

Mechanisms for Stigma Reduction, the Deconcentration of Poverty,
and Hope for HOPE VI

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Abstract

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The high concentration of poverty in the U.S. has been a significant problem since the turn of the twentieth century. A high concentration of people in urban areas without decent social, economic, and political means to improve their quality of life has created a myriad of problems for urbanized regions to confront and stigmatizes the individuals living in high poverty areas. The federal government has instituted a number of housing programs over the past century in an attempt to find a fix. These proposed solutions include urban renewal strategies, war worker housing programs, the Section 8 Certificate, project-based and tenant-based voucher programs (known today as the Housing Choice Voucher Program), and the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development's Housing Opportunities for People Everywhere (HOPE VI) competitive grant program established in 1992. The purpose of this thesis is to investigate the impact of the housing programs that were intended to deconcentrate poverty in American cities

and to assess the results of these efforts. This thesis considers the role U.S. housing policies play in concentrating and deconcentrating poverty, both historically and today, especially in the design of mixed-income developments funded by programs like HOPE VI. Specifically, this investigation considers the HOPE VI strategies implemented in an effort to revitalize communities formerly occupied by public housing residents. The overarching purpose of this thesis is to identify the best practices used by urban designers, planners, and architects that have resulted in the successful implementation of housing and neighborhood revitalization programs that deconcentrate poverty while relieving the stigma associated with living in public housing and high poverty concentrated areas. Lastly, my recommendation is that the mixed-income and mixed-use revitalization efforts and similar upcoming housing policies and plans, such as the Choice Neighborhoods Initiative (CNI) should be further studied. While continuing to address this country's low-income and affordable housing crises, it is vital for the future of U.S. housing policy and crucial to the design of society's urban fabric that there is a better understanding of design implications. Thoughtful and informed solutions should ensure stigma reduction and guarantee that those who require subsidized housing are seen as equal parties.

Key Words: Stigma, stigmatization, stigmatization of place, spatial stigmatization, poverty, concentrated poverty, deconcentration of poverty, housing policy, mixed-income revitalization, mixed-income development, neighborhood revitalization, public housing, low-income, relocation, displacement, gentrification, marginalized

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES.....	II
LIST OF IMAGES.....	III
CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION.....	1
Purpose.....	1
Methodology.....	2
CHAPTER II STIGMA, AND POVERTY CONCENTRATION / DECONCENTRATION...4	
Outgrowth of Stigma in High Poverty Areas and Public Housing	5
Concentration of Poverty’s Cause and Effect Relationships.....	7
Discourse of the Deconcentration of Poverty	8
CHAPTER III HISTORICAL REVIEW OF HOUSING PROGRAMS RELATED TO POVERTY DECONCENTRATION.....	14
Policy Responses as Outcomes from the Discourse of Poverty Deconcentration ..	14
U.S. Housing Policy and Mixed-Income Communities	15
The 1930s	15
The 1940s and the Housing Act of 1949.....	20
The 1950s and the Housing Act of 1954.....	25
The 1960’s and the Civil Rights Act of 1964	26
The 1970s	30
Housing Choice Voucher Program for Tenant Mobility.....	31
The 1980s – 90s and New Urbanism.....	33
HOPE VI of 1992 Housing Program to Deconcentrate Poverty.....	34
Congress for the New Urbanism (CNU), the New Urbanism Movement and the Deconcentration of Poverty.....	36
HOPE VI Today	41
HUD’s Choice Neighborhoods Initiative (CNI): A Vision for the Future of Poverty Deconcentration.....	42
CHAPTER IV DESIGN MANIFESTATIONS OF THE DECONCENTRATION OF POVERTY	47
Harbor Point, Boston (Dorchester), Massachusetts	48
High Point, Seattle, Washington	63
CHAPTER V CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....	76
Conclusions.....	76
Recommendations.....	76
BIBLIOGRAPHY	79
APPENDICES	92
APPENDIX A HOW THE CENSUS BUREAU MEASURES POVERTY.....	92
APPENDIX B HOPE VI OF 1992 HISTORY AND LEGISLATION.....	97
APPENDIX C HARBOR POINT, BOSTON (DORCHESTER), MASSACHUSETTS PROJECT DATA AND SITE IMAGES	99
APPENDIX D HIGH POINT, SEATTLE, WASHINGTON PROJECT DATA AND SITE IMAGES.	107
APPENDIX E CHILDREN LIVING IN HIGH POVERTY CONCENTRATED AREAS PUBLISHED BY RUTGERS AND THE ANNIE E. CASEY FOUNDATION	114

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE 1. CAUSE AND EFFECT RELATIONSHIPS OF CONCENTRATED POVERTY WITHIN CITY CENTERS	8
FIGURE 2: THE NEIGHBORHOOD UNIT DIAGRAM BY CLARENCE PERRY (1929).....	40
FIGURE 3: NEIGHBORHOOD MAP OF BOSTON	50
FIGURE 4: MAP OF COLUMBIA POINT (HARBOR POINT) AND ITS PROXIMITY TO THE JOHN F. KENNEDY LIBRARY, UNIVERISTY OF MASSACHUSETTS – BOSTON, AND THE SOUTHEAST EXPRESSWAY	51
FIGURE 5: MASTER PLAN OF COLUMBIA POINT - HARBOR POINT AND SURROUNDING NEIGHBORHOOD AMENITIES	57
FIGURE 6: MAP OF NORTH, CENTRAL AND SOUTH SEATTLE, DOWNTOWN SEATTLE, AND THE PROXIMITIES TO THE HIGH POINT (HOPE VI), AN URBAN RENEWAL COMMUNITY	65
FIGURE 7: NEW HOLLY PARK, RAINIER VISTA AND HIGH POINT (HOPE VI) NEIGHBORHOODS IN SEATTLE, WA.....	66
FIGURE 8: SEATTLE HOUSING AUTHORITY'S HIGH POINT (HOPE VI), AN URBAN RENEWAL COMMUNITY.....	73

LIST OF IMAGES

IMAGE 1: ST. ALBANS STREET RESIDENTS, PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA IN THE 1930s...	16
IMAGE 2: FLIERS PROMOTING NEW PUBLIC HOUSING PROJECTS	23
IMAGE 3: TOWER IN THE PARK ARCHITECTURAL MODEL.....	24
IMAGE 4: TOWERS IN THE PARK, CHICAGO'S ROBERT TAYLOR HOMES (1996).....	24
IMAGE 5: THE PRUITT-IGOE PUBLIC HOUSING PROJECT IN ST. LOUIS BEING DEMOLISHED, APRIL 21, 1972. TODAY, IT IS A WOODED 33-ACRE SITE.....	30
IMAGE 6: AERIAL OF SEASIDE, FLORIDA DESIGNED BY DUANY PLATER-ZYBERK.	40
IMAGE 7: AERIAL OF HARBOR POINT "HARBOR CITY" IN BOSTON (DORCHESTER), MASSACHUSETTS	49
IMAGE 8: OLD SITE PLAN OF COLUMBIA POINT BEFORE HARBOR POINT REDEVELOPMENT..	54
IMAGE 9: NEW SITE PLAN WITH NEW STREET GRID AND LAYOUT FOR HARBOR POINT REDEVELOPMENT	54
IMAGE 10: COLUMBIA POINT'S "TOWERS IN THE PARK" COMPARED TO HARBOR POINT'S NEW DESIGN	55
IMAGE 11: "COLUMBIA POINT BEFORE ITS REDEVELOPMENT"	56
IMAGE 12: "LIGHT-COLORED TOWNHOUSES AT HARBOR POINT"	56
IMAGE 13: BIRD'S EYE PHOTOGRAPH OF HARBOR POINT AFTER DEVELOPMENT.....	58
IMAGE 14: COLUMBIA POINT YOUTH ON A FIELD TRIP TO NEW YORK CITY, 1970S.....	62
IMAGE 15: AERIAL VIEW OVER HIGH POINT NEIGHBORHOOD IN WEST SEATTLE, WASHINGTON'S DELRIDGE DISTRICT	64
IMAGE 16: PHOTOGRAPHS (1-3) OF HOUSING UNITS WITHIN THE HIGH POINT (HOPE VI) DEVELOPMENT WITH DISTINCTIVE MATERIAL QUALITIES AND ARCHITECTURAL CHARACTER	68
IMAGE 17: DOOR MATERIALITY COMPARISON, HIGH POINT (HOPE VI), AN URBAN RENEWAL COMMUNITY.....	71
IMAGE 18: HIGH POINT UNITS WITH PORCHES CLOSE TO SIDEWALKS AND ACROSS FROM A COMMUNITY PARK.....	74

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

PURPOSE

The purpose of this thesis is to identify the best practices employed by urban designers, planners, and architects to successfully implement housing and neighborhood revitalization programs. Particularly, practices used in the programs that deconcentrate poverty while relieving the stigma associated with living in public housing and high poverty concentrated areas. This thesis considers the history and manifestation of the concentration of poverty in American cities due to U.S. housing policies. The effects of the concentration of poverty – such as a large number of vacant and dilapidated housing units, significant levels of unemployment, increased rates of single parent households, considerable problems with violence and gang-related activity, and many individuals struggling with drug and alcohol abuse – has led to U.S. housing policies that focus on the deconcentration of poverty. This focus promises solutions to improve the lives of households and individuals living in high-poverty concentrated areas. Government programs, such as Housing Opportunities for People Everywhere (HOPE VI), have provided answers and solutions to curb many of the ills associated with these areas through their efforts to deconcentrate poverty.

This thesis also addresses the ways in which the design of mixed-income developments, funded by programs like HOPE VI, have effected deconcentration of poverty. Specifically, this investigation considers the HOPE VI strategies implemented to revitalize communities formerly occupied by public housing residents. The HOPE VI program is one example of how deeply rooted the deconcentration of poverty focus has been in the development of U.S. housing policies and programs. Contemporary urban design professionals and planners need to understand the evolution of mixed income revitalization efforts in U.S. housing policy. Furthermore, there was a need to examine the efficacy of design approaches that include dispersing low-income families and individuals in the effort to deconcentrate poverty. Investigating mixed-income and HOPE VI-style revitalization developments can enhance understanding of why eliminating public housing projects continues to be controversial, and why dismantling the residents' urban communities in the name of the deconcentration of poverty continues to be problematic. Finding solutions to the isolation and stigma associated with living in public housing in areas of high poverty concentration needs to be a top priority. To address the

questions of this research, the HOPE VI demonstration program and mixed-income projects were analyzed for design implications and how they were linked to the deconcentration of poverty and stigma reduction.

METHODOLOGY

For this study, I examined the literature on (1) the stigma related to living in public housing and high poverty concentrated areas, (2) the deconcentration of poverty, and (3) U.S. housing policy from the 1930s to the present. This approach provided a succinct and effective way to analyze mixed-income development strategies as a means of deconcentrating poverty and reducing the stigma associated with poverty concentration. This method of analysis allowed information gathering from historical sources as it relates to U.S. housing policy. The historical review and secondary sources revealed facts and perceptions about mixed-income developments and how established housing policies and planning and zoning tools inform their designs. In particular, these sources identified the rationale behind the demolition of public housing, and the development of a mixture of public, affordable, and market-rate housing, while linking housing policy and urban design and planning to the deconcentration of poverty and reducing associated stigma.

The methodology included a literature review of U.S. housing policy from the 1930s to the 2000s. This resulting historical narrative provides an account of how public housing was established over the past century. It illustrates how urban context, political atmosphere, social strata, economic forces, and overarching discriminatory practices were all significant variables. The urban design component of the literature review considered the political, social, and economic contexts of the neighborhoods in which public housing, and eventually HOPE VI developments, were situated, such as High Point in Seattle, Washington. The historical significance of U.S. housing policy within the literature review places the legislation and initiatives within the political context of the United States based on eras, such as the Great Depression, World Wars I and II, the Civil Rights Movement, and different presidential administrations. The planning component within this thesis relied on reports and evaluations from academics and practitioners, as well as studies completed by HUD, the Urban Institute, the Brookings Institution, and other think tanks. There was also support to substantiate the thesis from traditional design theorists and professionals represented in the literature. Additionally, the literature reviewed included writings and studies from specialists on housing policy,

public housing, low-income affordable housing, and community building. Narrative sources included academic journals, professional publications, books on designing for affordable housing, lessons learned from design of public housing and mixed-income developments, and media resources such as websites, YouTube videos, and others. Lastly, the urban design critique included site/master plan analysis, review of architectural materials and overall aesthetics, and an examination of the design elements of two mixed-income developments--essential to identify stigma reduction strategies.

CHAPTER II

STIGMA, AND POVERTY CONCENTRATION / DECONCENTRATION

The deconcentration of poverty was a guiding principle for analysis of housing policies and revitalization programs such as HOPE VI. Throughout the investigation, the following questions helped to guide my analysis:

- How has the deconcentration principle manifested in neighborhood and community design? This looks at the composition of mixed-income and mixed-race households. It also considers economic vitality, social networks, and overall urban design.
- What mixed-income development and planning tools have been used to implement the deconcentration of poverty? To answer this question, the investigation reviewed housing policies over the past century. It also reflects on legislation passed to eliminate discrimination in housing practices, including dismantling segregated communities.
- How has the deconcentration of poverty informed the design patterns of mixed-income communities? The thesis inquiry unpacks influences on planners and designers of HOPE VI and mixed-income communities.
- Which design and other spatial strategies respond specifically to the needs of higher-income households? The site/master plan analysis queries the accommodations made that allow for higher-income households to benefit more from the placement of their homes relative to neighborhood amenities. Site observations critique architectural and spatial patterns, including material quality.
- Which design and other spatial strategies respond to the needs of low-income households? The site/master plan analysis question the moves made that cluster higher-income households with each other and low-income households away from higher-income residents. The grouping of housing tenure and economic status bring into question what spatial strategies benefit the low-income residents. Site observations also critique architectural and spatial patterns, including material quality.
- Which strategies helped to relieve the stigma associated with living in public housing and high poverty concentrated areas? The answer to this question provides the basis for this study's conclusions.

- What should be done in the future? Recommendations of how to approach future programs such as HOPE VI are provided at the end of this thesis. The proposal states what housing policymakers, urban designers, planners, architects, local leaders, and other stakeholders concerned with the deconcentration of poverty and stigma reduction should contemplate as they continue to effect society's urban landscape.

The following section addresses stigma, which is often suffered by people who live in public housing within high poverty concentrated areas.

OUTGROWTH OF STIGMA IN HIGH POVERTY AREAS AND PUBLIC HOUSING

Stigma is a negative stereotype of a group of people.¹ According to Erving Goffman, stigma constitutes the distinction or differences in characteristics of an individual from other people. It is then given a negative evaluation by others.² This assessment by others distorts or discredits the public identity and association of the stigmatized person.³

The Housing Act of 1949 in part initiated the displacement of individuals and families by introducing urban renewal as a solution to urban blight. Stigma resulting from living in areas of high poverty concentration and within public housing began to gain notice after the Housing Act of 1954 opened doors to public housing for many low-income and minority populations. The Housing Act of 1954 gave housing priority to households uprooted from their neighborhoods that were overhauled by urban renewal programs. The aftermath of the urban renewal strategies followed by the concentration of numerous low-income households into public housing projects located in high poverty concentrated areas led to the destruction that plagued American cities before the subsequent revitalization that brought them back to life. The effects that were felt by the urban residents because of the programs and the housing acts are a common thread. They link together the stigma related to living in high poverty concentrated areas and public housing to the deconcentration of poverty. This linkage was also pertinent to housing programs of the past century. Related to stigma is "socialization."

¹ "Glossary: The Science of Mental Health," National Institutes of Health. National Institute of Mental Health. <http://science.education.nih.gov/supplements/nih5/Mental/other/glossary.htm> (accessed May 31, 2012).

² "Online Dictionary of the Social Sciences," Robert Drislane, Ph.D. and Gary Parkinson, Ph.D. Athabasca University and International Consortium for the Advancement of Academic Publication. <http://bitbucket.icaap.org/dict.pl?alpha=S> (accessed May 31, 2012).

³ Ibid.

Socialization⁴ is the process of acquiring culture and developing social norms. The process of learning how one should act appropriately and discovering the “expected behaviors that are held by most members of the society” is the socialization of an individual or group of people.⁵ This socialization, in which the dominant and mainstream groups within society impart their views on the disenfranchised and minority populations, can be detrimental to the development of these more vulnerable groups.

Stigma is evident in the attitudes of the dominant, mainstream society members and is reflected in their poverty programs.⁶ The members of the disenfranchised, minority community are individuals and families living within high poverty concentrated areas and are believed by many mainstream society members to self-inflict stigma.⁷ These socialization factors might evolve into spatial stigma – stigma of place.

Public housing has been stigmatized in concert with high poverty concentrated areas. Families who live in public housing “projects” that are located within high poverty areas have reported feeling isolated and stigmatized. Even after moving from the “projects,” many individuals carry with them a sense of isolation and stigma.⁸ For example, in a 2010 study by Danya E. Keene and Mark B. Padilla, individuals who followed “opportunity” from Chicago to Iowa City were surveyed and interviewed. Keene and Padilla were able to identify the “race, class and the stigma of place.” Spatial stigma followed the low-income, public housing residents from one place to the next. The intent of their study was to look at the health and well-being of African American public housing residents who moved from urban neighborhoods in Chicago and were integrated into predominantly white small town communities in eastern Iowa. This research reported on the pervasive stigmatization these individuals experienced because they previously had lived in high poverty concentrated areas and in public housing. These study participants received “not in my back yard” (NIMBYism) responses from Iowa City residents because they had come from an historically segregated urban environment.⁹ They were immediately associated with the stereotypes of Chicago’s inner-city ghetto, such that in

⁴ “The general process of acquiring culture is referred to as socialization.”

O’Neil, Dennis. Process of Socialization. Behavioral Sciences Department, Palomar College, San Marcos, California. March 14, 2008. http://anthro.palomar.edu/social/soc_1.htm (accessed May 28, 2012).

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Lefever, Harry G. “Review of The Stigma of Poverty: A Critique of Poverty Theories and Policies,” By Chaim I. Waxman. 1978. *Sociological Analysis*. 39 (4): 368-370, 369.

Chaim Waxman is a Professor Emeritus of Sociology and Jewish Studies at Rutgers University. <http://www.rci.rutgers.edu/~waxmanci/ciw.htm> (accessed May 28, 2012).

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Keene, D.E., and M.B. Padilla. 2010. “Race, class and the stigma of place: Moving to “opportunity” in Eastern Iowa”. *Health and Place*. 16 (6): 1216-1223, 1220.

⁹ Ibid, 1219.

the eyes of the lowans the newcomers to the communities were still viewed as bad people from the projects.¹⁰

The finding that stigmatization has strong ties to place was in addition to the traditional affiliation of stigma to race and class.

CONCENTRATION OF POVERTY'S CAUSE AND EFFECT RELATIONSHIPS

The high concentration of poverty in the U.S. has been a significant problem since the 1960s.¹¹ Having a high concentration of people without decent economic and political capital has created a myriad of problems for cities to confront.¹²

William Julius Wilson¹³ studied race, class, and urban poverty. He has described a way of viewing the causalities behind concentrated poverty.¹⁴ Wilson writes that because of the immense concentrations of impoverished minority families and individuals within inner-city ghetto neighborhoods, these neighborhoods became less diversified, more spatially isolated, and more socially remote. The shifts in neighborhood composition create more vulnerability to the impacts of continuing economic change.¹⁵

Figure 1 shows the cause and effect relationships of concentrated poverty that have evolved over decades and have led to clusters of poverty within city centers. These relationships include some of the patterns and norms that collectively contribute to the tangle of pathology affecting low-income individuals and households living in high poverty concentrated areas.

¹⁰ Ibid, 1220 – 1221.

¹¹ "Concentrated Poverty in America: An Overview" *United States Federal Reserve System*. www.frbsf.org/cpreport/docs/cp_overview.pdf (accessed May 31, 2012), 4.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Lewis P. and Linda L. Geysler University Professor at Harvard University.

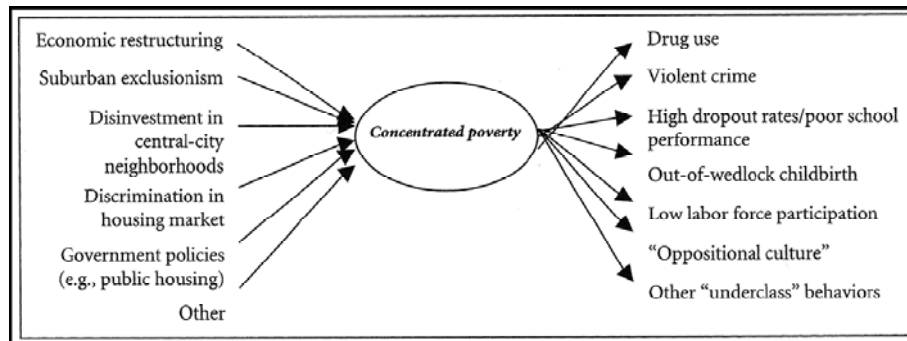
Wilson, William Julius. "Harvard Kennedy School," *John F. Kennedy School of Government*.

<http://www.hks.harvard.edu/about/faculty-staff-directory/william-julius-wilson> (accessed May 27, 2012).

¹⁴ Wilson, William Julius. 2003. "Race, class and urban poverty: A rejoinder". *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. 26 (6): 1096-1114.

¹⁵ Ibid, 1101.

Figure 1: Edward Goetz's Cause and Effect Relationships of Concentrated Poverty within City Centers



Source: Goetz, Edward. 2003. *Clearing the Way: Deconcentrating the Poor in Urban America*. Washington, DC: The Urban Institute Press.

Stephen Steinberg, "The Myth of Concentrated Poverty,"
in *The Integration Debate: Competing Futures for American Cities*, ed. Chester Hartman and Gregory D. Squires, 213–27 (New York: Routledge, 2010)
<http://qcpages.qc.edu/UBST/DEPT/FACULTY/ssstein.htm>
(accessed May 31, 2012), 218.

The diagram illustrates the structure and system variables that contribute to and are the results of high concentrations of poverty. On the left are those factors thought to cause concentrated poverty and to produce inequality. In the middle, as an intermediary factor, is concentrated poverty. On the opposite side is the array of effects caused by concentrated poverty. The following section discusses various aspects of the deconcentration of poverty.

DISCOURSE OF THE DECONCENTRATION OF POVERTY

Deconcentration of poverty disperses the concentrated poverty that has existed in city centers as well as in the rural areas. The focus on deconcentrating poverty came to the forefront of the discourse during the 1960s. However, there has been a slower response to address this issue in rural communities. There seems to be less urgency to find concentrated poverty solutions in rural areas than there has been to institute deconcentration of poverty strategies within urban areas. Moreover, it is important to ask why housing policies that encourage mixed-income developments and revitalization focus only on the urban neighborhoods rather than on rural areas. The narrowed focus on urban areas might exist because of the resurgence of the suburban middle-class back into the city.

Today's households migrating back into urban centers are the offspring of those who were part of the flight out of urban centers years earlier.¹⁶ Therefore, it appears that the programs and developments are following the money and responding to market demands. The mixed-income and HOPE VI developers, planners, designers, and other power players' reactions to this influx of middle-class households seem less concerned with the public housing residents. The players are more worried about finding the best response to the market. Using the deconcentration of poverty principle clears the way for these players with the political and financial means to validate and justify actions for this decade's and this generation's "neo-urban renewal."¹⁷

A perspective that might show how the justifications of the deconcentration of poverty solutions are inappropriate comes from anthropologist John Bodley.¹⁸ The following section describes an analysis of class and social clashes that happen between people in the world-market economy and the individuals who live in poor, impoverished situations. The clashes have been studied and explained by John Bodley and Stephen Steinberg.

Bodley theory of the "price of progress" and study of social power argues that indigenous cultures that have lived as a community on minimal means are less successful than their mainstream counterparts once integrated into the world-market economy.¹⁹ Bodley found that their quality of life and standards of living decline once incorporated within the mainstream's economic and social systems.²⁰ What's more, and often to a dramatic degree, is that the social networks that are well established within an indigenous community may be considered insufficient to onlookers. These outsiders to the indigenous cultures and communities that are from the upper echelons of industrialized, capitalistic, accumulation-driven consumer society discount the value-added factors of the established social networks. The indigenous people and their communities are seen

¹⁶ Pyatok, Mike. *Pyatok Architects Inc.* <http://www.pyatok.com/writings.html> (accessed May 31, 2012).

¹⁷ This term was seen on these websites, but nowhere else did I find Neo-Urban Renewal. Radicals Blog. <http://www.radicalsblog.com/about-week-foundations/> Accessed May 29, 2012.

The Durham News. <http://www.thedurhamnews.com/2005/10/22/627/cant-deny-bad-parts-of-town.html> (accessed May 29, 2012)

I am defining this phrase/term to describe what has been happening within recent years with HOPE VI, CNI, and other housing programs that are dismantling and wiping out low-income, public housing communities in the name of deconcentrating poverty and removing distressed, substandard housing only to replace them with market rate housing within mixed-income developments that seem to have more focus on and benefit for individuals with financial, political, and social capital and power. What about the public housing for marginalized, disenfranchised, minority members? They are experiencing a new-urban renewal – Neo-Urban Renewal.

¹⁸ Bodley, John. "Price of Progress" in *Victims of Progress* 1998. (The Mayfield Publishing Company. Reprinted by permission of The McGraw- Hill Companies), 1.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

as poor, impoverished, and uncivilized. I correlate these ideas and perspectives to that of the middle and upper classes in a market-driven society, such as that found in the United States. It is my contention that, as the indigenous populations are seen as uncivilized, so is the residents of public housing. Based on these examples, from my understanding of the U.S. capitalist economic system and after reading literature by academics like Bodley and Steinberg, I believe that the people who influence the market are often the ones who influence legislation and policies. The pressure by lobbyists, real estate developers, some neighbors of public housing communities, and other power players persuade policy makers to act in their favor. Whether using the mobility programs or in the new mixed-income communities, these policies and programs forcefully integrate public housing residents into the world-market economy. These residents are the same individuals and households that are seen as uncivilized persons by market-driven individuals and companies.

Likewise, Steinberg speaks to the idea that, as with Negro Removal and Indian Removal, Blacks and other minorities are implicitly, and many times explicitly, spoken about as being a part of the “urban jungle.”²¹ Social scientists often portray the inner city as a harbor for the immorality, pathology, and unrest of the “uncivilized.”²² As a counter to issues like these described above, the Congress of the New Urbanism (CNU) and its members believe that applying the New Urbanism principles to urban revitalization projects will help to facilitate better environments and create more sustainable communities for people to live.

Founded in 1993, CNU is an organization that promotes walkable, mixed-use neighborhood developments, sustainable communities, and healthier living conditions.²³ CNU's Charter provides a list of what New Urbanism strives to promote. These principles include:²⁴

- Livable streets arranged in compact, walkable blocks.
- A range of housing choices to serve people of diverse ages and income levels.

²¹ Chester Hartman and Gregory D. Squires, eds., *The Myth of Concentrated Poverty in The Integration Debate: Competing Futures for American Cities*, (Routledge, 2010). Stephen Steinberg. <http://qcpages.qc.edu/UBST/DEPT/FACULTY/sstein.htm> (accessed May 31, 2012), 217.

²² Ibid.

²³ “What is CNU?” *Congress for the New Urbanism*. http://www.cnu.org/who_we_are (accessed May 31, 2012).

²⁴ Ibid.

- Schools, stores, and other nearby destinations reachable by walking, bicycling, or transit service.
- An affirming, human-scaled public realm where appropriately designed buildings define and enliven streets and other public spaces.

Other planning and design movements influenced the charter and the New Urbanism movement.

Subsequently, the CNU and New Urbanism principles influence the implementation of HOPE VI's design, form and attempts to address problems associated with the concentration of poverty. Heavily influenced by the CNU leadership and New Urbanism movement, HOPE VI evolved into the mixed-income developments used today as one tool for the deconcentration of poverty. The next section covers economic factors that influence the design of HOPE VI developments.

Economics as a Factor

HOPE VI is economic driven. Economics rationalized the need for clearing distressed public housing projects in the same way it was used for slum clearance decades earlier. Then, policies were established to shore up the economy, and slum clearance was used in response to the Great Depression's economic collapse. Power players began to use the economic crisis as catalyst for slum removal.²⁵ The "economic liability" was a concern, and where property values were not as high as in other parts of the city, housing officials began to question the significance of entire neighborhoods. The people who lived in these neighborhoods were seen as insignificant and were not included in these removal decisions.

In his book, *From the Puritans to the Projects*, Vale covers the economic rationale used in Boston beginning in the 1930's. He, Vale, pointed out that the views of planner, Clarence Perry, considered growing slums as blighted neighborhoods. The perspectives of market drivers, the views by the federal, state and local governments of blighted areas, and the acknowledgement of slum concerns ignited momentum over the need to measure the cost of not clearing the slums. After completing an analysis of the cost of not taking action in clearing the blighted areas, Boston leaders were pressured to find

²⁵ Vale, Lawrence J. *From the Puritans to the projects: Public housing and public neighbors*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), 184.

solutions to address issues of economic viability.²⁶ A larger part of the economic concern was “white flight.” The white flight or exodus of affluent households escaping the ills of the city by moving to the suburbs continued over subsequent decades. The city feared this out-migration, as these people were the ones who paid city taxes.²⁷ Today, using economics as the major driver to attract developers and future taxpayers back to American cities, leaders of this “neo-urban renewal”²⁸ reason that removing public housing projects and replacing them with mixed-income developments seems rational. The other factor highlighted during this examination of slum renewal is race. The next section connects the factors of economics and race in the justification of deconcentration of poverty for the HOPE VI program.

Race as a Factor

Race still plays a factor today in the economic viability of a community, particularly when the mainstream developers, business owners such as retailers, and financial institutions still have policies and decision-making measures that constrain investment in neighborhoods surrounding HOPE VI developments. Margery Austin Turner elaborates further in “HOPE VI, Neighborhood Recovery, and the Health of Cities.”²⁹ Here Turner describes experiences within communities, such as those experienced in affluent suburbs of African-American residents in Prince George’s (PG) County, Maryland. She thinks that a neighborhood’s status, as an affluent community alone, should be a clear economic driver. The market should operate without any concern for race and color, except for maybe the color of money. According to Turner, if that were the case, “one would expect more retail development to flow in to these underserved communities.”³⁰ Her research contends that business owners fear shoplifters in these neighborhoods and the white residents would not want to work at retail stores located in these communities. Turner suggests that business owners still see communities with large numbers of black residents like PG County as places with an unacceptably high risk, despite their

²⁶ *ibid.*

²⁷ *ibid.*

²⁸ I am defining this phrase/term to describe what has been happening in recent years with HOPE VI, CNI, and other housing programs that are dismantling and wiping out low-income, public housing communities in the name of deconcentrating poverty and removing distressed, substandard housing only to replace them with market rate housing within mixed-income developments that seem to have more focus on and benefit for individuals with financial, political, and social capital and power. What about the public housing’s marginalized, disenfranchised, minority members? They are experiencing a new-urban renewal – neo-Urban Renewal.

²⁹ Cisneros, Héctor, and Lora Engdahl. *From despair to hope: HOPE VI and the new promise of public housing in America's cities.* (Washington, D.C: Brookings Institution Press, 2009), 181 – 183.

³⁰ *ibid.*

affluence. This also means lenders refrain from providing investment dollars to the communities. Public sector agencies like schools and public services are also entities that suffer from the lack of economic viability of black and other underserved neighborhoods.³¹ Therefore, the economically diverse communities created by the HOPE VI program and mixed-income developments might increase this likelihood of hesitant or uninterested investors. The lack of investment could continue to contribute to an underrepresented population-dominated community's vulnerability to the social disorders and stress. If HOPE VI projects are in close proximity to distressed neighborhoods and lack wealth and political clout, then economic development might stay out. Conversely, white neighborhoods are more likely to be located further away from the troubled areas because of their wealth and political power;³² therefore, it might appear that there is more reason to invest in mainstream neighborhoods with fewer minority residents.

After considering what Vale and Turner had to share regarding economic influences and market motivations driving the decisions of financial stakeholders, it emerged that it is not just the fiscal factors that supply justification for slum or public housing clearance. The longstanding, infectious, inhumane³³ eco-psychological dynamics that informs the foundation of racism³⁴ still plays a strong role in market driving factors. Decisions around community and economic development should be affected by the simple economics of currency, but it is not that simple.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid.

³³ Shelley Bielefeld, "The Dehumanising Violence of Racism: The Role of Law" (D Phil thesis, Southern Cross University, 2010). epubs.scu.edu.au (accessed May 29, 2012), 194.

³⁴ Sidanius, Jim and Felicia Pratto. "Racism and Support of Free-Market Capitalism: A Cross-Cultural Analysis," *Political Psychology*, no. 3 (Sep., 1993):14. 381-401. Published by: International Society of Political Psychology. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3791704> (accessed May 29, 2012), 397.

CHAPTER III

HISTORICAL REVIEW OF HOUSING PROGRAMS RELATED TO POVERTY DECONCENTRATION

POLICY RESPONSES AS OUTCOMES FROM THE DISCOURSE OF POVERTY DECONCENTRATION

The high concentration of poverty in urban areas during the early twentieth century and today leads to spatial stigmatization. Public housing developments located within high poverty concentrated areas also exacerbate environmental ills that fuel stigma and isolation. For example, these areas have a large number of vacant and dilapidated housing units, significant levels of unemployment, increased rates of single-parent households, considerable problems with violence and gang-related activity, and many individuals struggling with drug and alcohol abuse. Many American urbanized regions and cities have tried to remedy the problems of poverty concentration by instituting housing and urban renewal programs. This chapter describes various examples of how cities have addressed concentrated poverty. In the U.S., the urbanized regions and cities have used both political and economic strategies to find solutions to the problem of concentrated poverty. The literature reviewed for this chapter provided insight into the evolution of public housing and mixed income development models, such as the HOPE VI program, including experiences from:

- 1930's Depression Era
- Landmark Housing Act of 1937
- Recent mid-century Urban Renewal policy agendas
- The current legislative landscape and urban design and architectural interventions including New Urbanism, and what I call the "neo-urban renewal"

This chapter provides an in-depth review of the relationship between poverty concentration and U.S. housing policy. Its literature review includes a housing policy narrative that provides examples of how design and planning professionals have used deconcentration of poverty as their motivation and reason for influencing the development of U.S. housing policies and for implementing mixed-income programs. This overview narrative of housing policy history begins in the 1930's Depression Era. The examination continues through the 1940's economic reconstruction era after the

Great Depression and covers the '50's housing acts, particularly the Housing Acts of 1949 and 1954. Subsequently, these acts are linked to urban renewal, the Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s, and the urban revitalization developments of the 1970s and '80s. The later New Urbanism movement that launched during the late 1980s through the 1990s is shown as a connection to the way that housing policy and implementation are impacting the social, economic, and other urban design aspects today. The section on the Choice Neighborhoods Initiative (CNI) gives a glimpse into what is next for mixed income developments funded by HUD after HOPE VI. Advocates are skeptical as to where housing policy and legislation around neighborhood development will take us, particularly the effects on public housing and low-income residents who are being displaced and further stigmatized in the name of the deconcentration of poverty.

U.S. HOUSING POLICY AND MIXED-INCOME COMMUNITIES

The deconcentration of poverty was a guiding principle for housing policies and revitalization programs, such as HOPE VI. Throughout the United States, affordable housing needs have received attention from many players who took part in influencing the ways in which the federal government responded to the crisis. A list of a few of those who supported low-income housing policies include liberal and conservative politicians before, during, and after the New Deal Era (1930-50s)³⁵ through policymakers of today, lobbying and special interest groups, and low-income housing advocates.

THE 1930S

Prior to and during the 1930s, housing policies and programs were established and administered to assist the upwardly mobile, working and middle-class families affected by the Depression and the post-war economy.³⁶ Shaun Donovan³⁷ remarked, "It took the Great Depression for the federal government to enter the housing market on a broad scale - the primary motivation of which was not to help the poorest of the poor, but to stimulate an economy in which anyone could lose their home and become poor overnight."³⁸

³⁵ Flanagan, R.M. "The Housing Act of 1954: The sea change in national urban policy." *Urban Affairs Review* (33) 2. Thousand Oaks. November 1997. 265-286.

³⁶ Vale, Lawrence J. *From the Puritans to the projects: Public housing and public neighbors*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), 134.

³⁷ The current United States Secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development

³⁸ Prepared Remarks for Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Shaun Donovan at the Brookings Institution Metropolitan Policy Program's Discussion. "From Despair to Hope: Two HUD Secretaries on Urban Revitalization and Opportunity". National Press Club, Washington, D.C., Tuesday, July 14th, 2009.

The New Deal Era, during the reconstruction of the United States economy after the Great Depression of the 1930s, brought about large-scale change that affected infrastructure and housing policies for decades to come. For example, the New Deal Public Works Administration (PWA) encouraged construction-based jobs such as housing and transportation projects. In addition to creating jobs, the PWA had a mission to clear slums.³⁹

Image 1 provides an example of the slum conditions for St. Albans residents and the open sewer that was later improved by slum clearance programs.

Image 1: St. Albans Street Residents, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania in the 1930s.



Source: Affordable Housing Institute
<http://affordablehousinginstitute.org/blogs/us/2008/10/history-of-us-public-housing-part-3-the-slum-clearance-era.html> (accessed May 30, 2012).

The PWA housing programs, secondary to job creation and clearing slums, also were a playing field for prominent architects and planners throughout the country. These professionals included Fredrick Ackerman, Henry Wright, and Robert Kohn. Kohn became director of housing⁴⁰ within the PWA.⁴¹ These relationships demonstrate how

U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. <http://hud.gov/news/speeches/2009-07-14.cfm> (accessed January 5, 2012).

³⁹ Vale, Lawrence J. Comment on Mark Joseph's "Is Mixed-Income Development an Antidote to Urban Poverty?" Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 261.

⁴⁰ Kohn was a director of housing for the Department of Labor's United States Housing Corporation during the 1920s.

the social networks of yesterday were similar to those of today. These networks supplied opportunities for designers who work closely with the federal, state, and local government and housing agencies to implement the policies and agenda of the “managers.” Furthermore, Lawrence Vale included a quote from a 1920’s article within the *Architectural Record*. The discourse is eye opening. It discusses the war-housing program instituted by the Department of Labor’s United States Housing Corporation (USHC). He writes, “workers’ housing, until then the province of small builders, small landlords and speculators, or employers hardly aspiring to be ‘models,’ was suddenly in the hands of the most eminent professionals and reformers of the architectural establishment. The stage was set for experimentation on a grand scale.”⁴²

Complementary to the PWA influences, the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) was established in 1934 to secure mortgages made by lenders. This helped to spur construction projects and increased the number of homeowners as the country was rebounding from the Great Depression. However, rules set by the FHA exacerbated racial discrimination in the housing market. Tools, such as redlining and corrupt underwriting practices were used to maintain the social and economic order of neighborhoods.⁴³ As one of many outcomes, suburbs popped up in large numbers, housing white families and dividing the population. Most minority and poor families remained in the city centers.

Polikoff, Alexander. 2005. *Waiting for Gautreaux: a story of segregation, housing, and the black ghetto*. Evanston, Ill: Northwestern University Press.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ “Concentrated Poverty in America: An Overview” *United States Federal Reserve System*. www.frbsf.org/cpreport/docs/cp_overview.pdf (accessed May 31, 2012), 10.

In 1936 and 1937, President Franklin Roosevelt (1933 – 1945)⁴⁴ gave a powerful address to the country's leaders that helped to usher in his administration's stance and policy to solve the nation's growing housing issues. In his 1937 speech to Congress, Roosevelt proclaimed,

There are far reaching problems still with us for which democracy must find solutions... for example many millions of American still live in habitations which not only fail to provide the physical benefits of modern civilization, but breed disease and impair the health of future generations. The menace exists not only in slum areas of very large cities but smaller cities as well.⁴⁵ I see one third of a nation ill housed, ill clad and ill nourished.⁴⁶

During the Roosevelt Administration, the Housing Act of 1937, also known as the Wagner-Steagall Act,⁴⁷ further expanded the United States' investment in capital assets and brick-and-mortar developments, particularly to provide housing for working-class citizens, in much of which was known as public housing "projects."⁴⁸ The housing problems began in the late 19th century. Since then government intervention has been a hot-topic.⁴⁹ The Act of 1937 was seen as a key victory, particularly for urban liberals. It created the U.S. Housing Authority (USHA). This monumental legislation also cleared the way for federally sponsored public housing to receive construction funding, while the

⁴⁴ "Franklin Roosevelt was faced with a national emergency and on October 28, 1936 in one of his first public statements on housing, he made it plain that - like the 1908 Report - the federal government had a responsibility to provide better housing for the poor citizens of America. In a speech in Senator Wagner's district, of New York City, the President said 'We have for too long neglected the housing problem for all our lower income groups. We have spent large sums of money on parks, on highways, on bridges and museums ... but we have not yet begun to spend money to help the families in the overcrowded sections of our cities to live as American citizens have a right to live. We need action to get better housing. Senator Wagner and I had hoped for a new law at the last session of Congress ... I am confident that the next Congress will start us on the way with a sound housing policy.'

Heath, Richard. "Architecture as Public Policy: The History of Bromley-Heath Public Housing Development." Bromley-Heath Public Housing Development History. Jamaica Plains Historical Society. <http://www.jphs.org/locales/2005/10/15/bromley-heath-public-housing-development-history.html> (accessed May 31, 2012).

⁴⁵ President Roosevelt during his annual message to Congress on January 6, 1937.

Heath, Richard. "Architecture as Public Policy: The History of Bromley-Heath Public Housing Development." Bromley-Heath Public Housing Development History. Jamaica Plains Historical Society. <http://www.jphs.org/locales/2005/10/15/bromley-heath-public-housing-development-history.html> (accessed May 31, 2012).

⁴⁶ Ibid. President Roosevelt during his second inaugural address on January 20, 1937.

⁴⁷ Robert F. Wagner was a four-term US Senator (Democrat) from New York City (1926 – 1949)

"NYCHA Housing Developments," *New York City Housing Authority*.

<http://www.nyc.gov/html/nycha/html/developments/manwagner.shtml> (accessed May 31, 2012)

Congressman Representative Henry B. Steagall of Alabama

"The History of AAHRA." Alabama Association of Housing and Redevelopment Authorities.

<http://www.aahra.org/Who%20We%20Are/Who%20We%20Are/History.html> (accessed May 31, 2012).

⁴⁸ Flanagan, R.M. "The Housing Act of 1954: The sea change in national urban policy." *Urban Affairs Review* (33) 2. Thousand Oaks. November 1997. 265-286.

⁴⁹ Ibid, 268.

earlier years of the New Deal did not allow such investments.⁵⁰ Also during the Roosevelt Administration “the [Labor Housing Conference] LHC⁵¹ sought the passage of legislation that would make federal aid available to non-profit corporations or cooperatives organized by labor unions, and social welfare and consumer organizations for the construction of housing for low- and middle-income families,” according to Yan Zhang.⁵² Vale⁵³ explained that the Housing Act of 1937 was the gateway to programs aimed to decentralize poverty and eliminate concentrated poverty related issues, such as clearing slums, relieving unemployment, and constructing public housing.⁵⁴

To reiterate, the contrast to recent “urban ghettos” created by the concentration of poverty and disenfranchised minority households, the residents of public housing during the early years (i.e., 1930s) were primarily White, working class families who could not afford housing in the free market. Rachel G. Bratt commented about the origins of public housing. She stated:⁵⁵

From its inception, the public housing program was aimed at providing housing only for the deserving, temporarily poor—the “submerged middle class.” The program therefore targeted those who could not find decent, affordable housing on the private market, but not the so-called unworthy poor and those with no means to pay rent.

Those who were intended to benefit from the early housing policies and programs were industrial workers and veterans, predominately White households, who needed temporary assistance to get through the economic downturn shortly after the War.⁵⁶ This

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Labor Housing Conference.

Yan Zhang. “Wills and Ways: Policy dynamics of HOPE VI from 1992 to 2002” (PhD diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Department of Urban Studies and Planning, 2004) dspace.mit.edu/handle/1721.1/28782 (accessed May 31, 2012), 48.

⁵² Yan Zhang. “Wills and Ways: Policy dynamics of HOPE VI from 1992 to 2002” (PhD diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Department of Urban Studies and Planning, 2004), 34. dspace.mit.edu/handle/1721.1/28782 (accessed May 31, 2012).

⁵³ Vale focuses on government-sponsored environments including city design and public housing; and disaster recovery.

“Faculty: Lawrence Vale is Ford Professor of Urban Design and Planning within the Department of Urban Studies and Planning,” *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*. <http://dusp.mit.edu/p.lasso?t=5:1:0&detail=ljvale> (accessed May 31, 2012).

⁵⁴ Vale, Lawrence J. *From the Puritans to the projects: public housing and public neighbors*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000).

⁵⁵ “What Happened to Public Housing? A study guide for the film Down the Project: The Crisis of Public Housing.” Commentary by Rachel G. Bratt and Richard Broadman, 9. www.der.org/resources/study.../down-the-project-study-guide.pdf (accessed May 31, 2012).

⁵⁶ Yan Zhang. “Wills and Ways: Policy dynamics of HOPE VI from 1992 to 2002” (PhD diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Department of Urban Studies and Planning, 2004), 49. dspace.mit.edu/handle/1721.1/28782 (accessed May 31, 2012).

is central to today's conversations between liberals and conservatives. Liberals want the federal government to continue finding ways to help the households struggling with these economic ills. Conservatives would much rather privatize the housing welfare system,⁵⁷ which probably means more mixed-income developments after removing the poor living in public housing residences, many which are minorities.

THE 1940S AND THE HOUSING ACT OF 1949

During the Roosevelt Administration, authorization was passed to construct public housing for defense workers called the Lanham Act of 1940.⁵⁸ Representative Fritz Lanham, a Democrat from Texas, introduced the Lanham Act of 1940. The Seattle Housing Authority's original Holly Park, Rainier Vista and High Point projects were constructed in the 1940s as a result of this legislation.⁵⁹ Much of the discourse and compromise behind the passage of this legislation is very similar to debates still happening in 2012. Yan Zhang, in his Ph.D. dissertation, shared the following insight:⁶⁰

As a compromise between liberals who favored expanding the public housing program for war workers and conservatives who responded to the oppositions from the home-building, real estate, and banking industries, the Act stipulated that defense housing could be only temporary and should be privatized immediately after the end of the war.

This is important today because similar rhetoric has fueled many political conversations as much of the public housing efforts, including HOPE VI, are transitioning to the private sector. Today we see first-hand the privatization of land and real property that was once government funded and used to house the nation's war workers, and eventually many of this country's poorest individuals and families.

⁵⁷ Ibid, 50, 61, 63.

⁵⁸ Yan Zhang. "Wills and Ways: Policy Dynamics of HOPE VI from 1992 to 2002" (PhD diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Department of Urban Studies and Planning, 2004), 50. dspace.mit.edu/handle/1721.1/28782 (accessed May 31, 2012).

⁵⁹ Wilma, David. "Seattle's Holly Park housing project opens on August 1, 1942," *HistoryLink.org* Essay 3022. February 26, 2001. http://www.historylink.org/index.cfm?DisplayPage=output.cfm&file_id=3022 (accessed May 18, 2012).

⁶⁰ Yan Zhang. "Wills and Ways: Policy Dynamics of HOPE VI from 1992 to 2002" (PhD diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Department of Urban Studies and Planning, 2004), 50. dspace.mit.edu/handle/1721.1/28782 (accessed May 31, 2012).

One of the most influential pieces of housing legislation passed during this decade was in 1949 under President Harry S. Truman's Administration (1945 – 1953).⁶¹ Not to discount all other progress catalyzed by other housing policies that affected the nation's public housing landscape, but the Housing Act of 1949 – also known as the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill – emphasized urban redevelopment.⁶² Additionally, this bill “authorized construction of 135,000 public housing units a year”⁶³ with a maximum of 810,000 units after six years.⁶⁴

Urban designers, planners, architects, housing advocates, and other players have acknowledged that the Act created the urban renewal program.⁶⁵ The Act of 1949 also “declared that every American deserved a ‘decent home and a suitable living environment’.”⁶⁶ While the Act of 1949 increased the number of units proposed for construction, the trajectory of housing policy jogged in a different direction led by those who would have a huge impact on the route of government funding for housing within the United States. Few units were actually funded by Congress than the numbers authorized in the legislation.⁶⁷ It was no surprise that “Congress consistently funded far fewer units than were authorized,”⁶⁸ to the tune of approximately 25,000 per year instead of the 135,000 per year, which were authorized from the Act of 1949.⁶⁹ What's more, a large number of the projects were built within the least desirable, poverty concentrated areas of towns, because of local level politics like “not in my back yard” (NIMBYism).⁷⁰ This appears to be part of the causality behind the intense clustering of the very poor.⁷¹

⁶¹ Ibid. 52 – 53.

⁶² Lang, Robert E., and Rebecca R. Sohmer. 2000. "Legacy of the Housing Act of 1949: the past, present, and future of federal housing and urban policy". Fanny Mae Foundation. Housing Policy Debate. 11 (2): 291.

⁶³ Flanagan, R.M. "The Housing Act of 1954: The sea change in national urban policy." *Urban Affairs Review* (33) 2. Thousand Oaks. November 1997, 271.

⁶⁴ Yan Zhang. "Wills and Ways: Policy Dynamics of HOPE VI from 1992 to 2002" (PhD diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Department of Urban Studies and Planning, 2004), 52. dspace.mit.edu/handle/1721.1/28782 (accessed May 31, 2012).

⁶⁵ Pompe, Jeff and Jim Rinehart. "Economic and Community Development". Chapter 3. *South Carolina Government: A policy perspective*. (Chapter 3). Public Administration in the United States: Professor Tyer's Public Administration Web Page. Professor Charlie Tyer. Department of Political Science. University of South Carolina. http://people.cas.sc.edu/tyer/Poli_768/EconCommDev.pdf (accessed January 5, 2012).

"Public Administration in the United States," *Professor Tyer's Public Administration Web Page*. Department of Political Science. University of South Carolina, 10. http://people.cas.sc.edu/tyer/Poli_768/Spring_2009_Poli_768.htm (accessed May 31, 2012).

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Flanagan, R.M. "The Housing Act of 1954: The sea change in national urban policy." *Urban Affairs Review* (33) 2. Thousand Oaks. November 1997, 271.

⁶⁸ Yan Zhang. "Wills and Ways: Policy Dynamics of HOPE VI from 1992 to 2002" (PhD diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Department of Urban Studies and Planning, 2004). 52. dspace.mit.edu/handle/1721.1/28782 (accessed May 31, 2012).

⁶⁹ Ibid, 52.

⁷⁰ Ibid, 53.

⁷¹ Ibid.

The Design of Public Housing High-Rises

During the 1950s, the reallocation of federal funding support aligned with the influence of designers and city officials who “subscribed to Le Corbusier’s vision of towers-in-the-park as symbols of civic progress and modernity.”⁷² Charles-Edouard Jeanneret,⁷³ (Le Corbusier),⁷⁴ proposed to rebuild cities as complexes of tall “towers in a park.” Many architects, urban designers and city officials found this concept to be alluring – in theory. But in practice it was a bomb dropped on the traditional urban form, creating spaces for ills arising from concentrating poverty.⁷⁵ Many public housing projects from this era took on this “towers in the park” form. High-rises had a certain appeal for designers. One attraction to the building typology might have been because the high-rises “could help to achieve the goal of improving the lives of ‘slum dwellers’.”⁷⁶ The design allowed for protection from fire because the high-rises were built out of concrete. Another design strategy was the ability to include plenty of cross-ventilation. This passive air system provided protection from the spread of tuberculosis.⁷⁷ Although these safety benefits were great on paper, these buildings actually worked to increase the concentration of poverty in certain neighborhoods.

⁷² Yan Zhang. “Wills and Ways: Policy Dynamics of HOPE VI from 1992 to 2002” (PhD diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Department of Urban Studies and Planning, 2004), 53. dspace.mit.edu/handle/1721.1/28782 (accessed May 31, 2012).

⁷³ Fondation Le Corbusier <http://www.fondationlecorbusier.fr/> (accessed May 31, 2012).

⁷⁴ “...made plans that would mean (as he put it himself) the ‘Death of the Street.’ In proposing the elimination of side alleys and shops, in granting limited space for cafés, community centers, and theaters, in dispersing them over great distances, and constructing them of uninviting concrete, glass, and steel, Le Corbusier expressed his contempt for the teeming hubbub that urbanists now esteem...” Berg, Nate. “The Urban Nightmare Of Le Corbusier” <http://www.planetizen.com/node/29959> (accessed May 16, 2012).

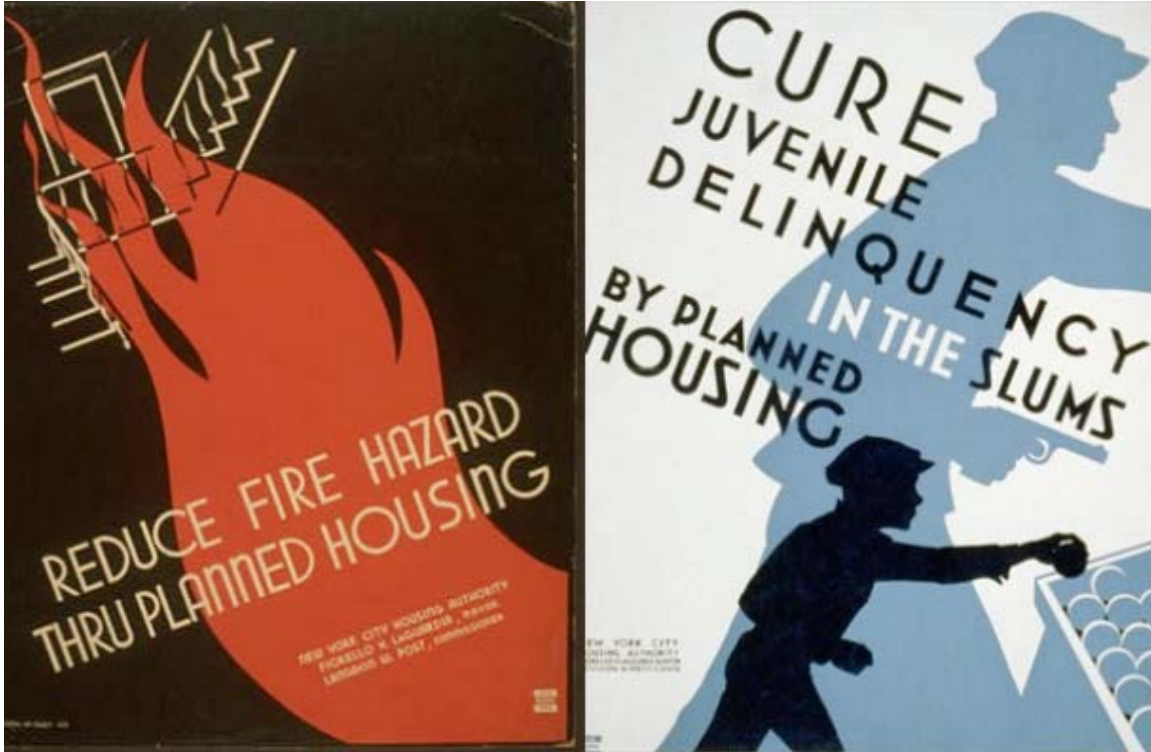
⁷⁵ Muschamp, Herbert. “Le Corbusier Reborn: Young French Architects Draw On Startling 1922 Design For Dramatic Public Housing.” *Chicago Tribune*, April 18, 1993. http://articles.chicagotribune.com/1993-04-18/news/9304180268_1_design-paris-architects (accessed May 31, 2012).

⁷⁶ Roessner, Jane. 2000. *A decent place to live: From Columbia Point to Harbor Point: A community history*. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 14.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

Fliers used to promote the new public housing programs looked like the two shown in Image 2.

Image 2: Fliers Promoting New Public Housing Projects



Source: The Atlantic Cities <http://www.theatlanticcities.com/design/2011/11/public-housing-posters-new-york-city/407/> (accessed May 24, 2012).

Because many public housing projects were situated in predominantly economically distressed areas that were typically segregated and isolated from other residential neighborhoods,⁷⁸ this eventually evolved into what is termed the inner city ghettos or public housing “projects.”

Image 3 shows a physical, scaled design model that exemplifies the tower in the park concept. In Image 4 are towers in the park for the Robert Taylor Homes public housing projects in Chicago, Illinois.

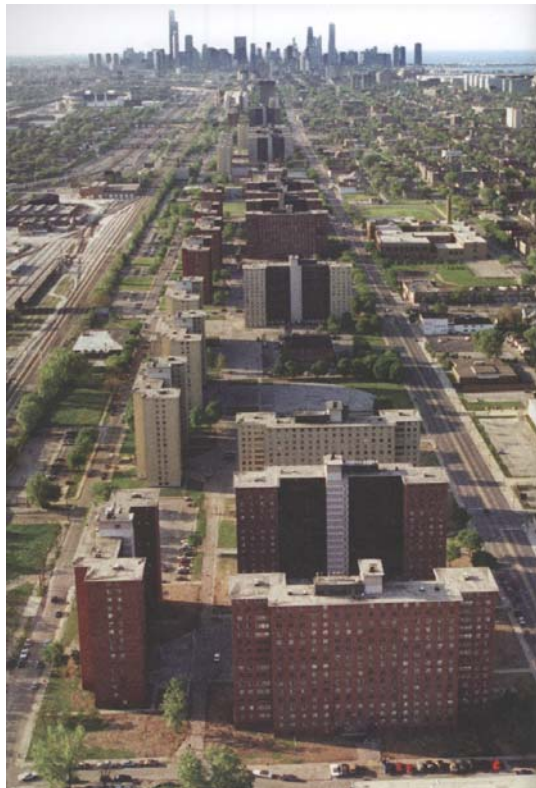
⁷⁸ Muschamp, Herbert. “Le Corbusier Reborn: Young French Architects Draw On Startling 1922 Design For Dramatic Public Housing.” *Chicago Tribune*, April 18, 1993. http://articles.chicagotribune.com/1993-04-18/news/9304180268_1_design-paris-architects (accessed May 31, 2012).

Image 3: Tower in the Park Architectural Model.



Source: Cisneros, Héctor, and Lora Engdahl.
From despair to hope: HOPE VI and the new promise of public housing in America's cities.
(Washington, D.C: Brookings Institution Press, 2009), 50.

Image 4: Towers in the Park, Chicago's Robert Taylor Homes (1996)



Source: Cisneros, Héctor, and Lora Engdahl.
From despair to hope: HOPE VI and the new promise of public housing in America's cities.
(Washington, D.C: Brookings Institution Press, 2009), 64.

THE 1950S AND THE HOUSING ACT OF 1954

By 1954, during the years of President Dwight Eisenhower (1953 – 1961), urban renewal had become an important power tool to deconcentrate poverty. In turn, the overwhelming dismantling of communities created significant problems requiring immediate redress. Something had to be done to slow the catastrophic effects urban renewal was having on the ousted households. The solution was to increase the number of very low-income and non-White residents admitted into and living within the projects.⁷⁹ Because of the impact of the Act of 1949 and urban renewal, households displaced by the program received housing priority through the Housing Act of 1954. Responding to this change, the Housing Act of 1954 introduced the idea of a “workable program.”⁸⁰ This program was the “requirement under which localities had to submit a plan for redevelopment—the first example of comprehensive planning being required for federal funding, a standard that continues to this day.”⁸¹ It presented alternatives to resolve the central-city neighborhood decline. However, this new consensus forged between liberals and conservatives focused more on commercial redevelopment rather than building more public housing.⁸² Flanagan emphasized, “The Housing Act of 1954... replaced public housing with commercially oriented urban renewal.”⁸³ He also noted that, “after 1954, a new, powerful alliance of mayors and business groups – led by the Eisenhower administration – created consensus around urban redevelopment policies.”⁸⁴ Meanwhile, the number of public housing units that were completed each year continued to decrease. There was a decline from a post-WWII peak of 58,000 in 1952 to a startling 24,000 in 1964.⁸⁵ On the other hand, the number of urban renewal projects receiving federal support increased from 260 in 1953 to an astounding 1,210 in 1962.⁸⁶ These numbers show that support from city officials, real estate associations, and even from both liberals and conservatives alike shifted from focusing on providing public housing for the working class and the poor to encouraging city renewal. The workable program and renewal projects had more potential for profits.

⁷⁹ Wilson, William Julius. 2011. "Being Poor, Black, and American: The Impact of Political, Economic, and Cultural Forces". *American Educator*. 35 (1): 13 -14.

www.aft.org/pdfs/americaneducator/spring2011/Wilson.pdf (accessed August 19, 2012).

⁸⁰ “The Federal Role in Housing,” Developed in response to Public Law 106-74.106th Congress. 1999. Principal Recommendations to Congress: A Framework for Change. *Millennial Housing Commission*, 28. <http://govinfo.library.unt.edu/mhc/FRH.doc> (accessed January 5, 2012).

⁸¹ *Ibid*, 28.

⁸² Flanagan, R.M. “The Housing Act of 1954: The sea change in national urban policy.” *Urban Affairs Review* (33) 2. Thousand Oaks. November 1997, 265.

⁸³ *Ibid*.

⁸⁴ *Ibid*.

⁸⁵ *Ibid*, 266.

⁸⁶ *Ibid*.

THE 1960S AND THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964

During his presidential years, President Lyndon B. Johnson (1963 – 1969) pushed to eliminate poverty throughout the nation. Johnson declared a “War on Poverty” that “instituted a whole new range of welfare policies and government attitudes on poverty.”⁸⁷ President Johnson also signed *The Civil Rights Act of 1964* (Pub.L. 88-352, 78 Stat. 241, enacted July 2, 1964). It changed the way that federal funding is administered, insuring that agencies, state, local governments and any program or activity that received federal monies are not involved in discriminatory practices.⁸⁸ Discrimination in housing opportunities is prohibited by the Acts’ provisions and subsequent legislation:⁸⁹

Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 assured nondiscrimination on federally assisted programs. Equality in housing opportunity was legislated by Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1968, the Fair Housing Act, which prohibited discrimination in the sale, financing, or leasing of housing. The full protection of the law was expanded by the Fair Housing Amendments of 1988, further prohibiting discrimination based on familial status or handicap.

The requirements barring discrimination were intended to play a major role in challenging leaders to institute programs to benefit all. Understandably, this would include urban planners, developers and city officials who design HOPE VI mixed-income developments and institute mobility programs, such as Section 23 and Section 8, done in the name of the deconcentration of poverty.

While the aftermath of Civil Rights Act of 1964 continued to fuel changes in housing policy, the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965 established the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) as a Cabinet-level agency.⁹⁰ HUD was the successor to the Housing and Home Finance Agency that was established in 1943. As a cabinet-level agency, the HUD Secretary reports directly to the president of the United

⁸⁷ Yan Zhang. “Wills and Ways: Policy Dynamics of HOPE VI from 1992 to 2002” (PhD diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Department of Urban Studies and Planning, 2004), 53. dspace.mit.edu/handle/1721.1/28782 (accessed May 31, 2012).

⁸⁸ Gittinger, Ted and Allen Fisher. “LBJ Champions the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Part 2.” *Prologue Magazine*. No. 2 (2004): 36. <http://www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2004/summer/civil-rights-act-2.html> (accessed May 31, 2012).

⁸⁹ “HUD Historical Background” *Chief Human Capital Officer. HUD.gov* <http://www.hud.gov/offices/adm/about/admguides/history.cfm> (accessed May 18, 2012).

⁹⁰ “HUD History,” *U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. HUD.gov*. http://portal.hud.gov/hudportal/HUD?src=/about/hud_history (accessed May 31, 2012).

States.⁹¹ On January 18, 1966, the first HUD Secretary appointed to the position was Robert C. Weaver.⁹²

As post-WWII growth occurred along with response to the migration of many different underrepresented and disenfranchised groups into urban centers, federal dollars fed much of the redevelopment. It appeared that numerous programs and projects benefited the middle- and upper-income strata. The renewal programs funded by federal monies were intended to stimulate economic development. Additionally, profit and scientific rationale dominated over justice, creating social ills and inequities. Leaders and participants of the Civil Rights Movements during the 1960s fought to regain the justice, equity and other rights.

The Civil Rights Movement's Response to Concentrated Poverty, Deconcentration of Poverty and Negro Removal⁹³

In the course of the Civil Rights Movement, advocates took stances against the impacts that housing policies and urban renewal were having on the underclass. Focus was placed on the disproportionate effect these policies and implementation strategies had on the Black community. There were numerous responses to the disadvantages concentrated poverty was having on individuals and families. Civil Rights leaders questioned the actions taken to disperse individuals and families living in the high poverty areas. The planning stimulated by the many opportunities to revitalize the housing stock and to redevelop neighborhoods excluded many of the threatened populations, as well as other citizens and interest groups being impacted by the decision-making processes.⁹⁴

Additionally, urban renewal helped to redefine the urban environment. It called for the demolition of substandard housing, inner city housing projects, and other resources that left many low-income and minority groups displaced. The victims found themselves in dire straits, surrounded by concentrated poverty, and some were even rendered homeless.

⁹¹ "The Cabinet," *The White House: President Barack Obama*.

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/administration/cabinet> (accessed May 31, 2012).

⁹² "HUD History," *U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. HUD.gov*.

http://portal.hud.gov/hudportal/HUD?src=/about/hud_history (accessed May 31, 2012).

⁹³ "James Baldwin: Urban Renewal II," *The Advocate*. Video. <http://vodpod.com/watch/1302018-james-baldwin-urban-renewal-ii> (accessed May 31, 2012).

⁹⁴ Hoch, Charles, Linda C. Dalton, and Frank S. So. 2000. *The practice of local government planning*. Washington, DC: Published for the ICMA Training Institute by the International City/County Management Association, 425.

During this time, James Baldwin, an author and activist for justice, began to advocate against Negro Renewal. As an antagonist to the inhumane and callous moves of national and local protagonist leaders of the Urban Renewal movement, Baldwin coined the phrase “Negro Removal.” In response to the urban renewal taking place throughout the country and as a strong voice during the Civil Rights era, Baldwin eloquently stated that he was shocked that in places like San Francisco the federal government was involved in the acts of tearing down houses and moving negroes out.⁹⁵ The urban renewal efforts used rhetoric and a “promise of building mixed-race and mixed-income housing.”⁹⁶ According to Baldwin and other critics, urban renewal was really an overhaul of the urban centers by those in power, many of who were after the high-valued property and had a mission to cleanse the cities of the Black underclass.⁹⁷

As part of the Civil Rights Movement, Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. provided leadership on housing issues. During late 1965 and the first half of 1966, King, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and the Coordinating Council of Community Organizations (CCCCO) fought the city of Chicago’s leadership to end housing discrimination and segregation.⁹⁸ One reason Dr. King wanted the two groups to team together against Chicago’s leaders was because Dr. King viewed Chicago as the “capital of northern segregation.”⁹⁹ The SCLC and CCCC alliance was called The Chicago Freedom Movement and was established to confront the city and its politically powerful mayor, Richard J. Daley, on housing discrimination issues. King and other advocates for “open housing” fought against leaders of and marched within the city of Chicago. The battle officially began in June 1966. Open housing was, as Polikoff described,

It was simple: a family should be able to live anywhere it could afford to rent or buy. It was important; if blacks could move outside the ghetto, their circumstances would improve. It was something Daley could act on directly; he could take away the licenses of real estate brokers who violated Chicago's Fair Housing Ordinance. And it lent itself to action; marches could target both

⁹⁵ James Baldwin: Urban Renewal II,” The Advocate. Video. <http://vodpod.com/watch/1302018-james-baldwin-urban-renewal-ii> (accessed May 31, 2012).

⁹⁶ Chester Hartman and Gregory D. Squires, eds., *The Myth of Concentrated Poverty in The Integration Debate: Competing Futures for American Cities*, (Routledge, 2010). Stephen Steinberg. <http://qcpages.qc.edu/UBST/DEPT/FACULTY/sstein.htm> (accessed May 31, 2012).

⁹⁷ James Baldwin: Urban Renewal II,” The Advocate. Video. <http://vodpod.com/watch/1302018-james-baldwin-urban-renewal-ii> (accessed May 31, 2012).

⁹⁸ Polikoff, Alexander. 2005. *Waiting for Gautreaux: a story of segregation, housing, and the black ghetto*. Evanston, Ill: Northwestern University Press. 36 - 37

⁹⁹ Ibid.

segregated neighborhoods and the offices of brokers who refused to serve blacks.

Ironically, the Chicago Freedom and open housing movements happened years after Daley took a stance that Chicago was a ghetto-free, non-segregated city. In 1956, Daley said, "We believe that we do not have segregation in Chicago." He told the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1963, "There are no ghettos in Chicago."¹⁰⁰ This was contradictory to the realities of concentrated poverty areas throughout inner city Chicago. Daley ignored the high-poverty concerns and demands from the voices of the deconcentration of poverty and open housing advocates. He worried that he would not be able to control the Black votes if they were eventually dispersed amongst the White residents who ultimately did not want the Blacks in their neighborhoods. Daley believed, "Neighborhood racial transition was the only powerful force at work in the city that posed a real threat to the machine." These types of actions, including using highways like the Dan Ryan Expressway¹⁰¹ in Chicago to divide minority neighborhoods from White neighborhoods, contributed to the concentration of poverty within inner city Chicago.

As part of the SCLC and CCCO alliance's Chicago Freedom movement, meetings with city officials and marches continued. The Chicago Freedom movement also helped to fuel the *Gautreaux v. Chicago Housing Authority (CHA)* and *Gautreaux v. HUD* cases that played out for years within the courts. These cases eventually called for the CHA and HUD to implement a housing mobility program that facilitated the dispersal of public housing residents into low-poverty neighborhoods. The courts mandated that the receiving areas consist of a lower number of minority households. These battles in Chicago influenced larger moves made by federal leaders in subsequent years.

After gains toward more housing equity during the 1960s, the 1970s ushered in more federally funded community development and housing mobility programs while encouraging state and local level autonomy in administering them.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid*, 38.

¹⁰¹ "The Dan Ryan Expressway is a north-south expressway in Chicago. This runs from the Dwight D. Eisenhower Expressway and the John F. Kennedy Expressway at the Circle Interchange to Interstate 57 and the Bishop Louis Henry Ford Freeway at 95th Street."
"Dan Ryan Expressway," *Chicago Roads*. <http://www.chicagoroads.com/roads/dan-ryan/> (accessed May 11, 2012).

THE 1970S

Pruitt-Igoe was one of the first public housing developments demolished to remove “the virtually uninhabitable and mostly vacant buildings.”¹⁰² Demolition began on March 16, 1972 and by 1976 the entire complex had been removed.¹⁰³ Image 5 shows the iconic demolition of the Pruitt-Igoe project in St. Louis. The public housing project was only two decades old and “had come to symbolize the failure of government-sponsored housing and, more broadly, government-sponsorship at large.”¹⁰⁴ Richard D. Baron and his firm had received approval to replace the public housing with a mixed-income redevelopment. Even though HUD Secretary George Romney withdrew the approval demolition continued and the site was never redeveloped.¹⁰⁵

Image 5: The Pruitt-Igoe public housing project in St. Louis being demolished, April 21, 1972. Today, it is a wooded 33-acre site.¹⁰⁶



Source: Cisneros, Héctor, and Lora Engdahl.

From despair to hope: HOPE VI and the new promise of public housing in America's cities. (Washington, D.C: Brookings Institution Press, 2009), 32.

¹⁰² Cisneros, Héctor, and Lora Engdahl. *From despair to hope: HOPE VI and the new promise of public housing in America's cities.* (Washington, D.C: Brookings Institution Press, 2009), 32.

¹⁰³ Keel, Robert. O. “Pruitt-Igoe and the End of Modernity.” University of Missouri-St. Louis. <http://www.umsl.edu/~keelr/010/pruitt-igoe.htm> (accessed August 29, 2012).

¹⁰⁴ “Public Housing has a Bad Name.” *The Pruitt Igoe Myth.* <http://www.pruitt-igoe.com/urban-history/> (accessed August 29, 2012).

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ Cisneros, Héctor, and Lora Engdahl. *From despair to hope: HOPE VI and the new promise of public housing in America's cities.* (Washington, D.C: Brookings Institution Press, 2009), 33.

In 1973, President Richard Nixon (1969 – 1974) made a decision that set a precedent for succeeding administrations. Nixon decided to initiate efforts to begin depleting the existing, troubled public housing stock throughout the country. One method Nixon used to commence the reduction in public housing was to order a moratorium on the construction of new public and otherwise subsidized housing.¹⁰⁷ Another defining moment for American housing policy was when Nixon took a stance that his administration "...will not attempt to impose federally assisted housing upon any community."¹⁰⁸ Lobbying efforts had finally paid off for local leaders and business districts that wanted to have more control over how federal dollars were used to benefit their communities.

A year later, the Housing and Community Development (HDC) Act of 1974 was passed. The Act provided funding to states through the Community Development Block Grants (CDBG) program. This helped to create new and innovative opportunities.¹⁰⁹ The HDC Act of 1974 also brought about the Section 8 low-income rental assistance program, today known as the Housing Choice Voucher program.¹¹⁰

HOUSING CHOICE VOUCHER PROGRAM FOR TENANT MOBILITY

The Housing Act of 1974 authorized the Section 8 housing mobility program. The program superseded the Section 23 Leased Housing program, which was authorized by the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965 and was incorporated in the Housing Act of 1937 Section 23, as amended. Section 23 was the first tenant-based program that used privately owned housing.¹¹¹ The legislation provided federal aid to public housing authorities to make dwellings within the private market available to low-income

¹⁰⁷ Husock, H. *Public Housing as a "poorhouse"*. *Public Interest* 129. Washington. Fall 1997. pp. 73-85.

¹⁰⁸ Polikoff, Alexander. 2005. *Waiting for Gautreaux: a story of segregation, housing, and the black ghetto*. Evanston, Ill: Northwestern University Press., 92.

¹⁰⁹ CDBG merged 7 categorical programs into a block of flexible community development funds distributed each year by a formula that considers population and measures of distress including poverty, age of housing, housing overcrowding, and growth lag. Grantees now determine what activities they will fund as long as certain requirements are met, including that each activity is eligible and will meet one of the three broad national objectives of the program.

"Community Development Laws and Regulations," *U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development*. http://portal.hud.gov/hudportal/HUD?src=/program_offices/comm_planning/communitydevelopment/rulesandregs#laws (accessed January 5, 2012).

¹¹⁰ Pompe, Jeff and Jim Rinehart. "Economic and Community Development". Chapter 3. *South Carolina Government: A policy perspective*. (Chapter 3). Public Administration in the United States: Professor Tyer's Public Administration Web Page. Professor Charlie Tyer. Department of Political Science. University of South Carolina, 11. http://people.cas.sc.edu/tyer/Poli_768/EconCommDev.pdf (accessed January 5, 2012).

¹¹¹ Housing Choice Voucher Program Guidebook. "Community Development Laws and Regulations." *U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development*, 1-2. portal.hud.gov/hudportal/documents/huddoc?id=DOC_11745.pdf (accessed May 29, 2012).

families.¹¹² The subsidies allowed for rents to be more affordable to low-income households. HUD also implemented the Experimental Housing Allowance Program (EHAP), which was a test plan that provided housing allowances to over 50,000 households between 1971 and 1980.¹¹³ The Section 8 program, modeled after the EHAP, allowed for both project-based and tenant-based subsidies through rental certificates.¹¹⁴ The mobility program had a few differences from the EHAP:¹¹⁵

- Under the rental certificate program, the PHA made subsidy payments directly to the owners on behalf of the family rather than making payments to the family; and
- The rental certificate program imposed a HUD-established ceiling (fair market rent) on the gross rent for a unit leased under the program.

Since the first authorization of Section 8 Congress has approved a few iterations. The program had rapid growth and popularity with Congress, local governments, owners and low-income families. It soon evolved into the Section 8 Housing Choice Voucher (HCV) Program. “In October 1998, Congress passed housing reform legislation – the Quality Housing and Work Responsibility Act (QHWRA), including a full merger of the certificate and voucher programs. This legislation eliminated all differences, and required that the subsidy types merge into one housing choice voucher program.”¹¹⁶

During the late-1970s and 1980s, the country began to see growth in privatization of public housing with influences from architects and planners entrenched in the repackaged concepts of the City Beautiful¹¹⁷ and the Garden City¹¹⁸ movements now

¹¹² Low-Rent Housing, Leased Housing Handbook. “Handbooks,” *U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development*. Chapter 1, Section 1, page 1.

<http://www.hud.gov/offices/adm/hudclips/handbooks/pihh/74301/index.cfm> (accessed August 19, 2012).

¹¹³ Housing Choice Voucher Program Guidebook. “Community Development Laws and Regulations.” *U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development*, 1-2.

portal.hud.gov/hudportal/documents/huddoc?id=DOC_11745.pdf (accessed May 29, 2012).

¹¹⁴ *Ibid*, 1-3.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid*.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid*, 1-4.

¹¹⁷ “In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Progressives across the United States embarked on the City Beautiful movement to bring order out of the chaos wrought by the Industrial Revolution. Leading the way in championing city planning was Daniel Burnham, the famous architect who designed the Columbian Exposition and the Plan of Chicago of 1909 and who turned to cities such as Paris as models of how the urban environment could be made beautiful, efficient, economically productive, and civically unified—all at the same time. The City Beautiful vision emphasized that the physical environment had the power to shape people’s outlook and behavior, even their moral state. To this end, the creation of a beautiful city demanded an expansive system of parks suited to healthy activities, landscaped boulevards, attractive fountains and outdoor sculptures, and the removal of billboards cluttering the skyline. The movement also emphasized the practical advantages of city planning. A clean city with upgraded roadways and a rationalized railway system was not just more attractive; it also was a better place to cultivate business.”

“Reconstructing the Vale of Paradise: A Return to the City Beautiful Movement.”

http://www.southshorejournal.org/archive/issue_2007.php (accessed May 18, 2012)

called New Urbanism.¹¹⁹ The common principles amongst them include (1) walkable neighborhoods oriented around the five-minute walk, (2) designing the neighborhood around public transit systems, and (3) creating a diverse neighborhood of mixed-uses.¹²⁰ The next section highlights programs established during the 1980s and 1990s that are parallel to and partially influenced by the New Urbanism movement.

THE 1980S – 90S AND NEW URBANISM

During President Ronald Reagan's-era (1981 – 1989), the public housing program was altered even further because of budget cuts made by the administration. According to Jane Roessner, Reagan's stance was that "since you can't serve everybody, you shouldn't serve anybody."¹²¹

After the Reagan years, other leaders made monumental decisions that influenced the path of housing policy. During the President George H. W. Bush's (1989 – 1993) administration, one major act that passed was the McKinney Act of 1987.¹²² The McKinney Act focused more on gaining a hold of the nation's homelessness problems. The following year, the nation received more protections for elderly or persons with living disabilities. These protections came through the Fair Housing Amendment Act of 1988.¹²³ Also, there were more safeguards from discriminatory actions based on race, color, national origin, religion, sex, and familial status.¹²⁴ Discriminatory housing practices prohibited under the Act of 1988 include the refusal to rent or sell housing, to

¹¹⁸ "In the US, the movement is led by the Congress for a New Urbanism (CNU), which despite the presence of the word 'new' in its title, is in fact directly influenced by the garden city movement of the UK known as the Town and Country Planning Association (TCPA)."

Stevens, Andrew. "RIBA President calls for stronger recognition of New Urbanism." *City Mayors Environment* 14. http://www.citymayors.com/environment/new_urbanism.html (accessed May 18, 2012).

¹¹⁹ Fulton, Williams. "The New Urbanism Challenges Conventional Planning (Land Lines Article)." *Lincoln Institute of Land Policy*. No. 5 (1996): 8. http://www.lincolninst.edu/pubs/508_The-New-Urbanism-Challenges-Conventional-Planning (accessed May 31, 2012).

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ Roessner, Jane. 2000. *A decent place to live: from Columbia Point to Harbor Point: a community history*. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 296.

¹²² "In July 1987, Congress enacted the Stewart B. McKinney Homeless Assistance Act (P.L. 100-77) to establish distinct assistance programs for the growing numbers of homeless persons. Recognizing the variety of causes of homelessness, the original McKinney Act authorized 20 programs offering a multitude of services, including emergency food and shelter, transitional and permanent housing, education, job training, mental health care, primary health care services, substance abuse treatment, and veterans' assistance services."

"Stewart B. McKinney Homeless Programs," *U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development*. <http://www.huduser.org/portal/publications/homeless/mckin/intro.html> (accessed January 5, 2012).

¹²³ Title 24: Housing and Urban Development. Electronic Code of Federal Regulations. <http://ecfr.gpoaccess.gov/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=ecfr&rgn=div5&view=text&node=24:1.2.1.1.1&idno=24#24:1.2.1.1.1.1.95.1> (accessed August 20, 2012).

¹²⁴ Ibid.

negotiate for housing and the setting of different terms, conditions or privileges for the sale or rental of a dwelling.¹²⁵

While the Reagan Administration established the National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing (NCSDPH), which provided the research that justified Congress to establish the comprehensive redevelopment grant program in October 1992 – HOPE VI, it was President Bush who signed legislations that provided appropriations for the HOPE VI program. Simultaneously, the new urbanist movement was underway and influencing community design and planning. The next section brings to light the HOPE VI program and the intent of leaders, Congress and policy makers to repair distressed neighborhoods and deconcentrate poverty.

HOPE VI OF 1992 HOUSING PROGRAM TO DECONCENTRATE POVERTY

Although Housing Opportunities for People Everywhere (HOPE VI) is only a subset of the larger housing policy and program paradigm, its life cycle sustained over a 20-year period. The plan of creating mixed-income communities through the HOPE VI¹²⁶ competitive grant program appeared in 1992 under the George H. W. Bush administration. Months before the end of his administration, President Bush signed legislation that provided funding for the HOPE VI grant program, also known as the Urban Revitalization Demonstration (URD) Program. The Clinton Administration (1993 – 2001) inherited the policy and implemented the program. Henry Cisneros led the charge as HUD Secretary (1993 – 1997).

As stated on the HUD's Office of Policy Development and Research website,

HOPE VI was authorized by the Departments of Veterans Affairs and Housing and Urban Development and Independent Agencies Appropriations Act of 1993 (the Appropriations Act). Also, with slight modifications (amending Section 24 of the 1937 Housing Act), Section 120 of the Housing and Community Development

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ In 1989, as part of the Department of Housing and Urban Development Reform Act, Congress created an independent National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing charged with assessing and formulating solutions to the problem severe distress in the public housing. In its final report published in 1992, the Commission concluded that, although the problem was serious, the extent of severe distress in public housing was very limited, estimating that only 6 percent (86,000 units) of the total stock fit into this category. The Commission set forth a National Action Plan to address the human services and modernization needs of the severely distressed public housing sites.

"Together False HOPE: A Critical Assessment of the HOPE VI Public Housing Redevelopment Program." National Housing Law Project; the Poverty & Race Research Action Council; Sherwood Research Associates, and Everywhere and Now Public Housing Residents Organizing Nationally. June 2002. <http://www.narpac.org/ITXFALSE.HTM> (accessed May 31, 2012).

Act of 1992 authorized HOPE VI. What's more, to be eligible to apply for HOPE VI funds, an applicant had to be either a Public Housing Authority (PHA) located in one of the 40 most populous U.S. cities or a PHA on HUD's Troubled Housing Authority list as of March 31, 1992.¹²⁷

HOPE VI was seen as a rehabilitation strategy. There were high goals set for the program. For example, Congress funded HOPE VI with the intent to create "...major renovations of projects in 74 cities and, strikingly, the construction of 4,000 new public-housing apartments."¹²⁸ HUD's leadership was committed to the idea that "a new, improved, sustainable public housing" program would include mixed-income tenants.¹²⁹ Appendix B includes a historical overview of HOPE VI legislation.

While the rest of the 1990s saw further changes to the HOPE VI program, U.S. House Republicans attempted to bring public housing to a formal, statutory halt, but they were unsuccessful.¹³⁰ The failure to immobilize the public housing funding efforts lies in part to another program instituted during the Clinton Administration called the Quality Housing and Work Responsibility Act of 1998 (QHWRA). The 1998 Act is important to understand the administration of the HOPE VI program. QHWRA helps to transform "the public housing stock through new policies and procedures for demolition and replacement and mixed-finance projects, and through authorizing the HOPE VI revitalization program."¹³¹ Also important to know is the way competitive grants were accessed.

Who had access to HOPE VI funds?

Only Public Housing Authorities (PHAs) were eligible to apply for HOPE VI competitive grants. Further qualifications included PHAs with distressed public housing units; therefore, neither agencies that only administered Section 8 Housing Choice Vouchers,

¹²⁷ An Historical and Baseline Assessment of HOPE VI" *Office of Policy Development and Research and HUD User. U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. August 1996 (Vol. I-207 pages, Vol. II-550 pages, Vol.III-293 pages), i.* <http://www.huduser.org/portal/publications/pubasst/hopevi.html> (accessed May 31, 2012).

¹²⁸ Husock, H. *Public Housing as a "poorhouse". Public Interest* 129. Washington. Fall 1997, 74.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

¹³⁰ Flanagan, R.M. "The Housing Act of 1954: The sea change in national urban policy." *Urban Affairs Review* (33) 2. Thousand Oaks. November 1997, 281.

¹³¹ "Public Housing Reform Overview," *U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development.* http://portal.hud.gov/hudportal/HUD?src=/program_offices/public_indian_housing/phr/about (accessed August 20, 2012).

nor any other public or private entity, or individuals were eligible to apply directly to HUD for HOPE VI funds.¹³²

Additionally, these funds were earmarked to pay for:¹³³

- Major rehabilitation, new construction and other physical improvements and capital costs
- Removal of severely distressed public housing units and site improvements
- Acquisition of sites for off-site construction
- Relocation services because of the revitalization efforts
- Community and supportive service programs for residents

Knowing the eligibility requirements is important to note because the revitalization efforts had to begin with housing authority leadership, not with private market developers. Public Housing Authorities are entities established to administer housing programs funded by the federal government,¹³⁴ and many welcomed the opportunity to access HOPE VI dollars. Other supporters for the development of HOPE VI were the very influential New Urbanists.

CONGRESS FOR THE NEW URBANISM (CNU), THE NEW URBANISM MOVEMENT AND THE DECONCENTRATION OF POVERTY

The New Urbanism is a movement that began by concerted efforts of architects and planners from the University of Chicago.¹³⁵ It “is a town planning movement away from the spread-out, car-centered suburbs that have come to dominate the American landscape over the past 50 years.”¹³⁶ During the late-1970s and 1980s, the country began to see growth in privatization of public housing with influences from architects and planners entrenched in the repackaged concepts of the City Beautiful¹³⁷ and the Garden

¹³² “About HOPE VI,” *U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development* http://portal.hud.gov/hudportal/HUD?src=/program_offices/public_indian_housing/programs/ph/hope6/about (accessed December 29, 2011).

¹³³ *Ibid.*

¹³⁴ “HUD’s Public Housing Program,” *U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development* http://portal.hud.gov/hudportal/HUD?src=/topics/rental_assistance/phprog (accessed May 31, 2012)

¹³⁵ Chester Hartman and Gregory D. Squires, eds., *The Myth of Concentrated Poverty in The Integration Debate: Competing Futures for American Cities*, (Routledge, 2010). Stephen Steinberg, 214. <http://qcpages.qc.edu/UBST/DEPT/FACULTY/sstein.htm> (accessed May 31, 2012).

¹³⁶ Online Newshour. The website of the Newshour with Jim Lehrer. Public Broadcasting Station. <http://www.pbs.org/newshour/newurbanism/keypoints.html> (accessed August 17, 2012).

¹³⁷ “In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Progressives across the United States embarked on the City Beautiful movement to bring order out of the chaos wrought by the Industrial Revolution. Leading the way in championing city planning was Daniel Burnham, the famous architect who designed the

City¹³⁸ movements now called New Urbanism.¹³⁹ “Core principles of New Urbanism include:¹⁴⁰

- Walkability: Basic goods and services are available within a five-minute walk. Sidewalks, narrow streets, and proximity of commercial and residential areas facilitate walking.
- De-emphasize the car: Garages are hidden in alleys, out of sight. Parallel street parking replaces the parking lot.
- Mix: Traditional suburbs put homes in one area, schools in another and shopping in yet a third. New Urbanists mix building types, sizes and prices. A modest townhouse or duplex cozies up to large single family home, which may have a rental apartment over its garage. Apartments are built over street level stores.
- Community: New Urbanist design encourages human interaction by keeping houses close to each other and close to the street. Residents gather on front porches, in nearby parks and on open plazas. Neighbors share driveways, walkways and alleys.”

New Urbanism theories, philosophies and design approaches are attributed to Jane Jacob’s writings¹⁴¹ and the architect/planner team of Andrés Duany, Elizabeth Plater-Zyberks and developer Robert Davis. Duany, Plater-Zyberks and Davis are responsible for the Seaside Florida community, which Janet L. Smith¹⁴² states, “Became the model

Columbian Exposition and the Plan of Chicago of 1909 and who turned to cities such as Paris as models of how the urban environment could be made beautiful, efficient, economically productive, and civically unified—all at the same time. The City Beautiful vision emphasized that the physical environment had the power to shape people’s outlook and behavior, even their moral state. To this end, the creation of a beautiful city demanded an expansive system of parks suited to healthy activities, landscaped boulevards, attractive fountains and outdoor sculptures, and the removal of billboards cluttering the skyline. The movement also emphasized the practical advantages of city planning. A clean city with upgraded roadways and a rationalized railway system was not just more attractive; it also was a better place to cultivate business.”

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¹³⁸ “In the US, the movement is led by the Congress for a New Urbanism (CNU), which despite the presence of the word ‘new’ in its title, is in fact directly influenced by the garden city movement of the UK known as the Town and Country Planning Association (TCPA).”

Stevens, Andrew. “RIBA President calls for stronger recognition of New Urbanism.”

City Mayors Environment 14. http://www.citymayors.com/environment/new_urbanism.html (accessed May 18, 2012).

¹³⁹ Fulton, Williams. “The New Urbanism Challenges Conventional Planning (Land Lines Article).” *Lincoln Institute of Land Policy*. No. 5 (1996): 8. http://www.lincolninst.edu/pubs/508_The-New-Urbanism-Challenges-Conventional-Planning (accessed May 31, 2012).

¹⁴⁰ Online Newshour. The website of the Newshour with Jim Lehrer. Public Broadcasting Station.

<http://www.pbs.org/newshour/newurbanism/keypoints.html> (accessed August 17, 2012).

¹⁴¹ Cisneros, Héctor, and Lora Engdahl. *From despair to hope: HOPE VI and the new promise of public housing in America’s cities*. (Washington, D.C: Brookings Institution Press, 2009), 52.

¹⁴² Ibid.

for new forms of 'traditional' town planning and design. This model includes public green and community space, commercial buildings with housing upstairs, and restrictive flow of automobile traffic through the site."¹⁴³

The marketing for the new designs of New Urbanism projects present narratives that propose how residents of public housing would be inter-mingled into the mixed-income, mixed-use neighborhood context. The marketing intent was to convince community members, low-income housing advocates and housing developers that applying New Urbanism principles would help solve the distressed neighborhood and dilapidated public housing problems. Adding nothing new to the housing policy debate, discourse and mixed income revitalization efforts (the country already had Harbor Point in Dorchester, Massachusetts, for example) the New Urbanist proponents used compelling images of architecturally designed housing¹⁴⁴ to support their claims. These methods of creating or exaggerating positive outcomes from the community designs facilitated the continued devolution of the federal government's commitment, responsibility and involvement in providing and maintaining public housing. The plans of the federal, state and local "managers," such as public-private partnerships, developers, architects, and leaders within federal, state and local government coalesced with the New Urbanists and embraced their principles to bring about what we know today as the HOPE VI program. The principles for the New Urbanism Movement and the Congress for the New Urbanism (CNU) influenced the design of the HOPE VI program and other transformation plans around the country.¹⁴⁵ The influence of the movement and the CNU are explained further in the next section.

The CNU and the New Urbanism movement are examples of how architects and planners – the design professionals – can leverage their powers, knowledge, skills, social capital and fiscal resources to take a stance that ripples across and throughout the built environment. HUD's HOPE VI development team invited the leaders of the New Urbanism to advise the HUD leaders on how the community-building principles of New

Janet L. Smith was one of the editors. At the time this book was published, Smith was an associate professor in the Urban Planning and Policy Program and the co director at the Nathalie P. Voorhees Center for Neighborhood and Community Improvement at the University of Illinois at Chicago.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ HOPE VI and the New Urbanisms: *Eliminating Low-Income Housing to Make Mixed-Income Communities*. The Planners Network. http://www.plannersnetwork.org/publications/2002_152_spring/smith.htm (accessed May 18, 2012).

Urbanism could be applied to the renovation of public housing.¹⁴⁶ HUD Secretary Cisneros and his special assistant Marc Weiss were strong proponents of the New Urbanism principles.¹⁴⁷ They worked with CNU and New Urbanism leaders to incorporate the design-form strategies into the requirements for the HOPE VI program.¹⁴⁸

Image 6 is an aerial of Seaside Florida.¹⁴⁹ Figure 2 shows a diagram of “The Neighborhood Unit” by Clarence Perry (1929). When the image and figure are compared, one can see the similarities between the forms of the Seaside Florida new urbanist community to that of “The Neighborhood Unit.” One similarity is the street patterns. In both designs they project diagonally from the neighborhood center. Also, both the image and the diagram show the relationships between the residential components and the mixed-uses on a pedestrian-scale. John Olson wrote, “Perry utilized the 5-minute walk to define walking distances from residential to non-residential components.”¹⁵⁰ He stated that Perry was most concerned with the distance and walkability to and from schools.

¹⁴⁶ Cisneros, Héctor, and Lora Engdahl. *From despair to hope: HOPE VI and the new promise of public housing in America's cities*. (Washington, D.C: Brookings Institution Press, 2009), 8.

¹⁴⁷ Katz, Peter. HOPE VI and the Inner City: Part Three of a Series on New Urbanism Looks at the Remaking of America's Failed Public Housing Projects. Better! Cities & Towns. May 7, 2012. <http://bettercities.net/news-opinion/blogs/peter-katz/17943/hope-vi-and-inner-city> (accessed August 17, 2012).

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ Brake, Alan G. “Feature> Eyes on the Prize.” *The Architects Newspaper*. April 19, 2011. <http://archpaper.com/news/articles.asp?id=5298> (accessed May 18, 2012).

¹⁵⁰ Olson, Josh. “The Neighborhood Unit: How Does Perry's Concept Apply to Modern Day Planning?” *EVstudio*. August 16, 2011. <http://evstudio.info/the-neighborhood-unit-how-does-perrys-concept-apply-to-modern-day-planning/> (accessed May 31, 2012).

Image 6: Aerial of Seaside, Florida designed by Duany Plater-Zyberk.



Source: Brake, Alan G. "Feature> Eyes on the Prize." *The Architects Newspaper*. April 19, 2011. <http://archpaper.com/news/articles.asp?id=5298> (accessed May 18, 2012).

Figure 2: The Neighborhood Unit Diagram by Clarence Perry (1929)



Source: Olson, Josh. "The Neighborhood Unit: How Does Perry's Concept Apply to Modern Day Planning?" *EVstudio*. August 16, 2011. <http://evstudio.info/the-neighborhood-unit-how-does-perrys-concept-apply-to-modern-day-planning/> (accessed May 31, 2012).

Over the past century, public housing support and government intervention has continued to dissipate. The pattern of depletion demonstrates the belief of some conservatives that government, especially on the federal level, should not be as highly involved in the challenge of finding the solution to the low-income housing crisis. Many believe more should be done on the state and local levels instead. As discussed in the next section, programs like HOPE VI were established on principles intended to facilitate the creation of better housing, new neighborhoods and better living environments for public housing residents.

HOPE VI TODAY

For the past 20 years, HOPE VI¹⁵¹ has been a hot-button topic for public housing residents and people who support low-income housing programs. HOPE VI started in 1992 by Congressional mandate.¹⁵² It was a program that HUD created to address a number of problems faced by the worst public housing projects in the nation. The following five objectives outline the key elements of HOPE VI to promote public housing transformation.¹⁵³ First, HUD provided HOPE VI grants to public housing authorities to demolish and replace housing that was already severely distressed. The alleged damage to the public housing occurred over time because it required large amounts of money to maintain the units and facilities. It had been an ongoing challenge to sustain the structures that were built decades ago. Second, legislators created HOPE VI to improve the living environment for public housing residents. Crafters of the program ensured that demolishing or repairing the severely distressed projects started the process of creating a better environment. Under the HOPE VI program, new homes and apartments were built to replace the demolished housing. The housing authorities were

¹⁵¹ National Housing Law Project; the Poverty & Race Research Action Council; Sherwood Research Associates, and Everywhere and Now Public Housing Residents Organizing Nationally Together False HOPE: A Critical Assessment of the HOPE VI Public Housing Redevelopment Program. June 2002. <http://www.narpac.org/ITXFALSE.HTM> (accessed September 18, 2011).

¹⁵² Vanderford, Carry Ann. "Realities and Perceptions: HOPE VI Poverty Deconcentration and Implications for Broader Neighborhood Revitalization," Advisor: Lawrence Vale. Thesis – Department of Urban Studies and Planning. Massachusetts Institute of Technology. 2006, 12. <http://dspace.mit.edu/handle/1721.1/37662> (accessed January 5, 2012).

¹⁵³ "The specific elements of public housing transformation that have proven key to HOPE VI include:

- (1) Changing the physical shape of public housing
- (2) Establishing positive incentives for resident self-sufficiency and comprehensive services that empower residents
- (3) Lessening concentrations of poverty by placing public housing in nonpoverty neighborhoods and promoting mixed-income communities
- (4) Forging partnerships with other agencies, local governments, nonprofit organizations, and private businesses to leverage support and resources"

"About HOPE VI," *U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. HUD.GOV* http://portal.hud.gov/hudportal/HUD?src=/program_offices/public_indian_housing/programs/ph/hope6/about (accessed May 31, 2012).

able to choose to rebuild or to replace only part of the housing project or the entire thing. Third, as mentioned earlier, the HOPE VI program was intended to breathe new life into the housing properties. Also, it was intended to make the surrounding neighborhood a better place to live, work and play. HOPE VI program provided housing opportunities for people everywhere, which included options for higher-income, unsubsidized households in addition to low-income, subsidized households. This was the mixed-income community idea, highly influenced by the New Urbanism movement, as well as by Harbor Point in Boston, Massachusetts. Within many of the renewed communities are community and neighborhood centers, which may include a grocery store, facilities to house programs for neighborhood children, and usually recreational areas such as parks and trails. Fourth, the purpose of HOPE VI is to help disperse very low-income families so that all of the poverty is not in only one neighborhood. Having so many poor families living close to one another is believed to increase the continued problems of not having access to good paying jobs and creates environments conducive to increased gang and drug-related violence. Fifth, HUD established HOPE VI to build quality, sustainable communities that would last for years to come. According to HUD,¹⁵⁴ one of the benefits of the HOPE VI program was that the regulations allow for money from public agencies and private companies to be used to help finance the developments. This allowed for more money to be used in creative ways and is cited as an advantage for building a better neighborhood for the future residents.

HUD'S CHOICE NEIGHBORHOODS INITIATIVE (CNI): A VISION FOR THE FUTURE OF POVERTY DECONCENTRATION

In 2009, HUD proposed the CNI. CNI is HUD's competitive grant program successor to the HOPE VI.¹⁵⁵ What is different, however, is that CNI would be more holistic. That means it will address entire distressed neighborhoods instead of just public housing. Like HOPE VI, CNI developments would include public housing, assisted housing and market rate housing.¹⁵⁶ Reviewing the language that guides the implementation of CNI is important because if policy makers shift allocation of funding from the HOPE VI revitalization efforts to the new CNI, one needs to consider the best solutions for those individuals and families that are necessarily displaced in the name of the

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁵ "2011 Advocates' Guide to Housing & Community Development Policy." National Low-Income Housing Coalition, 107. <http://nlihc.org/library/other/guides/2011> (accessed August 19, 2012).

¹⁵⁶ Joseph, Mark. *Written testimony prepared for hearing: Academic Perspectives on the Future of Public Housing*. U.S. House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Housing and Community Opportunity. Hearing on the Future of Public Housing. July 29, 2009. Panelist., 19.

deconcentration of poverty. Additionally, in finding innovative initiatives and alternatives to the housing programs, one can continue to identify and define the best design solutions for eliminating poverty and reducing stigma, while providing support services to those in need.

Also, like HOPE VI, CNI is a program that HUD hopes would bring together many diverse investors. CNI links housing programs more closely with commitments from other federal programs and agencies, like the Departments of Education and Transportation and the Environmental Protection Agency.¹⁵⁷ With this collaboration strategy, the neighborhoods could connect low-income households with stronger schools and early childhood innovation programs. Transportation also plays a key role, helping to reduce costs and increase opportunities for working families at the local level.¹⁵⁸

While the HOPE VI program required demolishing “severely distressed” public housing units and replacing them with stylish, architecturally designed single and multi-family housing, the CNI “...focuses its resources on transforming entire neighborhoods.”¹⁵⁹

The CNI will provide (1) planning and (2) implementation grants for the following:¹⁶⁰

- To transform neighborhoods of extreme poverty into mixed income neighborhoods.
- To improve access to economic opportunities, and investing and leveraging investments in well-functioning services, educational opportunities, public assets, public transportation, and improved access to jobs.
- To grow communities and metropolitan areas.
- To support positive outcomes for families.

¹⁵⁷ Choice Neighborhoods. *U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development*. http://portal.hud.gov/hudportal/HUD?src=/program_offices/public_indian_housing/programs/ph/cn (accessed August 19, 2012).

¹⁵⁸ Prepared Remarks for Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Shaun Donovan at the Brookings Institution Metropolitan Policy Program's Discussion. "From Despair to Hope: Two HUD Secretaries on Urban Revitalization and Opportunity". National Press Club, Washington, D.C., Tuesday, July 14th, 2009. *U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development*. <http://hud.gov/news/speeches/2009-07-14.cfm> (accessed January 5, 2012).

¹⁵⁹ "2011 Advocates' Guide to Housing & Community Development Policy." National Low-Income Housing Coalition, 107. <http://nlihc.org/library/other/guides/2011> (accessed August 19, 2012).

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid*, 108.

CNI Program Concerns

The National Low-Income Housing Coalition (NLIHC) encouraged HUD and policy makers to make sure that there were stronger requirements outlined for the CNI than those for HOPE VI. NLIHC leaders and policy researchers have seen what HOPE VI has done to many of the public and low-income housing residents who have faced problems after being forced leave their communities. Many advocates like NLIHC also wanted to make sure that the new CNI included stronger requirements for one-for-one replacement of subsidized housing units demolished. HUD Secretary Shaun Donovan compared HOPE VI to CNI during a CNI hearing on March 19, 2010 by saying that the program does have a stronger requirement to replace every revitalized public or assisted housing unit with another comparable hard unit.¹⁶¹

NLIHC also urges more protection for the affordable housing units that exist at the time CNI grants are awarded to neighborhoods being redeveloped. This includes privately held and publicly subsidized housing.¹⁶² Details are still being outlined to develop a more cohesive CNI program, including further budget discussions. Further, many non-profits, social and support services agencies, some private companies and other groups who try to protect public and low-income housing and those who design and build them continue to negotiate on behalf of the residents being removed. The public and low-income housing supporters pressured HUD to make sure that all of the public housing families and individuals who had to move prior to demolition would have the choice to return to the new HOPE VI community.¹⁶³

The jury is still out on what CNI will look like and how it will impact public housing families and individuals. NLIHC and other coalitions, advocates, residents and policy and law makers shall continue to press Congress and HUD to develop the best solutions for the new CNI program while maintaining its commitment to achieving socially-just public policy that assures people with the lowest incomes in the United States have affordable

¹⁶¹ Prepared Remarks for Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Shaun Donovan at the Brookings Institution Metropolitan Policy Program's Discussion. "From Despair to Hope: Two HUD Secretaries on Urban Revitalization and Opportunity". National Press Club, Washington, D.C., Tuesday, July 14th, 2009. *U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development*. <http://hud.gov/news/speeches/2009-07-14.cfm> (accessed January 5, 2012).

¹⁶² "2011 Advocates' Guide to Housing & Community Development Policy." National Low-Income Housing Coalition. <http://nlihc.org/library/other/guides/2011> (accessed August 19, 2012).

¹⁶³ "Advocates Praise One-for-One Replacement Requirements in Latest Choice Neighborhoods Initiative Award," *National Low-Income Housing Coalition*. September 7, 2011. <http://nlihc.org/press/releases/9-7-11> (accessed May 31, 2012).

and decent homes.¹⁶⁴ Leaders encouraging the integration of households from varying income levels through the CNI program should consider what happened when this strategy was implemented in HOPE VI developments.

Recent studies reiterate the isolation and lack of natural integration of residents within mixed-income and HOPE VI developments. Research by Mark Joseph shows that integrating former public housing residents within mixed-income and HOPE VI neighborhoods has had a less desirable effect than anticipated by those arguing in favor of these types of revitalization programs. For example, Joseph reports on developments by Chicago Housing Authority for the Plan for Transformation program, which is not a HOPE VI program but does include mixed-income households.¹⁶⁵ He states,

There were a number of relocated public housing residents who felt that the move to the mixed-income development had increased their level of stress. Different individuals had different explanations of the cause of the stress, including paying higher bills, being around unfamiliar people, or feeling socially isolated. One particular facet of the new mixed-income environment that appeared to be creating stress and tension for many of the relocated public housing residents was the stringent rules established, in some cases by property management and in other cases by the condo or homeowners associations.

In his 2009 statements to Congress, Joseph provides quotes from residents who express anxiety about the new rules, higher costs and lack of social interaction now prevalent within the new mixed-income community.¹⁶⁶ However, approximately two-thirds of the relocated public housing residents in the study felt less stress than while living in the former public housing developments.¹⁶⁷

As a HOPE VI goal, creators of the program clearly stated that mixed-income developments would provide better access to opportunities for low-income residents who would be relocated from the public housing and high poverty concentrated neighborhoods. Studies by Rachel Kleit (2009), William Julius Wilson (1987), Mark Joseph, Robert Chaskin and Henry Webber (2007) all account for this premonition that many proponents for mixed-income and HOPE VI developments believe - that

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ Joseph, Mark. *Written testimony prepared for hearing: Academic Perspectives on the Future of Public Housing*. U.S. House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Housing and Community Opportunity. Hearing on the Future of Public Housing. July 29, 2009. Panelist, 11.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid, 14, 18.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid, 9.

households woven into the social networks of the middle-income residents would fare better.¹⁶⁸ However, this speculation that former public housing residents might fare better in the mixed-income developments still needs further substantiation. Kleit (2009) writes:¹⁶⁹

Many theorists suggest that concentrations of poverty are detrimental to the life chances of individuals. Mixed-income development has become a popular way to address the social isolation that many researchers believe stems from concentrations of poverty [William Julius Wilson (1987); Joseph, Chaskin, and Webber (2007)]. Mixed-income neighborhoods may provide better access for low-income individuals to middle-income social networks, which, in turn, may lead to better access to information and opportunities for upward mobility. The efforts between mixing incomes in a housing development and improved socioeconomic outcomes for low-income residents in those neighborhoods has yet to be found.

¹⁶⁸ Kleit, Rachel, PhD. *HOPE VI for High Point Final Evaluation Report* with Anna Brandt, June 2009, 58.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

CHAPTER IV

DESIGN MANIFESTATIONS OF THE DECONCENTRATION OF POVERTY

This chapter presents examples of projects where deconcentration of poverty has manifested in the design of mixed-income communities. The previous chapters describe the effects of concentrated poverty and the efforts to deconcentrate poverty. Chapter III provided a review of U.S. housing policy from the past century along with HUD's HOPE VI and CNI programs. Associated stigma to living in high poverty concentrated areas and in public housing also has been explained in detail.

One project example of the design manifestation of the deconcentration of poverty is Harbor Point, a rental-only, mixed-income development in Boston (Dorchester), Massachusetts. Harbor Point was not funded by HUD's HOPE VI program. Harbor Point was designed during the mid-1980s and completed in 1988, prior to the inception of HOPE VI. The second project example that illustrates design manifestations of the deconcentration of poverty is High Point, a HUD HOPE VI funded revitalization development in Seattle, Washington. High Point is a more recent development. Residents began occupying units at High Point in 2005, thirteen years after the HOPE VI program was established. By critiquing these two examples of the deconcentration of poverty concept being applied, one can see which tools are beneficial to producing design results that reduce stigma. The results also demonstrate design strategies that help elevate public housing residents to the same level as higher-income residents living in market rate housing. Ideally, these strategies can then be implemented in CNI and similar housing programs.

Some housing communities were designed as good mixed-income developments. This means that the design included the public housing units that are adjacent to units with rents priced at market rate, and even next to for sale housing. For example, Corcoran, Mullins, Jennison (CMJ) described that at Harbor Point one cannot tell which residents are living in subsidized housing and which residents are from higher-income households. This is good. As a model for mixed-income, affordable housing, CMJ designed the development so that "All units are built to the same design and specification standards, and low-income residents are mixed equally throughout the site." One of the key results of quality design, which has been neglected by many other mixed income developments,

is the awareness of, like at Harbor Point, making sure that “there is no distinction between low-income and market rate residents.” Many developers claim that cost is the number one factor, therefore, material quality suffers as it is value-engineered out of design and construction, specifically taking away from the public housing, low-income units. However, CMJ demonstrated that their costs to design and construction each unit at the same level of quality was less expensive than the cost of comparable design and construction of units in cheaper public housing projects.¹⁷⁰

Unlike Harbor Point, the design patterns of the High Point HOPE VI mixed-income community appears to inadequately deconcentrate. A critique of the Harbor Point mixed-income community located in Boston (Dorchester), Massachusetts in the next section demonstrates this in detail.

HARBOR POINT, BOSTON (DORCHESTER), MASSACHUSETTS

Harbor Point in Boston (Dorchester), Massachusetts provided an example of how to design and develop a mixed-income community years before the inception of HOPE VI. The Harbor Point rental-only, mixed-income community was developed on a 50-acre site for 1,283 households.¹⁷¹ The project was located on the old Columbia Point public housing location. Columbia Point had its grand opening on April 29, 1954.¹⁷² This was considered “New England’s largest housing project” at that time. It housed many public housing residents until January 24, 1987 – the first day of demolition. Harbor Point combined new town homes and mid-rises for its residents upon initial occupancy in 1988. The designers kept a few existing structures. They renovated three- and seven-story buildings and created a new dramatic street pattern that celebrates traditional city layouts.¹⁷³ Downtown Boston and the waterfront are part of the backdrop in the aerial photograph of Harbor Point shown in Image 7.

¹⁷⁰ Roessner, Jane. 2000. *A decent place to live: from Columbia Point to Harbor Point: a community history*. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 290 – 292.

¹⁷¹ Urban Transformations: Columbia Point – Harbor Point, Boston 004e136.netsolhost.com/images/7HP.pdf (accessed May 30, 2012)

¹⁷² Roessner, Jane. 2000. *A decent place to live: from Columbia Point to Harbor Point: a community history*. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 21.

¹⁷³ Goody Clancy “Architecture.” <http://www.goodyclancy.com/arch?categoryId=9&view=project&layout=image&projectid=30&image=5> (accessed May 30, 2012).

Image 7: Aerial of Harbor Point “Harbor City” in Boston (Dorchester), Massachusetts



Source: Goody Clancy “Architecture.”
<http://www.goodyclancy.com/arch?categoryId=9&view=project&layout=image&projectid=30&image=5> (accessed May 30, 2012).

Boston is located on the coast of Massachusetts in Suffolk County. Figure 3 is a map of the Boston and its neighborhood districts. The map illustrates the city's location in context to Harbor Point.

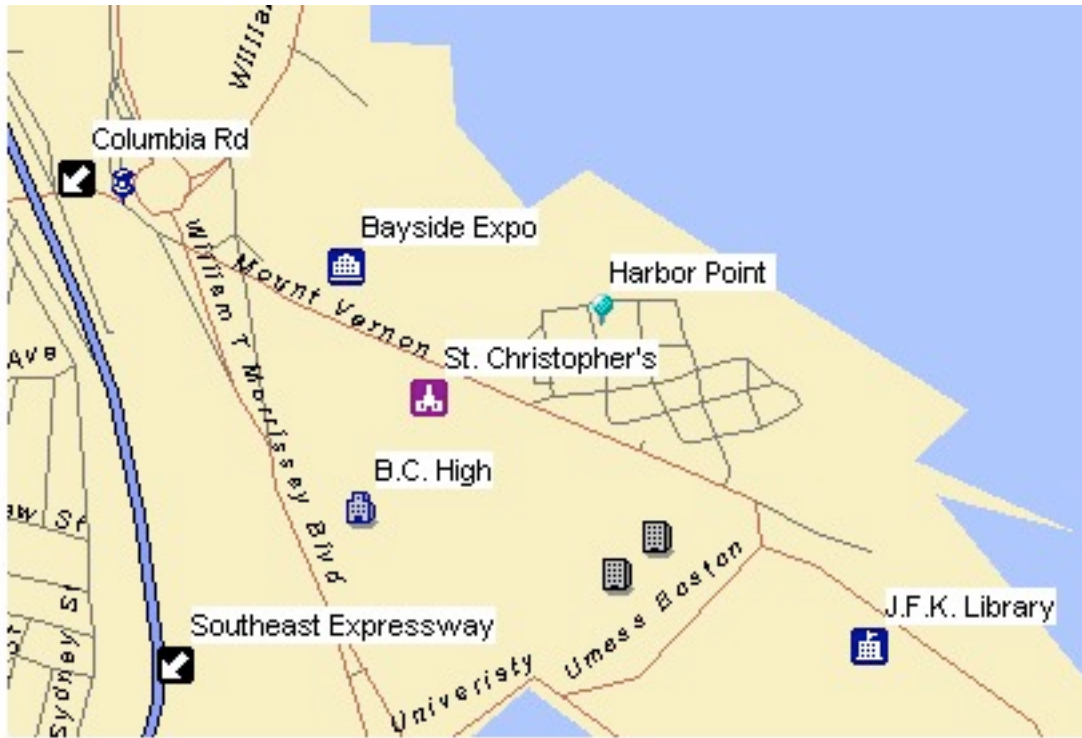
Figure 3: Neighborhood Map of Boston



Source: Boston Harbor Walk
<http://www.bostonharborwalk.com/placestogo/location.php?nid=2> (accessed June 6, 2012).

Figure 4 is a map of the Harbor Point neighborhood and its proximity to local amenities, such as the John F. Kennedy (JFK) Library and the University of Massachusetts (UMass) – Boston campus.

Figure 4: Map of Columbia Point (Harbor Point) and its Proximity to the John F. Kennedy Library, University of Massachusetts – Boston, and the Southeast Expressway



Source: St. Christopher's Faith Community.
<http://www.stchristopherchurch.org/images/map.jpg> (accessed June 6, 2012).

Harbor Point has been praised for its success in deconcentrating poverty through its design. Harbor Point achieved a mixed-income neighborhood that allowed for higher-income households to live next to lower-income residents.¹⁷⁴

The Harbor Point location provided vistas of the water, the Boston skyline and a new linear waterfront park - once the public housing was removed, towers demolished and

¹⁷⁴ Roessner, Jane. 2000. *A decent place to live: from Columbia Point to Harbor Point: a community history*. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 289.

the new development design implemented.¹⁷⁵ The architecture firm that designed Harbor Point, Goody Clancy and Associates, posted a few more descriptive details on their website. The design firm stated that the success of the project stemmed from including¹⁷⁶ “simple architectural details such as dormers, bay windows, pitched roofs, and balconies [that] evoked traditional New England housing types. [The] development features a diversity of unit types and sizes: market-rate and subsidized apartments are seamlessly integrated.” Furthermore, the success of “Harbor Point influenced national housing policy, inspiring (in part) the federal government's HOPE VI program.”¹⁷⁷

The more aggressive integration of the income levels in Harbor Point eliminated many issues that would have otherwise created a microclimate of poverty concentration within the development. Harbor Point's design approach made it a priority to reduce the stigmatization that existed for public housing residents prior to demolition. The resulting intermingling of income groups and races was an outcome of the project being initiated by the public housing residents and the participation of residents as full-fledged, decision-making partners throughout the design and development processes.¹⁷⁸ As end-users, public housing residents' participation throughout the processes was important to the former Columbia Point public housing residents. The developers Corcoran, Mullins, and Jennison (CMJ) and other stakeholders also found it crucial to have the residents' participation. This level of community planning and participation was important to ensure a successful mixed-income development.

Because of the immediate proximity of low-income to higher-income households at Harbor Point, there were more opportunities for “chance encounters” between the diverse groups. They had reasons that would require the various cultures and persons from different backgrounds to initiate interactions with their neighbors. Furthermore, the board members of the old Columbia Point and the new Harbor Point included individuals from all income levels, racial backgrounds, academic echelons and professional strata. This was good. It represented a strong and truly mixed-income, diverse community. The variables implemented at Harbor Point imparted pride and reduced stigma where

¹⁷⁵ Goody Clancy

<http://www.goodyclancy.com/arch?categoryId=9&view=project&layout=image&projectid=30&image=5>
Accessed May 30, 2012

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹⁷⁸ Roessner, Jane. 2000. *A decent place to live: from Columbia Point to Harbor Point: a community history*. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 189, 289.

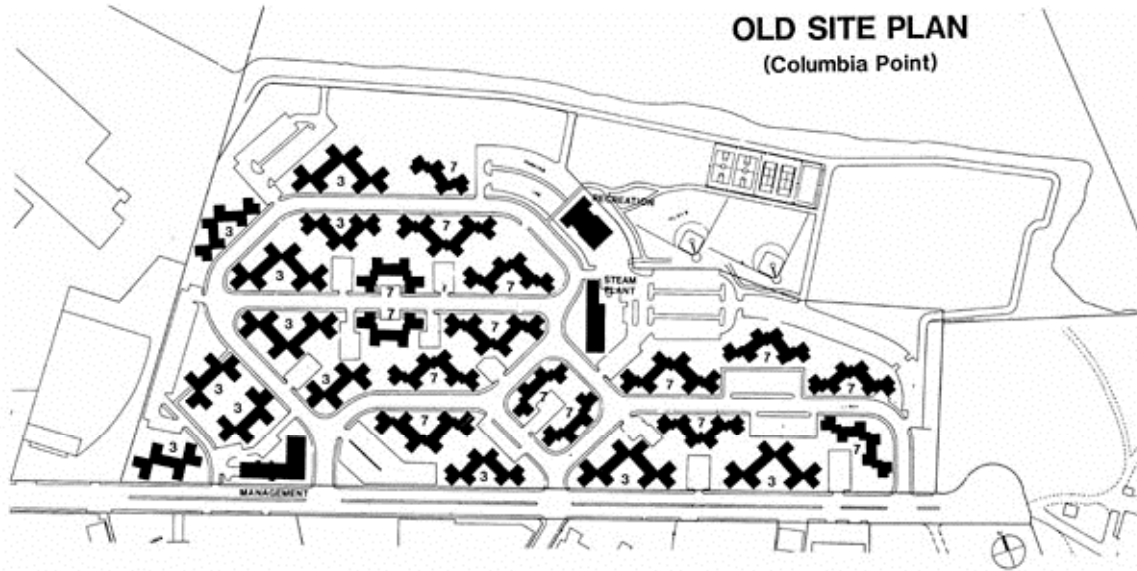
possible. In a 1996 study¹⁷⁹ of mixed-income housing developments, Michael F. Schubert and Alison Thresher found that there were few non-minority households with children occupying Harbor Point. Their findings also noted a substantial number of minority children occupying market-rate units. Schubert and Thresher reported, “While noise from children playing or youth congregating is occasionally an issue for some market-rate renters, management staff reports that many market-rate residents enjoy the sense of community they find at Harbor Point.”¹⁸⁰

Images 8 and 9 show the curving street grid within the old Columbia Point compared to the more orthogonal pattern designed for the Harbor Point mixed-income development. The original layout as illustrated in the old site plan of the housing project included the “towers in the park” design. Image 10 is a photograph of the towers of old Columbia Point.

¹⁷⁹ Michael F. Schubert and Alison Thresher, *Lessons from the Field: Three Case Studies of Mixed-Income Housing Development*, Great Cities Institute, April 1996. Great Cities Institute at the University of Illinois at Chicago. www.uic.edu/cuppa/gci (accessed May 30, 2012)

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid*, 13.

Image 8: Old Site Plan of Columbia Point Before Harbor Point Redevelopment



Source: Urban Transformations: Columbia Point – Harbor Point, Boston
 004e136.netsohost.com/images/7HP.pdf (accessed May 30, 2012)

Image 9: New Site Plan with New Street Grid and Layout for Harbor Point Redevelopment



Source: Urban Transformations: Columbia Point – Harbor Point, Boston
 004e136.netsohost.com/images/7HP.pdf (accessed May 30, 2012)

Image 10: Columbia Point's "Towers in the Park" Compared to Harbor Point's New Design



Source: Columbia University's Architecture Course Website Directories.
http://www.columbia.edu/itc/architecture/wright/6769_2001/images/week5/week5.html
(accessed May 30, 2012)

Buildings from Columbia Point before they were demolished for redevelopment are shown in Image 11. New town homes adorn the former site of Columbia Point, now called Harbor Point. Image 12 shows light-colored town homes located in the Harbor Point mixed-income development.

Image 11: "Columbia Point before its redevelopment"



Source: Thebaud, Angie, Jeanne Haffner, and Erick Guerra. (2008). Privately-Funded Public Housing Redevelopment: A study of the transformation of Columbia Point (Boston, MA). Institute for International Urban Development. Cambridge, Massachusetts, 4. <http://i2ud.org/harborpoint/> (accessed August 20, 2012).

Image 12: "Light-colored townhouses at Harbor Point"



Source: Thebaud, Angie, Jeanne Haffner, and Erick Guerra. (2008). Privately-Funded Public Housing Redevelopment: A study of the transformation of Columbia Point (Boston, MA). Institute for International Urban Development. Cambridge, Massachusetts, 4. <http://i2ud.org/harborpoint/> (accessed August 20, 2012).

A rendered master plan of Columbia Point – Harbor Point (Figure 5) provides a more holistic understanding of the density that was achieved in the development along with other neighborhood amenities, such as the University of Massachusetts located on the lower right side. The holistic design incorporated educational institutions, mixed-income housing for market rate and affordable households, accessible transportation, commercial buildings and health care facilities. The John F. Kennedy (JFK) Library and the University of Massachusetts (UMass) – Boston campus were part of the neighborhood master plan. The plan included the State Archives building, the historic pumping station and the Bayside Expo Center. Also, the Columbia Point - Harbor Point area is connected to the rest of Boston via the T-Line mass transportation rail system.

Figure 5: Master Plan of Columbia Point - Harbor Point and Surrounding Neighborhood Amenities



Source: Urban Transformations: Columbia Point – Harbor Point, Boston
004e136.netsohost.com/images/7HP.pdf (accessed May 30, 2012)

A photograph of Harbor Point after development (Image 13) gives one the idea about how the new grid affected the views and made being in the community a more pleasant experience. The streets are elongated toward the bay affording views for many households. The grassy mall or boulevard with open and green spaces is nestled between the buildings and connects to the harbor walk and park adjacent to the waters edge.

Image 13: Bird's Eye Photograph of Harbor Point After Development



Source: Urban Transformations: Columbia Point – Harbor Point, Boston
004e136.netsolhost.com/images/7HP.pdf (accessed May 30, 2012)

Harbor Point's Success: Good Management and Good People

As stated by Ruby Jaundoo, a Harbor Point resident, "Good management is what makes any community work well."¹⁸¹ Rudy did not say that everything was running as smooth as milk and honey. She believed that the simplicity of the issues that were discussed at a June 1998 task force meeting were a testament to the quality of the new community,

¹⁸¹ Roessner, Jane. 2000. *A decent place to live: from Columbia Point to Harbor Point: a community history*. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 287.

especially relative to the harsh environment that Columbia Point was notorious for. Instead of reporting high crime rates and security issues, a security representative was able to play baseball and enjoy himself rather than attend the meeting. This suggested that crime and security were not as big of a problem as before. Participants of the meeting were able to raise concerns about perceived unfair practices toward low-income residents. Residents wanted everyone to be treated equally; therefore, if prospective market-rate residents were not expected to receive visits from management to inspect their apartments then prospective low-income residents should not have to have their apartments inspected. CMJ also wanted to make sure that residents were treated equally. This stance of equality for all residents was apparent in many aspects of the design of Harbor Point community. Particularly, it surfaced in the quality and standards used in design and construction of the units. While this was positive, Harbor Point was also a good place to live no matter your race or income, according to many residents.¹⁸² Hubie Jones, assistant to the chancellor for urban affairs at the University of Massachusetts-Boston, said, “The social isolation of classes and races has been America’s Achilles’ heel.” Jones stated, “...Harbor Point demonstrates that people from different classes and of different races can live side by side, more or less harmoniously.”¹⁸³ I agree with Jones’ statements and believe that Harbor Point is a good example of a true, mixed-income development. Even though CMJ did a good job of integrating mixed-incomes throughout the site, there still remained the challenge of physical and social isolation of Harbor Point from the rest of Boston. The following section describes how the developers, community leaders and members have worked to find solutions to the isolation concern.

Harbor Point’s Isolation Concerns

The isolation of Harbor Point has resulted in the creation of an entire community within its boundary. There was no residential neighborhood within two miles of the development during the 1960s while it was Columbia Point. Furthermore, Harbor Point children were not able to have spontaneous play times with children from other neighborhoods and community centers because of the isolation. Few restaurants and shops were within walking distance of Harbor Point. Also, the neighborhood is not within the ‘line of vision’ of most of Boston leaders.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸² Ibid, 287.

¹⁸³ Ibid.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid, 144.

Some in the community saw the isolation as a benefit. One advantage of its isolation yet proximity to the rest of Boston is that Harbor Point is one of the safest places in the area to live. But the negatives sometime seem to outweigh the benefits of being isolated. For example, and as discussed earlier in the example of Prince George's County, Maryland (PG County) an affluent African-American community, some of the businesses within the Harbor Point community had problems expanding their clientele. Columbia Point Associates (CPA) of the larger neighborhood's chair, Brian Toomey, told CPA members that he has had challenges attracting new clients to the health center where he is director. He stated, "Some people are still wary about coming here. They worry about what's 'down there'" - stigma? This concern sounds similar to the fears and obstacles faced in PG County. Because of the concentration of poverty, the continued isolation of Harbor Point and fears from those outside, the economic viability of the strong, and flourishing community might be in jeopardy. If there was lack of interest in investing in businesses or in becoming clients to established companies, health centers, etc. within the community surrounding this model, mixed-income development, then there is a high likelihood that these concerns have affected federally funded, HOPE VI revitalized neighborhoods. The measures used by prospective investors and clients for Harbor Point likely do not differ from the variables that could constrain investment in neighborhoods surrounding some HOPE VI developments. The next section covers the key strategies that have helped to make Harbor Point a successful model for mixed-income developments and affordable housing community for HOPE VI and other housing programs aimed to deconcentration poverty. The successful strategies can be used to influence the development, design, construction and management of other mixed-income communities.

As a model for affordable housing, particularly as a model mixed-income community, Harbor Point developers and designers instituted a number of recommended strategy solutions. CMJ met goals for the deconcentration of poverty "by reclaiming public housing projects and converting them into private, mixed-income communities."¹⁸⁵

¹⁸⁵ Ibid, 289.

Some of these strategic elements were:

- Make sure that residents are active participants in the development process, sharing decision-making authority.
- Commit to guaranteeing units in the new development for all residents living in the Columbia Point project at the time of development.
- Pledge that design and specification standards are the same for all units whether for market-rate or subsidized residents, with no distinction between them.
- Guarantee that design and amenities are comparable to what might be offered in conventional, market-rate developments.
- Ensure a strong and professional post-occupancy management team.
- Provide private social service programs for on-going support to families wishing to become self-sufficient.
- Make sure cost of the development is not the overarching driver.

The number of market-rate residents in 1997 was 57 percent or 1,653 out of 2,900 total individual.¹⁸⁶ In contrast, there were 1,247 subsidized residents, which was approximately 43 percent of Harbor Point's residents with low-incomes.¹⁸⁷ Showing the distribution of the number of residents by category of market-rate, subsidized, race and total population is important because it demonstrates the scale in which the developers, planners, designers and post-occupancy managers were required to work. More information and tables relative to the planning and development processes for Harbor Point are represented and discussed in Appendix C. It highlights the numbers of residents, the project data with costs, and statistics of the mix of incomes and diverse backgrounds that make up the community.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

¹⁸⁷ According to 2000 U.S. Census data, the city of Boston had an estimated 589,141 residents, which one can assume was similar in 1997.

Boston's Population – 2000: 4. Population by Census Tract including Race and Ethnicity in Boston and Boston's Neighborhoods for the year 2000. Boston Redevelopment Authority. City of Boston. April 2001. Report #544. (PL 94-171 Initial Release), 8.
<http://www.bostonredevelopmentauthority.org/Research/ResearchSubject.asp?SubjectID=25> (accessed August 19, 2012).

Success of Youth in Mixed-Income (Deconcentration) Programs

There was a limited amount of literature on the success of youth at Harbor Point. What the literature did include was that the community's children were high priority for the adult leaders of Harbor Point. For example, Joe Corcoran, one of Harbor Point's developers, wanted to provide activities for the community's children and the teenagers. He wanted the youth to do well in school. Also, Rudy Jaundoo stated, "it is a great place for kids to grow up... you've got teenagers here just like any place else..."¹⁸⁸ She wanted to have more recreation programs for Harbor Point youth.

Harbor Point youth are important to the community building efforts. Further investigation in the success and challenges of the Harbor Point's community youth would provide more insight on the best practices implemented in the design of this mixed-income development.

Columbia Point youth visited New York City on a field trip during the 1970s as shown in Image 14 with the Statue of Liberty in the background.

Image 14: Columbia Point Youth on a Field Trip to New York City, 1970s



Source: "What Happened to Public Housing? A study guide for the film Down the Project: The Crisis of Public Housing." Commentary by Rachel G. Bratt and Richard Broadman. www.der.org/resources/study.../down-the-project-study-guide.pdf (accessed May 31, 2012), 10.

¹⁸⁸ Roessner, Jane. 2000. *A decent place to live: from Columbia Point to Harbor Point: a community history*. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 282 – 283.

HIGH POINT, SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

Demolition of High Point housing structures began in 2003.¹⁸⁹ Many of the units were over 60 years old. These units were the defense worker housing built in 1942 and transitioned into public housing residences years later - during the 1950s.¹⁹⁰ The revitalization efforts for the new High Point HOPE VI neighborhood was the third such project designed and implemented by a team of leaders from the Seattle Housing Authority, the City of Seattle, urban designers, planners, architects and other stakeholders in the Pacific Northwest region. The construction phase for rental housing began in 2004 and the first SHA-rental residents occupied their homes in 2005, while the construction of Phase 1 for sale homes started in 2005. Owners began moving into their new homes in 2006.¹⁹¹

The aerial photograph in Image 15 is looking north at downtown Seattle and Puget Sound over the High Point neighborhood. It is a bird's eye view of the urban context of the revitalized community. High Point, in the foreground, is located to the southwest of downtown Seattle. It is perched above much of the surrounding geography. Puget Sound is nestled in between West Seattle and downtown Seattle and can be viewed from many points throughout the neighborhood. To the immediate northeast is a greenbelt that contains the Longfellow Creek. Appendix D includes additional High Point site images.

Unlike Harbor Point, the design patterns of HOPE VI mixed-income communities appear to be slightly influenced by the deconcentration of poverty as described in the next section – a critique of SHA's High Point new urbanist, urban renewal community.

¹⁸⁹ "High Point," *Seattle Housing Authority*. <http://www.seattlehousing.org/redevelopment/high-point/> (accessed May 31, 2012).

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*

Image 15: Aerial View Over High Point Neighborhood
in West Seattle, Washington's Delridge District



Source: Adopted from High Point Newsletter (September 2007).

Figure 6: Map of North, Central and South Seattle, Downtown Seattle, and the Proximities to the High Point (HOPE VI), an Urban Renewal Community



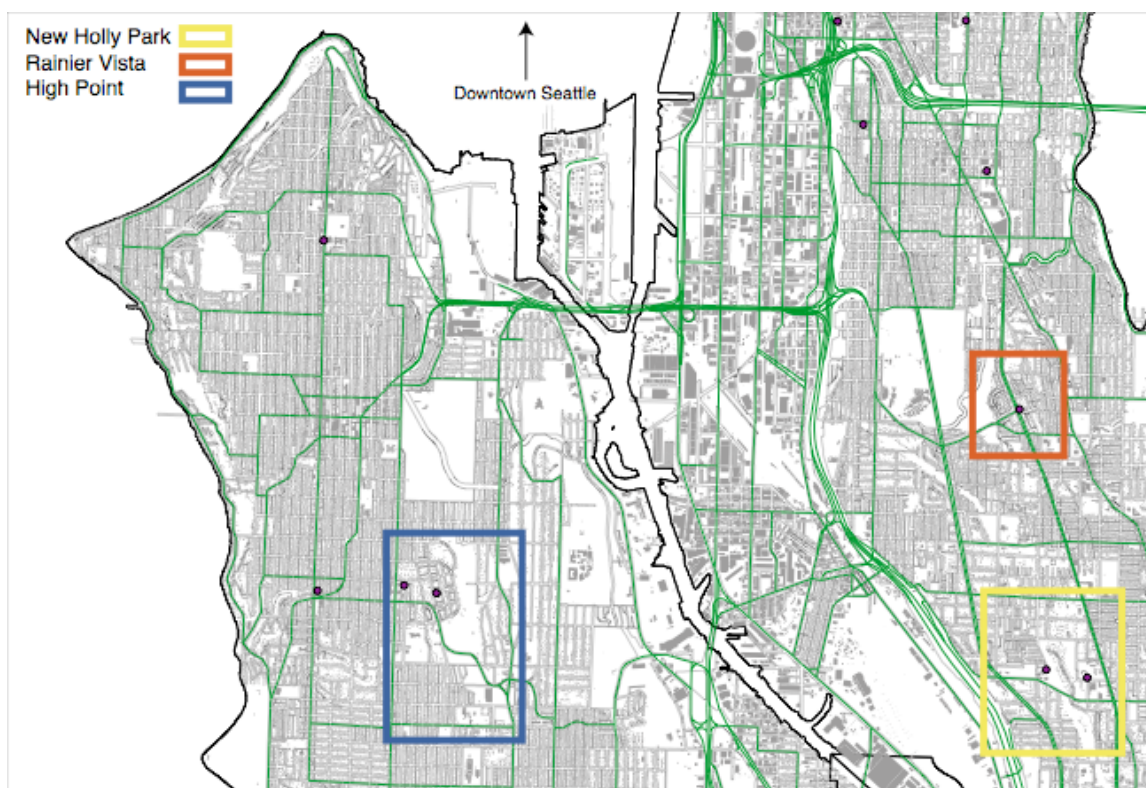
Source: *Seattle City Clerk's Geographic Indexing Atlas*. Seattle City Clerk's Online Information Resources <http://clerk.seattle.gov/~public/nmaps/html/NN-1580S.htm> (accessed June 6, 2012)

The High Point neighborhood is located in the Delridge district of West Seattle. Seattle is located in King County on the western side of Washington State (see Figure 6). The High Point neighborhood was developed on the old High Point site, which contains the highest point in Seattle at 520 feet above sea level.¹⁹² The neighborhood is located on the east side of 35th Avenue SW, between 35th and the Longfellow Creek greenbelt.¹⁹³ Figure 7 shows High Point in proximity to downtown Seattle and the two other HOPE VI developments completed by Seattle Housing Authority: NewHolly and Rainier Vista.

¹⁹²Gensheimer, Jolene. "Neighborhood of the week: Sammamish Plateau." *Real Estate. The Seattle Times*. January 21, 2011. http://seattletimes.nwsourc.com/html/realstate/2013971513_realneighborhood23.html (accessed May 30, 2012)

¹⁹³ *Seattle's High Point Redevelopment: Great Design, Healthy Community*. An application for the 2007 Rudy Bruner Award for Urban Excellence. December 2006, 3.

Figure 7: New Holly Park, Rainier Vista and High Point (HOPE VI) Neighborhoods in Seattle, WA



Source: GIS map created by author, André Taybron from Washington State GIS Data.

What one finds in High Point are things that will not be available in other public housing units in other developments.¹⁹⁴ All units have front porches. The development contains 5 percent or 30-barrier free units. Overall, there are 9.6 – 10 percent barrier free units, which equates to 60 barrier free units. Also, accessible units are on-grade, eliminating the need for traditional ramps. Ramps would make it more apparent that the units are “accessible, barrier free units.”¹⁹⁵ High Point also provides a level of safety for families; however, there are fewer kids in the market-rate units. Another amenity is the “Breath Easy Homes” for households with members who suffer from Asthma. The intent of these units is to minimize the suffering by residents.¹⁹⁶

One result of the design of HOPE VI mixed-income developments is that low-income residents are still concentrated. The fourth principle of the HOPE VI program is to ensure that low-income families are dispersed so that they are not within one neighborhood.

¹⁹⁴ Brian Sullivan, In-person communication. June 26, 2012.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

The problem the program was intended to address was the concentration of poverty. One promise from federal leaders was that the HOPE VI program would maximize low-income households and community members' exposure to their high-income counterparts within mainstream society. The personal exchanges between low-income and higher-income residents would come as a result of the design solutions. The design intent of a HOPE VI community like High Point was to incorporate higher-income residents into the community along with the public housing residents. Even though the new High Point HOPE VI community may not be considered high-poverty, the critique that I have about the implemented design is that public housing households are still clustered within the development. I consider this a problem.

In some mixed-income communities, it is apparent where the concentrated public housing low-income residents live and where the higher-income, market rate units are located. In other mixed-income communities, designers have done a better job at camouflaging the economic status of households. This distinction between subsidized rentals and market-rate for sale and rental units can be obvious when observing the quality of construction materials and by analyzing master plans. During site visits to Seattle Housing Authority's (SHA) HOPE VI projects High Point, Rainier Vista and NewHolly communities, I observed the differences in material quality between the unit types. The contrast of quality on exterior materials was quite noticeable, particularly at NewHolly. Even though design of units were a big improvement over the old High Point residence demolished during this revitalization process, there were still clear distinctions in the level of quality between subsidized homes for low-income households and those for higher-income households.

For example Image 16 contains photographs of homes that display peculiarity between their material qualities and architectural character. Some units appear stripped of any architectural character, while others show signs of thought, architectural detail and higher quality of materials used in the design and construction. The pictures show SHA-rental housing units (the red unit) with little architectural character compared to the market-rate, for sale homes (grey unit with natural wood details). The craftsman-style home has architectural character and details that the low-income, SHA-rental home is lacking, which shows thought in the design of the market-rate unit that went beyond considerations for the SHA-rental home. Furthermore, the material quality appears to be of higher standard for the market-rate home and less for the SHA-rental home. The market-rate home's color is much more appealing and the front yard welcomes the

residents and guests into the space, unlike the saturated paint colors and curb appeal of the SHA-rental home. The entrance of the market-rate home is much more private than the subsidized SHA-rental home. The colors and materials are warmer and more welcoming on the market-rate home, as well as the “gateway” (entrance) into the home – the porch.

Image 16: Photographs (1-3) of Housing Units within the High Point (HOPE VI) Development with Distinctive Material Qualities and Architectural Character





2



3

Source: Author, André Taybron

Image 17 illustrates the distinctions between doors used for market-rate and subsidized units. On the left of set 1 and 2 is a photograph of a door installed for a public housing unit; while on the right, a higher quality, craftsman-style door found on many of the market-rate units. These different door qualities provide awareness for onlookers to distinguish between a subsidized and a market-rate unit. This distinction in door material and quality does not represent a seamless integration of mixed-income residents. I can only imagine what is seen and felt by subsidized residents living within the community and in homes with lesser material quality – many whom are the former public housing tenants.

Image 17: Door Materiality Comparison, High Point (HOPE VI), an Urban Renewal Community

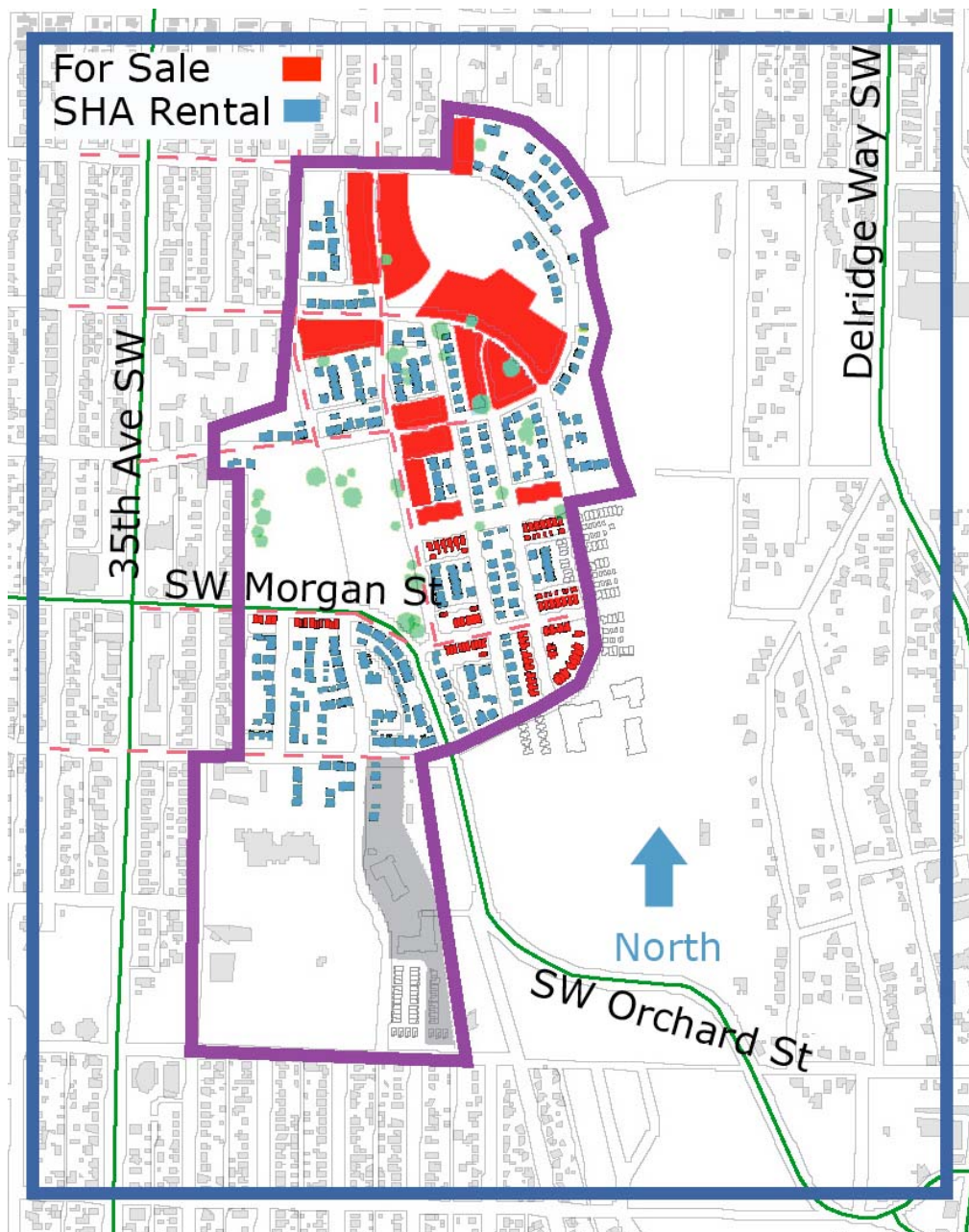


Source: Author, André Taybron

As shown in Figure 8, the High Point master plan illustrates the physical and spatial division. For example, for sale and market-rate housing are separated from the SHA-rental housing, much different than the explanation of equal distribution of residents within the Harbor Point, rental-only, mixed-income model. The red color represents for sale homes that are clustered around the retention pond, one of the major neighborhood amenities. Relative to the total number of SHA rental units (represented by the blue color), very few SHA-rental units are immediately adjacent to the water feature. Likewise, some of the best views that were once accessible to public housing residents from their former homes are now only available to them from a viewing point located between the for sale housing. Again, the for sale homes are clustered around and overlook the water feature, the park next to the retention pond, the walking trail and now own many of the best views from the neighborhood, having vistas of downtown Seattle and Puget Sound. However, a few vistas of downtown are available throughout the development, from fewer SHA-rental units and from some of the community parks. With further analysis and critique of the SHA High Point master plan, one can see that the SHA rental-housing units are clustered within blocks that do not physically touch the blocks and parcels of those with the market-rate units -- that would house higher-income households. There is only one block where for sale homes share common space with SHA-rental housing without a road or alley separating them. By design, none of the for sale units face SHA-rental units.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁷ Brian Sullivan, In-person communication. June 26, 2012.

Figure 8: Seattle Housing Authority's High Point (HOPE VI), an Urban Renewal Community



Source: Courtesy of SHA (Adapted for thesis diagram purposes by Author, André Taybron).

The segregation has created a microclimate of concentration of low-income households in one of the very developments funded, designed and constructed to eliminate this type of toxicity and pattern. The design solutions might perpetuate the type of stigma situation that existed for the public housing residents who lived in old High Point prior to demolition. Even though the concentration of poverty in the High Point neighborhood is now on a micro-scale level compared to that of old High Point, it is still concentration of

low-income households, nonetheless - a level of poverty concentration that I consider a problem.

Another concern that has surfaced after analysis of these mixed income communities was the design for “chance encounters.” For what reasons would the various cultures and persons from different backgrounds have to initiate any interactions with their neighbors, especially if they are from diverse income levels, social and economic backgrounds and professional strata. SHA marketing materials included descriptions of “front yards, porches located close to sidewalks, and the overall design of the community encourage social interaction.”¹⁹⁸

Image 18 is a photograph of High Point housing units with porches. The units are situated close to sidewalks. This group of homes is located across from one of the community parks. The parks were observed as places of activity during a site visit to complete an informal examination.

Image 18: High Point Units with Porches Close to Sidewalks and Across from a Community Park



Source: Author, André Taybron

¹⁹⁸ Seattle Housing Authority. <http://www.seattlehousing.org/redevelopment/high-point/photos/12/> (accessed May 30, 2012).

Despite such marketing, the distance between “for sale” / “market-rate” and SHA-rental housing at High Point might eliminate any personal interactions between the diverse income and housing tenure groups--whether the interactions would be intentional or by chance. The “chance encounters,” as illustrated and discussed in website marketing propaganda and in the developments design guidelines, may very-seldom or never occur. There is little evidence that support the idea that these opportunities for residents to interaction within the communities are taken advantage of.¹⁹⁹ Lawrence Vale, during his review of Mark Joseph’s analysis of literature on mixed-income developments states the need for further research of the topic of chance encounters and the implied effectiveness on the development of social capital and role modeling between lower-income residents and higher-income, professional residents. Vale suggests chance encounters as one variable amongst many other topics needing further research that would help to more fully understand the dynamics of mixed income developments. He writes:²⁰⁰

Mix occurs by chance encounter or by facilitated opportunity or by perceived commonality—child-rearer, church-goer, tenant activist, bus commuter, and the like—so a detailed analysis of actual patterns of encounter is necessary before firm conclusions can be reached about the development of social capital and role-modeling.

¹⁹⁹ Levy, K., McDade, Z. & Dumlao, K. (2010). *Effects from living in mixed-income communities for low-income families*. Washington, DC: Urban Institute, 16. www.urban.org/uploadedpdf/412292-effects-from-living.pdf (accessed August 19, 2012).

²⁰⁰ Vale, Lawrence J. Comment on Mark Joseph’s “Is Mixed-Income Development an Antidote to Urban Poverty?” Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 267.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

CONCLUSIONS

The HOPE VI program has had great success in creating new mixed-income communities, High Point being a good example. The program has also provided positive results by funding efforts that have:

- Provided instant equity that housing authorities could use as leverage and incentives to attract and develop much needed financial relationships and other public-private partnerships.
- Decreased poverty concentration and reduced stigma.
- Designed and developed award winning, sustainable and ecologically friendly developments like High Point.

RECOMMENDATIONS

As a result of my study, I recommend the following mechanisms for stigma reduction, deconcentration of poverty and hope for the HOPE VI program:

1) Consider the best design solutions to implement mixed-income revitalization programs successfully. For example, for HOPE VI and similar developments, there should be no distinction between a unit with a higher-income household and a low-income household. As mentioned earlier, Corcoran, Mullins, Jennison (CMJ) designed the Harbor Point development so that the same design and specification standards were used for all units. This can help to relieve some stigma associated with public housing and subsidized residents being treated differently, like second-class individuals.

2) Integrate low-income residents equally throughout the site. The developers of Harbor Point, CMJ, considered one key component in creating a positive, quality design and that was to truly mix income levels throughout the site. CMJ found that treating all residents as if they were at the same or similar income levels proved beneficial to building strong community. Truly integrating incomes means having higher-income households living directly next to subsidized, lower-income households; there should be no unit-distinction between low-income and market-rate residents.

As with CMJ's mixed-income development strategies, urban designers and planners should institute a minimum of three things:

- Be sure that residents are at the table with the developers from the beginning of the planning process. The residents should be co-general partners with the developers and other decision-making authorities throughout the entire process.
- Design and build all units to the same level of quality, have the same specification standards and ensure that low-income residents are equally dispersed throughout the development.
- Amenities offered and the community design should be comparable to those of conventional market-rate developments.

3) Find innovative initiatives and alternatives to the housing programs that are also solutions for eliminating poverty and stigma reduction. This may include funding set aside in the development budget to ensure high-quality, supportive property management. Also, consider making available additional support services that residents identify as needed resources to help improve their quality of life. Ultimately, the cycle of poverty and patterns established across generations need to be broken. Maybe this requires investing more funding and energies into elevating the skills and human-capital of the residents who live in subsidized units. While it may be beneficial for parents to be involved, focusing on the youth ensures a better, more sustainable future, as seen by Rosenbaum's studies.

4) Continue to utilize strong partnerships across public, private and non-profit sectors to leverage expertise essential to successful developments. Furthermore, leaders should consider the recommendation from Mark Joseph (2009). He believes that capacity building for non-profit developers might be a better strategy, and long-term solution. Joseph encourages the creation of a stronger foundation through capacity building for the non-profit agencies, which would allow them to play a greater role in the mixed income housing development projects.

Contemplate working with the local, community institutions that have the strengths and experiences in both housing and support services. For example, the Campion Foundation²⁰¹ in Seattle, Washington is:

Committed to building the capacity of grantees so that they can achieve their program goals more effectively and efficiently. The Foundation views fundraising success as a key indicator of a healthy nonprofit and works with grantees to develop the skills and knowledge needed to increase revenue, diversify funding sources, and, ultimately, support grantees' long-term sustainability.

5) Institute three key strategies to: (1) ensure positive social outcomes (2) improve economic benefits and (3) strengthen environmental justice aspects for all mixed-income people. More specifically, government and nongovernmental leaders need to support HUD's Choice Neighborhoods Initiative (CNI), which includes the integration of these three key strategies mentioned above and focuses on:

- Transforming neighborhoods of extreme poverty into mixed income neighborhoods.
- Improving access to economic opportunities, and investing and leveraging investments in well-functioning services, educational opportunities, public assets, public transportation, and improved access to jobs.
- Supporting positive outcomes for families, including environmental justice issues that may exist within the surrounding context of the neighborhood.

Lastly, the mixed-income and mixed-use revitalization efforts and similar upcoming housing policies and plans, such as the CNI should be further studied. While continuing to address this country's low-income and affordable housing crises, it is vital for the future of U.S. housing policy and crucial to the design of society's urban fabric that there is a better understanding of design implications. The thoughtful and informed solutions should ensure stigma reduction and guarantee that those who require subsidized housing are seen as equal parties.

²⁰¹ "Capacity Building," *The Campion Foundation*. <http://campionfoundation.org/capacity/index.html> (accessed May 18, 2012).

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

HOW THE CENSUS BUREAU MEASURES POVERTY²⁰²

The measurement of poverty provides a base line for readers to understand within what framework the ideology of deconcentrating poverty belongs. The numbers that constitute concentrated poverty are derived from federal statistics and directives. This appendix provides further detail of how the Office of Management and Budget along with the Census Bureau defines and measures poverty.

Following the Office of Management and Budget's (OMB) Statistical Policy Directive 14, the Census Bureau uses a set of money income thresholds that vary by family size and composition to determine who is in poverty. If a family's total income is less than the family's threshold, then that family and every individual in it is considered in poverty. The official poverty thresholds do not vary geographically, but they are updated for inflation using Consumer Price Index (CPI-U). The official poverty definition uses money income before taxes and does not include capital gains or noncash benefits (such as public housing, Medicaid, and food stamps).

Income Used to Compute Poverty Status (Money Income)

- Includes earnings, unemployment compensation, workers' compensation, Social Security, Supplemental Security Income, public assistance, veterans' payments, survivor benefits, pension or retirement income, interest, dividends, rents, royalties, income from estates, trusts, educational assistance, alimony, child support, assistance from outside the household, and other miscellaneous sources.
- Noncash benefits (such as food stamps and housing subsidies) do not count.
- Before taxes
- Excludes capital gains or losses.
- If a person lives with a family, add up the income of all family members. (Non-relatives, such as housemates, do not count.)

²⁰² "How the U.S. Census Bureau Measures Poverty," *U.S. Census Bureau*
<http://www.census.gov/hhes/www/poverty/about/overview/measure.html> (accessed May 28, 2012).

Measure of Need (Poverty Thresholds)

Poverty thresholds are the dollar amounts used to determine poverty status.

Each person or family is assigned one out of 48 possible poverty thresholds [XLS - 48k]

Thresholds vary according to:

- Size of the family
- Ages of the members

The same thresholds are used throughout the United States (do not vary geographically).

Updated annually for inflation using the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers (CPI-U).

Although the thresholds in some sense reflect families needs,

- They are intended for use as a statistical yardstick, not as a complete description of what people and families need to live.
- Many government aid programs use a different poverty measure, the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) poverty guidelines, or multiples thereof.

Poverty thresholds were originally derived in 1963-1964, using:

- U.S. Department of Agriculture food budgets designed for families under economic stress.
- Data about what portion of their income families spent on food.

Computation

If total family income is less than the threshold appropriate for that family,

- The family is in poverty.
- All family members have the same poverty status.
- For individuals who do not live with family members, their own income is compared with the appropriate threshold.

If total family income equals or is greater than the threshold, the family (or unrelated individual) is not in poverty.

Example

Family A has five members: two children, their mother, father, and great-aunt.

Their threshold was \$26,675 in 2010. (See poverty thresholds for 2010).

Suppose the members' incomes in 2010 were:

Mother	\$10,000
Father	7,000
Great-aunt	10,000
First Child	0
Second Child	0
Total Family Income	\$27,000

Compare total family income with their family's threshold:

$$\text{Income} / \text{Threshold} = \$27,000 / \$26,675 = 1.01$$

Since their income was greater than their threshold, Family A is not "in poverty" according to the official definition.

The income divided by the threshold is called the Ratio of Income to Poverty.

-- Family A's ratio of income to poverty was 1.01.

The difference in dollars between family income and the family's poverty threshold is called the Income Deficit (for families in poverty) or Income Surplus (for families above poverty)

-- Family A's income surplus was \$325 (or \$27,000 - \$26,675).

People Whose Poverty Status Cannot Be Determined

Unrelated individuals under age 15 (such as foster children):

- Income questions are asked of people age 15 and older.
- If someone is under age 15 and not living with a family member, we do not know their income.
- Since we cannot determine their poverty status, they are excluded from the "poverty universe" (table totals).

People in:

- Institutional group quarters (such as prisons or nursing homes)
- College dormitories
- Military barracks
- Living situations without conventional housing (and who are not in shelters)

Authority Behind Official Poverty Measure

The official measure of poverty was established by the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) in Statistical Policy Directive 14

To be used by federal agencies in their statistical work.

Government aid programs do not have to use the official poverty measure as eligibility criteria.

- Many government aid programs use a different poverty measure, the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) poverty guidelines, or variants thereof.
- Each aid program may define eligibility differently.

Official poverty data come from the Current Population Survey (CPS) Annual Social and Economic Supplement (ASEC), formerly called the Annual Demographic Supplement or simply the "March Supplement."

APPENDIX B
HOPE VI OF 1992 HISTORY AND LEGISLATION

Public Law 102-389²⁰³

102nd Congress

H.R.5679

Latest Title: Departments of Veterans Affairs and Housing and Urban Development, and Independent Agencies Appropriations Act, 1993

Sponsor: Rep Traxler, Bob [MI-8] (introduced 7/23/1992) Cosponsors (None)

Related Bills: H.RES.529, H.RES.579

Latest Major Action: 10/6/1992 Became Public Law No: 102-389.TITLE(S):

- SHORT TITLE(S) AS INTRODUCED:

Departments of Veterans Affairs and Housing and Urban Development, and Independent Agencies Appropriations Act, 1993

- SHORT TITLE(S) AS REPORTED TO SENATE:

Departments of Veterans Affairs and Housing and Urban Development, and Independent Agencies Appropriations Act, 1993

- SHORT TITLE(S) AS PASSED SENATE:

Departments of Veterans Affairs and Housing and Urban Development, and Independent Agencies Appropriations Act, 1993

- SHORT TITLE(S) AS ENACTED:

Departments of Veterans Affairs and Housing and Urban Development, and Independent Agencies Appropriations Act, 1993

- OFFICIAL TITLE AS INTRODUCED:

²⁰³ THOMAS. The Library of Congress. Bill Summary & Status. <http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/bdquery/z?d102:HR05679:@@T> (accessed May 23, 2012)

Making appropriations for the Departments of Veterans Affairs and Housing and Urban Development, and for sundry independent agencies, boards, commissions, corporations, and offices for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1993, and for other purposes.

Latest Major Action: 10/6/1992 Became Public Law No: 102-389.

APPENDIX C
HARBOR POINT, BOSTON (DORCHESTER), MASSACHUSETTS
PROJECT DATA AND SITE IMAGES

Mixed-Income Housing: Factors for Success²⁰⁴

The following pages are extracted pages from a PDF document. The display quality could not be enhanced.

²⁰⁴ Brophy, Paul C. and Rhonda N. Smith. Mixed-Income Housing: Factors for success. 1997. Cityscape: A Journal of Policy Development and Research. 3 (2). Office of Policy Development and Research. U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. www.huduser.org/periodicals/cityscape/vol3num2/success.pdf (accessed August 20, 2012).

The Developments

Harbor Point, Boston, Massachusetts

Table 1

Income Mix: Harbor Point				
Income Mix	< 50% AMI*	50–79% AMI	80–99% AMI	> 100% AMI
Percent	59%	14%	8%	18%

Number of Units: 1,283, with modest commercial space

Placed in Service: 1988

Ownership: Private, for-profit company with former public housing residents as partners

Rent Range: \$795–\$1,395 per month

* Area Median Income.

Source: Schubert and Thresher, 1996.

Harbor Point is a mixed-income development located on a dramatic waterfront site adjacent to the John F. Kennedy Library and the University of Massachusetts at Boston. The project, formerly the Columbia Point public housing development owned by the Boston Housing Authority, had become a classic troubled, family highrise public housing project, inundated with crime and drugs. By 1979, only 350 units of the original 1,500 units remained occupied. But in the wake of its successful transformation into mixed-income housing, the development has achieved a reputation as a prototype for mixing market-rate units with public housing.

History. The transition of Columbia Point was spearheaded by tenants who are now active residents of Harbor Point. The Harbor Point Apartment Company was formed in 1986 as a joint enterprise between the residents and a private developer to produce a mixed-income development consisting of 70 percent market-rate housing and 30 percent subsidized housing. Out of concern that the mix be dispersed throughout the highrise buildings, the plan specified that no more than one-half of the residents in any building be low-income tenants. Some of the highrise buildings were demolished to make way for townhouse construction, while others were renovated.

Complex financing was required in order to assemble the \$250 million needed for the new development. The State provided \$154 million in a combination of loans and grants. From HUD came an Urban Development Action Grant (UDAG) of \$12 million and an Urban Initiatives loan of \$9 million. The remaining \$75 million came from equity. Ongoing operating subsidies are provided by a combination of Federal and State programs.

Tenant Composition and Interaction. Harbor Point is located in Dorchester, a Boston neighborhood with a reputation for high crime rates. Yet its proximity to downtown Boston and other large employment centers, as well as its waterfront location, gave the developers an opportunity to create a viable mixed-income development. Emphasis was placed on making the units attractive, the community safe, and the amenity package sufficient to attract market-rate tenants. With a swimming pool, tennis courts, fitness center, and free parking, Harbor Point can offer a package of amenities unavailable at similar rents in downtown Boston.

Rents for the project's 883 market-rate units range from \$795 for a one-bedroom unit to \$1,395 for three bedrooms—a bargain in the Boston area, especially for apartments with modern amenities. Rents for the 400 subsidized units range from \$863 for a one-bedroom unit to \$1,139 for four bedrooms. HUD's Section 8 certificates subsidize 350 of these units and the remainder are subsidized by a similar State program in which the residents' portion of the rent is equal to 35 percent of their income. The rental subsidies for the low-income units seem to enable the project to offer competitive rents on the market-rate units.

The market-rate units are occupied by a wide range of tenants, from students to professionals, many of them foreign nationals living in Boston for a limited period. At times, residents have represented as many as 40 nations. The market-rate units are ethnically and racially diverse, with only 43 percent occupied by white households. These mobile, market-rate households have few children. On average only about 6 percent of the units house a child, usually an infant or preschooler. The median household income for the market-rate units is \$41,000 a year, and the turnover rate is about 50 percent.¹⁴

Many of the subsidized units are occupied by minority families with children. A total of 285 families, about 70 percent of which are minority headed, were residents of the former public housing project. On average, 2.3 children live in each unit. Most of the household heads in these units receive public assistance. The median income is \$10,000 a year, and the annual turnover rate of 5–7 percent is far lower than in the market-rate units. The amenities package and a set of active community and social service programs are available to the occupants of subsidized Harbor Point units. An outside contractor provides the social services, including a health clinic, daycare center, and youth activities. Resident leadership reports a modest amount of participation by market-rate residents in the project's mentoring program, a type of big brother or big sister arrangement.

When a tenant is in danger of being evicted or persists in engaging in behavior that is inconsistent with the community's rules, a Tenant-at-Risk Committee composed of resident leaders meets with the subsidized household to ensure that the resident is fully aware of the possibility of eviction. Evictions in the subsidized category are low. In 1995, approximately 50 households were evicted—most of them market-rate renters. Forty of the evictions were for nonpayment of rent and 10 for violation of project rules. However, the manager noted an emerging trend: while the majority of market-rate evictions were for nonpayment, eviction for cause was more prevalent among subsidized tenants.

Harbor Point is generally well maintained, as it must compete successfully with similarly priced market-rate developments. However, its location on the waterfront places a greater strain on the building exteriors than might otherwise occur and makes maintenance a constant challenge for management.

Crime in the surrounding neighborhood is higher than in Harbor Point, where a security company operates under contract to the resident owners. Management reports some tension between the children in the project—particularly the teens—and the market-rate tenants. There is a fair amount of vandalism to vehicles, thought to be largely the work of teenagers. In the view of the manager, this phenomenon is due in part to animosity from the youths of the subsidized units toward their more affluent neighbors. The result is a certain amount of fear of the teens on the part of some residents.

When the units are marketed, no reference is made to the fact that Harbor Point is located in Dorchester, an area with a reputation for high crime rates. Concerned that this fact would deter prospective tenants, the leasing staff encourages them to view the community

before revealing its location. The community is separated from the rest of Dorchester by a highway and by its location on a point jutting into the harbor. Leasing agents mention the mixed-income nature of the development but do not emphasize it. Instead they focus on such assets as water access, proximity to mass transportation, the recent renovation of the units, and free parking. Most market-rate renters seem inattentive to the income mix.

With regard to the level of interaction between the market-rate and subsidized tenants, the two groups “coexist.” Management sets and enforces clear rules so that the project functions well for everyone. All new tenants are given a thorough orientation to the rules. Management and residents regularly sponsor a “Munch and Mingle” event for new residents to help them meet their neighbors. Attendance, however, is modest and composed largely of subsidized residents.

The physical layout of Harbor Point, with the townhouse units grouped along the periphery of the project, has resulted in some divisions among income groups. The three- and four-bedroom townhouses are intended to accommodate the community’s families. Since the majority of these are subsidized, there is a de facto concentration of low-income renters in these units. Moreover, management has observed a trend of transfers by market-rate tenants from the townhouses to the midrise and highrise buildings that have only one- and two-bedroom units. The demographics of one section of townhouses has become particularly skewed, with the ratio of subsidized tenants to market-rate renters as high as 15 to 1. Not only is such a tendency counter to the original income-mix goals, but it seems also to have increased tension between the market-rate and subsidized residents.

Commentary. As a complex development, Harbor Point is a remarkable accomplishment. This large urban project has clearly improved the physical and community conditions for a group of low-income tenants who had been living in very distressed public housing. Through hard work and strong marketing, Columbia Point has become a financially viable, desirable mixed-income development, attractive to a mobile population seeking housing of an urban nature in Boston. The former public housing residents are justifiably proud of what they have accomplished to improve their housing and their neighborhood.

The subsidized residents and the market-rate tenants “coexist,” to use one official’s description. The mobile and upwardly mobile market-rate residents generally have little time for, or interest in, significant neighboring activities. For them, the project’s attractions are its location, design quality, and price. The community of former public housing residents and other subsidized renters continues to have a commitment to the project as a place to live and to neighbor. They have much more in common with one another—including children—than they do with the market-rate tenants.

Since the development is situated near large job centers in and around Boston, it is clear that movement into the labor force by those not currently employed is not constrained by location. The dearth of job development within the subsidized-income group may be an indication that active job-training and placement programs are needed to supplement the advantages of the location and the presence of working people in the complex. A more aggressive welfare-to-work program might be appropriate but is not currently a priority for the owners of the project.

From a leasing standpoint, the 70/30 split between market-rate and subsidized units may be less than is ideal. The leasing staff see a market for a set of units that are priced between the low-income and the market-rate units. Ideally, a split into thirds of low-income, moderate-income, and market-rate rentals would have been desirable, but a moderate-income subsidy was not available when the project’s finances were structured.

Pumping Station for the Columbia Point Dump on the Calf Pasture.
Photograph taken around 1968



Source: Urban Transformations: Columbia Point – Harbor Point, Boston
004e136.netsolhost.com/images/7HP.pdf (accessed May 30, 2012)

Aerial of Harbor Point in the foreground, the bay and downtown Boston in the background



Source: Adapted from Roessner, Jane. 2000. *A decent place to live: from Columbia Point to Harbor Point: a community history*. Boston: Northeastern University Press. Book cover.

Following images from Goody Clancy – Architecture website²⁰⁵

Photography from street vantage point within the Harbor Point neighborhood



²⁰⁵ Goody Clancy "Architecture."
<http://www.goodyclancy.com/arch?categoryId=9&view=project&layout=image&projectid=30&image=5>
(accessed May 30, 2012).

Photograph showing town homes, apartments buildings, sidewalks and landscaped yards within the Harbor Point neighborhood



Apartment mid- and high-rise buildings, parking and a community park within the mixed-income Harbor Point neighborhood



Photograph of park/open space adjacent to Harbor Point mixed-income apartment buildings



APPENDIX D
HIGH POINT, SEATTLE, WASHINGTON
PROJECT DATA AND SITE IMAGES

“When the High Point neighborhood is completed in 2010 it will include housing units for residents with very low incomes (50 percent of area median income or below) and low incomes (80 percent or below) in addition to market-rate rental and for-sale housing:

Housing type	Income Category	Units
For-sale housing	Market rate	790
Public housing	Very low income	350
Affordable rental housing	Low income	250
Senior housing	Market rate	160
Senior housing	Very low income	75
Affordable for-sale housing	Low income	56
Units of on-site housing		1,681

Redevelopment at High Point will also result in the creation of 291 additional units of off-site housing for extremely low income residents. In addition, 397 new housing assistance vouchers have been added to Seattle Housing Authority's inventory.”²⁰⁶

²⁰⁶ Seattle Housing Authority. <http://www.seattlehousing.org/redevelopment/high-point/plan/> (accessed May 30, 2012).

All photographs below by author, André Taybron

Two photos below show a Home purchased by an SHA Senior Development Manager.
Probably the best location and view in the development.



For Sale / Owner occupied homes that overlook the water feature/pond, walking trails and has the views of downtown Seattle and Puget Sound



One of many bioswales throughout the development, part of the environment and ecofriendly design



The wall art and graffiti adds to the urban feel of the neighborhood



Street view of residences, parking, an extended landscape buffer and adjacent sidewalk



Street view of town home residences, street parking, landscaping and sidewalk that buffer the homes from the street



Duplex residences with porches, landscaping and sidewalk that buffer the homes from the street



Two rentals side by side



View of Downtown Seattle and Puget Sound from outside of High Point Community Center



Soccer fields at the community center playgrounds

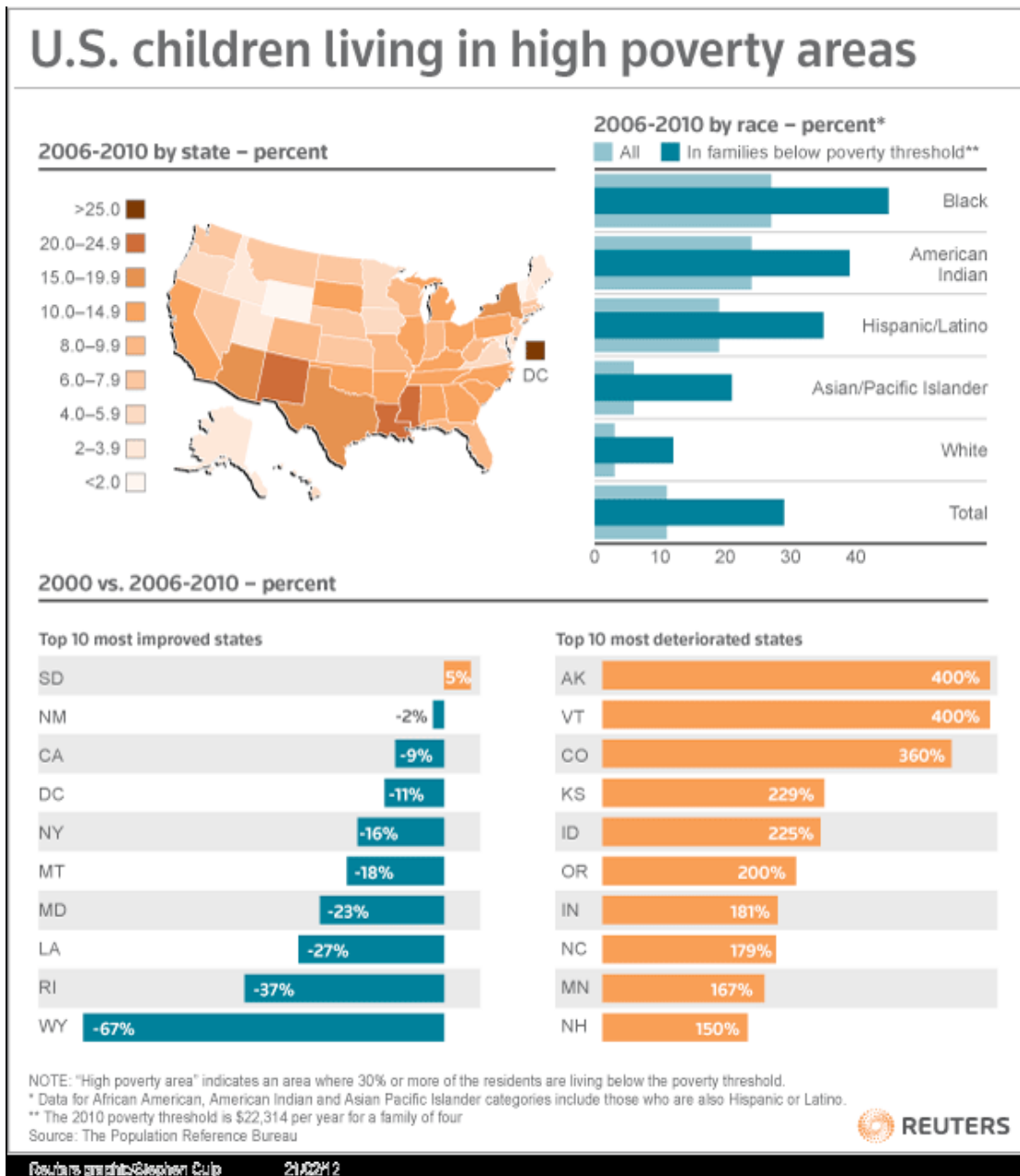


Kids playground at the community center



APPENDIX E

CHILDREN LIVING IN HIGH POVERTY CONCENTRATED AREAS PUBLISHED BY RUTGERS AND THE ANNIE E. CASEY FOUNDATION



Source: Reuters

http://pdf.reuters.com/pdfnews/pdfnews.asp?i=43059c3bf0e37541&u=2012_02_21_07_52_260a5bfd26fa44cab7ce9981cb1fb404_PRIMARY.gif (accessed May 31, 2012)

Heavey, Susan. "More U.S. kids living in high-poverty areas –study." *Reuters.com*. February 23, 2012 <http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/02/23/usa-poverty-children-idUSL2E8DMBXA20120223> (accessed April 3, 2012).