### "Inherited Inequality" Report: What it Means to Black People in Pittsburgh



Presented to

### Pittsburgh City Council, Pittsburgh Black Elected Officials Coalition, & Pittsburgh's 17 African American Neighborhoods

Prepared by

The Lower Marshall-Shadeland Development Initiative

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### "Inherited Inequality" Report: What it Means to Black People in Pittsburgh

#### I. Introduction

The report by the Lower Marshall-Shadeland Development Initiative (LMSDI) entitled, "Inherited Inequality: The State of Financing for Affordable Housing in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania," details the home mortgage lending practices of more than 900 banks in the city of Pittsburgh between 2007 and 2020. It also summarizes public agency allocations for affordable housing in every city neighborhood made between 2010 and 2020.

For African Americans the report quantifies how few wealth-building opportunities exist in Pittsburgh. Moreover, the study challenges the long-held belief that more *public* funds are required to "fix" the problem. In fact, the opposite is true. "Inherited Inequality" underscores the importance of *private* capital in building wealth in the Black community.

What exactly is "affordable housing"? Quite simply, it is what people can afford. Each neighborhood has different levels of affordability based on a person's income. For instance, buyers in Squirrel Hill may find a \$300,000 home "affordable," whereas in Marshall-Shadeland, affordability might be closer to \$60,000. In each case, the private market—financial institutions —determines affordability.

When one considers the large amount of home mortgage lending that banks have done in Pittsburgh, the numbers are staggering: nearly **\$12 billion** in 13 years (2007 to 2019). An additional \$2 billion in home loans were approved in 2020 alone. Compare this to the **\$3.4 billion** in public funds for affordable housing between 2010 and 2020. Banks approved more than 71,000 home loans, while public dollars created 25,000 housing units. There really is no comparison.

Yet, when the race and neighborhood inequalities of affordable housing are examined, it begs the following questions: why do Whites receive so many more loan dollars than Blacks? Why do Shadyside and Squirrel Hill get the lion's share of private capital, while East Liberty, Homewood, and the Hill rely more on public funds? More importantly, what can be done to change this situation? LMSDI makes several recommendations at the end of the report.

#### **II. Main Conclusions**

### 1. Demographics: Nearly all of Pittsburgh's population loss over the past decade can be attributed to the loss of African Americans.

The city's African American population *declined* by more than 10,000 people, a 13% drop in ten years (2010 to 2019). The city as a whole only lost 1.1% of its population, while nearly every racial category gained population over the past decade. The other declines were seen among American Indians, which decreased by 35 people, or 6%, and some other race, -507 people, or a decrease of 21.1%.

#### 2. Race: Lending by race shows wide inequalities.

Home mortgage lending by **race** between 2007 and 2019 shows that Whites in Pittsburgh, which are 66% of the total population, received 65% of the \$11.8 billion in loan dollars, or \$7.6 billion in 13 years. But **African Americans**, which are nearly 25% of the city's total population, received just **3.5%** of the loan dollars over the 13-year period, or \$417 million. Asian Americans, which are only 5.3% of the total population, received the same amount, 3.5%, or \$411 million. In other words, a disproportionate share of the city's loan dollars over the past 13 years were approved to Whites and Asians.

Racial Category	2015 Population	Percent of Total	Total Loans	Percent of Total	Total Loan Dollars	Percent of Total	Average Loan Size
White	204,671	66.2%	53,406	75.0%	\$7,627,360,000	64.6%	\$142,818
Race Missing			10,389	14.6%	\$3,327,816,000	28.2%	\$320,321
African American	76,397	24.7%	5,116	7.2%	\$417,224,000	3.5%	\$81,553
Asian Americans	16,317	5.3%	2,084	2.9%	\$411,290,000	3.5%	\$197,356
American Indian/Alaska Native	559	0.2%	152	0.2%	\$17,563,000	0.1%	\$115,546
Hawaiian/Pacific Islander	84	0.0%	96	0.1%	\$10,448,000	0.1%	\$108,833
Some other race + two or more races	11,299	3.7%					
Total Minority Population	104,656	33.8%					
City Total	309,327	100%	71,243	100%	\$11,811,701,000	100%	\$165,795

#### Table 1. Bank Lending in Pittsburgh by Race 2007-2019

### **3.** Neighborhoods: Minority communities are more reliant on public funds than on wealth-building private dollars.

Affordable housing in Pittsburgh is financed almost entirely by banks. In 13 years, 78% of bank loan dollars went to Pittsburgh neighborhoods, while just 22% of public funds were allocated in the city's communities. But for Pittsburgh's **minority neighborhoods**, 55% of all funds came from public sources. In the city's non-minority areas, just 8% of public dollars financed affordable housing.

In Pittsburgh's 17 **minority neighborhoods**, just 6.8% of all bank dollars were approved, meaning that nearly 94% of banks financed affordable housing in Pittsburgh's non-minority neighborhoods. Lending by individual neighborhoods also shows the wide disparities. In the city's **Shadyside** neighborhood, a non-minority community, *more loan dollars were approved* (\$1,054,017,000) *than in all minority neighborhoods combined* (\$807 million). Additional neighborhood data is below:

- East Liberty, a 68% minority community with a population of 5,537, tops the list, with the most bank loan dollars (\$186,588,000) out of all minority communities.
- The Hill District Combined (the city's largest minority community, with 9,510 residents) is number two (\$112.5 million), while Manchester (with just 1,944 residents) is number three, with \$69.7 million in loan dollars.
- **Homewood** Combined, with nearly 6,500 residents, the city's second largest Black community, was ranked #10 among minority neighborhoods for loan dollars approved in the city, just \$28.6 million.
- In 2014, Larimer received a \$30 million of federal Choice Neighborhood grant, which was celebrated in the press, by politicians, and by the city's Urban Redevelopment Authority. Yet, when one examines private capital flows into Larimer, it received just \$66.3 million in bank loan dollars in thirteen years, a minuscule fraction of the \$11.8 billion approved citywide. Larimer, which is nearly 90% minority, received just 102 loans in thirteen years, 1.5% percent of the total loans approved citywide over the 13-year period.

### 4. Gentrification: White borrowers have a better chance of getting loans *in minority neighborhoods* than African American borrowers.

There were 777 *more* loans approved to Whites than to Blacks, and \$171 million *more* loan dollars approved to Whites than to Blacks *in minority neighborhoods*. In non-minority neighborhoods, 47,513 more loans were approved to Whites than to Blacks, and \$7 billion more loan dollars were approved to Whites than to Blacks. This suggests that gentrification of minority communities has taken place since the Great Recession of 2008.

### 5. The 2020 Data: An analysis of 2020 bank lending data shows trends are getting *worse* for African Americans.

In 2020, a total of 329 financial institutions approved 7,812 loans for \$2 billion in Pittsburgh neighborhoods. In 2020, just 3% of all loan dollars were approved to African Americans, less than Asian-Americans (4%), even though there are far more African Americans in Pittsburgh. In contrast, 60% of the loan dollars were approved to Whites. Just 5% of all loan dollars in 2020 were approved to minority neighborhoods.

### 6. Branches: Bank branch locations reinforce the lack of wealth that exists in Pittsburgh's minority neighborhoods.

Within the city of Pittsburgh **only 14 branches**, or 12%, are located in minority communities. These minority branches collectively hold \$579,338,000 in deposits, less than a half-percent (0.45%) of all branch deposits in Pittsburgh.

## 7. City Council Districts: The City Council District Analysis Shows a Pronounced Disparity.

In District 8, represented by **Councilwoman Erika Strassburger**, just four neighborhoods commanded nearly \$2.8 billion in loan dollars from banks, 23.7% of the city total, over the thirteen-year period from 2007 to 2019. Meanwhile in District 9, represented by **Councilman Ricky Burgess**, \$451 million in loan dollars was approved over the same period, a scant 3.8% of the city total. Councilwoman Strassburger's district has no minority neighborhoods, while Councilman Burgess's district has eight minority neighborhoods. So, while elected officials advocate for more public dollars to be expended in minority neighborhoods, these same communities are being virtually ignored by banks.

But when only **public funds** are examined by district, the opposite is true: **Councilman Dan Lavelle** (District 6) is first, followed by **Councilman Ricky Burgess** (District 9). Councilman Burgess's district was the only one which was *more* reliant on public funds (which comprised 56.8% of all investment) than bank financing (43.2%). In a city with more than 70,000 African Americans who only received 3.5% of the total dollar volume of loans, some banks are missing a huge market opportunity by not lending to minorities and minority communities.

 Table 2. Combined Bank Loans and Public Funds Disbursed in Pittsburgh 2007-2020, by

 City Council District (Ranked by Total Public and Private Investment)

City Council District	Number Of Neighbo rhoods	Number of Minority Neighborh oods	Total Bank Loans Dollars	Total Public Investment	Total Public and Private Investment	Percent Private Investm ent	Percent Public Investm ent
District 8, Erika Strassburger	4	0	\$2,798,604,000	\$42,445,605	\$2,841,049,605	98.5%	1.5%
District 7, Deb Gross	10	0	\$2,312,964,000	\$161,863,052	\$2,474,827,052	93.5%	6.5%
District 5, Corey O'Connor	9	0	\$1,636,728,000	\$213,290,875	\$1,850,018,875	88.5%	11.5%
District 6, R. Daniel Lavelle	13	8	\$770,594,000	\$655,212,804	\$1,425,806,804	54.0%	46.0%
District 1, Bobby Wilson	14	3	\$1,092,539,000	\$117,162,063	\$1,209,701,063	90.3%	9.7%
District 2, Theresa Kail-	16	2	\$1,075,804,000	\$43,225,339	\$1,119,029,339	96.1%	3.9%
District 9, Ricky Burgess	9	9	\$451,704,000	\$593,903,991	\$1,045,607,991	43.2%	56.8%
District 3, Bruce Kraus	11	3	\$878,716,000	\$138,971,592	\$1,017,687,592	86.3%	13.7%
District 4, Anthony Coghill	4	0	\$794,048,000	\$12,240,458	\$806,288,458	98.5%	1.5%
Totals	90	25	\$11,811,701,000	\$1,978,315,780	\$13,790,016,780	85.7%	14.3%
Multiple Neighborhoods				\$323,152,206			
Citywide				\$442,631,909			
Unknown N'hoods				\$658,049,225			
Totals			\$11,811,701,000	\$3,402,149,119	\$15,213,850,119	77.6%	<b>22.4</b> %



#### Citywide: William Peduto, Mayor of Pittsburgh

- feet	City Population (2019):	302,205		
	Minority Population (2019):	100,338 (33.2%)		
	African American Population (2019):	69,589		
	African American Population Decrease, 2010-2019:	-12.7%		
	Bank Financing 2007-2019:	\$11,811,701,000		
	Public Funding 2010-2020:	\$3,402,149,120		
	Total Combined Public & Bank Funding:	\$15,213,850,120		
Total Bank Financ	\$807,477,000			
Total Public Funding in Minority Communities:\$1,006,735,3				
Total Combined Minority Public & Private Investment:\$1,814,212,353				



#### 1. Councilwoman Erika Strassburger, District 8 (Shadyside-Squirrel Hill)

	,	
	District Population:	40,609
	District Minority Population (% of Total):	10,292 (25.3%)
	Bank Financing:	\$2,798,604,000 (Rank: 1)
	Public Funding:	\$42,445,605 (Rank: 8)
	Combined Public & Bank Funding:	\$2,841,049,605 (Rank: 1)
Total Bank Financir	\$0	
Total Public Fundin	\$0	



	2. Councilwoman Deb Gross, District 7 (Lawrenceville-Highland				
	Park)				
	District Population:	36,621			
	District Minority Population (% of Total):	:7,214 (19.7%)			
	Bank Financing:	\$2,312,964,000 (Rank: 2)			
	Public Funding:	\$161,863,052 (Rank: 4)			
	Total Combined Public & Bank Funding:	\$2,474,827,052 (Rank: 2)			
g	in Minority Communities:	\$0			

\$0

Total Bank Financing Total Public Funding in Minority Communities:



### 3. Councilman Corey O'Connor, District 5 (East End)

District Population:	34,015
District Minority Population (% of Total):	7,156 (21%)
Bank Financing:	\$1,636,728,000 (Rank: 3)
Public Funding:	\$213,290,875 (Rank: 3)
Total Public & Bank Funding:	\$1,850,018,875 (Rank: 3)
Total Bank Financing in Minority Communities	:: \$0
Total Public Funding in Minority Communities:	: \$0

	4. Councilman Bobby Wilson, District 1 (No	orth Side)			
	District Population:	32,586			
	District Minority Population (% of Total):	12,526 (38.4%)			
	African American Population Loss/Gain in Dist	trict: +357 (+8%)			
	Bank Financing:	\$1,092,539,000 (Rank: 4)			
	Public Funding:	\$117,162,063 (Rank: 6)			
	Total Combined Public & Bank Funding:	\$1,209,701,063 (Rank: 5)			
6	Total Bank Financing in Minority Communities	s: \$65,622,000			
Total Public Funding in Minority Communities:\$61,867,545					
Total Combined M	Total Combined Minority Public & Private Investment:\$127,489,545				

Total Combined Minority Public & Private Investment:



#### 5. Councilwoman Theresa Kail-Smith, City Council President, District 2 (West End) **District Population:** 34,441 District Minority Population (% of Total): 9,331 (27.1%) African American Population Loss/Gain in District: +96 (+4%) Bank Financing: \$1,075,804,000 (Rank: 5)

Public Funding: \$43,225,339 (Rank: 7) \$1,119,029,339 (Rank: 6) Total Combined Public & Bank Funding: Total Bank Financing in Minority Communities: \$55,636,000 Total Public Funding in Minority Communities: \$3,136,801 Total Combined Minority Public & Private Investment: \$58,772,801



6. Councilman Bruce Kraus, District 3 (South Side)				
District Population:	26,152			
District Minority Population (% of Total):	8,375 (32%)			
African American Population Loss/Gain in District: -603 (-17%)				
Bank Financing:	\$878,716,000 (Rank: 6)			
Public Funding:	\$138,971,592 (Rank: 5)			
Total Combined Public & Bank Funding:	\$1,017,687,592 (Rank: 8)			
Total Bank Financing in Minority Communities: \$45,696,000				

Total Public Funding in Minority Communities:\$1,360,002Total Combined Minority Public & Private Investment:\$47,056,002



7. Councilman Anthony Coghill, District 4 (South Hills)				
District Population:	34,915			
District Minority Population (% of Total):	6,657 (19.1%)			
Bank Financing:	\$794,048,000 (Rank: 7)			
Public Funding:	\$12,240,458 (Rank: 9)			
Total Combined Public & Bank Funding:	\$806,288,458 (Rank: 9)			
Total Bank Financing in Minority Communit	ies: \$0			
Total Public Funding in Minority Communiti	es: \$0			



8. Councilman R. Daniel Lavelle, District 6 (Hill-Manchester)				
District Population:	35,850			
District Minority Population (% of Total):	17,984 (50.2%)			
African American Population Loss/Gain in I	District: -1,344 (-9%)			
Bank Financing:	\$770,594,000 (Rank: 8)			
Public Funding:	\$655,212,804 (Rank: 1)			
Total Combined Public & Bank Funding:	\$1,425,806,804 (Rank: 4)			
Total Bank Financing in Minority Communities: \$268,844,000				
Total Public Funding in Minority Communities: \$379,420,234				
Total Combined Minority Public & Private Investment: \$648,264,234				

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9. Councilman Rev. Ricky Burgess, District 9 (East Liberty-			
Homewood)			
District Population:	27,016		
District Minority Population (% of Total):	20,803 (77%)		
African American Population Loss/Gain in I	District: -3,794 (-17%)		
Bank Financing:	\$451,704,000 (Rank: 9)		
Public Funding:	\$593,903,991 (Rank: 2)		
Total Combined Public & Bank Funding:	\$1,045,607,991 (Rank: 7)		
Total Bank Financing in Minority Communi	ities: \$371,679,000		
Total Public Funding in Minority Communities:\$560,950,770			

Total Combined Minority Public & Private Investment: \$932,629,770

# 8. Private vs. Public Funds: Minority neighborhoods are *more* reliant on *public* funds (55.5% of all investment), than they are on *private* bank dollars (44.5% of all investment).

Over more than a decade, banks have all but ignored these neighborhoods. These communities include the following (see table at the end of this report):

- Northview Heights (with a population of 1,627 Black people): 98% reliant on public funds.
- Hill District (7,195 Black people): 75.4% reliant on public funds.
- Homewood (5,684 Black people): 68% reliant on public funds.
- Larimer (1,223 Black people): 64.8% reliant on public funds.
- East Liberty (2,575 Black people): 64% reliant on public funds.
- Lincoln-Lemington-Belmar (3,492 Black people): 59.8% reliant on public funds.

#### Table 3. Comparative Bank Lending in Minority and Non-Minority Communities

Neighborhood	2015 Population	Percent Minority	Total Loans	Percent of Total	Total Loan Dollars	Percent of Total
Total, 17 Minority Neighborhoods	64,707		6,844	9.6%	\$807,477,000	6.8%
Total, 54 Non-Minority Neighborhoods	24/416		64,399	90.4%	\$11,004,224,000	93.2%
Total City	309,327	33.8%	71,243	100.0%	\$11,811,701,000	100.0%

Percent of Private vs. Public Dollars in Each Pittsburgh Neighborhood (bank dollars cover years 2007-2019; public funds cover years 2010-2020)				
No.	Neighborhood	Percent of Bank Loan Dollars in the Neighborhood	Percent of Public Dollars in the Neighborhood	
1	Northview Heights	2.0%	98.0%	
2	South Shore	3.5%	96.5%	
3	Chateau	21.3%	78.7%	
4	Hill District Combined (Bedford Dwellings, Crawford-Roberts, Middle Hill, Terrace Village, and Upper Hill)	24.6%	75.4%	
5	Hazelwood, Hays, Glen Hazel	27.9%	72.1%	
6	Homewood Combined (North, South, and West)	32.0%	68.0%	
7	Larimer	35.2%	64.8%	
8	East Liberty	36.0%	64.0%	
9	Lincoln-Lemington-Belmar	40.2%	59.8%	
10	Bluff	41.5%	58.5%	
11	Fineview	56.2%	43.8%	
12	Central Business District	63.1%	36.9%	
13	Point Breeze North	70.8%	29.2%	
14	Allentown	72.5%	27.5%	
15	Garfield	74.2%	25.8%	
16	Citywide*	77.6%	22.4%	
17	Windgap, Chartiers City, Fairywood	78.3%	21.7%	
18	West Oakland	80.1%	19.9%	
19	Perry South	80.5%	19.5%	
20	Manchester	81.2%	18.8%	
21	Strip District	82.1%	17.9%	
22	South Side Flats	82.4%	17.6%	
23	Lower Lawrenceville	84.3%	15.7%	
24	South Oakland	85.6%	14.4%	
25	Central Northside	86.3%	13.7%	

### Table 4: Percent of Private vs. Public Dollars in Each Pittsburgh Neighborhood

Perc	Percent of Private vs. Public Dollars in Each Pittsburgh Neighborhood (bank dollars cover years 2007-2019; public funds cover years 2010-2020)				
No.	Neighborhood	Percent of Bank Loan Dollars in the Neighborhood	Percent of Public Dollars in the Neighborhood		
26	Elliott, West End	89.9%	10.1%		
27	East Allegheny, North Shore	92.3%	7.7%		
28	Squirrel Hill South	92.6%	7.4%		
29	Marshall-Shadeland	92.8%	7.2%		
30	Knoxville	93.2%	6.8%		
31	North Oakland	93.5%	6.5%		
32	Beechview	94.1%	5.9%		
33	Sheraden, Esplen	94.7%	5.3%		
34	Highland Park	96.0%	4.0%		
35	Central Lawrenceville	96.2%	3.8%		
36	Arlington, Arlington Heights	96.3%	3.7%		
37	Allegheny West, Allegheny Center	96.8%	3.2%		
38	Polish Hill	97.0%	3.0%		
39	Upper Lawrenceville	97.1%	2.9%		
40	Shadyside	97.5%	2.5%		
41	Stanton Heights	97.6%	2.4%		
42	Morningside	98.0%	2.0%		
43	Carrick	98.1%	1.9%		
44	East Hills	98.2%	1.8%		
45	Troy Hill	98.4%	1.6%		
46	Perry North	98.5%	1.5%		
47	California-Kirkbride	98.6%	1.4%		
48	Mount Washington	98.7%	1.3%		
49	Westwood, Ridgemont	98.8%	1.2%		
50	Lincoln Place	98.8%	1.2%		
51	St. Clair, Mt. Oliver	99.1%	0.9%		

No.	Neighborhood	Percent of Bank Loan Dollars in the Neighborhood	Percent of Public Dollars in the Neighborhood
52	Bloomfield	99.2%	0.8%
53	Friendship	99.3%	0.7%
54	Brighton Heights	99.3%	0.7%
55	Central Oakland	99.5%	0.5%
56	Beltzhoover, Bon Air	99.5%	0.5%
57	Point Breeze	99.8%	0.2%
58	South Side Slopes	99.9%	0.1%
59	Overbrook	99.9%	0.1%
60	Greenfield	99.9%	0.1%
61	Squirrel Hill North	99.9%	0.1%
62	Crafton Heights	100.0%	0.0%
63	Swisshelm Park	100.0%	0.0%
64	Brookline	100.0%	0.0%
65	Banksville	100.0%	0.0%
66	Duquesne Heights	100.0%	0.0%
67	New Homestead	100.0%	0.0%
68	Oakwood, East Carnegie	100.0%	0.0%
69	Regent Square	100.0%	0.0%
70	Spring Garden	100.0%	0.0%
71	Spring Hill-City View	100.0%	0.0%
72	Summer Hill	100.0%	0.0%
Minc	rity neighborhoods are highlighted in <mark>blue.</mark>		

### III. Solutions: LMSDI makes several key recommendations to improve wealth-building opportunities to African Americans in Pittsburgh:

- 1. The first recommendation is for for bank regulators to strengthen enforcement of the **Community Reinvestment Act (CRA)** by including finance companies, independent mortgage companies, and internet banks under CRA, among other regulatory enhancements;
- 2. LMSDI encourages banks to make stronger, comprehensive **commitments** to minorities and minority communities;
- 3. LMSDI requests greater **government transparency** in the reporting of which neighborhoods public affordable housing funds are allocated.
- 4. LMSDI calls upon the city of Pittsburgh to enforce its own Community Reinvestment Depository Policy (Codified into law as Ord. No. 8-2012, § 1, effective April 25, 2012). This policy evaluates the community reinvestment policies of financial institutions to determine into which institutions the city should deposit its funds. On the books since 2012, there has been no report issued, no hearings held, and no information about which banks the city deposits its funds.
- 5. LMSDI advocates for the implementation of **a statewide CRA law for Pennsylvania.** A statewide CRA law would assist the governor, state legislators, and local leaders to evaluate the performance of the 176 financial institutions chartered to do business in Pennsylvania.
- 6. A final recommendation is to enhance **minority financial education** to strengthen community knowledge of wealth-building opportunities. But knowledge is only good if the city and financial institutions are following the law. It is up to community leaders, corporate and university chiefs, regulators, and politicians to hold banks accountable to reinvestment opportunities in Black neighborhoods.