



Baltimore By The Numbers

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Every ten years the U.S. Census Bureau conducts a population count of every person in the United States. This population count is used by jurisdictions to designate political boundaries, give local governments an understanding of their area's needs, and direct the allocation of federal and state funds for programs in local jurisdictions. Many neighborhood organizations, foundations and even universities analyze this data to identify areas where they can target their own limited resources.

To better understand the Census and its results, the Department of Planning's Research and Strategic Planning (RSP) Division will engage in a thorough analysis of the U.S. Census and other data sources to assess changes in Baltimore and its neighborhoods – including changes in population, basic demographics, household characteristics, homeownership rates, housing vacancy, and more. These analyses will be disseminated to the general public through a series of policy briefs, called “Baltimore by the Numbers”. These briefs can then be used by citizens, nonprofit organizations and civic leaders to inform and guide our efforts to make Baltimore a better, safer and stronger place to live and work.

Each Baltimore by the Numbers will be approximately ten pages long, and will provide a summary of the Department of Planning's analysis on a focused topic and possible policy challenges or considerations.

Baltimore & the 2010 Census

What does the Census say about Population Changes and Housing Conditions in Baltimore?

Mayor Stephanie Rawlings-Blake, in her State of the City address, laid out an ambitious goal to grow the city by 10,000 households over the next ten years. This is both a hopeful and aggressive goal, and presents a significant challenge if we consider the changes that have taken place in Baltimore since the 1950's. Baltimore has gotten smaller, having lost a total of 181,000 households since 1950. The steep declines of the past are slowing, however. The 2010 Census shows fewer people are leaving the city, with Baltimore losing just 8,000 households since 2000.

With fewer households being lost each year, and new people moving in, it appears the city is experiencing a shift in population dynamics and our neighborhoods are experiencing some positive changes. Although there is still much work to be done, knowing where we are will help guide us to a future where Baltimore can continue to grow better and stronger.

This report explores population changes in the city since the 2000 Census, with references to trends from previous decades. The analysis will also provide a national perspective and fit Baltimore into the bigger picture. We will examine who is moving into or out of Baltimore, and discuss these population challenges.

Summary of Findings

Baltimore's population declines, and neighborhood level gains, mirror those of other rustbelt and northeast cities, and are impacted by a variety of social and economic factors.

- Baltimore's downtown showed significant gains, particularly among single male-headed households; while citywide many neighborhoods lost families with children.
- Baltimore housing trends were affected by population changes, based on overall occupancy rates, loss of housing units, and increases in vacant housing units.
- Baltimore experienced population growth among young people, mainly between the ages of 18 to 34 years old.

National Trends

In the 2010 Census, 308.7 million people were counted in the United States, a 9.7% increase from the 2000 Census of 281.4 million people. Population growth from 2000 to 2010 varied geographically throughout the country, with large population increases in some areas and little growth or decline in others. Regionally, the Northeast grew by only 3.2%, compared to the Midwest which grew by 3.9%. Western and Southern regions experienced the greatest population gains, growing by 13.8% and 14.3% respectively.

Based on the analysis (see map in Figure 1.), it is clear that the Northeast experienced the smallest gains, and according to the 2011 study, *Growing Cities, Shrinking Cities* by the Federal Reserve Bank of Cleveland, population losses in these areas were attributed to a wide range of factors. The study analyzed the causes of population gains and losses in 64 cities across the United States with a population of 250,000 or more (New Orleans was excluded due to the large population losses caused by Hurricane Katrina).

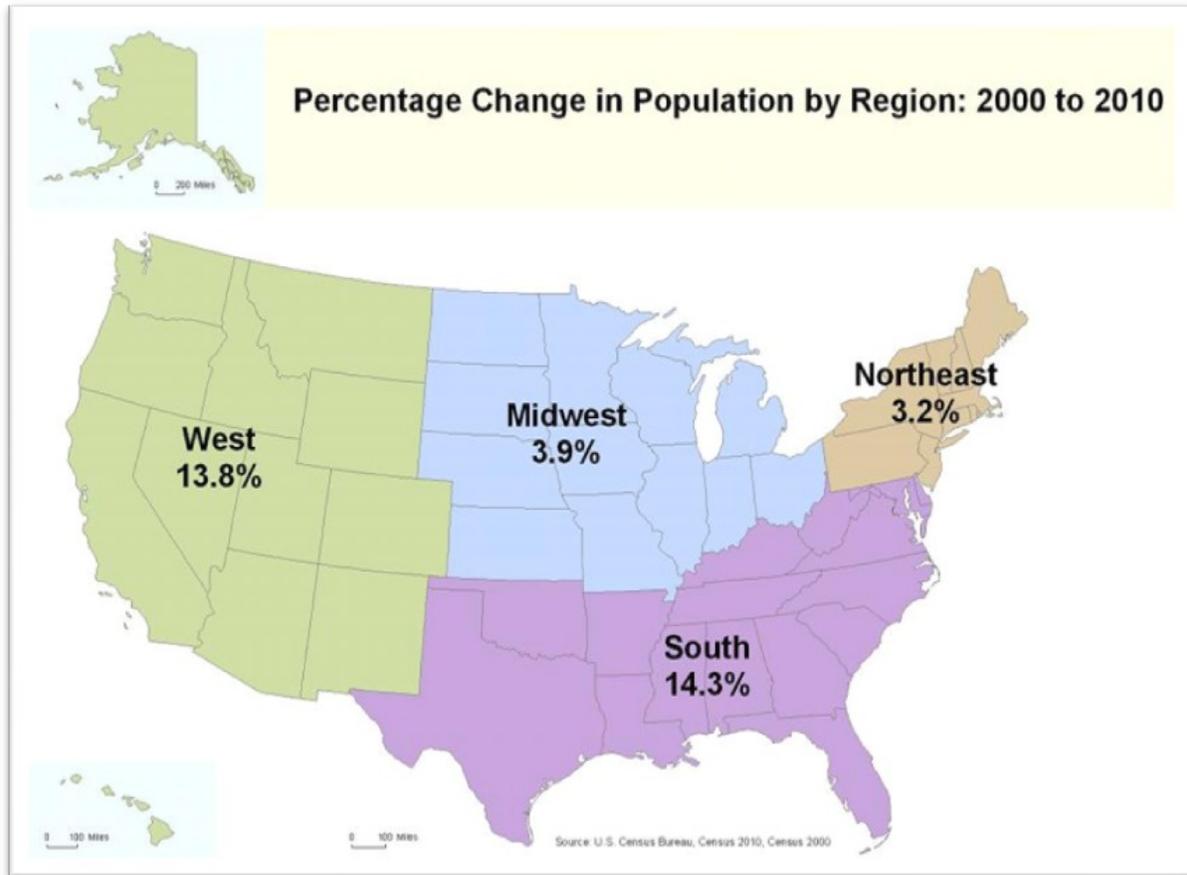


Figure 1: National Map of Population Change from 2000 to 2010. Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Census 2010, Census 2000.

The Federal Reserve study also examined factors that may have impacted population growth in cities, including their percent of manufacturing industries, climate, education, job growth and household median incomes. The table below shows how Baltimore fared in the study when compared to 20 similar cities with populations between 200,000 and 500,000.

City	2010 Pop	2000-2010 % Change	Ave. High January Temp (F)	Median Household Income	Poverty Rate	% Pop over 25 with at least a Bachelor's Degree	Unemployment Rate 2010	% Foreign Born	Employment % Change Jan. 2001- Jan. 2011
Austin	790,390	20.40%	61.6	\$50,236	17.50%	43.50%	6.50%	19.5	12.67%
Columbus	787,083	10.60%	36.5	\$43,569	19.90%	32.50%	8.90%	10.1	-0.42%
Fort Worth	741,206	38.60%	54.1	\$48,015	17%	25.20%	8.10%	17.4	3.28%
Charlotte	731,424	35.20%	51	\$52,364	12.80%	39.80%	9.20%	14.6	4.07%
Detroit	713,777	-25.00%	32	\$29,447	33.20%	12.10%	24.80%	5.1	-21.66%
El Paso	649,121	15.20%	57.2	\$36,147	25.30%	20.90%	7.20%	25.8	8.20%
Memphis	646,889	-0.50%	49.8	\$36,535	24.20%	22.80%	12.50%	6.1	-5.68%
Baltimore	620,961	-4.60%	44.1	\$38,738	20.10%	24.90%	11.50%	7	0.82%
Boston	617,594	4.80%	36.3	\$52,433	19.10%	42.90%	9.30%	27.2	-5.20%
Seattle	608,660	8.00%	47	\$58,990	12.20%	54.30%	6.30%	17.3	0.70%
Washington, D.C.	601,723	5.20%	43.6	\$56,519	18.30%	47.10%	9.40%	13	5.62%
Nashville	601,222	10.20%	47.4	\$45,194	16%	32.90%	-	-	5.16%
Denver	600,158	8.20%	43.2	\$45,434	17.80%	32.30%	7.80%	16.6	-0.86%
Louisville	597,337	133.10%	41	\$42,798	16.50%	24.40%	-	-	-2.44%
Milwaukee	594,833	-0.40%	28	\$37,089	24.30%	21.40%	11.60%	9.7	-8.66%
Portland	583,776	10.30%	47	\$48,053	16.10%	40.20%	8.80%	13.4	-0.70%
Las Vegas	583,756	22.00%	57.1	\$54,327	12.30%	21.20%	9.80%	22.3	9.91%
Oklahoma City	579,999	14.60%	46.7	\$42,181	17.30%	26.90%	8.60%	6.9	3.00%
Albuquerque	545,852	21.70%	47.6	\$45,478	15.20%	32.20%	6.30%	10.9	1.99%
Tucson	520,116	6.90%	65	\$37,635	20.30%	24.80%	8.60%	16	4.38%

Table 1: Characteristics of Selected U.S. Cities. Sources: U.S. Census Bureau, Census 2010, American Community Survey 2006-2010 5-Year Estimates, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration.

Jobs and Population Growth

According to *Growing Cities, Shrinking Cities*, cities that saw significant population increases also experienced job growth in their metropolitan region over the same decade, although the study could not determine whether people were following the jobs, or jobs were relocating to growing regions. The study did assert that cities with disproportionately high concentrations of employment in the manufacturing sectors saw slower population growth or experienced population losses. Areas with population and job gains tended to be cities in the south and western regions of the country, while Midwest cities like Cleveland, Toledo and Detroit, areas heavily dependent on manufacturing industries, saw no gain or declines in population and total number of jobs.

In Baltimore, manufacturing represents less than 10% of the economy; however, the city experienced less than 1% job growth between 2000 and 2010. In comparison to other cities, those that experienced more than 5% job growth saw significant population increases. Northeast cities with populations comparable to Baltimore (population between

500,000 to 800,000 in 2010), show different results in relation to population growth. Boston, for example, gained population despite a 5.2% decline in employment, while Washington, DC gained population and posted a 5.6% increase in employment. As a result, we can infer that national shifts in employment do not entirely correlate with similar changes in population.

Incomes and Population Growth

In the same study, household income and education were identified as key factors which impact population changes. In the report, cities with higher median household incomes showed population gains, while cities with lower median household incomes experienced losses. The same was true for cities with a higher percentage of people with Bachelor degrees. In this context, Baltimore was comparable to Midwest cities with an average median household income of less than \$40,000, and like these cities, Baltimore lost population in the last decennial census. Northeast cities with comparable population sizes, such as Boston and DC, had median household incomes above \$50,000, and both gained population.

Despite higher median incomes, the poverty rates of these cities were similar to Baltimore's 20% poverty rate. This is only slightly higher than Washington DC's 18.3% and Boston's 19.1% poverty rate. In terms of Bachelor's degrees, Baltimore trailed the college educated populations of Washington DC and Boston by a large margin.

Although progress is being made in Baltimore, where the percent of people with degrees has increased by 23.2% since the last decennial census, only 25% of Baltimore residents have Bachelor degrees, compared to 47% in Washington DC, and 43 % in Boston. Therefore, we can conclude that Baltimore must increase the education levels of its population, and in turn increase total earning potential, in order to build a solid foundation for population and job growth. To do that, we can strive to better educate our residents, retain students trained in our local colleges and universities, and attract new, more educated workers from other places.

Climate and Population Growth

Interestingly, climate is identified in the study as a key factor influencing population changes. The *Growing Cities, Shrinking Cities* study found that cities with warmer weather during the month of January grew more on average than cities located in colder states. Baltimore's average January temperature was 44 degrees, which is significantly lower than those in southern and western states whose populations grew by more than 10% on average. This was also true for other Midwest cities, although some "cooler" cities like Boston and Washington DC contradict this assumption, with both cities gaining in population despite their colder temperatures. Unfortunately, weather is not something that any of us can control.

Other Factors Impacting Population Growth

Other factors may also have an impact on rates of population growth, including taxes, immigration, and a city's ability to annex surrounding areas thereby increasing their population and number of jobs. National studies do show a statistical relationship between low taxes and high economic growth for metropolitan areas, counties, and states. Such studies conclude that employers relocate to the Sun Belt because of lower "costs of doing business" (lower business taxes and fewer regulations)¹.

Other studies highlight annexation policies as factors which effect urban population gains. Some of these cases are related to city and county consolidations². The details of these consolidations vary considerably, but when looking at the 20 largest cities in the United States, 90 to 100% of their population increases are directly attributable to growth in their parent counties. These consolidated cities are: Jacksonville, FL (1970-1990); Columbus, GA (1980-1990); Indianapolis, IN (1970-1990); Lexington, KY (1980-1990); and Nashville, TN (1970-1990). Baltimore City, which is considered by the State of Maryland as equivalent to an independent county, is unable to unilaterally annex adjacent areas because it is surrounded by other independent counties – Baltimore and Anne Arundel. Consolidation of two independent counties or jurisdictions is very rare in the United States because both would have to agree unanimously on the terms of such a merger.

Immigration and Downtown Redevelopment

Immigration was not discussed in the Cleveland study, but it is an important factor to consider when comparing cities and population trends. Baltimore has not been able to attract a large immigrant population, as the foreign born population makes up only 7% of the total population. Washington DC and Boston's foreign born population is double Baltimore's at 13% and 27% respectively. New Haven, Newark, and Philadelphia are all east coast cities that gained in population and much of their gains are linked to immigration and significant population increases in their central downtowns.

The same is true for New Haven, Connecticut which saw a 6% increase in its Hispanic population, increasing to 27% in 2010. Newark, New Jersey saw an increase in the immigrant population of approximately 18% and showed significant increases in its downtown population due to its proximity to New York City. The same was true for Philadelphia, which grew by 10,000 downtown households accounting for more than the entire city's growth during the ten year period (which was about 8,600 households).

Though Baltimore's statistics still lag behind several other east coast cities, the city has made some progress in the last decade in comparison to other places, mainly due to growth in its downtown. Baltimore's overall population declined by approximately 4.6%; however Downtown, popularly known as census tract 401, grew by 140% since 2000. This demonstrates Baltimore's growing potential.

A focus on Baltimore’s Changing Neighborhoods

In the 1990s, the City of Baltimore appeared to be on the same trajectory as previous decades – it was losing population. At that time, the city employed approximately 30% of the region’s labor force, property values remained depressed and many neighborhoods suffered from insufficient market demand. Between 1990 and 2000, the city lost 11.5% of its population to surrounding counties and regions. This population decline represented the loss of approximately 85,000 individuals, composed mainly of families with children five years old and older.

The decade between 2000 and 2010, however, did show a change in the magnitude of population loss in the city. Since 2000, Baltimore continued to lose population with a decline of 30,000 individuals or a 4.6% loss reported in the 2010 census. This change over a 10 year period was not as drastic as that of the previous decade, or any other decade before the 1950s. The smaller decline in 2010 represented a leveling off of the city’s rate of population change as shown in Figure 2.

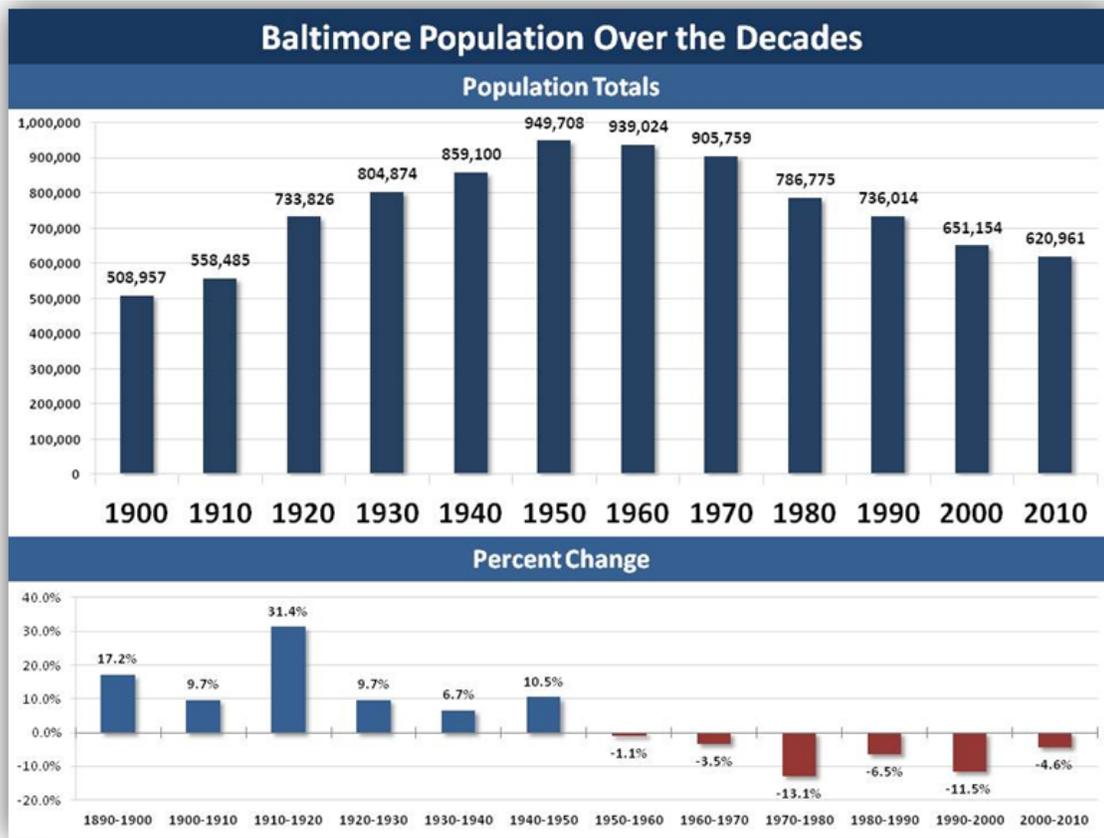


Figure 2: Population Trends for Baltimore. Source: U.S. Census Bureau

As it did in the 1990s, families with children made up the highest percentage of population loss for the city. In spite of continual population declines city-wide from 2000-2010, Baltimore did show some gains. College aged and young households between the ages of 25 and 34 increased by more than 10%. Other significant increases were posted among the 45 to 59 year old group. Baltimore's foreign born population also increased slightly, from 4.6% in 2000 to 7.1% in 2010. Although the increase was relatively small, Hispanic or Latino households represented a significant portion of this increase, with a gain of 135%.

Positive Change in Downtown Neighborhoods

Between 2000 and 2010, some neighborhoods in the city experienced growth despite a citywide population decline. Between 2000 and 2010, 12 census tracts grew by 20% or more (See Figure 3), a higher number than in the previous decade. In addition, from 2000 to 2010, ten neighborhoods experienced population growth of over 50%, including Blythewood, Old Goucher, Stonewood-Pentwood-Winston, Heritage Crossing, Inner Harbor, Jonestown, Locust Point and Downtown.

Baltimore's downtown has been on an upward cycle of revitalization and redevelopment since the Charles Center project in the 1970s and Harbor redevelopment in the 1980s. According to the 2010 census, the downtown area more than doubled its population since the 2000 census, by attracting population with market-rate residential developments, retail and commercial investments.

The summary statistics for Downtown Baltimore's Census Tract 401 show that between 2000 and 2010 the total population of this one census tract increased by approximately 131%. Much of this growth was represented by the 18-34 age groups, signifying an ability to attract creative, young professionals. Citywide growth amongst this age group was approximately 10 percent overall, but amongst neighborhoods that experienced significant gains in population, including downtown, growth in this age group was well over 200%.

Baltimore Housing Trends (1990 -2010) Influenced by Population Change

During the 1990s, high rates of household outmigration greatly impacted housing trends in the city overall, as the owner occupancy rate declined by 3.4% and vacant housing units increased by 56% as shown in Table 2. In spite of continued population declines, housing trends differed in 2010, when compared to the previous decade.

According to the U.S. Census, vacant properties are defined as unoccupied housing units that are for sale only, for rent, or not for sale or rent. The latter classification—vacant units categorized as not for sale or rent, represent properties which have been abandoned for an extensive period of time, with prolonged vacancy, deterioration of surrounding properties, and low market demand. These units increased by approximately 111% during the 1990s

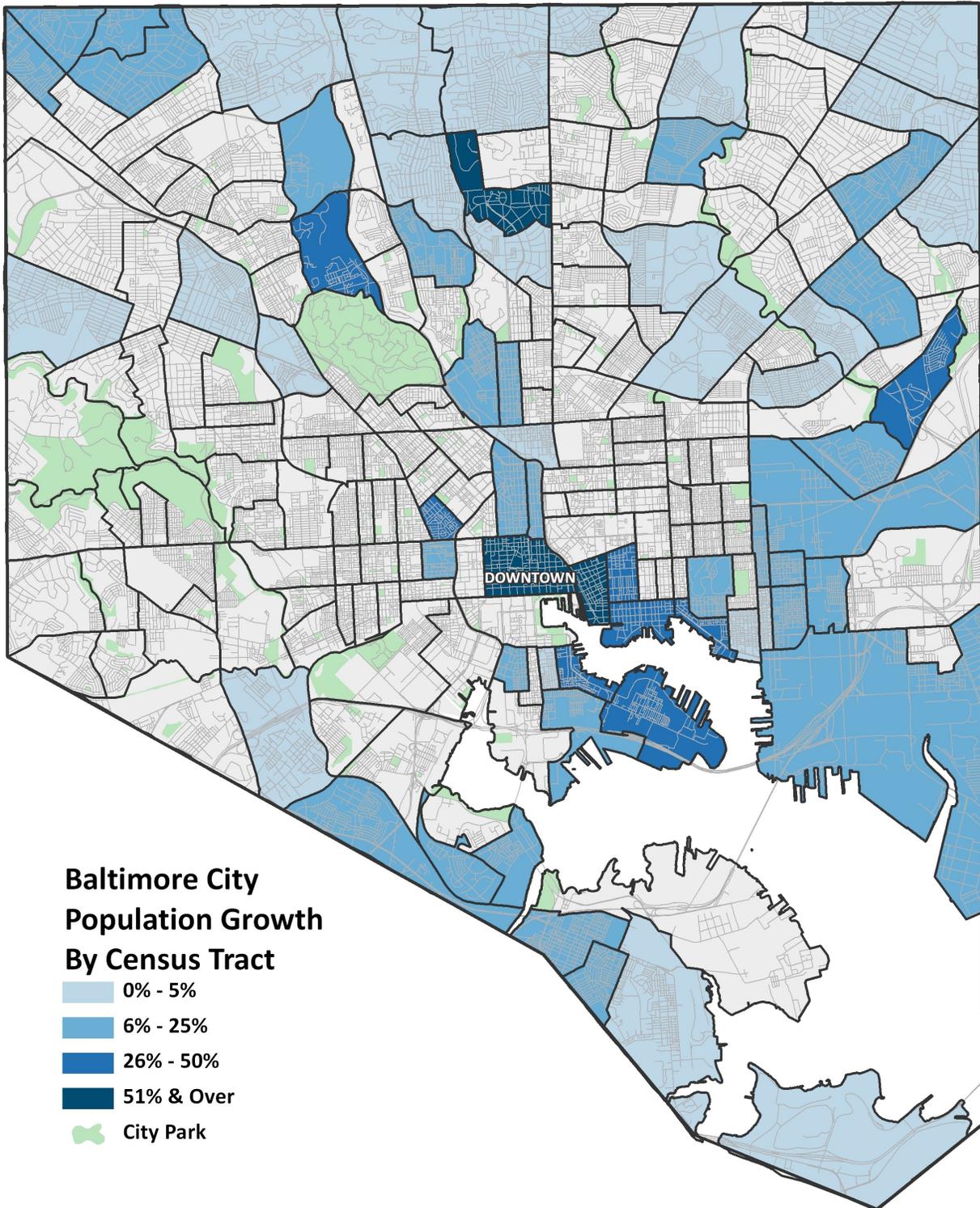


Figure 3: Map of Baltimore Census Tracts Experiencing High Population Growth. Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Census 2010, Census 2000.

and the data shows Baltimore experiencing a net loss of approximately 3,000 housing units per decade since 1990. But, between 2000 and 2010 Baltimore saw a 5% decline in the number of those vacant and abandoned units.

Housing Characteristics	1990	2000	Pct of Total	Change	% Change	2000	2010	Pct of Total	Change	% Change
Total Housing Units	303,700	300,477	100.0%	-3,223	-1.1%	300,477	296,685	100.0%	-3,792	-1.3%
Occupied Units	276,481	257,996	85.9%	-18,485	-6.7%	257,996	249,903	84.2%	-8,093	-3.1%
Owner Occupied	134,415	129,869	50.3%	-4,546	-3.4%	129,869	119,163	47.7%	-10,706	-8.2%
Renter Occupied	142,054	128,127	49.7%	-13,927	-9.8%	128,127	130,740	52.3%	2,613	2.0%
Vacant Units	27,207	42,481	14.1%	15,274	56.1%	42,481	46,782	15.8%	4,301	10.1%
For Sale Only	2,786	4,823	11.4%	2,037	73.1%	4,823	5,211	11.1%	388	8.0%
For Rent	11,559	10,505	24.7%	-1,054	-9.1%	10,505	15,764	33.7%	5,259	50.1%
Not for Sale or Rent	12,862	27,153	40.4%	14,291	111.1%	27,153	25,807	55.2%	-1,346	-5.0%

Table 2: Changes in Baltimore's Housing Characteristics from 1990-2010. Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Census 1990, Census 2000, Census 2010.

In 2005, at the height of the national housing boom, the city's housing market was strong and saw significant increases in home sale prices. This continued until 2008, when the 'housing bubble' burst, which caused home sales followed by home values, to drop throughout the city. High rates of unemployment coupled with predatory lending and declining housing values caused homeowners to file for foreclosure in record numbers. Many were unable to sell their homes in a constricted housing market and were left with little incentive to continue mortgage payments as their homes were "underwater" with a principal balance higher than the actual worth of their home. Foreclosure filings nearly doubled in the city from 3,062 in 2006 to 5,902 in 2009. However not all of these foreclosed units resulted in additional vacancies.

Spikes in foreclosure filings were reflected by an 8.2% decline in owner occupied units in the 2010 census, a decrease almost twice that reported in the 2000 census. The number of rental occupied housing units increased by 2% in 2010, also better than the 10% decline during the previous decade. While vacant units increased overall between 2000 and 2010, by approximately 10%; this increase was 40% lower than the changes seen in 1990s.

Substantial population growth in Baltimore's downtown and in other redeveloped areas elsewhere and along the Harbor, resulted in increases in the total number of occupied units in these areas, with rental units increasing by 170% and owner occupied units increasing by 118%, while vacant units declined by 30%.

What can we conclude?

After reviewing the results of the 2010 census, it is evident that major improvements are happening in Baltimore. It is also clear, however, that Baltimore still has significant challenges and must proactively address areas of distress to avoid the reversal of progress in flourishing pockets of the city over the next ten years.

From this brief analysis, it is evident that the trajectory of Baltimore's population change is shifting. The shift is slow, but in recent decades, Baltimore has been losing fewer households. In comparison to other east coast cities, Baltimore is faring pretty well. Among cities such as Philadelphia, Newark, and New Haven which experienced net gains in population, Baltimore's downtown census tract saw percentage gains more than doubled those of their downtowns. In addition, Baltimore's downtown is not the only area which showed significant gains. As discussed, since the last census in 2000, an increasing number of neighborhoods saw population gains of over 20%. These gains indicate that Baltimore is attracting households, but not sufficiently retaining its existing population, particularly families with children.

The Mayor's goal of growing the city by 10,000 households over the next 10 years is an important one, but the focus must also include efforts to retain existing households, or the net result will continue to be negative. Baltimore's neighborhoods have begun to thrive again since the 1990s. It is important, however, for City policy makers to focus on existing neighborhood assets in areas exhibiting destabilizing conditions.

Improvements in citywide infrastructure, crime reduction and quality schools are necessary to keep families in Baltimore. In addition to growing the city's population, the demolition of housing units that are obsolete or beyond repair is a key to addressing the excess supply of vacant structures that negatively impact the city's overall housing market.

In the next *Baltimore by the Numbers* census overview, we will look even more closely at population changes and how they impact housing market conditions.

¹ Stassel, Dean. 2011. "Why Some Cities Are Growing and Others Shrinking." *Cato Journal*, 31(2): 285–303. Available at <http://www.cato.org/pubs/journal/cj31n2/cj31n2-6.pdf>.

² APA Planning Advisory Service (PAS) and Nash, Betty Joyce, 2005. "The Border Line and the Bottom Line: The Economics of Municipal Annexation", *Region Focus*, Winter 2005: 40. Published by the Federal Reserve Bank of Richmond and available at http://richmondfed.org/publications/research/region_focus/2005/winter/pdf/economic_history.pdf.



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