

An aerial photograph of the Pittsburgh skyline, featuring the city's dense urban core, the Allegheny River, and several bridges. The text "How Devaluation Impacts Black Business Development" is overlaid in white, bold, sans-serif font.

How Devaluation Impacts Black Business Development

Andre Perry, Senior Fellow
@andreperryedu

BROOKINGS

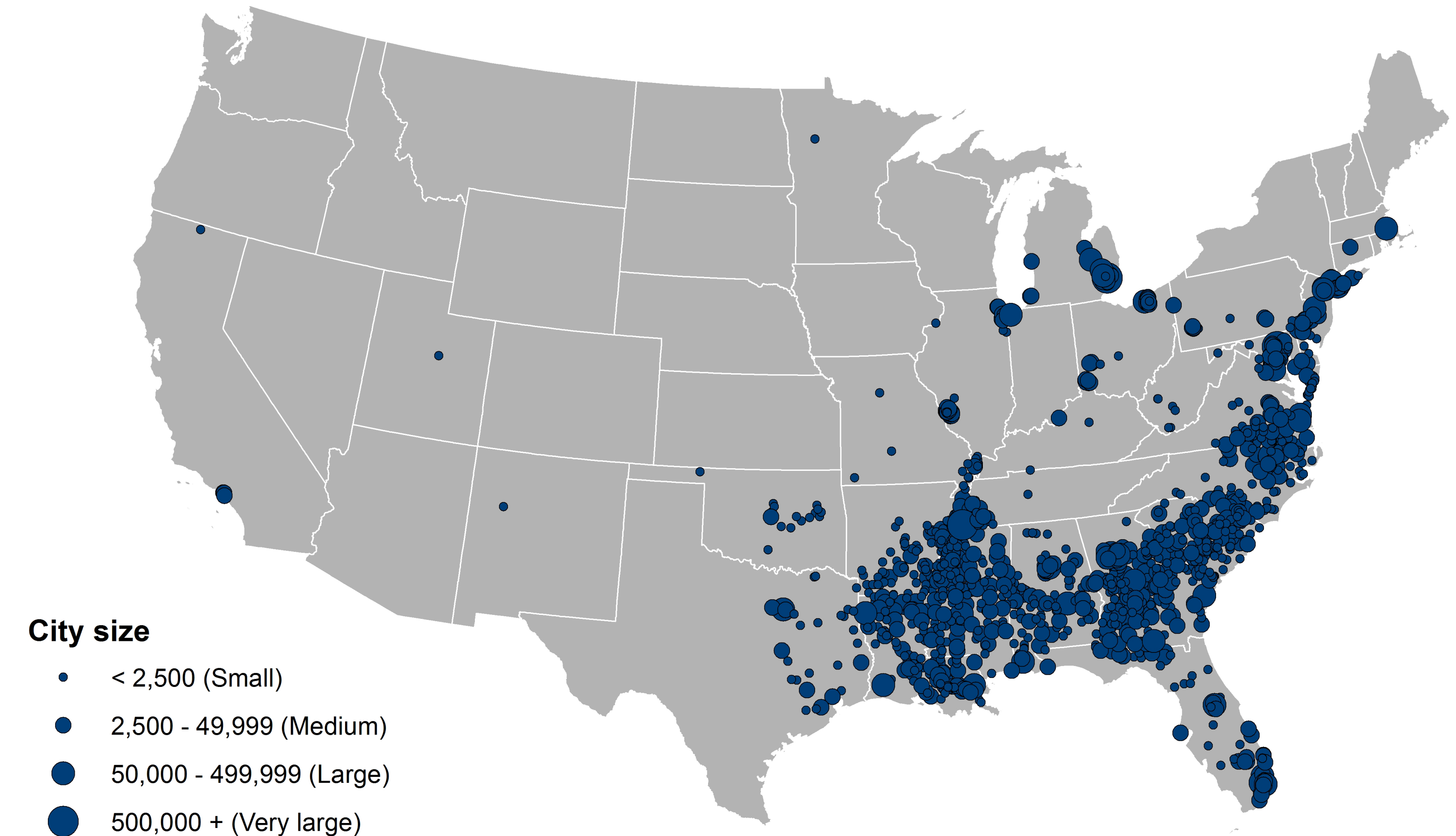
Black cities

Largely located in
the **Deep South**

and along the
East Coast

All majority-Black cities by total population

U.S., ACS 5-year average 2015 - 2020







B



Redlining

**Restrictive
covenants**

**WE WANT WHITE
TENANTS IN OUR
WHITE COMMUNITY**

**Neighborhood
Devaluation**

**Highway
construction
through Black
neighborhoods**

**Predatory
lending**

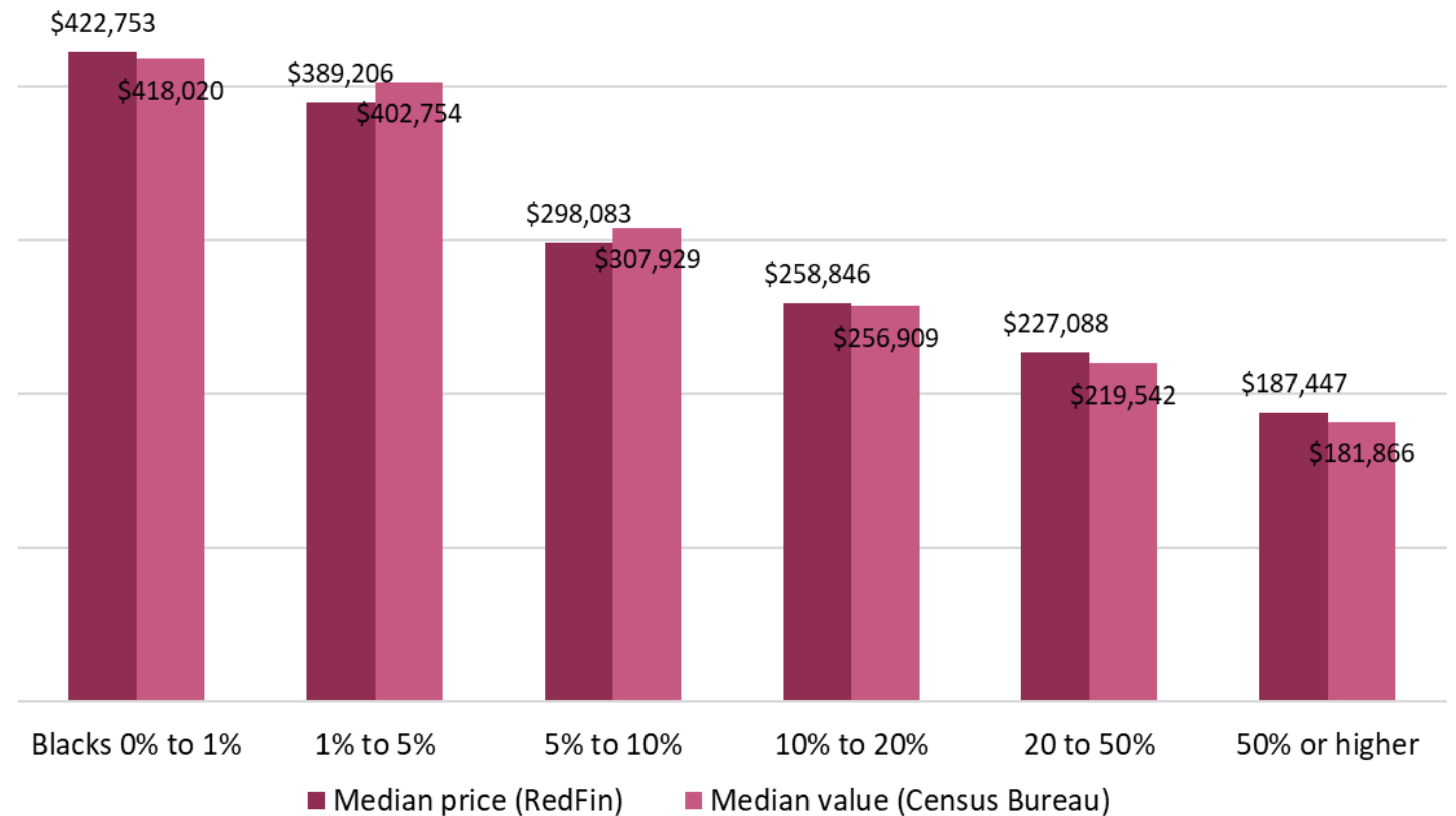


**Urban
renewal**

Homes in Black neighborhoods are worth less, on average, than homes in <1% black neighborhoods

Neighborhood median home value by black population share

U.S. metropolitan areas, 2016 -2021



Source: Authors' analysis of RedFin and 2021 American Community Survey 5-year estimates

Can we explain this difference in value?

Can we explain this difference in value?

\$

Absolute price
difference

Can we explain this difference in value?



Absolute price
difference



Structural
characteristics

Can we explain this difference in value?



Absolute price
difference



Structural
characteristics



Neighborhood
amenities

Devaluation

-\$45,000 | **↓23%**

**on average, compared to homes in neighborhoods
which are <1% black**

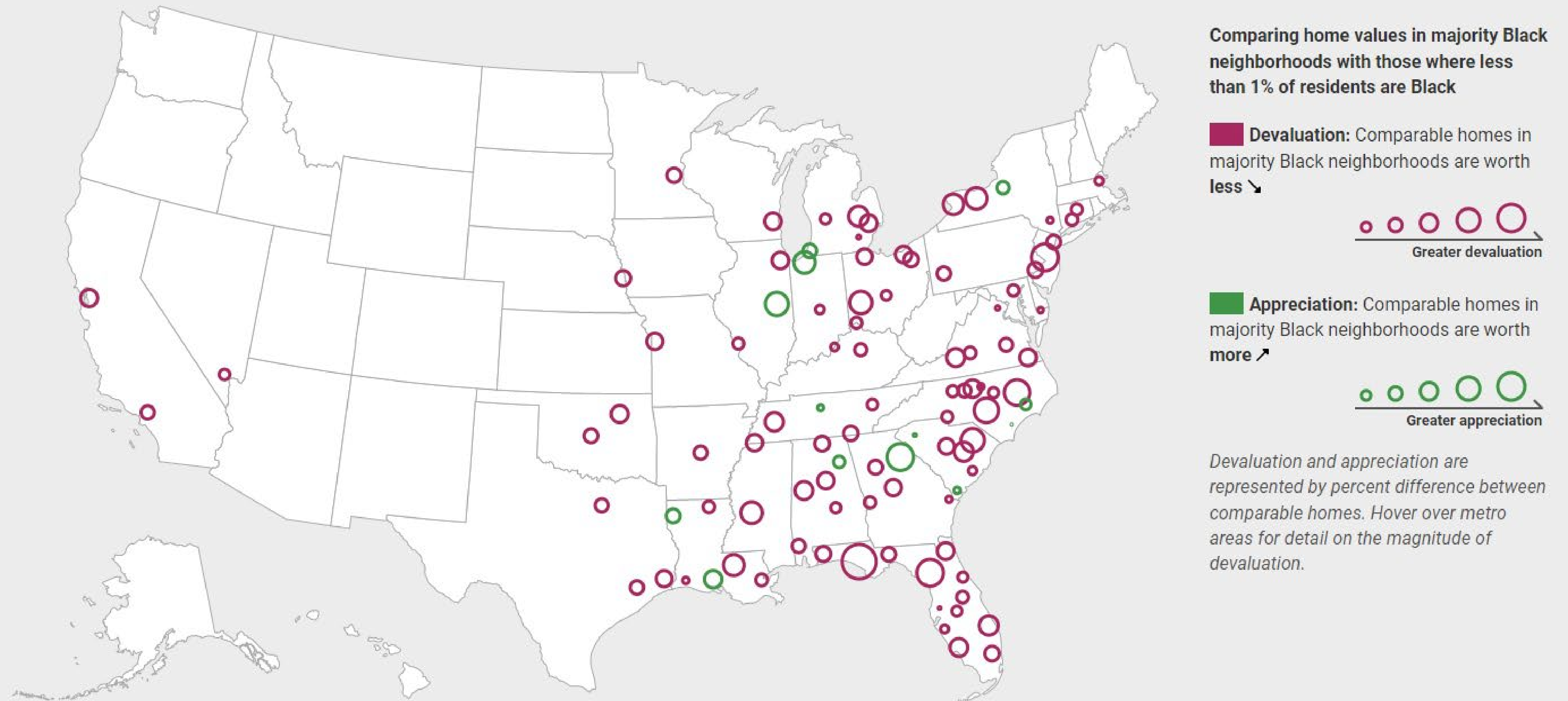
Devaluation

\$162 billion

in cumulative losses

Devaluation varies by metro

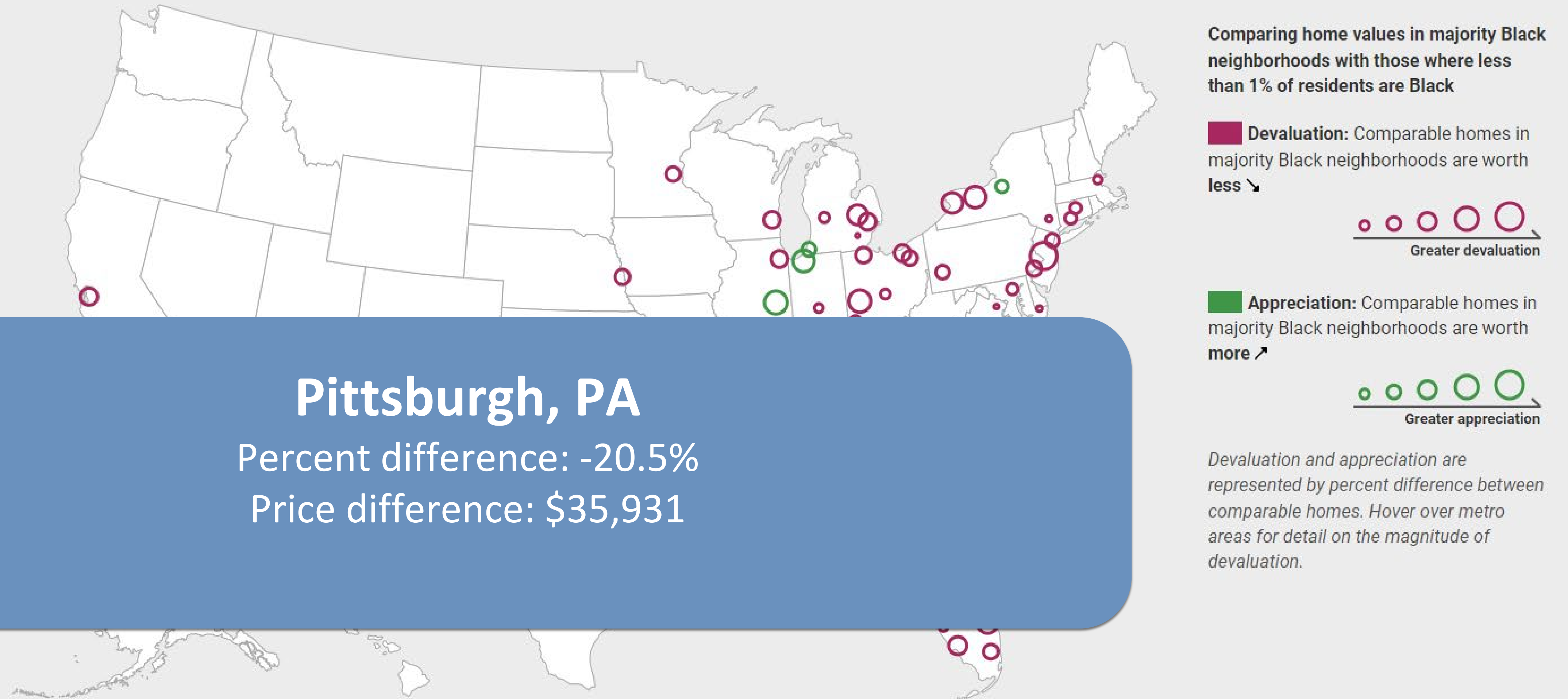
102 metropolitan areas with at least one majority Black neighborhood



We restrict this analysis to the 102 metropolitan areas with at least one majority Black neighborhood. We also give extra weight in the analysis to metro areas with larger Black populations to reduce the influence of measurement error; as such, the estimates should be thought of as characterizing the experience of the average Black person living in different types of metropolitan areas.

Devaluation varies by metro

102 metropolitan areas with at least one majority Black neighborhood



We restrict this analysis to the 102 metropolitan areas with at least one majority Black neighborhood. We also give extra weight in the analysis to metro areas with larger Black populations to reduce the influence of measurement error; as such, the estimates should be thought of as characterizing the experience of the average Black person living in different types of metropolitan areas.

Devaluation

\$162 billion

in cumulative losses

What is \$162 billion?

What is \$162 billion?



4.6 million black-owned businesses

Source: National Bureau for Economic Research

What is \$162 billion?



4.6 million Black-owned businesses

Source: Stanford Institute for Economic Policy Research



11.4 million four-year degrees

Source: National Center for Education Statistics

What is \$162 billion?



4.6 million black-owned businesses

Source: National Bureau for Economic Research



11.4 million four-year degrees

Source: National Center for Education Statistics



Replace pipes in Flint, MI **3,000** times

Source: American Water Works Association

What is \$162 billion?



4.6 million black-owned businesses

Source: National Bureau for Economic Research



11.4 million four-year degrees

Source: National Center for Education Statistics



Replace pipes in Flint, MI **3,000** times

Source: American Water Works Association



87% of the damage of Hurricane Katrina

Source: National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration

What is \$162 billion?



4.6 million black-owned businesses

Source: National Bureau for Economic Research



11.4 million four-year degrees

Source: National Center for Education Statistics



Replace pipes in Flint, MI **3,000** times

Source: American Water Works Association



87% of the damage of Hurricane Katrina

Source: National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration

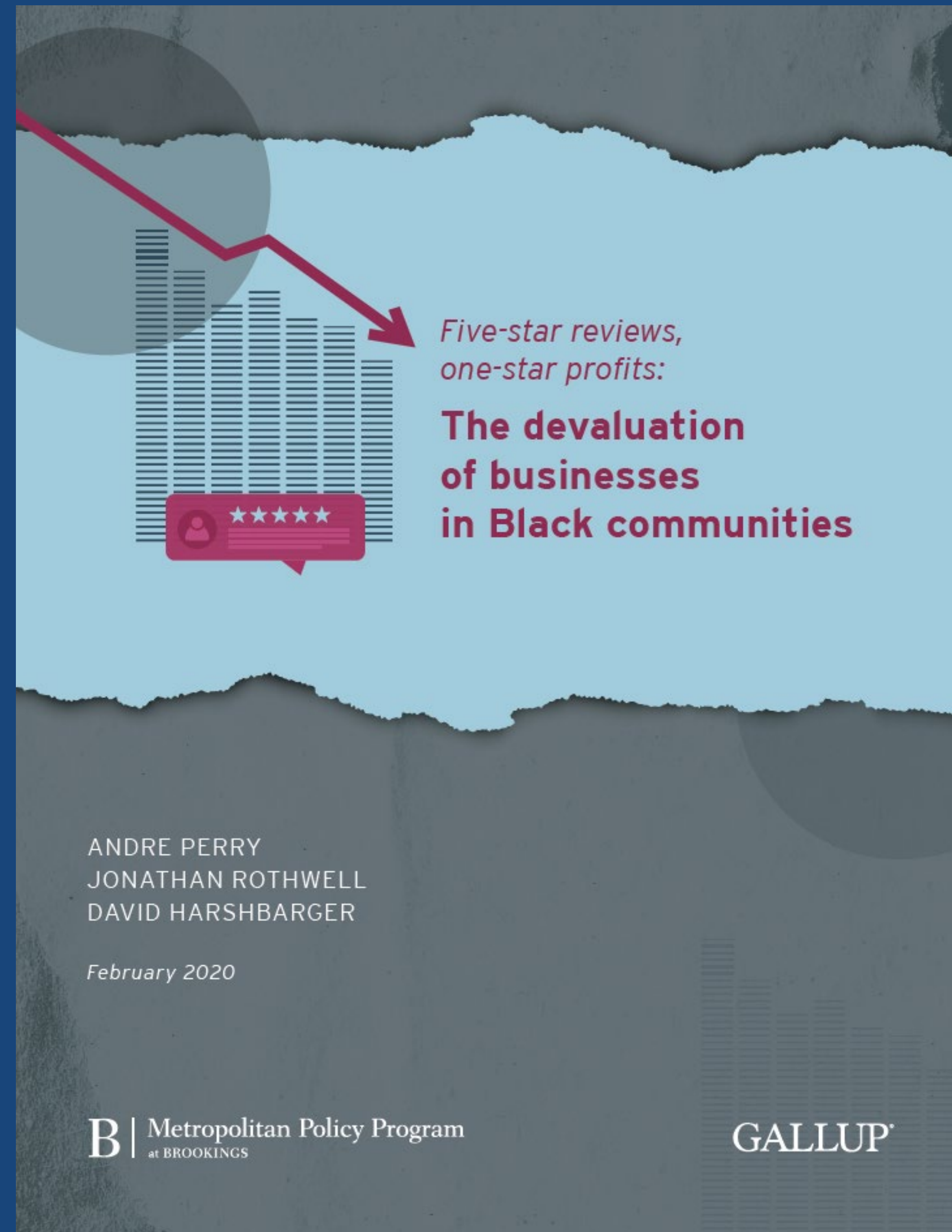


Double the annual economic burden of the opioid crisis

Source: Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (2013)

**There is nothing wrong with Black people
that ending racism can't solve.**

Business Devaluation



The State of Black Businesses

- Black people comprise **14.2%** of the U.S. population, but Black businesses are only **2.4%** of the nation's **5.7 million employer businesses**

Source: Census Bureau Annual Business Survey

- Only **1%** of Black business owners were able to obtain loans in their founding year compared with **7%** of white entrepreneurs.

Source: Stanford Institute for Economic Policy Research

- Black entrepreneurs are denied bank loans more than twice as often as their white peers — **53% to 25%.**

Source: Federal Reserve

- People of color pay higher interest rates on average than their white peers — **7.8% to 6.4%.**

Source: Census Bureau 2018 Annual Business Survey

How do we measure business devaluation?



How do we measure business devaluation?

\$

Business revenue

via Dun & Bradstreet data
for establishments

How do we measure business devaluation?



Business revenue

via Dun & Bradstreet data
for establishments



Business quality

via **yelp** 

How do we measure business devaluation?



Business revenue

via Dun & Bradstreet data
for establishments



Business quality

via **yelp** 



Neighborhood
conditions/wealth

via US Census Bureau

Findings



Black, Brown and Asian-owned businesses are **rated just as highly** or higher than White-owned businesses on Yelp, on average

Source: Analysis of Dun & Bradstreet and Yelp data

Findings



But, businesses in Black neighborhoods receive
50 - 100 fewer
reviews and are rated
0.2 stars lower
on average

Source: Analysis of Yelp and American Community Survey data

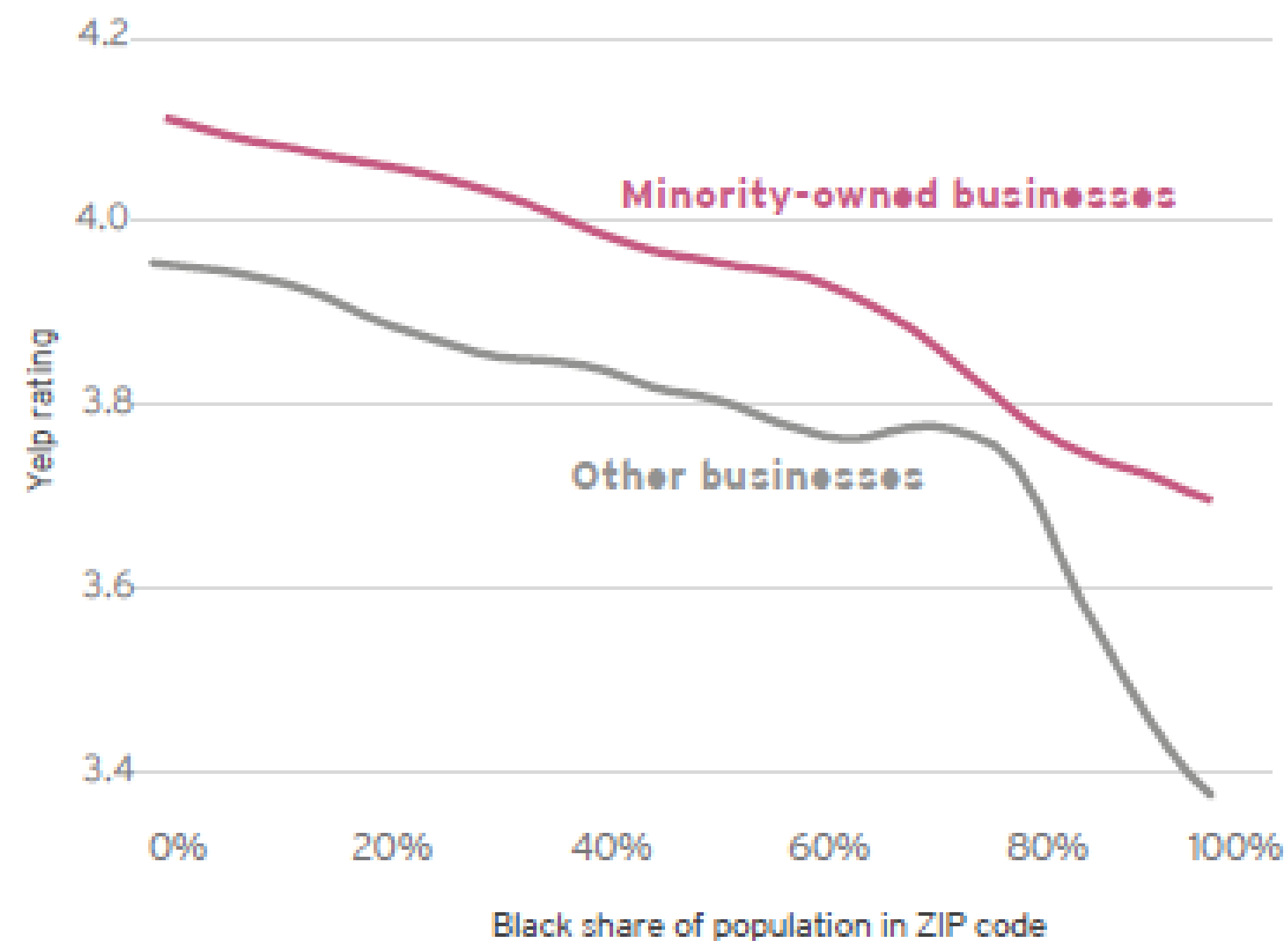
Findings



FIGURE 4

Yelp ratings decrease as Black share of population increases

Yelp sample of businesses in ZIP codes across 86 metro areas, 2016 - 2019



Source: Author analysis of merged data from Yelp and National Establishment Time Series Database (NETS) and 2017 American Community Survey estimates.

Findings



What is the cost?

- Low estimate: **\$1.3B** in annual revenue lost
- High estimate: **\$3.9B** in annual revenue lost

Source: Analysis of Dun & Bradstreet and Yelp data

“Our ice is just as cold.”
- Black elders

In Pittsburgh, Black businesses are underrepresented

Black-owned employer businesses **by sector**



THE DEVALUATION OF ASSETS IN BLACK NEIGHBORHOODS: THE CASE OF COMMERCIAL PROPERTY

Jonathan Rothwell, Tracy Hadden Loh, and Andre Perry



Commercial Real Estate

CRE ownership is highly concentrated

The top 1% of households own vastly different portions of real estate categories

1% of households own the following in each category:

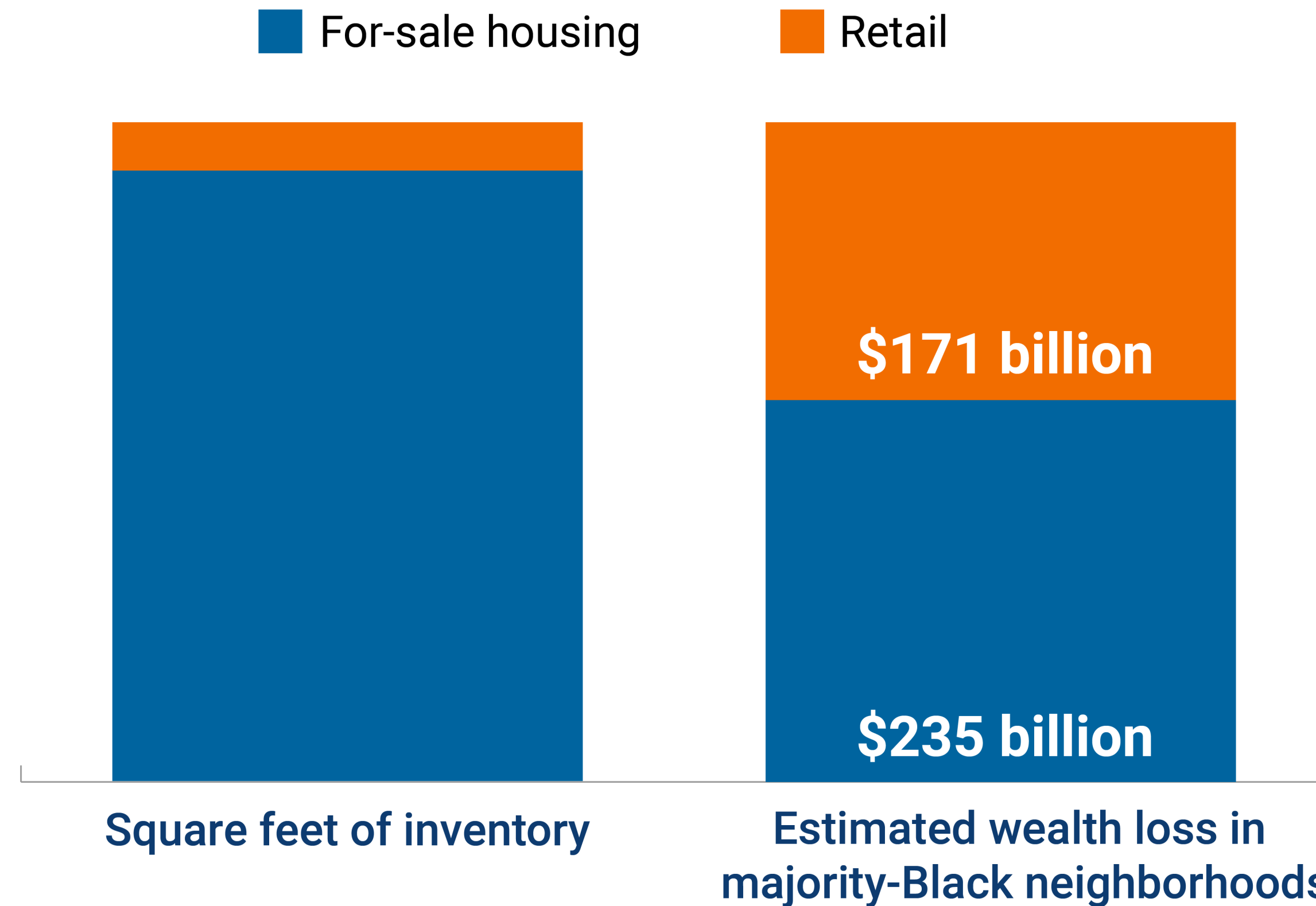


Source: Brookings analysis of data from the 2019 Survey of Consumer Finances (SCF).

B | Brookings Metro

Devaluation harms Black neighborhoods

The residential real estate market is **10x** the size of commercial real estate nationwide

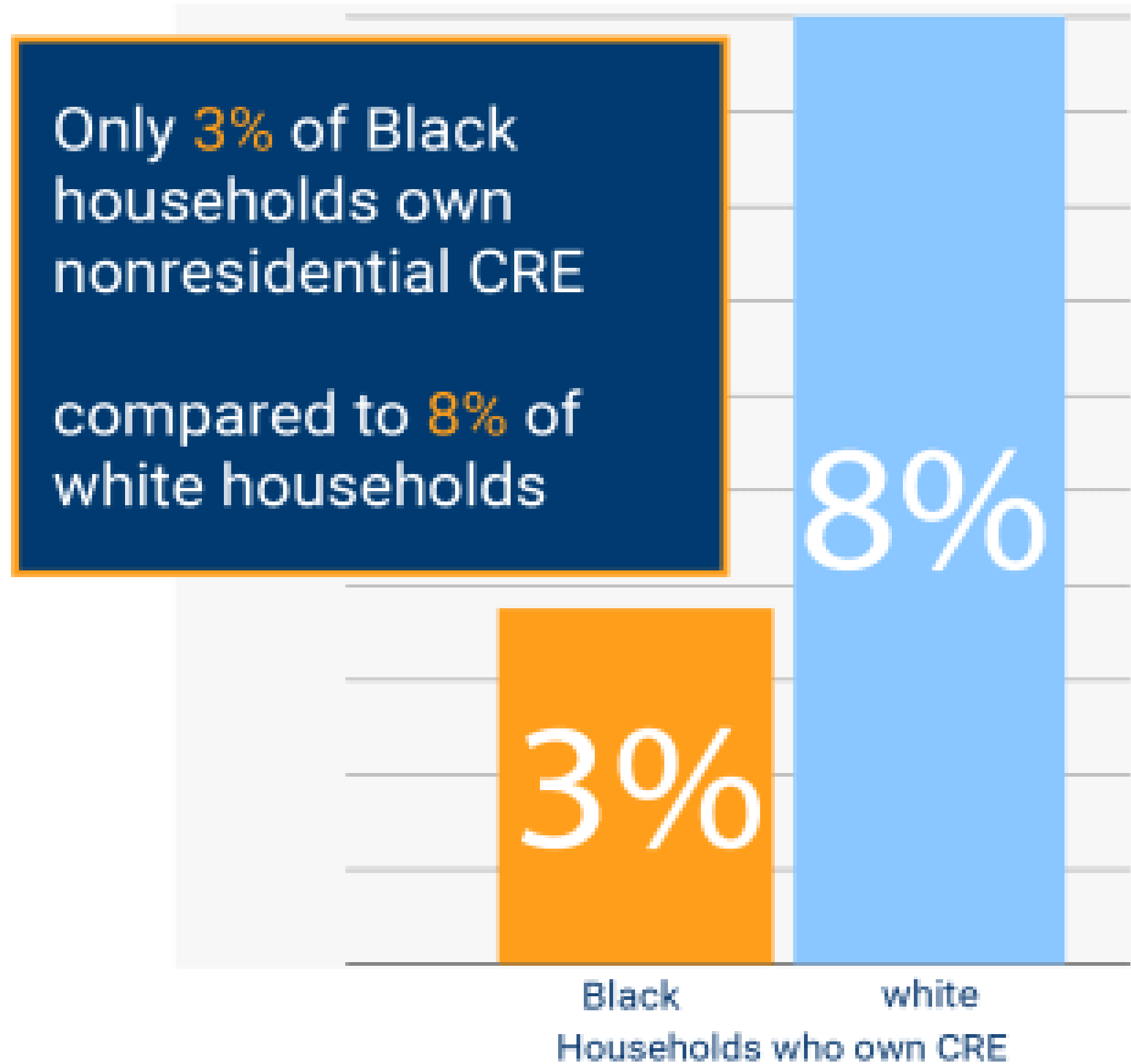


CRE makes up almost **one-half** of devaluation losses in Black neighborhoods

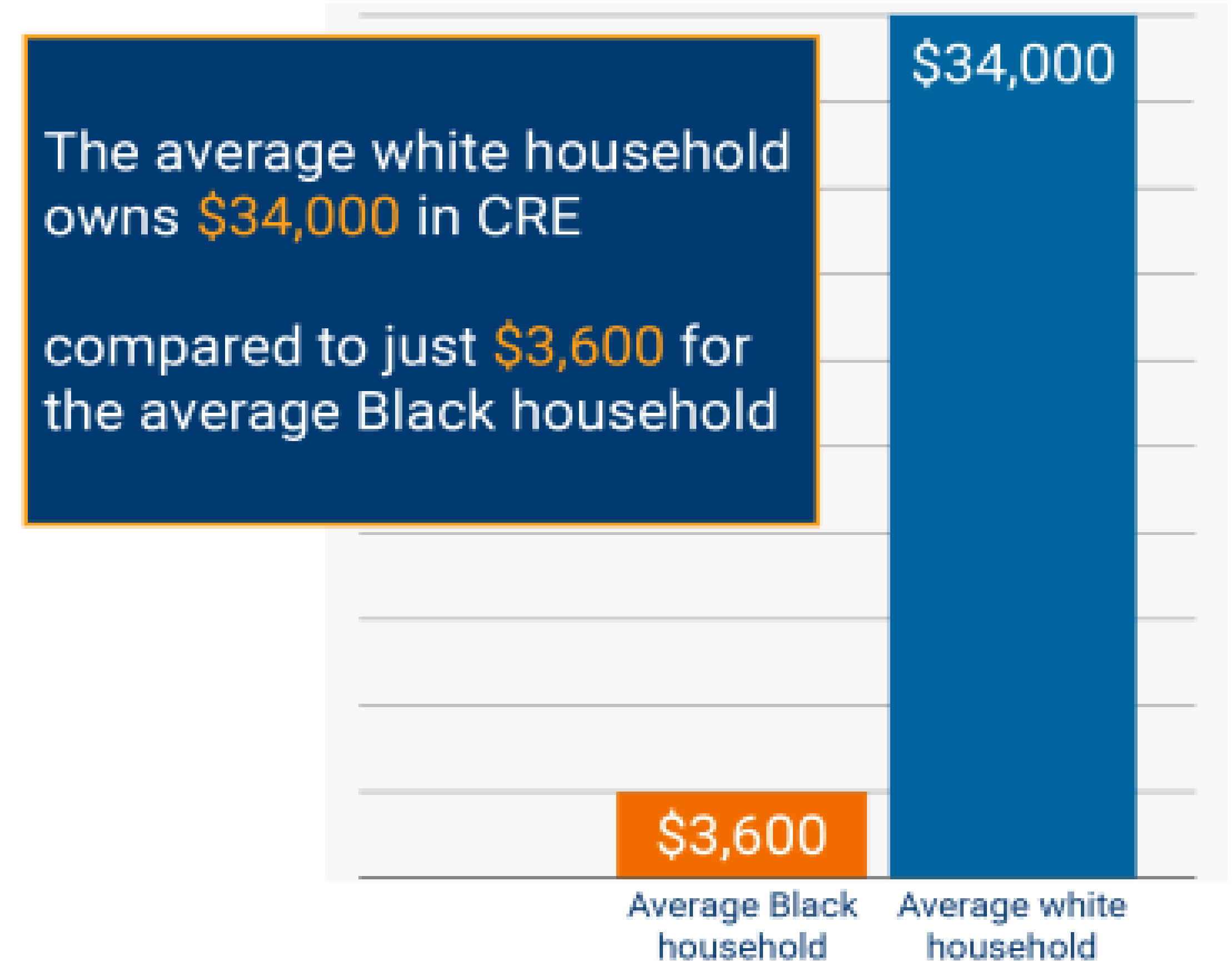
B | Brookings Metro

Source: Brookings analysis of Bureau of Economic Analysis Added by Industry, 2021 and other data

There are stark racial disparities in CRE ownership



Source: Brookings analysis of data from the 2019 Survey of Consumer Finances (SCF).



How Racial Bias in Appraisals Affect Devaluation

- Appraisal transactions in majority-Black neighborhoods 1.9 times as likely to be appraised under the contract price than homes in majority-white neighborhoods

How Racial Bias in Appraisals Affect Devaluation

- Appraisal transactions in majority-Black neighborhoods 1.9 times as likely to be appraised under the contract price than homes in majority-white neighborhoods
- The median appraisal is 15% lower in majority-Black neighborhoods compared to homes in neighborhoods where share of Black residents is less than 1%.

How Racial Bias in Appraisals Affect Devaluation

- Appraisal transactions in majority-Black neighborhoods 1.9 times as likely to be appraised under the contract price than homes in majority-white neighborhoods
- The median appraisal is 15% lower in majority-Black neighborhoods compared to homes in neighborhoods where share of Black residents is less than 1%.
- Bad appraisals account for upwards of 20% of the value gap.

How to counter devaluation

Invest in **PEOPLE**

- **Direct capital** toward Black, Indigenous, Brown and Asian-owned firms (DBEs) and homeowners
(Cut the Check)
- **Remove unnecessary bureaucratic barriers** to entry for entrepreneurship and homeownership

Invest in **PLACES**

- Make **targeted infrastructure investments** in Black neighborhoods
- Partner with businesses and developers to **incentivize renovation** and provide commercial spaces

Divest from **RACISM**

- **Remove policies that extract wealth** from Black communities
- Just as we score policies' budget impact, we should **score for racial equity** as well
- **Install anti-racist policies** that encourage inclusion