallach 2016), While they offer fewer options in both respects, those options can be created through redevelopment of vacant areas and infill development.

One question in need of further exploration is the relationship of commercial and residential revitalization, and the role of commercial centers and corridors in the revitalization of these neighborhoods. Commercial corridors today are significant assets in a number of reviving neighborhoods, such as South Grand Boulevard in the Tower Grove neighborhoods or 36th Street in Hampden. The question is, to what extent do they drive revival, or are they a product of revival? This issue has not been widely studied; Jacobus and Chapple write “The relationship between neighborhood level commercial markets and residential markets in the same neighborhoods is unclear; in particular, no research has addressed the chicken-and-egg question of whether neighborhood residential revitalization leads to retail revitalization or vice versa” (2010, p3). The potential effect of the revival of the Cherokee Street commercial corridor on adjacent residential areas is worth further investigation.

Drivers of Change

Drivers of change can be defined as both actors and interventions, and it is important to distinguish between the two. We do not see the presence of a potentially significant actor in or adjacent to a neighborhood, such as a CDC or a strong anchor institution, as necessarily significant in itself. Over the years, many community development actors of all types have carried out interventions of all types, which can generically be defined as actions *taken to influence the existing conditions of an area with the intention of changing it for the better.*²³ The compelling lesson that emerges from our case studies is that the actor is not likely to be meaningful as a driver of change except to the extent that it undertakes interventions *that induce market demand.* Those actions most often take the form of financial investments, such as property acquisition or rehabilitation, but may take other forms, including many that do not represent changes to the physical environment.

Actors

In order for an intervention to take place that materially affects a neighborhood, *someone* needs to take that action. That does not mean that it needs to be part of an explicit, or even coherent, larger strategy, even though that is arguably highly desirable, particularly in a deeply troubled area as Fox Park was prior to DeSales’ interventions. It can be a developer deciding to rehabilitate and market a building, whose financial success leads other – previously skeptical – developers to undertake similar projects in the same neighborhood. It can be a public sector intervention, as with the Vacants to Value program in Baltimore, or the city of Lowell Massachusetts’ ‘pump-priming’ of vacant mill building rehabilitation in the 1990s.²⁴ Alternatively, it can be a CDC carrying out the strategies in a comprehensive neighborhood plan. Interventions typically take place as a result of action by one or more of four different types of actor, as shown in Table 5-1. Some interventions may be the product of a joint effort by more than one actor, or a neighborhood may see multiple interventions by one, or by multiple actors, at the same time.

Table 5-1: Neighborhood Change Actors

ACTOR	EXAMPLES
Community Development Corporations and other community-based organizations	De Sales CHC rental housing strategy in Fox Park Patterson Park rehabilitation strategy
Major anchor institutions and development entities	Missouri Botanical Garden redevelopment of McRee Town (Botanical Heights) SLU sponsorship of City Garden school
Local and state government	Baltimore Vacants to Value program
Private sector actors	Rehabilitation along Washington Avenue and Cherokee Street

This raises many questions. While a CDC can carry out a catalytic intervention, is the presence of a CDC in a neighborhood a necessary, or even a desirable condition for revival? Does the

presence of a CDC, other things being equal, increase the likelihood of revival, or is revival purely a function of the nature of the intervention, independent of the actor? It is hard to imagine any type of entity other than a CDC conceiving of or carrying out a strategy such as that of DeSales in Fox Park, or Patterson CDC in its target area. That said, there is nothing inherent in the form or role of CDCs, arguably unfortunately, that leads to their pursuing catalytic interventions.

What role do the activities of informal or voluntary neighborhood organizations play in changing the trajectory of a neighborhood? Some of the interviews, particularly from Baltimore, suggest that their role may be significant, but it is difficult to pin down, let alone measure. Another question is whether the extent to which the community is engaged in the process of designing and carrying out the intervention has an effect on the outcome. Although the importance of community engagement is regularly cited, to the extent that it is almost a truism in the community development literature, what parts of the ‘community’ were engaged in the processes described earlier, and the extent of their engagement, were highly variable and often limited.

This, in turn, raises a troubling question which is rarely addressed in the literature; namely, who is the community? Neighborhoods are not monolithic and are likely to contain different groups of people with different priorities, interests and needs, while the number of participants in an engagement process is usually likely to be only a very small share of the neighborhood’s residents or other stakeholders, such as merchants or property owners. This issue is particularly complex in areas which are undergoing significant demographic change, where there are major variations between ‘newcomers’ and ‘old-timers.’ From the author’s experience, it is easy for people engaged in such processes to end up relying on a handful of the loudest, but not necessarily representative, voices as speaking for the “community”, or for active engagement in community-based voluntary activities – which were significant in the Shaw area in St Louis and in Patterson Park in Baltimore – to be dominated by newcomers.

Interventions

The model treats interventions as the critical element in what might be considered ‘unlocking’ the market potential of a neighborhood that meets the threshold conditions for revival. Again, we use the term broadly, and not limited to those interventions that are part of an intentional strategy for change; the point is, *something* has to happen to turn potential into actuality. That ‘something’ can be a major ‘scorched earth’ urban renewal activity, such as the redevelopment of Botanical Heights; or, more often, may be something that catalyzes the cumulative, small-scale activity of developers, contractors, and individual residents and homebuyers.

In some cases, specific catalytic actions can be identified. The approach followed both by Shaw CDC in St. Louis and by the city of Baltimore through their Vacants to Value program, which was to create a pipeline of vacant houses for local contractors and developers, is a good example of an intervention that triggered multiple small-scale activities. It is likely that the DeSales rental housing strategy in Fox Park had similar effects, although in that case a major part of its impact was indirect, by the CDC’s program removing an external impediment to individual action.

Not all housing investments are catalytic, and not all catalytic investments are about housing.

For a housing intervention to be catalytic, not only must the neighborhood meet the threshold criteria of location and physical character, but the intervention should be designed to induce greater market demand. That does not necessarily mean that the interventions be *directly* market-based. DeSales developed subsidized housing but did so in a way that it would indirectly unlock market potential with respect to the area's single-family stock; similarly, the subsidized ArtLofts project contributed to building the market base for Washington Avenue's revival. At the same time, most subsidized housing developments, in St Louis as elsewhere, do not meet these criteria.

To create an intervention that induces demand dictates that the actors either be themselves market-driven, as with the developers who converted the factories on Washington Avenue into housing; or that they be market-sensitive, as is true of CDCs such as DeSales or Patterson CDC and the Baltimore city officials who run the Vacants to Value program. Given the vast number of housing-related interventions taking place in urban neighborhoods around the United States, by CDCs, local governments and developers, compared to the far smaller number of neighborhoods that are undergoing revival, it appears clear that the great majority of intentional, socially-driven housing interventions do not lead to neighborhood revival.

Not all interventions have to do with housing. Two major park transformations, of Tower Grove Park in St. Louis and Patterson Park in Baltimore, are credited with having played an important role in the transformation of the neighborhoods surrounding those parks, something which observation suggests is indeed the case. The question arises, however, whether those interventions *in themselves* would have triggered sustained revival, or whether it was the combination of the transformation of the parks into significant neighborhood assets along with the housing interventions that represented the catalyst, as in Patterson Park. Similarly, it is impossible to tell whether the work of DeSales CHC in Fox Park would have had a similar sustained effect, had it not been supplemented by the subsequent creation of the South Side Early Childhood Education Center and the KIPP Charter School. Whether an individual intervention such as the transformation of a park can be catalytic even in the absence of other significant interventions is an important question. One example in support of such a proposition can be found in West Philadelphia, where the creation of the Penn Alexander school led to dramatic increases in house values inside that school's catchment area compared to adjacent areas (Gillen and Wachter 2011).

While we believe that the broad outlines of the role of interventions in neighborhood revival are becoming clear, many questions remain to be answered. As noted earlier, neighborhood change is not a simple, unidirectional process, but a multifaceted iterative one. Separating the different elements, and assessing the significance or value of each, is a complex process, particularly as it involves matters largely not readily amenable to quantification.²⁵

Creating timelines of change, including salient interventions and milestones, may be a useful way of approaching this question. The story of Washington Avenue is a case in point. Bob Cassilly, the artist who created the City Museum, began work in 1995²⁶. By 1997, the City Museum had opened its doors and the ArtLoft project had created 63 live-work spaces for artists subsidized with Low Income Housing Tax Credits, and at least two more buildings had been acquired by developers. On January 1, 1998, the state historic tax credit went into effect, materially improving prospective developers' bottom line. The Downtown Community

Improvement District, which included Washington Avenue, was established in 2000. By 2003, the streetscape improvement program for the avenue was complete, by which point, however, large-scale market-driven conversion of the historic industrial buildings into housing was well under way. All of these activities reinforced one another, and no single one can be pointed to as the definitive catalyst of the area's transformation. Similar timelines for other neighborhoods discussed in the case studies could help illuminate the nature of the interaction between actions and interventions that catalyze neighborhood change.

Other Factors Affecting Neighborhood Revival

Crime and schools are two additional issues that regularly feature as important drivers of neighborhood trajectories. Crime was not addressed except in passing in the interviews in Baltimore or St Louis. Thus, this initial case study offers no particular insights with respect to the relationship between crime trends and revival beyond a modest correlation between crime rates and house prices, and no information on any intentional anti-crime strategies that may have been pursued. This represents an important area for further investigation.

The significance of schools for revival, both in general and with respect to two schools in particular, St. Margaret of Scotland and City Gardens, came up frequently in our interviews in St Louis. As noted earlier, however, demographic trends showed sharp declines in the number of school-age children living in these schools' neighborhoods between 2000 and 2014. While this may suggest that these schools are not relevant to these neighborhoods' revival, we believe that they are, although perhaps not in the obvious sense of drawing families with school-age children. While both have seen significant enrollment growth in recent years, we do not know where the families enrolling their children live, or the extent to which they represent in-migration to the neighborhoods as distinct from existing residents moving their children from other schools.

There are a number of other mechanisms through which they may influence neighborhood change. One is that their presence may encourage families with pre-school children or families contemplating having children in the future to move into these neighborhoods and encourage them to put down roots in those neighborhoods. Such families may be less likely to buy a house in a neighborhood if they expect to move within a relatively short period. Second, school quality is widely seen as a significant proxy for house value, and thus a factor in home buying decisions for childless as well as child-rearing households (Bogart and Cromwell 1997, Kane et al 2006), although, as Kane and his colleagues point out, "good schools usually come bundled with other neighborhood qualities—such as proximity to employment, shopping and recreational conveniences, and neighborhood peers. Because the home buyers who enjoy (and can afford) such amenities tend to congregate together, it is difficult to isolate the effect of schools from the effect of these other traits that accompany good schools." Schools are likely to serve a similar function in urban neighborhoods, acting as a general proxy for neighborhood stability or improvement, both of which are important features sought by prospective homebuyers when choosing a neighborhood.

Spatial Factors in Revival and the Role of Race

The geographic distribution of reviving neighborhoods in St Louis and Baltimore is distinctive.

All of those in St Louis are within or south of the Central Corridor, and none in North City, while those in Baltimore are all within or adjacent to the “white L.” While revival efforts in an area known as Old North St Louis, in the northeastern corner of North City close to downtown, have received some media attention (Smith 2014), there is no evidence that they have led to meaningful or sustainable demographic or market change. Given the racial history of St Louis, the long history of North City as a predominately African-American area, and the historic as well as symbolic significance of the “Delmar divide” along Delmar Boulevard as a racial demarcation line, one is tempted simply to attribute this to race. On reflection, however, things appear to be more complicated.

All of St Louis’ southern tier neighborhoods have some African-American population, in most cases a large one. They range from a low of 18% black in Soulard to over one-third in Shaw, and to an absolute majority of the population in Botanical Heights, The Gate, and Fox Park. While there are sharp variations across the area, few southern tier neighborhoods lack a visible and often substantial African-American presence, something that does not appear to have acted as a significant deterrent to these neighborhoods’ revival. While this clearly calls for further investigation, on its face it would appear to be highly relevant.²⁷

In light of research strongly suggesting that the dynamics of revival, or gentrification, tend to skirt predominantly African-American areas (Hwang and Sampson 2013), we would suggest that a different and more complex set of considerations may be at work here; specifically, what might be called the *perception of race*, or of racial ‘territories.’ The “Delmar Divide”, the line paralleling Delmar Boulevard, an east-west artery just north of the Central Corridor, which is seen as the city’s racial boundary, is a central part of the mental map of St Louis residents; as a 2014 Washington Post article put it, “The geography of almost every U.S. city reveals at least some degree of segregation, but in St. Louis, the break between races — and privilege — is particularly drastic, so defined that those on both sides speak often about a precise boundary. The Delmar Divide, they call it, and it stands as a symbol of the disconnect that for years has bred grievances and frustrations [...] (Harlan 2014).”

Table 5-2: Growth of African-American Population in South City St Louis 1970 to 2015

	TOTAL POPULATION*	AFRICAN-AMERICAN POPULATION*	PERCENTAGE AFRICAN-AMERICAN*	SHARE OF BLACK POPULATION IN HISTORIC BLACK ENCLAVES**
1970	263449	3765	1.4%	78.3%
1980	210374	7419	3.5%	56.5%
1990	194003	19948	10.3%	25.9%
2000	186247	47032	25.3%	11.9%
2015	174849	44748	25.6%	11.2%

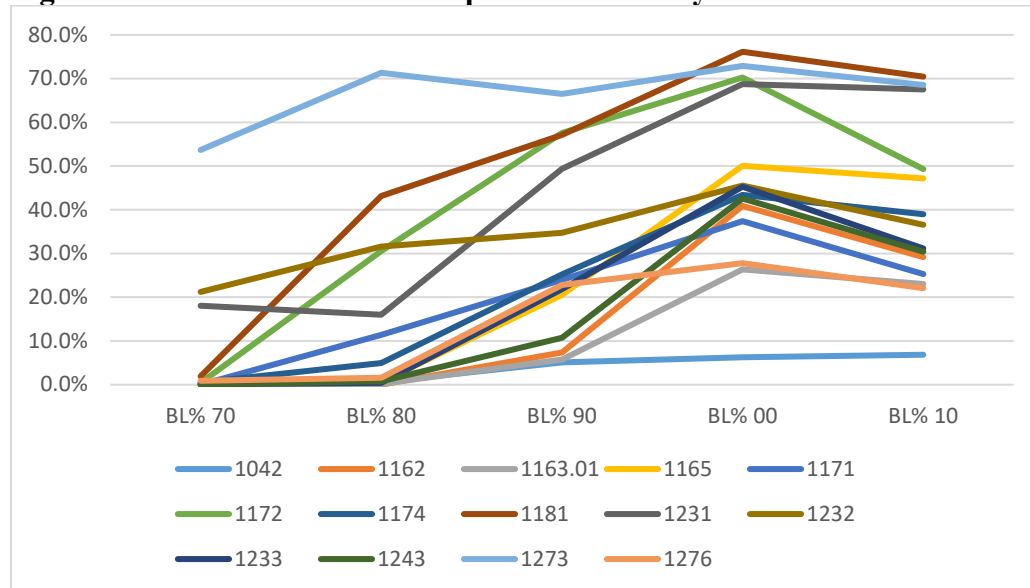
SOURCE: US Census and American Community Survey

*All South City census tracts except for tracts 1273 and 1274

**African-Americans in tracts 1273 and 1274 as percentage of South City total African-American population

Despite substantial change over many decades, St Louis' spatial self-definition still appears to be organized around the Delmar Divide, in that North City is "black" and South City is "white," something that no longer corresponds fully to the reality on the ground. With the exception of two long-term African-American enclaves, one in the Tiffany/The Gate area and the other in a cluster of public housing projects in the northwest corner of South City, virtually no black households lived in South City in 1970. The black population grew significantly in Shaw and McRee Town during the 1970s, and between 1980 and 2000 in other parts of South City, as can be seen for the area as a whole in Table 5-2 and for individual neighborhoods in Figure 5-3. 26% of the total population of South City today is African-American.

Figure 5-3: African-American Population Share by Census Tract in St Louis 1970-2010



SOURCE: US Census and American Community Survey

Thus, notwithstanding large African-American populations in areas like Shaw or Fox Park, these areas do not appear to be perceived as "black" in the same sense as is North City, which was already more than 3/4 black in 1970, and thus may not trigger the same reactions among prospective in-migrants. This proposition is highly speculative, to be sure, but suggests a line of inquiry for further investigation; namely that the role race plays in defining such things as neighborhood preferences is a function not only of perceptions of race as such, but also perceptions of how neighborhoods are identified in racial terms.

A second factor discouraging revival in North City as well as its counterparts in West Baltimore is likely to be the sheer extent of abandonment and demolition that has taken place through much of the area over the past many decades. This process has led to extensive fragmentation of these areas, and the loss throughout much of them of the rich urban texture that the southern tier and Harbor East neighborhoods have retained.

Where redevelopment has taken place in North City, it has largely taken the form of subsidized housing projects in self-contained enclaves clearly distinguished, and often physically separated

from the existing remaining neighborhood fabric; or quasi-suburban subsidized single-family developments, rather than intentional efforts to rebuild a walkable neighborhood fabric itself. The older houses themselves – those that remain – may be similar to those in the southern tier, but the fabric in which they are nestled is very different, as shown in Figure 5-4. There are some largely intact neighborhoods in North City, like O’Fallon and Baden, but they tend to be far removed from the Central Corridor with its amenities and anchor institutions, thus lacking the virtue of spatial proximity that the neighborhoods of the southern tier offer. As a result, while the southern tier is seeing dramatic increases in house prices and household incomes, these neighborhoods are moving in the opposite direction, with equally dramatic declines in house prices (particularly since 2006-2007) and household incomes.

Figure 5-4: Fragmented Urban Fabric in The Ville in North City



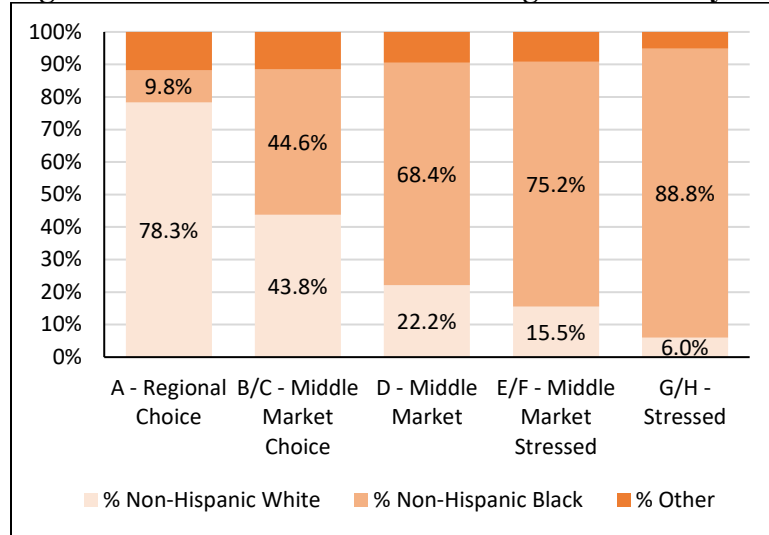
SOURCE: Google Earth

As in St Louis, neighborhood strength - both the health of the local housing market and the likelihood that intervention strategies will spark widespread revitalization – in Baltimore varies greatly based on the racial and ethnic make-up of the area. Figure 5-5, based on the housing market typology (HMT) developed for the city by the Reinvestment Fund, shows the stark racial disparities in overall neighborhood market condition throughout the city.

Baltimore’s strongest neighborhoods, those characterized as “Regional Choice” areas in the HMT, are collectively over 78% non-Hispanic white. In sharp contrast, Baltimore’s weakest market areas, or “stressed” neighborhoods are collectively nearly 89% non-Hispanic black. 70% of white Baltimoreans live in either “Regional Choice” or “Middle market Choice” areas while less than 24% of black Baltimoreans do so.

The great majority of the revitalizing areas identified in this study were predominately non-Hispanic white in 2000 and before, with very small African-American populations. Only one subarea within the larger picture of revitalizing census tracts, that area to the east and north of Patterson Park exhibited a more diverse population, as shown in Table 5-3. Two thirds of the Black population in the tracts south and west of the Harbor lived in one tract, in the Sharp-Leadenhall neighborhood, which contained a cluster of subsidized housing projects with over

Figure 5-5: Racial Distribution of Neighborhoods by Market Category in Baltimore



SOURCE: Baltimore City Department of Planning

400 dwelling units. In order to verify that this pattern did not reflect pre-2000 shifts, we looked at the racial composition of the reviving tracts from 1970. As Figure 5-6 shows, only two reviving tracts had substantial African-American populations in 1970, and both still have substantial Black populations, although dropping off after 2000.

TABLE 5-3: AFRICAN-AMERICAN POPULATION BY SUBAREA IN 2000

AREA	TOTAL POPULATION	AFRICAN-AMERICAN POPULATION	% AFRICAN-AMERICAN
South and west of Inner Harbor	14,111	1090	7.7%
Harbor East south and west of Patterson Park	12194	682	5.6%
Harbor East north and east of Patterson Park	8,783	4,442	50.6%
Hampden	2,041	120	5.9%
All revitalizing tracts	37,129	6334	17.1%

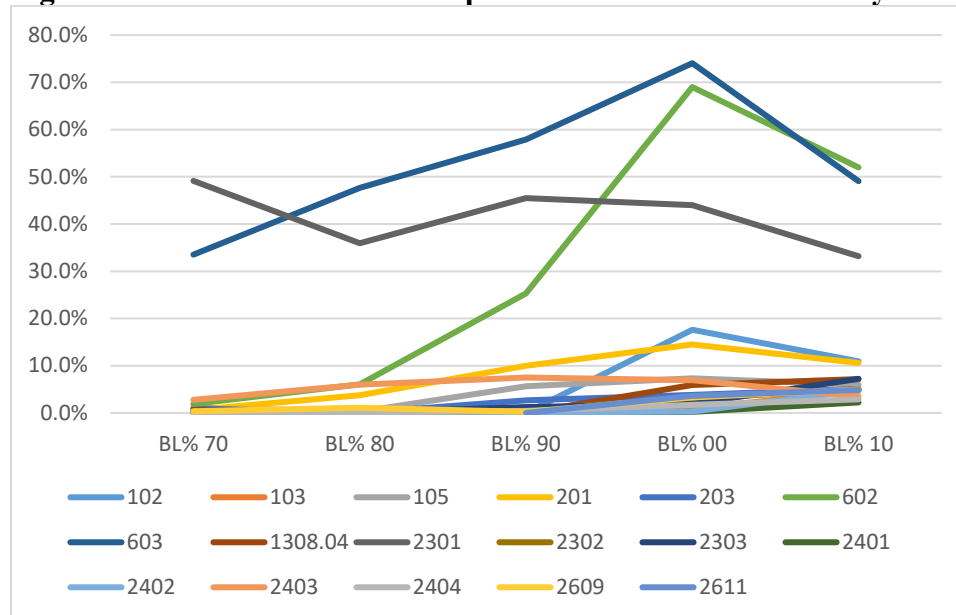
SOURCE: US Census and American Community Survey

This pattern is consistent with other areas in Baltimore which appear also to be reviving, although failing to meet the quantitative criteria used for this study, particularly areas near the Johns Hopkins University campus such as Remington, Guilford and Charles North. While the predominately African-American Reservoir Hill area, nestled between the strong Bolton Hill neighborhood and Druid Hill Park, has shown some revival, a number of informants noted the slow and uncertain pace of change in this area compared to other areas with comparable location and housing stock characteristics.

The Baltimore area shown in Figure 3-1 characterized as the “Black Butterfly” is similar in many respects to St Louis’ North City, although, reflecting the greater long-term population loss in St

Louis, relatively few parts of Baltimore show quite the level of hypervacancy characteristic of many parts of North City. That notwithstanding, there is little evidence of revitalization or investment in most of these areas other than scattered subsidized housing developments or public facilities, and the near-term prospects for many such areas do not appear bright.

Figure 5-6: African-American Population Share in Baltimore by Census Tract 1970-2010



SOURCE: US Census and American Community Survey

The Equity Challenge: Neighborhood Revival, Race and Income

Neighborhood revival represents a difficult conundrum for all those involved with the future of American cities and neighborhoods. On the one hand, we generally want neighborhoods to become better, cleaner and safer places to live, vacant houses reused and occupied ones upgraded, municipal services and facilities improved, and so forth. On the other hand, even in the absence of evidence of families being directly displaced as a result, many of us find the influx of more affluent households and the increased house prices and rents associated with those changes, and the resulting loss of affordability for lower income households, to be a vexing problem.

In many communities this process may have a racial dimension, in that the process of revival may be associated not only with a loss of lower income households, but with a loss of African-American residents. Moreover, while there may be some legal tools available to prevent direct displacement where that may be taking place, there appear to be few financial tools available to ensure that significant numbers of housing units in reviving neighborhoods can be positioned to become good-quality, long-term affordable housing and continue to accommodate lower income residents even as prices may continue to rise in the rest of the neighborhood. While construction of subsidized housing designed to remain affordable on a long-term basis is the one obvious resource, its application is severely limited as a result of constraints on the public funds needed to make it happen. Because of the importance of this issue, we have attempted to drill down into the details of population change in St Louis' reviving neighborhoods since 2000. We focus on St

Louis because the intersection of race and economic level is much more pronounced there than in the Baltimore reviving census tracts.

Many of St Louis' reviving neighborhoods are showing significant declines in both African-American population and the number of households below the poverty line, as shown in Tables 5-4 and 5-5.²⁸ Although these neighborhoods generally lost population overall, the decline in their black population – with some exceptions – between 2000 and 2010 was proportionately much greater than the area's overall decline. Taken as a whole, the twelve areas shown in Table 5-4 lost 12% of their total population, but 26% of their African-American population during the decade. The decline was most pronounced in the eastern part of the area, where revival tends to be further advanced; the black population dropped by over 40% in Benton Park, Lafayette Square and McKinley Heights. While part of this reflects an overall decline in St Louis' black population, which dropped by 20,500 or nearly 12% from 2000 to 2010, part is likely to reflect the effect of neighborhood change.

Table 5-4: Change in Total Population and African-American Population by Neighborhood 2000 and 2010

	2000		2010		Change in total population	Change in Black population
	Total	Black	Total	Black		
Benton Park	3946	1564	3532	888	-10.5%	-43.2%
Compton Heights	1448	429	1315	280	- 9.2%	-34.7%
Fox Park	3175	2036	2632	1612	-17.1%	-20.8%
Lafayette Square	1761	495	2078	281	+18.0%	-43.2%
McKinley Heights	2104	1256	1497	689	-28.8%	-45.1%
Shaw	8243	4657	6811	2853	-17.4%	-38.7%
Soulard	3187	520	3440	458	+ 7.9%	-11.9%
SW Garden	5745	1113	4885	804	-15.0%	-27.8%
The Gate	3491	3027	3450	2842	- 1.0%	- 4.5%
Tiffany	1340	1113	1060	891	-20.9%	-19.9%
Tower Grove E	7211	3717	5853	2563	-18.8%	-31.0%
Tower Grove S	14745	4591	13333	3965	- 9.6%	-13.8%
TOTAL	56396	24518	49892	18126	-11.5%	-26.1%

SOURCE: US Census

Similar patterns can be seen in the change in the number of households below the poverty line, as shown in Table 5-5. The number of households in poverty in the southern tier neighborhoods as a whole dropped by 31% between 2000 and 2014, and the poverty rate dropped significantly in many – although not all – of the census tracts in the area. During the same period, the citywide

poverty rate increased from 24.6% to 27.8%, and the number of households in poverty grew by slightly more than 2,000, despite a drop in the total number of households in the city.

Table 5-5: Change in Poverty Rate and Number of People in Households Below Poverty Line by Census Tract 2000 and 2014

		POVERTY RATE		PEOPLE BELOW POVERTY LINE		Change in number of people below poverty line
		2000	2014	2000	2014	
1162	Tower Grove S	24.7%	14.6%	1262	642	-49.1%
1165	Tower Grove E	21.1%	24.1%	981	1117	+13.9%
1171	SW Garden	17.4%	9.5%	298	143	-52.0%
1172	Shaw	26.7%	25.9%	1817	1406	-22.6%
1174	Compton Heights	14.5%	15.0%	682	612	-10.3%
1231	Fox Park	26.8%	16.2%	1044	579	-44.5%
1232	Lafayette Square	25.6%	22.9%	511	502	- 1.8%
1233	McKinley Heights	27.8%	14.6%	831	408	-50.9%
1243	Benton Park	30.9%	17.5%	1116	520	-53.4%
1276	Soulard	19.1%	10.7%	561	345	-38.5%
				9103	6274	-31.1%

SOURCE: US Census and American Community Survey

The magnitude of these changes is hard to explain on the basis of changes in the area’s housing. *While sales prices have increased significantly (see Table 2-1), rents have not.* Both median rent levels, as well as the rate of increase in rents since 2000, in these neighborhoods have largely paralleled citywide trends.²⁹ The *number* of rental units, however, has diminished in many neighborhoods, particularly in Shaw, where the rental inventory dropped by 21% between 2000 and 2010. According to informants, this was due in large part to ‘de-conversion’ of historic single-family properties that had been converted to multifamily use back to single family occupancy. Five of the ten reference census tracts saw the number of rental units drop by 10% or more. While the number of rental units increased in Soulard and Lafayette Square, it is likely that these units were expensive created through new construction or substantial rehabilitation.

Similarly, overall rent levels in an area may not reflect the rents at which available rental units, which at any given point make up only a small share of the inventory, are being offered. Given the demand pressures affecting these neighborhoods, it would not be surprising if, as many units become vacant, landlords improve them and put them back on the market at substantially higher rents. This is speculative, and calls for a closer look, but it may be one of the mechanisms driving the racial and economic change that many parts of these neighborhoods are seeing.

Drilling down into the relationship between housing, income and racial change, we find other interesting patterns. With three exceptions (Benton Park, McKinley Heights and Soulard), data on household income by tenure shown in Table 5-6 indicates that for the most part the increase in household incomes in these neighborhoods is largely a function of increase in *homeowner*, not renter incomes. Between 1999 and 2014, the Consumer Price Index rose by 42.1%; thus, one can

see that in most neighborhoods, renters lost ground in terms of constant (inflation-adjusted) income, homeowners gained ground across the board, often significantly.

Comparing this table with Table 5-7, which shows shifts in tenure by race over approximately the same period³⁰, the evidence suggests that change is the product of three distinct factors:

- (1) Slow erosion of African-American homeownership;
- (2) Loss of rental stock, much of it occupied by African-American households, through conversion to owner-occupied housing, including some de-conversion of multi-family to single family units; and
- (3) Gradual replacement of Black renters by white renters, but not necessarily more affluent ones.

This last is less likely to be the product of literal displacement, particularly given high levels of turnover among renters in St Louis, as in urban areas generally, than a product of non-replacement³¹. As Black homeowners move – for whatever reason – they are more likely to be replaced by white homebuyers, while the same is likely to be true with respect to the shrinking rental stock.

Moreover, as these areas become more attractive to a larger number of prospective white tenants, the pool from which landlords select tenants will become proportionately whiter. Thus, and this is an important point, *on a purely statistical basis even without any deliberate intent to discriminate*, these areas would see a gradual shift in the racial composition of their tenant population. Without ruling out possible other factors, given the high turnover of renters in urban areas, the decline in African-American renters shown in Table 5-7 could be accounted for entirely by change in the composition of the prospective tenant pool.

Similar patterns affect homeownership, with the added factor that given the disparities in income distribution between white and black households and would-be homebuyers, the effect of the shift in the homebuyer pool becomes progressively greater as house prices increase.

The upshot is a gradual erosion of African-American households, of renters, and of low-income households. As the area changes economically, even where they are not under economic pressure, many pre-existing households may find themselves uncomfortable with the changes or under unwelcome social pressure, as expressed by a resident of Forest Park Southeast, who told an interviewer:

“It’s gotten worse recently,” she stated. “My boys can’t have friends come around without being stopped and checked...There are a few knuckleheads out there who make it bad for everybody...But there’s a new ambiance in the neighborhood, things have gotten better. So why can’t we do what we do? Why can’t we put chairs outside of our houses?” (quoted in Bologna et al 2015)

Barring either a major change in policy, or a major change in some economic or political reality, the gradual ongoing trend in many parts of St Louis’ southern tier, toward increasingly white and more affluent populations, is likely to increase. This is particularly true of many neighborhoods

Table 5-6: Owner and Renter Median Income 2000 and 2014 for Selected Census Tracts

		RENTERS			OWNERS		
		2000	2014	% CHANGE	2000	2014	% CHANGE
1162	Tower Grove S	\$20980	\$26245	25.1%	\$38407	\$69619	81.3%
1165	Tower Grove E	\$19604	\$26370	34.5	\$36630	\$63021	72.0
1172	Shaw	\$21928	\$24279	10.7	\$49318	\$77177	56.5
1174	Compton Heights	\$24072	\$29821	23.9	\$52670	\$86797	64.8
1231	Fox Park	\$18218	\$24875	36.5	\$44844	\$71250	58.9
1232	Lafayette Square	\$21010	\$20938	-0.3	\$59500	\$89091	49.7
1233	McKinley Heights	\$21019	\$36655	74.4	\$43170	\$79447	84.0
1243	Benton Park	\$15873	\$28596	80.2	\$41188	\$64750	57.2
1276	Soulard	\$30588	\$47218	54.4	\$48594	\$69306	42.7
	ST LOUIS	\$19054	\$23153	21.5	\$38787	\$55052	41.9

SOURCE: US Census and American Community Survey

Table 5-7: Number of Owners and Renters by Race for 2000 and 2010 for Selected Census Tracts

		RENTERS				OWNERS			
		W2000	W2010	B2000	B2010	W2000	W2010	B2000	B2010
1162	Tower Grove S	516	641	420	310	760	882	268	176
1165	Tower Grove E	413	366	547	539	472	480	183	162
1172	Shaw	467	600	1096	616	505	679	378	327
1174	Compton Heights	443	443	589	441	620	706	185	179
1231	Fox Park	214	160	615	558	283	320	264	327
1232	Lafayette Square	287	395	305	331	290	488	50	47
1233	McKinley Heights	439	453	430	287	389	472	78	63
1243	Benton Park	501	493	373	272	512	624	111	90
1276	Soulard	880	1046	334	304	411	462	44	35
	TOTAL	4160	4597	4709	3658	4242	5113	1561	1406
	CHANGE 2000-2010	+437	+10.5%	-1051	-22.3%	+871	+20.5%	-155	-10.0%

SOURCE: US Census and American Community Survey

in the eastern part of the area, including Soulard, Lafayette Square, McKinley Heights and Benton Park. At the same time, it is not true of the entire area: Fox Park, The Gate and Tower Grove East all appear to be more stably integrated from a racial, and to some extent economic, standpoint. This observation, however, comes from the data alone, and may or may not reflect the reality on the ground.

The situation was different in Baltimore, not because the forces affecting neighborhoods are different, but because only two of the 13 reviving census tracts in Baltimore (those immediately north of Patterson Park) had more than a small African-American population in 2000. These two tracts showed patterns similar to the St Louis tracts described above (Table 5-8). Between 2000 and 2010, the Black population in these two census tracts dropped by 35% and the number of households below the poverty level by 23%. In contrast to the St Louis tracts, where the number of Black renters dropped much more than the number of Black homeowners, the rate of decline was much the same for both groups in the two Baltimore census tracts, with the number of Black homeowners dropping by 31% and Black renters by 29% between 2000 and 2010.

Table 5-8: Racial and Economic Change in Selected Baltimore Census Tracts

CENSUS TRACT	2000 POP.	2000 BLACK POP.	2010 POP.	2010 BLACK POP.	2000 BELOW POVERTY LEVEL	2014 BELOW POVERTY LEVEL	TOTAL POP. CHANGE	BLACK POP. CHANGE	HHS IN POVERTY CHANGE
602	3,654	2,396	3,265	1,599	1,285	1,105	-389	-797	-180
603	1,943	1,395	1,800	850	699	429	-143	-545	-270
TOTAL	5,597	3,791	5,065	2,449	1,984	1,534	-532	-1,342	-450

As we discussed earlier, with the exception of these two tracts and the Sharp-Leadenhall area with its concentration of subsidized housing, only a very small part of the baseline 2000 population of Baltimore’s reviving census tracts was African-American, in a city with a substantial black majority population overall. This is consistent with Hwang and Sampson’s (2013) research in Chicago, where they found that race plays a powerful role in determining which neighborhoods experience gentrification, and that neighborhoods with large African-American populations are significantly *less* likely to be chosen for gentrification; specifically, that there was a significant threshold effect reducing the likelihood of revival where the black percentage in a neighborhood exceeded 40 percent. A somewhat different dynamic appears to be at work in St Louis, which has been discussed above, which may reflect that city’s distinct historical pattern of racial settlement and segregation.

One useful step, moving forward, should be to increase the opportunities for development of affordable housing, particularly rental housing developed with Low Income Housing Tax Credits, in reviving neighborhoods. Reflecting the extent to which LIHTC housing has been targeted to lower income communities, there are barely 60 such units in all of Baltimore’s reviving census tracts³², an area with a total population of 29,000. While there are considerably more LIHTC units in St Louis’ reviving neighborhoods, it is still far fewer than have been built in deeply distressed North City areas. Other measures worth exploring are assistance to landlords

to upgrade apartments for existing lower income tenants and assistance to lower income home owners to improve their properties. Further investigation is needed to determine whether any legal or fiscal steps, such as property tax ‘circuit-breakers’³³, should be pursued to minimize displacement in these and similar neighborhoods.

Toward a Further Qualitative Research Agenda into Neighborhood Change

We close where we began. Neighborhoods are complicated, multifaceted entities. They are spaces with distinct spatial and physical features, they function as distinct residential and commercial submarkets within the regional market, and they are social entities defined by the characteristics, attitudes and behaviors of their residents as well as those outside the neighborhood. Neighborhood change is the product of a complex series of interactions between these factors.

The work we have done in Baltimore and St Louis suggests a new direction for research into neighborhood change; without ignoring or downplaying the value of quantitative information, we see it as one element of three, the others being qualitative in nature – visual observation and knowledgeable respondent interview/focus group responses. Our preliminary work suggests that both, and particularly interviews, are rich in the insights they offer into the dynamics and trajectory of a neighborhood. What we found is that over and above their baseline conditions, each neighborhood has a rich story to tell about actions taken, organizational roles, and the interactions between them. These stories are not only valuable in themselves, but as we have suggested in the case study descriptions, offer significant insights that can be valuable for practitioners seeking to improve their own neighborhoods.

This approach helps bridge a gap in neighborhood research that has become painfully apparent in recent years. While many scholars and practitioners recognize the value of qualitative research, the most widely known model, involving large-scale structured surveys, has become increasingly problematic, not only because of the considerable cost involved, but because of the increasing difficulty of obtaining meaningful responses and response rates.

Neighborhoods present themselves to the observer in many different ways. By walking or driving around a neighborhood, a prospective house buyer picks up a host of signals that she matches against a mental checklist to decide whether this is a neighborhood where she would be comfortable committing not only her money, but her time and emotional energy. Figure 5-7 illustrates, albeit in perhaps extreme form, the negative signals that a deeply distressed street presents. For an experienced observer, the visual features of a neighborhood are a text that describes not only its physical features, but through them much of its economic conditions and social dynamics. While there is no true substitute for personally driving and walking down the neighborhood’s streets, researchers have begun to use Google Earth Street View as a virtual alternative, most notably Hwang and Sampson (2014), who used it to identify signs of gentrification.³⁴

Visual observation, real or virtual, is typically limited to a single point in time. Few research projects offer the opportunity to revisit a neighborhood over the course of many years, and although Google archives earlier years’ Street View images, its coverage is uneven and limited.

Figure 5-7: Negative Signals



SOURCE: Google Earth

Knowledgeable informants, however, not only have a great deal of information about the current state of a neighborhood, but can trace the history of its shifting trajectory, and often identify critical actors, interventions and activities that have played significant roles in that trajectory. They are in a position to tell a neighborhood's story.

Our experience, both in St Louis and in Baltimore, is that numerous people who were personally involved, as actors and observers, in the revival of their neighborhood possess a wealth of knowledge that they are eager to share with others. Both individual interviews, and perhaps even more, small group interviews where individual participants interact with one another to generate richer and deeper accounts, should be seen as the single greatest resource for research on the dynamics of neighborhood change. Where the researcher is locally based and can actually immerse him or herself in the neighborhood, such an approach, even if time-limited, can add further dimension to the analysis.

Not all memories are reliable, of course, and not all accounts dispassionate and objective. Thus, a number of conditions need to be in place for such research to be most productive:

- (1) The number of respondents must be large enough so that a meaningful cross-section of opinions, recollections, and perspectives can be obtained.
- (2) The interview sequence must be organized so that it is possible to follow up with respondents, in order to delve more deeply into points made in the initial interview and compare potentially inconsistent accounts and observations.

(3) The individual(s) conducting the interviews should be individuals who are themselves highly knowledgeable about neighborhood change and the related social and economic issues, so that they can not only effectively direct the conversation, but can evaluate the information received and place it in a larger conceptual framework.

We recognize that this approach is highly subjective, and as such could be argued to be less scientific. It not only relies heavily on the subjective information provided by informants, but even more, it depends on the subjective winnowing and interpretation of that information by the researcher. As such, the underlying information is filtered through two distinct sets of prisms, each with its own potential biases. At the same time, it is critical that any such research integrate qualitative and quantitative information, with each both amplifying and acting as a check on the other. Indeed, it is critical that the underlying evidence of revival (or decline) be grounded in quantitative data; while informants' impressions of the changes taking place are valuable, they should not be relied upon to define the extent and nature of change in the absence of quantitative confirmation. In this respect, the growing availability of administrative data in many cities creates growing opportunities to develop increasingly sophisticated assessments of neighborhood change to inform the analysis.

Not all of the conditions mentioned above were fully met in the case studies presented in this paper, for which reason we have characterized our findings from these two case studies as preliminary rather than definitive. Just the same, we were struck by the substance and depth of information that even a modest qualitative approach was able to provide. With all of the caveats and constraints that have been noted, we hope that our work can serve as the basis for more significant future contributions.

References

- Bologna, Janine, Nava Kantor, Yunqing Liu, & Samuel Taylor. 2015. *The Right to Stay Put: City Garden Montessori School and Neighborhood Change*. George Warren Brown School of Social Work and Sam Fox School of Design and Visual Arts, Washington University in St. Louis https://csd.wustl.edu/Publications/Documents/city-garden_final-report.pdf
- Bogart, William T. and Brian A. Cromwell. 1997. "How Much More is a Good School District Worth?" *National Tax Journal* 50(2): 215-232
- Brown, Lawrence. 2017. "Two Baltimores: The White L vs. the Black Butterfly" *Baltimore CityPaper*, Oct.30. <http://www.citypaper.com/bcpnews-two-baltimores-the-white-l-vs-the-black-butterfly-20160628-htmlstory.html>
- Cortright, Joe. 2014. *The Young and Restless and the Nation's Cities*. City Observatory. <http://cityobservatory.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/YNR-Report-Final.pdf>
- . 2016. *Not Peak Millennial – The Coming Wave*. <http://cityobservatory.org/not-peak-millennial-the-coming-wave/>
- Fenske, Sarah. 2017. "Fox Park Will Be the St. Louis Area's Hottest Neighborhood in 2017, Redfin Says" *Riverfront Times*, Jan. 20.
- Gillen, Kevin. 2017. *Philadelphia's Ten-Year Property Tax Abatement*. Philadelphia, PA: Building Industry Association
- Guerrieri, Veronica, Daniel Hartley, and Erik Hurst. 2013. "Endogenous gentrification and housing price dynamics." *Journal of Public Economics* 100: 45–60.
- Harlan, Chico. 2014. "In St. Louis, Delmar Boulevard is the line that divides a city by race and perspective", *Washington Post*, Aug. 22. https://www.washingtonpost.com/national/in-st-louis-delmar-boulevard-is-the-line-that-divides-a-city-by-race-and-perspective/2014/08/22/de692962-a2ba-4f53-8bc3-54f88f848fdb_story.html?utm_term=.7d8803cf3cb6
- Hipp, John R. (2013) "A Dynamic View of Neighborhoods: The Reciprocal Relationship between Crime and Neighborhood Structural Characteristics" *Social Problems* 57(2): 205–230
- Hwang, Jackelyn, and Robert J. Sampson. 2014. "Divergent pathways of gentrification: Racial inequality and the social order of renewal in Chicago neighborhoods." *American Sociological Review* 79(4): (2014): 726-751.
- Jacobus, Rick and Karen Chapple. 2010. *What difference can a few stores make? Retail and neighborhood revitalization*. Berkeley, CA: University of California, Center for Community Innovation.

Kane, Thomas J. Stephanie K. Riegg and Douglas O. Staiger. 2006. "School Quality, Neighborhoods, and Housing Prices" *American Law and Economics Review*, 8(2):183-212

Kirk, David S. and John H. Laub. 2010. "Neighborhood Change and Crime in the Modern Metropolis." In *Crime and Justice*, Vol. 39, ed. M. Tonry. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press

Mallach, Alan. 2014. "Lessons from Las Vegas: Housing Markets, Neighborhoods, and Distressed Single-Family Property Investors" *Housing Policy Debate*, 24(4):769-801.

———. 2015. *What Drives Neighborhood Trajectories in Legacy Cities? Understanding the Dynamics of Change*. Cambridge, MA: Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, Working Paper

———. 2016. "Is the Urban Middle Neighborhood an Endangered Species? Multiple Challenges and Difficult Answers" Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco, *Community Development Investment Review* 11(1): 50-66

———. 2017a. "What Does the March of the Millennials Mean for the Future of the American City?" In ed. Deidre Pfeiffer, Markus Moos and Tara Vinodrai, *Millennial City: Trends, Implications and Prospects for Urban Planning and Policy*, New York, NY: Routledge

———. 2017b. *Tackling the Challenge of Blight in Baltimore: An Evaluation of Baltimore's Vacants to Value Program*. Washington DC: Center for Community Progress (2017)

McBride, W. Scott .1990. "The Use of Eminent Domain Under Missouri's Urban Redevelopment Corporations Law" *Washington University Journal of Urban & Contemporary Law* 37: 169-187

Moore, Doug. 2014. "St. Margaret of Scotland addresses growing pains as other parish schools struggle" *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, March 10.

Myers, Dowell. 2016. "Peak Millennials: Three Reinforcing Cycles that Amplify the Rise and Fall of Urban Concentration by Millennials". *Housing Policy Debate* 26(6): 928-947

Rosenbaum, Jason. 2013. "Residential infusion sparks transformation of downtown St. Louis' character" *STL Beacon*, June 24.

https://www.stlbeacon.org/#!/content/31267/downtown_residential_development

Smith, Rebecca. 2014. "Voices from Old North St. Louis: The Area Continues To Grow", St. Louis Public Radio, Oct. 26 <http://news.stlpublicradio.org/post/voices-old-north-st-louis-area-continues-grow#stream/0>

Smithson, Shelley. 2003. "The Greening of McRee Town" *Riverfront Times*, Oct. 8 <http://www.riverfronttimes.com/stlouis/the-greening-of-mcree-town/Content?oid=2464396>

Tucci, Linda. 1997. "Renaissance on Washington Avenue", *St. Louis Business Journal*, November 23. <http://www.bizjournals.com/stlouis/stories/1997/11/24/story4.html>
Welker, Grant. 2016. "Lowell OKs work at mill that will add 75 rental units" *Lowell Sun*, January 11. http://www.lowellsun.com/todaysheadlines/ci_29369388/lowell-oks-work-at-mill-that-will-add

Zuk, Miriam, Ariel H. Bierbaum, Karen Chapple, Karolina Gorska, Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris, Paul Ong and Trevor Thomas. 2015. *Gentrification, Displacement and the Role of Public Investment: A Literature Review*. San Francisco, CA: Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco, Working Paper 2015-05

Zundel, Bryan Christopher. 2008. *Catalyzing Urban Redevelopment on Washington Avenue*. MCRP thesis, Missouri State University.

Appendix: Interview Respondents

St Louis

Stephen Conway, Alderman, City of St Louis
Janet Desnoyer, Lindenwood Park Neighborhood Association
Laura Gilbert, Commerce Bank and Tower Grove East community activist
Karl Guenther, Community Development Specialist, St Louis Community Builders Network
Christie Huck, City Garden Charter School
Daniel Hutti, East West Gateway Council of Governments
Alex Ihnen, blogger, former Executive Director, Dutchtown Community Development Corporation
Melissa (Missy) Kelly, President, Downtown STL
Kevin McKinney, Executive Director, St Louis Association of Community Organizations (SLACO)
Molly Metzger, Assistant Professor, Washington University
Tom Pickel, ED, DeSales Community Development
Donald Roe, Director, Planning and Urban Design Agency, City of St Louis
Steve Souder, Full Circle Design Works and Fox Park community activist
Sean Spencer, ED, Tower Grove Neighborhoods CDC
Todd Swanstrom, Des Lee Professor of Community Collaboration and Public Policy Administration, University of Missouri-St Louis

Baltimore

Michael Braverman, Commissioner, Department of Housing & Community Development, City of Baltimore
Charles Duff, ED, Jubilee Housing
Robbyn Lewis, Patterson Park neighborhood activist, member, Maryland House of Delegates
Reni Lawai, Planner, City of Baltimore
Kelly McPhee, president, United at Liberty Square
Salem Reiner, Director, Community Affairs, Johns Hopkins University
Jennifer Robinson, Executive Director, Friends of Patterson Park
Ed Rutkowski, former ED, Patterson Park Community Development Corporation
Chris Ryer, ED, Southeast Community Development Corporation
Shannon Sneed, City Council Member, City of Baltimore
Kari Snyder, Director of Neighborhood Programs for Southeast CDC
Julia Yensho, Y:ART Gallery & Fine Gifts

The authors thank all of those who assisted them in this project. Any errors and omissions are the authors' responsibility alone

Endnotes

¹ The limitations of this research are rendered more substantial by the fact that most quantitative analysis tracks impact at a single point in time, usually a point close to the point of intervention. This not only fails to measure sustained change over the extended period that is required for meaningful neighborhood change, but raises the possibility that what is being measured is a short-term ‘Hawthorne effect’ rather than a true change in the neighborhood’s trajectory.

² Another factor, of considerable significance, was that in both cities we had existing relationships with people that enabled us to gain access to knowledgeable informants without undue delay or difficulty.

³ In the interest of simplicity, we will refer in this paper to data from the 2010-2014 Five Year American Community Survey as 2014 data.

⁴ Census data on median house value is self-reported, and subject to considerable variability, over and above the margin of error associated with the sample size. That notwithstanding, we see no reason not to compare neighborhoods with citywide data with respect to *relative* change in this variable, even though the absolute values may be suspect.

⁵ The presence of a number of tracts in both cities that showed significant change during the earlier but not during the later period raises a number of interesting questions; more specifically, one wonders whether those areas reached a high plateau, from which room for significant further improvement was limited, or whether they fell back, or something else. Addressing these questions is, however, beyond the scope of this limited study.

⁶ Some references were by informants made to a 1970s and early 1980s intervention by St Louis University to stabilize the Tiffany neighborhood immediately south of the SLU Medical Campus. We were unable to obtain further information about this project, however.

⁷ While the city’s regulatory powers did not play a significant role in this process, the initial seed capital that DeSales used to initiate their acquisition program came from the city in the form of a federally-guaranteed Section 108 loan.

⁸ This is based on a comparison of block groups, which have a substantial margin of error in the American Community Survey, because Fox Park tends to straddle parts of census tracts 1231 and 1242.

⁹ Ironically, the KIPP school is located in the building vacated by St Francis de Sales church (sponsor of the DeSales CHC) when it closed its parochial school.

¹⁰ Missouri provides a tax credit of 25% of eligible renovation expenditures for homeowners where the cost of renovation is 50% or more of the acquisition price. It also provides a 20% tax credit for income-producing properties (rental housing and commercial properties), which can be layered onto the existing 20% federal historic preservation tax credit for those properties.

¹¹ This characterization would almost certainly be disputed by advocates of Baltimore’s Patterson Park, discussed below.

¹² Under the terms of the bequest by Henry Shaw that created the park, while it is owned and maintained by the city of St Louis, it is governed by an independent board of commissioners appointed by the Missouri Supreme Court.

¹³ <http://www.smos-school.org/>

¹⁴ <http://www.citygardenschool.org/rsvp/admissions>. A small number of places are held for students from outside the catchment area.

¹⁵ The data for Tower Grove South in these tables has a somewhat higher error probability than the other data, since the census tract boundaries changed between 2000 and 2014; moreover, one block group in the 2014 census tract straddles the two 2000 tracts. As a result, we not only have to rely on block group data for that neighborhood, which has a higher error margin for the ACS data, but had to distribute the population in that block group in order to arrive at the estimate.

¹⁶ Benton Park, Compton Heights, Fox Park, Lafayette Square, McKinley Heights, Shaw, Souard, Tower Grove East and Tower Grove South. Because of the manner in which the data is presented, and certain missing data points, the most consistent data is that for January through June of each year shown in the figures.

¹⁷ The correlation coefficient between the 2014-2016 neighborhood crime rate and the average 2015 house sales price by neighborhood was -.53964, significant at the .10 level, which is suggestive but not definitive.

¹⁸ The crime rates for each of the three six-month periods shown in the table were aggregated, and divided by three to create an average annual rate for the three-year period that would be comparable to the data shown in Figure 2-5A.

¹⁹ There is no ‘Cherokee Street neighborhood’ as such. The corridor tends to act as a dividing line between a number of different neighborhoods to the north and south of Cherokee Street.

²⁰ Data for 2015 from Maryland Department of Commerce,

<http://commerce.maryland.gov/Documents/ResearchDocument/MajorEmployersInBaltimoreCity.pdf>

²¹ Testifying in a hearing before a Senate Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations on March 27, 2000, Ken Strong (then Executive Director of the Southeast Community Organization) explained that “neighborhoods north and east of Patterson Park, we have had the highest concentration of flipping and mortgage scams anywhere in the city. And Baltimore may have the highest in the country.”

²² This is arguably true of all *large* legacy cities. It may not be true of some small formerly industrial cities that lack an economic base equivalent to the mix of eds and meds, technology, tourism, and similar activities, that exists in cities like Baltimore and St Louis.

²³ Clearly, what represents a change for the better is subjective, and people within a community may (and are likely to) differ on how they define improvement. The point here, however, is that the *intention* of those pursuing interventions is to change the area for the better, as they perceive it.

²⁴ The city of Lowell, Massachusetts’ decided to invest substantial funds to stabilize and clean up a mill building they had acquired during the 1990s, in order to offer it at low cost to a developer willing to convert it into market-rate condominiums at a time when there were large numbers of vacant mill buildings, and there appeared to be no market for such housing, in the city. Construction on the Ayer Lofts began in 1999; all 23 units sold prior to completion of construction, as a result of which other developers and property owners realized that these buildings represented significant development opportunities. As of 2016, 97% of over 5 million square feet in mill buildings in the city had been rehabilitated, primarily for residential use (Welker 2016).

²⁵ Measuring the change in the neighborhood’s trajectory, however, can be quantified, particularly if a variety of administrative datasets are available, over and above the limited utility of Census data.

²⁶ Although he did not start work on the project until 1995, he bought it in 1983, for 69 cents/square foot.

http://www.nytimes.com/2011/09/30/arts/design/bob-cassilly-playscape-creator-fueled-by-whimsy-dies-at-61.html?_r=0

²⁷ This is, admittedly, an inference drawn both from the pace of revival in these areas, and the rarity with which racial issues came up in our interviews in the context of any of these areas, with the sole exception of the McRee Town redevelopment which led to Botanical Heights. The redevelopment of McRee Town, a long-time Black pocket south of the Delmar Divide, under the auspices of the Botanical Garden was seen by some informants as having had a significant racial effect, and arguably racial intent.

²⁸ The areas shown in Tables 5-4 and 5-5 are not precisely comparable. Table 5-4 is derived from neighborhood data created by the city of St Louis, based on their designated neighborhood boundaries. Table 5-5 is derived from census data, where we have presented only those census tracts that both roughly parallel neighborhood lines and were comparable between the 2000 census, and the 2010-2014 American Community Survey.

²⁹ Of 10 reference census tracts, four had rents significantly below the citywide median, five had rents well above the citywide median, and one had a similar rent level to the citywide median. The rate of increase in median rent from 2000 to 2014 was similar to or below the citywide rate of increase in eight out of the ten census tracts. The two exceptions were tract 1165 (Tower Grove East) and tract 1231, roughly comparable to Fox Park. The picture is very different in Baltimore, where the rents in most of the reviving census tracts were well above the citywide median.

³⁰ Since this particular information was available on the 2010 census, we used that rather than the 2010-2014 American Community Survey because of its substantially greater reliability and smaller margin of error.

³¹ Although it is difficult to measure precisely given the temporally fuzzy nature of the 5-year ACS, it appears that the median length of tenure for renters in St. Louis is very slightly less than 2 years. Much of this turnover, of course, is involuntary, particularly through eviction, as described by Matthew Desmond in his book *Evicted*.

³² This data comes from the HUD LIHTC data base mapped by PolicyMap.

³³ A property tax circuit-breaker, generally speaking, refers to a provision that caps total property taxes or property tax increases, when either the tax exceeds a percentage of a household’s income, or whether the increase is greater than a specified percentage. In response to concerns about the potential impact of gentrification, both Cook County, Illinois and Philadelphia have enacted circuit-breaker legislation in recent years specifically designed to limit the impact of higher property taxes resulting from neighborhood house price increases on lower income homeowners.

³⁴ The author has used Google Earth Street View to assess house condition, and by linking the findings to local assessor records, compare the quality of owner occupied vs. absentee owned properties (Mallach 2014).