# Determining Success of the Neighborhood Stabilization Program in Jacksonville, Florida 

A Response to the Housing Collapse During the Great Recession

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION of GEOGRAPHERS
Annual Meeting
Washington D.C.
GREG SCOTT, GISP
Penn State University
3 April 2019
gscott@prosserinc.com

## Determining Success of the Neighborhood Stabilization Program in Jacksonville, FL

- Background to NSP
- Jacksonville's Foreclosure Crisis and NSP Response
- Jacksonville's NSP Investments
- Goals, Objectives and Hypothesis
- Methodology: Data \& Analysis Time Periods
- Defining a NSP Neighborhood
- Finding Comparable Neighborhoods
- A Socioeconomic View of Jacksonville
- Methodology for Detecting Neighborhood Change
- Methodology for Detecting NSP Change as a
- Results
- for NSP and Comparable Neighborhood Change
- for NSP Change as a Function of Investment
- for Neighborhood Income Diversity
- Conclusion Function of Investment
- Methodology for Testing Neighborhood Income Diversity


## Background to NSP

- Home values went down nationally by 31\% from early 2006 to early 2009
- Part of the Housing and Economic Recovery Act (HERA) in 2008
- Goal - bring qualified buyers back to neighborhoods suffering from heavy foreclosure and associated blight, thus stopping the trend of decline
- U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) funded local governments nearly $\$ 7$ billion to stabilize neighborhoods hit hardest by housing crisis.
- This funding occurred in three phases, referred to as NSP1, NSP2 \& NSP3


Jacksonville, Florida

- Received \$22.4 million from HUD during NSP1
- Selected 5 target zip codes during NSP1
- City jumped to \#17 in nation in foreclosures by 2010
- Received $\$ 4.75$ million from HUD during NSP3
- Selected the East-Springfield neighborhood for NSP3



## Jacksonville's Foreclosure Crisis and NSP Response

- NSP3 within 32206 zip-code
- East-Springfield neighborhood



## Jacksonville's NSP Investments

- NSP1 funding more spread out based on reaction to foreclosures; HUD guidelines more loosely defined
- NSP3 funding more concentrated; goals more structured


| NSP1 | SF units | MF units | Total units | Rental units | SF Investment | MF Investment | Total Investment | Rental Investment |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 32206 | 6 | 52 | 58 | 52 | \$586,784.62 | \$6,606,000.00 | \$7,192,784.62 | \$6,606,000.00 |
| 32208 | 30 | 0 | 33 | 3 | \$3,671,808.09 | \$0.00 | \$4,256,624.40 | \$584,816.31 |
| 32209 | 25 | 110 | 137 | 112 | \$1,757,562.79 | \$1,358,207.75 | \$3,488,595.67 | \$1,731,032.88 |
| 32254 | 7 | 0 | 7 | 0 | \$645,751.01 | \$0.00 | \$645,751.01 | \$0.00 |
| 32244 | 30 | 0 | 30 | 0 | \$2,378,574.89 | \$0.00 | \$2,378,574.89 | \$0.00 |
| Subtotal | 98 | 162 | 265 | 167 | \$9,040,481.40 | \$7,964,207.75 | \$17,962,330.59 | \$8,921,849.19 |
|  | 37\% | 61\% |  | 63\% | 50\% | 44\% |  | 50\% |
| NSP3 | SF units | MF units | Total units | Rental units | SF Investment | MF Investment | Total Investment | Rental Investment |
| 32206 | 17 | 38 | 55 | 38 | \$4,320,733.36 | \$5,300,000.00 | \$9,620,733.36 | \$5,300,000.00 |
| Subtotal | 17 | 38 | 55 | 38 | \$4,320,733.36 | \$5,300,000.00 | \$9,620,733.36 | \$5,300,000.00 |
|  | 31\% | 69\% |  | 69\% | 45\% | 55\% |  | 55\% |
| Total | 115 | 200 | 320 | 205 | \$13,361,214.76 | \$13,264,207.75 | \$27,583,063.95 | \$14,221,849.19 |
|  | 36\% | 63\% |  | 64\% | 48\% | 48\% |  | $52 \%$ |

Jacksonville's NSP investments, received from Dayatra Coles, 2018

## City's Goal

- City wanted to provide housing opportunities to a diversity of mixed-income families in the NSP 3 East-Springfield neighborhood without encouraging gentrification (Dayatra Coles, 2018)


## Project's Goals and Objectives

- Determine if target neighborhoods receiving NSP funding changed in comparison to similar neighborhoods not receiving NSP funding
- Look for trends in recovery to suggest change was a result of NSP policy
- Determine if types of investments or certain amounts had measurable or better results in neighborhoods receiving NSP funding
- Look for a correlation between the City's goal of providing housing to mixed-income populations to a recovery from the recession


## Project's Hypothesis

- NSP neighborhoods with more diversified median incomes would have greater measurable success in recession recovery than other NSP neighborhoods


## Methodology: Data \& Analysis Time Periods

- Primary spatial and tabular data source: U.S. Census Bureau (Manson, et al, 2017)
- Census 1990 \& 2000
- American Community Survey (5-year estimates) 2006-2010 \& 2012-2016
- Three time periods will be compared
- 1990 to 2000 (sets neighborhood baseline trends)
- 2000 to 2010 (compares baseline trends to housing bubble and recession period)
- 2010 to 2016 (look for change during post-recession recovery)
- NSP1 \& NSP3 property investment spreadsheet received from City of Jacksonville


## Defining a NSP "Neighborhood"

- A NSP neighborhood = a census block group containing a NSP investment property
- Tract margins of error for American Community Survey data are normally less than block groups
- To find better comparable "neighborhoods", block groups may still be better to use for areas with more racial and economic diversity


East-Springfield Neighborhood

| Census Tract 11 | $34.0 \%$ | $42.9 \%$ | 1 | 0 | 1 | $\$ 166,934$ | $\$ 0$ | $\$ 166,934$ |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Census Tract 12 | $29.5 \%$ | $61.1 \%$ | 6 | 14 | 20 | $\$ 1,540,916$ | $\$ 2,200,000$ | $\$ 3,740,916$ |
| Census Tract 174 | $15.4 \%$ | $81.9 \%$ | 10 | 24 | 34 | $\$ 2,612,883$ | $\$ 3,100,000$ | $\$ 5,712,883$ |

## Finding Comparable (Non-NSP) Neighborhoods

- Used a Socioeconomic Index formula that produced similar standardized values for all NSP block group neighborhoods; created a composite index value
- Neighborhood index components: Median housing value, Median Income, Race/Ethnicity, Tenure (renter-occupied), Education Attainment \& Vacant Housing
- Located census block groups with comparable index values to NSP composite index value
- Used ACS 2006-2010 estimated data for finding comparable block groups



## A Socioeconomic Thumbnail-View of Jacksonville



Median Home Values \%


Renter Occupied Housing \%


Median Income \%


African American Pop \%


Vacant Housing \%


College Degree Attainment \%

## Methodology for Detecting Neighborhood Change

| \% Vacant Housing Units change |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Anova: Single Factor |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| SUMMARY |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Groups | Count | Sum | Average | Variance |  |  |
| Non-NSP | 30 | 0.073787249 | 0.00246 | 0.02398 |  |  |
| NSP | 47 | 2.114910369 | 0.045 | 0.01125 |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| ANOVA |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Source of Variation | SS | df | MS | $F$ | $P$-value | $F$ crit |
| Between Groups | 0.03314 | 1 | 0.03314 | 2.04871 | 0.15649 | 3.96847 |
| Within Groups | 1.21304 | 75 | 0.01617 |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Total | 1.24617 | 76 |  |  |  |  |

- Created trend line graphs and used analysis of variance (ANOVAR) on each socioeconomic index variable to determine statistically significant change between NSP \& non-NSP areas
- Utilized descriptive mean statistics for visual and comparative analysis of change
- Analyzed neighborhood distributions using box and whisker plots



## Methodology for Detecting NSP Change as a Function of Investment

Low

- No literature found analyzing effect caused by NSP investment size or type
- Classified all NSP block group neighborhoods into six investment groups based on amounts or types of investment
- Utilized analysis of various (ANOVAR) on each socioeconomic component to determine for statistical significance within each investment group
- Utilized descriptive mean statistics, trend line graphs \& box and whisker plots for further visual analysis

| 1a. Total Investment Size Groups |  |
| :--- | :--- |
| $<=\$ 75 \mathrm{k}$ | Very Low (VLI) |
| $\$ 75 \mathrm{k}-\$ 150 \mathrm{k}$ | Low (LI) |
| $\$ 150 \mathrm{k}-\$ 200 \mathrm{k}$ | Moderately Low (MLI) |
| $\$ \$ 200 \mathrm{k}-\$ 400 \mathrm{k}$ | Moderately High (MHI) |
| $\$ 400 \mathrm{k}-\$ 800 \mathrm{k}$ | High (HI) |
| $\$ \$ 800 \mathrm{k}$ | Very High (VHI) |

2. Land Use Type Investment \% Groups

| $100 \%$ SF | All Single Family (SF) Units |
| :--- | :--- |
| Mix of SF and MF | Mix of SF and MF Units |
| $100 \%$ MF | All Multi-Family (MF) Units |


| 1b. Minimum Investment Size Groups <br> $<=\$ 30 \mathrm{k}$ <br> $\$ 30 \mathrm{k}-\$ 60 \mathrm{k}$ |  |
| :--- | :--- |
| $>\$ 60 \mathrm{k}-\$ 90 \mathrm{k}$ | Low (LI) |
| $>\$ 90 \mathrm{k}-\$ 120 \mathrm{k}$ | Moderately Low (MLI) |
| $>\$ 120 \mathrm{k}-\$ 180 \mathrm{k}$ | Moderately High (MHI) |
| $>\$ 180 \mathrm{k}$ | High (HI) |


| 1c. Maximum Investment Size Groups |  |
| :--- | :--- |
| $<=\$ 100 \mathrm{k}$ | Very Low (VLI) |
| $\$ 100 \mathrm{k}-\$ 200 \mathrm{k}$ | Low (LI) |
| $>\$ 200 \mathrm{k}-\$ 500 \mathrm{k}$ | Moderately Low (MLI) |
| $>\$ 500 \mathrm{k}-\$ 1 \mathrm{~m}$ | Moderately High (MHI) |
| $>\$ 1 \mathrm{~m}-\$ 3 \mathrm{~m}$ | High (HI) |
| $>\$ 3 \mathrm{~m}$ | Very High (VHI) |


| 3. Dwelling Units (du) \# Investment Groups |  |
| :--- | :--- |
| 1 du | Very Low (VLdu) |
| 2 du | Low (Ldu) |
| $3 \mathrm{du}-4 \mathrm{du}$ | Moderately Low (MLdu) |
| $5 \mathrm{du}-7 \mathrm{du}$ | Moderately High (MHdu) |
| $8 \mathrm{du}-15 \mathrm{du}$ | High (Hdu) |
| $>15 \mathrm{du}$ | Very High (VHdu) |


| 4. Tenure Type Investment \% Groups |  |
| :--- | :--- |
| $100 \%$ owner | All Owner-Occupied Units |
| Mix of owner/renter | Mix of Owner and Renter-Occupied |
| $100 \%$ renter | All Renter-Occupied Units |

## Methodology for Testing Neighborhood Income Diversity

- Socioeconomic change in a neighborhood may facilitate recovery from recession (Hyra \& Rugh, 2016)
- Assign each tract a household income group (based on HUD's income groupings)
- Extremely Low-Income: households earning income not more than 30\% of AMI ( $\leq 30 \%$ )
- Very Low-Income: households earning income not more than 50 percent of AMI ( $31 \%-50 \%$ )
- Low-Income: Households earning income not more than 80 percent of AMI ( $51 \%-80 \%$ )
- Moderate Income: Households earning income now more than 120 percent of AMI ( $81 \%-120 \%$ )
- Middle Income: Households earning income not more than 165 percent of AMI (121\%-165\%)
- High Income: Households earning income above 165 percent of AMI (>165\%)
- Create income diversity groups from household income groups

Diversity Group If maximum group percentage of a household income group in zip-code was

| - High Diversity | < 40\% |  |  |  | \#of Neighborhoods within ACS 2005-2010 Household Income Groups |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | < 55\% | Zipcode | Income Diversity Group | Max Group\% | Elow-I | VLow-I | Low-1 | Mod-I | Mid-I | High-I | Total |
| y | < $55 \%$ | 32206 | Low Income Diversity | 60\% | 0 | 3 | 6 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 10 |
| - Low Diversity | < 70\% | 32208 | High Income Diversity | 38\% | 0 | 3 | 5 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 13 |
|  |  | 32209 | Moderate Income Diversity | 50\% | 3 | 9 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 18 |
| - Very Low Diversity | > 70\% | 32254 | Very Low Income Diversity | 80\% | 0 | 0 | 4 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 5 |

## Results for NSP and Comparable Neighborhood Change






Median Household Income



Median Home Value



- NSP and non-NSP neighborhood index components only had subtle differences (change) over each period of a 26-year timespan from 1990 to 2016
- There was no statistically significant change between NSP \& non-NSP neighborhoods for any index component percentage difference during -- 1990-2000 (historical to pre-recession)
-- 2000-2010 (pre-recession/recession)
-- 2010-2016 (post-recession)
- This suggests NSP had no composite impact on neighborhoods as a whole
- Most surprising post-recession change variable was vacant housing percentage
- Analysis of investment size and type allowed comparison of NSP neighborhoods during recession recovery period
- The majority of NSP neighborhoods with highest vacant housing \% ( $34 \%-54 \%$ ) had investments in owner-occupied, single-family land use with low (2.6) dwelling unit avg per neighborhood and with a total investment under \$200k (left map)
- Where City invested $100 \%$ in renter-occupied housing with a high (22) dwelling unit avg per neighborhood, vacant housing \% was $58 \%$ lower (middle map)
- 2010-2016 vacant housing \% differences declined when min starting investment was greater than $\$ 120 \mathrm{k}$ (right map and top right graph)


Highest NSP vacant housing percentages


100\% renter-occupied NSP investments had much lower vacant housing percentages

Results for NSP Change as a Function of Investment

Vacant Housing Percentage Analysis


Minimum starting neighborhood investments > $\$ 120 \mathrm{k}$ had declining vacant housing percentages

## Results for Neighborhood Income Diversity

- Recovery from recession may depend on how a neighborhood's income diversity is trending
- Influencing neighborhood income diversity did not appear to depend on the size of the NSP investment, but how it was allocated
- The City had success where they followed their stated mixed-income investment strategy
- The 32206 zip-code increased from 'Low' to 'Moderate' income diversity and was only zip-code to decline in vacant housing \% change, one outlier neighborhood from having statistically significant difference

- The 32208 zip-code fell from 'High' to 'Low' income diversity, which reflected City's lower density, owner-occupied investment strategy
- The 32209 moderate income diversity zip-code had highest vacancy \% increases but performed much better where neighborhood household incomes increased, which was primarily where the City invested in rental housing

|  |  |  | \# of Neighborhoods within ACS 2006-2010 Household Income Groups |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Zipcode | Income Diversity Group | Max Group\% | ELow-1 | VLow-1 | Low-1 | Mod-I | Mid-I | High-I | Total |
| 32206 | Low Income Diversity | 60\% | 0 | 3 | 6 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 10 |
| 32208 | High Income Diversity | 38\% | 0 | 3 | 5 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 13 |
| 32209 | Moderate Income Diversity | 50\% | 3 | 9 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 18 |
| 32254 | Very Low Income Diversity | 80\% | 0 | 0 | 4 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 5 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  | \# of Neighborhoods within ACS 2012-2016 Household Income Groups |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Zipcode | Income Diversity Group | Max Group\% | ELow-1 | VLow-1 | Low-1 | Mod-I | Mid-1 | High-1 | Total |
| 32206 | Moderate Income Diversity | 50\% | 1 | 3 | 5 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 10 |
| 32208 | Moderate Income Diversity | 46\% | 0 | 3 | 6 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 13 |
| 32209 | Moderate Income Diversity | 50\% | 1 | 5 | 8 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 16 |
| 32254 | Very Low Income Diversity | 80\% | 0 | 0 | 4 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 5 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

## Conclusion

- Finding success of the Neighborhood Stabilization Program was not at the composite level, comparing it as a whole to non-NSP neighborhoods, but upon analyzing NSP investments inside of individual investment categories
- Potential successes of the NSP were found by searching for reasons why its vacant housing percentage change was higher than comparable neighborhoods
- inevitability of the Great Recession after early NSP investments had success
- best results where City invested in higher density, multi-family land use providing rental-occupied housing
- best results where City's minimum neighborhood investment > \$120k and total investments > \$200k
- neighborhoods with increasing income diversity appeared to be more stable
- This research deemed the City of Jacksonville most successful in stabilizing neighborhoods where they followed their own renter-occupied housing and mixed-income investment strategy, then allocated larger investments to affect greater number of units in fewer neighborhoods

