Downtown Rebirth: Documenting the Live-Work Dynamic in 21st Century U.S. Cities

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Center City District
@lmgilchrist

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The Center City District is Philadelphia’s largest Business Improvement District (BID)

- Enabled by the PA legislature
- Reauthorized by City Council every 5 years
- $20 million operating budget

240 downtown blocks in the heart of the 5th largest U.S. city
CENTER CITY DISTRICT CLEANING & PUBLIC SAFETY BY THE NUMBERS

132 DAILY CLEANERS
62 Concourse Cleaners & Supervisors
53 Sidewalk Cleaners & Supervisors
17 Sidewalk Cleaners & Supervisors on Fee-for-Service Contracts Outside the CCD

100+ POLICE OFFICERS & COMMUNITY SERVICE REPRESENTATIVES STAND JOINT ROLL CALL AND COORDINATE DEPLOYMENT

Source: Center City District

ALERT PHILADELPHIA AUDIENCE
3,000 Individuals, Businesses, or Organizations Receiving Alerts
132 Alerts in 2013

300 PHILADELPHIA CRIME PREVENTION COUNCIL MEMBER ORGANIZATIONS
In addition to the provision of basic services, the CCD makes or facilitates capital investments in Center City Philadelphia

More than:
- 893 trees & 72 planters
- 233 pedestrian & vehicular signs
- 222 pedestrian & 132 vehicular lights
- 108 subway navigational signs
...and lots of other field assets
Some of our biggest investments have been in Center City parks and plazas

We just announced the opening of our newest park, Dilworth Plaza, yesterday: September 4
The CCD also quantifies and tells the story of Center City Philadelphia

Philadelphia has four major, growing centers of 21st-century employment: Center City, University City, the New York, and Temple University’s two North Philadelphia campuses. Together, they hold 362,900 wage and salary jobs, 53% of all positions in the city (Figure 1). Aligned with the growth at Philadelphia International Airport, these economic centers provide a broad range of opportunities at all skill and educational levels for residents from every city neighborhood and surrounding county. Another 235,800 jobs are spread across neighborhood commercial corridors, industrial parks, large private and public companies, along the waterfronts, or in emerging sectors of the cleaner economy. That makes these smaller clusters reach a critical mass of at least 1% of total citywide jobs.

The four largest nodes are downtown’s high-end and improving residential, financial, and cultural amenities. Nodality is not just expected, but also necessary to attract the long-term retention of the child-voting base needed to make Philadelphia the workshop of the world. Finally, the impetus to solidify one of long-term attractive Philadelphia has 250,000 lower-wage jobs in its boundaries than it had in 1970. Poverty and unemployment have steadily risen to levels higher than that of our major northeastern peer cities. A TIME FOR CHANGE

The significance of other old Northeast cities, particularly Boston, New York, and Washington, is a testament to our city’s economic resurgence. The city’s major employment nodes are built around existing infrastructure investments at the center of the region’s transit and highway networks.
Part of which we do using the LED dataset

We also share best practices with peer institutions and advocate for downtowns across the country.
We are part of a network of more than 1,400 BIDs in the U.S. & Canada

- CCD is one of the largest U.S. BIDs

- All BIDs share the need to quantify downtown and benchmark performance at the sub county level, specifically for:
  - Job trends
  - Residential trends

- This project is a coordinated effort through the International Downtown Association, the trade association of downtown organizations
“The Holy Grail of Downtown Research”

DEFINING DOWNTOWN
This study builds on the work of Dr. Eugenie Birch

- Conducted using local definitions of downtown (though somewhat subjectively defined)
- Analysis of Decennial Census data from 1970-2000
- Characterizes downtown population and household growth rates, as well as some demographic characteristics
- Develops “downtown typologies”

**Metroplitan Policy Program**

**Who Lives Downtown**

Eugenie L. Birch

**Findings**
An analysis of downtown population, household, and income trends in 44 selected cities from 1970 to 2000 finds that:

- During the 1990s, downtown population grew by 10 percent, a marked resurgence following 20 years of overall decline. Forty percent of the sample cities began to see growth before the 1990s. While only New York’s two downtown areas and Seattle, Los Angeles, and San Diego saw steady increases from 1970 to 2000, another 13 downtowns have experienced sustained growth since the 1980s.

- From 1970 to 2000, the number of downtown households increased 10 percent—15 percent in the 1990s alone—and their composition shifted. Households grew faster than population in downtowns, reflecting the proliferation of smaller households of singles, unrelated individuals living together, and childless married couples.

- Downtown homeownership rates rose more than doubled during the thirty-year period, reaching 22 percent by 2000. Overall the number of homeowners grew steadily each decade. By 2000, the share of homeowners across the sample downtowns was at a high of 41 percent in Chicago to a low of just 1 percent in Cincinnati.

- Downtowns are more racially and ethnically diverse than 20 years ago. From 1980 to 2000, the combined share of white and black residents living in the sample downtowns fell from 83 percent to 70 percent, while the share of Hispanic and Asian residents increased. The number of white residents living downtown rebounded in the 1990s, however, despite an overall loss of this group in cities as a whole.

- In general, downtowns boast a higher percentage of both young adults and college-educated residents than the nation’s cities and suburbs. In 2000, 25- to 34-year-olds represented nearly a quarter of the downtown population—up from 14 percent in 1976. Forty-four percent of downtowns had a bachelor degree or higher.

- Downtowns are home to some of the most and least affluent households of their cities and regions. Twenty of the sample downtowns—such as Midtown Manhattan, Dallas, and Miami—have at least one tract where the median income is higher than that of their MSA as a whole. Thirty-eight have at least one tract 50 percent or lower than their MSA median.

While this analysis demonstrates good news for downtown residential development overall, demographic, market, and social trends differ substantially from place to place. Urban leaders need to understand these patterns so they can make investment decisions that best capitalize on their unique assets.
But is motivated by a Census Bureau report on downtown population

Downtown organizations report spatial mismatch on the following dimensions:

- City hall not located downtown or on outskirts of downtown
- 2-mile radius is too large
- 2-mile radius cuts across significant geographic barriers

These issues:

- May cause an understatement of population growth
- May create misleading narratives about the downtown population and how it’s changed
- Work at odds with locally accepted geographic boundaries for downtown

Study uses 2-mile radius around the city hall of a metropolitan/micropolitan area’s principal city as the definition of downtown.
Attempts to build on our existing understanding of downtown by disaggregating the concepts of commercial and residential downtown

LED is the primary metric we use to designate our “commercial downtown” or Core Center City
A few examples

ILLUSTRATING THE PROBLEM
A 2-mile radius is too much; ½ and 1-mile radii do a slightly better job of reflecting job and housing patterns

A 2-mile Radius Around City Hall  
½ and 1-mile Radii Around City Hall
The quick drop-off in employment and residential density is highly apparent.
Baltimore’s Central Business District is more concentrated around the Inner Harbor
Buffering the edges of the CBD yields a more logical pattern for the flow of workers within the CBD and between downtown and its residential neighborhoods.
A fairly clear relationship between Baltimore’s CBD and surrounding neighborhoods emerges.

**CBD Census Tract Definitions**

- 203 • 402
- 302 • 1801
- 401 • 2201

- % of Workers that **Live & Work** in CBD: **31.7%**
- % of Workers that Live within ½ Mi of CBD Who Work in CBD: **21.1%**
- % of Workers that Live within 1 Mi of CBD Who Work in CBD: **18.6%**
- % of Workers that Live within 1.5 Mi of CBD Who Work in CBD: **17.2%**
Here’s what happens in New York City
RESEARCH PROCESS
Defining

1. Determining the geographic universe
   – Used the LODES data to determine the 150 largest Places for Primary Jobs
The 150 Largest Cities for Jobs
Defining

2. Defining the employment node
   – Inspect job density levels within cities
   – Determine if discrete clusters exist
   – Select the Census Tracts that correspond most closely with the highest density areas
   – Solicit feedback from BID partners
Philadelphia’s Employment Clusters

5 - 10,022 Jobs/Sq.Mile
10,023 - 40,074 Jobs/Sq.Mile
40,075 - 90,160 Jobs/Sq.Mile
90,161 - 160,282 Jobs/Sq.Mile
160,283 - 250,438 Jobs/Sq.Mile

Analysis Selection

CENTER CITY DISTRICT
Defining

3. Selecting Census Tracts within a half- and one-mile orbit of the commercial downtown
   – Buffer from the edges of the commercial downtown Census Tracts
   – Include Census Tracts if their centroid (mathematical center) falls within the half- and one-mile areas
Analyzing

4. Calculate the following for each geographic area:
   - Population
   - Workforce
   - Job density
   - Live-work quotient

5. Create maps
RESULTS
Overall

America’s 150 largest cities hold 30% of all jobs in the country, and the 231 major employment centers within them contain 18.7 million jobs — 14.4% of U.S. employment.
# Total Jobs in Major Employment Nodes in America’s Largest Cities (Based on Number of Jobs)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City Jobs Rank</th>
<th>City</th>
<th>Jobs in Major Employment Nodes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>New York, NY</td>
<td>2,318,523</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Los Angeles, CA</td>
<td>660,670</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Houston, TX</td>
<td>561,605</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Chicago, IL</td>
<td>734,903</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Phoenix, AZ</td>
<td>187,410</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Dallas, TX</td>
<td>357,799</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>San Diego, CA</td>
<td>181,199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Philadelphia, PA</td>
<td>367,595</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>San Antonio, TX</td>
<td>181,155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Washington, DC</td>
<td>444,581</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total Jobs in Major Employment Nodes: 5,995,440
### Figure 3: Highest Live-Work Percentages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employment Node</th>
<th>% of Workers Living Within One Mile of Downtown Who Work Within One Mile of Downtown</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Midtown Manhattan, NY</td>
<td>55.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Downtown Chicago, IL</td>
<td>51.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Downtown Washington, DC</td>
<td>50.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strip - Las Vegas, NV*</td>
<td>50.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Downtown Rochester, MN</td>
<td>50.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Downtown Ann Arbor, MI</td>
<td>49.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Downtown Honolulu, HI**</td>
<td>44.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Downtown Portland, OR</td>
<td>43.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Downtown Seattle, WA</td>
<td>41.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Center City - Philadelphia, PA</td>
<td>40.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Figure 4: Population Change Around Job Nodes with Largest Residential Populations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employment Node</th>
<th>Commercial Downtown</th>
<th>Population Within Half Mile</th>
<th>Population Within One Mile</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Midtown Manhattan, NY</td>
<td>78,579</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
<td>378,553</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Downtown Manhattan, NY</td>
<td>65,714</td>
<td>64.8%</td>
<td>148,396</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Center City - Philadelphia, PA</td>
<td>57,239</td>
<td>16.3%</td>
<td>107,853</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Downtown Chicago, IL</td>
<td>53,832</td>
<td>95.6%</td>
<td>101,885</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Downtown San Francisco, CA</td>
<td>52,008</td>
<td>15.7%</td>
<td>117,312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Downtown Seattle, WA</td>
<td>42,423</td>
<td>25.4%</td>
<td>86,427</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Downtown Miami, FL</td>
<td>40,414</td>
<td>68.2%</td>
<td>90,142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Downtown Boston, MA*</td>
<td>33,828</td>
<td>16.8%</td>
<td>77,610</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Downtown Jersey City, NJ</td>
<td>31,538</td>
<td>58.2%</td>
<td>77,015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Downtown Sacramento, CA</td>
<td>30,544</td>
<td>-1.7%</td>
<td>52,684</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Downtown Boston population was estimated based on locally accepted boundaries because no LED data are available for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.
## Figure 11: Live-Work Percentage Around Major Employment Nodes in the 10 Largest Cities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>City, State</th>
<th>Job Node</th>
<th>% of Workers Living in Commercial Downtown Who Work in Commercial Downtown</th>
<th>% of Workers Living Within Half Mile Outside Commercial Downtown Who Work in Commercial Downtown</th>
<th>% of Workers Living Within One Mile Outside Commercial Downtown Who Work in Commercial Downtown</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>New York, NY</td>
<td>Midtown Manhattan</td>
<td>46.2%</td>
<td>38.9%</td>
<td>37.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Downtown Manhattan</td>
<td>22.7%</td>
<td>13.1%</td>
<td>12.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Brooklyn*</td>
<td>8.7%</td>
<td>7.6%</td>
<td>7.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Los Angeles, CA</td>
<td>Downtown Los Angeles</td>
<td>19.3%</td>
<td>9.0%</td>
<td>8.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Westwood/UCLA</td>
<td>12.1%</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
<td>5.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hollywood</td>
<td>8.1%</td>
<td>3.5%</td>
<td>3.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Wilshire/Koreatown</td>
<td>9.2%</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
<td>3.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Houston, TX</td>
<td>Downtown Houston</td>
<td>22.2%</td>
<td>11.6%</td>
<td>12.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Greenway Plaza</td>
<td>12.4%</td>
<td>6.4%</td>
<td>5.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Uptown</td>
<td>17.4%</td>
<td>6.4%</td>
<td>6.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Texas Medical Center</td>
<td>31.2%</td>
<td>16.3%</td>
<td>15.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Chicago, IL</td>
<td>Downtown Chicago</td>
<td>52.3%</td>
<td>43.7%</td>
<td>43.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>University of Illinois</td>
<td>11.2%</td>
<td>5.0%</td>
<td>4.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>University of Chicago</td>
<td>19.0%</td>
<td>22.8%</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Phoenix, AZ</td>
<td>Downtown Phoenix</td>
<td>13.0%</td>
<td>9.4%</td>
<td>8.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>North Downtown</td>
<td>10.8%</td>
<td>6.6%</td>
<td>5.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Dallas, TX</td>
<td>Downtown Dallas</td>
<td>17.9%</td>
<td>12.0%</td>
<td>10.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>University of Texas Medical Center</td>
<td>19.1%</td>
<td>12.0%</td>
<td>10.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>San Diego, CA</td>
<td>Downtown San Diego</td>
<td>17.9%</td>
<td>11.0%</td>
<td>10.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>UCSD &amp; Medical Center</td>
<td>3.1%</td>
<td>16.8%</td>
<td>14.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Philadelphia, PA</td>
<td>Center City</td>
<td>36.0%</td>
<td>35.2%</td>
<td>34.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>University City</td>
<td>12.2%</td>
<td>16.6%</td>
<td>12.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>San Antonio, TX</td>
<td>Downtown San Antonio</td>
<td>12.2%</td>
<td>6.7%</td>
<td>7.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>University of Texas Medical Center</td>
<td>21.3%</td>
<td>8.4%</td>
<td>7.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Washington, DC</td>
<td>Downtown Washington, DC</td>
<td>43.7%</td>
<td>42.5%</td>
<td>41.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Georgetown</td>
<td>8.7%</td>
<td>6.8%</td>
<td>6.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>VA Medical Center</td>
<td>4.9%</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Tables for All Cities Studied

- Tables for All Cities Studied
  - Employment Nodes Sorted by Total Jobs
  - Job Densities
  - Employment Nodes Sorted by Live-Work Quotient

- Tables for Top 10 Cities
  - Job Node Change in Population 2000-2010
  - Job Node Change in Total Jobs 2002-2011
Types of Urban Employment

Total Employment Nodes Studied: 231

- Commercial downtowns and town centers: 147
- Urban education, cultural, healthcare, and research campuses: 47
- Office and research parks: 36
Urban Form

Figure 13: One Dominant Downtown Employment Node—Seattle

61% of job nodes studied
Urban Form

21% of job nodes studied
Urban Form

8% of job nodes studied

10% of job nodes studied
definingdowntown.org
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