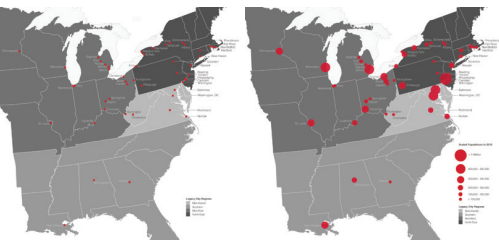
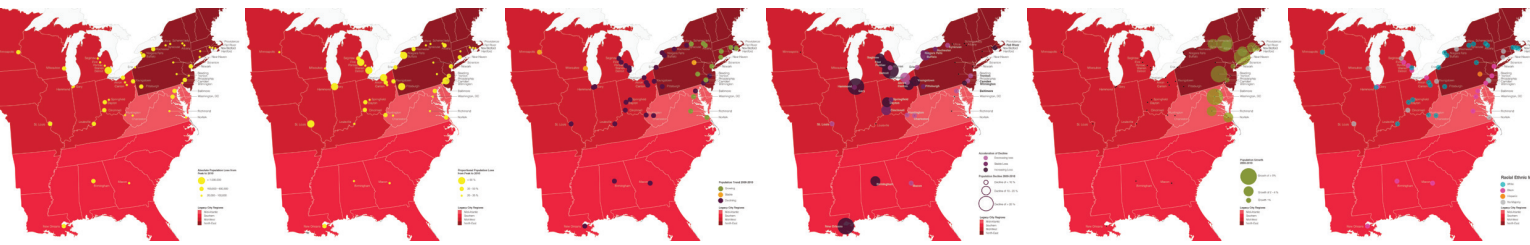
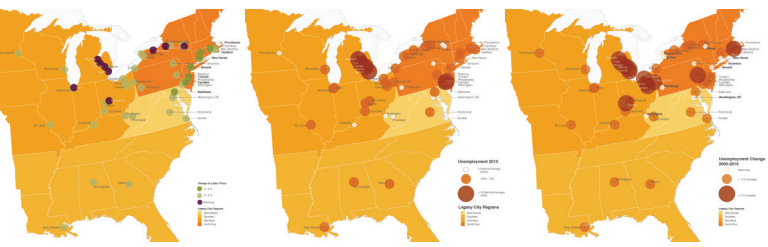
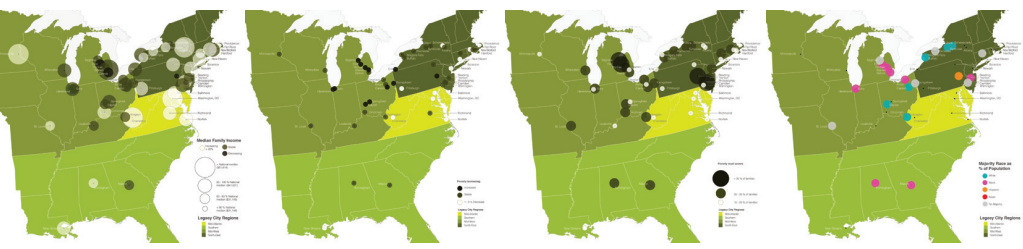
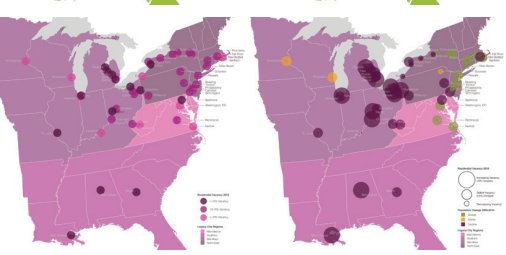


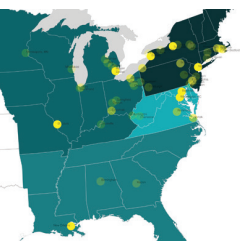




MAPPING AMERICA'S LEGACY CITIES 2015







JMBC The City College of New York

JMBC J.Max BOND Center on Design for the Just City

The J. Max Bond Center at the Bernard and Anne Spitzer School of Architecture at the City College of New York, believes that design can have a positive impact on urban reform in our nation's cities. Founded in 2011, the Bond Center is dedicated to the advancement of design practice, education, research and advocacy in ways that build and sustain resilient and just communities, cities, and regions.

Toni L. Griffin, Director, J. Max Bond Center on Design for the Just City
Esther Yang, Deputy Director, J. Max Bond Center on Design for the Just City
Michele Flournoy, 2012 J. Max Bond Scholar (M. Arch, 2014)
Julie Bartocci (M. Arch, 2016)

Legacy City Partnership Peer Reviewers:
Alan Mallach, Center for Community Progress Fellow
Teresa Lynch, Mass Economics
Nick Hamilton, The American Assembly

September 14, 2015

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PREFACE

Image credit: June Lee, Bruner Foundation

In 2012, the J. Max Bond Center began the *Mapping Legacy Cities* research project to further understand the trends in a group of US cities recently coined "legacy cities." Building from the historic Detroit convening and subsequent report produced by The American Assembly in 2011, the term legacy cities was selected by a group of practitioners, policy makers and academics as an alternate nomenclature for "shrinking cities" -cities that had loss substantial population and jobs over multiple decades. These cities were predominately post industrial, hallmarks of American industrial history, and mainly clustered in the Midwest, northeast and mid-Atlantic regions of the country. The term "legacy" was selected to acknowledge the cultural reverence, historic assets, and economic importance of these cities that today, where millions of people still call home.

At the time of the Detroit convening, 48 cities from the 2000 U.S. Census had been identified to represent the initial cohort of legacy cities- cities larger than 50,000 people and still experiencing the challenges of greater than 20% population loss. However, over the last three years, much discussion and debate has surfaced around how to define legacy cities, questioning whether 20% population loss should be the singular signified. If only 20% population loss were used, then another 10-15 U.S. Cities would find themselves on the list using more recent 2010 census data, as well as adding additional cities that were inadvertently left off the original list of 48.

This research, started in 2012, looks only at the original 48 cities identified by researcher Alan Mallach, but in full disclosure, we acknowledge here the 17 cities that would also make the list using the population loss-based description of legacy cities. These cities include:

1. Citrus Heights, CA
2. Chicago, IL
3. Oak Park, IL
4. South Bend, IN
5. Anderson, IN
6. Boston, MA
7. Fall River, MA
8. Sommerville, MA
9. St. Clair Shores, MI
10. Dearborn Heights, MI
11. Royal Oak, MI
12. Florissant, MO
13. Jersey City, NJ
14. Bayonne, NJ
15. Troy, NY
16. Toledo, OH
17. Lakewood, OH

These discrepancies, and the ongoing debate about what defines a legacy city, only further highlights the intention of the Mapping Legacy Cities research, which is to illustrate the need for considering other data indicators to create a more nuanced definition and cohort of cities that require a more unique set of policies and strategies to transition them from decades of decline to a future of recovery and transformation.

01 WHAT IS A LEGACY CITY?

Image Source: Blur Brain. “Greenscapes Dotted With Houses Surround A Dying Downtown Detroit.” blurbrain.com. 16 December 2014. Web. 13 May 2015.

“American Legacy Cities were once industrial powerhouses and hubs of business, retail, and services scattered across New England, the Mid-Atlantic, and the Midwest. Their factories provided jobs, and downtown areas contained department stores, professional offices, and financial institutions that served large regions. Since the mid-twentieth century, however, these cities have seen sustained loss of jobs and population, and now face daunting economic, social, physical, and operational challenges.”

Alan Mallach and Lavea Brachman
Regenerating America’s Legacy Cities

In their 2013 report, Regenerating America’s Legacy Cities, Mallach and Brachman examine the historic legacy and current conditions of U.S. cities that were once the very backbone of the American economy, and some of the most desirable places to live and work. Today, these same cities are symbols of American deindustrialization, coping with high levels of urban decay, racial segregation, and poverty. Many practitioners, policy makers, and academics believe these cities, commonly known as Legacy Cities, require a distinct set of strategies to return them to more productive economic health and prosperity.

Initially calculated from 2000 U.S. Census figures, 48 cities now fit the population-based definition of a Legacy City as cities that still have more than 50,000 residents, yet have lost greater than 20 percent of their population since peak populations between 1940 and 1970. Detroit, St. Louis, and New Orleans top the list. A few of the current Legacy Cities crept onto the list between 2000 and 2010, including Chicago and Toledo. Between 2000 and 2010, profound transformations in the American economic base disproportionately struck Legacy Cities harder, notably the foreclosure crisis in 2007. In 2011, The American Assembly at Columbia University convened the 110th Assembly on Legacy Cities in Detroit, just one year after the collaboration between the Federal government and the Brookings Institution to bring a strategic focus and investment agenda to the Legacy Cities and regions hard hit by the automobile crisis. The resulting report, Reinventing America’s Legacy Cities: Strategies for Cities Losing Population provides a set of strategic policy and implementation recommendations primarily focused on how these cities can address the resulting impacts of massive and sustained population loss: excessive vacant land, diminished tax revenues and capital resources, aging infrastructure, and sprawling development patterns within the city limits.

The news is not all bleak. Several Legacy Cities have climbed toward modest growth. Reading, PA; Schenectady, NY; and Washington, DC have grown the most, gaining between 5 and 8 percent during the last decade. But should population change be the only measure of a Legacy City? Should we monitor sustained population and economic growth before taking a city off the list, in the same way we add a city for sustained loss? As cities are always in flux, perhaps there is no hard and fast answer to this question.

Most of the cities that landed on this list between 2000 and 2010 are among the country’s most economically depressed, still trying to recover from declines of the 1970s, 1980s, and 2000s. Yet the cities branded into this class are hardly the same from one to another. They differ in size, characteristics of their resident profiles, development patterns, and urban densities. This report of comparative demographic trends aims to provide a broader set of indicators that might help redefine what makes a city a Legacy City, illuminate their similarities and differences, and suggest more nuanced strategies for sustainable transformation.

Note (1): *Noun* **Legacy:** 1. Law. a gift of property, especially personal property, as money, by will; a bequest. 2. anything handed down from the past, as from an ancestor or predecessor: the legacy of ancient Rome. *Adjective,* of or pertaining to old or outdated computer hardware, software, or data that, while still functional, does not work well with up-to-date systems. *Synonyms*: inheritance

Source: (1) “Reinventing America’s Legacy Cities: strategies for cities losing population”. The 110th American Assembly, April 14-17, 2011. Print.
(2) “Regenerating America’s Legacy Cities” Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, Policy Focus Report/Code PF034, 2013

WHERE ARE LEGACY CITIES?

01.1a LEGACY CITY MAP BY REGION

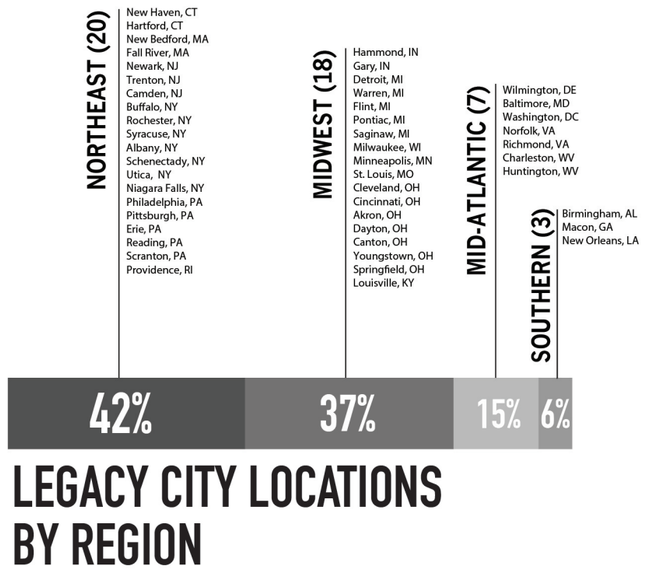
The 48 identified U.S. Legacy Cities are located in four regions: the South, the Mid-Atlantic, the Northeast, and Midwest.

01|1 LEGACY CITIES LOCATION & POPULATION

Researcher and author Alan Mallach first identified the cities included in this report, chiefly by filtering U.S. Census population data from 2000. Mallach focused on American cities that still had more than 50,000 residents in 2000, but that also had lost at least 20 percent of their population since peak numbers. The focus on population may be too singular a defining feature, however, as city populations can fluctuate while still maintaining economic stability and growth. This study, using 2010 data, examines over 20 additional indicators, including social, economic, and physical conditions that have also either been stagnant or declined. Using Mallach's 2000 population-based definition, there were 48 Legacy Cities in 21 states, across 4 regions. The Northeast and Midwest are the most significantly burdened regions, home to 42 percent and 37 percent of Legacy Cities, respectively. At the state level, Ohio, New York, Michigan, and Pennsylvania are home to half of all the 48 cities on the list.

01.1b LEGACY CITIES BY REGION

The majority of Legacy Cities are in the Northeast and Midwest

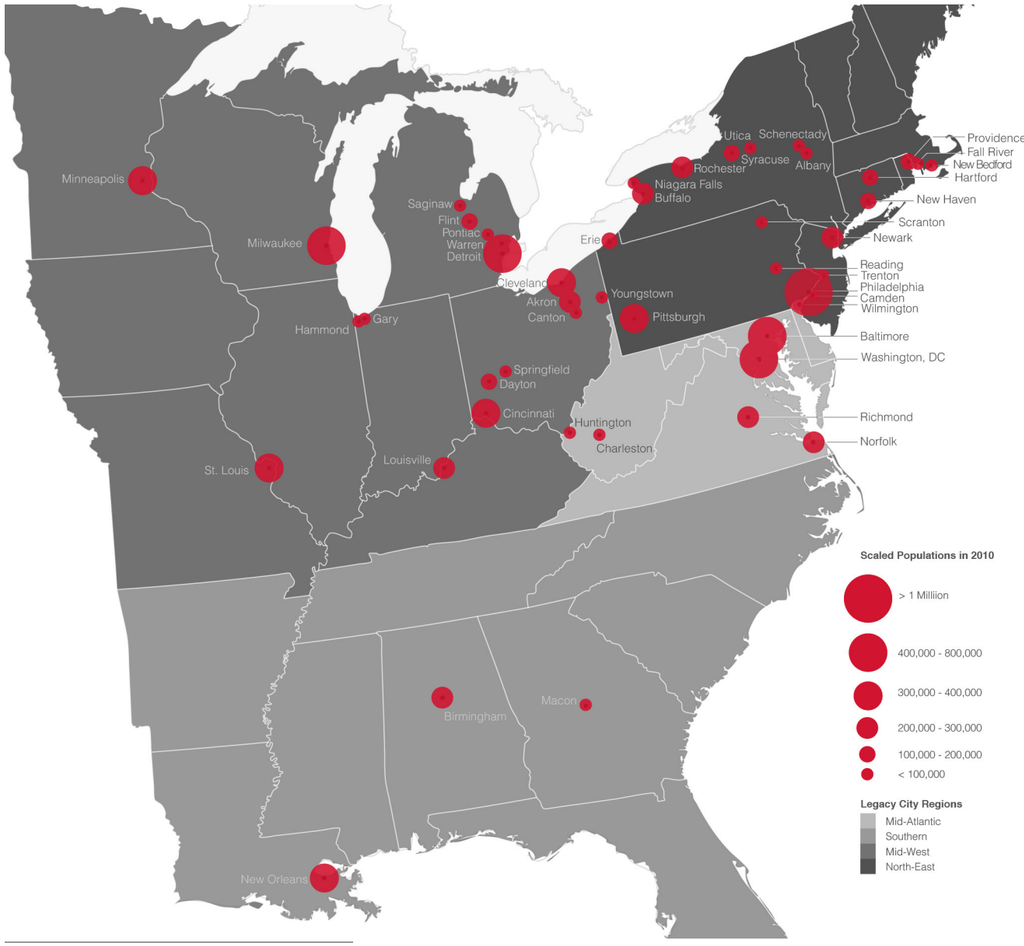


LEGACY CITY LOCATIONS BY REGION

HOW BIG ARE LEGACY CITIES?

01.1c LEGACY CITY MAP OF 2010 POPULATION SIZE

The Northeast has the most Legacy Cities, including 15 cities under 200,000 as well as Philadelphia, the largest Legacy City,

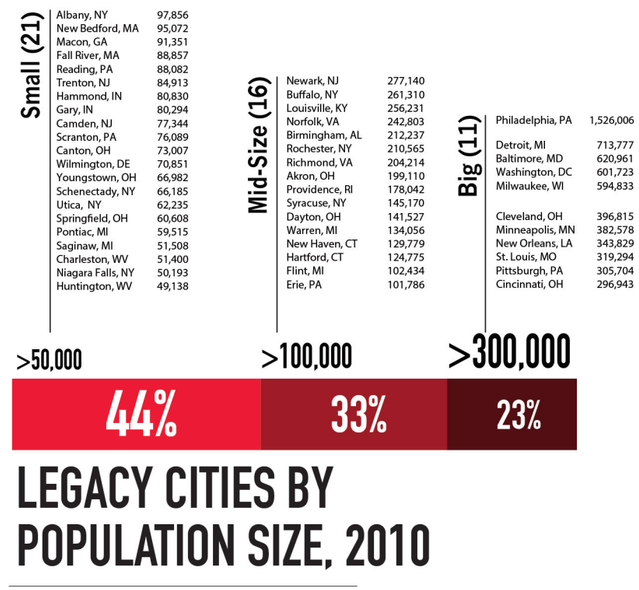


Source: U.S. Census Bureau; 2010 Census Summary File 1

In quantifying and comparing the population size of Legacy Cities, there is great range in scale. Almost half had populations under 100,000 people in 2010. Another third can be defined as mid-size, with populations between 100,000 and 300,000 residents. The remaining Legacy Cities are big, with more than 300,000 residents (Figure 2). Within the big-city group, population size varies significantly. Only Philadelphia remains at a population greater than 1 million people, roughly twice the population of Detroit's 713,777 in 2010. Detroit, Baltimore, the District of Columbia, and Milwaukee are the next group of cities, with populations between 500,000 and 1 million people. Cleveland, Minneapolis, New Orleans, St. Louis, Pittsburgh, and Cincinnati are among the smaller Legacy Cities, with populations between 300,000 and 400,000.

01.1d LEGACY CITIES BY POPULATION SIZE 2010

Almost half of Legacy Cities have less than 100,000 people. Of the big Legacy Cities, Philadelphia is the only city with over 1 million people.



LEGACY CITIES BY POPULATION SIZE, 2010

Source: U.S. Census Bureau; 2010 Census Summary File 1

LEGACY CITIES

Image Sources: (1) Durand Clark. “Cincinnati’s Over-The-Rhine, without Red.” flickr.com. 25 September 2012. Web. 13 May 2015. (2) Riverfront Canal Walk. rvariverfront.com. Web. 13 May 2015; (3) Northwest Stock Photos “New Gary, Indiana.” northwestindianaphotos.com Web. 13 May 2015; (4) Bill Cobb. “Skyline of Birmingham, AL.” flickr.com. 2 July 2008. Web. 13 May 2015

01|2 COMMON CONDITIONS & CAUSES OF DECLINE

Legacy Cities share many common causes of decline. As a result, they also share similarities in current conditions. In some cases, the causes are not much different from the challenges other U.S. cities endured in the latter decades of the 20th century. What makes Legacy Cities different from other municipalities, however, is the combined and sustained impacts of these events over longer periods of time, with little to no positive change.

Common causes of Legacy City decline include:

1. Massive loss of manufacturing sector and jobs in the 1960s and 1970s, businesses and jobs that were never replaced with a new economy
2. Rapid and substantial regional growth between 1950 and 1990
3. Growing access to better housing and more jobs in the surrounding suburbs
4. Loss of downtown retail and other service functions to the surrounding suburbs, leaving high levels of commercial vacancy
5. Simultaneous trends of out-migration of residents, coupled with a lack of in-migration and a large aging-in-place population
6. Rises in inner-city crime, as a result of lack of in-town job growth and concentrated poverty
7. Persistent legacy of red-lining practices and disinvestment in inner-city neighborhoods
8. Declining tax revenues to support reliable, high-quality public services
9. Increases in service charges, taxes, and insurance at rates more expensive than surrounding suburbs.

Common current conditions of Legacy Cities include:

1. Populations over 50,000
2. Sustained population loss over two decades
3. Sustained job and business loss
4. Excessive amounts of vacant and abandoned properties
5. High percentages of residents in low-wage jobs and below national poverty levels;
6. Declining population and residential densities
7. Economies that once were based on heavy industry
8. Preponderance of industrial infrastructure assets, including riverfronts, rail, and roadways
9. Often urban centers of their region
10. Retention of urban anchors, including health, education, and cultural institutions.

02 PURPOSE AND METHODOLOGY

Image credit: June Lee, Bruner Foundation

Because Legacy Cities are not all the same, understanding what makes them different is essential to identifying viable solutions for recovery. For example, the challenges and possible solutions to Detroit's recovery may not be applicable to Scranton or Macon. How many Legacy Cities can really achieve a high enough return of new residents or jobs to significantly change overall revenue captures and urban vitality? How many Legacy Cities can regain their economic position as the major regional employment center, versus becoming bedroom communities to the region's newer and more robust economic urban hubs? Is the regeneration agenda of a Legacy City with more than 300,000 residents within a strong-market region likely to be different from that of a Legacy City with fewer than 100,000 residents in a weak-market region? Mapping Legacy Cities seeks to explore these questions. This study also aims to determine whether urban distress in these cities is really any different from the more localized economic and social distresses that occur in the neighborhoods of even the most desirable, strong-market cities such as New York City, Seattle, or Charlotte. For example, are the blighted neighborhoods of Gary any different from those on the Southwest side of Chicago?

Mapping Legacy Cities aims to address four research objectives:

1. Create an accessible, data-driven definition and understanding of Legacy Cities that will inform more nuanced regeneration solutions on the ground
2. Illustrate the commonalities among Legacy Cities, including concentrated and stagnated poverty, unemployment, and housing-market vacancies
3. Show the differences among Legacy Cities, including geographic and population size, racial composition, economic assets, and rates of change
4. Highlight the different categories of Legacy Cities, so that practitioners and policy makers can create and share more effective and cross-disciplinary implementation strategies.

Source: (1) Mallach, Alan. Rebuilding America's Legacy Cities: New Directions for the Industrial Heartland. The American Assembly at Columbia University, 2012. Print.

03 FINDINGS

1

2

3

4

Image Sources: (1) Washington Post. “Baltimore has more than 16,000 vacant houses, Why can’t the homeless move in?” www.washingtonpost.com. 12 May 2015. Web. 15 May 2015. (2) Yahoo News. “Abandoned School in Cleveland” yahoonews.tumblr.com. 06 Jan 2015 Web. 15 May 2015; (3) Backstreets “Someplace like America: Back on the Story.” backstreets.com 02 June 2013. Web. 15 May 2015; (4) Motor(less)City. “Archive for the Storefront Churches” www.motorlesscity.com. 29 Aug 2013. Web. 15 May 2015

The findings of Mapping Legacy Cities are structured around population, physical condition, and economic data trends. The report records data for several specific indicators, including population loss, racial composition, unemployment, income, poverty, residential vacancy, and density. By comparing the same data points for all cities, this report tracks recent trending, quantified by the change in any given attribute between 2000 and 2010. Where possible, historical census data dating back to each city’s peak population year (usually between 1950 and 1970) are also included.

The outline of indicators and metrics reported in this section include:

03|01 Who Lives in Legacy Cities? Population and Race
- 03|01.1 Start of Decline
- 03|01.2 Population Loss
- 03|01.3 Population Trend
- 03|01.4 Racial Majority
- 03|01.5 Racial Change

03|02 Who’s Working and Who’s Not? Unemployment
- 03|02.1 Unemployment by Region
- 03|02.2 Unemployment Trend
- 03|02.3 The Labor Force

03|03 Who Is Being Left Behind? Poverty & Income
- 03|03.1 Poverty Rates
- 03|03.2 Median Family Income
- 03|03.3 Poverty Trend
- 03|03.4 Income, Poverty, and Population Loss
- 03|03.5 Income, Poverty, and Race

03|04 What’s the Physical Condition? Residential Vacancy
- 03|04.1 Residential Vacancy Rates
- 03|04.2 Residential Vacancy Trend

03|05 Does Size Matter? Land Area, Population, and Residential Densities
- 03|05.1 Land Area
- 03|05.2 Population Density
- 03|05.3 Residential Density
- 03|05.4 Identifying Strong-Market City Comparisons

Each chapter begins with the current-state snapshot of the indicator, accompanied by a national map to illustrate the condition at a regional scale. This is followed by trend data showing the most recent change between 2000 and 2010 for each indicator. In many cases, indicators such as poverty, income, and unemployment are compared against sub-categories that indicate population trends as growing, stable, or declining, as well as national averages where relevant.

03|1 WHO LIVES IN LEGACY CITIES?

POPULATION & RACE

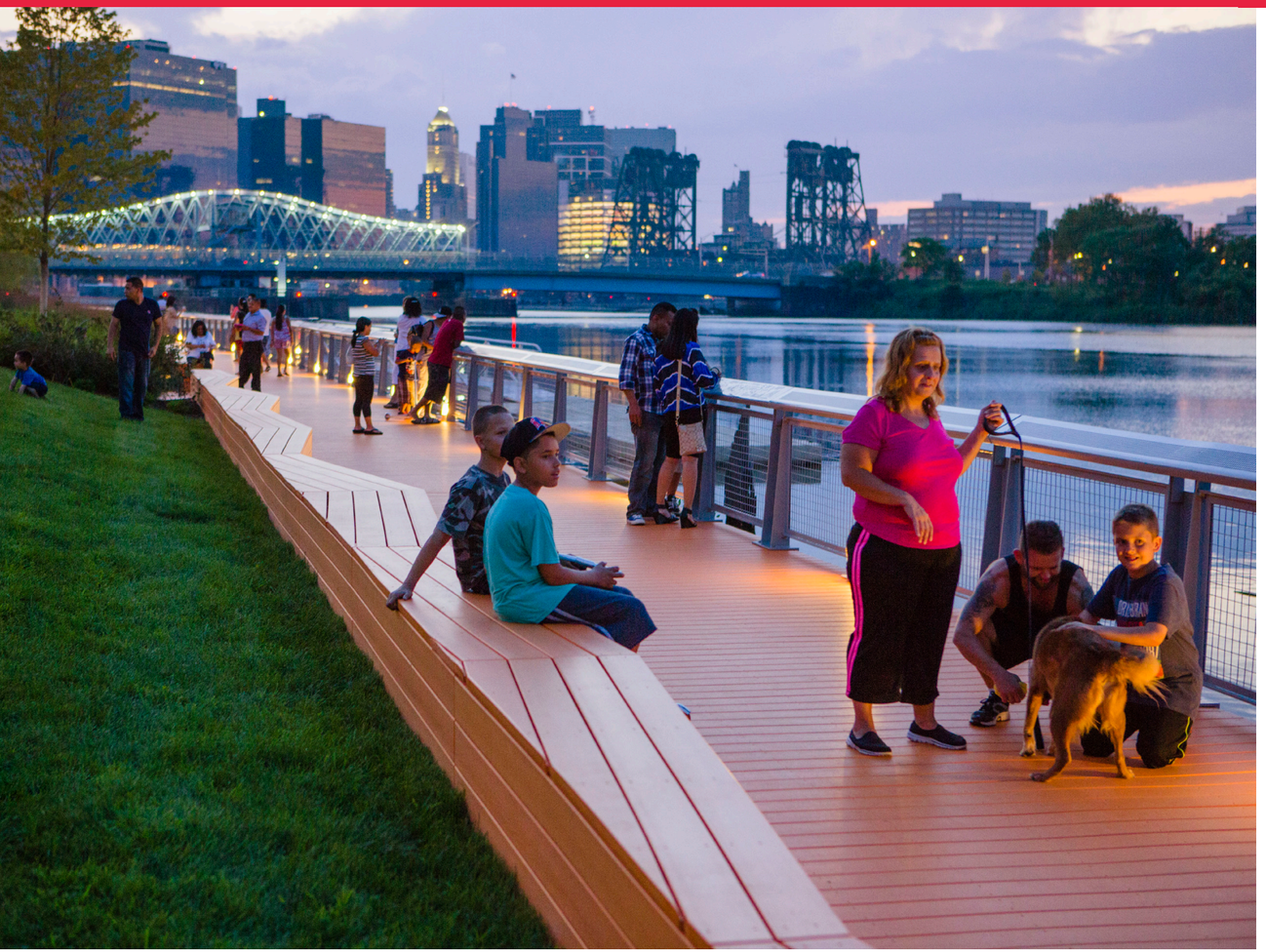


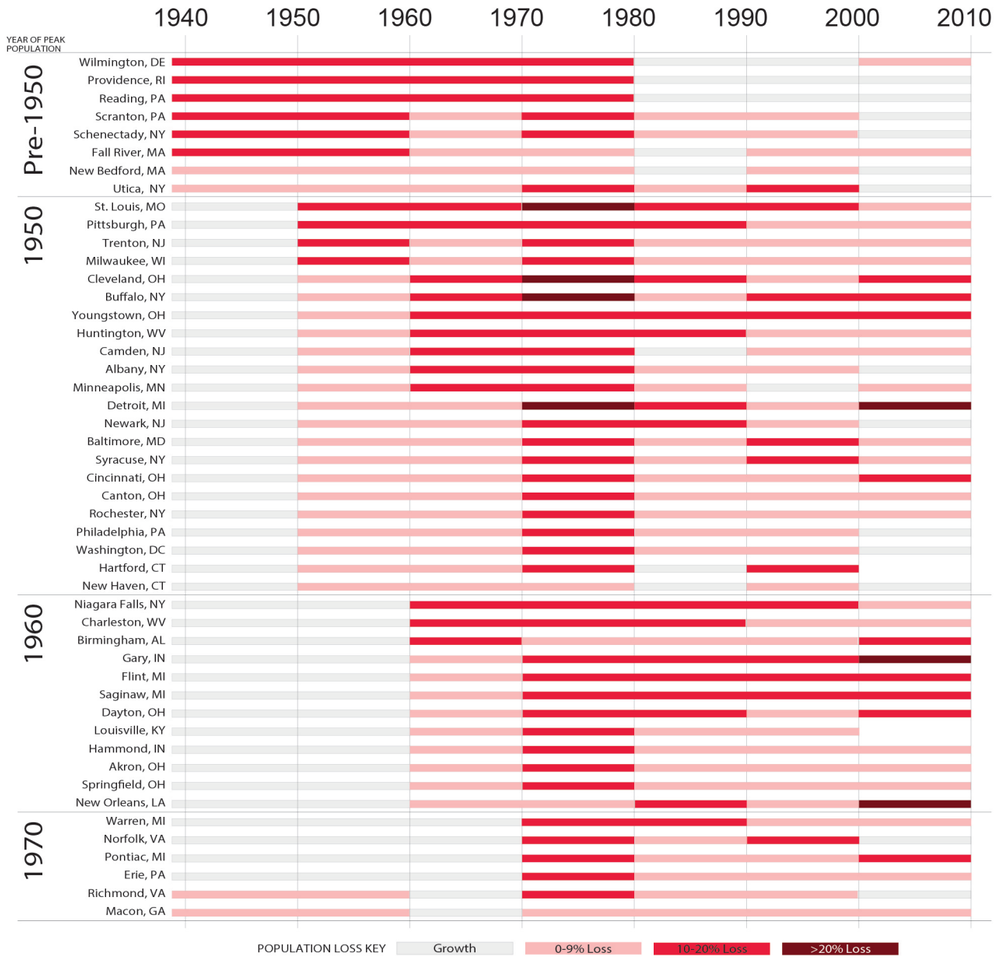
Image credit: Lee Weintraub Landscape Architecture

The defining indicator of a Legacy City has been first and foremost tied to massive and sustained population loss ranging from 20 to 60 percent, starting from mid-century peaks in the 1940s and continuing through to 2010. Not all Legacy Cities have experienced the same severity or trend patterns over time.

Economic and natural disasters, suburban migration, urban abandonment, and regional segregation have been key contributors and impacts of sustained population loss in Legacy Cities. The demographic shifts ignited and perpetuated by these conditions not only shape a place, but also affect the quality of life for the city's residents, both longstanding generations and new city dwellers. In addition to understanding the absolute numbers of population loss, it is also critical to understand who lives in Legacy Cities. Section 03|01 examines when population decline started and how long it has been trending positive or negative; the current population loss and the severity over time; and racial composition, racial majorities, and changes in racial composition over time.

WHAT ARE THE PATTERNS OF POPULATION LOSS?

03.1.1a LEGACY CITY COMPARISON CHART OF RELATIVE POPULATION LOSS BY CENSUS PERIOD PRE-1950 TO PRESENT



Source: U.S. Census Bureau

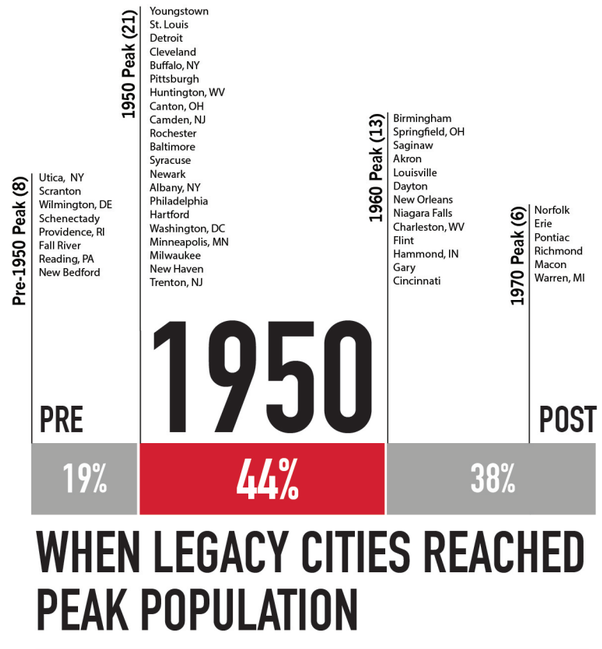
03|1.1 START OF DECLINE

The trend of significant population loss began as early as the late 1940s, as the country was coming out of its second World War and transitioning back to a peacetime economy. Documenting and comparing the start of a city's decline relative to other cities has shed light on the national and regional economic trends that began to redistribute employment and workers during the 20th century. Most notably, the introduction of federal home mortgage lending and federal transportation funding for highways between 1940-1970 enabled both people and businesses to flee the city for the suburbs in large numbers. Eight Legacy Cities achieved their peak and began losing population before the 1950s, while six cities did not show decline until the 1970 census. The remaining 34 cities achieved their peak populations in either the 1950 or 1960 census. Looking at the severity of population loss over time for all 48 cities, the period between 1970 and 1980 was one of universal decline, with St. Louis, Cleveland, Buffalo, and Detroit experiencing the deepest dips in population.

By the 1990 census, several cities began to see growth, with only 12 cities continuing to experience sustained losses over 10 percent. The 1960 peak population group continues to experience severe population declines, with no cities in this group experiencing population growth.

03.1.1b LEGACY CITIES BY PEAK POPULATION YEAR

Many Legacy Cities have been experiencing population loss for over 60 years.



WHEN LEGACY CITIES REACHED PEAK POPULATION

Source: U.S. Census Bureau

WHICH CITIES LOST THE MOST POPULATION?

03.1.2a LEGACY CITY LIST OF ABSOLUTE AND RELATIVE POPULATION LOSS

9 Cities top the list for both absolute (#) & relative (%) population loss, losing more than 100,000 people and over 40% population since peak

#

Akron, OH
Canton, OH
Cincinnati, OH
Cleveland, OH
Dayton, OH
Springfield, OH
Youngstown, OH
Detroit, MI
Flint, MI
Pontiac, MI
Saginaw, MI
Warren, MI

Gary, IN
Hammond, IN
Milwaukee, WI
Minneapolis, MN
Louisville, KY
St. Louis, MO
New Haven, CT
Hartford, CT
Fall River, MA
New Bedford, MA
Albany, NY
Buffalo, NY

Niagara Falls, NY
Providence, RI
Rochester, NY
Syracuse, NY
Utica, NY
Camden, NJ
Newark, NJ
Trenton, NJ
Erie, PA
Philadelphia, PA
Pittsburgh, PA
Reading, PA

Scranton, PA
Wilmington, DE
Baltimore, MD
Washington, DC
Norfolk, VA
Richmond, VA
Charleston, WV
Huntington, WV
Birmingham, AL
Macon, GA
New Orleans, LA

%

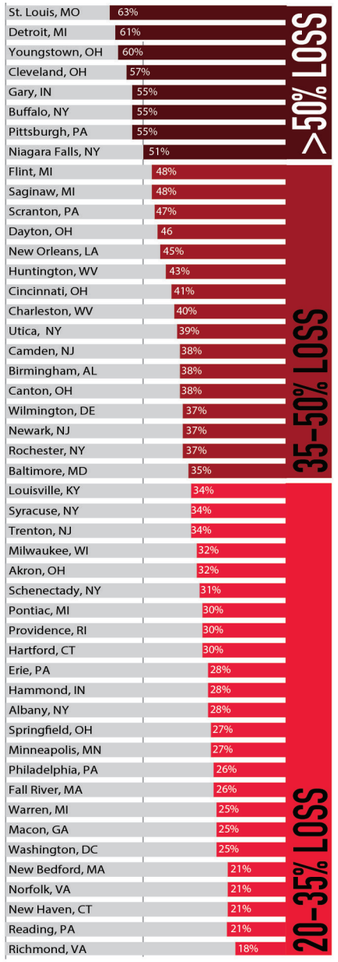
Akron, OH
Canton, OH
Cincinnati, OH
Cleveland, OH
Dayton, OH
Springfield, OH
Youngstown, OH
Detroit, MI
Flint, MI
Pontiac, MI
Saginaw, MI
Warren, MI

Gary, IN
Hammond, IN
Milwaukee, WI
Minneapolis, MN
Louisville, KY
St. Louis, MO
New Haven, CT
Hartford, CT
Fall River, MA
New Bedford, MA
Albany, NY
Buffalo, NY

Niagara Falls, NY
Providence, RI
Rochester, NY
Syracuse, NY
Utica, NY
Camden, NJ
Newark, NJ
Trenton, NJ
Erie, PA
Philadelphia, PA
Pittsburgh, PA
Reading, PA

Scranton, PA
Wilmington, DE
Baltimore, MD
Washington, DC
Norfolk, VA
Richmond, VA
Charleston, WV
Huntington, WV
Birmingham, AL
Macon, GA
New Orleans, LA

03|1.2 POPULATION LOSS

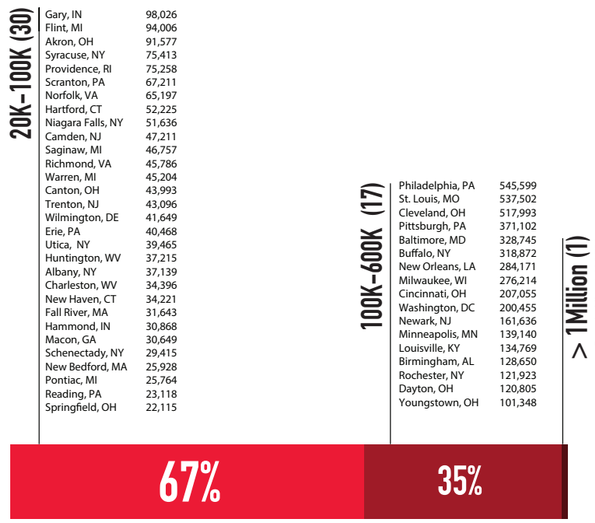


RELATIVE POPULATION LOSS PEAK-2010 (%)

Absolute loss (the number of people at a given time versus percent loss) reveals two types of severity. For example, Youngstown has lost over 50 percent of its population since its peak in 1950, while Philadelphia has lost five times as many people, but only 26 percent of its population since its peak in 1950. Detroit, St. Louis, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Buffalo, New Orleans, Cincinnati, Youngstown, and Dayton rise to the top of the list in both cases. 67 percent of Legacy Cities have lost a total of less than 100,000 people since peak population numbers, compared with 35 percent that have lost between 100,000 and 600,000 residents. Detroit is in its own category, with a loss of more than 1 million people between 1950 and 2010. In total, half of all Legacy Cities lost more than 35 percent of their population since peak, and eight additional cities join Detroit with over 50 percent population loss since their peak populations.

03.1.2b LEGACY CITIES BY TOTAL POPULATION LOSS PEAK TO 2010

Grouping Legacy Cities by population loss relative to total population (see left) as well as absolute number of people lost (see below) reveals two extremes of decline.



ABSOLUTE POPULATION LOSS PEAK-2010 (#)

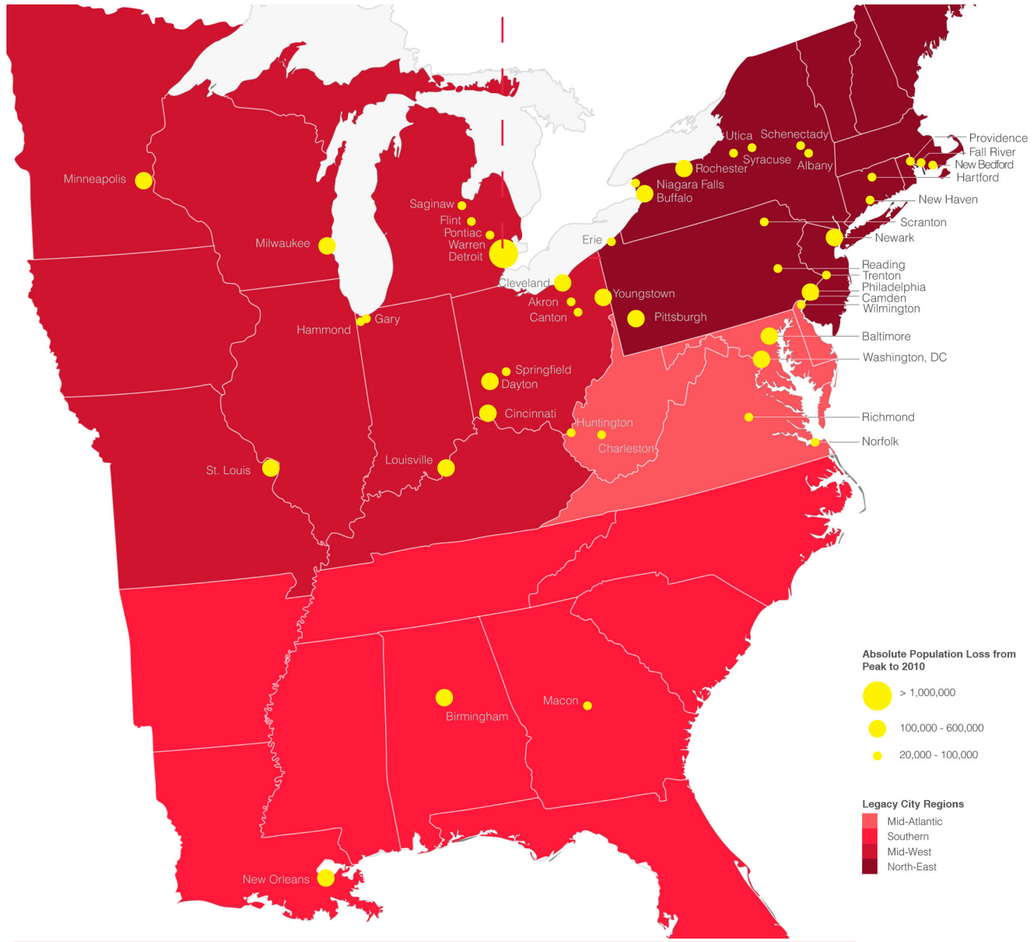
Source: U.S. Census Bureau

DETROIT IS THE ONLY CITY TO
LOSE OVER 1 MILLION
PEOPLE SINCE IT'S PEAK

HOW MANY PEOPLE LEFT THE CITY?

03.1.2c LEGACY CITY MAP OF ABSOLUTE POPULATION LOSS FROM PEAK TO 2010

Population loss numbers vary among Legacy City with Detroit experiencing the greatest loss, losing over 1 million people



Source: U.S. Census Bureau

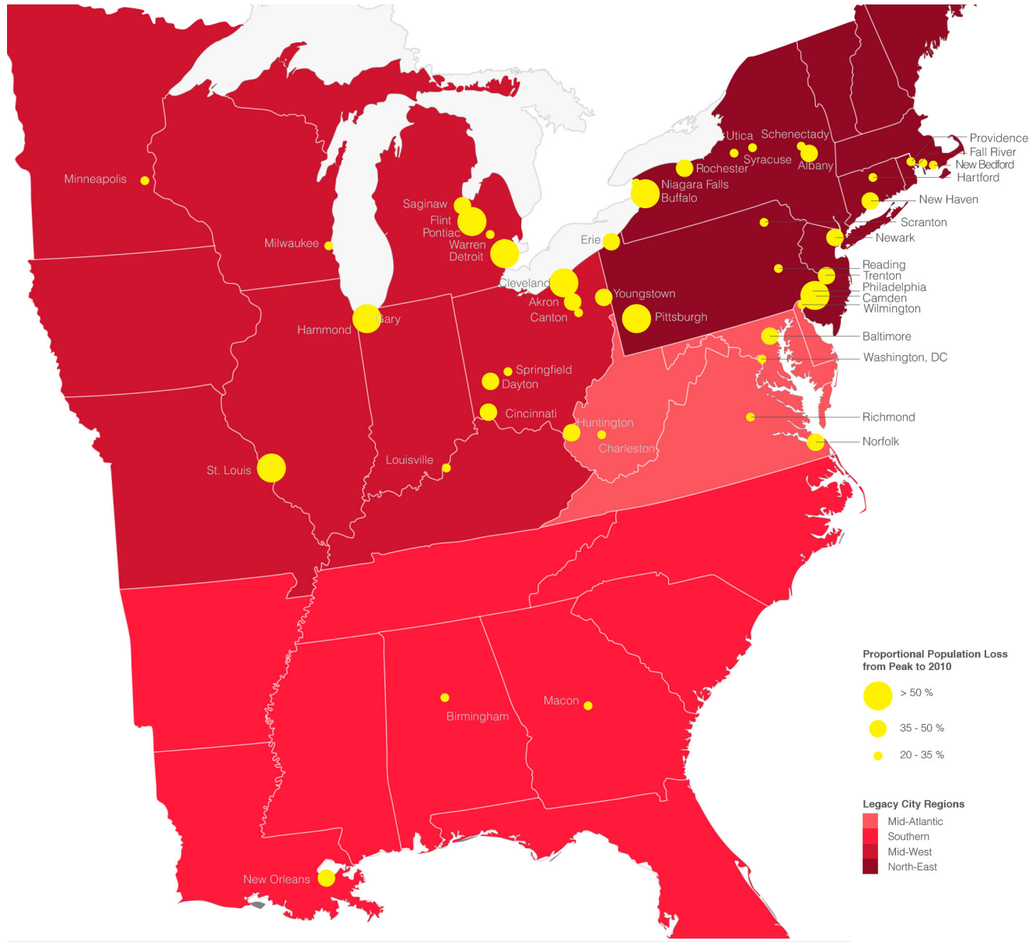
8 CITIES LOST MORE THAN 50% SINCE PEAK

ST. LOUIS 63% DETROIT 61% YOUNGSTOWN 60% CLEVELAND 57%
GARY 55% BUFFALO 55% PITTSBURGH 55% NIAGARA FALLS 51%

HOW MANY PEOPLE HAVE BEEN LOST OVER TIME?

03.1.2d LEGACY CITY MAP OF PROPORTIONAL POPULATION LOSS PEAK TO 2010

Proportional population loss reveals the Midwest and Northeast regions around the Great Lakes were hit the hardest.

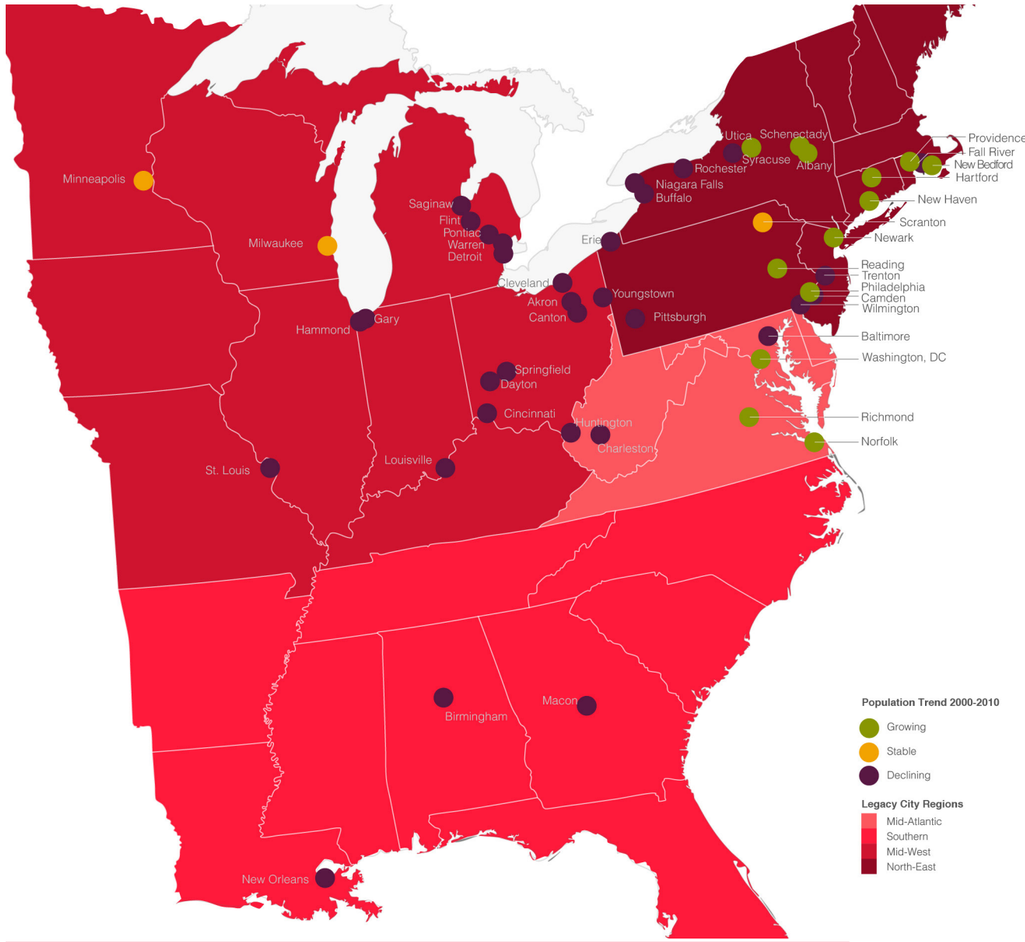


Source: U.S. Census Bureau

WHAT'S CHANGED DURING THE LAST DECADE?

03.1.3a LEGACY CITY MAP OF GROWING, STABLE, AND DECLINING POPULATIONS 2000-2010

Grouping Legacy Cities by Change in Population from 2000-2010 reveals three trends: Cities Gaining, Losing, and Stabilizing



Source: U.S. Census Bureau; 2010 Census Summary File 1; U.S. Census Bureau; 2000 Census Summary File 1

03|1.3 POPULATION TREND

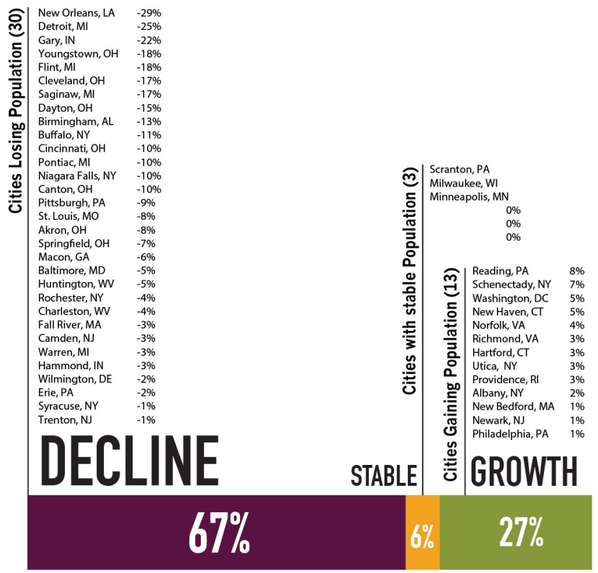
Three categories of Legacy Cities emerge, based on recent population decline and growth trends, as measured by the change in population between the 2000 and 2010 Censuses. The first category of cities is the 13 "growth cities" where the decades-long trend of population loss reversed, showing population increases between 2000 and 2010. The second category includes 3 "stable cities" with population losses less than 1 percent. The largest category is still the 32 "declining cities" that are still experiencing between 1 and 29 percent population losses. The most continuous and severe declines in population are concentrated in the cities of the Midwest, while the Northeastern cities are beginning to show signs of recovery.

29% NEW ORLEANS
25% DETROIT
22% GARY

SEVERE POPULATION LOSS CONTINUES 2000-2010

03.1.3b LEGACY CITIES BY RECENT POPULATION TREND 2000-2010

Most Legacy Cities are still in decline, however some growth is occurring.



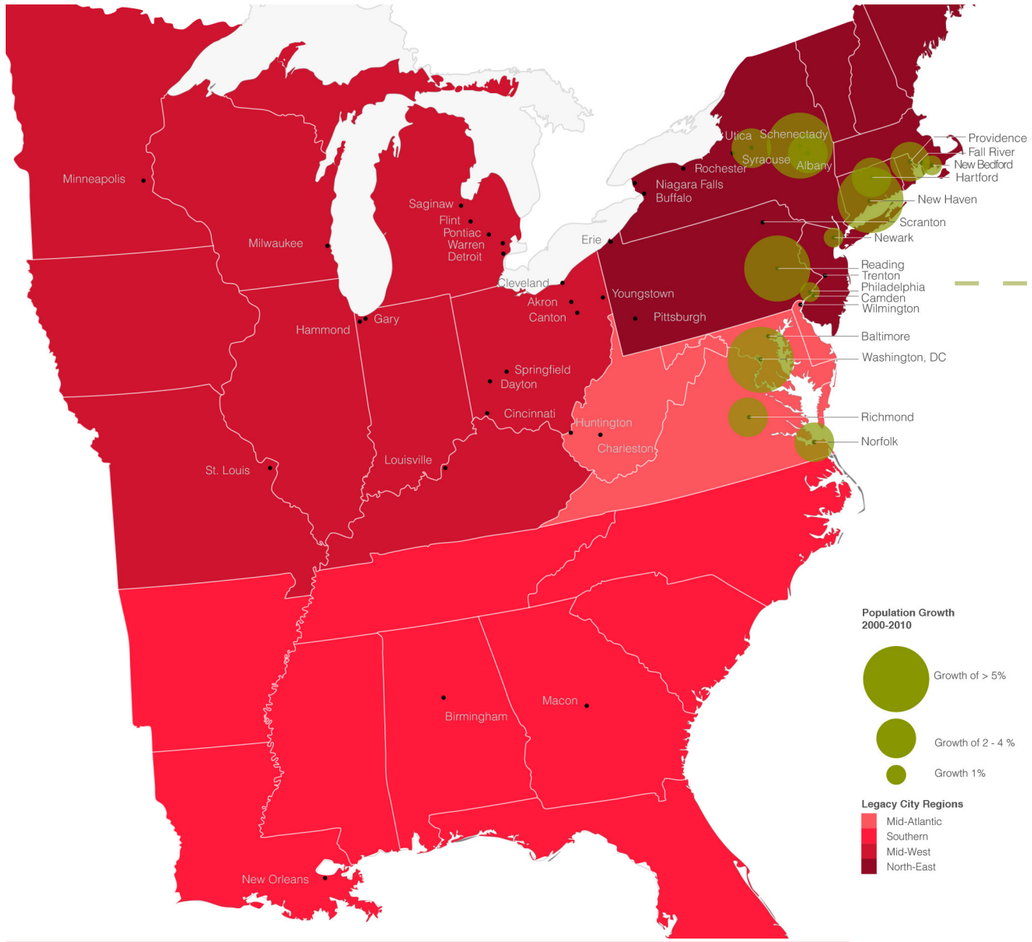
POPULATION TREND 2000–2010

Source: U.S. Census Bureau; 2010 Census Summary File 1; U.S. Census Bureau; 2000 Census Summary File 1

WHERE ARE CITIES GROWING?

03.1.3c GROWTH CITIES MAP OF 2000-2010 POPULATION CHANGE

Population growth in Legacy Cities in concentrated in the Northeast and Mid-Atlantic, and specifically coastal cities.



Source: U.S. Census Bureau; 2010 Census Summary File 1; U.S. Census Bureau; 2000 Census Summary File 1

Three categories of Legacy Cities emerge, based on recent population decline and growth trends, as measured by the change in population between the 2000 and 2010 Censuses. The first category of cities is the 13 "growth cities" where the decades-long trend of population loss reversed, showing population increases between 2000 and 2010. The second category includes 3 "stable cities" with population losses less than 1 percent. The largest category is still the 32 "declining cities" that are still experiencing between 1 and 29 percent population losses. The most continuous and severe declines in population are concentrated in the cities of the Midwest, while the Northeastern cities are beginning to show signs of recovery.

HOW BIG ARE THE GROWTH CITIES?

03.1.3d GROWTH CITIES 2000-2010 BY POPULATION SIZE

BIG CITIES (3) >600,000

Philadephia, PA
Newark, NJ
Washington DC

MID-SIZE CITIES (5) 100,000 - 300,000

Richmond, VA
Providence, RI
Norfolk, VA
New Haven, CT
Hartford, CT

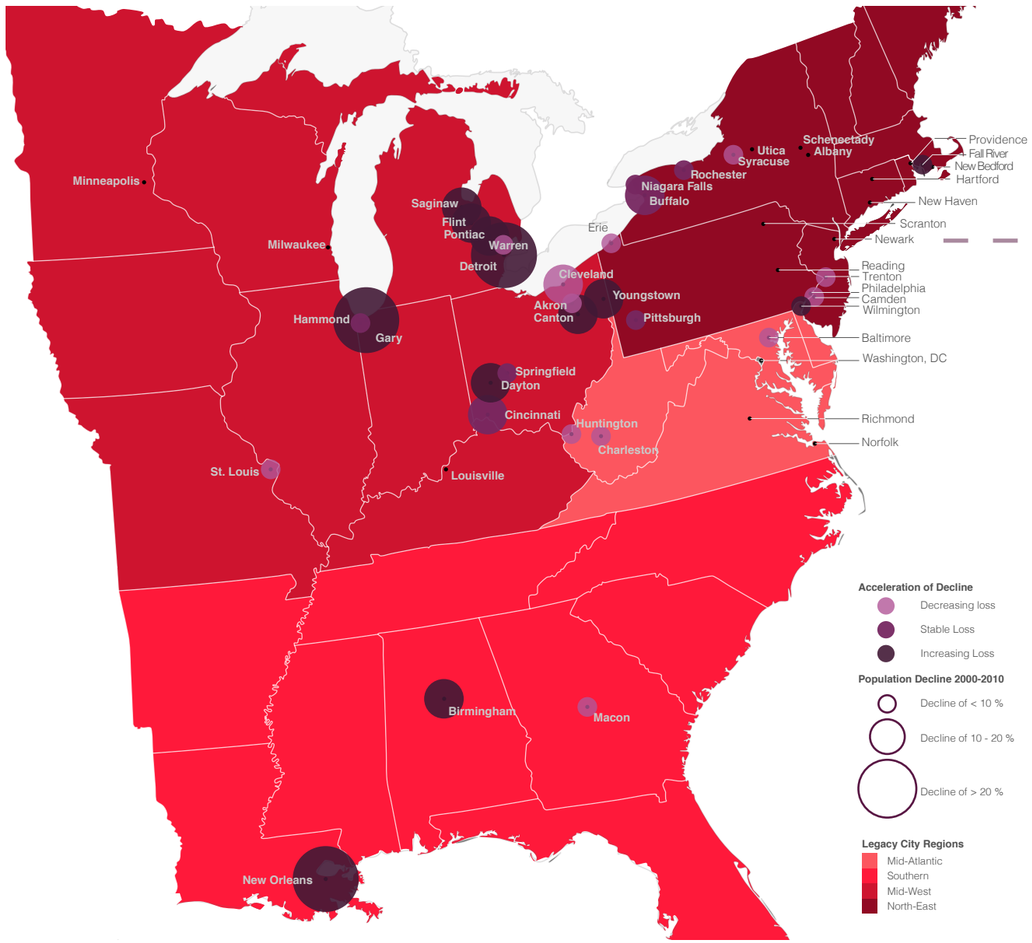
SMALL CITIES (5) <100,000

Utica, NY
Albany, NY
Schenectady, NY
Reading, PA
New Bedford, MA

HOW MANY CITIES ARE STILL IN DECLINE?

03.1.3e CITIES IN DECLINE MAP OF 2000-2010 POPULATION LOSS AND RATE OF DECLINE

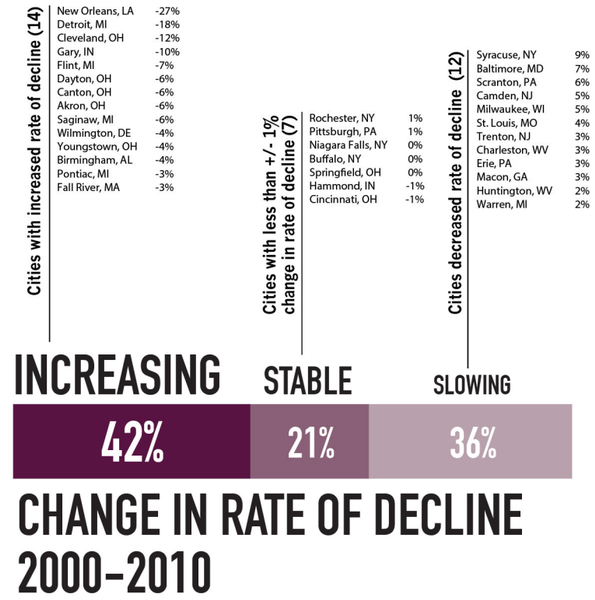
The speed of decline is increasing in 42% of Legacy Cities, particularly in the Midwest and South.



Source: U.S. Census Bureau; 2010 Census Summary File 1; U.S. Census Bureau; 2000 Census Summary File 1

IS DECLINE SLOWING OR SPEEDING UP?

03.1.3f CITIES IN DECLINE BY CHANGE IN RATE OF DECLINE



Source: U.S. Census Bureau; 2010 Census Summary File 1; U.S. Census Bureau; 2000 Census Summary File 1

BLACK CITIES > 200,000 POPULATION

DETROIT, MI
BALTIMORE, MD
NEW ORLEANS, LA
WASHINGTON, DC
CLEVELAND, OH
NEWARK, NJ
RICHMOND, VA

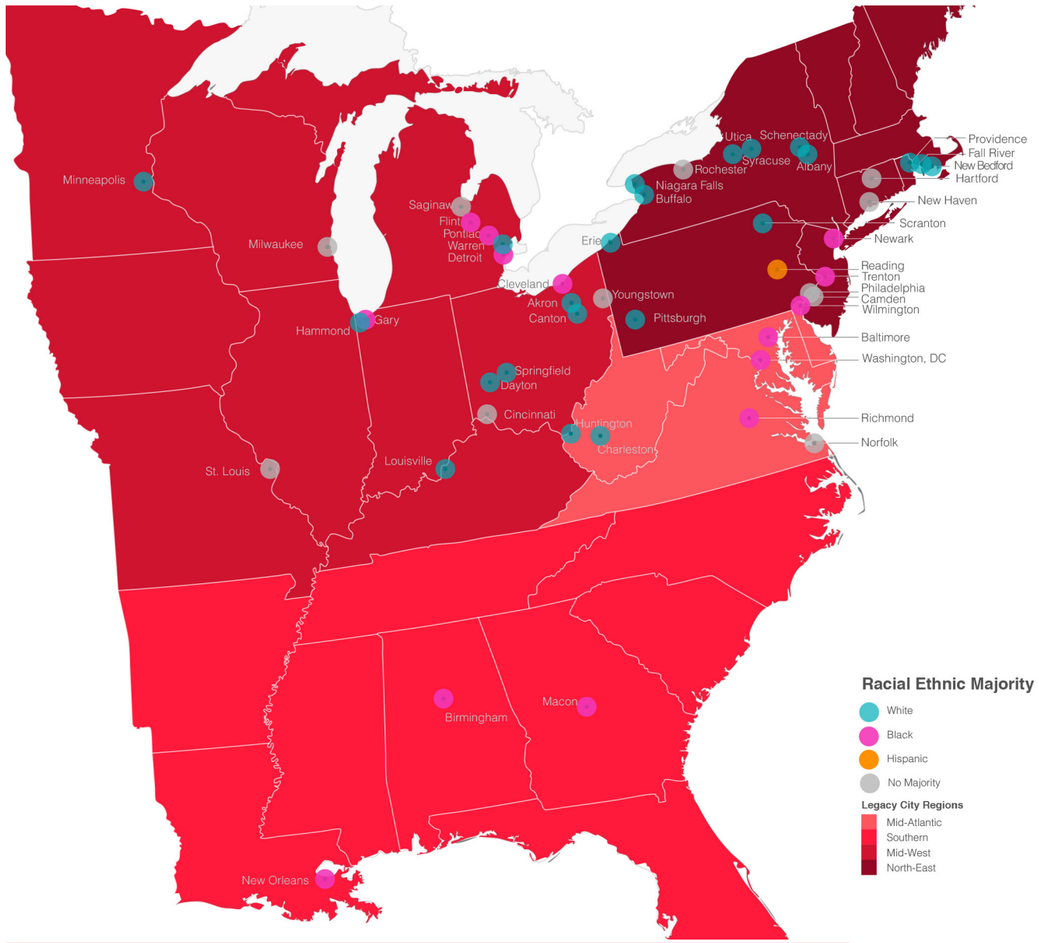
WHITE CITIES > 200,000 POPULATION

MINNEAPOLIS, MN
PITTSBURGH, PA
BUFFALO, NY
LOUISVILLE, KT
AKRON, OH

IS THERE ONE MAJORITY RACE?

03.1.4a LEGACY CITY MAP OF POPULATIONS WITH ONE RACIAL MAJORITY

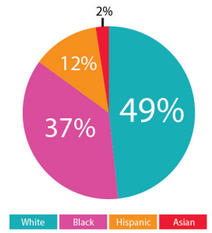
Cities with a Black racial majority are predominantly clustered around the Great Lakes, the East Coast, and the South



Source: U.S. Census Bureau; 2010 Census Summary File 1

03|1.4 RACIAL MAJORITY

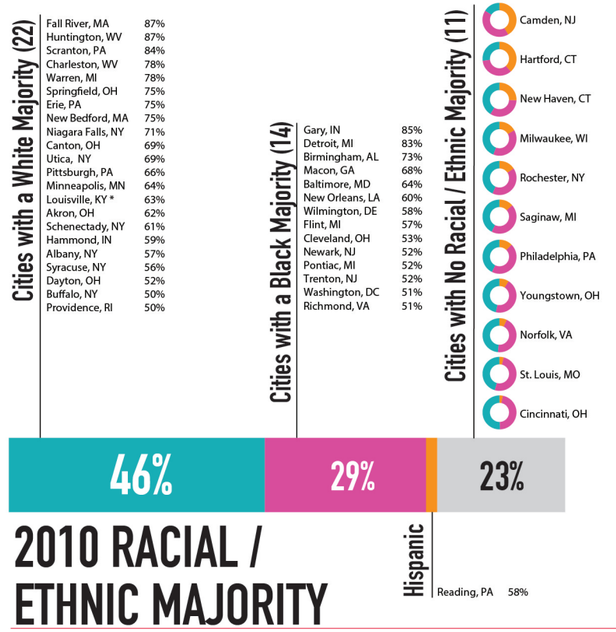
03.1.4b LEGACY CITY RACIAL COMPOSITION 2010



Understanding the racial composition of Legacy Cities is important to examine whether institutional systems continue to exclude those least connected to opportunity and prosperity because of race, class, and the subsequent geographic segregation. Among all Legacy Cities, 22 cities had a White majority population in 2010, and 14 had a Black majority population. Of the cities with a single racial majority, several have very high majorities: Detroit and Gary have Black majorities of more than 80 percent, while Fall River, Scranton, and Huntington, WV have White majorities over 80 percent. Reading is the only Legacy City with a Hispanic majority, although several other cities, mostly in the Northeast region, have growing Hispanic populations above 25 percent. These include Camden, Hartford, Providence, Hammond, Newark, Trenton, and New Haven. Eleven Legacy Cities have no single racial majority; of these, eight are comprised of roughly 40 percent Black, 40 percent White, and less than 20 percent of any other single group. New Haven and Hartford are more evenly split among Black, White, and Hispanic residents. Camden is another outlier, with a majority "communities of color" population with a mostly even split of Hispanic and Black populations and less than 20 percent White population. Just 8 Legacy Cities have an Asian population larger than 5 percent, but Utica is noteworthy in that it not only has the largest relative Asian population at 7 percent of total, but also experienced significant growth in the Asian demographic from 2000 to 2010.

03.1.4c LEGACY CITIES BY 2010 RACIAL / ETHNIC MAJORITY

Racial majorities vary among Legacy Cities. 36 are either predominantly White or Black, with 4 cities split half and half, and the remaining 7 significantly Hispanic.



Source: U.S. Census Bureau; 2010 Census Summary File 1

03|1.5 RACIAL CHANGE

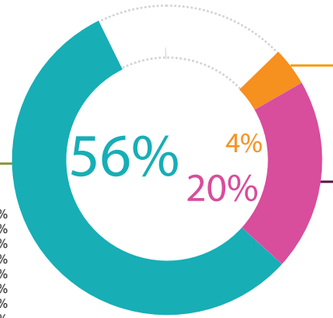
03.1.5a POPULATION CHANGE IN LEGACY CITIES 2000-2010 BY RACE AS % OF CITY POPULATION

WHO IS LEAVING?

35 Cities lost at least 5% of population in a single racial / ethnic group

27 Cities lost white population >5%

Gary, IN	-18%	Cleveland, OH	-11%	Springfield, OH	-8%
Warren, MI	-15%	Akron, OH	-10%	Pontiac, MI	-8%
Hammond, IN	-15%	Scranton, PA	-10%	Pittsburgh, PA	-7%
Niagara Falls, NY	-13%	Buffalo, NY	-9%	Fall River, MA	-7%
Youngstown, OH	-12%	Dayton, OH	-9%	Erie, PA	-7%
Canton, OH	-12%	Syracuse, NY	-9%	Reading, PA	-7%
Schenectady, NY	-11%	Cincinnati, OH	-9%	Rochester, NY	-6%
Saginaw, MI	-11%	Macon, GA	-9%	Trenton, NJ	-6%
Flint, MI	-11%	Utica, NY	-9%	Milwaukee, WI	-5%



2 Cities lost Hispanic population >5%

Huntington, WV	-7%
Charleston, WV	-5%

10 Cities lost Black population >5%

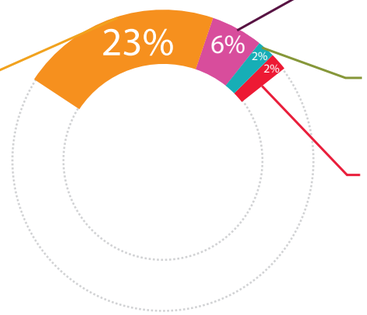
New Orleans, LA	-25%
Detroit, MI	-20%
Birmingham, AL	-9%
Youngstown, OH	-7%
Flint, MI	-7%
Camden, NJ	-7%
Cleveland, OH	-7%
Washington, DC	-7%
Dayton, OH	-7%
St. Louis, MO	-6%

WHO IS MOVING IN?

13 Cities gained at least 5% of population in a single racial / ethnic group

11 Cities gained Hispanic population >5%

Reading, PA	25.8%	New Bedford, MA	6.8%
Hammond, IN	12.1%	Camden, NJ	6.7%
Trenton, NJ	12.0%	Schenectady, NY	5.3%
Providence, RI	9.0%	Milwaukee, WI	5.3%
New Haven, CT	7.4%	Utica, NY	5.0%
Scranton, PA	7.2%		



3 Cities gained Black population >5%

Warren, MI	10.4%
Hammond, IN	7.4%
Schenectady, NY	6.8%

1 City gained White population >5%

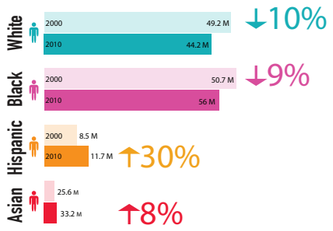
Washington, DC	9.7%

1 City gained Asian population >5%

Utica, NY 5.4%

Source: U.S. Census Bureau; 2010 Census Summary File 1; U.S. Census Bureau; 2000 Census Summary File 1

03.1.5b OVERALL LEGACY CITY POPULATION CHANGE BY RACE 2000-2010



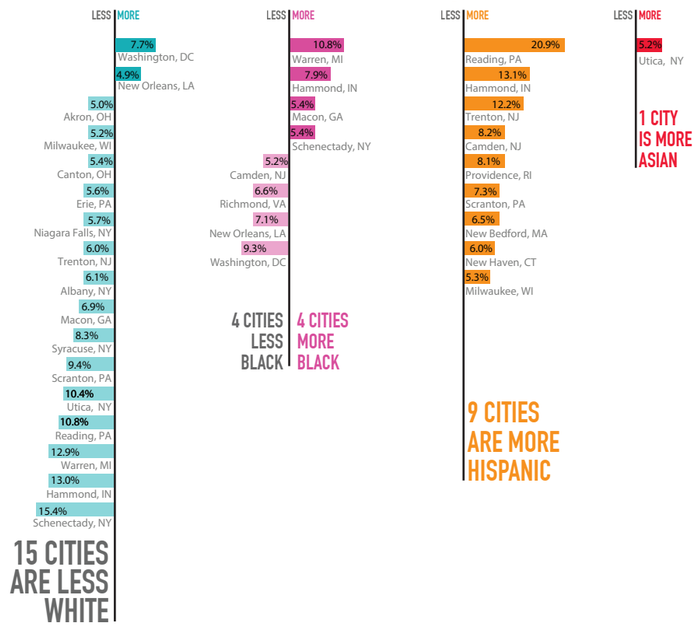
HISPANICS ARE LEADING THE POPULATION GROWTH IN LEGACY CITIES (1)

Note (1): Hispanic is a separate category (ethnicity) in the census, the sum of population change by race that includes Hispanic will not necessarily equal overall % population change. For example, Reading, PA has over 25% increase in Hispanic share of population but less than 10% loss of share in other races. This implies a population growth of 15%, while actual population growth is only 8.5%. Certainly the 8.5% growth and the 7% loss of Whites and Asians accounts for some change in Hispanic share of population, but the missing ~10% growth in Hispanic share must be a result of shifts within the black and white race groups. On the other hand, Macon, GA is a more straight-forward example. Because there wasn't significant change in Hispanic population, the sum of population change by race groups is equal to the actual population change. The 8.6% decrease in white population accounts for all of the 6.1% overall population loss, including countering growth in Black, Asian, and other populations.

While all Legacy Cities have experienced population loss, it is not evenly distributed among racial groups. Looking at population changes between 2000 and 2010, 21 cities stand out as having shifts of plus or minus 5 percent among at least one racial group's share of total population. Overall, there was a decreasing trend in the White share of population, with losses of up to 15 percent between 2000 and 2010 among 15 Legacy Cities. Simultaneously, there were only 4 cities with a growing Black share of population, all among smaller Legacy Cities: Warren; Hammond, Macon, and Schenectady. Additionally, 9 cities showed an increase over 5 percent in Hispanic residents as a percent of total population including Hammond and Trenton. Reading stood out with an over 10 percent increase in this group.

03.1.5c 22 CITIES WITH +/- 5% CHANGE IN RACIAL SHARE FROM 2000-2010

Change in share (%) of total population by race from 2000-2010



Source: U.S. Census Bureau; 2010 Census Summary File 1; U.S. Census Bureau; 2000 Census Summary File 1

03|2 WHO'S WORKING & WHO'S NOT?

UNEMPLOYMENT

Image credit: Robert Shibley; University of Buffalo ; UB Regional Institute / Urban Design Project

Population loss has been largely fueled by the shifts of businesses and jobs from the city to the suburbs, or to other cities where the cost of doing business was becoming cheaper. The losses were also caused by the significant shrinkage of several employment sectors that were once the backbone of their regional economies, specifically industrial production. As such, creating a more complex definition of Legacy Cities requires understanding the trends in job and business losses and the impacts on unemployment rates.

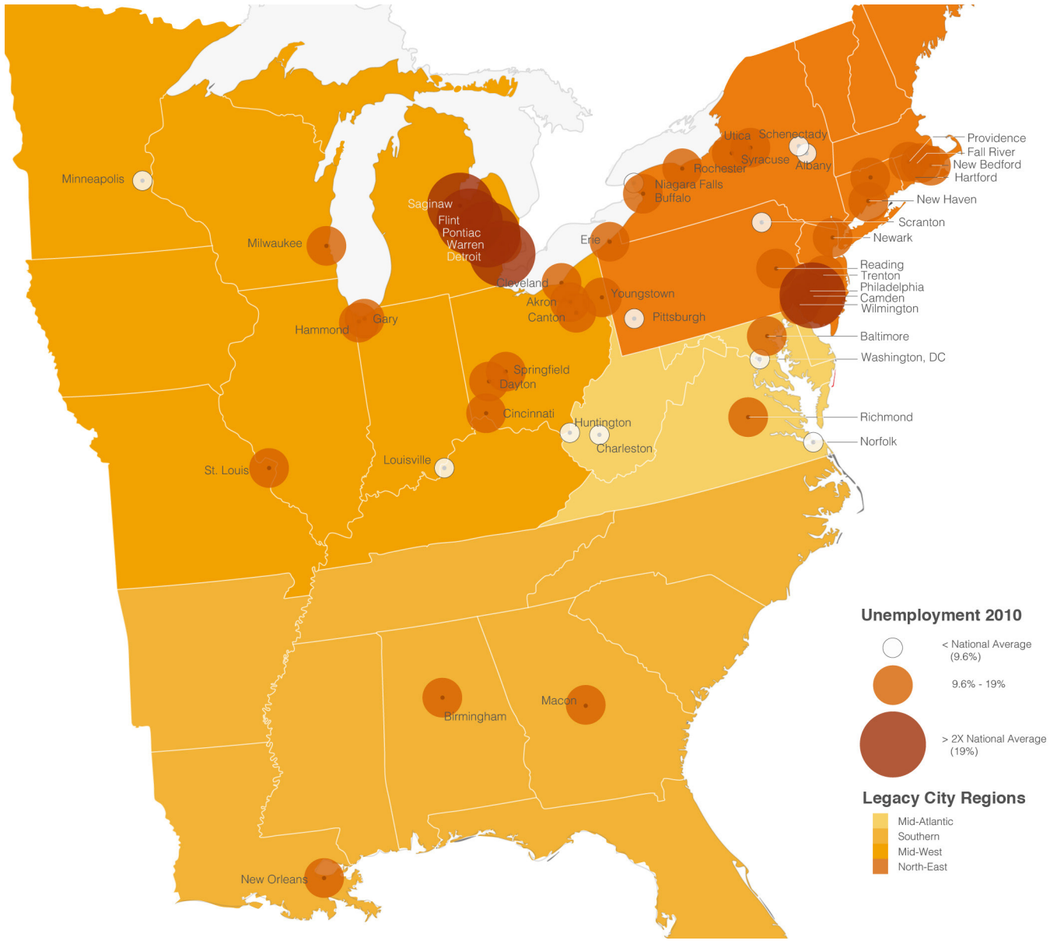
Compiling comparative trend data on business and job losses uniformly across the 48 cities was not possible at the time of this study, and remains a complicated exercise because municipalities capture employment and employment sector information in varied ways. Data were, however, available to illustrate the stagnation and relatively modest changes in unemployment among Legacy Cities. As such, the study records unemployment by city, and regional changes in unemployment over time. This study also captures the changing composition of the cities' labor forces.

IN 2010, ONLY 11 LEGACY CITIES HAD UNEMPLOYMENT RATES BELOW THE NATIONAL AVERAGE OF 9.6%

WHICH REGION WAS HARDEST HIT?

03.2.1a LEGACY CITY MAP OF UNEMPLOYMENT BY REGION

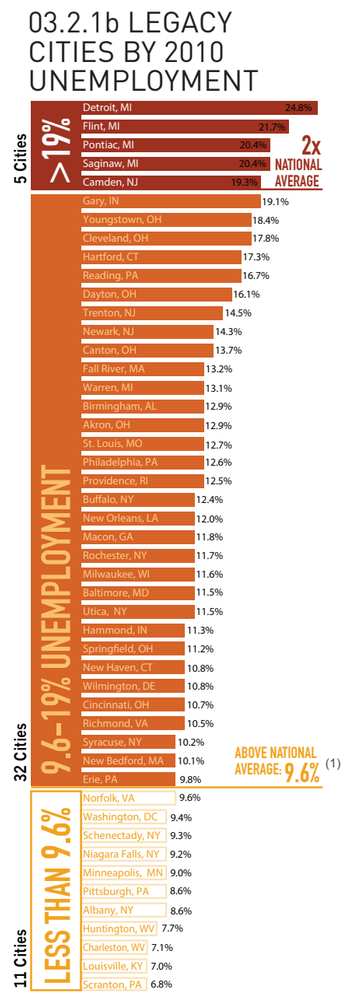
Legacy Cities show high unemployment in all regions, with particularly severe rates in Southeast Michigan and New Jersey



Source: U.S. Census Bureau; 2010 Census Summary File 1

03|2.1 UNEMPLOYMENT BY REGION

03.2.1b LEGACY CITIES BY 2010 UNEMPLOYMENT

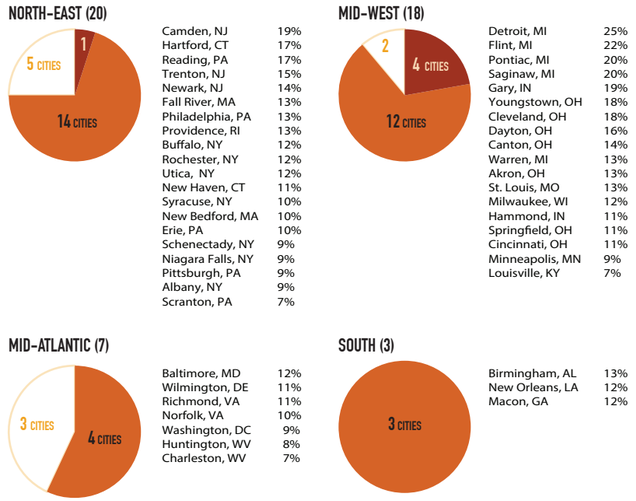


2010 UNEMPLOYMENT

Based on the map of 2010 unemployment in all 48 Legacy Cities, it is clear that the economic health of a city has both a relationship to its region and an impact on regional economy. In 2010, the U.S. unemployment rate was 9.6 percent. In that same year, 5 Legacy Cities had unemployment rates double the U.S. average, and of these cities including Detroit, Flint, Pontiac, Saginaw, and Camden, all but Camden are located in Southeast Michigan, where the economy has been squarely tied to the automobile industry where population decline began in the 1950s and 60s. For the other Legacy Cities, unemployment also remains a major issue with 32 cities (60 percent) having unemployment rates still higher than the U.S. average. These cities are spread fairly evening across the four Legacy City regions. However, some Legacy Cities are turning a corner towards economic recovery with 11 cities achieving unemployment rates below the U.S. average. Of these, only two are in the Midwest, five are in the Northeast and four are in the Mid-Atlantic region.

03.2.1c UNEMPLOYMENT BY LEGACY CITY REGIONS IN 2010

The Midwest is the hardest hit with 6 cities suffering from severe unemployment



2X NATIONAL RATE
9.6 - 19.2%
< NATIONAL RATE

REGIONAL UNEMPLOYMENT

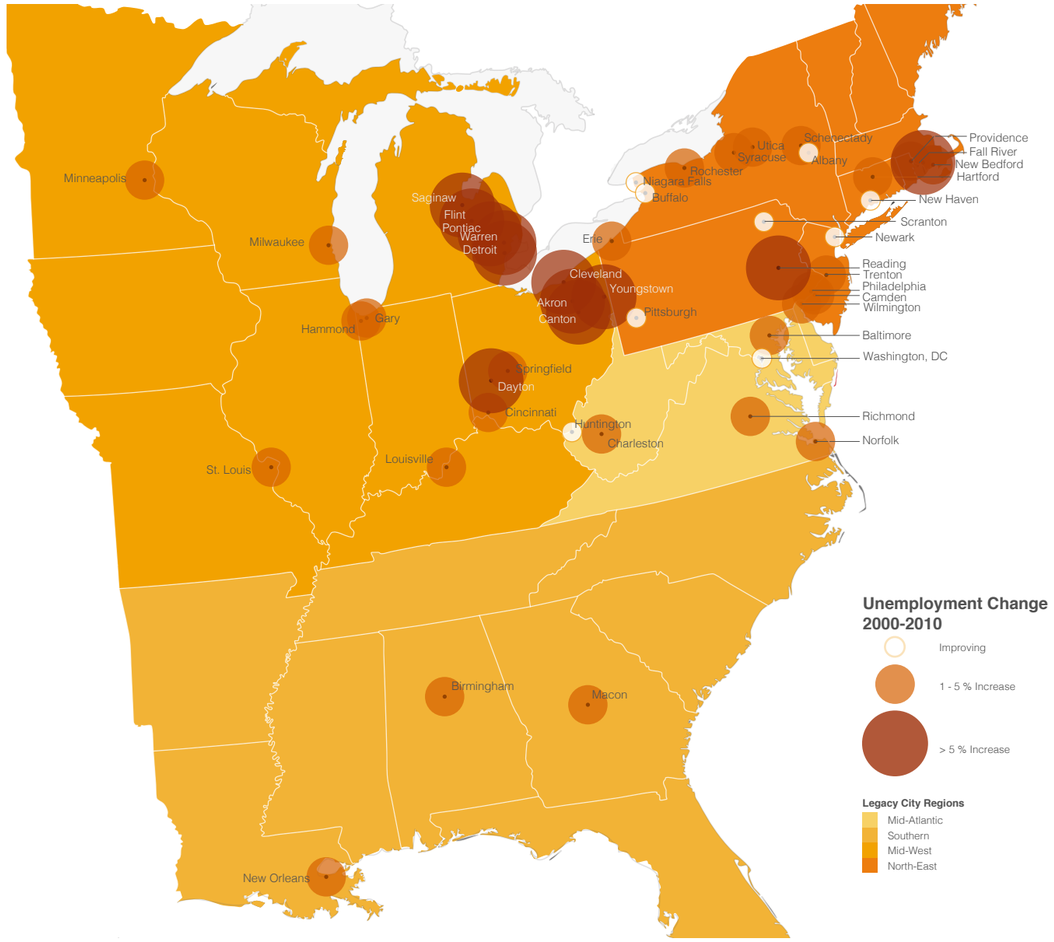
Source: (1) U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, "Employment and Earnings Online," January 2011 issue, March 2011, <http://www.bls.gov/opub/ee/home.htm> and <http://www.bls.gov/cps/home.htm>.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau; 2010 Census Summary File 1

WHERE IS UNEMPLOYMENT GETTING WORSE / BETTER?

03.2.2a LEGACY MAP OF CHANGE IN UNEMPLOYMENT FROM 2000-2010

Unemployment increases >5% are clustered in NE Ohio, and SE Michigan, with the exception of Reading, Pa and Fall River, Ma.



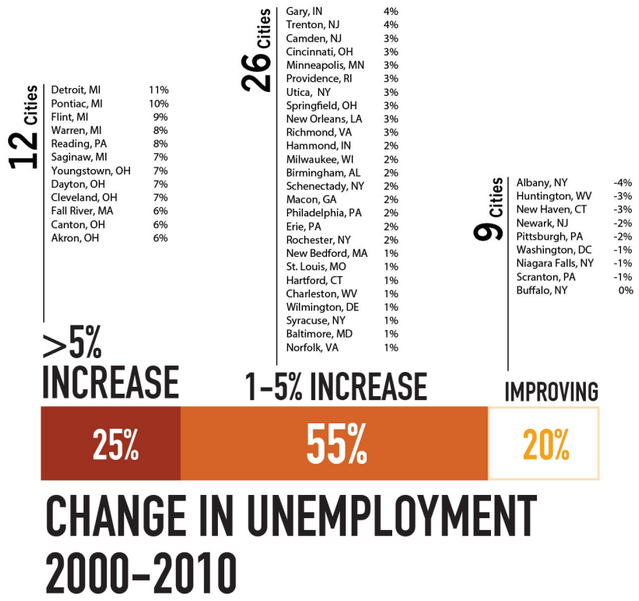
Source: U.S. Census Bureau; 2010 Census Summary File 1; U.S. Census Bureau; 2000 Census Summary File 1

03|2.2 UNEMPLOYMENT TREND

Looking at the recent trend in unemployment as measured by the change in unemployment rates from 2000 to 2010, a similar story unfolds. Exactly 1 in 4 Legacy Cities experienced an increase in unemployment between 5 and 11 percent; all but two of these are found in the Midwest region (Ohio and Michigan, specifically). Nine cities, or roughly 1 in 5, saw a small reduction in unemployment; all of these cities are found in the Mid-Atlantic and Northeast regions. Of these nine cities with improving unemployment rates, six already had rates below the U.S. average, including Washington, DC, Niagara Falls, Pittsburgh, Albany, Huntington, and Scranton. The remaining 26 cities make up the majority of Legacy Cities and show fairly stable or unchanging unemployment rates from 2000 to 2010, with less than 5 percent increase. These cities are again spread evenly across the four Legacy City regions.

03.2.2b LEGACY CITIES BY CHANGE IN UNEMPLOYMENT 2000-2010

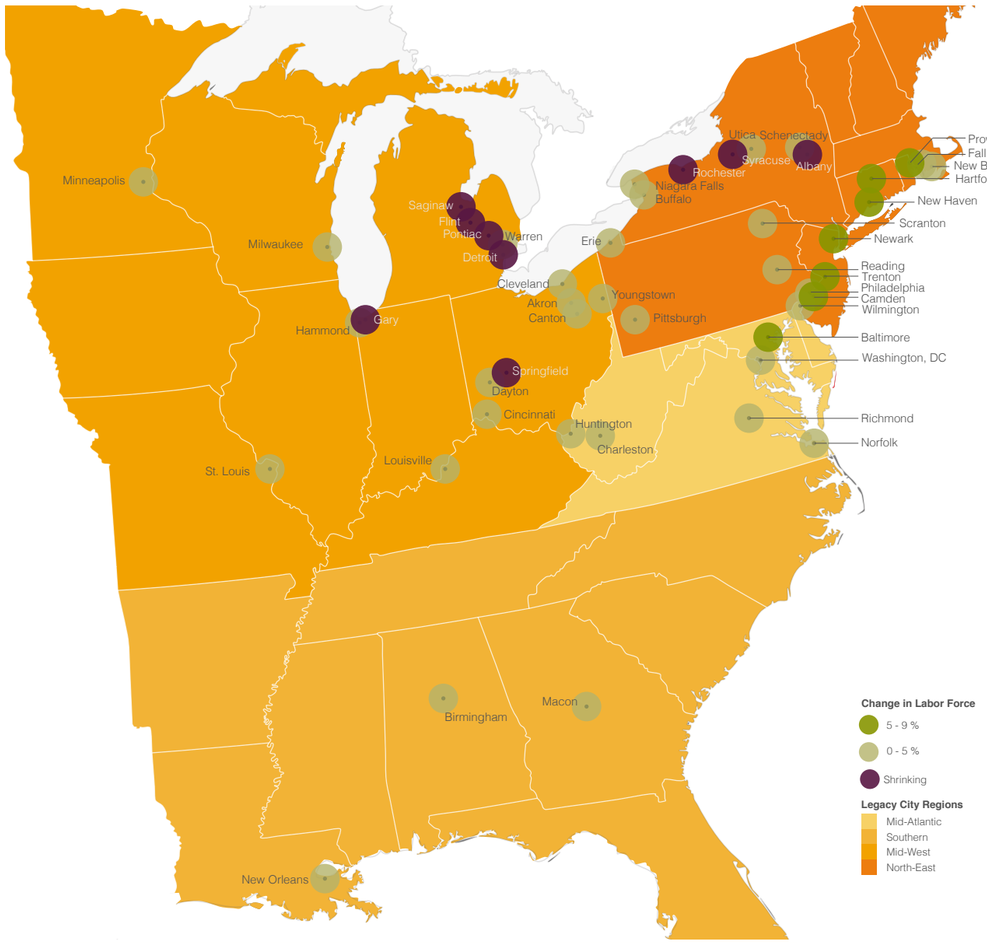
The majority of Legacy Cities show only moderate increases in unemployment.



Source: U.S. Census Bureau; 2010 Census Summary File 1; U.S. Census Bureau; 2000 Census Summary File 1

03.2.3a LEGACY CITY MAP OF CHANGE IN SIZE OF LABOR FORCE BETWEEN 2000-2010

Declining participation in the labor force as a % of total population is most severe in Upstate New York and Southeast Michigan.



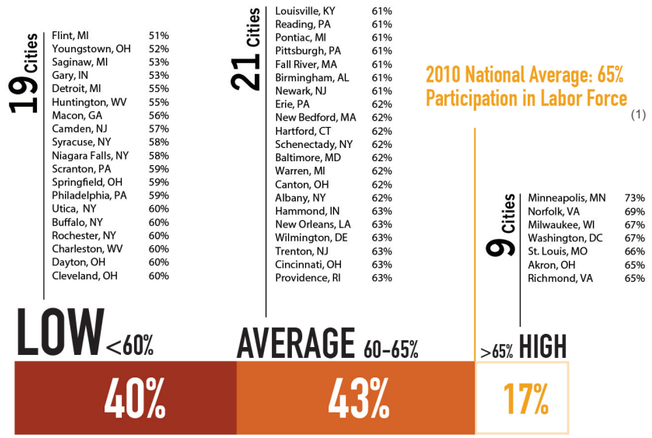
Source: U.S. Census Bureau; 2010 Census Summary File 1; U.S. Census Bureau; 2000 Census Summary File 1

03|2.3 THE LABOR FORCE

Because unemployment in most Legacy Cities is tied to trends of declining manufacturing sectors over the last 50 years, it can be assumed that a portion of the unemployed are populations either aging out of the labor force or people left with skills that have not easily transferred to the "new economies." This trend is also combined with patterns of young adults either leaving their hometown cities for college and not returning after graduation, or encountering obstacles to obtaining the educations needed to be competitive for local jobs. Legacy Cities are thus experiencing an overall shrinking percentage of residents participating in the local labor force. Therefore, it is critical to understand labor force participation trends along side data on absolute population and unemployment rates to develop a more accurate picture of the fluctuations of population and economic productivity in Legacy Cities.

The U.S. average labor force participation in 2010 was 65 percent. Only 9 Legacy Cities had a labor force participation of 65 percent or more. In fact, in 19 Legacy cities, less than 60 percent of residents who are eligible to work are actually participating in the labor force. The two largest cities in this category are Detroit and Philadelphia, with the remaining cities being smaller (populations below 300,000) and with historically smaller local economies.

03.2.3b LEGACY CITIES BY LABOR FORCE AS % OF TOTAL POPULATION



Source: (1) U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, "Employment and Earnings Online," January 2011 issue, March 2011, <http://www.bls.gov/opub/ee/home.htm> and <http://www.bls.gov/cps/home.htm>.
U.S. Census Bureau; 2010 Census Summary File 1

03|3 WHO'S BEING LEFT BEHIND?

POVERTY & INCOME

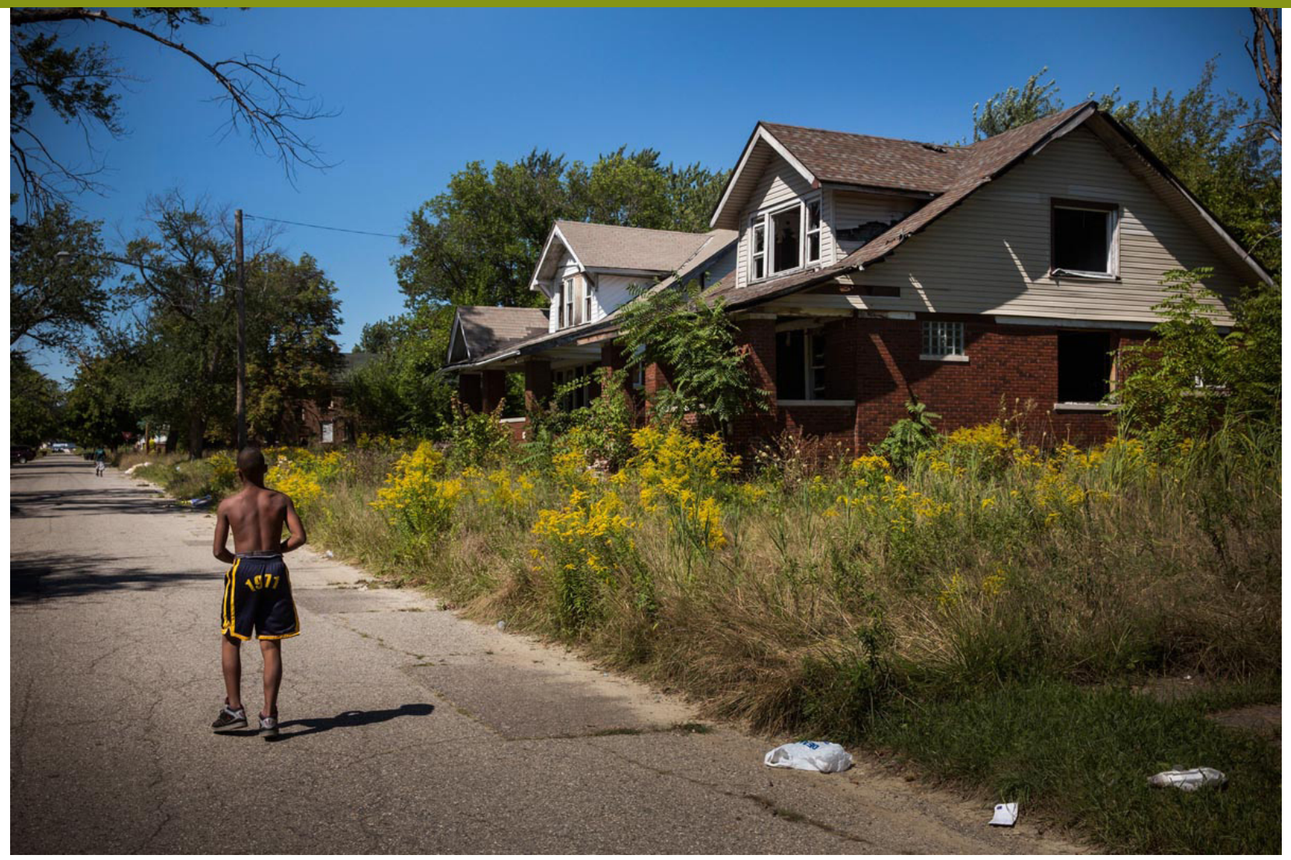


Image Source: Huffington Post "Michael Bloomberg: Detroit Is Just Like 1970's New York, And That's A Good Thing" www.huffingtonpost.com. 18 September 2014. Web. 15 May 2015

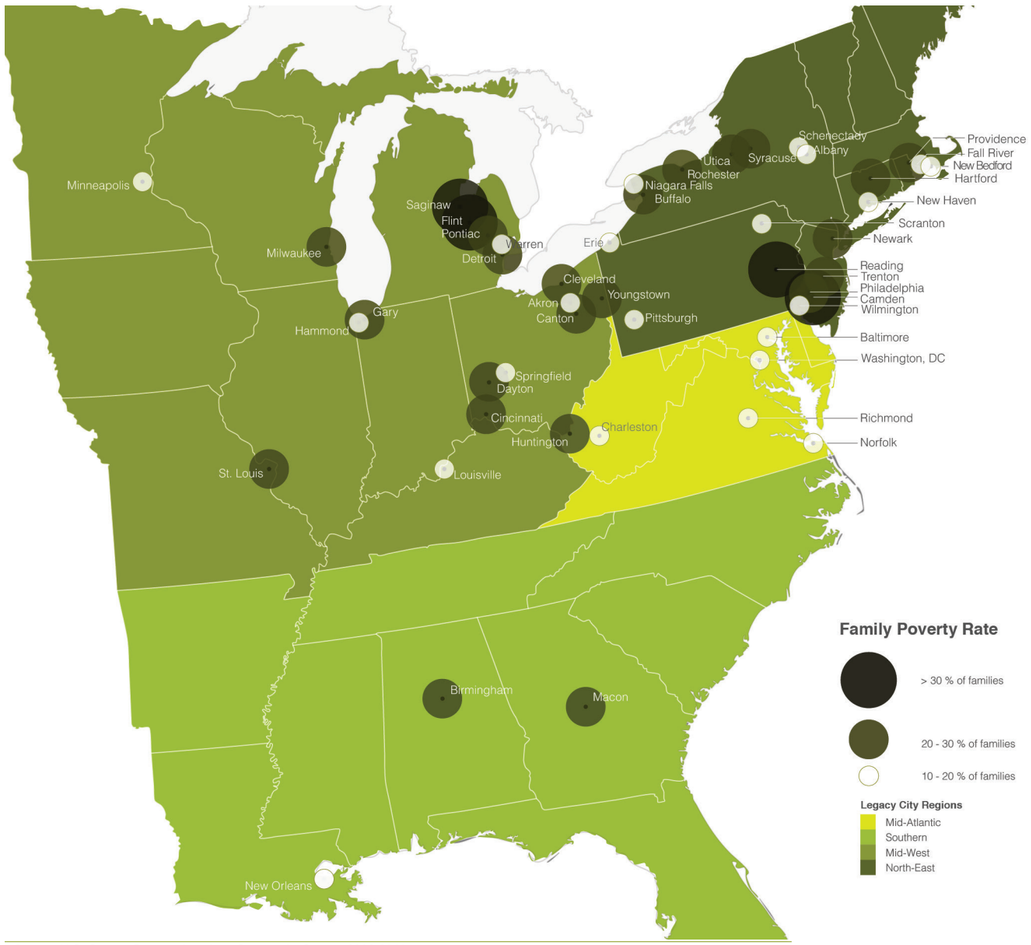
Federal programs of the late 1940s, including the Federal Highway Act and several home lending programs, created an unprecedented ability for people with economic means to leave the congested cities for more space and more opportunity in the surrounding suburbs. As presented in section 03|01, residents leaving Legacy Cities reached peak volumes between 1950 and 1970, following the successful implementation of these nationwide programs. As a result of this exodus, most Legacy Cities now house a higher percentage of the nation's poorest and least advantaged residents as compared to the region overall. Recent evidence suggests that some first- and second-ring suburbs are starting to mirror demographics similar to those in Legacy Cities. This section presents data that illustrate that Legacy Cities struggle with the challenges of low median family income households, as well as high percentages of the population with incomes below the poverty level. The median family income in the United States is $62,983 and federal poverty levels in 2010 for a family of four was $22,314. The 2010 national percentage of families living below the poverty line was 15.3 percent.

All Legacy Cities have greater than 11% of families living in poverty, compared to only 10.1% of families overall for the U.S. in 2010.

WHERE WAS POVERTY MOST SEVERE?

03.3.1a LEGACY CITY MAP OF % OF FAMILIES BELOW POVERTY LINE IN 2010

High concentrations of poverty as % of population appear in Michigan and Eastern Pennsylvania / New Jersey areas.



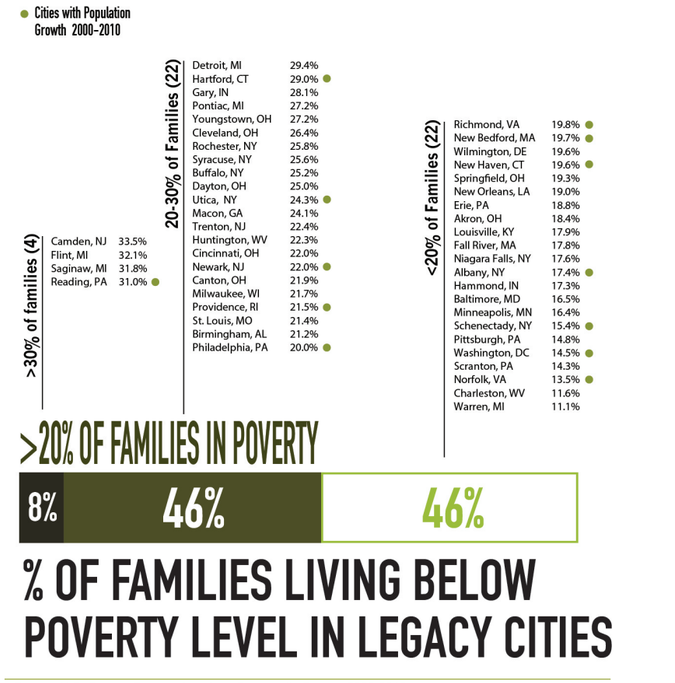
Source: U.S. Census Bureau; American Community Survey, 2006-2010;

03|3.1 POVERTY RATES

All but 6 of the 48 Legacy Cities have poverty rates higher than the 2010 national average at 15.3 percent. Of the 26 cities with poverty rates over 20 percent, 11 are smaller cities with population less than 100,000. Smaller cities also have the highest poverty levels as a percentage of total population. Among these are Camden, Flint, Saginaw, and Reading. The highest poverty rates were found in the post-industrial Rust Belt cities, including 12 in the Midwest and 11 in the Northeast.

03.3.1b LEGACY CITIES BY % OF FAMILIES LIVING IN POVERTY IN 2010

26 Legacy Cities (54%) have more than 20% of families living in poverty.



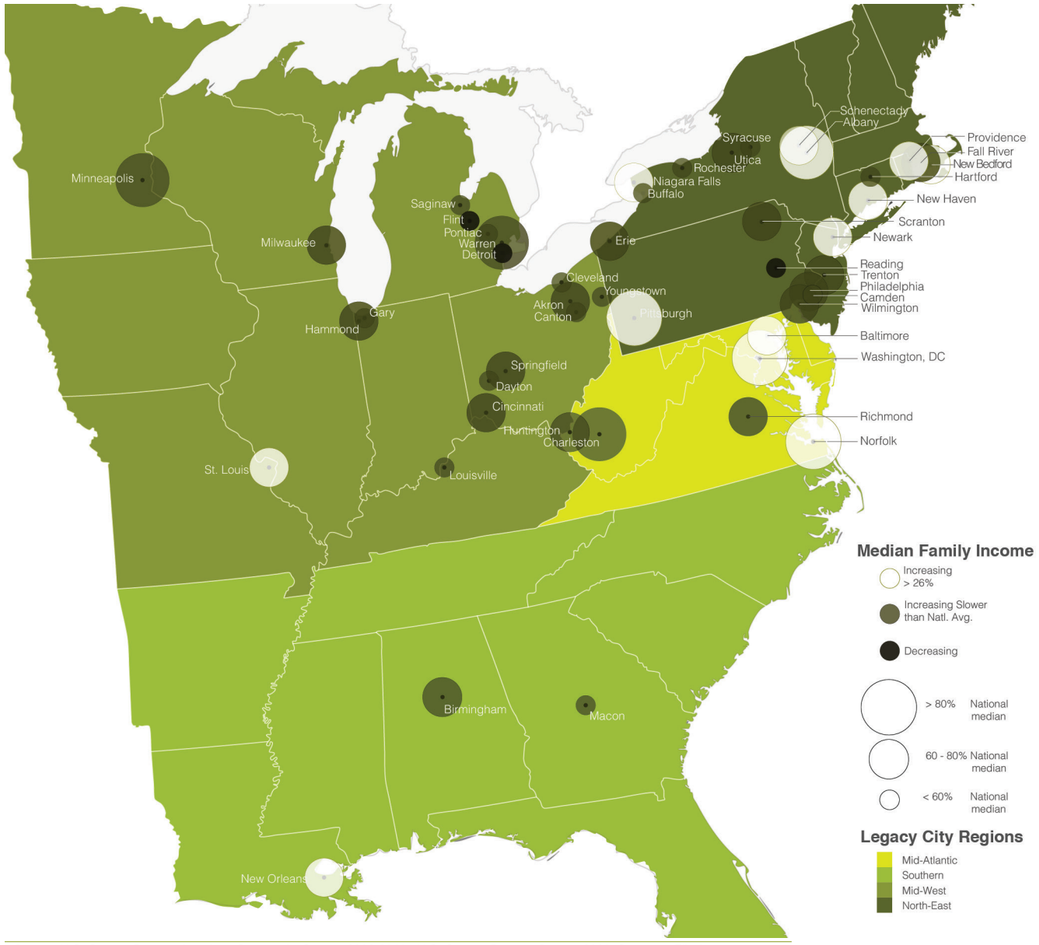
Source: U.S. Census Bureau; American Community Survey, 2006-2010

Only 7 Legacy Cities had a median family income above 80% of the 2010 national median of $62,982. Of those, only 4 grew at national rate of 26% from 2000-2010

HOW DO LEGACY CITY INCOMES COMPARE?

03.3.2a LEGACY CITY MAP OF 2010 MEDIAN FAMILY INCOME AS % OF NATIONAL MEDIAN FAMILY INCOME

2010 median family income levels vary throughout the four regions, but recent income declines are concentrated in the Midwest.



Source: U.S. Census Bureau; American Community Survey, 2006-2010; U.S. Census Bureau; Census 2000, Summary File 3

03|3.2 MEDIAN FAMILY INCOME

3 CITIES HAD DECLINING INCOMES FROM 2000-2010

- Reading, PA -1.9%
- Flint, MI -0.7%
- Detroit, MI -0.3%

13 CITIES HAD INCREASING INCOMES >26% FROM 2000-2010

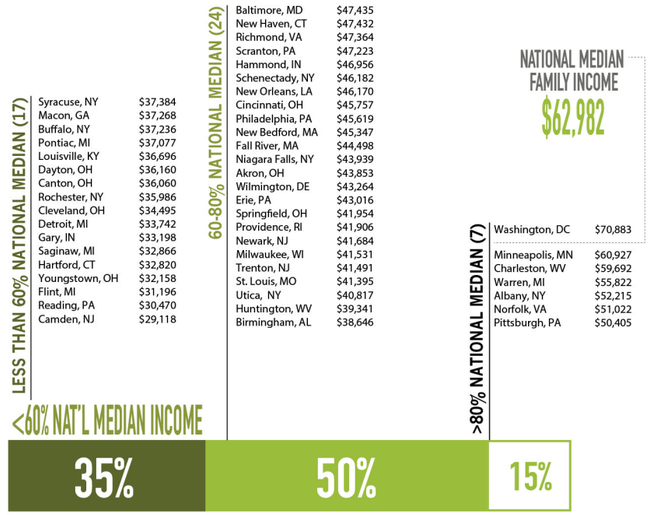
- Washington, DC 53%
- New Orleans, LA 43%
- Norfolk, VA 38%
- Newark, NJ 35%
- Baltimore, MD 34%
- New Haven, CT 32%
- Albany, NY 31%
- Providence, RI 31%
- Pittsburgh, PA 30%
- Niagara Falls, NY 28%
- St. Louis, MO 27%
- New Bedford, MA 27%
- Schenectady, NY 27%

● Cities with Population Growth 2000-2010

HUD defines family incomes at 80 percent of the median as low; those at 50 percent are very low, and at 30 percent are extremely low. In 2010, only 7 Legacy Cities had median family incomes above 80 percent and 17 were below 60 percent. Although family incomes in 17 Legacy Cities increased at a rate similar to the national average above 26 percent from 2000 to 2010, family incomes declined further in 3 Legacy Cities (Detroit, Flint, and Reading) saw further declines in family incomes during that time.

03.3.2b LEGACY CITIES COMPARED TO NATIONAL MEDIAN FAMILY INCOME

In 2010, Washington, D.C. was the only Legacy City with a median family income above $62,982, the national median family income.



2010 MEDIAN FAMILY INCOME IN LEGACY CITIES

Source: U.S. Census Bureau; American Community Survey, 2006-2010

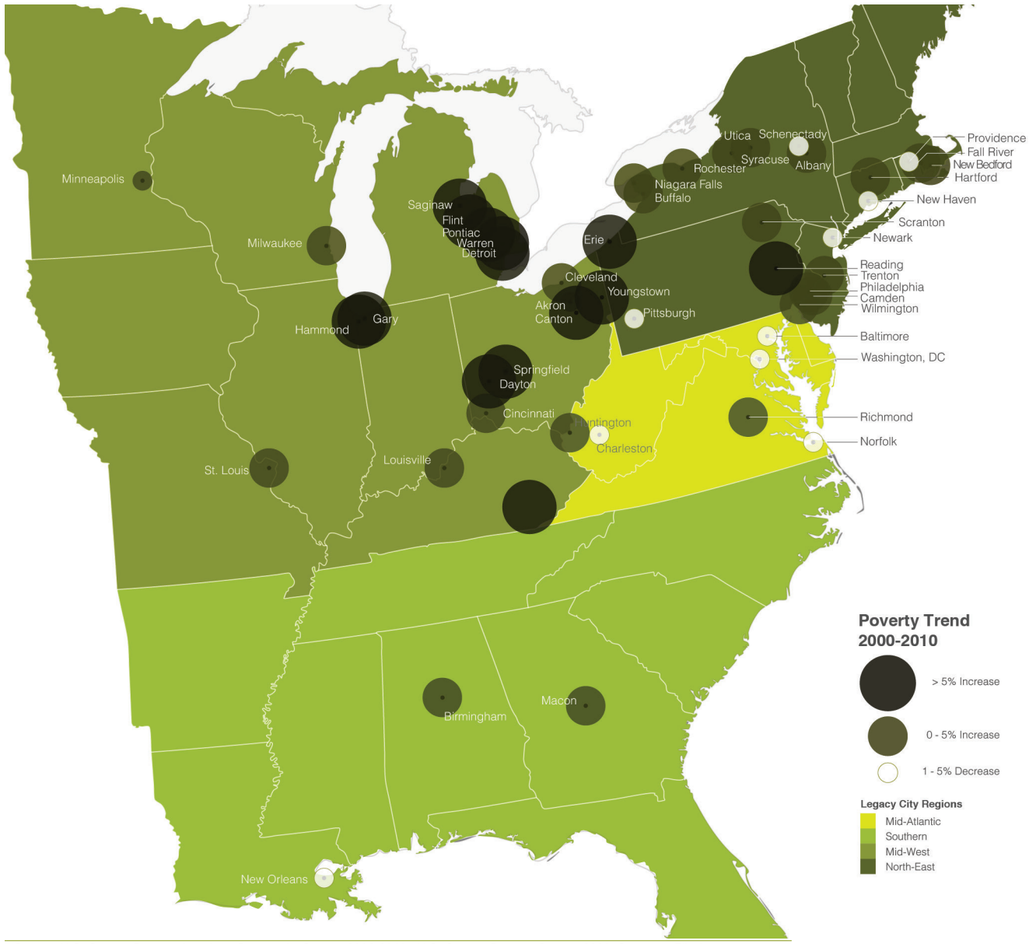
IN 4 CITIES WITH INCREASING POVERTY MEDIAN FAMILY INCOME GREW FASTER THAN THE NATIONAL AVERAGE OF 26% FROM 2000-2010

City	Income Growth
Niagara Falls, NY	+28%
St. Louis, MO	+27%
New Bedford, CT	+27%
Schenectady, NY	+27%

WHERE IS POVERTY INCREASING?

03.3.3a LEGACY CITY MAP OF CHANGE IN POVERTY FROM 2000-2010

Poverty rate declined in some Mid-Atlantic and Northeastern cities, but increased in the Midwest.



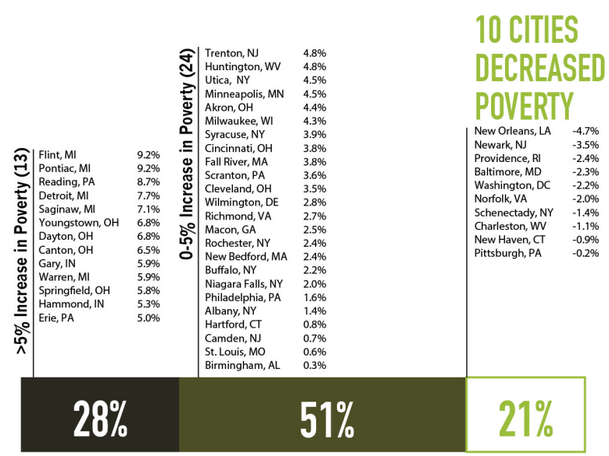
Source: U.S. Census Bureau; American Community Survey, 2006-2010; U.S. Census Bureau; Census 2000, Summary File 3

03|3.3 POVERTY TREND

Between 2000 and 2010, poverty levels increased between 5 and 10 percent, in 13 Legacy Cities (27 percent), while 10 cities (21 percent) experienced reduced levels of poverty between 1 and 5 percent. Modest signs of declining poverty rates and increasing median family income occurred in four Legacy Cities between 2000 and 2010, including Niagara Falls, St. Louis, New Bedford, and Schenectady.

03.3.3b LEGACY CITIES BY CHANGE IN POVERTY BETWEEN 2000-2010

From 2000 to 2010 poverty in Legacy Cities increased at most 9.2% and declined as much as 4.7%.



FAMILY POVERTY TREND 2000–2010

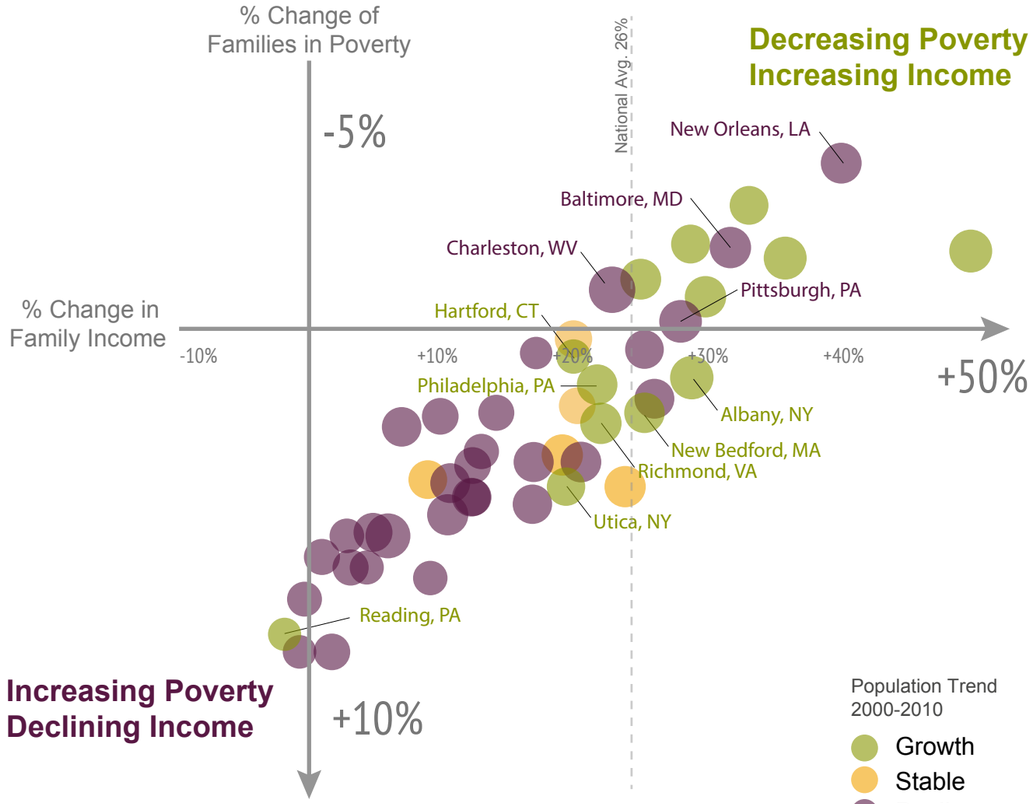
Source: U.S. Census Bureau; American Community Survey, 2006-2010; U.S. Census Bureau; Census 2000, Summary File 3

Reading, PA is the only growth city with a declining median family income

ARE LOW-INCOME POPULATIONS FUELING GROWTH?

03.3.4a LEGACY CITY INCOME AND POVERTY TRENDS 2000-2010 COMPARED TO RECENT POPULATION TREND

Many growth cities show income and poverty improvements, but 5 growth cities are experiencing increasing poverty and declining incomes



Source: U.S. Census Bureau; American Community Survey, 2006-2010; U.S. Census Bureau; Census 2000, Summary File 3; U.S. Census Bureau; 2010 Census Summary File 1; U.S. Census Bureau; 2000 Census Summary File 1

03|3.4 INCOME, POVERTY & POPULATION LOSS

Three Legacy Cities experienced both population and income growth above national median income, including Washington, DC at 53.2 percent; Albany at 30.8 percent; and Norfolk at 38.3 percent. Of the 23 cities with income improvement of more than 20 percent, 12 also have growing populations. However, Baltimore and New Orleans had increases over 30 percent in family income while they continued to experience population loss.

Six Legacy Cities with poverty rates above 20 percent also experienced population growth between 2000 and 2010: Reading, Utica, Newark, Providence, Hartford, and Philadelphia. Within the same decade, poverty shrank in two of these cities (Newark and Providence).

4 CITIES IN DECLINE ARE WEALTHIER THAN THEY WERE A DECADE AGO

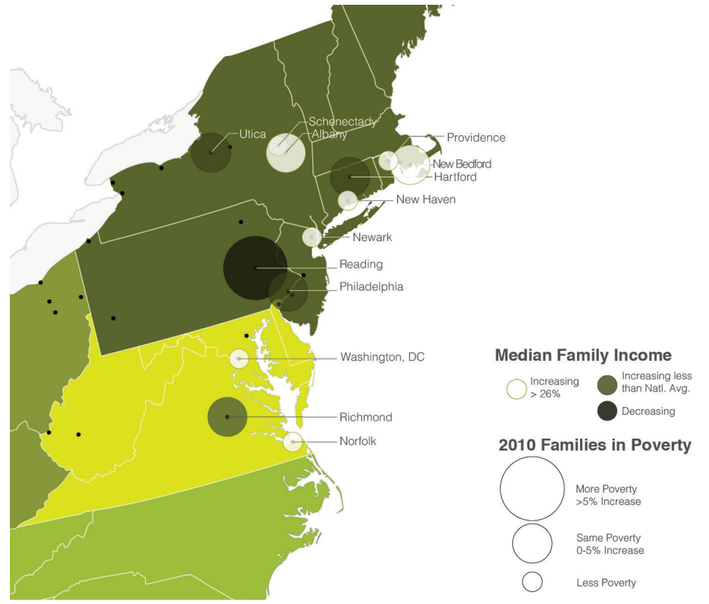
	CHANGE 2000-2010	
CITY	POVERTY	INCOME
New Orleans, LA	- 4.7%	+43%
Baltimore, MD	- 2.3%	+34%
Charleston, WV	- 1.1%	+24%
Pittsburgh, PA	- 0.2%	+30%

7 GROWTH CITIES ARE POORER THAN THEY WERE A DECADE AGO

	CHANGE 2000-2010	
CITY	POVERTY	INCOME
Reading, PA	+ 8.7%	-2%
Utica, NY	+ 4.5%	+21%
Richmond, VA	+ 2.7%	+24%
New Bedford, MA	+ 2.4%	+27%
Philadelphia, PA	+ 1.6%	+23%
Albany, NY	+ 1.4%	+31%
Hartford, CT	+ 0.8%	+21%

03.3.4b LEGACY CITY MAP OF POVERTY AND INCOME IN GROWTH CITIES 2000-2010

Even some growth cities have increased poverty rates and family incomes lagging behind national average increases. Reading is a particularly severe example.

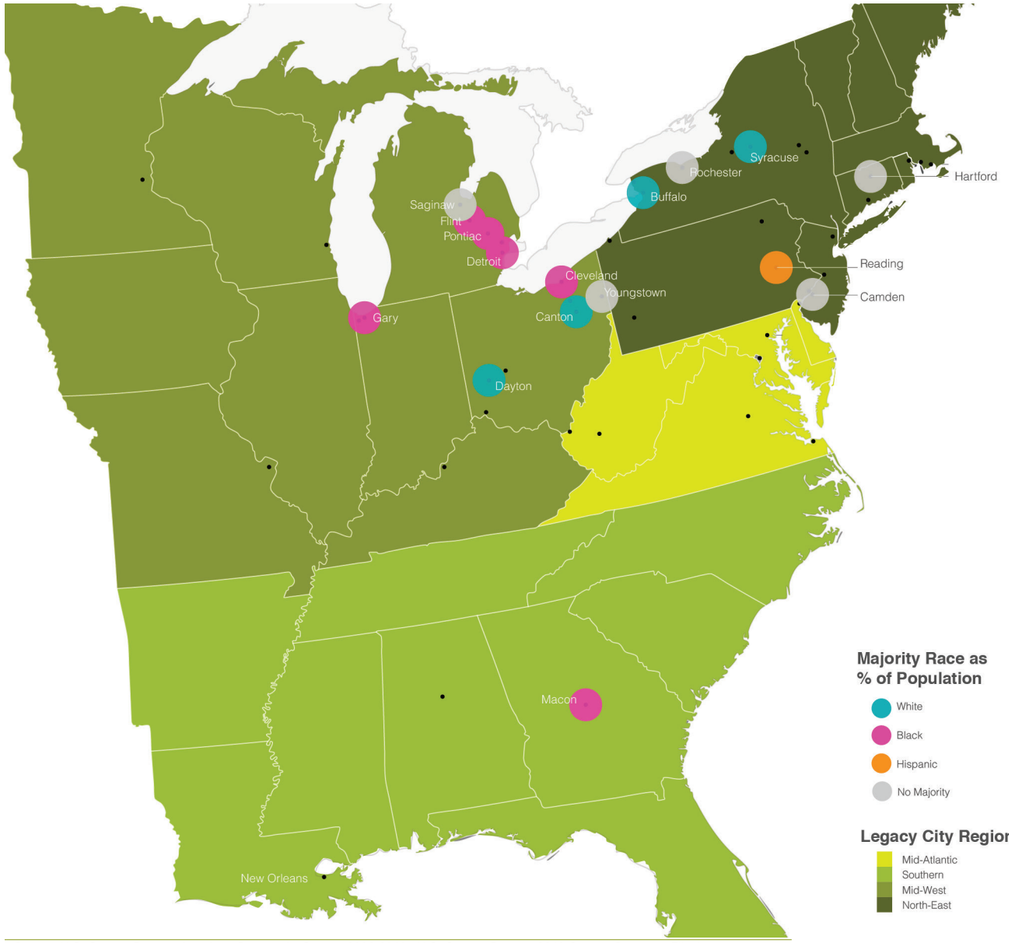


Source: U.S. Census Bureau; American Community Survey, 2006-2010; U.S. Census Bureau; Census 2000, Summary File 3; U.S. Census Bureau; 2010 Census Summary File 1; U.S. Census Bureau; 2000 Census Summary File 1

WHO LIVES IN POVERTY?

03.3.5a LEGACY CITY MAP OF 16 RACIAL / ETHNIC MAJORITY CITIES WITH BOTH HIGH POVERTY AND LOW INCOME

The poorest Legacy Cities are concentrated in the Midwest and Northeast with a variety of racial compositions.



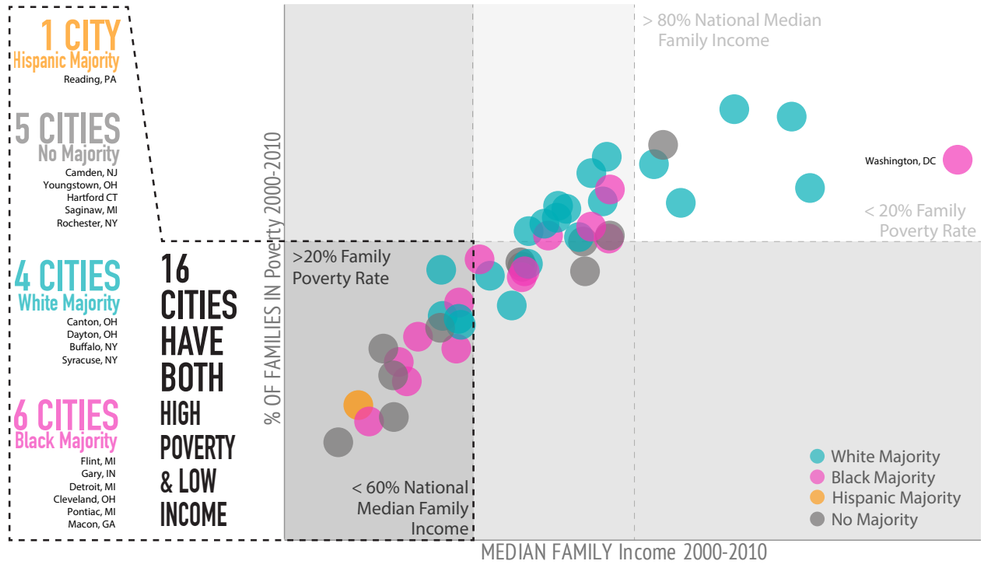
Source: U.S. Census Bureau; American Community Survey, 2006-2010; U.S. Census Bureau; 2010 Census Summary File 1

03|3.5 INCOME, POVERTY & RACE

Sixteen Legacy Cities have a combination of both high poverty rates and low median family incomes. Seven have majority Black or Hispanic populations, while four are majority White and five have no racial majority. Macon is the only city in this category to exist outside of the Midwest and Northeast region.

03.3.5b LEGACY CITY INCOME AND POVERTY BY RACIAL / ETHNIC MAJORITY 2010

Most higher income / lower poverty cities have a majority white population, with Washington, DC as a clear exception.



Source: U.S. Census Bureau; American Community Survey, 2006-2010; U.S. Census Bureau; 2010 Census Summary File 1

03|4 WHAT'S THE PHYSICAL CONDITION?

RESIDENTIAL VACANCY

Image credit: June Lee, Bruner Foundation

Next to population loss, Legacy Cities are most recognizable by their vast amounts of vacant land and abandoned properties. Many neighborhood in these cities have gone through multiple cycles of economic downturns, including the industrial collapse of the 1970s and the housing crisis of the late 2000s, that continue to plague local municipalities—and the residents that remain—with problem properties and the related nuisances of vandalism, squatters, loitering, illegal dumping, and illegal economies. To be sure, even strong-market cities are challenged by similar conditions, but in fewer and more isolated areas. The scale of this problem in Legacy Cities is often equal to the land area size of a small city, and the impacts of vacancy and abandonment can be pervasive across a wider spectrum of communities, including those that had been historically stable, as well as those that have suffered through long-term distress. For example, Detroit's vacant property covers 20 square miles altogether (although not contiguously). This is equivalent to the size of Manhattan at 22 square miles.

Understanding vacancy and the impacts on neighborhood, community, and resident quality of life is an essential part of further defining this distinct class of American cities. This section presents data on the comparative levels of residential vacancy (defined as unoccupied rental and homeowner residential units) and changes in that vacancy between 2000 and 2010. Due to a lack of comparative data on commercial and industrial vacancy across all Legacy Cities, the report uses only residential vacancy.

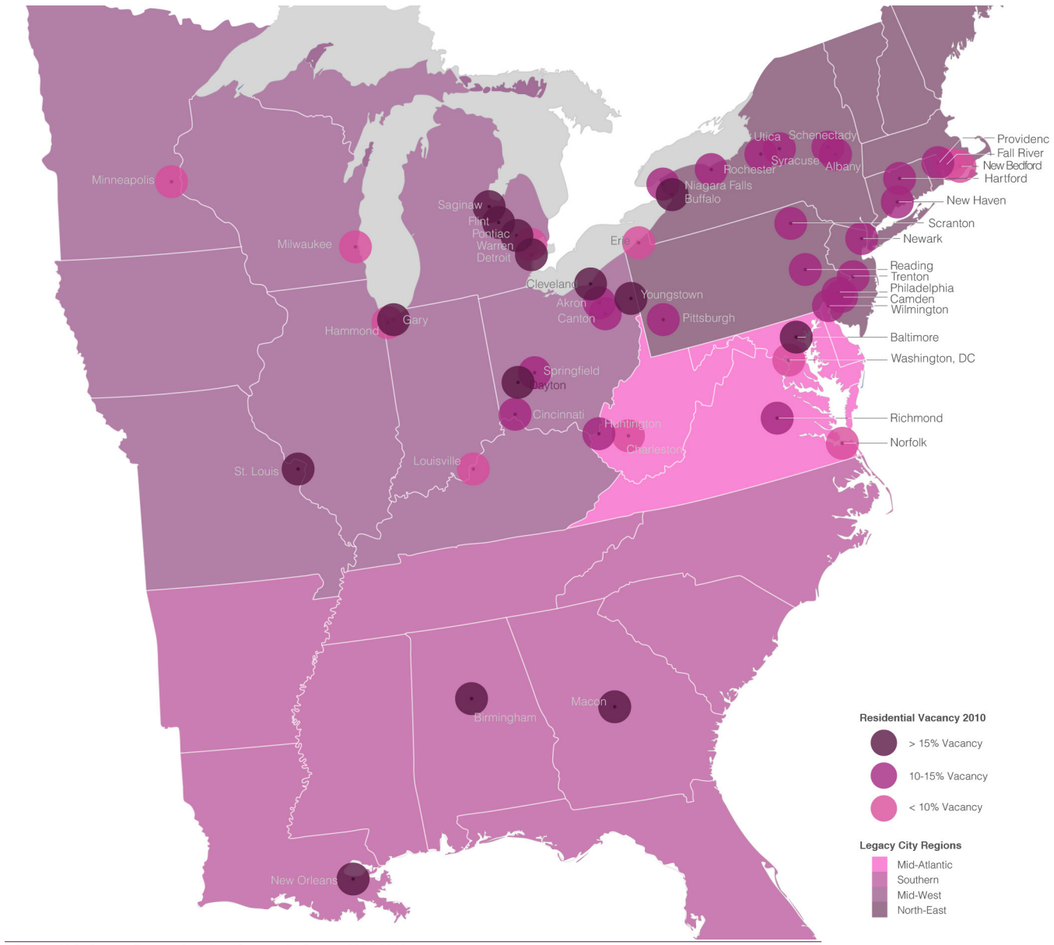
5 CITIES HAD VACANCIES GREATER THAN 20% OF TOTAL UNITS IN 2010

New Orleans, LA	23.3%
Detroit, MI	22.6%
Flint, MI	20.9%
Dayton, OH	20.9%
Gary, IN	20.3%

WHICH CITIES SUFFER MOST FROM VACANCY?

03.4.1a LEGACY CITY MAP OF RESIDENTIAL VACANCY AS % OF TOTAL HOUSING STOCK

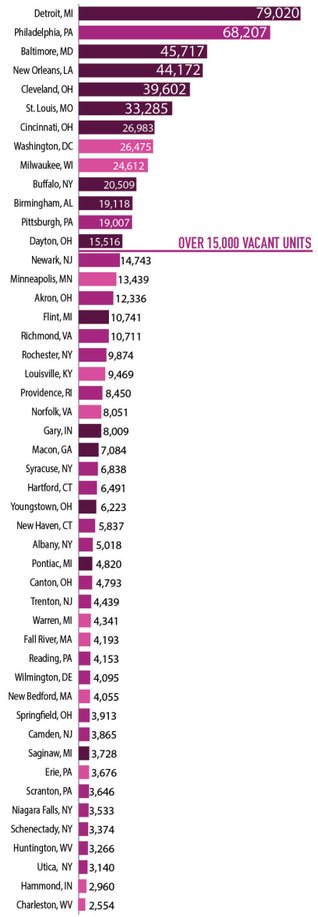
High residential vacancy rates are concentrated in the Midwest and South, with Baltimore an exception in the Mid-Atlantic.



Source: U.S. Census Bureau; American Community Survey, 2006-2010;

03|4.1 RESIDENTIAL VACANCY RATES

03.4.1b LEGACY CITIES BY 2010 VACANT HOUSING UNITS

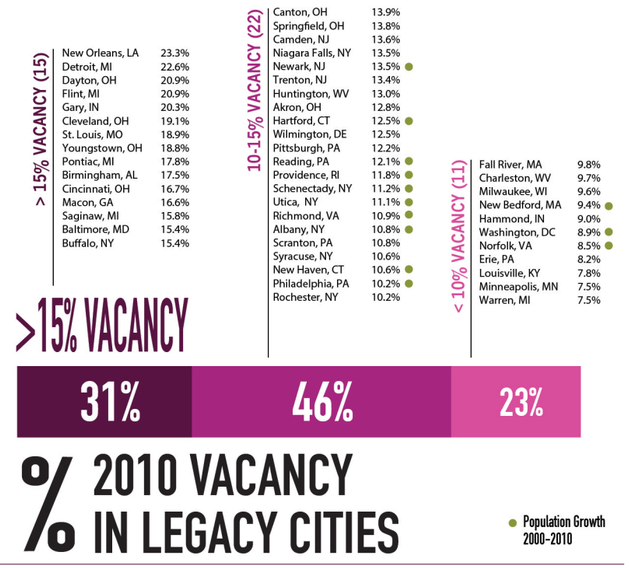


The residential vacancy map shows that Midwestern and Southern Legacy Cities experienced the highest vacancy rates in 2010, while Northeast and Mid-Atlantic cities had moderate to low vacancy rates during the same time. Additionally, of the 14 cities with population decline greater than 10 percent during the same period, five had vacancy rates over 20 percent including four Midwestern cities: Detroit, Flint, Dayton, Gary, and New Orleans.

Residential vacancy in Legacy Cities can be understood in absolute numbers of vacant units and as a percent of total housing units available. Seventy-seven percent of Legacy Cities have residential vacancy rates higher than the 2010 national average of 11.4 percent. This even includes 10 cities that experienced population gains between 2000 and 2010. The most severe vacancy conditions appeared in cities that top both absolute and relative lists. Nine cities—Detroit, Baltimore, New Orleans, Cleveland, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Buffalo, Birmingham, and Dayton—had greater than 15 percent vacancy and more than 15,000 units vacant, with no population growth.

03.4.1c LEGACY CITIES BY 2010 VACANCY AS % OF TOTAL HOUSING

77% of Legacy Cities have residential vacancies above national averages, including ten cities with recent population growth.



TOTAL VACANT UNITS

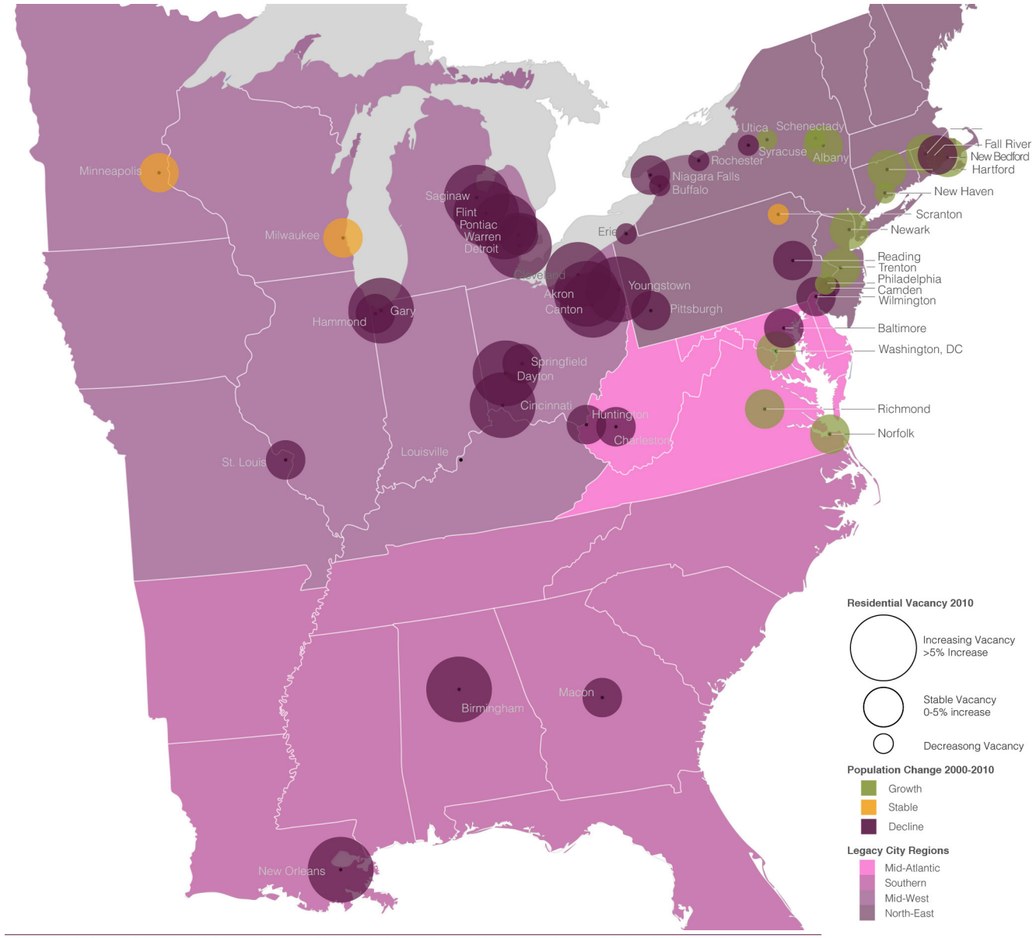
% 2010 VACANCY IN LEGACY CITIES

Source: U.S. Census Bureau; American Community Survey, 2006-2010

DID VACANCY FOLLOW POPULATION CHANGE?

03.4.2a LEGACY CITY MAP OF TRENDS IN POPULATION AND RESIDENTIAL VACANCY 2000-2010

Increases and decreases in residential vacancy appear to be more tied to region than to recent population trends, with the Midwest seeing the largest increases in vacancy, and many Northeastern cities show declining vacancy rates despite population decline.



Source: U.S. Census Bureau; 2010 Census Summary File 1; U.S. Census Bureau; 2000 Census Summary File 1; U.S. Census Bureau; American Community Survey, 2006-2010; U.S. Census Bureau; Census 2000, Summary File 3

03|4.2 RESIDENTIAL VACANCY TREND

The trends of residential vacancy during and since the economic recession of 2008 have been at times volatile and constantly changing, with some cities experiencing significant changes within only a six-month period. Between 2000 and 2010, a total of 10 Legacy Cities experienced a reduction in residential vacancy, with Camden topping the list with a 5.1 percent decrease in vacancy. Camden offers an interesting example because it also tops the list in unemployment and showed a continuing population decline of 3 percent from 2000 and 2010. Residential vacancy was reduced in five Legacy Cities that simultaneously lost additional population, while eight cities increased residential vacancy in 2010 despite recent population growth. This suggests that population migration in and out of the city is not the only factor in vacancy rates. Changes in the overall housing supply may indicate actions taken by property owners or local governments to reduce the quantity of abandoned housing units through demolition, in response to actual or anticipated population growth or decline. In some cases, such as in Newark, Providence, and Richmond, creation of new housing units might explain the co-occurrence of population growth and increasing vacancy.

8 CITIES HAVE GROWING VACANCY DESPITE POPULATION GROWTH FROM 2000 TO 2010

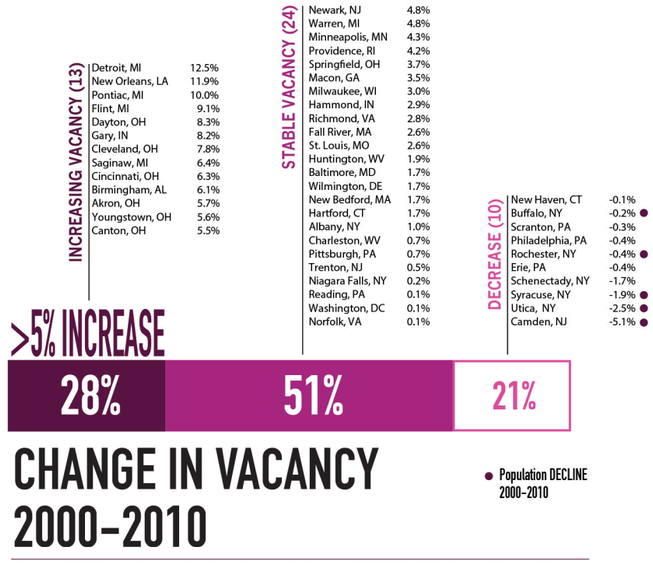
	Vacancy	Population
Newark, NJ	4.80%	+1%
Minneapolis, MN	4.30%	0%
Providence, RI	4.20%	+3%
Richmond, VA	2.80%	+3%
Milwaukee, WI	3.00%	0%
Hartford, CT	1.70%	+3%
New Bedford, MA	1.70%	+1%
Albany, NY	1.00%	+2%

5 CITIES HAVE LESS VACANCY DESPITE POPULATION LOSS FROM 2000 TO 2010

	Vacancy	Population
Buffalo, NY	-0.2%	-11%
Erie, PA	-0.4%	-2%
Rochester, NY	-0.4%	-4%
Syracuse, NY	-1.9%	-1%
Camden, NJ	-5.1%	-3%

03.4.2b LEGACY CITIES BY CHANGE IN VACANCY 2000-2010

Of the Legacy Cities with declining vacancy rates in the last census period, five cities are still experiencing population loss.



Source: U.S. Census Bureau; American Community Survey, 2006-2010; U.S. Census Bureau; Census 2000, Summary File 3

03|5 DOES SIZE MATTER?

LAND AREA, POPULATION & RESIDENTIAL DENSITIES

Image credit: Interface Studio Architects (ISA)

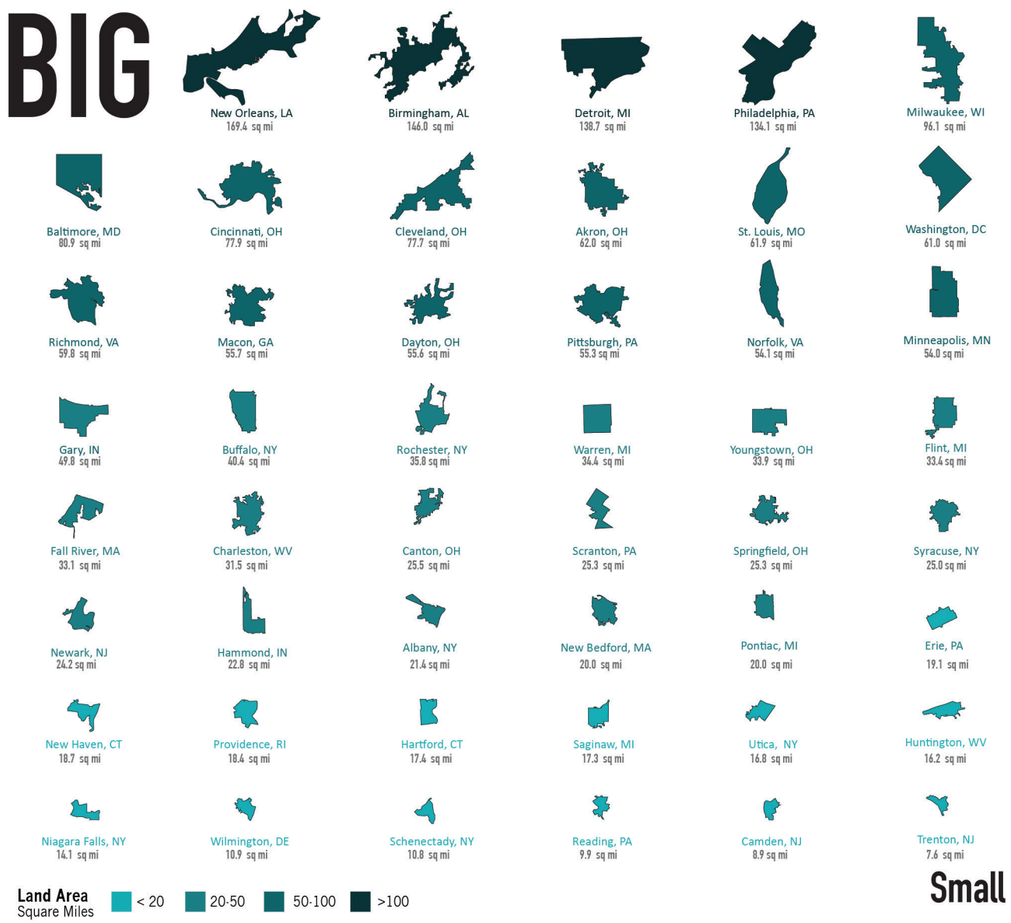
As population declined and vacancies grew in these cities, it is natural to wonder whether the overall land area and density of each city matters in relation to vacancy. This question surfaces as the governments of Legacy Cities struggle to deliver public services with significantly reduced tax revenue and across an uneven distribution of land occupancy. This section presents residential vacancy relative to the land area of Legacy Cities and the distribution of resident and housing density.

Legacy City land areas range from 7.6 square miles to 170 square miles at the largest

HOW BIG ARE LEGACY CITIES?

03.5.1a LEGACY CITIES SCALED BY 2010 LAND AREA

The variety of scale among Legacy City land areas may have little bearing on the varying physical conditions, or economic and social challenges of the city



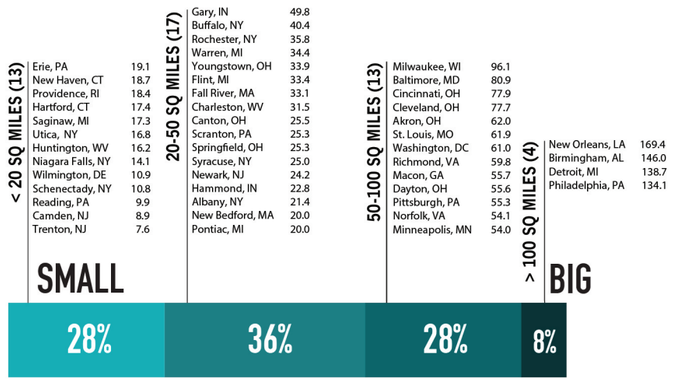
Source: U.S. Census Bureau; 2010 Census Summary File 1

03|5.1 LAND AREA

Just as Legacy Cities vary in population size from small to mid-size to large, so do their land areas. The 48 Legacy Cities range in size from the smallest city (Trenton, at 7.6 square miles) to the largest (New Orleans, at 170 square miles). Most Legacy Cities are less than 100 square miles, although New Orleans, Birmingham, Philadelphia, and Detroit are all over 100 square miles.

03.5.1b LEGACY CITIES BY 2010 LAND AREA

Legacy Cities range from as small as Trenton, NJ at 7.6 square miles, to New Orleans at 170 square miles big.



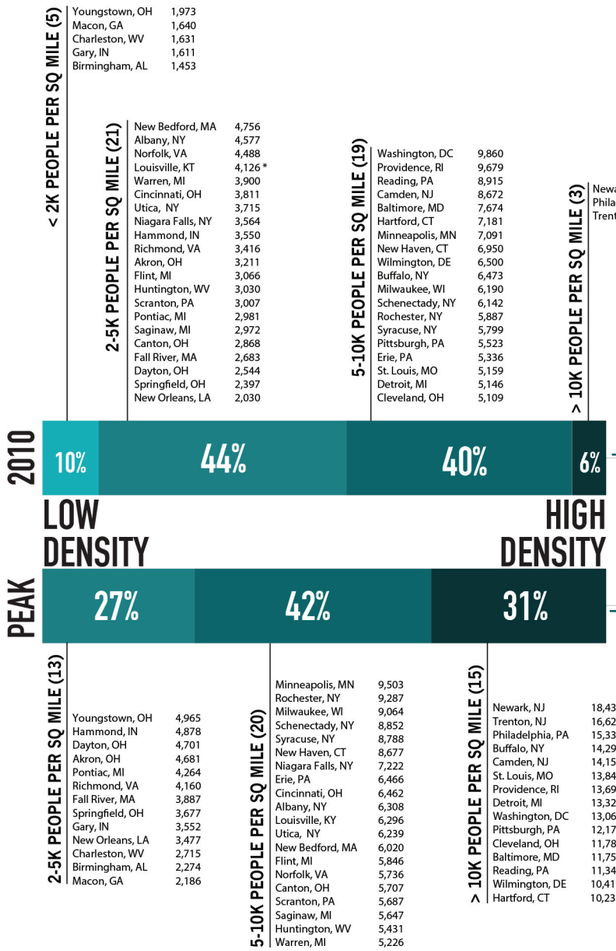
LEGACY CITIES BY LAND AREA IN SQUARE MILES 2010

Source: U.S. Census Bureau; 2010 Census Summary File 1

At peak population, 73% of Legacy Cities had a population density over 5,000 people per square mile. In 2010, only 44% are that dense.

HOW MUCH HAS DENSITY CHANGED SINCE PEAK?

03.5.2a LEGACY CITIES BY POPULATION DENSITY IN 2010 AND AT PEAK POPULATION

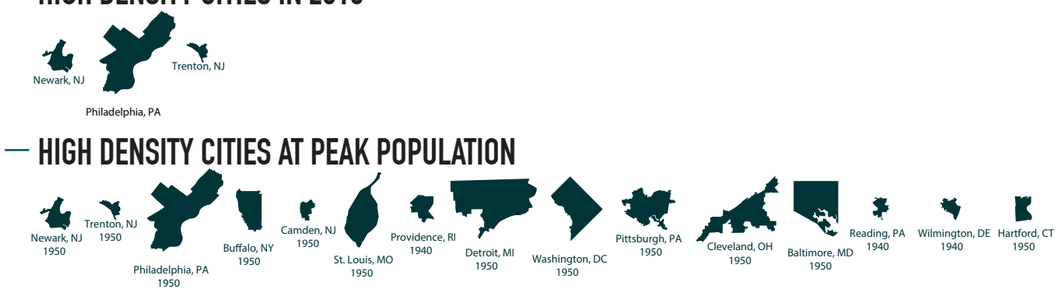


Source: U.S. Census Bureau; 2010 Census Summary File 1; U.S. Census Bureau; 2000 Census Summary File 1;

03|5.2 POPULATION DENSITY

While changes in population density over time align with the map of change in population, it is also important to understand Legacy Cities in the context of their land area by surveying the distribution of population across the land area of the city. The concentration or disbursement of population across the geography of the city has a significant impact on the operational efficiency of public services and infrastructure systems. At the time of peak populations between 1940 and 1970, only 15 Legacy Cities had population densities over 10 people per square mile, and only Newark, Philadelphia, and Trenton retained these densities in 2010. Forty-two percent of all Legacy Cities had population densities between 5 and 10 percent at their peak populations and in 2010. The remaining cities retained densities between 2 and 5 percent from their peak populations. In 2010, five cities dipped below 2 percent: Youngstown, Macon, Charleston, Gary, and Birmingham. (Note that Louisville is an outlier because the city and county merged through annexation between 2000 and 2010.)

03.5.2b HIGH POPULATION DENSITY LEGACY CITIES IN PEAK AND 2010

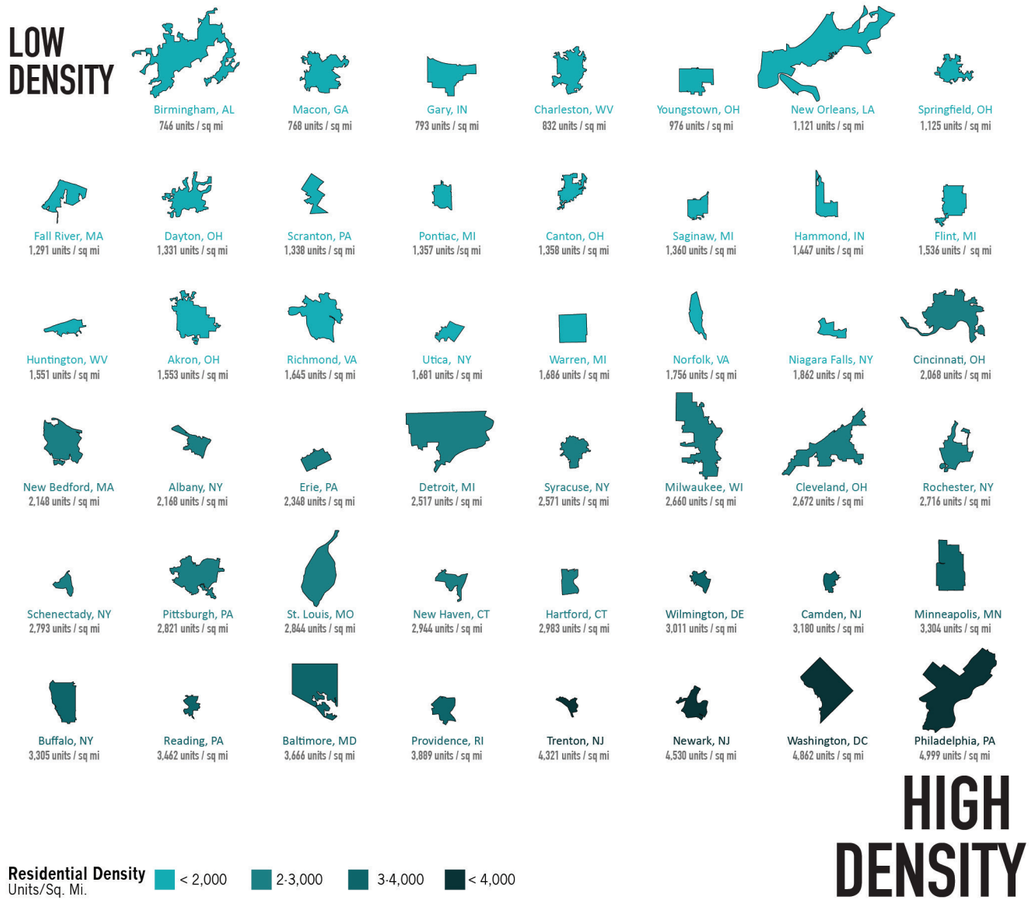


Both big and small land area cities were found to have a range of both high and low density patterns

HOW DENSELY BUILT ARE LEGACY CITIES?

03.5.3a LEGACY CITIES SCALED BY RESIDENTIAL DENSITY IN 2010

Legacy City densities range from high to low in both large and small land area cities.



Source: U.S. Census Bureau; 2010 Census Summary File 1

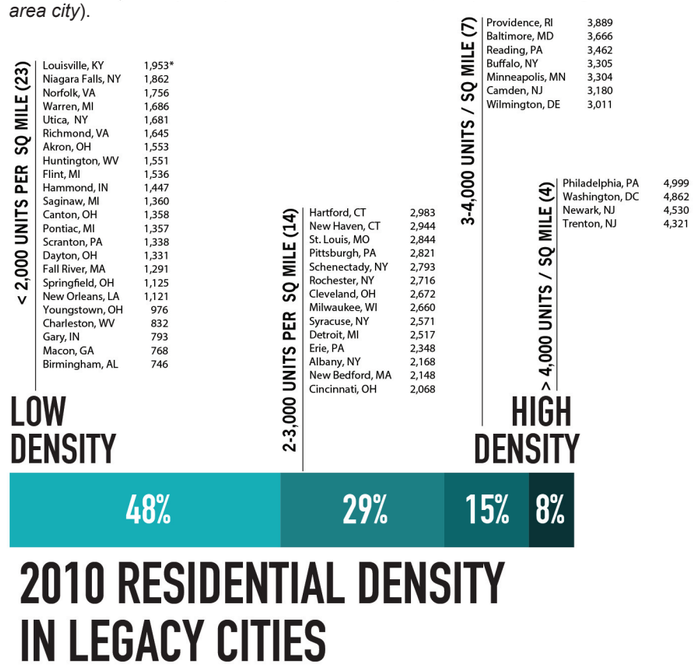
03|5.3 RESIDENTIAL DENSITY

The distribution and density of residential units in Legacy Cities varied greatly, as reported in 2010. Birmingham, with the second-largest land area of all Legacy Cities, had the lowest residential density with less than 750 units per acre. Macon and Gary, two of the smallest cities in terms of land area, also had very low residential density. On the other end of the spectrum, Newark and Trenton were two of the smallest cities measured in land area, yet retained some of the highest residential densities among Legacy Cities at over 4,300 units per acre. Philadelphia, a large-land-area city, and Washington, DC, a smaller-land-area city, had the highest residential densities in 2010, nearing 5,000 units per acre.

It is important to consider how residential densities changed between 2000 and 2010. Anecdotal information reveals that many Legacy Cities lost housing units through physical deterioration and active demolition by property owners and local municipalities. Other observations reveal that some Legacy Cities also added new housing units during this period, mostly in multi-family units.

03.5.3b LEGACY CITIES BY RESIDENTIAL DENSITY 2010

Legacy City residential densities range from as few as 746 housing units per square mile in Birmingham, AL (*the second largest land area city*) to as many as 5,000 housing units per square mile in Philadelphia, PA (*the fourth largest land area city*).



Source: U.S. Census Bureau; 2010 Census Summary File 1

HOW DO STRONG-MARKET CITIES COMPARE?

03.5.4a LAND AREA, POPULATION AND RESIDENTIAL DENSITY IN STRONG-MARKET CITY COMPARISONS

HIGH DENSITY >5K ppl/sq.mi.

BIG — OVER 300,000 ppl

BOSTON, MA

POP. : 617,660 ppl
POP. DENSITY: 12,794 /sqmi
RES. UNIT DENSITY: 5,644 /sqmi

COMPARABLE LEGACY CITIES	POP. DENSITY	RES. UNIT DENSITY
Philadelphia, PA	11,383	4,999
Washington, DC	9,860	4,862
Baltimore, MD	7,674	3,666
Minneapolis, MN	7,091	3,304
Milwaukee, WI	6,190	2,660
Pittsburgh, PA	5,523	2,821
St. Louis, MO	5,159	2,844
Detroit, MI	5,146	2,517
Cleveland, OH	5,109	2,672

MID-SIZE — 100-300,000 ppl

BERKELEY, CA

POP. : 112,580 ppl
POP. DENSITY: 10,752 /sqmi
RES. UNIT DENSITY: 4,723 /sqmi

COMPARABLE LEGACY CITIES	POP. DENSITY	RES. UNIT DENSITY
Newark, NJ	11,462	4,530
Providence, RI	9,679	3,889
Hartford, CT	7,181	2,983
New Haven, CT	6,950	2,944
Buffalo, NY	6,473	3,305
Rochester, NY	5,887	2,716
Syracuse, NY	5,799	2,571
Erie, PA	5,336	2,348

SMALL — < 100,000 ppl

MIAMI BEACH, FL

POP. : 87,778 ppl
POP. DENSITY: 11,511 /sqmi
RES. UNIT DENSITY: 8,852 /sqmi

COMPARABLE LEGACY CITIES	POP. DENSITY	RES. UNIT DENSITY
Trenton, NJ	11,105	4,321
Reading, PA	8,915	3,462
Camden, NJ	8,672	3,180
Wilmington, DE	6,500	3,011
Schenectady, NY	6,142	2,793

MEDIUM DENSITY 2-5K ppl/sq.mi.

CHARLOTTE, NC

POP. : 731,424 ppl
POP. DENSITY: 2,457 /sqmi
RES. UNIT DENSITY: 1,075 /sqmi

COMPARABLE LEGACY CITIES	POP. DENSITY	RES. UNIT DENSITY
New Orleans, LA	2,030	1,121
Cincinnati, OH	3,811	2,068

MADISON, WI

POP. : 233,209 ppl
POP. DENSITY: 3,037 /sqmi
RES. UNIT DENSITY: 1,417 /sqmi

COMPARABLE LEGACY CITIES	POP. DENSITY	RES. UNIT DENSITY
Norfolk, VA	4,488	1,756
Louisville, KT	4,126*	1,953*
Warren, MI	3,900	1,686
Richmond, VA	3,416	1,645
Akron, OH	3,211	1,553
Flint, MI	3,066	1,536
Dayton, OH	2,544	1,331

BINGHAMTON, NY

POP. : 47,376 ppl
POP. DENSITY: 4,517 /sqmi
RES. UNIT DENSITY: 2,273 /sqmi

COMPARABLE LEGACY CITIES	POP. DENSITY	RES. UNIT DENSITY
New Bedford, MA	4,756	2,148
Albany, NY	4,577	2,168
Utica, NY	3,715	1,681
Niagara Falls, NY	3,564	1,862
Hammond, IN	3,550	1,447
Huntington, WV	3,030	1,551
Scranton, PA	3,007	1,338
Pontiac, MI	2,981	1,357
Saginaw, MI	2,972	1,360
Canton, OH	2,868	1,358
Fall River, MA	2,683	1,291
Springfield, OH	2,397	1,125

LOW DENSITY <2K ppl/sq.mi.

OKLAHOMA CITY, OK

POP. : 579,999 ppl
POP. DENSITY: 956 /sqmi
RES. UNIT DENSITY: 424 /sqmi

COMPARABLE LEGACY CITIES	POP. DENSITY	RES. UNIT DENSITY
N/A		

LITTLE ROCK, AR

POP. : 193,524 ppl
POP. DENSITY: 1,624 /sqmi
RES. UNIT DENSITY: 766 /sqmi

COMPARABLE LEGACY CITIES	POP. DENSITY	RES. UNIT DENSITY
Birmingham, AL	1,453	746

FAYETTEVILLE, AR

POP. : 73,580 ppl
POP. DENSITY: 1,366 /sqmi
RES. UNIT DENSITY: 672 /sqmi

COMPARABLE LEGACY CITIES	POP. DENSITY	RES. UNIT DENSITY
Youngstown, OH	1,973	976
Macon, GA	1,640	768
Charleston, WV	1,631	832
Gary, IN	1,611	793

Source: U.S. Census Bureau; 2010 Census Summary File 1

03|5.4 IDENTIFYING STRONG-MARKET CITY COMPARISONS

Surveying Legacy Cities by density illustrates a wide spectrum of urban densities, in terms of the distribution of both population and residential units. No clear conclusion can be drawn that these cities have distinct density threshold. To further confirm this observation, density data for stronger-market cities was collected and compared to Legacy City densities. Strong-market cities were defined by assessing published rankings in economic performance, housing market strength, and livability scores.

Nine strong market cities were selected for comparison, using the same population size categories described in section 03|01:,

- Small (Miami Beach, FL; Binghamton, NY; and Fayetteville, AR);
- Mid-size (Berkeley, CA; Madison, WI; and Little Rock, AR); and
- Big (Boston, MA; Charlotte, NC; and Oklahoma City, OK).

Within the high-density category (over 5 people per acre), Boston and Philadelphia have comparable residential densities among big cities, as do Berkeley and Newark in the mid-size population city category. In the mid-density category (2 to 5 people per acre), Charlotte and New Orleans share similar residential densities among larger-population cities, and in the low-density group, Oklahoma City ranks as a strong-market city despite a residential density lower than 2 people per acre.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau; 2010 Census Summary File 1

04 CONCLUSIONS & CONSIDERATIONS

Image credit: M-1 Rail

Generally, Legacy Cities have been discussed as a broad category of distressed cities, unique due to persistent population decline over the last several decades. This study aimed to introduce additional indicators around geographic size, physical condition, poverty, income, and race to further inform how these cities are defined. Four overall findings stand out as a part of this study.

Summary of Overall Key Findings:

1. Legacy Cities are not all the same. These cities vary in population size, land area, and population density. As such, different approaches for the new identity of the city and the scale of revitalization must be considered.

2. Population loss alone is not what is keeping Legacy Cities from recovering. Addressing the issues of unemployment, poverty, racial segregation, and excessive ` vacancy must be a part of any redevelopment strategy.

3. While most Legacy Cities continue to experience steep population declines, 13 cities have reversed this trend. A closer examination of what contributed to this growth is warranted.

4. With population loss still projected for many Legacy Cities, cities must embrace their smaller size and make strategic decisions for self-sufficiency, by growing their populations, growing jobs, or merely stabilizing at a smaller size.

Examining each of the indicators reveals important nuances that help to highlight the different sub-categories of Legacy Cities.

1. Most Legacy Cities have small populations with fewer than 100,000 residents.
    a. Historically, these cities may have been the center of their region's economy or functioned as part of an industry sector cluster, like steel.
    b. It is important to discern whether these cities exist in either a strong or weak regional context to adequately consider new economic positions.
    c. Similarly, it is important to assess whether any of the city's historic economic assets remain in place with the potential to be repositioned to anchor a new local economy or else become "bedroom cities" to surrounding suburban employment centers.

2. Legacy Cities have seen flux in both population decline and population growth over the last 60 years.
    a. All Legacy Cities have experienced multiple decades of sustained population loss beginning as early as the 1940s and as late as the 1970s.
    b. Seventeen Legacy Cities experienced both loss and growth over the last five decades.
    c. Thirteen Legacy Cities experienced population growth between 1940 and 2010.
    d. One threshold criteria for a city moving out of the Legacy City category should be sustained population and job growth over two consecutive decades.

3. It is not clear that the land area of a Legacy City contributed to its historic decline or impedes its future regeneration potential.
    a. Population and residential densities vary greatly among the 48 big, mid-size, and small Legacy Cities, measured in terms of land area.
    b. Similar density patterns are observed in strong market cities within similar land area categories.
    c. Size matters more when it is understood against population and housing distribution across the city and its relationship to operational efficiency and reduction of property values, and tax and fee collections and in-town job-to-resident ratios.

4. The majority of Legacy Cities have majority White populations.
    a. With the exception of several major urban center cities that have majority Black populations, most Legacy Cities are largely White;
    b. However, White populations are leaving Legacy Cities in larger numbers compared to other racial groups;
    c. And several Legacy cities are increasing in racial diversity, with Hispanic population increasing and several cities having no racial majority, but a more balanced distribution of White, Black, and Hispanic populations.

5. The majority Black and Hispanic cities tend to be the poorest among all Legacy Cities.
    a. Communities of color, Black and Hispanic, are having the hardest time in Legacy Cities, with higher rates of poverty, unemployment, and income among all residents.
    b. The trends of post-slavery migration and current immigration might require further study to inform how historic and current segregation patterns and immigration laws contributed to the unique challenges with which these communities continue to struggle.

6. Despite changes in population, many Legacy Cities are starting to see gains in the size of their labor force.
    a. Further study is required to understand why the labor force is changing in Legacy Cities; are larger numbers of youth aging into the work force? Are greater numbers of older workers retiring? Are older populations staying in the work force longer?

7. The post-industrial Legacy Cities retain some of the highest rates of unemployment.
    a. Most Legacy Cities have unemployment rates above the U.S. national average.
    b. The Legacy Cities with the highest unemployment rates remain in the Rust Belt cities, with the top six cities located in the Midwest.
    c. Transitioning from a 20th century industrial economy remains a struggle for Northeastern and Midwestern Legacy Cities.

8. There are important lessons to be learned from Legacy Cities that are growing in population, increasing in median family income, and/or declining in poverty?
    a. New Orleans, Baltimore, Charleston, and Pittsburgh experienced improved poverty and family income rates, while their populations have not shown significant growth.
    Where positive changes in income and poverty are occurring, it will be critical to understand whether this represents the improvement of existing resident and household prosperity or, instead, a wave of economic gentrification.

9. Residential vacancy continues to define and impact the regeneration of Legacy City neighborhoods.
    a. Overall residential vacancy rates are between 7.6 and 23 percent.
    b. The majority of vacancy exists in high volumes of single-family housing properties with low market values, most in less desirable neighborhoods.
    c. Regeneration of neighborhoods with high levels of vacancy remains a challenge as people pick neighborhoods first, not the house. Therefore, if the overall quality of neighborhoods remains low (public safety, access to amenities, and physical conditions), then housing desirability will remain low.

Image credit: June Lee, Bruner Foundation

10. Not all Legacy Cities are the same, despite sharing common characteristics of sustained population loss, job loss, and vacancy.
    a. Given the diversity of conditions and trends among Legacy Cities, the range of recovery options must also be broader and more diverse.
    b. Regional economic strength and proximity, job-to-resident ratios, and the presence of economic and institutional anchors must inform the appropriate future for the diverse range of Legacy Cities. Some propositions to consider include:
        i. Urban Economic Centers of the Region – These cities remain the primary economic driver of the region because of the presence of strong anchors, larger labor force populations, and infrastructure.
        ii. City Clusters – These cities are likely mid-size or small cities in terms of population, clustered within the same region, that together have historically defined the regional economy.
        iii. The New "Bedroom Cities" – These cities exist in areas with the weakest regional economy, or the economic center has shifted to another municipality.

Further Considerations

Mapping Legacy Cities reveals several trends that portray a constantly changing picture of the cities physical condition and the prosperity of its residents. Sometimes this change demonstrated positive change and sometimes the data confirms the persistence of stagnation or future decline. Further considerations, beyond the scope of this study might also examine the role of leadership issues, institutional racism, obstacles to adequate civic capacity, legal constraints, regional competitiveness, and irresponsible spending as contributors to why these cities continue to struggle with urban recovery.

A comprehensive understanding of the trends that have contributed to the decline of these American cities can offer an informed perspective on innovative strategies for recovery and regeneration. Cities like Youngstown, New Orleans, Detroit, and Flint have already taken bold steps to convene inclusive, data-driven planning efforts that have led to citywide master plans and strategic frameworks to redefine each city's future identify. Every Legacy City has a future. Although a Legacy City's future may not resemble its past, that past can still be a source of insight to shape a new and sustainable future for the next generation.

05 GLOSSARY

ABSOLUTE POPULATION LOSS The number (#) of people that left a city during a defined period of time

ACCELERATION OF DECLINE When the % loss of the 2000-2010 census period is greater than the % loss from 1990 to 2000, a city is said to have an acceleration of decline

CITY IN DECLINE A city with greater than 5% population loss from 2000-2010

CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE Consists of people classified as employed or unemployed by the U.S. Census

CONTINUOUS POPULATION LOSS When every 10-year census period from peak to present shows population loss, a city is said to have experienced continuous population loss since peak population

GROWTH CITY A city that gained population from 2000-2010

HISPANIC People who identify with the terms "Hispanic" or "Latino" are those who classify themselves in one of the specific Hispanic or Latino categories listed on the decennial census questionnaire and various Census Bureau survey questionnaires - "Mexican, Mexican Am., Chicano" or "Puerto Rican" or "Cuban" - as well as those who indicate that they are "another Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin." Origin can be viewed as the heritage, nationality group, lineage, or country of birth of the person or the person's ancestors before their arrival in the United States. People who identify their origin as Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish may be of any race

LEGACY CITY A city with over 50,000 residents in 2000 that has lost more than 20% of its population from peak population to 2010. As defined, 48 US cities are Legacy Cities

LOUISVILLE/JEFFERSON COUNTY MERGER CITY IN DECLINE In 2003, the City of Louisville merged with the Jefferson County to become one united mayor council government. The Louisville/Jefferson County Metro Government. In this merger Louisville grew 326 square miles in size and roughly 440,000 people in population to become the 16th largest city in the U.S.

MEDIAN FAMILY INCOME Median income is the amount which divides the income distribution into two equal groups, half having income above that amount, and half having income below that amount. Family income is the sum of incomes of two or more people [one of whom is the householder] related by birth, marriage, or adoption residing in the same housing unit

NATIONAL AVERAGE For any given indicator, the National Average is found by extracting the same census report without a geographic filter

PARTICIPATION IN LABOR FORCE The proportion of the population over the age of 16 that is in the labor force. This category excludes students, homemakers, retired workers, seasonal workers interviewed in an off season who were not looking for work, institutionalized people, and people doing only incidental unpaid family work

POPULATION DENSITY The population of a city divided into its land area in square miles provides the population density in persons per square mile.

RACE The data on race were derived from answers to the question on race that was asked of individuals in the United States. The Census Bureau collects racial data in accordance with guidelines provided by the U.S. Office of Management and Budget (OMB), and these data are based on self-identification. The racial categories included in the census questionnaire generally reflect a social definition of race recognized in this country and not an attempt to define race biologically, anthropologically, or genetically. In addition, it is recognized that the categories of the race item include racial and national origin or sociocultural groups. People may choose to report more than one race to indicate their racial mixture, such as "American Indian" and "White." People who identify their origin as Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish may be of any race. OMB requires five minimum categories: White, Black or African American, American Indian or Alaska Native, Asian, and Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander.

RACIAL / ETHNIC SHARE The percent (%) of a city's total population self-identifying as belonging to a racial category (solely or in conjunction with other races).

RACIAL MAJORITY A city with more than 50% of its population self-identifying as belonging to a racial category has a racial majority of that category.

RECENT TREND The percent (%) change in a given indicator (i.e. population, unemployment, etc...) between the 2000 census and the 2010 census.

REGION Region is defined by state boundaries. Legacy cities fall into four U.S. Regions. The Northeast includes Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island. The Midwest includes Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Kentucky, Missouri and Minnesota, The Mid-Atlantic include Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, and Virginia. The South includes Alabama, Georgia and Louisiana.

RELATIVE POPULATION LOSS The percent (%) of the total population that left a city during a defined period of time [i.e. starting population less ending population divided by starting population]

RESIDENTIAL DENSITY The total housing units in a city divided into its land area in square miles provides the residential density in housing units per square mile. Occupancy, and housing unit type are not taken into account in this measure.

RESIDENTIAL "OTHER VACANCY" Included in this category are year-round units which were vacant for reasons other than those mentioned above: For example, held for occupancy of a caretaker, janitor; held for settlement of an estate, or held for personal reasons of the owner. The 2000 and 2010 Decennial Census formats did not define "other vacancy" further. However, the 2012 survey included several subcategories. The most common explanation for "other vacant" was "Personal/Family Reasons", followed by "Needs Repairs", "Storage", "Extended Absence", " Legal Proceedings", "Preparing to rent/sell" and "Possibly Abandoned/ To Be Demolished/ Condemned".

RESIDENTIAL VACANCY A housing unit is vacant if no one is living in it at the time of the interview, unless its occupants are only temporarily absent. In addition, a vacant unit may be one which is entirely occupied by persons who have a usual residence elsewhere. New units not yet occupied are classified as vacant housing units if construction has reached a point where all exterior windows and doors are installed and final usable floors are in place. Vacant units are excluded if they are exposed to the elements, that is, if the roof, walls, windows, or doors no longer protect the interior from the elements, or if there is positive evidence (such as a sign on the house or block) that the unit is to be demolished or is condemned. Also excluded are quarters being used entirely for nonresidential purposes, such as a store or an office, or quarters used for the storage of business supplies or inventory, machinery, or agricultural products.
A city with less than 5% population loss from 200-2010 that did not gain population

STABLE CITY A city with less than 5% population loss from 2000-2010 that did not gain population

STRONG MARKET CITY A city performing well across a number of indicators in addition to population growth. "Strong-market" cities included in this report were selected by cross-referencing rankings in economic performance[1], housing market strength[2], and livability scores[3].

UNEMPLOYED All civilians 16 years old and over are classified unemployed if they (1) were neither "at work" nor "with a job but not at work" during the reference week, and (2) were actively looking for work during the last 4 weeks, and (3) were available to start a job.

UNEMPLOYMENT RATE The number of unemployed people as a percentage (%) of the civilian labor force.

YEAR-ROUND VACANT UNITS Vacant units held off the market, and units occupied by persons with usual residence elsewhere (URE) are further classified as seasonal vacant or year round vacant units. When referring to residential vacancy, this report excludes "seasonal vacant". Year-round vacant units are further classified into the following categories: Vacant units for rent, Vacant units for sale, Vacant units rented or sold, where new occupants have not moved in as of date of census interview.

Source: (1) http://www.bizjournals.com/bizjournals/on-numbers/scott-thomas/2013/10/11-markets-where-the-economy-has-been.html?surround=etf&ana=e_article&page=all (2) http://www.forbes.com/2009/02/24/housing-cities-ten-lifestyle-real-estate_home_prices_slide_11.html, http://www.redfin.com/research/reports/special-reports/2014/what-slowdown-8-housing-markets-that-are-speeding-up.html#.U71ISo2wLOO, http://realestate.msn.com/article.aspx?cp-documentid=21145893 (3) http://livability.com/top-100-best-places-to-live

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CENSUS DATA FOR POPULATION, RACE / ETHNICITY, RESIDENTIAL VACANCY & LAND AREA

United States Census Bureau; 2010 Census Summary File 1; Tables: P5, P6, P8, P12, P13, P17, P19, P20, P25, P29, P31, P34, P37, P43, PCT5, PCT8, PCT11, PCT12, PCT19, PCT23, PCT24, H3, H4, H5, H11, H12, H16, and G001; generated by Michele Flournoy; using American FactFinder; <http://factfinder2.census.gov> (2 March 2013)

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