Streetcars and Economic Development:

A Comparative Study of Four Streetcar Systems

Sarah Jack Hinners

University of Utah

Arthur C. Nelson

University of Arizona

Martin Buchert

University of Utah



A brief history of streetcars

- 1820s-1880s horse-drawn "omnibus"
- 1860s-1890s steam and cable
- 1890s-present electric
- "Streetcar" suburbs
- 1950s onward cars = decline



• Pre 2001 "Heritage"









Rise of the Modern Streetcar

- Portland North-South streetcar line opened 2001 @ \$57 million, entirely locally funded.
- Grew from 2.4 miles to 4 miles (8 track miles) downtown/west side, now a loop crossing the Willamette River
- Purposes:

Link neighborhoods, expand create transportation options.

Fit the scale and traffic patterns of existing neighborhoods.

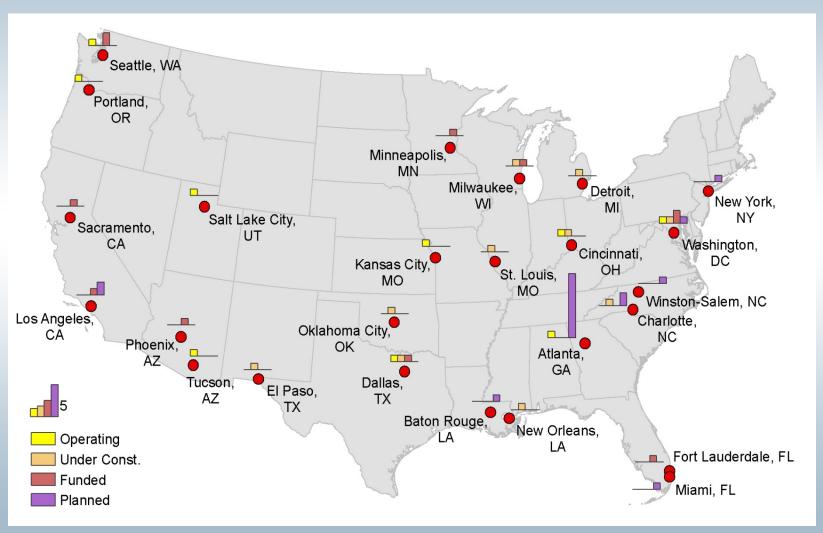
Provide quality service to attract new transit ridership.

Reduce auto trips, parking demand, congestion & pollution.

Encourage housing & business development in Central City.



Streetcar Envy?



Streetcars & Economic Development

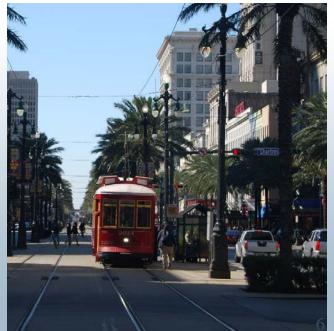
- Adds transportation capacity to densely settled urban areas
- Allows substitution of on-street and garage parking thereby creating more **real estate investment** opportunities.
- Creates opportunities to facilitate **agglomeration economies** that stimulate more investment and create more jobs.
- In theory, streetcars in densely settled urban areas
 = job growth





Ш





Research Design

Quasi-experimental

Treatment and control

Pre-post

| STREETCAR LINE | BEFORE YEAR | AFTER YEAR |
|----------------------------------|-------------|------------|
| Portland, Central Loop | 2006 | 2013 |
| Seattle, South Lake Union | 2003 | 2013 |
| Salt Lake City, S Line | 2009 | 2013 |
| New Orleans, Rampart-St. Claude* | 2008 | 2013 |

Method

Shift-Share Analysis attributes employment change between regional effects, industry effects and local effects such as transit stations.

$$SS = CC + IM + SCA$$

Where

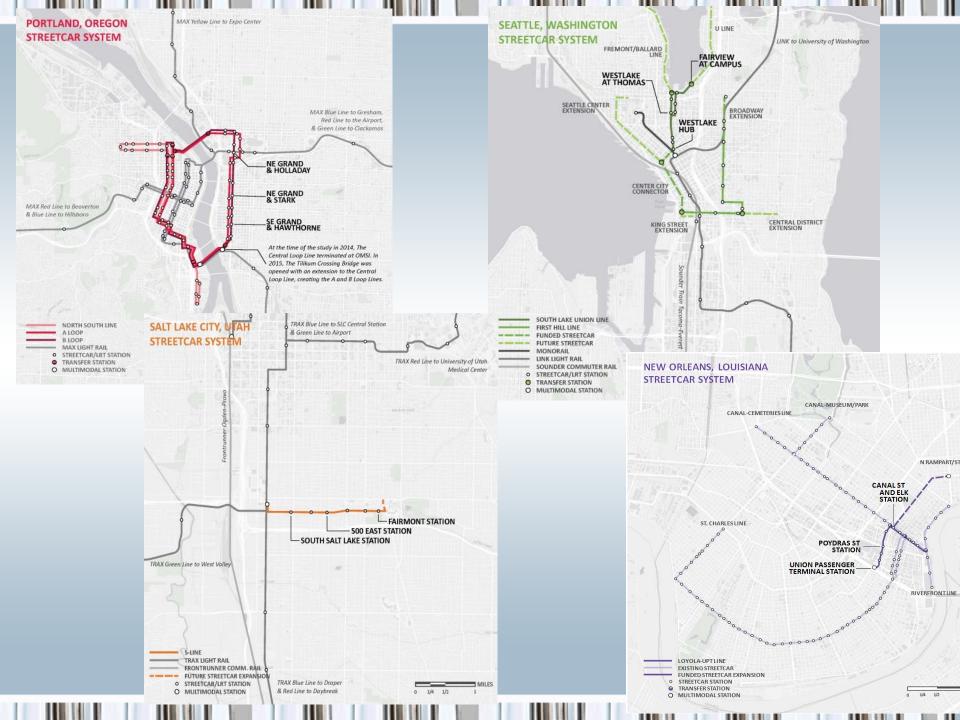
- SS = Shift-Share for local site = the total change in employment between the Before date ($_B$) and the After date ($_A$)
- CC= Central County share = (SCA_{iB} (CC_A -CC_B/CC_B)) where CC is total Central County jobs and i is a given industry sector.
- IM = Industry Mix Effect = $(SCA_{iB}((CC_{iA}/CC_{iB})-(CC_{A}/CC_{B})))$ summed across all sectors where CC_{i} is Central County jobs for sector i.
- SCA = Streetcar station area share for each industry sector = $(SCA_{iB}((SCA_{iA}/SCA_{iB})-(CC_{iA}/CC_{iB})))$ summed across all sectors.

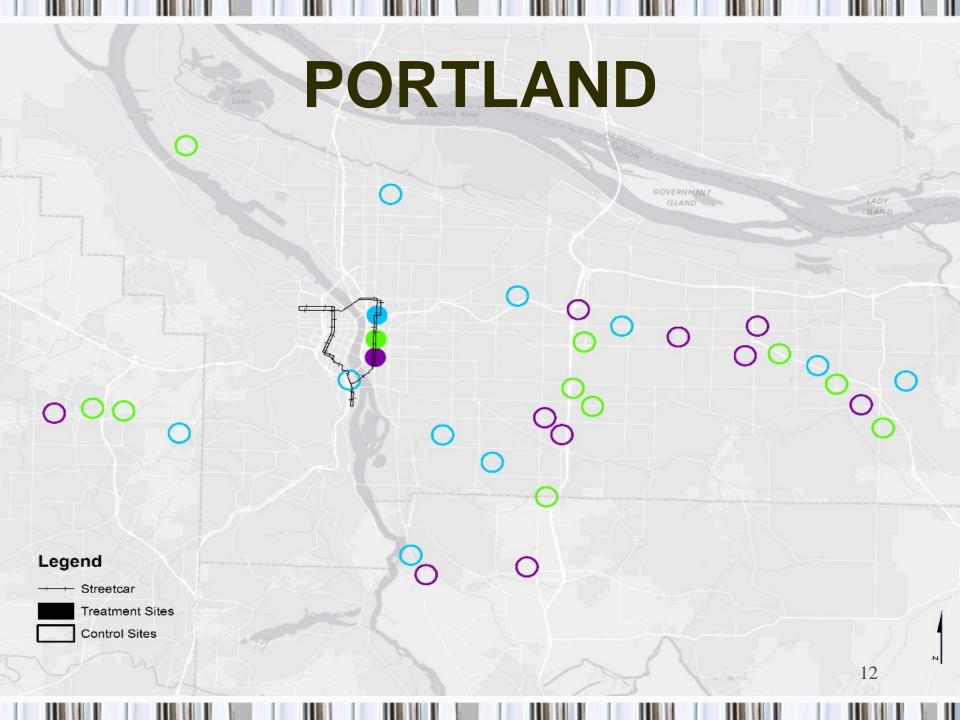
Economic Sectors → **Economic Groups**

| NAICS Code | NAICS Sector Title and Economic Group Name | | |
|------------|---|--|--|
| | Manufacturing | | |
| 33-33 | Manufacturing | | |
| | Light Industrial | | |
| 22 | Utilities | | |
| 42 | Wholesale Trade | | |
| 48-49 | Transportation and Warehousing | | |
| | Retail-Lodging-Food | | |
| 44-45 | Retail Trade | | |
| 72 | Accommodation and Food Services | | |
| | Knowledge | | |
| 51 | Information | | |
| 54 | Professional, Scientific, and Technical Services | | |
| | Office | | |
| 52 | Finance and Insurance | | |
| 53 | Real Estate and Rental and Leasing | | |
| 55 | Management of Companies and Enterprises | | |
| | Administrative and Support and Waste Management and | | |
| 56 | Remediation Services | | |
| 81 | Other Services (except Public Administration) | | |
| 92 | Public Administration | | |
| | Education | | |
| 61 | Educational Services | | |
| | Health | | |
| 62 | Health Care and Social Assistance | | |
| | Arts-Entertainment-Recreation | | |
| 71 | Arts, Entertainment, and Recreation | | |

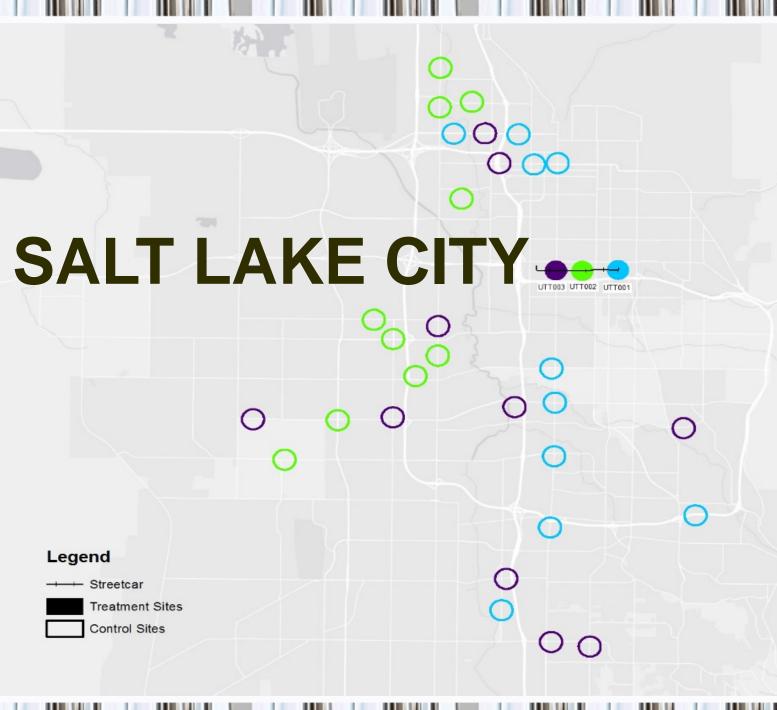
Treatment and Controls

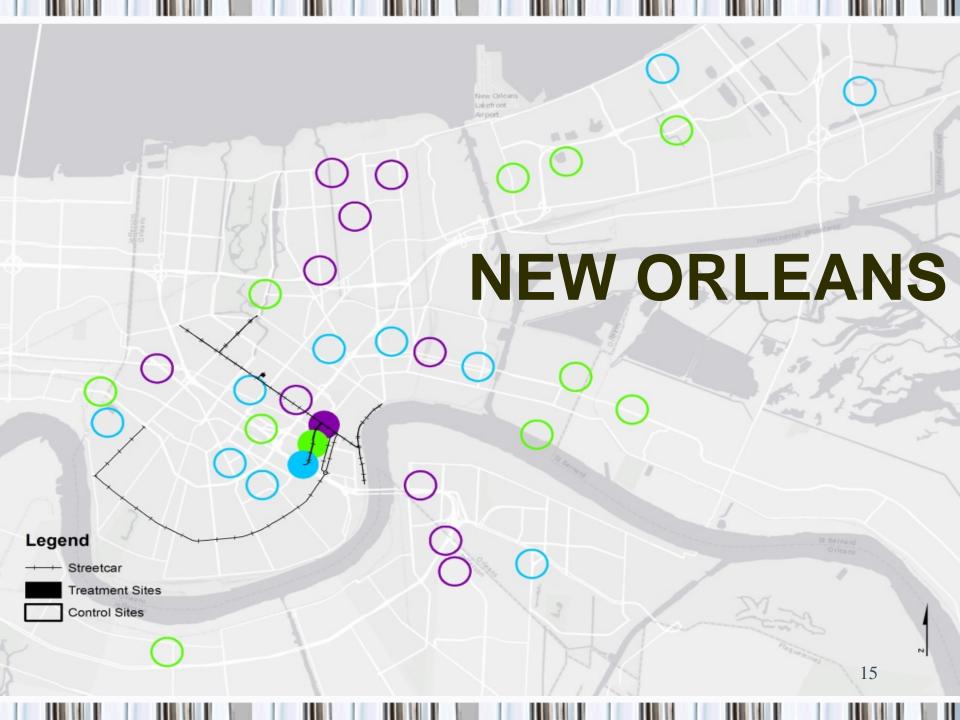
- **Treatment** are three streetcar stations roughly equidistant along the same line.
- **Central county** control is the central county of the treatment locations.
- **Streetcar controls** are the means of 10 alternative locations representing each streetcar station at the beginning of the study period.





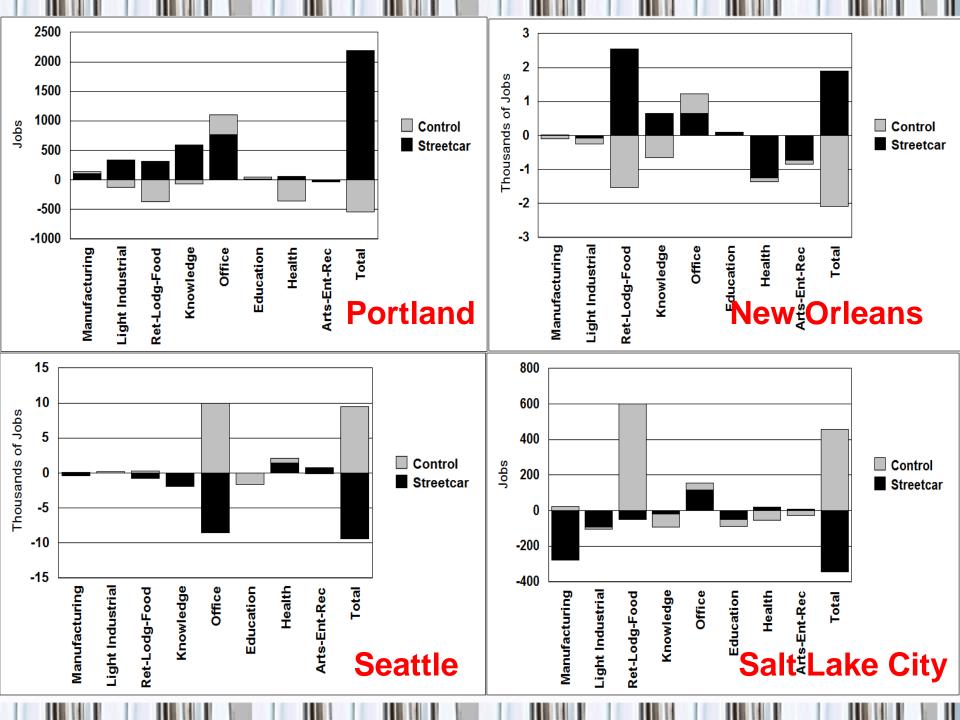






Summary Results for Station Areas

| | Portland | Seattle | Salt Lake City | New Orleans | |
|-----------------------|------------------------------|---------|----------------|--------------------|--|
| Economic Group | Streetcar Station Area Share | | | | |
| Manufacturing | 109 | -355 | -280 | 14 | |
| Light Industrial | 342 | -16 | -91 | -86 | |
| Retail-Lodging-Food | 319 | -779 | -48 | 2,555 | |
| Knowledge | 593 | -1,941 | -20 | 644 | |
| Office | 767 | -8,555 | 115 | 657 | |
| Education | 11 | 26 | -48 | 89 | |
| Health | 66 | 1,453 | 20 | -1,247 | |
| Arts-Ent-Rec | -19 | 770 | 7 | -725 | |
| Total | 2,189 | -9,397 | -345 | 1,900 | |
| Economic Group | Control Station Area Share | | | | |
| Manufacturing | 27 | 116 | 25 | -98 | |
| Light Industrial | -128 | 230 | -13 | -160 | |
| Retail-Lodging-Food | -371 | 288 | 599 | -1,524 | |
| Knowledge | -70 | 1 | -71 | -652 | |
| Office | 332 | 10,011 | 39 | 565 | |
| Education | 43 | -1,677 | -41 | 16 | |
| Health | -352 | 670 | -55 | -122 | |
| Arts-Ent-Rec | -19 | -128 | -26 | ₁₆ -123 | |
| Total | -537 | 9,511 | 457 | -2,098 | |



No Consistent Patterns?

- The oldest systems (Portland 2006 & Seattle 2003) predate the Great Recession → opposite trends
 - Seattle's system is in a **built-out downtown** area with little room to grow where **residential demand** may be displacing jobs.
 - Portland's east loop is in an **under-invested redevelopment** area where both residential and new jobs have plenty of capacity for growth.
- The newest systems (Salt Lake City 2009 & New Orleans 2008) launched during the Great Recession → opposite trends
 - Salt Lake City's system is in a **built-out secondary center** and the line **passes through mostly residential areas**; one commercial node built out
 - New Orleans' system is in an **under-invested redevelopment** area where both residential and new jobs have plenty of capacity for growth.

Policies to Leverage Streetcars and Economic Development

- High density mixed use and residential zoning
- Streetcar neighborhood form based code
- Community development area (CDA) incentives
- Target employment zones around stations
- Incentive overlay zone
- Streetcar corridor special area plans and zoning

Future Research

- Residential development including demographic and economic influences
- Specific station area studies
- Updates especially for newer systems



The authors acknowledge primary support for this research from the Office of Policy
Development and Research of the US Department of Housing and Urban Development with
supplemental support from the University of Utah, the National Institute for Transportation and
Communities, and the University of Arizona.