Where You Live and Where You Move:
A Cross-City Comparison of the Effects of Gentrification and How these Effects Are Tied to Racial History

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Table of Contents

List of Tables and Figures

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Abstract

In this thesis, I compare the effects of gentrification on two amenities, school quality and air quality, in ten cities across the United States. I look into how gentrification and being a renter can have a role in how the effects of gentrification are felt among a city's residents and whether these effects are stronger in some cities than others. Ultimately, my goal is to see if cities that experienced a larger amount of white flight post-World War II, also exhibited greater adverse effects from gentrification on renters. I find that, in terms of school quality, renters in high white flight cities more consistently experience a downgrade in quality of schools—most likely attributed to having to move out of their gentrifying neighborhoods and into worse parts of the city—than renters in low white flight cities. This finding could be accredited to the fact that high white flight cities saw widespread de-investment across the city's various neighborhoods that would have lowered the quality of amenities, like schools, experienced by displaced renters. Air quality, on the other hand, does not seem to consistently be affected by gentrification in a way that is related to the amount of white flight in a city—revealing that there may be other confounding variables affecting the quality of air in a city.

Introduction

Gentrification is characterized by a rise in prices and property values, driven by the renovation of a city's infrastructure and housing stock, as well as a high amount of population growth into the city, particularly from college-educated and high-income individuals (Banzhaf and McCormick, 2007). Coveted for its economic stimulation and rebuilding of previously declining metropolitan centers, gentrification often gives rise to better neighborhood amenities, like school quality and air quality (Keels, Burdick-Will, and Keene, 2013). These improved amenities can be attributed to increased investment into the city from businesses and new residents, who now have a higher average income and thus more means to invest into bettering their own neighborhoods.

Unfortunately, alongside this stimulation comes displacement—best described as when households can no longer continue living in their place of residence due to new conditions, most of the time unaffordability, that make it unreasonable to stay. Low-income residents are faced with a higher cost of living in their gentrifying neighborhoods. As a result, they not only move out, but also, frequently move out into neighborhoods that have not experienced as much of the benefits of investment and thus have less improved amenities (Newman and Own, 1982). In many cities, these demographic trends, of high-income people moving into city centers and low-income people being pushed out, are a complete reversal of the movement in and out of urban centers that took place in the mid 20th century.

Numerous metropolitan areas across the United States witnessed a phenomenon of white flight throughout the second half of the 1900s—post-World War II—where high-income, white families moved to the surrounding suburbs, and populations in cities not only changed demographically to be less white, but also decreased tremendously overall (Baum-Snow and

Hartley, 2017). For example, Detroit, Michigan, in a period characterized by race riots and extreme racial segregation, went from being the bustling hub of the United States' auto industry in 1950, with a population that was 83.58% white, to a city with acres of vacant space and a population that was only 55.5% white by 1970 (Sugrue, 2014).

Cities like Detroit that had a relatively high amount of white flight, or migration of high-income, white families out of the city, also commonly experienced a great amount of de-investment. This lack of investment into the city's upkeep can be primarily attributed to two factors. One, businesses, in order to stay afloat, would often follow the high-income residents out into the suburbs. Two, those who continued to reside in the city had a lower average income and thus less resources to invest into what remained of their neighborhoods and houses (Woldoff, 2011). City governments themselves may have also invested less into the neighborhoods of the city, which were now less populous and majorly composed of lower income and minority residents. As a result, cities with a relatively larger amount of white flight would have seen a greater proportion of neighborhoods left abandoned and in decline as compared to cities with relatively less white flight.

Such inter-city discrepancies imply that as gentrification plays out and low-income residents get pushed out of their neighborhoods, those in cities that saw more white flight are also more likely to get pushed out into neighborhoods that have not been kept up. I hypothesize that the displaced, low-income people in high white flight cities would experience a larger drop in quality of amenities when compared to the displaced, low-income people in low white flight cities, where investment across neighborhoods remained more constant. If we compared the effects of gentrification on displaced people across cities, with varying levels of white flight, would there be any differences in these effects? In essence, the question then being asked is how

do the effects of gentrification on displaced people differ across metropolitan areas in the United States and are these differences tied to the racial histories of these cities?

As of yet, there has been no research done to compare cities and how the effects of gentrification on displaced people, in regards to quality of amenities experienced, may vary from city to city. So far the existing research regarding gentrification has established two main conclusions. One, gentrifying neighborhoods are characterized by population growth, reduced vacancy rates, demographic shifts towards college-educated, high-income people, and increased prices and property values (Vigdor, Massey, and Rivlin, 2002). Two, the effects of gentrification on displaced people, in their experiences of amenities such as school quality and air quality, are unfavorable when measured at the individual city-level (Timmins, Qiang, and Wang, 2018). However, there is not yet any comparison of these effects and how they might differ, in terms of magnitude and sign, depending on which city is being analyzed.

In this paper, I conduct more of this city-level analysis on the effects of gentrification in ten cities from 2013-2018. To isolate these effects, I run a series of multivariate, panel regressions of an amenity experienced by residents and affected by gentrification, either school quality or air quality, on a variety of dimensions, including whether the resident lived in a neighborhood that was gentrifying in 2013, whether the year is 2013 or 2018, or whether the resident was a renter. Data from Info USA enables us to get household-level data on where people have lived from 2013-2018 in order to get accurate estimations.

These regressions first compare people similar on every dimension except whether they lived in a gentrifying neighborhood or not, to reveal the differences in amenities that can be attributed to gentrification. Second, they compare an individual in 2013 to that same individual in 2018, to identify the time-effects on amenities. Third, they compare all those living in a

gentrifying neighborhood along their status as a renter. Doing so shows the effects of gentrification on school quality and air quality for those who are renting theirs homes, who are most likely being displaced because of higher rent prices, as compared to owners, who most likely remain in their gentrified neighborhood and reap the benefits of improved amenities.

I will then compare cities and identify any trends in how these effects of gentrification compare to the effects experienced in cities with similar levels of white flight and different levels of white flight. To really know if a city's relatively high amount of white flight makes its displaced, low-income residents vulnerable to greater and more significant drops in amenities, several cities with differing racial histories and backgrounds must be analyzed and compared using data from people living in those cities now. In doing so, it will not only be revealed how an individual city's residents experience gentrification, but also how these effects might vary depending on the amount of white flight in that city.

Research Question

How do the effects of gentrification on displaced people differ across metropolitan areas in the United States and are these differences tied to the racial histories of these cities?

Theoretical Framework

Defining Gentrification and Its Measurement

Gentrification is typically characterized by population growth, but it is how this growth shifts the demographics of a city that best indicates gentrification is taking place. Not only is gentrification often associated with large amounts of migration into a city center, but those making up the largest share of this migrating population are often white, college-educated, high-income individuals and families. This movement inwards is a complete reversal of the decentralization of central neighborhood populations—where that same white, high-income demographic migrated out of the city and into the surrounding suburbs—that took place post-World War II in many cities across the United States (Baum-Snow and Hartley, 2016).

The pattern of migration observed during gentrification has been attributed to the newness and young age, or short time period since the housing was built or last renovated, of the housing stock in gentrifying cities, coupled with the attraction of high-income people to newer housing. As a city begins to redevelop, from the center and then move outwards, high-income populations follow the younger and newer housing options, resulting in the influx of college-educated, high-income individuals into city centers and then expansion of this population further outwards from the center as additional new housing is developed (Brueckner and Rosenthal, 2009). Though it could be argued that housing development is following the movements of high-income people, instead of the other way around as the literature suggests, what is indisputable is the association of the college-educated, high-income demographic with the newly built or renovated housing.

What ensues is a positive feedback loop. High-income people want to live next to other high-income people and so as new neighborhoods pop up adjacent to one another in city centers,

more of this demographic flocks inwards. The city's residents, demographically, begin to have a higher average income and higher educational attainment than previously. Further, the increased demand for city housing, alongside a general increased valuation and investment—now possible due to the higher average income of city residents—into properties, amenities, and services in city centers, results in an increase in housing prices and a higher cost of living in these city neighborhoods (Baum-Snow and Hartley, 2016; Guerrieri, Hartley, and Hurst, 2013; Keels, Burdick-Will, and Keene, 2013).

The higher cost of living in central city neighborhoods can make living in the city unaffordable for minorities and low-income populations, leading to crowd-out, or these populations being forced to move somewhere else (Baum-Snow and Hartley, 2016). If the housing supply in the city is elastic, meaning the quantity of houses supplied is fairly responsive to changes in prices, housing prices should not be expected to rise by much and low-income populations will be minimally affected (Glaeser, Gyourko, and Saks, 2005). Most of the time, however, the housing supply is more inelastic and the quantity of houses supplied is fairly stagnant. Poor households living in gentrified neighborhoods, then face two options. One, they can take on the cost to relocate and move somewhere further from the city center, where they would experience decreased utility and happiness. Two, they can continue to live in their gentrifying area and instead take on the higher cost of living by consuming less and accepting a lower standard of living (Vigdor, Massey, and Rivlin, 2002). This unaffordability, faced by low-income people in their original place of residency, is exactly what defines the displacement that often results from gentrification (Newman and Own, 1982).

While this research establishes what happens to populations, demographics, prices, and the housing supply as gentrification occurs, we still have yet to find out the effects of this

gentrification on displaced populations once they move. The research on these effects does exist, but it is more scarce and hard to come by for many gentrifying neighborhoods. In this paper I will not only take on this task by analyzing the effects of gentrification on displaced people in several cities and metropolitan areas across the country, but also take it a step further by comparing these effects and how they may differ or be similar to one another.

The Effects of Gentrification on Displaced Populations

A sizable portion of the literature and research indicates that gentrification may not be all that bad for people of lower incomes. Some low-income people may not even be displaced at all. For instance, gentrifying neighborhoods receive a large amount of mortgage capital investment, or loans to help those of lower incomes afford their homes. Moreover, bank policy in formerly redlined areas, where minorities once faced discrimination and other obstacles in buying homes, has actually been to expand home ownership to minorities and lower income individuals by increasing the number of loans made to these populations and by lowering borrowing costs (Wyly and Hammel, 1999).

Further, it was found that, in some cases, those with lower educations were more likely to stay at their original residency, and not move, if they were living in a gentrified neighborhood than if they were living in a non-gentrified neighborhood. This finding suggests that those with lower educations may in some ways actually benefit from gentrification or at least be willing to pay the higher costs associated with it because of the benefits offered in exchange. Such benefits include access to schools with better quality, which would be especially valued by those with low educational attainment (Byrne, 2002).

As an area redevelops, the high-income individuals that then live there will invest their resources and time into the upkeep and quality of the overall neighborhood, which leads to

improved amenities and services, like better school quality and air quality, that most of the time did not exist in the neighborhood before. Some surveys suggest that people living in gentrifying neighborhoods, regardless of the higher cost of living, are satisfied by these benefits and inclined to continue living there due to the better services and amenities that they could not access prior to the gentrification taking place (Vigdor, Massey, and Rivlin, 2002).

How much better these public services are in gentrifying neighborhoods, however, can be debated. For example, though the higher income base would be expected to increase the investment into neighborhood public schools, no such effects have been documented. Academic performance at schools in gentrifying neighborhoods does not seem to increase due to gentrification, which could be due to higher income families choosing to send their kids to private or charter schools or not having kids at all (Keels, Burdick-Will, and Keene, 2013).

Existing research shows gentrification may be beneficial to low-income individuals by building a link between these low-income populations to loans used for home-financing as well as to the benefits associated with gentrification; however, there is also significant evidence to suggest that gentrification does, in fact, displace these people and negatively impact their quality of life. In Los Angeles County, low-income renters were more likely than higher income owners to have to move from their home in a gentrifying neighborhood. The areas that they moved to had both lower school qualities and higher crime rates, indicating that gentrification not only displaced them, but also, in doing so, gave them a lower quality of life (Timmins, Qiang, and Wang, 2018).

Across the country, in Durham, North Carolina, it was also found that gentrification resulted in adverse effects on displaced people. Low-income renters, having to pay higher prices in their gentrifying neighborhoods, were often pushed out. When these people moved, they were

more likely than their high-income counterparts to move into neighborhoods with worse school qualities, more crime, and higher poverty rates (Ameri, 2019).

Like the studies in Los Angeles County and Durham, all research to show the negative effects of gentrification on displaced people has been restricted to the city-level. What remains is a gap in our understanding of how all these cities compare. While city-level research has shown that gentrification in cities does have adverse effects on displaced, lower income people, we have yet to determine if the effects on displaced people in some cities are more adverse than in other cities. For instance, we do not know if displaced, low-income renters in Los Angeles or Durham faced larger decreases in school quality. In this paper, I will tackle this gap by comparing ten cities and the varying effects of gentrification in these cities to see if there are any trends among cities with similar effects and to examine why differences in these effects might arise.

White Flight and Racial Histories in Cities Across the Country

After World War II, many cities, like Detroit, Michigan for example, experienced white flight, where white, high-income families fled to the suburbs. Huge portions of the Detroit white population left many neighborhoods vacant, abandoned, or only occupied by minorities and those of lower incomes (Sugrue, 2014). Cities across the country saw white flight play out in a similar manner, and these movements had several consequences. Many businesses in these cities left to follow the households with higher incomes that had greater capabilities to contribute to their sales. Further, residents that remained in central city areas had, on average, lower incomes and thus less means to invest in their own neighborhoods. These cities, with relatively large amounts of white flight, experienced major declines in overall quality (Woldoff, 2011).

Therefore, it was these cities that had greater amounts of white flight, that displaced people would be expected to suffer more of a downgrade when they are pushed out of their

gentrifying neighborhoods. As their neighborhoods begin to gentrify and they become displaced, the areas that low-income populations then move into are more likely to have seen de-investment and thus have under-resourced amenities than those in cities that did not experience this across-the-board decline in investment. These discrepancies in white flight and neighborhood investment are likely to play important roles in which cities' low-income populations face more adverse effects from gentrification than other cities' low-income populations. Thus, not only is it worth comparing cities to determine if there are any differences in the effects of gentrification on displaced people, but an interesting basis of comparison would be the degree to which the city experienced white flight.

More white flight, logistically, means more stratification in which demographics live in the city and which in the suburbs surrounding it, and thus which demographics will then move into the city center as gentrification occurs. Further, white flight also decides which cities maintain a certain level of investment throughout their various neighborhoods and which do not. These racial histories and patterns of white migration could very well influence how a city feels the effects of gentrification. When finding trends and patterns among the effects of gentrification in various cities, could similarities and differences be attributed to the relative amount of white flight in that city? How do the effects of gentrification on displaced people differ across metropolitan areas in the United States and are these differences tied to the racial histories of these cities?

Synopsis

Previous research on gentrification has been twofold. Firstly, gentrification is characterized by population growth, specifically of college educated and high-income individuals, which in turn increases prices, especially within the housing market. These higher

prices tighten the budget constraints of lower income families and individuals, making their new optimal choice to move out of their neighborhoods as to not spend a larger fraction of their income on housing and more expensive services and amenities. This choice is especially true for renters, who are burdened by the higher rent prices. What results is the displacement of large amounts of poor populations, which leads to the second part of the existing research on how these displaced people are impacted. Most research has been done on a city-by-city basis, but has generally found adverse effects on school quality and air quality for displaced people that are forced to move out of their gentrifying neighborhoods.

Given this research, a gap remains in how these gentrifying metropolitan areas differ in their experiences of gentrification, or whether they even differ at all. The degree that the adverse effects of gentrification are felt could vary by city and begs the question of whether some city-level characteristic could explain these differences. One characteristic of particular interest, which influenced housing patterns throughout the second half of the 1900s, is white flight. Many cities had especially intense racial histories, characterized by large amounts of white flight that decreased the overall upkeep and investment into city centers—decisions that currently have major implications for lower income people who are now being displaced from their gentrifying neighborhoods and moving into these other parts of the city. My research question adds to the existing conversation by not only comparing the effects of gentrification in several cities, but also looking to see if differences in effects can be tied to the racial history of each city.

Methodology

Research Design

To start out, I first performed a set of two regressions for each of the ten cities. Many of the variables used are binary, which means they take on the value of one if a certain characteristic applies and they take on the value of zero otherwise. It is also worth noting that for the sake of simplicity, I have not reported several control variables on the right sides of the equations listed and instead grouped them together as "Demographic Variables." These variables include the length of time that the family has resided at their current address, a binary variable equal to one if the household has children, the number of children in the household, whether the head of the household is married, the income level of the household, the wealth accumulated by the household, twelve binary variables corresponding to twelve age groups and equal to one if the head of household is a part of that age group, and six binary variables corresponding to ethnicities and equal to one if the head of household is a part of that ethnicity. The dependent variable in these regressions represents different amenities affected by gentrification and is one of two measures: school quality and air quality.

$$\textit{school quality} = \beta_0 + \beta_1(\textit{Gentrification Indicator}) + \beta_2(\textit{Year}) + \beta_3(\textit{Gentrification Indicator*Year}) + \beta_4(\textit{Gentrification Indicator*Renter}) + \beta_5(\textit{Year*Renter}) + \beta_6(\textit{Gentrification Indicator*Year*Renter}) + \beta_7(\textit{Renter}) + \beta_8(\textit{Demographic Variables}) + \varepsilon$$

$$\textit{air quality} = \beta_0 + \beta_1(\textit{Gentrification Indicator}) + \beta_2(\textit{Year}) + \beta_3(\textit{Gentrification Indicator*Year}) + \beta_4(\textit{Gentrification Indicator*Renter}) + \beta_5(\textit{Year*Renter}) + \beta_6(\textit{Gentrification Indicator*Year*Renter}) + \beta_7(\textit{Renter}) + \beta_8(\textit{Demographic Variables}) + \varepsilon$$

Both regressions are multivariate, panel regressions, meaning that they look at the same set of individuals, in this case the same group of households living within a specific city, over multiple points in time, in this case both in 2013 and in 2018, to see which effects on amenities can be attributed to variation over time and which effects on amenities are due to other factors.

These other factors are captured in, but not limited to, the independent variables of the regressions.

There are several independent variables of interest in both of the regressions. "Gentrification Indicator" is a binary variable equal to one if the household lived in a gentrifying neighborhood in 2013. Thus, β_1, controlling for all other variables, is the estimated effect on an amenity if a neighborhood is gentrifying. In other words, the coefficient represents how much amenities like school quality and air quality improve, or do not improve, from gentrification. I hypothesized that, for all cities, the derivative of school quality over the gentrification indicator, or β_1 in the first equation, would be positive, indicating that gentrification increases the quality of schools in the area. This increase would be due to higher income people now living in the neighborhood and having a greater amount of resources to invest towards bettering their amenities, like public schools; although the amount that property taxes would vary from a gentrifying neighborhood to a non-gentrifying neighborhood is likely not significant enough to influence school quality greatly, higher income families could still have other resources to invest directly into their neighborhood public schools. I also hypothesized that, for all cities, the derivative of air quality over the gentrification indicator, or β_1 in the second equation, would be negative, indicating that living in a gentrifying neighborhood decreases the toxicity of air in the area because, again, a higher average income of the area's residents implies more money to be invested in bettering the amenities, like air quality.

The "Year" variable is a binary variable equal to zero if it looks at the individual in 2013 and equal to one if it looks at that same individual in 2018. β_2 is then, controlling for all other variables, the estimated effect on amenities over time, or the time-effects. I hypothesized that, for all cities, the derivative of school quality over year, or β_2 in the first equation, would be positive,

as school quality would be expected to develop and improve with more time. I also hypothesized that, for all cities, the derivative of air quality over year, or β_2 in the second equation, would be negative, as air quality would also be expected to improve with time to become less toxic.

Next, is an interaction variable that multiplies the "Gentrification Indicator" value times the "Year" value for every household to produce a new binary variable. The coefficient on this variable, β_3, controlling for all other variables, is the additional estimated time-effect on the amenity if the household lives in a gentrifying neighborhood versus a neighborhood that is not gentrifying. For all cities, I hypothesized that the derivative of school quality over this interaction variable, or β_3 in the first equation, would be positive, indicating that positive effects on school quality over time are heightened when the neighborhood is gentrifying and has residents capable of greater investment into amenities like public schools. I also hypothesized that, for all cities, the derivative of air quality over this interaction variable, or β_3 in the second equation, would be negative, indicating that the negative effects on air toxicity over time are even more negative when the neighborhood is gentrifying and has residents capable of investing more into the area's amenities, like air quality.

"Renter" is a binary variable equal to one if the household is renting their home, and thus more burdened by the increases to rent prices seen during gentrification, and equal to zero if the household owns their home. Therefore, the next interaction variable is binary and produced from multiplying the "Gentrification Indicator" value times the "Renter" value for every household. Controlling for all other variables, the coefficient on this interaction term, β_4, is the estimated additional effect on an amenity from gentrification if the household is a renter and not an owner. In the first equation, I hypothesized that, for all cities, the derivative of school quality over this interaction variable, or β_4, would be negative, implying that the positive effect on school quality

from gentrification is dampened for renters because they are pushed out into neighborhoods whose amenities are not benefitting as much from gentrification. In the second equation, I hypothesized that, for all cities, the derivative of air quality over this interaction variable, or β_4, would be positive, implying that the negative effect on air toxicity from gentrification is not as negative for renters who are displaced into areas experiencing less of the decrease in air toxicity associated with gentrification.

The next interaction variable is a binary variable produced from multiplying the "Year" variable times the "Renter" variable. β_5 is thus the estimated additional time-effect on amenities, controlling for all other variables, if the household is a renter. I hypothesized that, for all cities, the derivative of school quality over this interaction term, or β_5 in the first equation, would be negative because even as school qualities are expected to improve with time, this increase would be diminished for renters. This diminishing would be due to renters facing higher rent prices, being crowded-out of their neighborhoods, and being pushed into neighborhoods that may still be improving over time in terms of school quality, just to a lesser degree. I also hypothesized that, for all cities, the derivative of air quality over this interaction term, or β_5 in the second equation, would be positive, as the decrease in air toxicity expected over time is less negative for renters being pushed out of the areas that are most improving.

The interaction term created from multiplying the "Gentrification Indicator," "Year," and "Renter" values is binary as well. β_6 is then the estimated additional time-effect on amenities, controlling for all other variables, from living in a gentrifying neighborhood, if the household is also a renter. For the first equation, I hypothesized that, for all cities, the derivative of school quality over this interaction term, or β_6, would be negative, indicating that the additional positive bump to school quality from both living in a gentrifying neighborhood and time is smaller for

renters being pushed out of the neighborhoods that are experiencing this improvement in schools. For the second equation, I hypothesized that, for all cities, the derivative of air quality over this interaction term, or β_6, would be positive, indicating that the decrease in air toxicity from both living in a gentrifying neighborhood and time is less negative and maybe even net positive for renters who are being displaced from the neighborhoods benefiting from gentrification and the decrease in air toxicity.

Finally, as mentioned earlier, the "Renter" variable itself is a binary variable equal to one if the household is a renter and most likely feeling the burden of increased rent prices from gentrification. Thus, β_7, controlling for all other variables, is the estimated effect of being a renter on the amenity. I hypothesized that, for all cities, the derivative of school quality on renter, or β_7 in the first equation, would be negative because, in general, renters would be expected to live in areas that are cheaper to live in and thus have lower quality schools. I also hypothesized that, for all cities, the derivative of air quality on renter, or β_7 in the second equation, would be positive because, again, renters would be expected to live in areas with a lower cost of living that are thus less kept up and have higher air toxicities.

The second layer of my research concerns a city's racial history and whether the amount of white flight that occurred in the city post-World War II, from 1950-1970, can explain the differences in the effects of gentrification on displaced people from city to city. By comparing the magnitudes and signs of the various coefficients in the regressions, I can begin to identify trends and patterns in the effects of gentrification on displaced people in cities with a relatively high amount of white flight versus cities with a relatively low amount of white flight.

Given that cities with a greater amount of white flight also saw a greater amount of de-investment throughout their neighborhoods, during gentrification, displaced people in these cities

are more likely to be pushed into neighborhoods that had under-resourced amenities. Cities with less white flight, in contrast, would have neighborhoods more similar to one another in investment levels. Thus, a renting household having to move because of gentrification would not experience as much of a downgrade in amenities such as school quality and air quality, because all of the neighborhoods they could potentially move to are still fairly kept up in terms of amenities. As such, I would expect the effects from gentrification exhibited in the city-level regressions, especially for renters, to be greater in magnitude and significance for cities with a relatively high amount of white flight as compared to cities with a relatively low amount of white flight.

There are a few coefficients in the regressions that will be most telling in analyzing how the effects of gentrification on displaced people differ in high white flight cities versus low white flight cities. I do not expect to find any observable or major differences in β_1, the estimated effect of living in a gentrifying neighborhood on school quality and air quality, for cities with differing levels of white flight. This is not an effect particular to renters being displaced, but rather describes how gentrification affects amenities, which there is no reason to believe would differ in cities depending on the amount of white flight those cities experienced.

Along a similar vein, I do not expect to observe any striking trends in β_2, the estimated time-effects on school quality and air quality, related to the amount of white flight in a city. Again, this effect is not felt only by renters; any effects related to time would most likely play out similarly across all cities, regardless of whether or not the city had a large amount of white flight.

β_3, or the estimated additional time-effect on school quality and air quality from living in a gentrifying neighborhood, would also not be expected to reveal much about how displaced

populations are affected differently by gentrification depending on whether or not they live in a city with a lot of white flight. It is not related to an individual's status as a renter, and thus not useful as a basis for comparison when determining whether the effects of gentrification on displaced people vary by city.

Looking at how the value of β_4, or the estimated additional effect from living in a gentrifying neighborhood if the household is a renter, differs in cities with a high amount of white flight versus a low amount of white flight could be more telling. I hypothesized that cities with a relatively larger amount of white flight would have a larger magnitude, or more negative value, for $\beta_4$in the first equation, implying that the effect on school quality from gentrification is not only dampened for renters, but also that this dampening is much more extreme for l renters in high white flight cities than renters in low white flight cities. Further, I hypothesized that $\beta_4$in the second equation would also have a larger magnitude, but in this case be more positive, for cities with more white flight. Such a result would imply that decreases in air toxicity attributed to gentrification are not only decreasing by less for renters, but also decreasing by much less if those renters live in cities that experienced a large amount of white flight rather than a small amount of white flight.

Similarly, differences in the value of β_5, or the estimated additional time-effect if the household is a renter, could also be related to a city's racial history. I hypothesized that cities with more white flight would have a larger magnitude, or more negative value, for β_5 in the first equation, meaning that the reduction of the positive time-effect on school quality if the household is a renter is a larger reduction when that renter lives in a city with more white flight. β_5 in the second equation, I hypothesized, would be larger in magnitude, or more positive, for cities with a greater amount of white flight, implying that the positive bump to the negative time-

effect on air toxicity if a household is a renter is a greater positive bump when that renter lives in a city with a high level of white flight.

The best indicator of how the displacement experiences of renters may vary by city will come from looking at β_6, or the estimated additional time-effect from living in a gentrifying neighborhood if the household is a renter. The values of this coefficient reveal the effects of gentrification that are specific to renters and are thus a good place to look and identify whether displaced people feel the effects of gentrification differently depending on a city's level of white flight. I hypothesized that in cities with more white flight, the value of β_6 in the first equation would be greater in magnitude, or more negative. Such a result would imply that while renters see less of the additional time-effect on school quality from living in a gentrifying neighborhood—because they are being pushed out into less kept up areas—I expect the reduction in this effect to be larger for renters living in high white flight cities, where the de-investment across all city neighborhoods was most likely greater. Similarly, I hypothesized that cities with more white flight would have a larger in magnitude, or more positive, value for β_6 in the second equation, meaning not only that the time-effect on air toxicity from living in a gentrifying neighborhood is less negative for renters, but that this positive bump to the negative effect on toxicity is greater for renters living in cities that experienced a high level of white flight.

Less telling, but perhaps still important to observe, are the variances in β_7, the estimated effect of being a renter on the experience of amenities. Because cities with more white flight had more de-investment from neighborhoods, it would be expected not only that renters live in less kept up parts of the city, but also that the discrepancy between where renters live and where owners live is larger in high white flight cities. In other words, I hypothesized that β_7 in the first

equation would be greater in magnitude, or more negative, in cities with more white flight, implying that the lower level of school quality that would be associated with renters is even lower for those renters if they live in a city that had a lot of white flight and thus did not maintain its amenities, like public schools, as well. I also hypothesized that β_7 in the second equation would be greater in magnitude, or more positive, in cities with more white flight, which implies that the higher air toxicity associated with the neighborhoods where renters live would be even higher for those renters if they live in a city that had a high level of white flight versus a low level of white flight.

Analyzing the various coefficient of the regressions, but most specifically β_6, will bring to light any potential trends that could be observed among and between cities with different levels of white flight. Doing so will answer my research question of how these gentrification effects differ by city and if these differences are tied to the racial histories of these cities.

Data Collection and Cleaning

The focus of this thesis is on ten cities across the United States: five that I classified as having a high level of white flight and five that I classified as having a low level of white flight. Because white flight occurred in large amounts immediately after World War II, I used Census data to find what percent of each city's population was white in both 1950 and 1970 to determine by how many percentage points the white population of each city had dropped from 1950-1970. The cities that had experienced at least a fifteen percentage point drop in their percent white population were categorized as high white flight cities and those that experienced a drop below that threshold were categorized as low white flight cities. In Table 1: Cities and White Flight Classifications, I detail the cities that were chosen and their categorizations.

Table 1: Cities and White Flight Classifications

City	% White in 1950	% White in 1970	Percentage Point Change	White Flight Level
Detroit, MI	83.58%	55.50%	-28.08	High
Philadelphia, PA	81.70%	65.60%	-16.10	High
Baltimore, MD	76.20%	53.00%	-23.20	High
Cleveland, OH	83.70%	61.00%	-22.70	High
Chicago, IL	85.90%	65.60%	-20.30	High
Seattle, WA	94.20%	87.40%	-6.8	Low
Tampa, FL	78.00%	80.00%	2.00	Low
Houston, TX	78.90%	73.40%	-5.5	Low
Albuquerque, NM	98.00%	95.70%	-2.3	Low
Richmond, VA	68.30%	57.60%	-10.7	Low

Given that I conducted my research at the individual household-level, my biggest source of data was the Info USA dataset purchased by the Duke Economics Department. These data, collected by Infogroup using Census data and IRS tax returns, have household-level information from the years 2006 to 2018 with the variables of interest indicated in Table 2: Info USA Variables and Descriptions.

Table 2: Info USA Variables and Descriptions

Variable Name	Description
familyid	12 digit number assigned to uniquely identify household (HH)
location_type	The kind of physical location associated with address
head_hh_age_code	Age of head of household
length_of_residence	The difference (in months) between arrival date at a residence and current (system) date, converted to number of years. Range is limited to current year minus 1959.
childrenhhcount	Number of HH members determined to be children
children_ind	Indicates children are present in HH
wealth_finder_score	Modeled prediction of household wealth
find_div_1000	A prediction of HH income
owner_renter_status	Score indicating likelihood that HH owns their home or is renting
marital_status	Score indicating likelihood head of HH is married
city	Post office, branch, community or locality name used for last line of a mailing label. May vary within zip code.
state	Standard state abbreviation
zip	Zip code
zip4	Last 4 digits of the ZIP+4 code
vacant	Indicates vacant

ge_latitude_2010	Angular distance north or south from the equator of a point on the earth's surface, measured on the meridian of the point
ge_longitude_2010	Angular distance east or west on the earth's surface, measured by the angle contained between the meridian of a given point and a prime meridian
ge_census_state_2010	State numerical codes assigned by the Bureau of Census for the purpose of collecting and compiling population and housing data
ge_als_county_code_2010	County numerical codes assigned by the Bureau of Census for the purpose of collecting and compiling population and housing data
ge_als_census_tract_2010	Number assigned by Bureau of Census to identify a small geographic area for the purpose of collecting/compiling population/housing data. Census tracts are unique within census county, and census counties are unique only within census state.
ge_als_census_bg_2010	Assigned by the Bureau of Census to identify a small geographic area for the purpose of collecting and compiling population and housing data. BGs are subdivisions of census tracts and unique only within a specific census tract. Census tracts/block groups are assigned to address records via a geocoding process.
ethnicity_code_1	Ethnicity of HH
year	Year

Because the data was divided up into individual files by year and then further by zip code, for each city, I compiled a list of all of the zip codes in that city. This list is detailed in Table A1: Cities and Zip Codes. The process for choosing which zip codes were valid is detailed in Summary A2: Zip Code Selection.

Based off of the code used in a previous undergraduate thesis (Ameri, 2019), I compiled the individual, zip code data files from 2013 and 2018 into one single data file for the city. The 2013-2018 period is of focus, given that some cities have only recently begun to see population growth and price increases from the post-recession economic growth. By looking at where households resided at both the beginning and end of this time frame, any movements in location can be documented. The process of cleaning each city's compiled data file is detailed in Summary A3: Info USA Compiled City Data Cleaning.

My next source of data was the American Community Surveys five-year estimates, which I used to gather information on rental prices and education degrees obtained in every city. I

collected data, at the census block group and census tract level, on the median rent price, average rent price, and percent of people with at least a Bachelor's degree. Data was collected as a five-year moving average from both the 2007-2011 time period as well as the 2012-2016 time period. Using this information, I was able to calculate the percent change in the median and average rent prices, from the 2007-2011 period to the 2012-2016 period, as well as the percentage point changes in people with at least a college degree from the 2007-2011 period to the 2012-2016 period. For the purposes of this thesis, I chose to define a census block group as having been gentrified if it satisfied three criteria:

1. Both the median rent price and average rent price were in the bottom 30% of values, among all census block groups in the city in the 2007-2011 period, to show that prices were not always high in the block group, but instead started low and became high.
2. Both the percent change in median rent price and percent change in average rent price from the 2007-2011 period to the 2012-2016 period were in the top 30% of values, among all census block groups in the city, to show that the price changes in the block group were relatively higher than they were for other block groups in the city.
3. The percentage point increase in percent of people living in the block group with at least a Bachelor's degree was in the top 30% of values, among all census block groups in the city, to show a relatively higher increase in the college educated demographic compared to the other block groups in the city.

Using these criteria, I created a binary variable, "Gentrification Indicator," that equals one if the census block group that the household lived in satisfied all three criteria and equals zero otherwise, essentially defining whether each household was living in a gentrifying area or not. If the household was living in a gentrifying neighborhood in 2013, then in 2018 that same

household as assigned a one for the "Gentrification Indicator" variable to show that they had been previously living in a gentrifying neighborhood. In Summary A4: Creating Interaction Variables, I detail how this "Gentrification Indicator" variable was used to create several interaction variables.

I next assigned each household observation in every city a school quality rating that was found from GreatSchools.org. In Summary A5: School Quality Data, I detail how the school quality ratings were assigned to each household observation based on location information.

Finally, I assigned each household observation in every city an air quality rating, using data collected by the United States Environmental Protection Agency on Risk-Screening Environmental Indicators (RSEI). In Summary A6: Air Quality Data, I detail how I compiled this air quality data and assigned each household observation an air quality rating based on its location information.

Data Analysis

To set up my regressions I sorted the observations within each city by familyid and then year, removing any households that did not have an observation in both 2013 and 2018 as this would not be useful in seeing if the household moved or not in the given time frame. With all variables created at this point, I proceeded with the multivariate, panel regressions to identify the effects of gentrification and time, as well as how these effects vary when a low-income renter is being affected versus a high-income owner. Because of collinearity between the different age group variables, one age group variable was omitted every time the regression was carried out.

After carrying out the regressions on all ten cities, I began to see trends in the effects of gentrification on displaced people living in high white flight cities as compared to the effects of gentrification on displaced people living in low white flight cities.

Results and Analysis

Effects of Gentrification by City

The results below detail, city-by-city, the effects of gentrification on both school quality and air quality. I begin with the five cities classified as having a high amount of white flight, discussing trends among these cities, and then move into the five cities classified as having a low amount of white flight. Because there are several variables involved in each regression, I only draw attention to the most important results, especially those that have to do with the effects of gentrification that are specific to renters who are being displaced by high rent prices. I then discuss any major differences between both groups of cities. It should also be noted that any discussion of air quality is synonymous with air toxicity in that the higher the value of air quality, the more toxic the air is.

Detroit, MI – High White Flight City

After running the regressions for Detroit, I got the results showcased in Table 3: Detroit City-level Regressions.

Table 3: Detroit City-level Regressions

	(1) School Quality	(2) Air Quality
Gentrification Indicator	.4466***	-1851.165***
Year	.1638***	-1087.58***
Gentrification Indicator*Year	-.0389*	51.406
Gentrification Indicator*Renter	-.3425***	716.7002***
Year*Renter	.1298***	491.0281***
Gentrification Indicator*Year*Renter	-.1962***	455.54
Renter	.3484***	-1874.86***
Length of Residence	.0002*	-3.0640***
Has Children	-.0217***	71.7884**
Number of Children in Household	-.0047**	42.8718**
Married	-.0819***	876.4659***
Income	.0003***	-21.8829***
Wealth	.0002***	-1.0910***
Age 25-29	.0436***	-98.6108
Age 30-34	.0459***	-129.2608*
Age 35-39	.0597***	-220.3786***
Age 40-44	.0427***	-83.4704
Age 45-49	.0474***	18.0746
Age 50-54	.0253***	167.887***
Age 55-59	.0173**	185.0106***
Age 60-65	.0114	42.712
Age 66-70	.0251***	-268.2958***
Age 71-75	.0408***	-476.593***
Age >75	.1216***	-669.0846***
Black	-.0803***	1307.566***
White	-.0322***	1477.516***
Latinx	.0677***	979.2579***
Middleeastern	.0788***	629.7248***
Asian	.0083	2492.036***
Native American	-.1123	233.1432
Constant	2.5579***	9515.789***
Observations	376,118	376,116
R2	.0335	.0232

significant at the *10% level, **5% level, ***1% level

As expected, the coefficient on the gentrification indicator in the first regression was both positive and statistically significant, indicating that the estimated effect on school quality from living in a gentrifying neighborhood in Detroit was a .4466 higher quality rating. This higher school quality could potentially be attributed to the higher average income of residents in gentrifying neighborhoods, which implies a greater means to invest in neighborhood amenities such as public schools.

Also as hypothesized, the coefficient on the year variable in the first regression, which represents the time-effects on school quality, was also positive and statistically significant, showing that the estimated effect on school quality solely from improvements over time was a .1638 higher rating.

Turning towards the coefficient on the triple interaction term in the first regression, I found that the additional time-effect on school quality from living in a gentrifying neighborhood, if the household was a renter, was a lowering of the school quality rating by .1962. This negative and statistically significant result affirms my hypothesis that the positive effects on school quality from gentrification would be dampened for renters. Though the cause of this effect cannot be known for sure, I speculate that it is due to renters being pushed out of their gentrifying neighborhoods and into areas where amenities like schools have not been kept up and invested in.

Moving on to the second regression, the coefficient on the gentrification indicator was negative and statistically significant, implying that gentrifying neighborhoods had an 1851.165 lower air toxicity. This result confirms my hypothesis that amenities, like air quality, would be better in gentrifying neighborhoods that had newly moved in residents capable of investing in improved amenities. Further the time-effect on air quality was a 1087.58 lower air toxicity, also

reaffirming my hypothesis that air toxicity would improve over time. Notably, this result was also statistically significant.

The coefficient on the triple interaction term in the second regression was positive, indicating a positive bump to the decrease in air toxicity from gentrification and time if the household was a renter. Though the sign of this result was as expected, it was not statistically significant, showing that renters were not experiencing less of a decrease in air toxicity as compared to the owners. Renters were likely either not being pushed out by gentrification, which seems unlikely given the results from the first regression, or were moving into neighborhoods that did not have lower quality amenities when it came to air toxicity.

There are several confounding variables that could also be influencing the air quality in Detroit, most importantly the auto manufacturing industry. This industry was the predominant source of revenue for the city for much of the 1900s and would have resulted in many factories throughout and around the city releasing pollutants, which could impact the distribution of air toxins in the area.

Thus, in Detroit, the estimated effect of gentrification on school quality for displaced, renters seems to be, as hypothesized, a dampening of the increase in school quality associated with gentrifying neighborhoods and time. However, the same cannot be said about renters' experiences with air quality.

Philadelphia, PA – High White Flight City

After running the regressions for Philadelphia, I got the results showcased in Table 4: Philadelphia City-level Regressions.

Table 4: Philadelphia City-level Regressions

	(1) School Quality	(2) Air Quality
Gentrification Indicator	-.0891***	649.5795***
Year	.5628***	164.6057***
Gentrification Indicator*Year	-.0189	-38.8536
Gentrification Indicator*Renter	-.2981***	-298.7293***
Year*Renter	-.0189***	-81.5198***
Gentrification Indicator*Year*Renter	-.1168***	-185.2843**
Renter	.7991***	173.3497***
Length of Residence	-.0095***	-2.3581***
Has Children	-.0867***	-49.0524***
Number of Children in Household	-.0006	-21.1818***
Married	-.0562***	-230.2807***
Income	.001***	-.077
Wealth	.0009***	.1982***
Age <25	.3224***	80.2023
Age 25-29	.3279***	79.8853***
Age 30-34	.2792***	77.6526***
Age 35-39	.2396***	57.87***
Age 40-44	.1376***	27.6923***
Age 45-49	.1333***	5.5605
Age 50-54	.0385***	-34.505***
Age 55-59	.0086	-51.7507***
Age 60-65	-.0198***	-55.7187
Age 66-70	-.0044	-46.127***
Age >75	.1707***	-40.1388***
Black	-.4478***	268.1254***
White	.3483***	162.9668***
Latinx	-.256***	-325.6228***
Middleeastern	.0292***	87.3531***
Asian	.1378***	624.4743***
Native American	-.1763***	182.5802*
Constant	1.4808***	2273.352***
Observations	886,564	860,343
R2	.3475	.0227

significant at the *10% level, **5% level, ***1% level

In contrast to what I expected, the estimated effect on school quality from living in a gentrifying neighborhood in Philadelphia was a .0891 lower school quality rating—a negative and statistically significant result. This finding could be attributed to what I briefly discussed in my theoretical framework about the demographic moving into neighborhoods that are gentrifying. Because this group of people moving in is most of the time made up of young adults, many households could not have kids of school-going age. Further, if they do have kids going to school, because those moving into a city center are of higher incomes, they could be choosing to send their kids to private schools instead of public schools. Both factors would result in these higher income, new residents to not actually invest more in the public schools in their neighborhoods, and thus could be one explanation for why the coefficient on the gentrification indicator in the first regression was negative.

The time-effects on school quality were positive and statistically significant, as I had hypothesized, implying a .5628 increase in school quality from improvements over time. Most importantly, however, the coefficient on the triple interaction term was negative and statistically significant. This result indicates that the time-effect on school quality from living in a gentrifying neighborhood was a .1168 lower school quality if the household was a renter rather than an owner. Again, though I can only speculate, this finding could largely be due to renters being pushed out of their gentrifying neighborhoods and into places with amenities that lack the improvements being made in gentrifying areas.

Turning to the second regression, the effect on air quality from living in a gentrifying neighborhood was positive and statistically significant, as was the time-effect on air quality. These results are not as I hypothesized and could indicate some other confounding variables influencing the air qualities in Philadelphia. These confounding variables, such as which

industries predominantly exist in the city, could explain why the air toxicity was estimated to increase in gentrifying areas and over time. Another explanation could be that gentrifying areas require a significant amount of development, which could release more toxins into the air and counterbalance the investment going into improving that amenity.

The coefficient on the triple interaction term, again counter to what I had hypothesized, was negative and statistically significant, indicating that the additional time-effect from living in a gentrifying neighborhood for renters was an air toxicity lowered by 185.2843. Renters in Philadelphia could thus either be not moving from gentrification, which does not seem to be the case given the results of the first regression, or could be moving into areas not facing a de-investment into air quality. This reaffirms the thought that some other variables could be influencing air toxicity in and around the city.

Therefore, similar to Detroit, renters in Philadelphia do seem to be experiencing a dampening in school quality as compared to their high-income counterparts. This dampening could be linked to the low-income and renter populations in both cities being pushed out of their gentrifying neighborhoods and into areas with less improvements to amenities like schools. Both cities also did not see as many effects from gentrification on renters' experiences with air quality, which could either suggest these populations are not actually moving—unlikely given the effects on school quality—or that some other factors are influencing air quality beyond what is being measured.

Baltimore, MD – High White Flight City

After running the regressions for Baltimore, I got the results showcased in Table 5: Baltimore City-level Regressions.

Table 5: Baltimore City-level Regressions

	(1) School Quality	(2) Air Quality
Gentrification Indicator	-.2503***	144.6708***
Year	.4776***	30.6036***
Gentrification Indicator*Year	.0769**	57.7221
Gentrification Indicator*Renter	-.1745***	189.4953***
Year*Renter	-.1912***	21.5124
Gentrification Indicator*Year*Renter	-.0424	-90.6618
Renter	0.3754	85.7803***
Length of Residence	-.0086***	-3.0351***
Has Children	-.041***	-68.5893***
Number of Children in Household	-.009***	-32.4131***
Married	-.1505***	-229.2663***
Income	.0026***	1.8549***
Wealth	.0007***	-.0799***
Age 25-29 (school) / Age <25 (air)	.0001	164.3664***
Age 30-34 (school) / Age 25-29 (air)	-.0482***	198.8235***
Age 35-39 (school) / Age 30-34 (air)	-.0884***	321.5155***
Age 40-44 (school) / Age 35-39 (air)	-.1605***	223.9252***
Age 45-49 (school) / Age 40-44 (air)	-.1672***	99.7932***
Age 50-54 (school) / Age 45-49 (air)	-.2538***	45.0686**
Age 55-59 (school) / Age 50-54 (air)	-.2632***	-2.381
Age 60-65 (school) / Age 55-59 (air)	-.2652***	-16.295
Age 66-70 (school) / Age 60-65 (air)	-.2197***	-25.279
Age 71-75 (school) / Age 66-70 (air)	-.2185***	-33.7389**
Age >75	-.1148***	-67.2722***
Black	-.1449***	-188.5261***
White	.1516***	450.2***
Latinx	.004	392.617***
Middleeastern	-.0596***	-39.7762
Asian	-.017	201.7328***
Native American	.0073	118.5467
Constant	1.5307***	2725.826***
Observations	316,856	290,630
R2	.3164	.0409

significant at the *10% level, **5% level, ***1% level

Similar to Philadelphia, the coefficient on the gentrification indicator for the first regression in Baltimore was negative and statistically significant, implying a decrease in school quality by .2503 for households living in a gentrifying neighborhood. While this result counters what I had hypothesized, as discussed previously, it could be attributed to the particulars regarding the demographic moving into a city when gentrification is occurring.

The time-effect on school quality was positive and statistically significant, indicating a .4776 increase in school quality ratings over time. While the coefficient on the triple interaction term was negative, which was expected and would imply a .0424 lower school quality rating for living in gentrifying neighborhoods as compared to owners, this result was not statistically significant. Renters, in this case, were most likely either not being displaced by gentrification and high rent prices or were moving, but into areas that did not have a decreased improvement of amenities like schools.

Again, parallel to Philadelphia, the coefficients on the gentrification indicator and the year, in the second regression, were positive and statistically significant, suggesting estimated increases in air toxicity correlated to both if a neighborhood was gentrifying and time. These results could imply some other confounding variables not accounted for in the regression that also influence the air quality throughout a city.

The estimated additional time-effect from living in a gentrifying neighborhood if the household was a low-income renter was a lowering of the air toxicity by 90.6618. This result was not what I had hypothesized, but was also not statistically significant. Thus, there is no observable difference in how renters versus owners feel effects on air quality from gentrification and time, indicating that renters in Baltimore were either not moving because of gentrification or were moving but not into areas with worse air quality.

Thus, Baltimore, in terms of the effects of gentrification on school quality, does not seem to align with the other high white flight cities in how renters and low-income people experience the school amenity. The results regarding the effects on air quality, however, are more in line with what was found in the other high white flight cities, with no adverse effects to renters' experience of air quality. Baltimore's residents could either not be getting displaced from gentrification, and therefore not moving and experiencing a downgrade in amenities, or could be moving and still not seeing any less kept up amenities, which would be odd considering Baltimore is a high white flight city and was likely to have seen great de-investment from city neighborhoods as white flight took place.

Cleveland, OH – High White Flight City

After running the regressions for Cleveland, I got the results showcased in Table 6: Cleveland City-level Regressions.

Table 6: Cleveland City-level Regressions

	(1) School Quality	(2) Air Quality
Gentrification Indicator	.4288***	-4424.89**
Year	.6417***	-23736.35***
Gentrification Indicator*Year	.0638***	-4484.043*
Gentrification Indicator*Renter	-.3286***	16546.48***
Year*Renter	-.1097	5738.345***
Gentrification Indicator*Year*Renter	-.2254***	19921.19***
Renter	.491***	-3811.463***
Length of Residence	-.0076***	181.6362***
Has Children	-.0609***	1408.129**
Number of Children in Household	-.0044*	823.3542***
Married	-.1228***	6272.84***
Income	.0019***	-31.4916***
Wealth	.0009***	-36.4608***
Age 25-29	.0503***	3069.558***
Age 30-34	.0226**	6002.299***
Age 35-39	.0087	8397.737***
Age 40-44	-.0982***	11442.59***
Age 45-49	-.0918***	11943.39***
Age 50-54	-.1932***	16641.17***
Age 55-59	-.2275***	16859.66***
Age 60-65	-.2573***	16879.11***
Age 66-70	-.2542***	16633.2***
Age 71-75	-.2537***	15348.97***
Age >75	.1793***	8995.405***
Black	-.0801***	-3927.311***
White	.3702***	-2560.576***
Latinx	.2378***	-6220.119***
Middleeastern	.1831***	-1237.317
Asian	.1767***	-3745.32**
Native American	.2545***	-3211.215
Constant	1.8285***	123030.5***
Observations	304,376	304,376
R2	.2037	.0319

significant at the *10% level, **5% level, ***1% level

The coefficient on the gentrification indicator in the first regression was both positive and statistically significant, indicating that neighborhoods that were gentrifying in Cleveland had a .4288 higher school quality than neighborhoods that were not. This result goes along with my original hypothesis on the positive effect of gentrification on amenities like schools. Further, the time-effect on school quality was also positive and statistically significant. It showed that, over time, school quality was estimated to improve by .6417, which again confirms my hypothesis of the positive time-effects on school quality.

Most importantly, however, the estimated additional time-effect on school quality in gentrifying neighborhoods for renters was a decrease in the school quality rating by .2254, which reaffirms my hypothesis that the positive effects from gentrification on school quality are dampened or reduced for households classified as renters—most likely because these households are pushed out of their neighborhoods by gentrification and high rent prices and forced to move into areas that have not been as kept-up and thus have amenities like schools that have not improved as much as they have in other parts of the city. It is a good example of renters not benefitting from the improvements associated with gentrification, as was also found in two other high white flight cities: Detroit and Philadelphia.

Turning towards the second regression, the estimated effect from gentrification on air quality in Cleveland was a 4424.89 decrease in the air toxicity. Cleveland, like Detroit, had results in the second regression for which my hypothesis regarding the effects of gentrification on air quality was confirmed, with gentrifying neighborhoods correlated with lower air toxicity.

The time-effects on air quality in Cleveland also satisfied my original hypothesis by showing an estimated 23736.35 decrease in air toxicity most likely because, over time, amenities like air quality are expected to improve. These results indicate that the effects of both time and

gentrification on air quality in Cleveland were beneficial in reducing the toxicity of the air in neighborhoods across the city.

The coefficient on the triple interaction term, in the second regression, was positive and statistically significant, implying a positive bump of 19921.19, to the time-effect's initial decrease in air toxicity, for renters living in gentrifying neighborhoods. Essentially, this result shows that though the toxicity of the air was decreasing over time and in gentrifying neighborhoods in Cleveland, this decrease was not as large for renters who, I hypothesize, were pushed out of their gentrifying neighborhoods and into other parts of the city that had experienced reduced investment after all of the white flight. This reduced investment could have translated into worse amenities, which the displaced populations now face due to having to move from their neighborhoods.

Thus, Cleveland was one city that confirmed my hypotheses on the effects of gentrification on displaced people. Like Detroit and Philadelphia, two other high white flight cities, renters had a reduced increase in school quality that could potentially be explained by their displacement into areas with lesser amenities. Further, Cleveland also showed an adverse effect on air quality for renters, who were unable to benefit as much from the general decrease in air toxicity occurring throughout the city over time and in gentrifying neighborhoods specifically.

These effects on air quality only arising in Cleveland and not the other cities could, as mentioned before, have something to do with other confounding variables, like the major industries of the city, having a larger effect in some cities—as they probably did in Detroit, Philadelphia, and Baltimore—and less so in places like Cleveland.

Chicago, IL – High White Flight City

After running the regressions for Chicago, I got the results showcased in Table 7: Chicago City-level Regressions.

Table 7: Chicago City-level Regressions

	(1) School Quality	(2) Air Quality
Gentrification Indicator	-.0141	-3047.902***
Year	1.1764***	-2457.675***
Gentrification Indicator*Year	.0514**	129.7325
Gentrification Indicator*Renter	.0503**	592.1975**
Year*Renter	-.5995***	1095.981***
Gentrification Indicator*Year*Renter	-.0127	162.5632
Renter	1.193***	-4235.312***
Length of Residence	-.0149***	9.4858***
Has Children	-.2021***	384.8339***
Number of Children in Household	.0218***	8.705
Married	-.0415***	1620.219***
Income	-.0033***	3.1232***
Wealth	.0018***	-3.522***
Age <25 (school) / Age 25-29 (air)	.9404***	-173.4875
Age 25-29 (school) / Age 30-34 (air)	.8453***	162.0973
Age 30-34 (school) / Age 35-39 (air)	.6796***	196.5578*
Age 35-39 (school) / Age 40-44 (air)	.6166***	542.499***
Age 40-44 (school) / Age 45-49 (air)	.427***	366.975***
Age 45-49 (school) / Age 50-54 (air)	.4239***	611.8742***
Age 50-54 (school) / Age 55-59 (air)	.2233***	696.759***
Age 55-59 (school) / Age 60-65 (air)	.1754***	731.2332***
Age 60-65 (school) / Age 66-70 (air)	.0967***	711.1931***
Age 66-70 (school) / Age 71-75 (air)	.0288***	667.1716***
Age >75	.2823***	-24.1925
Black	-1.0916***	-1544.915***
White	.332***	181.8839***
Latinx	-.1635***	5782.318***
Middleeastern	.3751***	-620.0022***
Asian	.2583***	-584.4197***
Native American	-.0759	2003.15**
Constant	1.4766***	21009.17***
Observations	1,268,158	1,243,145
R2	.404	.041

significant at the *10% level, **5% level, ***1% level

In Chicago, the estimated effect of living in a gentrifying neighborhood on school quality was a .0141 decrease in the school quality rating, which coincided with what was seen in Philadelphia and Baltimore, but was not statistically significant. As I expected, however, the time-effect on school quality was positive and statistically significant, implying a 1.1764 increase in school quality ratings from improvements over time for the neighborhoods in Chicago.

The coefficient on the triple interaction term, in the first regression, was negative, which would have confirmed my hypothesis of the dampening of the positive effect on school quality for renters, but the result was not statistically significant. As was seen in Baltimore, this finding suggests either that renters were not moving out of their gentrifying neighborhoods because of higher rent prices, or that they were moving, but the areas they were moving into did not have worse amenities like schools as would be expected in cities with a great amount of white flight. In this case, there were no adverse effects on school quality, from gentrification, for renters in Chicago.

In the second regression, there was a 3047.902 estimated decrease in air toxicity for households living in a gentrifying neighborhood—a result that was both negative and statistically significant and which therefore confirmed my original hypothesis. The estimated time-effect on air quality was also as expected, indicating a 2457.675 decrease in air toxicity from improvements over time.

Though the coefficient on the triple interaction term in the second regression was positive, implying that the decrease in air toxicity associated with gentrification and time was less of a decrease for renters, the result was not statistically significant. Renters were not experiencing a lesser drop in the air quality amenity as compared to owners which, as was

discussed in most of the other high white flight cities, could be attributed to renters either not being displaced or not moving into areas with worse air quality or could be attributed to other entirely different confounding variables.

Though Chicago did not show any significant results in regards to the effects of gentrification on school quality for renter populations, in general, most of the high white flight cities showed a smaller increase in school quality ratings over time for renters living in gentrifying neighborhoods. Though there was not a single pattern across the board of whether or not gentrification in a neighborhood bettered or worsened the school quality of the area, what is indisputable is that the additional time-effect on school quality in gentrifying neighborhoods for renters was a dampening of any increases in the school quality rating—a dampening not experienced by owners. Though I can only speculate on the explanation for this finding, my hypothesis is that these renters were pushed out of their gentrifying neighborhoods and into parts of the cities that did not keep up their amenities due to white flight and de-investment. As a result, renters and other displaced low-income populations did not see the same benefits to school quality as other groups in the city may have seen.

In contrast, the effects of gentrification on air quality for renters and low-income populations in high white flight cities were not particularly striking. There was no stronger pattern indicating that renters were not benefiting as much as owners from a reduced air toxicity in the city's neighborhoods. This result could suggest that renters are not being displaced by gentrification, but that seems unlikely given the evidence surrounding effects on school quality. It is more probable that there are some other confounding variables that I have not accounted for, which are influencing the air quality of the city more so than movements associated with gentrification.

Seattle, WA – Low White Flight City

After running the regressions for Seattle, I got the results showcased in Table 8: Seattle City-level Regressions.

Table 8: Seattle City-level Regressions

	(1) School Quality	(2) Air Quality
Gentrification Indicator	-.5635***	71348.63***
Year	.6021***	-7183.285***
Gentrification Indicator*Year	.152***	-14220.72***
Gentrification Indicator*Renter	-.0372	-47081.25***
Year*Renter	-.4301***	2482.13***
Gentrification Indicator*Year*Renter	.1046	-426.1078
Renter	1.2099***	-17135***
Length of Residence	-.0098***	81.6309***
Has Children	-.0805***	714.6911**
Number of Children in Household	.0076	-.6453
Married	-.4336***	6190.143***
Income	.0004***	-3.2083*
Wealth	.001***	-14.5986***
Age <25	.6423***	-10153.29***
Age 25-29	.5484***	-8242.517***
Age 30-34	.4792***	-5834.003***
Age 35-39	.3893***	-4085.664***
Age 40-44	.2366***	-2191.309***
Age 45-49	.1602***	-1926.296***
Age 50-54	-.0005	-57.0203
Age 55-59	-.02	620.634
Age 60-65	-.0199	1258.184***
Age 66-70	-.0448**	997.1152**
Age >75	.0924***	-779.4839*
Black	.0131	-1104.881***
White	.102***	-1853.951***
Latinx	-.2514***	4998.266***
Middleeastern	-.2662***	1716.505**
Asian	-.4528***	12697.32***
Native American	-.015	3505.723
Constant	2.924***	70384.49***
Observations	264,328	255,718
R2	.1667	.1276

significant at the *10% level, **5% level, ***1% level

Moving on to the cities classified as having low white flight, and thus most likely lower de-investment across city neighborhoods, in Seattle, the estimated effect of living in a gentrifying neighborhood on school quality was a .5635 decrease in the school quality rating, which, similar to other cities, could be explained by the demographic composition of those migrating into the city. The time-effect on school quality was positive and statistically significant, as I had hypothesized, with a .6021 increase in school quality over time.

It is beginning to seem, as I expected, that the overall effects of gentrification and time on a city are not related to that city's level of white flight. The discrepancy between cities should arise when looking at whether or not renters feel these effects differently. I had hypothesized that renters would feel these effects stronger in high white flight cities.

The coefficient on the triple interaction term in the first regression was positive and not statistically significant, indicating that being a renter did not affect the household's experience of the school quality amenity. This result could either be attributed to renter families not moving because of gentrification, or still moving, but being able to move into areas that had been just as kept up in terms of amenities. My hypothesis for these low white flight cities was that populations were still being displaced, but that the lack of white flight had not resulted in as much de-investment across the cities' neighborhoods. Thus, those who were displaced did not experience as much of a downgrade in amenities like schools.

Turning to the second regression, the estimated effect of gentrification on air quality was an increase in air toxicity by 71348.63, which could have something to do with city development, which goes along with gentrification, resulting in more pollutants. As I had hypothesized, the time-effect on air quality in Seattle's neighborhoods was negative and statistically significant, implying a 7183.285 decrease in air toxicity over time.

The coefficient on the triple interaction term in the second regression was negative and not statically significant. Again, as was the case with school quality, renters in Seattle were either not being displaced by gentrification in their neighborhoods or were having to move, but were able to move into areas that had no significant drop in quality of amenities, like air. Both renters and owners, whether low-income or high-income, in Seattle experienced the same effects from gentrification.

Thus, Seattle did not see any adverse effects from gentrification on school quality and air quality experienced specifically by renters and not owners. This finding suggests that displacement was not occurring from gentrification, or that it was occurring but because of a lack of de-investment across the city, those that moved did not experience a downgrade in amenities.

Tampa, FL – Low White Flight City

After running the regressions for Tampa, I got the results showcased in Table 9: Tampa City-level Regressions.

Table 9: Tampa City-level Regressions

	(1) School Quality	(2) Air Quality
Gentrification Indicator	-.8026***	579.8612***
Year	.9303***	-22.8914***
Gentrification Indicator*Year	.3529***	-127.605***
Gentrification Indicator*Renter	.2094***	-811.1002***
Year*Renter	-.274***	-6.5629
Gentrification Indicator*Year*Renter	-.237***	128.9009***
Renter	1.2546***	80.3135***
Length of Residence	-.0141***	1.5122***
Has Children	-.1656***	1.0339
Number of Children in Household	-.0225***	-5.6028**
Married	-.3591***	-73.6572***
Income	-.0005***	.9001***
Wealth	.0019***	-.057***
Age 25-29	.1306***	19.0863**
Age 30-34	.0178	43.6052***
Age 35-39	-.0508***	51.4648***
Age 40-44	-.2618***	61.5118***
Age 45-49	-.297***	64.1238***
Age 50-54	-.5243***	77.7328***
Age 55-59	-.5955***	76.7135***
Age 60-65	-.6655***	88.6254***
Age 66-70	-.6831***	100.9315***
Age 71-75	-.677***	93.9718***
Age >75	-.3018***	72.0192***
Black	-.3211***	16.117***
White	-.0081	12.9026**
Latinx	.1888***	-81.9875***
Middleeastern	-.0872***	-76.7017***
Asian	.0184	-104.6669***
Native American	-.0917	-33.09
Constant	1.6169***	775.8834***
Observations	313,038	298,382
R2	.3965	.0181

significant at the *10% level, **5% level, ***1% level

In the first regression, the coefficient on the gentrification indicator was negative and statistically significant, indicating a .8026 drop in school quality in neighborhoods that were gentrifying. As in prior cities, regardless of their level of white flight, this result could be attributed to the group of people that migrate into a city during gentrification not having an incentive to invest in the public schools of the neighborhood.

The time-effect on school quality was an estimated .9303 increase in the school quality rating, which confirms my hypothesis of the improvements in school quality over time. Renters living in gentrifying neighborhoods had a negative and statistically significant additional time-effect of .237, which indicates that renters in Tampa experienced a dampening in the effect of gentrification on school quality as compared to their higher income counterparts. The magnitude of this coefficient is around the same size as the coefficients on the triple interaction term were for high white flight cities. This begins to suggest that renters in both high white flight and low white flight cities may actually experience the same level of a dampening effect on increases in school quality.

Turning to the second regression, as was the case in Seattle, gentrifying neighborhoods had an estimated 579.8612 increase in air toxicity, which again could be attributed to the development associated with gentrification releasing more pollutants into the air. The time-effect, as I hypothesized, was both negative and statistically significant, meaning there was a decrease in air toxicity over time by 22.8914.

The coefficient on the triple interaction term, in the second regression, was positive and statistically significant, implying renters in gentrifying neighborhoods experienced a positive bump to the time-effect on air quality that, on its own, had decreased air toxicity. This result has two major implications. One, renters in Tampa are most likely being displaced and moving into

neighborhoods with worse amenities that have not been kept up. Two, this result is surprising given that I had hypothesized that this adverse effect on air quality for renters would only have been noticeable in high white flight cities. Not only did I see no such trend among the high white flight cities, but also Tampa seems to be showing that renters, even in cities with low white flight, can experience downgrades in amenities like air quality.

Thus, the results from the regressions carried out for Tampa suggest that the city's renters and low-income residents are experiencing gentrification in a way that I had only predicted to play out for high white flight cities. The renters in Tampa seem to be experiencing less of the benefits to amenities like school quality and air quality, which could be explained by their being pushed out of their gentrifying neighborhoods and into parts of the city that have in fact not been kept up as well as I had expected to be the case in low white flight cities. There could be other factors that determine the level of investment that persists throughout a city, besides white flight, which are resulting in de-investment from certain parts of the city. These parts of the city are most likely where the displaced people in Tampa are now having to move to.

Houston, TX – Low White Flight City

After running the regressions for Houston, I got the results showcased in Table 10: Houston City-level Regressions.

Table 10: Houston City-level Regressions

	(1) School Quality	(2) Air Quality
Gentrification Indicator	-.4156***	-30380.83***
Year	.4776***	1482.496
Gentrification Indicator*Year	.0361	2977.444
Gentrification Indicator*Renter	-.2097***	28813.52***
Year*Renter	-.0624***	2444.829
Gentrification Indicator*Year*Renter	-.0812	-13150.83
Renter	.8844***	-46738.68***
Length of Residence	-.0101***	-675.1668***
Has Children	-.0887***	-613.1955
Number of Children in Household	-.0045**	825.4832
Married	-.1884***	23156.46***
Income	.0025***	-140.0232**
Wealth	.0009***	3.0113***
Age <25	.367***	16437.35***
Age 25-29	.3472***	9719.48***
Age 30-34	.269***	11203.93***
Age 35-39	.2151***	12125.98***
Age 40-44	.1153***	13267.42***
Age 45-49	.0969***	13172.91***
Age 50-54	.0059	11020.38***
Age 55-59	-.0045	10943.27***
Age 60-65	-.0267***	9039.428***
Age 66-70	-.003	4608.516**
Age >75	.1372***	-6623.931***
Black	-.1486***	-1196.438
White	.2299***	13276.49***
Latinx	.2526***	12759.76***
Middleeastern	.2445***	-13158.74***
Asian	.0192***	76911.63***
Native American	.0888*	39722.41**
Constant	3.0875***	119810.5***
Observations	1,287,440	1,178,997
R2	.3077	.0061

significant at the *10% level, **5% level, ***1% level

The coefficient on the gentrification indicator in the first regression was negative and statistically significant, indicating a .4156 decrease in school quality associated with gentrifying neighborhoods in Houston. As has been discussed regarding cities with both high white flight and low white flight, this decrease in school quality could be due to the demographic of people migrating into the city during gentrification.

The time-effect on school quality was, as expected, positive and statistically significant, which implies a .4776 improvement in school quality over time. It seems that cities with a variety of racial histories and levels of white flight all experience the same general effects of gentrification and time, on school quality, which confirms what I had expected in that there are no large discrepancies in how different cities as a whole feel the effects of gentrification, but rather only in how the renters within the city may feel these effects.

While the coefficient on the triple interaction term was negative, which would normally indicate that renters in gentrifying neighborhoods experience a dampening of the positive time-effect on school quality, the result was not statistically significant. This finding suggests that, as in Seattle, there is no real downgrade in amenities for renters in Houston, meaning this population is either not being displaced or that they are moving, but the neighborhoods they are moving into do not have worse amenities. Due to the lack of white flight in Houston from 1950-1970, there was likely less de-investment throughout the city's neighborhoods and thus less amenities not kept up. When, or if, renters are pushed out of their gentrifying neighborhoods, the areas that they then move into do not have drops in amenities like school quality.

Turning to the second regression, as I hypothesized, the estimated effect of gentrification on air quality was a decrease in air toxicity by 30380.83—a positive and statistically significant value. While this result goes along with trends in the other cities analyzed, the time-effect on air

quality did not. Surprisingly, the time-effect of gentrification on air quality was not statistically significant, as had been the case for the other cities. This result could suggest a lack in overall improvement of air toxicity throughout Houston, unless the neighborhood is gentrifying.

The coefficient on the triple interaction term in the second regression was also not statistically significant, indicating no difference in how effects from gentrification over time are felt by renters versus owners in Houston. Like the first regression, these results imply renters are either not moving because of gentrification or are moving but not experiencing a downgrade in amenities like air quality, as they have been kept up throughout time.

Thus, the regressions performed regarding Houston reveal the same effects of gentrification on school quality and air quality as have already been seen in the other cities. The results also support my hypothesis that renters in low white flight cities do not experience as much of a downgrade in amenities due to gentrification because amenities across the city's neighborhoods have been fairly kept up.

Albuquerque, NM – Low White Flight City

After running the regressions for Albuquerque, I got the results showcased in Table 11: Albuquerque City-level Regressions.

Table 11: Albuquerque City-level Regressions

	(1) School Quality	(2) Air Quality
Gentrification Indicator	-.3911***	8.7299***
Year	.8374***	4.2268***
Gentrification Indicator*Year	.4065***	2.235***
Gentrification Indicator*Renter	.1702**	-3.1669***
Year*Renter	-.2035***	.1846
Gentrification Indicator*Year*Renter	-.3339**	-6.3781***
Renter	1.6526***	14.4417***
Length of Residence	-.0188***	.0447***
Has Children	-.1074***	-.9308***
Number of Children in Household	-.0413***	-.3372***
Married	-.4304***	-2.8274***
Income	.0061***	.0048***
Wealth	.0014***	.0091***
Age 25-29 (school) / Age <25 (air)	-.0886***	-1.227***
Age 30-34	-.2391***	-.7162***
Age 35-39	-.3179***	-1.1769***
Age 40-44	-.4922***	-1.9671***
Age 45-49	-.4695***	-1.7891***
Age 50-54	-.608***	-2.2542***
Age 55-59	-.6206***	-2.0964***
Age 60-65	-.63***	-2.2701***
Age 66-70	-.4665***	-1.749***
Age 71-75	-.3819***	-1.409***
Age >75	-.1405***	.7708***
Black	.0397***	.5968***
White	.0203	.2953**
Latinx	-.4102***	-5.0203***
Middleeastern	.133***	.985**
Asian	.0491**	1.1015***
Native American	-.1831***	-2.2419***
Constant	2.4943***	10.3084***
Observations	271,538	232,260
R2	.3723	.2172

significant at the *10% level, **5% level, ***1% level

The coefficient on the gentrification indicator in the first regression was negative and statistically significant, indicating a .3911 decrease in school quality associated with a gentrifying neighborhood, again most likely due to the demographic of people migrating into city centers. As I hypothesized, the time-effect on school quality in Albuquerque was positive and statistically significant, which implies a .8374 increase in school quality from improvements over time. Both of these effects correspond to the trends witnessed across all cities of amenities like public schools generally improving over time and gentrification either increasing or decreasing school quality.

As was the case with Tampa, the coefficient on the triple interaction term, in the first regression, was negative and statistically significant—indicating a .3339 lesser increase in school quality felt by renters living in gentrifying neighborhoods. The magnitude of this value was similar to the values of this coefficient in high white flight cities. This is another instance of a low white flight city refuting my hypothesis that renters feel the downgrade in amenities more severely in cities with a high amount of white flight than in cities with a low amount of white flight.

Turning to the second regression, the estimated effect of gentrification on air quality was an 8.7299 increase in in air quality, indicating higher air toxicity is areas that were gentrifying. Further, the time-effect on air quality was 4.2268, also indicating that over time the air got more toxic. Though these value were statistically significant, they were also noticeably smaller in magnitude than the coefficients for the air quality regressions performed in other cities. One explanation for these results could be less variation in air quality across the city of Albuquerque, both over time and in the various neighborhoods of the physical city itself. If this were to be the case, then any changes in air quality would be small in size.

Also notable was that these values were positive rather than negative as I had expected. As mentioned previously, this result could be due to the development associated with gentrification releasing pollutants that make the air more toxic overall.

The estimated additional time-effect on air quality for renters living in gentrifying neighborhoods was a decrease in air toxicity by 6.3781, implying that renters were actually better off than owners in experiencing better quality air. This result was something that had not been seen in the other cities up to this point. Renters in Albuquerque were not only reaping the benefits of gentrification, but also were experiencing higher quality amenities than those of higher incomes. This could potentially be a result of renters being displaced and moving into areas that were not only just as kept up as their gentrifying neighborhoods, but also perhaps better kept up because they were not touched by the polluting effects that go along with development and gentrification.

Thus, Albuquerque, like Tampa, goes against my theory that renters experience a greater downgrade in amenities, like schools, if they live in high white flight cities. Both cities had a low amount of white flight but also had effects of gentrification on renters that were similar to the effects seen in cities with high white flight. Albuquerque also provides an example of a situation in which renters might actually benefit, at least in terms of air quality, from gentrification because it pushes them into areas that are getting less developed and thus that have less pollution and air toxins.

Richmond, VA – Low White Flight City

After running the regressions for Richmond, I got the results showcased in Table 12: Richmond City-level Regressions.

Table 12: Richmond City-level Regressions

	(1) School Quality	(2) Air Quality
Gentrification Indicator	-.1196***	-418.0084***
Year	.7625***	-543.8023***
Gentrification Indicator*Year	-.2732***	134.2162***
Gentrification Indicator*Renter	-.6698***	-75.083
Year*Renter	-.1989***	60.7306***
Gentrification Indicator*Year*Renter	.3565***	65.3417
Renter	.6777***	-657.7596***
Length of Residence	-.0097***	5.8396***
Has Children	-.0887***	33.9869**
Number of Children in Household	-.0023	-.697
Married	-.2471***	197.4131***
Income	-.0011***	2.7143***
Wealth	.0012***	-.8689***
Age 25-29	-.0515*	65.383**
Age 30-34	-.2021***	79.5559***
Age 35-39	-.3138***	110.7215***
Age 40-44	-.4507***	224.5497***
Age 45-49	-.4504***	231.8521***
Age 50-54	-.5766***	344.2961***
Age 55-59	-.5976***	334.1402***
Age 60-65	-.6158***	360.2052***
Age 66-70	-.6058***	364.6013***
Age 71-75	-.6***	402.8875***
Age >75	-.408***	235.5924***
Black	.4404***	-115.1416***
White	.5724***	-12.2221
Latinx	.5021***	190.592***
Middleeastern	.5646***	-170.7087***
Asian	.5564***	-32.2736
Native American	.3091*	215.048
Constant	1.445***	3048.686***
Observations	102,994	102,994
R2	.3175	.1217

significant at the *10% level, **5% level, ***1% level

In Richmond, the coefficient on the gentrification indicator, similar to most other cities analyzed in this thesis, was negative and statistically significant, indicating a decrease in school quality in gentrifying neighborhoods by .1196. The time-effect on school quality followed what I had expected, with an increase in school quality by .7625 from improvements over time. These results coincide with my thought that generally the effects of gentrification and time on school quality are similar across cities, regardless of that city's racial history.

Interestingly, the coefficient on the triple interaction term was positive and statistically significant, implying an additional increase in school quality, on top of the time-effects, for renters living in gentrifying neighborhoods. Renters in Richmond could expect to see a .3565 higher increase in school quality than those of higher incomes, which brings to question what exactly is happening to renters living in gentrifying neighborhoods. It seems that they must be moving out of their neighborhoods because there is a discrepancy in the school quality that they experience versus the school quality others in the same city experience. One potential explanation is that, because it is a low white flight city, the areas that they are moving into have not experienced any sort of downgrade or decline in amenities and have been kept up to the point that being displaced ends up having no adverse effects on the displaced population in terms of school quality.

Turning to the second regression, the estimated effect of gentrification on air quality was a decrease in air toxicity by 418.0084. The time-effect on air quality was also a decrease in toxicity by 543.8023. Both results were what I had expected to occur in all cities in terms of changes to air quality.

The coefficient on the triple interaction term in the second regression, though positive, was not statistically significant, indicating no difference in how renters or owners felt the effects

of gentrification and time on air quality. This result suggests that renters were either not being displaced from their original neighborhoods, or were but due to the lack of de-investment across city neighborhoods did not have to move into an area with worse amenities.

These regressions indicate that in Richmond, like in other low white flight cities, including Seattle and Houston, the effects of gentrification on school quality were not more adverse for renters as compared to their high-income counterparts. This finding suggests that renters in these cities were either not displaced, or were displaced, but then moved into areas that had just as good of school qualities, if not better as was the case with Richmond. Similarly, in terms of air quality, renters did not experience any significantly different effect from gentrification than owners.

Cross-City Comparison by Racial History

In examining the trends among and between high white flight cities and low white flight cities, there are a few major patterns to take note of. Regarding the effect of gentrification on school quality, most of the ten cities saw the same general effects of gentrification and time on school quality. High white flight cities, however, more consistently saw renters not benefiting from the increases and benefits to school quality as compared to owners. While there were a few low white flight cities, like Tampa and Albuquerque, whose renters also did experience a drop in amenities like schools, most likely due to moving, for the most part high white flight cities more regularly showed this adverse effect on school quality for renters living in gentrifying neighborhoods.

Air quality, on the other hand, was not an amenity that followed any patterns as I had expected. It was quite ambiguous to know which cities would have effects from gentrification on air quality that hurt renters, and results seemed to indicate that there are various other confounding variables that I have not considered that could be impacting the air quality in a city's neighborhoods.

Finally, one result that was only unique to low white flight cities was that in some of these cities, renters actually had statistically significant improvements to their amenities that gave them a better off experience with school quality or air quality. Such results imply that the lack of de-investment in low white flight cities was actually so consistent across neighborhoods, that anywhere a renter were to move to would not give them a downgrade in amenities.

Conclusion

Main Findings

My analysis of the ten cities reveals two main conclusions. These findings also come with the disclaimer of only being particular to a resident's experience with the school amenity; as revealed, air quality does not seem to be felt differently by those of different incomes, regardless of how much white flight the city had. One conclusion, among cities with a high amount of white flight, is that renters do experience a downgrade in quality when it comes to amenities like schools. I hypothesize that this downgrade occurs because renters and low-income populations are displaced and forced to move into city neighborhoods that have not been kept up as well, which leads to my second main conclusion. I do think there had to have been de-investment in these high white flight cities post-World War II. This de-investment would account for why renters experienced less of an increase in school quality when compared to owners who most likely did not have to move out of their neighborhoods because of gentrification and increasing rent prices. On the other hand, some low white flight cities had continued investment throughout the city to such a strong degree that when renters were displaced, their experience of amenities actually went up.

This is not to say, however, that cities that did not experience white flight did not also have adverse effects from gentrification on low-income people. As was shown in a few cities, renters in gentrifying neighborhoods of low white flight cities did at times also experience a downgrade in amenities similar in size to the downgrade in high white flight cities.

Limitations

Firstly, the analysis of this thesis is limited to ten cities. With the inclusion of a larger amount of cities, I would have been able to make greater and broader conclusions concerning the

effects of gentrification on renters and displaced people, and perhaps would have been able to identify more sweeping trends among cities with high and low white flight. The scope of the thesis was also limited in that it only looked at two amenities, school quality and air quality. With data on other amenities, such as crime rate for example, perhaps even more significant conclusions on the effects of gentrification on displaced people could have been reached.

Secondly, my criteria for classifying a neighborhood as gentrifying were fairly arbitrary. Though based off of past research pointing to rising prices and a larger demographic of college-educated students as big indicators of gentrification, the proportions I chose for classifying a block group as a one for the "Gentrification Indicator" variable were done off of a trial and error basis to ensure that I had enough data points equaling a one on the gentrification scale. This rule that I used, could have been something completely different that would have changed my results.

Thirdly, I used 2013 values of RSEI as a proxy for air quality in 2018 as well. Though not necessarily wrong, doing so does not account for any big air quality changes that could have majorly affected certain neighborhoods within a city.

Policy Implications for Cities Undergoing Gentrification

While gentrification is inevitable, as it provides an opportunity to abandoned cities for economic development and growth, certain factors must be considered by governments seeking to ensure the social welfare of all of their citizens. Though gentrification is associated with improvements in amenities, these improvements do come with caveats. Generally, gentrification is associated with increasing school quality, but it could also lower school quality because of the disincentives that people moving into the city have to invest in public schools. Further, air quality itself could also get worse if the development that comes alongside gentrification is releasing harmful pollutants into the air.

That all being said, even if amenities are overall improving in gentrifying neighborhoods, governments must find ways to enable renters to also be able to benefit from these improved amenities and not get pushed out into areas that have worse amenities because of a lack of upkeep. These groups are often not only low-income, but also more commonly black, Hispanic, or a part of another minority group. Thus it is people of color that are disproportionately bearing the burden of displacement and gentrification.

Some solutions that governments could employ to reduce this burden from gentrification could be to subsidize rent payments for renters living in neighborhoods experiencing significant increases to prices and the cost of living. In this way, renters could remain in their neighborhoods and not be pushed out by gentrification and the higher costs associated with it. Governments could also create or at least preserve, cheap, public housing options as another way for low-income residents to remain in their neighborhoods and not be pushed out by the increasing prices.

Finally, city governments should consider regulating business investment within the city, taking into account community opinions and zoning considerations. This move would not be to stifle investment and growth, but rather ensure that investments are going into the right areas and in a way that will not harm the residents that already live nearby.

Future Research

Because the analysis on air quality was so unique and did not seem to follow any pattern or trend, it could be interesting to analyze what other factors influence the air quality of a city, like the industries in that city. Evidently, gentrification patterns are not the only thing that affect changes in the experience of air quality by residents, which could be something worth learning more about.

One area of research, which I unfortunately did not have the resources to take on, was the effect of gentrification on crime rate; more simply, whether moving increases the amount of crime a family or household experiences. Due to the lack of centralized data on crime rates, especially at the block group level, looking at these effects was difficult for me to carry out, but could be an important next step in analyzing the full picture of how gentrification affects crime.

I also believe that further study, with more cities, is necessary to capture a fuller picture of how gentrification is playing out in cities across the country and to identify how much of a role the white flight in that city is having. Right now this thesis only has a first glance at how the effects of gentrification may vary from city to city. And though it goes into the trends related to the white flight of the ten cities, this is only the beginning of that discussion.

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Appendices

Table A1: Cities and Zip Codes	
City	**Zip Codes**
Detroit, MI	48201, 48202, 48203, 48204, 48205, 48206, 48207, 48208, 48209, 48210, 48211, 48212, 48213, 48214, 48215, 48216, 48217, 48219, 48221, 48223, 48224, 48225, 48226, 48227, 48228, 48234, 48235, 48236, 48238, 48239, 48240, 48243
Philadelphia, PA	19102, 19103, 19104, 19106, 19107, 19110, 19111, 19112, 19114, 19115, 19116, 19118, 19119, 19120, 19121, 19122, 19123, 19124, 19125, 19126, 19127, 19128, 19129, 19130, 19131, 19132, 19133, 19134, 19135, 19136, 19137, 19138, 19139, 19140, 19141, 19142, 19143, 19144, 19145, 19146, 19147, 19148, 19149, 19150, 19151, 19152, 19153, 19154
Baltimore, MD	21201, 21202, 21205, 21206, 21207, 21208, 21209, 21210, 21211, 21212, 21213, 21214, 21215, 21216, 21217, 21218, 21222, 21223, 21224, 21225, 21226, 21227, 21229, 21230, 21231, 21234, 21236, 21237, 21239
Cleveland, OH	44102, 44103, 44104, 44105, 44106, 44107, 44108, 44109, 44110, 44111, 44112, 44113, 44114, 44115, 44117, 44119, 44120, 44121, 44122, 44126, 44127, 44128, 44129, 44134, 44135, 44142, 44144
Chicago, IL	60601, 60602, 60603, 60604, 60605, 60606, 60607, 60608, 60609, 60610, 60611, 60612, 60613, 60614, 60615, 60616, 60617, 60618, 60619, 60620, 60621, 60622, 60623, 60624, 60625, 60626, 60628, 60629, 60630, 60631, 60632, 60633, 60634, 60636, 60637, 60638, 60639, 60640, 60641, 60642, 60643, 60644, 60645, 60646, 60647, 60649, 60651, 60652, 60653, 60654, 60655, 60656, 60657, 60659, 60660, 60661, 60706, 60707, 60803, 60804, 60805, 60827
Seattle, WA	98101, 98102, 98103, 98104, 98105, 98106, 98107, 98108, 98109, 98112, 98115, 98116, 98117, 98118, 98119, 98121, 98122, 98125, 98126, 98133, 98134, 98136, 98144, 98146, 98154, 98161, 98164, 98174, 98177, 98178, 98199
Tampa, FL	33602, 33603, 33604, 33605, 33606, 33607, 33609, 33610, 33611, 33612, 33613, 33614, 33615, 33616, 33617, 33619, 33621, 33629, 33634, 33637, 33647
Houston, TX	77002, 77003, 77004, 77005, 77006, 77007, 77008, 77009, 77010, 77011, 77012, 77013, 77014, 77015, 77016, 77017, 77018, 77019, 77020, 77021, 77022, 77023, 77024, 77025, 77026, 77027, 77028, 77029, 77030, 77031, 77032, 77033, 77034, 77035, 77036, 77037, 77038, 77039, 77040, 77041, 77042, 77043, 77044, 77045, 77046, 77047, 77048, 77049, 77050, 77051, 77053, 77054, 77055, 77056, 77057, 77058, 77059, 77060, 77061, 77062, 77063, 77064, 77065, 77066, 77067, 77068, 77069, 77070, 77071, 77072, 77073, 77074, 77075, 77076, 77077, 77078, 77079, 77080, 77081, 77082, 77083, 77084, 77085, 77086, 77087, 77088, 77089, 77090, 77091, 77092, 77093, 77094, 77095, 77096, 77098, 77099, 77201

Albuquerque, NM	87102, 87104, 87105, 87106, 87107, 87108, 87109, 87110, 87111, 87112, 87113, 87114, 87116, 87120, 87121, 87122, 87123
Richmond, VA	23219, 23220, 23221, 23222, 23223, 23224, 23225, 23226, 23227, 23230, 23231, 23232, 23234, 23235, 23298

Summary A2: Zip Code Selection

I did not include the zip codes designated for P.O. boxes as these would not provide any information on the physical address or location of a resident of the city and thus would also not reveal anything about the amenities and features near the place of residence.

Summary A3: Info USA Compiled City Data Cleaning

I first dropped observations in the city's compiled Info USA data file that did not have a value for latitude or longitude, as these would not be helpful in tracking the movements of individuals. I also dropped observations that were classified as being vacant, that did not have the relevant city name in place for the city variable, or that were of location types "N" (nursing home), "T" (trailer), or "U" (undefined). I also dropped several variables that would not be useful in my analysis; these variables were not included in Table 2: Info USA Variables and Descriptions.

Based off of previous undergraduate thesis work (Ameri, 2019) I created a few new variables based off of the variables that already existed. The owner_renter_status variable was on a scale of zero through nine to represent the likelihood that the household rents or owns their home, with higher numbers meaning a higher likelihood that the household was an owner. To simplify it, I created a binary variable, renter, which equals one and signifies a renter if the owner_renter_status variable is less than five and equals zero otherwise. Similarly, marital_status was on a scale of zero through six, with greater numbers representing a greater likelihood that the head of household was married. I created a binary variable, married, equal to one if marital_status was greater than four and equal to zero otherwise.

Using the given ethnicity_code_1 variable, I also created several binary variables labeled black, white, latinx, middleeastern, asian, and nativeamerican that took on the value of one if the head of household's ethnicity code corresponded to that variable's ethnicity label. I took a similar approach with age of the head of household, creating binary variables to categorize each age group, including less than 25, 25-29, 30-34, 35-39, 40-44, 45-49, 50-54, 55-59, 60-65, 66-70, 71-75, and greater than 75, with the variable taking on the value of one if the head of household's age matched that of the age group.

Finally, I create a binary variable "Year," which equals zero if the year of the observation is 2013 and equals one if the year of the observation is 2018.

Summary A4: Creating Interaction Variables

I first created an interaction variable that multiplied the value of the "Gentrification Indicator" variable with the "Year" variable to create a new binary variable. Second, I created a variable that multiplied the value of the "Gentrification Indicator" variable with the "Renter" variable to create another new binary variable. Third, I created an interaction variable that multiplied the value of the "Year" variable with the "Renter" variable, thereby creating another binary variable. Finally, I created a triple interaction term, also binary, that multiplied the values of the "Gentrification Indicator" variable, the "Year" variable, and the "Renter" variable.

Summary A5: School Quality Data

To find school quality data, I used GreatSchools.org, which rates schools on a scale of 1-10, to find all of the public and charter elementary schools in a city along with their rating and latitude and longitude coordinates. This information was up to date and had the rating and location of the school as of 2019. Using R Studio, I mapped all of the schools in a city as well as the coordinates of all the households I had for a city from Info USA to find the average rating of the three closest schools to each household. By assigning each observation a school quality, creating a variable for school quality, I would be able to see if a family were to move, if their school quality would also change.

Summary A6: Air Quality Data

For air quality, I took data collected by the United States Environmental Protection Agency on Risk-Screening Environmental Indicators (RSEI), which assigns a higher number to a census block group, the more toxic the air quality is. The Duke Economics Department has already scraped these RSEI values up through 2013 across all census block groups in the United States. Because the RSEI value for an area does not change greatly from year to year, I used the 2013 values as a proxy for all years and matched the block group of each observation unit to its corresponding RSEI value to get a measure of air quality. I had two variables called rsei and ln_rsei, the log of the rsei value, to represent these air quality numbers.