

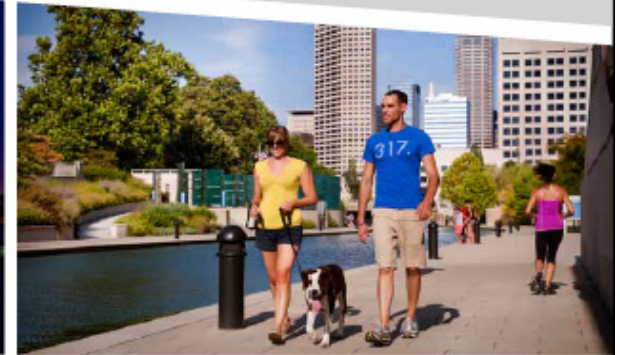
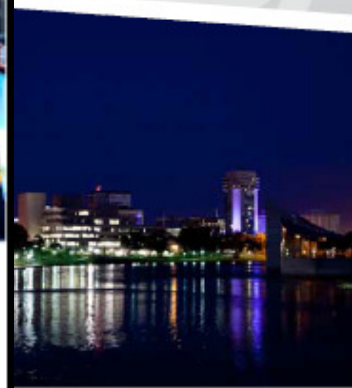
# How to Accelerate Residential Growth in the Downtown Core

**Paul R. Levy**  
**President & CEO, Center City District**  
**Philadelphia, PA**  
[www.centercityphila.org](http://www.centercityphila.org)



# 6 years ago - *Downtown Rebirth:* *Documenting the Live Work Dynamic in 21<sup>st</sup> century U.S. Cities*

International  
Downtown  
Association



## DOWNTOWN REBIRTH DOCUMENTING THE LIVE-WORK DYNAMIC IN 21<sup>ST</sup> CENTURY U.S. CITIES

Prepared for the International Downtown Association  
By the Philadelphia Center City District  
Paul R. Levy and Lauren M. Gilchrist



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Still live on our website: [www.definingdowntown.org](http://www.definingdowntown.org)

## DEFINING DOWNTOWN

[Home](#) [The Report](#) [The Maps](#) [Contact](#)



### Documenting the Live-Work Dynamic

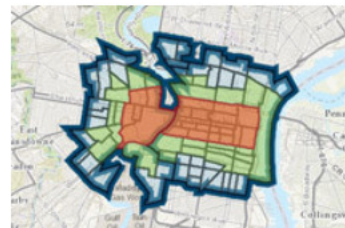
Thriving downtowns, town centers, and anchor institution districts have become major engines for creativity, innovation industries, and future job creation for their broader regional economies. This website provides several data resources for downtown managers and civic leaders to benchmark progress on their path to sustained growth and development.

### The Report



"Downtown Rebirth" features an analysis of downtowns and employment centers in America's 150 largest cities for jobs. The report explores the impact of the trends of diversification and densification in employment centers and provides a new way to quantify changing demographic and economic trends.

### City Maps and Data



Examine detailed geographic boundaries along with demographic and economic data for 53 employment nodes in 27 cities.

[Learn More >>](#)

### Project Partners



This report was made possible through support from the International Downtown Association, the Center City District of Philadelphia, and countless cities across the United States. [Learn More >>](#)



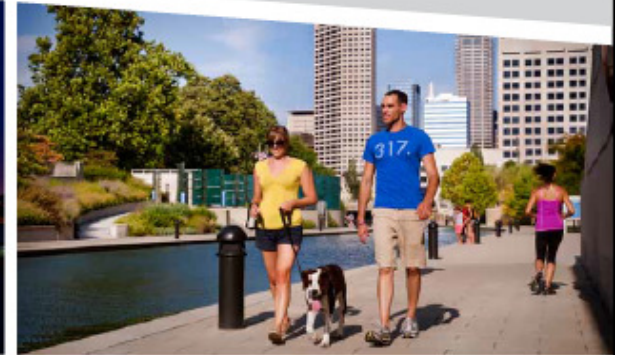
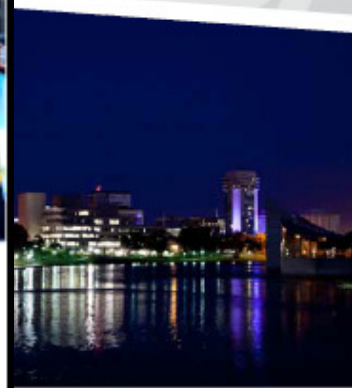
# While all cities were experiencing downtown housing revivals

International  
Downtown  
Association



## DOWNTOWN REBIRTH DOCUMENTING THE LIVE-WORK DYNAMIC IN 21<sup>ST</sup> CENTURY U.S. CITIES

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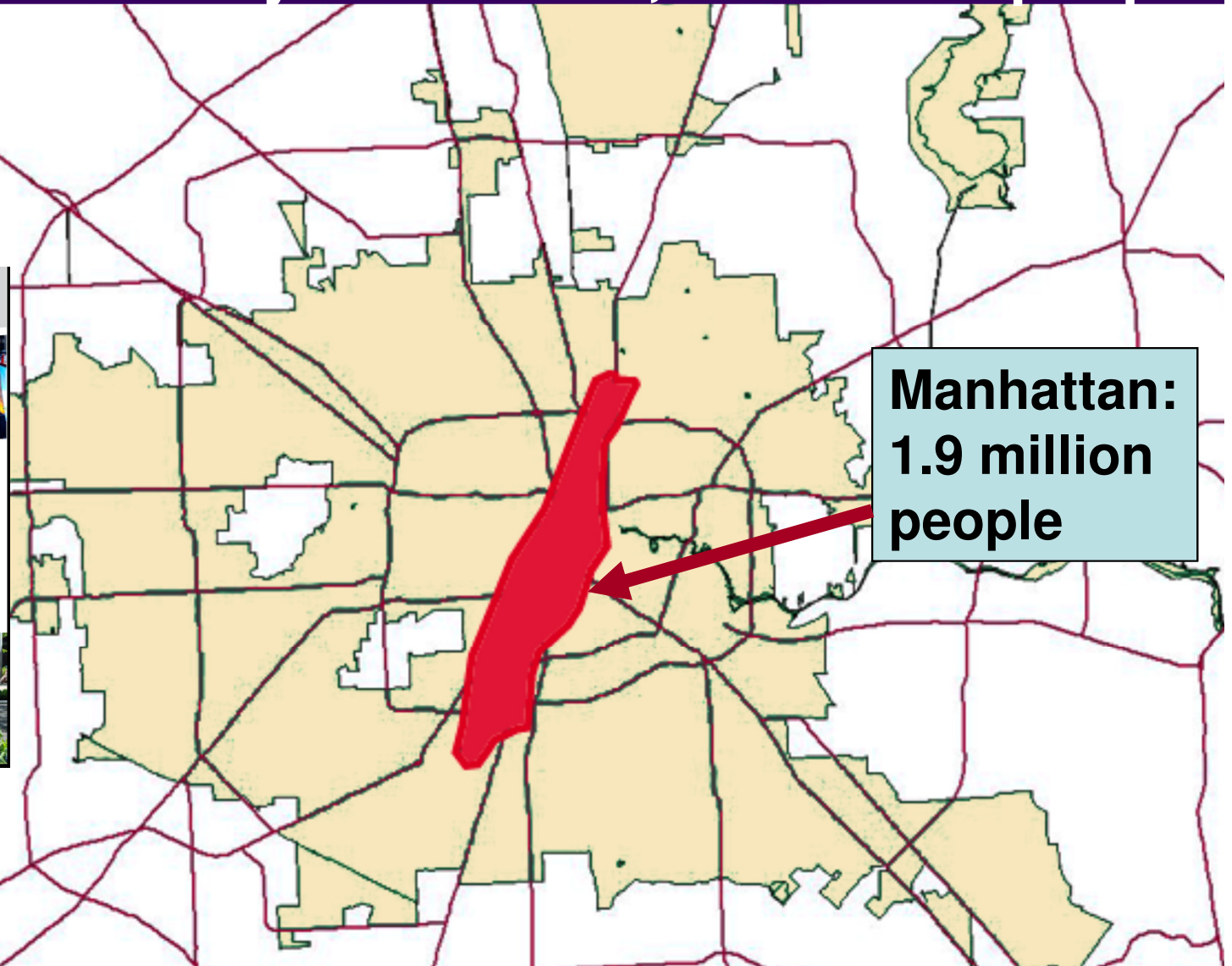
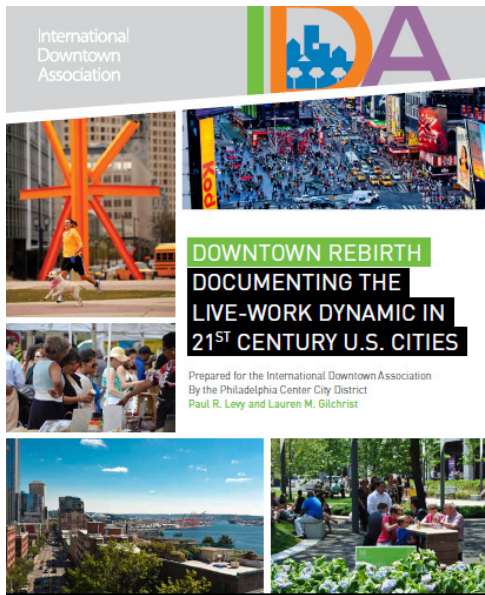
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CENTER CITY DISTRICT



# One size does not fit all: context matters

## Bob Eury 2000: City of Houston, 1.9 million people



**Sprawling cities like Houston Texas: 650 square mile**  
**Harris County: 1300 square miles**





There are dense “island” cities



# Constrained “peninsula” cities

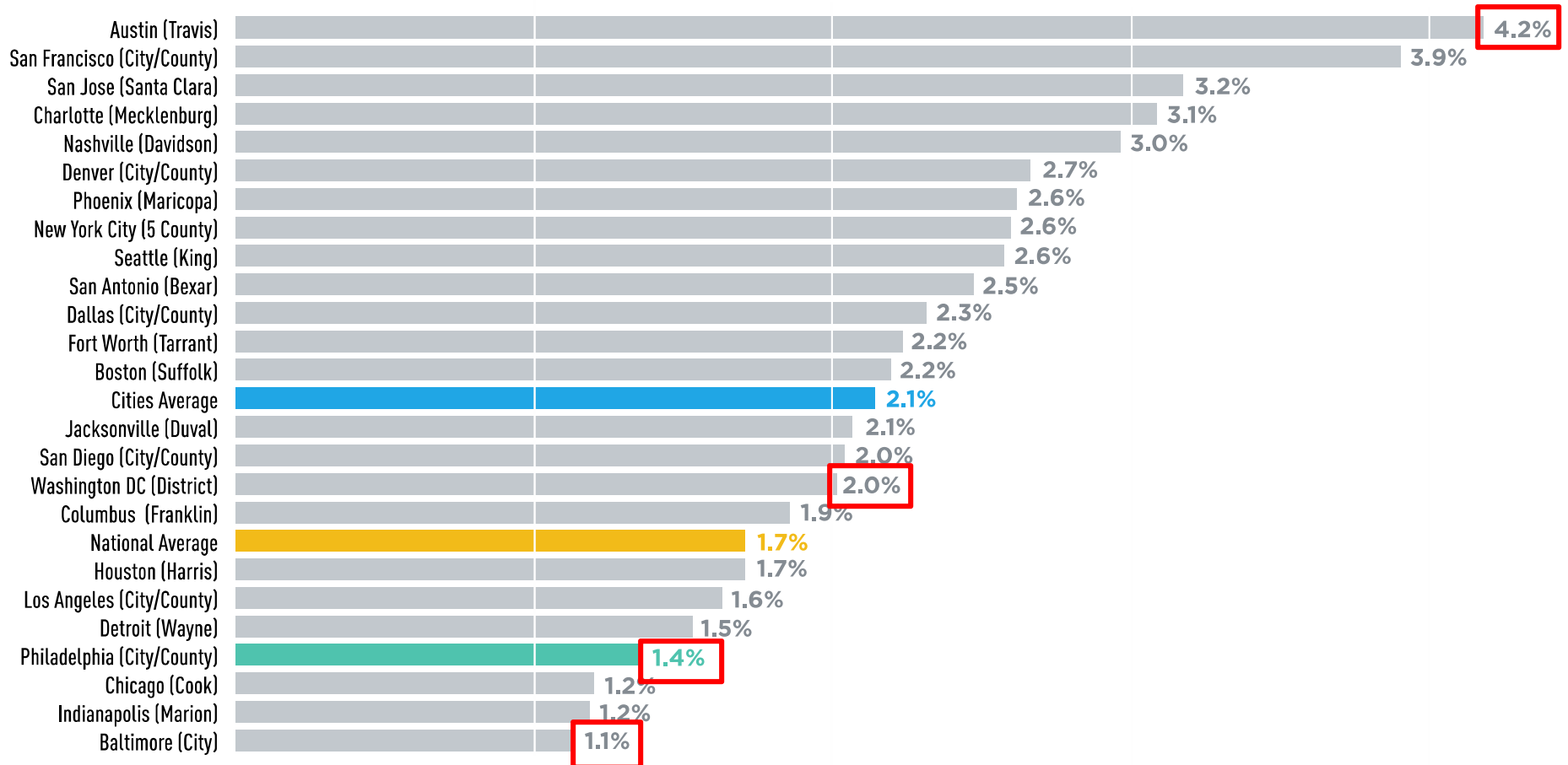




# Cities have outperformed the national economy

## But there are fast & slow growth cities

FIGURE 5: AVERAGE ANNUAL PRIVATE SECTOR JOB GROWTH, 2009-2018



Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics, Quarterly Census of Employment and Wages

# All cities are adding downtown housing: San Diego





# Fort Worth



 CENTER CITY DISTRICT



# Denver





# Minneapolis





# Indianapolis



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# Milwaukee





# Atlanta





# Baltimore: Context matters, One size does not fit all





# Philadelphia: old city, broad range of housing types

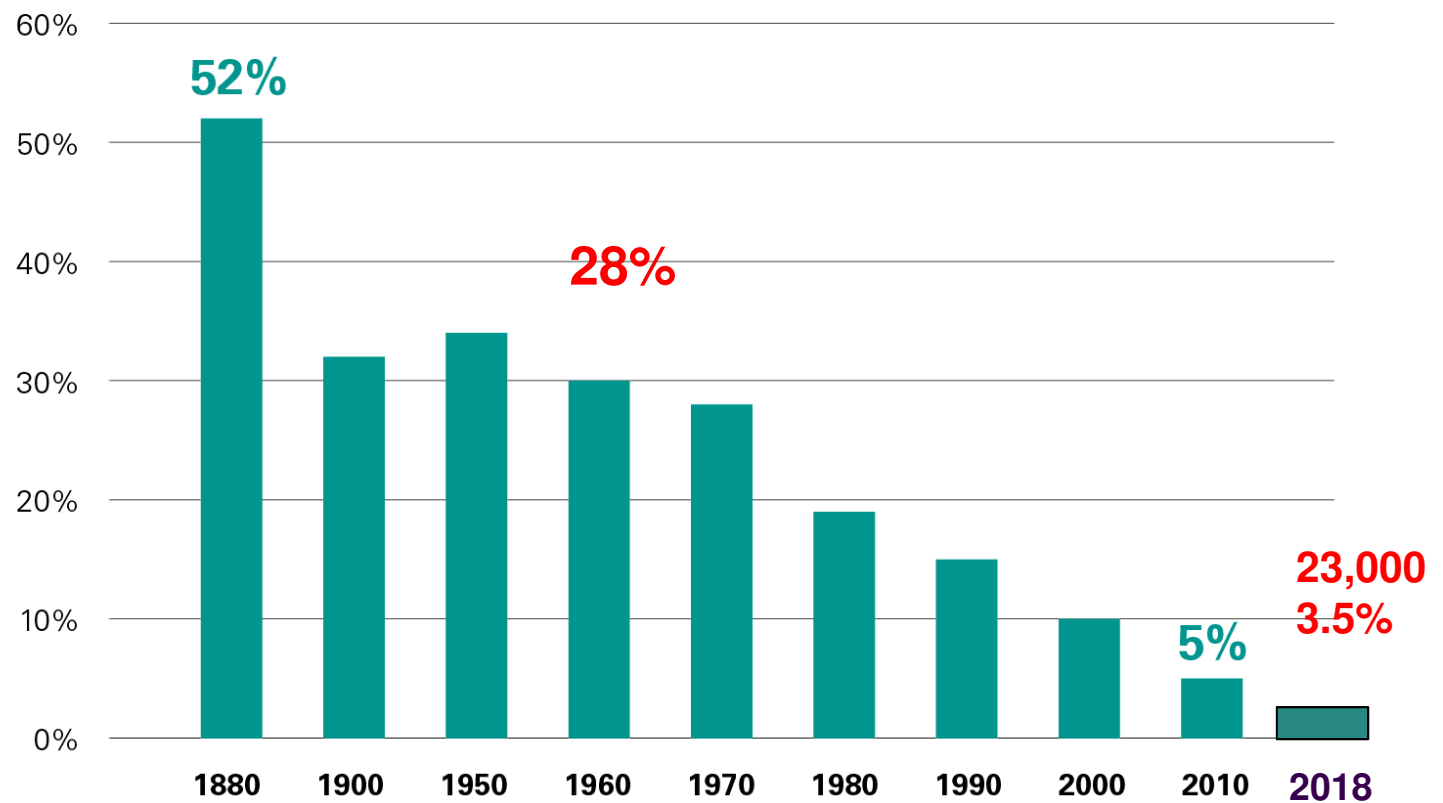




# A former manufacturing city steadily lost jobs



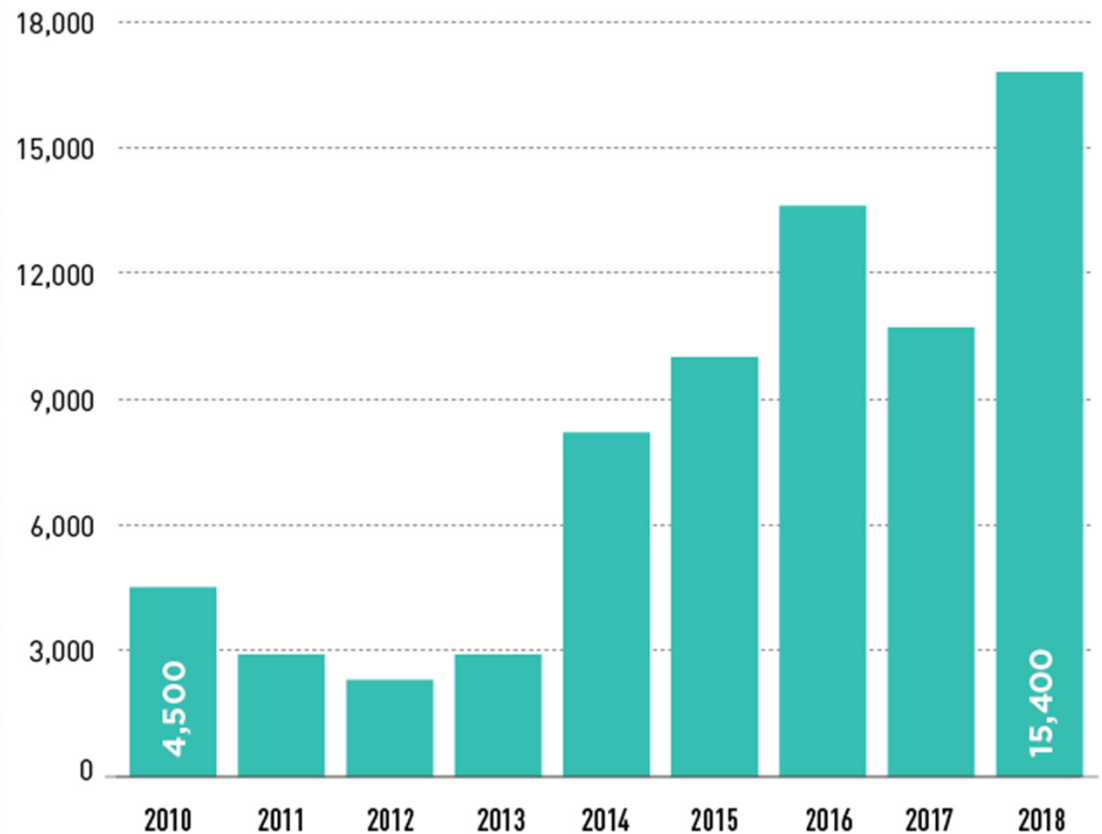
Total Employment in Philadelphia: **1880 - 2018**  
Percentage Share of Jobs in Manufacturing Sector





# Recent acceleration in job growth

FIGURE 2: TOTAL JOB CHANGE FROM PREVIOUS YEAR, 2010-2018



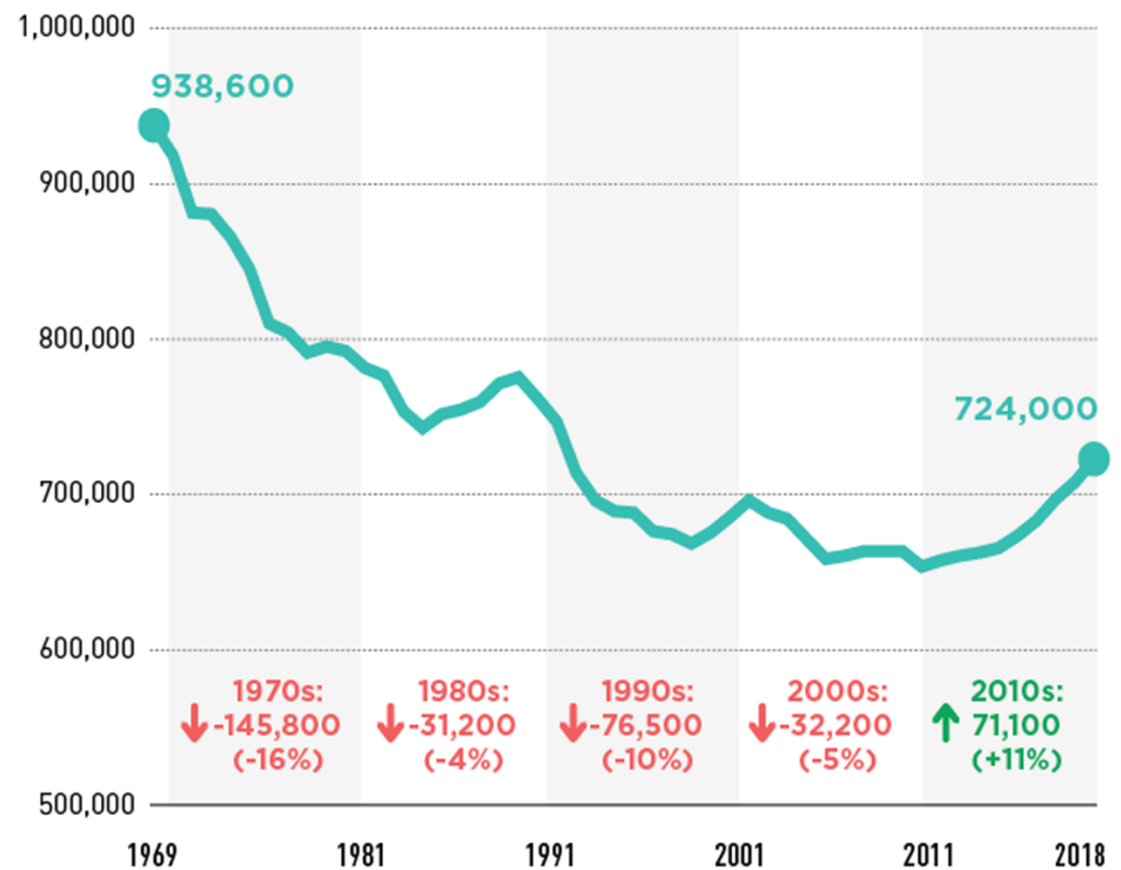
Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics, Current Employment Statistics



# Rebounding from a long decline



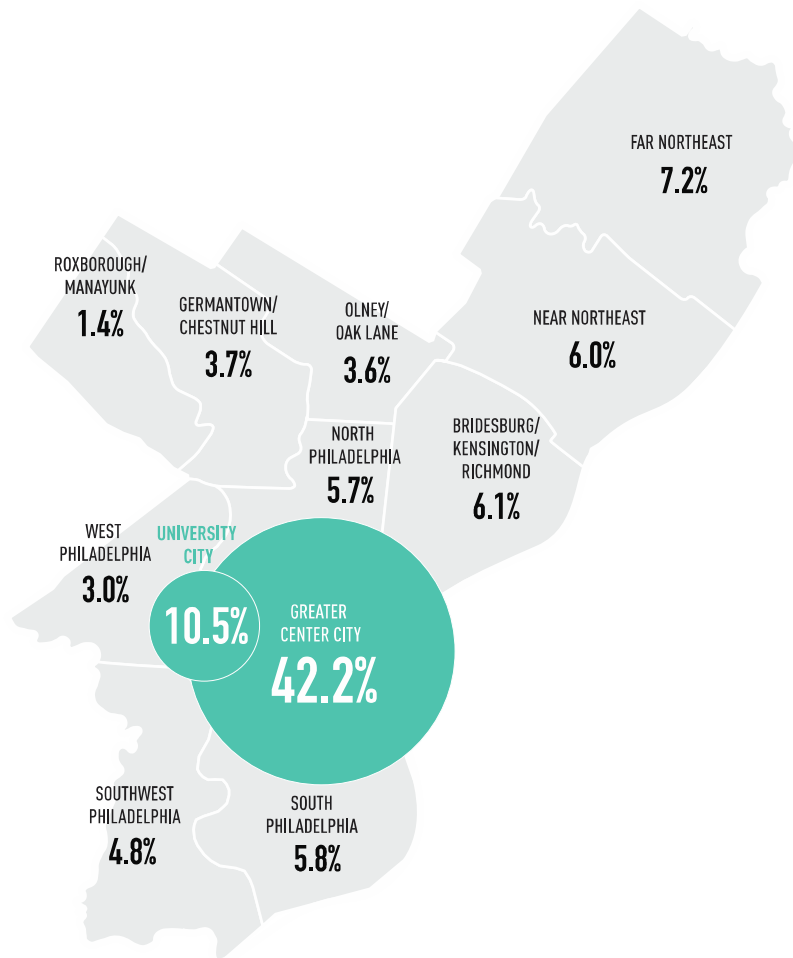
FIGURE 1: PHILADELPHIA TOTAL JOBS, 1969-2018





# 42.2% of all Philadelphia jobs in Center City 10.5% of all jobs in adjacent University City

## PHILADELPHIA EMPLOYMENT BY AREA



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Local Employment-Household Dynamics, 2015





# 53% of all jobs concentrated at center of regional transit system Brings 300,000 passengers downtown each day



## REGIONAL TRANSIT LINES SERVING CENTER CITY AND UNIVERSITY CITY

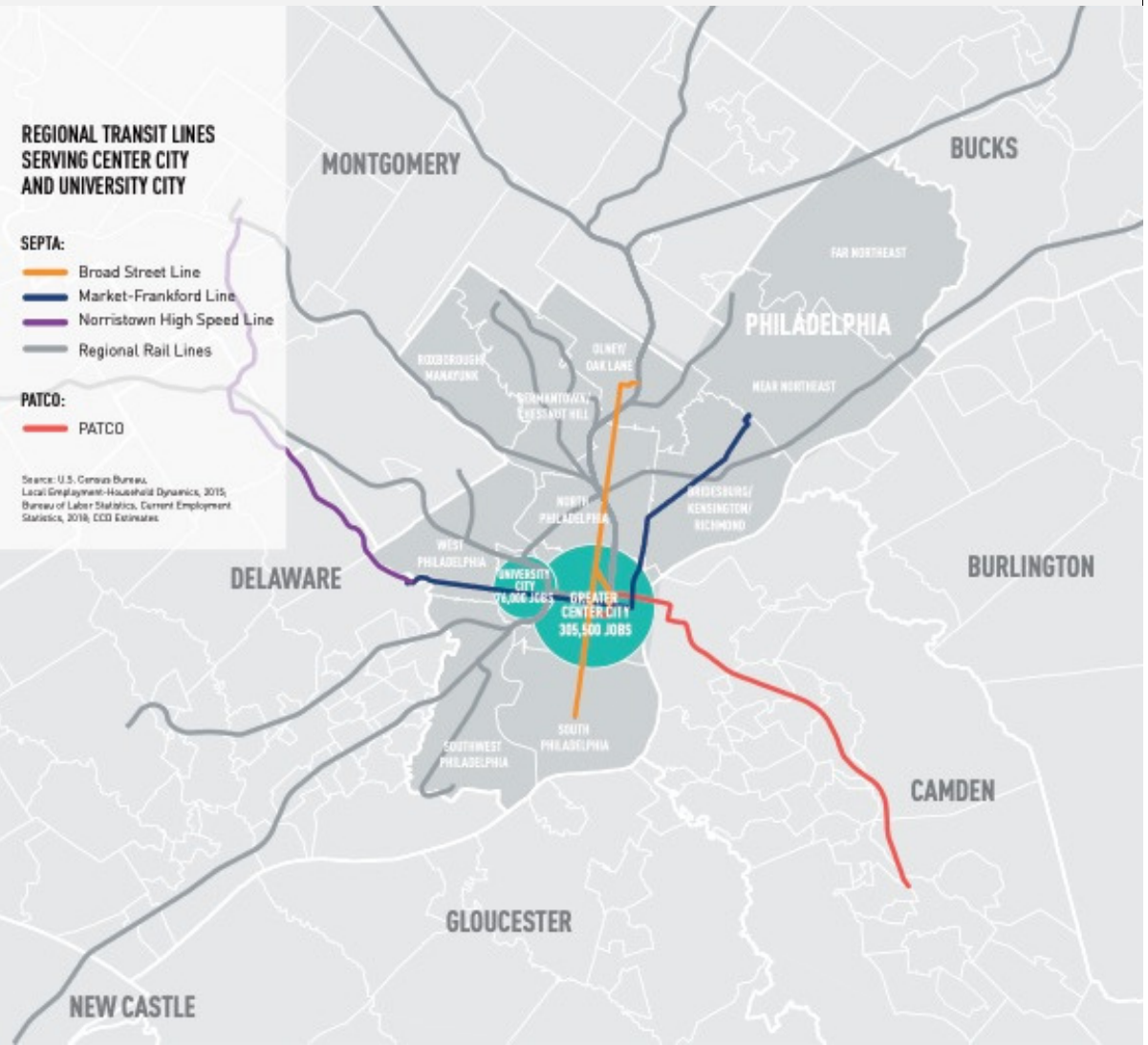
### SEPTA:

- Broad Street Line
- Market-Frankford Line
- Norristown High Speed Line
- Regional Rail Lines

### PATCO:

- PATCO

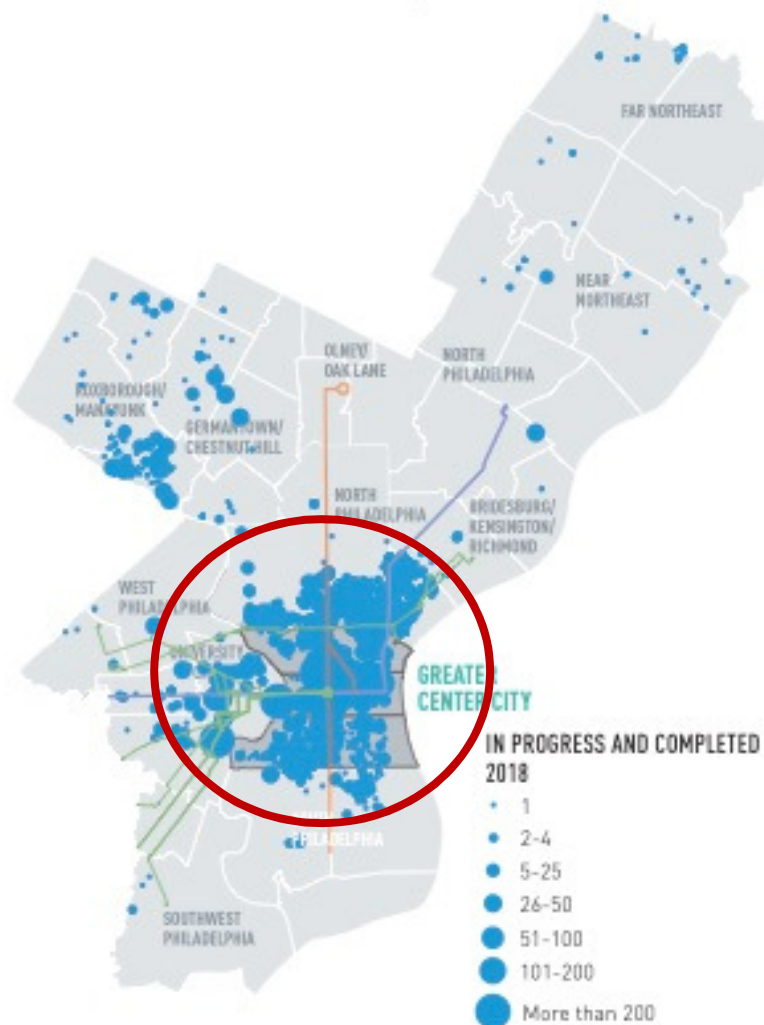
Source: U.S. Census Bureau,  
Local Employment-Household Dynamics, 2015;  
Bureau of Labor Statistics, Current Employment  
Statistics, 2018; CDD Estimates



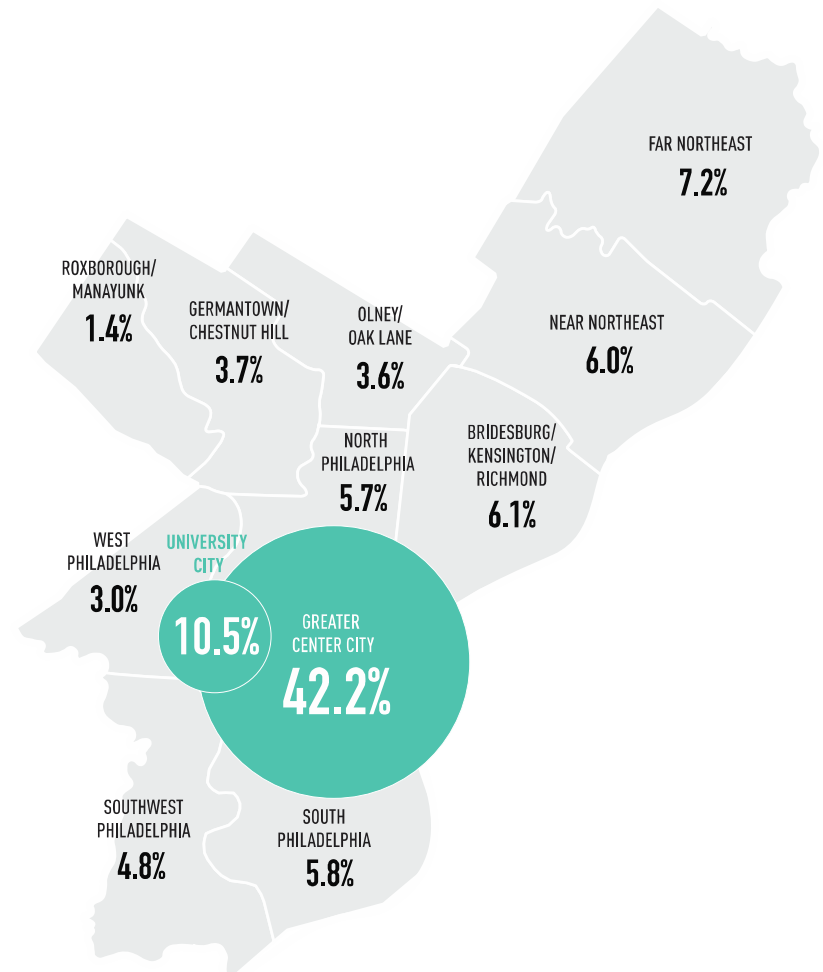


# 81% of new supply in city in 17% of city's geography This is where the numbers work

FIGURE 8: HOUSING COMPLETED OR UNDER CONSTRUCTION CITYWIDE, 2018



PHILADELPHIA EMPLOYMENT BY AREA

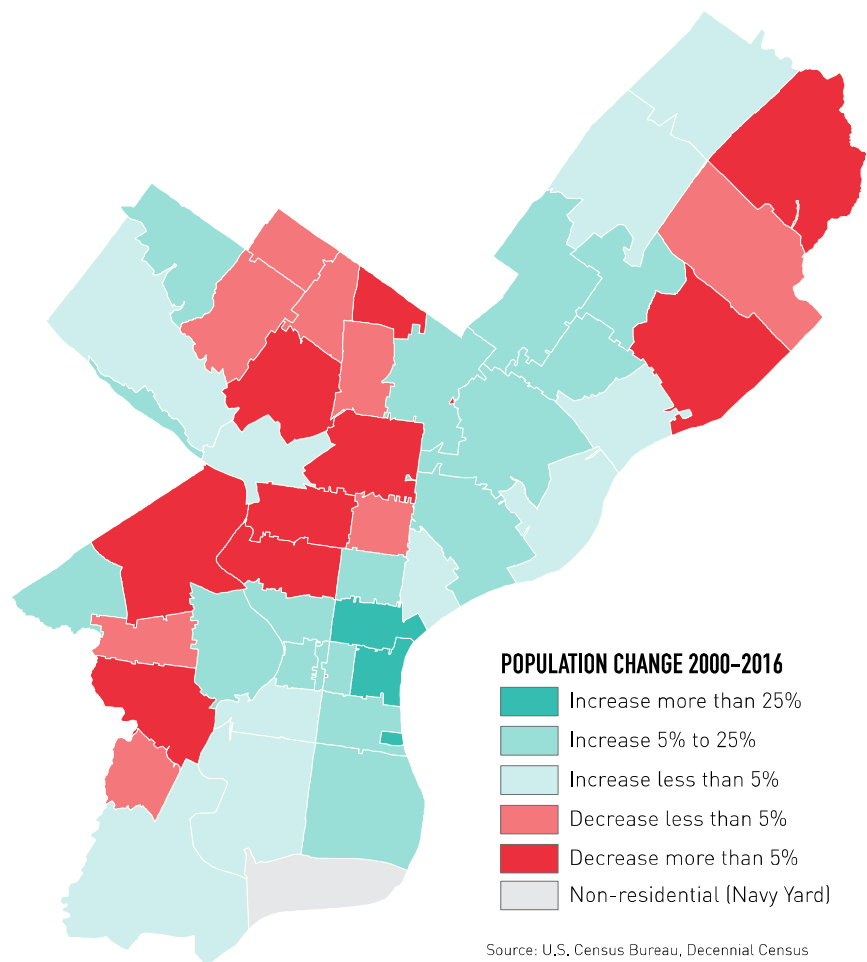


Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Local Employment-Household Dynamics, 2015

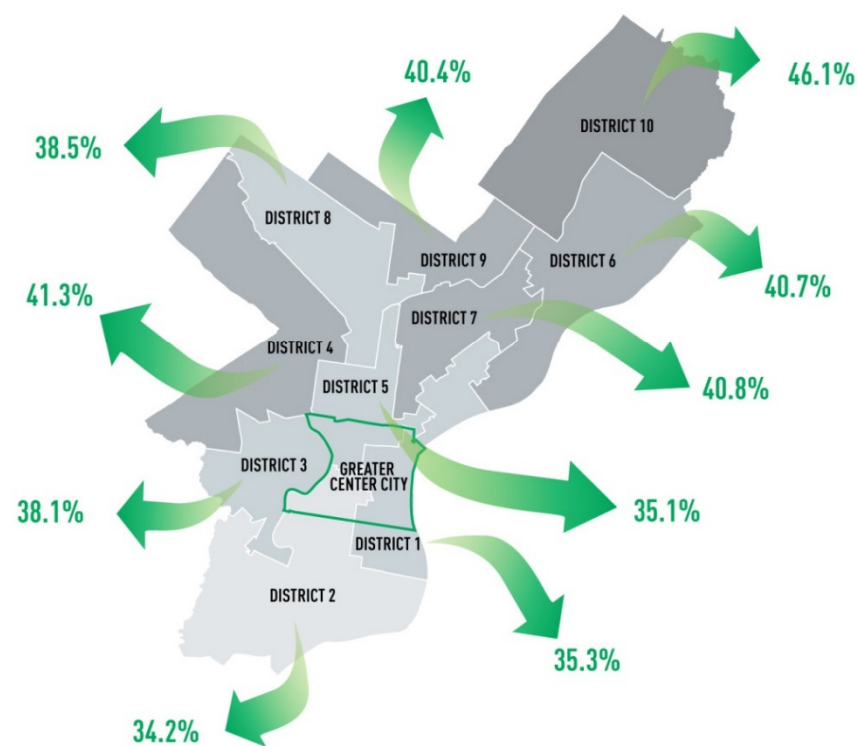


# 38% of zip codes (outside CC) still **losing population** 40% reverse commute to suburbs each day

FIGURE 19: PHILADELPHIA POPULATION CHANGE, 2000-2016



PERCENT COMMUTING TO JOBS OUTSIDE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA, BY CITY COUNCIL DISTRICT





# Gentrification: limited 15 out of 372 neighborhoods

Income Change in Philadelphia Census Tracts, 2000-14

The Pew Charitable Trusts / Research & Analysis /

Philadelphia's Changing Neighborhoods

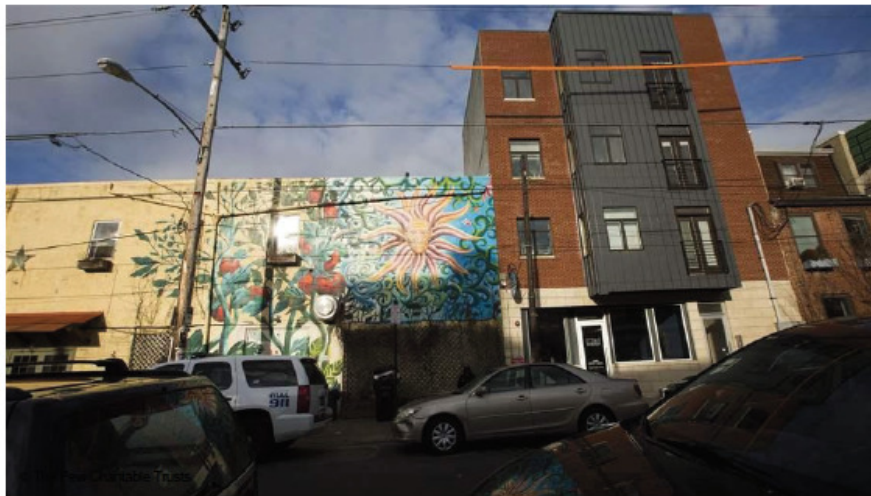
REPORT

## Philadelphia's Changing Neighborhoods

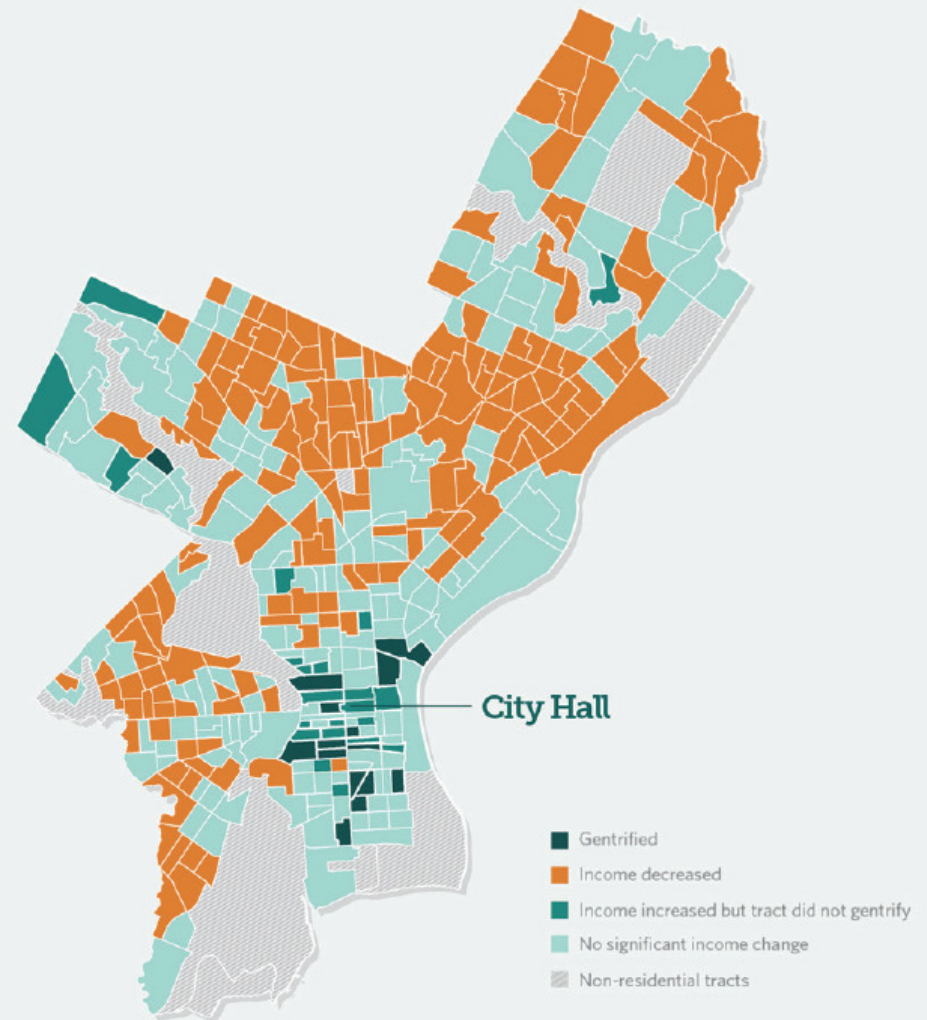
Gentrification and other shifts since 2000

May 19, 2016

Philadelphia Research Initiative



Using an income-based definition of gentrification, only 15 of Philadelphia's 372 residential census tracts were found to have gentrified from 2000 to 2014.





# Downtown renewal in historical perspective





## 1956 Housing renewal starts:





**Followed immediately with new construction**





# As the manufacturing city steadily declined





# The new post-industrial office district expanded Along with health care & educational institutions



Fly'n Phil's Photos

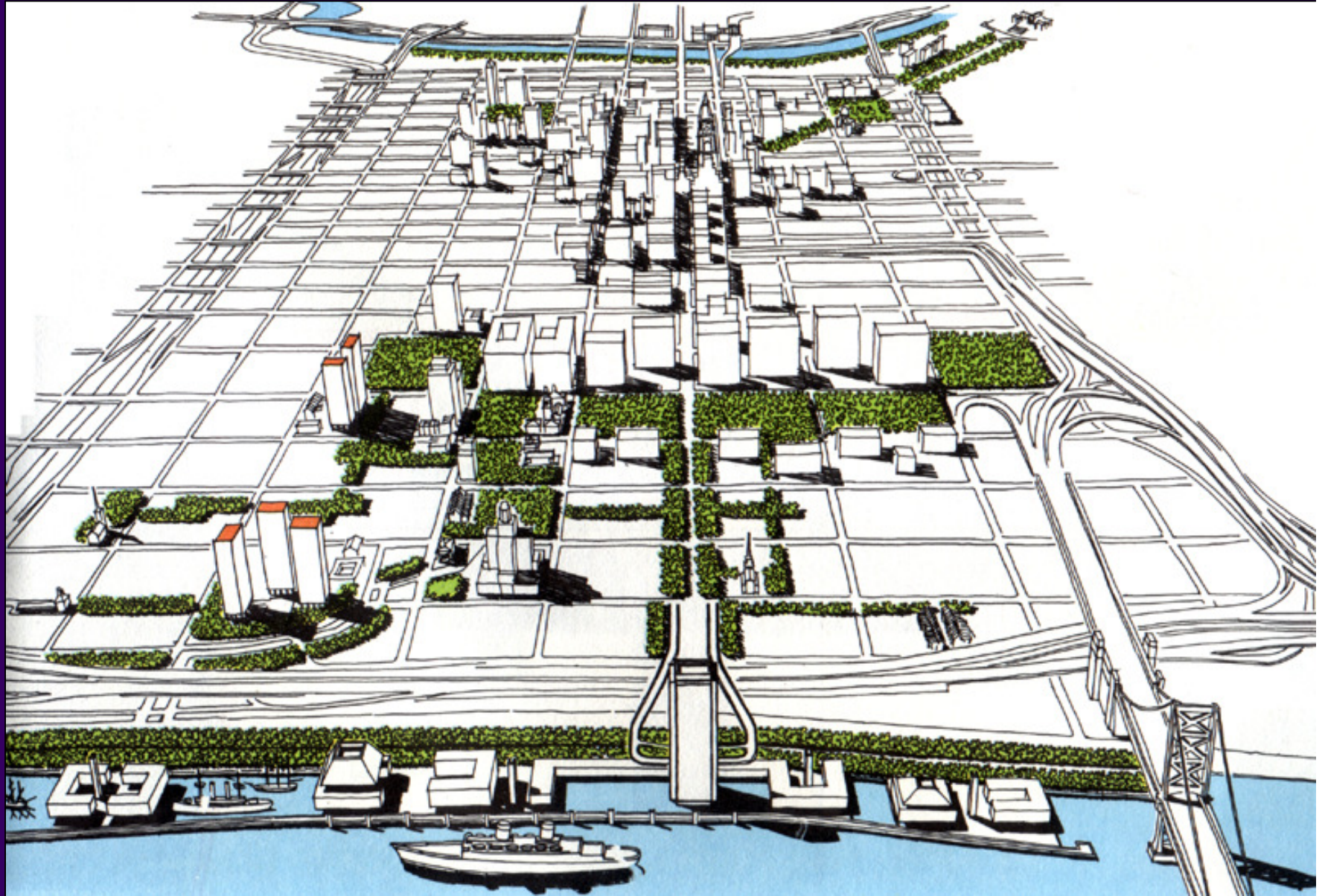


**1963 boundaries of Center City quite distinct**  
**Outside these boundaries: working class, lower income communities**





# Framed by highways in the 1963 plan





# Renovation began to spread outward in 1970s “Stay in the city” trend of recent college graduates





**Present story starts in 1996**  
**CCD had been operating for 5 years**  
**4.5 million sf vacant Class “C” office space**  
**Within core of business district**





# Nearly all cities have this inventory built 1890 -1920s New York & Baltimore





# Dallas & Minneapolis





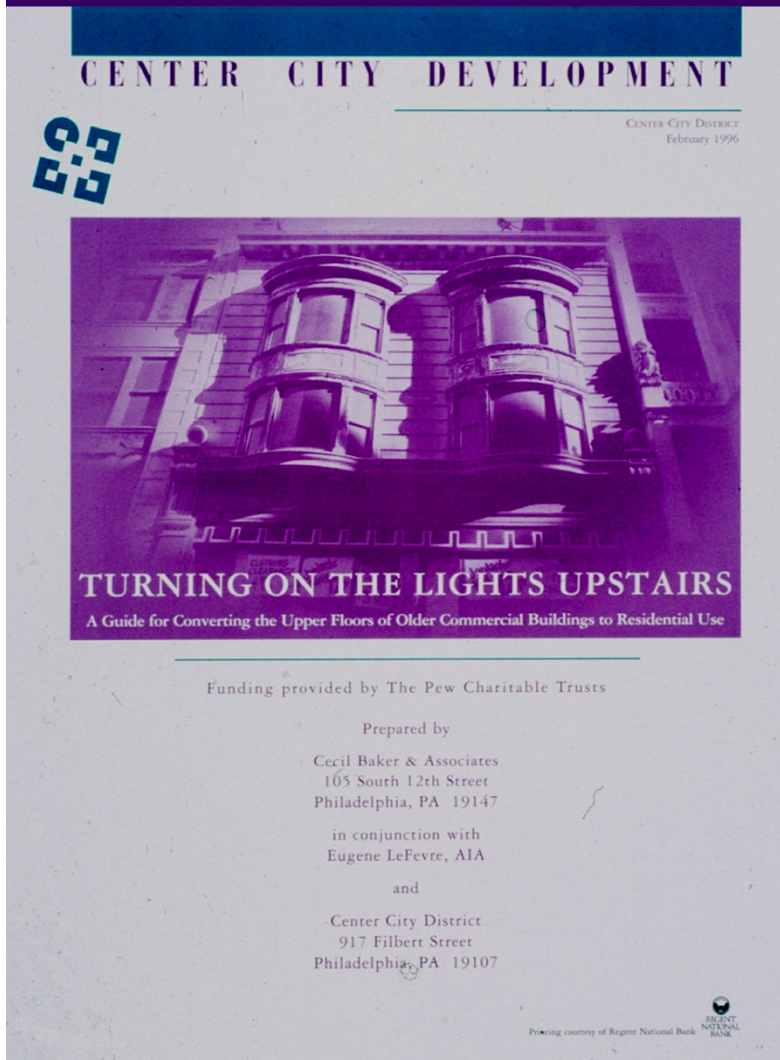
# Plus older warehouse & industrial buildings





# We looked at 4.5 million sf vacant Class “C” office as a depressant to commercial rents Depressant to retail vitality

- Retained architect & developer to evaluate buildings for residential
- Survey to determine best buildings; floor layout, window size & exposure
- Detailed economic analysis of 10 buildings: evaluation for code compliance, cost-estimate, pro-formas.





# Recommended 10 year residential tax abatement

## Approved 1997



- Extraordinary costs of converting from vacant office or industrial to residential use
- 10 year abatement on improvements
- Available city wide



# 10 year residential tax abatement Original ordinance sunset in 5 years



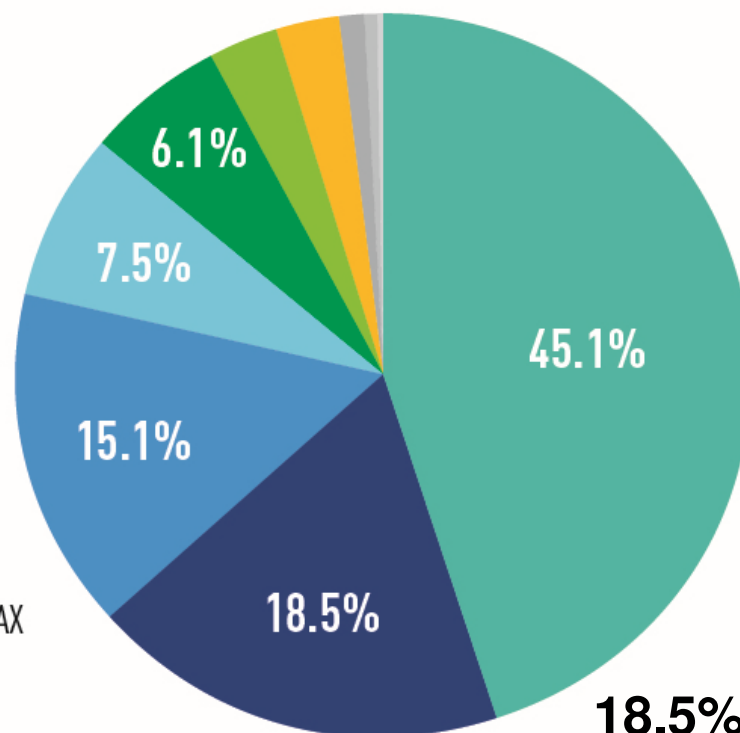


# 60.2% Municipal tax revenue from wage & business taxes 18.5% comes from Real Estate tax

## FY18 GENERAL FUND: LOCAL TAX REVENUES

45% of RE tax goes to City;  
55% to schools

45.1%	WAGE & EARNINGS
18.5%	REAL PROPERTY
15.1%	BUSINESS INCOME AND RECEIPTS
7.5%	REAL PROPERTY TRANSFER
6.1%	SALES (ALL)
3.2%	PARKING
2.8%	PHILADELPHIA BEVERAGE TAX
0.9%	NET PROFITS
0.7%	AMUSEMENT
0.1%	OTHER



18.5% PHL from RE TAX  
92% Boston  
42% NYC  
32% Washington DC



## Case study of one of first conversions:





# Case study of one of first conversions: Vacant industrial building



Vacant building paying \$25,651 in RE taxes  
Blighting influence for over a decade

\$17.2 million spent to create 162 apartments.  
Project continued to pay \$25,651 in RE taxes on  
unimproved value; City forgoes \$530,000 in RE taxes  
on improvements for 10 years.

- Project created 250 construction jobs & generated \$514,000 in city taxes during construction
- Project created 10 permanent jobs which generate \$16,000 per year in new wage taxes.

40% of tenants were new to city & their new spending  
in town + new wage taxes generate \$980,000 per year  
in new municipal taxes





**1998–2018 in downtown:  
180 buildings converted to residential use**





**Expanded in 2000 to include all new construction city-wide, but with no sunset**



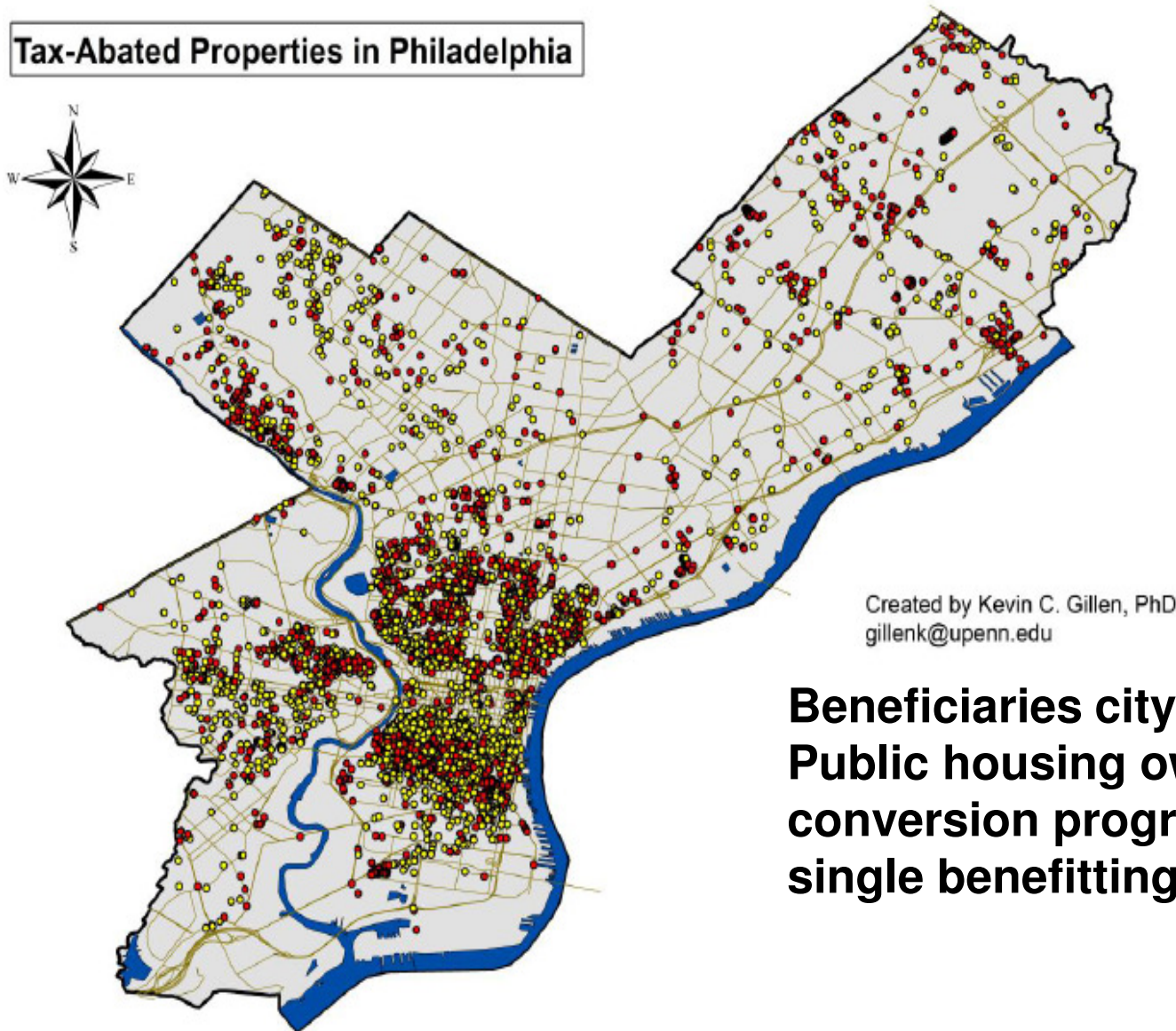


# Synchronized with a major condo boom & Return of empty nesters





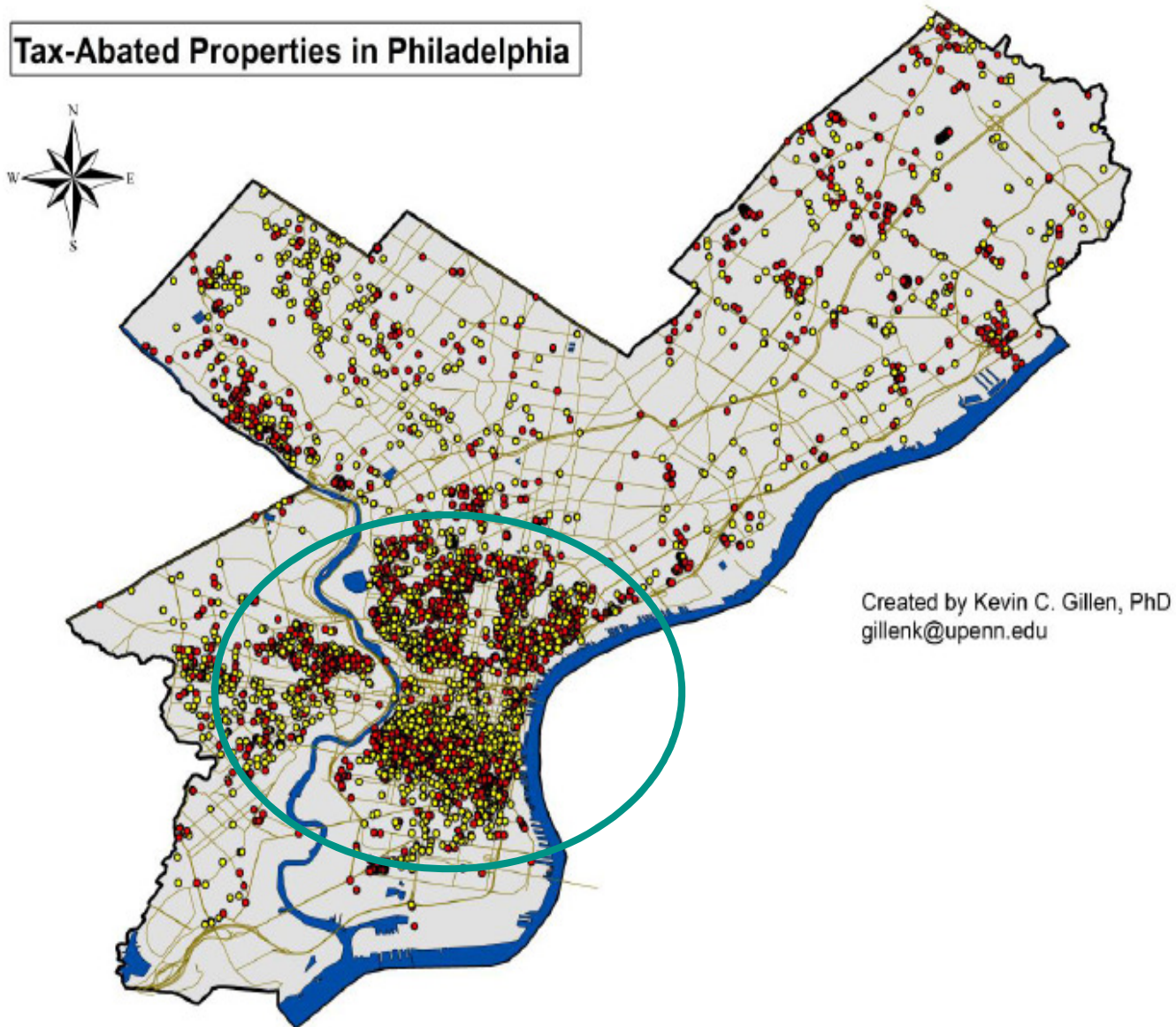
# Fast forward 19 years: abatements are citywide



**Beneficiaries citywide:  
Public housing ownership  
conversion program largest  
single benefitting developer**



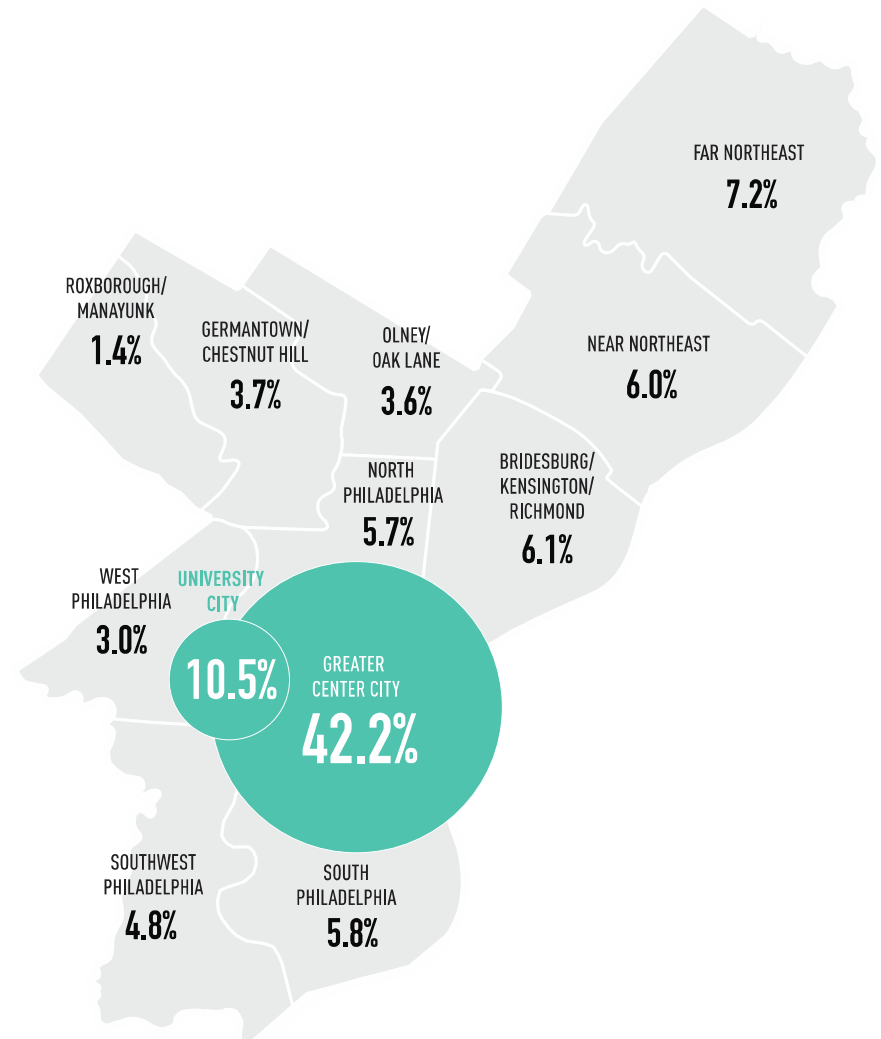
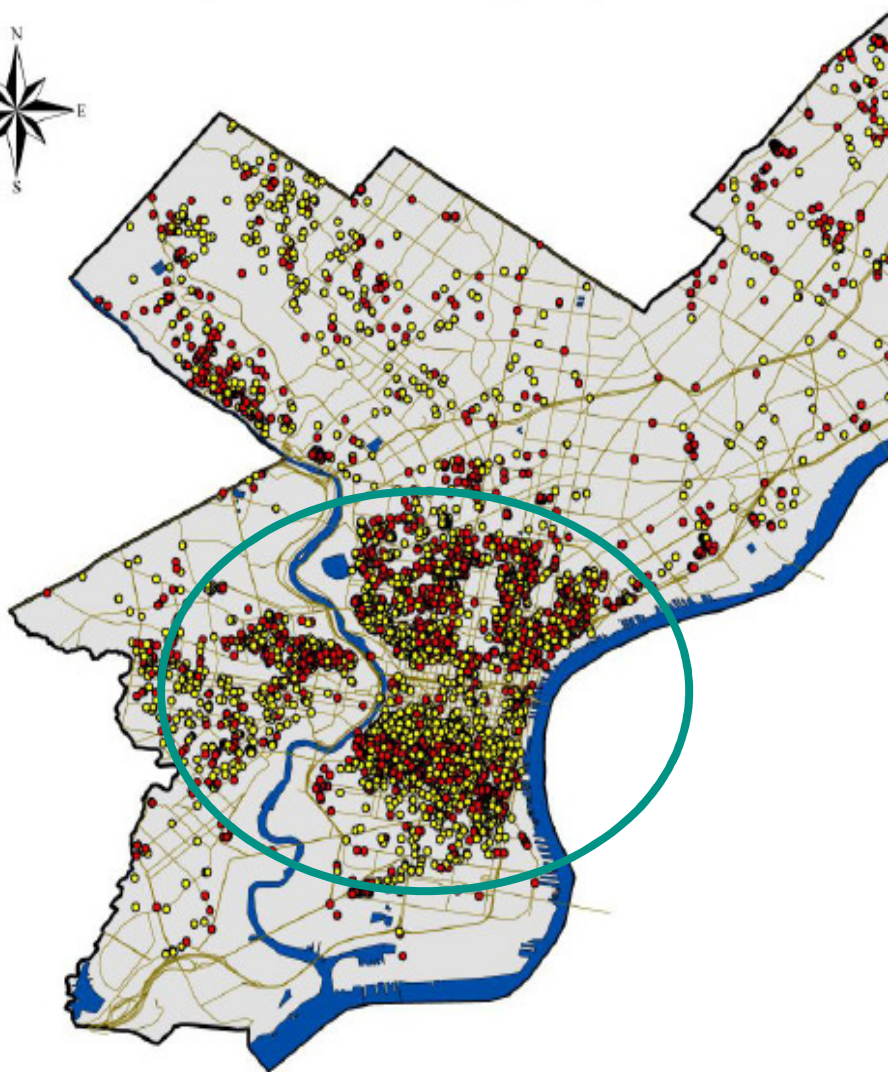
# But abatements are concentrated around Greater Center City



# Correlate with area of job growth

## PHILADELPHIA EMPLOYMENT BY AREA

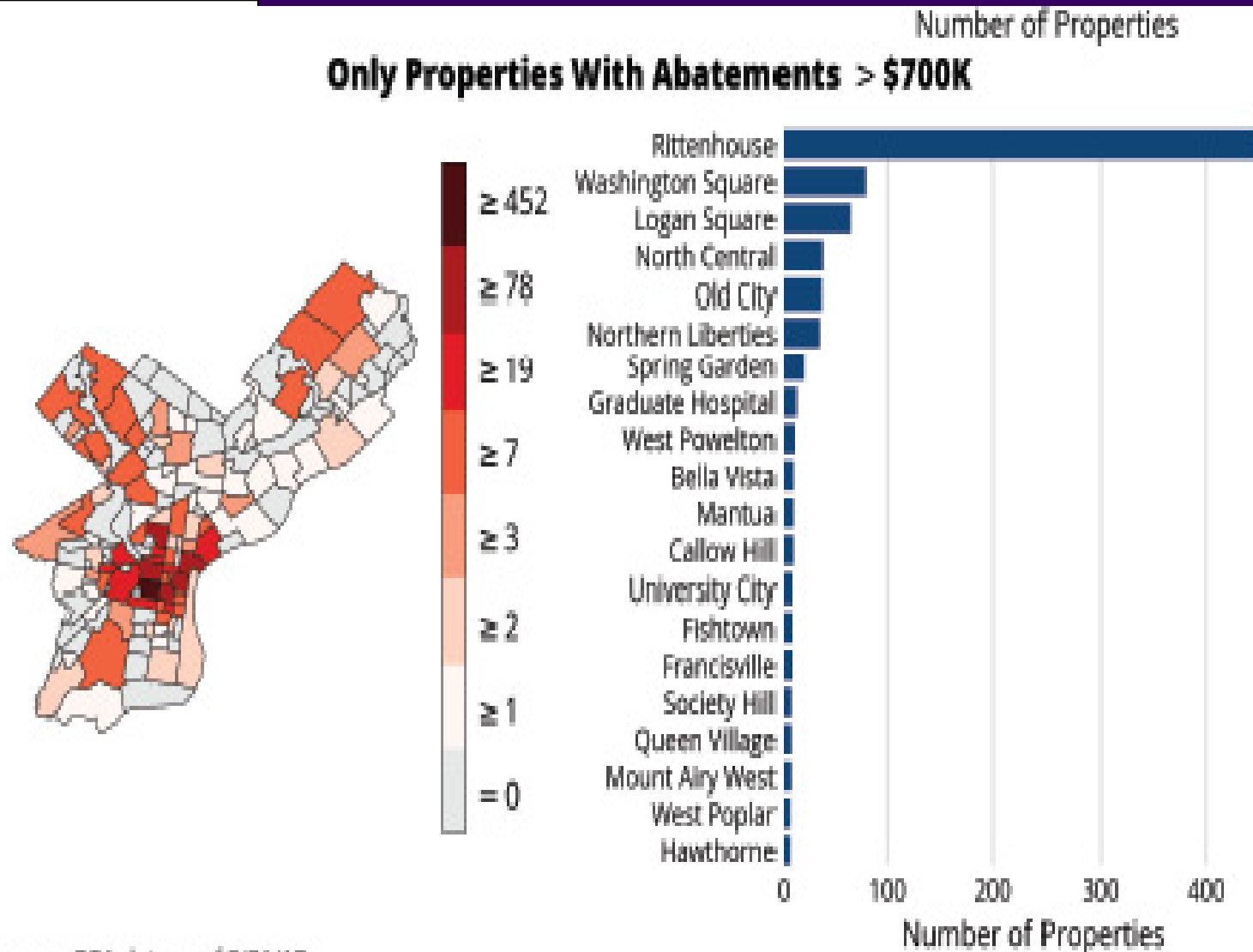
### Tax-Abated Properties in Philadelphia



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Local Employment-Household Dynamics, 2015

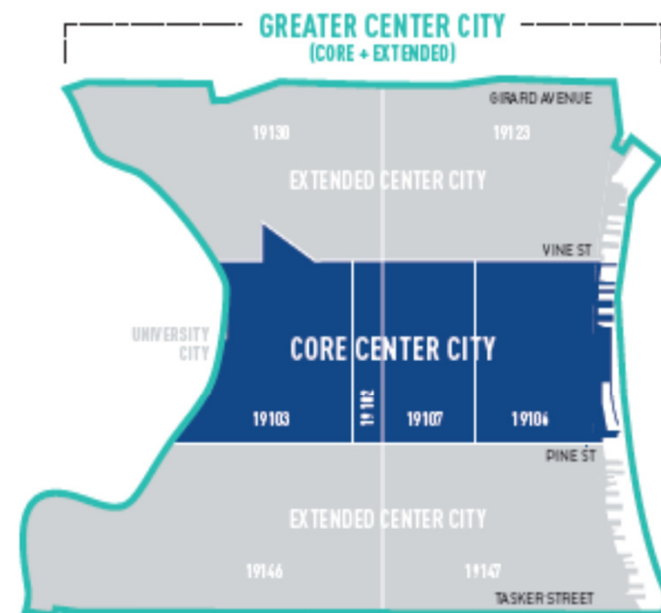


# Highest value abated properties concentrated in Greater Center City



Source: OPA data as of 3/31/17

# Greater Center City defined: Live work zone from Girard Ave to Tasker St



## DEFINING THE RESIDENTIAL DOWNTOWN:

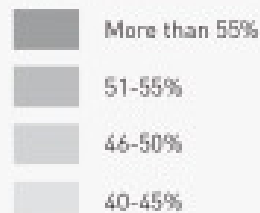
The four ZIP codes between Vine and Pine streets are referred to in this report as "Core Center City" and the surrounding neighborhoods in the four adjacent ZIP codes are termed "Extended Center City." Together they form "Greater Center City."



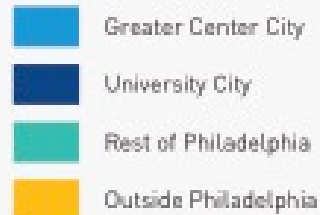
# 42% of employed CC residents work downtown; another 12% commute to University City.

## WHERE RESIDENTS GO TO WORK

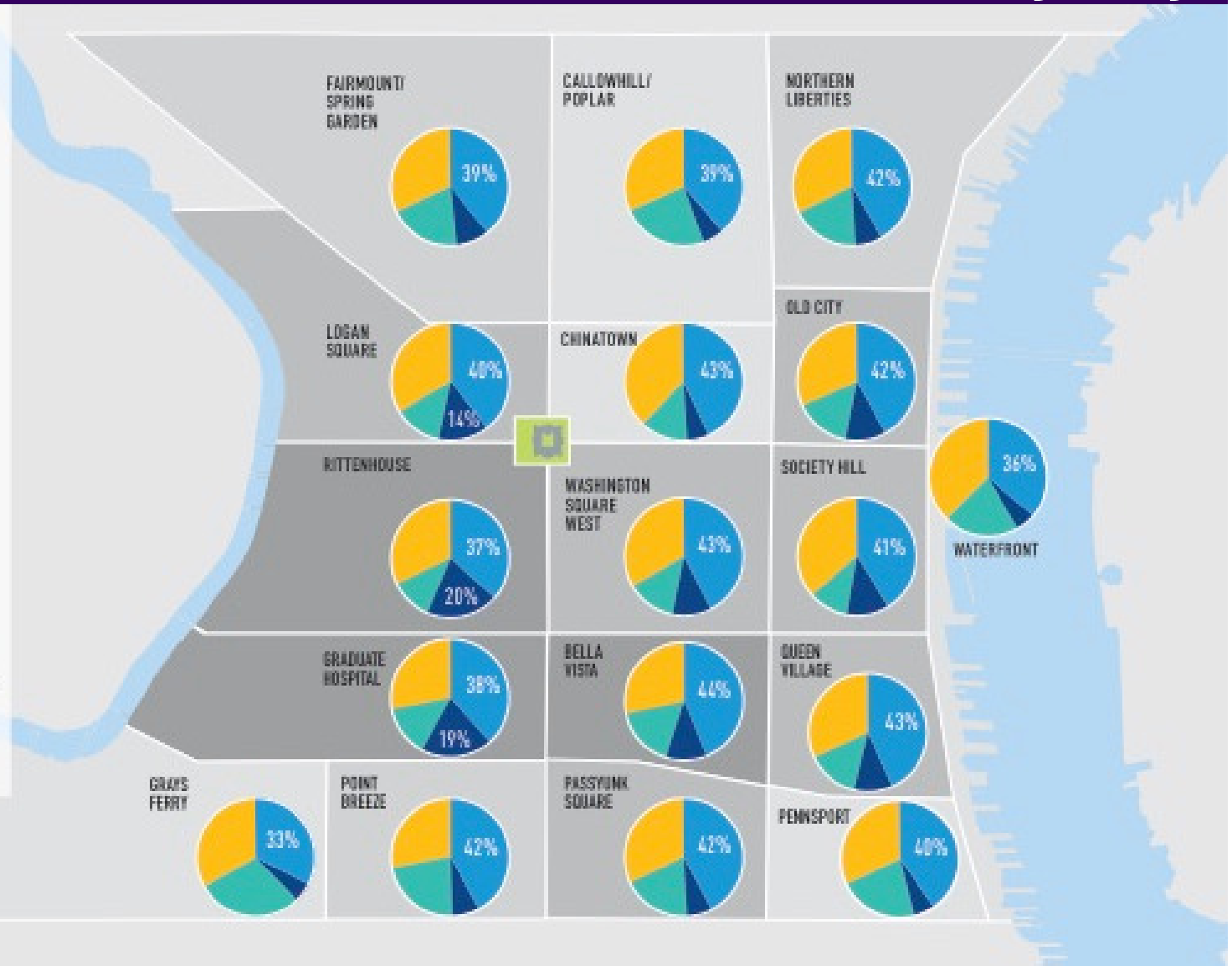
MAP: PERCENT OF WORKERS EMPLOYED IN GREATER CENTER CITY & UNIVERSITY CITY:



PIE: PERCENT OF WORKERS EMPLOYED IN:

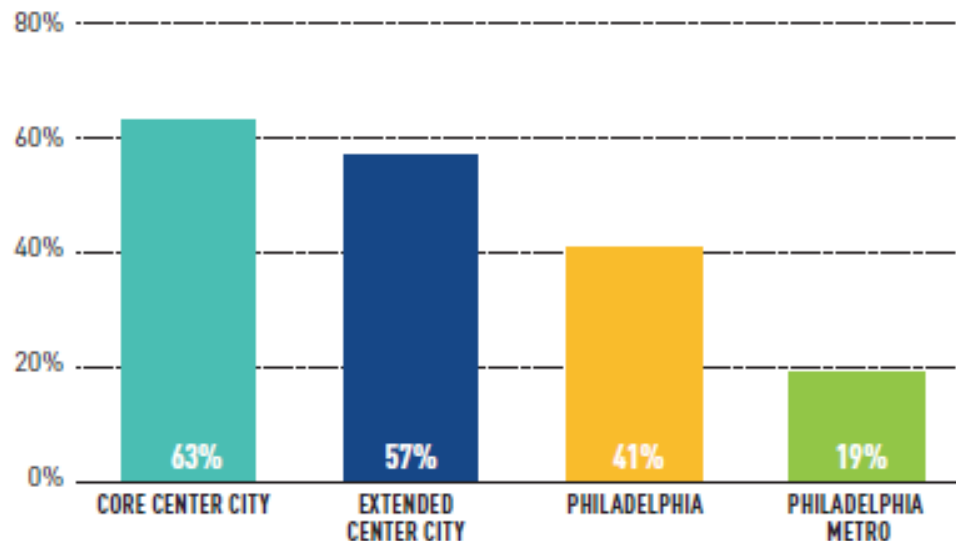


Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Local Employment-Household Dynamics, 2005



# 63% of residents get to work without a car; 39% in core walk to work

PERCENT COMMUTING WITHOUT A CAR

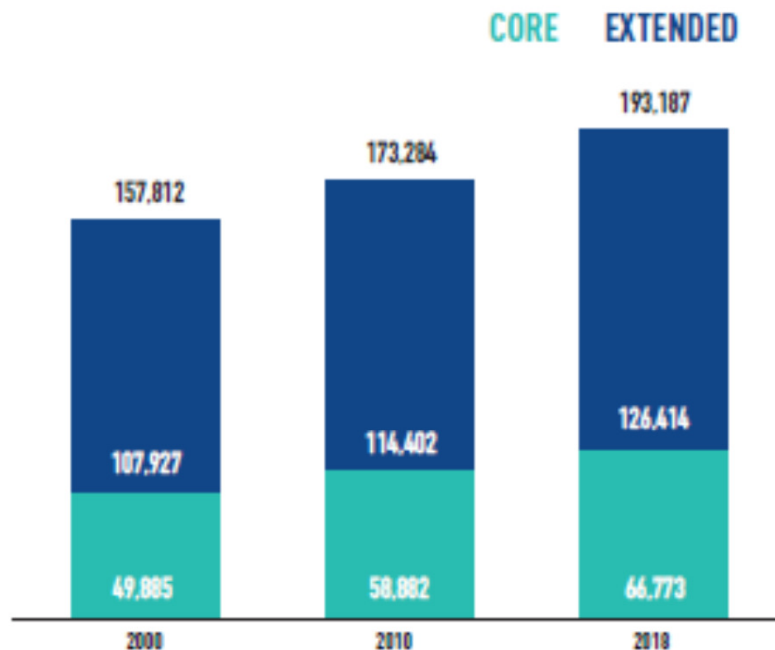




**Fastest growing residential section of the city**  
**Since 2000: 26,195 new housing units;**  
**Population up 22% to 193,187;**  
**25% who moved to PHL between 2000-2018 moved downtown**

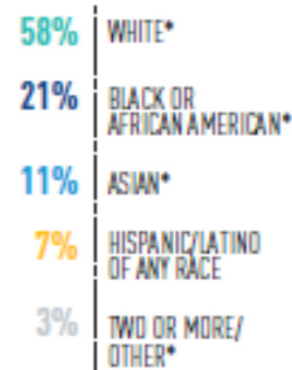
**12% moved into University City**

#### GREATER CENTER CITY POPULATION

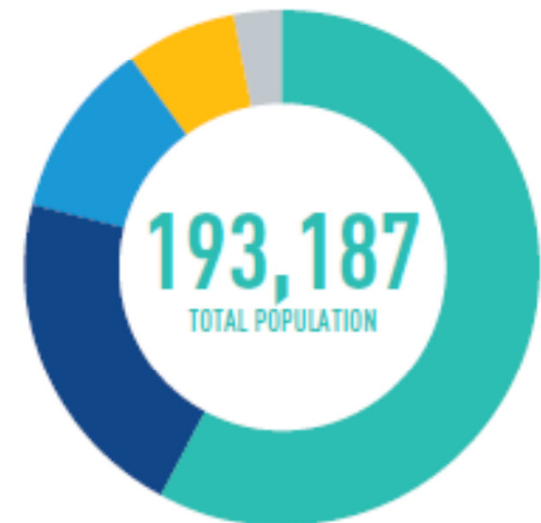


Source: US Census Bureau, Decennial Census, American Community Survey; CCD Estimates

#### GREATER CENTER CITY RACIAL DIVERSITY



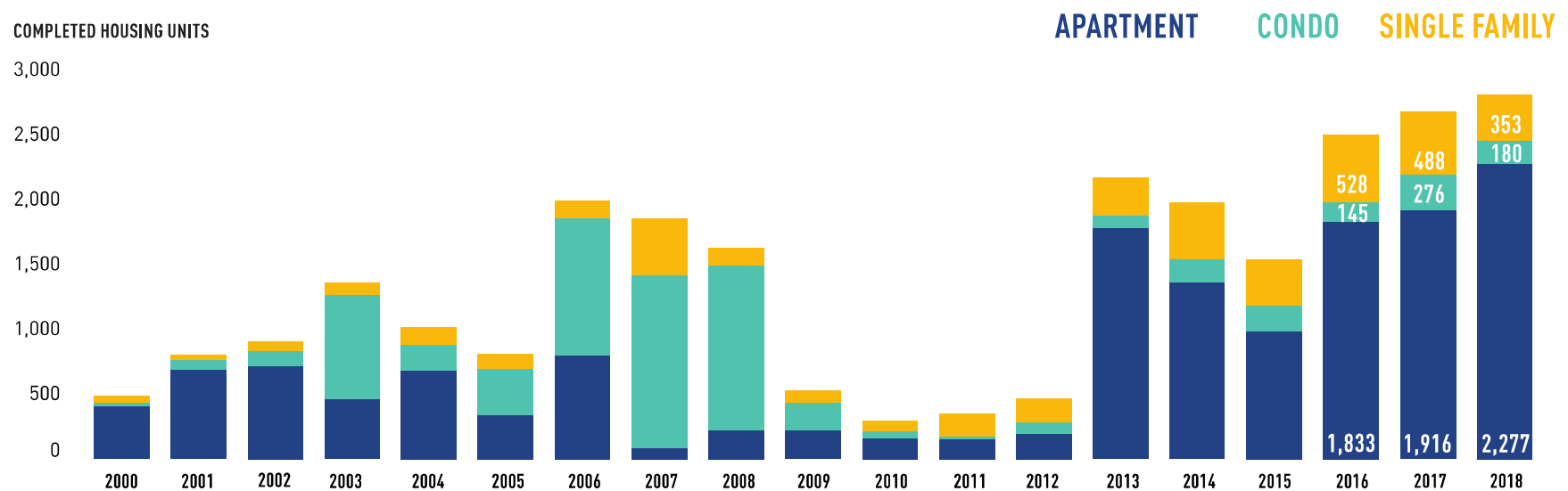
\*Non-Hispanic  
(Hispanics may be of any race)



Source: US Census Bureau, American Community Survey 2013-2017; CCD Population Estimates

# 2,810 units completed last year; 4<sup>th</sup> straight year of accelerating growth

FIGURE 2: GREATER CENTER CITY HOUSING COMPLETIONS, 2000–2018



Source: Center City District

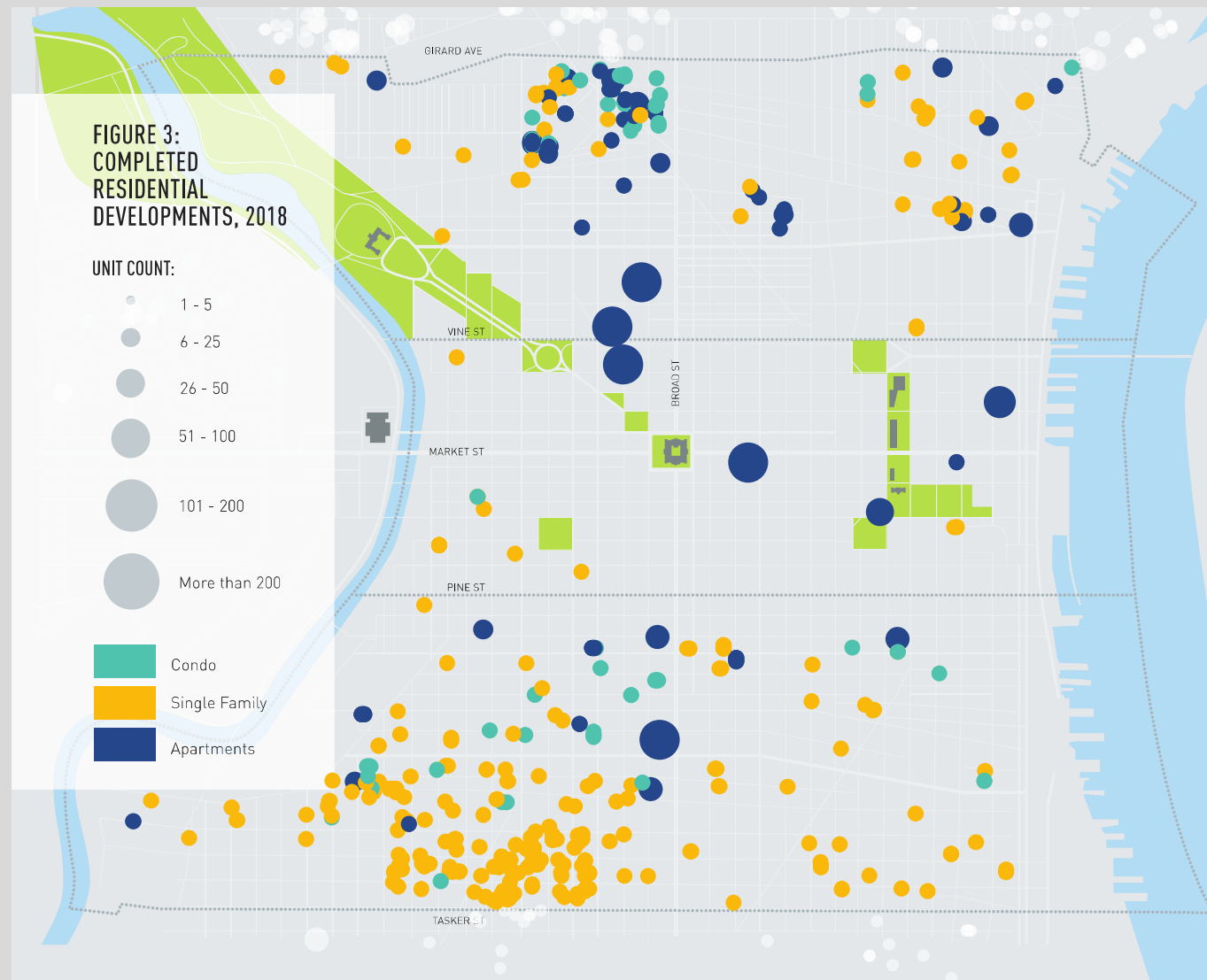


# A very diverse mix of product type



# By unit number & project scale

## Apartments dominate; single-family + condo





**Increasing residential density: Core 60 persons/acre  
47/acre Extended; 39/acre PHL; 15/acre in suburbs**





# Density drives demand for retail: new supermarkets





# Return of corner stores





# Thriving retail corridors adjacent to downtown

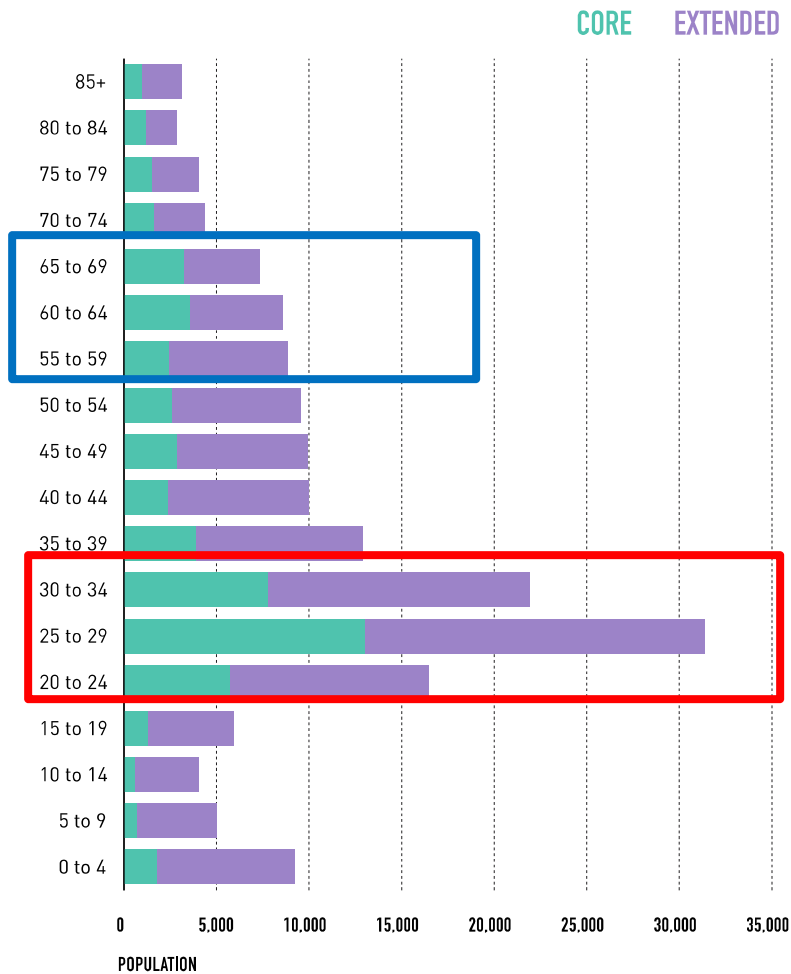




# Who? 45% of residents in core, ages 20-34

## Large cohort of empty nesters

GREATER CENTER CITY POPULATION  
AGE DISTRIBUTION





**79% in core of downtown BA degree  
61% of residents in Greater Center City have a BA degree**





# A growing number of families with children

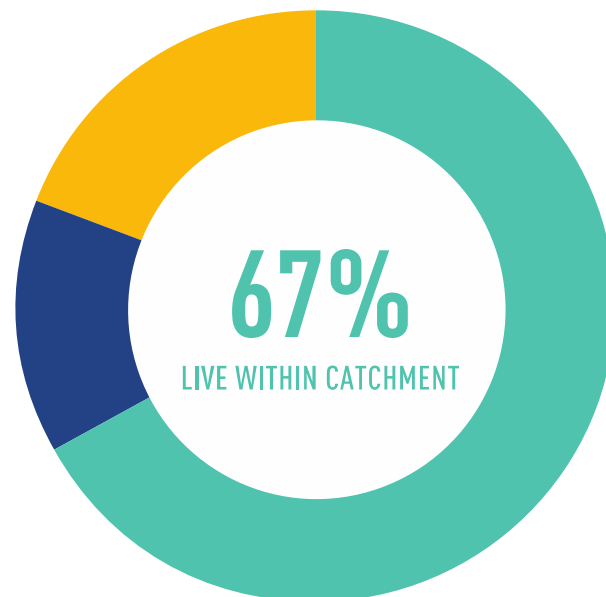




# 75% of children living in Greater Center City Attend one of 19 elementary public schools between Girard & Tasker

**67% attend their catchment area  
(neighborhood) school**

- 67% LIVE WITHIN CATCHMENT
- 14% LIVE ELSEWHERE  
IN GREATER CENTER CITY
- 19% LIVE OUTSIDE OF  
GREATER CENTER CITY

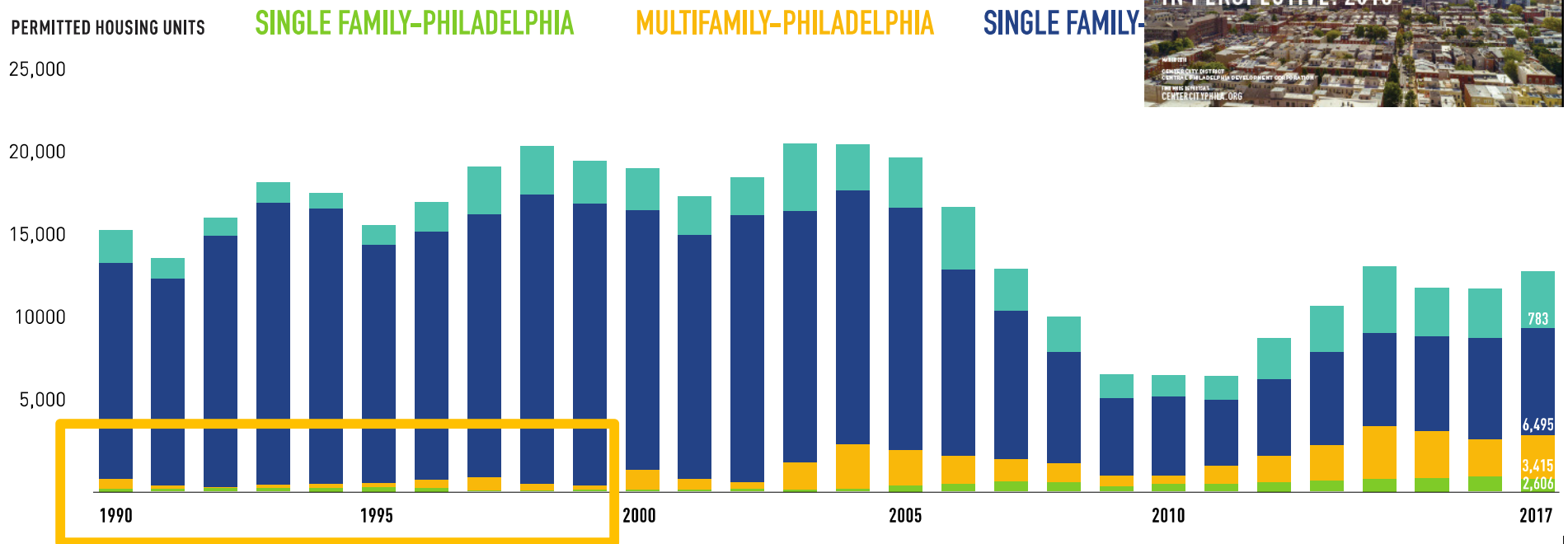




# How the world has changed

1990-1999, **5,072 housing units permitted in all Philadelphia**  
 > 3% of 177,469 total permits issued in Philadelphia region

FIGURE 15: PERMITS BY TYPE, PHILADELPHIA METROPOLITAN AREA (CITY V. SUBURBS)

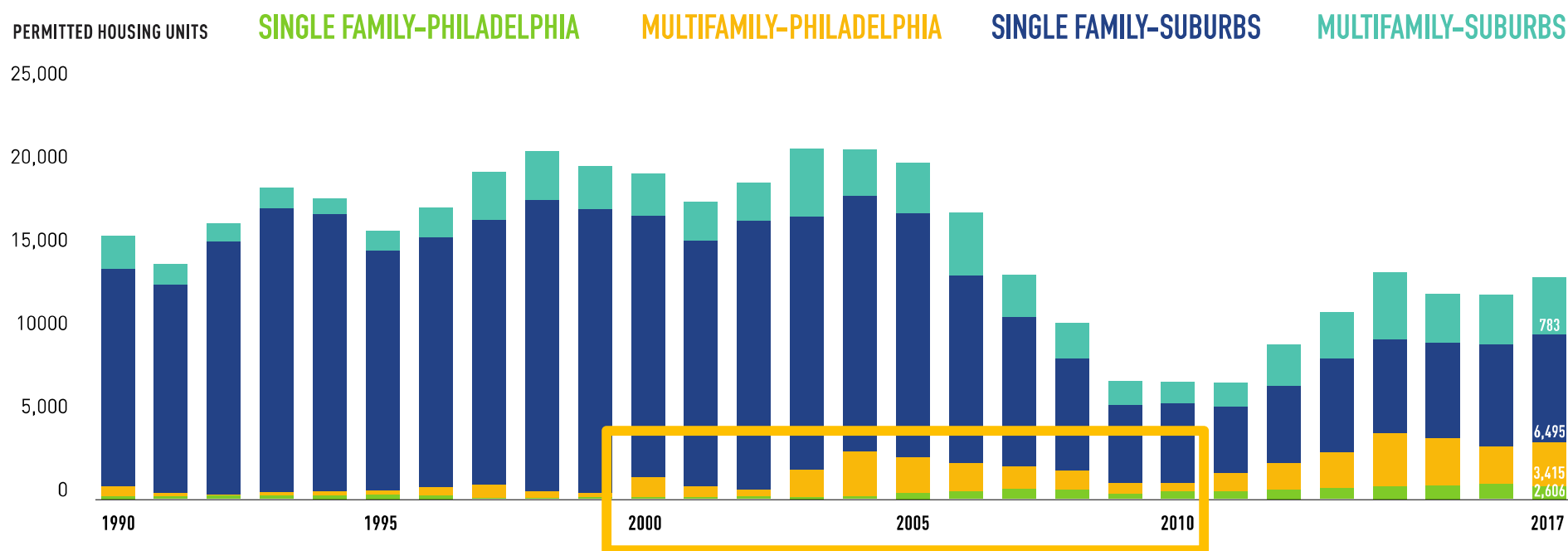


# In 2000 abatement expands to all types of construction

## Building permits increase to **10% of regional total**.

### Employment stabilizes, population growth for first time in decades

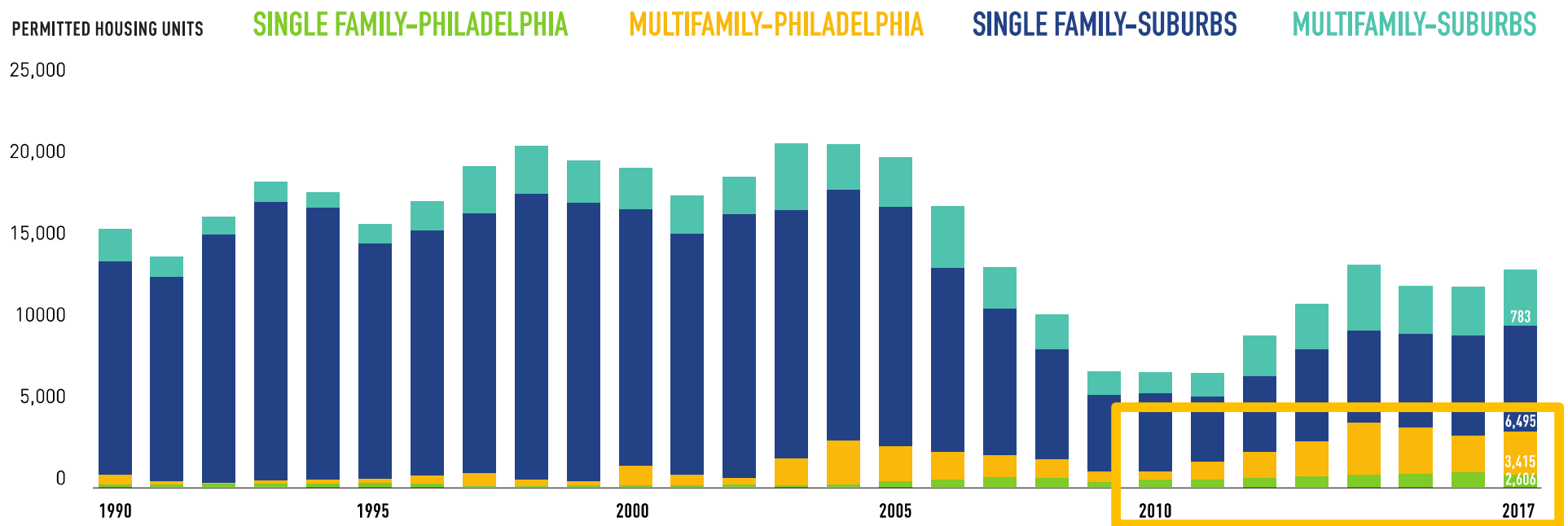
FIGURE 15: PERMITS BY TYPE, PHILADELPHIA METROPOLITAN AREA (CITY V. SUBURBS)





Between 2010 and 2018,  
**Philadelphia's regional share of housing permits rises to 25%**  
**55% of units are in Greater Center City**

FIGURE 15: PERMITS BY TYPE, PHILADELPHIA METROPOLITAN AREA (CITY V. SUBURBS)

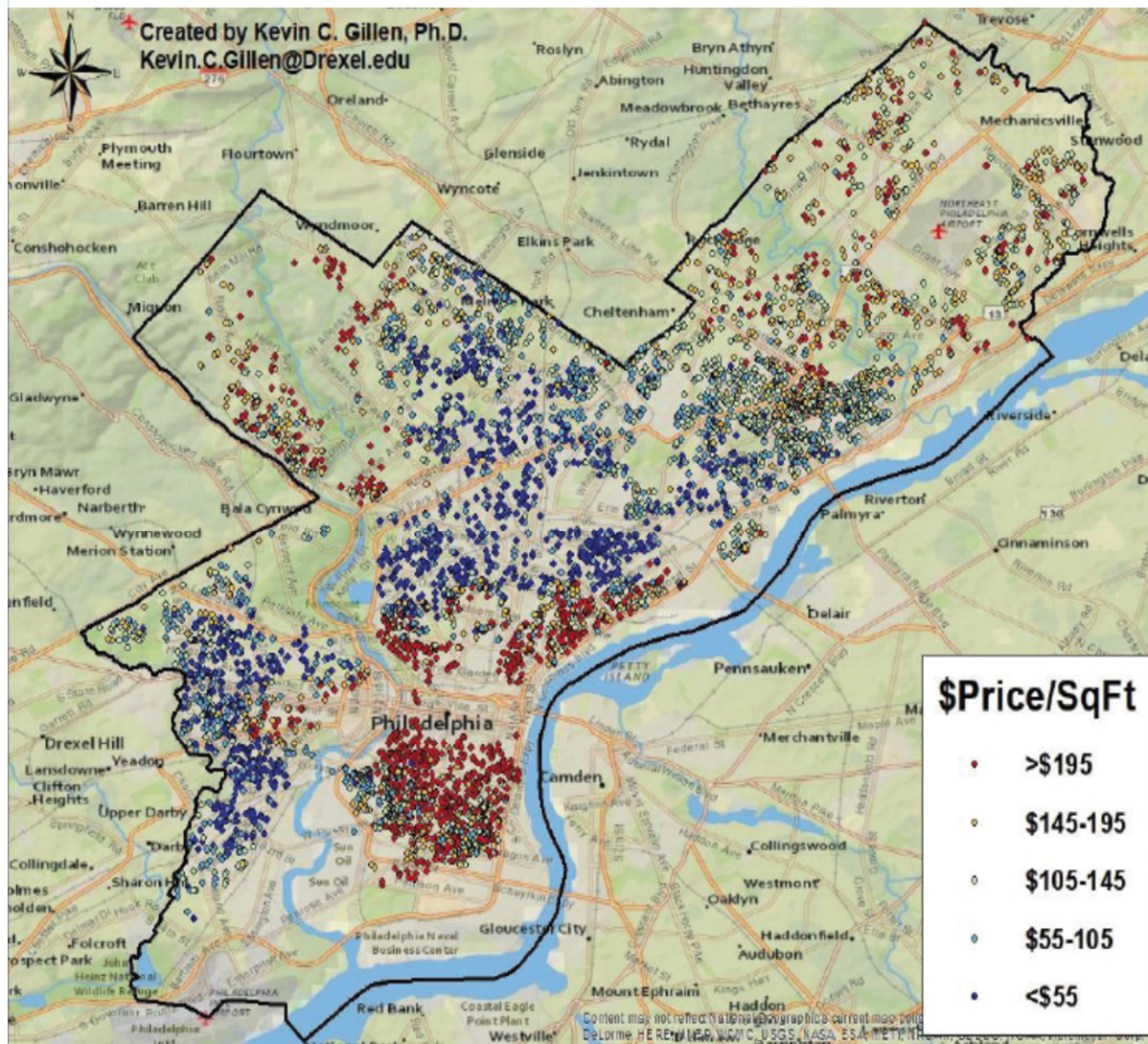


**But the high price of some abated units  
has prompted attention & resentment**





**2010-2018 just 1% of 158,863 residential sales citywide were over \$1 million**



**Out of 100 largest counties in the United States our volume of housing production puts us 62nd**



**78% of houses sold last year in Philadelphia  
priced under \$250,000**





# Philadelphia has significant affordability challenge that stems from low incomes not high costs

223,000 cost-burdened households making less than \$50,000/year  
Paying more than 30% of income on housing

FIGURE 21: COST BURDEN AT VARYING HOUSEHOLD INCOME LEVELS

	TOTAL HOUSEHOLDS	% COST BURDENED	OWNER OCCUPIED HOUSEHOLDS	% COST BURDENED	RENTER OCCUPIED HOUSEHOLDS	% COST BURDENED
All Households w/ Income*	542,192	40%	292,079	28%	250,113	53%
Less than \$20,000:	127,467	83%	49,276	74%	78,191	88%
\$20,000 to \$34,999:	95,517	65%	46,062	47%	49,455	82%
\$35,000 to \$49,999:	70,587	38%	36,525	28%	34,062	48%
\$50,000 to \$74,999:	91,040	17%	52,631	18%	38,409	15%
\$75,000 or more:	157,581	4%	107,585	4%	49,996	3%

\*Does not include another 27,490 households who report no income at all.

Source: US Census Bureau, American Community Survey 1 Year Estimates



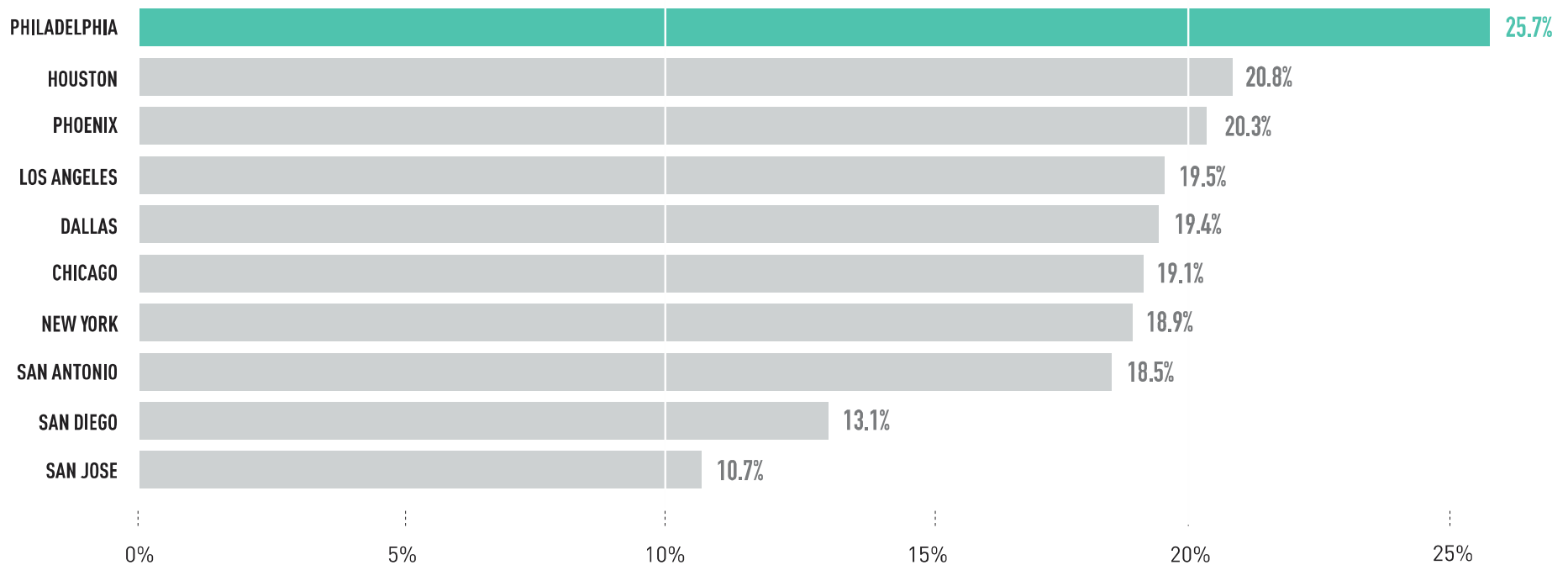
**While there is wealth of good news downtown  
Pull the camera back.....**





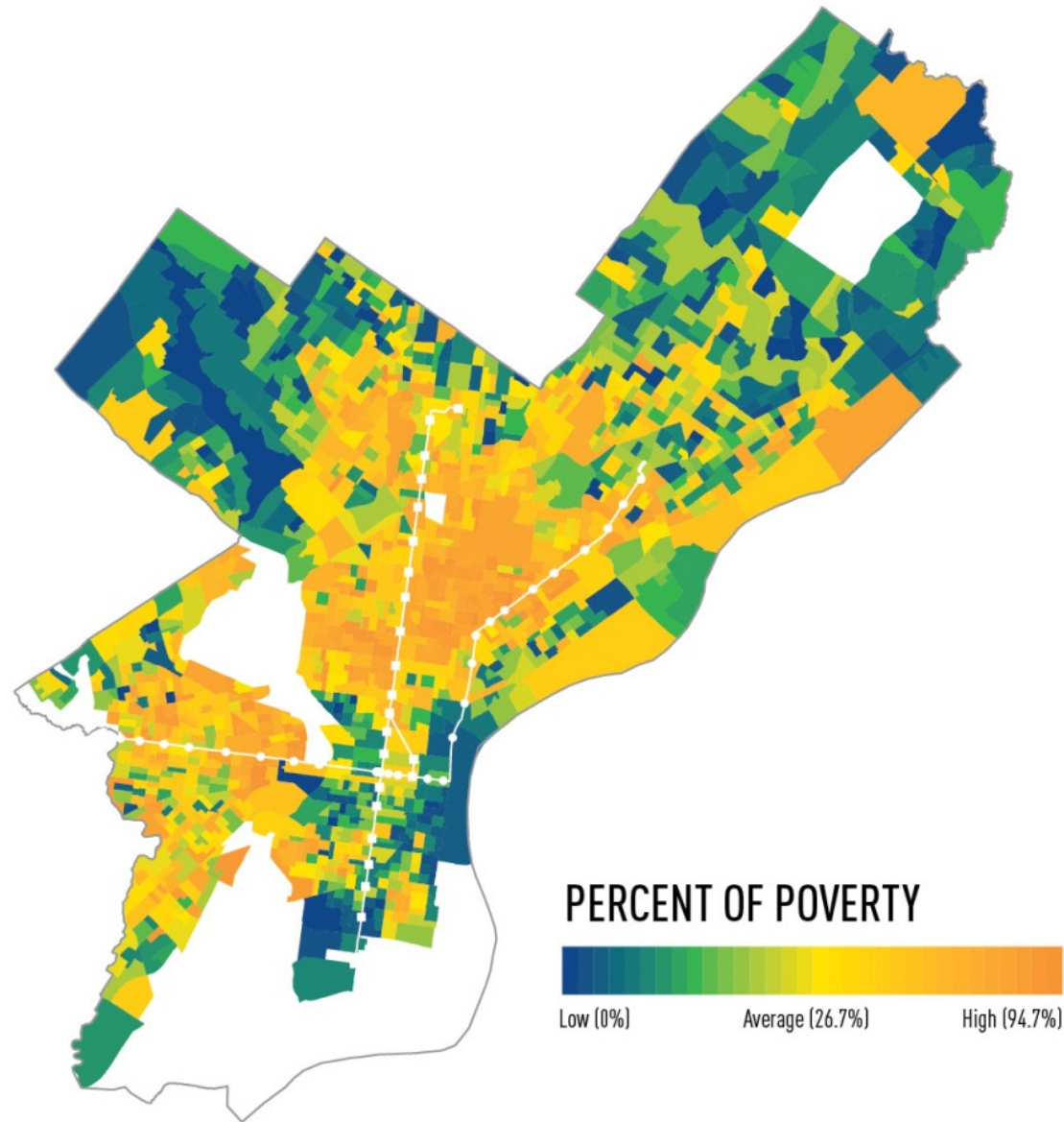
# Bad news: Highest poverty rate of 10 largest cities: 25.7%

## POVERTY RATES AMONG THE TOP 10 LARGEST US CITIES



Source: US Census Bureau, 2016 American Community Survey

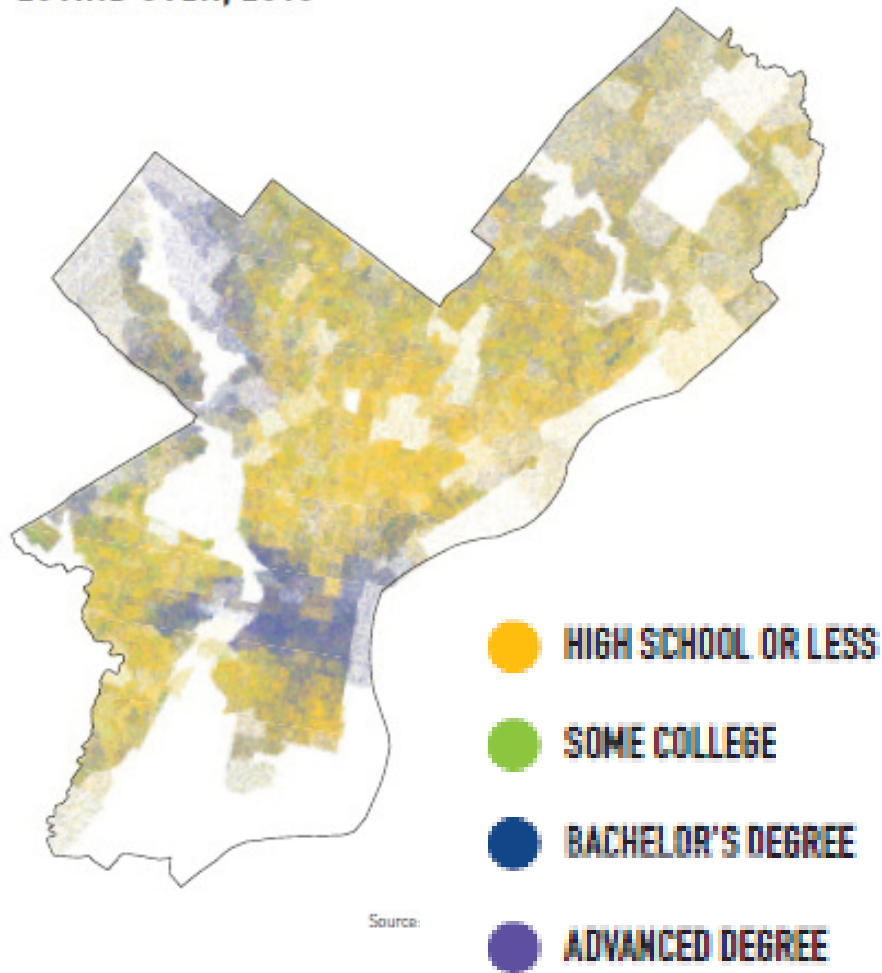
# Huge income disparities in the city: **poverty**





# Disparities in education levels

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT, POPULATION  
25 AND OVER, 2016



61%

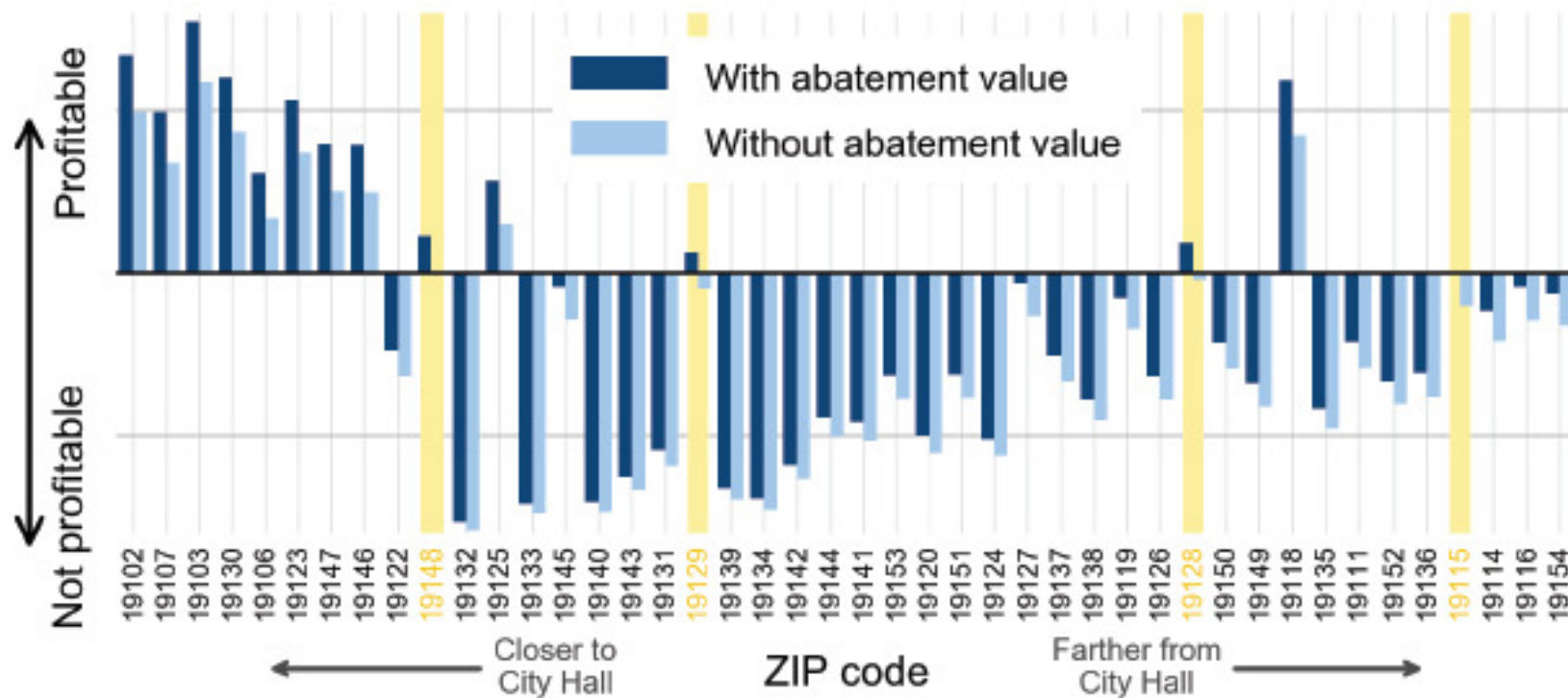


OF GREATER CENTER CITY RESIDENTS HAVE A BACHELOR'S DEGREE OR HIGHER, A POWERFUL ATTRACTOR FOR BUSINESSES SEEKING TALENT, BUT A MARKED CONTRAST WITH SURROUNDING NEIGHBORHOODS

**26% Citywide with BA**  
**Many not completing HS**

# Market realities

## Numbers don't work in 70% of Zip codes in city



Source: home values from Zillow Home Value Index; construction costs from RSMeans; land acquisition costs from OPA data

**Abatement makes numbers work in 4 more zip codes**  
**What then is the impact of tapering down abatement?**



# 10,959 units affordable housing in & adjacent to Center City

FIGURE 20: AFFORDABLE HOUSING IN AND AROUND GREATER CENTER CITY



## I. GREATER CENTER CITY DEVELOPMENT OVERVIEW

Housing development in Greater Center City has continued at a record setting pace with 2,680 units completed in 2017. Since surging out of recession in 2013, construction has been driven by job growth, demographic trends, and a greater preference nationally for urban living, which has enabled Philadelphia to expand from a 3% share of regional housing permits in the early 1990s to a 25% share from 2010 to 2017 with more than half of those units built downtown.

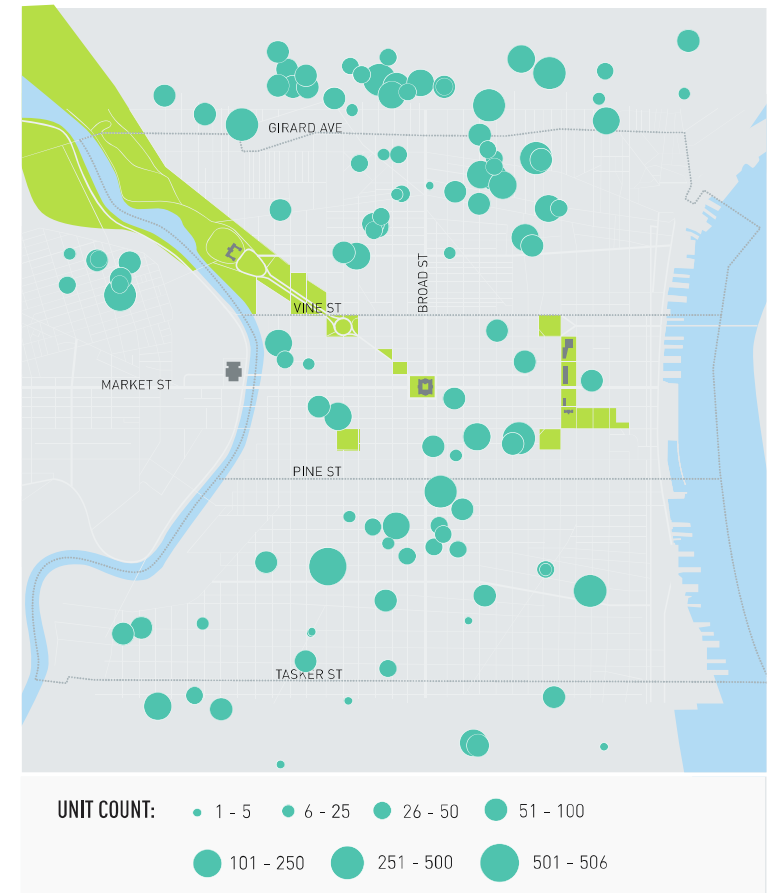
Since 2000, a total of 23,178 new residential units have been added in Greater Center City (Figure 1). Defined as the area between the two rivers and from Girard Avenue to Tasker Street, Greater Center City now has an estimated population of 190,000, an increase of 21% since the 2000 census.<sup>2</sup> (Figure 2)

Housing development has remained heavily skewed toward apartments since 2013 with rental accounting for 71% (1,916 units) of all new supply delivered in 2017. While most new apartments in 2016 were concentrated in the core, nearly twice as many apartments were added in the extended neighborhoods as in the core of downtown in 2017 (Figure 4).

Condominium construction, which had been in a lull since 2008, rebounded and accounted for 18% of all new units delivered in 2017, up from only 5% in 2016.

But single-family development has steadily outpaced condo construction, accounting for 19.6% of the new supply (488 units) in 2017 with 95% of the units being added in the extended neighborhoods. While lacking the same viability provided by high-rise construction cranes, the steady pace of single-family housing construction has produced an average of 410 new units per year since 2013, transforming neighborhoods as parking lots, industrial and warehouse sites have been converted to housing.

**SINCE 2000, CENTER CITY HOUSING MARKETS HAVE BEEN TRANSFORMED, DRIVEN BY DEMOGRAPHIC AND EMPLOYMENT TRENDS THAT ARE QUITE POSITIVE, YET MODEST IN SCOPE AND POTENTIAL DURATION**

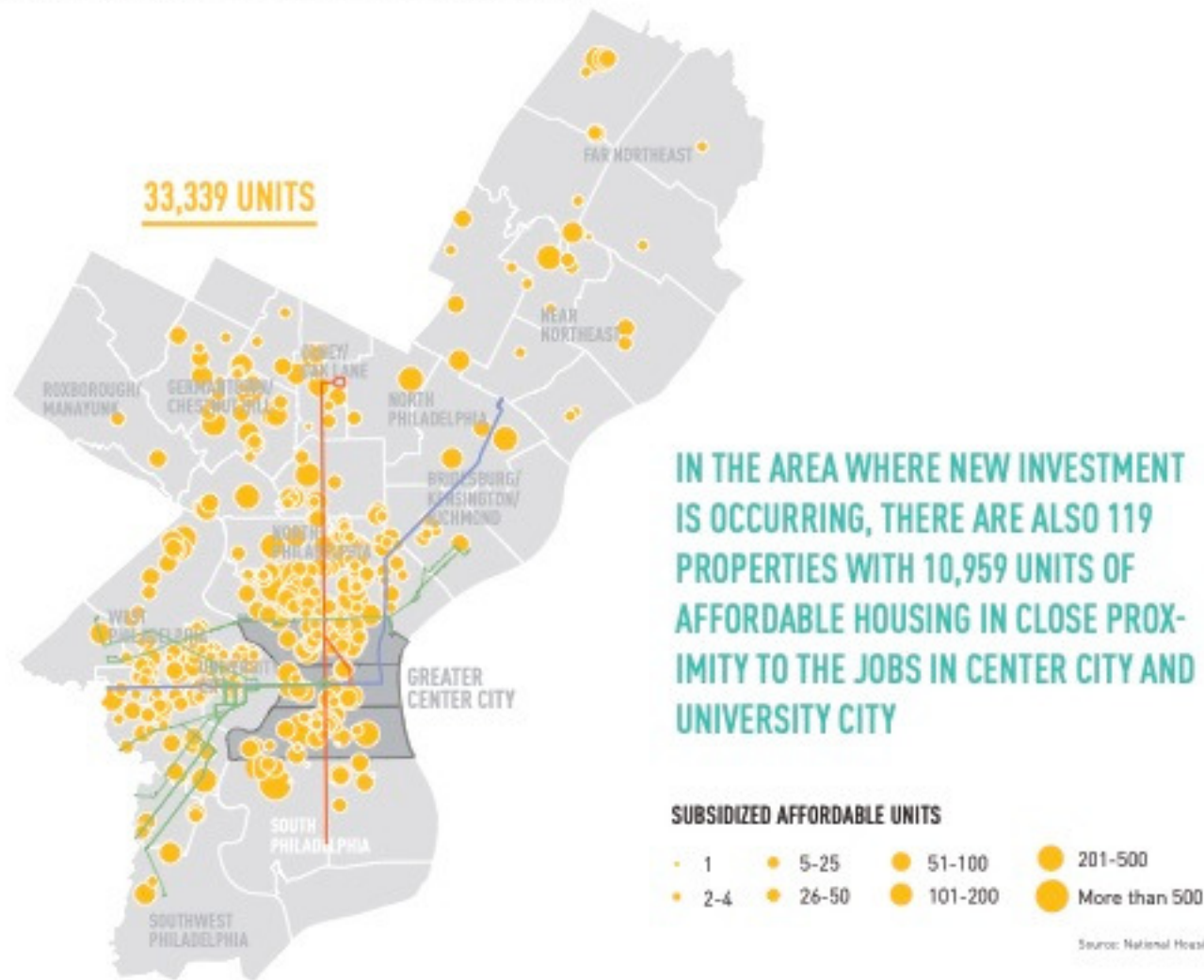


	GCC BOUNDARY	1/4 MILE BUFFER	1/2 MILE BUFFER
Properties	70	88	118
TOTAL UNITS	5,938	7,694	10,704

Source: National Housing Preservation Database

# Total of 33,339 units citywide But federal government not funding more units

FIGURE 22: HOUSING WITH ACTIVE SUBSIDIES CITYWIDE



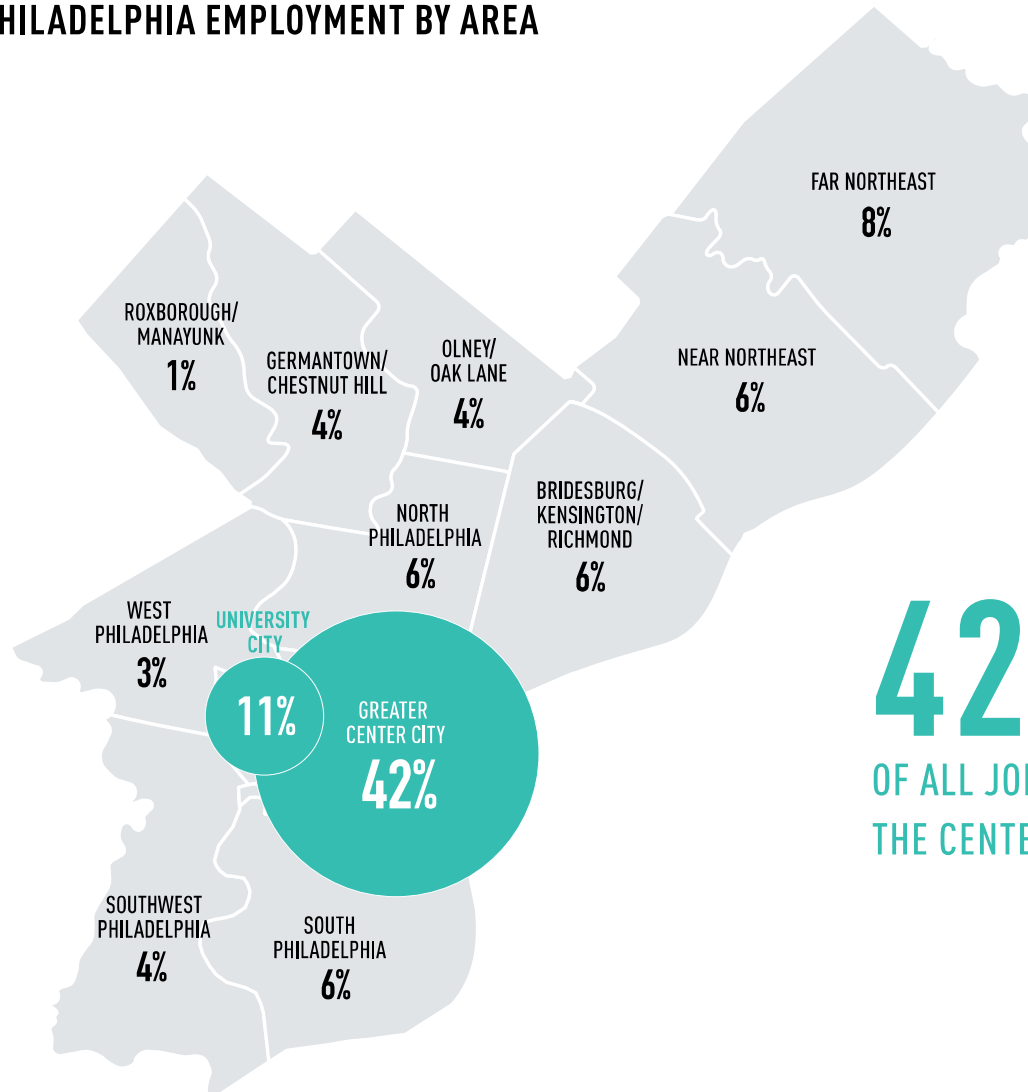


**How to position downtown in a time of  
extreme income disparities & political polarization?**

**Major effort to end the abatement**

# A place that holds 42% of all jobs in Philadelphia

## PHILADELPHIA EMPLOYMENT BY AREA



42%



OF ALL JOBS IN PHILADELPHIA ARE LOCATED AT  
THE CENTER OF THE REGION'S TRANSIT SYSTEM.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Local Employment-Household Dynamics, 2014

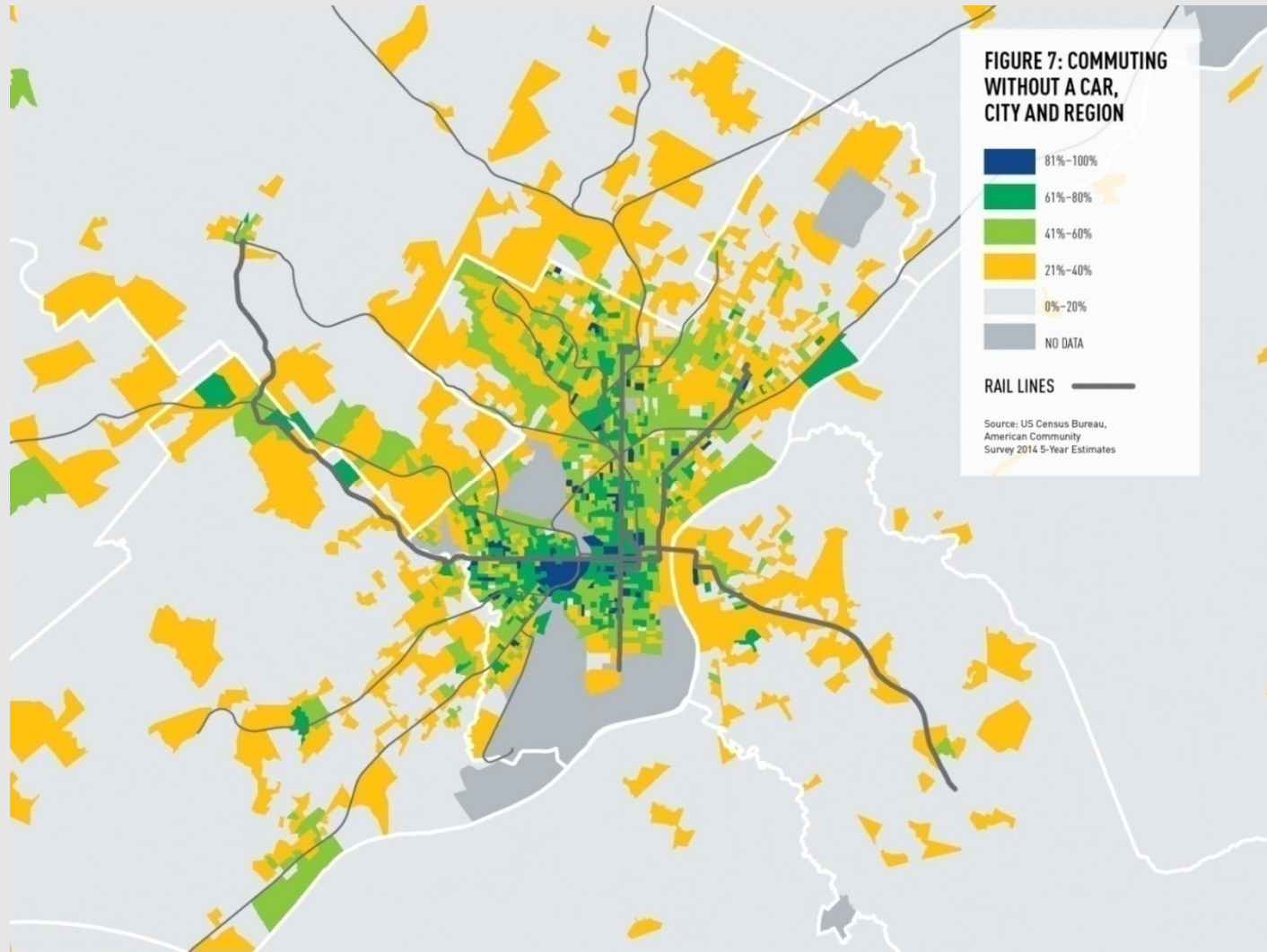


**Growth in Center City & University City isn't broad enough  
to replace all the lost jobs from the manufacturing age  
Incomplete revival**





# These jobs at the center of regional transit system 50% of neighborhood residents Can commute downtown in 30 minutes or less



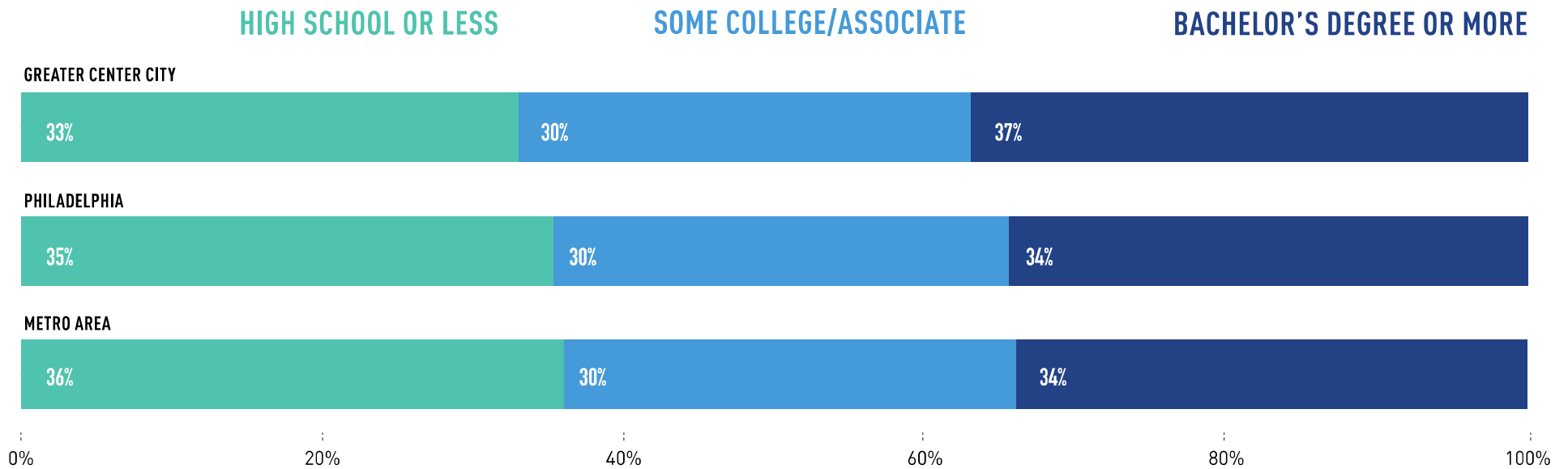


# 63% downtown jobs require less than college degree

## 33% require only a high school diploma

### SEPTA makes them accessible to neighborhood residents

#### PERCENT OF JOBS BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION, WORKERS 30 AND OLDER



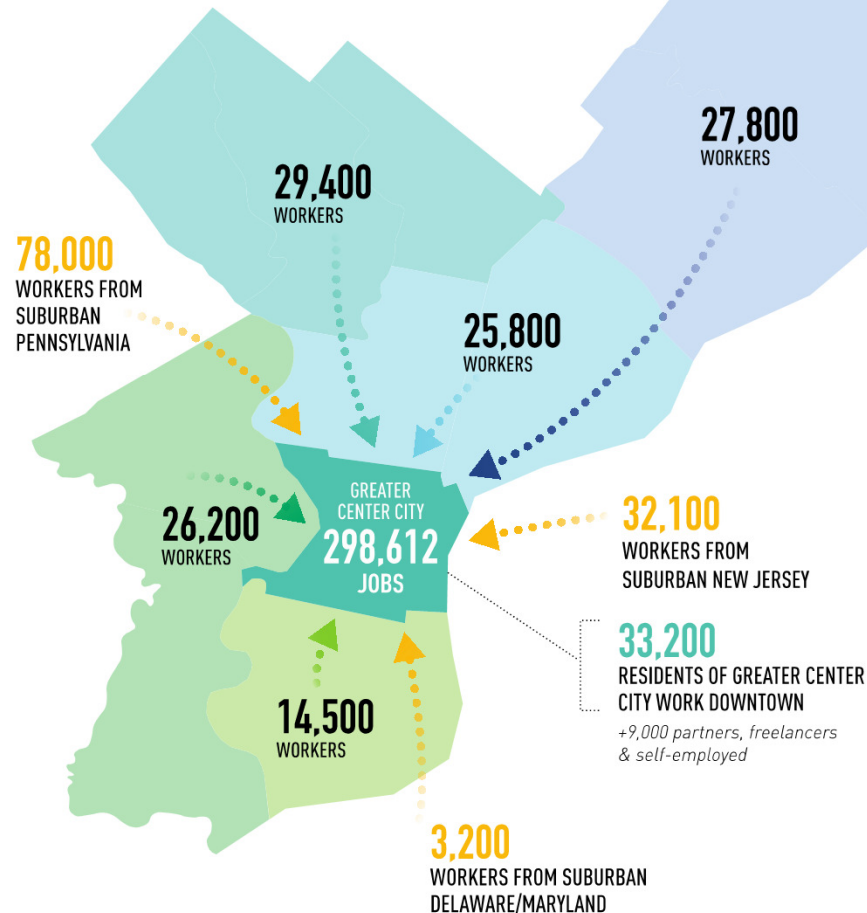
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Local Employment-Household Dynamics, 2015

# 25% of residents from every city neighborhood Work downtown; 52.5 % of jobs held by city residents

NUMBER OF NEIGHBORHOOD AND REGIONAL RESIDENTS  
WHO WORK DOWNTOWN

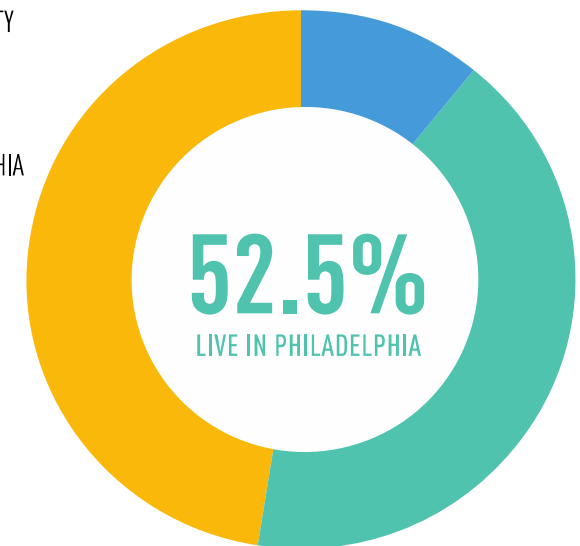
Not a tale of downtown vs. neighborhoods

**Downtown as the workplace  
for neighborhood residents**



WHERE DOWNTOWN WORKERS LIVE

- 11.1% GREATER CENTER CITY
- 41.4% ELSEWHERE IN PHILADELPHIA
- 47.5% OUTSIDE PHILADELPHIA



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Local Employment-Household Dynamics, 2015, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Current Employment Statistics 2017, CCD Estimates

Source: U.S. Census

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Local Employment-Household Dynamics, 2015



# Instead of killing abatement Mayor & Council Pledge revenues from expiring abatements

FIGURE 23: NUMBER OF PROPERTIES COMING OFF ABATEMENT, BY YEAR



## I. GREATER CENTER CITY DEVELOPMENT OVERVIEW

Housing development in Greater Center City has continued at a record setting pace with 7,580 units completed in 2017. Since emerging out of recession in 2010, construction has been driven by job growth, demographic trends, and a greater preference for urban living, which has enabled Philadelphia to expand from a 3% share of regional housing permits in the early 1990s to 25% share from 2010 to 2017 with more than half of those units built downtown.

Since 2000, a total of 23,770 new residential units have been added in Greater Center City (Figure 1). Defined as the area between the two rivers and from Broad Avenue to Taylor Street, Greater Center City has an estimated population of 195,000, an increase of 21% since the 2000 census (Figure 2).

Housing development has remained heavily skewed toward apartments since 2003 with rental accounting for 71% of 714 units of all new supply delivered in 2017. While most new apartments in 2016 were concentrated in the core, nearly 60% of new apartments were added in the extended neighborhoods as in the case of downtown in 2017 (Figure 4).

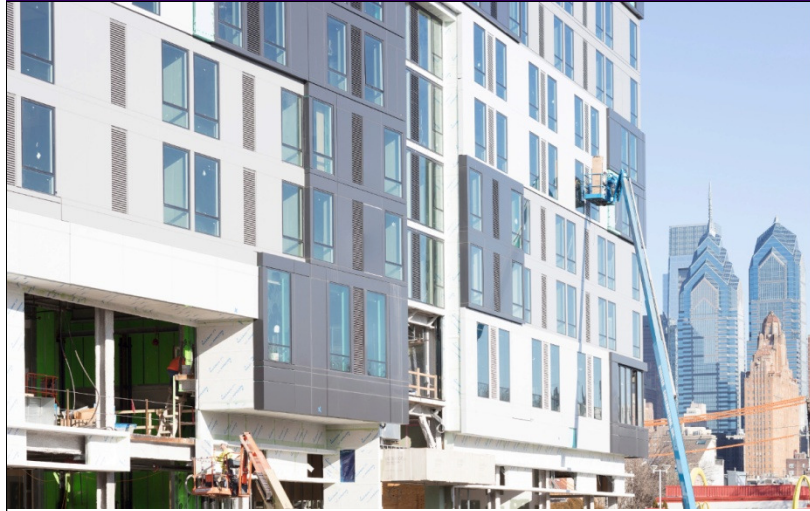
Condominium construction, which had been in a lull since 2006, rebounded and accounted for 10% of all new units delivered in 2017, up from only 5% in 2016.

But single-family development has steadily outpaced condo construction, accounting for 70% of the new supply (288 units) in 2017 with 65% of the units being added in the extended neighborhoods. While having the amenability provided by high-rise construction comes, the steady pace of single-family housing construction has produced an average of 4.5 new units per year since 2013, transforming neighborhoods as parking lots, industrial and/or offices that have been converted to housing.

**SINCE 2000, CENTER CITY HOUSING MARKETS HAVE BEEN TRANSFORMED, DRIVEN BY DEMOGRAPHIC AND EMPLOYMENT TRENDS THAT ARE QUITE POSITIVE, YET MODERATE IN SCOPE AND POTENTIAL DURATION**

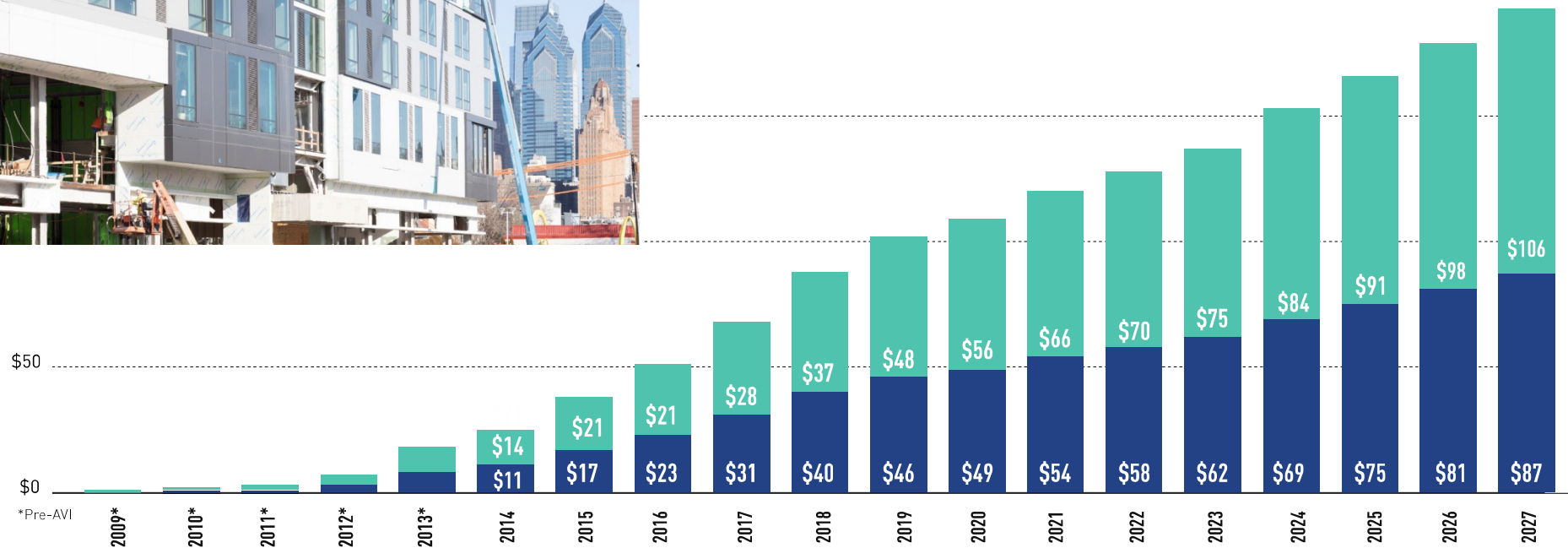
Source: CCD Calculation from Philadelphia Office of Property Assessment Data

# Harness growth: \$48 million to school district \$46 million to the City: Number steadily rising Pledged to affordable housing



## ABATED PROPERTY

TAX TO CITY (\$M)    TAX TO SCHOOLS (\$M)



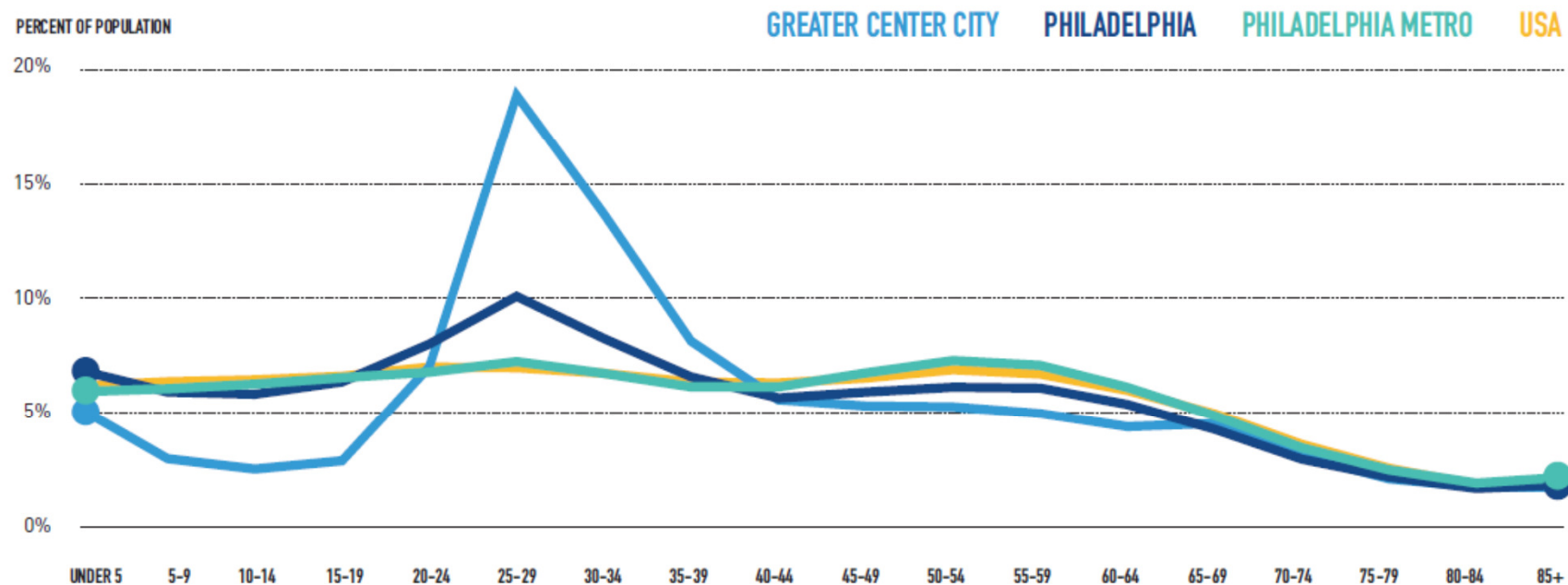
Source: CCD Calculation from Philadelphia Office of Property Assessment Data



# Important caution flag: Millennials are not forever

## There are less 17 year olds than 27 year olds

### COMPARATIVE AGE DISTRIBUTION



Source: US Census Bureau, American Community Survey 2013 - 2017

# How to Accelerate Residential Growth in the Downtown Core

**Paul R. Levy**  
**President & CEO, Center City District**  
**Philadelphia, PA**  
[www.centercityphila.org](http://www.centercityphila.org)

