Recent literature studying the relationship between local investment in housing and neighborhood revitalization show disparate results. Most of the research conducted in the past decade uses changes in neighborhood property value or sales price as a proxy for measuring positive or negative neighborhood impacts. Researchers argue that property sales price offers a measurable estimate of the value an individual places on neighborhood attributes (Edmiston 2012, Zeilenbach & Voith 2012, Deng 2011, Castells 2010, Newell 2010). The results of the various studies are highly sensitive to the type of program they investigate, the neighborhood context, and the methodology of the research.

For example, the studies that have found positive impacts of low income housing investment programs, such as the HOPE IV program, mention that the strength of the impact of housing investments on neighborhoods is not consistent (Ellen et al 2007) and these benefits are clearer in non-distressed neighborhoods (Castells 2010, Zielenbach et al 2010). Zielenbach et al (2010) conduct a cost-benefit analysis of HOPE IV using data from six cities and conclude that HOPE IV has net social benefits. However, their study also points out that these projects are best suited for moderate-income neighborhoods that have a stable infrastructure in terms of transportation and other economic resources. Similarly, Castells (2010), using Baltimore, MD as a case study, finds that HOPE IV investment in less distressed neighborhood has positive neighborhood impacts. Furthermore, Popkin et al (2009), conducting a qualitative panel study of HOPE IV in five sites, raise concerns about the lack of long term positive economic impacts on low income families.

The LIHTC (Low Income Housing Tax Credit) also appears to have mixed impact on neighboring property values depending on neighborhood context (Funderburg & MacDonald 2010, Baum-Snow et al 2008). Funderburg and MacDonald (2010) conclude that concentrating low income renters in LIHTC housing has a negative effect on neighborhood property values. They suggest using tenant income mixing as a possible solution to minimize the negative impact. Alternatively, using turnover rates and housing values, Baum-Snow et al (2008) conclude that LIHTC projects are associated with rising housing values in “declining” neighborhoods. However, they do not find any effect of LIHTC on gentrifying neighborhoods. Likewise, Deng (2011) raises concerns about the concentration of large scale LIHTC projects in vulnerable neighborhoods which are isolated from urban centers.

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1 “Abstracts” of articles presented in this bibliography are copied verbatim from the published article. “Summaries” of articles were drafted by the editor.

2 Silva Mathema, Phd, is a Research Fellow at PRRAC.
Studies that look at a variety of low income housing investments suggest that the minimal positive impacts of housing investment in dilapidated neighborhoods are short-lived (Perkins 2009). Moreover, Santiago et al (2001) indicate that any positive spillover of housing investment is mostly overshadowed by the negative impacts of concentration of poverty. Furthermore, the return of housing investments is lower in highly vulnerable areas, specifically in areas that have high concentrations of African Americans (Santiago et al 2001).

Finally, the impact of a housing investment on neighborhood revitalization is dependent upon a variety of exogenous factors including location of development, scale of investment, type of program, and presence of other types of non-housing investments (Walter et al 2012, Zielenbach et al 2010, Ellen et al 2007, and Ding et al 2000). Given these disparate conclusions, there has been increased support for a more comprehensive approach to neighborhood revitalization beyond just housing investment. Researchers have noted that programs should bring together community building efforts, economic investments, infrastructure development, and housing investment in order to advance neighborhoods rather than an effort solely to improve housing (Mallach 2005, Tatian et al 2012, Deng 2012).

The following annotated bibliography roughly divides recent research in terms of their results: positive, negative or null impacts, mixed, and other approaches.

**RESEARCH FINDING POSITIVE IMPACTS**


Abstract: This paper evaluates the impacts of new housing developments funded with the Low Income Housing Tax Credit (LIHTC), the largest federal project based housing program in the U.S., on the neighborhoods in which they are built. A discontinuity in the formula determining the magnitude of tax credits as a function of neighborhood characteristics generates pseudo-random assignment in the number of low income housing units built in similar sets of census tracts. Tracts where projects are awarded 30 percent higher tax credits receive approximately six more low income housing units on a base of seven units per tract. These additional new low income developments cause homeowner turnover to rise, raise property values in declining areas and reduce incomes in gentrifying areas in neighborhoods near the 30th percentile of the income distribution. LIHTC units significantly crowd out nearby new rental construction in gentrifying areas but do not displace new construction in stable or declining areas.


Abstract: In the wake of the recent mortgage crisis, interest in neighborhood stabilization and redevelopment has shown renewed vigor. Decaying neighborhoods have been part of the urban landscape for decades, but their problems recently have been exacerbated by foreclosed and vacated properties, especially in low- and moderate-income areas. Edmiston analyzes the impact
of housing investments in low- and moderate-income neighborhoods on neighborhood quality by estimating the effect of that investment on the value of nearby houses. Property values are a good measure of overall neighborhood impacts because they show the willingness of homeowners (or investors) to pay for neighborhood attributes. The analysis provides evidence that housing investments in low- and moderate-income neighborhoods generally increase the values of nearby homes, which in turn suggests that the investments engender quality improvements in the neighborhood.


**Abstract:** This study identifies and measures the demonstrable changes to local political economies that can be reasonably attributed to HOPE VI redevelopments. It examines the extent to which the developments have contributed to increases in surrounding property values, decreases in serious crimes, additional regional economic activity, and changes in local tax revenues. It weighs these benefits against the public costs associated with the program. Despite the expenses associated with HOPE VI, the redevelopments generate significant net social welfare benefits. In most cases, the collective tenant and neighborhood benefits exceed the net public costs of redevelopment. In addition, the redevelopments spark additional regional economic activity and contribute to an increase in the local tax base. HOPE VI's effects are far from uniform, however, and depend on the location of the redeveloped property, the characteristics of project funding, the strength of the local real estate market, and the presence of other development pressures.


**Abstract:** This study examines the extent to which HOPE VI redevelopments have had positive spillover effects on their surrounding neighborhoods. It examines four such redevelopments—two in Boston, Massachusetts, and two in Washington, D.C.—and documents the changes that have taken place in property values, violent crime patterns, and resident incomes in surrounding neighborhoods since the redevelopment began. The study assesses the extent to which those changes can be attributed to the public housing redevelopment.

The study finds that, for the most part, the HOPE VI redevelopments have had positive, statistically significant effects on economic conditions in their surrounding neighborhoods. The extent of the spillover neighborhood effects has depended, in part, on the location and market dynamics of the surrounding community. The economic effects of a HOPE VI redevelopment have tended to be greater in communities where there were other development pressures and existing, stable institutions. In the absence of these factors, the positive effects of HOPE VI have been less pronounced.
**RESEARCH FINDING NEGATIVE OR NULL IMPACTS**


Abstract: This paper estimates the valuation effects from new construction of low-income housing tax credit (LIHTC) projects on neighbouring single-family homes in Polk County, Iowa. The evaluative models estimate the impact from LIHTC project locations on assessed values using a 1999—2007 panel of neighbours and their matches, while controlling for unobserved heterogeneity. The results suggest that the siting of new low-rise, concentrated low-income LIHTC projects is associated with a 2-4 per cent slower rate of nearby single-family home valuation and that these effects persisted for five or more years after project approval. On the other hand, no clear valuation effect is detected when the LIHTC project is high quality and targeted to mixed-income groups. It is also found that new construction LIHTC projects serving the elderly, including assisted living, are associated with a 2-4 per cent faster rate of growth in neighbouring single-family home values, although the acceleration appears to be short lived. It is concluded that concentrating low-income renters in subsidised housing projects has negative consequences for neighbouring property values that might be avoided with tenant income mixing and improved site planning and design.


Abstract: In the 1990s and 2000s, inner city neighborhood redevelopment occurred throughout the United States as billions in public and private investments entered impoverished black communities. This revitalization process led to the displacement of hundreds of thousands of African-Americans. Based on this circumstance, some scholars suggest that this circumstance was a return to the past urban renewal period (1949-1974). While there have been many case studies of contemporary inner city redevelopment, this article uses a comparative historical approach to claim that we have entered and completed a new urban renewal period (1992-2007) that rivals but yet is distinct from the old urban renewal period in four important ways. First, the new urban renewal was a central business district (CBD) expansion strategy, whereas the old urban renewal was a preservation strategy. Second, the dynamics driving the new urban renewal were more complex and included global, federal, and local factors, while federal forces were more important in structuring the old urban renewal. Third, the consequences of the new urban renewal were not explained by race alone but involved an interaction between race and class. Lastly, the new urban renewal was associated with rising suburban poverty and the old urban renewal institutionalized the inner city ghetto. Specifying the parallels and differences between the old and new urban renewal periods is vital for understanding how twentieth- and twenty-first-century urban policies, and their consequences, relate to an ever-changing metropolitan America.

**Abstract:** Proponents of urban revitalization assert that neighborhood redevelopment is a win-win proposition for all stakeholders involved, as development creates positive externalities which resonate beyond the scope of each project. Property values for neighborhood residents improve, the local government enjoys the budget boost of a higher tax base, and developers collect well-earned profits. This frequently studied and accepted line of thinking supports the use of measures such as tax increment financing, subsidized development, and lighter zoning standards in communities across America. This study examines the view that residential development creates positive externalities through the study of taxable values in the neighborhood surrounding Durham, North Carolina’s Lyon Park. In 2008 a sustained neighborhood revitalization effort led by Self Help, a local non-profit, coincided with a county wide tax reassessment, providing a unique ability to quantify the effects of redevelopment on property values in Lyon Park. The results find no evidence of positive development externalities reflected in improved real estate values for surrounding properties, challenging many of the arguments used to champion urban revitalization initiatives.


**Abstract:** This longitudinal, multi-method study uses geographical information system (GIS) software to evaluate the community-wide impact of a neighborhood revitalization project. Unsystematic visual examination and analysis of GIS maps are offered as a complementary tool to quantitative analysis and one that is much more compelling, meaningful, and effective in presentation to community and non-scientific professional audiences. The centerpiece of the intervention was the development of a new, middle-class housing subdivision in an area that was declining physically and economically. This represents three major urban/housing policy directions: (1) the emphasis on home ownership for working-class families, (2) the deconcentration of poverty through development of mixed-income neighborhoods, and (3) the clean up and redevelopment of contaminated, former industrial brownfields. Resident survey responses, objective environmental assessment observations, and building permit data were collected, geocoded at the address level, and aggregated to the block level on 60 street blocks in the older neighborhoods surrounding the new housing in two waves: during site clearing and housing construction (Time 1: 1993–95) and three years post-completion (Time 2: 1998–99). Variables mapped include (a) Time 1–2 change in self-reported home repairs and improvements, (b) change in the assessed physical condition of yards and exteriors of 925 individual residential properties, (c) change in residents' home pride, and (d) a city archive of building permits at Time 2. Physical conditions improved overall in the neighborhood, but spatial analysis of the maps suggest that the spillover effects, if any, of the new housing were geographically limited and included unintended negative psychological consequences. Results argue for greater use of GIS and the street block level in community research and of psychological and behavioral variables in planning research and decisions.
RESEARCH FINDING MIXED RESULTS


Abstract: A major goal of the HOPE VI (Housing Opportunities for People Everywhere) Program is to improve surrounding communities by removing physically deteriorating public housing projects—a source of concentrated poverty and crime—and replacing them with mixed-income communities. This article uses a difference-in-differences approach to determine if Baltimore’s three completed HOPE VI redevelopments had positive neighborhood spillover effects on surrounding property values. The analysis compares property sales prices in the area immediately surrounding each site before and after redevelopment to sales prices of comparable properties farther away but in the same neighborhood and at the same time. Only one redevelopment showed convincing evidence of a positive effect on property values in its surrounding neighborhood. This redevelopment was located in a less distressed neighborhood than the other two sites, adhered more closely to the mixed-income model, and implemented the project’s social and community services component through a partnership between the private developer and the tenant organization. These findings suggest that adherence to HOPE VI’s main principles of implementation and preexisting neighborhood conditions make a difference in neighborhood spillover effects and raise the question of whether HOPE VI investment is best targeted to severely distressed neighborhoods or to stable or already improving neighborhoods.


Abstract: This study examines the changes in neighborhoods hosting the Low-Income Housing Tax Credit (LIHTC) projects in Miami-Dade County between the 1990 and 2000 censuses. The study applies a cluster analysis to identify neighborhoods that are similar to LIHTC neighborhoods. It then compares changes in LIHTC neighborhoods with the median changes experienced by similar neighborhoods without the LIHTC in eight selected indicators. The study finds that over half of the LIHTC neighborhoods have experienced more positive changes than their control groups; however, the effects vary by neighborhood context. Black high-poverty neighborhoods receiving the LIHTC investment have experienced the most positive changes, while changes in middle-class neighborhoods have been the most negative. Further case studies show that LIHTC is successful at promoting neighborhood revitalization when it is strategically concentrated and part of cumulative efforts. These case studies, however, also raise concerns about the over-concentration of LIHTC units in vulnerable suburban neighborhoods.


Abstract: This article examines the determinants of property values in Cleveland with a focus on three approaches to improving or maintaining neighborhood quality: investing in new housing, attracting and retaining homeowners, and encouraging economic development. Data comprise
home sales in 1996 and 1997, investments in new housing from 1991 to 1995, homeowner migration between 1991 and 1995, and changes in the number of business establishments from 1991 to 1995. The results suggest that (1) investments in new houses have a positive impact on housing values, especially for houses close to the new investment; (2) homeowner out-migration has a negative effect; and (3) growth in the number of business establishments, except for social service establishments, also has a negative effect. These results further suggest that while programs to encourage housing investment and homeowner-ship can increase neighborhood property values, care should be taken to avoid an inappropriate mixing of land uses.


Abstract: This study analyzes the effect of both new and rehabilitation residential investment on nearby property values in Cleveland, Ohio. The methodology used is hedonic price regression with spatial lagged variables that are generated applying geographic information systems. There are four major findings. First, the effect of investment on property values is geographically limited. Second, new investment has a greater impact on nearby property values than rehabilitation. Third, there is evidence that new construction and rehabilitation have a significantly positive impact in low-income areas, as well as predominantly non-minority neighborhoods. Finally and most importantly, the research suggests that small-scale investment has no impact on nearby property values. Thus, investment policy, which promotes and encourages investments that are not sufficiently large, may not be able to improve tax bases and enhance neighborhoods. We also found that results could be misleading if spatial lagged variables are inappropriately measured.


Abstract: Few communities welcome federally subsidized rental housing, with one of the most commonly voiced fears being reductions in property values. Yet there is little empirical evidence that subsidized housing depresses neighborhood property values. This paper estimates and compares the neighborhood impacts of a broad range of federally subsidized rental housing programs, using rich data for New York City and a difference-in-difference specification of a hedonic regression model. We find that federally subsidized developments have not typically led to reductions in property values and have, in fact, led to increases in some cases. Impacts are highly sensitive to scale, though patterns vary across programs.

Abstract: This paper examines the effects of investment subsidized by the federal government’s New Markets Tax Credit (NMTC) program, which provides tax incentives to encourage private investment in low-income neighborhoods. I identify the impacts of the program by taking advantage of a discontinuity in the rule determining the eligibility of census tracts for NMTC-subsidized investment. Using this discontinuity as a source of quasi-experimental variation in commercial development across tracts, I find that subsidized investment has modest positive effects on neighborhood conditions in low-income communities. Though spillovers appear to be small and crowd out incomplete, the results suggest that some of the observed impacts on neighborhoods are attributable to changes in the composition of residents as opposed to improvements in the welfare of existing residents.


Abstract: Prior research has found negative impacts of public housing on neighborhood quality. Few studies have examined the impact of public and other assisted housing programs on real estate prices, particularly differential impact by program type. In this study, federally assisted housing units by program type are aggregated by 1/8- or 1/4-mile radii around individual property sales and regressed on sales prices from 1989 through 1991, controlling for area demographic, housing, and amenity variables. Results show that public housing developments exert a modest negative impact on property values. Scattered-site public housing and units rented with Section 8 certificates and vouchers have slight negative impacts. Federal Housing Administration—assisted units, public housing homeownership program units, and Section 8 New Construction and Rehabilitation units have modest positive impacts. Low-Income Housing Tax Credit sites have a slight negative effect. Results suggest that homeownership programs and new construction/rehabilitation programs have a more positive impact on property values.


Abstract: Since the early 1990s, the HOPE VI program has been the United States' largest, most ambitious community revitalization program. HOPE VI sought to transform not only distressed public housing communities, but also to transform residents' lives and help them to become self-sufficient. This paper uses new evidence from the HOPE VI Panel Study on how HOPE VI families have fared. The long-term findings from this research paint a more positive picture than many critics had predicted, showing that the program has had profound benefits for many public housing families—particularly those who have relocated to less poor communities. However, the long-term results highlight the limitations of the HOPE VI approach, particularly the lack of impact on economic outcomes. These findings point to the need for new and creative strategies for addressing some of the worst consequences of concentrated poverty.

Abstract: This study tests the hypothesis that the acquisition of existing property by the public housing authority and its subsequent rehabilitation and occupancy by subsidized tenants significantly reduced the property values of surrounding single-family homes in Denver during the 1990s. This assessment examined pre- and post-occupancy sales, while controlling for the idiosyncratic neighborhood, local public service, and zoning characteristics of the areas in order to identify which sorts of neighborhoods, if any, experienced declining property values as a result of proximity to dispersed housing tenants. The analysis revealed that proximity to a subsidized housing site generally had an independent, positive effect on single-family home sales prices. The most notable exception to this pattern occurred in neighborhoods more than 20 percent of whose residents were black. Proximity to dispersed public housing sites in these neighborhoods resulted in slower growth in home sales prices in an otherwise booming housing market and suggest a threshold within "vulnerable" neighborhoods whereby any potential gains associated with rehabilitating existing units are offset by the increased concentration of poor residents.


Abstract: Policy initiatives to deconcentrate poverty through mixed-income redevelopment were motivated in part by the desire to reduce social isolation and social disorganization in high-poverty neighborhoods. This article examines whether the presence of higher-income neighbors decreased social isolation or improved social organization in a Boston public housing project that was redeveloped into a HOPE VI mixed-income community. Based on in-depth interviews and neighborhood observation, I find that it was the lower-income former public housing residents who were primarily involved in creating neighborhood-based social ties, providing and receiving social support, and enforcing social control within the neighborhood, rather than the higher-income newcomers. This variation in neighborhood engagement stemmed from the different ways that long-term and newer residents perceived and interpreted their neighborhood surroundings. These differences were generated by residents’ comparisons of current and past neighborhood environments and by neighborhood reputations. Residents’ perceptions of place may thus influence whether mixed-income redevelopment can reduce social isolation and improve social organization in high-poverty neighborhoods and, more generally, whether changes in neighborhood structural characteristics translate into changes in social dynamics.

Abstract: The Qualified Census Tract (QCT) provision of the federal Low-Income Housing Tax Credit (LIHTC) program awards developers for projects built in high poverty neighborhoods. Researchers and advocates believe this provision may contribute to the concentration of poverty and socioeconomic disadvantages. Much of the existing research yielded mixed results and did not separate composite indices and individual variables in socioeconomic characteristics and change in urbanized areas across the U.S. To fill the research gap, this study examines the relationship between the concentration of LIHTC projects, particularly LIHTC low-income units, and socioeconomic variables (poverty, income, unemployment, and education) in QCTs, controlling for housing and population density. A socioeconomic index was developed by comparing the changes in socioeconomic variables using U.S. Census (1990) and American Community Survey (2005-2009) data for the twenty most populated MSAs (Metropolitan Statistical Areas). Bivariate correlation and regression models were used to measure the relationships. Results indicate disparities of the relationship across the twenty MSAs. In some MSAs, the relationship between the concentration of LIHTC projects, density, and socioeconomic index/variables is not significant. In other MSAs, the results are mixed. Therefore, the association between LIHTC and concentrated socioeconomic disadvantages differs spatially. Thus, policy responses should be tailored to each place.

OTHER APPROACHES


Abstract: How should we allocate public resources for revitalizing low-income urban neighborhoods? Once public investments in an area reach some minimum threshold, do they leverage substantial private resources? To address these questions, we examine a coordinated, sustained, and targeted revitalization strategy begun in 1998 in Richmond, VA. The strategy was developed through a data-driven, participatory planning process that garnered widespread support. Our analyses reveal that the program produced substantially greater appreciation in the market values of single-family homes in the targeted areas than in comparable homes in similarly distressed neighborhoods. The greatest impacts occurred when public investments over 5 years exceeded $21,000 per block, on average. This appears to make the strategy potentially self-financing over a 20-year horizon, with public contributions offset by future increments in property tax revenues from target areas.


Summary: The project focuses on market-driven approaches, the integration of affordable and market-rate housing and the use of housing as a core element in both economic development and neighborhood revitalization strategies. It offers a model of how cities can build better futures through their housing policies, first identifying broad policy goals and principles to guide housing investment decisions, and then laying out specific strategies and programs that can be effective in building the local housing market, and creating neighborhoods of choice. While many of these strategies and approaches represent a significant break with the past practices of many local governments, funders and CDCs,
none are completely new or untried. Many cities and CDCs have already begun to pursue these approaches, and this paper highlights a number of the more successful efforts.


Summary: In November 2006, the Joint Center for Housing Studies of Harvard University convened government, business, and nonprofit leaders to discuss the ways in which decades of experience, research and evaluation have helped inform our understanding of the nation’s rental housing challenges and what can be done about them. While underscoring the importance of generating broad political support in the long-term for the allocation of more resources to rental housing programs, the conference revealed that there are concrete steps that can be taken in the short-term to make better use of the limited resources now available to address the nation’s four primary rental challenges: 1) relieving rental affordability problems, 2) preserving low-cost rental housing; 3) revitalizing neighborhoods; and 4) using rental housing assistance to help improve the lives, opportunities, and productivity of the poor. This brief outlines the nation’s primary challenges, the principal findings of the symposium, and possible new directions for rental policy discussed at the symposium.


Abstract: Across the nation, nonprofit organizations located in poor and declining neighborhoods are promoting homeownership in the hopes that their efforts will stave off decline and contribute to neighborhood stability. A common homeownership strategy among nonprofits is to acquire boarded-up or deteriorated homes at a low price, rehabilitate them, and then sell them at an affordable price. As these programs continue, nonprofit organizations want to show quantitatively that neighborhood revitalization works—that the funds devoted to an area stabilize neighborhoods or, even more, that they initiate a surge of continued upward progress. But, unlike their larger counterparts, smaller community development organizations are usually at a disadvantage in undertaking such an evaluation. This study will help illustrate what might be done. It focuses on the case of St. Joseph's Carpenter Society (SJCS) in Camden, New Jersey and assesses the quantitative impact that SJCS has on its target neighborhoods. A three-tiered approach is adopted that ranges from a target and comparison area analysis, to regression analysis of SJCS's impact on local housing prices, and finally to an examination of the relative market performance of SJCS's houses. All told, the analysis suggests that SJCS's rehabilitation and homeownership education activities appear to have a positive influence on the neighborhoods in its target area.

Abstract: Increasingly, researchers and practitioners recognize the need for neighborhood revitalization policies that improve conditions in neighborhoods where low-income and minority households are concentrated. Although there is a rich literature describing past efforts to revitalize distressed neighborhoods, this literature provides little concrete guidance for today’s policymakers. This What Works framing paper focuses on basic neighborhood improvement strategies and the specific mechanisms at work that provide “levers” for revitalization. The paper lays out strategies for neighborhood revitalization focusing on strengthening community-level and city-wide institutions to support and reinforce success, and regional strategies for equitable housing and community development.