

HOUSEHOLD AND COMMUNITY CHANGE WITHIN CHICAGO'S WOODLAWN NEIGHBORHOOD

A Research Report for Preservation of Affordable Housing (POAH)



JACK, JOSEPH AND MORTON MANDEL
SCHOOL OF APPLIED SOCIAL SCIENCES
CASE WESTERN RESERVE
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A Research Report for Preservation of Affordable Housing (POAH)

BY

Amy T. Khare, PhD

Alex Curley, PhD

NATIONAL INITIATIVE ON MIXED-INCOME COMMUNITIES (NIMC)
CASE WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY

April Jackson, PhD

DEPARTMENT OF URBAN PLANNING AND POLICY
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS AT CHICAGO

Sherise McKinney, MSSA

NATIONAL INITIATIVE ON MIXED-INCOME COMMUNITIES (NIMC)
CASE WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY

Bertram Melix

DOCTORAL CANDIDATE DEPARTMENT OF
GEOGRAPHY FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY

NOVEMBER 2021

CONTENTS

	Page
Executive Summary	1
1 Overview of Woodlawn Research Project	6
2 Context of the Woodlawn Neighborhood and POAH's Redevelopment	8
3 Outcomes for Original Residents of the Grove Parc Housing Development	14
4 Changing Demographic, Economic and Housing Trends in Woodlawn and Chicago	22
5 Comprehensive Community Change in Woodlawn	36
6 Implications for Action	44
References	46

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Brief Overview

This report focuses on a study of Preservation of Affordable Housing's (POAH) development work in the Woodlawn neighborhood of Chicago, IL, following the award of a Choice Neighborhoods Initiative (Choice) implementation grant in 2011. Choice grants award \$30.5 million to facilitate changes in neighborhood infrastructure and housing landscape, and to increase investments in initiatives targeted towards improving the lives of existing residents in the area, with a key focus on leveraging additional funding. A focal point of POAH's redevelopment work in the Woodlawn neighborhood was the Grove Parc Plaza Apartments (Grove Parc), a privately-owned housing development of 504 Housing Assisted Payment (HAP)-supported Section 8 units that was to be redeveloped with a total of 995 units of subsidized and market-rate housing to create a new mixed-income community.

POAH's efforts offer learning opportunities for the field of mixed-income housing as one of the first organizations to receive a Choice implementation grant. Ten years post-award, this study attempts to understand the impact of their work on the households of original residents and on the community as a whole.

POAH partnered with the National Initiative on Mixed-Income Communities and Dr. April Jackson¹ to fund a 3-part study focusing on residential household outcomes, neighborhood change, and investment trends in the Woodlawn neighborhood. Researchers sought to identify and analyze trends over a period of approximately 20 years (2000–2020) in order to capture context and data both before and after the Choice grant award. A combination of quantitative data analysis, ArcGIS mapping, and semi-structured stakeholder interviews was used to understand the household and neighborhood change process. Due to the number of potential influences on household and neighborhood population it is important to note that the study findings are presented with the notable limitation that causality cannot be assumed between the Choice award and the outcomes presented. In addition, the time period of interest also includes the 2008 Great Recession, which influenced economic trends at a number of levels. Where possible the researchers attempted to account for contextual factors during analysis.

1. Dr. Jackson, now an Associate Professor with the Department of Urban Planning and Policy at the University of Illinois at Chicago, received the grant for her work on this project while previously an Assistant Professor at Florida State University (FSU). Dr. Jackson completed the majority of her work on this project while at FSU.

Key Findings

STUDY 1: Quality of Life Changes: Assessment of Data and Intermediate Outcomes for Resident Households

What have been the results of the revitalization initiative on the quality of life for original residents who lived in Grove Parc, as well as the other low-income residents who moved into POAH's units located within Woodlawn?

Finding #1: Changes in the Original Household Population

Despite ongoing strategic efforts on POAH's part to retain as many existing Grove Parc residents as possible in Woodlawn, analysis of administrative data demonstrates an overall decline in the number of original households from 2009–2019, an influx of new residents and a trend towards smaller households with fewer children.

Finding #2: Upward Economic Trajectory of Remaining Households Over Time

Analysis of original Grove Parc residents who remained POAH residents in the years following the Choice award revealed an overall upward economic trend. Average household income was \$8,600 for the 380 households living in the community at the start of the Choice grant in 2012. Among the 103 still living there in 2019, average household income was \$16,316. It is important to note several nuances to this overall trend. Sub-group analyses reveal that households with children experienced significant gains in income, while those with no children did not.

STUDY 2: Assessment of Neighborhood Change

What are the trends in neighborhood change that have occurred in Woodlawn?

Finding #3: Population Decline, Coupled with Shifts to Higher Educational Attainment and Greater Racial Diversity

The Woodlawn neighborhood saw an overall 5% decrease in population from 2000 to 2018, with rates remaining relatively stable from 2010 to 2018.² It remained a historically African-American area, with a 92.7% Black population reported in 2000, there was a 10.7% decrease in the African-American population by 2018, reported at 82.8%.

Additionally, the portion of the population with less than a Bachelor's degree decreased from 86.3% in 2000 to 69.9% in 2018, indicating that the average education level of the population increased. The neighborhood population as a whole became more racially and ethnically diverse with an increase in White (4.3% to 9.7%), Latino/a/x (1.1% to 3.2%), and Asian (1.2% to 4.2%) residents.

Finding #4: Increased Income Diversity and Employment with Widening Income Gap between Residents

Overall the Woodlawn median household income increased between 2000 and 2018, from \$25,632 to \$29,728. There was a slight increase in unemployment (8.6% to 9.3%) and in residents below the poverty line (35.8% to 37.2%). Notably the income range of Woodlawn residents has changed significantly.

Data from 2006–2010 revealed no households earning more than \$75,000, with the majority of households (65%) earning less than \$25,000. In contrast, data from 2014–2018 shows 18.8% of residents earning more than \$75,000, with a segment (4.4%) earning upwards of \$150,000, and a 17% decrease in those reporting an income of less than \$25,000.

Finding #5: Fluctuating and Uneven Housing Market Trends in Woodlawn and Chicago

There have been significant fluctuations in owner/renter rates, median rents and home values, vacancy rates, and eviction rates between

2. According to the 2020 Census, there has been a 2.89% population increase and an 11.88% increase in households in the Woodlawn neighborhood over the past 10 years (<https://www.chicagocityscape.com/maps/?place=communityarea-woodlawn>)

2000 and 2018. From 2000–2010, Woodlawn saw growth in home-ownership (+29.9%), median rents (+102.2%), and home values (+48.7%), and a decrease in renter occupied housing (-23.6%). Though there was also an increase (+94.7%) in vacancy rates between 2000 and 2010.

This period was followed by a decline from 2010 and 2018, in home-ownership (-5.2%) and home values (-31.8%). Overall, from 2000–2018, renter occupied units decreased (-14.7%), while owner occupied units increased (23.1%), median rent increased (126.3%), and median home values increased slightly (1.4%). Vacant housing increased by 54.5% overall.

STUDY 3: Trends in Investment in Comprehensive Revitalization

- 1) What are the trends in neighborhood investments from public and private sources in Woodlawn during the period of 2000 to 2020?
- 2) How and to what extent have the initial Choice investments been accompanied by subsequent and broader investment and redevelopment within Woodlawn?

Finding #6: POAH's Capacity for Collaboration Facilitated Trusting Partnerships

Woodlawn has a rich history of civic engagement and there have been multiple efforts to increase investment in the neighborhood; however such initiatives have often lacked the necessary partnerships and coordination to achieve their intended impact. In contrast, stakeholders noted POAH's role as a galvanizing change agent, entering Woodlawn with a clear, transparent mission to work in the best interests of residents and demonstrating a willingness to work alongside longstanding neighborhood actors. As a result, POAH built trusting partnerships with residents, non-profits, philanthropic partners, and corporations alike. This cooperative, trust-building strategy was noted as a key component of POAH's success in engaging others in their initiatives, including the Choice grant implementation.

Finding #7: POAH Advanced Public and Private Investment into Woodlawn

In part due to its collaborative efforts with local stakeholders, POAH was able to use the initial \$30.5 million Choice grant to leverage upwards of \$400,000,000 from nearly 30 sources, including federal, state, and local government entities, as well as private and philanthropic partners.

Finding #8: POAH Preserved, Stabilized, and Expanded Housing Opportunities

POAH either redeveloped or constructed 8 new buildings and rehabbed 25 properties through 2020, either directly using Choice funding or funding secured as a result of leveraging the Choice grant. This development included mixed-income, mixed-use housing, the preservation and expansion of affordable and workforce housing, and the creation of market-rate units.

Finding #9: POAH Contributed to Commercial and Transit Development

While the POAH housing developments served to attract businesses to the area, POAH also strategically invested in retaining and attracting small businesses, with a focus on those owned by African-American entrepreneurs. They were also instrumental in working with local partners to construct a full-service grocery store, the first to open in Woodlawn in several decades. Transit development was a major focus for POAH, resulting in the intentional cultivation of a pedestrian friendly transit corridor. These efforts led to a combined \$60 million pledge from local and state funding sources to further transit investment. Combined, POAH's investments and those it helped spur from other organizations has significantly improved the commercial and transit amenities available to longstanding residents.

Finding #10: POAH's Leadership Established High-quality Community-desired Resources

POAH has prioritized community investments that would have the most potential for positive impact on existing Woodlawn residents.

As part of their efforts through the Choice initiative, they dedicated funding to improving safety (resulting in minor but notable decreases in violent crimes), constructing a neighborhood resource center, and investing in youth programming and amenities such as a recreation center and after-school programming.

Implications for Action

These findings indicate a number of implications for future action for POAH, as well as policymakers and practitioners. This list is not exhaustive, but instead attempts to offer guidance for those implementing future urban transformation efforts while prioritizing resident well-being.

Implications for Policy: Both Public and Private Funding is Necessary

- Federal funding should be directed at projects such as this in the future. Absent major investment similar to the Choice Neighborhoods Initiative it can be difficult to attract outside investors, partially due to the stigma that can prevail around affordable housing construction.
- State funding should direct additional developer investment in affordable (tax credit) housing projects to preserve and maintain existing affordable housing.
- Continue to allocate City funding and partnerships with NHS and CIC to support homeowners in efforts to maintain and rehab naturally occurring affordable housing (NOAH).

Implications for Planning and Practice: Invest with Intentionality: Prioritize Durability and Maximizing Benefits for the Community

- Concentrate investment in areas where the funding will make the most impact, for example in hubs that can impact surrounding areas in order to maximize the benefit for the area.

- Identify what each group involved in an initiative needs and identify how they can have those needs met through their involvement in making the initiative a success.
- Elected officials often have to focus on immediate results and short-term initiatives, so it is key for those interested in durable change to dedicate time to building relationships with them and supporting them in understanding what changes they can make within their risk tolerance.
- Plan with the intention of maximizing benefit to the community being developed; for example, focus on fostering small business and entrepreneurship, in order to bring success to those already in the area.
- Adapt once the market has been proven to maximize affordable housing preservation and creation. For example, when market-rate renters have been successfully attracted to the area, be ready to move beyond mixed-income housing to create affordable developments.
- Strive to establish an honest and open relationship with partners where you can hold each other accountable about their practices and what they are or are not doing for the community.
- Prioritize anti-displacement policies and practices in order to ensure the preservation of affordable housing options for residents in the community undergoing transformation efforts.

Implications for Community and Resident Power and Participation: Respect the Community's History with Neighborhood Change

- Recognize and appreciate the community's history with development and neighborhood change. It is important to understand that the community has likely been told several times that some type of change would happen that ultimately did not come through, so it is important to allow space for them

to discuss their feelings about that, to respect their feelings and to ensure their current needs are understood, as one stakeholder shared, "...listen, understand, and support..."

- Be clear and transparent with community members about what is possible and what is not, and why not: making space for community members does not necessarily mean losing agency over the project's direction.
- Invite community members to be a part of the process instead of lecturing them. Provide them with a seat at the table and invite them to engage on key questions and challenges.
- Establishing authentic, trusting relationships with community members is key. Start with understanding the community's concerns and then identify how your work can support meeting those needs.
- Communication is crucial; the efforts of private institutions are not always obvious to community members, who may only be aware of neighborhood changes when they see construction begin.

Implications for POAH: Maintain Development Practices and Partnerships that Continue to Stabilize and Revitalize the Woodlawn Neighborhood

- Support more equitable and balanced development investments in affordable housing, mixed-use development and amenities within both West and East Woodlawn.
- Monitor and track neighborhood changes utilizing the DePaul Institute for Housing Studies Displacement Risk Index.
- As public and private investments are used to develop housing, retail, amenities, etc..., update the Woodlawn Ordinance as needed with additional anti-displacement policies to continue to mitigate displacement of existing neighborhood residents.
- Hold community classrooms to educate residents on POAH projects and ongoing planning protections aimed to support neighborhood stabilization rather than gentrification.



1

OVERVIEW OF WOODLAWN RESEARCH PROJECT

Background

The Woodlawn neighborhood in Chicago has undergone rapid changes over the past decade due to extensive public and private investment projects and planning efforts. In particular, the Choice Neighborhoods Initiative (Choice) implementation grant, from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) to Preservation of Affordable Housing (POAH) (and the City of Chicago as its co-applicant), and the related investments POAH leveraged. This influx of funding prompted changes in the physical, economic, and social environment of Woodlawn,³ and impacted the lives of the primary intended beneficiaries: the original, low-income residents who were affected when the Grove Parc Plaza Apartments (Grove Parc) were demolished and redeveloped. These investments also impacted the lives of the secondary intended beneficiaries: the residents who moved into POAH's mixed-income housing developments in Woodlawn and the neighbors living in the surrounding neighborhood.

As one of the first awarded Choice grants in the nation, POAH's efforts offer an opportunity to understand household and community change over time within the redeveloped housing community and

within the broader neighborhood. This research report intends to inform current and future Choice initiatives and other mixed-income community change efforts that aim to transform entire neighborhoods while prioritizing benefits for existing low-income residents.

Research Project Overview

POAH provided funding support to the National Initiative on Mixed-Income Communities (NIMC), Case Western Reserve University and Dr. April Jackson for the Woodlawn Research Project. The research project included the three discrete studies outlined below, which were conducted between 2019 and 2021.

STUDY 1: Quality of Life Changes: Assessment of Data and Intermediate Outcomes for Resident Households

We sought to answer the research question: What have been the results of the revitalization initiative on the quality of life for original residents who lived in Grove Parc, as well as the other low-income residents who moved into POAH's units located within Woodlawn? To answer this question, we conducted a systematic review of various

3. The Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) issued 40 Choice implementation grants between 2010 and 2021. POAH is one of the original five implementation grantees, funded in 2010.

datasets and reports provided by POAH, developed an analysis plan based on the availability, consistency, timing, and quality of key indicators, and conducted specific analyses deemed most useful and feasible with a subset of data.

This report documents resident quality of life intermediate outcomes by using currently available data sources and comparing household-level data over time.

STUDY 2: Assessment of Neighborhood Change

We sought to answer the research question: What are the trends in neighborhood change that have occurred in Woodlawn? In particular, we investigated neighborhood change over an eighteen-year period to understand trends in economic, demographic, and housing market indicators. We mapped neighborhood change using ArcGIS software to understand what the trends are in neighborhood change pre-and post-Choice. By highlighting changing conditions, this study informs future efforts to track indicators at various scales in order to monitor conditions that place current residents at risk for displacement.

STUDY 3: Trends in Investment in Comprehensive Revitalization

In this study, we examined trends in public and private investment within the Woodlawn neighborhood over a twenty-year period to understand financial investment for the target development and the surrounding area over time. Our two research questions were: 1) What are the trends in neighborhood investments from public and

private sources in Woodlawn during the period of 2000 to 2020? 2) How and to what extent have the initial Choice investments been accompanied by subsequent and broader investment and redevelopment within Woodlawn? To answer these questions, we conducted an analysis of pro formas for Woodlawn properties that were developed using Choice funding, or which otherwise leveraged POAH funding as a part of their redevelopment. In addition, we interviewed 10 stakeholders whose decisions influenced investment trends, including neighborhood leaders, anchor institution representatives, city officials, and others. Together, these two sources illuminate the story of the Woodlawn neighborhood's investment trends.

Research Report Overview

We believe there is potential to advance learning about POAH's development model and influence future mixed-income transformation projects. The results of the three discrete studies are organized as follows:

- Context of the Woodlawn Neighborhood and POAH's Redevelopment
- Outcomes for Original Residents of The Grove Parc Housing Development
- Changing Demographic, Economic and Housing Trends in Woodlawn and Chicago
- Comprehensive Community Change in Woodlawn
- Implications for Action

2

CONTEXT OF THE WOODLAWN NEIGHBORHOOD AND POAH'S REDEVELOPMENT

Woodlawn Community and Research Study Area

The Woodlawn neighborhood is one of 77 community areas that comprise the City of Chicago (see Figure 1). For the purpose of this research study, the neighborhood boundaries include Stony Island Avenue on the east to Martin Luther King Drive on the west, and from 60th Street on the north to 67th Street on the south. The Woodlawn neighborhood includes 4,875 land parcels that cover nearly 2 square miles or 973 acres (Woodlawn East Community and Neighbors, 2019).

Our research study uses the defined neighborhood boundaries of Woodlawn based on the U.S. Census Bureau. For the purpose of our neighborhood change analyses, we note census tract boundaries changed slightly between 2000 and 2010, when the U.S. Census Bureau merged two census tracts in Woodlawn and added a square-shaped area of land to the furthest east census tract. This resulted in a total of 11 census tracts that we used to collect and map census data (see Figure 2 and 3). These Woodlawn boundaries coincide with the target area defined in the Choice neighborhoods grant.

To understand the distinct areas of Woodlawn, we also divided the neighborhood into four quadrants: northwest, southwest, northeast, and southeast. This allows us to drill down to findings at a more granular level in order to explain where and how neighborhood change is

occurring more specifically within different parts of the Woodlawn community (see Figure 3).

Overview of Neighborhood Assets

Located adjacent to some of the most expansive green spaces in the city, including Washington Park to the northwest and Jackson Park to the east, Woodlawn stands out for its access to recreation and parks. The neighborhood's easy access to Lake Michigan and Lake Shore Drive make it attractive for people seeking walking paths, expansive views, and open areas for recreation. According to one local investor interviewed for this study: *"Woodlawn has tremendous assets. It's right near the lake. It's near one of the great parks in America, both Jackson Park, the Midway, and Washington Park, not far from University of Chicago and the Obama [Presidential] Center."*

The Chicago Transit Authority's (CTA) Green Line stop at 63rd Street and Cottage Grove Avenue serves as the commercial hub of the neighborhood. After years of debate between the community and the city, the CTA demolished a 3,000-foot section of Green Line L tracks east of Cottage Grove in 1997 to create a more attractive environment for commercial and residential development along 63rd Street. Today, while there remains vacant land that could be redeveloped in the coming years along 63rd St., there are also a number of local businesses

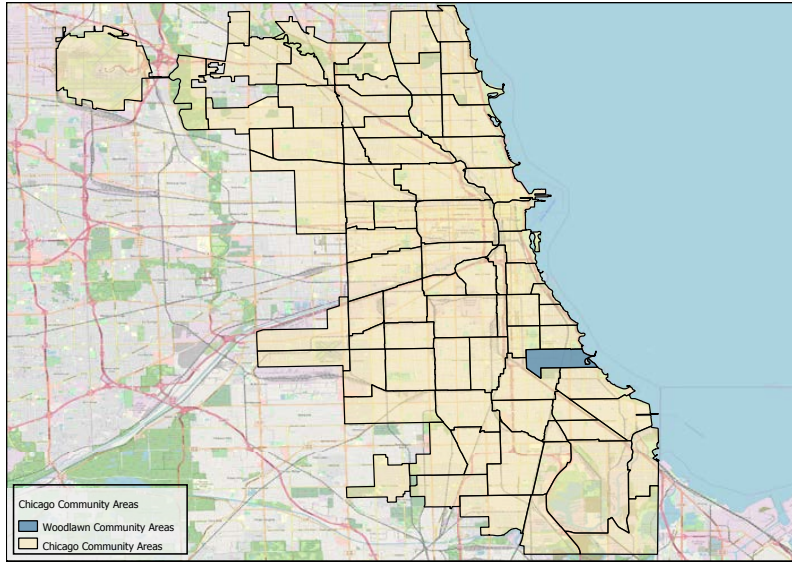


FIGURE 1: COMMUNITY AREA

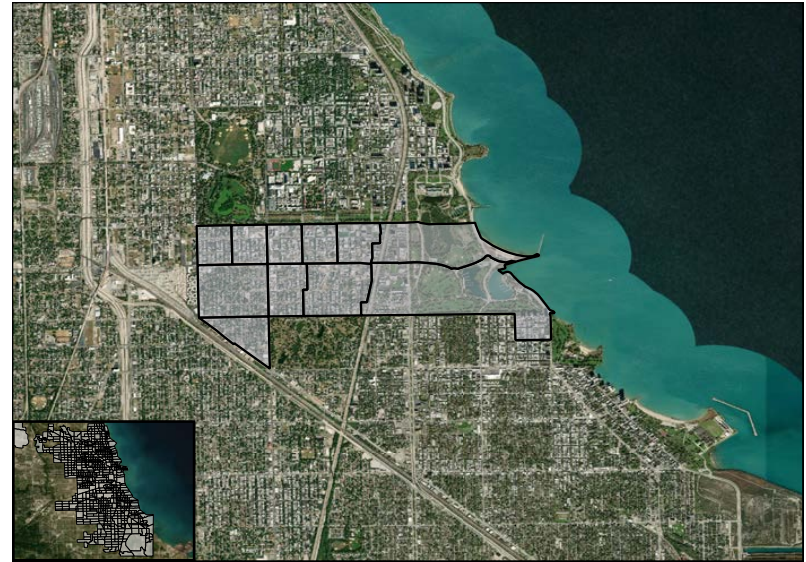


FIGURE 2: RESEARCH STUDY AREA

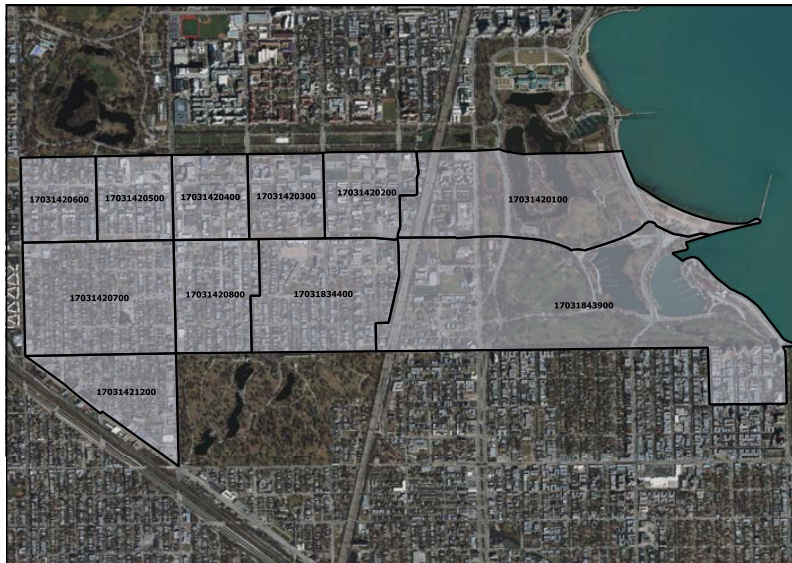


FIGURE 3: RESEARCH STUDY AREA BY CENSUS TRACT

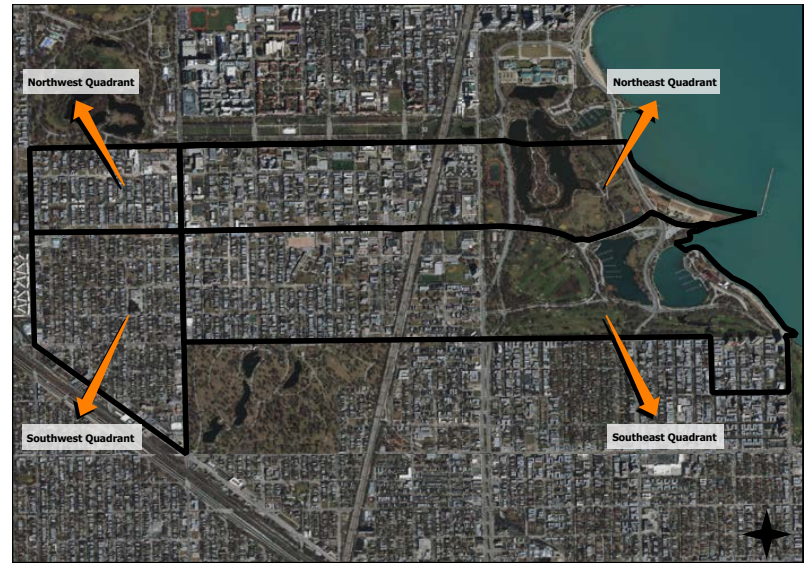


FIGURE 4: RESEARCH STUDY AREA BY QUADRANT

and national franchise stores which offer a range of services and retail options. Furthermore, the Green line connects Woodlawn to other parts of the city, as this local foundation representative stated: *“I don’t think a lot of people appreciate that it’s a 20-minute train ride between Woodlawn and the central business district.”*

Cottage Grove Avenue, which runs north and south, divides Woodlawn into two sub-neighborhoods: West Woodlawn and East Woodlawn. Over the past twenty years, East Woodlawn has experienced spurts of development, including the creation of new market-rate, single-family homes and the rehabilitation of historic apartment buildings. West Woodlawn includes more rental housing, including multi-family homes and small apartment buildings located on tree-lined streets. In the past decade, West Woodlawn has experienced neighborhood stabilization efforts, including interventions aimed at affordable homeownership.

Woodlawn’s development as a neighborhood has been largely influenced by the University of Chicago, located just a few blocks north of the Green Line Cottage Grove transit stop. A complicated history of tension between the University of Chicago and Woodlawn still influences approaches to neighborhood investment and development. Yet, the University of Chicago has taken its recent role in contributing to re-investment in Woodlawn seriously, as one representative of the institution reported: *“There’s a lot more activity on our campus. Now, there is a new hotel being constructed, which is the first hotel in Woodlawn in at least 50 years. There’s a new conference center...There’s not a wall between those things in the community. There’s going to be amenities...that the community can take advantage of. There’s the Logan Center for the Arts which has a very strong programming, not just the Woodlawn community but South Side communities in general. We have strengthened our goals for hiring a diverse workforce to construct those buildings. We have one of the most aggressive goals of any anchor institution in the city...There’s been a long term-partnership with*

POAH and others in the community to try and attract some other assets to the community.” The University of Chicago also continues to expand student housing, which brings new people and development to the area.

Today, the University of Chicago is the largest employer on Chicago’s South Side, which serves to benefit local Woodlawn residents who work and live in close proximity. In the past decade, the University has placed a high priority on employer-assisted housing benefits for employees to purchase homes in Woodlawn, as well as new development of South campus buildings which are located in Woodlawn (University of Chicago EAHP 2015; University of Chicago South Campus Revival 2011).

Overview of Housing and Community Redevelopment Over the Past 20 Years

Much has progressed in Woodlawn over the course of 20 years. In particular, the neighborhood has changed in its racial and economic composition. Questions still remain about how best to promote inclusion and equity in the comprehensive community change process, as this stakeholder described: *“You need to have revitalization. You need to have more economic activity. You need more people to be in there. You need the businesses to come back. You need jobs to be created. You need the built environment to have the types of amenities that people want to live around....So the assets are there in Woodlawn, but it’s about making sure that the investment comes in and it comes in in a way that’s inclusive of the community. So they get access to the jobs, the local schools are improved, and their kids can still go to the schools. Health opportunities are there. They are accessible and affordable to them. Housing is there. Existing residents are not pushed out and displaced because they can’t afford housing.”* In this next section, we provide a brief overview of neighborhood conditions during three different time periods.

2000–2009: Neighborhood Revitalization and Stabilization

Woodlawn faced enormous challenges between 2000 to 2009 in part due to previous declines in the economic environment over the course of several decades. When speaking of Woodlawn in the early 2000s, stakeholders spoke of an area that was largely left behind by revitalization efforts and struggling to maintain itself. This was perhaps best summarized by a stakeholder who shared: *“It was tough. It was really an area where you wouldn’t want to walk around, or at least you were told, you shouldn’t walk around, probably more accurately...You know the buildings were darker and grittier. [There] was a lot of trash...sort of abandoned. It was cold, uninviting, and I think there was really a sense of the neighborhood sort of being on the edge. Going in the wrong direction.”*

Much of the planning process to address neighborhood decline occurred under the leadership of the Network of Woodlawn and through the New Communities Program (NCP), a comprehensive community initiative funded by the Local Initiatives Support Corporation (LISC). Network of Woodlawn and NCP started planning for comprehensive community development in 2003 and in May 2005 issued a plan entitled the “Rebuilding the Village Quality of Life Plan” (LISC 2005). The plan has informed community development efforts in the neighborhood since then.

In 2004, the University of Chicago announced a new plan for its South Campus, a 10-block stretch bounded by 60th and 61st Streets and Dorchester and Cottage Grove Avenues. University of Chicago’s South Campus expansion included student dormitories, the Logan Arts Center, a theological seminary, and mixed-use buildings. When the plan was announced, Chicago was experiencing a housing revival, lifted by the national tide of accessible mortgage credit. Developers built and renovated a number of condos and apartments across Woodlawn, including in the more economically challenged area west of Cottage Grove and south of 63rd Street.

Chicago’s unsuccessful 2016 Olympic bid also spurred some redevelopment activity, though it was short lived. The 2008 financial crisis caused much of the progress to stall. West Woodlawn’s property values fell significantly, rehabilitation and new construction practically stopped, and foreclosures, vacancy, and abandonment grew.

Grove Parc, whose buildings lined Cottage Grove at the western edge of the University’s South Campus area, had been a central concern in planning for revitalization. The development had become problematic for both tenants and neighbors due to building code violations, lack of funding for upkeep, and criminal activity. When POAH gained ownership in 2008, the buildings were in such poor shape that they could not be preserved, requiring demolition.

Starting in the mid-2000s, efforts by the Shriver Center for Poverty Law and Southside Together Organizing for Power (STOP) highlighted the deterioration of Grove Parc, a 504-unit project-based Section 8 housing community which was built during Urban Renewal (Lydersen, 2012). STOP and the Grove Parc Tenants Association (GPTA) invited POAH to Woodlawn with the goal of retaining affordable housing in the community.

During 2007–2008, POAH worked to build consensus around a redevelopment plan through meetings with tenant leadership, government officials at HUD, the Illinois Housing Development Authority, and the City of Chicago, University of Chicago leaders, and neighborhood stakeholders. Both POAH and GPTA were from the start committed to non-displacement and 1-for-1 replacement of all units, and a memorandum of agreement memorialized GPTA’s role in the redevelopment process. In addition, this agreement ensured resident engagement in development decisions, including resident input into the specific housing subsidy mix for the redeveloped mixed-income community.

2010–2019: Choice Neighborhood Initiative and Woodlawn’s Redevelopment

POAH advanced an inclusive community change initiative intended to reduce concentrated poverty and retain existing residents. Much of this work was organized through the award and implementation of a \$30.5 million HUD Choice Neighborhoods Initiative grant awarded in 2011. The grant was one of the first in the nation to be awarded, and POAH was the first non-profit organization to ever serve as a Choice lead grantee.

With the grant POAH transformed Grove Parc into a new mixed-income community, located between 60th and 63rd streets on Cottage Grove Avenue. The redeveloped Grove Parc site includes 244 housing units, with 20 additional units planned as well as over 90,000 ft² of commercial, community and recreation space.

During this decade, POAH developed a total of 6 new buildings and partnered on the development of 2 others on the old footprint of Grove Parc, and developed two new buildings offsite (Figure 5). POAH also acquired 25 buildings offsite throughout East and West Woodlawn. There have been almost 1,000 mixed-income units completed on the existing Grove Parc site and surrounding locations. There are five primary phases onsite: The Jackson (67 units), the Grant (33 units), The Burnham (65 unit senior development), Trianon Lofts (24 units), and Woodlawn Station (70 units, 55 onsite). Also, included in redevelopment efforts is the Woodlawn Resource Center (an 8,000 ft² facility which provides employment and financial supports for Woodlawn residents), a grocery store and a MetroSquash recreation center.



PU802.2020

FIGURE 5: WOODLAWN MASTER PLAN (POAH)



FIGURE 6: POAH'S HOUSING PORTFOLIO IN WOODLAWN⁴

2020 and Beyond

In 2020 and 2021, the City of Chicago undertook a comprehensive effort to review all of Woodlawn's redevelopment plans, engage with neighborhood stakeholders, and develop one central plan intended to inform community development efforts within the neighborhood. POAH staff members contributed to this process, as well as

the final deliberations of the Woodlawn Housing Preservation ordinance, led by the Department of Housing and passed by City Council in September 2020. This legislation assists with the rehabilitation of existing affordable housing, promotes equitable and inclusive income diversity efforts, and protects existing residents from displacement (City of Chicago, n.d).

4. Figure 6 includes a blue placeholder for a property called the Midway, which was planned but not built. This is the most recent map POAH has on file.

3

OUTCOMES FOR ORIGINAL RESIDENTS OF THE GROVE PARC HOUSING DEVELOPMENT

POAH's Choice grant award involved efforts to support positive outcomes for households living in the Grove Parc Plaza Apartments. Explicit Choice commitments included, for example, providing opportunities that would result in increased wages over time, better access to high-quality schools and early learning programs, and stable physical and mental health for children and adults.

Quality of Life Goals for Original Residents of the Grove Parc Housing Development

The results of our study focus primarily on the original residents who lived in Grove Parc at the time the grant was awarded. We sought to assess changes in quality-of-life outcomes over a ten-year period (2009–2019) using household level data provided by POAH.⁵ This study offers a unique opportunity to learn more about how residents fared from the mixed-income transformation. The study provides a window into the incredibly important intermediate outcomes for residents from the original development—the intended primary beneficiaries of Choice.

As with many complex initiatives, Choice evaluations are often conducted on a site-by-site basis and focus on implementation or early outcomes. Because Woodlawn was in the first cohort of five Choice grantees, it was part of HUD's early implementation study of the sites (Urban Institute & MDRC, 2015). The study found that, "the Center for Working Families model resulted in increased job placements for residents of the target development" (2015), as an early positive economic outcome. A related study (Joice, 2017) assessed household income and attrition data from the five sites (including Woodlawn) and examined changes between 2011 and 2016 (during Choice). Households at all five sites showed increases in average and median household incomes during the Choice period. At Woodlawn, median household income increased by 12% and average income increased by more than 40% (2017).⁶

This current study builds on these two existing studies by using a new dataset (directly from POAH property management rather than HUD) and expanding the timeline to 2009–2019. This study provides insight into how original households changed over a longer timeframe,

5. The data set provided by POAH did not include addresses or other information about residents who permanently relocated off-site either as part of the Choice relocation process (during those years), nor those who may have moved out post-Choice for a range of reasons.

6. It should be noted that these figures do not account for changes in population in the communities over time, although the author indicates that the patterns of increased income were also found for a panel of Choice households from all study sites (e.g., a panel controls for population change).

pre-and post-Choice investments, spanning three years before Choice and two years after Choice. While we initially intended to assess a wide array of resident outcomes over time, such as health, education, and employment, limitations in the data led us to refocus on a smaller set of indicators: 1) Changes in the size of the original household population; and 2) The economic trajectory of remaining households.

FINDING #1: Changes in the Original Household Population

For the purposes of our analysis, the households residing in the community in 2009/2010—at the time of POAH’s Choice application to HUD—are considered “original” Grove Parc households. According to POAH’s data, there were 445 original households living in the community at the time of the application and 375 in 2012 when POAH executed the Choice grant.

Figure 7 shows how the Woodlawn community changed over the course of the eleven years as the share of original households decreased and the share of new households grew.⁷ Original households went from making up the entire population in the development (100%) in 2009/2010 to 73% in 2012 when POAH received the award from HUD. Three years into Choice (2015), original households made up just over half (56%) of the population, and by the end of the Choice grant in 2017, they made up just one-third (34%) of the households in the community. Of the 445 original households living in the community in 2009/2010 (at the time of POAH’s Choice application to HUD), 25% (109 households) still lived in the community in 2019.

These changes in population occurred despite POAH’s early and ongoing efforts to retain original Grove Parc households. Efforts included:

1. Every Grove Parc resident who wanted to remain in Woodlawn (or return to Woodlawn after relocation), and was lease compliant,

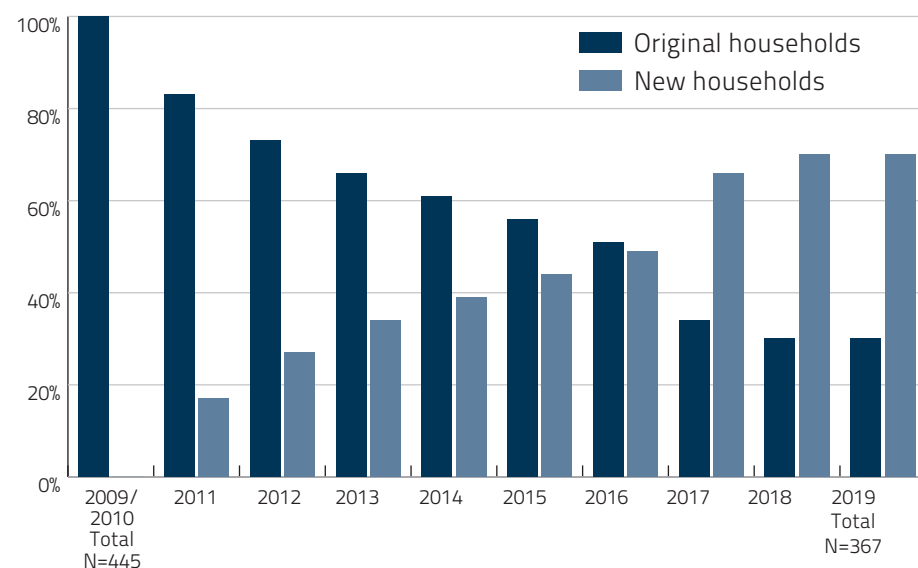


FIGURE 7: WOODLAWN POPULATION CHANGES 2009–2019

was guaranteed a new apartment in the community that was either newly constructed or rehabbed.

2. The order by which new units were offered was dictated by a resident lottery conducted before the Choice demolition and construction work began.
3. Residents were allowed up to three housing choices; that is, they could decline up to two offered units.
4. To the extent possible, as redevelopment occurred, residents were relocated to other Grove Parc units or other temporary relocation units in Woodlawn.

7. The data set provided by POAH did not include any data (e.g., addresses or demographics) about residents who relocated permanently off-site either as part of the Choice relocation process or residents who moved out post-Choice (after 2017).

5. As part of Choice, all original Grove Parc residents were offered Housing Choice vouchers in 2015–16.⁸

Despite the strategies employed by POAH and the Woodlawn Choice team, the return rate of original residents was 25%, lower than what many staff had anticipated. There are no studies that we are aware of that allow for comparison to return rates at other completed Choice sites. The Joice study (2017) of the first five Choice sites provides a snapshot of resident attrition from HUD assistance during implementation. Attrition from the sites and from HUD assistance for original residents ranged from a low of 19% in Boston to a high of 31% in San Francisco in 2015. The current study found Chicago’s attrition rate to be 25%.

The Woodlawn return rate for original residents – 25% – is comparable to the average return rate for HOPE VI sites. A study of 237 HOPE VI developments found the average return rate was 27% (Gress, Cho, and Joseph, 2016); although HOPE VI sites varied with some much lower than this and some as high as 50% (GOA, 2003). The low return rates among HOPE VI residents was a major critique of the program, and one in which Choice intended to improve upon; with its “right to return” requirement, for example.

In addition to sheer population figures, we also explored the extent to which household characteristics shifted as the population changed over time. Table 1 provides descriptive information on several characteristics about original households and their housing throughout the 11-year period, including household size and composition, subsidy type, and income. At baseline (2009/2010), seven in ten households were single-parent households with children and 14% were two-adult households with children. Households that remained in Woodlawn were smaller and had fewer children, on average, compared to all original households. In fact, childless households nearly

doubled between the start and end of the Choice grant between 2012 (16%) and 2017 (31%).

FINDING #2: Upward Economic Trajectory of Remaining Households Over Time

Many different factors can influence household income, and for original Grove Parc residents, these may include factors that are directly or indirectly related to the Choice intervention. Factors may positively or negatively affect income depending on household circumstance and the phase of the Choice redevelopment (e.g. relocation, re-occupancy; the availability of different types of services and supports). For instance, residents may obtain new or better-paying jobs as a result of skills and education they obtained through Choice supports and services, leading to increases in household income over time. On the other hand, broader external factors such as shifts in the economy may affect employment and income. In these cases, Choice could play no role, a mediating role, or even make original households more vulnerable to negative impacts. Although we cannot control for all possible factors and establish causality between Choice and changes in household income, it is important to consider the complex forces that may be at play when considering the potential role of Choice.

Did original Grove Parc households experience changes in household income? Our approach to addressing this question was multi-faceted. Below we start with a broad picture of the community and work towards more refined analyses. First, we consider the extent to which original households’ incomes changed between 2009 and 2019. The data displayed in Figure 8 shows the average household income for original households each year during this period. The number of original households represented per year in the graph is located next to the year.

Figure 8 shows that the average and median household income for

8. As described in the Baseline Report published by Urban Institute and MDRC, there were substantial delays from HUD in distributing Housing Choice Vouchers to Choice sites. It is possible these delays influenced residents’ decision to relocate elsewhere or remain. At the Grove Parc site, 89 households accepted vouchers and elected to relocate.

TABLE 1: ORIGINAL HOUSEHOLDS: HOUSING AND HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTICS BY YEAR⁹

	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
UNIT TYPE											
PBRA	406	431	421	378	348	323	262	140	124	108	97
HCV	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	10	0	1	1
Market-rate	4	3	4	7	6	5	3	6	10	5	5
Total	410	435	425	380	355	328	266	156	134	114	103
HOUSEHOLD SIZE											
Mean	3.6	3.6	3.4	3.5	3.5	3.5	3.5	2.8	2.8	2.6	2.7
Median	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	2.0
# ADULTS IN HOUSEHOLD											
Mean	1.4	1.5	1.4	1.4	1.5	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.5	1.5	1.6
Median	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0
# CHILDREN (UNDER 18)											
Mean	2.2	2.2	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.1	1.4	1.3	1.1	1.0
Median	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0
HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION											
1-parent/adult w. child(ren)	71%	70%	71%	71%	69%	68%	67%	56%	54%	52%	57%
2-parent/adults w. child(ren)	14%	15%	14%	14%	15%	16%	15%	14%	15%	16%	15%
1-adult household	9%	9%	10%	10%	10%	11%	11%	17%	18%	19%	18%
2-adult household	6%	5%	6%	6%	6%	5%	7%	12%	13%	13%	11%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
TOTAL HOUSEHOLD INCOME											
N	445	435	425	380	355	328	266	156	134	114	103
Mean	\$6,859	\$8,082	\$8,145	\$8,600	\$8,434	\$9,113	\$8,761	\$11,377	\$11,095	\$13,525	\$16,316
Median	\$7,608	\$7,904	\$7,340	\$8,070	\$8,376	\$7,344	\$8,025	\$9,875	\$9,337	\$9,386	\$13,493

9. Table 1 figures are descriptive counts, means, medians, and percentages reported separately for the group of original households in a given year. Further analyses including tests of significance for year-to-year differences among cohorts of households that remained in the community for the same number of years (e. g. a panel) are illustrated in other Tables and Figures below.

the population of original households living onsite each year hovered during the first few years of Choice, similar to the three prior years, and then rose for those who remained in the community each year for the following years up through 2019, two years beyond the Choice initiative. Average household income was \$6,859 for those living in the community at baseline in 2009, three years prior to Choice, and \$8,600 for those in the community at the time of the Choice award in 2012. For the 134 households remaining in the community at the end of the Choice grant in 2017, average household income was \$11,095 (median income was \$9,337), and for the 103 original households remaining two years later in 2019, average income was \$16,316 (median income was \$13,493).

Figure 8 shows that average income for the original households living in the community in 2019 was more than double that of the households residing there in 2009 (\$16,316 vs. \$6,859). While this finding is encouraging, these figures compare the baseline population of more than 400 households to just one quarter of this population that remained in the community 11 years later. The increased income could be due to the attrition of the lowest income households rather than actual increases in household incomes of those who remained onsite.

One method to assess whether the observed patterns are a result of other factors such as population changes (e.g., households with different levels of incomes moving in or out of the community) is to test whether the patterns hold for a cohort or “panel” of households that remain the same over time. Assessing cohorts of households allows us to compare pre- and post-intervention measures on individual households, in the aggregate, to test for statistically significant changes over time.

Next, we analyze income for a panel of households who lived in the community during the same years and test for statistically significant changes in individual household incomes over time.

Figure 9 displays the changes in income for ten cohorts (or panels) of

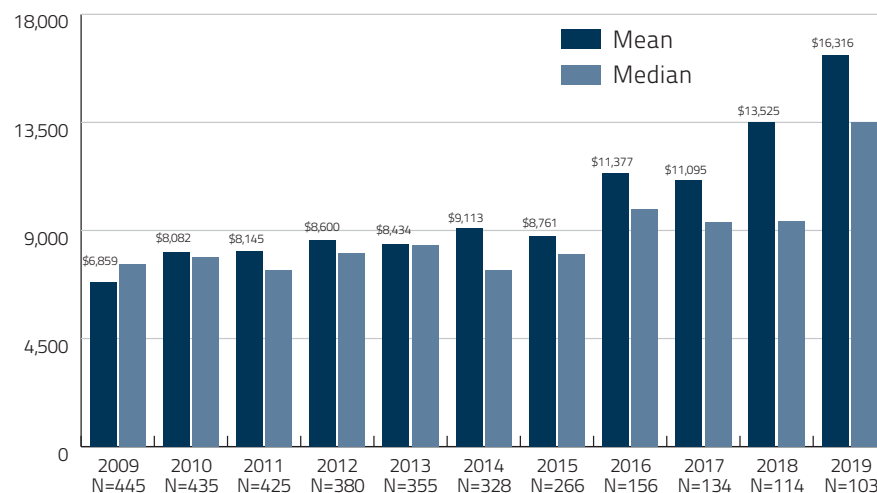


FIGURE 8: MEAN AND MEDIAN HOUSEHOLD INCOME FOR ORIGINAL HOUSEHOLDS LIVING ON-SITE

original households who lived at Grove Parc and Woodlawn. Each line represents the income trajectory for those who lived in the community from baseline (2009) through a given year, from 2010 through 2019. The lines track the average household income per year for the group of households that remained in the community during those same years (after which the cohort of households moved out, except those in 2019 who are presumed to have still lived in the community at the time we received the dataset). The light blue line represents the largest cohort: 110 original households that moved out of the community in 2015. As the largest cohort, the income trajectory of this group is particularly interesting to explore. The 2015 mover cohort had an average household income of \$4,800 in 2009, which steadily increased to \$8,600 in 2014, a statistically significant gain. The following year in 2015, however, income dropped significantly to \$5,977, after which the cohort moved out of the community. The 2013 mover cohort (N=27) was the only other group whose move out of the community coincided with a decline in income. In fact, the income trajectories

of five cohorts indicate their average household incomes were increasing significantly at the time of their moves out of the community.

The data also show that households that remained in the community the longest tended to have higher income gains, on average. For the panel of households that remained in the community from baseline (2009) through 2019 (the final year for which we had data), the average increases in household income were statistically significant. Between 2009 and 2019, average household income increased from \$8,135 to \$16,188 (and earned income increased from \$4,642 to \$10,783). Overall, the data indicate that the patterns discussed previously were not likely due to only attrition of the lowest income households and retention of the highest income households.

Unfortunately, we are unable to glean from the data any clues about the specific factors that may have contributed to the increases and decreases in income for specific cohorts during specific years. In general, the greatest gains in household income appear from 2013 to 2018, except for the 2015 mover cohort. This was the period where residents were offered a range of Choice-funded services, including those geared toward improving residents' job skills, education, and

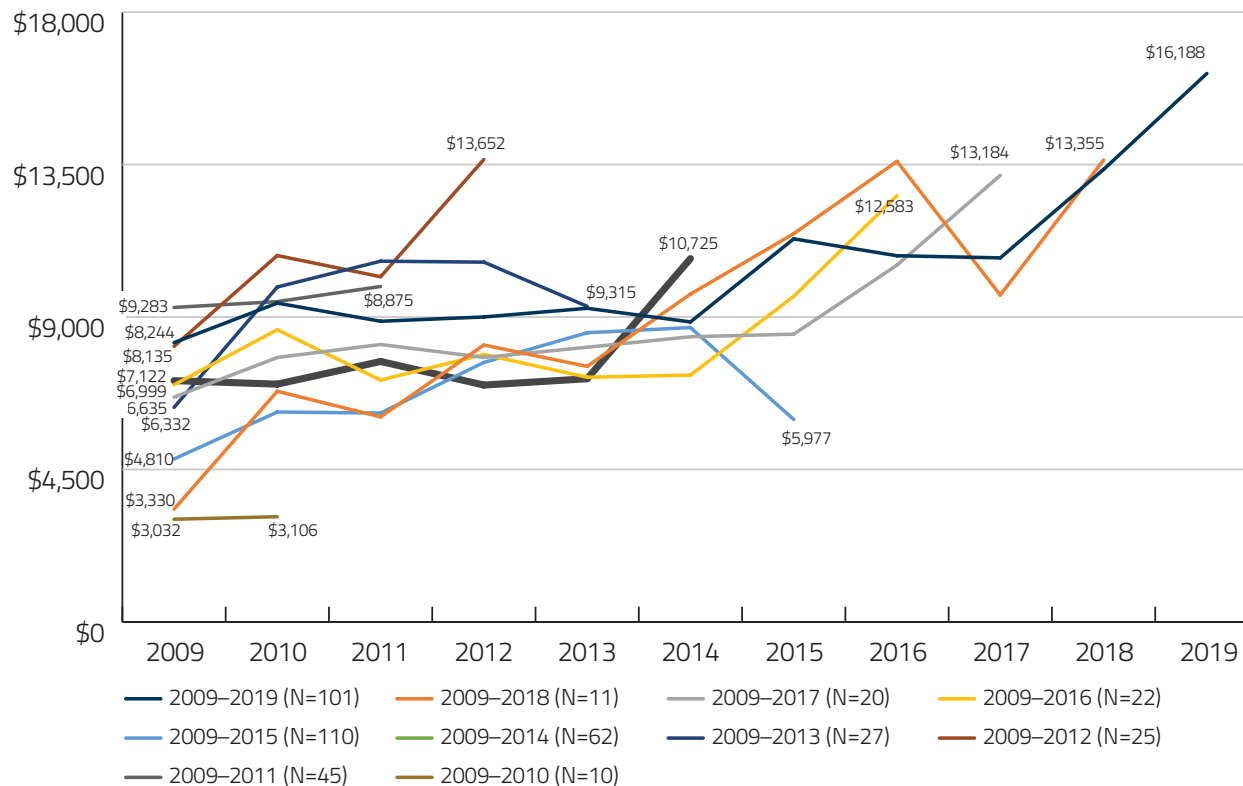


FIGURE 9: HOUSEHOLD INCOME TRAJECTORIES FOR PANELS OF ORIGINAL HOUSEHOLDS THAT MOVED OUT OF THE COMMUNITY IN DIFFERENT YEARS

connections to employment opportunities. Increased income over time is certainly an expected outcome of such resources. While we do not know which households engaged or benefited from such services, it is likely that at least some of the increases in income can be attributed to the Choice services provided to residents.

It is concerning that the original households with the lowest incomes—the 10 households with income averaging around \$3,000 in 2009—moved out in 2010. We do not know the reason for their moves or where they moved, but these are likely the most vulnerable

households and ones who may face the greatest housing instability. The cohort of households that moved out in 2011 had average household incomes in the \$9,000 - \$10,000 range—significantly higher than the earliest movers, but still very low-income households that may face housing instability. It is likely that many of the 2015 mover cohort took Housing Choice Vouchers, as this was the year when HUD provided the Woodlawn site with the long-awaited relocation vouchers. It is not known why income would have been declining for this cohort.

These methods revealed different patterns in income growth by household composition. While it was anticipated that income may differ based on the number of adults per household, the patterns we identified offer a more complex picture. Figure 10 shows patterns of income changes for different types of household compositions. Since household size and the number of adults and children in the home may affect household income, four household types were identified: 1) Single adult, 2) Two adults, 3) Single adult with one or more children, 4) Two adults with one or more children. Households with three or more adults were excluded from this analysis.

Households with children experienced the greatest gains in earned income throughout the Choice years. Although two-adult households with children, the second-largest household type (with 57 households in this category living in the community through 2015; 19 through 2019) had the lowest average earned income of all the household types in 2009 (\$1,036), became the group with the highest average earned incomes in 2019 (\$14,060)—at least the minority of households in this category who still lived onsite at this time. This increase of \$13,024 is statistically significant. Income in 2019 is 13 times greater. Average earned incomes for single-parent households, the largest

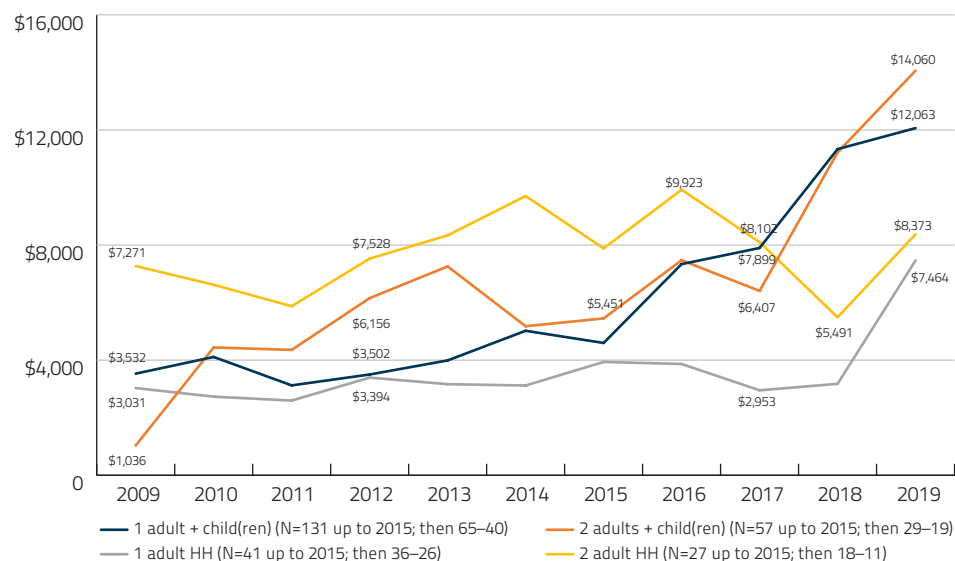


FIGURE 10: EARNED HOUSEHOLD INCOME: COMPARISON OF MEANS FOR A PANEL OF HOUSEHOLDS BY FAMILY COMPOSITION

household type with 131 families, increased from an average of \$3,532 to \$12,063, a statistically significant difference. Income averages also increased during this period for childless single adult households and two-adult households by \$4,433 and \$1,102 respectively.

The positive findings on many original households' incomes suggest that POAH's efforts during the Choice initiative and in the years following, at the very least established an environment in which these gains could be made, and very possibly, had a more direct influence on these outcomes.¹⁰ The findings highlight that not all residents experienced

10. There are many unknowns that limit our conclusions and recommendations. First, we did not have access to a number of indicators that could enhance the analyses, allow us to address additional questions, and strengthen our ability to draw more conclusions about the findings. For example, we did not have indicators for employment, sources of income, disability, or age, all of which could be used to better understand income and the patterns we observed. Original households that moved out of the development each year were dropped from the dataset altogether. Over the course of the 11-years of data we analyzed, this grew to a total of 342 households. We did not have data on why they moved out nor where they moved to, leaving a large gap in our understanding of their quality-of-life outcomes beyond the time they spent at Woodlawn.



FIGURE 11. TRIANON EXTERIOR



FIGURE 12. METRO SQUASH BUILDING

the same upward trend in income. Some households were more likely to experience income growth, others experienced instability, and some saw declines in income during the Choice grant period.

Although it is not possible to establish causality between the Choice intervention and changes in household income observed here, we must consider the different components of the intervention and their timing as we consider potential impacts. First, relocation can have a positive influence on income if it means moving closer to a higher paying job, or an area with greater opportunities for education and growth. On the other hand, relocation can also be stressful and could have a disruptive impact on residents' lives, leading to reduced household income due to extra time off they may need to take from work, reduced hours, or the loss of a job during or directly following the relocation and re-occupancy period. Second, through case management, supportive service referrals, and other Choice supports, residents may gain access to education, job skills, and obtain new or higher paying jobs, leading to higher household income over time. Connections to and support around applying for benefits and child support can also have a positive impact on household income. Third, living in new, higher quality housing units in buildings and complexes with new amenities may lead to improvements in residents' mental health (e.g., stress, anxiety), physical health (e.g., asthma, hypertension), a greater sense of security and self-worth, and more peace of mind regarding children's safety and access to opportunities. All of these potential mechanisms could theoretically contribute to new possibilities and bandwidth for working or working more, which could ultimately lead to increased household income over time.

4

CHANGING DEMOGRAPHIC, ECONOMIC AND HOUSING TRENDS IN WOODLAWN AND CHICAGO

FINDING #3: Population Decline, Coupled with Shifts to Higher Educational Attainment and Greater Racial Diversity

Woodlawn has seen a steady increase in racial diversity over the past eighteen years; however the neighborhood remains predominantly African American. Overall, Woodlawn has experienced demographic shifts that include declines in population more generally, declines in the African American population, and increases in White, Latino/a/x and Asian populations. There have been declines in households with less than a Bachelor's degree, which indicate a more educated population in the Woodlawn neighborhood. These changes in demographics (by race and educational background) are most apparent in the northeast and southeast quadrants, and to a lesser degree in the northwest quadrant that is experiencing smaller shifts and the southwest quadrant, which has experienced the least amount of demographic neighborhood change. Below we outline these demographic changes that have occurred related to population, race, and educational attainment between 2000 and 2018, and illustrate these shifts by comparing Woodlawn and Chicago (see Tables 3 and 4).

Population Decline: Population in Chicago has seen an overall decline between 2000 to 2018 starting with a population of 2,952,649 in 2000 and declining 2,741,193 people in 2018, representing a loss of 7% overall. This represents the second largest population loss of all U.S. cities since 2010.

According to the Chicago Metropolitan Agency for Planning (CMAP), an overall decline in immigration and shrinking economic opportunities in the state of Illinois are major reasons why population decline has continued over the seven years. From 2010 to 2018, population rates remained relatively stable, with a small increase of .54%. More specifically, Chicago has experienced a decline in the African American population since its peak in 1980. According to the Great Cities Institute, Chicago has seen a decline of the African American population of 32.9% between 1980 and 2017. South Deering, Washington Park, and Englewood neighborhoods have lost the highest numbers of African American residents (Great Cities Institute, 2019). Woodlawn has not faced population decline on this scale, however, the African American population in Woodlawn has also declined between 2000 and 2018 by 10.7%.

Higher Racial Diversity: According to the American Community Survey data from the U.S. census, African Americans comprise the majority of the population in Woodlawn. For instance, the racial makeup in 2000 was 93% African American, 4.5% White, 1.3% Latino/a/x, and 1.2% Asian. In 2010 roughly 88% of residents were African American, 8% White, 2% Latino/a/x, and 2% Asian. As of 2018, Woodlawn is now 83% African American, 10% White, 4% Asian, and 3% Latino/a/x. This represents a decrease of 10.7% in African Americans, 125.6% increase in Whites, 250% increase in Asian, and 191% increase in Latino/a/x populations between 2000 and 2018. Comparatively, Chicago has seen a 14.7%

TABLE 3: DEMOGRAPHIC INDICATORS IN WOODLAWN

Woodlawn Indicators	2000	2010	2018	% Change 2000–2010	% Change 2010–2018	% Change 2000–2018
Total Population ¹¹	27,086	23,587	25,658	-12.9%	8.8%	-5.3%
% African American Residents	92.7%	87.9%	82.8%	-5.3%	-5.8%	-10.7%
% Latino/a/x Residents	1.1%	2.4%	3.2%	118.2%	33.3%	190.9%
% White Residents	4.3%	7.5%	9.7%	74.4%	29.3%	125.6%
% Asian Residents	1.2%	2.0%	4.2%	66.7%	110.0%	250.0%
% Persons with Less than Bachelor’s Degree	86.3%	73.0%	69.9%	-15.4%	-4.2%	-19.0%

TABLE 4: DEMOGRAPHIC INDICATORS IN CHICAGO

Chicago Indicators	2000	2010	2018	% Change 2000–2010	% Change 2010–2018	% Change 2000–2018
Total Population	2,952,640	2,726,410	2,741,193	-8%	0.54%	-7%
% African American Residents	36.2%	33.9%	30.9%	-6.4%	-8.9%	-14.70%
% Latino/a/x Residents	25.74%	27.8%	29.73%	7.9%	7.1%	15.50%
% White Residents	42.8%	42.9%	50.1%	0.2%	19.0%	19.22%
% Asian Residents	4.33%	5.4%	6.6%	24%	22.72%	52.2%
% Persons with Less than Bachelor’s Degree	75.73%	67.84%	60.84%	-10.42%	-10.32%	-19.7%

11. According to the 2020 Census, there has been an 2.89% population increase and an 11.88% increase in households in the Woodlawn neighborhood over the past 10 years. (<https://www.chicagocityscape.com/maps/?place=communityarea-woodlawn>)

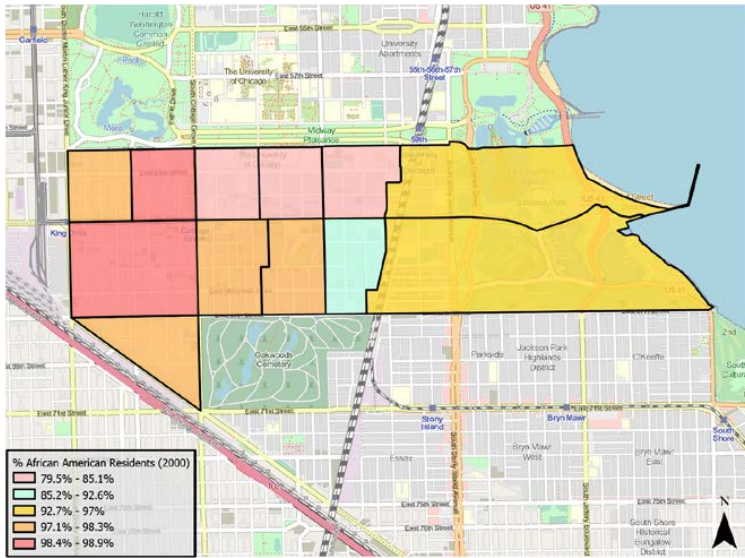


FIGURE 13: YR 2000 AFRICAN AMERICAN POPULATION IN WOODLAWN

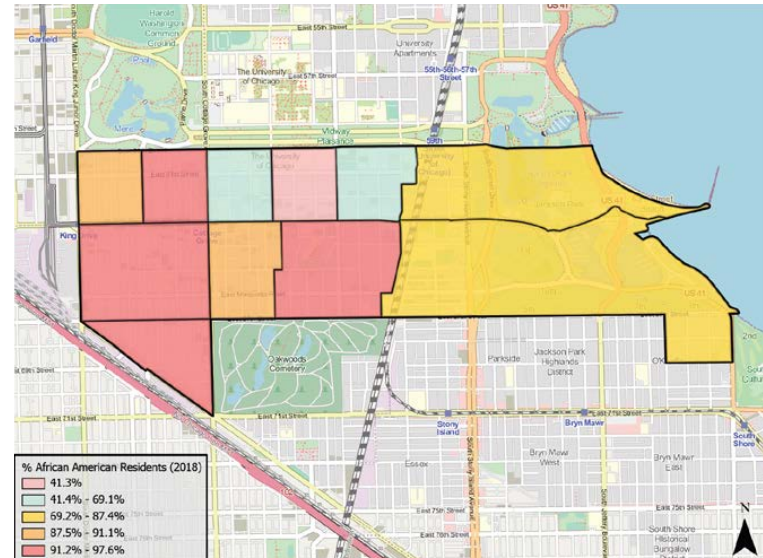


FIGURE 14: YR 2018 AFRICAN AMERICAN POPULATION IN WOODLAWN

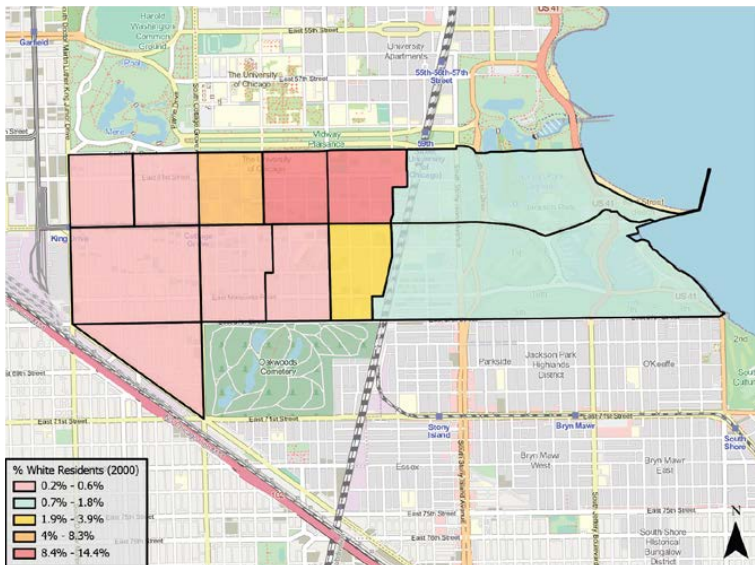


FIGURE 15: YR 2000 WHITE POPULATION IN WOODLAWN

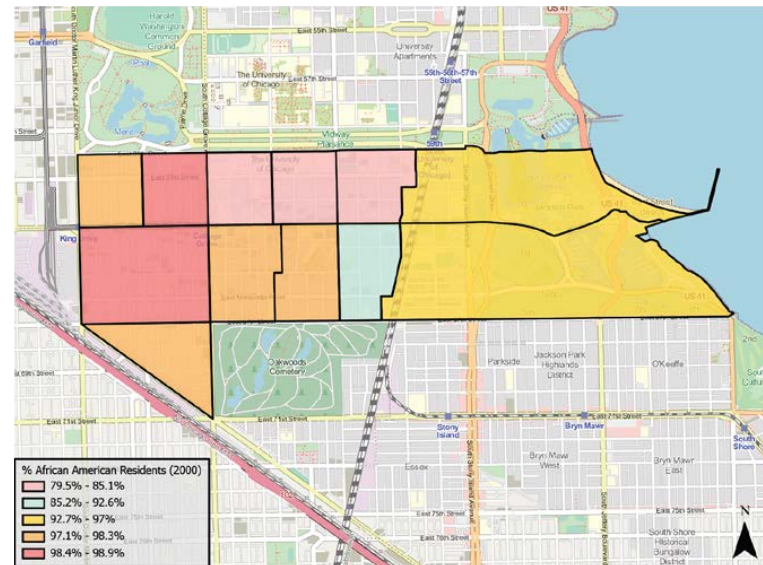


FIGURE 16: YR 2018 WHITE POPULATION IN WOODLAWN

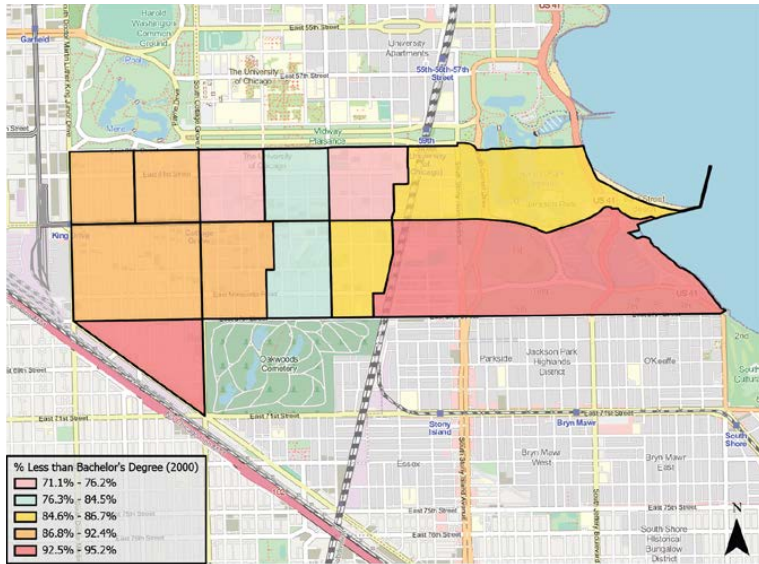


FIGURE 17: YR 2000 EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT IN WOODLAWN

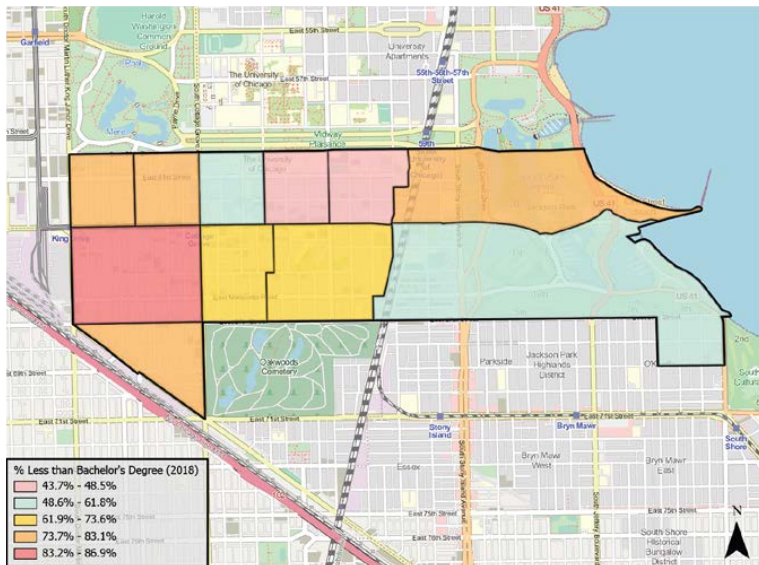


FIGURE 18: YR 2018 EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT IN WOODLAWN

decrease in African Americans, 19.2% increase in Whites, 52.2% increase in Asian, and 15.5% increase in Latino/a/x between 2000 and 2018. These shifts in racial demographics are most apparent in the northeast and southeast quadrants, and to a lesser degree in the northwest and southwest quadrants have experienced the least amount of change.

Educational Attainment: Educational attainment has also changed in Woodlawn with the percent of households with less than a Bachelor's degree decreasing from 2000-2010, from 86.3% to 73% in 2010 to 70% in 2018, representing an overall decline of 19% between 2000-2018 overall. The percent of persons with less than a Bachelor's degree in Chicago decreased from 75.7% in 2000 to 60.8% in 2018, which represents a 19.7% decrease.

FINDING #4: Increased Income Diversity and Employment with Widening Income Gap between Residents

Woodlawn has experienced changes in economic characteristics around median income, poverty, unemployment, and employment over the period of 2000 to 2018. Yet, Woodlawn has seen smaller shifts compared to Chicago in major economic characteristics, based on 2000, 2010 census and 2014-2018 American Community Survey data. Both Chicago and Woodlawn's overall economic trend involves a growing population of people of higher income between 2000 and 2018 (see Tables 5 and Tables 6). Woodlawn also experienced declines in unemployment and a slight increase in the percentage of residents living in poverty (see below for details).

Changes in economic diversity were not experienced evenly across Woodlawn; rather uneven patterns of economic growth demonstrate a growing trend of the difference between West Woodlawn and East Woodlawn. The northeast and southeast quadrants have experienced median income increases and decreases in unemployment, whereas the southwest and northwest quadrants have experienced only slight median income increases with increases in unemployment.

TABLE 5: ECONOMIC INDICATORS IN WOODLAWN

Woodlawn Indicators	2000	2010	2018	% Change 2000–2010	% Change 2010–2018	% Change 2000–2018
Median Household Income	\$25,632	\$26,027	\$29,728	1.5%	14.2%	16.0%
% Unemployed	8.6%	10.7%	9.3%	24.4%	-13.1%	8.1%
% Employed	39.9%	49.4%	43.1%	23.8%	-12.8%	8.0%
% Persons Below Poverty Level	35.8%	29.7%	37.2%	-17.0%	25.3%	3.9%

TABLE 6: ECONOMIC INDICATORS IN CHICAGO

Chicago Indicators	2000	2010	2018	% Change 2000–2010	% Change 2010–2018	% Change 2000–2018
Median Household Income	\$37,378	\$47,723	\$57,298	27.7%	20.1%	53.3%
% Unemployed	6.13%	7.31%	5.94%	19.3%	-18.74%	-3.10%
% Employed	55.1%	58.6%	60.7%	6.34%	3.6%	10.2%
% Persons Below Poverty Level	17.3%	18.4%	17.1%	6.5%	-7.12%	-1.10%

Median Household Income: Households in Chicago saw an increase of 28.7% from 2000–2010 in median income and an increase of 20.1% in median household income from 2010–2018 with a household median income of \$47,723 in 2010 and \$57,298 in 2018 respectively. Woodlawn also experienced an increase in household median income, with households in Woodlawn making \$25,632 in 2000, \$26,027 in 2010, and \$29,728 in 2018. There was an increase of 1.5% between 2000 and 2010 and an increase of 14.2% from 2010–2018, and from 2000–2018 a 16% overall increase. However, incomes in Woodlawn are much lower compared to Chicago overall.

While Woodlawn’s population experienced an increase in median

incomes, these changes were accompanied by a growing number of households earning over \$75,000. According to the 2006–2010 ACS, 65% of households in Woodlawn earned less than \$25,000; 28% of households earned between \$25,000–49,999; 7% of households earned between \$50,000 and \$74,999; no households earned over \$75,000. Comparatively, according to the 2014–2018 ACS, 48.1% of households in Woodlawn earned less than \$25,000; 21.8% of households earned between \$25,000–49,999; 11.4% of households earned between \$50,000 and \$74,999; 7.5% of households earned between \$75,000 and 99,999; 6.9% of households earned between \$100,000 to \$149,999; and 4.4% of households earned over \$150,000. Clearly, there is a trend towards

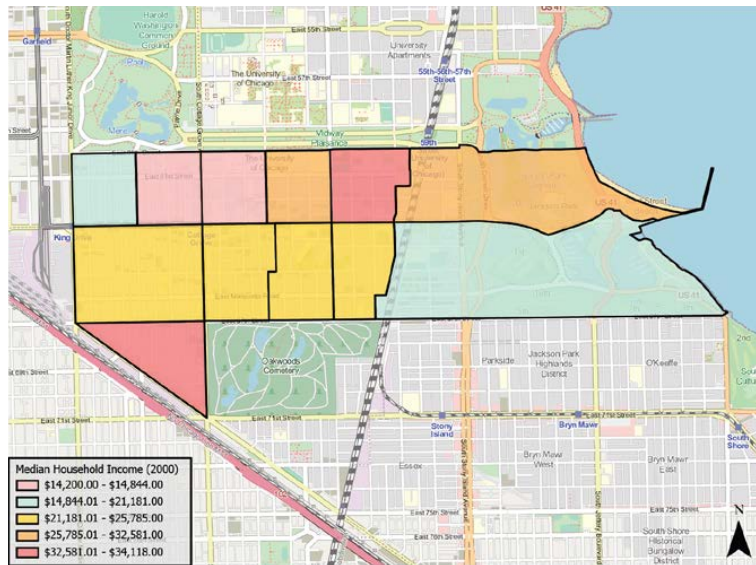


FIGURE 19: YR 2000 MEDIAN HOUSEHOLD INCOME IN WOODLAWN

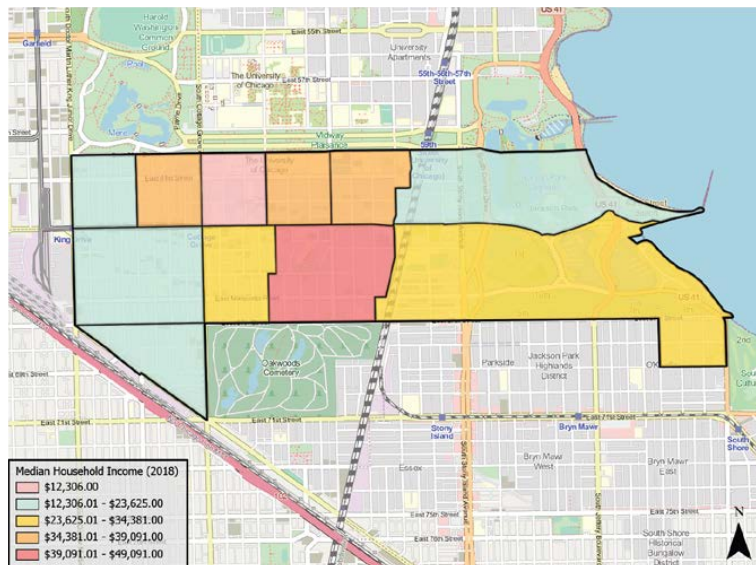


FIGURE 20: YR 2018 MEDIAN HOUSEHOLD INCOME IN WOODLAWN

higher income people living in Woodlawn, with a widened range of income distribution in households earning over \$75,000. This trend towards a growing number of higher-income households while about half the population earned less than \$25,000, raises concerns about the potential for heightened polarization and fear of displacement by existing residents who have fewer economic resources.

Unemployment: The unemployment rate in Woodlawn was 8.6% in 2000, 10.7% in 2010, and 9.3% in 2018. The unemployment rate in Chicago also changed from 6.1% in 2000, 7.3% in 2010, and 5.9% in 2018 for Chicago. Changes between 2000 and 2018 in the unemployment rate in Woodlawn, (increased by 8.1%) compared to Chicago (decreased by -3.1%) is concerning. It may reflect an uneven recovery from 2008 recession within the neighborhood, as well as a post-recession decline in employment opportunities. In addition, East Woodlawn and West Woodlawn also differed with a declining unemployment rate in East Woodlawn, as compared to a growing unemployment rate in West Woodlawn.

Employment: The employment rate in both Woodlawn and Chicago increased between 2000 and 2018. In Woodlawn, the percent employed in 2000 was 39.9%, 49.4% in 2010 and 43.1% in 2018. This represents an increase in employment rate of 8.0% between 2000 and 2018. Comparatively, in Chicago, 55.1% of people were employed in 2000, 58.6% of people in 2010 were employed, and 60.7% of people in 2018 were employed, representing an increase of 10.2% between 2000 and 2018. Employment has been uneven in Woodlawn, with significant increases occurring in East Woodlawn as compared to relatively small increases in the proportion of employed residents in West Woodlawn.

Employment in management and professional sectors: In Woodlawn in 2000, 26.8% of the population worked in the management and professional sector,¹² 3.2% worked in the management and professional sector in 2010 and 1.6% in 2018. This represents a decline in population

12. This includes a range of white collar professions (<https://www.bls.gov/cps/cpsaat11.htm>)

working in the management and professional sector by 94% respectively between 2000 and 2018. Comparatively, in Chicago roughly 33.3% of the population works in the management and professional sector in 2000, 36.2% in 2010 and 40.9% in 2018. Chicago has seen an increase in those working in the management and professional sector by 23%, which is in stark contrast to Woodlawn.

Employed in sales: In Woodlawn in 2000, 33.9% of the population worked in the sales sector, 32% worked in the sales sector in 2010 and 25.5% in 2018. This represents a decline in population working in the sales sector by 24.8% respectively between 2000 and 2018. Comparatively, in Chicago roughly 27% of the population works in the sales sector in 2000, 24% in 2010 and 21.4% in 2018. Chicago has seen a decrease in those working in the sales sector by 21%, which is a greater decline compared to Woodlawn.

Employed in service: In Woodlawn in 2000, 24.3% of the population worked in the service sector, 28.3% worked in the service sector in 2010 and 26.6% in 2018. This represents an increase in population working in the service sector by 9.5% respectively between 2000 and 2018. Comparatively, in Chicago roughly 16.5% of the population works in the service sector in 2000, 19.4% in 2010 and 19.5% in 2018. Chicago has seen an increase in those working in the service sector by 18%, which is slightly higher than seen in Woodlawn.

Employed in construction: In Woodlawn in 2000, 4.1% of the population worked in the construction sector, 3.2% worked in the construction sector in 2010 and 1.6% in 2018. This represents a decrease in population working in the construction sector by 61% respectively between 2000 and 2018. Comparatively, in Chicago roughly 6.6% of the population worked in the construction sector in 2000, 6.4% in 2010 and 5.2% in 2018. Chicago has seen an increase in those working in the construction sector by 5.2%, which is in stark contrast to Woodlawn's 61% decline of the population working in the construction sector.

Poverty: Woodlawn experienced a slight increase in the poverty rate, while the Chicago poverty rate remained relatively stable. Comparatively,

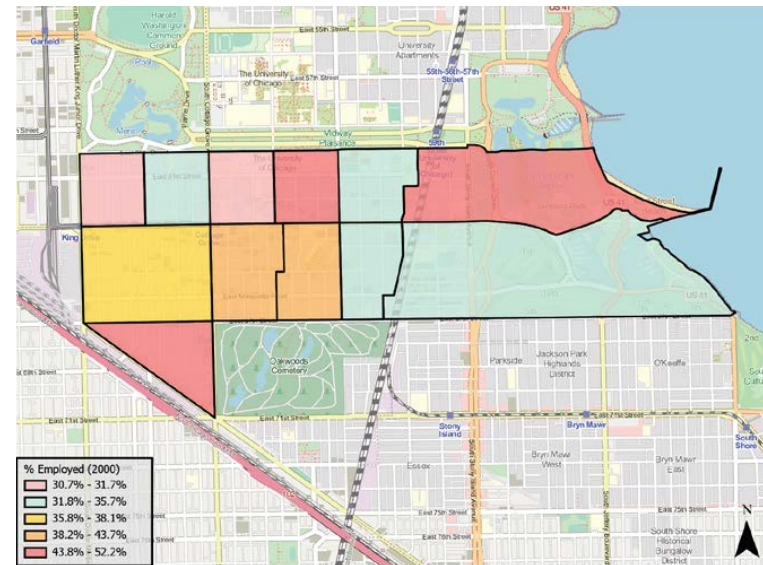


FIGURE 21: YR 2000 UNEMPLOYMENT IN WOODLAWN

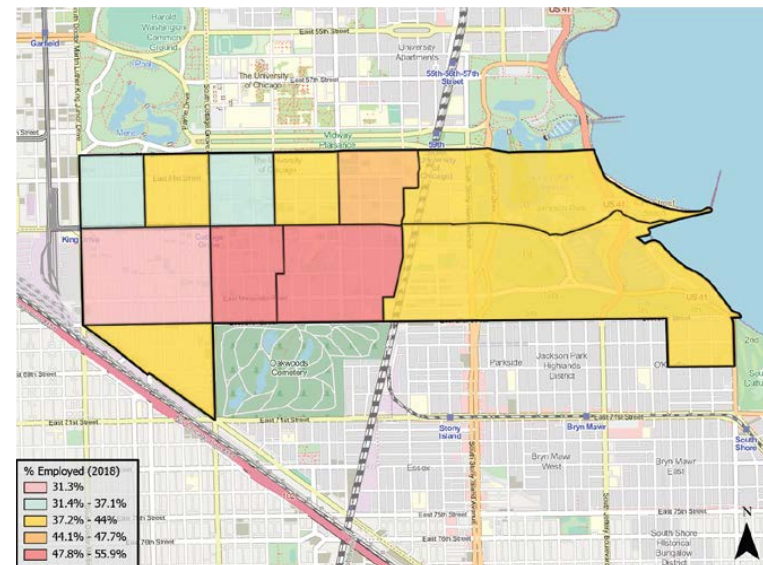


FIGURE 22: YR 2018 UNEMPLOYMENT IN WOODLAWN

as of 218 Woodlawn has a much higher percentage of people living in poverty (37.2%) compared to the entire city of Chicago (17%). In 2000, 35.8% of the Woodlawn population had incomes below the poverty line, 29.7% of the population had incomes below the poverty line in 2010, compared to 37.2% in 2018, illustrating an increase of 3.9% between 2000 and 2018. Poverty in Chicago remained relatively stable from 2000-2018, with a slight decline between 2000 and 2018 by 1.1%. There was a slight increase in poverty levels from 17.3% to 18.4% from 2000-2010, and a decline from 18.4% to 17.1% from 2010 to 2018.

FINDING #5: Changing Housing Market Trends in Woodlawn and Chicago

Woodlawn has seen fluctuations in both owner- and renter-occupied units, median rent, median home values, vacancy rates, and eviction rates between 2000 and 2018. There was significant growth across most housing market indicators from 2000-2010 followed by declines from 2010-2018, which may be a result of post-recession market adjustments (see Tables 7 and Table 8). Between 2000 and 2010 there was significant growth in the housing market with declines in rental occupied units, increases in homeownership, median rents and home values. Vacancy rates also increased during this time suggesting a combination of disinvestment and reinvestment occurring simultaneously. In contrast, post-recession between 2010 and 2018, Woodlawn faced increases in rental occupied units, declines in homeownership and a steep drop in home values. However, areas of reinvestment have continued to cluster in the northeast and southeast quadrants and to a lesser degree the northwest quadrant, also where more demographic and economic shifts have occurred.

There are clear delineations between West Woodlawn and East Woodlawn. Neighborhood change is occurring as a patchwork of growth with southeast and northeast Woodlawn experiencing the most demographic, economic, and housing market changes reflective of neighborhood reinvestment patterns. Northwest Woodlawn is also experiencing

neighborhood stabilization with increases in median gross rent, rental units, and median home values between 2000 and 2018. In contrast, southwest Woodlawn is experiencing stalls in development. With planned public and private future investments (e.g. Obama Presidential Library) occurring in northeast Woodlawn, and the highest increase in median sales price across all Chicago community areas in 2020 to \$287,500, reflective of a 105% increase from 2019 -there might be additional development pressures that could lead to eventual residential displacement. (Rodkin, 2021). Woodlawn is currently classified as having a moderate risk of displacement according to the Institute for Housing Studies at DePaul University's displacement risk index (2019). Woodlawn has an economic diversity of households, housing values, and housing types, which have all changed over the past eighteen years.

Occupied Housing Units: There are indications that there are shifts occurring in the housing market that illustrate the Woodlawn neighborhood is experiencing signs of reinvestment. Renter occupied units decreased between 2000 and 2010 from 72.1% to 55.1%, illustrating a 23.6% decline in renter occupied units, which may suggest increased owner-occupied units during this time period.

However, renter occupied units have increased from 55.1% to 61.5% between 2010 and 2018, illustrating an 11.6% increase. Owner occupied units were at 14.7% in 2000, 19.1% in 2010 and 18.1% in 2018. This represents a 29.9% increase from 2000-2010 and a decline of 5.2% from 2010-2018 in Woodlawn. Between 2000 and 2018 owner occupied units increased by 23.1%. Comparatively in Chicago, renter occupied units decreased from 55.7% to 52% between 2000 and 2010 and saw an increase in renter occupied units by 5.5% in 2018 (54.9%). Overall Chicago has had only a small increase in owner occupied units between 2000 and 2018 (1.9%).

There were distinct fluctuations in housing tenancy both in Woodlawn and Chicago. In Woodlawn there has been a significant loss in the proportion of renters between 2000 and 2018, which may indicate the changing unit mix of housing within Woodlawn. In the northeast

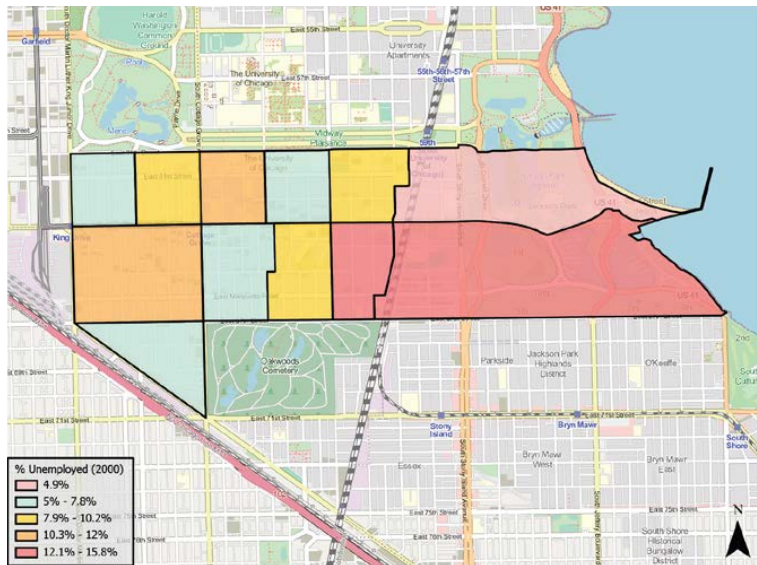


FIGURE 23: YR 2000 EMPLOYMENT IN WOODLAWN

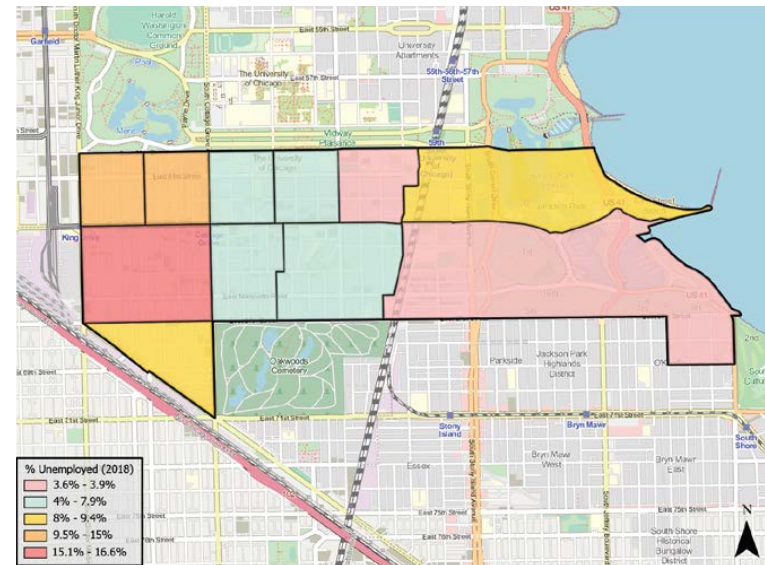


FIGURE 24: YR 2018 EMPLOYMENT IN WOODLAWN

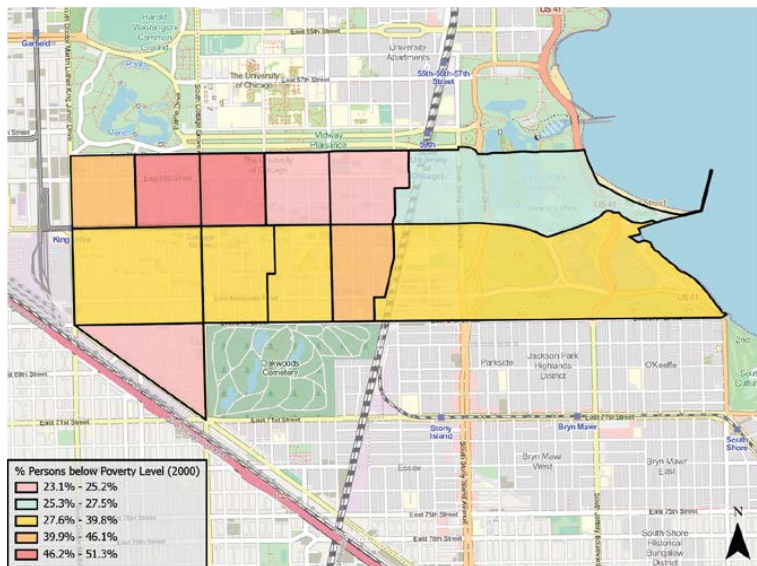


FIGURE 25: YR 2000 POVERTY IN WOODLAWN

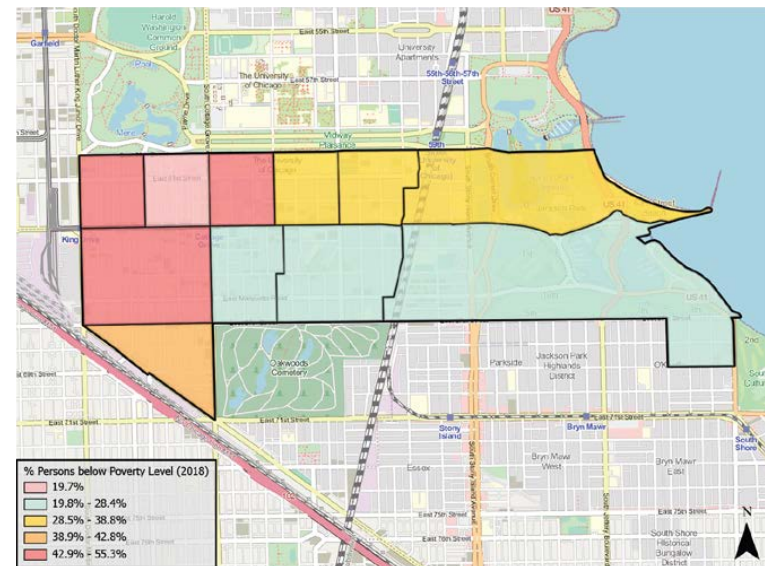


FIGURE 26: YR 2018 POVERTY IN WOODLAWN

TABLE 7: HOUSING MARKET INDICATORS IN WOODLAWN

Woodlawn Indicators	2000	2010	2018	% Change 2000–2010	% Change 2010–2018	% Change 2000–2018
% Renter-Occupied Units	72.1%	55.1%	61.5%	-23.6%	11.6%	-14.7%
% Owner-Occupied Units	14.7%	19.1%	18.1%	29.9%	-5.2%	23.1%
Median Rent	\$410	\$829	\$928	102.2%	11.9%	126.3%
Median Home Value	\$158,556	\$235,827	\$160,809	48.7%	-31.8%	1.4%
% Vacant Housing Units	13.2%	25.7%	20.4%	94.7%	-20.6%	54.5%
Eviction Rate (2010–2016)	NA	2.5	2.1	NA	-16.0%	NA

TABLE 8: HOUSING MARKET INDICATORS IN CHICAGO

Chicago Indicators	2000	2010	2018	% Change 2000–2010	% Change 2010–2018	% Change 2000–2018
% Renter-Occupied Units	55.7%	52.01%	54.9%	-6.61%	5.5%	-1.5%
% Owner-Occupied Units	44.30%	47.80%	45.13%	8.31%	-5.94%	1.9%
Median Rent	\$612	\$979	\$1,180	60.0%	20.53%	92.81%
Median Home Value	\$180,282	\$288,104	\$265,547	59.81%	-7.83%	47.30%
% Vacant Housing Units	7.8%	13.7%	12.60%	75.61%	-7.9%	61.8%
Eviction Rate (2010–2016)	NA	1.71	1.3	NA	-25.73%	NA

quadrant, the overall change in the proportion of renters reflects a 6.6% decrease from 2000-2018. In similar fashion, the northwest quadrant had a decrease in the proportion of renters by 20.4% from 2000-2018. The southwest quadrant exhibited a decrease in the proportion of renters from 2000-2018 by 17.4%. In the southeast

quadrant, there was an overall 30.1% decrease in the proportion of renters from 2000-2018.

This might be due to the depopulation of affordable housing in census tracts that have since seen an increase in affordable housing unit

production between 2010 and 2018 that also support homeownership. This overall trend is similar to that of Chicago in which there was a decline in renters from 2000-2010 and then an increase of similar magnitude from 2010-2018. These trends are consistent with the changes to the housing market after the 2008 economic recession where there were massive home foreclosures forcing prior homeowners into the rental market.

Median Gross Rent: Median gross rent increased 102.2% between 2000 and 2010 and also increased by 12% between 2010 and 2018 in Woodlawn. In 2000, median rent in Woodlawn was \$410, in 2010 it was \$829, and in 2018 rent was \$928. Overall, between 2000 and 2018, median rents have seen a 126.3% increase. In Chicago median gross rent increased 60% between 2000 and 2010 and 20.5% between 2010 and 2018 respectively. Similarly, Chicago also saw a significant increase in median rents at 93% respectively increasing from \$612 in 2000 to \$1,180 in 2018. Collectively, median gross rent in Woodlawn steadily increased from 2000-2018.

Examined by quadrant, the northeast portion of Woodlawn shows an overall increase in median rent from 2000-2010 (72%), 2010-2018 (15.2%), and 2000-2018 (98.2%). From 2000-2010, median gross rent decreased in the northwest quadrant by 10%, however from 2010-2018, there was 15.7% increase to offset the decrease in median rent. Overall in the northwest quadrant, there was an increase in median rent between 2000 and 2018 of 3.9%. In the southeast quadrant, median gross rent decreased by 13.4% from 2010-2018. Overall, in the southwest portion of Woodlawn, an increase of 47.6% in median rent was observed from 2000-2018. Lastly, the southeast quadrant reflects an increase in median rent through all years. This includes a significant 127.6% increase in median rent from 2000-2018. In Chicago, there was an overall net increase of 93% in median gross rent from 2000-2018.

Median Home Value: Woodlawn experienced a 48.7% increase in median home values from 2000-2010 with home values growing from \$158,556 to \$235,827. However, Woodlawn also experienced a significant decline

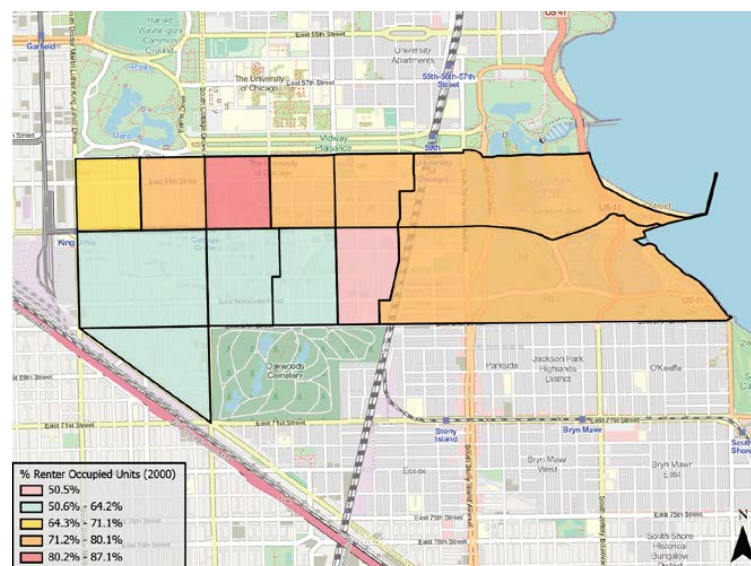


FIGURE 27: YR 2000 RENTER OCCUPIED UNITS IN WOODLAWN

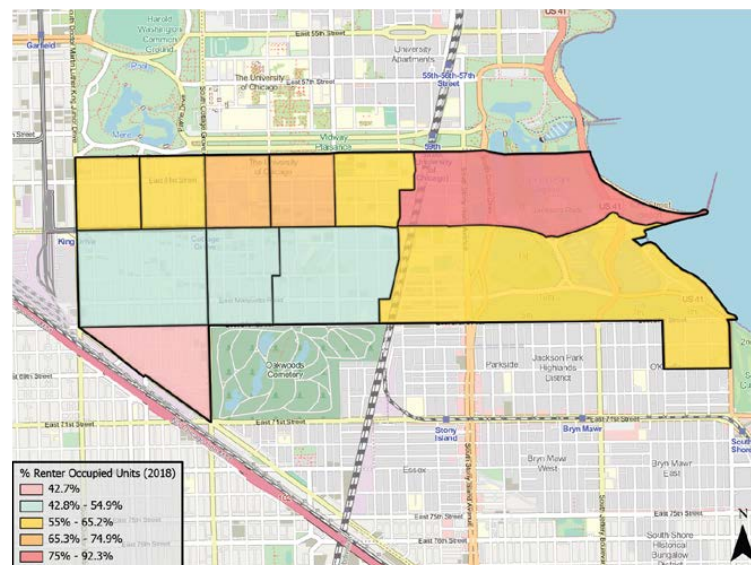


FIGURE 28: YR 2018 RENTER OCCUPIED UNITS IN WOODLAWN

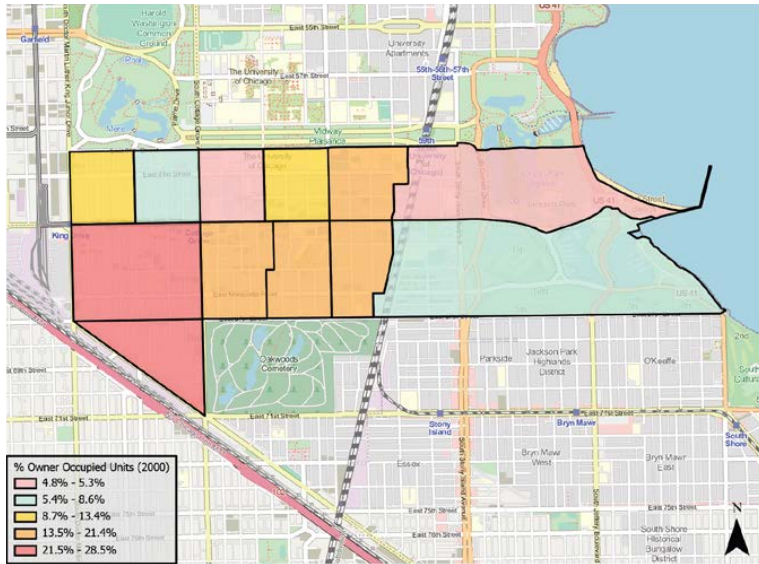


FIGURE 29: YR 2000 OWNER OCCUPIED UNITS IN WOODLAWN

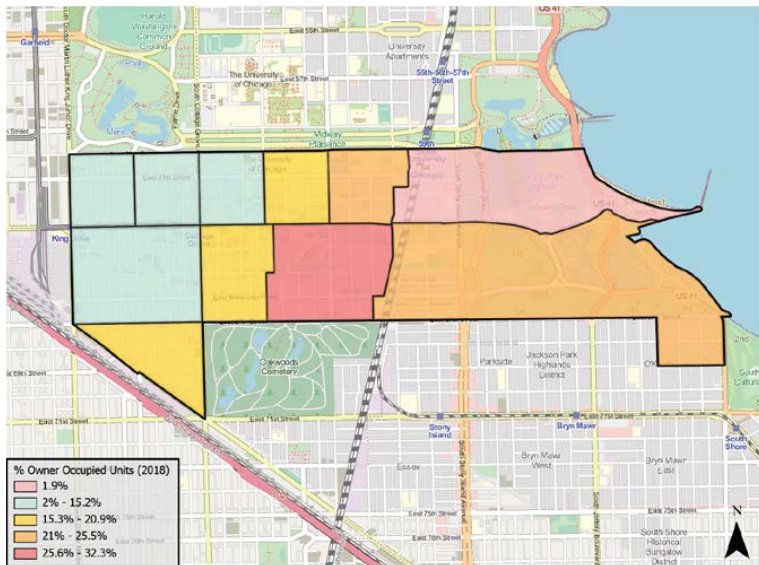


FIGURE 30: YR 2018 OWNER OCCUPIED UNITS IN WOODLAWN

in median home values with a 32% decline from 2010–2018, with home values falling from \$235,827 to \$160,809. The increase in median home values from 2000–2010 were illusory and reflects in part the predatory lending that was pervasive in Woodlawn during the pre-recession housing bubble. Additionally, post-recession market adjustments led to a very slight overall increase in median home values of 1.4% from 2000–2018 in Woodlawn. Chicago followed a similar trend with an increase of 59.8% between 2000 and 2010 and a slight decline of 7.8% between 2010–2018, with home values decreasing from \$288,104 to \$265,547. Overall, between 2000 and 2018, Chicago had an increase of 47.3% increase in median home values. Although from 2010–2018, there was an average 7.83% decline in median home values.

In the northeast quadrant of Woodlawn, there was an overall decline of 25.1% in median home values from 2000–2018. From 2000–2010, there was a 236% increase in median home value in the northwest quadrant, followed by a significant decline of 28.8% in median home values from 2010–2018. Between 2000 and 2018 there was an overall increase of 140% in median home values, increasing from \$75,200 to \$180,450. The southeast quadrant reflects a similar trend in that a 122.2% increase in median home values was observed from 2000–2010, followed by a major decline of 32.5% from 2010–2018. This equated to an overall increase of 49.9% from 2000–2018. In the southwest quadrant, median home value increased by 59.7% from 2000–2010, then decline by 54.3% from 2010–2018. Overall, between 2000 and 2018 this reflected an increase of 13.3%.

Vacant Housing Units: There have been fluctuations in vacant housing units, with a significant increase from 2000–2010 with 13.2% vacant units in 2000 and 25.27% vacant units in 2010, representing a 94.7% increase in vacant units during this time period. From 2010 to 2018 there was a decline in the percent of vacant housing units from 25.7% in 2010 to 20.4% in 2018, reflective of a 20.6% decrease. Between 2000 and 2018, Woodlawn has experienced an overall increase of 54.5% in vacant housing units. In comparison to Chicago, there has been a similar trend, but in much smaller increments. There was a slight increase

in vacant housing units from 2000–2010 at 8.3%, followed by a decline of 7.9% between 2010 and 2018. Overall, Chicago has seen a slight decline in vacant housing units at 1.9%.

More specifically, vacancy rates in Woodlawn gradually increased in all but two census tracts. The northeast quadrant, overall, shows a 5.5% decline in vacant housing units between 2000 and 2018. In the northwest quadrant, there was a 112% increase in vacant housing units from 2000–2018. This was largely influenced by a 190% increase in vacant housing units from 2000–2010 and then a decline of 26%. In the southeast quadrant, there was a 14.4% decrease in vacant housing units between 2000 and 2018. Lastly, there was an increase in similar magnitude in vacant housing units in the southwest quadrant where vacant housing units decreased by 14.4% from 2000–2018. This may be due to the transition of demolition of deteriorating infrastructure and rental units that were replaced after 2010.

Eviction Rates:¹³ Eviction rates per one hundred homes in Woodlawn have remained relatively low between 2010 and 2016. In 2010, eviction rates were 2.5% and in 2016 eviction rates declined to 2.1%, representing a 16% decline between 2010 and 2016. Similarly, eviction rates in Chicago remained low with 1.7% evictions in 2010 and 1.3% in 2016 representing a decline in evictions of 25.73%.

The eviction rate per one hundred homes in Woodlawn declined in seven of the eleven census tracts from 2010–2016. The northeast quadrant, overall, shows a 30% decline in evictions between 2010 and 2016. In the northwest quadrant, there was a 46.7% decline in evictions from 2000–2018. In the southeast quadrant, there was a 16% decrease in evictions between 2000 and 2018. Lastly, there was an increase in evictions in the southwest quadrant by 20.1% from 2000–2018. This may be due to the transition of demolition of deteriorating infrastructure and rental units that were replaced after 2010.

13. Eviction data from the Eviction Lab at Princeton are only available from 2010–2016 at time research was conducted.

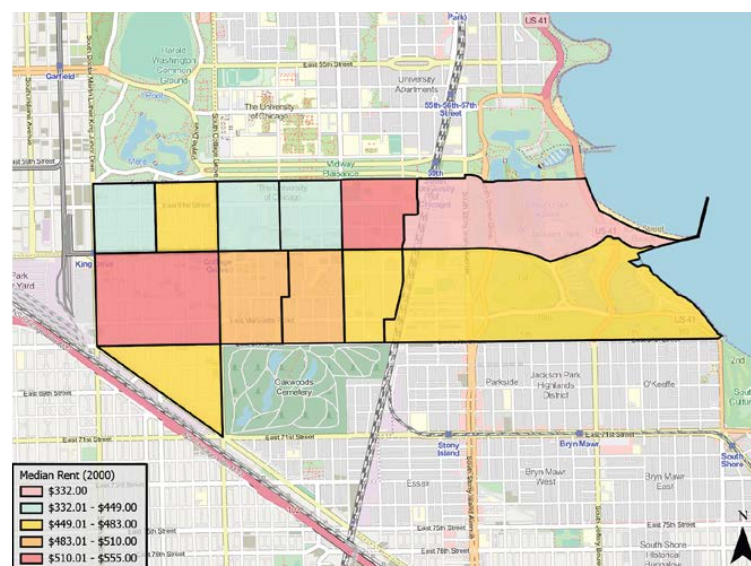


FIGURE 31: YR 2000 MEDIAN GROSS RENT IN WOODLAWN

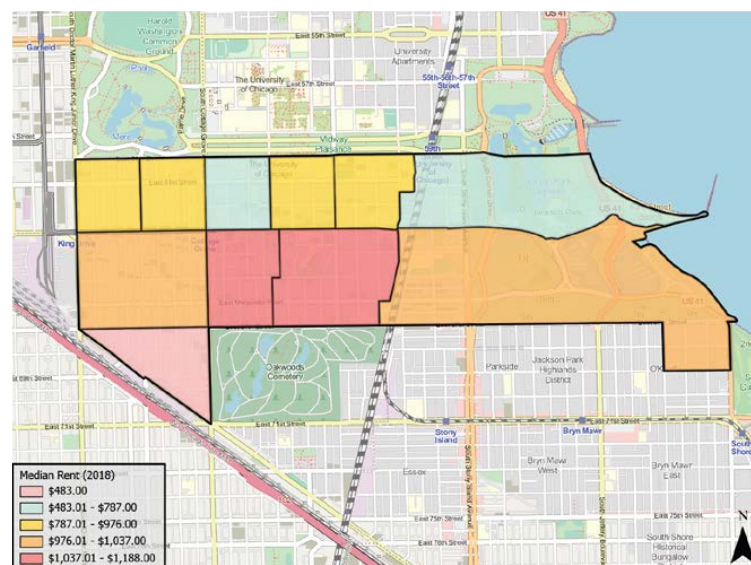


FIGURE 32: YR 2018 MEDIAN GROSS RENT IN WOODLAWN

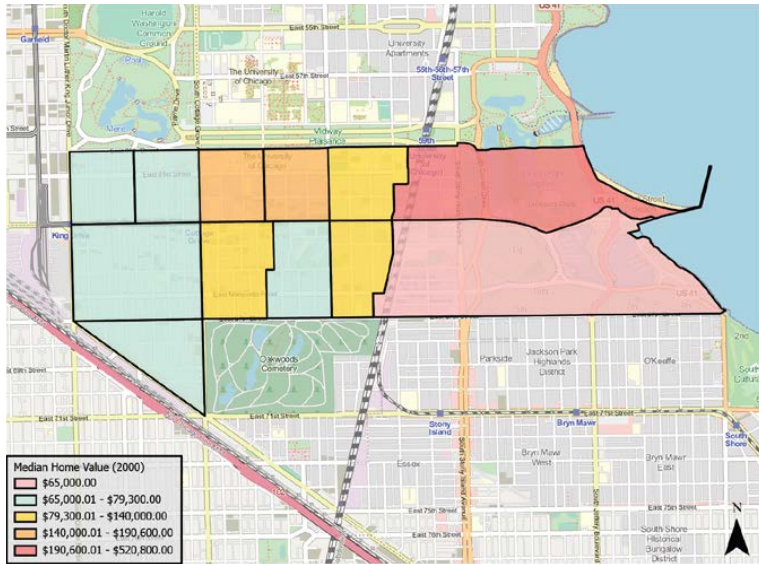


FIGURE 33: YR 2000 MEDIAN HOME VALUE IN WOODLAWN

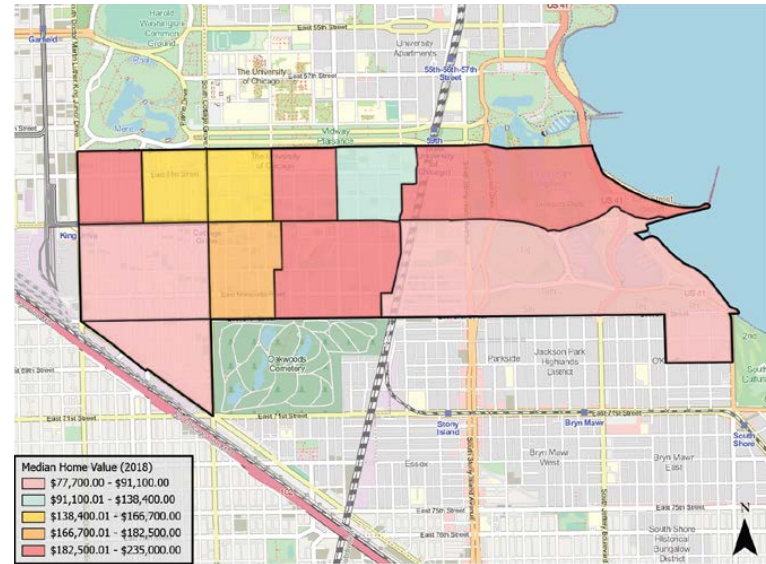


FIGURE 34: YR 2018 MEDIAN HOME VALUE IN WOODLAWN

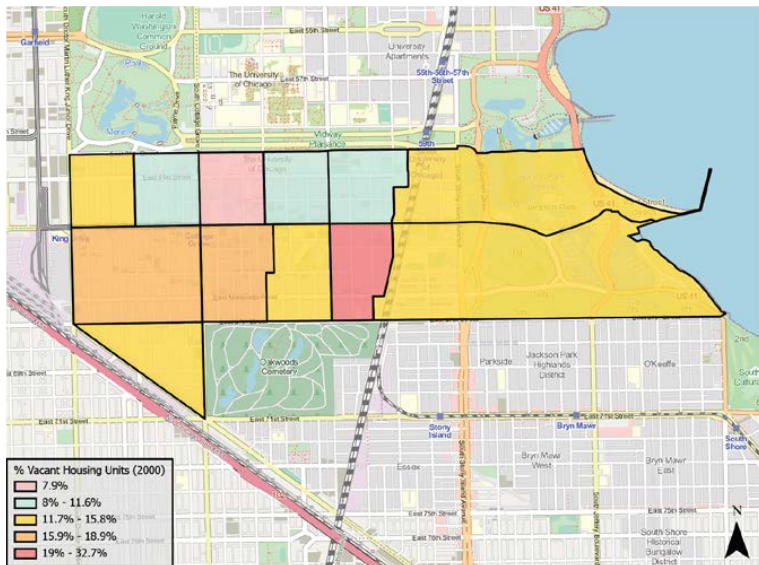


FIGURE 35: YR 2000 VACANT HOUSING UNITS IN WOODLAWN

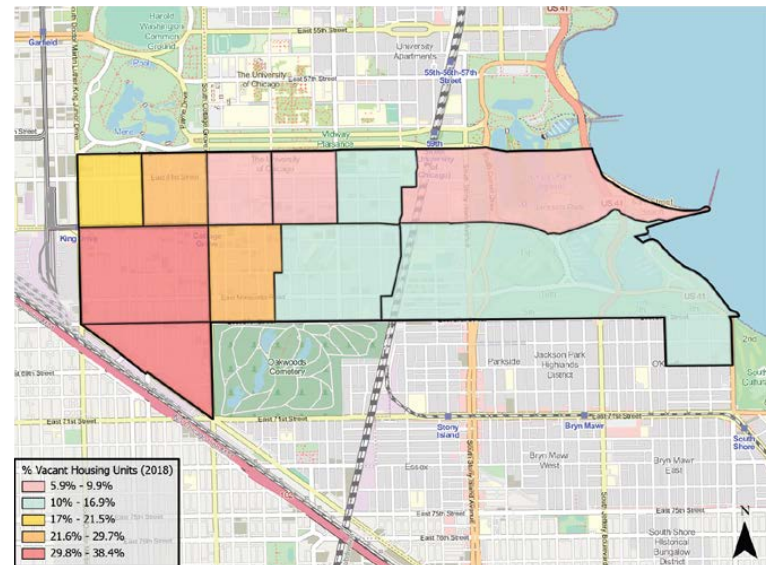


FIGURE 36: YR 2018 VACANT HOUSING UNITS IN WOODLAWN

5

COMPREHENSIVE COMMUNITY CHANGE IN WOODLAWN

Over the course of the past 18 years, the Woodlawn community stands out in comparison to most Chicago neighborhoods in that it has attracted financial resources and policy innovation focused on equitable development intended to benefit low-income residents. In the case of Woodlawn's revitalization, POAH led the redevelopment of the Cottage Grove and 63rd Street Corridor, along with other initiatives. According to one key stakeholder: *"I often tell the story of what happened with Choice Neighborhoods. POAH started with the housing ensuring that those tenants had opportunities to live in quality housing...What they demonstrated in Chicago is that affordable housing can be catalytic development, if it's done well. Not only did they keep people in place, but they catalyzed a whole equitable transit-oriented development strategy that brought in healthy food through groceries, activities through things like Metro Squash, and new retail opportunities for local businesses. They were able to relocate Daley's Restaurant, a long established restaurant...and provide opportunities to an African American franchise....I think it's indicative of how equitable development needs to happen throughout the city of Chicago."*

In this next section, we highlight the outcomes of POAH's efforts over the course of 13 years and describe particular changes in the neighborhood as they relate to these efforts. The outcomes are clear—strong partnerships, public and private investment, preserved and

increased housing, new commercial and recreational amenities, transit-oriented development improvements, and higher quality community-based resources.

FINDING #6: POAH's Capacity for Collaboration Facilitated Trusting Partnerships

With any comprehensive community change initiative, a lead steward is essential in guiding the effort from inception to impact. As one of the largest non-profit affordable housing providers in the nation, POAH contributed historical expertise, capital, and leadership to the work in Chicago. In addition, POAH created a Chicago regional office and hired an experienced team of local leaders who brought the established relationships and home-grown wisdom needed to advance a robust neighborhood change initiative.

No effort at meaningful community change happens in isolation. Rather, partnerships and collaboration are essential to shaping sustainable impact. In particular, cross-sector collaborations within the context of mixed-income transformation efforts require intentionality, clarity, and support in order to drive equity, effectiveness, and accountability (Joseph et al. 2017). The cross-sector partnerships place local governments, for-profit actors, and an array of non-profit partners into new, complicated, and often-evolving roles and responsibilities.

While Woodlawn has a strong history of engaged planning processes, much of this work has been disjointed and uncoordinated. For example, there are at least 12 different plans and studies for how to develop Woodlawn. These plans were integrated into a Woodlawn Plan Consolidation Report by the City of Chicago. Because of the lack of consolidation efforts previously, POAH's efforts to implement the Choice Neighborhood Initiative with a clear direction of roles and coordinate a leadership team was crucial.

POAH leaders intentionally built trusting relationships with residents, organizations, and businesses throughout Woodlawn in order to ensure strong partnerships. POAH's leadership in pulling together a broad coalition of partners and collaborators stands out, making it a unique organization among most affordable housing providers throughout the United States. POAH brings a mission-driven focus and the capacity to secure philanthropic, private, and public resources, as well as an ability to draw upon expertise generated from its national portfolio of major housing and community efforts.

Within Woodlawn, POAH's orientation is centered on trust building, proactive communication, and accountability. These principals have been demonstrated through how POAH staff members have been able to establish authentic relationships with a diverse coalition of neighborhood, city, and national organizations. At the neighborhood level, POAH has worked with WECAN, One Woodlawn, Network of Woodlawn, Apostolic Church of God, Sunshine Gospel Ministries, the Woodlawn Children's Promise Community, and STOP. Within the city, POAH has worked most closely with the University of Chicago, Neighborhood Housing Services, South East Chicago Commission, Community Investment Corporation (CIC), Preservation Compact, Local Initiative Support Corporation (LISC), Emerald South, and DL3. At the national level, POAH has engaged with the National Initiative on Mixed-Income Communities, Federal Home Loan Bank, and Enterprise Community Partners.

Key partners who were interviewed as part of this evaluation described POAH's strength in collaboration. One key stakeholder stated *"So what POAH has done right is they've come into the community, they've embedded themselves in the community, they've respected the history of the community, they've collaborated with the leadership of the community. They got the input of the community on what they want and that has shaped their development strategy and their plans. That's why there's a grocery store there. That's why they have the housing that they want. So that's a very different model than others coming in from wherever and saying, 'Okay, here's what we want done or here's how I can make money. Here's what's best for you.'"*

Unlike other disinvested neighborhoods in Chicago, Woodlawn borders an important anchor institution and the largest employer on the South Side of city—the University of Chicago. Previously seen as a threat to low-income residents living in the blocks around it, the University is now seen by some as a critical partner for improvement of Woodlawn, so long as it works in tandem with Woodlawn's long-time and emerging community leaders.

Leaders at the University of Chicago and at POAH have coordinated community improvements over the past 10 years in ways that have proven the value of meaningful partnerships. For example, they worked together on the planning of the Cottage Grove Green Line transit renovation, vacant land redevelopment plans on 63rd Street, and the rerouting of campus police surveillance. According to one leader at the University: *"POAH was able to work with the University of Chicago leaders through the Choice Neighborhood grant and beyond to formalize new partnerships that helped institutions in Woodlawn to coordinate and collaborate. As the University of Chicago completes the South Campus expansion in the coming years, there may be an increasing need to maintain the investment of the University in ways that enhances the overall plans of Woodlawn's development."*

FINDING #7: POAH Advanced Public and Private Investment into Woodlawn

POAH has secured both public and private investment in ways that are tremendously valuable for Woodlawn. POAH has generated a total of \$191,992,907 in leverage across property investments, contributing to a total of \$226,004,382 invested in commercial and residential investments in the neighborhood. Private funders included BMO Harris Bank, J.P. Morgan Chase, Citibank, Federal Home Loan Bank, and the National Affordable Housing Trust. Public funders included HUD, State of Illinois, and the City of Chicago, as well as the Low-Income Housing Tax Credit program through the U.S. Department of Treasury and the Illinois Housing Development Authority as well as the City. Table 9 outlines the investments in further detail. In addition to their property investments POAH also leveraged millions for the Neighborhood and People components of their Choice strategy. In Figure 37, the Jewel-Osco and MetroSquash property investments are reflected as part of the Neighborhood leverage as that is how they were categorized as part of the implementation strategy.

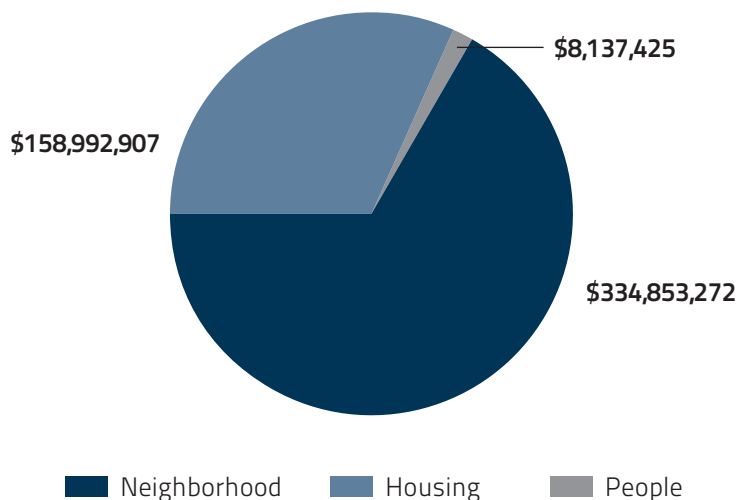


FIGURE 37: TOTAL CHOICE NEIGHBORHOODS INITIATIVE INVESTMENT LEVERAGE

Key stakeholders describe how effective POAH's leadership has been in establishing support. A key investor commented: *"POAH's Choice Neighborhood grant could be seen as a textbook case study for how the money was supposed to work. In fact it was leveraged multiple times. It had a city that was willing to rally around those funds and bring in other resources. Whether that was money from the Neighborhood Stabilization Program, that the city was running at the time, or leveraging and partnering with POAH to acquire properties and buildings, [or]....the city directing some of its infrastructure dollars.*

FINDING #8: POAH Preserved, Stabilized, and Expanded Housing Opportunities

POAH's contribution in the area of housing includes the preservation, stabilization, and expansion of assisted, affordable, and market-rate residential opportunities. These efforts include strategies to ensure existing low-income residents retained subsidized housing, the stabilization of neglected homes and entire neighborhood blocks through the creation of the Renew Woodlawn initiative, and the expansion of new market-rate and affordable housing through development of newly constructed buildings.

Over the course of 13 years, POAH built, acquired and/or rehabilitated 796 housing units in Woodlawn, including a variety of assisted, workforce for-sale, and market-rate rental units. With \$30.5 million in federal Choice funding and hundreds of millions in additional public and private-sector investments, the new and rehabilitated housing in Woodlawn helped to redefine blocks, districts, and even the entire neighborhood. In particular, POAH's accomplishment of rebuilding the original Grove Parc footprint, renovating foreclosed properties, and building new homes on vacant lots made a powerful contribution.

TABLE 9. PRESERVATION OF AFFORDABLE HOUSING PROPERTY INVESTMENTS BY FUNDING SOURCE

Project Name	Choice Neighborhoods	Other Federal	State Government	Local Government	Private	POAH*	Total by Property	Total Leverage**
The Jackson			\$4,229,364	\$2,964,519	\$12,947,290	\$692,629	\$20,833,802	\$20,141,173
The Grant			\$263,101	\$1,700,000	\$11,140,775	\$329,299	\$13,433,175	\$13,103,876
Renaissance			\$7,700,000	\$6,209,179	\$4,336,745	\$865,614	\$19,111,538	\$18,245,924
Woodlawn Center Senior Apartments (Burnham)	\$5,134,794			\$2,800,000	\$16,433,000		\$24,367,794	\$19,233,000
Trianon Lofts	\$3,100,000	\$796,209.43		\$2,500,000	\$10,956,000	\$450,000	\$17,802,209	\$14,252,209.43
Martin Farrell House			\$1,115,856		\$9,934,093	\$3,033,905.23	\$14,083,854	\$11,049,949
Mattie Butler Apartments				\$11,713,697	\$14,121,694	\$1,050,000	\$26,885,391	\$25,835,391
Renew Woodlawn	\$3,200,000	\$750,000		\$200,000			\$4,150,000	\$950,000
The Washington	\$1,188,000			\$12,657,407.75	\$1,979,712.03	\$6,178,675	\$22,003,795	\$14,637,119.78
Woodlawn Station	\$7,613,559			\$5,000,000	\$15,553,100	\$1,175,000	\$29,341,659	\$20,553,100
Jewel-Osco					\$26,000,000		\$26,000,000	\$26,000,000
MetroSquash					\$7,000,000		\$7,000,000	\$7,000,000
Total by Source	\$20,236,353	\$1,546,209	\$13,308,321	\$45,744,803	\$130,402,409	\$13,775,122	\$226,004,382	\$191,992,907

Note: *These funds provided leverage for further funding and are comprised of deferred developer fees, funds generated during construction from rents, and lender notes.

**Totals do not include Choice or POAH funds.

Inclusive, Equitable Mixed-Income Housing Developments: POAH's early work from 2008 to 2014 involved the redevelopment of the 504-unit Grove Parc assisted housing development built in 1969 on a 12-acre site. In order to advance an inclusive mixed-income model and in accordance with the signed agreement with the tenant association to replace units within the neighborhood, POAH purchased other Woodlawn apartment buildings in need of rehabilitation and located within walking distance of the original property. These properties, including the Westwood Apartments (now part of The Washington), continue to be owned and operated by POAH. POAH succeeded in the relocation of 378 households, the demolition of the original Grove Parc site, and the retention of 90 project-based Section 8 units in the neighborhood.

The redevelopment of the property on Cottage Grove Boulevard between 61st and 63rd streets created a new mixed-income, mixed-use complex, creating six new apartment buildings in five different phases. In addition to housing, the buildings offer parking, laundry facilities, and community rooms. The design took safety concerns into account by creating secure front entrances with double doors, along with enclosed outdoor space, raised buildings two feet above street level, and landscaped garden trellises along the streetscape.

Preservation and Expansion of Affordable and Workforce Housing: One of the most important contributions POAH has made relates to preserving and improving affordable and workforce housing for existing low-income residents. POAH rehabilitated and built 522 units offsite and developed 244 units within the original Grove Parc footprint. One of the most important contributions POAH has made relates to preserving and improving affordable and workforce housing for existing low-income residents. POAH rehabilitated or built new 522 units offsite and 244 units along Cottage Grove on former Grove Parc land. These totals include 489 apartments with project-based rental assistance plus a mix of rent-restricted affordable and market-rate units, for a total of 796 developed units during the study period. Since then

POAH has purchased an additional 240 apartments and has two more homeownership phases planned for 2022 and 2023, which will result in a total of 1,076 rental and ownership units. According to one stakeholder: *"So often people look at affordable housing as its either going to be detrimental to the neighborhood or a one-off project...POAH showed how it could actually catalyze other things happening in the community...Luckily, we at least have some affordable options as a result of the Choice Neighborhood grant."*

POAH also expanded housing by adding an additional 165 workforce, affordable units intended for households earning between 60 to 120% AMI. Many of these units are scattered throughout Woodlawn and located within smaller multi-family apartment buildings.

In addition, POAH led the creation of the Renew Woodlawn initiative, a revolving investment pool to be used to acquire, finance, rehabilitate, and sell vacant homes on blocks in need of housing stability. POAH allocated \$3.2 million of its Choice grant to create the fund and partnered with Neighborhood Housing Services, CIC, and others to ensure that low-and moderate-income households could purchase and maintain homes. Renew Woodlawn contributed to advancing an affordable homeownership strategy, while also preventing the teardown of single family homes and dual-unit properties. Thus, this strategy should be recognized as a model for both housing and neighborhood stabilization.

Creation of New Market-rate Housing: Following the 2008 Great Recession, the stalled local housing market influenced the extent to which POAH could advance market-rate housing development. In particular, POAH sought to develop market-rate units within new mixed-income housing buildings, though the weak market meant challenges in gaining financing.

POAH was able to address these challenges through a steady, intentional strategy that has created some of the first, new construction market-rate rental housing in the area in decades. POAH's Trianon

Lofts generated 24 units in a mixed-income building, including 11 market-rate apartments, 8 units designated at 80% AMI, and 5 units designated at 50% AMI. While much of the local housing market has shifted, questions remain as to how to ensure new market-rate housing opportunities do not contribute to an intensification of gentrification dynamics. As one local leader shared: *“The neighborhood is at a crossroads. There are a group of people who are like, ‘I can’t find a good house under a million dollars.’ And then there are people that says, ‘I can’t believe they’re buying houses in my neighborhood for a million dollars.’ These groups are sort of butting up against each other in ways that if not smoothed out and done in an appropriate way can lead to some resentment.”*

The dynamics of balancing different perspectives on future housing opportunities will certainly need to be an aspect of POAH’s strategic consideration in years to come. Hopefully, the 2020 Woodlawn Housing ordinance will help to ensure households who need affordable housing are retained, while also encouraging market-rate housing investments, as this stakeholder suggested: *“There’s a lot of opportunity to have a strong mix of incomes in the community. There’s still a lot of vacant land and there’s a lot of need for more amenities. I think that there can be that balance... Woodlawn is so well organized people are paying attention... There is always this very careful observance of development and making sure the projects are going to be beneficial to the entire community.”*

FINDING #9: POAH Contributed to Commercial and Transit Development

Rather than the traditional housing revitalization efforts, POAH contributed to comprehensive community change through intentional efforts to expand commercial and transit development. The impact on neighborhood stability and growth is a key contribution.

Private-Sector Commercial Amenities: POAH has been creative in attracting and retaining the kinds of businesses that Woodlawn residents desire. Most of the organization’s work the past decade has focused on small business development, along with the creation of a new grocery store. For example, POAH built new commercial spaces on the northeast corner of 63rd Street and Cottage Boulevard, and intend to do the same on the southeast corner in the coming years.

POAH leaders highlighted and helped to expand retail opportunities that were valued, such as the relocation and expansion of Daley’s Restaurant. They also attracted businesses owned and operated by African American people, such as a UPS franchise. These contributions were highlighted in interviews with local leaders, such as this one who commented: *“It’s tenacity from organizations like POAH that has enabled the redevelopment of the Cottage Grove Corridor. Someone had to go after those dollars, to then attract the right kinds of businesses to the intersection. POAH bought the building on the southeast corner and ended the lease with the check cashing place. They just said goodbye. That’s not really who we want here. We want an African American owned UPS Store. We have an African American owned dance studio. We have one of the oldest restaurants, Daley’s.”*

In addition, POAH led the creation of a new partnership that developed the first new full-service grocery store in Woodlawn in decades, Jewel-Osco at the corner of 61st and Cottage Grove Ave. POAH led the rezoning effort to reassign land in its possession from the existing residential zoning to commercial, attracted a local commercial developer, provided initial pre-development financing, supported the community engagement process for necessary resident input, and led local hiring efforts. This stakeholder commented: *“The Jewel-Osco is one example of impact. We have a large population of people and students that can patronize that Jewel and help support it...POAH was involved in that from the land and development standpoint but you know it’s a way that we can channel our dollars into a community asset, and it’s been an extremely successful grocery store because there’s been there’s a huge need for it, not just in Woodlawn, but on the South Side in general.”*

In conclusion, POAH's contribution to developing over 90,000 ft² of new commercial and community spaces in the last decade made a noticeable change in the neighborhood. This work will need to continue as more vacant land is available for redevelopment.

Equitable Transit-Oriented Development Improvements: Over the course of the past decade, POAH contributed to creating a pedestrian friendly corridor that connects residents and visitors to the 63rd Green Line train station. In particular, POAH allocated Choice funding for transit improvements, including repainting signage, installing better lighting, and installing safety cameras.

POAH's efforts to create an equitable transit-oriented development stands out as a significant improvement to neighborhood redevelopment. According to this local foundation representative, *"This is a transportation hub, and this is the heartbeat of the community, certainly from an economic development standpoint, a revitalization standpoint, that that train station is where that development needed to start. And POAH has done a terrific job in my opinion over the last decade changing the dynamics between 61st and 63rd Street...If you want to try and spur commercial development in Woodlawn which the community is really asking for, that's where you need to start. That's the main activity generator. That's where people are getting on and off every day going to their jobs, going to school. And that's where you can generate the most business growth."*

POAH's initial investment led the Chicago Transit Authority, the City of Chicago, and the state to invest \$60 million going towards its redevelopment. POAH's ongoing role is needed to ensure that the development process is inclusive and equitable for low- and moderate-income residents' desires.

FINDING #10: POAH's Leadership Established High-quality Community-Desired Resources

While much of POAH's efforts focused on changes to the built environment, the core rationale for improvements always stemmed from the commitment to creating high-quality, community-desired resources that residents needed and valued. By placing the interests of local residents first, POAH engaged in a comprehensive strategy that resulted in a safer and healthier social environment for all.

Enhancing Safety: Overshadowing historical efforts to revitalize Woodlawn is the neighborhood's historical problems with crime. One of POAH's greatest contributions is heightened safety, as demonstrated by decreases in violent crime rates. In 2012, the violent crime rate in Woodlawn was 22.8 crimes per 1,000 residents, which was over 200 percent higher than the overall City of Chicago that year (Urban Institute & MDRC, 2015). In 2019, the violent crime rate in Woodlawn was 18 crimes per 1,000 residents (Chicago Health Atlas 2020).

Just walking down Cottage Grove Boulevard or driving throughout Woodlawn, there is a noticeable difference in the amount of people gathering at parks, taking public transit, and exercising. POAH's leadership team, along with key neighborhood partners such as leaders in the Network of Woodlawn (NOW), devoted countless hours to creating promising public safety strategies.

POAH's commitment to tackling crime and enhancing safety is apparent in its housing and commercial redevelopment efforts. For example, POAH's contributions reduced vacancy and blight, improved the management and operations of housing developments throughout the neighborhood, and created a more walkable neighborhood. Redevelopment of Grove Parc itself with a different physical site plan increased the defensible space. The addition of retail increased foot traffic and visibility during the day and the evening.

In addition, POAH invested resources into the creation of the Woodlawn Resource Center, which offers community support services. Rather than solely focus on POAH tenants, all Woodlawn residents (regardless of their housing tenancy or income) are welcome to participate in activities. The 8,000 ft² first-floor space offers community gathering space to host events and meetings, as well as offer individual support services. According to one interviewee, *“The Woodlawn Resource Center really makes it more of a sense of a place for the community to sort of gather and not just more of a compound...All these things are beneficial to the core residents, not only the POAH residents, but the community as a whole.”*

Neighborhood violence also relates to the lack of economic opportunities for neighborhood residents, particularly low-income African Americans who face systemic barriers to obtaining and maintaining employment. Through the Woodlawn Resource Center, POAH also invested in comprehensive support services and increased educational and job training opportunities. This multi-faceted approach will continue to be needed.

Youth Development Resources: Youth recreation and development activities were also a high priority for Woodlawn residents. POAH provided a low cost land lease for the construction of a 20,000 ft² youth recreation center,¹⁴ which the nonprofit organization MetroSquash developed and operates. This center welcomes youth and families across Woodlawn and the South Side of Chicago for after-school and school programming, including both academic support and recreation.

POAH intentionally set out to partner with community-based organizations whose mission involved serving families and school-age youth within Woodlawn, specifically low-income households

living in subsidized housing. For example, funding from the Choice Neighborhoods grant was allocated to the Woodlawn Children’s Promise Community, which provided after school programming and offered instructional-time assistance in Sexton and Fiske Elementary schools where approximately 60% of youth who relocated from Grove Parc attend school. However, lower enrollment in nearby schools resulted in school closings, creating disruptions for families and teachers in Woodlawn. Local school options remain one of the greatest challenges for families in Woodlawn, as this stakeholder described: *“When we start to see the kids of the local families—and we’re talking about the non-subsidized local families— begin to enroll in the local schools, then that’s going to be the first major indicator that we finally are getting there on neighborhood change...We have to invest in making families comfortable with the school system in Woodlawn, such as the schools that are generating good Blue Ribbon type results....To what extent are local kids still being exported to other schools outside of the neighborhood?”*

In addition to local schools, POAH has also invested in efforts to improve early childhood education as an essential component for creating and maintaining a mixed-income neighborhood. POAH’s contributions expanded the capacity of early childhood education through the creation of a newly constructed center located on Cottage Grove Ave. and 61st Street. This center offers preschool for children ages 2 to 5, thus meeting an important need for local working parents.

Collectively, POAH’s contributions to high-quality resources has made a significant difference towards positive neighborhood improvements. While difficult to fund, these community-centered desires are important for generating sustainable healthy neighborhoods.

14. POAH provided MetroSquash with a long-term land lease at a rate of \$1 a year.

6

IMPLICATIONS FOR ACTION

Our findings illustrate a variety of neighborhood changes over the past eighteen years that indicate Woodlawn is seeing reinvestment and neighborhood revitalization that has started to change the racial and income diversity of the neighborhood. Despite tremendous barriers in the post-2008 financial crisis, Preservation of Affordable Housing, along with other key partners in the Choice Neighborhoods Initiative, contributed to a renaissance in Woodlawn's redevelopment over the course of the past 13 years. Based on these 10 findings, we recommend a series of implications for action—this list is not exhaustive but offers guidance for future policy and planning decisions for state and local agencies, community stakeholders, and POAH:

Implications for Policy: Both Public and Private Funding is Necessary

- Federal funding should be directed at projects such as this in the future; absent major investment similar to the Choice Neighborhoods Initiative it can be difficult to attract outside investors, partially due to the stigma that can prevail around affordable housing construction.
- State funding should direct additional developer investment in affordable (tax credit) housing projects to preserve and maintain existing affordable housing.

- Continue to allocate City funding and partnerships with NHS and CIC to support homeowners in efforts to maintain and rehab naturally occurring affordable housing (NOAH).

Implications for Planning and Practice: Invest with Intentionality by Prioritizing Durability and Maximizing Benefits for Community Members

- Concentrate investment in areas where the funding will make the most impact, for example in hubs that can impact surrounding areas in order to maximize benefits.
- Identify what each group involved in an initiative needs and identify how they can have those needs met through their involvement in making the initiative a success.
- Elected officials often have to focus on immediate results and short-term initiatives, so it is key for those interested in durable change to dedicate time to building relationships with them and supporting them in understanding what changes they can make within their risk tolerance.
- Plan with the intention of maximizing benefit to the community being developed; for example, focus on fostering small business and entrepreneurship, localizing in order to bring success to those already in the area.

- Adapt once the market has been proven to maximize affordable housing preservation and creation. For example, when market-rate renters have been successfully attracted to the area, be ready to move beyond mixed-income housing to create affordable developments.
- Strive to establish an honest and open relationship with partners where you can hold each other accountable about their practices and what they are or are not doing for the community.
- Prioritize anti-displacement policies and practices in order to ensure the preservation of affordable housing options for residents in the community undergoing transformation efforts.

Implications for Community and Resident Power and Participation: Respect the Community's History with Neighborhood Change

- Recognize and appreciate the community's history with development and neighborhood change. It is important to understand that the community has likely been told several times that some type of change would happen that ultimately did not come through, so it is important to allow space for them to discuss their feelings about that, to respect their feelings and to ensure their current needs are understood, as one stakeholder shared, "...listen, understand, and support..."
- Be clear and transparent with community members about what is possible and what is not, and why not, making space for community members does not necessarily mean losing agency over the project's direction.
- Invite community members to be a part of the process instead of lecturing them. Provide them with a seat at the table and invite them to engage on key questions and challenges.

- Establishing authentic, trusting relationships with community members is key. Start with understanding the community's concerns and then identify how your work can support meeting those needs.
- Communication is crucial. The efforts of private institutions are not always obvious to community members, who may only be aware of neighborhood changes when they see construction begin.

Implications for POAH: Maintain Development Practices and Partnerships that Continue to Stabilize and Revitalize the Woodlawn Neighborhood

- Support more equitable and balanced development investments in affordable housing, mixed-use development and amenities within both West and East Woodlawn.
- Monitor and track neighborhood changes utilizing the DePaul Institute for Housing Studies Displacement Risk Index.
- As public and private investments are used to develop housing, retail, amenities, etc..., update the Woodlawn Ordinance as needed with additional anti-displacement policies to continue to mitigate displacement of existing neighborhood residents.
- Hold community classrooms to educate residents on POAH projects and ongoing planning protections aimed to support neighborhood stabilization rather than gentrification.

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Acknowledgments

The authors thank the following staff members from Preservation of Affordable Housing (POAH) for their contributions to the research: Bill Eager, Felicia Dawson, Julianna Stuart, Alex Swift, Andrew Spofford, and Aaron Gornstein, along with former POAH staff member Patricia Belden. In particular we appreciate the time Bill Eager devoted to supporting our recruitment efforts, ensuring the accuracy of the study content reported, and his editorial support in reviewing and revising this document. In addition, the authors acknowledge the time and wisdom of the Woodlawn residents and stakeholders who were interviewed as part of this study. We also recognize the leadership of Sherise McKinney who helped to ensure the completion and dissemination of this report. Thank you to Tia Andrako for her graphic design work on this report, and to Shelby Lake and the team at University Marketing and Communications for their support in the design process. Finally, we thank POAH and PNC Bank for providing funding for this study. Please reach out if you have feedback or questions to Amy Khare: amy.khare@case.edu



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