1	Automated data extraction from historical city directories:
2	the rise and fall of mid-century gas stations in Providence, RI
3	
4	Samuel Bell, ^{1*} Thomas Marlow, ² Kai Wombacher, ¹ Anina Hitt, ³
5	Neev Parikh, ³ Andras Zsom, ¹ Scott Frickel ²
6	
7	¹ Advanced Research Computing, Center for Computation and Visualization, Brown
8	University, Providence, Rhode Island, United States of America
9	
10	² Institute at Brown for Environment and Society, Brown University, Providence, Rhode
11	Island, United States of America
12	
13	³ Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island, United States of America
14	
15	
16	*Corresponding author
17	Email: samuel_bell@brown.edu

1819 Abstract:

20

21 The location of defunct environmentally hazardous businesses like gas stations has 22 many implications for modern American cities. To track down these locations, we 23 present the *directoreadr* code (github.com/brown-ccv/directoreadr). Using scans of Polk 24 city directories from Providence, RI, *directoreadr* extracts and parses business location data with a high degree of accuracy. The image processing pipeline ran without any 25 26 human input for 94.4% of the pages we examined. For the remaining 5.6%, we 27 processed them with some human input. Through hand-checking a sample of three years, we estimate that ~94.6% of historical gas stations are correctly identified and 28 29 located, with historical street changes and non-standard address formats being the 30 main drivers of errors. As an example use, we look at gas stations, finding that gas 31 stations were most common early in the study period in 1936, beginning a sharp and 32 steady decline around 1950. We are making the dataset produced by *directoreadr* 33 publicly available. We hope it will be used to explore a range of important questions 34 about socioeconomic patterns in Providence and cities like it during the transformations 35 of the mid-1900s.

36

1. Background

39 Until the passage of the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act (RCRA) of 1976, 40 waste produced during commercial and industrial activities in the United States was 41 largely unregulated (1). It took another decade still until programs such as the 42 Environmental Protection Agency's (EPA) Toxic Release Inventory (2), were 43 established for keeping track of emissions from the largest and most hazardous 44 facilities. These regulatory dynamics, combined with businesses tendencies to 45 constantly churn in and out of operation over time, has created an urban environment covered with the relic sites and toxic legacies of past economic activity (3). This is a 46 47 serious concern for both community members worried about their health (4), but also regulators and environmental professionals interested in locating and remediating 48 49 contaminated sites. Thus, developing tools for the collection of data on the historical 50 locations of businesses prone to producing waste represents an important contribution and is the goal of the current work. 51

52

53 Previous work focused on developing a software pipeline for processing historical 54 directories specific to industrial manufacturing (5). The result was a software named 55 georeg (https://github.com/brown-ccv/georeg), which was able to process digitized 56 industrial directories to produce a near comprehensive dataset of industrial site 57 locations and activities in Rhode Island for the years 1953-2012. This has been used 58 productively for a range of scientific and community activities (6). However, while industrial production is a major source of urban pollution - it represents only a selection 59 60 of economic activities that leave behind on-site contaminants. Gas stations are another 61 such commercial activity of concern. According to the EPA, underground gas and oil

62 storage tanks at these sites are a leading source of groundwater contamination (7). 63 And while the federal government has been monitoring underground storage tanks (USTs) since the mid 1980s through RCRA, older USTs are added to lists only as they 64 are discovered. 65 66 67 Therefore, in the current paper we develop an approach to collecting the historical 68 location of commercial sites from city directories. Since the 1930s, the Polk Corporation 69 has maintained detailed city directories for most American cities. Compiled annually, 70 these books contain a comprehensive list of area businesses in the yellow pages. 71 72 Because the structure of the data in the city directories was considerably different from 73 the industrial registries, we developed a new code, *directoreadr*, instead of adapting the 74 georeg code of (5). We did use the same custom geocoder as (5), although the 75 geocoding processing code was guite different. 76 To develop and test *directoreadr*, we have focused on city directories from Providence, 77 78 Rhode Island. Using the scanned images of these directories, *directoreadr* is able to 79 extract a company's name, address, and business type. The data are then geocoded to 80 provide latitude and longitude. To show an example use of these data to examine 81 environmentally hazardous sites, we focus on gas stations. However, the applications are not limited to tracking environmentally hazardous sites. These data can answer 82 83 many important research questions across a range of topics that are of interest to many 84 social science and environmental disciplines, from economics to ecology.

85

86 2. Data

87

88 For the purposes of this project, we have focused on the yellow pages business 89 directory within the city directories. We examined 27 city directories from the city of 90 Providence, RI with dates from 1936 to 1990. Beginning in 1940, the city directories 91 were produced by the Polk corporation, but the three city directories from before 1940 92 were produced by the Sampson and Murdock corporation. By extracting this detailed 93 spatio-temporal business data, we allow for socioenvironmental analysis of changes in 94 the land use of industrial sites, manufacturing zones, or other potentially hazardous 95 areas, such as current and former gas station sites.

96

Digitization was performed by the Internet Archive's office at the Boston Public Library,
and the physical books were supplied by both the Boston Public Library and the
Providence Public Library. The Internet Archive uses a standardized digitization
process, delivering 300 dpi 8-bit color images with a lossy compression in the waveletbased JPEG 2000 format. We convert these files to grayscale and do not use color
information.

104 3 Methods

105

- 106 The *directoreadr* pipeline consists of a series of discrete processing steps that convert a
- series of page images into a database of businesses and locations. These steps are:
- 108 grayscale thresholding, ad removal, margin cropping, column chopping, line chopping,
- 109 Optical Character Recognition (OCR), header identification, entry concatenation, text
- 110 cleaning, address parsing, street matching, and geocoding.

111 3.1 Image preprocessing

112 3.1.1 Grayscale thresholding

113 The original color images are read into *directoreadr* as 8-bit grayscale images with an 114 integer pixel value ranging from 0 to 255, and the first step of the pipeline is to convert 115 these images to a binary format, where each pixel value is either 0 or 1. This 116 binarization step enables us to detect connected areas of black pixels, a core 117 component of many of the computer vision algorithms we use. To do this, we use a 118 fixed threshold across the entire page. Initially, *directoreadr* will attempt to estimate the 119 threshold from the distribution of pixels at different pixel values. Incorrect grayscale 120 thresholds are one of the largest sources of error in *directoreadr*, and its improvement 121 would provide more accurate results. For this reason, we have chosen to allow a 122 manual override of the grayscale threshold, and we recommend adjusting the grayscale 123 threshold of pages with high error rates by hand.

124 3.1.2 Ad removal

125	After producing the binary images, we remove the advertisements along the border of					
126	the pages, as well as lines and decorations within and between the columns of text. For					
127	the sake of simplicity, we refer to all page features to be removed as "ads." To identify					
128	and separate out the ads from the text, we leverage two different geometric					
129	characteristics: First, the ads tend to be outlined by simple shapes like direct					
130	rectangles. Secondly, the ads tend to be much larger in extent than the characters of					
131	the text. Figure 1 shows an example of ad removal.					
132						
133						
134	Figure 1: An example city directory page showing the ad removal process. The first					
135	panel shows the city directory page as a binary image. The second shows the contours					
136	identified as ads by the ad removal algorithm. The final panel shows the image after ad					
137	removal.					
138						
139	Using the OpenCV <i>contours</i> method, we identify regions of connected pixels. For each					
140	pixel contour, we calculate both the perimeter of the contour and the perimeter of the					
141	bounding box, the smallest possible horizontal rectangle circumscribing the contour. In					
142	most cases, ads can be separated from text simply by looking at the perimeter of the					
143	bounding box. However, in a few cases, when the grayscale threshold has been					
144	incorrectly set, many characters of text blur into each other, and the perimeter of the					
145	bounding box can be as large as it is for the smallest ads. To address this, we multiply					

146 the perimeter of the bounding box by the ratio between the perimeter of the bounding 147 box and the perimeter: 148 $p_{adjusted} = \frac{p_{bounding}}{p}.$ 149 150 151 Because text has a more complex shape than the ads, the ratio of bounded perimeter to 152 contour perimeter is much lower for text than for ads, and it helps separate the text from 153 the ads. Once we have identified the contours around the ads, we remove any black 154 pixels within the bounding box around those contours. 155 156 In most cases, the ads around the edge of the page are surrounded by horizontal 157 rectangles. We can address most cases that are not by identifying where the columns 158 of ads are and removing all black pixels there. Even then, in a few cases ad removal 159 fails, and the image has to be cropped by hand. 160 3.1.3 Margin cropping 161 162 163 Once the ads have been removed and replaced by whitespace, the columns of text in 164 the center of the page are still surrounded by whitespace. To focus in on the text, the 165 next step in the *directoreadr* pipeline is to remove the whitespace. To allow for specks, 166 lines, and other noise on the page, we set a pixel threshold. Margin cropping is fairly

167 straightforward and rarely creates problems.

168

169 3.2 Image segmentation

- 170 3.2.1 Column chopping
- 171

172 Each page is set up with columns of text (usually three columns), and in order to 173 preserve information about text location, we separate the text into the columns. To 174 identify the column breaks, we sum up the number of black pixels in each vertical line of 175 pixels in the image. Around the column breaks, there are dips in the number of black 176 pixels. To identify the location of the dips, we set a pixel threshold and identify the 177 vertical lines with fewer black pixels than the threshold value. We cluster those vertical 178 lines using the mean-shift machine learning algorithm. Unlike traditional clustering 179 algorithms, like k-means, which take a number of clusters as an input, mean-shift 180 figures out the optimal number of clusters. As the cut point for column separation, we 181 pick the right-most vertical line in each cluster.

182

One of the key features of this algorithm is to err on the side of failure, throwing an error when the ad removal has performed poorly. The goal of this design is to allow for handchopping when it will meaningfully improve the results, and for all of the failure cases, we generated the columns through hand-chopping.

188 3.2.2 Line chopping

189

190 Once we have the columns of text, we then chop the columns into individual lines of 191 text. To identify the lines of text, we use a similar process to identifying the columns. 192 We calculate the number of pixels in each horizontal line of pixels in the column. Then, 193 we cluster the horizontal lines of pixels that fall below the pixel threshold, using mean-194 shift to identify the entry breaks. If there are large blocks of entries that don't separate. 195 we then run the algorithm on them with a higher black pixel threshold. This higher 196 threshold is typically necessary when the page image is warped or tilted. This process 197 is highly robust, and it rarely produces errors unless there are more serious problems 198 with the image.

199

200 3.3 Address processing

201 3.3.1 OCR

202

Entering this part of the pipeline, we have a directory of images where each image represents a single line from one of the columns on the page. To convert these images of text to a string of text, we use the Tesseract OCR package developed by the Google corporation (8). OCR is not perfect, and it does produce some errors, and downstream text parsing parts of *directoreadr* must account for these errors.

209 3.3.2 Header determination

210

211 The data in the city directories are grouped under headers that describe the type of 212 business, and these headers must be identified. Depending on the year, the city 213 directories identify headers using a number of different characteristics. Headers are 214 typically indented, and they sometimes contain all caps. Often, headers have asterisks 215 before them. Depending on the year, directoreadr selects from five different header 216 determination algorithms, most of which center around how many pixels each line is 217 indented by. Because some columns are tilted, we calculate a relative indentation 218 compared to nearby lines. Our header detection algorithms relied on indentation and 219 capitalization as the primary detection features, and we did not build a robust header 220 algorithm for 1964, the one year in which headers were not indented, and both the 221 headers and the text were in all caps. As a result, most header identifications for 1964 222 are incorrect.

- 223 3.3.3 Entry concatenation
- 224

In many cases, entries in the columns of text are too long for one line and continue onto the next line. In all of these cases, the next line is indented, but not by as much as a header is. Using the indentation data, we concatenate the multi-line entries into single strings of text.

229

230 3.3.4 Text cleaning

231

Most of the raw entries just contain a business name and an address, but some of them contain additional information that must be removed, like a telephone number or a floor or room number. To clean these data, we used a complex series of pattern matching operations. In some cases in older books, there were multiple addresses for a business in a single entry, and we split these lists based on the positions of commas and the word "and."

238

239 3.3.5 Address parsing

240

241 We start by using a regex to search the entry's string of text for abbreviations like:St., 242 Av., Ct., Dr., Rd., Ave., and Ln. in either upper or lower case. If one of those 243 abbreviations is detected in the string, the algorithm searches for a group of digits 244 before the abbreviation. It then classifies the string of text between the number and 245 abbreviation the address and the text before the address number is classified as the 246 company name. If the abbreviation is not detected, the algorithm will still try to parse out 247 the address by searching for the address number and classifying the string of text after 248 the number as the address, and string proceeding the number as the company name. 249

This parsing algorithm is not perfect – i.e. it requires digits (not spelled out numbers) for
the address. However, it is generalized enough to work well across many different

- formats because it is built on simple components of the address that are consistently
- 253 present.
- 254

255 3.3.6 Street matching

256

Because a number of the streets contained OCR errors, we used fuzzy matching to produce true street names. We developed two lists of streets, a list of current streets and a list of historical streets. The historical street list was developed through hand examination of historical maps and is not fully comprehensive. Because we only had a database of Providence streets, we removed the addresses we could identify as belonging to another Rhode Island municipality.

263

Using the *fuzzywuzzy* package in Python, we created a scoring algorithm to quantify how close an OCR reading of a street name is to a street in the true street name list. This scoring algorithm is based off the Levenshtein distance ratio:

267

268
$$ratio(s1,s2) = 100 * \left(1 - \frac{D(s1,s2)}{L(s1) + L(s2)}\right),$$

269

where *s1* and *s2* are the two strings being compared, *L* is a function giving the length of
a string and *D* is a function giving the Levenshtein distance between two strings. The
Levenshtein distance is the minimum number of edit operations (substitutions,
deletions, or additions) required to convert one string into another. For instance, the

274 Levenshtein distance between "park" and "barks" is 2, one substitution and one 275 addition. The ratio would be $100^{(1-2/9)} = 77.8\%$. 276 $score = \frac{ratio(s1,s2) + ratio(LongestWord(s1),LongestWord(s2))}{score}$ 277 2 278 279 where *LongestWord* is a function that gives the longest word of a string. The reason for 280 adding additional emphasis on the longest word was to emphasize the core street 281 name. For instance, we wanted "BROADWAY" to match with "BROADWAY ST." 282 283 For each street in the true streets list, we calculated the matching score between the 284 OCR result and the street in the true streets list, selecting the true street with the 285 highest score. To guard against false positives, we removed any matches with a score 286 below 80. 287 288 To improve the efficiency of the street searching, we only searched for unique OCR 289 results and built up a dictionary of OCR results and their cached street search results. 290 3.3.7 Geocoding 291 292 293 The last component of the *directoreadr* pipeline is geocoding the cleaned and parsed addresses to obtain the latitude and longitude coordinates of the businesses. After 294 295 researching several different geocoding options, from paid services (SmartyStreets) to

free APIs (Google Maps), we decided to implement the geocoder built for (5) using ArcGIS software, with data from Rhode Island's E911 database. This geocoder was free for our use, given that Brown University had an in-house ArcGIS server, but because geocoders are proprietary, in our published version of the code, we do not include the api key necessary to run the geocoder.

301

To improve the speed of the geocoding, we ran 50 concurrent searches and searched only for unique addresses, building up a dictionary of geocoder results to reference in future runs of the program. Because many addresses were repeated across many years, this drastically sped up the process.

306

307 The geocoder only contained data on current street layouts. Providence, however, like 308 many American cities, has seen considerable change in its street pattern over the 309 course of the study period. Many streets have been wholly or partially demolished, and 310 others have been renumbered. To address this problem, we utilized the geocoder 311 confidence score, and we removed any addresses with a confidence score under a 312 perfect score of 100 from our final results. In a case where the entire street was no 313 longer remaining, the geocoder returned an error. To address the most common of 314 these addresses, we allowed for hardcoding of hand-identified historical geocodes, 315 entering hard-coded locations for four large buildings with many businesses at those 316 addresses.

317 4. Results and discussion

318

The image processing portion of the pipeline had a success rate of 94.4%. In our dataset, we ran the algorithm on 2,582 individual pages. For these pages, 144 or 5.6% required hand-chopping in order to process. We designed the column-chopping algorithm to deliberately fail when there were likely errors with the ad removal algorithm. The goal was to require hand-chopping whenever it would meaningfully improve the end result. Because of the hand-chopping, we were able to pass all of the pages through to the OCR and text parsing algorithms.

326

327 In the text parsing algorithm, 6.7% of all entries were dropped as not a successfully 328 identified and matched address. These include both entries that should be dropped and 329 entries that were dropped because of an error. In 38.2% of these cases, the algorithm 330 failed to parse an address at all. In 10.3% of these cases, the algorithm parsed an 331 address but returned an empty string for the street. In 4.2% of these cases, the 332 algorithm parsed an address but threw an error in street matching. And in 47.2% of 333 these cases, the algorithm successfully parsed an address and matched a street, but 334 the confidence score was too low for us to be sure the address was correct. In some of 335 the address drop cases, the addresses were outside of Providence, sometimes outside 336 of Rhode Island. Others reflected an idiosyncratic address form the algorithm wasn't 337 set up to parse. For instance, some addresses were named buildings without an 338 address (e.g. "Arcade Bldg" or "Industrial Trust Bldg"). Others were street corners 339 instead of numerical addresses. Of course, many of the address drop cases

340 represented failures of the OCR or failures of the header identification, concatenation, 341 and entry chopping algorithms. Address drop rates were not strongly correlated with 342 time (Figure 2). 343 344 345 Figure 2: Address drop and geocoder error rates by year. 346 The geocoder algorithm produced errors in 4.7% of cases. Unsurprisingly, these errors 347 348 were higher in earlier years when the Providence street pattern was considerably different (Figure 2). Towards the end of the study period, the percentage of addresses 349 350 outside of Providence increased sharply. While we were able to capture most of these, 351 we were not successful in all cases. Many addresses from a different city were not 352 recognized as belonging to a different city, and when they were processed, they led to 353 dropped addresses or geocoder errors. 354 355 These statistics only capture the places where the code generated errors or flags. In 356 order to fully assess the ultimate accuracy of the code, we hand-examined the error rate 357 for gas stations in three years: 1936, 1962, and 1990. In 1936, 220 out of 242 gas 358 stations were correctly identified, for an accuracy rate of 90.9%. Of the 22 missing gas 359 stations, eleven were missing due to geocoder errors cause by historical street 360 changes, seven were missing because of non-standard address formats that 361 *directoreadr* could not parse correctly, one had the wrong address read, and only three 362 were entirely missing. In 1962, 219 out of 224 gas stations were correctly identified, for

363	an accuracy rate of 97.8%. Of the five missing gas stations, one was dropped, one had
364	a geocoder error, and three had their addresses read incorrectly. In 1990, 71 out of 73
365	gas stations were correctly identified, for an accuracy rate or 97.3%. Both of the
366	missing gas stations were dropped. These statistics do not include errors in correctly
367	reading and parsing the business names.
368	
369	The total accuracy rate from the gas stations in the three years we examined by hand
370	was 94.6%. (This number is somewhat skewed because 1936 had the most gas
371	stations. The average of the three accuracy rates was 95.3%.)
372	
373	We are making the data available for download from the Brown Digital Repository
374	(https://doi.org/10.26300/typ4-nj27), and we are making the directoreadr code available
375	at github.com/brown-ccv/directoreadr.

376

377 4.1 Efficiency

378

Once the geocoding, street matching, and OCR results have been cached, the parsing algorithm runs in roughly 20s per book on a standard laptop, enabling faster debugging and development. With no cached results, the full *directoreadr* pipeline still runs in under 30 minutes per book. Before our efficiency improvements, *directoreadr* would take many hours to process a single book.

384

385 4.3 Example hazardous site: gas stations

387	Because of their environmental importance, we selected gas stations as an example				
388	hazardous site type. Gas stations in Providence typically developed along main roads,				
389	avoiding wealthier neighborhoods like Providence's East Side (Figure 3).				
390					
391	Figure 3: Gas stations mapped in Providence from 1940 to 1990				
392					
393	Figure 4: Total number of gas stations recorded in Providence by directoreadr				
394					
395	Starting in the 1950s, gas stations began a precipitous decline in Providence (Figures 3				
396	and 4). By 1990, there were only 75 gas stations in the city, a decline of 71% since				
397	1950, when city directories list 257. This drop corresponds with a decline in the city's				
398	population, which dropped by a third between 1950 and 1980, the combined result of				
399	job loss from deindustrialization and displacement of minority residents whose				
400	neighborhoods were cleared for several ambitious "urban renewal" projects (9–13).				
401	These changes were part of broader national trends of suburbanization and economic				
402	decline in the urban core (14–16). Other factors specific to the service station and				
403	automobile industries also may have played a role. Broader regulatory changes likely				
404	also affected gas station counts, with zoning having a particularly important effect (17–				
405	19). Because the rate of geocoder errors was higher in the earlier years, these figures				
406	probably underestimate the dramatic drop in the number of gas stations. Overall, we				
407	identified 526 unique gas station addresses in Providence over the study period,				
408	compared to just 114 gas station addresses recorded in the Rhode Island Department				

- 409 of Environmental Management Underground Storage Tank (UST) database
- 410 (http://www.dem.ri.gov/programs/wastemanagement/inventories.php).

411

412 5. Conclusions

413

We have successfully built a pipeline for the digitization, extraction, and processing of city directory data. While this approach was developed on directories from Providence, RI, these directory formats are fairly similar in different cities, and this approach should be adaptable to cities all across the country. There are many potential uses of these data, and we have demonstrated mapping of environmentally hazardous historical gas station sites as an example.

420

421 Acknowledgements

422 We acknowledge support from the Institute at Brown for Environment and Society, which funds 423 a Research Assistantship for T.M., and from the Superfund Research Program of the NIEHS 424 grant 2P42 ES013660. This work has also benefited from seed grants from the Brown 425 University Office of the Vice President for Research (grant GR300065) and the Brown Social 426 Sciences Research Institute. We would like to thank the Providence Public Library and the 427 Boston Public Library for providing many of the physical directories for scanning, as well as the 428 Internet Archive for doing the scanning. We would like to specially thank Kate Wells of the 429 Providence Public Library for her invaluable advice and assistance in arranging the scanning.

430

431 Bibliography

- Colton CE, Skinner PN. The road to love canal: managing industrial waste before EPA.
 Austin: U of Texas P. 1996;
- Environmental Protection Agency US. U.S. EPA 1988 Toxics Release Inventory (TRI)
 Program. US EPA; 1988.
- 436 3. Frickel S, Elliott JR. Sites unseen: uncovering hidden hazards in american cities. Russell
 437 Sage Foundation; 2018.
- 438 4. Brown P. Toxic exposures: contested illnesses and the environmental health movement.
 439 New York Chichester, West Sussex: Columbia University Press; 2007.
- 440 5. Berenbaum D, Deighan D, Marlow T, Lee A, Frickel S, Howison M. Mining Spatio-
- temporal Data on Industrialization from Historical Registries. J ENV INFORM. 2018;
- 442 6. Guelfo JL, Marlow T, Klein DM, Savitz DA, Frickel S, Crimi M, et al. Evaluation and
- 443 Management Strategies for Per- and Polyfluoroalkyl Substances (PFASs) in Drinking
- 444 Water Aquifers: Perspectives from Impacted U.S. Northeast Communities. Environ Health
- 445 Perspect. 2018 Jun 15;126(6):065001.
- 446 7. Environmental Protection Agency US. National Water Quality Inventory: 2000 Report. US
 447 EPA; 2002.
- 8. Smith R. An overview of the tesseract OCR engine. Ninth International Conference on
- 449 Document Analysis and Recognition (ICDAR 2007) Vol 2. IEEE; 2007. p. 629–33.
- 450 9. Antonucci C. Machine Politics and Urban Renewal in Providence, Rhode Island: The Era
 451 of Mayor Joseph A. Doorley, Jr., 1965-74. 2012;
- 452 10. Goldstein S, Mayer KB. Metropolitanization and population change in Rhode Island.

- 453 Metropolitanization and population change in Rhode Island. 1961;(3).
- 454 11. Goldstein S, Mayer K. Population decline and the social and demographic structure of an
- 455 american city. Am Sociol Rev. 1964 Feb;29(1):48.
- 456 12. Zimmer BG, Hawley AH. Suburbanization and some of its consequences. Land Econ.
- 457 1961 Feb;37(1):88.
- 458 13. Zimmer BG. Rebuilding Cities: The Effects of Displacement and Relocation on Small
 459 Business. Providence, RI: Brown University; 1964.
- 460 14. Jackson KT. Crabgrass frontier: The suburbanization of the United States. Oxford
 461 University Press; 1987.
- 462 15. Sugrue TJ. The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit463 Updated Edition. Princeton University Press; 2014.
- 464 16. Wilson WJ. When work disappears: The world of the new urban poor. Vintage; 2011.
- 465 17. Campbell HE, Kim Y, Eckerd A. Local zoning and environmental justice. Urban Affairs
 466 Review. 2014 Jul;50(4):521–52.
- 467 18. Campbell HE. Rethinking Environmental Justice in Sustainable Cities: Insights from
 468 Agent-Based Modeling. Routledge; 2015.
- 469 19. Shertzer A, Twinam T, Walsh RP. Zoning and the economic geography of cities. J Urban
- 470 Econ. 2018 May;105:20–39.



Daughtern of Sulparge-Perserenators Lodge 148 Worksmith R T No H Doughlors of the American Revolution 218 Williams Rhode biland Consistory Chapter Chapter Mrs T Frederick Chapter regent, 209 Point At here to Venetate Association of B I Parenters of America--Grand Court Pratarnal Order of Englas-Froe Asris Easter's Star No 98, 650 Wontminuter German Society-Walpurgs Lodge No. Mailant Ancient Accepted Scottish Rite 4, O D H S 64 Harthord av Grand Army of the Republic-Modern Woodman of America-Pressult Post No L 114 Benefit Ladies Austiliary Legan Circle 10 Reyal Oak Camp No 7614, 850 Wantalastat New England Coder of Protection-Valuation Longs No 27, 348 Wep-Cheef avail Impreval Order of Red Men-Waneta Council No 1, 148 Waybon**benned** Westaduater Loige No 78, 266 Independent Order of Pressiers-Weightmann **Caset Rockambeau 1909 Westmin-**Pellery--Companies Court Harriet No 736 Weylesses on 1 Canton Providence 174 Benefit Engle Lodge No 5, 45 ftp:rw 1979 Westminuter Irish National Prevators-Unity Lodge No 31, 59 Chestmot Queseral Phil Sheridan No 651, 747 W and middation Regar Williams Longs No 5, 48 Lady Sheridan No 1822, 767 Westforv industry. 48 Energy Italian Berlety-Basilionta Horisty Billy Atwells av Puller's av Junior Order United American Methan-Canonicus Lodge No 5, 48 Snew Past Grand M U 10 Chesting Engle No 8, 45 Show Plainfield Washington Council No 2, 728 1000 Washington Knights of Orlumbus 14 Groupsstate av Nakep Hendricksen Assembly ath Cagnes diam'r. Elminarat Council No 11 Hope Council No 200 Trior Council No 45 48 514-114 Providence Council No 16 Westminster Ledge No 27, 48 Planegan J A Council 201 Vennie Distance of Enights of Pythins-What Cheer Lodge No 48, 858 Earne No 41, 728 Westerlaute Wasterlaster Palastina Loigs No 3, 368 Waybon-Robellick Lodges-Emward Lodge No 14, 280 Elmwood av Manitor Lodge No 8, 58 Chestings Red Cross Lodge No 35, 528 Workat at **Ballbar** Rald Grand Loigs 43 Westminster rm Rose Standbly Lodge No 3, 48 -What Cheer Lodge No 14, 59 Cheet Distance of Buth Lodge No 8, 48 Snow Lorgel Owners Institution Lodge No 210 and Lodge No 220, 69 Chestingt Matualong The 128 Westington Munchesier Unite-Loyal Lify Loige No 4875, 220

lan-

Equation Masonie Bodies-Processons' Hall 117 Bulletin's Loign No 1 Mount Verteen Lodge No 4 Wayboaset What Chaser Lodge No II Cortections Longs No 57 Administrat Longs No 55 Redwood Longs No 55 Odd Pullows (Colorad)-Hope Lodge 218 Crussion Cranature **Drpheus Lodge No 36** Number of Longs No. 27 Summers Lodge No 42 Cranation Thomas Smith Webb Lodge No 43 Thomas Smith Webb Chapter No. Robeitsh Lodge-Orand Royal Arch Chapter of R I Presidence Royal Arch Chapter Ma 1 oler of Southlash Classe-Previdence Council 8 & 8 M No 1 Clas Cameron No 1, 148 Workssort Daughters of Argpin No E 148 Grand Chapter of R L Order of the Providence Caladonian Bostate, 110

Order Suna of Stimorge Peabody Lodge No 184, 275 Plainfield

Eastern Star Grand Council R & S M of R I Calvary Communitiery No 13 Bulsha's Commandery

Thomas Sudth Webb Commandery Order United American Mechanica-Columbia Connell No. 21, 48 Same Providence Hebrew Sheltering Society Palestine Temple A A O N M S of Md Jufflemann Provident Fratacuity-Supreme Lodge 243 Wayboaset ris \$12 Providence Chapter Order of the Pythian Sisters-Auftarn Temple 728 Westminuter Providence Chapter Order of Do Acamie Lind Temple 59 Chestaut Royal Areatons-Chappequotenti Council No 1818. \$60 Elmwood av Mohaseuck Ovuncil 1272, 248 Wayboaset. Reyal Neighbourn of America-Evergreen Camp Till Westminster Prov Camp Till Westminster flong of Norway 50 Chesting). Rots of Union Veterate of Coll Wat-Grand Encampment of 3t I office \$6 Elisha H Stronden No 11, 59 Chest land. flotta & Dwaghters of Liberty---Beiney Williams Connell No 2, 728 Wastmitster Bettery Ross Council No 25, 18 Narraganaett Encampment No 1 Chainsput Lady Lincols Council No 5, 264 Manuppa Envanposat No 12, 189 Way beaut United Spatial War Velavata-Loral Commander Cardiner C Sime Camp No 18, Seneth our Manufacturers Lodge No 18, 279 Manifold Allyn K Capron Camp No L Bearfit Swarts Loige No 18, 518 Wastminour Beeting Sidney F Harr Camp, Benefit our North Star Loige No 35, 36 Chalk Mosting Auxiliary of Altyn K Capron Camp Muchawark Encampment No 2, 48 178 Benefit Providence Auxiliary No 4 of Rid are P liner Camp 178 Benedit Narraganasti Encamoment No 1. folgations' Berrites Click 45 Arcade Side James Wood Lodge No 51, 18 Show Woman's Railed Corps -- Present No 24, 174 Denefit Woodney, of the World-Royal Oak Camp No 1, 46 Snow Miscellaneurs Dorvan Lodge No 7, 500 Potter's av Nasmi Lodge No 5, 348 Wyphonot Alumni Associated of B U 15 Watermark Artine Ladge No 35, 558 Westmin-Alumni Asso of & I College of Phar musty and Added Science 255 Deno. Printilla Lodge No 36, 279 Plain-American Legion 100 Pountain rm 208 Automio Mangione Post 55, 135 Course. Matules Hotsen Post 614 Plainfield Naticipal Post (8, 5 Burnatde Euger Williams Post 20, 285 Smith Thes L Reak Post No 47, 128 Acad Lerni Bud of Hope Lodge No 4557, 279 Plainfield V D 18th Div 174 Benefit Odd Ladies Loyal Hope Ledge 248 American Red Cross 100 N Main rm 20 Anti-Halouts League of R 5 29 Waybonand 1988 453 Barbern' Union Local No 224, 508 Waylound Lodge No 1814, 210 Wash ris bill Bartenders Union Local 285, 281 Wep-Westminster Lodge No 2416, 310 Sample Messedine Society 305 Sutters (and a state of the state of t Providence Patriarchis, 218 Crun Buthatty House of R 1 515 6 Angel Builds Hunders Band of America 218 Heusehold of Rath No 43, 310 Craterion [Craterion Morris as Boy Scouts of America, Narvaganova Household of Rath No 1928, 250 Council 100 N Main rm 25 Rottinh Empire Club 11 Westminster other of Owla Nust 104, 71 Stochmond

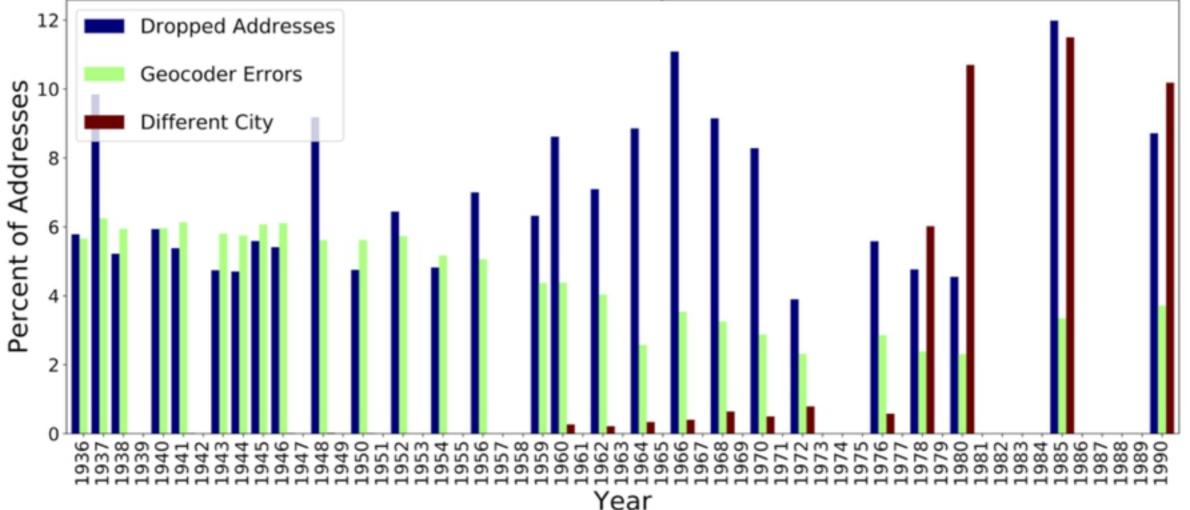
296

rm. 80% Brutharhood of Ballway Clerks, Prov Lodge 47 Wash rm 13 Brutharhood of Unity Workers of NE al Waybonest ros 10 Carpenters Union Local 236, 268 Wepin such that

 Bengkiess of Biolescept – Personancesce Lodge 163 Weytheast. Berner of B. Allerinan Resolution Chase regiont 200 Point Personal Code of Exciton- Treated Code of Freedomics. Berner of the Exciton- treated Code of Freedomics. Berner of the Exciton- ment Code of Freedomics. Berner of Code of Freedomics. Berner of Code of Freedomics. Berner of the Exciton- and Code of Freedomics. Berner of the Exciton- and Code of Freedomics. Berner Fill Henrich No. 124, 191 Weinsteiner Comparise Court Harriet No. 124, 193 Weinsteiner Berley. Berley Derivation No. 411, 192 Weinsteiner Berley. Berley Derivation No. 413, 193 Weinsteiner Berley. Berley Derivation No. 410, 193 Weinsteiner Berley. Berley Derivation No. 5, 193 Weinsteiner Comparison Council No. 5, 193 Weinsteiner Derivation Council No. 5, 193 Weinsteiner Derivat	These Ber The State of the State of State The State of Sta
Grand Conseil S & S M of S 1 Galvary Ostatablery No 23 Biblio's Constantion's	Order Sena of Lodge No

dik Webb Commandery Order United American Mechanica-Columbia Consett No. 23, 48 Barry Grantetory Providence Below Shellering Ballety wangle A A O N M S of 84 Julliorena Provident Fraternity-Supreme Ledge modulus of B I Juli Wayboaset ris \$11 Chapter Order of the Pythian Baters-Auburn Temple 728 Westminster Chapter Order of Do Access Lind Trouple 10 Chestaut Royal Areasumcepted Sectlish Rite Cheppequotesti Contoli No 2028. Camp No 7814, 850 161 Elmwood at Mohamuck Council 1172, 248 Way boased wher of Postschick Royal Neighbours of Americasedge No 27, 248 Wep-Everginest Camp 128 Westminster Prov. Camp 128 Westminster er Loige No 78, 266 flong of Norway 53 Chesting, Sons of Union Veterate of Coll Watappropriate of \$1.8 offices \$45 Elipha H Stronden No 11, 19 Chest 6 mm T in state eighenere 176 Bemefit Sona & Daughters of Liberty---Betery Williams Crustell No 2, 128 No 1, 48 Spow a No (n. 58 Chestaut Wastrolaster inten Loidge No 3, 48 Betwey Ross Council No 25, 10 ett Enrangement No L. Chairman Lady Lincols Council No 5, 264 nearpowert No 12, 149 Way beaut United Spatiak War Veterateasign No. 5, 48 Storw Lorg Commander Gardiner C Sims Camp No 30, Senath our M D 10 Chestings ters Lodge No 18, 279 Manting Allyn K Capron Camp No 1, Benefit ge No 18, 518 Westminour Resting Bidney F Harr Camp. Benefit cor Loigs No II, 14 Chaile Monting Autolitary of Allyn K Capron Camp Brownparet No 2, 48 \$75 Beauty Providence Auxiliary No 6 of 810 ney F Herr Camp 178 Benefit ett Encanoment No 1, Volusioni Bertine Club 45 Arcade Bidg Woman's Relief Corps-Presentt No 16, d Lodge No 31, 48 Horw er Ledge No 27, 48 176 Bunefit Woolgen of the World-Royal Oak r Loige No 48, 558 Camp No 1, 48 Baow Minuellaneous ige No 7, 208 Potter's av Alumni Associated of B U Ti Water-The second secon a No 16, 518 Westmin-Alumni Asso of R I College of Phar many and Aline Science 255 Dennadge No 36, 279 Plain-American Legion 100 Pountain rm 208 Automio Mangione Post 55, 535 theh Lodge No 3, 48 (Descare) Metaleo Holson Post 614 Plainfield Staticipal Post 58, 5 Burnelde No 8, 48 Show Loigs No 4675, 220 Roger Williams Post 20, 285 Smith Tion L. Ryan Post No 47, 128 Acad-V D 18th Div 174 Benefit of Hope Lodge No 6557. Loyal Hope Ledge 248 American Red Cross 100 N Main ros 20 Anti-Halvett Lengte of R 1 19 Waybon-(Bernall) out res 43 Barbers' Union Local No 224, 318 a 210 Crustellot Lodge No 1804, 220 Wash ris bill Barbenders Union Local 285, 281 Worp er Lodge No 2408, 310 beaution of Senite Messoline Society 303 Series bothasty House of R 1 515 S Angel Patriarchis, 218 Cran Solds Readers Said of America 208 of Rath No 43, 310 Murris av Boy Scouts of America, Narragonnets. DO-salation. Contact 100 N Main rm 25 British, Empire Club 10 Westminster of Bath No 1938, 210 Next 104, 71 Statemend ah Chaterm. 804 Brutherhood of Bailway Clerks, Pros. on So I, Int Wardsonet of Argpin No 1, 148 Lodge 47 Wash rm 11 Brutherhood of Utility Workson of NE Caladonian Bostatty, 210 al Waybonest rm Di Carpenters Union Loral 196, 265 Wep Stimurgs Peabody 184, 215 Plainteid in the second

Address Drop Rates





bioRxiv preprint doi: https://doi.org/10.1101/701136; this version posted July 12, 2019. The copyright holder for this preprint (which was not certified by peer review) is the author/funder, who has granted bioRxiv a license to display the preprint in perpetuity. It is made available under a CC-BY 4.0 International license.







