

Can A Neighborhood Experience Development Without Displacement:
The Hazelwood Story

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Introduction

This inquiry is motivated by a desire to understand whether the Hazelwood neighborhood of Pittsburgh, situated just a stone's throw from a substantial locus of investment (i.e., Hazelwood Green), could—with the long-term support of philanthropy and government—contradict the dominant narrative of economic development invariably causing displacement. More specifically, ***if a local investor—a long-term guarantor of value in a community—cared to invest in a variety of place- and people-based activities, could those investments effectively buffer a local resident population from the displacing market forces and position them to participate meaningfully in the community's revitalized local economy?***

We begin this report with a high-level history of the Hazelwood neighborhood in Pittsburgh and what is now known as Hazelwood Green. This history is offered as context to the baseline picture of contemporary Hazelwood, and a foundation upon which change can be measured concomitant with the Hazelwood Green development efforts.

The next section of this report offers an articulation of the logic and approach The Heinz Endowments' (THE) Community and Economic Development Program (CED) has taken with grantmaking to organizations operating in Hazelwood. This modeling of the logic takes the conceptual *development without displacement* priority, presents the supported categories of activities, and offers the intermediate and longer-term outcomes that would express success, as well as what quantitative and qualitative data would exemplify success (if success or progress were objectively achieved). We note that while the Hazelwood strategy can be bundled neatly into a logic model, the reality on the ground is that some of the directions taken reflect CED's responsiveness to what was being learned in real time, and opportunistically supporting activities that addressed emerging needs—all in service of *development without displacement*.

Following, we offer some basic information on grantmaking in Hazelwood (and to organizations that operate in Hazelwood). We note that it is difficult to gauge the overarching importance of an activity using dollars granted as a metric. For example, you can rehab a lot of deteriorating single-family homes in Hazelwood for the price of creating a single vibrant public plaza or other of the varied major infrastructure projects on Hazelwood Green. And counseling people is less expensive than paying for home rehabilitation. But all of these are necessary and part of the portfolio of supported activities in Hazelwood. We therefore offer the summaries of grants to exemplify the substantively expansive, multi-dimensional effort of CED in Hazelwood, not to suggest that the dollars invested in any specific activity is necessarily reflective of the substantive priorities.

The next sections take on the question of whether there is quantitative evidence that there has (or has not) been *development without displacement*. While CED has made a broad range of people- and place-based investments intended to benefit Hazelwood, the focus of this examination of development without displacement is on those investments into the physical conditions within Hazelwood.

There is no perfect data-based answer to this question, but there are objective quantitative markers. Displacement markers would manifest in shifts in the demographics, economics, and the housing profile



of Hazelwood.¹ Big changes in, for example, resident demographics and economics would likely indicate an influx of new residents—not the more usual gradual turnover that typically occurs in neighborhoods. Whether those changes result from additional/new people filling in Hazelwood (not accompanied by a movement out of existing residents) or whether any such change was the result of otherwise voluntary (or involuntary) movement out of Hazelwood is difficult to determine. But certainly, if there is little change in the snapshots based on the measured markers, there is little indication of displacement. Thus, this section offers an array of data descriptive of Hazelwood’s people and its housing stock. This section will trace back approximately 10-15 years, spanning the period before, during, and after the visible manifestation of investments on Hazelwood Green, and will offer a profile of the population and housing stock, its stability, and its changes.

This section also includes a comparison of Reinvestment Fund’s Displacement Risk Ratio (DRR) as a measure of the degree to which a community is becoming unattainable to people who are of similar economic means to those who have lived in that community at a prior time. DRR measurements are provided for Hazelwood in comparison to other Pittsburgh neighborhoods and then Hazelwood in comparison to other neighborhoods in other cities (Philadelphia, St. Louis, and Baltimore) that are adjacent to an *economic lightning bolt*² like Hazelwood Green.

All of this is then put in context through a series of interviews with grantees and related parties working in Hazelwood. While data may show us one thing, the experience of people working on the ground in the neighborhood may be different, and in drawing conclusions about the degree to which Hazelwood has experienced *development without displacement*, it is important to include both the quantitative and qualitative observations.

We conclude with some reflections, based on the data, analytics, and interviews on what this all means for the prospects of *development without displacement* for Hazelwood—and beyond.

Through this report we hope that those with interest in Hazelwood—its residents, organizational leaders, investors (public, private and philanthropic) and policymakers—and those in other communities wrestling with how to achieve the goal of development without displacement, can learn what it takes to advance that goal. It is axiomatic that the world does not stand still, and that people and places change. No neighborhood is the same today as it was 50 years ago, and especially in today’s world, people move frequently.³ Many move by free choice (e.g., they got a new job or simply preferred new or better housing), but many move because they are subject of a foreclosure or an eviction; some may move because they were relocated by a government (e.g., eminent domain), forced to move due to a fire or other disaster, or some other reason that forced the choice to move (e.g., the community changed in a

¹ For example, in a displacement scenario one might expect a neighborhood to transition over time from one that is majority Black to majority White. Or, from primarily low-income families to higher income families. Perhaps even a transition from renters to owners.

² The phrase “economic lightning bolt” is one that was used by Rob Stephany (Senior Program Director, Community & Economic Development for THE) as he described the magnitude of the Hazelwood Green investments, and the potential contagion affect it would have on the residents in Hazelwood.

³ Data from the Current Population Survey Annual Social and Economic Supplement files for 2023 and 2024 show that nationally, less than 5% of owners and 16% of renters moved in the prior year.



way that they did not feel welcome). But in the development without displacement scenario, the objective is to ensure that people have agency in their decision to stay or leave their home and neighborhood and are not simply subject to the vagaries of those with greater economic or political power than they have. And this is what we hope the learnings from Hazelwood will inform.

We note that The Heinz Endowments supported this work, and we are grateful for that support.

Brief History of Hazelwood

Hazelwood's history traces back more than a hundred years. Its physical proximity to the Monongahela River and the City of Pittsburgh made it an ideal home for some of the region's early industrialists, and the locus of steel and railroad-related activities—an elite suburb of sorts.⁴ “The community was divided between the railroaders and the millworkers, with the railroaders living in Glenwood and the millworkers in Hazelwood. Many an old-timer can recall what it was like in Hazelwood when payday for both J & L [Jones & Laughlin Steel Corporation] and the B & O [Baltimore & Ohio Railroad] fell on the same weekend.”⁵ It is also a community through which waves of immigrants from different countries of origin moved in and out. Churches, schools, community associations were formed to weave the cultural and religious strands of these groups into an overall community fiber.

Hazelwood was indeed what Tarr and DiPasquale called a Mill Town in the Industrial City.⁶ Tarr and DiPasquale contend that Hazelwood was a “separate entity, without any necessary focus on the core of the emerging Pittsburgh central business district, but with its economic destiny linked to the regional and national demand patterns for steel.”⁷ People lived and worked in Hazelwood—it provided everything its residents needed. But changes in technology and the evolution of the steel industry broke down that connection of work and residence. “Increasingly, accessibility to work place became an inferior good compared to the residential amenities available in other areas of the Pittsburgh region. By the 1970's only a relatively small percentage of the residents of Hazelwood worked in either the steel mill or for the railroad. These employment centers themselves had ceased to grow and were in stages of decline, adding further to the lack of neighborhood vitality.”⁸

Resident satisfaction in Hazelwood at that time (the 1970s), decades before the final demise of the steel plant, was suffering.⁹ The Pittsburgh Neighborhood Alliance reports that only 14% of Hazelwood residents were satisfied with conditions there, and 65% reported that things were getting worse; 35% said they would continue to live in Hazelwood if they had a chance to live there or elsewhere (which did not compare favorably to the 45% of respondents in other Pittsburgh neighborhoods). By 1977, residents reported crime as a big or serious problem, vandalism, and poor roads (over 40% each) and 49% reported vacant buildings as a big or serious issue. Nearly one-third (32%) reported that they were

⁴ See: Bradley W. Hall (1981). “Elites and Spatial Change in Pittsburgh: Minersville as a case study.” *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies*, Vol. 48, No. 4, pp. 311-334

⁵ See: http://www.info-ren.org/projects/btul/exhibit/neighborhoods/hazelwood/haze_n42.html

⁶ Joel A. Tarr and Denis Di Pasquale (1982). “The Mill town in the Industrial City: Pittsburgh's Hazelwood.” *Urbanism past & Present*, V. 7, 1 (13), pp. 1-14.

⁷ Op. cit. p. 11.

⁸ Op. cit. p. 12.

⁹ The LTV Steel plant in Hazelwood ceased operations in 1997. <https://www.almono.org/thehistory>



dissatisfied with the condition and cost of housing. Vacancies are reported at 8.8% in 1974 compared to 6.2% citywide.¹⁰

Hazelwood's Economic Lightning Bolt

The economic lightning bolt that landed in the Hazelwood neighborhood was a substantial set of investments on the site of the former J & L Steel Corporation. As Pittsburgh's place in the world's production of steel declined, so too did

business at that plant.

Notwithstanding the 1974

purchase of the plant by LTV Steel, by the late 1990s, the plant was closed, and a critical piece of the economic engine of Hazelwood ceased to exist.¹¹

A neighborhood that once was home to more than 33,000

residents in 1950 declined to under 19,000 by 1980;¹² today, including Glen Hazel (together comprising "Greater Hazelwood"), there are fewer than 5,000.¹³

The site of the plant, almost 180 acres, was a brownfield requiring significant intervention—both in terms of the existing structures (some of which would be saved in all or part) and cleaning/preparing the ground underneath for development. To address this, four foundations came together to form Almono Partners (Claude Worthington

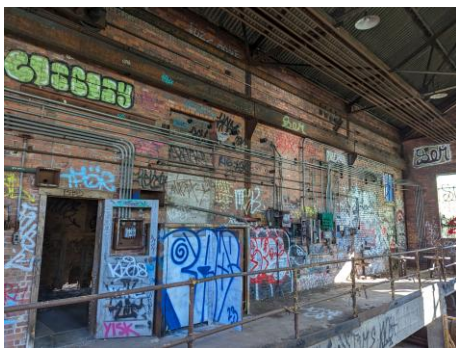


Figure 3: Hazelwood Green; Pump House



Figure 1: Hazelwood Green; Mill 19



Figure 2: Hazelwood Green; The Plaza
(photo acquired from
<https://www.almono.org/the-plaza>)

¹⁰ See:

<https://ucsur.pitt.edu/files/center/1977/hazelwood%20and%20glen%20hazel%20heights%20PNA%201977.pdf>

¹¹ <https://www.almono.org/thehistory>

¹² Tarr and Di Pasquale, p. 14.

¹³ Reinvestment Fund analysis of the American Community Survey, 2018-2022 total population for census tracts 5629.01 and 5623.00.



Benedum Foundation, The Heinz Endowments, the McCune Foundation, and the Richard King Mellon Foundation) and purchased the site for \$10 million. After the purchase, activities included significant environmental remediation accompanied by several studies and plans for a future redevelopment of the site. Beginning in 2016 and over the next several years, principles of the vision for the site and resulting plans were coming to fruition,¹⁴ culminating with the opening of a public plaza¹⁵ and occupancy of a first new building on the site by Carnegie Mellon University (CMU) and Advanced Robotics for Manufacturing.¹⁶



Figure 4: Hazelwood Green: Infrastructure and Development Projects In 2023¹⁷

¹⁴ <https://bit.ly/3lyxnWQ> and https://drive.google.com/open?id=1bB8rXJP5i1mSBFu_G6cWxQKZqz-wzMhX

¹⁵ <https://www.almono.org/the-plaza>

¹⁶ <https://www.almono.org/mill19-1>

¹⁷ Figures 4 through 7 were provided by The Heinz Endowments for use in this report.



Figure 5: Hazelwood Green: Projects Underway In 2024



Figure 6: Hazelwood Green: Projects In Development In 2024



Figure 7: Hazelwood Green: Future Development Projects



Situating THE Investments in Hazelwood within Broader THE Strategic Goals

Formally stated, The Heinz Endowments' (THE) investment portfolio actively supports the creation and perpetuation of a Pittsburgh Region that is home to a regional economy that is linked into national and global economic networks; is environmentally sustainable; supports living-wage employment opportunities for individuals across the high-low skill continuum; is home to neighborhoods where individuals and families can access opportunities to pursue lives that are meaningful for them; and where all residents have the agency to make choices about how and where to live their lives across the region. Investments in the Hazelwood community represent a geographically concentrated microcosm of THE's broader efforts across the region.

THE investments in Hazelwood are designed to reconnect the Hazelwood neighborhood and its residents with the fortunes of the broader region. At the same time, THE is also very conscious to ensure that their investments do not lead to involuntary displacement of residents during this process (i.e., they seek to achieve ***development (or redevelopment) without displacement***).¹⁸

Figure 8 presents a Logic Model of THE investments in Hazelwood reflecting the multi-dimensional approaches THE has pursued to reconnect the Hazelwood neighborhood with the regional economy.

- **Inputs** represent resources flowing into the Hazelwood neighborhood, THE resources as well as those from other local, regional, or national sources.
- **Grants/Investments** represent high level goals for grantmaking to organizations operating in Hazelwood whose activities are centered on each goal. For instance, grants made to Rising Tide Partners are designed to stabilize the local residential housing stock, while investments made to redevelop Hazelwood Green were designed to reconnect Hazelwood to the regional economy.
- **Intermediate Outcomes** represent near-term outcomes that will accrue as the result of grantees' activities to advance Equitable Development, Inclusive Economic Opportunity, and Reconnect Hazelwood to the Regional Economy.
- **Incremental Success Metrics** represent measurable outputs and metrics that can be tracked over time to assess the degree to which THE grantees' activities are creating intended changes in the Hazelwood neighborhood.

¹⁸ This ***development without displacement*** priority is one that is similarly expressed and incorporated as a key goal in the neighborhood-based Greater Hazelwood Neighborhood Plan.

(https://www.pittsburghpa.gov/files/assets/city/v/1/dcp/documents/7601_final_hazelwood_plan.pdf)



The Heinz Endowments Hazelwood Investments Logic Model



Figure 8: The Heinz Endowments Hazelwood Investment Activity Logic Model

Weaving Hazelwood back into the regional economy happens by making industrial scale investments in seeding new industries and business. The build out of Hazelwood Green to attract and house new businesses is catalyzing the process of economic reintegration. However, (re)development without displacement necessitates additional dimensions to THE investments in Hazelwood—investments designed to ensure the existing residents can enjoy the benefits that will accrue to adjacent neighborhoods as processes of economic reintegration proceed. For long-time and existing residents to enjoy the benefits that come with reconnecting the neighborhood to the regional economy, THE created a portfolio of place- and people-based investments (e.g., safe and affordable places to live in the neighborhood [place], and support to develop the skills to participate in the regional economy—whether that’s in Hazelwood or elsewhere across the region [people]).

More generally, THEs investments in Hazelwood are designed to mitigate displacement risk for residents by including a mix of investments to attract the right mixture of businesses to Hazelwood Green (and commitments of those businesses to provide employment opportunities for Hazelwood residents), place-based stabilization in the neighborhood, and human capital development among residents.

THE investments to attract the right business to Hazelwood Green focus on anchor institutions—Universities and Hospitals¹⁹—that share THE’s place-based commitments to the Hazelwood neighborhood and are also woven into the fabric of the regional economy in ways that can create employment opportunities up, down, and across the skills and wage spectrum of workers in the region.

¹⁹ 2021 LEHD data on residents of Greater Hazelwood show that the largest industrial grouping (almost a quarter) is in the “Health Care and Social Assistance” industrial grouping. This percentage has not changed appreciably since 2012.



THE's place-based stabilization investments are guided by *Equitable Development* principles:

- Funded activities improve housing stability for residents;
- Funded activities create public spaces that reflect and are open to local cultures and preferences; and
- Decisions about where and how to prioritize housing development and stabilization, as well as the creation of accessible public spaces, should be informed by inclusive decision making.

Equitable Development investments provide *direct* support to Hazelwood residents by stabilizing the local housing stock, mitigating displacement risks associated with inadequate housing; and they also create accessible public spaces so existing residents who remain in their homes can access high-quality public spaces that reflect their preferences. This work is happening right now in Hazelwood—THE grantees maintain a substantial share of site control of vacant and dilapidated housing that is currently slated for conversion into new permanently and long-term subsidized housing into the future. Maintaining the stability of a 'housing floor' in Hazelwood will be critically important for ensuring the ability of current residents to remain in their homes. And in all likelihood, maintaining this floor will require an ongoing mix of public and private sector subsidy to ensure that residents of modest means will be able to reside in the neighborhood.

While Equitable Development investments stabilize the quality of the local housing supply, THE investments in Human Capital Development are, in some measure, fundamentally efforts to create effective demand among residents. In the long run, Hazelwood residents' ability to participate in the benefits of the changes underway on Hazelwood Green, and the region more generally, will depend on the skills and networks they develop and maintain. Expanding Hazelwood residents' skills and networks helps to create the agency to allow them to plug into the regional economy in a role, and in a place, that makes sense to them. Building residents' skills and networks is 'step two' in THE's broader goal to support redevelopment without displacement. Redevelopment is underway, a floor is being established to support the local housing stock, and once residents feel as if they have the agency to decide whether they want to stay in Hazelwood or pursue their lives elsewhere then 'redevelopment without displacement' will become reality.

THE people-based investments in Hazelwood are guided by Social Inclusiveness principles and imply that funded activities will enhance the ability of local individuals and groups to exercise agency in decisions that impact their lives—where they live, how and where they work, and how they pass their free time. These investments are cross-generational—they support the children of Hazelwood as they grow, existing working age adults as they work and parent, and local elders many of whom have spent a lifetime in Hazelwood. THE investments in Human Capital Development focus on building the skills of existing workers, preparing children to access opportunities in the future, and ensuring elders can age in place should they choose.

Taken together, these streams of investment activity are intended to reintegrate Hazelwood into the regional economy while also ensuring that residents can enjoy the benefits of this process, should they so choose. In the near term, ensuring that local residents can stay in Hazelwood will require substantial



subsidy due to the financial precarity experienced by many Hazelwood residents.²⁰ However, a long-term commitment to building the capacity of Hazelwood residents to participate in the regional economy will ultimately obviate the need for persistent subsidy at the present scale. The goals of redevelopment without displacement become reality when future generations of Hazelwood residents can economically participate in the sector of the regional economy that makes the most sense for them—whether that is in Hazelwood or elsewhere.

In many ways, Hazelwood is sitting on the leading edge of an all too familiar gentrification cycle that has played out in urban redevelopment efforts across the United States. At the most fundamental level, urban redevelopment processes are designed to put space that is currently ‘unproductive’ back into ‘productive use.’ This means finding ways to extract value from new developments – value in the form of profits for the businesses that invest and locate in redeveloped spaces, and value in the form of tax revenues collected by governments. The introduction of new businesses that operate and earn profits in newly redeveloped spaces sends market signals to other market participants that the area undergoing redevelopment can once again support profit earning across an increasing range of activities – from suppliers servicing new anchor economic anchors, to complimentary businesses, to consumer retail and entertainment, to residential real estate, and so on.²¹

In Hazelwood, the industrial redevelopment die has been cast; however, the familiar downstream impacts of gentrification, i.e., displacement of long-time residents due to increasing property values, are not yet observable. Only time will tell whether THE investments in stabilizing the residential real estate market in partnership with developers that are not motivated to maximize profits will provide enough cushion against the pressure that is likely to build as Hazelwood Green continues to build out over the next decade.

The remainder of this report presents a brief description of the overall scope of THE investments in Hazelwood – investments to reconnect Hazelwood to the regional economy; investments to stabilize residential real estate; and investments to build the human capacity of residents. The analyses that follow were conducted to:

1. Describe THE investments to stabilize the local residential real estate market; and
2. Understand the degree to which THE investments to reconnect Hazelwood to the regional economy, i.e., the build out of Hazelwood Green, have impacted local real estate conditions.

²⁰ Discussed at greater length in the section titled *Contemporary Population, Housing and Economic Profile of Hazelwood*, current (2022) ACS data for Greater Hazelwood residents shows that the typical (median) household income is approximately \$32,000. Inflation likely increased that income in 2022 to an estimated \$34,850 now. However, growth in the HUD Fair Market Rent (FMR) from 2022 to 2025 was approximately 34%. **More than 55% of current residents cannot afford the FMR without a significant subsidy (e.g., Housing Choice Voucher, deeply affordable Low Income Housing Tax Credit developments).** And as the typical single family home sale price stands at approximately \$91,000 (an amount that has increased over 21% just since 2021), not including any post-purchase repairs/upgrading needed to modernize a housing stock that has experienced decades of disinvestment, there too, **a large proportion of residents have incomes that are inadequate to purchase homes.**

²¹ Smith, N. (1982). Gentrification and Uneven Development. *Economic Geography* 58(2) p 139-155.



THE Investments in Hazelwood

By way of background, since 2012 THE has made substantial investments in each of these areas in/related to Hazelwood: (1) Spurring 21st Century Economic Production—24 grants and PRIs totaling over \$41M invested on Hazelwood Green (Almono); (2) Stabilizing Residential Infrastructure—149 ‘Sustainability’ grants and PRIs totaling nearly \$32M to support equitable development, environmental health, and energy efficiency; and (3) Human Capital Investments—159 ‘Learning & Creativity’ grants totaling roughly \$20M to support family and child wellbeing, holistic education, workforce development, and creative learning and place making. All of these, taken together are what CED has envisioned as part-and-parcel of a strategy to both build up the Hazelwood Green site and ensure that the adjacent neighborhood and its residents benefit from that investment and are not pushed out (or displaced) against their will.

An initial review of THE-staff assigned Strategic Areas identified the following tally of grants and PRIs across the following broad categories: Creativity (15); Learning (106); Program Specific & Other (97); Sustainability (112) and Unclassified (4). Upon review of individual grant descriptions, and in consultation with THE staff, investments are reclassified into the following sub-fields: Hazelwood Green, Equitable Development, Environment and Health; Human Capital Development; Creative People & Places; and Policy. Taken together, these investments total \$94,450,921. Figures 9 and 10 present the distribution of total grant making and dollars invested across these groups between 2012 and 2023.²²

From a grantmaking standpoint, THE has been most heavily concentrated in Human Capital Development Grants (200 grants), followed by Equitable Development grants (72), and the redevelopment of Hazelwood Green (24). From an investment dollars standpoint, redevelopment of Hazelwood Green represents over \$41M in THE investments, while Human Capital and Equitable Development grants represent roughly \$26.5M and \$24M, respectively.

²² Policy reviewed grant and program related investments (PRI) records provided by THE for grantmaking in Hazelwood between 2000 and 2023. The database provided records for 334 grants and PRIs during this period; two grants with ‘meeting dates’ prior to 2000 were dropped from the review provided in this summary report; the vast majority (~96%) of the grants and PRIs represented in Figures 9 – 11 were made between 2012 and 2023.



REINVESTMENT FUND

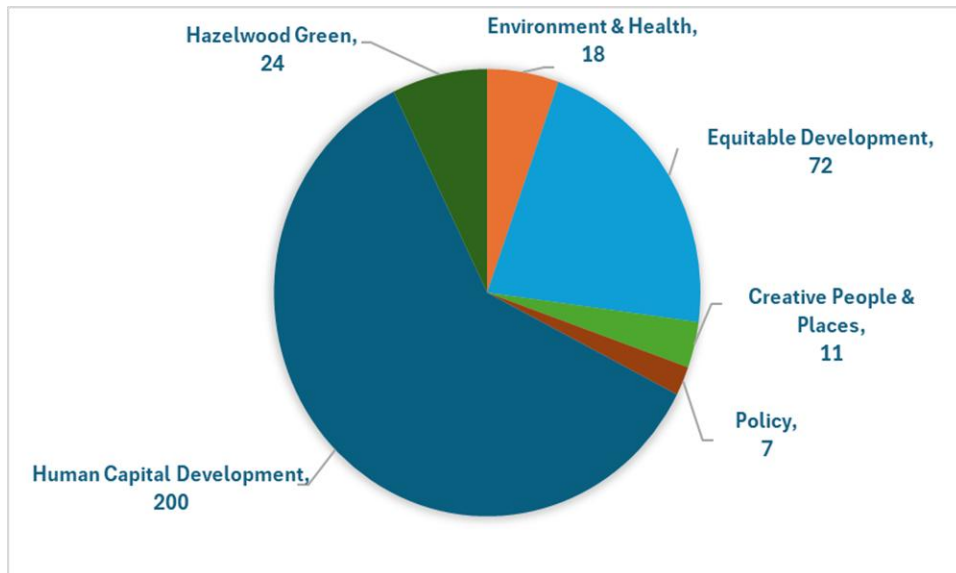


Figure 9: Total Grants & Program Related Investments for Hazelwood; 2012 to 2023

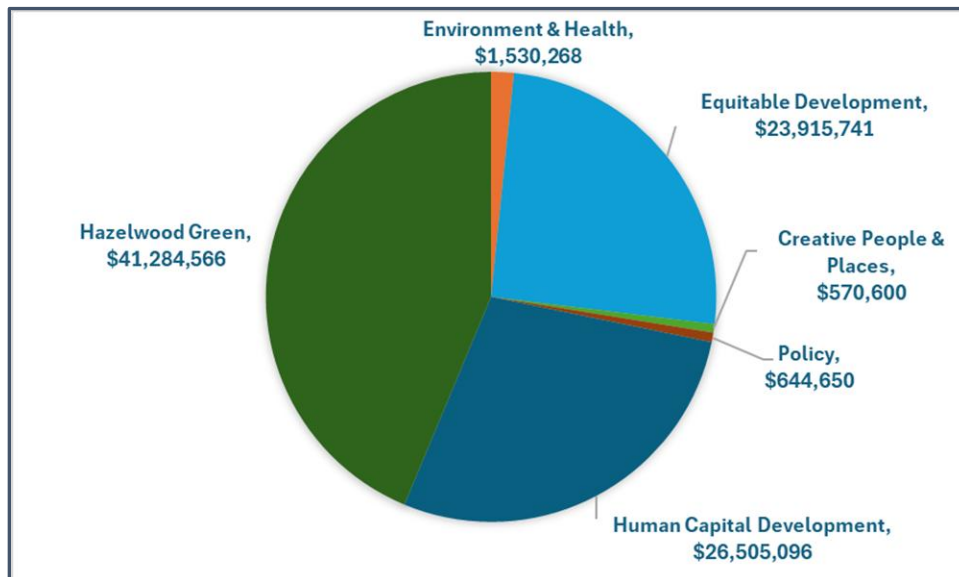


Figure 10: Total Dollars Invested for Hazelwood; 2012 to 2023

Figure 11 presents the number of grants and dollar amounts invested in select grantees supporting THE's strategic priorities in Hazelwood.

Hazelwood Green	Grants & PRIs	Total Dollars
Almono	24	\$41,180,856
Equitable Development	Grants & PRIs	Total Dollars
Hazelwood Initiative	19	\$5,006,001
Action Housing	8	\$3,709,497
Rebuilding Together	5	\$4,300,000
Rising Tide Partners	4	\$1,845,000
Housing Authority of Pittsburgh	4	\$117,600
Human Capital Development	Grants & PRIs	Total Dollars
Center of Life	30	\$8,787,486
Community Kitchen Pittsburgh	11	\$1,292,480
POOR Law	8	\$340,500
Jada House International	8	\$340,500
Leading to Movement	6	\$1,946,000
Reading is Fundamental Pittsburgh	5	\$1,523,825
Creative People & Places	Grants & PRIs	Total Dollars
Greater Pittsburgh Arts Council	10	\$870,900
Industrial Arts Workshop	4	\$265,300

Figure 11: THE Grants and Dollars Invested for Select Grantees in Hazelwood; 2012 to 2023

The primary goals of THE investments were to catalyze redevelopment of Hazelwood Green, and to mitigate the potential for involuntary displacement among existing residents – *redevelopment without displacement*. In many ways, redevelopment of Hazelwood Green is still in its early phases, and is planned to continue until 2040. By 2040, Hazelwood Green is projected to include 4.3 million square feet of nonresidential development, including office and retail spaces, as well as public community spaces. In addition, 3.6 million square feet of residential development, between 3,000-4,000 housing units will ultimately occupy the Green.

As of 2025, roughly 800,000 square feet of nonresidential development has been either completed, under construction, planned and/or funded on the Green, with 50 housing units planned to come online in 2027. These developments will support roughly 2,000 construction jobs to create these spaces, and another roughly 2,000 permanent jobs on the Green upon completion. Already, these projects include a mix of multi-purpose retail and office space, spaces to conduct advanced bio-medical, engineering, robotics research, experiential spaces for community events and recreation, and housing.

Figure 12 presents summary estimates for completed, under construction, and planned projects on the Green, their estimated size, cost, and estimated jobs they will support during construction and beyond.²³

²³ The estimates included in Table 12 were compiled by THE staff using the following assumptions: Construction jobs are temporary and represent job-years spread across the construction period. Permanent jobs estimates are based on industry standards for space utilization by building type. Mill 19C cost is estimated based on similar construction projects. Totals may not reflect exact sum due to rounding and estimated ranges. Infrastructure jobs



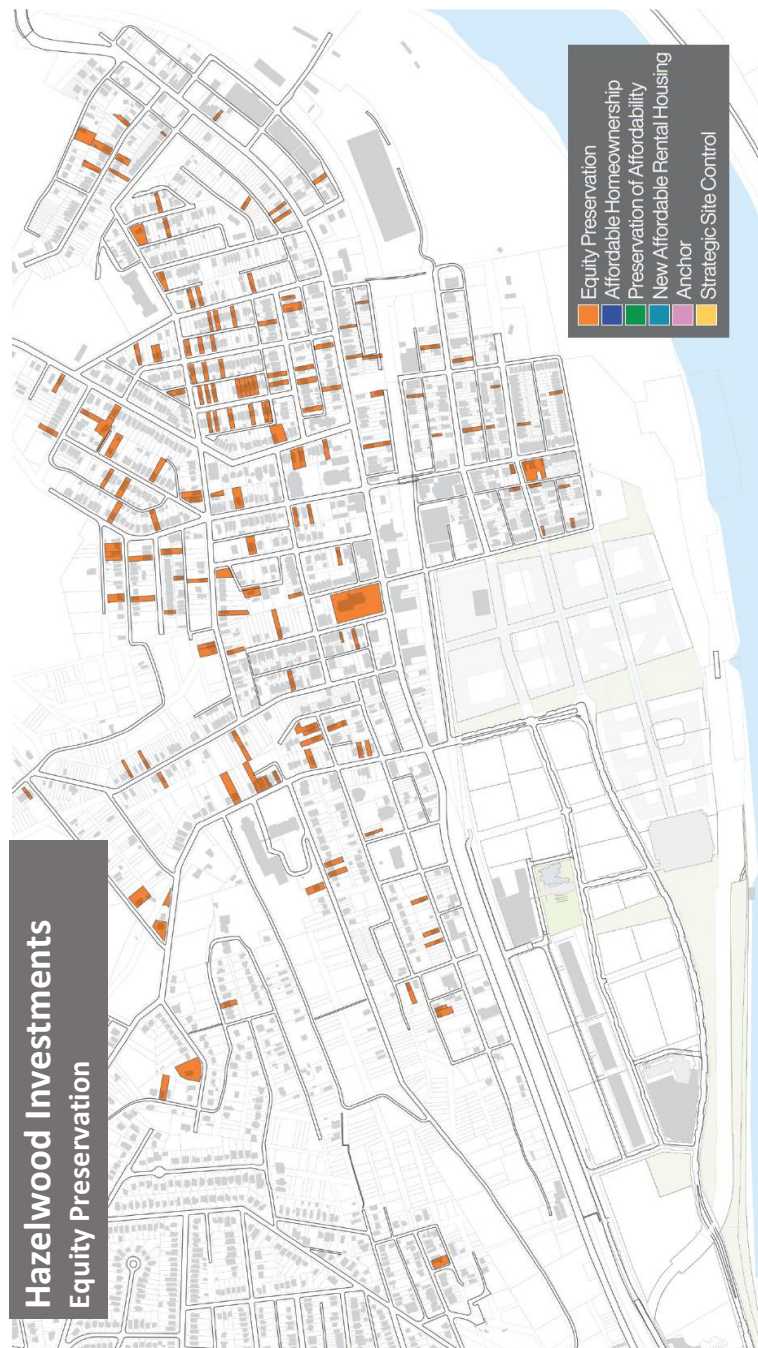
Project	Size (SF)	Cost	Construction Jobs	Permanent Jobs	Status	Completion
Mill 19A	94,000	\$43M	130-195	375-470	Completed	Pre-2022
Mill 19B	70,000	\$35M	105-160	280-350	Completed	Pre-2022
Mill 19C	100,000	\$40-50M	120-225	400-500	Completed	2022
Roundhouse	26,000	\$13.7M	40-60	100-130	Completed	2021
The Plaza	87,000	\$11M	35-50	2-5	Completed	May 2021
Infrastructure Projects	N/A	\$10M+	30-45	0	Completed	Jan 2020
CMU Robotics Innovation Center	150,000	\$100M	300-450	450-600	Under Construction	2025/2026
Pitt BioForge	185,000	\$250M	750-1,125	200	Under Construction	2025
Steelers Community Field	70,000	\$10M	30-45	15-25	Funded/Planned	2025
Lytle Street Apartments	50 units	\$24M	70-110	8-12	Funded/Planned	2027
Center of Life Community Hub	60,000	\$30M	90-135	120-180	Planned	2026
TOTALS	~840,000 SF	~\$577M+	1,695-2,590	1,950-2,472		

Figure 12. Hazelwood Green Developments, 2025

typically do not result in permanent positions beyond occasional maintenance. These estimates do not include estimates of indirect jobs created through economic multiplier effects.

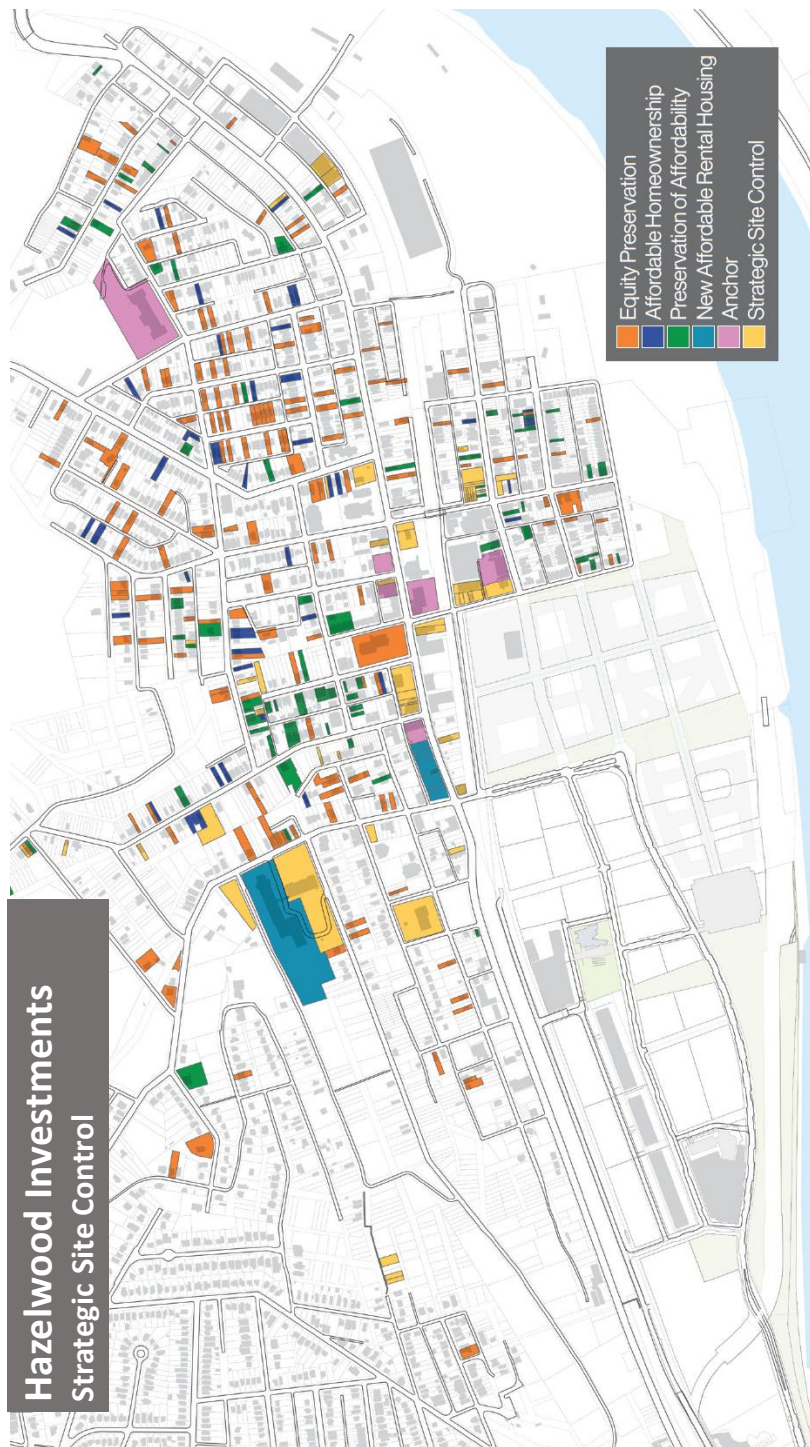


In addition to catalyzing development on the Green, THE investments have also focused on the stabilization of local real estate in the neighborhood. Maps 1 and 2 on the following pages present the geographic distribution of housing and other community investments in Hazelwood, supported by THE, ***specifically targeted for stabilizing the local real estate market***. As seen in Maps 1 and 2, activities supported by THE across Hazelwood are designed to ensure that a substantial share of available housing in the neighborhood will remain accessible to residents of modest means for the foreseeable future, regardless of the anticipated influx of market-rate development following the build-out of Hazelwood Green. These investments also ensure that existing residents can preserve the condition (and value) of their homes; these investments also support community assets that will enrich the life of Hazelwood residents.



Map 1: The Heinz Endowments' Grantee Activities Connected With Home Equity Preservation²⁴

²⁴ Maps 1 and 2 were provided by The Heinz Endowments for use in this Brief.



Map 2: All Heinz Endowments' Grantee Investments In Hazelwood



In addition to THE investments to catalyze development on Hazelwood Green and investments to stabilize the residential real estate in Hazelwood, THE has made substantial investments in Human Capital Development among Hazelwood residents over the past decade-plus. These investments have included a mix of goals and purposes that include providing and connecting local residents to basic human services and nutritional supports; enhancing the ability of local residents to actively participate in development processes underway in Hazelwood; supporting youth development and wellbeing through a combination of formal and informal educational experiences; creating shared spaces for artistic expression and shared cultural experiences; and building the overall capacity of key non-profit organizations that will play an integral part in THE's future investments in Hazelwood.

THE investments in Human Capital Development represent a substantial share of THE investments to date in Hazelwood. Organizations like Hazelwood Initiative and Center of Life are expected to continue to be important partners in the neighborhood, and their organizations will play critical roles to ensure ongoing redevelopment does not lead to involuntary displacement among Hazelwood residents. However, understanding if and how THE's investments in Human Capital Development impact Hazelwood residents was beyond the scope of this evaluation. It would most certainly be worthy subject of a future inquiry, particularly once some of the larger human capital investments are made (e.g., the \$30 million Center of Life Community Hub) and there are more beneficiaries.

In many ways, establishing a floor below the local real estate market that is supported by long-term, or permanent, affordability had to be step one in mitigating the possibility of involuntary displacement. If residents can afford to stay for the long-run, that can buy time to build the capacity and skills of existing residents to make intentional decisions about whether, and how, they would ultimately like to participate in the economic activities that will continue to proliferate on, and around, Hazelwood Green.

The remainder of this report focuses on understanding the degree to which observable changes in the population and residential real estate market suggest that processes of involuntary displacement are already underway in Hazelwood.



Contemporary Population, Housing and Economic Profile of Hazelwood²⁵

The contemporary population of Hazelwood stands at 4,474. This represents a loss of nearly 1,000 people since 2010. Compared to 1950,²⁶ the loss is quite significant—and certainly greater than the proportionate overall population loss for the city of Pittsburgh over that time (approximately 55%).²⁷

Total Population Year	Number	Pct Chg from Prior Period
2022	4474	-1.6%
2020	4548	-15.7%
2010	5395	NA

Table 1: Resident Population In Hazelwood; 2010-2022

Racially, the Black population declined by some 16.7% between 2010 and 2022 compared to a White population loss of 29.9%. But the population describing themselves as not-White (which would include people who identify as Asian, other/multiple races, except for White) declined by a relatively small 3.5% over that same period. Accordingly, we observe that in 2010, Hazelwood was not predominantly not-White, but today it is (55.2%).

Racial Composition Year	# Black	% Black	# White	% White	# Not-White	% Not-White
2022	1902	42.5%	2013	45.0%	2471	55.2%
2020	2087	45.9%	2043	44.9%	2529	55.6%
2010	2285	42.4%	2872	53.2%	2560	47.5%

Table 2: Hazelwood Racial Composition; 2010-2022

The age distribution of the Hazelwood resident population shows a relatively stable percentage of people under 18 years old but a steep decline in working age people (18-64 years old) and a rise in both the number and percent over 65. Today, nearly a quarter of Hazelwood's population is 65+ years old – a near 44% increase – resulting almost exclusively from the steep decline in the working age population.

Age Distribution Year	# < 18	% < 18	# 18-64	% 18-64	# 65+	% 65+
2022	1077	24.1%	2311	51.7%	1086	24.3%
2010	1257	23.3%	3228	59.8%	910	16.9%

Table 3: Hazelwood Age Distribution; 2010-2022

The stock of housing in Hazelwood manifests a 12.4% decline in total units and a 13.9% drop in the occupied stock. Overall, we observe that the percent occupied of all housing units is a relatively constant

²⁵ Unless otherwise noted, data are representing two census tracts comprising Hazelwood and Glen Hazel combined; some call this area Greater Hazelwood. This combination is necessary because there have been census tract boundary changes over time that make temporal comparisons somewhat less than perfect. For simplicity we will refer to this area simply as Hazelwood.

²⁶ See: CreateLab. 2024. "Analysis Report: Population displacement in Greater Hazelwood". [review copy]

²⁷ See:

<https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&source=web&rct=j&opi=89978449&url=https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1950/pc-05/pc-5-37.pdf>



80%; the percent vacant is similarly relatively stable at 20%.²⁸ We do observe a substantial rise in the percent of vacant units categorized as “other vacant”. These typically are units that because of value or condition, are not vacant because they are for sale or rent. In Hazelwood, these are not vacation units or units held for migratory workers, which are additional vacancy types categorized by the ACS. These are homes that are effectively vacant and off the market. Oftentimes these homes are in very poor conditions, have extremely low value, or both.

Housing Units		# Occupied	% Occupied	# Vacant	% Vacant	# Oth Vacant	% Oth Of All Vacant
Year	Total						
2022	2464	1966	79.8%	498	20.2%	423	84.9%
2010*	2813	2286	81.3%	597	21.2%	432	72.4%

* Est 2010 or 2008-2012 ACS, as available

Table 4: Hazelwood Housing Stock; 2010-2022

To that end, using the County’s administrative records we estimate the percent of residential property in Hazelwood (and the remainder of Pittsburgh) that is in corporate ownership. First, we observe that over the period examined (2016-2023) the percentage of the housing stock in corporate ownership in Hazelwood is substantially higher than the rest of Pittsburgh. Second, we observe a substantial rise in corporate ownership from 13.2% in 2016 to 21.4% in 2023. That is a considerable rise in a relatively short period of time—and we note it comports with what CED grantees interviewed reported about changes in property ownership in Hazelwood. Grantees report that it is becoming increasingly difficult to purchase homes for rehabilitation for future sale or rent, and that many of the corporate owned properties in Hazelwood are in very poor condition.

²⁸ As reported in UCSUR, these vacancy percentages represent a multi-decade rise in residential vacancy in Hazelwood. See: University Center For Social and Urban Research, University of Pittsburgh (UCSUR). 2012. <https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&source=web&rct=j&opi=89978449&url=https://ucsur.pitt.edu/files/nrep/2010/Hazelwood%2520Neighborhood%2520Profile%25202010.pdf>

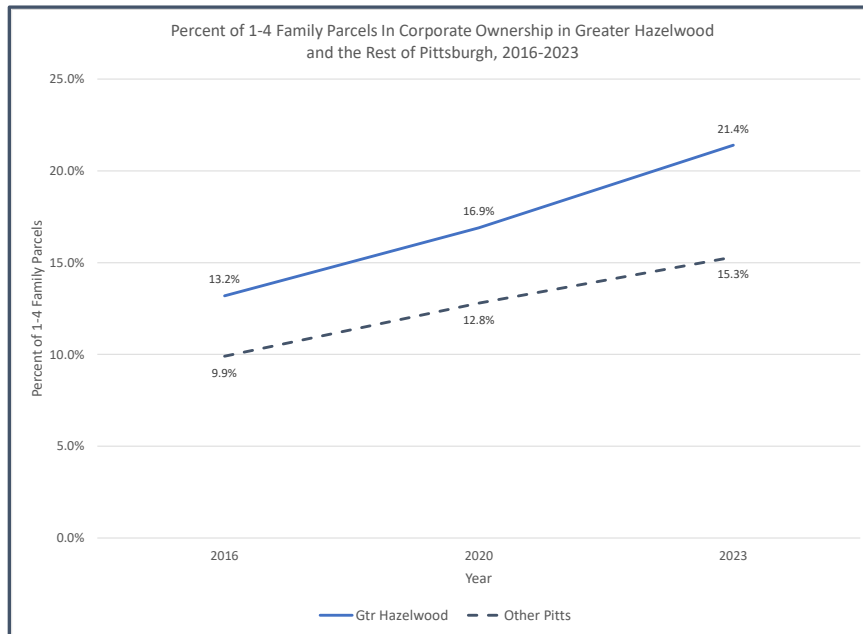


Figure 12: Nature Of Residential Property Ownership In Hazelwood; 2016-2023

Between 2010 and 2022, Hazelwood transitioned from a community that was predominantly owner occupied to one that is now predominantly renter occupied. Moreover, we observe a substantially higher homeownership rate for Hazelwood's White residents (61.9%) than among its Black residents (26.5%). Both Black and White homeownership rates have declined since 2010.

All Units				White Households				Black Households			
Owner	Renter	Pct Owner Occupied	Owner	Renter	Pct Owner Occupied	Owner	Renter	Pct Owner Occupied	Owner	Renter	Pct Owner Occupied
2022	873	1093	44.4%	626	386	61.9%	209	579	26.5%		
2010	1163	1123	50.9%	886	451	66.3%	253	617	29.1%		

Table 5: Hazelwood Homeownership Rate; 2010-2022

Snapshots of data from 2016, 2020 and 2022 show that overall, about 90% of Hazelwood residents report being in the same home a year earlier. Given that renters (nationally) tend to move more frequently than renters, it is not totally unexpected that we observe greater stability of the owner population in Hazelwood (99.5% in 2022) than among renters (85.4%).²⁹

Housing Mobility	2016	2020	2022
% In the Same House One Year Ago	89.6%	90.4%	90.9%
% In the Same House One Year Ago (Owners)	95.8%	97.8%	99.5%
% In the Same House One Year Ago (Renters)	81.6%	85.4%	85.4%

Table 6: Hazelwood Resident Mobility; 2016-2022

Incomes in Hazelwood are low. In 2012 fully 30% of households earned less than \$14,999; the typical household reported an income of \$27,851. By 2022, we observed a rise in the median income to

²⁹ UCSUR, referencing an earlier period, notes that turnover in Hazelwood is low.



\$32,272. However, that median trailed what simple inflation would have produced (\$27,851 in 2022 dollars is estimated to be the equivalent of \$34,861, not \$32,272) meaning that Hazelwood resident incomes have not kept pace with inflation – they are less well off, on average. Stated differently, the residents of Hazelwood are in less stable economic shape than they were ten years ago.

	2012			2022		
	Number	Percent	Cum Pct	Number	Percent	Cum Pct
Less than \$10,000	407	18.1%	18.1%	217	11.0%	11.0%
\$10,000 to \$14,999	274	12.2%	30.3%	305	15.5%	26.6%
\$15,000 to \$19,999	141	6.3%	36.6%	175	8.9%	35.5%
\$20,000 to \$24,999	225	10.0%	46.6%	131	6.7%	42.1%
\$25,000 to \$29,999	135	6.0%	52.6%	115	5.8%	48.0%
\$30,000 to \$34,999	113	5.0%	57.6%	88	4.5%	52.4%
\$35,000 to \$39,999	209	9.3%	66.9%	50	2.5%	55.0%
\$40,000 to \$44,999	95	4.2%	71.1%	91	4.6%	59.6%
\$45,000 to \$49,999	110	4.9%	76.0%	51	2.6%	62.2%
\$50,000 to \$59,999	98	4.4%	80.4%	198	10.1%	72.3%
\$60,000 to \$74,999	157	7.0%	87.4%	130	6.6%	78.9%
\$75,000 to \$99,999	125	5.6%	92.9%	169	8.6%	87.5%
\$100,000 to \$124,999	31	1.4%	94.3%	97	4.9%	92.4%
\$125,000 to \$149,999	65	2.9%	97.2%	79	4.0%	96.4%
\$150,000 to \$199,999	63	2.8%	100.0%	63	3.2%	99.6%
\$200,000 or more	0	0.0%	100.0%	7	0.4%	100.0%
Estimated(Grouped) Median		\$27,851			\$32,272	

Table 7: Hazelwood Household Income; 2012 & 2022

The low household income levels observed among Hazelwood households are manifest in local poverty rates, wherein household size and income is compared (by the Census) to the poverty threshold. The table below expresses household income in a more detailed way: ratios of income-to-poverty. Data are presented for the contemporary period, as the pandemic hit and some extra federal and state supports were available, and ten years earlier. The data show firstly that the poverty experience of Hazelwood households has not improved. If anything, the poverty situation has deteriorated as manifest in the proportionate growth of *deep poverty* and *below poverty* households and decline in households with incomes greater than two-times the poverty threshold. Today, nearly 10% of Hazelwood households are in deep poverty (i.e., households have incomes below 50% of the poverty threshold) and another quarter are below poverty. These data show that more than three-in-ten Hazelwood households have incomes below poverty. While today 38.7% of Hazelwood households have incomes greater than two-times poverty, that is a substantial decline from the 55.5% in 2012.

Ratio of Income-to-Poverty	2022		2020		2012	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Deep Poverty (<50%)	412	9.6%	350	8.7%	545	10.8%
Below Poverty (50-100%)	987	23.1%	990	24.7%	660	13.1%
Above Poverty (100-200%)	1217	28.5%	939	23.4%	1,041	20.6%
Above 200% Poverty	1655	38.7%	1726	43.1%	2,796	55.5%

Table 8: Hazelwood Household Poverty; 2012-2022



Recent estimates of the shortage (or oversupply) in housing, based on the application of normal market vacancy rates for Pittsburgh, shows that the two census tracts comprising Greater Hazelwood are generally experiencing a modest housing unit shortage. That shortage is greater for the rental stock (approximately 20 units) than the owner stock (approximately 13 units). These estimates do not address the degree to which the units currently there are in good condition or are affordable. They merely express how many more units would be needed in each tract to get back to the typical Pittsburgh city vacancy rates.³⁰

Home values in Hazelwood are relatively low (as estimated by the householders themselves in the ACS). In fact, the contemporary median value is approximately \$121,000—presumably “affordable” to a household with an annual income around \$40,000. That said, home sale prices are rising unquestionably at a rate that exceeds that of local resident incomes. Figure 13 shows the inflection point in prices beginning around 2019, from which point the annual averages and existence of higher-priced sales increases substantially. Today, 25% of homes are selling for prices above \$175,000 while just before the pandemic (2019), 75% were selling for below \$60,000.³¹ The implication of the sale price changes is that access to homeownership for a group of people who are economically like those currently residing in Hazelwood is become increasingly difficult. Those 25% of homes transacting at prices more than \$175,000 would need purchasers with incomes above \$58,000 a year (ACS data show that less than 30% of Hazelwood households have this level of income).

³⁰ For a more complete explanation of the methodology of producing the housing unit estimates, see:

<https://www.economy.com/bringing-the-housing-shortage-into-sharper-focus>

³¹ UCSUR (p. 29) reports for 2008-2012 that the typical percent of homes in Hazelwood selling for over \$100,000 was approximately 5%.



REINVESTMENT FUND

2022 Home Value	Number of Units	Percent of Units	Cumulative Percent of Units
Total:	873		
Less than \$10,000	0	0.0%	0.0%
\$10,000 to \$14,999	0	0.0%	0.0%
\$15,000 to \$19,999	25	2.9%	2.9%
\$20,000 to \$24,999	6	0.7%	3.6%
\$25,000 to \$29,999	0	0.0%	3.6%
\$30,000 to \$34,999	38	4.4%	7.9%
\$35,000 to \$39,999	14	1.6%	9.5%
\$40,000 to \$49,999	84	9.6%	19.1%
\$50,000 to \$59,999	56	6.4%	25.5%
\$60,000 to \$69,999	0	0.0%	25.5%
\$70,000 to \$79,999	38	4.4%	29.9%
\$80,000 to \$89,999	24	2.7%	32.6%
\$90,000 to \$99,999	63	7.2%	39.9%
\$100,000 to \$124,999	103	11.8%	51.7%
\$125,000 to \$149,999	81	9.3%	60.9%
\$150,000 to \$174,999	39	4.5%	65.4%
\$175,000 to \$199,999	47	5.4%	70.8%
\$200,000 to \$249,999	88	10.1%	80.9%
\$250,000 to \$299,999	61	7.0%	87.9%
\$300,000 to \$399,999	37	4.2%	92.1%
\$400,000 to \$499,999	54	6.2%	98.3%
\$500,000 to \$749,999	0	0.0%	98.3%
\$750,000 to \$999,999	15	1.7%	100.0%
\$1,000,000 to \$1,499,999	0	0.0%	100.0%
\$1,500,000 to \$1,999,999	0	0.0%	100.0%
\$2,000,000 or more	0	0.0%	100.0%
Estimated median value = \$121,358			

Table 9: Hazelwood Home Values; 2022



REINVESTMENT FUND

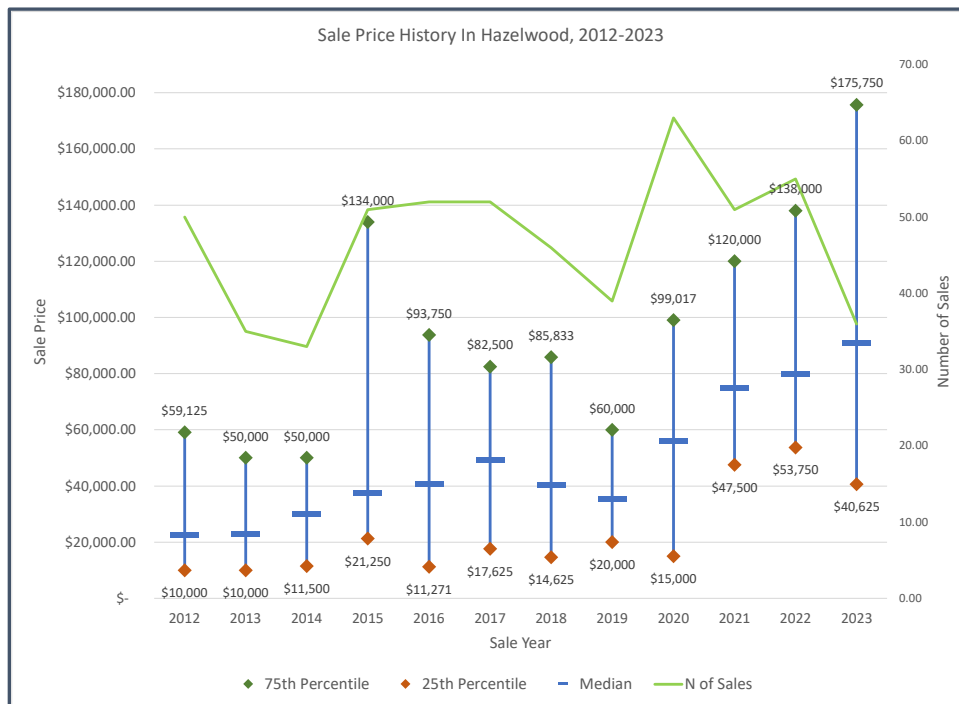


Figure 13: Hazelwood Home Sale Price History; 2012-2023

Typical rent levels in Hazelwood in 2021 were \$864—up from \$581 in 2012.³² Considering inflation between 2012 and 2021, a \$600 rent level in 2012 would equate to a \$693 rent in 2021. Thus rents, on average, rose faster than inflation, and if incomes tracked with inflation (or as the data show, failed to keep up with inflation), renters in Hazelwood would be experiencing greater challenges meeting their housing expenses.³³

³² Reported here is what the Census categorizes as “gross rent.” Gross rent includes not only the contract rent, but it also includes utilities and fuels if the tenant is responsible for those costs.

³³ Zillow reports rent levels and rental trends for zip code 15207, which largely coincides with (but expands outside of) Hazelwood. Typical (median) rent in 15207, \$1,250/month in 2025, tends to be approximately \$250/month less than Pittsburgh. However, it is well above the typical rent reported in ACS for 2021. 2025 typical monthly rents have tracked below same-month 2024 rent. Zillow characterizes 15207 as “warm” market, meaning demand for rental units is trending likely above—but not substantially above—the national average.

[https://www.zillow.com/rental-manager/market-trends/15207/#:~:text=The%20average%20rent%20in%2015207%20is%20\\$1%2C350,35.71%25%20lower%20the%20national%20average%20of%20\\$2%2C100.](https://www.zillow.com/rental-manager/market-trends/15207/#:~:text=The%20average%20rent%20in%2015207%20is%20$1%2C350,35.71%25%20lower%20the%20national%20average%20of%20$2%2C100.)



2012 Gross Rent	Number Renter Households	Percent Of Renter Households	Percent of Renter Households w/Cash Rent
Total:	1164		
With cash rent:	1073	92.2%	
Less than \$100	10	0.8%	0.9%
\$100 to \$149	0	0.0%	0.0%
\$150 to \$199	61	5.1%	5.7%
\$200 to \$249	41	3.4%	3.8%
\$250 to \$299	88	7.4%	8.2%
\$300 to \$349	85	7.1%	7.9%
\$350 to \$399	55	4.6%	5.1%
\$400 to \$449	64	5.4%	6.0%
\$450 to \$499	75	6.3%	7.0%
\$500 to \$549	27	2.3%	2.5%
\$550 to \$599	47	3.9%	4.4%
\$600 to \$649	161	13.5%	15.0%
\$650 to \$699	77	6.5%	7.2%
\$700 to \$749	75	6.3%	7.0%
\$750 to \$799	44	3.7%	4.1%
\$800 to \$899	45	3.8%	4.2%
\$900 to \$999	38	3.2%	3.5%
\$1,000 to \$1,249	64	5.4%	6.0%
\$1,250 to \$1,499	8	0.7%	0.7%
\$1,500 to \$1,999	8	0.7%	0.7%
\$2,000 or more	0	0.0%	0.0%
No cash rent	91	7.6%	8.5%
Estimated Median Gross Rent = \$581			

Table 10: Hazelwood Rent Levels; 2012



REINVESTMENT FUND

2021 Gross Rent	Number Renter Households	Percent Of Renter Households	Percent of Renter Households w/Cash Rent
Total:	1032		
With cash rent:	1012		
Less than \$100	72	7.0%	7.1%
\$100 to \$149	12	1.2%	1.2%
\$150 to \$199	0	0.0%	0.0%
\$200 to \$249	63	6.1%	6.2%
\$250 to \$299	40	3.9%	4.0%
\$300 to \$349	60	5.8%	5.9%
\$350 to \$399	6	0.6%	0.6%
\$400 to \$449	46	4.5%	4.5%
\$450 to \$499	0	0.0%	0.0%
\$500 to \$549	70	6.8%	6.9%
\$550 to \$599	0	0.0%	0.0%
\$600 to \$649	6	0.6%	0.6%
\$650 to \$699	31	3.0%	3.1%
\$700 to \$749	11	1.1%	1.1%
\$750 to \$799	22	2.1%	2.2%
\$800 to \$899	104	10.1%	10.3%
\$900 to \$999	112	10.9%	11.1%
\$1,000 to \$1,249	255	24.7%	25.2%
\$1,250 to \$1,499	81	7.8%	8.0%
\$1,500 to \$1,999	21	2.0%	2.1%
\$2,000 to \$2,499	0	0.0%	0.0%
\$2,500 to \$2,999	0	0.0%	0.0%
\$3,000 to \$3,499	0	0.0%	0.0%
\$3,500 or more	0	0.0%	0.0%
No cash rent	20	1.9%	2.0%
Estimated Median Gross Rent = \$864			

Table 11: Hazelwood Rent Levels; 2021

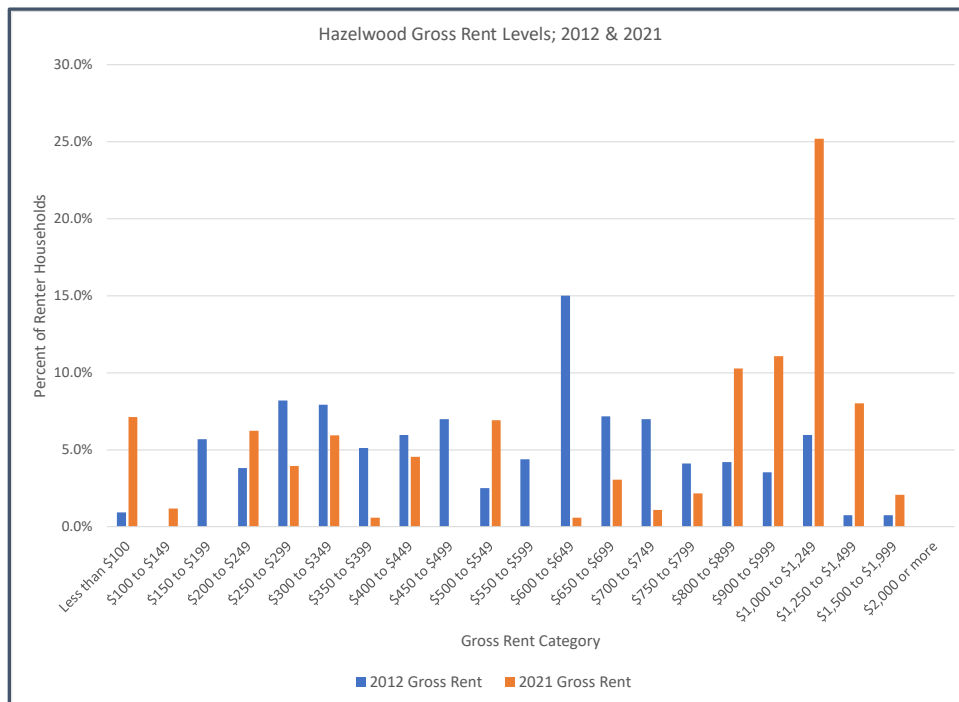


Figure 94: Hazelwood Gross Rent Levels, 2012 & 2021

Housing cost burdens in Hazelwood are only experienced to any substantial degree by renters and those who are on the lower end of the income spectrum.³⁴ But as previously observed, the majority of households, especially renters, are at that lower end of the income spectrum. That said, cost burden rates at the lowest income levels are substantially below those observed across Pittsburgh.³⁵

³⁴ Households that spend more than 50% of their income on housing are typically considered severely cost burdened; those that spend 30%-50% are moderately cost burdened. The importance of the cost burden statistic is that spending more than the standard 30% threshold value indicates that the household likely does not have sufficient income remaining after paying their housing expense to cover the cost of other basic needs. These cost burden ratios take on added importance for lower income households, while higher income owners and renters can manage some degree of cost burden. For example, a household with income of \$200,000 / year spending 40% of income on housing still has \$10,000 / month to spend on their other needs. But a \$20,000 / year household spending 40% of income on housing has only \$1,000 / month – barely enough to cover food, healthcare, clothing, etc.

³⁵ For example, 71.9% of renters earning under \$20,000 are severely cost burdened in Pittsburgh and 63.6% of owners in that income range are similarly burdened.



Renter Cost Burden Income Level	Number	Percent
Less than \$20,000	550	
Less than 30.0%	164	29.8%
30-49.9%	65	11.8%
50% or more	321	58.4%
\$20,000 to \$34,999:	137	
Less than 30.0%	28	20.4%
30-49.9%	50	36.5%
50% or more	59	43.1%
\$35,000 to \$49,999:	49	
Less than 30.0%	11	22.4%
30-49.9%	21	42.9%
50% or more	17	34.7%
\$50,000 to \$74,999:	149	
Less than 30.0%	149	100.0%
30-49.9%	0	0.0%
50% or more	0	0.0%
\$75,000 or more:	73	
Less than 30.0%	73	100.0%
30-49.9%	0	0.0%
50% or more	0	0.0%

Table 12: Hazelwood Renter Cost Burdens By Income Level; 2022

Owner Cost Burden Income Level	Number	Percent
Less than \$20,000	129	
Less than 30.0%	7	5.4%
30-49.9%	91	70.5%
50% or more	31	24.0%
\$20,000 to \$34,999:	104	
Less than 30.0%	88	84.6%
30-49.9%	7	6.7%
50% or more	9	8.7%
\$35,000 to \$49,999:	92	
Less than 30.0%	78	84.8%
30-49.9%	14	15.2%
50% or more	0	0.0%
\$50,000 to \$74,999:	214	
Less than 30.0%	199	93.0%
30-49.9%	6	2.8%
50% or more	9	4.2%
\$75,000 or more:	383	
Less than 30.0%	383	100.0%
30-49.9%	0	0.0%
50% or more	0	0.0%

Table 13: Hazelwood Owner Cost Burdens By Income Level; 2022

Helping at least some of those Hazelwood renters who are very low income is the “affordable” housing stock in Hazelwood and its immediate environs. This stock of affordable housing helps to keep the cost burden levels for lower income households low because they will typically cap rent levels to under 30%



of income. Today, it appears that there are approximately 320 affordable housing units,³⁶ roughly a third designated for people who are elderly and/or disabled. Notable future changes in the affordable housing stock of Hazelwood include: (1) in 2020, Gladstone Residences (sponsored by the Community Builders and Hazelwood Initiative) received various state and federal credits to convert a school to affordable housing units. The award from PHFA³⁷ was for 53 units, 29 of which would be for low-income residents; (2) in 2024, PHFA awarded two projects—4800 Second Avenue and HGI-Lytle—various state and federal tax credits and grants to create another 85 units, 69 designated for low-income residents. These two projects add substantially to the number and quality options of “permanently” affordable housing in Hazelwood. These additional units appear to both address the shortage as well as replacing some of the Hazelwood housing stock that is in poor condition and in need of significant repair and/or replacement.

Sited Affordable Housing	Designation	Units	Note
Hazelwood Towers	Elderly/Disabled	97	All units 1 bedroom
Glen Hazel Heights / Bernice Crawley	Family	225	Mixture of 1-3 bedrooms; 79% ELI
Gladstone Residences (awarded in 2020)	Gen Occupancy	53	44 affordable units; LIHTC and NHTF
4800 Second Avenue (awarded in 2024)	Gen Occupancy	35	29 LI; PAHTC, NHTF, LIHTC
HGI-Lytle: Lytle and Eliza (awarded in 2024)	Gen Occupancy	50	40 LI; PAHTC, NHTF, LIHTC

Table 14: Hazelwood Area Sited Affordable Housing (Current & Future)

Localized data on employment and unemployment is somewhat limited. From these limited data we observe that the labor force participation rate of Hazelwood residents aged 16-24 is 36%; of those in the labor force, 9.4% are unemployed. In the “prime” working ages of 25-44, the labor force participation rate jumps to 88.2% and unemployment stands at 8.9%. Lastly, among those 45+ years of age, the labor force participation rate stands at 42.4% and unemployment jumps to 17.8%. The Bureau of Labor Statistics reports the Pittsburgh unemployment rate in 2022 to range between a low of 3.1% in November and a high of 4.7% in August. Thus, Hazelwood unemployment tends to be higher than that of Pittsburgh.

³⁶ This does not include people who have a Housing Choice Voucher and chose to reside in private market housing with the benefit of the voucher to make the rent affordable.

³⁷ PHFA is the Pennsylvania Housing Finance Agency, and among other things, it establishes the Qualified Allocation Plan for Low Income Housing Tax Credit (LIHTC) awards; they also administer various grant and loan programs for the creation and preservation of affordable housing in Pennsylvania.



	Number	Percent
People 16-24	531	
In Labor Force	191	36.0%
In Armed Services	0	0.0%
Civilian Labor Force	191	
Employed	173	90.6%
Unemployed	18	9.4%
People 25-44	938	
In Labor Force	827	88.2%
In Armed Services	0	0.0%
Civilian Labor Force	827	
Employed	753	91.1%
Unemployed	74	8.9%
People 45+	2065	
In Labor Force	876	42.4%
In Armed Services	0	0.0%
Civilian Labor Force	876	
Employed	720	82.2%
Unemployed	156	17.8%

Table 15: Hazelwood Labor Force Participation and Employment/Unemployment; 2022

Examining the workforce and the complement of jobs in Hazelwood requires use of a data source other than the ACS; for this, we use the Census' Longitudinal Employer-Household Dynamics (LEHD) database. This allows us to understand where residents of Hazelwood work and where workers in Hazelwood live; and it allows us to describe the characteristics of these two groups of people. Unlike Hazelwood's early industrial history, a very small number of residents live and work in Hazelwood. In fact, in no year did we observe more than a handful (generally less than 3%). The overwhelming majority of working Hazelwood residents worked outside of the area.

There is a rise of approximately 10% in the number of people employed in the area over time (816 in 2021), and the overwhelming majority of those working in Hazelwood live outside of Hazelwood. Thus, Hazelwood residents tend to leave Hazelwood for work, and workers in Hazelwood live outside and commute in. And this is not a pattern that has changed in any meaningful way in the last 10 years.

Census Tract	2012		2015		2018		2021	
	5623	5629.01	5623	5629.01	5623	5629.01	5623	5629.01
Living in Area	1169	714	1289	767	1234	742	1097	677
Living + Working in Area	27	5	27	2	24	4	34	5
Living in Area/Working Outside	1142	709	1262	765	1210	738	1063	672
Employed in Area	563	168	547	143	621	194	593	223
Employed + Living in Area	27	5	27	2	24	4	34	5
Employed in Area/Living Outside	536	163	520	141	597	190	559	218

Table 16: Work and Residence in Hazelwood; 2012-2021³⁸

LEHD data show that approximately three quarters of Hazelwood residents travel under 10 miles from their homes in Hazelwood to their work destinations. Those destinations have concentrations in the

³⁸ The way the data are used for this table, the two tracts comprising Greater Hazelwood cannot be combined for certain computations.



Pittsburgh Central Business District and in the areas in and around the Oakland section of Pittsburgh. Workers coming into Hazelwood for their jobs tend also to come from less than 10 miles from Hazelwood (although a slightly higher percent of commuters come from a longer distance). They appear to come from a more varied group of places than the more concentrated destinations of Hazelwood resident workers.

The characteristics of Hazelwood resident workers depict a workforce that is consistently about 40% Black and 60% White. It is a workforce where fewer than a quarter have no more than a high school diploma. Over time, there is an increasingly high percentage earning more than \$3,333 / month.³⁹

Workers in Hazelwood are different than Hazelwood resident workers. The percentage of workers earning in the highest category is substantially greater (59.4% versus 42.3%) suggesting that Hazelwood residents leave Hazelwood for low-paying jobs and people coming into Hazelwood do so for higher paying jobs. We also observe that workers in Hazelwood are more likely White than Hazelwood resident workers. But we do not observe a “trend” over time of an increasingly White or higher educated group of workers in Hazelwood. In other words, what we observe today is quite similar to what we observed a decade ago.

	2012		2015		2018		2021	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Hazelwood Resident Workers								
<= \$1250/mo	610	32.4%	678	33.0%	564	28.3%	404	22.8%
\$1251-\$3333/mo	825	43.8%	827	40.2%	816	40.9%	619	34.9%
>\$3333/mo	448	23.8%	551	26.8%	616	30.9%	751	42.3%
Black	685	36.4%	810	39.4%	803	40.6%	672	37.9%
White	1152	61.2%	1172	57.0%	1088	55.1%	1021	57.6%
Educ: w/HS (max)	454	24.1%	495	24.1%	476	24.1%	401	22.6%
Total Workers inside	1883		2056		1976		1774	
Workers In Hazelwood								
<= \$1250/mo	169	23.1%	140	20.3%	135	16.6%	105	12.9%
\$1251-\$3333/mo	333	45.6%	281	40.7%	278	34.1%	226	27.7%
>\$3333/mo	229	31.3%	269	39.0%	402	49.3%	485	59.4%
Black	145	19.8%	139	20.1%	199	24.4%	191	23.4%
White	577	78.9%	535	77.5%	590	72.4%	597	73.2%
Educ: w/HS (max)	187	25.6%	204	29.6%	202	24.8%	215	26.3%
Total Jobs Inside	731		690		815		816	

Table 17: Characteristics Of Hazelwood Resident Workers and People Working In Hazelwood; 2012-2021

³⁹ These data only offer very broad categories of income which cannot be adjusted or inflated. Thus, some portion of the rise in the percent earning \$3,333 or more is attributable to workers in the \$1,251-\$3,333 category receiving cost of living adjustments – not a meaningful rise in income.



Evidence Of the Economic Threat of Displacement In Hazelwood

In this section, we detail two metrics used to both characterize the economic vitality of a community's real estate market (Reinvestment Fund's Market Value Analysis, or MVA) and the degree to which there are changes in the market that create economic pressure for displacement (the Displacement Risk Ratio, or DRR). What follows is a high-level description of these key metrics.

Pittsburgh's Market Value Analysis

The MVA is a 20+ year old, well-established, and widely used approach to measuring the underlying vitality of a community's real estate market. It was first created in support of former Philadelphia Mayor John Street's Neighborhood Transformation Initiative. Since that first MVA in 2001, Reinvestment Fund has applied the technique in 40+ communities around the country, including multiple replications in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County.⁴⁰ The MVA is based principally on administrative data (i.e., data created by local administrative agencies such as a Redevelopment Authority, Recorder of Deeds or that part of local government responsible for building/code enforcement). Data are field validated, and all stages of the analysis are reviewed and validated by stakeholders and local subject matter experts.

The basic components of an MVA may vary from community-to-community but generally include: home sale prices and the variability of those prices, building permitting activity, new construction, financial distress (e.g., tax or mortgage delinquency/foreclosure), presence of subsidized rental housing, housing/land vacancy, and tenure. Each of these indicators is summarized for census block groups (Census-defined geographic areas that are smaller than census tracts) and analyzed using a statistical cluster analysis. The result of the cluster analysis is a placement of block groups into strata (or market categories) based on the traits measured for each block group, representing the vitality of the community's real estate market. These categories are also field- and expert-validated.

Communities across the US, including Pittsburgh, use their MVAs to target certain administrative activities (e.g., code enforcement), strategize around the deployment of CDBG funds, investigate local fair housing concerns, target development, prioritize acquisition/disposition of Land Bank parcels, etc.

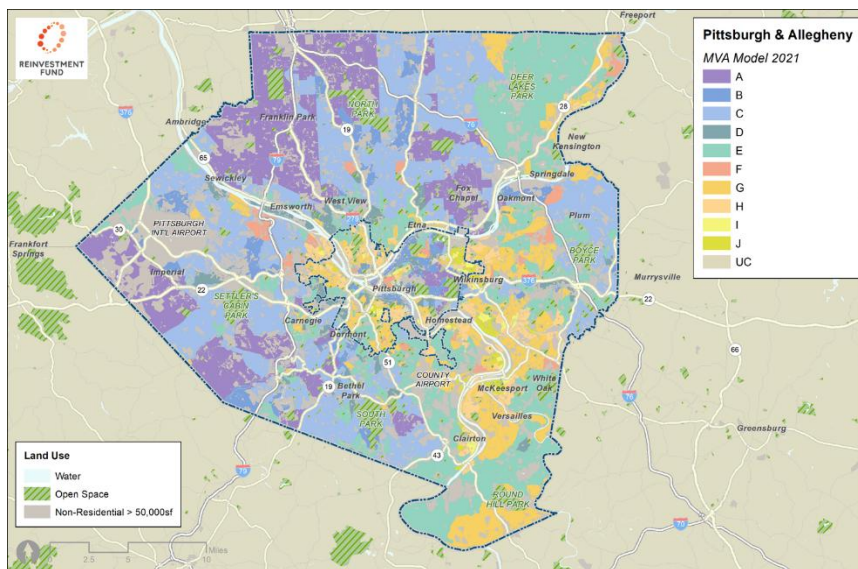
⁴⁰ See, for example: <https://www.alleghenycounty.us/Projects-and-Initiatives/Economic-Development/Market-Value-Analysis-MVA> and <https://www.alleghenycounty.us/files/assets/county/v/1/government/economic-development/documents/2021-mva-executive-summary.pdf>



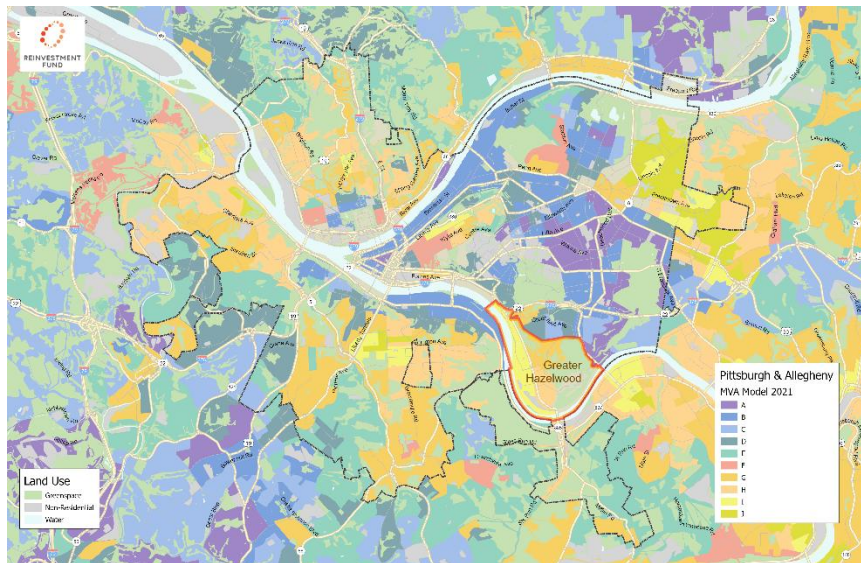
REINVESTMENT FUND

	BGs	Median Sales Price, 17-19	Coef. Of Variance	Home-Owners	Subsidized Renters	New Cons.	Poor or Worse Condition	Building Violations	Vacant Lot Area	Foreclosure
A	76	\$460,000	0.47	78%	3%	3.7%	0.1%	0.1%	0.4%	0.6%
B	113	\$269,000	0.50	43%	4%	1.2%	0.3%	0.7%	0.4%	0.8%
C	185	\$215,000	0.42	89%	1%	0.6%	0.1%	0.2%	1.3%	0.7%
D	100	\$143,000	0.50	40%	4%	0.3%	0.5%	1.0%	1.0%	1.5%
E	196	\$127,000	0.47	81%	3%	0.2%	0.5%	0.3%	3.0%	1.4%
F	24	\$120,000	0.57	62%	76%	0.9%	1.5%	0.8%	2.8%	1.3%
G	190	\$70,000	0.63	62%	10%	0.1%	1.1%	0.9%	3.0%	2.2%
H	122	\$34,000	0.81	51%	19%	0.1%	2.4%	1.9%	3.4%	2.6%
I	30	\$21,000	0.87	48%	80%	>0.1%	6.5%	2.5%	3.3%	2.4%
J	42	\$14,000	0.94	44%	20%	>0.1%	6.8%	2.0%	2.6%	2.4%
Countywide Average Block Group		\$154,000	0.57	65%	10%	0.6%	1.1%	0.8%	2.1%	1.5%

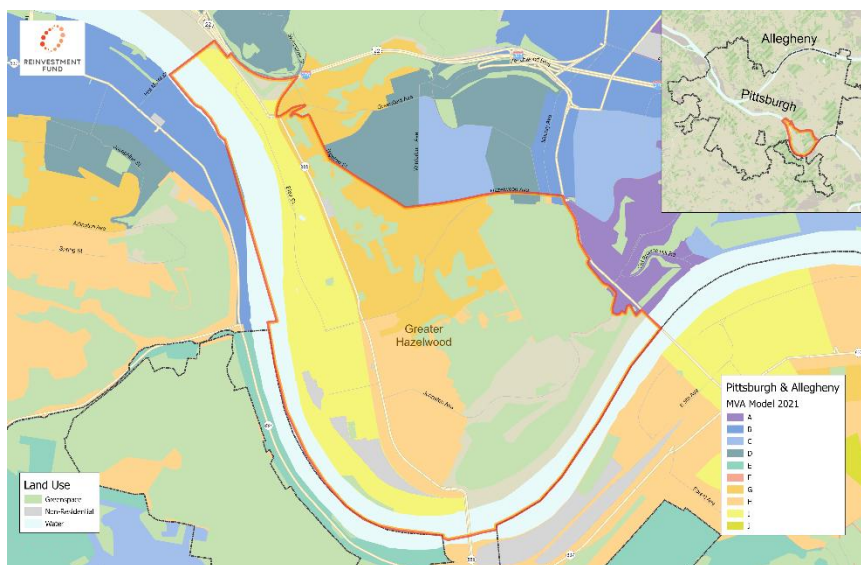
Figure 15: Typical Block Group Characteristics Of MVA Market Types; 2021



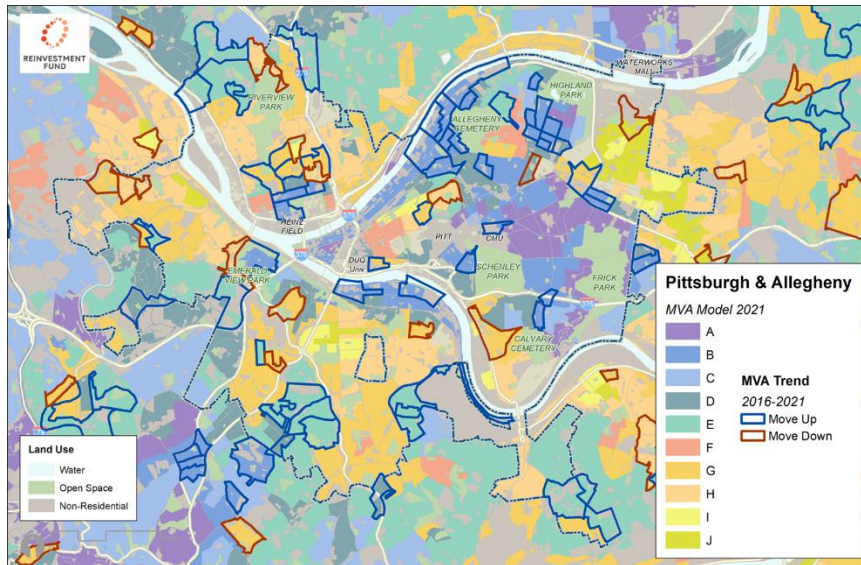
Map 3: Allegheny County MVA; 2021



Map 4a: Pittsburgh MVA (close-up); 2021



Map 4b: Pittsburgh MVA (Greater Hazelwood); 2021



Map 5: Areas Experience Change In MVA Categories; 2016 & 2021

Pittsburgh's Displacement Risk Ratio

The Displacement Risk Ratio (DRR) is also a metric in use by Reinvestment Fund for decades. It is a measure of the degree to which home sale prices are rising at a pace that exceeds local resident income. Like the MVA it is generally estimated for census block groups; it can also be estimated for census tracts. The DRR is established for each of the community's census block groups/tracts and is the ratio of home sale prices to income, typically across two-year periods. Every two years, the DRR includes new home sale prices, but incomes are not varied other than by application of a CPI-based inflator. DRRs are also normed to citywide changes.



Over time, increases in the DRR indicate that home prices are rising at a pace that makes it financially difficult for residents to remain in their homes (e.g., real estate taxes and property insurance tend to increase along with values) or be replaced by people of similar economic means (i.e., because prices have risen, people who are economically like existing residents would find it financially difficult to buy into the community). At the other end of the spectrum, DRRs that decrease represent places where residents' homes are not keeping up with overall changes. Unlike the pressure residents in places with rising DRRs experience with an inability to keep up with rising costs, residents in declining DRR places feel the pressure of living in a lagging market.

The ideal for Hazelwood would be DRRs that are generally stable (accepting that small increases or decreases are likely not a substantially material change) or rising slowly. Under this condition, residents who own homes hold an asset that, all else equal, is stable or increasing modestly in value; in other words, some home-based wealth is being created.

What the DRR says about renters

While the DRR is created using home sale transactions and not rental data, given the typical neighborhood level correspondence between home sale prices and rent levels, we believe that the DRR is reasonably representative of parallel changes in the rental market.

One critical caveat is that owners will often have greater security against displacement because they own their homes; they certainly may be subject to higher taxes and insurance, but they do have an appreciating asset. Renters, on the other hand, are subject to the decisions of their landlords about their tenancy and rent, and do not have the security or other benefits that accrue to owners. ***Thus, the pressure that the DRR manifests may well be more immediately and severely felt by renters than owners.***

Applying the DRR and MVA to Hazelwood

The logic of applying these metrics to Hazelwood block groups is that Hazelwood is immediately adjacent to the significant investment in and redevelopment of the Hazelwood Green site. As stated earlier, mitigating the potential displacement effect of investments on Hazelwood Green was a critical motivating factor for a portfolio of THE activities designed to both avoid displacement and position the residents and neighborhood to benefit from the Hazelwood Green site redevelopment.

Methodologically speaking, Hazelwood and its residents, are in a "treatment" area; the treatment being the various activities of THE grantees (e.g., home repairs by Rebuilding Together Pittsburgh, site acquisition and rehabilitation by Rising Tide Partners and Hazelwood Initiative, financial/housing counseling by Catapult, to name a few). ***If we can find block groups outside of Hazelwood that are similar to Hazelwood except that they are not adjacent to Hazelwood Green and have not received significant THE investment like that in Hazelwood, we can examine whether those Hazelwood block groups changed in any materially different way from their comparators.***

The MVA is a key metric to find comparable block groups. All else equal, for example, an F category Hazelwood block group, *from a market perspective*, is similar to an F market outside of Hazelwood. In the selection of comparable block groups, we not only considered MVA market category, but we also



endeavored to find block groups that were physically closer to Hazelwood but not adjacent to it,⁴¹ and preferably not all the way across Pittsburgh.⁴²

Additionally, comparable block groups were selected in Baltimore, Philadelphia, and St. Louis. The purpose here was to extend this test to neighborhoods in cities where, like Hazelwood Green, there was significant concentrated economic development investment expected to have potential displacing effects on the neighborhoods around those investments. The three communities outside Pittsburgh selected are: (1) in Baltimore, block groups selected that are proximate to multiple Johns Hopkins University campuses and medical centers and had similar MVA categorizations as Hazelwood; (2) in Philadelphia, block groups were selected because of their proximity to significant investments by University of Pennsylvania and Drexel University and had similar MVA categorizations as Hazelwood; (3) in St. Louis, block groups were selected based on their proximity to the Cortex Innovation District (a partnership that includes the City of St. Louis, and leaders from five anchor institutions—Washington University in St. Louis, Saint Louis University, University of Missouri - St. Louis, BJC HealthCare, and the Missouri Botanical Garden)⁴³ and had similar MVA categorizations. Each of these comparator areas are places that are proximate to a site(s) receiving significant financial economic development investments; but the sort of planned, concerted effort to achieve **development without displacement** in these places is understood to be less than that which was underway in Hazelwood. In other words, there is no CED-activity corollary in Philadelphia, Baltimore, or St. Louis.

Cross City Comparable Selection

Block groups in St. Louis were selected because they were not only similar in MVA categories to Hazelwood but also because they were just outside the “ring” of strong markets immediately bordering Cortex. Several block groups were selected and the average DRR changes are compared to Hazelwood.

Block groups in Baltimore were selected because they were of comparable MVA category to Hazelwood and were being impacted on multiple borders by Johns Hopkins investments. Several block groups were selected and the average DRR changes are compared to Hazelwood.

Block groups in Philadelphia were selected because they were of comparable MVA categories to Hazelwood and they were in the path of expanding investments tied not only to the multiple universities, hospital systems and innovation hubs in West Philadelphia but also private investor activity. Several block groups were selected and the average DRR changes are compared to Hazelwood.

Comparability in these areas was based on MVA market category and DRR ratios that were similar circa 2015/2016. The block groups selected were, like Hazelwood, close to a significant body of investments that had the potential to exert displacing pressure in adjacent neighborhoods.

⁴¹ Adjacent block groups were avoided because of the concern that the treatment effect might contaminate (for comparability purposes) those block groups across an invisible Census boundary.

⁴² The logic and approach followed is an adaptation of a “quasi-experimental” research design with what is known as a *non-equivalent control group* (*non-equivalent* because the control group – that is, our comparators – were not randomly assigned).

⁴³ See: <https://www.cortexstl.org/>



In the ideal, DRRs in Hazelwood block groups will trend in the near zero-change range over time meaning that there is no appreciable increase in prices vis a vis CPI-inflated incomes (compared to the typical changes in Pittsburgh). If THE investments are impactful, we would expect that DRRs for comparable areas in Pittsburgh—or Philadelphia, Baltimore, and St. Louis—will manifest a less advantageous pattern of change for residents (e.g., steep declines or substantial increases compared to relative stability in the Hazelwood block groups). Stated differently, DRR changes in Hazelwood should be less substantial—positive or negative—than those observed in comparable block groups in Pittsburgh.

Maps 6 and 7 display the MVA categories for each Pittsburgh block group and the Hazelwood block groups. Also included are the locations of assisted housing developments (and the number of units in each). There are 4 block groups that comprise “Greater Hazelwood”; each is displayed along with its “comparable” block groups within Pittsburgh both for the MVA categories and changes in DRR. The MVA maps are provided principally to show that comparable block groups were selected for analysis that were indeed *market comparable*, as evidenced by similar MVA categories. The critical indicator of whether Hazelwood is experiencing “development without displacement” is observed in the maps showing DRR changes. Results consistent with that priority are those where the DRR changes are less positive (or less negative) in Hazelwood than those observed in the respective comparable block groups—in other words, Hazelwood block groups manifest greater stability in DRRs over time.

As previously noted, we tend to focus on positive and substantial DRR changes as evidence of financial displacement pressure. But we also note that negative DRR changes suggest that an area is not keeping up with its citywide changes; in essence, the area is, relatively speaking, weakening over time. Thus, it would also be consistent with the development without displacement priority if the DRR changes in Hazelwood were less negative than those observed in comparables. That is because that pattern evidences market stability in Hazelwood and market decline in comparable areas without THE interventions. And given that complementary THE priorities also include residents having some element of strengthened financial agency, a depreciating asset undercuts that priority.

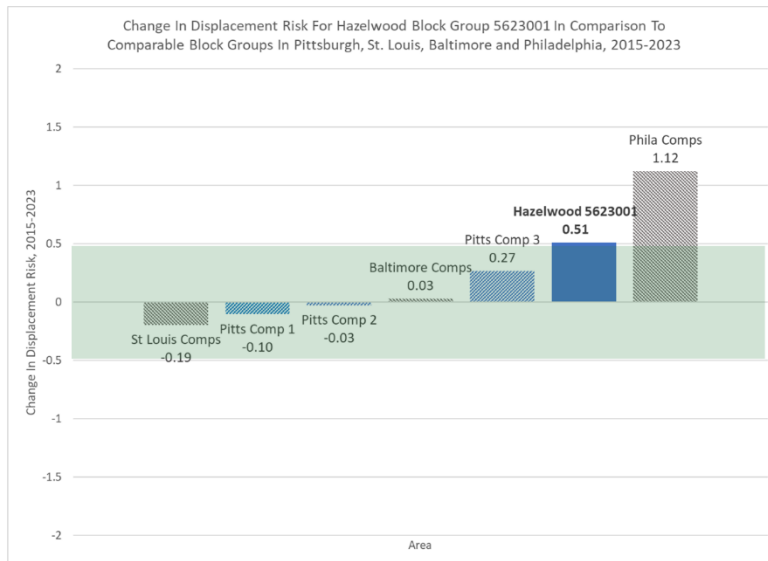
Figure 12 through 15 summarize what is observed in each pairing of maps for each Hazelwood block group and its Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, St. Louis, and Baltimore comparable areas.

Block group 5623001—the Glen Hazel portion of Greater Hazelwood [Figure 12]: the DRR change was 0.51 showing just a slight amount of economic displacement pressure. Two of its three comparable Pittsburgh block groups had a negative DRR (which means that these areas were lagging general Pittsburgh economic change; one was positive but less so than this block group). Comparable block groups in Baltimore and St. Louis were approximately zero (Baltimore) or slightly negative (St. Louis). Thus, this Hazelwood block group saw more pressure than its non-Pittsburgh area comparables, but not a particularly worrisome level of pressure.⁴⁴ The comparable Philadelphia block groups had substantially higher average DRR change scores indicating a much greater degree of displacement pressure. And we note that in this Hazelwood block group there are more than 200 subsidized affordable housing units

⁴⁴ Experience with the DRR suggests that changes, over what in this instance is almost a nine-year period, between approximately -0.5 and 0.5 are not indicative of substantial pressure.



providing something of a safety net for lower income (i.e., more financially vulnerable) Hazelwood residents.



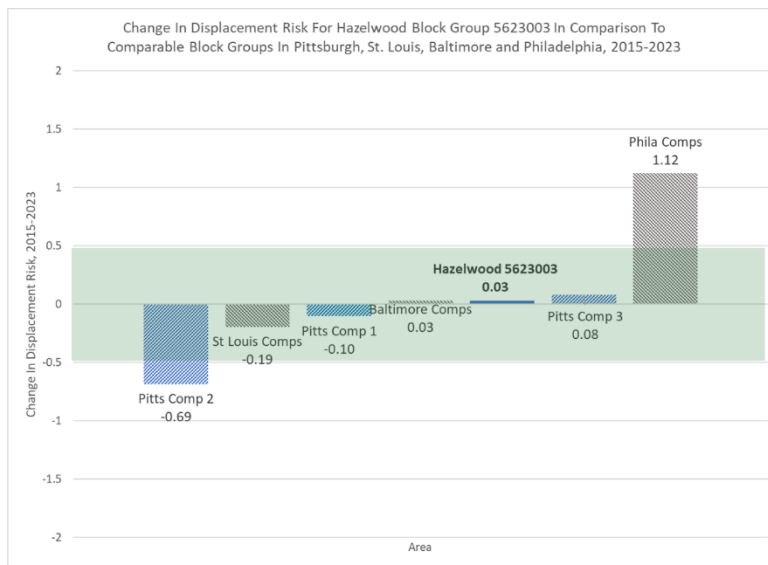
Not substantial risk

Figure 10: Changes In DRR For Hazelwood Block Group 5623001 & All Comparables

Block group 5623003—also in the Glen Hazel portion of Greater Hazelwood [Figure 13]: the DRR change in this block group was .03, effectively trending similarly to displacement pressure occurring on average across Pittsburgh. Like its neighboring Glen Hazel block group, it performed better than two of its three comparables in Pittsburgh, and fundamentally equal to the third. It experienced less displacement pressure than the Philadelphia area block groups, equal to Baltimore, and the St. Louis block group trended slightly negative. There is a subsidized affordable senior housing development in this block group providing something of a safety net for Hazelwood’s older lower income residents.



REINVESTMENT FUND



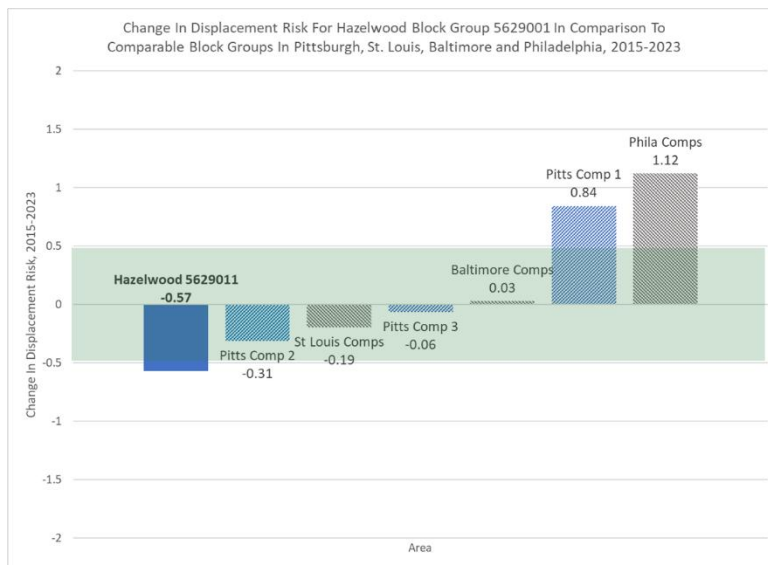
Not substantial risk

Figure 1311: Changes In DRR For Hazelwood Block Group 5623003 & All Comparables

Block group 5629011–western edge of Hazelwood [Figure 14]: this block group experienced a negative change in DRR, and it was more negative than all its Pittsburgh area comparables as well as its comparables in Philadelphia, Baltimore, and St. Louis. Contrary to economic pressure due to rapidly rising prices, residents in this area are experiencing (perhaps) the pressure of living in an area not keeping pace with general market changes in Pittsburgh. Not shown on the map for this block group is that there is a LIHTC development approved that will add significantly to the affordable housing stock in this area.



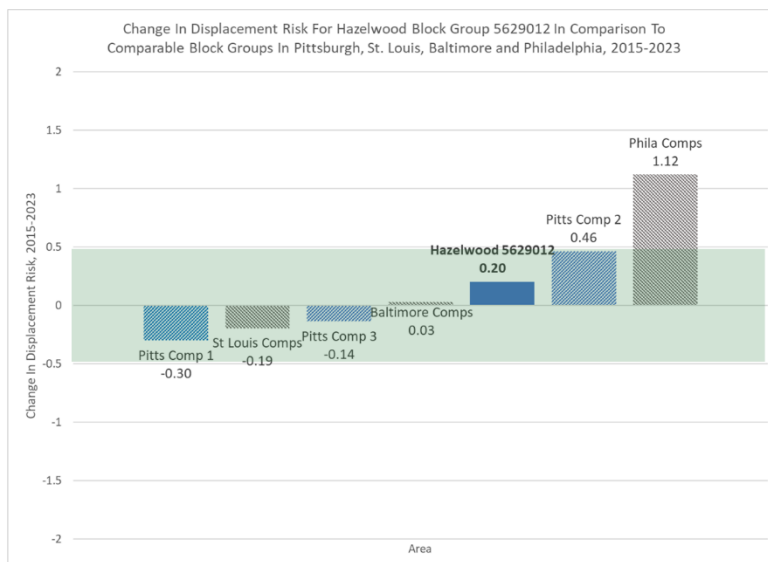
REINVESTMENT FUND



Not substantial risk

Figure 12: Changes In DRR For Hazelwood Block Group 5629011 & All Comparables

Block group 5629012–northern / eastern edge of Hazelwood [Figure 15]: this block group experienced a slight positive change in DRR where two of its three Pittsburgh area comparables were negative. Compared to Philadelphia, there was far less economic pressure in this block group; St. Louis and Baltimore comparable areas were negative.

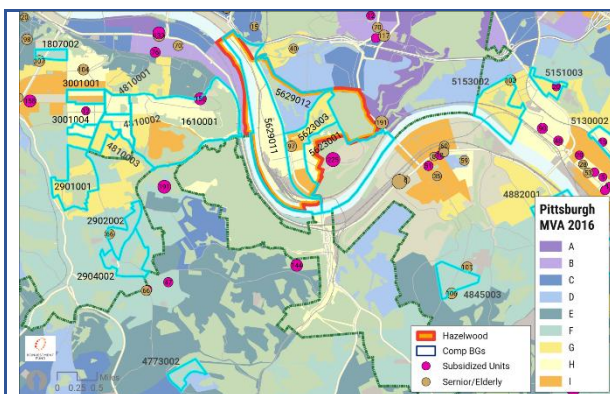


Not substantial risk

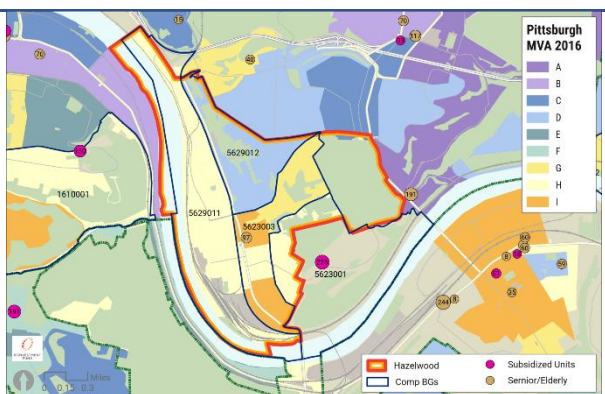
Figure 15: Changes In DRR For Hazelwood Block Group 5629012 & All Comparables



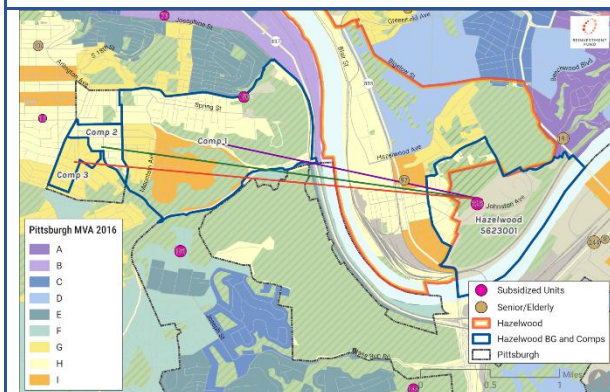
Taken together, ***there is no quantitative evidence from this analysis to suggest that Hazelwood is experiencing extraordinary market pressure indicative of displacement related to the Hazelwood Green development.*** To the contrary: Hazelwood block groups generally fared more advantageously than residents in Philadelphia with respect to displacement pressure. Moreover, in three of four cases, comparisons to Baltimore and St. Louis showed that Hazelwood was effectively more stable (or less negative). Only block group 5629011 was more negative than comparable block groups within Pittsburgh or in comparison city areas. We also note that the two LIHTC developments awarded (and the one coming on-line at former Gladstone School) are effectively in or adjacent to the two block groups most centrally in Hazelwood (including one on Hazelwood Green). These will add stability to the housing situation for current and future low-income Hazelwood residents.



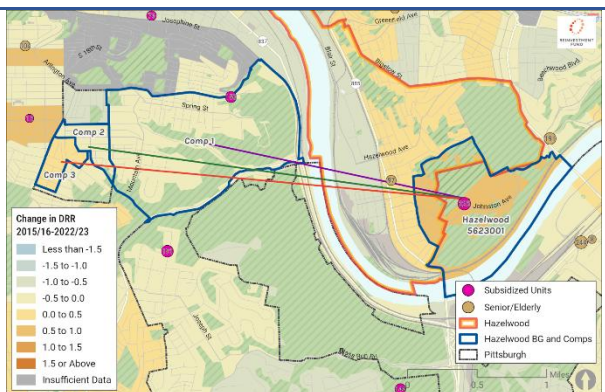
Map 6: Hazelwood MVA & Location of Public/Assisted Housing



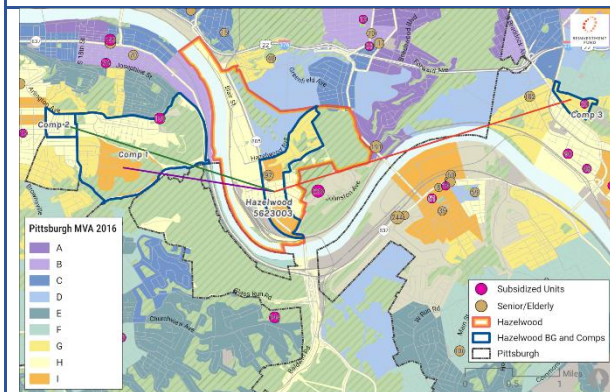
Map 7: Hazelwood MVA & Location of Public/Assisted Housing (Close Up)



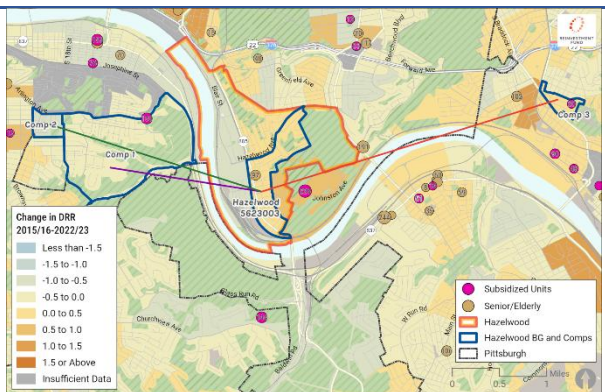
Map 8: MVA, Hazelwood Block Group 5623001 & Its Comparables



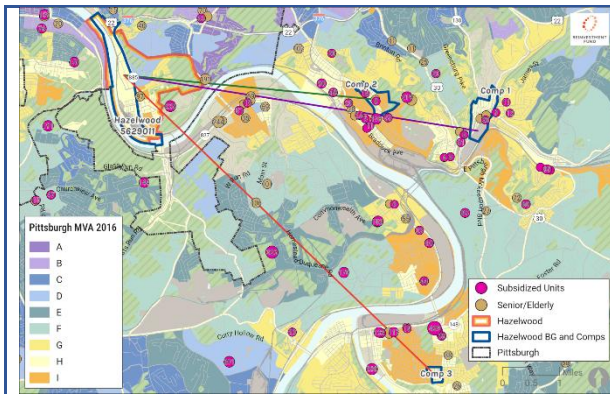
Map 9: DRR Change, Hazelwood Block Group 5623001 & Its Comparables



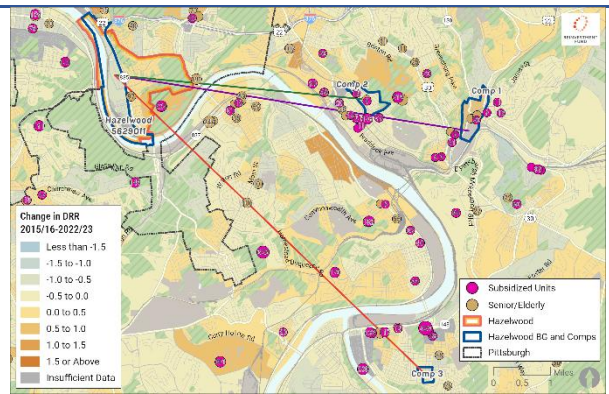
Map 10: MVA, Hazelwood Block Group 5623003 & Its Comparables



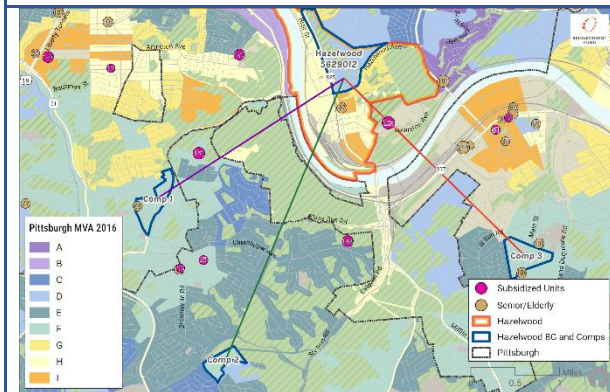
Map 11: DRR Change, Hazelwood Block Group 5623003 & Its Comparables



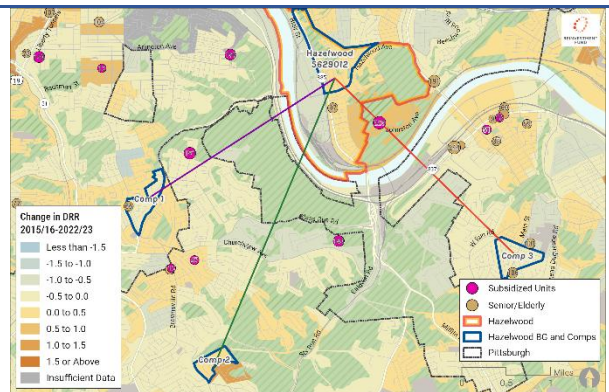
Map 12: MVA, Hazelwood Block Group 5629011 & Its Comparables



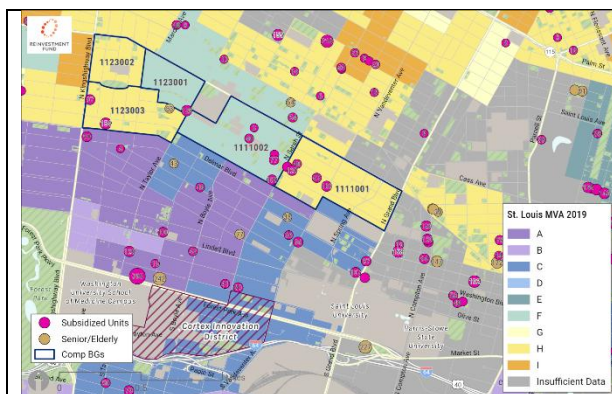
Map 13: DRR Change, Hazelwood Block Group 5629011 & Its Comparables



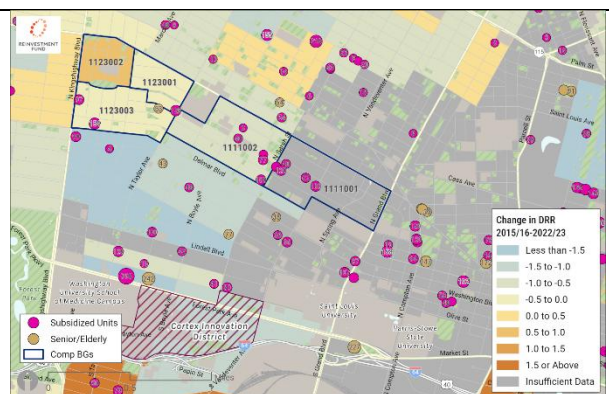
Map 14: MVA, Hazelwood Block Group 5629012 & Its Comparables



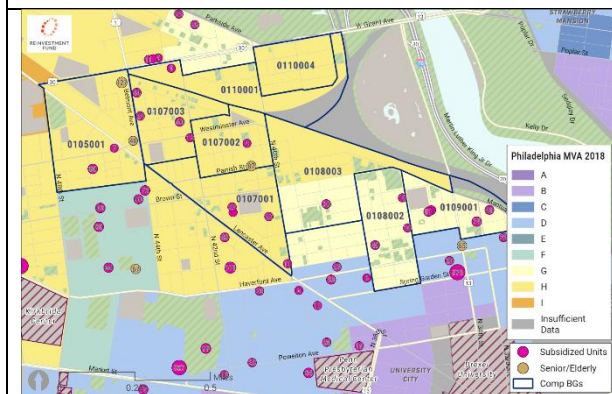
Map 15: DRR Change, Hazelwood Block Group 5629012 & Its Comparables



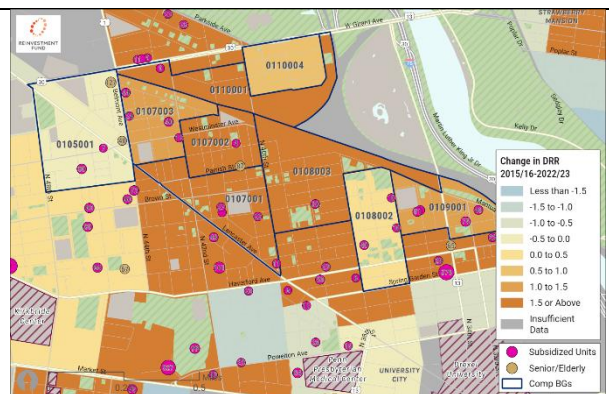
Map 16: MVA & Block Groups Surrounding Cortex Innovation District (St. Louis, MO) [Red Hatched Area On Map]



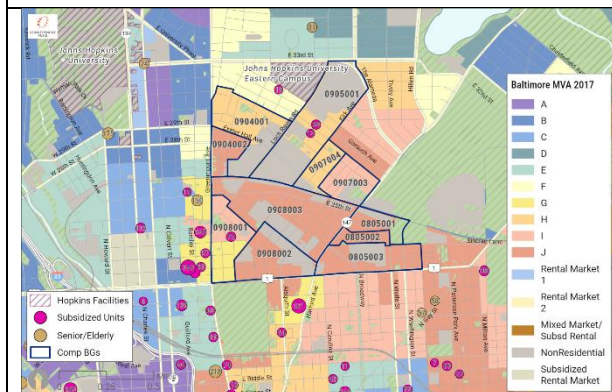
Map 17: DRR Change & Block Groups Surrounding Cortex Innovation District (St. Louis)



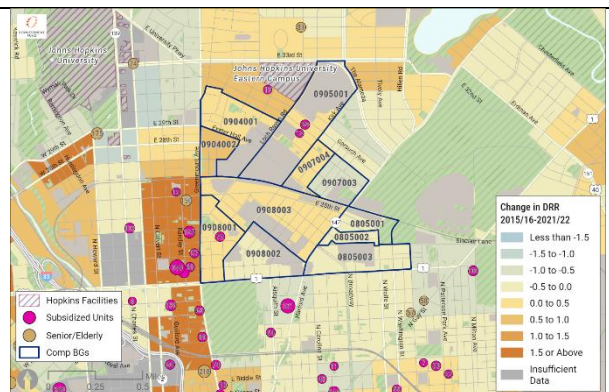
Map 18: MVA & Block Groups Surrounding Penn/Drexel Investment Areas (Phila, PA) [Red Hatched Areas On Map]



Map 19: DRR Change & Block Groups Surrounding Penn/Drexel Investment Areas (Phila, PA)



Map 20: MVA & Block Groups Surrounding Johns Hopkins Investment Areas (Baltimore, MD) [Red Hatched Area On Map]



Map 21: DRR Change & Block Groups Surrounding Johns Hopkins Investment Areas (Baltimore, MD)



The Heinz Endowments Grantee Experiences in Hazelwood:

As observed in prior sections of this report, over the past decade-plus, Hazelwood has generally not experienced increases in home sales prices that outpace the city overall, or similar neighborhoods across Pittsburgh. However, outside investment in large-scale redevelopment in a targeted geographic space often creates resident anxiety related to the prospect of impending displacement pressure associated with rising prices. These anxieties, in response to actual change or to perceptions and expectations, can create challenges to effectively engage residents and organizations in collective decision making to inform redevelopment priorities and activities.

This study included two rounds of semi-structured interviews with individuals representing groups in Pittsburgh who are activating key THE strategies in Hazelwood. *We note that interviewees were not residents of Hazelwood, but were with organizations that work with residents (some interviewees were Hazelwood residents, but they were interviewed in their organizational capacities).* As such, what we report is their characterization of what residents are conveying to them. Both rounds of interviews were conducted to better understand how the following inter-connected factors influence ongoing redevelopment activities in the neighborhood:

1. The historical and contemporary neighborhood context of Hazelwood, and how this history informs residents' experience and perceptions of ongoing redevelopment.
2. Insider/outsider dynamics between grantees with one another and with Hazelwood residents, and how these dynamics inform ongoing redevelopment activities in Hazelwood.
3. ***Grantees' perceptions and experiences with residential displacement pressure—social and economic—in Hazelwood.***

The first set of interviews took place in the Fall of 2023 and the second in Summer 2024. The findings presented in this section were developed from interviews with representatives of the following organizations:

Fall 2023	Summer 2024
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Center of Life• The Hazelwood Initiative, Inc.• Rebuilding Together Pittsburgh• Rising Tide Partners• Catapult Greater Pittsburgh• POORLAW (People of Origin Rightfully Loved and Wanted)	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• The Hazelwood Initiative, Inc.• Rebuilding Together Pittsburgh• Rising Tide Partners• Catapult Greater Pittsburgh

Collectively, THE invested roughly \$22.2M in the form of 66 grants or PRIs to these organizations between 2010 and 2023. These grantees reflect a mix of Hazelwood-based organizations (Center of Life, The Hazelwood Initiative, POORLAW) as well as organizations that support housing and community development across the Pittsburgh region (Rising Tide Partners, Catapult Greater Pittsburgh, Rebuilding Together Pittsburgh).



Theme 1: Hazelwood is home to a population with generational exposure to the traumas of living in persistent poverty.

Previously noted, Hazelwood experienced tremendous change since the closing of the steel mills in the 1960s. The generational experiences of diminished economic prospects for neighborhood residents, substantial population loss, increased crime, blight, and disinvestment contributed to a downward spiral for the prospects of generations of Hazelwood residents. At its peak, Hazelwood was home to roughly 30,000 residents. Among the fewer than 5,000 residents living in Hazelwood today, their life experiences have been heavily informed by the processes that coincided with the massive population loss of the late 20th century, as well as the prevailing conditions of what remained by the early 21st century.

It was reported that some older residents maintain distant memories of more prosperous times in Hazelwood, but these memories are accompanied by the experience of sustained decline over multiple generations. Younger residents in Hazelwood have only ever known a neighborhood in distress—where access to basic needs like housing, healthy food, transportation, and education is substandard or absent; where prior promises to invest in the neighborhood have not been fulfilled; and where the prospects for a brighter future often appear dim.

Several THE grantees specifically invoked the idea of trauma as it relates residents' experiences living in a persistent state of precarity:

“Surviving and coming through poverty creates trauma.”

“Unless families have support, they are vulnerable to any crisis.”

This trauma informs the way Hazelwood residents perceive ongoing investment on Hazelwood Green and the neighborhood more broadly, as well as the way they experience and engage with THE grantees working to improve the quality of life in the neighborhood. Specifically, that trauma leads people to believe that nothing good will come to them of neighborhood investments.

Within this context, THE grantees were very clear about the communities, groups, and individuals they serve—low-income individuals and families in Hazelwood, who make up a substantial share of all Hazelwood residents. The supports THE grantees provide include a combination of activities that both stabilize and augment residential housing stock and build the capacity of residents to maintain a strong community. One grantee described their efforts to keep housing affordable so low-income families can stay in their homes, while another sees their work as “restoring generational wealth by intervening properly in housing markets.” In addition to stabilizing housing, THE grantees also engage in efforts that address the trauma experienced by residents as a predicate to “giv[ing] families the life skills, education, and resource training to make the community strong.”



Theme 2: External investments, and the application of successful redevelopment approaches from other neighborhoods in Hazelwood sowed distrust that had to be overcome.

Working in Hazelwood to stimulate massive economic activity, stabilize the distressed housing stock, and build the capacity of residents meant harnessing resources from outside the neighborhood. THE along with the other external investors in the redevelopment of Hazelwood Green represented the first, very large, manifestation; these investments have been concentrated on the Green and are designed to reconnect Hazelwood to the regional economy. THE investments to stabilize the housing stock included partnerships with organizations from outside Hazelwood (Rising Tide Partners and Rebuilding Together Pittsburgh), as well as neighborhood-based groups (Hazelwood Initiative, Inc.). THE investments to build residents' capacity have largely been made through partnerships with neighborhood-based organizations (Center of Life; POORLAW; Hazelwood Initiative, Inc.) and a regional non-profit providing a wide array of services, including trauma-informed financial counseling (Catapult Greater Pittsburgh).

Multiple grantees described the influx of investments on Hazelwood Green as a new moment in Hazelwood's history and generally saw this investment as beneficial for the neighborhood. At the same time, some grantees expressed concerns about the goals of external investors, and concerns about the potential for gentrification to displace existing Hazelwood residents. This sentiment tended to be associated with efforts to stabilize the local housing stock—whether these efforts were being pursued by THE grantees or other external developers. Over the past five years, external groups like Rising Tide Partners and Rebuilding Together Pittsburgh have made substantial contributions to the housing development and rehabilitation activities underway in Hazelwood. Yet, some interviewees noted that Rising Tide Partners was involved in what they described as gentrification activities in the East Liberty neighborhood of Pittsburgh. And so, that history created a fear that the economic transition—gentrification—of East Liberty is what was in store for Hazelwood (again, a manifestation of that trauma previously noted). At the same time, multiple grantees also conceded that given the lack of capacity among neighborhood-based organizations in Hazelwood, it was necessary to identify and support mission-aligned developers to stabilize the local housing stock and its residents.

THE and their grantees relayed accounts of unique challenges working across the different organizations operating in Hazelwood. For some neighborhood-based grantees and residents, THE investments have been experienced in terms of just another outsider's investment in 'their neighborhood.' And while the intentions of THE and the grantees they support may be good, there was a perception that as outsiders they do not always understand or appreciate the historical and cultural context that inform the preferences and behaviors of residents.

Several grantees, and THE staff, reported experiencing tension across the different organizations' goals and orientations that could make it "a struggle to work together" in Hazelwood. For both THE, and their grantees who hoped to adopt tried-and-true models from other communities in Hazelwood, it became clear that they would need to adapt their engagement practices in Hazelwood.



THE's unique position in Hazelwood created the space to transcend seemingly intractable differences between organizations; differences and disputes related to how to make decisions about redevelopment priorities, locations, and activities, and who was intended to benefit from the investments pouring into Hazelwood. As a long-term financial partner of many key neighborhood-based organizations in Hazelwood, THE was able to continually ensure local organizations clearly understood the core value driving all their investments: ***(re)development without displacement***.

As reported by interviewees, for nearly a decade, THE has intentionally and consistently engaged with their grantees and other partners in Hazelwood from this core value. In this way THE has built local credibility in their decisions to support grantees from outside the neighborhood. It also helped establish a starting point for discussing more tactical coordination across the different organizations working in Hazelwood.

Coordinating efforts across organizations operating in Hazelwood involved extensive rounds of engagement with diverse cross-sections of THE grantees, other community-serving organizations, and residents to align their priorities and activities with the common goal—***(re)development without displacement***. Importantly, representatives from both Rising Tide Partners and Rebuilding Together Pittsburgh articulated similar orientations for their operations in Hazelwood—intentionally working through community advisory groups and with residents to ensure their activities meet local needs while being conscious to honor local preferences as much as possible. Several grantees pointed to their connection to the Greater Hazelwood Community Collaborative as a critical vehicle for working with other organizations in Hazelwood.⁴⁵

The Collaborative's monthly meetings are designed to involve more than 40 organizations working inside Hazelwood. These meetings are intended to create space for community-serving organizations to work through issues related to programmatic and funding competition, respecting each other's lanes, identifying opportunities to collaborate programmatically as well as to jointly pursue funding, providing input on development plans on Hazelwood Green, and to collectively articulate a vision for the neighborhood that reflects the cultural preferences and priorities of the diverse population in Hazelwood. Grantees reported varying degrees to which the Collaborative facilitates this type of information sharing and coordination among Hazelwood-serving organizations. However, with all the investment coming into the neighborhood, this type of big-tent approach is an important venue to align organizations' efforts to a unifying 'north star,' development without displacement.

⁴⁵ We note also that several interviewees reported that they serve on the boards of other organizations operating in Hazelwood. And all interviewees were familiar with each other and the organizations being funded by CED. As such there is more connection and sightline into priorities and activities than may meet the eye.



Theme 3: Displacement pressure from distressed housing conditions is pervasive among Hazelwood residents, while displacement from rising prices remains more anecdotal.

Multiple grantees expressed that residents' "fear of displacement is high," while at the same time acknowledging that their experience of residential displacement has thus far been more anecdotal. Grantees shared stories of renters who had to move due to a change in ownership of their units, and others conveyed residents' concerns of potential tax increases associated with scheduled reassessments.

At the same time, redevelopment activity currently underway in Hazelwood does involve moving some residents around in the process. Rehabilitating blighted homes and multi-family buildings to get them back to a livable situation requires residents to be 'shuffled' from their existing home while it is rehabilitated—which potentially creates a perception of displacement when substandard homes are being stabilized and improved.

Grantees shared their experiences of displacement in Hazelwood through a combination of factors. Grantees described instances of ***displacement associated with upward pressure on housing prices (and rents)*** such as new development of housing at price points above what a typical Hazelwood resident might be able to afford, redevelopment of existing housing at price points that exceed the capacity of current residents, or tax increases associated with updated tax assessed values. Some grantees also reported a perception that rehabilitated homes and multi-family units were 'not for' current Hazelwood residents. They expressed that while newly rehabilitated units might not immediately 'displace' a long-time resident living on the same block, the process of 'in-filling' by new residents with higher incomes would eventually make the neighborhood inaccessible for current residents with modest incomes.

On the other hand, grantees also described a process of ***displacement associated with distress—financial distress of residents, and/or structural deterioration that make homes uninhabitable***. The term "rotrification," was used by multiple grantees to characterize a primary force driving displacement in Hazelwood.⁴⁶ Grantees articulated the realities of urban blight and deterioration in Hazelwood, describing properties throughout Hazelwood that have declined to the point that there is nothing that can be done to rehabilitate the homes. Residents in these homes face a "potential for displacement because homes aren't safe or healthy." Additionally, the existence of rowhouses and townhouses with abandoned units in Hazelwood poses significant challenges for homeowners or tenants living next to poorly maintained properties.

As seen in in the previous section, at this time there is no consistent evidence to suggest that housing prices in Hazelwood are contributing to observable patterns of residential displacement—at least not more than occurs across Pittsburgh (or other communities throughout the US, for that matter). Interviews suggest that the most prominent factors associated with residential displacement remain the pervasive distress of much of the housing stock throughout Hazelwood and residents' financial precarity. Moreover, a substantial share of vacant and physically distressed properties is under ownership of THE grantees who are committed to redeveloping units that will be affordable to existing residents.

⁴⁶ <https://www.publicsource.org/east-hills-consensus-pittsburgh-blight-rising-tide-partners/>



Interviewees acknowledge that it will likely be the case that other market-rate developers will become increasingly active in Hazelwood and will likely create housing options at higher price points. However, THE investments have functionally established a floor in the neighborhood to ensure there will be enough affordable housing so residents with modest incomes can continue to call Hazelwood home, should they so choose. Interviewees also pointed to proposed LIHTC developments (now approved)⁴⁷ as a further addition of more high-quality affordable housing. That said, ensuring that residents have the agency to make a choice, whether that is to stay in Hazelwood or to relocate, continues to be a fundamental principle guiding THE's grantees' efforts to support redevelopment without displacement.

Conclusion

This report provides a series of quantitative measures and qualitative reports all offered to understand whether there is evidence of **development without displacement** in Hazelwood. Qualitative data are offered to understand, to what degree: (a) Hazelwood residents feel the pressure of displacement; (b) THE investments support residents' ability to exercise agency in where they want to live (Hazelwood, or elsewhere); and (c) THE is considered a valued partner in the future of Hazelwood and its residents. The answer to all these questions is, in some ways clear, but in other ways, ambiguous.

Is there evidence of displacement? ***Changes in the demographic, economic and housing markets over time generally do not exhibit strong and unambiguous patterns consistent with economic displacement connected to the Hazelwood Green investments, but vulnerability and fear do manifest current and future concerns.*** Certainly, there are resident and neighborhood-level vulnerabilities to displacement (e.g., people of color for whom generations of trauma lead to the expectation that changes such as those occurring on Hazelwood Green will not benefit them, older people on fixed incomes who cannot keep up with ongoing housing and maintenance costs, homeowners who had repair needs that they cannot afford to address, very low income renters without permanent income-restricted affordable housing options).⁴⁸ Those vulnerabilities led CreateLab (a CED grantee) to conclude from their resident interviews that: "Fear of displacement due to rising housing costs and development is widespread."⁴⁹

Racially, there is little change in the neighborhood demographics; if anything, Hazelwood has become slightly more non-White over time. The population snapshots show it to be a community that is older. Vacancy is objectively high and slightly rising, and there is low turnover.⁵⁰ Poverty is high, and there is a

⁴⁷ We note that while it is generally the case that residents of subsidized housing do not experience a cost-burden, some in fact do. For example, in LIHTC units, rents are established as affordable for a certain percentage of the HUD-defined Area Median Income (AMI). The 4-person, 60% AMI in 2025 is over \$64,000. That amount is nearly double the median household income of Hazelwood residents reported just a few years ago. The rents, therefore, may appear (or actually) be more than low-income Hazelwood residents can afford. This is often remedied by adding additional subsidy (e.g., shallow rent subsidy payments made on behalf of tenants)—but it is an issue worthy of consideration when juxtaposed to resident fears.

⁴⁸ See Greater Hazelwood Neighborhood Plan and CreateLab.

⁴⁹ CreateLab, p. 9.

⁵⁰ CreateLab addresses the question of mobility through a different approach, and they conclude: "Up through the period for which data is available, it is clear that Greater Hazelwood has [sic] relatively low rate of turnover in its



decline in the percentage of households earning twice the poverty rate. There is remarkable stability in the characteristics observed related to Hazelwood residents who are working, and workers working in Hazelwood. And there is a significant and growing stock of long-term affordable housing. These resident conditions are not those that one would typically observe in an area undergoing gentrification.

That said, ambiguous markers suggest that there has been something of a transition from owners to renters signaling potentially greater vulnerability (if Hazelwood renters do not have access to “permanently” income-restricted affordable housing). And while typical household incomes are low, there is a small bump in the distribution reflective of a small population of higher income households.

One more clear marker of the potential risk of displacement can be observed in the ownership figures for Hazelwood. Compared to the remainder of Pittsburgh, there is a higher rate of corporate ownership of housing, a rate that is persistently greater than that of Pittsburgh.⁵¹

Additionally, home values and rents are rising faster than resident incomes in Hazelwood, making Hazelwood (and many other communities in the region and across the country, simply put, less affordable).⁵² Cost burdens in Hazelwood are most frequent and uniquely problematic for low-income renters.

Vacant and deteriorating properties in Hazelwood can act as a displacing force for residents. As noted previously, displacement can occur when conditions in a community do not keep pace with dominant market trends, and especially so when the physical condition of the neighborhood and its homes deteriorate. Multiple interviewees pointed to that displacing effect of blighted properties as a phenomenon that several referred to as “rotrification.” The conditions around existing residents are so poor that people are motivated to leave to escape that blight.⁵³

The analysis of Hazelwood block groups in comparison to other Pittsburgh areas—and comparable areas in Philadelphia, Baltimore, and St. Louis—generally shows that ***there is no unusual displacement risk in Hazelwood compared to other comparable Pittsburgh block groups. The comparison of Hazelwood block groups to other cities shows that Hazelwood has generally fared substantially better than those households residing in the neighborhoods adjacent to the West Philadelphia financial lightning bolt connected to the universities, hospitals, and research centers.*** And the ***Hazelwood block groups***

owner market, and comparable rates of renter turnover to the other neighborhood areas we have looked at in this report, all of which are lower than city and county rates at large.” P. 19.

⁵¹ It is possible that some of the corporate ownership in Hazelwood that contributes to its higher rate compared to the rest of Pittsburgh is connected to the grantees purchasing residential property for purposes of site control and/or rehabilitation.

⁵² For a slightly different geography, CreateLab notes that home values in Greater Hazelwood have risen, but not as quickly nor typically to the level of the city of Pittsburgh. Rents however have trended up faster than the city of Pittsburgh, but still not on average equal to rents paid throughout the city.

⁵³ A substantial proportion of respondents in CreateLab’s mover survey, particularly respondents who left Hazelwood, pointed to property conditions and neighborhood safety as motivating factors.



generally manifest less negative pressure (consistent with the lagging market phenomena previously described) than in the St. Louis and Baltimore comparators.

Have THE investments in Hazelwood effectuated the development without displacement priority? ***The preponderance of the evidence is that those investments are working.*** But it is difficult to know which individual investment (e.g., rehabbing homes of residents who could not afford the cost of maintenance, site control and rehabilitation of blighted properties, community-based efforts to engage with Hazelwood residents as a means of hearing community voice, efforts to strengthen individual capacity and community cohesion, trauma informed counseling/coaching to ensure people can engage meaningfully and constructively economically) made a difference. However, ***the portfolio of people- and place-based interventions supported, taken together, appear to have positioned Hazelwood residents to remain in Hazelwood, if that is their choice. And they appear to have positioned Hazelwood, in comparison to other areas, to moderate housing displacement pressure. There remain challenges in Hazelwood owing to what is still a significant stock of blighted properties, a challenge that remains a priority for multiple CED grantees. And trauma associated with race and poverty does not go away quickly; that trauma will condition how residents experience what is happening in Hazelwood. Thus, it is not unexpected that residents fear displacement; but it is comforting to know that there is, currently, limited evidence of that displacement.***

With some sense of security in the knowledge that existing Hazelwood residents should be able to secure stable and affordable housing in Hazelwood (especially given that more long-term affordability is in the pipeline for Hazelwood), THE can pivot their attention towards more intentionally supporting human capital development among Hazelwood residents. Prospects are good that current residents of modest means will have affordable and suitable places to live, and the site control CED grantees have secured will help. But the next generation of Hazelwood residents must develop the capacity to access opportunities in the local and regional economy to earn family sustaining wages; wages that can sustain market-rate rents, support a family, and provide a way for individuals and families to exercise agency over how, and where to live and raise their families.

Limitations

The findings presented in this report must also be considered within the context of the following limitations:

First, this examination is largely focused on residential real estate in Hazelwood. Primarily, we examined THE investments in Hazelwood's current and future housing stock as a response to anticipated implications of the financial lightning bolt on Hazelwood Green for that stock and its residents. Over the past 15 years THE has made many other investments, benefiting a range of organizations across multiple outcomes/dimensions (e.g., resident capacity, community arts and culture, the local environment and public policy issues), but those activities are not explicitly examined in this review. In addition to the empirical focus on changes in residential real estate, this study has provided enhanced levels of clarity on THE's funded activities in Hazelwood and the interconnected nature of those activities. The Hazelwood logic model provides an initial roadmap to the data and methods that will be necessary to understand the unique contribution of other critical activities on the ultimate vision for Hazelwood. That work will be observable in future updates to this examination.



Second, the Hazelwood Green lightning bolt today is merely an ‘initial strike’ – it does not represent the culmination of what is expected to ultimately occupy the Green. Perhaps then, the lack of evidence of Hazelwood Green-related displacement is at least partly a function of the fact that so much of the Green’s final build-out is not complete. And perhaps the angst expressed by residents is angst that they hold knowing by experience that eventually they will be displaced. This is a limitation that we acknowledge, making it even more important that the metrics we are now tracking—including the comparisons of Hazelwood to other Pittsburgh neighborhoods and neighborhoods in other cities—continues.

Third, we cannot with certainty discern which activities, amongst all the things THE has supported in Hazelwood, are primarily responsible for the evident lack of substantial displacement pressure. Here, data and logic must be instructive. Activities that create more long-term dedicated affordable housing will, by necessity, either help people stay in place and/or serve as home to new Hazelwood residents who are predominantly lower or moderate income. Activities that support existing homeowners to upgrade their properties and stay in their homes—those too are stabilizing. Assuming that the funded intermediaries stay true to their missions, their site control and other funded activities will ensure that Hazelwood can remain home to people of modest means. The conclusions we can therefore draw are that the collective bundle of critical activities contribute to the observed stability. But to be clear, we cannot discern which *particular activity* is making the difference.