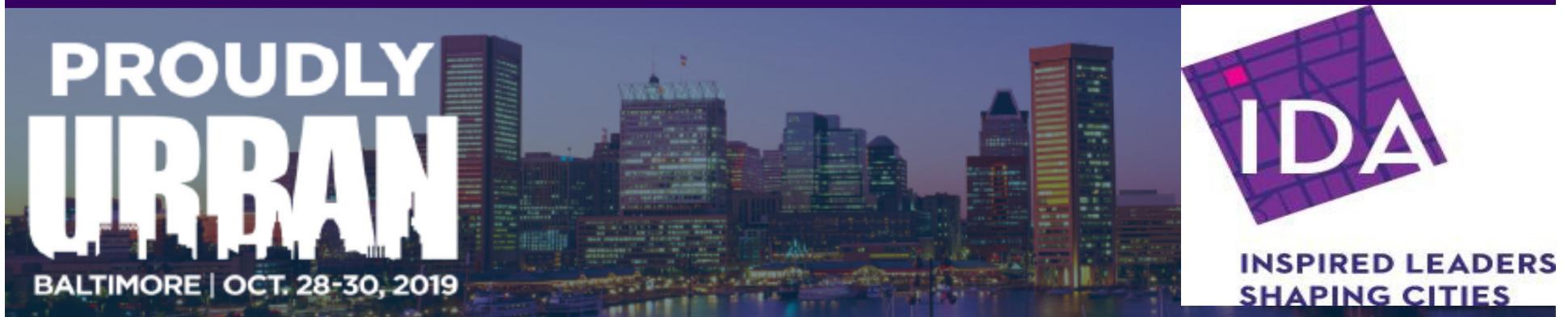


# How to Accelerate Residential Growth in the Downtown Core

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



International  
Downtown  
Association **IDA**  
[www.ida-downtown.org](http://www.ida-downtown.org)

[www.definingdowntown.org](http://www.definingdowntown.org)

 CENTER CITY DISTRICT  
[www.centercityphila.org](http://www.centercityphila.org)

 CENTER CITY DISTRICT

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

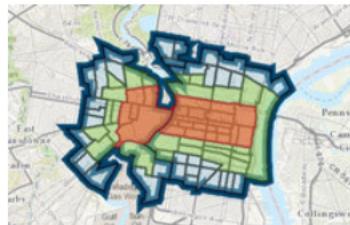
Thriving downtowns, town centers, and anchor institution districts have become major engines for creativity, innovation industries, and future job creation for their broader regional economies. This website provides several data resources for downtown managers and civic leaders to benchmark progress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



[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 >>](#)

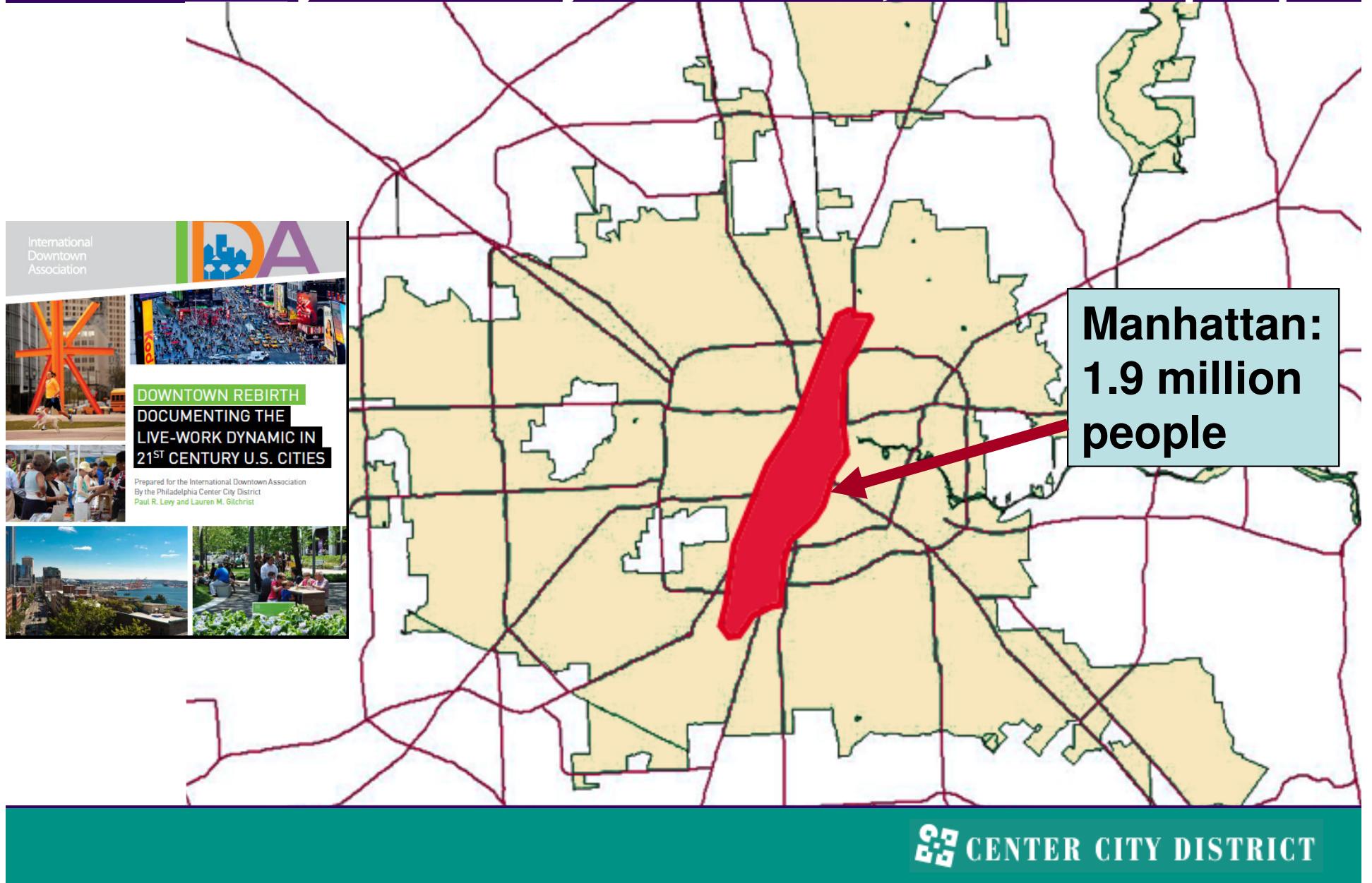
# While all cities were experiencing downtown housing revivals

The collage includes the following images:

- A large orange graphic of a stylized 'X' or asterisk shape in front of a modern building.
- A night view of a city street with many lit billboards and signs, including one for "KODAK".
- A night skyline of a city reflected in water.
- A man and a woman walking a dog along a waterfront path with buildings in the background.
- A daytime view of a park with people at tables under white tents.
- Three people walking together outdoors.
- A wide shot of a large crowd gathered in a park with a city skyline in the background.
- An aerial view of a city with a harbor and industrial buildings.
- People sitting at outdoor tables in a park.
- The International Downtown Association (IDA) logo.
- Text: "International Downtown Association IDA", "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".
- Logos for "CENTER CITY DISTRICT" and "www.definingdowntown.org".
- Logos for "CENTER CITY DISTRICT" and "www.centercityphila.org".

# 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**

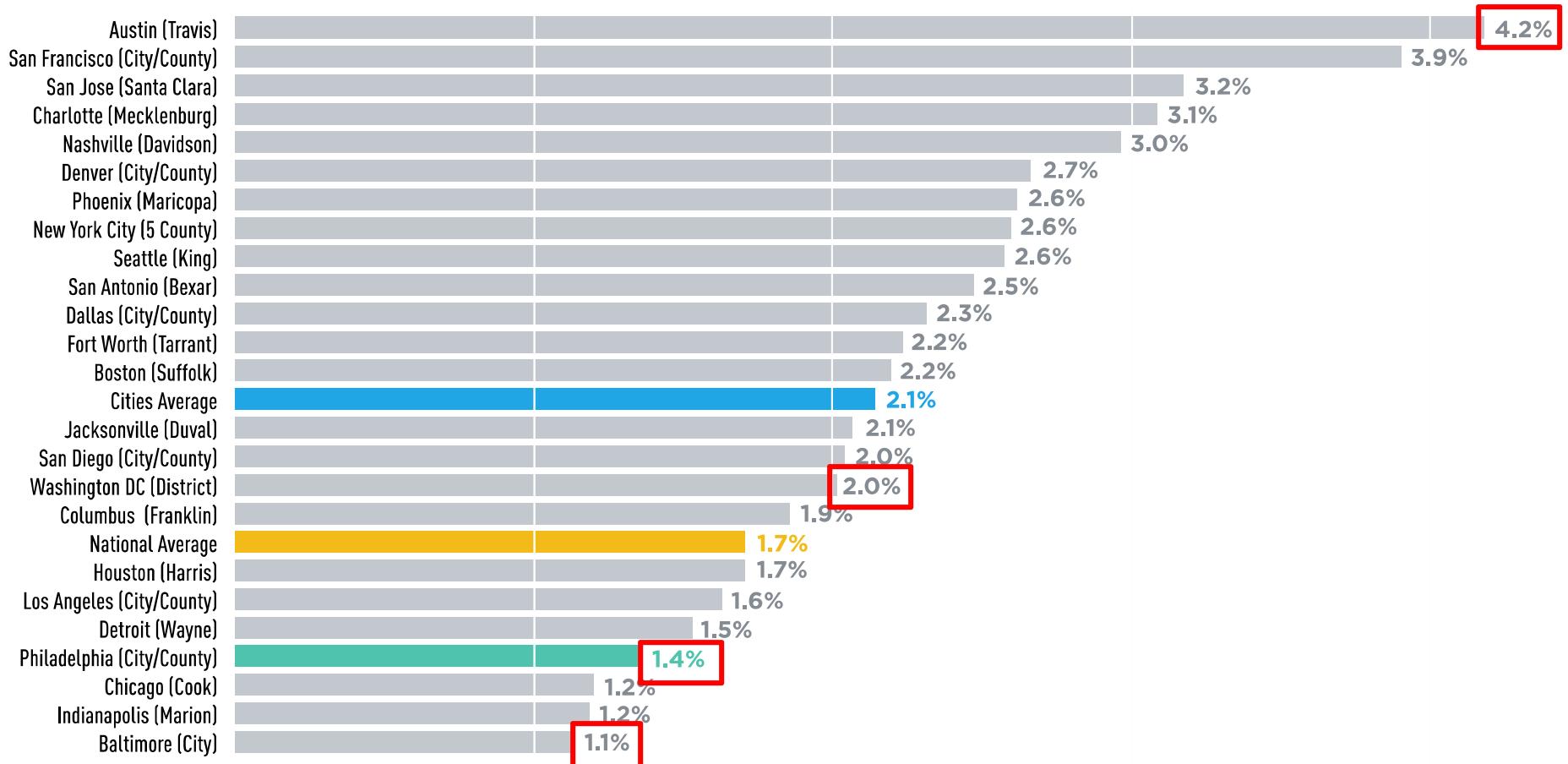


# Constrained “peninsula” cities



# 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



 CENTER CITY DISTRICT

# Minneapolis



 CENTER CITY DISTRICT

# Indianapolis



 CENTER CITY DISTRICT

# Milwaukee



 CENTER CITY DISTRICT

# Atlanta



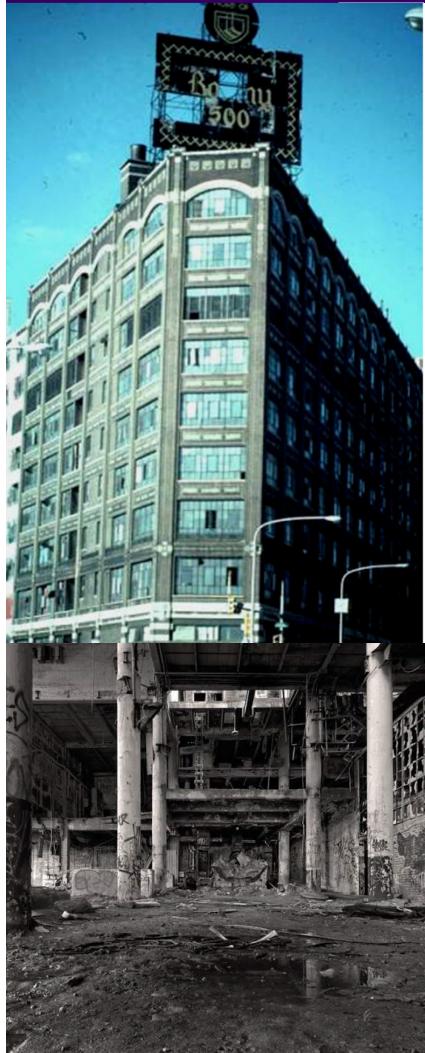
# Baltimore: Context matters, One size does not fit all



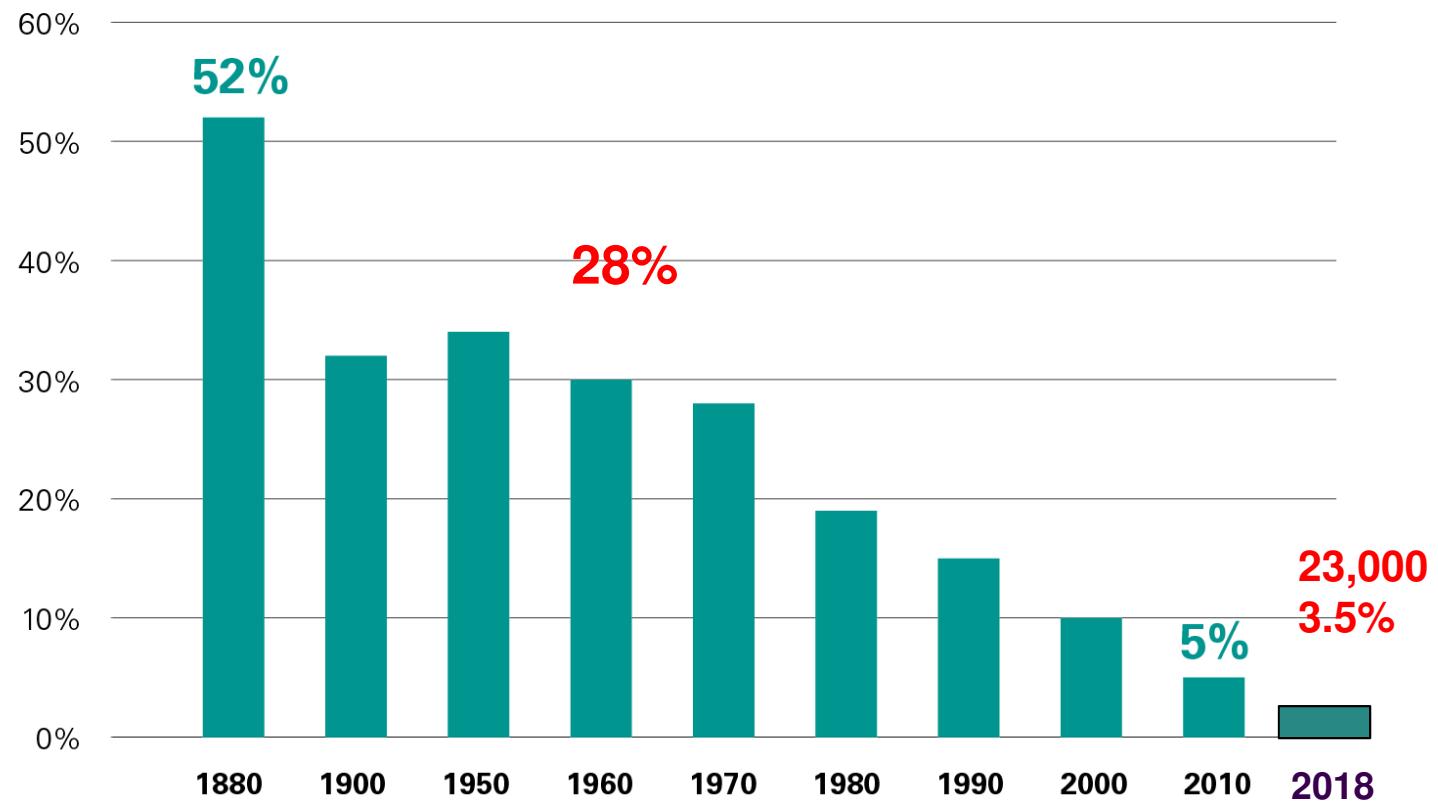
# Philadelphia: old city, broad range of housing types



# A former manufacturing city steadily lost jobs



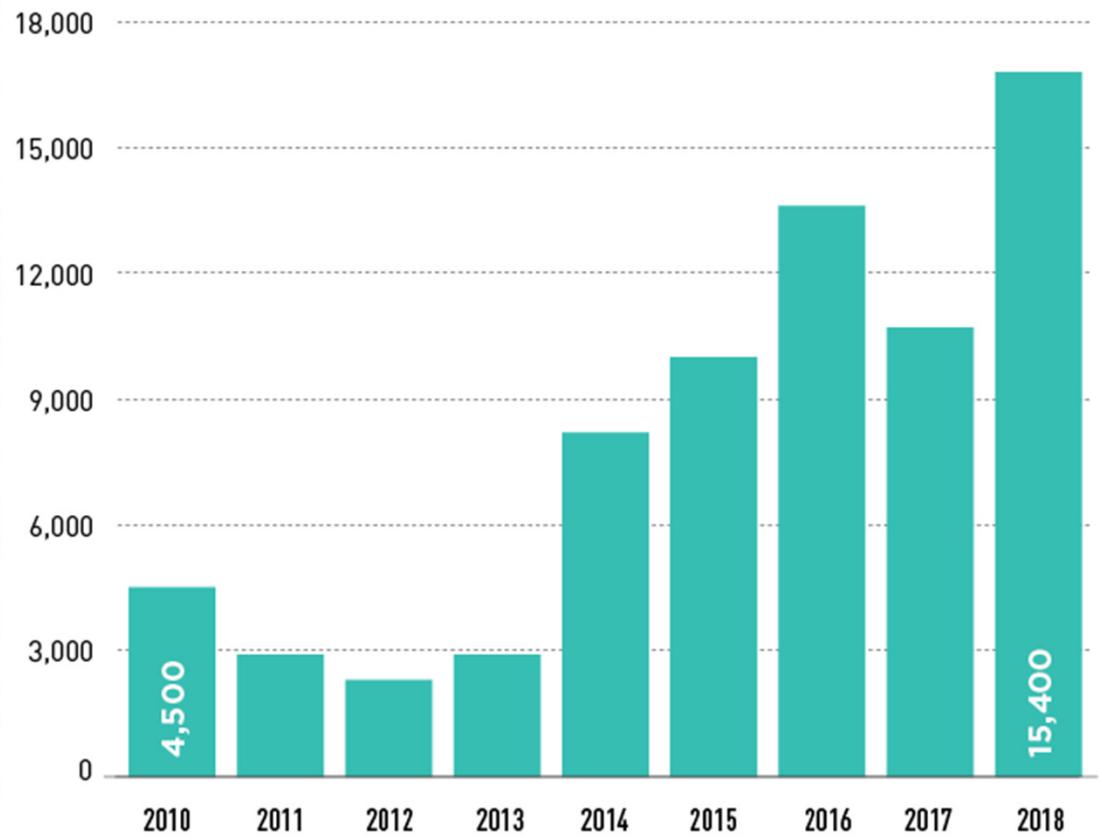
Total Employment in Philadelphia: 1880 - 2018  
Percentage Share of Jobs in Manufacturing Sector



# Recent acceleration in job growth



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

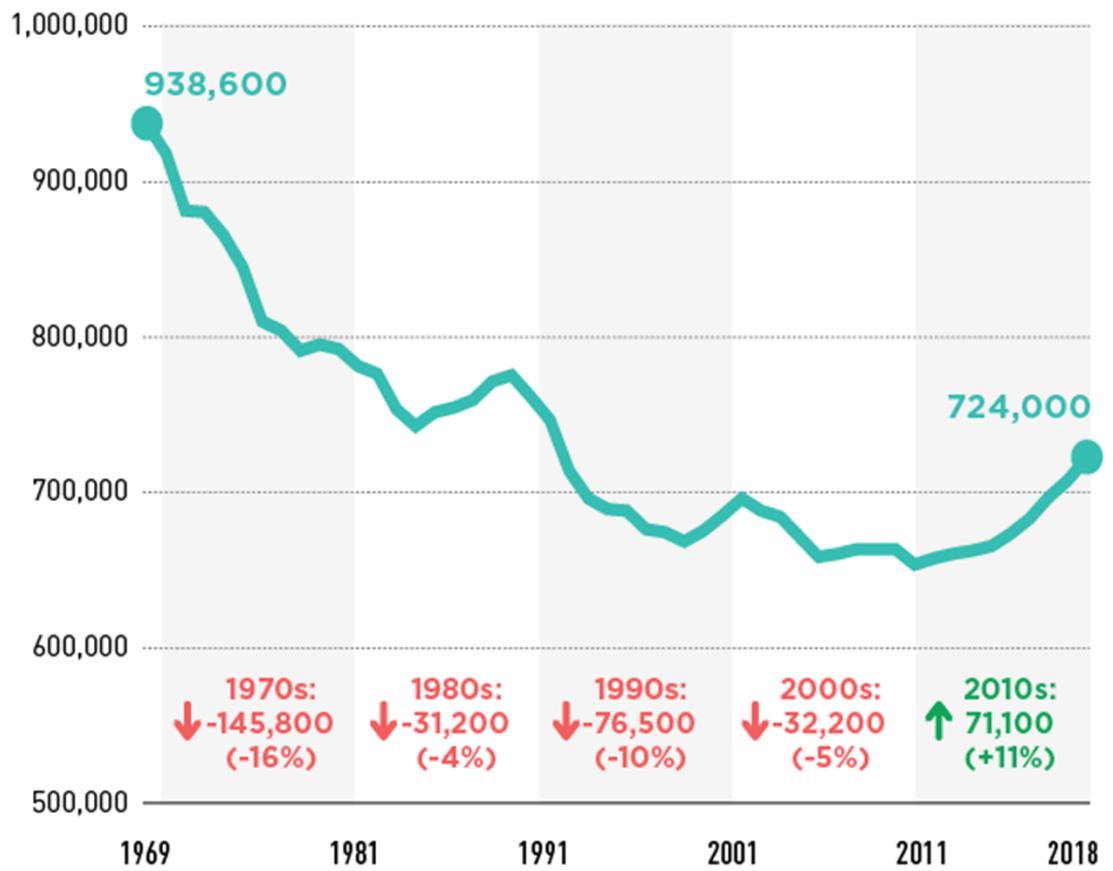


Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics, Current Employment Statistics

# Rebounding from a long decline

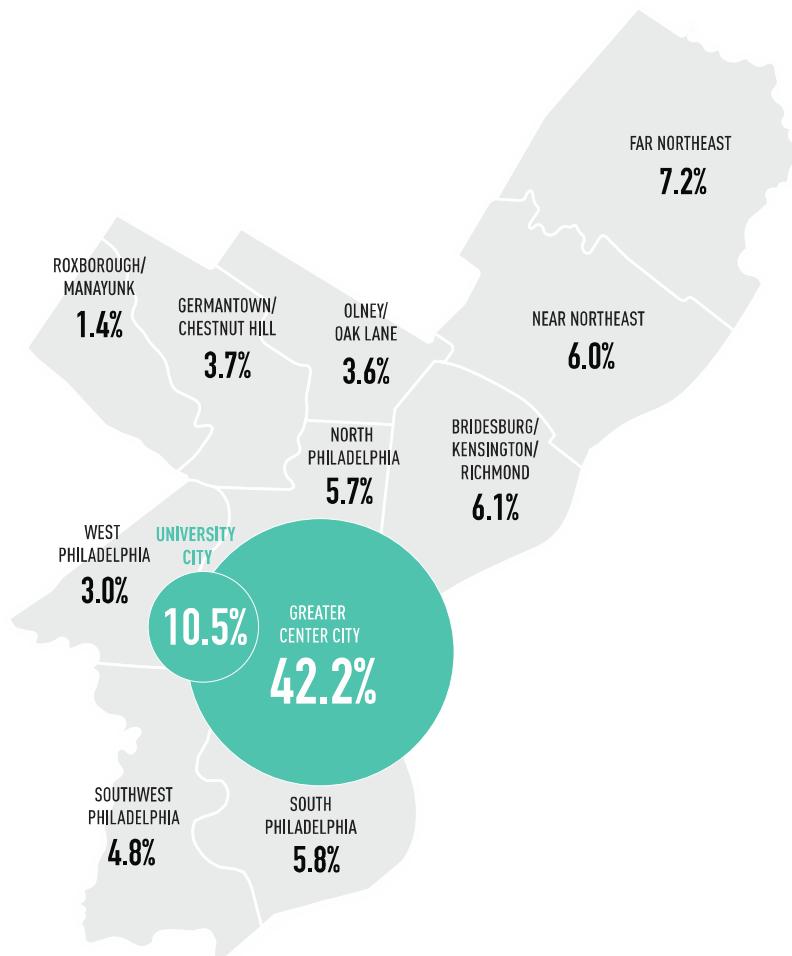


FIGURE 1: PHILADELPHIA TOTAL JOBS,  
1969–2018



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

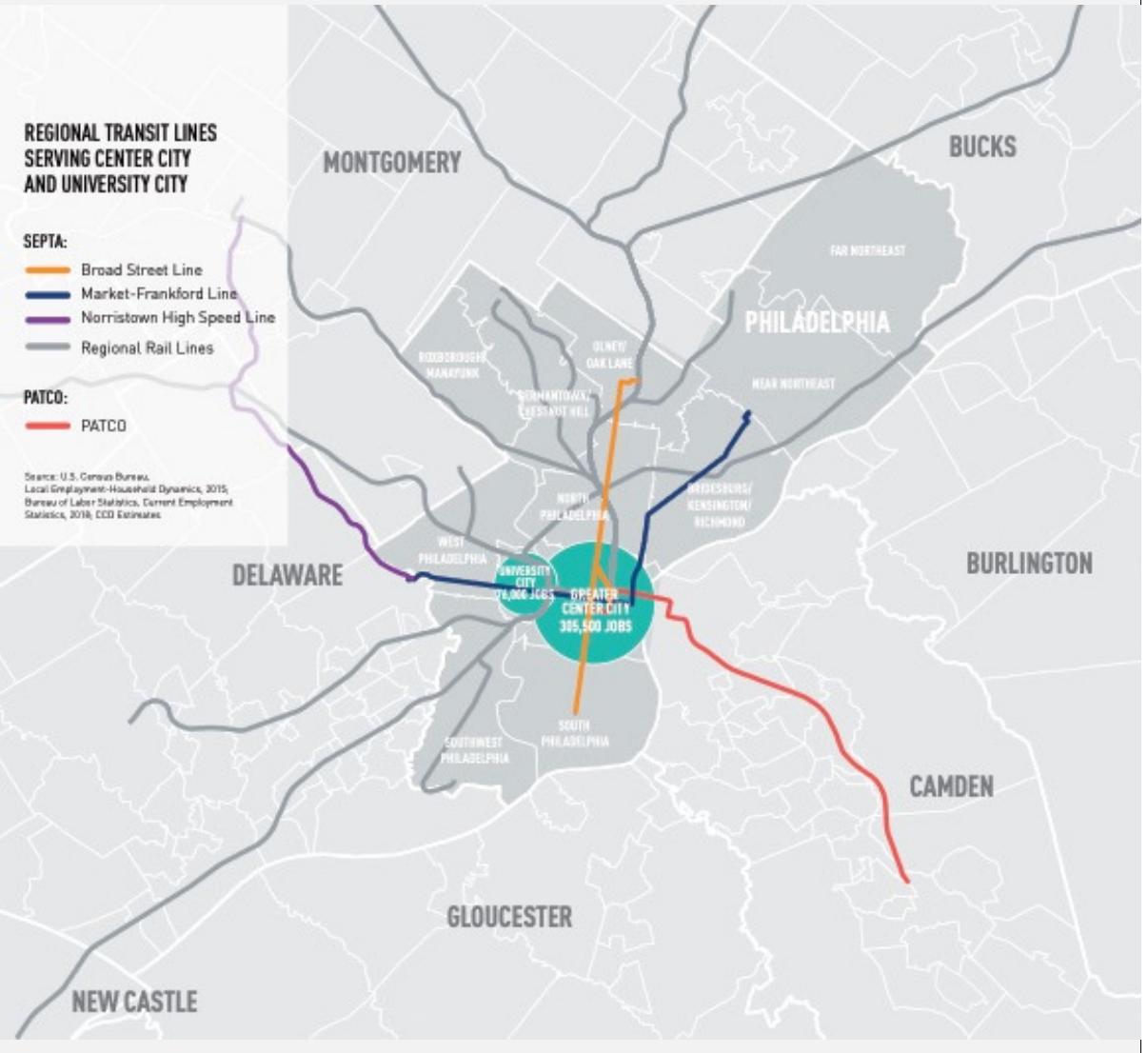
PHILADELPHIA EMPLOYMENT BY AREA



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

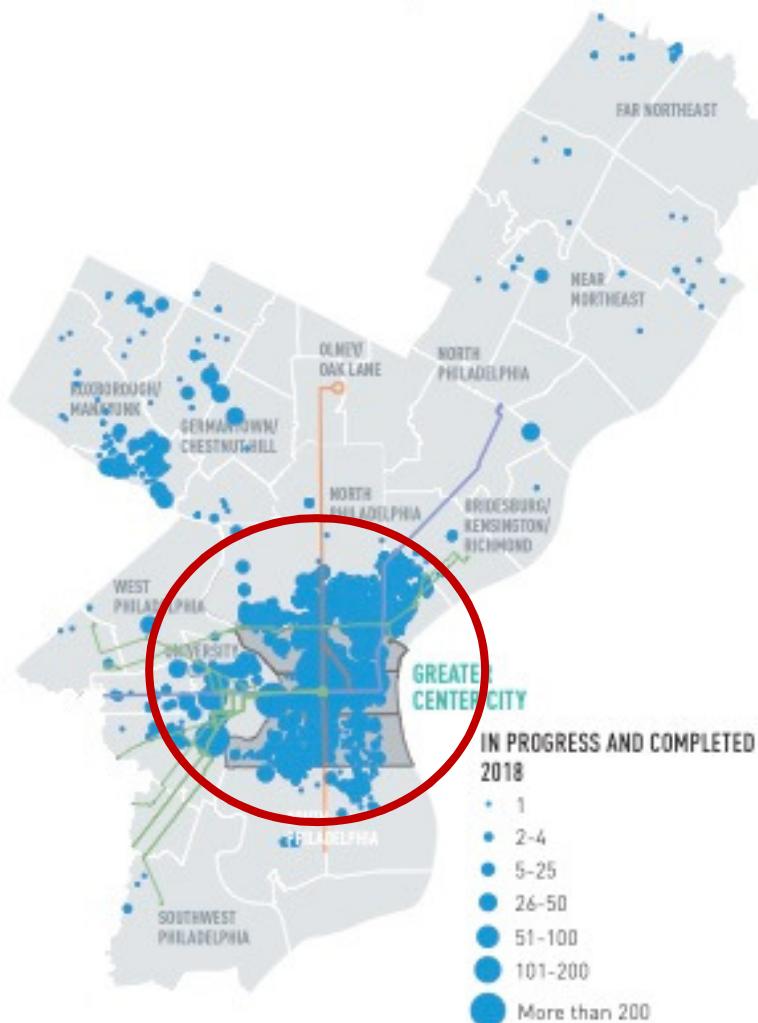


# 53% of all jobs concentrated at center of regional transit system Brings 300,000 passengers downtown each day

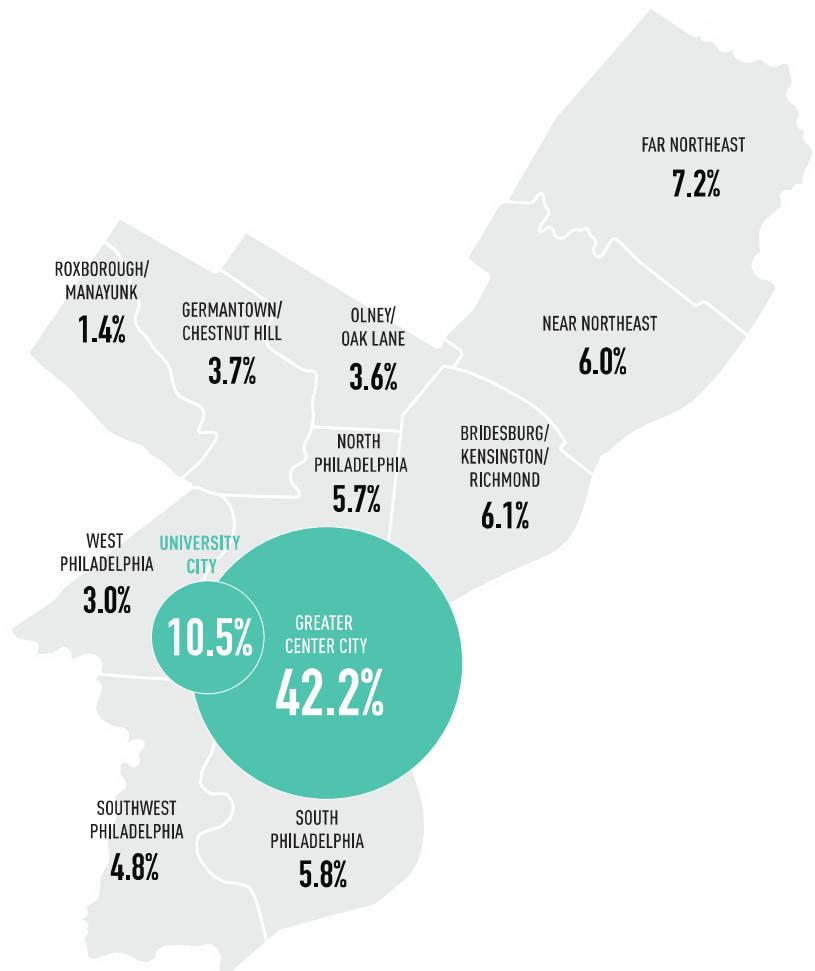


# 81% of new supply in city in 17% of city's geography This is where the numbers work

FIGURE 8: HOUSING COMPLETED OR UNDER CONSTRUCTION CITYWIDE, 2018



PHILADELPHIA EMPLOYMENT BY AREA



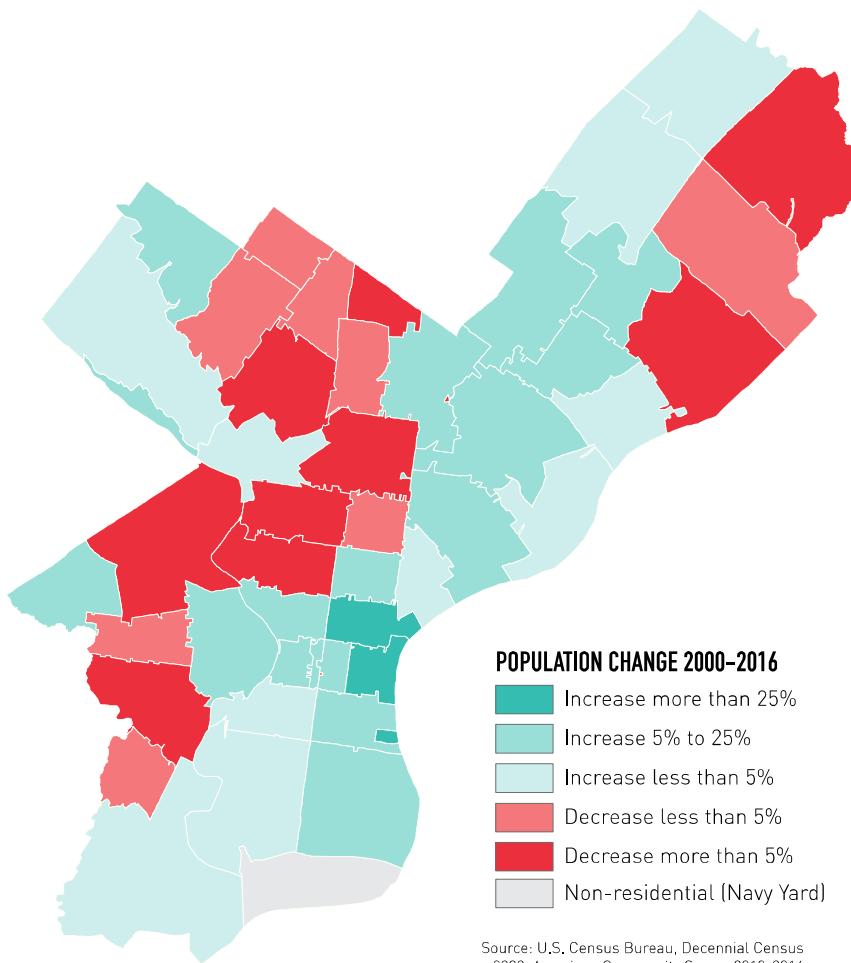
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Local Employment-Household Dynamics, 2015



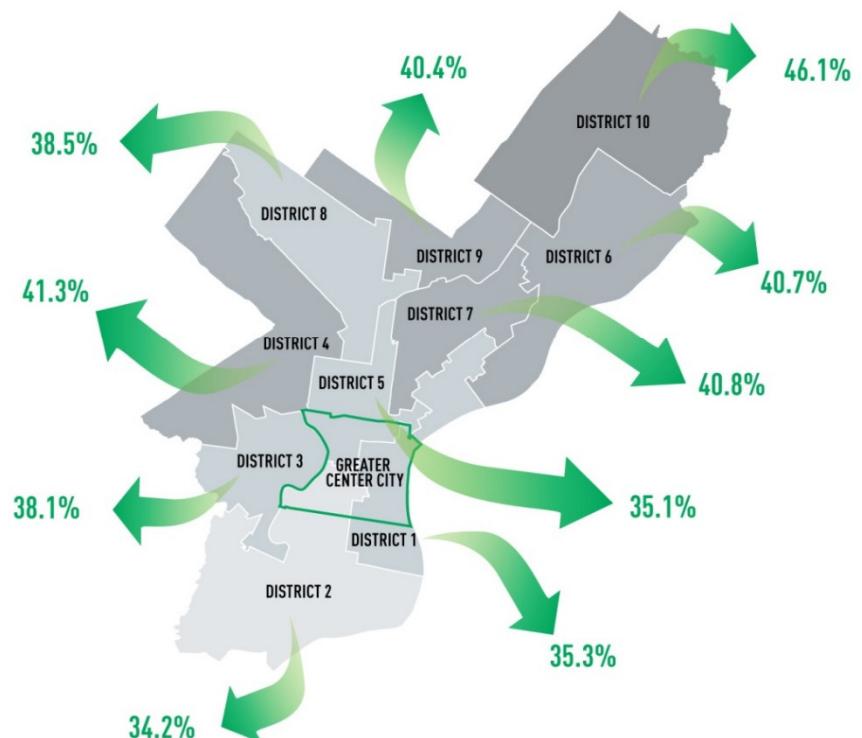
CENTER CITY DISTRICT

# 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

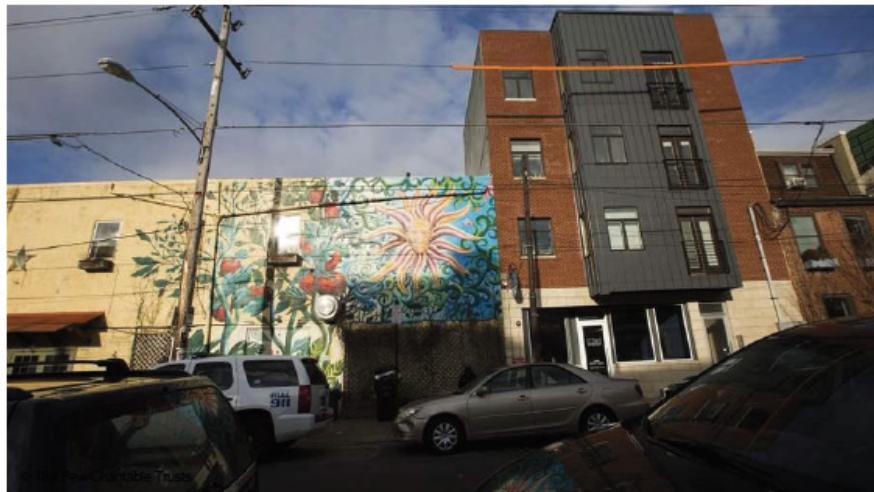
REPORT

## Philadelphia's Changing Neighborhoods

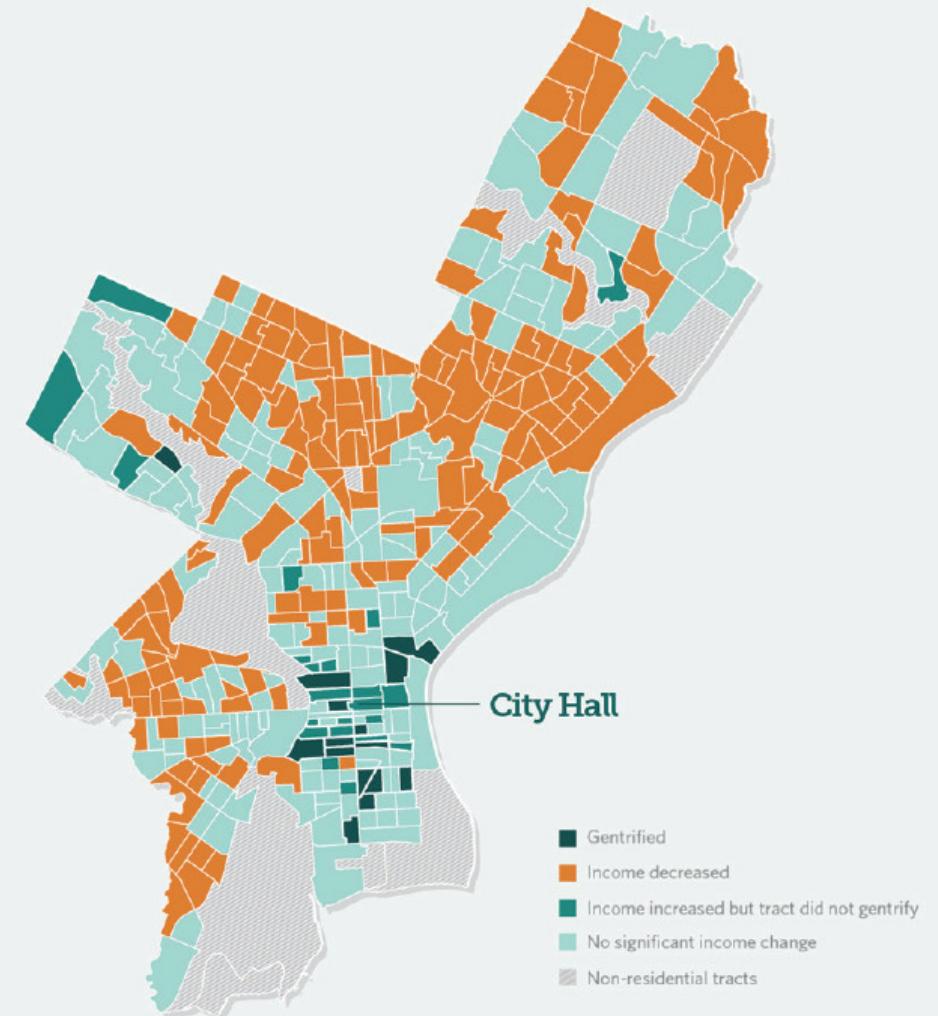
Gentrification and other shifts since 2000

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



 CENTER CITY DISTRICT

# 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**



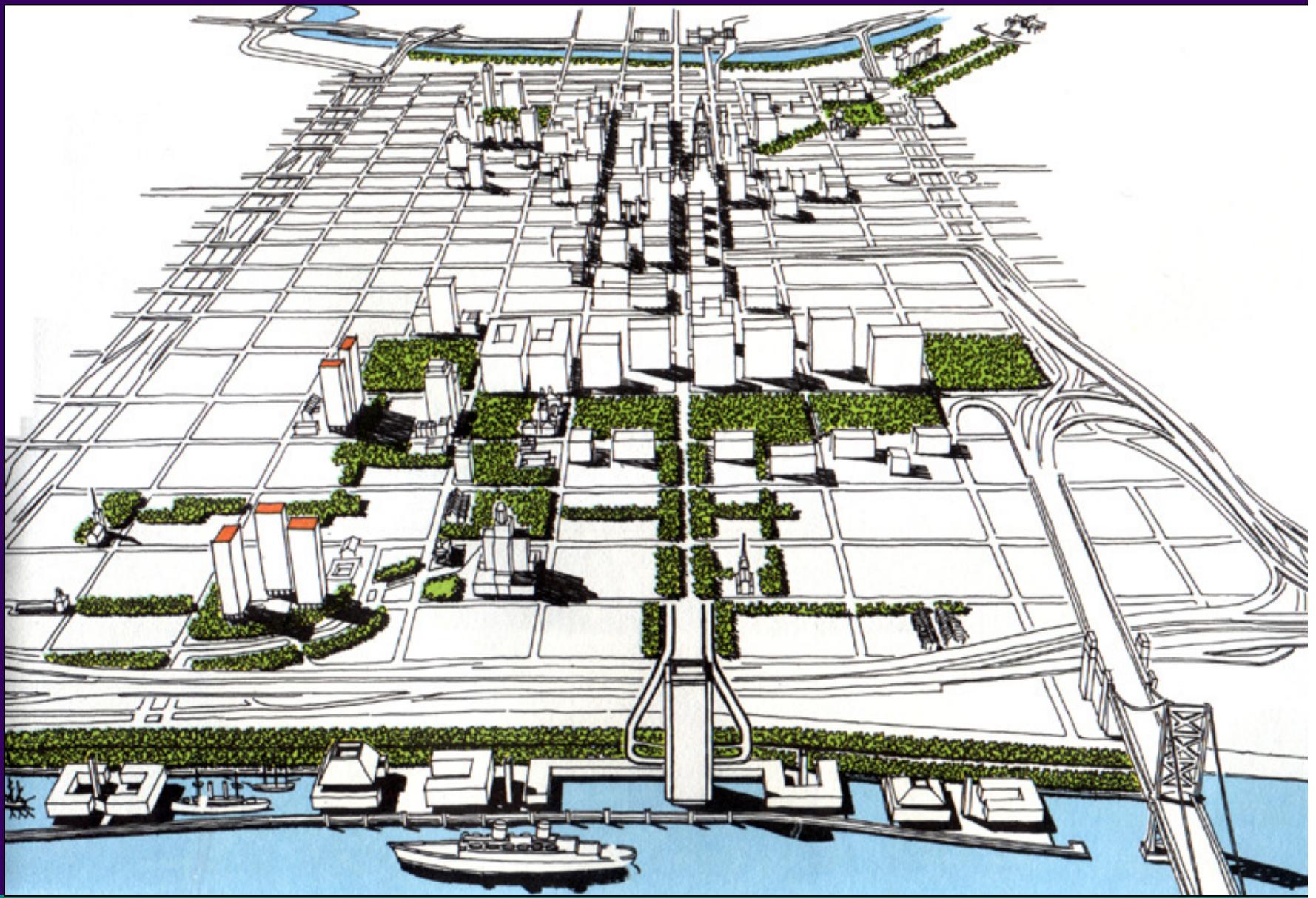
Flyin Phil's Photos

 CENTER CITY DISTRICT

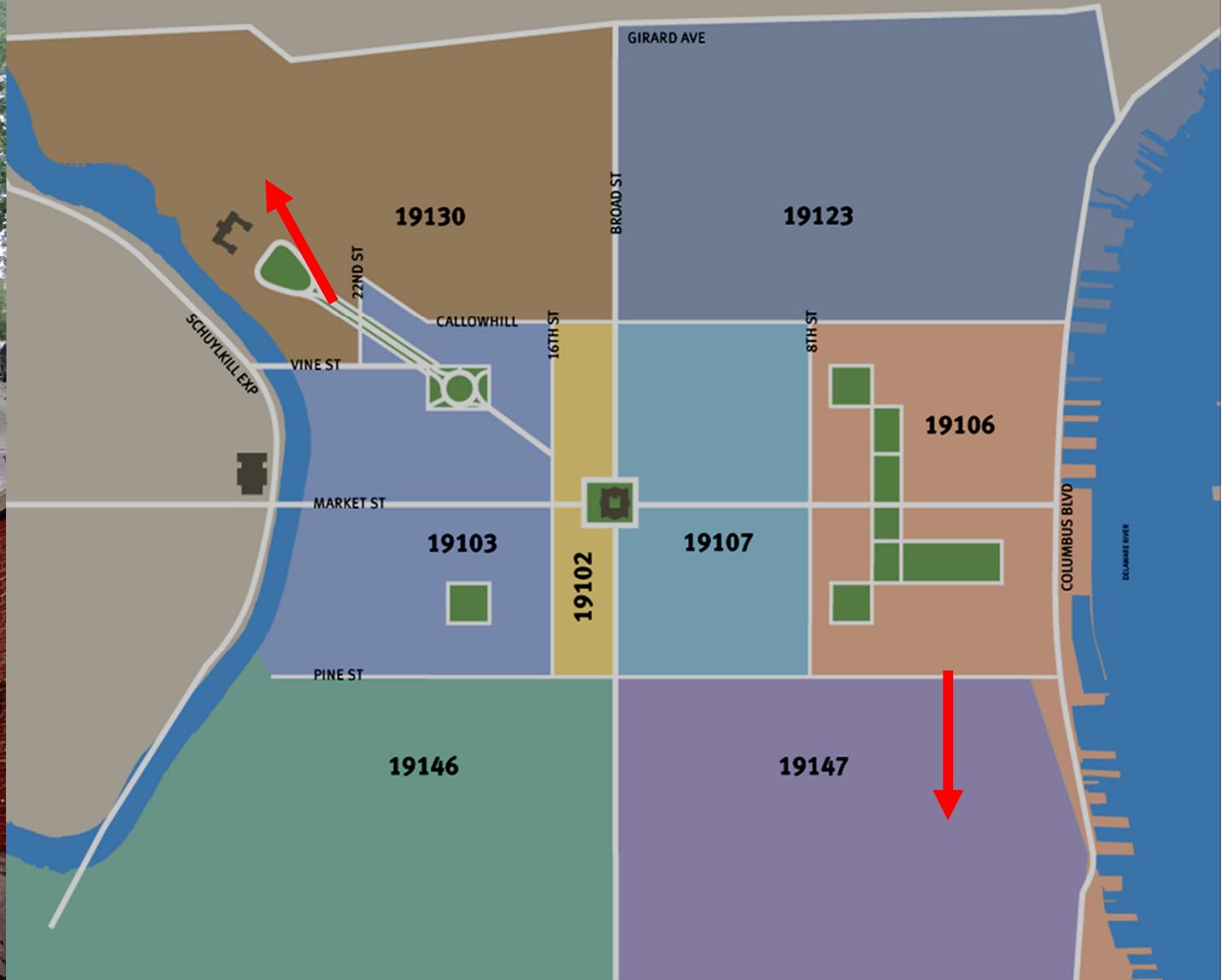
**1963 boundaries of Center City quite distinct**  
**Outside these boundaries: working class, lower income communities**



# 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



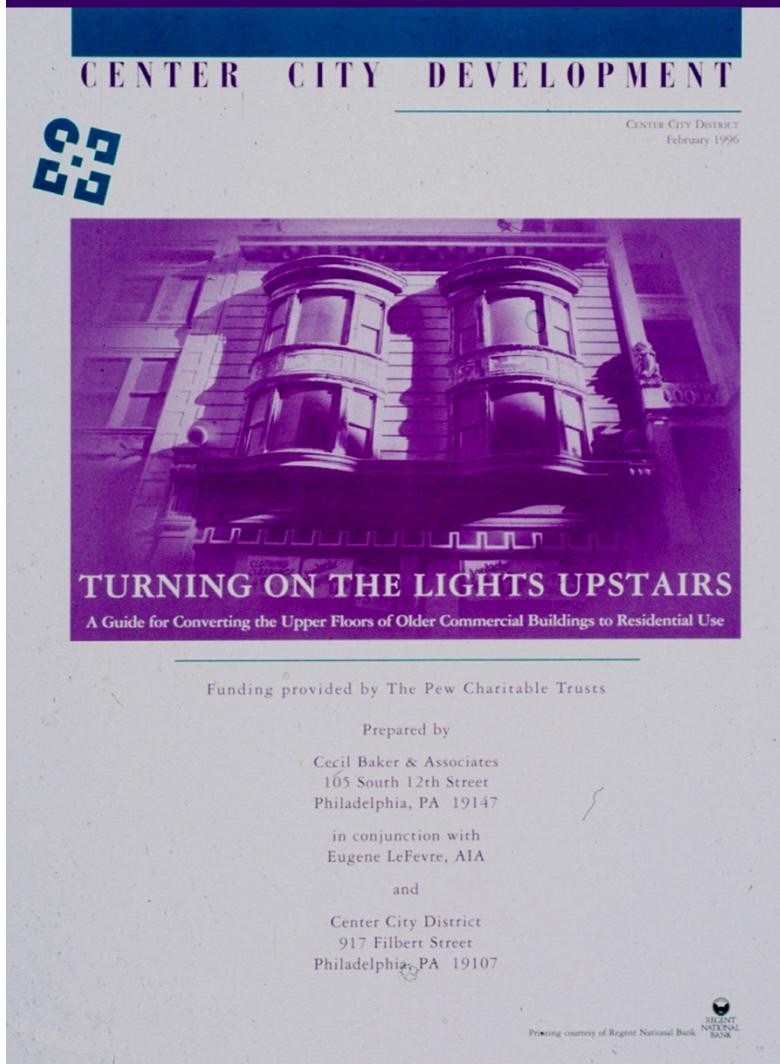
# Dallas & Minneapolis



# 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



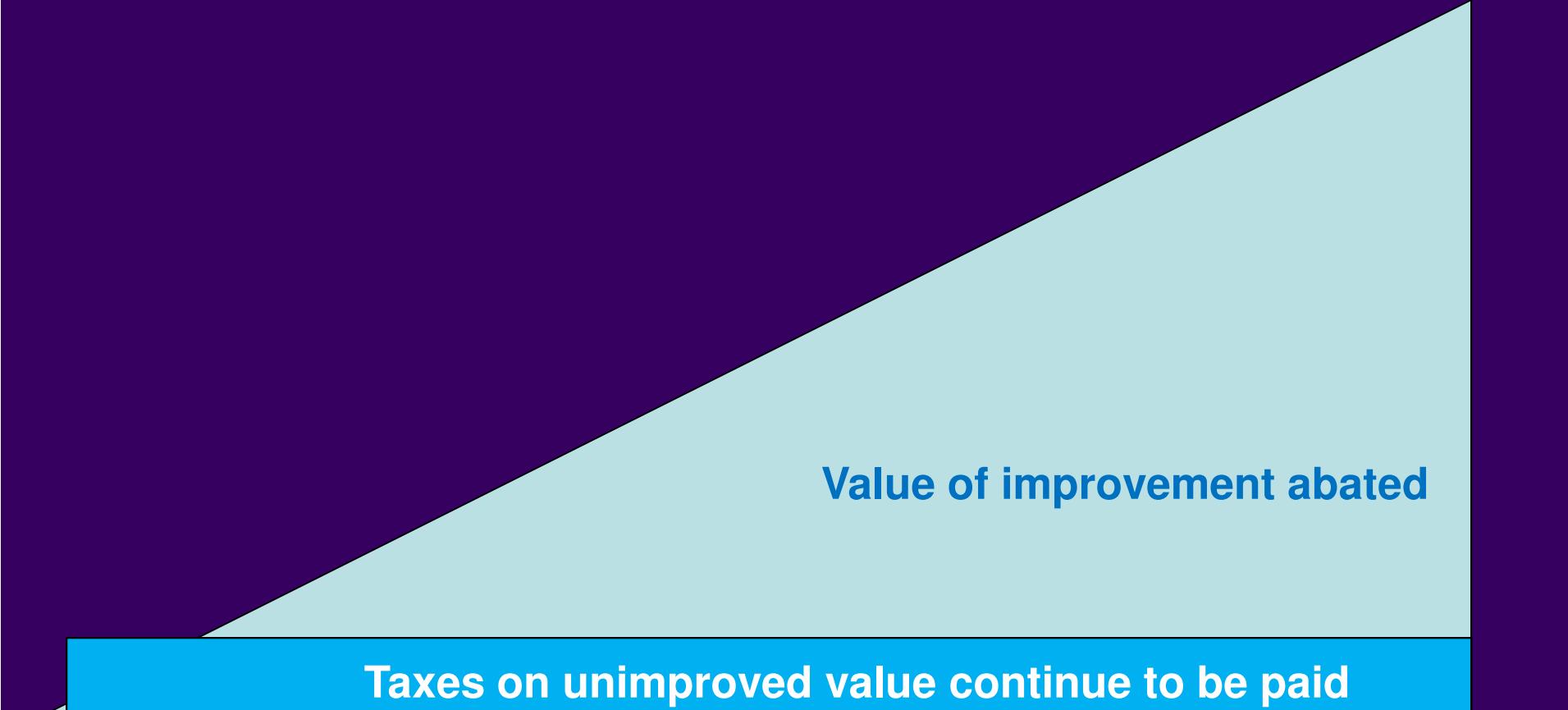
- Retained architect & developer to evaluate buildings for residential
- Survey to determine best buildings; floor layout, window size & exposure
- Detailed economic analysis of 10 buildings: evaluation for code compliance, cost-estimate, pro-formas.

# 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**



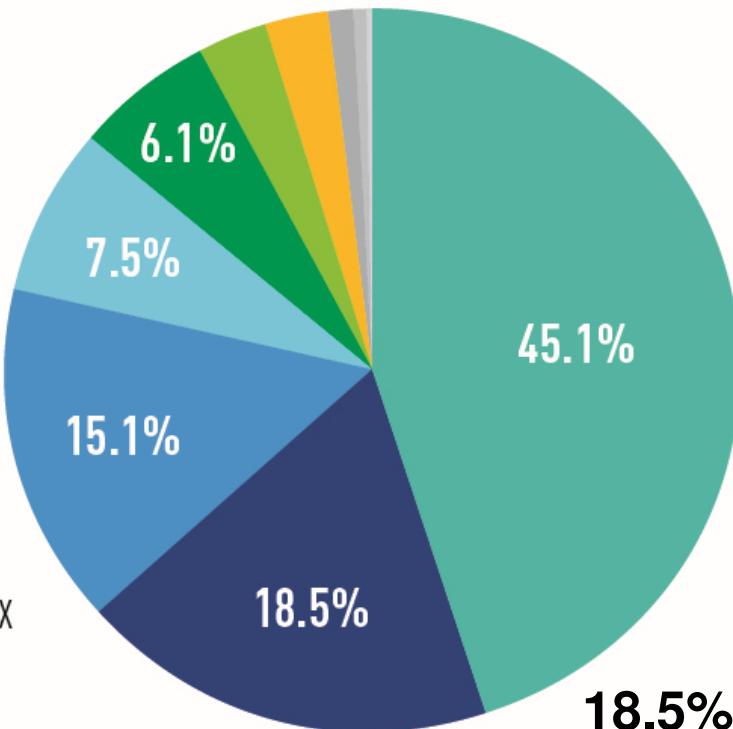
**Value of improvement abated**

**Taxes on unimproved value continue to be paid**

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

**FY18 GENERAL FUND: LOCAL TAX REVENUES**

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



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

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



**CENTER CITY DISTRICT**

## 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**

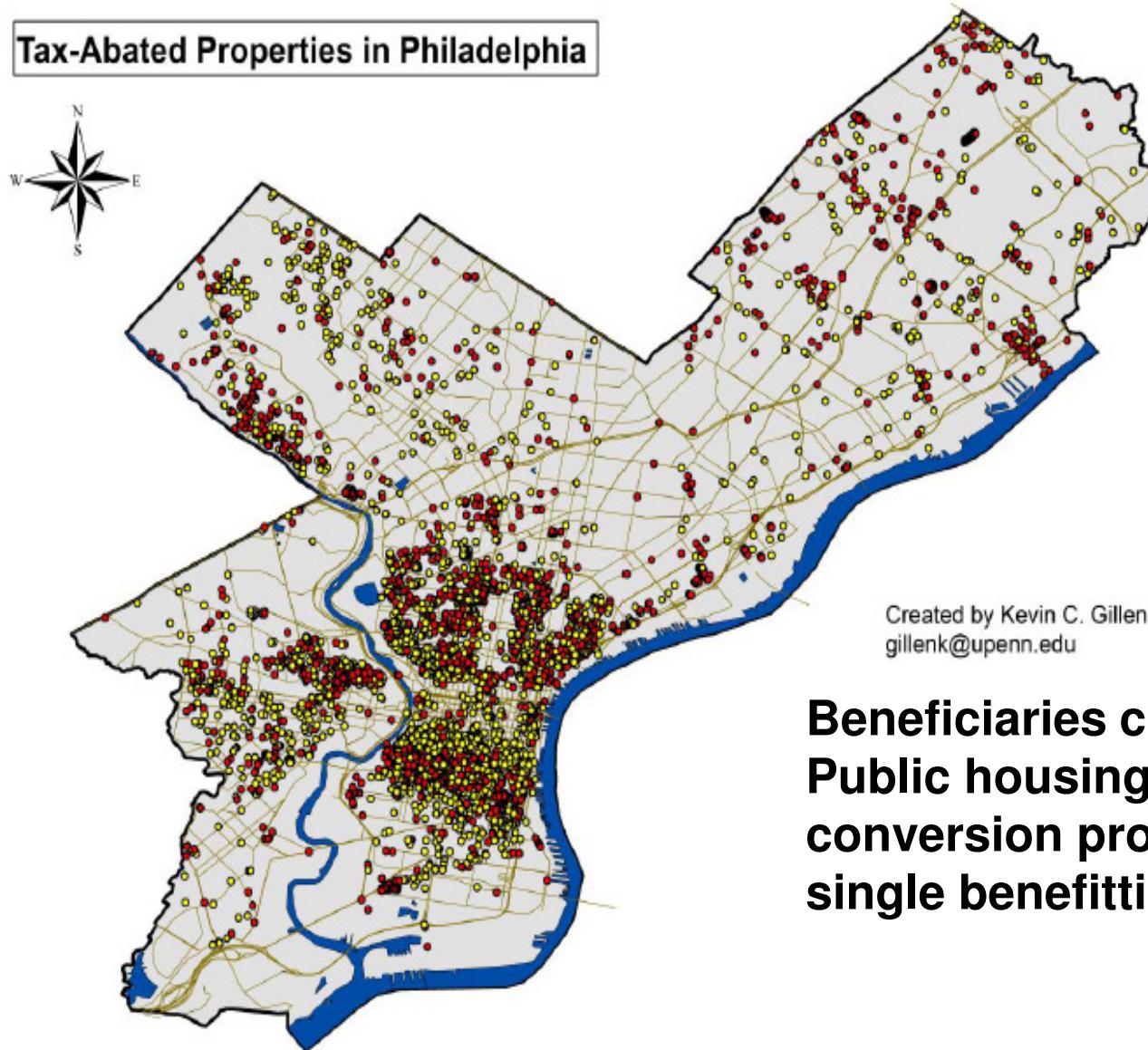


# Synchronized with a major condo boom & Return of empty nesters



# Fast forward 19 years: abatements are citywide

Tax-Abated Properties in Philadelphia

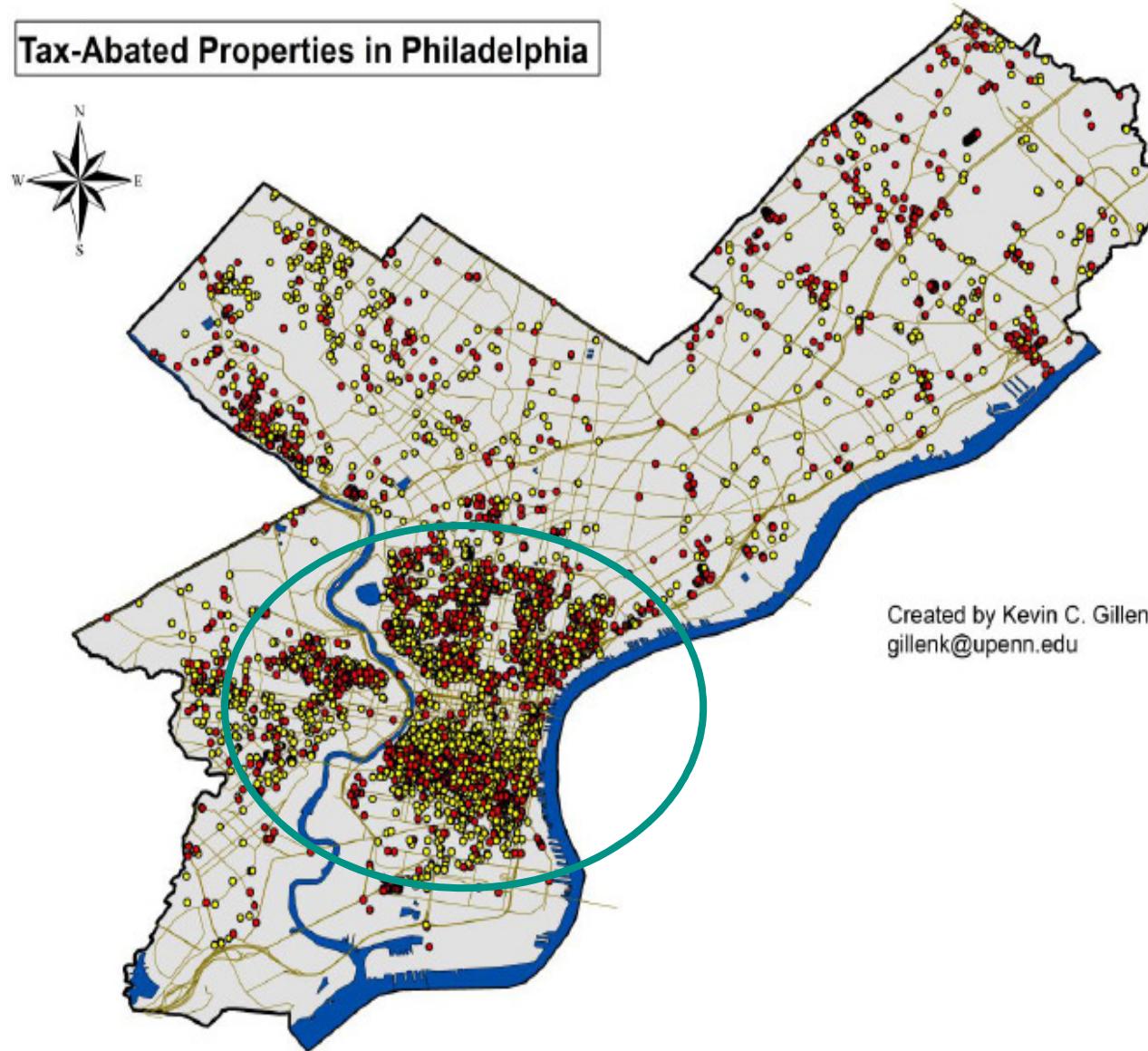


Created by Kevin C. Gillen, PhD  
gillenk@upenn.edu

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

# But abatements are concentrated around Greater Center City

Tax-Abated Properties in Philadelphia

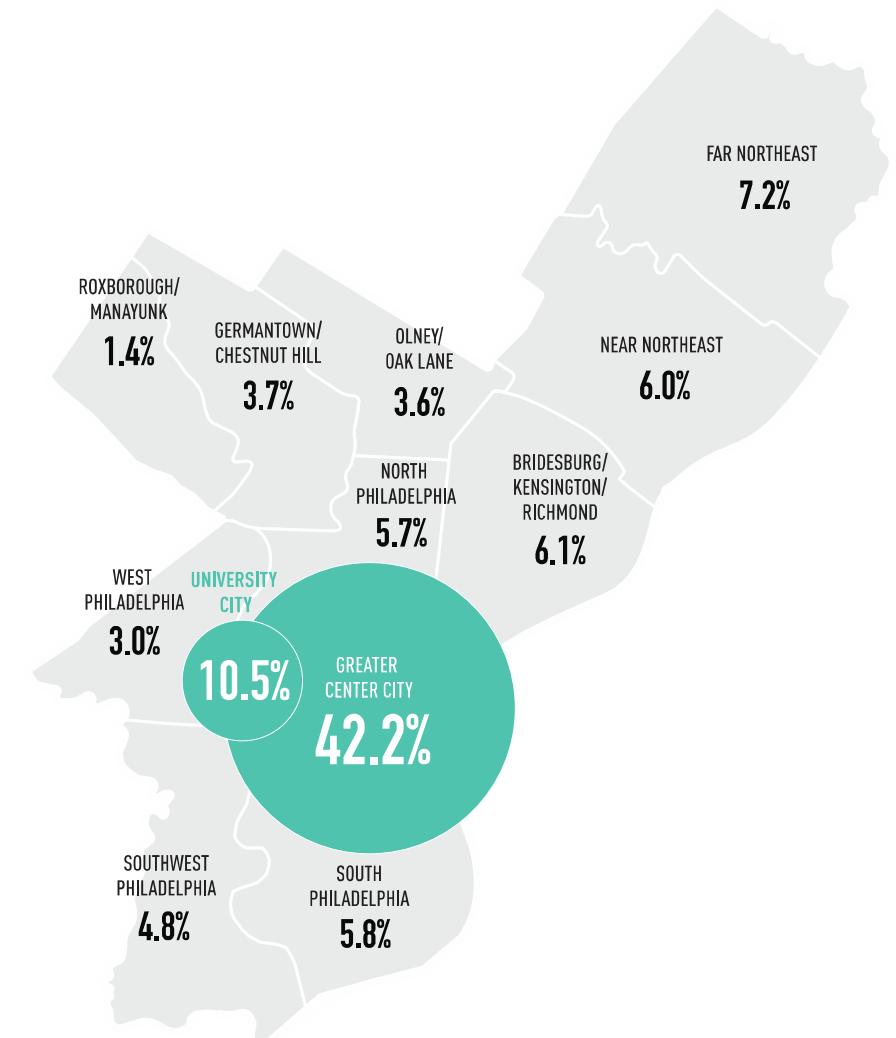


Created by Kevin C. Gillen, PhD  
gillenk@upenn.edu

# Correlate with area of job growth

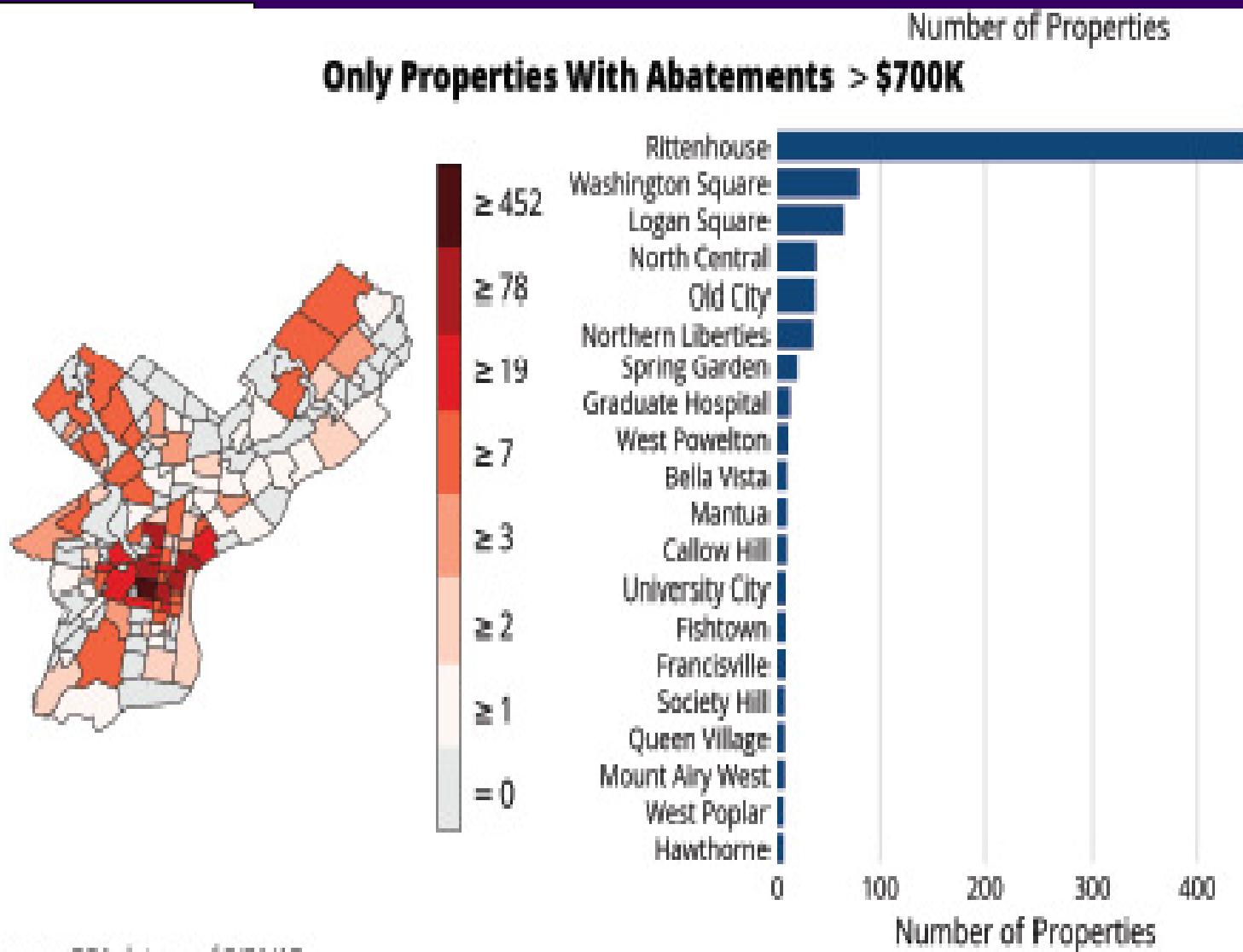
## PHILADELPHIA EMPLOYMENT BY AREA

### Tax-Abated Properties in Philadelphia



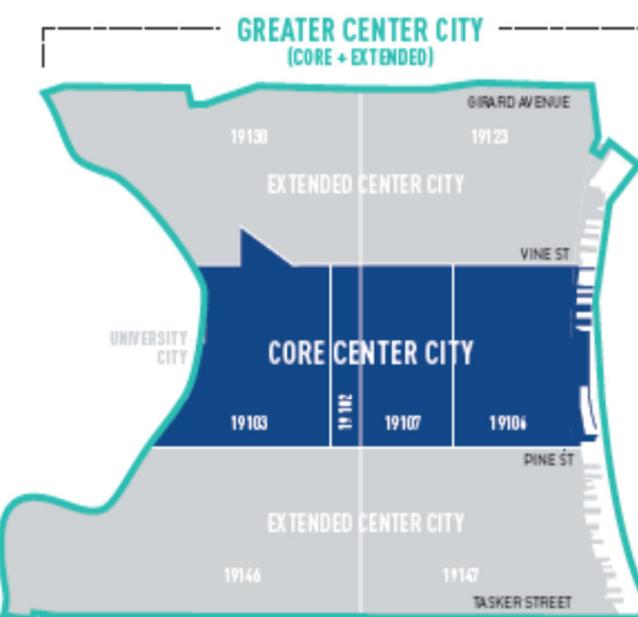
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Local Employment-Household Dynamics, 2015

# 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



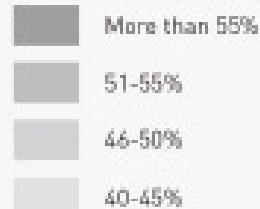
## DEFINING THE RESIDENTIAL DOWNTOWN:

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

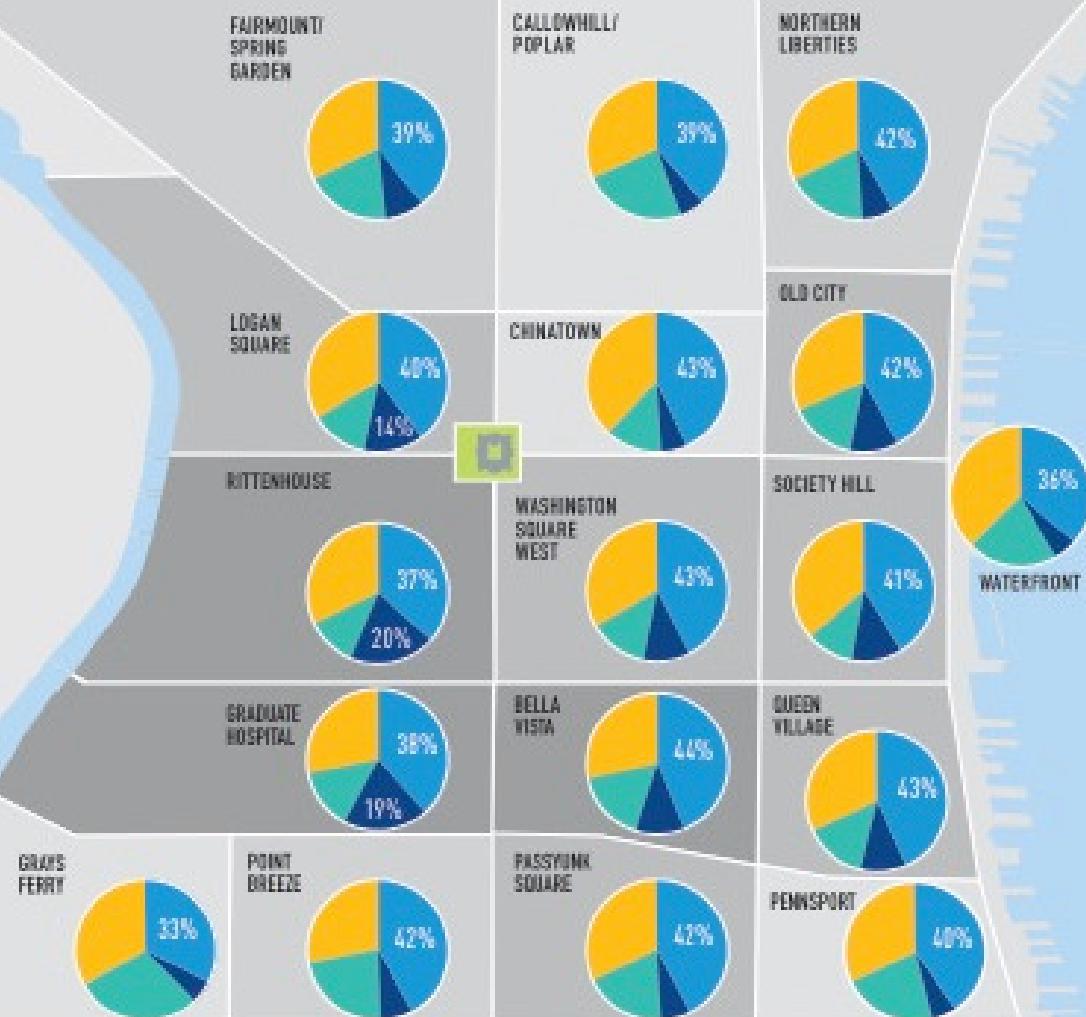
MAP: PERCENT OF WORKERS EMPLOYED IN GREATER CENTER CITY & UNIVERSITY CITY:



PIE: PERCENT OF WORKERS EMPLOYED IN:

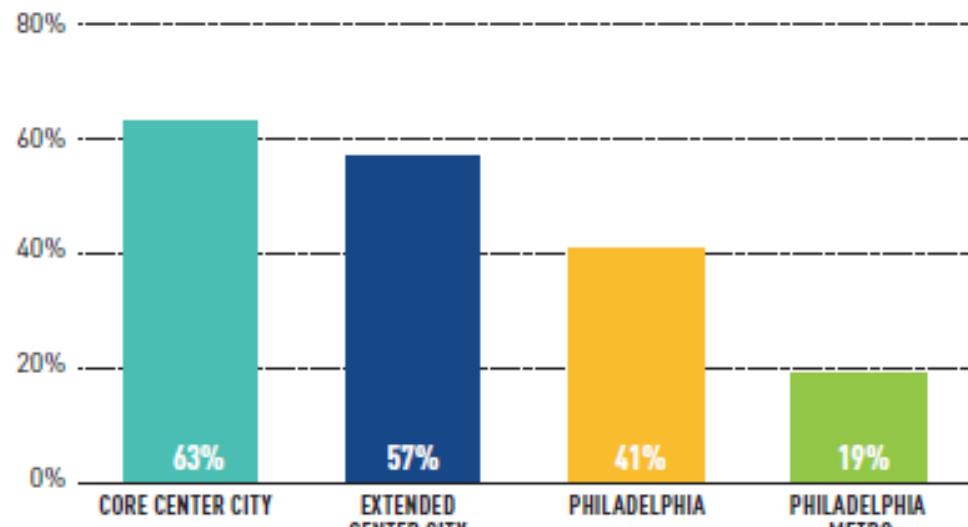


Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Local Employment-Household Dynamics, 2019



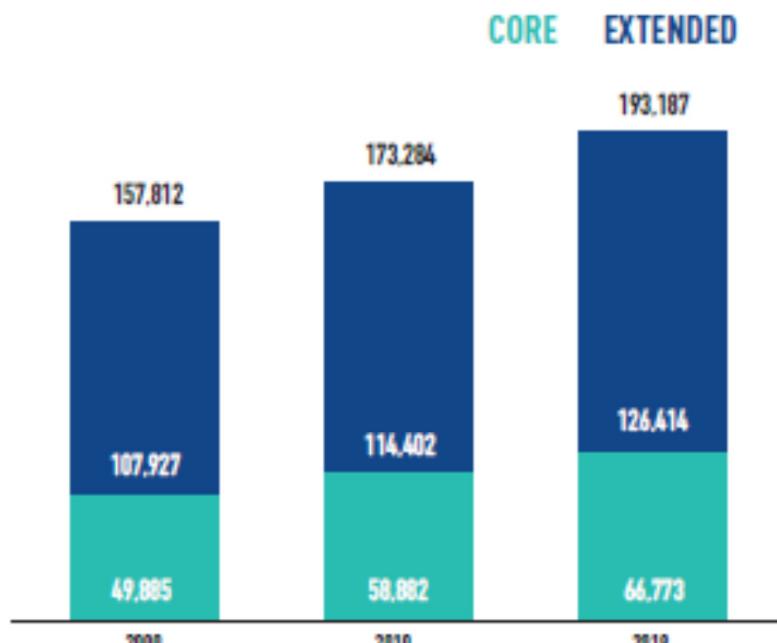
# 63% of residents get to work without a car; 39% in core walk to work

PERCENT COMMUTING WITHOUT A CAR



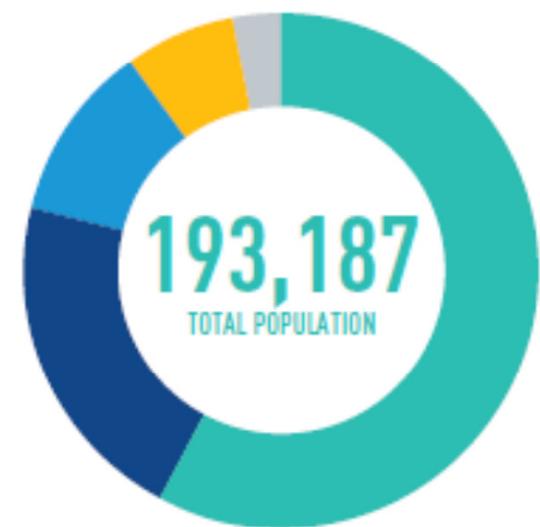
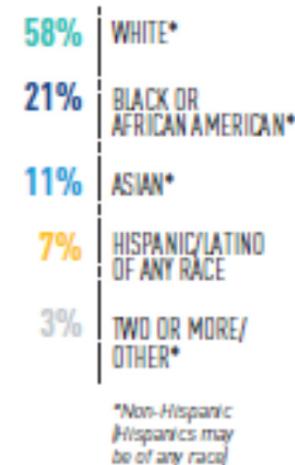
**Fastest growing residential section of the city**  
**Since 2000: 26,195 new housing units;**  
**Population up 22% to 193,187;**  
**25% who moved to PHL between 2000-2018 moved downtown**

#### GREATER CENTER CITY POPULATION



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

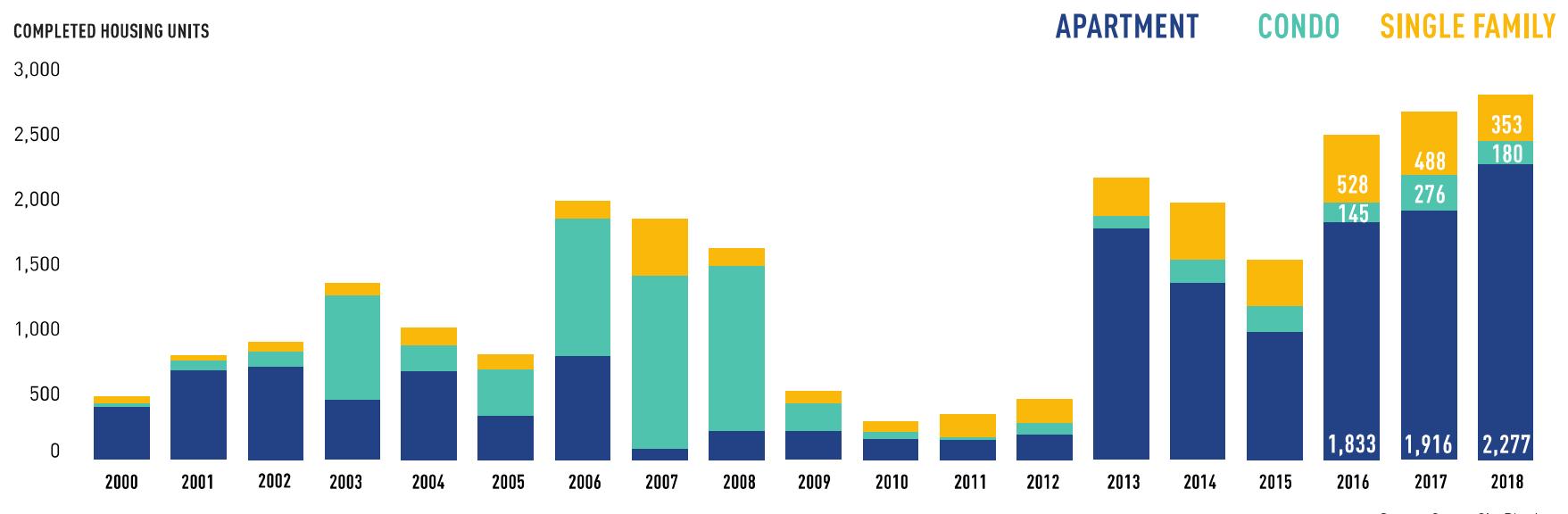
#### GREATER CENTER CITY RACIAL DIVERSITY



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

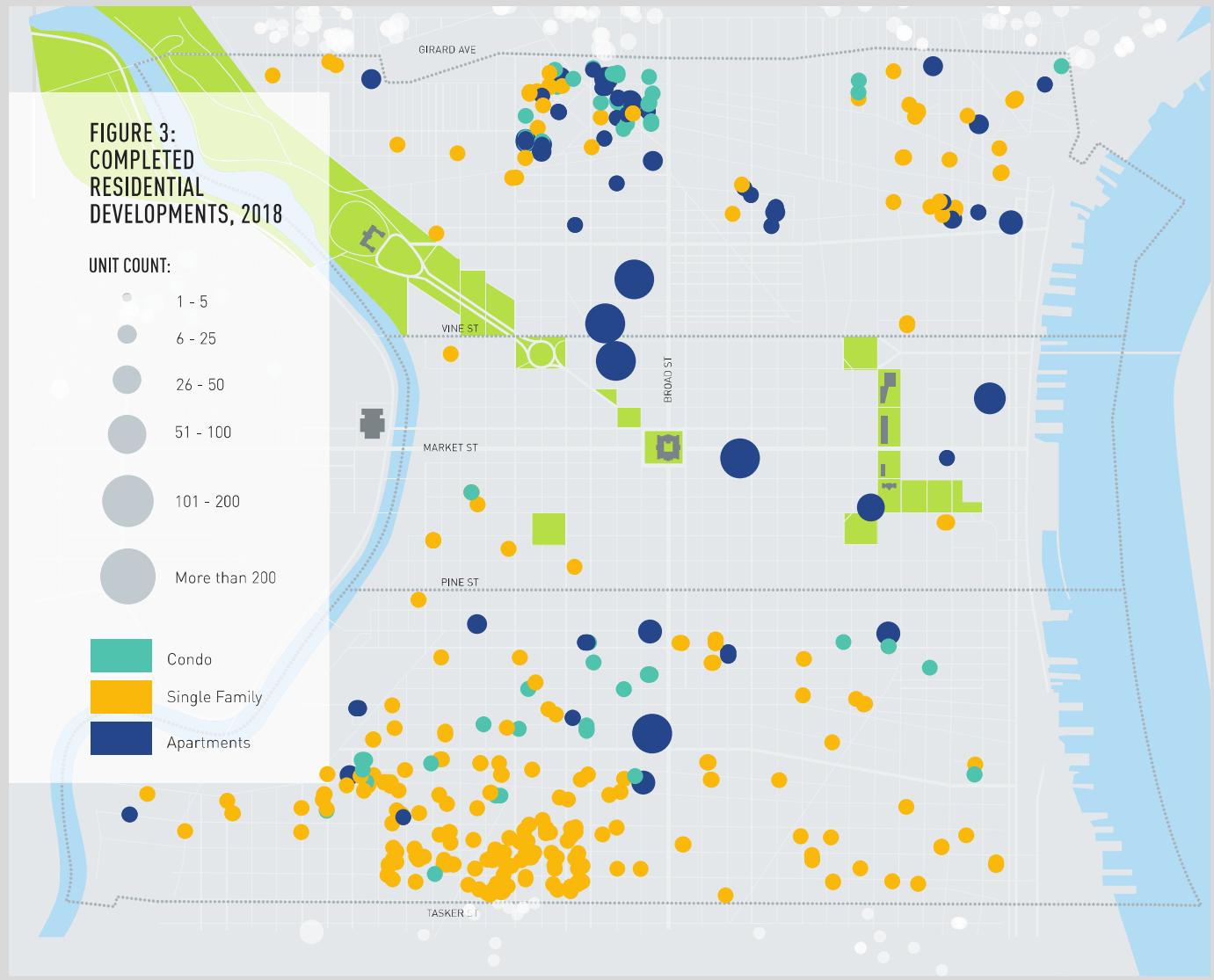


# A very diverse mix of product type



# 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**

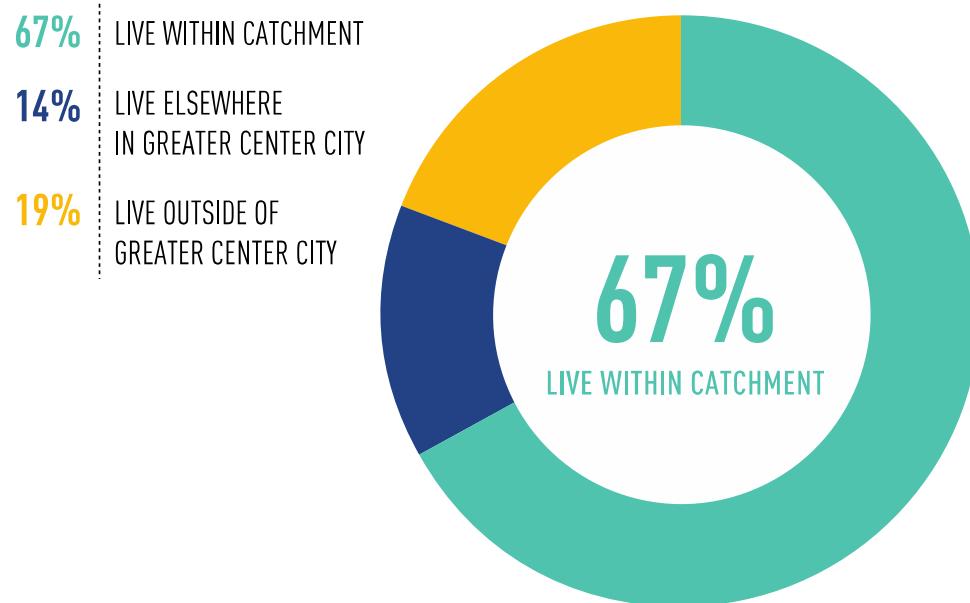


# A growing number of families with children



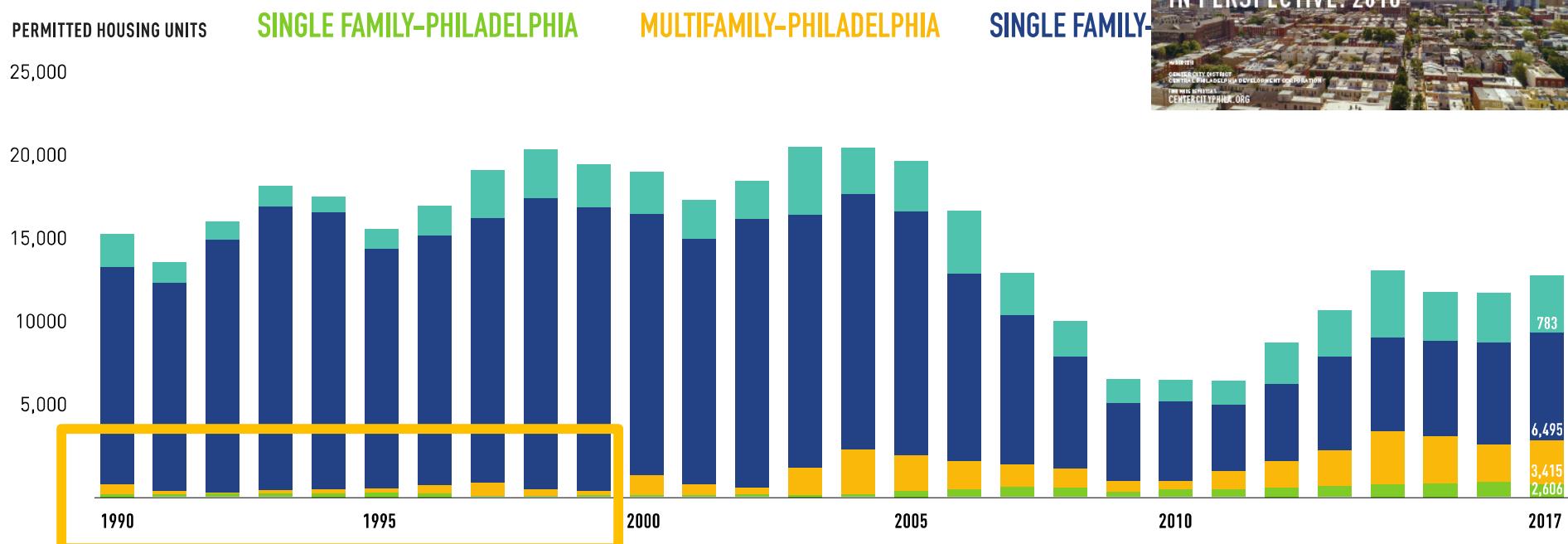
# 75% of children living in Greater Center City Attend one of 19 elementary public schools between Girard & Tasker

67% attend their catchment area  
(neighborhood) school



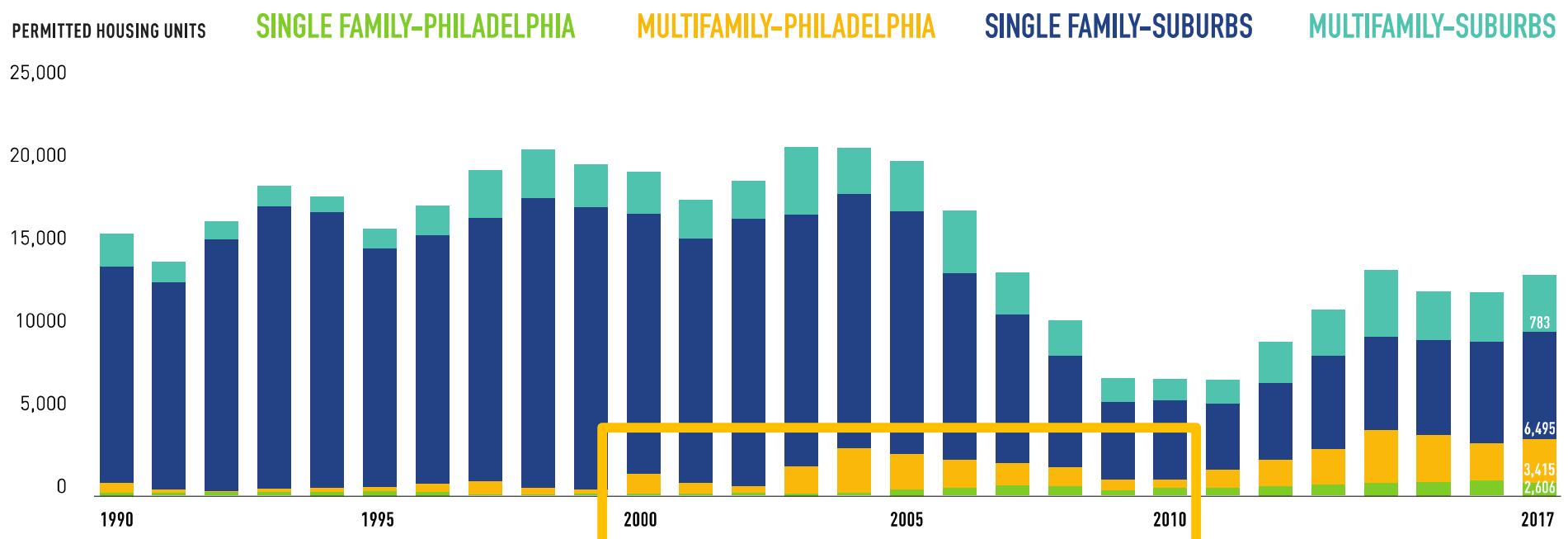
# How the world has changed 1990-1999, 5,072 housing units permitted in all Philadelphia > 3% of 177,469 total permits issued in Philadelphia region

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



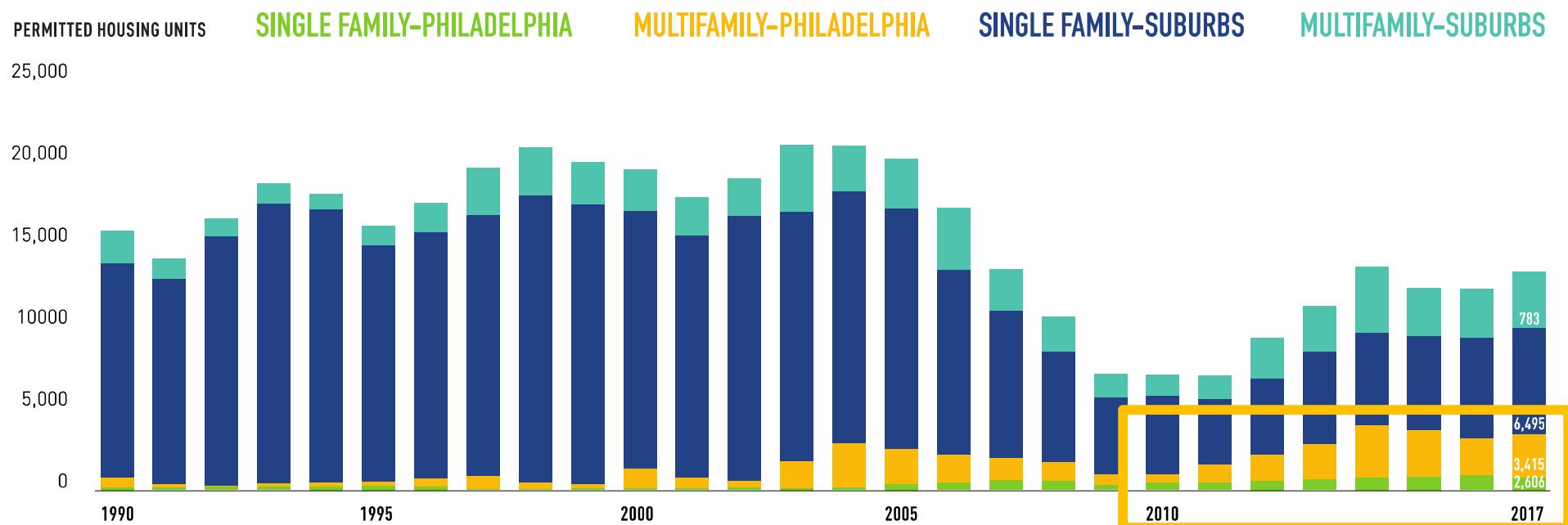
**In 2000 abatement expands to all types of construction  
Building permits increase to 10% of regional total.  
Employment stabilizes, population growth for first time in decades**

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**

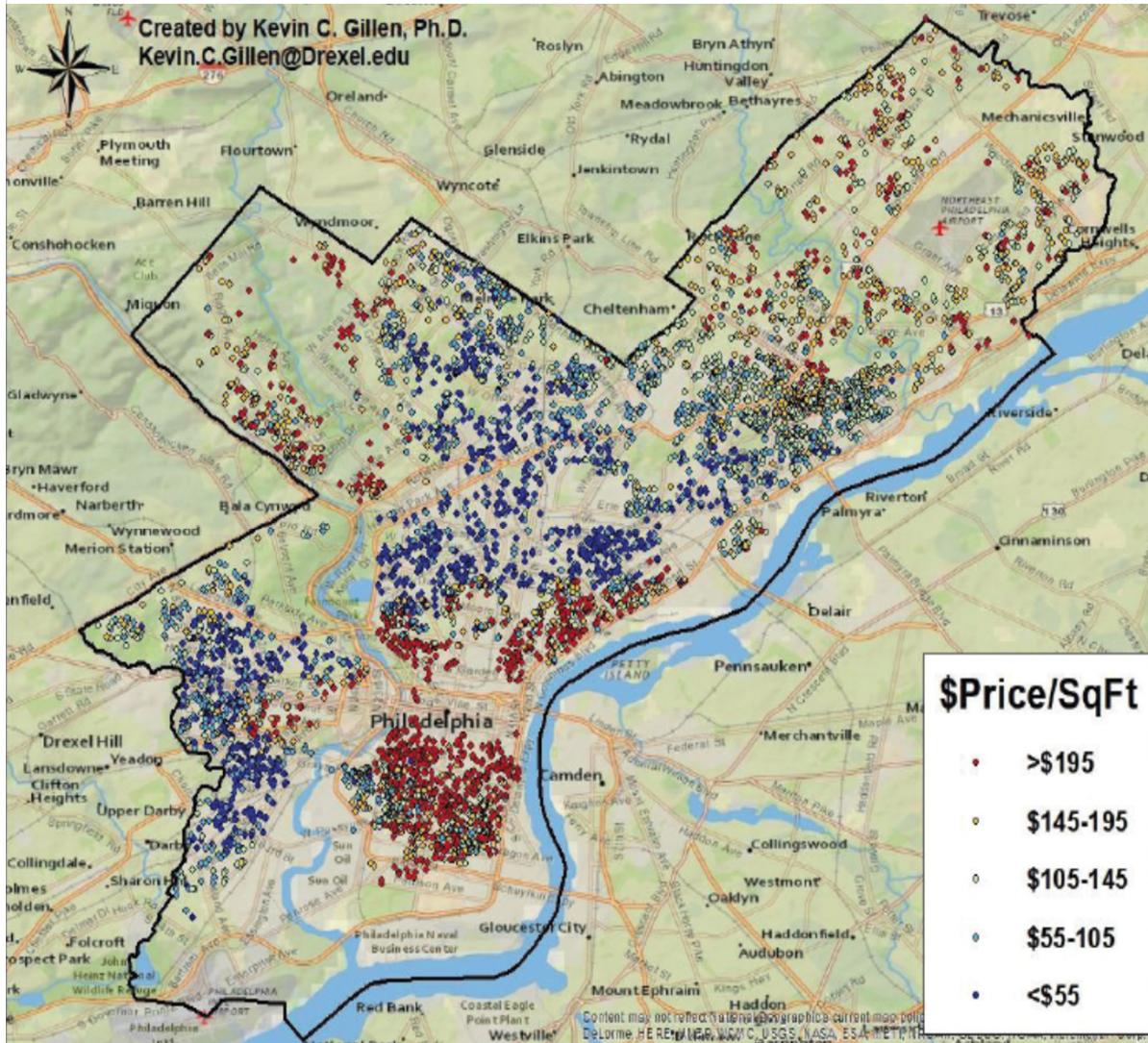
FIGURE 15: PERMITS BY TYPE, PHILADELPHIA METROPOLITAN AREA (CITY V. SUBURBS)



**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.

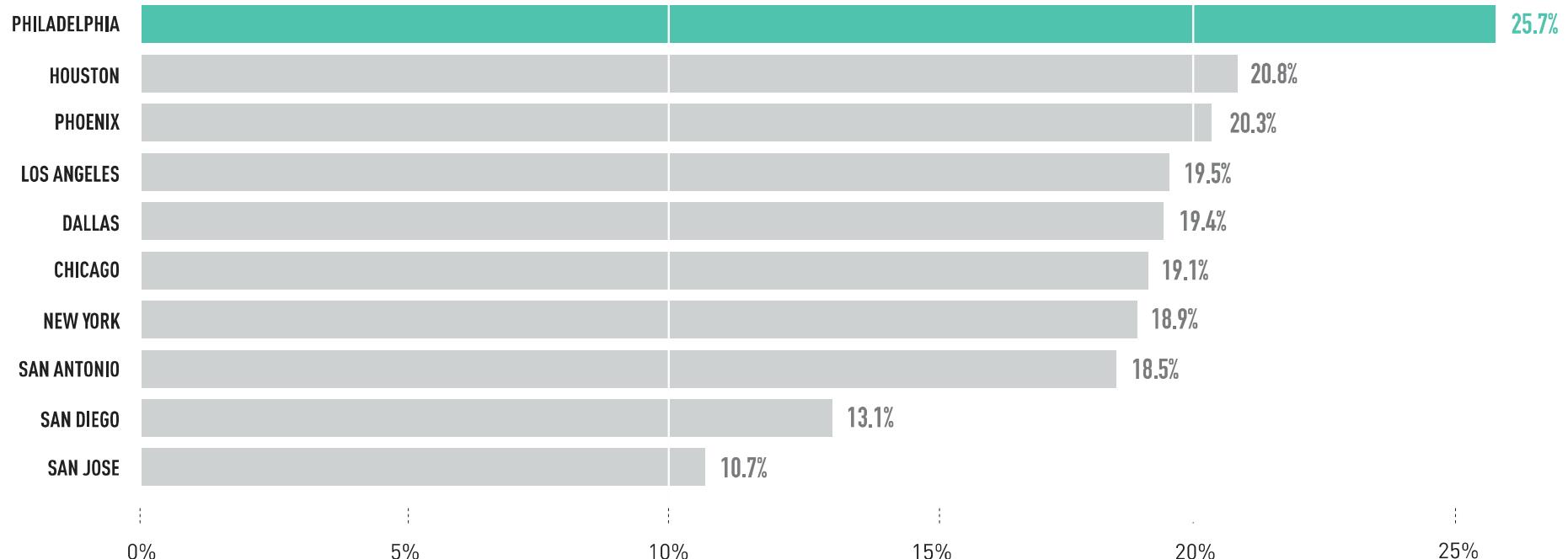
Source: US Census Bureau, American Community Survey 1 Year Estimates

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



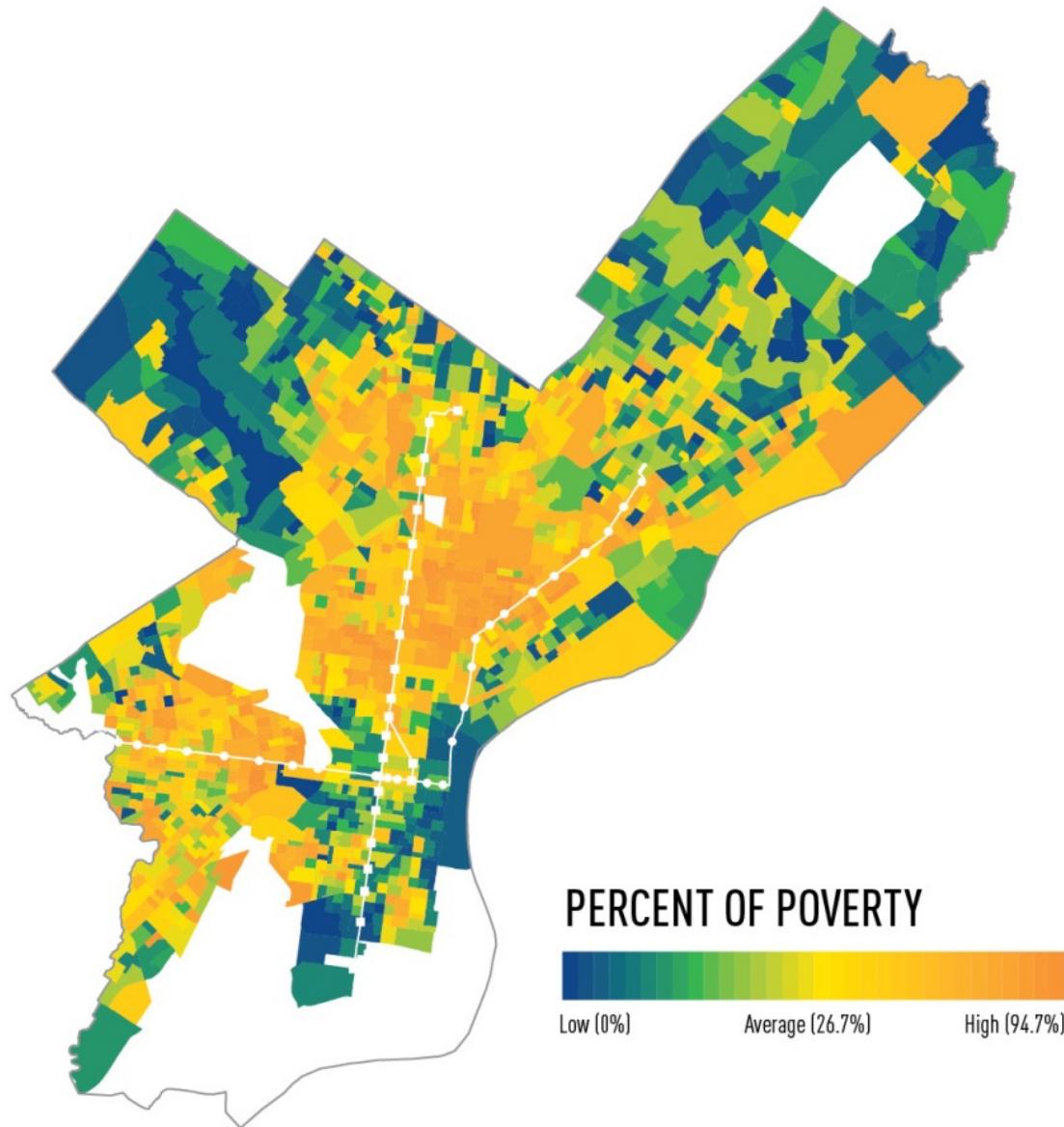
# Bad news: Highest poverty rate of 10 largest cities: 25.7%

## POVERTY RATES AMONG THE TOP 10 LARGEST US CITIES



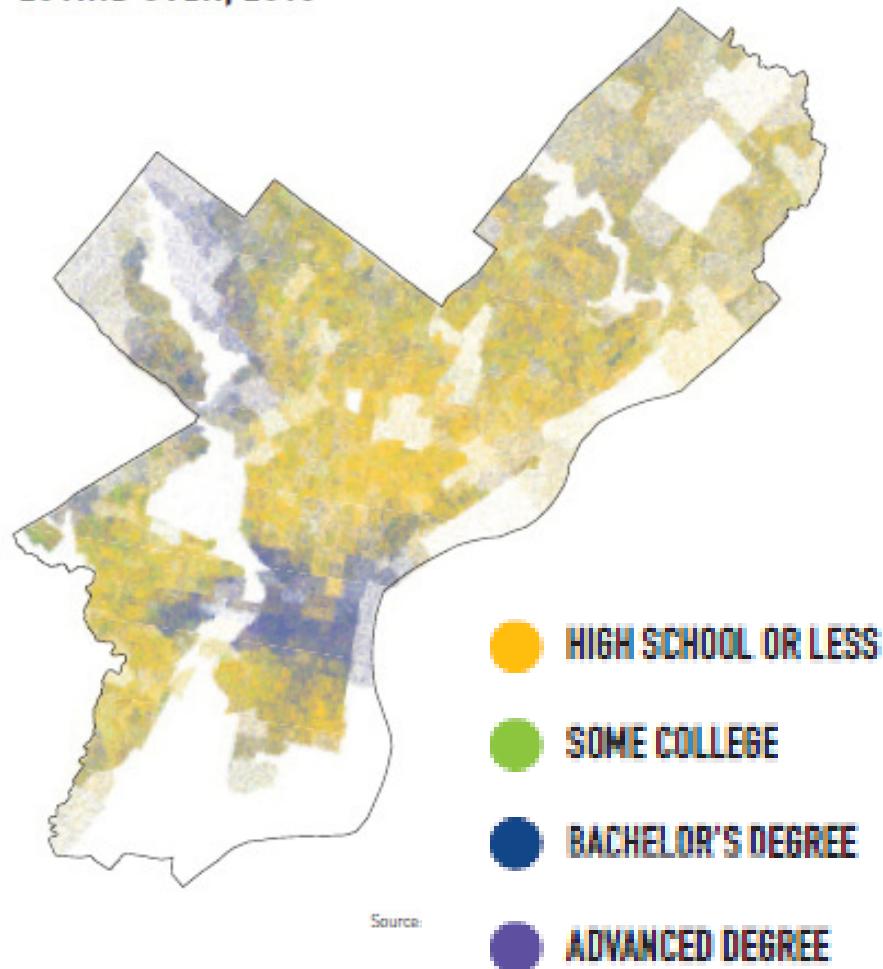
Source: US Census Bureau, 2016 American Community Survey

# Huge income disparities in the city: poverty



# Disparities in education levels

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT, POPULATION  
25 AND OVER, 2016



61%

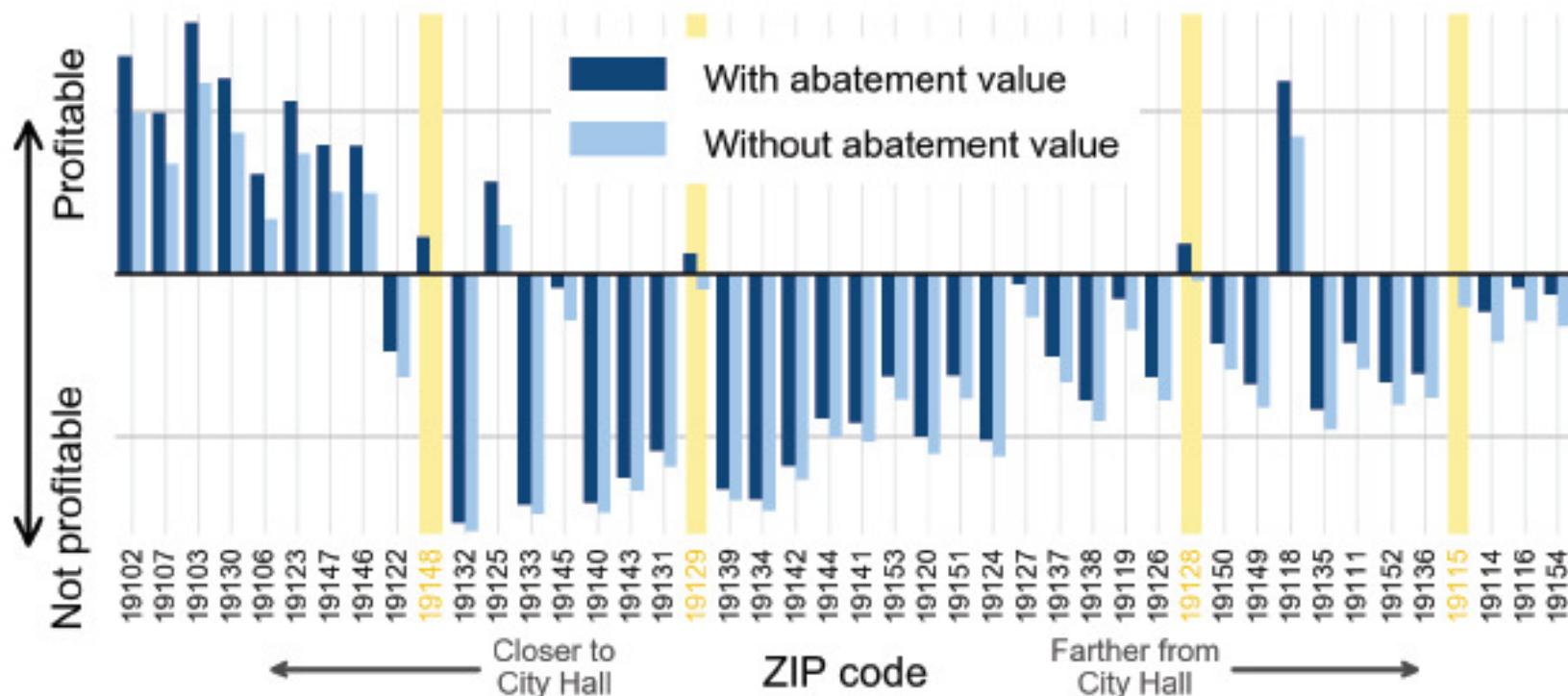


OF GREATER CENTER CITY RESIDENTS HAVE A  
BACHELOR'S DEGREE OR HIGHER, A POWERFUL  
ATTRACTOR FOR BUSINESSES SEEKING TALENT,  
BUT A MARKED CONTRAST WITH SURROUNDING  
NEIGHBORHOODS

**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



## 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 2010 census.<sup>2</sup> (Figure 2)

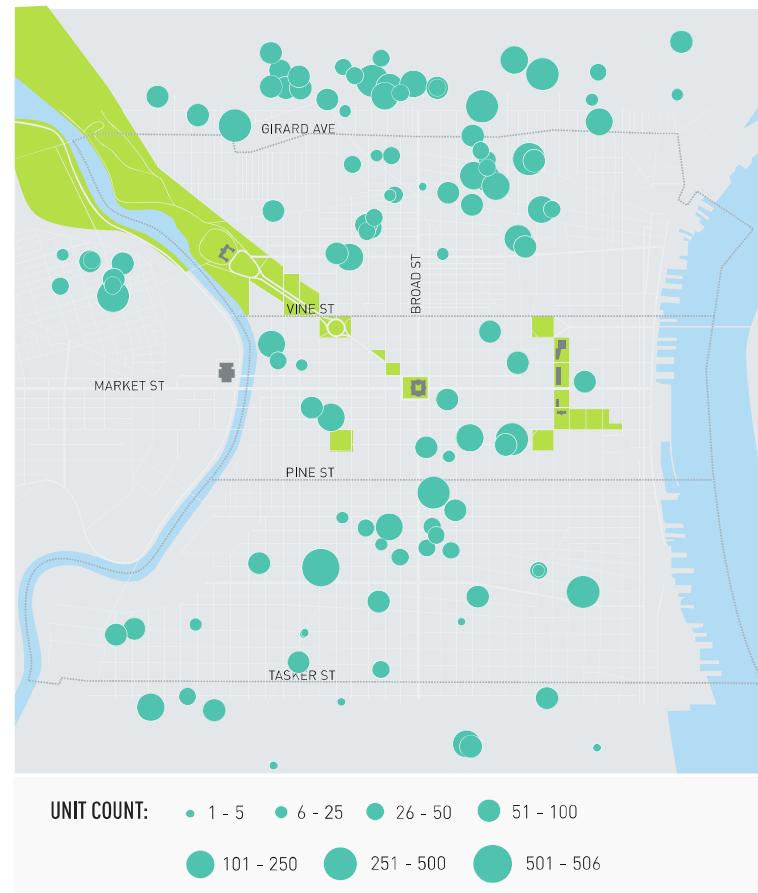
Housing development has remained heavily skewed toward apartments since 2013 with rental accounting for 71% (1,916 units) of all new supply delivered in 2017. While most new apartments in 2016 were concentrated in the core, nearly twice as many apartments were added in the extended neighborhoods as in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

Condominium construction, which had been in a lull since 2008, rebounded and accounted for 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 19.8% of the new supply (538 units) in 2017 with 95% of the units being added in the extended neighborhoods. While lacking the same visibility 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**

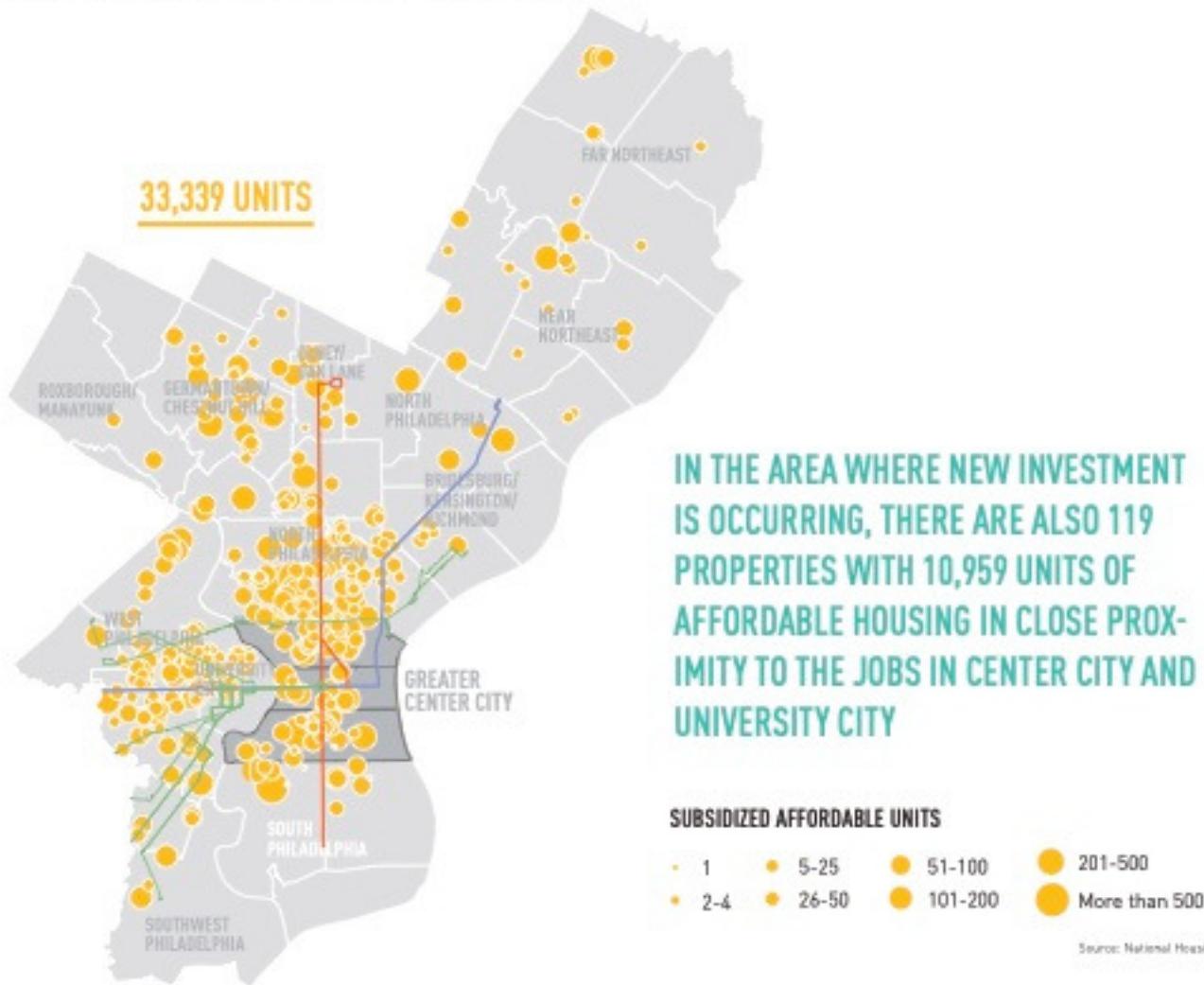
FIGURE 20: AFFORDABLE HOUSING IN AND AROUND GREATER CENTER CITY



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

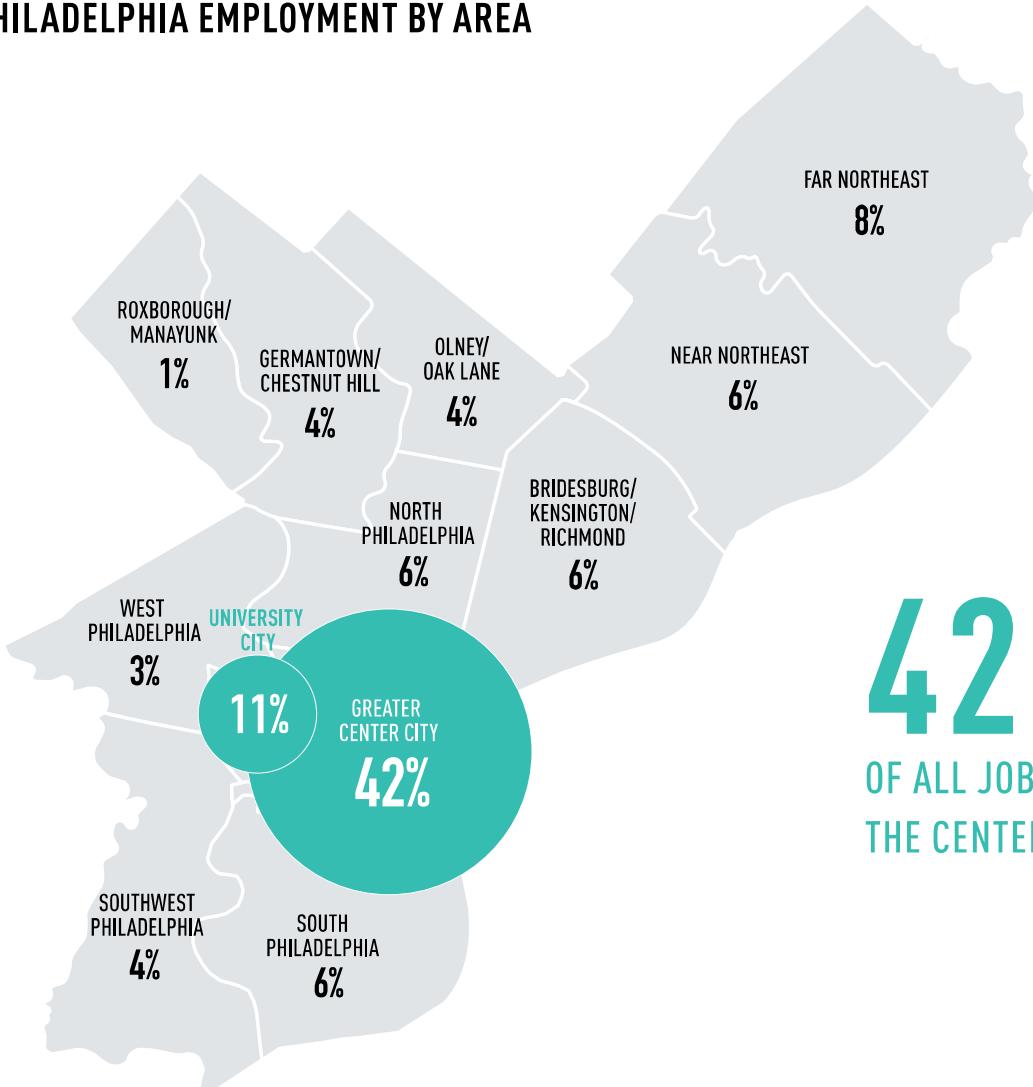


**How to position downtown in a time of  
extreme income disparities & political polarization?**

**Major effort to end the abatement**

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

## PHILADELPHIA EMPLOYMENT BY AREA



**42%** 

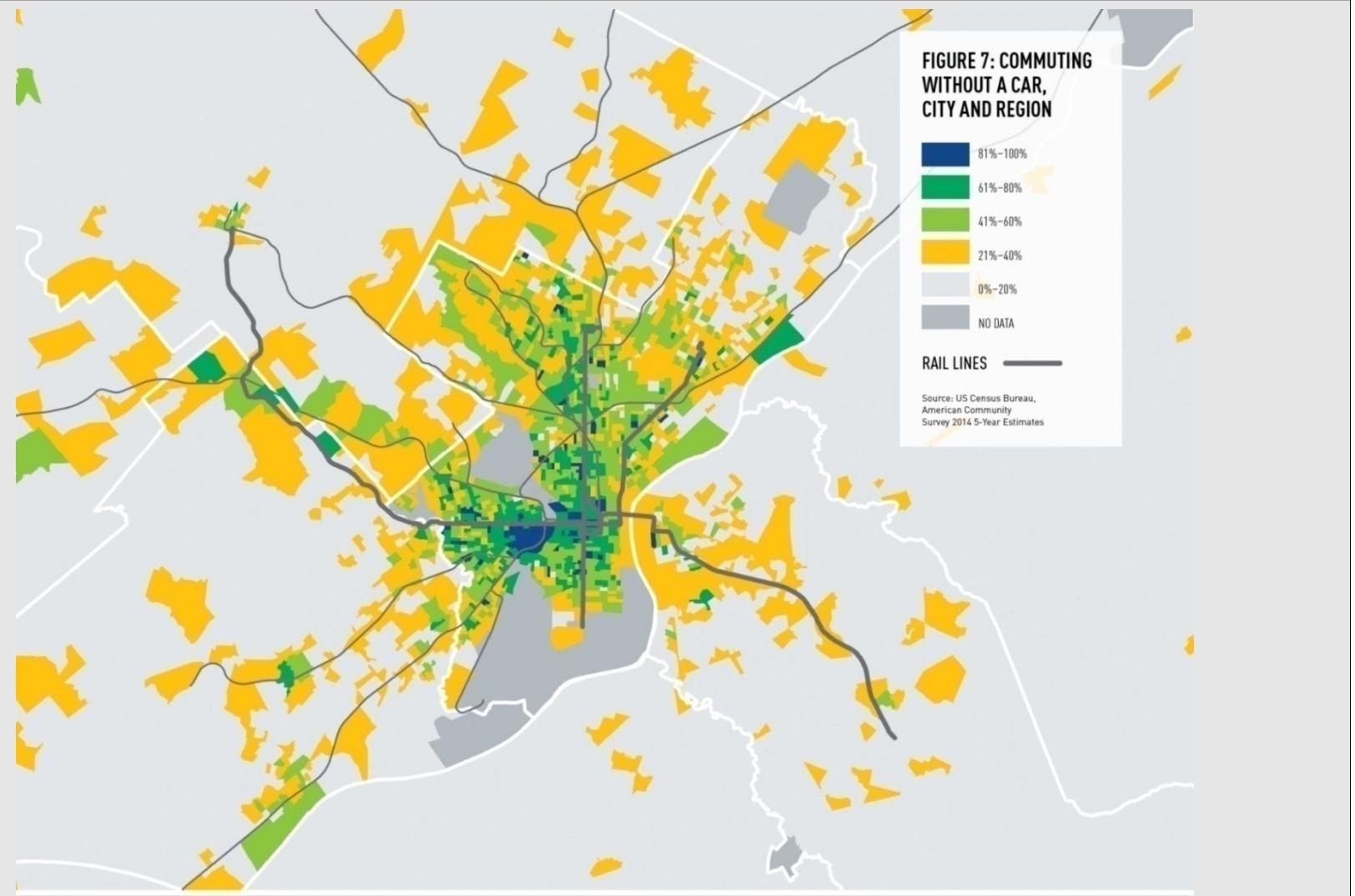
OF ALL JOBS IN PHILADELPHIA ARE LOCATED AT  
THE CENTER OF THE REGION'S TRANSIT SYSTEM.

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**

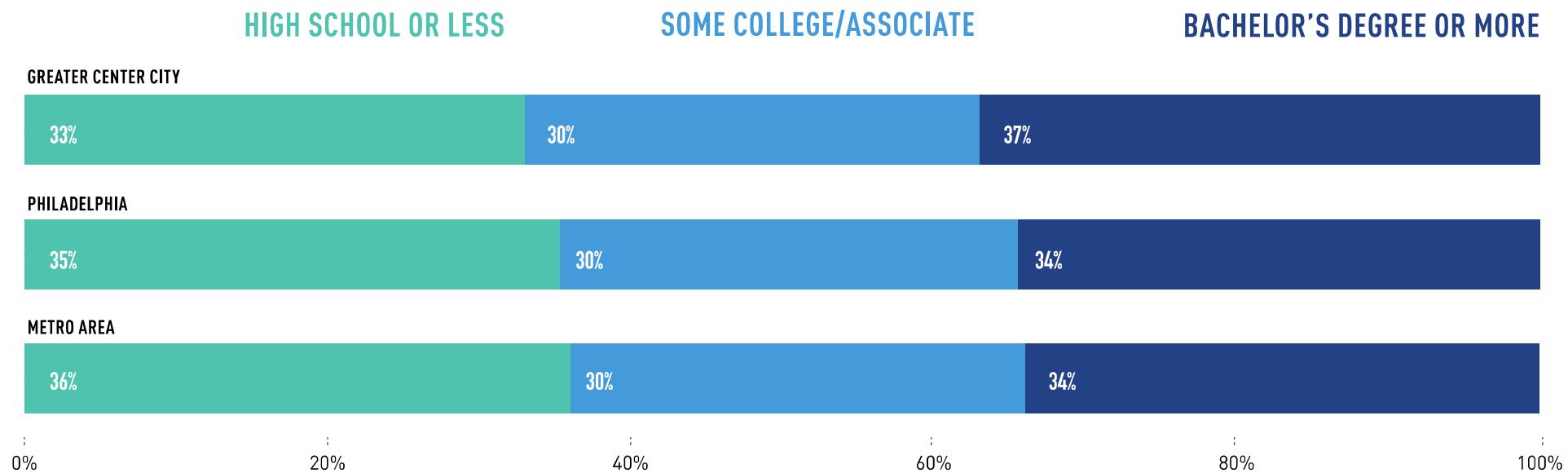


# These jobs at the center of regional transit system 50% of neighborhood residents Can commute downtown in 30 minutes or less



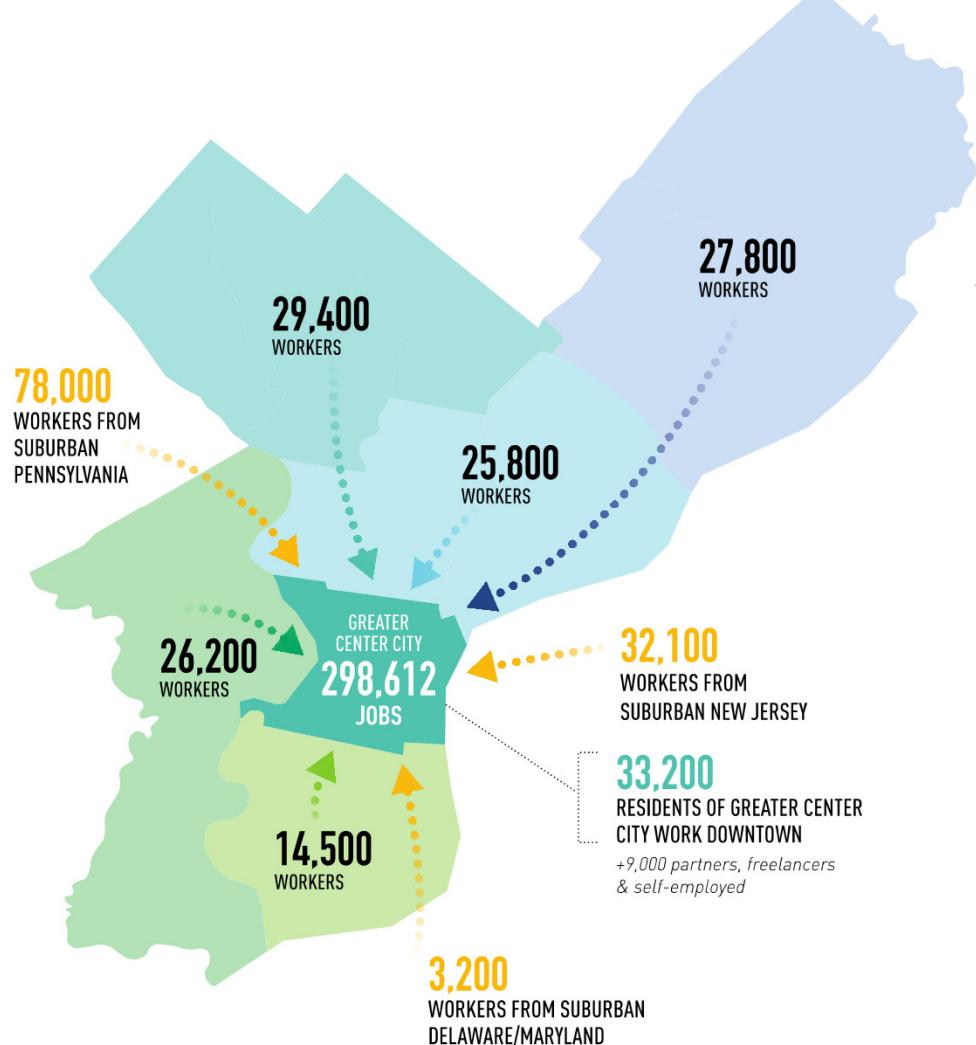
**63% downtown jobs require less than college degree  
33% require only a high school diploma  
SEPTA makes them accessible to neighborhood residents**

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



# 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

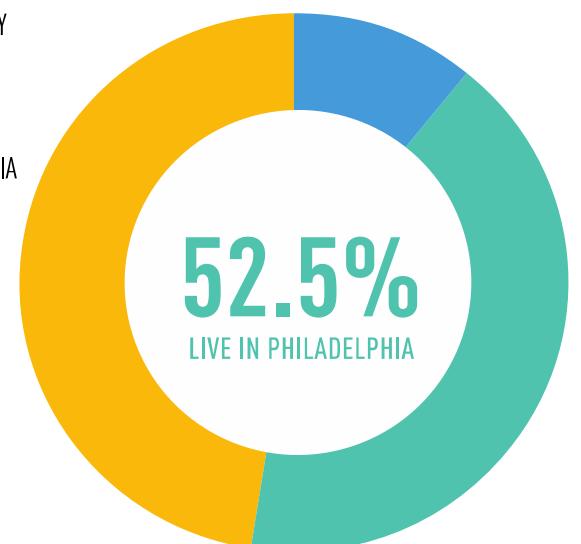
## WHERE DOWNTOWN WORKERS LIVE

11.1%  
41.4%  
47.5%

GREATER CENTER CITY

ELSEWHERE IN  
PHILADELPHIA

OUTSIDE PHILADELPHIA



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

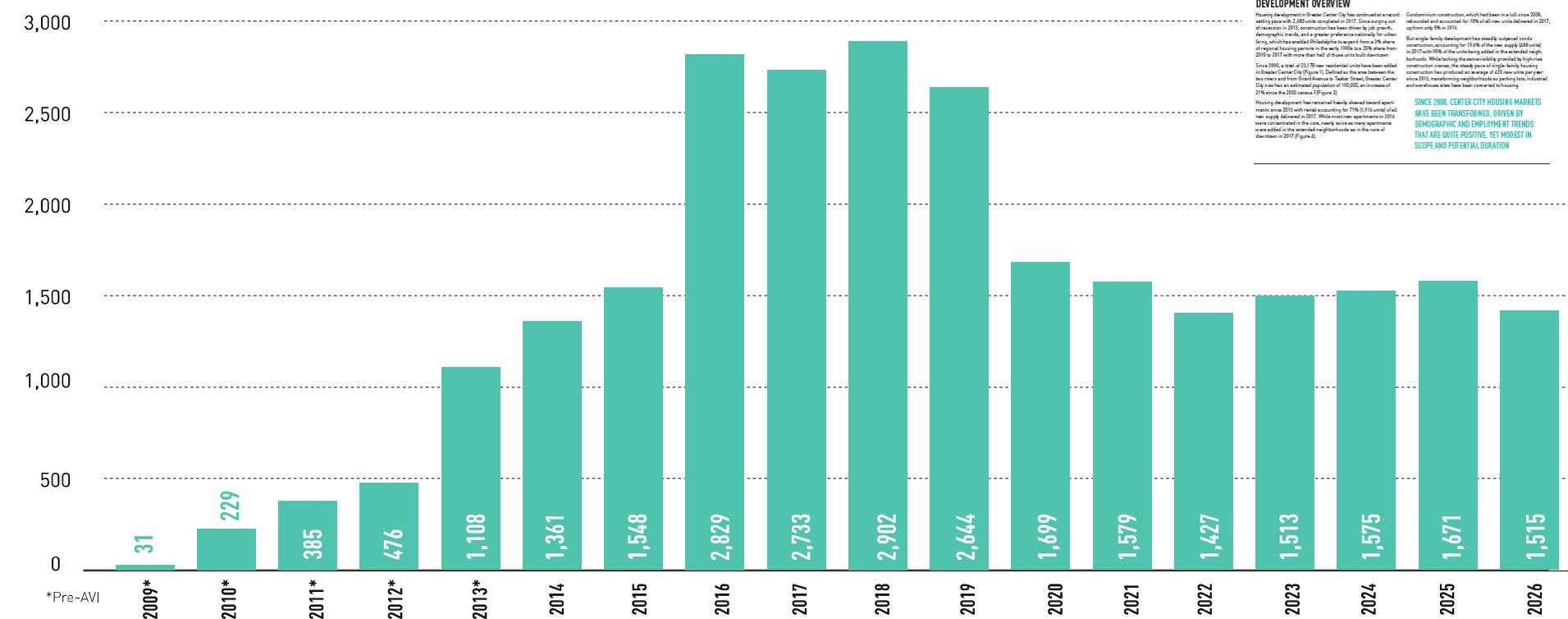
Source: U.S. Census

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

 CENTER CITY DISTRICT

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

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



Source: CCD Calculation from Philadelphia Office of Property Assessment Data



## L. GREATER CENTER CITY DEVELOPMENT OVERVIEW

Housing development in Greater Center City has continued at a record pace with 10,000 units completed in 2018. Since exiting out of recession in 2013, Philadelphia has shown strong demographic trends, and a greater preference nationally for urban living. This has translated into a significant increase in the share of regional housing permits in the early 1990s to 25% share from 2010 to 2017, with more than half of those units built in Center City.

Since 2000, nearly 10,000 units of new housing have been added in Greater Center City (Figure 1). Defined as the area between the two train stations on Broad Avenue to Market Street, Greater Center City now has an estimated 100,000 residents.

Condominium construction, which had been in full since 2008, reached an all-time peak for 10% of all new units delivered in 2017, totaling 976 in 2018.

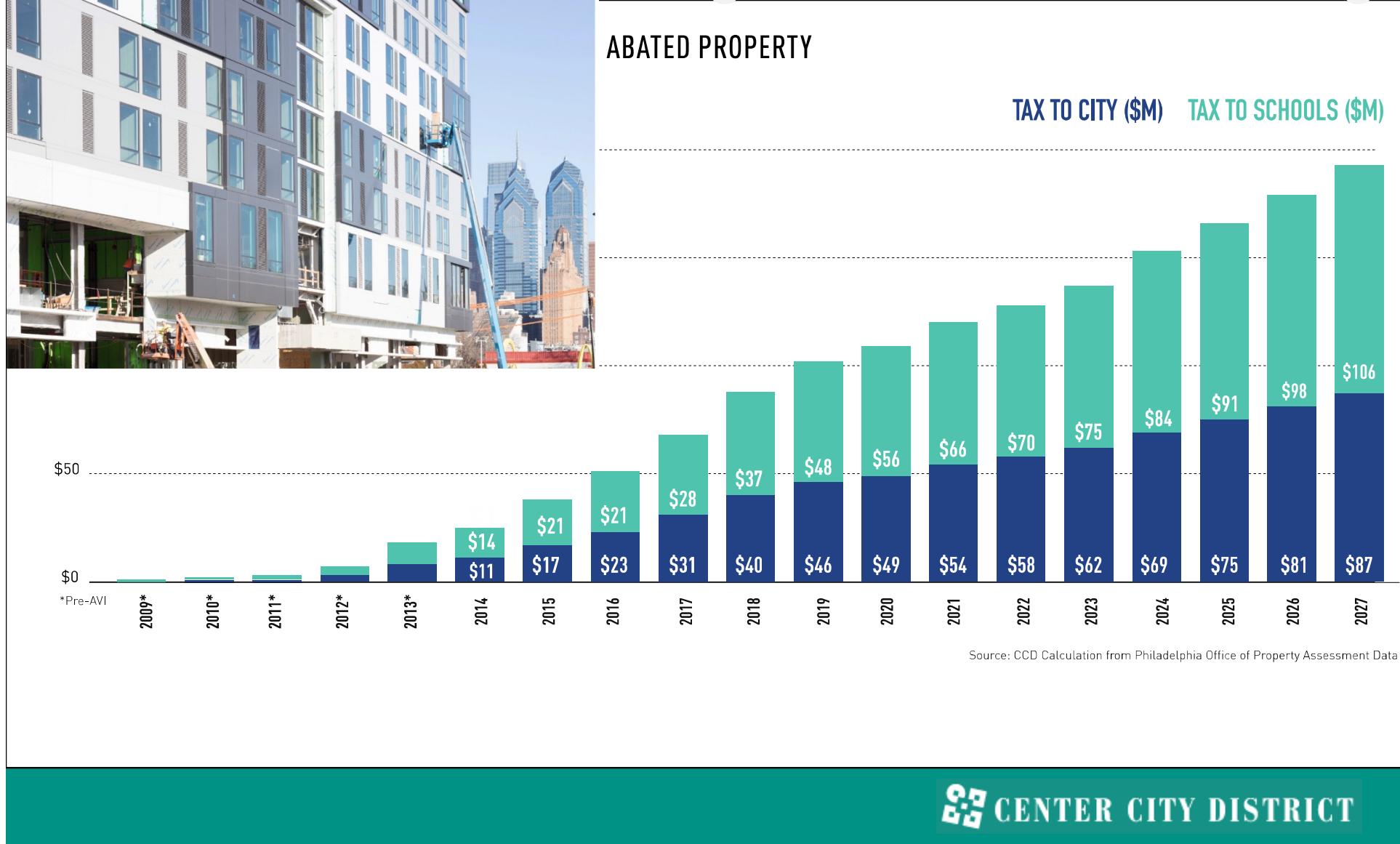
But single-family development has steadily outputted condo construction, accounting for 19.2% of the new supply (388 total) in 2018. This is a significant shift from the mid-1990s, when single-family construction was dominant.

While lacking the amenities typically provided by high-rise developments, single-family units have become increasingly popular.

High-density residential development, including luxury apartment construction, has produced an average of 429 new units per year since 2013, increasing from 100 units per year after the Great Recession.

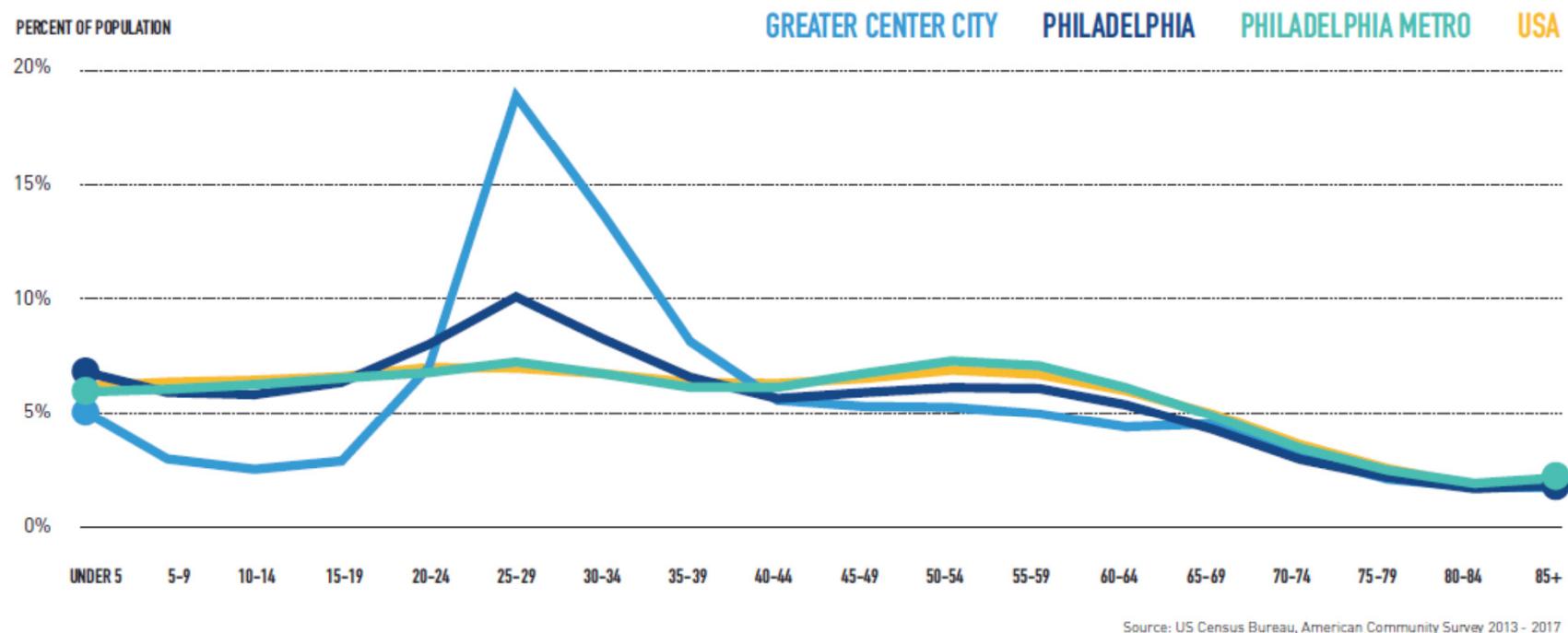
SINCE 2000, CENTER CITY HOUSING MARKETS HAVE BEEN TRANSFORMED, DRIVEN BY DEMOGRAPHIC AND EMPLOYMENT TRENDS THAT ARE QUITE POSITIVE, YET MODEST IN SCOPE AND POTENTIAL DURATION

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



# Important caution flag: Millennials are not forever There are less 17 year olds than 27 year olds

## COMPARATIVE AGE DISTRIBUTION



# 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)

