

The Changing Face of La Goyco: Examining the Impact of Gentrification on a Historic Community

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Abstract

The coastal areas of San Juan, Puerto Rico are transitioning to a tourist-oriented economy driven by changes in the housing market, the proliferation of restaurants and bars serving visitors, and a shifting educational landscape that prioritizes private schools. Communities experiencing these changes struggle to maintain their identity and cohesion. This report presents a case study of the La Goyco community in Santurce, combining quantitative and qualitative data from several online databases, interviews, and site visits. Our findings suggest the community's home and lifestyle are threatened, not only by the influx of investors and tourists, but by micro level changes that are serving new and more affluent populations over long-time residents.

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Executive Summary

Puerto Rico is beloved by both its residents and tourists for the island's beautiful landscapes, rich history, and vibrant culture. About a decade ago, Puerto Rico shifted to a visitor-oriented economy to help alleviate its \$70 billion debt. To attract new residents and stimulate the economy, the government implemented Acts 20 and 22, which were rebranded and combined into Act 60 in 2019. This Act grants a 100% tax exemption on all dividends, interest, and capital gains accrued by individuals who become bona-fide residents of Puerto Rico, creating a paradise for investors. Santurce, a barrio in San Juan, is particularly attractive due to its beach-front properties and tourist destinations. Its main street, Calle Loíza, has been drastically altered by gentrification over the past ten years. On this street sits the old Pedro G. Goyco Elementary School, which was closed in 2017 as a part of sweeping island-wide austerity measures. Fearing what would become of such a desirable piece of real estate, the community fought to convert the school into a community center. Their hard-won battle resulted in the creation of the Taller Comunidad La Goyco in 2021. They have been providing vital art and cultural services to their community in the face of rapid, ongoing change ever since.

Project Goal and Methods:

In collaboration with Taller Comunidad La Goyco, we explored the multiple ways gentrification is affecting their community and produced detailed data describing these phenomena that can be used to advocate for supportive public policy. Our research approach began by identifying the key dimensions of gentrification in the La Goyco community through discussions with community members, one of whom writes grants for the La Goyco community center, and by gaining a deeper understanding of the community's history and present-day struggles. Our findings suggested that gentrification affects the community through specific changes in housing, education, the proliferation of restaurants and bars, and through culturally charged art that represents Puerto Rican opinions on the many changes they face.

In the second phase of our research, we collected and analyzed quantitative and qualitative data pertaining to these four key dimensions of gentrification identified for the La Goyco community. We collected quantitative data from U.S. census data, the National Center for Education Statistics, Airbnb, and other online databases. We obtained qualitative data by conducting 34 semi-structured and unstructured interviews with relevant stakeholders, including

homeowners and renters, restaurant owners and employees, education officials, artists, and La Goyco community members. Additionally, we conducted a community walk-through and participated in community events. This mixed-method approach enabled us to gain a more comprehensive understanding of how the housing market, restaurant industry, education system, and art have evolved over time in the La Goyco community.

Findings:

Our analysis of these four dimensions of gentrification revealed three key findings. First, serving tourists and investors is prioritized over serving the needs of long-time community members. Second, the community finds they must participate, to some extent, in the visitors' economy to make ends meet. Finally, a general lack of government presence, both in public policy and assistance programs, catalyzes the touristification of the community. Residents noted that development in the area is catered to support the tourism industry. The main street, Calle Loíza, which used to be full of families and local businesses, is now home to so many restaurants and bars looking to serve international visitors that the street has been dubbed 'Hipster Heaven' by local media outlets. The food and service sector's growth has led to louder noise levels, making it difficult for families to live in the area. One community member explained that her family moved further inland to escape the noise, which is especially unbearable at night.

The housing market mirrors shifts in the food service sector as buildings are bought by institutions and/or wealthy individuals, driving up long-term rental prices and displacing locals. Short-term rentals account for 17.7% of all housing units, and homeowners are struggling to pay rising prices while their incomes remain static. Renters also experience increased costs: fewer than 35% of units are considered affordable. The focus on vacation rentals leaves many residents in tenuous and unpredictable housing circumstances. Furthermore, in Calle Loíza, school closures to make way for more development have led to a decrease in student enrollment and levels of education below Puerto Rico's state average. With private schools being incredibly expensive, families either must pay high rents or mortgage costs along with exorbitant tuition or move to a cheaper locality. Murals provide a platform for residents to express their frustrations, though some are being commissioned to attract investors, taking away from the art's original purpose.

Homeowners, restaurateurs, and independent artists face a difficult choice: increase revenue by engaging in this burgeoning tourist economy or stay true to their business and protect their community's culture and values. Many homeowners are aware of the potential profitability of short-term rentals and may choose to purchase additional properties or utilize their existing ones to generate income. This is a controversial topic in Puerto Rico, as investors are exploiting Airbnb. But it is not solely homeowners who are to blame; investors buying up large swaths of property and converting them into Airbnb units are also responsible. Similarly, restaurant owners recognize tourism is important to their success, yet they hesitate to make changes to attract more visitors. They struggle to find an equilibrium that allows them to succeed as a business while preserving their traditions. These types of tradeoffs are true for local artists as well. Individual artists use their work to voice opinions and protest change, but not all have the privilege to reject jobs. To make a living, some must take on projects that might ultimately attract tourists, leading to more gentrification.

Lastly, a lack of government presence in regulation and public policy results in a community being underserved. Poor zoning laws and compliance issues plague the disbursement of aid. Government policy lags far behind shifts in the community, catalyzing displacement, and cultural heritage loss. Homeowners, restaurant owners, and the education system are all being affected by the lack of government assistance available to support local Puerto Ricans. Lack of consistent funding for Puerto Rico's public schools is a major problem, leading to diminishing resources and closures. After Hurricane Maria, the Puerto Rican Legislature made a proposal to offer vouchers for private schools to help lower-income families, but only a select few received them. This program may ultimately benefit private schools more than those in need and requires close monitoring and evaluation to ensure it is of benefit. Furthermore, local restaurants face inequity from investors or commercial restaurants and have mixed experiences with government assistance. Many do not receive aid, while others are hesitant due to distrust or the burden of government involvement.

In sum, the Santurce community in San Juan, Puerto Rico is experiencing gentrification as it becomes an increasingly popular tourist destination. This is driven by the shifting housing market, influx of restaurants and bars, and educational inequality. The changes prioritize the needs of visitors and investors over the needs of the community, leading to alienation and a

difficult situation for locals who must cater to tourists to make ends meet. In the face of these changes, government support is continually inadequate and bureaucratic. Alongside this report, we created two outputs of this research: a pamphlet and infographic providing much-needed statistical information intended to support community efforts to resist gentrification. Together, these resources identify the key drivers of gentrification, describe the impact they are having on the community, and aim to support residents as they seek to retain their heritage and identity.

1. Introduction

The battle for Puerto Rico can be framed as a clash of two dreams, each with fundamentally opposing objectives - as Naomi Klein puts it, “One dream is grounded in a desire for people to exercise collective sovereignty over their land, energy, food, and water; the other is a desire for a small elite to secede from the reach of government altogether, liberated to accumulate unlimited private profit” (Klein, 2018 pg. 17).

Gentrification is one powerful and insidious way this clash of dreams plays out, striking Puerto Rican communities with increased rents, new businesses, foreign investments, and physical improvements in hopes of making the area more attractive to higher-income individuals. Residents struggle to make ends meet, while wealthier people move in and displace them. Local restaurants are pushed out by newer, more upscale dining options that start to take over the neighborhood. There are other forces at play as well, such as the rise of short-term rentals and the establishment of tax advantages including Act 60 in 2019 (previously known as Act 20 and Act 22). Taken together, these acts have started to transform the island into an investor's paradise (Klein, 2018 pg.19).

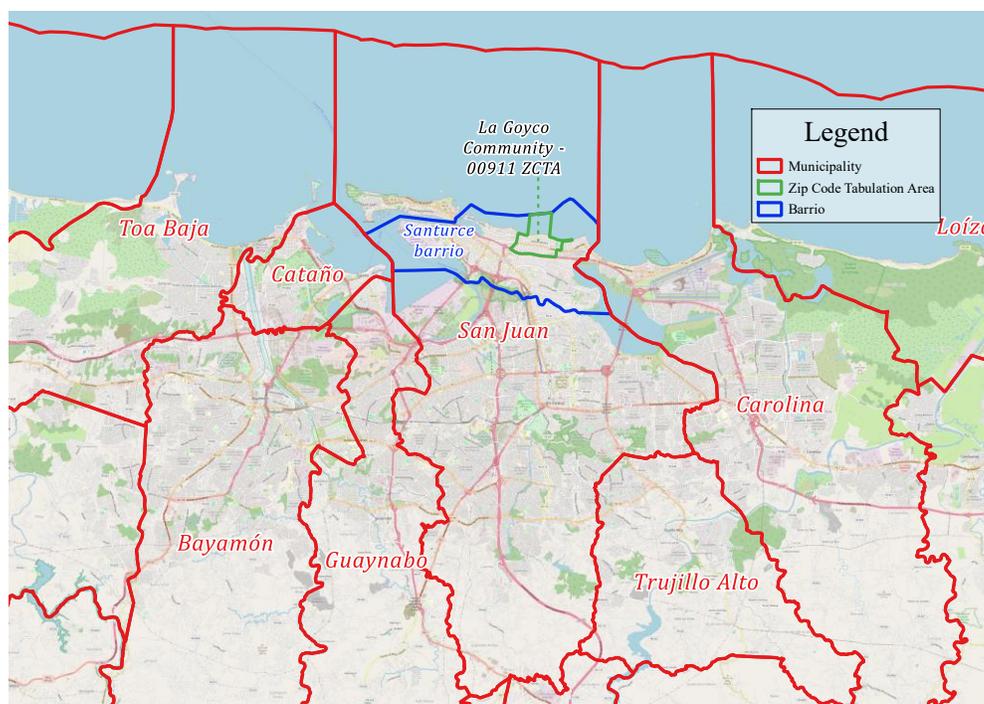


Figure 1: Location of the La Goyco Community, the 00911 ZCTA, Santurce and San Juan

The La Goyco community lies within the Parque sub-barrio of Santurce, situated within the 00911 Zip Code Tabulation Area (ZCTA) (Figure 1: Location of the La Goyco Community, the 00911 ZCTA, Santurce and San Juan). Situated on the shore, these locations have been undergoing rapid gentrification in recent years, threatening the cultural heritage, and displacing long-time residents in favor of more affluent newcomers. Due to the abundance of aging buildings and a host of tax benefits, foreign investors have found numerous investment opportunities. Oftentimes, these investors can purchase properties faster since they have access to a wider variety and depth of financial resources. These offers usually come at prices that property owners cannot refuse. Once these deals are made, investors generally cater to a wealthier, international clientele, charging higher than average rents that many residents simply cannot afford.

Despite the influx of investors, smaller communities across Puerto Rico remain largely overlooked by the government, receiving little to no aid, forcing families to leave their homes and neighborhoods. To complicate matters, Puerto Rico lacks any Landlord and Tenant Law to regulate the relationship between a tenant and a landlord. Instead, basic agreements are governed by the Puerto Rico Civil Code and usually involve verbal or written contracts which are legally binding. Typically, the tenant agrees to pay the rent in exchange for the landlord maintaining the property's running water and electricity for their use. Importantly, the eviction process is not governed by any specific law, meaning there is no protection for tenants facing eviction. This lack of protection leaves tenants vulnerable and puts them at risk of being evicted without any legal recourse.

Even in the presence of powerful gentrification forces, Puerto Ricans are unable to access the financial aid, housing assistance, zoning regulations, noise violation enforcement, and mortgage loans they need due to the sluggishness of government operations and the lack of readily available data on socio-economic conditions in Puerto Rico's smaller towns.

This research project characterized and quantified gentrification in the La Goyco community. The results provided grant writers and public policy advocates within the La Goyco community with compiled data on gentrification offering a concise and tangible representation of their community's experience with these rapid changes. Areas of study included the housing and restaurant markets, the educational system, and artistic representations of gentrification. Using

metrics such as school enrollment, affordable housing costs, and business development trends, the team compiled a quantitative documentation of gentrification in the community. These numbers provide a foundation to comprehend the complex reality of how gentrification influences the housing market and the economy. After collecting general data about the La Goyco community and the surrounding area, we interviewed community members about their experiences related to their changing community to better understand the more nuanced ways in which their lifestyles have changed since 2010. The passage of Acts 20 and 22 in 2012 and their recent combination into Act 60 in 2019 makes this timeframe particularly useful for analyzing the impacts of these important pieces of legislation on the La Goyco community.

The following sections cover background information on the process of gentrification and how it pertains to the Puerto Rican context in particular, our methodology which includes data collection methods along with objectives and other threats to the community, the results of our four case studies on the most pertinent dimensions of gentrification impacting the community, and a discussion about overall findings that emerged from the data. Alongside this report, our team created a flyer with important metrics about the community's experience with gentrification and a more in-depth pamphlet that can support local initiatives to name – and protest – the forces impacting the future of their neighborhood.

2. Background

2.1. The Process of Gentrification

Gentrification is the process where a neighborhood's character is transformed from one that is typically occupied by lower-income residents, to one that is populated by primarily upper-income residents. Character is defined in terms of the nature, demographics, and socioeconomic status of the area. This alteration of a community is marked by an influx of wealthier residents and businesses that drive up housing and cost of living prices, thus often displacing lower-income people who no longer can afford to live there (National Low Income Housing Coalition, 2019).

Multiple factors can cause the beginning or acceleration of gentrification in a community. Hwang & Lin's (2016) research on gentrification that began in 2000 has identified components that have been seen in gentrification events all over the world, such as housing supply or lack

thereof, racial, and ethnic diversity, and the emergence of technology. Additionally, larger-scale drivers of gentrification have been analyzed with case studies from Madrid, Barcelona and Philadelphia addressing topics like retail gentrification (where changes in the retail market bring changes in neighborhood social composition), tourism gentrification (urban modification due to facilities that serve affluent tourists like short-term housing), and 'studentification' (the modification of a neighborhood by an academic institution that benefits their students, such as student accommodation and consequent demographic changes) (Helen et al., 2021). Many factors can contribute to gentrification, and each case study typically demonstrates these elements to varying degrees. A more recent phenomenon in the field of gentrification study is the advent of peer-to-peer home sharing platforms. These platforms have been the subject of numerous studies. Wachsmuth and Weisler (2018b) explain that these platforms are introducing new potential investment flow into housing markets across the world, "Creating a new form of rent gap in culturally desirable and internationally recognizable neighborhoods which have generally already been subject to extensive gentrification."

2.1.1. Peer-to-Peer Home-Sharing Platforms

Peer-to-peer home sharing platforms, sometimes called short-term rentals, are online marketplaces that enable people to rent out their homes or rooms to travelers looking for short-term accommodations. These platforms match homeowners with travelers, thus creating a mutually beneficial arrangement that saves the traveler money and generates income for homeowners. Through these platforms, travelers can search for and book suitable lodging while hosts can list properties, manage bookings, and communicate with guests. In areas of high touristic activity, short-term rentals offer property owners a lucrative opportunity to charge higher prices per night than longer-term leases, resulting in greater yearly income (Wachsmuth & Weisler, 2018). Moreover, hosts gain more control over their property, allowing them to decide when the property is occupied and determine pricing during peak times or holidays, while often offering tourists lower rates than hotels (Folger, 2021).

Platforms such as Airbnb or VRBO allow property owners to profit while being economical for tourists and travelers. However, they may have detrimental effects on local populations present within cities, especially popular ones. For one, owners are incentivized by potential gains from Airbnb to rent in the short term rather than in the long term. This decreases

availability and consequently affordability of long-term rental housing for residents of an area (Benitez-Aurioles & Tussyadiah, 2020). A critical analysis of Airbnb's effect on home prices and rent found that a one percent increase in Airbnb listings within a zip code whose owner occupancy rate is 56% would lead to a .024% rise in rent and a .037% hike in housing prices (Barron et al., 2018, p. 26). Additionally, Gold (2019) argues that Airbnb proliferation could potentially impact the social capital and fabric of a neighborhood or community.

While the advent of peer-to-peer home sharing has come with many advantages, including increased revenue for hosts, cheaper accommodation for tourists, as well as greater autonomy of property owners, these platforms come with adverse socioeconomic consequences for the communities that make use of them.

2.1.2. Metrics for Analyzing Gentrification

Metrics for analyzing gentrification within communities assess both hard and soft data to measure its effects. Hard metrics typically focus on tangible changes in an area such as housing prices, residents' income, rental and ownership rates, rent and sales prices, average home size, business structure, population growth or decline, and other demographic information. Soft metrics are more qualitative and include indicators like aesthetic features, quality of life amenities, and changes in the social fabric and diversity of a community which are usually cross compiled together to create a heuristic or score to compare between time periods or areas. Analyzing these indicators can provide valuable insight into how gentrification is impacting a particular neighborhood or city and what policies need to be implemented to address its effects.

One project of interest is The Urban Displacement Project, which was created by the University of California Berkeley to help understand gentrification, displacement, and exclusion in American cities. The project provides tools that promote action toward identifying the effects of gentrification on communities (Chapple et al., 2021). One such tool is the Housing Precarity Risk Model (HPRM), a quantitative way to assess neighborhoods for gentrification. Created by Tim Thomas from the Berkley Institute for Data Science and a team from the Urban Displacement Project, researchers used HPRM to map eviction and displacement risks across 53 US metro areas (Chapple et al., 2021). The following metrics were used to create the interactive HPRM: "Percent Black, rent, change in rent, percent with college degrees, percent of households with seniors, percent married, and building age" (Chapple et al., 2021). A Bayesian Additive

Regression Tree model is used to predict the importance of certain factors in gentrification. The model is trained on a data set of eviction records and then used to predict the probability of eviction for a new data set. The model can then be used to pick the most important variables for an eviction study by looking at the variables that have the most impact on the predictions.

In a critical analysis of quantitative and qualitative methods for studying gentrification, Brown-Saracino (2017) explains that quantitative methods tend to present gentrification in a way that is less dire for gentrified residents, whereas qualitative methods typically present gentrification as an unstoppable force that is endemic and advanced. This difference in perspective is a direct result of differing methods and data sources and supports utilizing a more holistic approach to studying gentrification in communities. Within social science work, Brown-Saracino (2017) argues that a more holistic approach to studying gentrification, one that utilizes both quantitative and qualitative methods, can provide a richer and more fruitful understanding of a community.

2.2. Displacement Forces in Puerto Rico

There are many displacement forces in Puerto Rico that are impacting the population, four of which can be seen as having some of the most wide-reaching and profound impacts: the debt crisis, economic stimulus and the introduction of a series of acts to encourage investor presence, and a vision for a new Puerto Rico. This has resulted in a process of gentrification in which local communities are displaced and replaced with more economically viable neighborhoods.

2.2.1. The Puerto Rican Debt Crisis

Although Puerto Rico has been in debt for decades, in 2014 Governor Garcia Padilla announced that Puerto Rico would not be able to pay off its \$70 billion debt. Following this, the Puerto Rico Public Corporation Debt Enforcement and Recovery Act was enacted. This act “Provided a restructuring mechanism for Puerto Rico’s public companies” (Park & Samples, 2017). Although this was a milestone in reducing debt, it did not mend the fact that Puerto Rico’s debt was unpayable. One year later, Garcia Padilla once again announced that Puerto Rico would not be able to pay off its debt. He also re-established that Puerto Rico’s inability to pay off its debt was not associated with politics but was mathematically supported (Corkery, 2015). In

2016, United States President Barack Obama enacted The Puerto Rico Oversight, Management, and Economic Stability Act (PROMESA). PROMESA embraces a mix of legal, bureaucratic, and market-based approaches to solve Puerto Rico's debt problems (Park & Samples, 2017).

Despite these major political milestones towards tackling the debt crisis, Puerto Rico is still over \$70 billion in debt partially because of differing political agendas between Puerto Rico and the United States. Dr. Pedro Caban, a professor of Latin American, Caribbean, and U.S Latino Studies at the University at Albany, critiques the financial management and oversight board by explaining that the board has the authority to deny the Puerto Rican government from fulfilling its constitutional responsibility to 'promote the general welfare' and instead operates as "A collection agency for panicking creditors, many of whom are high-risk speculators" (Caban, 2017, p.122). These issues are mostly related to Puerto Rico's inability to govern itself as a United States territory. However, Caban acknowledges that "PROMESA has also energized Puerto Ricans to actively confront the financial control board and protest the austerity measures imposed by the island's ineffectual political class" (Caban, 2017, p. 121). Author Naomi Klein also wrote in her book, *The Battle for Paradise*, that the oversight board is an "unelected body pushing for the privatization of electricity and schools, increased cost of basic services, massive cuts in public education, pensions, vacation time, and other rights – all in order to pay bondholders a \$73 billion debt that was patently unpayable, illegal, and illegitimate" (Klein, 2018, p. 8). The legislation put in place to lighten the weight of Puerto Rico's debt is still negatively affecting the economy and the lives of Puerto Ricans.

2.2.2. Economic Stimulus

To further stimulate the economy, Act 20 and Act 22 were enacted in 2012 to provide incentives for foreign investors. Act 20, also known as the Export Service Act, was initiated to provide businesses with headquarters in Puerto Rico and who serve customers outside of Puerto Rico with tax relief opportunities. Eligible businesses can benefit from a low 4% corporate tax rate and 100% exemption from taxes on dividend payouts and additional tax benefits (Lynk, 2022). Act 22, also known as the Individual Investors Act, gives incentive for high-income U.S. citizens to relocate to Puerto Rico to reap the benefits of 0-4% income tax in exchange for being an investor (Lynk, 2022). This would mean investing in real estate, consumer products, and services for the island, bringing needed revenue to an economy that has been struggling for

decades. Puerto Rican residents are excluded from these benefits and are required to pay high local taxes. However, it is still debated whether these investors create job opportunities for locals and if they are having a positive impact on the community. Since 2012, over 3,000 investors have taken advantage of the tax exemption (Santiago-Bartolomei, 2022).

In 2019, Acts 20 and 22 were rebranded into Act 60 which "captures most of [Puerto Rico's] tax incentives under one code and establishes an efficient process for granting tax exemptions to crypto-investors and corporations" (Atiles, 2022). While this act has had some success, it has also negatively impacted native residents, contributing to increased prices and diminishing the local culture, and affecting their quality of life. Wealthy foreigners are taking advantage of the tax benefits and buying properties at exorbitant prices, forcing lower-class households either to move to other parts of the island or to the mainland.

2.2.2.1 Gentrification and the Housing Market

As a result of wealthy investors purchasing expensive properties and under Act 60 to build the visitors economy, properties become less affordable for Puerto Rican residents. Samuel Sánchez, a resident of the city of Rincón and one of the coordinators for the town's section 8 program, says that wealthy investors are interested in purchasing a Puerto Rican resident's home and that the investors will "Just hand you a check and tell you to fill it out with whatever you think the house is worth" (Marcos et al., 2022). Section 8 is a federal government program for people who are elderly, disabled, or low-income families which is funded through the U.S Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) (Welcome to Benefits.gov, 2020). Sánchez explained that small towns like Rincón are now targeted for investors and that he is "Worried that native Puerto Ricans won't be able to live or invest here and will end up displaced." (Marcos et al., 2022). Typically, cities like San Juan attract investors, but since Rincón is a coastal town, they are starting to see its potential as a vacation spot.

Recently, Puerto Rico experienced its largest percent increase in cost of living since 1981. Between December 2020 and December 2021, the cost of living rose by 7% and the average price of a single-family house increased by 18% (Towey, 2022). In comparison, a two-bedroom condominium in 2017 cost an average of \$290,00 while in 2022 it could now be sold for \$420,000 (Marcos et al., 2022).

2.2.2.2 Short-term Rentals in San Juan

Professor and research fellow Raúl Santiago-Bartolomei at the University of Puerto Rico explains that short-term rentals are disaster driven because the number tends to increase in the presence of a natural disaster, like Hurricane Maria or the Covid-19 global pandemic. Specifically, short-term rentals have been increasing in popularity since 2019 but have been increasing by an average of 30% daily from September 2017 to March 2020. Similarly, since most of the world is no longer on lock-down because of the pandemic, there has been an increase in the supply and demand of short-term rentals. (Santiago-Bartolomei, 2022). Santiago-Bartolomei also found that “Between 2014 and 2020, over 8,000 whole housing units in the SJMR were listed for short-term rentals through digital platforms, especially Airbnb” (Santiago-Bartolomei, 2022).

As a result of this increase in short-term rentals, statistics suggest that they are significantly contributing to gentrification. Santiago-Bartolomei (2022) determined that if there is a 10% increase in the number of short-term rentals, that would cause an increase in rent prices by 5.4% and an increase in property values by 23%. With these statistics in mind, he acknowledges that “Longstanding challenges include ensuring tenure security for poor and vulnerable households, particularly in informal settlements; providing safe and durable housing in the face of hazards and declining housing quality; and guaranteeing access to social and affordable housing” (Santiago-Bartolomei, 2022).

2.2.3. A Vision for a New Puerto Rico

In recent years, the Puerto Rican government has sought to create a booming visitor economy as a part of its economic development strategy. This vision has included creating new tourist attractions, improving infrastructure, and building new resorts. However, this vision has also come with some unintended consequences, such as the displacement of local inhabitants. The government's approach to developing the visitor economy has focused on large-scale investments, which have often been made at the expense of the local economy. These investments have included large-scale hotels and condominiums, which have taken advantage of the island's natural beauty and beaches, leading to the displacement of local communities.

In 2011, the Foundation of Puerto Rico was established as an official 501(3)(C) charitable organization with a mission to transform Puerto Rico's economy into one that is thriving and sustainable. Led by a thirteen-member team and eleven board members, the Foundation follows the motto, "There is no future in rebuilding the past" ("About", 2021). To do this, the organization is focused on developing a visitor economy, which has been met with controversy among Puerto Ricans. In 2018, the visitor economy was responsible for approximately 57,000 jobs and the number of international tourists has increased by almost 500 million from 2005 to 2015 (Foundation for Puerto Rico, 2016). While there are many benefits of a visitor economy, what is not often discussed is the detrimental impact it has on Puerto Rican residents, particularly the housing market and restaurant industry.

Puerto Ricans are rightfully angered that their neighborhoods are being gentrified, in large part because of Act 60. One protest known as 'Gringo Go Home' rallied against crypto millionaire Brock Pierce, whom Puerto Ricans state is a modern-day colonizer (Towey, 2022). This protest took place in front of San Juan's former children's museum. Other Act 60 protests have even taken place outside of Puerto Rico. On February 18th, 2022, Puerto Ricans and other anti-imperialist groups teamed together to protest in New York City (Puerto Rico: Workers Yes! Colonizers No!, 2022). The purpose of this protest was to recognize that working-class Puerto Ricans are experiencing unlivable wages and are still expected to pay income tax while wealthy investors are exempt under Act 60 (Puerto Rico: Workers Yes! Colonizers No!, 2022). In a display of solidarity, community members of Santurce, the district in which La Goyco is situated, have come together to combat the effects of gentrification through a celebration of local art, culture, and history. Vibrant murals line the buildings, instilling a sense of unity and patriotism in those who pass by (Ivette, 2021).

2.3. The La Goyco Community

Taller Comunidad La Goyco (the Goyco Community Workshop), is an active community center located in an abandoned school in the Santurce barrio of San Juan, Puerto Rico. Culturally and ethnically diverse, the La Goyco community is composed of Afro-descendant Puerto Ricans, White Hispanic Puerto Ricans, and mixed Afro/White Hispanic Puerto Ricans from surrounding areas such as the Machuchal and Parque sub-barrios of Santurce (Somos, 2020). With deep roots and dedicated support from members of the community, the

community workshop provides spaces within its building for the entire community, but especially local artists, musicians, and small businesses (Castro Font, 2021). There is a wide range of artistic, musical, and social events hosted in the area for the community, all in effort to “relive something that our street has lost’,” as Lydia Platón, a prominent member of the La Goyco community, explains (Singh, 2019).

Taller Comunidad La Goyco has a mission to emphasize and continue the “historical, social, and potential wealth” of the community (Somos, 2020). However, this is becoming increasingly difficult due to a new wave of gentrification that has turned the entire area of Santurce into a “Hipster Haven”, threatening the cultural richness and livelihoods of the community (Squires, 2015). The Parque and Machuchal Sub-barrios, which make up only a part of the Santurce barrio, are prime candidates for gentrification due to their proximity to key tourist sites, a beachfront, the Luís Muñoz Marín International Airport, and, most notably, one of the most active main streets in Santurce, Calle Loíza (Marcano, 2017).

Taller Comunidad La Goyco has been providing vital programs to support the community amid gentrifications. However, due to a lack of publicly accessible information about the La Goyco community, it is difficult for the organization to write and apply for grants that benefit the community. This study aims to investigate the ways in which gentrification is impacting the communities to gain a better understanding of the gentrifying forces at play and to adequately represent the ways in which gentrification has affected the community's culture and wellbeing.

3. Methodology

The project created a representation of the La Goyco community's experience with gentrification, utilizing both qualitative and quantitative data. This creative representation provides an overview of the changes brought by gentrification in the past 10 years and the ways in which the community has fought against these changes. To achieve this, we pursued the following two objectives:

1. Identify key dimensions of gentrification in the La Goyco community.
2. Gather and synthesize quantitative and qualitative data from the identified key dimensions.

3.1. Objective 1: Identify Key Dimensions of Gentrification in the La Goyco Community.

This objective identified the primary drivers of gentrification in the La Goyco community. Gentrification is an intricate and multifaceted process, and the factors that contribute to its occurrence are numerous. The team used a grounded theory approach and inductive data coding to analyze the various dimensions of gentrification affecting the La Goyco community. We employed a multi-method approach to learn about the main dimensions of gentrification in the La Goyco community, which consisted of expert interviews, a community survey, community walk-throughs, and research of existing online tourist guides on the area.

The team worked closely with a grant writer in the community, Lydia Platón, who pointed out the struggles the community has had with its housing market, along with zoning issues within the restaurant and bar industry. Another expert in the community, Javier Lázaro, an amateur cartographer within the community, who highlighted specific geographic changes within the community over the past 150 years using maps from the US Geologic Survey along with the Spanish Naval Survey. In meeting with Javier, the team gained a greater insight into the various factors that have been and are currently affecting the geographical changes in the community.

To continue, the team conducted community walk-throughs on Calle Loíza to get a better understanding of the community, its distribution of housing based on income, the location of locally owned and newer tourist-centered businesses, and the school system in the area. The walkthroughs highlighted the disparity between the small number of public schools and the larger number of private and charter schools in the area. Beyond this, the team was able to gain a more qualitative view of the housing market within the area.

The team also conducted a community survey, where 5 community members were asked about their experiences and how the community has changed over their life in the community. The full questionnaire is included in Appendix A. This allowed for a more representative sample of the community outside of expert interviews and a community walkthrough.

The team not only directly interacted with the community, but also consulted Fodor's Travel—a widely recognized and popular travel blog that provides guides to popular tourist destinations like Santurce. This enabled them to gain insight into how the community and its surroundings are seen by visitors, as well as which parts of the community are highlighted as tourist destinations. Additionally, we searched for key words such as “Gentrification,” “Affordability,” “Changes,” and “Community” within the San Juan Daily Star newspaper, which illuminated how the community perceives the changes taking place and how that differs from the tourist's perspective.

From this research, we concluded that there are four main dimensions of life being most dramatically altered and impacted by gentrification in the La Goyco community: the housing market, businesses and restaurants, schools, and the murals of Calle Loíza. Not only are these the most prominent manifestations of gentrification in the area but community members are the most passionate about ensuring affordable housing for the residents, that authentic Puerto Rican businesses and restaurants remain open, that schools remain affordable, and that Puerto Rican culture and art are preserved.

3.2. Objective 2: Gather and Synthesize Quantitative and Qualitative Data about Key Dimensions.

This objective collected both quantitative and qualitative data on the key dimensions identified in objective 1 (housing, schools, restaurants, and art). Quantitative data was sourced

from census reports and online databases, while qualitative data came from interviews and focus groups. These data and insights were combined and analyzed to gain a deep understanding of the relationship between the key dimensions and their impact on gentrification in the La Goyco community.

3.2.1. Housing

The housing market in the La Goyco community, like many other localities around the world, is an intricate and ever-changing socioeconomic system, encompassing multiple stakeholders. The Parque sub-barrio in Santurce was our study area, encompassed by census tract 00911 ZCTA. This area captures most of the La Goyco community. The key stakeholder groups present in this area include:

1. Residents of La Goyco who do not own rental properties.
2. Residents of the La Goyco community who own or host peer-to-peer home sharing listings within the study area.
3. Residents of the La Goyco community who lease long-term rental properties within the study area.
4. Non-residents who own or manage peer-to-peer home-sharing properties within the study area.
5. Holding and vacation rental companies who own five or more home-sharing properties in the study area.
 - a. An owner-operator company with 10 properties
 - b. A professional property manager with about 50 properties under management.
 - c. A professional property manager who has transitioned to consulting for other short-term rentals hosts and investors.
 - d. An owner and operator of 18 properties
6. Government Leaders
 - a. San Juan Region Department of Housing Head
 - b. Office of the Mayor of San Juan Municipality

We conducted semi-structured interviews with 4 members of stakeholder groups 1-4 and questions for each stakeholder group are in Appendix B. Analyzing the data collected on the housing market of the study area is an important step in understanding the nuances of the region.

To begin, qualitative data gathered from interviews with local stakeholders was inductively coded, which allowed us to parse out trends in the housing market.

After this was done, quantitative data was broken up into themes based on the qualitative data, allowing us to gain a more holistic understanding of the housing market. This process of coding and assigning themes helped to identify not just obvious trends, but also underlying factors that could be influencing the housing market. This data can then be used to inform decisions and policies related to the housing market in the study area. Quantitative data sources and our rationale for analyzing them are listed below:

1. US Census Data 5-Year Estimate Tables from 2011 to 2021:
 - a. K200701PR: Geographical Mobility
 - i. Geographical Mobility data tracks the number of people moving in and out of an area and where they are going and coming from.
 - b. K202505: Year Structure Built
 - i. This data is an indicator of the age of a neighborhood's housing stock. This information can be used to identify gentrification, as areas with an increasing number of newer housing units are likely to be undergoing gentrification. Further, many older buildings point to a community that is at risk of gentrification since older buildings are often more affordable and attractive to developers.
 - c. S1901: Income in the Past 12 Months
 - i. Income data can be useful to determine if gentrification is occurring in an area. A significant disparity between the incomes of existing residents and those recently moving into the area could be indicative of gentrification. Additionally, comparing median incomes over time with the mean income can yield valuable insights, as the mean income is more likely to be impacted by outliers, in this case wealthy individuals, in the data.
 - d. B25063: Gross Rent
 - i. Gross rent data tracks the amount of rent paid for housing units without a mortgage or not owned by the occupants. Even small increases in rent can

displace large numbers of residents, especially in areas where affordable housing (where housing cost is less than 30% of gross income) is scarce.

- e. B25001: Housing Units
 - i. This census table tracks the housing stock in an area, which can provide valuable insights into both the symptoms and vulnerability of that area to gentrification. Areas with a lower number of housing units per capita tend to be more at risk of gentrification, and a large influx of higher-end housing units can be a telltale sign of gentrification.
 - f. B25003: Housing Tenure
 - i. Housing Tenure tracks who occupy a housing unit: owners or renters. A high renter-occupancy rate implies a high susceptibility to gentrification, as renters can't usually keep up with rent the same way homeowners can with property and real estate taxes.
 - g. B25100: Mortgage Status by Ratio of Value to Household Income in the Past 12 Months
 - i. The Ratio of Value to Household Income tracks the cost burden of homeownership in an area. High values generally indicate that homeowners in a locality are being priced out of homes and can be a clear sign of gentrification.
 - h. B25031: Median Gross Rent by Bedrooms
 - i. The median rent paid by households sorted by the number of bedrooms is an invaluable resource for understanding the revenue differences between short- and long-term rentals in a given area. Precisely comparing median rents for a certain number of bedrooms to operational revenues for 1-bedroom short-term rentals can provide invaluable insight.
2. AirDNA Airbnb data scraper statistics from 11/2019 to 01/2023 for the 00911 ZCTA:
- a. Number of Active Rentals within the study area.
 - i. A count of the number of active rentals within an area is an incredibly helpful tool, especially when considering high tourism areas, when analyzing the impact of short-term rentals in an area. Along with the number of housing units in an area, the percentage of housing stock being

used by short-term rentals can be calculated along with other useful metrics.

- b. Historic Number of Active Rentals in the study area
 - i. Historic data on the number of active rentals within an area are helpful in analyzing patterns of change, such as rapid increases or decreases in active rentals and the percentage of housing stock allocated to STR.
 - c. Predicted Income of Rental unit within the study area
 - i. An important metric in understanding the dynamics between long- and short-term rentals, the predicted income helps to uncover the financial dynamics within the housing market as it relates to STR.
3. Numbeo.com Cost of Living dataset:
 - a. Cost of utilities
 - i. Cost of utilities over time provides insights on how affordable housing has changed over time since affordable housing includes the cost of utilities.
 4. Expastian.com Cost of Living dataset:
 - a. Cost of utilities
 - i. Refer to 3.a.i.
 5. Livingcost.org Cost of Living dataset:
 - a. Cost of utilities
 - i. Refer to 3.a.i.

3.2.2. Restaurants and Businesses

Before conducting interviews, a list of restaurants was created using the following three methods: a community walk through, online research, and recommendations from La Goyco community members.

First, walking through the La Goyco community and Calle Loíza allowed us to better understand the variety of restaurants in the area. Since it was known that gentrifying forces were making their way onto Calle Loíza, it was expected that there would be a good mixture of mom-and-pop shops, investor-owned diners, and every restaurant in between. However, a simple

google search would not have been able to fully describe the restaurant scene in the La Goyco community.

Second, after keeping note of restaurants that would allow interviewees to offer multiple perspectives, restaurants that caught our eye were further researched using their websites, social media pages, customer reviews, and other publicly available information. Features that specifically stood out for us were related to décor, menu items and prices, along with popularity, size, physical condition, and location. Additionally, conducting online research on restaurants provides further insights on who the owner intends to cater to.

Lastly, a recommended list of locally owned restaurants that might have been interested in participating in interview was acquired from a member of the La Goyco community. This list included the restaurants that varied in terms of size and popularity, but all have owners who have been operating on Calle Loíza for approximately ten years. Bebo's Café, Sin Prisa, Israel Mini Market, Ana's Café, Molini's, and Quisqueya were all restaurants that were recommended for our research.

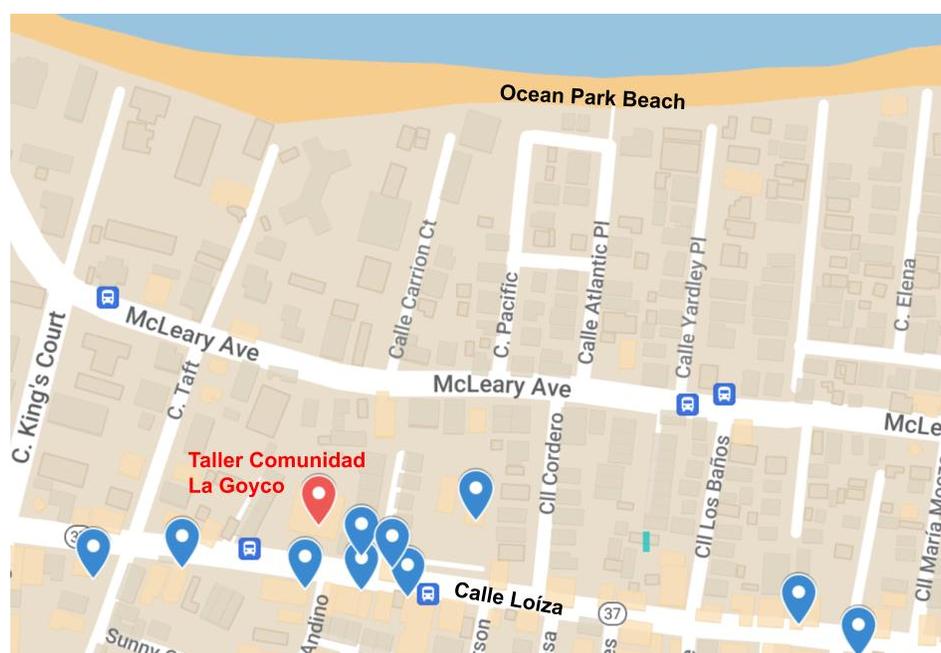


Figure 2: Restaurants on Calle Loíza that participated in an interview.

After conducting initial research, we conducted semi-structured interviews with a total of 10 restaurants in the area. The semi-structured format allowed for consistent questioning across all restaurants while keeping the space for a conversational flow between the interviewer and restaurant owner. The series of interview questions allowed us to further assess if locally owned restaurants were vulnerable in the presence of investor-owned businesses. Specifically, we sought to gather information about the history and cultural significance of the businesses, property ownership status, changes in menu prices and supply costs, and attitudes towards serving tourists. Understanding the length of time a business has been established and its cultural significance to the community can provide insight into the business's historical roots and resilience. Information on property ownership can indicate whether the business is at risk of displacement due to changes in rent or property sales. Questions about menu prices and supply costs can shed light on the financial stability of the business and its ability to adapt to market changes. Finally, asking about tourist service can reveal the potential impact of competition from investor-owned businesses on the business's customer base. See Appendix C for the semi-structured interview questions.

A survey was then handed out to ten restaurant representatives to gather more quantitative information by asking them to rate their agreement with statements on a scale of 1 to 5. The questions were similar to those asked during the semi-structured interview and were written in a format that allows for better comparison between each restaurant's answers for more accurate conclusions. The questions asked during the survey are in Appendix C. Also, this shorter and simpler interview format allowed busier restaurants to participate in a survey. Contrary to our concerns, having a more structured interview did not take away from the interviewees enthusiasm towards elaborating on their answers and sharing their personal experiences.

Inductive thematic coding was used to analyze the data from interviews. This allowed for conclusions to be drawn from the shared experiences between restaurants owners. Basic statistics could be generated after thematic coding to represent the data through numbers, graphs, and charts, however, there was not enough participation from restaurant representatives to draw any accurate conclusions using those numbers. Quantitatively, county business patterns data was utilized from the years of 2010 to 2020. Published by the U.S. Census Bureau, the county

business patterns track development of new businesses and employment per industry. This data helped inform how the allocation of the local economy was oriented throughout the study period. Combined with qualitative insights from older and newer businesses in the area, this data helped draw meaningful conclusions about the food service industry in the study area.

3.2.3. The Education System

The educational system in a community can serve as a powerful signifier of gentrification, in addition to being an essential element of any community. We analyzed the school enrollment and attainment levels of the Santurce barrio and the San Juan Municipio using U.S. census data. We streamlined the process by extracting data from various American Community Survey (ACS) tables and compiling it into an Excel spreadsheet, enabling us to quickly compare and calculate percentages.

Data for the Santurce area was also collected from school websites and the Public-School Review (PSR) website, which has been tracking educational performance since 2003. The PSR gathers its data from the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) and other federal and state sources, which they then analyze and present in charts that allow comparison of individual schools with each other and with the average of the entire state (Figure 3: Escuela Dr. Facundo Bueso comparison to Puerto Rico's average level). This easy-to-understand format provides a comprehensive overview of the quality of education in the Santurce area.

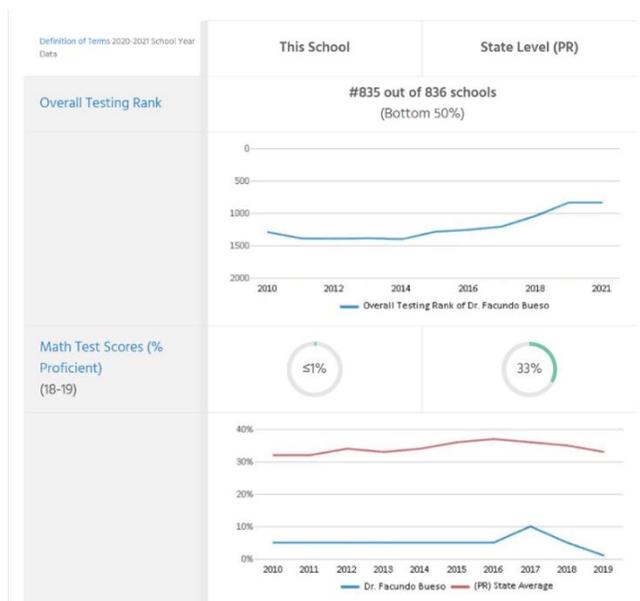


Figure 3: Escuela Dr. Facundo Bueso comparison to Puerto Rico's average level

Additionally, we gathered data through five semi-structured interviews with community members, parents of public-school students, and local private school officials. During two community walkthroughs, we selected two community members to provide anecdotal evidence of changes in the school system such as increased enrollment due to an influx of more affluent families and demographic shifts in the student body. We also contacted private schools in Santurce via Facebook and, within a couple of days, received contact information from three different schools. All interviews conducted were guided by the set of broad questions outlined in Appendix D, the interviews tended to develop into more engaging conversations, with topics of discussion branching off in various directions. We recorded the interviews to ensure that no detail was overlooked. Afterward, we watched the recording and reviewed our notes, then thematically coded the data in an inductive fashion.

3.2.4. Resistance to Gentrification: Art and Murals

Primarily, data sources included unstructured interviews with local artists, visits to galleries and street tours, and online sources such as Facebook and Instagram. An initial walking tour, guided by a translator and local artist Shawn Halliburton, was conducted to select murals for further research. The criteria for mural selection were based on themes portrayed such as political activism, cultural pride, historical legacy, and social justice and how it related to the community. Similarly, the selection of artists to interview was based on the messages typically

represented in their art and their availability. Over 25 murals were visited and photographed, and five interviews were conducted with local artists. Questions for interviews sought information on artists' inspiration, future aspirations in the industry, challenges faced due to gentrification, and the symbolism regarding specific artwork. Refer to Appendix E for the interview protocol. Qualitative data was collected through five semi-structured interviews with local artists, discovering the motivations, experiences, and opinions of the artists, and exploring the meaning and impact of the artwork on the community. All interviews were recorded, transcribed, and thematically coded.

3.2.5. Challenges and Limitations

The two most prominent challenges and limitations that were faced during the data collection process were the small amount of publicly accessible statistical and quantitative data and the language barrier between the English-speaking researchers and Spanish-speaking interviewees.

Our team encountered challenges obtaining datasets about Puerto Rico that were both readily available and of sufficient quality. Specifically, we sought data for a particular zip code, but the US Census Bureau's American Community Survey only provides a 5-Year trailing estimate, which is more accurate over the long-term but obscures more dynamic changes. Additionally, business development datasets with zip code granularity are not available to the public. To address this issue, we utilized business development data from the municipality of San Juan in combination with the US Census Bureau's County Businesses Pattern data. As cost-of-living data is not actively collected, we had to rely on self-reported cost of living databases; to combat any potential inaccuracies, we polled from three independent cost-of-living databases and averaged the results.

Second, the team's inability to effectively understand Spanish made it difficult for us to not only translate during interviews but to gain the trust of the interviewees. Luckily, we were able to recruit the aid of a translator which made it significantly easier to understand the interviewee. Having a translator also ensured that the conversation was more natural and comfortable between the interviewer and the participant. As in any situation, having a translator did not ease the comfort for all potential interviewees as some were skeptical about sharing information about their businesses or careers. Businesses were visited no more than three times

over the course of the two months of research. Our intentions behind our multiple visits were never to persuade the interviewee but to ease their comfort by continuing informal conversations to gain trust.

Another factor that heavily influenced our interviews were time constraints. Many stakeholders had tight schedules, preventing them from being able to set time aside for our research. However, the team always remained respectful and understanding of their situation as we were grateful for even the smallest interactions with community members. Since many potential participants were genuinely interested in answering our interview questions and sharing their experience, some were able to accommodate us by completing the interview over the phone out of their working hours or over email.

4. Findings

Through our interviews with multiple stakeholders and analysis of quantitative data including Census, Cost of Living and Zoning data, the team discovered three main findings. First, the community's experience with gentrification is one where it has been shifting to cater to tourists rather than locals. Second, many locals are compelled or forced to participate in the visitor economy, either by short-term renting or local restaurants catering to tourists, to survive. Third, the community receives little support from the government, in the form of rent or mortgage subsidies, assistance programs, or enforcement and maintenance of the city's zoning and permit laws. Qualitative data helped us to uncover the changes and dynamics of the community's socioeconomic fabric, while quantitative data enabled us to determine the magnitude of these changes. All names used in the following are pseudonyms to ensure the anonymity of all interviewees.

4.1. A Community for Tourists

We found that the Goyco community is increasingly oriented toward a tourist economy, prioritizing the needs of visitors over those of residents. Evidence of gentrification was identified through an influx of wealthy individuals to the area, as indicated by the significant increase in the discrepancy between the mean and median income (see Figure 4: Mean-Median Income Discrepancy in San Juan, Santurce, and the 00911 ZCTA). Further, in 2015, white (non-Hispanic) individuals alone accounted for only 5.7% of the total population, while in 2021, this

population accounted for almost double that at 10.1%. While they accounted for 10.7% of the population in 2021, white (non-Hispanic) individuals accounted for 15.3% of the aggregate income and held a per-capita income nearly \$20,000 larger than the Hispanic population. However, residents noted that the main source of contention is not the influx of wealthy individuals, but the transformation of the community to cater to the interests of high-income individuals and tourists.

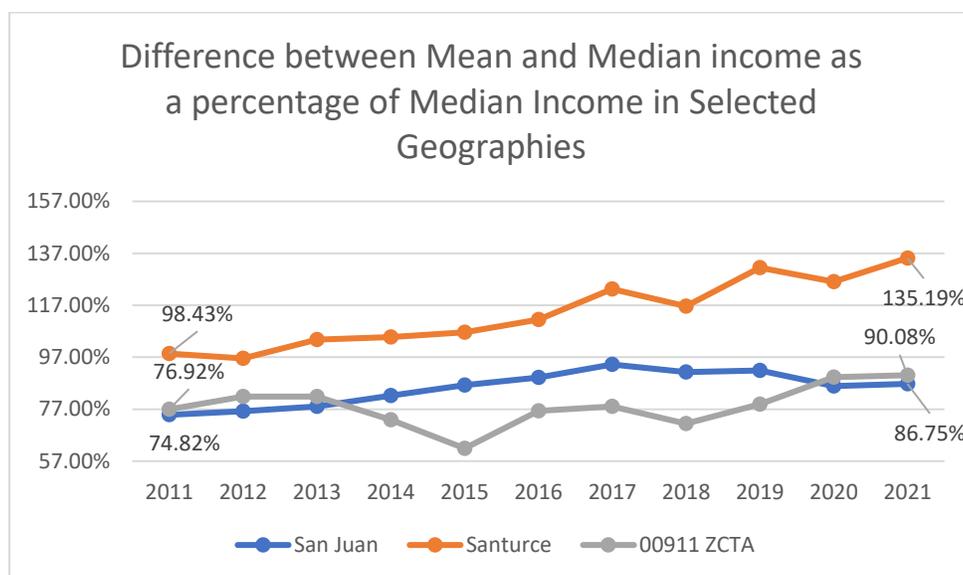


Figure 4: Mean-Median Income Discrepancy in San Juan, Santurce, and the 00911 ZCTA

The La Goyco held a community event for community members to discuss issues within the community and how they wanted to combat them. A total of 64 members were in attendance and the large issues identified were short-term rentals, noise, an influx of bars and restaurants, and zoning issues. Adolfo, a lifelong community member, recalled how Calle Loíza used to be “Full of families and local businesses like hardware stores and supermarkets”, but is currently home to dozens of restaurants and bars. Newspapers have dubbed Santurce a “Hipster Haven”, and Figure 5 reveals that the food service and accommodations industry accounts for nearly 24% of all new businesses in the San Juan area (food service specifically accounts for 21.4% of the 24%). In contrast, important services for residents such as educational, health, and recreational services have seen no growth, while services for tourists and more affluent people such as accommodations, food services, and real estate have experienced significantly higher development. The growth of the food and service sector has resulted in louder noise levels in the

area, especially at night. Mari, a community member who rents out her property on Airbnb, shared that it has become difficult to raise a family in the area due to the loud noise from bars and restaurants, leading her family to move further inland and start renting out her home in the community.

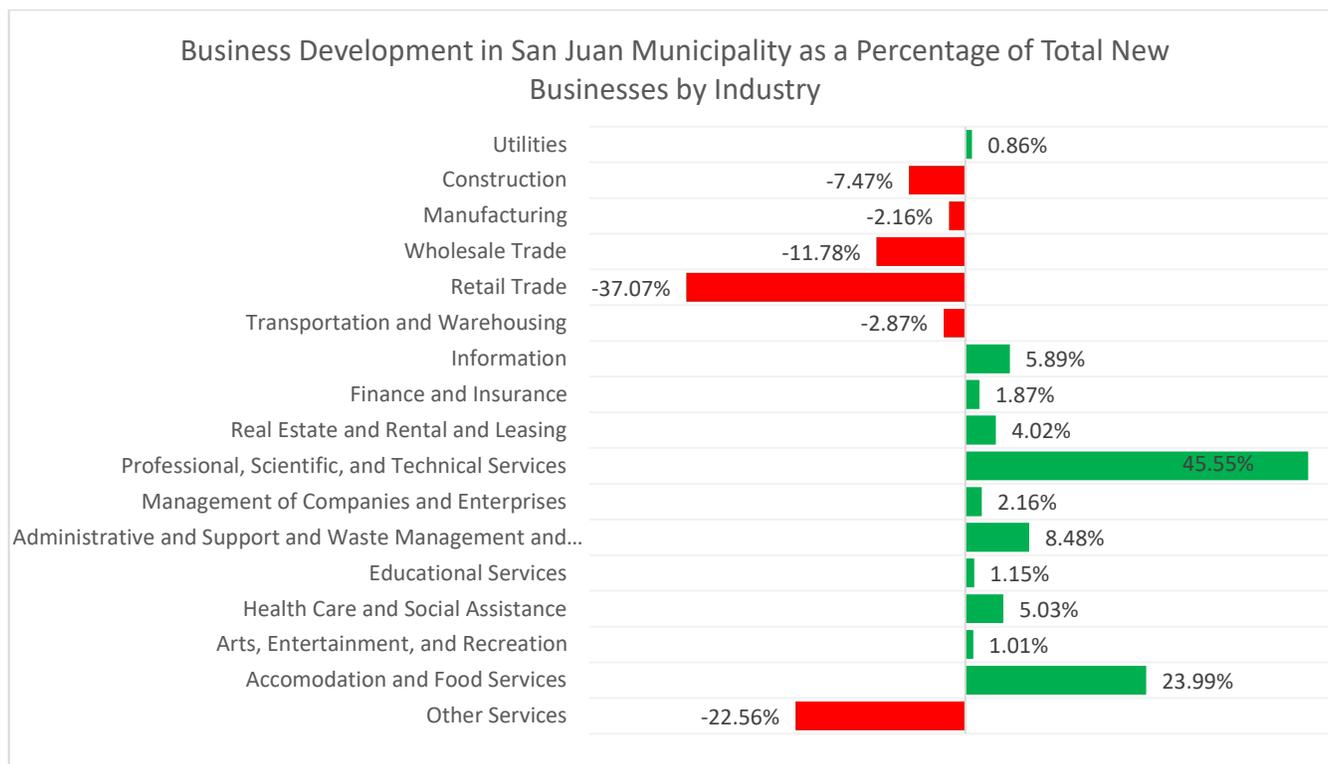


Figure 5: Business Development in San Juan from 2010 to 2020.

A similar shift towards wealth and tourism is identified in the housing market within the Goyco area. In an interview with Ricardo, a community member who rents his home, he explains that many of the buildings around him have been bought by institutions or wealthy individuals who generally serve a wealthier clientele or turn a large portion of the units within a building into short term rentals, while increasing the long-term rental price. This sentiment is echoed by individual owners of short-term rentals. When a friend opened her eyes to the potential income she could generate, Abril, an Airbnb host who rents out a home her family grew up in, decided to switch from long-term to short-term rentals. The number of short-term rentals in the area has rapidly increased even since 2020 (Figure 6: Number of Short-Term Rentals in the 00911 ZCTA), currently accounting for 16.7% of all housing units and nearly 25% of all occupied housing units.

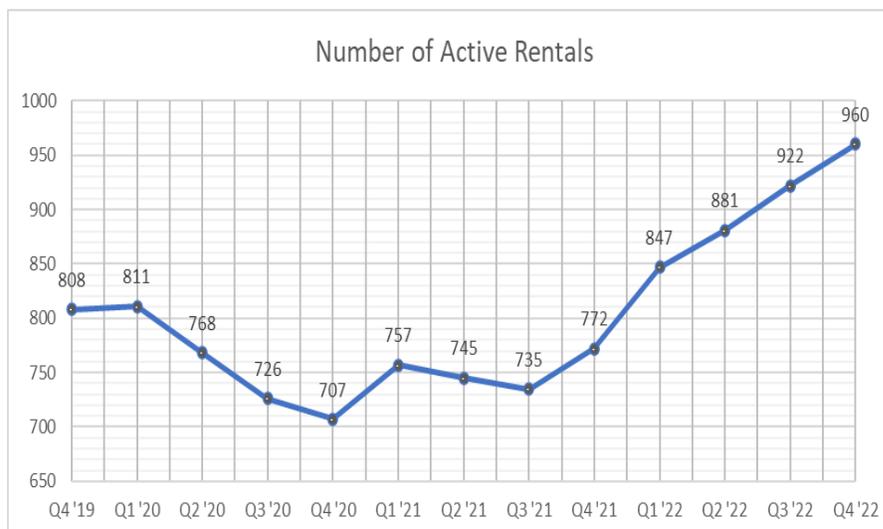


Figure 6: Number of Short-Term Rentals in the 00911 ZCTA

In interviews with vacation rental companies and wealthy individuals who own numerous short-term rental properties, they explain that units continue to stay occupied and produce high cash flows as compared to long-term rentals. According to AirDNA, an organization that collects Airbnb data, the 00911 ZCTA has an average Airbnb occupancy rate of 67%, with an average daily rate of \$97. This results in an average revenue of \$23,800 per unit. In comparison, the US Census Bureau reports the 2021 median rent in the same area for a 1-bedroom apartment as \$454, resulting in an average revenue of \$5448 per unit. This means the average Airbnb brings in 436% more revenue than the typical long-term rental. Vacation rental company representatives and wealthy individuals note that they are continuing to expand their operation in the area whether it be short-term rentals or simply owning property as an investment. As this institutional wealth flows into the area, homeowners in the area are faced with ever increasing property prices and relatively constant incomes. Shown in Figure 7, the affordability of homes (An affordable home, as defined by the U.S Department of Housing, is where the home value is approximately 2.6-3 times the occupant's income) has rapidly decreased since 2019 as institutional investors and the advent of short-term rentals threaten the housing stock. In an interview with Juan, a community member who now resides outside of the community, he explains that while he once resided in the community, after he sold his home in the area, none of the homes around the community were priced moderately enough for individuals of the community to buy and so his family moved further inland where homes were better priced.

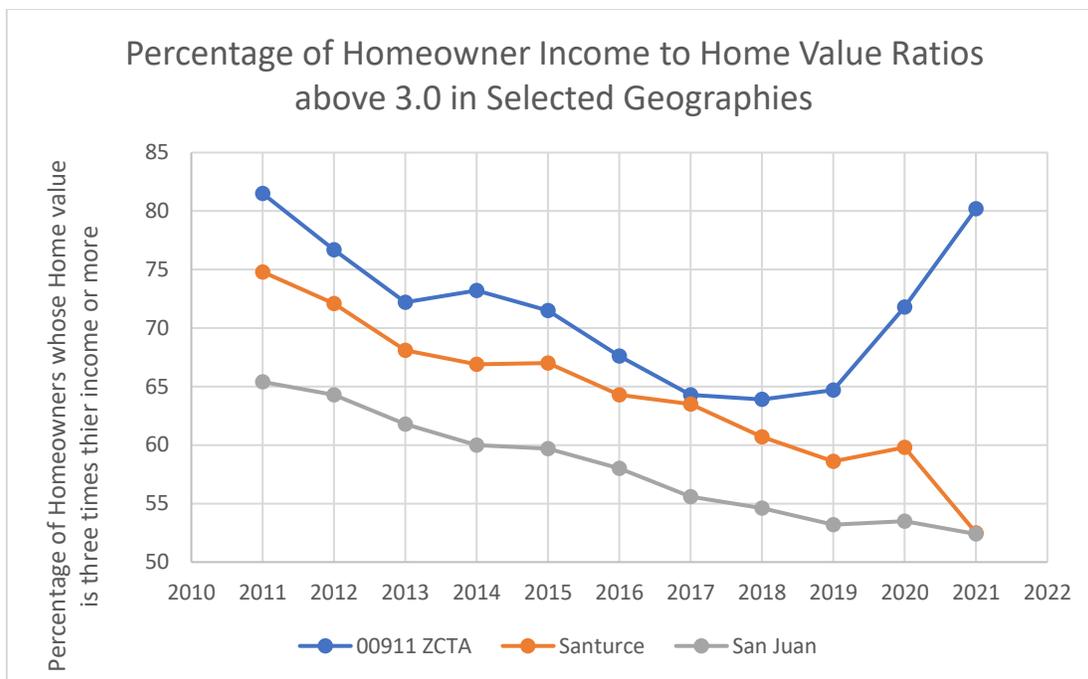


Figure 7: Affordability of Homeownership within San Juan, Santurce, and the 00911 ZCTA

Beyond homeowners, renters in the area are also feeling the effects of increased institutional presence with increased rents. Shown in Figure 8, the percentage of housing units in has decreased both in Santurce as well as in the 00911 ZCTA over the past 10 years and rested at 29% for the 00911 ZCTA. Housing in the area is increasingly being shifted toward supporting vacations and as a result the remaining housing stock for residents is paying a hefty price.

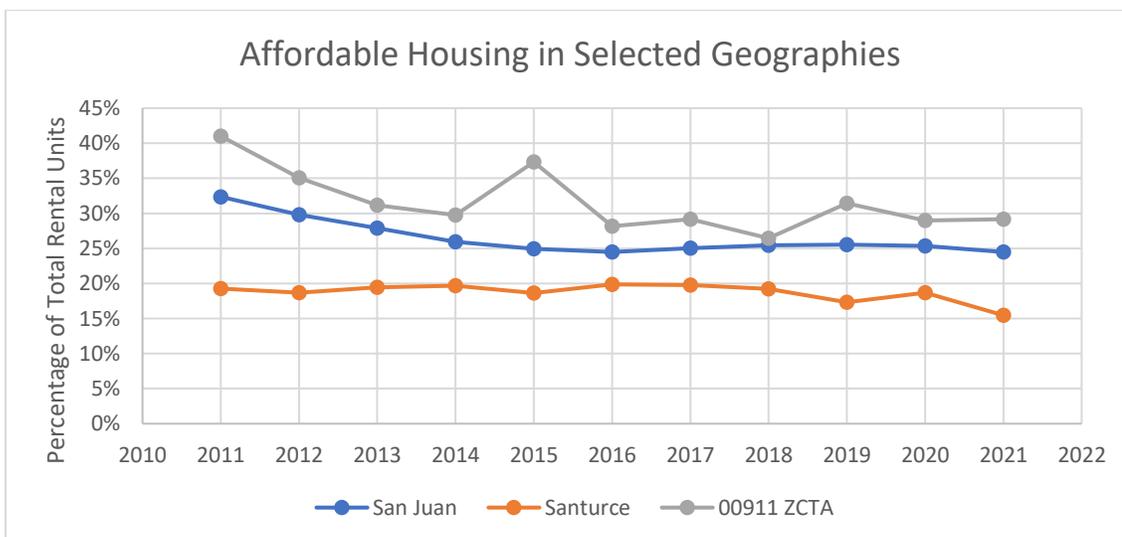


Figure 8: Rental Affordability in San Juan, Santurce, and the 00911 ZCTA

Institutional wealth often invests in property by renting to restaurants on bustling main streets like Calle Loíza. However, zoning laws in school and residential zones have made this difficult, resulting in schools being closed after heavy lobbying. In talking to a key member of the Goyco community center, she explained that the Dr. Pedro G Goyco school was closed to allow for more development on Calle Loíza. With an increased focus on serving tourists and more affluent populations, student enrollment in local public schools has dropped as families are displaced (see Figure 8: Rental Affordability in San Juan, Santurce, and the 00911 ZCTA). An interview with Esteban, a retired teacher from a school near the area, revealed that the decreasing enrollment has been leading to a poor quality of education. Echoing this is the average math and reading proficiency percentages of the public schools in the area: 27% and 53%, respectively, and the average graduation rate is 76%. These figures are each at least 6% lower than the state average for Puerto Rico. Making matters worse for families in the area, private schools are exorbitantly priced with some as high as 30% of the median income per student. Families are placed in a precarious situation: pay the increased rent or homeownership costs along with tuition expenses or move to a more affordable locality further inland.

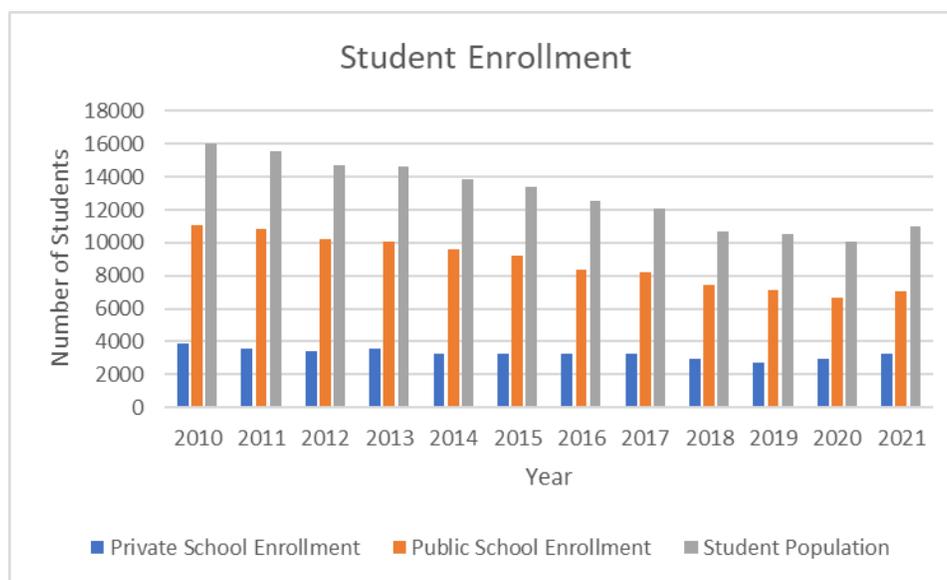


Figure 9: Student Enrollment by Institution Type in the 00911 Area Code.

Artists in the area express their frustration with the community's shift towards tourism with engaging murals. For example, a painting by Spear Torres titled *Don't Let My People Go* (see Figure 10) articulates the lack of priority that the island places on its citizens, prioritizing a

tourist economy. In an interview, Spear explained that the message is to express the lack of support that the citizens of Puerto Rico are receiving from the government as the economy is no longer made for them to financially stay afloat. Longtime residents are priced out of their homes and forced to leave.



Figure 10: Don't Let My People Go - Spear Torres, a play on words to the Biblical story in Exodus

Through conversations with residents of the La Goyco community, it is evident that the influx of economic activity that tourism and institutions bring is welcomed. Yet, the locals are struggling to comprehend how changes are benefiting their lives and their families. What was once a community built on shared values, traditions, and family is now gradually being transformed into an environment for visitors (Figure 11). Locals feel this shift and are left wondering if their community can strike a balance between being a place for tourists while still supporting their own needs and desires.



Figure 11: An Electronic Scooter and Trash from a Local Bar Block the Sidewalk on Calle Loíza

4.2. Residents Must Participate in the Visitor Economy

Our research revealed that the Puerto Rican economy has shifted to support tourists at both the macro and micro level in the Goyco community. Despite the community's shared disagreement with the prioritization of the visitor economy over the locals, they feel compelled to participate to make ends meet.

The housing market in the La Goyco area is in a precarious situation. Marred with natural disasters, rising property prices, and older buildings, the area is ripe for institutional takeover. For residents this means home values growing uncontrollably and rent prices skyrocketing. Luis, a local homeowner, explained in an interview that men frequently show up unannounced at people's homes to offer 30 to 40 thousand dollars over the requested home value. The median value of homes in the area is \$308,000, however, according to Zillow, the median purchase price in 2021 was \$450,000, which indicates an influx of wealth into the area. Furthermore, with the median structure in the area being built in 1965, repairs are becoming increasingly costly, leaving many homes in disrepair. As Luis states, “We have to take the money and leave; that kind of money is lifechanging.” On the other side of this, a vacation rental company that has been expanding into the community explains, “The tourist economy provides an abundance of cash flow”, making it possible for vacation companies to buy with overwhelming force. Meanwhile, institutional wealth often takes advantage of tax advantaged opportunity zones that make up nearly 100% of the island. This has resulted in homeowners being forced to sell their property into the tourism market with over the market offers, which ultimately raises property

prices for the entire area and deteriorates the affordability of the existing housing stock. Effectively, homeowners are traded for tourist attractions or accommodations of all sorts.

Similarly, homeowners or renters in the community who choose to remain in their dwelling often rely on short-term rentals to make ends meet. Mia, an Airbnb host, explains that repairs due to various storms become extremely costly, and the long-term rental prices in the area were too low to cover the costs. As a result, she and the other owners in her old apartment building chose to switch from long-term to short-term renting to meet their financial needs. The COVID-19 pandemic has further intensified the financial burden of families in the 00911 area, particularly those in the service industry. With service occupations making up 23.4% of all employment, the pandemic has caused numerous job losses throughout the community. Another Airbnb host, Alice, explains that she “Needed the cash flow from an Airbnb” to make ends meet. While a general lack of governmental assistance to individuals like Mia and Alice is a separate issue entirely, the community itself is being forced to switch into serving tourists to meet the volatile and demanding financial needs of living in a gentrifying area prone to natural disasters.

Furthermore, independent artists find themselves in a difficult position. There is a growing demand for street art in Santurce because of the powerful messages and beautiful visuals it contains, as well as its ability to brighten and enliven the community. Each artist can express their own unique viewpoint, which amplifies the voices of the community. However, when street art is commissioned by people or companies from outside the area (such as the mainland U.S. or other parts of the world), the original message can become distorted or lost, and the purpose of the street art changes to appeal to tourists and wealthy visitors. The meaning of art shifts from meaningful voices in the community to social media post backgrounds (Figure 12). In interviews with local artists many explain that if they don’t accept the commission, “Someone from the [Mainland] will.” Artists find themselves split between making meaningless paintings for wealthy visitors to make ends meet, or making meaningful art that conveys voices in the community for a smaller price.



Figure 12 Tourists Taking Pictures in Front of Mural in Santurce

While artists, homeowners, and renters find themselves in a precarious situation as their community shifts to serve tourists, restaurants find themselves in a unique position. Although restaurant owners understand that it is financially intelligent to mimic the aesthetic of investor-owned businesses, interviews with ten local restaurants revealed that they prioritize remaining authentic for one of two reasons. First, restaurant owners collectively agree that making drastic changes to actively appeal to the visitor's economy erases their culture and authenticity of their restaurant. Second, local owners prioritize their regular customers while simultaneously remaining welcoming to visitors. A local restaurant owner on Calle Loíza explained that despite the constant fluctuation of the prices and availability of supplies, they try their best to maintain low menu prices. This ensures that locals can afford their food. As an added benefit, the desire to accommodate locals also makes their restaurants an affordable and attractive restaurant for tourists.

The problem arises when residents' interests conflict with those of tourists and affluent customers – for instance, in the housing market or with local art. Generally, the needs of tourists

take precedence, leaving locals to find other ways to fulfill their needs. However, in cases where tourists look for authenticity, such as in the restaurant market, neither tourists nor locals' interests take precedence. Instead, the industry aims to find a balance between the two. This leaves locals in the situation of needing to serve tourists to make ends meet.

4.3. An Absent Government

Interviews with heads of local and regional housing and mayoral offices revealed that governmental assistance programs, such as CDBG-PR, are available to aid with homeownership by offering subsidized mortgages and direct funding for relocation and rental assistance. However, in an interview with Valentina, a secretary at the department of housing, it became apparent that due to public-private partnerships with banks, slow and lengthy approval procedures were making homeowners unable to obtain access to homeowner assistance. This left many community members struggling to outbid institutional wealth and wealthy individuals. In an interview with Dario, a recipient of unemployment payments and subsidized housing provided by the government, he revealed that these programs can be disincentives to work, as a person's income rises or they purchase a home, the aid they receive decreases. Angel, a resident of the community, explains, "Who would turn down a home, free money, and no work?"

Beyond the lack of efficacy in governmental support of the area, a lack of zoning and permitting restrictions make the entire city of Santurce a haven for businesses which are not compliant with regulations. In Puerto Rico, the last publicly available land use plan to incorporate commercial and residential zoning distinctions dates back to 1987. This is in stark contrast to the supposedly comprehensive land use plan published by the government in 2015, which caused a great stir among Puerto Rican communities but failed to include commercial and residential zoning distinction. Angel further explained that many businesses have permits for a different purpose than what they are currently using them for or simply are in an area zoned for residential purposes; particularly noting how the mini market beneath her home is now a restaurant. Mia, an Airbnb host in the area also mentioned that residential areas did not have protection against being transformed into short-term rentals or boutique hotels as "The government is too bureaucratic and scared to make decisions about controversial issues." Due to faulty zoning, areas in need of funding are unable to receive it, and businesses are allowed to

operate without adhering to regulations which leaves Puerto Ricans without protection from businesses that do not benefit their communities.

The lack of consistent, reliable funding for public schools in Puerto Rico is a major issue that has had concerning repercussions for the educational system. Public schools have been seeing their available resources dwindle yearly, due to fluctuating enrollment and budgetary decisions. This has had a notable impact on the quality of education available at public schools and has even forced some to close their doors altogether. This is especially concerning, given the critical role that public schools play in providing a safe, equitable, and high-quality learning environment for all students. To ensure that every student in Santurce is provided with the best possible education, it is essential that public schools receive the adequate and consistent funding they need. This issue was exacerbated in 2018, when Hurricane Maria caused the closure of approximately one quarter of the island's schools. To help lower-income families, the Puerto Rican Legislature made a proposal in March of 2018, which was made to offer education vouchers for private schools. However, this program is restricted to only 1% of Puerto Rico's student population, which amounts to about 3,000 students, and the average value of these vouchers is estimated to be around \$2,275. This reduction in cost still amounts to nearly a quarter of the median income in the 00911-area code, a concerning number for families already struggling to make ends meet. This initiative could be a step in the right direction, but there is a concern as to whether this program is to help private schools grow bigger and continue to shut down public schools, or if it is to help families in need. This program should be closely monitored and evaluated to ensure it is benefiting families and not just private schools.

Restaurant owners also have mixed experiences with government assistance. As learned through a survey collecting data from restaurant representatives on Calle Loíza, many local restaurants do not receive any government assistance to help combat the inequity faced by investors or commercially owned restaurants. One restaurant employee explained that after years of filing information to apply for financial aid, the government failed to notify the owner that they were filing their information incorrectly. As a result, the owner did not qualify for government aid. Fortunately, the owner kept all their records organized and was able to re-apply with no help from the government. Another restaurant owner explained that they were hesitant to apply for aid because of their distrust in the government. Generally, all restaurant representatives

expressed that there is not an equal opportunity for local businesses to compete with investors and that the government does little to recognize this fact.

Taken together, Puerto Ricans face inequity in the presence of investors who are enabled by the government to stimulate the economy. Additionally, Puerto Rican homeowners, home renters, restaurant owners and families with school aged children have minimal support from the government to combat this inequality. The unreliability from the government only further catalyzes gentrification in neighborhoods like La Goyco because Puerto Ricans are less likely to get back on their feet in the presence of adversity and preserve their homes, culture, and community.

5. Conclusion

The vibrant, coastal barrio of Santurce in San Juan, Puerto Rico is an increasingly popular destination for visitors, leading to a surge of gentrification. The area is renowned for its captivating culture, stunning beaches, and myriad of dining and entertainment options, making it an attractive option for those looking to explore the island's unique atmosphere. As more visitors flock to Santurce, the effects of gentrification are becoming noticeable, with the area becoming more modernized and upscale. The rapid gentrification taking place in the local La Goyco community is being driven by a combination of three key factors: the housing market, the influx of restaurants and bars, and the growing educational inequality. The housing market has seen an influx of developments, resulting in skyrocketing rental prices that have caused the original residents to be priced out of their homes. Moreover, the opening of new restaurants and bars has drawn more affluent people to the area, leading to higher housing costs, noise pollution, and an unfriendly environment for families. Finally, the inequality between private and public schooling has created a divide between those who can afford more expensive private education and those who must send their children to under-resourced public schools in the area.

Each factor of gentrification had a quantitative and qualitative component. We gleaned a comprehensive understanding of the changing landscape of the community by combining qualitative insights from 34 interviews with homeowners, businesses, school officials, artists, and community members with quantitative data collected through U.S. Census Bureau, National

Center for Education Statistics, Airbnb, that provided perspective on the scope of change. The team synthesized three key findings.

The first is a noticeable shift towards a visitor economy, while generally being accepted by the community, has created a situation where many of its residents are being displaced. With a quarter of all occupied housing units being turned into short-term rentals, and the consequent increase in prices of long-term rentals, many are being forced to leave the area in search of more affordable housing. This has had a detrimental effect on the local student population, with public school enrollments declining as families have been forced out of the area. As a result, families must resort to far more expensive private school tuition costs to provide their children with a quality education. The displacement of locals has also been met with frustration and protest from the community, with local artists using street art to express their grievances and call attention to the situation.

Second, the community laments the forces at play, but they find that they must also cater to tourists or investors to make ends meet, rather than only supporting locals and prioritizing their own community. Many families have found themselves utilizing their properties as a source of profit through short-term rental websites such as Airbnb, though this is often met with controversy. The blame should not be placed on these families, but on the investors who purchase as many properties as possible to gentrify areas and use Airbnb properties as hotels. Restaurant owners are aware that a large portion of their success is due to tourism, but they must remain conscious of preserving their culture and community. This balance is an example of sustainable tourism, allowing restaurants to benefit from visitors without compromising their values. Independent artists are also greatly impacted by this, often having to take on projects with the intention of attracting tourists to make ends meet, even if it goes against their values.

Finally, governmental assistance programs are not adequately serving the local community due to their bureaucratic processes and slow disbursement of aid. Similarly, the government is not regulating the speed at which the community is changing, which is catalyzing the disappearance of community and culture. The lack of consistent funding for public schools in Puerto Rico has had a negative impact on the quality of education available to students. In response, a proposal was made to offer education vouchers for private schools to assist lower-income families, but this program is limited and may not address the underlying problem.

Furthermore, local restaurants have reported mixed experiences with government assistance, with many not receiving any aid and some being hesitant to apply due to distrust in the government. These issues must be addressed to provide equitable access to resources and ensure that all students and businesses are getting the support they need.

Based on the data we collected, our project produced two key outputs: a pamphlet and an infographic (see Appendix F). These outputs offer an invaluable resource for community members by providing a comprehensive overview of the three main drivers of gentrification, as well as highlighting how the community is coming together to resist it. The pamphlet provides readers with a better understanding of the housing market, the influx of restaurants and businesses, and the impact that schools have on gentrification. Additionally, the pamphlet serves as a source of inspiration and hope, highlighting the strength of the community and the ways in which they unite to resist this process. By having this resource, community members will be better equipped to fight against gentrification and take collective action to protect their neighborhoods.

At the conclusion of our project, our team had thought of a creative and thought-provoking concept – to create a board game that would represent the process of gentrification in the la Goyco community. With limited time, the team was unable to construct the game, but with an eager future team, this game could be brought to fruition. This game, modeled after the classic and iconic 'Monopoly' board game, would give players an authentic experience of investing in a neighborhood and transforming it from a locale of lower-income residents to a paradise for tourists. Through the game, players would be able to explore the complexities of gentrification and gain a better understanding of how it can affect a community. This game could offer an invaluable educational experience, providing an insightful experience into the process of gentrification and its consequences on the people living there.

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7. Appendices

7.1. Appendix A: Interview Questions for Community Members About Key Factors of Gentrification

1. How has the neighborhood changed over the past decade?
2. What do you think are the main drivers of gentrification and resident displacement in the area?
3. What has been the biggest change to the neighborhood or area in the past few years?
4. Are there any policies or initiatives that have influenced the changes you have observed?

7.2. Appendix B: Interview Questions for Various Stakeholders within the Housing Market

Group 1: Residents of the Community Who Do Not Own Additional Property.

1. How long have you lived in the neighborhood?
2. Have you noticed any changes to the housing market (prices, availability, etc.) over your time in the neighborhood?
3. Have you noticed any changes in the number of Airbnb or short-term rental properties in your neighborhood? If so, how has this impacted you?
4. How do you feel about the presence of short-term rentals and other forms of commercial activity in the neighborhood?
5. Do you know any individuals who were displaced due to rising rents, development, or gentrification?

Group 2: Residents Who Own or Manage Short-Term Rentals.

1. How long have you lived in the neighborhood?
2. How many short-term rental properties do you own and/or manage?
3. How has the neighborhood changed since you started renting out your property?
4. Did you ever rent out the same rental properties as long term leases? If so, why did you switch from long term to short-term rentals?
5. Have you experienced any backlash from other members of the community regarding your rental properties?

Group 3: Residents Who Own or Lease Long-Term Rental Properties.

1. How long have you lived in the neighborhood?
2. What changes have you noticed in the neighborhood since you started managing rental properties here?
3. Have you noticed the influx of short-term rentals popping up in neighborhoods?
4. How do short-term rentals (e.g., Airbnb, VRBO) affect your business and the local economy?

5. Are there any specific policies or regulations related to short-term rentals that you feel should be implemented in the area?
6. How does the presence of short-term rentals affect the availability of affordable housing for long-term residents?

Group 4: Non-Residents Who Own and/or Operate Short-Term Rentals.

1. Where are you from and where do you currently live?
2. How long have you owned or managed your home sharing property?
3. What motivated you to invest in this property and how has it changed over time?
4. Do you think short term rental properties are beneficial for the local economy?
5. Have you seen any changes in the demographics of the renters since owning or managing the property?
6. Do you believe that peer-to-peer home-sharing properties should be regulated differently from other forms of housing, if so, how?

Group 5: Vacation Rental Company Owners or Representatives

1. How long has your business been established for?
2. How many properties do you manage within the Parque and Machuchal area?
3. How have rental rates and occupancy levels changed since opening a short-term rental property in this area?
4. What factors do you consider when selecting a property to purchase for your vacation rental business?
5. What are some of the benefits and drawbacks that your short-term rentals provide to the community?
6. Are there any concerns from residents regarding the number of home-sharing properties in the area?

Group 6: Government Officials.

1. What is the Puerto Rican Department of Housing's definition of gentrification?
2. Are there any policies or initiatives that have been implemented to mitigate the effects of gentrification?
3. What has been the impact of short-term rental properties on local communities?

4. Are there any incentives in place for landlords to limit rent increases or allow longer leases to help prevent displacement?
5. What are the current regulations in place for short-term rental properties in Puerto Rico?
6. Do developers take into consideration existing residents when planning new residential developments?

7.3. Appendix D: Interview Questions for Restaurant Owners or Representatives.

Semi-Structured Interviews

1. How long has your company been established for?
2. Do you own this property or is it rented out?
3. Does the person who owns this property live in the area?
4. How have your prices changed throughout the past 10 years?
5. How have the prices of your supplies changed throughout the past 10 years?
6. How do you manage costs and keep prices competitive?
7. What advice would you give to other local restaurant owners who are competing against larger corporations?
8. What challenges have you encountered in serving tourists in your restaurant?
9. Do you try to attract tourists to your restaurant?
10. Do you have a problem with serving tourists, would you prefer not to?
11. Has the influx of new businesses in the area caused a decrease in foot traffic to your restaurant?
12. Have you had to change your shop/restaurant because of these newer businesses?

Survey Questions

1. How long have you been in business?
2. How long have you owned this establishment?
3. Have the prices of the shops changed during your time here?
4. Have you seen changes with suppliers during your time here?
5. Was it difficult to maintain the business during the last 5 years?
6. Do you think there is a free field for local businesses to meet investors and companies?
7. Have you faced obstacles in serving tourists?
8. Are you trying to attract more tourists or locals?
9. Has the entry of new businesses affected the transit of customers?
10. Have you had to make a path defined to the municipality?
11. What percentage of your customers are tourists? Has this changed?

7.4. Appendix C: Interview Questions for Stakeholders Within the Schooling and Education Segment.

Interview with Community Members

1. How long have you lived in the neighborhood?
2. How many public and private schools are there in the area?
3. Have there been any changes in the school system since you have been in the area?
4. Have you noticed any changes in the student demographics at local schools?
5. Have you noticed any changes in the quality of education offered at different schools in the area?
6. Is there an influx of wealthier families moving into the area?
7. In what ways has the school system responded to the influx of wealthier families?

Interview with Private School Officials

1. How has the student population changed in the past five years?
2. How have you adapted to meet the needs of the new student population?
3. Are there any areas of the school's admissions process that might need to be adjusted to better serve students affected by gentrification?
4. Are there any organizations, community groups, or government programs that the school could partner with to better serve students affected by gentrification?
5. How has your school addressed the problem of gentrification in its recruiting and hiring practices?
6. How does your school ensure that new students from gentrifying neighborhoods feel welcomed and included?
7. How much is the cost of tuition?
8. Is there financial aid, and how does the process work?

7.5. Appendix E: Interview Questions for Local Artists.

1. How has the influx of gentrification impacted your artwork?
2. How has the street art scene in Santurce evolved since gentrification began?
3. How do you think street art can help to combat gentrification?
4. What challenges have you faced as a street artist due to gentrification?
5. What do you think are the most important elements of street art to create a positive impact on gentrification?
6. What inspired you to start creating street art in Santurce?
7. What is the meaning behind your artwork?
8. How has the street art community in Santurce impacted your work?
9. What do you think are the most important elements of street art?
10. What would you like to see for the future of street art in Santurce?

7.6. Appendix F: Final Deliverables.

7.6.1. Infographic

See Below.

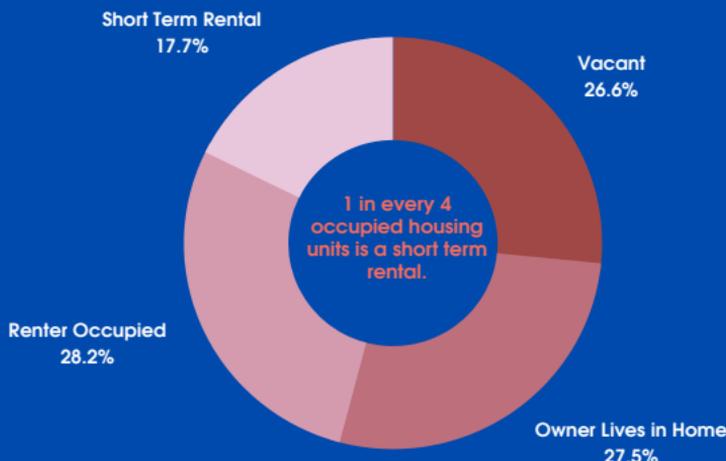
7.6.2. Pamphlet

See Below.

The Changing Face of La Goyco

A statistical analysis of gentrification in the La Goyco community

Housing



Student Attainment

Student Population

15,994 → 10,975
2010 → 2021

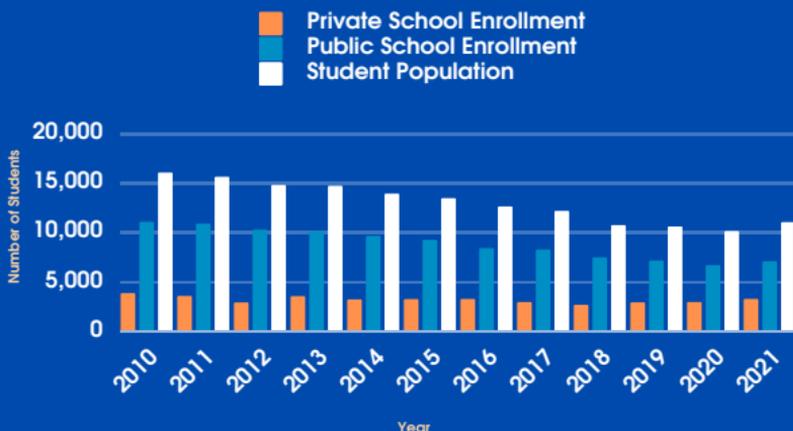
A decrease in student population indicates families are being displaced from the area.

Public School Enrollment

11,039 → 7,050
2010 → 2021

Private school enrollment is back on the rise while public school enrollment continues to drop, likely due to the closure of public schools in the area

Private School Enrollment



Restaurants

Number of Lodging and Food Service Businesses in San Juan

874 → 1,023
2010 → 2020



of new businesses in San Juan are restaurants and bars

El rostro cambiante de La Goyco

Un análisis estadístico de la gentrificación en la comunidad de La Goyco

Vivienda



Logro estudiantil

Población estudiantil

15,994 → 10,975
2010 2021

Una disminución en la población estudiantil indica que las familias están siendo desplazadas del área.

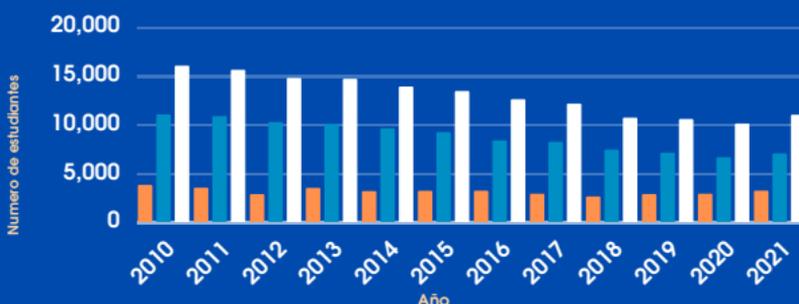
Inscripción en la escuela pública

11,039 → 7,050
2010 2021

La matriculación en escuelas privadas ha vuelto a aumentar, mientras que la matriculación en escuelas públicas sigue cayendo, probablemente debido al cierre de las escuelas públicas de la zona.

Inscripción de estudiantes

- Inscripción en escuela privada
- Inscripción en la escuela pública
- Población estudiantil



Restaurantes

Número de Negocios de Servicios de Hospedaje y Alimentos en San Juan

874 → 1,023
2010 2020



de los nuevos negocios son restaurantes y servicios de comida

About Us



We are a group of students from Worcester Polytechnic Institute in Worcester, Massachusetts, studying how gentrification is affecting La Goyco community.

Our research focuses on three main areas: housing and restaurant markets, the educational system, and the artistic representations of gentrification. We collected quantitative data from census reports and the National Center for Education Statistics, and conducted 34 interviews with community members, restaurant owners, school officials, artists, and other stakeholders.

Our analysis revealed three primary themes: the community is becoming a tourist destination, its residents must participate in the visitor economy to survive, and there is a lack of governmental involvement.

About La Goyco

The La Goyco community is composed of residents from the Parque sub-barrio of the Santurce, Puerto Rico. Taller Comunidad La Goyco was founded in 2021 and exists in the old Pedro G Goyco elementary school after its closing in 2017.

La Goyco is the home to "programs, initiatives, and opportunities that highlight the historical, social, and potential wealth" of its community

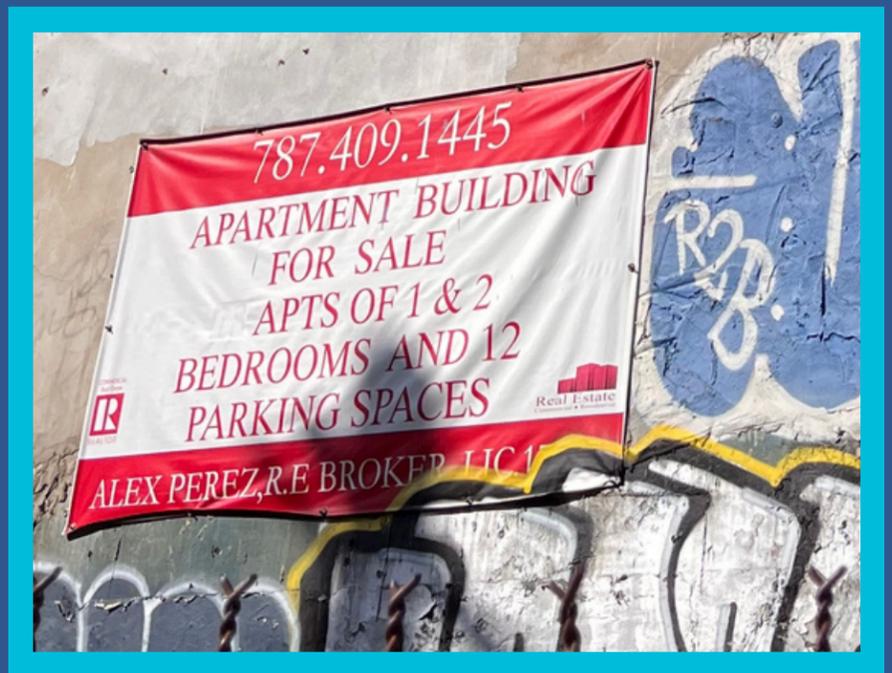


Contact

-  @GoycoLa
-  La Goyco
-  la_goyco
-  www.lagoyco.org

Donate

To donate, visit the donation page on the La Goyco website



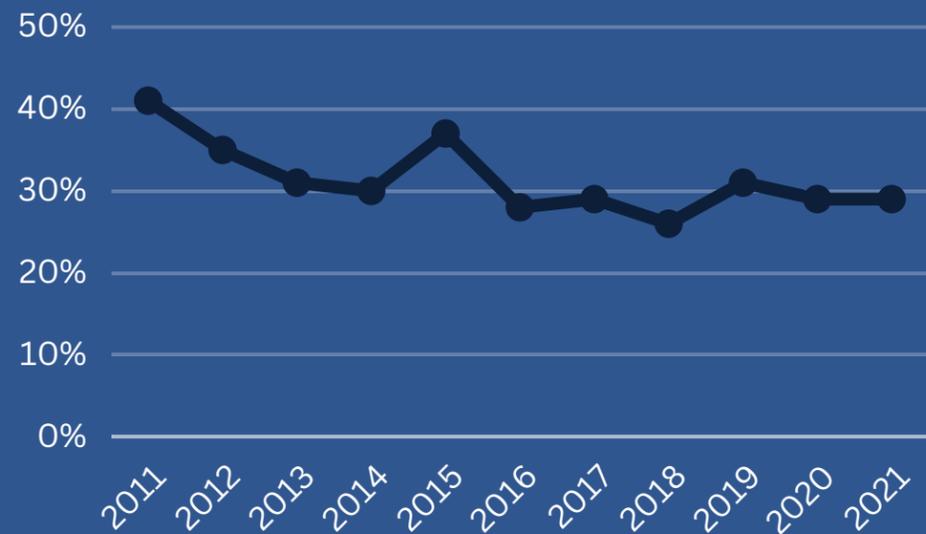
The Changing Face of La Goyco

A Statistical Analysis of Gentrification



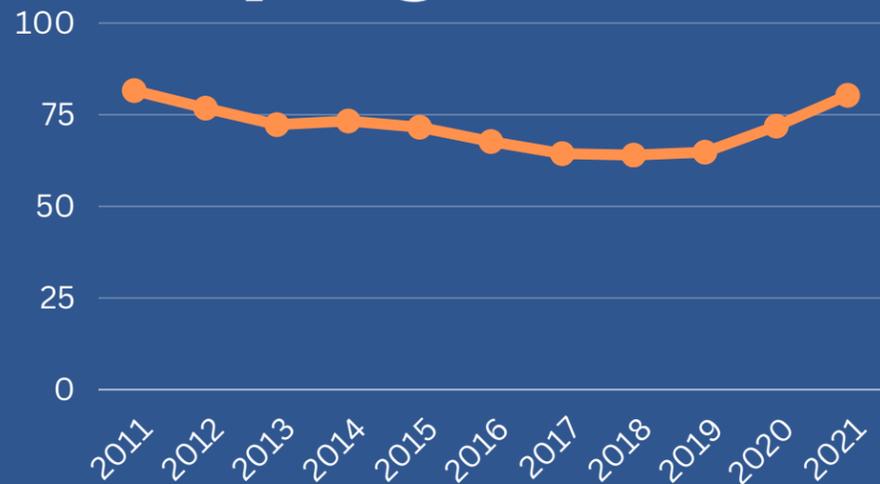
Buying or Renting a home?

Affordable Leases (<30% of Income)



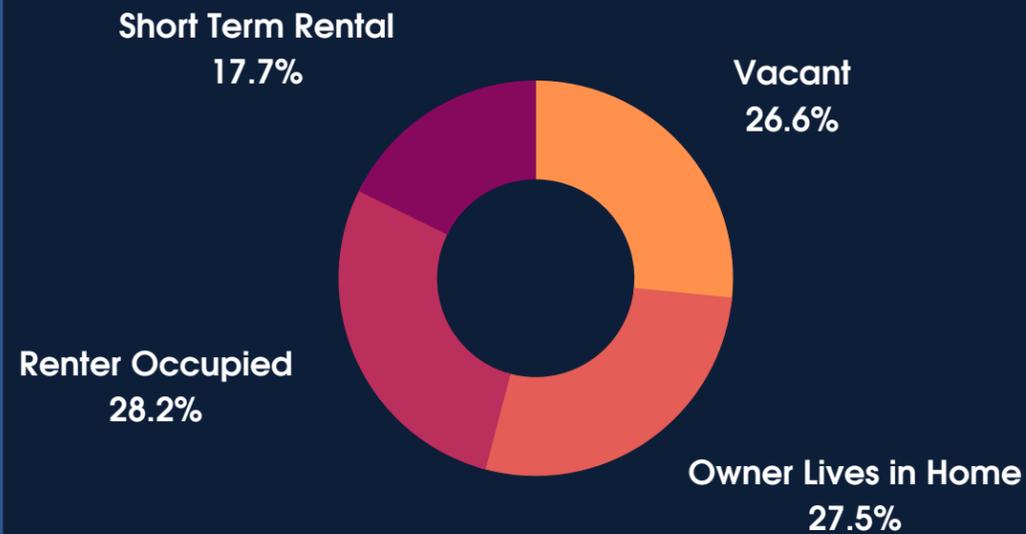
The percent of affordable leases in the area has gone from 41% in 2010 to 29% in 2021

Buying a home?



Trying to buy a home now is harder than ever, with more than 80% of homes being more than 3x what the typical person makes in a year

The Visitors Economy

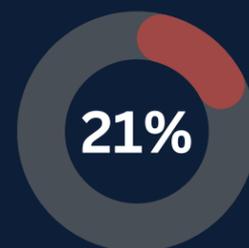


1 in 4 Occupied Homes are Short-Term Rentals

Restaurants

Number of Restaurants and Bars in San Juan

874 → 1023
2010 → 2020



of new businesses are restaurants and food service

Education

Educational attainment

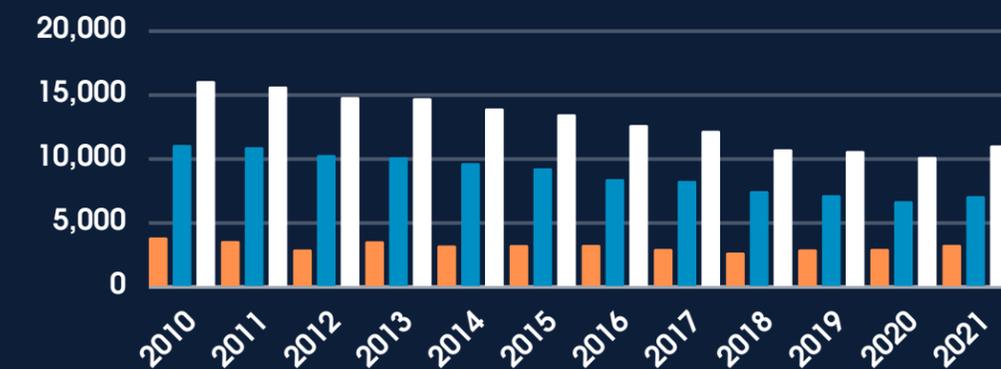
- High school graduate or higher: 78%
- 21% with no degree
 - 24% with a high school degree

Bachelor's degree or higher: 36.33%

Private School	Tuition Cost as Percent of Income
Academia San Jorge	8-16%
Robinson School	20-33%
Sain John's School	26%
Saint Monica Bilingual School	16%
Episcopal Cathedral of St. John the Baptist	16%
Palemero Private School	18%

Student Population

- Private School Enrollment
- Public School Enrollment
- Student Population



Student and public school enrollment decreased by over 5,000 and 4,000 respectively from 2010 to 2021 due to school closures and family displacement.

Data obtained from 2021 Census Report for Santurce, San Juan PR 2021 NCES and online school websites

Sobre nosotras



Somos un grupo de estudiantes del Worcester Polytechnic Institute en Worcester, Massachusetts, que estudiamos cómo la gentrificación está afectando a la comunidad de La Goyco.

Nuestra investigación se centra en tres áreas principales: los mercados de viviendas y restaurantes, el sistema educativo y las representaciones artísticas de la gentrificación. Recopilamos datos cuantitativos de los informes del U.S. Census Bureau y del National Center for Education Statistics, y realizamos 34 entrevistas con miembros de la comunidad, propietarios de restaurantes, funcionarios escolares, artistas y otras partes interesadas.

Nuestro análisis reveló tres temas principales: la comunidad se está convirtiendo en un destino turístico, sus residentes deben participar en la economía de los visitantes para sobrevivir y hay una falta de participación gubernamental.

Sobre La Goyco

La comunidad de La Goyco está compuesta por residentes del subbarrio Parque de Santurce, Puerto Rico. Taller Comunidad La Goyco fue fundado en 2021 y existe en la antigua escuela primaria Pedro G Goyco después de su cierre en 2017

La Goyco es el hogar de "programas, iniciativas y oportunidades que resaltan la riqueza histórica, social y potencial" de su comunidad

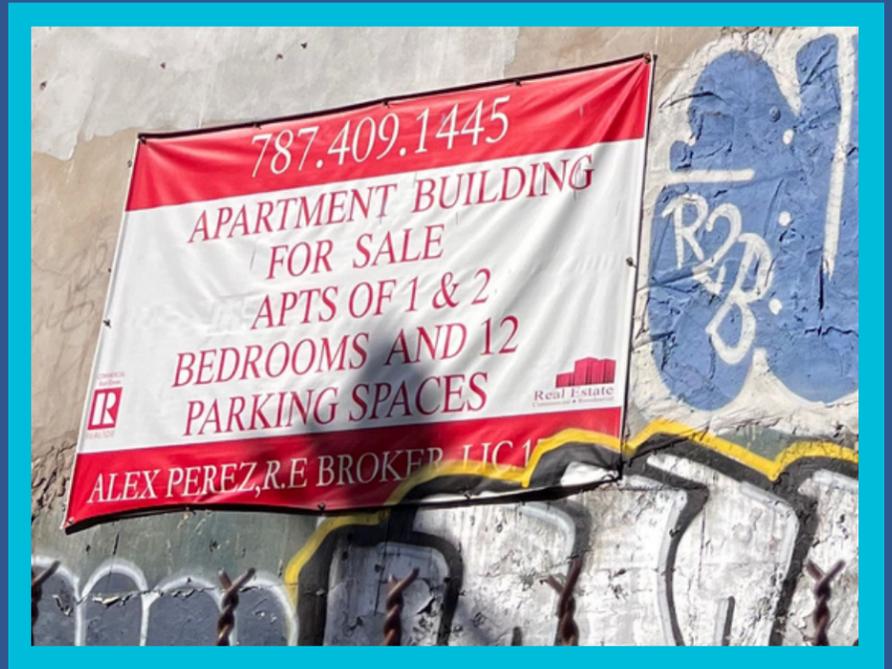


Contacto

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-  La Goyco
-  la_goyco
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Donar

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El rostro cambiante de La Goyco

Un análisis estadístico de la gentrificación



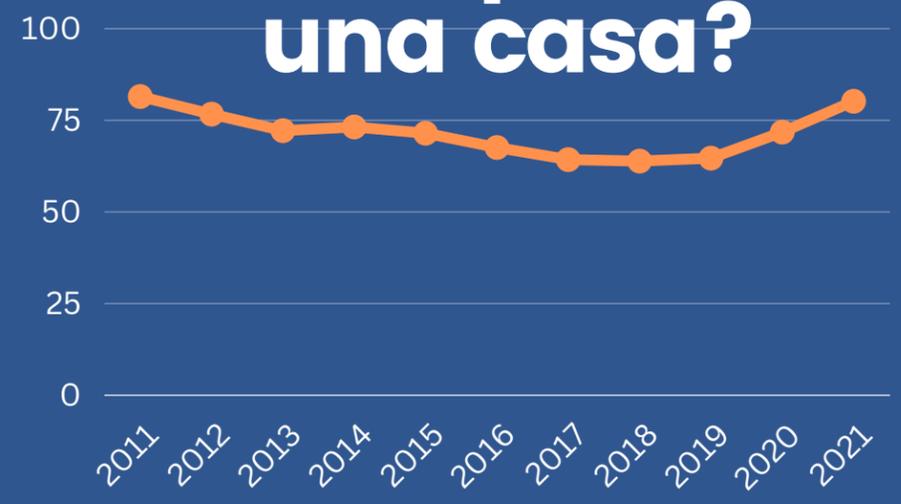
¿Comprar o alquilar una casa?

Arrendamientos asequibles (<30% de ingresos)



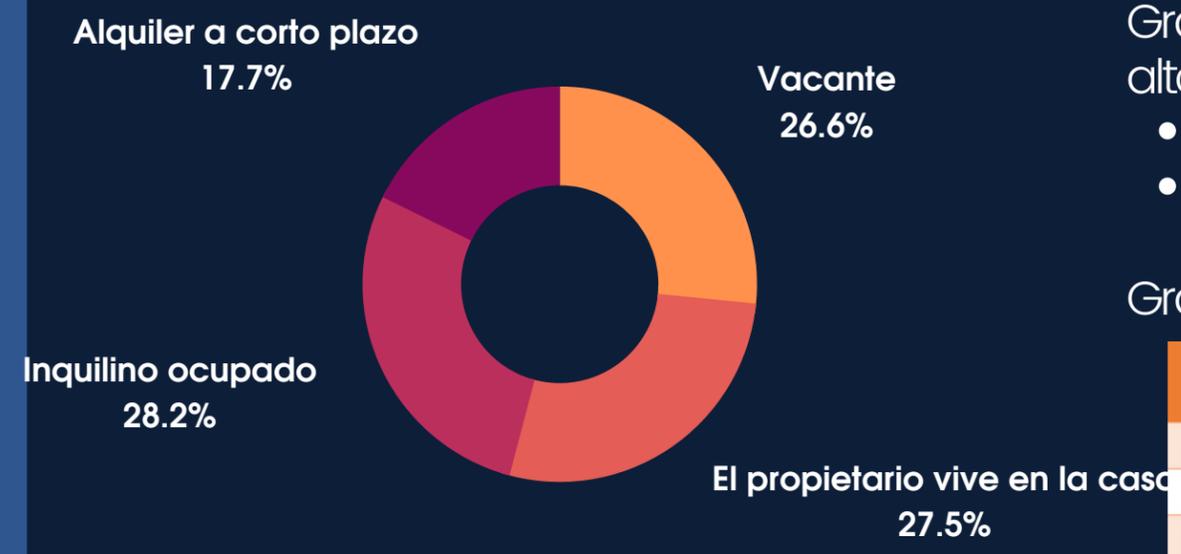
El porcentaje de arrendamientos asequibles en la zona ha pasado del 41% en el 2010 al 29% en el 2021

¿Comprando una casa?



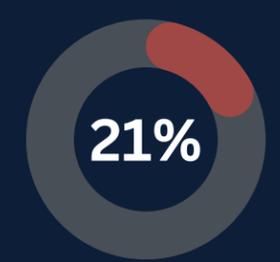
Tratando de comprar una casa ahora es más difícil que nunca, con más del 80% de las casas siendo más de 3 veces lo que la persona típica gana en un año.

La economía de los visitantes



1 de cada 4 hogares ocupados son alquileres de corto plazo

Restaurantes



De los nuevos negocios son restaurantes y servicio de alimentos.

Educación

Logro educativo

Graduado de la escuela secundaria o más alto: 78%

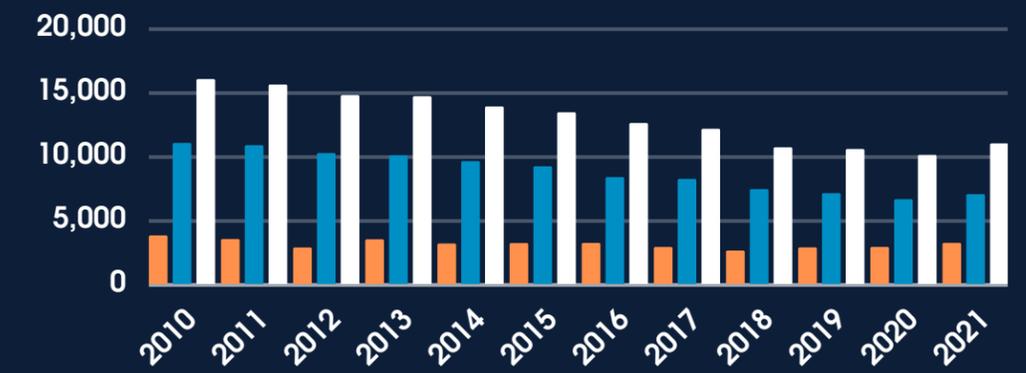
- 21% sin grado
- 24% con un grado de escuela secundaria

Grado de bachiller o superior: 36.33%

Private School	Tuition Cost as Percent of Income
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Saint Monica Bilingual School	16%
Episcopal Cathedral of St. John the Baptist	16%
Palemero Private School	18%

Población Estudiantil

■ Inscripción de Escuela Privada
■ Inscripción de Escuelas Públicas
■ Población Estudiantil



La matrícula de estudiantes y escuelas públicas disminuyó en más de 5.000 y 4.000 respectivamente desde 2010 hasta 2021 debido a la cierre de escuelas y desplazamiento de familias.

Datos obtenidos del Informe del Censo 2021 para Santurce, San Juan PR 2021 NCES y sitios web de escuelas en línea