





# **6<sup>o</sup> Place**

**(the expanded version.)**

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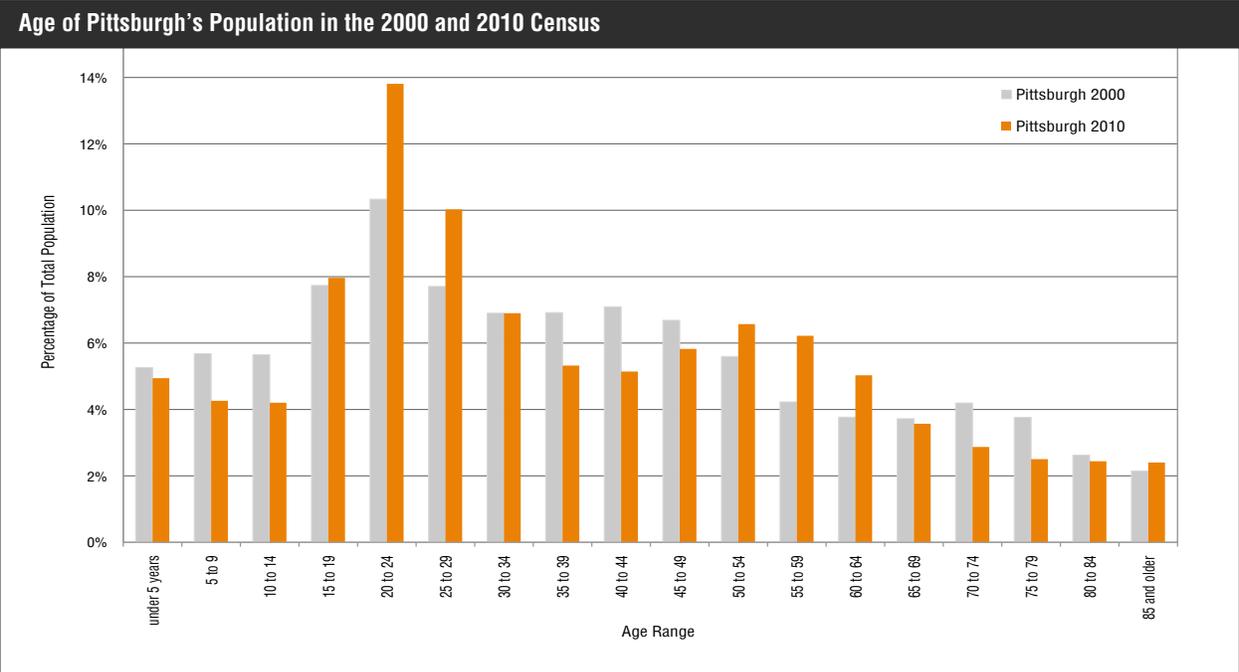
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# Why a 6% Place?

# Problem and need: the big picture



Almost thirty years after the collapse of the steel industry, the Pittsburgh region continued to lose population. Pittsburgh's population demographics, according to the 2000 Census, showed a ditch where twenty-five- to forty-year-olds ought to be. By contrast, the size of Pittsburgh's aging population was disproportionately large.

All indicators point to this fact: that for a city to be competitive in today's economy, it must have a sustainable and competitive work force in this age demographic. Every industry needs these workers, and Pittsburgh does not have its fair share. This compromises its effectiveness in attracting new business and workers. New businesses need talented workers, and these workers want to live and work in a place where there are plenty of other opportunities and plenty of other people like them. It's a circular problem that is difficult, but not impossible, to solve.

According to the 2010 Census data, this losing trend has begun to change. While Pittsburgh lost over 28,000 residents between 2000 and 2010, it gained over 12,000 people in the twenty-five- to forty-year-old age group. Overall the shape of Pittsburgh's age distribution has become closer to that of other thriving cities.

There are some peculiarities in the way the age distribution has changed: there are many more young adults than average, but there are also many fewer children. The ditch still remains, but it is smaller now. Whatever the causes of these ups and downs, there is clearly momentum to build on in the young adult population, and fortunately that is an age group that tends to be both mobile and entrepreneurial.



# Choosing a neighborhood



Pittsburgh's population decline over the last three decades has had a great but varied effect on the city. While some neighborhoods are thriving, others have been left behind. This city was built for 700,000 and is now populated by just over 300,000. There are vacancies and holes to be found scattered throughout its urban fabric.

Because the population need is so great in Pittsburgh, we selected a neighborhood for our experiment where success is possible – a neighborhood with existing assets to build on. The Penn Avenue Arts District in Pittsburgh's East End is just such a place. Penn Avenue is bounded by two neighborhoods: Friendship to the south and Garfield to the north. These three neighborhoods together (Friendship, the Penn Avenue Arts District and Garfield) present the possibility of an interesting testing ground for a number of reasons.

## The Penn Avenue Arts Initiative

The Penn Avenue Arts Initiative<sup>8</sup> was launched fifteen years ago. It too was an experiment. Could the arts turn around a blighted and dangerous corridor? In some respects this experiment has been a success, albeit a slow one. The corridor has become known for its arts activities and now attracts people who once would not have set foot there. However, the initiative has not accomplished the more difficult goal it set: to zipper together the neighborhoods on either side of it, Friendship to the south and Garfield to the north. Penn Avenue has become a neighborhood in its own right, but has not successfully bridged the gap between affluence and poverty or eased racial homogeneity.

## Assets to build on

The Penn Avenue Arts Initiative has produced numerous assets along Penn Avenue that have attracted further investment. Early subsidized projects, such as the arts institutions and numerous micro-funded artists studios, have given way to scattered private investment. There is slow momentum. Can this momentum be extended to the north of Penn Avenue? Garfield, too, holds much potential. Because Garfield is an impoverished holdout in Pittsburgh's otherwise affluent East End, the vacancy and blight that bedevils the neighborhood could be considered an opportunity.

## Partners

The Bloomfield-Garfield Corporation and the Penn Avenue Arts Initiative are partners in the 6% Place experiment. The Bloomfield-Garfield Corporation recently completed *Garfield's 2030 Plan*<sup>9</sup>, a master plan for strategic real estate development and investment in Garfield to be accomplished over the next 20 years. This plan, like most community development plans, focuses on physical investment. The Bloomfield-Garfield Corporation has embraced the 6% Place as the missing piece in its *2030 Plan*, recognizing that cityLAB will focus on planning for human investment.

<sup>8</sup> See <http://friendship-pgh.org/paai/> and <http://www.popcitymedia.com/cities/friendship/default.aspx>.

<sup>9</sup> Perkins Eastman. *Garfield's 2030 Plan; Neighborhood Plan for Housing and Development*. Bloomfield Garfield Corporation and Garfield Jubilee, (2010). Published online at <http://www.bloomfield-garfield.org/pages/documents/GarfieldNeighborhoodPlan.pdf>.



## The experiment plan

Studies have shown that creative workers and industries cluster together in the center of metropolitan areas. These studies have also shown that a worker population consisting of just 6% of creative workers can tip the balance towards a neighborhood that is thriving. (The average creative worker population nationally is between three and four percent.)<sup>10</sup> With its 6% experiment, cityLAB proposes to start with this one simple assumption and apply it locally. Can we drive a demographic shift by focusing on increasing the creative worker population? Could such a demographic shift in turn drive economic development?

Our plan is to draw from the scattered assets that have been built up over time, from existing networks within the community, and from the hopeful urban pioneers who have recently moved there. It will market to and draw people from both inside and outside Pittsburgh to settle in the blocks surrounding the Penn Avenue Arts Corridor so that the community becomes more densely populated and viable and thrives. This in turn will build an economically stronger district, providing fertile ground for expanded opportunities in the arts, retail, and commercial development.

At the end of this first phase, cityLAB will hand over an implementation strategy to our neighborhood partners which will consist of a Toolbox of incentives. This Toolbox will address two communities: the existing residents, and future in-migrants. It will consist of a mix of physical and social incentives that, when implemented, will address many of neighborhood's issues; it will provide a path to a community that is more economically stable and demographically diverse, and increase its population base. Upon completion, our Toolbox will serve as a blueprint for creating thriving communities around the country.

<sup>10</sup> Cortright, Joseph. *Creative Neighborhoods*. CEOs for Cities. April 2007. You can download this report at <http://www.citylabpgh.org/experiments/six-percent-place>.



## Moving the 6%

cityLAB set about understanding what would drive a creative worker demographic to this place. There was information to gather so that we could understand how to accomplish this. First, we needed to understand the existing demographic in all three neighborhoods so that we could establish a goal: were we looking for twenty, thirty or one hundred creative workers to occupy our 6% Place? Where precisely would we focus our efforts? Next, we needed to understand what would drive our target group to select these neighborhoods over others. We considered the competition for potential in-migrants not just to be other Pittsburgh neighborhoods, but also other places within the region and even further afield, in other cities and states. We needed to understand the mindset of potential in-comers, why they would consider moving to another city and how these neighborhoods might become a viable choice for them. And we needed to understand the mindset of the current residents. Without their acceptance and willingness to embrace newcomers, the task of achieving a 6% creative worker population would be difficult, if not impossible, to accomplish.





# What methodology did we use?

We systematically researched the Garfield, Penn Avenue, and Friendship area (the place, the people, the immigration patterns to Pittsburgh, and potential in-migrants) so that we could develop a meaningful strategy for the 6% Place experiment.

First, we determined the current lay of the land. Knowing exactly where things stand today helped us determine how to move towards our goal. We gathered much information including existing demographic data, maps of the neighborhood's assets and liabilities, real estate holdings, foreclosures, gas shutoffs, liens, and maps of the creative work force in and around the neighborhood.

Next, we explored migration patterns and developed an understanding of how people move to and from Pittsburgh. With that knowledge, we wrote a migration theory, the *Chain Migration Theory*, on page 78, and an accompanying migration strategy, which tell us who our potential in-comers

are and how we should pursue them.

Finally, we developed a process for human interaction. A diverse matrix of people were interviewed. Our purpose was to hear what they had to say, both those who live in the neighborhood (the locals) and those who might move there (the in-comers). We talked to them one-on-one and in pairs and asked them to attend larger brain storming sessions that we organized as well. At these sessions, many ideas were generated that helped to inform us later on how to make our 6% Place attractive to in-comers and a better place for the residents. These ideas were documented on hundreds and hundreds of sticky notes.

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## What makes a 6% place?

The economic impact of creative workers [35]

What do creative workers want? [36]

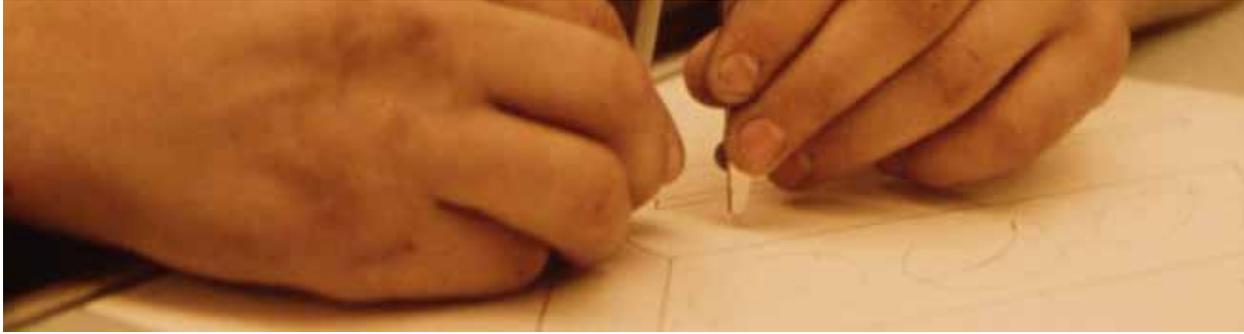
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# What makes a 6% Place?



## The economic impact of creative workers

The *Creative Neighborhoods* study built on research showing that creative jobs and creative workers tend to cluster in the center of metropolitan areas. In this report, CEOs for Cities explored how creative workers behave and where creative jobs are most likely to occur. What they found is that a critical mass of creative workers attracts other like-minded workers and can make local economies stronger.

Another way creative workers strengthen economies is through their entrepreneurship. Creative workers tend to be highly entrepreneurial with as many as 25%,<sup>11</sup> depending on how they are defined, self-employed and able to choose where they live rather than having to move to where the jobs are. They contribute to local economies in multiple ways: in addition to earning income from working locally, creative workers contribute to the economic base of a region by being paid for their work by consumers and businesses elsewhere, and help regional businesses expand to markets farther afield.<sup>12</sup> Creative workers therefore look for places open to entrepreneurship.

Defining creative workers as including engineers, architects, cartographers, artists, designers and occupations in the media, the study examined where those workers live and work in the fifty largest metropolitan areas in the United States. The study found that each of these areas have sub-regions where the density of creative workers is at least 6%. In these areas, creative workers clustered together near the urban center. The area with the highest density of creative workers at the time of the study was the San Francisco Bay Area, which had

6% exactly. At a population of 6% of creative workers, here was a neighborhood that was truly thriving. An abundance of third places for working and networking had emerged, and the desire to live with other like-minded people was so strong that workers would commute long distances just so that they could call this place home.

The CEOs For Cities study is one of many that correlates concentrations of creative workers, occupations, and industries with economic development. This body of research is highly varied: definitions of what counts as a creative occupation or industry range from a narrow set of artistic fields that include less than one percent of the working population in the U.S. to a set of fields encompassing almost all well-educated workers and including nearly half of the working population.

As a field of research, the economic role of creative workers has not yet coalesced into a unified area of study with consistent definitions. Nonetheless, it has been the basis of many initiatives in the U.S. and Europe, all attempting to attract creative workers in the hopes of rescuing faltering regional economies. The 6% Place experiment is an effort to take specific, well-defined and reasonably well-supported findings linking creative workers to economic activity and test them out in a small, targeted area where outcomes can easily be followed and measured.

We take the 6% figure not as a magical threshold, but as a reasonable starting point for a real-world experiment.

<sup>11</sup> 25.6% of artists, designers, and writers were self-employed in 2000, as opposed to 5.6% of all workers. From Cortright, *Creative Neighborhoods*.

<sup>12</sup> Markusen and King, *The Artistic Dividend*. (September 2003) p. 8. Published online at [http://www.hhh.umn.edu/img/assets/6158/artistic\\_dividend.pdf](http://www.hhh.umn.edu/img/assets/6158/artistic_dividend.pdf). This observation was based on interviews with artists in the Twin Cities.



## What do creative workers want?

Research shows that creative workers settle in places with cultural amenities, an abundance of third places (such as coffee shops, restaurants and art galleries) which foster human-scale interaction and networking, and cheap space in which to live and work with plenty of room for their creative projects. Garfield and the Penn Avenue Arts District fit these criteria and have room to foster the entrepreneurship of the creative workforce.

Creative workers tend to cluster together in neighborhoods close to urban cores. The CEOs for Cities study found that sub-regions of metropolitan areas in which the percentage of creative workers exceeds 6% are likely to be within three miles of the urban center of metropolitan areas. In fact, creative workers are fifty-three percent more likely than other workers to live in close-in neighborhoods. Garfield is only 3.7 miles from the center of downtown and 2.9 miles from the universities in Oakland; it is so well-served by public transit, with four bus lines making 356 stops in and around the neighborhood daily, that it met the criteria for a “smart location,” as defined by the US Green Building Council.<sup>13</sup>

Creative workers also need affordable live/work space. This, too, can pay a dividend for neighborhoods and cities: it is common for artists to be drawn to neighborhoods with cheap and plentiful housing and studio space, to which the added cultural and aesthetic value can lend a new sense of place.

<sup>13</sup> *Garfield's 2030 Plan*. p.16.

The vacant housing and tax delinquencies that plague some Pittsburgh neighborhoods are certainly a liability. However, they can also be viewed as an asset. Cheap and plentiful housing stock, often interesting and beautiful once renovated, is a draw for people who cannot afford to buy a house in more expensive cities. There are many vacant and publicly owned housing units in Garfield, which can be made to work as an important asset in drawing creative workers to the neighborhood.

Anecdotally, creative neighborhoods have an abundance of third places where people can meet and interact outside of work. This is noted in the CEO's for Cities study. A study called *Emoting with their Feet: Bohemian Attraction to Creative Milieu*<sup>14</sup> looked at all U.S. counties, and found that in both rural and metropolitan areas, creative workers are disproportionately attracted to neighborhoods with many opportunities for the kind of human-scale interaction provided by third places. The area around Penn Avenue already has third places to offer, including its new arts venues, cafes and restaurants, a bookstore, and various nightspots.

Garfield's close-in location, its inexpensive and plentiful space to live and work, the Penn Avenue Arts Initiative, and the growing number of third places along Penn Avenue are all reasons why we have chosen it as the neighborhood for the 6% Place experiment.

<sup>14</sup> “Emoting with their feet: Bohemian attraction to creative milieu,” Wojan, Lambert, and McGranahan, *Journal of Economic Geography* 7 (2007), pp. 711-736. Published online at [ddr.nal.usda.gov/bitstream/10113/36725/1/IND44300424.pdf](http://ddr.nal.usda.gov/bitstream/10113/36725/1/IND44300424.pdf)

# Our definition

Almost all available economic data is aggregated by government-defined industrial and occupational codes that go back as far as the 1940's, and is collected by the Census, the Bureau of Labor Statistics, and other government agencies. The data is collected through surveys in which individuals or businesses are asked to identify themselves according to a list of codes. Definitions of creative workers or industries must correspond to a set of NAIC and SOC codes so that they are useful to economic researchers. The definitions offered by researchers are essentially meant to be intuitive groupings of sets of occupational and industrial codes.

The creative worker definition found in the *Creative Neighborhoods* report, and the one that the 6% Place chose to use, includes two subclasses of workers from the occupational data in the 2000 Census Summary File 3: Architects, surveyors, cartographers and engineers; and Arts, design, entertainment and media occupations.

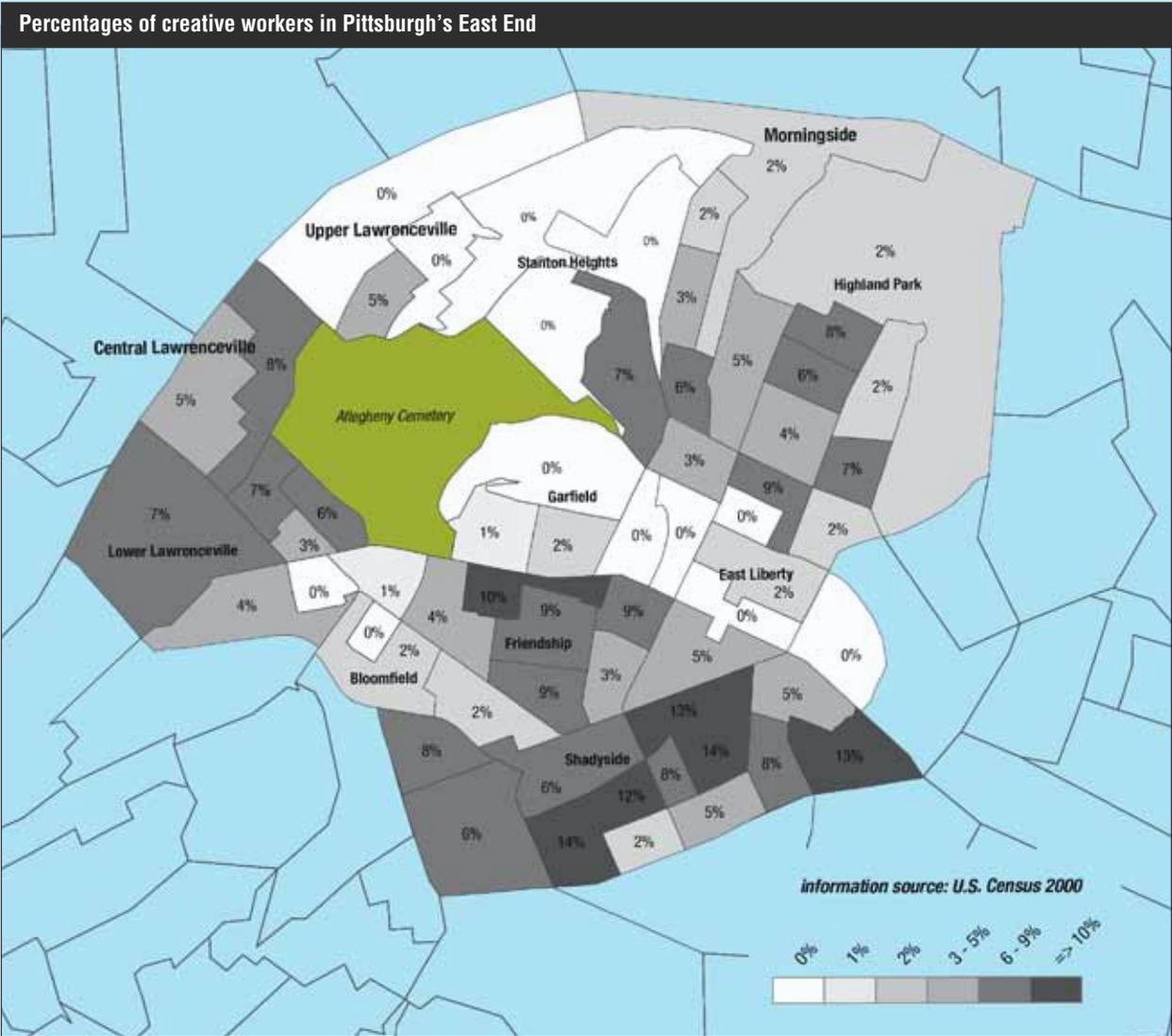
To determine the number of creative workers who live to the north and south of Penn Avenue in Garfield and in Friendship, we added together the totals for these two subclasses for the block groups within the three Garfield Census tracts (1016, 1017, 1114) and the three Friendship Census tracts (860, 807, 809). To calculate the percentage of creative workers, this number was divided by the total number of workers across the block groups for both north and south of Penn Avenue.

According to this data, to achieve a creative worker population of 6%, Garfield's overall population of creative workers would have to increase by a factor of over eight today. When *Garfield's 2030 Plan* is implemented, that factor will increase as housing units are added in and the total population of Garfield increases. However, since the 6% Place only represents a portion of these Garfield Census tracts, we will have to wait until the Neighborhood Census, described on page 97, is implemented to know the exact number of creative workers need to reach 6% in the 6% Place.

Creative Workers in Garfield			
Census tract & block group	Total number of workers	# of creative workers	% of creative workers
1016	405	0	0.00%
1017 - 1	344	3	0.87%
1017 - 2	382	9	2.36%
1114 - 1	307	0	0.00%
1114 - 2	272	0	0.00%
Totals	1710	12	0.70%

Creative Workers in Friendship			
Census tract & block group	Total number of workers	# of creative workers	% of creative workers
806 - 1	406	38	9.36%
806 - 2	819	74	9.04%
807 - 1	582	15	2.58%
807 - 2	442	38	8.60%
809 - 1	459	18	3.92%
809-2	485	47	9.69%
Totals	3193	230	7.20%

**Creative workers made up more than 7% of the population in Friendship but barely more than 0% in Garfield in 2000. This is a 9-fold difference.**



# Inconsistencies

Unfortunately, this same information was not gathered in the 2010 Census. Instead, beginning in 2005, the ACS was used to collect equivalent data in anticipation of the shortened 2010 Census form. However, the ACS data has a much greater margin of error than the Census data and, as a result, is unreliable at the scale of a single Census tract.

One example is as follows: according to the ACS, in tract 809, in Friendship, there were zero architects or engineers, with a margin of error of 109. In other words, the number of architects or engineers could be as great as 109 or as few as zero. In tract 806 (still in Friendship), it counted nineteen in architecture and engineering professions with a margin of

error of twenty-nine. This means that there could be anywhere between zero and forty-eight architects or engineers. The margin of error is too large (because it is a random sampling of a relatively small population) to be reliable. In addition, we know from personal networks that architects and engineers do live in tract 809, which confirms the unreliability of the data.

Given the inconsistencies in the census data available, in the section on **Implementation and Tracking**, on page 92, we tackle how creative workers in the 6% Place might be tracked in future years and how the baseline for this tracking ought to be determined.



## Understanding the place

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Demographic indicators

Indicators along Penn Avenue

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Neighborhood selection

Amplifying the neighborhood's plans

Defining the 6% Place

Creating trackable mapping tools





# Understanding the place

# Mapping

## Introduction

Several neighborhoods were considered before choosing the Garfield, Penn Avenue, and Friendship area for our experiment. Here we found a solid combination of characteristics to build on. Penn Avenue, which has formed its own distinct personality and economic identity, thanks to the Penn Avenue Arts Initiative, forms a threshold between Garfield and Friendship. While there was already existing analysis in *Garfield's 2030 Plan*, it did not extend to Friendship. Our goal was to understand these three neighborhoods together, as one unit, if they were to become our 6% Place. In order to do this, we undertook a mapping exercise to directly compare the economic and human geographies of the two adjacent neighborhoods and their dividing line along Penn Avenue. These mapping exercises are divided into: External economic indicators, Demographic indicators, and Indicators along Penn Avenue.

## Data Sources

Our baseline data came from a combination of sources. We began this experiment in 2010, before the 2010 Census data was released. We relied on the 2000 and early decennial Census data to establish the density of creative workers as well as other demographic and housing information. The Pittsburgh Neighborhood and Community Information System (PNCIS) is a valuable source for local data which is not available through national surveys. PNCIS was our source for detailed information about public ownership and vacant land, tax delinquencies, foreclosures, and housing values.

The table below shows which data sources provide the types of data we included in our baseline for Garfield, Penn Avenue, Friendship, and the target zone. Some of the Census 2000 data is based on the long-form survey, which was collected from approximately one in six households (marked by X (s))

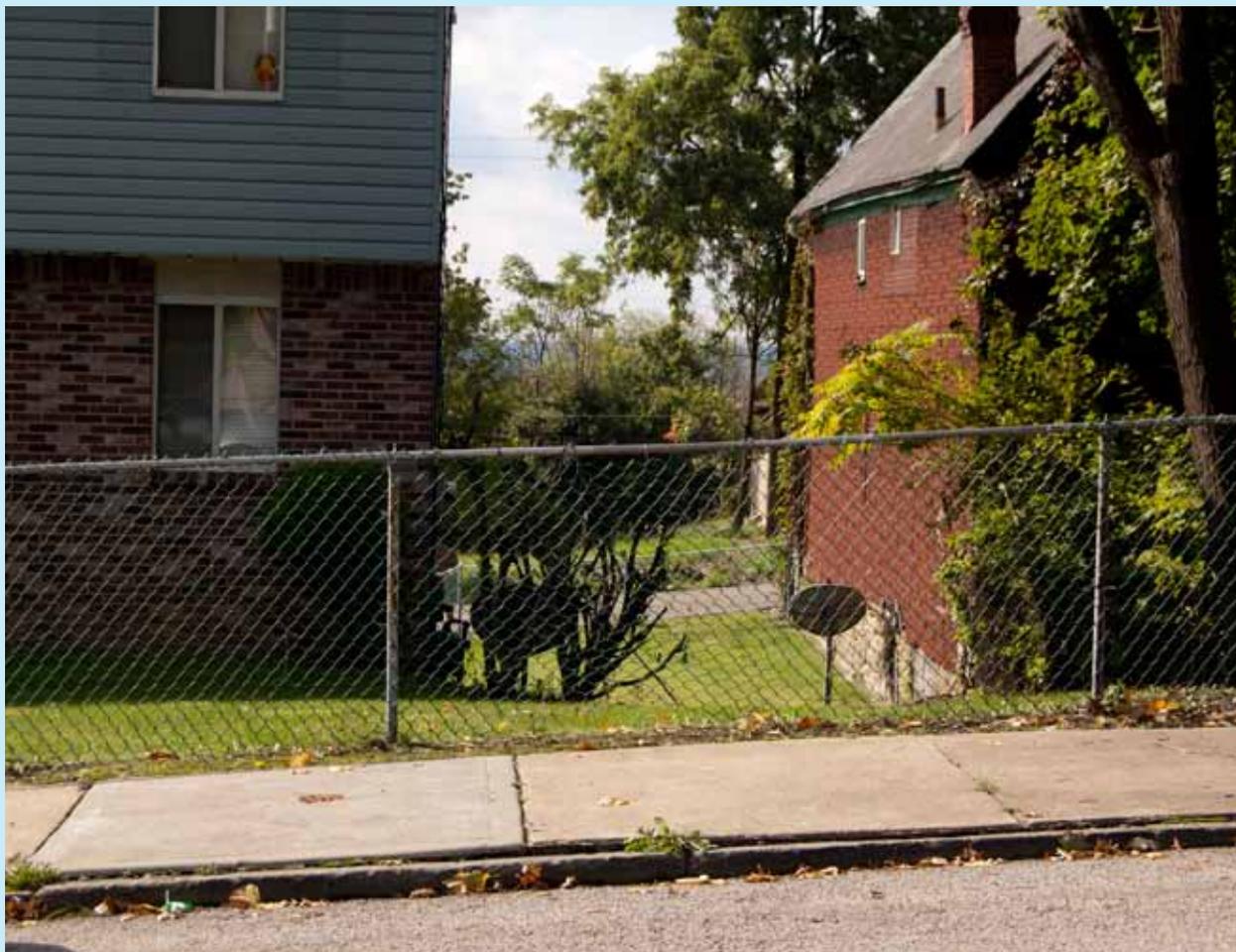
Data Type	Census 2000	Census 2010	PNCIS (local data)	Visual Survey
<b>People</b>				
Creative Workers	X (s)			
Educational Achievement	X (s)			
Median Income	X (s)		X*	
Age Distribution	X	X		
Racial Distribution	X	X		
Household Types	X	X		
Tax Delinquency			X	
Total Tax Revenue			X	
<b>Housing</b>				
Publicly Owned			X	
Vacant or Occupied	X		X	
Rented or Owned	X	X	X	
Value	X (s)		X	
Foreclosures			X	
Property Condition				X

**Key:** "X" indicates the data is based on 100% of homes. "X (s)" indicates the data is based on a sample, usually 1 in 6. X\* PNCIS shows the median income of each neighborhood relative to the Area Median Income (under 50%, 50%-80%, 80%-120%, and over 120%)

in the table). This has a larger margin of error than the data collected from every household, especially in categories like occupation, where the number of people in any single occupation may well be in the single digits. Nonetheless, this was the best data available to us, so we used it to estimate the relative density of creative workers in Garfield and Friendship.

The 2010 Census eliminated the long-form survey altogether. The data once collected in the long-form survey is now collected through the American Community Survey (ACS), in one in six samples compiled into estimates for one, three, or five-year periods. Only the five-year estimates are issued down

to the census tract level. However, given that the samples are one in six and are a compilation of data over a five-year period, the ACS data is virtually useless for our purposes. The margins of error for occupations are often several times as large as the numbers reported. Even if the margins of error were smaller, estimates for a five-year period will not work for us. We need to monitor the changes in creative worker density and economic health in a much finer-grained way, year by year or possibly over even shorter intervals. We can continue to use the local data available through PNCIS to monitor outcomes, but we will need to rethink how to monitor the density of creative workers.





### External economic indicators

Pittsburgh’s neighborhoods are defined by natural as well as legal boundaries. Topography and waterways, along with major streets and highways, often separate one neighborhood from another, so that contiguous neighborhoods can be very different in their character and demographics. The boundary between Friendship and Garfield exemplifies this: Garfield was largely built on a hill, with much of its housing on slopes so steep that they would be considered unsuitable for building by modern standards. Across Penn Avenue, which forms the southern border of Garfield and northern border of Friendship, the landscape flattens out substantially.

Like its geography, Garfield’s demographic and economic indicators differ significantly from Friendship’s. Over the past half century, Pittsburgh as a whole has lost population, has seen a big decline in tax revenue, become older, and seen substantial increases in tax delinquencies and vacant housing. Garfield has experienced all of these changes at a rate higher than the city average and the neighborhoods surrounding it. The following table gives some of the key differences in the building stock and tax base between Friendship and

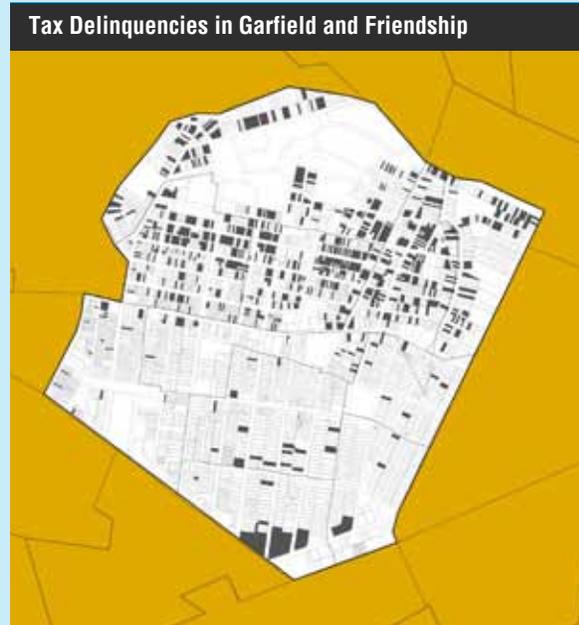
Garfield, as collected from the PNCIS database.<sup>15</sup> Compared to Friendship’s property values, Garfield’s property values are depressed: the average housing unit in Garfield sells for \$56,970, while across Penn Avenue in Friendship, the average housing unit sells for \$175,243, a ratio of one to three. In part, this can be attributed to differences in the housing stock (many of Friendship’s homes are larger than Garfield’s) but even when compared to Bloomfield and East Liberty, neighborhoods close to Garfield in Pittsburgh’s East End with similar housing stock, Garfield’s property values lag behind: in East Liberty, the average housing unit sells for \$125,620 and in Bloomfield, the average price is \$97,897.12.<sup>16</sup>

Eleven percent of Garfield’s properties are owned by the three taxing bodies (the City of Pittsburgh, the Pittsburgh School District, and Allegheny County) due to tax delinquencies. Additionally, Garfield has eighteen times the percentage of properties that have been tax delinquent from 2008 to 2010 as Friendship.

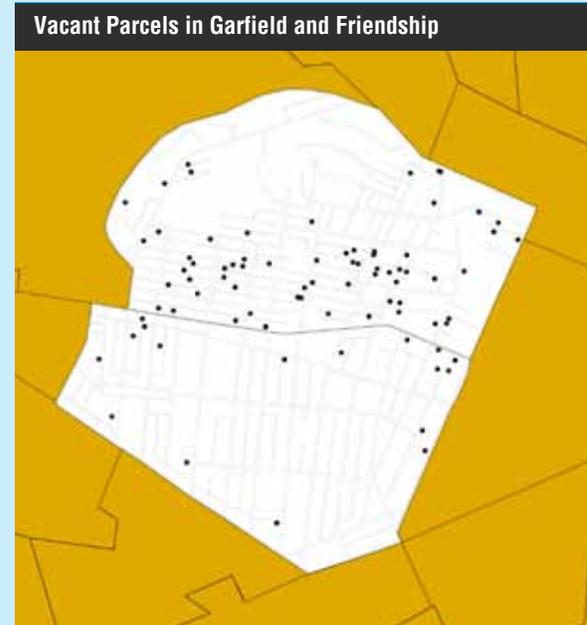
<sup>15</sup> The PNCIS database can be found at <http://www.ucsur.pitt.edu/pncis.php>  
<sup>16</sup> *Garfield’s 2030 Plan*, p.34.

Indicator	Garfield	Friendship	Ratio
Tax Revenues	\$1.4 million	\$4.5 million	1 to 3.1
Vacancy Rate	13%	1.8%	7.2 to 1
Publicly Owned Properties	19.9%	.51%	39 to 1
Properties Tax Delinquent at least 2 years	24.6%	1.4%	17.6 to 1
Foreclosure rate (Jan 2008-May 2010)	2.8%	1.6%	1.75 to 1
Average Housing Value	\$56,970	\$175,243	1 to 3.3

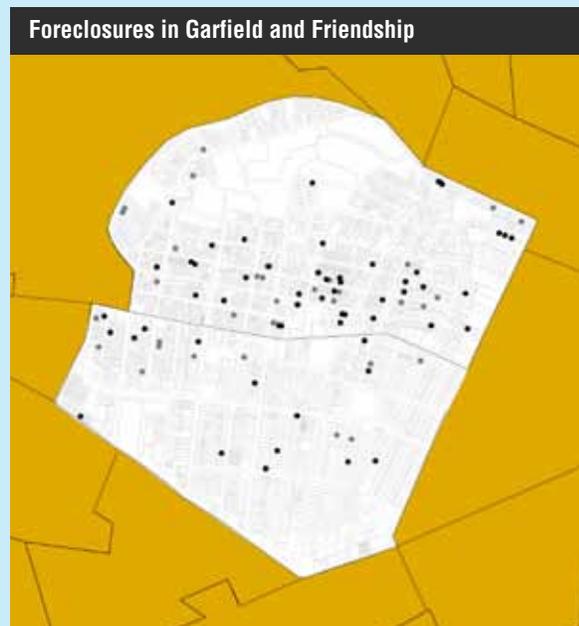
561 of Garfield's 2,285 properties have been tax delinquent over those two years, compared to twenty-two delinquencies among Friendship's 1,578 properties over the same period.



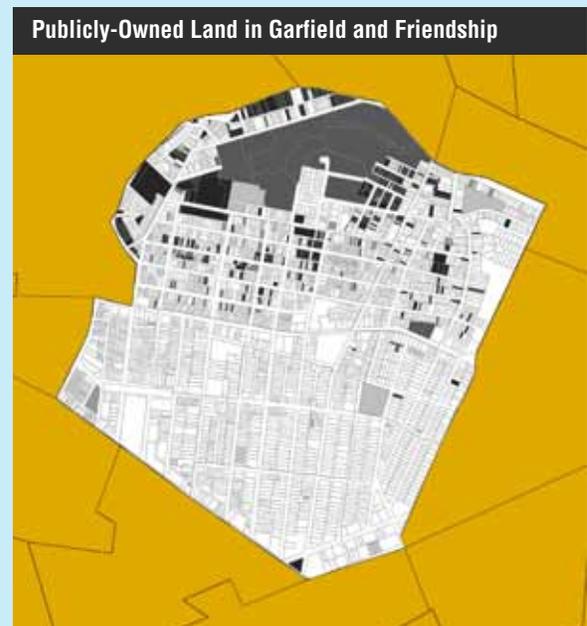
According to 2010 PNCIS data, 3.1% of Garfield's properties are vacant, compared to 1.2% of Friendship's. This means that Garfield has seven times more vacant properties than Friendship.

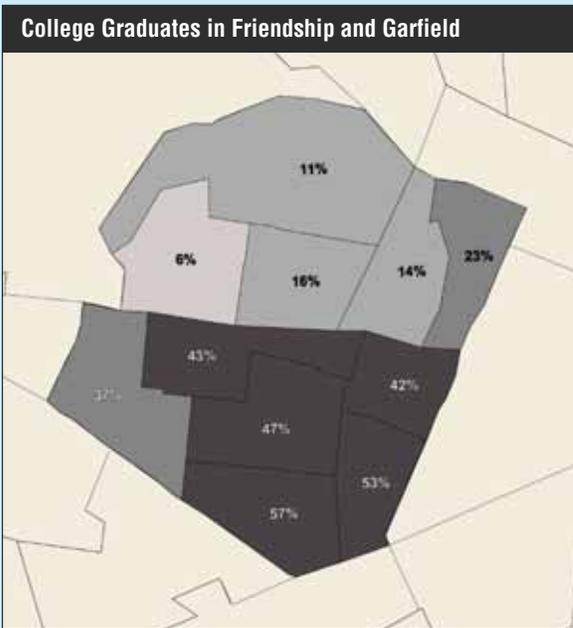


Similarly, the number of property foreclosures in Garfield has outpaced Friendship's between 2008 and 2010 at a rate of 1.75 to 1: 2.8% of Garfield's properties, compared to 1.6% of Friendship's properties.



Finally, according to the 2010 PNCIS data, in Garfield, 19.9% of all properties are publicly owned. In Friendship only 0.51% of all properties are publicly owned. Garfield outpaces Friendship in terms of the percentage of properties that are publicly owned by a ratio of thirty-nine to one.

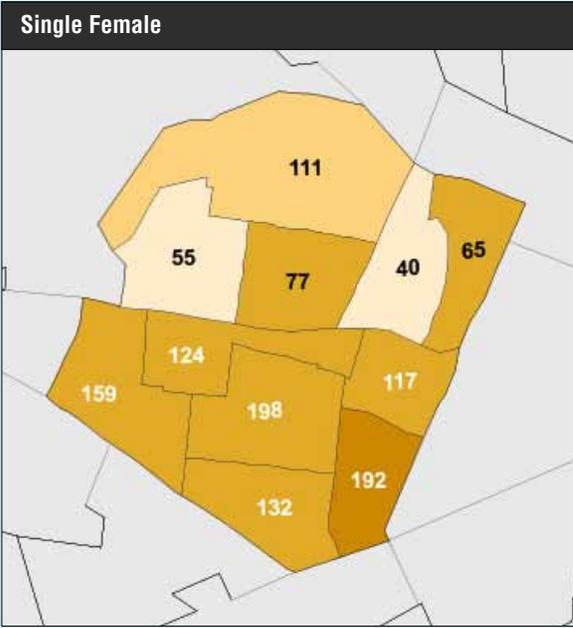
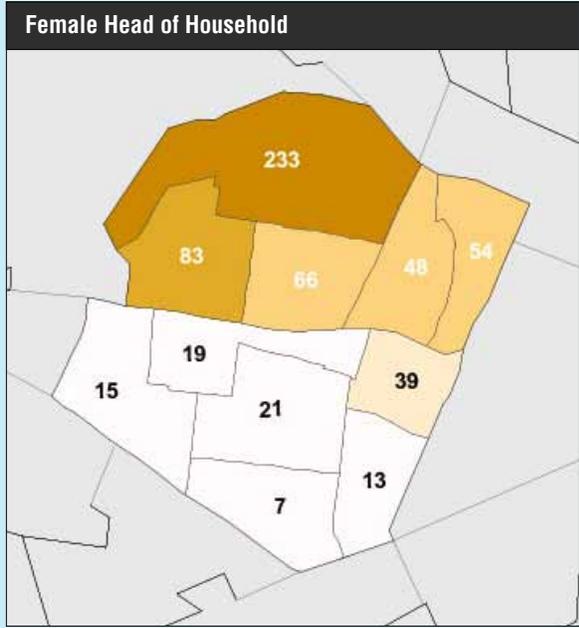


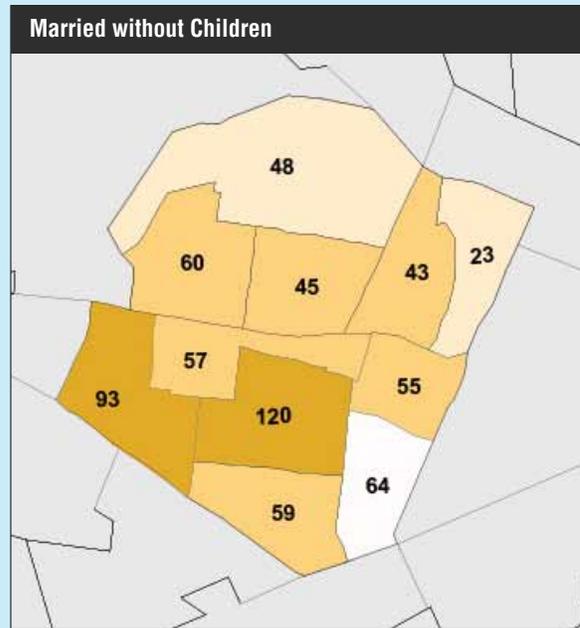
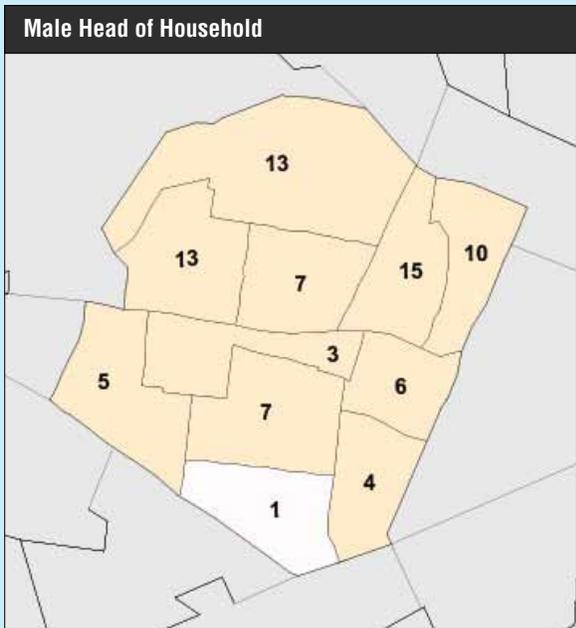


### Demographic indicators

In 2009, the median incomes in the two neighborhoods were in large part similar, except for the uppermost part of Garfield, Census Tract 1016, where the median income was less than \$12,000. It should also be noted that the most affluent tracts within Garfield were located near the edge of the neighborhood.

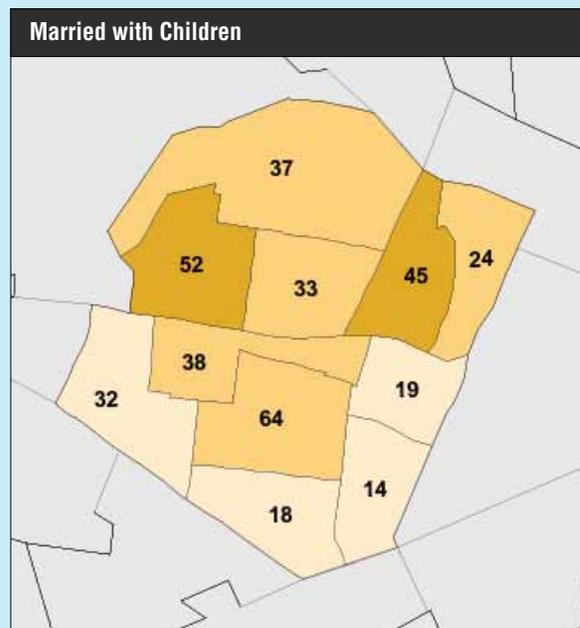
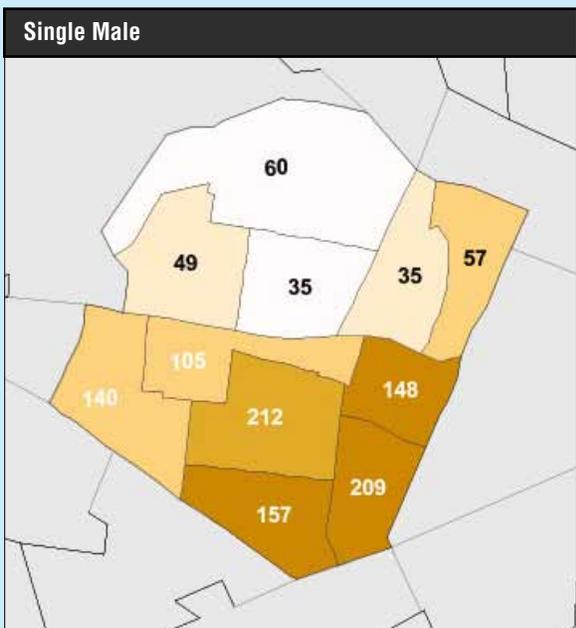
A more dramatic divide becomes apparent when comparing the percentage of college graduates in Friendship and Garfield; In 2000, thirteen percent of Garfield residents had attained an Associates' Degree or higher by age twenty-five, while forty-six percent of Friendship had obtained an Associates' Degree or higher by the same age.



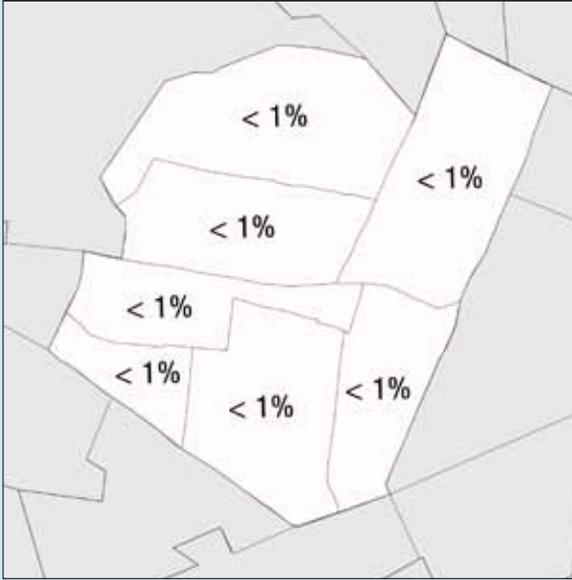


Mapping the percentage of households by type (that is, whether the head of a household was male or female, if they were married, and if they had children) yields further divisions between the two neighborhoods. In 2000, the percentage of single female heads of households was much higher

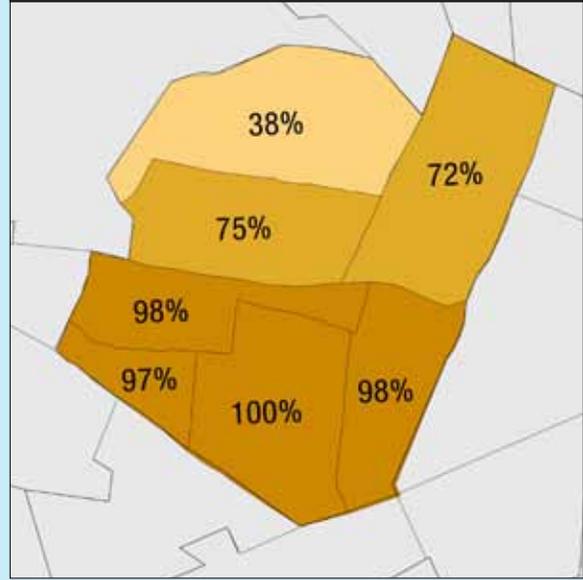
in Garfield, where one Census tract was made up of forty percent of such households. Households headed by women are much more common in Garfield than Friendship. (One of the sixteen incentives detailed in **Building the toolbox**, on page 84, directly addresses this statistic.)



Percentage of other or mixed-race residents, 1970



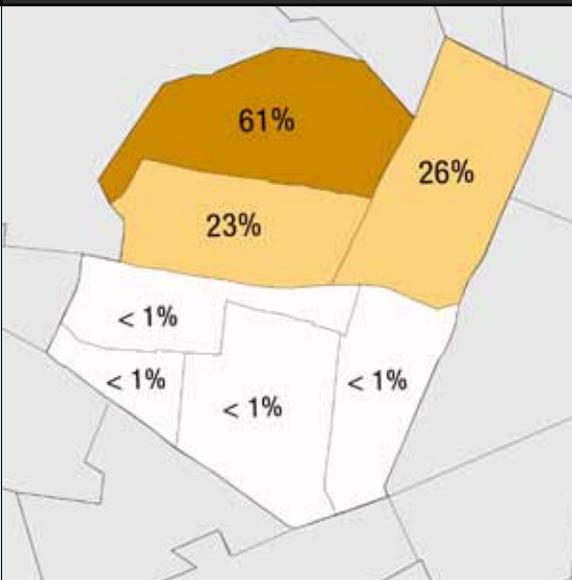
Percentage of Caucasian residents, 1970



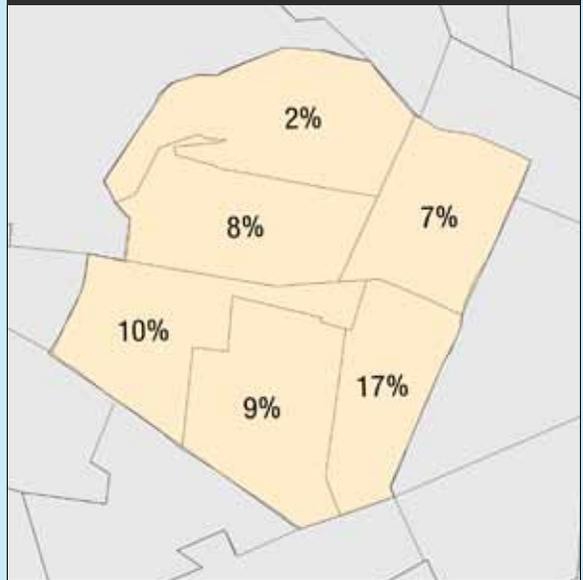
Other comparisons with Friendship are similarly striking. Between 1970 and 2010, Friendship became more diverse, going from ninety-nine percent Caucasian in 1970 to seventy-four percent Caucasian, fourteen percent African American, and twelve percent other in 2010. Garfield, on the other

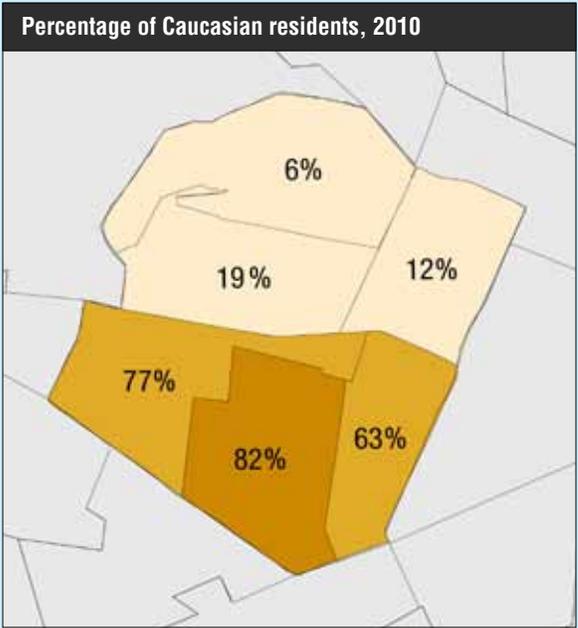
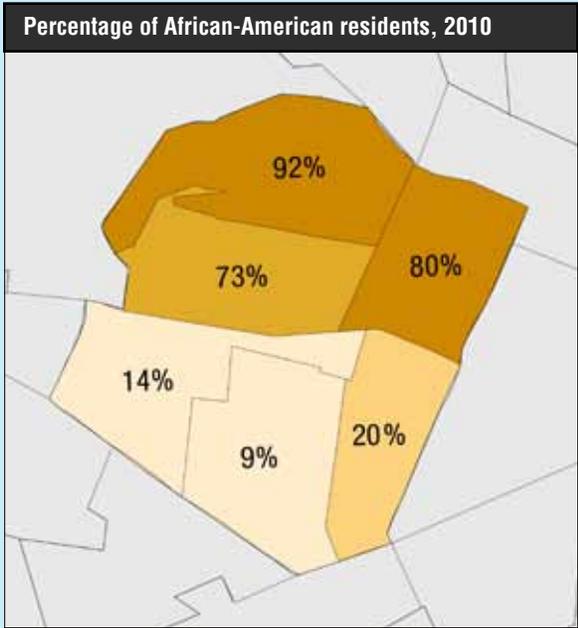
hand, moved from an integrated community to a much more segregated one. In 1970 its population was sixty-three percent Caucasian and thirty-six percent African American; by 2010 it was fourteen percent Caucasian, eighty percent African-American, and six percent other.

Percentage of African-American residents, 1970



Percentage of other or mixed-race residents, 2010





**Indicators along Penn Avenue**

In addition to analyzing the three neighborhoods, cityLAB undertook a separate, detailed analysis along Penn Avenue between Matilda Street and Negley Avenue. Our purpose was to provide a current assessment of the condition of building stock so that we could pinpoint opportunities for growth and

provide tracking tools for the future. We have focused on building condition, market value (block by block) and creative conditions. Each of these conditions is a simple indicator of change and is described in the conclusions that follow.



# Conclusions

## Neighborhood selection

cityLAB's research shows that Garfield has significantly higher rates of foreclosure and vacancy than Friendship, and lower housing values, rates of educational achievement, and proportion of creative workers than Friendship. Additionally, there are still many vacant storefronts and land along Penn Avenue. This suggests that Garfield and Penn Avenue would be a good location for the 6% Place experiment: their housing and economic situations are so dramatically different from contiguous neighborhoods that any change brought about by an influx of creative workers should be readily noticeable and measurable. Centrally located within Pittsburgh's East End, Garfield and the neighboring Penn Avenue Arts District already have many of the markers that creative workers look for in a neighborhood.

## Amplifying the neighborhood's plans

In 2010, the Bloomfield-Garfield Corporation led an effort to develop a twenty-year community development master plan for Garfield. The resulting *2030 Plan* is excellent in its analysis of the physical infrastructure of Garfield and its proposed twenty-year strategy. It primarily addresses the physical attributes of the neighborhood, including its topography and its building stock, with the aim of increasing Garfield's density through solutions including better housing, streets, and parks. The 6% Place and the *2030 Plan* share similar goals, which include increasing Garfield's population, sustaining a viable and affordable neighborhood, reducing vacancy, and improving the visibility of the neighborhood. However, the means by which they plan to achieve those goals are

The 6% Zone



quite different. The authors of the *2030 Plan* recognized the limitations of the plan in the introduction to the report:

“...a neighborhood plan for housing and development is not going to solve...the problems of poverty, poor education, underemployment, and hopelessness: fundamentally the community’s inability to establish and maintain social control in the neighborhood. The neighborhood population today cannot sustain itself or its neighborhood. Yet attracting new residents, while it brings more resources into the neighborhood, is not in itself an answer. Garfield’s residents need to be prepared to have a major stake in the improvement of their neighborhood...This plan does not address that critically important work; it only acknowledges here that the success of the plan ultimately depends on it.”<sup>17</sup>

<sup>17</sup> *Garfield’s 2030 Plan*, p. 12.

While *Garfield’s 2030 Plan* tackles issues of a physical nature in Garfield, planning for the housing units that will bring vitality to Garfield, the 6% Place focuses specifically on who might catalyze Garfield’s existing assets and networks to reach a similar tipping point towards vitality. Recognizing cityLAB’s focus on planning for human investment, the Bloomfield-Garfield Corporation has embraced the 6% Place experiment as the missing piece in its *2030 Plan*. The Bloomfield-Garfield Corporation and the Penn Avenue Arts Initiative have been enthusiastic partners to this experiment. Likewise, cityLAB has worked hand-in-hand with their efforts to better the neighborhood to increase the chances for a successful experiment and to catalyze engagement and development within Garfield.



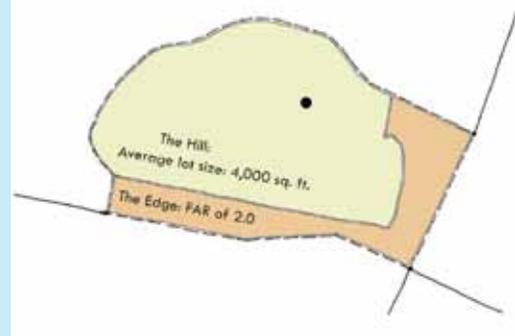
## Defining the 6% Place

*Garfield's 2030 Plan* subdivides Garfield into two distinct areas, the Hill and the Edge, and proscribes a development plan tailored to each area. This plan includes a proposal for greater density along the flat urban section of the Edge which hugs Penn Avenue. At least one hundred of the first housing units are to be developed here. As *Garfield's 2030 Plan* states, "the difference between these two major sections of the neighborhood relates strongly not only to topography, but also to both use and density."<sup>18</sup>

This demarcation is another example where the goals of *Garfield's 2030 Plan* and 6% Place coincide. Since the amenities that exist along Penn Avenue are more likely to drive our creative group, our 6% Place will be defined a little more narrowly, to focus on the urban edge to the north of Penn Avenue and to include Penn Avenue's southern facade. The architectural diversity that *Garfield's 2030 Plan* suggest

<sup>18</sup> *Garfield's 2030 Plan*, p. 19.

### The Hill and the Edge



for sites in the Edge, concentrating on "smaller urban prototypes, including a variety of single-floor apartments (both small and large)" are also likely to attract creative works to the 6% Place.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>19</sup> *Garfield's 2030 Plan*, p. 82,



## Creating trackable mapping tools

cityLAB has created Tracking Tools for the 6% Place in the form of Google's Fusion Tables API (Fusion Tables), which generate maps from an easy-to-update database. These maps are at the level of Census tract, block or land parcel, and will allow the community to easily track changes over time. The following indicators, which we believe are essential for tracking the 6% Place as it catalyzes, have been translated into Tracking Tools and can be found at <http://www.citylabpgh.org/experiments/six-percent-tracking-tools/>.

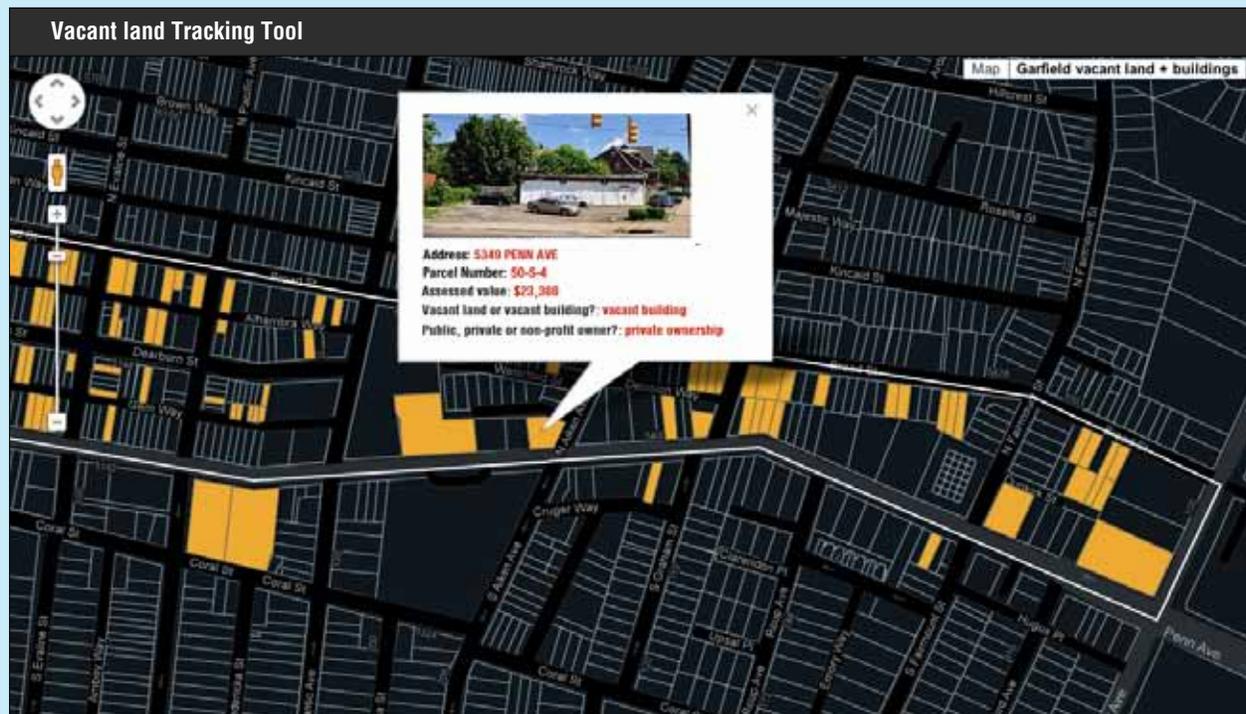
### Number of creative workers in the 6% Place

Tracking the number of creative workers in the 6% Place will be the primary indicator used to measure its success. As described previously (see **Inconsistencies** on page 39), the existing metrics (the Census and the ACS) don't measure the number of creative workers accurately on a tract-by-

tract level. Consequently, we propose implementing a creative census in the 6% Place. A detailed description of the census implementation can be found in **Implementation and tracking**, on page 92. A rise in the number of creative workers, along with an improvement in other economic indicators will strengthen our hypothesis that 6% may be an economic tipping point.

### Vacant land

The number of vacant or unused properties is a basic indicator of a neighborhood's economic health. As the neighborhood becomes more economically stronger, the number of vacant properties should decrease. We will also track this information with our Fusion Tables, updating them through periodic visual surveys and other published data.



### Market Value, block by block.

The value of entire city blocks is another pragmatic and easy-to-understand indicator of positive (or negative) change over time. Our tracking tool will be updated to reflect updates in property value assessments gathered by the Allegheny County Assessment. We have aggregated these parcel-by-parcel values into one numeric indicator by block. Over time we anticipate that this numeric indicator will increase in value.

### Age distribution.

Another goal of this experiment is to draw creative workers, especially in the target groups of twenty-five- to forty year-olds, to the 6% Place. Our tracking tool will be need to be updated in 2020, with the next Decennial Census, to track changes in this demographic group. Alternatively, ACS data could be used, although margins of error are much greater and therefore the results are likely to be unreliable.

### Building condition along Penn Avenue.

We have rated the conditions of buildings along Penn Avenue on a scale of zero to three, zero being a vacant lot, one a building in bad condition, two a building in average condition and three a building in good condition. This data, gathered in 2011, is more recent than the Allegheny County Assessment's 2008 building condition scale, which was used in *Garfield's 2030 Plan*. This data, which was gathered by visual survey, was also correlated with data from the Allegheny County Assessment website for each parcel, including each building's address and block and lot number. The condition of the buildings in the 6% Place will be updated by periodic visual surveys of the area.



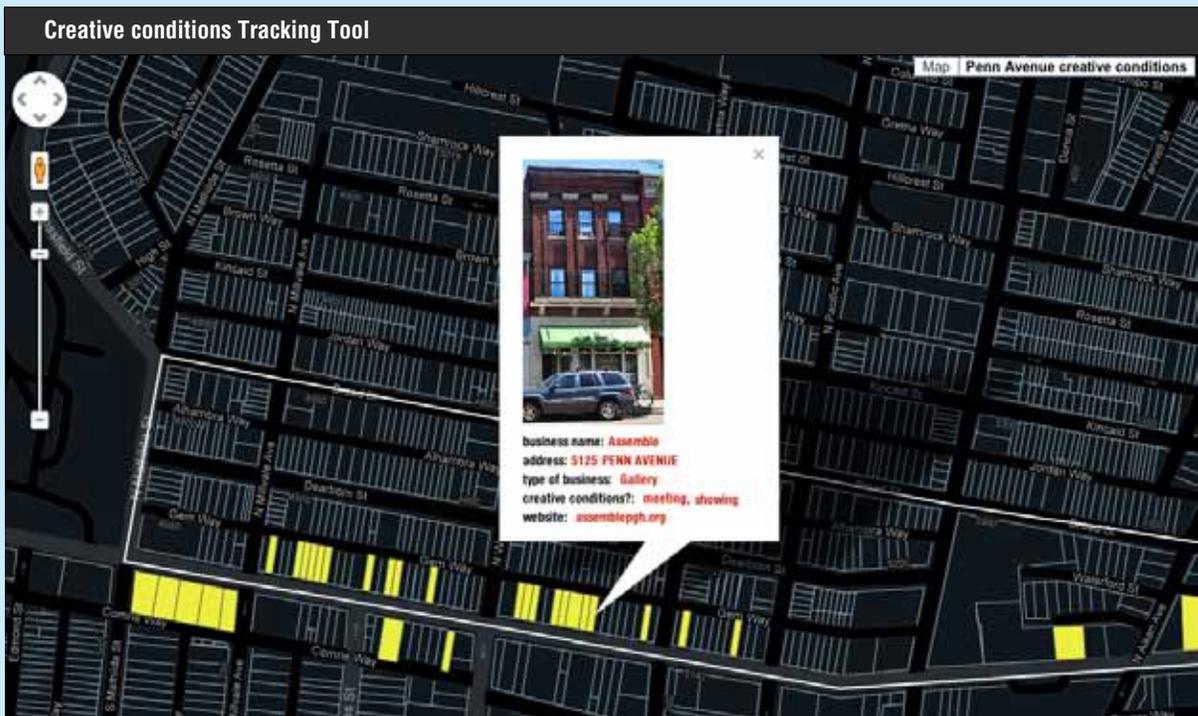
### Creative conditions along Penn Avenue.

We also want to track the conditions that creative workers need to thrive. The trackable creative conditions along Penn Avenue, will include the number of third places, creative work places, places where creative work is displayed, places to assemble and unique signage. These indicators will be updated by periodic visual surveys of the neighborhood, resulting in updates to our tracking tools.

Why these indicators? Third places are anchors of community life outside of home and work. Examples of third places are coffee shops, book stores, churches and

social clubs. Tracking places where creative workers meet, work, and show their work, both track the development of the Avenue and act as standalone web content that can be used to market and increase interest in the area. Places to meet, work, and show will be collected via visual surveys and user-submitted suggestions.

By using cityLAB's tracking tools, the community will be able to continuously update and track these important indicators as the 6% Place begins to catalyze. We expect that these maps will both track change in the neighborhood as well as attracting attention to it.





## Understanding the people

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The in-comers

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# Understanding the people



# Introduction

Who understands the landscape of Garfield and Penn Avenue better than those who live and work there? Who knows better than recent in-migrants the reasons why people move to other cities? cityLAB conducted interviews and held focus groups so that we could learn more about the experience and attitudes of both current residents (the locals) and those who might move to Garfield in the future (the in-comers). First, we researched how Garfield residents feel about their neighborhood and what they consider the most important factors in the quality of their community. Next, we identified populations of potential creative in-comers to understand what factors would carry the most weight in their decision to move to a new location. Finally, we elicited ideas from all of these people on how to make Garfield and Penn Avenue a more attractive place.

The key was to design a process in which the locals and in-comers could articulate how they felt clearly, without any pressure to say what they thought we might want to hear. With the help of Plot<sup>20</sup>, an innovation agency who specializes in human design interaction, we designed a process that would help us to elicit honest and useful information.

<sup>20</sup> Read more about Plot at [www.plotsite.net](http://www.plotsite.net).

# Conducting the interviews

There were several factors that determined the direction our interviews took. It was important for cityLAB to be able to have a candid and honest conversation with people to understand their deep-seated attitudes towards creative workers, change in Garfield, and Pittsburgh in general. In groups, people tend to give the answers they think you want, rather than their honest opinion. Perhaps this is because they don't want to say bad things or perhaps because what they say may make them look bad. To encourage as much honesty and transparency as possible, we chose to conduct one-on-one interviews. We also urged interviewees to bring a friend. Sometimes, someone close can help to give perspective and will keep the interview more honest.

We wanted to be sure that we interviewed the right people. The success of a project that aims to bring about a big change depends largely on two groups of people: those who have a strongly positive view of the change (early adopters) and those who strongly oppose it. The majority of people will be swayed by these two extreme groups, so it is important to understand what motivates them and what might change their mind. Accordingly, we wanted to interview both locals with both strongly positive and strongly negative attitudes towards in-comers.



With this in mind, we identified types of locals and in-comers to interview who represented both strong attitudes and the potential intersection of current local residents and potential creative workers. We included typical demographic groups in Garfield, including African-American single mothers, professionals and nonprofessionals, entrepreneurs, and successful artists in the neighborhood. We also included creative workers who might move or have already moved to Pittsburgh.

Our creative in-comer group was largely defined by our *Chain Migration Theory*, described further in **Building a Migration Strategy**, on page 78. They were represented by three groups: newcomers to Pittsburgh, people who have previously lived in Pittsburgh and chose to move back, and people in other cities who were contemplating a move to Pittsburgh. For each of these in-comer groups, we looked for people who are adventurous of spirit and are committed to making a move in the future or have already done so.

We focused our efforts on finding potential in-comers from Los Angeles, New York, and Washington, D.C. These are the cities that our *Chain Migration Theory* has pinpointed as the key cities to focus on. We looked for people who already have some ties to Pittsburgh: either they grew up here, went to school here, worked here at some point, or have friends and family here. Most people who move to Pittsburgh have some sort of previous connection with it, and research shows that these people are the most likely to make such a move. The table below describes the matrix of people we sought to interview. We used a variety of channels and relationships to find them, including people we knew in the area, organizations, social media, and word-of-mouth.

A set of interactions were designed around our initial hunches: that people want different things depending on their life-stage; that there are resources that exist and have to be added to attract creative workers; and that family and friends may play a big part in whether people move to a new place and stay there.

The types of locals and incomers identified for interviews

	Positive towards in-comers	Negative towards in-comers	Positive or negative	Local to Pgh	Returned to Pgh	New to Pgh	In LA, DC or NY
Single black mother	2 people						
Black non-professional		2 people					
White professional		2 people					
Black entrepreneur			2 people				
Successful black artist				1 person			
Creative + have family here					1 person		
Creative + studied here					1 person		
Creative + came for work						1 person	
Creative + came for friends						1 person	
Creative + had a vision						1 person	
Adventurous type - thinking about moving here							2 people

# “I don’t want Garfield to become Friendship 2.”

## The locals

The interviews were conducted more as a conversation than a series of questions, in order not to elicit specific responses. The core questions were: Tell us about yourself and your experience in Garfield. What do you love? What do you hate? What has been the best part of your experience here? And what has been the worst part? Tell us about your neighbors and their attitude towards change in Garfield. What kind of change would improve your experience in Garfield the most? What things matter to you most about the neighborhood you live in? What is missing in Garfield? What sort of amenities, facilities and services would make Garfield a better place to live?

In addition, we asked African-American artists living in Garfield: What does a black artist need from the city in order to do well? What would make your life better?

## What we heard

Locals told us that Garfield needs to be a better place to attract the 6% of creative workers we are looking for. While some residents have a strong emotional connection to Garfield and like it, others told us that there is not much reason to live there: houses are in poor condition, there is too much vacant land, it is dirty, crime is a problem, and there is little support

for family and youth. Many of Garfield’s men are unemployed and they have little access to employment opportunities.

Alarmingly, while the Penn Avenue Arts Initiative’s mandate was to bridge the divide between Friendship and Garfield, many of our respondents felt it has had a divisive effect. There is a poor connection between the activity on Penn Avenue and the neighborhood of Garfield. Garfield residents feel that they have little ownership of the Avenue. They feel left out. The bright spot in all of this is that many residents in Garfield appreciate the arts activity and want be more connected to it. They also yearn for access to entrepreneurial opportunities. Entrepreneurism and creativity matter a lot to the locals.

Children were mentioned in every conversation we had. In Garfield, as of the 2010 Census, twenty-eight percent of the population is under eighteen. Garfield has a higher percentage of children and youth in this demographic than any other neighborhood in Pittsburgh. Family is important to the residents of Garfield as are resources for their children.

Finally, just as our maps have indicated, diversity is also an issue. The neighborhood is substantially African-American. Some of the residents say they want to keep it that way, while others wish for more diversity.



- Tell us about you and the area; yourself, your family + your work.
- tell us about Garfield, what do you love, what do you hate?
- tell us about your neighbors, what are they like?
- tell us about diversity in Garfield and attitudes towards change
- tell us about your experience here, what is good about it, what's bad about it?
- tell us about the kind of support networks you have?
- what does a good quality of life mean to you?
- what would make the neighborhood better?
- what's missing in Garfield
- what amenities / facilities / services might make the place a better place to live in?
- what kind of business networks do you have?
- what do you think are the opportunities available for you locally in Garfield or in Pittsburgh?
- what opportunities are not available to you by being here?

Art  
outreach  
stopped

Bad -  
Art's  
connection  
to kids

Bad -  
Art  
Outreach

Conflict  
between  
art gallery  
+  
community

Home  
owner  
might have  
tension with  
renters

No real  
invitation  
into art  
galleries

Lack of  
kids  
places to  
eat

Disconnected  
Art community  
+ others

Kids out  
all  
night

Lack of  
places  
for kids  
to play

Bad -  
missing  
grocery  
stores

Missing -  
Adult  
supervision

Lot of  
litter

Bad -  
Litter

Bad -  
with the  
housing  
authority

Bad -  
vacant  
building

Bad  
sidewalks.

Run  
down  
homes

Bad  
Lighting

Bad -  
a place to  
take a  
girl friend  
on Penn.

Bad -  
economic  
tensions

Negative  
Perception  
of  
community  
members.

No  
Support  
System for  
Kids + parents

Lack of  
large open  
community  
space

Fear  
of change

Bad -  
Fear

Bad -  
top of the  
hill scheme

Bad -  
inclusion  
in change

Bad -  
feeling  
left  
out of it...

~~Bad~~ -  
tensions  
homeowner/  
renter

Bad -  
police  
perception  
of young  
folk

Bad -  
Age  
disconnect

Bad -  
racial  
dynamics

Bad -  
too many  
slum  
lords

Missing -  
Education  
Opps

Bad -  
perception  
of  
transformation

Bad -  
Disruption  
of resident  
relationships  
by planning decisions

Bad -  
'campaigns'  
& communication  
are missing

Bad -  
Other  
means  
of communication

“The one thing that connects us is our kids and our families.”

## The in-comers

Our in-comer interview group was defined by the following characteristics:

- Pre-move adventurous creative workers living in Los Angeles, New York or Washington, D.C.
- Creative workers who have already returned to Pittsburgh and who have families here or who studied here.
- Creative workers who are new to Pittsburgh. They may have come for work reasons or because they have friends here.

As with our first group, the locals, the interviews were conducted more as a conversation than a series of questions, in order not to elicit specific responses. Core questions for pre-move in-comers included: What do you know about Pittsburgh? What do you imagine your life would be like if you moved to Pittsburgh? What do you need (and what don't you need) from a place to decide to move there? Why do think people make a move? What factors are decisive in your choice to move, in order of importance? Do you know anyone who has moved to another city? Ideally, where would you like to live and why?

Core questions for both pre- and post-move groups included: Who makes the decision to move? Why do you want to move? Where else would be a good place to live? What does

a good quality of life mean to you? There were more specific questions about the move to Pittsburgh for the post-move group: Why did you choose Pittsburgh? Did you know anyone else who has moved here? What was the experience of moving like? How long did it take to acclimate? What was hard about moving here? What would have made it easier? What do you miss that you had before? Would you do it again?

People with prior connections to Pittsburgh were asked: Who did you know here? What did they help you with? How important was it that they were here?

## What we heard

There are many reasons for creative workers to choose Pittsburgh. We have heard from those who have moved or want to move here that Pittsburgh is easy to fall in love with, authentic, affordable, manageable, walkable, and has great housing stock. There is room for more than work and you can create a niche for yourself here. However, just like in Garfield, there is a disconnect for those moving to Pittsburgh. Jobs are hard to find, business is done behind closed doors, and people feel left out. People must prove themselves before they are accepted. Diversity is also an issue for them. They do not want to live in an all-white (or all-black) enclave. They want to live in a rich and diverse neighborhood.



- Tell us about you and the area; yourself, your family + your work.
- tell us about Garfield, what do you love, what do you hate?
- tell us about your neighbors, what are they like?
- tell us about diversity in Garfield and attitudes towards change
- tell us about your experience here, what is good about it, what's bad about it?
- tell us about the kind of support networks you have?
- what does a good quality of life mean to you?
- what would make the neighborhood better?
- what's missing in Garfield
- what amenities / facilities / services might make the place a better place to live in?
- what kind of business networks do you have?
- what do you think are the opportunities available for you locally in Garfield or in Pittsburgh?
- what opportunities are not available to you by being here?



## Conducting the brain stormings

To supplement the controlled interview process, cityLAB organized two brain storming sessions. The purpose of these was to gather any additional comments and also to allow locals and in-comers an opportunity to creatively voice their ideas on how Garfield might become a better place. Although we had hoped to have one session with participants from both of these groups, we were disappointed that only one Garfield resident participated in the first session. As a result, a second brain storming session was organized in Garfield to make sure we heard everyone's ideas. The two sessions were designed slightly differently, but had the same goal in mind.

### The in-comers

The simple notion behind the first brain storming event was that creativity can be encouraged by pairing familiar things in unfamiliar and unexpected ways. Think of a matrix with peanut butter and bacon across the top as well as down the side. Each is a familiar item. Together, peanut butter and chocolate make peanut butter cups, something entirely new and unexpected—an innovation made out of familiar ingredients.

### Attendees

Approximately twenty people attended this session. Despite best efforts, the group was not culturally diverse. The group included numerous in-comers to Pittsburgh, entrepreneurs and creative workers and consisted primarily of twenty-five-to forty-year-olds, the demographic we are targeting.

### Process

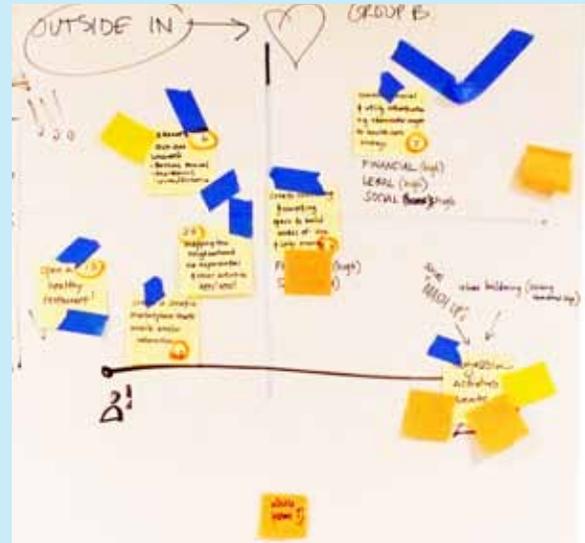
To encourage creative thinking about Garfield, attendees were split into four teams. Each team was asked to pair community development-type items on a large matrix on the wall. Each team shared the same categories down one side of their matrix, but different categories across the top. They looked like the matrices on the opposite page.

Everyone worked individually at first, quickly writing ideas onto sticky notes and placing them in the appropriate box on their team's matrix. Soon, the wall was covered with ideas, hundreds of them. Next, these ideas were culled and organized: each group worked together for a shorter period of time, organizing the ideas they had generated into clusters.

Ideas that had the most strength and interest became readily apparent as sticky notes layered each other in thick circles.

The final step in this fast-paced exercise focused the ideas even further. Each team selected their five strongest ideas and placed them on yet another matrix, this one prioritizing them from easiest to the hardest to implement. And then the pitch was made: each team leader stood up and pitched their team's best and strongest ideas.

Within the space of three hours, a group of twenty people had generated hundreds of ideas and had begun to think through the implementation of twenty of them. See Appendix A: **The Matrix of incentives**, on page 104, for a complete list of ideas generated at both brainstorming sessions and through cityLAB research.



**Team A's matrix contained the following categories:**

TEAM A	How do we skill up the community?	The missing black owned business	How do we get regular positive feed back?	How we accept & celebrate new faces?	No or few multicultural experiences	How does our commnity change the world?	How do I take part?	Wild card
\$\$\$								
Social network								
Property								
Gaming								
Healthy living								
Mobile Tech								
Crowd sourced								
Wild card								

**Team B, C, and D's questions and ideas across the top were:**

TEAM B	How do I find others like me?	How do I find a new part of my life story?	There is a need for a creative marketplace.	How do I use the 'burgh as a stepping stone?	How do I develop as an artist?	How do we create an epic neighborhood?	How do I take part?	Wild card
TEAM C	How do I make my own business?	How do we harvest our own natural resources?	This ia a food desert.	Fractured families.	I don't want to be ignored anymore, how do I take part?	Erase the divide.	How do I take part?	Wild card
TEAM D	How to develop as an artist?	I feel the community is hostile.	How to use the 'burgh as a stepping stone.	How do we create an epic neighborhood?	How do we create epic experiences?	Don't know about good stuff here.	How do we get regular positive feedback?	No or few multicultural experiences.





## The locals

The second session was designed for a slightly less confident group. We wanted to make sure that everyone could join in the discussion and contribute their thoughts. We wanted this session to be a positive introduction to cityLAB for those who had not yet met us.

The session began with a quick brain storming warm up about positive and negative things in Garfield. Next, participants were divided into smaller teams and asked to dig deeper into ideas and solutions for the neighborhood. Each team was then asked to bring their ideas to an implementation discussion which included everyone in the room. The final objective was to understand who might help with the implementation of these ideas, both locals and others in Pittsburgh.

### Attendees

Approximately fifteen people attended this session. This was a culturally diverse group of people most of whom either live or work in Garfield. Among them were several Bloomfield-Garfield Corporation board members and staff, a social entrepreneur, several bankers, a filmmaker, a social worker, an urban farmer, and other Garfield residents.

### The Process

We did not accomplish all we had hoped for to that evening, but instead met with considerable push-back when the room came back together to discuss the ideas and potential

implementation of them. For awhile, the discussion stalled in anger at Garfield being projected as a “problem.” Participants were wary about cityLAB and the possibility of new development, citing examples that have gone wrong in the past. They fear gentrification and being excluded from what they perceive as middle-class activities on Penn Avenue and they want to keep Garfield’s identity intact.

Positive change was cited as being important to them, but within the following parameters:

- Initiatives that change the perception of Garfield from bad to good, whilst respecting the networks of people who are already there.
- Family-focused events, spaces, programming and places, especially restaurants where families can get together. As one participant said, “The one thing that connects us is our kids and our families. It’s the one thing we have in common.”
- Making more and better things available for existing residents, now and in the future. Providing a way for households to move up within Garfield itself, rather than moving out.
- Supporting initiatives that speak to Garfield’s visibility, and improve its reputation. They want to see more signage, to show people how to get there, and they’d like to see a through street.

I wish Garfield was...

Family  
Entertainment  
Center

I wish Garfield was...

cleaner

I wish Garfield

a better

<sup>in</sup> <sup>there</sup>  
I wish Garfield was...

Penn Ave

(ie an area that doesn't  
belong to Garfield)

I wish Garfield was...

more inviting

I wish Garfield

Rec center  
All to use  
A health

I wish Garfield was...

seen AS A  
PROBLEM TO  
BE FIXED

I wish Garfield was...

less crime-  
filled; ~~more~~  
safer.  
ENVIRONMENT

I wish Garfield

Family  
Friend  
Restau

ld had...

putation

I wish Garfield had...

more stores for  
essentials (drugstore,  
for example)

I wish Garfield was...

more family  
friendly

ld had...

er for

2.

Gym.

I wish Garfield had...

A movie  
Theatre or...  
Just theatre!

I wish Garfield was...

Youth  
arts  
program

ld had...

1/4  
servants

I wish Garfield had...

more finished  
facades in  
Penn

I wish Garfield was...

more trusting of each  
other:

# Conclusions

While thousands of comments were made in the interviews and brain storming events that were conducted, some common themes quickly emerged. It was surprising how much in-comers had in common with locals: both groups want a safe and affordable place to live with resources and opportunities for themselves and their children. We grouped what we heard into simple clusters. While this may be an oversimplification of rich and detailed material, it has helped us to identify the common threads in these conversations. Ultimately, this information led us to create the most meaningful incentives –ones that will both lift up the people who live in Garfield and entice in-migrants to live there.

What did we hear? Each group had a distinctive viewpoint. From the locals we heard some strong reminders that Garfield's identity is critical to them with statements such as I don't want Garfield to become Friendship 2, I wish Garfield had a better reputation, and I wish Penn Avenue belonged to Garfield. From the in-comers we heard some strong reminders of what they hoped for and the bond they hope to make with their new home with statements such as Pittsburgh was my Paris and I'm paying it back.

However, and most interestingly many comments were made by both groups and included these: I want an authentic place. I want an affordable life. I want a great business district. I want

things to do, places to eat, and places to shop. I want good public transportation and a bikeable neighborhood. I want a clean and safe neighborhood. I want creativity and culture. I want cultural diversity. I want a voice. I want room for more than work. I want room to succeed. I want entrepreneurial opportunities. I want access to jobs. I want Garfield to be better. I want to feel part of something.

The commonality of these thoughts provide us with a starting point for our Toolbox. These are things that both groups wish for. If these wishes and dreams were accomplished, Garfield would be a much better place for its residents and a much more desirable place for in-comers.

## Our priorities emerge

When we clustered all of these comments together, six key priorities emerged. These are the key priorities that we will remain focused on. They are the most important issues for both the residents of Garfield and for our target creative worker group. By framing the 6% Toolbox around these priorities, our incentives or projects will serve the correct audience. These priorities are to: make Garfield more visible, make Garfield an entrepreneurial hotbed, make Garfield a creative hotbed, make Garfield diverse, make Garfield clean and safe, and make Garfield family-friendly.



Locals might view each priority a little differently than in-comers, but they remain equally as important to each group.

For example, Garfield is an island ringed by major roads, with a hill in the middle of it. There are no signs indicating arrival to Garfield and no signs pointing toward it. Not even Bike Pittsburgh's map<sup>21</sup> indicates a route through Garfield. This physical separation from abutting neighborhoods is echoed by an emotional one. While the locals feel invisible and making Garfield visible is critical to them, it is also critical to the success of the 6% Place. In-comers cannot find an invisible neighborhood.

An in-migrant, someone willing to pick themselves up and move to a new city for opportunity and to improve their life, is innately entrepreneurial. But Garfield residents also yearn for entrepreneurial opportunities: they want to own a sandwich shop or they admire the man who has built a business

washing windows. Entrepreneurial dreams are big in Garfield. While Garfield residents feel that Penn Avenue has been "taken away" from them, they like the artists and galleries, and they want creative opportunities for themselves and their children. And of course, creative workers are interested in finding a place where they can exercise their creativity.

Commonalities are also found with the desire for diversity, safety and family friendliness, which are equally relevant to locals and in-comers. And finally, a stunning twenty-eight percent of the population in Garfield is under eighteen years old. This is a neighborhood that needs to be family-friendly, perhaps more than any other in Pittsburgh. At the same time, potential in-comers are more likely to be in their baby-making years. They too are looking for a family-friendly place to live.

These are the common goals and dreams shared by locals and in-comers alike.

21 See Bike Pittsburgh's map at <http://map.bike-pgh.org/#c=trail>.



**I want an authentic place.  
I want a great business district  
places to eat, and places to  
transportation and a bike lane  
a clean and safe neighborhood  
and culture. I want cultural  
I want room for more than  
succeed. I want entrepreneurs  
want access to jobs. I want  
I want to feel part of something**

**. I want an affordable life.  
strict. I want things to do,  
o shop. I want good public  
able neighborhood. I want  
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ant Garfield to be better.  
ething.**

## Building a migration strategy

Introduction [79]

The theory [79]

The target market [80]

The strategy [81]

Establish and learn from the in-migrant community in Pittsburgh (phase one)

Reach out to candidate In-migrants

Enable relocation





# Building a migration strategy

# Introduction

cityLAB's goal is to attract enough creative workers to Garfield so that it reaches the 6% threshold. We can't just wait for this to happen. Our Toolbox will help to develop reasons for people to move there. We also need to find a way to systematically locate people who would consider such a move. We call this our *Chain Migration Theory*. This theory will be implemented along with the incentives in the Toolbox—they go hand in hand.

cityLAB has already begun to implement the chain migration described below through its interviews with locals and in-comers and the brain storming sessions. Some networks of interested parties have been established as suggested in the first phase of the theory. Some outreach to candidate in-migrants has occurred as suggested in second phase. This outreach has helped us to build a Toolbox that has appropriate, attractive content. These are the first steps towards implementing the theory. They are iterative and should occur over and over again.

# The theory

*Chain Migration Theory* describes an efficient way of attracting a designated population to a city or city neighborhood. It is a process that starts with the few in-migrants already in the city: they are the first links in the chain. They have contact with other people like them outside the city and this is used as a way to locate new candidate in-migrants, who become the second links in the chain; these second links are attracted by the personal endorsement of the first link in the chain as well as by targeted efforts by the city to provide them the resources they need or want. The process is iterated so that the chains grow with third and fourth links; and so on.

What makes this chain strategy of in-migration so effective is that it minimizes the risk in-migrants perceive themselves to be taking. They are not moving to an unknown, if interesting, new place. They are moving to the neighborhood with the trusted endorsement of a friend.

Our chain migration mechanism will be supplemented by another resource. It will also capitalize on the good will felt for Pittsburgh by its expatriates (those who have left Pittsburgh and live in other places). Many Pittsburgh expatriates have a strong loyalty and love for Pittsburgh and will support it from afar.<sup>22</sup> Pittsburgh repatriates (those who left Pittsburgh and have now returned) are also intensely loyal to the city. These two groups will be the key groups to focus on to reach our 6% goal.

<sup>22</sup> See Jim Russell's blog at <http://burghdiaspora.blogspot.com/> and the Pittsburgh Expatriate Network at <http://pittsburghexpatnetwork.org/>.



# The target market

Chain migration recruiting is focused on particular cities or neighborhoods within cities (the “target market”) according to two criteria:

1. The target market should be rich in creative workers.
2. The target market should have a strong history of in and out migration with Pittsburgh.

The in-migrants who came to Pittsburgh from the target market provide links that initiate the chains. The out-migrants, those who have left Pittsburgh for the target market, may also serve a similar function by assisting us in locating candidate in-migrants.

Regional economist Christopher Briem<sup>23</sup> identified the largest gross flows of migration between 2000 and 2008 to be between Pittsburgh and Washington, DC, Philadelphia and New York City. Smaller but still significant exchanges occur between Pittsburgh and nearby New Castle, PA, Youngstown, OH and Indiana, PA.

<sup>23</sup> Christopher Briem. *Migration Trends in the Pittsburgh Region - Update September 2009*. University Center for Social and Urban Research, University of Pittsburgh. September 2009.

In a 2006 study, the cities with the largest creative workforce were identified as Los Angeles, New York, Chicago and Washington, DC. Philadelphia did not make the list.

Since we are most interested in target markets which are rich in a creative worker population and with which Pittsburgh has a migration history, we have focused on these two criteria in the table below. Los Angeles, with the largest creative worker population, has been assigned a factor of ten and the other cities lower factors relative to this. Washington DC, which has the the greatest migration exchange with Pittsburgh, has been assigned the highest factor of ten for this criteria and the other cities lower factors relative to this. While this is an unconventional approach, we’ve multiplied the A value (relative creative worker population) by the B value (relative migration exchange) to determine which cities provide the greatest potential for chain migration. Los Angeles, Washington, DC and New York are the cities that provide the greatest potential for chain migration of creative workers, with Chicago a distant fourth.

The top 4 target markets for the 6% Place Chain Migration Theory					
City	Migration in and out of PGH	Creative worker population	A – Relative creative worker population (LA is set to 10.00)	B – Relative migration exchange (DC is set to 10.00)	A * B
NYC	11,885	490,000	9.61	8.21	78.90
LA	5,198	510,000	10.00	3.59	35.90
DC	14,483	160,000	3.14	10.00	31.40
Chicago	5,787	200,000	3.92	4.00	15.68

Note: Migration in and out of Pittsburgh is an important criterion. It indicates the depth and strength of the ties that Pittsburgh has with this city. The greater the total flow, both to and from, the stronger the tie becomes.



# The strategy

## Establish and learn from the in-migrant community in Pittsburgh (phase one)

The first phase is to identify Pittsburgh repatriates in creative industries by various means: social networks, word-of-mouth, cityLAB data base, local university alumni, etc. We will ask them to help us identify candidate in-migrants from our target cities. We will seek to form these Pittsburgh repatriates into a cohesive group or groups and interest them in participating in our efforts to bring more people to the city in a number of ways, with

- **Face-to-face** networking opportunities specifically for new and existing repatriate creative workers,
- **Virtual** connections via the established online social media platforms, and
- **Publication** of successful in-migration stories via established online social media platforms.

We will use these individuals and groups of Pittsburgh repatriates as sources of information to find out

- How to **contact** candidate in-migrants,
- How to **attract** these in-migrants, and
- How to **keep** them here.

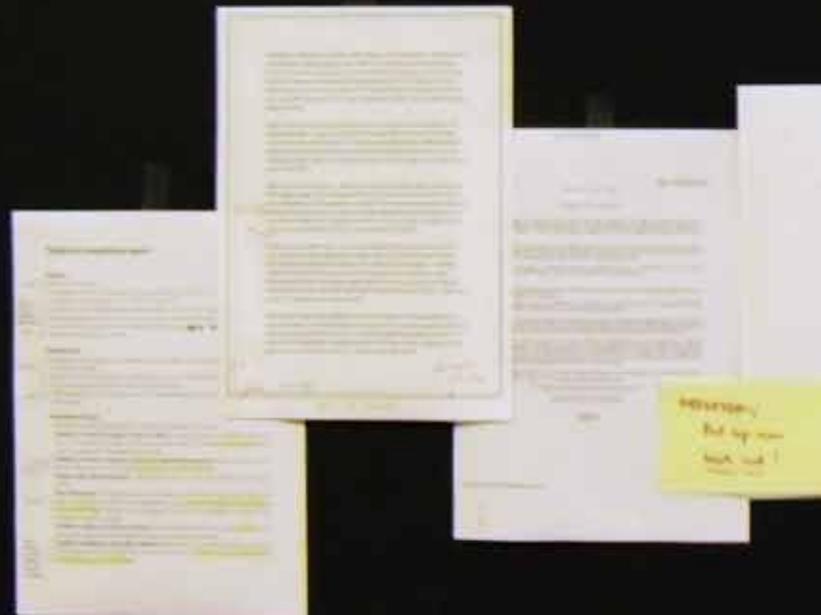
By similar means, we will also locate communities of expatriate Pittsburghers. As with the Pittsburgh repatriates above, we will seek to form the Pittsburgh expatriates into cohesive groups, engage them with the efforts of in-migration, and learn from them how to encourage new in-migrants.

## Reach out to candidate in-migrants (phase two)

Using the information collected in phase one cityLAB will:

- **Develop a blueprint** for in-migrant attraction. This blueprint will be made up of a set of incentives that directly address the challenges and obstacles to in-migration discovered in phase one.

For example, if city-owned or foreclosed properties are available, perhaps they can be turned over at little or no cost to creative workers, who provide something in return for the neighborhood. If the prospect of finding housing is too difficult, perhaps a database of available properties and someone to help with the process of acquisition would be a good incentive. If equity is an issue, the city might agree to partner with banks on loans that require little or no hand money, or on second mortgages for creative workers who agree to improve a property. If health care coverage is an issue for creative workers, perhaps the 6% Place can provide some group coverage. And so on.

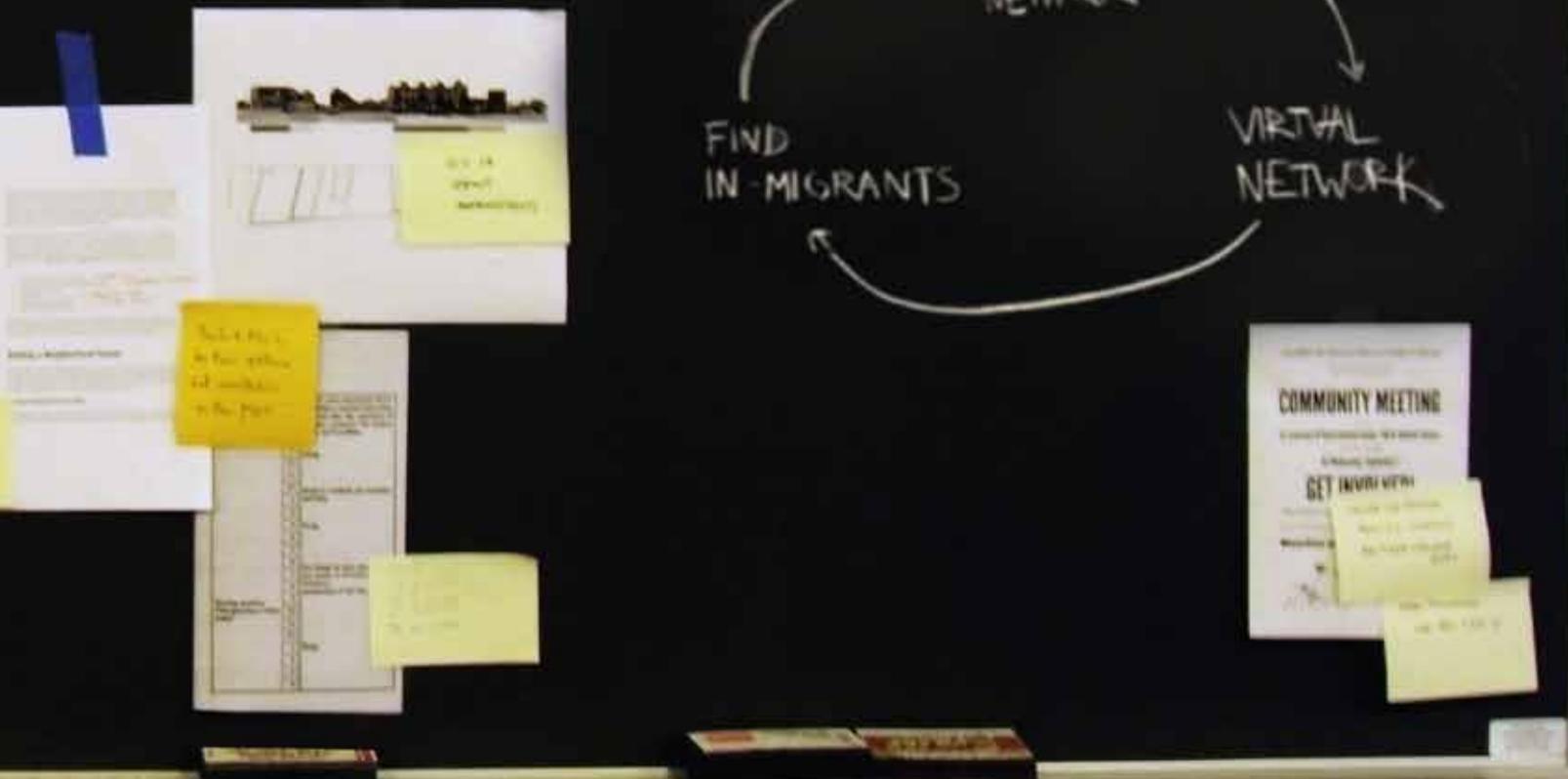


- **Brand the 6% Percent Place** as a repatriate neighborhood in the same way that we formed Pittsburgh repatriates into a cohesive group or groups, by using virtual connections via the established online social media platforms, providing face-to-face networking opportunities specifically for new and existing repatriate creative workers and advertising the successful in-migration stories via established online social media platform.
- **Initiate contact** with candidate in-migrants. The vehicles through which they will be approached will be of different types. They will include personal contact from Pittsburgh repatriates and expatriates, aided by publicity materials we have prepared, as well as approaches through broader means such as social media platforms.

### Enable relocation (phase three)

Once candidate in-migrants have been found and they have shown an interest in relocating, we will provide continuing support to encourage and facilitate their relocation. These efforts will be based on easing the challenges and obstacles documented through interviews with both Pittsburgh repatriates and candidate in-migrants.

These phases will be initiated in sequence. Once enough information is collected in the first phase, we will then move on to phases two and three. Efforts in phases two and three will continue concurrently as the chains of in-migrants grow.



## Building the toolbox

1. T-contest
2. BBQ cook-off
3. Dream property database
4. Expand the arts
5. Community internet radio
6. Dearborn Street market
7. Bikes on Broad
8. Exercise park
9. 6% space
10. Housing that sets Garfield APART
11. Bike incline
12. Girl cabs
13. Tiny housing
14. Garfield hilltop park
15. Food incubator
16. Kid cafe





# Building the toolbox



	Incentives	visible	entrepreneurial	creative	diverse	family-friendly	clean & safe
1	T-shirt contest	X	X	X	X	X	X
2	BBQ cook-off	X	X		X	X	
3	Property database (& how to buy them guides)	X	X		X	X	X
4	Expand the Penn Avenue Arts Initiative	X		X	X	X	X
5	Garfield community internet radio	X	X	X		X	X
6	Dearborn Street market	X	X	X	X	X	X
7	Bikes on Broad Street	X	X		X	X	X
8	Exercise parks	X		X	X	X	X
9	6% (studio) space	X	X	X	X		X
10	(Affordable) Housing that sets Garfield apart.	X	X	X	X	X	X
11	Bike Incline	X	X	X	X	X	X
12	Girl cabs	X	X		X	X	X
13	Tiny housing	X	X	X	X	X	X
14	Garfield hilltop park	X		X		X	X
15	Business incubator for food start-ups	X	X	X	X	X	
16	Kid cafe	X	X	X		X	X
	Festival on both sides of Penn	X	X	X	X	X	
	Made by Hand festivals	X	X	X	X	X	
	Street fair or flea market	X	X	X	X	X	
	Night markets: activities at night to erase the fear of Garfield after dark	X	X		X	X	X
	Support a Garfield, African American gallery on Penn Avenue	X	X	X	X		
	Develop a family/neighborhood coffee shop or restaurant, run by the neighborhood	X	X		X	X	
	Advertise jobs in other city's "city paper" - what cool jobs for 25 year olds?	X	X	X	X		
	Open a local foodmarket that sells local and ethnic food and handmade goods	X	X		X	X	
	Urban farming/community gardens	X	X			X	X
	Mobile market place with locally made stuff - it has to be found and announced on-line/mobile farmers market	X	X	X			X
	Give away houses - database of all houses available. Make it easy to find a house, buy a house, get a house	X	X			X	X
	Street vendors	X	X			X	X
	Recruit food trucks	X	X			X	X



Brand Garfield with the help of kids. Design a T-shirt. This could be by or for children, supervised by a local artist, or perhaps even the beginnings of a small home-based business. Funds raised could also support other neighborhood activities. A t-shirt contest fulfills all six of our priorities: visible, entrepreneurial, creative, diverse, family-friendly, and clean & safe.



A BBQ cook-off could accomplish many things. Family friendly, it would promote neighborliness. At the same time, it might attract people into Garfield: everyone loves BBQ. It could also support budding entrepreneurs and teach them how to start a food-based business. Funds raised through fees could be used to support other neighborhood activities or prizes. Local participants might receive a grant to help buy supplies or have the fee waived to participate in order to support entrepreneurship in the neighborhood. The event would be open to outsiders to promote visibility. A BBQ cook-off fulfills five of our priorities: visible, entrepreneurial, diverse, family-friendly, and clean & safe.



Neighborhood residents spoke of having no “voice.” One way to provide voice may be to launch an internet community radio station. Internet radio remains unlicensed and is relatively easy to start. A very small space is required along with a group of people who are dedicated to ensuring consistent programming. Equipment costs are approximately \$25,000. A community internet radio station fulfills five of our priorities: visible, entrepreneurial, creative, family-friendly, and clean & safe.



Just like the Portobello Markets in London, this street market will include antiques, second hand goods, hand made goods, and locally grown fruit and vegetable stalls. The Dearborn Street market will bring visibility, creativity, entrepreneurship and economy to Garfield. It should be located on a problem block to encourage family friendliness, not just for this event, but to take the block back. Vendors could be a mix of locals and outsiders, to encourage diversity and to learn from each other. The Dearborn Street market fulfills all six of our priorities: visible, entrepreneurial, creative, diverse, family-friendly, and clean & safe.



### 3. DREAM PROPERTY DATABASE

The vacancy that residents have complained about can also be viewed as an opportunity. Vacant lots, vacant buildings, foreclosures and inexpensive properties for sale are dreams come true for people in expensive places like Washington, D.C. or Brooklyn. Could we attract new residents if we create a database that simplifies the search for property? This database should include all types of property such as vacant land, vacant buildings, city-owned buildings, and buildings for sale by private owners. There might also be accompanying guides which describe the process of acquisition for every type, so that it is easy for in-comers to land in Garfield. The dream property database fulfills five of our priorities: visible, entrepreneurial, diverse, family-friendly, and clean & safe.



### 4. EXPAND THE ARTS

We've heard that the Penn Avenue Arts Initiative is not well-connected to the people of Garfield. Nevertheless it is a valuable asset. We've also heard that the people of Garfield appreciate the arts. How can the Penn Avenue Arts Initiative be expanded to have greater universal appeal? Can the people of Garfield take ownership in it and make it stronger and better than it is now? Can it do what it was meant to do and blur the line between Garfield and Friendship? Can it be bigger and better? Creative place-making can seed economic development by expanding entrepreneurship and attracting and retaining both arts and non-arts related businesses. This incentive fulfills five of our priorities: visible, creative, diverse, family-friendly, and clean & safe.



### 7. BIKES ON BROAD

Currently, Pittsburgh's bike map avoids Garfield. While routes on Bike Pittsburgh's maps are only suggested, it's unlikely that bicyclists will choose a route not marked. Our goal should be to put Garfield on the map. How do we accomplish this? A permanent route, with a great bicycle and pedestrian environment should be planned. What better location to make this happen than Broad Street? There are already plans underway to connect Broad Street from East Liberty all the way through Garfield. Bikes on Broad fulfills all six of our priorities: visible, entrepreneurial, creative, diverse, family-friendly, and clean & safe.



### 8. EXERCISE PARK

China has got it right. Exercise equipment is dotted through the urban landscapes of dense Chinese cities available for everyone to use. Some are built on an entire block. Others are linear solutions, squeezed onto wide sidewalks, in forgotten places. Others are in parks. Every evening, adults and children, young and old, gather to use the facilities, stay fit and to socialize. Many locals commented on the lack of facilities for exercise, for families and for children in Garfield. Why not incorporate free exercise parks into the neighborhood? The exercise park fulfills five of our priorities: visible, creative, diverse, family-friendly, and clean & safe.



### 9. 6% SPACE

There are many vacant and discarded properties in Garfield, more than can be quickly converted into affordable housing. Why not find alternative uses for these properties to encourage the in-migration of creative workers? Could Garfield incentivize rapid development through ideas like these? An exchange of neighborhood services for access to property could be negotiated. For example, an ad could be placed for a manager for the Broad Street market and payment be ownership of an abandoned or publicly-owned house. Or a group of houses could be converted into three or four shared artist studios. Or the existing Elm Street Façade Program could be expanded to include additional components to make the neighborhood competitive. 6% Space fulfills all six of our priorities: visible, entrepreneurial, creative, diverse, family-friendly, and clean & safe.



### 10. HOUSING THAT SETS GARFIELD APART

Affordable housing solutions should be created for the Garfield community that do more than provide a roof over someone’s head. If well-designed, affordable housing could brand Garfield and set it apart. Much has been invested in affordable housing in this community over the last few decades but the housing that has been built is not distinctive and can be found in any other Pittsburgh neighborhood. A memorandum of understanding has already been developed between Carnegie Mellon University’s School of Architecture and the Bloomfield-Garfield Corporation to design and build a series of affordable houses that take another look at what Garfield’s new housing stock might look like. Housing that sets Garfield apart fulfills all six of our priorities: visible, entrepreneurial, creative, diverse, family-friendly, and clean & safe.



### 13. TINY HOUSING

Tiny housing is another way to provide affordable housing. Small equals cost-efficient. There is a growing tiny housing movement in the United States. Let’s explore what these innovative and creative little houses might mean to Garfield. Tiny housing fulfills all six of our priorities: visible, entrepreneurial, creative, diverse, family-friendly, and clean & safe.



### 14. GARFIELD HILLTOP PARK

*Garfield’s 2030 Plan* suggests that the topography of Garfield should be respected by planning for greater density along Penn Avenue, on the flat edge, and less density on Garfield’s hillsides. In keeping with this plan, the Bloomfield-Garfield Corporation has requested that the Housing Authority of Pittsburgh consider developing a one- to two-acre park on the now-vacant hilltop, instead of replacing the demolished public housing project with new housing. The hilltop park fulfills four of our priorities: visible, creative, family-friendly, and clean & safe.



## 11. BIKE INCLINE

The bike incline will connect Penn Avenue to Garfield hilltop park. A bike incline lifts cyclists, astride their bicycle, up a hill at three to four mph. The lift runs along the curbs: riders leave one foot on a pedal and the other on a foot plate that moves smoothly up the hill. Users buy keycards, just like subway cards. Only two such bike inclines exist. The first and original lift is in Trondheim, Norway, a city of only 173,000 people. The second is in Brussels.

Trondheim's bike incline was installed fifteen years ago; city leaders are considering installing additional inclines around the city. 41% of its users say they use their bicycle more often because of the bike lift. 14,600 people, or approximately 8.5% of the residents, use it every year. Although the use of bicycles is probably more prevalent in Trondheim than Pittsburgh, the East End has the highest bicycle usage in Pittsburgh, making Garfield an excellent place to try this experiment. A Bike incline fulfills all six of our priorities: visible, entrepreneurial, creative, diverse, family-friendly, and clean & safe.



## 12. GIRL CABS

Girl cabs will be a women-only taxi company. There are many such companies around the world. Their goal is to provide safe rides and flexible jobs for women. One such company, Viira Cabs in Mumbai, goes much further. Viira means "courageous woman." Perhaps we can have such courageous women in Garfield. Girl cabs fulfills five of our priorities: visible, entrepreneurial, diverse, family-friendly, and clean & safe.

"[Viira Cabs] is a female driver bureau, a recruitment agency and a motor training school. All drivers, whether part of the regular cab-service or whether hired by customers as personal chauffeurs, go through a training program...including classes on road knowledge, traffic signs, martial arts, customer relations, etiquette and grooming! Once trained, many of these women are recruited by large corporations and hotels. Today, some of them can be seen at the front of a BMW."<sup>23</sup>

23 Alisha Patel, "Viira Cabs: Lady chauffeurs for Mumbai," *CNNGO*, 27 January 2011, <http://www.cnngo.com/mumbai/life/viira-cabs-women-can-drive-592108>.



## 15. FOOD INCUBATOR

There are plenty of support agencies for tech start-ups in Pittsburgh. There is little for any other fledgling business. The food incubator will be a full-service incubator that supports only food industries. Each class will be fully supported through to profitability. The incubator will require absolute excellence and be competitive for entry. The food incubator fulfills five of our priorities: visible, entrepreneurial, creative, diverse, and family-friendly.



## 16. KID CAFE

Kid cafe will create a space for youth, managed and programmed by youth. Programming will be creative, incorporating music and the arts. Young people should be in charge. With the high percentage of youth in Garfield, a place for and by youth will provide many benefits. Kid cafe fulfills five of our priorities: visible, entrepreneurial, creative, family-friendly, and clean & safe.

A close-up photograph of a black bird, possibly a frigatebird, perched on a branch. The bird's feathers are dark and textured. A bright yellow tag is attached to its wing, with the handwritten text 'L47' in black. The background is a blurred natural setting with other branches and a clear sky.

## Implementation and tracking

Handing it off [93]

Creating a governing structure [93]

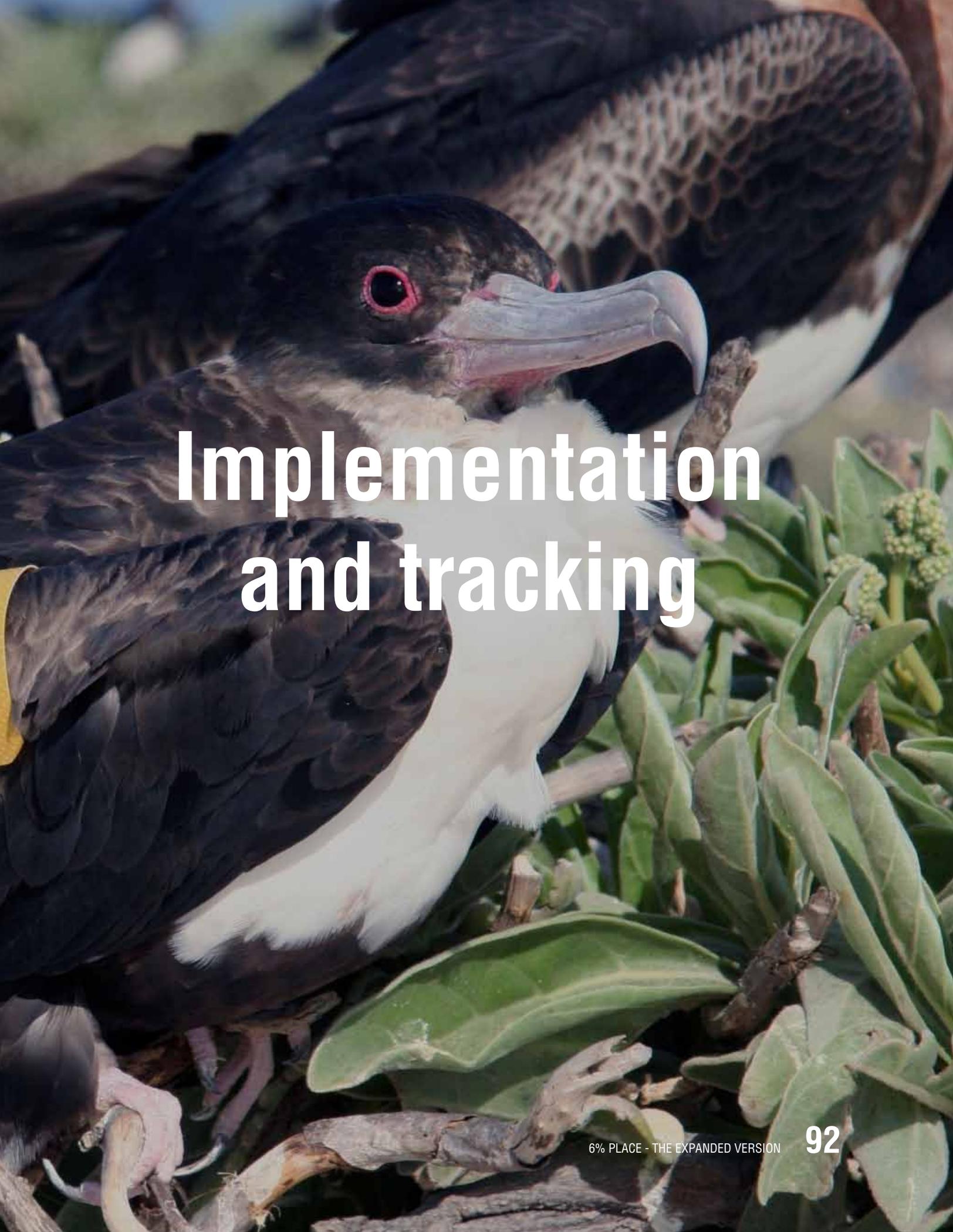
Implementing the toolbox [94]

Activating chain migration [95]

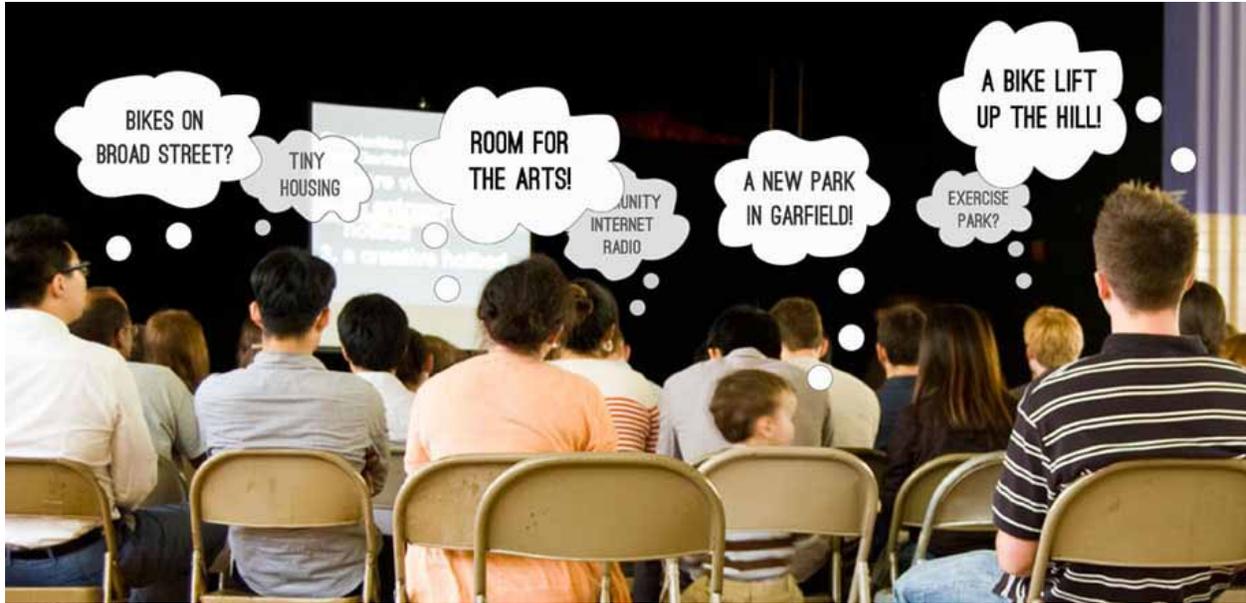
Monitoring outcomes [96]

Holding a neighborhood census [97]

Maintaining a database [99]



# Implementation and tracking



## Handing it off

The completion of cityLAB’s work is just the beginning for the community. When cityLAB hands off its report and the accompanying toolbox, the community will need to take each of these steps:

- Create a governing structure**
- Implement the toolbox**
- Activate chain migration**
- Monitor outcomes**
- Hold a Neighborhood Census**
- Maintain a database**

Who will be responsible for ensuring that all of these steps are accomplished? While the community and volunteers need to be actively engaged and involved, they cannot be wholly responsible for a large and complex process. A structure must be established to manage the 6% Place.

## Creating a governing structure

A 6% Place advisory committee will be established. Its role will be to drive the 6% Place forward. This will include hiring staff to accomplish the 6% goals, along with oversight of the 6% Place process and incentives.

The committee will be made up primarily of the target audience. A total of fifteen Garfield locals and potential in-comers will be invited to participate. The committee will also have a strong creative worker constituent. Additional criteria for membership selection will be as follows:

- Six neighborhood residents
- Six potential in-comers
- One representative of the Bloomfield Garfield Corporation
- One representative of the Friendship Development Assoc.
- One representative of the Garfield Jubilee

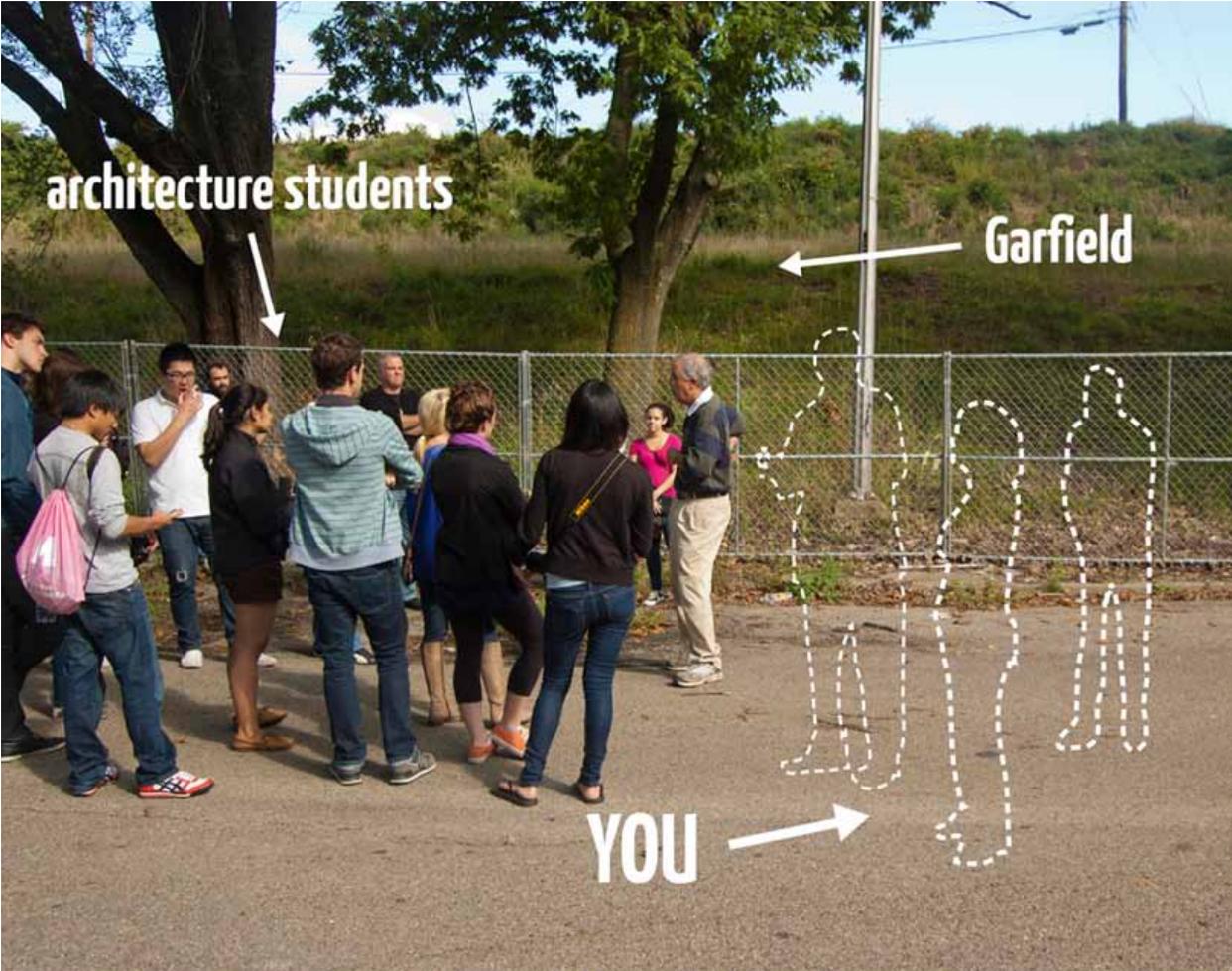
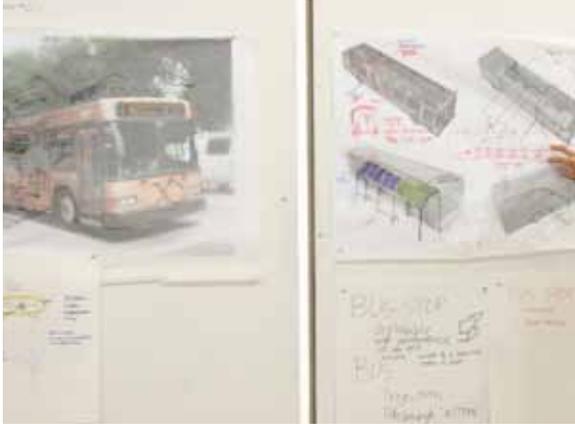
A minimum of ten members will be creative workers. No more than one person from any of the organizations that serves Garfield or Penn Avenue will serve on the advisory committee at any one time. The committee will be balanced in both gender and race.

Funds will need to be secured for a staff person – someone who will be responsible for managing the process and keeping it on track. This is the first task that the community must take on.

# Implementing the toolbox

In the fall of 2011, seventy architecture students from Carnegie Mellon University, under the supervision of Professor John Folan and the Urban Design Build Studio, developed plans for each of the incentives in the Toolbox. In small groups, the students intensively researched and strategized on how best to bring each incentive to fruition. Their work includes drawings, building plans, costs, business strategies, potential partnerships, funding strategies and more. They have relied on the input of the Garfield community, whose feedback was sought.

With the completion of the student work, the community will begin the implementation of each incentive.



# Activating Chain Migration

There are three key steps to implement the Chain Migration Theory

Create **face-to-face** networking opportunities specifically for new and existing repatriate creative workers;

Create **virtual** connections through online social media platforms; and

Publish successful in-migration **stories** to create a sense of activity.

## Form a cohesive physical group (phase one)

**Create** a physical network, such as a meetup or similar event.

**Hold** regular networking events in interesting and comfortable places. Expose the network to the 6% Place. Use tools such as gaming to keep the group engaged and to enlarge the circle.

**Gather information** using the established network. Ask questions through online, written, and verbal surveys such as: when & why they left Pittsburgh or came back to Pittsburgh; what they are doing in Pittsburgh now; what they miss about where they came from; what they need from Pittsburgh; how Pittsburgh can become a better place for them; and who they know who might migrate to Pittsburgh.

**Brand the 6% Place.** Keep the network informed of 6% Place incentive development progress.

## Form a cohesive virtual group (phase two)

**Develop an online presence** using a social media strategy which includes blogging, Facebook, Linked-In and Twitter.

**Tell stories** about creative repatriates. These can be written or linked to in other local media sources.

**Publish the stories** in local media, such as *Pop City*, *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, or OK Cupid, to enlarge the circle.

**Reach out to expatriate groups** such as the Pittsburgh expatriate network, Steelers Bars in other cities, alumni organizations of local colleges.

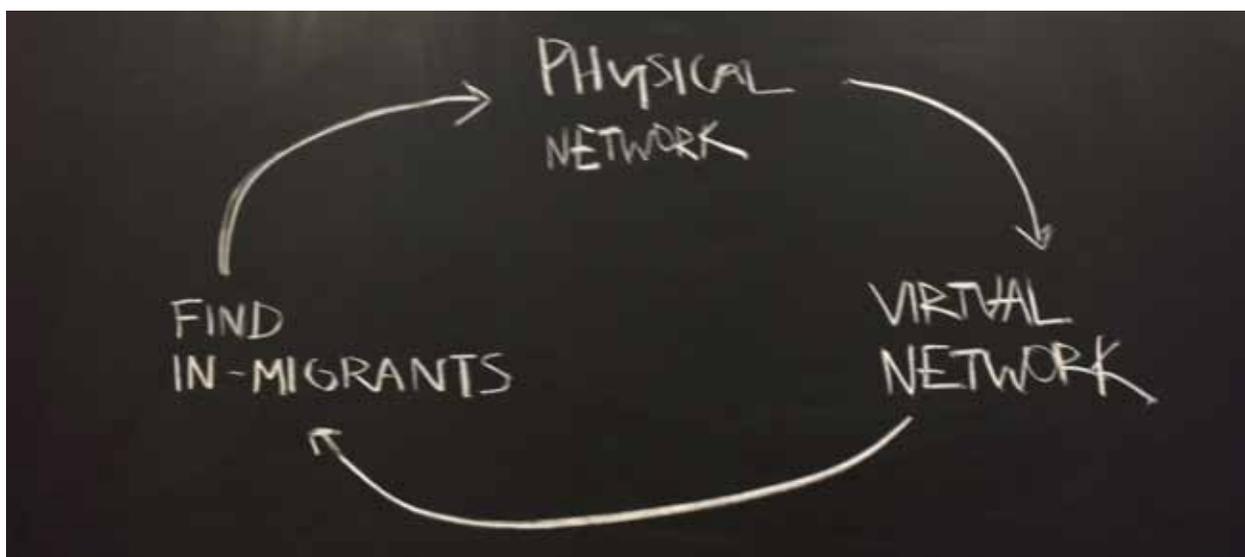
**Reach out to existing in-migrant clusters** such as Assemble Gallery, Cyberpunk Apocalypse and Helter Shelter.

## Find in-migrants and enable relocation (phase 3)

**Develop contact tools** to reach candidate in-migrants using the established networks.

**Build incentives** based on the information gathered from the established networks.

**Advertise the incentives** to entice the in-migrants identified to the 6% Place.



# Monitoring outcomes

Measuring the success of the 6% Place has two components. The primary goal is to increase the density of creative workers in the target zone to 6%. This requires keeping track of the number of creative workers and how that number changes over time. The second component is to follow the outcomes of the experiment. What happens to the economic health of the neighborhood once the density of creative workers reaches 6%? To answer this question, it is necessary to establish a baseline for the economic health of the neighborhood, and then follow the indicators of economic health for at least five years after a density of 6% is achieved.

We have provided Tracking Tools for the community generated by Google's Fusion Tables API, which creates maps from an easy-to-update database that will allow the community to easily track changes over time. Our Fusion Tables will track information about the 6% Place on the following levels: Census tracts, blocks, and land parcels. You can find a detailed description of our Tracking Tools in the section on mapping called **Creating trackable mapping tools**, on page 54, and find them on our website at [www.citylabpgh.org/experiments/six-percent-tracking-tools/](http://www.citylabpgh.org/experiments/six-percent-tracking-tools/). In summary, the indicators that will be tracked are:

1. Creative workers in the 6% Place.
2. Vacant, unused or otherwise abandoned properties.
3. Market value, block by block.
4. Age distribution.
5. Building conditions along Penn Avenue.
6. Creative conditions along Penn Avenue.

We expect that these maps will both track change in the neighborhoods and attract attention to it themselves. We recommend that monitoring be performed at least once a year and perhaps more frequently, for at least five years after the implementation of at least five incentives and after the chain migration implementation is underway.



# Holding a Neighborhood Census



We list a number of options for monitoring the density of creative workers in order of increasing scope and ambition. All of them are versions of what we call a Neighborhood Census, designed to collect information about Garfield alone, or perhaps even just the 6% target zone. In all cases, the Neighborhood Census relies on the 6% Place implementation coordinator to organize the effort and to collect and maintain data in a single database.

## Using the Decennial Census model

We will find pairs of people in each block who will volunteer to canvas the block and collect information from its residents about their occupations. For the purposes of the 6% Place, there is no need to pay attention to Census Tracts. The information collected is not likely to be usable for direct comparisons to Census data, so we can modify questions and areas to suit our own purposes. As long as the methods of gathering information are documented and there is reasonable continuity in the type and quality of information collected, we can follow outcomes and changes over a period of years.

Initially, this process could happen just in the 6% target zone, which is small enough to be quite manageable. Once the process is worked out for the target zone, it can be extended out to the rest of Garfield.

## Using incentives to collect information

Some of the incentives are designed to connect people with each other and help them to get to know and trust each other. There is a natural fit between this kind of incentive and the collecting and sharing of information. Here are some examples drawn from the brain storming sessions. These are intended as illustrations. Part of the process of working out the incentives in detail will include incorporating ideas for contributing data to the Neighborhood Census such as:

- At block parties, people could be asked to write down their occupations, and perhaps a display could add each new person as they contribute their information.
- A Garfield neighborhood website accessible to all residents could invite people to identify themselves by their block of residence, and enter their occupation as well. Here too an interactive map could be continuously updated to show what occupations are represented, and how many people have entered their information.
- A neighborhood welcome can be extended to each new person moving into Garfield. As a part of the welcome, new residents can be asked about their occupations and interests, and asked if they would be willing to become part of the Neighborhood Census.

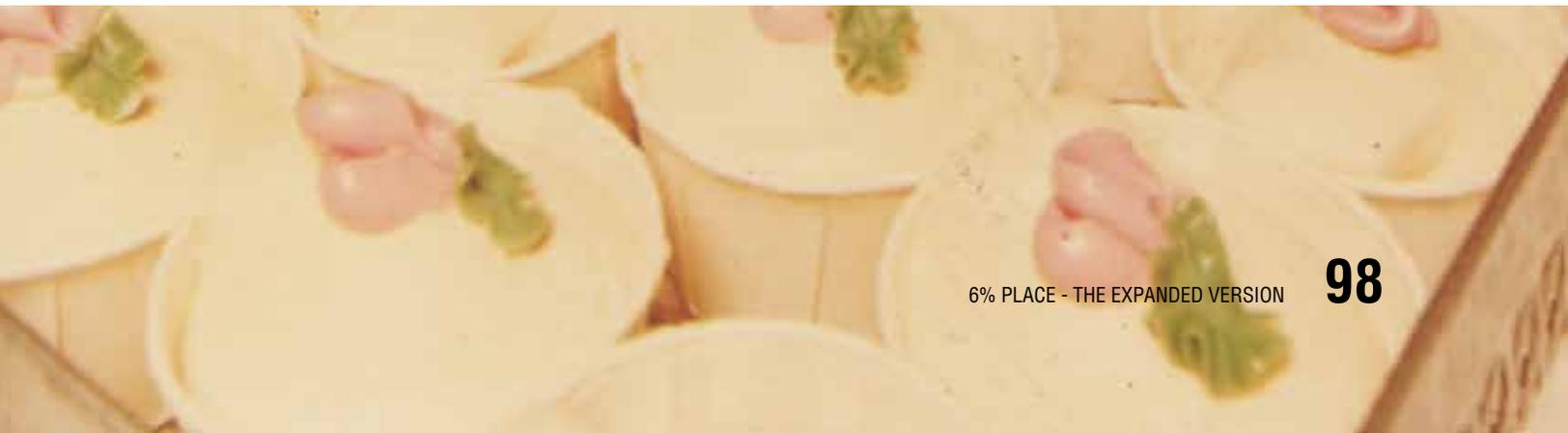


## Going Beyond Occupation

A Neighborhood Census has some major advantages over the decennial census, even when the decennial census uses the long form. The U.S. Census form asks respondents to identify a single occupation as their primary source of income. Many artists and other creative people, especially those who are self-employed, have multiple sources of income, and their creative work is often not the occupation they chose as primary on the Census form. This has resulted in significant undercounting of artists in the past. If the Neighborhood Census is designed so that it allows people to designate multiple oc-

cupations (perhaps marking both primary occupations both in terms of income and time spent), it will provide a much richer picture, and may even produce some interesting insights when compared to ordinary Census data.

In addition to expanding the understanding of people's occupations, the Neighborhood Census could endeavor to collect other related information that helps to connect people. A neighborhood database that includes residents' skills and interests in addition to their paid occupations could be used to facilitate joint economic or other community efforts.





# Maintaining a database

The Neighborhood Census should be a rolling census. A database can note each new piece of information, when it is gathered, and whether it represents a change from previous information (e.g., if it is known that the resident of a housing unit has moved out and been replaced by someone else). If records are kept carefully, it will be possible retrospectively to analyze changes over a five-year period. Exactly what intervals can be used for this analysis will depend on the amount of data and the rate at which it is collected and updated.

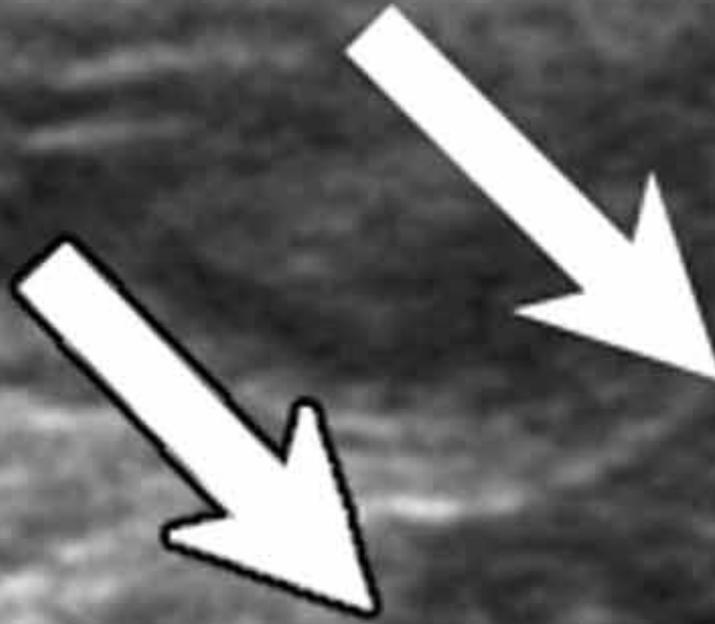
cityLAB's Fusion Tables Tracking Tools are easy to use for the people responsible for collecting information. The imple-

mentation coordinator's role will be to plan how to gather new data and systematically enter new information into the database immediately. Some of this data, such as housing values, will be collected through demographic data sites, such as PNCIS. Some can be monitored visually. New and changing businesses on Penn Avenue can be noted monthly, as well as external building conditions or creative conditions. Vacant land, new construction, and housing for sale can also be monitored visually. A quarterly drive through the neighborhood is sufficient to collect all of that information.

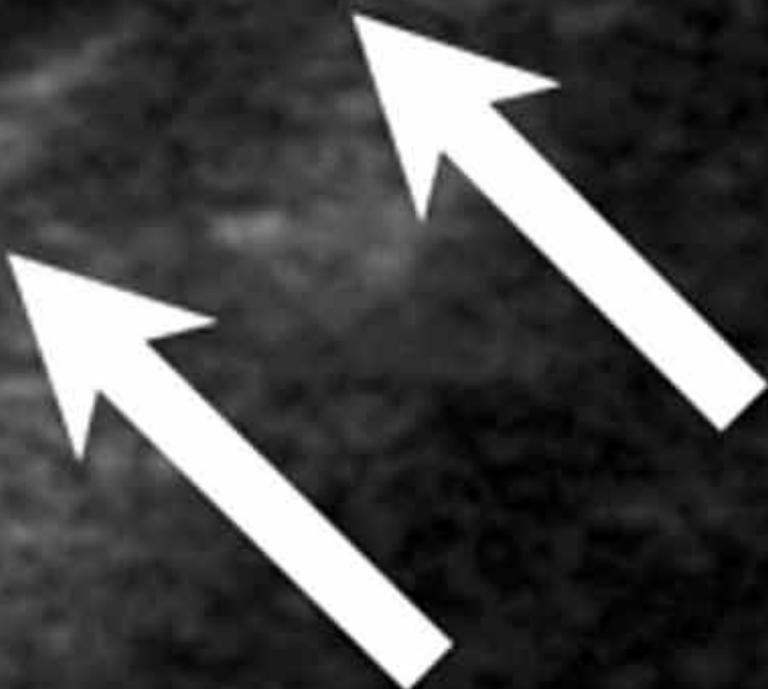
A tutorial about using our Fusion Table Tracking Tools may be found in Appendix C: **Google Fusion Tables tutorial**, on page 122.

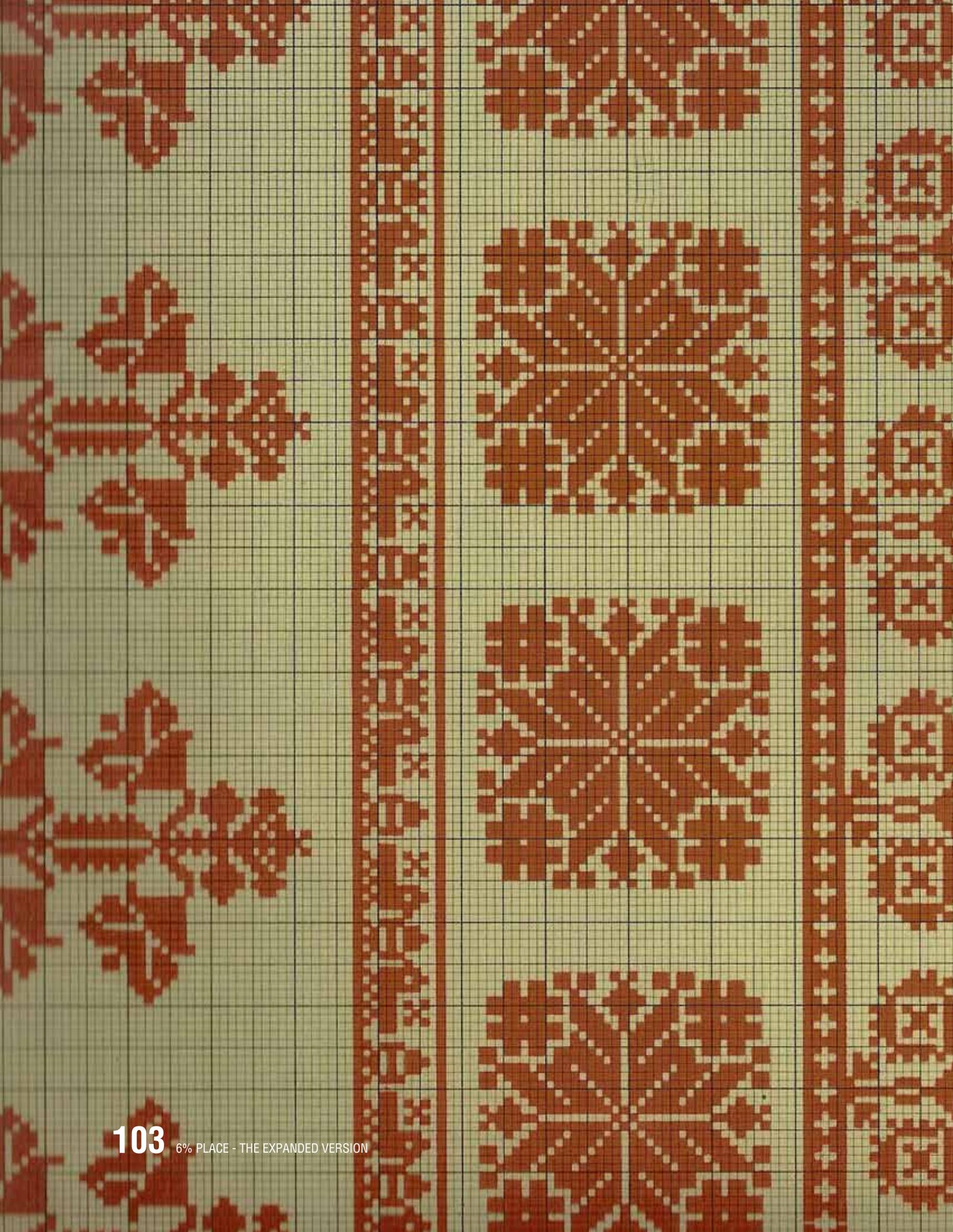
## Appendices

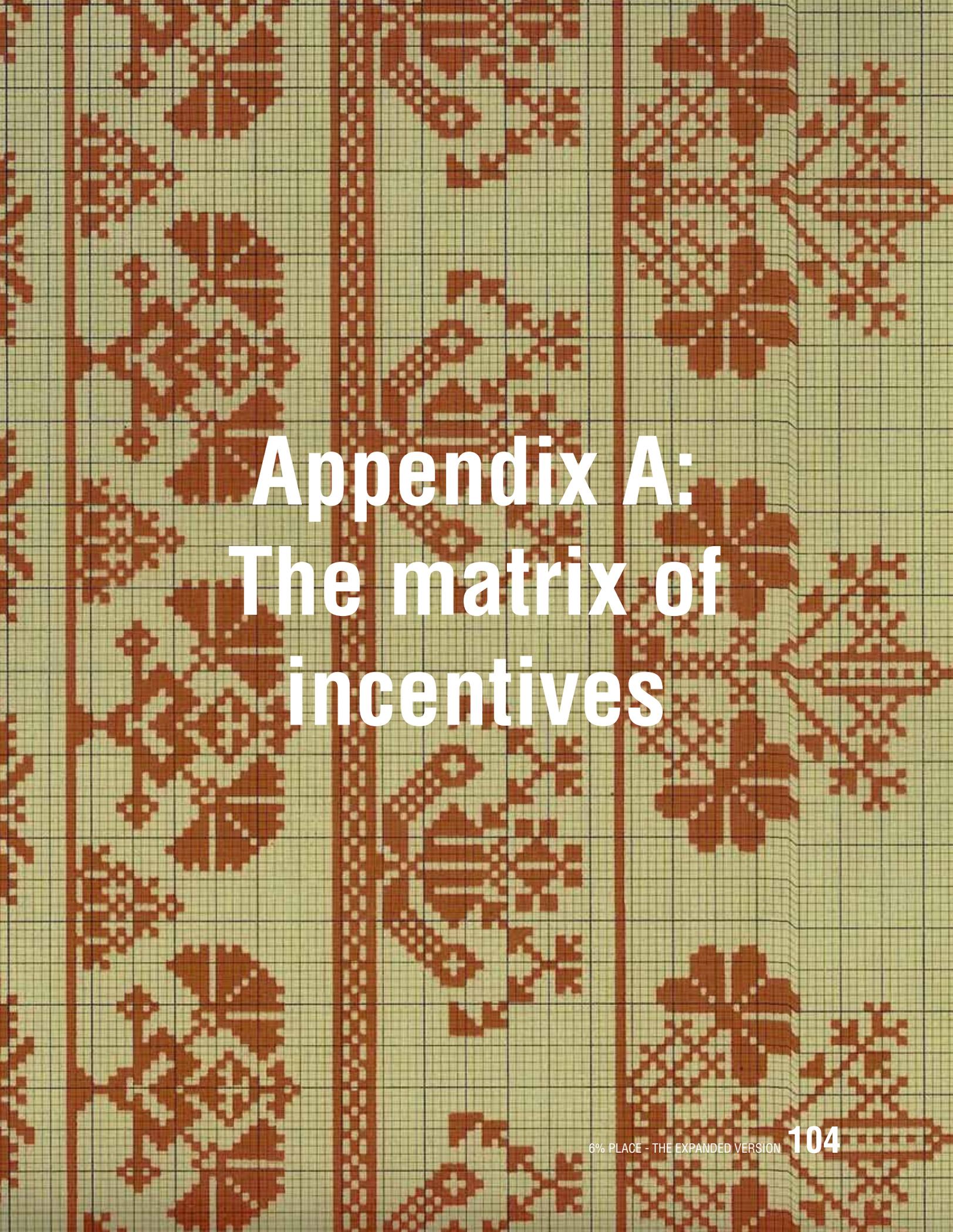
- A. The matrix of incentives [104]
- B. Penn Avenue elevations [112]
- C. Google Fusion Tables tutorial [122]
- D. Photo credits [128]



# Appendices







# Appendix A: The matrix of incentives

	Incentives	visible	entrepreneurial	creative	diverse	family-friendly	clean & safe
1	T-shirt contest	X	X	X	X	X	X
2	BBQ cook-off	X	X		X	X	
3	Property database (& how to buy them guides)	X	X		X	X	X
4	Expand the Penn Avenue Arts Initiative	X		X	X	X	X
5	Garfield community internet radio	X	X	X		X	X
6	Dearborn Street market	X	X	X	X	X	X
7	Bikes on Broad Street	X	X		X	X	X
8	Exercise parks	X		X	X	X	X
9	6% (studio) space	X	X	X	X		X
10	(Affordable) Housing that sets Garfield apart.	X	X	X	X	X	X
11	Bike Incline	X	X	X	X	X	X
12	Girl cabs	X	X		X	X	X
13	Tiny housing	X	X	X	X	X	X
14	Garfield hilltop park	X		X		X	X
15	Business incubator for food start-ups	X	X	X	X	X	
16	Kid cafe	X	X	X		X	X
	Festival on both sides of Penn	X	X	X	X	X	
	Made by Hand festivals	X	X	X	X	X	
	Street fair or flea market	X	X	X	X	X	
	Night markets: activities at night to erase the fear of Garfield after dark	X	X		X	X	X
	Support a Garfield, African American gallery on Penn Avenue	X	X	X	X		
	Develop a family/neighborhood coffee shop or restaurant, run by the neighborhood	X	X		X	X	
	Advertise jobs in other city's "city paper" - what cool jobs for 25 year olds?	X	X	X	X		
	Open a local foodmarket that sells local and ethnic food and handmade goods	X	X		X	X	
	Urban farming/community gardens	X	X			X	X
	Mobile market place with locally made stuff - it has to be found and announced on-line/ mobile farmers market	X	X	X			X
	Give away houses - database of all houses available. Make it easy to find a house, buy a house, get a house	X	X			X	X
	Street vendors	X	X			X	X
	Recruit food trucks	X	X			X	X

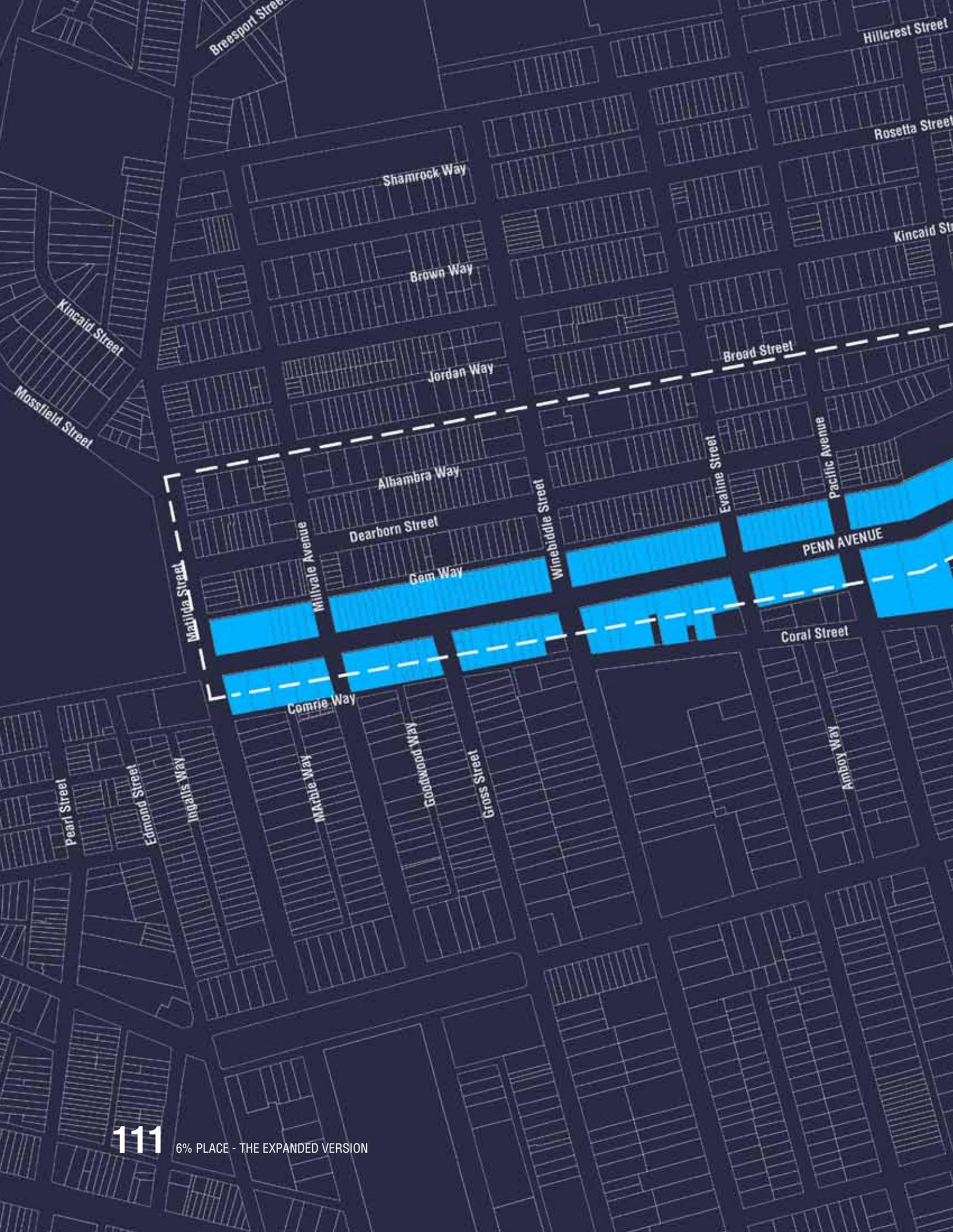
	Incentives	visible	entrepreneurial	creative	diverse	family-friendly	clean & safe
	More local stores - flower, foods, essentials, etc	X	X		X	X	
	Strange Bedfellows: Team in-bound artists with resident entrepreneur	X	X	X			
	Group health insurance	X	X			X	
	Single parent dorms/attend local colleges:dorms for local colleges to house single parents	X	X			X	
	Support 5 local startups every year (both residents & incomers)	X	X		X		
	Market properties to black entrepreneurs through SBA - create a density of black- owned business in the area	X	X		X		
	Explore and Work with exiting non-profits and small biz: create opportunities in Garfield with existing social infrastructure	X	X		X		
	Spaghetti LAB, feast or soup	X	X	X			
	Grants - micro & macro	X	X	X			
	Loans - micro & macro	X	X	X			
	ciclovia: weekly street closure event - <a href="http://ciclavia.org/content/action-center">http://ciclavia.org/content/action-center</a>	X			X	X	X
	Online (or printed) community cookbook	X	X			X	
	Food art restaurant	X	X	X			
	Open a healthy restaurant	X	X			X	
	Small groceries stores subsidized by corp: corporate sponsored grocery stores	X	X			X	
	Soup delivery	X	X			X	
	Farm buses with fresh food	X	X			X	
	Food stalls on Broad Street	X	X			X	
	You've heard about it - Life Swap	X		X	X	X	
	Education in every aspect - financial management, substance abuse, relationships, parenting, etc.				X	X	X
	More young black professionals				X	X	X
	Babysitting co-op (leveraged in return for something free)	X	X			X	
	Shares issues online & solve them together (neighbors for neighbors)	X	X			X	
	Art trail (Indianapolis)	X		X		X	
	Car sharing system (Go-Oq, CMU)	X	X			X	X

	Incentives	visible	entrepreneurial	creative	diverse	family-friendly	clean & safe
	Share a neighborhood handy-man	X	X			X	
	Provide tuition remission at local schools in exchange for moving to Garfield	X	X			X	
	Provide incentives for moving - cash assistance. (see Chatanooga Artsmove)	X		X	X		
	Provide incentives for business location.	X	X		X		
	Give grants for property improvements.	X	X		X		
	Provide special discounted loans & other URA loan incentives for residents.	X	X		X		
	Collaborate with the URA on funding mechanisms to support start ups and business (target creatives and diversity)	X	X		X		X
	Become the startup up hub for everything BUT tech (to provide opportunities for jobs & businesses). This would include: space, knowledge, support, collaborations, investment model - target diversity	X	X		X		
	Add street lights	X				X	X
	Penn Avenue bike lanes	X				X	X
	Develop a Garfield centric art event	X		X			
	Free (or cheap) artist studio space	X		X			
	Grants to artists (see Toronto) - micro and macro	X		X			
	Create a fellowship for artists	X		X			
	Local youth art show	X		X		X	
	Artish facilitated art projects on abandoned lots	X		X			X
	Visiting artist residences	X		X			
	Free land for artist who will stay 5 years (leave early and pass it on)	X		X			X
	Art scavenger hunt	X		X		X	
	ga/gi festival	X		X		X	
	Host creative learning/crafting events			X		X	
	Progressive open public art project that all can add to anytime like a paint rock! U of M campus	X		X		X	
	Knit circle			X	X	X	
	Square dance socials/dance parties in the street.	X			X	X	

	Incentives	visible	entrepreneurial	creative	diverse	family-friendly	clean & safe
	Online craft meets: take I made it and put it online, connect it to garfield	X		X			
	Live music on the street	X		X		X	
	Mosaic portrait of everyone here - projected on billboard	X		X			X
	Art programs for adults	X		X			
	Free land - build a house					X	X
	Tie into the online Art Trade community	X		X			
	Community gardens		X			X	
	Dating agency for single moms	X	X				
	Free space fro new businesses (or collaborative free space)	X	X				
	Nucleus (art/tech/fab lab) space	X	X				
	Co-working space	X	X				
	Cheap office space for mobile development:hot desks for people who can work from their laptops	X	X				
	Free internet/free ipad	X				X	
	Post free events after giving free i-pad: utilize free ways to engage neighbors via ipad	X				X	
	Garfield designs its own app	X	X				
	Guided urban neighborhood walks	X	X			X	
	Solar wind on all houses and buildings LAB4 change: brand Garfield as LAB4 Change via energy production alternatives	X	X				
	LETS scheme: Local Exchange Trading Systems		X			X	
	Audit of people's soft skills		X			X	
	Local hor of happy hour spot @ different place 1st wednesday of each month @ 5 pm: progressive happy hour	X	X				
	Hostel: open a hostel in garfield, will attract outsiders	X	X				
	Random holiday decorating contest on your street	X		X		X	
	Drive-in theater	X				X	X
	A park/green space	X				X	X
	Co-op housing		X		X	X	

	Incentives	visible	entrepreneurial	creative	diverse	family-friendly	clean & safe
	Minority owned businesses		X		X		
	Bike Library (free bikes to share)	X	X			X	
	Trailing Spouse services	X	X			X	
	Financial literacy courses		X			X	
	PCTV	X				X	
	Expand URA loans and simplify paperwork	X	X				
	A health gym		X			X	
	Clean streets - community clean up days					X	X
	Crime free - clean up drugs & crime					X	X
	Adopt a block					X	X
	Block by block SMS watch:can text issues to block leaders (with the help of recipients of free housing or recipients of other incentives.)					X	X
	Annual community arts installation	X		X			
	Co-housing/artist housing			X			
	Art collective housing: artist co-ops, shared ownership			X			
	Roaming Garfield radio stations: walk down the street, tune into Roamin Garfield on itunes and the music changes in different parts of Garfield as you walk around. Curated by Garfield residents	X		X			





# Appendix B: Penn Avenue elevations

# Elevations: north side of Penn Avenue

**N. Mathilda Street**



Address on Penn Avenue

Parcel Number

4801	5819
50-J-62	50-J-

**N. Millvale Avenue**



4901	4903	4905	4907	4909	4911	4913	4915	4917	4919	4921	4923	4925	4927	4931
50-K-311	50-K-312	50-K-313	50-K-314	50-K-315	50-K-316	50-K-317	50-K-318	50-K-319	50-K-320	50-K-321	50-K-322	50-K-323	50-K-324	50-K-3

**N. Winebiddle Street**



5107	5109	5111	5111	5113	5115	5117	5119	5123
50-K-345	50-K-346	50-K-347	50-K-348	50-K-349	50-K-351	50-K-350	50-K-352	50-K-354

**N. Evaline Street**



5149	5151	5153	5155	5157	5159	5161	5163	5165	5167	5169	5171
50-L-335	50-L-334	50-L-333	50-L-332	50-L-331	50-L-330	50-L-329	50-R-1	50-R-2	50-R-3	50-R-4	50-R-5

**N. Pacific Avenue**



**N. Millvale Avenue**

	5821	4823	4825	4827
72	50-J-73	50-J-74	50-J-75	50-J-76



**N. Winebiddle Street**

	4933	5001	5003	5005	5007	5009	5011	5013	5015	5017	5019	5021	5023	5025	5025
26	50-K-337	50-K-328	50-K-329	50-K-330	50-K-331	50-K-332	50-K-333	50-K-334	50-K-335	50-K-336	50-K-337	50-K-338	50-K-339	50-K-340	50-K-341



**N. Evaline Street**

	5125	5129	5131	5133	5135	5137	5139	5145	5147
	50-K-355	50-K-356	50-K-357	50-K-358	50-K-359	50-K-360	50-K-361	50-K-362	5-K-363



**N. Atlantic Avenue**

01	5203	5205	5207	5209	52011	5213	5215	5217	5219
R-6	50-R-8	50-R-9	50-R-10	50-R-11	50-R-12	50-R-13	50-R-14	50-R-15	50-R-19

**N. Atlantic Avenue**



5323	5321
50-L-250-0-1	50-L-233

**N. Aiken Avenue**



5401	5411	5317
50-M-106	50-M-110	50-M-113

**N. Aiken Avenue**



5437	5439	5441	5443	5445	5447	5449	5451	5453	5451	54
50-M-319-1	50-M-319	50-M-321	50-M-322	50-M-323	50-M-324	50-M-325	50-M-326	50-M-327	50-S-10	50

**N. Fairmount Street**



5501	5511	5515	5515
83-N-266	83-N-270	83-N-272	83-N-2



	5333	5345	5349
	50-R-37	50-S-1	50-S-4

**N. Aiken Avenue**



	5423	5425	5427	5429	5431
	50-M-116	50-M-117	50-M-119	50-M-120	50-M-121

**N. Graham Street**



67	5461	5485
S-15	50-S-19	83-N-340

**N. Fairmount Street**



	5523	5531
75	83-N-278	83-N-281

**N. Negley Avenue**

# Elevations: south side of Penn Avenue

**S. Gross Street**



4922	4920	4918	4916	4914	4900
50-K-367	50-K-368	50-K-369	50-K-370	50-K-371	50-K-378

**S. Millvale Avenue**



4828	0
50-J-80	50-J-

**S. Winebiddle Street**



5022	5018	5016	5014	5012	5010
50-P-116	50-P-115	50-P-114	50-P-113	50-P-112	50-P-111

**S. Evaline Street**



5134	5132	5130	5128	5122	5120
50-P-216	50-P-215	50-P-214	50-P-213	50-P-210	50-P-209

**S. Atlantic Avenue**



5230	5226	5222	5210	5200
50-R-284	50-R-285	50-R-286	50-R-292	50-R-296



**S. Mathilda Street**

	4818	4806	4800
-81	50-J-97	50-J-98	50-J-99



**S. Gross Street**

0	5008	5004	5002	103 Gross
P-111	50-P-110	50-P-108	50-K-365	50-K-380



**S. Winebiddle Street**

0	5108	5106	5102	5100
P-211	50-P-204	50-P-203	50-P-201	50-P-200



**S. Pacific Avenue**



**S. Evaline Street**

5160	5152	5150
50-R-306	50-R-310	50-R-311

**S. Aiken Avenue**



5324

50-R-55

**S. Roup Avenue**



5446	5444	5440	5438	5436	5434	5432
50-S-191	50-S-193	50-S-195	50-S-196	50-S-197	50-S-198	50-S-200

**S. Graham Street**



5430

50-S-262

**S. Fairmount Street**



5482	5480	5478	5476	5472	5464
83-N-263	83-N-264	50-S-26	50-S-27	50-S-29	50-S-32

**S. Negley Avenue**



5542	5537	5536	5534	5526
83-N-198	83-N-201	83-N-202	83-N-203	83-N-207

**S. Stratford Avenue**



**S. Atlantic Avenue**

	5319	5312	5310	5300
	50-R-56	50-R-57	50-R-58	50-R-61



**S. Aiken Avenue**

424	5422	5408	5404	5402	5400
0-S-264	50-S-265	50-S-271	50-S-273	50-S-274	50-S-275



**S. Roup Avenue**

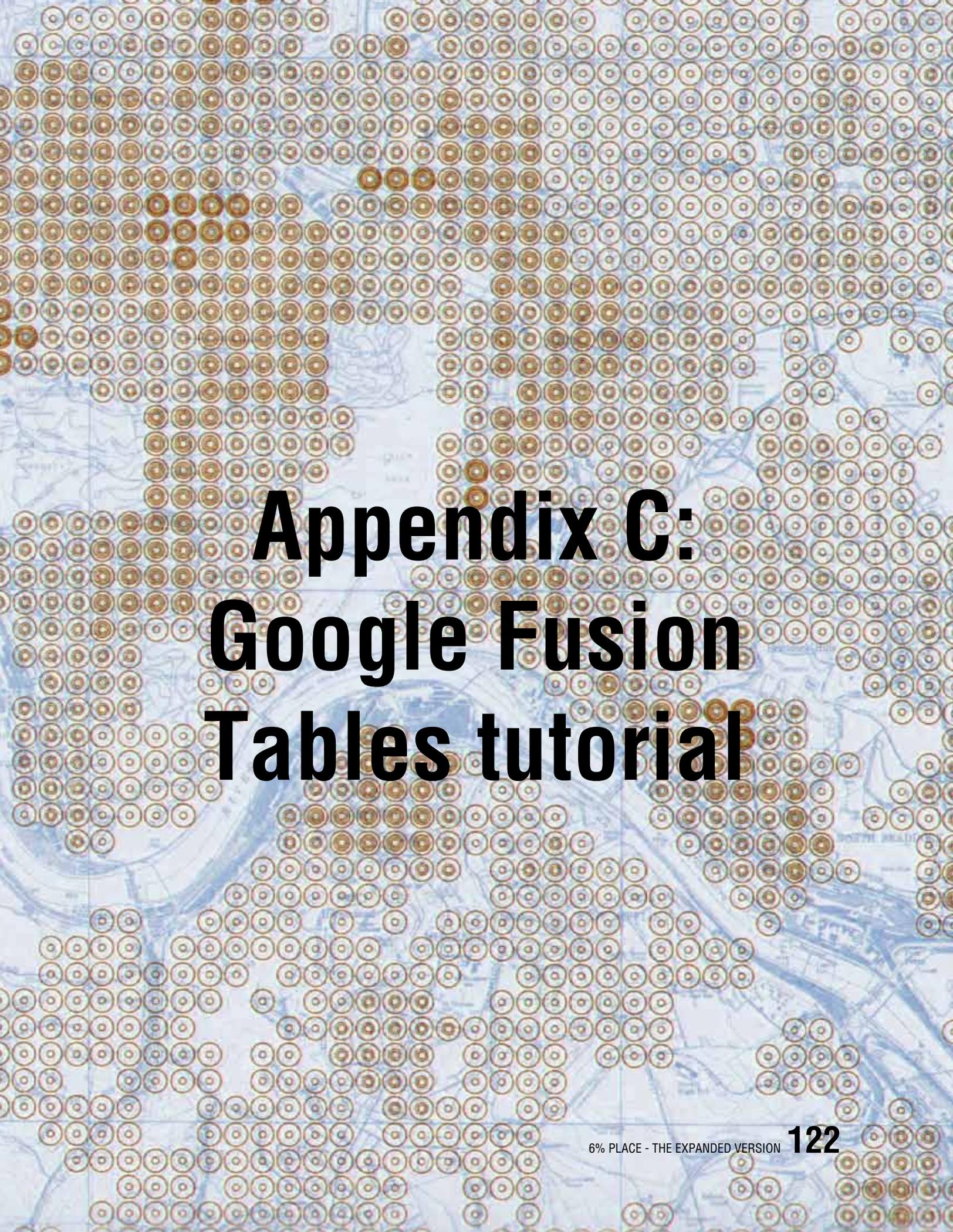
5460	5456	5452
50-S-33	50-S-35	50-S-40



**S. Fairmount Street**

4	5508	5500
N-242	83-N-246	83-N-250





# Appendix C: Google Fusion Tables tutorial

# What are Fusion Tables?

Google Fusion Tables are spreadsheets whose values are correlated with geographic information. Our goal in this document is to show you how we are working with Fusion Tables as tracking tools for the 6% Place experiment and to point you towards other resources that can help you to use this incredibly powerful and easy-to-use tool.

# Why Fusion Tables?

Data by itself doesn't tell a story. Fusion Tables are an innovative way to convert data into images. And Fusion Tables make it simple to attribute your data to the correct sources.

Fusion Tables are fast and easy to use. For example, cityLAB created a property database map in just two weeks, without having any prior experience with Fusion Tables, with a basic knowledge of HTML and CSS, and with almost no understanding of Javascript.

## Some examples

See Google's Fusion Tables example gallery for lots of ideas (<https://sites.google.com/site/fusiontablestalks/stories>).

Simon Rogers' use of Fusion Table Mapping in the Guardian is exceptional (<http://www.guardian.co.uk/news/datablog/2011/mar/31/deprivation-map-indices-multiple>).

Peter Aldhous' map of Deep Sea Vents is another wonderful example (<http://www.peteraldhous.com/vents.html>).

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# Elements of Fusion Tables

## CSV files

The format used to upload data to Fusion Tables is comma separated values (CSV). This format is editable in Excel. In order to produce maps from Fusion Tables, the CSV file has to include location information. You can read more about what types of geographic data Fusion Tables can map at <http://www.google.com/support/fusiontables/bin/answer.py?hl=en&answer=174680>.

## Info windows

Info windows provide you with a space to put text or whatever HTML you like, wherever you like on your map. You choose the content of your info window (that is, which columns of data from the spreadsheet will appear in it) in Fusion Tables. You'll find some great descriptions of the possibilities here:

A good introduction written in plain English: <http://www.svennerberg.com/2009/09/google-maps-api-3-infowindows/>.

Google's own documentation (a little more oblique): <http://code.google.com/apis/maps/documentation/javascript/overlays.html#InfoWindows>.

# Instructions

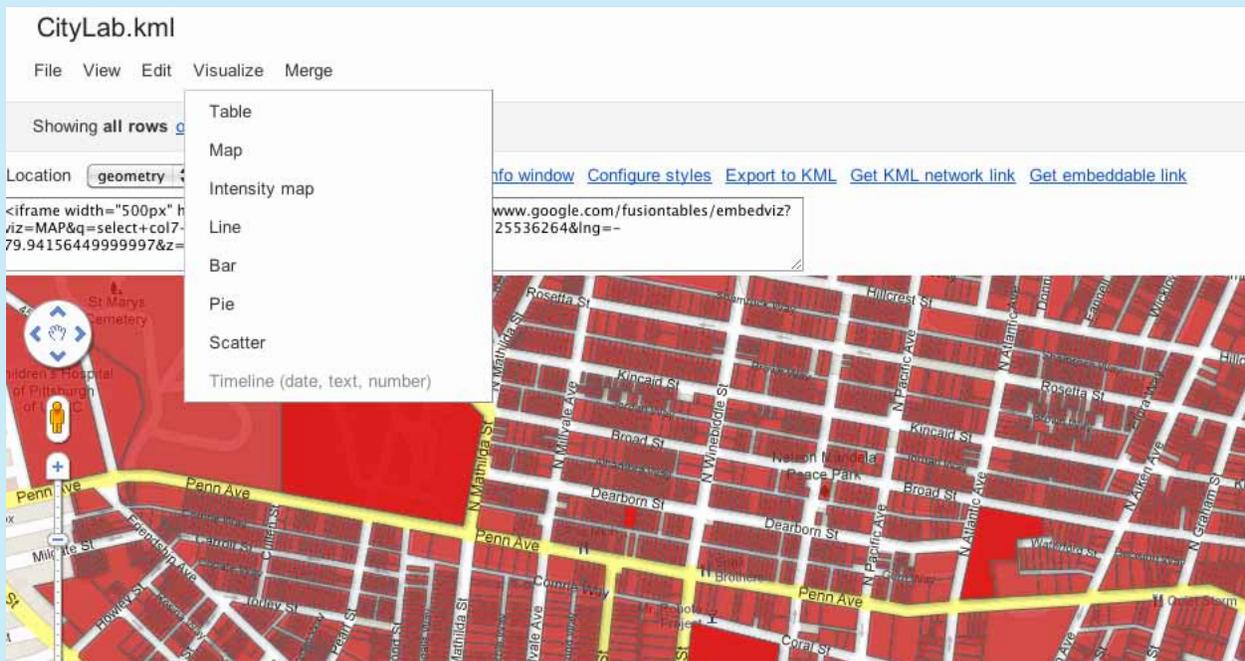
**Open** a Fusion Tables account at [Google.com/FusionTables](http://Google.com/FusionTables).

**Import Table.** Select New Table > Import Table. Tables can be difficult to edit within Fusion Tables, so it is preferable to edit them in Excel first before uploading them.

Tables can also be exported as CSV files, so if you need to edit a Fusion Table, it can be exported, edited in Excel, and then imported back into the Fusion Table. (Find naming conventions that work for your project). You can read more about importing file types at <http://www.google.com/support/fusiontables/bin/answer.py?answer=171181>), and more about preparing your data prior to upload at <http://www.google.com/support/fusiontables/bin/answer.py?hl=en&answer=171183&ctx=top5&src=top5>.

**Visualize** by selecting Visualize > Map. Your data will be rendered as a map! To view it as a table again, simply click Visualize > Table.

**Configure info windows** by selecting "Configure info window" while you are viewing the rendered map. You can check or uncheck the content that you'd like to have appear in the info window. If, for example, you want to change the

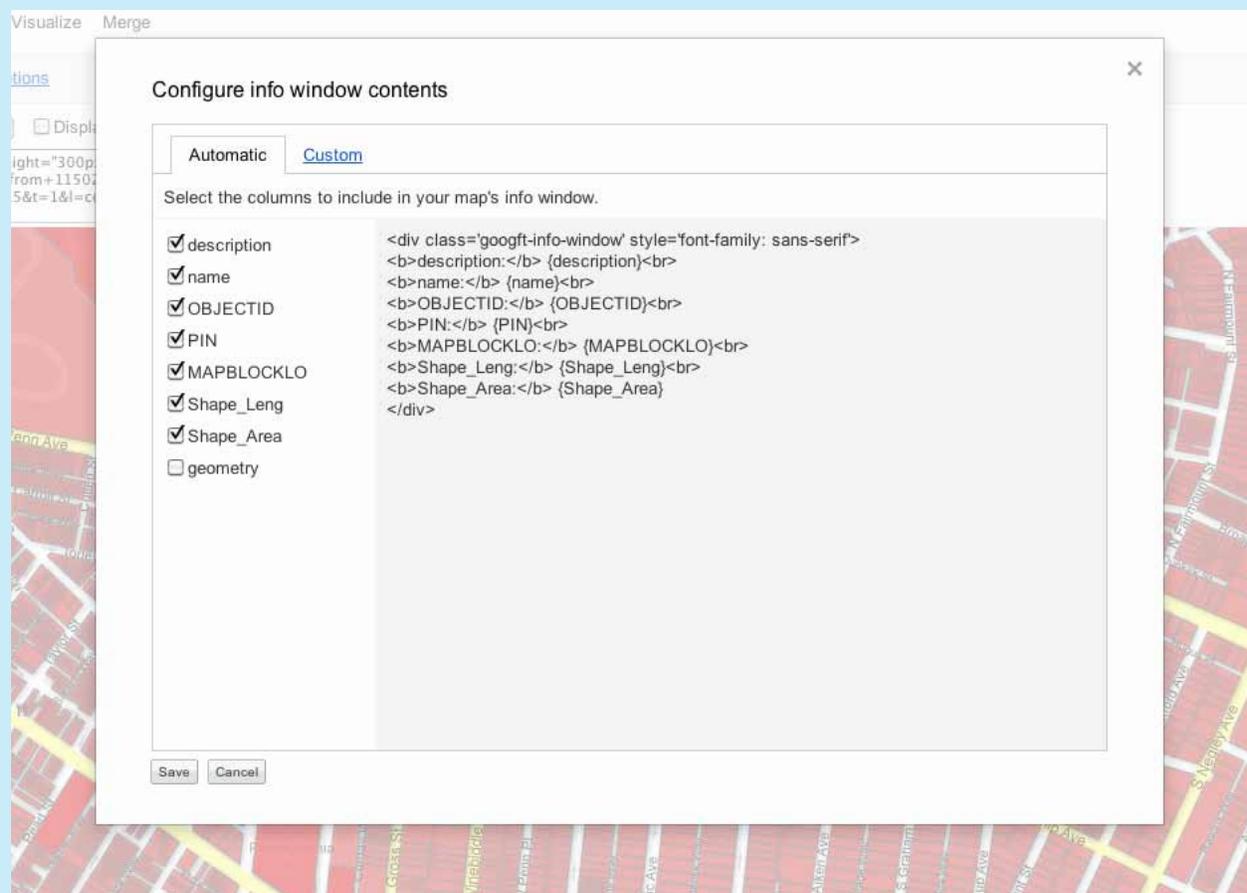


# Questions?

name of the variable displayed (without changing the value in the spreadsheet), click “Custom” and edit and save that content. Click on a region of your map to see the info window with your latest changes.

**Embed** your Fusion Table into another website, so that it is visible outside of Fusion Tables by selecting “Share” in the upper-right corner of the screen, and then changing the “Visibility Options” to “Public”. Select “Get Embeddable Link” and copy-paste that text to embed the map into another webpage.

If you have any questions that have not been answered in this document, or if you require greater detail, Google’s own resources will be the quickest and best way to find an answer. The url for Google’s Fusion Tables is [code.google.com/apis/fusiontables/](http://code.google.com/apis/fusiontables/), and the url for Google Fusion help is [www.google.com/support/fusiontables/](http://www.google.com/support/fusiontables/).



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### Share this table

**Invite people to** ?

- View**  
Can see and comment on the data
- Edit**  
Can also edit the data and can invite others

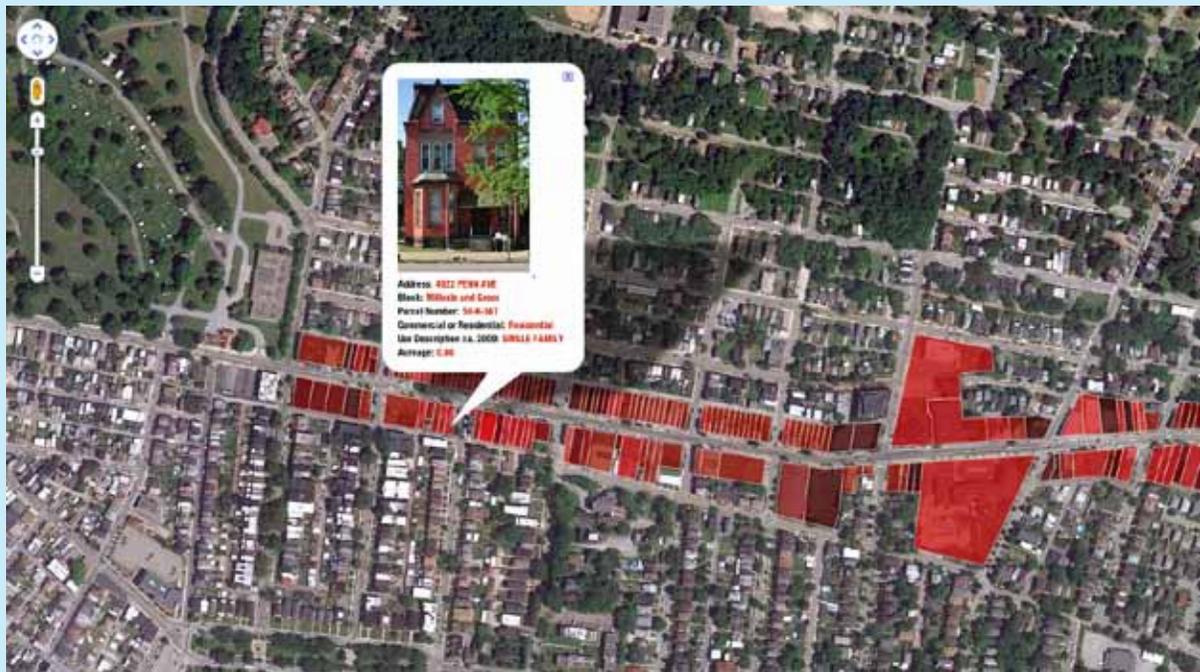
Separate email addresses with commas.

**Send email invitations**

**Viewers (0)**

**Editors (0)**

**Owners (1)**  
*sara.blumenstein@gmail.com*







# Appendix D: Photo credits

# Photo Credits

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