

## The <br> Public Life Diversity Toolkit

# Gehl 

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## Overview

# New methods to understand how a robust public life and a high quality public realm contribute to mixing between people of different socioeconomic backgrounds 

## A new focus on Socioeconomic Mixing

For 15 years, Gehl has been an evidence-based design firm, based on 50 years of Jan Gehl's research on how a high quality public realm contributes to quality of life. We use empirical data to inform design and programming decisions to make cities better for people. Our Public Space/Public Life survey is a set of methods that collects quantitative and qualitative data on people moving and staying in space, and their age and gender.

As the issues in cities change, and the tone of public discourse changes, many of today's cities are pressed to address increasing economic inequality and spatial divisions of race, class and opportunity. Gehl's tools need to adapt to respond to these issues.

This project challenged us to tackle one facet of quality of life: diversity and social mixing. To what extent does robust public life and a high quality public realm contribute to socioeconomic mixing and public life diversity?

While experts in other urban
disciplines, from housing, to transportation, to economic development, have written treatises on how to re-unite our socioeconomicallyfractured cities, few from the design community have shared expertise on the relationship between built form and inequality.

We believe the public realm is one of our great civic equalizers and that public space design and programming can be a tool to address issues that divide our cities. When we walk out our front door we enter the public realm and interact with people who are different from ourselves. Our commutes to work, walks in the park, exchanges on the sidewalk, dance classes in plazas - these are moments when we are part of the civic commons, whether we know it or not.

We believe that experiences with people who are different from one another in public space is a fundamental building block of a more tolerant and inclusive society where opportunity for human flourishing is available to everyone.

But, if social mixing and diversity in public space matters, why don't we
have the tools to measure what we care about?

## Why measurement matters

A robust set of tools that measure public life, public space, social mixing and diversity allows urban change makers to set higher standards for public life.

Generating data on these timely questions allows values to infuse into conversations about urban change from high-level strategic planning to urban prototyping.

The Public Life Diversity Toolkit enhances our Public Space/Public Life survey, tested over 50 years, with new tools to help generate data to answer this timely question. It helps us test ideas about diversity and social mixing in public space and how catalyzing these things through design and programming might be possible.

## Sharing the tools

At the end of this document is a plan for disseminating the Toolkit to the urban planning and design community.

## Project Timeline

## Fall 2014

Kick off collaboration with Next City on article series about the opportunity and challenges of measuring socioeconomic mixing in public space, and the interplay between public life and public space.

## April 2015

Release Public Life Diversity Toolkit 1.0, a prototype of a methodology

## January 2016

Release Public Life Diversity Toolkit 2.0, an improved toolkit

Next Steps

Experiments with new partners to generate insights into the interplay between socioeconomic mixing and public space design. Select information shared via a database. Read more in the last section of this document.


# The Public Life Diversity Toolkit 

Gehl always measures life and space together. Toolkit methods telescope from the large, citywide scale where we look at socioeconomic trends and street networks, to the small, fine-grain scale of street furnishings.

## Research Questions

(1) Do people from different socioeconomic groups spend time in this place?
(2) Are they interacting? If so What is the nature of their interaction? (from passive to casual to familiar stranger) What prompted their interaction?
(3) How do findings compare to other places?
(4) What types of design and programming are cues for social interaction among socioeconomically different people?

- Pedestrian \& Cyclists
- Stationary Activities
- Age \& Gender
- Group Activity

How + who moves through space and interacts with one another

- Intercept Survey, including Favorite Places and Familiar Stranger questions
- In-depth interviews


Individual
lot


The Toolkit uses three scales of analysis. At the biggest scale it helps a researcher ask: are neighborhoods diverse, and is the urban fabric set up in such a way that it provides the preconditions for the people living in a city easy access to a range of public places around them?

At the block and group level, it allows us to ask: once people are in an area, are they invited by high-quality spaces, diverse price points of businesses that attract a range of socioeconomic groups, and other block- and grouplevel measures?

Finally, at the smallest scale, once people are in a space, are they invited by the furnishings, landscape, and programming to stay and linger. And do these public space and programming elements invite not only a mix of people, but mixing between these people?

Looking at a mix of these indicators at different scales helps researchers identify places where social mixing is occurring, and learn more about the variables that influence public life diversity.

## What is social mixing?

## Social mixing occurs on a spectrum from aloneness to close friendships.

The survey tools contained in this Toolkit focus on Civic Mixing, or, mixing between different groups. They focus on this spectrum because under appropriate conditions, interpersonal
contact is an effective way to reduce prejudice between groups.



# Why Study Social Mixing? 

We believe that good urban design, from street networks to benches, plays a role in creating tolerant and inclusive communities where the opportunity for human flourishing is shared by everyone. However, until now, we have not had the tools to measure whether or not this mixing was taking place - and if it had anything to do with public space.

[^0]The Public Life Diversity Toolkit creates metrics about the relationship between urban design and public life diversity and social mixing.

These metrics are important for evaluating the impact of urban design against the goals of public life diversity and social mixing

The "theory of change" flow chart at right shows how the Toolkit helps describe the link between urban design and socioeconomic mixing, and broader social outcomes.

## Theory of Change

## Challenge

Unequal and polarized cities

# What are the benefits of social mixing? 

Most urban designers are unable to measure the specific social outcomes of their work, which often take decades or generations to manifest. However, proxy research from parallel fields can provide a lens to understanding the benefits of social mixing, which might include greater tolerance between groups and greater economic mobility. The following literature review looks at how others have quantified the impact of social mixing. What are the lessons from these parallel studies for social mixing in public space?

## Does social mixing between groups increase tolerance and empathy?

Some studies suggest that exposure to people who are different from one's self - including differences in race, sexual preference, or religion - increases tolerance and empathy towards others.

In one study, white athletes playing on racially integrated teams were less racially prejudiced than white athletes who played individual sports [Brown, K.T., 2003]. Various studies by G.M. Herek and colleagues show that contact with homosexual individuals are associated with more favorable and accepting attitudes by heterosexual individuals. One national study showed that increased contact with gay men predicted positive attitudes towards gay men better than any other demographic or psychological factor studied - including religion or political ideology [Herek, G.M., 1996]. Research in the Netherlands, and Czech and Slovak universities, shows that
contacts with Muslim peers reduced anti-Muslim attitudes [Savelkoul, Scheepers, Novotny, J., 2011].

Does mixing in public space bestow the same benefits?

## Do mixed-income neighborhoods provide economic benefits to low income people?

Some studies suggest that mixedincome neighborhoods benefit low income people.

David Kirk's research on recidivism after Katrina in New Orleans found that formerly incarcerated persons who came from the Lower 9th Ward, then an economically struggling neighborhood, who moved to more economically mixed neighborhoods after they were released had a 15\% decrease in recidivism compared to those who returned to the Lower 9th Ward [Gladwell, M., 2015].

In his work on the geography of economic mobility between generations, Raj Chetty writes that there is a correlation between areas with high economic mobility between generations and "less residential segregation, less income inequality, better primary schools, greater social capital, and greater family stability. Although a correlation does not mean that less segregation causes great social capital and stability, it does suggest a relationship between socioeconomically integrated neighborhoods and positive social outcomes [Chetty, R., 2014, 2015].

Do public spaces operate in some of the same ways as residential neighborhoods?

What are the economic benefits of social mixing in public space?

Under the right conditions, the weak ties that are fostered through casual, spontaneous interactions between people in public spaces, sometimes called Familiar Strangers, have been shown to increase job opportunities, higher wages and employment, and the exchange of diverse views. Sociologist Mark Granovetter, who has written extensively on this topic, wrote a seminal paper showing that weak ties, defined as non-frequent and transitory social relations, were more important than strong ties in finding employment and occupational mobility. Other researchers have confirmed that weak ties are positively related to higher wages and higher aggregate employment rates. He also showed, however, that this was strongest for high-status (i.e. wealthy) individuals and that the longer people were unemployed, the more important strong ties became. [Granovetter, M., 1973, Montgomery, J.D., 1994]

How can we design public spaces that foster these types of interactions?


## What is the relationship between social mixing and civic engagement?

Strong ties between people may inspire civic engagement and collective action. For example, researcher Doug MacAdam showed that strong ties were more important than weak ties in recruitment during Freedom Summer in the 1960s. [McAdam, D., 1988]

## What is the role of socially homogeneous spaces?

While social mixing between socioeconomic groups may bestow benefits upon low- and high-income people alike, "mixing" may also disrupt existing family and social ties, particularly in a neighborhood context.

This topic has been debated in affordable housing advocate communities. While on the whole there is agreement that families that move from high poverty neighborhoods to low poverty neighborhoods through programs like Moving to Opportunity experience economic and social
benefits, some studies have revealed that older children do not receive the same benefits, likely because moving to a new context is highly disruptive to social networks [Chetty, R. 2014, 2015].

What are the implications of the value of social ties and socially homogeneous spaces on how we view public space?

## More research on the impact of ephemeral social mixing is needed

How might the social and economic impacts bestowed on those with weak ties and residents of mixedincome neighborhoods teach us about impacts of social mixing in the public realm, which is by definition often spontaneous and ephemeral?

The lack of concrete findings on this topic, combined with increasing pressures and socioeconomic segregation in many American cities, confirms the urgent need for new methods to understand the presence, catalysts, and impact of public life diversity.


# Individual Data 


#### Abstract

Why do people use public space? How did they arrive there? Who did they talk to there and why? Do they feel comfortable, safe, and even delighted in a space? Why or why not? What are their personal sociodemographic qualities? There are some things you can only learn about a space by asking someone directly. Our intercept survey asks these questions, and allows us to compare these "invisible" qualities about the public life of a space to things we can observe and measure.


## Method

Intercept Survey

## Scale

The Individual

## Metrics

(1) Volume of people who recognize familiar strangers
(2) Volume of people who have spoken to a person outside of their social group
(3) Areas in a space that invite social mixing
(4)

Catalysts for social mixing
(5) Mode of transport to place
(6) Rates of Instagram use in the space
(7) Demographics: age, race, income, educational attainment, gender, home location
(8) Favorite places
(9) Qualitative information from indepth interviews

## Method

The surveyor approaches visitors at random, approximately every third person, and asks them to take a short paper survey. The surveyor tracks who declines the survey to understand the bias of the data.

The survey asks questions about demographics, how visitors use the public space, if they recognize any "familiar strangers", or if they talked to a new person. This intercept survey can be adapted to measure any number of variables, from favorite places to questions about trust, public realm quality, or research questions specific to a place.

By capturing demographics, the survey also provides data on who we are missing through digital methods.


Click here for Survey template downloads

Have you talked with strangers at this place?

Do you recognize or know anyone at this place?


21\% Recognized or knew
at least one person

79\% Did not know or recognize anyone

26\% Yes
Friends of friends


Left: Results from Intercept Survey on $9 / 3 / 15$ and Right: Familiar Stranger Intercept Survey on $9 / 3 / 15$, both at Patricia's Green

## Intercept Survey: sample findings

In a test in Hayes Valley, San Francisco, we found that $32 \%$ of all respondents recognized a few faces and over half had spoken with a stranger. We can correlate this data with other public life and public space data to begin to learn about the catalysts for social mixing.

Familiar Stranger Survey
The Toolkit borrows Eric Paulos' methodology for measuring the presence of the Familiar Stranger.

The method: take photographs of people spending time in a space at a given time and date. Return one week later at the same time with a survey that shows a photo of each person spending time in that space.

Ask respondents if they recognize or know anyone in the space.

For our test site in Hayes Valley, we took photos at 3:30pm on Tuesday 11/10/15 and returned at the same time on Friday 11/15/15.

Out of 29 responses, we found that $21 \%$ of all people ( 6 out 29) recognized or knew at least one person. $14 \%$ of all respondents recognized a Familiar Stranger. All 6 respondents who knew or recognized someone had a "Somewhat Positive/Pleasant" or "Strongly Positive" perception of the place, and visited at least weekly.


# Public life volume, age/gender, duration, sociability 

Surveyors observe public life in public space to understand the nuance of how people move and use a space. This ethnographic method records how people 'vote with their feet' and uncovers use patterns among different demographics and modes.

## Method

Observation

## Scale

Groups

## Metrics

(1) Pedestrian and cyclist volume
(2)

Volume and diversity of stationary activities


Age and gender split


Rates of social groups
(5)

Duration of stay

## Method

Gehl's ethnographic and observational analysis methods, developed over 50 years, are used to observe behavior of people spending time in test sites.

In the field, volunteers observe people going about their daily routines, count people, and make notes of anything unusual. Counts are made on a weekend and weekday, often for $8-12$ hours each day. These methods capture age and gender, stationary activities, and mode-split between pedestrians and cyclists.

These tools have been used in cities around the world and provide baseline, comparative data.

The toolkit also includes methods to capture groups of people engaging in observable social activity, and duration of stay, which allows researchers to estimate how "sticky" a space is by measuring how much time people spend in a space.


## Findings from the field

Sample data from Patricia's Green in San Francisco found that most people spending time were enjoying the place by either sitting or standing, many attending children playing. Most people spent less than five minutes in the space. This data could be compared with a furnishings study to understand the impact of children's play structures on duration of stay in a public space.

In Somerville, Public Space Public Life data uncovered weekday commuting peaks at 8am and 6pm. When looking at the demographics of cyclists, most are adult men, with few women or older or younger cyclists. Comparing this data with area demographics would help a researcher see if public life demographics are representative of city demographics.

Sample data from Somerville, MA


Weekday pedestrian volumes in Davis Square in Somerville

Sample data from Patricia's Green


How long did people spend in this place? (Patricia's Green)


Age of Cyclists in Somerville


Gender of Cyclists in Somerville



## Macro-trends

Advances in mobile technologies allow researchers to understand the real-time dynamics of public life through social media and other big data about how people move through cities. This method engages a large number of people passively, without asking them to do anything extra. Analyzing this data opens up new ways to map public life diversity at the macro scale.

## Method

Census for City Streets

## Scale

Networks

## Metrics

(1) Social-shed of a place
(2) Socioeconomic diversity of a place: socioeconomic characteristics of the home neighborhoods of the people who spend time in a space (in development)

## Method

A bounding box is drawn around a place of interest. For example, a square, a park, or a large boulevard. Using this bounding box, information is collected from various geo-tagged data sources collected from mobile phones.

This data is used in two ways, described below:

## Socioeconomic diversity

One tool brings census data down to the street level by looking at the socioeconomic mix of the people in a place.

Once data is collected about who has been in a place, each visitor's home neighborhood is estimated based on their travel patterns.

Then, the socioeconomic characteristics of this neighborhood are summarized and combined with all

Connecting Census data...


Median Income, ACS 2013

| < $\$ 10,000$ | $\$ 35,000-49,999$ |
| :--- | :--- |
| $\$ 10,000-14,999$ |  |
| $\$ 15,000-24,999$ | $\$ 50,000-74,999$ |
|  |  |

Bringing the census down to the street level
other users of the space to develop a socioeconomic profile of the place Isee our Neighborhood Socioeconomic Mix for more details on this method).

Initially, Instagram data was used as a potential data set for this method because it satisfied selection criteria: Instagram is designed for people to post about places they love, while they are there. It has high and racially diverse usership, is smart-phone only so it captures people on-the-go, and was easy to capture data for this test (see previous report for more details).

However, Instagram data does not represent a viable data set for estimating the home neighborhoods of public space users. In tests, 152 different home location algorithms were compared against a group of 13
user home locations. In all iterations, there were no correct matches to a user's census tract. Further, $95 \%$ of user photos in tests were taken from over 1 km from the reported home location. We have high standards for accuracy, and Instagram's data is not the right fit for this tool.

We are still seeking a better data set for our Census for City Streets.

## Social-Shed + Heat-Mapping

Instagram offers a great data set for other storytelling about the social mix and "social-shed" of places.

Data about where people post can be used to make heatmaps of where people go and where they have been in

the past.
The location of a user's other Instagram posts can be connected with census characteristics of these other places to get a sense of the socioeconomic mix of the places a person visits.

Finally, hot spots of where people post throughout the day can tell a story about how instagram users move through the city. While these people are not a representation of everyone in public space, they can help researchers tell new stories about how people use cities and help identify sites for further study.


## Public Space Metrics

## Furnishings, Landscape, and Program

A close look at invitations to participate in public life reveals a relationship between public life and public space. If there is nowhere to sit, people will not sit. If there is no tree canopy to mediate temperature or create visual interest, walking will be less pleasant and therefore less prevalent. If there is not inclusive programming, some people will never find a reason to spend time in public space in the first place. This layer of data helps uncover relationships between the built environment and the ability of a place to foster social mixing.

## Method <br> Furnishings, Landscape, and Program Analysis

## Scale

 Streetscape
## Metrics

(1) Seating


Lighting
(3) Trees


Bus stops


Programming


Pavement Quality

Pavement Material

Sidewalk Width

## Method

Surveyors go to the place under study (or reference a photo survey) and catalog invitations for public life in design, furnishings, sidewalk, and programming elements of the space. They measure types of seating, commercial and cultural invitations, sidewalk and paving characteristics and programming

This data can be correlated with observational analysis to understand how the public life and social mixing is responding (or not responding) to invitations from the public realm at this fine-grain scale. This tool has been tested in Denver on the 16th Street Mall, as well as in New York City's plazas as part of the World Class Streets 2.0 project.


## Findings from the field

As part of a Public Space Public Life survey of Downtown Pittsburgh, Gehl performed a careful inventory of a number of furnishings on key corridors, including public benches.

Market Square, in which the city has invested heavily, has most of downtown's public benches. It also exhibits some of the highest pedestrian and staying activity numbers in the city. Inversely, Liberty Avenue, the city's major transit spine, has few benches, which contributes to negative perception of this street as a place to stay and enjoy - there are simply no invitations from the public furnishings to do this.


Above: Public seat map for downtown Pittsburgh reveals there are hardly any public seats on Liberty Avenue, a major bus route, while Market Square has many public seats. The lack of seats on Liberty helps explain the poor perception of this street as a place to stay and enjoy, and, inversely, the positive perception of Market Square and the many "staying activities" this place invites.

## Quality Criteria

The 12 Quality Criteria help us understand and compare quality in the built environment and its ability to either contribute to the flourishing of public life diversity or hinder it. The criteria can be correlated with the amount of public life diversity in a space.

## Method

Quality Criteria

## Scale

Blocks

## Metrics

(1) Quality of a place, including:

## Protection

- Protection against Vehicular Traffic
- Protection against Crime +

Violence

- Protection against Unpleasant Sensory Experiences


## Comfort

- Invitations for Walking
- Invitations for Standing and Staying
- Invitations for Sitting
- Invitations for Seeing
- Invitations for Hearing + Talking
- Invitations for Play + Recreation


## Enjoyment

- Dimensioned at a Human Scale
- Positive Aspects of Climate
- Aesthetic Quality


## Method

Surveyors assess the quality of a specific space according to the 12 Quality Criteria.

These Criteria were developed by Jan Gehl in the 1960s and have been used by Gehl's practice for the past 15 years to collect qualitative data about a place. This survey complements quantitative data and can be correlated with the amount of public life diversity in a space.

An inviting place that encourages public life has elements of protection, comfort, and enjoyment. These categories are further detailed into 12 Quality Criteria at left.


## Findings from the field

While it is not essential for each category to be perfect for a place to be inviting, ranking places by these categories can help identify why some work so well, and why others need attention.

For example, these two streets above, both in Copenhagen, have the same volume of people moving through them per day, but the one that satisfies all 12 Quality Criteria also has more people spending time.

# Neighborhood Price Diversity 



A diverse place invites people from all economic levels. By measuring the pricepoints of businesses, and finding areas that have a variety of price points, we can identify places that invite a diverse array of people, creating the preconditions for a diverse public life.

## Method

Neighborhood Price Variety

## Scale

Blocks

## Method

The price variety method classifies areas in a city by the variety of price points for consumer-facing businesses. It may be used as a proxy for the economic diversity of people in a place.

First, a $200 \times 200$ meter grid is overlaid on a study area. In the middle of each grid cell, a point is dropped. A 500 -meter buffer around each point is used to collect the price classification of the consumer-facing business, from \$ to \$\$\$ from Google's Places API.

If the nearby businesses are all inexpensive or all expensive, the parent grid cell of the buffered point is given a low price variety score (Colored green on the map at right).

If the nearby businesses are a mix of expensive, affordable, and in-between, then the parent grid cell of that buffered point is given a high price variety score. (Colored brown on the map at right)


Customer-facing place types collected include: haircare, store, spa, food, lodging, shoe_store, laundry, movie_theater, or bar. The data set is further filtered for businesses that have a value for price, ranked from 1 (affordable, like a 7-11) to 4 (expensive, like a 5-star restaurant).

This method works well as a "siteselection tool" applied at the beginning of an analysis to identify places that attract people from a variety of different socioeconomic backgrounds.

## Data from the field

About 27\% of businesses in the above study area for northern San Francisco had price values. Cells with no color indicate there was not enough price or business data to run the method on those areas.

There are clear divisions between places that are price-diverse and places that are not. For example, the Inner Richmond has low price variation. Hayes Valley and Mid-Market has a wide range of prices.

The next step with this method is to compare price variety with the variety of people spending time in this place and determine if there is a relationship between price variety and public life diversity.

# Building Facade Activation + Entries 



The activation of a facade and the number of entrances is a strong predictor of when people will slow down and engage in activities other than simply walking. An active facade presents opportunities for strangers to meet and mix, and provides an attraction for different types of people. Facade quality may be an essential precondition to creating places that invite all types of people and encourage social mixing.


## Method

X
Entries \& Building Facade
Activation

## Scale

Blocks

## Method

A surveyor walks along a street and ranks facades according to a scale of activation based on the qualities of the building facade itself.

Quality is ranked according to transparency of windows and doors, unit width, number of doors, articulation of the facade, and inviting 'spillover' into the sidewalk in the form of signage, seating, and other exterior furnishings. Facades are ranked Vibrant, Active, Full, Inactive. There are separate categories for parking, parks, open spaces, and monuments or historic buildings. Facade categories can be calibrated to local criteria.

Activation of each facade is ranked and mapped. In addition, doors are counted and used as a quantitative indicator for granularity.


## Data from the field

In Pittsburgh, Gehl staff walked each street downtown, categorizing facade activity and entries. We found that key corridors were slightly more active than the citywide average, with
some corridors, like Liberty Avenue performing better than others.


- Small units with many doors
- High transparency
- No vacant or passive units
- Lots of character
- Good articulation, materials and details


2 ACTIVE

- Relatively small units
- Some transparency
- Few passive units
- Some articulation and detail

- Large units with few doors
- Low transparency
- Some passive units
- Few or no details

- Parking or vacant lot
- Large units with few doors
- Very little or no transparency
- Many passive units
- Uniform facades with no details or nothing to look at

- A historic or visually interesting facade that may not be very active or transparent, but is visually remarkable


## Neighborhood Socioeconomic Mix


#### Abstract

The ability of a place to attract a variety of users is informed by the demographics of the neighborhoods that surround it. By looking at ambient census characteristics we can hypothesize how much variety we are likely to see in a place, and compare this with people in the space by crossreferencing our Intercept Survey tool.


## Method

Neighborhood Socioeconomic Mix

## Scale

Urban Form

## Metrics

Socioeconomic neighborhood character looking at:


Median household incomeEducational attainmentRace + Ethnicity


## Method

Census data (American Community Survey 2014 5-year estimates) is used to develop categories of socioeconomic status. Categories are determined using a cluster analysis to identify common groupings of income, education, and race/ethnicity characteristics at the census tract level.

The categories that result from this cluster analysis synthesize 16 unique data points into non-hierarchical groups. At right are each of the 16 variables included into the composite group number. Looking at one composite indicator instead of 16 unique indicators means researchers can use a more nuanced definition of socioeconomic status when talking about diversity of places, neighborhoods, cities, and regions.

This method helps benchmark the diversity present in a place compared to the neighborhood or region it is in.


Socioeconomic Status in the Bay Area

## Findings from the Field

The categories in the test analysis were generated using a cluster analysis for census tracts in the San Francisco Bay Area. The socioeconomic status describes the neighborhood character, not each person living in the census tract.

In the study area, 55\% of the population lives in a census tract that is mostly

$11 \%$ of all people in the study area live in census tracts that are white or hispanic/latino with a good mix of incomes, socioeconomic group \#0. An example neighborhood is Tomales Bay and pieces of San Leandro.

Areas where very different socioeconomic groups are adjacent to one another, for example in much of San Francisco, can help identify areas for intervention to foster social mixing between groups.


# Urban Connectivity 

> The ability of the street grid to foster mobility is an important precondition for places that attract public life from adjacent neighborhoods. The Urban Connectivity measure identifies how well the street grid facilitates neighborhood connections.


highways and on-ramps.

Connectivity is broken into four major categories, above. For example, San Francisco's Chinatown has a high network reach, 10,000 meters, because of its fine-grained street network with some alleys and short blocks. Midtown Terrace has a low network reach, only 2,500 meters, because many of its streets loop back on one another and connect in a limited way to a street network. In San Francisco's Mission District, it's double that, at 5,000 meters.

This data helps researchers get a

## Sample Neighborhoods

Chinatown
High - 10,000 meters


Mission District
Medium - 5,000 meters


Midtown Terrace Low - 2,500 meters
 sense of the granularity of an area's urban form.


# Applying the Tools 

This section highlights ways of applying the methods from the Toolkit to questions about diversity and social mixing in public life.

Pairing methods to ask good questions
The methods in the Toolkit are intended to be mixed-and-matched, and applied to an intervention or a public place to answer questions about relationships between the public life, public space, and public life diversity.

The diagrams in this section represent how different metrics might be paired in order to answer questions about the relationship between public life, public space, and social mixing, based on project goals.

The tools might be applied to measure an intervention in the public realm in order to generate data to iterate its design or demonstrate its impact. They also might be applied to a site to simply understand baseline conditions - or to compare two sites.

Often times the first method used is Observational Analysis, which captures pedestrian and stationary activity volumes, and age and gender diversity. A variety of other methods may be layered on top of this.

## Research Question

Experiment

How many people move through and choose to stay in a place? What are their demographics? How does reconfiguring street furniture change this public life profile?

Adjusting benches in the public right of way


Observational Analysis


Furnishings, Landscape, and Program Analysis

## Research Question

Experiment

## Method

Do people recognize more "familiar strangers" when there are more regular users of a public space?

Moving a bus-stop from a congested street to a public space that has the potential for greater use


Observational Analysis


Intercept Interview


Furnishings, Landscape, and Program Analysis

What is more effective at inviting a more diverse audience to a place, periodic arts programming or a cafe?

Experiment
Choose two public spaces with similar socioeconomic diversity profiles and similar neighborhood demographic profiles, neither of which has programming or food/drink amenities. Introduce periodic arts programming to one space. Introduce a cafe to the other space. Re-test at 6 weeks, 6 months, and 1 year.

## Method



Observational Analysis


[^1]
## Research Question

## Experiment

## Method

## Research Question

Experiment

What has a stronger impact on public life diversity of a place, the diversity of neighborhood business price points near that place, or the socioeconomic profile of the neighborhood the place is in?

Observe the public life diversity of several places. Identify the mix of price points and neighborhood socioeconomic profile where these places are located. Compare public life diversity to these two factors - which is a stronger determinant of public life diversity?


Neighborhood Price Variety

Are there more "familiar strangers" in a more diverse public place or a less diverse public place?

Observe the public life diversity of a number of places. Observe the socioeconomic variety of the neighborhoods and cities where these places are located. Perform an intercept survey with familiar stranger questions in these places. Compare the presence of familiar strangers to public life diversity and neighborhood diversity - which is a stronger determinant of the presence of the familiar stranger?

Method


Observational Analysis


Intercept Interview


Census for City Streets


Neighborhood Socioeconomic Mix


# Test Tools with Partners 

Measuring impact of public life experiments

## A Framework for Experimentation

Over the next two years, Gehl Institute will embark upon a number of experiments to test the impact of design and program interventions on public life. These experiments have specific research questions and goals, which will be tested using methods from the Toolkit.

Gehl will partner with other research organizations and community partners to perform experiments and evaluate their impact. The outcome and analysis from the experiments and their evaluation will be included in the Public Life Database.

LEXperiment, Lexington KY: Research Question: How does creating a new destination for children to play in a socioeconomically-divided area of the city catalyze social mixing between adults living in different neighborhoods?

World Class Streets II, New York City: Research Question: How does turning an underutilized piece of the vehicular right-of-way into a plaza and even an urban "park" foster social mixing?

Public Life Officers, West Palm Beach, FL: Research Question: How does performance, humor, and even satire, introduced into the public realm by performance artists, catalyze new perceptions about the public realm, and greater social mixing between groups?

## Outputs



## Public Life Database

An online platform to compare and analyze public life data
from around the world


## Sharing Data: filtering data for different audiences

The Public Life Database will be a portal for public life data from around the world.

Recognizing that different types of data are useful to different audiences, the below "pyramid of knowledge' helps to identify the types of data that are most helpful for different stakeholders, from data nerds and hackers who want raw data for their own analysis, to decisionmakers who want high-level insights distilled from years of analysis and best-practices.

We will develop the database and a framework for sharing it with partners in our next phase of work.

## Sharing Methods: survey tools

As part of our database framework, we will also develop a method for sharing select survey tools. Survey tools made available through the Database might be: Public Space / Public Life Surveys, Intercept Surveys, and other observational methods described in the Toolkit.

Public life data will be collected and analysed by users and fed back into the database where it will be visualized and compared against other public life data in the database.

## Data

Descriptive facts about public life in a place to tell stories and benchmark change

## Stalkeholders

## Data Nerds



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# Existing methods of measuring social mixing public space 

Researchers in fields from sociology to epidemiology also have an interest in understanding causes and implications of social mixing. Some of these disciplines have developed their own measurement methods. To inform the Toolkit, we reviewed the potential applications and drawbacks of four existing measurement frameworks and incorporated learnings into the Toolkit.


## Measuring Familiar Strangers

Several methods have been developed by researchers who were also interested in the Familiar Stranger phenomenon. Researchers in Singapore tracked when people tapped transit cards at similar times in citywide transit systems, finding that $85 \%$ of repeated encounters happened at the same time each day, and most happened in the morning [Sun, 2013]. Researchers in Rome created a wifi sniffer that detects when people's phones or devices are in the same place at the same time repeatedly [Barbera, M, 2013].

Researchers in Berkeley, CA conducted photo surveys of places, then showed
the photos to people in these places, asking them if they recognize anyone in the public space, recreating Stanley Milgram's famous experiments. In Milgram's experiments, eighty-nine percent of those surveyed recognized at least one person. The Berkeley study found lower (77.8\%) but still high recognition, with an average 3.1 people recognized out of 63 pictured. Lunchtime participants recognized on average 3.9 people, far more than their counterparts at the bus stop, who recognized 2.3 people on average. [Paulos, 2004]

## Applicability to the Toolkit:

The Toolkit measures correlates to the Familiar Stranger phenomenon: The number of familiar strangers one knows is directly correlated to how often that person visits a place and how often others visit a place, indicators the Toolkit measures. We can adjust our intercept survey to ask about familiar strangers in a space

## Drawbacks:

- Does not take into account socioeconomic status
- Does not capture interaction between strangers, only recognition
- Many repeat visits are because of convenience, schedule, and necessity, and not because of the conviviality of a place, something we seek to understand
- Many familiar strangers may be repeat visitors because of a negative extenuating circumstance, like
homelessness.


## Qualitative measurement of social engagement

In-depth, longitudinal, mixed-method research in a discrete site or social network can yield nuanced findings about social engagement. This was the case with the Joseph Rowntree Foundation's year-long research project of public spaces in Aylesbury in the south of England. [Holland, C., 2007] The study included discussions with stakeholders, street surveys with members of the public, and observation by 46 members of the general public at nine sites in residential neighborhoods, green open spaces, and town-center spaces. Researchers concluded, among other things, that public spaces have a democratic and civic function, and that over-regulating them can hinder vibrancy, diversity and integration.

William Whyte's classic methods of building-mounted cameras observing public space were revived recently by Keith Hampton at Rutgers, who performed direct observations of people in space by coding video footage. His biggest findings were that over 30 years, Americans have become less socially isolated while using public spaces. He found an increase in the proportion of women in public space, and a corresponding increase in the tendency for men and women to spend time together in public. [Oppenheimer,

## 2014]

## Applicability to our study:

Many features of social mixing are best captured by field observation, and are more easily and completely described by qualitative impressions. Observational methods described in Rowntree's study and Whyte's methods are similar to Gehl's in that the survey was undertaken by members of the community and rely on ethnographic, observational analysis.

## Drawbacks:

- Difficult to code and quantify qualitative data
- Repeated observations over several seasons and weather conditions requires a dedicated team of observers and a long time period - In an extended observational time-frame, the observer begins to potentially affect the system observed, more so than in more passive or shortterm methods.


## Direct Contact and Duration of Contact

Epidemiologists and others who track the spread of disease have developed methods for measuring direct contact between people, and the duration of this contact, a method potentially useful to the Toolkit. Methods developed by epidemiologists and other public health researchers include direct observation of a study group; proximity sensors worn by
subjects that track proximity and frequency of interaction; and contact diaries kept by subjects. [Choudhury; Onnela, 2014; Read, 2012; Smieszek, 2011, 2014, 2014]

## Applicability to our study:

These methods often successfully measure direct face-to-face contact and duration of contact, something that is very difficult to measure. They can also track where people are lingering, with whom, in what group sizes, and for how long.

## Drawbacks:

- These metrics are often successful only with a tightly controlled group that opts in to the experiment, making these methods impossible studying the general public.
- Technology-driven sensors are prone to mechanical failure, false positives, and over- or under-reporting instances of social mixing.
- In the case of contact diaries, short-term memories are highly fallible, and half of all contacts are forgotten after 5 minutes, making the error rate high.


## Degrees of Separation

Stanley Milgram first studied 'six degrees of separation' by sending a letter to a random person in Nebraska or Boston, with a goal of returning that letter to a random target person in Massachusetts. People were instructed to only forward the letter to someone they knew on a first name basis. On average it took 5.2 intermediaries to reach the target recipient. Similar results have been replicated via email, and instant messaging. [Dean, 2008]

## Applicability to our study:

Degrees of separation is a measure of how connected people are, and could be combined with a socioeconomic survey to determine the socioeconomic mix of social networks.

## Drawbacks:

- The method does not measure mixing or connectedness in public space.
- The rate of "broken chains" was high for both letters and emails.


## Resources:


$\qquad$

INSTRUCTIONS:
f you recognize any of these people but do not know their names, please write an " $\mathbf{R}$ " in
he corresponding blank circle and use the connected box to tell us why you recognize them or anything else you want to tell us about them.

If you know the names of any of these people, please write $\mathbf{a}$ " $\mathbf{K}$ " in the blank circle and use the connected box to tell us how you know them or anything else you want to tell us about them.

If you do not recognize a person, please leave their circle blank.
If you have any questions, just ask me!

participating in this survey about comfort涌 public space.

## will be kept strictly

confidential.

Thank you for


## Resources: FOR SURVEYORS

## Procedure

1. Approach people in this space, with priority given to people engaging in stationary activities.
2. Identify yourself as a public life researcher, ask if the person has three minutes to answer an anonymous survey about the social life of this space.
3. Note age \& gender of surveyed people and people who decline your survey. (see table on right)
4. You may deliver survey questions verbally, or hand the surveyee the form - especially the questions that relate to income, age, race, or gender.
5. Have the person place the form in a manila folder to ensure anonymity.
6. If you survey groups, indicate which surveys you give them by circling the appropriate numbers (see below)
7. Note hour. (see below)
8. Obtain 20 surveys through the course of your shift.

Survey Demographics
Did they fill out your survey?

| Age + <br> Gender | YES | NO |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 15-19 Male |  |  |
| 15-19 Female |  |  |
| 20-30 Male |  |  |
| 20-30 Female |  |  |
| $31-40$ Male |  |  |
| 31-40 Female |  |  |
| $41-64$ Male |  |  |
| $41-64$ Female |  |  |
| $65+$ Male |  |  |
| $65+$ Female |  |  |

Surveyed Groups Each survey has a unique number found on the bottom right of the second page. If you distribute surveys to a group, circle the appropriate numbers below.

Hour Note the time when you distribute surveys.

| Hour |  | Hour |  | Hour |  | Hour |  | Hour |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 1 |  | 13 |  | 25 |  | 37 |  | 49 |
|  | 2 |  | 14 |  | 26 |  | 38 |  | 50 |
|  | 3 |  | 15 |  | 27 |  | 39 |  | 51 |
|  | 4 |  | 16 |  | 28 |  | 40 |  | 52 |
|  | 5 |  | 17 |  | 29 |  | 41 |  | 53 |
|  | 6 |  | 18 |  | 30 |  | 42 |  | 54 |
|  | 7 |  | 19 |  | 31 |  | 43 |  | 55 |
|  | 8 |  | 20 |  | 32 |  | 44 |  | 56 |
|  | 9 |  | 21 |  | 33 |  | 45 |  | 57 |
|  | 10 |  | 22 |  | 34 |  | 46 |  | 58 |



## Resources:

## Thank you for participating in this survey about social mixing and public life. Your responses will be kept strictly confidential.

1. How often do you visit this place?DailyWeeklyEvery few monthsRarely (once per year)
$\square$ I am a tourist
2. How much time do you typically spenu here?

| $\square$ Walk through | $\square 15 \mathrm{~min}$. |
| :--- | :--- |
| $\square 5 \mathrm{~min}$. | $\square 30 \mathrm{~min}$. |
| $\square 10 \mathrm{~min}$. | $\square 1$ hour or more |

3. Please take a few moments to look at the people around you. Do you recognize people that you did not plan to meet?No, I don't recognize anyone here right now. (please skip to \#4)Yes, I can count (insert \#) $\qquad$ people that I recognize who I did not plan to meet.

3a. Of these familiar faces, do you know anyone by name?No, I don't know anyone here by name.Yes, I know (insert \#) $\qquad$ people here by name.

3b. Of these familiar faces, have you ever talked with any of them? (Not counting your surveyor.)

4. How do you use this place?Just passing throughShoppingWork nearbyHanging outPublic Transit $\square$ LunchMeeting up with friendsOther
5. How do you feel about this place?
$\square$ Strongly Negative
$\square$ Somewhat Negative/Unpleasant $\square$ Neutral $\square$ Somewhat Positve/Pleasant $\square$ Strongly Positive

## 8. How did you get here today? (check all that apply)

WalkBikeBusTrain / SubwayPrivate CarTaxi / RideshareOther (please write): $\qquad$
## 9. Do you use Instagram?

$\square$ Yes - I have posted from hereYes - I have not posted from here
$\square$ No - I don't use Instagram
$\square$
10. (Optional) What is your Instagram handle? $\qquad$
11. Do you identify as?Male
FemaleOther
12. What is your age?
$\square 15-19$
$\square$ 20-30
$\square 31-40$
$\square$ 41-64
$\square 65+$
14. What is your race? (mark one or more boxes)WhiteAfrican AmericanAmerican Indian or Alaska NativeAsianNative Hawaiian or Pacific IslanderOther race (please write): $\qquad$
17. Are you of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin?

No, not of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish originYes, Mexican, Mexican American, ChicanoYes, Puerto RicanYes, CubanYes, another Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin
(print origin): $\qquad$
16. What is the combined annual income of all working adults in your household?

| $\square \$ 0-10 \mathrm{~K}$ | $\square \$ 50-75 \mathrm{~K}$ | $\square \$ 250-300 \mathrm{~K}$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\square \$ 10-15 \mathrm{~K}$ | $\square \$ 75-100 \mathrm{~K}$ | $\square \$ 300-350 \mathrm{~K}$ |
| $\square \$ 15-25 \mathrm{~K}$ | $\square \$ 100-150 \mathrm{~K}$ | $\square \$ 350-400 \mathrm{~K}$ |
| $\square \$ 25-35 \mathrm{~K}$ | $\square \$ 150-200 \mathrm{~K}$ | $\square \$ 400 \mathrm{~K}$ or more |
| $\square \$ 35-50 \mathrm{~K}$ | $\square \$ 200-250 \mathrm{~K}$ |  |

1\%. What is the street intersection closest to your home? $\qquad$ \& $\qquad$
18. What is your home zip code?

## Methods:

Building off the classic Gehl methods of categorizing stationary activities, this methods uses a new framework to capture the nuance of how people participate in different activities by separating the position of the body (standing, sitting) from the activity (waiting for transit, commercial activities), etc. This approach reduces surveyor error and inter-rater reliability. Data are from a test in Hayes Valley.


## New Famework

|  | ACTIVITY |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { BEING } \\ & \text { (OTHER) } \end{aligned}$ | WAITING FOR TRANSIT | COMMERCIAL | CULTURAL | PHYSICAL | CHILDREN PLAYING |
|  | STANDING | X | T | $\square$ | $\triangle$ | P | 0 |
|  | BENCH OR CHAIR (SITTING ) | $\mathrm{X}_{\mathrm{B}}$ | $T_{B}$ | B | $\Delta_{B}$ |  |  |
|  | SECONDARY SEATING | $X_{s}$ | $T_{s}$ | $\square_{\mathrm{s}}$ | $\Delta_{S}$ |  |  |
|  | LYING DOWN | X_ | T |  | $\hat{\wedge}$ |  |  |
|  | BRING YOUR OWN | $\mathrm{X}_{\mathrm{BYo}}$ | $\mathrm{T}_{\mathrm{BYO}}$ |  | $\triangle_{\text {BYo }}$ |  |  |
|  |  |  | use as necessa |  |  |  |  |

## Classic Framework

| ACTIVITY |  | DESCRIPTION |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| X | Standing | STANDING, WAITING IN LINE, TALKING, SMOKING, ETC. (NOT WALKING) |
| T | Waiting for Transit | STANDING OR SITTING WAITING FOR TRANSIT |
| Xb | Bench Seating | SITTING ON A BENCH OR OTHER OFFICIAL FURNITURE (INCLUDES MOVABLE SEATING) |
| Xs | Secondary Seating | SITTING ON OBJECTS THAT ARE NOT DESIGNED AS FURNITURE (CURBS, STEPS) |
| Xc | Café Seating | PAID SEATING (IMUST BE CUSTOMER TO USE) |
| Xm | Bring Your Own Seating | CHAIRS THAT PEOPLE HAVE BROUGHT FROM HOME |
| I | Lying Down | LYING DOWN IINCLUDES SUNBATHING, RESTING, \& HOMELESS SLEEPING] |
| 0 | Children Playing | CHILDREN (0-10 YEARS OLD) PLAYY ${ }^{\text {a }}$ ( |
| $\square$ | Commercial Activity | PERSON SELLING SOMETHING OR HANDING OUT FLYERS |
| $\Delta$ | Cultural Activity | PERSON ENTERTAINING (INCLUDES PLAYING GUITAR, PAINTING, ETC) |
| $\bigcirc$ | Physical Activity | PERSON PLAYING SPORTS OR WORKING OUT |



## Stationary Activity Mapping Categories

## New framework for Stationary Activity mapping:

The primary function of Stationary Activity mapping is to understand the variety of activities in space. However, the classic model conflates activities (from waiting for transit to simply being in space) with the ways they are expressed by the human body (standing, sitting, etc). This new framework for Stationary Activity mapping more clearly defines these two ways of classifying staying activities in space. On the horizontal axis activities taking place are mapped, which indicates programmatic invitations. On the vertical axis, the position of bodies, indicating comfort or physical/design invitations in the

public realm, is mapped. All of the classic categories are intact, and some new ones appear. This new framework allows researchers to look at program separately from how people are engaging in them, or together, by collapsing data into $X$ or $Y$ axis. This framework was developed as a response to confusion from partners and survey volunteers who were confused about how to register activities that may be expressed in different ways. For example, if someone is sitting down and waiting for transit, which symbol should a surveyor use? The new framework allows for both to be captured and for both stories to be told, depending on the context.

Mapping social groups
By simply drawing circles around stationary activity symbols representing groups of people who are actively socializing with one another in a space, surveyors can add a layer of data to a stationary activity registration survey sheet that helps tell the story of social life in a space.

## Stationary Activity and Duration

Understanding how long people spend in a space helps surveyors understand how inviting it is. This measure provides greater nuance to a standard stationary activity registration. A space where the vast majority of people spending 5 minutes or less is more of a passing-through place than a place that encourages people to sit, talk, and linger for 15 minutes or more.

This method also provides data to help make evaluations of whether a space encourages lingering or loitering.

| DURATION | 5 min . | 10 min . | 15 min . | 20 min . | 25 min. | 30 min. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Every 5 min, circle each person continuing an activity from min. | * | (ख) <br> 2 RINGS | $\otimes$ <br> 3 RINGS | 4 RINGS |  |  |

## PROCEDURE:

REGISTER STATIONARY ACTIVITIES WITHIN THE EVERY 5 MIN., CIRCLE THE SYMBOL FOR EACH SITE BOUNDARIES THROUGHOUT 30 MIN . PERSON CONTINUING A STATIONARY ACTIVITY FROM THE PREVIOUS 5 MIN.
MARK EXACT LOCATIONS OF EACH ACTIVITY ON
MAP USING GIVEN SYMBOLS. DRAW A LOOP AROUND PEOPLE TOGETHER IN A GROUP.

Findings from experiment above


How long did people spend in this place?

## Methods:

Socioeconomic Status categories, in detail

## Combining many variables into one:

A detailed description of
socioeconomic clusters in the Bay
Area.

| Cluster <br> \# | Description |  | avg white | $\underset{\text { avg }}{\text { black }}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { avg } \\ \text { asian } \end{gathered}$ | avg hispanic latino |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 0 | white or hispanic/latino with a good mix of incomes | Davis | 45\% | 11\% | 18\% | 27\% |
| 1 | white, wealthy, highly educated | Marin County | 63\% | 4\% | 25\% | 8\% |
| 2 | asian, low income, low education | Golden Gate Ave. and Webster St. | 20\% | 20\% | 49\% | 11\% |
| 3 | white, mostly wealthy but with income gap and many low income households, highly educated | Presidio Heights | 62\% | 6\% | 22\% | 10\% |
| 4 | lower income, black or hispanic/latino | Brookfield Village Near Oakland Airport | 36\% | 21\% | 14\% | 29\% |
|  | mix of races, mostly lower income but a good mix of incomes, mostly high school graduates | around Market Street | 30\% | 23\% | 29\% | 18\% |
| 6 | mostly white, upper-middle class, high education | SoMa | 54\% | 5\% | 25\% | 16\% |
| 7 | black, mostly high school graduates | South Basin | 19\% | 48\% | 15\% | 17\% |
| 8 | good mix of incomes and races | Geary at Webster | 42\% | 17\% | 21\% | 20\% |
| 9 | asian or hispanic, middle income | Excelsior | 33\% | 3\% | 32\% | 32\% |
| 10 | good mix of incomes | Daly City | 49\% | 9\% | 23\% | 18\% |
| 11 | low income, asian or white | Taylor at Eddy | 38\% | 10\% | 39\% | 13\% |
| 12 | mostly white and upper-middle class | Around Upper San Leandro Reservoir | 52\% | 6\% | 22\% | 20\% |
| 13 | low education, even mix of black and white, middle income | Redwood Junction | 43\% | 2\% | 2\% | 53\% |

## Key

Minimum value (specific to column): red
Maximum value (specific to column): green

| avg under 30k | avg 30k to 60 k | avg 60k to 100k | $\begin{gathered} \text { avg over } \\ \text { 100k } \end{gathered}$ | avg no high school | avg yes high school | avg bachelor master | avg phd professi onal | population in this category | $\begin{gathered} \text { \% bay } \\ \text { area } \\ \text { populati } \\ \text { on } \end{gathered}$ | count of tracts in bay area |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 22\% | 32\% | 23\% | 23\% | 19\% | 53\% | 25\% | 3\% | 509246 | 11.7\% | 111 |
| 8\% | 12\% | 18\% | 62\% | 4\% | 32\% | 53\% | 11\% | 1140942 | 26.2\% | 247 |
| 70\% | 14\% | 7\% | 10\% | 34\% | 44\% | 20\% | 2\% | 25006 | 0.6\% | 8 |
| 19\% | 8\% | 19\% | 53\% | 7\% | 30\% | 53\% | 10\% | 103522 | 2.4\% | 30 |
| 39\% | 30\% | 18\% | 13\% | 28\% | 51\% | 19\% | 2\% | 337190 | 7.7\% | 76 |
| 55\% | 22\% | 13\% | 11\% | 26\% | 47\% | 25\% | 2\% | 130636 | 3.0\% | 35 |
| 15\% | 19\% | 23\% | 42\% | 10\% | 45\% | 39\% | 6\% | 1259187 | 28.9\% | 259 |
| 34\% | 4\% | 20\% | 42\% | 26\% | 55\% | 18\% | 2\% | 357 | 0.0\% | 1 |
| 36\% | 20\% | 21\% | 22\% | 19\% | 43\% | 32\% | 6\% | 126343 | 2.9\% | 34 |
| 12\% | 35\% | 22\% | 30\% | 18\% | 57\% | 22\% | 3\% | 3627 | 0.1\% | 1 |
| 25\% | 21\% | 23\% | 31\% | 14\% | 45\% | 37\% | 5\% | 596939 | 13.7\% | 128 |
| 80\% | 10\% | 3\% | 7\% | 28\% | 38\% | 30\% | 3\% | 9508 | 0.2\% | 4 |
| 9\% | 27\% | 24\% | 39\% | 11\% | 53\% | 33\% | 3\% | 114955 | 2.6\% | 26 |
| 25\% | 47\% | 23\% | 5\% | 46\% | 44\% | 10\% | 1\% | 3241 | 0.1\% | 1 |




[^0]:    Many advocates use a "theory of change" framework to describe the impact of their work.

[^1]:    Furnishings, Landscape, and Program Analysis

