Homeownership and the American Illusion:
The State of Black Homeowners in Urban South Carolina

Ellie McKinney 2022, Andrew Whitaker 2022

Ellie McKinney
Occidental College Senior Comprehensive Project
Department of Urban and Environmental Policy
Professors Shamasunder and Rodnyansky
Fall 2022 and Spring 2023

Abstract

Homeownership has become ubiquitous with the American dream. To own a home guarantees economic stability, generational wealth, and personal autonomy, or at least this is true for white Americans. This quantitative analysis of the state of Black homeownership in urban South Carolina asks the question, to what extent does homeownership provide a source of stable wealth for Black Americans. South Carolina's long history of Black economic, social, and political exclusion combined with their current high rates of Black homeownership, makes the state a unique space to explore the economic benefits of owning a home. Centered around the Great Recession, a period when Black Americans disproportionally experienced the impacts of the housing market crash, this study works to examine the degree to which Black homeowners have economically recovered, particularly in relation to white citizens.

This study stretches across three time periods, Recession (2006-2010), Early Recovery (2011-2015), and Recovered (2015-2019), and the two largest cities in South Carolina, Charleston, and Columbia. Using an extensive descriptive analysis and a series of six ordinary least squares regressions, this analysis presents an aggregate statistical picture of Black homeownership in urban South Carolina.

This exploration, ultimately, attempts to contend with what was found to be dual challenge for Black homeowners in the urban south. Not only were homes in predominantly Black neighborhoods found to be valued significantly less than in their white counterparts, but also, those who do own homes are facing a growing threat of displacement. Ultimately, this analysis presents a series of four policy recommendations that seek to provide both immediate solutions to the harms facing Black homeowners while simultaneously envisioning more extensive federal policies to radically confront the endurance of racial wealth inequality.

Acknowledgements

Thank you to all the individuals who have given me the skills, confidence, and enthusiasm to complete this project. I would like to specifically thank Professor Rodnyansky for encouraging me to be a UEP major and fostering my interest in data analytics. I would also like to thank Professor Shamasunder for all her work supporting this project and encouraging my historically minded, quantitative study. Additionally, I would like to thank Scott Markley of the University of Georgia for his additional guidance and excitement towards this project.

Finally, this work would not be possible without the constant support of my friends, roommates, and family. Thank you.

Table of Contents

Introduction

Envisioning raising a family, in a single-family home with a white picket fence has permeated the American imaginary and the fundamental conception of the American Dream. To many Americans, owning a home means far more than a place to live, it legitimizes economic strength and class position. In fact, in 2022, “three-fourths of Americans [said] owning a home is a higher measure of achievement than having a successful career, raising a family, or earning a college degree” (Schmidt, 2022). More recently, however, the universal acceptance of the benefits of homeownership have come into question. While many white Americans have built stability and wealth through owning a home, it is not evident that these advantages are inherently experienced by Black Americans. While not the first example, the 2007-08 housing crash that destroyed half of the wealth held by Black households suggested the potential limits of home ownership in securing wealth in the modern United States (Immergluck, 2011; Wyly *et al.,* 2012; Markley *et al.,* 2020).

Recognizing the long history of racial wealth inequality, this study of the state of homeownership in urban South Carolina seeks to better understand the role of homeownership in addressing the racial wealth gap. **This study poses the question, to what extent does homeownership provide a source of stable wealth for Black Americans, particularly since the Great Recession when millions of Black families disproportionately lost housing-related wealth?** The subsequent analysis works to challenges the presumption that homeownership alone can provide a comprehensive solution for centuries of historic asset stripping and segregation experienced by Black Americans. This study also examines how our understanding of post-recession recovery in South Carolina is complicated by the rapidly changing demographics of the urban south. The impacts of chattel slavery, racial segregation, predatory lending, all contribute to the endurance of the racial wealth gap, and these institutional structures likely cannot be deconstructed through homeownership alone.

The Current State of Wealth Inequality in the United States

Over the past ten years, the racial wealth gap has become a significant concern for both American policy makers and the public (Rosalsky, 2022, Weller and Roberts, 2021, Lee, 2019). Studies have found that on average, the typical white household has at least thirteen times the cumulative wealth of Black households (Baradaran, 2017; Rothstein 2017; Williams, 2022, Darity et. al., 2018). However, other scholars believe this to be an underestimation of the Black-white wealth divide, as one study also estimated that after removing the value of the family car, the racial wealth gap skyrockets to 33 to 1 (Moore and Bruenig, 2017). It is not just the average household that sees these divergences, rather Black Americans in every economic class have less wealth than their white counterparts. For example, while white households living below the poverty line still have about $18,000 in aggregate wealth, Black households in the same economic position, if not in debt (negative wealth), have no wealth assets (Darity et. al., 2018). Despite the newfound attention, virtually no progress has been made in closing the racial wealth gap, rather since the 1980s, the divide has been growing (Derenoncourt. al., 2022).

Wealth is a peculiar economic measure as it is built over decades, passed from one generation to the next. The racial wealth gap, therefore, cannot be traced to one instance of injustice, rather it has been constructed upon a long history of racial oppression in America. Scholar Mehrsa Baradaran explained this reality writing, “the wealth gap is where historic injustice breeds present suffering” (2017, 1). While the scope and contributors to wealth inequality in the United States has been well studied and extends beyond the scope of this analysis, it is unquestionable that wealth inequality has deep roots in the United States (Derenoncourt. al., 2022). The staggering disparities in wealth are the result of a long history of institutional, systematic, and violent structures that have expanded white wealth at the expense of Black citizens. Economist William Darity Jr. asserted "the cause of the [racial wealth gap] must be found in the structural characteristics of the American economy, heavily infused at every point with both an inheritance of racism and the ongoing authority of white supremacy" (2020, 3). The institution of slavery, the Freedman's Bank, the Homestead Act, the GI Bill, the Federal Highway Act, redlining, and predatory lending are all examples of government actions and institutions that have stripped Black Americans of wealth across every generation of United States history (Rothstein, 2017; Fergus & Shanks, 2022).

Chattel Slavery and the Early History of Wealth Inequality

While many studies of the racial wealth gap begin, at the earliest, at the Fair Housing Act of 1968, this study traces the foundations of wealth inequality back to the institution of slavery (Williams, 2022). Remembering the historical foundations of racial wealth inequality is almost as important to understand as its current condition, especially in seeking to develop meaningful policy actions (Baldwin, 1965). As social critique James Baldwin articulated in his 1965 essay in *Ebony* magazine, "The great force of history comes from the fact that we carry it within us, are unconsciously controlled by it in many ways, and history is literally present in all that we do" (Baldwin, 1965). Wealth has remained a pertinent reminder of the inequities of American history. Racial wealth inequality in the United States is not a new condition, rather it dates to 1619 when the first enslaved Africans landed at Point Comfort Virginia (Berlin, 1998). Wealth is inherently intergenerational, and to disconnect the current state of Black homeownership from the institution of slavery is to neglect the root of wealth inequality. Policy solutions that seek to close the racial wealth gap, therefore, need to be constructed with an eye to the past and an understanding of the long history of this enduring injustice.

The institution of slavery was the earliest and most violent instance of white American wealth accumulation on the literal backs of Black America. Economist Robert Williams (2022) articulated how the institution of slavery "striped the enslaved of a most personal and profound source of wealth – the fruits of their own labor and enterprise." Considering the impact of chattel slavery exposes a very basic idea in understanding wealth inequality in the United States, that America was built upon unequal distributions of wealth. Williams went on to explain how the institution of slavery "generated a huge transfer of wealth from the enslaved to their white holders" (2020). The institution of slavery can be understood as a material transfer of wealth from the labor of enslaved Black individuals into the pockets of white enslavers. Therefore, any effort to confront the injustice of wealth inequality requires simultaneous and explicit reckoning with the relationship between chattel slavery and the racial wealth gap.

Black Exclusion from Property Ownership in the Nineteenth Century

Focusing on South Carolina, this study is particularly poised to examine the enduring legacy of chattel slavery in relation to Black wealth. South Carolina played a central role in the development of the institution of slavery and the early development of the state was contingent on an economic system that privileged white property ownership. Characterized as a "Slave Society," the institution of slavery dominated all economic, social, and political structures in the early history of the state (Berlin, 1998). Within this economic system, the relationship between property and power was codified in the state's first legal codes (South Carolina, 1839). Until

1810, only white men with over fifty acres of land were able to vote in elections and only residents with an “estate of five hundred acres of land and ten negroes” could be elected to the House of Representatives (SC Const 1790). Even with the emergence of universal white male suffrage, the relationship between property ownership and power was engrained into the social foundations of the state (Merritt, 2017). For the non-elite white populations land also legitimized their adherence to southern social expectations, and thus the social authority tied to landownership was experienced by all white southern society, not just elite white populations (McKinney, 2022). However, enslaved Black Americans had no opportunity to access the benefits of property ownership and as Scott Markley explained, “To be legally categorized as Black was to be an object of property, whereas to be legally categorized as white was to be rendered eligible to acquire property (i.e., wealth)” (2020, 3). Landed wealth was explicitly tied to power in antebellum South Carolina and this relationship would remain for much of American history.

While the institution of slavery formally ended with the ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment in 1865, Black Americans would continue to be excluded from the privileges associated with property ownership. Historian Keri Leigh Merritt explained, “After emancipation… African Americans became the only race in America ever to start out – as an entire people – with close to zero wealth” (2017, 337). Despite having provided the labor to build the foundations of American society, freedmen and women were offered little support from federal or state governments. One of the earliest examples of this intentional exclusion came at the end of the Civil War with the infamously broken promise of “fourty acres and a mule” for all liberated Black people (Fergus and Shanks, 2022). The Homestead Act of 1862 was another prominent example of Black Americans being excluded from property ownership. This federal policy granted land in 160-acre parcels to anyone eligible for citizenship (Fergus and Shanks, 2022). However, Black Americans were not included in this distribution of property as when it was originally passed only a "'free white person… of good character" could become a citizen (Williams, 2022). The period of early Reconstruction was recognized by economist William Darity as the "historic moment where choices could have been made to dramatically alter racial inequality" (Darity, 2022). However, the decisions made by policy makers during Reconstruction situated the racial wealth gap as a basic economic assumption in American society.

Racial Capitalism and The Racialization of Space

The consequences of institution of slavery, however, radiated far beyond tangible wealth, and constructed the foundations of American racial capitalism. Cedric J. Robinson first developed the conception of racial capitalism where white supremacy is understood as a foundational component of capitalist systems (2000). Racial capitalism in the United Stated is notable how its intrinsically connection to land ownership. Property law in the United States, according to Brenna Bhandar, developed in relation to "racial subjectivity" (2018, 2). Establishing the term 'racial regime of ownership,' Bhandar explained that "Property ownership was not just contingent on race and notions of white supremacy; race too… was and remains subtended by property logics that cast certain groups of people… as having value worthy of legal protection" (2018, 11). Brought into the context of the twentieth century United States, Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor built upon Bhandar's assertions by situating Black homeownership into the context of modern American racial capitalism. She explained, "Racial difference and apathy are not unintended consequences of the market; they helped to constitute it" (Taylor, 2019, 260).

According to these scholars, in the United States, property ownership is a function of racial capitalism, and the maintenance of the racial regime of ownership has been maintained in space.

While the American system of racial capitalism emerged during the period of chattel slavery, it has been upheld for the past 150 years in physical space. American Studies scholar George Lipsitz made the prominent argument that the American preoccupation with homeownership has allowed white Americans to maintain power within society while Black American's are consistently barred from achieving the same opportunities. Lipsitz articulated through what he referred to as the "racialization of space" how white American's preoccupation with homeownership has not only undermined the social position of Black Americans, but it has also maintained white supremacist systems that fundamentally degrade the American social system (Lipsitz, 2016). It is the racialization of space, not material worth, that devalues Black homes while valuing white ones. Lipsitz cited Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s understanding of racialized space as reflective of the enduring role of the physical landscape in shaping the economic, political, and social position of Black America. King exclaimed, "'Housing deteriorates in central cities; urban renewal has been Negro removal and has benefited big merchants and real estate interests; and suburbs expanded with little regard for what happens to the rest of America'" (Lipsitz, 2016, 17). Racism and racist systems do not exist in an omnipotent ideologic cloud but are grounded and experienced in space. King argued that America's "racial and spatial problems" could be solved through "racial and spatial solutions" (Lipsitz, 2016, 17). It is by understanding the way that space, and homeownership in particular, has been racialized, that work can be done to deconstruct the systems that continue to privilege, for example, white homeownership at the expense of Black homeowners.

The Housing Crisis and the Destruction of Black Wealth

In the United States, the social consequences of the homeownership divide are particularly consequential as homeownership is synonymous with economic security, middle-class status, and subsequently, the American Dream (Thurston, 2018). For people, homeownership has been a privilege of white Americans and for the Black Americans who are able to purchase a home, they struggle to access the same financial benefits their white peers (Markley et al., 2020). In 2019, for example, 73% of white families owned a home, compared to just 42% of Black families (McCargo, 2019). Not only have Black Americans been largely unable to purchase homes, but the racialization of American space has meant when Black Americans are homeowners, the value of their homes has been found to be significantly lower than their white peers (Rothstein, 2017; Williams, 2022). For example, in 2019 the typical value of a white family's home was $230,000 compared to $150,000 for Black families (Moss et. al., 2020). Predominantly Black neighborhoods have been consistently devalued by federal policies, reducing the value of homeownership for many Black residents (Rothstein, 2017; Perry *et. al.*, 2018). A study by the Metropolitan Policy Program found that on average, in neighborhoods where the population is more than 50 percent Black, homes are valued at about half the price compared to homes in neighborhoods with no Black residents (Perry *et al*, 2018). Despite the staggering inequities in Black and white homeownership rates, the assumption that Black homeowners will be able to gain wealth in the way white Americans did allows homeownership to persist as a potential solution to the racial wealth gap.

As Black citizens have faced both limited access to homeownership and the simultaneous devaluation of their homes due to the racialization of space, the centrality of homeownership in addressing social inequities is being increasingly debated. While many scholars, policy experts, and non-profit leaders have argued that improving access to homeownership is foundational to ameliorating the racial wealth gap, there are emerging claims that challenge these presumptions (Darity et., al, 2018; Markley et al., 2020). In his research report, *What We Get Wrong About Closing the Racial Wealth Gap,* William Darity argued that one of the central myths in the debate around wealth inequality is the belief that, "The racial homeownership gap is the 'driver' of the racial wealth gap" (Darity et., al, 2018). Building off Darity's findings, scholars like Scott Markley have posed that the homeownership gap is further complicated by an appreciation gap, where Black owned homes fail to accumulate value in the way white owned homes do. He argued that asserting that increasing Black homeownership rates would close the racial wealth gap, "[assumes] that Black homeowners… build wealth through the same piece appreciation in ways similar to those of white homeowners" (2020, 14). These scholars argued that improving Black homeownership alone would not be enough to close the wealth gap without intentionally confronting the systemic roots of wealth inequality. Further, the impact of the Great Recession on Black homeownership further exposed the instability of homeownership as a foundational component of improving Black wealth.

The collapse of the housing market in 2008 revealed for many Americans the limitation of the American Dream of homeownership. During the housing boom, Black spaces became the target of subprime and predatory mortgage products and therefore, Black neighborhoods bore the brunt of the foreclosure crisis (Wyly et. al., 2012; Markley et al., 2020). The combination of foreclosures and home price depreciation meant that 50% of all Black wealth was lost during the housing crisis (Markley et. al., 2020). Comparatively, the median white household lost just 17 percent of its wealth (Markley et al., 2020). While Black Americans were most strongly impacted by the housing market collapse, they have also faced the slowest wealth recovery of all racial and ethnic groups while the homeownership gap has expanded to the widest it has been since the passage of the Fair Housing Act in 1968 (Rugh, 2020; Markley et al., 2020). The massive loss of wealth and subsequent slow recovery of Black wealth since the Great Recession undermined the assumption that closing the homeownership gap will close the wealth gap. As Darity et al. argued in the aftermath of the housing crash, "a home is one of the only assets in which the race of the owner affects the rate of return" (2018, 14). Homeownership is a system that has long privileged whites at the direct expense of Black people, and the housing collapse in 2008 further exposed unstable position of Black wealth when tied to homeownership.

This study expands upon Markley and Darity's analyses and seeks to further the understanding of the role of homeownership in addressing the racial wealth gap by comparing changing home loan values in the two largest South Carolina cities, Charleston, and Columbia. Compared to the vast amount of research on the Black wealth in large, northern cities, relatively little has been studied regarding Black homeownership in predominantly Black, southern cities. Charleston and Columbia have Black homeownership rates higher than almost any city in America. While previous scholars have examined the value of homeownership for Black Americans in highly segregated, predominantly white cities, this study fills a gap in the literature by examining two additional southern cities. Further, while Scott Markley's examination of Atlanta provided new insight into the peculiarities of Black homeownership in the southern United States, by comparing two cities within the same state, this study works to further explore the arguments initiated by Markley. Ultimately, this study is situated within an increasingly dominant body of scholarship that highlights how structural inequality rather than individual actions continue to subvert Black opportunity.

Data and Methods

To explore the impact of the Great Recession on Black homeownership in South Carolina this research examines homeownership and home loan value changes in three time periods, Recession (2006-2010), Early Recovery (2011-2015), and Recovered (2015-2019). Building off previous studies of Black homeownership trends in urban America, this analysis draws primarily upon two substantial datasets: Home Mortgage Disclosure Act data (HMDA) and the Census's American Community Survey (ACS). The data sets were utilized to construct a detailed descriptive statistical analysis in addition to six ordinary least squares regression (OLS) analyses, three in each city, one in each time period. When explored in conjunction, the preceeding study provides insight into the state of Black homeownership in urban South Carolina.

The Study Area

South Carolina provides the ideal backdrop to examine Black homeownership in the United States. As of 2021, South Carolina has been identified as having the largest Black homeownership rate of anywhere in the nation at 54.8% (Morgan, 2023). South Carolina's cities have not been heralded as a "place for Black opportunity" in the way that cities like Atlanta, Georgia have been, but the demographics of the state provide a unique opportunity to explore homeownership in a state with a substantial Black population compared to most of the United States (Markley et al., 2020). This study compares the state's the two largest metropolitan regions, Charleston, and Columbia. The Charleston metropolitan statistical area contains Berkeley, Charleston, and Dorchester counties with a total population of 799,639 residents across the region (U.S. Census, 2020). The Columbia metropolitan statistical area contains six counties and a total population of 837,092 (U.S. Census, 2020). However, several of the counties contained in the Columbia metropolitan statistical area have very small populations and therefore this study focuses on the three largest counties in the region: Kershaw, Lexington, and Richland counties (excluding Calhoun, Fairfield, and Saluda counties from the analysis) (U.S. Census, 2020).

	Population	% White	% Black	% Asian	% Hispanic	% 2+ Races	% Poverty	% Black Homeowner
Charleston, SC	413,024	66.0 %	25.2%	2.0%	5.5%	1.8%	13.8%	58%
Columbia, SC	137,541	48.9%	39.6%	2.8%	5.8%	3.4%	24.3%	55%
State of SC	5,190,705	63.4%	26.7%	1.9%	6.4%	2.1%	14.6%	54.8%
National Average	[redacted]	75.8%	13.6%	6.1%	18.9%	2.9%	11.6%	43%

Table 1: Source: U.S. Census Bureau (2020). Quick Facts. Retrieved from https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/SC.

Study Area Map

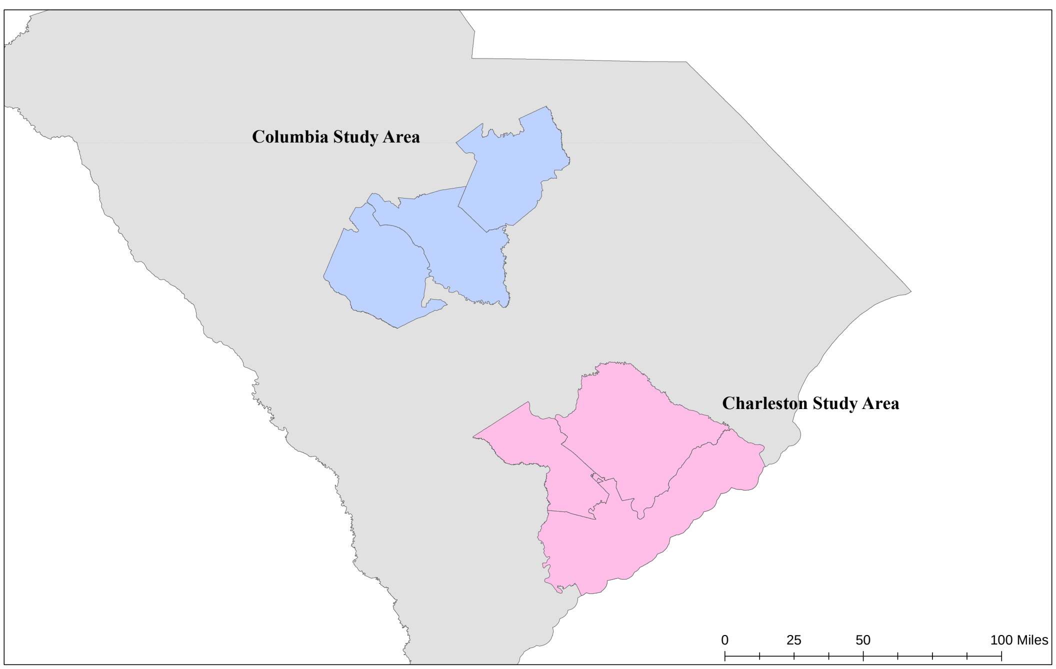

Figure 1: Study Area Map. Source: ACS 2019

While both cities are predominantly white, these cities, like many other southern regions, have a significant Black population. In both cities, Black citizens compromise the second largest racial group behind whites. However, the cities diverge slightly in their opportunities for Black homeownership as Charleston has one of the smallest homeownership gaps in the country at 18.1 percent, while Columbia has a slightly larger gap at 26 percent (Stacker, 2022). Nevertheless, both cities fall well below the national homeownership gap of approximately 30 percent, suggesting that opportunities for Black homeownership are notably greater in these cities (Stacker, 2022). Finally, South Carolina's long and complicated history of racial inequality, first emerging from their centrality in maintaining the institution of slavery makes it an invaluable location to understanding the complicated relationship between Black homeownership and wealth.

Data Sets

HMDA Data

To understand changes in home values, this study relies on data collected through the federal Home Mortgage Disclosure Act (HMDA). This data is submitted by mortgage lenders to federal mortgage and banking regulars and is used to monitor the state of lending practices in the United States (HMDA). HMDA data includes information on home loans including "the race and income of the applicant, the size of the loan, the census tract in which the home is located, and other variables" (Immergluck, 2019). In South Carolina, HMDA tracks, on average, between 6,500 and 10,000 applications for single family homes loans each year in both Charleston and Columbia.

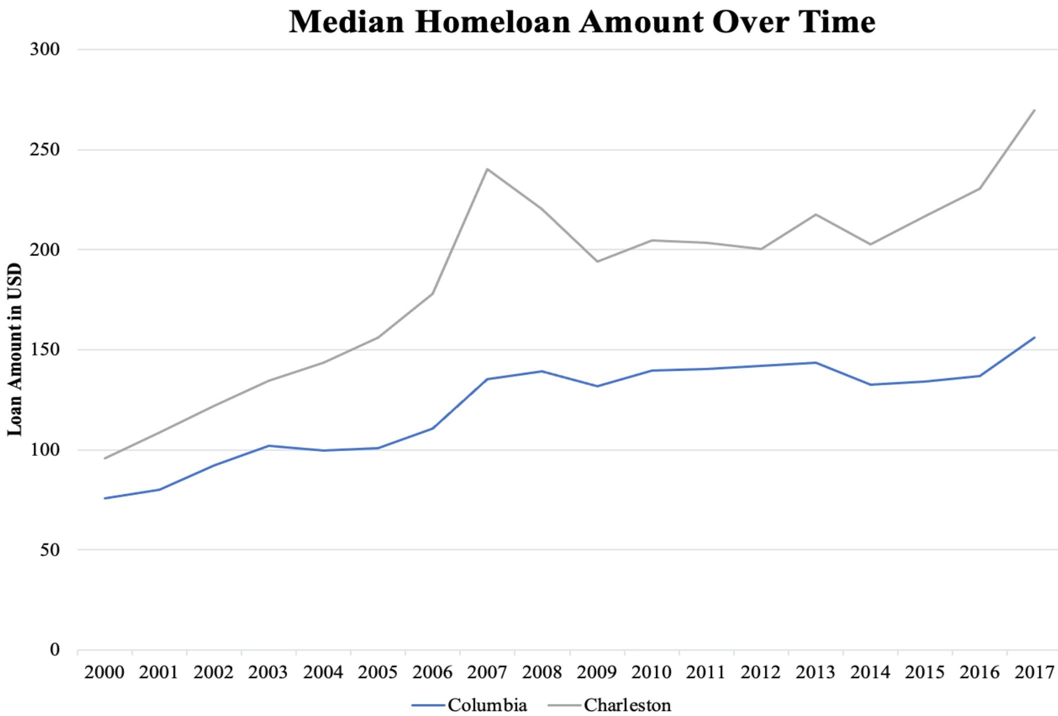

Figure 2: Home Loan Amount by County

This study focuses exclusively on accepted home loan applications for “owner occupied” “home purchase” loans, rather than loans that were denied or used for refinancing. Tracking home appreciation is a particular challenge in this type of analysis, as there is no single source that details changes in home values with attention to both income and race. Therefore, this analysis attempts to utilize the home loan data to reflect changing home values. HMDA data was utilized to find the median loan amount by census tract, so when studied in conjunction with the race/income classifications yields insight into the impact of the race and income of neighborhoods on home loan amounts. There are, however, notable limits to this approach, the most notable being that using this dataset it is impossible to track loans associated with individual properties, so all estimates are based on typical home values for the entire census tract. Further, loan amounts do not directly align with the amount people ultimately pay for homes as they do not include interest rates. However, by focusing on a collection of years, a relatively small spatial area, and a comparison between two cities, this study attempts to mitigate these limitations.

ACS Data

This study utilizes data from the 2006-2010, 2011-2015, and 2015-2020 five-year American Community Survey (ACS) at the census tract level to acquire additional explanatory variables for study. These include, vacancy and homeownership rates, race, and Median Household Income (MHI) data. Vacancy rate was included as a study in Atlanta found a significant relationship between pre-recession and post-recession home value changes (Raymond et al., 2016). Homeownership rates were included account for the influence of changing concentrations of owner-occupied homes on home loan amounts (Markley et al., 2020). In addition, ACS was used to create a county variable to account for variations in home value dependent on where they are in relation to the urban center. While the urban areas in both Columbia and Charleston include three counties, the counties containing the urban center have been noted to have higher property values (Markley, 2020). Finally county MHI income and race were used in conjunction to characterize census tracts based on “intra-racial socioeconomic diversity” (Markley et al., 2020).

Statistical Methods

In recognizing the racialization of space and the intersections between race and income, this study follows calls from Scott Markley (2020) and Karyn Lacy (2012) to account for intra-racial socioeconomic divisions among Black Americans. As Markley explained, "we would expect home price changes between middle and low-income Black neighborhoods to resemble those between white neighborhoods with comparable incomes" (2020, 7). As the purpose of the analysis is to understand the role of neighborhood racial composition on home values, considering income in conjunction makes it possible to recognize the specific influence of neighborhood racial demographics on home loans. If race is found to have a more substantial impact on home loan values, this would in turn, further support the assertion that the racial composition of a neighborhood has a more profound impact on home values than income (Markley et al., 2020).

This study classifies census tracts in urban South Carolina using intersecting race and income categories, using income as a proxy variable for class. Census tracts in urban South Carolina were first classified based on the area median income (AMI) by county. Data for AMI was collected at the county level, at the mid-point year of the three time periods (2008, 2013, and 2017). Low-income census tracts were defined as having a median household income (MHI) of 50 percent the county AMI, moderate-income census tracts had a median income between 50 and 120 percent the AMI, while high-income block groups had MHI's at or above 120 percent (Markley et al., 2020).

The census tract classifications were then broken down further based on race.
Each census tract was also classified as majority Black, majority very white, or majority other. In majority Black census tracts, at least 50 percent of the population was Black, while in the majority white tracts, 75 percent or more were white, and finally tracts falling outside of these two classifications were denoted as other (Markley et al., 2020). While these racial divisions undeniably fail to encompass the entirety of the racial distinctions in urban South Carolina, this

study's focus on the particularities of Black and white racial differences justifies the simplified racial division. Growing Hispanic and Asian populations in South Carolina are worthy of study, however the experiences of these populations fall outside of the scope of this study's focus on the Black-white racial wealth gap.

The race-income classifications ultimately yielded nine total census tract classifications, but due to the relatively small number of census tracts in each group, the classifications were further reduced so that each category contained a minimum of five census tracts. The final income-race classifications were very white high income (VWHI), very white moderate/low income (VWMLI), Black high/moderate income (BHMI), Black low income (BLI), other high income (OHI), other moderate/low income (OMLI). The classifications were also reclassified in each of the study areas to account for changes in census tract boundaries in addition to potential demographic shifts.

Regression Design

As part of study, I conduct a series of six ordinary least squares (OLS) regressions using the race-income variables as the explanatory variables of interest. Using a multivariate OLS regression model makes it possible to understand how the numerous variables that could impact home loan values relate. This model not only demonstrates which variables significantly influence home loan values, but also the scope of this impact. As one regression was conducted for each time period and in each city, this model also allows for some insight into changes over time, without the need for a panel regression that would be complicated by changes in the census tract maps.

The OLS model considered nine explanatory variables, six race/income classifications, precent homeowners, vacancy rate, and a dummy variable for county. HMDA data, aggregated to the census tract level from the individual level, was utilized as the dependent variable. In the regression, the very white, moderate to low-income census tracts and 1 of the county tracts (Kershaw County in Columbia and Dorchester County in Charleston) were omitted to avoid collinearity.

$$
\begin{aligned}
&Home\ Loan\ Amount_i \\
&\qquad = \beta_0 + \beta_1\,(VWHI) + \beta_2(BHMI) + \beta_3(BLI) + \beta_4(OHI) + \beta_5(OMLI) \\
&\qquad + \beta_6(Homeownership\ rate) + \beta_7(Vacancy\ Rate) + \beta_8(County\ Location\ 1) \\
&\qquad + \beta_9(County\ Loaction\ 2)
\end{aligned}
$$

The State of Homeownership in Urban South Carolina: A Quantitative Analysis

Post-Recession Home Loan Recovery

In agreement with the significant body of scholarship looking at the recovery of the housing market since the 2008 collapse, HMDA data from South Carolina indicates that by 2017 the housing market in urban South Carolina had almost, if not completely, recovered (Hyra & Rugh, 2016; Raymond, 2017). As depicted in Table 1 and 2, in both Charleston and Columbia the number of home loans and applicant demographic has changed slightly over the last decade, however, the number of home loans applied for returned to pre-Recession numbers by 2017. Additionally, while the median income of home loan applicants and the value of the home loans has increased over the last decade, this increase has been experienced almost uniformly across both Black and white loan applicants.

Table 2: HMDA Descriptive Data: Columbia

HMDA	2007	2009	2013	2017	% Change 2007-17
Number of Home Loans	11,044	7,099	7,129	11,114	0.6%
% of Loans to White residents	64.0%	64.6%	70.4%	66.5%	2.5%
% of Loans to Black Residents	18.5%	18.5%	15.5%	20%	1.5%
Median income of applicant	$57,000	$54,000	$62,000	$65,000	14%
Median income of white applicant	$60,000	$55,000	$64,000	$69,000	15%
Median income of Black applicant	$48,000	$45,000	$50,000	$55,000	14.5%
Median loan amount	$139,000	$141,000	$154,000	$165,000	18.7%
Median loan of white residents	$142,000	$142,000	$155,000	$168,000	18.3%
Median loan of Black residents	$129,000	$130,000	$139,000	$153,000	18.6%
Median Loan/income ratio	2.50	2.68	2.57	2.60	4%
Median Loan/income ratio of white residents	2.45	2.63	2.54	2.56	4%
Median loan/income ratio for Black residents	2.74	2.90	2.79	2.92	6.6%

Table 3: HMDA Descriptive Data: Charleston

HMDA	2007	2009	2013	2017	% Change 2007-17
Number of Home Loans	10,275	6,753	9,054	14,325	39.4%
% of Loans to White residents	77.6%	78.1%	83.61%	77.9%	0.3%
% of Loans to Black Residents	10.0%	10.2%	7.2%	9.1%	-0.9%
Median income of applicant	$66,000	$59,000	$72,000	$76,000	15%
Median income of white applicant	$69,000	$61,000	$73,000	$79.000	14.5%
Median income of Black applicant	$49,000	$46,000	$51,000	$60,000	22%
Median loan amount	$185,000	$174,000	$202,000	$234,000	26.5%
Median loan of white residents	$190,000	$178,000	$206,000	$239,000	25.8%
Median loan of Black residents	$152,000	$150,000	$167,000	$205,000	34.9%
Median Loan/income ratio	2.89	2.98	2.89	3.12	8.0%
Median Loan/income ratio of white residents	2.86	2.94	2.88	3.10	8.4%
Median loan/income ratio for Black residents	3.11	3.21	3.08	3.40	9.3%

Tables 1 and 2 also highlight distinctions between the housing markets in Columbia compared to Charleston. While in Columbia, the number of home loans just barely returned to pre-recession number in 2017, the number of loans in Charleston grew by almost 40% between 2007 and 2017. These observations highlight how the rapid population growth being experienced in Charleston may be impacting the housing market. For example, home loan amounts are not only notably higher in Charleston compared to Columbia but have increased more significantly over the ten-year period. With a greater number of people applying for home loans in 2017, this reality lends the question of what homes are being purchased and where are they.

Despite clear recovery in the number of loans granted, asserting that these figures indicate equitable recovery would be misleading. Numerous scholars have maintained that Black and white homeowners have not recovered equally from the 2008 recession (Hyra & Rugh, 2016; Raymond, 2017; Markley et. al., 2020). This data, on its own, considers neither what neighborhoods can access loans nor changes in loan amounts in different neighborhoods. In recognizing George Lipsitz's assertion of the relationship between race and space, an aggregate study of home loans without a more significant demographic examination is incomplete.

<u>Home Loans Across Demographic Neighborhoods</u>

Mirroring earlier studies, HMDA data when examined in conjunction with racial neighborhood classifications reveals how home values vary significantly across different neighborhoods. Figures 2 and 3 expose that in both Columbia and Charleston homes loans in predominantly white census tracts are granted at much higher rates than predominantly Black census tracts. The gap in value between homes in predominantly Black versus predominantly white is significantly larger in Charleston compared to Columbia, with loans in white-dominated neighborhoods being over $100,000 greater than in predominantly Black neighborhoods.

Home values in both Charleston and Columbia experiences a stagnation in value following the 2008 housing market crash. Homeowners in Charleston, however, saw a much more significant loss in value during the Great Recession. Starting in 2014, home loan amounts in Charleston began to grow rapidly, surpassing the previous peak witnessed during the housing boom in 2007. However, growth in Columbia has been much slower, with home loans in predominantly Black census tracts declining in value until 2016.

While the devaluation of homes in predominantly Black neighborhoods is not unexpected, the divisions between the situations in Columbia and Charleston provide a unique opportunity to explore how cities with large Black populations, governed by the same state laws, experience homeownership differently. With such significant distinctions between the housing markets in these two cities, the preceding portion of this study will consider the state of homeownership in each city individually.

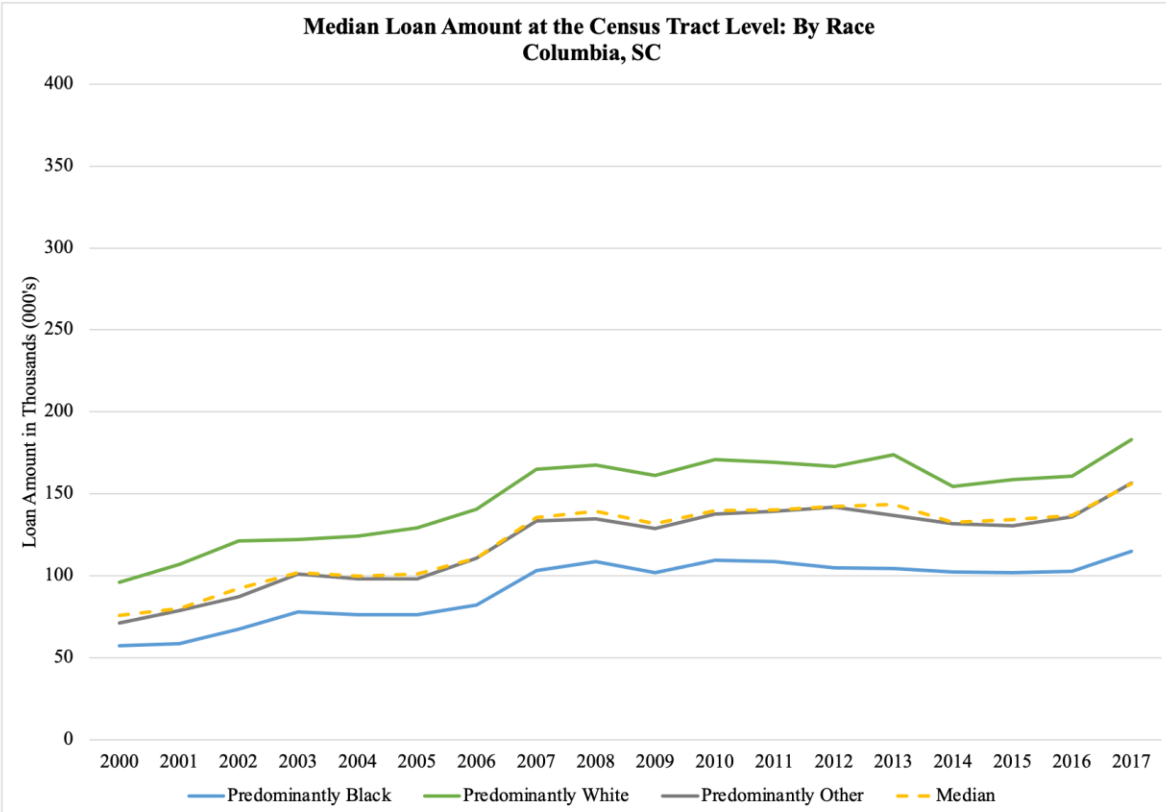

Figure 3: Median Loan Amount, Columbia, SC

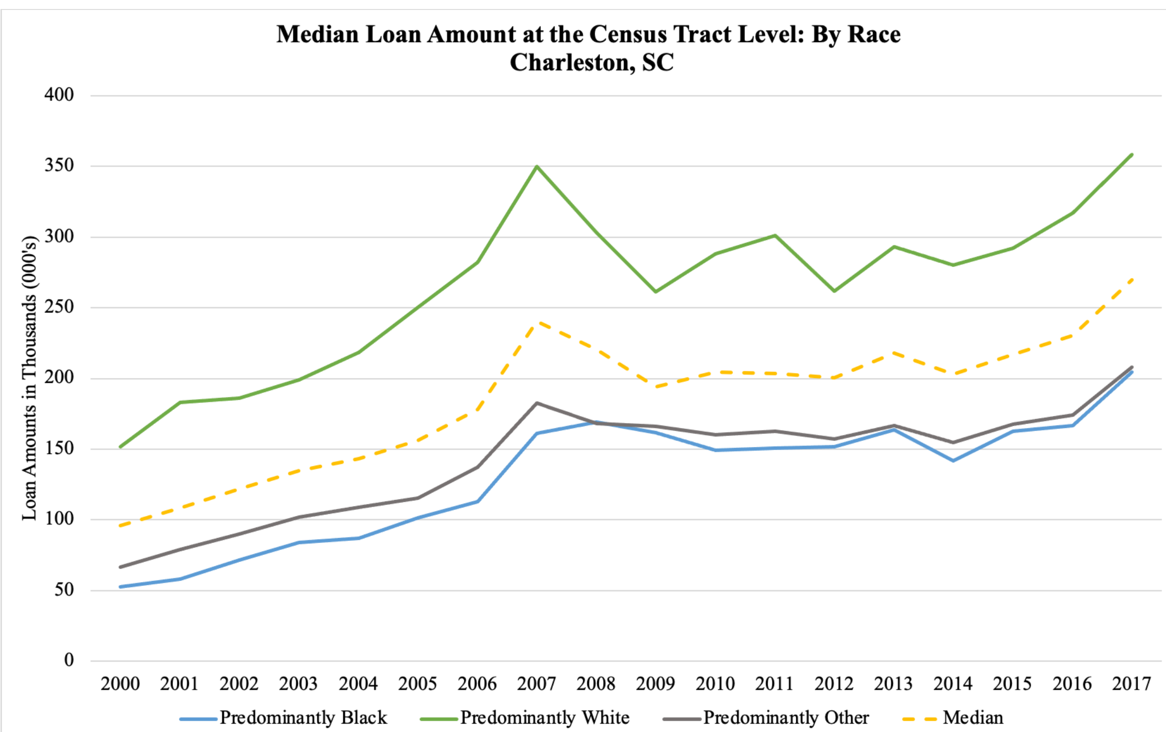

Figure 4: Median Loan Amount, Charleston, SC

The Great Recession and Home Loan Values in Columbia, SC

Regression Results[1]

Figures 2 and 3, while useful are limited because they fail to include how income distinctions between predominantly Black and white neighborhoods may impact home values. As articulated in the regression methodology, there is value in considering race and income in conjunction. Figure 4 depicts the regression results of the race/income classifications within three regressions conducted within each of the relevant time periods.

As expected, the results of the OLS regression in Columbia mirror the preliminarily HMDA analysis and highlight how neighborhood inequities that have persisted throughout the recovery period. Compared to home loans in very white moderate to low-income census tracts, homes in predominantly Black areas are valued significantly less, regardless of income. In all three time periods the home loan amount in the predominantly Black and predominantly white census tracts were statistically significant at the $p<0.01$ level. Further, in all three regressions, the high R-squared value around 0.5, indicates that at least 50% of the variance in loan amount can be explained by the explanatory variables included in the model.

[1] For full regression results see appendix Table 1.

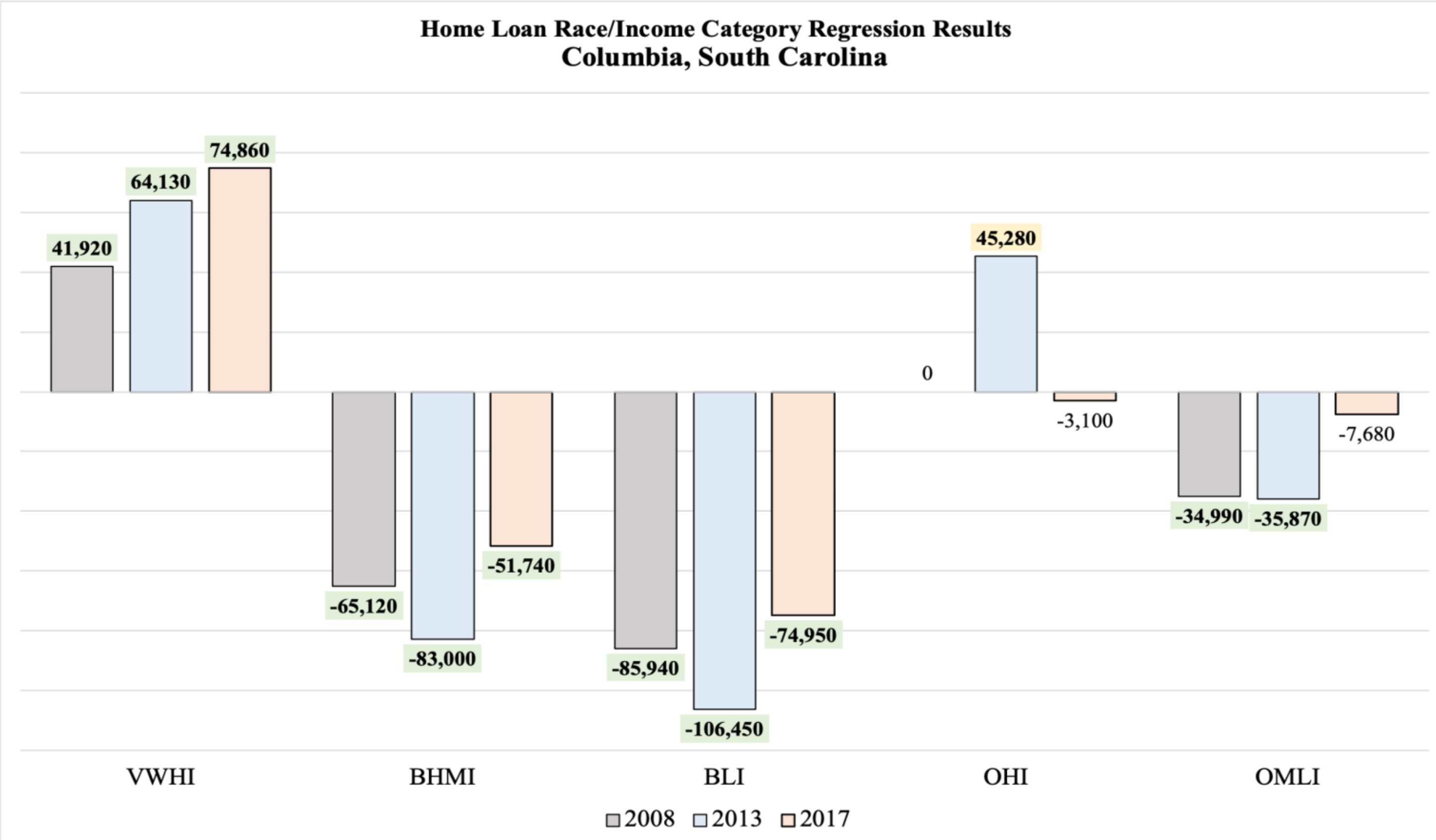

Figure 5: Home Loan Race/Income Category Regression Results

Green: $p<0.01$ Yellow: $p<0.05$

Table 4: Percent Change in Home Loan Value, Columbia			
	VWHI	BHMI	BLI
2008-2017	+78.6%	+20.5%	+12.8%
2008-2013	+53.0%	-27.5%	-23.9%
2013-2017	+16.7%	+37.7%	+29.6%

This OLS model of home ownership loans Columbia begins to poke holes in the assumption of equitable recovery. All three regressions had strong correlation coefficients and statistically significant race/income indicators, highlighting the influence of race/income classifications in determining the value of a home loan. While predominantly Black neighborhoods saw the home loan amounts increase between 2013 and 2017, they are still significantly lower than even the lowest income white census tracts. It is also evident that homes in predominantly Black census tracts experienced the most significant impact of the Great Recession. While homes in the high-income white census tracts consistently increased in value over the ten-year period, all Black census tracts, regardless of income, saw a decline in the home loan applications in the neighborhoods. In 2013, the median loan in predominantly Black low-income census tracts was over $100,000 less than the lowest income white tracts. This echoes findings by Scott Markley (2020) and Dan Immergluck (2019) who emphasized how Black homeowners experienced more of the volatility of the housing market, particularly during the Great Recession.

The Influence of Neighborhood Change on Home Loans in Columbia, SC

While the gap in the home value of predominantly Black and white census tracts has lessened over the past decade, this does not inherently challenge the assertion that Black homeowners have regained the lost value of their homes. The regression results suggests that the median home loan in high income Black census tracts in Columbia is getting closer to their predominantly white counterparts, however, the regression fails to consider how the neighborhoods themselves have become less Black over the same period. In this analysis, each census tract in Columbia was reclassified in each of the study periods, meaning that that the regression results cannot fully account for neighborhood demographic changes that occurred within the study period. While this presents a chicken-or-the-egg question of what came first, higher home loan amounts or whiter populations, that is outside the scope of this study, the question of homeownership's value to Black South Carolinian's is complicated by this finding.

Table 5 underscores the changing demographics of Columbia neighborhood demographics as all of the census tracts, except the highest income white census tracts, became significantly less Black between 2008 and 2017. In particular, the racial composition predominantly Black census tracts have changed substantially since 2008. In higher income Black neighborhoods, the Black population fell by almost 14 percent while in lower income Black neighborhoods this Black population fell by nearly 10 percent. Additionally, the shifting demographics of the census tracts over the study period meant that 9 additional census tracts fell into the category of Black high to moderate income in 2017. This is likely responsible for the over 50% increase in the population within these tracts. During this period, the average number of white residents per census tract increased by nearly 50 percent, going from an average of 1,300 white residents per tract to approximately 1,950 white residents per tract. While during this same period, the number of Black residents per tract grew by only 6%. This further strengthens the assertion that Black census tracts in Columbia are getting whiter.

Table 5: Percent Change between 2008-2017: Columbia, SC

	VWHI	**BHMI**	**WMLI**	**BLI**
Median % White	-2.1%	+7.7%	-5.1%	+4.6%
Median % Black	+1.5%	-13.8%	-1.3%	-9.3%
Median Income	+22.7%	+10.4%	+19.2%	+8.8%
Median % Homeowner	+1.9%	-0.5%	No change	-6.7%
Median Vacancy rate	+0.1%	+2%	+1.2%	+1.2%
Median Loan Amount	+19.1	+10.6%	+2.2%	-0.6%
Total Population	+17.3%	+54.3%	-5.5%	+11%
Number of Tracts	-2	+9	-9	+2

Not only are Black neighborhoods getting whiter, but the proportion of homeowners is these neighborhoods is also declining, while white census tracts have seen both no change and slight increases in the proportion of homeowners. As shown in Table 5, the greatest reduction in homeownership was observed within predominantly Black, low-income neighborhoods. Despite an increase in population, the reduction in the homeownership rate indicates a loss of approximately 1,000 homeowners within these tracts. Considering how the total number of BLI tracts increased between 2008 and 2017, the reduction in the median percent homeowners is associated to a loss of 202 homeowners per tract, a 25% reduction. This is not insignificant, especially in response to growing effort to preserve and increase rates of Black homeownership, especially in low-income neighborhoods.

The State of Black Homeownership in Charleston, SC

Regression Results [2]

While located in the same state, Columbia and Charleston are demographically and economically distinct. Columbia has a much larger Black middle class compared to Charleston; however, the University of South Carolina also means that Columbia has a much younger population and a greater number of renters. Charleston, though, has a slightly higher rate of Black homeownership compared to Columbia at 58%, a rate 15% above the national average. Charleston historically has a relatively smaller Black population compared to Columbia but even more telling, between 2010 and 2020, the city lost 16 percent of its Black population, while the white population increased by 31 percent (Lee, 2021). The following regression results and demographic analysis attempt to understand how these demographic changes may be influencing the role of homeownership to Black residents.

[2] For full regression results see Appendix Table 2.

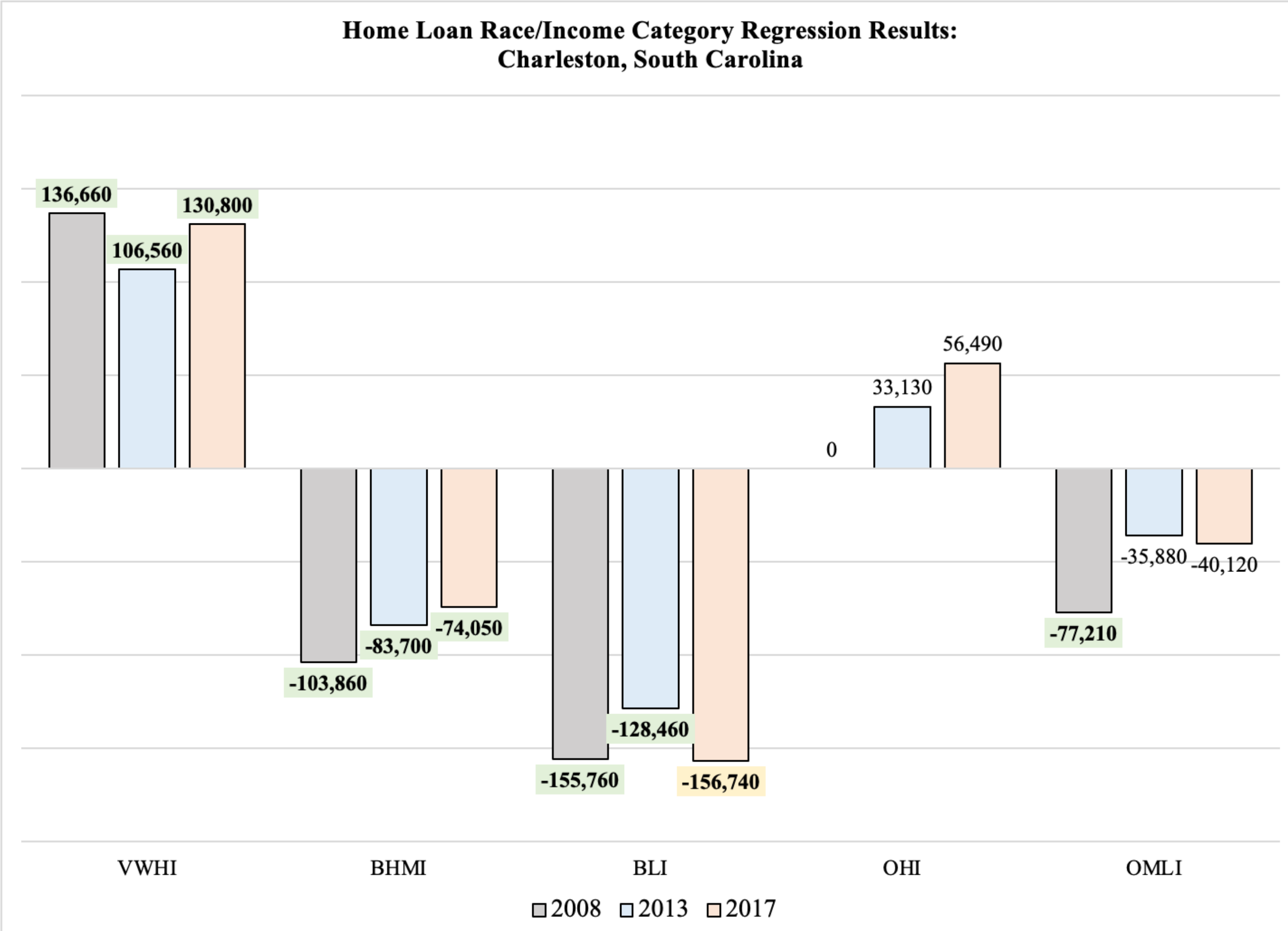

Figure 6: Home Loan Race/Income Category Regression Results

Green: p<0.01 Yellow: p<0.05

Table 6: Percent Change in Home Loan Value, Charleston			
	VWHI	BHMI	BLI
2008-2017	-4.2%	+28.7%	-0.6%
2008-2013	-22.0%	+19.4%	+17.5%
2013-2017	+22.7%	+11.5%	-22.0%

While demographic shifts are not explicit in the regression results, there has been unquestionable changes in the home loan amounts in different census tracts. Figure 4 depicts the regression results for the three relevant time periods in the five race/income divisions. Similar to Columbia, home loans in predominantly Black neighborhoods were valued significantly less than in white neighborhoods, regardless of income in all three periods. However, there are several notable differences between the recovery experiences in Charleston compared to Columbia. First, unlike Columbia where homes in very-white high-income tracts gained value across the entire period, homes in the same economic and racial position lost value in the early recovery period. Further, homes in these census tracts had not returned to pre-recession levels by 2017, suggesting a slower recovery in the city. On the other hand, homes in predominantly Black, higher income census tracts continued to gain value across the entire study period while homes in lower income Black census tracts decreased in value between 2013 and 2017.

While not depicted in Figure 4, the additional explanatory variables included in the regression yielded additional findings of note.[3] First, the impact of a census tract's vacancy rate had a very strong impact on loan amounts. While vacancy rates have been highlighted by previous scholars to behave in unusual ways in regressions, in Charleston in 2017 the regression results yield that a 1% increase in the vacancy rate would increase the predicted loan amount by \$633,890 (Berg, 2011). This value that was also found to be statistically significant at the 1 percent level. Understanding the peculiarities of vacancy rate in predicting home loan values in Charleston extends beyond the focus of this analysis, it is nevertheless worth acknowledging, especially as the role of vacancy rate was less significant in Columbia.

The regression results in Charleston yielded high R-squared values across the time periods, with the highest being 0.649 in 2008 and the lowest being 0.499 in 2013. The high R-squared values demonstrate, much like Columbia, that at majority of the variance in loan amount

[3] For full regression results see Appendix Table 2.

can be explained by the explanatory variables included in the model. The regression results in Charleston, like in Columbia, show a strong relationship between race and home loan amounts, regardless of income. However, the results differ from Columbia in several key ways that are not fully explained in the regression. Considering the demographic shifts that occurred in Charleston over the research period works to further explain the ways in which the situation of homeowners in Charleston diverged from those in Columbia.

<u>A City in Flux: Neighborhood Demographic Change in Charleston, SC</u>

Much like Columbia, the demographics of Charleston have changed significantly between 2008 and 2017. First, the population of the city itself grew by over 130,000 residents during this period. This massive population growth has complicated the position of Black homeowners in the city. Notably, much of this growth has been concentrated in predominantly white census tracts. Of the 130,000 new residents, 80,000 moved into predominantly white neighborhoods. At the same, the proportion of Black residents in predominantly Black census tracts declined. As shown in tables 7-10, The largest reduction was witnessed in the low income, Black neighborhoods where the median percent Black declined by 8.5%.

Unlike Columbia, where the homeownership rate only fell in Black census tracts, in Charleston, the homeownership rate declined everywhere except in low-income Black census tracts. While this could suggest that lower-income Black Charleston residents are gaining newfound access to homeownership, the accompanying of a growing white population suggests that it is more likely the result of white residents moving into the neighborhoods. While overall population growth meat the number of Black residents increased by 16% over the ten-year period, within the same timeframe, the number of white residents per tract grew by an average of 123%, suggesting a significant demographic change within these tracts.

While much like Columbia, the demographics of Charleston are changing, unlike Columbia a majority of these changes appear concentrated in the in the lowest income, predominantly Black areas. Further, the declining rates of homeownership across the city indicates a possible shift in the Charleston housing market with the growing population opting for renting over ownership.

Table 7: Very White High Income Census Tracts: *Charleston, SC*

	2008	2013	2017	% Change
Median % White	89.6%	94.3%	89.2%	-0.4%
Median % Black	6.3%	5.0 %	7.5%	+1.2%
Median Income	$82,647	$90,000	$99,292	+20.1%
Median % Homeowner	85.9%	83.5%	82.2%	-3.7%
Median Vacancy rate	12.9%	10.6%	7.5%	-5.4%
Median Loan Amount	$311,500	$307,750	$374,000	+20.0%
Total Population	116,536	117,822	181,331	+55.6%
Number of Tracts	29	26	31	+2

Table 8: Black High/Moderate Income Census Tracts: *Charleston, SC*

	2008	2013	2017	% Change
Median % White	35.4%	40.8%	39.8%	+4.4%
Median % Black	59.3%	58.9%	58.9%	-0.4%
Median Income	$33,789	$39,513	$41,566	+23.0%
Median % Homeowner	71%	58.7%	63.9%	-7.1%
Median Vacancy rate	16.7%	18.8%	15.8%	-0.9%
Median Loan Amount	$134,500	$163,000	$184,000	+36.8%
Total Population	47,738	68,151	63,187	+32.4%
Number of Tracts	14	18	17	+3

Table 9: White Moderate/Low Income Census Tracts*: Charleston, SC*

	2008	2013	2017	% Change
Median % White	80.5%	81.3%	81.0%	+0.5%
Median % Black	12.8%	17.5%	13.2%	+0.4%
Median Income	$51,163	$55,789	$69,531	+35.9%
Median % Homeowner	70.6%	68.6%	70.1%	-0.5%
Median Vacancy rate	11.1%	8.4%	10.8%	-0.3%
Median Loan Amount	$224,000	$176,500	$248,000	+10.7%
Total Population	125,072	205,014	140,468	+12.3%
Number of Tracts	32	41	31	-1

Table 10: Black Low Income Census Tracts: *Charleston, SC*

	2008	2013	2017	% Change
Median % White	12.6%	20.5%	21.8%	+9.2%
Median % Black	85.8%	78.0%	77.3%	-8.5%
Median Income	$20,819	$21,766	$28,521	+37.0%
Median % Homeowner	30.9%	31.8%	31.2%	+0.3%
Median Vacancy rate	20.2%	16.4%	18.7%	-1.5%
Median Loan Amount	$154,500	$131,500	$146,500	-5.2%
Total Population	30,900	39,770	36,543	+18.3%
Number of Tracts	12	12	11	-1

Discussion: Assessing the Value of Homeownership for Black South Carolinians

The findings of this study, when understood in conjunction with resident's lived experiences reveals the complex position homeownership for Black South Carolinians. It found that while Black homeowners, regardless of income, face lower home values compared to white residents, their homes appear to regaining the value lost during the housing market crash.

However, this growth was found to be accompanied in both cities by an expanding white population that undermined the legitimacy of this recovery.

The preceding analysis demonstrated that the demographics of urban South Carolina are unquestionably changing, and these shifts are being felt by Black homeowners. The assertion that South Carolina urban neighborhoods are changing is not revolutionary, however, and Black residents have been asserting for years that their neighborhoods are not what they once were. In Columbia for example, Hemphill Pride II, an attorney, and Civil Rights activist, asserted regarding one of Columbia's historically Black neighborhoods that "The future of that area is going to be whiter and whiter and whiter" (Lee, 2021). In Charleston, the Jenkins family found themselves caught in the shifting housing market as well. When the family sold their Ansonborough neighborhood home in July 2020, they, in turn, relinquished their claim as the last Black property owners in a neighborhood that was once almost entirely Black (Parker, 2022). Neighborhood demographic changes have unquestionably impacted the ability to fully recognize the degree to which Black homeowners have regained the wealth assets of their homes lost in Great Recession.

In addition to identifying a relationship between demographic shifts and home values, this study also built upon the argument that regardless of income, homes in predominantly Black neighborhoods are valued significantly less than in white neighborhoods. These findings underscore the assertions of scholars like Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor who argued that "even when African Americans do own their homes, they experience the supposed benefits differently in comparison with white homeowners" (2019, 259). Homeowners in Columbia's highest income, white census tracts, for example, lost virtually no cumulative wealth, while home loans in predominantly Black neighborhoods declined by over 25 percent, regardless of income.

Racialized space is undeniably influencing home loan values in urban South Carolina, and despite the highest rates of Black homeownership of anywhere in the country, it is not obvious that Black homeowners have regained home values lost during the housing market crash of 2008.

Changing trends in homeownership are further demonstrated within HMDA loan data. Specifically, fewer and fewer loans are going to Black residents in predominantly Black neighborhoods. For example, in Charleston in 2017 just 4.6 percent of all the loans were given in predominantly Black neighborhoods despite nearly 13% of the population residing in one of these tracts. More consequentially, of these loans, nearly 70% went to white applicants. While not as extreme, Columbia also saw unequal trends as, despite housing 36,500 residents, less than 100 home loans were accepted in low income, predominantly Black neighborhoods. Higher income Black neighborhoods, have at the same time, seen a massive influx of loan approvals. While in 2009 only 622 loans were administered in predominantly Black, higher income areas, by 2017 this number rose to over 2,800. Compared to Charleston, the loans were laid out fairly equally between were Black and white residents, about 40% of loans went to white residents and 46% were granted to Black residents. However as Black residents made up around 56% of the population of these tracts in 2017, home loans were disproportionately going to white buyers. When coupled with fears of the residents of these neighborhoods that the population influx into predominantly their neighborhoods will force current residents to move out, the impact of the home market on neighborhood demographics are exacerbated (Lee, 2021).

Home loans in Black neighborhoods are disproportionately going to white home buyers indicating that enduring changes are occurring in what were once prominent Black neighborhoods. This finding echoes the assertions of South Carolina residents like Henry Jenkins, Moses Felder, and Hemphill Pride II, and cries for greater attention to the changing demographics of their neighborhoods (Lee, 2021; Parker, 2022). The value of homeownership in fostering enduring Black wealth is undermined if enthusiastic developers displace Black homeowners before they accrue significant wealth from their investments. South Carolina has the largest Black homeownership rate in the county, but this study found that that the value of homeownership in guaranteeing wealth accumulation is not guaranteed.

Policy Recommendations

An Ideological Concession: Why Homeownership?

It is evident from this quantitative study that homeownership is an uncertain source of stable wealth for Black South Carolinians. So before presenting potential policy solutions, it is worth asking, why homeownership? Challenging the "socially constructed and historically situated binary that positions homeownership as the preferable alternative to renting," this study seeks to forge beyond the false dichotomy that unequivocally prefers homeownership to renting (Markley et. al., 2020). That is not to claim that renting should be heralded as the solution to wealth inequality or racial inequity, or that Black Americans should not continue to be homeowners. Rather, the question of why homeownership, is one that simultaneously interrogates basic assumptions in American society, assumptions that continue to uphold and legitimize white supremacy.

The economic system in the United States privileges homeownership above most other forms of wealth accumulation. At the same time, however, Black Americans' opportunities to build wealth through home ownership have been degraded by these very systems. From chattel slavery to de jure segregation, from de facto redlining practices to "predatory inclusion," the American economic system has built white wealth at the expense of Black citizens, and the housing market is no exception (Taylor, 2022). As George Lipsitz articulated, "perhaps the most destructive effect of the white spatial imaginary is its role as a crucible for… the idea that Black people have shown themselves unfit for freedom by failing to take advantage of the opportunities afforded by civil rights laws" (2011, 15). The presumption that individual actions, such as owning a home could resolve the racial wealth gap, is dangerous as it fails to recognize that individual actions cannot destroy systemic barriers. While imagining a society outside of the bounds of the current American economic and political system is beyond the scope of this analysis, the subsequent policy recommendations attempt to work within the prevailing economic and political systems to create meaningful changes within the lives of Black South Carolinians.

Given the state of Black homeowners in urban South Carolina this study details two local policy recommendations and two federal suggestions. At the local level, this study explores two proposals that seek to support the Black homeowners already in South Carolina in addition to further improving the Black homeownership rate in the cities. These recommendations include 1) leveraging existing community land trust policy and shared equity strategies and 2) establish formal structures for "family heirs" to make formal claims to their land. At the federal level, this study edges into the idealistic, and perhaps utopian. While localized policy solutions are what will create meaningful and immediate change in the lives of Black South Carolinians, it is by also considering the idealistic that helps maintain the momentum for goals as big as closing the racial wealth gap. Therefore, this study also recommendations two additional federal policies 1) establishing a federally backed economic safety nets unattached to housing and 2) developing a system of reparations for Black Americans.

Localized Policy Solutions

South Carolina is currently in the unique position where the large proportion of Black homeowners could allow the state to leverage properties that are already owned. While the gap between Black and white homeowners is significant, it is much less severe than in other metropolitan regions. Thus, the first policy solutions center around protecting and supporting South Carolina's Black homeowners from the threat of displacement. Both Columbia and Charleston have large Black populations and notable historically Black neighborhoods. This study found that although home prices in many of these neighborhoods has gone up, it has been accompanied by a growing white population. As white Americans look to move from the suburbs back into urban areas, specific attention needs to be paid to maintaining the existing Black neighborhoods.

Community Land Trusts and the Black Commons

A common finding among those who study gentrification is that homeowners are much less likely to experience displacement due to gentrification (HUD, 2018). While it is true that homeowners do not experience the most immediate consequences of gentrification when compared to renters, the situation in South Carolina indicates that Black homeowners may not be inherently protected from displacement. High rates of Black homeownership in South Carolina do not seem to be adequately preventing displacement in predominantly Black neighborhoods, especially in Charleston.

Community land trusts and shared equity systems provide a powerful approach to protecting homeowners from displacement and stabilizing the wealth tied to homes. Community land trusts are nonprofits that "work to ensure community-held decision making and shared equity homeownership opportunities" (Velasco, 2020). Legislatures and scholars have argued that trusts can work to keep housing affordable, reduce the risk of displacement, and even provide a "powerful platform for wealth building and family stability" (Velasco, 2020). This study demonstrated how homeowners in predominantly Black neighborhoods faced heightened instability during the Great Recession. While homes within community land trusts do not accrue the same value of traditional homeownership, for Black Americans, who have been consistently undermined by the American housing market, land trusts can increase the odds that an investment in a home will provide a stable source of wealth. In fact, a 2019 study found that shared equity homeownership programs protect residents from market fluctuations (Wang et al., 2019).

The state of South Carolina has already passed the "South Carolina Community Land Trust Act of 2012." In this bill the legislature asserted, "Homeownership is a worthy goal for many South Carolina families of low and moderate income and many families require supportive homeownership services in order to obtain and retain their family home" (Title 31). Despite the support of the legislature, there are few examples of organizations and communities taking advantage of the potential value of Community Land Trusts. In Charleston, there is only one organization working to develop community land ownership. The Community First Land Trust in North Charleston, a primary Black region of the city, is attempting to leverage this law to peruse what they refer to as "revitalization without displacement." This organization is seeking to directly confront the consequences of gentrification and their recognition that "local residents are not benefitting from community investments." Expanding upon the existing programs for community land trust provides a prominent solution to the heightened instability faced by Black homeowners.

Several Black scholars have also suggested expanding upon the success of community land trusts through the creation of a Black Commons, extending the value of collective ownership beyond monetary capacity to focus on community strength. The Black Commons builds upon a historic legacy of collective land ownership by Black Americans as a strategy to confront exclusive property ownership practices (Velasco, 2020). Community land trusts, in fact, were first implemented in the 1960s by African American leaders in Georgia who sought to respond to the harsh, oppressive realties of Black tenant farming (Velasco, 2020). Scholar Susan Witt affirmed the potential value in the Black Commons. She explained, "By returning land to a Commons through the vehicle of community land trusts, a basic injustice in our economic system begins to be addressed" (2018). The value of leveraging community land trusts as a policy solution to wealth inequality transcends the increased wealth stability that it fosters in homeowners and the protection it provides from displacement. It is equally valuable in fostering a greater sense of community power and agency.

Formalization of Informal Claims to Homeownership

Increasing economic stability for Black homeowners South Carolina would benefit greatly from policies that formalize the often informal claims Black residents have to their homes. In urban South Carolina, Black homeowners are more frequently recognized as what is referred to as a "family heirs," compared to white residents (Center for Heirs Property Preservation). Family heirs reside in and are responsible for homes passed though a family without a formal will. While these individuals pay property taxes and live in their family homes, the legal grounds are consistently unclear (Simington, 2019). In 2019, following a series of floods, many South Carolinians struggled to receive disaster relief because they did not formally own their home (Simington, 2019). As individuals like Jerry Testle experienced, lacking the documentation of official homeownership can have serious consequences (Simington, 2019). Despite the damage his home sustained during a series of floods, “state authorities [would] not consider Testle the legal homeowner without state-recognized documentation of homeownership” (Simington, 2019). Testle was not a unique case in South Carolina. The Reed family, for example, lost their property over a $112 tax bill, despite their family having lived in the same home since 1957 (Slade, 2022). With threats of displacement, the need to guarantee current homeowners can remain property owners is essential.

Organizations including the Center for Heirs Property Preservation have begun providing legal aid to “family heirs.” Policy actions to further support this type of work or even the formal recognition of family heirs as rightful property owners would help guarantee that Black homeowners are able to keep and receive the wealth benefits associated with owning their homes. The Center for Heirs Property Preservation asserts that these strategies would “help families protect and keep their family land… build generational wealth and…. grow ‘working’ landscapes.” The challenge of family heir reflects how Black homeownership in the urban South Carolina diverges from northern counterparts and highlights the need for increased interest in the nuances of southern Black homeownership. In acknowledging how many Black homeowners in South Carolina do not currently have a legally recognized claim to their land, this study recommends the legal guarantee of property rights to “family heirs.”

Federal Policies

The localized policy solutions listed above if enacted would likely create positive, tangible change in the lives of Black South Carolinians in the near future. However, these policies, despite their benefits, only scratch the surface of addressing the historic legacy of wealth inequality. Recognizing the growing call amongst Black scholars for radical policy change to confront the racial wealth gap, this study also recommends two federal policies (Taylor, 2019; Williams, 2022). Those like Robert B. Williams, Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor, and Ta-Nehisi Coats are just a few of many calling for radical changes in our attitudes around homeownership (Coates, 2014; Taylor, 2019; Williams, 2022). The particularities in South Carolina do not alter the claims made by these scholars, rather they reinforce their assertion that the American preoccupation with individualistic solutions to systemic problems (i.e., purchasing a single-family home) undermines Black American's economic and social position.

While the following policy recommendations are idealistic, utopian even, they are worth remembering and giving serious consideration to.

Economic Safety Net Untethered to Homeownership

Homeownership has become equated not only with wealth, but the foundations of economic stability. The ability to refinance a home, pay unchanging mortgage payments, and gain the benefits of continually increasing home values have placed homeownership at the crux of stable wealth in America (Markley et al., 2020). However, the assumption that closing the homeownership gap will in return close the wealth gap ignores how homes in predominantly Black neighborhoods do not achieve the same appreciation as in white-dominant areas. As Taylor asserted in the conclusion of her book *Race for Profit,* "When the housing market is fully formed by racial discrimination, there is deep, abiding inequality… And when homeownership is promoted as a key to economic freedom and advancement, this economic inequality is reinforced, legitimized, and ultimately accepted" (2019, 261). The goal in the creation of a federally backed economic safety net is to challenge the American idealization of private homeownership and ensure a universal degree of social and economic stability, regardless of housing tenure.

This assertion does not mean that Black Americans should not enter the housing market, rather it contends with the assumption the housing market can solve the root of racial inequity. The collapse of the housing market showed for many Americans, across race and class that homeownership may not be the stable source of wealth that was promised by the American Dream. For example, the results of the regression analysis in Charleston suggest that homeowners in low-income Black neighborhoods have yet to regain home value lost during the recession.

This recommendation utilizes the federal social policies that emerged out of the COVID-19 pandemic to provide a policy framework for a permanent economic safety net disconnected from private property. The policy actions enacted during the COVID-19 pandemic at both the state and federal, revealed how social policies can improve social welfare and the economic position of households without the need for homeownership (Banerjee & Zipperer, 2022). For example, renter protections like rent stabilization, eviction protection, and rental payment support all increased the economic stability of residence despite the instability of the pandemic (Banerjee & Zipperer, 2022). During the height of the COVID-19 pandemic, government programs like unemployment insurance benefits and the Child Tax Credit worked to lower poverty rates in the United States to levels less than before the pandemic (Banerjee & Zipperer, 2022). Ultimately, an analysis of census records found that in 2021, social insurance programs "kept over 25 million people out of poverty" (Banerjee & Zipperer, 2022). While social nets would do little to close the wealth gap, by guaranteeing economic stability without owning a home, they would allow American citizens more freedom in their decisions around housing.

Reparations

This study will not attempt answer the logistical questions of reparation policy as there has been significant scholarly attention to how to approach reparations. However, white scholars especially should not ignore the Black academics, policy leaders, and community leaders calling for reparative policies (Coates, 2014; Craemer et al., 2020; Darity & Mullen, 2020). Reparations are not going to close the wealth gap, but they will begin to challenge the system that continues to develop white wealth at the expense of Black Americans. The work of William Darity and Kirsten Mullen articulated that reparative policies should be developed as a program of "acknowledgment, redress, and closure for a grievous injustice" (2020, 2). That is, reparations for Black Americans should be a collection of policies intended to contend with the violence and oppression they have experienced throughout the entire history of this country. William Darity asserted, "Taken individually, any one of these three tiers of injustice – slavery, the regime of legal segregation and subordination, and current discrimination – makes a powerful case for black reparations. Taken collectively, they are impossible to ignore" (Darity & Mullen, 2020, 6).

For questions of a potential funding source for reparations policies, Robert Williams argued that the source lies within the nine tax deductions he identified as "wealth building tax deductions" that today, primarily support the wealth accumulation of white Americans (2022). In 2016 that these nine tax deductions totaled $626 billion, and, according to Williams, could provide the basis for reparations funding (2022). This study asserts that reparations should remain a legitimate policy recommendation for the endurance of the racial wealth gap, especially given that the strategies for wealth accumulation leveraged by white Americans have not experienced equally by Black citizens.

Conclusion

In considering the position of homeownership in urban South Carolina, a state with the highest rate of Black homeownership, this study challenges the assumption that homeownership is the solution to building Black wealth. This study posited the question, to what extent does homeownership provide a source of stable wealth for Black Americans, and found that in South Carolina, homeownership remains an unstable source of wealth for those in predominantly Black neighborhoods. Exploring Black homeowners both temporally and spatially, this study sought to build a comprehensive understanding of the state of Black homeownership in urban South Carolina. While many scholars have found that Black Americans have yet to fully regain the wealth they lost when the housing bubble burst, this study expanded upon previous literature by attempting to contend with the dual challenge of wealth acquisition and the threat of displacement.

Utilizing data collected from both the Home Mortgage Disclosure Act and the American Community Survey, this study was rooted in the results six OLS regressions in addition to an extensive descriptive analysis. Conducted across three time periods, Recession (2006-2010), Early Recovery (2011-2015), and Recovered (2015-2019), and two urban areas, Charleston and Columbia, South Carolina, this attempted to predict the median home loan value within a census tract based on classifications of both race and income. Rather than considering race and income separately within these models, these variables were examined in conjunction. This method revealed how race, regardless of income, had the most significant impact on home loan values in urban South Carolina.

What this analysis discovered was that not only are homes in predominantly Black census tracts valued significantly less than in white neighborhoods, the slight recovery in loan amounts in these tracts was also accompanied by an increasingly white population. While there has been some recovery shown in the value of home loans in urban South Carolina, this study did not find that Black homeowners regained the wealth they lost during the recession. Instead, it is positioned within a growing conversation among South Carolina residents calling for a recognition of the displacement of Black Americans from historically Black neighborhoods. These findings in relations to the high rate of Black homeowners in South Carolina complicates the assumption that renters are the primary victims of the displacement associated with "urban revival."

Despite the large scope of this study, it is limited by the spatial level of analysis. By focusing on the aggregate census tract level, rather than the individual, this study could not fully examine the personal experiences of South Carolina residents. For example, there were very few Black high-income census tracts or white low-income census tracts, meaning the experiences of the wealthiest Black and the poorest white South Carolinians were likely not fully included in this study. Additionally, by aggregating the HMDA data to the census tract level, this study also could not track individual changes in home prices and had to rely on changes across the entire census tract. While not insignificant limits, the findings of this study, nevertheless, present useful insights into the overarching picture of the state of homeownership for Black South Carolinians.

Building upon this analysis, future studies should seek to understand the impact of displacement on Black homeownership. While gentrification is often discussed in relation to renters, this study suggests a concurrent relationship with Black homeowners. While less likely to be forced out by rising rents, understanding the motivations that encourage Black homeowners to move from their neighborhoods could shift dominant discussions around gentrification. For homeowners it is not rising rents that are forcing them out of neighborhoods, but it is not clear from this study alone why they may choose to move.

In the conclusion of her book, Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor asserted, “The regular promotion of homeownership as a means to overcome poverty or as a method of building wealth in our society had been built on a mistaken assumption that all people enter the housing market on an equal basis” (2019, 262). While Taylor focused on American housing policy in the 1960s and 70s, this study’s consideration of the contemporary period came to similar conclusions. The 2008 housing crash not only demonstrated the devaluation of Black property, but also exposed the instability of homeownership as a financial asset for Black South Carolinians. To clarify, this study is not attempting to argue that Black Americans should not be homeowners or that the market is an omnipotent being in the lives of Americans. Instead, the results of this study challenge the assumption that wealth inequality can be solved through the “bootstrap mentality” that argues that decades of injustice can be undone if Black Americans simply own their home.

.

Bibliography

Agyeman, Julian and Kofi Boone. 2020. "Land Loss has Plagues Black America Since Emancipation – Time to Look Again at 'Black Commons' and Collective Ownership?" *The Conversation*, June 18, 2020. https://theconversation.com/land-loss-has-plagued-black-america-since-emancipation-is-it-time-to-look-again-at-black-commons-and-collective-ownership-140514.

Banerjee, Asha, and Ben Zipperer. "Poverty is a Public Policy Choice." *In These Times*, September 21, 2022. https://inthesetimes.com/article/poverty-pandemic-child-tax-credit-unemployment-social-security.

Baradaran, Mehrsa. 2017 *The color of money: Black banks and the racial wealth gap*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Berg, Marten. 2011. "The Impact of Vacancy Rates on Housing Prices – An Econometrical Analysis." *Ekonomihogskolan, Lunds Universitet.* Undergraduate Thesis.

Berlin, Ira. 1998. *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Bhandar, Brenna. 2018. *Colonial lives of property: law, land, and racial regimes of ownership*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Burden-Stelly, Charisse. 2020. "Modern U.S. Racial Capitalism: Some Theoretical Insights." *Monthly Review: An Independent Socialist Magazine,* July 1, 2020. https://monthlyreview.org/2020/07/01/modern-u-s-racial-capitalism/.

Coates, Ta-Nehisi. 2014. "The Case for Reparations." *The Atlantic*, June 15, 2014. www.theatlantic.com/features/ archive/2014/05/the-case-for-reparations/361631/

Craemer, Thomas, Trevor Smith, Brianna Harrison, Trevon Logan, Wesley Bellamy, and William Darity. 2020. "Wealth Implications of Slavery and Racial Discrimination for African American Descendants of the Enslaved." The Review of Black political economy 47, no. 3: 218–254.

Darity, William, and Kirsten Mullen. 2020. *From Here to Equality: Reparations for Black Americans in the Twenty-First Century.* Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press.

Darity, William, Darrick Hamilton, Mark Paul, Alan Aja, Anne Price, Antonio Moore, and Caterina Chiopris. 2018. *What We Get Wrong About Closing the Racial Wealth Gap*. Durham, NC: Samuel DuBois Cook Center on Social Equity. https://socialequity.duke.edu/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/what-we-get-wrong.pdf.

Dennis, Rickey Ciapha Jr. 2020. "Charleston-area Groups Working to Preserve Culture Amid Region's Gentrification." *The Post and Courier*, August 27, 2020. https://housingmatters.urban.org/articles/how-community-land-trusts-can-advance-racial-and-economic-justice.

Ding, Lei, and Jackelyn Hwand. 2020. "Effects of Gentrification on Homeowners: Evidence from a Natural Experiment." *Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia* WP 20-16. https://doi.org/10.21799/frbp.wp.2020.16.

Fears, Darryl, and John Muyskens. 2021. "Black People are About to be Swept Aside for a South Carolina Freeway – Again." *The Washington Post*, September 8, 2021. https://www.washingtonpost.com/climate-environment/interactive/2021/highways-black-homes-removal-racism/.

Fergus, Devin, and Trina R. Shanks. 2022. "The Long Afterlife of Slavery in Asset Stripping, Historical Memory and Family Burden: Toward a Third Reconstruction." *Families in Society: The Journal of Contemporary Social Services* 103, no.1: 7-20.

Ford, Tiffany, and Annelies Goger. 2021. "The Value of Qualitative Data for Advancing Equity in Policy." *Brookings Institute*, October 14, 2021. https://www.brookings.edu/research/value-of-qualitative-data-for-advancing-equity-in-policy/.

Goodman, Laurie S, and Christopher Mayer. 2018. "Homeownership and the American Dream." *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 32, no. 1 (Winter), 31–58.

Hyra, Derek, and Jacob S. Rugh. 2016. "The US Great Recession: Exploring its Association with Black Neighborhood Rise, Decline and Recovery." *Urban Geography* 37, no. 5: 700–26.

Immergluck, Dan, Stephanie Earl, and Allison Powell. 2019. "Black Homebuying After the Crisis: Appreciation and Segregation Patterns in Fifteen Large Metropolitan Areas. *City & Community* 18, no 3: 983–1002.

Jones, Janelle. 2017. "The Racial Wealth Gap: How African- Americans Have Been Shortchanged out of the Materials to Build Wealth." Washington, DC: Economic Policy Institute. www.epi.org/blog/the-racial-wealth-gap-how-african- americans-have-been-shortchanged-out-of-the- materials-to-build-wealth/.

Lacy, Karyn. 2012. "All's Fair? The Foreclosure Crisis and Middle- Class Black (In)Stability." *American Behavioral Scientist* 56, no 11: 1565–80. https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764212458279

Lee, Sebastian. 2021. "A Historically Black Area in Columbia is Changing, and Residents Question Why." *Carolina News and Reporter*, November 30, 2021. https://carolinanewsandreporter.cic.sc.edu/a-historically-black-area-in-columbia-is-changing-and-residents-question-why/

Lipsitz, George. 2011. *How Racism Takes Place*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press

Markley, Scott, Taylor Hafley, and Steven Holloway. 2020. "The Limits of Homeownership: Racial Capitalism, Black Wealth, and the Appreciation Gap in Atlanta." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 44, no 2: 310-328.

McCargo, Alanna. 2019. "A Five-Point Strategy for Reducing the Black Homeownership Gap." Washington, DC: Urban Institute. https://www.urban.org/urban-wire/five-point-strategy-reducing-black-homeownership-gap.

McKinney, Ellie. 2022. *"The Accused Plants About Five Acres": The Limits of Homeownership in Defending the Character of Poor Whites in Antebellum Upcountry South Carolina* [Unpublished manuscript]. Occidental College.

Merritt, Keri Leigh. 2017. *Masterless Men: Poor Whites and Slavery in the Antebellum South.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Moore, Antonio, and Matt Bruenig. 2017. "Without the Family Car Black Wealth Barely Exists." Washington, DC: People's Policy Project. https://www.peoplespolicyproject.org/2017/09/30/without-the-family-car-black-wealth-barely-exists/.

Morgan, Scott. 2023. "South Carolina Leads the U.S. in Black Homeownership, But There are Still a Few Gaps to Close." *South Carolina Public Radio*. February 22, 2023. https://www.southcarolinapublicradio.org/sc-news/2023-02-22/south-carolina-leads-the-u-s-in-black-homeownership-but-there-are-still-a-few-gaps-to-close.

Parker, Adam. 2022. "Last Black Homeowners Leave Charleston's Ansonborough Neighborhood." *The Post and Courier.* August 6, 2022. https://www.postandcourier.com/news/last-black-homeowners-leave-charlestons-ansonborough-neighborhood/article_c90f72ba-09de-11ed-87ee-7b57db8b5de0.html.

Perry, Andre, Jonathan Rothwell, and David Harshbarger. 2018. "The Devaluation of Assets in Black Neighborhoods: The Case of Residential Property." *Brookings* Institute. November 27, 2018. https://www.brookings.edu/research/devaluation-of-assets-in-black-neighborhoods/.

Reavis, Ally. 2022. "The Uprooted Roots of Columbia." *Garnet & Black Magazine.* October 31, 2022. https://www.gandbmagazine.com/article/2022/10/the-uprooted-roots-of-columbia-reavis.

Robinson, Cedric. 2000. *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition.* Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.

Rothstein, Richard. 2017. *The Color of Law: A Forgotten History of How our Government Segregated America*. New York, NY: Liveright.

Rosalsky, Greg. 2022. “Why the Racial Wealth Gap is So Hard to Close.” *NPR*. June 14, 2022. https://www.npr.org/sections/money/2022/06/14/1104660659/why-the-racial-wealth-gap-is-so-hard-to-close.

Rugh, Jacob. 2020. “Why Black and Latino Homeownership Matter to the Color Line and Multiracial Democracy.” *Race and Social Problems* 12, 57-76.

Shapiro, Thomas M. 2006. “Race, Homeownership, and Wealth.” *Washington University Journal of Law & Policy* 20, 53–74.

Simington, Jasmine. 2019. “Murky Homeownership Status Derails Flood Relief in South Carolina.” *Poverty Solutions: University of Michigan*, December 9, 2019. https://poverty.umich.edu/2019/12/09/murky-homeownership-status-derails-flood-relief-in-south-carolina/.

Singletary, Michelle. 2018. “Black Homeownership is as Low as it was When Housing Discrimination was Legal.” *Washington Post*. April 5, 2018. https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/get-there/wp/2018/04/05/black-homeownership-is-as-low-as-it-was-when-housing-discrimination-was-legal/.

Slade, David. “Charleston County Drops Plan for Property Tax Referendum to Fund Housing Efforts.” *The Post and Courier,* August 10, 2022. https://www.postandcourier.com/news/charleston-county-drops-plan-for-property-tax-referendum-to-fund-housing-efforts/article_0d0280aa-17e7-11ed-b875-ab6a7166831a.html.

Slade, David. “South Carolina Family that Lost Heirs Property Over $112 Tax Bill Loses Again in Court.” *The Post and Courier*, October 2, 2022. https://www.postandcourier.com/news/sc-family-that-lost-heirs-property-over-112-tax-bill-loses-again-in-court/article_820beaf2-3b56-11ed-a191-a3adf74fed81.html.

“South Carolina Constitution of 1790.” Carolina. Accessed July 20, 2022. https://www.carolana.com/SC/Documents/sc_constitution_1790.html.

South Carolina. 1839. *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina, Volume 5*. Edited by Thomas Cooper and David J. McCord. Columbia, South Carolina. Printed by A.S. Johnson. Hathi Trust. https://catalog.hathitrust.org/api/volumes/oclc/2833246.html.

Stacker. 2022. “South Carolina is the #4 State with the Lowest Black Homeownership Rate.” *Stacker*. February 10, 2022. https://stacker.com/south-carolina/south-carolina-4-state-lowest-black-homeownership-gap.

Taylor, Keeanga-Yamahtta. 2019. *Race for profit: how banks and the real estate industry undermined Black homeownership*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.

Thompson, Alexander. “Newcomers Moving to SC in Droves. Some Lawmakers Want them to Pay a ‘Yankee Tax’ for Coming.” *The Post and Courier: Palmetto Politics*, February 23, 2023. https://www.postandcourier.com/politics/newcomers-moving-to-sc-in-droves-some-lawmakers-want-them-to-pay-a-yankee-tax/article_eb8e2cf0-ac8b-11ed-a4da-bfe23747c9a5.html.

Thurston, Chloe. 2018. *At the Boundaries of Homeownership: Credit, Discrimination, and the American State.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Velasco, Gabi. 2020. “How Community Land Trusts Can Advance Racial and Economic Justice.” *Housing Matters: An Urban Institute Initiative*, February 26, 2020. https://housingmatters.urban.org/articles/how-community-land-trusts-can-advance-racial-and-economic-justice.

Wang, Ruoniu, Claire Cahen, Arthur Acolin, Rebecca J. Walter. 2019. “Tracking Growth and Evaluating Performance of Shared Equity Homeownership Programs During Housing Market Fluctuations.” *Lincoln Institute of Land.*

Wegmann, Jake, Alex Schafran, and Deirdre Pfeiffer. 2017. “Breaking the Double Impasse: Securing and Supporting Diverse Housing Tenures in the United States.” *Housing Policy Debate* 27, no. 2: 193-216. DOI: 10.1080/10511482.2016.1200109.

Williams Robert. 2022. “Federal Wealth Policy and the Perpetuation of White Supremacy.” *The Review of Black Political Economy* 49, no. 2: 130-151.

Witt, Susan. 2018. “Proposal for a ‘Black Commons.’” *Schumacher Center for a New Economics.* Essay. https://centerforneweconomics.org/publications/proposal-for-a-black-commons/.

Wyly, Elvin, C. S. Ponder, Pierson Nettling, Bosco Ho, Sophie Ellen Fung, Zachary Liebowitz, and Dan Hammel. 2012. “New Racial Meanings of Housing in America.” *American Quarterly* 64, no. 3: 571–604. http://www.jstor.org/stable/23273535.

Data Appendix

HMDA Data

Forrester, Andrew. Historical Home Mortgage Disclosure Act (HMDA) Data: HMDA_LAR_2000.zip. Ann Arbor, MI: Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research [distributor], 2021-10-10. https://doi.org/10.3886/E151921V1-99360.

Forrester, Andrew. Historical Home Mortgage Disclosure Act (HMDA) Data: HMDA_LAR_2001.zip. Ann Arbor, MI: Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research [distributor], 2021-10-10. https://doi.org/10.3886/E151921V1-99360.

Forrester, Andrew. Historical Home Mortgage Disclosure Act (HMDA) Data: HMDA_LAR_2002.zip. Ann Arbor, MI: Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research [distributor], 2021-10-10. https://doi.org/10.3886/E151921V1-99360.

Forrester, Andrew. Historical Home Mortgage Disclosure Act (HMDA) Data: HMDA_LAR_2003.zip. Ann Arbor, MI: Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research [distributor], 2021-10-10. https://doi.org/10.3886/E151921V1-99360.

Forrester, Andrew. Historical Home Mortgage Disclosure Act (HMDA) Data: HMDA_LAR_2004.zip. Ann Arbor, MI: Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research [distributor], 2021-10-10. https://doi.org/10.3886/E151921V1-99360.

Forrester, Andrew. Historical Home Mortgage Disclosure Act (HMDA) Data: HMDA_LAR_2005.zip. Ann Arbor, MI: Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research [distributor], 2021-10-10. https://doi.org/10.3886/E151921V1-99360.

Forrester, Andrew. Historical Home Mortgage Disclosure Act (HMDA) Data: HMDA_LAR_2006.zip. Ann Arbor, MI: Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research [distributor], 2021-10-10. https://doi.org/10.3886/E151921V1-99360.

Consumer Financial Protection Bureau. Home Mortgage Disclosure Act (HMDA) Data: hmda_2007_sc_first-lien-owner-occupied-1-4-family-records-labels.zip. 2007. Retrieved from https://www.consumerfinance.gov/data-research/hmda/historic-data/?geo=sc&records=all-records&field_descriptions=labels.

Consumer Financial Protection Bureau. Home Mortgage Disclosure Act (HMDA) Data: hmda_2008_sc_first-lien-owner-occupied-1-4-family-records-labels.zip. 2008. Retrieved from https://www.consumerfinance.gov/data-research/hmda/historic-data/?geo=sc&records=all-records&field_descriptions=labels.

Consumer Financial Protection Bureau. Home Mortgage Disclosure Act (HMDA) Data: hmda_2009_sc_first-lien-owner-occupied-1-4-family-records-labels.zip. 2009. Retrieved from https://www.consumerfinance.gov/data-research/hmda/historic-data/?geo=sc&records=all-records&field_descriptions=labels.

Consumer Financial Protection Bureau. Home Mortgage Disclosure Act (HMDA) Data: hmda_2010_sc_first-lien-owner-occupied-1-4-family-records-labels.zip. 2010. Retrieved from https://www.consumerfinance.gov/data-research/hmda/historic-data/?geo=sc&records=all-records&field_descriptions=labels.

Consumer Financial Protection Bureau. Home Mortgage Disclosure Act (HMDA) Data: hmda_2011_sc_first-lien-owner-occupied-1-4-family-records-labels.zip. 2011. Retrieved from https://www.consumerfinance.gov/data-research/hmda/historic-data/?geo=sc&records=all-records&field_descriptions=labels.

Consumer Financial Protection Bureau. Home Mortgage Disclosure Act (HMDA) Data: hmda_2012_sc_first-lien-owner-occupied-1-4-family-records-labels.zip. 2012. Retrieved from https://www.consumerfinance.gov/data-research/hmda/historic-data/?geo=sc&records=all-records&field_descriptions=labels.

Consumer Financial Protection Bureau. Home Mortgage Disclosure Act (HMDA) Data: hmda_2013_sc_first-lien-owner-occupied-1-4-family-records-labels.zip. 2013. Retrieved from https://www.consumerfinance.gov/data-research/hmda/historic-data/?geo=sc&records=all-records&field_descriptions=labels.

Consumer Financial Protection Bureau. Home Mortgage Disclosure Act (HMDA) Data: hmda_2014_sc_all-records_labels.zip. 2014. Retrieved from https://www.consumerfinance.gov/data-research/hmda/historic-data/?geo=sc&records=all-records&field_descriptions=labels.

Consumer Financial Protection Bureau. Home Mortgage Disclosure Act (HMDA) Data: hmda_2015_sc_all-records_labels.zip. 2015. Retrieved from https://www.consumerfinance.gov/data-research/hmda/historic-data/?geo=sc&records=all-records&field_descriptions=labels.

Consumer Financial Protection Bureau. Home Mortgage Disclosure Act (HMDA) Data: hmda_2016_sc_all-records_labels.zip. 2016. Retrieved from https://www.consumerfinance.gov/data-research/hmda/historic-data/?geo=sc&records=all-records&field_descriptions=labels.

Consumer Financial Protection Bureau. Home Mortgage Disclosure Act (HMDA) Data: hmda_2017_sc_all-records_labels.zip. 2017. Retrieved from https://www.consumerfinance.gov/data-research/hmda/historic-data/?geo=sc&records=all-records&field_descriptions=labels.

ACS Data

U.S. Census Bureau. 2010 American Community Survey. *Demographic and Housing Estimates 5-year Estimates Data Profile*s. 2006-2010. Retrieved from https://data.census.gov/table?q=DP05.

U.S. Census Bureau. 2015 American Community Survey. *Demographic and Housing Estimates: 5-year Estimates Data Profile*s. 2010-2015. Retrieved from https://data.census.gov/table?q=DP05.

U.S. Census Bureau. 2019 American Community Survey. *Demographic and Housing Estimates: 5-year Estimates Data Profile*s. 2014-2019. Retrieved from https://data.census.gov/table?q=DP05.

U.S. Census Bureau. 2010 American Community Survey. *Median Income in the Past 12 Months (in 2010 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars): 5-year Estimates Data Profile*s. 2006-2010. Retrieved from https://data.census.gov/table?q=S1903&tid=ACSST5Y2019.S1903.

U.S. Census Bureau. 2015 American Community Survey. *Median Income in the Past 12 Months (in 2015 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars): 5-year Estimates Data Profile*s. 2010-2015. Retrieved from https://data.census.gov/table?q=S1903&tid=ACSST5Y2019.S1903.

U.S. Census Bureau. 2019 American Community Survey. *Median Income in the Past 12 Months (in 2019 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars): 5-year Estimates Data Profile*s. 2014-2019. Retrieved from https://data.census.gov/table?q=S1903&tid=ACSST5Y2019.S1903.

U.S. Census Bureau. 2010 American Community Survey. *Selected Housing Characteristics: 5-year Estimates Data Profile*s. 2006-2010. Retrieved from https://data.census.gov/table?q=DP04&tid=ACSDP5Y2010.DP04.

U.S. Census Bureau. 2015 American Community Survey. *Selected Housing Characteristics: 5-year Estimates Data Profile*s. 2010-2015. Retrieved from https://data.census.gov/table?q=DP04&tid=ACSDP5Y2010.DP04.

U.S. Census Bureau. 2019 American Community Survey. *Selected Housing Characteristics: 5-year Estimates Data Profile*s. 2014-2019. Retrieved from https://data.census.gov/table?q=DP04&tid=ACSDP5Y2010.DP04.

US Census Bureau. 2018a. American Community Survey, 2017: 1-year estimates, B25003B: tenure (Black or African American alone householder). Generated using American Factfinder. http://factfinder2.census.gov

US Census Bureau. 2018b. American Community Survey, 2017: 1-year estimates, B25003H: tenure (white alone, not Hispanic, or Latino householder). Generated using American Factfinder. URL http://factfinder2.census.gov.

Appendix

Appendix Table 1: Columbia Regression Results

	2008			**2013**			**2017**		
Median Home Loan by Census Tract	*Estimate*	*Standard Error*	*P-value*	*Estimate*	*Standard Error*	*P-Value*	*Estimate*	*Standard Error*	*P-value*
% Homeowner	6,260	23,470	0.790	-836	26,910	0.975	64,120**	18,970	0.001
% Vacancy	30,110	65,000	0.644	133,000*	60,140	0.028	101,940*	50,350	0.045
VWHI	41,920**	15,800	0.010	64,130**	11,880	0.000	74,860**	10,610	0.000
BHMI	-65,120**	11,960	0.000	-83,000**	12,650	0.000	-51,740**	10,560	0.000
BLI	-85,940**	14,920	0.0040	-106,450**	17,110	0.000	-74,950**	14,190	0.000
OHI	n/a	n/a	n/a	45,280*	20,100	0.026	-3,100	29,140	0.915
OMLI	-34,990**	10,490	0.001	-35,870**	9,490	0.000	-7,680	8,500	0.368
Lexington County	-8,330	17,080	0.627	-9,870	13,230	0.457	-1,700	12,200	0.889
Richland County	40,800*	16,220	0.014	29,780*	14,410	0.040	36,970**	13,050	0.005
Constant	133,720**	28,150	0.000	135,690**	29,260	0.000	94,010**	22,540	0.000
R^2	**0.532**			**0.510**			**0.559**		

Omitted VWMLI and Kershaw County to avoid collinearity.

**p<0.01 *p<0.05

Appendix Table 2: Charleston Regression Results

	2008			**2013**			**2017**		
Median Home Loan by Census Tract	*Estimate*	*Standard Error*	*P-value*	*Estimate*	*Standard Error*	*P-Value*	*Estimate*	*Standard Error*	*P-value*
% Homeowner	-36,060	56,040	0.522	14,870	51,300	0.772	-18,660	63,750	0.770
% Vacancy	749,550**	121,660	0.000	430,260**	79,620	0.000	633,890**	84,890	0.000
VWHI	136,660 **	32,210	0.000	106,560**	28,440	0.000	130,800**	31,380	0.000
BHMI	-103,860**	32,800	0.002	-83,700**	30,690	0.007	-74,050**	34,240	0.001
BLI	-155,760**	37,880	0.000	-128,460**	37,080	0.001	-156,740*	44,450	0.032
OHI	n/a	n/a	n/a	33,130	45,030	0.463	56,490	55,250	0.308
OMLI	-77,210**	25,920	0.004	-35,880	21,630	0.099	-40,120	26,790	0.126
Charleston County	32,950	29,890	0.247	68,000**	24,990	0.007	61,700*	29,790	0.040
Berkeley County	-5,140	40,520	0.900	-5,690	25,730	0.825	5,600	28,660	0.845
Constant	141,760**	51.550	0.008	127,950**	43,410	0.004	167,900**	55,170	0.003

R^2	**0.649**	**0.499**	**0.557**

Omitted VWMLI and Dorchester County to avoid collinearity.

**p<0.01 *p<0.05

Appendix Table 4: Very White High Income Census Tracts: *Columbia, SC*

	2008	2013	2017
Median % White	90.7%	91.2%	87.9%
Median % Black	5.0%	5.6%	6.5%
Median Income	$79,010	$81,121	$96,939
Median % Homeowner	87.1%	87.5%	89.0%
Median Vacancy rate	7.3%	7.5%	7.4%
Median Loan Amount	$196,00	$212,000	$233,500
Total Population	91,754		107,670
Number of Tracts	25	23	23

Appendix Table 5: Black High/Moderate Income Census Tracts: *Columbia, SC*

	2008	2013	2017
Median % White	27.6%	33.2%	35.3%
Median % Black	70.2%	63.9%	56.4%
Median Income	$39,500	$40,038	$43,611
Median % Homeowner	62.5%	61.3%	62.0%
Median Vacancy rate	9.7%	12.3%	11.7%
Median Loan Amount	$113,000	$104,000	$125,000
Total Population	132,898		205,006
Number of Tracts	28	30	37

Appendix Table 6: White Moderate/Low Income Census Tracts*: Columbia, SC*

	2008	2013	2017
Median % White	85.7%	84.1%	80.6%
Median % Black	11.9%	13.7%	10.6%
Median Income	$46,527	$50,664	$55,481
Median % Homeowner	75.3%	76.9%	75.3%
Median Vacancy rate	8.6%	9.1%	9.8%

Median Loan Amount	$145,250	$141,000	$148,500
Total Population	215,988		204,063
Number of Tracts	62	57	53

Appendix Table 7: Black Low Income Census Tracts: ***Columbia, SC***

	2008	2013	2017
Median % White	9.7%	18.1%	14.3%
Median % Black	89.6%	82.2%	80.3%
Median Income	$24,031	$25,905	$26,148
Median % Homeowner	36.8%	27,8%	30.1%
Median Vacancy rate	15.5%	15.6%	16.1%
Median Loan Amount	$88,000	$83,750	$87.500
Total Population	37,416		41,545
Number of Tracts	14	15	16