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Community Development for the 21st Century: Asset-building and the Resurgence of Pittsburgh

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COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT FOR THE 21ST CENTURY: ASSET-BUILDING AND THE
RESURGENCE OF PITTSBURGH

A Thesis

Submitted to the Graduate Center for Social and Public Policy

Duquesne University

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts

By

Jason Tigano

December 2013

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2013

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT FOR THE 21ST CENTURY: ASSET-BUILDING AND THE
RESURGENCE OF PITTSBURGH

By

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ABSTRACT

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT FOR THE 21ST CENTURY: ASSET-BUILDING AND THE RESURGENCE OF PITTSBURGH

By

Jason Tigano

December 2013

Thesis supervised by Dr. Michael Irwin

Revitalizing a distressed community is a difficult challenge. Oftentimes it can take decades to achieve. Pittsburgh's East Liberty and Lawrenceville neighborhoods had fallen on hard times in the late part of the 20th century. However, in recent years, both were able to identify and leverage the assets of the community as a part of their revitalization strategy. Led by the efforts of local community organizations, these communities developed innovative redevelopment strategies that ultimately produced meaningful revitalization in both neighborhoods. The following is a study to understand if and how asset-building theories of community development influenced the strategies used to revitalize East Liberty and Lawrenceville. Through the analysis of public data sets and semi-structured interviews with the community development and local government professionals, evidence suggests that asset-building theories did influence redevelopment strategies and did produce meaningful revitalization in both communities.

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STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Communities throughout the city of Pittsburgh have long struggled to promote redevelopment in their neighborhoods (Lubove 1969). The challenge to promote successful redevelopment within the neighborhoods of East Liberty and Lawrenceville has taken decades. Whether a neighborhood is in a transition or has struggled for years, it can be difficult to facilitate community redevelopment.

Asset-based community development is a place-based strategy focusing on “a planned effort to build assets that increase the capacity of residents to improve their quality of life” (Green and Haines 2008:7). Assets with respect to community development can be “gifts, skills and capacities of individuals, associations and institutions within a community” (Kretzmann and McKnight 2003:6). Sometimes these assets go unnoticed or are forgotten by the community. That does not mean that they do not have the potential for value. The identification of assets and the realization that they can be used as a vehicle for change is an exciting revelation. A community that can harness its existing assets can improve their community (Kretzmann and McKnight 2003:10).

While asset-based community development provides new and exciting opportunities for communities to promote redevelopment from within, the strategies promoted are not without criticism. Detractors of asset-based community development strategies, such as Lemann, Orfield, and Hughes, site deficiencies in place-based development strategies, and the challenges of regionalism. Asset-based theorists Green and Haines assert, “many issues that concern residents, however, are place-based, such as schools, housing and environmental quality” (2008:2).

What lessons can communities gain from, and to what extent was the asset-building approach used in East Liberty and Lawrenceville? For the purpose of this thesis, I examined if or to what extent East Liberty and Lawrenceville put the concept of asset-based community development into practice. I also discern what can be learned from their experience.

Present Status of the Problem

Asset-based community development

Traditional models of community development focused on the needs and weaknesses of a neighborhood (Kretzmann and McKnight 2003:2). Practitioners performed a needs assessment to identify problems in a community. The assessment was then used to organize the community for action. These efforts however, tended to make the community reliant on professionals for assistance and thus compromised the development process (Green and Haines 2008:7).

Rather than focusing on the problems and flaws in a community, asset-building instead looks to community assets as a way to identify strengths and resources that can contribute to the strategic planning process (Green and Haines 2008:7). As mentioned above, assets can be gifts, skills and capacities of individuals, associations or institutions within a community. Kretzmann and McKnight designed a table to visually display a community asset map (Figure 1).

All of these individuals and groups have something they can contribute to the redevelopment of their community. Individuals can provide funding, labor or talents, regardless of the amount of money or skill; any donation can be an asset to the community. Some examples of individual gifts can be babysitting for neighbors, participating in a community clean-up project, or teaching a musical instrument to children.

Citizens' associations provide a different set of benefits for a community. Organizations such as churches, community associations and block groups "are the vehicles through which

citizens in the U.S. assemble to solve problems, or to share common interests and activities” (Kretzmann and McKnight 2003:6). The mobilization of a community organization can be a conduit for redevelopment, an educational or training program or sponsor of community-related activities.

The last group that makes up the asset base of a community is local institutions. These local institutions, such as businesses, schools and hospitals, “make up the most visible and formal part of a community’s fabric” (Kretzmann and McKnight 2003:8). While it may be more difficult to establish a sense of responsibility for the community from these institutions, the capacities and resources they can bring to bear on community redevelopment are crucial.

Asset-based theories provide an alternative strategy for community development professionals and neighborhood leaders to promote the revitalization of their neighborhood (Green and Haines 2008). Focusing on the assets of a community, as opposed to its needs, becomes more relevant considering that budget constraints and cutbacks in government funding provide additional challenges to redeveloping low-income urban communities (Kretzmann and McKnight 2003). Asset-based community development theories can help to facilitate community revitalization from within the community even when resources are limited (Kretzmann and McKnight 2003).

Three assets for East Liberty and Lawrenceville

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, is a city that has seen hard times. During the height of the industrial age in the early twentieth century Pittsburgh was commonly known as the “Smokey City, America’s Classic Coketown. Few communities were so frequently compared to hell” (Lubove 1969:1). By the mid-century, manufacturing began to decline as a percentage of total employment by about 7% every 8 years. (Crowley 2005:92). By the end of the twentieth

century all of the mills had closed within the city of Pittsburgh and only a few remained within Allegheny County.

The Urban Redevelopment Authority of Pittsburgh (URA) is the city of Pittsburgh's economic development agency. When it was created in 1946, it was the first redevelopment authority in the United States. The mission of the URA is to create jobs, expand the city's tax base and improve the vitality of businesses and neighborhoods. The URA achieves this mission by assembling, preparing and conveying sites for major mixed-use developments, and by providing a portfolio of programs that include financing for business location, relocation and expansion, housing construction and rehabilitation, and home purchases and improvements. The URA played a vital role in the redevelopment of East Liberty and Lawrenceville.

Part of the resurgence of Pittsburgh must also be attributed to the prominent universities that have consistently attracted new young people to the region. There are five universities within the city limits that bring approximately 65,000 young people to Pittsburgh for higher education. In addition, a university-affiliated medical institution helped to redefine the local economy, growing to be the region's largest employer. Green and Haines suggest, "Community institutions such as schools, hospitals and libraries, are potentially important resources for community development" (2008:12). These institutions provide jobs, contribute to the local economy, and their facilities can be used for community meetings and events. The geographical locations of these universities and hospitals are also important to resurgence of neighborhoods like East Liberty and Lawrenceville.

The other major factor that contributed to the revitalization of East Liberty and Lawrenceville is the proximity of these neighborhoods to strong communities and real estate markets. Kretzmann and McKnight also suggest consideration of "other aspects of a

community's assets, including its physical characteristics – the land, buildings and infrastructure upon which the community rests” (2003:8). While not explicitly mentioned, it must be noted that strong real estate markets in neighboring communities can be a great asset and provide many opportunities to the community in a number of ways.

Through the rediscovery and mobilization of neighborhood resources, as well as the leveraging of strong markets in close proximity, East Liberty and Lawrenceville began to experience revitalization. It was not always this way, however, and it took time for these neighborhoods to define themselves, mobilize their interests and produce developments and programs to enhance their neighborhoods.

Thoughtful planning and development efforts were led by the local community development corporations and strongly supported by local policy makers the URA, and elected officials. Pedestrian-friendly infrastructure, business development assistance for broader market needs, and small business assistance for niche markets all helped to blur the boundaries of the neighborhood and adjacent communities. The success of this strategy was as reliant on the change of neighborhood perception, both internally and externally, as it was on the success of the physical improvements.

The fact that these redevelopment efforts were led by the local community, through the local community development corporations' focusing on the existing assets was the first step for revitalizing East Liberty and Lawrenceville. The buy-in and support from community residents, associations, and institutions, as well as the local government officials and policy makers maximized the opportunities for successful redevelopment. Is it because of the community leadership, mobilization of stakeholders and leveraging of assets that these communities were able to be successful?

LITERATURE REVIEW

In order to understand how East Liberty and Lawrenceville might have been influenced by the asset-building approach to community development, I must first provide some historical context. A brief account of highlights of federal housing and redevelopment policy and its impact on Pittsburgh over several decades will follow. This is by no means meant to be an all-encompassing history of federal policy or local redevelopment efforts, but rather to illustrate that changes in federal funding allocations and priorities influenced local policy decisions. It is because of these shifts in funding that local decision makers had to reevaluate the process of community development.

As noted above, Pennsylvania passed the Urban Redevelopment Law in 1945, which enabled the creation of the Urban Redevelopment Authority of Pittsburgh (URA) in 1946, the first of its kind in the United States. The charge of the URA at that time was the removal of blight in the city.

The particular focus on intervention in urban areas, nationally, came in 1949 with the passage of the Fair Housing Act. Kaplan explains that Title I of the Fair Housing Act

provided federal aid to urban communities for the clearance of blighted areas. The cleared sites were sold at write-down values to private redevelopers who would agree to build middle-income housing or other projects appropriate to those sites. The federal government agreed to pay two-thirds of the net project costs (two-thirds of the difference between the costs of clearance and the sale price of the site) if the local government agreed to pay the remaining third (1963:1).

The Fair Housing Act offered, for the first time, direct and consistent federal funding to cities for redevelopment purposes. As Davies noted at that time “urban renewal was hailed as the tool that would enable the cities of America to save themselves from blight, decay, and obsolescence”.

(1966:1) As it turned out, the Fair Housing Act would not prove to be the solution to urban decline and it would not be the last program offered by the federal government. The importance

of the Fair Housing Act is that it helped to organize and professionalize what Kaplan calls the “urban activist.” This professionalization led to further lobbying on behalf of blighted and underserved communities in urban areas.

In the decades that followed the passage of the Fair Housing Act, the “United States was the unchallenged leader in world industrial production” (Crowley 2005:90). In cities like Pittsburgh, industrialization was woven into the fabric of the city itself. Steel mills and other heavy industries occupied nearly all of the riverfront along the Allegheny and Monongahela Rivers down to the Point. Working class neighborhoods like Lawrenceville and the South Side were built within walking distance to the mills.

The steel industry was a major source of employment for the Pittsburgh region for the better part of the twentieth century. By the late 1960’s and early 1970’s cities like Pittsburgh began to decline, as America’s industrial dominance began to regress and Asian markets began to siphon off more traditional industries. In 1979 U.S. Steel “would permanently close twelve steel plants, half of which were in Pittsburgh... All told, deindustrialization in Pittsburgh resulted in the loss of over 100,000 manufacturing jobs between 1979-1987” (Crowley 2005:91). The loss of the major employment in industry put Pittsburgh on a downward spiral that would take decades to recover from.

It is also important to note that during this time there were several urban renewal projects undertaken in Pittsburgh. One of these projects is worth recognizing. The East Liberty neighborhood saw three different redevelopment initiatives occurring in 1960, 1963 and 1964. This “combined into a single 254 acre renewal project... included new housing, extensive road improvements, commercial rehabilitation, and a pedestrian shopping mall (Lubove 1969:129-

130). This initiative was unsuccessful in its goal of revitalizing East Liberty, and unfortunately led to the further degradation and blight throughout the neighborhood.

In 1972 the federal government passed the State and Local Fiscal Assistance Act which, in 1974, along with many other grant programs, was combined into the Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) Program as a result of the Housing and Community Development Act. Crowley explains that local governments “were required to give priority to activities that benefited low- and moderate-income persons but otherwise enjoyed flexibility in how they spent federal funds” (2005:94).

Unfortunately, CDBG funding levels also decreased over time. In 1983 Pittsburgh received \$27.4 million, an all-time high for the city. Throughout the 1980’s that number shrank, hovering between \$15-\$20 million per year. It rose again briefly during the 1990’s to around \$21 million before being reduced again in the 2000’s. In 2012 the City of Pittsburgh received \$13 million in CDBG funding.

As a result of decreases in federal funding Pittsburgh had to find ways to maintain its financial responsibilities. Crowley notes,

increases in local taxes only provided incentives for high-income families and thriving businesses to move out. The steady decline in Pittsburgh’s population during the 1980’s further eroded the city’s fiscal capacity, causing greater increases in tax rates to make up for a smaller tax base and pressures to cut city services, especially those targeted at unemployed workers and other needy groups (2005:96-97).

Part of the problem that Pittsburgh faced was that the local economy lacked employment diversification. In 1953, 44.1 percent of the population of Pittsburgh worked in the manufacturing industry and by 1995 the percentage had fallen to 11.3. To compensate for a lack of employment opportunities, over 170,000 service industry jobs were created in the region

between 1970-1990 (Crowley 2005:92). The lack of economic opportunity and good paying jobs not only caused many people to leave the city, it also led to a shrinking of the city tax base.

It would not be until the twenty-first century that Pittsburgh would begin its resurgence. For the first time in nearly five decades Pittsburgh saw a small population growth in 2011 (Census Bureau). Prior to this, Pittsburgh had a steady population decline dating back to the 1970's, especially among young people, who were forced to leave due to a lack of employment opportunities. Local housing markets were not as affected by the foreclosure crisis from 2008-2011 and property values actually saw modest growth (REALstats data). While the Recession of 2008 devastated both job and housing markets across the United States, Pittsburgh had been feeling these affects for decades and had been positioned to rebound.

The reprioritization of federal funding and consistent reductions in CDBG and other funding allocations forced cities like Pittsburgh to do more with less. Green explains that “cuts in the federal budget have shifted the responsibilities for funding and implementing many programs to the states and localities. Yet concerns remain that most communities do not have the capacity to take on these responsibilities” (2010:2). Attempting to cope with less funding and more accountability, coupled with the fact that Pittsburgh had been suffering from population drain, a lack of employment opportunities, and growing vacancies throughout several neighborhoods dating back to the 1970's was a recipe for prolonged decline.

The Asset Building Approach

Kretzmann and McKnight developed the asset-based approach in response to what they saw as deficiencies in more traditional models of community development (2003:1). They made two important observations about community development. First, “all the historic evidence indicates that significant community development takes place only when local community

people are committed to investing themselves and their resources in the effort” (2003:5).

Secondly, “the hard truth is that development must start from within the community and, in most of our urban neighborhoods, there is no other choice” (2003:5). In response to these premises Kretzmann and McKnight contend that successful community development must depart from needs assessments and “deficiency-oriented policies and programs” (2003:2). They believe needs assessments focuses policy on community weakness rather than strength.

A needs assessment is conducted when a “group develops a sense of what services it particularly needs” (Cordero-Guzman and Quiroz-Becerra 2008:113). Examples of needs could be better access to public transportation, educational and training programs, and public safety initiatives. Needs assessments can lead to problems for community redevelopment efforts, as “residents themselves begin to accept that [deficiency] map as the only guide to their lives. They think of themselves and their neighbors as fundamentally deficient, victims incapable of taking charge of their lives and of their community’s future” (Kretzmann and McKnight 2003:4).

Asset-based community development, in contrast, focuses community organizing and redevelopment efforts around the assets a community already has. Asset-building also must be, as Kretzmann and McKnight contend, “internally focused.” That is, the development strategy concentrates first of all upon the agenda building and problem-solving capacities of local residents, local associations and local institutions.” Further, if the redevelopment strategy is “asset-based” and “internally focused”, “then it will be in very important ways ‘relationship driven” (Kretzmann and McKnight 2003:9). Asset-based community development provides a pathway for residents and community organizers “to locate all of the available local assets, to begin connecting them with one another in ways that multiply their power and effectiveness, and

to begin harnessing those local institutions that are not yet available for local development purposes” (Kretzmann and McKnight 2003:5-6). How is asset-building operationalized?

Asset-building uses the process of Asset Mapping to identify available resources in the community (Green and Haines 2008:10-11). Asset Mapping can help to identify such things as:

- Economic development opportunities through the mapping of available skills and work experience.
- The documentation of natural resource assets that may promote economic development through tourism or increased home values.
- The assessment of consumer spending practices to identify the potential for new business in the neighborhood.
- The development of a community resources inventory to identify the expediencies of residents in providing services, such as child-care, to identify the potential for more providers in the community.

In contrast, community development practitioners traditionally focused on the dominant deficiency model and needs assessments to help facilitate and prioritize redevelopment efforts. Residents typically met with local policy makers around issues like unemployment, poverty, crime, and lack of affordable housing. Kretzmann and McKnight assert “these negative images, which can be conceived as a kind of mental ‘map’ of the neighborhood often convey part of the truth about the actual conditions of a troubled community. But they are not regarded as part of the truth; they are regarded as the whole truth (2003:2). Beginning redevelopment efforts by mapping existing community assets, as opposed to needs, makes a difference in a community’s outlook on planning and revitalization efforts.

Unlike the traditional model, this approach assumes the assets identified by the community have value. This value can be described as “community capital, including financial, social, physical, environmental, human, political, and cultural capital. These assets are considered capital because investments in them generate additional resources or benefits for the community” (Green and Goetting 2010:6). Asset-based community development contends that these resources need to be invested in and leveraged to achieve community goals.

Asset-based community development techniques have been promoted as a community development strategy in a variety of settings. They have been used in Native American communities (Deweese and Sarkozy-Banoczy 2010), rural communities (Blejwas, Green, and Harvey and Beaulieu, respectfully 2010), urban communities (Kretzmann and Puntenney 2010) and internationally (Dougherty and Peralta 2010) with success (Green and Goetting 2010). Additionally, studies by Zimmerman and Meyer, and Pinkett focus on Internet and community development. Pinkett notes, “asset-based community development can be an appropriate methodology for harnessing the individual and collective talents of the members of a community. Not only does this have direct applications to community engagement with neighborhood revitalization, but also community engagement with technology” (2000:7). Studies such as these, of asset-based community development, have provided community development practitioners with a variety of new ideas for redeveloping communities.

McKnight and Block expand on this notion of community assets’ being able to generate resources and benefits back to the community. They promote a community-focused shift away from consumerism to what they call the “abundant community.” They contend that “a competent community, one willing to capitalize on its abundance, has the ability to create satisfaction and cure our addiction to consumption” (2010:63). An abundant community can

create the conditions for individuals and families to function in a sustainable nature, relying on community wisdom and hospitality, to build a community that will satisfy and sustain (2010:63-64).

Asset-based community development has also been promoted by Emery, Wall and Macke in their study of entrepreneurship activities in two Nebraska communities (2004). They contend that communities should not attempt to attract “big-box” retailers as a savior for local jobs as “this strategy pulls resources out of the community as profits are both invested and contributed elsewhere. In contrast, those communities able to retain retail and service sector local businesses may see profits invested locally and contributed to local causes” (Emery, Wall and Macke 2004:83). In order to keep local retail and service sector businesses, programs have been developed to connect interested youth in hands-on entrepreneurial activities to provide them with opportunities to become young entrepreneurs (2004:87).

While asset-based community development provides new and exciting opportunities for communities to promote redevelopment from within, the strategies promoted are not without criticism. First, asset-based community development is a place-based strategy, which can pose challenges to organizers such as attracting investments from within or outside of the community, retaining residential populations, and maintaining employment opportunities (Lemann 1994:30). Green and Haines also note that the asset-based approach is “problematic because people are becoming less attached to their place and more linked to communities of interest. The growth of the Internet, for example, provides new opportunities for individuals to connect with other people who have similar interests and concerns.” (2008:2).

Additionally is the critique from regionalists. They argue the focus on community and neighborhoods ignores the regional nature of development, especially at the metropolitan level

(Orfield 1997:34). Finally, Hughes contends that community development literature generates an artificial option between people and place (Hughes 1991). Instead, Hughes advocates for a mobility strategy, that attempts to assist city residents commute to suburban jobs, rather than try to bring employers into the city or relocate workers to where the jobs are located (Hughes 1991). While this is not an exhaustive list of criticisms of asset-based community development, it does provide some idea of potential pitfalls and deficiencies.

Asset-building theorists have addressed these criticisms. While theorists such as Lehman contend that people are more linked by communities of interest than communities of place, place-based development does have its advantages. One advantage to place-based development is that “many issues that concern residents, however, are place-based, such as schools, housing and environmental quality” (Green and Haines 2010:2). Further, there are political, foundational, and business sector advantages to place-based community development (Green and Haines 2010:7). Additionally, theories of regionalism are “not necessarily an alternative to traditional place-based community development strategies. Instead, they build on the existing links between communities and their regions” (Green and Haines 2010:7).

Once a community has identified its assets, organizers must work to build community-wide support for the initiative. Extensive community support is critical for mobilizing assets. Asset-building “relies on leveraging local resources to gain outside support as well” (Green 2010:8). While asset-building relies on existing resources from within a community to foster redevelopment, it is also important to seek outside resources to help facilitate community-supported redevelopment.

Critics suggest that it is more difficult to mobilize communities around assets than it is around needs. Green and Haines note that “it probably is easier to bring residents together

around a problem or need, but it may be more difficult to sustain that effort” (2010:8). In order to achieve community goals, it is important to have sustained effort from the community. By focusing on assets, with sustained effort, a community has a better chance at improving its quality of life (Green and Haines 2010:8). Kretzmann and McKnight contend that “once this guide to capacities has replaced the old one containing only needs and deficiencies, the regenerating community can begin to assemble its strengths into new combinations, new structures of opportunity, new sources of income and control, and new possibilities for production” (2003:25).

Asset-based theories of community revitalization were created in response to shortcomings in the conventional models of community development (Kretzmann and McKnight 2003). By operationalizing the theories and mapping the assets of a community Kretzmann and McKnight, and Green and Haines contend, that community stands a better chance to achieve revitalization (2003, 2002008).

Over the last 10 years it seems that the neighborhoods of East Liberty and Lawrenceville have experienced significant revitalization. For decades these neighborhoods have struggled, despite attempts by local leaders and stakeholders to do otherwise. This study is an effort to discover if asset-based theories have influenced the redevelopment strategies in these communities.

METHODOLOGY

Data Collection

This study examined how the asset-building approach is influencing or being used by community development practitioners and local policy makers in the Pittsburgh neighborhoods

of East Liberty and Lawrenceville. Both of these neighborhoods have been highlighted, locally and nationally, as examples of communities that have achieved successful revitalization.

The first issue this study addresses is defining ‘community revitalization.’ There are many different criteria one can use to define successful community revitalization. Further, there are degrees of success that should be considered. For the purpose of this thesis success will be measured through:

- Substantial rates of change in real estate values for residential buildings in both neighborhoods and across the city of Pittsburgh from 2000 to 2012
- Job creation and retention data for both neighborhoods from 2000-2012
- Substantial investment dollars from URA board resolutions from 1995-2012

RealSTATs is “a locally owned and operated real estate information company serving government, financial institutions, and firms in the legal and real estate industries” (RealSTATs 2013). They collect data about the sales prices for the residential units sold in the region and will help to assess the change in the marketplace over time within these neighborhoods. The URA board resolutions will show what government involved investment has occurred in the neighborhoods. Additionally, the URA tracks job creation data as it relates to their projects. This will be helpful in understanding emerging opportunities in these communities. All of the above-mentioned data is public data and does not involve confidentiality and disclosure issues.

I will use these data to determine if East Liberty and Lawrenceville have experienced successful community revitalization, as I have defined it. Substantial rates of change in real estate values will be a change that is twice the average of the city overall. This will demonstrate a growth in financial equity to the residents of the neighborhood who own their homes, and a desire from others to move into the neighborhood to buy a home. The number of projects and

amount of funding found in URA board resolutions will demonstrate that local residents and private investors are redeveloping residential and commercial structures to varying degrees. Yearly funding in excess of \$500,000 will be considered significant. Job creation and employment data will show economic opportunities have become available in the neighborhood. Any amount of jobs will be considered significant because many of these jobs are community residents. By analyzing these data sets, it is my expectation that themes will emerge either in favor of positive revitalization of the neighborhoods and its residents or not.

Data analysis alone will not determine if asset-building theories influenced redevelopment strategies in East Liberty and Lawrenceville. Within the time and financial limitations of this study I determined that multiple qualitative interviews would be appropriate. The subjects for the interviews would need to be intimately involved in the design and implementation of the revitalization strategies in each community. They would know about organizing and planning efforts, and the investment and revitalization strategies within these communities. I believe that this type of qualitative approach will provide more valuable insight into the redevelopment efforts of East Liberty and Lawrenceville.

Interviews

I have conducted semi-structured interviews of community leaders and local policy makers in an attempt to gain insight into the strategies that were influential in the community redevelopment efforts in East Liberty and Lawrenceville. Kvale describes semi-structured interviews in the following way: “it has a sequence of themes to be covered, as well as suggested questions. Yet at the same time there is an openness to changes of sequence and forms of questions in order to follow up the answers given and the stories told by the subjects” (1996:124). Semi-structured interviews have provided me with the structure I need to obtain the

appropriate information from my interview subjects, while allowing me the flexibility to ask follow-up questions, to further expand on topics and ideas I may not have considered at this time.

The formulation of my semi-structured interview process was guided by what Kvale refers to as the seven stages of interview research. This is “to provide some structure to an open and flexible interview study [that] emphasizes a linear progression through the seven method stages for an interview inquiry” (1996:87). Kvale’s seven stages of interview research are thematizing, designing, interviewing, transcribing, analyzing, verifying, and reporting.

Thematizing refers to the preparation of the purpose of an investigation, describing the topic to be investigated before interviews begin. Designing is time spent planning the study, considering the seven stages of investigation before interviews begin. Kvale recommends conducting “interviews based on an interview guide and with a reflective approach to the knowledge sought and the interpersonal relation of the interview situation” (1996:88).

Transcribing refers to the preparation of interview material for analysis by converting the oral recording to a written document. Taking into account the basis of purpose and topic of investigation, including the nature of the interview material, analyzing refers to the decision of which methods of analysis are appropriate for the interview. Verifying determines the reliability and validity of the interview data. Finally, reporting communicates the findings of the study in a scientific, ethical and readable way (Kvale 1996:88).

The semi-structured approach is the appropriate method of interview for several reasons. First, my professional relationship with each interviewee provides me with a personal understanding of their knowledge and expertise that aids in the interpretation of these interviews¹. Second, other interview approaches, have potential pitfalls that are addressed by

¹ Over the past ten years I have worked as a community development professional in the Pittsburgh area. First, I worked as the Community Development Representative for Congressman Mike Doyle for four years. I then took a

semi-structured interviews. These issues are discussed below. Third, the advantages of a semi-structured style allow the interview process to feel more comfortable and productive (Kvale 2006). Finally, the semi-structured approach allows for the depth of information, while providing focus and direction throughout the interview (Kvale 2006). For these reasons, I believe I would be able to obtain the same quality of information through structured interviews, focus groups, or surveys. What pitfalls are addressed by a semi-structured instrument?

A structured interview, according to Fontana and Frey “refers to a situation in which an interviewer asks each respondent a series of pre-established questions with a limited set of response categories” (1994:363). The lack of deviation required of structured interviews will not allow for different interview questions for each individual interviewee or unidentified follow-up questions that may arise from the interviewee’s response. Additionally, the structured interview will not allow the interviewee the flexibility to provide answers to questions that have limited response categories or options. Semi-structured interviews allow this flexibility.

Focus groups, while beneficial in market research and voter reactions to issues and policies (Fontana and Frey 1994:364), are not a possible interview type for my research. All of the individuals I have identified to be interviewed are highly professional, busy people. I would not be able to coordinate all of their schedules to find a time in which they would all be available to meet. Further, focus group setting would not provide the same depth of information that I would be able to obtain from an individual semi-structured interview format.

Surveys pose similar problems to the structured interview approach, as well as focus groups. Neither surveys nor focus groups allow for follow-up questions during the interview.

job at the Urban Redevelopment Authority of Pittsburgh. For the past seven years I served as the Public and Legislative Affairs Manager.

The opportunity to ask follow-up questions is important to ensure the reliability and understanding of the respondents answers.

For these reasons the semi-structured interview approach optimizes interviews with these respondents. There are also several disadvantages to this approach. Wengraf describes one disadvantage, “double attention,” in the following way, “that you must be both listening to the informant's responses to understand what he or she is trying to get at and, at the same time, you must be bearing in mind your needs to ensure that all your questions are liable to get answered within the fixed time at the level of depth and detail that you need” (Wengraf 2001:194). A second disadvantage to using semi-structured interviews was my use of a tape recorder, with the interviewee’s permission. I took notes during the interview, in the event there was a malfunction with the recording device. Opdenakker identifies three reasons for this. First “to check if all the questions have been answered.” The second reason is “in case of malfunctioning of the tape recorder, and third in case of "malfunctioning of the interviewer" (Opdenakker 2006:4). Additionally, Opdenakker notes the amount of time the transcription of interviews will take as a disadvantage, citing Bryman, who “suggests that one hour of tape takes five or six hours to transcribe” (Opdenakker 2006:4). Despite these disadvantages I believe that the semi-structured approach is most appropriate for my research and address steps to mitigate these disadvantages below to ensure further reliability of the findings.

I conducted six interviews over the course of three weeks. The average length of each interview was sixty-two minutes, with the longest being eighty-two minutes and the shortest being thirty-seven minutes. From the 372 minutes of interview recordings there were 63 pages of typed transcription. Based on the analysis of the transcriptions I highlighted the relevant ideas and responses from each interview. Each individual quote was given an index card coded by

interview subject, a subject and neighborhood. There were a total of 165 index cards. The index cards were then organized by common themes, ideas and descriptions, such as dates, planning strategies, developments. The results of this analysis will be discussed further below.

Preparation and interview information

In preparation for my interviews there are several items I had considered. First, I used an audio-tape to record all of my interviews. I tested my recorder before each interview and brought extra batteries and tapes to mitigate any unforeseen issues. I scheduled each interview at the convenience of the interviewee and expected that they would be held in their respective office or a public place, like a coffee shop. I arrived to each interview at least 15 minutes early to make sure I had time to get set up and test my equipment.

Before I began each interview I provided a full disclosure to each interviewee. I explained that I would use the information provided to inform my conclusions and help determine what influenced the revitalization of East Liberty and Lawrenceville. Additionally, I asked to attribute quotations and statements from the interviews to the interviewee, as appropriate. I have included a sample letter below.

I began each interview with a brief introduction followed by the purpose of my interview. This was important because “respondents who believe in the importance of the research and especially its relevance to their own situation are more attentive and provide more productive interviews than those who are uninterested” (Warren and Karner 2005:134). Below is an example of my statement of purpose:

Good afternoon (name). I would first like to thank you for agreeing to meet with me today. I appreciate you finding time to allow me to interview you for my graduate thesis.

This interview is part of a study to understand the theories and strategies that influenced the redevelopment in the East Liberty and Lawrenceville neighborhoods. I am trying to find out what ideas and factors shaped planning and revitalization efforts. Additionally, I

would like to know who the individuals and organizations were that led the charge of recovery, what motivated them and the timeframe in which this all took place.

Once I had made my introduction and statement of purpose I asked the respondent if they had any questions or concerns regarding the interview before we begin. Warren and Karner advise to “take any concerns expressed seriously and answer them fully. You want the respondent to feel listened to, even before starting the formal interview” (2005:134).

There is one potential pitfall that I recognized and attempted to deal with regarding my interview subjects. For the past five years I have worked for the Urban Redevelopment Authority and I know each of the individuals I intend to interview. This could pose a problem: “from the point of view of obtaining interview data, interviewing non-strangers sometimes may mean that respondents do not answer our questions in detail, because as we have heard many of them say, ‘Why are you asking me that? You know all about that?’” (Warren and Karner 2005:131). If something like this occurs, I used a prompt such as: “For the purpose of this interview, please do not assume that I am familiar with any specific strategies or theories of revitalization in East Liberty or Lawrenceville. Think of me as a graduate student conducting research, as opposed to a community development professional.”

Interview analysis

Once I had conducted my interviews I used the ad hoc method to analyze my transcripts. The ad hoc method can be described as “a free interplay of techniques during the analysis” (Kvale 1996:203). These techniques permit an overall analysis, quantifications like counting statements, make deeper impressions of specific statements, cast parts of the interview into a narrative, and work out metaphors to capture the material (Kvale 1996:204). Meaning condensation “entails an abridgement of the meanings expressed by the interviewees into shorter formulations” (Kvale 1996:192). Meaning categorization “implies that the interview is coded

into categories. Long statements are reduced to simple categories such as + or –” (Kvale 1996:192). Narrative structuring involves “the temporal and social organization of a text to bring out its meaning” (Kvale 1996:192). Meaning interpretation “goes beyond a structuring of the manifest meanings of a text to deeper and more or less speculative interpretations of the text” (Kvale 1996:193). These methods of analysis, meaning condensation, meaning categorization, narrative structuring and meaning interpretation have benefits, individually. However, I believe that the flexibility of the ad hoc method is the best option for my analysis for my interview transcriptions.

There are several issues of analysis that I will outline at this time, in an effort to mitigate any possible negative effects. Kvale identifies three issues of analysis: the pervasiveness of interpretation, quantitative and qualitative analysis, and theoretical presuppositions (Kvale 1996:204). The pervasiveness of interpretation refers to the entirety of analysis throughout the interview inquiry. Kvale contends that interpretation can be done at the completion of the interview, through the transformation of oral speech to written word, as well as during verification and reporting (Kvale 1996:205). The second issue of analysis Kvale identifies is quantitative and qualitative analysis. This deals with the creation of qualitative categories for quantitative analysis. According to Kvale a quantitative scoring procedure can presuppose a qualitative development of the categories, and it can contribute to a qualitative differentiation of these categories (Kvale 1996:206). The last issue of analysis is theoretical presuppositions. Kvale contends that “the analyst’s theoretical conceptions of the subject matter influence how he or she analyzes the interviews” (Kvale 1996:206).

In order to mitigate the potential issues there are several steps I took. Kvale offers a suggestion to the pervasiveness of interpretation: “a recognition of the pervasiveness of

interpretation throughout an entire interview inquiry may counteract a common overemphasis on methods of analysis as the one way to find the meaning of interviews” (Kvale 1996:205). I believe I need to ask questions to ascertain the appropriate information and balance my analysis over the course of the interview process. An additional issue with theoretical presuppositions needs consideration. Because of my professional background I enter this research with a unique perspective in relation to my field of study. I must attempt to the greatest extent possible to elicit complete responses from my interviewees. This is for two reasons, first because I do not want the subject to assume that I already know something and thus they do not have to articulate it themselves. Second, I want the detail of their expert opinions to counteract any preconceived notions I may have. Being mindful of the issues of analysis Kvale outlined will help to ensure that my research is valid and reliable.

In order to deal with issues related to the control of my analysis, Kvale suggests two approaches, multiple interpreters and explication of procedures. Using multiple interpreters for the same interview can allow for an amount of control of random or biased subjectivity in analysis. While I would anticipate my advisors would be helpful in analyzing some of the more challenging transcriptions, I am the primary interpreter and do not have the resources available to bring on additional interpreters. Therefore, I believe the more appropriate approach is the explication of procedures, wherein the “researchers present examples of the material used for the interpretations and explicitly outline the different steps of the analysis process” (Kvale 1996:209).

By adopting the explication of procedures approach, several concerns regarding the interpretation of the interview must be addressed. First, is the purpose to analyze the interviewee’s understanding or the researcher’s broader interpretation of the meaning? For the

purpose of this study the interviewee's understanding will be the focus. The individuals identified are community development and government professionals who should be familiar with the redevelopment strategies of these neighborhoods. Second, is the interpretation the letter of the text or the spirit of its meaning? The interpretation of the text may require a balance between the letter and the spirit. Some part of the neighborhood's strategy might have aspects of asset-based theory behind it and not being overtly recognized as such, while other aspects could be rooted in asset-based ideas. Third is the question of whether there is one correct interpretation of the text or a legitimate plurality of interpretations. I anticipated that there is one correct interpretation of the text. Based on the interviewee's responses, either asset-based theories were influencing the redevelopment strategies or they were not. Finally, what aspects of a theme should be interpreted and in what larger context (Kvale 1996:211)? Patterns and commonalities in interview responses will drive the interpretation of these themes. Based on the transcription of my interview material and its review with my advisors, I have made every effort to ensure responsible and reliable verification and reporting of my work.

To further ensure the responsible and reliable verification of my work Kvale poses three questions to an interview text. The three questions concern the context of interpretation, whether the interviewee is an informant or a representative and interview statements in which the information is empirically invalid, but that may provide valuable knowledge about production and consequences of the invalid knowledge (Kvale 1996:213). Kvale identifies three contexts of interpretation: self-understanding, critical commonsense understanding, and theoretical understanding (Kvale 1996:214). Additionally, Kvale also recognizes three communities of validation: the interviewed subject, the general public, and the research community (Kvale 1996:217). By applying these contexts of interpretation and communities of validation to the

analysis of my interview transcriptions I hope to provide a more complete understanding of the factors that influenced the revitalization of East Liberty and Lawrenceville.

Validity not only applies to my interpretation of the interviewee's statement, but also to the substance of the subjects' statements. Kvale notes that what an interviewee says "may be true or false, they can be a reliable or unreliable witness about their own behavior and that of others" (Kvale 1996:218). In order to increase reliability and validity, I will employ informant-triangulation. Kvale describes informant-triangulation as "the same phenomenon is investigated from different angles to determine its exact location, in the present context by including different informants and methods to determine its precise meaning and validity" (Kvale 1996:219). Due to the constraints of time and information, the lack of triangulation is a limitation of this study.

I have selected these specific individuals based on their knowledge and place in the redevelopment process of both neighborhoods. They are local experts in their field and are able to provide the most insight into the methods and processes in which redevelopment took place (I do not believe that these are the only individuals responsible for the redevelopment of East Liberty and Lawrenceville). This should not create a problem for my analysis because these individuals are familiar with the redevelopment strategies of East Liberty and Lawrenceville. While additional interviews may help to uncover deeper information, the time constraints of this study did not allow for these interviews.

The following is the list of individuals I have interviewed. As I stated above, I do not believe this is an exhaustive list and anticipate that I could have interviewed additional individuals; however, time did not permit. The individuals I have identified for interview were selected based on their expertise and leadership role they played in the revitalization of these neighborhoods, as well as the time and limitations of this study.

- Robert Rubinstein is the Acting Executive Director of the Urban Redevelopment Authority of Pittsburgh. The URA is the city of Pittsburgh's economic development agency. Mr. Rubinstein has worked at the URA for over 15 years, serving as the Director of Economic Development. Within this capacity he oversaw the major commercial developments that took place in both East Liberty and Lawrenceville throughout the entire period of study.
- Rob Stephany is the Director of Community and Economic Development at the Heinz Endowments. Prior to his work at the Heinz Endowments, he was the Executive Director of the Urban Redevelopment Authority of Pittsburgh and the Director of Real Estate at East Liberty Development, Inc. Mr. Stephany has been influential in much of the redevelopment of East Liberty and Lawrenceville throughout the entire period of study.
- Maelene Meyers is the Executive Director of East Liberty Development, Inc. (ELDI). Ms. Meyers has been the Executive Director of the neighborhood's community development corporation (CDC) for the last 15 years. ELDI is recognized locally for their ability to organize their community and produce positive redevelopment.
- Skip Schwab is the Director of Operations for ELDI. Prior to his arrival at ELDI, Mr. Schwab worked for the Western Pennsylvania Local Initiatives Support Corporation (LISC). LISC's mission is to help community residents transform distressed neighborhoods into healthy and sustainable communities of choice and opportunity.

- Matt Galluzzo is the Executive Director of Lawrenceville Corporation (LC). Mr. Galluzzo has been the Executive Director of the LC for 5 years. The LC is the CDC for the Lawrenceville neighborhood. The mission of the LC is to act as a catalyst and conduit for reinvestment in the Lawrenceville community.
- Shelly Majcen is the Senior Planner for the East Liberty and Lawrenceville neighborhoods for the Pittsburgh Department of City Planning. City Planning sets the framework for the city's development through policy and development review by the Planning Commission and through administration of the zoning ordinance.

I designed a standard interview questions for all individuals to act as an outline for interviews. These questions were intended to provide a conceptual understanding of whether or not asset-building principles were utilized in the successful redevelopment of East Liberty and Lawrenceville. If asset-building was not an influence then I would determine what theories did influence the revitalization of these neighborhoods. I had a copy of the interview questions available for the interviewee, should they have asked to see them.

I anticipated that at some point during the interview I might need to use prompts or probes in some cases based on the semi-structured nature of my interviews and the answers provided by respondents. My intent was to be unobtrusive and not lead the interviewee throughout the interview. Additionally, the interview questions I identified might lead to additional follow-up questions that would be based on the interviewee's response and could not be formulated beforehand. Below is a list of the interview questions I intended to ask to each respective interviewee.

Interview Questions

- When would you say revitalization began in East Liberty and/or Lawrenceville?
- Could you briefly describe the development strategy in East Liberty and/or Lawrenceville?
- What was the most successful and least successful example of this strategy?
- What assets do you think were important to the revitalization of East Liberty and/or Lawrenceville?
- What, in your opinion, got the development processes started in East Liberty and/or Lawrenceville?
- What do you think were the strengths and weaknesses of the process?
- What was the most important development or event that influenced the revitalization in East Liberty and/or Lawrenceville?
- Are there other important dates in the revitalization of East Liberty and/or Lawrenceville?
- Can you describe the role the community played in the redevelopment process?
- Who were the decision makers in the development process? What groups or individuals drove the development process?
- Was asset-mapping used to engage the community in the redevelopment process?
- Was a needs assessment conducted to engage the community in the redevelopment process?
- How were the deficiencies within the community overcome? How are remaining issues being addressed?

In order to ensure accuracy in my interviews, I used digital auto-tape equipment to record each interview. Additionally, Warren and Karner note that “although in qualitative research you start out with a list of questions approved by your IRB, there is no epistemological barrier to changing the order or format of questions, and this might be done in any given interview. And probes and supplementary questions will be different for different respondents” (2005:155). I fully transcribed all of my interviews personally for reliability.

OUTCOMES

Data Analysis: Measures of success

East Liberty

I have analyzed the rates of change in real estate values, job creation data and URA board resolutions and determined that East Liberty and Lawrenceville have experienced successful community revitalization, as I have defined it. I will address each of the criteria outlined above beginning with the rates of change in real estate values.

From 1995-2012 the average change in average sales price for a residential unit in the city of Pittsburgh was 89% (ReasSTATs Data). The increase in value in the East Liberty neighborhood is even more remarkable when one considers the Recession of 2008 caused great upheaval with housing markets across the United States. Over the entire period analyzed from 1995-2012 the average sales price for a residential unit in East Liberty went from \$54,772 to \$180,458, an increase over 300%.

From 1995-2012 the URA has invested over \$1 billion in loan and grants to businesses throughout the city of Pittsburgh (URA data). Over that same time period, the East Liberty neighborhood received over \$156 million of that funding, approximately 15%. The average amount of funding over the analyzed time frame was just over \$9 million a year. There are 90

recognized neighborhoods in the city of Pittsburgh. For one neighborhood to receive 15% of the URA's funding over nearly a 20 year period displays the most intense of government support.

Job creation and employment data has been difficult collect. Some companies, especially those in the technology sector, have privacy or security concerns and do not provide detailed employment data. The URA tracks employment data in all the projects it is involved with dating back to 2000. From 2000-2012 there have been 366 new jobs created and 110 jobs retained in East Liberty from URA related initiatives. Many of these projects have included employment opportunities for neighborhood residents.

Lawrenceville

As noted above, from 1995-2012 the average change in average sales price for a residential unit in the city of Pittsburgh was 89% (ReasSTATs Data). In 1995 the average sales price for a residential unit in Lawrenceville was \$20,997 in the 6th ward and \$29,595 in the 9th ward. By 2012 those prices increased to \$125,194 and \$111,176, an increase of almost 600% and 375% respectfully. These increases in the average sales price of a residential unit are well beyond significant.

From 1995-2012 the URA invested over \$26 million in the Lawrenceville neighborhood. This is not even 3% of the funding the URA allocated over that period of time. As you will read below however, the strategic deployment of these resources helped to leverage substantial private investment and neighborhood revitalization.

Lawrenceville has seen a sizable increase in employment since 2000. From 2000-2012 there have been 335 new jobs created and 484 jobs retained in Lawrenceville in URA-supported projects. These statistics do not include many private employers, most notably Children's Hospital, that did not rely on the URA's support.

The neighborhoods of East Liberty and Lawrenceville have experienced great change over the last two decades. The exceptional growth in the value of their residential housing units is an important indicator. Between 1995 and 2012 the average sales price in each neighborhood grew by 329% and 487% respectfully. It should be noted that there are outliers that might skew the data. Additionally, the amount of funding directed toward both neighborhoods, East Liberty especially, displayed significant public and private sector investment for community redevelopment purposes. Finally, from 2000-2012 there have been 476 jobs created or retained in East Liberty and 819 jobs have been created or retained in Lawrenceville in URA-supported projects alone. Based on this data, East Liberty and Lawrenceville have experienced successful community revitalization, as I have defined it.

Interview Analysis

In order to best understand the theories and strategies behind the redevelopment of East Liberty and Lawrenceville, it will be most useful to discuss each community separately. As you will see, each neighborhood used its own strategies and means to encourage revitalization. Both East Liberty and Lawrenceville adapted asset-based community development principles in their revitalization strategies. To follow will be an examination of the revitalization of each neighborhood individually, according to the data that has been analyzed. Additionally, I will discuss how each community used the assets at their disposal to promote revitalization and provide policy recommendations based on my discoveries.

East Liberty

There is much data that suggests that the East Liberty neighborhood has seen revitalization, but one can also walk down the street and see it as well:

Target [Department Store] is here, the TRID [Transit Revitalization Investment District], Bakery Square 2.0, the East Side development, and now we're getting

the land to fill it in... You know, East Liberty is on its way back only because of a booming region. (Meyers)

East Liberty is carving itself out a niche of diverse shopping, playing, entertainment, that kind of stuff. (Stephany)

They're one of the few organizations that I have worked with, that has actually realized most of what they set out to accomplish in the play they wrote. (Majcen)

Today most can agree that East Liberty is achieving revitalization, but the date in which it started varies depending on who you ask.

Throughout my interviews respondents shared several dates as the beginning of revitalization in East Liberty. Some believe it was in the "late 70's and early 80's, the moment everyone realized the big urban renewal strategy failed, everybody started working to try to reverse things" (Stephany). According to Stephany, there were several early attempts at development in the 70's and 80's that were "important foundations on which to build a market; if those things wouldn't have happened, East Liberty would have been in a really bad way. Those developments allowed for Whole Foods, Target, etc..." Other professionals, such as Rubinstein, contend it was "in 1999 when a Home Depot opened in the neighborhood."

The community residents, according to Schwab, "believe the revitalization occurred in 1996, when Maylene Meyers arrived at ELDI". Prior to her arrival "ELDI was in dire financial hardship and was rescued by the East Liberty Presbyterian Church and the East Liberty Chamber of Commerce" (Majcen). With the support of these community organizations and others, such as East End Cooperative Ministries, Ms. Meyers "began a two-year process to create the first comprehensive community plan" (Schwab). This plan was significant because it included all of the renters (including in three public housing hi-rises) in the community, as well as home owners, property owners and business owners. According to Skip Schwab, "getting the voices of the residents [of the hi-rises] was really important because they reaffirmed the notion that the hi-

rises needed to be demolished, that concentrations of poverty were not healthy and as fundamental of a concept as that is, without the buy-in from the residents, we never would have been able to proceed.” Whether revitalization began in the 1970’s or 1980’s, or the late 1990’s, it is clear that by the early 2000’s East Liberty had turned a corner.

According to Schwab, there were two events that coalesced in the late 1990’s that set East Liberty on its present track. First, the community plan was very extensive. It took almost 3 years from beginning to end to complete the plan. According to Meyers, it was important for ELDI “to make sure and verify that it was truly the voices [of the community] and it could not be downsized.” The early focus of the plan was on three public housing hi-rises and the relocation of its residents and the redevelopment of the commercial core.

Almost simultaneously with the community planning process, Home Depot began planning to build a store in the neighborhood. In 1999 “was when the Home Depot came. That was when the community had a little tussle with the mayor about the urban design of Home Depot and there was a desire to reconfigure the site... Home Depot didn’t want to do it. We put pressure on the city and the Mayor’s office... The community lost that fight. Home Depot was built. We still don’t like the design” (Schwab). Although the community did not like the design, having the Home Depot locate to their neighborhood has been beneficial for two main reasons.

The first reason is that it helped to galvanize the community in their planning process. As a result of the failed attempt to influence the design of the Home Depot, the community decided to create design standards, which became an asset for the community, to guide future development. Schwab recalls, “These had to be general so they could be applied to others. Again, there was a real desire to not accept the first suburbanization again... It was to be able to better articulate why we didn’t like the Home Depot... and what was really fascinating was that

the city, the planning department, the Mayor's office and the URA all embraced it." The formulation and acceptance of the design standards was an important accomplishment for the community. It displayed a level of development sophistication on the part of the community, as well as reestablishing a meaningful dialogue with the local governmental structures that had been lacking.

The second reason the project was beneficial to the neighborhood is because the Home Depot was able to capitalize on the lack of competition in the local marketplace. To follow is a short anecdote about what Stephany calls the "frustrated urban shopper." This story will help to not only convey the sentiment of the local residents, but also provide an underlying context for the development strategy employed in East Liberty.

You know, before Home Depot came, I was renovating a house in Lawrenceville and I remember removing a beam from the house. Setting a temporary wall in place, needing a certain type of fastener, and I had to on a Sunday night, my only option was Home Depot in Monroeville (about 15 miles outside of the city) to get a screw. I mean I was screaming at the top of my lungs. And so Home Depot, that was me. I was working my ass off by day and working my ass off by night and Home Depot was all of a sudden there. Businesses in Shadyside couldn't buy a trash can, except for a place called Adolph's, kind of a 9-5er.

Prior to the arrival of the Home Depot in East Liberty, there hadn't been any big box retail or general goods store within the city of Pittsburgh for almost 40 years. More often than not, "city residents had to travel to the suburbs to purchase many essential goods" (Stephany).

Additionally, "the store has done extremely well. That reestablished East Liberty as a regional market because everyone had forgotten... that this was a regional market" (Schwab). The community's experience with the Home Depot development was a wake-up call for the neighborhood and local development professionals.

ELDI learned a lot from their experience with the Home Depot development. Rubinstein provides key insight,

once that did happen, and because that happened, and because of the way it happened, it really coalesced a much broader discussion around community, around the community plan, around urban design. That ultimately led to a much broader coalition of enlightened developers, a community group that wanted to make sure their issues were at the table and that all future development... we all work together toward common visions and figure out how to make development more sensitive and more urban, and planning and design more inclusive.

This experience was invaluable for the community, but the result of the Home Depot development was also an indicator of just how far they still needed to go.

The community plan that was unveiled by ELDI in 1999 focused on residential redevelopment and the historical commercial core of the neighborhood. The residential portion of the plan began to address some of the realities confronting the neighborhood. Schwab describes the following, “if you’re a predominantly low-income community and you don’t want concentrations of poverty and if you want to build a mixed-income community, then you need to bring upper income residents into that community. That’s the only way to build a mixed-income community if you start with the basis of low-income households. This was an important realization on the part of the community.”

ELDI decided it needed to develop a strategy for replacement housing as a result of the demolition of the three public high-rise towers and the realization the community needed to attract upper-income residents. ELDI “went through the process of what CDC’s do and that’s working with the URA to acquire some vacant row-houses and convert them. Big deep subsidies from the URA and they sat and they sat for several years... Eventually we came to the conclusion that maybe there was something wrong with the strategy” (Schwab). The decision of the community to also focus on the historical commercial core was equally troubling.

The community identified the Highland Building as the key commercial development in their community plan. This was the largest vacant building in the neighborhood at that time and

it was located in the heart of the commercial core. ELDI made three attempts in the early 2000's to redevelop the property and all three times the project fell through. Schwab describes an interesting realization about the community plan: "in hindsight, nothing more than a notion that it was the largest vacant building that represented what East Liberty was. If you look at community development as a whole, community groups often target key properties from an emotional standpoint and not from a market standpoint." Understanding the reality of the market potential was the key to the revitalization of East Liberty.

ELDI realized it needed a new strategy if it was going to transform the community. They hired a national consulting firm that focused on "new urbanism themselves and it turns out they are advisors to several of the large box retailers, although at the time we didn't quite understand or appreciate what that meant" (Schwab). ELDI gave them every plan they had and asked them to "test the market, which again it's nothing more than is there any economic reality to them. Not bleeding heart, not emotion, not community, not a plan or drawing pretty picture, but is there market reality" (Schwab). The acknowledgement of markets and how they relate to the success or failure of a development project became a powerful asset for ELDI.

The consultants approved of the overall community plan: however they advised the sequencing and the timing were wrong. Rather than build from the inside out, they advised to build on the strong edges of the neighborhood. The market strength "was along Centre Avenue because of the proximity to the market in Shadyside. They also said that you will not be able to attract market rate renters, or homeowners, or quality tenant retailers until you remove the concentrations of poverty. So again it was another justification of the demolition (of the three towers)" (Schwab). Stephany further explains, "it was a new strategy for community development because one of the things that is often a disconnect is where peoples' hearts are.

Their heart is at the corner of Penn Avenue and Highland Avenue, but where the regions' pocket books were on the other side of a bridge in Shadyside. Moving that target, if only two blocks, was an important piece of the strategy". The community now had a viable revitalization strategy and the Home Depot had reestablished the regional marketability of East Liberty. According to every respondent the next major development would be the game changer for the community.

In about 2001 a new development was being planned. The EastSide development would be the most catalytic project in the neighborhood to date (Meyers). It also changed the way ELDI would influence development in their community (Schwab). To their credit, the developer was "willing to incorporate some of the design standards, but also said that if they include this work, it will cost them extra and they would need some grant support" (Schwab). ELDI sought funding from the Local Initiatives Support Corporation (LISC).

LISC did not want to simply give a grant to ELDI for the project, because grant funding simply evaporates and the foundations didn't want to continue to do that. LISC decided to make a loan and they also made the decision that ELDI would not be a co-developer. Schwab explains further:

I think it's important for the community to be at the table to influence things that were important. We decided that the urban design and local employment [were important]. So we crafted a loan agreement that had those stipulations on it. So [the developer] gets the money. It's a soft loan, but it was still a loan. It was different for a period of time, low interest, but it got ELDI to the table, influenced the design, influenced the employment, and the unanticipated consequence was that it increased the balance sheet of the organization. So all of a sudden it went from a negative to a positive. I mean it's so fundamental from accounting, but no one thought about it at the time. That became important later as we did additional investments and now ELDI is able to borrow money.

The shift from grants for development to loans for investment became crucial for ELDI moving forward. Schwab said it has helped the community “move from being entitled victims to savvy negotiators.”

The EastSide development, planned along Centre Avenue, was for a Whole Foods grocery store. Stephany describes what this meant to the neighborhood and the region: “in retrospect, that was a shockwave to many Pittsburghers. In fact there are stories of architects who had friends at Whole Foods in D.C. who were trying to convince them they had made the wrong decision... But Whole Foods was so confident in their market research that they knew they had made the right decision... they stayed the course.” Whole Foods located into a renovated warehouse, with parking on the side of the building. Since the opening of the Whole Foods, there have been four additional phases of the East Side development over a ten-year period, including a Target department store, Walgreen’s pharmacy, Borders Books, Trek Bicycle, and a state liquor store to name a few. The focusing of redevelopment efforts along the edge of strong and weak markets has been the cornerstone of the development strategy in East Liberty.

According to what the respondents said, it is my conclusion that the strategy of redevelopment along the market’s edge has been an asset for East Liberty. The neighborhood of Shadyside has one of the highest concentrations of wealth in the region (Stephany). It is the strongest residential market in the city and the residents have great purchasing power (Stephany). East Liberty was able to capitalize on the Shadyside market in several ways. First, by moving the redevelopment area out of the core of the neighborhood to the boundary of East Liberty and Shadyside. Second, there was significant public investment in transportation and infrastructure improvement for automobiles, bicycles and pedestrians helping to better connect the two

communities (Rubinstein). Finally, redevelopment was focused on capturing the markets of both neighborhoods and the surrounding area. Stephany elaborates: “the strategy in East Liberty was almost a commodity strategy; grocery, pharmacy, Target is kind of a general goods store. These are places you go almost on a bi-weekly basis or on a monthly sojourn.” By developing along the edge of the two neighborhoods, with a strategy that fulfilled the market needs of both neighborhoods and the surrounding region, East Liberty has become a regional destination.

Revitalization efforts in East Liberty revolved around the community’s proximity to strong markets and redeveloping the edge of those markets. Community and local development professionals also are aware of the role asset-based community development has played in the revitalization of the neighborhood:

Everything we’ve done has been around that, it’s just we haven’t used the terminology. That’s why I would say no we haven’t done the McKnight mapping, but yes we absolutely embrace it. (Schwab)

That was all a part of the community process. I’m not altogether sure it would be characterized as traditional asset mapping, but it clearly was a part of the community vision. (Stephany)

It (East Liberty) had a commercial center style to it, so it had larger footprints of property, a lot of public land that had become surface parking lots. Those were assets to be leveraged. (Stephany)

Clearly if you look at the thousands, if not hundreds of community meetings that resulted in the community plan, it was certainly the mapping of assets. Whether it be the Presbyterian Church or Motor Square Garden, things like that were mapped out. Also looking beyond the neighborhood boundaries and the strength of the neighboring neighborhoods and how you build off of that and from that. (Rubinstein)

Rubinstein’s statement is insightful in that he describes the historical assets of East Liberty, and he also recognizes the opportunity that outside neighborhoods can provide.

Kretzmann and McKnight’s strategy of focusing on a community’s assets instead of its needs has been the predominant strategy in the redevelopment of East Liberty. East Liberty has

numerous assets that were leveraged to help achieve its successful revitalization. Kretzmann and McKnight group assets into three categories: individuals, associations and institutions (1996:7).

Below, I have grouped the assets identified in the responses to my interview questions with community and local development professionals into the three categories discussed above.

There is an addition of the category ‘other’ for those responses that do not seem to fit within the three categories.

Individuals

There are countless individuals who have helped to shape the revitalization of East Liberty, from each resident that attended a community meeting, to the community and business leaders, to the government officials. Clearly the individuals interviewed for this thesis all played an important role, as well as many others. The respondents did not mention any influential individuals, outside of those representing the associations and institutions listed below. This could be a deficiency of this study. Only interviewing key leaders of the redevelopment effort may have limited other perspectives in the community.

Associations

The neighborhood associations played a vital role in the every stage of the revitalization process, and were most important in the early-stage revitalization efforts. These were the groups that were there before outside investors came to the neighborhood. Additionally, these groups were mentioned by multiple respondents, which is an indicator of their importance. They also worked with the developers, in some cases as partners, in the revitalization efforts. Maylene Meyers described it: “we call community leaders the gate keepers of the plan. It’s our job to make sure those pieces fall together. It’s our job to make sure the puzzle gets completed.”

- East Liberty Development, Inc
- East Liberty Presbyterian Church

- East Liberty Cooperative Ministries
- East Liberty Chamber of Commerce

Institutions

Institutions, guided by the community associations, have been the catalyst for the revitalization of East Liberty. These structures have, in one form or another, provided capital to the neighborhood that resulted in revitalization. The Home Depot and Whole Foods are some of the best-performing stores in the regions for each respective company (Stephany). Further, they provide jobs and revenue for the neighborhood. The developers have contributed not only their dollars toward their specific projects, conforming to local design standards, but also helped to create parklets and pedestrian-friendly infrastructure. This is in conjunction with the foundation community and local government, who also displayed dedication to revitalizing East Liberty.

- Good developer partners
- Local Foundations
- State and local government support including URA

Other

The assets listed below do not seem to fit into the traditional categories of asset mapping outlined by Kretzmann and McKnight. They were invaluable to the revitalization of East Liberty. Some are the physical characteristics of the neighborhood, such as its flat topography, the number of parking lots and vacant lots ripe for redevelopment, or its great accessibility to public transportation. Its proximity to markets is obviously a focus of many involved. The community planning process from 1996-1999 cannot be overlooked. The process was important for the community to envision some identity for the future, as well as producing the formal, documented plan.

- The community plan of 1999
- Topography of the neighborhood
- Parking lots and vacant land

- Proximity to markets
- Transportation/infrastructure

Lawrenceville

According to Stephany, the Lawrenceville neighborhood too can claim to have achieved substantial revitalization. Most of my interview subjects, such as Rubinstein, Galluzzo and Majcen all point to the early 1990's as the beginning of the revival. Stephany, however contends that the process started about 10 years earlier with "a cohort of early state, urban pioneers." Oftentimes these urban pioneers can work in a neighborhood under the radar of outsiders. This can perhaps account for the discrepancy in revitalization.

In the 1980's and into the 1990's there was a considerable spike in vacancy rates along Butler Street, the main commercial street in the neighborhood (Galluzzo). In the early 1990's several key local developers began making small-scale investments in Lawrenceville. The importance of these developers is recognized by the neighborhood and local development professionals:

Several key developers moved in and were savvy enough to being investing in properties again... those really served as key stabilizing forces for at least the real estate (Galluzzo).

This is an overstatement, but [these] folks really served the role of community development in that neighborhood. Through an interesting menu, what they all have in common is that they do their own house construction and they make their own markets. They're smart deal makers. They'll have cash and equity, so they'll have the cash to move the projects forward... a lot of good private developers understanding the main street boutique nature of it (Stephany).

These developers typically worked on one or two properties at a time over a 15-20 year period. These individuals were assets to the revitalization of Lawrenceville. In addition to these local developers, the Lawrenceville Development Corporation (LDC) was working to rehabilitate historically significant buildings in the neighborhood.

The LDC partnered with other developers on several early-stage redevelopment projects. There were three buildings in the neighborhood that the community identified early on as significant and worth saving. Galluzzo observed “the Doughboy Bank Building, the Stable Building and the Bath House... those were all mid-early 1990’s projects that were critical in saying what could be done in the neighborhood?” The neighborhood was also aided in these development projects by the URA.

According to Rubinstein, the URA not only helped to finance the redevelopment of the projects mentioned above, but also provided assistance through their Mainstreet Program. The URA’s Mainstreet program “strives to ensure the health of the City’s traditional neighborhood commercial districts by stimulating economic revitalization within the context of neighborhood preservation, good design, business recruitment and retention, and stakeholder engagement” (URA). The URA provided the LDC, which later became the Lawrenceville Corporation, (LC) with funding for a variety of business district activities, as well as making the neighborhood eligible for additional grant opportunities.

The Mainstreet program was an essential asset to the neighborhood’s revitalization. The program was utilized by the neighborhood in two major ways. First, Mainstreet funding can be used for the development of neighborhood plans. Lawrenceville, in conjunction with the Strip District, developed the 16:62 Design Zone. The Design Zone “was a branding campaign that took businesses from the 16th Street Bridge up to the 62nd Street Bridge... saying we have a critical mass of design related businesses and interests here, let’s collate that information and make it a campaign. This effort was successful in shifting the identity of the neighborhood to having a design and arts focus.

The second way the LC used the funding from the Mainstreet program was through the Streetface program. According to the URA website, “the Streetface Program addresses neighborhood business districts' design issues by providing funds to commercial building owners to improve their building facades”. Galluzzo notes, “we have been the poster child for the Streetface program. We’ve had several developers who have utilized that program to the hilt. The facades of our buildings are our calling cards, so when somebody drives through or walks through, what do they see? They see the beautiful cornice work and the storefront glass and the cool signboards. Those things are what help make place, make people feel more comfortable, it’s unique” (Galluzzo). These efforts helped to stabilize the neighborhood and set itself on an upward trajectory.

These activities were employed for several years in the neighborhood, until “at one point the neighborhood said ‘we don’t need to draft off of the Strip District anymore, we can do our own thing.’ In 2005-2006 the community embarked on its own marketing and branding campaign. This planning effort was also supported by the URA’s Mainstreet program. This was a comprehensive branding campaign, including the Doughboy logo and brand, gateway signage, street pole banners, trash cans, and the Doughboy on all the collateral. This also marked a shift for the LC in the way they conducted business.

Galluzzo provides a keen insight into the LC’s strategy.

Historically we were funded to create units and do real estate. It was a mark shift in community development to us, focusing less on creating units and more about creating market and interest in that market. So the \$1M we could spend on branding and marketing and communications to get pitch pieces in the New York Times or the USA Today or Pittsburgh Magazine, the point of that is that it was more effective in creating reinvestment activities in the neighborhood than it would be for us to take that \$1M and plug it into a real estate development project.

Creating the brand for the neighborhood and the community's focus on marketing were instrumental in the further resurgence of the neighborhood.

While the LC was promoting the businesses and commercial core of the neighborhood, Lawrenceville United (LU), another community organization, was focusing on public safety and quality of life issues in the neighborhood. It is a great asset for a community to have two community organizations that can focus on different aspects of community revitalization (Majcen).

Lawrenceville United began with a nuisance property strategy as a way to clean up the neighborhood. The executive director of LU would try to meet with tenants in the neighborhood who were "smoking pot on the front porch or fix their car in the front lot or throw their trash off the 3rd floor balcony" (Stephany). The ED would ask them if they could stop their behaviors. If they did not, he would then go to the landlord and ask the landlord to include an addendum into the tenants lease to allow for eviction for cause. LU became very savvy at this as Stephany points out:

All the while [he] is, literally every other week, having breakfast with the local magistrate. So that if and when that person got cited, the ED was in the room. The magistrate would say 'are these folks working with you?' So the magistrate started acknowledging the lease addendum, letting the landlords evict for cause and for folks who weren't participating, bad things fell on them. Building inspection would come out and site them and they'd have 30 days. They didn't pay, next thing they know, they're in front of the magistrate again and there's the ED from LU. He played that game zealously, like a pit bull. So even claims that 'he's targeting me', the magistrate would say 'no, he's targeting everybody' (Stephany).

Not only did LU provide public safety through the dealings with landlords and nuisance tenants, but they also worked to cultivate a better relationship with the police department.

They started this effort by having community meetings in a church basement. Initially the sentiment was to let the police go first, respect their time and let them get back out on the street.

These quickly turned into complaining sessions in which the police would only hear the negative issues of the neighborhood. Eventually the community realized that something needed to change in this process:

You can't have the police come first and then never have an agenda because its just bitch and moan. SO they started talking about the good stuff first and then they would jump into the bad stuff. What was interesting was, there was a different, a very different level of importance brought to bear when the police are hearing about all the good things in the neighborhood because they don't live in the neighborhood. They know drug dealers by name, but they don't know that the young couple just had a baby three doors down from the drug dealer (Stephany).

This nurturing of the police department is what Stephany considers 'good 21st century community development... a really smart public safety strategy'.

The final and most important influence to the revitalization, according to those interviewed, was the location of Children's Hospital to the neighborhood.

You could look at recent years, last 5 years and point to Children's Hospital. That clearly had an impact on some of the housing values (Rubinstein).

The level of speculation and market rise just from the story was overwhelming and even post 2008 after they opened, while the spike in value may have leveled off a bit, it kept going forward (Stephany).

We're going to see the benefits of that project reverberate through the neighborhood for the next decade. I don't think there's any question that that has served to really accelerate demand for the neighborhood (Galluzzo).

Children's Hospital was a catalyst for the neighborhood (Majcen).

Many of those interviewed speculated how successful the Children's Hospital development would have been had the neighborhood not been on stabilizing itself for the last two decades.

Had our local developers not been supportive in their investments early on, would Children's Hospital have been an island development that didn't have any reverberating tendencies? (Galluzzo)

I think if Children's would have opened in an unsafe, unclean [neighborhood], I don't think the spark would have ignited. But in fact there was so much in place

because when nurses decided they wanted to live in the neighborhood it felt cool and interesting, it didn't feel scary (Stephany).

While the location of a new hospital to the neighborhood clearly provided benefits to the community, Lawrenceville had already begun tipping toward meaningful revitalization.

This meaningful revitalization could not have occurred in Lawrenceville without the many assets the community had available. Lawrenceville was also much more overt in the use of asset-based community development. Galluzzo said, "the designs of many of our programs are built on asset-based development, the 16:62 Design Zone, our Mainstreet Micro-grant program, the Streetface program." I will group the assets identified by the community and local development professionals into the categories above, with the addition of the category 'other' for those responses that do not seem to fit within Kretzmann and McKnight's model.

Individuals

There are countless individuals who have helped to shape the revitalization of Lawrenceville. From each resident that attended a community meeting, to the community and business leaders, government officials and the local developers. Clearly the individuals interviewed for this thesis all played an important role, as well as many others. Similarly to East Liberty, the respondents did not mention any influential individuals, outside of those representing the associations and institutions listed below. This could be a deficiency of this study. Only interviewing key leaders of the redevelopment effort may have limited other perspectives in the community.

Associations

Lawrenceville's community associations played a vital role in the every stage of the redevelopment process, and were most important in the early-stage revitalization efforts. These

were the groups that were there before outside investment came to the neighborhood. These organizations complemented each others' work by focusing on business district revitalization and residential and public safety concerns respectfully. They also worked with the developers, in some cases as partners, in the revitalization efforts.

- Lawrenceville Corporation (formerly Lawrenceville Development Corp)
- Lawrenceville United

Institutions

There are two institutional groups that helped Lawrenceville to develop a revitalization strategy. The early-stage institutions were the design-related businesses in the neighborhood and the local foundation and governmental communities. The density of design related businesses already in the neighborhood was an important asset the community could organize around. In addition, the funding provided by local foundations and the URA to develop a marketing campaign for the neighborhood. The other group of institutions only have located in Lawrenceville more recently. Many of these institutions, such as Children's Hospital, NREC and Goodwill Industries have helped to enhance the revitalization efforts that were already underway in Lawrenceville. Their presence in the community has helped to contribute to Lawrenceville's existing redevelopment strategies.

- Children's Hospital
- National Robotics and Engineering Consortium (NREC) with Carnegie Mellon University
- Goodwill Industries of SW PA
- Foundations
- Local government support including URA
- Design related businesses
- Early stage developers

Other

Lawrenceville was able to leverage many of the assets listed below for the community's revitalization. The 16:62 Design Zone and the Lawrenceville community plan organized their design related businesses and created a marketing strategy to re-envision the neighborhood. The URA's Mainstreet program was instrumental in providing funding for both the plans and the restorations of building façades throughout the business district. These assets were instrumental to the revitalization of Lawrenceville.

- 16:62 Design Zone
- Lawrenceville Community Plan
- URA's Mainstreet Program
- Riverfront neighborhood (access coming)
- Historically relevant Victorian architecture of main street

Asset-Based Community Development

East Liberty and Lawrenceville each used their own methods to promote revitalization in their communities (Stephany). Asset-based community development theories influenced the strategy for both communities' redevelopment efforts. While the strategies for each neighborhood are quite different, they are both effective examples of how neighborhoods have used asset-based community development strategies to revitalize their communities.

East Liberty was able to identify and leverage several of the assets described by Kretzmann and McKnight in their asset mapping strategy. According to Schwab, the community development professionals in East Liberty contend that the development strategy is something they developed called PAFI (Planning, Advocacy, Facilitation and Investment). This model was based on investing in markets and edge development, not in trying to be the developer (Schwab). The PAFI model helped to organize redevelopment activities around assets available to the community. In addition, Stephany notes the great swaths of parking lots, vacant land and access to public transportation were tremendous assets for the community. ELDI may have been the

most important asset to the community. A professionally staffed community organization is an invaluable resource to the community. They were able to organize the community around a vision of the future. More importantly, ELDI and the community were able to advance their vision while growing and adapting to the experiences they had along the way.

The Lawrenceville community organizations practiced many asset-based strategies. The Mainstreet program allowed the LC to catalogue and market the local businesses. The façade program provided incentives for building owners to rehabilitate the Victorian style buildings along Butler Street. The LC's use of marketing and communications as a revitalization tool, as opposed to real estate development, falls outside the bounds of traditional community development. Additionally, LU's role in the revitalization of Lawrenceville cannot be overlooked. Their focus on public safety and quality of life issues was a needed balance to the LC's work with businesses. The LU targeted nuisance rental properties, built relationships with the police and helped to stabilize the residential side of the neighborhood.

According to Majcen, the greatest asset both East Liberty and Lawrenceville had were their professionally staffed community organizations to advance their agendas. Kretzmann and McKnight would consider these organizations community associations. Beyond their purpose to organize and advocate on behalf of the community, there are also several latent benefits worth recognizing. Typically the staff is paid by some outside entity, whether it is a foundation, the local government or a combination of the two. This is important because it means that outside funds are already coming into the community. The staff has some relationship or access to these institutions that have additional funding opportunities for them to pursue. In addition, a community development professional would bring a greater level of sophistication and acumen to an organization. The complexity involved in the revitalization efforts of East Liberty and

Lawrenceville emphasize the need for a highly skilled professional working at a community organization.

Kretzmann and McKnight seem to focus only on the people of a community when they consider assets. They neglect to recognize the potential value in the geography of a community. I do not believe this to be a purposeful omission. Instead it is an indication of an array of possible assets a community may have at their disposal. This is why it is important for a community to map its assets and plan revitalization based on these assets. For East Liberty the land itself has value, both a market value and an inherent value to the community. Neighboring communities can provide value, as in the case of Shadyside to East Liberty. For Lawrenceville, the community is convinced that unlocking access points to the Allegheny River will become a huge asset to the neighborhood. Beyond geography, Kretzmann and McKnight do not attempt to address outside assets such as markets forces or trends that could be contributors to a community's revitalization.

Policy Recommendations

East Liberty and Lawrenceville blended asset-based community development theories with other approaches to make a successful revitalization for their respective neighborhoods. Asset-based community development theories continue to influence the redevelopment strategies in East Liberty and Lawrenceville. Each neighborhood adapted these concepts based on the assets of their community.

By mapping a community's assets, a neighborhood is able to identify and leverage its more valuable assets as a form of capital. East Liberty was able to leverage its proximity to more affluent markets and developable land into a regional commercial hub. Lawrenceville, on the other hand, was able to organize and court design-related and boutique retailers to its main

street with strategic smaller investments, and a savvy marketing and communication strategy. Communities should consider applying the strategies of asset-based community development with flexibility and adapt them to the existing assets of their own neighborhood.

Apply the theories of asset-based community development in a meaningful way can be difficult. Individuals with the experience and background in community revitalization do not live in every community. Oftentimes when they do live in the community, they have other employment that, at least, makes it difficult to devote the time and effort it takes to lead in community revitalization. Based on the responses from all of my interviews, without the experience and savvy of the professional staffs at the community organizations, the revitalization in East Liberty and Lawrenceville would not have occurred in the way it did.

Community development is an evolving art more than a science. A community organization must understand finance, real estate, marketing, communications, business development and a variety of other issues that may arise in a particular neighborhood. The staffs at the community organizations in East Liberty and Lawrenceville were able to be innovative and intuitive in their revitalization efforts. East Liberty's focus on local and regional market potential and their edge revitalization strategy were unique and meaningful. Lawrenceville's shift from real estate to marketing and communications is worth future examination.

I believe it would be difficult for a community to achieve meaningful revitalization without some level of professional staff devoted to those ends. Volunteers are not always able to attend meetings during normal business hours, nor do they always have the technical sophistication that community revitalization requires. If a community does not have a community organization, it should work to leverage its assets to a point that an organization can be incorporated and staffed by professionals. Community development work must also allow for

innovative ideas and cerebral decision-making. Redevelopment based solely on emotion is not a successful strategy for revitalization.

Government, philanthropy and organizations that provide similar types of funding for community development need to increase funding for community development organizations with professional staffing. Oftentimes these funding streams permit little, if any, funding directly for staffing, but rather for projects or programs. Funding streams also need to become more flexible to allow for long-term, professional employment within community organizations.

There is one final question worth addressing for a moment, though it could be an entire book unto itself. The question is revitalization for whom? Sometimes communities experience gentrification as a result of their revitalization. When the taxes increase as a result of increase in housing values and rents are raised because the markets are stronger, some residents of the community cannot afford to continue to stay in the neighborhood. Communities may want to consider both present and future populations within the asset-mapping process. Should a community be successful in redeveloping their neighborhood, it will bring with it other individuals, associations and institutions. These groups will have their own set of assets to contribute to the community. However, one must realize these new groups will also bring with them their own individual agendas, which may or may not complicate future community revitalization efforts.

If there were additional time and this study were to continue there are several steps I would consider. First, conduct further interviews with subjects identified in the interviews above. Second, address the deficiency of broader community input. I would need to identify additional interview subjects or conduct a broader survey of the community. Finally, identify

and analyze additional data to corroborate the findings that revitalization has occurred in East Liberty and Lawrenceville.

URA Board Resolutions

Year	# of board resolutions	funding amount
East Liberty		
1995	1	\$165,000
1996	0	0
1997	5	\$5,228,000
1998	8	\$5,265,475
1999	7	\$2,659,734
2000	7	\$2,492,000
2001	12	\$4,294,927
2002	9	\$1,960,000
2003	6	\$14,450,000
2004	17	\$2,522,805
2005	6	\$3,391,651
2006	13	\$16,527,933.05
2007	9	\$2,687,641
2008	9	\$8,585,000
2009	9	\$14,785,620
2010	18	\$60,399,061
2011	9	\$9,706,653
2012	6	\$1,050,000
Total	151	\$156,171,500.05

Lawrenceville		
1995	8	\$2,360,135
1996	8	\$1,782,500
1997	4	\$943,000
1998	6	\$801,000
1999	3	\$443,000
2000	0	\$0
2001	1	\$151,500
2002	2	\$769,000
2003	2	\$700,000
2004	4	\$495,000
2005	0	\$0
2006	1	\$180,000
2007	1	\$125,000
2008	5	\$2,419,251
2009	2	\$670,000
2010	5	\$587,680
2011	2	\$439,000
2012	9	\$13,260,000
Total	63	\$26,126,066

Average sales price for residential real estate

Year	6th ward LV	9th ward LV	11th ward EL
1995	\$20,997	\$29,595	\$54,772
1996	\$26,685	\$30,570	\$68,741
1997	\$33,877	\$31,634	\$72,760
1998	\$45,786	\$31,252	\$78,836
1999	\$68,089	\$31,132	\$73,293
2000	\$63,686	\$33,123	\$89,747
2001	\$50,699	\$34,586	\$96,652
2002	\$43,199	\$40,335	\$97,574
2003	\$51,971	\$46,322	\$94,861
2004	\$64,517	\$49,566	\$107,660
2005	\$80,113	\$57,481	\$97,377
2006	\$79,382	\$67,366	\$99,784
2007	\$69,422	\$73,019	\$106,948
2008	\$81,902	\$72,427	\$124,971
2009	\$83,005	\$89,459	\$140,771
2010	\$97,393	\$81,644	\$142,669
2011	\$81,575	\$95,163	\$151,572
2012	\$125,194	\$111,176	\$180,458

City of Pittsburgh Single Family Home Sales
1995 vs. 2012

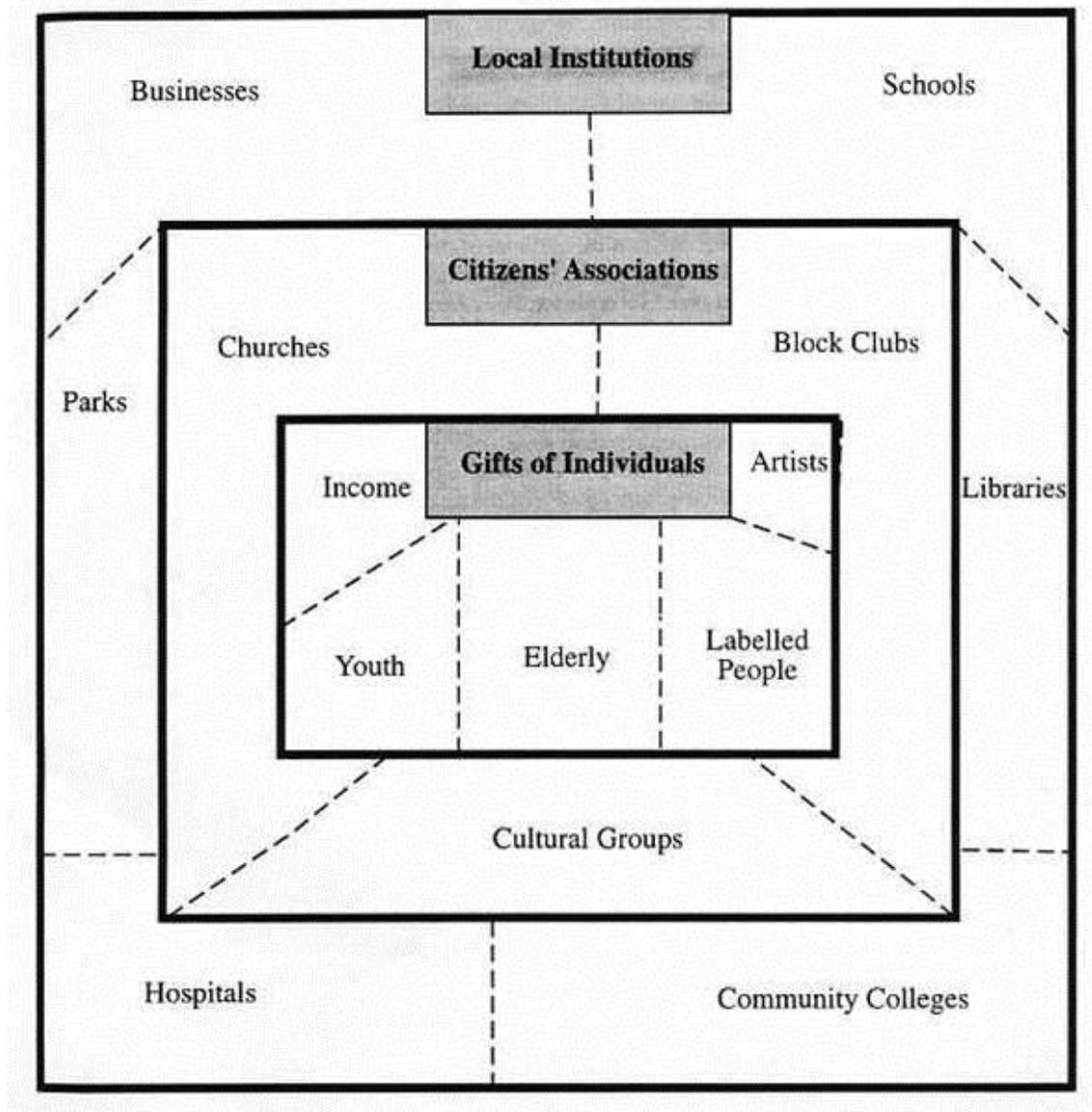
	1995	2012	Figure Change	Percent Change	Annualized Figure Change	Annualized Percent Change
Average Home Price	\$62,775	\$136,612	\$73,837	117.6%	\$4,343	6.9%
Median Home Price	\$45,000	\$85,000	\$40,000	88.9%	\$2,353	5.2%
Total Dollar Volume	\$170,935,694	\$362,569,259	\$191,633,565	112.1%	\$11,272,563	6.6%
# of Home Sales	2,723	2,654	-69	-2.5%	-4	-0.1%

Based on recorded sales of new & existing single family detached homes with a price of at least \$10,000.

Jobs created or retained in URA related projects

Year	East Liberty		Lawrenceville	
	created jobs	retained jobs	created jobs	retained jobs
2000	0	0	89	273
2001	31	0	0	0
2002	4	7	0	0
2003	68	0	179	57
2004	51	6	9	2
2005	30	8	0	16
2006	40	0	8	3
2007	4	0	8	5
2008	16	31	4	112
2009	15	3	2	0
2010	96	0	1	0
2011	6	53	18	6
2012	5	2	17	10
Total	366	110	335	484

Community Asset Map





DUQUESNE UNIVERSITY

600 FORBES AVENUE ♦ PITTSBURGH, PA 15282

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN A RESEARCH STUDY

- TITLE:** Community Development for the 21st Century: Asset-building and the Resurgence of Pittsburgh
- INVESTIGATOR:** Jason Tigano, 1501 Merrick Avenue, Pittsburgh, PA 15226, (412) 969-7151
- ADVISOR: (if applicable:)** Dr. Michael Irwin
Graduate Center for Social and Public Policy
(412) 396-6488
- SOURCE OF SUPPORT:** This study is being performed as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the (masters) degree in Social and Public Policy at Duquesne University.
- PURPOSE:** You are being asked to participate in a research project that seeks to investigate the factors that led to the revitalization of the East Liberty and Lawrenceville neighborhoods. In addition, you will be asked to allow me to interview you. The interviews will be taped and transcribed.
- These are the only requests that will be made of you.
- RISKS AND BENEFITS:** There are no risks greater than those encountered in everyday life.
- COMPENSATION:** You will not be compensated for this study. However, participation in the project will require no monetary cost to you. An envelope is provided for return of your response to the investigator.
- ATTRIBUTION:** For the purpose of this research I may want to use quotations and statements that you make in my thesis. I

would make appropriate attribution to you. All materials will be destroyed at the completion of the research.

RIGHT TO WITHDRAW:

You are under no obligation to participate in this study. You are free to withdraw your consent to participate at any time.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS:

A summary of the results of this research will be supplied to you, at no cost, upon request.

VOLUNTARY CONSENT:

I have read the above statements and understand what is being requested of me. I also understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw my consent at any time, for any reason. On these terms, I certify that I am willing to participate in this research project.

I understand that should I have any further questions about my participation in this study, I may call Jason Tigano at (412) 969-7151 Dr. Michael Irwin, (412) 396-6488 or Chair of the Duquesne University Institutional Review Board (412) 396-6326.

Participant's Signature

Date

Researcher's Signature

Date

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CITI Collaborative Institutional Training Initiative

Social & Behavioral Research - Basic/Refresher Curriculum Completion Report Printed on 6/8/2013

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Social & Behavioral Research - Basic/Refresher: Choose this group to satisfy CITI training requirements for Investigators and staff involved primarily in Social/Behavioral Research with human subjects.

Stage 1. Basic Course Passed on 06/08/13 (Ref # 10542763)

Required Modules	Date Completed	Score
Belmont Report and CITI Course Introduction	06/08/13	3/3 (100%)
Students in Research	06/08/13	9/10 (90%)
History and Ethical Principles - SBR	06/07/13	4/5 (80%)
Defining Research with Human Subjects - SBR	06/07/13	5/5 (100%)
The Regulations and The Social and Behavioral Sciences - SBR	06/07/13	5/5 (100%)
Assessing Risk in Social and Behavioral Sciences – SBR	06/07/13	5/5 (100%)
Informed Consent - SBR	06/07/13	3/5 (60%)
Privacy and Confidentiality - SBR	06/07/13	4/5 (80%)
Research with Prisoners - SBR	06/07/13	3/4 (75%)
Research with Children - SBR	06/08/13	3/4 (75%)
Research in Public Elementary and Secondary Schools – SBR	06/08/13	4/4 (100%)

Internet Research - SBR	06/08/13	4/5 (80%)
Research and HIPAA Privacy Protections	06/08/13	4/5 (80%)
Vulnerable Subjects - Research Involving Workers/Employees	06/08/13	4/4 (100%)
Conflicts of Interest in Research Involving Human Subjects	06/08/13	4/5 (80%)
The IRB Member Module - "What Every New IRB Member Needs to Know"	06/08/13	3/7 (43%)

For this Completion Report to be valid, the learner listed above must be affiliated with a CITI participating institution. Falsified information and unauthorized use of the CITI course site is unethical, and may be considered scientific misconduct by your institution.

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