

Pockets of Poverty: The Long-Term Effects of Redlining

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- Long history of discrimination in finance...
 - ▶ Gender
 - ▶ Race/ethnicity
 - ▶ Geographic areas

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- Particularly notorious in housing markets

- Long history of discrimination in finance...
 - ▶ Gender
 - ▶ Race/ethnicity
 - ▶ Geographic areas
- Particularly notorious in housing markets
- Seen by many as a fundamental cause of urban decay and disparate economic outcomes

Does discriminatory credit rationing have persistent effects over time?

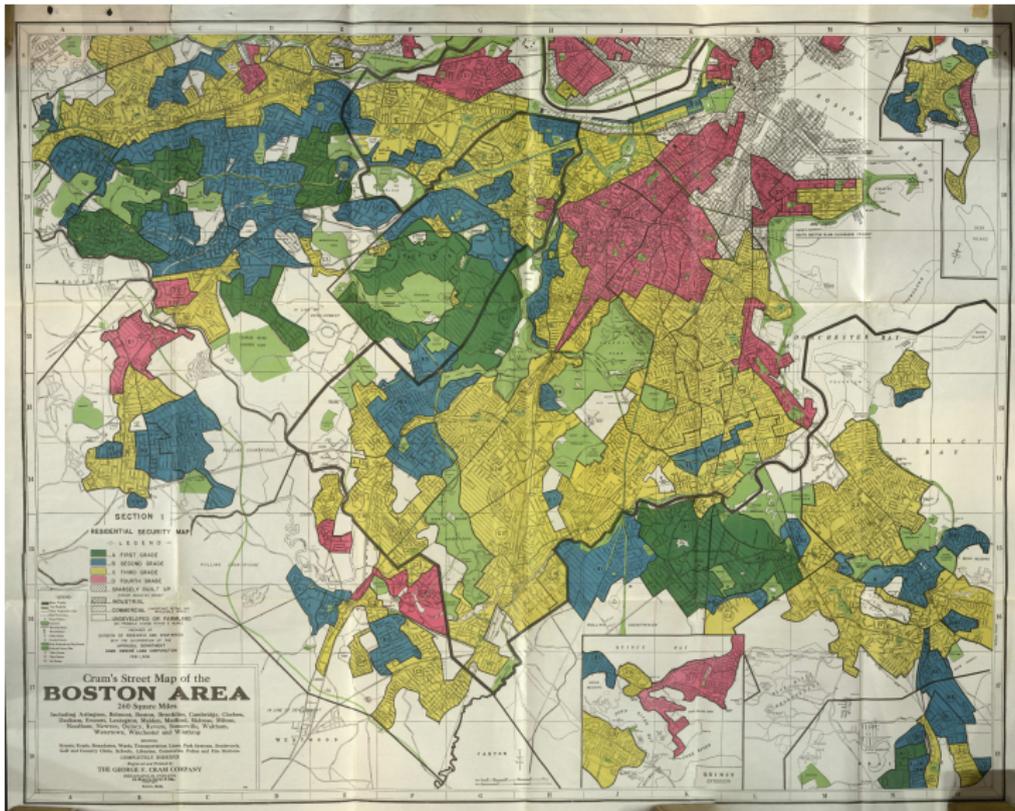
Does discriminatory credit rationing have persistent effects over time?

- Our focus: **redlining**

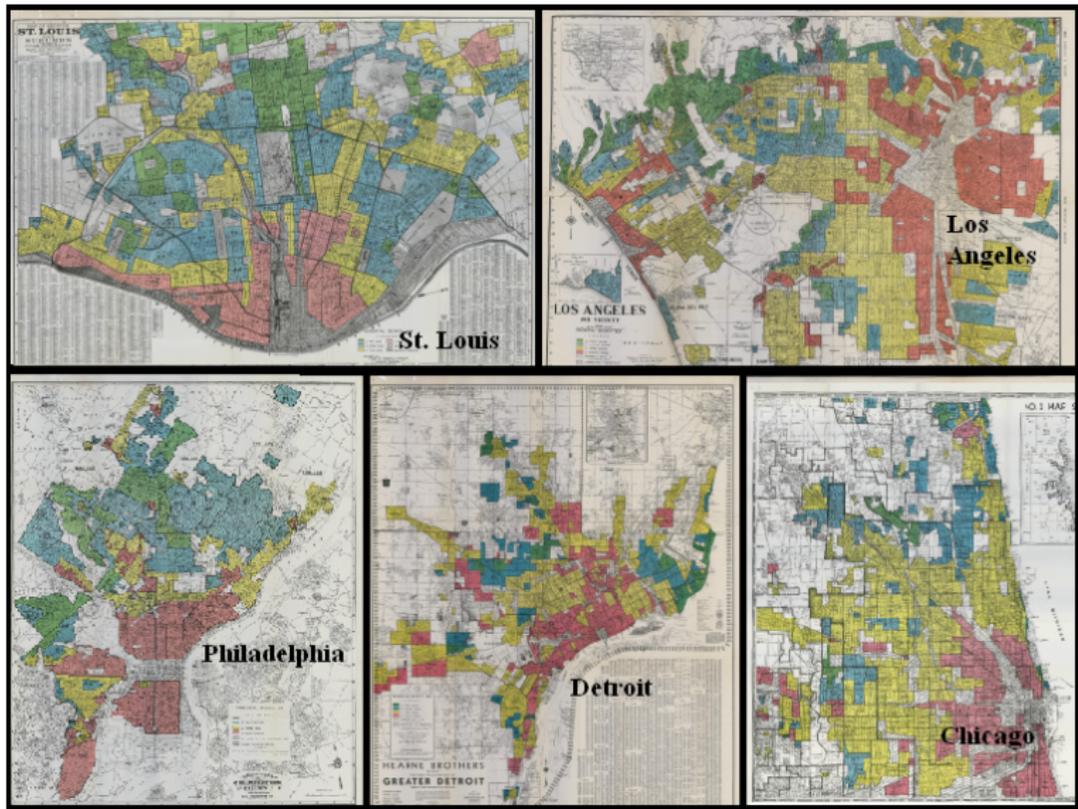
Does discriminatory credit rationing have persistent effects over time?

- Our focus: **redlining**
- Theoretically unclear if credit rationing should have a lasting impact
 - ▶ May not affect aggregate credit supply (*Becker (1957), Stiglitz & Weiss (1981)*)
 - ▶ But may lead to uncertainty regarding prices (*Lang & Nakamura (1993)*)

HOLC security map, Boston



HOLC security maps



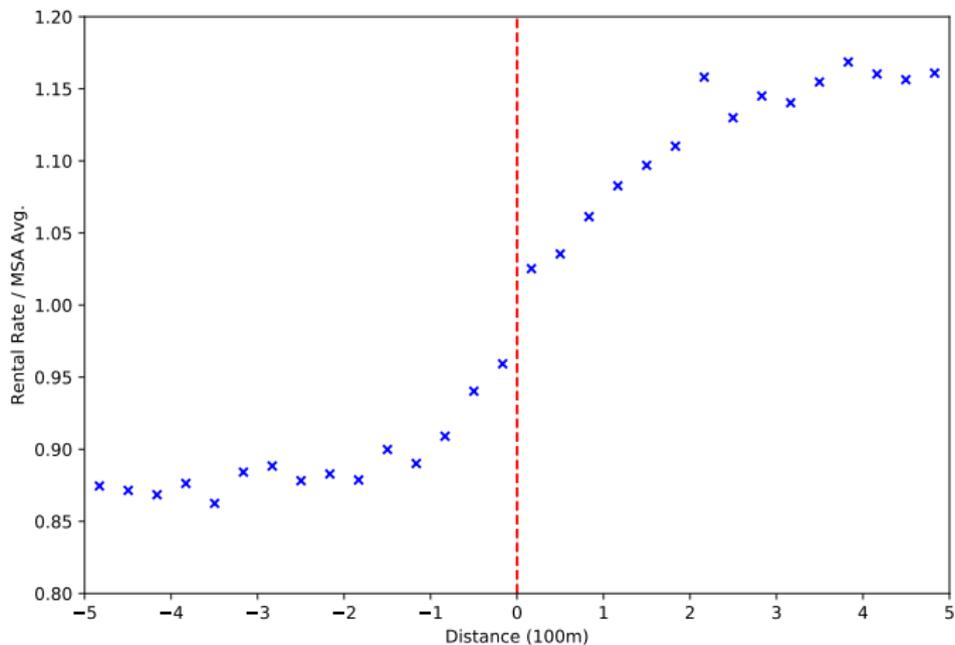
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- **Identification strategy:** **Geographic RDD**
 - ▶ Exploit the boundary between adjacent areas with different ratings
- **Identification assumption:** Initial unobservable characteristics vary smoothly at the boundaries

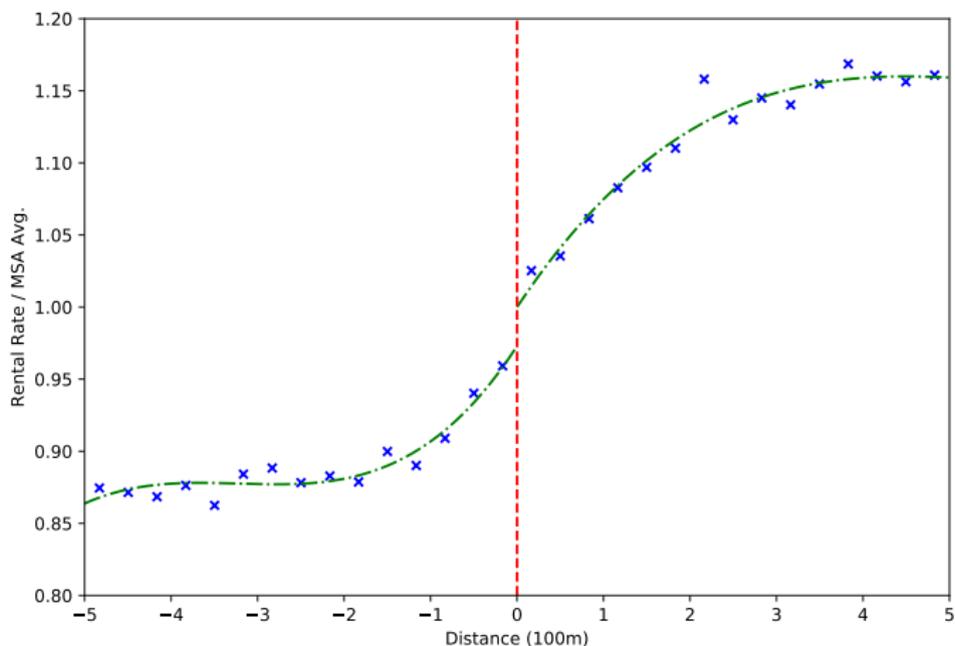
Main finding in one picture!

1990 House Prices



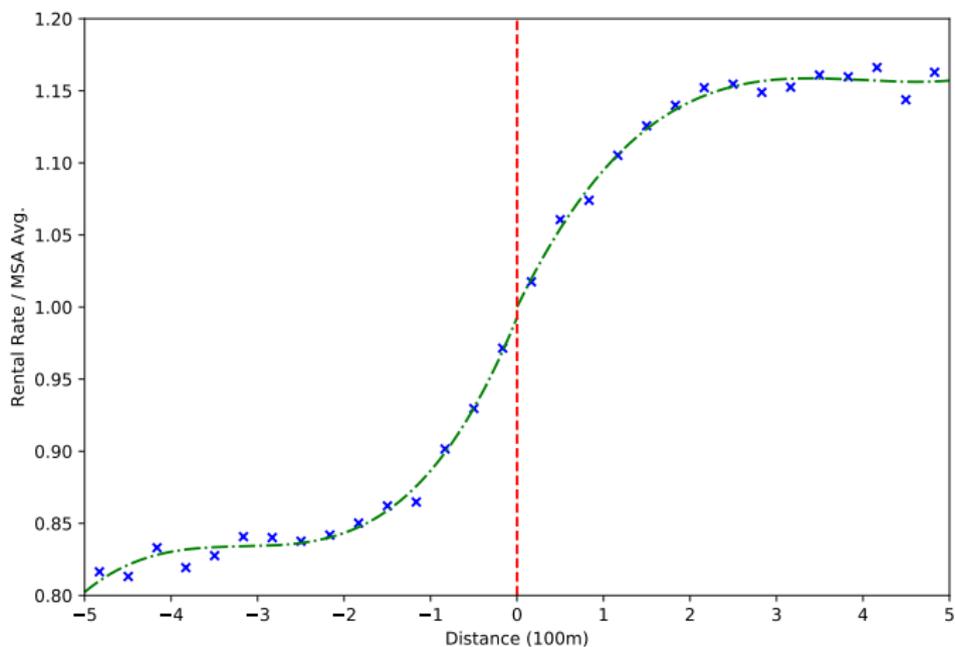
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1990 House Prices



...well, maybe two

1990 House Prices



Preview of results

- Relative to adjacent areas, redlined neighborhoods have 2.7% lower 1990 house prices
- Effect is not being driven by the worst credit grade (red)
- Housing characteristics from 1940 do not exhibit a discontinuity

Preview of results

- Relative to adjacent areas, redlined neighborhoods have 2.7% lower 1990 house prices
- Effect is not being driven by the worst credit grade (red)
- Housing characteristics from 1940 do not exhibit a discontinuity
- Evidence consistent with a financing channel
 - Effect increases with distance to the nearest (historical) bank branch
 - More vacant homes and renters; no evidence of differences in racial makeup

1. **Institutional background**
2. Data and empirical strategy
3. Results
4. Conclusion

Role of the HOLC

- Home Owners' Loan Corporation (HOLC) formed in 1933
 - ▶ Government “bad bank”
 - ▶ Underwrote loans for 10% of owner-occupied homes during Depression

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- Home Owners' Loan Corporation (HOLC) formed in 1933
 - ▶ Government “bad bank”
 - ▶ Underwrote loans for 10% of owner-occupied homes during Depression
- Introduced a number of innovations to mortgage markets:
 - ▶ Fully amortized loans
 - ▶ Longer terms (15–20 years)
 - ▶ **Uniform appraisal standards:** HOLC Security Maps
 - * Completed between 1936 and 1940

Neighborhood ratings

A (Green)

- ▶ *“Homogeneous” population (i.e., white, upper class, native-born)*

Neighborhood ratings

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B (Blue)

- ▶ *Similar to A, but at risk of decline due to “infiltration of a less desirable class of people”*

Neighborhood ratings

A (Green)

- ▶ *“Homogeneous” population (i.e., white, upper class, native-born)*

B (Blue)

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C (Yellow)

- ▶ *Definitely declining; “trend in type of population to a lower grade”*

Neighborhood ratings

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- ▶ *“Homogeneous” population (i.e., white, upper class, native-born)*

B (Blue)

- ▶ *Similar to A, but at risk of decline due to “infiltration of a less desirable class of people”*

C (Yellow)

- ▶ *Definitely declining; “trend in type of population to a lower grade”*

D (Red)

- ▶ *Hazardous; “a good mortgage man would probably not consider any loans at all”*

HOLC area descriptions: Example #1

AREA DESCRIPTION

Security Map of Akron, Ohio

1. POPULATION: ^{a)} 511 housing 511 slightly 0 decreasing 0 State Ohio

b. Class and Occupation: Executives and professional

c. Foreign Families: 0% Nationalities: _____ d. Negro: 0%

e. Shifting or Infiltration: _____

2. BUILDINGS: FREDDMINATING 90% OTHER TYPE 10%

a. Type and Size: 2 story single dwellings 6 rms

b. Construction: Frame

c. Average Age: 15 yrs.

d. Repairs: Very good

e. Occupancy: 100%

f. Owner-occupied: 95%

g. 1935 Price Bracket: \$ 7000-19,000 %change _____ \$ _____ %change _____

h. 1937 Price Bracket: \$ 8000-23,000 +25% \$ _____ %

i. Jan. '39 Price Bracket: \$ 8000-20,000 -12% \$ _____ %

j. Sales Demand: Fair

k. Potential Price Trend (next 6-12 months): Firm

l. 1935 Rent Bracket: \$ 45 - 110 %change _____ \$ _____ %change _____

m. 1937 Rent Bracket: \$ 60 - 130 +20% \$ _____ %

n. Jan. '39 Rent Bracket: \$ 80 - 125 -10% \$ _____ %

o. Rental Demand: Light

p. Potential Rent Trend (next 6-12 months): Firm

3. NEW CONSTRUCTION (next yr.) No. 4 Type & Price: \$10,000 How Selling: Fair

4. OVERHANG OF HOME PROPERTIES: a. HOLC: 0 b. Institutions: _____
3-31-39

5. SALE OF HOME PROPERTIES (next yr.) a. HOLC: 0 b. Institutions: _____
3-31-39

6. MORTGAGE FUNDS: Ample 7. TOTAL TAX RATE PER \$1000 (1938): \$25.54

8. DESCRIPTION AND CHARACTERISTICS OF AREA:

This excellent, highly restricted area is built around Silver Lake, considered the most beautiful lake in Summit County. Although platted in 1917, the area was not really developed until about 1927 after removal of a run-down amusement park located on the shore of the lake. Now, this district is 100% built up, the fine winding streets are lined with maple trees, and the whole area is artistically landscaped. Pride of ownership is naturally very evident and trend of neighborhood is definitely upward. The present price range averages from \$8000-20,000, although several properties are considerably above the highest figure quoted. School facilities and transportation are good.

Property, if acquired, should be held for a fair market value.

9. LOCATION: Silver Lake Estates SECURITY GRADE: A AREA NO.: 1 DATE: Feb 1937
Akron, Ohio

HOLC area descriptions: Example #1

AREA DESCRIPTION
Security Map of Akron, Ohio

1. POPULATION: ^{BY} Increasing Slightly Decreasing Static

b. Class and Occupation Executives and professional

c. Foreign Families 0 % Nationalities _____ d. Negro 0 %

e. Shifting or Infiltration

2. BUILDINGS: **FREDDOMINATING** 90 % **OTHER TYPE** 10 %

a. Type and Size 3 story single dwellings 6 rms

b. Construction Frame

c. Average Age 15 yrs.

d. Repairs Very good

e. Occupancy 100%

f. Owners-occupied 95%

g. 1935 Price Bracket \$ 7000-19,000 Exchange

h. 1937 Price Bracket \$ 8000-23,000 +25 %

i. Jan. '39 Price Bracket \$ 8000-20,000 -12 %

j. Sales Demand Fair

k. Potential Price Trend (next 6-12 months) Firm

l. 1935 Rent Bracket \$ 45 - 110 Exchange

m. 1937 Rent Bracket \$ 60 - 130 +20 %

n. Jan. '39 Rent Bracket \$ 50 - 125 -10 %

o. Rental Demand Light

p. Potential Rent Trend (next 6-12 months) Firm

3. NEW CONSTRUCTION (past yr.) No. 4 Type & Price \$10,000 New Selling _____

4. OVERHANG OF HOME PROPERTIES: a. HOLC 0 b. Institutions _____
3-31-39

5. SALE OF HOME PROPERTIES (yr.) a. HOLC 0 b. Institutions _____
3-31-39

6. MORTGAGE FUNDS: Ample 7. TOTAL TAX RATE PER \$1000 (1938) \$25.54

8. DESCRIPTION AND CHARACTERISTICS OF AREA:

This excellent, highly restricted area is built around Silver Lake, considered the most beautiful lake in Summit County. Although platted in 1917, the area was not really developed until about 1927 after removal of a run-down amusement park located on the shore of the lake. Now, this district is 100% built up, the fine winding streets are lined with maple trees, and the whole area is artistically landscaped. Pride of ownership is naturally very evident and trend of neighborhood is definitely upward. The present price range averages from \$8000-20,000, although several properties are considerably above the highest figure quoted. School facilities and transportation are good.

Property, if acquired, should to hold for a fair market value.

9. LOCATION Silver Lake Estates SECURITY GRADE A AREA NO. 1 DATE PUBLISHED _____
Akron, Ohio

AREA DESCRIPTION
Security Map of Akron, Ohio

1. POPULATION: ^{BY} Increasing Slightly Decreasing Static

b. Class and Occupation Executives and professional

c. Foreign Families 0 % Nationalities _____ d. Negro 0 %

e. Shifting or Infiltration

HOLC area descriptions: Example #1

| AREA DESCRIPTION | |
|--|--|
| Security Map of <u>Akron, Ohio</u> | |
| 1. POPULATION: ^a <u>Homeing</u> <u>Slightly</u> <u>Decreasing</u> <u>Stable</u> | |
| b. <u>Class and Occupation</u> <u>Executives and professional</u> | |
| c. <u>Foreign Families</u> <u>0%</u> <u>Nationals</u> _____ <u>& Negro</u> <u>0%</u> | |
| c. <u>Shifting or Inflation</u> _____ | |
| 2. BUILDINGS: <u>PREDOMINATING</u> <u>90%</u> <u>OTHER TYPE</u> <u>10%</u> | |
| a. <u>Type and Size</u> <u>1 story single dwellings 6 rms</u> | |
| b. <u>Construction</u> <u>Frame</u> | |
| c. <u>Average Age</u> <u>15 yrs.</u> | |
| d. <u>Repair</u> <u>Very good</u> | |
| e. <u>Occupancy</u> <u>100%</u> | |
| f. <u>Owner-occupied</u> <u>95%</u> | |
| g. <u>1935 Price Bracket</u> <u>\$ 7000-19,000</u> <u>Change</u> | |
| h. <u>1937 Price Bracket</u> <u>\$ 8000-23,000</u> <u>+25%</u> | |
| i. <u>Jan. '38 Price Bracket</u> <u>\$ 8000-20,000</u> <u>-15%</u> | |
| j. <u>Sale Demand</u> <u>Fair</u> | |
| k. <u>Preferred Rent Trend (over 6-12 months)</u> <u>Firm</u> | |
| l. <u>1935 Rent Bracket</u> <u>\$ 45 - 110</u> <u>Change</u> | |
| m. <u>1937 Rent Bracket</u> <u>\$ 60 - 130</u> <u>+20%</u> | |
| n. <u>Jan. '38 Rent Bracket</u> <u>\$ 50 - 125</u> <u>-10%</u> | |
| o. <u>Rental Demand</u> <u>Slight</u> | |
| p. <u>Preferred Rent Trend (over 6-12 months)</u> <u>Firm</u> | |
| 3. NEW CONSTRUCTION (over yr.) No. <u>4</u> Type & Price <u>\$10,000</u> | |
| 4. OVERHANG OF HOME PROPERTIES: a. <u>HOLC</u> <u>0</u> <u>3-31-39</u> | |
| 5. SALE OF HOME PROPERTIES (yr.) a. <u>HOLC</u> <u>0</u> <u>3-31-39</u> b. <u>Institutions</u> _____ | |
| 6. MORTGAGE FUNDS: <u>Ample</u> 7. TOTAL TAX RATE PER \$1000 (1938) <u>\$25.54</u> | |
| 8. DESCRIPTION AND CHARACTERISTICS OF AREA: | |
| <p>This excellent, highly restricted area is built around Silver Lake, considered the most beautiful lake in Summit County. Although platted in 1917, the area was not really developed until about 1927 after removal of a run-down amusement park located on the shore of the lake. Now, this district is 25% built up, the fine winding streets are lined with maple trees, and the whole area is artistically landscaped. Pride of ownership is naturally very evident and trend of neighborhood is definitely upward. The present price range averages from \$8000-20,000, although several properties are considerably above the highest figure quoted. School facilities and transportation are good.</p> <p>Property, if acquired, should be held for a fair market value.</p> | |
| 9. LOCATION <u>Silver Lake Station</u> SECURITY GRADE <u>A</u> AREA NO. <u>1</u> DATE <u>Feb. 1937</u> <u>Akron, Ohio</u> | |

This excellent, highly restricted area is built around Silver Lake, considered the most beautiful lake in Summit County. Although platted in 1917, the area was not really developed until about 1927 after removal of a run-down amusement park located on the shore of the lake. Now, this district is 25% built up, the fine winding streets are lined with maple trees, and the whole area is artistically landscaped. Pride of ownership is naturally very evident and trend of neighborhood is definitely upward. The present price range averages from \$8000-20,000, although several properties are considerably above the highest figure quoted. School facilities and transportation are good.

Property, if acquired, should be held for a fair market value.

HOLC area descriptions: Example #1

AREA DESCRIPTION
Security Map of Akron, Ohio

1. POPULATION: 21 Homeing 51 Slightly Decreasing Stable

b. Class and Occupation Executives and professional

c. Foreign Families 0% Nationals 4 Negro 0%

c. Shifting or Inflation _____

2. BUILDINGS: PREDOMINATING 90% OTHER TYPE 10%
2 story single

a. Type and Size dwellings 6 rms

b. Construction Frame

c. Average Age 15 yrs.

d. Repair Very good

e. Occupancy 100%

f. Owneroccupied 95%

g. 1935 Price Bracket \$ 7000-19,000 Exchange \$ Exchange

h. 1937 Price Bracket \$ 8000-23,000 +25% \$ \$

i. Jan. '39 Price Bracket \$ 8000-20,000 -15% \$ \$

j. Sales Demand Fair

k. Peakish Price Trend Firm
(next 6-12 months)

l. 1935 Rent Bracket \$ 48 - 110 Exchange \$ Exchange

m. 1937 Rent Bracket \$ 60 - 135 +20% \$ \$

n. Jan. '39 Rent Bracket \$ 50 - 125 -10% \$ \$

o. Rental Demand Slight

p. Peakish Rent Trend Firm
(next 6-12 months)

3. NEW CONSTRUCTION (past yr.) No. 4 Type of Price \$10,000 How Selling Fair

4. OVERHANG OF HOME PROPERTIES: a. HOLC 0 3-51-39 b. Businesses

5. SALE OF HOME PROPERTIES (yr.) a. HOLC 0 3-51-39 b. Businesses

6. MORTGAGE FUNDS. Ample 7. TOTAL TAX RATE PER \$1000 (1938) \$22.54

8. DESCRIPTION AND CHARACTERISTICS OF AREA:
This excellent, highly restricted area is built around Silver Lake, considered the most beautiful lake in Summit County. Although platted in 1917, the area was not really developed until about 1927 after removal of a run-down amusement park located on the shore of the lake. Now, this district is 100% built up, the fine winding streets are lined with maple trees, and the whole area is artistically landscaped. Pride of ownership is naturally very evident and trend of neighborhood is definitely upward. The present price range averages from \$8000 to \$20,000, although several properties are considerably above the highest figure quoted. School facilities and transportation are good.
Property, if acquired, should be held for a fair market value.

9. LOCATION Silver Lake Estates SECURITY GRADE A AREA NO. 1 DATE Pub'd 1937
Akron, Ohio

9. LOCATION Silver Lake Estates SECURITY GRADE A
Akron, Ohio

HOLC area descriptions: Example #2

AREA DESCRIPTION
Security Map of Akron, Ohio

1. POPULATION: a. Increasing Yes Decreasing _____ Static _____
b. Class and Occupation: Rubber workers and laborers
c. Foreign Families 25 % Nationalities Predominantly Jewish d. Negro 35 %
e. Shifting or Infiltration: of colored - fairly rapid

2. BUILDINGS: PREDOMINATING 95 % OTHER TYPE 5 %
a. Type and Size: 2 story single family 8 rooms
b. Construction: Frame
c. Average Age: 30
d. Repair: Fair only
e. Occupancy: 95%
f. Owner-occupied: 50%
g. 1935 Price Bracket: \$ 1500-2800 % change _____
h. 1937 Price Bracket: \$ 1600-2800 +10 %
i. Jan. '39 Price Bracket: \$ 1500-2800 - 0 %
j. Sales Demand: Slow
k. Realized Price Trend (last 6-12 months): Downward
l. 1935 Rent Bracket: \$ 10 - 20 % change _____
m. 1937 Rent Bracket: \$ 11 - 23 +13 %
n. Jan. '39 Rent Bracket: \$ 10 - 20 -12 %
o. Rental Demand: Good
p. Realized Rent Trend (last 6-12 months): Stable to downward

AREA DESCRIPTION
Security Map of Akron, Ohio

1. POPULATION: a. Increasing Yes Decreasing _____ Static _____
b. Class and Occupation: Rubber workers and laborers
c. Foreign Families 25 % Nationalities Predominantly Jewish d. Negro 35 %
e. Shifting or Infiltration: of colored - fairly rapid

3. NEW CONSTRUCTION (past yr.) No. 0 Type of Price _____
4. OVERHANG OF HOME PROPERTIES: a. HOLC 12 b. Institutions _____
5. SALE OF HOME PROPERTIES (____yr) a. HOLC 1 b. Institutions _____
6. MORTGAGE FUNDS: If any _____ ? TOTAL TAX RATE PER \$1000 (1933) \$ 25.90
8. DESCRIPTION AND CHARACTERISTICS OF AREA:
Laid out about 1906 known as main Jewish shopping district; paved streets; good transportation; convenient to schools, churches, and stores; located just south of Perkins Park; level terrain. Most of the area lying south of Burgess Street has soft foundation due to nearby Summit Lake (southern boundary).
Homes located on Worlan, Raymond and the south end Saylor, Schook, Metzger and Rowley Street are out of "plumb" owing to the shifting foundation. Heavy traffic along Wooster Avenue, Thurston and Rowley Streets. District affected by odors, smoke, and dirt from nearby Goodrich Rubber Company plant. Acquired property if not sold immediately will suffer from vandalism.
Doelming district, heavily populated by low class Jews -- all stores on Wooster Avenue (traversing artery) are Jewish-owned. Present heavy negro encroachment gradually increasing.
9. LOCATION Akron, Ohio SECURITY GRADE D AREA NO. 4 DATE Feb 1939

HOLC area descriptions: Example #2

AREA DESCRIPTION
Security Map of Akron, Ohio

1. POPULATION: a. Increasing Yes Decreasing _____ Stable _____

b. Class and Occupation: Rubber workers and laborers

c. Foreign Born: ES % Nationalities: Primarily Jewish & Negro: 25 %

e. Shifting or Infiltration: of colored - fairly rapid

2. BUILDINGS: PREDOMINATING 95 % OTHER TYPE 5 %

a. Type and Size: 2 story single family 5 rooms

b. Construction: Frame

c. Average Age: 30

d. Repair: Fair only

e. Occupancy: 50%

f. Owner-occupied: 50%

g. 1935 Price Bracket: \$ 1500-2800 % change _____

h. 1937 Price Bracket: \$ 1600-2800 +10 %

i. Jan. '39 Price Bracket: \$ 1500-2800 - 0 %

j. Sales Demand: Steady

k. Realized Price Trend (last 6-12 months): Downward

l. 1935 Rent Bracket: \$ 10 - 20 % change _____

m. 1937 Rent Bracket: \$ 11 - 23 +13 %

n. Jan. '39 Rent Bracket: \$ 10 - 20 -12 %

o. Rental Demand: Good

p. Realized Rent Trend (last 6-12 months): Stable to downward

3. NEW CONSTRUCTION (past yr) No. 0 Type & Price _____

4. OVERHANG OF HOME PROPERTIES: a. HOLC 12 b-21-29

5. SALE OF HOME PROPERTIES (____yr) a. HOLC 12 b-21-29

6. MORTGAGE FUNDS: If any ? TOTAL TAX RATE PER \$1000 (1933) \$.25-30

8. DESCRIPTION AND CHARACTERISTICS OF AREA:

Laid out about 1905 known as main Jewish shopping district; paved streets; good transportation; convenient to schools, churches, and stores; located just south of Perkins Park; level terrain. Most of the area lying south of Bartges Street has soft foundation due to nearby Summit Lake (southern boundary).

Homes located on Norika, Raymond and the south end Snyder, Schock, Metzger and Bowery Street are out of "plumb" owing to the shifting foundation. Heavy traffic along Wooster Avenue, Thornton and Bowery Streets. District affected by odors, smoke, and dirt from nearby Goodrich Rubber Company plant. Acquired property if not sold immediately will suffer from vandalism.

Declining district, heavily populated by low class Jews -- all stores on Wooster Avenue (traversing artery) are Jewish-owned. Present heavy negro encroachment gradually increasing.

9. LOCATION: Akron, Ohio SECURITY GRADE: D AREA NO. 4 DATE: Feb 1939

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Homes located on Norika, Raymond and the south end Snyder, Schock, Metzger and Bowery Street are out of "plumb" owing to the shifting foundation. Heavy traffic along Wooster Avenue, Thornton and Bowery Streets. District affected by odors, smoke, and dirt from nearby Goodrich Rubber Company plant. Acquired property if not sold immediately will suffer from vandalism.

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HOLC area descriptions: Example #2

AREA DESCRIPTION
Security Map of Akron, Ohio

1. POPULATION ⁹⁰ Increasing Yes Decreasing _____ Stable _____

b. Class and Occupation Rubber workers and laborers

c. Foreign Born 25 % Nationalities Predominantly Jewish & Negro 25 %

e. Shifting or Influxion of colored - fairly rapid

2. BUILDINGS PREDOMINATING 95 % OTHER TYPE _____ %

a. Type and Size 2 story single family 8 rooms

b. Construction Brick

c. Average Age 30

d. Repair Fair only

e. Occupancy 95%

f. Owner-occupied 50%

g. 1935 Price Bracket \$ 1500-2800 % change _____ \$ _____ \$ change _____

h. 1937 Price Bracket \$ 1600-2800 +10 % _____ \$ _____ % _____

i. Jan. '39 Price Bracket \$ 1500-2800 - 0 % _____ \$ _____ % _____

j. Sales Demand Slow

k. Predicted Price Trend (next 6-12 months) Downward

l. 1935 Rent Bracket \$ 10 - 20 % change _____ \$ _____ \$ change _____

m. 1937 Rent Bracket \$ 11 - 23 +12 % _____ \$ _____ % _____

n. Jan. '39 Rent Bracket \$ 10 - 20 -12 % _____ \$ _____ % _____

o. Rental Demand Good

p. Predicted Rent Trend (next 6-12 months) Stable to downward

3. NEW CONSTRUCTION (past yr) No. 0 Type of Price _____ New Selling _____

4. OVERHANG OF HOME PROPERTIES: a. HOLC 12 b. Institutions _____
0-21-30

5. SALE OF HOME PROPERTIES (____yr) a. HOLC 1 b. Institutions _____
Very little, 1-21-30

6. MORTGAGE FUNDS: 14,000,000 7. TOTAL TAX RATE PER \$1000 (1933) \$.25.80

8. DESCRIPTION AND CHARACTERISTICS OF AREA:
Laid out about 1906 known as main Jewish shopping district; paved streets; good transportation; convenient to schools, churches, and stores; located just south of Perkins Park; level terrain. Most of the area lying south of Burgess Street has soft foundation due to nearby Sunset Lake (southern boundary).
Home located on Worley, Raymond and the south end Saylor. Schools, Metzger and Henry Street are out of "plumb" owing to the shifting foundation. Heavy traffic along Wooster Avenue, Thurston and Rowley streets. District affected by odors, smoke, and dirt from nearby Goodrich Rubber Company plant. Acquired property if not sold immediately will suffer from vandalism.
Declining district, heavily populated by low class Jews -- all stores on Wooster Avenue (traversing artery) are Jewish-owned. Present heavy negro encroachment gradually increasing.

9. LOCATION Akron, Ohio SECURITY GRADE D AREA NO. _____ DATE Feb 1939

LOCATION Akron, Ohio SECURITY GRADE D

Why do HOLC maps matter?

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- Maps not widely used by HOLC
 - ▶ Lending program completed before maps made

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- Maps not widely used by HOLC
 - ▶ Lending program completed before maps made
- Historians point out 2 potential reasons:
 1. Use by Federal Housing Administration (FHA)
 2. Use by private lenders and real estate brokers

Evidence suggests HOLC maps influenced neighborhood appraisals:

- FHA used the same classification system and “emulated HOLC guidelines” [*Schill and Wachter, 1995*]
- “The FHA cooperated with the HOLC and followed HOLC appraisal practices” [*Jackson, 1980*]

HOLC maps and private lenders

- Maps not released to public, but HOLC assisted by local realtors and bankers
 - ▶ LA: 26 realtors
 - ▶ Brooklyn: reps from 9 financial institutions

HOLC maps and private lenders

- Maps not released to public, but HOLC assisted by local realtors and bankers
 - ▶ LA: 26 realtors
 - ▶ Brooklyn: reps from 9 financial institutions
- Anecdotal evidence suggests maps contained valuable info for private lenders:

“Incidentally...I hope to be able to ‘borrow’ a map from your portfolio when you are not looking during your journey to Chicago.”

The end of redlining (?)

Housing discrimination banned through a series of gov actions:

- Executive Order 11063 (1962)
- Fair Housing Act (1968)
- Equal Credit Opportunity Act (1974)

1. Institutional background
2. **Data and empirical strategy**
3. Results
4. Conclusion

HOLC maps

- ▶ 58 maps covering 48 MSAs
- ▶ Georeferenced and HOLC neighborhood grades extracted as polygons

21st Census of the United States (1990)

- ▶ Key statistics collected at the census-block level
- ▶ Digitized by the NHGIS (MPC)
- ▶ *Last census with block-level home prices*

16th Census of the United States (1940)

- ▶ *Block Statistics Supplement to the First Series Housing Bulletin*
- ▶ 2,325 pages
- ▶ 190,000 census-block observations

Historical census data

28

HOUSING—BLOCK STATISTICS

Table 3.—CHARACTERISTICS OF HOUSING FOR CENSUS TRACTS BY BLOCKS: 1940—Con.

| City and tract | Block | 100 DWELLING UNITS BY OCCUPANCY AND TENURE | | | | ALL DWELLING UNITS BY YEAR BUILT | | | | OCCUPIED DWELLING UNITS | | | | ALL DWELLING UNITS BY STATE OF PLUMBING | | | | ALL DWELLING UNITS BY CONTRACT OR OTHERWISE MADE | | | |
|----------------|-------|--|----------|----------|--------|----------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------------------------|----------|----------|----------|---|-----------|-----------|-----------|--|-----------|--------|---------|
| | | Total | Owned | Rented | % | Number | 1939 | 1938 | 1937 | 1936 | Total | Occupied | Private | Public | Number | 1939 | 1938 | 1937 | 1936 | Number | Another |
| | | dwelling | dwelling | dwelling | rented | reporting | to be | to be | to be | dwelling | dwelling | dwelling | dwelling | dwelling | reporting | reporting | reporting | reporting | reporting | month | month |
| | | units | units | units | units | units | units | units | units | units | units | units | units | units | units | units | units | units | units | units | units |
| 100 | 8 | 11 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| 101 | 8 | 11 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| 102 | 8 | 11 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| 103 | 8 | 11 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| 104 | 8 | 11 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| 105 | 8 | 11 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| 106 | 8 | 11 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| 107 | 8 | 11 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| 108 | 8 | 11 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| 109 | 8 | 11 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| 110 | 8 | 11 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 |

| City and tract | OCCUPIED DWELLING UNITS | | | | ALL DWELLING UNITS BY STATE OF PLUMBING | | |
|----------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|------------------|--------------|---|------------------|-----------------------------|
| | Total occupied | Occupied by non-white | Persons per room | | | Number reporting | Needs repair or not private |
| | | | Number rptg. | 1.51 or more | | | |
| 100 | 3 | 3 | | 2 | | | |
| 101 | 13 | 13 | | 13 | | | |
| 102 | 10 | 10 | | 9 | | | |
| 103 | 25 | 25 | 1 | 23 | | | |
| 104 | 39 | 39 | 1 | 37 | | | |
| 105 | 35 | 35 | 1 | 35 | | | |
| 106 | 24 | 24 | 1 | 24 | | | |

Historical census data

28

HOUSING—BLOCK STATISTICS

Table 3.—CHARACTERISTICS OF HOUSING FOR CENSUS TRACTS BY BLOCKS—1940—Con.

| Cen- sus tract | Block name | 100 DWELLING UNITS BY OCCUPANCY AND STATUS | | | | ALL DWELLING UNITS BY YEAR BUILT | | | | OCCUPIED DWELLING UNITS | | | | ALL DWELLING UNITS BY STATE OF BIRTH AND MARRIAGE | | | | ALL DWELLING UNITS BY CONTRACT OR INTEREST TYPE | |
|----------------------|---------------|---|--------------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------|------|------|-------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------|---|---------|--------|--------------------------|---|--|
| | | Total dwelling units | Total rental units | Total owner- occupied units | % rental | Number report- ing | 1939 and earlier | 1938 | 1937 | 1936 and earlier | Total rental units | Owner- occupied units | Foreign born | Native born | Married | Single | Number report- ing | Average monthly rent (dollars) | |
| 000 | 8 | 8 | 0 | 8 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 7 | 1 | 0 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 7 | 31.00 | |
| 000 | 9 | 9 | 0 | 9 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 8 | 1 | 0 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 8 | 28.50 | |
| 000 | 10 | 10 | 0 | 10 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 9 | 1 | 0 | 8 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 9 | 29.20 | |
| 000 | 11 | 11 | 0 | 11 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 10 | 1 | 0 | 9 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 10 | 31.00 | |
| 000 | 12 | 12 | 0 | 12 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 11 | 1 | 0 | 10 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 11 | 31.00 | |
| 000 | 13 | 13 | 0 | 13 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 12 | 1 | 0 | 11 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 12 | 31.00 | |
| 000 | 14 | 14 | 0 | 14 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 13 | 1 | 0 | 12 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 13 | 31.00 | |
| 000 | 15 | 15 | 0 | 15 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 14 | 1 | 0 | 13 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 14 | 31.00 | |
| 000 | 16 | 16 | 0 | 16 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 15 | 1 | 0 | 14 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 15 | 31.00 | |
| 000 | 17 | 17 | 0 | 17 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 16 | 1 | 0 | 15 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 16 | 31.00 | |
| 000 | 18 | 18 | 0 | 18 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 17 | 1 | 0 | 16 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 17 | 31.00 | |
| 000 | 19 | 19 | 0 | 19 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 18 | 1 | 0 | 17 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 18 | 31.00 | |
| 000 | 20 | 20 | 0 | 20 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 19 | 1 | 0 | 18 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 19 | 31.00 | |
| 000 | 21 | 21 | 0 | 21 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 20 | 1 | 0 | 19 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 20 | 31.00 | |
| 000 | 22 | 22 | 0 | 22 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 21 | 1 | 0 | 20 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 21 | 31.00 | |
| 000 | 23 | 23 | 0 | 23 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 22 | 1 | 0 | 21 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 22 | 31.00 | |
| 000 | 24 | 24 | 0 | 24 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 23 | 1 | 0 | 22 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 23 | 31.00 | |
| 000 | 25 | 25 | 0 | 25 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 24 | 1 | 0 | 23 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 24 | 31.00 | |
| 000 | 26 | 26 | 0 | 26 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 25 | 1 | 0 | 24 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 25 | 31.00 | |
| 000 | 27 | 27 | 0 | 27 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 26 | 1 | 0 | 25 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 26 | 31.00 | |
| 000 | 28 | 28 | 0 | 28 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 27 | 1 | 0 | 26 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 27 | 31.00 | |
| 000 | 29 | 29 | 0 | 29 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 28 | 1 | 0 | 27 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 28 | 31.00 | |
| 000 | 30 | 30 | 0 | 30 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 29 | 1 | 0 | 28 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 29 | 31.00 | |
| 000 | 31 | 31 | 0 | 31 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 30 | 1 | 0 | 29 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 30 | 31.00 | |
| 000 | 32 | 32 | 0 | 32 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 31 | 1 | 0 | 30 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 31 | 31.00 | |
| 000 | 33 | 33 | 0 | 33 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 32 | 1 | 0 | 31 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 32 | 31.00 | |
| 000 | 34 | 34 | 0 | 34 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 33 | 1 | 0 | 32 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 33 | 31.00 | |
| 000 | 35 | 35 | 0 | 35 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 34 | 1 | 0 | 33 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 34 | 31.00 | |
| 000 | 36 | 36 | 0 | 36 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 35 | 1 | 0 | 34 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 35 | 31.00 | |
| 000 | 37 | 37 | 0 | 37 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 36 | 1 | 0 | 35 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 36 | 31.00 | |
| 000 | 38 | 38 | 0 | 38 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 37 | 1 | 0 | 36 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 37 | 31.00 | |
| 000 | 39 | 39 | 0 | 39 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 38 | 1 | 0 | 37 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 38 | 31.00 | |
| 000 | 40 | 40 | 0 | 40 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 39 | 1 | 0 | 38 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 39 | 31.00 | |
| 000 | 41 | 41 | 0 | 41 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 40 | 1 | 0 | 39 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 40 | 31.00 | |
| 000 | 42 | 42 | 0 | 42 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 41 | 1 | 0 | 40 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 41 | 31.00 | |
| 000 | 43 | 43 | 0 | 43 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 42 | 1 | 0 | 41 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 42 | 31.00 | |
| 000 | 44 | 44 | 0 | 44 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 43 | 1 | 0 | 42 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 43 | 31.00 | |
| 000 | 45 | 45 | 0 | 45 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 44 | 1 | 0 | 43 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 44 | 31.00 | |
| 000 | 46 | 46 | 0 | 46 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 45 | 1 | 0 | 44 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 45 | 31.00 | |
| 000 | 47 | 47 | 0 | 47 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 46 | 1 | 0 | 45 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 46 | 31.00 | |
| 000 | 48 | 48 | 0 | 48 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 47 | 1 | 0 | 46 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 47 | 31.00 | |
| 000 | 49 | 49 | 0 | 49 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 48 | 1 | 0 | 47 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 48 | 31.00 | |
| 000 | 50 | 50 | 0 | 50 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 49 | 1 | 0 | 48 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 49 | 31.00 | |
| 000 | 51 | 51 | 0 | 51 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 50 | 1 | 0 | 49 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 50 | 31.00 | |
| 000 | 52 | 52 | 0 | 52 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 51 | 1 | 0 | 50 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 51 | 31.00 | |
| 000 | 53 | 53 | 0 | 53 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 52 | 1 | 0 | 51 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 52 | 31.00 | |
| 000 | 54 | 54 | 0 | 54 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 53 | 1 | 0 | 52 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 53 | 31.00 | |
| 000 | 55 | 55 | 0 | 55 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 54 | 1 | 0 | 53 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 54 | 31.00 | |
| 000 | 56 | 56 | 0 | 56 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 55 | 1 | 0 | 54 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 55 | 31.00 | |
| 000 | 57 | 57 | 0 | 57 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 56 | 1 | 0 | 55 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 56 | 31.00 | |
| 000 | 58 | 58 | 0 | 58 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 57 | 1 | 0 | 56 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 57 | 31.00 | |
| 000 | 59 | 59 | 0 | 59 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 58 | 1 | 0 | 57 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 58 | 31.00 | |
| 000 | 60 | 60 | 0 | 60 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 59 | 1 | 0 | 58 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 59 | 31.00 | |
| 000 | 61 | 61 | 0 | 61 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 60 | 1 | 0 | 59 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 60 | 31.00 | |
| 000 | 62 | 62 | 0 | 62 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 61 | 1 | 0 | 60 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 61 | 31.00 | |
| 000 | 63 | 63 | 0 | 63 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 62 | 1 | 0 | 61 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 62 | 31.00 | |
| 000 | 64 | 64 | 0 | 64 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 63 | 1 | 0 | 62 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 63 | 31.00 | |
| 000 | 65 | 65 | 0 | 65 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 64 | 1 | 0 | 63 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 64 | 31.00 | |
| 000 | 66 | 66 | 0 | 66 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 65 | 1 | 0 | 64 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 65 | 31.00 | |
| 000 | 67 | 67 | 0 | 67 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 66 | 1 | 0 | 65 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 66 | 31.00 | |
| 000 | 68 | 68 | 0 | 68 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 67 | 1 | 0 | 66 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 67 | 31.00 | |
| 000 | 69 | 69 | 0 | 69 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 68 | 1 | 0 | 67 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 68 | 31.00 | |
| 000 | 70 | 70 | 0 | 70 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 69 | 1 | 0 | 68 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 69 | 31.00 | |
| 000 | 71 | 71 | 0 | 71 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 70 | 1 | 0 | 69 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 70 | 31.00 | |
| 000 | 72 | 72 | 0 | 72 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 71 | 1 | 0 | 70 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 71 | 31.00 | |
| 000 | 73 | 73 | 0 | 73 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 72 | 1 | 0 | 71 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 72 | 31.00 | |
| 000 | 74 | 74 | 0 | 74 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 73 | 1 | 0 | 72 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 73 | 31.00 | |
| 000 | 75 | 75 | 0 | 75 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 74 | 1 | 0 | 73 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 74 | 31.00 | |
| 000 | 76 | 76 | 0 | 76 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 75 | 1 | 0 | 74 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 75 | 31.00 | |
| 000 | 77 | 77 | 0 | 77 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 76 | 1 | 0 | 75 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 76 | 31.00 | |
| 000 | 78 | 78 | 0 | 78 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 77 | 1 | 0 | 76 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 77 | 31.00 | |
| 000 | 79 | 79 | 0 | 79 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 78 | 1 | 0 | 77 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 78 | 31.00 | |
| 000 | 80 | 80 | 0 | 80 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 79 | 1 | 0 | 78 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 79 | 31.00 | |
| 000 | 81 | 81 | 0 | 81 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 80 | 1 | 0 | 79 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 80 | 31.00 | |
| 000 | 82 | 82 | 0 | 82 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 81 | 1 | 0 | 80 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 81 | 31.00 | |
| 000 | 83 | 83 | 0 | 83 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 82 | 1 | 0 | 81 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 82 | 31.00 | |
| 000 | 84 | 84 | 0 | 84 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 83 | 1 | 0 | 82 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 83 | 31.00 | |
| 000 | 85 | 85 | 0 | 85 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | | | | | | | | | | |

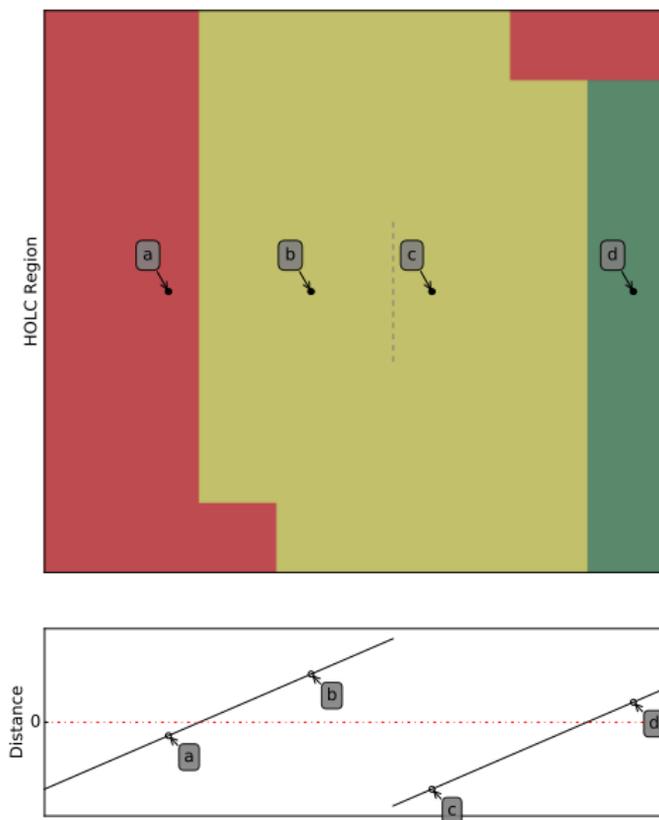
Summary stats by HOLC grade

| | HOLC Security Grade | | | |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------|-------|-------|-------|
| | A | B | C | D |
| <i>1940 Characteristics:</i> | | | | |
| Est. Rent (\$) | 66.44 | 44.87 | 33.37 | 24.31 |
| Non-White (%) | 0.40 | 0.46 | 1.24 | 17.65 |
| Vacant (%) | 0.50 | 0.26 | 0.21 | 0.16 |
| Overcrowded (%) | 0.38 | 1.21 | 2.61 | 6.31 |
| Disrepair (%) | 1.87 | 3.48 | 6.15 | 11.95 |

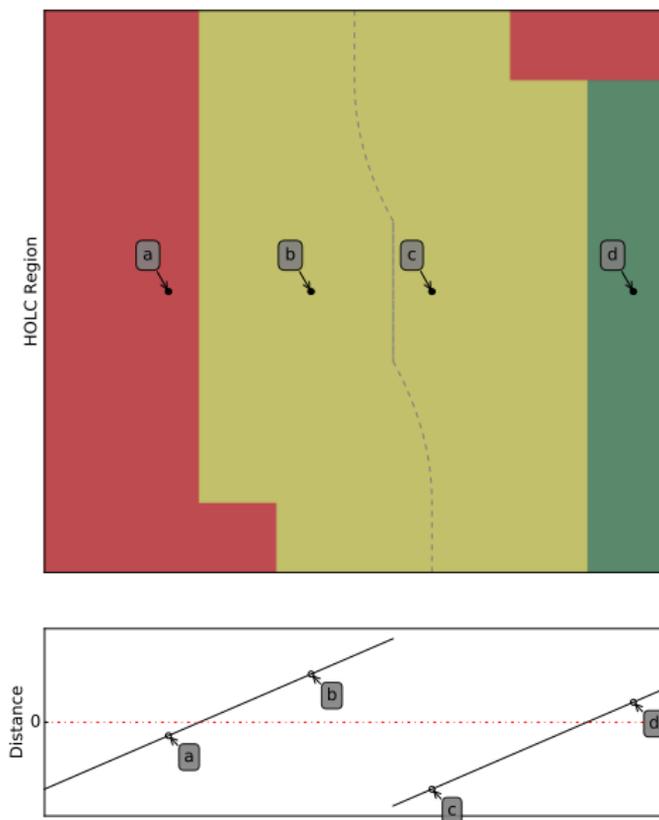
Summary stats by HOLC grade

| | HOLC Security Grade | | | |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------|--------|--------|-------|
| | A | B | C | D |
| <i>1940 Characteristics:</i> | | | | |
| Est. Rent (\$) | 66.44 | 44.87 | 33.37 | 24.31 |
| Non-White (%) | 0.40 | 0.46 | 1.24 | 17.65 |
| Vacant (%) | 0.50 | 0.26 | 0.21 | 0.16 |
| Overcrowded (%) | 0.38 | 1.21 | 2.61 | 6.31 |
| Disrepair (%) | 1.87 | 3.48 | 6.15 | 11.95 |
| <i>1990 Characteristics:</i> | | | | |
| Est. Value (\$1,000) | 227.38 | 138.81 | 106.83 | 85.58 |
| Non-White (%) | 18.48 | 28.52 | 40.41 | 58.80 |
| Vacant (%) | 3.34 | 4.75 | 6.75 | 10.46 |
| Overcrowded (%) | 0.35 | 1.56 | 3.75 | 5.06 |

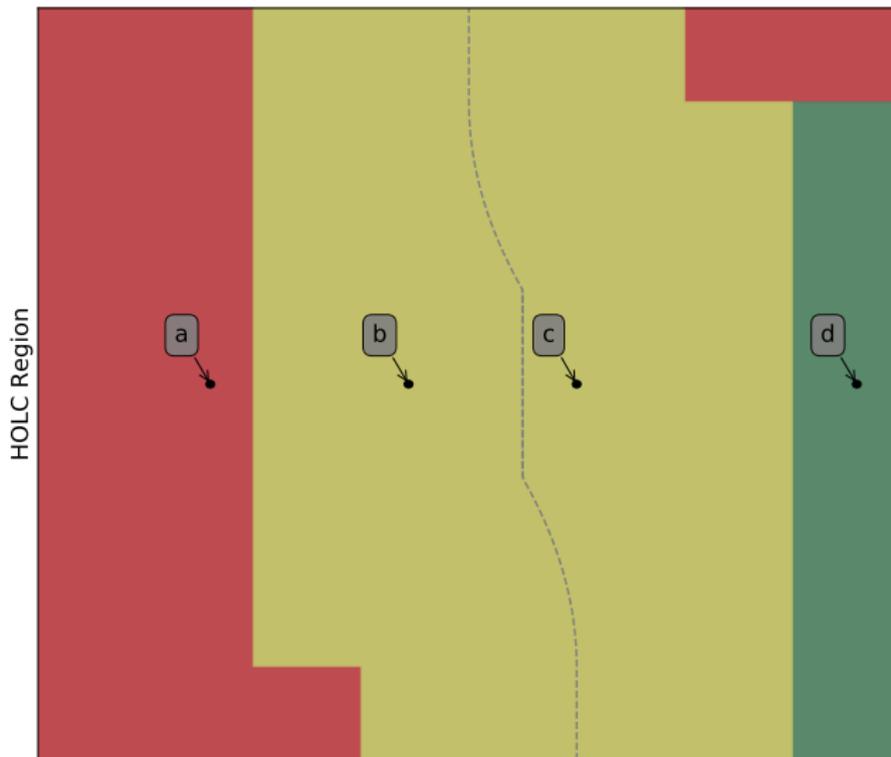
Computing distance to a boundary



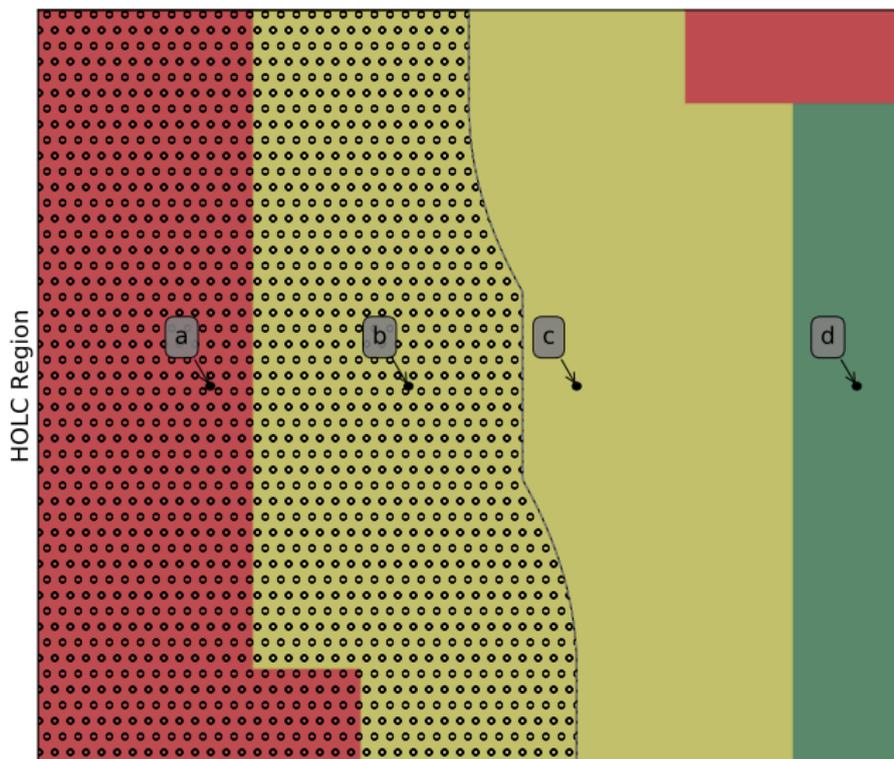
Computing distance to a boundary



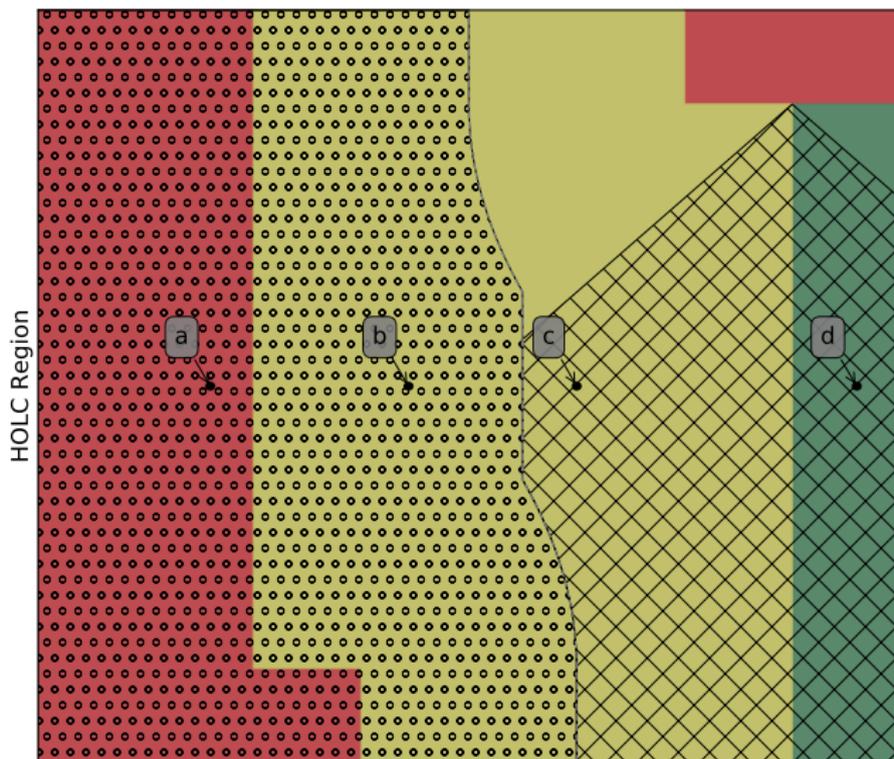
Assigning fixed effects - Region-Pair FEs



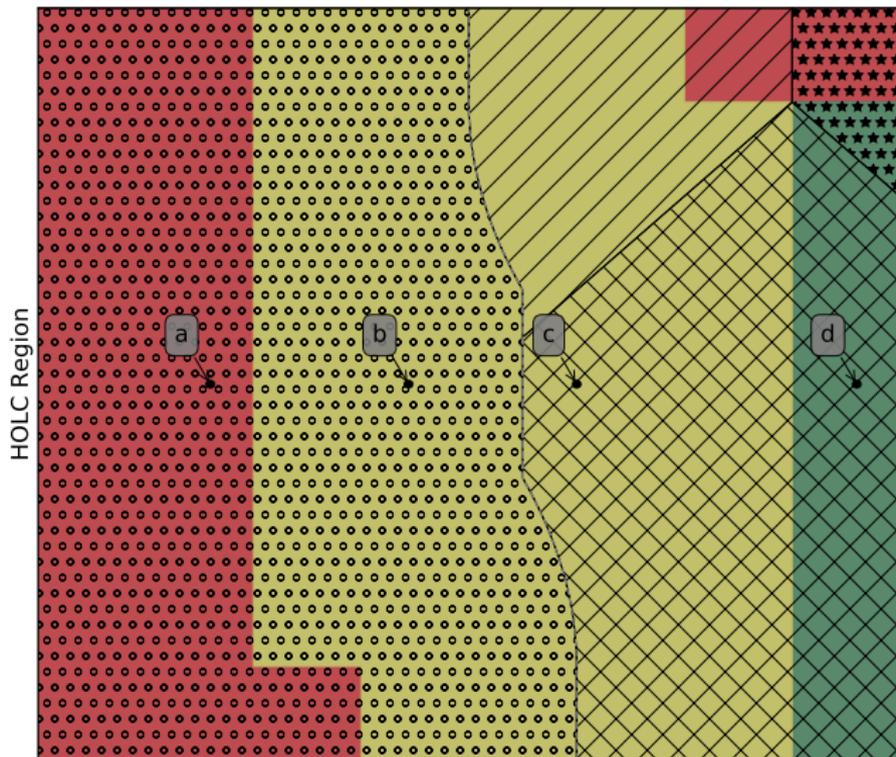
Assigning fixed effects - Region-Pair FEs



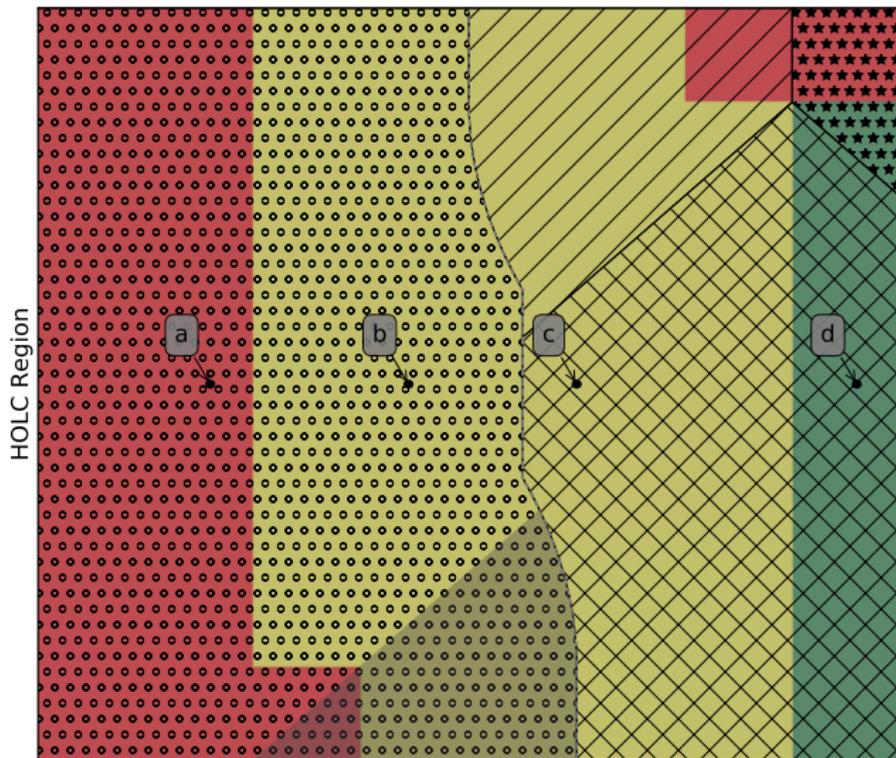
Assigning fixed effects - Region-Pair FEs



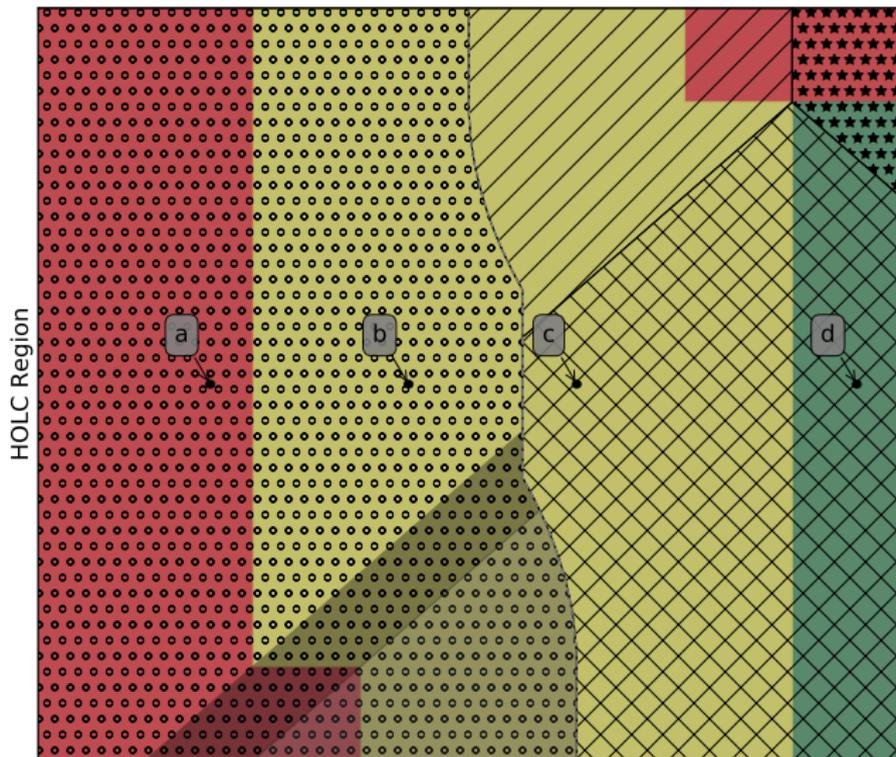
Assigning fixed effects - Region-Pair FEs



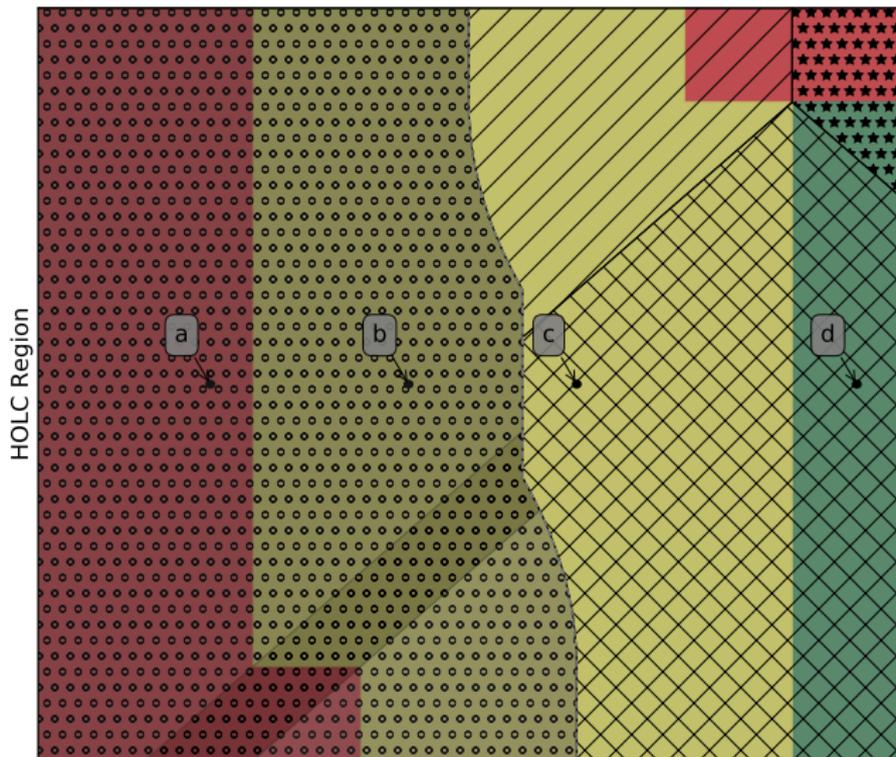
Assigning fixed effects - Border FEs



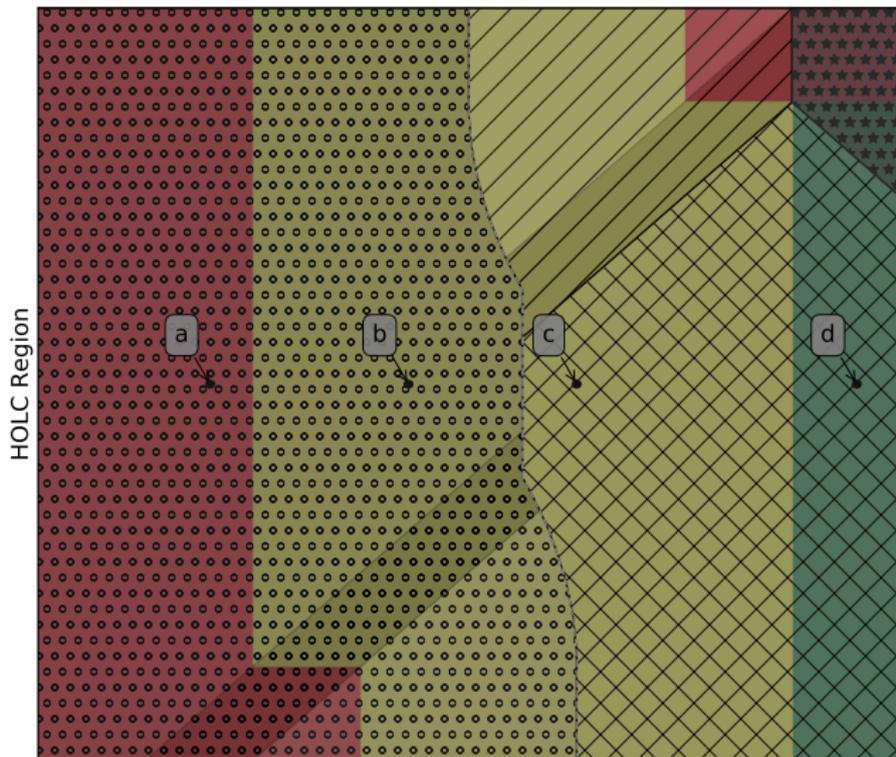
Assigning fixed effects - Border FEs



Assigning fixed effects - Border FEs



Assigning fixed effects - Border FEs



$$Y_i = \alpha + \beta \mathbb{1}(dist_i < 0) + \sum_{n=1}^N \theta_n dist_i^n + \mathbb{1}(dist_i < 0) \times \sum_{n=1}^N \gamma_n dist_i^n + \phi_j + \varepsilon_i$$

- Y_i is the outcome of interest
- ϕ_j is a *Grade-pair/Region-pair/Border* fixed effect
- Consider a bandwidth of 500m (effect robust to alternative distances)
- Polynomial for each empirical specification chosen to maximize the AIC

Identification assumption [1/2]

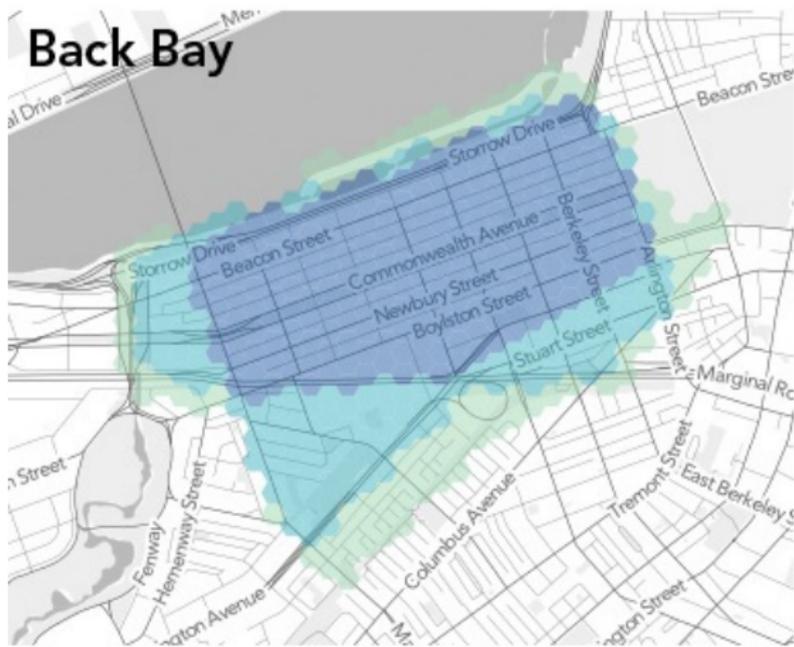
- **Identification assumption:** Unobservable characteristics varied smoothly at boundaries when maps were created
- Start by excluding boundaries that coincide with geographic features

Identification assumption [1/2]

- **Identification assumption:** Unobservable characteristics varied smoothly at boundaries when maps were created
- Start by excluding boundaries that coincide with geographic features
- Anecdotal evidence suggests this is reasonable...
 - ▶ Boundaries didn't coincide with administrative borders (e.g., wards, census tracts) [*Hiller, 2005*]
 - ▶ Maps often underwent multiple revisions [*Hiller, 2005*]
 - ▶ In general, identifying neighborhood boundaries is tricky...

Neighborhood Boundary Disagreement

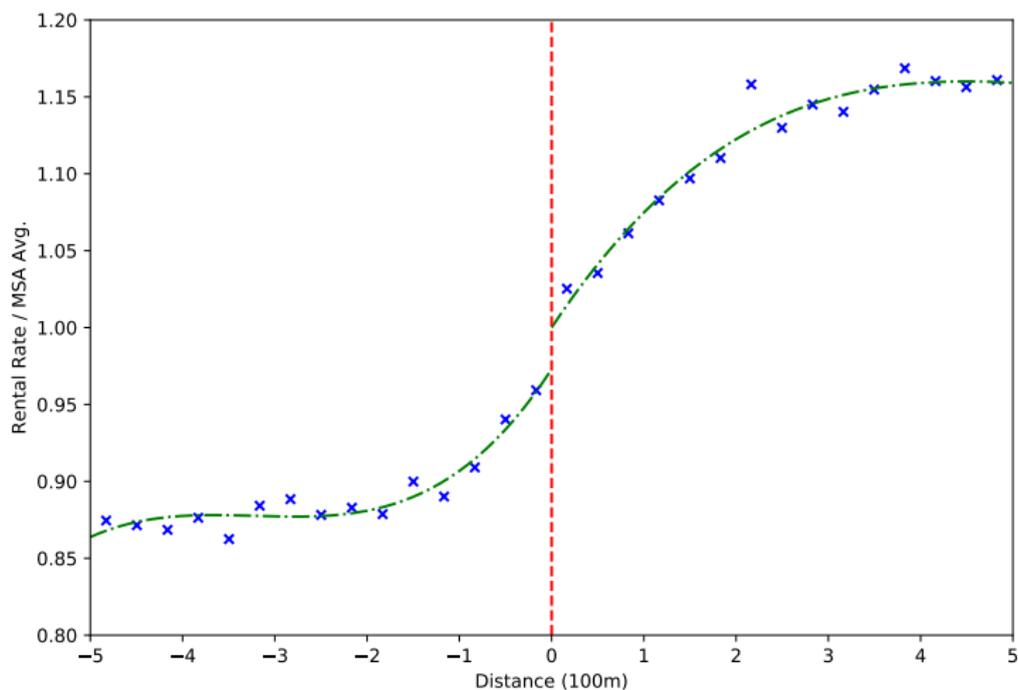
Neighborhood Boundary Disagreement



1. Institutional background
2. Data and summary statistics
3. Empirical strategy
4. **Results**
5. Conclusion

Does redlining have a persistent effect on house prices?

Lower 1990 house values for redlined areas

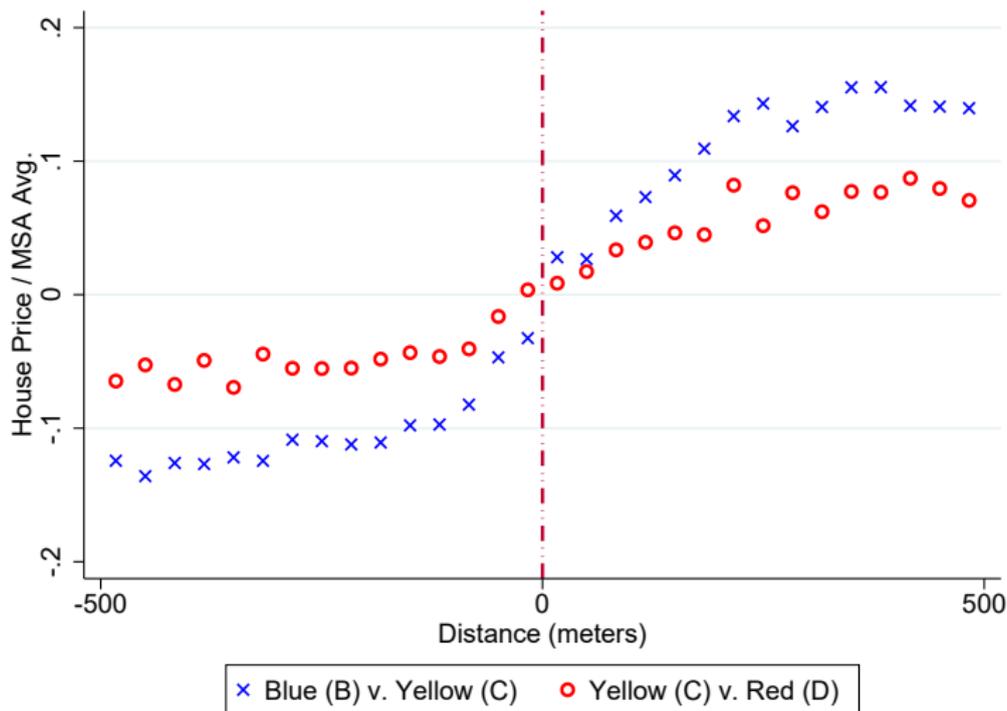


Lower 1990 house values for redlined areas

| <i>Dep. var. = 1990 house prices / MSA Avg.</i> | | | |
|---|-------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) |
| $\mathbb{1}(dist < 0)$ | -0.030 (-1.57) | -0.027*** (-2.82) | -0.027*** (-3.29) |
| <i>N</i> | 107,439 | 107,429 | 105,514 |
| <i>R</i> ² | 0.223 | 0.725 | 0.778 |
| FEs | Grade-Pair | Region-Pair | Border |
| Order Polynomial | 3 | 3 | 3 |

Varying house price dynamics across comparisons

Varying house price dynamics across comparisons



No change in the effect

| <i>Dep. var. = 1990 house prices / MSA Avg.</i> | | | |
|---|--------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| Panel A: Common Polynomial across Grade-Pair | | | |
| $\mathbb{1}(dist < 0)$ | -0.030 (-1.57) | -0.027*** (-2.82) | -0.027*** (-3.29) |
| <i>N</i> | 107,439 | 107,429 | 105,514 |
| <i>R</i> ² | 0.223 | 0.725 | 0.778 |
| Panel B: Polynomials varying by Grade-Pair | | | |
| $\mathbb{1}(dist < 0)$ | -0.032* (-1.75) | -0.026*** (-2.63) | -0.025*** (-3.02) |
| <i>N</i> | 107,439 | 107,429 | 105,514 |
| <i>R</i> ² | 0.243 | 0.737 | 0.788 |
| FEs | Grade-Pair | Region-Pair | Border |

Focus has generally been on red (*Grade D*) regions

No economic prediction for which grade (if any) should have a stronger impact:

- Grade D regions could have been adversely affected from a credit restriction or...
- Grade A regions could have disproportionately benefited from an excessive credit supply

Redlining (or Greenlining)?

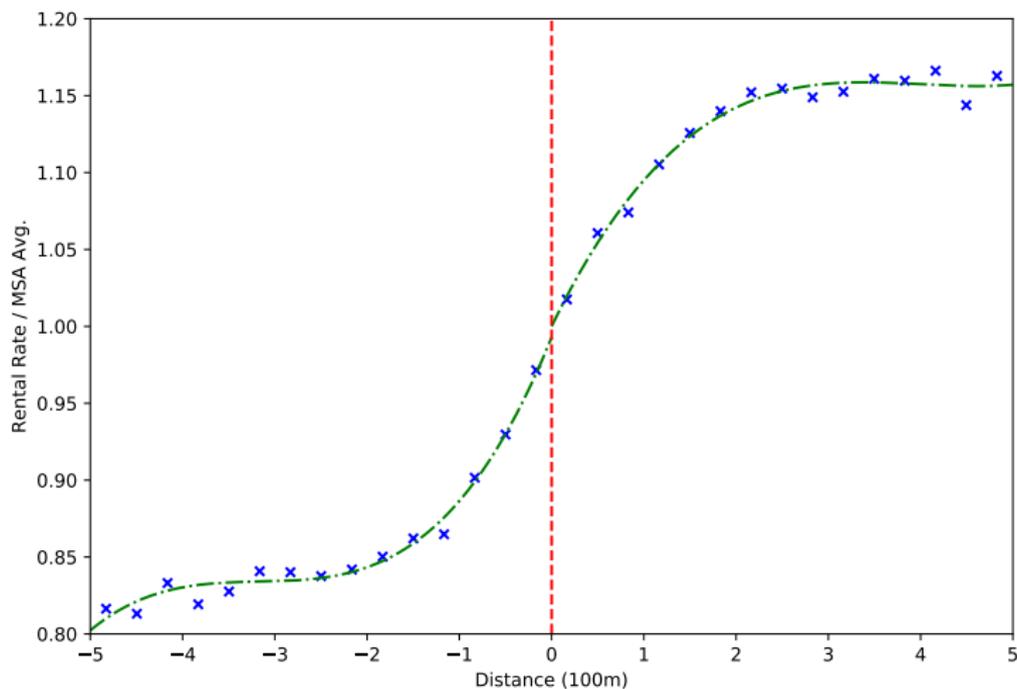
| <i>Dep. var. = 1990 house prices / MSA Avg.</i> | Ex. Red | | Ex. Green | |
|---|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
| $\mathbb{1}(dist < 0)$ | -0.044*** (-3.09) | -0.045*** (-3.38) | -0.008 (-0.77) | -0.007 (-0.64) |
| <i>N</i> | 62,924 | 61,659 | 89,773 | 88,310 |
| <i>R</i> ² | 0.723 | 0.780 | 0.667 | 0.730 |
| FEs | Reg.-Pair | Border | Reg.-Pair | Border |
| Order Polynomial | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 |

Are results driven by endogenous boundaries?

We address this concern in 2 ways:

1. Exclude boundaries that coincide with geographic features
2. Test for pre-existing (1940) differences in neighborhood characteristics

No effect on 1940 rental values



No effect on 1940 rental values

| <i>Dep. var. = 1940 rental rates</i> | | | |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) |
| $\mathbb{1}(dist < 0)$ | 0.009 (0.45) | -0.007 (-0.59) | -0.010 (-0.77) |
| <i>N</i> | 56,505 | 56,498 | 55,565 |
| <i>R</i> ² | 0.365 | 0.608 | 0.680 |
| FEs | Grade-Pair | Region-Pair | Border |
| Order Polynomial | 3 | 3 | 3 |

...or other 1940 characteristics

| <i>Other Characteristics</i> | (1) Non-white | (2) Vacant | (3) Overcrowded | (4) Disrepair |
|------------------------------|------------------|-----------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| $\mathbb{1}(dist < 0)$ | 0.447 (0.83) | 0.001 (0.02) | 0.025 (0.14) | -0.186 (-0.52) |
| <i>N</i> | 57,073 | 59,477 | 56,990 | 56,740 |
| <i>R</i> ² | 0.545 | 0.144 | 0.358 | 0.320 |
| FEs | Border | Border | Border | Border |
| Order Polynomial | 2 | 2 | 3 | 2 |

We consider two potential channels to explain the drop in HPs:

1. **Financing/Credit rationing**
2. **“Steering” of homeowners**

Test #1:

- Banks may have relied on HOLC maps as a substitute for monitoring
- Would expect this reliance to be weakened when “soft information” is available [*Petersen and Rajan, 2002*]
- Test this by examining historical bank branch proximity

For each census block: distance to the nearest bank branch operating in January, 1935 (FFIEC)

Local banks attenuate the effect

| <i>Dep. var. = 1990 house prices / MSA Avg.</i> | | |
|---|----------------------|----------------------|
| | (1) | (2) |
| $\mathbb{1}(dist < 0)$ | -0.029*** (-2.84) | -0.029*** (-3.43) |
| × <i>BankDistance</i> | -0.022** (-2.45) | -0.021*** (-3.06) |
| <i>N</i> | 107,429 | 105,514 |
| <i>R</i> ² | 0.725 | 0.778 |
| FEs | Region-Pair | Border |
| Order Polynomial | 3 | 3 |

Test #2:

- Divestment may lead to deterioration of housing stock
→ lower HP through “disamenity effect” [Gerardi et al., 2015]
- May also expect to see more renters, which can also have negative externalities [DiPasquale and Glaesar, 1999]
- Test this by examining characteristics of the structure

Increase in vacancies, renters, overcrowding (1990)

| Panel A: Percent Vacant | | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| $\mathbb{1}(dist < 0)$ | 0.628** (2.36) | 0.692*** (3.12) | 0.700*** (2.89) |
| N | 115,786 | 115,778 | 113,886 |
| R^2 | 0.049 | 0.230 | 0.291 |

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| <i>R</i> ² | 0.049 | 0.230 | 0.291 |

| Panel B: Percent Renter-Occupied | | | |
|---|------------------|--------------------|------------------|
| $\mathbb{1}(dist < 0)$ | 1.633* (2.03) | 1.890*** (2.76) | 1.619* (1.90) |
| <i>N</i> | 115,523 | 115,516 | 113,622 |
| <i>R</i> ² | 0.127 | 0.486 | 0.562 |

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| <i>N</i> | 115,523 | 115,516 | 113,622 |
| <i>R</i> ² | 0.127 | 0.486 | 0.562 |
| Panel C: Percent Overcrowded | | | |
| $\mathbb{1}(dist < 0)$ | 0.019 (0.09) | 0.327** (2.66) | 0.309*** (2.94) |
| <i>N</i> | 115,523 | 115,516 | 113,622 |
| <i>R</i> ² | 0.032 | 0.609 | 0.642 |
| FEs | Grade-Pair | Region-Pair | Border |

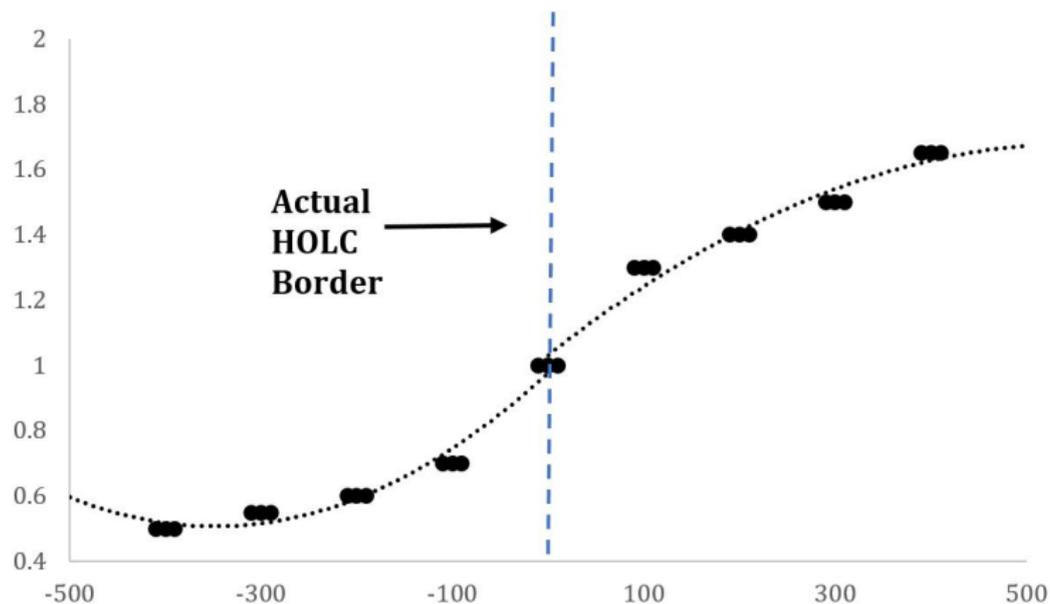
No evidence of a change in racial makeup (1990)

| <i>Dep. var. = Percent Non-white Household-head</i> | | | |
|---|-----------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) |
| $\mathbb{1}(dist < 0)$ | 0.645 (0.51) | -0.042 (-0.10) | 0.180 (0.48) |
| <i>N</i> | 115,785 | 115,778 | 113,882 |
| <i>R</i> ² | 0.106 | 0.837 | 0.877 |
| FEs | Grade-Pair | Region-Pair | Border |
| Order Polynomial | 3 | 3 | 3 |

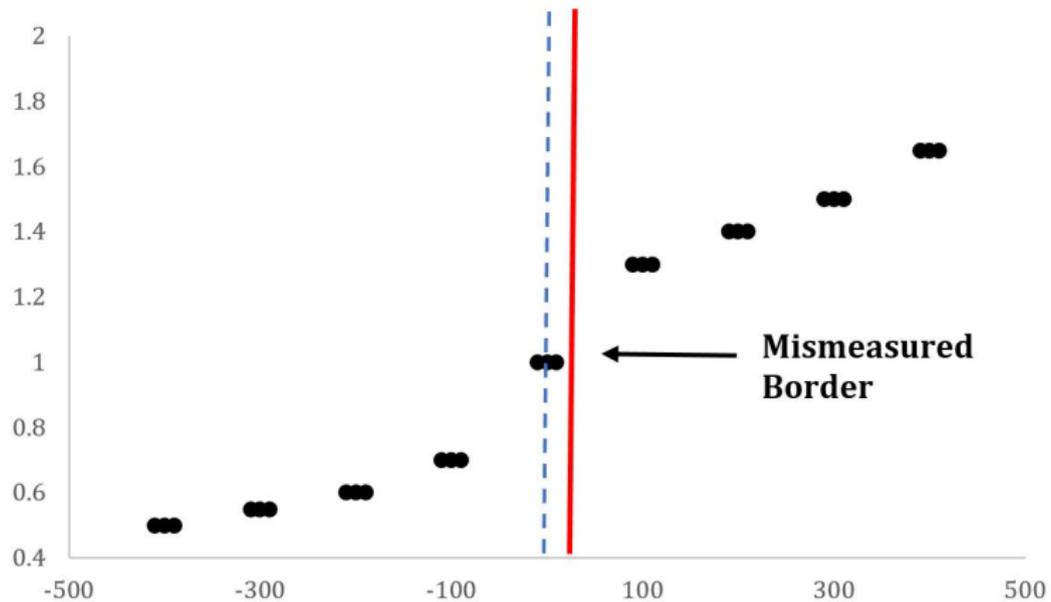
- We examine persistent effects of redlining in mortgage markets
- We find policy is associated with about a 3% decrease in 1990 house prices
 - ▶ Effect is more pronounced in areas farther from (historical) bank branches
 - ▶ Effect is not being driven by “red” regions
- Evidence points to negative externalities associated with renters and vacant homes, consistent with a credit rationing channel

Thank You!

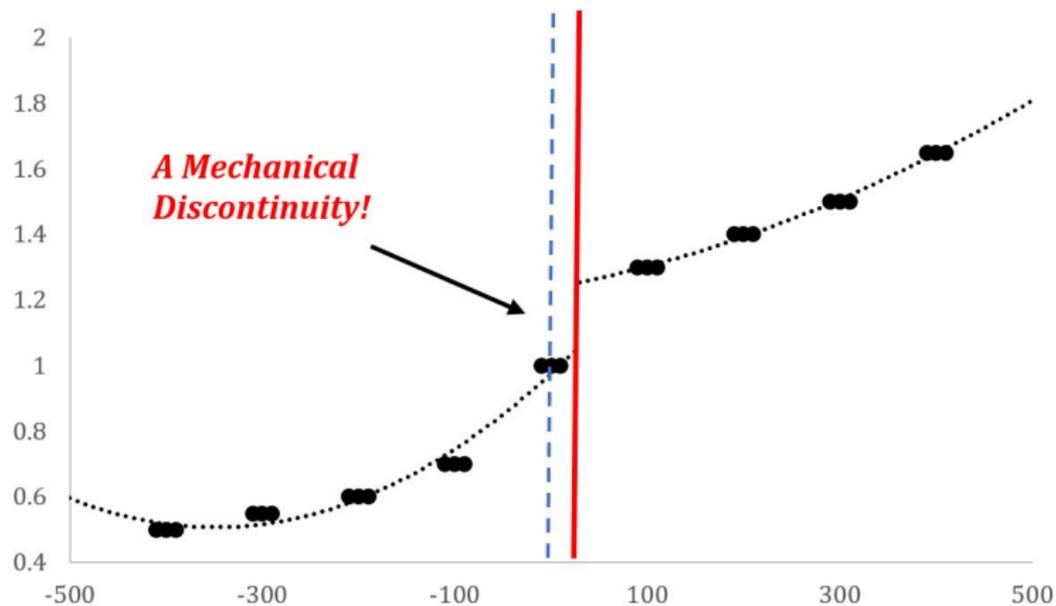
Mis-Measured Boundaries



Mis-Measured Boundaries



Mis-Measured Boundaries



Characteristics Across the Street

| | (1) | (2) | (3) |
|--------------------------------|-------------------|--------------------|------------------|
| Panel A: House Price | | | |
| 1(Better Grade Side) | 0.006 (0.65) | 0.004 (0.43) | 0.013 (1.20) |
| <i>N</i> | 230,790 | 183,844 | 119,842 |
| <i>R</i> ² | 0.796 | 0.821 | 0.870 |
| Panel B: House Price (nominal) | | | |
| 1(Better Grade Side) | -4.383 (-0.05) | -28.282 (-0.25) | 11.316 (0.09) |
| <i>N</i> | 230,790 | 183,844 | 119,842 |
| <i>R</i> ² | 0.976 | 0.980 | 0.948 |
| FEs | Street-Block | Street-Block | Street-Block |
| Bandwidth | 200 | 150 | 100 |

Characteristics Across the Street

| Panel E: $\mathbb{1}(\text{Renter})$ | | | |
|--|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| $\mathbb{1}(\text{Better Grade Side})$ | -0.005* (-1.78) | -0.004 (-1.21) | -0.005 (-1.16) |
| N | 675,148 | 539,123 | 360,101 |
| R^2 | 0.285 | 0.284 | 0.284 |
| Panel F: $\mathbb{1}(\text{Radio})$ | | | |
| $\mathbb{1}(\text{Better Grade Side})$ | -0.002 (-0.62) | -0.001 (-0.45) | 0.002 (0.53) |
| N | 675,148 | 539,123 | 360,101 |
| R^2 | 0.200 | 0.201 | 0.194 |
| Panel G: $\mathbb{1}(\text{White})$ | | | |
| $\mathbb{1}(\text{Better Grade Side})$ | -0.001 (-0.65) | -0.000 (-0.69) | -0.001 (-1.00) |
| N | 675,148 | 539,123 | 360,101 |
| R^2 | 0.636 | 0.625 | 0.628 |
| FEs | Street-Block | Street-Block | Street-Block |
| Bandwidth | 200 | 150 | 100 |