City Planning 642-001
Spring 2025, University of Pennsylvania
Paul R. Levy

Final class

https://centercityphila.org/bidclass

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(a) Looking back: review of class themes
(b) Looking forward: challenges & opportunities
(c) New developments redefining the downtown landscape
(d) Friction of existing reality
(e) New tools to prompt new development
(f) Decentralization of work away from CBDs?
(g) Planning, financing & implementing comprehensive redevelopment of districts

(h) Final papers

(i) American political setting

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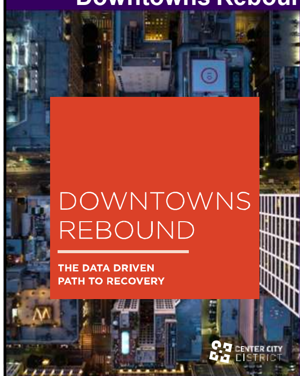
(a) Looking back: Downtowns Rebound: released in October 2023



Analysis of 26 of nation's largest downtowns
Placer.ai anonymized cell phone data
Track workers, visitors & residents

Updated to December 31, 2024

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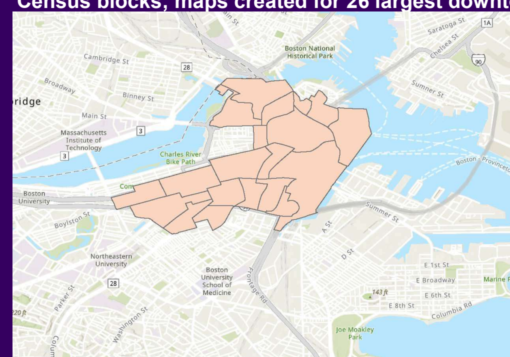
Downtowns defined: places with at least 30 jobs/acre At least twice as many jobs as residents Census blocks; maps created for 26 largest downtowns



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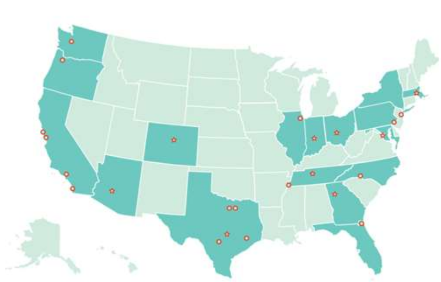
Used the same methodology 26 of the largest downtown (by # jobs)

*Atlanta, GA
*Austin, TX
*Boston, MA
Charlotte, NC
Chicago, Il
*Columbus, OH
Dallas, TX
*Washington DC
*Denver, CO
Fort Worth, TX
Houston, TX
*Indianapolis, IN
Jacksonville, FL
Los Angeles, CA
Lower Manhattan, NYC
Memphis, TN
Midtown Manhattan, NYC
*Nashville, TN
Philadelphia, PA
*Phoenix, AZ
Portland, OR
San Antonio, TX
San Diego, CA
San Francisco, CA
San Jose, CA
Seattle, WA

*State Capital



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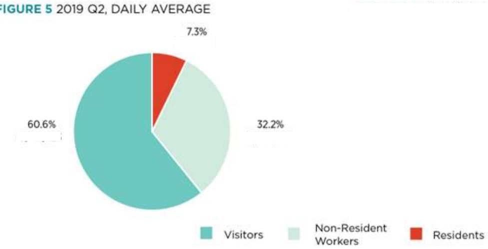
2019/2024 Placer's three categories: Non-resident workers; residents; visitors (shoppers, tourists, those coming for service)

COMPOSITION OF POPULATION OF ALL 26 CORE DOWNTOWNS COMBINED

FIGURE 5 2019 Q2, DAILY AVERAGE



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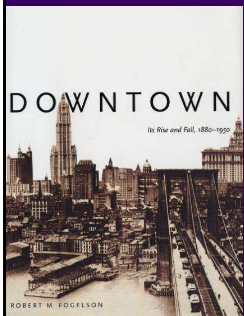
Origin of the term: "Downtown"



Downtown: American term invented after Civil War 1870s

"City Center" European term also applied to pre-civil war U.S. cities:

A mixed-use place, combining business, culture & residential, usually adjacent to the port

American downtowns: tended toward single use; & with few height limits, office squeezed out lower density uses

Supported by public transit

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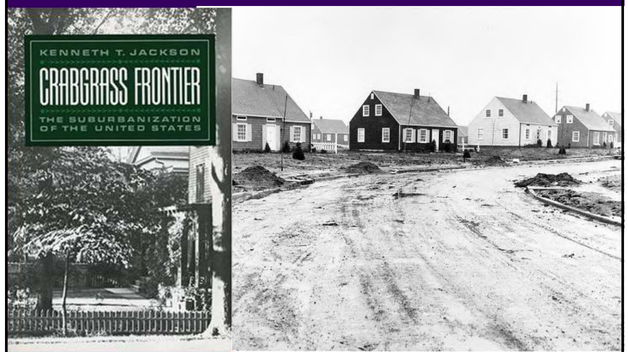
Pattern of suburbanization & redlining
Political decentralization; loss of urban dominance



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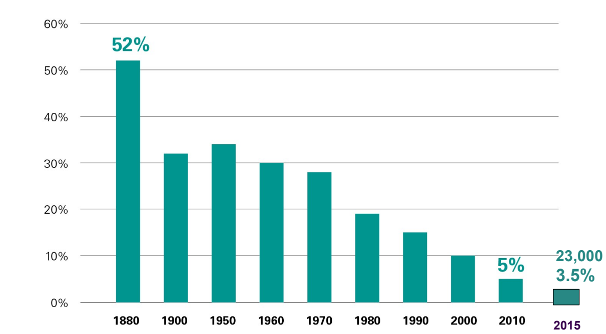
Decline of manufacturing profoundly impacted city
From 52% of jobs in manufacturing to 3.5% of jobs



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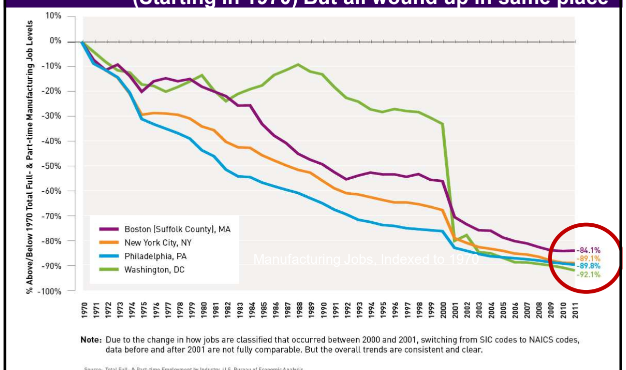
All Northeast cities lost manufacturing jobs at different rates (Starting in 1970) But all wound up in same place



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Transformation of land-use

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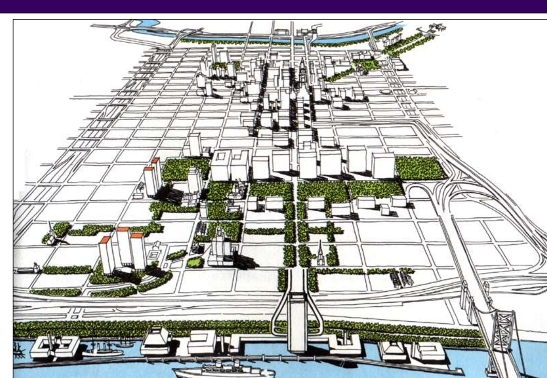
Post-industrial downtown repositioned for the auto age



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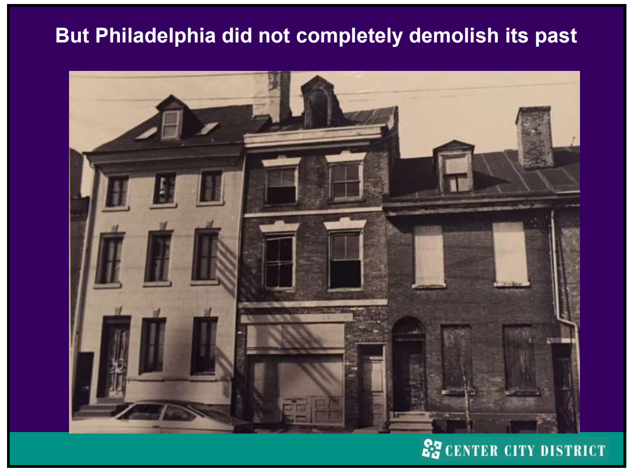

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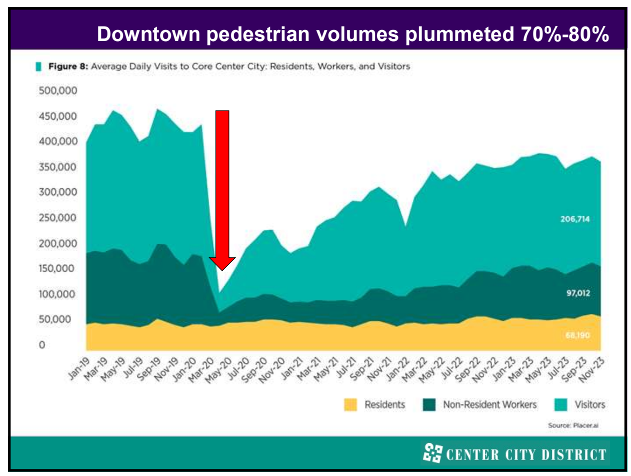

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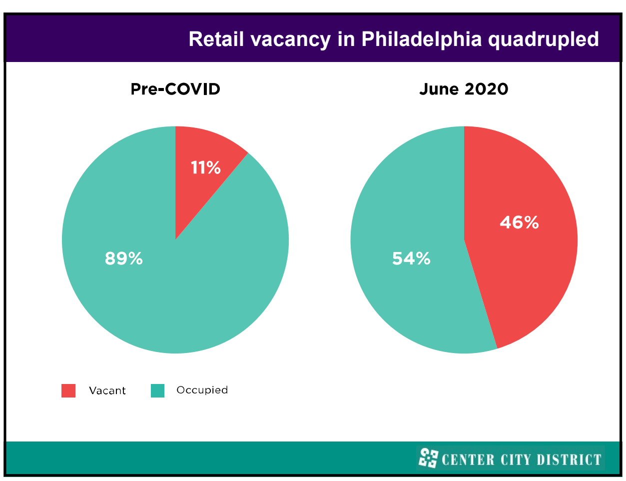

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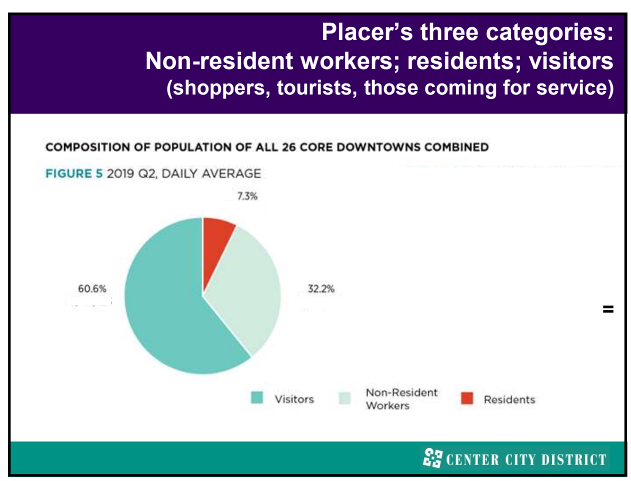

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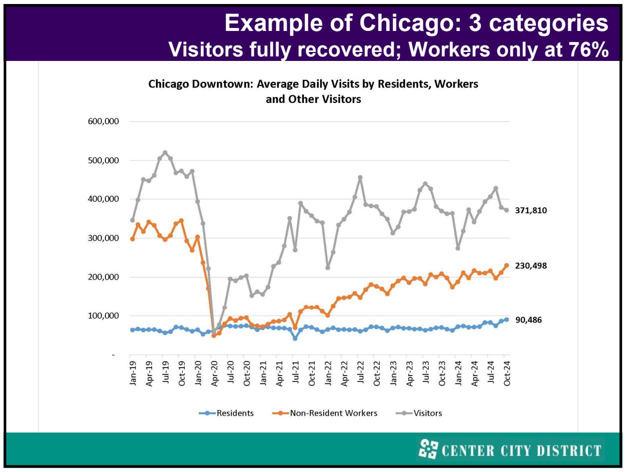

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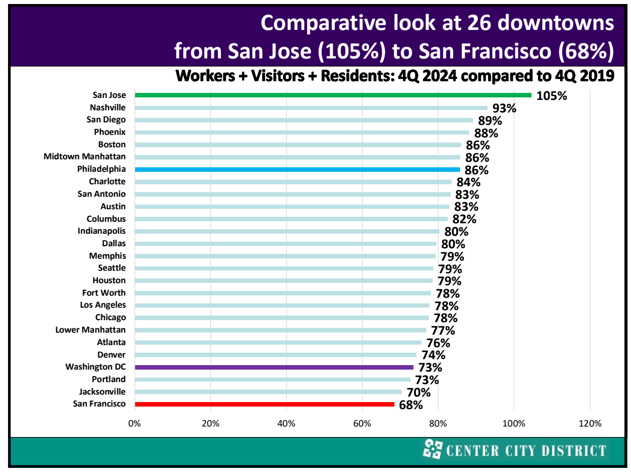

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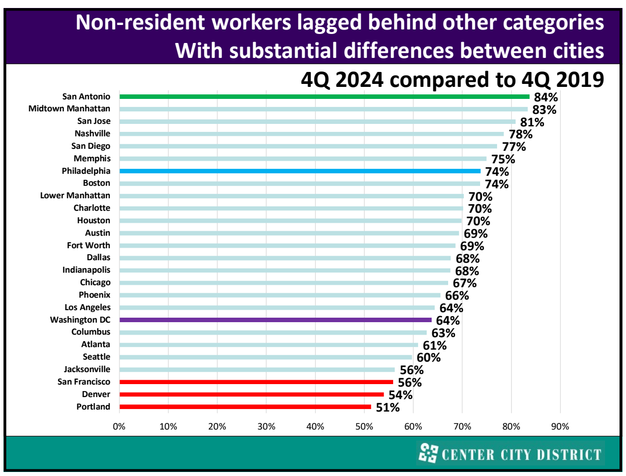

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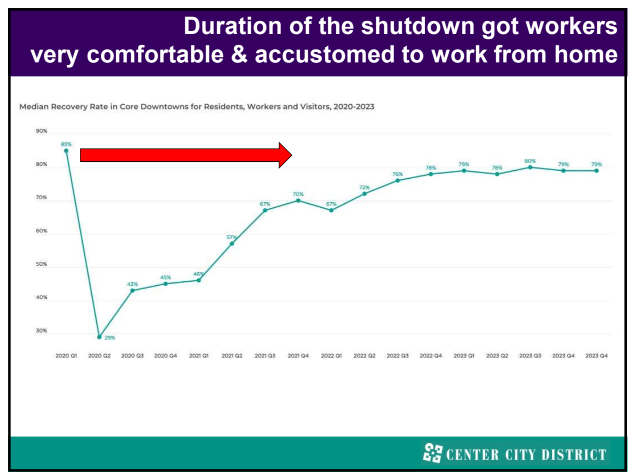

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Factors influencing the return to work (RTO)

WFH RESEARCH

SWAA March 2025 Updates

Jose Maria Barrero, Nicholas Bloom, Shelby Buckman, and Steven J. Davis

6 March 2025

ITAM Stanford University HOOVER INSTITUTION

Latest survey wave includes: February 2025

To sign up for regular results updates, please sign up here.

* Many thanks to Mert Akan and Diego Álvarez for excellent research assistance.

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Surveys find: 61.4% full time return; 12.9% fully remote

By Early-2025: 13% of Full-Time Employees Were Fully Remote, 61% Were Full-Time on Site, and 26% Were in a Hybrid Arrangement

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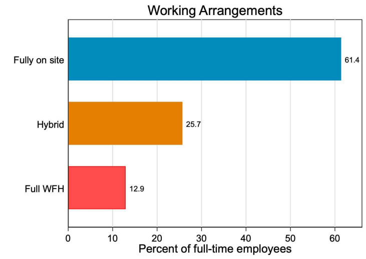

Source: Responses to the questions:

- *For each day* **last week**, *did you* **work a full day (6 or more hours)**, *and if so* **where?**

Notes: We compute the percent of full-time (i.e. work 5+ days/week) wage and salary employees who either i) worked all their days on business premises; ii) worked some days on busines premises and some days at home; or iiii) worked all all days at home during the survey's reference week. Then we show the percentage for each group. The sample covers the November 2024 to February 2025 waves of the SWAA. We re-weight the sample of US residents aged 20 to 64 earning $10,000 or more in a prior year to match CPS shares by age-sex-education-earnings cells.

N = 13,498

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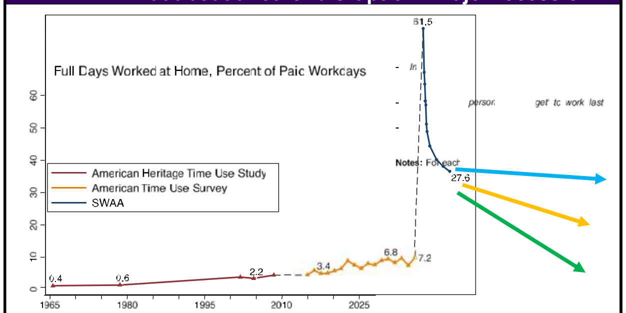
Irreversible disruption/ transformational moment? Generalizing about the future after too little time? What about another disruption? Major recession?



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CCD report: variables that impact recovery

(1) the composition of downtown economy/employment

(2) the length of commute for workers

(3) Urban design & development patterns (transit)

(4) perceptions of safety

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Working from home varies significantly by industry

Working from Home is Most Prevalent in Finance, Tech, and Professional and Business Services Sectors

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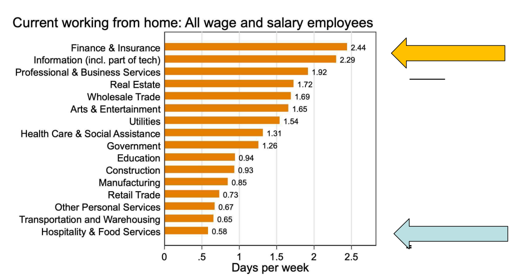

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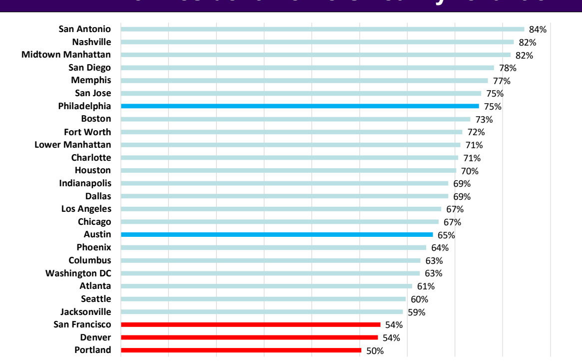
Cities with lowest recovery rate of Non-resident workers heavily reliant on IT



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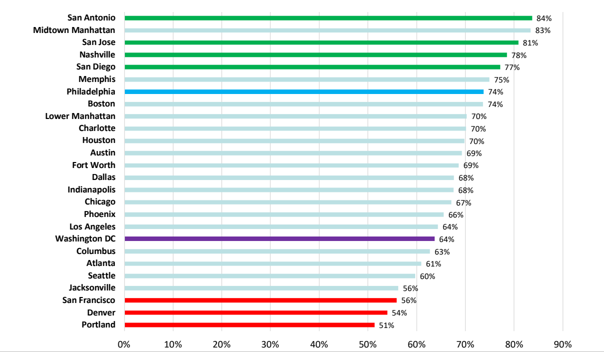
Highest rates of worker recovery: Hospitality/entertainment San Antonio, San Jose, Nashville & San Diego



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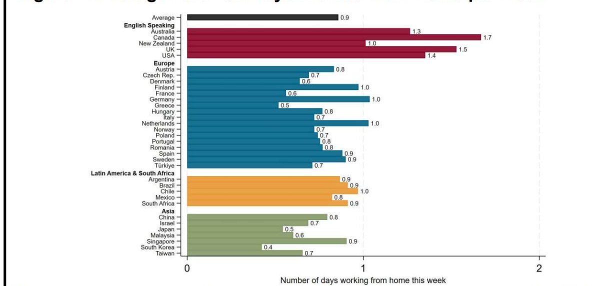
Why Does Working From Home Vary Across Countries & People? (2023)

Pablo Zarate, Mathias Dolls, Steven J. Davis, Nicholas Bloom, Jose Maria Barrero, Cevat Giray Aksoy

https://www.nber.org/papers/w32374

Figure 1: Average Paid Full Days Worked from Home per week



Note: Responses to the question "For each day last week, did you work 6 or more hours, and if so where?". Sample of N=42,426 respondents in the G-SWA from 34 countries surveyed in April-May 2023.

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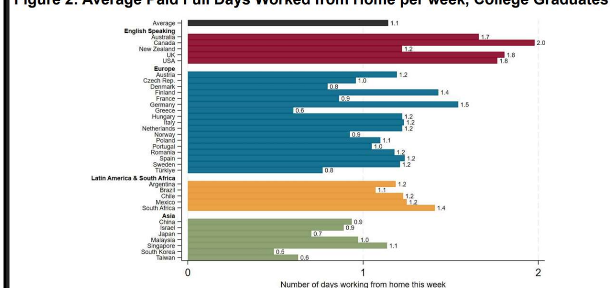
Among College Graduates

Figure 2: Average Paid Full Days Worked from Home per week, College Graduates



Note: Responses to the question "For each day last week, did you work 6 or more hours, and if so where?". Sample of N=17,019 respondents with at least a college degree in the G-SWA from 34 countries surveyed in April-May 2023.

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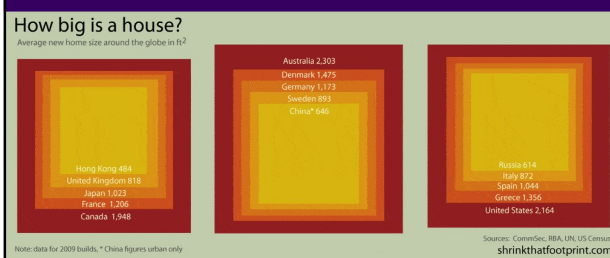
Does housing unit size impact RTO?



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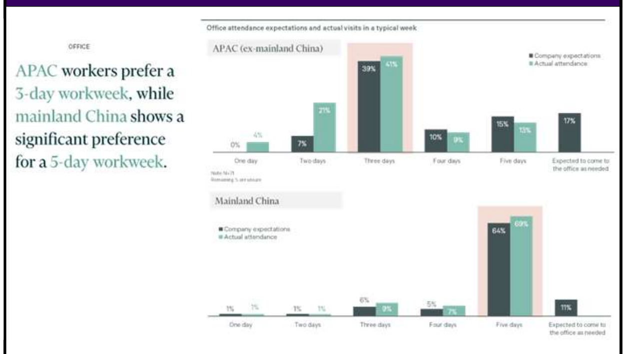
Asian Pacific city center office return



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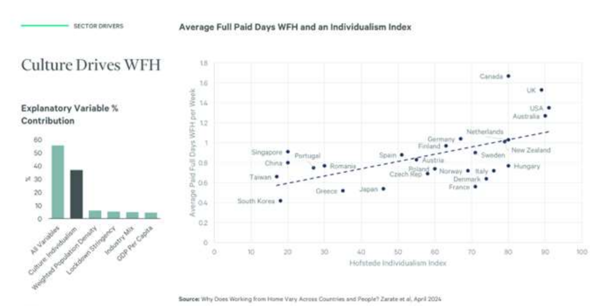
Culture of "individualism"? https://www.nber.org/papers/w32374



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GEERT HOFSTEDE, DUTCH SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGIST

https://geerthofstede.com/culture-geert-hofstede-gert-jan-hofstede/6d-model-of-national-culture

The Hofstede Individualism Index (IDV) measures the degree to which individuals in a society prioritize their own interests and those of their immediate family over group interests. It essentially quantifies the strength of the "I" over the "we" within a culture. A

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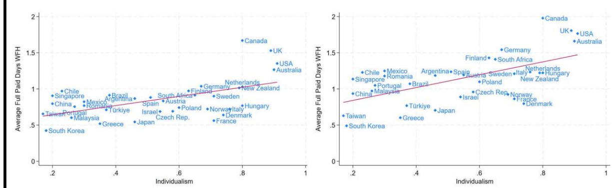
International comparison

Figure 3: Individualism and WFH



Note: The figure plots the Average Full Paid Days WFH and Hofstede's Individualism index. Panel A: Average Full Paid Days WFH calculated among all respondents in the G-SWA. Panel B: Average Full Paid Days WFH calculated among college graduates only.

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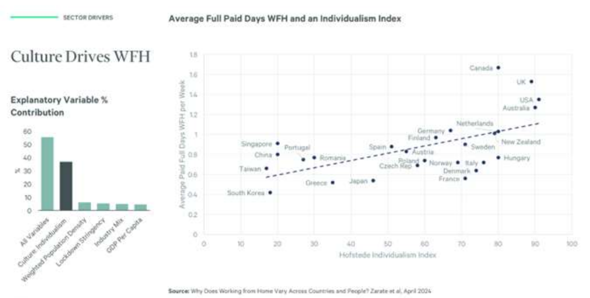
College graduates

https://geerthofstede.com/culture-geert-hofstede-gert-jan-hofstede/6d-model-of-national-culture/



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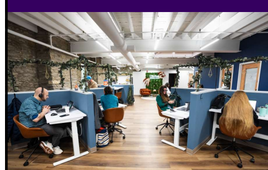
And yet, what is being promised here………?

Philly-area coworking spaces are expanding



Entrepreneurs and remote workers pay to be "part of something bigger" at a modern, flexible, collaborative office.

Goodwin, the branding agency founder, uses WeWork spaces throughout the country when he travels for work. He said he feels the same sense of "community and culture" at the other locations as he does in his Philly home base.

"It feels good to be a part of something bigger," he said.

The benefits of flexible workspaces in the heart of local communities are countless and include reduced commutes enabling employees to work in local hubs close to home.

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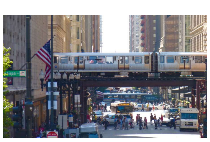
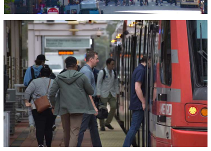
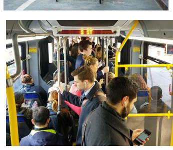
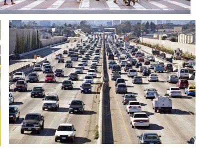
(2) Significant differences in the rate return of workers based on their distance & mode of commuting









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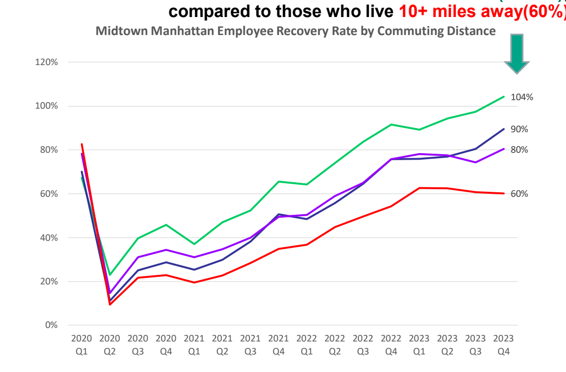
In Midtown Manhattan in the return rate of those who live within 2 miles (104%+); compared to those who live 10+ miles away(60%)



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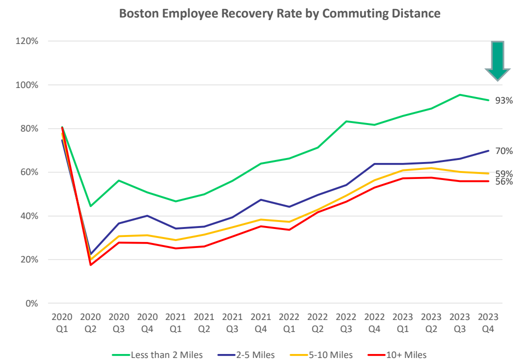
Boston, return rate of those living within 2 miles (93%) compared to those living 10+ miles away (56%)



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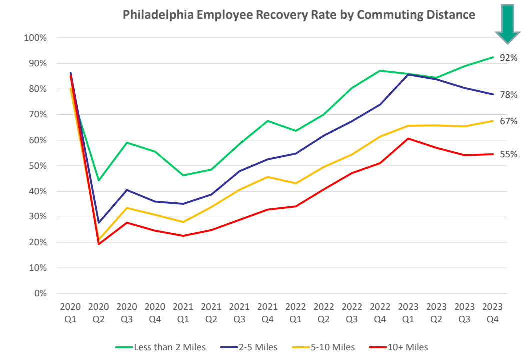
Philadelphia: those within 2 miles 92% return to work; over 10 miles = 55%



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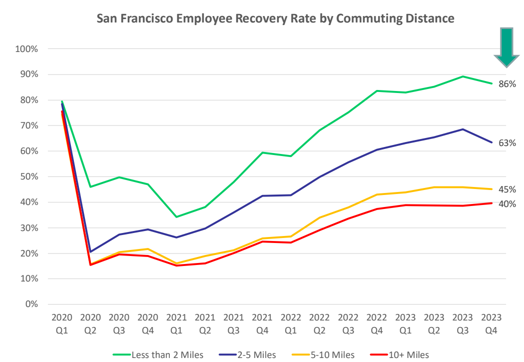
San Francisco, return rate of those living within 2 miles (86%+) compared to those living 10+ miles away (40%)



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CBRE report : Return to office in Australia

Across all of Australia RTO increased from 70% of 2019 levels in Q4 of 2023 to 76% in first half of 2024

But the midweek peak in Largest cities Sydney & Melbourne was only 71%

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Smaller cities: Perth & Adelaide with shorter commutes

Mid-week peak RTO

96% of 2019 in Perth
94% of 2019 in Adelaide

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Less demand drives the "flight to quality" From Class B & C to Class A

Class B & C buildings less amenities, lower rents, struggle due to weak demand

Class A buildings, more recently constructed or renovated with higher level of amenities, are successfully retaining & attracting tenants, sustaining rents.

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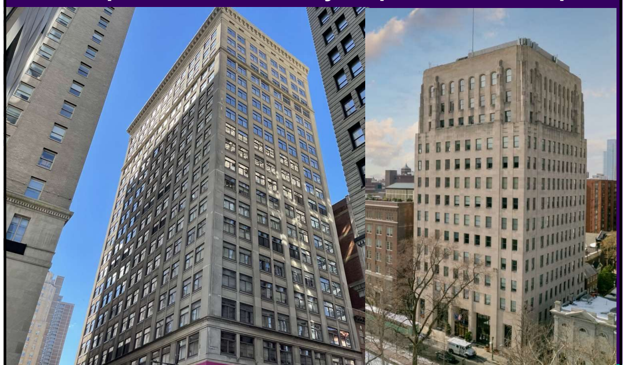
Converting vacant office buildings to residential is an important & necessary step to remove surplus



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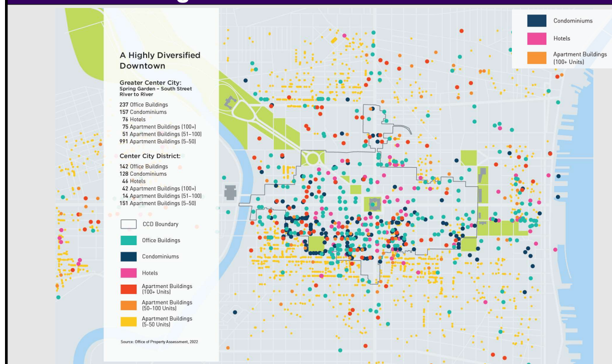
Long-term success: create a mixed-use city center Single use blocks are a formula for failure



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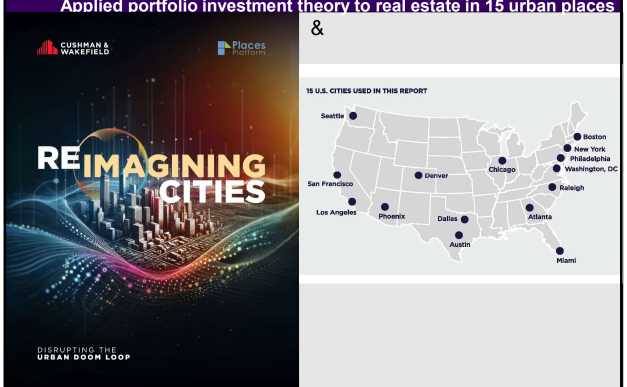
(b) Looking forward: Rebecca Rockey & Chris Leinberger Applied portfolio investment theory to real estate in 15 urban places



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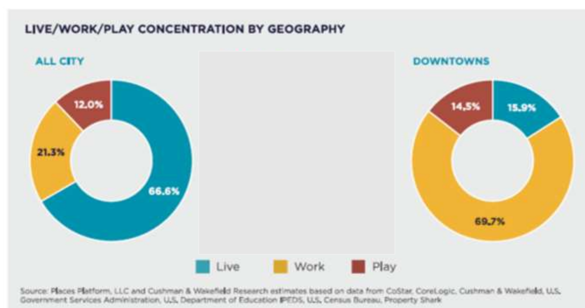
Percent of land devoted to different uses Downtowns have over-invested in work-related uses



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The Urban Doom Loop is not a doom loop It's bi-product of over-investment in office property as a downtown land-use

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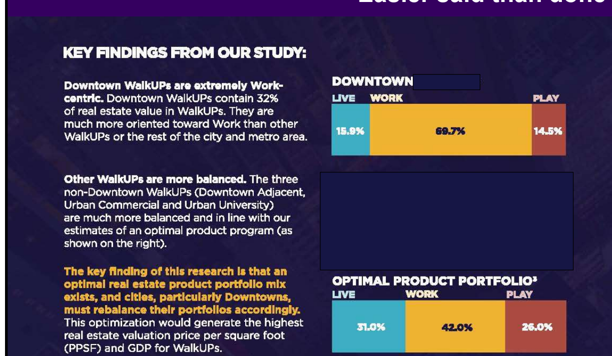
Recommended shift in Land-use allocation Easier said than done



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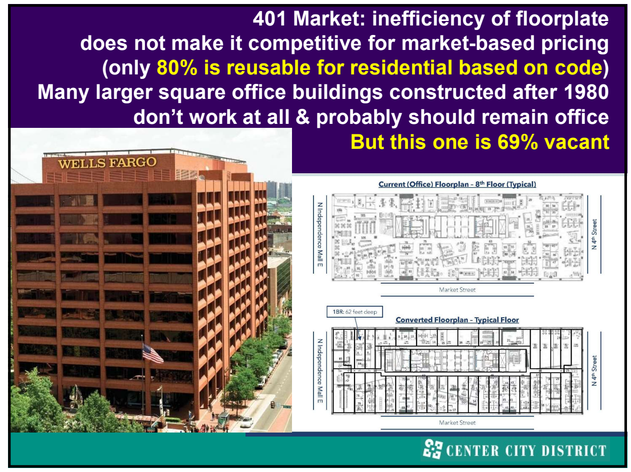

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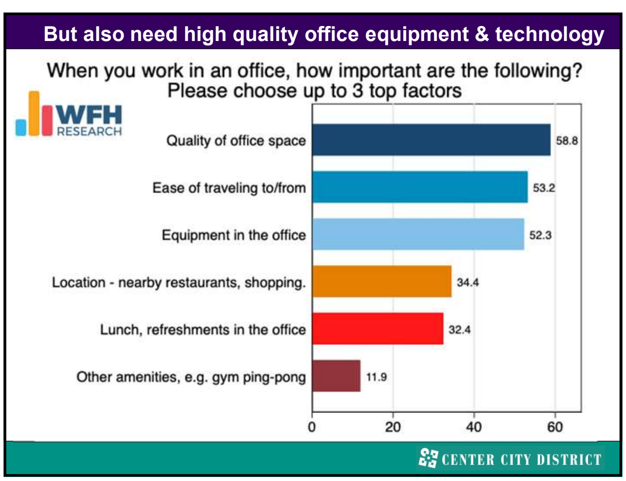

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(c) New developments are redefining the landscape

https://e-housing.jp/post/tokyo-mixed-use-developments

Why Mixed-Use Developments Are Tokyo's Answer to a Sustainable Future

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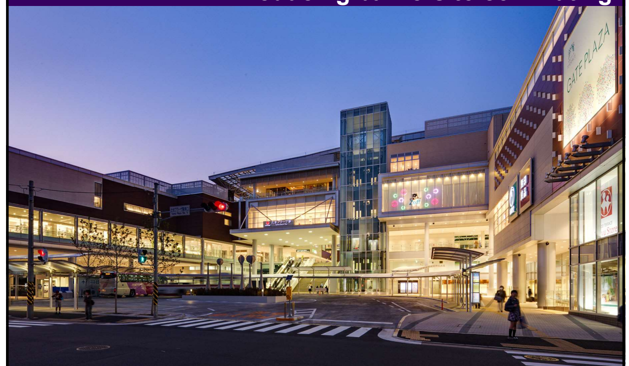
Projects directly linked to high-quality transit
Reducing barriers to commuting



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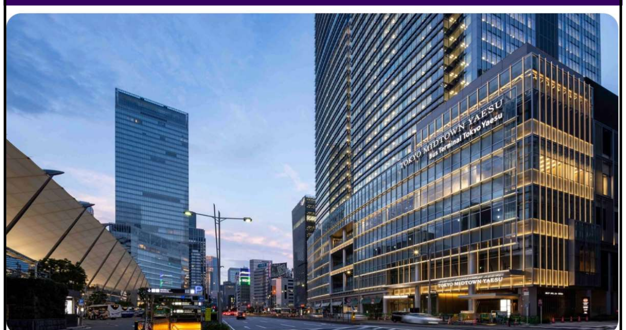
Tokyo Midtown Yaesu: completed in 2023



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- **Offices**: Each floor provides up to 4,000 square meters of office space, catering to both multinational corporations and startups.
- **Commercial Facilities**: Spanning from the basement to the third floor, the retail zone hosts 57 stores. Many focus on Japanese craftsmanship, such as specialty washi paper shops and traditional tea sellers, adding cultural significance.[1]
- **Hotel**: The Bulgari Hotel Tokyo, located on the top floors, offers luxurious accommodations with unique dining experiences, such as the Michelin-starred Bulgari Il Ristorante.[2]
- **Elementary School**: The integration of a municipal elementary school reflects Tokyo's efforts to build family-friendly urban hubs, reducing the need for families to move to suburban areas.
- **Bus Terminal**: The underground Bus Terminal Tokyo Yaesu improves access to regional destinations like Narita Airport and Mount Fuji, streamlining travel.[2]
- **Rooftop Terrace**: Designed with seasonal flowers, the rooftop terrace encourages relaxation and offers breathtaking views, fostering a connection with nature amidst the bustling city.

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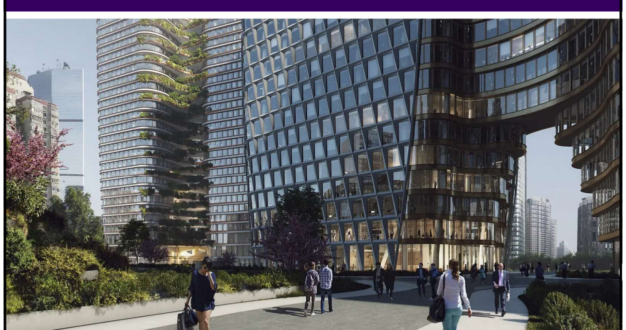
Beijing Century City

Beijing Century City - KPF



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Mixed-use, public space

a mixed-use development of office and residential buildings that will form a new civic nucleus, provide public space at the heart of the site and form physical connections with the CDB on the south.

BCC comprises office and residential elements, each entity designed as a series of smaller buildings. The offices are configured as three interconnected buildings while the residential section is made up of two linked up towers.

At the junctions where individual buildings meet, a series of internal and external spaces are formed. Spread across the development, these junctures create public, semi-public and private amenity spaces.

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London: Mixed use office, hotel, residential & retail given cost of construction; few have affordable components

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Probable future of Wanamaker building

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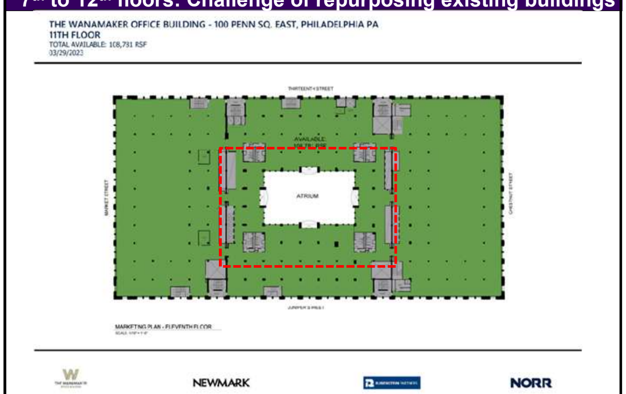
7th to 12th floors: Challenge of repurposing existing buildings



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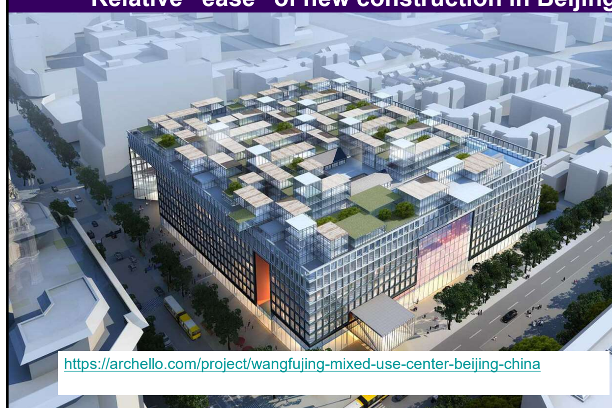
Relative "ease" of new construction in Beijing



https://archello.com/project/wangfujing-mixed-use-center-beijing-china

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(d) Friction of existing reality

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Urban design & street level experience

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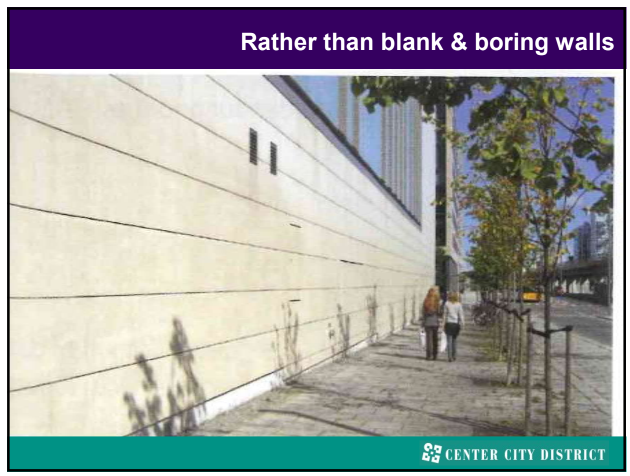

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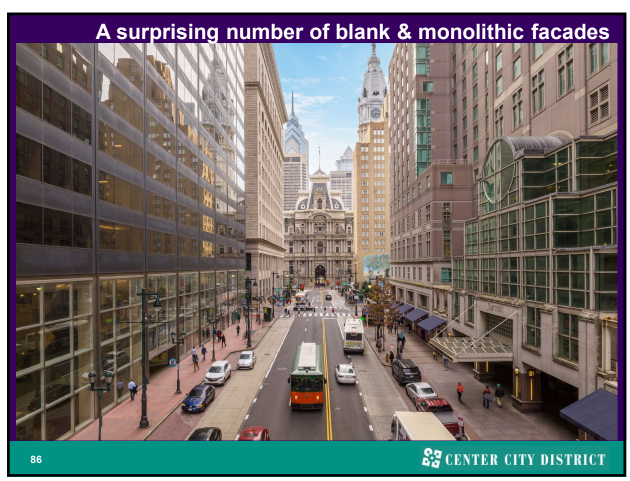

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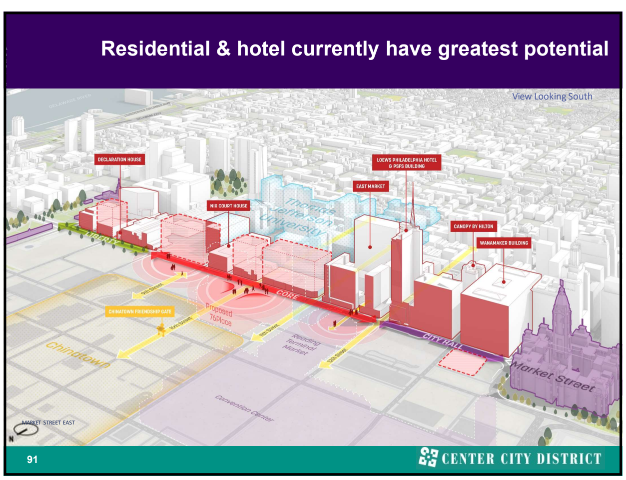

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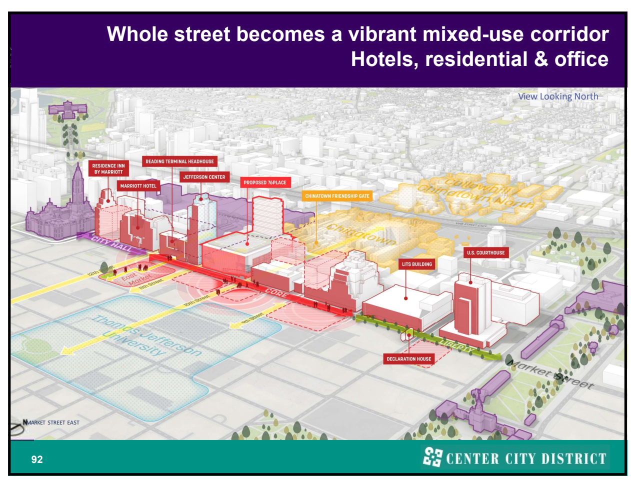

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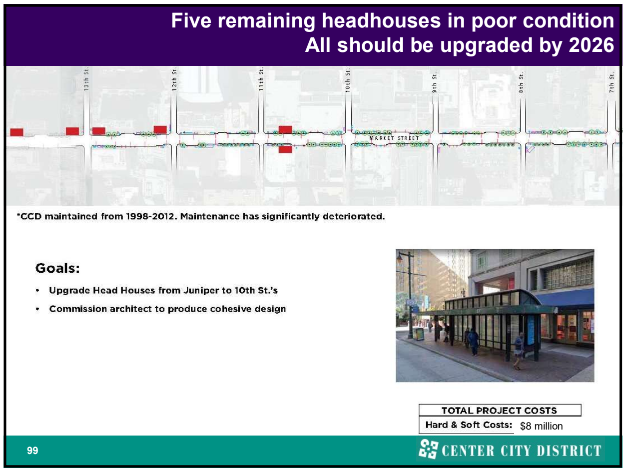

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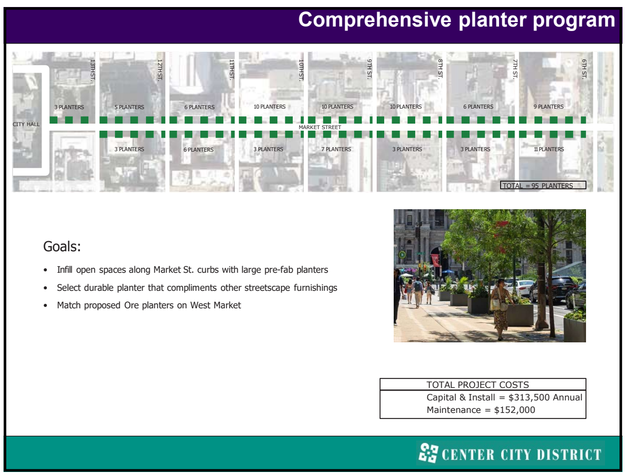

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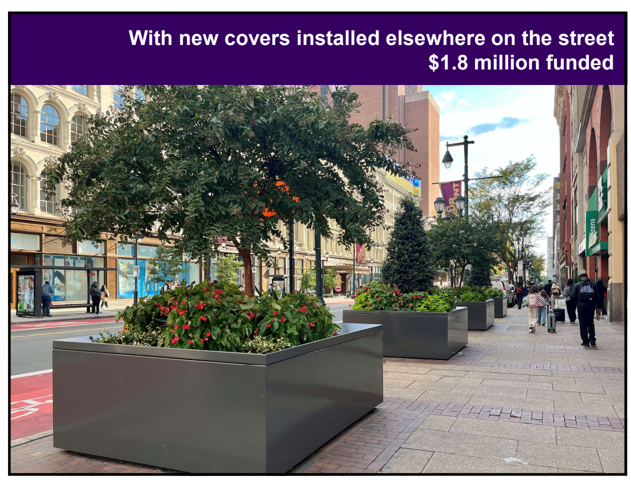

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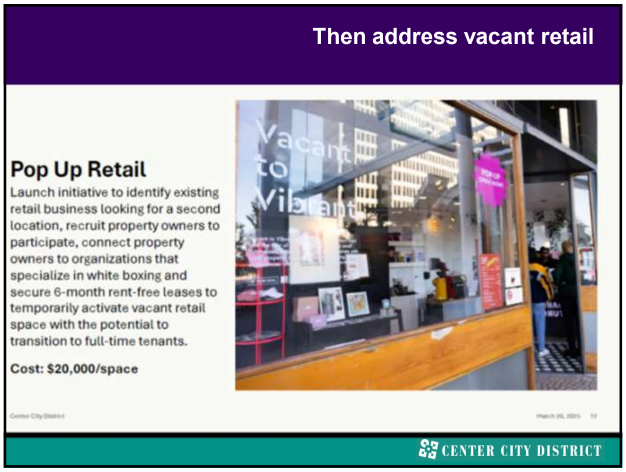

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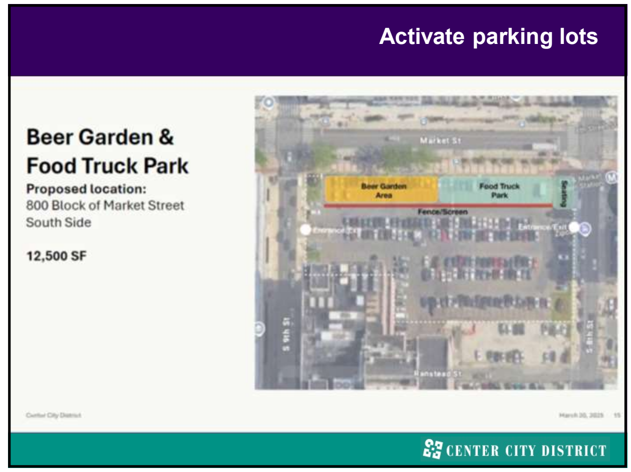

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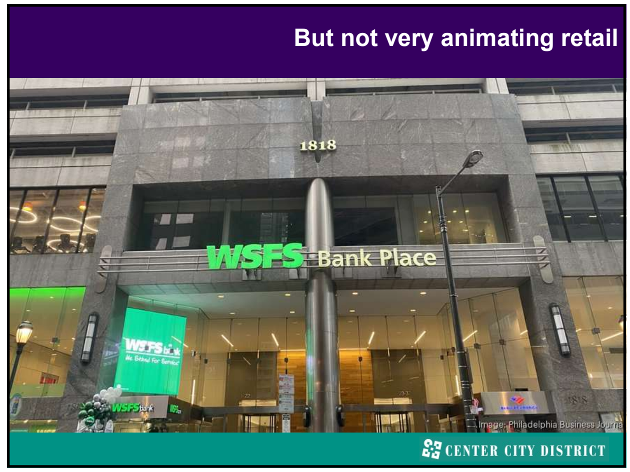

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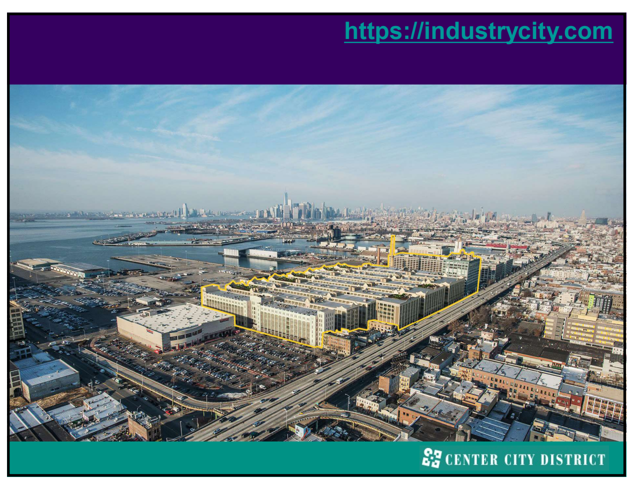

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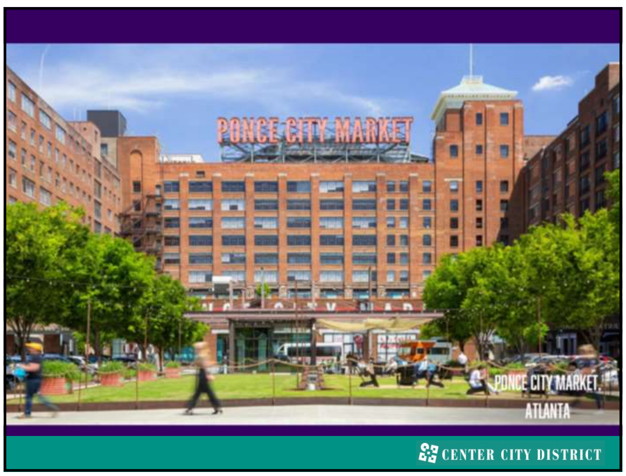

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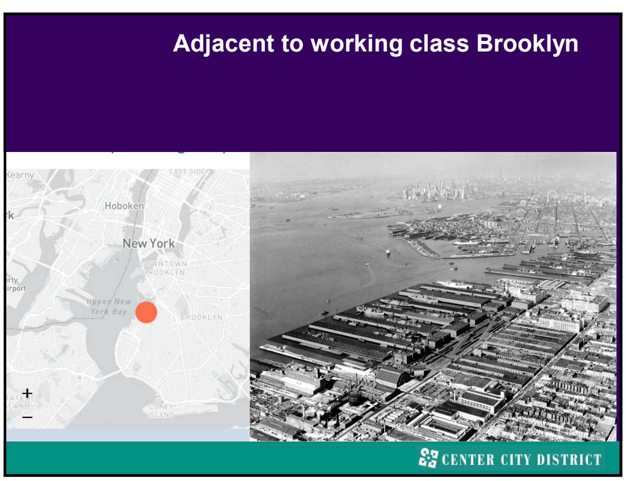

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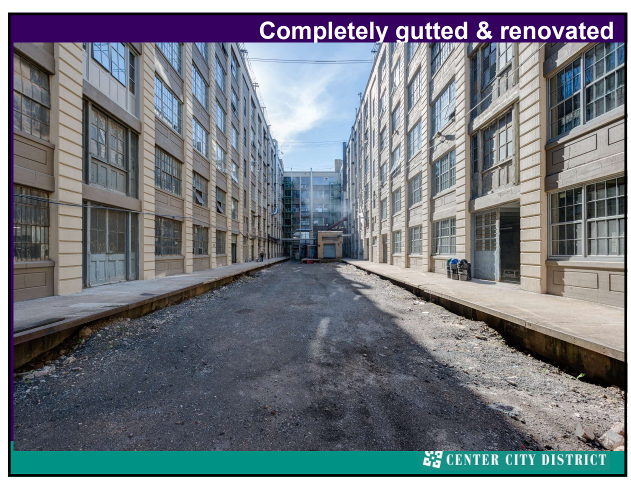

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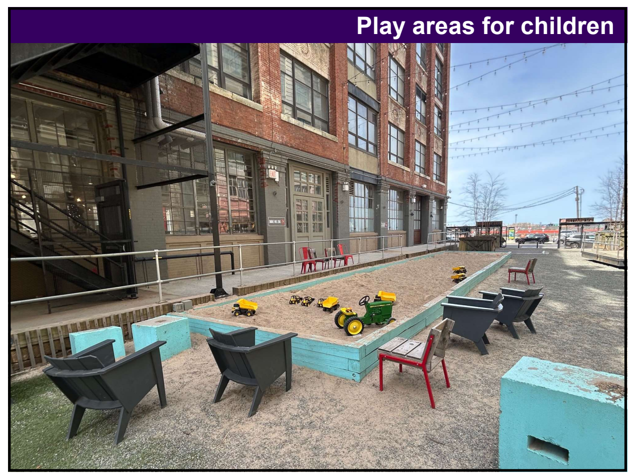

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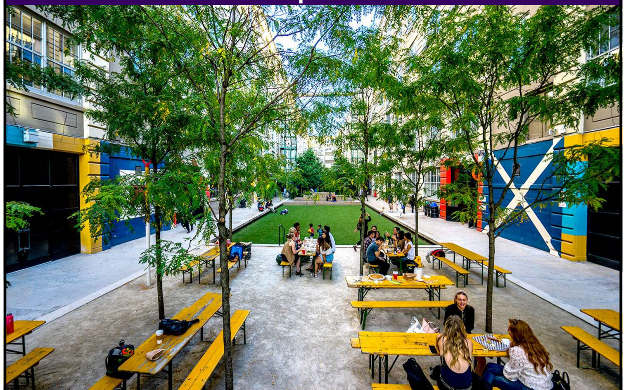
Seamless experience of indoor/outdoor



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But no residential: would have needed zoning variance in industrial commerial district

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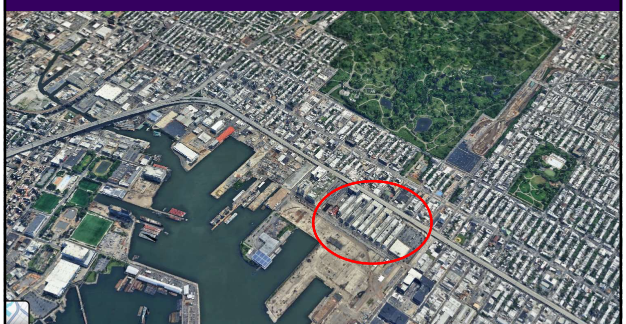
Concerns about gentrification
(Greenwood Cemetery)



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(f) Decentralization of work?

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Is this the future shaped by coworking spaces close to home?

Entrepreneurs and remote workers pay to be "part of something bigger" at a modern, flexible, collaborative office.

Goodwin, the branding agency founder, uses WeWork spaces throughout the country when he travels for work. He said he feels the same sense of "community and culture" at the other locations as he does in his Philly home base.

"It feels good to be a part of something bigger," he said.

The benefits of flexible workspaces in the heart of local communities are countless and include reduced commutes enabling employees to work in local hubs close to home.

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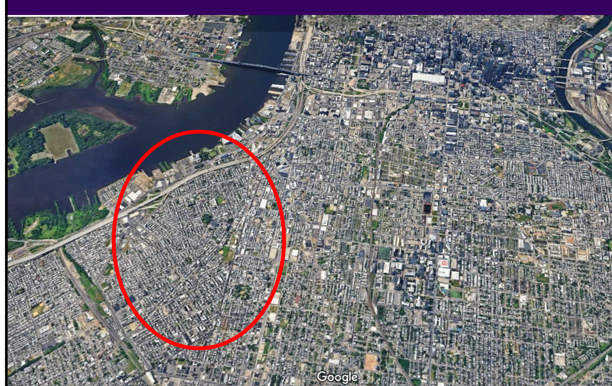
Frankford Avenue in Fishtown



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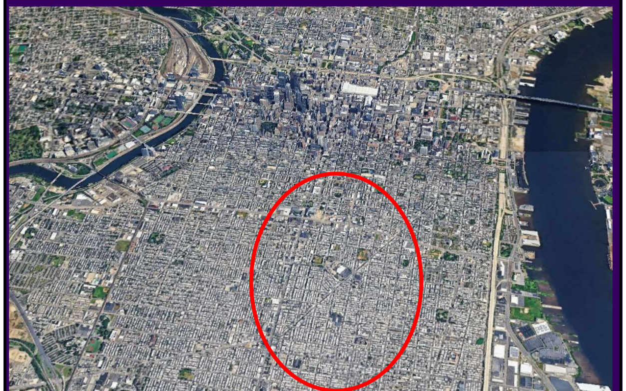
Passyunk Avenue in South Philadelphia



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Rowhouse scale retail, young professional neighborhoods Benefitting from Work from Home

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Leave behind empty offices & ground floor & concourse retail vacancy in traditional CBDs?

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Some focused on East Market; but East Chestnut is equally challenging

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VP of CBRE for Philadelphia region

A couple of use cases for coworking that did gain speed pre- pandemic are testing a new market, enterprise and satellite for talent.

Coworking is a popular choice for global clients who are testing a new market because there is no capital expense, flexibility and speed to market.

Enterprise gained speed in other markets but I can't point to a single instance in the Philly region. It is costly but you get all of the benefits of above and a customized hospitality aspect.

We did see many companies open a secondary location in coworking to accommodate talent, ie suburban headquartered companies would hire city dwellers and once there were a few, get seats in coworking.

Then you have your solepreneurs, companies in the location for specific projects/ partnerships, etc.

Pandemic hurt the coworking industry and I am not sure that it is back to past levels. I'll see if we have any data- always hard to track since most of it is self-reported by the coworking groups.

CBRE acquired Industrious at the beginning of the year and created a new business segment called Building Operations and Experience. It wraps up Property Management, Facilities Management and Flexible Working under one banner. There is confidence in the growth of this space from a global level.

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Much higher levels of vacancy, working class neighborhoods Like Central Germantown

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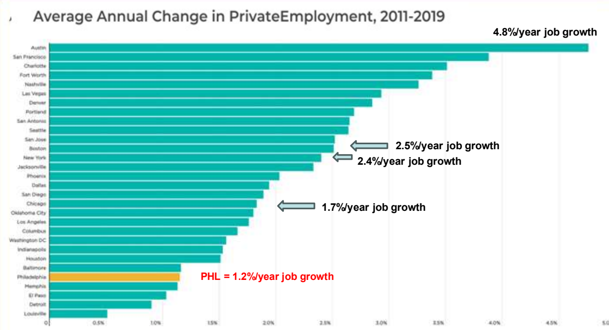
Is this less a problem of WFH & more one of overall slow growth



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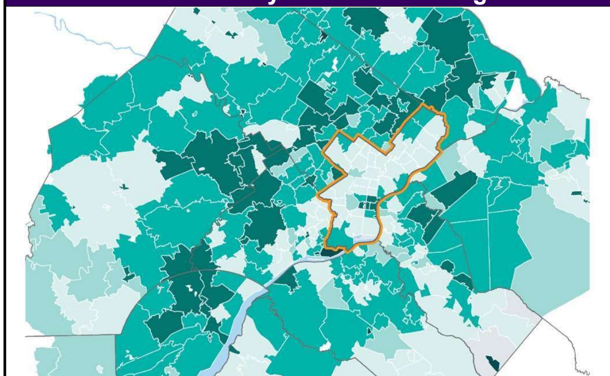
Decentralization of jobs in region Already multi-nodal at regional scale



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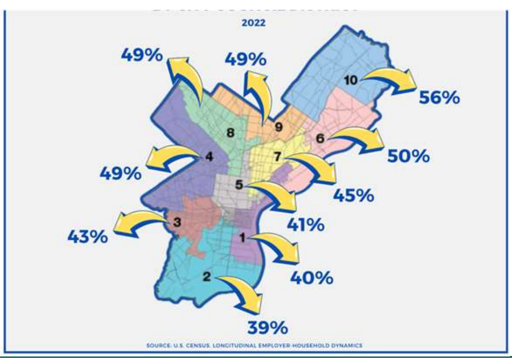
Need for 43.6% of working residents in each Council District to *reverse commute* to suburbs In NYC 84% work within the city; 16% in suburbs



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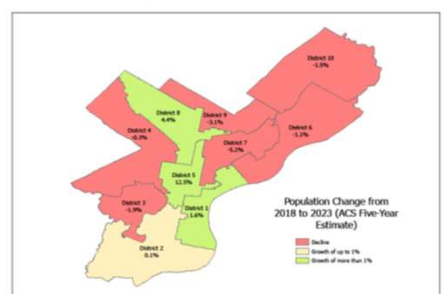
Leading to declining population & weakening retail demand

Population Change from 2018 to 2023 by City Council District



July 2023 to July 2024 gained 10,500 residents +0.7%

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4 types of small businesses

(1) Neighborhood serving retail; depending on local population; restaurants have opportunity to serve citywide & regional market

(2) Community based contractors; serving neighborhood with opportunity to connect with larger scale contractors & developers;

(3) Neighborhood based professional services firms (local lawyers, accountants, designers) with opportunity to connect with downtown, University City & regional employers

(4) Web-based firms with ability to serve regional, national & global markets

All need access to capital; many must overcome discrimination barriers & benefit from local inclusion programs

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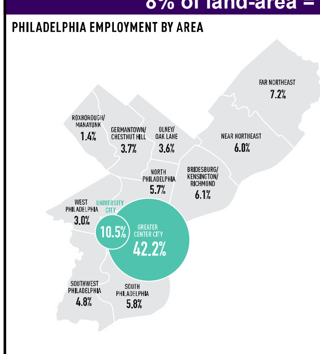
What was the impact of high-density downtowns? Center City (42.2%) + University City (10.5%) 8% of land-area = 53% of all jobs in Philadelphia



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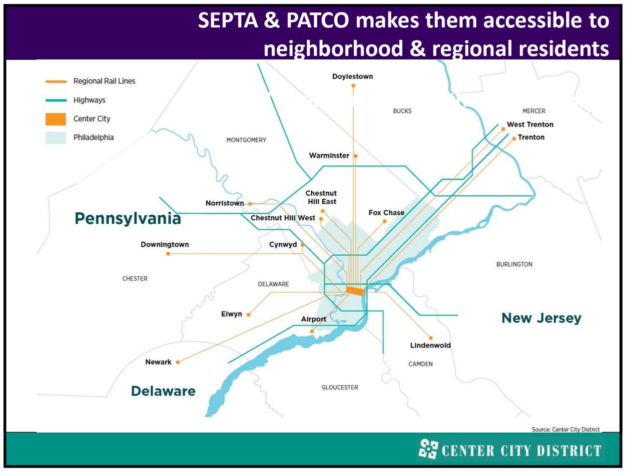

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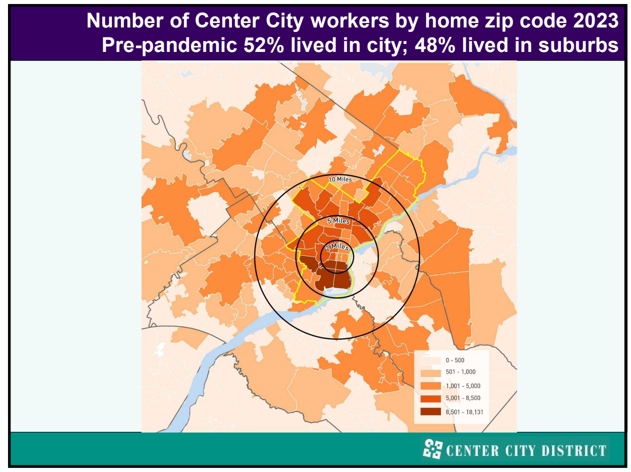

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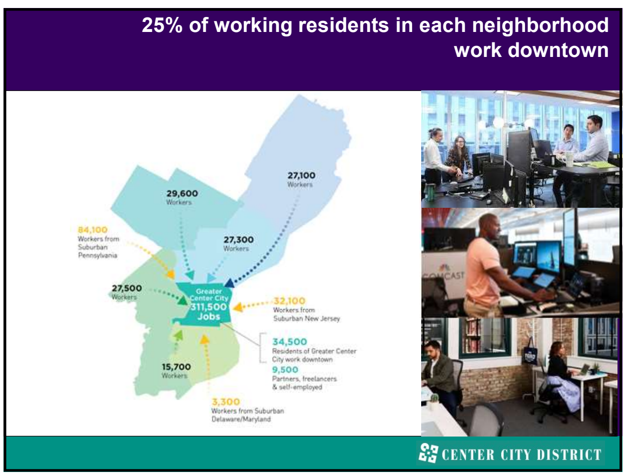

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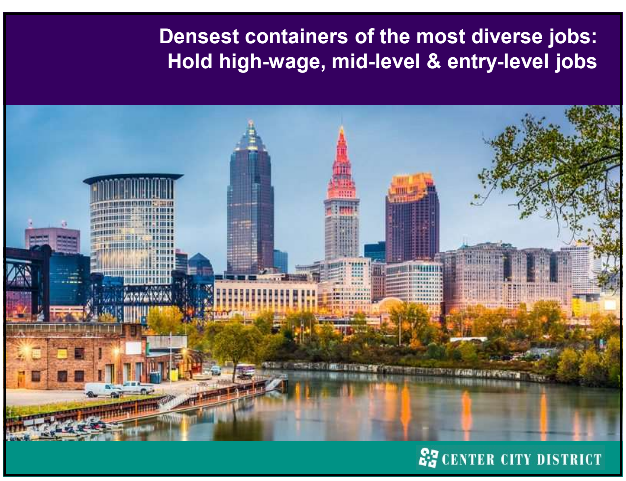

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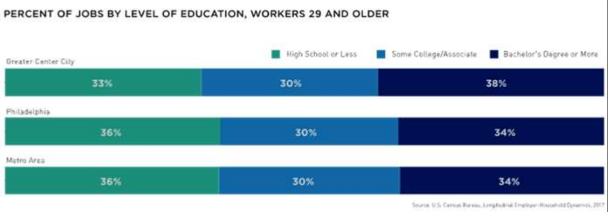
63% downtown jobs require less than college degree
33% require only a high school diploma
Inclusive growth is about job opportunities, not just housing



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Many blue-collar jobs depend on presence of office workers

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Each 1 million sf office space supports

36 janitors, 24 security guards & 10 building engineers.

Employees within buildings generated $3.6 million in annual retail sales in surrounding shops & restaurants; drove demand for transit, taxi & ridesharing jobs.

Business travelers to firms occupying each million sf of office space created annual demand for 22,000 hotel rooms

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4 types of small businesses

(1) Neighborhood serving retail; depending on local population; restaurants have opportunity to serve citywide & regional market

(2) Community based contractors; serving neighborhood with opportunity to connect with larger scale contractors & developers;

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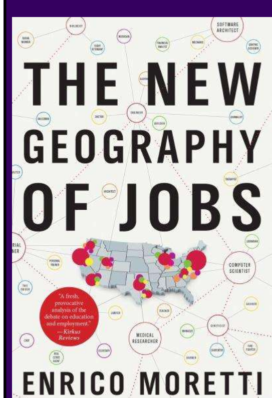

Moretti on dense city centers

Knowledge-intensive jobs form the driving edge of innovation in post-industrial cities. They are not necessarily tied to place. But they draw toward them a solid base of knowledge-workers who are attractive to other firms.

This triggers a process of mutual reinforcement and attraction as knowledge-intensive industries cluster in "geographic agglomerations."

A small number of innovation jobs within start-up, medium & large firms draw at least 6-7 other jobs into their orbit – from other high skilled to moderate skilled to building maintenance and transit jobs.

If environment is competitive & attractive

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What is the path for cities that may have overcommitted to remote-prone industries?

Tech dominance in San Francisco
38% of office space

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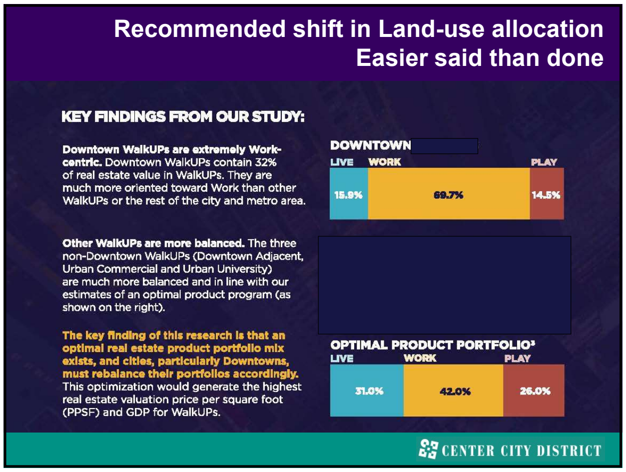

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New tools to fund public transit: diversification

https://www.wri.org/insights/why-cities-need-diverse-public-transit-funding

4 Cities Looking Beyond Rider Fares to Fund Better, More Resilient Public Transit

December 19, 2024 By **Anna Kustar**, **Adam Davidson**, **Thet Hein Tun**, **Ben Welle** and Meghna Ray Cover Image by: Greg Balfour Evans/Alamy Stock Photo

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Paris, France

In Paris, 48% of the city's transit budget is covered by the Versement Mobilité (VM), a tax on employers introduced in the 1970s. The tax — which applies to companies near the transit network with more than 11 employees, and ranges from 1.6%-2.4% of their gross wages — has been instrumental in supporting the Paris Metro and other transit throughout France.

The Versement Mobilité spreads the financial burden beyond just public transit users. By charging employers, even if their employees do not use public transport, it ensures that everybody contributes to the common good; not only expanding transit access but also improving air quality & reducing traffic congestion. Raising revenue through the Versement Mobilité also subsidizes fares, so rider costs can remain relatively low at €1.75 per trip ($1.86) or around €86 ($91) for a monthly travel pass valid in all zones.

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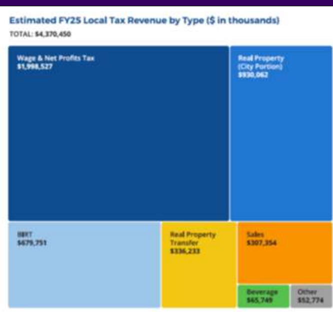
Thinking about tax policy not only to generate revenues to fund services But also to create a climate that facilitates job growth, expands opportunity & reduces poverty in a competitive regional, especially in current US context devolution from federal to local level



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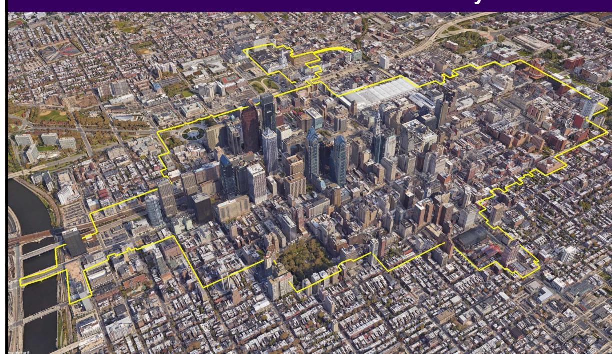
Do BIDs need to play a greater role in response to devolution of authority, to fund more services locally But this is not a citywide solution



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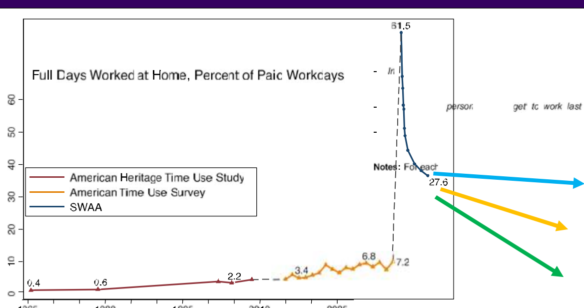
If this is indeed a transformational period Then we need to be rethinking the form of our cities



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Final paper: What Cities Can Learn from Each Other
7-8 pages, Due May 10th.

While this final paper should reference class readings and presentations, I would like it to be primarily personal in nature. Most of you come from different cities, regions or countries. Please start by describing your first impressions of Philadelphia when you arrived at the University of Pennsylvania and began to explore areas around the campus and in Center City. What did you like, dislike or simply not understand about Philadelphia's city center in comparison to your hometown or city, or the last place you lived before coming to Penn?

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As tourists, we make comparisons like this routinely when we travel: "Can I imagine living here?" But as city planners, how did you experience, think about and understand the differences in your pedestrian experience, in the quality of retail you encountered, or in the transit system, parks and public spaces, the sense of safety, or forms of housing?

What aspects of Philadelphia's city center might you now want to borrow as models to apply elsewhere for different clients you may have as a practicing professional? What did you observe as realities, practices, or forms of urban design & development that you would consider unsuccessful & reject for application elsewhere? Through readings from this class or other Penn classes, what planning policies or development practices might you want to borrow from *other cities* as models to *apply elsewhere* for different clients you may have as a practicing professional to help them create economically vibrant, inclusive & attractive city centers? Finally, what lessons could Philadelphia learn from cities in your home region?

?

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Since much of this class focused on post-pandemic recovery & the need for change in urban development patterns, what do you see as the similarities, or substantial differences between the rate of recovery in the city center of Philadelphia & city centers in your home region? While you should draw on multiple sources of information for this, the market reports that CBRE & Cushman & Wakefield produce may be partially helpful with their focus on office occupancy & development. (attached links)

I am particularly interested in a subject we discussed periodically. We have focused on how rates of recovery within the U.S. may be influenced by the differing mix of downtown industries/professions and how different city centers have varying levels of diversified land-use and live/work patterns.

But what role do you see *cultural differences* between countries playing, different *historical development patterns*, the quality and connectivity provided by *public transit* or different assumptions about *the roles and responsibilities of government* in accounting for variations in recovery levels that you observe?

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What Cities Can Learn from Each Other
7-8 pages, Due May 10th.

What aspects of Philadelphia's city center might you want to borrow as models to apply elsewhere for different clients you may have as a practicing professional?

What lessons could Philadelphia learn from cities in your home region?

What did you observe as realities, practices, or forms of urban design & development that you would consider unsuccessful & reject for application elsewhere?

What planning policies or development practices might you want to borrow from *other cities* as models to *apply elsewhere* for different clients you may have as a practicing professional to help them create economically vibrant, inclusive & attractive city centers?

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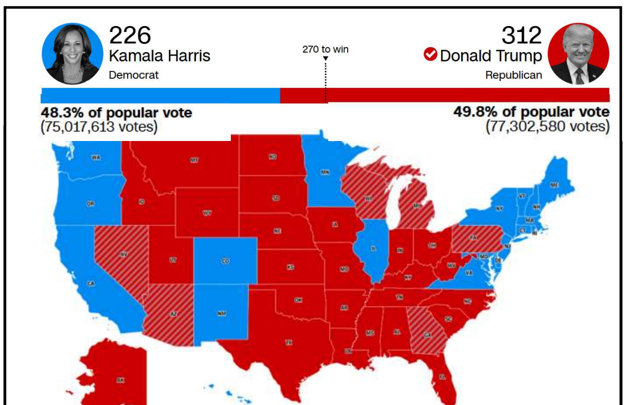

2.3 million votes out of 152 million
1.5%

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Electoral votes determined by state's population

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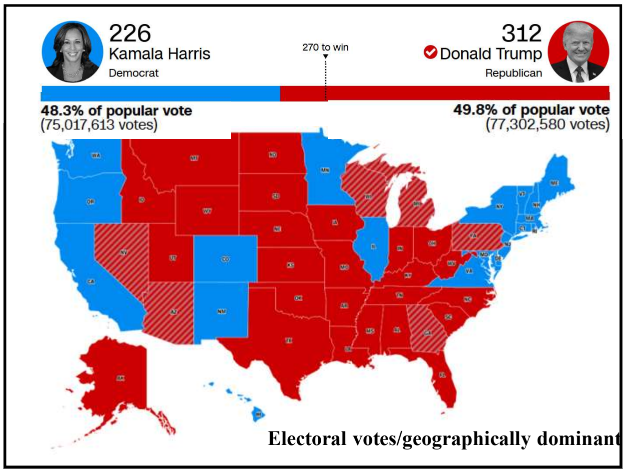

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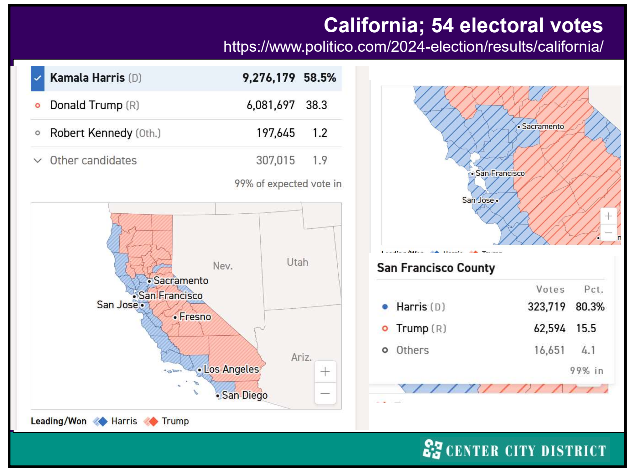

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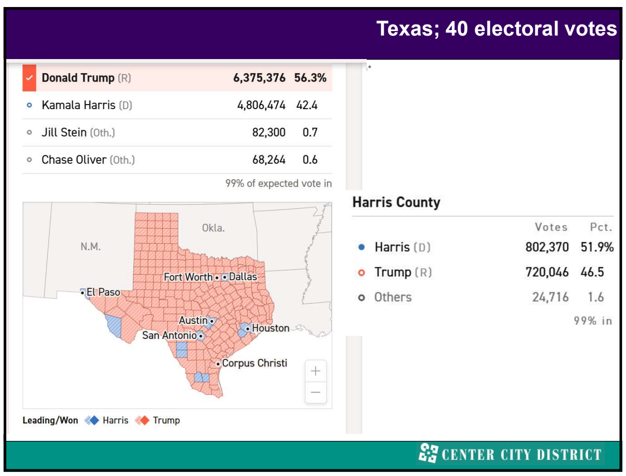

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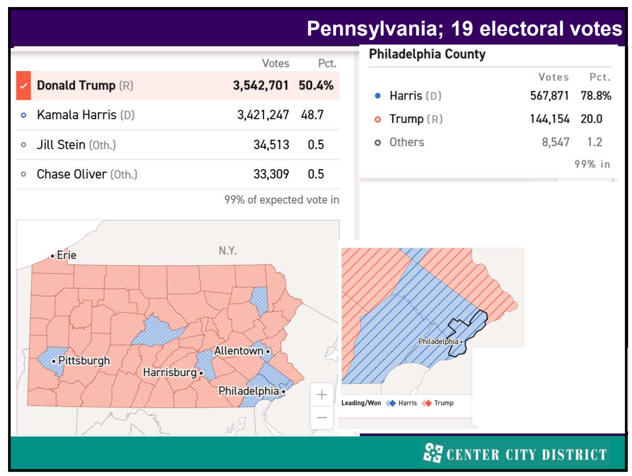

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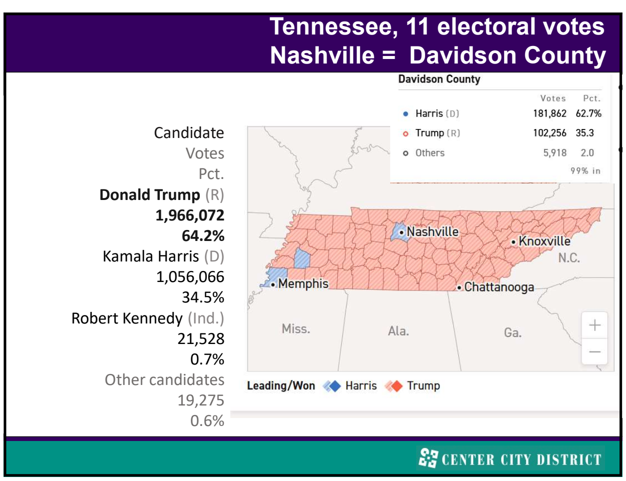

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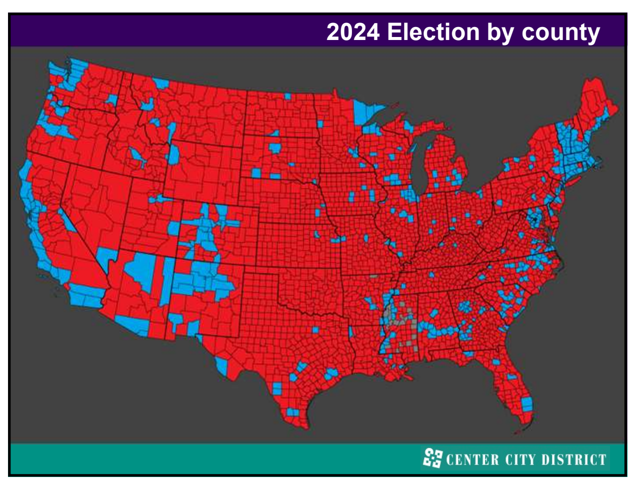

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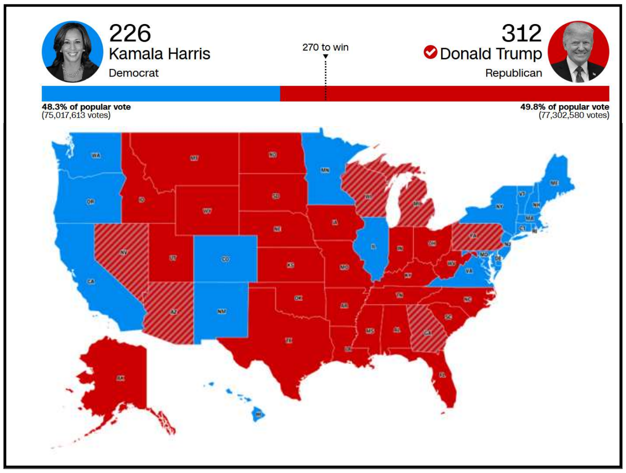

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Very closely divided country

Inflation & rising cost of living

Concerns about crime & social disorder

Concern about illegal immigration

Overall sense of destabilization in culture & the economy
speed of change

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"In other respects, too, the plague marked the beginning of a decline to greater lawlessness in the city. People were more willing to dare to do things which they would not previously have admitted to enjoying, when they saw the sudden changes of fortune, as some who were prosperous suddenly died, and their property was immediately acquired by others who had previously been destitute.

So they thought it reasonable to concentrate on immediate profit and pleasure, believing that their bodies and their possessions alike would be short-lived. No one was willing to persevere in struggling for what was considered an honorable result, since he could not be sure that he would not perish before he achieved it. What was pleasant in the short term, and what was in any way conducive to that, came to be accepted as honorable and useful.

No fear of the gods or law of men had any restraining power, since it was judged to make no difference whether one was pious or not as all alike could be seen dying. No one expected to live long enough to have to pay the penalty for his misdeeds: people tended much more to think that a sentence already decided was hanging over them, and that before it was executed, they might reasonably get some enjoyment out of life."

Thucydides *History of the Peloponnesian War*

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Very closely divided country

Promise of certainty, simplicity, decisiveness in a very challenging period

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