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Expanding Housing Opportunities and Preserving Character in Historic Neighborhoods

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EXPANDING HOUSING OPPORTUNITIES AND PRESERVING CHARACTER IN HISTORIC NEIGHBORHOODS

Housing and Historic Preservation Policy Plan for the City of Richmond

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Expanding Housing Opportunities and Preserving Character in Historic Neighborhoods

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Executive Summary

The City of Richmond has been experiencing population growth and rising housing costs in recent years, leading to spatially uneven revitalization and growing affordability concerns. The historic neighborhoods in the city are part of what makes Richmond unique and a desired city to live in. Many historic neighborhoods are seeing rapid revitalization with development adapting to meet the increased demand, though not without concerns regarding gentrification and displacement. With these conditions, it highlights the need and opportunity to put strategies in place to expand and maintain affordable housing options within core city neighborhoods. This requires an improved connection between the goals and policies around affordable housing and historic preservation, as the two goals have a tendency to conflict with one another when working in historic neighborhoods.

Through studying three different historic neighborhoods- Southern Barton Heights, Carver, and Union Hill, it was found that some neighborhoods are rapidly changing and gentrifying due to growing development pressures, while others are experiencing slower population changes and revitalization, with persistent high vacancy rates and a large amount of tax delinquent properties. Research revealed that the challenges to developing affordable housing in historic neighborhoods differ depending on neighborhood type. In some cases, the land use regulations are a significant barrier, while others show that rising property values and conflicts in the top priorities of stakeholders and residents serve as barriers to affordable housing. Though city processes for engagement and collaboration around historic preservation and affordable housing can be improved, existing collaborative networks and momentum to expand affordable housing presents an opportunity for the city to become more strategic regarding how development occurs across neighborhoods and to unify the goals of affordable housing and historic preservation.

With three interdependent goals that create a cyclical process, this housing and historic preservation policy plan aims to set up an engagement and collaborative infrastructure for improved strategy around shared goals in historic neighborhoods, creating an environment where new policies can be more successful. Aligned with Richmond 300, this plan aims to 1) improve engagement and education methods, 2) establish new collaborative structures for stakeholders to develop strategy around shared goals, and 3) develop new policies and regulations that support expanding housing opportunities while preserving character in historic neighborhoods.

1. Introduction
1.1. Plan Purpose

The City of Richmond is characterized by its uneven urban landscape in terms of neighborhood conditions, affordability, and market strength. With the city's population growing, many neighborhoods, including historic neighborhoods with rich and diverse histories, have high vacancy rates and a large share of deteriorating buildings, while others have revitalized through historic rehabilitation investment and large-scale redevelopments, contributing to rising housing costs. As the 2015 American Community Survey estimates, approximately 12% of the city's housing units are vacant (ACS, 2015) At the same time, a lack of affordable housing options exists throughout the city due to the high housing costs and increased demand for city living. According to the Partnership for Housing Affordability's report titled ""Housing the Richmond Region: Needs, Impediments, and Strategies", close to 45% of Richmond City residents are cost-burdened, or spend more than 30% of their income on housing (Virginia Center for Housing Research & Center for Urban and Regional Analysis, 2015).

> *12% of the city's housing units are vacant*
> *45% of Richmond city residents are cost-burdened*

Historic preservation has been widely recognized as a useful tool for cities in protecting community character and enhancing sense of place, while contributing to citywide economic development (Kaufman, 2009, Ryberg-Webster, 2014, Listokin, Listokin, & Lahr, 1998). In addition, research suggests that due to their typical dense and walkable characteristics, historic neighborhoods are suitable locations for affordable housing. These neighborhoods can provide low-to-moderate income households, that may not have personal transportation options, with better access to services such as public transportation and other community amenities (Appler, 2016, Rypkema, 2003). However, increasing the provision of affordable housing within historic neighborhoods is not without barriers. These include regulatory, economic, and organizational barriers to successful implementation (Listokin, 2001, Ryberg, 2010, Rabanera, 2013, Gunther, 2016). In addition, historic preservation has generally been criticized for its association with the negative consequences of revitalization and gentrification such as displacement of longtime residents, decreasing the affordable housing stock through strict development and design regulations, high cost of renovations and maintenance for homeowners, and a lack of diversity in what gets preserved and inequitable

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benefits (Listokin, Listokin, Lahr, 1998, McCabe & Ellen, 2016, Kaufman, 2009). Within Richmond, historic preservation has been criticized for catalyzing gentrification and displacement in various neighborhoods, though particularly in the neighborhoods on Church Hill. (Parkhurst, 2016)

The city's population grew by 7.9% between 2010 and 2015, and is projected to continue increasing (Accordino, Jacobsen, 2017). Proactively setting the groundwork for expanding affordable housing opportunities within historic neighborhoods can address concerns regarding affordability and displacement as the city continues to grow. Concurrent with the master planning process in the City of Richmond, this plan will provide guidance towards updated city policy connecting affordable housing and historic preservation. The plan purpose is to provide a framework for reducing barriers to providing affordable housing within historic neighborhoods while continuing to preserve historic character, and a mechanism for more equitable and inclusive revitalization outcomes across Richmond's neighborhoods.

1.2.Plan Context

Much of the uneven spatial pattern of revitalization occurring across the city can be traced back to discriminatory practices such as redlining and disinvestment in neighborhoods with high minority populations, leading to a persistent spatial pattern of inequality and segregation based on race and income. In addition to growing affordability concerns, the City of Richmond also faces challenges associated with this pattern of inequality such as the spatial mismatch of jobs and affordable housing, persistent concentration of poverty, as well as a lack of affordable housing in opportunity areas, or areas with greater access to quality jobs, education, transportation, and more (Jacobson, Suen, MacKensive, Fauslo, 2017, Koziol, n.d.).

Most of the neighborhoods that faced redlining and disinvestment were in the historic core of the city, containing architecturally significant buildings and sites representing culturally and racially diverse histories. In the late 1990s to mid-2000s, the city attempted to address the issues of blight and vacancy in some of these core neighborhoods through the targeted revitalization program, Neighborhoods in Bloom. In this program, public funds were targeted to specific neighborhoods in the most need of revitalization. This program was considered successful, as it catalyzed private investment in many neighborhood (Federal Reserve Bank of Richmond, 2017). However, the program was criticized for encouraging too much redevelopment and new construction instead of considering preservation and lacked substantial steps to address issues that can ensue once increased private investment occurs, such as affordable housing shortages and rent increases (Wyatt, 1999, Stromberg, 2006, Holmberg, 2005).

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The City of Richmond's previous master plan (2000) addressed and recommended better connecting affordable housing to historic preservation goals but lacked tangible implementation strategies. The Community Character element of the plan first described issues that threaten historic character of Richmond's neighborhoods such as high vacancy rates, crime, incompatible infill development, and deteriorating buildings (City of Richmond, 2000 p. 113). Further, it explained that existing preservation programs and services available are not very accessible to the average citizen making it challenging for residents to understand the preservation processes and its benefits (City of Richmond, 2000 p. 113).The plan also described the possibility for historic preservation to provide affordable housing, as the rehabilitating and reuse of existing buildings helps to create a sense of place and community for residents, and properly rehabilitating buildings can be cost effective (City of Richmond, 2000 p. 113). These guiding principles are sound, but strategies to truly connect the goals of both preservation and affordable housing must be expanded on in order to be operationalized within the City of Richmond.

1.3. Client Description

The City of Richmond Department of Planning and Development Review, Planning and Preservation Division is the primary client for this plan. The city is currently updating its 2000 master plan, *Richmond Master Plan 2000-2020.* The new plan, *Richmond 300*, will serve as a guide for future growth in the city (City of Richmond, 2017). Goals related to managing the built environment and housing will be addressed in the plan, and this professional plan complements *Richmond 300* by providing a detailed housing and historic preservation policy update focused on equitably maintaining and providing affordable housing in historic neighborhoods.

Image Accessed from
http://www.richmond300.com/marketingMasterPlan/about-us

2. Plan Approach and Methods

2.1.Plan Approach

This plan has been approached utilizing the *Just City* theory of planning, with policies designed to produce just and equitable outcomes related to housing and historic preservation. Under this framework, any proposed policy should be based on the predefined normative value for justice and also show its contribution to furthering the three main principles of democracy, diversity, and equity (Fainstein, 2013).

Justice is the main goal, and the deliberation will be over how justice is defined in the given context, not about whether or not justice should be prioritized in the policy (Fainstein, 2013).

Addressing the issue of inequitable benefits of historic preservation and working to provide more accessible affordable housing opportunities in historic neighborhoods will help to achieve the broader goals of equitable revitalization and housing outcomes (Fainstein, 2000). For more equitable historic preservation policy at the city level, the *Just City* approach means a strong commitment to mitigating the displacement of existing residents and maintaining affordability becoming more central to the goals, rather than policies that overwhelmingly emphasize the economic development potential of historic preservation (Listokin, Listokin, Lahr 1998, Minner 2016, Zahirovic-Herbert, Chatterjee, 2012). In addition to developing goals for just outcomes through policy, as Howell (2016) argues, interactions and collaboration of different actors at the grassroots, advocacy, and government levels are required to affect actual change. Although Fainstein discusses how democracy can fail in situations of social and economic inequality, increased interactions of actors at different levels of planning has the potential to lead to just outcomes (Fainstein, 2013).

To be strategic about the process to attain equitable outcomes, collaboration in this plan focused on the inclusion of diverse stakeholders and on the "coproducing" of processes and policies (Quick & Feldman, 2011). Interviewing stakeholders to help inform the policy recommendations acts as a step in achieving more inclusive engagement and collaboration. The interviews included individuals from nonprofit housing developers, historic preservation groups, housing advocacy organizations, and neighborhood associations. The interview questions were organized around central themes that included barriers or challenges when it comes to developing affordable housing in historic neighborhoods or rehabilitating buildings for affordable housing, financing strategies and development processes, successful projects, collaboration with other nonprofits or groups, conflicts or synergies, thoughts on the current historic preservation processes, and ideas for updated policies. Inclusive collaboration also served as a guide for how processes for plan implementation were informed, aiming to set up an infrastructure for collaboration that is necessary to implement policies designed to produce the defined just outcomes. Although the city will be the authority in charge of implementing many of the recommendations, with various stakeholders involved in the collaborative process, they should also play significant roles in the plan implementation.

2.2. Data Collection and Analysis

Data was collected at the neighborhood level through case studies and also for the City of Richmond as a whole. The case studies examined the specific conditions in three different neighborhoods, Southern Barton Heights, Carver, and Union Hill, to analyze how connecting affordable housing to historic preservation goals could occur in neighborhoods with diverse characteristics and create recommendations based on neighborhood typologies. In addition, the case studies helped to understand how citywide policy impacting housing in historic neighborhoods can be improved. Along with research int o best practices and successful policy and collaboration frameworks, the case studies helped to inform the citywide policy plan. As represented in Figure 1 to the right, with knowledge gained from the case studies and analysis of barriers, opportunities, and best practices, the citywide policy was created along with informed implementation steps to operationalize the policy.

Based on the literature review, the barriers to achieving affordable housing in historic neighborhoods and more equitable preservation can be categorized into three main types: regulatory, economic, and organizational (Listokin, 2001, Ryberg, 2010, Rabanera, 2013, Kaufman, 2009). With these probable barriers in mind, the data collected and analyzed for each neighborhood included demographics, physical neighborhood conditions, history, previous planning interventions, land use and zoning, economic conditions and market strength, and current housing or preservation efforts. The demographic and housing data collected focused on changes in educational attainment, race, household median income, and property values, as the literature suggests a link between these data points and neighborhood change and gentrification

Figure 1: Plan Framework

Neighborhood Case Studies

Barriers, Opportunities, Best Practices

Citywide Policy Recommendations

Implementation

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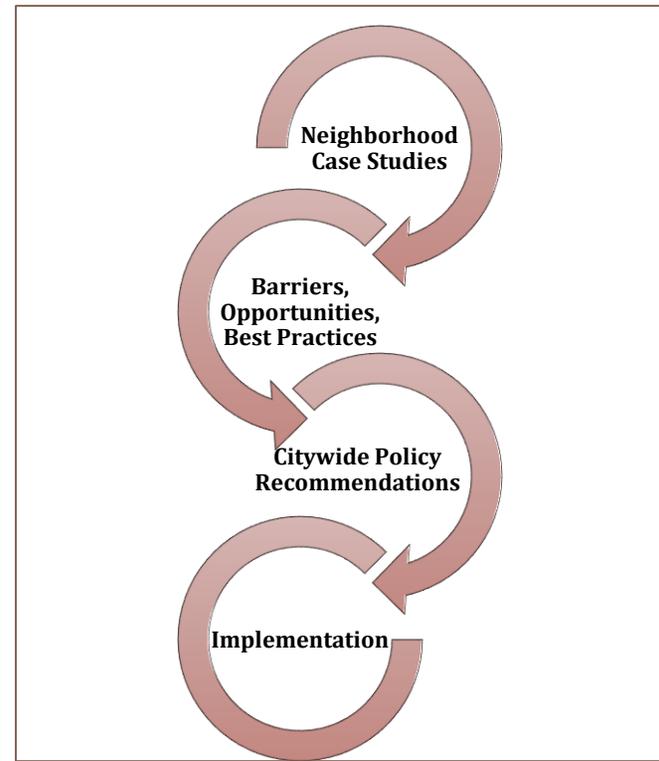
(McCabe & Ellen, 2016).[1] Understanding the amount and type of change the neighborhood has experienced over the years is an important step to using the case studies to recommend equitable policies for housing and historic preservation. The amount of vacant and tax delinquent properties was also utilized as a significant data point, as the prevalence of these properties suggest opportunity for more strategically guiding affordable housing development in these neighborhoods.

Data was also collected on the citywide level, to put the case studies into a larger context. Data regarding overall building stock issues, affordability, and policy barriers was collected at the citywide level. This included analyzing citywide affordable housing need, existing citywide policy, financing tools, and governance and processes around housing and historic preservation. Much of the citywide findings came from the key informant interviews discussed above. Lastly, best practice research was conducted through examining other localities' planning and research around historic preservation and affordable housing to help to inform Richmond's policy recommendations.

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[1] Much of the demographic and housing census data was collected from Esri Business Analyst Online Reports (BAO) for the neighborhoods, this software allocates block group data to a "user defined geographic area". Since each neighborhood contains portions of a few different block groups, this software uses the population of each block group as a weight for the block group data, aggregating data from the portions of the block groups that are within the neighborhood boundaries and making estimations for demographics of the neighborhood as a whole (Esri, 2017) For data not covered by the BAO reports, a similar GIS analysis technique was utilized to proportionally allocate block group data from the ACS 2011-2015 to the neighborhood boundaries.

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3. Research Findings
3.1. Case Study Findings – Overview of Neighborhood Findings and Typologies

In order for the case studies to be suitable to inform recommendations for the citywide policy, the neighborhoods were selected based on their ability to be representative of a distinct neighborhood typology in the city, as well as based on the neighborhoods' need and potential to expand affordable housing options. The three neighborhoods are all in need of affordable housing, with at least 44% of households identified as cost-burdened. In addition, they are all designated as historic in some capacity.[2] They differ in land use, zoning, and physical conditions, and as demonstrated through Table 1, they also vary in demographics and market strength. The neighborhood research and interviews revealed that the barriers and challenges to

Map 1: Neighborhood Case Study Locations

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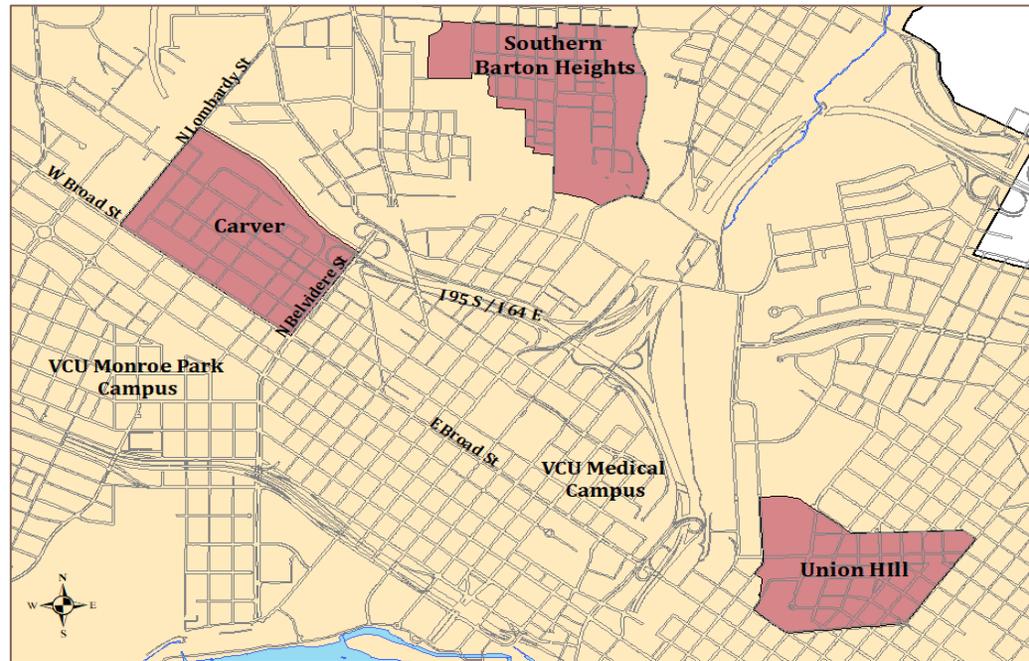
[2] Note: Difference between local and federal historic designations:

National Register of Historic Places – More about recognition than regulation, properties in these districts become eligible for historic rehabilitation tax credits (NPS, n.d.)

Richmond's City Old and Historic Districts – When a neighborhood is designated a city old and historic district, properties within the district must adhere to regulations enforced by the Commission of Architectural Review (City of Richmond, n.d.)

improving the connection between historic preservation and affordable housing goals differ by neighborhood type. These identified barriers are discussed throughout the case studies below and summarized in tables in Appendix 2.

While Southern Barton Heights embodies a slower-changing, less densely developed neighborhood still facing disinvestment with scattered revitalization, Union Hill and Carver represent rapidly changing urban neighborhoods facing varied forms of strong development pressures and gentrification. Union Hill's main distinction from Carver is its City Old and Historic District designation rather than just a National Register District designation, creating different challenges and opportunities. The three neighborhoods are all transitional and at different stages of revitalization and gentrification, while other historic neighborhoods, such as the Museum District and St. Johns in Church Hill, are more stable, with higher property values, lower vacancy, and generally stronger markets, as classified by the Market Value Analysis, shown in the Appendix. These main differences were influential in selecting the three neighborhoods, as in more transitional neighborhoods with greater percentages of vacant and tax delinquent properties and low to moderate property values, there is more potential for improved policy or strategy around maintaining or expanding affordable housing to really make a difference.

Table 1: Overview of Findings – Demographics and Housing Characteristics Compared to City of Richmond				
	Barton Heights	**Carver**	**Union Hill**	**City of Richmond**
Population Change (2000-2015)	**2000:** 1,136 people	**2000:** 919 people	**2000:** 1,600 people	**2000:** 197,790 people
	2015: 815 people	**2015:** 2,509 people	**2015:** 1,753 people	**2015:** 213,735 people
	% Change: -28.2%	**% Change:** +173%	**% Change:** +9.5%	**% Change:** +8.06%
Population Density	3,542 people/sq. mile	11,169 people/ sq. mile	9,718 people/sq. mile	3,713 people/sq. mile
Household Median Income	$31,319	$35,242	$30,005	$40,758
Average Household Size	2.7 people	3.2 people	1.8 people	2.3 people
% cost-burdened households (renters and homeowners)	64.2%	51.0%	44.2%	~45%
# of Housing Units	431 housing units	798 housing units	1,218 housing units	99,449 housing units
Vacancy Rate	32%	13.3%	18.9%	12%
% Owner Occupied	44.3%	30%	15.3%	42%
Median Contract Rent	**2000:** $357	**2000:** $276	**2000:** $371	**2000:** $452
	2015: $736	**2015:** $978	**2015:** $732	**2015:** $742
Average Assessed Property Value[3]	**2009:** $136,402	**2009:** $395,729	**2009:** $164,985	**2009:** $373,635
	2018: $136,678	**2018:** $528,446	**2018:** $254,076	**2018:** $403,154

Table 1: Esri Business Analyst Online (ACS 5 Five Estimates 2011-2015), City Parcel Data 2009 -2018, Partnership for Housing Affordability

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[3] Overall tax assessments (land and improvements) from city parcel data: including residential, commercial, industrial, and vacant properties

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3.1.1. Case Study: Southern Barton Heights

Southern Barton Heights is a historic streetcar suburb with high vacancy, low property values, and large single-family homes in a low density-built environment, that has experienced population loss and slight changes to racial composition and educational attainment since 2000. In Southern Barton Heights, a significant amount of both homeowners and renters are severely cost-burdened. The research revealed that the most prominent perceived challenge or barrier to connecting affordable housing and historic preservation goals in Southern Barton Heights is the cost to maintain and rehabilitate the large, single-family homes, as the zoning encourages continued single-family residential development patterns.

Neighborhood History and Overview

Southern Barton Heights is on the north side of the City of Richmond and bounded by Dove Street to the North, Valley Road to the South, Fendall Avenue to the West, and Richmond-Henrico Turnpike to the East. Most of the neighborhood is part of the National Register-listed Town of Barton Heights Historic District, designated in 2003. As explained on its nomination form, most of the houses were built for those who sought a more suburban lifestyle (NRHP, 2003). With a period of significance for the National Register Historic District of 1880-1949, the neighborhood attributes its historical significance to being one of the first streetcar suburbs in the country, the first speculative residential developments on the Northside of Richmond, and for its prominent examples of significant Queen Anne, Colonial Revival, and American Foursquare architectural styles. The houses within the historic district are generally larger and were constructed with more ornate architecture than the homes in the nearby neighborhoods (NRHP, 2003).

The neighborhood was annexed by the city in 1914, and as a diverse middle-class community, continued to thrive until the mid-1900s (NRHP, 2003). With a large African American population, the neighborhood experienced discriminatory lending practices like redlining and disinvestment that caused an increase in blight, vacancies, and overall poor conditions (Federal Reserve Bank of Richmond, 2017). As explained by the Federal Reserve Bank of Richmond Report (2017), "by 2000, Southern Barton Heights was experiencing vacancy and poverty rates above the city average". Greater interest in the neighborhood's historic buildings combined with increased funding for revitalization through the Neighborhoods in Bloom program has brought some investment into Southern Barton Heights. Currently, Southern Barton Heights can be characterized by uneven conditions and scattered revitalization throughout the neighborhood, illustrated in Figures 2-5.

Figure 2: Rose Corridor New Construction Example

Figure 3: Vacant Building – Barton Avenue

Figure 5: Recent Rehabilitation Example - Rose Avenue

Figure 4: Commercial Vacancies Along North Avenue

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Existing Conditions

Zoning and Land Use

The dominant land use within Southern Barton Heights is large single-family, detached homes with a few duplexes and multi-family residences. Most of the neighborhood has R-6 zoning, or a single-family attached residential district (City of Richmond, 2006), which is indicative of a lower density-built environment compared to other city neighborhoods, and still reflects the historic streetcar suburb development patterns.

Observations and interviews indicated that although the current zoning certainly works to maintain the neighborhood's historic character as a streetcar suburb, prioritizing single-family home development causes some limitations. For example, affordable housing developers indicated that they are interested in any opportunity to rehabilitate some of the large, single-family homes for affordable housing. However, according to Zillow's listings of houses in Barton Heights, many are as large as 2,000 -2,500

Map 2: Southern Barton Heights Land Use

square feet and in poor condition. These conditions contribute to high costs to finance such a rehabilitation project. With inflexible zoning that restricts the use to single-family homes and makes conversions into duplexes or multi-family new construction less feasible, the type of affordable housing development will remain limited and not work to expand or create improved affordable housing opportunities for existing residents or address the issue of existing vacant historic structures.

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Demographics, Housing, Market Conditions

As shown in the Summary Table 1 above, Southern Barton Heights' population decreased by 28% since 2000, with a population density of 3,542 people per square mile, about the same as the city's population density, and much lower density than the other two cases. The household median income in Southern Barton Heights is $31,319, below the city's median income. The average household size is 2.7, slightly larger than the city, and with trends projecting continued shifts towards smaller households in the city, considering expanding to more diverse housing styles and sizes may be a logical planning decision (Accordino, Jacobsen, 2017)

Table 2 to the right shows that the racial distribution has not changed very significantly since 2000, as it has remained a predominately African American neighborhood. Southern Barton Heights has low educational attainment when compared to Union Hill and Carver. About 18% of residents hold a bachelor's degree or higher, which has shifted since 2000, when just 5.0% held bachelor's degrees or higher. These figures suggest minimal neighborhood change and gentrification since 2000.

Table 2: Southern Barton Heights Racial Distribution and Levels of Higher Educational Attainment 2000 & 2015		
	2000	2015
Race		
White alone	3.4%	9%
Black or African American alone	94.9%	85%
Education		
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	5.0%	18.0%

Table 2: ACS 2000 and 2015 Educational Attainment, Race

The neighborhood's vacancy rate is 32%, a revealing figure regarding the neighborhood's physical conditions. This rate has been well above the city's average for decades. Close to 45% of the housing units are owner-occupied, similar to the city's homeownership rate.

Table 3: Southern Barton Heights Cost-Burdened Households 2015		
	Renters	Homeowners
Housing costs between 30 and 50% of income	20.8%	36.2%
More than 50%	43.0%	28.5%
Total cost burdened households (>30%)	63.8%	65.0%

Table 3: BAO Housing Report (ACS 2011-2015)

As shown Summary Table 1, the median contract rent for Southern Barton Heights is $736, more than doubling since 2000. Currently, as shown in Table 3, close to 64% of renters pay more than 30% of their income towards rent, with 43% of renters paying more than 50%. Homeowners are also facing cost-burdened issues, with 65% paying more than 30% of their income towards monthly housing costs, which could be associated with the high costs to maintain the large houses within the neighborhood.

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According to city assessment data, the average assessed property value of all properties with in Southern Barton Heights is $136,678 as of 2018, rising only slightly from the 2009 average assessment of $136,406. When compared to the other neighborhoods, these values are low, and can likely be attributed to the lack of commercial or multi-family properties within the neighborhood. When combined with the high vacancy rate, these figures suggest a weak market.

The neighborhood has slower-paced development occurring than the other two cases. Throughout 2017, Southern Barton Heights had 23 building permits and 36 property transfers. For the property transfers, the average "consideration" or sales price was $121,544, with the highest sale price of $292,000 for a two-story single-family house and lowest of $15,000 for a single-family vacant lot.

In addition to the neighborhood's high vacancy rate and low assessments and sale prices, Southern Barton Heights has quite a few tax delinquent properties. According to the city's tracking log of tax delinquencies throughout the city and as shown in Map 3, 21 properties have been tax delinquent for five or more years within Southern Barton Heights.

Map 3: Southern Barton Heights Vacant Buildings and Tax Delinquent Properties
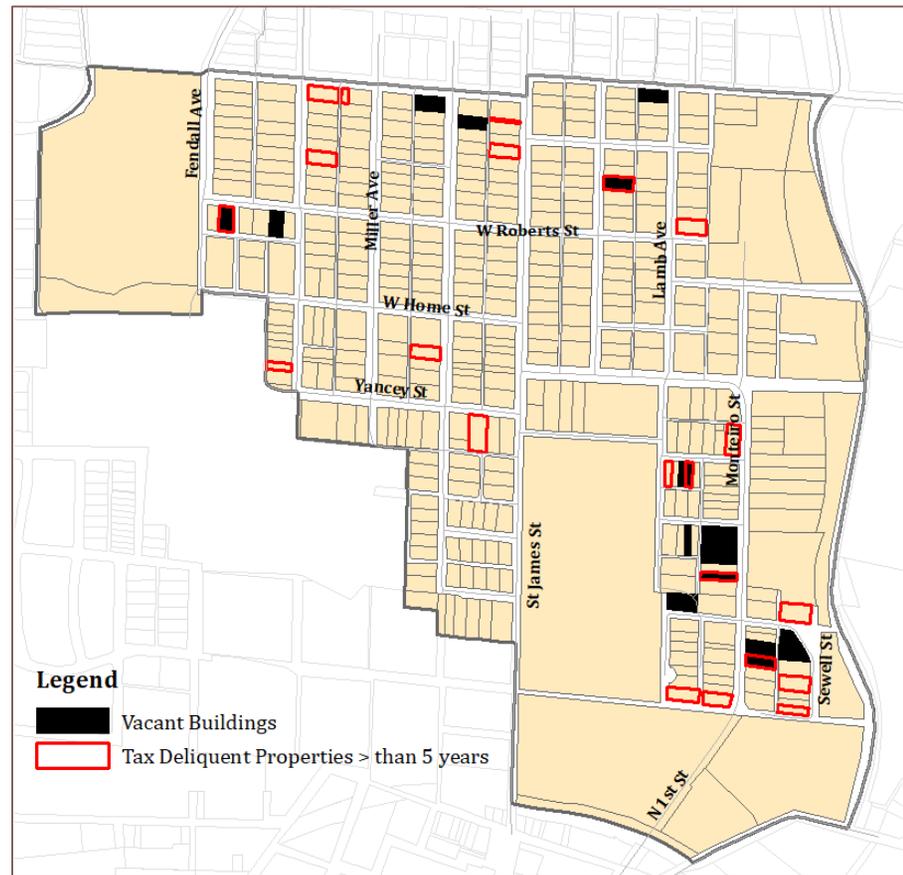
Policy, Planning, and Organizational Processes

Previous planning initiatives in Southern Barton Heights began as an attempt to address the high vacancy and poverty rates the neighborhood was facing, and all have supported single-family residences as the primary land use in the neighborhood. For example, the

North Amendment section of the Master Plan from 2000 discussed future land use for the neighborhood and also called for the "preservation and expansion of single-family housing as the primary land use" (City of Richmond, 1995).

In the late 1990s, when the Neighborhoods in Bloom program was introduced in Southern Barton Heights as one of the target neighborhoods, the same single-family residential development pattern was encouraged. During this program, the city, through Richmond Redevelopment and Housing Authority (RRHA), acquired deteriorated or vacant properties and transferred them to non-profit housing developers for redevelopment using CBDG and HOME funds (Federal Reserve Bank of Richmond, 2017). Blighted properties in the southwest corner of the neighborhood were cleared for the development of Rose Corridor, a subdivision dedicated to the new construction of single-family homes with an affordable homeownership model. Much of the Rose Corridor development has been completed by the nonprofit housing developers - Better Housing Coalition and Project HOMEs. These single-family homes were developed to be affordable to households making roughly 80% of the Richmond Area Median Income (AMI) and financed mostly through CBDG and HOME funds.

Through the initial observations of the physical built environment, the Rose Corridor section of Southern Barton Heights appears to be successful. The houses are aesthetically pleasing and appear to be well-built and maintained. They complement the architecture of the surrounding buildings, and successfully provide some affordable homeownership opportunities. In terms of the goals laid out in Neighborhoods in Bloom for increasing private investment and homeownership as well as good practice when it comes to affordable housing and context sensitive infill architecture, the redevelopment had some positive effects on the neighborhood (Federal Reserve Bank of Richmond, 2017).

Figure 6: Rose Corridor New Construction

Although the Neighborhood's in Bloom program improved the neighborhood in some ways with Rose Corridor, it feels somewhat disconnected from the rest of Southern Barton Heights, which still reflects a neighborhood facing disinvestment with a lack of public space, poorly maintained streetscape, and many vacancies. In addition, interviews revealed that members of the community do not necessarily view the development as expanding housing opportunities for existing residents, but instead aimed to attract those with slightly higher

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income. Community leadership suggested that the neighborhood is in need of more economic and business development investment in addition to investment in housing. Southern Barton Heights is included in the new Bus Rapid Transit line, and although the local GRTC bus lines will remain intact, this planning decision may support continued disinvestment in this neighborhood and similar communities.

Historic Richmond, a local historic preservation nonprofit, has expressed interest in expanding their work to the Town of Barton Heights Historic District. Last year, Historic Richmond and Project HOMEs collaborated on the design of a rehabilitation on Sewell Street, where Project HOMEs rehabilitated the property and financed the project for affordable homeownership and Historic Richmond provided design assistance. This project showcases an example of a project that allowed for the goal to maintain the historic character to be achieved while also prioritizing affordable housing. The Maggie Walker Community Land Trust is also active in Southern Barton Heights, as two vacant lots that were RRHA surplus land have recently been purchased by the land trust. Given the neighborhood's low median household income, high percentage of cost-burdened households, and the fact that Rose Corridor homes seem to be out of the price range for existing residents, land trust properties will be a positive addition to Barton Heights, as they will provide homeownership at more affordable rates and in perpetuity.

Overall, Southern Barton Heights did not experience very significant neighborhood change since 2000 in terms of demographic make-up of the neighborhood or development activity, though the population decrease combined with persistent high vacancy and low assessed property values and sale prices is indicative of a weak market. Southern Barton Heights has the highest percentage of cost-burdened households out of the three case study neighborhoods. With a low household median income, this figure has a severe impact on affordability. As presented in Appendix 5, the Market Value Analysis completed by the Reinvestment Fund categorized Southern Barton Heights as a "G" market, one of the weaker categories, and the conditions of the neighborhood also reflect this, with poor streetscape conditions, high amount of vacant and dilapidated buildings, and vacant commercial storefronts. Although high vacancy, tax delinquency, and low property values is a sign of a weaker market, it also can be viewed as an opportunity to create affordable housing opportunities within the neighborhood before the neighborhood experiences any faster pace changes or gentrification.

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3.1.2. Case Study: Carver

Carver is a historic urban neighborhood that has experienced significant population increase and changes in racial composition and educational attainment since 2000, as well as increased property values and rents, indicative of gentrification and neighborhood change. With the high costs to live in Carver, many households are cost-burdened, especially renters. In Carver, the most prominently identified challenge to affordable housing and historic preservation was the development pressures impacting neighborhood character and conflicts between the needs of student residents and long-time residents. In addition, the lower vacancy rate and higher property values makes it more challenging to develop affordable housing.

Neighborhood History and Overview

The Carver neighborhood is bounded by West Broad Street, Lombardy, Belvidere and I-95. VCU Monroe Park Campus is adjacent to the neighborhood, which has greatly influenced demand for development and driven neighborhood change over the years. The neighborhood contains the Carver Residential Historic District, which was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 2002 (National Register of Historic Places, 2002). Other National Register Historic Districts that are partially within the Carver neighborhood include Carver Industrial, Broad Street Commercial, and West Broad Street Commercial districts. The period of significance for the Carver Residential Historic District is 1840 to 1940. (National Register of Historic Places, 2002). In the mid-19th to early 20th century, the neighborhood was characterized as an integrated, predominately working-class community, and by the 1930s, it was a "self-sufficient African American community" with a mix of residential, commercial, and religious uses throughout the neighborhood (VCU Urban Studies, 2002).

Like Barton Heights, Carver was a "redlined" neighborhood, and experienced significant disinvestment and subsequent deterioration of the neighborhood leading to increased blight and vacancies (VCU Urban Studies, 2002). In the 1940s and 50s, the city initiated several urban renewal plans where dilapidated buildings were demolished for redevelopment, including the clearing of houses for the construction of Richmond-Petersburg Turnpike (I-95). (Federal Reserve Bank of Richmond, 2017). In the late 1990s through early 2000s, the Neighborhoods in Bloom program continued this work as well as significant new construction with increased federal funding (CBDG and HOME funds) and created new homeownership opportunities (VCU Urban Studies, 2002).

Currently, Carver can be categorized as a dynamic and diverse neighborhood with a great deal of recent development occurring to satisfy the increased housing demand as well as VCU's growth. There are newly constructed multi-family apartment complexes mixed in

with the historic fabric of the neighborhood, some of which are not consistent with the historic character. On the other hand, a few historic industrial buildings were adaptive reuse projects to function as apartments, both market rate and affordable, like the market-rate Biggs Building shown in Figure 10 below.

Figure 7: Carver Historic Residences

Figure 8: Vacant Buildings - West Clay Street

Figure 9: Multi-family new construction

Figure 10: Biggs Building - Adaptive Reuse Apartments

Expanding Housing Opportunities and Preserving Character in Historic Neighborhoods

Existing Conditions

Zoning and Land Use

The zoning in Carver is predominately R-7, a single-and-two-family urban residential district, which allows for any uses permitted in an R-1 district as well as single-family attached dwellings, two-family detached dwellings, and two-family attached dwellings that "lawfully existed" prior to the date the zoning ordinance was adopted (City of Richmond, 2006). Carver differs from the other case study neighborhoods with a significant amount of M-1 or light industrial zoning as well as B-4 Central Business District zoning on West Broad Street, a main commercial corridor. This zoning allows for more multi-family and commercial uses within certain sections of the neighborhood. With the current zoning, there is much diversity in land use and development, displayed in Map 4.

Influenced greatly by VCU, within recent years there has been a great deal of multi-family apartment development and other university related development like the Siegel Center. Without a City Old and Historic District designation, there is little oversight locally to ensure development is following any historic standards and consistent with surrounding context, thus creating differences in scale, design, and architectural style throughout the neighborhood.

Map 4: Carver Land Use

Land Use

Commercial	Multi-Family
Duplex (2 Family)	Office
Industrial	Public-Open Space
Institutional	Single Family
Mixed-Use	Vacant

Expanding Housing Opportunities and Preserving Character in Historic Neighborhoods
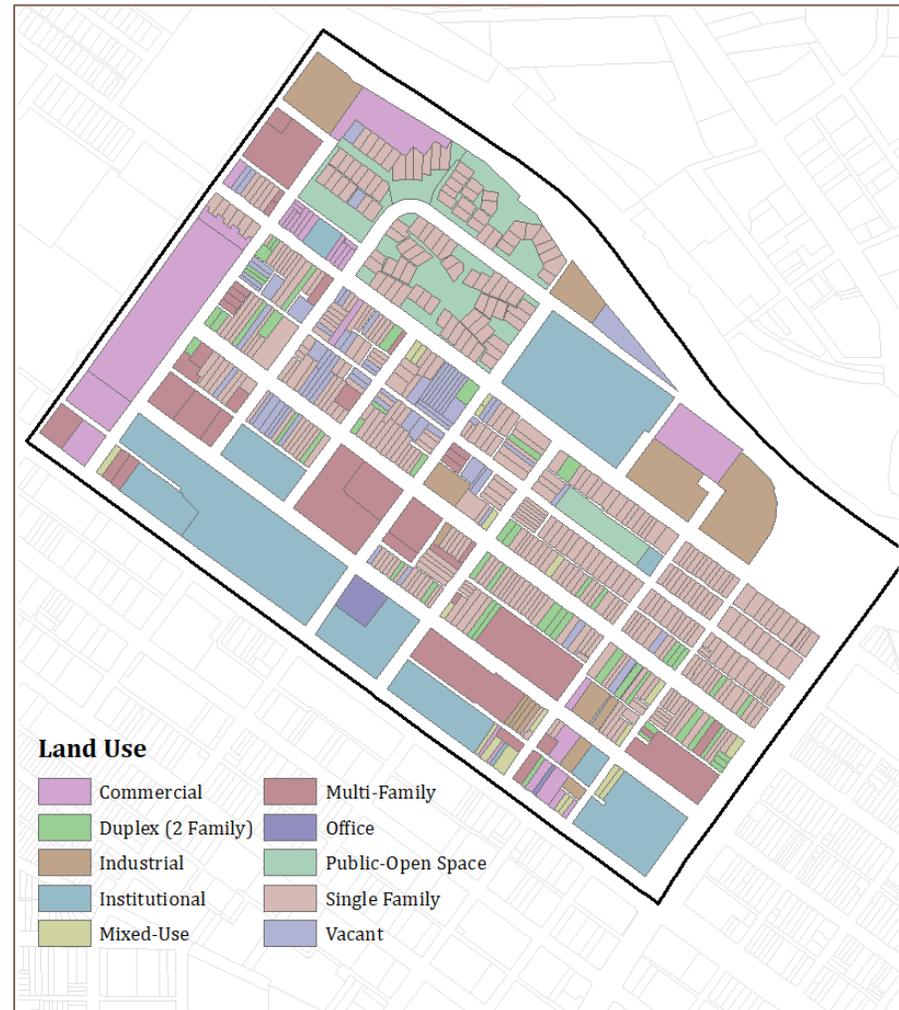
Demographics, Housing, and Market Conditions

As presented in Summary Table 1 on page 14, the neighborhood's population increased 173% since 2000. Carver is much denser in population than the city, with a population density of 11,169 people per square mile. The median age within Carver is 22.4 and the average household size is 3.2. Both figures can likely be attributed to the large student population in the neighborhood. The median household income in Carver is $35,242, below the city median and slightly higher than the other neighborhoods.

As shown in Table 4, the racial distribution changed significantly since 2000, from a predominately black or African American neighborhood to almost 50% white in 2015. Notably, 34.1% of residents hold bachelor's degrees or higher, rising from 13.6% in 2000. These figures suggest significant neighborhood change and gentrification since 2000.

Table 4: Carver Racial Distribution and Levels of Higher Educational Attainment 2000 & 2015		
	2000	2015
Race		
White alone	10.1%	47.9%
Black or African American alone	86.8%	38.2%
Education		
Bachelor's degree or higher	13.6%	34.1%

Table 4: ACS 2000 and 2015 Educational Attainment, Race

The vacancy rate in Carver is 13.3%. As compared in Summary Table 1, this rate is very similar to the citywide vacancy rate and lower than the other two case study neighborhoods. Carver has a significant renter population, with 70% renter occupied housing units, which can be attributed to the large VCU student population. The median contract rent in Carver is $978, greatly increasing from the 2000 median rent of just $276. As shown in Table 5, 56.8% of renters pay more than 30% of their income towards rent, and 40.3% pay more than 50%. The figures are much lower for homeowners, as just 13.9% of homeowners pay more than 50% of their income towards housing costs.

The city assessment data for 2018 shows an average property value for the neighborhood to be $528,446, which makes sense given the higher share of industrial, commercial, and multi-family buildings, which are generally valued higher than smaller residential buildings. The highest assessment from 2018 was

Table 5: Carver Cost-Burdened Households 2015		
	Renters	Homeowners
Housing costs between 30 and 50% of income	23.6%	23.6%
More than 50%	40.3%	13.9%
Total cost-burdened households (>30%)	56.8%	37.5%

Table 5: BAO Housing Report (ACS 2011-2015)

about $60 million VCU Siegel Center on West Broad Street. The assessed value has increased greatly since 2009, when the average assessment value was $396,729.

Along with a lower vacancy rate, this high average assessed property value suggests a tighter market, and that a lot of development has occurred in the neighborhood since 2009. For instance, in 2017, there were 38 building permits and 39 property transfers. Of the 38 building permits, there were mostly new construction. The average sale price for the property transfers was $331,046, with a maximum of $4,680,313 for a multi-family apartment building, and a minimum of $25,315 for a vacant single-family lot.

Although the market is strong in Carver, there are quite a few of tax delinquent properties. Within Carver, 26 properties have been tax delinquent for 5 or more years. As shown in Map 5, the tax delinquencies are mostly in the historic center of the neighborhood with a few on the north side of Leigh Street.

Policy, Planning, and Organizational Processes

Much of the previous planning in Carver has focused on the relationship between the neighborhood and VCU. The Carver-VCU partnership was launched in

Map 5: Carver Vacant Buildings and Tax Delinquent Properties

Legend

▮ Vacant Buildings

▭ Tax Delinquent Properties > than 5 years

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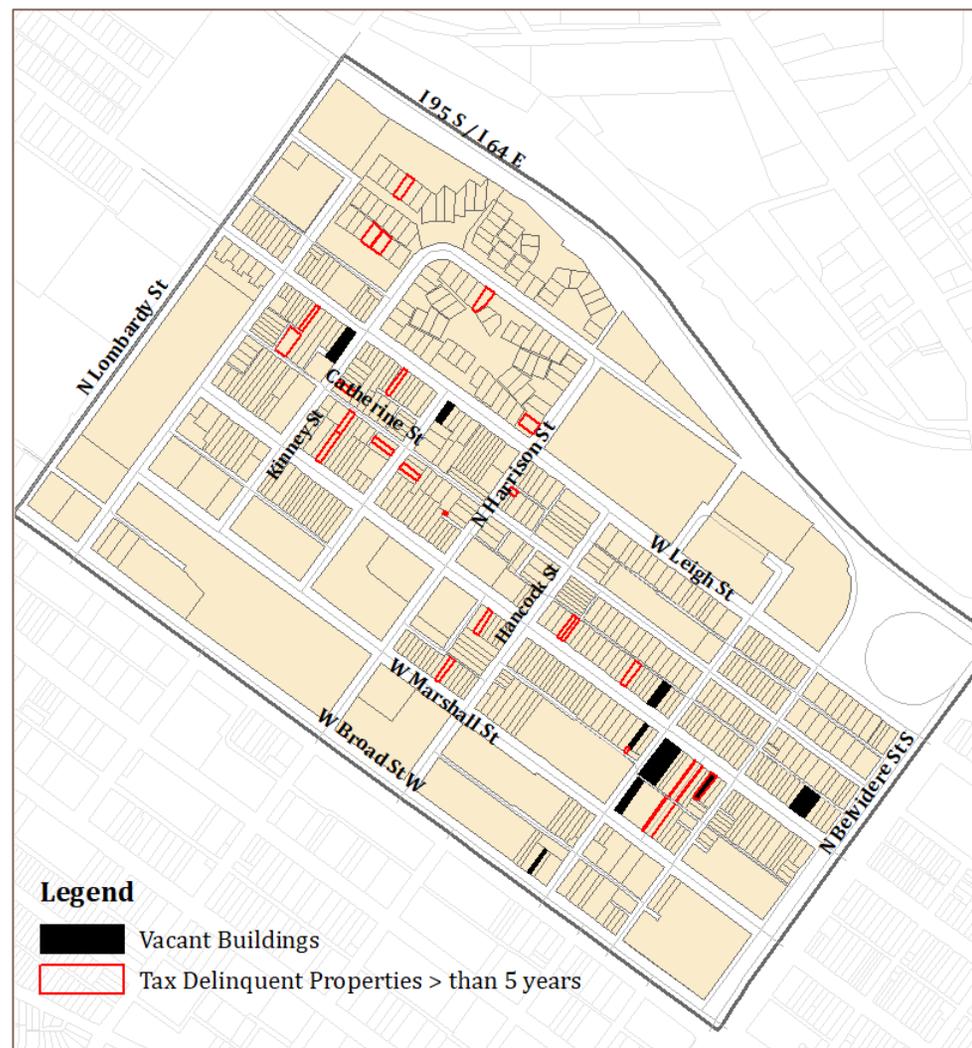
1996 and as indicated in many documents related to this partnership, it's need arose from residents growing concerns regarding increased development geared towards VCU students (VCU Urban Studies, 2002). This partnership has been successful, for example, in helping Carver get selected as a target neighborhood for the Neighborhoods in Bloom (NiB) program. However, interviews showed that some of the community did not have entirely fond memories of the program, since although houses were being sold for very low prices for redevelopment or renovation, many property owners did not have enough capital to complete proper historic rehabilitations, which had an impact on the neighborhood's historic character.

The partnership also created a collaborative environment to determine ways to improve education concerning the neighborhood's history. The partnership interviewed seniors in the neighborhood, and their stories were transformed into a play that was put on for the neighborhood, with the goal of helping to preserve history through storytelling and awareness (VCU Urban Studies, 2012). However, interviews indicate that the conflicts between the neighborhood and VCU are still present, if not stronger. Some of the existing community feels that the high renter and student population is negatively impacting the character of the neighborhood and could possibly be jeopardizing its future as a successful community.

Contrasting with the high rent apartments and duplexes geared towards students living in the neighborhood, the New Clay House, a permanent supportive housing community built in 1992 by Virginia Supportive Housing (VSH), provides single occupancy rental opportunities for individuals earning less than 50% Area Median Income. Residents sign leases with VSH and pay 30% of their income towards rent, with a minimum rent of $50. The main piece that sets VSH apart from other affordable housing developers is the supportive services provided on-site, which help to ensure that individuals do not return to homelessness. According to VSH documents regarding the New Clay House expansion, 95% of individuals Virginia Supportive Housing serves do not return to homelessness (VSH, 2017).

Figure 11: New Clay House - Under Renovation February 2018

Expanding Housing Opportunities and Preserving Character in Historic Neighborhoods

The New Clay house expansion from 47 to 80 units required complex affordable housing finance, which layered funding gained from Low Income Housing Tax Credits, Federal and State Historic Preservation Tax Credits, City of Richmond Community Development Block Grant Funds (CDBG), State Affordable Housing Trust Funds, and more. According to VSH, the New Clay House site is very successful for supportive housing due to its meeting most of the organization's acquisition strategy site standards. These standards, detailed in Appendix 8, include zoning that allows for apartment development, a location that does not concentrate poverty, within one-quarter mile of public transportation, and one-half mile of major employment opportunities, retail, and other services. As Carver is located adjacent to the main commercial corridor of West Broad Street where the new BRT line will run, the neighborhood meets many of the standards. These standards help to ensure a less complicated development process for VSH as well as ensuring residents a neighborhood with the amenities and services needed to remain out of homelessness.

The Carver Area Improvement Association speaks highly of the New Clay House and Virginia Supportive Housing and discussed how although there was slight "NIMBY-ism" regarding the expansion, the community embraced the project. Community leadership indicated that VSH was very transparent while engaging with the community, which was helpful in minimizing opposition to the expansion. The residents of New Clay House also seem to be active members of the community, as they attend community meetings and patriciate in events, so they are appreciated as valued additions to the neighborhoods. Furthermore, the New Clay House is viewed as adding to the diversity and mixed income nature of Carver.

The community is also in full support of the Maggie Walker Community Land Trust constructing homes on Catherine Street in Carver. Project HOMEs expressed how they take substantial steps to ensure that the design of the new construction fits in well with the surrounding historic architecture. While the land trust is successful in Carver, given the high percentage of cost-burdened renters, it will be important to also encourage increased affordable rental opportunities

Figure 12: MWCLT Properties - Catherine Street

Although the community is on board with the land trust's new construction activity, they also wish to see more protection of historic buildings, as they see historic preservation as useful tool in mitigating the issues the increased development brings. There were more new construction permits than rehabilitation in 2017, showing that presently, the neighborhood's development is geared towards new construction, and reveals an opportunity to examine ways to strategically preserve Carver's neighborhood character.

Combined with the noticeable changes in the built environment through new development, all data points that are indicative of strengthened market conditions have increased since 2000. Assessed property values and rents increased tremendously. Additionally, the number of building permits and property transfers throughout 2017 show that the development activity is still occurring. The Market Value Analysis shown in Appendix 5 categorizes Carver as "D" neighborhood, consistent with finings above. Demographic changes have occurred at the same time, suggesting gentrification and neighborhood change since 2000. Affordable housing developers are still able to acquire vacant lots for new construction, like the Maggie Walker Community Land Trust properties on Catherine Street, but due to the high demand for housing, cost will likely continue to rise. Currently, it appears as if the strong market and development pressures have some negative impacts on both historic preservation and affordable housing. The construction of new single-family homes by MWCLT will be helpful in maintaining affordable homeownership as property values continue to rise, though affordable rental development will also be necessary to address the severe cost-burdened renter households.

3.1.3. Case Study: Union Hill

Union Hill is a City Old and Historic District that experienced significant changes in racial composition and levels of higher educational attainment since 2000, as well as an increase in property values, rents, and overall development activity, indicative of a transitional, gentrifying neighborhood. In Union Hill, there are many low-income, cost-burdened renters. The most prominently identified challenge to affordable housing and historic preservation goals were conflicts between CAR, affordable housing developers, and the residents, making it difficult to reach consensus regarding how development should occur.

Neighborhood Overview and History

Union Hill is located in the east end of Richmond and bounded by Jefferson Avenue to the South, North 25t Street the East, Carrington Street to the North, and North 18th Street to the West. The northwest section of Union Hill is not part of the historic district and contains modern and mid-twentieth century apartment buildings, creating physical differences in the built environment across the neighborhood. In additional to being placed on the National Register of Historic Places in 2002, an extra layer of protection for historic resources was placed on the neighborhood in 2009 when it was designated a City Old and Historic District (NRHP, 2002, Richmond Commission of Architectural Review, n.d.).

The Union Hill neighborhood is slightly older than Southern Barton Heights and Carver, with a period of significance from 1800-1940. Development began in the early 19th century, mostly in the form of modest dwellings for working class residents. Much of Union Hill's significance comes from its unique development patterns. As explained in the National Register Nomination form, "the streets follow the terrain rather than the grid…creating interesting triangular blocks that gives the neighborhood a unique character found nowhere else in the city" (NRHP, 2002). During the late antebellum period, the neighborhood experienced significant growth, and Union Hill became characterized as an economically and racially mixed neighborhood. In the late 1880s, Jefferson Avenue became a trolley route, attracting new residents and catalyzing increased development (NRHP, 2002). By World War I, Union Hill became "built-out", and through the following decades experienced little residential development. At the same time, like many other city neighborhoods, Union Hill became more impoverished, saw "demographic and economic transformations" and experienced disinvestment (NRHP, 2002).

Currently, Union Hill can be characterized as a very transitional neighborhood. Like Carver, Union Hill sees high development pressures due to its proximity to VCU Medical Campus and increased interest in living in historic neighborhoods. There is a great deal of

Expanding Housing Opportunities and Preserving Character in Historic Neighborhoods

development activity visibly occurring in the neighborhood in the form of new construction as well as historic rehabilitations and streetscape improvements, shown in Figures 14-16 below. Along Princess Anne Avenue, a street that lines Jefferson Park shown in Figure 13, there are more ornate and larger houses, with fewer physical changes occurring.

Figure 13: Historic Residences - Princess Anne Avenue

Figure 14: Shockoe Valley Apartments - New Construction

Figure 15: Project HOMEs Historic Rehabs - Venable Street

Figure 16: Vacant Building N. 21st Street

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Existing Conditions

Zoning and Land Use

The neighborhood's zoning is mostly R-63, or a multi-family urban residential district. This zoning makes the land use denser and more mixed use than Southern Barton Heights and Carver, but is still mostly residential land use, as shown in Map 6. This zoning's goal is to:

"encourage development of medium density neighborhoods comprised of a mix of residential uses and to promote a pedestrian oriented urban environment that is primarily residential in character, but that includes limited nonresidential uses that serve many of the day-to-day convenience needs…" (City of Richmond, 2006).

Union Hill is the only neighborhood of the three case studies that is a City Old and Historic District. Since the designation in 2009, balancing the goals of maintaining the neighborhood's unique historic character and built environment with development pressures has led to some conflicts. At the same time as the historic district designation, the city approved a re-zoning of the neighborhood so that the majority of Union Hill has mixed use (R-63) zoning. The mixed-use zoning allows for corner commercial uses throughout the

Map 6: Union Hill Land Use

Land Use

Commercial	Multi-Family
Duplex (2 Family)	Office
Industrial	Public-Open Space
Institutional	Single Family
Mixed-Use	Vacant

neighborhood yet keeps the scale consistent with the historic character of Union Hill. This rezoning was helpful in accommodating for the new development pressure, as it allows for more flexibility in land use and density. However, the COHD zoning holds more weight than other zoning, and can create added steps or requirements for development.
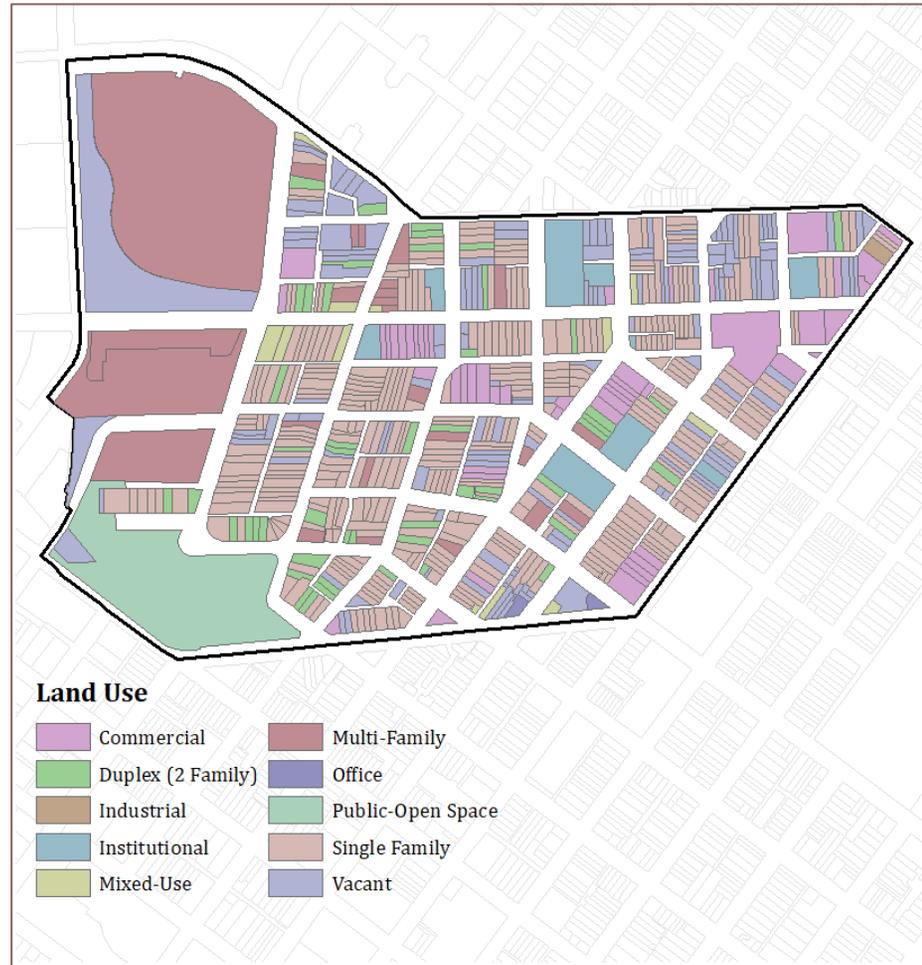
Demographics, Housing, and Market Conditions

As shown to the Summary Table on page 14, the neighborhood's population increased by 9.5% since 2000, with a high density of 9,718 people per square mile. The median age is 30.9, with an average household size of just 1.8, which is lower than the city average. In 2000, the average was 2.3, and this decrease in size can likely be attributed to the high medical student population and the subsequent newly constructed multi-family, 1 or 2-bedroom apartments buildings. The median household income in Union Hill is $30,004, well below the citywide median income.

As displayed in Table 6, the racial distribution of the neighborhood is 37% white and 52% black or African American. Like the Carver neighborhood, Union Hill's white population has increased significantly since 2000 while the African American population decreased. Union Hill has the highest educational attainment of the three neighborhoods, as 42.6% of the population holds bachelor's degrees or higher, shown in Table 6. The educational attainment of the neighborhood has changed significantly since 2000, when just 2.6% of the neighborhood held master's degrees or higher. These changes indicate that gentrification has been occurring over the years.

Table 6: Union Hill Racial Distribution and Levels of Higher Educational Attainment 2000 & 2015		
	2000	2015
Race		
White alone	10.3%	36.7%
Black or African American alone	88.2%	51.6%
Education		
Bachelor's degree or higher	14.1%	42.6%

Table 6: ACS 2000 and 2015 Educational Attainment, Race

Table 7: Union Hill Cost-Burdened Households 2015		
	Renters	Homeowners
Housing costs between 30 and 50% of income	12.3%	27.8%
More than 50%	32.7%	11.3%
Total cost-burdened households (>30%)	44.8%	39.1%

Table 7: BAO Housing Report (ACS 2011-2015)

The neighborhood has an 18.9% vacancy rate, just higher than the city's rate. Union Hill has a high renter population, with 84.8% renter-occupied housing units. The median contract rent is $732. Like the other neighborhoods, this figure has increased since 2000, from $371. As shown in Table 7, renters are more cost-burdened then homeowners, with 44.9% of renters paying more than 30% of their income towards housing, and 32.7% paying more than 50%. Just 39.1% of homeowners are cost-burdened and 11.3% pay more than 50% of their income towards housing costs.

The average assessed property value for the neighborhood is $254,076 based on the city assessment data for 2018, increasing from an assessed value of $164,985 in 2009, suggesting strengthening of the market over the past nine years. The highest assessments come from the large, multi-family apartment buildings on the western edge of the neighborhood.

Throughout 2017, Union Hill had 64 building permits and 48 property transfers, which is significantly more than the other neighborhoods. Of the 64 building permits, the majority were either new construction or remodeling. The property transfers from 2017 had an average sale price of $191,456, with a maximum of $500,000 for a four-family apartment building and a minimum of $17,499 for a two-story single-family house.

Although the data suggests the market is strengthening, with a lot of development activity, the neighborhood also has several tax delinquent properties. According to the city's tracking log of tax delinquencies, 50 properties in Union Hill have been tax delinquent for 5 or more years, a much higher figure than Barton Heights and Carver. As shown in Map 7, the tax delinquent properties are spread out throughout the neighborhood, and many are both vacant and tax delinquent.

Map 7: Union Hill Vacant Buildings and Tax Delinquent Properties

Legend

■ Vacant Buildings

▭ Tax Deliquent Properties >5 years

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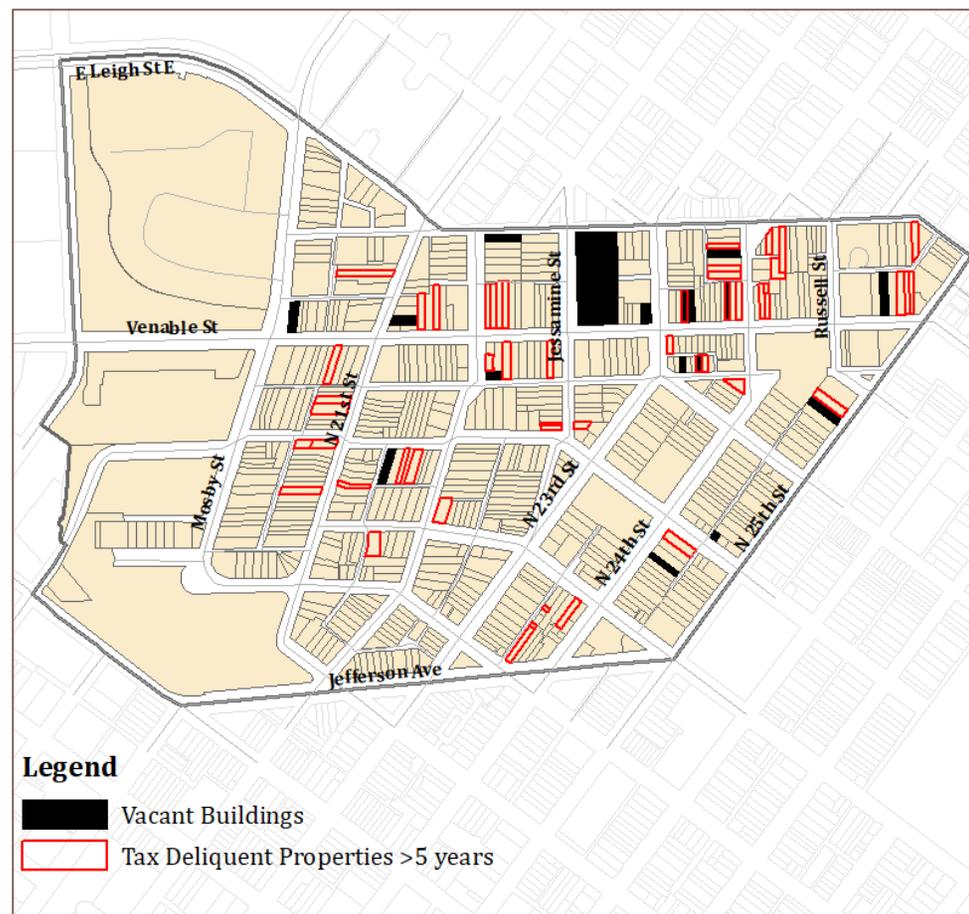
Policy, Planning, and Organizational Processes

Although much of the planning for the neighborhood surrounds its historic district designation and prioritizing the preservation of its unique historic character during revitalization efforts and increased development, it is important to note the contention that surrounded the neighborhood being designated a historic district. In a precedent plan for Union Hill completed by a VCU student, the student described how some residents were concerned that their interests were not necessarily being served with the designation (Batie, 2012). This was also apparent through interviews, as it was found that the approval of the designation ended up coming down to a "house-by-house" vote. Since the historic designation of 2009, the average assessed property value for the neighborhood increased tremendously, suggesting that the City Old and Historic District designation may have played a role in the increase in property values. Although increased value is positive for the neighborhood in many ways, the increased development pressure that accompanies the shift is a point of much contention, as seen through interviews as well as news articles focused on development in Union Hill and surrounding Church Hill neighborhoods.

There are many active nonprofit developers in Union Hill, including Better Housing Coalition (BHC). BHC recently began construction on an adaptive reuse multi-family affordable housing development called the Goodwyn at Union Hill. There was much contention surrounding the design and details of the project, showcasing as a prime example of affordable housing and historic preservation goals and priorities in conflict. The Goodwyn was formally a large community center called the Citadel of Hope. The project, utilizing Low Income Tax Credits and other funding sources, will adaptively reuse the existing structure, as well as construct five additional buildings on the lot for 52 one, two, and three-bedroom apartments (BHC, 2017). From speaking with both the developer and the neighborhood association as well as reading news articles, it

Figure 17: Goodwyn at Union Hill Project - Under Renovation February 2018

became apparent that there was a lot of contention regarding the project's scale, massing, and design, and reaching consensus for the final design proved difficult.

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The original design concept was seen by the neighborhood association and CAR as out of scale with the rest of the neighborhood, as BHC originally planned for the development to be taller and a single large building facing Jessamine Street. From BHC's perspective, the CAR regulations impacted their ability to fulfill their affordable housing goals, as when restrictions are put on height, density, and design, requiring a complete change to the configuration of the building, costs for the project rise. Although the original design followed the city zoning ordinance, CAR regulations overrule that by-right zoning, and can make the process to develop affordable housing more difficult and expensive. In this case, the financial constraints of the affordable housing development conflicted with the design and community preservation concerns of the neighborhood and CAR.

Through interviews, the neighborhood association expressed that they are supporters of increasing affordable housing opportunities in their neighborhood but wish to ensure that it is consistent with the context of their historic neighborhood that they care deeply about. This case highlights the issue where affordable housing developers may be quick to view community members as "NIMBYs", thinking that they are taking a stand against a project simply because they do not want affordable housing in their neighborhood. In some situations, this is the case, and historic preservation concerns are expressed as a reason for residents to come out against affordable housing development. However, concern about design in historic neighborhoods is legitimate, as community character and a sense of place are important aspects of quality of life for residents and for the success of historic communities, though it is difficult to determine when the concerns are genuine. This suggests the need to improve education and collaboration among the diverse stakeholders.

An important issue facing Union Hill involves properties sold at tax auction and the lack of improvements made in the following years. According to a map produced by HDAdvisors in February 2017, 107 properties in the Church Hill Area were sold at auction between 2010 and 2014. Fifty of those were vacant lots, and of those lots, only 9 saw improvements to the property. Currently, a vacant lot on Venable Street is pending direct sale from the city to the Maggie Walker Community Land Trust. Based on the land trust's previous work, they will make improvements on the lot as soon as possible, so encouraging the land trust to acquire more properties in Union Hill could work to mitigate this overarching problem.

Demand for housing from VCU students as well as increased overall interest in living in Union Hill and the surrounding Church Hill neighborhoods, has brought on increasing rents and property values. Along with changes to the racial composition and an increase of higher

Expanding Housing Opportunities and Preserving Character in Historic Neighborhoods

educational attainment levels since 2000, these findings suggest neighborhood change and gentrification. There is a great deal of development activity occurring presently, and changes are occurring very quickly, which makes development decisions all the more contentious among the diverse stakeholders. The Market Value Analysis detailed in Appendix 5 categorized Union Hill as a D neighborhood, supporting the findings that Union Hill is representative of a transitioning neighborhood. With historic preservation regulations through the Commission of Architectural Review, and without policies that require affordable housing, this kind of market risks becoming built out and so expensive that affordable housing developers can no longer work there. Despite the rapid pace of development, the prevalence of tax delinquent and vacant properties presents an opportunity to create affordable housing options and ensure diverse housing opportunities as the neighborhood changes.

3.2. Citywide Findings

The three case study neighborhoods clearly represent varying neighborhoods and markets across the city, though are also part of the larger context of the City of Richmond and fit in with many overarching trends. The city as whole struggles with affordable housing, as close to 45% of city households, both renter and owner-occupied, are cost-burdened, and many are concentrated within the neighborhoods in the historic core of the city. Like Carver and Union Hill, more renter-occupied households across the city are cost-burdened than owner-occupied households. As displayed in Table 8, 53% of renters pay more than 30% of their income towards housing costs, while just 32% of homeowners do the same.

Table 8: City of Richmond Cost-Burdened Households 2015		
	Renters	Homeowners
Housing costs between 30 and 50% of income	24.2%	18.6%
More than 50%	28.9%	13.5%
Total cost-burdened households (>30%)	53.0%	32.1%

Table 8: ACS 2011-2015

The city has specific areas with high concentrations of both tax delinquencies and vacancies, and as shown in the maps in the Appendix 4, the studied neighborhoods are located within these areas. Further, the map (shown in Appendix 5) produced for a Market Value Analysis completed by the Reinvestment Fund in 2017 indicates where the city's weaker markets are located. The Market Value Analysis was completed through compiling block group level data on sale prices, owner-occupancy, and vacancy, number of sales, percent bank sales, and density to assess the strength of the markets. While Union Hill and Carver were both categorized as "D" markets, Southern Barton Heights fell under "G" market, which is relatively consistent with the findings in the above sections of this plan, as Union Hill and Carver have high development pressures and strengthening markets, while Southern Barton Heights remains slower and has less pressure for development (Reinvestment Fund, 2017).

The case study areas are also part of a larger group of historic districts throughout the city. There are 128 National Register Historic Districts or sites and 45 City Old and Historic Districts (COHD) or sites. As shown in Map 8, the City Old and Historic Districts are mostly concentrated in the oldest areas of the central city, as well as in the Church Hill section of the east end.

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Legend

- ▨ City Old and Historic District
- ▨ National Register Historic District
- ▭ Southern Barton Heights
- ▭ Carver
- ▭ Union Hill

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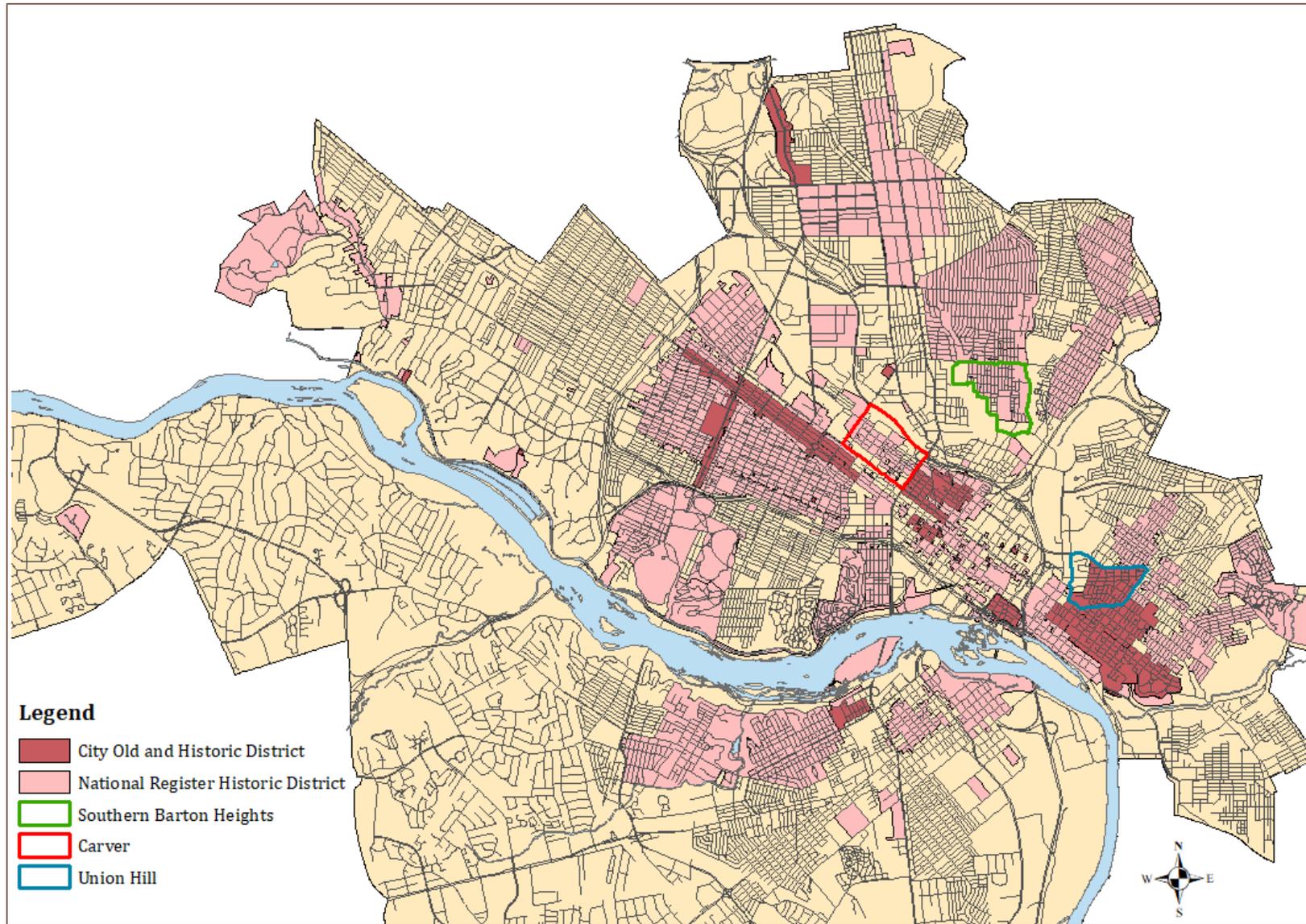
While some historic neighborhoods are located in areas defined as weak or transitioning markets, there is a spatial relationship between stronger markets determined through the Market Value Analysis and the location of many historic districts, especially City Old and Historic Districts. Historic neighborhoods like the St. Johns Church in Church Hill, the Fan, and Museum District were categorized as "B" markets, with higher property values, an average of $426,000, and low vacancy average of 1.9% (Reinvestment Fund, 2017). The small amount of permitting activity in these block groups show that little development is occurring in general, since they are more stable neighborhoods with strong markets. For example, the Museum District neighborhood's average assessed property value is $438,797, and the neighborhood has just 3 vacant buildings and 5 properties that have been tax

Figure 18: Museum District historic residences

delinquent for 5 or more years, according to the city's tracking logs. Combined with the high demand for housing in these neighborhoods, the high property values make it difficult for property to be acquired for affordable housing development, and further strategy regarding maintaining existing affordable housing could be useful.

These existing conditions demonstrate that a barrier citywide is that revitalization and investment has occurred and is continuing to occur unevenly across the city. However, since redevelopment and revitalization will be necessary to accommodate housing units for the growing population, all these findings present an opportunity to become more strategic with equitable revitalization involving historic preservation and housing policy updates that acknowledge and work to mitigate these imbalances and issues.

City Historic Preservation Planning Processes

The Commission of Architectural Review (CAR) was established in 1957 as the city's historic preservation body. CAR oversees and approves all exterior changes to structures and new development within City Old and Historic Districts. According to CAR's website, the decisions are based "generally on the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Rehabilitation and New Construction, and specifically on the Richmond Old & Historic Districts Handbook and Design Review Guidelines" adopted in 1999" and revised in 2006 and 2015 (City of

Expanding Housing Opportunities and Preserving Character in Historic Neighborhoods

Richmond, n.d.). Interviews revealed that CAR regulations are often regarded as inconsistent or excessive by developers and property owners. Nonprofit housing developers expressed discontent with CAR's strictness on conservation of historic materials during rehabilitations, as they put forward that newer materials are frequently more environmentally and economically practical and are often still able to convey the historic character of the building. However, interviews and close review of CAR guidelines revealed that substitute materials are usually allowed by CAR, except for vinyl siding or windows. Clearly, there are some misunderstandings regarding CAR's processes.

The city has a tax abatement program for rehabilitated structures, however, its purpose appears to be more about reducing blight than promoting quality historic preservation. This program provides 10 years of tax abatement, the first 7 years at 100% then 75% for the remainder of the time-period. As shown in the table in the Appendix 3, the building must be 20 years old or older, must increase the improvement value by at least 20%, and applications in City Old and Historic Districts will be forwarded to CAR for review.

Outside of local government's role in historic preservation, there are local nonprofits and groups with the mission to preserve Richmond's history. These groups mostly advocate and promote education regarding historic preservation in the city. The nonprofit Historic Richmond, also plays a role in rehabilitating historic buildings and investing in historic neighborhoods. An important aspect of Historic Richmond is their revolving fund that can be used to finance rehabilitation projects. In addition, the group hosts an annual "Rehab Expo", an event that connects historic property owners with resources needed for proper, energy efficient rehabilitations. This educational event is important in helping property owners better maintain their historic properties, which likely reduces costs in the long run, while ensuring the maintenance necessary to preserve historic character in neighborhoods.

Affordable Housing Financing, Strategy and Policy

To finance affordable housing within the City of Richmond, nonprofits and private developers utilize various sources of funding and strategies, some of which are specific to historic rehabilitations and overlap with the financing used to preserve historic buildings. As shown in the table in Appendix 6, from tax credits and federal grants to the local tax abatement program, affordable housing developers must be creative regarding financing to ensure project feasibility.

Expanding Housing Opportunities and Preserving Character in Historic Neighborhoods

Developing a Community Land Trust has been a more recent strategy for affordable housing in Richmond. While the Maggie Walker Community Land Trust (MWCLT) owns the land and the owner purchases the improvements, it allows a property's sale price to be lower and to remain affordable in perpetuity. The land trust aims to ensure housing stability for longtime residents while the market may be strengthening and land values increasing. Interviews brought up the importance to understand historic neighborhoods as not just a collection of historic buildings, but a collection of people that add to the neighborhood's character, so mitigating the displacement of longtime residents can be viewed as preserving important neighborhood charter. Interview also indicated that the land trust is currently more interested in new construction in these historic neighborhoods, as they are typically lower cost and bring less maintenance costs onto the new property owner, who may be a first-time homebuyer. The examples of MWCLT new construction, especially those completed by Project HOMEs, are successful at remaining consistent with the surrounding architecture.

Although these strategies do produce affordable housing opportunities, there is still an amplifying housing affordability issue within the city, as well as growing concerns regarding the conditions of Richmond's public housing. A more defined local policy and planning has been called for. "One Richmond: A Housing Plan for the City's Future", developed out of the Mayors Housing Summit in 2017, considers the growing affordability issues and the spatial patterns of inequitable revitalization. As stated in the plan, "'One Richmond" will be characterized by attractive neighborhoods in which residents of varied income are able to remain affordably housed." This guiding principle to encourage the development of mixed income communities was also apparent in interviews with nonprofits, advocates, and neighborhood associations. The plan discusses streamlining the processes involved in the Affordable Housing Trust Fund (AHTF) as a main source of funding to further affordable housing goals. Interviews indicated that the parameters surrounding the activities and funding source for the trust fund have yet to be entirely determined. "One Richmond" suggests utilizing "new real estate revenue from previously tax abated properties" to serve as funding source for the AHTF.

City-Owned Property Process and Governance

A main barrier to connecting affordable housing and preservation goals and expanding housing options comes down to how nonprofits, including the land trust, acquire property to develop for affordable housing. Currently, many nonprofits receive properties that have been vacant and tax delinquent through direct sale or transfer for $1 from the city, or through auctions. Although there are many

vacant and tax delinquent properties in the city's historic neighborhoods, and it is logical to utilize some of these properties for affordable housing, the process by which the city transfers or sells property to nonprofits has its flaws. Interviews revealed that the City Attorney's Office does not have the manpower or resources to move properties quickly through the process, so they are brought slowly to auction and without much strategy involved regarding the property's location, land use, condition, etc. There is also not a great deal of agreed upon strategy for deciding which properties get transferred to nonprofits or go to auction, leading to the short-term revenue gains from tax sale being prioritized over strategically transferring properties to reach citywide goals.

As of the February 26th Richmond City Council Meeting, council adopted an ordinance designating the Maggie Walker Community Land Trust a Land Bank entity. As stated on the ordinance related to the land bank "the City of Richmond supports and encourages the increased use of Land Banks as a method for increasing the development of affordable housing, addressing gentrification, and reducing blighted and vacant properties". Interviews with stakeholders revealed that the land bank would serve as a tool for nonprofit housing developers to acquire properties in a more streamlined manner, as it would no longer require nonprofits to go through the direct sale or auction methods. The goal of the land bank is to more efficiently address tax delinquent properties, and the land bank plans to transfer about a third of properties to nonprofit housing developers, a third to develop as land trust properties, and a third to develop on the private housing market, supporting goals for mixed income development.

3.3. Existing Strengths and Barriers

When analyzing the findings from both the case studies and citywide data, common themes emerge that fall into strengths or barriers regarding improving the connection between affordable housing and historic preservation goals to support increased equitable housing opportunities across Richmond's neighborhoods, and have been summarized in Table 9 to the right. Overall, there is a significant amount of work being done through nonprofit housing development and advocacy to ensure increased affordable housing opportunities throughout the city, especially in areas where markets are strengthening and that are experiencing neighborhood change. CAR, historic preservation groups,

Table 9: Analysis of Existing Strengths and Barriers	
Strengths	**Barriers**
❖ Momentum to address the city's affordable housing shortage	❖ Conflicts between the goals and priorities of stakeholders and residents
❖ Maggie Walker Community Land Trust progress	❖ Lack of strategy regarding city-owned property
❖ Existing collaborative networks of nonprofits with shared goals	❖ Zoning and land use regulations that serves as barriers to affordable housing
❖ Existing strong commitment to preserve unique character in Richmond's historic neighborhoods	❖ Inequitable revitalization and investment across the city

and the city's Planning and Preservation division work to ensure the preservation of the city's unique historic resources. There are existing collaborative networks of stakeholders with shared goals to promote more equitable revitalization as the city grows, like the groups working together on the "One Richmond" Housing Plan, and the Maggie Walker Community Land Trust.

However, as highlighted through the case studies, there were many barriers identified through research and interviews summarized in Appendix 2. Overall, conflicts exist between the top priorities and the goals of stakeholders, like new residents and existing residents, affordable housing developers, historic preservationists, CAR, and the city. In addition, the process by which nonprofits acquire tax delinquent properties from the city is flawed and could benefit from the development of more strategic processes. Some land use and zoning regulations serve as barriers to more feasibly developing affordable housing and lastly, certain neighborhoods, like Southern Barton Heights, are seeing uneven revitalization occur, influenced by lack of holistic approaches to community development.

4. Citywide Policy Recommendations
4.1. Neighborhood Typologies

With data from the case studies and citywide findings, two main neighborhood typologies were created. While many of the recommendations that came out of the case study research are related to overall processes and policy updates, some are specific to the two types of historic neighborhoods studied in this plan. The goal is for the typologies to be used to categorize additional historic neighborhoods not studied in this plan to determine the best recommendations to follow. Southern Barton Heights, as a neighborhood that experienced slower development and revitalization with low density land use, has been used to create Type 1, as shown in the table below. In these neighborhoods, the recommendations are mostly intended to proactively create affordable housing opportunities in preparation for any future neighborhood change and revitalization. Given Carver and Union Hill's similarities in terms of development pressures and demographics, to make informed recommendations, they have been used to develop the same neighborhood typology, Type 2. For this typology, the recommendations are based on the main characteristics as listed in the table, then some recommendations are based on the main characteristic that differs between the neighborhoods – whether or not it is a City Old & Historic District. For neighborhoods that fit in the second typology, the recommendations are focused on reducing conflicts among stakeholders and acting quickly to create affordable housing due to the rapid changes and property value increases.

In addition to categorizing historic neighborhoods using the indicators in the table, Map 9 below provides examples of other neighborhoods that may fit into each typology, as well as the stronger market historic neighborhoods for comparison. This map was created based on similarities to the case study neighborhoods in terms of market strength as determined by the Market Value Analysis as well as the prevalence of tax delinquent and vacant properties, shown in the maps in Appendix 4.[4]

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[4] This is map is not entirely comprehensive – not all historic neighborhoods appear on the map– the map is to simply provide some examples of other neighborhoods that may fit into the typologies, and further analysis using the characteristics listed in the chart below should be completed to fully categorize other neighborhoods into the typologies.

Table 10: Neighborhood Typology Characteristics	
Type 1 (based on Southern Barton Heights findings) *Slowly changing markets*	**Type 2 (based on Carver and Union Hill findings)** *Rapidly changing markets*
❖ High vacancy rate (greater than 25%)	❖ Low to medium vacancy (10-25%)
❖ 10-30 tax delinquent properties (5 years or longer)	❖ 10-30 tax delinquent properties (5 years or longer)
❖ Low density-built environment and population density (less dense or about the same as city average)	❖ Medium to High population density (more than triple city average)
❖ Zoning that encourages single-family residential development	❖ Zoning that allows for more mixed use-built environment
❖ High % of cost-burdened households (greater than 60%, both renters and homeowners)	❖ Renters more severely cost-burdened than homeowners
❖ Slow neighborhood change and development since 2000, scattered revitalization	❖ Experienced extreme neighborhood change and developed since 2000, increasing development activity (high # of building permits, property transfers)
❖ Low property values and rents compared to city average	❖ High property values and rents compared to city average
❖ National Register Historic District	❖ Variable historic district designations (some have local City Old & Historic District, some just National Register)

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Map 9: Neighborhood Typology Examples

Neighborhood Typologies

- Slowly Changing Markets
- Rapidly Changing Markets
- Strong and Stable Markets

Ginter Park

Laburnum Park

North Highland Park

Ginter Park Terrace

Brookland Park

Scott's Addition

Northern Barton Heights

The Museum District

Highland Park Southern Tip

Southern Barton Heights

Carver

The Fan

Jackson Ward

Fairmount

Carillon

Oregon Hill

Union Hill

Church Hill North

Oakwood

Church Hill

Chimborazo

Forest Hill

Manchester

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4.2. Vision, Goals, Objectives and Actions

Vision Statement

The City of Richmond's historic neighborhoods are equitable, mixed-income communities where residents and stakeholders are active participants in planning for high quality, affordable housing opportunities and the preservation of historic character and sense of place that makes these communities unique and valued by residents.

Goal 1 – Foster meaningful engagement with neighborhoods through improved education and information sharing.

The findings reveal that there is a great deal of contention regarding development in historic neighborhoods, especially those that are rapidly changing and facing gentrification. First, there are misconceptions regarding the historic preservation process, where many view it as an unnecessary regulatory barrier to development without understanding the underlying goals, or lack access to the resources that may make historic rehabilitations easier. In addition, affordable housing development tends to spark controversy in historic neighborhoods, as in many cases, residents cite protecting historic character as a reason to come out against affordable housing. Improving the quality and amount of information sharing regarding all of these points, specifically education around the intersection of affordable housing and historic preservation can work to reduce conflict and misconceptions. It will be in important to first engage with the community regarding what it can mean to expand affordable housing opportunities in historic neighborhoods, setting the groundwork for various stakeholders, from residents to affordable housing developers to historic preservationists, to work together toward shared goals. In order to facilitate the engagement and educational updates recommended in this goal as well as the collaboration and policy development discussed in the following goals, the city will need to expand its capacity through establishing a few new planner positions.

Objective 1.1. – Initiate a dialogue regarding the intersection of affordable housing and historic preservation within the City of Richmond.

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Action 1.1.1. – Build a cohesive neighborhood planning team by establishing three new planner positions to implement the goals in this plan.

Action 1.1.2. - Hold educational engagement sessions regarding ideas for strengthening the connection between historic preservation and affordable housing with residents and stakeholders as part of Richmond 300 community engagement series.

<u>Objective 1.2. – Facilitate improved education and access to resources around the city's historic preservation process and historic rehabilitations.</u>

Action 1.2.1. – Update the content on the city's website regarding City Old and Historic District regulations and the city's tax abatement program for rehabilitations to improve clarity and accessibility.

Action 1.2.2. - Partner with Historic Richmond to expand the annual Rehab Expo, an event that connects historic property owners with the resources needed for proper, cost- and energy-efficient rehabilitations.
- ❖ The collaboration with Historic Richmond should focus on expanding the event, through updates to programming, advertising, and frequency of similar events, aiming to reach a larger and more diverse audience.

<u>Objective 1.3. – Increase transparency regarding future development plans.</u>

This objective speaks to the issues that arise when residents feel they were not made aware of new development being planned for their neighborhoods. This is especially apparent when developers are planning for an affordable housing development. Working to ensure more transparency and education regarding all development early on in the process has the potential to reduce contention among stakeholders and residents, and setting up a system for information sharing and for question answering will work to increase levels of transparency and overall organization.

Action 1.3.1. - Create quarterly reports detailing development plans to post on city website and social media sites, and email to neighborhoods associations for physical distribution to residents.
- ❖ Descriptions of recent building permits, re-zonings, special use permits, section 106 review, etc. should be included in the reports.

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Action 1.3.2. – Establish a system to hold quarterly meetings at community centers to keep residents up to date with development plans and to answer questions.

> ❖ These meetings can occur once a quarter as part of city council members' monthly district meetings.

Goal 2 – Establish proactive collaboration among stakeholders to develop strategy around shared goals.

Research shows that communities that are successful at connecting historic preservation and affordable housing goals developed a holistic approach that was grounded in flexibility, collaboration, and public participation (Torbett, 1998, 59, Woodward, 2007) In addition, Howell (2016) reveals how important the collaboration and engagement of stakeholders at different levels of planning, from grassroots, advocacy, to government, is to ensuring more equitable planning outcomes. Although there are some existing successful collaborative networks, the findings revealed that much of the time, top priorities are in conflict when it comes to development in Richmond's historic neighborhoods, and stakeholders tend to operate in "silos". Overall, any updated policy will not be as successful or possible without an improved infrastructure for more intentional and proactive collaboration among stakeholders.

Objective 2.1. – Create an "inter-agency task force" to develop a focused, long range strategy regarding city-owned property and maintaining and expanding affordable housing options in historic neighborhoods.

This objective aims to increase collaboration among different actors and strategy at the city and nonprofit level through the creation of an "inter-agency task force". First, it aims for the city to become more involved in developing strategy for the transfer and future development of tax delinquent properties. While the land bank will become the primary transactional agency for tax delinquent property, it will be helpful for the city to develop strategy that is aligned with citywide goals and collaborate with the land bank based on this strategy. In order to connect the goals of historic preservation and affordable housing, it would be useful to develop strategy that acknowledges the different ways to accomplish the goals in neighborhoods with many tax delinquent properties. For example, if a tax delinquent property has historic value and also is located in a very prominent location within the neighborhood, like a "gateway" to the neighborhood, it could be strategic to prioritize its preservation, while buildings without as much historic value in less prime locations may be given more flexibility in terms of type of future redevelopment, making affordable housing more feasible. For historic neighborhoods that have stronger markets with higher property values, the strategy should be around locating and tracking existing affordable housing to develop ways to maintain

affordability where possible. In addition, equitable siting of affordable housing should be considered by the task force, through utilizing resources such as Virginia Supportive Housing's site standards to prioritize developing affordable housing where there is equitable access to services, transit, employment, and other amenities.

The "inter-agency task force" should include those already charged with handling these processes, such as the City Attorney's Office and Finance Department, but expand that to include individuals from the Planning Department, Economic Development, Tax Assessor's office, and key nonprofit partners from both housing and historic preservation like Better Housing Coalition, Project HOMEs, Virginia Supportive Housing, and Historic Richmond, as well as representatives from community-based organizations. In addition, the task force to include state government partners like VHDA, as the state handles the Low-Income Housing Tax Credit (LIHTC) process, which the city relies on greatly for large scale affordable housing development. This would lead to more coordination between the actors that have frequently been operating in "silos".

Action 2.1.1. – Determine individuals to serve on the "inter-agency task force" and set up organizational procedures.
   ❖ Including individuals from the City Attorney's Office, Planning Department, Economic Development, Tax Assessors Office, key state government and nonprofit partners, and community-based organizations.

Action 2.1.2. - Develop and maintain a publicly available database of tax delinquent and vacant properties.
   ❖ The database should include information on the property's construction date, history, and a brief conditions assessment that allows more strategic assessment regarding future development, considering both housing and historic preservation goals.

Action 2.1.3. - Develop and maintain a database of existing affordable housing and develop strategy to ensure continued affordability.

Action 2.1.4. – Create development agreements for all properties sold through tax sale.
   ❖ The development agreements will require rehabilitation or improvements to be made within 2 years of sale with affordability covenants if located in neighborhoods where more than 50% of the residents are cost-burdened.

Action 2.1.5. - Collaborate with nonprofit housing developers and advocates to ensure affordable housing is being developed in areas with equitable access to services, public transit, employment, etc.
   ❖ Utilize resources like Virginia Supportive Housing's site standards for affordable housing development (Shown in Appendix 8)

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<u>Objective 2.2. – Support land bank implementation and expanding capacity of MWCLT.</u>

Interviews revealed that the land bank can serve as an opportunity for the city to become more organized regarding city-owned property, as well as play a larger role in more comprehensive strategic planning of how properties are developed across neighborhoods. With the strategy and processes developed by the "inter-agency task force" through Objective 2.2., the city can be better suited to collaborate with the land bank in a way that will further shared goals. Neighborhoods fitting in both typologies would benefit from the land bank implementation, as well as the improved capacity of the land trust, as the vacant and tax delinquent properties will be used more strategically for affordable housing in perpetuity and holistic community revitalization. Depending on the neighborhood typology, certain strategies should be focused on when working with the land bank and community land trust.

Action 2.2.1. – Utilize the "inter-agency task force" to ensure streamlined process of transferring tax delinquent properties to the land bank, and to work with the land bank to develop strategy regarding transferring properties to nonprofit partners.

Action 2.2.2. – Maintain partnership between the "task force", the land bank, and MWCLT through the scheduling of consistent meetings and workshops.

Recommendations for strategy with MWCLT and land bank by neighborhood type:

- ❖ **Type 1 (slowly changing market)** –Work with MWCLT to strategically acquire some properties for rehabilitation or develop context-sensitive infill on vacant lots. The properties should offer both affordable homeownership opportunities through the land trust and affordable rental development through the land bank transferring properties to nonprofit partners for development. This would work towards setting up the infrastructure for affordable housing options for the future when the neighborhood may begin to change more rapidly and gentrify.

- ❖ **Type 2 (rapidly changing market)**- In these rapidly changing neighborhoods, encourage the acquiring of properties as quickly as possible and work with MWCLT and the land bank to determine strategies for A) prioritizing the rehabilitating some of the more prominent historic properties, as determined by the "task force" and B) developing affordable rental properties on tax delinquent vacant lots or less distinguished existing buildings through the land bank strategically transferring them to nonprofit developers.

Objective 2.3. - Utilize the Neighborhoods in Bloom program framework to coordinate with historic neighborhoods to develop community-based revitalization plans.

While Objective 2.1 and 2.2. aim to improve collaboration and strategy mostly at the city government and nonprofit organization level, this objective is to set up a new collaborative program with a focus on bringing neighborhood residents and stakeholders together. With engagement regarding the intersection of housing and historic preservation (Action 1.1.2.) recommended to occur during the Richmond 300 planning process, revitalization plans focused on collaboratively addressing these goals will be more successful. As discussed in the Plan Context section of this plan, the Neighborhoods in Bloom (NiB) program worked to catalyze private investment in many neighborhoods and was considered highly successful for its innovative approach to community revitalization through targeting limited public funding to neighborhoods in need. Currently, some neighborhoods are still struggling with the vacancy, blight, and poor conditions that this program aimed to fix, though many are also facing new issues with neighborhood change, rising property values, affordability, and gentrification.

Using the Neighborhoods in Bloom framework of targeted investing of public funds, a new program with added focus on more holistic community revitalization and community-based, collaborative processes could work to address these growing issues in historic neighborhoods. With a focus on collaborating with traditionally disconnected residents and bringing disparate stakeholders together, the way in which this new collaborative program will function may differ depending on the neighborhood type. First, it should start with getting the stakeholders, including residents (homeowners and renters), active nonprofits, etc. together to assess the neighborhood's development and plans, and to establish shared visions, goals, and guiding values. Then, to accomplish these shared goals with a focus on expanding housing opportunities in historic neighborhoods, like the NiB program, some of the city's CBDG, HOME, and Affordable Housing trust fund funding should be targeted to these communities.

Action 2.3.1.- Determine neighborhoods to target in the collaborative revitalization program.
- ❖ Collaboratively with the newly established "inter-agency task force", neighborhood planning team, stakeholders, and residents, and using data from this plan in addition to findings from the Richmond 300 planning process, certain historic neighborhoods will be selected to participate in the program.

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Action 2.3.2. - Facilitate collaboration with residents and stakeholders through a 3-part charrette to develop draft revitalization plans.

❖ **Part 1 -** Depending on the neighborhood type, the planners should begin the workshop with the below recommendations in mind and should also be open to other issues and ideas that may be brought up by the residents and stakeholders.

Recommendations by neighborhood type:

Type 1 (slowly changing markets) - Work with the neighborhood to focus on planning for development that meets residents needs and to determine more holistic strategies to address the issues associated with persistent disinvestment, like aiming to expand community amenities and services.

Type 2 (**rapidly changing markets)–** Focus on the collaboration of all stakeholders, ensuring the participation of both new and old residents, homeowners and renters, aiming to find a balance between the needs and priorities of the different groups.

▪ **Type 2 (with City Old and Historic District designation)** – additional focus on reducing misconceptions regarding the CAR process and affordable housing development.

❖ **Part 2–** Public history workshop – to utilize local knowledge to inform preservation planning decisions.
○ Similar to how the VCU-Carver Partnership conducted oral history research with long-time residents, this workshop will bring in volunteers from VCU's new public history certificate program and engage with long-time residents of historic neighborhoods to gain insights into the community's history and what they value to contribute to the planning decisions.

❖ **Part 3** – The third part of the charrette will determine plans for future collaboration to keep the momentum going. It is recommended that collaboration continue as part of the meetings discussed in Action 1.3.2.

Action 2.3.3. - Target CBDG, HOME, and Affordable Housing trust fund funding toward reaching goals developed through collaborative processes.

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Goal 3 - Develop new policies and regulations that support increasing and maintaining affordable housing in historic neighborhoods.

Some new policies will likely be developed through the new collaborative planning methods in historic neighborhoods recommended in Goal 2, but based on this plan's research findings, certain informed recommendations for new funding, regulations, and incentives were made to promote more feasible affordable housing in historic neighborhoods. Both new regulations and collaborative planning processes are necessary for successful implementation of the overarching vision in this plan.

As expressed throughout this plan, the barriers to improving the connection between historic preservation and affordable housing goals can be categorized into three main types: regulatory, economic, and organizational. The recommendations made in the literature to reduce these barriers include updates to policy and financing tools around preservation and affordable housing, such as changes to the flexibility, structure, and size of financial incentives for historic preservation (Howell, 2008, Listokin, Listokin, Lahr, 1998). This could take the form of changing the strictness of the regulations, like land use regulations, depending on the need for affordable housing in the neighborhood, or a "tiered approach" to preservation (Listokin, Listokin, Lahr, 1998). Precedent plans, like a 2009 plan for a neighborhood in Arlington County, addressed balancing affordable housing, historic preservation, and progress, and recommended the use of incentives like density bonuses being offered in exchange for preservation of identified historic and market affordable buildings (Arlington County, 2017). Other localities, like Montgomery County, MD and Evanston, IL have implemented housing rehabilitation loan programs to assist either low-income homeowners or owners of multi-family buildings with many low-income renters to maintain their properties and make essential repairs and improvements (Montgomery County Government, 2018, City of Evanston, n.d.).

Inclusionary zoning is a prevalent best practice, with many localities across the country and in Virginia adopting ordinances to either mandate or incentivize affordable housing in specified areas (Housing Virginia, 2017). Research indicates that for cities that have high-costs and a rapidly changing housing market, a single, citywide mandatory inclusionary zoning policy is preferred, though when reliable data and ability for transparent guidance regarding the policy exists, it may be more practical for localities to consider varied or tiered inclusionary zoning policy that depends on neighborhood market conditions (Groundwork Solutions, 2016).

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Overall, the literature suggests that "tiering" incentives and regulations based on the market can be a successful approach to housing in historic neighborhoods when aiming to keep affordability a top priority. This approach seems applicable to Richmond due to the different dynamics and conditions across neighborhoods. Incentives like density bonuses would likely not work very well in Richmond's historic neighborhoods due to the conflicts with preserving neighborhood character. Interviews revealed that since other neighborhoods do allow for high density projects, density bonuses do not provide developers with much of an incentive to build affordable housing. Simple policies like expediting permitting and application processes for developers who build a certain amount of affordable housing, as recommended in Housing Virginia's report on inclusionary housing, could work to incentivize increased affordable housing development by saving developers some of the upfront costs and time.

Objective 3.1. - Expand funding sources for affordable housing development and rehabilitations.

Action 3.1.1. – Create a rehabilitation grant program with affordability covenants to aid low income, cost-burdened homeowners and property owners of market affordable housing with the upfront costs of rehabilitation.
   ❖ Qualified single-family households are cost-burdened households that earn 60% or less of the Area Median Income.
   ❖ The program will also provide grant assistance to landlords of market affordable apartment buildings to incentivize the rehabilitation. In exchange, the building will then have an affordability covenant to ensure continued affordability of the building. Further research should be conducted to determine appropriate depth of affordability and length of the covenant.

Action 3.1.2. – Utilize real estate taxes from previously abated properties to serve as the dedicated funding source for the Affordable Housing Trust Fund.
   ❖ Following the recommendations from the "One Richmond" Housing Plan, with a dedicated funding source, the trust fund could be influential in reaching the goals to increase housing opportunities in historic neighborhoods.

Objective 3.2. – Create Overlay Districts for historic neighborhoods addressing affordable housing and historic preservation.

Action 3.2.1. – Conduct research to determine proper regulations and incentives for overlay district based on neighborhood type.
   ❖ Both the recommendations made below based on neighborhood typologies and further research into the neighborhood markets and findings from the Richmond 300 planning process should be used to determine overlay district contents.

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Action 3.2.2. - Facilitate meetings with neighborhoods to discuss and educate regarding the implications of overlay district for their neighborhood.

❖ These meetings can occur at one of the meetings recommended in Action 1.3.2.

Recommendations for Overlay Districts by Neighborhood Type:

❖ **Type 1 (slowly changing market)** –
   o Exceptions to the single-family zoning to permit more by right conversions of large houses into duplexes.
   o Appropriate multi-family development and one- to two-family attached housing.
   o Smaller lot sizes (from 2,200 sq. ft. minimum lot area to 1,600 sq. ft.).
   o Accessory dwelling units (ADU)– when lot is 2,000 sq. ft. or larger, an ADU of 750 sq. ft. or smaller is allowed.
   o Neighborhood character preservation district – light design and materials review of all development by the Planning & Preservation division to encourage context sensitive rehabs and new construction.

❖ **Type 2 (rapidly changing market) <u>with</u> City Old & Historic designation –**
   o Allows mixed use development – following guidelines for R-63 zoning (if neighborhood does not already have mixed use zoning).
   o Incentives for affordable housing when project is providing at least 50% of units at or below 60% AMI, or at least 25% of units at or below 50% AMI.
      ▪ Expedited permitting and application process.
      ▪ Design and materials flexibility – light design and materials review for context-sensitive development.

❖ **Type 2 (rapidly changing market) <u>without</u> City Old & Historic designation** –
   o Allows mixed use development – following guidelines for R-63 zoning (if neighborhood does not already have mixed use zoning).
   o Incentives for affordable housing when the project is providing at least 50% of units at or below 60% AMI, or 25% of units at or below 50% AMI.
      ▪ Expedited permitting and application process.
   o Neighborhood character preservation district – light design and materials review of all development by the Planning & Preservation Division to encourage context sensitive rehabs and new construction.

5. Plan Implementation

The three goals discussed in the recommendations section above are all necessary to reach the overarching plan vision and are interconnected as a cyclical process. Setting up the infrastructure for improved information sharing and education around housing and historic preservation through Goal 1 will make it easier for stakeholders to collaborate and develop strategy around shared goals in Goal 2, and new policies and regulations created through Goal 3 will be more successful once there is strategic and intentional collaboration among stakeholders. When new policies are created, the cycle continues as it will be important to continually educate and engage regarding the updates to policy and regulations.

Figure 19: Plan Implementation: 3 Interdependent Goals

This plan's implementation is based on a 3 to 5-year timeframe. The Richmond 300 Master Planning process is currently underway, and since many of the recommendations in this plan are for updates to citywide policy and processes, it makes sense to have Richmond 300 serve as a key implementation tool. Data analysis conducted through Richmond 300 will be useful in making decisions like which neighborhoods to target for the new revitalization program. Therefore, the timing should align well with Richmond 300's planning process timeline. Shown in the chart in Appendix 7, the 4 main phases of Richmond 300 are "Pre-Planning", "Develop the Plan", "Review & Adopt the Plan", and "Implement the Plan", with implementation occurring mid-2020. Since implementation of the new policies and collaborative processes will require a lot of coordination and resources, the Implementation Timeline for this plan, shown in Table 11 below, extends through 2022. The years are divided into quarters to correspond with Richmond 300's timeline.

Goal 1 aims for improved information sharing and transparency and involves the city updating its processes for disseminating information, educating, and receiving input from residents regarding development in historic neighborhoods. Currently, the planning department does not likely have the capacity to successfully complete much of the goals in this plan, so the first recommended action is to build a cohesive neighborhood planning team through establishing new planner positions that will focus on the implementation of these actions and related planning initiatives. The actions under Goal 1 then will be implemented by the newly formed neighborhood planning

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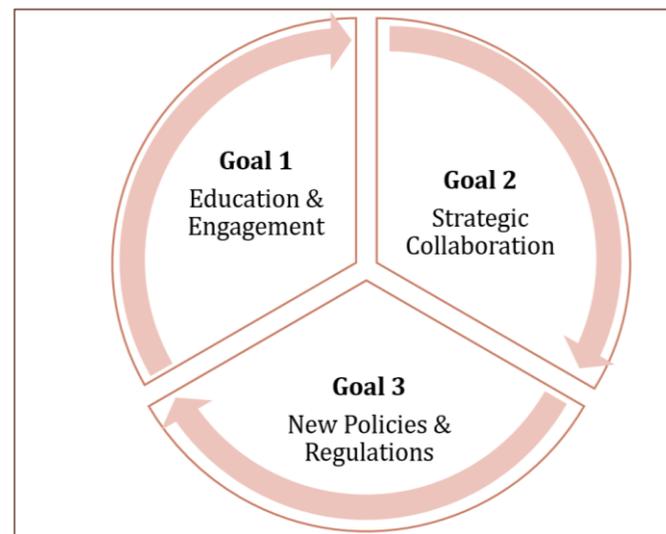
team within the City of Richmond's Department of Planning and Development Review, Planning and Preservation Division, with some collaboration with neighborhood associations and nonprofit partners like Historic Richmond. These actions are simpler than those related to the next two goals, so implementation can likely occur before Richmond 300 adoption. It will be helpful to have the infrastructure set up for improved engagement as early as possible to better accomplish the next two goals and reach the overarching vision.

Goal 2 is more involved and detailed than Goal 1, and as increased collaboration is the goal, implementation will also require more collaboration among the different actors. Objective 2.1. involves establishing an "inter-agency task force" to develop strategy for city-owned property and affordable housing and requires a great deal of collaboration between the Department of Planning and Development Review, Planning and Preservation Division and other city departments like Economic and Community Development and City Attorney's Office, as well as state and nonprofit partners involved in affordable housing. The "inter-agency task force" will be organized by the Department of Planning and Development Review with individuals from the various departments and organizations participating, including at least one of the new neighborhood planners. This process should begin as soon as possible, so that the collaborative infrastructure is set up while the land bank is also getting established. Then, the newly established "inter-agency task force" will work together to implement the recommendations like developing the databases for tax delinquent property and existing affordable housing and maintaining the partnership with MWCLT and the land bank recommended in Objective 2.2.

Objective 2.3. aims to establish a new revitalization program for historic neighborhoods with improved collaborative processes. Setting up the framework for a new revitalization program should begin once Richmond 300 has been developed, so that any pertinent analysis and information gathered from Richmond 300 can be utilized to determine which neighborhoods to target in the program. Then, Neighborhood planners will facilitate charrettes in these neighborhoods with the assistance of nonprofit partners and neighborhood associations, and participation of the various stakeholders and residents. Once the plans are drafted, the city can target some of its revitalization and affordable housing funding to these neighborhoods.

Goal 3 includes new recommended policies to support increasing and maintaining affordable housing options in historic neighborhoods. Objective 3.1. aims to expand funding sources, like a new grant program, that would financially support reaching the overarching vision and will be implemented through a collaborative process between Planning and Development Review, City Council, and other relevant city departments. Utilizing real estate taxes from previously abated properties to serve as the dedicated funding source for

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the Affordable Housing Trust Fund was also recommended through the "One Richmond" Housing Plan drafted in Fall of the 2017, so the existing momentum could lead to implementation occurring before Richmond 300 adoption.

The new Overlay Districts recommended in Objective 3.2. will be drafted by the Planning & Preservation Division during Richmond 300's "Develop the Plan" phase based on the recommendations made for neighborhood types above and additional research regarding the proper regulations and incentives for each overlay. The new planners within the Planning & Preservation Division will also facilitate a meeting with the neighborhoods, described in Action 3.2.2., where overlay districts are proposed to educate residents regarding the meaning and implications of establishing overlay districts. The overlay districts should then be adopted and implemented following Richmond 300 implementation.

Overall, the implementation of these three goals, with special attention given to the maintenance of the ongoing process and supporting the new collaborative infrastructures, will contribute to the City of Richmond's ability to preserve important historic character while providing equitable and affordable housing opportunities across Richmond's neighborhoods.

Table 11: Implementation Timeline

	Richmond 300 Drafting						Richmond 300 Adoption, Implementation and Maintenance											
	2018		2019				2020				2021				2022			
	Q3	Q4	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4
Goal 1- Engagement, education, and resource sharing	■	■	■	■	■	■												
Objective 1.1. – Initiate dialogue regarding preservation and affordable housing	■	■	■	■	■	■												
Action 1.1.1.- Build a cohesive neighborhood planning team through establishing 3 new planner positions	■																	
Action 1.1.2.- Hold engagement session regarding the intersection of historic preservation and housing		■	■	■	■	■												
Objective 1.2. – Expand access to educational resources for historic preservation		■	■	■														
Action 1.2.1.- Improve accessibility of contents on city's website regarding CAR regulations, etc.		■	■	■														
Action 1.2.2. – Partner with Historic Richmond to expand events like the Rehab Expo		■	■	■														
Objective 1.3. – Increase transparency regarding future development			■	■	■	■												
Action 1.3.1. – Create quarterly reports detailing development plans			■	■	■	■												
Action 1.3.2. – Hold quarterly meetings with communities to answer questions			■	■	■	■												
Goal 2: Collaboration and strategy around shared goals	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
Objective 2.1.- Set up "task force" to develop strategy around housing	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■										
Action 2.1.1. - Determine individuals to serve on "task force"	■	■	■															
Action 2.1.2. - Develop database of tax delinquent and vacant properties			■	■	■	■	■	■										

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Action	Timeline
Action 2.1.3. - Develop database of existing affordable housing	
Action 2.1.4. - Create development agreements for tax sale properties	
Action 2.1.5. - Collaborate with nonprofits for equitable siting of housing	
Objective 2.2. - Support land bank implementation and MWCLT	
Action 2.2.1. - Work with MWCLT and the land bank for streamlining property transfers	
Action 2.2.2. - Maintain partnership with MWCLT	
Objective 2.3.- Establish a new collaborative revitalization program	
Action 2.3.1.- Determine neighborhoods to target in program	
Action 2.3.2. - Facilitate collaboration through 3-part charrette to develop plans	
Action 2.3.3. - Target revitalization and affordable housing funding to these neighborhoods	
Goal 3: New policies and regulations for housing and historic preservation	
Objective 3.1.- Expand funding sources for affordable housing development and rehabilitations	
Action 3.1.1. - Create rehabilitation grant program aiding low-income households	
Action 3.1.2. - Use taxes from previously abated properties as dedicated funding source for AHTF	
Objective 3.2.- Create Overlay Districts for historic neighborhoods	
Action 3.2.1. – Conduct research to determine proper regulations and incentives	
Action 3.2.2. – Facilitate meetings with neighborhoods chosen for overlay districts	
Action 3.2.3. – Review & adopt overlay districts	

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Appendix 1:

Table 1: Overview of Content Analysis Findings – Neighborhood Case Studies			
	Southern Barton Heights	**Carver**	**Union Hill**
Land Use and Zoning	Mostly residential, Single-family attached, R-6	Residential, commercial and industrial uses Single- and two-family urban residential R-7, Light industrial M-1	Residential and commercial uses. Multi-family urban residential district, R-63
Historic Designation & Period of significance	National Register Historic District Town of Barton Heights 1880-1949	National Register Historic District Carver Residential 1840-1940	National Register and City Old & Historic District Union Hill 1800-1940
Previous neighborhood or land use planning initiatives	Southern Barton Heights Revitalization Plan	Carver Neighborhood Plan Carver-VCU Partnership	VCU Professional Plans (2003, 2006, 2012)
Prominent Affordable housing development	Rose Corridor – Single-family homes	New Clay House – single occupancy rooms 30% and below AMI	Goodwyn at Union Hill – multi-family adaptive reuse
Market Type (Reinvestment Fund Report)	Type "G"	Type "D"	Type "D"
# Tax Delinquent Properties (5 years or longer)	21	26	50
# Building Permits 2017	23	38	64
# Property Transfers 2017	36	39	48
# of Tax Abatement Applications 2017	3	6	14
Sources: City of Richmond Zoning Mapper, City of Richmond GIS Parcel data, Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Stakeholder Interviews			

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Appendix 2- Table 2: Summary of Identified Barriers in Case Study Neighborhoods

|	Perceived Barrier/Challenge	Context	Source/Key Informant
Southern Barton Heights			
	Zoning and existing land use	Zoning encouraging single-family homes – expensive to rehabilitate for affordable housing and threatens the neighborhoods character through contributing to continued vacancy	Affordable housing developers, observations, analysis of zoning ordinance
	Weak Market	Barrier to preservation of historic character as many vacant historic buildings are in need of repair	Affordable housing developers, market value analysis, demographic analysis, property transfer and building permit data
	Continued marginalization and disinvestment	Uneven revitalization – rose corridor v. historic sections of the neighborhood creates issues that affordable housing development cannot fix alone	Neighborhood association, neighborhood observations, demographic analysis, previous planning analysis
Carver			
	Increased development pressures and gentrification	Challenges affordable housing development as property values are increasing	Affordable housing developers, neighborhood association, observations, demographic analysis
	Lack of local historic preservation regulations	Barrier to preservation of historic character	Neighborhood association, observations of new development
	Long term residents v. student population	Barrier to equitable planning without shared goals for development	Neighborhood association, affordable housing developers
Union Hill			
	City Old and Historic District Designation	Barrier to affordable housing development with strict design and material requirements	Affordable housing developers, observations
	Increased development pressures and gentrification	Challenges affordable housing development as property values are increasing	Affordable housing developers, neighborhood association, observations, demographic analysis
	Tax sale process leading persistent vacancy	Barrier to preserving neighborhood character and challenge to develop affordable housing as much property sold at tax sale has not seen improvements	Affordable housing developers, housing advocates, HDAdvisor's map, observations

Expanding Housing Opportunities and Preserving Character in Historic Neighborhoods

Appendix 3: City of Richmond Tax Abatement Program Requirements

Table 3: Tax Abatement Program for Rehabilitated Structures, City of Richmond Requirements
1. Must be at least 20 years old or older
2. Must increase the improvement value by at least 20%
3. Must have an active permit on file with Planning and Development Review
4. Additions/Replacement structures cannot exceed the total square footage of the qualified structure by more than 100%
5. Must meet Zoning Requirements
6. Application in Historic Zones will be forwarded the Architectural Review Board for review.
Source: City of Richmond Rehab Brochure (2016)

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Appendix 4: Vacancies and Tax Delinquencies in the City of Richmond
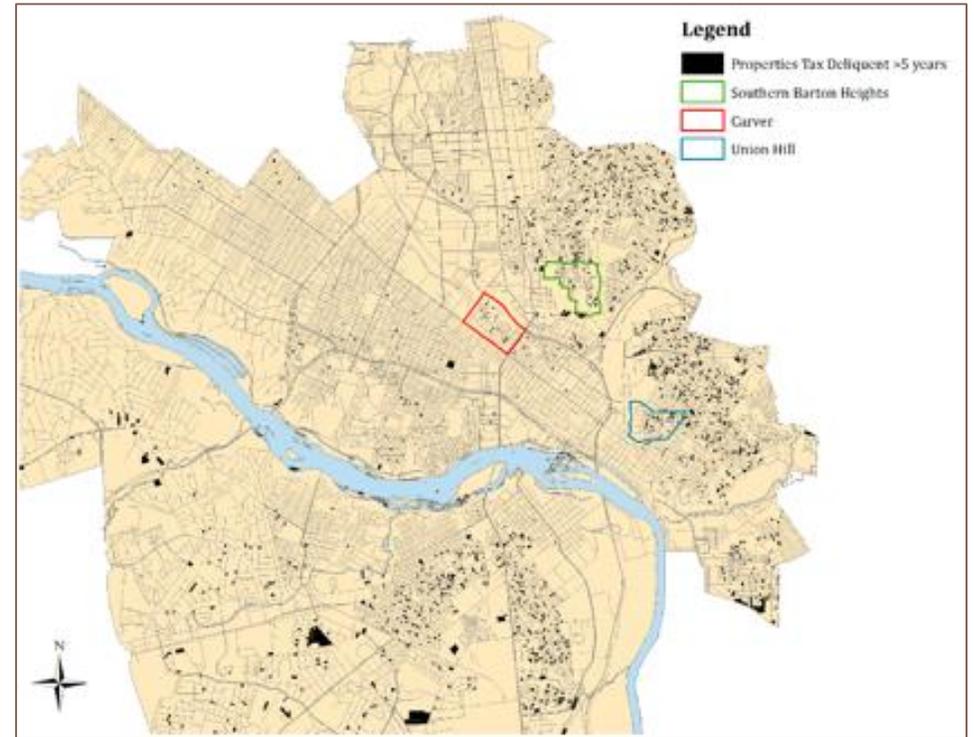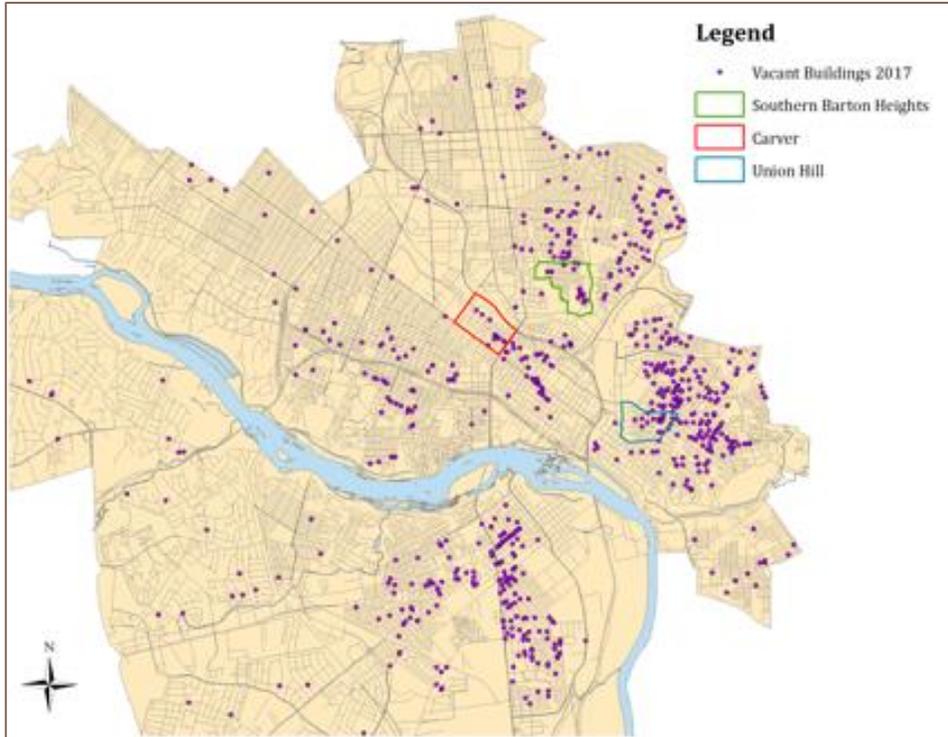
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Richmond Region MVA 2017

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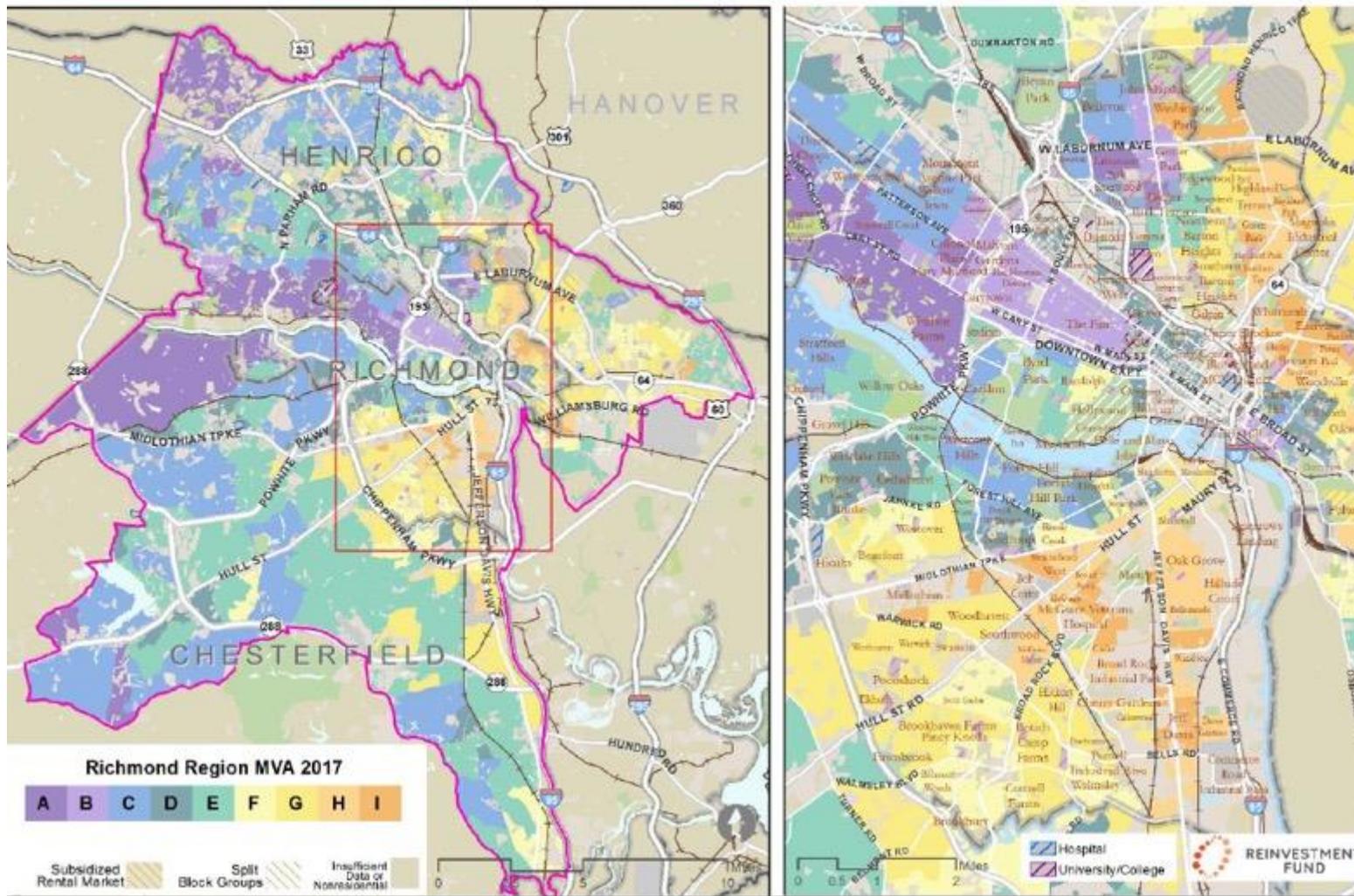
Average Block Group Housing Market Characteristics for 2015 Richmond Region MVA Housing Market Types

	Number of Block Groups	Median Sales Price 2015-2016	Sales Price Variance	Percent Bank Sales	Owner Occupancy	Percent Subsidized Rental	Percent Vacant Residential	Housing Units per Acre	Residential Parcels Built 2008-up	Residential Parcels w/Permits 2015-2016
A	32	$ 501,292	0.39	2.6%	90.1%	0.4%	0.4%	1.9	5.9%	11.6%
B	23	$ 425,851	0.47	3.3%	32.9%	10.3%	1.5%	17.2	4.7%	5.0%
C	82	$ 274,479	0.34	5.5%	83.2%	3.4%	0.6%	3.2	2.7%	7.2%
D	53	$ 195,175	0.35	9.4%	28.8%	6.9%	1.2%	9.8	3.4%	5.7%
E	103	$ 182,686	0.32	13.3%	79.8%	2.7%	0.9%	2.8	2.6%	5.5%
F	30	$ 140,358	0.38	20.5%	48.4%	77.3%	1.8%	4.0	2.5%	4.0%
G	62	$ 117,611	0.39	29.1%	58.9%	6.5%	3.0%	4.2	2.7%	4.9%
H	31	$ 63,465	0.61	32.8%	41.0%	12.0%	8.5%	5.6	1.9%	3.7%
I	18	$ 53,597	0.60	37.3%	30.1%	88.9%	3.2%	7.2	2.0%	2.0%
Other	27									

	Number of Block Groups	Total Population		Households		Owner Occupied Households		Renter Occupied Households	
		Number	Percent of region	Number	Percent of region	Number	Percent of region	Number	Percent of region
A	32	68,848	8.8%	23,926	7.9%	20,628	11.3%	3,298	2.8%
B	23	41,700	5.3%	20,252	6.7%	6,307	3.5%	13,945	11.7%
C	82	155,458	19.9%	58,660	19.5%	48,612	26.7%	10,048	8.4%
D	53	92,974	11.9%	39,877	13.2%	11,171	6.1%	28,706	24.0%
E	103	178,048	22.8%	65,175	21.6%	52,179	28.7%	12,996	10.9%
F	30	53,482	6.8%	20,978	7.0%	9,878	5.4%	11,100	9.3%
G	62	90,655	11.6%	35,626	11.8%	19,659	10.8%	15,967	13.4%
H	31	32,453	4.1%	11,640	3.9%	4,759	2.6%	6,881	5.8%
I	18	26,112	3.3%	9,401	3.1%	2,780	1.5%	6,621	5.5%
Split BGs	10	19,295	2.5%	7,821	2.6%	5,591	3.1%	2,230	1.9%
Other (Rental/Nonres)	14	18,561	2.4%	6,773	2.2%	369	0.2%	6,404	5.4%
Subdzd Rental	3	4,456	0.6%	1,353	0.4%	9	0.0%	1,344	1.1%
Total	461	782,042		301,482		181,942		119,540	

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Appendix 6: Affordable Housing Funding Sources

Table 7: Affordable Housing Funding Sources

❖ Federal and State Historic Tax Credits & Low-Income Housing Tax Credits
 	
    o   Only in National Register Historic Districts
 	
    o   Must meet the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Rehabilitations and New Construction
 	
    o   Federal Historic Tax Credits – only for income producing proprieties (i.e. rental housing development)

❖ Low-Income Housing Tax Credits   o   Multi-family projects - work through incentivizing the private market to invest in affordable housing.
❖ Community Development Block Grants and HOME funds   o   Affordable single-family development
❖ Other sources of gap financing: Virginia Affordable Housing Trust Fund, etc.

❖ Financial assistance for the property owner/buyer
 	
    o   City of Richmond's Tax Abatement Program
 	
    o   Housing Opportunities Made Equal (HOME) 's down payment assistance program for the homebuyer.

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Appendix 7: Richmond 300 Master Planning Process Timeline

Retrieved from http://www.richmond300.com/marketingmasterplan/goals-process

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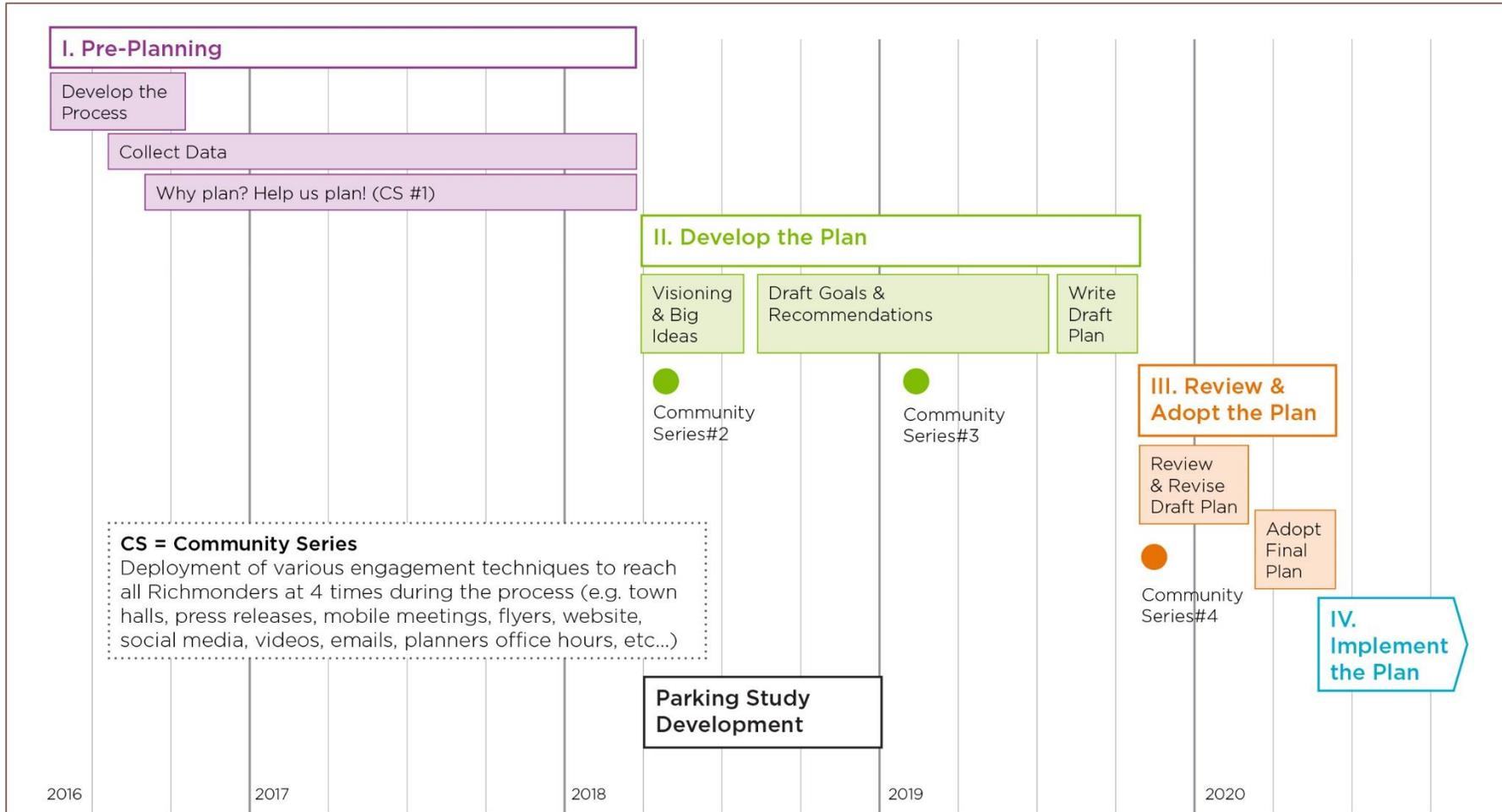
Appendix 8: Virginia Supportive Housing Acquisition Strategy – Site Standards

VSH's current building model is 60 to 80 studio apartments, 350 square feet each with a total building square footage of 50,000 to 60,000. The building includes community room with outdoor patio, computer room, fitness room, telephone room, staff offices, laundry room, mechanical spaces, etc.

City-or Housing Authority-owned sites are preferred or sites of minimal cost. VSH's preference is for vacant parcels or parcels with low demolition costs. Existing buildings should require minimal rehab costs especially in meeting energy efficiency and ADA requirements.

Vacant Site
- 2.5 acres preferred, but can work with 0.75 acres and up depending on height and parking requirements - As-of-right zoning allowing for 60-80 apartment units, preference for a minimum of 0.5 parking spaces per unit - No significant environment issues i.e., wetlands, excessive noise, site contamination, etc. - Location that does not concentrate poverty or minority concentration preferred - Location in a Qualified Census Tract preferred or location in a revitalization area - Location within ¼ miles of a public bus stop - Location within ½ mile of major employers, convenience stores, grocery stores, discount department stores, shopping centers/malls, hospitals, police, fire services, library, higher education, banks, pharmacies, restaurants, and public services
Building
- Includes all requirements above for vacant site - 50,000 to 60,000 square feet - Preference for avoiding schools - Previous hotel

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