NEIGHBORHOOD ATTRACTION FACTORS IMPACTING THE YOUNG PROFESSIONAL AFRICAN AMERICAN POPULATION IN THE CITY OF PITTSBURGH

A REPORT TO THE POISE FOUNDATION 2016
A Report to the POISE Foundation
on behalf of African-American Neighborhoods of Choice

Prepared By
The University Center for Social and Urban Research
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African-American Neighborhoods of Choice (AANC) is a Pittsburgh-based research group studying trends among the City’s African-American residents and historically African-American neighborhoods. Three African-American community development practitioners established the group in late 2011: Karen Abrams, Majestic Lane and Knowledge Hudson, who were working in Pittsburgh’s predominately African-American neighborhoods. Much of discourse and activities proposed by government, elected officials and others continues to focus, on African-American residents living in, or near poverty. The members of this group wanted to explore the challenges this presented to middle-class African-American professionals who were living in Pittsburgh or moving to the region for educational and professional opportunities.

The group’s formation was on the heels of the release of the 2010 US Census data, which also marked Pittsburgh’s first population growth in more than seven decades. Although the City was unable to sustain 2010’s population growth, the characteristics of the trends in the transitioning demographics remain which is in part to regional marketing efforts. The City does attract white millennials, however, it is neither attracting, nor retaining African-American millennials.

Why are African-American millennials leaving? What are the “push and pull factors” of those who stay and those who leave? What are the desirable characteristics of neighborhoods that would make African-Americans who have a choice in where they live decide to live there? These core questions drove this initiative.

Intuitively and anecdotally, individuals within the AANC had ideas and could answer the questions personally. Group members wanted to put these questions through an academically rigorous “evidence-based” investigation that would strengthen the existing community development work of the individual group members.

By early 2014 the AANC, having grown to nine members, invited the University Center for Social and Urban Research (UCSUR) into the conversation to help with the investigation. The focus of UCSUR’s research effort was to collect new information on the perceptions on the desirability of historically African-American neighborhoods throughout Pittsburgh. This report captures the factors that influence the decision to move, and what characteristics most impact resident location. The report includes a list of recommendations crafted by the AANC in response to the research.

It is also the hope of the AANC that this report accomplishes three things:

1. Gives voice to a silent but essential segment within Pittsburgh’s African American population.

2. Initiates policies, programs and projects that address the desires of this group.

3. Can be used as a guide for other underrepresented groups in an effort to continue to increase the ethnic and racial diversity throughout the Pittsburgh region.

Signed by African American Neighborhoods of Choice Members:

Karen Abrams
Dr. Jamil Bey
Daren Ellerbee
Juan Garrett
Shad Henderson
Knowledge Hudson
Majestic Lane
LaVerne Peakes (past member)
Mary Taylor (past member)
Acknowledgements

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02. Introduction

Sustainable neighborhood revitalization is determined by the ability of local communities to attract and retain a variety of residents, with greater economic resources, social capital and thus greater residential choice. If historically African American neighborhoods in the City of Pittsburgh are able to attract residents of this sort, revitalization efforts will be successful and the residents will bring more economic and other resources into the community. In particular, young African American professionals may aid in neighborhood revitalization efforts.

The goal of this study, funded by the Heinz Endowments, is to examine the perceptions of Pittsburgh residents of their neighborhoods, what they like and don’t like, and to investigate the factors that are important in their residential location choice, focusing particularly on young African American professionals and where they choose to live. The research revolves around the question of how a city might attract young African American professionals to choose to live in its historically black neighborhoods.

This study addresses these questions using a combination of methods. First is a demographic examination of census data of the African American population in Pittsburgh, trends in the population size, educational attainment, and where they live. Next is a focus group examination of the issues with young African Americans who reside in the Pittsburgh area about their perceptions of neighborhoods. Focus groups provided a great deal of contextual information about how residents feel. Finally, two surveys of Pittsburgh and Allegheny County residents were conducted to more systematically address the residential location issues, a survey of recent movers into city neighborhoods, and a survey of young professionals based on the social networks of key individuals including the social networks of the POISE Advisory Board. The methods are described in greater detail below.

03. Population Demographics

A. General Information

Overall According to the 2014 American Community Survey (ACS), survey estimates published by the US Census Bureau, the City of Pittsburgh population was 305,434. This was slightly lower than the 2013, marking a slight decline after an increase from 2010. Currently, population change is relatively flat - not the steep decline that Pittsburgh once experienced. However, changes have not been uniform across the city. 

**Figure B.1** shows how the African American population is continuing to decrease while the general population change appears to be leveling out.

Per the 2010-2014 American Community Survey 5 year

![Figure B.1: Pittsburgh Population 1980 – 2014](source: US Census Bureau, American Community Survey 1 year estimate (2014))
estimates, the City of Pittsburgh is approximately 26.1% African American. **Table B.1** categorizes neighborhoods within the city by percent African American. 52 neighborhoods are less than the city’s average with 22 neighborhoods having greater than 60% African American population. **Figure B.2** visualizes the neighborhoods by percent African American.

**Table B.1**: Percent African American by Neighborhood 2010 - 2014

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>% African American of Total Population</th>
<th>Number of Neighborhoods</th>
<th>African American Population</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>% of African American Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than 26.0%</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>19,120</td>
<td>212,622</td>
<td>25.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.1%-40.0%</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9,823</td>
<td>25,878</td>
<td>13.0%</td>
</tr>
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<td>20,873</td>
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<tr>
<td>60.1%-80.0%</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>18,570</td>
<td>26,486</td>
<td>24.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greater than 80.0%</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>17,881</td>
<td>20,186</td>
<td>23.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>75,278</td>
<td>306,045</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure B.2**: Percent African American, Pittsburgh Neighborhoods 2010 - 2014
B. African American Educational Attainment

Overall, in the City of Pittsburgh, the number of African Americans with a Bachelor's degree or higher has increased from 2000 to 2014 according to Census data.

Using the Neighborhood Change Database (NCDB) to standardize Census Tracts – the variable pertaining to Educational Attainment of African Americans was used to compare current 2010 – 2014 estimates to the 2000 Census (See Figure B.3). The shades of blue represent tracts that have increased in bachelor’s degrees or higher and red shows the tracts that have decreased.

Note: while the NCDB attempts to standardize Census Tracts across years in order to compare change, the tracts near large parks are less reliable and may attribute high numbers of change in those areas, for example Highland Park.

Figure B.4 shows the percentage of African-American residents with a Bachelor’s degree or higher within the age range of 25 and higher. When combined, neighborhoods that are less than 26% African American are home to the highest percentage (33.3%) of African Americans with Bachelor’s Degrees or Higher (for population 25+) while neighborhoods greater than 80% African American house 15.0% (See Table B.2).

Neighborhoods with the highest number of degrees were in the middle percentage categories and included: Stanton Heights (517), Lincoln - Lemington - Belmar (438) Point Breeze North (348), and East Liberty (323).
% African American of Total Population | Number of Neighborhoods | African American Population | Total Population | % of African American Population | Number of Bachelor’s Degrees or Higher (for Population 25+) | % of African Americans w/Bach. Degree or Higher
--- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | ---
Less than 26.0% | 52 | 19,120 | 212,622 | 25.4% | 2,314 | 33.3%
26.1%-40.0% | 8 | 9,823 | 25,878 | 13.0% | 829 | 11.9%
40.1%-60.0% | 8 | 9,884 | 20,873 | 13.1% | 1161 | 16.7%
60.1%-80.0% | 11 | 18,570 | 26,486 | 24.7% | 1596 | 23.0%
Greater than 80.0% | 11 | 17,881 | 20,186 | 23.8% | 1041 | 15.0%
TOTAL | 90 | 75,278 | 306,045 | 100.0% | 6941 | 100.0%

Table B.2: Percent African American by Neighborhoods, Educational Attainment 2010 - 2014

C. Neighborhood Distress Index

In order to assess a potential for leaving a neighborhood, an index was created using variables such as violent crime rate, median housing sale prices, percent vacant land, and poverty rates to identify potentially distressed neighborhoods.

- **Crime**: The crime variable is calculated using the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) Uniform Crime Reporting System (UCRS). For this study, violent crime was used (Part 1, Hierarchies 1-4). The rate includes number of crimes per 1,000 people – based on total population data from the 2010 Decennial Census.

- **Housing Sale Prices**: This indicator tracked housing market trends and affordability using Allegheny County Office of Property Assessment records. It includes...
residential parcels with a structure (under 4 units) and a price over $500.

**Note:** the 2014 median sale prices were unavailable for the following neighborhoods: Northview Heights, Allegheny Center, Arlington Heights, North Shore, Glen Hazel, and South Shore.

- **Poverty:** Official poverty rate; this variable was constructed at the neighborhood level from (ACS), survey estimates published by the US Census Bureau:

  - ACS 2010 – 2014 block group data.

- **Vacant Land:** An indicator of abandonment, this variable was created from Allegheny County Property Assessment records by excluding vacant land intersecting hillside and wooded areas. Vacant Parcels included parcels with an assessed value = 0 and excluded properties whose slope is > than 25% according to Allegheny County GIS or properties with a land use code that includes maintained uses, including parking lots, parks, cemeteries, agriculture, rights of way.

  Within each neighborhood, an index was created as the count across the four indicators falling into the top (crime, poverty, vacant land) or bottom (housing price) quartile (total score 0-4). Then the average distress score within the five neighborhood groupings by African American population was calculated. (See Table B.3).

  **Neighborhoods greater than 80% African American had a significantly higher average distress score in comparison to neighborhoods less than 26% African American** that had the lowest average distress scores.

  **Note:** the greatest increase in distress scores is for neighborhoods with > 80% African American from mean 1.1 to 3.2 of 4 distress indicators.

  African Americans with at least a Bachelor’s Degree are more likely to live in low distress neighborhoods (33%) relative to the total African American population (25%). Conversely, highly educated African Americans are less likely to live in the most distressed neighborhoods (15%) compared to the broader African American population (24%).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>% African American of Total Population</th>
<th>Number of Neighborhoods</th>
<th>African American Population</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>% of African American Population</th>
<th>Number of Bachelor’s Degrees or Higher (for Population 25+)</th>
<th>% of African Americans w/Bach. Degree or Higher</th>
<th>Average Distress Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than 26.0%</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>19,120</td>
<td>212,622</td>
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<td>TOTAL</td>
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<td>100.0%</td>
<td>6941</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table B.3: Percent African American by Neighborhoods, Average Distress Score
04. Focus Group Results

A. Methods

Four focus groups explored young, educated African Americans’ preferences around residential neighborhoods in Pittsburgh. The focus groups were conducted with 7-9 people per session. Eligibility requirements included individuals who were at least 21 years old and under 45 years old who had completed at least some college, self-identified as Black or African American (including bi-racial or multi-racial), and were currently living in the city of Pittsburgh or elsewhere in Allegheny County.

The participants ranged in age from 22 to 44 years old, with the majority holding Bachelor's degrees and residing within the city limits. See Table C.1 for demographic characteristics. The Qualitative Data Analysis Program (QDAP) staff screened potential participants informed them that participation was voluntary and all information would be kept confidential. In total, 31 individuals took part in the focus groups, described in Table C.1.

The participants received WePay cards in the amount of $40 for their participation in the focus groups and to cover parking.

Various recruitment methods were used to fill the four focus groups:

- **POISE Advisory Panel members** distributed a recruitment flyer via email to people in their networks, by posting to social media and by posting hard copies at community sites.

- **Survey Research staff** recruited participants by calling eligible people in the Survey Research Registry.

- **Snowball sampling** – This method of participants who referred other potentially eligible participants, was also used to a much lesser extent.

Each focus group lasted approximately 90 minutes and was conducted in a conference room at University Center for Urban at Social Research (UCSUR) at the University of Pittsburgh the evenings. The focus groups were facilitated by a Black female PhD student with training and experience in focus group methods. We used a semi-structured focus group guide (Appendix XX) that was developed collaboratively by UCSUR staff and the POISE Advisory Panel. Before each focus group began, the facilitator informed participants that the discussions would be audio-recorded, and reminded them of the confidential and voluntary nature of the sessions. The facilitator probed as necessary to allow participants to clarify and expound upon initial responses. The audio recordings were transcribed verbatim by QDAP staff. At the end of each discussion, participants were asked to rank 14 different neighborhood characteristics by order of importance in deciding where to live.

The data were analyzed by taking a descriptive content analysis approach. QDAP staff reviewed the transcripts to identify recurrent themes and to note commonalities and differences among the participants. Additional reviews of the transcripts confirmed the key points and to extract exemplary quotes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristics</th>
<th>Total (n = 31)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>N%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>10 (32.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>21 (67.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age (mean)</td>
<td>32.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City of Pittsburgh</td>
<td>23 (74.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allegheny County</td>
<td>8 (25.8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some college</td>
<td>3 (9.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Associate’s degree</td>
<td>4 (12.9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor’s degree</td>
<td>16 (51.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Master’s degree</td>
<td>8 (25.8)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table C.1: Demographic Characteristics of Focus Group Participants
B. Themes Identified

Below are themes that were identified from the focus group discussions, presented in order of importance to the participants.

1. Cost

“...when I chose my neighborhood, it was because it was... a neighborhood that was a mixed income neighborhood that I could afford a nice house in, but also, the places that I'm going to travel around in my neighborhood are within my budget, too, because every neighborhood is not the same. Like if I want to go to out to eat, I can go to eat; it's within my budget... if I want to live in Shadyside, is everything going to be 20% more and inside of my budget? And like I go out to eat, because I don't have a family, so I can afford those things, but I don't know if I would pick the same thing, because then I'd have to factor in, like, private school to balance out the cost of the house. Or I wouldn't consider that if I lived outside of the city of Pittsburgh; I would feel good with the public education, but I don't.”

“I used to always want to live in a condo, but I have to change my mindset now because I have a family. It does – it’s very important. And then, also, that ties right in with affordability.”

2. Safety

“I grew up in Knoxville. My parents still live there and it’s gotten to be increasingly dangerous. There’s been people who – literally, on their block – got shot. There was a big gang fight at the end of the street... my parents are getting older and I’m concerned about them being there and people out shooting like they don’t have any sense.”

“Where I grew up was much worse than anything Pittsburgh has, but I used to go to sleep and hear gun shots, pretty much every night when I was younger... it’s hard to build up any kind of relationship when you live in a place like that. Nobody’s going to come and visit you if they don’t feel safe. And having a good public school in the area’s important because I like working with kids and I know how education plays a role in the how safe your neighborhood’s going to be.”
3. Diversity/Equity

Preference for diverse neighborhoods in terms of class/income and race/ethnicity, but for some, to be predominantly black:

“I can’t do it [buy a house on an all-White street]… because I feel out of my comfort zone. I feel like somebody’s looking at me – why is your music loud? Why are your kids running around? Lots of people coming in and out your house all the time - and I don’t feel that – so I feel that it makes a big impact as to where I live. My street right now, it’s a little rowdy but it’s not crazy. There’s not crazy stuff going on but there’s kids running down the street all the time. Whatever. I’m comfortable in that because I know people are doing their own thing; they’re not worried about what I’m doing.”

“I’m from the South also, so we tend to be segregated in our neighborhoods. And what’s so interesting is that as a southerner, you would think moving to a more northern place, it would be more diverse, but Pittsburgh actually is very comfortable in how it segregates. So when you’re looking at neighborhoods like Point Breeze or Highland Park or even Monroeville or Shaler or those areas, those areas just continue to be diversified by class, if that makes any sense, right? So Shaler is more working class people. Monroeville might — uh — Point Breeze, or those areas, might be more working class. Highland Park, moving more towards professionals or young professionals, and now even — they’re diverse, but they’re diverse by class, so that’s generally what I would — right? So it’s like more people like myself. I’m not really just concerned with how someone looks or what they do in their private life, but more people who are like myself: go to work every day; try to better our families; good schools; etc.; because those people are going to tend to be more involved in what’s going on in the neighborhood.”

The ideal would be a racially diverse middle-class neighborhood, but that’s hard to find in Pittsburgh:

“I want to be in a diverse neighborhood. The neighborhood where I grew up was all white, but middle class, so I wanted to find a place where I could still have, I guess, like the class component, with diversity, and that’s a struggle to find here in Pittsburgh…”

In Pittsburgh the mixed-income neighborhoods are White, whereas Black neighborhoods are low-income:

“I don’t see mixed-income neighborhoods of color. I see mixed-income neighborhoods that are white. I’ve seen Section 8 out in the suburbs. You can live in an apartment building. You can live in a mobile home. You can live in a mini-mansion. You can live in just a regular ranch-style house. I don’t see those option among the — I’ll just say, mostly the black communities, since it’s pretty much mostly black and white here. I don’t see those options, so it’s either you live in a white neighborhood or you live in a poor, black neighborhood and there is no option. It’s really hard to find one that’s in-between.”

Highland Park and Point Breeze noted as ideal in terms of diversity, but difficult to find affordable housing there. Pittsburgh needs to be more ethnically diverse in terms of more Latinos, Asians and Middle Easterners. Then perhaps African Americans would feel more welcome in Pittsburgh.

“I grew up in a very, very diverse community, and I feel like Pittsburgh’s not diverse. I feel like I’m reminded that I’m black every day, and not a positive way. So I actually have many difficulties thinking of myself in Pittsburgh long-term, because I feel that not being exposed to different type of cultures will be a disadvantage to my future kids. But I think there are certain parts of the city where there’s — more like here in Oakland, because of the universities, but the universities aren’t — to me, the university students aren’t residents; they’re students; they’re transient; they’re not going to stay…”
4. Mobility/Transportation

• Walkability in terms of sidewalks that are not cracked or missing altogether; particularly for people pushing strollers and/or walking with carts to get groceries.

• Preference for neighborhoods designed for one who does not need to own a car; hinging upon amenities (grocery stores, gyms, restaurants, etc.) located within walking distance or robust/extensive public transportation which is lacking (routes reduced or cut altogether, service stops at midnight) – sentiment that one needs to own a car to live in Pittsburgh.

“I would never live anywhere where my kids would have to walk a mile and a half for a bus stop that may or may not come.”

• Discrimination in cab service – they will not come if providing an address in Homewood.

5. Jobs

Discrimination in hiring practices was cited.

“It seems that diversity in hiring is just lip service because it is highly unusual for senior-level positions to be filled by someone who is not White.”

Some expressed difficulty in being the only black person in professional settings – no mentors to coach on critical issues, pressure to speak for/represent all African Americans, discomfort in serving as a reminder to employers/co-workers of what is missing (more Black employees).

Failing public schools and low minimum wage were identified as hindrances to residents’ ability to find jobs with which they may accumulate enough wealth to buy a home.

It was viewed as important to live close to work, especially with children (daycare and after-school programs lengthen commutes):

“So it used to take me an hour and 45 minutes to get to work every day, and home, so we leaving the house at 6:00 in the morning, we ain’t get home until 7:00. I would never, in life, do that again. I don’t care how good the job is… The older I get – the kids are involved in stuff, I don’t want to – right now, I’m literally seven minutes away from my job. Driving. So that’s – it’s [distance from place of employment] really about convenience.”

6. Housing Type

Participants held divergent views on their preferred housing type.

Several felt that they favored single family homes, while one participant specifically did not want to own:

“I don’t want to put down that kind of a root and just live there. Owning a house is a big step and it’s a good way to hold onto value and grow your value, throughout life – your equity and things. But here, I would have to say – I would have to go towards renting and – like you have – rent out the apartments to people. Just so I could have that mobility.”

Some felt that even if home ownership is a personal goal, a mix of owner-occupied and rental units was preferred by many participants:

“I think, for me, just because of my goal of wanting to buy a house next year, have – owning a home is very important to me, now. But in terms of having a mixed neighborhood where people who own and rent – and that everyone has access, I think is super valuable to really maintain the diversity and the richness of a community.”

“…where I live, it’s a mashup of people. It’s — the socioeconomics vary. I mean, you have working class — you have low, moderate, upper income, and you have the different housing types, as well, so you have renters; you have homeowners; which is great, because I wouldn’t want to — I don’t want to live in a neighborhood where you just all — everybody is supposed to own, and that’s not for
everybody, especially if you’re an older person. You might be downsizing from your house and you still want to live in your neighborhood, and there are options, because you can then rent.”

There were a few participants who favored neighborhoods composed of exclusively homeowners:

“…I prefer to be with homeowners, because I feel like when you mix in renters… my area’s so close to the university, I’m getting college kids that don’t care about their property, so — like, want a diverse neighborhood, middle class and up, homeowners. Everything else can be diverse.”

Value was seen in home ownership as a wealth-building tool, as an inhibitor of gentrification and as amenable to having a family:

“…once you own, it’s hard for people to, essentially, put you out a lot of times, because you own it. But I also know that’s a challenge for many people, as well, because especially with trying to get mortgages for African Americans, even though they would not say it, to me, is somewhat discriminatory, even though they say they don’t do this, they put us through the ringer of trying to buy a house. And, really, a lot of scrutiny and telling you, “You don’t have the credit,” or this, and they ask you all these questions. And sometimes it’s challenging for us, or we may not have a family member help us, back us up. So we have a lot of other barriers when it comes to owning, which many people would say, “Well, just own and that’s building wealth,” but we have to start with — sometimes, at birth we’re at a disadvantage for owning if we don’t have the wealth-building tools from our family.”
“I have no desire to own a house, at all, but I have kids and I got married, and those are things that my husband wants. I feel like everything I could ever want in a house, my parents have it, so what do I need to own one for? They’re eventually going to move away so I’m just going to get their house. That’s my mindset. But my mind is changing because I’m – like I said, I need more space and I’m like, “Well, do I want to keep paying rent? Do I really” – I started thinking about other things, so I don’t – I’m looking at, okay, do I want a single-family home or do I want to do a duplex? Do I want to do a townhouse or a condo? I used to always want to live in a condo, but I have to change my mindset now because I have a family.”

Participants agreed that since it is difficult to live in Pittsburgh without a car, ideal housing would include off-street parking:

“I know that this is not super common, but I always cross my fingers: next house I buy I would love to have a little driveway, maybe a garage. I know that’s not super common in this city but parking is rough; it’s rough for a lot of people, so that would be really, really nice.”

7. Family/Friends

Some found having a family network in Pittsburgh to be valuable:

“I’m from Pittsburgh; I still have a lot of family that lives here. That’s one of the reasons, in addition to just having a lot of great professional opportunities, that I’ve stayed here, is because of having that family connection. But I always say that I would be willing to leave Pittsburgh for the opportunity of a lifetime, leave for a husband, maybe,
but I think having my family and friends here makes it bearable. I hear – when folks say – when you don’t have that network here, that it is difficult, especially as an African American. And I have a lot of Black friends who really struggle with being in Pittsburgh and we see this constant, revolving door of people leaving because they don’t feel welcome here, they don’t feel comfortable, and they don’t necessarily have that network. And maybe they make some great friends, but there’s really nothing like being somewhere and having your family. So I am fortunate that it’s the case that I do have such a strong family network here.”

8. Shopping

• Though amenities such as grocery stores, department stores and gyms did not rank terribly high on the list of priorities, those who have these amenities would miss them if they moved to a neighborhood without them.

• Need for quality grocery stores in neighborhoods; disparaging remarks made about the Giant Eagle stores on the North Side and the South Side.

• Comparisons between Shakespeare Giant Eagle and Market District.

• Need for stores that sell African American foods, make-up, hair products, etc.

9. Schools

Schools were presented as a critical determinant of residential choice by those participants who have children. Both the quality of schools and racism in some school systems were cited as reasons for deciding on current home:

“My daughter’s currently in a charter school on the North Side and it’s one of the best in the area. I had an option between a couple schools that had very good rankings, as far as the Children’s Museum and the Traditional Academy for Pittsburgh Public. They rank on the higher level, far as the quality of teaching, and so forth. And I have two kids now so I have to look through – what’s the feeder pattern for these particular schools, and that’s why I chose North Side. I was formerly from the East End and moved over to the North Side because of the quality of the school.”

“…the primary reason that I live there [West End] is because I grew up in Baldwin, so there’s shade there. Our school was extremely racist, and when my kids got to school age, I decided that we weren’t going to live there, for that reason. Whether it’s a good education or not, it was too much.”

“I went to Pittsburgh Public School from Kindergarten to 5th Grade, and then I was taken out of Pittsburgh Public school and my parents put me into private schools from… 6th to 12th grade. So, for me, I appreciate them for doing that. When I left, Pittsburgh Public School was really behind when I went into my private school that I was going to. And it took me a while to catch up to what other folks were doing, and I think we have to realize we’re on a global society and not so much – we’re not just in our silo here in Pittsburgh. We’re competing against kids in India and China and Africa, and all over the world now. And I just feel like Pittsburgh Public School… they have to do a better job of the education piece, but I also think that has a lot to do with taxpayers and, also, it has a lot to do with charter schools and money being taken out of your school system and, also, our political system.”

10. Parks/Green Space/Aesthetics

• Desired within one’s neighborhood, but need to be safe.

• Aside from Highland Park, it was viewed that all the other safe parks are in predominantly White neighborhoods.

• Along with parks, community centers, summer camps, etc. would keep kids off the streets (Knoxville and Sheraden were cited as examples where there are no such facilities to occupy kids) and strengthen neighborhoods.
11. Culture/Restaurants/Nightlife

- Need more black-owned restaurants
- Discrimination encountered with delivery; restaurants will not deliver to predominantly Black neighborhoods such as Garfield and Manchester
- Restaurants/nightlife are segregated, and the nightclubs that cater to African Americans are viewed as unsafe
- The number of young, professional African Americans is small to the point that the social circle is “Pittsburgh-stale;” when it comes to dating, transplants need to be found quickly before they become “Pittsburgh-stale”
- Desire to live where nightlife may be easily accessed, but not to live in it (noise, etc.).

12. Sense of community

- Preference for a sense of community, which may occur where one grows up in a predominantly Black neighborhood or where there are African American seniors who feel like older relatives:
  
  “This is a community that I feel that’s already been created for myself there, and just being accustomed to the resources that are in that area, since I was born there.”

- Litter and abandoned properties deplete sense of community, and the City hinders efforts to improve these conditions – abundance of trash cans in Lawrenceville, but told that there are no trash cans when requesting some for East Liberty; the City discourages residents from cleaning up vacant lots for liability reasons

- There is an absence of “feeling welcome” in Pittsburgh as African Americans experiencing racism growing up in Pittsburgh suburbs, segregation/lack of diversity in city neighborhoods, discrimination in trying to get a mortgage, constantly reminded of being Black in a negative way

13. Gentrification of East Liberty

The gentrification of East Liberty was discussed, specifically lamenting the displacement of long-term, low-income, primarily African American residents, the lack of new housing that is affordable, the rise of businesses that cater to Whites and the closing of The Shadow Lounge (described as an integrated place where Black and White young, educated people got to know each other). This begged the question as to how a historically black neighborhood may be revitalized without “turning White” and without forcing out pre-gentrification lower-income black residents.

“…sections of Point Breeze, East Liberty, Larimer, East Side Villages – they like to call it now … It’s definitely gentrifying at a very fast pace. Before maybe a year or two ago, I’ve never seen so many white people walking around East Liberty, just skipping around, all happy-go-lucky. It’s just very interesting change, and some of the different restaurants and stores that cater to them. So even within Bakery Square you have some of those boutique stores, and it’s just not something that is really indicative of the community that was there when I moved there.”

“How do Black families that want this type of environment [safe and with a sense of community] somehow end up together in a place that’s affordable where this can happen? But it seems like we’re in little pockets around the city, and I think that’s one of the big problems with Pittsburgh is that there isn’t a critical mass of Black – don’t think there’s a critical Black middle class in Pittsburgh.

I think that it’s very small in number and then it’s also dispersed. So that relates to a whole bunch of other factors, like jobs and economy, and stuff that we don’t really have a lot of control of. So that’s what I was thinking, just: How do you create it? That’s what we’re here to talk about, rather than – we want the same thing that – it’s kind of a no-brainer what’s in a good neighborhood, right? [laughter] You know what I’m saying? Everybody wants the same thing: good school, little green space, and safety. But it seems so elusive to us.”
05. Survey Results

A. Methods

Two surveys were conducted by UCSUR to investigate factors that Pittsburgh and Allegheny County residents consider when choosing where to live, and aspects of their neighborhoods or community they like and dislike. Both surveys were conducted in November and December 2015. For most of the analysis below, data from both surveys was combined.

The sample for the first survey was obtained from the firm Zenith Solutions, LLC who provided address data for residents of Allegheny County who had recently moved into their homes based on credit data and utility record changes which covered moves into the city occurring in 2014-2015. Most but not all movers into the city are captured by this data since some moves are not recorded in the address change data sources. In addition to address information, the census tract of the new address was included in the data. From this list of movers, census tracts in the City of Pittsburgh which had an African American population of 40% or higher in 2010 (2010 Census data) were selected for the survey. A total of 2,002 addresses were identified as movers into these census tracts in 2014-2015. An anonymous survey with a cover letter on POISE letterhead and a postage paid return envelope was mailed. Since the response from African American neighborhoods was fairly low, a second mailing was targeted to the subset of this sample residing in Pittsburgh census tracts with 60% or over African Americans, and this was sent approximately 2-3 weeks later. A total of 219 usable responses were received (response rate 10.9%).

The second survey was a web-based UCSUR survey for which the web link was distributed to a number of individuals (and organizations) who were asked to participate by following the link. The link was distributed by the members of the POISE Advisory Committee to their social networks and through organization newsletters, etc. It was distributed to selected members of the University community and UCSUR staff to send to their social networks as well. Finally the link was distributed to 170 African American members of the UCSUR survey registry who were age 18-50 and had a bachelor’s degree or higher. A total of 205 usable survey responses were obtained from residents of Allegheny County (a small number of persons living outside Allegheny County were excluded). 15 of these respondents were from the UCSUR registry and the remainder from social network sources. This survey was also anonymous since no individual identifying information was collected and can be considered convenience sample based largely on social network distribution.

Since both surveys were anonymous, it was not possible to target only African Americans (the principle target group of the study). African Americans and whites responded to the survey and are included in the analysis. However, this allows us to compare African Americans and whites on a variety of issues. Race was measured by self-report question for which there was some missing data. A small number of respondents indicated they were multi-racial or mixed race, and these respondents were included in the African American category. Similarly a small number of respondents indicated they were Asian or other race and these individuals were included in the “Non-African American” category.

Where Respondents Live

Table D.1 shows where survey respondents live and how long they have lived there by survey and race. Most respondents live in the City of Pittsburgh (62.9% of the web respondents, and 97.3% of the mail respondents) while about 2/3 of web survey respondents live outside the City in Allegheny County.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lives in City of Pittsburgh</th>
<th>Web Survey</th>
<th>Mail Survey of Movers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total (N=205) %</td>
<td>Non-African American (N=45) %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lives in Pittsburgh Neighborhood with % African American:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; 26.0%</td>
<td>19.0</td>
<td>40.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.0% - 40.0%</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40.1% - 60.0%</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>8.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60.1% - 80.0%</td>
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<td>&gt; 80.0%</td>
<td>16.1</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown Neighborhood</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lives Outside Pittsburgh in Allegheny County</td>
<td>37.1</td>
<td>28.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table D.1: Community/Neighborhood Residence of Survey Respondents by Survey and Race

We classified the 91 City of Pittsburgh neighborhoods by the percent of their population which is African American (see Census data in Section B). Using this classification, note that a significant percentage of the African American respondents live in Pittsburgh neighborhoods with a high African American population. With respect to tenure in respondents’ current neighborhood/residence, as expected, respondents to the mail survey of recent movers had tenure of one or two years. However, note that more than half of respondents to the web survey had also lived in their current neighborhood/residence for less than 5 years.

**Demographic Description of the Sample**

For the rest of the analysis, data from the two surveys are combined to increase comparison numbers. While many of the questions in the two surveys were the same, respondents were asked fewer questions. This will be noted in the tables. For Table D.2, missing data is shown to fully describe the sample. Missing data will be excluded in subsequent analysis for greater clarity.
Table D.2 shows that the Non-African American sample is slightly younger than the African American sample. Almost 63% of African Americans are under age 50 versus almost 84% of Non-African Americans. Women tended to answer the survey more than men. In general the sample was well-educated, with 51% of African Americans reporting a bachelor’s degree or higher versus 80% of non-African Americans, and around 31% of the African American sample reporting “some college”. African Americans in the sample reported less income than the Non-African Americans with 39% reporting income over $50,000 versus 60% for Non-African Americans. Additional demographic variables are reported in the Appendix tables of topline results by survey.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Total (N=205) %</th>
<th>Non-African American (N=45) %</th>
<th>African American &amp; Mixed Race (N=131) %</th>
<th>Unknown Race (N=29) %</th>
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<tr>
<td>18 – 24</td>
<td>7.8</td>
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<td>25 – 29</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>30.4</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>3.0</td>
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<td>29.5</td>
<td>32.8</td>
<td>29.9</td>
<td>6.3</td>
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<td>97.0</td>
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<td>High School or less</td>
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<tr>
<td>Some College</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>30.5</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor’s Degree or higher</td>
<td>62.3</td>
<td>80.4</td>
<td>51.3</td>
<td>12.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Missing</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>84.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under $20,000</td>
<td>14.4</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>20.9</td>
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</tr>
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<td>18.7</td>
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<td>$35,000-$50,000</td>
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<td>16.6</td>
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<td>Missing</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>90.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table D.2: Demographic Characteristics of the Survey Sample

* Only asked on the web survey
Overall Impressions of Pittsburgh

A series of questions asked only on the web survey asked respondents who had ever lived outside of the Pittsburgh region, "How welcome do you feel in the Pittsburgh region?" and "Compared to other places you have lived how does the Pittsburgh region compare?". Among the respondents (N=112), who had lived outside of the Pittsburgh region who also reported their race, African Americans were more likely to have lived elsewhere and they were much less likely to report that they felt "very welcome" here (22%) in comparison to Non-African Americans (74%).

African Americans were more likely to report feeling they were "somewhat welcome" (67%), and fully 10.6% of them said they felt "not very welcome" at all (see Figure D.1).

Similarly, nearly 67% of Non-African Americans reported that the Pittsburgh region was more welcoming than other places they had lived versus about 38% of African Americans, while African Americans were much more likely to report that the Pittsburgh region was less welcoming (55%) (Figure D.2).

These findings are consistent with results from the "Pittsburgh Regional Diversity Survey" recently conducted by UCSUR and Pittsburgh Today (available on the Pittsburgh Today website). The data suggested that Pittsburgh is not completely welcoming to minorities.

Ratings of the Neighborhoods

Figure D.3 shows the respondents' rating of the overall living quality of their neighborhood. This question was asked of both the web and mail survey respondents. Here again, Non-African Americans are much more positive about the quality of their neighborhood than African Americans, with over 53% giving very good or excellent ratings versus 34% of African Americans. African Americans rated their neighborhoods fair or poor (31%) while only 14% of Non-African Americans used this rating. The figure also shows the subset of "young professional" African Americans' ratings of their neighborhoods (these individuals are also included in the full African American sample). For this analysis, young was defined as under 50 and professional as having at least "some college." These ratings are similar to the overall African American ratings indicating that young professionals don’t necessarily view their current neighborhoods differently.
Web survey respondents were also asked whether they would recommend their neighborhood or community as a place to live (see Figure D.4). African Americans were again considerably more negative than Non-African Americans. Only about 20% responded they would definitely recommend their neighborhood versus almost 58% for Non-African Americans. Almost 24% responded they would probably or definitely not recommend their neighborhood versus only 2% for Non-African Americans.

The figure shows results for young professional African Americans as well, and while similar to all African Americans, they have somewhat more negative opinions of their neighborhoods (27% not recommend versus 24% for all African Americans). Note: young professionals are included in the total; respondents who are not young professionals by our definition are generally more positive.

Respondents to the web survey were asked questions about how socially integrated they felt in their neighborhoods, “About how many of your neighbors would you say you know?” and “How easy or difficult is it for you to find people you’re happy socializing with?”. Figure D.5 shows that while the differences are not statistically significant, African Americans tend to know fewer of their neighbors and Non-African Americans (59% few or none versus 51%).

This finding is even more pronounced for young professional African Americans (fully 63% know few or none of their neighbors). Similarly more African Americans report difficulty finding people they are happy socializing with (29% have difficulty finding people versus 24% for Non-African Americans), and this is much more pronounced for young professionals (38% with difficulty).

In sum, African Americans in the sample surveys, in general, are less positive about the neighborhoods they live in, and are somewhat less socially integrated into them. This is more so the case for young professional African Americans, which suggests greater difficulty in attracting or retaining the population targeted by the study in Pittsburgh neighborhoods.
Figure D.4 Would you recommend your neighborhood or community as a place to live?

- **Non-African American (N=45)**: Definitely yes 57,8%, Probably yes 40%, Probably not 2,2%, Definitely not 0%
- **African American (N=127)**: Definitely yes 55,9%, Probably yes 18,1%, Probably not 5,5%, Definitely not 18,3%
- **Young Professional African Americans (N=82)**: Definitely yes 54,9%, Probably yes 18,3%, Probably not 8,5%, Definitely not 18,3%

Legend: Blue = Definitely yes, Orange = Probably yes, Gray = Probably not, Yellow = Definitely not

Figure D.5 About how many of your neighbors would you say you know?

- **Non-African American (N=45)**: Most of them 15,6%, Many of them 43,3%, A few of them 22,8%, None or almost none of them 16,5%
- **African American (N=127)**: Most of them 11,1%, Many of them 42,5%, A few of them 22,8%, None or almost none of them 16,5%
- **Young Professional African Americans (N=82)**: Most of them 18,1%, Many of them 43,9%, A few of them 22,8%, None or almost none of them 19,5%

Legend: Blue = Most of them, Orange = Many of them, Gray = A few of them, Yellow = None or almost none of them

Figure D.6 How easy or difficult is it for you to find people you're happy socializing with?

- **Non-African American (N=45)**: Very easy 24,4%, Generally easy 51,1%, Generally difficult 20,0%, Very difficult 4,4%
- **African American (N=127)**: Very easy 48,4%, Generally easy 23,0%, Generally difficult 6,3%, Very difficult 22,2%
- **Young Professional African Americans (N=82)**: Very easy 45,1%, Generally easy 28,0%, Generally difficult 17,1%, Very difficult 9,8%

Legend: Blue = Very easy, Orange = Generally easy, Gray = Generally difficult, Yellow = Very difficult
Factors important in the choice of neighborhood:

Respondents to both surveys were asked to rate the importance of ten different factors in the choice of their current neighborhood on a 1 to 4 scale ranging from “Not at all Important” (1) to “Very Important” (4). These factors are shown in the figures rated in order of importance for Non-African Americans, all African Americans, and the subset of young professional African Americans (see Figures D.7, D.8, and D.9). For the most part, the same factors are rated as important for all respondents; however, the order of importance is somewhat different by race. For Non-African Americans, cost, transportation, housing type, and safety/crime are rated most important in that order, whereas for African Americans, the same factors are important but rated in a different order: safety/crime is the most important, followed by transportation, cost and housing type. For young professional African Americans, transportation was rated highest followed by safety/crime, cost and housing type. Note that Parks/Greenspace, Work and Culture are rated next highest for Non-African Americans while Schools, Work and Parks/Greenspace are next for African Americans. In general, young professionals rate their choice factors similarly to all African Americans. A conclusion is that most people are looking for the same factors in their communities, but the relatively greater importance of safety/crime for African Americans is informative given the higher crime rates in some of Pittsburgh’s African American neighborhoods.

Respondents to both surveys were also asked what aspects of their current neighborhood they liked the most. They were asked to choose the top three aspects from a list of seven or to choose “other” aspects. Figure D.10 shows their choices in rank order. Accessibility to transportation, Quality of housing and neighborhood safety for African Americans are the neighborhood features most liked. Web survey respondents were also asked what features they liked the least about their neighborhoods (Figure D.11). For African Americans, the least liked features (or lack thereof) of their neighborhood were the business district/shops, cultural amenities and recreation, city services, schools and neighborhood safety. Again, the preferences of the young professional African Americans were similar to all African Americans.
Figure D.9 Neighborhood Factors Important in Choice of Current Neighborhood for Young Professional African Americans (N=103)

- Mobility/Transportation: 3.4
- Safety/Crime: 3.34
- Cost: 3.26
- Housing Type: 3.17
- Schools (Those w/kids): 3.13
- Work/Job: 2.98
- Parks/Green Space/Aesthetics: 2.8
- Diversity: 2.75
- Family/Friends: 2.59
- Culture/Restaurants/Nightlife: 2.5
- Schools (Those w/out kids): 1.75

Mean Rating on a 1-4 scale from "Not at all" to "Very" Important

Figure D.10 What aspects of your neighborhood do you like the MOST? (Percent choosing aspect among the top three choices)

- Accessibility to Transportation: 61.7%
- Quality of Housing: 61.7%
- Neighborhood Safety: 46.6%
- Cultural Amenities & Recreation: 46.6%
- Business District/Shops: 46.6%
- City Services: 46.6%
- Schools: 25.6%
- Other: 25.6%

Non-African Americans (N=203)  African Americans (N=183)  Young Professional African Americans (N=103)
Figure D.11 What aspects of your neighborhood do you like the LEAST?
(Percent choosing aspect among the top three choices)

- Business District/Shops: Non-African Americans (N=43) - 38.6%, African Americans (N=127) - 37.3%, Young Professional African Americans (N=81) - 38.6%
- Cultural Amenities & Recreation: Non-African Americans (N=43) - 36.2%, African Americans (N=127) - 33.3%, Young Professional African Americans (N=81) - 34.6%
- Schools: Non-African Americans (N=43) - 33.3%, African Americans (N=127) - 37.7%, Young Professional African Americans (N=81) - 33.3%
- City Services: Non-African Americans (N=43) - 34.6%, African Americans (N=127) - 31.5%, Young Professional African Americans (N=81) - 29.6%
- Neighborhood Safety: Non-African Americans (N=43) - 29.6%, African Americans (N=127) - 22.2%, Young Professional African Americans (N=81) - 22.2%
- Quality of Housing: Non-African Americans (N=43) - 28.4%, African Americans (N=127) - 23.3%, Young Professional African Americans (N=81) - 17.3%
- Accessibility to Transportation: Non-African Americans (N=43) - 18.1%, African Americans (N=127) - 14.8%, Young Professional African Americans (N=81) - 14.8%

Other: Non-African Americans (N=43) - 33.3%, African Americans (N=127) - 33.3%, Young Professional African Americans (N=81) - 32.8%

Figure D.12 In considering your future, do you think you will continue to live in your current neighborhood?

- Non-African American (N=46): I will likely stay in my current neighborhood - 66.7%, I will likely move to another neighborhood in Pittsburgh - 20%, I will likely move out of the Pittsburgh region - 13.3%
- African American (N=125): I will likely stay in my current neighborhood - 48%, I will likely move to another neighborhood in Pittsburgh - 27.2%, I will likely move out of the Pittsburgh region - 24.8%
- Young Professional African American (N=81): I will likely stay in my current neighborhood - 42%, I will likely move to another neighborhood in Pittsburgh - 28.4%, I will likely move out of the Pittsburgh region - 29.6%
Finally, with regard to their neighborhood of residence, respondents were asked whether they thought they would continue to live in their current neighborhood in the future (Figure D.12). Among Non-African Americans, two-thirds (67%) indicated they would likely remain in their current neighborhood, while only 48% of African Americans agreed. Young professional African Americans were least likely to remain in their current neighborhoods (42%), and most likely to move out of the Pittsburgh region altogether. Thirty percent indicated they would likely move out of the Pittsburgh region versus 25% of all African Americans and 13% of Non-African Americans.

Preferences for Diversity

In order to investigate the role of neighborhood diversity in residential location choices for different groups, both surveys asked about preferences for types of diversity. The questions were similar to those asked by a Pew survey, which provides national comparisons. Figure D.13 shows the results for these questions. All questions were framed in this way: “Would you prefer to live in a community or neighborhood where most people are like me” on some dimension or “Would you prefer a mix”. The figure shows the preferences for diversity (a mix of types) for six dimensions of diversity.

![Figure D.13 Would you prefer to live in a neighborhood which has: (Percent who prefer to live in a neighborhood with the following)](image-url)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Diversity</th>
<th>Non-African Americans (N=204)</th>
<th>African Americans (N=184)</th>
<th>Young Professional African Americans (N=103)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A mix of races</td>
<td>89,3</td>
<td>86,4</td>
<td>84,2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A mix of classes (SES)</td>
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<td>A mix of education levels</td>
<td>73,1</td>
<td>84,8</td>
<td>83,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A mix of ages</td>
<td>83,9</td>
<td>88,5</td>
<td>88,2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A mix of political views</td>
<td>68,3</td>
<td>72,8</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A mix of religions</td>
<td>82,6</td>
<td>83,5</td>
<td>92,5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
For racial diversity, the figure shows a large preference for a mix of races by all respondents. Non African Americans responded that they prefer a mix (89%). This was similar to, 86% of young professional African Americans and **84% of African Americans who prefer a mix**. This compares with the Pew national findings of 60% of whites, 83% of blacks, and 69% of Hispanics preferring racial diversity. Clearly this sample of Pittsburghers prefers more diversity than their national counterparts. It should be noted that the sample is more educated and is likely to have more economic resources than the entire Pittsburgh population and may not be typical. In addition, the sample is younger than the total population and preference for diversity is greater for younger age groups. Coupling this preference for racial diversity with the higher levels of racial segregation found in Pittsburgh than many other large cities, this may be an incentive for some people to move to locations with greater racial diversity.

Looking at socioeconomic status, the preference for class diversity was not quite as strong. Sixty seven percent of Non-African Americans, 77% of African Americans, and 74% of young professional African Americans prefer to live in communities with a mix of classes. This compares with the Pew finding that 61% of all Americans prefer to live in diverse SES communities. The preference for socioeconomic diversity is stronger in this Pittsburgh sample than for all Americans. Generally, African American respondents preferred more SES diversity than the Non-African American respondents. The same was true of educational diversity (which is related to socioeconomic diversity) where 85% of African Americans and 77% of young professional African Americans preferred to live in a community with a mix of educational levels. This is different than 74% of Non-African Americans who responded. 

**Note:** the young professional group was slightly lower in their preference for socioeconomic and educational diversity, which is somewhat surprising. African Americans also preferred a greater degree of diversity with respect to age (89% versus 84%) and political views (73% versus 68%). However, the preference for religious diversity was higher among Non-African Americans than African Americans (93% versus 83%). This compares with 59% of all Americans preferring religious diversity from the Pew survey. A general conclusion is that, at least for this sample of Pittsburghers, the preference for diversity of all types seems to be greater than for all Americans.

Respondents to the web survey were asked additional questions about diversity: “How much do you agree that the Pittsburgh region is a place that welcomes and embraces diversity?” (Figure D.14) and “In thinking about the Pittsburgh region as a whole, how racially and ethnically diverse would you say it is?” (Figure D.15). A significant number of all respondents (well over half) disagreed or strongly disagreed with the notion that Pittsburgh as a whole welcomed and embraced diversity of all kinds (see Figure D.14); this is not a positive finding for the region. Perhaps not surprisingly, Non-African Americans viewed Pittsburgh as welcoming and embracing diversity to a somewhat greater extent than African Americans (47% versus 23%). **77% of African Americans disagreed with this assertion.**

On the question of how racially and ethnically diverse the Pittsburgh region actually is, very few respondents thought it was very diverse (Figure D.15). The modal response category for Non-African Americans was “somewhat diverse” with 62% responding this way, but for 50% of African Americans the modal response was “not at all diverse”. Young professional African Americans were even more negative about the diversity in Pittsburgh with 54% responding that it is not at all diverse. As in other similar questions, this perception of the region may be a disincentive for young professionals with more choices to settle in Pittsburgh.

**Figure D.16** addresses the importance of racial and ethnic diversity for the respondents in choosing a neighborhood to live. Clearly almost all survey respondents thought this was very or somewhat important, but the young professional African American group was most likely to affirm this with 55% responding very important and 40% somewhat important. Once again, the relative lack of diversity in the region coupled with the desire for diversity may result in difficulties in attracting and retaining young African American professionals.
Figure D.14 How much do you agree "The Pittsburgh region is a place that welcomes and embraces diversity in general"?

- Non-African American (N=46):
  - Strongly agree: 8.9
  - Agree somewhat: 37.8
  - Disagree somewhat: 15.6
  - Strongly disagree: 3.1

- African American (N=138):
  - Strongly agree: 20.3
  - Agree somewhat: 43.8
  - Disagree somewhat: 20.7
  - Strongly disagree: 1.2

- Young Professional African Americans (N=82):
  - Strongly agree: 34.1
  - Agree somewhat: 43.9
  - Disagree somewhat: 49.6
  - Strongly disagree: 45.7

Figure D.15 In thinking about the Pittsburgh region as a whole, how racially and ethnically diverse would you say it is?

- Non-African American (N=46):
  - Very Diverse: 6.7
  - Somewhat Diverse: 31.1
  - Not at all Diverse: 45.7

- African American (N=138):
  - Very Diverse: 4.7
  - Somewhat Diverse: 49.6
  - Not at all Diverse: 43.9

- Young Professional African Americans (N=82):
  - Very Diverse: 53.7
  - Somewhat Diverse: 54.9
  - Not at all Diverse: 40.2

Figure D.16 How important is it for you to live in a racially and ethnically diverse neighborhood?

- Non-African American (N=45):
  - Very Important: 53.3
  - Somewhat Important: 40
  - Not Important: 6.7

- African American (N=127):
  - Very Important: 47.2
  - Somewhat Important: 44.1
  - Not Important: 8.7

- Young Professional African Americans (N=82):
  - Very Important: 54.9
  - Somewhat Important: 40.2
  - Not Important: 4.9
The overall African American population in Pittsburgh is decreasing slightly however, the number of African Americans with Bachelor’s degrees has increased somewhat from 2000 to 2014. The neighborhood population data illustrate that African Americans with at least a Bachelor’s Degree are more likely to live in less distressed neighborhoods and less likely to live in neighborhoods that are more distressed. People who have a choice are more likely to live in more attractive neighborhoods.

With respect to residential location decisions, the focus groups and surveys suggest that African Americans, including young professionals, desire the same things in a neighborhood and residence as anyone else: good affordable housing, in a safe environment with available transportation options, readily available amenities and services, good schools, and a sense of community. The difficulty for African Americans in Pittsburgh is that this ideal community environment is not readily available.

African Americans rate their neighborhoods lower than their Non African American counterparts. As a result they are less likely to recommend these neighborhoods as a place to live and in some cases feel less integrated into them. Demographic analysis shows that Pittsburgh has a fairly high degree of residential segregation compared with many other urban areas, and African Americans (and perhaps minorities in general) are less likely to feel welcome here.

An African American middle class neighborhood in Pittsburgh is not readily available. Encouraging the development of one will require (among other things) increased jobs, affordable housing, readily available public transportation, greater public safety, and greater diversity of all kinds. In order to attract more young professional African Americans to Pittsburgh, the city can make this population feel welcome by increasing equal opportunity and enlarging other populations of color.
Our collective work is far from done. Insight from younger African Americans who have the means to choose where and how they live in the city is oftentimes missing from many of the equitable development conversations happening throughout Pittsburgh. This report captures this perspective.

If we are to commit to making Pittsburgh a city where we can thrive socially, culturally, financially, and with respect and dignity, then we must address the issues that inhibit quality of life for African Americans throughout the region.

Before we can get to work we have some tough questions to answer, including the following:

1. How do we ensure that business districts will serve the needs and preferences of African Americans?
   A. In a market-based economy, businesses are driven by demand. A concentration of businesses that will service African American demand require a density of consumers to ensure the profitability of the enterprises. What will it take to create this density? What is currently preventing it?

2. How do we ensure the presence of desirable cultural amenities?
   A. Cultural amenities including museums, performances, festivals and exhibits that affirm, reflect, and promote African American heritage and culture not only increase our quality of life but also validates our place in Pittsburgh.

3. How do we ensure that our children are prepared for opportunities in Pittsburgh’s emerging economy?
   A. Pittsburgh’s economy continues to diversify and expand to include new and growing industries like medical, financial, high tech, and energy production. As in traditional trades here, African Americans in Pittsburgh are grossly under-represented in all those fields. How do we align educational, out-of-school, and mentoring opportunities to better prepare youth to improve access to family sustainable careers in these fields?

4. What’s attracting African American residents to neighborhoods that aren’t traditionally African American?
   A. The last census showed that for the first time, fewer African Americans lived in the city than in Allegheny County. Also, African Americans are moving to city neighborhoods that have few other African Americans. What do these non-traditional locations offer that attract people who have a choice as to where to live?

5. How can we strengthen relationships with academic institutions and corporations to create additional opportunities for African American professionals?
   A. Large universities and corporations can play a bigger role in making Pittsburgh a more diverse and inclusive city. Internships, postdoc fellowships, and other professional training opportunities, aligned with deliberate recruiting campaigns with an emphasis on equity and inclusion, can attract and retain professional African Americans who may not otherwise consider Pittsburgh as an option to live, work and play.

6. How do we improve traditionally African American neighborhoods and make them attractive to young professionals while ensuring that long-term residents can afford to stay?
   A. Longtime residents of many traditionally African American neighborhoods are concerned by the threat of development or urban regeneration coming to their neighborhood. Even if there is no forced displacement – people with modest incomes are vulnerable to displacement caused by potential increases in tax rates.
What strategies will allow for neighborhood revitalization, tax security, and increases in income so that residents can benefit from neighborhood revitalization?

7. What lessons can we pull from the transformation of East Liberty?
   A. East Liberty is frequently cited as an example of a successful revitalization project and as an awful example of gentrification and displacement. The truth is likely to be somewhere in between. What did the planners and visionaries of those projects do well and what were the mistakes? How do we apply those lessons when we think about changes in other parts of the city?

8. What are other similar cities doing to be attractive places for young African American professionals?
   A. Columbus, Baltimore, Atlanta and other cities are favorite destinations of Pittsburgh’s African American expatriate. What is happening in those cities that is not happening here? Can Pittsburgh improve its economic and social climate for young professional African Americans?

*These research questions and responses were created by African American Neighborhoods of Choice in reaction to the findings within this report.*