

Literature Review

How Has Economic Displacement Been Addressed in the Past?

(Zuk 2015)

Scholarly interest in the relationship between investment and displacement dates back to the 1970s, in the aftermath of displacement related to urban renewal. More recently, a new wave of scholarship examines gentrification, primarily in strong market cities, and its relationship to public investment, particularly in transit. The results of these studies are mixed, due in part to methodological shortcomings.

Displacement takes many different forms—direct and indirect, physical or economic, and exclusionary—and may result from either investment or disinvestment.

Despite severe data and analytic challenges in measuring the extent of displacement, most studies agree that gentrification at a minimum leads to exclusionary displacement and may push out some renters as well.

The first documented use of the term “gentrification” (Glass 1964) describes the influx of a “gentry” in lower income neighborhoods in London during the 1950s and 60s.² Today, gentrification is generally defined as simultaneously a spatial and social practice that results in “the transformation of a working-class or vacant area of the central city into middle-class residential or commercial use” (Loretta Lees, Slater, and Wyly 2008, xv)

Revitalization, as first noted by Clay (1979) can take two forms: incumbent upgrading and gentrification. Incumbent upgrading, whereupon existing residents improve the conditions of their neighborhood, is catalyzed by the cost of housing, the rise of neighborhood consciousness, demographic pressure, and reduced pressures from migrants to the city. Gentrification, on the other hand, draws middle class residents to the city, attracted by job and recreational opportunities, low and appreciating housing prices, stabilization of negative social conditions (such as crime), and lifestyle or aesthetic considerations. Displacement is the negative outcome of gentrification, but not present in incumbent upgrading.

It is arguably a “chaotic” process, that does not lend itself to binary or linear analysis (Beauregard 1986; Freeman 2006; L. Lees 1996).

Today, the overarching debate has generally drawn a line between the flows of capital versus flows of people to neighborhoods. This dichotomous narrative has spawned many analyses focused on either production and supply-side or consumption, demand-side catalysts. Flows of capital focus on profit-seeking and the work of broader economic forces to make inner city areas profitable for in-movers.

Smith (1979) argues that the return of capital from the suburbs to the city drives gentrification; the change in neighborhoods is the spatial manifestation of the restructuring of capital through shifting land values and housing development. Smith (1979) sees individual gentrifiers as important, but places a greater emphasis on a broader nexus of actors – developers, builders, mortgage lenders, government agencies, real estate agents – that make up the full political economy of capital flows into urban areas.

Economic segregation has increased steadily since the 1970s, with a brief respite in the 1990s, and is related closely to racial segregation (i.e., income segregation is growing more rapidly among black families than white) (Fischer et al. 2004; Fry and Taylor 2015; P. Jargowsky 2001; Lichter, Parisi, and Taquino 2012; Reardon and Bischoff 2011; Watson 2009; Yang and Jargowsky 2006)

Government policies shape free markets and preferences, as well as respond to them. Thus, transportation policies favoring the automobile, discrimination and redlining in early federal home ownership policies, mortgage interest tax deductions for home owners, and other urban policies have actively shaped or reinforced patterns of racial and economic segregation, while severely constraining choices for disadvantaged groups (Dreier, Mollenkopf, and Swanstrom 2004).

But we also now understand that neighborhood income segregation within metropolitan areas is influenced mostly by income inequality, in particular, higher compensation in the top quintile and the lack of jobs for the bottom quintile (Reardon and Bischoff 2011; Watson 2009). Income inequality leads to income segregation because higher incomes, supported by housing policy, allow certain households to sort themselves according to their preferences – and control local political processes that continue exclusion (Reardon and Bischoff 2011). Other explanatory factors include disinvestment in urban areas, suburban investment and land use patterns, and the practices generally of government and the underwriting industry (Hirsch 1983; Levy, McDade, and Dumlao Bertumen 2011). But were income inequality to stop rising, the number of segregated neighborhoods would decline (Reardon and Bischoff 2011, Watson 2009).

African American - White segregation has persisted in major metropolitan areas, especially in the Northeast and Midwest and a large share of minorities still live in neighborhoods with virtually no White residents (Logan 2013).

A theory of “place stratification” is a better fit, incorporating discriminating institutions that limit residential movement of African Americans into White neighborhoods, such as biased residential preferences among nonHispanic Whites and discrimination in the real estate market (Charles 2003; Krysan et al. 2009; Turner et al. 2013).

Analysis of change over time suggests that neighborhoods are surprisingly stable (Wei and Knox 2014). And in fact, overall, Americans have become significantly more rooted over time; just 12% of U.S. residents moved in 2008, the lowest rate since 1948 and probably long before (C. S. Fischer 2010).

Yet, for many at the lower end of the economic spectrum, stability means imprisonment: even though many families have left, researchers estimate that some 70% of families in today’s impoverished neighborhoods were living there in the 1970s as well (Sharkey 2012).

Scholars writing on the “geographies of opportunity” (Briggs 2005) argue that the spatial relationships between high quality housing, jobs, and schools structure social mobility. Patterns of urban development in the United States have resulted in uneven geographies of opportunity, in which low-income and families of color experience limited access to affordable housing, high quality schools, and good-paying jobs.

A range of studies have found that living in poor neighborhoods negatively impacts residents, particularly young people, who are more likely than their counterparts in wealthier neighborhoods to participate in and be victims of criminal activity, experience teen pregnancy, drop out of high school, and perform poorly in school among a multitude of other negative outcomes (Crane 1991; Ellen and Turner 1997; Galster 2010; P. A. Jargowsky 1997; Jencks et al. 1990; Ludwig et al. 2001; Sampson, Morenoff, and GannonRowley 2002; Sharkey 2013)

A Review of Mass Appraisal Techniques

Much of the research on predicting real estate values has been in service of creating mass appraisal models. Mass appraisal models share many characteristics with predictive machine learning model modeling. Mass appraisal models are data-driven, standardized methods that employ statistical testing (Eckert 1990).

(Quintos 2013) Attempts to measure latent variables through a random effect regression model to predict income and expense of non-filers. Difference between the Assessed Value and the Market Value.

New York City annually values commercial properties by the income approach. Commercial properties with an assessed value greater than \$40,000 are required to file income and expense statements with the Department of Finance. Some of these required filers may apply for exclusion from filing or they may choose not to file and instead pay a penalty. There are also voluntary filers, who are not required to file but nevertheless submit statements. The filings received are used to formulate income and expense regression models. These models are used to develop comparable rental models and to formulate assessment guidelines based on location and physical characteristics.

For models of income and expense, however, we are not aware of a model in a random effects (panel data) framework—most likely due to the lack of property-level data of income and expense filings.

(d’Amato 2017) Great Lit review in first chapter on the evolution of the Automated Valuation Model. Walks through all different kinds of spatial models: OLS, Hierarchy, spatial lag, spatial error, etc. Explains COD (coefficient of dispersion). Dodd Frank Act implements financial regulatory reform after the financial crisis of 2008. In particular the title XIV subtitle F distinguishes appraisal process from automated valuation modelling, reorganizing both. In particular it was stressed how the role of valuation (appraisal) cannot be replaced by AVM. Our point of view is coherent with the Dodd Frank act (and Appraisal Methods and the Non-Agency Mortgage Crisis 29 thereby also Pugh’s view but not Woodward’s): automated valuation modelling is increasingly adaptable in describing real estate market behaviour without succeeding in replacing local information and human inspection in the valuation (appraisal) procedure.

(Koschinsky 2012) This is a recent and thorough discussion of parametric hedonic regression techniques. Some of the variables included are derived from nearby properties, similar to my technique, and these variables are found to be predictive. Methodology section (2) contains a brief but robust literature review of hedonic price modeling applied to real estate marginal willingness to pay (MWTP) for locational attributes. The basic hedonic model assumes that the utility of a household or an individual is a function of a composite good x ; a vector of structural characteristics S ; a vector of social and neighborhood characteristics N ; and finally a vector of locational characteristics L . This study adds to a small body of existing literature that extends this research by addressing the valuation of a property’s locational attributes from a spatial perspective.

In the model, for a spatial lag, they use a “We specify W as a queen contiguity weights matrix.” The second set of locational attribute data represents a new way of measuring attributes of neighboring properties that is fully exogenous since it is derived from a different dataset than the sales data: It is based on structural characteristics of all residential properties built before 1997 that are not for sale but are within 1,000 feet of a 1997 sale. ... The variables included for neighboring properties within 1,000 feet of a sale are average age, poor condition (%), with electric heating source (strongly correlated with older age) (%), poor construction grade (1–5) (%), high construction grade (10–13) (%), and detached single-family homes (%). The spatial parameter λ is positive and significant in all cases, i.e. the relation between a home’s price and the average price of its neighboring homes is characterized by positive spatial autocorrelation where, for instance, high-price homes are surrounded by houses with high prices

In short, for the data in this study locational characteristics are valued at least as much as (if not more) than important structural characteristics.

In this case the correct welfare measure should be the direct effect since there is a strong argument in the literature (e.g. Pace and Gilley 1998) that spatial autocorrelation in house prices is related to the practice of realtors, appraisers and home owners of using nearby comparable sales to determine the sales price of a property. Therefore it is to be expected that a house which is in a neighborhood where the sales price of recently sold houses is high will be higher than a similar house surrounded by houses recently sold at a low price. This will lead to spatial autocorrelation in house prices, but the origin for such autocorrelation is a pecuniary externality

(Fotheringham 2015) Explores the use of GWR to forecast prices. Explores the combination of time-series forecasting (in the Holt-Winters tradition) to geographically weighted regression (GWR). GWR is a variation on OLS that allows for “adaptive bandwidths” of local data to be included, i.e., for each estimate, the number of data points included varies (optimized using CV). In addition, the data points are weighted according to distance. This is known as a “local” model

Gentrification and Neighborhood Ascent

(Zuk 2015) The primary concern of gentrification is one of its negative outcomes: displacement

Has Machine Learning Been Applied to this Problem Before?

(Zuk 2015) Urban simulation models are guided by consumer decision-making, rather than the development decisions – flows of people rather than capital – and have neglected the role of race; thus they may not

capture complex gentrification dynamics.

Presentation by researchers from the Urban Institute (Austin Turner and Snow 2001). Analyzing data for the DC area, they identified the following five leading indicators as predictive of future gentrification (defined as sales prices that are above the D.C. average) as low priced areas that are: 1) adjacent to higher-priced areas, 2) have good metro access, 3) contain historic architecture, 4) have large housing units, and 5) experience over 50% appreciation in sales prices between 1994 and 2000.

Census tracts were scored for each indicator and then ranked according to the sum of indicators with a maximum value of 5. (Note: Analysis done at the census-tract level)

(Chapple 2009). Chapple adopted Freeman’s (2005) definition of gentrifying neighborhoods as low-income census tracts in central city locations in 1990 that by 2000 experienced housing appreciation and increased educational attainment above the 9-county regional average. (Note: Analysis done at the census-tract level)

(Pollack, Bluestone, and Billingham 2010). Analyzing 42 neighborhoods (block groups within $\frac{1}{2}$ mile of a transit station) near rail stations in 12 metro areas across the United States, they studied changes between 1990 and 2000 for neighborhood socioeconomic and housing characteristics (Note: Analysis done at the neighborhood level)

(Scherntanner H. 2016) Paper compares traditional linear regression techniques to more advanced techniques such as kriging (stochastic interpolation) and random forest; finds that more advanced techniques are sound and more accurate. The research findings indicate that the analysis results achieved by any of the new methods, ranging from stochastic interpolation to the “random forest” method of machine learning, are more valid than results obtained from traditional statistical methods

(Guan et al. 2014) Uses three different approaches to defining comps, all using euclidean distance; a radius technique, a k-nearest neighbors technique using only distance and a k-nearest neighbors technique using all attributes. Interestingly, the location-only KNN neighborhood performed best, although by a very slim margin (potentially meaningless). The MRA [Multiple Regression Analysis] method, although widely used in mass appraisal, has been criticized for its inability to model data features typically found in real estate data. Common problems with MRA assessment of real estate properties are well known and they include nonlinearity, multicollinearity, and heteroscedasticity (Antipov and Pokryshevskaya 2012; Kilpatrick 2011; Mark and Goldberg 1988; Peterson and Flanagan 2009). In recent years, data mining methods have been proposed as an alternative, and have been tested with very mixed results.

(Fu 2014) Prediction model for real estate in Beijing, China. They do a clustering, then do a rank-ordered prediction of investment returns segmented into categories: $4 > 3 > 2 > 1 > 0$

While a number of estate appraisal methods have been developed to value real property, the performances of these methods have been limited by the traditional data sources for estate appraisal

the geographic dependencies of the value of an estate can be from the characteristics of its own neighborhood (individual), the values of its nearby estates (peer), and the prosperity of the affiliated latent business area (zone)

ClusRanking is able to exploit geographic individual, peer, and zone dependencies in a probabilistic ranking model. Specifically, we first extract the geographic utility of estates from geography data, estimate the neighborhood popularity of estates by mining taxicab trajectory data, and model the influence of latent business areas via ClusRanking.

From related works: Recent works [8, 21] study the automated valuation models, which aggregate and analyze physical characteristics and sales prices of comparable properties to provide property valuations

(Rafiei 2016) Fascinating paper which employs a Restricted Boltzmann Machine (neural network with back propagation) to predict the sale price of residential condos in Tehran, Iran. The paper focuses on computational efficiency. A non-mating genetic algorithm is used for dimensionality reduction. The paper concludes that two primary strategies help in this regard: Sales which happened closer in time to a prediction are more important, and it also uses a learner to accelerate the recognition of important features. The paper compares this technique to several other common NN approaches and finds that while not necessarily the

only way to get the best answer, it is definitely the fastest way to get to the best answer. The lit review sections walks through several recent and notable papers specifically on the topic of sales price prediction of real estate. There is also mention of a paper which characterizes a real estate market as supply inelastic which may be worth investigating further.

(Helbich 2013) This is a very recent paper which contains a brief but robust literature review in the introduction. Great quote: hedonic pricing models “can be improved in two ways: (a) Through novel estimation techniques (e.g. Brunauer et al., 2010; Koschinsky, Lozano-Gracia, & Piras, 2011) and (b) by ancillary structural, locational, and neighborhood variables on the basis of Geographic Information System (GIS) algorithms (e.g. Hamilton & Morgan, 2010)”

Let’s follow up on the sources mentioned. I believe my micro-neighborhood technique falls into the “unique estimation” bucket, so it would be wise to position it that way

(Kontrimasa 2011) Mass appraisal is commonly used to compute real estate tax. Study uses an n = 100 (very small) and compares accuracy of linear regression vs other ANN techniques like SVM.

(Dietzell 2014) This paper examines internet search query data provided by “Google Trends”, with respect to its ability to serve as a sentiment indicator and improve commercial real estate forecasting models for transactions and price indices. The empirical results show that all models augmented with Google data, combining both macro and search data, significantly outperform baseline models which abandon internet search data

(Gary and D. 2011) Examines the effects of walkability on property values and investment returns. Use data from the National Council of Real Estate Investment Fiduciaries and Walk Score to examine the effects of walkability on the market value and investment returns of more than 4,200 office, apartment, retail and industrial properties from 2001 to 2008 in the United States. On a 100-point scale, a 10-point increase in walkability increased values by 1–9%, depending on property type. We also found that walkability was associated with lower cap rates and higher incomes, suggesting it has been favored in both the capital asset and building space markets

(Park 2015) Machine learning applied to residential real estate price prediction. Developed a housing price prediction model based on machine learning algorithms such as C4.5, RIPPER, Naïve Bayesian, and AdaBoost and compare their classification accuracy performance. The experiments demonstrate that the RIPPER algorithm, based on accuracy, consistently outperforms the other models in the performance of housing price prediction.

sample citations

Sample Citation: (Antipov and Pokryshevskaya 2012) (see: Antipov and Pokryshevskaya 2012, 33–35; also Antipov and Pokryshevskaya 2012, ch. 1 and *passim*)

A minus sign (-) before the @ will suppress mention of the author in the citation. This can be useful when the author is already mentioned in the text:

Antipov says blah (2012).

You can also write an in-text citation, as follows:

Antipov and Pokryshevskaya (2012) says blah.

Antipov, Evgeny A., and Elena B. Pokryshevskaya. 2012. “Mass Appraisal of Residential Apartments: An Application of Random Forest for Valuation and a Cart-Based Approach for Model Diagnostics.” *Expert Systems with Applications*.

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