

in the Territory of Columbia,
ceded by the States of
VIRGINIA and MARYLAND
to the United States of America,
and by them established as the
SEAT of their GOVERNMENT,
after the Year
MDCCC.

Designed by John W. McComb

Equivalent height of the
West branch, above the tide,
in Tiber Creek, $F. 1. 1\frac{1}{2}$
113.7 $\frac{1}{2}$



Lat. Capitol, $38.55. N.$

Long. $0. 0.$

The Push Factors behind Suburban Change in the DC Metropolitan Region.

Carolyn Gallaher
School of International Service
American University

Observations

explanatory of the Plan.

- I. *THE positions for the different Edifices, and for the several Squares or Streets of different shapes, as they are laid down, were first determined on the most advantageous ground, commanding the most extensive prospects, and the better manageable of such improvements as either use or ornament may hereafter call for.*
- II. *LINES or streams of direct communication have been devised, to connect the separate and most distant objects with the principal, and to pervade through the whole a simplicity of sight at the same time. Attention has been paid to the purging of these leading streams over the most favorable ground for prospect and convenience.*
- III. *NORTH and South lines, intersected by others running due East and West, make the distribution of the City into Streets, Squares, &c. and these lines have been so combined as to meet at certain given points with those diagonal streams, so as to form on the squares first determined, the different Squares or streets*

SCALE OF POLES.

Breadth of the Streets.

THE grand avenues, and such Streets as lead immediately to public places, are from 100 to 150 feet wide, and may be conveniently divided into foot ways, walks of trees, and a carriage way. The other Streets are from 50 to 100 feet wide.

IN order to execute this plan, Mr. ELLICOTT drew a true Meridian line by celestial Observation, which passes through the Cross situated for the Capitol; this line is copied by another due East and West, which passes through the same. These lines were accurately measured, and made the base on which the

Today's Talk in Brief

- The Changing place of the 'city' in metropolitan areas
 - In general
 - In the District
- Typical 'Motors' of Change behind Gentrification
- Condominium Conversion as an overlooked 'motor'
 - Background on condo conversions in the District
 - Some Basic Facts
- A Brief Analysis of Conversion and Gentrification Data 2000-2010

A black and white photograph capturing the aftermath of a disaster. In the foreground, a man in a dark suit and tie walks towards the camera with a slight smile, his hands in his pockets. He is walking on a street littered with bricks and debris. To his right, another man in a dark suit walks away from the camera. In the background, a large pile of rubble, including twisted metal and broken bricks, is visible. A crane arm is positioned over the debris pile. Other people are standing in the distance, observing the scene. The overall atmosphere is one of devastation and the beginning of recovery.

1. THE CHANGING PLACE OF THE 'CITY' IN METROPOLITAN AREAS

The Changing City—In General

The Problems

- Population Decline
- White flight/Black Middle Class flight
- Concentrated Poverty
- Dismantling of 'single' industry economies (and federal support thereof)
- Federal 'pull back' on social service spending
- Declining Tax Base

The Result

- The Entrepreneurial City
 - State business development Strategies
 - Tourism (e.g. Festival Marketplaces)
 - Attracting new industry (e.g. prisons)
 - Attracting a younger/wealthier resident

The Changing City—DC

The Problems

- Population Decline
 - DC's population:
 - 1970 → 750,000
 - 1980 → 630,000
 - 1990 → 607,000
 - 2000 → 572,000
- White/Black Middle Class Flight. DC's decline matched by growth in neighboring counties (Montgomery, Prince Georges, Loudon, Arlington).
- Poverty Rates above national average since 1980s
- City Bureaucracy Bloat, or “city government as an employer of last resort.”

The Results

- In 1995 then Mayor Marion Barry is unable to balance the city's budget.
- Barry requests aid from the federal government.
- The new Republican House responds by passing the *District of Columbia Financial Responsibility and Management Assistance Act*. DC loses home rule and finds its budget subjected to outside approval
- The rise of the technocratic mayor

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GEORGE TOWN.



Capitol.....	58.55. N.
ng.....	0. 0.



Observations

explanatory of the P

1. *THE positions of the different Letters, and for the power (quantity) of Strains, different shapes, as they are laid down, were first de-*

BEH

II. *LINES* or *clauses* of verse or prose have derived, to connect the separate and distinct *thoughts* with the principal, and to improve the

TYPICAL MOTORS OF CHANGE BEHIND GENTRIFICATION

Breadth of the Streets.

SCALE OF POLES.

Gentrification 'Motors'—in General

- State Actions

- Tax breaks
- Tax Holidays
- Zoning changes
- Public Private Partnerships

- Individual Actions

- Urban Pioneering (buying in 'sexy/dangerous' areas of the city)
- Political battles over blighted properties/distasteful businesses



Gentrification 'Motors'—in DC

- State Efforts

- Tax Credits/write-offs (e.g. Nationals Stadium)

- DC First Time Homebuyers Tax Credit

- National Capital Revitalization Corporation

- Zoning variances

- Building Height (allow taller buildings)
- Density (allow more units)
- Parking (exemptions from base # of spaces per # of units required)
- Below Market Units (permit buildings with no below market units)

- Individual Efforts

- Demand policing of 'nuisance' crimes (e.g. vagrancy, homelessness)

- Demand policing of and eventual resolution of Vacant Structures

- Court City Council support

GEORGE TOWN.



Lat. Capitol,..... $58^{\circ}55'$ N.

Long, o. o.

Observations

3. CONDO CONVERSION AS AN OVERLOOKED 'MOTOR'

II. *LINES* or *streets* of *divers* *constructions* have been devised, to connect the *separate* and *most distant* *objects* with the *principal*, and to *penetrate* through the *whole* in a *university* of *sight* at the *same* *time*. *Attention* has been paid to the *purposes* of these *leading* *streets* over the *most favorable* ground for *prospect* and *convenience*.

III. *NORTH* and *South* *Lines*, *indicated* by *streets* *running* *due* *East* and *West*, *make* the *distribution* of the *City into* *streets*, *Squares*, &c. and these *lines* have been *so combined* as to *meet* at *various* *places* *convenient* with these *divergent* *streets*, in as to *be* *given* on the *same* *front* *determined*, the *different* *Squares* or *streets*

SCALE OF POLES.

AS AN

Breadth of the Streets.

Background on Condo Conversions

- Condominium Conversions are governed by the City's Rental Housing Conversion and Sale Act (D.C. Code §§ 42-3404) 1980.
- The Act contains two parts:
 - The Tenants Right to Purchase
 - Conversion of Rental Housing to Condominium or Cooperative
- This act is often referred to as TOPA (tenant opportunity to purchase act)
- The act was instituted in 1980 in response to a rash of condo conversions in the late 1970s.
- The goal was to allow tenants to stay in place by giving them an opportunity to purchase their apartments if/when their building was put up for sale. In particular, residents were given the 'right of first refusal' on any sale
- A building can convert to condo in four ways:
 - Tenants invoke their right of 'first refusal' and purchase their building (with assistance of developer) instead of original purchaser
 - Tenants do not invoke right of first refusal and a sale proceeds
 - A building is exempted from TOPA regulations (e.g. vacant for 2 or more years)
 - 95/5 transfers (now illegal)

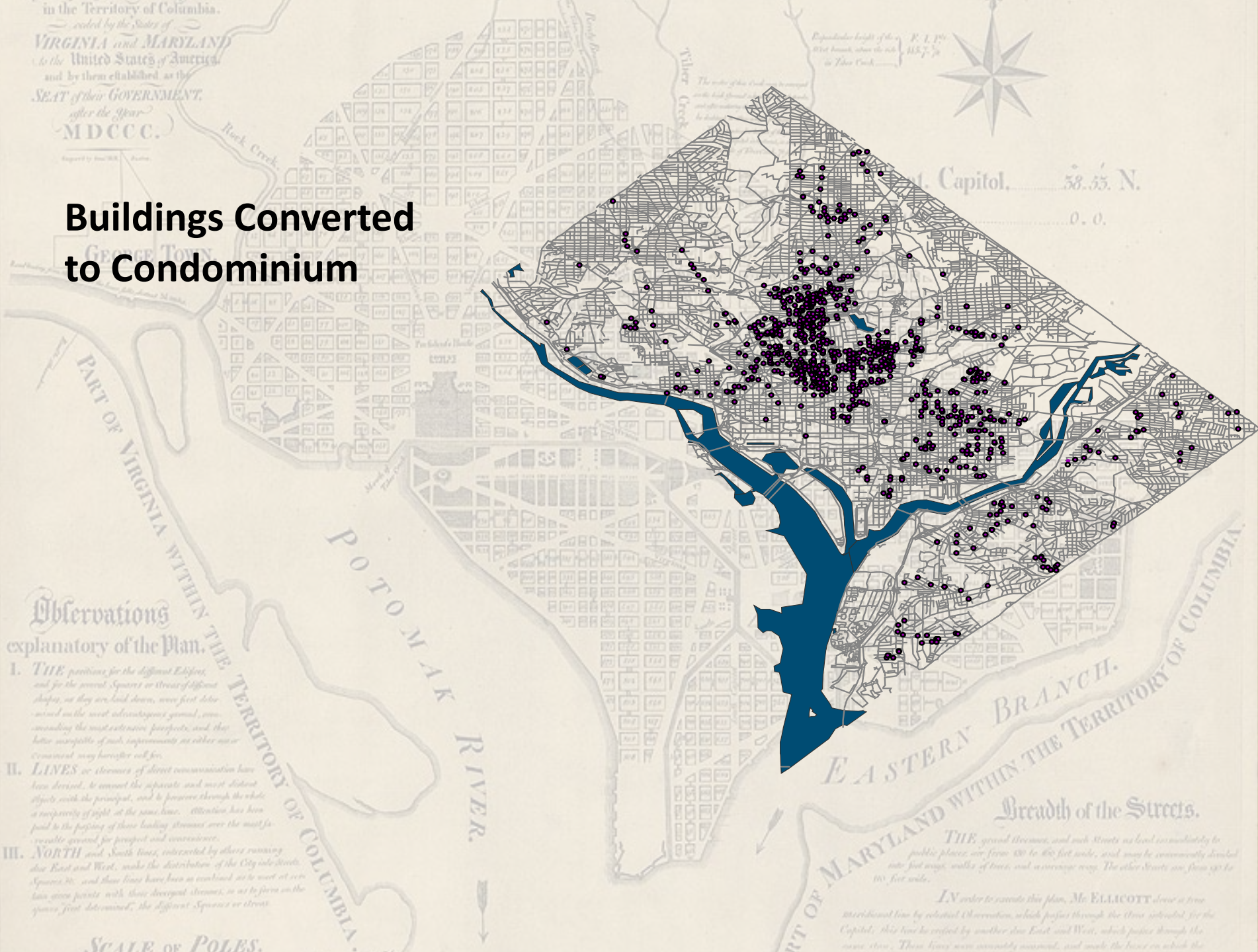
Some Facts on Condo Conversions in DC

- Since 1980 1,163 buildings were converted to condo
- The great majority of them (1,147 or 98.62%) were converted since 2000.
- These buildings contained 26,645 apartments, or nearly 10% of the rental units in the city (based on Census 2000).

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Designed by John McMillen

Buildings Converted to Condominium



Observations
explanatory of the Plan.

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Equivalent height of the
West branch, above the tide,
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113.7 $\frac{1}{2}$



Lat. Capitol, $38.55. N.$

Long. $0. 0.$

Observations

explanatory of the Plan.

- I. **THE** position of the principal streets, and for the general Squares or Crosses of different shapes, as they are laid down, were first determined on the west side of the river, and then extended to the east side, so that the better manageable the plan, the more convenient may be the execution.
- II. **LINES** or streams of direct communication have been devised, to connect the separate and most distant objects with the principal, and to preserve through the whole a simplicity of sight at the same time. Attention has been paid to the purging of these leading streams over the most favorable ground for prospect and convenience.
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SCALE OF POLES.

4. A BRIEF ANALYSIS OF CONVERSION AND GENTRIFICATION DATA 2000-2010

Breadth of the Streets.

THE grand thoroughfares, and such Streets as lead immediately to public places, are from 100 to 150 feet wide, and may be conveniently divided into foot ways, walks of trees, and a carriage way. The other Streets are from 50 to 100 feet wide.

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Research Questions:

This research is part of a wider project that asks three questions. The third (in red) is the focus of this Presentation

- Question 1
 - To what extent have tenants been able to use TOPA as a mechanism for staying 'put' (and thus 'resisting' gentrification)
- Question 2
 - What is the distribution of conversions by type (e.g. Tenants forgo rights, tenant conversion, vacancy exemption, 95/5 transfers, remain rental).
- Question 3
 - To what extent have condo conversions contributed to the gentrification of the District since 2000? And, how do these 'contributions' compare to state-led efforts?

Gentrification in DC

Census 2000

- Population: **572,055**
- Percent white population: **30.8%**
- Percent Families with Own Children: **19.8%**
- Percent Female headed households with own children: **9.9%**
- Per Capita Income: **\$28,659**
- Median Income: **\$40,127**

Census 2010 (or ACS)

- Population: **601,723**
- Percent white population: **38.5%**
- Percent Families with Own Children: **18.3%**
- Percent Female headed households with own children: **9.1%**
- Per Capita Income: **\$40,846**
- Median Income: **\$58,906**
- Percent Below Poverty Level: **17.6**
- Percent Owner Occupied: **45.1%**

First Run Method (to my madness)

- Create Conversion ratio by tract
- Select 'Conversion Heavy' tract sample
- Assess degree of change on selected indicators of gentrification for sample
- Map using Standard Deviation Classification scheme
- Create Control Sample of tracts with state-led gentrification efforts
- Run Pearsons R Correlation (conversion ratio and selected statistics) for conversion and control tracts

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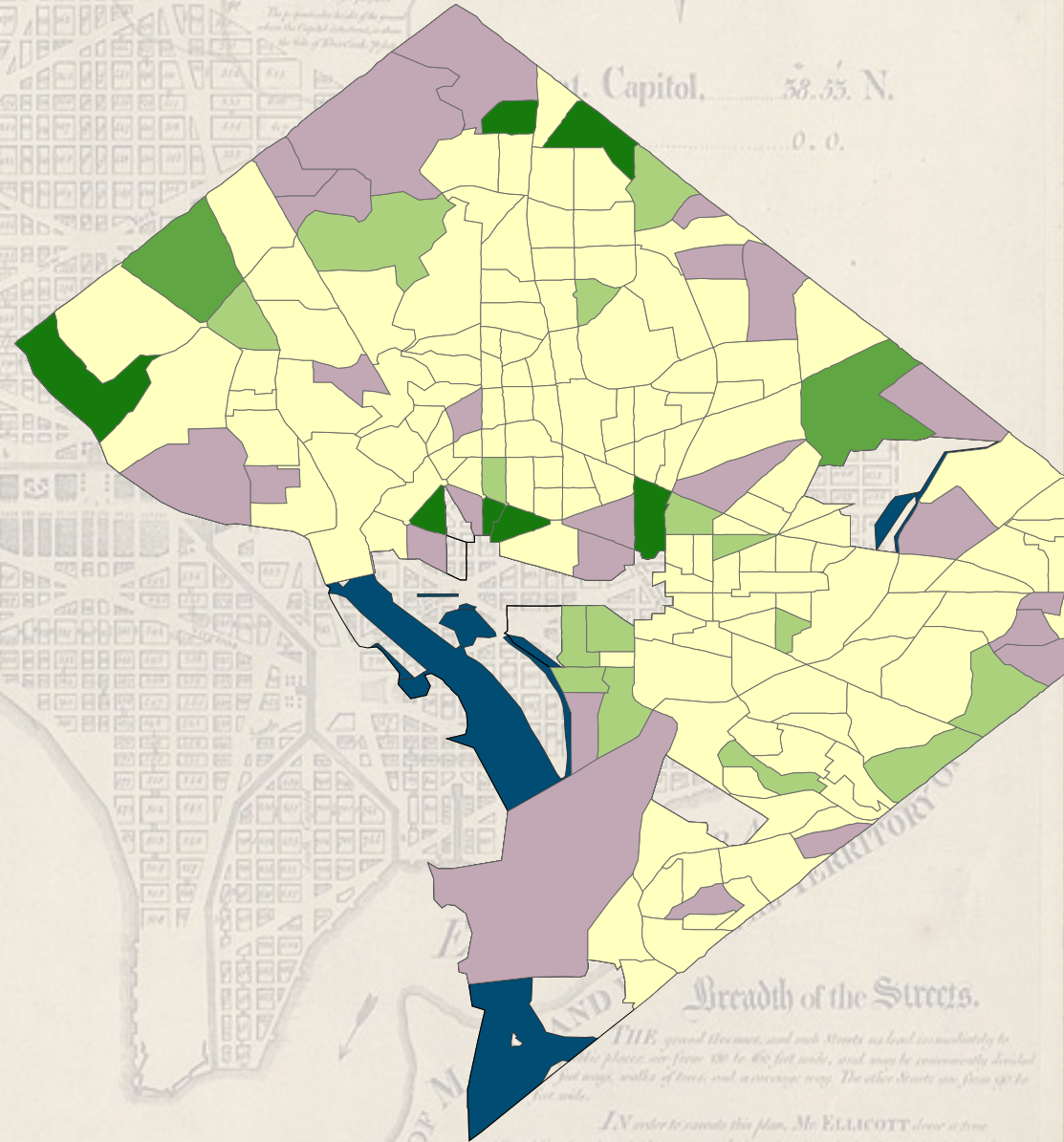
Designed by John M. Smith

GEORGE TOWN.

Conversion Rate

of converted rental units/ Number of
rental units 2000

Where green shades signifies rates
greater than +.5 Standard deviation of
the mean



Observations explanatory of the Plan.

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SCALE OF POLES.

Explanatory height of the
West branch, above the tide,
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R. 1, 1 1/2
118, 7 1/2



Capitol, 38.55. N.

0. 0.

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Conversion 'heavy' Census Tract Sample

- within one standard distance of mean center of conversions

- $\geq +.50$ Standard Deviation

Tract #

23.01

54.01

52.01

52.02

51

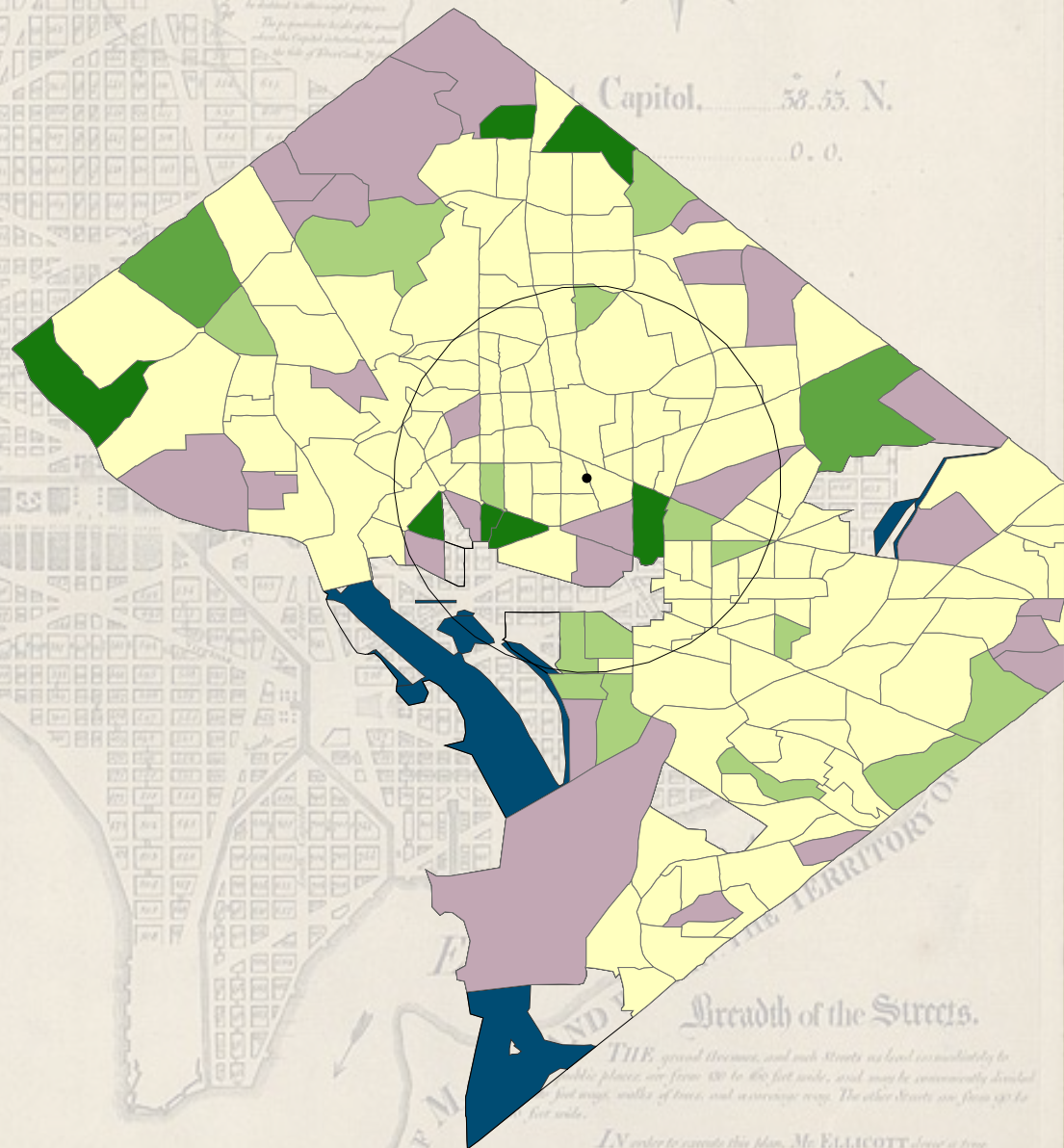
86

85

84.02

61

60.01



Observations
explanatory of the plan.

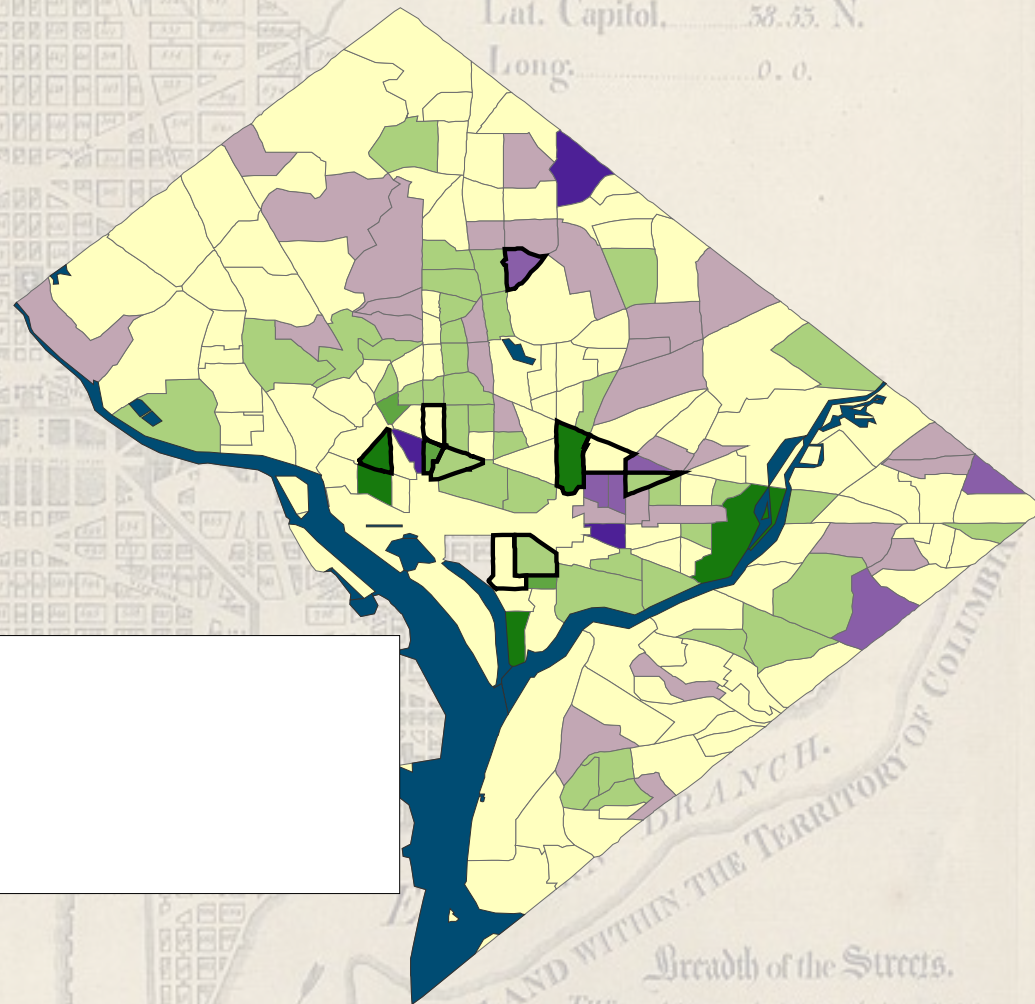
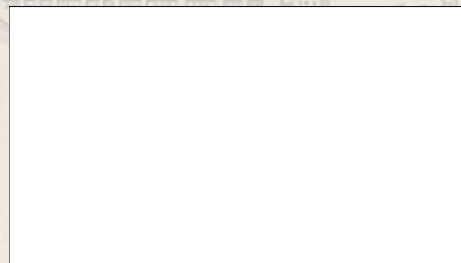
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SCALE OF POLES.

Percent Change Families with Own Children

(by Standard Deviation where dark green signifies a decline in families with children greater than city as a whole)

Tract #	Standard Deviation
23.01	Between .5 and 1.5
54.01	> -2.5 std dev
52.01	Between -1.5 and -2.5
52.02	Within +/- .5
51	Between -.50 and 1.5
86	> -2.5 std dev
85	Within +/- .5
84.02	Between -.50 and 1.5
61	Within +/- .5
60.01	Between -.50 and 1.5



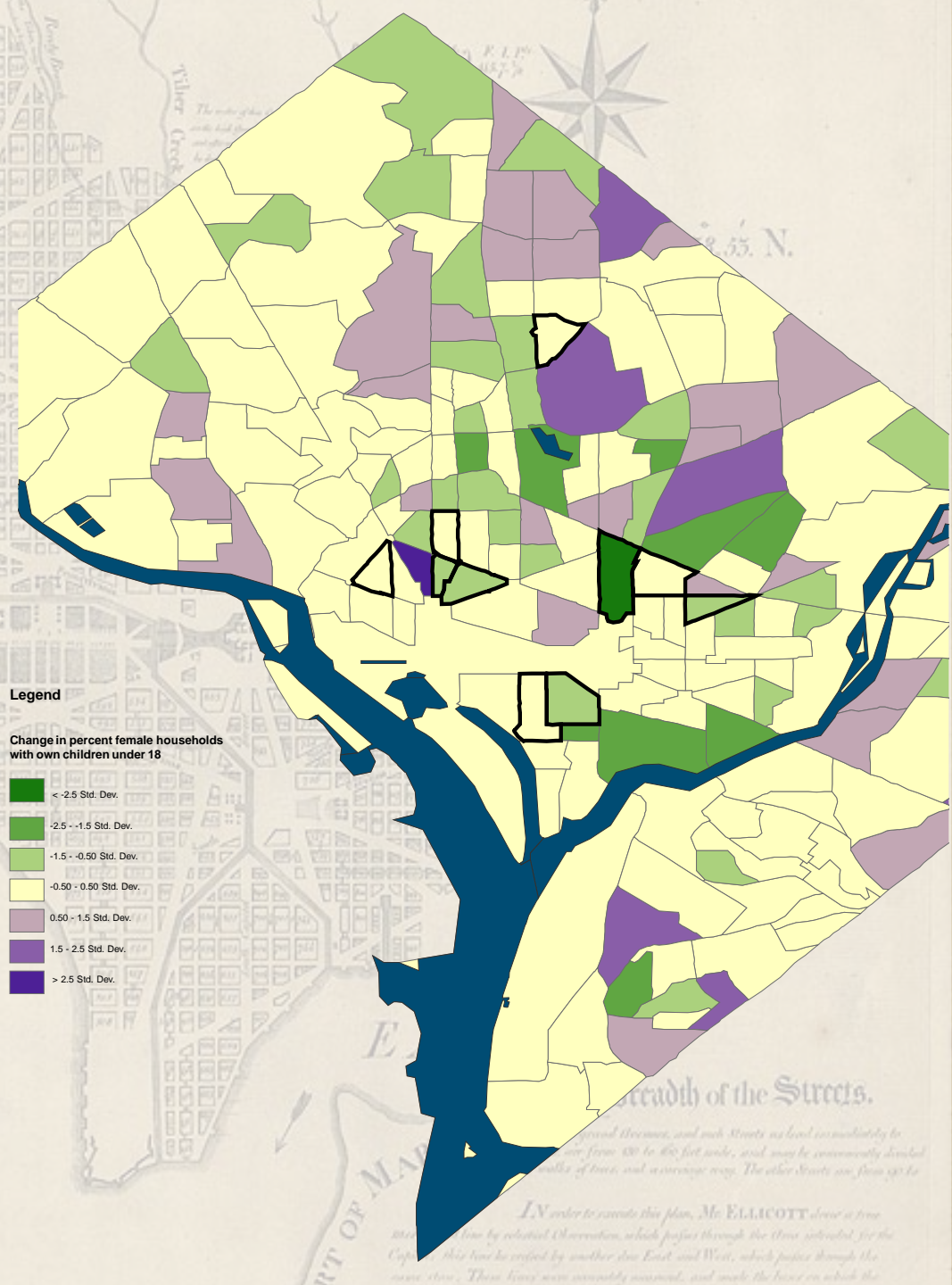
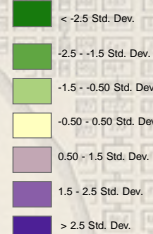
Change in Percent Female Householders (No Male Present) with Own Children

(by Standard Deviation where dark green signifies a decline in Percent Female Householders with own children greater than city as a whole)

Tract #	Standard Deviation
23.01	Within +/- .5
54.01	Within +/- .5
52.01	Within +/- .5
52.02	Between -.50 and 1.5
51	Between -.50 and 1.5
86	> -2.5 std dev
85	Within +/- .5
84.02	Between -.50 and 1.5
61	Within +/- .5
60.01	Between -.50 and 1.5

Legend

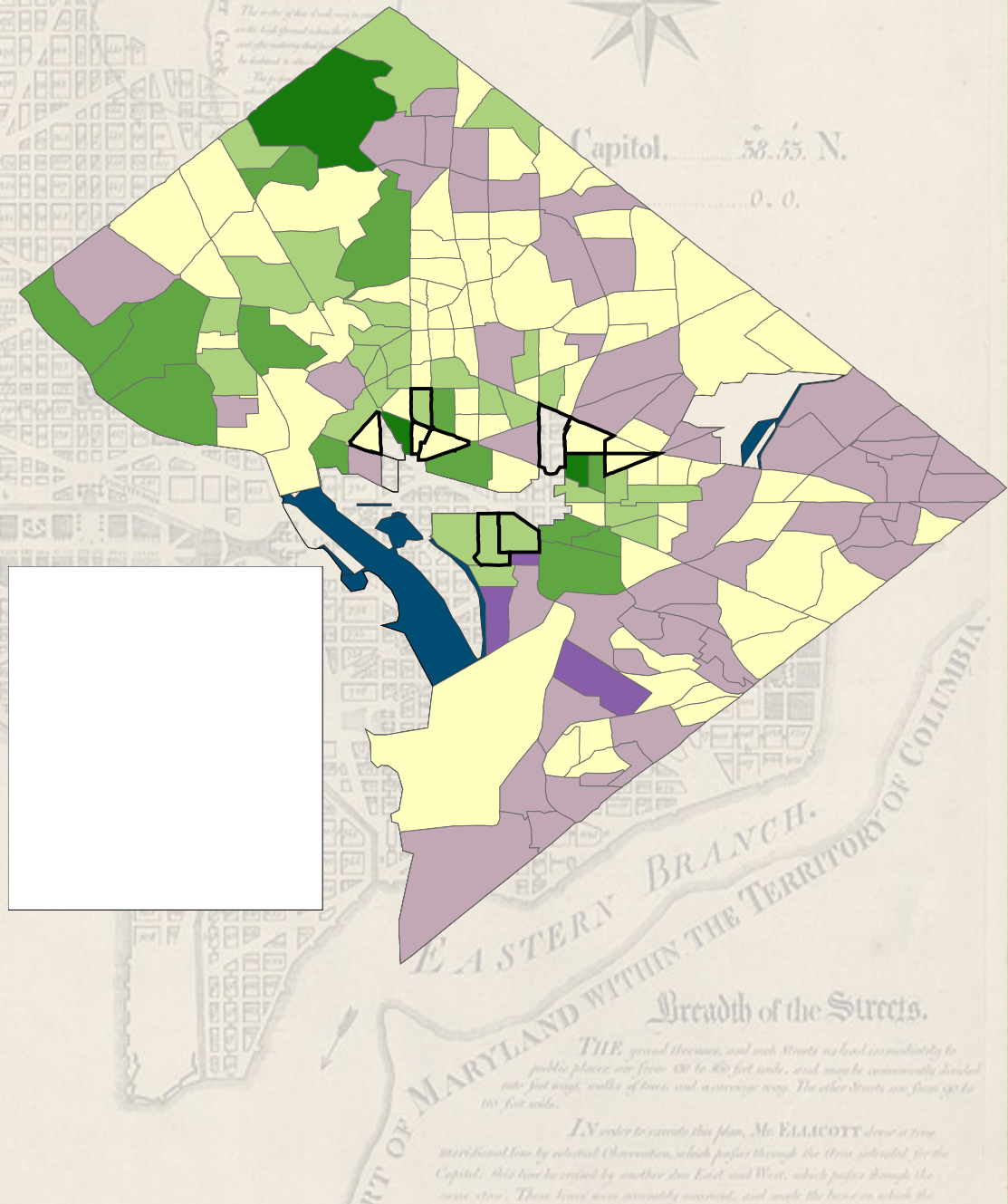
Change in percent female households with own children under 18



Change in Income 2000-2005-2009 average

Standard Deviation where green signifies an above average change in income

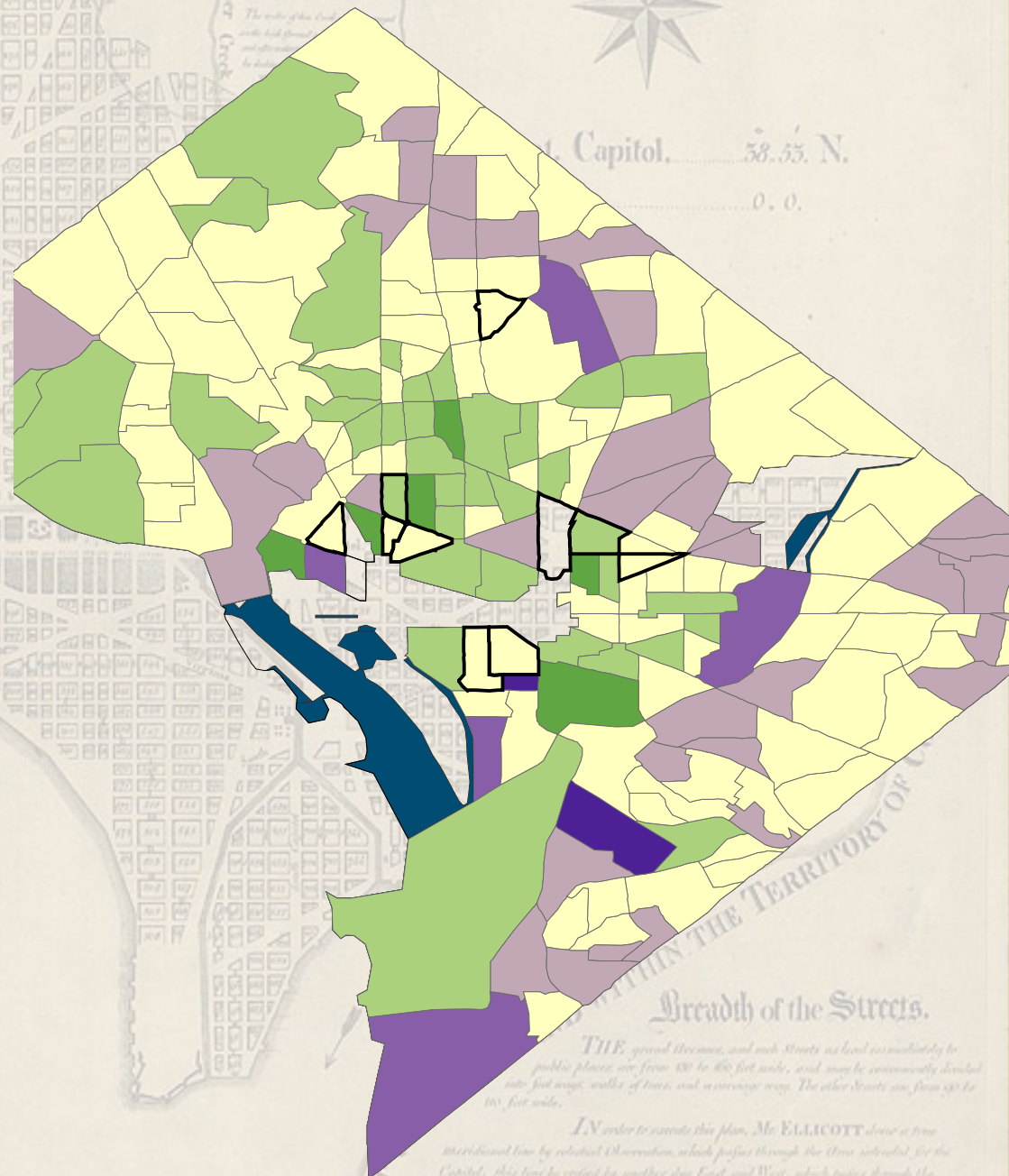
Tract #	Standard Deviation
54.01	Within +/- .5
52.01	Between +.5 - 1.5
52.02	Within +/- .5
51	Within +/- .5
86	No data available
85	Within +/- .5
84.02	Within +/- .5
61	Between +.5 - 1.5
60.01	Between +.5 - 1.5



Percent Change Persons Below Poverty Level

Standard Deviation where green
signifies an above average change in
persons below poverty level

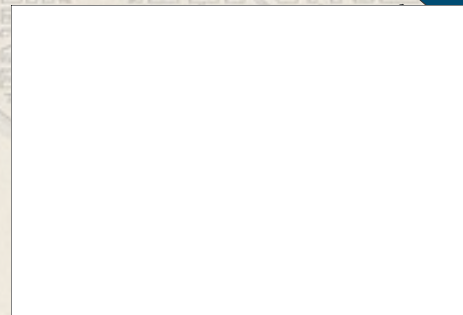
Tract #	Standard Deviation
54.01	Within +/- .5
52.01	Between +.5 - 1.5
52.02	Within +/- .5
51	Within +/- .5
86	No data available
85	Between +.5 - 1.5
84.02	Within +/- .5
61	Within +/- .5
60.01	Within +/- .5



Percent Change Owner Occupied

Standard Deviation where green signifies an above average change in Owner Occupation

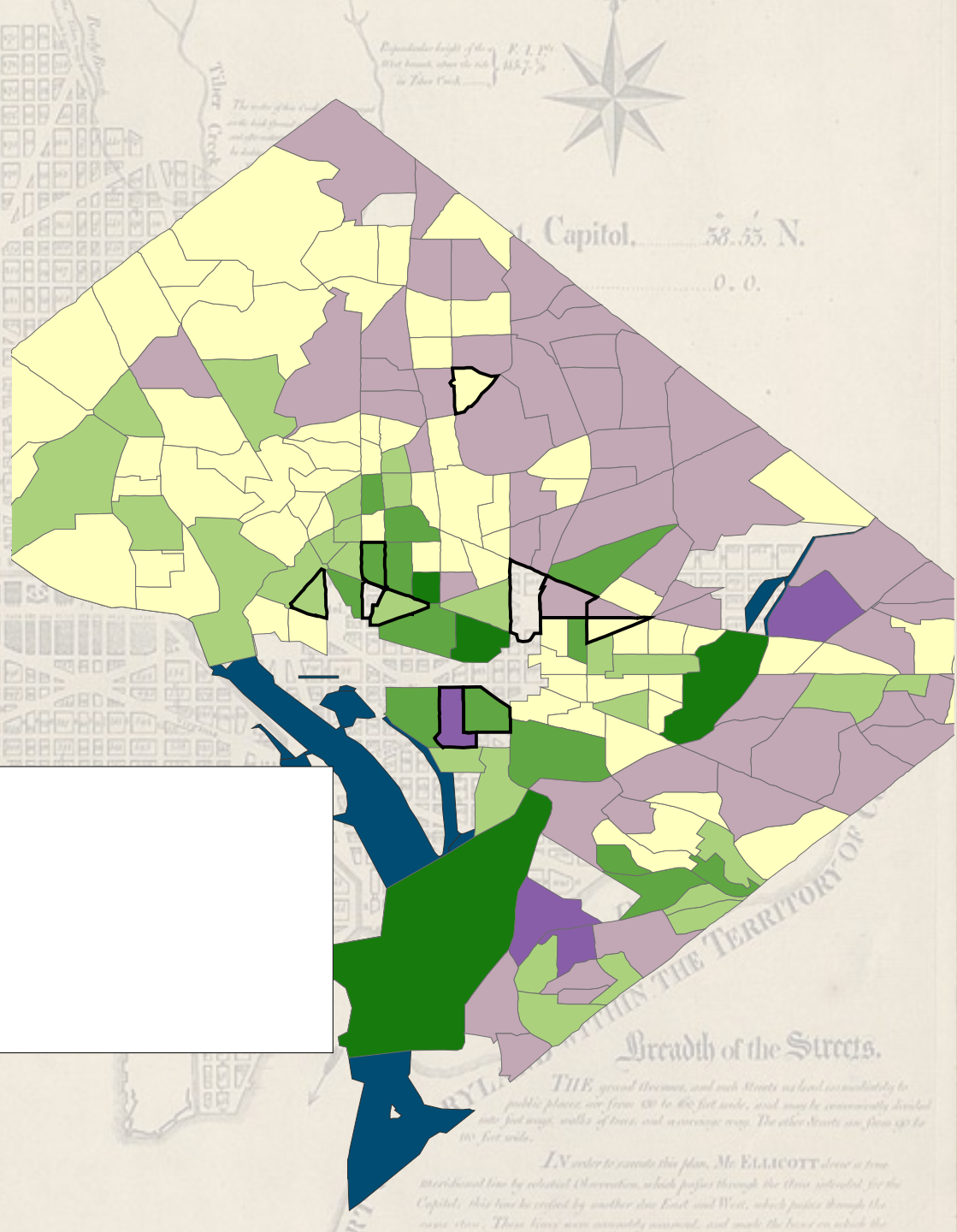
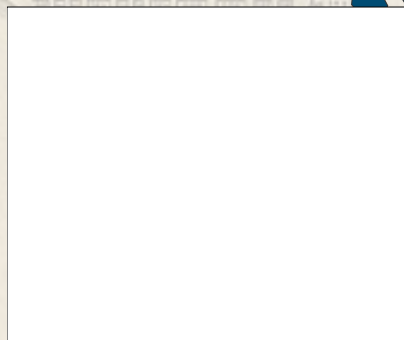
Tract #	Standard Deviation
23.01	Within +/- .5
54.01	Within +/- .5
52.01	Within +/- .5
52.02	Within +/- .5
51	Between +1.5-2.5
86	No data available
85	Within +/- .5
84.02	Within +/- .5
61	Within +/- .5
60.01	Within +/- .5



Percent Owners Moved Last Ten Years (ACS 2005-2009 average)

Standard Deviation where green signifies an above average change in percent owners moved last ten years

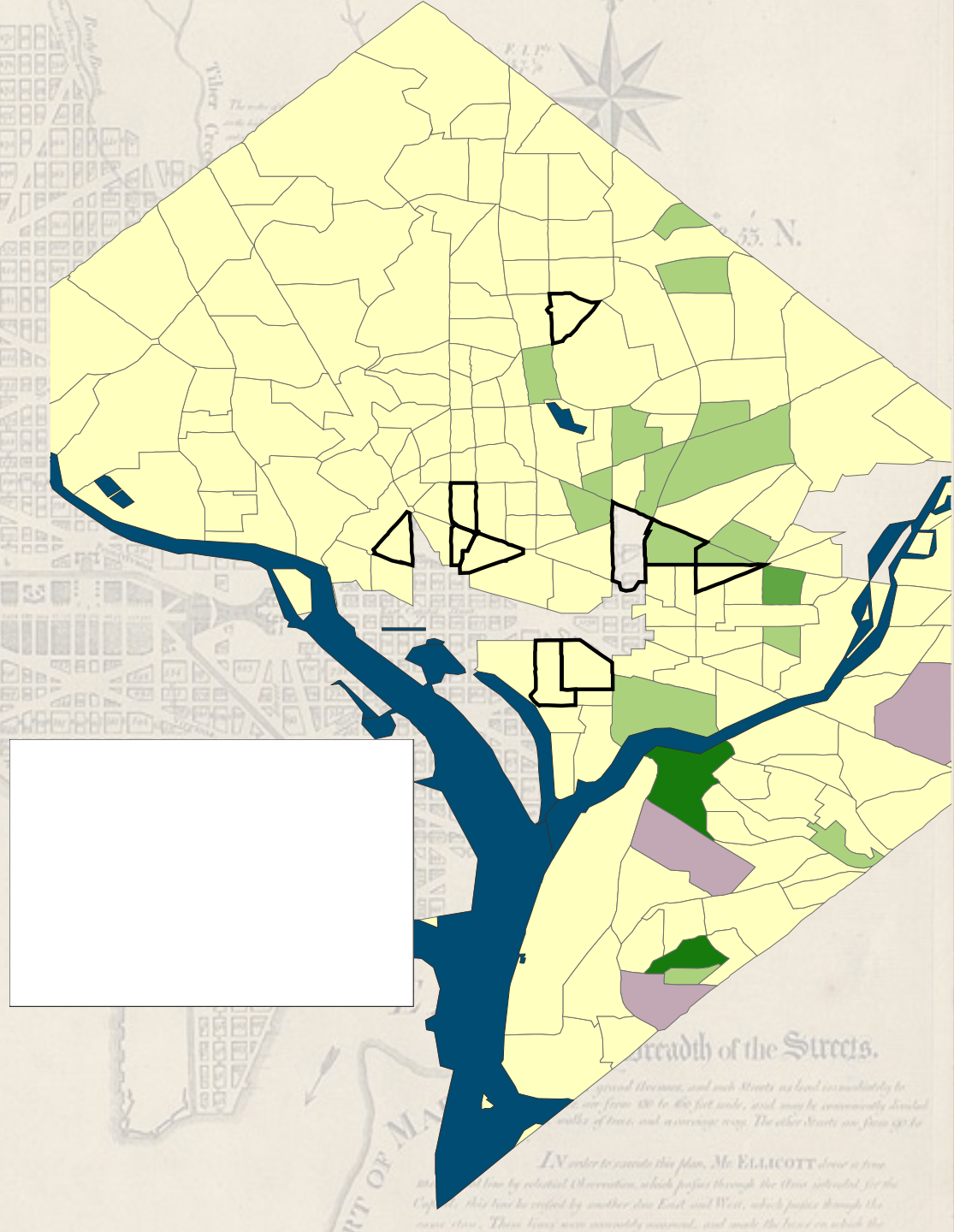
Tract #	Standard Deviation
23.01	Within +/- .5
54.01	Between +.5 - 1.5
52.01	Between +1.5 - 2.5
52.02	No data available
51	Between +.5 - 1.5
86	No data available
85	Between -1.5 --.50
84.02	Within +/- .5
61	< - 1.5
60.01	Between +.5 - 1.5



Percent Change White Population

Standard Deviation where green signifies an above average change in white population

Tract #	Standard Deviation
23.01	Within +/- .5
54.01	Within +/- .5
52.01	Within +/- .5
52.02	Within +/- .5
51	Within +/- .5
86	No data available
85	Between +.5 - 1.5
84.02	Within +/- .5
61	Within +/- .5
60.01	Within +/- .5



Control Tracts (Places with State-led Gentrification Investment)

Tract #

30 DC USA
Shopping
Center

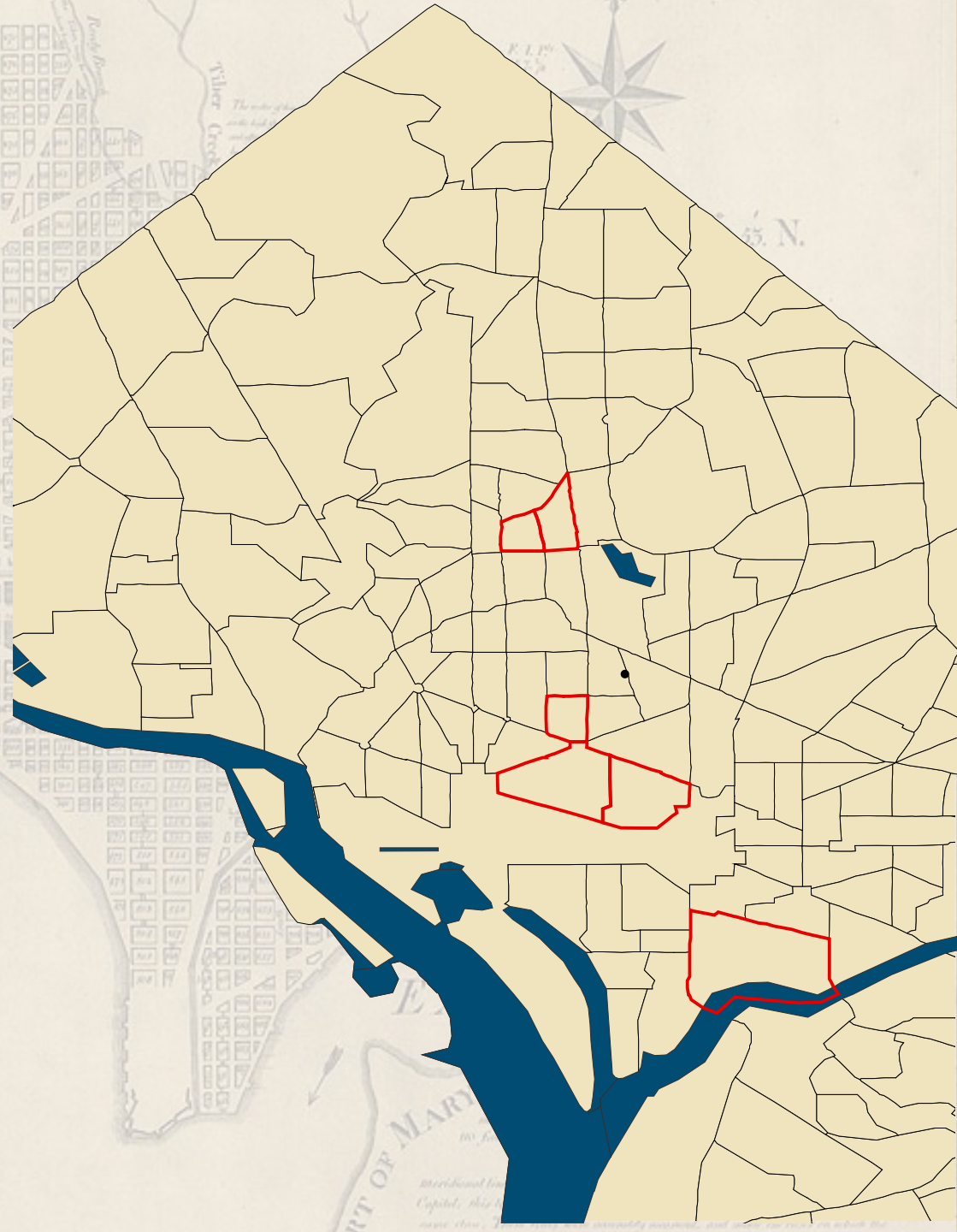
31 DC USA
Shopping
Center

49.02 Convention
Center

58 Verizon
Center

59 Verizon
Center

72 Nationals
Stadium



Pearsons R

Gentrification Indicator	Pearsons R	Significance
% Change Families	-.4891	Not significant/suggestive
Change in Percent Female Headed Households with Own Children	-.56	Not significant/suggestive
Change in % Median Income	-.30	Not significant
% Change Below Poverty	+.33	Not significant
% Change Owner Occupied	-.21	Not significant
% Change Owner Moved within last 10 years, 2000-2009	-.483	Not significant/suggestive

Conclusions and Questions for thought:

CONCLUSIONS

- Residential Change related to gentrification in the District is not just due to new construction. Condo Conversions play a big part.
- On most indicators gentrification indicators change in conversion heavy tracts is greater than the mean.
- Condo conversion are not a statistically significant 'motor' of change based on Pearsons R
- Data suggests that TOPA has not have accomplished its goals of keeping people 'in place' and creating middle and lower income buyers
 - e.g. Declines in families/female headed households
 - e.g. Less than expected change in Owner Occupancy may be related to owners forced to rent their units because they are 'underwater'

QUESTIONS FOR THOUGHT

- How to better construct a predictive model to assess the role of conversions in gentrification
- How to link conversions directly to suburbanization
- What other research questions interest the audience (that I may be missing)?