

THE BUELL HYPOTHESIS

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The Temple Hoyne Buell Center for the
Study of American Architecture
Columbia University Graduate School of
Architecture, Planning, and Preservation

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The Temple Hoyne Buell Center for
the Study of American Architecture
was founded in 1982. Its mission is
to advance the study of American
architecture, urbanism, and landscape.
Located within the Graduate School of
Architecture, Planning, and Preservation
at Columbia University, it sponsors pro-
grams and research projects focusing
on issues of both scholarly and general
interest. The Buell Center initiative on
public housing was launched in 2008.
This publication represents one aspect
of that ongoing project.

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THE BUELL HYPOTHESIS: REHOUSING THE AMERICAN DREAM

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Planning, and Preservation

Contents

Preface	7
Acknowledgments	9
Prologue	13
I. A FORECLOSED FUTURE?	
GLOBALIZATION ON THE INSIDE.....	23
SUBURBS ARE CITIES.....	30
FROM HOUSE TO HOUSING.....	38
CHANGE THE DREAM AND YOU CHANGE THE CITY	45
II. ARCHITECTURE IN PUBLIC: THE CASE OF HOUSING	
THE NEW DEAL.....	55
URBAN RENEWAL.....	113
THE GREAT SOCIETY.....	161
PRIVATIZATION.....	211
FORECLOSURE.....	261
III. FEBRUARY 17, 2009: A MAP	
OVERVIEW.....	277
RIALTO, CA.....	285
TOMBALL, TX.....	299
CHAMBLEE AND DORAVILLE, GA.....	313
TEMPLE TERRACE, FL.....	327
LANDOVER, MD.....	341
THE ORANGES, NJ.....	355
CICERO, IL.....	369
SALEM-KEIZER, OR	383
CONCLUSION.....	399
Afterword	409
Notes.....	411
Appendix	415

Preface

In 2009, the Temple Hoyne Buell Center for the Study of American Architecture at Columbia University issued the pamphlet “Public Housing: A New Conversation.” The aim of this small volume was to respond to the ongoing mortgage foreclosure crisis, not with narrow solutions but with a broad reformulation of the problem; one that could encourage a different kind of public conversation about housing and, by extension, about cities.

The Buell Hypothesis follows up on that initiative. The result of three years of work by an interdisciplinary team of researchers, it translates technical analysis into cultural terms, to show how the assumptions underlying urban and economic policies and practices in the United States might be changed. The first section unfolds an argument about housing in the American suburbs as a matter of public concern. The second section excerpts public debates about housing and cities from the early twentieth century to the present, and profiles selected architectural projects on which such debates have centered. The third section outlines a series of contexts in which to test or to revise the argument’s premises with concrete propositions that might become the basis for a renewed debate.

The hypothesis therefore reframes the question of housing—and, in particular, the single-family suburban house—as a question of publicly negotiable cultural values. This means treating seemingly straightforward technical facts, from demographic trends to environmental impacts, as partly conditioned by narratives, or stories, that convert those negotiable values into apparent truths.

One such story, commonly told, is known as the “American Dream.” There is no set unfolding to this story; nor are its most recognizable characteristics uniquely American. Its unifying, recurring theme, however, is the idea that full participation in civic and social life is premised on homeownership, whether literal or symbolic. This theme corresponds with the centrality of the single-family house in defining settlement patterns throughout the United States, particularly in suburban and exurban areas. For more than a century, these patterns and their underlying story have been reinforced by

zoning codes, housing policies, construction techniques, architectural designs, and, as the 2008 economic crisis showed, increasingly elaborate financial instruments.

The Buell Hypothesis, at its most basic, is as follows: Change the dream and you change the city. The single-family house, and the city or suburb in which it is situated, share a common destiny. Hence, change the narratives guiding suburban housing and the priorities they imply, including spatial arrangements, ownership patterns, the balance between public and private interests, and the mixtures of activities and services that any town or city entails, and you begin the process of redirecting suburban sprawl.

To exemplify the narrative character of knowledge that informs architecture, urbanism, and the policies that guide them, we have chosen to present this hypothesis in the form of a screenplay. We treat the American Dream metaphorically as a film with a familiar plot, characters, and setting. In order to explore its assumptions, we overlay it with another story, a road movie, wherein house and suburb serve as props in a philosophical conversation about basic human priorities as expressed, in this case, through ways of living. The action is set at a potential turning point: February 18, 2009, the day after U.S. President Barack Obama signed the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act (ARRA). The conversation takes the form of a latter-day Socratic dialogue and symposium, with characters borrowed from ancient Athens. In adapting this genre, which emphasizes informed debate over unexamined dogma, we aim to prompt the type of serious, reflective conversations that occur after viewing a thought-provoking film; the kind that begin in cinema lobbies and parking lots, continue into cars, restaurants, and living rooms, and eventually enter newspapers, blogs, and social media.

This, among other things, is what it might mean to discuss the architecture of housing and of the American suburbs in public. As shown by the historical material integrated into our story, debates about housing and cities have in fact been an important part of the public conversation for nearly one hundred years. Today, the terms of these debates have narrowed. They have often taken for granted

recent developments like the suburban house and its environs, while accepting a severely limited role for public or civic interests in housing policy and practice.

Reactivating and broadening such debates suggests a variety of not-yet-imagined but entirely realistic alternatives to current practices. More than simply providing technical solutions, these alternatives could give new meaning to ideas such as “house,” “home,” and “city.” Toward this end, we have included a series of representative case studies featuring municipalities across the country where the need for inclusive housing models is particularly acute. Each of these examples offers a somewhat different context in which our hypothesis might be tested. They synthesize demographics, urban geography, and public policy in a way that expands on the opportunity to tell a different story. In that sense, this film is both documentary and imaginary. It describes a world in which fiction informs fact just as much as fact informs fiction. This is the world we share. We hope that you will enjoy it.

New York, January 31, 2011

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At Columbia University's Graduate School of Architecture, Planning, and Preservation (GSAPP), Dean Mark Wigley has offered the most important thing an academic institution can offer: the freedom and encouragement to do the work that its members deem most necessary. Numerous faculty colleagues and students have helped realize these freedoms. Indeed, if there is a sense of necessity or urgency to this work, it is due largely to the ideals and convictions of the many GSAPP students and recent graduates who have been involved in this project from the beginning.

This document would not exist without the contributions of Anna Kenoff, the Buell Center Program Coordinator, who steadily and decisively shaped both concept and realization from the start, and Leah Meisterlin, the lead researcher on the project, whose commitment to the potential of both architecture and urban planning to help change the world has left its mark on every page. Under their guidance, the core project team—John Barrett, Jordan Carver, Leigha Dennis, Caitlin Hackett, Rachel Hillery, Jake Matatyaou, Mia Pears, Xiao Qin, Mike Robitz, Justine Shapiro-Kline, and Andy Vann—worked long hours researching and assembling the materials contained herein. Just as essentially, Glen Cummings, and his colleagues Aliza Dzik, Michael Greenblatt, Daniel Koppich, Laura Silke Berg Nielsen, and Jessica Wexler, have brought an extraordinary spirit of collaboration that

has made the design of this document absolutely integral to its message.

Lastly, I thank my colleague Barry Bergdoll, architecture curator at the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA), for his ongoing, thoroughly committed collaboration and vital input, as we continue to work together, with his team at MoMA and with the participants in the exhibition project for which this document serves as a brief.

—Reinhold Martin
Director, Temple Hoyne Buell Center for the Study of
American Architecture, Columbia University

PROLOGUE

FADE IN

MONTAGE—MID-AFTERNOON

An empty living room with the television on

A cul-de-sac of single-family homes in a suburban subdivision

A group of subdivisions forming a suburb

A cluster of suburbs forming a region

NARRATOR (V.O.)

This is a story about the way we live today. It is about how we imagine the way we live, about how we represent that to ourselves, about how we feel about those representations, and about how we act on them. It describes these processes as they apply to cities and, in particular, to what we call the “American suburbs.” There, as elsewhere, the question of housing is located at the crossroads of economics, public policy, social relations, and culture, with architecture at its very center. The story begins in the present, a time of foreclosure in multiple senses of the term, but it also revisits the debates of the past and anticipates a more open future.

We are often told that human happiness has coexisted with social and environmental equity only in times gone by. This sentiment is especially common when artistic beauty is added to the mix as the bearer of transcendent human feeling. When it comes to cities, towns, and rural settlements, these bygone times are, more often than not, so distant and so idealized that they are, for all practical purposes, inaccessible, which further enhances their aura as objects of a very potent and, strangely, very future-oriented longing. In contrast, the recent past (which in our case is the past of architectural modernism) is dwelt upon more for its failures than for its achievements. The result is a strong sense of dead ends and misguided ambitions. This is especially true when it comes to housing and its attendant urbanism. Innovation in this area remains one of modernism's principal contributions, and yet modern architecture has long been held responsible for the failure of many efforts to house the world's population.¹ Seen in this way, the integral relation between housing and urbanism has led to much concern about what is wrong with modern cities and with the ambitions they harbor.

Such is the state of urbanism today. Its dominant tone is one of regret. There is the overwhelming sense of a lost classical or rural past, of an Arcadia, dotted with small towns, now overrun with suburban subdivisions. And there is the equally overwhelming and equally regretful sense of an onrushing future: a sprawling urbanity of automobiles, highways, big-box stores, gated communities, and the arcane financial instruments that support them. The managers of this new frontier may be, among others, derivatives traders, real estate investors, and hedge fund executives, but the future on which they trade is shaped by architects, urban planners, landscape architects, engineers, sociologists, geographers, demographers, politicians, and philosophers.

Philosophers? Yes, since philosophy has always concerned itself with stories about logical possibilities and hence about possible futures. Among these, stories about ideal cities and not-so-ideal cities abound. We have all heard versions of such stories, although it is not likely that we assumed they had any actual bearing on future cities and suburbs—that is, on the real world of facts and figures, maps and charts, bricks and mortar, dollars and

dividends. And yet, listen to any land speculator, any real estate investor, any banker, bond trader, or market analyst reflect on the future upon which they are betting and you will hear something resembling a philosophy.

This philosophical terrain is what architects call a “site.” That it exists in the minds of citizens, politicians, clients, or simply inhabitants of ordinary cities and towns makes it no less real than more conventional sites, with their seemingly more certain terrain of contours, climate, and delineated boundaries. The same can be said for what architects usually call “program,” or “use,” or “function.” For whatever philosophy informs a particular work of architecture, or whatever pragmatic decisions the work entails, the actual lives lived within its walls can never be summarized with shorthand terms like “commercial,” “institutional,” “recreational,” or “residential.” What, after all, is “residential” life? “Commercial” life? “Recreation”?

We think we understand intuitively what these terms mean, but we also understand that they function as metaphors—as useful approximations that help planners, architects, and other professionals design for the complex activities they expect will occur in a given place. In this respect, there is no architectural metaphor more elusive than housing, especially as regards the single-family house and its rooms. What, after all, is a “living” room? And even if we could define it, how would we distinguish the acts of living that take place there from those that occur in other rooms, such as the bedroom? How many movies, television shows, and YouTube videos—domestic dramas, comedies, thrillers, and mysteries—have been made to explore poetically, with humor, empathy, and insight, the actual activities that occur in actual houses?

MONTAGE – LATE AFTERNOON

An empty living room with the television on

A cul-de-sac of single-family homes in a suburban subdivision

A group of subdivisions forming a suburb

A cluster of suburbs forming a region

NARRATOR (V.O.)

The metaphor of housing, or of the house, has decisive practical consequences that continue to reverberate

through today's financial markets. Hence, the double sense of the word "foreclosure." On the one hand, it is a financial term denoting the termination of a residential mortgage loan that has gone into default; on the other hand, it can signal the closing down of possibilities, the end of a dream. A reality check, perhaps, but also an imperative: Don't overreach. There is a long philosophical tradition that asks us to tend our own gardens, to be satisfied with what we have; one that cautions us to avoid impossible utopian idealizations. The arrival of foreclosure signs in suburban cul-de-sacs around the country can be interpreted as a reminder to heed these sensible maxims. To do so, however, would not only confirm the hidden, quasi-philosophical moralism of the financial markets as they slap us on the wrist, it would also misrecognize individual aspiration as collective or societal aspiration. Still, it is possible to say that for many, if not for all, what is frequently called the American Dream was foreclosed upon in 2008.

But what is, or was, this dream? The conquering of frontiers? Self-determination? Homeownership as the mark of independence? What about the collective effort that it takes, even within a family, to own and maintain a home, to say nothing of the tax subsidies and other public expenses dedicated to home mortgages, or the construction and maintenance of roads and other public infrastructures that support any individual house? In this and many other respects, the sense of independence that has defined the American Dream is just as metaphorical as the idea of a universal, all-purpose "house" and its designated rooms for living. Even—or especially—when we own our homes, we continue to depend upon others: others who may or may not share our dreams.

MONTAGE – EARLY EVENING

An empty living room with the television on
 A cul-de-sac of single-family homes in a suburban subdivision
 A group of subdivisions forming a suburb
 A cluster of suburbs forming a region

NARRATOR (V.O.)

This, too, has philosophical as well as artistic, social, and economic implications. For it suggests that "home" in the fullest sense is a function of sharing the world with others,

including others whom we might not imagine belonging in our own homes. For the American Dream is not a private dream but a public one, financed by tax dollars and played out on national television. Another name for the space in which this dream is formed is the public sphere. This, too, is a site for architecture and urbanism. Throughout the twentieth century, housing has been a central matter of public concern. With the foreclosure crisis, it has returned to join suburban sprawl and environmental devastation as challenges for the twenty-first century. The public sphere in which such matters arise is, ideally, a space of dialogue and debate, a time-honored practice that also runs through the core of Western philosophy (and Western democracy, which is not necessarily the same thing). The archetype for this sort of philosophical debate is the Socratic dialogue, which since classical times has taken place in the shadow of architecture.

MONTAGE – DUSK

An empty living room with the television on

A cul-de-sac of single-family homes in a suburban subdivision

A group of subdivisions forming a suburb

A cluster of suburbs forming a region

NARRATOR (V.O.)

Thus, having finally convinced his pupil (and Plato's older brother) Glaucon of the logical possibility of absolute and true justice administered in the kallipolis, or ideal city, protected by appropriately educated guardians and governed by philosopher-kings, we meet Socrates on the road again, nearly two and one half millennia later.² The date is February 18, 2009, and the road is Interstate 95, on the East Coast of the United States. Socrates and Glaucon are stuck in traffic several miles north of exit 160B, which will take them in the direction of Athens, home of the University of Georgia. Socrates has been invited by his former teacher Diotima to speak in a symposium on housing and the American suburbs. Glaucon is at the wheel, and Socrates is in a distinctly un-Platonic state of mind.

I. A FORECLOSED FUTURE?

GLOBALIZATION ON THE INSIDE

CUT TO

MIDDAY

INT. CAR – INTERSTATE 95

The car carrying Socrates and Glaucon passes Exit 164. Signs pointing in one direction to a Hampton Inn, a Wyndham Inn, a Days Inn, and a Ramada Inn, and in the other direction, to downtown Florence and the Florence Regional Airport, line the exit ramp. The Magnolia Mall Shopping Center has not yet come into view on the left. The radio is tuned to talk radio, and the talk centers on immigration. Socrates switches the station to National Public Radio. The word “globalization” is heard repeatedly.

GLAUCON

Globalization can only mean one of two things. Either the world is flat: consumerism continues to expand outwards from the world’s financial centers, the magic of technological networks connects everyone to everyone else, and the free movement of people and ideas across borders makes every city and every suburb that much more multicultural. Or, the world is fortified: the movement of people and ideas across borders threatens national security and hence must be controlled, cheap labor “over there” threatens jobs “over here,” and immigration disrupts

social equilibrium.

SOCRATES

While both of these perceptions are common, neither is completely accurate. Globalization does not mean “development”; nor does it mean “dissolution.” It is a way of thinking about the world. When we say “globalization,” we should ask ourselves, “What is being globalized?” Should not the first answer always be “ourselves,” even if we never leave home, and even if what we think of as home—a house, a town, a country—seems not to have changed at all?

GLAUCON

But haven’t you heard of a “global” city?

SOCRATES

My friend, rather than presupposing that some cities are more “global” than others, you must learn to think about globalization as an internal process as well as an external one. As it is most commonly used, the term “global city” still suggests a sense of moving outwards from an implied center, which is usually located somewhere in Europe or North America, or perhaps in East Asia.

GLAUCON

So?

SOCRATES

For many in the United States, globalization seems to be something that is happening in the world out there, but actually, what we are calling globalization begins inside, at home. The mortgage foreclosure crisis that was intertwined with the financial crisis of 2008 made this clear. Homeowners, and aspiring homeowners, became aware that their sense of “home” was built out of what we might call a “house of cards.” Financial ownership of one’s dwelling and, with it, a psychological sense of ownership, or rootedness, was shown to be an illusion of sorts, as mortgages were bundled, sold, and resold in markets around the world. This speculative process, in turn, drove housing prices and their associated mortgages to unsustainable levels, even in the most prosperous of communities. The markets collapsed, threatening to bring the major financial institutions down with them. Government

intervention was requested—and granted—to shore the whole thing up. In the case of housing, this meant absorbing risk by buying up “distressed” mortgages and offering subsidized (though still market-based) alternatives to the existing mortgage options. It was like rescuing the housing markets by propping up the house of cards with more cards.

GLAUCON

But why do you say that globalization begins at home? As far as I can see, all of the processes that you describe are taking place outside, in the agora or in the marketplace.

SOCRATES

Yes, but in order to work, they rely on an *idea* of “home”—the one that you hold inside your head, so to speak. In our simplified description of the international financial markets, homeownership, and the concomitant idea of “home,” are bought and sold, usually with the help of government programs like tax deductions. This demonstrates the connection between the real world of numbers and the equally real world of images, thoughts, and feelings. For despite what you may have heard, we do not live in a cave. In fact, in this country there is a term for the place in which we live. It is called the American Dream.

GLAUCON

The American Dream? You just said that we do not live in a cave.

SOCRATES

That’s right.

GLAUCON

But I took that to mean that we live in a world more real than the world of shadows and illusions that we might see when we face inwards, turning our backs on higher truths. But what is real about a dream?

SOCRATES

The American Dream is as real as any tax deduction, in that it, too, drives the housing markets. Consider a typical suburb, which represents a way of living much more insular but also much more ubiquitous than anything

resembling our hypothetical Athenian “republic.” The underlying philosophy of homeownership is quite real; that suburb is organized around an ethos that construes homeownership, or at least the feeling of being at home, as something essential or fundamental. But many people also believe that the American Dream represents a specifically “American” way of dreaming, which is fundamentally different from the way others elsewhere in the world might dream. This may be a myth, or merely a culturally reinforced half-truth.... Either way, public policy tends to support it. However, the financial crisis has made clear that the houses in and through which many Americans dream their dreams are not owned by them but rather by banks, whose octopus-like networks make a mockery of national borders, never mind national “dreams.” So if the American Dream is a fiction, but a real one—let’s say it’s a kind of movie—it is a profitable but also risky one, requiring tax incentives and other types of government support to prop it up and to keep it running in theaters nationwide.

GLAUCON

Socrates, you sounded a bit sarcastic there.

SOCRATES

Really? I did not intend to. Emphasizing its actual, social character rather than its supposed essence, or *mystique*, means considering the American Dream not as a birth-right but as one possible dream among many. Though this may seem obvious to some, it is surprising how frequently homeownership is still equated with civic participation.

Can you imagine a situation in which one’s home (whether it is owned or rented) is just one commodity among many, comparable to one’s car, or computer, or kitchen appliances? No tax breaks, no housing subsidies, no special mortgage programs. In this scenario the house is no longer a special type of commodity, the value of which must be protected at all costs.

GLAUCON

Difficult to imagine, I admit.

SOCRATES

What this scenario brings to light is that, in our society (as in most) basic housing is tacitly regarded as something closer to a right than a commodity, or a luxury, or a privilege. Imagine a city overrun with homeless men, women, and children. This is typically interpreted as evidence of societal failure. For in order for any society to be able to imagine itself *as a society*, it must be able to believe itself capable of adequately caring for its constituents. In this case, “adequately cared for” means “adequately housed.” How this is to be achieved—whether, say, through the markets or through governmental assistance—might remain a matter of political debate, but that it is to be achieved, one way or the other, cannot be argued.

Financial speculation in real estate, and especially in housing, not only exploits this basic fact, it *requires* it. That is why the American Dream has been such an effective marketing device. It reproduces the illusion that society takes care of its members by affording them the opportunity to take care of themselves, primarily by owning a home. With home comes a sense of independence.

GLAUCON

I was about to ask what all of this had to do with globalization, but I think I’m beginning to see where you’re going. I can see, for example, that it is nonsensical to describe a globalized world simply as either flat or fortified, since the idea of a well-appointed suburban “home”—a house, two cars, a yard with a fence, a stable mortgage—turns out to be one of the main ingredients passing through the circuits of global finance, at least as far as the residential real estate market is concerned. But as you said yourself, this does not necessarily make it illusory or unreal. Why can’t I simply accept this idea of “home” and all that it implies—safety, security, family, order—as a simple truth that the market has merely recognized?

SOCRATES

You may, Glaucon, but at your own peril. For to accept this invention as an unquestioned truth is to make the world both flat and fortified at once: flat in terms of the movement of money to and from those who already have it, and fortified in terms of the movement of ideas. Since

the most important thing about this idea of “home” is that it does not change; it remains in place, fixed to the ground, even as the dollars passing through it are converted into credit default swaps and traded in yuan in Shanghai. And an idea that does not change can hardly be called an idea, only a belief.

GLAUCON

But what’s wrong with following one’s beliefs? What science calls a fact is just as debatable. Sometimes you just have to go with what you believe. And I still believe in the American Dream.

SOCRATES

Well, let’s look at it from another direction. Here, Glaucon, is a fact. Did you know that well over one third of the land in the continental United States is owned by the public sector? Much of this is in the form of national parks, military bases, weapons testing ranges, and other large, unbuilt areas. Much is also infrastructural: airports, highway and train right-of-ways, waterfronts, and so on. Even at a much smaller scale, a certain percentage of the land in any township is owned by municipalities or by state or local governments.³ That means that, theoretically at least, it belongs to all of us.

Yet especially in suburban areas, the dominant impression is that we are looking mainly at private property rather than at public land. This may or may not actually be true for any given vista, but more importantly, we imagine it to be true. One reason is that Americans have been retelling the story of the conquest of frontiers since the eighteenth century. This story runs in theaters alongside the American Dream as a kind of double feature. The existence of national parks is partly due to an attempt to preserve this sense of a frontier at the very moment that national expansion had reached certain natural limits. And although public land can therefore represent an imagined frontier for future investment, it also constitutes an often-invisible, alternative landscape within the dominant landscape of private property in any city, town, or subdivision.

Today, as the actual frontiers of economic expansion have moved well beyond the borders of any single country, the

old divide between country and city has also been made planetary. The Global South now serves as an agricultural basin for the industrialized North. And yet, in suburbs across the United States, there remains a desire to feel that one is living in the bucolic countryside, even if that countryside is reduced to a patch of lawn and a few trees (not likely elms) along Elm Street. To attract development, municipalities everywhere have drawn up plans that reproduce this bucolic feeling, while identifying large and small pieces of land (whether publicly or privately owned) as “investment opportunities.” None of this, including the actual visions dreamed up for these sites by architects, planners, and real estate developers, would be conceivable without the pressures, promises, and credit ratings that accompany financial globalization, coupled with the mistaken notion that the public sector has a greatly diminished role to play in imagining the future.

SUBURBS ARE CITIES

CUT TO

LATER THAT AFTERNOON

INT. CAR – INTERSTATE 95

Socrates And Glaucon are still stuck in traffic. The talk on the radio turns to war.

GLAUCON

Speaking of globalization, I keep hearing that half the world's population now lives in cities. Does this have anything to do with how people live here? All I see along this highway is suburban sprawl.⁴

SOCRATES

The United Nations-Habitat report in which that fact is cited understands what we call suburbs as belonging to an “urban agglomeration” that includes one or more large city centers.⁵ The report therefore counts as a city anything from a municipality of two thousand inhabitants to a “metacity” of more than twenty million. From that point of view, the suburbs that you see are cities. They belong to the same world systems that have produced megacities with vast urban slums.

But, yes, let's not split hairs. To get back to your question, you are right, there are big differences between what we normally think of as a city, and the suburban or exurban towns, villages, and other communities just beyond the trees, shrubbery, grassy berms, and other screening devices that line this highway.

GLAUCON

Wait. I thought that these kinds of U.N. reports only concern themselves with the problems of “developing” countries, not “developed” ones like the United States.

SOCRATES

Again, that distinction is misleading. Everything is related.

GLAUCON

Are you saying, Socrates, that just as there are global cities, there are also global suburbs?

SOCRATES

Yes, but more than that. Every suburb that you see here is global in more than just the economic sense to which we alluded earlier. You may have heard that the data coming out of the 2010 US Census confirms that what we call America is a dramatic mixture of races, ethnicities, and income groups.⁶ Of course, this has been the case for a long time, and cities like New York or Los Angeles have long been global in this sense. But this description now applies very broadly to suburbs, as well as to cities. And this mixture has not always melted together like a soup simmering in a big pot. Its various ingredients have in many places remained quite separate. This suburban segregation is spatial, but it is also social, cultural, and economic.

GLAUCON

All right. I recognize that globalization has resulted, in some cases, in more rather than less segregation as communities across the country absorb new immigration. But it has also encouraged a kind of tolerance, where people learn to appreciate, enjoy, and even emulate the values of cultures different than their own.

SOCRATES

Yes, it has. But how far have we come if we have not

learned to think outside of the categories of “us” and “them”?

GLAUCON

Socrates, you aren’t suggesting that we imagine ourselves to be living in one big global village, are you?

SOCRATES

No, far from it. More like the global city you mentioned earlier, where strangers are not feared but welcomed. Or really, an archipelago of city-like regions connected by transportation and communications infrastructure including highways, rail lines, and fiber optic networks. Some have called these “megaregions.”⁷ In addition to the conclusions implied by the U.N. report, another reason to describe these megaregions and the suburbs they contain as cities is that they put the formerly “American” dream in perspective. For example, research shows that many of the inequities that we might normally associate with urban life now apply to suburban life. This is quite noticeable when it comes to housing. Not only have millions of Americans lost their homes to foreclosure, but millions more who now live in the suburbs do not have access to homeownership to begin with, except as a tempting fantasy. And those who choose to rent, or have no choice, are bracketed out of the story. But this dream with its implied way of living is only one among many options. And the demographic changes across the suburban landscape remind us that it may be time to dream a different dream.

GLAUCON

Socrates, you are sounding uncharacteristically dogmatic.

SOCRATES

It is only the beginning of a hypothesis. Others who call themselves New Urbanists have already articulated a vision far more comprehensive than my modest suggestion.⁸ At its core, however, their vision is predicated on two things: a wistful longing for a bygone era, and homeownership, whether in the economic or psychological sense. In other words, the American Dream. Though they may deny it, all of their proposals, from Smart Codes to neo-traditional design, point in this direction. I am aware that there are dissenters in their ranks who would introduce more “modern” styles into the available architectural

vocabulary. But this is secondary, for in the end the cumulative effect of the New Urbanism has been to encourage us to understand our suburbs as villages rather than as cities. Although in principle there may be nothing wrong with this, in practice, it allows us to imagine that the suburban subdivisions that we pass along the highway do not belong in that U.N. report. In other words, it allows us to imagine that our concerns are merely local ones, rooted in this place and this time, unconnected to what is really going on out there in the world—or indeed at home, as the two are intimately connected.

GLAUCON

Socrates, you have anticipated my argument. But you have not convinced me. I have been reading about these New Urbanists, and they—unlike you—are not dreamers. There is a reason trees have been planted and landscapes have been maintained to prevent us from seeing the suburban sprawl that stretches along this highway from Maine to Florida. Because it's ugly! And the New Urbanists have many sensible suggestions for fixing this; beautifying it, but also making it “smarter,” meaning more socially and environmentally responsible. Slightly higher densities, smaller building lots, pedestrian-friendly streets, a lively mixture of activities, greenery: it's not a dream, it's only common sense.

SOCRATES

Glaucon, I did not know you were a New Urbanist!

GLAUCON

Relax. I only attended one of their conferences while you were holding forth with your drunken friends at the symposium.

SOCRATES

I thought you were there, in Agathon's house.

GLAUCON

No, I left early.

SOCRATES

Okay, well then. Let us return for a moment to our hypothetical suburb. Many architects today like to think of our own hometown, Athens, and its classical environs as a

model. But I find the New Urbanist (or, neo-traditional) idea of a “classical” or Arcadian past to be unrecognizable, whether it refers to ancient Greece or to New England. Have they not read Homer, or Emily Dickinson, or William Carlos Williams for that matter? I realize that I have been harsh on poets in the past, but despite their mimetic tendencies they generally have a better sense of real life in real cities, towns, and villages than anything I have read or seen coming from this Congress for the New Urbanism. That’s why you have to watch out for these poets—they are the philosopher’s stiffest competition.

Now, had the U.N. existed in classical times, it no doubt would have issued reports confirming that Athens was a sprawling city with a population of about forty thousand citizens. That was not counting women, children, and slaves. Its total population may have approached 100,000, which is about the same as that of Athens, Georgia, where we are headed.⁹ So even then, Athens was a city, not a town or a village. Yes, it was pedestrian friendly, and something like a democratic debate was possible in its agora and other places of assembly, but only among certain men. It was almost constantly at war with other city-states (as you know, I myself fought in three major battles). And even at home, its citizenry was frequently in upheaval, in which sense it resembled contemporary Athens more than it did a lost, classical idyll. Something similar can be said, of course, about the small-town New England of Poe, Hawthorne, and Dickinson. These historical cities and towns were places full of conflict, not harmony. Think also of beautiful Savannah, Georgia, just down the road. In its heyday, before, during, and after the American Civil War, it was a picturesque town riddled with racism, as well as a font of urbane, enlightened culture.¹⁰ No town, city, or country should be forever burdened with the millstone of its past strung around its neck. But many architects, urbanists, politicians, and even real estate developers still seem tempted by the idea of bygone harmonies. And not just the so-called neo-traditionalists among them: there is not so much difference between a neoclassical replica of a long lost past and a modernist replica of one.

But enough of that. You said that the New Urbanist proposals were merely common sense, and of course you are

right. But our question should not be, “What makes sense under current conditions?” It should be, “How might we change current conditions to make other forms of common sense possible?”

GLAUCON

Socrates, you yourself are not making sense....

SOCRATES

Allow me to explain. As it happens, Athens, Georgia is the home of the country’s first public university, the University of Georgia, where our symposium is being held. It was founded in 1785. Universities—and especially public universities—along with other institutions like a free press are widely considered to be central to the establishment and maintenance of a healthy, democratic public sphere. Now, there are many definitions of the “public sphere.” I will use the simplest. The public sphere is the space in which public opinion is formed.¹¹ Or, if you prefer, it is the space in which common sense is formed, to borrow Thomas Paine’s terminology. So you say that many of the ideas now in use to reform American suburbia represent mere common sense. And surely you are right, except that what we take to be common sense is itself constantly being negotiated in the public sphere, or more precisely, in a set of overlapping public spheres. Today’s somewhat misleading term for these overlapping spheres is “the media.”

It is important to recognize that Enlightenment institutions like universities, the press, even museums, are intimately linked, and that often the knowledge and ideas that circulate as common sense originate in these institutions, only to return there as if from the outside as a challenge to their own dogmas. The credo of architecture, urban design, and urban planning called the New Urbanism is no different. It was largely invented in university lecture halls, museum exhibitions, books, newspaper articles, websites, town hall meetings, civic design competitions, and other sites of public discourse. New Urbanist doctrine now circulates and recirculates through these venues under the guise of common sense.

For example, Glaucon, you and I agree that, although it may appear well suited to independent living, suburban

sprawl has contributed to many problems in society as a whole. The automobile in which we are driving consumes oil pumped directly out of the earth, in return for which it pumps greenhouse gases directly into the atmosphere. The traffic jam in which we are currently stuck is due in large measure to the fact that nearly everyone here must drive from home to work, or school, or shopping, and back, every day, often several times a day. So the design of our environment with its thousands of houses spread out across thousands of acres of land, contributes directly to this traffic jam. Rivers of asphalt slice through this land, pooling up here and there into vast parking lots, at the center of which float large boxes containing stores, supermarkets, restaurants, offices, schools, hospitals, factories, warehouses, prisons—the elements required for us to live the way we do. Approach the boxes floating in the seas of asphalt on foot and you risk getting run over by one of these machines, operated by a distracted, alienated soul who cannot possibly imagine going home again to the same house in the same cul-de-sac. We have all seen the movie.

And so yes, it may seem perfectly commonsensical to encourage real estate developers to increase the density of their speculative constructions, and to encourage urban planners to provide streets and spaces that invite, rather than repel, pedestrians. It may even make perfect sense to encourage architects to learn from the past (even if they do choose to ignore history's brutalities) in order to design more comfortable, familiar, and humane environments that reflect a more sane relationship with one another and with the planet. But Glaucon, this is where we disagree. Until we begin to ask why our common sense is so narrow, so limited, indeed, so content to settle for so little, we will only postpone the discovery of alternatives, to say nothing about perpetuating the damage.

GLAUCON

What do you mean?

SOCRATES

Consider the public university we are going to visit. Among the many things it represents is the very old idea that education is a public value. Like all public universities in the United States, the University of Georgia is

subsidized by taxes. So too was the construction of the highway on which we are driving, as well as the roads leading up to every driveway in the sprawling landscape beyond its landscaped berms. The mortgage on every house at the end of every driveway was, and remains, similarly subsidized through tax deductible interest that, when seen as what it is intended to be—cash in hand, perhaps to help buy that second car—adds up to one of the largest government grant programs there is.

At some point, people in positions of influence—including politicians and voters but also architects and planners—considered all of this to be common sense. So those who believe that the only options available to us must originate within the marketplace are mistaken. Publicly supported universities, public schools, even the interstate highway system, all hint at other options. But these options will only become viable if values other than financial profit become common sense, and that can only happen in and through a reclaimed public sphere.

GLAUCON

That sounds radical.

SOCRATES

No, not really. Phrased another way, is it not very modest to expect that a full range of options available for designing and planning our suburbs and cities be placed on the table for public discussion? In fact, is that not just common sense?

FROM HOUSE TO HOUSING

CUT TO

LATER STILL THAT AFTERNOON

INT. CAR – INTERSTATE 95

Socrates and Glaucon are still stuck in traffic. There is shouting on the radio.

GLAUCON

Well. All I know is, my home is my castle.

SOCRATES

You are not really going to go there, are you?

GLAUCON

Yes. I do mean it.

SOCRATES

What do you mean by it?

GLAUCON

That, beyond the simple, common sense idea that people should live in houses, the single-family house is a kind of symbol—a monument to a way of life.

SOCRATES

So it is.

GLAUCON

And although it could be planned better, designed better, built better, the house is all we've got, in the end.

SOCRATES

By "we," do you mean the general public?

GLAUCON

No, I mean each of us, as individuals.

SOCRATES

What about the car?

GLAUCON

It's a kind of appendage of the house.

SOCRATES

And the home entertainment center?

GLAUCON

The same. Cars, computers, television sets: all of these lifestyle amenities are designed to plug into the house—most of them literally. But not only does the house contain all these personal belongings, it represents the life savings of many families, acquired through hard work and thrift. It's like an appendage of the self. Which brings us back to the question of ownership. You know, you nearly convinced me that the house is not a special kind of commodity that deserves the special kind of protection it's received. But seen in this context...

SOCRATES

Let me ask you, is the house an appendage of yourself if you rent it, or share it in some other way? Or only if you own it?

GLAUCON

Both. Because the symbolic equation between "house" and "home" is reinforced by that psychological sense of ownership you spoke about earlier. We might even say that this psychological sense of ownership is more important than actual economic ownership when it comes

to houses. That, after all, is what the bank is selling you when it grants you a mortgage—the right to say that you “own” your home, when in fact you do not.

SOCRATES

Yes Glaucón, that is correct. You have helped prove my point: that what we feel about houses and homes is as important as what we think about them. That, again, explains the rivalry between poets and philosophers.

GLAUCÓN

But that is also why the single-family house is fundamental to the way we live. It represents the ideal of psychological ownership around which our suburbs, and our financial system, are built. What we need are better houses, which will lead to better, smarter suburbs. In other words, what today’s house needs is a better architect.

SOCRATES

An architect who learns from past examples and past mistakes.

GLAUCÓN

Correct.

SOCRATES

And who would that architect be?

GLAUCÓN

I do not know. But I do know that such an architect would first and foremost be able to express the fundamental equation between house and home.

SOCRATES

That equation is not fundamental. It is conventional. Though it may seem a matter of common sense, we have already shown it to be subject to change through public discussion and debate, so long as every actual option is on the table.

GLAUCÓN

No. What I mean is that the equation between house and home, especially when beautifully rendered by a skilled architect, corresponds with a fundamental, metaphysical

truth that we experience as a psychological sense of homeownership. We therefore take greater care of the place where we live, and we look out for the safety of our neighbors and of others around us, which also ensures, by the way, that property values in the neighborhood remain stable, thus protecting our investment.

SOCRATES

Yes. Common sense. But let us return again to our hypothetical suburb. Imagine for a moment that the houses lining its byways are described as what they are: housing. In other words, though they may afford their inhabitants a sense of belonging, even a sense of what you call “home,” they are, like the streets on which we drive, ultimately part of the infrastructure of the city or suburb. This does not mean that the houses are publicly owned, though they could be, since in any case many of them are now actually owned by publicly supported financial institutions. It means that, like other infrastructures (including roads, rail lines, and fiber optic cables, but also hospitals, schools, and parks), they belong to the public realm, regardless of who actually owns them.

By this I do not only mean that you can see the houses from the street. That would imply that all we need to do is add a porch to address the alienation of suburban life. I mean that just as we found something global inside the single-family suburban house, we find something public inside it as well. Here I mainly have in mind an extension of the idea of the public sphere we were discussing earlier. For what actually happens inside houses? Among other things, people talk on the phone, read newspapers, watch television, listen to the radio, surf the Internet, check email, text message, tweet, and so on.

Now of course these things don’t only happen inside houses, but houses and apartments are a major site for the exchange of ideas and information in this way. Occasionally, these house-dwellers might even sit around a table and have a traditional conversation amongst themselves or with their invited guests. When they discuss ideas, including ideas about possible houses and possible cities, they are essentially doing what you and I are doing right now, inside our car. They are engaging in public conversation, however privately. That is, they are imagining

that others, perhaps sitting at another table in another house reading the same newspaper or watching the same program, share their ideas. They are, in short, imagining themselves as part of a larger community with shared feelings, shared ideas, and shared interests. An older name for such a community would have been a “nation.” Hence the concept of the American Dream, which is actually dreamed in public, around tables, on couches, in front of screens, and in houses. And the type of community dreamed in these spaces can—and does—change every day.

GLAUCON

So you are saying that what makes the house public, and hence negotiable as a concept, is the very same dream of ownership, whether real or psychological, that I argued made it private and hence unassailable.

SOCRATES

Yes.

GLAUCON

Socrates, you are going in circles.

SOCRATES

No, I am merely stating the obvious, that what you call a house is merely one form of housing among many, with no special symbolic, social, or economic status. This is different from saying that it is merely one commodity among many, since its public character also affords it a type of value that is exempt from market determinations.

GLAUCON

All right, but nearly all of the elements that make up your “public sphere” are brought to us by the markets. Newspapers, television, wireless communication, the Internet: these are all privately owned infrastructures, not public ones.

SOCRATES

Yes, they are. But like houses themselves, they all possess a public character that is not entirely measured by their price, their profit, or their owner. Only the house—the space where it all occurs—seems to be largely exempt from this. It is, as you say, your castle. But we have

already seen that your psychological sense of ownership was only made possible by a heavy government subsidy in the first place.

GLAUCON

Not mine. I earned every penny, and I don't need any help from the government, thank you very much.

SOCRATES

We'll see about that. But first, we must finish with our house. Let us consider its architecture more closely. Not its style, but its logic. Where, for example, do you suppose the front door is?

GLAUCON

I am tempted to offer a common sense answer: on the front, of course. But I suspect there's a trick.

SOCRATES

You are learning, Glaucon. You have begun to understand that there is little that is commonsensical about today's houses. Indeed, the front door to many of them is located not on the front (this is merely an auxiliary or ceremonial entrance) but on the side, next to the driveway, or even inside the garage. This reflects the actual intimacy between car and house. What is our architect to do about this? Tradition stipulates that the front door be located on the front, preferably behind a gracious porch. But everyday life, centered on the automobile, dictates otherwise. Does our architect recognize this and convert the garage entrance into a monumental architectural event? Or do we redesign our entire city and with it, our entire way of life, so that the car vanishes and the front door regains its place of honor on the front again?

GLAUCON

The latter, I suspect.

SOCRATES

But beware. This is a false choice, a rhetorical device that might suit our Sophistic friends. The fact that we can even imagine restoring a nonexistent idyll built around the front porch by thoroughly transforming our transportation systems suggests that there are many more options available to us; some more dramatic, some less. My point is that

every detail of every house is in some way connected to a larger system. That is what makes every house a form of housing, a piece of infrastructure linked up to other infrastructures from the driveway or the living room.

GLAUCON

Yes, but for modern architects, “housing” usually connotes mass housing—large apartment blocks, often built for workers, or for the poor. In America this is still called public housing, even though much of it has been privatized.

SOCRATES

These housing blocks, or “projects” as they are sometimes also called, are only one type among many possible types of housing that do not necessarily need to be isolated in the city. One of the core assumptions of architectural modernism was that, in the name of rational planning, activities such as work, living, and recreation should be separated from one another into urban zones. We now know that this type of separation is not necessarily rational, just as we also know, from our reflection on the house, that many diverse activities take place there every day. In the suburbs, this irrational form of rationalized separation contributed to sprawl. When we understand that the house is a basic unit of suburban development through which people, goods, and energy all circulate, we begin to grasp how these types of cities might be redesigned.

CHANGE THE DREAM AND YOU CHANGE THE CITY

CUT TO

LATER STILL THAT AFTERNOON

INT. CAR – INTERSTATE 95

Socrates and Glaucon are still stuck in traffic. The talk on the radio turns to Wall Street.

GLAUCON

This idea of the house—or as you call it, housing—as the basic unit of urbanization leads me to think that architects and urbanists ought to devote their considerable energies and talents to perfecting this building type. Can we not design a “smarter” house today, when we have so many more resources and technologies at our disposal than we did in ancient Athens, or in old New England, or even in Santa Fe for that matter? Humans have changed little since these earlier times, and so it remains our task to deduce the essence of human habitation as it might be contained in a house, and thence to build a new type of city out of this new type of house.

SOCRATES

Not exactly, my friend, for this returns us to where we

began, with our reflections on the idea of “home” as it relates to the larger world. Although there are dwellings nearly everywhere on earth, and although the humans occupying these dwellings possess many similar characteristics, there is much that also differentiates them, inside and out. As you know, the associated philosophical problem is classically posed as one of the universal versus the particular. But it is not as simple as saying that all people (meaning all races, classes, genders, cultures, and other social groups) are essentially the same or essentially different. As we have already seen inside our hypothetical suburban house, even the simplest idea of “home” that we might think unifies all people is fraught with internal tensions and conflicts. So, too, with any “hometown” or “homeland.” This does not mean that any and all forms of unity simple break apart upon closer inspection. The situation is more paradoxical than that. The conflicts themselves form a type of social bond, if they are allowed to play themselves out in reasonable ways, through dialogue and the exchange of views rather than through force.

GLAUCON

That sounds even more utopian than my notion of an ideal home.

SOCRATES

And so it may be. But it is also more realistic, since that is what actually happens in houses and cities all over the world. As everyone knows, the living room is a contested space. As is the shopping mall parking lot. As is the air we breathe, with its pollutants and its greenhouse gases. The ability to recognize difference and yet engage in a dialogue over conflicts large and small is a mark of maturity, not of idleness.

Although all of this may seem more a matter for political philosophers or sociologists than for architects, you have correctly identified the central role that architecture can play here as an art form rather than as a form of social engineering. Recall that even you conceded that a psychological sense of ownership was as important as actual ownership when it came down to establishing a sense of “home.” From this we concluded that how we feel about houses is as important as what we do with them.

I am merely suggesting that we learn to feel differently about our houses, on the basis of the observation that there is little that is ultimately timeless about how we feel about them or how we use them in the first place. Like poetry, architecture helps us to understand and elaborate these feelings, and hence to experiment with them and to change them. This is why, like poetry, architecture can challenge any well-established social and political order, including that which reigns in a suburban cul-de-sac.

So rather than expelling the architects along with the poets from our hypothetical suburb, we ought to invite them back in to participate in our expanded public sphere. We have already concluded that this suburb is anything but ideal, though it is no doubt home to many thousands of people, all of whom have formed some kind of attachment to it regardless of how they feel about traffic jams and parking lots. These feelings are genuine and ought to be respected. But they also ought to be examined, since, as we have already observed, suburbs are increasingly home to many millions across the country who are not the immediate beneficiaries of the emotionally charged American Dream to which the policies that created these places were dedicated. We might even consider these millions of people its victims, to the extent that this dream is offered as the only alternative, even though it is hardly within reach of everyone.

GLAUCON

What are you suggesting, then? That we assemble everyone together in a town hall and air our differences on housing policy, property, and urbanization in a civil tone?

SOCRATES

That seems unlikely, since (with the exception of the contribution made by the New Urbanists) such a debate is largely nonexistent. We have to start from the beginning. When was the last time you heard the term “public housing” used in a positive way on television? And yet, it would be reasonable to expect that option, or something very close to it, to be up for discussion in the wake of a mortgage foreclosure crisis. But public housing has accumulated such a stigma—some of which is justified, some of which is not—that it is nearly impossible even to contemplate it publicly without eliciting a heated response.

Imagine, public housing in the suburbs! The thought of it! But such housing already exists, in its classic form as well as in the form of federally subsidized single-family houses. Why should some new, equitable form of public housing not be more widely available as an option for those who cannot afford homeownership?

There is no reason to be defensive about this, nor to apologize for the residual-but-popular traces of the welfare state in the same breath as one apologizes for its supposed failures in the area of housing. Again, it is not simply a question of the role of government versus that of the market. It is a question of what sort of thoughts we allow ourselves to think, publicly and privately. Your colleagues at the Congress for the New Urbanism understood this when they repackaged the American Dream. It is why their most important triumph was the major change in federal public housing policy that resulted in the ironically titled Homeownership Opportunities for People Everywhere (or HOPE VI) legislation.

Essentially, HOPE VI replaced the image of the public housing “projects” with images of “home” as a matter of law.¹² In doing so, it acknowledged a basic truth, that what we call “home” is always defined in opposition to something else, which in this case was represented by the “projects.” (I can hear something similar in your desire to distinguish “house” from “housing,” psychologically as well as typologically.) By superimposing the imagery and format of the single-family house on public housing, the HOPE VI legislation seeks to repress the social and economic conflicts that remain hidden within the opposition of “house” (as “home”) versus “housing” (as an institution). During most of the twentieth century, these were expressed as the tension between living independently versus living collectively. But the imagery ingrained in our minds, of massive public housing projects being spectacularly demolished as failed social experiments, is also the imagery of somebody’s home being demolished. Imagine, if you will, that the foreclosure crisis led to the demolition of every house in a distressed suburban subdivision: the American suburb as a failed social experiment. Even if they understood its many problems, how do you think its inhabitants would feel?

The theatrical demolition of public housing projects, which is financed by the well-meaning HOPE VI legislation, is symbolically charged. The partial replacement of these projects with mixed-income, neo-traditional neighborhoods, which is dictated by the legislation, must therefore be seen as a form of aesthetic therapy. This is one reason why its architecture matters.

GLAUCON

Socrates, I have never heard you speak so psychologically about art.

SOCRATES

That is only the tip of the iceberg. Deeper down are the thoughts and feelings that are expressed when we say offhandedly that a particular house or city is beautiful. Historically, suburbs partly originated with such feelings, which were evoked by design in highly technical ways. For when we speak of architecture and urbanism, from the design of buildings to the design of urban policy, we are always speaking about a volatile mixture of art and technology. This mixture has social consequences partly because social life itself is built around many such mixtures. The American Dream is one of their effects. It acquires its meaning largely through the mystique of the ideal home, which is both artistic and technological in character.

So there is great opportunity for architects and urbanists, working together with other intellectuals and professionals as well as with housing residents, activists, and citizens, to transform the landscapes we have been discussing. These landscapes exist in the mind as much as they do on the ground, not merely as private fantasies but as public ones. Architecture is central to this process. That is why, stuck in traffic with time on our hands, I have found it amusing to develop, step by step, a hypothesis that puts the architecture of housing at the center of a public debate.

GLAUCON

Could you summarize the hypothesis, please?

SOCRATES

Certainly. First, living in a globalized age not only means that big changes are taking place in the world out there. It

also means that things are changing in here, at home. We have experienced some of these changes directly, through the realizations that individual homeownership is closely linked to international finance and that the mixtures of people living in suburban neighborhoods are changing.

Hence, what we typically call a suburb is actually a type of city, not only because it is recorded as such in official reports but also because it possesses attributes that we normally associate with urban life. Along with demographic and economic diversity, these include contestation over values and overlapping spheres of interest and activity. Somewhat surprisingly, these overlaps occur inside as well as outside the house (as our parable of the elusive front door suggests). What we call the public sphere—or the space in which public opinion is formed—penetrates deep into every living room and kitchen. In this sense, the dining room table is among the most public of places to discuss the future of houses and cities. So, too, is the front seat of a car.

That the house is actually a type of housing and that housing is a form of infrastructure both follow from this. First, in the sense that the private house, like the public “dream” to which it corresponds, is just as institutionalized within social and economic policy as is a public housing complex. And second, in the sense that the same house is tightly plugged into far-reaching economic, social, and technological systems without which it would not exist. Reciprocally, these systems rely on the house and its corresponding dream for their own existence.

Hence, change the dream and you change the city. Architecture offers a highly effective medium through which to contemplate possible futures in this regard. There are many ways that we can imagine housing differently, from the way it is financed, to the way it is designed, to the way it is combined with or separated from other spaces in which other activities occur. Many of these possibilities imply systemic change at the urban, regional, national, or international levels. But that is for later.

For now, it looks like the traffic is starting to move, Glaucon, so we had better look out for our exit. I will call Diotima and tell her that we are running late. They can start the symposium without us.

FADE OUT

II. ARCHITECTURE IN PUBLIC: THE CASE OF HOUSING

FADE IN

NOW LATE AFTERNOON
INT. CAR - INTERSTATE 95

The talk on the radio is punctuated with references to American history. As they drive, the radio signal breaks up. Fragments of a financial report crackle through the car's speakers as the car moves out of range of the signal. Indistinct references to "sub-prime mortgages" and "affordable housing" are audible through the hiss. But Socrates is fairly certain that he hears no mention of public housing. Trying to remember the last time he heard the word "public" used in a positive way with reference to housing, his thoughts turn to the complex history of public housing in the United States. Images drift through his mind. Newspaper headlines, posters, documentary films, political speeches, grassroots campaigns. He is struck by the realization that for most of the twentieth century, the subject of housing and in particular, of public housing, has been vigorously discussed and debated in American public life.

BEGIN DREAM SEQUENCE

MONTAGE – PUBLIC DEBATES ABOUT HOUSING

Excerpts from the public sphere (national and local newspapers, magazines, posters, films, etc.) showing housing as a longstanding matter of concern, with an emphasis on public housing.

NEW DEAL ERA
1929-1940

SING FOR ITS MEMI

Experimental Plan Considered In Attempt To Aid Employment And Improve Living Conditions

By A. K. KENDRICK

Many experts agree that the most effective single method of pulling the country out of its present slump would be to restore building activity. A revival of building would stimulate almost all other industries owing to the demand for materials.

There is in this country a surplus of commercial buildings. The amount of public buildings that are needed are small in comparison to the number of working class homes that are needed. It is estimated that almost 70 per cent of the poorer classes in this country are inadequately housed.

In view of these facts the project now being studied by the Philadelphia Branch of the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers is of the widest possible significance. If one housing project for workers should succeed it is safe to assume that many others would be launched.

The plans and exhibits of the hosiery workers' proposed housing enterprise can be seen at the Housing Exhibition at the Pennsylvania Museum of Arts on the Fairmount Parkway on Sunday from 1 to 5 P. M. During the week the exhibition is open to the public on Monday, Wednesday and Friday from 10 A. M. to 5 P. M.

Housing For Workers

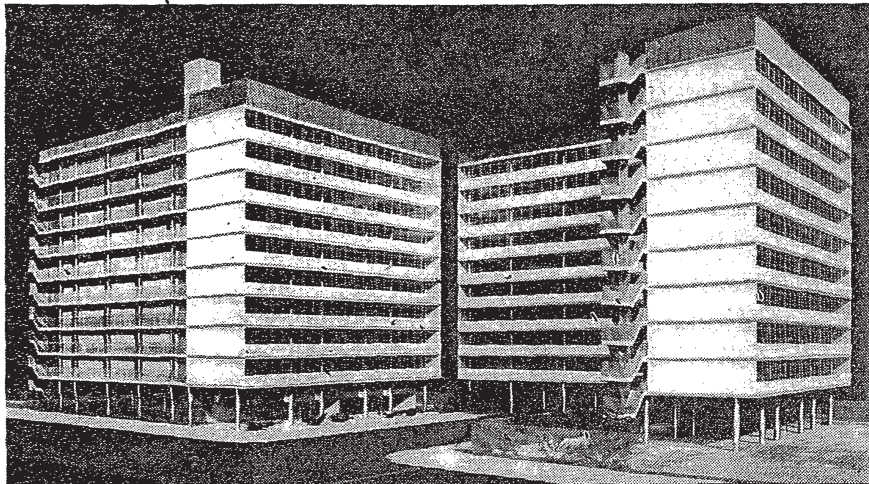
Housing Project Number One

"The Carl Mackley Houses, owned by the American Federation of Hosiery Workers, which received the first Public Works housing loan . . . " "The first government-aided workers' housing project in America . . . "

For they represent the first acknowledgement by Washington that housing, by and for workers, is a "public utility" and a responsibility of Government. The full significance of this is not apparent, perhaps, unless we turn the statement around. The Carl Mackley Houses represent the first successful effort of a group of workers to secure governmental aid toward bettering their housing conditions. And they are, therefore, the first step in a movement which may sooner or later change the face of the country. Workers got what they wanted ONCE . . . they can do it again.

Catherine Bauer, "Housing for Workers,"
The Hosiery Worker, Feb 16, 1933

THE NEWEST PROPOSAL FOR AMERICAN HOUSING.



Times Wide World Photo.

Sunny apartment houses of steel and much window space, designed by the architects Howe & Lescaze, New York and Philadelphia, for a housing plan at Chrystie and Forsyth Streets, New York. These models will be shown next month at the exhibition of modern architecture.

HOUSING ON STILTS IS SHOWN IN MODEL

Apartments, 14 Feet Off Ground,
With Play Space Beneath,
Suggested for East Side.

PART OF MODERN ART SHOW

Radical Plans Seen at Preview
by Group Seeking Improved
Living Conditions in City.

GERMAN EFFORT PICTURED

Kassel Community of Long Rows of
Flats, Two Rooms Wide, Presented
in Miniature at Museum.

The adaptation of modern architecture to the housing problem of persons of moderate means was illustrated in two models shown privately yesterday at the Museum of Modern Art, 730 Fifth Avenue, to a group interested in better city living conditions. This was a preview of a part of the architectural exhibition that the museum will open next month.

One model shows in miniature a community of 550 dwellings already built at Kassel, Germany. The other, made from plans by Howe & Lescaze, New York and Philadelphia architects, is a suggested housing development at Chrystie and Forsythe Streets, to occupy the now vacant area formerly covered by tenements.

The plan suggested in the model calls for twenty-four buildings arranged in a somewhat U-like formation. These would accommodate 8,000 to 10,000 persons.

The buildings would have no basements nor ground floors. They would be of steel skeleton construction, standing fourteen feet above ground on their columns, leaving all the space beneath for covered playgrounds for rainy weather. This space would be available in addition to large open areas between the buildings.

No Rooms Without Sun.

Courtyards are done away with in the model. Nor would there be rooms on sunless sides or airless corners. On the sunny side of each building there would be continuous windows. Roof terraces would be available for recreation, as well as for hanging out wash to dry. Steam would be supplied by a commercial company.

Since each cross street in the area would be straddled by one of the buildings, it would be possible for children to go from one end of the development to the other without crossing through traffic except on Delancey Street, which is policed. In the plan the large block directly south of First Street is reserved for two public schools, to replace those recently pulled down in the neighborhood, and for an auditorium, gymnasium and other community features to be developed gradually.

It is estimated by the architects that these elevator apartment houses, with parks and playgrounds around and underneath them, could be rented at \$10.95 a room a month.

Among those who came to see the models yesterday were Alexander M. Bing, president of the City Housing Corporation; William Sloane Coffin, vice president of the corporation and president of the Metropolitan Museum of Art; Clarence S. Stein, Henry Wright, Harold Buttenheim, Douglas L. Elliman, Herbert Em-

CALLS THE DRIVE 'POTENTIAL SLUM'

Architect Condemns Buildings
Where Only Apartments in
Front Have Sun and View.

ANTI-SOCIAL, SAYS WRIGHT

Mumford Tells Meeting Housing of
Future Will Be on Large-Scale,
Communal Lines.

New York architect, in a symposium on modern architecture at the Museum of Modern Art, 730 Fifth Avenue. The discussion, which was attended by some of the city's leading architects, was held in connection with the museum's exhibition of recent developments in the so-called "international style" of architecture, which has aroused widespread interest.

meaning, Mr. Mumford said:
"The architectural problem of the next ten years will be reclaiming the slums and blighted areas. This cannot be done without large-scale public aid in the acquisition of large tracts of land and the subsidizing of construction. The problem of architecture is no longer the construction of the individual building for the individual owner."

"Calls the Drive 'Potential Slum,'" *New York Times*,
Feb 20, 1932

"Slum Clearance" or "Housing"

By CATHERINE BAUER

WHAT is the difference between "slum clearance" and "housing"? Many people seem to feel that if

out of it. There are a great many different interests involved: those of the people who need decent housing, those of the government or, shall we say, the taxpayers, those of the real-estate business in general, and those of the owners of slum property. Perhaps we might add another class to include those of the author of this piece and presumably many Nation

The cost of land is the most important factor in determining the quality of new housing. In New York City it is so important that if the government were to buy up the cheapest conceivable slum area at present prices, and were to erect very mediocre housing on this land—four- or five-story flats with a high density and inadequate recreation space—and if further it were to write off (as proposed) one-third of the cost of the buildings by a direct grant, the rentals would still be considerably higher than those for a really good project on undeveloped land, at half the coverage or less, and with no subsidy.

There is just one basis on which official slum clearance in this democracy would be rational at all, as far as the general public interest is concerned, and that is the expropriation of slum properties on the basis of their *use-value* to good-standard, low-cost housing, and not at any fancy "market" price. But even if this were possible, I am not sure that it

hypocrisy." Slum clearance, even where it involves an attempt at housing at the same time, is at best under any present scheme of things a reactionary measure designed to patch up for a while longer the rickety financial structure of our cities. At worst it is sheer graft.

If we are going through our own experiment in social democracy—or even if we are not—let us at least use it to make clearer to ourselves what we really do want.

"'Slum Clearance' or 'Housing,'" *The Nation*, Dec 27, 1933

"It took definite steps towards a national housing program through an act which I signed today designed to encourage private capital in the rebuilding of the homes of the nation. But, in addition to this our immediate task, we must still look to the larger future. I have pointed out to the Congress that we are seeking to find the way once more to well-known, long-established but to some degree forgotten ideals and values. We seek the security of the men, women and children of the nation. That security involved added means of providing better homes for the people of the nation. That is the first principal of our future program.

—"Review of the Achievements of the Seventy-third Congress,"
June 28, 1934.

February 28, 1934

THE NEW REPUBLIC

New Homes for a New Deal

III: *The Shortage of Dwellings and Direction*

THE PRESENT situation in housing can be reduced to a few simple elements.

The first of these is that beneath the vacancies and the apparent surplus of urban dwellings there is a huge shortage—probably greater already than that which followed the War.

While housing statistics are wretchedly incom-

space per family. The *physical* shortage was occasioned by the recent lack of building for every class, and by the *chronic* lack of decent building for the lower income groups.

The second point is that housing has a central place in any continuous public-works program that seeks to build up a steady basis for employment. Economists of the most diverse schools agree upon housing as a measure, even if they have only the faintest glimmerings of the principles necessary to carry it out. Every technician knows that housing

There is a simpler way of putting this position: the government has temporarily given in completely to the demands of the financial and the realty interests and has no serious intention of lending money for any modern community housing whatever.

HOUSING

Unless the present policy is replaced and an adequate program laid down, we will soon be faced with a shortage in dwellings which will put the consumer at the mercy of the very interests whose dangerous shortsightedness and far-flung greed have done so much to bring on and maintain the present depression.

The New Republic

pg. 7

Atlanta's PWA Housing Projects First of Type in the United States

By GLADSTONE WILLIAMS.

Many Difficulties.

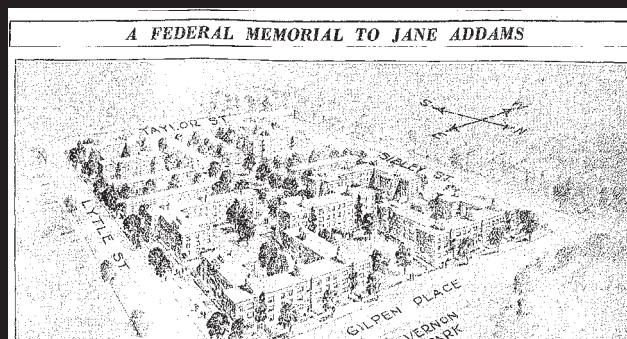
Overcoming innumerable difficulties, including the rapaciousness of certain land owners who saw an opportunity to hold up the government for handsome profits, the Public Works Emergency Housing Corporation tackled the problem earnestly in Atlanta, and is now well along the road to a major achievement unique in American history.

"Both Atlanta projects," declared Ichoe, "will be prosecuted with all possible speed and will be carried to completion quickly, spreading employment in the hard-hit building trades and providing decent and comfortable

living quarters for hundreds of families."

Gladstone Williams, "Atlanta's PWA Housing Projects First of Type in the United States," *Atlanta Constitution*, Jul 16, 1934

U. S. Government Will Spend \$1,720,000 for Chicago Housing Sites



Housing division standards require fireproof construction, cross ventilation for all apartments, and central heat. There will be two power plants in the basements of buildings fronting on Taylor street to supply the steam necessary for the heating. All suites will have electric refrigeration.

All exterior walls of the thirteen buildings will be of face brick. The trim probably will be of stone. Outside stairways and fire escapes, which disfigure so many Chicago apartment buildings, will be concealed by brick walls.

With the three projects for which

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trim probably will be of stone. Outside stairways and fire escapes, which disfigure so many Chicago apartment buildings, will be concealed by brick walls.

Al Chase, "U.S. Government Will Spend \$1,720,000 for Chicago Housing Sites," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Nov 3, 1935

VAST HOUSING PLAN ENVISAGED FOR CITY

Post Sees First Houses as Proving
Ground for Program to Provide
Homes for 500,000 Families

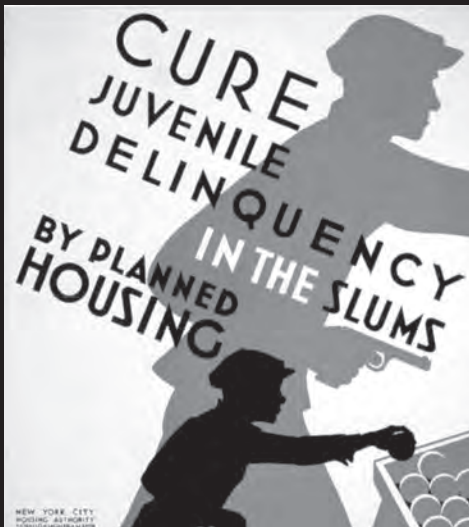
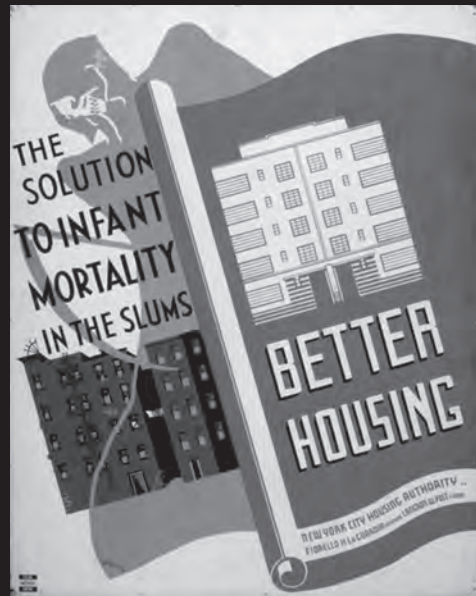
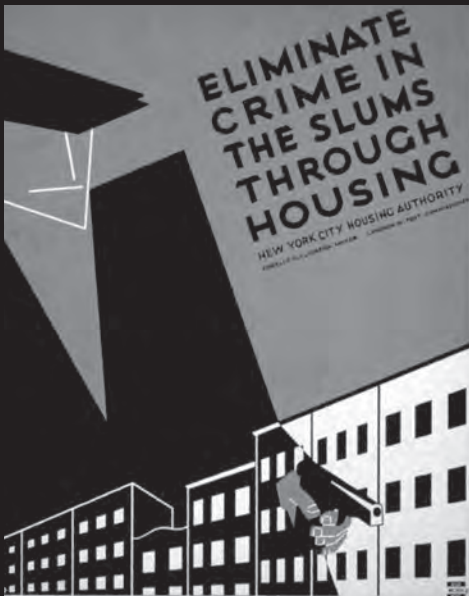


First Houses — New York City's initial experiment in slum clearance—have been formally dedicated, and within the next few weeks 120 carefully selected families will move into the 1.37-acre development of garden apartments at Avenue A and East Third Street.

This return will barely cover costs of maintenance and operation and provide for interest and amortization over a 65-year period on the land. The cost of the buildings—materials and labor—which was contributed by the Federal Government as a part of its relief program—is being written off.

ordinarily employed. But in any event it is impossible to regard slum clearance in New York as a project which will pay for itself. It can be achieved only by subsidies, from the Federal Government or the city or both. Land valuations in New York are entirely too high to permit low-cost housing on a profit-making basis. It must be regarded as an investment in better citizenship."

Roland Wood, "Vast Housing Plan Envisaged for City," *New York Times*, Dec 8, 1935





"Eliminate Crime in the Slums through Housing," poster, Benjamin Sheer, "Better Housing: The Solution to Infant Mortality in the Slums," poster, "Cure Juvenile Delinquency in the Slums by Planned Housing," poster, "Must We Always Have This? Why Not Housing?" poster, WPA Federal Art Project, New York, 1936

Straus Enters New Job to Clear Slums, Not as Housing Idealist



WITH the half billion dollars assigned him by the Wagner-Steagall Act, Nathan Straus, New York City philanthropist and business man (inset), takes over the job of improving America's housing. As head of the United States Housing Authority, he will be equipped to direct the Government "slum-clearing" projects of the future. But first, he'll look over what's already been done. For example, PWA's Techwood low-cost housing project (top left) in Atlanta, Ga.; Cleveland's \$3,800,000 Lakeside Terrace slum-clearance project (top right), and the Williamsburg project (lower right), in New York. In Durkeeville, the PWA adapted its program to the Florida climate and built rows of white houses along palm-lined streets.

USHA Chief Will Avoid PWA Plans

Good Dwellings Rather Than Perfect Ones Is Objective.

Lowest-Income Families Must Be Served, He Declares.

By Christine Ladd

The PWA projects shot toward the ideal. They have cross ventilation for every family unit, no walk-ups higher than three or four stories, and "no room entered through another."

"I had rather sacrifice my ideals of perfect housing," he said, "than to sacrifice the whole ideal of this bill. I believe in them just as firmly today as ever. But as a practical matter we are faced with the necessity not of furnishing ideal housing, but of getting people out of the slums—and getting them out as rapidly as possible."

"We must not serve just the low-income families, but also the lowest-income families," he said. "We'll have to simplify down to the bone. We've got to strike a mean between the horrible rookeries, where people live now and such developments as those set up by the PWA."

"Straus Enters New Job to Clear Slums, Not as Housing Idealist," *Washington Post*, Nov 7, 1937

Langston Terrace.

As the District's first low-rental housing project gets under way an analysis of objectives and the possibility of achieving those objectives is in order. Langston Terrace is one of 50 building enterprises launched by the housing division of the PWA as "a national demonstration program of slum clearance and low-rent housing." That is a fine slogan, entitling the community to expect much from the development.

Administration. Since these projects must be kept on a sound commercial basis, however, they cannot accommodate the very low-income groups. For the latter PWA is

"Langston Terrace," *Washington Post*, Nov 14, 1935

A HOUSING TALE OF TWO CITIES

LONDON AND NEW YORK



NEW YORK CITY HOUSING AUTHORITY
RETURN TO LIBRARY

DIRECTOR
N.Y.C.H.A.

PUBLISHED BY
NEW YORK CITY HOUSING AUTHORITY

"The difference between governmental aid to housing in London, Paris, Amsterdam, Zurich, Leeds, Manchester, Edinburgh and Glasgow, and governmental aid to housing in New York City is that in the cities abroad, government subsidy has been used to produce good low-rental homes for the people. In this country the subsidy, in the form of tax exemption, has been used instead to line the pockets of speculative builders who have disfigured great portions of our city with shoddy, ill-designed ramshackle buildings without central plan, without adequate space for recreation and with no thought of anything except profit to the individual engaged in the building operations. Unless we plan now, history will repeat itself."

—From a report to Mayor Fiorello H. LaGuardia,
by Nathan Straus.

MUST WE HAVE SLUMS.?



PUBLISHED BY

NEW YORK CITY HOUSING AUTHORITY

A CENTURY OF SLUMS

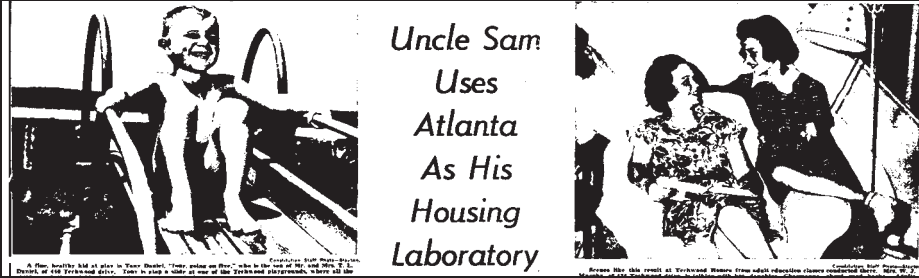
Visitors to the city marvel at the architectural wonder of Radio City, but are ignorant of the fact there are still 67,000 tenement houses which were built before 1900.

American plumbing is known in all corners of the earth, but few are aware that in New York there are 23,037 tenements with toilets in the public hallways and 1,325 with toilets in the yard. Nearly 30,000 houses have no bathing facilities.



NEW YORK—CITY OF PARADOXES

SKYSCRAPERS AND SLUMS

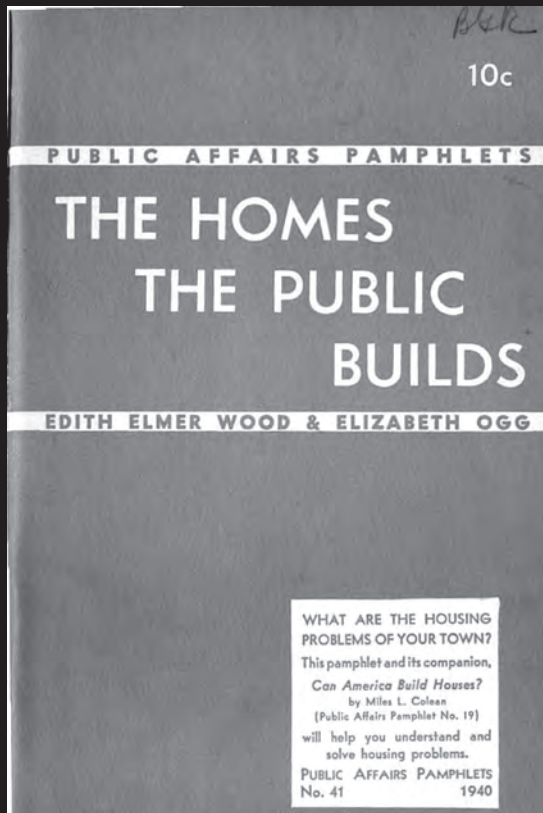


**UNCLE SAM TESTS
HOUSING IN ATLANTA**

In beginning its new housing experiment, Atlanta will tear down one section of a slum area after moving the families in that area to other homes designated in advance in each instance. When the new buildings are up, another slum section will be torn down and its residents moved into the new buildings. This will proceed section by section until the last set of new buildings is up. Then the people who were moved out originally will be moved back and the operation will be complete.

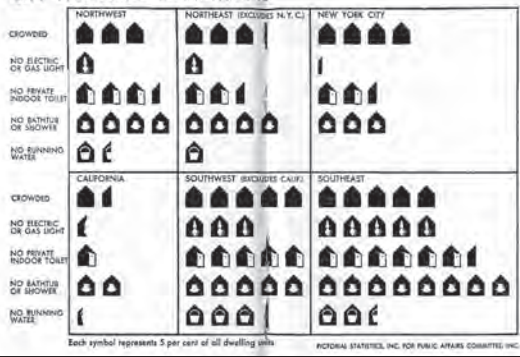
The contention of these social workers is that housing is just as worthy of high government subsidy as is the mail service or public education.

"Uncle Sam Uses Atlanta as His Housing Laboratory," *Atlanta Constitution*, Aug 28, 1938



WHAT ARE THE HOUSING PROBLEMS OF YOUR TOWN?
This pamphlet and its companion,
Can America Build Houses?
by Miles L. Colson
(Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 19)
will help you understand and
solve housing problems.
PUBLIC AFFAIRS PAMPHLETS
No. 41 1940

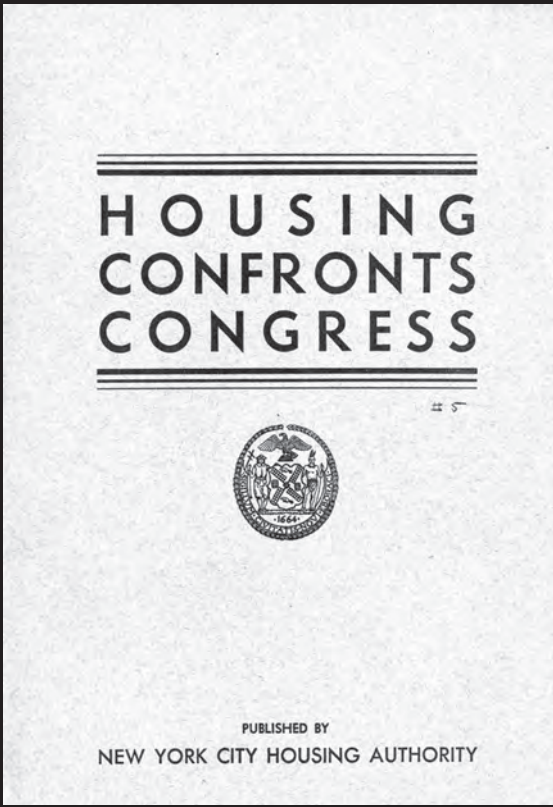
CITY HOUSING CONDITIONS



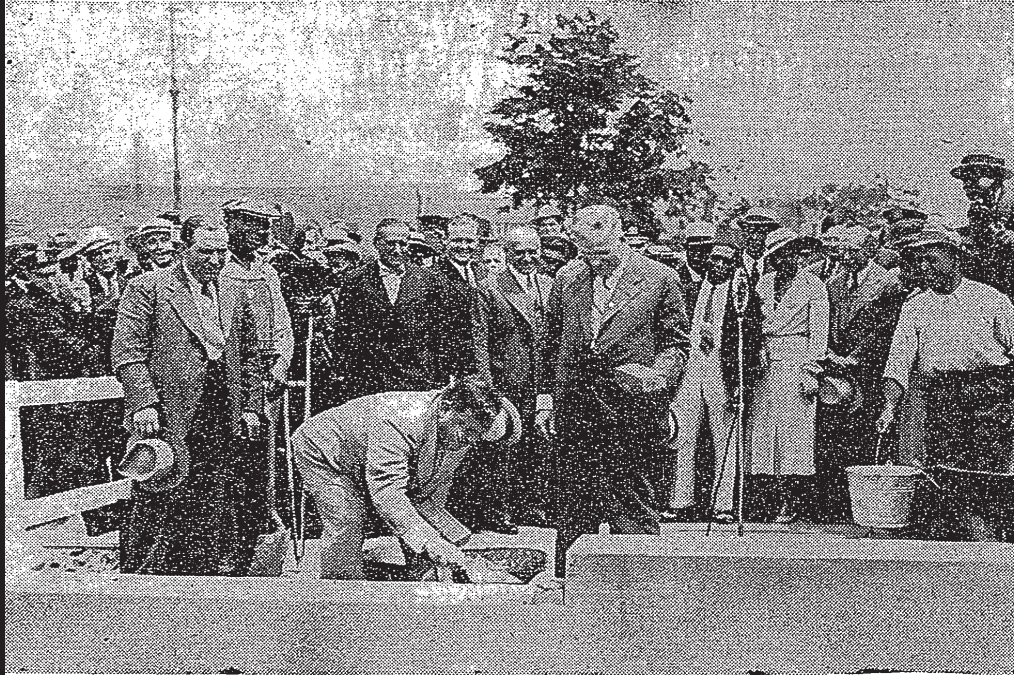
"Public housing is first and foremost a measure of public health in the widest sense of the word. Slums are centers of infection, the effects of which spread far beyond their own borders—centers of moral and political corruption as well as physical disease. Getting rid of such centers benefits everybody.

"Then there is another point to be considered in this matter of a community's housing a section of its citizens. That is the consideration of democracy. Democracy implies a continuing struggle toward the goal of equal opportunity for health, for decency, for a normal family life. All these are indeed more fundamental than equal opportunity for education. If under the existing scheme of things, large numbers of its citizens are denied these opportunities, a democracy should do something about it.

Edith Elmer Wood and Elizabeth Ogg, "The Homes the Public Builds," *Public Affairs Pamphlet*, no. 41 (New York: Public Affairs Committee, 1940)



Charles Yale Harrison, "Housing Confronts Congress" (New York: NYCHA, 1936-37), pamphlet cover



Times Wide World Photo.

A NEW ERA IN LOW-RENT HOUSING FOR NEW YORK CITY
Mayor La Guardia laying the first bricks for the \$4,700,000 project at 153d Street and the Harlem River at the ceremonies yesterday as Secretary Ickes acts as his helper.

ICKES SAYS HOUSING IS A FEDERAL JOB

Sees Private Enterprise Unable
to Erect Fit Dwellings for
Low Income Groups.

SPEAKS AT PROJECT HERE

Secretary and Mayor Praise
PWA Program as Developed
at Harlem Houses.

FIRST BRICKS ARE LAID

Langdon Post Says Tenants
Will Be Selected Not for
Money but Character.

Speaking at ceremonies marking completion of the foundation work for Harlem River Houses, 153d Street and Harlem River, the second large PWA housing project in the city, Mr. Ickes expressed the hope the PWA housing program will "develop into a tidal wave of sentiment for housing" and praised the Wagner-Allenbogen bill in Congress as opening the door of opportunity to those who live in "fire traps and unhealthy rookeries."

While the resplendent band of the Imperial Lodge No. 27 of the Elks played, Bill Robinson, Negro dancer, tapped a few steps on the foundation and handed the bricks to the officials. Stretching to the south for two blocks were the foundation walls, which, as Mayor La Guardia said, described "crazy zig-zag lines" so as to provide for the greatest number of windows, ventilation and sunlight in the 1,940 rooms which will house 574 Harlem families.

"The record of American housing is proof positive of one thing. Private initiative cannot, unaided, properly house our low income families. It simply is not in the

cards. It can mulct unenviable profits by housing our people badly; it cannot make money by housing them well.

"I say that if we trust the government to build battleships to destroy people, I'll not be afraid to trust the government to build houses fit for women and children to live in," the Mayor said.

"Ickes Says Housing is a Federal Job," *New York Times*,
Jun 21, 1936

75TH CONGRESS } HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES { REPORT
1st Session } } No. 1545

UNITED STATES HOUSING ACT OF 1937

August 13, 1937.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union and ordered to be printed

Mr. STEAGALL, from the Committee on Banking and Currency, submitted the following

REPORT

[To accompany S. 1685]

The Committee on Banking and Currency, to whom was referred the bill (S. 1685) to provide financial assistance to the States and political subdivisions thereof for the elimination of unsafe and insanitary housing conditions, for the eradication of slums, for the provision of decent, safe, and sanitary dwellings for families of low income, and for the reduction of unemployment and the stimulation of business activity, to create a United States Housing Authority, and for other purposes, having considered the same, report it back to the House with an amendment and recommend that the bill, as amended, do pass.

The amendment strikes out all after the enacting clause of the bill (S. 1685) and inserts in lieu thereof now matter as appears in italics in the reported bill. Hearings were held by the Senate Committee on Education and Labor on S. 1685 and by your committee on the companion bill (H. R. 5033). The Senate report (No. 933) sets forth the social and economic objectives of, and the need for, this legislation. There follows a summary of the important provisions of the bill as reported by your committee and the principal differences between it and the bill as passed the Senate.

ORGANIZATION.

- (a) DECLARATION OF POLICY.—It is the policy of the United States—
- (1) to promote the general welfare of the Nation by employing the funds and credit of the Nation, as provided in this Act—
 - (A) to assist States and political subdivisions of States to remedy the unsafe housing conditions and the acute shortage of decent and safe dwellings for low-income families;
 - (B) to assist States and political subdivisions of States to address the shortage of housing affordable to low-income families; and
 - (C) consistent with the objectives of this title, to vest in public housing agencies that perform well, the maximum amount of responsibility and flexibility in program administration, with appropriate accountability to public housing residents, localities, and the general public;
 - (2) that the Federal Government cannot through its direct action alone provide

for the housing of every American citizen, or even a majority of its citizens, but it is the responsibility of the Government to promote and protect the independent and collective actions of private citizens to develop housing and strengthen their own neighborhoods; (3) that the Federal Government should act where there is a serious need that private citizens or groups cannot or are not addressing responsibly; and

USING

(b) PUBLIC HOUSING AGENCY ORGANIZATION.—

(1) REQUIRED MEMBERSHIP.—Except as provided in paragraph (2), the membership of the board of directors or similar governing body of each public housing agency shall contain not less than 1 member—

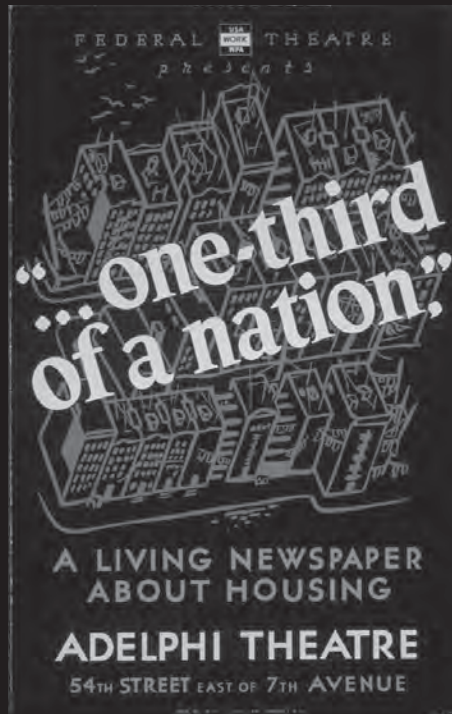
United States Housing Act of 1937 [Wagner-Steagall Act],
ratified Sep 1, 1937, U.S. Statutes at Large (75th Cong., 1st
sess., pp. 888-99)

STATION _____ _____ Network "UNITED STATES HOUSING AUTHORITY" Series 1 Recording No. 1 (Recorded on: NOVEMBER 17, 1938) (9:00 P.M. to 1:00 A.M., E.S.T.)	THE WORK PROGRAM WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION FEDERAL THEATRE RADIO DIVISION 1697 BROADWAY NEW YORK CITY <u>MASTER SCRIPT</u> "SLUMS COST YOU MONEY!" (Script One) - by - Leo Fontaine Director: Brian J. Byrne Production: Donald Barrie and Austin Ruhn CUE: (NETWORK IDENTIFICATION) (..... 30 SECONDS)
--	--

1- ANNOUNCER -	<u>Slums -- Cost You Money!</u>
2- MUSIC -	THEME NO. 1 IN FULL -- DOWN AND HOLD BEHIND.
3- ANNOUNCER -	Presenting a program designed to reveal a fact that many taxpayers do not realize -- you are paying taxes to maintain the slums in your community. It would cost you less to obliterate those slums, through the program of the United States Housing Authority, than to continue to pay taxes for the upkeep of the slums.
4- MUSIC - 3-16-38 (11-9-38)	UP AND CUT SHARP.

5- 2nd ANNOUNCER -	January 20, 1939. The President of the United States delivers his inaugural address at Washington --
6- PRESIDENT -	(OUTDOORS) (FAST FADE IN - PROJECTING) In this nation I see tens of millions of its citizens -- a substantial part of the whole population -- who at this very moment are denied the greater part of what the very lowest standards of today call the necessities of life.....I see one third of a nation ill-housed, ill-clad, ill-nourished.

Leo Fontaine, "Slums Cost You Money!" radio program, USHA and WPA, Nov 17, 1935



Irving Spellens, "Federal Theatre Presents '...one-third of a nation,'" poster, WPA Federal Art Project, New York City, 1936



Miles L. Colean, "Can America Build Houses?" *Public Affairs Pamphlet*, no. 19 (New York: Public Affairs Committee, 1938)

Author's Copy

HOUSING BECOMES A NATIONAL ISSUE

A Review of the Wagner-Steagall Bill



PUBLISHED BY
NEW YORK CITY
HOUSING AUTHORITY

WHAT PRICE SUBSIDY!



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NEW YORK CITY HOUSING AUTHORITY

WILL HOUSING CREATE A NEW CLASS?

A home-owner in the suburbs asks:

"Wouldn't the construction of government subsidized homes create rather than eliminate classes in America? Wouldn't a person living in such a development be branded as one who is socially unfit to provide a home of his own?"

Yet in no case can it be said that these benefits of free government create class distinction. On the contrary, the tendency in America today, particularly in the field of government supported social services, tends towards the breaking down of class distinction. Would you, for example, brand a student at one of our high-schools in New York as inferior to a young man who attends a private and exclusive boarding school? To ask a question is to answer it.

Charles Yale Harrison, "What Price Subsidy!" (New York: NYCHA, 1936-37), pamphlet cover

U. S. IS WORLD'S NO. 1 LANDLORD; COST: 5½ BILLION

So Roosevelt Pushes Bigger Venture.

BY WILLIAM FULTON.

Setting up Uncle Sam as the biggest landlord in the history of the world, the Roosevelt administration has spent, lent, and gone into the insurance business to the extent of \$5,541,000,000 in its various housing ventures during the last five years.

The largest of these ventures has been the home owners' loan corporation, which refinanced mortgages on dwellings to the extent of \$3,093,000,000.

"U.S. Is World's No. 1 Landlord; Cost: 5 1/2 Billion," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Dec. 5, 1937

VOICE OF THE PEOPLE

UNCLE SAM AS LANDLORD.

74

Chicago, June 8.—Your article on the housing project disgusts me. Your reporter must have overslept on the day of his assignment and probably wrote an imaginative impression.

As an eye witness to conditions at the Jane Addams houses, I can say that the residents are clean, wholesome, and intelligent, and appreciative of the opportunities given them by the government. As a whole, they represent the "true American spirit." Here's to more and more housing projects, and, to more Americans as those living in the Jane Addams houses.

BESSIE E. LEAVITT

Assistant Librarian Roosevelt Branch of
Public Library.

OF HOUSING

FEDERAL HOUSING LOBBYISTS.

Chicago, Aug. 18.—One Illinois representative who fought the housing act [forgoing taxes] in the last session of the legislature has reported to his constituents that the parties vitally interested in the building of the proposed federal housing for the colored had brought to Springfield a trainload of lobbyists from Chicago. He heard there was a carload of foreign looking men and women from the Jane Addams houses. They carried banners with inscriptions: "We like our new homes." "We want more federal housing."

These chosen tenants of subsidized homes were paraded all through the capitol, and were allowed to speak before the legislature. Along with the Jane Addams delegation came an ex-high school teacher. She, too, yelled loudly that unless the colored who are now on relief rolls get tile bathrooms there is a dark future in store for Chicago.

The representative reported that he could not discover who paid the train fare and for the meals of the delegation from the west side. Maybe Mr. Strauss, head of federal housing, can tell.
S. R. CONLEY.

"Voice of the People," *Chicago Tribune*, Jun 10, 1938

'UNCLE SAM'S MY LANDLORD!'

You've heard of course of Federal Housing projects, sometimes called "slum clearance." Here's a true story of what a young mother finds—as a government tenant

FOR THOSE in and around Los Angeles who may be contemplating living in one of the new government housing projects, I want to say that Uncle Sam is my landlord and I think he is just swell.

It was his idea and it is his ideals that made the project possible and his ideas on how it should be run—and so I say he is the Big Boss.



THE KITCHEN: THERE WILL BE 607 UNITS IN THE PROJECT COSTING \$2,591,000 WHICH IS FINANCED 90 PER CENT BY FEDERAL FUNDS

"Uncle Sam's My Landlord!" *Los Angeles Times*, Sep 29, 1940

REALTORS' HEAD ASSAILS HOUSING PROJECT TAX CUT

Unfair to City Landlords,
Says Lorish.

"Slum clearance and so-called low cost housing is a fine thing," said Lorish, "but renting these PWA flats at less than cost is not fair to the taxpayers and people who can't get in. These are for a favored few—at the expense of the other taxpayers. As was recently stated, why should farmers and people living in towns and small cities be taxed to help pay the rent of the slum population of large cities?"

"Realtors' Head Assails Housing Project Tax Cut," *Chicago Tribune*, Sep 16, 1937

Housing Aims Outlined

Federal Chief Says Program Won't Vie With Private Industry

WASHINGTON, Nov. 18. (AP)—Nathan Straus, administrator of the United States Housing Authority, assured the United States Chamber of Commerce's housing conference today the authority's program will not compete with the private building industry.

private construction, that "No competition with private industry is contemplated by me or, if I read the law right, is even possible under the act."

"We want to use our funds not to house a few families in ideal homes, but to house as many slum dwellers as possible in decent homes," he said.

Gerrish Cassaway, secretary of

"Housing Aims Outlined," *Los Angeles Times*, Nov 19, 1937

ASSAIL HOUSING SCHEME AS BLOW TO CONSTRUCTION

Real Estate Men Can't Compete, They Say.

Chicago real estate men declared yesterday that the city's entrance into the landlord business, through taking over buildings from the United States housing commission, will be a heavy blow to private real estate investors and will deflate any possible building boom. On Friday the city became the

"This action strikes directly at the soundness of private capital and privately owned real estate investments in the Chicago area," Lorish said. "It is destroying the incentive of investors who would welcome the chance to build as soon as rents had been adjusted.

"Assail Housing Scheme as Blow to Construction," *Chicago Tribune*, Nov 21, 1937

pg. 24

Suggests Federal and City Housing Authorities Drop Landlord Role

**REALTOR URGES
PRIVATE FUNDS
FOR SLUM SAVING**

**"Public Service Building"
Plan Also Favored.**

"Once a slum area has been cleaned out it should be turned over for reconstruction to especially organized private companies set up for that purpose and functioning under public supervision," Nelson said.

Protection for Real Estate.

"In addition, everybody who owns a city home, or other urban real estate, has a direct financial stake in quick and constructive action to rebuild 'blighted' areas and clean up bad housing conditions. 'Blight is a disease that does not stand still. In such a city as Chicago, for example, probably a fourth of the urban area is suffering from this disease.'

"Suggests Federal and City Housing Authorities Drop Landlord Role," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Mar 12, 1939

**BUILDING COSTS
TOO LARGE FOR
LOW COST HOME**

**U.S. Rentals Above Reach
of Small Wage.**

BY JOSEPH ATOR.

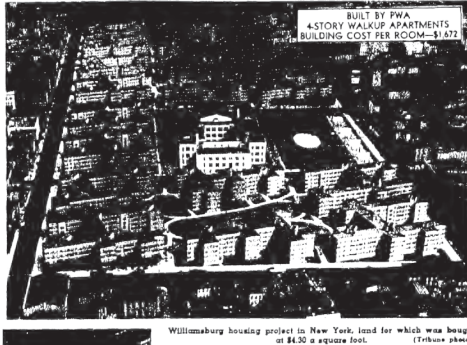
"It is imperative to realize that the results of our present accomplishments are bound to arouse a storm of criticism, especially from the real estate and building groups of the country. These groups are claiming that government construction of housing is extravagant, and that such costs should not be shouldered by the general public.

"Building Costs Too Large for Low Cost Home," *Chicago Tribune*, Apr 24, 1938

New Deal Housing Too Costly for the Poor

It Knives Private Industry While Missing Own Goal

By LAURENCE BURD



Williamsburg housing project in New York, land for which was bought at \$4.50 a square foot. (Tribune photo.)

WHAT THEY ARE
PWA The Public Works Administration, a federal agency, spent \$104,000,000 from 1933 to 1937 on "low-cost" housing projects. Federal housing projects are now financed by the USHA.
USHA The United States Housing Authority, established in 1937. It lends to local housing authorities up to 90 per cent of a proposed housing project and makes further annual contributions.
CHA The Chicago Housing Authority, a local authority, with officials appointed by the mayor. It has leased from the PWA and now operates in Chicago three housing projects built by PWA.
FHA The Federal Housing Administration, a governmental agency authorized to insure up to \$1 billion dollars of private home mortgages to protect the lender. It does not lend money.

"I SEE A THIRD of the nation ill housed." The President made this

Just why is the government's housing program under such a barrage of hostile cross-firing? Here are some of the things that the critics have found:

1. Rents on federal housing projects are so high that only the so-called middle income groups can afford to pay them. This leaves the truly "ill housed as they ever were."

2. The cost of federally built dwellings is extravagantly high for a project that is supposed to be "low-cost" housing. Archi-

4. At the present rate of building costs and subsidies the USHA cannot begin to make any real dent in either slum clearance or rehousing without saddling a crushing tax load on the people. national debt.

5. Federal housing projects are boosting local as well as federal taxes. In cities where the USHA builds the projects are tax ex-

6. Private builders, who in competition only with each other would find it profitable to build new dwellings, have been stopped short by government competition. They cannot profitably meet the scale of rentals

7. With all its ballyhoo, the USHA is actually not clearing the slums on many projects. It

"New Deal Housing Too Costly for the Poor," *Chicago Tribune*, Apr 23, 1939



HOMES, SWEET HOMES

"Home ownership in cities today is an example of cultural lag. It is based more on sentiment and emotion than on facts. It fortifies the ego, rather than the family budget. A lot of us feel better if we own, and that feeling demands respectful consideration. Let us try, however, to detach the desire from mere possession and transfer it to the sense of living. If the chances look good, buy. If they do not look good, rent. What one seeks, after all, is not a parchment but peace."

The Case Against Home Ownership

by STUART CHASE

Mortgage foreclosure figures, population and employment trends show that few American families can afford to own a house which saddles them with fixed charges, pins them to one place, and may not meet their needs or be saleable later on. In an article which shatters some of our fondest folklore, Mr. Chase advises most wage earners to rent; most builders who don't want to be caught in the next real estate debacle, to build for renters.

OUT IN TEXAS THE OTHER DAY I OPENED A LOCAL PAPER. A large advertisement by a real estate concern caught my eye—Uncle Sam Wants You to Own Your Own Home. A misty-eyed picture of the Little Home, the Little Kiddies and the Little Woman accompanied the caption. The Little Mortgage was not shown. The advertisement was geared to the recent amendments of the National Housing Act.

in any such thumping conclusion, but the juxtaposition of the items should at least stir our curiosity. Does Uncle Sam, in the person of the officials of the Federal Housing Administration, really want all Americans to own their own homes in the world of 1938? How many Americans are now in a predicament similar to that of the forty-nine

Stuart Chase, "The Case against Home Ownership," *Survey*
Graphic 27, no. 5 (May 1938)

RENT STRIKES GAIN SUPPORT

New House Goes Out
As Others Start
Picketing Move

The rent strike epidemic, aimed at lowering Harlem's high rentals and securing better living conditions for the tenants, is fastly spreading through the community. With three apartment houses on Edgecombe and

sympathetic support. They have announced their intention of continuing the picketing if and when the whole 200 families are served with papers or dispossessed. The group is asking reduction of rent, redecoration of all apartments, better service and sanitary conditions. The members of the executive

Attorney Archibald, speaking for the movement, issued a statement yesterday calling for support and similar action throughout Harlem. He termed the strike as the only method by which Negro tenants may fight their way out of the oppression which landlords have placed on them through exorbitant rentals. He pointed out that white tenants, living in Harlem and elsewhere, were not forced to suffer the same conditions, and expressed the opinion that the movement would sweep the community.

"Rent Strikes Gain Support," *New York Amsterdam News*,
Aug 11, 1934

RUSH IN HARLEM FOR PWA HOUSES

9,167 Families Already Have
Applied, While There Will Be
Room for Only 574.

OPENING IS SET FOR JULY

Tenants to Be Investigated as to
Worthiness, Income and
Citizenship.

9,167 Families Already Have
Applied, While There Will Be
Room for Only 574.

OPENING IS SET FOR JULY

Tenants to Be Investigated as to
Worthiness, Income and
Citizenship.

"Rush in Harlem for PWA Houses," *New York Times*,
Nov 8, 1936

ADDAMS HOUSES FAMILIES TO BE SELECTED DEC. 1

Board Is Named to Review Tenant Selection.

BY AL CHASE.

A reply to the criticism of realty men that the federal housing projects are competing with private enterprise was made yesterday by W. J. Lynch, building contractor and member of the Chicago housing authority.

"The rents are below what private industry can afford to make," he said. "Therefore they don't compete with buildings of the same character and will only affect families who live in substandard homes."

Al Green, "Addams Families to Be Selected Dec. 1," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Nov 25, 1937

UNIVERSITY HOMES OCCUPATION DAY SET FOR APRIL 17

300 Families Are Expected To Move in at One Time.

One of the biggest moving days in Atlanta's history is scheduled for Saturday, April 17, when the University Homes, federal low-cost housing project for negroes, will be opened for tenants, according to K. S. McAllister, district manager of the PWA housing division.

A majority of the 300 families selected are composed of "the better-class of household servants," McAllister said. Preference will

be given servants of this type to reduce and eliminate the carrying of disease into the homes of those employing servants. McAllister said the intention of the housing for negroes was to improve general health conditions in the city by providing housing for servants and employes of that general nature, within certain salary ranges.

"University Homes Occupation Day Set for Apr 17," *Atlanta Constitution*, Apr 6, 1937

Only 35 Negro Families in 3 Home Projects

Only thirty-five of the 2,414 dwelling units in the three big government built housing projects in Chicago are occupied by colored families.

No Color Line Drawn.

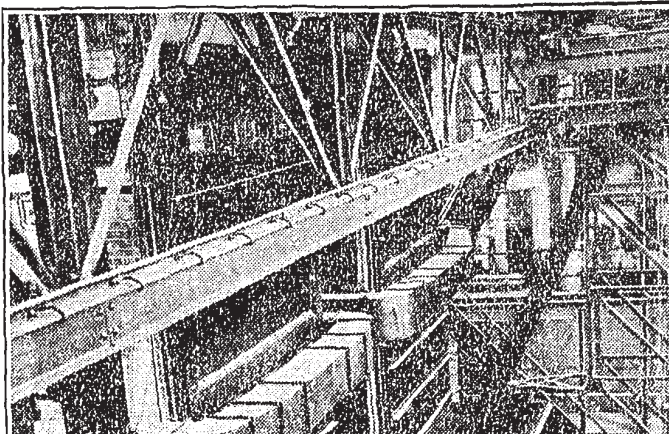
There is no color line, however, in any of the three federal housing projects, she said. It just happens that there have been no applications

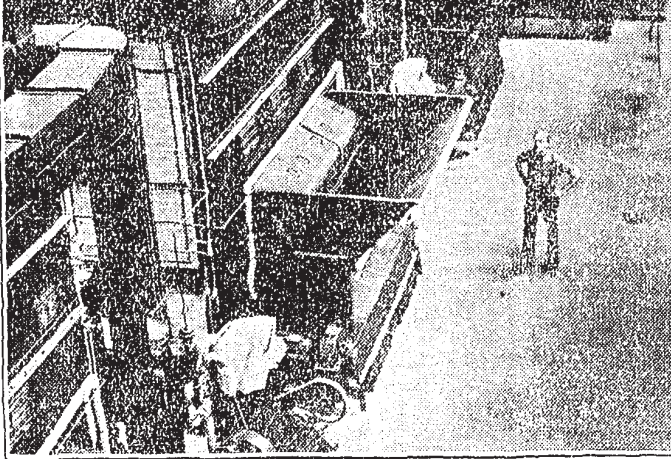
There are 1,027 dwelling units in the Jane Addams houses; 925 units in the Julia Lathrop homes, and 462 in the Trumbull park homes. The three projects are 100 per cent occupied, it is said, and house 9,257 persons.

Theoretically, these will be occupied by colored families. It was pointed out, however, that there will be no distinction as to color. White families may live there if they care to and can qualify as to income and other points required by the CHA.

"Only 35 Negro Families in 3 Home Projects," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Jun 25, 1939

Heater for Jane Addams Houses





An interior view of the \$353,000 power plant completed several weeks ago at the Jane Addams Houses, the Public Works administration's \$6,500,000 housing project at Racine avenue and Roosevelt road. According to Chester A. Inman, district manager, the first units of this west side development will be ready for tenants about Aug. 1. The original Jane Addams Houses are now reported by James H. Grier, project manager, to be 70 per cent completed; the Jane Addams additions, 25 per cent finished. [TRIBUNE Photo.]

"Heater for Jane Addams Houses," *Chicago Daily Tribune*,
May 16, 1937

New Standard in Harlem Housing Is Set by Clinic and Amphitheatre

***Nursery and Wading Pool Also Are Included in Slum Clearance
Project—Ceremony Saturday, Attended by Ickes and
La Guardia, to Mark Laying of First Bricks.***

"The chief purpose
of public housing is to make better
and healthier citizens by giving
them a decent place to live, and
especially providing proper sur-
roundings for children."

"New Standard in Harlem Housing Is Set by Clinic and
Amphitheatre," *New York Times*, June 14, 1963

Young District Sculptor Given Rare Opportunity

**Olney Has Unusual Chance in Commission to
Decorate Facade in Central Building of
Colored Housing Project.**

By Alice Graeme.

A young Washington sculptor, Daniel G. Olney, has had an unusual opportunity in his commission to decorate the facade of the central building of the new colored housing group here, to be known as Langston terrace. The

"Young District Sculptor Given Rare Opportunity," *Washington Post*, Feb 28, 1937



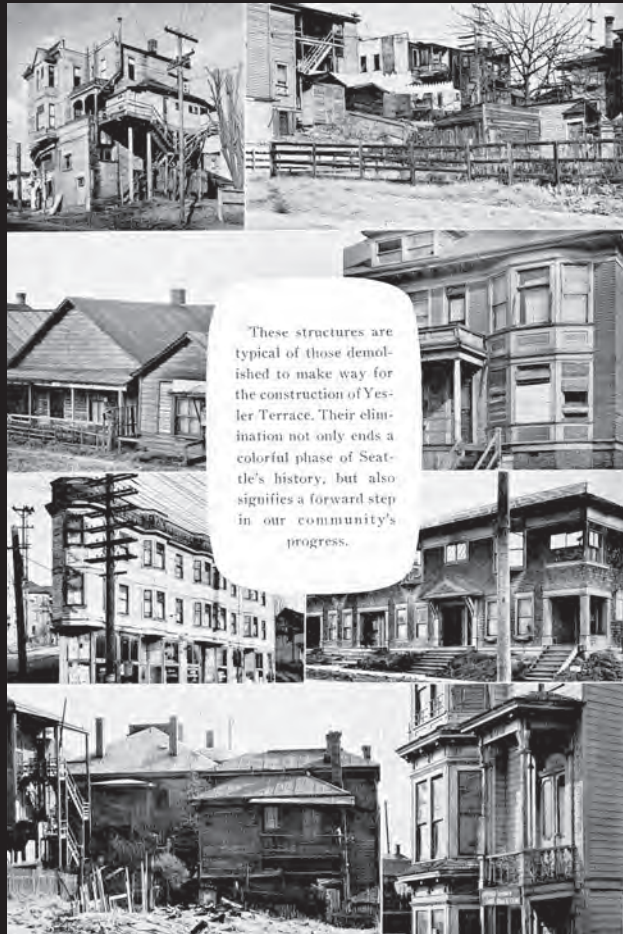
"Dedication Ceremonies, Ida B. Wells Homes," poster, WPA Federal Art Project, Chicago, 1940

**DEDICATE NEW
WELLS HOUSING
PROJECT TODAY**

**15,000 Apply for Cheap
Federal Homes.**

Fifty thousand persons are expected to attend the dedication of the \$9,000,000 Ida B. Wells homes at 39th street and South Park way, a project of the Chicago Housing authority, this afternoon. A parade down South Park way, beginning at 1 o'clock, will be followed by an address by Mayor Kelly and the dedicatory ceremonies.

"Dedicate New Wells Housing Project Today," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Oct 27, 1940



YESLER TERRACE

Situated in a commanding position, overlooking Elliott Bay and the Olympics to the west and Mt. Rainier to the south, is Yesler Terrace, the first project to be developed by the Seattle Housing Authority.

The Yesler Hill area is closely associated with the history of Seattle. Yesler Way, which traverses the site from Seventh Avenue to Twelfth Avenue, has witnessed the development of Seattle from a tiny settlement clustered around Yesler's Mill to a bustling city which has spread north and south into the hunting and fishing territory of the pioneers. The beginning of a centralized business district originated at the foot of Yesler Way and the Yesler cable, whose service was recently discontinued, carried the town's leading citizens to the fine residential district on top of the hill. Here were located the homes of families whose names are identified with the progress and spirit typified by the booming community.

As the city grew, however, the Yesler Hill area experienced

Community building—Yesler Terrace. This will be open to the entire neighborhood.



USING

"Yesler Terrace," *First Annual Report of the Housing Authority of the City of Seattle, 1941*



America Builds

THE RECORD OF
PWA

PUBLIC WORKS ADMINISTRATION

PREPARED IN THE DIVISION OF INFORMATION

At this time, when national recognition of this 6 years' endeavor has been accorded by the President's action in including PWA in the new Federal Works Agency, it is appropriate that a record of PWA's work be made available. Therefore, I have had this publication prepared in order to present in a single, comprehensive report, such essential information regarding the history, experience and activities of PWA as may be of interest to citizens generally as well as to students of the theory of public works and its efficacy in helping to bring about economic recovery.

Harold L. Petcher
Administrator

WASHINGTON, June 1, 1939.



A TRIP downtown for the young ladies of Peachtree Street, Atlanta, had one discouraging aspect. To get from their homes in that noted sector to the shopping district by the quickest route they had to pass a slum. Its gray, dilapidated shanties, with back yards full of trash, lay adjacent to the campus of the Georgia Institute of Technology, at the doorway of downtown Atlanta. It was a notorious area.

For here stood Techwood, built by PWA, the first public slum clearance and low-rent housing project in the history of the United States.

It was a blight on the city and the blight was not static—it was moving glacierlike toward high-priced business property, carrying depression of values along with it steadily and surely.

That was in 1933. By the end of 1936 the young ladies of Peachtree Street could have rubbed their eyes in amazement to see what had happened to Atlanta's prize slum. The shacks and swampy yards had vanished, giving way to trim brick apartment buildings and group houses with clean-cut lines, set amid pleasant green lawns.

incomes. It was the forerunner of many other housing projects, the bellwether of a movement that suddenly was to make sweeping progress in a comparatively short period.

PIONEERING IN HOUSING

No program of the PWA, with the possible exception of the power program, aroused more controversy than did its housing activities. Yet no other phase of its work enabled one branch of social progress in America to take such amazing strides.

PWA was placed in the field of public housing through 17 words in the 6,000-word National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933.

were preparing to enact similar legislation. Sentiment for public housing was growing like a snowball on a hill, and a public-housing policy had been adopted as the law of the land.

LEGISLATIVE ADVANCES

The enthusiasm which mustered behind the Wagner-Steagall Act was a tribute to the strength of the public-housing movement which had been given form and substance by PWA. The needs that public housing filled, the purpose it served, and its specific accomplishments so appealed to the Nation and to the Congress that the program was deemed worthy of being established as a permanent Government activity. After a 4-year period of demonstration and pioneering, public housing was adopted as a law of the land. Housing had come of age.

Excerpts from "Public Housing," *America Builds: The Record of PWA* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1939)

October 20, 1939.
 MY DEAR MR. STRAUS:

The second anniversary of the United States Housing Authority is an occasion for real celebration. During these two years we have seen an idea develop into a reality. An insistent idea that the ill-housed poor must be provided with decent shelter and that unsafe dwellings must be eliminated has merged into the reality of finished projects, of decent low-rent homes being constructed, of miserable, substandard hovels being demolished.

It is this satisfaction in knowing

Selected articles, *Public Housing* 1, no. 14 (Nov 14, 1939)

Highlights of Radio Talks by 5 Mayors

Mayor LaGuardia of New York:

"You will hear in the course of this program the description of new dwellings replacing the old slums. But no language has been created or words coined to describe properly this transformation of unhappy, discouraged, disgruntled people into happy, encouraged, and loyal Americans."

Mayor Rossi of San Francisco:

"Today we hear the pounding of hammers and the whirling of saws as these projects grow into reality. It

these projects, grow into reality. It is music to the ear. Tomorrow we will hear the best of all sounds—the patter of little children's feet as they migrate with their parents from the hovels and shacks and tenements into new homes and a better way of living."

Selected articles, *Public Housing 1*, no. 14 (Nov 14, 1939)

NOV 17 1939

PUBLIC HOUSING

Weekly News

FROM AMERICAN COMMUNITIES BUILDING
3200 17th AVE. BOSTON, MASS. 02118

Vol. 1, No. 14 Federal Works Agency, U. S. Housing Authority — Nathan Straus, Administrator November 14, 1939

President Roosevelt Praises USHA Progress

President Roosevelt, whose famous expression, "one-third of the Nation is ill-housed," has become the best-known phrase in the housing movement, took formal notice of the United States Housing Authority's second anniversary by addressing a letter to Administrator Nathan Straus. The letter follows in full:

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington,
October 28, 1939.

MY DEAR MR. STRAUS:

The second anniversary of the United States Housing Authority is an occasion for real celebration. During these two years we have seen an idea develop into a reality. An insistent idea that the ill-housed poor must be provided with decent shelter and that unsafe dwellings must be eliminated has merged into the reality of finished projects, of decent low-rent homes being constructed, of miserable, substandard hovels being demolished.

It is this satisfaction in knowing that a long felt need is being met which, to my mind, highlights your second anniversary. This is the democratic way, this the American way of doing things.

It gives me great pleasure to extend to you and through you to the local housing authorities and their staffs, and local, city, county and State officials throughout the country, my best wishes and an assurance of my appreciation of the work being done.

Very sincerely yours,
(Signed)
FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

Nation-wide Broadcast Hails Second Anniversary of USHA

The President of the United States, Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York, Congressman Henry B. Steagall of Alabama, the mayors of five cities, and millions of listeners from coast to coast celebrated with USHA Administrator Nathan Straus and staff on November 1 when the United States Housing Authority went on the air over a Nation-wide hook-up on the occasion of its second birthday.

From the ballroom of the Willard Hotel in Washington, D. C., Mr. Straus read a letter of congratulations from President Roosevelt. Senator Wagner and Representative Steagall, sponsors of the U. S. Housing Act in Congress, expressed their approval of the USHA program and their hope for expansion of its important work.

The National Broadcasting Co. took its listeners on a cross-country radio tour to hear congratulations and best wishes from Mayor LaGuardia in New York City; Mayor Archambault of Lowell, Mass., speaking from Boston; (See NATION-WIDE BROADCAST BY p. 7)



Co-authors of the United States Housing Act, Senator Robert F. Wagner (left) of New York, and Congressman Henry B. Steagall (right) of Alabama, congratulate USHA Administrator Nathan Straus (center) and public housing officials throughout the Nation as USHA celebrates its second anniversary.

1

AFTER TWO YEARS—THE RECORD

LOANS	Loans totaling \$521,097,000, representing 90 percent of the \$579,125,000 total estimated cost of 296 projects, have been approved for 135 communities.
CONSTRUCTION	A total of 114 projects, designed to provide approximately 47,590 low-rent homes are now in construction.
TENANTS	More than 10,000 persons will have migrated from substandard slum dwellings into new USHA-aided projects by the end of this year.
MATERIALS	Approximately \$84,800,000 will be spent for building materials on the 115 projects already under way.
LABOR	An estimated \$68,542,000 will go into the pay envelopes of 140,600 construction engineers, building trades mechanics, laborers, and clerical workers engaged directly on the sites of these 115 projects. An additional 52,000 "off-site" workers will receive a full year's employment in the production, fabrication, and transportation of building materials.
COSTS	Dwellings now under construction will be completed for an average net construction cost of \$2,894 per dwelling unit.
RENTS	Shelter rents will average \$12.25 per dwelling per month in the South and \$17.50 in the North. This will permit families with net annual incomes as low as \$300 in the South and as low as \$600 in the North to be eligible as tenants.
COURT DECISIONS	The housing program has withstood legal attacks in the highest courts of 16 States, all of which have handed down opinions sustaining the constitutionality of the local program.
THE FUTURE	Bids will be opened for an additional 71 projects, containing 21,000 family dwelling units, between now and the end of the present calendar year. A total of 121,000 dwellings will have been completed or will be under construction by the late spring of 1940. An average of 2,500 families will move each month into new projects reaching completion during the next 8 months. The present program calls for loans totaling \$692,000,000, which will defray 90 percent of the \$770,000,000 cost of projects to rehouse approximately 160,000 low-income families of 155 communities now having either loan contracts or earmarking funds. Completion of the program will see the removal of 640,000 persons from substandard living conditions to new, low-rent homes.

Construction Bids

Local authority and project number	Number of units	Date of bid opening
------------------------------------	-----------------	---------------------

Not Opened (Definitely Scheduled)

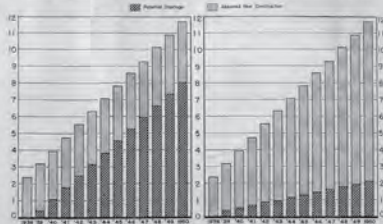
Atlanta (Ga. 6-2 P. II)	356	11-11-33
Hartford (Conn. 2-1)	132	11-8-33
Holyoke (Mass. 2-1)	167	11-21-33
Sancti Spiritus (Ohio 2-2)	200	11-21-33
Lawson (Miss. 2-2)	125	11-18-33
Los Angeles City (Calif. 2-1)	610	11-8-33
Lowell (Mass. 1-1)	530	11-8-33
Meriden (Conn. 4-1)	80	11-12-33
Meriden (Conn. 2-2)	80	11-8-33
San Francisco (Calif. 1-2-1)	472	11-7-33
San Juan (P. R. 2-1)	488	11-10-33
Weymouth (Mass. 2-2)	480	11-20-33

Not Opened (Probably Scheduled)

Alton (Ill. 7-1)	278	11-28-33
Anson (Tex. 1-2-A)	51	11-21-33
Anson (Tex. 1-2-B)	79	11-21-33
Bethelwood (Ohio 1-1)	1,250	11-21-33
Corydon Church (Iowa 8-1-2-1)	34	11-22-33
Corydon Church (Iowa 8-1-2-2)	190	11-22-33
Corydon Church (Iowa 8-1-2-3)	190	11-22-33
Day (Ill. 11-1)	367	11-22-33
Dayton (N. J. 10-1)	272	11-21-33
Palmdale (Calif. 1-1)	125	11-28-33
Palmdale (Calif. 2-2)	75	11-28-33
Tulsa (Okla. 6-2)	112	11-22-33

*There is usually a 30-day period between bid opening and bid award. Some of the bid openings shown here have not yet been published schedules.

Potential nonfarm housing shortage at assumed rates of construction, cumulative to 1950



Note.—Figure bar indicates estimated total stock housing which has accumulated to the end of 1933 and which remains unoccupied. The bars for the years after 1933 represent the 1933 shortage plus the cumulative number of housing units to be constructed at assumed rates of construction.

Potential Nonfarm Housing Shortage at Assumed Rates of Construction

This chart indicates the cumulative housing shortage that may be expected by 1950 if private industry builds at (1) the 1920-29 average rate (676,000 units), and (2) the 1930-37 average rate (210,000 units). It is estimated by the Division of Research and Statistics that approximately 12,000,000 dwelling units will be required by 1950 to replace the present accumulation of the worst substandard housing and to provide for population increase and obsolescence. If it is assumed that private construction will reach the level of

the first post-war decade, the chart shows that by 1950 we will fall short of our housing needs by about 4,000,000 dwelling units. If, on the other hand, the construction industry operates at the 1930-37 annual average rate, a shortage of more than 9,000,000 dwelling units will accumulate.

Construction Report Analysis

During the week ended October 20 only one new project reached the construction stage. The addition of the new 360-unit project in Columbus, Ga., caused a fractional decline in both the average over-all cost of new housing per unit and the average net construction cost per unit for all 197 projects now under construction.

Weekly Construction Report

Item	Week ended October 20, 1933	Week ended October 13, 1933	Percentage Change
Number of projects under construction	107	106	+0.9
Number of dwellings under construction	44,438	44,076	+0.8
Total estimated over-all cost* of new housing	\$204,444,000	\$203,236,000	+0.6
Average over-all cost* of new housing per unit	\$4,601	\$4,611	-0.22
Average net construction cost* per unit	\$2,892	\$2,887	+0.17

* Includes: (a) Building the house, including structural costs and plumbing, heating, and electrical installation; (b) dwelling equipment, architect's fees, local administrative expenses, financial charges during construction, and contingency expenses; (c) land for present development; (d) non-dwelling facilities.

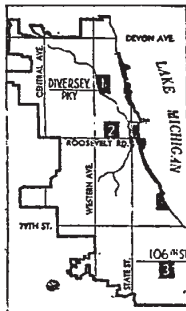
* The cost of building the house, including structural, plumbing, heating, and electrical costs.

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Selected articles, *Public Housing* 1, no. 14 (Nov 14, 1939)

2,000 Families Leave Marks on U.S. Houses

It has been several months since the federal government's three low cost housing projects opened their doors to Chicagoans of modest incomes. In that time more than 2,000 families have settled down in three little cities and adjustment has taken place. In this overnight influx and mingling of so many families—Chicago has never seen anything comparable to it—what



[1] Julia Lathrop houses, [2] Jane Addams house, [3] Trumbull park homes.

Appear to Age Quickly.

opened. The buildings appear to be aging faster than privately owned structures of corresponding type. A new apartment or flat building de-

And though the government keeps corps of janitors in uniform caps on duty at all three projects, Uncle Sam would seem to be a poorer guardian of property than the private landlords with whom he is in competition.

"2,000 Families Leave Marks on U.S. Houses," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Jun 6, 1938

Willkie Says Housing Fails

Nominee Explains 13
Agencies Fighting Each
Other Under New Deal

ABOARD WILLKIE
TRAIN EN ROUTE TO
RENSSELAER (Ind.) Oct.
27. (P)—Wendell L. Willkie
contended today that "the
New Deal housing program
has bogged down" because of
faulty administration and
failure to admit the real extent
of slum clearance subsidies.

that 13 government building
agencies now "compete with and
even fight each other, to the
detriment of housing as a whole."

MAZE OF RED TAPE

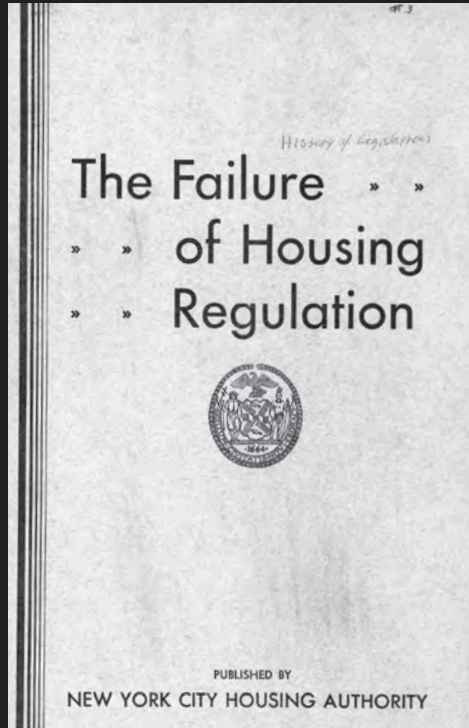
"The New Deal system generally is paralyzed by a maze of red tape. As the result of duplication and poor administration, costs have been excessive, to the detriment of the home owner, tenant and general taxpayer. One of the first tasks of

"Willkie Says Housing Fails," *Los Angeles Times*,
Oct 28, 1940

Club Delegates
at Tea to Hear
Housing Problems

Delegates from city-wide organizations will attend an open house on Friday afternoon at the Ida B. Wells homes, where vital problems of living conditions will be discussed by the Joint Committee on Adequate Housing. The Ida B. Wells homes are

"Club Delegates at Tea to Hear Housing Problems," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Apr 20, 1941



Charles Yale Harrison, "The Failure of Housing Regulation" (New York: NYCHA, 1936-37), pamphlet cover





HOUSING



"That's not a particularly handy water supply for a woman who cooks, washes, and cares for a large family. The conditions which surround this mother's family, you understand, are not of her own making. They are the result of circumstances beyond her control."



"Public housing is an investment. It creates new wealth. Of course it clears slums and provides decent homes for low-income families. But it also puts men, and money, and materials to work... The money it releases stimulates all types of businesses... To labor public housing means jobs. The USHA program alone provides a year's labor for 355,000 men."



"Clinics and hospitals, supported by taxpayers' money, will never be crowded with patients who sleep in clean and airy, sunny rooms such as this one."





"Public housing, like public schools, improves the quality of large numbers of our citizens, and so serves the general welfare. To help pay for these public housing projects in all parts of the country with public funds is therefore an investment, no less sound than to pay for public education with public funds. As the nation grew in size and complexity and in understanding, the public accepted responsibility for education, for sanitation, for roads, and many other public necessities. And the general welfare improved immeasurably. Public housing is therefore, in the best American tradition."



"Every dedication of a low-rent housing project is a rededication to our democracy that indeed all men are created equal."

The Roof Over Your Head

What the New Deal Has Done to Solve the Housing Problem



Dwellings of white tenants in Allentown, Pa. These fire-traps have no baths, no toilets, no electric lights, no heating equipment.

Original at [unreadable]

Not to be reproduced without the written permission of [unreadable]

A United States Housing Authority low-rent housing development in Miami, Florida; contains all modern improvements; monthly shelter rental per dwelling, \$11.90, serving families with an average annual income of \$750.

NEW DEAL HOUSING AGENCIES

H.O.L.C. (Home Owners' Loan Corporation), established in 1933—Granted over one million loans to save homes from foreclosure.



F.H.A. (Federal Housing Administration), established in 1934—By June 30, 1940, it had insured \$72,490 small-home first mortgages on long terms; stimulated home-ownership for people with moderate incomes.

U.S.H.A. (United States Housing Authority), established in 1937—Responsible for about 159,000 dwelling units completed or under construction, with average shelter rents of less than \$14 a month.

F.C.A. (Farm Credit Administration), established in 1933—Provides cooperative credit systems for agriculture, and makes loans for the construction, improvement, refinancing, or purchasing of farm homes.

F.S.A. (Farm Security Administration), established in 1937—Grants loans to farm tenants, sharecroppers and farm laborers, enabling them to become farmers and home owners.



ING

The facts are . . .

Before 1933

One-third of the nation was ill-housed. Over 1,000,000 homes were unsafe or unfit for use. Nearly 1,000,000 families double-d-up—two families in a dwelling. Nearly one-fifth of all city dwellers and over two-thirds of all farmers lived in houses lacking running water, bathtubs, indoor flush toilets, or electric lights. Slum conditions breed communicable diseases, crime, child delinquency, accidents, disunity, and every anti-social feeling. Yet the Republican administrations of the 1920's did nothing about the housing problem.

By 1940

The New Deal has established a *dozen* agencies with authority to insure the financing of or to subsidize if necessary, the building of new homes and the repairing of old homes.

The Federal Housing Administration, through its various activities, has brought improved living conditions to 2,765,000 families or some ten million people.

The Farm Security Administration built the Greenbelt communities: Greenhills, Ohio; Greendale, Wisconsin; and Greenbelt, Maryland, as examples of low-rent decent housing.

The Public Works Administration completed 21,448 dwellings in 53 large projects, distributed from Atlanta, Ga. to Wayne, Pa., renting for as low as \$12.58 per month for a complete dwelling.

The United States Housing Authority aided 412 projects throughout the country in starting the building of 160,000 dwellings which, when completed, will house more than 640,000 people. The rental of the completed and occupied units average \$12.92 per month for each dwelling.

Through the Home Owners Loan Corporation, Farm Credit Administration, and others, the New Deal saved thousands of homes from foreclosure, helped renovate, remodel and repair thousands of others. And through all these agencies the people were taught the importance of good housing to themselves and to the nation.

(Original in Historical Documents Library
 Part of the Department of Governmental
 History in residence at the University of
 Southern California)

A VOTE FOR ROOSEVELT IS AN INSURANCE POLICY FOR YOUR HOME

Democratic National Committee

"The Roof over Your Head," leaflet, Democratic National Committee, 1940



NYCHA E. RIVER HOUSES 3-2-40 5-1053

Groundbreaking Ceremonies at the East River Houses, Mar 2, 1940, photograph featured in the online exhibit Public Housing: New York Transformed, 1939–1967, of the Laguardia and Wagner Archives



CARL MACKLEY HOUSES

This early example of public housing in the United States was sponsored by the American Federation of Full-Fashioned Hosiery Workers. Though not publicly owned, it received public financing from the Housing Division of the PWA under Harold Ickes.

Well-known “houser” Catherine Bauer advocated for the project, which was conceived as a total community and included residential buildings, a commu-

nity center, and two swimming pools in its International Style design.

Because neither Stonorov nor Kastner were registered, they enlisted William Pope Barney as architect-of-record.

Completed
1933–34

Occupied
1935

Construction cost
\$1,000,000

Architects
Oskar Stonorov,
Alfred Kastner

Size
272 units
5 buildings
4.5 acres

Purpose
workers’ housing

Status
National Register of Historic
Places 1998
AIA Landmark Building Award
2000
occupied, privatized



TECHWOOD HOMES

The first public housing project in the United States, Techwood Homes was dedicated by President Franklin D. Roosevelt on November 9, 1935.

The whites-only project was built near the campus of Georgia Institute of Technology on the site of one of Atlanta's worst slums.

Flippen David Burge designed the project, which included a three hundred-student dormito-

ry, clinic, library, kindergarten, and shared laundry facilities.

Each unit was notably equipped with running water, electricity, a bathtub, and an electric range.

Location
Atlanta, GA

Completed
1936

Occupied
1936

Construction Cost
\$2,750,000

Architect
Burge & Stevens

Size
718 units
40 buildings
25 acres (40 including Georgia Tech dorm)

Purpose
white working-class housing

Status
National Register of Historic Places 1976
demolished 1996
redeveloped as Centennial Place
see p253



UNIVERSITY HOMES

Atlanta's only public housing project exclusively for blacks, this project was built at nearly the same time as the whites-only Techwood Homes and was occupied just months later.

The low-rise concrete and brick buildings designed in a modified International Style were sponsored by the Atlanta Housing Authority and funded by the PWA.

The project replaced an existing slum near Atlanta University (today Clark Atlanta University). W. E. B. Dubois, a university professor, actively researched life at University Homes.

Location
Atlanta, GA

Completed
1937

Occupied
1937

Construction Cost
\$2,500,000

Architects
William A. Edwards

Size
675 units
44 buildings
17.5 acres

Purpose
black working-class housing

Status
demolished 1996



PARKSIDE HOMES

Parkside Homes was one of the first public housing projects in Detroit.

It was built by the Detroit Housing Commission, which had been created in 1933 with funds from the PWA.

The project's 737 initial units were constructed in the modern style on vacant land with U.S. Housing Authority funds. Some years later, an additional 329 units were added with the

construction of the Parkside annex.

Location
Detroit, MI

Completed
1938

Occupied
1938

Construction Cost
\$4,500,000

Architect
Clair W. Ditchy

Size
1,066 units
40 acres

Purpose
white working-class housing

Status
partially demolished
partially revitalized
redeveloped as Villages at Parkside
see p250



HARLEM RIVER HOUSES

This project, New York City's first blacks-only public housing development, was created at the same time as the whites-only Ten Eyck Houses (later Williamsburg Houses) in Brooklyn.

It was built with PWA funds in response to growing demand for housing in Harlem.

The team of architects included the first African-American graduate of Columbia's School

of Architecture, John Wilson.

The project included spacious International Style apartments, childcare and healthcare facilities, and community rooms.

Location
 New York, NY

Completed
 1937

Occupied
 1937

Construction Cost
 \$4,700,000

Architects
 Archibald Manning Brown, Horace Ginsbern, John Louis, Jr., Frank J. Forster, Charles F. Fuller, Will Rice Amon, Richard W. Buckley

Size
 574 units
 7 buildings
 8.5 acres

Purpose
 black working-class housing

Status
 occupied



LANGSTON TERRACE

This blacks-only project was also the first federally funded housing development in the nation's capital.

Robinson and fellow African-American architect Paul Revere Williams designed the concrete and brick buildings in a minimalist International Style.

Built with PWA funds, the design included an ornamental sculptural program by local sculptor Dan Olney depict-

ing an historical narrative of blacks in the United States. The complex is owned by D.C. Housing Authority and is in great disrepair.

Location
Washington, DC

Date Completed
1935–38

Date Occupied
1938

Construction Cost
\$1,388,000

Architect
Hilyard Robinson

Size
274 units
15 buildings
14 acres

Purpose
Black working-class housing

Status
National Register of
Historic Places, 1987
occupied



JANE ADDAMS HOMES

One of the first public housing projects in Chicago, the development was built with PWA funds.

The complex designed by John Holabird was constructed in two phases, with the 723 units of Phase I built on slum clearance and the 304 units of Phase 2 built on vacant land.

Childcare and healthcare facilities and a children's sculpture court created by WPA artist

Edgar Miller were included in the project.

Location
Chicago, IL

Completed
1938

Occupied
1938

Construction Cost
\$6,011,310

Architect
John Holabird

Size
1,027 units
32 buildings

Purpose
primarily white working-class housing (97.5% white, 2.5% black)

Status
substantially demolished



YESLER TERRACE

This, the first public housing project in Seattle, was also the first racially integrated public housing project in the United States.

“Profanity Hill,” one of Seattle’s most notorious slums, was cleared to make way for the project’s ninety-seven multi-family residences, community facilities, and steam plant.

Partially demolished in the 1960s to make way for the

interstate, the remaining 561 units house 1,500 largely immigrant, elderly, or disabled residents.

Seattle’s last large public housing project, Yesler Terrace is being considered for redevelopment as a mixed-use, mixed-income neighborhood.

Location
Seattle, WA

Completed
1941–43

Occupied
1943

Construction Cost
\$3,900,000

Architects
J. Lester Holmes
William Bain, Sr.
George W. Stoddard
John T. Jacobsen
William Aitkin

Size
868 units
approx. 100 buildings
43 acres

Purpose
low-income and defense-industry workers’ housing

Status
partially demolished



CALLIOPE HOUSING

Calliope (later B. W. Cooper) was one of New Orleans's first public housing projects. Funded through the Housing Act of 1937, it provided low-income black families with an alternative to slums and private-sector housing (from which they were largely excluded).

The low-rise brick apartments with pitched roofs and wrought-iron balconies differed from the high-rise constructions typical of other cities at the time.

After Hurricane Katrina hit in 2005, HUD and the Housing Authority of New Orleans declared the property off-limits and denied residents access. In 2009 construction began on 410 rental homes (294 affordable and 116 market-rate), and redevelopment of 303 existing units is underway.

Location
New Orleans, LA

Completed
1939-41, 1954

Occupied
1941

Construction Cost
\$10,411,438 (1954)

Architect
George A. Fuller Co. (1941)
R. P. Farnsworth Co (1954)

Size
1550 units (690 [1941] plus 860 [1954])
48 buildings (1954)
56 acres

Purpose
black working-class housing

Status
damaged 2005
partially demolished 2008
partially occupied



NORTH LINCOLN PARK HOMES

This was one of Denver's first public housing projects.

Designed by local architect Temple Hoyne Buell in the International Style, the complex consisted of 3- and 4-storey concrete buildings, the façades of which were clad in terracotta.

The Denver Housing Authority demolished Lincoln Park Homes in 1994 and replaced it with a mixed-income de-

velopment of Victorian-style townhouses.

Location
Denver, CO

Completed
1938–41

Occupied
1941

Construction Cost
\$3,500,000

Architect
Temple Hoyne Buell

Size
685 units
approx. 98 buildings
43 acres

Purpose
public housing

Status
demolished, redeveloped



HARBOR HILLS

This, one of the first public housing projects in Los Angeles, was built with FHA funds by the L.A. County Housing Authority.

The complex housed defense industry shipbuilders during World War II.

Influential city planner Clarence Stein consulted on the project, as did landscape architects Katherine Bashford and Fred Barlow.

The complex's low-rise buildings were sited on a terraced hillside, their footprint occupying only 27% of the project's total acreage.

Location
Los Angeles, CA

Completed
1939–41

Occupied
1941

Construction Cost
\$13,000,000

Architect
Reginald Davis Johnson

Size
300 units
52 buildings
100 acres

Purpose
workers' housing

Status
occupied



RAINIER VISTA

This project was funded primarily through the Lanham Act. Passed by Congress in 1940, the legislation financed public housing for defense workers.

Its low-rise duplexes and quadraplexes originally housed Seattle-based Boeing and shipyard workers.

Owned since 1953 by the Seattle Housing Authority, it was converted to low-income housing.

Location
Seattle, WA

Completed
1942

Occupied
1942

Construction Cost
n/a

Architect
n/a

Size
481 units
130 buildings
65 acres

Purpose
workers' housing

Status
demolished
redeveloped as Rainier Vista
Redevelopment
see p255



MAGNOLIA STREET HOUSING PROJECT

Construction of this project (commonly known as C. J. Peete Project) was authorized by the Housing Act of 1937, and overseen by the Housing Authority of New Orleans. Although technically integrated, black residents were relegated to back-of-town-sites. The 2- and 3-storey brick buildings designed by Goldstein in association with Thomas Harlee, Frederick Parham, N. Courtlandt Curtis, Richard Koch, and Charles Armstrong

had balconies and shared courtyards and were praised for their human scale and for fostering community. Between 1953 and 1956, forty-eight low-rise buildings containing 680 units were added on 17.7 annexed acres. The project was progressively demolished between 1998 and 2008, and redeveloped as low-income and market rate housing. In response to public pressure, two of the historic buildings were spared from demolition.

Location
New Orleans, LA

Completed
1941

Occupied
1941

Construction Cost
\$2,478,980

Architects
Moise H. Goldstein
and Associates

Size
723 units
57 buildings
\$23.75 acres

Purpose
mixed-income public housing

Status
National Register of Historical
Places 1999
substantially demolished
redeveloped as Harmony Oaks
see p258



IDA B. WELLS HOMES

The first blacks-only public housing project in Chicago, this was also the city's largest project of the New Deal period.

Built with a \$9 million grant from the USHA, it consisted mostly of 2- and 3-storey brick buildings, and it incorporated a city park.

The Chicago Housing Authority began a phased demolition of the Ida B. Wells Homes in 2002

Location
Chicago, IL

Completed
1939–41

Occupied
1941

Construction Cost
n/a

Architects
architect team included
Theilbar & Fugard and Metz &
Gunderson

Size
1,300 units
124 buildings
47 acres

Purpose
black housing with no mini-
mum income requirement

Status
demolition ongoing



COLLEGE HILL HOMES / PONCE DE LEON COURTS

College Hill Homes and Ponce de Leon Courts formed one of the first public housing projects in Tampa.

With funding from the USHA, the Tampa Housing Authority built the 710-unit College Hill Homes and the 590-unit Ponce de Leon Courts.

Location
Tampa, FL

Completed
1941–52

Occupied
1952

Construction Cost
\$1,026,000

Architect
n/a

Size
1,300 units
36 acres

Purpose
white Latino families (Ponce de Leon Courts)

Status
demolished
redeveloped as Belmont Heights Estates
see p254



ALISO VILLAGE

This project was prompted by the Housing Act of 1937.

The low-rise garden scheme took only eight months to construct.

Its architect, Lloyd Wright, was the son of Frank Lloyd Wright.

Location
Los Angeles, CA

Completed
1942

Occupied
1942

Construction Cost
\$2,075,000

Architect
Ralph Flewelling and Lloyd Wright, with Housing Group Architects

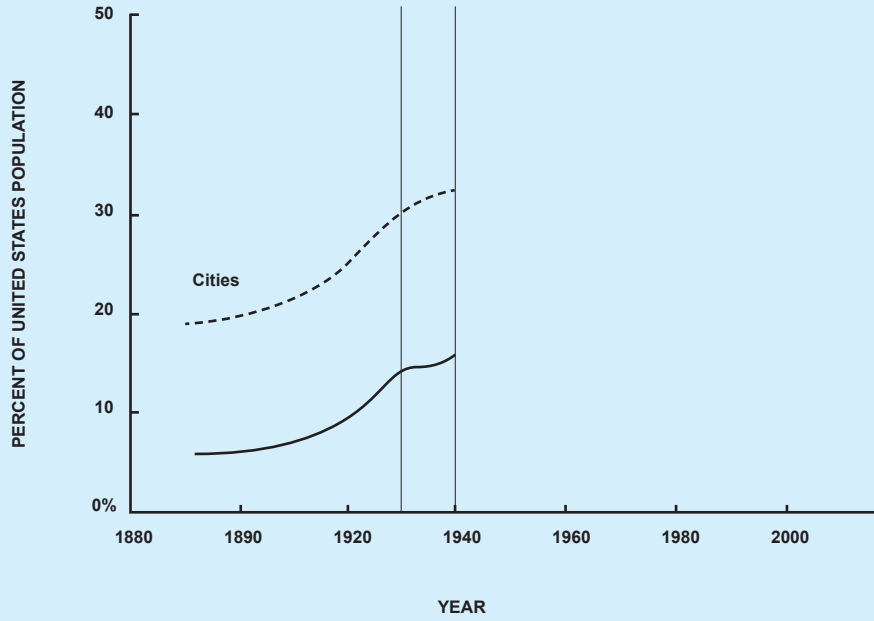
Size
802 units
22 buildings
29 acres

Purpose
low-wage war workers' housing

Status
condemned 1998
redeveloped as Pueblo del Sol
see p257

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Graph interpreted from Figure 4 in: Robert Beauregard, *When America Became Suburban* (Mineapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), 34.

URBAN RENEWAL
1940-1964



"Homes for Workers" (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Federal
Emergency Administration of Public Works, 1937),
pamphlet cover

HOW GOOD ARE AMERICAN HOMES?

THESE standards of living seem simple. Not many people would deny that every American has a right to expect them in his home and neighborhood. Yet millions of American homes do not even approach these requirements.

In 1934 the Department of Commerce conducted an inventory of housing conditions in 64 typical cities. Before we look at the results of this inventory we should remember that housing in cities is usually better than rural housing because in cities there are laws that require minimum decency and safety and healthfulness. We should also remember that the 64 cities represent just a cross section of the country and that the figures to be quoted are based on a study of only 1,500,000 buildings.

So now let us look at the figures. Among these million and a half homes, 275,000 either needed major repairs (which means almost complete rebuilding) or were unfit to live in; 250,000 of these homes were overcrowded; 75,000 had no running water; 202,000 had no indoor water-closet; and 303,000 had no provision for bathing.

Now these figures should be multiplied many times if we think of all the cities in the United States. Figures are usually hard to understand, but some figures tell their own story.

The City Is Bad

In New York today there are nearly 300,000 inhabited rooms that do not have any windows.

In one large area in St. Louis only one out of every four homes had a private indoor toilet. In the low-rent areas of Pittsburgh a report was recently made on 25,000 dwellings, of which 10,600 either needed major repairs or were unfit to live in. In Minneapolis one out of every seven dwellings is unfit. Of two large blighted areas in New Orleans nearly half the homes had no sanitary facilities of any kind. These are cases picked at random and are typical of the condition of low-rent housing in every city in the United States.

Although we do not have figures on rural housing equal to those on city housing, those that we do have indicate that it is on the whole far worse than that in the cities.

Because of the distances involved, it has been much harder to make surveys of rural housing.



✦ One out of six like this.



✦ One out of seven like this.



✦ One out of six like this.



✦ One out of twenty like this.



✦ One out of five like this.

THE FUTURE OF GOVERNMENT HOUSING

AT the present time, as we have said, the Government is building a number of projects in scattered communities.

The Housing Division has set two limits on the incomes which people who wish to live in its Techwood Homes project may have. The top is \$1,800 per year. Families — even big families — which earn more than this should be taken care of by private business. The bottom is \$700 per year. Families with less than this cannot afford to live in the projects.

No family with an annual income more than five times the rent of a desired home will be allowed to live there. This means that no well-to-do families can take advantage of these low rents.

Private business believes that the \$1,800 limit is too high. But the Government says that it is difficult, if not impossible, to provide decent housing for large families at this level without some subsidy.

No Competition

As private business develops better and cheaper housing the Government will be able to house more people with incomes below \$700. This is proper, for the Government



should never compete with private business in a field where private business is giving satisfactory service.

The Government should not wait for private business to develop better and cheaper homes but should aid this development in every way. It should be remembered, however, that no matter how fine and how cheap a home private business can develop, there will always be deserving people who cannot afford it without the help of the Government.

In England it has been decided that every person should have a decent home. The Government is pledged to aid those who cannot obtain such housing without help. Perhaps the Government in this country will not recognize the same responsibility for many years. Yet it seems no less reasonable a public responsibility than universal education is.

We Have Begun Well

In the spring of 1936, Mr. Herbert W. Morrison, member of Parliament and British housing expert, visited the United States. After studying the



FOR INCOMES OVER \$1800
PRIVATE INDUSTRY



FOR INCOMES \$700 TO \$1800
PUBLIC HOUSING



FOR INCOMES UNDER \$700
?

"Homes for Workers" (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, 1937), pamphlet covers and excerpts



Earl Schuler, "Low Rent Woodhill Homes, 2567 Woodhill Road," poster, Cleveland Metropolitan Housing Authority, 1941



Joseph Donaldson, Jr., "Welcome, Defense Workers!" poster, Homes Registration Office of the Defense Rental Listing Bureau, 1941



"War workers!" poster, Philadelphia Homes Registration Offices, 1941-43

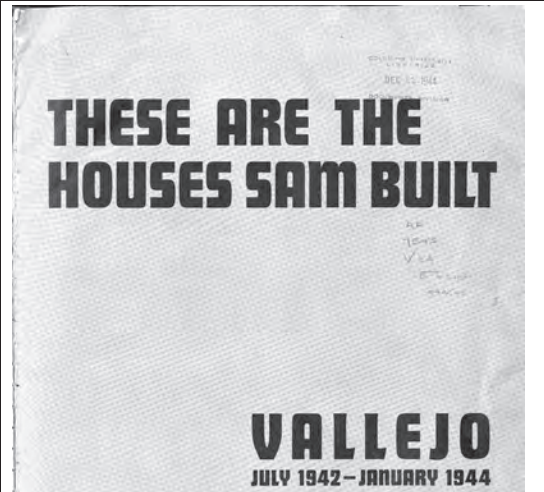


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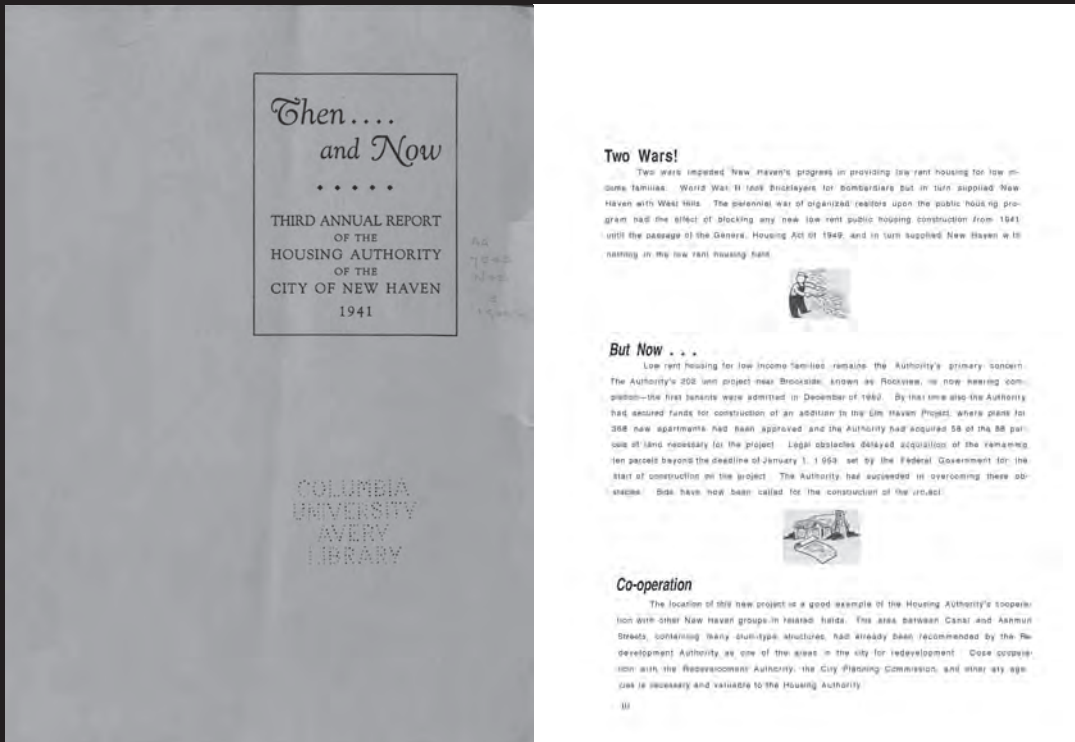




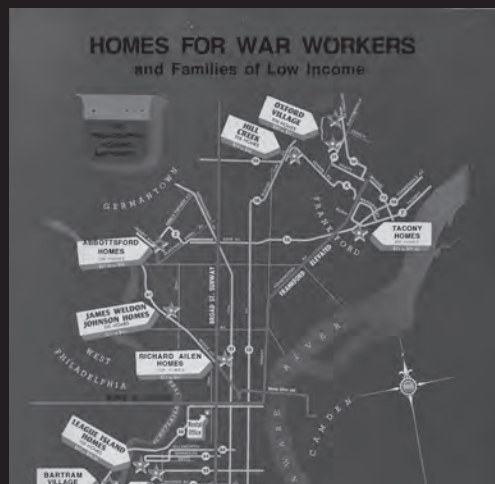
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"These Are the Houses Sam Built," poster, Housing Authority of Vallejo [Calif.], 1944

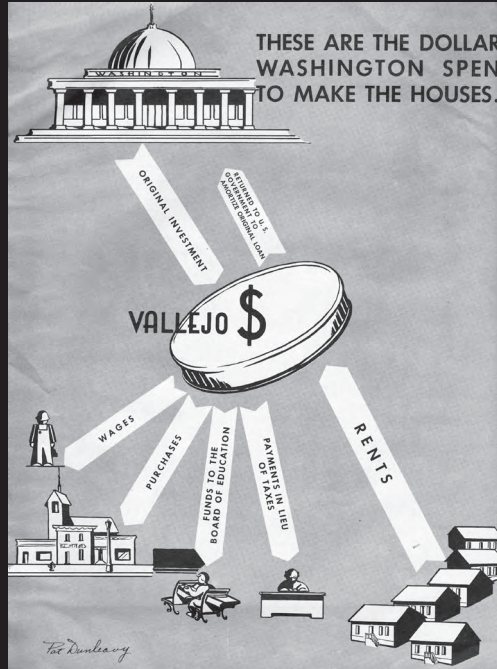


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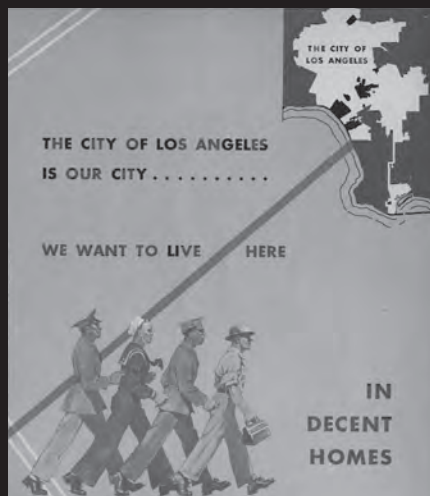




"Homes for War Workers and Families of Low Income," poster, Philadelphia Housing Authority, ca. 1943



"These Are the Dollars Washington Spent to Make the Houses.....," poster, Housing Authority of Vallejo [Calif.], 1944



BAD HOUSING BREEDS DANGER



BAD HOUSING BREEDS DISEASE



IN LOS ANGELES PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE...BUT

BAD HOUSING BREEDS DELINQUENCY



BAD HOUSING BREEDS CRIME



THERE IS STILL MUCH ... TO BE DONE...BECAUSE

F
A
L
S
E

THERE ARE NO SLUMS IN LOS ANGELES

PUBLIC HOUSING DOESN'T ERADICATE SLUMS

SLUMS ARE MADE BY THE PEOPLE THAT LIVE IN THEM. THE SAME PEOPLE MOVED TO ANOTHER LOCATION, WOULD CREATE ANOTHER SLUM

PUBLIC HOUSING COMPETES WITH PRIVATE HOUSING

PUBLIC HOUSING ADMINISTRATION AND CONSTRUCTION COSTS EXCEED PRIVATE ENTERPRISE

PUBLIC HOUSING IS SOCIALISTIC

PUBLIC HOUSING DOES NOT PAY TAXES

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The 1940 Federal Housing census revealed that there are approximately 38,000 sub-standard dwellings in the City of Los Angeles. A slum is a collection of sub-standard dwellings. (See page 14)

The law under which the Housing Authority operates requires the elimination of one sub-standard dwelling for each new dwelling constructed. The Authority has built 3,468 new public low-rent homes, in cooperation with the City Department of Building and Safety, it has cleared 3,553 sub-standard dwellings. Seven developments involved 100% actual slum clearance, one was half vacant and half slum—8 other has been vacated. (See page 24)

A survey of housekeeping standards following the first year of operation of Los Angeles' first public low-rent housing development, completed exclusively by families moved from sub-standard dwellings, revealed that 87% of all families were maintaining their flats to excellent housekeeping standards. This record compares favorably with the experience of private property management.

The Housing Authority has established its maximum entrance rental in the public low-rent housing developments 3 1/2% below the lowest rent at which private enterprise can profitably operate standard housing. By law, it can only provide housing for those low income families living in sub-standard housing. For these low-rent competition with privately owned standard property is impossible. (See page 31)

Public Housing Administration is not comparable with private management because of the different services rendered. Public Housing is built by private enterprise, by private contractors, under a competitive bid system. There is no evidence available that will show that private rather than public development has constructed similar facilities with greater economy. (See pages 28-31)

Public Housing provides families, forced by economic circumstances to live in sub-standard dwellings, with an opportunity to begin afresh in the healthy life of a new housing community. Public Housing operates within the existing economic framework, in fields in which private enterprise does not and cannot function. It is no more socialistic than a public library, road, or school.

Although Public Housing is exempt from taxation, the Housing Authority has agreed to make payments to the City of Los Angeles on all low-rent housing developments. This amounted in 1944 to the full amount the city would have collected in taxes from the completed developments if they were privately owned. Under low-rent occupancy, the Housing Authority has agreed to pay 2 1/2% of the shelter rent collected, which is more than the city collected in taxes from the sub-standard properties one year previous to site acquisition. (See page 65)

MIS-STATEMENTS WON'T HELP GET THE JOB DONE

THE EFFECTS OF BAD HOUSING

The population of the city is mobile. In the process of being people flow from one place to another within the city. Thus, the disease, crime, delinquency, and group conflicts which are bred in our sub-standard housing neighborhoods, endanger the health, welfare, and safety of all the people in the city. We cannot fence in the ill effects of our bad housing areas any more than we can fence in the ill effects of a contagious germ in a healthy body.

The Planning Commission of the City of Los Angeles in the recent study "A Comparison of Blighted and Good Areas in Los Angeles," provides us with factual data clearly illustrating the extent to which bad housing serves as a breeding ground for disease and crime. In this survey two housing areas in the city were selected for comparison, one a blighted area, the other a stable area. Neither area represented the worst or the best of its type in the city.

The chart below shows the comparison of fire, police, and health services rendered the two areas. In addition, the report makes the significant statement: "In the course of our investigations, the various City Departments, especially Health and Police, emphasized that if their budgets were not so restricted they would be spending not twice, but four or five times as much in the blighted area as in the good area. And indeed, if these conditions are not taken care of, either by increased Health and Police budgets or by correcting the conditions that breed crime and disease, the additional costs to the City will rapidly increase as blight spreads and becomes more acute."

COMPARISON OF FIRE, POLICE, AND HEALTH SERVICE	
GOOD HOUSING AREA	BAD HOUSING AREA
TUBERCULOSIS <small>(Deducted: 1000 cases; 1000 cases total)</small>	+
POLICE CITATIONS <small>(Number: 1000; 1000 cases)</small>	+
FIRE ALARMS <small>(Number: 1000; 1000 cases)</small>	+
VENEREAL DISEASE <small>(Deducted: 1000 cases; 1000 cases total)</small>	+
COMMUNICABLE DISEASE <small>(Deducted: 1000 cases; 1000 cases total)</small>	+
JUVENILE DELINQUENCY <small>(Number: 1000; 1000 cases)</small>	+

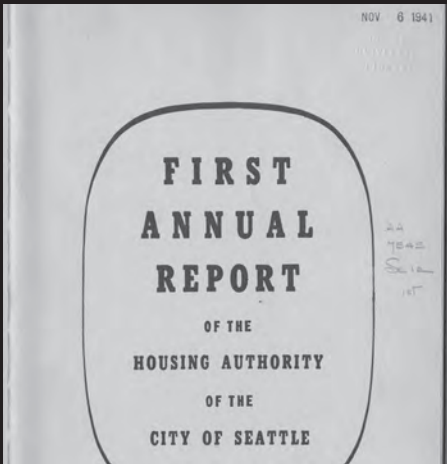


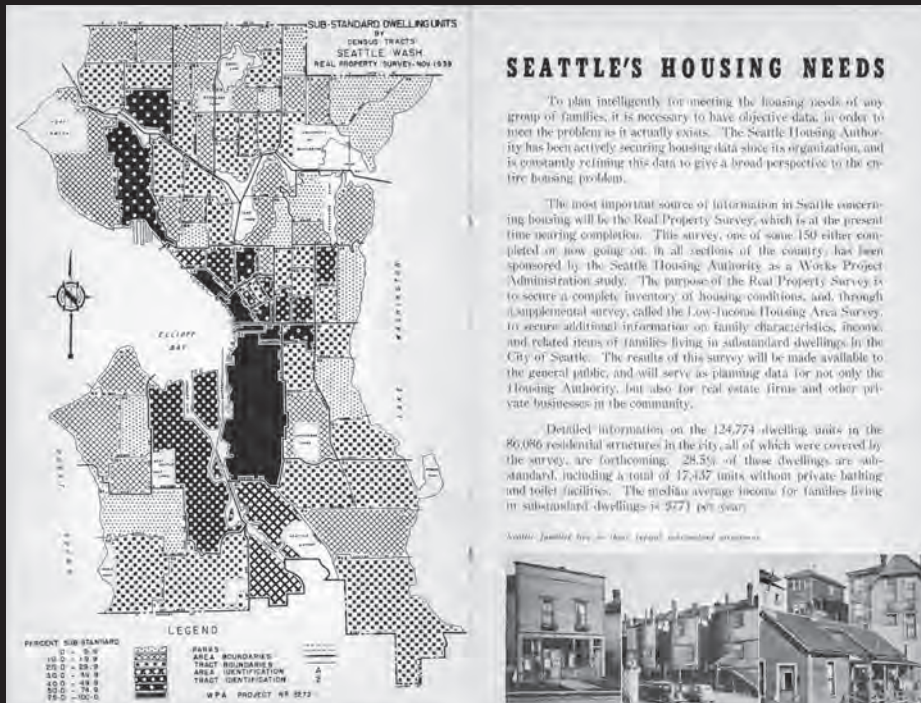
BAD HOUSING ENDANGERS . . . THE PUBLIC WELFARE



RELATED TO THE TOTAL . . . COMMUNITY PLAN

"A Decent Home, An American Right: 5th, 6th and 7th Consolidated Report" (Los Angeles: Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles, 1945)





"First Annual Report" (Seattle: Housing Authority of the City of Seattle, ca. 1941)

MOVE INTO FIRST WAR HOMES AUG. 9

SOUTHWEST SIDE PROJECT NAMED FOR HERO KELLY

64 Families Will Be in Initial Group.

The families of 64 war workers are scheduled to move into the southwest side's first war homes about Sunday, Aug. 9. They will take up residence in the completed units of the project to be known as the Colin P. Kelly homes at 26th street and California boulevard. Official designation of the name is awaiting the approval of the air hero's widow. The entire 128 units

The Colin P. Kelly project is one of five being constructed in Chicago by the Chicago Housing authority for war workers and their families. Of this number, three are being constructed on the southwest side. Besides the Colin Kelly homes, there are the Bridgeport homes, 31st street and Lituania avenue, and the Maurice J. Dorney homes, 43d street and Lowe avenue. The others are the Frances Cabrini homes, Chicago and Hudson avenues, and the Robert H. Brooks homes, Roosevelt road and Racine avenue.

EWAL 1940-1964

Housing for 1,800 Families.

The five homes will supply housing units for 1,800 families. A total of

Preference to War Workers.

Preference for residence in these homes will be given to the families of persons employed by companies working on war contracts. To be eligible

at low rental.

Others eligible are those workers who moved to Chicago to work in a war industry and have been unable to find housing for their families at rents they can pay, or because a worker's present home is unsafe, insanitary or overcrowded.

The homes are being built and operated by the Chicago Housing authority. Ninety per cent of the funds have been borrowed from the Federal Housing authority. Ten per cent of the cost is supplied by the city.

"Move Into First War Homes Aug. 9," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, July 5, 1942

Scarcities Halt Housing Unit on South Side

BY AL CHASE.

"The War Production board refuses to permit any construction to go ahead unless the National Housing agency has certified that the housing shortage in that community is so critically severe that hardship to the war effort will result if housing is not built," said Miss Elizabeth Wood, executive secretary of CHA. "So far, the NHA has been unwilling to give this certification."

Al Chase, "Scarcities Halt Housing Unit on South Side,"
Chicago Daily Tribune, Aug 8, 1942

Furnish Model Apartments for War Workers in New Project

Four completely furnished model apartments will be opened for public inspection at 1 p. m. Saturday in the Frances Cabrini Homes, the new Chicago Housing authority's housing project on the north side at Chicago and Hudson avenues. The price of each set of furniture varies so prospective tenants can obtain an idea of



what it would cost them to furnish an apartment of their own. All sets of furniture, however, are within the buying power of war workers with incomes of \$2,100 a year or less, it was said.

Mrs. Helen Otis Burnham, interior decorator, wife of Daniel Burnham, architect, acted as consultant for the CHA in the development of the four homes, which were furnished in cooperation with four department stores.

"Furnish Model Apartments for War Workers in New Project,"
Chicago Daily Tribune, July 12, 1942

ASSURE FAMILY HOMES FOR 1,500 IN WAR INDUSTRY

4 Housing Units in City
Near Completion.

Migrant workers flocking to Chicago war plants will have almost 1,500 additional homes and apartments available within the next few weeks, the Chicago Housing authority announced yesterday. All of the homes, located in four housing projects, are in the low rent category, ranging in price from \$20.50 to \$38 per month for 2½ to 6½ room units.

"Assure Family Homes for 1,500 in War Industry," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, December 4, 1942

Seventy-eighth Congress of the United States of America;
At the Second Session

Begun and held at the City of Washington on Monday, the tenth
day of January, one thousand nine hundred and forty-four

AN ACT

To provide Federal Government aid for the readjustment in civilian
life of returning World War II veterans.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the
United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may
be cited as the "Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944".

TITLE I

CHAPTER I—HOSPITALIZATION, CLAIMS, AND PROCEDURES

Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944. U.S. Public Law 346,
78th Cong. 2d sess., Jun 22, 1944

TOMORROW'S SMALL HOUSE • MODELS AND PLANS

*The exhibition was directed by Elizabeth B. Mock, Curator of
Architecture, who also edited this special number of the Bulletin.
Assistant Director: Susanne Wasson-Tucker, Acting Curator of
Industrial Design.*

MODELS IN THE EXHIBITION

	Page
I. House by George Fred Keck. Model by Raymond Barger Studios.	10
II. Two-story house by Carl Koch. Model by Devon Dennett.	11
III. House by Philip Johnson. Model by Raymond Barger Studios.	12
IV. House by Mario Corbett; landscaping by Garrett Eckbo. Model by Raymond Barger Studios.	13
V. House by Hugh Stubbins, Jr. Model by Devon Dennett.	14
VI. House by Plan-Tech Associates. Model by Devon Dennett.	14
VII. Row houses by Vernon DeMars. Model by Devon Dennett.	cover and 16
VIII. House by Frank Lloyd Wright. Model of exterior by Raymond Barger Studios. Model of living room interior (1½" = 1') by Devon Dennett.	17
IX. The House in its Neighborhood. A collaborative project of the <i>Journal</i> and the Museum of Modern Art. Original site plan by Vernon DeMars, developed by Serge Chermayeff and Susanne Wasson-Tucker. Community buildings by Chermayeff and DeMars. Apartments by Chermayeff. Houses are small editions of models I-VIII. Model (¾" = 1') by Raymond Barger Studios.	18

HOW THE EXHIBITION CAME ABOUT

A million and a quarter new dwellings will be needed each year after the war, a challenge without precedent in American building history.

The Museum has for some time felt that a major exhibition might help to stimulate interest in the problems and possibilities of such vast construction. We were delighted to find a basis for such a show in the *Ladies' Home Journal* collection of house models, specially designed for that magazine under the direction of its enterprising Architectural Editor, Richard Pratt.

"Our program is based upon the following assumptions:

"(1) That an average American family (of two adults and from two to four children, with an income of from \$2,000 to \$3,000 a year) has been unable to buy or rent a really adequate house.

Outstanding architects were invited to design small but "really adequate" houses which would dramatize the advantages of modern planning and building techniques and the pleasanter possibilities of mass-production. The results are presented month by month in the *Journal*, together with the stern editorial admoni-

Elizabeth B. Mock, "Tomorrow's Small House: Models and Plans," *The Bulletin of the Museum of Modern Art* 12, no. 5, (Summer, 1945): 3-19



"Public Housing in Newark" (Newark: Housing Authority of the City of Newark, 1944), pamphlet cover

PS-A1

Twelve Homes Projects Declared Open to Public

Housing Now Occupied by Veterans and Warworkers to Revert by Slow Stages

Twelve large housing projects in the Los Angeles area, heretofore restricted to warworkers and veterans, yesterday were thrown open to all low-income families by the Federal Public Housing Authority, but it won't mean a thing for a while.

The dwellings are being allowed to "revert to the purpose originally intended for them," following a ruling by President Truman that they no longer are needed to house individuals engaged in national defense work or personnel of the armed forces, according to wire dispatches from Washington.

County Urged to Push Housing for Veterans

It will be a national disgrace if the country fails to complete the veterans' emergency housing program.

This was the assertion yesterday of Supervisor Leonard J. Roach who for many months has been leading the county government's forces in the campaign for more homes, particularly for veterans.

"If Congress shows no inclina-

1940-1964

"Twelve Homes Projects Declared Open to Public," *Los Angeles Times*, January 6, 1947

The NATION

THE POLITICS OF HOUSING I. Veterans Want Action

BY CHAT PATTERSON

NEARLY two thousand veterans from thirty-nine states, representing seven major veterans' organizations, gathered in Washington last March to tell their representatives in Congress that they wanted long-range housing legislation—and pronto. For three years the returned soldiers had been demanding that Congress take action to solve the housing crisis, and for the same period the powerful real-estate lobby had been fighting against any effective program. The first round

When the war ended, the nation faced the greatest housing shortage in history. And the returning ex-service men found that as a group they were hit the hardest by it. The Bureau of Census last year published a report which showed that from 30 to 40 per cent of married veterans were living in rented rooms or doubled up with in-laws. In Los Angeles County, California, 50 per cent

Today housing is as scarce in most parts of the country as in 1945. The goal of the veterans' program was to build 2,700,000 units in two years, including new per-

One reason for the failure of the housing prefabricators is found in the antiquated municipal building codes. These codes force up the cost of homes and make erection of industrialized housing virtually impossible. The housing hopes of ex-service men and has greatly aided the campaign of the real-estate lobbyists. In

II. A Plank in a Platform

BY CHARLES ABRAMS

FOURTEEN years after our first public-housing experiment we are no nearer solving the housing problem than when we started. In the years between 1934 and the present we have dashed from one emergency program to another. In 1935 we tore down slums to provide employment, in 1937 to give decent homes to a "third of the nation," in 1940 to build houses for defense. A year later we put up trailers, mudvilles, and makeshifts to house war workers.

Today a whole nation is immobilized by a housing shortage; 45 per cent of the veterans between twenty-one and twenty-four years of age vainly hunt places to live; only 165,000 homes have been built for slum dwellers; and new slums crop up from coast to coast.

only we are determined to do it. It is not the cost. The maximum expense of a slumless America would be no more for a year than the expense of World War II was for three days.

The reason we have made no progress is our failure to resolve a conflict between ideologies. A major con-

The laissez faire advocates. This group consists of those who think the federal government should keep its hands off all social reforms, including housing. They see such reforms as interference with business, a step toward socialism. Europe, they insist, is headed for doom

May 15, 1948

The paternalists. This group believes in the private-enterprise system but thinks it can be best sustained if the government dispenses some small benefits to those whom private enterprise ignores. Its philosophy recalls

aid. Its formula calls for some public housing, housing research, government aid to private builders in the hope that ultimately the building industry will be rationalized and take care of all income groups. While this group

The aid-to-business lobby. This group is represented by the building and lending fraternity. It wants federal money to be the great lubricant for business. Government should become business's handmaid, subsidize business undertakings, remove the element of chance from "venturing," and socialize business losses. Money

federal expenditures. There must be more government insurance of mortgages at high interest rates, bigger authorizations to help builders venture without investment, expansion of the Home Loan Bank system, additional federal underwriting of building and loan associations, Rent doles to indigent slum dwellers are toler-

But a truly comprehensive program can never be adopted unless the fundamental conflict between political ideologies is resolved. That conflict arises out of the mistaken notion that every expansion of public housing narrows the sphere of private enterprise. Yet no participant in the building operation—contractor, subcontractor,

Will Interracial Housing Work?

SECOND IN A SERIES, "RACE BIAS IN HOUSING"

BY CHARLES ABRAMS

WITH the enactment of the United States Housing Act in 1937, responsibility for building and operating public housing projects devolved on the local housing authorities, though the federal government continued to advance the money. No policy as to race relations was pressed on local authorities except that projects were to follow "community patterns and trends." The federal housing administrators had always viewed the racial issue in housing as a hot potato and gladly passed on the responsibility to the localities.

The racial patterns that have developed in projects, however, are not all uniform. They may be classified as follows:

1. *Insulated homogeneous*—projects occupied by whites and Negroes separated in two different areas with a clear dividing line, such as a street or intervening neighborhood.
2. *Insulated bi-racial*—projects in which whites and Negroes occupy different sections of a single self-contained project.
3. *Mixed token*—occupied predominantly by whites with a few token Negro families to indicate absence of intentional discrimination.
4. *Mixed equal*—occupied by whites and Negroes in equal or nearly equal proportions.
5. *Mixed minority*—occupied predominantly by whites but with Negroes represented by a minority.
6. *Insulated bi-racial-token*—projects in which the Negroes occupy a separate section but one or a few token Negro families are mixed in with the whites.



"I want you to design me some old-law tenements; I think I can sell them to the slum-clearance commission at a profit."

The Need and the Remedy

A COMBINATION of forces has brought this nation today to as sorry a housing shortage as it has ever known. The building industry has demonstrated once again its complete inability to meet the nation's needs. There is no alternative now but government action. A national housing program must be established. Its goal should be at least 1,500,000 units a year for the next ten years. To obtain housing for various income groups credit aids must be provided for people in the upper-middle brackets, urban redevelopment for those with small incomes, and public housing for the neediest.

A single agency to coordinate all housing activities must be set up. Federal aid to local governments to assemble and clear land in slum or blighted areas is also a vital part of a housing program. Aid should be provided for rehabilitating existing structures for use as low-rent housing and for building self-supporting rental units for veterans who can pay \$30 to \$50 a month.

The shortage of housing is so critical today that the pressure to increase rents is terrific. A strong rent-control bill to last at least through the middle of 1950 should be enacted. Controls should be reimposed on property decontrolled in June, 1947, and since. Adequate protection against evictions should be provided.

The need for housing and rent control is grave. The remedy is obvious. If private enterprise will not act, public enterprise must. The Taft-Ellender-Wagner housing bill recently passed by the Senate and now being considered by the House is a step in the right direction and should be enacted immediately.

PHILIP MURRAY, President, C. I. O.

REPORT
of the
Housing Authority
of
New Orleans

For the Year Ending September 30, 1950



THE SITE OF ELM HAVEN—THEN
As it was with 146 old buildings crowding the area by unplanned and haphazard use of the land.



ELM HAVEN—NOW
The former congestion relieved by careful design of buildings and the planned use of the land.

PH. 1
**Chicago Housing Chiefs
Admit Jim Crow Policy**

The chairman and a former chairman of the Chicago Housing authority admitted Monday that the city agency follows a Jim Crow policy in placing families in public housing.

The disclosure fell like a bombshell into a conference between three members of the CHA board of commissioners, a veteran who has been trying for six years to get into Julia Lathrop homes, and four members of the Chicago chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored people.

missioner, told the group that he personally had instructed the staff not to place Negro families in Trumbull homes on the far Southside.

Projects in fringe or changing areas, such as Addams, Cabrini, Dearborn and Le Clair on the boundary of Cicero have interracial occupancy and no trouble. Lathrop homes houses a number of Puerto Ricans, who though classified as white by federal law, are dark brown in color.

August 2, 1947

table shows the proportion of Negroes to total occupancy in its federal projects in 1946:

	Total Occupancy	Negro
Williamsburgh	1622	34
Red Hook	2545	127
Queensbridge	5149	123
Vladeck	1531	14
So. Jamaica	448	341
East River	1170	124
Kingsboro	1166	550
Clason Point	400	7
Madham	360	36

In none of the projects are Negroes separated from the whites, and in none has there been friction. "The experiment," says the Authority, "if you wish to term it an experiment, has been a very successful one in every way."

No restriction will be effective to keep the minority out so long as there is a shortage of housing for the minority.

Charles Abrams, "Will Interracial Housing Work?," *The Nation*, August 2, 1947

CHICAGO FIDDLES WHILE

Trumbull Park Burns . . . by *Robert Gruenberg*

Chicago

ON JULY 30, 1953, Donald Howard, a war veteran, with his wife and two small children became the first Negro tenants of Trumbull Park Homes, a federal housing project operated by the Chicago Housing Authority in the steel-mill belt of Chicago's South Side. Less than a week later the 462-unit development and surrounding lawns were a fire-gutted, rubble-strewn wasteland. Since then ten other Negro families have moved into the development, and "racial disturbances" ranging from rock-tossing to rioting and arson have become an almost daily occurrence.

In the three months before the Howard family moved into Trumbull Park Homes only three fire alarms were turned in from the area, two of them for minor blazes. Since last summer alarms have averaged two dozen a month, about half of them false. There have been forty-four fires in sheds, garages, and barns, eight in the Trumbull Park project itself, and two in

liquor stores. A tavern which had served Negroes was completely destroyed.

These are the South Deering Improvement Association, one of scores of "improvement" associations intent on keeping the Negro out of "all white" areas, and the National Citizens' Protective Association, a hate group founded by a former aide of Gerald L. K. Smith, the anti-Semitic race bater, and boasting among its national officers a former Ku Klux Klan "emperor." The president of the home-grown South Deering association is Louis P. Dinocenzo, a \$6,000-a-year highway engineer on the Cook County pay roll.

Dinnocenzo calls the moving in of Negroes "an encroachment on our right." He explains "While the law is opposed to us, morally we're right." The solution to the problem, he says, is to move the Negro families out and "educate" the neighborhood before allowing them back in.

Going with God in Trumbull Park

"Some white areas may welcome other races with open arms, bless them. But the folks of South Deering have not been sufficiently brainwashed to consent to such practice. Any race mixing must be done with a policeman's nightstick."

provement Association attended by 500 persons. "He said, 'It is an inspiring sight to see a community fight for what it thinks is right.' He added the Republican Party stands ready to lend its hand to any group of citizens engaged in a struggle for a just cause." Questioned about this, Henneberger denied making the statement.

Robert Gruenberg, "Chicago Fiddles While Trumbull Park Burns," *The Nation*, May 22, 1954

81st CONGRESS }
1st Session }

SENATE

{ DOCUMENT
{ No. 99

HOUSING ACT OF 1949

SUMMARY OF PROVISIONS

OF THE

NATIONAL HOUSING ACT OF 1949

COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY
UNITED STATES SENATE



PRESENTED BY MR. MAYBANK

JULY 14 (legislative day, JUNE 2), 1949.—Ordered to be printed

UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1949

BRIEF SUMMARY OF THE HOUSING ACT OF 1949

DUSING

SHORT TITLE AND DECLARATION OF NATIONAL HOUSING POLICY

The short title of the act is the Housing Act of 1949.

Section 2 of the act establishes national housing objectives and the policies to be followed in attaining them. The declaration states that—the general welfare and security of the Nation and the health and living standards of its people require housing production and related community development sufficient to remedy the serious housing shortage, the elimination of substandard and other inadequate housing through the clearance of slums and blighted areas, and the realization as soon as feasible of the goal of a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family, thus contributing to the development and redevelopment of communities and to the advancement of the growth, wealth, and security of the Nation.

The act provides that private housing enterprise shall be encouraged to serve as large a part of the total need as it can; that local public bodies shall be encouraged to undertake positive programs to assist the development of well-planned, residential neighborhoods, the development and redevelopment of communities, and the production, at lower costs, of housing of sound standards of design, construction, livability, and size for adequate family life; and that governmental assistance shall be given to eliminate substandard and other inadequate housing through the clearance of slums and blighted areas, to provide adequate housing needed for urban and rural nonfarm families of low incomes where such need is not being met through reliance solely upon private enterprise, and to provide decent, safe, and sanitary farm dwellings and related facilities where the farm owner demonstrates that he lacks sufficient resources and credit to provide such housing.

TITLE I. SLUM CLEARANCE AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND REDEVELOPMENT

This title authorizes the Housing and Home Finance Administrator to make loans and grants to localities to assist locally initiated, locally planned, and locally managed slum-clearance and urban redevelopment.

1

3638

"Housing Act of 1949: Summary of Provisions of the National Housing Act of 1949." U.S. Senate, Committee on Banking and Currency. 81st Cong. 1st sess., June 2, 1949



Urban Renewal Collage, "19th Annual Report of the New York City Housing Authority" (New York: NYCHA, ca. 1953), pamphlet cover

HOW CHICAGO IS WINNING WAR AGAINST SLUMS

Make City Better Place
in Which to Live

Negro Population Up

The non-white population of Chicago more than doubled from 1930 to 1950, while the white population declined by 0.8 per cent, an absolute loss of 25,568.

17,172. Chicago has more Negroes than the capitals of Ethiopia, Liberia and Haiti combined.

The rapid increase of the Negro population has been primarily responsible for the spread of deterioration and blight, not because Negroes create slums or want to live in them, but because they could find no place to live except in the converted, slum-type buildings. They came here to work, not because of a desire to live in substandard housing.

Movement to Suburbs

Another result of the influx of Negroes is the so-called flight to suburbia by white residents, which is much deplored in some circles but accepted by the Chicago plan commission and other city officials as a normal process of growth.

Suburbs Grow Fast

Authorized residential construction in the suburban towns reached an all-time peak in 1953 and is running still higher this year. The fastest growing suburbs are Skokie, Gary, Park Forest and Elmhurst.

Chicago planners are not alarmed about the movement to the suburbs. They do not believe the city should be congested, like Manhattan island in New York.

It, Suburbanites may have advantages which they cannot find in the city, but they pay for them. If they work in the city they contribute to industrial production or help pay rent on offices, which are taxed to pay for city schools and other services.

Frederick T. Aschman, executive director of the Chicago plan commission, believes the outward pressure of the population eventually will compel a consolidation of metropolitan functions. The solution he advocates is not a super-government but a compromise arrangement in which the autonomy of schools and some other local services would be preserved.

Raze Obsolete Buildings

The Chicago land clearance commission has authority to clear and prepare slums and blighted areas for redevelopment, chiefly by private enterprise, for residential, commercial or industrial uses.

The first urban renewal project approved by the commission, on the recommendation of the Southeast Chicago commission, the University of Chicago and various civic groups, calls for the removal of obsolete and dilapidated structures in an irregularly bounded area extending from 53d st. to 57th st. and from Kimbark av. to the Illinois Central railroad.

In their place private developers will put up a shopping center, two-story row houses, four-story maisonette apartments and 12-story elevator apartments, with 100 per cent off-the-street parking.

Relocation Problem

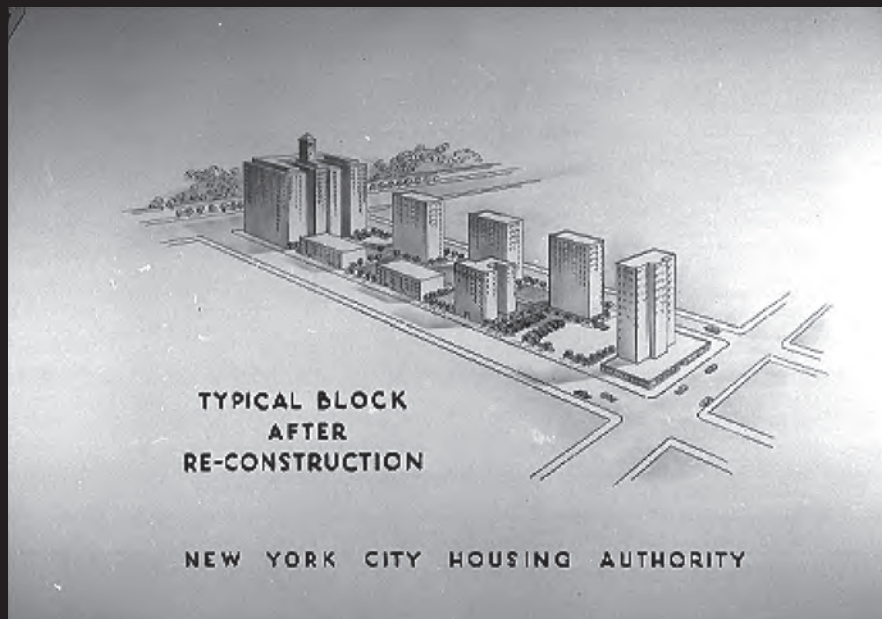
The Chicago plan commission maintains that slum clearance merely creates new slums unless good housing is provided for the families displaced by demolitions.

REBUILDING THE SLUMS

Six more slum clearance and redevelopment projects will be undertaken during the coming year by the Chicago land clearance commission. The cost to the taxpayers will be about 48 million dollars, of which 32 million will be in federal funds voted by Congress for urban renewal enterprises. The remainder of the cost, 16 million dollars, will be met from a city bond issue and grants from the state.

The entire land clearance program for 1950 is expected to result in the investment of more than 400 million dollars in private funds for new housing, factories, and merchandising establishments. Much of the new housing will be single family homes and row houses which will be sold to families. For the future welfare of Chicago such dwellings are much to be preferred over the vast public housing developments which once were touted as the only remedy for slums.

Chesly Manly, "How Chicago is Winning War Against Slums,"
Chicago Daily Tribune, December 19, 1954



"Typical Block after Re-construction," graphic, New York City
Housing Authority, ca. 1955

East Chicago Renewal Project

88 APARTMENT UNIT TO TOWER IN EAST CHICAGO

First of Multimillion Dollar Project

Work on the first phase of East Chicago's multimillion dollar urban renewal project, construction of a nine story, 88 flat apartment building is scheduled to begin this month.



Artist's conception of nine story 88 unit apartment building to be constructed by the East Chicago Housing corporation. The building will be the first erected in East Chicago's multimillion dollar urban renewal project. It was designed by Reine Hall & Curran, Inc., of Gary.

"88 Apartment Unit to Tower in East Chicago," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, July 12, 1956

WOMEN'S ACTION GROUP TO MEET

BY VIVIAN SANDE

NEW YORK, Oct. 15 (AP) More and more women are working at homemaking on a neighborhood scale.

They're clearing slums and improving the neighborhoods in which they live. Currently, they're particularly interested in civic action to make the multi-billion dollar Federal highway construction program a means of ridding their home communities of unsightly or unhealthy areas.

The organization feels that if urban development is allowed to grow spontaneously, it will lead to overcrowding and more depressed areas, but that if it is planned, it will lead to further expansion and prosperity.

"We have found women are often sharper than men in boning up on local laws and regulations," said one male member of the organization.

Vivian Sande, "Women's Action Group to Meet: Urban Renewal is Sought," *Los Angeles Times*, October 16, 1957



"Various Atomic power plants in United States, 1957," images from the online exhibition Critical Past, www.criticalpast.com

A Working Urban Renewal Program

Not the least of the problems which face Los Angeles, aside from the perennial ones of smog and rapid transit, is the question of slum clearance and the rehabilitation of blighted areas. In this

In one of the most noisome sections of the city, the area including and surrounding E 5th St., nearly 2000 buildings have been demolished as dangerous or substandard. Another 2651 residences

A good many metropolitan centers over the years have accepted the twin evils of slums and blighted neighborhoods in a spirit of almost philosophical resignation. In some, sporadic attempts have been made to correct the social and structural decay represented by these conditions, but in all too many instances these efforts languished in an atmosphere of municipal and civic apathy.

It is the good fortune of Los Angeles to have leaders in business, civic and municipal life who are not disposed to accept slum sections as a necessary and inevitable evil. Mayor

**Slum
Clearance**

Blight is insidious in that it is not readily identifiable in its early stages. The unkempt house, the uncut lawn, of

One Begets Another itself, may not deteriorate or detract from the appearance of a neighborhood. But a

psychological connotation exists; one shabby house or shabby building sometimes begets another, and the process may go on until a formerly well-kept neighborhood finds itself in a derogatory classification that it neither anticipates nor deserves.

Cities and Suburbs in Race Against Spreading Slums

*Turn to Urban Renewal Projects to Halt
Blight on Housing—Middle-Income
Families Caught in Squeeze*

PROJECTS IN RACE WITH NEW BLIGHT

Continued From Page 1

some older suburbs, now part of great urbanized regions, have slums as bad as those in the cities.

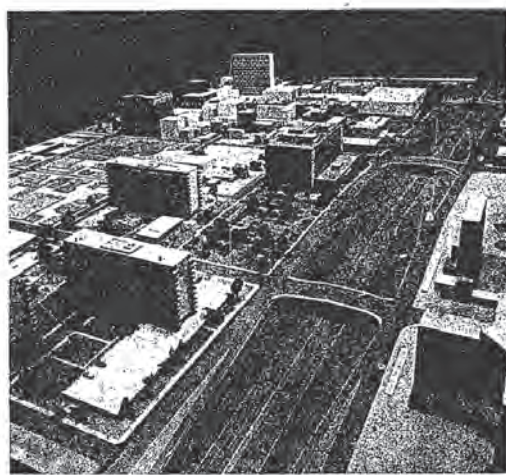
Urban renewal, not to be confused with public housing, includes four kinds of Federal help to localities to demolish slums, halt neighborhood deterioration and lay out programs for orderly development.

Its best-known feature is the tear-down-and-build-anew program under Title I of the Federal Housing Act. This authorizes communities to acquire blighted properties, by condemnation and resell them at reduced prices to private or institutional developers. The Federal Government makes good two-thirds of the resale price difference and the local government one-third.

Urban renewal also includes Federal grants to communities, up to 50 per cent of the study cost, for general planning sur-

This decay is more than just a side effect of the spread of urbanization; it is as much a part of it as the rise of the Levittowns. As the movement to the suburbs gained, city neighborhoods faded. Now the

Charles Grutzner, "Cities and Suburbs in Race Against Spreading Slums," *New York Times*, January 31, 1957



Urban Ruin— Or Urban Renewal?

The time for decision is now, if we are
to save our blighted cities from themselves.

By EDWARD J. LOGUE

ANY city that does not set in motion by 1960 a comprehensive program to halt blight will be flailing with municipal ruin by 1965."

This is not to say that it is all up to Congress. It is up to everyone to face the hard truth that the American dream is tarnishing, the American way of life becoming a mirage, for tens of millions of our fellow citizens who live in cities.

BUSHKELS of statistics have been published to spread the alarm on urban blight, but the response has been slight. Perhaps we need fewer statistics and instead a few good old-fashioned walking tours: walks through the slums, up the stinking stairways into the overcrowded, shabby rooms; walks through the run-down commercial areas, taking care to glance above the first-floor store fronts at the dusty windows of the deserted upper floors; walks through the oil-soaked dreary

factory lofts built before the assembly line was even heard of. The filth, the misery and the danger are all there—easy to see and, once seen, impossible to forget.

Today's slums seem to touch the lives and pocketbooks of the suburbanites and other noncity dwellers lightly, if at all. Not so the slums of tomorrow. The prospects are awesome. If present trends are allowed to continue, 30,000,000 Americans will be living in slums by 1975. Further neglect

cities, a whole new approach has now been developed. It is called urban renewal. It focuses on the city as a whole and treats all urban problems as inter-related, both in their origin and their solution. Solutions are made possible (or were, until Congress failed to renew the appropriation) by the Federal Housing Acts of 1949 and 1954, which provided Government funds for cities to get renewal programs started. So

THE concept of comprehensive urban renewal recognizes that the city is here to stay in essentially its traditional form. The purpose, as the phrase indicates, is the renewal of the city of today, not its replacement by some fanciful city of tomorrow. It is accomplished not by any one method but by combining several:

(1) Total (Continued on Page 28)

Edward J. Logue, "Urban Ruin or Urban Renewal?," *New York Times*, November 9, 1958

North Chicago Fights Back Against Blight

BY ERWIN BACH
The city of North Chicago has received federal approval of its final plans for a \$5,500,000 redevelopment project in the North Argonne neighborhood of the suburb.

Initial work on the 174 acre project is expected to begin in fall, said Otto Zaccone, executive director of North Chicago's urban renewal department. "The area houses 411 families of which about 90 per cent are Negro, he said. It is bounded by Argonne drive, Lewis avenue, Dugdale road, and 14th street.



Zaccone



Typical scene in 174 acre North Argonne area of North Chicago which federal government has approved for \$5,500,000 urban renewal program. Study of area disclosed that 85 per cent of structures were substandard. Project work starts in fall. (TRIBUNE Photos)



Sketch shows type of modern low cost housing which will replace blighted homes. This home will cost about \$10,000. Rental apartments, parks, a school, police, and fire station also are scheduled.



Map shows site of North Argonne urban renewal project in North Chicago.

**Suburb to Spend
5.5 Millions
on Renewal**

Public Housing Raising Density of Population

Public and Private Housing Units



Some of the row houses in the Jane Addams public housing project, which provide home atmosphere for the tenants, who have immediate access to parkways and gardens.

Experts Criticize Multi-Stored Buildings

(How is Chicago's public housing program working out after 20 years and spending of 163 million dollars? Today's article, the third in a series, points to increased population density, resulting from the projects, and the problems it poses.)

BY CHESLY MANLY

Projects of the Chicago housing authority now in operation, under construction, or under contract for federal subsidies will provide dwelling units for 27,000 families on a total of 797.8 acres, or 3.23 square miles. This is a population density of 21,000 families, or 80,200 persons, per square mile, assuming that the average for existing units (4.3 persons) does not increase.

"If we were to rebuild Chicago tomorrow morning to the limits of density we know from planning standards to be good, we would cause 200,000 people to move out of the city."

"Nobody in his right mind would replan for that kind of population density. If we were

Thus the Chicago housing authority is replacing slums with housing that has a population density about three times as great as the city's housing coordinator and most planners believe it should be.

"We shouldn't get these ghettos, whether they are based on income, race, or any other stratification of people," Downs declared. "We should have the heaven of higher income people, lower income people, and something for those people to do in those cities. Otherwise we will produce a ring of industry around our cities with high income families beyond that and low income families in the city. It just doesn't make good long term American sense."

The tall units offer no such opportunities for recreation and self-expression. Neither are these incongruous structures, standing like crude menhirs on the burial grounds of a departed civilization, an esthetic asset of the city.

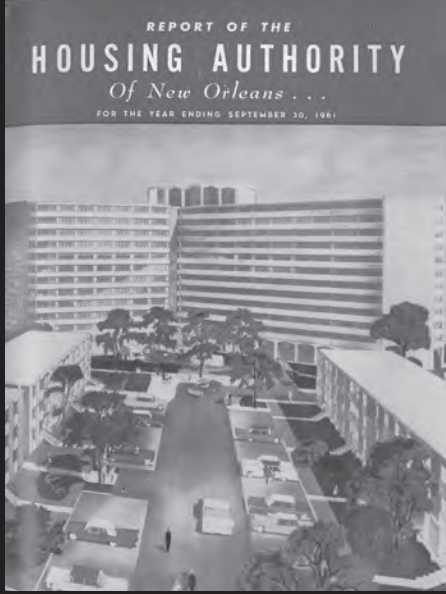
"A further reason for preferring smaller structures is to avoid a population density in public housing areas which places a strain on community facilities such as schools, parks, shops, and transporta-

Chesly Manly, "Public Housing Raising Density of Population,"
Chicago Daily Tribune, September 11, 1956

There is still time for Congress to enact a second housing bill, and I once again urge that it do so. These things can be and ought to be done:

- (1) remove the ceiling on FHA mortgage insurance authority;
- (2) extend the FHA program for insurance of property improvement loans;
- (3) enact reasonable authorizations for urban renewal grants and college housing loans and adjust the interest rate on the latter;
- (4) extend the voluntary home mortgage credit program; and
- (5) adjust the statutory interest rate ceilings governing mortgages insured under FHA's regular rental and cooperative housing programs.

President Dwight D. Eisenhower, Veto of the Second
Housing and Urban Renewal Bill, Sept 4, 1959



"Report of the Housing Authority of New Orleans for the Year Ending September 30, 1961" (New Orleans: Housing Authority of New Orleans, 1961)



**Are Slums
 Necessary?**

*Renewal Plans
 Take Beating
 From All Sides
 In Long War*

IT SEEMS A SHAME that somebody did not think to bottle a supply of slum air to release at this year's hearings on the Nation's and the District's urban renewal programs.

The testimony in the austere meeting rooms of Congress is supplemented by charts, maps and photographs that give some idea of what the slums were like and what remains to be done.

But there is really nothing like the stench of a slum. Once it penetrates your nostrils it never really leaves. Compounded of perspiration and kerosene and half-rancid frying fat and rotting timbers and human wastes and decaying garbage, it remains in memory to recall the shock of your first visit.

But eliminating the smells and the conditions that created them are only one part of the urban renewal process. Where do the people go? What happens to the land? How does the community prevent the birth of new slums? Or the rekindling of the old?

Here we are, 30 years after the birth of public housing, 29 years after the creation of Washington's slum-clearing Alley Dwelling Authority, 17 years after the mandate for Washington redevelopment, 14 years after the activation of a national urban renewal program, still debating these questions. Have we advanced? How far?

Jack Eisen, "Are Slums Necessary?," *The Washington Post*, Times Herald, November 17, 1963



Moving into the Riis Houses, Feb 26, 1948, Public Housing: New York Transformed, 1939-1967





ING

Groundbreaking at Luna Park Houses [Coney Island], Jul 10, 1958, Public Housing: New York Transformed, 1939-1967



Tenants' Meeting at the LaGuardia Houses [New York City], ca. 1959, Public Housing: New York Transformed, 1939-1967





"Children play on streets due to lack of urban playground facilities in the United States," images from Critical Past, www.criticalpast.com

Urban Renewal Under Attack



Urban renewal's aspirations were humanitarian and economic, as a life preserver to meet financial crises arising from our urban society. Meant to rid cities of slums, it would benefit the poor. It seemed to provide a way out of a dilemma that has gripped every city hall in the nation: how to pay the costs of government as the high and middle-income tax payers moved to the suburbs [12 million in the last 10 years to join 38 million already there], reducing the city's tax base while many poor were moving in and needing more public services. Income was going down while costs were spiraling upward.

URBAN RENEWAL SEEMED the happiest and brightest congressional child skipping down the domestic political turnpike. Then something happened. Recent bond issues for urban renewal have been defeated; Negroes spit at it as "Negro removal"; many white groups fear and hate it as a device forcing Negroes into white neighborhoods; slums, instead of disappearing, have shifted locations; and the whole program is in trouble.

"The Federal Bulldozer" should be read for a number of reasons, including its succinct description of what urban renewal is and how it works. On this level alone the book is a contribution. Anderson's attack on the federal urban renewal program includes charges that urban renewal has helped upper income people and hurt low income groups,

Saul Alinsky is executive director of the Industrial Areas Foundation in Chicago.

particularly minority groups; that it has caused a decrease in cities' tax revenues; that most of the buildings constructed in urban renewal areas are highrise apartments for upper-income families and that only 6 per cent of the construction has been public housing; that many of the displaced slum families are moved into "housing as bad as or worse than their original homes in neighborhoods that are as bad as or worse than their original neighborhoods . . .

Saul D. Alinsky, "Urban Renewal Under Attack," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, November 22, 1964

An historic new approach -- Urban Renewal--now replaces piecemeal thrusts at slum pockets and urban blight. Communities engaged in urban renewal have doubled and renewal projects have more than tripled since 1953. An estimated 68 projects in 50 cities will be completed by the end of the current fiscal year; another 577 projects will be underway, and planning for 310 more will be in process. A total of \$2 billion in Federal grants will ultimately be required to finance these 955 projects.

The Federal government must continue to provide leadership in order to make our cities and communities better places in which to live, work, and raise families, but without usurping rightful local authority, replacing individual responsibility, or stifling private initiative.

Dwight Eisenhower, "State of the Union Address,"
January 12, 1961

TV: Challenge on Racism

James Baldwin Puts Problem Squarely in the Laps of All Americans

A TELEVISION experience that seared the conscience of the white set owner was offered over Channel 13 in an unforgettable half-hour interview with James Baldwin, the author.

Moral equivocation and legalistic humbug on the issue of segregation were shattered in the eloquence, passion and perspective of Mr. Baldwin's plea that liberation of subjugated people begin in the United States, that time had run out on whites who thought fellow citizens would everlastingly negotiate on the size of their cage.

What an admirable goal for educational TV: to hit hard and consistently in the resolution of the hour's foremost moral issue.

In terms of television with its potential access to mass audiences the special effectiveness of Mr. Baldwin's appearance was to remove the segregation issue from its usual Southern context and to stress that discrimination was a nationwide cancer. To make his point he used a phrase of inspired pertinency: "Urban renewal means Negro removal."

Jack Gould, "TV: Challenge on Racism," *New York Times*, May 30, 1963



They were tearing down his house, because San Francisco is engaging - as most Northern cities now are engaged - in something called urban renewal, which means moving the Negroes out. It means Negro removal, that is what it means. The federal government is an accomplice to this fact.

James Baldwin, "Screen Interviews from 'The Negro and the American Promise,'" WGBH, Boston, May 16, 1963

Does Urban Renewal Mean Negro Removal?

The general argument that urban renewal, particularly in America's central cities, eliminates slums is meeting increased rebuttal from those families who have been marked for displacement and relocation.

Needless to say, the majority of these "victims" of "modern progress" are Negroes.

HOUSING

Sufficient evidence is at hand to justify the general complaint that "urban renewal means Negro removal." It is the second time in the history of this country that the white majority has given land it thought it no longer needed to a minority and then later took it back. The first time this fraud was perpetrated was on the American Indian, and you know how Sitting Bull and Geronimo gave "short haircuts" to the "Indian givers" in retaliation.

people living in them. At the moment, planners of urban renewal place more emphasis on beautiful buildings, landscaping and arterial routes over which the white suburbanite can hasten to and from work in the central city without having to contact or view the "victims" of 300 years of deprivation as they wallow helplessly in their human misery which the slums dictate.

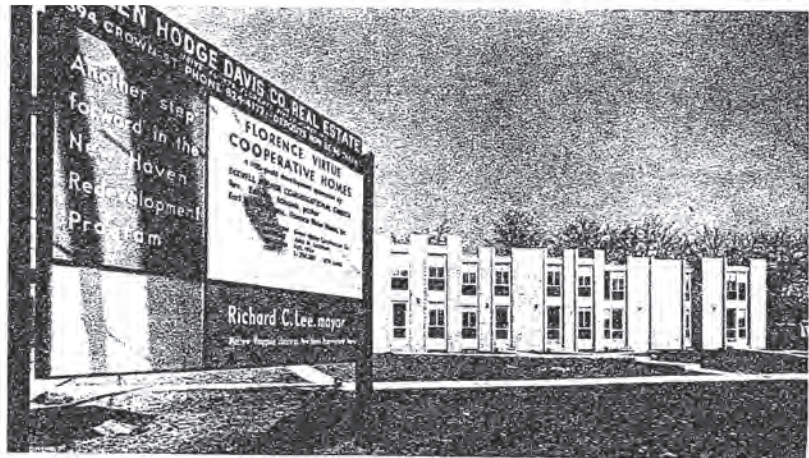
"Does Urban Renewal Mean Negro Removal," *Pittsburgh Courier*, February 27, 1965.

'You Shove Out the Poor To Make Houses For the Rich'

This is one of the charges liberals hurl at urban renewal programs. How justified is it?



The Dixwell area of New Haven, Conn., once "a small version of Harlem," above right, is now the site of a modern, low-cost, integrated housing project. Far from supporting the critics' view that "urban renewal means Negro removal," New Haven, the authors maintain, has shown "the only way to achieve integrated living in the blighted centers of our cities is by knocking down the slums and starting over."



By **WILLIAM LEE MILLER**
and **L. THOMAS APPLEBY**

NEW HAVEN, Conn.

A FACULTY member of Amherst, visiting Yale recently, looked around at the very impressive rebuilding of the center of New Haven and, after the manner of professors, was not impressed.

"Where are the Negroes who used to live here?" he asked. "They push the poor people out and put up these luxury apartments and fancy stores and office buildings. Urban renewal means Negro removal."

This is one of the more pungent criticisms of urban renewal expressed nowadays by liberals, reflecting their disenchantment with a tool for social

reform which they themselves sponsored. It is criticism that hurts, because the welfare of hundreds of thousands of slum-dwellers—not to mention the future of our cities—depends on continued public support for the renewal program. These allegations must, therefore, be refuted as they arise, and fortunately the city of New Haven, Conn., can supply most of the evidence to do so. (There are also criticisms from the right, of course, about government interference with "freedom" and subsidies for "uneconomic" uses of land; but civic-minded people have long ago agreed that a great many human needs are not going to be served at all by a free market left entirely to itself.)

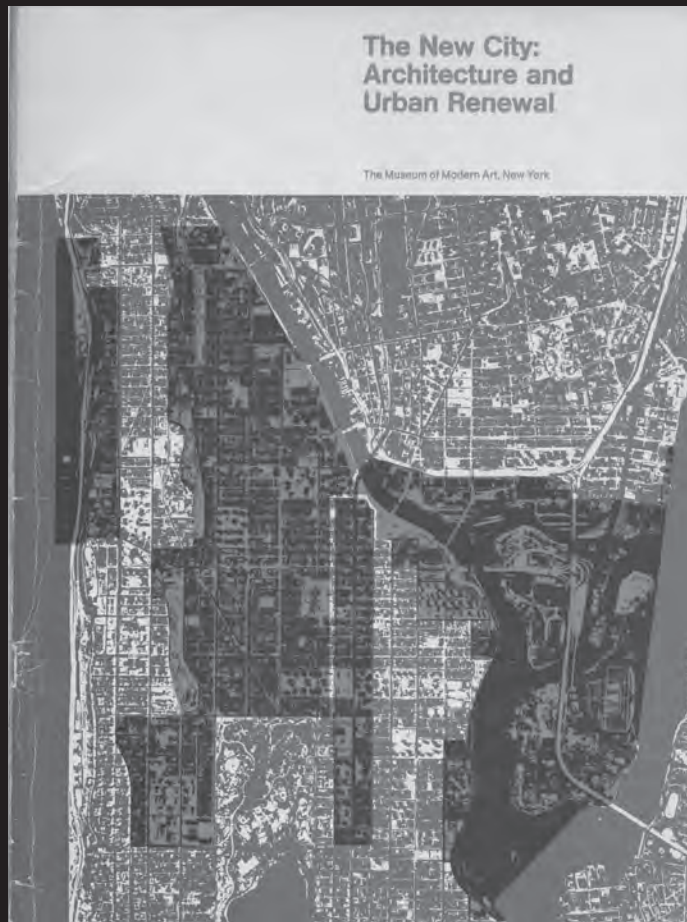
throughout the city. It is clearly apparent that urban renewal does not make *worse* housing for the poor in New Haven, and that holds—despite particular exceptions and soft spots—for the nation as a whole. Nearly 30 per cent

ALL this, however, is part of the defensive answer to the critics of urban renewal. The more positive reply is that it has brought the urban poor to the community's attention and, at its best, provided not only new houses but new neighborhoods and new sets of possibilities.

the same thing for years. Many liberals uneasy about urban renewal but enthusiastic about the "war on poverty" should remember that experience with family relocation was one of the principal well-springs of the national antipoverty program, uncovering problems of the urban poor that had been kept out of sight for decades and making them a public responsibility.

Urban renewal has a greater potential for eliminating ghettos and segregated living than any other program yet devised—if a city uses it in the right way. It may be possible, with strong fair-housing efforts, to move a small and select number of Negro families, mostly middle class, out into the lily-white suburbs—but the great mass of Negroes will stay right where they are now.

William Miller and L. Thomas Appleby, "You Shove Out the Poor to Make Houses for the Rich," *New York Times*, April 11, 1965



Architecture and Urban Renewal

But if we conclude that the ideal city should not be built primarily to accommodate automobiles, we will want to know more about systems of public transportation and their effects on employment, housing and recreation. We might also change our ideas about what constitutes the right size for a building. Is it possible that our buildings, far from being too big, are really not big enough? How big would they have to be to include their own transportation systems? How should we accommodate industrial facilities close to those areas where job opportunities are most needed? What kinds of parks would be most useful? Can a street be a kind of a park?

2) *How can we provide housing and other kinds of renewal without relocating the people for whom such improvements are intended, and at the same time convert neighborhood blights into acceptable components of the visual scene?*

Arthur Drexler
Director
Department of Architecture and Design
The Museum of Modern Art

Princeton University

Peter D. Eisenman, Michael Graves;
Assistants: G. Daniel Perry, Stephen Levine, Jay Turnbull,
Thomas C. Pritchard, Russell Swanson

PROBLEM:

How can we make the waterfront both visible and useful, giving it an architectural weight that would relate it to major crosstown streets and lead to the development of new kinds of neighborhood and institutional centers?



Site Plan

- New buildings
- Paved pedestrian areas
- Parks
- Water
- 1 Aquarium
- 2 Stadium (above sewage disposal plant)
- 3 Lagoon
- 4 Park
- 5 Housing, offices, shopping
- 6 Research offices
- 7 Conference and convention center
- 8 Hotel
- 9 Public plaza with outdoor stadium, museum, cafés
- 10 Pedestrian quay

Elizabeth Kassler, Sidney J. Frigand, and Arthur Drexler,
The New City: Architecture and Urban Renewal (New York:
 Museum of Modern Art, 1967)

The Museum of Modern Art No. 119
 Monday, December 11, 1967
 FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

THE NEW CITY: ARCHITECTURE AND URBAN RENEWAL by Elizabeth Kassler, Sidney J. Frigand and Arthur Drexler. 48 pages, 64 illustrations. Paperbound \$1.95. Published and distributed to the trade by The Museum of Modern Art, New York.

How can new housing be built without the jarring social effects of relocation? How can a large city locate and develop new land areas? How can an old waterfront area be transformed into an asset? And how can a monotonous grid plan be modified to improve circulation and create new neighborhoods? These widespread problems of cities and some possible solutions to them are explored for New York's Harlem area in **THE NEW CITY: ARCHITECTURE AND URBAN RENEWAL**, just published by The Museum of Modern Art.

Kassler. "Americans have never had much confidence in city pavements, city crowds, city ways, city slickers.

"It would be presumptuous to suppose that problems of poverty and prejudice, and the hundred other evils that beset us, can be solved by architecture alone," states Arthur Drexler in the introduction to the four projects. "Works of art are not a substitute for human decency. The arts of architecture and urban design are tools at our disposal: how we use them depends on what we want."

Robertson, Richard Weinstein and Giovanni Pasanella, AIA. This proposal provides new housing for Harlem's residents without relocation, as well as community and commercial facilities.

Press release announcing publication of *The New City: Architecture and Urban Renewal*, MoMA, Dec 11, 1967



CABRINI GREEN

Intended to house World War II workers, Cabrini-Green was planned as 80% white and 20% black. Between 1940 and 1950, that ratio shifted to 21% white and 79% black. The project evolved over time from low-rise rowhouses to high-rise superblocks. Fifteen buildings (1,925 units) by A. Epstein & Sons were added in 1958; eight more buildings (1,096 units) by Pace Assoc. were added in 1962. The project expanded to 70 acres. Located just outside

the Loop, it was Chicago's only public housing (out of thirty-three projects) not constructed atop an existing black ghetto. In 2010, its last remaining high-rise was demolished to make way for Parkside of Old Town.

Location
CHICAGO, IL

Completed
1942 ongoing

Occupied
1942

Construction Cost
n/a

Architect
Henry Holsman, George Burmeister, Maurice Rissman, Ernest Grunfeld Jr., Louis Solomon, George Jones, Karl Vitzthum, I.S. Lowenberg, Frank McNally

Size
586 units
54 buildings
16 acres

Purpose
integrated workers' housing

Status
demolished
redeveloped as Parkside of Old Town
see p252



BREWSTER-DOUGLASS HOUSING PROJECT

This, the largest public housing project owned and managed by the Detroit Housing Commission, accommodated 10,000 residents at its peak.

Construction of the two 6-story Brewster Homes was completed in 1942; the six 14-story Frederick Douglas Homes, in 1952.

Located near Ford Field and Comerica Park, the site has attracted redevelopment.

Brewster Homes was demolished along with two Douglass towers; the four remaining towers are now boarded. Built in 1994 by the Detroit Housing Commission, New Brewster Homes consist of 250 townhouses.

Location
Detroit, MI

Complete
1942, 1952

Occupied
1942

Construction Cost
n/a

Architect
Ellington and Day
Harley

Size
8 buildings
15 city blocks

Purpose
black working-class housing

Status
demolished, condemned
partially redeveloped



COLUMBIA POINT HOUSING PROJECT

This project was built in the Dorchester neighborhood of Boston on landfill.

The largest housing development ever built by the Boston Housing Authority, it was created as temporary housing for low-income black and Hispanic families who had fallen on hard times.

By the 1970s, the project's 7-storey buildings had fallen into disrepair and were largely

abandoned. In 1984 the city turned over the property to the private development firm of Corcoran-Mullins-Jennison.

Location
Boston, MA

Completed
1951-54

Occupied
1954

Construction Cost
\$14,000,000

Architect
Michael Dyer

Size
1,054 units
30 buildings
51 acres

Purpose
temporary working-class housing

Status
privatized, demolished
redeveloped as Harbor Point
see p249



DESIRE HOUSING DEVELOPMENT

This development was located in New Orleans's Ninth Ward, near the industrial canal, Florida Avenue drainage canal, Agriculture Street landfill, and railroad tracks.

Its 2-storey brick buildings were clustered around courtyards intended to provide safe recreational areas.

With more than 14,000 residents at its peak, it was the third-largest housing develop-

ment in the country. It became an important place for black activism and the arts.

A HOPE VI grant was used to progressively demolish the project between 1996 and 2001 and revitalize the area as a mixed-income neighborhood.

Location
New Orleans, LA

Completed
1956

Occupied
1956

Construction Cost
\$24,000,000

Architect
n/a

Size
1,860 units
262 buildings
approx. 100 acres

Purpose
black working-class housing

Status
progressively demolished,
revitalized



PRUITT-IGOE

Pruitt-Igoe was built on the site of a black neighborhood northwest of downtown St. Louis. Originally conceived as racially segregated, the project was integrated when it opened (twenty blacks-only buildings and thirteen integrated buildings).

The 13-storey buildings were designed by George Hellmuth and Minoru Yamasaki to attract middle-class residents with modern design.

Pruitt-Igoe quickly became associated with the city's escalating crime rate, violence, white flight, and poverty. In 1972 the housing authority authorized its demolition, and the high-rises were famously razed. The site remains vacant.

Location
St. Louis, MO

Completed
1956

Occupied
1954

Construction Cost
\$57,000,000

Architect
Leinweber, Yamasaki & Hellmuth

Size
2,762 units
33 buildings
55 acres

Purpose
integrated, mixed-income housing (33% public housing, 66% middle-income)

Status
demolished



JORDAN DOWNS HOUSING PROJECTS

Jordan Downs was built as semi-permanent housing for World War II defense workers. In the early 1950s, the 2-storey townhouses were converted to public housing.

Located in the Watts neighborhood of South Central Los Angeles, the project suffered when a decline in local manufacturing jobs impoverished many residents and criminal activity and gang violence rose

as a result of a growing drug trade.

In 2008 the L.A. Housing Authority bought 21 acres adjacent to Jordan Downs to expand area housing options through the addition of low-income and market-rate units. In 2009, a comprehensive redevelopment plan that specified the demolition of Jordan Downs was proposed.

Location
Los Angeles, CA

Completed
1955

Occupied
1955

Construction Cost
\$4,000,000

Architect
n/a

Size
700 units
103 buildings

Purpose
workers' housing

Status
n/a



STANTON DWELLINGS

This project was located in the Congress Heights section of Washington, D.C.

In 1999, Stanton Dwellings and the adjoining Frederick Douglass Housing Project received a \$30 million Hope VI revitalization grant.

In 2003, a new mixed-income community known as Henson Ridge was built through public-private enterprise. It replaced barrack-style housing with six

hundred townhouses 280 for rent (some at market rate and some subsidized) and 320 for sale.

Location
Washington, D.C.

Completed
1957

Occupied
1957

Construction Cost
approx. \$3,200,000

Architect:
n/a

Size
348 units

Purpose
public housing

Status
demolished, redeveloped



LAFAYETTE PARK

This project realized a plan by architect Mies van der Rohe, urban planner Ludwig Hilberseimer, and landscape architect Alfred Caldwell.

Built just east of downtown Detroit, the “superblock” development consists of 6 towers and 40 rowhouses.

The largest collection of buildings by Mies in any one location, it is recognized as a model for high-density urban

housing and for its exemplary use of modern materials: exposed steel, aluminum, and glass.

It remains one of the few lasting triumphs of urban renewal today.

Location
Detroit, MI

Completed
1958–65

Occupied
1958 ongoing

Construction Cost
n/a

Architect
Mies van der Rohe, Ludwig Hilberseimer, Alfred Caldwell

Size
46 buildings
78 acres

Purpose
affordable housing

Status
National Register of Historic Places 1996
occupied, privatized

Image Citations:

ics?ark=ark:/13030/kt996nd59v/z1&&brand=oac4.

Cabrini Green

Courtesy Chicago Housing Authority.

Chicago Bridges Recording Project. Library of Congress, Historic American Engineering Record archive of photos. HAER ILL, 16-CHIG, 148-1.

Brewster-Douglass Housing Project

Courtesy The Detroit News, <http://apps.detnews.com/apps/multimedia/index.php?search=supremes&page=2#ixz1HTOT3FIX>.

Courtesy DetroitUrbex.com, <http://www.detroiturbex.com/content/neighborhoods/fdtowers/fdtowers.html>.

Columbia Point Housing Project

Jane Roessner, *A Decent Place to Live* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2000).

Jane Roessner, *A Decent Place to Live* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2000).

Desire Housing Development

Image Courtesy of Louisiana Division/City Archives, New Orleans Public Library.

Courtesy Housing Authority of New Orleans, Annual Housing Report, 1956.

Pruitt-Igoe

John F. Bauman, Roger Biles, and Kristin Szylvian, *From Tenements to the Taylor Homes: In Search of an Urban Housing Policy in Twentieth-Century America* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000).

As used in the documentary film *The Pruitt-Igoe Myth: An Urban History*, <http://www.pruitt-igoe.com/>.

Jordan Downs Housing Projects

Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles, Southern California Library for Social Studies & Research.

Courtesy University of California Digital Library, <http://imgzoom.cdlib.org/Fullscreen>.

Stanton Dwellings

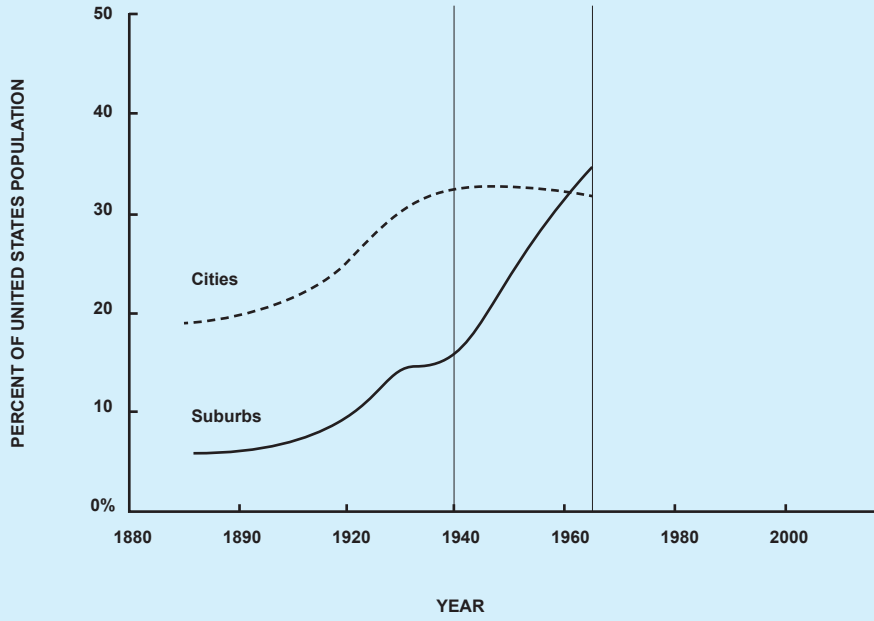
Gordon Parks, Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, [Reproduction number LC-USF34-013368-C].

Gordon Parks, Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, [Reproduction number LC-USF34-013382-C].

Lafayette Park

Charles Waldheim, *Case: Hilberseimer/Mies van der Rohe Lafayette Park Detroit* (New York: Prestel Publishing, 2004).

Charles Waldheim, *Case: Hilberseimer/Mies van der Rohe Lafayette Park Detroit* (New York: Prestel Publishing, 2004).



Graph interpreted from Figure 4 in: Robert Beauregard, *When America Became Suburban* (Mineapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), 34.

GREAT SOCIETY 1964-1969

Housing in the Great Society

The Housing Act of 1964, recently signed into law by President Johnson, incorporates some desirable improvements in existing programs, but it fails to strike at the heart of the nation's housing difficulties. Far more fundamental measures will be needed to master the increasingly severe problems of our major urban centers—the widespread slums, the continuing flight of middle-class residents to the suburbs, the overcrowded transit lines, the polluted air and the ugliness and shoddiness of much new housing.

Here is a worthy challenge to President Johnson's program for "the Great Society." If the big city is to remain a place for ordinary people to live as well as work and if the suburb is to become more than an ugly sprawl and a commuters' nightmare, the President is going to have to lift his next housing bill out of the ruts of compromise and put it on a new intellectual level. The public interest demands major changes in housing policy and urban planning.

"Housing in the Great Society," *New York Times*, September 18, 1964

Gains Under Housing Act

Both programs—mass transit and open space—are aimed at helping cities examine their problems in the

Gains Under Housing Act

Federal Administrator Cites Attack on Urban Problems

TO THE EDITOR:

Your Sept. 18 editorial "Housing in the Great Society" reveals a justifiable impatience with the pace of building "The Great Society"—an impatience I, along with many others, share. At the same time it would be shortsighted to overlook the significant gains recently made.

Most important is the fact that we must no longer rely solely on "housing" legislation for solutions to our urban and metropolitan difficulties. Today, housing programs are only part, albeit the most vital part, of what is fast becoming a comprehensive assault on that whole range of problems which you cite.

For instance, we now have an Urban Mass Transportation Act, passed last spring, providing Federal assistance to cities with transit problems. Congress has passed legislation to aid in the rational development of open space in metropolitan areas, and this program is being constantly refined to meet many open-space needs.

Both programs—mass transit and open space—are aimed at helping cities examine their problems in the context of a broader metropolitan area.

For Economic Opportunity

The Economic Opportunity Act, passed this summer, provides a chance to attack the broad spectrum of difficulties undermining the effectiveness of the underprivileged to function in the Great Society.

These and other new programs symbolize the broadest approach to our urban difficulties the nation has ever known. And this year's housing legislation has provided us with other new tools of considerable consequence.

For instance, the Housing Act of 1964 affords new tools for coping with rehabilitation and relocation. The act provides that no displacement of families or business can be

made from a renewal area until the Housing Administrator has determined that rehabilitation is not suitable for the area. And the act authorizes low-interest modernization loans to families and businesses. Relocation payments, for families, businesses and individuals, have been increased.

ROBERT C. WEAVER,

Administrator, Housing and Home Finance Agency.

Washington, Sept. 21, 1964.

Robert C. Weaver, "Gains Under Housing Act: Federal Administrator Cites Attack on Urban Problems," *New York Times*, September 28, 1964

Johnson Urged to Extend Housing Order

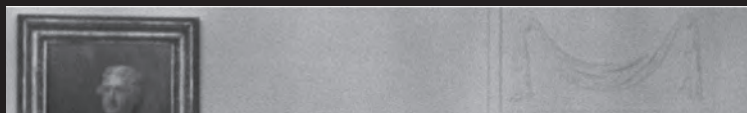
President Johnson was urged yesterday to "take the second step" in the fight against discrimination in housing by extending the Executive Order issued two years ago by President Kennedy.

More and more we've come to realize that housing is the key issue in the Great Society," Abrams continued. "I do not think that the poverty program, enlightened as its purposes are, can get underway unless it takes in the problem of discrimination in housing.

"We are becoming a divided society," he pointed out. Wash-

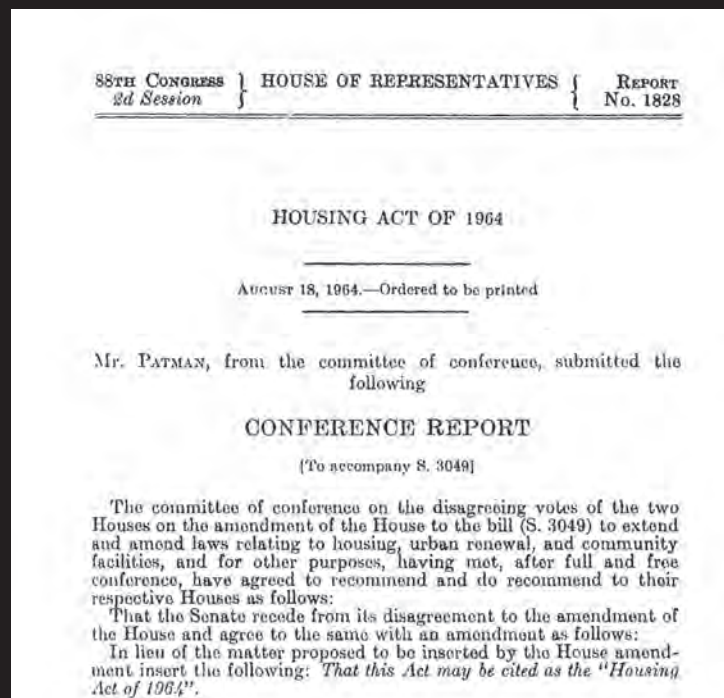
ington's about 60 per cent Negro he stated, yet its suburbs have only 6 per cent.

Rasa Gustaitis, "Johnson Urged to Extend Housing Order," *Washington Post, Times Herald*, November 20, 1964





Senator Richard Russell and President Lyndon B. Johnson, in discussions over housing policy, Dec 7, 1963



House of Representatives, Conference Report on the Housing Act of 1964, 88th cong., 2nd sess., Aug 18, 1964



THE GREAT Society, as President Johnson is using the words, is much more than a mere collection of necessary or desirable programs making life more livable in this country. It is an attempt to open a new chapter in the annals of popular government.



Lippmann

Compressed into one sentence, the basic idea is that an affluent society like the American can be governed by consensus.

son political style. If a modern society like ours need no longer think of itself as irreconcilably divided over the distribution of wealth, then it has become humanly possible to govern by obtaining wide agreement among the voters.

THE JOHNSON conception of the Great Society rests on the two pillars of controlled affluence and of political consensus. If the conception were to fail, it would not be because the conception is false. It would be because of some external cause, — possibly because we had become diverted by some entanglement in another continent.

Walter Lippman, "Today and Tomorrow: The Principles of the Great Society," *Washington Post, Times Herald*, January 12, 1965





A police riot tank stands by as a blacks-only housing project is destroyed by fire, set in protest over the bombing of a home of an African-American leader and an African-American motel, Birmingham, Associated Press photo, May 12, 1963



Group of evicted residents sponsored by the Congress of Racial Equality camp out at housing project to which they were denied access, Los Angeles, Associated Press photo, Dec 12, 1962



Actor Marlon Brando marches with other picketers at a housing development in protest against the developer's decision to sell homes to blacks, Torrance, Associated Press photo, Jul 27, 1963



Mississippi Delta area protesters pitch tents and camp out in front of the White House with signs reading, "Houses Instead of Tents," Washington D.C., Associated Press photo, Apr 3, 1966

Eighty-eighth Congress of the United States of America

AT THE SECOND SESSION

Began and held at the City of Washington on Tuesday, the seventh day of January,
one thousand nine hundred and sixty-four

An Act

To enforce the constitutional right to vote, to confer jurisdiction upon the district courts of the United States to provide injunctive relief against discrimination in public accommodations, to authorize the Attorney General to institute suits to protect constitutional rights in public facilities and public education, to extend the Commission on Civil Rights, to prevent discrimination in federally assisted programs, to establish a Commission on Equal Employment Opportunity, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Civil Rights Act of 1964".

TITLE I—VOTING RIGHTS

Sec. 101. Section 2004 of the Revised Statutes (42 U.S.C. 1971), as amended by section 131 of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 (71 Stat. 637), and as further amended by section 601 of the Civil Rights Act of 1960 (74 Stat. 80), is further amended as follows:

(a) Insert "1" after "(a)" in subsection (a) and add at the end of subsection (a) the following new paragraphs:

"(2) No person acting under color of law shall—

"(A) in determining whether any individual is qualified under State law or laws to vote in any Federal election, apply any standard, practice, or procedure different from the standards, practices, or procedures applied under such law or laws to other individuals within the same county, parish, or similar political subdivision who have been found by State officials to be qualified to vote;

"(B) deny the right of any individual to vote in any Federal election because of an error or omission on any record or paper relating to any application, registration, or other act requisite to voting, if such error or omission is not material in determining whether such individual is qualified under State law to vote in such election; or

"(C) employ any literacy test as a qualification for voting in any Federal election unless (1) such test is administered to each individual and is conducted wholly in writing, and (2) a certified copy of the test and of the answers given by the individual is furnished to him within twenty-five days of the submission of his request made within the period of time during which records and papers are required to be retained and preserved pursuant to title III of the Civil Rights Act of 1960 (42 U.S.C. 1974-74e; 74 Stat. 88): *Provided, however,* That the Attorney General may enter into agreements with appropriate State or local authorities that preparation, conduct, and maintenance of such tests in accordance with the provisions of applicable State or local law, including such special provisions as are necessary in the preparation, conduct, and maintenance of such tests for persons who are blind or otherwise physically handicapped, meet the purposes of this subparagraph and constitute compliance therewith.

"(3) For purposes of this subsection—

"(A) the term 'vote' shall have the same meaning as in subsection (e) of this section;

"(B) the phrase 'literacy test' includes any test of the ability to read, write, understand, or interpret any matter."

(b) Insert immediately following the period at the end of the first sentence of subsection (c) the following new sentence: "If in any such proceeding literacy is a relevant fact there shall be a rebuttable

TENANTS PICKET HOUSING PROJECT

See Page 1



Taylor Homes Residents 'Air' Their Complaints

Tenants of the Robert Taylor Homes, which stretch along State st. from 39th to 53rd sts., rebelled against living conditions in the Chicago Housing Authority project. Braving sub-freezing temperatures, the tenants, mostly women (including one with a small infant, wrapped in a blanket), demanded more police protection, better elevator service and other improvements. Robert Murphy, project director, was ordered to negotiate a settlement of the protests. Murphy at first blamed many of the problems on the tenants themselves. — (Defender photo by Tony Rhoden)

tion, better elevator service and other improvements. Robert Murphy, project director, was ordered to negotiate a settlement of the protests. Murphy at first blamed many of the problems on the tenants themselves. — (Defender photo by Tony Rhoden)

"Tenants Picket Housing Project," *Chicago Daily Defender*, January 14, 1964

Taylor Homes Hit By Tenant Revolt

Residents of the Robert Taylor Homes, the massive, high-rise CHA complex of public housing which stretches along 14 blocks of S. State St., vented their wrath yesterday against what they termed "bad living conditions."

Braving a snow storm and sub-freezing temperatures, nearly 50 women residents of the project picketed the management office, where Robert Murphy, project director, at first refused to talk to them.

Residents of the buildings have repeatedly voiced complaints against lack of police protection, inadequate elevator service, cold apartments and lack of interest by the managers of the project.

"I didn't live in the slums before moving in here and don't have to live here now, except for the reason that they tore down all the other houses," she added.

TECTURE IN PUBLIC: THE CASE OF HOUSING

"Taylor Homes Hit By Tenant Revolt," *Chicago Daily Defender*, January 14, 1964

Rev. Brazier Opposes 'Negro Removal' Plan

By TED COLEMAN

The Rev. Arthur M. Brazier, president of the The Woodlawn Organization, renewed his fight against "Negro removal" Tuesday evening in a meeting with Mayor Richard J. Daley concerning the Woodlawn renewal project.

"The people in these neighborhoods found themselves displaced without a chance to return for residency," he said.

Brazier added: "Some might say that the Robert Taylor Homes took care of relocation for persons displaced by the Illinois Tech development, but we say the Robert Taylor Homes are just another manifestation of segregated housing, which we definitely oppose."

Ted Coleman, "Rev. Brazier Opposes 'Negro Removal' Plan," *Chicago Daily Defender*, July 17, 1963

LIVING AND WORKING IN CHICAGO'S NEGRO GHETTO

By JONATHAN POWER

To live in the Negro ghetto of an American city, as my wife and I did while working for Dr. Martin Luther King's Chicago Freedom Movement, was an experience in violence, bitterness and filth. Men would chase each other around our apartment building waving guns; rats would wriggle out of heaps of garbage and run before us when we walked down the alley behind our apartment (the same rats that daily caused deaths of small children with their poisonous bites); prostitutes would accost me as I walked to the corner store. The whole slum suffered from broken spirit and reeked of down-trodden humanity too weak, morally, physically and spiritually, to do anything but riot about it.

The Nobel Prize winner's analysis was like this. The slum was a slum because everything went out of it and nothing went into it. The big landlords were white absentee

The Union to End Slums is preparing to buy and rehabilitate the buildings through a co-operative business organization, using Federal loans under the 1961 Housing Act. Dr. King has already pressed the Government into making a four million dollar loan available. The vision is to build up a vast non-profit organization in the ghetto that will own its own buildings, shops, banks and health services.

Johnathan Power, "Living And Working In Chicago's Negro Ghetto," *The Irish Times*, October 28, 1966

Agency Aids New Community

Taylor Homes Residents Join in Its Activities



Members of Mothers club at Firman house, 37 W. 47th st., planning shopping tours and parent education conferences (from left) are Mrs. B. M. Robbins, 3919 Federal st.; Mrs. Jessie Davis, 4500 State st.; Mrs. Fred Petross, 4848 State

st.; Mrs. Frances Brady and Mrs. Susan Barfield, both of 4525 Federal st.; Miss Dorothy Jones, pre-school director; and Mrs. Eglretta Green, 4535 Federal st. Firman house is located in world's largest housing development, Robert Taylor homes, 4700 State st. (STUBBINS SHIP PHOTO)

Firman house agency, 37 W. 47th st., is a Presbyterian sponsored neighborhood house located in the world's largest housing development — the Robert Taylor homes, 4700 State st. And, said Director William Neal, "We deal with the world's largest problems."

Firman house's goal was to help make a good neighborhood community of the 25,000 strangers who were to occupy the project.

But achievement only makes them more aware of the need to expand services. There are 5,000 pre-school children in the development. The staff would like to see all of them enrolled in the pre-school program.

But the agency's aim is to do itself out of a job. The agency is working for the day when a self-sufficient community will take root to meet the needs of the Taylor residents.



Pre-school children Debra Wilkins and Seretse Black, both of 4525 Federal st., solve puzzles with aid of instructor Mrs. Judith Davis, 5220 University av., in experimental Firman house program designed to prevent high school dropouts at early age.



Michael Green (from left) and Dana Brady, both of 4525 Federal st.; Barbara Johnson, 3844 South Park way, and Allison Perkins, 6949 Wabash av., play house in pre-school experimental program.



Firman house Senior Citizens club meets to make dolls, pillows, other projects. Members (from left) are Mrs. Josephine Buford, 242 W. 46th st.; Mrs. Ollie Anderson, 217 W. Goethe st., instructor; Mrs. Tina Milam, 5738 Calumet av.; and Mrs. Ella Watkins, 4417 Shields av.

Johnathan Power, "Living And Working In Chicago's Negro Ghetto," *The Irish Times*, October 28, 1966

'Accord' Reached At Taylor Homes

OF HOUSING

Among the complaints registered by the tenants were the lack of adequate elevator service; lack of police protection and the danger of attack by

He explained there are 58 elevators in the 28 buildings and service was often delayed because of the vast territory to be covered.

hoodlums who have in some way obtained keys to the laundry rooms in some of the buildings.

"All of this will be improved," he said.

"Accord' Reached at Taylor Homes," *Chicago Daily Defender*, January 15, 1964



LITTER—Catherine Purdy, with one of her children, stands near pile of rotting furniture left outside her court apartment in Watts.



CONTRAST—Smiling school children walking across parking lot of Jordan Downs, one of five low-rent housing projects in Watts area.

THE VIEW FROM WATTS

Neat Little Homes May Be Deceptive Shells

BY JACK JONES
Times Staff Writer

"Houses look fine from the outside, with the lawns and trees, but I've seen the insides and that's something different. They're terrible and you can sympathize with the children you deal with."

So says John Doyle, principal of 102nd Street School in Watts.

Unaccustomed to City
The sprawling, pastel-painted public housing projects which shelter the region's broke and broken families struck many of them

\$50 a month for two bedrooms and the man keeps saying he'll fix things up, but he never has.

One of the bitterest cries of Negroes during the riot... along with the one that white merchants take advantage of them in Watts stores—was over what they called exploitation by absentee real estate owners.

Landlords are charged with subdividing former one-family dwellings and renting them to several families without keeping the property up, finally tearing down rickety structures and selling off the land only when faced with Health Department condemnation.

Report By UCLA

Although the city claims dramatic changes since 1960, the UCLA poverty study published only last December—admittedly hindered by the absence of more recent census figures—noted that Watts is saturated by low-level rentals, "the only type many residents there can afford."

Since early August the Los Angeles community has been seeking the underlying reasons for the Watts riots. Special commissions have been set up, governmental agencies have held hearings, leaders of both the Negro and white communities have publicly voiced their views.

In its quest, The Times went to the people of Watts. Here is the sixth of seven articles, the result of perhaps a hundred interviews and research by a dozen Timesmen, on the view from Watts.

Low-Rent Projects

There is an obvious effort by the City Housing Authority to maintain decent housing for more than 2,500 families—or parts of families—in five low-rent projects in and around Watts.

These people come here mostly from the South. They are unable to cope with California life.

"They come thinking that nearly everyone has a swimming pool and a long car. After coming here they find that they can't keep up so they come to the projects. After they get a job, they move out until they lose the job. Then they are right back again."

There appears to be little feeling among middle-class Negroes that the passage of Proposition 13, giving owners absolute discretion in the sale of property, was a basic factor in the disillusionment producing August's rioting.

"The way to stop ghettos is not to try desperately to confine all Negroes within their present borders," said the organization's newsletter. "The way is to nurture the interracial neighborhoods so that ghettos will no longer be considered inevitable."

"It's the same old, stereotyped story. My husband and I are great kids. We're lovely and beautiful, but we're Negroes. Apartment owners won't take a chance on us because they're afraid other tenants will move out."

"It's only nine months old, but it's so cheaply built it's already falling apart. I pay

Jack Jones, "The View from Watts: Neat Little Homes May Be Deceptive," *Los Angeles Times*, October 15, 1965

Watts Housing Situation Said To Be Alarming

The housing situation in Watts is suffering just as any other part of California and is becoming worse each month.

In 1947, 117,000 new families were added to the population, but only 90,000 new homes were built. These are in addition to the 743,568 families previously reported in urgent need of homes.

The Jordan Downs and Imperial Courts housing projects were to be discontinued in June past, but were given a stay for six months. After six months, they are slated to go. What will happen to these 1000 families of Jordan Downs and Imperial Courts? Where will they go?

"Watts Housing Situation Said to Be Alarming,"
Los Angeles Sentinel, October 28, 1948

U.S. URBAN AGENCY ACTS TO CURB BIAS

Campaign Follows Charges
by Civil Rights Group

By **ROBERT B. SEMPLE Jr.**
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Feb. 12—The Department of Housing and Urban Development, long a target for civil rights groups, is undertaking a campaign against racial discrimination in some of its major housing programs. The campaign involves important changes in present policies.

In a confidential memorandum circulated throughout the department in mid-January, Secretary Robert C. Weaver told the operating heads of his agency either to implement the Administration's non-discrimination regulations or to furnish, by mid-January, a detailed explanation why they cannot carry them out.

Robert B. Semple Jr., "U.S. Urban Agency Acts To Curb Bias,"
New York Times, February 13, 1967

**Planners Urge Big City Outlays
For Improving the Ghetto Areas**

Mr. Elliott said the policy shift was in part a reaction to demands made by ghetto residents at the budget hearings. It also reflected, he said, a feeling among city officials that those people should have schools close to their homes and should be given more community facilities, which high schools provide in the way of recreation areas and meeting rooms.

The commission was sharply critical of the amount and type of Federal aid.

"So far the city has received more national attention than Federal funds," the message declared. "Far too often the [Federal] programs are inadequately funded; they raise expectations faster than they solve problems.

Charles G. Bennett, "Planning Board Asks Big Outlays In Ghetto Areas," *New York Times*, December 30, 1966

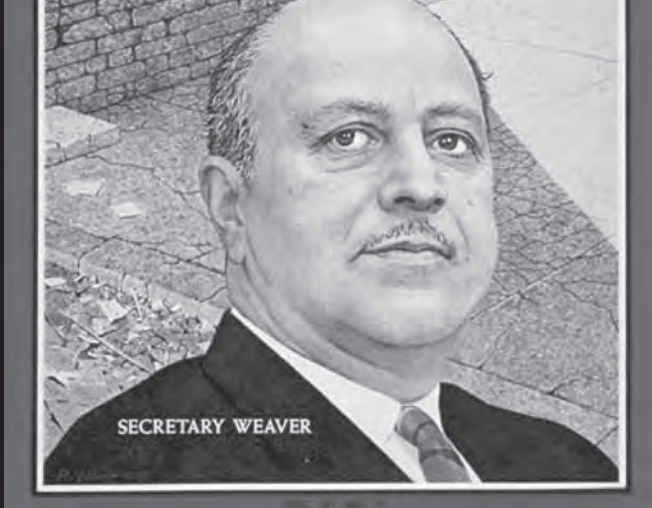
Humphrey Urges War on 'Slumism'

DALLAS, Tex. (AP) — Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey called on the nation's mayors Monday to join the Johnson administration in a war on "slumism," which he said breeds "disorder and demagoguery and hate" in American cities.


"Despite our housing and urban development, and education and health programs, large parts of America's cities are not fit for daily life," the Vice President said.

"Humphrey Urges War on 'Slumism'," *Hartford Courant*, June 14, 1966






"HUD Secretary Robert C. Weaver, Cities: Hope for the Heart," *Time Magazine*, March 4, 1966



**THE
SLAUGHTER
PEN**

By **ADOLPH J. SLAUGHTER**
Weaver And HUD Score Victory



Adolf J. Slaughter, "The Slaughter Pen: Weaver And HUD Score Victory," *Chicago Daily Defender*, November 19, 1966

Appointed in 1961 by President Kennedy to head the Housing and Home Finance Agency, Weaver, almost personally, had been blamed for the "lack of social awareness" which had accompanied most of the nation's urban development during the past five years.

In reading Weaver's memorandum to the President, which describes what HUD has done and hopes to do, it is the "language" of the proposals which suggests that finally the nation is really concerned about developing and redeveloping total communities that take into consideration the "total" human being.

Speaking of the "Model Cities" program which is one of the most dramatic and dynamic of the new programs, Weaver says: "Through this program the cities can deal simultaneously with the gamut of physical, economic, social and human problems of the slums."

He continues: "The most urgent problem is that of making rapid, tangible improvement in the quality of life for those who are confined in urban ghettos. The urban ghetto is the shame of this rich nation."

More explicitly, of "Model Cities," Weaver adds: "The heart of this concept is to permit and assist the local community to concentrate resources in planning, in housing construction and rehabilitation, job training, health facilities, welfare programs, educational programs, all to improve conditions of life in substandard neighborhoods.

"The aim is to demonstrate how a program in one neighborhood can contribute to the healthy growth of the entire city."

Said Weaver: "The cities must go beyond what has been done in the past. They must learn how to involve their people in the work to be done. They must develop and project a community-wide feeling of helping to build for all the people. They must think not only for today but also for tomorrow."

Weaver Encourages Builders
Cities Bill, Rental
Plans to Aid Housing

CHICAGO, Dec. 5 (AP)—The Secretary of Housing and Urban Development today told a depressed home building industry to "see beyond the moment" to a future of change and growth.

HOUSING

Outlining that strategy, he said, "the rent supplements program is sometimes mistakenly interpreted as solely a subsidy to help low income families pay rent. You know it is much more than that—that it is also at the base a housing program . . . it is estimated that the rent supplement program will increase our housing inventory by 50,000 units through 1967."

"The model cities program is at its base a housing program," Weaver said, adding: "But while housing is at the

base, the model cities program goes far beyond housing. It is, in fact, the first attempt ever made in the Nation to develop both a real estate and a human welfare approach to the problems of slums and neglected neighborhoods."

Weaver also mentioned metropolitan planning as a means of orderly development of suburban areas.

"Cities Bill, Rental Plans to Aid Housing," *Washington Post*,
Times Herald, December 6, 1966

U.S. IMPLEMENTING MODEL CITIES BILL

Communities May Apply for Project Planning Funds

By **ROBERT B. SEMPLE Jr.**
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 11—The Administration's major program to improve life in the cities—the Demonstration Cities Act of 1966—got under way today with the announcement that communities may now begin applying for planning funds.

Under the Demonstration Cities Act—known in Administration circles as the "model cities" program—communities select one or more badly blighted neighborhoods and submit a plan for their rejuvenation.

The plan is supposed to include not only housing for different income groups, with emphasis on those at the lower end of the scale, but also the health, welfare, recreation and other social services necessary to change the total environment of the neighborhood's residents.

For example, the local program must provide for widespread citizen participation, provide employment for neighborhood residents, add to the supply of low-income housing, increase public facilities, modernize building and zoning regulations where necessary, enhance neighborhood design and promote cost-reduction techniques in building.

Robert B. Semple Jr., "U.S. Implementing Model Cities Bill,"
New York Time, January 12, 1967

URBAN COALITION URGES U.S. SPUR JOBS FOR MILLION

Conference of 800 Leaders
Calls for New Priorities —
Housing Drive Backed

PRIVATE ROLE STRESSED

Dissatisfaction Is Indicated
With Johnson Response
to Cities' Difficulties

By **ROBERT B. SEMPLE Jr.**
Special to The New York Times
WASHINGTON, Aug. 24—A convocation of more than 800 mayors and business, labor, church and civil rights leaders called on the Government today to "reorder national priorities" and develop "an emergency work program" to provide jobs in the nation's riot-torn cities.
The group, which calls itself the Urban Coalition, held a one-day meeting at the Shoreham Hotel here.



URBAN COALITION: National leaders met yesterday in Washington to examine cities' problems. From right: David Rockefeller, president of Chase Manhattan Bank; Walter P. Reuther, head of the United Auto Workers; Gerald L. Phillippe, chairman of the board of General Electric;

United Press International Telephoto
Mayor Arthur Naftalin of Minneapolis; Irwin Miller; George Meany, head of the A.F.L.-C.I.O.; Andrew Heskell, chairman of Time Inc.; Rabbi Jacob P. Rudin, whose name card is at right, leading prayer; A. Philip Randolph, head of Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; Mayor Lindsay.

allowed to weaken our resolve at home." Later he added:

"If our defense commitment, our commitment to space, or any other commitment made before our urban areas were beset by agony is blocking a vigorous effort to end those agonies, those commitments should be reassessed."

The statement of principles adopted this morning declared:

"We believe the American people and the Congress must reorder national priorities, with a commitment of resources equal to the magnitude of the problems we face. The crisis requires a new dimension of effort in both the public and private sectors, working together to provide jobs, housing, education and the other needs of the cities."

The coalition grew out of a yearlong effort by the big-city mayors to overcome what they felt was "citizen indifference" to city problems.

In a statement of "principles, goals, and commitments," which was adopted by a rousing voice vote shortly before noon, the coalition pledged itself to work for better urban conditions on a variety of fronts.

An Appeal to Washington

Undertake "bold and immediate steps" to provide a decent home for every American, "including the goal of at least a million housing units for lower-income families annually."

Robert B. Semple Jr., "Urban Coalition Urges U.S. Spur Jobs For Million," *New York Times*, August 25, 1967

Housing Can Rebuild Slums and Lives

Today, in the shadow of a summer of conflict, we are faced with a crisis, urban and racial, which is a far more dangerous threat to the stability of our national life than any other problem before us — foreign or domestic.

Urban Collapse

The crisis of the cities defies simple solution. The swelling ghettos are destructive to the people who live in them and threaten the welfare of every major city with strangulation, dry rot and bankruptcy. The long-range prospect of urban collapse in an increasingly urban society should be viewed even more seriously by Americans than the short-range prospect of civil disorder next summer. And yet, to date, the response of white America has been one of

palliatives, band-aids and lollipops.

As a beginning, I would propose the immediate appropriation of \$10 billion for the emergency implementation of existing Federal housing laws administered by the Department of Housing and Urban Development. I would call it Operation Justice.

There is no reason why we shouldn't utilize an emergency construction program to crack open the cycle of poverty. Such

Private Sector, Too

Beyond this is the now widely recognized fact that the job of redeeming the ghettos is too big for government alone. There can be no final breakthrough until the private sector recognizes the full extent of its stake in the current social crisis and until money from major sources is attracted into the ghettos in amounts large enough to do the job that only massive, privately generated moneys can do.

Whitney M. Young Jr., "Housing Can Rebuild Slums and Lives," *New York Times*, November 19, 1967

**BLAME FED. GOVERNMENT
FOR FOSTERING GHETTOS**

WASHINGTON -- The Federal government "is primarily responsible for undergirding a ghetto system that dominates, distorts, and despoils every aspect of life in the United States today."

The charges are part of a 32-page booklet, "How the Federal Government Builds Ghettos," released by Edward Rutledge and Jack E. Wood Jr., the committee's executive and associate directors.

The Committee documents its bill of particulars with what amounts to a case history of Federal Housing operations, beginning in 1938 with FHA regulations that urged the use of restrictive covenants to keep out "inharmonious racial groups."

(Continued on Page 16A)

Today's "Federal establishment," according to the Committee, is guilty mainly of failure to back up its good intentions with affirmative action. "Its sin is not bigotry...but blindness, not a lack of good-will but a lack of will."

No urban renewal grants should go to any community which fails to come up with an overall plan for desegregation.

"The summer soldiers who in defeat and frustration are prepared to make their peace with apartheid and to rebuild the ghettos. AS GHETTOS, must face the stark reality that 'separate but equal' is not only constitutionally and morally wrong but that as a practical matter it simply won't work."

"Blame Fed. Government For Fostering Ghettos," *Call and Post*, February 18, 1967

Rights Group Raps Federal Housing 'Ghettos'

By Robert E. Baker
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Johnson Administration was accused yesterday of permitting an attitude of "amiable apartheid" in Federal housing programs.

come housing; the Federal Housing Administration continues to do business with discriminatory builders, lenders and brokers; urban renewal and highway projects destroy integrated neighborhoods, and Federal aid for hospitals, schools, sewer and water systems are poured into restrictive white communities.

The Administration's new Model Cities Program came in for criticism. NCDH said it could chart a new course in desegregation or repeat the "cycle of ghettoization" for generations to come. NCDH

Robert E. Baker, "Rights Group Raps Federal Housing 'Ghettos'," *Washington Post, Times Herald*, February 9, 1967



The steel brother who lived in this broken home in Watts wanted no more violence. He left the district, presumably never to

return. Today the smashed house stands in a big lot that once boasted a neat lawn, but which now is overgrown with weeds.

Watts Suffers - - After 2 Long Years

By MAGGIE BELLOWS
UPI Urban Affairs Writer
LOS ANGELES — Near Success Ave. on Charcoal Alley is the Watts Happening Coffee House.

Charcoal Alley, officially 163d st., appears much as it did after the smoke and rubble cleared. Clumps of grass push through the abandoned parking lots; there are no new buildings anywhere, homes are empty where people have moved. The only hotel remains boarded up; there is not even a movie house.

Few of the businesses anywhere in the curfew areas have reopened — insurance rates are high and loans difficult to get.

Two years ago, come this hot August, the people of Watts, in Los Angeles, were so sick and tired of the neighborhood that they could think of nothing but to riot and burn it down. Not only that, they ran around killing each other—until 34 lay dead. Nearly two years later, Watts and its people still suffer from a tragic episode whose scars have not healed even yet. But leaders in Watts are fighting gamely—seeking to turn their community's energies into channels that will help rather than hurt the people. The accompanying dispatch describes what a community can do to improve its own fortunes. And perhaps the experience of Watts will indicate the immense importance of keeping other communities "cool" this coming summer.

Maggie Bellows, "Watts Suffers -- After 2 Long Years," *The Chicago Defender*, May 27, 1967

HUD Spells Out Its New Policy: Homes for Poor Will Come First

By William Chapman
Washington Post Staff Writer

Housing officials have spelled out a new urban renewal policy: intended to build more homes for poor people in the crisis-ridden ghettos and fewer luxury apartments and flashy commercial projects.

The emphasis will be on housing for low-income families on facilities that offer jobs for the cities' unemployed, and on rebuilding these sections "with critical and urgent needs."

William Chapman, "HUD Spells Out Its New Policy: Homes for Poor Will Come First," *Washington Post, Times Herald*, June 16, 1967



ARMED CRACKDOWNS: National Guardsmen moved on Watts rioters in Newark's last week in old-fashioned way that...

Race Relations

The Ghetto Explodes in Another City

It was Newark's turn last week. The pattern of racial violence that has scarred cities after cities across the nation, leaving in its wake the coked-in streets, the burned and looted stores, the dead and the injured—and always new legacies of hatred and bitterness—came to the city of 400,000, a 20-minute bus ride across the Hudson River from New York.

By late last night, as National Guardsmen, state troopers and helmeted policemen patrolled the torn streets of Newark's Central Ward—the Negro ghetto—the toll rose to more than 20 dead, with over 1,100 injured and over 1,400 arrested, and property damage in the millions.

But the even larger toll was surely defined by New Jersey Gov. Richard J. Hughes who said Newark was a city in the grip of a "criminal insurrection—a state of 'open rebellion.'" Perhaps even more succinct was the comment of one National Guardsman who said: "This is just like two countries fighting."

It is the "two countries" that has always been at the heart of the violence that exploded in Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant in New York in 1964, in the Watts district of Los Angeles in 1965, in Chicago's West Side and Cleveland's Hough in 1966, and in Cincinnati, Buffalo, Boston, Hartford, Waterloo, Iowa and a score of other communities this spring and "long hot summer" whose end is not yet in sight.

There is the country of the whites—relatively prosperous, untroubled for the most part by insurmountable social and economic barriers, free to shape its own destiny.

And then there is the country of the Negroes—a country whose capital is the ghetto, whose constitution states that "all men are created equal, but Whites come first," and whose statistics still spell out a largely unimproving picture, despite new laws on the books, of higher unemployment than the whites, poorer education, poorer housing, poorer—yes, sicker.

Mayor's Prediction

"I do not believe there will be any mass violence in Newark this summer," said Mayor Hugh J. Addonizio last May. The Mayor, a Democrat and former Congressman with a liberal voting record on civil rights and other issues, was not being a blind Pollyanna. Newark, half of whose population is Negro—the largest proportion of any city in the North—had been comparatively free of serious racial trouble. Mayor Addonizio, with some justification, credited efforts by his administration to improve community relations as a factor.

But the Mayor—like other mayors across the country—had only limited power to deal with the basic combustible elements that keep every Negro ghetto in the country today at the flash point.

For the past 15 years Newark

has been struggling to cope with a growing low-income population. In 1950, the city had the highest proportion of dilapidated housing in the nation. A slum clearance program has helped somewhat, but it has barely touched the worst ghettos—the Central Ward. In recent months, Newark's Negro community has been agitated by efforts by city officials to clear some 20 acres in a shabby Negro neighborhood for the site of the State College of Medicine and Dentistry. They have also been protesting about the rising unemployment among ghetto residents, and about an attempt to appoint a white City Councilman to a post on the Board of Education, rather than a Negro now serving as the city's budget director.

The explosion when it came was

ignited off—in the so often been the case in racial riots—by a relatively minor incident.

Last Wednesday, Negroes gathered at the Fourth Precinct station house to protest the alleged parking of a Negro taxi driver by police. Tempers rose and the demonstrators let fly a hail of stones and bottles that broke almost every window in the police station.

Then the violence spread as Negro youths ransacked the streets, smashed windows and looted stores, and hurled rocks at police.

On Thursday the rampaging grew worse. Negroes, some now armed, hurled stones, battled with forces trying to control the blaze, and took up positions on rooftops to exchange shots with

police. In the early hours of Friday morning, Mayor Addonizio, declaring the situation "outrageous," telephoned Governor Hughes for National Guard reinforcements. About 2,000 National Guardsmen rolled into the city in convoys of tanks and trucks. But the sniper fire, the violence and the bayonets, and "hospital emergency rooms were soon overloaded with scores of injured persons, many in critical condition."

As fires smoldered the scenes of riot and destruction that made parts of the city look like a battlefield, there was an almost carnival atmosphere. Negro housewives calmly invaded shops and supermarkets, they did not hear Negroes saying "Soul Brother!"—a kind of password among Negroes during the riot—and walked off with everything they could carry. Saw one woman as she filed hand off a supermarket, everything he gets. Whitey ain't about to get up off of anything unless you make him."

Nearly, several teenagers danced

and laughed. In their belt yellow was scuffed the "shades. Governor the shuttling. "It's a funeral."

It was a surreal of some the Mayor, I caught (tearful and order. "I single and they be drawn be place in. A Hughes said:

But that's beyond it lay which the Negro community since, group sharp white's. He has given a most ideal. "back power" ously challenge to act now, I cease the war long.



DISCUSSES THE RIOTS: Robert C. Weaver, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, said that disturbances in Negro communities have been caused by "decades of neglect."

"Race Relations: The Ghetto Explodes in Another City," *New York Times*, July 16, 1967

RIOT PREVENTION URGED BY WEAVER

He Tells Senate Hearing of
Long Neglect and Bias

WASHINGTON, July 17—An Administration spokesman told Congress today that riots in Newark and other American cities had resulted from "decades of neglect and discrimination" and could be prevented from spreading only by "basic, gigantic, well-directed positive action."

Mr. Weaver then paraphrased what he said in his prepared statement—that the riots in Newark "underscore the immediacy of the problems of our cities," and that Congress should place priority on "initiating as quickly as possible relevant programs that are already authorized."

He explained that he was referring to the \$400-million model cities program, cut by almost half by the House, and the rent supplement program, for which the House refused to appropriate any new funds at all.

"Riot Prevention Urged By Weaver," *New York Times*,
July 18, 1967

Failure in the Movement . . .

A massive failure of political genius and leadership lies behind the riots that leap from city to city. We are now hearing from the people who

A failure on this scale cannot be laid to any one man. It has to be traced through many levels of society. It is a failure shared by all those who claim to speak for the slum, all those who claim to speak for the Negro, all those who claim to speak for the Nation.

The civil rights movement is now in the process of collapsing, while its established and traditional leaders sit silent and shaken. Perhaps they do not

nonviolent methods deteriorated. The movement is now fragmenting, from within, with the force of a hand grenade. The element of moral leadership is being destroyed, and that loss is a national catastrophe.

. . . And in the Capital

In every national emergency, the country's attention automatically swings to Washington. In the present riots, the Nation's leadership has not distinguished itself.

The Republican statement suggests, in one particularly irrational passage, that the riots are owed to President Johnson's veto of the unconstitutional District crime bill. One may point out that the District crime bill does not affect law enforcement in Michigan. The Republicans charge

Senator Brooke's proposal for a congressional investigation is a more useful one. But the investigation looks toward a rather distant future, and the Nation needs guidance immediately.

The slum riots are a particularly dangerous form of primitive anti-politics. To control and end them

"Failure in the Movement . . .," *Washington Post, Times Herald*,
July 26, 1967

Housewives Protest Plans For Housing in Forest Hills

About 30 housewives picketed Queens Borough Hall yesterday morning to protest the city's plans to build a low-cost housing project in middle-class Forest Hills.

Last week, the City Planning Commission approved the erection of the 828-apartment project on a site bounded by Horace Harding Expressway, 108th Street, 62d and Colonial Avenues. The Board of Estimate is to act on the proposal at its meeting Thursday.

The women pickets carried such signs as "Parks and Schools Before Population Explosion," and "Low Cost Housing at High Expense."

Sidney Levis, Deputy Borough President, met briefly with them and told them that Borough President Mario J. Carillo had not yet decided what action he would take at the Board of Estimate meeting.

"Housewives Protest Plans For Housing in Forest Hills," *New York Times*, December 6, 1966



12th Street during the 1967 riot in Detroit, Detroit, MI, 1967, featured in the *Detroit Free Press*, July, 1967





Grand River near 12th Street during the 1967 riot in Detroit, Detroit, MI, 1967, featured in the *Detroit Free Press*, July, 1967



The National Guard patrols the streets during the riot, Detroit, MI, 1967, featured in the *Detroit Free Press*, July, 1967

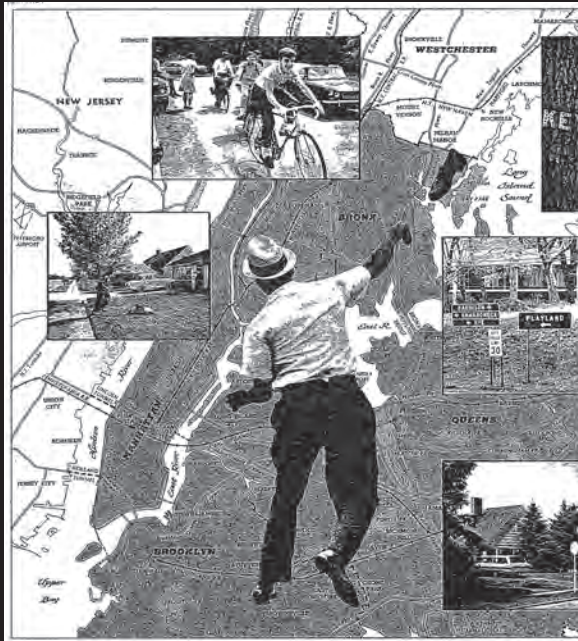




Troops on Linwood Avenue, Detroit, MI, 1967, featured in the *Detroit Free Press*, July, 1967

The White Exodus To Suburbia Steps Up

By HERBERT J. GANS



GREATER (& GREATER) NEW YORK—The growth of American suburbia, fed by the yearning for a home of one's own, raises problems for urb and suburb alike—problems that are compounded by the quickening tempo of Negro protest in the city ghettos.

IN this unpredictable world, nothing can be predicted quite so easily as the continued proliferation of suburbia. Not only have American cities stopped growing for more than a generation, while the metropolitan areas of which they are a part were continuing to expand lustily, but there is incontrovertible evidence that another huge wave of suburban home building can be expected in the coming decade.

Only simple addition is necessary to see that by the mid-seventies, they will be fashioning another massive suburban building boom, provided of course that the country is affluent and not engaged in World War III. The new suburbia may not look much different from the old; there will, however, be an increase in the class and racial polarization that has been developing between the suburbs and the cities for several generations now. The suburbs will be home for an ever larger proportion of work-

ing-class, middle-class and upper-class whites; the cities, for an ever larger proportion of poor and non-white people. The continuation of

The urban crisis will worsen, and although there is no shortage of rational solutions, nothing much will be done about the crisis unless white America permits a radical change of public policy and undergoes a miraculous change of attitude toward its cities and their populations.

The urban crisis will worsen, and although there is no shortage of rational solutions, nothing much will be done about the crisis unless white America permits a radical change of public policy and undergoes a miraculous change of attitude toward its cities and their populations.

Although these trends may not be so apparent to New Yorkers, who live in a world capital rather than in a typical American city, both urban and suburban growth have almost always taken the form of single family houses, first on large lots and later, as less affluent city dwellers could afford to move out, on smaller lots. Even inside most American cities—

HERBERT J. GANS, a sociologist-planner on the staff of the Center for Urban Education and the faculty of Teachers College, Columbia, wrote "The Levittowners: Ways of Life and Politics in a New Suburban Community."

Herbert J. Gans, "The White Exodus To Suburbia Steps Up," *New York Times*, January 7, 1968

Cities Systems Blamed For Black Rebellion

SING

GREENSBORO, N.C. — The answer to rebellion in the nation's cities lies with changing the system that breeds the rebellion, a Negro urban specialist said here.

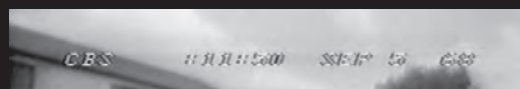
In remarks following his address, France said the open housing clause in the Civil Rights bill passed recently by the Senate falls short of what is needed.

"This measure is a compromise," added France, "and does not provide all that is necessary. It does not provide the full and free access to housing for all people."

France said he thinks that the recent Kerner Report on riots in the nation is an accurate picture of the situation. "The only thing wrong is

that the report contains some of the same things contained in the riot report of 1919. Fifty years have passed and nothing has been done.

"Cities Systems Blamed For Black Rebellion," *Chicago Daily Defender*, March 23, 1968





Atlanta representatives try to keep racial situation cool, Atlanta, GA, September 05, 1968, CBS Evening News

LESSON OF LOS ANGELES

A Call for New Thinking About Race Relations in the Big City



Theodore H. White, political commentator and author ("The Making of the President 1964"), was in Los Angeles during the riots. He surveyed the Watts area from a helicopter and by car, and then wrote this article solely for the Los Angeles Times.



This drawing by Oliver Fawcett

For the tragedy that happened in Los Angeles, there can be no expiation—except that all of us, white and black, must learn something from it.

What the four-day festival of hate taught was that too much current American thinking on civil rights, as they apply to our great cities, is dogma—and dogma so far out of touch with reality as to touch on absurdity.

The absurdities run from the tactical doctrine of soldiers on riot control in the streets, all the way through to the civil rights philosophy of moral absolutism from "immoral laws." What will replace these dogmas is, at the moment, a mystery with which the best minds in Los Angeles are struggling; but on the solution to this mystery the future of domestic tranquility in all American cities may now rest.

Theodore H. White, "Lesson of Los Angeles: A Call for New Thinking About Race Relations in the Big City," *Los Angeles Times*, August 22, 1965

JERRY GILLAM

HOUSING

Negro Assemblyman Looks at Riots, Sees Failure in Leadership



Dymally

A Negro assemblyman whose district includes part of the greater Watts area made a rather unusual observation about the recent riots the other day by accepting some of the blame for them.

Assemblyman Mervyn M. Dymally (D-Los Angeles) told a press conference that he felt the riot-

ing was in part a revolt against the Negro leadership - and this included himself.

"We've got to give these people better housing and vocational training."


"A time has come when the entire community, both Negro and white" Dymally said, "must double or triple its efforts to build better inter-group relations and to eliminate the real causes of economic deprivation.

"The riot-torn area has more than its share of unemployment, school drop-outs, families with dependent children and sub-standard housing."

★

Jerry Gillam, "Negro Assemblyman Looks at Riots, Sees Failure in Leadership," *Los Angeles Times*, August 26, 1965

To Be Equal



By
WHITNEY YOUNG, JR.

A Time For Reason

Senseless and irrational as they are, the riots have shown America's deep frustrations and bitterness in the ghettos. These feelings are the result of joblessness, poor housing, poor schools, and discrimination. The way to ease tensions is to improve these conditions, not to worsen them.

America has to bring peace and prosperity to our neglected urban areas. The necessary programs — like job training and better housing and education — shouldn't be seen as expenses, but as investments which will yield great benefits to the nation.

Whitney M. Young Jr., "To Be Equal: A Time for Reason," *Chicago Daily Defender*, August 19, 1967

Riots Panel Tells Truth

The Kerner report, which shook America's conscience, may have sounded the warning soon enough to prevent this nation from plunging into a race war of unparalleled ferocity. After eight months of intensive study of the 1967 big-city riots, the bipartisan National Commission on Disorders, reported that bias and segregation threaten to split the United States into two societies, one black, one white — "separate and unequal."

The Negro press and civil rights organizations have been pointing this out to the nation for more than a decade. While there is nothing new in the report, the commission, headed by Governor Otto Kerner, did emphasize in stern language the severity of the sickness with which the American society is afflicted and prescribe the needed remedy.

"White racism is essentially responsible for the explosive mixture which has been accumulating in our cities since the end of World War II."

"Riots Panel Tells Truth," *Chicago Daily Defender*, March 5, 1968

Negroes and Rights

New Controversy in the Wake of the Kerner Rep

"It is time to adopt strategies for action that will produce quick and visible progress. It is time to make good the promises of American democracy to all citizens . . ."

"I want an anti-riot bill!"

The Advisory Commission, headed by Gov. Otto Kerner of Illinois, had set forth a sweeping program for alleviating racial ills. It may already have had some effect in moving the Senate last week toward passage of a civil rights bill with a broad open housing provision.

But perhaps the greatest hope from the commission's point of view was the news that Americans by the hundreds of thousands were obtaining copies of the report, through the newsstands or government channels.

Awareness of that fact may have accounted for the Senate vote on Monday that halted unlimited debate on civil rights thus clearing the way for action on open housing and protection of Negroes and civil rights workers.

"Negroes and Rights: New Controversy in the Wake of the Kerner Rep," *New York Times*, March 10, 1968

A KENNEDY PLAN SEEKS SLUM JOBS AND LOWER RENTS

Senator Hopes to Induce
Private Capital to Build
Housing in the Ghettos

WILL OFFER BILLS SOON

Federal Subsidies Would Reduce Cost to the Poor While Raising Profits

By **ROBERT B. SEMPLE Jr.**
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 4 — Senator Robert F. Kennedy, following months of study and consultation with leaders in industry and the universities, has completed and will soon present in the Senate two major proposals for an attack on slum problems.

The proposals will seek to create more jobs for the ghetto poor and to build more and better low-rent housing.

Both aim at these objectives through essentially the same mechanism: a partnership of Government and private enterprise, with private enterprise providing the capital and government providing the incentives to induce business to put that capital to work in the slums.

Robert B. Semple Jr., "A Kennedy Plan Seeks Slum Jobs And Lower Rents," *New York Times*, July 5, 1967

AID TO POOR ASKED FOR OWNING HOMES

Abrams Asserts Percy Plan Is 'Well Intentioned'

Special to The New York Times

CAMBRIDGE, Mass., May 15 —Charles Abrams, the housing authority, gave strong support today to proposals to facilitate home ownership by the poor.

He said that such ownership would free the poor family from dependency on a landlord and would give the poor family "something it can call its own some pride in possession and a better stake in the community."

A plan to encourage home ownership by the poor was proposed recently by Senator Charles H. Percy, Republican of Illinois. It won immediate support from all Republican Senators, but came under attack from housing officials in the Johnson Administration as a panacea and a gimmick.

Under the Percy plan, a national home ownership foundation would be created to provide mortgage funds for poor families seeking to buy low cost

"Aid to Poor Asked for Owning Homes," *New York Times*, May 16, 1967

INSURANCE GROUPS TO INVEST BILLION IN SLUM PROPERTY

Most of First Funds Will Be
Directed Toward Housing
in the High-Risk Areas

PRESIDENT IS JUBILANT

Hails Private Capital Aid for
Cities and Sees New Hope
for Rent Supplements

By MAX FRANKEL

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 13 — The nation's major life insurance companies reported to President Johnson today that they were ready to invest \$1-billion in ghetto real estate, mostly housing at the start.

Most of the initial investments are expected to go into projects whose tenants qualify for rent supplements, a two-year-old Federal program to stimulate urban building that is still fighting for Congressional acceptance.

President Johnson and his aides were jubilant at what they regarded as a major breakthrough in steering private capital into urban development. They were hopeful that the announcement would save the rent supplement program this year.



MEET ON URBAN PROBLEMS: President Johnson with Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen, center, and Governor Rockefeller at the White House yesterday. Behind Senator Dirksen is Roy Wilkins, executive director of the N.A.A.C.P. Joseph A. Califano Jr., Presidential assistant, stands at right.

Max Frankel, "Insurance Groups To Invest Billion In Slum Property," *New York Times*, September 14, 1967

Breakthrough in the Slums

The long-discussed need to apply the vast resources of the private economy to the problems of slums has finally been met with action. This is the meaning of the decision of the nation's life insurance companies to invest \$1 billion in ghetto real estate.

What the life insurance companies have done is to subordinate short-run economic interest to the nation's and their own longer-run interests. Much of

Immediate effect of the plan is to give needed stimulus to the Administration's flagging rent-supplement program. Until now there had been scant hope

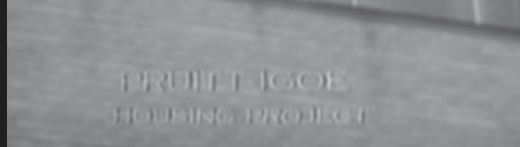
The pattern now set of creative private-government partnership to help attack the problems of the urban disadvantaged could radically alter the character of American cities in the years ahead if it is energetically followed up. No more important challenge now faces the nation's private sector than that of expanding and deepening the breakthrough pioneered by the life insurance industry.

"Breakthrough in the Slums," *New York Times*, September 15, 1967



President Lyndon B. Johnson presents a souvenir pen to Mr. and Mrs. Lupe Arzola during the signing of the Fair Housing Act outside the Department of Housing and Urban Development, Washington D.C., 1968, *Associated Press*, August 01, 1968





Tenants at the Pruitt-Igoe Housing Project go on rent strike, St. Louis, Missouri, July 11, 1969, NBC Evening News



Anti-poverty program invites tourists to Appalachia, where 10-15% are unemployed and 40% of the housing is sub-standard, Mingo County, WV, July 10, 1969, CBS Evening News



F HOUSING

Federal government gave 1st award to encourage development of new cities; Washington, DC to give up to \$21 Million to a development corporation for planning a new city near Minneapolis called Jonathan, Walter Cronkite, February 13, 1970, CBS Evening News

A House "for Every American Family"

It is distressing that in all of 21 years this country still has not quite met the public housing goal that, back in 1949, it set out to meet in six years. It is even more distressing that much of the public housing we have built is woefully deteriorating for lack of proper maintenance, though the poor pay proportionally higher rent for it than the average American spends on housing.

The goal of the 1949 Housing Act, vigorously supported by the late, conservative Sen. Robert Taft (R-Ohio), was to build 810,000 units in six years so that within a foreseeable future every American family could "live in a decent home in a suitable living environment." To date we have built only

people who cannot afford to buy housing. The ever up-going market price keeps increasing. In fact, as the Kerner, Douglas and other commissions have found, government programs such as urban renewal, federal freeways and other public works have, in the past decade or so, destroyed more housing of the poor than have been built.

The Housing Act of 1968 brought new hope. It promised six million low-cost housing units in 10 years, or 600,000 units a year. Since last year, under a Housing Act Amendment proposed by Rep. Lowell P. Weicker (R-Conn.), the urban renewers (though not the freeway builders) can no longer tear down the homes of the poor without first building replacement housing for them. But we are again

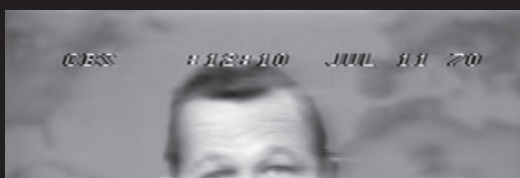
The public housing authorities of Washington, D.C., Newark and St. Louis are broke. Another 40 local authorities, says HUD, are running out of funds to keep their projects "decent, safe and sanitary," as that forbidding public housing phrase has it. And you can't blame it all on inflation or the fiscal squeeze or the war or warped national priorities or a callous Congress. The public housing directors from 19 major cities, who stormed into Washington the other day, blame it squarely on HUD.

The average public housing tenant now pays 18 to 19 per cent of income, which is already quite a bit higher than the national average 16.4 per cent of income.

Sen. Edward W. Brooke (R-Mass.), who had

no further bureaucratic doubts. He also introduced a bill that would, on an experimental basis, subsidize low-income people rather than low-cost buildings. In other words people who are eligible for public housing but can't get it, could move into any privately leased apartment they can find and the government would pay the difference between 25 per cent of their monthly income and a fair rent. To prevent landlords from unduly raising rents to exploit this program it would, initially at least, be confined to cities with a high vacancy rate. The idea is certainly worth a try.

"A House For Every American Family," *Washington Post*, *Times Herald*, July 30, 1970





Housing Act set off new building program approach. Federal program lets low-income families buy new homes, Raleigh, NC, July 11, 1970, CBS Evening News

U.S. Aid Calls... **Housing Picture 'Bleak'**



Samuel C. Jackson, the President's special secretary for Metropolitan Planning and Development, Department of Housing and Urban Development, speaking before the Downtown Real Estate Board last week on the nation's housing crisis.

Samuel Jackson, the federal government's assistant secretary for Metropolitan Development, speaks before the Downtown Real Estate Board in Chicago last week, cited America's housing shortage as the nation's number one problem.

In terms of dollars and cents, Jackson listed inflation as the root of U.S. housing finance ills, which the government is attempting to control by tightened fiscal policies.

"Housing always tends the most severe crisis of the economic situation induced by monetary control," observed Jackson.

"These conditions are critical. And due to lack of the flexibility of this nation are far-reaching," warned Jackson. "If inflation cannot be reversed, then the housing market cannot be stimulated and living conditions for millions of Americans may go from bad to worse."

Jackson said the nation's housing problems are aggravated by "institutionalization of people — the pattern of sex and black rental color and white middle class suburbs."

"Macheteism — not housing, is the real issue in equality of education," he pointed out. "If restrictive zoning codes did not bar us as a black, brown, and poor white from living in certain areas, then housing subsidies in other neighborhoods would be unnecessary."

CITIES FACE NEW CRISIS ON HOUSING

U.S. Rules Shift Would Lower Cost Ceilings On Public Projects

By ARNOLD H. ISAACS
Washington Bureau of The Sun
Washington, May 29—The Department of Housing and Urban Development has prepared new regulations that could cripple public housing construction in the nation's major cities.

Embry Comments
"We want to be sure that in an attempt at economy they don't just choke the whole program off," Mr. Gluckman said in a telephone interview. " . . . This will force the development of public housing units away from where they tend to be produced now and out into the suburban and rural areas."

The majority of housing authorities engaging in new construction say they can't build anything within the new limits."

Purpose Explained

is, Mr. Gullidge wrote: "Our purpose is to build quality housing at the best possible price. The essence of the procedure is to establish at the outset a maximum price, and thereby avoid the delays for review and redesign so often required under the present system."

Arnald H. Isaacs, "Cities Face New Crisis On Housing," *The Baltimore Sun*, May 30, 1970





US Housing and Urban Development Secretary George Romney to visit Chicago, Illinois housing projects. Gang Violence in the Cabrini Green project, Chicago, IL, July 31, 1970, ABC Evening News



Blacks move to suburbs at an increasing rate; zoning laws restrict movement, NJ, July 13, 1970, NBC Evening News



NBC 11:00:53 SEP 16 70

F HOUSING

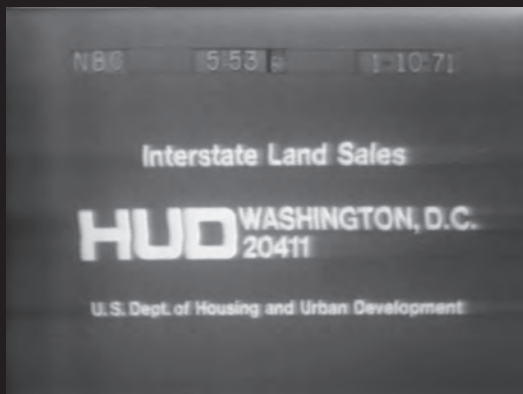


NBC 11:05:00 SEP 16 70



NBC 11:10:00 SEP 16 70

Blacks and police continue fight in Desire Housing Project, New Orleans, LA, September 16, 1970, NBC Evening News



NBC 11:53:16 SEP 10 71

Interstate Land Sales

HUD WASHINGTON, D.C.
20411

U.S. Dept. of Housing and Urban Development

Commercial: Department of Housing and Urban Development, January 10, 1971, NBC Evening News



Residents at Pruitt-Igoe dedication, 1955. Courtesy St. Louis Today, http://www.stitoday.com/news/local/metro/article_e2a30e7c-f180-5770-8962-bf6e8902efc1.html



The demolition of Pruitt Igoe Houses, St. Louis, MO, 1972, *Associated Press*, April 21, 1972

Calendar No. 614		
92D CONGRESS } 2d Session	SENATE	{ REPORT No. 92-647
 HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 1972		

REPORT
OF THE
COMMITTEE ON
BANKING, HOUSING AND URBAN AFFAIRS
UNITED STATES SENATE
TO ACCOMPANY
S. 9248
TOGETHER WITH
INDIVIDUAL VIEWS



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Housing and Urban Development Act of 1972

Letters to The Times

Nixon's Moratorium on Housing Subsidies

EDMUND D. EDELMAN
Councilman
Fifth District
Los Angeles

I have had the opportunity to read your editorial (Jan. 18), "Failure on Low-Income Housing." While I feel that some of the federal housing programs may need adjustments, I am completely opposed to the President's housing moratorium.

As your editorial points out, "There is no perfect way to provide low-cost housing, but decency and justice demand that the effort be made." President Nixon's answer to the problems in low-cost housing is contrary to the demands of both decency and justice. His answer has been to make no effort at all.

Rather than developing an acceptable alternative to the current programs, rather than giving the Congress a deadline by which to develop a program of their own, the President has adopted an attitude of "let's just end it and then we'll see."

Edmund D. Edelman, "Letters to The Times: Nixon's Moratorium on Housing Subsidies," *Los Angeles Times*, January 23, 1973

The Housing Freeze

As we see it, federal guidance and support of the nation's housing and urban development affect more than the people in need of decent housing or the cities, rural communities and vast metropolitan areas in need of orderly development. They also affect our entire national economy and—we say this quite soberly—the public welfare and domestic tranquility.

We agree, and have often said, that some housing programs have not been as effective as was hoped and that after three decades of trial and error our national urban policies are in need of thorough review and overhaul. That is why Congress, two years ago, asked that a new national urban growth policy be formulated—a request which the Nixon administration has all but ignored. A serious effort to devise such a comprehensive policy will undoubtedly also find that some of the programs the administration has now shoved into the freezer have been socially useful and nationally important.

citizens' groups, ranging from welfare mothers to mortgage bankers, has pointed out—that this "temporary holding action" will grievously aggravate our urban frustrations.

In the Washington metropolitan area alone, more than a hundred million government assistance dollars have been frozen. The multiplier effect is distressing to contemplate not only in terms of the economy, but also in terms of dashed hopes.

And if you consider that at least one quarter of the nation, to paraphrase Franklin D. Roosevelt's famous speech during the Depression, are still ill-housed, we already have an awful lot to catch up with. Mr. Lynn thus has a fearful responsibility indeed. He and the administration must, as Mr. Romney promised, "summon the courage and strength to face underlying critical issues we have postponed for too long."

"The Housing Freeze," *Washington Post, Times Herald*,
January 15, 1973

The Cost of a Housing Act

The good news in housing legislation is that for the first time since 1968 there will probably be some comprehensive community development. The bad news is

The Housing Act of 1968 in the Johnson Administration set major housing goals for the nation: 20 million housing units—six million of them for the poor—were to be built in a decade. Between 1969 and 1973, housing starts averaged over two million per year, and 1.5 million of those eight million units were designated for low-income families. Despite this record, the present Administration declared the subsidized housing programs for poor and moderate income families to be failures and in January 1973 froze new Federal commitments to them.

Finally, the House in a major break with the past has scrapped the principal housing subsidy programs in favor of a leased housing and direct subsidy program. Opponents of this approach argue that it would drive the poor, unprotected, into an open market with little increase in the housing available to them. The result, it is argued, would be a small increase in housing for the poor but a substantial increase in what they pay for it.

Proponents of the House bill call it a "small city bill" and an achievable compromise. They acknowledge that it edges the Federal Government away from the leadership role it has taken in confronting the most urgent concerns and in alleviating the problems of the urban poor. They argue that the political realities of the Administration's attitudes, increased non-urban representation in Congress and growing problems in suburbia must be faced if legislation is to be achieved this year.

The price of achieving housing legislation this year may be high; but we think the cost which the House approach would extract from the cities and from the poor is far too high.

"The Cost of a Housing Act," *New York Times*, July 2, 1974

The Evolution of Housing Concepts: 1870-1970

Kenneth Frampton, final draft, excerpt from the forthcoming catalog
Another Chance for Housing: Low-Rise Alternatives

The Museum of Modern Art June 12 - August 19, 1973

Many of the received models of modern architecture and planning owe their ultimate origin to the building code and public health reform movements of the second half of the 19th century. As such they emerged as attempts first to accommodate and then to control the escalation in urban population that had risen to crisis proportions by the middle of the century. The first reaction to this spontaneous urbanization

human living conditions. The second reaction was to legislate against the more brutal aspects of this instant housing and to postulate alternative models for the accommodation of the urban populace; models which would provide higher standards of space, access, light, ventilation, heat and sanitation. The third and final reaction, from the point of view of basic model making, was to propose the gradual disurbanization of rich and poor alike; to advocate the planned dispersal of their urban congestion, at locations and densities which were clearly intended to be rural. Where the first reaction engendered the promis-

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In each instance the proposed models of built form were not neutral in respect to either the physical differentiation of public space or the physical pattern that would necessarily result from their wholesale repetition. In either case, particularly after the turn of the century, the full urban consequences of adopting 'open city' or or garden city models, be they urban or suburban, were not foreseen.

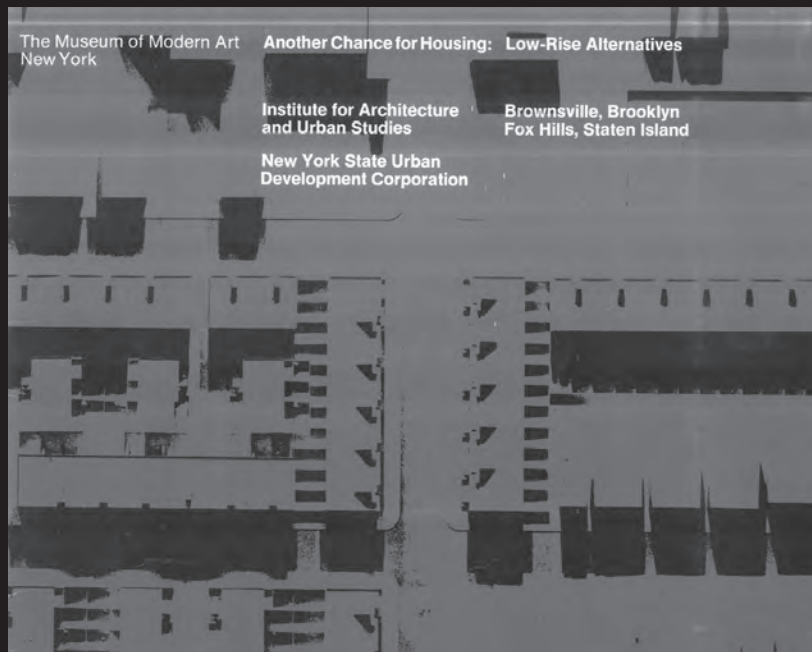
liferation of a corrupted garden city model. Such men displayed little awareness for the potential of this model to degenerate into the ribbon and track house development of the 20th century.

The Evolution of Low Rise Housing: 1948-1966

The first stirrings in this direction were to come immediately after the war, just at that moment when the isolated tower or slab and the open row house had become universally accepted as standard components for the planning of residential areas. Paradoxically enough Le Corbusier was to make some of

It would be too much to claim that low rise high density has begun to resolve the antagonistic split that opened up in the last quarter of the 19th century between town and country, but at least one may finally acknowledge its pertinence as a mediator in an era when the time honoured distinctions between urban and rural are rapidly disappearing.

Kenneth Frampton, "The Evolution of Housing Concepts: 1870-1970," *Museum of Modern Art: Another Chance for Housing: Low-Rise Alternatives*, June 12 - August 19, 1973



Introduction

As its name might suggest, the Museum of Modern Art, through its Department of Architecture and Design, is concerned with the art of architecture. It recognizes — indeed it insists — that architecture even more than the other arts is bound up with ethics, social justice, technology, politics, and finance, along with a lofty desire to improve the human condition. Pending such improvement, however, we must continue to exist in the realm of contingencies, and the particular contingency with which we are here concerned is: how should the architect's art be used to devise humane housing?

It must immediately be acknowledged that any conceivable answer depends on prior assumptions about the meaning of words: art, housing, and humane. But art and housing, like the rest of life, do go on. With or without adequate definitions, where action is required it behooves us to offer some answers, or at least some helpful suggestions.

Toward this end the Museum's Department of Architecture and Design assisted in founding the Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies. The Institute is an independent agency; the Department of Architecture and Design may from time to time collaborate with it in the development of specific proposals, and in the effort to have them implemented where such initiative would seem to promise a perceptible improvement in the built environment.

Among the most important of the problems that both the Institute and the Museum can identify is that of housing. Public policy, determined as much by architects and planners as by other spokesmen of the community (although architects and planners might perhaps wish to deny this) has not lived up to expectations. Performance varies, and it is of the greatest importance that public agencies remain open to changing ideas. New York State is fortunate in that its Urban Development Corporation, under the leadership of Edward J. Logue, is an agency that does remain open to new ideas and in fact seeks to test them. In its collaboration with the Urban Development Corporation the Institute has benefited from their immense practical experience, and the Museum is

pleased to present to the public what it believes is a constructive step toward a significant change in housing policy.

A better understanding of the intentions behind unsatisfactory ideas about housing may yet help us to avoid further pitfalls, and in this regard it is important to emphasize that the term "low rise alternatives" means just that: low rise is not herewith presented as a new panacea destined to sweep away all housing more than four stories high. It is simply an alternative — presumably one of many — and its full utilization remains to be explored. Neither is it new; it has been tried, abandoned, and tried again, now it may finally be given the sustained development it deserves.

Arthur Drexler
Director, Department of
Architecture and Design
Museum of Modern Art

The family housing now being built in the older cities of the United States seems to be falling behind suburban housing from the point of view of affording some sense of identification between the family and its dwelling. The cost of land and the difficulties of relocation have led to an ever greater emphasis on high rise buildings as the standard urban housing solution for families of low and moderate income.

These high rise "projects", as they are usually called, house a great many families on a relatively small amount of land, and they do provide decent living space in quantities which would be difficult to achieve at lower densities. However, their design and landscaping often remain quite sterile.

We at the Urban Development Corporation think the time has come to ask ourselves whether the high rise, rather anonymous solution is the best one for low and moderate income families. Particularly, we ask, is it best for young children.

provide a low rise alternative meetings between the Institute and ourselves over a period of several months, it became clear that there was a consensus to focus on what we have been calling Low Rise High Density housing. In this we had to come to understand just how high was low rise and just how low was high density.

We had to focus particularly on what is called the "bedroom count". In the United States, density is usually expressed in terms of dwelling units per acre, whereas in Europe density is expressed in terms of people per acre.

The Urban Development Corporation has benefited greatly from the fresh perspective of the Institute, and I think it fair to say they, in turn have benefited from our experience with the very real world in which we must operate. Both of us have had to adjust our ideas of what we would like to what we could in fact seek to achieve. I am personally confident that the end result will be widely popular with the families who will live there.

Edward J. Logue
President and Chief Executive Officer
New York State Urban Development
Corporation

Housing Paradox

In his message to Congress on community development, President Nixon adopts a remarkably paradoxical stance toward this nation's housing record.

He first boasts that in the last four years his Administration has provided "more housing assistance than the total provided by the Federal Government during the entire 34-year history of our national housing program preceding this Administration." The percentage of Americans living in substandard housing has dropped dramatically, he reports, and adds: "Americans today are better housed than ever before in our history."

Then the President asserts that the Government's housing programs, now suddenly described as "533 old and wasteful programs," are too expensive and not the answer.

but not good enough. Mr. Nixon presents no bill of particulars and offers no reforms. Instead, he reaffirms the shutting down of the housing programs, promises a substitute within six months and proposes other urban programs be folded into a special revenue-sharing plan.

The programs to be phased out and for which the Administration promises a substitute by next autumn include public housing, rural housing, rent supplements and special programs enacted in 1966 to encourage the construction of privately owned rental housing and to assist low-income families to own their own homes.

A halt to housing subsidies, a revenue-sharing umbrella for urban renewal and Model Cities and an administrative realignment do not add up to a national program for the cities. On the contrary, they express President Nixon's determination to abandon the Federal Government's leadership role in coping with housing and urban problems. Yet without that leadership, too many communities

"Housing Paradox," *New York Times*, March 10, 1973

NEW COMMUNITIES IN THE UNITED STATES: 1968-1973

In 1940 2 out of 10 Americans lived in suburbs. In 1971 the figure was 4 out of 10.

76 million people live in suburbs, 12 million more than in the cities.

The largest 'city' in the USA is now the suburban area of New York with 8.9 million people, one million more than New York City. The New York suburbs cover 2 100 square miles which is a greater area than that of Los Angeles and its suburbs combined.

The outer city is becoming the city, with the same problems of poverty, lack of housing, services and transportation.

Alan Turner, "New Communities In The United States: 1968-1973," *The Town Planning Review*, Vol. 45, No. 3, pp. 259-273., July, 1974



STELLA WRIGHT HOMES

The seven 13-storey brick buildings that comprise the Stella Wright Homes were located in the heart of Newark's Central Ward and housed 4,800 residents.

Within five years of their construction, the buildings began to fail, with inoperable elevators, unpredictable heat and hot water supplies, rat and roach infestation, and inadequate security. All were demolished by 2003.

Armed with a \$35 million HOPE VI grant, Newark redeveloped the area with six hundred townhouses for low- and moderate-income residents. Some units will be rented at fair-market value.

Location
Newark, NJ

Completed
1959

Occupied
1960

Construction Cost
n/a

Architect
n/a

Size
1,179 units
7 buildings

Purpose
public rental housing

Status
demolished, redeveloped



ROBERT TAYLOR HOMES

This, the largest U.S. public housing project at the time of its completion, was intended to house 27,000 people.

The Chicago Housing Authority cleared a two-mile slum on the city's predominantly black South Side, adjacent to the Dan Ryan Expressway.

Each of the twenty-eight 16-storey concrete towers was identical.

Location
Chicago, IL

Completed
1960–63

Occupied
1963

Construction Cost
\$70,000,000

Architect
Shaw, Metz and Associates

Size
4,321 units
28 buildings
92 acres

Purpose
low-income housing
primarily for black residents

Status
demolished
redeveloped as Legends South
see p251



WYCKOFF GARDENS

The 21-storey brick and concrete towers of this project replaced Victorian brownstones in the Boerum Hill neighborhood of Brooklyn.

It was developed by the New York City Housing Authority and funded through HUD.

Still operational, the management of Wyckoff Gardens has been consolidated with the nearby Atlantic Terminal high-rises.

Location
Brooklyn, NY

Completed
1966

Occupied
1966

Construction Cost
n/a

Architect
n/a

Size
527 units
3 buildings
5.81 acres

Purpose
public rental housing

Status
occupied



POLO GROUNDS TOWERS

The New York City Housing Authority erected this project's 30-storey buildings on a site occupied by sports venues since the late-nineteenth century. The most prominent stadium there had belonged to the New York Giants (prior to their move) and briefly to the New York Mets.

The project was adjacent to another NYCHA project, the 1,000-unit Colonial Park.

The towers were designed by David Todd, later chairman of the New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission, and William Ballard, who chaired the New York City Planning Commission in the years prior to their completion.

Location
New York, NY

Completed
1967

Occupied
1968

Construction Cost
n/a

Architect
Ballard/Todd Associates,
Architects

Size
1,612 units
4 buildings
15.15 acres

Purpose
public rental housing

Status
occupied



ROOSEVELT ISLAND

The four housing projects built in Northtown represent the first phase of Roosevelt Island's conversion from municipal (penitentiary, asylum, and hospital) to residential functions. The Island received Title VII status.

The master plan for the site (also called Welfare Island) was created by Philip Johnson and John Bergee in 1969 called for 5,000 units on approximately 20 acres. The Urban

Development Corporation, a state authority that promoted urban renewal in the city, developed the Northtown as part of this plan.

Josep Lluís Sert designed Eastwood (1,003 units), with its triple-loaded corridors leading onto duplex apartments. He and partner Huson Jackson also designed Westview (371 units), while John Johansen and Ashok Bhavnani designed Island

House (400 units) and Rivercross (375 units).

Location
New York, NY

Completed
1969

Occupied
1975–76

Construction Cost
\$188,000,000

Architect
n/a

Size
2,141 units
4 buildings
10 acres

Purpose
affordable rental and co-operative housing

Status
occupied, privatizing



MARCUS GARVEY VILLAGES

Located in the Brownsville neighborhood of Brooklyn, the project served as the Urban Development Corporation's prototype for low-rise, high-density public housing.

The 10-block infill project consisted entirely of brownstone-style concrete duplexes designed by Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies members Arthur Baker, Kenneth Frampton, and Peter Wolf, in association with UDC's

Theodore Liebman, Anthony Pangaro, and J. M. Kirkland.

Location
New York, NY

Completed
1975–76

Occupied
1976

Construction Cost
n/a

Architect
IAUS, with David Todd & Associates

Size
625 units
39 buildings
10 city blocks

Purpose
public rental housing

Status
occupied

Image Citations:

Stella Wright Homes

The National Urban Coalition, *The Stella Wright Strike and the Greater Newark Urban Coalition* (Washington DC, 1975).

The National Urban Coalition, *The Stella Wright Strike and the Greater Newark Urban Coalition* (Washington DC, 1975).

Robert Taylor Homes

Camilo José Vergara, *The New American Ghetto* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1997).

John F. Bauman, Roger Biles, and Kristin Szylvian, *From Tenements to the Taylor Homes: In Search of an Urban Housing Policy in Twentieth-Century America* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000).

Wyckoff Gardens

Image 02.015.16124, Courtesy New York City Housing Authority Collection at LaGuardia Archives, <http://www.laguardiawagnerarchive.lagcc.cuny.edu/defaultb.htm>.

lagcc.cuny.edu/defaultb.htm. Courtesy <http://www.samueljohnson.com/blog/>.

Polo Grounds Towers

Image 02.015.15201, Courtesy New York City Housing Authority Collection at LaGuardia Archives, <http://www.laguardiawagnerarchive.lagcc.cuny.edu/defaultb.htm>.

Image 02.003.42092, Courtesy New York City Housing Authority Collection at LaGuardia Archives, <http://www.laguardiawagnerarchive.lagcc.cuny.edu/defaultb.htm>.

Roosevelt Island

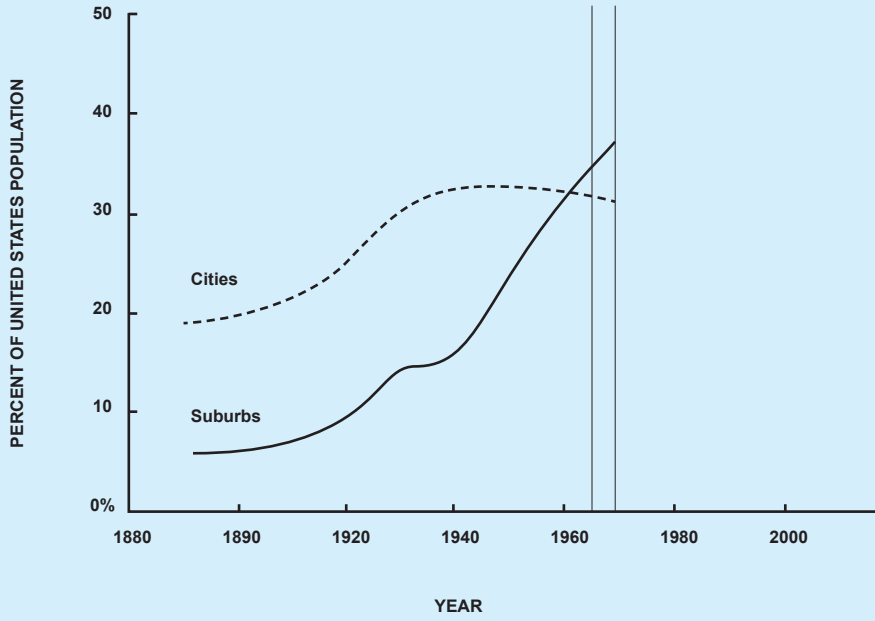
Policy and Design for Housing, Urban Development Corporation, <http://www.udchousing.org>.

Policy and Design for Housing, Urban Development Corporation, <http://www.udchousing.org>.

Marcus Garvey Houses

Gabrielle Bendiner-Viani, Susan Saegert, "Making Housing Home", *Places*, 2007 Summer, v.19, n.2, p.72-79.

Gabrielle Bendiner-Viani, Susan Saegert, "Making Housing Home", *Places*, 2007 Summer, v.19, n.2, p.72-79.



Graph interpreted from Figure 4 in: Robert Beauregard, *When America Became Suburban* (Mineapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), 34.

PRIVATIZATION
1970–2008

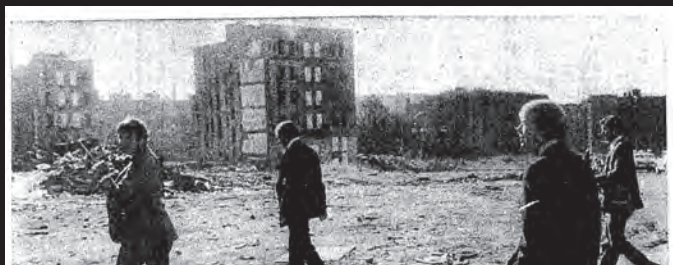
Carter Takes 'Sobering' Trip to South Bronx

Twice Mr. Carter got out of his limousine, walked around and talked to people. He said the Federal Government should do something to help, but he made no specific commitment.

"It was a very sobering trip for me to see the devastation that has taken place in the South Bronx in the last five years. But I'm encouraged in some ways

by the strong effort of tenant groups to rebuild.

"Carter Takes 'Sobering' Trip to South Bronx," *New York Times*, Jul 10, 1977





ING

President Jimmy Carter tours an empty lot near an abandoned housing complex, "Carter Takes 'Sobering' Trip to South Bronx," *New York Times*, Jul 10, 1977



Cabrini-Green Housing Project, featured in the opening and closing credits of the CBS situation comedy *Good Times*, 1974–79

“There is is, ladies and gentleman, The Bronx is burning.”

—Howard Cosell (playing himself), in *The Bronx is Burning* (ESPN Original Entertainment, Tollin/Robbins Productions, 2007).

**LOW-RISE BUILDINGS
URGED IN SOUTH BRONX**

Housing Plan Proposed by Beame
Administration Called Preferable
to High-Density Towers

By MICHAEL STERNE

A new housing strategy for the South Bronx that favors low-rise buildings instead of the tall apartment towers the city has been erecting there was announced yesterday by the Beame administration.

"Many studies have shown that high-rise projects create crime and social problems," he said. "Low buildings put people back into human-scale environments."

to High-Density Towers

By MICHAEL STERNE

A new housing strategy for the South Bronx that favors low-rise buildings instead of the tall apartment towers the city has been erecting there was announced yesterday by the Beame administration.

emerge from the ashes of the old would be a neighborhood of three-to six-story buildings where a stickball slugger once again could slam a home run over a roof. Densities would be reduced dramatically from present-permitted levels of up to 150 families an acre.

Michael Sterne, "Low-Rise Building Urged in South Bronx,"
New York Times, Oct 22, 1977

In general, this is a very excellent piece of legislation. There's one portion of it that does cause me some concern and that's Title VII, which removes the constraints on the building of homes in flood plain areas.

—President Jimmy Carter, remarks on signing the Housing and Community Development Act of 1977

Banks' 'Redlining' of an Area For Racial Reason Ruled Illegal

A Federal district judge has ruled for the first time that "redlining" a neighborhood because of its racial composition is illegal under a provision of the Civil Rights Act of 1968.

Redlining is the practice under which banks have allegedly chosen to deny mortgages in particular neighborhoods.

The act makes it illegal to refuse to sell or rent a dwelling after the making of a bona fide offer, "or otherwise make unavailable or deny a dwelling" to any person because of race, color or national origin.

"Banks' Redlining of an Area for Racial Reasons Ruled Illegal," *New York Times*, Feb 21, 1976

95TH CONGRESS } HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES } REPORT
 1st Session } } No. 95-634

HOUSING AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 1977

SEPTEMBER 26, 1977.—Ordered to be printed

Mr. REUSS, from the committee of conference,
 submitted the following

CONFERENCE REPORT

[To accompany H.R. 6655]

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 6655) to amend certain Federal laws pertaining to community development, housing, and related programs, having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate and agree to the same with an amendment as follows:

In lieu of the matter proposed to be inserted by the Senate amendment insert the following:

SHORT TITLE

SECTION 1. This Act may be cited as the "Housing and Community Development Act of 1977".

TITLE I—COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

OBJECTIVES AND PURPOSES OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITIES

Sec. 101. (a) Section 101(c) of the Housing and Community Development Act of 1974 is amended—

- (1) by striking out "and" at the end of paragraph (6);
- (2) by striking out the period at the end of paragraph (7) and inserting in lieu thereof "; and"; and
- (3) by adding the following new paragraph after paragraph (7):
 - (8) the alleviation of physical and economic distress through the stimulation of private investment and community revitalization in areas with population outmigration or a stagnating or declining tax base."

Conference report, Housing and Community Development Act of 1977

Housing Policy Is Warmed Over, but It Is a Policy

WASHINGTON — "This country suffers from not having an acute housing problem," says Anthony Downs, a student of housing issues at the Brookings Institution. He means that in a nation in which 66 percent of families own their own homes, the millions crammed into Brownsville tenements, into miner's "patches" in Appalachia, into shacks provided for migrant farm workers in Georgia, does not impinge on the political or social consciences of most Americans.

In that sense, the very success of United States housing policies since the Depression has made it difficult to deal with other troubles, as the Carter Administration hopes to do as one component of the urban policy it is expected to announce next week. The middle classes, having reaped the benefits of tax breaks and Federal mortgage insurance to buy their homes, often resent other kinds of public subsidies needed to house the poor.

Some argue that poor housing essentially is the result of a lack of money, and it would be easier, cheaper and fairer to increase welfare payments and let the poor find their own housing. But Mrs. Harris's department and other urban interests respond that housing subsidies do more than provide shelter: They are basic tools in shaping urban revitalization. In this view, where a housing project is placed affects urban development, and direct subsidies can be used to promote economic and racial integration of the suburbs.

"Housing Policy is Warmed over, But It Is a Policy," *New York Times*, Mar 19, 1978

Senate Cuts Housing Bill Back to Carter's Request

WASHINGTON, July 19 — After a confused and sometimes bitter debate over whether the poor were being required to bear the brunt of Government penny-pinching, the Senate tonight cut back a housing bill that critics had termed a "budget buster."

The action, a victory for the Carter Administration, came when the Senate voted 60 to 21 to accept an amendment restoring the bill's funding level for 1979 to what the Administration had requested.

It also put the Department of Housing and Urban Development, a leading proponent of more subsidized housing, in the improbable position of fighting for less than the Senate Committee had wanted to authorize. The department was committed to supporting the President's budget request.

housing for the poor, he said, "It is cruel to look to our lowest-income citizens as

the front line in the battle against inflation."

Inflation 'No. 1 Problem'

Declaring that "inflation is our No. 1 problem today," Mr. Brooke said it was necessary to "strike a balance" between helping the poor and maintaining a healthy economy. Mr. Muskie contended that "we cannot meet total needs."

"Senate Cuts Housing Bill Back to Carter's Request," *New York Times*, Jul 20, 1978

Low-Income Housing Protesters Occupy Carter Offices in 2 Cities

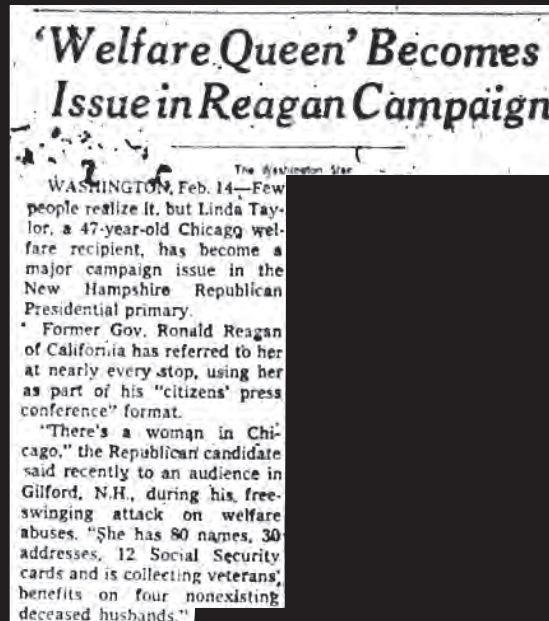
PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 23 (UPI) — Hundreds of protesters occupied Carter-Mondale campaign offices here and in Detroit today to press demands for more low-income housing. There were no arrests.

Here, about 100 protesters representing the Inner City Organizing Network, demanded that squatters be given deeds to abandoned Government-owned properties. In Detroit, about 100 members of the

ties. In Detroit, about 100 members of the Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now demanded inexpensive housing.

OF HOUSING

"Low-Income Housing Protestors Occupy Carter Offices in 2 Cities," New York Times, Oct 24, 1980



"'Welfare Queen' Becomes Issue in Reagan Campaign," Washington Star, Feb 14, 1976



On October 13, four schoolchildren and a teacher died in an explosion at a day-care center in an Atlanta public-housing project.

The blast, which officials have traced to a boiler system that a maintenance company cited as faulty two years ago, focuses new attention on what critics describe as the deplorable state of public-housing facilities that are home to more than 4 million Americans.

Meanwhile, thousands of poor families, with nowhere else to turn, continue to line up for public housing. The waiting time for an apartment can run at least five years or more in many big cities.

"The money argument is a very easy one to raise and, on the surface, is difficult to knock down, but money isn't the problem. It's management."

"Public Housing--Same Old Sad Tale," *U.S. News & World Report*, Oct 27, 1980

Cabinet Aide Greeted By Reagan as 'Mayor'

WASHINGTON, June 18 (AP) — President Reagan was making his way down a line of mayors visiting the White House, shaking hands, when he came to Samuel R. Pierce Jr., his Secretary of Housing and Urban Development.

"Hello, Mr. Mayor," Mr. Reagan said to Mr. Pierce. By the time he got to his seat, the President either realized or was told he had made a mistake.

"I'm saying hello to so many mayors I think I even called my own Secretary 'Mr. Mayor,' didn't I, Mr. Secretary?" Mr. Reagan asked. Mr. Pierce laughed and the others joined with him.

"Cabinet Aide Greeted by Reagan as 'Mayor,'" *New York Times*, Jun 19, 1981

Q&A: Samuel R. Pierce Jr.

On the Cutbacks in H.U.D. Programs

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 17 — Like many Federal officials, Samuel R. Pierce Jr., the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, has spent much of the past month resisting specific cuts in the budget of his agency.

But, in an interview in his office, he defended Administration policies generally, insisting that they would help people in the long run.

Mr. Pierce, the only black in President Reagan's Cabinet, was a senior partner in a New York law firm before he was appointed to his current position.

Q. Why does President Reagan seem determined to cut the programs of this department?

A. One of the principal aims of the President's recovery program is to reduce the cost of running the Government. If you are going to reduce the cost of running the Government, you have to go to the departments that have programs. They tried last year with Social Security, and it was very difficult to make inroads into the entitlement programs. That's why you go into CETA and the Labor Department, that's why you come over here and go into some housing programs. The social agencies are the areas where these large billion-dollar programs are found.



The New York Times

Samuel R. Pierce Jr.

tion of subsidized housing by the Federal Government?

A. To the extent that you can do it practically, I think it would be good to do. There is some that I say we should have. We still have Section 202, a housing program for elderly and handicapped.

Q. Traditionally, one of the missions of this department has been to encourage the construction of housing. Do vouchers do anything to encourage home building?

A. Vouchers do not encourage home building. What I would like to do is to build housing where it's necessary. In the past, Section 8 was a way to make money, not to build where housing was needed.

bly can be. But the law is not the only way to do it. It's better to try to influence people to do it. We have these community housing resource boards that we are setting up all over the country. In cooperation with the National Association of Realtors, we hope to try to get people all over the country, on their own, to do a much better job in being fair about letting people into housing. We hope that we will be able to influence people without going into court.

Q. Civil rights groups say that this Administration is not committed to civil rights. They say that President Reagan has appointed a relatively small number of blacks. Is that a fair criticism?

A. Not the appointment part. There are very few black Republicans. I can just look among my friends who are black. I bet you 95 percent of them are Democrats. You don't have that many to pick from.

Q. How does the idea of housing vouchers, government assistance that tenants can use for housing of their choice, fit into the overall objective of reducing Government spending?

A. When I came here, I was appalled at the great expense of Section 8 new construction programs. I wanted to get a way of trying to help people through a less expensive program. Both the Housing Commission and the policy development and research office of this department came up with the same conclusion: A better way to go would be through vouchers. Vouchers do not have a long payoff. Our housing programs, particularly Section 8 programs, are one of the big reasons that our outstanding debt for housing will be a quarter of a trillion dollars by the end of 1982. When you think that the debt of the nation is only a little over a trillion dollars, that really puts it into perspective.

Q. Are builders entitled to make a profit, through the Government, when they build housing for poor people?

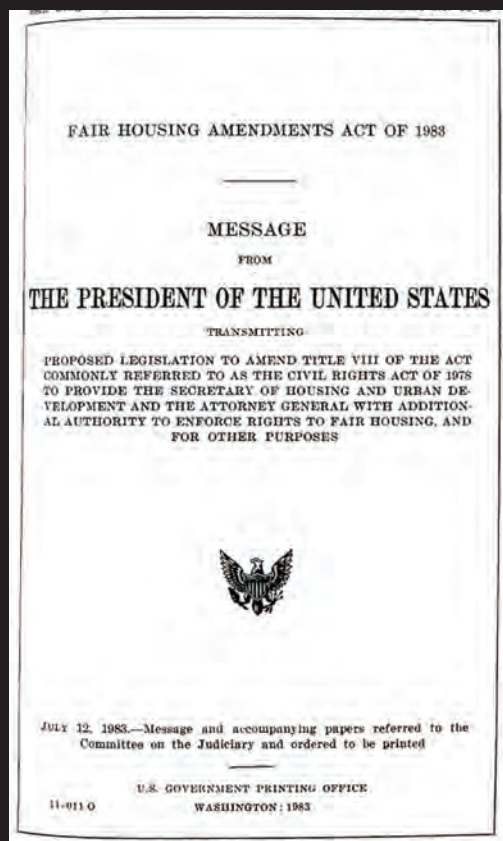
A. Certainly they are entitled to make a profit. But I think their profit was too big.

Q. Middle-income people cannot afford to buy the type of housing that their parents owned, the type of housing where they grew up. Will that be a trend for the rest of this century?

A. Certainly for the foreseeable future. One of the reasons for that is energy. Energy has become so expensive that it is very hard to heat a big home.

THE CASE OF HOUSING

"On the Cutbacks in H.U.D. Programs," *New York Times*, Jan 18, 1982



President Ronald Regan, memorandum proposing amendments to the Civil Rights Act of 1978, to become the Fair Housing Amendments Act of 1983, Jul 12, 1983

AGENCY IS SELLING FEDERAL HOUSING

Effort Includes Units Intended
for Low-Wage Earners —
Move Spurs Criticism

By **ROBERT PEAR**

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 17 — The Reagan Administration is making an aggressive effort to sell apartment buildings owned by the Government, including many units intended for low-income families, and has reduced Federal holdings to the lowest point in 10 years.

"Agency is Selling Federal Housing," *New York Times*, Sept 18, 1983

98TH CONGRESS } HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES { REPORT
1st Session } } No. 98-123

HOUSING AND URBAN-RURAL RECOVERY ACT OF 1983

MAY 13, 1983.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union and ordered to be printed

Mr. ST GERMAIN, from the Committee on Banking, Finance, and Urban Affairs, submitted the following

REPORT

together with

MINORITY, AND SUPPLEMENTAL MINORITY VIEWS

[Including cost estimate of the Congressional Budget Office]

[To accompany H.R. 1]

The Committee on Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs, to whom was referred the bill (H.R. 1) to amend and extend certain Federal laws that establish housing and community and neighborhood development and preservation programs, and for other purposes, having considered the same, report favorably thereon with an amendment and recommend that the bill as amended do pass.

The amendment strikes out all after the enacting clause of the bill and inserts a new text, which appears in italic type in the reported bill.

INTRODUCTION

The Committee bill reauthorizes the important housing and community development programs administered by the Department of Housing and Urban Development, the rural housing programs administered by the Farmers Home Administration, establishes a new rental housing production program, makes numerous changes in program administration, and clarifies Congressional intent in a wide array of community development, assisted housing, and rural housing programs. The basic principle underlying the Committee bill is the historic and successful commitment to safe, decent, and affordable housing for all the American people. H.R. 1 attempts to keep faith with the nation's historic commitment to a comprehensive

20-515 O

U.S. House of Representatives, Housing and Urban-Rural
Recovery Act of 1983, report no. 98-123, May 13, 1983



Carter Visits Housing Site For the Poor

Last July, a new landlord took over the six-story red brick building at 742 East Sixth Street, between Avenue C and D. But the intent of the new owner — an ecumenical Christian group called the Habitat for Humanity — was not to rebuild the 16 apartments for the wealthy, but to sell them cheaply to the neighborhood's poor.

Greeting the Honored Guest

Yesterday, Mr. Seiden and about 75 other people went to East Sixth Street to greet a guest the group had invited for a tour — former President Jimmy Carter.

First Project in City

For the last seven years, Habitat has been building houses for poor people in Boston. The building on East Sixth Street is its first project in a large city.

"Carter Visits Housing Site for the Poor," New York Times, Apr 2, 1984

Boston plans, with US aid, to rescue failed housing development

By Luix Overbea
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

Boston

Turning eyesores into assets is nothing new to this old, history-encrusted city that has slowly been shedding layers of grime over the past few decades.

But Boston officials are particularly happy over the prospect of rescuing the Columbia Point public housing project from the crime, vagrancy, and general poor management that has turned it into an urban derelict.

Local leaders hope legislation signed Jan. 2 by Massachusetts Gov. Michael S. Dukakis will help Columbia Point shed its high-crime record and 65 percent vacancy rate to become a picturesque, \$136 million waterfront development that peo-

ple will want to live in. The new state law makes possible the transfer of Columbia Point from public ownership to a consortium of private developers led by Corcoran, Mullin & Jennison Inc. of Quincy, Mass.

This is in line with Reagan administration policies calling for the US Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) to no longer build massive public housing projects and to seek the turnover of public housing units to the private sector.

"Boston Plans, with U.S. Aid, to Rescue Failed Housing Development," Christian Science Monitor, Jan 8, 1985

Books/Joe Klein, Rhoda Koenig

THE ROUTE OF GOOD INTENTIONS

“...*Common Ground*, the story of school busing in Boston, tells how the dream of community was mugged by the reality of race. . .”

Common Ground: A Turbulent Decade in the Lives of Three American Families, by J. Anthony Lukas. Alfred A. Knopf; 659 pages; \$19.95.

“NEIGHBORHOOD,” JANE JACOBS WROTE a quarter century ago in *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, “is a word that has come to sound like a Valentine.” Jacobs—a romantic, but no sap—was being sardonic, but her irony was lost on a whole generation of urban reformers.

Joe Klein and Rhoda Koenig, “The Route of Good Intentions,” review of *Common Ground: A Turbulent Decade in the Lives of Three American Families*, by J. Anthony Lukas, *New York Magazine*, Sept 30, 1985

You can't help those who simply will not be helped. One problem that we've had, even in the best of times, is people who are sleeping on the grates, the homeless, you might say, by choice.”

—President Ronald Reagan, speaking on Good Morning America, Jan 31, 1984

ARCHITECTURE VIEW/Michael Kimmelman

Out of a Failed Project Comes a Design for Living

IT IS A GAMBLE, BUT IF IT WORKS, one of the largest and most decrepit housing projects in the country will be turned into an elegant, mixed-income community that may serve as a model to architects and urban planners.

Construction has begun on Harbor Point, a new name for what will be a drastically refurbished Columbia Point, a crime-ridden, 48-acre, 1,502-unit housing project that was built on an isolated waterfront dump site in the Dorchester section. It was an embarrassment almost since opening day in 1953.

Judging from plans and building thus far, the idea for what Columbia Point will become looks far from perfect. But its strengths are considerable, its vision ambitious, and its history instructive about the ways architecture, backed by private and public support, can seek to redeem an irredeemable place.

Like all attempts at social planning, the outcome of Harbor Point ultimately is subject to aspects of development—including shopping and security and schools—that go well beyond the mere physical layout of the place. Whatever the result, however, the nascent project is important simply for its image of how a city best works.

Boston's Harbor Point shows how architecture can seek to redeem an irredeemable place.



Site plan for Harbor Point—A contemporary vision of social planning whose goal might be called a semi-urban village.

The idea: Reduce the number of units to 1,283 rental apartments, permanently designating 400 for the 355 families who had remained at Columbia Point and for other poor residents; a few for middle-income tenants who receive some subsidy, and the remaining to be rented at market rates. The poorest residents will pay a fraction for the same apartment that their neighbor will pay the full market value to occupy.

Congress allowed Harbor Point's developers — principal among them Corcoran, Mullins, Jennison Inc. of Quincy, Mass. — also received state and Federal loans and were given a 99-year lease on the land and a federally-insured mortgage.

Should it succeed, however, Harbor Point may suggest one solution, finally, to the cycle of blight and poverty that have plagued housing projects in cities throughout the country for so many decades.

"Out of a Failed Project Comes a Design for Living," *New York Times*, Sept 13, 1987



Boston's decaying and largely vacant Columbia Point project is being transformed

Public housing gets new identity

Developers and tenants in Boston and Alexandria, Va., are working together to turn public housing into mixed-income housing.

By Luis Overbee
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

Boston

Some of America's massive old public-housing projects are being remodeled with an eye to housing tenants with a mix of incomes.

In Boston, a voluntary agreement between tenants and developers is leading to the conversion of the 1,504-unit Columbia Point project into a 1,283-unit mixed-income area, renamed Harbor Point Apartments. The renovated units should be ready next month.

In Alexandria, Va., tenants and a developer have entered into a consent decree that

guarantees 25 percent of converted units in two projects to low-income tenants.

Poor people, many of them elderly or single mothers, and a major developer are uniting to salvage a once monstrous public-housing project, Columbia Point, on Boston's scenic southeastern waterfront.

"This is a terrific break for tenants here," says Ruby Jaundoo, who heads the Columbia Point Tenants Task Force.

"We hope this case will encourage other developers to open renovated units to low-income minority families rather than displace these people."

"This is an opportunity to turn a bad situation into a model community, giving current tenants new, modernized places to live, and offering others an exciting neighborhood with a diverse population of racial and ethnic cultures," says Joe Corcoran of Corcoran, Mullins, Jennison Inc., the developers.

This project could set a pattern for voluntarily converting large, unwieldy, troubled public-housing projects into livable mixed-income developments that are successful and safe.

99TH CONGRESS 2d Session	SENATE	Calendar No. 699 REPORT 99-313
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TAX REFORM ACT OF 1986

MAY 29 (legislative day, MAY 19), 1985—Ordered to be printed

Mr. PACKWOOD, from the Committee on Finance,
submitted the following

REPORT

together with

ADDITIONAL VIEWS

[To accompany H.R. 3838]

[Including cost estimate of the Congressional Budget Office]

The Committee on Finance, to which was referred the bill (H.R. 3838) to reform the internal revenue laws of the United States, having considered the same, reports favorably thereon with an amendment in the nature of a substitute to the text and an amendment to the title, and recommends that the bill as amended do pass.

I. LEGISLATIVE BACKGROUND

H.R. 3838 was passed by the House of Representatives on December 17, 1985. It was ordered favorably reported by the Committee on Finance on May 6, 1986, with an amendment in the nature of a substitute, after almost a year-long comprehensive review in the 99th Congress by the Committee on Finance and subcommittees in public hearings and markup consideration. This has been the most extensive review of internal revenue laws since enactment of the 1954 Code.

Committee Hearings

The full committee held 36 days of public hearings on comprehensive tax reform proposals in 1985-1986. The committee began public hearings on comprehensive tax reform proposals on May 9,

60-511 O

U.S. Senate, Tax Reform Act of 1986, 99 cong., 2nd sess.,
May 19, 1985

**I would guess that there's adequate low-income housing
in the country**

— Vice Presidential Candidate Dan Quayle, Oct 27, 1988

HUD to Keep Coinsurance Program

Move Reflects Commitment to Private-Public Partnership Concept

By Gwen Ifill and Ann Mariano
Washington Post Staff Writers

Officials at the Department of Housing and Urban Development have decided to revamp, rather than rescind, the troubled mortgage coinsurance program for multifamily housing that has resulted in \$700 million in defaulted mortgages and sparked a criminal investigation into one participant—Georgetown-based DRG Funding Corp.

The decision to continue the co-insurance program, which has been the subject of critical reports from HUD's inspector general and a recently concluded 120-day review of its operations, represents a Bush administration commitment to a concept of public-private partnership that has come under attack during investigations into scandals at HUD.

LECTURE IN PUBLIC: THE CASE OF HOUSING

"Kemp's Brave New World," *Newsweek*, Jan 2, 1989

'Privatization' Gone Wrong

The Agents Who Took H.U.D.'s Money and Walked

THE cascade of accusations about the Department of Housing and Urban Development can be divided into two categories: so-called influence peddling, in which Republican consultants and housing developers who hired them have cashed in on their access, and straight-out old-fashioned theft.

Federal investigators say that in the latter category, nothing is more outrageous — and, many of them contend, more telling about the chaos at H.U.D. in the Reagan Administration — than the discovery that private escrow agents working for the agency may have pocketed \$20 million or more from the Federal Treasury from the sale of Government-owned homes.



"The Agents Who Took H.U.D.'s Money and Walked," *New York Times*, Jul 2 1989

Kemp's Brave New World

At HUD he vows to revive a 'war on poverty'




JOHN FFARA—NEWSWEEK
A stubborn advocate of 'enterprise zones': With Bush

For all those who saw federal housing policy during the Reagan years as the political and moral equivalent of a black hole, George Bush had startling news last week. His nominee to succeed "Silent Sam" Pierce as secretary of housing and urban development would be none other than Republican Rep. Jack Kemp, the irrepressible holler guy of the supply-siding nouveau right. Kemp, who had previously announced his retirement from Congress, lost no time in declaring his intention to wage a new "war on poverty" from his post at HUD. And while he and Bush waffled on the question of just how much money the new administration was prepared to spend on housing—HUD's spending has dropped by two thirds since 1981—Kemp insisted that he, too, recognized "you cannot balance the budget off the backs of the poor."

"Kemp's Brave New World," *Newsweek*, Jan 2, 1989

The Final Report
of the National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing



The Honorable Jack Kemp
 Secretary of Housing and Urban Development
 U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development
 Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Secretary:

When the Congress in 1989 established the National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing by enacting Public Law 101-235, it charged the Commission with proposing a National Action Plan to eradicate severely distressed public housing by the year 2000.

More importantly, we have witnessed first-hand the remarkably inventive and appropriate solutions that residents and local officials offer to the problem of severely distressed public housing. We often hear in government and industry that those closest to the problem usually see the best solutions, and our experience with public housing residents and local officials bears out the wisdom of that approach.

The Commission's National Action Plan will not be easy or painless or cheap to implement. The Congress tasked the Commission to find answers, and we have found answers. Severely distressed public housing exists in America, and it did not arise overnight; it will not be eradicated overnight. But it can be eradicated by the year 2000, and we offer our best plan for how to accomplish that end. In confidence.

Final Report, National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing, Aug 1992 - Precursor to the HOPE VI Legislation



Stills from *Candyman* (TriStar Pictures, 1992), produced by Clive Baker, depicting Cabrini Green Housing Development as the backdrop for horror and racial injustice

Science-Fiction Horrors In a Housing Project

By JANET MASLIN

Too many tales of the supernatural allow occult goings-on to take a garden-variety turn. But the imagination of Clive Barker is authentically strange. In "Candyman," adapted by Bernard Rose from the Barker novel "The Forbidden," the horror unfolds inside a housing project and plays out provocatively against a backdrop of racial injustice.

The story's unusually high interest in social issues is furthered by the contrast between Helen's genteel con-

dominium (which turns out to have a secret history as public housing) and the rougher atmosphere of Cabrini Green. At the latter, Vanessa Williams appears effectively as a young mother fighting to raise her baby against impossible obstacles, some of which emanate from the great beyond. The film's spooky atmosphere is accentuated by Anthony B. Richmond's cinematography and Philip Glass's score.

Neighboring Housing Project Tarnishes Atlanta's Dream Site for Olympic Gold

City Faces Dilemma of Poverty's Squalor in Shadow of Games

By Laura Parker
Washington Post Staff Writer

ATLANTA—When this city's image-makers applied to host the 1996 Summer Olympic Games, they submitted a booklet filled with postcard-perfect photographs and architectural sketches that portrayed Atlanta as a visionary city where dreams come true.

Nowhere among the pictures of gleaming skyscrapers in a bustling downtown or drawings of future athletic arenas was there mention of the real estate in the center of the Games—a dangerous, rundown public-housing project infested with crack dealers, afflicted with bad plumbing and home to 1,200 residents trapped in poverty.

Techwood Homes, invisible during the successful Olympics bid, has suddenly reappeared as Atlanta's most troublesome urban dilemma. Across the street from the future Olympic Village and within blocks of many future athletic events, Techwood has become an embarrassment to Games promoters eager to show off Atlanta to the world. Some would like to tear the project down.

The controversy also cut to the heart, once again, of a booster city's quandary: Despite all the imagery, the prosperity and opportunity promised by promotions never seem to trickle down to the poor.

"Neighboring Housing Project Tarnishes Atlanta's Dream Site for Olympic Gold," *Washington Post*, Jul 7, 1991



Stills from *Menace II Society* (New Line Cinema, 1993), featuring Jordan Downs Housing Projects, Los Angeles

Kemp: Give HUD's task to private, other agencies

Former Housing Secretary Jack Kemp called for eliminating or radically dismantling the Department of Housing and Urban Development in testimony before the Senate Budget Committee.

He urged the administration to consider increasing the sale of government assets, contracting out more functions, creating more government corporations, and eliminating legislative barriers that effectively "lock out" private-sector firms from the federal arena.

"Kemp: Give HUD's Task to Private, Other Agencies,"
Washington Times, Mar 8, 1995



Stills from *Hoop Dreams* (Kartemquin Films, 1994), featuring Cabrini Green Housing Projects, Chicago as the home of William Gates, one of two main characters

**"Now let me take a trip down memory lane
Comin outta Queensbridge"**

NAS. "Memory Lane (Sittin' In Da Park)." *Illmatic*.
Columbia, 1994.

Clinton Lets Police Raid Projects

Warrantless Searches
Said to Be Needed
For Tenant Safety

By Guy Gugliotta
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Clinton administration yesterday introduced a new policy to permit police without warrants to raid and search apartments in gang-ridden public housing but said the plan will not violate the constitutional rights of tenants.

The policy envisions controlling lobbies of buildings in housing projects, frisking of suspicious people, searching common areas and vacant apartments, obtaining warrants to search residential apartments for probable cause and conducting warrantless searches in "exigent" emergency circumstances.

"Clinton Lets Police Raid Projects," *Washington Post*, Apr 17, 1994

In cities from Denver to Atlanta, crumbling tenements are being torn down and replaced. Tomorrow's public housing could look like, well, your house.



REMAKING THE GHETTO

Rob Gurwitt, "Remaking the Ghetto," *Atlanta Journal and Constitution*, Dec 17, 1995

HUD wants to grant 'power to move'

Voucher system suggested

The department of Housing and Urban Development has proposed changes to the landscape of America's cities by ending support for public housing and replacing it with rent vouchers to tenants — vouchers that tenants would then use to either stay in public housing or move to any place they want in their city.

Such an idea would have seemed radical 60 years ago when public housing in America first began and when the object was to help working people made jobless

by the Depression. Critics say this evolved into a way of putting social problems on the other side of the tracks. But today the power to move is one of many controversial changes promoted by President Clinton and HUD Secretary Henry Cisneros in what HUD is calling its "New Blueprint."

This part of the New Blueprint — the most radical part — has so far received some praise.

Another change introduced by the New Blueprint would be the privatization of the Federal Housing Authority (FHA). No longer in the hands of HUD, the FHA would become a government-based corporation that will compete in the market for insurance and credit enhancement. This step has generally been greeted as good news as it means more investment products for the property market.

"HUD Wants to Grant 'Power to Move,'" *Washington Times*, Feb 17, 1995

New Homes Dependent On the Kindness Of Strangers

Habitat for Humanity of Suffolk Builds
Housing With Lots of Helping Hands

Donna Johnson, 36, a single mother for the past 11 years, thought she would have to leave Long Island before she could own a house. Instead, she cooked Thanksgiving dinner for her 13-year-old daughter, Dominique, and four friends in her new home. The Johnsons moved into their bright Taylor Avenue residence in September after living for six years in a dreary but well-kept basement rental in Selden.

Finding Families For 2000 and Beyond

One of the projects, he said, will be the 99,999th Habitat for Humanity International home. The 100,000th will be built in New York City in September as part of the Jimmy Carter Work Project, an annual building binge sponsored by Habitat for Humanity International.

To be eligible for a Suffolk Habitat home, families must have a minimum annual gross income of \$15,000 and a maximum of \$25,000. An additional \$2,500 income is permitted for each member of a family above four.

"New Homes Dependent on the Kindness of Strangers," *New York Times*, Dec 19, 1999

...The most successful continuous community service project in the history of the United States.

—Bill Clinton on Habitat for Humanity awarding founder Millard Fuller the Presidential Medal of Freedom in 1996

104TH CONGRESS 2d Session	HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES	REPORT 104-461
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UNITED STATES HOUSING ACT OF 1996

FEBRUARY 1, 1996.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union and ordered to be printed

Mr. LEACH, from the Committee on Banking and Financial Services, submitted the following

R E P O R T

together with

MINORITY AND ADDITIONAL VIEWS

[To accompany H.R. 2406]

The Committee on Banking and Financial Services, to whom was referred the bill (H.R. 2406) to repeal the United States Housing Act of 1937, deregulate the public housing program and the program for rental housing assistance for low-income families, and increase community control over such programs, and for other purposes, having considered the same, report favorably thereon with an amendment and recommend that the bill as amended do pass.

The amendment is as follows:

Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert in lieu thereof the following:

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE AND TABLE OF CONTENTS.

(a) **SHORT TITLE.**—This Act may be cited as the "United States Housing Act of 1996".

(b) **TABLE OF CONTENTS.**—The table of contents for this Act is as follows:

Sec. 1. Short title and table of contents.
Sec. 2. Declaration of policy to renew American neighborhoods.

TITLE I—GENERAL PROVISIONS

Sec. 101. Statement of purpose.
Sec. 102. Definitions.
Sec. 103. Organization of local housing and management authorities.
Sec. 104. Determination of adjusted income.
Sec. 105. Limitation on admission of drug or alcohol abusers to assisted housing.
Sec. 106. Community work and family self-sufficiency requirement.
Sec. 107. Local housing management plans.
Sec. 108. Review of plans.
Sec. 109. Pet ownership.
Sec. 110. Administrative grievance procedure.
Sec. 111. Headquarters reserve fund.

22-368



"The planned demolition by US Housing and Urban Development of housing projects in 74 cities across the United States, including Chicago's Robert Taylor homes," CBS Evening News, Dan Rather, Oct 07, 1996

Blessings Of Design In Public Housing

GOOD design can help create good low-income housing," said Blair Kamin, the architecture critic of The Chicago Tribune. Mr. Kamin and The Tribune photographer Bill Hogan visited 25 public housing projects in eight cities in 1994 and 1995. Their findings, including 100 images, are on exhibit in "Sheltered by Design," at the National Building Museum in Washington, through Aug. 17.



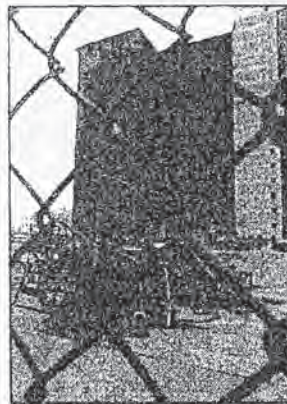
National Building Museum

In the 1950's, the site held 1,500 low-income families, who lived in identical yellow brick buildings. By the late 70's, 400 families were left, said Joan Goody, a partner at Goody, Clancy & Associates, the Boston architects who redesigned the project

"Blessings of Design In Public Housing," *New York Times*, Jul 3, 1997

To save housing, city destroying it

Chicago has decided to demolish the USA's largest public housing project



Coming down: Chain-link fencing is up and playground equipment is down as crews prepare to demolish a Taylor building.

In 1995, Congress revoked a 58-year-old requirement that if a house or apartment occupied by a poor family was demolished, it had to be replaced with low-income housing.

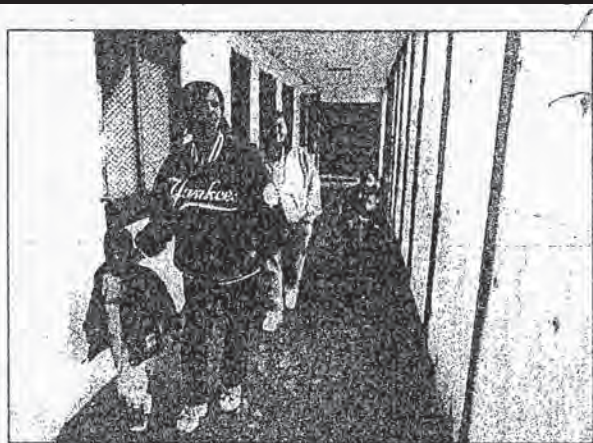
The majority of those demolished units will be the 28 high-rises at Robert Taylor, which have 7,725 apartments. In their place, 2,000 single-family homes will be built.

But only 25% of those new houses will be set aside by private developers for displaced public housing residents. The city will control that housing.

ni-Green. The once notorious housing project is an example of what mixed-income developments can be, he says.

After three of the worst buildings were torn down, private developers began building and selling town houses on land adjacent to the project last year.

Shuidner likes to make his point in "drive-bys" -- two-hour tours of the city's public housing -- in a chauffeured black sedan. He starts at Cabri-



"Tear it down": Robert Taylor Homes resident Octavia Guyton, seen with her son Nazir, says the project should be destroyed.



SING

Osier Muhammad/The New York Times

Henry Sistrunk, 27, grew up in the Hole, in Chicago's Robert Taylor Homes, and has a tattoo of it.

Razing the Slums to Rescue the Residents

On a scale not seen in decades, the Federal Government is helping cities clear slums again, but this time they are slums it helped create: public housing projects crippled by flawed policies and mismanagement and overwhelmed by poverty and crime.

From Hartford and Newark to Denver and San Francisco, 100,000 apartments in the nation's worst public housing projects are being razed under a Federal program called Hope VI. The plan is to replace them with smaller developments that mix families of different incomes, while moving thousands of tenants into privately owned buildings.

Nationally, Hope VI wants Section 8 and the private market to replace 60 percent of the destroyed units, though some advocates for the poor worry that will worsen already severe shortages of housing and leave tenants with undestorable places to live. New York has largely ignored Hope VI because demand for its public housing is so high.

Robert Taylor is unusual because no new public housing will be built on the cleared site. Instead, smaller mixed-income developments and an industrial area are planned. Some public housing is planned nearby.

Under a Federal court order in the 1970's and 1980's, Chicago moved 7,100 families out of segregated public housing and into rent-subsidized apartments. Central to the highly praised program was intensive counseling for families and its ability to screen out troubled people.

"That kind of screening is much harder when entire buildings are being emptied. "That was a huge criticism, that we have people not being compassionate and it's just the get-them-out syndrome," Ms. White said. "On the flip side, you have the fear that we're just transferring problems."

"End of a Ghetto: A Special Report. Razing the Slums to Rescue the Residents," *New York Times*, Sept 6, 1998

[God] Projects

[Rae] My niggaz survive, just like a movin target

[God] Projects

[Rae] Where niggaz live and some sell garbage that's

[God] Projects

[Rae] Try to escape the flyin shells dodgin

[God] New York projects

[Rae] I'm livin large yo, stop miragin

Wu-Tang Clan. "The Projects." Wu-Tang Forever. Loud Records, 1997
Wu-Tang Clan. "The Projects." Wu-Tang Forever. Loud Records, 1997

High-rise brought low at last

CHICAGO



It seemed a good way to house the poor. It wasn't. It is being put right

Architecture, racism and even good intentions have conspired to create a poverty trap in Chicago's housing projects.

Meanwhile, city builders had become enamoured of Le Corbusier's vision of urban buildings as "islands in the sky". The result was hulking high-rises in poor black neighbourhoods, the worst of which is an uninterrupted four-mile stretch of public housing on the city's south side. The Robert Taylor Homes are the hallmark of this corridor—a clump of more than two dozen 16-storey buildings, identical except for the colour of their brick and the way they face.

The result is the biggest concentration of poverty in America.

If Hope VI was the carrot, the Republican majority in Congress in Washington soon provided the stick. Congress passed legislation in 1996 creating a viability test for all large public-housing projects more than 10% of whose homes are empty. The law requires public-housing authorities to decide whether improving such projects is cheaper than simply giving residents vouchers to find private housing. If not, they are to be "removed from the public-housing inventory". A stunning 17,859 units in Chicago failed the test. Their removal has started, in a thunderous crash.

Some worry that private-housing vouchers merely move the poor around. "If you have thousands of people that you move without addressing their condition, they're just going to be poor somewhere else," says Wardell Yotaghan, a co-founder of the Coalition to Protect Public Housing.

Public housing: HUD builds new reputation

By Bill Varner
USA TODAY

After watching the Techwood/Clark Howell public housing project in Atlanta deteriorate over the past 22 years, Dovie Newell and her family are set to move Nov. 1 into Centennial Place, a new 900-unit complex next to Olympic Centennial Park.

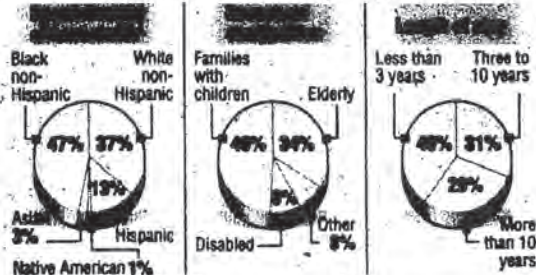
Techwood fell to a wrecking ball last year as part of the Clinton administration's program to raze the USA's worst public housing projects and give tenants like Newell new homes or vouchers to rent private apartments.

The score after three years: 23,000 public housing units down, 17,000 freshly targeted for demolition, and another 63,000 that may face a wrecking ball by 2000.

An overhaul of public housing

In a new phase of a Housing and Urban Development program, nearly 17,000 of the nation's worst public housing units will be demolished and 4,000 units will be built. About 15,000 families will receive private housing vouchers. The breakdown:

Number of people in public housing:	3.2 million
Number of households:	1.25 million
Average household size:	2.6 people
Median household income:	\$8,429
Average household monthly rent:	\$168



1 - Totals 101% because of rounding

Seventy-four communities will receive a total of \$716 million in grants to demolish and rebuild public housing. Cities receiving large grants:

	Grants (in millions)	Total public housing units	Units to be demolished
Chicago	\$122	40,110	1,033
Atlanta	\$45.8	14,353	1,900
Pittsburgh	\$45.1	9,271	1,312
Detroit	\$34.2	8,759	2,651
New Orleans	\$32.2	12,986	1,125
Cleveland	\$29.7	11,801	117
Washington	\$25	11,788	133
Baltimore	\$25.8	18,088	584
Charlotte, N.C.	\$24.5	3,921	218
Louisville	\$23	5,757	600
New York	\$21.9	150,795	180

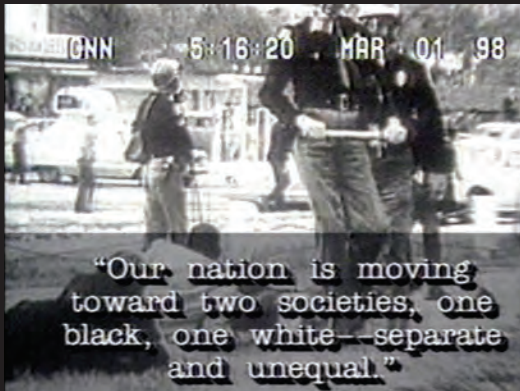
Sources: U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, USA TODAY research by Nicole Carroll

By Kevin Richin, USA TODAY

"Public Housing: HUD Builds New Reputation," *USA Today*, Oct 10, 1996

**"Cough up a lung, where I'm from, Marcy son, Ain't nothing nice
Mentally been many places but I'm Brooklyn's own"**

— Jay-Z. "Where I'm From." In *My Lifetime*, Vol 1. Roc-A-Fella Records, 1997



"Our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal."

"The Kerner Commission's report on race relations in America, thirty Years Later, Examined," March 01, 1998, CNN Evening News

Developers involved must keep low-rent status for 99 years.

By ELEANOR CHARLES

STAMFORD
LAST year a private developer bought one of the Stamford Housing Authority's most distressed properties, next year another one will be sold to a different developer. The first is now being rehabilitated and the second will be replaced.

"The Privatization of Public Housing in Stamford," *New York Times*, Dec 27, 1998

106TH CONGRESS } HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES { REPORT
 2d Session } 106-553

AMERICAN HOMEOWNERSHIP AND ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT OF 2000

MARCH 29, 2000.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union and ordered to be printed

Mr. LEACH, from the Committee on Banking and Financial Services, submitted the following

R E P O R T

together with

ADDITIONAL VIEWS

[To accompany H.R. 1776]

The Committee on Banking and Financial Services, to whom was referred the bill (H.R. 1776) to expand homeownership in the United States, having considered the same, report favorably thereon with an amendment and recommend that the bill as amended do pass.

The amendment is as follows:

Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert in lieu thereof the following:

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE AND TABLE OF CONTENTS.

(a) SHORT TITLE.—This Act may be cited as the "American Homeownership and Economic Opportunity Act of 2000".

(b) TABLE OF CONTENTS.—The table of contents for this Act is as follows:

- Sec. 1. Short title and table of contents.
 Sec. 2. Findings and purpose.

TITLE I—REMOVAL OF BARRIERS TO HOUSING AFFORDABILITY

- Sec. 101. Short title.
 Sec. 102. Housing impact analysis.
 Sec. 103. Grants for regulatory barrier removal strategies.
 Sec. 104. Eligibility for community development block grants.
 Sec. 105. Regulatory barriers clearinghouse.

TITLE II—HOMEOWNERSHIP THROUGH MORTGAGE INSURANCE AND LOAN GUARANTEES

- Sec. 201. Extension of loan term for manufactured home lots.
 Sec. 202. Downpayment simplification.
 Sec. 203. Reduced downpayment requirements for loans for teachers and uniformed municipal employees.

63-469

American Homeownership and Economic Opportunity Act of
 2000

107TH CONGRESS } HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES { REPT. 107-640
 2d Session } Part 2

HOUSING AFFORDABILITY FOR AMERICA ACT OF 2002

SEPTEMBER 17, 2002.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union and ordered to be printed

Mr. OXLEY, from the Committee on Financial Services,
submitted the following

R E P O R T

together with

DISSENTING VIEWS

[To accompany H.R. 3995]

[Including cost estimate of the Congressional Budget Office]

The Committee on Financial Services, to whom was referred the bill (H.R. 3995) to amend and extend certain laws relating to housing and community opportunity, and for other purposes, having considered the same, report favorably thereon with an amendment and recommend that the bill as amended do pass.

DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT, PETITIONER v.
PEARLIE RUCKER ET AL., OAKLAND HOUSING AUTHORITY, ET AL.,
PETITIONERS v. PEARLIE RUCKER ET AL.

Nos. 00-1770 and 00-1781

SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

535 U.S. 125; 122 S. Ct. 1230; 152 L. Ed. 2d 258; 2002 U.S. LEXIS 2144; 70 U.S.L.W.
4206

February 19, 2002, Argued
March 26, 2002, Decided *

* Together with No. 00-1781, Oakland Housing Authority et al. v. Rucker et al., also on certiorari to the same court.

PRIOR HISTORY: ON WRITS OF CERTIORARI TO THE UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS FOR THE NINTH CIRCUIT.

DISPOSITION: 237 F.3d 1113, reversed and remanded.

CASE SUMMARY:

PROCEDURAL POSTURE: Respondent tenants sued petitioners, the federal and local housing agencies and an official, alleging that 42 U.S.C.S. § 1437d(l)(6) did not authorize evictions from public housing for drug-related activity which was unknown to the tenants. Upon writs of certiorari, petitioners challenged the judgment of the United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit which affirmed the order enjoining evictions of innocent tenants.

OVERVIEW: The tenants were allegedly unaware of drug activity by their non-tenant relatives or guests, and contended that they were not subject to eviction under § 1437d(l)(6). The petitioners argued that the statute, which required the lease clause providing for lease terminations based on drug activity, permitted evictions regardless of the tenants' knowledge of the drug activity. The United States Supreme Court held that § 1437d(l)(6) unambiguously allowed the local public housing agency, in its discretion, to evict the tenants for the drug-related activity whether or not the tenant knew, or should have known, about the activity. No exception was provided in the statute for innocent tenants. Eviction was discretionary rather than mandatory, and thus permitted the consideration of all of the circumstances prior to determining the propriety of eviction. The statute was therefore properly based on the concern that a tenant who was unable to control drug activity presented a threat to the health and safety of other residents and the public housing facility, regardless of knowledge of the activity.

OUTCOME: The judgment affirming the grant of injunctive relief to the tenants was reversed, and the cases were remanded.

American Homeownership and Economic Opportunity Act of
2000

Katrina and public housing
**A voucher for
your thoughts**

NEW YORK

How should America house its poor?

IF KATRINA has demolished hopes for reforming Medicaid, it has at least stirred up debate about housing policy. In all, Katrina destroyed or damaged roughly 300,000 homes. According to the National Low Income Housing Coalition (NLIHC), around 70% of these were occupied by low-income households (ie, ones earning less than \$40,800 in New Orleans and below \$32,560 in Mississippi). Hurricane Rita is expected to cause further carnage.

As a longer term solution, Mr Bush has proposed his urban homesteading plan. He would distribute federal property to "homesteaders" who pledge to build their own homes. That is surely better than the huge public-housing projects for the poor of the 1960s and 1970s. But the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) has identified only 4,000 potential spots for the quarter of a million displaced people.

An alternative could be rental vouchers. After the 1994 earthquake near Los Angeles, which left 20,000 people homeless, Congress swiftly appropriated \$200m to provide special vouchers for use anywhere in the state.

Yet the main problem with vouchers is simply that there are not enough of them.

Even without Katrina, America would have a shortage of affordable housing. Thanks to the fact that rents have risen much faster than incomes, nearly one in three households spends more than 30% of its income on housing, and one in eight spends more than 50%, according to Harvard's Joint Centre for Housing Studies.

A good deal of this can be blamed on America's property bubble; when it bursts, things should even up a bit. But housing is also one of the areas where government handouts (especially tax relief on mortgage payments) favour wealthier Americans. In 2003, \$121 billion was spent on tax relief (more than \$57 billion of which went to households with incomes above \$148,000); by contrast, only \$36 billion was spent on housing policies designed to help the poor. ■

"Katrina and Public Housing: A Voucher for Your Thoughts,"
The Economist, Sept 24, 2005

HANO
wants
only
working
tenants

Council members applaud screening

By James Varney
Staff writer

In surprisingly blunt language Monday, three New Orleans City Council members said displaced public housing residents who are unwilling to work are unwelcome to return.

"We don't need soap opera watchers right now," Thomas said. "We're going to target the people who are going to work."

Future residents must meet new criteria

New entry regulations

Their comments came after federal housing officials explained new policies they said already are screening the people who would like to return to the city's traditional or redeveloped public housing complexes.

"Sometimes you have to not do what's politically correct; you have to do what's right," said Jarmon, the receiver at HANO. The federal government as-

sumed control of the agency after years of subpar performance.

James Varney, "HANO Wants Only Working Tenants," *Times-Picayune*, Feb 21, 2006

5,000 Public Housing Units in New Orleans Are to Be Razed

NEW ORLEANS, June 14 — Federal housing officials announced on Wednesday that more than 5,000 public housing apartments for the poor were to be demolished here and replaced by developments for residents with a wider range of incomes.

The demolition, which is scheduled to begin over the next several months, would be the largest of its kind in the city's history and would erase the sprawling low-rises of the St. Bernard, C. J. Peete, B. W. Cooper and Lafitte housing developments.

"Hurricane Katrina put a spotlight on the condition of public housing in New Orleans," Mr. Jackson said in a teleconference with reporters in Washington. "I'm here to tell you we can do better."

Gwen Filosa, "5,000 Public Housing Units in New Orleans Are to Be Razed," *New York Times*, Jun 15, 2006

The proposed demolitions have renewed a debate about the future of the city's enormous poor population, most of which remains displaced.

When one door closes

How public housing harms the market — and its tenants

jects itself.
Pre-Katrina public housing in New Orleans is not something about which to be nostalgic.

Nonetheless, there is a public obligation to do something to serve those who believed HANO housing would be their address for as long as they wanted.

Pre-Katrina, HUD's answer was a massive rebuilding project, in which five HANO projects — including the former Desire and St. Thomas developments — were, in HUD's words, to undergo "redevelopment to bring quality public housing back to the city." The question must be asked, however, whether it is worth the massive expense.

HOPE VI projects, at costs that typically top \$200,000 per unit, provide mixed-income housing, government-subsidized units for both the middle-class and the poor. It's meant to avoid the concentration of poverty that is thought to have led to the deterioration of previous public housing.

But HOPE VI replacement projects typically can't provide for all those formerly housed in projects which are demolished. Nor is there any guarantee that, as they age,

With HOPE VI plans set back because of Katrina, and much existing public housing unlivable, the time for more creative solutions is upon us.

Our concern for those who lived in New Orleans public housing before Katrina struck should not blind us to the fact that the system in which they lived was a dysfunctional one: It could not maintain the properties it owned and it encouraged the sort of long-term dependency that contravenes the spirit of welfare reform.

"When One Door Closes: How Public Housing Harms the Market—and Its Tenants," *Times-Picayune*, May 23, 2006

The Times-Picayune

HANO gets OK

Those with vouchers will keep benefits

By Gwen Filosa
Staff writer

Two years after Hurricane Katrina's devastation threw its plans for renewal into a whirlwind of political debate and legal woes, the Housing Authority of New Orleans on Friday announced it had won approval from the federal government to demolish the city's four largest public housing complexes in preparation for a sweeping redevelopment.

"HANO Gets OK to Raze 4,500 Units," *Times-Picayune*,
Sept 22, 2007

Feds oppose full replacement of N.O. public housing units

WASHINGTON — The Bush administration came out Tuesday against a key portion of a bill mandating the replacement of every government-subsidized apartment in New Orleans that meets the wrecking ball.

That portion of the bill, cosponsored by Sens. Chris Dodd, D-Conn., and Mary Landrieu, D-La., also took a shot from Landrieu's home-state colleague, Sen. David Vitter, R-La., who said the one-for-one rebuilding requirement would "recreate the New Orleans housing projects exactly as they were." Landrieu's staff called the assertion "misleading."

Landrieu's concern is that without a one-for-one replacement mandate for the 7,000 public housing apartments in New Orleans before the storm, the city could incur a net loss of affordable housing at a time when the lifeblood of the economy, the tourism industry, is suffering for lack of workers.

"Feds Oppose Full Replacement of N.O. Public Housing
Units," *Times-Picayune*, Sept 26, 2007

The Dec. 20 editorial "A Better Life in New Orleans," on the decrepit state of public housing in the city, made several correct points about why public housing there needs improvement but drew the wrong conclusion.

As the editorial noted, continuing a failed approach to public housing would be "the definition of insanity." The inhuman conditions found in New Orleans's public housing were created by a long policy of calculated indifference to residents' right to live in conditions respectful of their inherent dignity as human beings. Decades of federal and state underfunding of maintenance led to scarcities that we, as the richest

country in the world, should be ashamed of.

But destroying public housing without one-for-one replacement of affordable units, without the democratic input of residents, and, most crucial, without proper heed being paid to the human right to enjoy adequate living conditions would be a step away from the values of equality and dignity that we as Americans proclaim and a step back toward the inequality that Hurricane Katrina so clearly revealed.

ERIC TARS

Human Rights Attorney, National Law Center on Homelessness & Poverty

Philadelphia

USING

"Destroying Housing in New Orleans," *Washington Post*, Dec 25, 2007

16A · FRIDAY, DECEMBER 14, 2007 · USA TODAY



By Marlin Tama, Getty Images

Largely abandoned: Residents of New Orleans' B.W. Cooper housing project play basketball between storm-damaged apartments on June 7. The complex was the city's largest public housing before Hurricane Katrina struck.



By Marlin Tama, Getty Images

Few have returned: Girls jump rope at B.W. Cooper on June 6. The complex, which once housed about 1,000 families, is more than 80% empty.



By Alex Rieandor, AP

Closed after Hurricane Katrina: A section of New Orleans' B.W. Cooper public housing development is torn down Thursday despite protests.

Displaced residents may never come back

Before Katrina, St. Bernard and New Orleans' other projects housed about 5,100 families; today, HUD estimates, they have room for about 1,800. The rest of the units are abandoned, waiting to be bulldozed. HUD began tearing down the first of those complexes Wednesday. Rebuilding projects that had become "warehouses" for the poor doesn't make sense, Cabrera says. Even before Katrina, the public housing projects here were among the nation's most notorious, riddled with crime and slumping into disrepair.

HUD wants to bulldoze much of the city's shuttered public housing and replace it with mixed-income developments.

Demolition begins on first housing projects

By Rick Jervis
USA TODAY

NEW ORLEANS — Federal officials began demolishing a local housing project Thursday despite protesters who angrily decried the destruction, saying the hurricane-ravaged city needs to preserve its affordable housing.

About 30 protesters had stood Wednesday in the path of a two-story excavator, temporarily blocking the demolition crew's path into the B.W. Cooper housing development in central New Orleans.

Thursday's gathering was less confrontational and crews began demolishing one section of the development. Another part of the complex will remain open.

About 50 protesters marched from the housing project to City Hall and the New Orleans office of the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD).

"There is a terrible housing crisis in our city and the country needs to know about it," said Elizabeth Cook, a member of the Coalition to Stop Demolition, which organized the protests. Just behind her, the large excavator chewed into one of the four-story buildings.

"Demolition Begins on First Housing Projects," *USA Today*,
Dec 14, 2007

Wrecking crews start tearing down St. Bernard complex

*Replacement slated
to be ready in 2010*

Demolition crews began tearing down the 1940s-era brick buildings of the sprawling St. Bernard public housing development in Gentilly on Tuesday, the first major razing of the city's four largest complexes set for complete redevelopment after Hurricane Katrina struck.

Pending lawsuit has no effect

fled from the flood-ravaged city.
"These buildings were obsolete," said Karen Cato-Turner, executive director of the Housing Authority of New Orleans, which has been run by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development since 2002.

The citywide reconstruction of public housing is due for completion by December 2010, with about 3,000 public housing homes available. Housing vouchers, known as "Section 8" and "Tenant Protection Vouchers" will enable HANO families to rent in the private market while construction takes place, HANO said.

The St. Bernard's origins date back to the U.S. Housing Act of 1937, known as the Wagner Bill, intended to provide public housing for poor families. The first families moved into the St. Bernard project, as it was once named, in the 1940s.

St. Bernard initially had 744 units. In the 1950s, 700 additional apartments were built. Before Katrina struck, some 1,000 families lived at St. Bernard, which also had more than 400 vacant apartments still standing.

"Wrecking Crews Start Tearing Down St. Bernard Complex,"
Times-Picayune, Feb 20, 2008

Vouchers steer poor to troubled areas

*Section 8 may
concentrate poverty*

By Katy Reckdahl
Staff writer

While housing officials have for years touted the demolition of the public housing complexes as a way to "deconcentrate" poverty in New Orleans, a study released this week by the Greater New Orleans Fair Housing Action Center shows that public housing residents who use Section 8 vouchers are still likely to live in the city's most troubled neighborhoods.

Leaders in New Orleans had expressed hope that clearing most of the vast brick public housing communities would put an end to what a U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development fact sheet described as "the old paradigm of concentrating families in islands of poverty." Researchers believe that concentrated poverty isolates poor residents from opportunity and services, leading to higher crime rates, joblessness, failing schools and ill health.

"Vouchers Steer Poor to Troubled Areas," *Times-Picayune*,
Dec 26, 2009

HANO director acknowledges flaws

This dramatic shift from public housing apartments to vouchers "put heavier emphasis on the Section 8 program," making it more important to evaluate how

well it's working and what can be done to make it better, said Kate Scott, interim co-director of the Fair Housing Action Center.

In an August report, the Fair Housing Action Center found that many New Orleans landlords refuse to rent to families with Section 8 vouchers.

Housing problem not unique to N.O.

Landlords with better options have shied away from the program because it's been slow to pay rent and has a Section 8 staff that is "hard-to-reach, discourteous, slow and unhelpful," according to the center's August report.

This makes it less likely for voucher holders to find decent housing in nice neighborhoods, Scott said, defeating the purpose of vouchers, which were designed to help low-income tenants rent property in safer, more moderate-income, racially diverse neighborhoods.

"HANO Director Acknowledges Flaws," *Times-Picayune*, Dec 26, 2009



Stills from *The Wire*, season 1, episode 3, "The Buys," 2002, set in McCollough Homes, Baltimore



Affordable Housing

FRONT

HOW DO YOU
BUILD
AFFORDABLE
HOUSING
WITHOUT FEDERAL
MONEY? HITCH
ON TO A
RISING REAL-
ESTATE MARKET
AND LET THE
PRIVATE
SECTOR DO IT
FOR YOU.

BY ANDREW RICE

THE SUBURBAN SOLUTION

Since 1996, nearly \$800 million has been spent to level some of D.C.'s most notorious housing projects and resurrect them as mixed-income communities, an effort Tetreault has spearheaded.

Such projects — the kind of dystopian superblocks that inspired crime dramas like “New Jack City” and “The Wire” — were never representative of America’s low-income housing; they amounted to perhaps 100,000 of the federal government’s stock of about five million units.

Richard Nixon moved federal policy toward issuing vouchers instead of building new housing. Ronald Reagan gutted HUD’s construction budget and narrowed its mission. Since then, the cuts have kept coming. From 1976 to 2000, subsidized housing’s share of new federal spending fell 80 percent, according to Michael A. Stegman, a former HUD official, now at the University of North Carolina. “This year, there is virtually no new housing production,” he says. Meanwhile, as housing-subsidy agreements expire, about 1,000 apartments a month leave the federal housing rolls.

The new goal is to create mixed-income communities indistinguishable from those built by private real-estate developers.

The shift in outlook is reflected in changing language: “public” housing has become “affordable” or “work force” housing; “projects” are now “developments”; “tenants” have become “stakeholders” or “homeowners.” because many of the new public houses are for sale.



HARBOR POINT

Harbor Point is the redevelopment of Columbia Point (see p153).

Frequently cited as the model for HOPE VI redevelopment, its construction marked the first time public housing was torn down and replaced through a public-private initiative.

The low- and mid-rise, mixed-use development designed by Joan Goody has attracted middle- and higher-income

residents of diverse backgrounds. The project has become a model for new public housing.

Location
Boston, MA

Completed
1986–88

Occupied
1991

Construction Cost
\$125,000,000

Architect
Goody Clancy

Size
1,283 units
11 buildings
51 acres

Purpose
mixed-use
mixed-income housing (31%
low-income)

Status
occupied



VILLAGES AT PARKSIDE

This project is a revitalization of Parkside Homes (see p98).

It was funded by a \$47.7 million Hope VI grant and is managed by the Detroit Housing Commission.

Two of Parkside's four "villages" were rehabilitated and 270 new townhouses have been built.

One of two additional villages is currently under construction.

Location
Detroit, MI

Completed
1994–9 ongoing

Occupied
1999

Construction Cost
n/a

Architect
n/a

Size
987 units
43 buildings
40 acres

Purpose
public and market-rate housing
for families

Status
occupied



LEGENDS SOUTH

This project is a redevelopment of the Robert Taylor Homes, a 4,300-unit public housing development (see p204).

Currently, 1,800 mixed-income units are complete and 600 are under construction.

Replacing the high-rise superblocks are low-rise public and affordable rental housing, homes for sale, and retail buildings.

Developed by Interstate Realty Management Co. and the Chicago Housing Authority with Hope VI funds, the project was designed by Phillip Craig Johnson and Frank Christopher Lee.

Location
Chicago, IL

Completed
2005 ongoing

Occupied
2005

Construction Cost
\$125,000,000

Architect
Johnson & Lee

Size
2,400 units
178 buildings
92 acres

Purpose
mixed-use
mixed-income development

Status
occupied



PARKSIDE OF OLDTOWN

This project replaced the high-rises of Cabrini Extension North with townhouses and mid-rise apartments (see p151).

The redevelopment's community-based planning process involved FitzGerald Associates, the Chicago Housing Authority, and local residents.

Location
Chicago, IL

Completed
2006 ongoing

Occupied
2007

Construction Cost
n/a

Architect
FitzGerald Associates
Architects

Size
780 units
32 buildings
18 acres

Purpose
low-income rental
affordable and market-rate
condominiums for sale

Status
U.S. EPA Smart Growth Award
2009
occupied



CENTENNIAL PLACE

This project occupies the former site of Techwood (see p96) and Clark Howell homes.

Developed by McCormack Baron Salazar and the Atlanta Housing Authority, it was the first project to raze existing housing stock and rebuild in anticipation of the 1996 Centennial Olympics.

The project includes 538 garden apartments and 200 townhouses.

Location
Atlanta, GA

Completed
1995–2000 ongoing

Occupied
2000

Construction Cost
\$60,000,000

Architect
Carlsten Pucciano & English

Size
738 units
738 buildings
54 acres

Purpose
mixed-income housing (30% affordable)

Status
occupied



BELMONT HEIGHTS ESTATES

This project was built on the site of College Hill Homes and Ponce de Leon Court (see p109).

Its 860 units replace 1,300 public housing units.

Funding for the redevelopment came from a \$32.5 million HOPE VI grant.

Location
Tampa, FL

Completed
2001–5

Occupied
2002

Construction Cost
\$32,500,000

Architect
Torti Gallas & Partners

Size
860 units
124 buildings
74 acres

Purpose
mixed-income rental housing
(45% public, 9% elderly)

Status
occupied



RAINIER VISTA REDEVELOPMENT

This ten-year project redeveloped the Rainier Vista public housing project (see p106).

Tokin/Hoyne's New Urbanist plan was financed through a \$35 million HOPE VI grant and other public funding programs, tax-exempt borrowing, tax credits, and private investment. An additional \$14.4 million was provided by the ARRA in 2009.

Primarily low- and extremely low-income rental housing, the project also includes two hundred market-rate units for sale.

Location
Seattle, WA

Completed
2003

Occupied
2005

Construction Cost
\$100,000,000

Architect
Tonkin/Hoyne

Size
875 units
124 buildings
65 acres

Purpose
mixed-income rental housing,
market-rate ownership

Status
occupied



HISTORIC OAKS AT ALLEN PARKWAY VILLAGE

This project redevelops the site of the post-World War II public housing projects Allen Parkway Village and Freedman's Town, both of which are listed on the National Register of Historic Places.

Its 220 new and 280 revitalized units are managed by Orion Real Estate Services, one of the largest Low Income Housing Tax Credit property managers in Texas.

This project is part of a comprehensive revitalization of Houston.

Location
Houston, TX

Completed
1999–2005

Occupied
1999

Construction Cost
n/a

Architect
RdlR Architects, Inc.

Size
500 units
18 buildings
37.5 acres

Purpose
low-income housing

Status
occupied



PUEBLO DEL SOL

Pueblo del Sol sits on the former site of Aliso Village in the Pico Aliso public housing development (see p110).

The redevelopment was funding through HOPE VI and private investors.

Operated by McCormack Baron Salazar, it provides 375 public and affordable rentals and and 93 market-rate attached homes for sale.

Location
Los Angeles, CA

Completed
1998–2005

Occupied
2003

Construction Cost
\$8,700,000

Architect
Quatro Design Group
Wraight Architects
William Hezmalchal
Architects, Inc.
Van Tiburg
Banvard & Soderbergh

Size
468 units
70 buildings (approx.)
29 acres

Purpose
mixed-income rental
market-rate homes for sale

Status
occupied



HARMONY OAKS

This low-density development revitalizes the Magnolia Street (C. J. Peete) Housing Project, New Orleans's largest public housing complex (see p107).

Headed by the city's Housing Authority and McCormack Baron Salazar, it is funded by a HOPE VI grant.

The 460 townhouses and garden apartments provide public, low-income, and market-rate (27%) rental housing.

Fifty homes are also for sale at below-market rates.

Derived from the Louisiana Speaks pattern book, the architecture is vernacular, Victorian, and classical in style.

Location
New Orleans, LA

Completed
2009–11 ongoing

Occupied
anticipated 2011

Construction Cost
\$110,000,000

Architect
KAI Design & Build

Size
510 units
125 buildings
41.5 acres

Purpose
mixed-income rental
below-market-rate homes for
sale

Status
occupied

Image Citations:

Courtesy Seattle Housing Authority.

Harbor Point

Jane Roessner, *A Decent Place to Live* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2000).

Jane Roessner, *A Decent Place to Live* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2000).

Villages at Parkside

Courtesy Detroit Housing Commission, <http://www.dhcmi.org/PublicSiteDetails.aspx?publicsiteid=9>.

Courtesy Detroit Housing Commission, <http://www.dhcmi.org/PublicSiteDetails.aspx?publicsiteid=9>.

Legends South

Courtesy Chicago Housing Authority, <http://www.flickr.com/photos/metroblossom/3891587759/in/set-72157594160097461/>.

Courtesy Metroblossom, <http://www.flickr.com/photos/metroblossom/3869832936/in/photostream/>.

Parkside of Oldtown

Courtesy Yo Chicago, <http://yochicago.com/parkside-of-old-town-pushes-city-incentives/8307/>.

Courtesy Yo Chicago, <http://yochicago.com/the-hudson-nearing-completion-at-parkside-of-old-town/7230/>.

Centennial Place

Courtesy Atlanta Housing Authority, <http://www.atlantahousing.org/pressroom/index.cfm?Fuseaction=photos&categoryid=4>.

Courtesy Atlanta Housing Authority, <http://www.atlantahousing.org/pressroom/index.cfm?Fuseaction=photos&categoryid=4>.

Belmont Heights Estates

Courtesy Tampa Housing Authority.

Courtesy Tampa Housing Authority.

Rainer Vista Redevelopment

Courtesy Seattle Housing Authority.

Historic Oaks at Allen Parkway Village

Google Street View (accessed 17 March 2011).

Google Street View (accessed 17 March 2011).

Pueblo del Sol

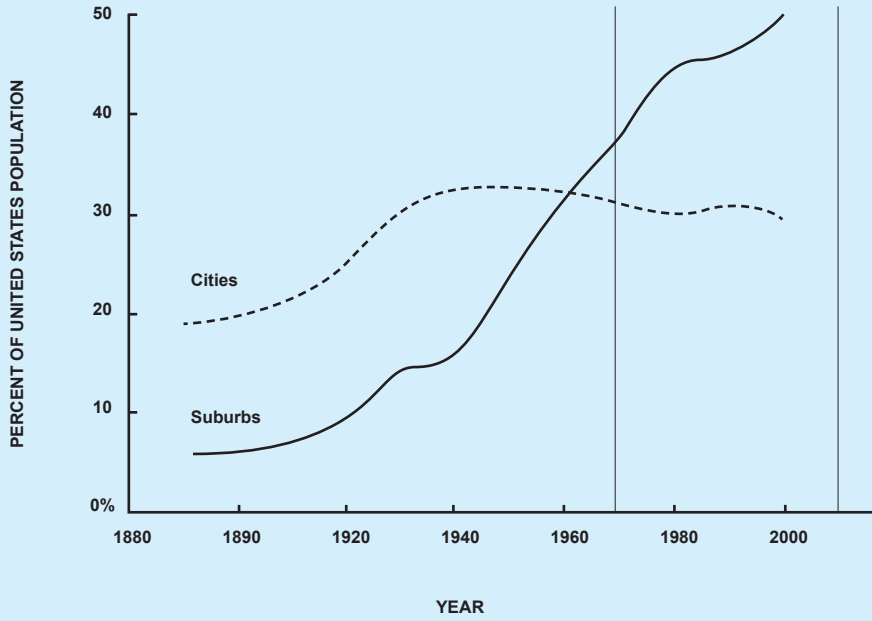
Courtesy Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles.

Courtesy Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles.

Harmony Oaks

Courtesy Housing NONDC, <http://nondc.org/housing/harmony-oaks-apartments/>.

Courtesy Trout Fischin Blog, <http://troutfischin.blogspot.com/2010/07/new-orleans-new-urbanism.html>.



Graph interpreted from Figure 4 in: Robert Beauregard, *When America Became Suburban* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), 34.

FORECLOSURE
2008–PRESENT



"Home \$weet Home," *TIME*, Jun 13, 2005

MORTGAGE GIANTS TAKEN OVER BY U.S.

This article was reported by Charles Duigg, Stephen Labaton, and Andrew Ross Sorkin and written by Mr. Duigg.

A COSTLY BAILOUT

Federal Intervention Is Bid for Stability — C.E.O.'s Ousted

By STEPHEN LABATON and EDMUND L. ANDREWS

WASHINGTON — The Bush administration seized control of the nation's two largest mortgage finance companies on Sunday, seeking to shrink drastically their outsize influence on Wall Street and on Capitol Hill while at the same time counting on them to pull the nation out of its worst housing crisis in decades.

The bailout plan for the companies, Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac, a seismic event in a year of repeated financial crises followed by aggressive federal intervention, places the companies in a government conservatorship, much like a bankruptcy reorganization. The plan also replaces the management of the companies.

The rescue package represents an extraordinary federal intervention in private enterprise. It could become one of the most expensive financial bailouts in

American history, though it will not involve any immediate taxpayer loans or investments.

Mr. Paulson said Sunday that it was important to rescue the mortgage giants because a failure of either company would cause turmoil in financial markets in the United States and around the world.

"This turmoil would directly and negatively impact household wealth: from family budgets, to home values, to savings for college and retirement," he said. "A failure would affect the ability of Americans to get home loans, auto loans and other consumer credit and business finance. And

"Mortgage Giants Taken Over by U.S.," *New York Times*, Sept 8, 2008

Fannie Mae, Freddie and You: What It Means to the Public

So what does the federal takeover of two mortgage finance giants mean to consumers?

Mortgage rates may fall a bit initially but probably not enough to halt the decline in home prices anytime soon. Some delinquent borrowers may have a better shot at modifying their loans and ending up with lower fixed payments. And the rules on new mortgages could slightly change.

Oh, and the federal government will help pay for it all, using your tax money.

Ron Lieber, "Fannie Mae, Freddie and You: What It Means to the Public," *New York Times*, Sept 8, 2008

WEDNESDAY, SEPT. 17

"It felt like there was no ground beneath your feet. I didn't know where it was going to end."

ALEX EHRLICH of the Swiss bank UBS, on frenzied trading, right, that drove down Morgan Stanley shares.



REILAND BETH/ASSOCIATED PRESS

WEDNESDAY EVENING

"You have to go to Congress. This is persuasive."

BEN S. BERNANKE, the Fed chairman, to Treasury Secretary Henry M. Paulson Jr., right.



WIN MCNAMERY/GETTY IMAGES

THURSDAY, SEPT. 18

"This is the United States Senate. We can't do it in that time frame."

SENATOR HARRY REID, the majority leader, on hearing that the administration wanted legislation passed within days.



LAUREN VICTORIA/ASSOCIATED PRESS

36 Hours of Alarm and Action as Crisis Spiraled

"Panic can cause a prudent person to do rational things that can contribute to the failure of an institution." — William A. Ackman of the hedge fund Pershing Square Capital Management.

Panic was spreading on two of the scariest days ever in financial markets, and the biggest investors — not small investors — were panicking the most. Nobody was sure how much damage it would cause before it ended.

This is what a credit crisis looks like. It's not like a stock market crisis, where the scary plunge of stocks is obvious to all. The credit crisis has played out in places most people can't see. It's banks refusing to lend to other banks — even though that is one of the most essential functions of the banking system.

"36 Hours of Alarm and Action as Crisis Spiraled," *New York Times*, Oct 2, 2008

Figuring Out Who Owns a Mortgage

NEW YORK — When you write your monthly mortgage check, your signature may be the first stop on a journey that takes your money to the other side of the world.

Chances are, your bank has resold your mortgage, and the Chinese government, a teachers' pension fund in the Netherlands or even one of your own mutual funds may own a slice of it.

How did that happen?

The pooling and reselling of mortgages, known as mortgage securitization, has played an outside role in this financial crisis. Here's more about mortgage securitization and its effects.

Q What is mortgage securitization? And what are mortgage-backed securities?

A Mortgages are "securitized" when they are pooled together, sliced into pieces and resold as bonds. A mortgage-backed security is a bond whose payments come from the monthly checks for the underlying mortgages.

The bonds are put together either by government-sponsored entities Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac, which are charged with repurchasing mortgages in an effort to keep homes affordable, or by private financial institutions. Some of the largest players included the ill-fated Countrywide, Bear Stearns and Lehman Brothers.

Here's a greatly simplified (and hypothetical) mortgage-backed security, as described by Richard J. Rosen, a senior economist and econom-

ic adviser at the Chicago Federal Reserve:

An issuer has collected 1,000 mortgages, each worth \$100,000, each with a 30-year maturity and a fixed interest rate of 6.5 percent. This \$100 million pool of mortgages can back 10,000 bonds, each worth \$10,000 and paying interest that's slightly less than what the homeowners pay — say 6 percent — after the intermediaries, including the packager, take a cut.

Most of the mortgage-backed securities sold over the past five years were far more complicated, with some involving mortgages that were grouped by how risky they were thought to be.

How big is this market?

Somewhere around \$6.8 trillion, out of \$11.3 trillion in outstanding loan balances, according to Guy Cecala, publisher of *Inside Mortgage Finance*.

The proportion of mortgages that are securitized is much greater than it was a few decades ago. In 1980, mortgage-backed securities accounted for 12 percent of total mortgage debt outstanding. This year, the proportion is 61 percent, according to Cecala.

How did it get so big?

Mortgage-backed securities had historically been a fairly safe investment, offering a better return than even safer U.S. Treasury debt. With interest rates near historic lows from 2001 to 2004, investors around the world were trying to earn more on their investments. At

the time, mortgage-backed securities, which had been heavily promoted abroad by the U.S. government, seemed like a fairly safe option.

As global investors demanded more mortgage-backed securities, banks began looking for more mortgages to buy, repackage and resell. This was one of the reasons lending standards loosened. By the time it became clear that many home loans had gone to people who wouldn't be able to repay them, the market had grown large enough to shake investors around the world.

When that happened, investors refused to buy the securities, and the banks that had been selling them were stuck with them.

Who owns mortgage-backed securities?

As of the middle of 2008, foreign investors were the largest group, owning 20 percent of the outstanding volume of mortgage securities, Cecala said. "That reflects a real conscious effort by the government to promote that," he said. The next largest group was Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac, with 16 percent. Commercial banks own 16 percent.

Who owns my mortgage?

That depends on what kind of loan you have. If you were a good borrower with a fixed-rate, 30-year mortgage for less than \$417,000, the chances are excellent that Fannie Mae or Freddie Mac either owns your mortgage or guarantees it. If you have an adjustable-rate mortgage, it's probably held by a bank or another financial institution.

"Figuring Out Who Owns a Mortgage," *Washington Post*,
Nov 11, 2008

Ignoring Reality Has a Price

WASHINGTON

Thirty billion dollars to keep Bear Stearns from collapsing. Another \$85 billion for A.I.G. Hundreds of billions, here and

there, lent to banks.

DAVID LEONHARDT
ECONOMIC SCENE
All told, the Federal Reserve has pumped \$800 billion into the financial system, Ben Bernanke, its chairman, estimated on Tuesday. That figure doesn't include the untold sum that the Fed now

plans to spend buying short-term debt so that companies can continue to pay for their daily operations. And it doesn't include any of the money the Treasury Department is laying out, like the \$700 billion bailout fund or the \$200 billion that could be spent propping up Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac.

After 14 months of crisis, the federal government — meaning you and me — has put serious money on the line. As a point of comparison, the entire annual federal budget is about \$3 trillion.

"Ignoring Reality Has a Price," *New York Times*, Oct 8, 2008

IN MARYLAND

Sweeping Bills Passed To Help Homeowners

By PHILIP RUCKER
Washington Post Staff Writer

Maryland lawmakers passed some of the nation's most ambitious legislation to control the housing crisis yesterday by toughening oversight of the mortgage-lending industry and establishing preemptive measures to help people at risk of foreclosure.

Taken together, Maryland's bills are among the most sweeping in the country as legislatures from California to Florida consider proposals to stem the escalating rate of foreclosures.

"Sweeping Bills Passed to Help Homeowners," *Washington Post*, April 3, 2008

Michael Kelly

America's Other Housing Crisis

There's a housing crisis in America — but it doesn't have anything to do with the thousands who have been forced from their over-leveraged residences or the steps Congress has taken to help those caught in the subprime debacle. This crisis doesn't generate many headlines, but it threatens Americans nationwide.

Over the past eight years, the Bush administration has tried to cripple public housing. It has devalued and defunded key programs. The president's proposed 2009 budget includes massive cuts in affordable-housing programs that will hit the working poor, people with disabilities and seniors while dismantling the crowning achievement of federal efforts to revitalize and redevelop city neighborhoods.

In the past two years in particular, Congress has acted to stem the worst of the administration's slash-and-burn

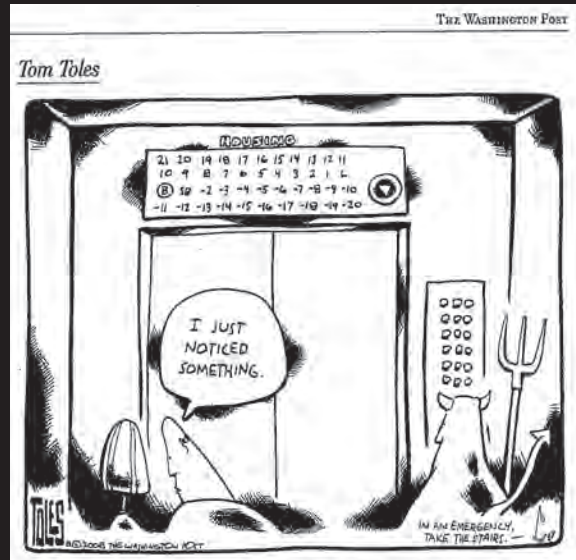
policies. But with the high federal deficit and public housing's low-priority status, few appreciate the gravity of the situation. Either the federal government renews its historic commitment to public housing or this scarce resource will soon cease to exist. The situation is that bad.

The nation's public housing program works.

In communities across the country — rural, suburban and urban — millions of families that earn low wages, seniors and Americans with disabilities can pay 30 percent of their limited incomes for decent, safe and affordable housing. For most, public housing is a stepping stone: More than half of today's residents have lived in their subsidized apartments for less than four years. Like many Americans, the vast majority of residents in public housing move up the ladder to privately owned apartments or houses as their incomes increase and their circumstances stabilize, thus freeing up this scarce resource for others. For those who stay longer, particularly seniors and people with disabilities, public housing provides modest apartments and some of the services that allow our most vulnerable to live with dignity in their communities.

Mayors, county executives and local legislators, regardless of political party, realize that public housing is as vital to a community's infrastructure as the roads on which residents travel to get to work, the schools where children are educated and the public libraries and parks where our quality of life is enhanced. That is why national organizations including the Conference of Mayors, the League of Cities and the National Association of Counties place the preservation and expansion of public housing among their top priorities.

"America's Other Housing Crisis," *Washington Post*, May 24, 2008



Tom Toles, "I just noticed something," cartoon, *Washington Post*, May 11, 2008

Community Reinvestment and the Foreclosure Crisis

To the Editor:

For some reason, we in this country believe that you are entitled not only to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness,

but also to a cheap mortgage.

This was not one of the unalienable rights laid out by our founding fathers. If you have enough income to afford market-set mortgage interest rates and have saved enough of your income to put at least 20 percent of the home's value into a down payment, then you should be able to qualify for a mortgage provided by the private sector.

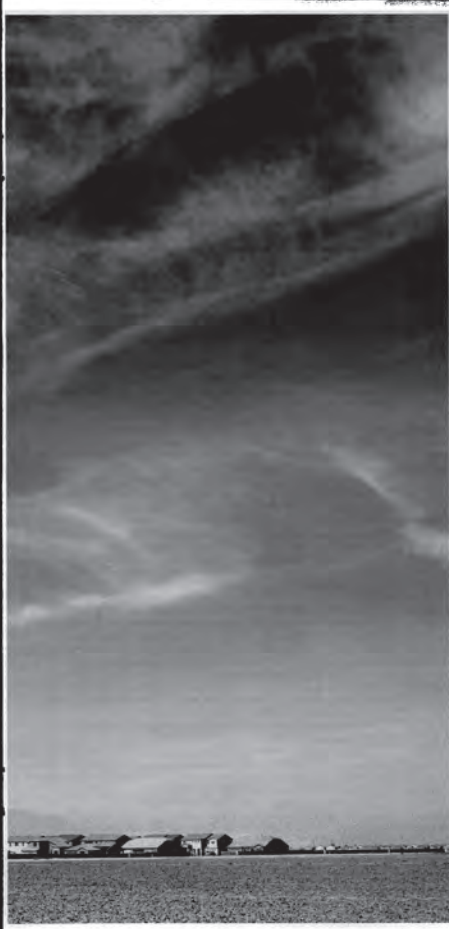
We already subsidize homeowners by effectively buying down the interest rate through an income tax deduction for mortgage interest. Why do we have to put the taxpayer at risk for the actual repayment of people's mortgages?

It is time to get the government and the taxpayer out of the mortgage business altogether. Let the free market work.

MARC H. MICHEL

work. MARC H. MICHEL
New York, Dec. 11, 2008
The writer is president of Michel Capital,
a hedge fund.

"Community Reinvestment and the Foreclosure Crisis,"
Washington Post, December 18, 2008



Key

SPRING 2008

FOUR YEARS
AGO, MARICOPA,
ARIZ., BARELY
EXISTED. NOW,
WITH 14,000
NEW HOUSES, IT'S
A COMMUNITY
BROUGHT
TOGETHER BY
SHORT SALES,
FORECLOSURES
AND THE
OCCASIONAL
NIGHT OUT AT
THE LOCAL
SUPERMARKET.



BY SAMANTRA M. SHAPIRO
PHOTOGRAPHS BY PAUL GRAPAM

85

to the opposite. Builders started offering incentives on their inventory of unsold homes, cutting prices by tens of thousands of dollars and, in some cases, auctioning off unsold houses to the highest bidder. The oversupply meant that Fox's house depreciated every month. The median new-home price in Maricopa fell steadily, from \$263,000 in the spring of 2006 to \$245,000 that fall, and then to \$227,000 in early 2007, and then to \$180,000. In 2007, banks pursued foreclosures on 647 houses.



Used In Many homeowners in Maricopa can no longer pay their mortgages or find buyers for their homes. Banks pursued foreclosures on 647 houses in 2007.

2

IN THE EARLY YEARS, DECISIONS ABOUT MARICOPA WERE DRIVEN BY DEVELOPERS, WHO LEFT LITTLE SPACE FOR BUSINESS OR COMMERCE — JUST LOTS AND LOTS OF HOUSES.

OF HOUSING

But as Phoenix grew, far-thinking developers began buying up tracts of land in and around Maricopa. By 1996, one developer, Mike Ingram, had amassed with his business partners 18,000 acres — an area larger than the island of Manhattan — most of it purchased for \$500 an acre or less. He had a vision of Maricopa's future, and he helped persuade the state to widen the two-lane road to Phoenix, turning it into a four-lane divided highway. That year, Ingram and his partners announced plans to build a 6,000-acre community in Maricopa. They cleared farmland, brought in utilities and designed a maze of cul-de-sacs, drives, circles and courts oriented around a golf course. They sold building rights to a variety of "superbuilders" like KB Homes, Hacienda Builders and Continental Homes, and in the fall of 2001, the first houses went on sale, while they were still being built.



Just Add Water Using artificial lakes and underground irrigation systems, developers turned Maricopa from a dusty farming community into a grassy exurb of Phoenix.

"The Boomtown Mirage," *New York Times Magazine*, Spring 2008

Responding to a Housing Crisis



Luis Rodriguez is renovating a foreclosed house he bought on Hendry Street in the Dorchester section of Boston.

Hoping to Prevent Decay, Communities Are Becoming Home Buyers

By VIKAS RAJAJ

BOSTON — As a wave of home foreclosures courses through the United States, some of the nation's hardest hit cities think they have found a way to ease the blight left on their communities by the crisis.

Using taxpayer and private money, Boston, Minneapolis, San Diego and a handful of other places are buying foreclosed properties to refurbish and resell them to developers and homeowners in an effort to prevent troubled neighborhoods from sliding into urban decay.

The efforts so far have been taken on a small scale. But local officials say they can become an important pillar of any housing recovery with the help of \$4 billion in federal grants.

that were part of a housing bill Congress approved in July.

Indeed, the sale of foreclosed homes — not just to city governments but more broadly to investors and homeowners — contributed to a 3.1 percent increase in existing home sales in July, the highest level in five months, according to data released on Monday by the National Association of Realtors.

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Indeed, the sale of foreclosed homes — not just to city governments but more broadly to investors and homeowners — contributed to a 3.1 percent increase in existing home sales in July, the highest level in five months, according to data released on Monday by the National Association of Realtors.

Home Sales Rise, But the Prices Are Lower

By MICHAEL M. GRYNBAUM

More Americans waded into the housing market last month, lured by falling prices that helped send sales to their highest level since February.

At least a third of properties

bought in July involved foreclosed homes snapped up at bargain-basement prices or homes sold at a loss by owners who had no alternative, according to the private National Association of Realtors.

These so-called distressed sales helped depress home values across the country, feeding into a downdraft that is making it increasingly difficult for many Americans to sell their homes for more than they paid.

"Responding to a Housing Crisis," *New York Times*, Aug 26, 2008

Housing-Crisis Grants Force Cities to Make Tough Choices

By MICHAEL M. PHILLIPS
AND BOBBY WHITE

AVONDALE, Ariz.—In this Phoenix suburb, two townhouses stand vacant, filled with trash and abutting an empty neighborhood swimming pool covered with graffiti. But to Gina Ramos Montes and other city officials, the dilapidated properties look promising.

As part of the \$4 billion Neighborhood Stabilization Program authorized by Congress in July, Avondale is set to receive \$2.5 million to redevelop neighborhoods blighted by abandoned and repossessed homes.

The money, figured Ms. Montes, director of neighborhood and family services, could be used to refurbish the townhouses, fill the pool and build two additional rental units for low-income families. The hitch: Such a project would eat up a quarter of the city's \$2.5 million grant, leaving roughly 2,600 other Avondale homes in bank hands or about to enter foreclosure.



Brandon Sullivan for The Wall Street Journal

Redeveloping this pool and homes nearby would use up a quarter of Avondale, Ariz.'s, federal grant to help areas hurt by the housing bust

The federal stabilization program is barely up and running. But already, many states and localities are frustrated by the small sums involved and how the Department of Housing and Urban Development is allocating the grants. The problems are an

"Housing-Crisis Grants Force Cities to Make Tough Choices," *Wall Street Journal*, Dec 5, 2008

Clinton Details Mortgage Plan

Proposal for U.S. to Buy Some Troubled Home Loans Envisions Big Federal Role

BY AMY CHOZICK AND NICK TIMIRAO

PHILADELPHIA—Sen. Hillary Clinton called Monday for further federal action to help the nation climb out of its housing troubles, saying the government should stand ready to buy troubled mortgages if other steps fall short.

Sen. Clinton has been more willing to embrace aggressive federal action in the foreclosure crisis than either Democratic rival Sen. Barack Obama or Sen. John McCain, the presumptive Republican nominee for president. She is hoping her economic plan will position her as the strongest candidate to defeat Sen. McCain in November.

Housing Politics
Hillary Clinton has made direct government intervention a central part of her plan, while Barack Obama favors more indirect measures.

<p>Clinton proposals</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Freeze foreclosures for 90 days ■ Freeze interest-rate resets on subprime mortgages for five years ■ Create a \$30 billion fund for states and cities to purchase foreclosed properties ■ Expand the Mortgage Revenue Bond Program by \$10 billion 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Allow the Federal Housing Administration to guarantee more mortgages; temporarily hold 'underwater' mortgages (owing more than the house is worth) on the government's balance sheet ■ Protect mortgage originators against lawsuits for restructuring loan terms
<p>Obama proposals</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Simplify the tax code to allow more families to claim a mortgage income tax credit ■ Allow the FHA to guarantee more mortgages 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Enact stiffer penalties against predatory lending ■ Cut taxes on middle-class households ■ Expand the Mortgage Revenue Bond Program by \$10 billion

"Campaign '08: Clinton Details Mortgage Plan," *Wall Street Journal*, Mar 25, 2008

Housing Crisis Looms Larger in Campaign

BY ALEX FRANGOS

PONTIAC, Mich.—The sour housing market is taking on added significance in the presidential race as candidates look for votes in foreclosure-heavy states such as Michigan, Nevada and Florida.

"You can't have 44 foreclosures a day in a city like Las Vegas and not have somebody come out and ask some questions about it," says Marcus Conklin, a Nevada Democratic state assemblyman who is leading a committee examining the mortgage issue. He hasn't endorsed a candidate.

Economic hot buttons like globalization and job outsourcing may resonate with voters, but it is the housing market that is directly affecting more voters' wallets.

Campaigns Hit Home
Percentage of mortgages that are seriously delinquent* in selected states with coming presidential primaries

Primary date	State	Delinquency rate
Jan. 15	Mich.	3.99
Jan. 19	Nev.	3.48
Jan. 29	Fla.	3.52
Feb. 1	Maine	3.07
Feb. 5	Ga.	3.48
Feb. 5	Ill.	3.38
Feb. 5	Tenn.	3.18
Feb. 5	Okla.	3.00
U.S. average:		2.95%

*Loans that are 90 days or more past due, plus loans that have already gone into foreclosure, 3Q 2007
Source: Mortgage Bankers Association

"Campaign '08: Housing Crisis Looms Larger in Campaign," *Wall Street Journal*, Jan 11, 2008

WASHINGTON POST

TUESDAY, APRIL 1, 2008

EDITION

NEWSSTAND 50¢
HOME DELIVERY 35¢

Prices may vary in areas outside metropolitan Washington. 15¢ less for A.C.

Jackson Resigns as HUD Secretary

Longtime Bush Friend Is Facing Cronyism Investigations

By DAN EGGEN
and CAROL D. LEONNIG
Washington Post Staff Writers

Embattled Housing and Urban Development Secretary Alphonso Jackson announced his resignation yesterday, leaving the Bush administration without a top housing official in the midst of a vast mortgage crisis that has shaken the global economy.

Jackson, a longtime friend and former neighbor of President Bush, departed after the White House concluded he had too many controversies swirling around him to be an effective Cabinet member, several HUD officials said privately.

Jackson has been accused of favoritism involving HUD contractors for two years, and the FBI and the Justice Department are investigating whether he steered business

to friends.

Several Democratic lawmakers demanded Jackson's resignation last month after he refused to answer questions about the accusations including a lawsuit filed by the Philadelphia Housing Authority against HUD that alleged Jackson and his aides used the department to punish the authority for refusing



Alphonso Jackson announces his resignation at HUD headquarters. He said he will depart April 18.

See JACKSON, A6, Col. 1

"Jackson Resigns as HUD Secretary," *Washington Post*, April 1, 2008

Tom Toles



Tom Toles, "We compromised on a Hula Hoop," cartoon, *Washington Post*, May 11, 2008

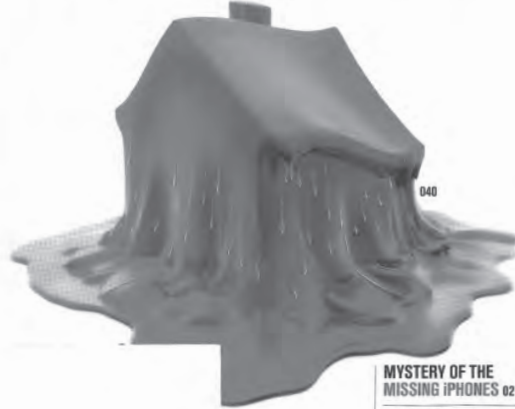
BusinessWeek

HOUSING

MELTDOWN

FOR HOUSING, THE WORST IS YET TO COME

BY PETER COY



MYSTERY OF THE MISSING IPHONES 025

THE WOUNDED DEAL ECONOMY 030

Ruth Simon, "Meltdown: For Housing, the Worst is Yet to Come," *Business Week*, Feb 11, 2008

The subprime crisis is just the tip of the iceberg. Fundamental changes in American life may turn today's McMansions into tomorrow's tenements.

BY CHRISTOPHER B. LEINBERGER



The Next Slum?

Strange days are upon the residents of many a suburban cul-de-sac. Once-tidy yards have become overgrown, as the houses they front have gone vacant. Signs of physical and social disorder are spreading. ¶ At Windy Ridge, a recently built starter-home development seven miles northwest of Charlotte, North Carolina, 81 of the community's 132 small, vinyl-sided houses were in foreclosure as of late last year. Vandals have kicked in doors and stripped the copper wire from vacant houses; drug users and homeless people have furtively moved in. In December, after a stray bullet blasted through her son's bedroom and into her own, Laurie Talbot, who'd moved to Windy Ridge from New York in 2005, told *The Charlotte Observer*,

"I thought I'd bought a home in Pleasantville. I never imagined in my wildest dreams that stuff like this would happen."

In the first half of last year, residential burglaries rose by 35 percent and robberies by 58 percent in suburban Lee County, Florida, where one in four houses stands empty. Charlotte's crime rates have stayed flat overall in recent years—but from 2003 to 2006, in the 10 suburbs of the city that have experienced the highest foreclosure rates, crime rose 33 percent. Civic organizations in some suburbs have begun to mow the lawns around empty houses to keep up the appearance of stability. Police departments are mapping foreclosures in an effort to identify emerging criminal hot spots.

The decline of places like Windy Ridge and Franklin Reserve is usually attributed to the subprime-mortgage crisis, with its wave of foreclosures. And the crisis has indeed catalyzed or intensified social problems in many communities. But the story of vacant suburban homes and declining suburban neighborhoods did not begin with the crisis, and will not end with it. A structural change is under way in the housing market—a major shift in the way many Americans want to live and work. It has shaped the current downturn, steering some of the worst problems away from the cities and toward the suburban fringes. And its effects will be felt more strongly, and more broadly,

as the years pass. Its ultimate impact on the suburbs, and the cities, will be profound.

For 60 years, Americans have pushed steadily into the suburbs, transforming the landscape and (until recently) leaving cities behind. But today the pendulum is swinging back toward urban living, and there are many reasons to believe this swing will continue. As it does, many low-density suburbs and McMansion subdivisions, including some that are lovely and affluent today, may become what inner cities became in the 1960s and '70s—slums characterized by poverty, crime, and decay.

In the past decade, as cities have gentrified, the suburbs have continued to grow at a breakneck pace. Atlanta's sprawl has extended nearly to Chattanooga; Fort Worth and Dallas have merged; and Los Angeles has swung a leg over the 10,000-foot San Gabriel Mountains into the Mojave Desert. Some experts expect conventional suburbs to continue to sprawl ever outward. Yet today, American metropolitan residential patterns and cultural preferences are mirror opposites of those in the 1940s. Most Americans now live in single-family suburban houses that are segregated from work, shopping, and entertainment; but it is urban life, almost exclusively, that is culturally associated with excitement, freedom, and diverse daily life. And as in the 1940s, the real-estate market has begun to react.

On the other hand, many inner suburbs that are on the wrong side of town, and poorly served by public transport, are already suffering what looks like inexorable decline. Low-income people, displaced from gentrifying inner cities, have moved in, and longtime residents, seeking more space and nicer neighborhoods, have moved out.

But much of the future decline is likely to occur on the fringes, in towns far away from the central city, not served by rail transit, and lacking any real core. In other words, some of the worst problems are likely to be seen in some of the country's more recently developed areas—and not only those inhabited by subprime-mortgage borrowers. Many of these areas will become magnets for poverty, crime, and social dysfunction.

Imagine what the country will look like then. Building and residential migration seem to progress slowly from year to year, yet then one day, in retrospect, the landscape seems to have been transformed in the blink of an eye. Unfortunately, the next transformation, like the ones before it, will leave some places diminished. About 25 years ago, *Escape From New York* perfectly captured the zeitgeist of its moment. Two or three decades from now, the next Kurt Russell may find his breakout role in *Escape From the Suburban Fringe*. ■

"The Next Slum?," *The Atlantic Magazine*, Mar 2008

BY RUTH SIMON

The Obama administration provided few details about its plans to address the foreclosure crisis when laying out its economic-recovery program Tuesday, highlighting the challenges of creating a program that is fair and effective.

The administration's efforts are being complicated by a weakening economy. Nearly five million families could lose their homes between 2009 and 2011, ac-

ording to Moody's Economy.com. "The ground is shifting," said Tom Deutsch, deputy executive director of the American Securitization Forum, an industry group.

Housing and Urban Development Secretary Shaun Donovan and Treasury Secretary Timothy Geithner will be meeting Wednesday to discuss possible approaches to the foreclosure crisis.

One question facing the administration is how to win investor support for modification efforts while providing meaningful relief to borrowers.

Right now, he said, servicers are limited in their ability to modify mortgages that have been packaged into securities and sold to multiple investors. In addition, "the borrower is going to have to probably—if they get some assistance—agree to give up some equity once housing prices recover," the president said.

"The Bailout Plan: U.S. Grasps for a Workable Approach to Foreclosure Crisis," *Wall Street Journal*, Feb 11, 2009

Los Angeles Times LATIMES.COM/NATION

THE HOUSING CRISIS: RESCUE PLAN

Trying to stop the bleeding

The president rolls out a \$75-billion plan to give mortgage relief to 9 million homeowners.

President Obama unveiled a \$75-billion federal plan to ease the epidemic of home foreclosures Wednesday, casting it as a lifeline for as many as 9 million homeowners and a means for ending the downward spiral of the economy.

The housing market collapse helped trigger the broader economic decline, the president argued, and so acting "boldly and swiftly" to arrest a wave of foreclosures would have positive effects across the economy and benefit every American.

all of us will pay an even steeper price if we allow this crisis to deepen, a crisis which is unraveling homeownership, the middle class and the American dream itself."



ROSS D. FRANKLIN/Associated Press

IN MESA, ARIZ.: "In the end, all of us are paying a price for this home mortgage crisis," President Obama said.

"The Housing Crisis Rescue Plan: Trying to Stop the Bleeding," *Los Angeles Times*, Feb 19, 2009

OVERVIEW

CUT TO

UNIVERSITY LECTURE HALL
EARLIER THE SAME DAY

The symposium, is under way. It is a gathering of academic experts on the subject of suburban housing in the United States. There is a large audience of students, faculty, and members of the general public. Diotima stands at a podium at the front of a raked amphitheater.

DIOTIMA

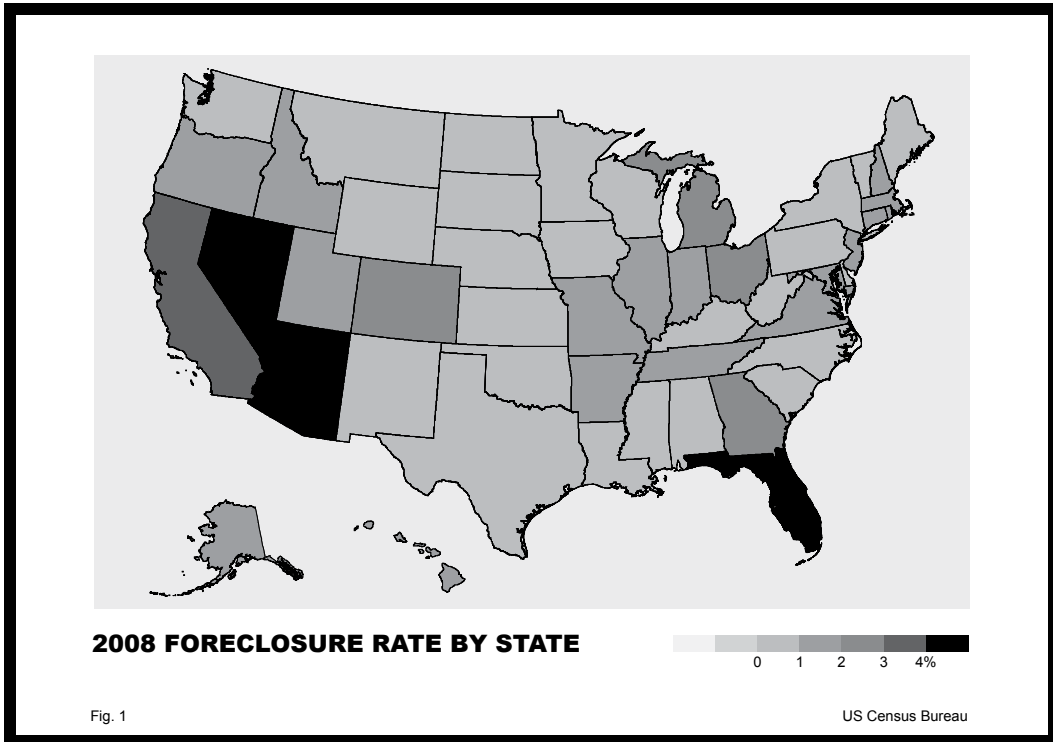
Good Morning, and thank you for coming. We are here to discuss the results of research by eight of our colleagues on a series of municipalities across the country, each of which represents aspects of a general crisis affecting the American suburbs. As you know, the current economic recession is the largest since the Great Depression. You also know that the associated financial crisis entails, in part, a housing crisis, created when the housing “bubble” fueled by high-interest mortgages burst, leaving millions with mortgages they could not afford to carry. Last year saw unprecedented moves by the federal government and the Federal Reserve in response to the



crisis. The Troubled Asset Relief Program (TARP) legislation that bailed out many of the country's banks did so because, as the value of individual properties sank, so did bank assets represented by bundled subprime, alternative-A, and other high-interest mortgages. It was largely the state of the country's housing, and housing market, that led many to wonder whether these banks were, indeed, too big to be allowed to fail.

Fig. 1

A residential foreclosure crisis soon followed the subprime mortgage crisis. In 2008, there were over three million foreclosure filings on homes, an increase of 81 percent over 2007 and 225 percent over 2006, when subprime mortgages peaked and then started their rapid decline.¹³ Yesterday, President Obama signed the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act (ARRA). The Act hopes to stimulate the economy by investing in new infrastructures, creating jobs with that stimulus, and preparing the economy in the long run with funding for more environmentally sustainable technologies. And yet housing is surprisingly absent from the legislation, with the exception of a relatively small investment in updating

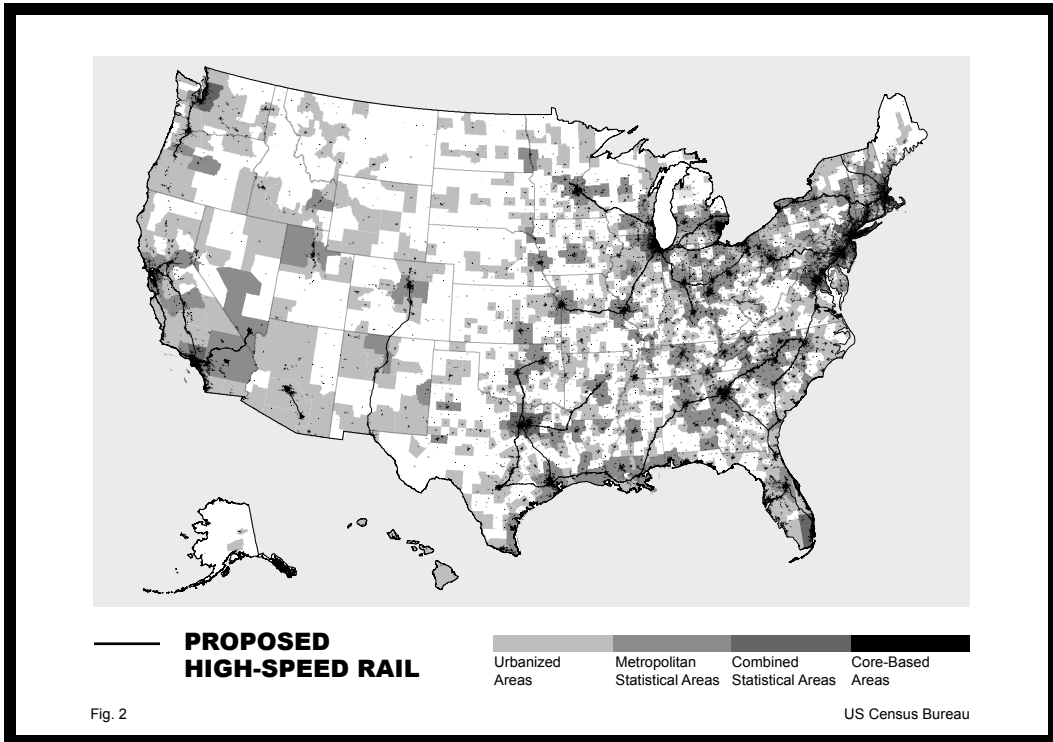


existing public housing, mostly to ensure better environmental performance.

Fig. 2

The existing and proposed high-speed rail lines supported by ARRA connect the country's megaregions, which are made up of multiple cities and their suburbs grouped within an area. These regions function economically and culturally as a unit, regardless of how they may intersect state lines. No longer does a town's local economy simply characterize the revenue generated within its own boundaries. Today that economy benefits both its state and its megaregion.

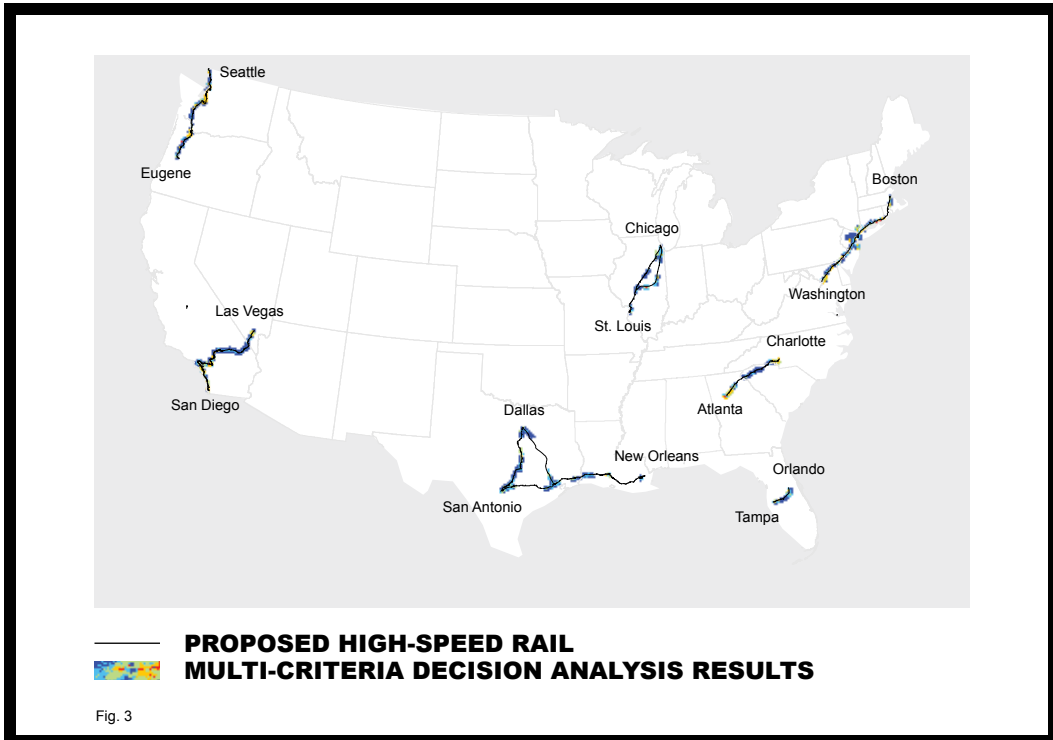
The brief presentations you are about to hear will analyze eight different suburbs, each located within one of these megaregions. They are situated along an existing or proposed rail line connecting the large urban centers that act as regional anchors. Each suburb represents a particular aspect of the more general crisis, where high foreclosure rates are only one indicator of systemic housing need, imbalance, or inequity. Each also offers potential for long-term investment and growth and hence, an opportunity



to redefine the problem and to propose new solutions. Taken together, these eight suburbs should therefore be seen as representative of the overall situation, but each in a somewhat different way. In order to distinguish what is typical in each case from what is unique, they were chosen through Multi-Criteria Decision Analysis (MCDA), a method that combines an array of quantitative and qualitative factors. The results are shown on this map.

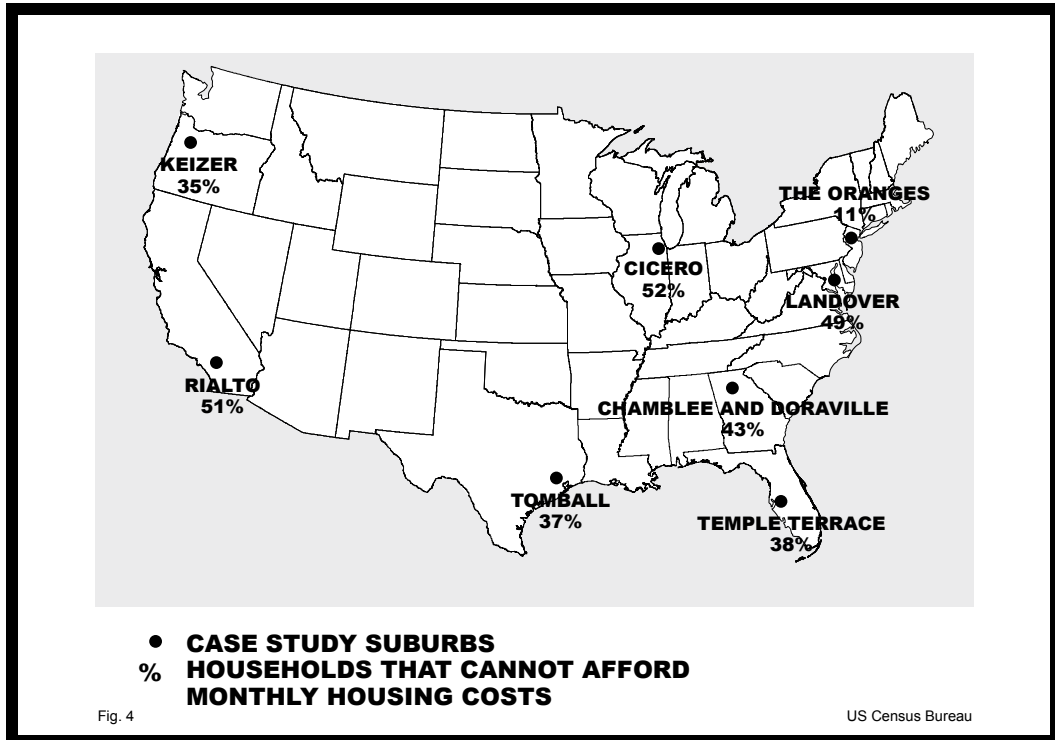
Fig. 3

The analysis was based on information collected from the 2000 US Census and the 2008 American Community Survey.¹⁴ It combines social, economic, and housing demographics. These include population and population density, the prevalence of detached single-family homes, local vacancy rates, local renting rates, average household size and the percentage of those households that were occupied by families, the percentage of the population that are elderly or children, median household income and poverty rates, households receiving public assistance and supplemental security income, commute times to work and the means of transportation those commuters use, the prevalence of new residents (who moved into the area within the last year) and from how far away they moved,



race, ethnicity, and educational attainment. The analysis also factors in the mortgage status for owner-occupied homes, meaning how many mortgages homeowners carried and whether they also had home equity loans. This last criterion offers a way of understanding how many homeowners used their homes as an investment, or as collateral for further borrowing. For each of the variables, the current data (as of February 17, 2009) was compared to information from 2000 to isolate the areas that showed both current need for investment and significant recent change calling for more investment.¹⁵

In the map that you see on the screen, the “hotspots” shown in red denote areas of particular interest. This narrowed down our search for representative case studies from several thousand to only a handful per megaregion and allowed for a more manageable, qualitative comparison of these, one to another. During this qualitative phase, each suburb with a high score was examined for its local history, economic base, and development patterns, as well as for how it was weathering the foreclosure and financial crisis.



In the end, one representative suburb was chosen per region. Each stands to benefit greatly from a new high-speed rail corridor passing within its boundaries. Each would also benefit greatly from a significant investment in housing and other forms of urban infrastructure to complement the anticipated investment in regional transportation.

Now, before I let our colleagues introduce you to these places, I'd like to briefly show you what "housing affordability" means in these eight suburbs. The common definition of "affordability" requires that a household spend no more than thirty percent of its monthly income on housing.¹⁶

Fig. 4

This map shows the percentage of households in each place that currently cannot afford its housing costs. While today, homeowners everywhere are having a more difficult time affording their mortgages, in each of our case studies it is actually the renting households that spend the greatest percentage of their income on the roof over their heads. This, we argue, not only indicates an affordability gap for homeowners; it draws an increasingly uncrossable

line between those who have the means to access what, in another, less technical parlance than ours, is commonly called the American Dream, and those who do not.

This states the problem rather starkly. Although we all recognize that, in fact, access to housing in suburbia, as elsewhere, is conditioned by all manner of shades of gray, it does remind us that we are dealing with a systemic issue that cannot be papered over with short-term fixes. It also suggests that lurking behind these figures are cultural values that often go unquestioned. That is why we have attempted to portray, through these eight case studies, the general crisis through its specific, local manifestations.

In each case, under the heading “The Publicness of the Private,” our team of researchers will briefly describe the involvement of the public sector in private residential and commercial development. Moving to “The Privateness of the Public,” they will then show how municipalities have been developing plans for private-sector development on specific sites, many of which are publicly owned. Finally, each will sketch “The Publicness of the Public” by highlighting a few of the local demographics used in the analysis that led us to these case studies, in an effort to reveal who the public actually is in these areas and how that public actually lives.

Diotima takes a seat in the front row of the auditorium as Speaker 1 takes the podium. The lights are dimmed. A powerpoint presentation loads on the screen.

RIALTO, CALIFORNIA

Fig. 5–7

SPEAKER 1

As California Senator Barbara Boxer recently noted, “The foreclosure crisis is having a dramatic impact across the country. California, which saw some of the greatest increases in housing prices in recent years, is at the center [of this crisis].”¹⁷ Rialto, in San Bernardino County, is representative of California’s high foreclosure situation.

In the MCDA results, you can see the hotspot Rialto represents in our analysis of the areas surrounding the proposed high-speed rail line. Rialto is a high-impact area due largely to its economic conditions (income and poverty levels) and population and housing demographics (such as housing affordability, racial and ethnic diversity, and means of transportation for commuters) relative to the rest of the region. But long-term it is growing. In fact, because of Rialto’s position within the Southern California megaregion, the city’s population is expected to grow considerably faster than the national average, gaining 10 percent in the next five years.¹⁸

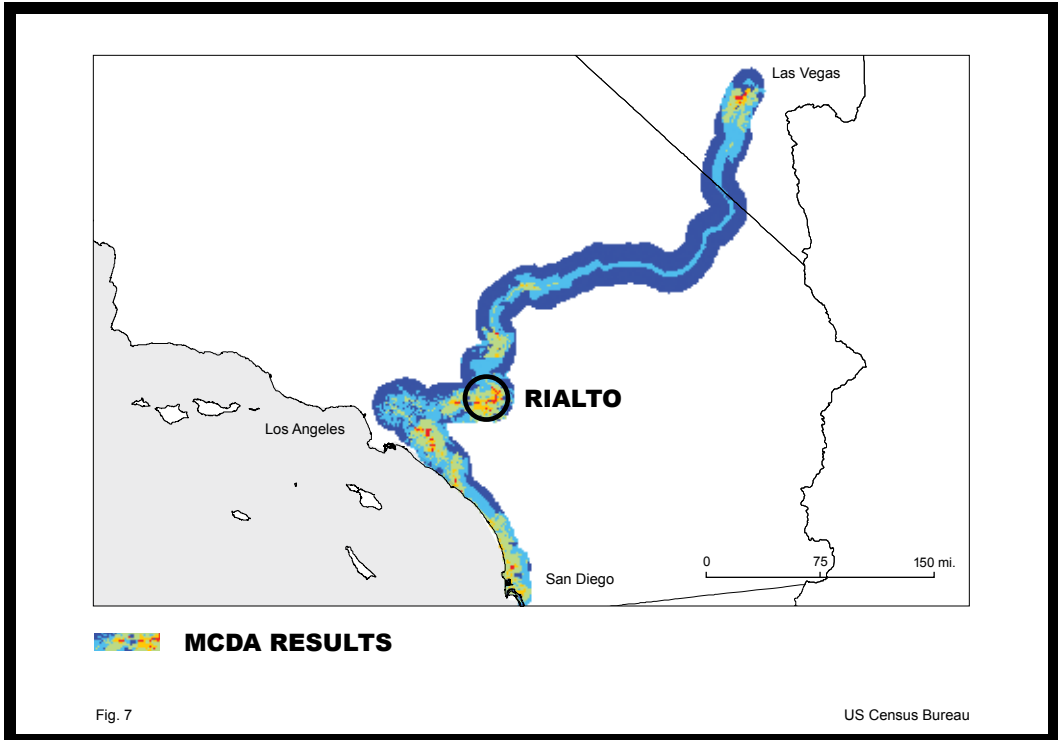
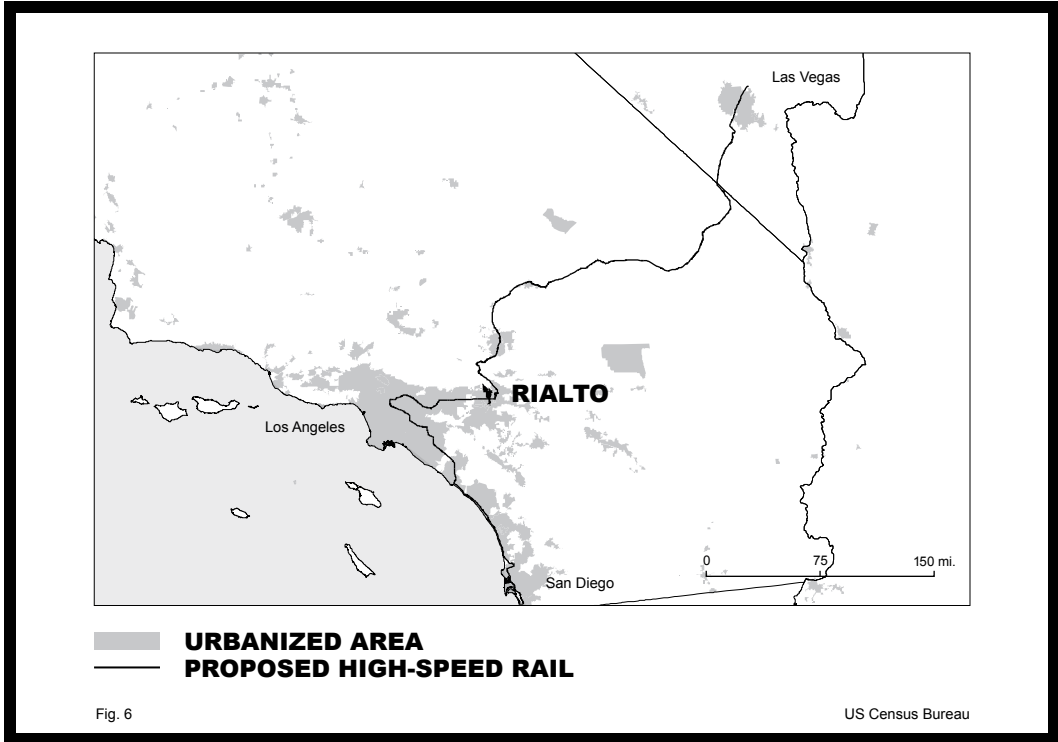
Fig. 8–10

Here is a house in Rialto that was foreclosed upon this month, February 2009.¹⁹ The foreclosing bank was

RIALTO, CALIFORNIA



Fig. 5



THE PUBLICNESS OF THE PRIVATE

**SINGLE-FAMILY HOME
FORECLOSED BY INDYMAC FSB, FEB 2009**

Fig. 8

RealtyTrac; Google Street View

IndyMac, which lent \$26 billion in subprime mortgages between 2005 and 2007 and as a result became a rapidly growing, record-breaking success story as a private bank.²⁰ Right now, however, its lending practices have brought the bank under federal conservatorship, and it was as a federally controlled bank that IndyMac foreclosed upon this home.²¹

The local economy, represented in this next slide by Rialto's Inland Community Bank, is largely reliant on the region's transportation networks. Located at the intersection of rail lines heading east from the Port of Los Angeles and the highways leading north through California and east to other regions, Rialto is home to regional distribution centers for several corporations. Production, transportation, and material moving operations occupations currently employ 23 percent of Rialto's civilian workforce.

Rialto's public planning efforts are focused on encouraging both large- and smaller-scale private development projects for housing and commercial uses to meet its projected population growth and to promote economic



LOCAL ECONOMY
RIALTO'S INLAND COMMUNITY BANK

Fig. 9

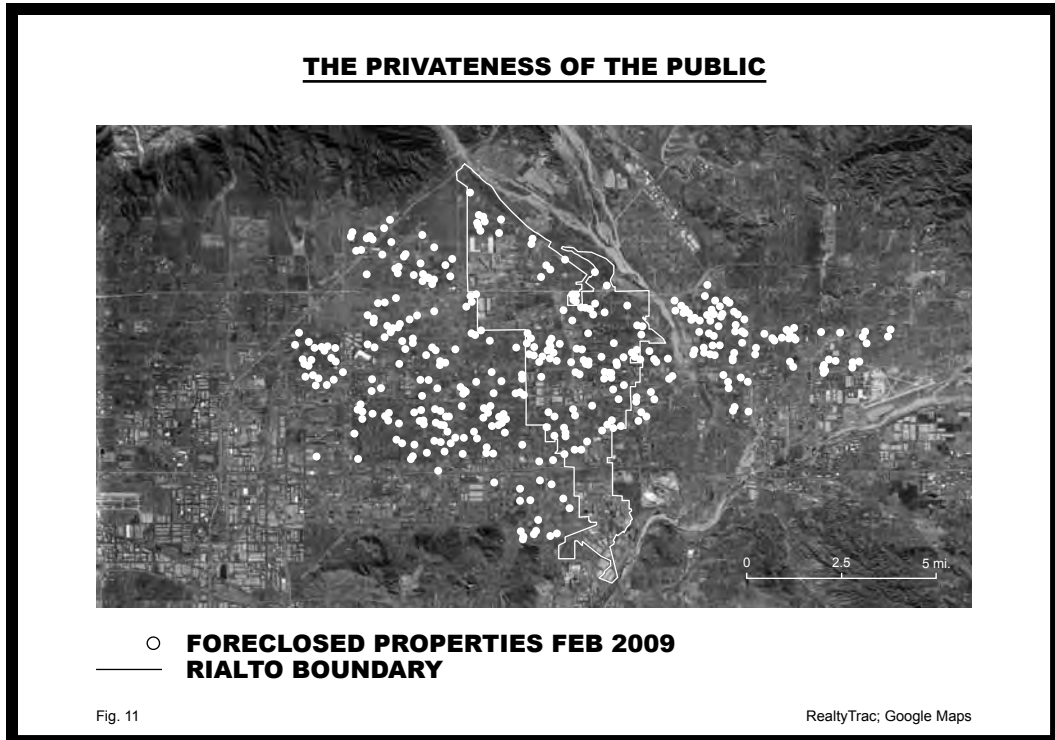
Google Street View



LOCAL PLANNING
RIALTO'S CITY HALL

Fig. 10

Google Street View

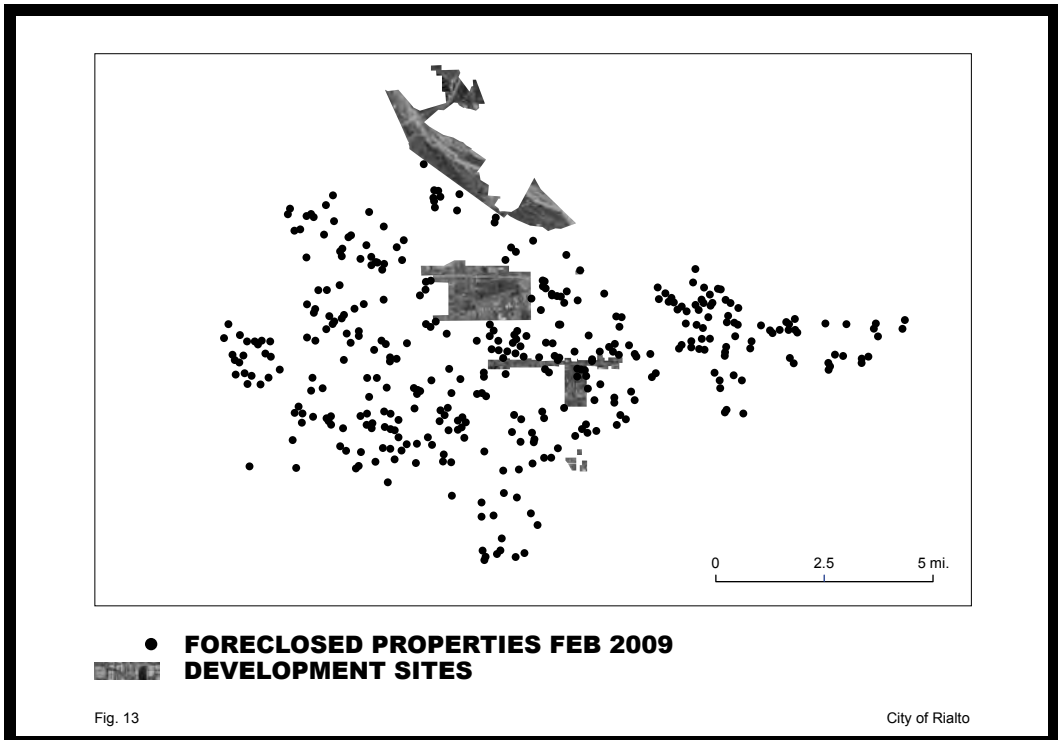
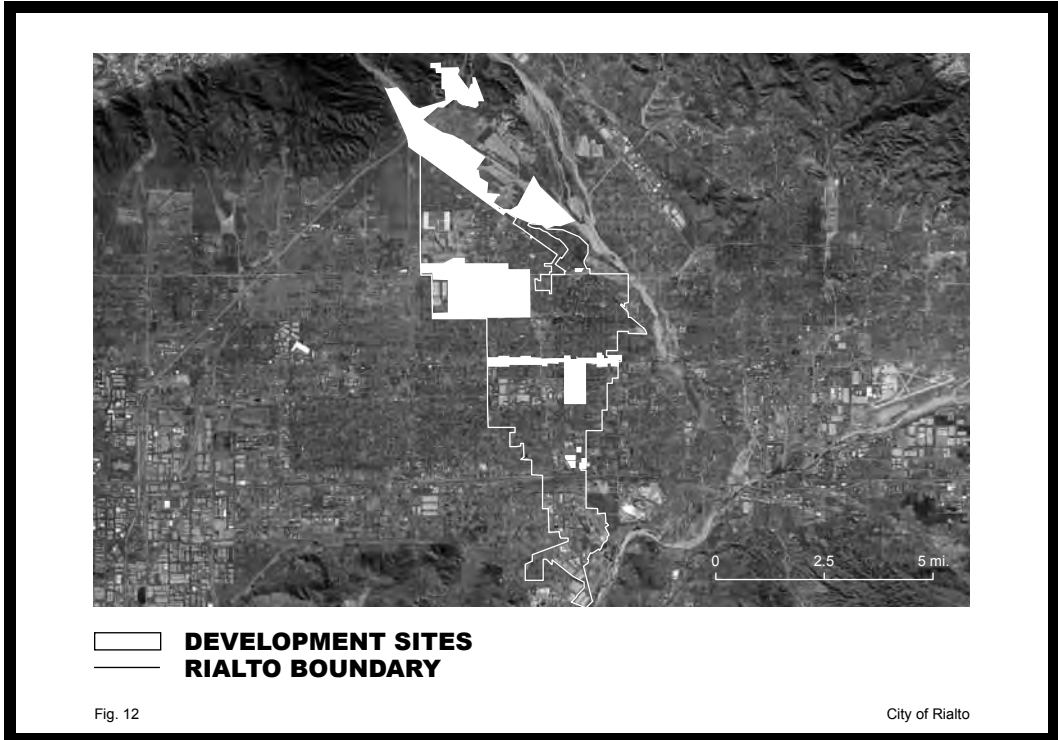


development and job creation.²² The two agencies responsible for Rialto's development are the Redevelopment Agency and the Planning Division, the latter located in Rialto's City Hall. The Redevelopment Agency is in charge of the creation and preservation of Rialto's affordable housing stock. In addition to the city's general plan, "Specific Plans" are created and implemented by the Planning Division to address substantial areas for rezoning and redevelopment by private developers.

Fig. 11–13

This next map reveals foreclosed properties in and around Rialto. It does not represent all of the foreclosures to date; only those transferred to bank-ownership in February 2009. All but a handful of these properties are single-family homes, foreclosed upon by banks that received "bail-out" money from TARP only a few months ago. With today's announcement of the Making Home Affordable program, the federal government plans to devote billions of dollars more to these banks to alleviate the foreclosure crisis.

The next drawing shows the areas of Rialto planned by the municipality for private development. I will profile





**RIALTO SITE 1
LYTLE CREEK RANCH**

Fig. 14

Google Street View



**RIALTO SITE 1
2,400 ACRES; RESIDENTIAL WITH TOWN CENTERS AND OPEN SPACE**

Fig. 15

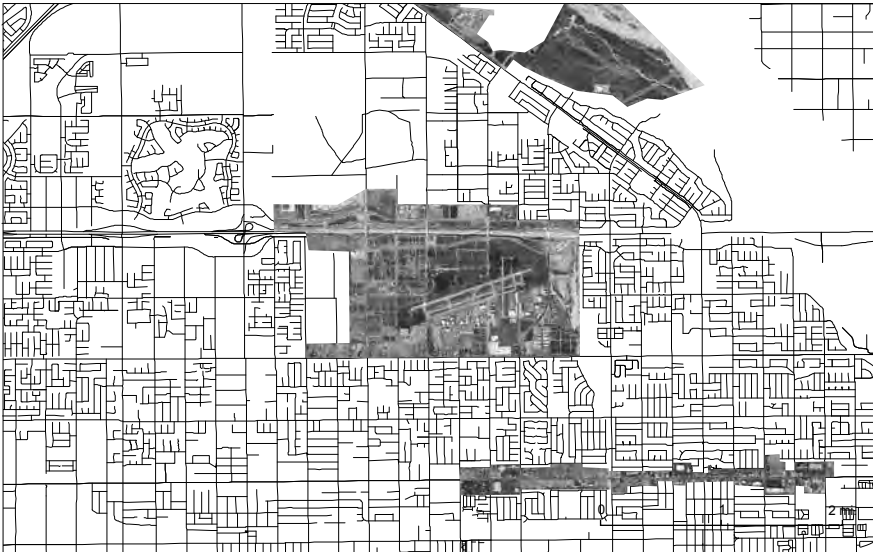
City of Rialto



**RIALTO, SITE 2
RENNAISSANCE RIALTO**

Fig. 16

Google Street View



**RIALTO SITE 2
DECOMMISSIONED AIRPORT; 1,000+ ACRES**

Fig. 17

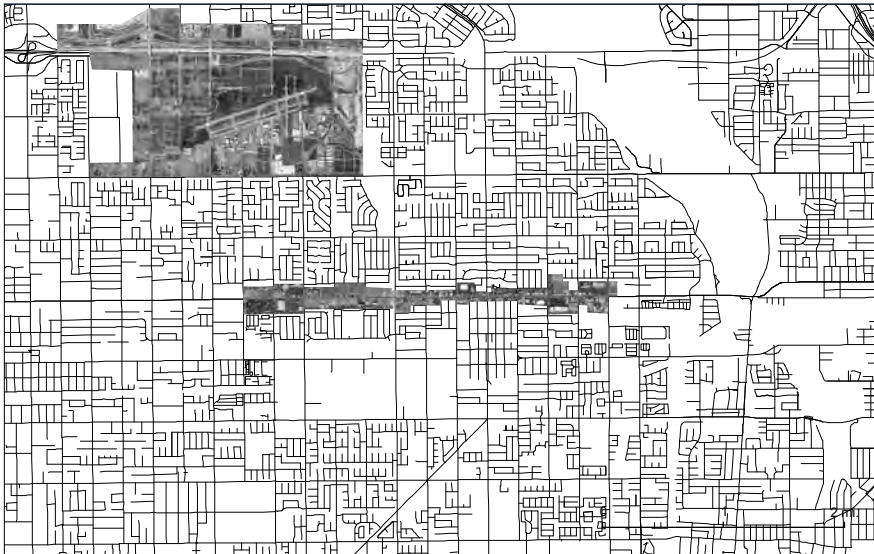
City of Rialto



**RIALTO SITE 3
FOOTHILL BOULEVARD**

Fig. 18

Google Street View



**RIALTO SITE 3
300 ACRES; INFILL DEVELOPMENT**

Fig. 19

City of Rialto

three of these sites more closely, but for now, suffice it to say that most of this land is currently publicly owned. Ownership will be transferred to a private developer to realize the city's goals.

Highlighting this month's foreclosures and the areas for development reveals Rialto's current real estate situation: one wherein private real estate development may (or may not) soon be replicated on what is, for now, still city-owned property.

Fig. 14–15

The largest development site in Rialto is at the northern end of the city, extending beyond Rialto's boundaries into currently unincorporated land bounded by existing residential development, mountains, the highway, and the rail line. The current Specific Plan for the site, called Lytle Creek Ranch, calls for a three-phase development of multiple uses ranging from mostly single-family detached houses to commercial town centers, parks, and a golf course. These views show the current state of the 2,400-acre area, which is mostly desert. In total, the city would like to see over eight thousand new housing units built here.

Fig. 16–17

This next development area, known as Renaissance Rialto, is the site of the city's decommissioned municipal airport, which totals over one thousand acres of developable public land. The site is intended as a business and retail anchor for the city, hoping to attract office uses along with thousands of new jobs, as a part of an overall economic development strategy for the city.

These images show views of the site from within the small airport. While the entire site is not currently planned, the first phase reserves the majority of the development area for office and retail uses, with a cluster of different housing types and some mixed use buildings.

Fig. 18–19

The last example in Rialto I will discuss is the planned redevelopment of the commercial corridor of Foothill Boulevard, which runs the width of the city. Currently, the street is home to big box retail stores, strip malls, and many sizeable, vacant, developable lots. The city would like to see infill development along the corridor as well as new urban design and streetscaping elements.

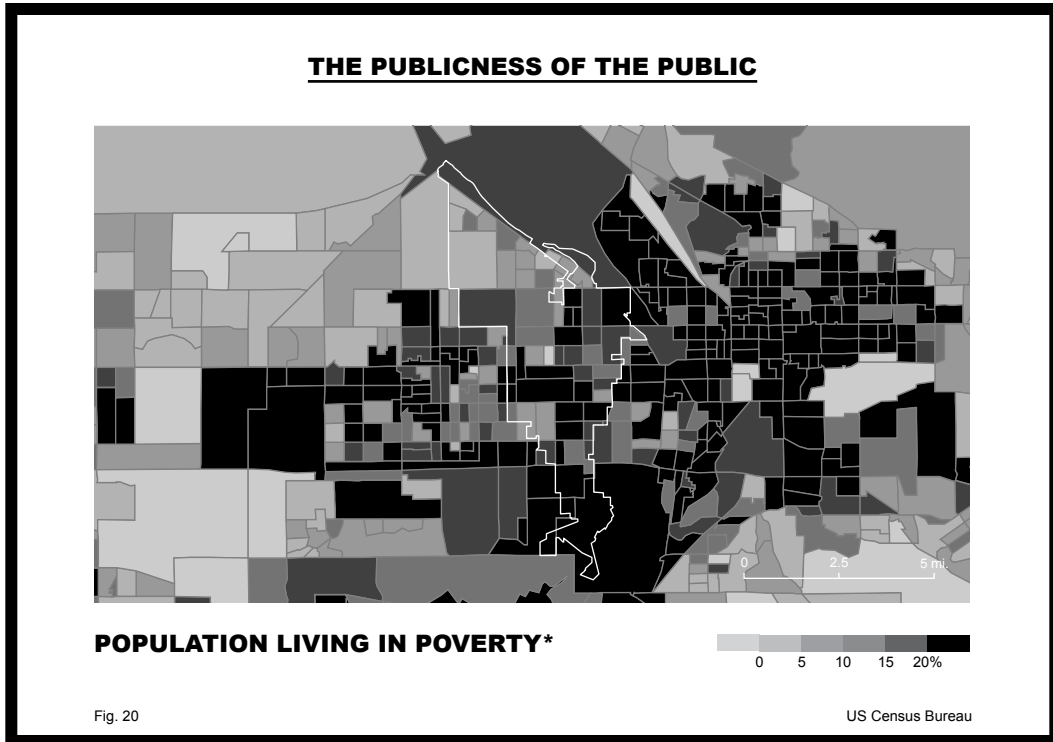
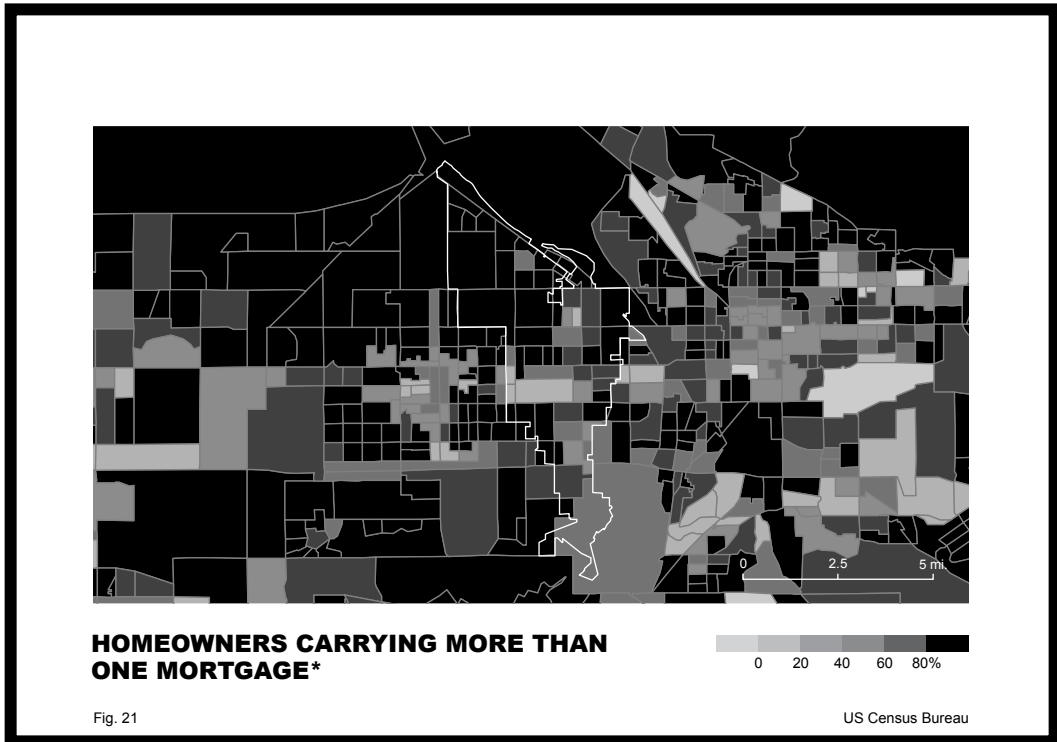
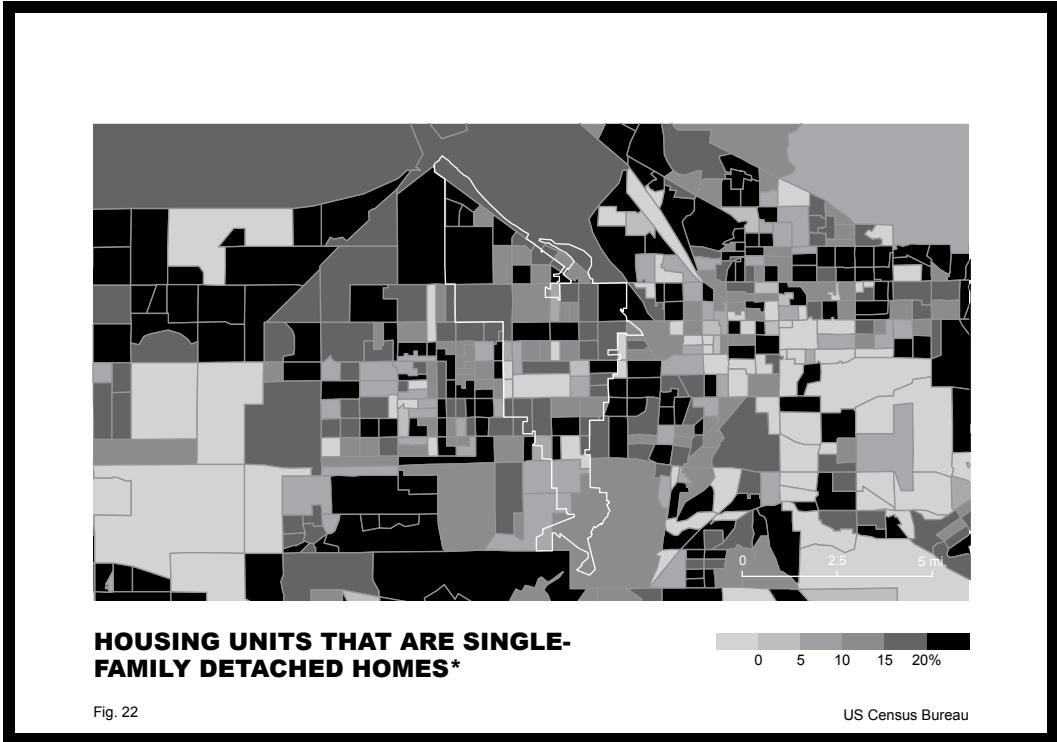


Fig. 20–22

In Rialto, 14 percent of the population currently lives below the poverty line.²³ What you’ll notice in this map is something common to these case study areas. Though the maps of the different case study suburbs do not all reflect the same numbers, in many cases they represent a space of transition and of relative diversity. In this case, Rialto shows a gradient of poverty from the more affluent area in the northwest of the map to increased poverty toward the south.

Unsurprisingly, perhaps, the next map shows the percentage of housing units that are single-family detached homes. The relatively affluent northwestern corner is made up almost entirely of the sort of single-family housing brought to mind by the term “suburbia.”

When we look at the percentage of homeowners carrying more than one mortgage on their houses we get another level of insight, involving a household’s relationship to homeownership as an investment. If the first mortgage represents what you borrow to invest in a house, the second mortgage (and/or home equity credit line) represents further credit to which your initial investment provides



you access. In other words, the American homeowner often accumulates mortgage debt in order to possess the collateral needed to borrow more. In Rialto, it is largely in those areas with the least poverty and greatest percentage of single-family houses that residents rely most on their houses for access to credit.

TOMBALL, TEXAS

Fig. 23–25

SPEAKER 2

I'm going to take you now to Tomball, Texas, a suburb north of Houston in the growing megaregion known as the "Texas Triangle." Houston is widely known as the largest American city without formal zoning regulations, and it is precisely the sprawl enabled by this lack of regulation that inspired the well-defined, almost rigid zoning code in Tomball. As the outer reaches of Houston's suburbanization approach Tomball, the city has put in place a series of planning mechanisms to control its growth, economic development, and historic preservation.

Like the other case studies, Tomball was one of a few hotspots of demonstrable housing instability resulting from our early analysis.²⁴ After a qualitative review of these potential sites, it was ultimately chosen in light of the representative nature of its relationship to Houston. Towns across the country are finding that as urban regions grow, new development may threaten their character and local identity. Still, Tomball stands to gain a great deal from a station along the high-speed rail linking it to Houston, including improved employment opportunities for its residents.

TOMBALL, TEXAS

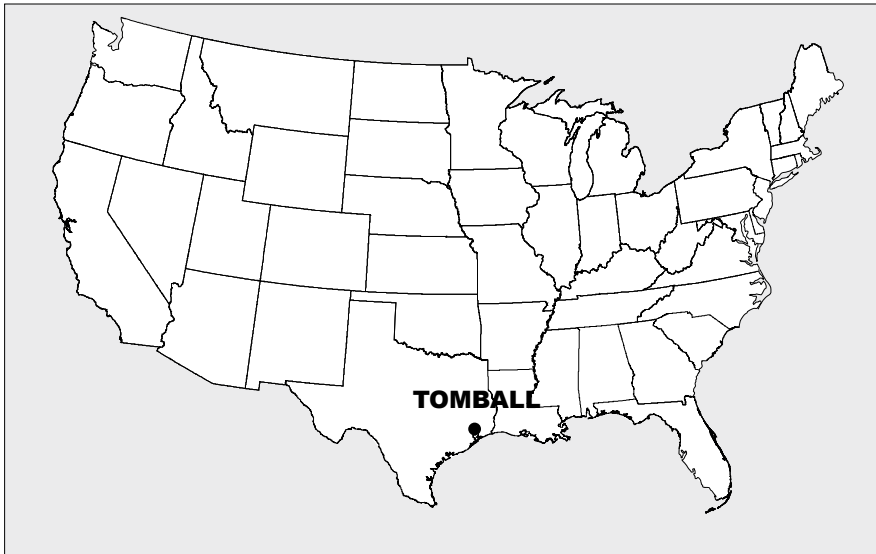
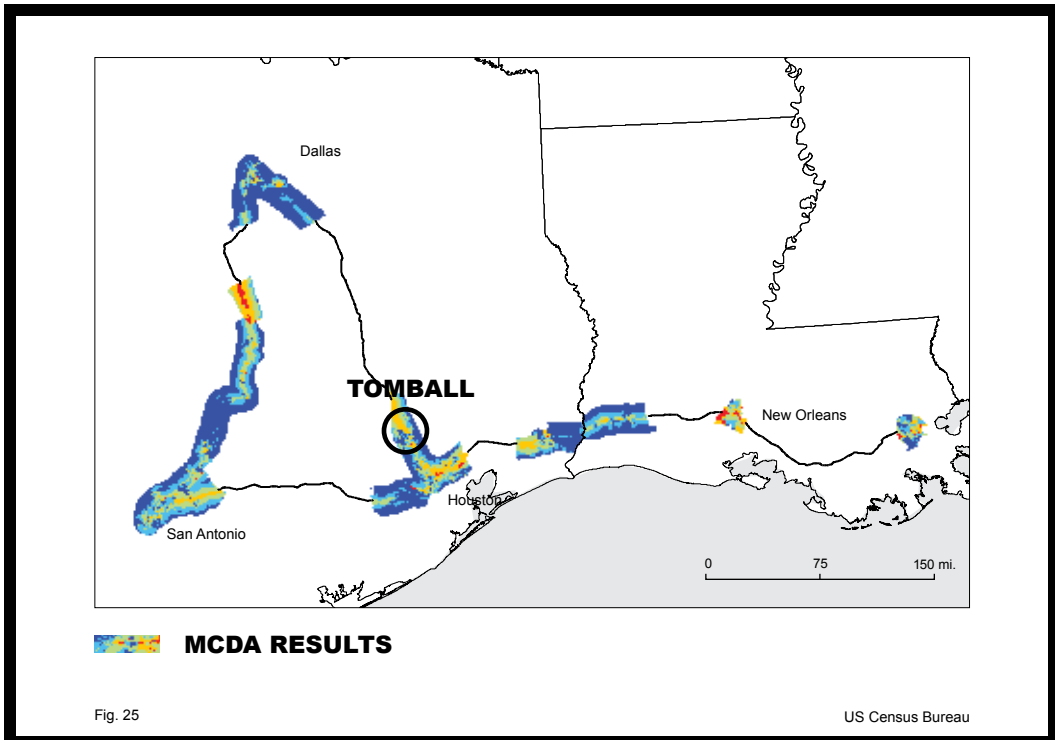
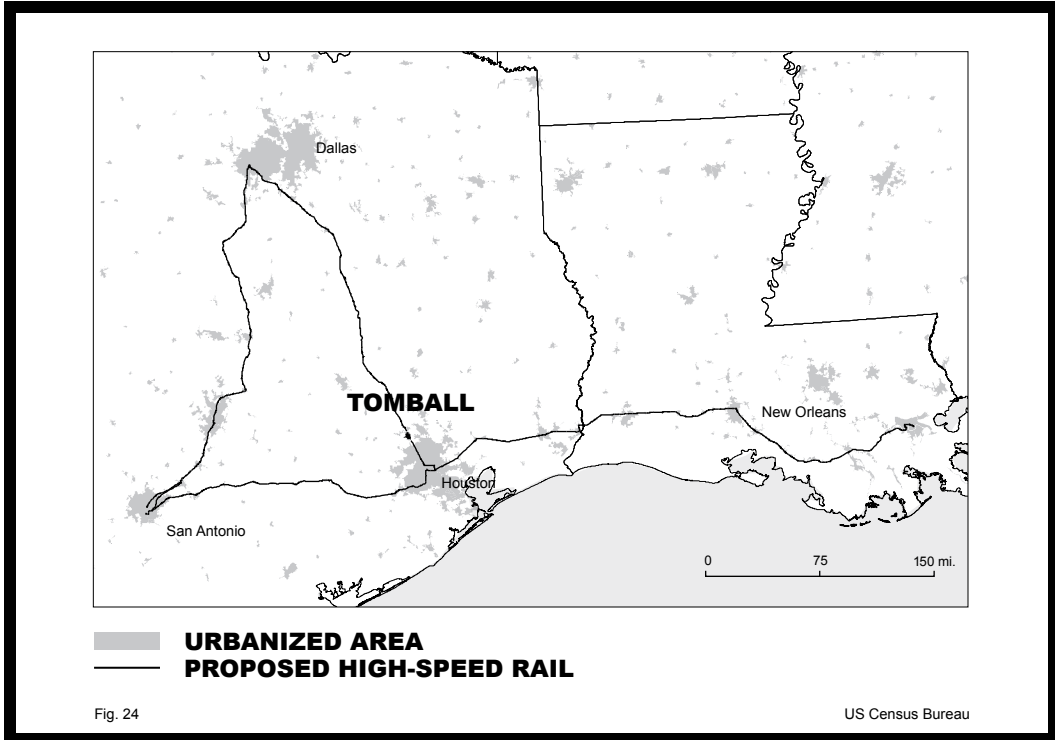


Fig. 23



THE PUBLICNESS OF THE PRIVATE

**SINGLE-FAMILY HOME
FORECLOSED BY GMAC MORTGAGE, FEB 2009**

Fig. 26

RealtyTrac; Google Street View

Like Rialto relative to Los Angeles, Tomball's location outside Houston has set it up for significant population growth in the coming years. As the greater Houston area continues to grow, much of this growth has been within the northern parts of Harris County. Today, Tomball is home to a little more than 10,000 people; by 2030, the city expects its population will have doubled.²⁵

Fig. 26–28

This Tomball house was foreclosed upon on February 6, 2009, for an outstanding debt of less than \$90,000.²⁶ The foreclosing bank was GMAC Mortgage, once the financial arm of General Motors.² During the height of subprime lending, GMAC/Cerebus lent over \$17 billion in high-interest mortgages. In December of 2008 General Motors and GMAC received a \$16.3 billion federal bailout under the Automotive Industry Financing Program. Today GMAC's largest shareholder is the U.S. Treasury.²⁷

Tomball's household median income is about \$45,000, with 10 percent of the population living below the poverty line. The town's most prominent industries are education, health care, and social assistance, anchored by the 357-bed Tomball Regional Medical Center. Tomball's largest



**LOCAL ECONOMY
TOMBALL'S ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION**

Fig. 27

Google Street View



**LOCAL PLANNING
TOMBALL'S CITY HALL**

Fig. 28

Google Street View

THE PRIVATENESS OF THE PUBLIC

○ **FORECLOSED PROPERTIES FEB 2009**
 — **TOMBALL BOUNDARY**

Fig. 29

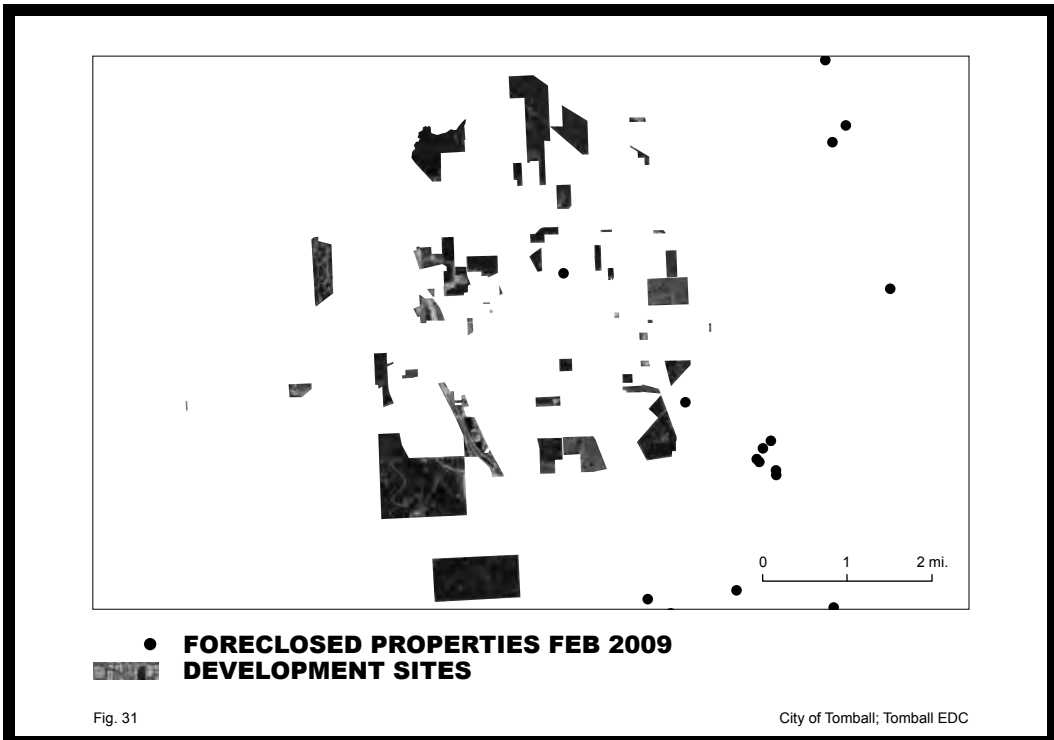
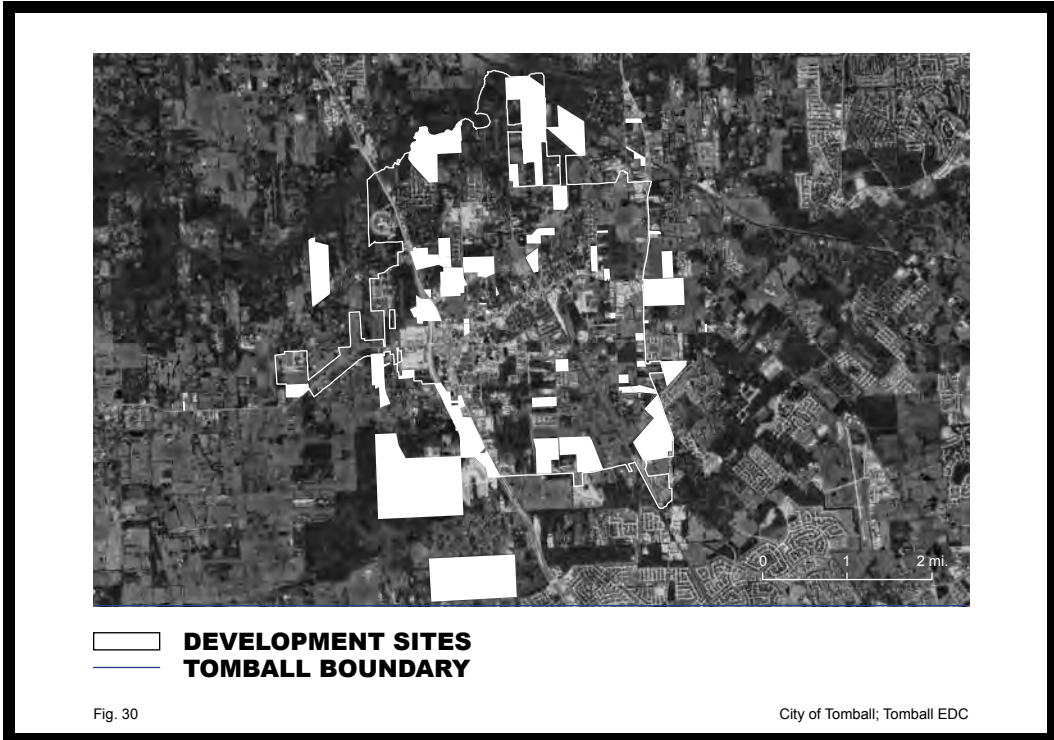
RealtyTrac; Google Maps

single employer is Hewlett Packard, with ten thousand employees. Further, 15 percent of Tomball's workforce holds government jobs. Tomball's current economic development strategy is rooted in real estate development through a diversified tax base. It has created a tax abatement policy to encourage mixed-use development.

Tomball's aggressive real estate development strategies are supported by an active Economic Development Corporation (EDC), which—in conjunction with the Engineering and Planning Department and in accordance with the town's zoning plan—has identified a number of sites for new building. Most of the sites are vacant, giving the town's commitment to preserving its historic character. While the Engineering and Planning Department is responsible for creating plans for future uses town-wide and for specific sites, the EDC is charged with selling sites to private developers in order to help realize the city's plans.

Fig. 29–31

This map featuring February 2009 foreclosures in Tomball and its surrounding area points to a concentration of foreclosures in the recently developed residential





TOMBALL SITE 1

Fig. 32

Google Street View



**TOMBALL SITE 1
160 ACRES; FUTURE RESIDENTIAL**

Fig. 33

City of Tomball



TOMBALL SITE 2

Fig. 34

Google Street View



**TOMBALL SITE 2
12 ACRES OFFERED BY EDC**

Fig. 35

Tomball EDC



TOMBALL SITE 3

Fig. 36

Google Street View



**TOMBALL SITE 3
300 ACRES; NON-RESIDENTIAL; EXTRA-TERRESTRIAL JURISDICTION**

Fig. 37

City of Tomball

subdivisions southeast of the town. In that sense, Tomball represents a classic instance of the suburban foreclosure crisis.

The areas targeted for development in Tomball are an amalgamation of large and small sites compiled by both the Engineering and Planning Department and EDC.²⁸ Currently, most of these sites do not have specific plans, but the city hopes to see all of them developed by the private sector. Many of the sites lay outside the municipal boundaries of Tomball for two reasons: first, because the city plans to annex new land for development; and second, Tomball maintains control over much of its unincorporated neighboring area through its “Extra-territorial Jurisdiction,” even for areas it has no plan to acquire.

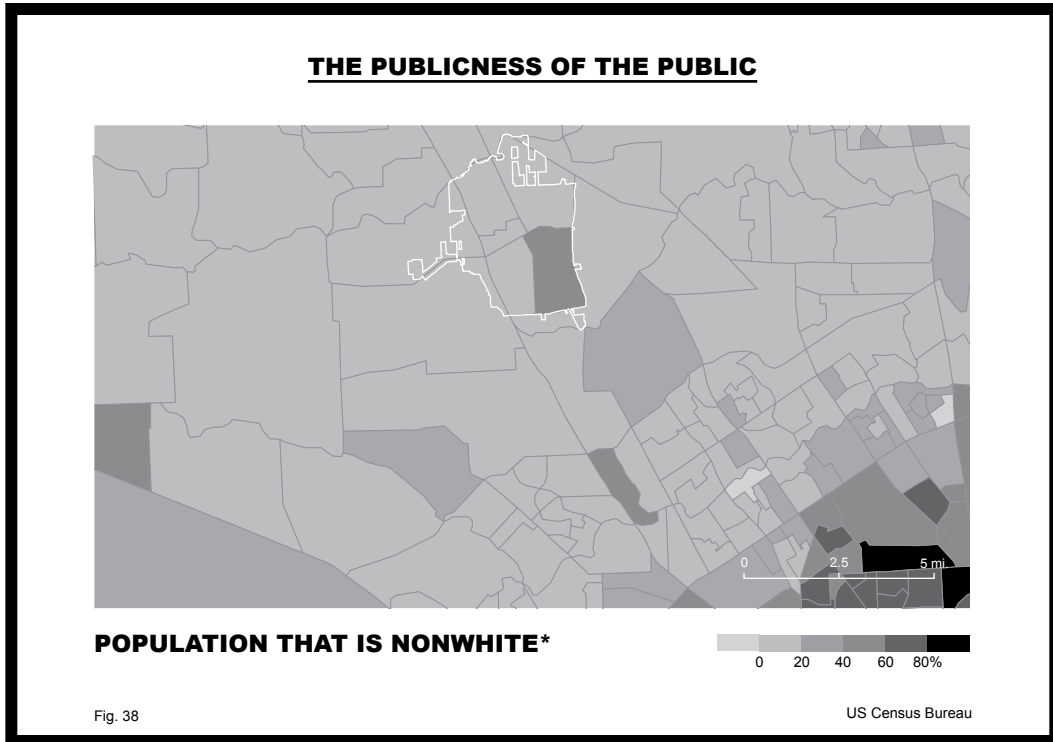
As with Rialto, a map highlighting Tomball’s development sites and current foreclosures reveals both sprawling growth (in the foreclosure pattern southeast of the town) as well as real opportunities presented by the development sites either to recreate that type of growth or plan for a different, more economically sustainable, type of development.

Fig. 32–33

In total, fifty potential sites have been identified for development. I will profile three that illustrate a range of initiatives in Tomball. The first site, and one of the largest, is an undeveloped area within the town’s current municipal boundaries, which the Engineering and Planning Department has earmarked for future residential development. Beyond this earmarking, no specific plans have been created or proposed as yet. The site constitutes 160 acres and currently lacks roads and other necessary infrastructures.

Fig. 34–35

The second site is one currently offered for sale by the Tomball Economic Development Corporation. A vacant corner lot, the southern end of which stands adjacent to Tomball’s historic town center, this represents a key piece in the dual preservation/revitalization project currently underway in Tomball. The town’s downtown revitalization plans also include streetscaping and increased parking.



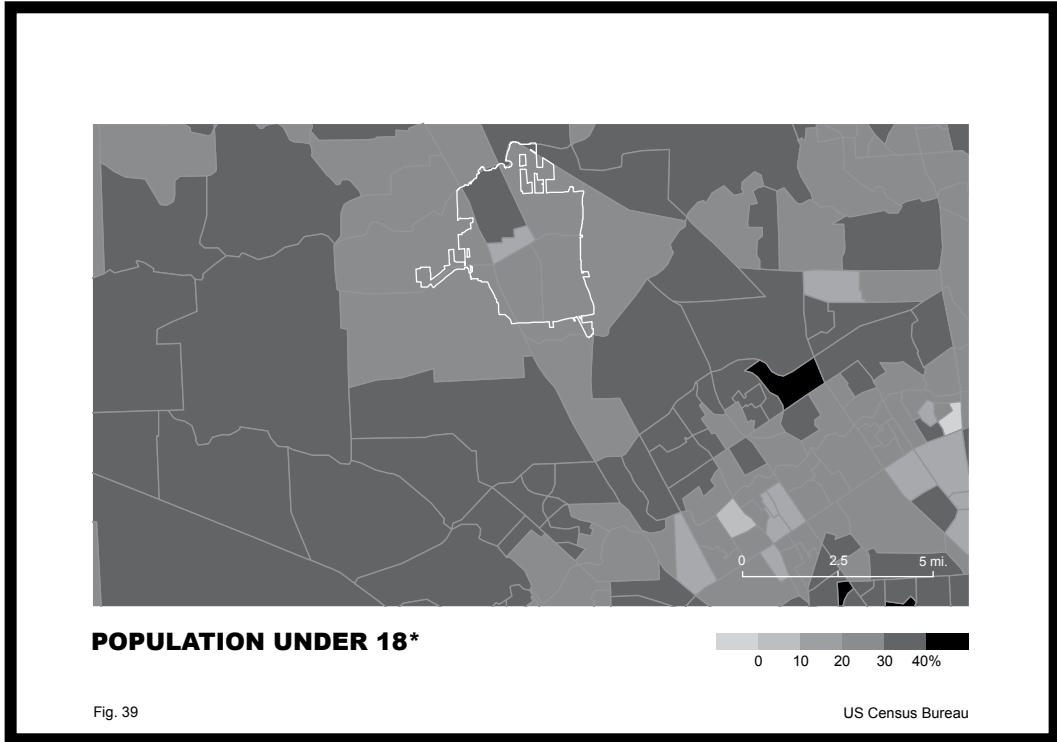
The 12-acre lot is being offered by the EDC for residential and commercial uses.

Fig. 36–37

The third example in Tomball is a site slated for development in the Planning Department’s future land use plans and falls under the city’s extra-territorial jurisdiction. Not intended for residential use, this site is envisioned as part of a specific land-use planning strategy that seeks to create a buffer from the residential suburban sprawl steadily approaching from the south. This 300-acre area is vacant and no infrastructure is currently in place.

Fig. 38–40

In Rialto, we showed examples of economic and housing demographics used in the multi-criteria decision analysis. Here, I will show some examples of the population demographics used, including age and race demographics. First, the percentage of persons of color in Tomball is relatively low (at 17 percent of the population) compared to Harris County’s total of 39 percent, as hinted at in the southeastern portion of the map. The non-white population in Tomball is more or less concentrated in the southeastern corner of the town.



Secondly, with a median age of 34, Tomball's population under the age of 18 is relatively low compared to most suburban areas: this is corroborated by the fact that families constitute only 62 percent of households in Tomball. Although running counter the general perception, this data represents a real and growing trend in the chronological makeup of suburban residents in areas close to a metropolitan center.

Lastly, as another part of that trend, we looked at the commuting patterns for workers who work outside the home. While the vast majority of commuters in Tomball drive alone to work, the percentage is remarkably lower than in the surrounding areas. This suggests an opportunity, with the addition of the planned high-speed rail line, to lower this number even further.

CHAMBLEE AND DORAVILLE, GEORGIA

Fig. 41–43

SPEAKER 3

Just outside DeKalb County's Atlanta border, along the proposed high-speed rail line between Atlanta and Charlotte and with commuter rail stations heading into Atlanta, are two small municipalities: Chamblee and Doraville, Georgia. They are adjacent towns with adjacent plans for new development.

We have singled out these two municipalities not only for their projected growth, their connection to Atlanta, and their place within the larger regional plan, but for a specific development site important to the story of the changing American suburb: a closed General Motors plant in Doraville.²⁹

Despite the manufacturing jobs lost with the closing of the plant, Chamblee and Doraville have experienced rapid growth since 2000. Between 2000 and 2008, DeKalb County's population grew 15 percent. During the same period, Doraville saw a 10 percent increase in the number of housing units, while Chamblee saw an enormous 30 percent increase in the number of units.

CHAMBLEE AND DORAVILLE, GEORGIA

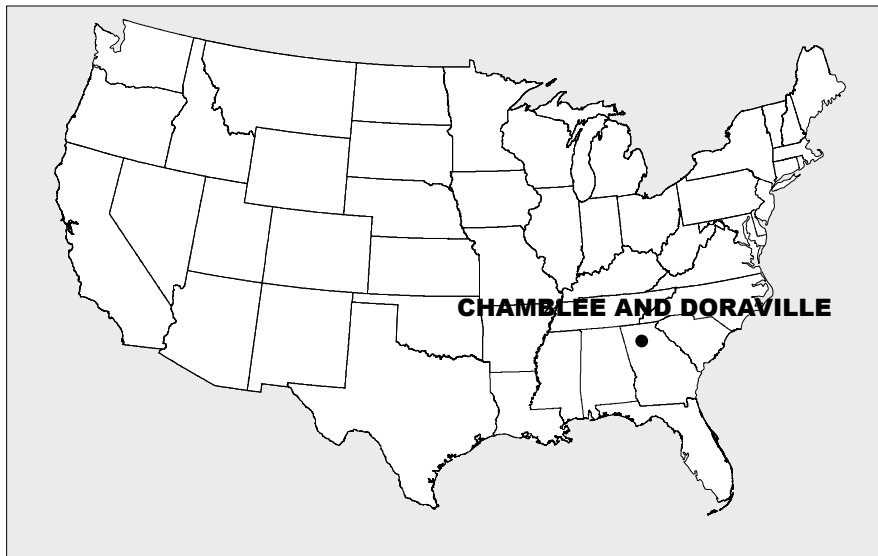
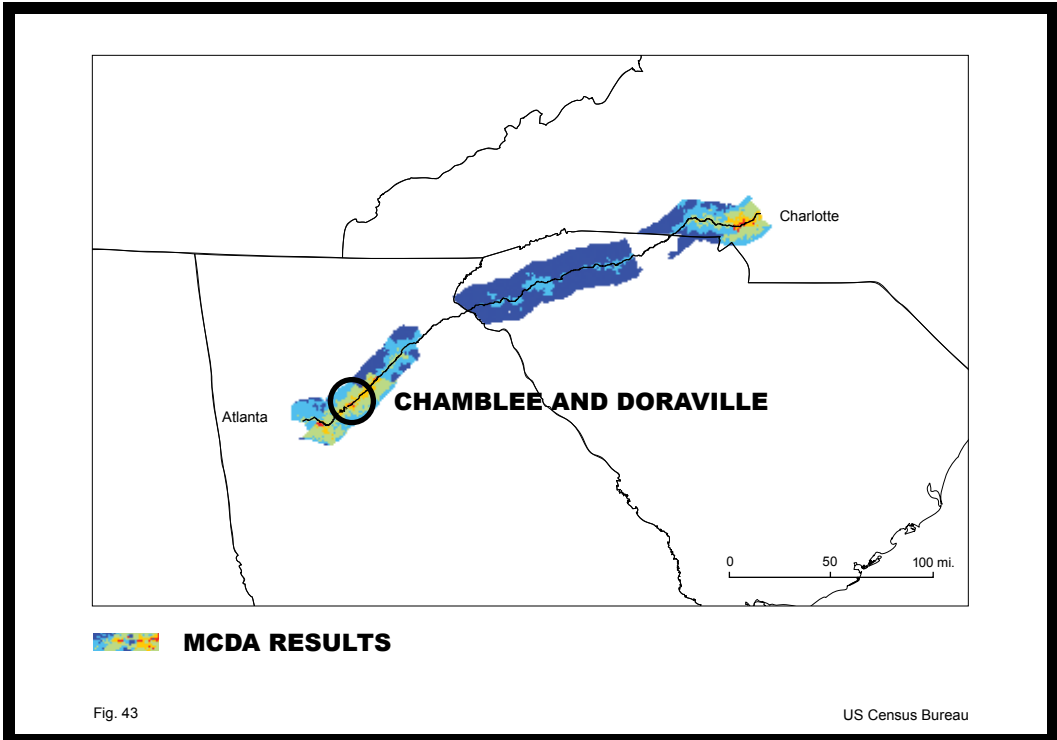
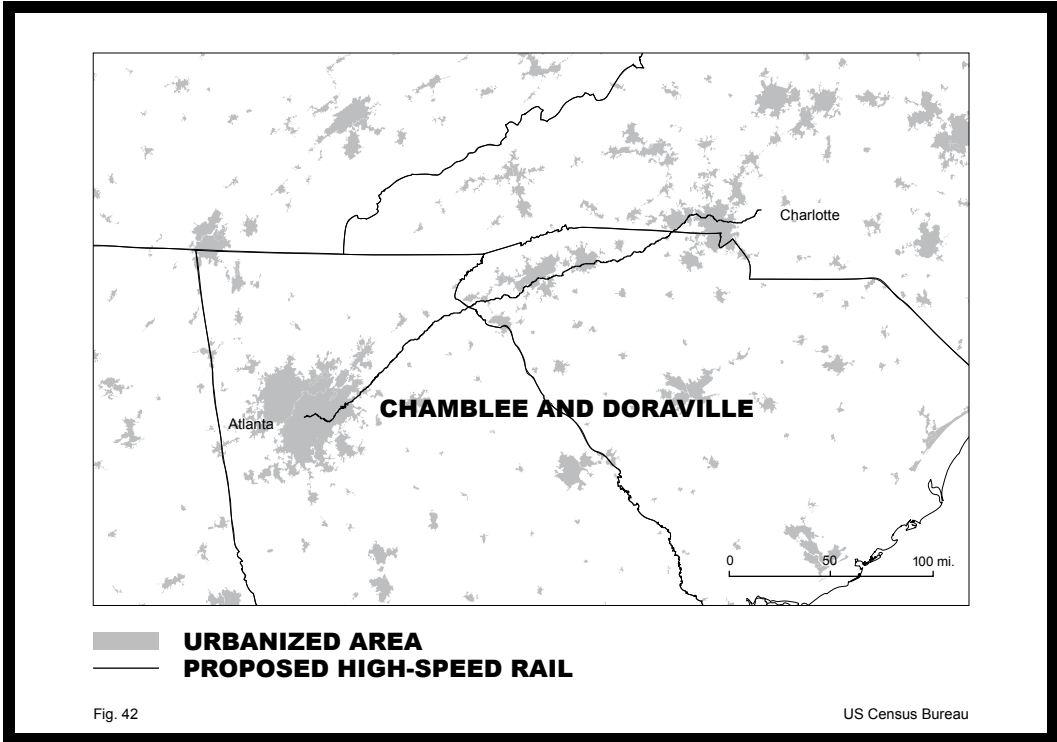


Fig. 41



THE PUBLICNESS OF THE PRIVATE

**SINGLE-FAMILY HOME
FORECLOSED BY AURORA LOAN SERVICES, FEB 2009**

Fig. 44

RealtyTrac; Google Street View

Fig. 44–46

This single-family house in Chamblee was foreclosed upon on February 9, 2009, for \$216,755 by Aurora Loan Services, which specialized in Alternative-A high-interest mortgages.³⁰ Aurora was formerly a subsidiary of Lehman Brothers, which filed for Chapter 11 bankruptcy protection on September 15, 2008. It is the only bank we will talk about today that did not receive a government bailout. Its bankruptcy was the largest in U.S. history and is largely attributable to the subprime mortgage crisis, compounded by Aurora's own lending practices.³¹

Following last September's closing of the General Motors plant, and due to the towns' rapid growth, 30 percent of Chamblee's and Doraville's working population is employed today by the construction industry. Beyond building, the local economy of the two municipalities is tied to that of the greater Atlanta region. With both towns having MARTA commuter rail stops, much of its workforce commutes daily into Atlanta's city center.

The plans for Chamblee and Doraville are the combined work of their municipal planning offices, DeKalb County planners, and the Atlanta Regional Plan Association.³² As



**LOCAL ECONOMY
CHAMBLEE'S SUN TRUST BANK BRANCH**

Fig. 45

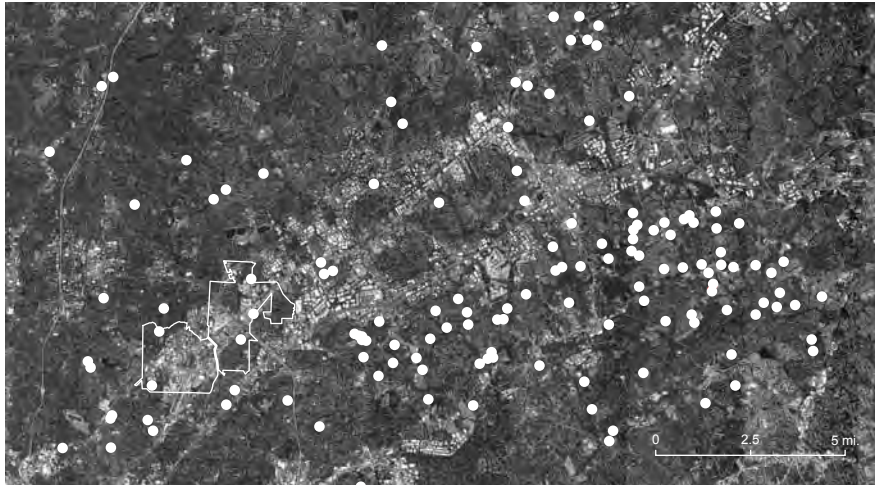
Google Street View



**LOCAL PLANNING
DORAVILLE'S CITY HALL**

Fig. 46

Google Street View

THE PRIVATENESS OF THE PUBLIC

○ **FORECLOSED PROPERTIES FEB 2009**
 — **DORAVILLE AND CHAMBLEE BOUNDARIES**

Fig. 47

RealtyTrac; Google Maps

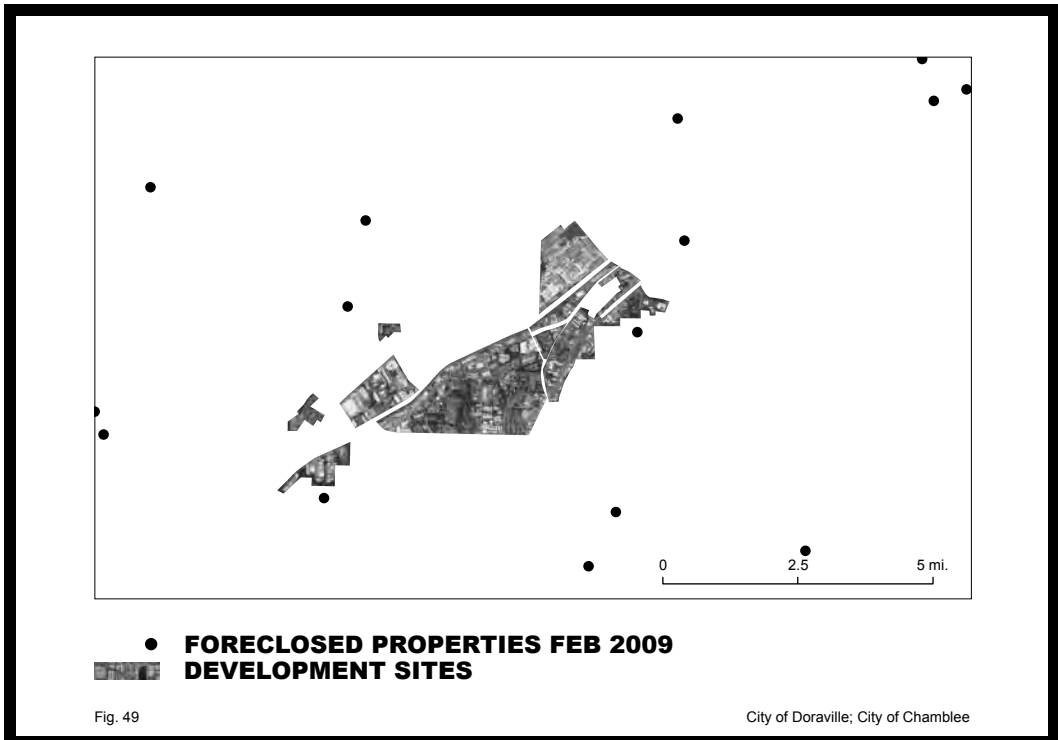
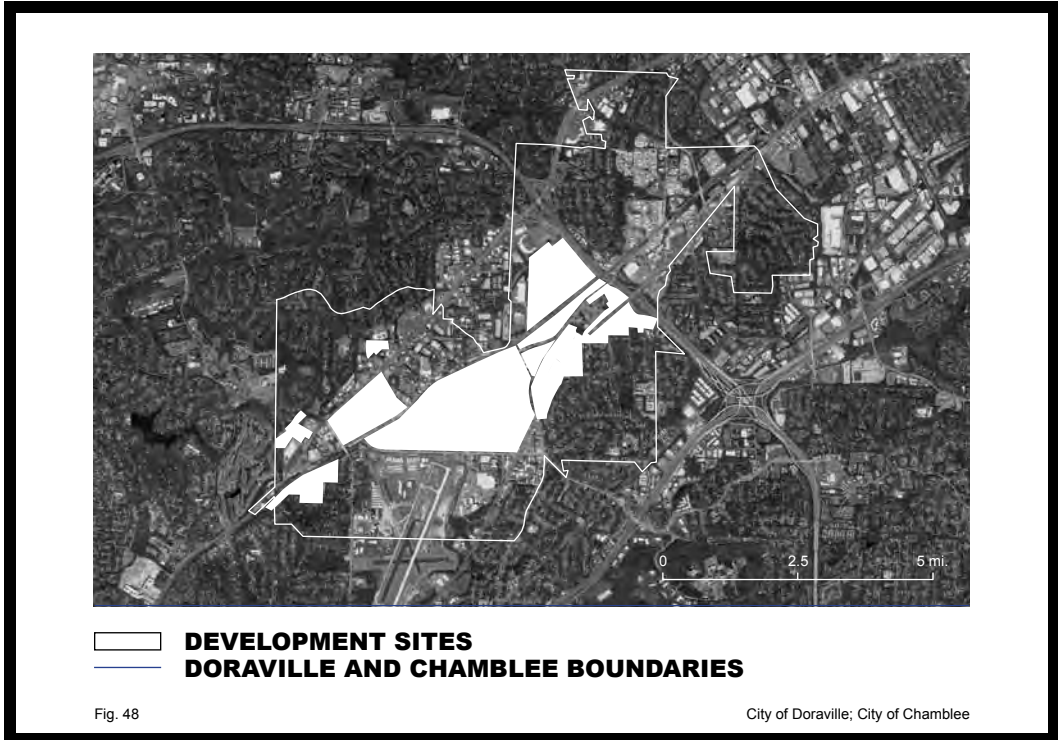
the region has developed, it has focused on a large-scale infrastructural strategy and distributed growth throughout its ten-county core. The local planning offices of both cities have identified large redevelopment sites concentrated around their rail stations. With the new high-speed rail proposed to run through the area, the opportunities for development and growth will increase.

Fig. 47–49

The bulk of foreclosures in DeKalb and its surroundings during the month of February 2009 were located in the more typically suburban areas to the east of Chamblee and Doraville.

The public development sites in Chamblee and Doraville are geared toward the goal of “livable town centers” with mixed-use and pedestrian-friendly revitalization of the town cores. In addition, individual, smaller-scale sites have been identified for the creation of future residential subdivisions.

In this case, these sites are in relatively close proximity and therefore not as island-like as those we’ve seen in the previous two suburbs. Despite crossing a municipal





CHAMBLEE: SITE 1

Fig. 50

Google Street View



**CHAMBLEE: SITE 1
INTERNATIONAL VILLAGE; 380 ACRES**

Fig. 51

City of Chamblee



DORAVILLE: SITE 2

Fig. 52

Google Street View



**DORAVILLE: SITE 2
LIVABLE CENTERS INITIATIVE; 190 ACRES**

Fig. 53

City of Doraville



DORAVILLE: SITE 3

Fig. 55

Google Street View



**DORAVILLE: SITE 3
FORMER GENERAL MOTORS PLANT; 130 ACRES**

Fig. 54

City of Doraville

boundary, the Chamblee and Doraville development sites could be conceived together, given their adjacency and their potential as multimodal transit hubs.

Fig. 50–51

Our first example is the Chamblee International Village development project. The plans include mixed uses with an international and multicultural theme to celebrate Chamblee's racial and ethnic diversity.

The 380-acre site is largely undeveloped, with a few commercial uses along the major thoroughfare leading to Doraville. The site borders the local airport to the south.

Fig. 52–53

Sharing a boundary with the previous site is the site dedicated to the implementation of Doraville's Livable Centers Initiative, which is set to include a transit hub (including the current MARTA and Amtrak station). The Initiative is part of a region-wide push for mixed-uses, housing, and multiple transportation options, administered by the Atlanta Regional Commission. The mixed-use plans call for walkable residential, office, and retail development on the 190-acre site.

Fig. 54–55

The final example is the Doraville General Motors plant, now sitting empty along the highway and rail line, adjacent to the MARTA stop. Although it is rumored to be a potential new location for the Atlanta Falcons, the various developers who had shown interest in the site have recently withdrawn, blaming economic difficulties. As of today, the 130-acre site has no current development prospects, nor is there a proposed plan.

Fig. 56–58

With the emphasis on rapid growth and transit-oriented development in this area, the pertinent demographics include the percentage of commuters who take public transportation to work. This first map shows what one may expect from the end of the commuter rail line. Although more commuters take advantage of public transportation in Chamblee and Doraville than do people living further east, the numbers are still relatively low—less than 20 percent. The hope is that, with the investment in transportation, this percentage will grow.

Like Tomball, Texas, these towns are not as heavily

THE PUBLICNESS OF THE PUBLIC

**COMMUTERS WHO TAKE PUBLIC
TRANSPORTATION TO WORK***



0 5 10 15 20%

Fig. 56

US Census Bureau

populated with families as some of their neighboring suburban areas. Because of their access to the MARTA stations, these locations are seen as viable, affordable options for Atlanta commuters. Today, the median age for both Chamblee and Doraville is 30.

In 2000, the housing vacancy rate was less than 4 percent in both Chamblee and Doraville, a remarkably low number. Today, after the immense construction of the previous decade, that rate is 11 percent and 8 percent, respectively. This is attributed locally to the downturn in the economy and the lack of any affordable housing built during the real estate bubble. Now that the bubble has burst, the vacancy rate is up, while the affordable housing stock cannot meet the needs of local residents.



HOUSEHOLDS THAT ARE OCCUPIED BY FAMILIES*

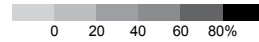
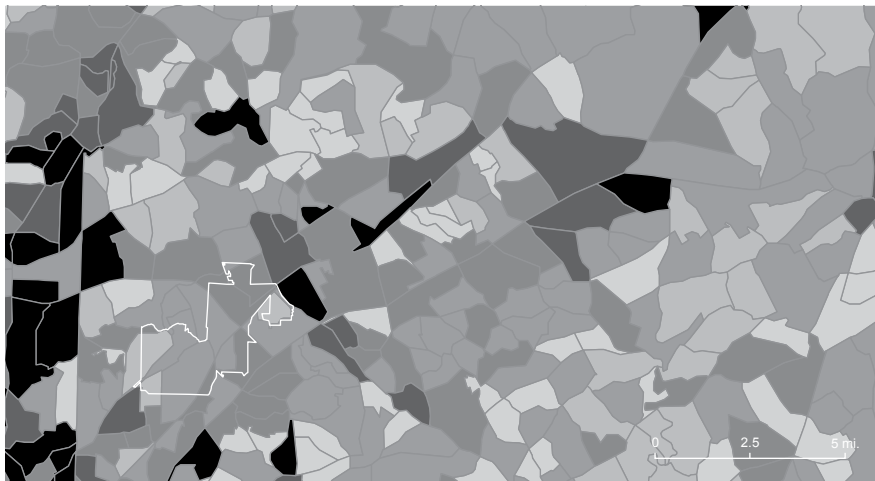


Fig. 58

US Census Bureau



HOUSING UNITS THAT ARE VACANT*



Fig. 57

US Census Bureau

TEMPLE TERRACE, FLORIDA

Fig. 59–61

SPEAKER 4

Temple Terrace, Florida, is a suburban area located along Interstate 75. Its close proximity to Tampa (with which it shares a border) ties its history and its development to that city. We selected Temple Terrace as a case study not only because our analysis showed potential housing need but also because redevelopment and revitalization plans, including a master plan and a form-based code for its downtown core, have been established.³³

Temple Terrace is located within a ten-mile radius from a proposed high-speed rail line—one of the criteria for selecting our case study areas. Yet it does not include a rail station within its boundaries. However, the existence of public transportation (HART, a local bus network) and the possibility of that network's expansion render the area representative of many suburban settings throughout the country.

Fig. 62–64

On February 5, 2009, this house in Temple Terrace was foreclosed upon by Wells Fargo for an unpaid debt of \$185,000.³⁴ From 2005 through 2007, Wachovia and Wells Fargo lent a total of \$17.6 billion and \$51 billion in

TEMPLE TERRACE, FLORIDA

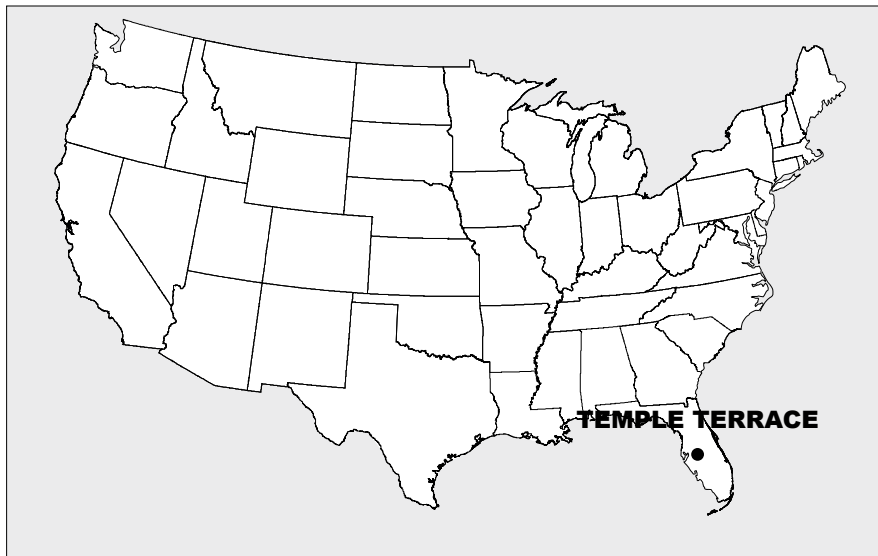
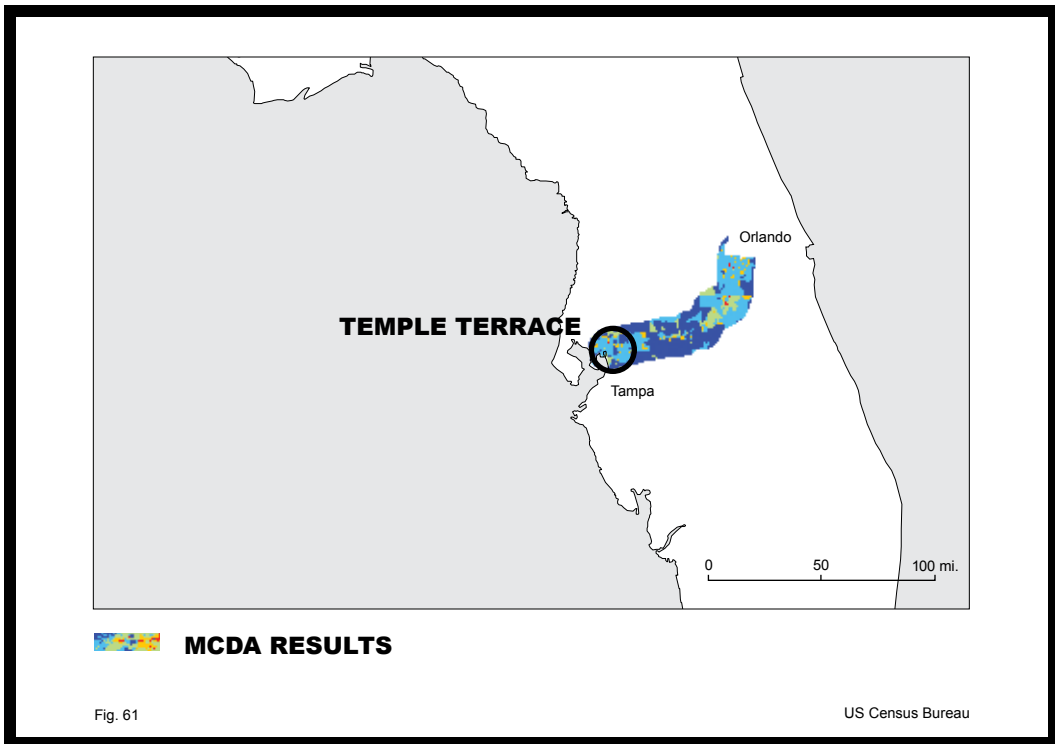
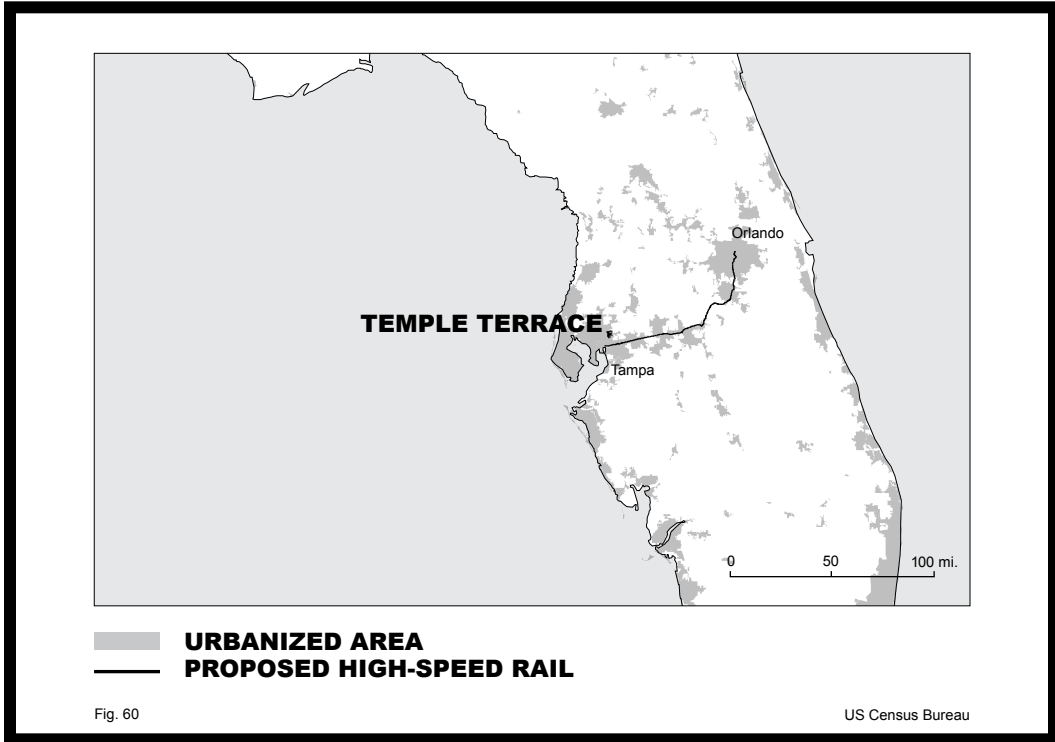


Fig. 59



THE PUBLICNESS OF THE PRIVATE

**SINGLE-FAMILY HOME
FORECLOSED BY WELLS FARGO, FEB 2009**

Fig. 62

RealtyTrac; Google Street View

high-interest mortgages, respectively. In October 2008, Wachovia was purchased by Wells Fargo for \$15.4 billion, twenty-five days before Wells Fargo was given a federal bailout of \$25 billion dollars through the TARP Capital Purchase Program.³⁵

As with most of Hillsborough County, Temple Terrace's local economy is largely tied to Tampa's. Major industries include tourism, services, and finance, as well as defense. Tampa's MacDill Airforce Base is home to U.S. Central Command. In addition to those employed by the armed forces, 17 percent of Temple Terrace's civilian workforce holds government jobs.

Local planning in Temple Terrace is currently guided by the New Urbanist master plan developed by Torti Gallas and Partners in 2004—including the form-based code mentioned earlier. Planning elsewhere in Hillsborough County, including Tampa, includes the redevelopment of former public housing, which I will discuss in the development site examples.



**LOCAL ECONOMY
TEMPLE TERRACE'S WACHOVIA BRANCH**

Fig. 63

Google Street View



**LOCAL PLANNING
TEMPLE TERRACE'S CITY HALL**

Fig. 64

Google Street View

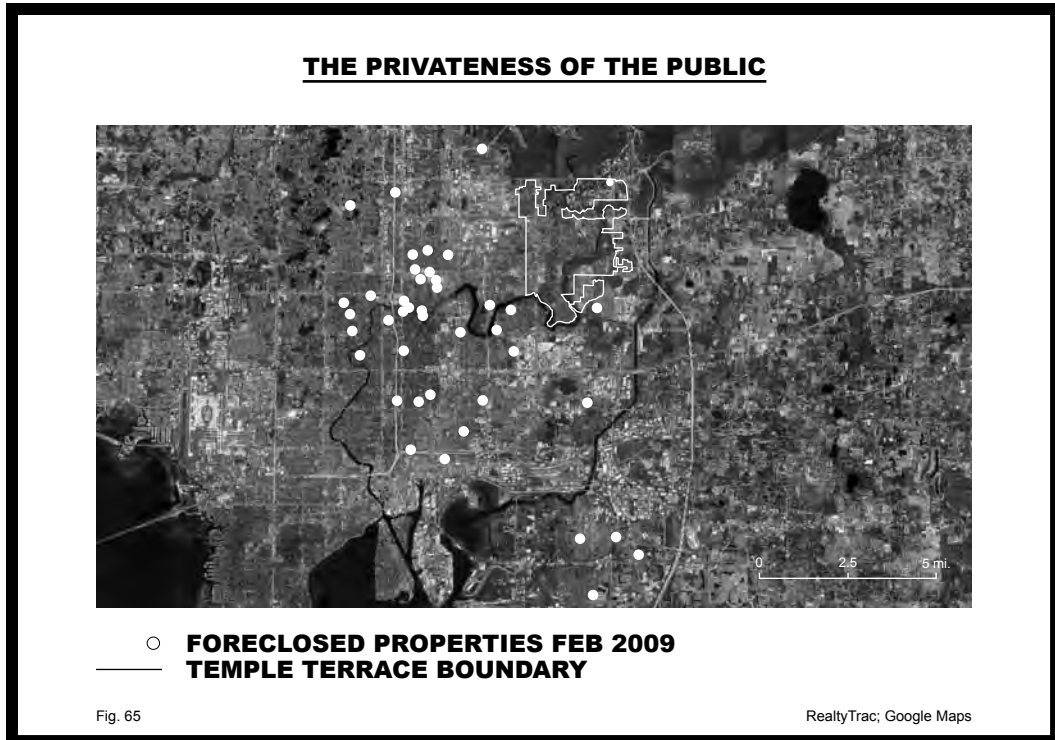


Fig. 65–67

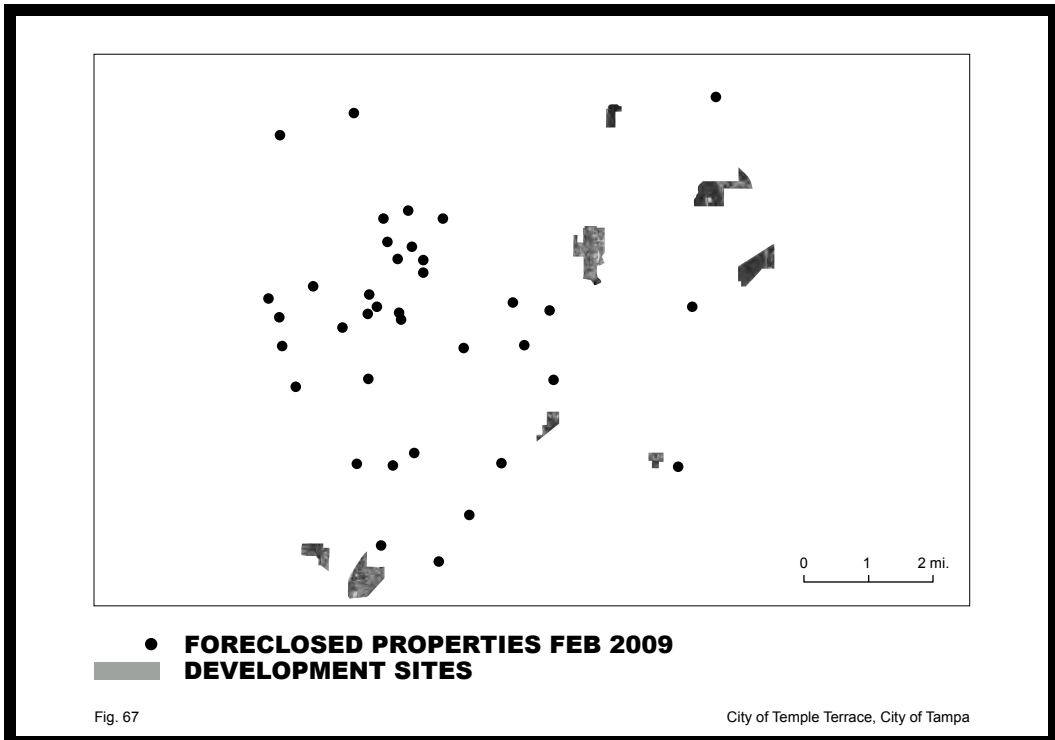
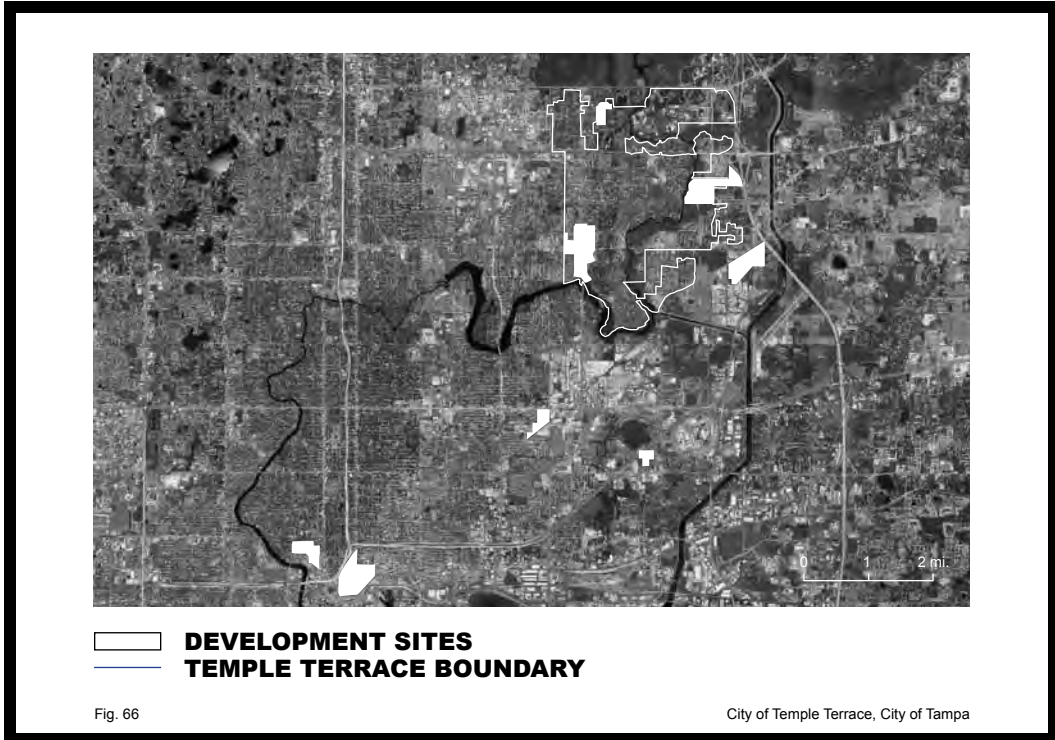
The foreclosures in and around Temple Terrace from February 2009 are clustered in the more residential areas in or near Tampa, including those that were developed during the past decade.

The eight areas marked for public development span from Temple Terrace toward downtown Tampa, close to the planned rail station. These range from land formerly used for public services (such as a police station) to vacant land marked for future residential use.³⁶

Like the other sites examined previously, the islands of planned future development shown here represent an opportunity either to replicate the patterns that have contributed to the foreclosure crisis or to empower the public agencies that currently control this land to divert its use to more sustainable investment.

Fig. 68–69

The first example site I will discuss is located along I-75 and is designated for future residential development in Temple Terrace's approved plan for 2025. It currently supports a variety of uses, including a public utilities substation, pasture land, and a few single-family houses.





TEMPLE TERRACE: SITE 1

Fig. 68

Google Street View



**TEMPLE TERRACE: SITE 1
90 ACRES; FUTURE RESIDENTIAL DEVELOPMENT**

Fig. 69

City of Temple Terrace



TEMPLE TERRACE: SITE 2

Fig. 70

Google Street View



**TEMPLE TERRACE: SITE 2
TEMPLE TERRACE DOWNTOWN REDEVELOPMENT**

Fig. 71

City of Temple Terrace



TAMPA: SITE 3

Fig. 72

Google Street View



**TAMPA: SITE 3
CENTRAL PARK VILLAGE REDEVELOPMENT**

Fig. 73

City of Tampa

The total site is approximately 90 acres. Of its multiple landowners, the largest is the municipal government.

Fig. 70–71

The Temple Terrace Downtown Redevelopment is the largest single-development project in the city. It includes the rezoning of the entire site to a “Downtown Mixed-Use” zoning category intended to replace strip malls, large parking lots, and satellite retail stores with a new, walkable, mixed-use center.

The first phase of the project, at the southeast corner of the primary downtown intersection, involves the redevelopment of an abandoned strip center.

Fig. 72–73

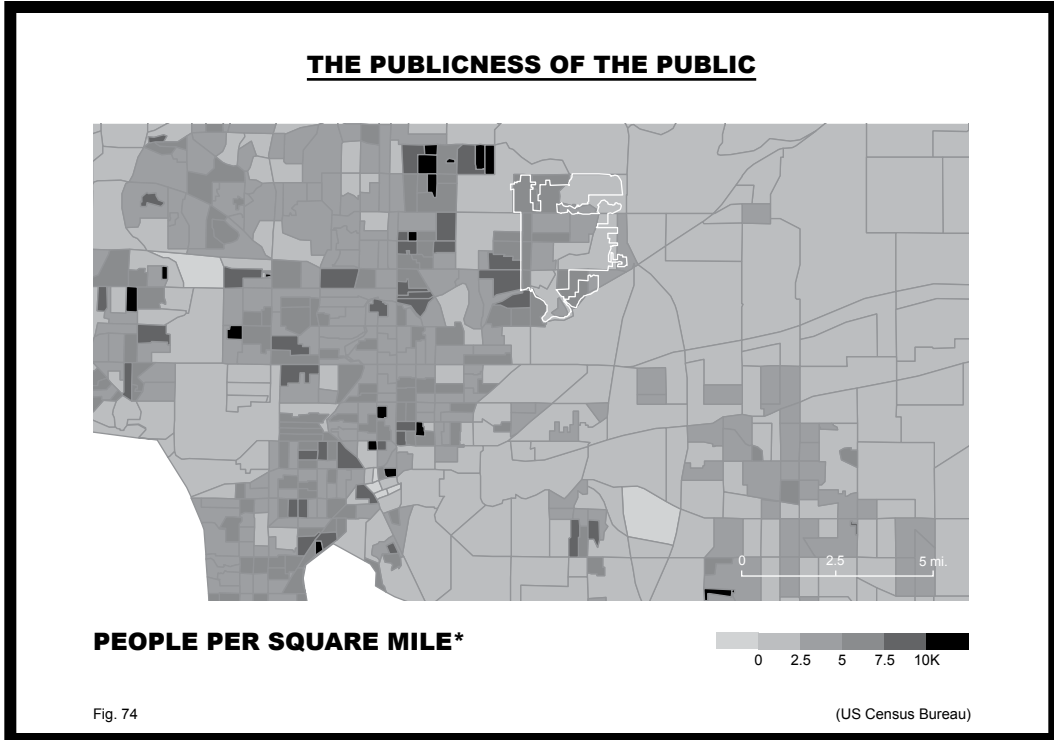
I would also like to profile an example within Tampa itself. Although technically outside Temple Terrace, this development site offers insight into the local climate surrounding housing and an opportunity for development closer to the new rail station in downtown Tampa. This is the site of what was known as the Central Park Village public housing complex and is home to Tampa’s historic Amtrak station, listed on the National Register of Historic Places.

Although the project narrowly missed out on HOPE VI funding, the Tampa Housing Authority went ahead with plans to tear down the derelict public housing project and is looking toward a mixed-use development for the site.

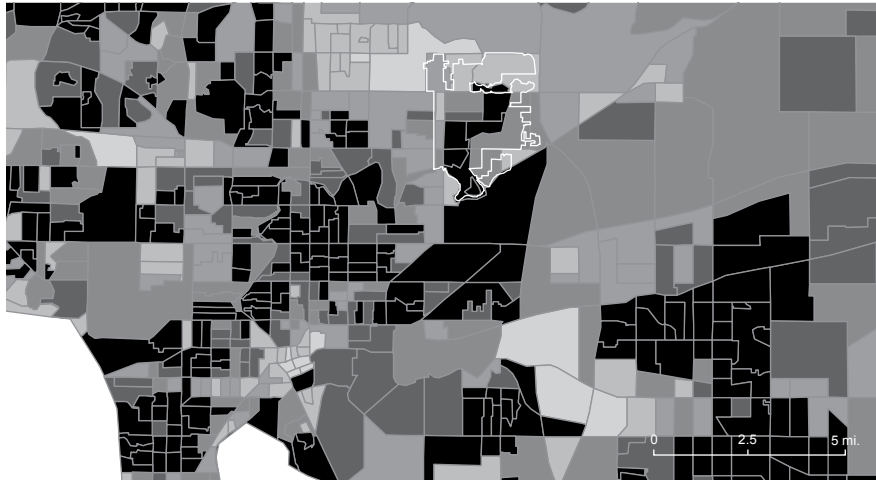
Fig. 74–76

Throughout our research, we have looked into the role of lifestyle in development patterns within these suburbs. For example, a first look at population densities in Tampa (as depicted in this map of the population per square mile by block group) shows that even this city is not developed much more densely than its surrounding suburbs. This is the case for many metropolitan centers in this country today.

Given the relatively low population density, the next map showing the percentage of housing units that are single-family detached houses is not too surprising. In much of the surrounding area, more than 80 percent of the housing units are single-family detached houses. (Keep in mind that the U.S. national average is only 61 percent.)



Despite Temple Terrace being so close to Tampa, this pattern of low-density residential development impacts lifestyle variables such as commute times. This next map shows the percentage of commuters traveling for more than one hour to work. In much of the Tampa area, including parts of Temple Terrace, this proportion totals over 20 percent of the commuting workforce, as compared with the national mean commute time of 25 minutes.



HOUSING UNITS THAT ARE SINGLE-FAMILY DETACHED HOMES*

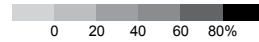


Fig. 75

(US Census Bureau)



COMMUTERS WITH COMMUTES OVER 60 MINUTES*



Fig. 76

(US Census Bureau)

LANDOVER, MARYLAND

Fig 77–79

SPEAKER 5

By far the largest region with a planned high-speed rail line is the Northeast Corridor, spanning from Washington, D.C., to Boston, Massachusetts. Almost its entire length is urbanized, stretching from one metropolitan center through the surrounding suburbs to another metropolitan center. This degree of urbanization makes any northeastern case study somewhat unique. Here, we focused on Landover, Maryland, an unincorporated area in Prince George's County just northeast of Washington.

Landover's relatively diverse and changing population was among the factors that led to its selection. Landover's unincorporated status (like that of so many other suburban areas) also made it an interesting choice: its planning takes a county- and region-wide approach, without specific municipal organization. And like a number of other areas outside urban centers, Landover is home to a large sports complex, in this case, FedEx Field, home of the Washington Redskins football team.³⁷

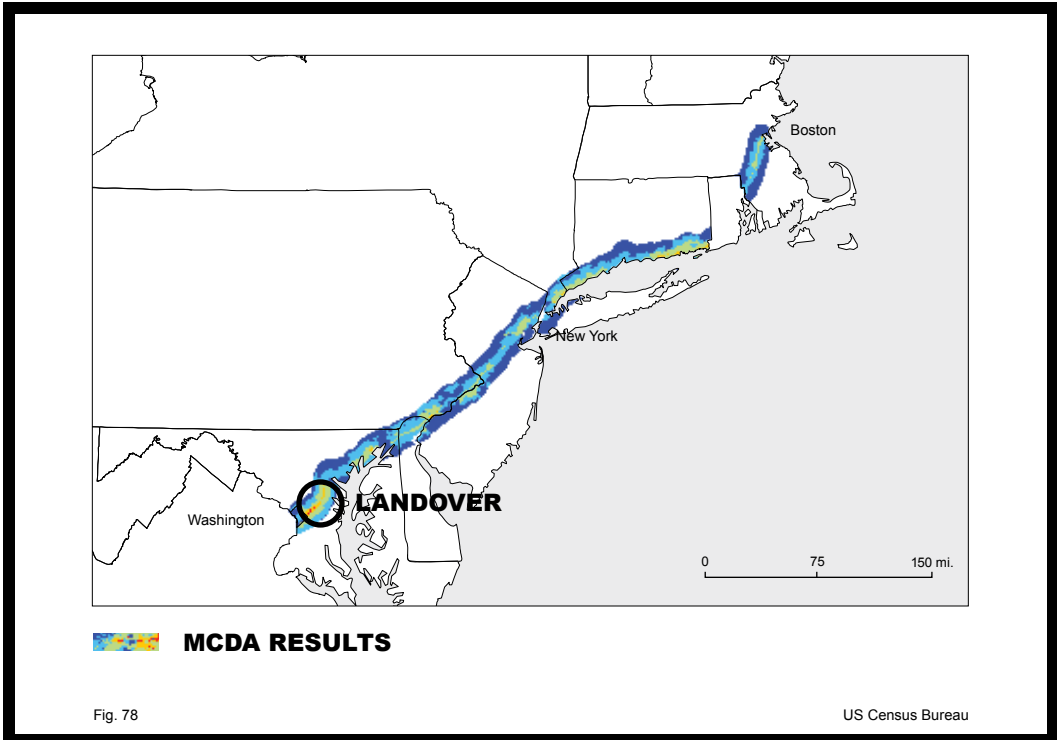
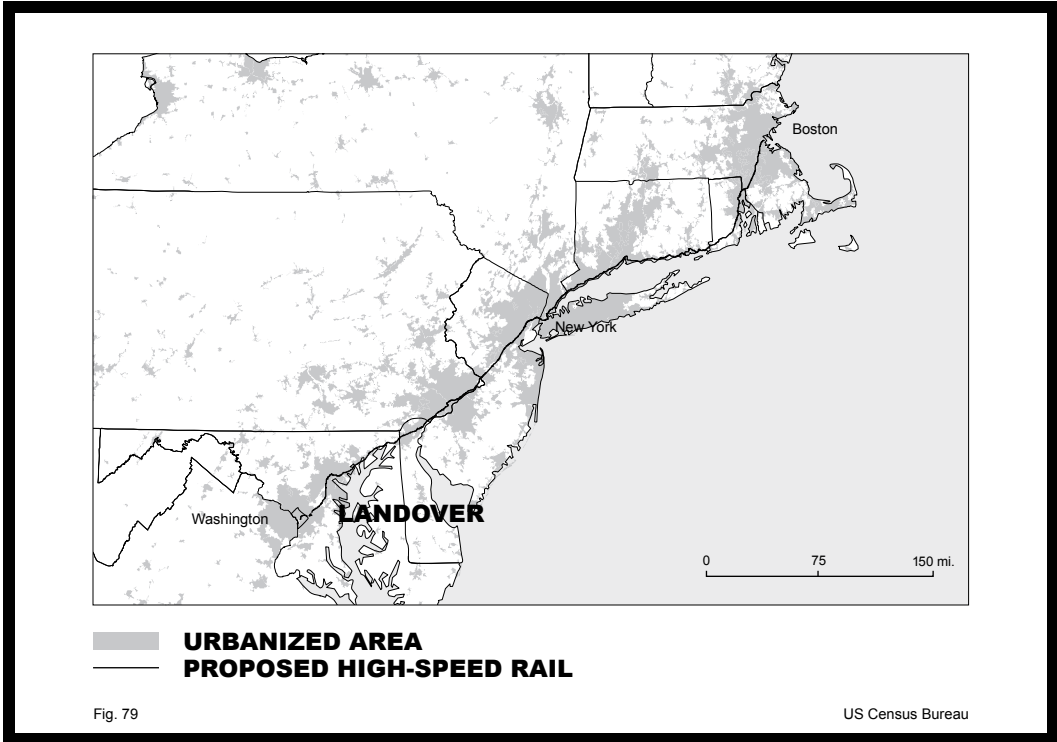
Fig 80–82

Citigroup lent \$26.3 billion in high-interest mortgages at the height of subprime lending, between 2005 and

LANDOVER, MARYLAND



Fig. 77



THE PUBLICNESS OF THE PRIVATE

**SINGLE-FAMILY HOME
FORECLOSED FEB 2009 BY CITIBANK**

Fig. 80

RealtyTrac; Google Street View

2007. This month, Citibank foreclosed upon this house in Landover for \$242,000.³⁸ After its initial bailout through the Capital Purchase Program, which totaled \$25 billion from the federal government last October, Citibank was given an addition bailout of \$20 billion through the Targeted Investment Program (which specifically “targeted Citigroup and Bank of America”).³⁹ As of today, the federal government has invested a total of \$45 billion in Citigroup’s stability. As is the case with each of the banks which are currently subsidized by the federal government and which we are briefly summarizing here, this total does not include funds made available through the sale of assets to the Federal Reserve, which is technically not a part of the federal government.

As part of the greater Washington area, Prince George’s County is home to several federal offices. Federal, state, and local government account for more than 27 percent of the county’s employment. Major employers include the Joint Base Andrews Naval Air Facility, the U.S. Internal Revenue Service, the U.S. Census Bureau, and NASA’s Goddard Space Flight Center. The county’s primary employer, however, is the University of Maryland. Still,



**LOCAL ECONOMY
US TREASURY'S COMPTROLLER OF THE CURRENCY**

Fig. 81

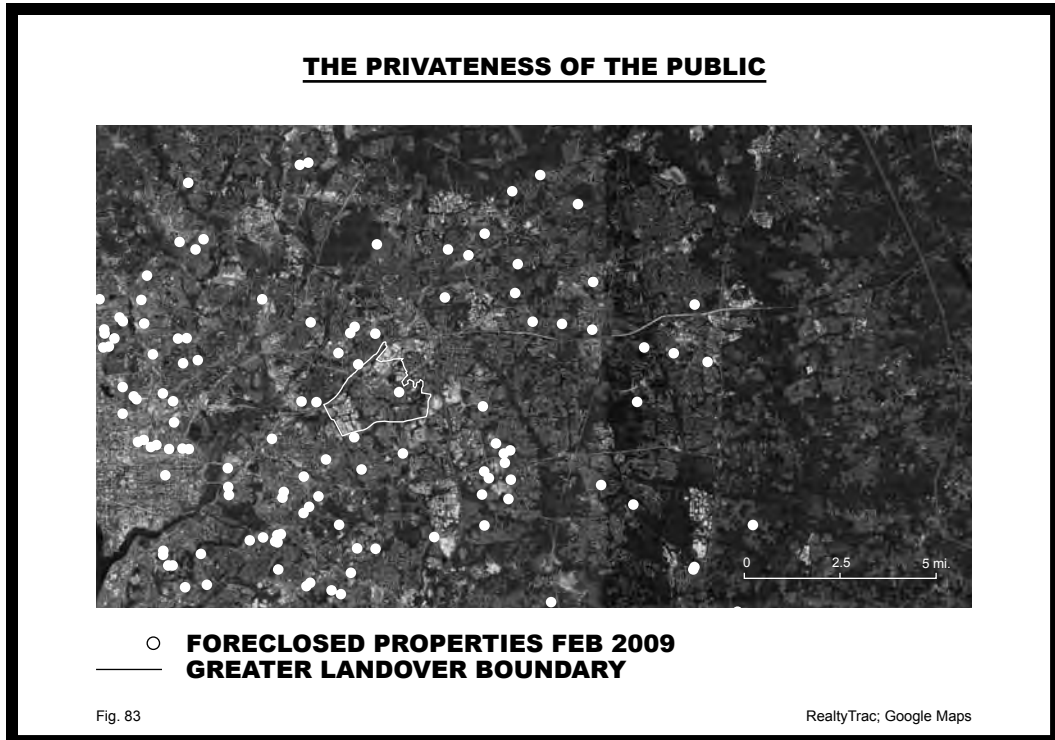
Google Street View



**LOCAL PLANNING
PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY PLANNING COMMISSION**

Fig. 82

Google Street View

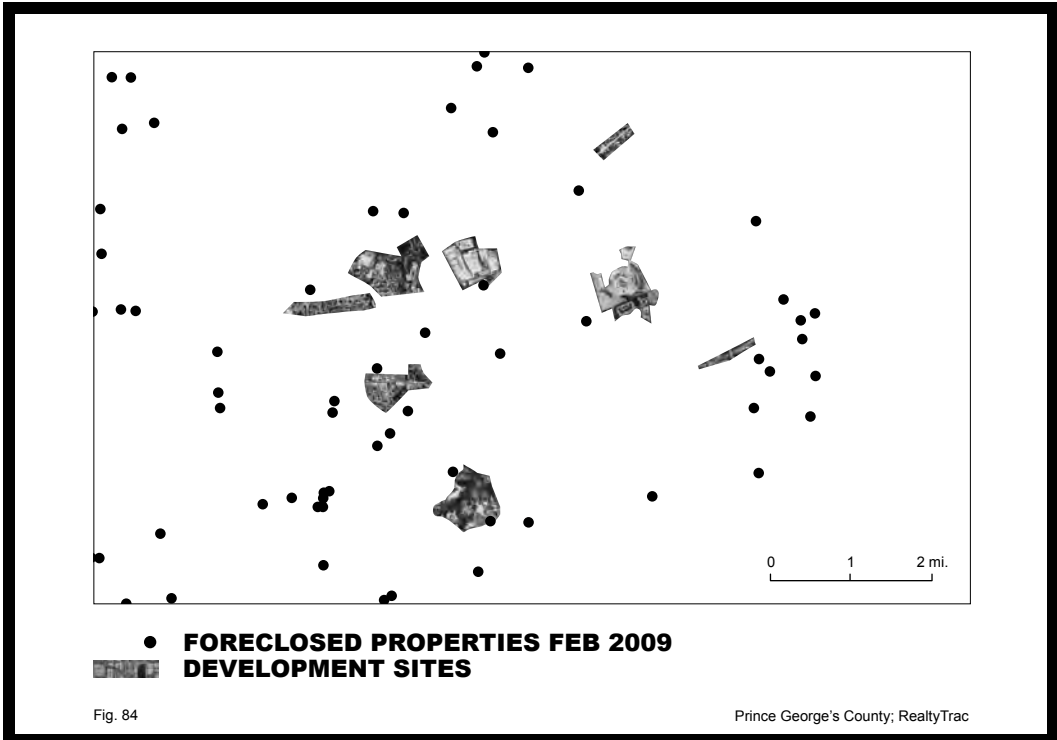


Landover currently has an unemployment rate of more than 10 percent.

Planning for Landover, and for the Greater Landover Census Designated Place, is controlled by Prince George's County (Landover is part of the county's Subregion 4, Planning Area 72). Without its own municipal government, Landover's future plans are thought of in terms of the surrounding county and its relationship to neighboring Washington, and are largely decided according to the transportation corridors that run through the area. The local plans for Landover also particularly emphasize environmental justice issues surrounding old industrial uses.

Fig. 83–85

Among the highest foreclosure rates in Maryland, Prince George's February 2009 foreclosures are distributed throughout the residential areas of the county. They may seem sparser than those recorded in Washington, D.C., but this may be a function of overall density. As you can see, the denser areas of the county, closer to the Washington border, show a foreclosure pattern similar to that of the capital city.





LANDOVER: SITE 1

Fig. 86

Google Street View



**LANDOVER: SITE 1
FEDEX FIELD REDEVELOPMENT OF SURFACE PARKING**

Fig. 87

Prince George's County



LANDOVER: SITE 2

Fig. 88

Google Street View



**LANDOVER: SITE 2
WALKABLE MIXED-USE WITH NEW STREET FABRIC**

Fig. 89

Prince George's County



LANDOVER: SITE 3

Fig. 90

Google Street View



**LANDOVER: SITE 3
CORRIDOR REDEVELOPMENT**

Fig. 91

Prince George's County

New development and redevelopment proposals for the greater Landover area include mixed-use and gateway projects; some are centered on the area in and around FedEx Field, while others focus attention on the transit corridors into and out of Washington.

Together, the isolated sites are significant not only for their connections to highways and rail lines but also for the larger reimagining of the local image they enable. Each of them calls for the creation of new mixed-use development (some infill, some moderately scaled projects). Each takes the form of a small, walkable center along the transportation corridor and functions as a means of both stimulating the economy and providing new housing.⁴⁰

Fig. 86–87

The first example site in Landover is FedEx Field. The planned development of the area surrounding the stadium takes advantage of the nearby Metro station for the creation of a “mixed-use village center” with new open spaces and a “central focal place.”⁴¹ Among other plans, the redevelopment scenario envisions developing what is currently surface parking for the stadium into mixed uses with new streets and a pedestrian-friendly fabric. Plans for new housing include a variety of types and densities.

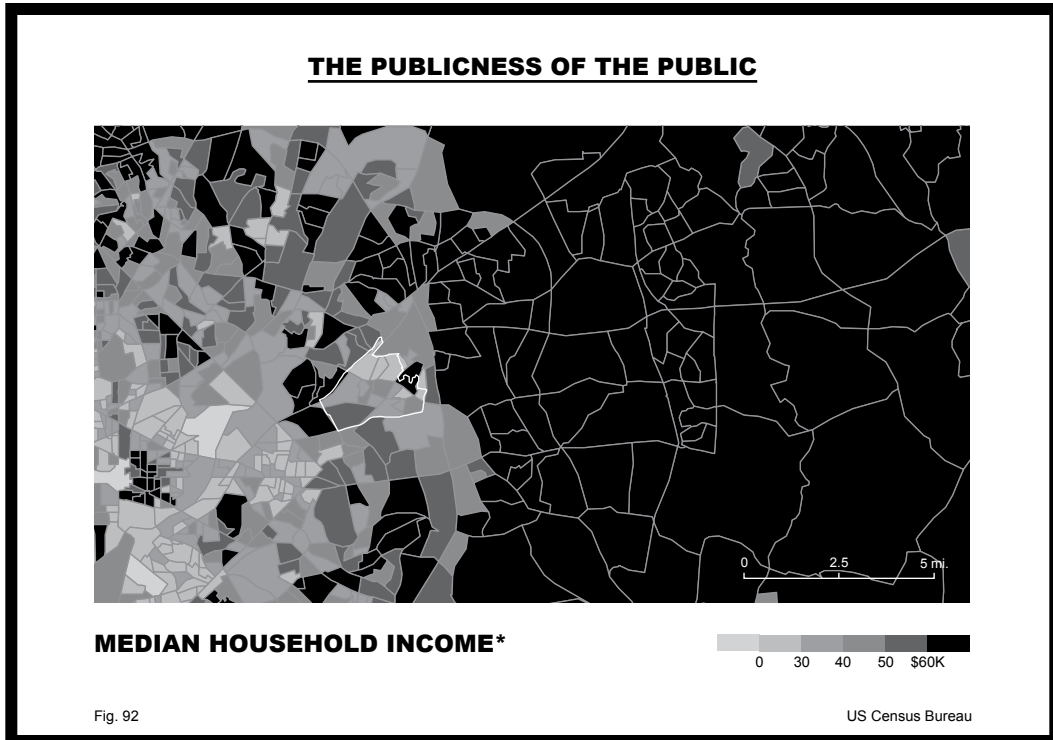
Fig. 88–89

The second development area, along Sheriff Road, is seen as a primary gateway into Prince George’s County from Washington, D.C.. It currently accommodates residential, commercial, and institutional uses.

Plans call for maintaining the institutional uses and introducing new mixed-use development in order to create a main street entrance into Prince George’s. Along with new infill development, streetscaping and pedestrian-friendly urban design are proposed, in the interest of creating a more legible, identifiable image for Landover. The planned changes include a new traffic circle with a memorial monument to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. at its center, changes to the street grid to create smaller blocks, and the addition of new neighborhood parks.

Fig. 90–91

This third example site is another corridor-based redevelopment project aimed at creating a gateway to the City of Glenarden. More so than in the last example, the



proposed development will form a bridge to the established neighborhoods toward the west, while taking advantage of the existing parks nearby and providing substantial housing options. The plan also includes reconceiving the six-lane Martin Luther King, Jr. Highway as a “tree-lined boulevard.”⁴²

Fig. 92–94

As its development plans for new corridors suggest, Landover is in many ways a space in between. While an integral part of Prince George’s County, it is largely reliant on its connection to the nation’s capital. Thus, it is not surprising that its demographics reflect an area of transition between Washington to the southwest and the rest of Maryland to the northeast.

This first map shows median household income by block group. With regard to this variable, the greater Landover area has more in common with the area inside the Washington Beltway than outside it. However, when we look at household makeup (the percentage of households occupied by families), we find that Landover shares this profile with Prince George’s County. Far more of its



HOUSEHOLDS OCCUPIED BY FAMILIES*

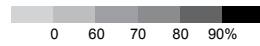


Fig. 93

US Census Bureau



COMMUTERS TRAVELING OVER 60 MINUTES TO WORK*



Fig. 94

US Census Bureau

households are made up of families than in most of the nearby areas of Washington.

Lastly, we turn to the all-important predictor of growth for suburbs like Landover: commute times. Landover's development plans focused heavily on its access to public transportation and highways, given its high number of commuters traveling into Washington. The proposed high-speed rail promises to dramatically shorten commute times and with it, open up employment opportunities for residents of this suburb.

THE ORANGES, NEW JERSEY

Fig. 95–97

SPEAKER 6

Before leaving the Northeast, we would like to look at the greater New York City area. Although somewhat anomalous when compared to the rest of the country, its sheer size and population make it important when investigating suburban and metropolitan growth and lifestyles. When we compare regions with growing transportation networks, it makes sense to include an area in which an extensive commuter rail system is already in place. More specifically, as the United States consolidates into regions that cross state boundaries, the New York-New Jersey relationship offers an important precedent in suburban commuting as developed over time.

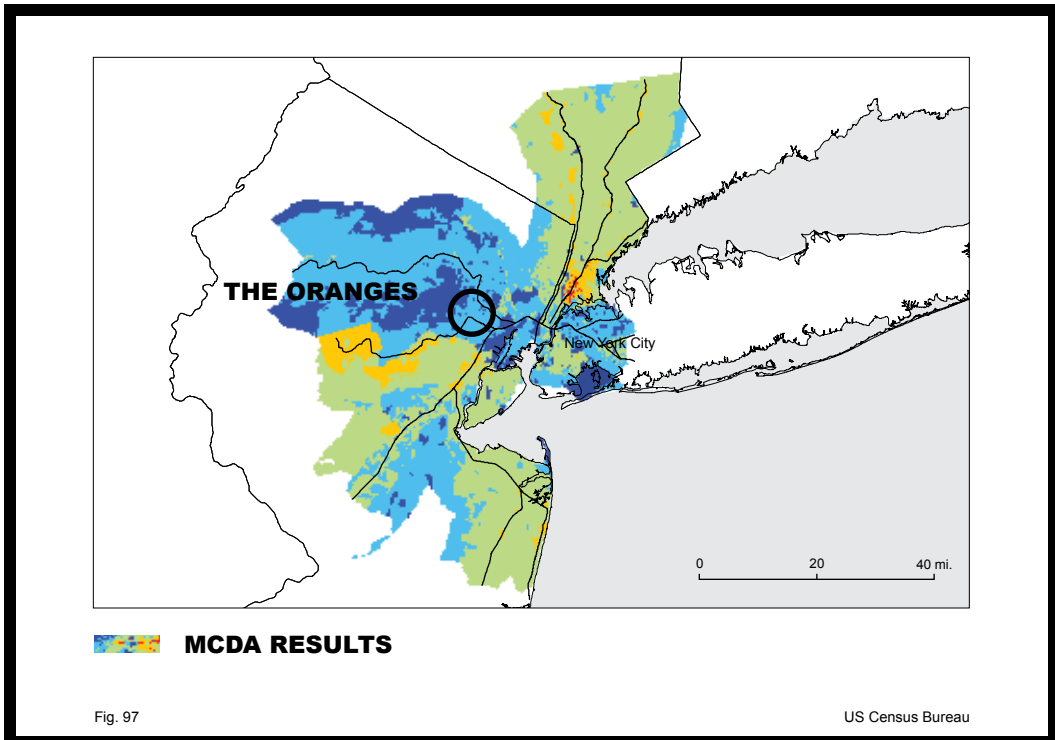
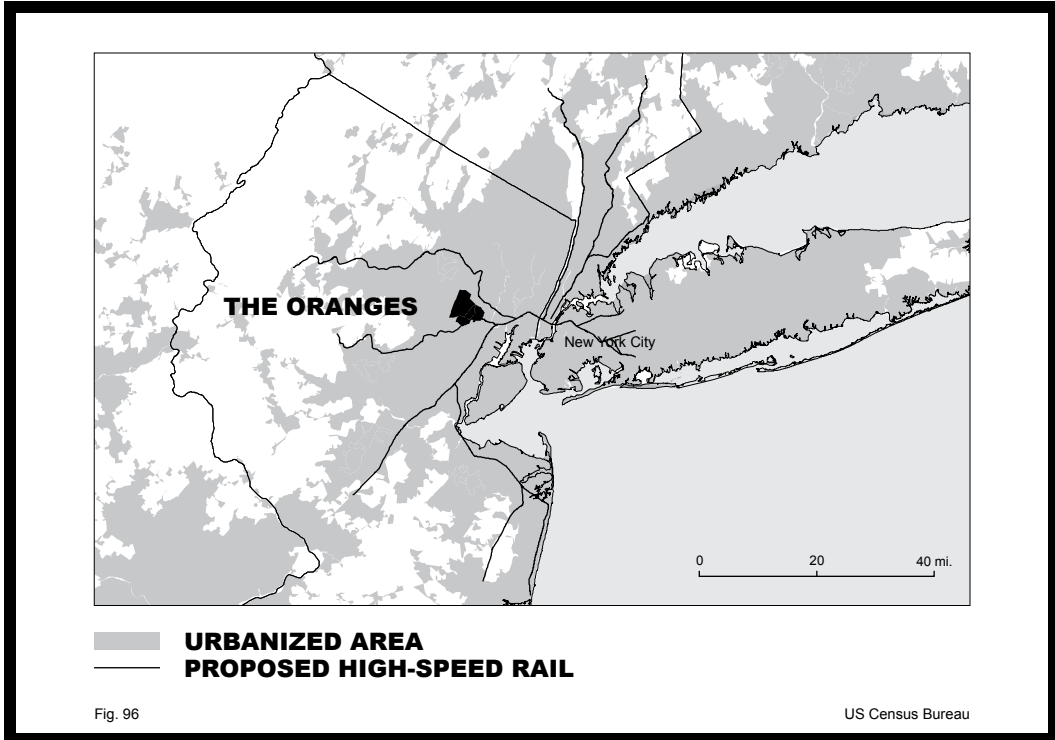
The multi-criteria decision analysis for the New York-New Jersey area is the only analysis conducted on existing commuter lines. The Northeast Corridor high-speed rail already stops in New York, and existing, local mass transit makes that rail line accessible to neighborhoods in New Jersey.

Our analysis led us to the four Oranges for qualitative as well as quantitative reasons. Orange, South Orange, East

THE ORANGES, NEW JERSEY



Fig. 95



THE PUBLICNESS OF THE PRIVATE

**SINGLE-FAMILY HOME
FORECLOSED BY THE BANK OF NEW YORK MELLON ON FEB 3, 2009**

Fig. 98

RealtyTrac; Google Street View

Orange, and West Orange share a history but diverge in their present identities.⁴³ They are small municipalities that are demographically distinct although closely identified with one another. Like our proximate sites in DeKalb County, Georgia, the Oranges share access to the same transit line, which may inform development strategies within their boundaries. Unlike Doraville and Chamblee, however, the Oranges are long-established suburbs of a nearby city; or in this case, two cities—New York and nearby Newark.

Fig. 98–100

On February 3, 2009, the Bank of New York Mellon foreclosed upon this house in East Orange.⁴⁴ The oldest American bank, founded by Alexander Hamilton, the Bank of New York merged with Mellon Financial in 2007. Last October, the bank received \$3 billion in a federal bailout and was named “master custodian” of the Treasury Department’s total \$700 billion in bailout funds.

The local economies of the four Oranges vary from east to west. Generally speaking, South and West Orange are the more affluent of the four, with household median incomes more than double those of Orange and East



**LOCAL ECONOMY
WEST ORANGE'S LLEWELLYN-EDISON SAVINGS BANK**

Fig. 99

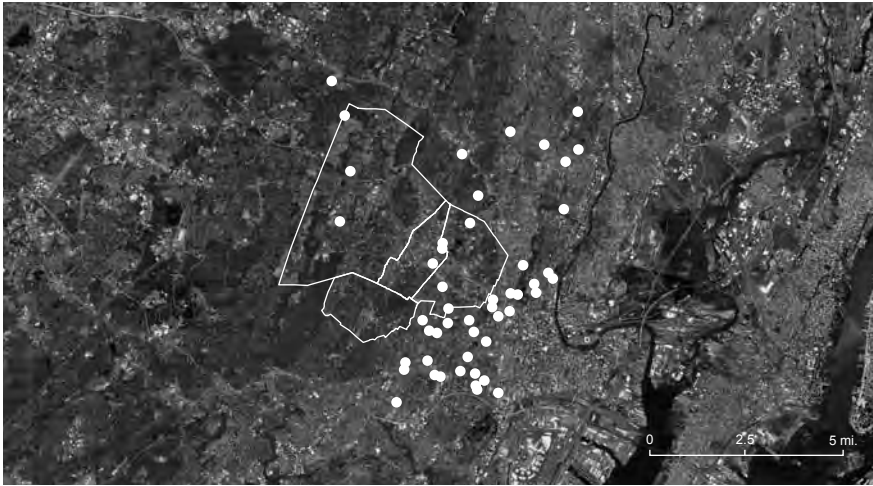
Google Street View



**LOCAL PLANNING
WEST ORANGE'S MUNICIPAL PLAZA**

Fig. 100

Google Street View

THE PRIVATENESS OF THE PUBLIC

○ **FORECLOSED PROPERTIES FEB 2009**
 — **THE ORANGES BOUNDARIES**

Fig. 101

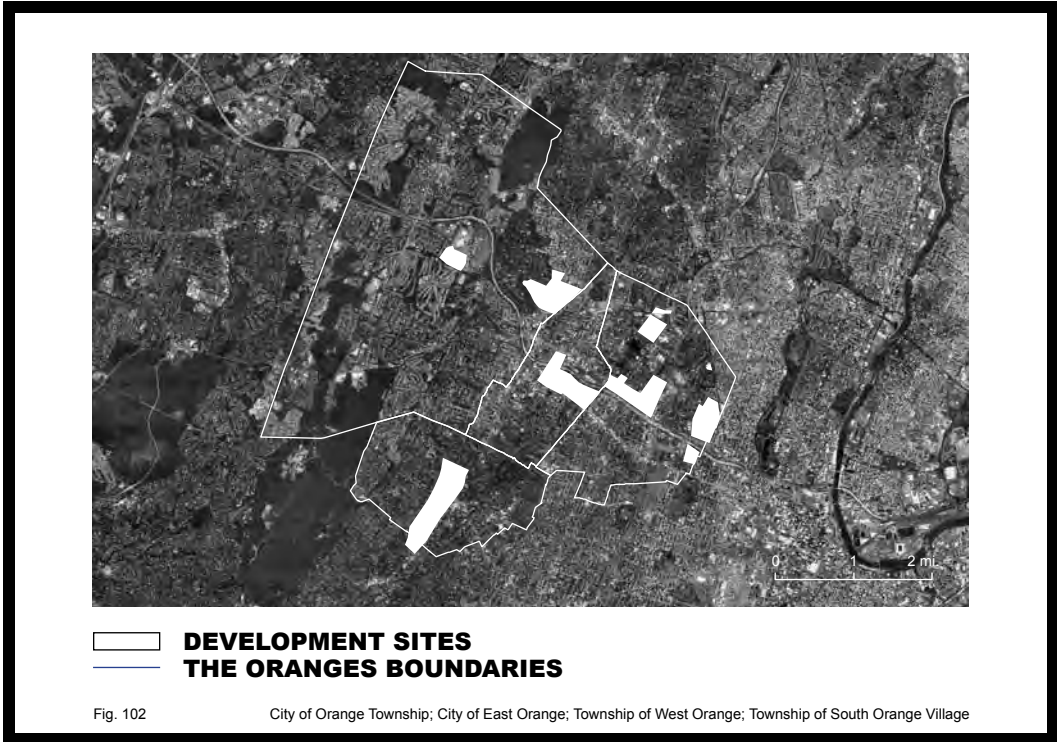
RealtyTrac; Google Maps

Orange. While it is difficult to summarize the economic variation between the four municipalities, the primary industries in each are education, health care, and social assistance (ranging between 24 and 27 percent of jobs). Unemployment in the Oranges ranges from roughly 6 percent in South Orange and West Orange to 10 percent in the City of Orange to almost 16 percent in East Orange.

As the economic bases of the Oranges differ, so too do their local planning strategies, despite all four having comprehensive development or redevelopment plans in place. Orange and East Orange both have designated Urban Enterprise Zones to aid in their economic development. South Orange has enacted a Smart Growth Strategic Plan, and West Orange's plans include a targeted Neighborhood Preservation Program.

Fig. 101–103

Given these economic differences and variations in housing density, the heavy foreclosure pattern in the east, in and around the Oranges is, perhaps, expected. This map also shows February 2009 foreclosures in parts of Newark.

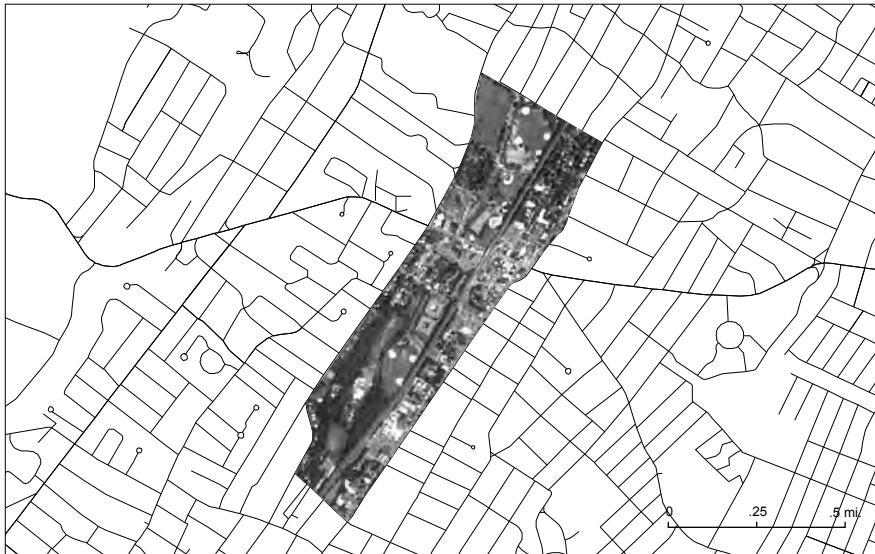




SOUTH ORANGE: SITE 1

Fig. 104

Google Street View



**SOUTH ORANGE: SITE 1
RIVERFRONT ENVIRONMENTALLY CONSCIOUS REVITALIZATION**

Fig. 105

Township of South Orange Village



ORANGE: SITE 2

Fig. 106

Google Street View



**ORANGE: SITE 2
TRANSIT VILLAGE WITH MIXED-USE DEVELOPMENT**

Fig. 107

City of Orange Township



WEST ORANGE: SITE 3

Fig. 108

Google Street View



**WEST ORANGE: SITE 3
ORGANON REDEVELOPMENT AREA, 11 ACRES**

Fig. 109

Township of West Orange

As with the suburbs we examined earlier, the majority of the publicly identified development sites in the Oranges are located along the main transportation corridor connecting the area to a major city.⁴⁵ In fact, of the fifteen sites noted here, eight are directly adjacent to the commuter rail line heading to New York City, with another two within a few blocks of it.

Fig. 104–105

The largest development site within the four Oranges is the East Branch of Rahway River Redevelopment in South Orange. The basis for the plan governing this site is an ecological approach to the development of a new village center. At the same time, the plan calls for rethinking the infrastructure and transportation network (regional train) that links South Orange to New York City.

With existing residential, commercial, and recreational uses, the township of South Orange is looking to revitalize the area through the rehabilitation of the riverfront.

Fig. 106–107

The City of Orange Township has designated three Transit Village redevelopment areas along its primary rail line. The New Jersey Department of Transportation began the Transit Village initiative to promote mixed-use development within half-mile, walkable radii from existing transit stations. The designation as a Transit Village makes the redevelopment eligible for grant funding and technical assistance from state agencies. Transit Village West includes the redevelopment of previous public housing properties.

Fig. 108–109

The third example site is located in West Orange: the Organon Redevelopment area is the former site of the Organon Pharmaceuticals manufacturing facility. The facility closed in 2004 after forty-five years of use. In 2006, the site was named “an area in need of redevelopment.”⁴⁶

The existing redevelopment objectives for the 11-acre site call for the creation of non-residential uses “to the fullest extent possible,” including office and research facilities. Along with the provision of necessary infrastructural improvements to the site, the Township would like to see multi-family residential development if non-residential uses are not economically feasible.⁴⁷

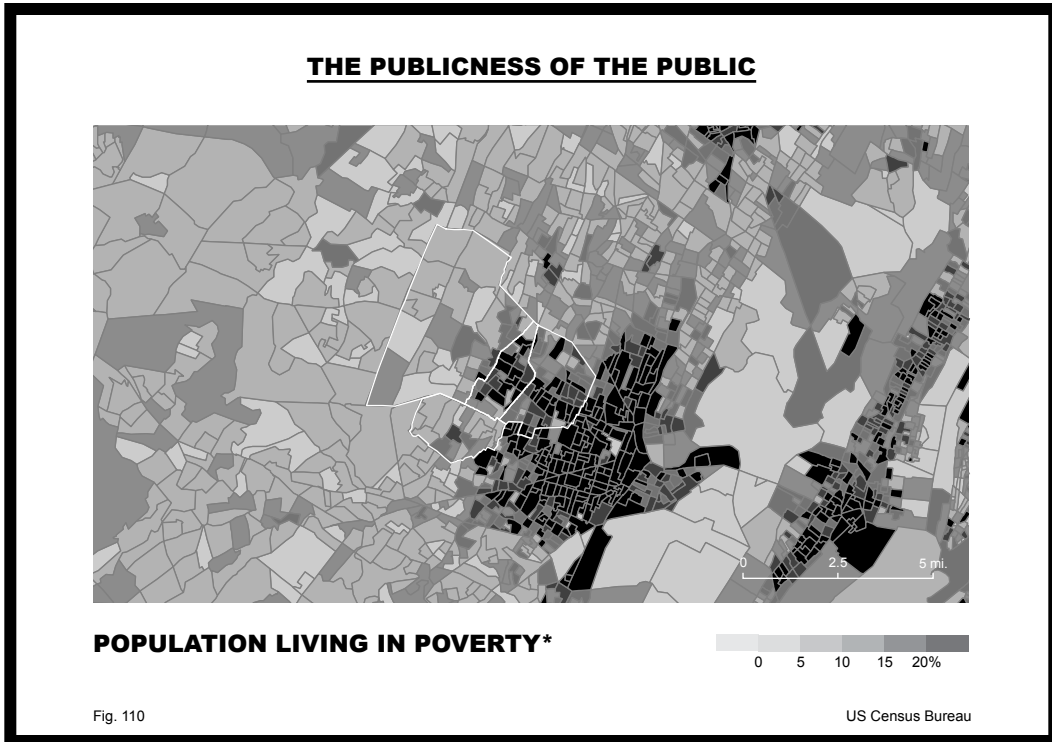


Fig. 110–112

As did my brief discussion of the demographic variation between the four municipalities of the Oranges, the demographic maps shown here highlight the difference in economic and housing variables. First, the poverty rates in Orange and East Orange more closely resemble those of neighboring Newark than those of the other Oranges, with a pocket of increased poverty near the example development site in South Orange.

Housing types follow that difference. South and West Orange are typically termed “suburban enclaves.” In most of South and West Orange, single-family detached houses comprise more than 80 percent of the housing stock. In contrast, much of East Orange and Orange contains fewer than 20 percent of this housing type.

Lastly, given the existing transportation infrastructure and links to New York, it is important to highlight the numbers of commuters who take public transportation to work in these areas. While percentages are lower in West Orange than in the other three municipalities, they are still notably higher than the national average of 5 percent.



HOUSING UNITS THAT ARE SINGLE-FAMILY DETACHED HOMES*

Fig. 111

US Census Bureau



COMMUTERS THAT TAKE PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION TO WORK*

Fig. 112

US Census Bureau

CICERO, ILLINOIS

SPEAKER 7

Fig 113–115

We will now take our investigation back through the Midwest. We looked at the proposed high-speed rail lines centered around Chicago and decided to focus our attention on the line proposed to link Chicago and St. Louis.

The multi-criteria decision analysis results yielded a variety of sites demonstrating housing need or instability, from small centers within rural areas to the older suburbs of Chicago. Ultimately, we settled on Cicero, Illinois, as a case study representative of those inner-ring suburbs. Cicero is also relevant for its aggressive approach to the foreclosure crisis—a crisis wrestled with by many suburban municipalities around the country.⁴⁸

Located within Cook County, Cicero is adjacent to Chicago. Because of its age and development history, it shares little, however, with the previously discussed metropolitan-adjacent suburbs of Temple Terrace and Landover.

Fig. 116–118

This house in Cicero was foreclosed upon in February 2009.⁴⁹ The foreclosing bank was Bank of America,

CICERO, ILLINOIS

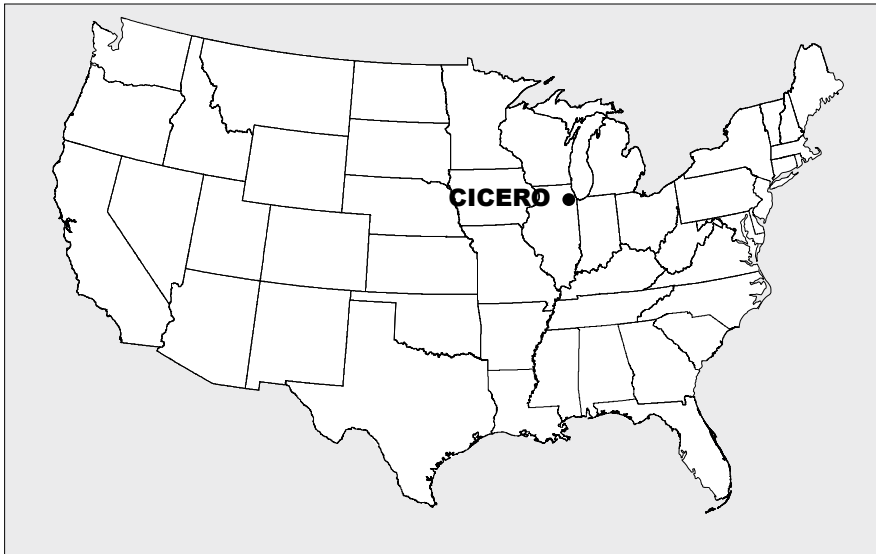
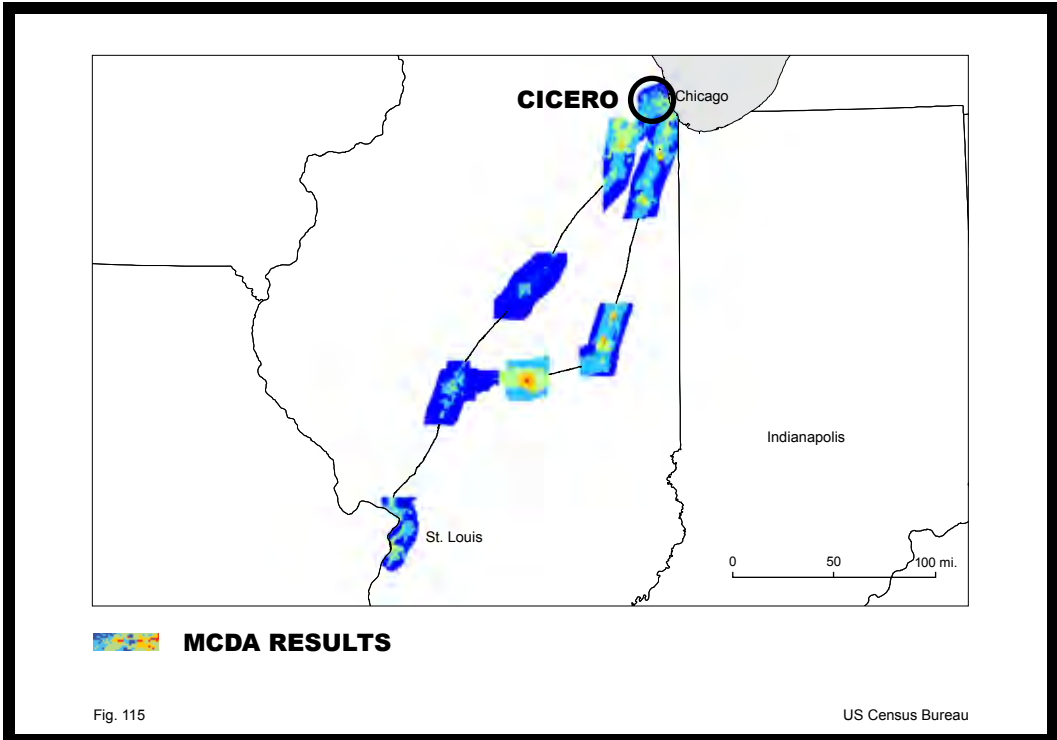
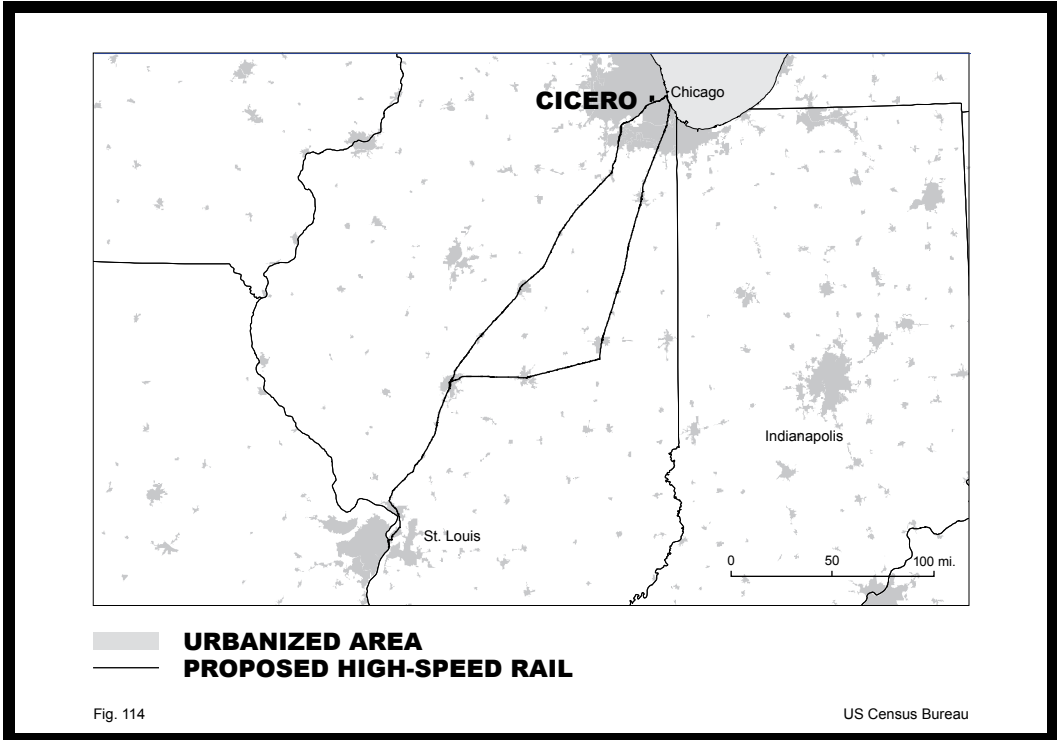


Fig. 113



THE PUBLICNESS OF THE PRIVATE

**SINGLE-FAMILY HOME
FORECLOSED BY BANK OF AMERICA, FEB 2009**

Fig. 116

RealtyTrac; Google Street View

which—like Citibank—received additional bailout funds through the Targeted Investment Program. Last month Bank of America’s federal bailout total reached \$45 billion, including its original TARP funds distributed in October. Last year, leading up to the financial crisis that spurred these bailouts, Bank of America acquired both Countrywide Financial and Merrill Lynch. Countrywide was America’s leading subprime lender, with over \$97 billion in originated high-interest mortgages between 2005 and 2007.

Cicero’s local economy, in terms of employment, is largely characterized by production and transportation jobs (34 percent) and by the manufacturing industry (26 percent). Although the town’s predominant land use is residential, a small industrial core sits in the middle of the town, flanked on the north and south by the blue and pink lines of Chicago’s El transit system. Further to the south in Cicero sits the Cicero Metra train station.

Local planning and redevelopment advocates in Cicero have taken an aggressive approach to the potential for blight created by high numbers of foreclosed and



**LOCAL ECONOMY
CICERO'S WEST TOWN SAVINGS BANK**

Fig. 117

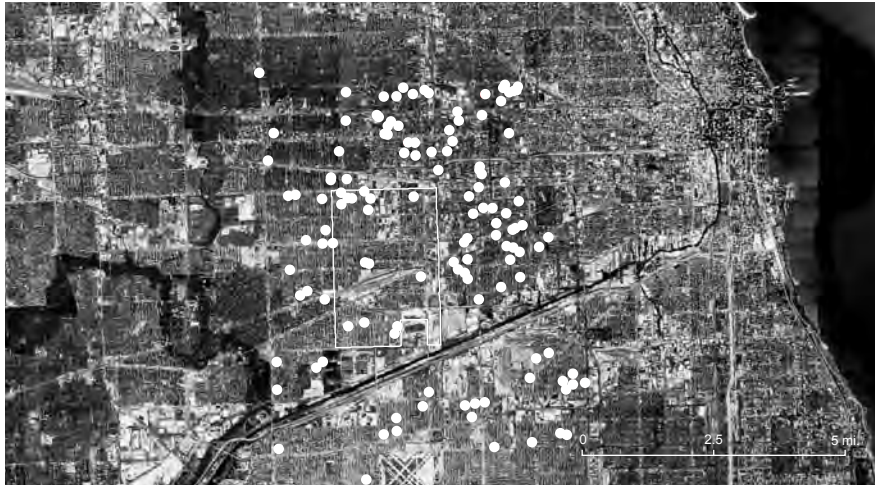
Google Street View



**LOCAL PLANNING
CICERO'S HOUSING DEPARTMENT**

Fig. 118

Google Street View

THE PRIVATENESS OF THE PUBLIC

○ **FORECLOSED PROPERTIES FEB 2009**
 — **CICERO BOUNDARY**

Fig. 119

RealtyTrac; Google Maps

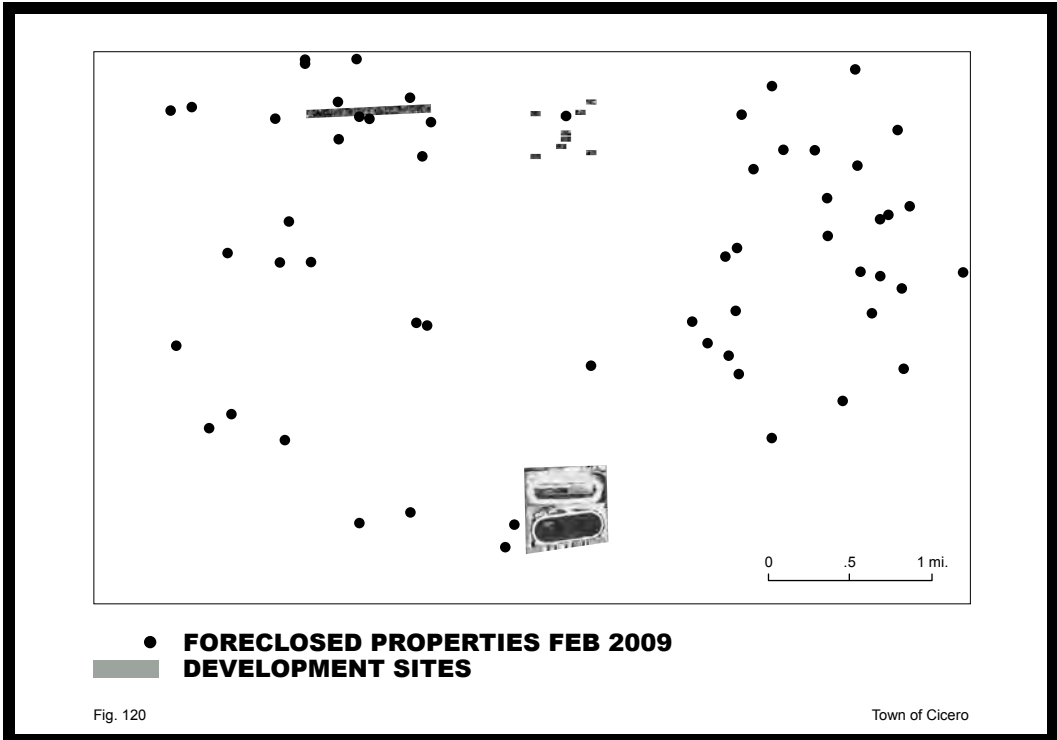
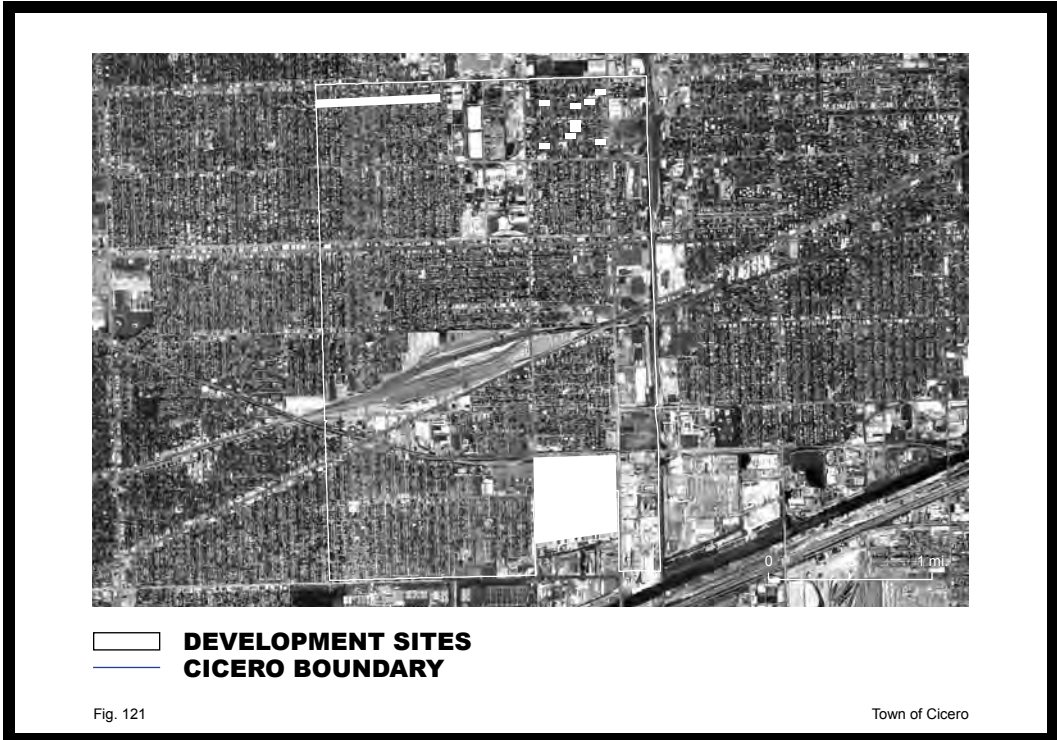
abandoned properties. The Town of Cicero recently issued a Request for Qualifications for the redevelopment of individual scattered lots. Through the Neighborhood Stabilization Program, Cicero calculated the number of residential foreclosures in each census tract and identified Target Areas. Then, last year, the town followed the steps necessary to take advantage of Community Development Block Grants, made available by yesterday's signing of the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act for infrastructural improvements and economic development.

Fig. 119–121

Foreclosure rates in Cicero continue to rise, with a further increase feared as city officials estimates that over one-half of the mortgages held by homeowners are subprime high-interest loans.⁵⁰

The publicly supported development sites in Cicero range in size from a network of the aforementioned individual lots to the larger redevelopment of Sportsman's Park in the southern portion of the town.⁵¹

This next drawing, which we've seen for every suburb to this point, takes on a new meaning in Cicero. Here, more





CICERO: SITE 1

Fig. 122

Google Street View



**CICERO: SITE 1
VACANT CITY-OWNED LOTS**

Fig. 123

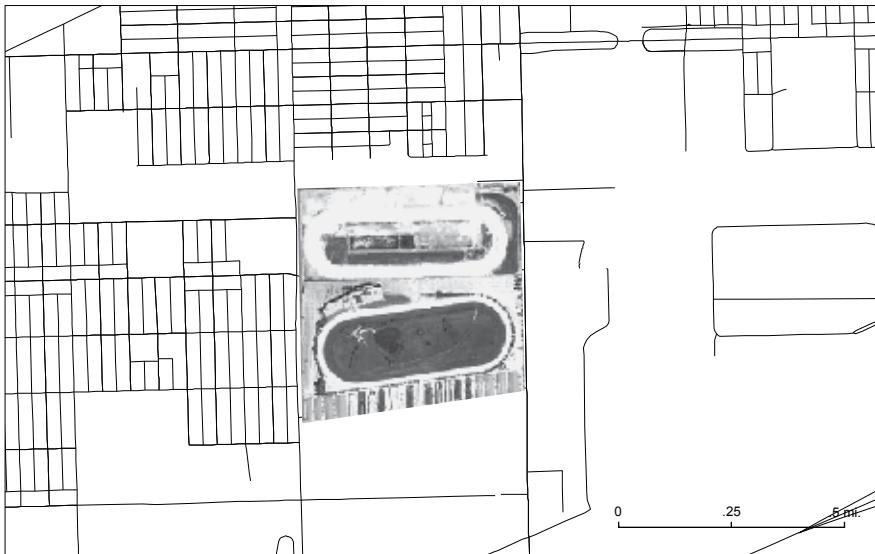
Town of Cicero



CICERO: SITE 2

Fig. 124

Google Street View



CICERO: SITE 2

Fig. 125

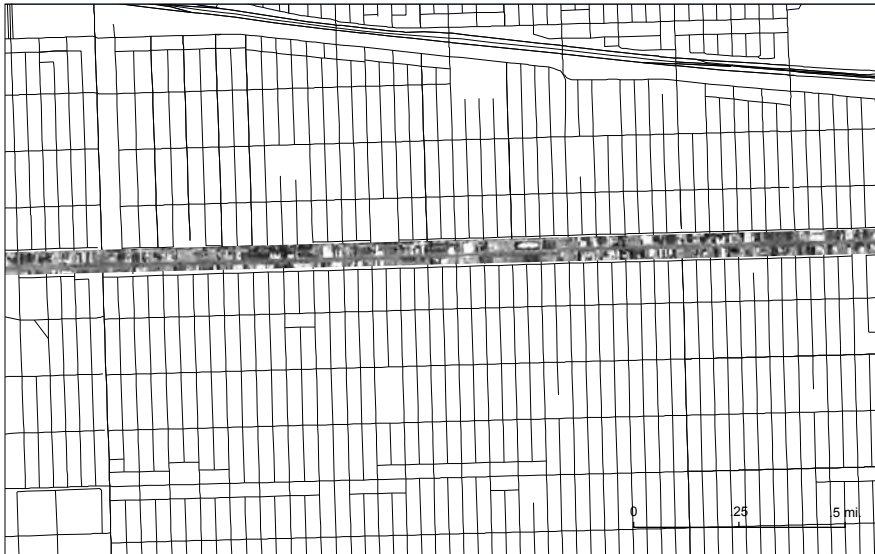
Town of Cicero



**CICERO SITE 3
FOOTHILL BOULEVARD**

Fig. 126

Google Street View



**CICERO: SITE 3
ROOSEVELT ROAD; 1.25-MILE COMMERCIAL CORRIDOR REVITALIZATION**

Fig. 127

Towns of Cicero, Oak Park, and Berwyn

explicitly than elsewhere, the red foreclosure dots represent realizable new sites for the development of housing alongside those sites already slated for publicly funded development. Using a fund created by last year's Housing and Economic Recovery Act, Cicero plans to underwrite the purchase and rehabilitation of these foreclosed properties.

Fig. 122–123

Therefore, it is only fitting that the first development site we look at in Cicero is a collection of these city-owned lots. Highlighted here are the city-owned vacant residential lots available for development. In addition to these, non-vacant lots seized by the town or purchased after foreclosure are also available.

Fig. 124–125

Cicero's second site is the Sportsman's Park redevelopment area. Once a horseracing track, the park was recreated as Chicago Motor Speedway and then later acquired by the town. Following demolition of the race-track, Cicero intends the 170-acre site to be redeveloped as a high-end retail center.

Fig. 126–127

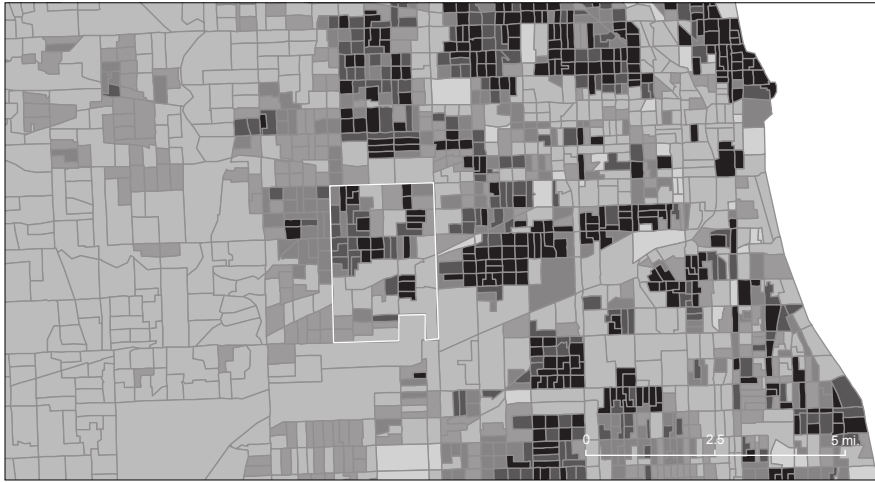
Lastly, Cicero's Roosevelt Road Streetscape design plan is, as we've seen in other suburbs, a commercial corridor revitalization plan. The overall plan calls for rezoning in three different municipalities (Cicero, Oak Park, and Berwyn) to redesign a 1.25-mile portion of Roosevelt Road. The initiative, which began last year, includes the creation of new form-based zoning regulations.

Fig. 128–130

Like many older, inner-ring suburbs, Cicero is a relatively densely developed residential area. This map of its population density shows more pockets of small single-family homes than we've seen in the previous suburbs.

Similarly, this map of the renting rates shows Cicero to have a closer affinity to Chicago's urban renting lifestyle than to that of other outlying suburbs. Further, this last demographic map of Cicero presents the median household income by block group, which clearly identifies this inner suburb as the edge of a larger income distribution pattern, separating the lower-income neighborhoods closer to the center of Chicago from the more affluent suburbs to the west.

THE PUBLICNESS OF THE PUBLIC



POPULATION PER SQUARE MILE*

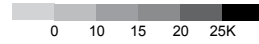
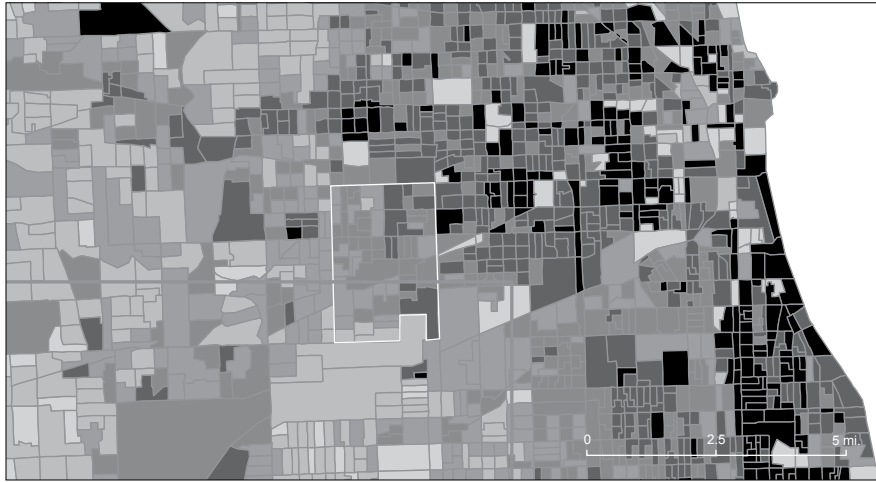


Fig. 128

US Census Bureau



HOUSING UNITS THAT ARE RENTED*

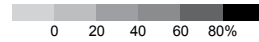
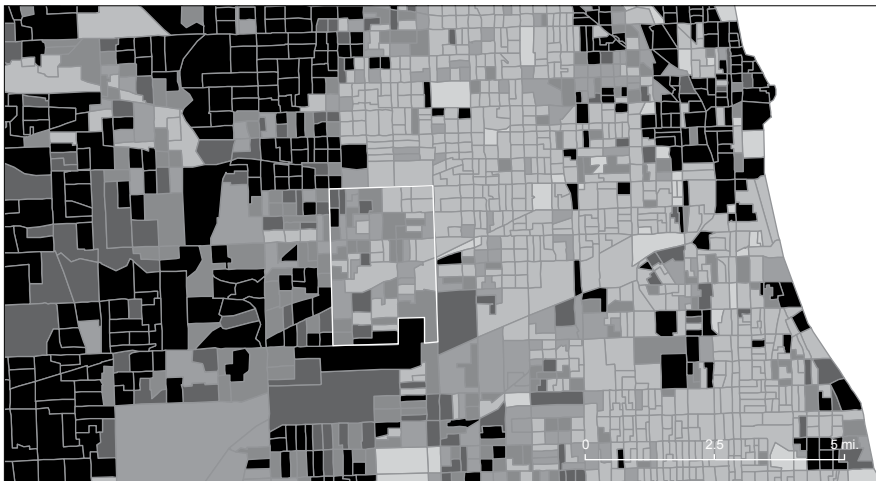


Fig. 129

US Census Bureau



MEDIAN HOUSEHOLD INCOME*

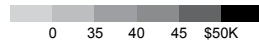


Fig. 130

US Census Bureau

KEIZER, OREGON

Fig. 131-133

SPEAKER 8

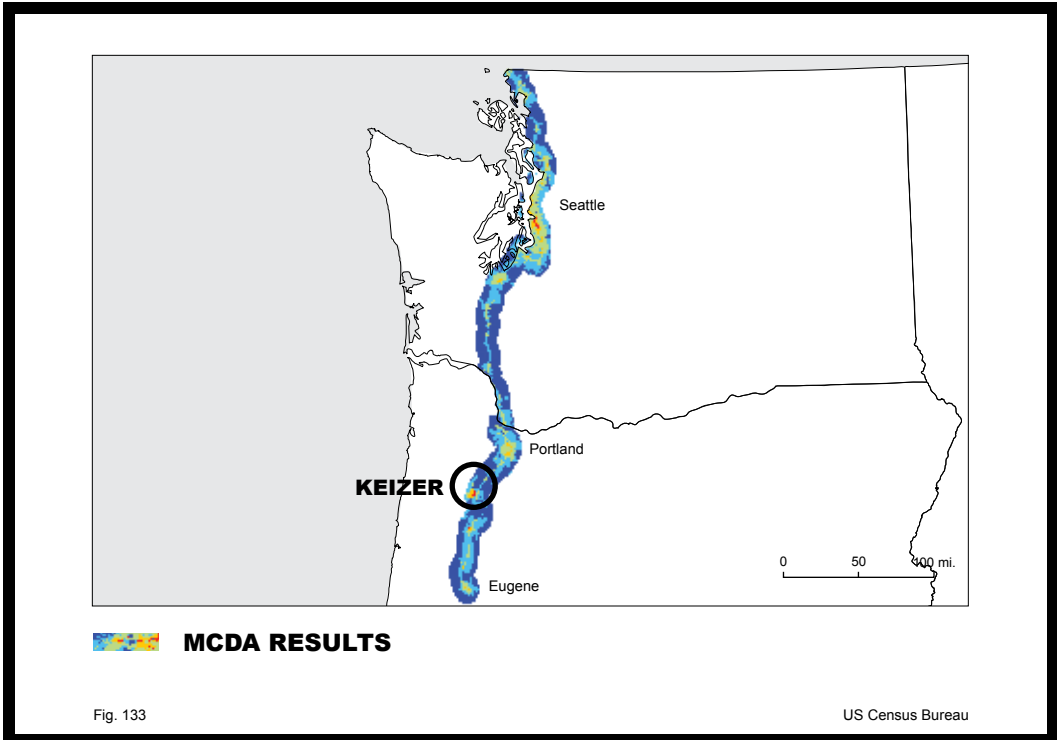
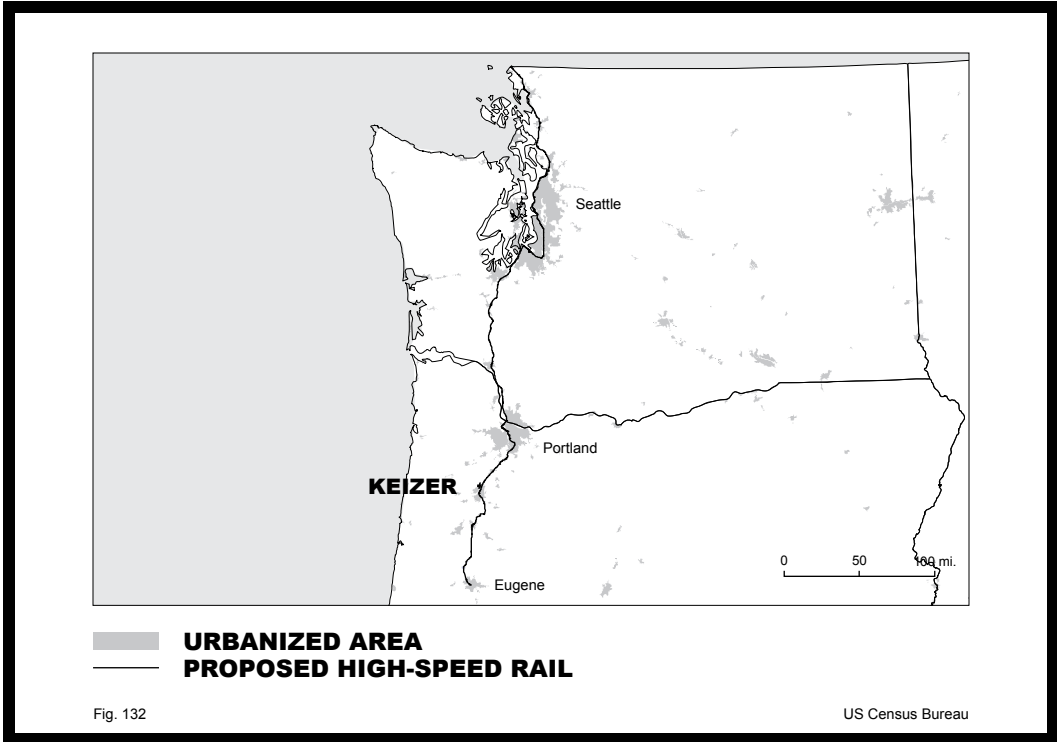
The proposed northwestern high-speed rail line stretches from Eugene, Oregon, north to the Canadian border, passing through Salem, Portland, and Seattle. Alongside Salem sits the small suburb of Keizer, Oregon.

From the geography of housing need and potential growth identified by the multi-criteria decision analysis of the Pacific Northwest, Keizer was selected. It showed a significant poverty rate, a relatively diverse racial makeup, and an active local economic development and planning climate with several publicly supported opportunities for intervention. It was also chosen for its relationship to Salem.⁵² In every other case study, the city that forms the central hub of our representative suburb has been fairly well defined. With Salem's relatively small population compared to the other city centers we've looked at (Salem's population is roughly 150,000), it is less clear whether Keizer is a suburb of Salem or whether the combined Salem-Keizer area is a regional suburb of Portland. Either way, with the introduction of the high-speed rail line and the improved transportation this will bring, Salem

KEIZER, OREGON



Fig. 131



THE PUBLICNESS OF THE PRIVATE

**SINGLE-FAMILY HOME
FORECLOSED FEB 2009 BY FANNIE MAE**

Fig. 134

RealtyTrac; Google Street View

and Keizer are poised to benefit from new employment opportunities.

One final reason for selecting Salem and Keizer (one which is also unique among the examples we've been discussing) is that regional real estate development is limited by the existence of Urban Growth Boundaries in Oregon. These boundaries are required for every metropolitan area in the state and are approved by Oregon's Land Conservation and Development Commission in accordance with the Statewide Planning Goals and Guidelines. Generally speaking, Urban Growth Boundaries are intended to preserve greenbelts and agricultural lands and encourage infill and densification in urban cores.

Fig. 134–136

The last foreclosure story of today's presentations is this house in Keizer, foreclosed upon in February 2009 for an outstanding debt of \$179,572.⁵³ Our profiles of the federal government's involvement in the foreclosure crisis and its major banks would be incomplete if we didn't include one example from the Federal National Mortgage Association. Fannie Mae, as it is known, was created by the federal government during the Great Depression to



**LOCAL ECONOMY
KEIZER'S BANK OF AMERICA BRANCH**

Fig. 135

Google Street View

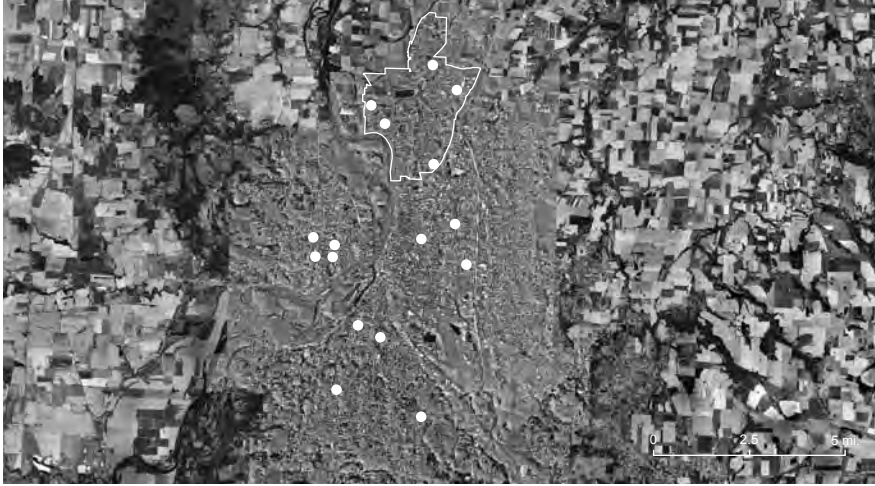


**LOCAL PLANNING
SALEM'S CITY HALL**

Fig. 136

Google Street View

THE PRIVATENESS OF THE PUBLIC



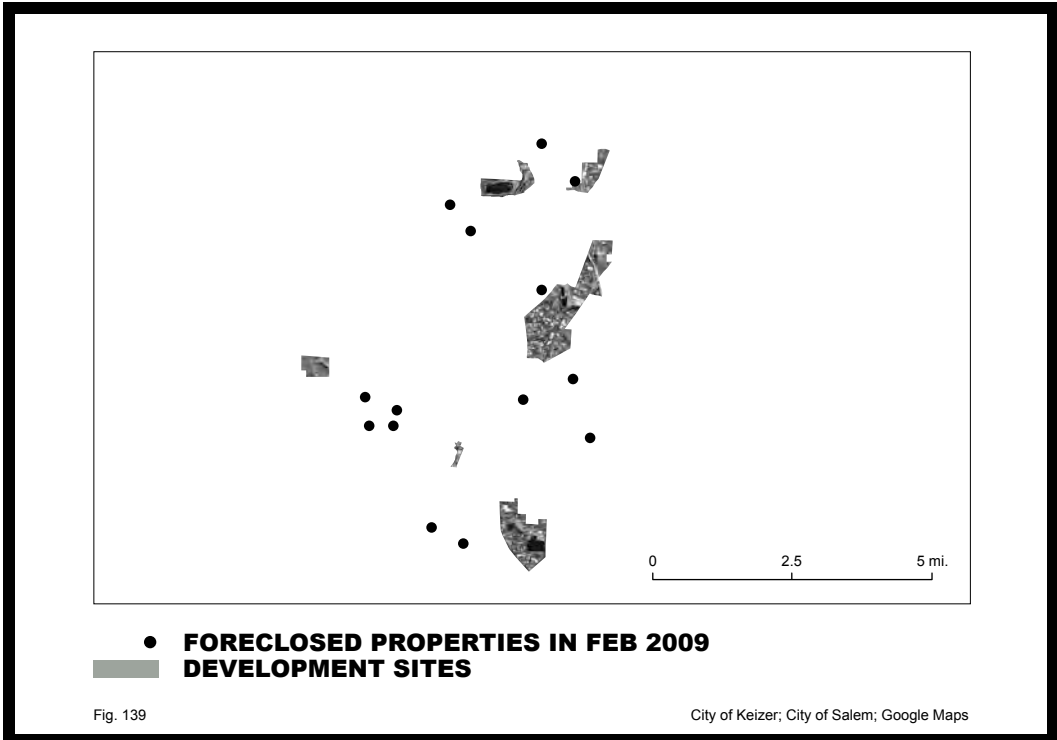
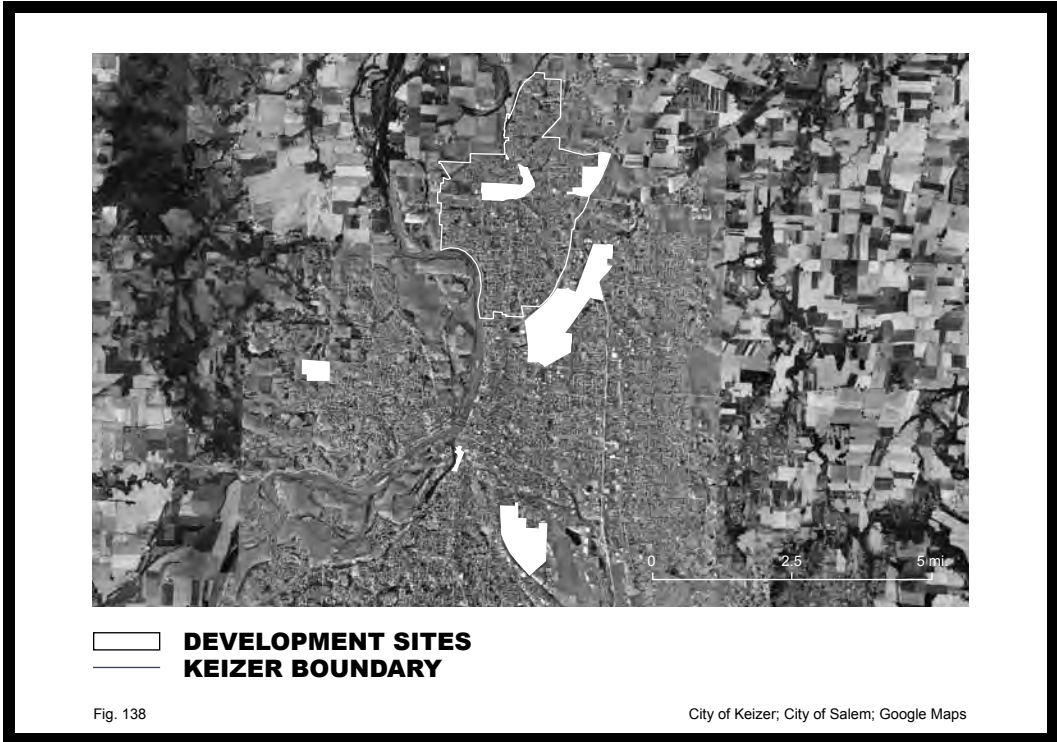
- **FORECLOSED PROPERTIES IN FEB 2009**
 — **KEIZER BOUNDARY**

Fig. 137

RealtyTrac; Google Maps

help families realize homeownership when they could not qualify for private-market mortgages. Last September, Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac (which are private, but publicly chartered, government-sponsored enterprises) were placed under the conservatorship of the Federal Housing Finance Agency and were allocated \$100 billion apiece for their rescues. Today, Secretary of the Treasury Timothy Geithner increased that allocation to \$200 billion. In 2007, it was estimated that together Fannie and Freddie owned or guaranteed roughly 57 percent (or \$6.8 trillion) of the U.S. mortgage market.

Keizer and Salem's local economies are intertwined, especially given their joined development restrictions. During the 1990s the area sought to diversify its economic base by attracting technology manufacturing, with limited success. Salem is home to the Oregon State Penitentiary and the state's Department of Corrections headquarters, which largely accounts for the fact that 24 and 20 percent of Keizer's and Salem's working population, respectively, are employed in government jobs.





KEIZER: SITE 1

Fig. 140

Google Street View



KEIZER: SITE 1
225 ACRES; INDUSTRIAL, COMMERCIAL, RESIDENTIAL, AND MIXED USES

Fig. 141

City of Keizer



SALEM: SITE 2

Fig. 142

Google Street View



SALEM: SITE 2
SITE 2 928 ACRES; RENEWAL AREA (\$54M INVESTED TO DATE)

Fig. 143

City of Salem



SALEM: SITE 3

Fig. 144

Google Street View



SALEM: SITE 3
452 ACRES; \$300K INVESTED TO DATE

Fig. 145

City of Salem

Recently, and much to the chagrin of many local residents, a longstanding ban on big-box retail stores in Keizer was lifted as part of planning strategies aimed at economic development. The result was the creation of a group called “Keep Keizer Livable,” which seeks to preserve the area’s small-town, smaller-scale character. In addition to this initiative, there are four designated “urban renewal areas” in Salem and Keizer, and plans for new residential zones.

Fig. 137–139

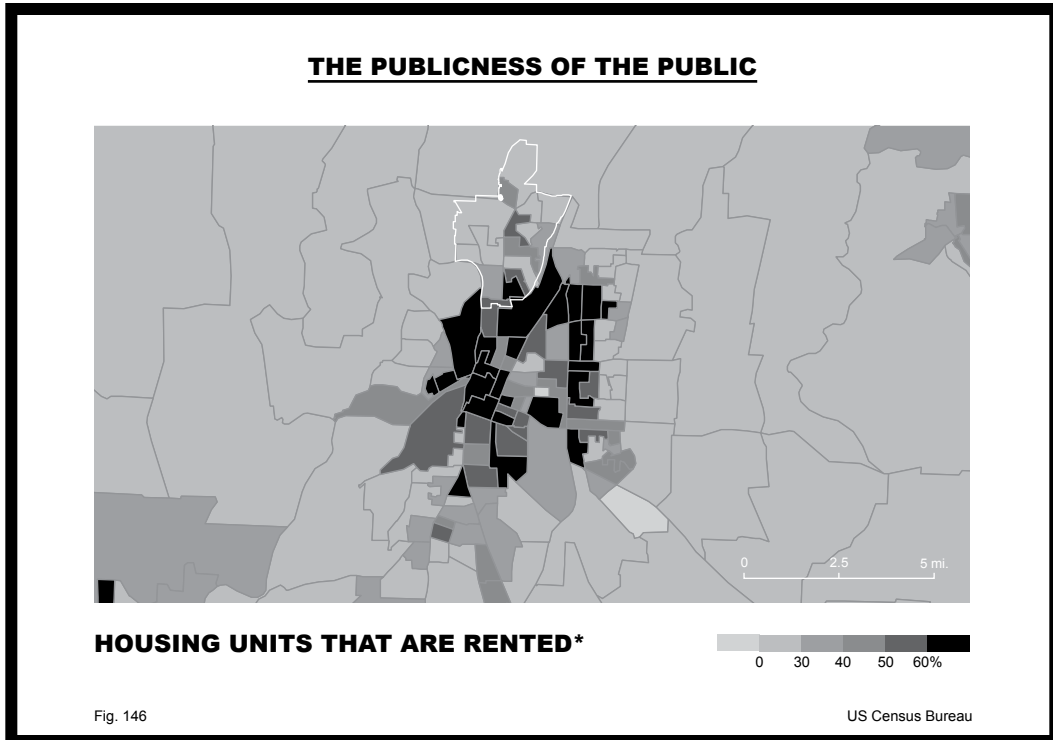
As development is confined to the Urban Growth Boundary, so too are the foreclosures in Salem and Keizer. Given the area’s smaller population compared to our other suburbs, the foreclosure rate is on par with those of other suburbs in the case studies, with the exception of Rialto, which is an extreme case.

Active planning in both Keizer and Salem has designated over two thousand combined acres within the Urban Growth Boundary for redevelopment or renewal, with almost \$100 million allocated by separate agencies in each city for these areas. With necessarily integrated strategies, the agencies involved in land use and redevelopment include Keizer’s Planning Commission and Urban Renewal Agency and Salem’s Urban Development Department, Urban Renewal Agency, and Housing Authority. In addition to these agencies, both cities have a variety of commissions, committees, and advisory boards dedicated to specific projects or developments. For example, these include Keizer’s Bikeways Committee and individual entities for Keizer’s River Roads Renaissance project and Salem’s separate urban renewal areas.

The plans all propose combining housing and economic development, with many individual projects meant specifically to stabilize and eventually improve property values.⁵⁴

Fig. 140–141

The first public redevelopment site we will look at is the Keizer Station Urban Renewal Area, which itself is divided into four areas ranging from to low-density residential and mixed uses to commercial and particular industrial uses. The plans for this site specifically include opportunities for creating family-wage jobs.



Centered on the proposed multimodal transit station, the 225-acre site will establish a northern gateway for Keizer and may also accommodate community facilities.

Fig. 142–143

Across the municipal border is the Salem North Gateway Urban Renewal Area. This site was established in 1990 and includes 928 acres for redevelopment. Many projects have been started, including various initiatives directed at environmental cleanup and at infrastructural improvements, to attract private development in the area. To date, \$54 million of mostly public investment has gone into, or into preparations for, the area's redevelopment.

Fig. 144–145

The West Salem Residential Zone is located within a 452-acre urban renewal area established in 2001. The zone includes provisions for a range of housing options, improvements to non-automobile circulation, and other revitalization strategies to attract “job-producing, private investment.”⁵⁵

Renewal plans for the West Salem Residential Zone suffered a setback shortly after their approval, when a large



POPULATION OVER 64*

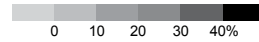
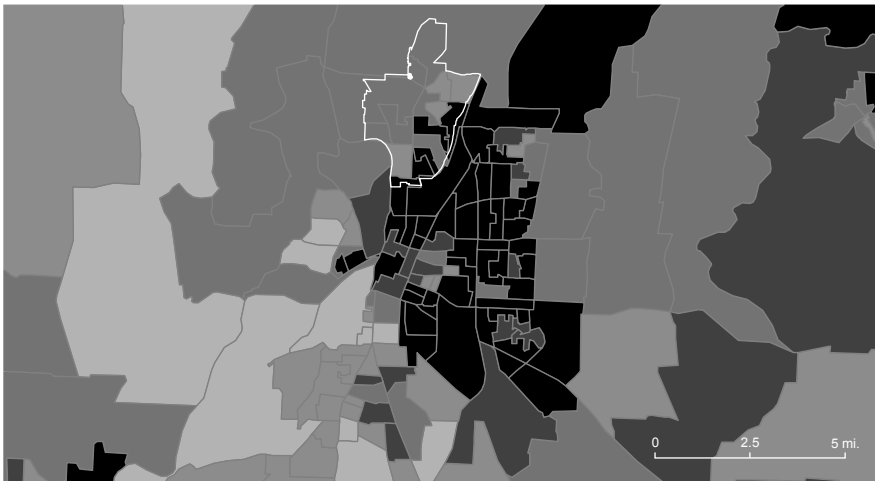


Fig. 147

US Census Bureau



POPULATION OVER 25 WITHOUT A HIGH SCHOOL DIPLOMA*



Fig. 148

US Census Bureau

property holder left the area. Since then, the tax base of this area has made a slow recovery to the 2001 level.

Fig. 146–148

As far as local demographics go, Salem-Keizer's residential rental rate is surprisingly high. The national average for renter-occupied housing is 33 percent: in Salem-Keizer, most of the occupied housing units are rented, with large areas containing upwards of 60 percent renters. Although the percentage of renters in Keizer is lower than in Salem, its rate is still higher than the national average and much higher than that of most suburbs.

One of the population demographics we have not discussed much yet is the percentage of the population over the age of 64. Most of the suburbs we have looked at fit within national trends, and the trend for this particular demographic within the U.S. is towards slightly less than 13 percent of the population. It is worthwhile to note that Keizer and Salem fall outside the national average. Most of this area boasts an over-64 population of more than 20 percent, with several block groups reaching as high as 30 and 40 percent.

Lastly, for each of the suburbs we examined educational attainment variables, and it may be important to end on this note. In most of the Salem-Keizer area, more than the national average of 15 percent of the adult population lacks a high-school diploma. On much of this map, more than 20 percent of the population has not earned the degree. Along with the continued talk of suburban growth, transit-oriented development, and economic recovery should be discussion about social development and investment into social infrastructures, including education.

CONCLUSION

CUT TO

LATE EVENING

EXT. – UNIVERSITY PARKING LOT

Socrates and Glaucon pull into the parking lot outside the university lecture hall, having missed most of the symposium. A voice on the radio reports that President Barack Obama has announced another initiative to address the ongoing financial crisis. Glaucon awakens Socrates from his daydream.

GLAUCON

We're there. Listen!

SOCRATES

Huh?

RADIO ANNOUNCER (V.O.)

Today before Congress, with Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Shaun Donovan at his side, President Obama introduced the Making Home Affordable program of mortgage modification, refinancing, and foreclosure protection. This news comes just a day after he signed the American Recovery and

Reinvestment Act or ARRA, otherwise known as the economic stimulus package....

GLAUCON

Good timing with Diotima's symposium!

SOCRATES

Yes, indeed. It was encouraging to hear yesterday of significant investment in public infrastructure. Though I remain concerned that, in contrast, this new initiative seems premised on the house as a non-negotiable unit of urban life, and a special form of property. In any case, I hope we haven't missed everything. I was meant to act as a respondent, but how shall I respond if I have missed all the presentations?

CUT TO

MOMENTS LATER

INT - SYMPOSIUM – LECTURE HALL

Socrates and Glaucon arrive at the crowded lecture hall. The speakers, having already presented their findings, are now assembled on the stage for a round-table discussion. Diotima retakes her position at the podium.

DIOTIMA

Thank you again to all of our speakers for this informative and enlightening set of presentations. We have learned many things today about the landscape of foreclosed houses, housing inequity, and dreamlike development plans that spans the suburban United States. I say dreamlike not because the municipal plans that we have seen are unrealistic, but because they speak to the real-world consequences of elusive dreams.

Each of the eight case studies about which we have just heard offers a different angle on this strange relationship between fact and fiction. Each suburb is quite different. First of all they stretch across the entire continent, from California to Illinois to Florida. That means that to some extent, each reflects the peculiarities of its region in terms of climate, economy, politics, and so on. Each also possesses a different history. Some areas, like DeKalb County, Georgia, have grown dramatically in the recent past. Others, like Tomball, Texas or Landover, Maryland,

anticipate significant future growth. Still others, like the four Oranges in New Jersey, are older suburbs that have undergone notable demographic transformation in recent years. So in that sense, there is nothing especially typical about any of these. In fact, I think we can say that, based on the evidence we have before us, there is no such thing as a “typical” American suburb.⁵⁶

And yet, there are many processes that bind these and many other such places together into larger urban systems. To begin with, there are the roads, airports, rail lines, and other infrastructures that connect towns and cities and allow us to see each as part of a sprawling “megaregion.” As we explained earlier, this was how we organized our research in the first place. Representative suburbs from eight of these national megaregions were selected not for their typicality but as evidence of a much larger pattern that has emerged in the midst of the suburban sprawl.

In each of these cases we also see variations on the theme of homeownership and imagined independence, along with evidence of conflict and dispossession. Contrary to the stereotype that only inner cities or remote rural areas are plagued with economic or social distress, each of these suburban areas struggles with relatively high poverty rates, compounded by high foreclosure rates. Some suburbs are also quite segregated, with more affluent neighborhoods on one side of the proverbial “tracks” and less affluent neighborhoods on the other. Often, such segmentations are crisscrossed with the subliminal tensions as well as the innovations of multi-racial, multi-ethnic suburban life. They also reflect persistent patterns of gender inequity that remain typical, rather than exceptional, in housing distribution and access throughout the country. This, despite decades of work in these areas, probably because most of that work has drawn its models from urban examples.⁵⁷

Nor do we see a unified pattern of home foreclosures in these suburbs, although each exhibits relatively high rates when compared to the national average. This suggests that though its effects are most immediately felt, home foreclosure sits on the irregular tip of a much larger

iceberg. We can call this iceberg the “housing system,” a term that encompasses every form of dwelling from individual homes to large apartment complexes, privately or public owned. This system is clearly linked with the other systems that configure cities. But what is true for one of these systems is true for all of them. They can be entered at any point, from which all of the other systems can be accessed. Thus, look at a single house and you’ll not only see the city of which it is a part, but an entire economy and an entire set of social structures in which its inhabitants participate.

So in that sense, the “tip of the iceberg” metaphor I just used may be misleading, in that it implies that there are deeper, more foundational processes underlying the empty houses left behind by foreclosure. No, not deeper, only less visible; and no, not underlying them, but passing through them. It may be better, then, to imagine a set of overlapping landscapes, in which the uneven terrain of home foreclosure intersects with the uneven terrain of economic opportunity and with the uneven terrain of cultural values, like a pastry whose layers pass through one another, up and down in irregular undulations.

It is difficult to see patterns in such undulations. And yet, I believe that today’s presentations have helped us to do exactly that. For they have shown us that the physical, social, and economic particularities of each of these places all have a role to play in situating that place in the larger field of forces that we call suburbia. And in these particular cases, they have converged in different ways to paint a portrait of a crisis reverberating through that field. Given the interpenetration of layers, this should not merely be understood as a housing crisis, although it is that. Nor should it be understood as a mere outgrowth of the economic crisis, although it is that, too. It should also be understood as a cultural crisis, a conflict of sorts between different visions and different dreams.

That is why we have gathered here to reflect, if only by implication, on the much-discussed American Dream through the hard, persistent facts of suburban reality. In these facts, mapped out with vivid, technical clarity by each of our speakers, we can ultimately discern the

outlines of a debate that has not yet occurred. Look at the master plans developed by many of these municipalities, with their “win-win” visions of mass-marketed bucolic bliss, and you really do have to ask yourself: “What is wrong with this picture?” By way of provocation, and to get the discussion going since our designated respondent has not yet arrived, I will respond by suggesting that what is wrong is not so much the picture but the frame. The problem is not one of deciding between visions of suburban development cast in a hazy nostalgia for a bygone era and futuristic visions that we are more likely to see in gated communities planned for Abu Dhabi, Mumbai, or Singapore. The problem is that virtually all of these visions, and others like them, default into the idea that the urban future is one in which markets rule, states defer, and NGOs look after the damage. Or, to put it in more cultural terms, the global urban future is the American Dream writ large, and translated into other languages that undermine its nationalistic claims on the one hand, while verifying its dubious claims to universality on the other.

Forgive me if this sounds like an oversimplification. It is not, especially when you recognize it as a story with a very simple, effective plot line rather than a hard and fast description of empirical reality. Such stories have real effects, not the least of which involves placing very real limits on the imaginations of architects, economists, politicians, and citizens alike. That is what I mean by the frame. Change the frame and you change the world.

But I see that Socrates, who needs no introduction here, has arrived. Perhaps he has something to add?

SOCRATES

Thank you, Diotima, and my apologies for missing the earlier talks. Glaucon and I were stuck in traffic. From your description they all seem wonderful, and so I thank my colleagues for the work they have done, and for their patience in entertaining my own modest thoughts on matters of such significance.

I have listened carefully to Diotima’s remarks and must say that I agree with nearly everything she has said. But on the way here, Glaucon and I got to talking about this

very subject, and I must admit that his persistent questions have forced me to reconsider my own arguments. And so I appeal to you, Diotima, to assist me in assuaging my doubts. During the course of our conversation in the car, we developed a four-part hypothesis. First, that globalization affects the inside as well as the outside of the enclosures in which we dwell; second, that the suburb is a type of city; third, that all houses are a type of housing and a basic element of urbanization; and fourth, that if you change the cultural narratives behind the single-family house you change the city. This hypothesis seems to me unassailable in its fundamentals. It amounts, if you will, to a reformulation if not a repudiation of what is sometimes called the American Dream, which, as you say, is the ultimate subject of our symposium. However, when I hear you describe the facts on the ground, so to speak, I remain concerned that this dream is what binds everything together and therefore must not be tampered with.

DIOTOMA

Well put Socrates. I concur with your hypothesis. And in a sense you're right. Shared aspirations do form strong bonds. That is not the issue. To begin with, communities formed in this way tend to exclude as much as include. The studies we have seen show a suburban landscape that is marked by such exclusions, some of which are mainly economic while others are mainly cultural or social. The overlapping boundaries formed by these exclusions divide the interiors of houses (as, for example, in uneven domestic gender roles) just as they do neighborhoods, towns, and cities.

SOCRATES

Yes, I made a similar argument in response to Glaucon's objections. But how, for example, might a cultural domain like architecture contribute to unraveling these binds, which ultimately seem social or political in character?

DIOTOMA

Architecture's capacity to stimulate, to represent, and to accommodate shared aspirations places it at the crux of the matter rather than at the margins. I am not only speaking about highly visible works of architecture, but also about the everyday architectures that make up the

cities that we have been analyzing. It is useless to perpetuate the old distinction between high art and popular culture here. Yes, there is a sophisticated and somewhat esoteric discourse on architecture that circulates in places like museums and universities. But there is no qualitative distinction between the types of cultural meaning discussed there, including highly formal abstractions, and the meanings that develop and circulate in other public spheres.

SOCRATES

Yes, other public spheres.

DIOTOMA

That is the key point. Rather than differentiate fundamentally between high art and popular culture, we should learn to speak in terms of overlapping public spheres. The language, interests, and values of some of the spheres will coincide. While the language, interests, and values of other “counterpublics” (as some have called them) will challenge dominant assumptions and practices.⁵⁸ So it is with the American Dream, which we can now understand as denoting a dominant set of values and assumptions about dwelling that, as we may infer from the facts on the ground, are subject to challenge from those whose interests they have excluded or marginalized.

But we are not talking about a war of all against all. Instead, we can learn to think somewhat paradoxically about contested values. Rather than presuppose that we need to arrive at some kind of absolute consensus in order to live together responsibly, let us imagine that instead, we need to arrive at something like a respectful disagreement. That would mean that we reject from the outset that anything like an unconditional American Dream is even possible, let alone desirable. In its place, we might suggest a more or less permanent dialogue about dreams. In that case, we would share not the dream but the dialogue, much as we are doing right now.

SOCRATES

Again, this is close to the argument I put to Glaucon when pressed to defend my hypothesis. He called my response utopian. I agreed. And I can now see that what

is most utopian about it, both positively and negatively, is the closed, island-like space in which we are having this discussion. In this case it is a university campus somewhat separated from the “outside world,” and in our earlier case it was the “private” space of a car, which we likened to the interior of a house. All of these spaces give us a certain distance from which to reflect and yet, all of them are very much part of the real world.

DIOTOMA

Yes. And again somewhat paradoxically, the very boundaries that set such spaces apart from the so-called real world out there are also what connect them to it. You yourself said that globalization occurs on the inside as well as the outside. The same would be true for transformation, would it not? We will not learn to dream differently until we realize that there is nothing at all private about our dreams, no matter where they are discussed and debated, and no matter how much we think we are the only ones doing the dreaming.

SOCRATES

Ah, Diotima, what you say is reassuring. But I remain unsure about how to act on it, beyond embarking on another journey such as the one Glaucon and I have just completed, and hence, another daydream.

DIOTOMA

Do not think about such discussions as isolated conversations. Imagine thousands of them occurring simultaneously, which in fact they do. What would you hear? Not a chorus of voices chanting slogans or singing anthems. But an entire society thinking out loud about its future. Architecture can contribute to this by giving them something to talk about and hence, to think about.

With that, the symposium concludes.

CUT TO

MONTAGE – IMAGES OF THE DRIVE DOWN WEST BROAD STREET IN ATHENS, GEORGIA

An auto care shop

A furniture store

A bank
Applebee's

CUT TO

LATER THAT EVENING

INT. APPLEBEE'S – THE SYMPOSIUM DINNER

The participants and audience members reconvene for dinner at the Applebee's on West Broad Street.

Socrates winces at the populism of it all. But then, at Diotima's urging, he begins to imagine that the conversations going on at the tables around them echo their own, and that these conversations might continue at the tables inside the houses to which the diners would later return. And that, when he and Glaucon get into their car the next morning to continue their journey, he would turn on the radio and hear the word "public" not only in the station's name but in the news itself. He even imagines that he could hear the two words discussed together—"public" and "housing"—without fear or nostalgia. He turns to Diotima and suggests that they convene another symposium on the subject, open to all, but this time with designs for the future that are unafraid to pose the question of housing and cities in new and emphatically public ways.

(Diotima smiles.)

CUT TO

THE FOLLOWING MORNING

INT. CAR - INTERSTATE 95

Socrates and Glaucon are in the car and on the road again, listening to talk radio. Gradually, voices from the restaurant, from passing cars, from houses and shops along the way, and from the radio itself are heard discussing the question of housing and cities in surprising ways. The narrator's voice can be heard over the cacophony of this gathering crowd.

DISSOLVE TO

MONTAGE OF SUBURBAN AMERICA – MID-AFTERNOON

An empty living room with the television on

A cul-de-sac of single-family homes in a suburban subdivision

A group of subdivisions forming a suburb

A cluster of suburbs forming a region

NARRATOR (V.O.)

The discussion we have just overheard could happen

anyplace, anytime. But it would eventually close in on itself without actual alternatives to debate. Hypothetically, the eight cities discussed at Diotima's symposium harbor a vast potential, individually and collectively. They only require the ideas and imagination that would shape this potential into propositions capable of assembling publics around them to debate the combinations of facts and values that they propose. In doing so, these publics will discover that what they have in common is not a need for a home, but a need to think together about how to live.

FADE OUT

Afterword

Architecture and urbanism can again occupy the center of a conversation about housing and cities. Architects, urbanists, and their colleagues need only recognize that what they have to offer are not solutions to a problem but rather, ways of restating the problem itself. They can do this with words and with things.

This story, then, is an invitation to make and say things that could provoke such a discussion, beginning with the places on the map that we have identified. Each of these places is both real and imaginary, consisting of facts on the ground interwoven with images in the mind. Each poses the question of housing in different but related ways. And each offers an opportunity to exit the cul-de-sacs into which our public discourse has withdrawn. We therefore invite you to continue the conversation by making and saying things that change the story.

To test the *Buell Hypothesis*, we have proposed that four to five architect-led interdisciplinary teams take up this challenge, by returning to the date of February 17, 2009 and the potential that it represented, and designing a possible future for one or more of the eight suburbs. Each area constitutes a broadly defined site for intervention at many possible scales, whether tightly consolidated in large areas or widely dispersed in smaller pockets. Since each area has one or more plans of its own in place already, the strategies and designs proposed by the teams may be considered as hypothetical counterproposals, intended to enable new assumptions and priorities. They may integrate or merely disregard the existing plans. Whichever way, the end result of this experiment should be a set of testable objects. As the hypothesis argues for the interpenetration of technical facts and cultural values, the minimum requirements for such a test will be a scale model of proposed new housing and any other relevant activities integrated into a rethought policy environment; an infrastructural diagram at the regional scale that integrates the housing into relevant urban systems, including environmental, social, and economic ones; and a film or video that inserts the housing and its systems into a story about how we live.

The results of the teams' efforts will be subject to organized critical debate and exhibited at the Museum of Modern Art in New York in early 2012. The exhibition's premise will be that things could have been different after February 17, 2009. By metaphorically rewinding the film as we know it and replaying a different one, the exhibition will offer tangible examples for public discussion. Framed by the *Buell Hypothesis*, the exhibition will open out onto many other arenas made available through the museum setting, through associated public programming, and through interactive online platforms. As with the hypothesis itself, our goal is not definitive solutions but rather, possible alternatives that represent compelling futures for architecture and urbanism, and for the world of real lives and real ideas in which these always exist.

Notes

1 This was one of the many criticisms of modern architecture made by advocates of postmodernism, most often by implication. See, for example, the oft-cited discussion of the demolition of the Pruitt-Igoe housing complex in St. Louis in 1972 by Charles Jencks in *The Language of Post-Modern Architecture* (London: Academy Editions, 1977), 9.

2 The most relevant text is Plato, *Republic*, trans. G. M. A. Grube, rev. by C. D. C. Reeve (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1992). See also Plato, *Symposium*, trans. Alexander Nehamas and Paul Woodruff (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1989). This dialogue loosely adapts aspects of the Socratic model; it does not fully reproduce its format or style. The characters are likewise loose adaptations.

3 Federal lands constitute about 34 percent of the total land area of the United States and about 27 percent of the land area in the continental United States. Data on federally owned land is available at: National Atlas of the United States, "Raw Data Download," United States Department of the Interior, <http://www.nationalatlas.gov/atlasftp.html>. While it is difficult to estimate accurately the total percentage of state and municipally owned land, an indication of public ownership by state for the contiguous forty-eight states is provided in the Appendix.

4 Among the many studies of suburbanization in the United States, see in particular Robert A. Beauregard, *When American Became Suburban* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), Dolores Hayden, *A Field Guide to Sprawl* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2004), Robert Fishman, *Bourgeois Utopias: The Rise and Fall of Suburbia* (New York: Basic Books, 1989), Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987). See also Ellen Dunham-Jones and June Williamson, *Retrofitting Suburbia: Urban Design Solutions for Redesigning Suburbs* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2009).

5 United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-HABITAT), *The State of the World's Cities Report 2006/2007: 30 years of Shaping the Habitat Agenda* (Sterling, VA: Earthscan, 2006). See also United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-HABITAT), *The State of the World's Cities: Harmonious Cities 2008/2009* (Sterling, VA: Earthscan, 2008).

6 Preliminary findings for the 2010 US Census are available at the US Census Bureau's website at US Census Bureau, "American FactFinder" at <http://factfinder2.census.gov/main.html>.

7 Richard Florida, Tim Gulden, Charlotta Mellander, "The Rise of the Mega Region," unpublished paper, Martin Prosperity Institute, Joseph L. Rotman School of Management, University of Toronto, October 2007. Available at <http://www.rotman.utoronto.ca/userfiles/prosperity/File/Rise.of.%20the.Mega-Regions.w.cover.pdf>.

8 There is a substantial literature outlining the principles of the New Urbanism. Among the most relevant works is Andres Duany, Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk, and Jeff Speck, *Suburban Nation: The Rise of Sprawl and the Decline of the American Dream*, 2nd ed. (New York: North Point Press, 2010). See also: Congress for the New Urbanism, *The Charter of the New Urbanism* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1999); Peter Calthorpe,

The Next American Metropolis: Ecology, Community, and the American Dream (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1993); and Peter Katz, *The New Urbanism* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1993).

9 The principal study on the population of classical Athens remains A.W. Gomme, *The Population of Athens in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.* (1933), reprint (Chicago: Argonaut, 1967). Gomme estimates the combined population of Athens and Piraeus to have ranged between 155,000 and 168,000 between 430 and 330 B.C.E. This would include between 50,000 and 60,000 citizens. However, more recent scholarship suggests that these numbers could have been considerably lower around 430, between 35,000 and 40,000 in Athens and about 25,000 in Piraeus. See Ian Morris, "The Growth of Greek Cities in the First Millennium B.C.," Princeton/Stanford Working Papers in Classics, December 2005. Available at <http://www.princeton.edu/~pswpc/pdfs/morris/120509.pdf>. In 2006 the United States Census Bureau estimated the population of consolidated Athens-Clarke County, Georgia at 111,580. See <http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/13/1303440.html>. re: classicism

10 See, for example, Walter J. Fraser Jr., *Savannah in the Old South* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2003). Symptomatically, the author believes that "[m]itigating the violence and brutality that sometimes flashed like summer lightning across Savannah were the city's private and public structures and spaces, which acted as humanizing influences," 343.

11 The classic definition of the public sphere as "the realm of our social life in which something approaching public opinion can be formed," is to be found in Jürgen Habermas, "The Public Sphere: An Encyclopedia Article (1964)," trans. Sare Lennox and Frank Lennox, *New German Critique* 3 (Autumn 1974): 49. See also Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger and Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge: MKT Press, 1989). More recently, Bruno Latour has built on a related American tradition stemming from debates between Walter Lippmann and John Dewey, to describe networks of actors and artifacts assembled into a body politic through public debate. See especially Latour and Peter Weibel, eds., *Making Things Public: Atmospheres of Democracy* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2005).

12 For an overview of the history and scope of American housing policy, including the HOPE VI program, see Alex F. Schwartz, *Housing Policy in the United States*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2010).

13 Stephanie Armour, "2008 Foreclosure Filings Set Record," *USA Today*, February 3, 2009, http://www.usatoday.com/money/economy/housing/2009-01-14-foreclosure-record-filings_N.htm.

14 Datasets from the 2000 US Decennial Census Summary File 3 and 2008 American Community Survey 1-Year Estimates were downloaded for the listed variables from the US Census website's download center. For the 2000 datasets, information was downloaded by census block group, with the exception of the Northeast Corridor analysis which utilized county subdivisions due to the size of the study area. For the 2008 datasets, information was downloaded by counties. To enable comparative analysis, data from the 2000 census block

groups was aggregated by county. The US Census Bureau's Download Center can be found at http://factfinder.census.gov/servlet/DownloadDatasetServlet?_lang=en.

15 Once individual study areas were identified through the multicriteria decision analysis, additional foreclosure datasets were purchased by zip code from RealtyTrac within the date range of February 1, 2009 and February 28, 2009 (specific zip codes cited below). These included properties transferred to lender ownership during the month of February 2009 within the zip codes enclosed by or intersecting each municipality's boundaries.

16 US Department of Housing and Urban Development Office of Community Planning and Development, "Affordable Housing," US Department of Housing and Urban Development, <http://www.hud.gov/offices/cpd/affordablehousing/>.

17 "The Foreclosure Crisis and California: A report by the staff of US Senator Barbara Boxer," n.d., <http://boxer.senate.gov/en/issues-legislation/issues/upload/Senator-Boxer-s-Foreclosure-Crisis-Report.pdf>.

18 Sources for facts cited: ESRI Business Analyst Online, "Market Profile: Rialto RDA," All American Self Storage, <http://www.fontanaselfstorageunits.com/pdf/rialto-market-profile.pdf>.

US Census Bureau, "2005-2009 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates Fact Sheet: Rialto city, California," http://factfinder.census.gov/servlet/ACSSAFFacts?_event=Search&geo_id=&_geoContext=&_street=&_county=Rialto&_cityTown=Rialto&_state=04000US06&_zip=&_lang=en&_sse=on&pctxt=fph&pgsl=010.
See Appendix for complete listing of sources for this section.

19 Real estate records owned and controlled by RealtyTrac within the date range of February 1, 2009 and February 28, 2009 for the following zip codes: 92377, 92336, 92411, 92376, 92335, 92316, 92324.

20 The Center for Public Integrity. "The Subprime 25," http://www.publicintegrity.org/investigations/economic_meltdown/the_subprime_25/.

21 Later, the federal government would sell IndyMac to OneWest, which received \$1.8 billion from the Making Home Affordable program.

22 City of Rialto Planning Division, "Renaissance Specific Plan," http://www.ci.rialto.ca.us/development_4604.php.
City of Rialto Planning Division, "Lytle Creek Ranch Specific Plan," http://www.ci.rialto.ca.us/development_4592.php.
City of Rialto Planning Division, "Foothill Boulevard Specific Plan," http://www.ci.rialto.ca.us/development_4650.php.
City of Rialto Planning Division, "Planning," http://www.ci.rialto.ca.us/development_856.php.
Redevelopment Agency of the City of Rialto, "Development Opportunities," http://www.ci.rialto.ca.us/redevelopment_800.php.

23 The "poverty line" is an income threshold annually set by the US Census Bureau. The threshold differs according to household size and age of householder. Tables of annual poverty thresholds are available at US Census Bureau, "Poverty Thresholds," <http://www.census.gov/hhes/www/poverty/data/threshld/index.html>.

24 Sources for facts cited: City of Tomball, "Vision 2030: Comprehensive Plan Draft," October 2009, <http://www.ci.tomball.tx.us/pdf-docs/2009/102209%20Draft%20Tomball%20Comprehensive%20Plan%20FULL.pdf>.
Tomball Economic Development Corporation, "Major

Employers," <http://www.tomballtxedc.org/community-profile/major-employers>.

US Census Bureau, "2005-2009 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates Fact Sheet: Tomball city, Texas," http://factfinder.census.gov/servlet/ACSSAFFacts?_event=Search&geo_id=&_geoContext=&_street=&_county=Tomball&_cityTown=Tomball&_state=04000US48&_zip=&_lang=en&_sse=on&pctxt=fph&pgsl=010.

See Appendix for complete listing of sources for this section.

25 City of Tomball, "Vision 2030: Comprehensive Plan Draft," October 2009, <http://www.ci.tomball.tx.us/pdf-docs/2009/102209%20Draft%20Tomball%20Comprehensive%20Plan%20FULL.pdf>.

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27 In April 2009, GMAC received \$1.5 billion under the Making Home Affordable program. Today GMAC is known as Ally Financial.

28 City of Tomball, "Vision 2030: Comprehensive Plan Draft," October 2009, <http://www.ci.tomball.tx.us/pdf-docs/2009/102209%20Draft%20Tomball%20Comprehensive%20Plan%20FULL.pdf>.

Tomball Economic Development Corporation, "Properties," <http://www.tomballtxedc.org/eds/properties>.

29 Sources for facts cited: US Census Bureau, "2005-2009 American Community Survey 5-Year Fact Sheet: Doraville city, Georgia," http://factfinder.census.gov/servlet/ACSSAFFacts?_event=Search&geo_id=&_geoContext=&_street=&_county=Doraville&_cityTown=Doraville&_state=04000US13&_zip=&_lang=en&_sse=on&pctxt=fph&pgsl=010.

US Census Bureau, "2005-2009 American Community Survey 5-Year Fact Sheet: Chamblee city, Georgia," http://factfinder.census.gov/servlet/ACSSAFFacts?_event=Search&geo_id=&_geoContext=&_street=&_county=Chamblee&_cityTown=Chamblee&_state=04000US13&_zip=&_lang=en&_sse=on&pctxt=fph&pgsl=010.
See Appendix for complete listing of sources for this section.

30 Real estate records owned and controlled by RealtyTrac within the date range of February 1, 2009 and February 28, 2009 for the following zip codes: 30022, 30044, 30047, 30084, 30092, 30093, 30096, 30097, 30319, 30338, 30340, 30341, 30345, 30350, 30360.

31 In April 2009, Aurora received \$393 million under the Making Home Affordable program.

32 Atlanta Regional Commission, "Livable Centers Initiative," <http://www.atlantaregional.com/land-use/livable-centers-initiative>.

City of Doraville, "Find Reports and Studies: Comprehensive Plan 2006-2026," <http://www.doravillega.us/Business/Business/Reports-and-Studies.html>.

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PBS&J and Ross & Associates, "City of Chamblee, Georgia 10th Year Comprehensive Plan Update: Community Agenda," June 20, 2006, http://www.chambleega.com/client_resources/departments/development/Comprehensive%20Plan.pdf.

33 Source for facts cited: US Census Bureau, "2005-2009 American Community Survey 5-Year Fact Sheet: Temple Terrace, Florida," <http://factfinder.census.gov/servlet/>

ACSSAFFacts?_event=Search&geo_id=&_geoContext=&_street=&_county=temple+terrace&_cityTown=temple+terrace&_state=04000US12&_zip=&_lang=en&_sse=on&pctxt=fph&pgsl=010.
See Appendix for complete listing of sources for this section.

34 Real estate records owned and controlled by RealtyTrac within the date range of February 1, 2009 and February 28, 2009 for the following zip codes: 33549, 33647, 33613, 33637, 33637, 33612, 33620, 33617, 33604, 33610, 33603, 33619, 33605.

35 In April 2009, Wells Fargo was given \$5 billion in incentive payments for home mortgages modifications through the Making Home Affordable program, including foreclosure prevention alternatives.

36 City of Temple Terrace Department of Community Development, "City of Temple Terrace - CRA," http://www.templeterrace.com/revitalize/pdfs/CRAmap_033007.pdf.
City of Temple Terrace Department of Community Development, "Temple Terrace Code: Chapter 29 - Temple Terrace Downtown Community Redevelopment Plan Overlay Zoning District," November 22, 2006, <http://www.templeterrace.com/govt/codebook/Chapter%2029.pdf>.
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Lyman Davidson Dooley, Inc. "The Vlass Group Downtown Temple Terrace Site Plan," October 14, 2008, [http://www.templeterrace.com/revitalize/pdfs/VlassSitePlan\(1\).pdf](http://www.templeterrace.com/revitalize/pdfs/VlassSitePlan(1).pdf).
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37 Sources for facts cited: Maryland Department of Business and Economic Development, "Major Employers in Prince George's County, Maryland," November 2010, <http://www.choosemaryland.org/factsstats/Documents/Major%20Employers/princegeorgesME2010.pdf>.
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See Appendix for complete listing of sources for this section.

38 Real estate records owned and controlled by RealtyTrac within the date range of February 1, 2009 and February 28, 2009 for the following zip codes: 20018, 20011, 20017, 20019, 20002, 20020, 20774, 20747, 20743, 20715, 20784, 20770, 20712, 20707, 20772, 20708, 20705, 20783, 20769, 20720, 20781, 20762, 20785, 20706, 20746, 20782, 20722, 20710, 20740, 20721, 20716, 20737.

39 US Department of the Treasury, "Investment Programs: Targeted Investment Program," <http://www.treasury.gov/initiatives/financial-stability/investment-programs/tip/Pages/targetedinvestmentprogram.aspx>.

40 The Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission and Prince George's County Planning Department, "Approved General Plan," October 2002, http://www.pgplanning.org/Resources/Publications/General_Plan_Publication.htm.

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Department, "Preliminary Subregion 4 Master Plan and Proposed Sectional Map Amendment," August 2009, 314. Available at <http://www.pgplanning.org/page9455.aspx>.

42 Ibid., 308.

43 Sources for facts cited: US Census Bureau, "2005-2009 American Community Survey 5-Year Fact Sheet: City of Orange Township, Essex County, New Jersey," http://factfinder.census.gov/servlet/ACSSAFFacts?_event=Search&geo_id=&_geoContext=&_street=&_county=city+of+orange+township&_cityTown=city+of+orange+township&_state=04000US34&_zip=&_lang=en&_sse=on&pctxt=fph&pgsl=010.

US Census Bureau, "2005-2009 American Community Survey 5-Year Fact Sheet: East Orange city, New Jersey," http://factfinder.census.gov/servlet/ACSSAFFacts?_event=Search&geo_id=&_geoContext=&_street=&_county=east+orange&_cityTown=east+orange&_state=04000US34&_zip=&_lang=en&_sse=on&pctxt=fph&pgsl=010.

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See Appendix for complete listing of sources for this section.

44 Real estate records owned and controlled by RealtyTrac within the date range of February 1, 2009 and February 28, 2009 for the following zip codes: 07018, 07040, 07111, 07044, 07003, 07050, 07017, 07107, 07110, 07079, 07006, 07043, 07104, 07021, 07028, 07109, 07106, 07078, 07050, 07041, 07009, 07108, 07039, 07068, 07052, 07042, 07103.

45 Donald Meisel, "Central Orange Redevelopment Plan (Amended)," April 7, 2009, City of Orange Township, http://www.ci.orange.nj.us/Central_Orange_Redev_Plan.pdf.
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46 The Metro Company, LLC, 1.

47 Ibid., 6.

48 Source for facts cited: Census Bureau, "2005-2009 American Community Survey 5-Year Fact Sheet: Cicero town, Illinois," http://factfinder.census.gov/servlet/ACSSAFFacts?_event=Search&geo_id=&_geoContext=&_street=&_county=cicero&_cityTown=cicero&_state=04000US17&_zip=&_lang=en&_sse=on&pctxt=fph&pgsl=010.

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2009 for the following zip codes: 60632, 60304, 60624, 60302, 60638, 60402, 60804, 60644, 60623.

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51 Town of Cicero. "Notice of Request for Proposal Sportsman's Park Redevelopment Project," January 30, 2007, <http://www.thetownofcicero.com/content/img/f189852/rfp.sportsmanspark.f.1.30.07.pdf>.

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52 Sources for facts cited: Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development, "Goals," <http://www.oregon.gov/LCD/goals.shtml>. US Census Bureau, "2005-2009 American Community Survey 5-year Estimates Fact Sheet: Keizer city, Oregon," http://factfinder.census.gov/servlet/ACSSAFFacts?_event=Search&geo_id=&_geoContext=&_street=&_county=keizer&_cityTown=keizer&_state=04000US41&_zip=&_lang=en&_sse=on&pctxt=fph&pgsl=010. US Census Bureau, "2005-2009 American Community Survey 5-year Estimates Fact Sheet: Salem City, Oregon," http://factfinder.census.gov/servlet/ACSSAFFacts?_event=Search&geo_id=&_geoContext=&_street=&_county=salem&_cityTown=salem&_state=04000US41&_zip=&_lang=en&_sse=on&pctxt=fph&pgsl=010. See Appendix for complete listing of sources for this section.

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56 See note 4 for literature on the historical texture of suburbanization in the United States.

57 On gender and suburbanization, see Gwendolyn Wright, *Building the Dream: A Social History of Housing in America* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1981), and Dolores Hayden, *Redesigning the American Dream: The Future of Housing, Work, and Family Life*, 2nd ed. (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 2002).

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* Demographic maps represent census data by block group for the year 2011, with the exception of income and poverty maps which show 1999

Appendix

UNITED STATES – 2009 DEMOGRAPHICS
(source: US Census Bureau)

	#	%
Population	301,461,533	-
Average Household Size	2.60 people	-
Average Family Size	3.19 people	-
Total Households	112,611,029	-
Total Family Households	75,082,471	67
Median Household Income	\$51,425	-
Median Family Income	\$62,363	-
Families in Poverty	-	9.9
Individuals in Poverty	-	13.5
Housing Units	127,699,712	-
Occupied Housing Units	112,611,029	88.2
Owner-Occupied Housing Units	75,320,422	66.9
Renter-Occupied Housing Units	37,290,607	33.1
Vacant Housing Units	15,088,683	11.8
Homeowners Paying More than 30% of income on housing	22,545,257	30.1
Renters Paying More than 30% of income on housing	17,241,359	50.1
White Only Population	224,469,780	74.5
People of Color (not White Only)	76,991,753	25.5
People under 18	74,182,525	24.6
People 65 and over	38,000,870	12.6
Median Age	36.5 years	-

Department of Transportation: American Recovery and Reinvestment Act of 2009
<http://www.dot.gov/recovery/>

General Services Administration: American Recovery and Reinvestment Act
<http://www.gsa.gov/portal/content/105234>

Internal Revenue Service ARRA Information Center
<http://www.irs.gov/newsroom/article/0,,id=204335,00.html>

Making Home Affordable

Making Home Affordable Program official website
<http://www.makinghomeaffordable.gov>

Department of the Treasury: Making Home Affordable
<http://www.treasury.gov/initiatives/financial-stability/housing-programs/mha/Pages/default.aspx>

Sustainable Communities Partnership

HUD, DOT, and EPA Partnership: Sustainable Communities partnership agreement
<http://www.epa.gov/smartgrowth/pdf/dot-hud-epa-partnership-agreement.pdf>

UNITED STATES – NATIONWIDE RESOURCES

2008 Housing and Economic Recovery Act

Public Law 110-289
<http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/PLAW-110publ289/content-detail.html>

Federal Housing Finance Agency (created by the Act)
<http://www.fhfa.gov/>

HUD Housing and Economic Recovery Act of 2008 FAQ
<http://www.hud.gov/news/recoveryactfaq.cfm>

2008 Emergency Economic Stabilization Act (including the Troubled Asset Relief Program)

Public Law 110-343
<http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/PLAW-110publ343/content-detail.html>

US Department of the Treasury. "Financial Stability."
www.financialstability.gov

ProPublica. "Eye on the Bailout"
<http://www.propublica.org/ion/bailout>

2009 American Recovery and Reinvestment Act
Public Law 111-5
<http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/PLAW-111publ5/content-detail.html>

US Government's official site on the 2009 American Recovery and Reinvestment Act
www.recovery.gov

Department of the Treasury: Recovery Act
<http://www.treasury.gov/initiatives/recovery/Pages/recovery-act.aspx>

Department of Housing and Urban Development: Recovery Act
<http://portal.hud.gov/hudportal/HUD?src=/recovery>

HUD: Sustainable Communities Partnership
http://portal.hud.gov/hudportal/HUD?src=/program_offices/sustainable_housing_communities

DOT: Sustainable Communities Partnership
<http://www.dot.gov/affairs/dot3209.htm>

DOT: Livability
<http://www.dot.gov/livability/>

EPA: Sustainable Communities Partnership
<http://www.epa.gov/smartgrowth/partnership/>

General HUD Resources

US Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD)
www.hud.gov

Choice Neighborhoods Initiative
http://portal.hud.gov/hudportal/HUD?src=/program_offices/public_indian_housing/programs/ph/cn

Community Planning and Development
http://portal.hud.gov/hudportal/HUD?src=/program_offices/comm_planning

Fair Market Rent datasets
<http://www.huduser.org/portal/datasets/fmr.html>

Federal Housing Administration (FHA)
<http://www.hud.gov/offices/hsg/fhahistory.cfm>

HOPE VI
http://portal.hud.gov/hudportal/HUD?src=/program_offices/public_indian_housing/programs/ph/hope6

Housing Choice Vouchers
http://portal.hud.gov/hudportal/HUD?src=/program_offices/public_indian_housing/programs/hcv

Online Library
<http://www.hud.gov/library/index.cfm>

Public Housing
http://portal.hud.gov/hudportal/HUD?src=/program_offices/public_indian_housing/programs/ph

Rental Housing Integrity Improvement Project
http://portal.hud.gov/hudportal/HUD?src=/program_offices/public_indian_housing/programs/ph/rhiip

Public Housing Field Office Directory
http://portal.hud.gov/hudportal/HUD?src=/program_offices/public_indian_housing/about/field_office

General DOT Resources

Department of Transportation
<http://www.dot.gov/>

FastLane, Secretary LaHood's blog
<http://fastlane.dot.gov/>

Federal Railroad Administration
<http://www.fra.dot.gov/>

High-Speed and Intercity Passenger Rail
<http://www.fra.dot.gov/rp/passenger/31.shtml>

General EPA Resources

Smart Growth
<http://www.epa.gov/smartgrowth/index.htm>

General Census Resources

US Census Bureau
www.census.gov

Fact Sheets
http://factfinder.census.gov/servlet/ACSSAFFacts?_submenuId=factsheet_0&_sse=on

Poverty
<http://www.census.gov/hhes/www/poverty/index.html>

Government Property for Sale

GovSales: The Official Site to Buy US Government Property
<http://www.govsales.gov/HTML/INDEX.HTM>

GSA: Federal Real Property Disposal
<http://www.gsa.gov/portal/content/104493>

USA.gov: State and Local Surplus Property
<http://www.usa.gov/shopping/auctions/surplus.shtml>

Other Resources

America2050
<http://www.america2050.org/>

Federal National Mortgage Association (Fannie Mae)
<http://www.fanniemae.com>

Federal Home Loan Mortgage Corporation (Freddie Mac)
www.freddiemac.com

Federal Business Opportunities database
<https://www.fbo.gov/>

National Fair Housing Advocate Online
<http://www.fairhousing.com/index.cfm>

National Low-Income Housing Coalition
<http://www.nlihc.org/template/index.cfm>

National Urban League
<http://www.nul.org/>

The Center for Public Integrity. "The Subprime 25"
http://www.publicintegrity.org/investigations/economic_meltdown/the_subprime_25/

US Department of Agriculture Rural Development
<http://www.rurdev.usda.gov/Home.html>

US General Services Administration
<http://www.gsa.gov>

RIALTO, CALIFORNIA — 2009 DEMOGRAPHICS
 (source: US Census Bureau)

	#	%
Population	98,339	-
Average Household Size	4.02 people	-
Average Family Size	4.40 people	-
Total Households	24,362	-
Total Family Households	20,341	83.5
Median Household Income	\$50,545	-
Median Family Income	\$53,912	-
Families in Poverty	-	12.0
Individuals in Poverty	-	13.8
Housing Units	26,166	-
Occupied Housing Units	24,362	93.1
Owner-Occupied Housing Units	16,579	68.1
Renter-Occupied Housing Units	7,783	31.9
Vacant Housing Units	1,804	6.9
Homeowners Paying More than 30% of income on housing	8,038	48.6
Renters Paying More than 30% of income on housing	4,959	57.5
White Only Population	57,408	58.4
People of Color (not White Only)	40,931	41.6
People under 18	33,971	34.5
People 65 and over	6,020	6.1
Median Age	26.8	-

SAN BERNARDINO COUNTY – CALIFORNIA 2009
 DEMOGRAPHICS
 (source: US Census Bureau)

	#	%
Population	1,986,935	-
Average Household Size	3.30 people	-
Average Family Size	3.78 people	-
Total Households	588,796	-
Total Family Households	450,648	76.5
Median Household Income	\$55,461	-
Median Family Income	\$61,275	-
Families in Poverty	-	9.9
Individuals in Poverty	-	13.5
Housing Units	676,158	-
Occupied Housing Units	588,796	87.1
Owner-Occupied Housing Units	384,428	65.3
Renter-Occupied Housing Units	204,368	34.7
Vacant Housing Units	87,362	12.9
Homeowners Paying More than 30% of income on housing	166,808	43.7
Renters Paying More than 30% of income on housing	110,166	56.9
White Only Population	1,215,076	61.2
People of Color (not White Only)	771,859	38.8
People under 18	608,551	30.6
People 65 and over	164,059	8.3
Median Age	30.7	-

RIALTO, CALIFORNIA (AND SURROUNDING AREA)
– RESOURCES

Rialto Local Government

City of Rialto website
<http://www.ci.rialto.ca.us/>

Development Opportunities
http://www.ci.rialto.ca.us/redevelopment_800.php

Housing Programs
http://www.ci.rialto.ca.us/redevelopment_704.php

Planning Division website
http://www.ci.rialto.ca.us/development_856.php

Redevelopment Agency
http://www.ci.rialto.ca.us/redevelopment_main.php

Transportation Commission
http://www.ci.rialto.ca.us/publicworks_transportation_commission.php

Plans, Proposals, Development Areas

Lytle Creek Ranch
http://www.ci.rialto.ca.us/development_4592.php

Gateway Project Area
http://www.ci.rialto.ca.us/redevelopment_830.php

210 Freeway Corridor Development
http://www.ci.rialto.ca.us/documents/downloads/Retail_along_210_Freeway_-_2009.pdf

Renaissance Rialto
http://www.ci.rialto.ca.us/redevelopment_2301.php
http://www.ci.rialto.ca.us/development_4604.php

Foothill Boulevard
http://www.ci.rialto.ca.us/development_4650.php
http://www.ci.rialto.ca.us/redevelopment_1234.php

Pepper Avenue Extension
http://www.ci.rialto.ca.us/development_4845.php

Other Resources

A Guide to Planning in California
http://ceres.ca.gov/ceqa/more/tas/Planning_Guide.html

American Planning Association, California Chapter
<http://www.calapa.org/>

CA Department of Transportation (DOT)
<http://www.dot.ca.gov/>

CA DOT Division of Rail
<http://www.dot.ca.gov/rail/go/dor/index.cfm>

CA DOT District 8 (Riverside and San Bernardino Counties)
<http://www.dot.ca.gov/dist8/>

CA Governor's Office of Planning and Research
<http://www.opr.ca.gov/>

CA Land Use Planning Information Network
<http://ceres.ca.gov/planning/>

CA Planning and Development Report
<http://www.cp-dr.com/>
http://ceres.ca.gov/ceqa/more/tas/Planning_Guide.html

Cal-Atlas Geospatial Clearinghouse
<http://www.atlas.ca.gov/>

Community Action Partnership of San Bernardino County
<http://www.co.san-bernardino.ca.us/csd/>

County of San Bernardino (SB)
<http://www.co.san-bernardino.ca.us/>

Inland Empire
<http://www.inlandempire.us/>

Inland Empire Economic Recovery Corporation
<http://www.ieerc.org/>

Neighborhood Housing Services of the Inland Empire, Inc
<http://www.nhsie.org/>

SANBAG: San Bernardino Associated Governments
<http://www.sanbag.ca.gov/>

SANBAG Public Transit
<http://www.sanbag.ca.gov/commuter/pub-transit.html>

SB Architecture and Engineering Department
<http://www.co.san-bernardino.ca.us/>

SB Building and Safety Department
http://www.co.san-bernardino.ca.us/ehlus/building_and_safety_home.aspx

SB County Vision
<http://www.sbcounty.gov/vision/>
<http://www.co.san-bernardino.ca.us/main/countyvision.asp>

SB Economic Development Agency
<http://www.sbcountyadvantage.com/>

SB Geographic Information Systems
<http://gis.sbcounty.gov/default.aspx>

SB Housing Authority
<http://www.hacsb.com/>

TOMBALL, TEXAS – 2009 DEMOGRAPHICS
(source: US Census Bureau)

	#	%
Population	10,191	-
Average Household Size	2.56 people	-
Average Family Size	3.26 people	-
Total Households	3,892	-
Total Family Households	2,438	62.6
Median Household Income	\$44,813	-
Median Family Income	\$58,269	-
Families in Poverty	-	6.9
Individuals in Poverty	-	10.0
Housing Units	4,536	-
Occupied Housing Units	3,892	85.8
Owner-Occupied Housing Units	1,797	46.2
Renter-Occupied Housing Units	2,095	53.8
Vacant Housing Units	644	14.2
Homeowners Paying More than 30% of income on housing	340	18.9
Renters Paying More than 30% of income on housing	1,095	52.3
White Only Population	8,438	82.7
People of Color (not White Only)	1,753	17.3
People under 18	2,575	25.3
People 65 and over	1,610	15.8
Median Age	34.8	-

HARRIS COUNTY, TEXAS — 2009 DEMOGRAPHICS
(source: US Census Bureau)

	#	%
Population	3,909,790	-
Average Household Size	2.84 people	-
Average Family Size	3.48 people	-
Total Households	1,358,313	-
Total Family Households	931,057	68.6
Median Household Income	\$50,569	-
Median Family Income	\$57,668	-
Families in Poverty	-	13.5
Individuals in Poverty	-	16.7
Housing Units	1,534,652	-
Occupied Housing Units	1,358,313	88.5
Owner-Occupied Housing Units	781,746	57.6
Renter-Occupied Housing Units	576,567	42.4
Vacant Housing Units	175,339	11.5
Homeowners Paying More than 30% of income on housing	220,946	28.3
Renters Paying More than 30% of income on housing	266,999	46.3
White Only Population	2,394,660	61.2
People of Color (not White Only)	1,515,130	38.8
People under 18	1,130,889	28.9
People 65 and over	306,963	7.9
Median Age	31.8	-

TOMBALL, TEXAS (AND SURROUNDING AREA)
– RESOURCES

Tomball Local Government

The City of Tomball
<http://www.ci.tomball.tx.us/>

Development Review Committee
<http://www.ci.tomball.tx.us/engineering-planning/drc/index.html>

Engineering and Planning Department
<http://www.ci.tomball.tx.us/engineering-planning/index.html>

Planning and Zoning Commission
<http://www.ci.tomball.tx.us/engineering-planning/zoning/index.html>

Public Works Administration
<http://www.ci.tomball.tx.us/publicworks/index.html>

Plans, Proposals, Development Areas

Economic Development Corporation Properties Database
<http://www.tomballtxedc.org/eds/properties>

Tomball Capital Improvements (Infrastructure Master Plan)
<http://www.ci.tomball.tx.us/engineering-planning/capital-improvement/index.html>

Tomball Comprehensive Plan
<http://www.plantomball.com/>

Tomball Downtown Specific Plan
http://www.ci.tomball.tx.us/mayor-council/board_of_commissions/DTAC/index.html

Tomball Livable Centers Downtown Plan
http://www.ci.tomball.tx.us/engineering-planning/livable_centers.html

Other Resources

A Guide to Building and Development in the City of Tomball
http://www.ci.tomball.tx.us/engineering-planning/development-docs/2010/FINAL%20TomballDevelopment%20Guide_020510%20All%20changes.pdf

American Planning Association Texas Chapter
<http://www.txplanning.org/>

City of Tomball Development Criteria
<http://www.ci.tomball.tx.us/engineering-planning/development-docs/index.html>

City of Tomball GIS Maps and Data
<http://www.ci.tomball.tx.us/engineering-planning/maps/index.html>

City of Tomball Zoning Ordinance 2008
http://www.ci.tomball.tx.us/engineering-planning/docs/2009/Ord%202008-01_Zoning%20Ordinance%20-%20Tomball%20corrected_02-04-2008.pdf

Greater Tomball Area Chamber of Commerce
<http://www.tomballchamber.org/>

Harris County (HC)
<http://www.co.harris.tx.us/>

HC Community Development Block Grant Program Recovery Funds
<http://www.hctx.net/csd/CDBGProgramRecoveryFunds.aspx>

HC Community Services Department
<http://www.csd.hctx.net/>

HC Community Services Department: Home Ownership Made Easy
<http://www.harriscountyhome.hctx.net/>

HC Flood Control District
<http://www.hcfcd.org/>

HC Housing Authority
<http://www.hchatexas.org/>

HC Housing Resource Center
<http://www.hrc.hctx.net/>

HC Housing Resource Center Foreclosure Prevention Services
<http://www.hrc.hctx.net/Foreclosure%20Prevention%20Services.html>

HC Maps and Geographic Information Systems
<http://www.gis.hctx.net/>

HC Neighborhood Stabilization Program
http://www.csd.hctx.net/ps_neighborhoodstabilizationprogram.aspx

HC Public Infrastructure Department
<http://hcpid.org/>

HC Public Infrastructure Department, Architecture & Engineering Division
<http://www.eng.hctx.net/>

HC Recovers (Hurricane Ike Recovery Site)
<http://www.harrisrecovery.org/>

HC Spatial Data Committee
<http://www.hctx.net/itc/gis/>

HC Transit http://www.harriscountytransit.com/	Median Household Income	\$42,708	-
	Median Family Income	\$49,844	-
	Families in Poverty	-	29.9
Rural Rental Housing Association of Texas http://www.rrhatx.com/	Individuals in Poverty	-	37.2
	Housing Units	3,285	-
	Occupied Housing Units	2,895	88.1
Tomball Economic Development Corporation http://www.tomballtxedc.org/	Owner-Occupied Housing Units	1,576	54.4
	Renter-Occupied Housing Units	1,319	45.6
	Vacant Housing Units	390	11.9
TX Affiliation of Affordable Housing Providers http://taahp.org/	Homeowners Paying More than 30% of income on housing	506	32.1
	Renters Paying More than 30% of income on housing	762	57.8
TX Apartment Association http://www.taa.org/	White Only Population	4,408	42.7
	People of Color (not White Only)	5,920	57.3
TX Association of Local Housing Finance Agencies http://talhfa.org/	People under 18	3,227	31.3
	People 65 and over	725	7.02
	Median Age	29.7	-

DEKALB COUNTY, GEORGIA – 2009 DEMOGRAPHICS
(source: US Census Bureau)

	#	%
TX Department of Transportation (DOT) http://txdot.gov/	Population	733,060
	Average Household Size	2.65 people
	Average Family Size	3.45 people
TX DOT Houston District http://txdot.gov/local_information/houston_district/default.htm	Total Households	270,124
	Total Family Households	158,655
TX DOT Economic Stimulus Projects http://apps.dot.state.tx.us/apps/project_tracker/stimprojects.htm	Median Household Income	\$51,973
	Median Family Income	\$61,259
	Families in Poverty	-
	Individuals in Poverty	-
TX DOT Rail http://txdot.gov/business/rail/default.htm	Housing Units	305,103
	Occupied Housing Units	270,124
	Owner-Occupied Housing Units	160,274
TX Low-income Housing Information Service http://www.texashousing.org/	Renter-Occupied Housing Units	109,400
	Vacant Housing Units	34,979
	Homeowners Paying More than 30% of income on housing	55,506
	Renters Paying More than 30% of income on housing	54,225

CHAMBLEE, GEORGIA — 2009 DEMOGRAPHICS
(source: US Census Bureau)

	#	%
Population	10,910	-
Average Household Size	3.44 people	-
Average Family Size	4.27	-
Total Households	3,172	-
Total Family Households	1,762	55.6
Median Household Income	\$46,460	-
Median Family Income	\$52,692	-
Families in Poverty	-	15.0
Individuals in Poverty	-	23.0
Housing Units	3,480	-
Occupied Housing Units	3,172	91.2
Owner-Occupied Housing Units	1,209	38.1
Renter-Occupied Housing Units	1,963	61.9
Vacant Housing Units	308	8.9
Homeowners Paying More than 30% of income on housing	296	24.5
Renters Paying More than 30% of income on housing	1,069	54.5
White Only Population	5,103	46.8
People of Color (not White Only)	5,807	53.2
People under 18	24.6	-
People 65 and over	279	2.56
Median Age	30.2	-

CHAMBLEE & DORAVILLE, GEORGIA (AND SURROUNDING AREA) – RESOURCES

Chamblee Local Government

City of Chamblee
<http://www.chambleega.com/>

Development Department
<http://www.chambleega.com/departments/DevelopmentDepartment.aspx>

Planning and Zoning Division
<http://www.chambleega.com/departments/PlanningandZoning.aspx>

Doraville Local Government

City of Doraville
<http://www.doravillega.us/>

DORAVILLE, GEORGIA – 2009 DEMOGRAPHICS
(source: US Census Bureau)

	#	%
Population	10,328	-
Average Household Size	3.57 people	-
Average Family Size	4.45 people	-
Total Households	2,895	-
Total Family Households	1,822	62.9

Office of Planning and Zoning
<http://www.doravillega.us/Government/Government/Planning.html>

Plans, Proposals, and Development Areas

Atlanta Regional Commission Envision 6 Regional Development Plan
<http://www.atlantaregional.com/land-use/long-range-planning/envision-6/envision-6>

Atlanta Regional Commission Plan 2040
<http://www.atlantaregional.com/transportation/plan-2040/plan2040>

Atlanta Regional Commission Regional Transportation Plan
<http://www.atlantaregional.com/transportation/regional-transportation-plan>

Chamblee 10th Year Comprehensive Plan Update (2006)
http://www.chambleega.com/client_resources/departments/development/Comprehensive%20Plan.pdf

DeKalb County Comprehensive Plan
<http://www.co.dekalb.ga.us/planning/mainPage.html>

DeKalb County Comprehensive Transportation Plan
<http://www.co.dekalb.ga.us/ctp/index.htm>

DeKalb County Strategic Plan: FOCUSS DeKalb
<http://www.dekalbcountyga.gov/strategicplan/>

Doraville Comprehensive Plan 2006-2026 (plan components available individually)
<http://www.doravillega.us/Business/Business/Reports-and-Studies.html>

Doraville Livable Centers Initiative Town Center Master Plan
http://www.doravillega.us/pdfs/LCI/DoravilleLCI/Doraville_LCI_Town_Center_Master_Plan.pdf

Other Resources

American Planning Association Georgia Chapter
<http://georgiaplanning.org/>

Atlanta Regional Commission (ARC)
<http://www.atlantaregional.com/>

ARC Atlanta Fifty Forward
<http://www.atlantaregional.com/about-us/public-involvement/atlanta-fifty-forward/Atlanta-Fifty-Forward>

ARC GIS Data and Maps
<http://www.atlantaregional.com/info-center/gis-data-maps/GIS-Data-and-Maps>

ARC Lifelong Communities
<http://www.atlantaregional.com/aging-resources/lifelong-communities-llc/lifelong-communities>

ARC Livable Centers Initiative
<http://www.atlantaregional.com/land-use/livable-centers-initiative/Livable-Centers-Initiative->

ARC Transportation Improvement Program
<http://www.atlantaregional.com/transportation/transportation-improvement-program>

Atlanta Regional Housing
<http://www.atlantaregionalhousing.org/>

Chamblee Future Development Map
http://www.chambleega.com/client_resources/departments/development/Future_Development_Map.pdf

Chamblee Official Zoning Map
http://www.chambleega.com/client_resources/departments/development/zoning%20map%2010-21-08.pdf

DeKalb Chamber of Commerce
<http://www.dekalbchamber.org/>

DeKalb County (DKC)
<http://www.co.dekalb.ga.us/>

DKC Community Development Department
<http://www.co.dekalb.ga.us/commdev/index.html>

DKC Enterprise Zones Program
<http://web.co.dekalb.ga.us/decidedekalb/ed-enterprise-zones.html>

DKC Office of Economic Development
<http://web.co.dekalb.ga.us/decidedekalb/index.html>

DKC Planning and Development
<http://www.co.dekalb.ga.us/planning/>

DKC Public Works Transportation Division
<http://www.co.dekalb.ga.us/publicwrks/transportation/index.html>

DeKalb Workforce Development
<http://www.dekalbworkforce.org/>

Doraville City Code of Ordinances
<http://www.doravillega.us/Government/Government/City-Code-of-Ordinances.html>

Doraville Official Zoning Map
<http://www.doravillega.us/images/Maps/05-12-10%20zoning%20map.pdf>

GA Alliance to End Homelessness
<http://www.gahomeless.net/>

GA Association for Supportive Housing
<http://www.supportivehousingassociation.com/>

GA Association of Housing and Redevelopment Authorities
<http://www.gahra.org/>

GA Commission on Equal Opportunity Fair Housing Division
<http://www.gceo.state.ga.us/housing.htm>

GA Community Load Fund
<http://gacif.org/>

GA Department of Community Affairs (DCA)
<http://www.dca.state.ga.us/index.asp>

GA DCA: Data and Maps for Planning
<http://www.georgiaplanning.com/dataforplanning.htm>

GA DCA: Housing Development
<http://www.dca.state.ga.us/housing/housingdevelopment/index.asp>

GA DCA: Planning and Community Growth
<http://www.georgiaplanning.com/>

GA DCA: Planning and Quality Growth
<http://www.dca.state.ga.us/development/planningquality/growth/index.asp>

GA Department of Transportation (DOT)
<http://www.dot.state.ga.us>

GA DOT Rail
<http://www.dot.state.ga.us/travelingingeorgia/rail/Pages/default.aspx>

GA GIS Clearinghouse
<http://data.georgiaspatial.org/>

GA Public Transportation
http://www.georgia.gov/00/channel_title/0,2094,4802_5013,00.html

GA Regional Transportation Authority
<http://www.grta.org/>

GA Spatial Data Infrastructure
<http://www.georgiaspatial.org/>

Georgia Institute of Technology Planning Studio Report on GM Plant
http://www.doravillega.us/pdfs/City_ReAssembly-Doraville_Executive_Summary.pdf

Housing Authority of DeKalb County
<http://www.dekalbhousing.org/partnerships.html>

Metropolitan Atlanta Rapid Transit Authority (MARTA)
<http://www.itsmarta.com/>

Northeast Georgia Planning
<http://negplanning.org/>

OneDeKalb: Office of Neighborhood Empowerment
<http://www.onedekalb.com/>

Partnership for Community Action, Inc.
<http://www.pcaction.org/>

TEMPLE TERRACE, FLORIDA –2009 DEMOGRAPHICS
 (source: US Census Bureau)

	#	%
Population	22,653	-
Average Household Size	2.35 people	-
Average Family Size	3.07 people	-
Total Households	9,471	-
Total Family Households	5,150	54.4
Median Household Income	\$50,948	-
Median Family Income	\$64,931	-
Families in Poverty	-	6.8
Individuals in Poverty	-	10.0
Housing Units	10,554	-
Occupied Housing Units	9,471	89.7
Owner-Occupied Housing Units	5,435	57.4
Renter-Occupied Housing Units	4,036	42.6
Vacant Housing Units	1,083	10.3
Homeowners Paying More than 30% of income on housing	1,637	30.2
Renters Paying More than 30% of income on housing	1,931	49.1
White Only Population	16,851	74.4
People of Color (not White Only)	5,802	25.6
People under 18	4,298	19.0
People 65 and over	2,984	13.2
Median Age	36.0	-

HILLSBOROUGH COUNTY, FLORIDA
 2009 DEMOGRAPHICS (US Census Bureau)

	#	%
Population	1,167,116	-
Average Household Size	2.52 people	-
Average Family Size	3.13 people	-
Total Households	4,55,764	-
Total Family Households	290,672	63.8

Median Household Income	\$49,594	-
Median Family Income	\$59,879	-
Families in Poverty	-	10.3
Individuals in Poverty	-	13.5
Housing Units	512,684	-
Occupied Housing Units	455,764	88.9
Owner-Occupied Housing Units	289,368	63.5
Renter-Occupied Housing Units	166,396	36.5
Vacant Housing Units	56,920	11.1
Homeowners Paying More than 30% of income on housing	100,923	3.51
Renters Paying More than 30% of income on housing	83,965	53.2
White Only Population	872,763	74.8
People of Color (not White Only)	294,353	25.2
People under 18	24.8	24.8
People 65 and over	134421	11.5
Median Age	35.3	-

TEMPLE TERRACE, FLORIDA (AND SURROUNDING AREA) – RESOURCES

Temple Terrace Local Government

City of Temple Terrace
<http://www.templeterrace.com/#>

Building and Zoning Division
<http://www.templeterrace.com/commserv/building.htm>

Capital Improvement Program
<http://www.templeterrace.com/engineering/cip.htm>

Community Development Department
<http://www.templeterrace.com/commserv/index.htm>

Engineering Department
<http://www.templeterrace.com/engineering/index.htm>

Planning and Development Division
<http://www.templeterrace.com/commserv/plandev.htm>

Public Works Department
<http://www.templeterrace.com/publicworks/index.htm>

Plans, Proposals, and Development Areas

Hillsborough County Long-Range Comprehensive Plan
<http://www.theplanningcommission.org/hillsborough/hillsborough/comprehensiveplan>

Hillsborough County Locational Assessment and Recommended Strategic Plan for Economic Growth
<http://www.hillsboroughcounty.org/econdev/laspeg/home.cfm>

Hillsborough County Neighborhood Stabilization Program Management Plan
<http://www.hillsboroughcounty.org/affordablehousingoffice/resources/publications/nsp/NSPPproject.pdf>

Hillsborough County Neighborhood Stabilization Program Target Areas
<http://www.hillsboroughcounty.org/affordablehousingoffice/nsp/targetMap.pdf>

Hillsborough County Strategic Plan Update
<http://www.hillsboroughcounty.org/boccc/resources/publications/strategicplan.pdf>

- One Bay: Livable Communities — A Shared Regional Vision for Tampa Bay
<http://www.myonebay.com/> (project website)
http://www.tbrc.org/onebay/pdf/2010_ONE_BAY_Vision.pdf (vision plan)
- Temple Terrace Adopted Future Land Use Map
http://www.theplanningcommission.org/maps/adoptedpdfmaps/adoptedpdfmaps/AdoptedMaps/Adopted_Temple_Terrace_FLU.pdf/view
- Temple Terrace Community Redevelopment Area Map
http://www.templeterrace.com/revitalize/pdfs/CRAmap_033007.pdf
- Temple Terrace Downtown Community Redevelopment Plan Overlay Zoning District
<http://www.templeterrace.com/govt/codebook/Chapter%2029.pdf>
- Temple Terrace Redevelopment of the Downtown Core
http://www.templeterrace.com/revitalize/pdfs/RedevelopBrochure_101410.pdf
- Vlass Group Downtown Temple Terrace Site Plan
[http://www.templeterrace.com/revitalize/pdfs/VlassSitePlan\(1\).pdf](http://www.templeterrace.com/revitalize/pdfs/VlassSitePlan(1).pdf)
- Other Resources
- American Planning Association Florida Chapter
<http://www.floridaplanning.org/>
- City of Tampa
<http://www.tampagov.net/>
- Environmental Protection Commission of Hillsborough County
<http://www.epchc.org/>
- FL Department of Community Affairs (DCA)
<http://www.floridabuilding.org/c/default.aspx>
<http://www.dca.state.fl.us/>
- FL DCA Division of Community Planning
<http://www.dca.state.fl.us/fdcp/dcp/>
- FL DCA Division of Housing and Community Development
<http://www.floridacommunitydevelopment.org/>
- FL Department of Transportation
<http://www.dot.state.fl.us/>
- FL Geographic Data Library
<http://www.fgdl.org/>
- FL Housing Assistance
<http://www.stateofflorida.com/Portal/DesktopDefault.aspx?tabid=48>
- FL Housing Coalition
<http://www.flhousing.org/>
- FL Housing Data Clearinghouse
<http://flhousingdata.shimberg.ufl.edu/>
- FL Housing Finance Corporation
<http://www.floridahousing.org>
- FL Housing Search (affordable housing)
<http://www.floridahousingsearch.org/>
- FL Low-Income Housing Associates, Inc.
<http://www.fliha.org/>
- Hillsborough Area Regional Transit Authority
<http://www.hartline.org/>
- Hillsborough County (HC)
<http://www.hillsboroughcounty.org/>
- HC Aerial Photography
<http://www.hillsboroughcounty.org/realestate/aerials/>
- HC Affordable Housing Department
<http://www.hillsboroughcounty.org/affordablehousingoffice/>
- HC Affordable Housing Rehabilitation Program
<http://www.hillsboroughcounty.org/affordablehousingoffice/homeowner/>
- HC Affordable Housing Task Force
<http://www.hillsboroughcounty.org/affordablehousing/>
- HC Brownfields Community Redevelopment Program
<http://www.hillsboroughcounty.org/pgm/communityplanning/brownfields/>
- HC Community-Based Planning Information
<http://www.hillsboroughcounty.org/pgm/newsite/>
- HC Community Development Block Grant Program
<http://www.hillsboroughcounty.org/affordablehousingoffice/grants/block.cfm>
- HC Economic Development Department
<http://www.hillsboroughcounty.org/econdev/>
- HC Economic Recovery: Federal Stimulus Funding
<http://www.hillsboroughcounty.org/recovery/>
- HC Economic Stimulus Task Force
<https://www.hillsboroughcounty.org/bocc/boardscouncils/economicstimulus.cfm>
- HC Environmental Lands Acquisition and Protection Program
<http://www.hillsboroughcounty.org/parks/conservationservices/elapp/home.cfm>
- HC Existing Land Use Shape/Layer Files
http://www.theplanningcommission.org/maps/gisdata/HC_ELU_Shapefiles_101101.zip/view
- HC Flood Maps
<http://www.hillsboroughcounty.org/pgm/hazardmit/floodMap/>
- HC Geographic Information Systems
<http://gisweb.hillsboroughcounty.org/>
- HC Metropolitan Planning Organization
<http://www.hillsboroughmpo.org/>
- HC Neighborhood Stabilization Program
<http://www.hillsboroughcounty.org/affordablehousingoffice/nsp/>
- HC Office of Neighborhood Relations
<http://www.hillsboroughcounty.org/onr/>
- HC Planning and Growth Management Department
<http://www.hillsboroughcounty.org/pgm/>
- HC Public Transportation Commission
<http://www.hillsboroughcounty.org/publictransportation/>
- HC Public Works Department
<http://www.hillsboroughcounty.org/publicworks/>

HC Real Estate Department
<http://www.hillsboroughcounty.org/realestate/>

HC Section 8 Housing Choice Voucher Program
<http://www.hillsboroughcounty.org/affordablehousingoffice/section8/home.cfm>

HC Transportation Task Force
<http://www.hillsboroughcounty.org/transtaskforce/>

Hillsborough County and City of Tampa Water Atlas
<http://www.hillsborough.wateratlas.usf.edu/>

Housing Authority of the City of Tampa
<http://www.thafl.com/>

Tampa American Recovery and Reinvestment Act Website
http://www.tampagov.net/information_resources/recovery/

Tampa Bay Regional Planning Council (RPC)
<http://www.tbrpc.org/>

Tampa Bay RPC GIS Downloads and Data
http://www.tbrpc.org/mapping/mapping_downloads.shtml

Tampa Economic and Urban Development Department
http://www.tampagov.net/dept_economic_and_urban_development/

Tampa Future Land Use Shape/Layer Files
http://www.theplanningcommission.org/maps/gisdata/TPA_FLU_Shapefiles_090501.zip/view

Tampa Hillsborough Economic Development Corporation
<http://www.tampaedc.com/>

Tampa Housing and Community Development Division
http://www.tampagov.net/dept_housing_and_community_development/

Tampa Land Development Coordination and Zoning
http://www.tampagov.net/dept_Land_Development/

Tampa Port Authority
<http://www.tampaport.com/>

Temple Terrace Future Land Use Shape/Layer Files
http://www.theplanningcommission.org/maps/gisdata/TT_FLU_Shapefiles_080108.zip/view

Temple Terrace City Map
http://www.templeterrace.com/commser/pdfs/CityMap_101410.pdf

Temple Terrace Zoning Map
http://www.templeterrace.com/commser/pdfs/ZoningMap_123010.pdf

Unincorporated HC Planning Area Shapefiles
http://www.theplanningcommission.org/maps/gisdata/UHC_Planning_Areas_Shapefiles_080108.zip/view

University of Florida Shimberg Center for Housing Studies
<http://www.shimberg.ufl.edu/>

GREATER LANDOVER (Census Designated Place), MARYLAND –2009 DEMOGRAPHICS (source: US Census Bureau)

	#	%
Population	22,458	-
Average Household Size	2.9 people	-
Average Family Size	3.5 people	-

Total Households	7,745	-
Total Family Households	5,240	67.7
Median Household Income	\$55,346	-
Median Family Income	\$56,866	-
Families in Poverty	-	9.1
Individuals in Poverty	-	11.1
Housing Units 8,409	-	-
Occupied Housing Units	7,745	92.1
Owner-Occupied Housing Units	3,934	50.8
Renter-Occupied Housing Units	3,811	49.2
Vacant Housing Units	664	7.9
Homeowners Paying More than 30% of income on housing	1,837	46.7
Renters Paying More than 30% of income on housing	1,929	50.6
White Only Population	2,196	9.8
People of Color (not White Only)	20,262	90.2
People under 18	6,824	30.4
People 65 and over	1,405	6.6
Median Age	30.8	-

PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, MARYLAND – 2009 DEMOGRAPHICS (source: US Census Bureau)

	#	%
Population	834,986	-
Average Household Size	2.74 people	-
Average Family Size	3.35	-
Total Households	297,937	-
Total Family Households	196,499	66.0
Median Household Income	\$70,753	-
Median Family Income	\$82,847	-
Families in Poverty	-	4.9
Individuals in Poverty	-	7.4
Housing Units	319,039	-
Occupied Housing Units	297,937	93.4
Owner-Occupied Housing Units	193,824	65.1
Renter-Occupied Housing Units	104,113	34.9
Vacant Housing Units	21,102	6.6
Homeowners Paying More than 30% of income on housing	78,141	40.3
Renters Paying More than 30% of income on housing	47,887	46.0
White Only Population	207,046	24.8
People of Color (not White Only)	627,940	75.2
People under 18	211,901	25.4
People 65 and over	74,260	8.9
Median Age	34.8	-

LANDOVER, MARYLAND (AND SURROUNDING AREA) – RESOURCES

Prince George's County Government

Prince George's County
<http://www.princegeorgescountymd.gov>

Department of Environmental Resources
<http://www.princegeorgescountymd.gov/Government/AgencyIndex/DER/index.asp>

Department of Housing and Community Development
<http://www.princegeorgescountymd.gov/Government/AgencyIndex/HCD/index.asp>
<http://www.princegeorgescountyha.org/>

Department of Public Works and Transportation
<http://www.princegeorgescountymd.gov/Government/AgencyIndex/DPW&T/index.asp>

Housing Authority
[http://www.princegeorgescountymd.gov/Government/AgencyIndex/HCD/housing_authority.asp?nivel=foldmenu\(5\)](http://www.princegeorgescountymd.gov/Government/AgencyIndex/HCD/housing_authority.asp?nivel=foldmenu(5))

Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission
http://www.mncppc.org/commission_home.html
http://www.mncppc.org/Our_Departments/Prince_George_s_County.html (Prince George's)

Planning Department
http://www.pgplanning.org/Planning_Home.htm

Office of Community Relations
<http://www.princegeorgescountymd.gov/Government/AgencyIndex/OCR/index.asp>

Redevelopment Authority
<http://www.princegeorgescountymd.gov/Government/AgencyIndex/Redevelopment/index.asp>

Plans, Proposals, and Development Areas

Metropolitan Washington Council of Governments Strategic Plan
http://www.mwcog.org/store/item.asp?PUBLICATION_ID=403

Prince George's County Approved Landover Gateway Sector Plan and SMA
http://www.pgplanning.org/Projects/Completed_Projects/Completed_Plans/Landover_Gateway.htm

Prince George's County Community Plans and Studies
http://www.pgplanning.org/Projects/Ongoing_Plans_and_Projects/Community_Plans_and_Studies.htm

Prince George's County Environmental Technical Manual
http://www.pgplanning.org/Projects/Ongoing_Plans_and_Projects/Environmental/Legislation/IV_September_22_2010_Environmental_Technical_Manual.htm

Prince George's County Landscape Manual
<http://www.pgplanning.org/Assets/Planning/Development+Review/Prince+George%20199s+County+Landscape+Manual/Prince+George%27s+County+Landscape+Manual+-+December+2010.pdf>

Prince George's County Recently Completed Plans
http://www.pgplanning.org/Projects/Completed_Projects/Completed_Plans.htm

Prince George's County Strategic Plan
<http://www.princegeorgescountymd.gov/Government/AgencyIndex/OITC/pdf/Technology%20Strategy%20Plan.pdf>

Prince George's County Subregion 4 Master Plan and Sectional Map Amendment
http://www.pgplanning.org/Projects/Ongoing_Plans_and_Projects/Community_Plans_and_Studies/Subregion_4.htm

Prince George's County Ongoing Plans and Projects
http://www.pgplanning.org/Projects/Ongoing_Plans_and_Projects.htm

State of Maryland Consolidated Plan DRAFT Annual Performance Report
<http://www.dhcd.state.md.us/Website/About/PublicInfo/Documents/per2010.pdf>

Other Resources

American Planning Association Maryland Chapter
www.marylandapa.org

Main Street Maryland
<http://www.neighborhoodrevitalization.org/Programs/MainStreet/MainStreet.aspx>

Mapping Maryland
<http://www.maryland.gov/pages/maps.aspx>

Maryland Chamber of Commerce
<http://maryland.wiinc3.com/>

Maryland Chamber of Commerce Green Best Practices Guide
<http://blogs.mdchamber.com/images/uploads/GreenBestPracticesGuide.pdf>

State of Maryland
<http://www.dhcd.state.md.us/>

MD 2010 Income and Rent Limits
<http://www.dhcd.state.md.us/Website/Programs/PRHP/Documents/2010IncomeandPriceLimits.pdf>

MD Affordable Housing Trust
<http://www.dhcd.state.md.us/Website/programs/maht/Default.aspx>

MD BayStat
<http://www.baystat.maryland.gov/>

MD Build/Develop Rental Housing
<http://www.dhcd.state.md.us/Website/Housing/BuildDevelop.aspx>

MD Department of Business and Economic Development
<http://www.dbed.maryland.gov/Pages/index.html>

MD Department of Housing and Community Development (DHCD)
<http://www.dhcd.state.md.us/Website/Default.aspx>

MD DHCD American Recovery and Reinvestment Act website
<http://www.dhcd.state.md.us/ARRA/Default.aspx>

MD DHCD Community Review (Official Department Blog)
<http://www.dhcd.state.md.us/Website/blog/Default.aspx>

MD Department of Planning
<http://planning.maryland.gov/>

MD Department of Transportation
<http://www.mdot.maryland.gov/>

MD Economic Development Corporation
<http://www.medco-corp.com/>

MD Heritage Areas Program
http://mht.maryland.gov/heritageareas_program.html

MD Housing Matters: Universal Design for Housing
<http://www.dhcd.state.md.us/Website/Documents/UniversalDesigninHousing.pdf>

MD Housing Rehabilitation Program - Single Family
http://www.dhcd.state.md.us/Website/programs/mhrp_sf/Default.aspx

MD Improving Transit Programs
<http://www.green.maryland.gov/transit.html>

MD Rental Allowance Program Fact Sheet
<http://www.dhcd.state.md.us/Website/programs/rap/Default.aspx>

MD Section 8 Existing Certificate/Voucher Program
<http://www.dhcd.state.md.us/Website/programs/section8/Default.aspx>

MD Smart, Green, and Growing http://www.green.maryland.gov/	PG Single-Family Housing Rehabilitation Loan Program http://www.princegeorgescountymd.gov/Government/AgencyIndex/HCD/single_familyhousing.asp																																																																		
MD Smart, Green, and Growing Planning Guide http://planning.maryland.gov/PDF/OurProducts/Publications/otherPublications/SGG_Guide_09_Web.pdf	Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority http://www.wmata.com/																																																																		
MD Smart Growth Subcabinet http://www.msa.md.gov/msa/mdmanual/08conoff/cabinet/html/smart.html	ORANGE, NEW JERSEY – 2009 DEMOGRAPHICS (source: US Census Bureau)																																																																		
MD Smart Sites http://www.green.maryland.gov/smartsites.html	<table border="0"> <thead> <tr> <th></th> <th>#</th> <th>%</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr><td>Population</td><td>31,165</td><td>-</td></tr> <tr><td>Average Household Size</td><td>2.61 people</td><td>-</td></tr> <tr><td>Average Family Size</td><td>3.34 people</td><td>-</td></tr> <tr><td>Total Households</td><td>11,741</td><td>-</td></tr> <tr><td>Total Family Households</td><td>7,366</td><td>62.7</td></tr> <tr><td>Median Household Income</td><td>\$40,981</td><td>-</td></tr> <tr><td>Median Family Income</td><td>\$48,873</td><td>-</td></tr> <tr><td>Families in Poverty</td><td>-</td><td>14.1</td></tr> <tr><td>Individuals in Poverty</td><td>-</td><td>16.5</td></tr> <tr><td>Housing Units</td><td>13,264</td><td>-</td></tr> <tr><td>Occupied Housing Units</td><td>11,741</td><td>88.5</td></tr> <tr><td>Owner-Occupied Housing Units</td><td>3,714</td><td>31.6</td></tr> <tr><td>Renter-Occupied Housing Units</td><td>8,027</td><td>68.4</td></tr> <tr><td>Vacant Housing Units</td><td>1,523</td><td>11.5</td></tr> <tr><td>Homeowners Paying More than 30% of income on housing</td><td>2,230</td><td>60.0</td></tr> <tr><td>Renters Paying More than 30% of income on housing</td><td>4,069</td><td>50.1</td></tr> <tr><td>White Only Population</td><td>3,028</td><td>9.7</td></tr> <tr><td>People of Color (not White Only)</td><td>28,137</td><td>90.3</td></tr> <tr><td>People under 18</td><td>7,532</td><td>24.2</td></tr> <tr><td>People 65 and over</td><td>3,080</td><td>9.9</td></tr> <tr><td>Median Age</td><td>33.6</td><td>-</td></tr> </tbody> </table>		#	%	Population	31,165	-	Average Household Size	2.61 people	-	Average Family Size	3.34 people	-	Total Households	11,741	-	Total Family Households	7,366	62.7	Median Household Income	\$40,981	-	Median Family Income	\$48,873	-	Families in Poverty	-	14.1	Individuals in Poverty	-	16.5	Housing Units	13,264	-	Occupied Housing Units	11,741	88.5	Owner-Occupied Housing Units	3,714	31.6	Renter-Occupied Housing Units	8,027	68.4	Vacant Housing Units	1,523	11.5	Homeowners Paying More than 30% of income on housing	2,230	60.0	Renters Paying More than 30% of income on housing	4,069	50.1	White Only Population	3,028	9.7	People of Color (not White Only)	28,137	90.3	People under 18	7,532	24.2	People 65 and over	3,080	9.9	Median Age	33.6	-
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MD State Data Center http://planning.maryland.gov/msdc/home.shtml																																																																			
MD Sustainable Communities Tax Credit Program http://mht.maryland.gov/taxcredits.html																																																																			
MD Transportation Authority http://mdta.maryland.gov/																																																																			
Metropolitan Washing Council of Governments http://www.mwcog.org/																																																																			
Moving Metro Forward (report) http://www.mwcog.org/uploads/pub-documents/pV5fV1420110103104941.pdf																																																																			
PG Community Development Block Grant program http://www.princegeorgescountymd.gov/Government/AgencyIndex/HCD/CDBG.asp	EAST ORANGE, NEW JERSEY – 2009 DEMOGRAPHICS (source: US Census Bureau)																																																																		
PG County Maps http://www.princegeorgescountymd.gov/Government/AgencyIndex/OITC/GIS/index.asp	<table border="0"> <thead> <tr> <th></th> <th>#</th> <th>%</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr><td>Population</td><td>65,785</td><td>-</td></tr> <tr><td>Average Household Size</td><td>2.49 people</td><td>-</td></tr> <tr><td>Average Family Size</td><td>3.34 people</td><td>-</td></tr> <tr><td>Total Households</td><td>25,996</td><td>-</td></tr> <tr><td>Total Family Households</td><td>14,951</td><td>57.5</td></tr> <tr><td>Median Household Income</td><td>\$39,116</td><td>-</td></tr> <tr><td>Median Family Income</td><td>\$48,117</td><td>-</td></tr> <tr><td>Families in Poverty</td><td>-</td><td>20.0</td></tr> <tr><td>Individuals in Poverty</td><td>-</td><td>23.4</td></tr> <tr><td>Housing Units</td><td>30,675</td><td>-</td></tr> <tr><td>Occupied Housing Units</td><td>25,996</td><td>84.7</td></tr> <tr><td>Owner-Occupied Housing Units</td><td>7,009</td><td>27.0</td></tr> <tr><td>Renter-Occupied Housing Units</td><td>18,987</td><td>73.0</td></tr> <tr><td>Vacant Housing Units</td><td>4,679</td><td>15.3</td></tr> <tr><td>Homeowners Paying More than 30% of income on housing</td><td>3,942</td><td>56.2</td></tr> <tr><td>Renters Paying More than 30% of income on housing</td><td>9,245</td><td>48.7</td></tr> <tr><td>White Only Population</td><td>3,205</td><td>4.9</td></tr> <tr><td>People of Color (not White Only)</td><td>62,580</td><td>95.1</td></tr> <tr><td>People under 18</td><td>17,371</td><td>26.4</td></tr> <tr><td>People 65 and over</td><td>8,424</td><td>12.8</td></tr> <tr><td>Median Age</td><td>34.7</td><td>-</td></tr> </tbody> </table>		#	%	Population	65,785	-	Average Household Size	2.49 people	-	Average Family Size	3.34 people	-	Total Households	25,996	-	Total Family Households	14,951	57.5	Median Household Income	\$39,116	-	Median Family Income	\$48,117	-	Families in Poverty	-	20.0	Individuals in Poverty	-	23.4	Housing Units	30,675	-	Occupied Housing Units	25,996	84.7	Owner-Occupied Housing Units	7,009	27.0	Renter-Occupied Housing Units	18,987	73.0	Vacant Housing Units	4,679	15.3	Homeowners Paying More than 30% of income on housing	3,942	56.2	Renters Paying More than 30% of income on housing	9,245	48.7	White Only Population	3,205	4.9	People of Color (not White Only)	62,580	95.1	People under 18	17,371	26.4	People 65 and over	8,424	12.8	Median Age	34.7	-
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Individuals in Poverty	-	23.4																																																																	
Housing Units	30,675	-																																																																	
Occupied Housing Units	25,996	84.7																																																																	
Owner-Occupied Housing Units	7,009	27.0																																																																	
Renter-Occupied Housing Units	18,987	73.0																																																																	
Vacant Housing Units	4,679	15.3																																																																	
Homeowners Paying More than 30% of income on housing	3,942	56.2																																																																	
Renters Paying More than 30% of income on housing	9,245	48.7																																																																	
White Only Population	3,205	4.9																																																																	
People of Color (not White Only)	62,580	95.1																																																																	
People under 18	17,371	26.4																																																																	
People 65 and over	8,424	12.8																																																																	
Median Age	34.7	-																																																																	
PG Geographic Information Systems http://www.princegeorgescountymd.gov/Government/AgencyIndex/OITC/gis.asp																																																																			
PG HOME Investment Partnerships Program http://www.princegeorgescountymd.gov/Government/AgencyIndex/HCD/home.asp																																																																			
PG Livable Community County Maps http://www.princegeorgescountymd.gov/Government/AgencyIndex/OITC/GIS/map_horz.asp																																																																			
PG Mapping Tools http://www.pgplanning.org/Resources/Tools_On-line/Mapping_Tools.htm																																																																			
PG Neighborhood Stabilization Program http://www.princegeorgescountymd.gov/Government/AgencyIndex/HCD/nsp.asp																																																																			
PG Public Housing http://www.princegeorgescountymd.gov/Government/AgencyIndex/HCD/public_housing.asp	WEST ORANGE, NEW JERSEY – 2009 DEMOGRAPHICS (source: US Census Bureau)																																																																		
PG Recently Completed Studies http://www.pgplanning.org/Projects/Completed_Projects/Recently_Completed_Studies.htm	<table border="0"> <thead> <tr> <th></th> <th>#</th> <th>%</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr><td>Population</td><td>42,782</td><td>-</td></tr> <tr><td>Average Household Size</td><td>2.7 people</td><td>-</td></tr> <tr><td>Average Family Size</td><td>3.3 people</td><td>-</td></tr> <tr><td>Total Households</td><td>15,515</td><td>-</td></tr> <tr><td>Total Family Households</td><td>10,893</td><td>70.2</td></tr> <tr><td>Median Household Income</td><td>\$89,034</td><td>-</td></tr> <tr><td>Median Family Income</td><td>\$105,722</td><td>-</td></tr> <tr><td>Families in Poverty</td><td>-</td><td>4.6</td></tr> </tbody> </table>		#	%	Population	42,782	-	Average Household Size	2.7 people	-	Average Family Size	3.3 people	-	Total Households	15,515	-	Total Family Households	10,893	70.2	Median Household Income	\$89,034	-	Median Family Income	\$105,722	-	Families in Poverty	-	4.6																																							
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Families in Poverty	-	4.6																																																																	
PG Rental Assistance Services http://www.princegeorgescountymd.gov/Government/AgencyIndex/HCD/voucher.asp																																																																			

Individuals in Poverty	-	6.1	THE ORANGES, NEW JERSEY (AND SURROUNDING AREA)– RESOURCES
Housing Units	16,448	-	
Occupied Housing Units	15,515	94.3	
Owner-Occupied Housing Units	11,172	72.0	<u>Orange Local Government</u>
Renter-Occupied Housing Units	4,343	28.0	
Vacant Housing Units	933	5.7	City of Orange Township http://www.ci.orange.nj.us/
Homeowners Paying More than 30% of income on housing	5,090	45.6	
Renters Paying More than 30% of income on housing	2,088	48.1	Housing Authority of the City of Orange http://www.orangecityhousing.org/
White Only Population	25,053	58.6	
People of Color (not White Only)	17,729	41.4	Planning and Development Department http://www.ci.orange.nj.us/development_main.html
People under 18	10,339	24.2	
People 65 and over	6,852	16.0	
Median Age	34.8	-	Public Works Department http://www.ci.orange.nj.us/public_works_main.html
SOUTH ORANGE, NEW JERSEY – 2009 DEMOGRAPHICS (source: US Census Bureau)			
	#	%	Urban Enterprise Zone http://www.ci.orange.nj.us/planning_uez_main.html
Population	16,091	-	
Average Household Size	2.84 people	-	East Orange Local Government
Average Family Size	3.36 people	-	
Total Households	5,322	-	City of East Orange http://www.eastorange-nj.org/
Total Family Households	3,696	69.5	
Median Household Income	\$116,607	-	
Median Family Income	\$139,120	-	Department of Policy, Planning, and Development (PPD) http://www.eastorange-nj.org/Departments/Planning/index.html
Families in Poverty	-	2.3	
Individuals in Poverty	-	8.5	
Housing Units	5,507	-	
Occupied Housing Units	5,322	96.7	PPD Community Action/CDBG http://www.eastorange-nj.org/Departments/Planning/CDBG/Index.html
Owner-Occupied Housing Units	3,775	70.9	
Renter-Occupied Housing Units	1,547	29.1	
Vacant Housing Units	185	3.36	
Homeowners Paying More than 30% of income on housing	1,330	35.2	PPD Division of Comprehensive Planning http://www.eastorange-nj.org/Departments/Planning/ComprehensivePlanning/index.html
Renters Paying More than 30% of income on housing	824	53.3	
White Only Population	10,141	63.0	PPD Economic Development Division http://www.eastorange-nj.org/Departments/Planning/EconDevelopment/index.html
People of Color (not White Only)	5,950	37.0	
People under 18	24.1		
People 65 and over	1,786	11.1	
Median Age	35.6	-	PPD Neighborhood Housing and Revitalization http://www.eastorange-nj.org/Departments/Planning/NeighborhoodHousing/index.html
ESSEX COUNTY, NEW JERSEY – 2009 DEMOGRAPHICS (source: US Census Bureau)			
	#	%	Department of Public Works http://www.eastorange-nj.org/Departments/PublicWorks/index.html
Population	771,353	-	
Average Household Size	2.68 people	-	
Average Family Size	3.34 people	-	
Total Households	278,722	-	Housing Authority of the City of East Orange http://www.eoha.org/
Total Family Households	184,756	66.3	
Median Household Income	\$54,176	-	
Median Family Income	\$67,030	-	Urban Enterprise Zone http://www.uez-eastorange-nj.org/home.html
Families in Poverty	-	11.7	
Individuals in Poverty	-	14.3	
Housing Units	310,379	-	West Orange Local Government Township of West Orange http://www.westorange.org/
Occupied Housing Units	278,722	89.8	
Owner-Occupied Housing Units	130,131	42.7	
Renter-Occupied Housing Units	148,591	53.3	
Vacant Housing Units	31,657	10.2	Department of Public Works http://www.westorange.org/index.asp?Type=B_BASIC&SEC={1ABF0B99-54C7-4035-B412-C5EA5103FEBE}
Homeowners Paying More than 30% of income on housing	59,546	45.8	
Renters Paying More than 30% of income on housing	72,975	49.1	Division of Zoning and Housing http://www.westorange.org/index.asp?Type=B_BASIC&SEC={D2DC27E3-959C-4769-BA4D-EFA72F057BB0}&DE={1F6E3304-0C81-471D-A71A-5A01281F5017}
White Only Population	329,018	42.7	
People of Color (not White Only)	442,335	57.4	
People under 18	196,458	25.5	
People 65 and over	89,535	11.6	
Median Age	35.8	-	Historic Preservation Commission http://www.westorange.org/index.asp?Type=B_BASIC&SEC={F5310714-AE02-440C-8652-DB31B9518EF4}

- Planning Department
http://www.westorange.org/index.asp?Type=B_BASIC&SEC={D2DC27E3-959C-4769-BA4D-EFA72F057BB0}&DE={4F17D892-EA3B-4331-9242-A2861EE257BA}
- South Orange Local Government
- Township of South Orange Village
<http://www.southorange.org/>
- Department of Public Works
<http://www.southorange.org/dpw.asp>
- Engineering Department (and Division of Zoning Enforcement)
<http://www.southorange.org/engineering.asp>
- Plans, Proposals, and Development Areas
- City of East Orange 2006 Comprehensive Master Plan
<http://www.eastorange-nj.org/Departments/Planning/2006MasterPlan.html>
- City of Orange Township Central Orange Redevelopment Plan
http://www.ci.orange.nj.us/Central_Orange_Redev_Plan.pdf
<http://ci.orange.nj.us/Hope-VI-Redevelopment-Plan-Document.pdf> (amended)
http://www.ci.orange.nj.us/Redevelopment_Update_March09.pdf (update)
- City of Orange Master Plan Follow-up and Implementation Outline: 2008
<http://ci.orange.nj.us/Master-Plan-Implementation-Outline.pdf>
- City of Orange Township Neighborhood Stabilization and Recovery Plan: Foreclosure Prevention and Management
http://www.ci.orange.nj.us/Foreclosure_Prevention.pdf
- City of Orange Township Urban Enterprise Zone
<http://www.uez.orange.nj.us/>
- Essex County Substantial Amendment 2008-2009 One-Year Action Plan
<http://www.essex-countynj.org/cdbg.pdf>
- Essex County Waste Water Management Plan
<http://www.hatchmott.com/essexcountywwmp/index.html>
- NJ Annual Public Housing Authority Plan for FY 2009
<http://www.state.nj.us/dca/divisions/dhcr/publications/docs/hcvp/streamlinedphaplanfy09.pdf>
- NJ Draft Final State Development and Redevelopment Plan
<http://www.state.nj.us/dca/divisions/osg/plan/df.html>
- NJ Draft Historic Preservation Plan
http://www.state.nj.us/dep/hpo/4sustain/hpo_5yr_plan02_01_2011.pdf
- NJ Five Year (2004-2009) Public Housing Authority Plan
<http://www.state.nj.us/dca/divisions/dhcr/publications/docs/hcvp/04-09phaplans.doc>
- NJ Housing Choice Voucher Program Administrative Plan for FY 200p
<http://www.state.nj.us/dca/divisions/dhcr/publications/docs/hcvp/hcvprogadminplansfy09.pdf>
- NJ Small Cities Community Development Block Grant State FY 2009 Final Plan
<http://www.state.nj.us/dca/divisions/dhcr/offices/docs/sccdbg/2009smallcitiescdbgfinalplan-finaldraft.pdf>
- Township of South Orange Village Downtown South Orange: Building the Center
<http://www.southorange.org/development/AtlanticGroupStudy.pdf> (study)
- Township of South Orange Village River Corridor Project
<http://www.southorange.org/development/RiverMP.asp>
- Township of South Orange Village Smart Growth Strategic Plan
<http://southorange.org/development/SmartGrowthPlan.asp>
- Township of South Orange Village Valley Street Redevelopment/Rehabilitation
http://www.southorange.org/development/redev_study.asp
- Township of South Orange Village Vision Plan
<http://southorange.org/vision/>
- Township of West Orange Amendments to Downtown Redevelopment Plan: Historic West Orange
<http://www.westorange.org/vertical/Sites/%7B8A554F92-3545-4CD9-932E-F8D91F1C9B8B%7D/uploads/%7B02D8445F-DD91-4438-B6A1-5C866BB6FA37%7D.PDF> (2003)
<http://www.westorange.org/vertical/Sites/%7B8A554F92-3545-4CD9-932E-F8D91F1C9B8B%7D/uploads/%7B40A797D8-43AA-4958-998C-5BB3A8D557C6%7D.PDF> (2006 Amendments)
- Township of West Orange Open Space and Recreation Plan
<http://www.westorange.org/vertical/Sites/%7B8A554F92-3545-4CD9-932E-F8D91F1C9B8B%7D/uploads/%7BDA161A5A-06E1-4163-8B82-9891D2007321%7D.PDF>
- Township of West Orange Organon Redevelopment Plan
<http://www.westorange.org/vertical/Sites/%7B8A554F92-3545-4CD9-932E-F8D91F1C9B8B%7D/uploads/%7B97B3B766-30D6-4DDD-B8B1-3AC3F3DD4499%7D.PDF>
- Other Resources
- American Planning Association New Jersey Chapter
www.njapa.org/
- Downtown West Orange Alliance
<http://www.downtownwestorange.org/>
- East Orange Demographics and Maps
<http://www.eastorange-nj.org/Departments/Planning/DemographicsMaps.html>
- East Orange Homebuyers Purchase Program Policies and Procedures Manual
http://www.eastorange-nj.org/PDFFiles/EO%20Homebuyers%20Manual%20Summary_2007.pdf
- Environment South Orange
<http://www.southorange.org/Environment/index.html>
- Essex County
<http://www.essex-countynj.org/>
- Essex Department of Public Works
<http://www.essex-countynj.org/index.php?section=dept/pw/o>
- Essex Division of Housing and Community Development
<http://www.essex-countynj.org/index.php?section=dept/cs/house>
- Essex Neighborhood Stabilization Program
<http://www.essex-countynj.org/index.php?section=nsp3>
 Economic Development Corporation of Essex County
<http://www.essex-countynj.org/index.php?section=edc>

Housing and Community Development Network of New Jersey http://www.hcdnj.org	NJ Natural Resources Conservation Service GIS http://www.nj.nrcs.usda.gov/technical/gis/																																																			
Main Street South Orange, Inc http://www.mainstreetsouthorange.org/	NJ Redevelopment Authority http://www.njra.us																																																			
Montrose Park Historic District Association http://www.montroseparksonj.org/	NJ State League of Municipalities http://www.njslom.org/																																																			
New Jersey State http://www.state.nj.us/	NJ Transit http://www.njtransit.com																																																			
NJ Chamber of Commerce http://www.njchamber.com/about.asp	NJ Transit Village Initiative http://www.state.nj.us/transportation/community/village/																																																			
NJ Community Action Association, Inc http://www.njcaanet.org/	Orange Chamber of Commerce http://www.orangechamber.biz/																																																			
NJ Community and Wellness (CW) http://www.state.nj.us/nj/community/	Orange Public Transportation http://www.ci.orange.nj.us/public-transportation.html																																																			
NJ CW Housing and Property http://www.state.nj.us/nj/community/housing/	Orange Revitalization Study 2008-2009 http://www.ci.orange.nj.us/revitalization.html																																																			
NJ Department of Community Affairs (DCA) http://www.state.nj.us/dca/	Plan Smart NJ http://www.plansmartnj.org/																																																			
NJ DCA Council on Affordable Housing http://www.state.nj.us/dca/affiliates/coah/index.html	Regional Plan Association http://www.rpa.org/																																																			
NJ DCA Division of Housing and Community Resources http://www.state.nj.us/dca/divisions/dhcr/index.shtml	South Orange Historic Commission Study http://www.southorange.org/historicPreservation/																																																			
NJ DCA Division of Housing Neighborhood Preservation Balanced Housing Rules http://www.state.nj.us/dca/divisions/dhcr/publications/docs/bhp/bhrulesfinal121107.pdf	South Orange Historical and Preservation Society http://sohps.org/																																																			
NJ DCA Office of Smart Growth http://www.state.nj.us/dca/divisions/osg/	South Orange Information for Tenants and Landlords http://southorange.org/TenantLandlord/																																																			
NJ Department of Environmental Protection (DEP) http://www.state.nj.us/dep/	Sustainable Jersey http://www.sustainablejersey.com/																																																			
NJ DEP Bureau of Geographic Information Systems http://www.state.nj.us/dep/gis/	West Orange Chamber of Commerce http://www.westorangechamber.com/																																																			
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NJ DEP Office of Planning and Sustainable Communities http://www.state.nj.us/dep/opsc/	CICERO, ILLINOIS –2009 DEMOGRAPHICS (source: US Census Bureau)																																																			
NJ Department of Transportation (DOT) http://www.state.nj.us/transportation/																																																				
NJ DOT Geographic Information Systems http://www.state.nj.us/transportation/gis/																																																				
NJ Economic Development Authority http://www.njeda.com/web/default.aspx																																																				
NJ Geographic Information Network https://nigin.state.nj.us/NJ_NJGINExplorer/index.jsp																																																				
NJ Green http://www.state.nj.us/nj/green/																																																				
NJ Housing and Mortgage Finance Agency http://www.state.nj.us/dca/hmfa/																																																				
NJ Housing Resource Center http://www.njhousing.gov/																																																				
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White Only Population	24,539	30.5	Cicero Rehabilitation of Vacant and Foreclosed Residential Units
People of Color (not White Only)	56,011	69.5	http://www.thetownofcicero.com/content/img/f221321/rfq-architectural-services-foreclosed-residential-units-revised052809.pdf (RFQ)
People under 18	28,044	34.8	http://www.thetownofcicero.com/content/img/f221320/rfqarchitectural-services-foreclosed-handicapped-units-revised052809.pdf (RFQ for accessible units)
People 65 and over	4,563	5.7	
Median Age	27.1		
COOK COUNTY, ILLINOIS – 2009 DEMOGRAPHICS (source: US Census Bureau)			
	#	%	
Population	5,257,001	-	Cicero Sportsman Park Complex
Average Household Size	2.66 people	-	http://www.thetownofcicero.com/notices/contentview.asp?c=219877 (RFQ)
Average Family Size	3.44 people	-	
Total Households	1,941,417	-	
Total Family Households	1,209,994	62.3	Cook County Consolidated Community Development Plan
Median Household Income	\$53,903	-	http://www.cookcountygov.com/portal/server.pt/community/community_development%2C_bureau_of/326/bureau_of_community_development
Median Family Income	\$64,973	-	
Families in Poverty	-	11.8	
Individuals in Poverty	-	15.1	
Housing Units	2,170,750	-	Roosevelt Road Streetscape Improvement (Multiple Municipalities)
Occupied Housing Units	1,941,417	89.4	http://www.rooseveltroad.com/index.html
Owner-Occupied Housing Units	1,179,389	60.7	
Renter-Occupied Housing Units	762,028	39.3	
Vacant Housing Units	229,333	10.6	<u>Other Resources</u>
Homeowners Paying More than 30% of income on housing	459,834	39.3	American Planning Association Illinois Chapter
Renters Paying More than 30% of income on housing	371,027	25.4	http://www.ilapa.org/
White Only Population	2,834,682	53.9	Chicago Housing Authority
People of Color (not White Only)	2,422,319	46.1	http://www.thecha.org
People under 18	1,298,250	24.7	
People 65 and over	613,866	11.7	Chicago Metropolitan Agency for Planning
Median Age	34.7	-	http://www.cmap.illinois.gov/
CICERO, ILLINOIS (AND SURROUNDING AREA) – RESOURCES			
<u>Cicero Local Government</u>			
Town of Cicero			
http://www.thetownofcicero.com/			
Department of Code Enforcement			
http://www.thetownofcicero.com/departments/default.asp?typeID=2633			
Department of Community Affairs and Special Projects			
http://www.thetownofcicero.com/departments/default.asp?typeID=2659			
Housing Department			
http://www.thetownofcicero.com/departments/default.asp?typeID=2636			
Public Works Department			
http://www.thetownofcicero.com/departments/default.asp?typeID=2644			
<u>Plans, Proposals, and Development Areas</u>			
Cicero Neighborhood Stabilization Program			
http://www.thetownofcicero.com/content/img/f215769/nspbrochure.pdf			
http://www.thetownofcicero.com/content/img/f215769/nspmanual.pdf (down payment assistance program)			
http://www.thetownofcicero.com/news/contentview.asp?c=219946 (press release)			
http://www.thetownofcicero.com/content/img/f215762/public-noticenspamendmentmultiunitsrevision.pdf (proposed amendment)			
http://www.thetownofcicero.com/content/img/f226553/2009amendment2.pdf (proposed amendment)			
http://www.thetownofcicero.com/content/img/f228469/public-noticenspamendment2010v1.pdf (proposed amendment)			
Cicero Chamber of Commerce and Industry			
http://www.cicerochamber.org/index2.html			
Community and Economic Development Association of Cook County, Inc			
http://www.cedaorg.net			
Cook County			
http://blog.cookcountygov.com/			
Cook County Bureau of Capital, Planning, and Facilities			
http://www.cookcountygov.com/portal/server.pt/community/capital%2C_planning_facilities_management%2C_bureau_of/256/capital%2C_planning_facilities_management%2C_bureau_of			
Cook County Bureau of Community Development			
http://www.cookcountygov.com/portal/server.pt/community/community_development%2C_bureau_of/326/bureau_of_community_development			
Cook County Department of Building and Zoning			
http://www.cookcountygov.com/portal/server.pt/community/building_and_zoning/235/building_and_zoning			
Cook County Department of Environmental Control			
http://www.cookcountygov.com/portal/server.pt/community/environmental_control/291			
Cook County Geographic Information Systems			
http://www.cookcountygov.com/portal/server.pt/community/geographic_information_systems/315			

Cook County Office of Capital Planning and Policy
http://www.cookcountygov.com/portal/server.pt/community/capital_planning_and_policy%2C_office_of/254/capital_planning_and_policy%2C_office_of

Cook County Zoning Classifications
http://www.cookcountygov.com/portal/server.pt/community/building_and_zoning/235/zoning_classifications

Housing Action Illinois
<http://www.housingactionil.org/>

Housing Authority of Cook County
<http://www.thehacc.org/>

Housing Illinois
<http://www.housingillinois.org/>

Illinois State Government
<http://www2.illinois.gov/Pages/default.aspx>

IL Association of Community Action Agencies
<http://iacaanet.org/>

IL Department of Commerce and Economic Opportunity (DCEO)
<http://www.commerce.state.il.us/dceo/>

IL DCEO Community Services Block Grant Program
http://www.commerce.state.il.us/dceo/Bureaus/Community_Development/Low+Income+Support/CSGB.htm

IL Department of Natural Resources
<http://www.dnr.illinois.gov/Pages/default.aspx>

IL Department of Transportation
<http://www.dot.il.gov/>

IL Economic Recovery Commission
<http://www2.illinois.gov/economy/Pages/default.aspx>

IL Environmental Protection Agency
<http://www.epa.state.il.us/>

IL Historic Preservation Agency
<http://www.illinoishistory.gov/>

IL Housing Development Agency
<http://www.ihda.org/>

La Casa Norte
<http://www.lacasanorte.org/>

Metropolitan Planning Council
<http://www.metroplanning.org/index.html>

Shriver Center on Poverty Law: Advocacy—Housing
<http://www.povertylaw.org/advocacy/housing>

KEIZER, OREGON – 2009 DEMOGRAPHICS
 (source: US Census Bureau)

	#	%
Population	35,092	-
Average Household Size	2.63 people	-
Average Family Size	3.07 people	-
Total Households	13,195	-
Total Family Households	9,048	68.6
Median Household Income	\$52,253	-
Median Family Income	\$58,881	-
Families in Poverty	-	13.2
Individuals in Poverty	-	15.8
Housing Units	13,542	-

Occupied Housing Units	13,195	97.4
Owner-Occupied Housing Units	8,113	61.5
Renter-Occupied Housing Units	5,082	38.5
Vacant Housing Units	347	2.6
Homeowners Paying More than 30% of income on housing	2,610	32.2
Renters Paying More than 30% of income on housing	2,023	39.8
White Only Population	30,552	87.1
People of Color (not White Only)	4,540	13.9
People under 18	9,487	27.0
People 65 and over	4,360	12.4
Median Age	34.6	-

MARION COUNTY, OREGON – 2009 DEMOGRAPHICS
 (source: US Census Bureau)

	#	%
Population	309,829	-
Average Household Size	2.67 people	-
Average Family Size	3.18 people	-
Total Households	111,839	-
Total Family Households	77,028	68.9
Median Household Income	\$ 46,453	-
Median Family Income	\$55,069	-
Families in Poverty	-	11.5
Individuals in Poverty	-	15.4
Housing Units	118,759	-
Occupied Housing Units	111,839	94.2
Owner-Occupied Housing Units	69,901	62.5
Renter-Occupied Housing Units	41,938	37.5
Vacant Housing Units	6,920	5.8
Homeowners Paying More than 30% of income on housing	23,482	33.6
Renters Paying More than 30% of income on housing	19,829	47.3
White Only Population	257,491	83.1
People of Color (not White Only)	52,328	16.9
People under 18	82,620	26.7
People 65 and over	37,617	12.1
Median Age	34.6	-

KEIZER, OREGON (AND SURROUNDING AREA)
 - RESOURCES

Keizer Local Government

City of Keizer
<http://www.keizer.org>

Community Development Department (Planning/Zoning, Building, Code Enforcement)
<http://www.keizer.org/?action=page&name=Community%20Development>

River Road Renaissance Advisory Committee
<http://www.keizer.org/?action=page&name=RRR%20Advisory%20Committee>

Public Works Department
<http://www.keizer.org/?action=page&name=Public%20Works>

Single-Family Housing Rehabilitation Program
<http://www.keizer.org/commdev/Housing/single-family.pdf>

Plans, Proposals, and Development Areas

Keizer 2006/2007 One-Year Action Plan
<http://www.keizer.org/commdev/publications/consortium2006plan.pdf>
 Keizer Comprehensive Plan
<http://www.keizer.org/commdev/publications/kcp002-03-03final.pdf>

Keizer Development Code http://www.keizer.org/commdev/Publications/code-web.pdf	West Salem Neighborhood Plan http://www.cityofsalem.net/Departments/CommunityDevelopment/Planning/WSNP/Pages/default.aspx
Keizer Station Plan http://www.keizer.org/commdev/Publications/keizerstationplan.pdf	<u>Other Resources</u>
Keizer McNary Activity Center Design Plan http://www.keizer.org/commdev/publications/mcnaryactivitycenter.pdf	American Planning Association Oregon Chapter http://www.oregonapa.org/
Keizer Parks Division Master Plan 2008 http://www.keizer.org/publicworks/PARKS/ParksMP-Final.pdf Keizer Public Works Strategic Plan http://www.keizer.org/publicworks/strategicplan.pdf	Housing Land Advocates http://www.housinglandadvocates.org/
Keizer Rapids Park Master Plan http://www.keizer.org/Rapids/MasterPlan.pdf	Keep Keizer Livable http://www.keepkeizerlivable.org/
Keizer River Road Renaissance Priorities (aerial map) http://www.keizer.org/Commdev/Maps/KURB-3RACAerialPriorities.pdf	Keizer Chamber of Commerce and Visitors Center http://www.keizerchamber.com/
Keizer Transportation System Plan http://www.keizer.org/commdev/Publications/tsp.pdf	Keizer Maps http://www.keizer.org/?action=page&name=COMM%20DEV%20-%20MAPS
Oregon Statewide Planning Goals http://www.oregon.gov/LCD/goals.shtml	Marion County (MC) http://www.co.marion.or.us/
Salem Area Comprehensive Plan http://www.cityofsalem.net/Departments/CommunityDevelopment/Planning/Documents/SACP_MAY2009.pdf	MC Housing Authority http://www.mchaor.us/
Salem Development Design Handbook http://www.cityofsalem.net/Departments/CommunityDevelopment/Planning/Documents/Development_Design_Handbook.pdf	MC Parks Department http://www.co.marion.or.us/PW/Parks/
Salem Draft Code Amendments for the Proposed South Waterfront Mixed-Use Zone http://www.cityofsalem.net/Departments/CommunityDevelopment/Planning/SWMU/Pages/default.aspx	MC Planning Division (PD) http://www.co.marion.or.us/PW/Planning/
Salem Downtown Strategic Action Plan http://www.cityofsalem.net/Departments/UrbanDevelopment/DepartmentProjects/Pages/DSAP.aspx	MC PD Maps http://www.co.marion.or.us/PW/Planning/maps.htm
Salem Enterprise Zone http://www.cityofsalem.net/Departments/UrbanDevelopment/FinancialResources/Pages/EnterpriseZone.aspx	MC PD Projects http://www.co.marion.or.us/PW/Planning/projects.htm
Salem Historic Preservation Plan http://www.cityofsalem.net/Departments/CommunityDevelopment/Planning/Historic/Documents/Adopted_Salem_Historic_Preservation_Plan_2010-2020.pdf	MC Public Works Department http://www.co.marion.or.us/pw/
Salem Sustainable Cities Initiative http://www.cityofsalem.net/CityCouncil/CityProjects/SalemSustainability/Pages/SCI.aspx	Planning Oregon—Oregon Sustainable Community Digital Library http://oscdl.research.pdx.edu/
Salem Urban Development Projects http://www.cityofsalem.net/Departments/UrbanDevelopment/DepartmentProjects/Pages/default.aspx	Oregon State Government http://oregon.gov/
Salem Urban Renewal Areas http://www.cityofsalem.net/Departments/UrbanDevelopment/UrbanRenewalAreas/Pages/default.aspx	OR Action http://www.oregonaction.org/
Salem Vision 2020 http://www.cityofsalem.net/CityCouncil/CityProjects/Vision2020/Pages/default.aspx	OR Department of Environmental Quality (DEQ) http://www.oregon.gov/DEQ/index.shtml
	OR DEQ Databases, GIS, and Mapping Applications http://www.deq.state.or.us/news/databases.htm
	OR Department of Forestry Geographic Information Systems http://www.oregon.gov/ODF/GIS/gis_home.shtml
	OR Department of Land Conservation and Development (DLCD) http://www.oregon.gov/LCD/index.shtml
	OR DLCD Urban and Rural Issues http://www.oregon.gov/LCD/urbanrural.shtml
	OR Department of Transportation http://www.oregon.gov/ODOT/index.shtml

OR Geospatial Enterprise Office
<http://www.oregon.gov/DAS/EISPD/GEO/>

OR Homeownership Stabilization Initiative
<http://www.oregonhomeownerhelp.org/>

OR Housing and Community Services
<http://www.oregon.gov/OHCS/index.shtml>

OR Housing Alliance
<http://www.oregonhousingalliance.org/>

OR Housing Blog
<http://oregonhousing.blogspot.com/>

OR Planning Institute
<http://www.oregonplanninginstitute.com/>

OR State Housing Council
<http://www.ohcs.oregon.gov/OHCS/OSHC/index.shtml>

City of Salem
<http://www.cityofsalem.net/Pages/home.aspx>

Salem ARRA
<http://www.cityofsalem.net/Departments/Budget/StimulusEconomicRecovery/Pages/default.aspx>

Salem City Limits and Urban Growth Boundary
<http://www.cityofsalem.net/Departments/CommunityDevelopment/Planning/annexationinformation/Pages/salemcitylimits-ugb.aspx>

Salem Community Development Department (Building and Safety, Neighborhood Enhancement, Planning)
<http://www.cityofsalem.net/Departments/CommunityDevelopment/Pages/default.aspx>

Salem Department of Public Works
<http://www.cityofsalem.net/Departments/PublicWorks/Pages/default.aspx>

Salem Historic Landmarks Commission
<http://www.cityofsalem.net/Departments/CommunityDevelopment/Planning/Historic/Pages/default.aspx>

Salem Housing Authority
<http://www.cityofsalem.net/Residents/HousingAuthority/Pages/default.aspx>

Salem Housing Loan Programs
<http://www.cityofsalem.net/Departments/UrbanDevelopment/FederalPrograms/AffordableHousingLoans/Pages/default.aspx>

Salem Map Gallery
<http://www.cityofsalem.net/Departments/ITandFacilities/GIS/CityMaps/Pages/default.aspx>

Salem Unified Development Code Cleanup
<http://salemcodecleanup.net/>

Salem Urban Development Department (Economic Development, Downtown Revitalization, Housing and Social Services, Real Property Services)
<http://www.cityofsalem.net/Departments/UrbanDevelopment/Pages/default.aspx>

Salem Urban Renewal Agency
<http://www.cityofsalem.net/Departments/UrbanDevelopment/UrbanRenewalAgency/Pages/default.aspx>

Salem Zoning Code
<http://www.cityofsalem.net/Departments/CommunityDevelopment/Planning/Zoning/ZoningMaps/Pages/SalemZoningCode.aspx>

Abbreviations

AIA	American Institute of Architects
ARRA	American Recovery and Reinvestment Act
EPA	Environmental Protection Agency
FHA	Federal Housing Administration
HOPE VI	Housing Opportunities for People Everywhere VI
HUD	U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development
IAUS	Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies
NYCHA	New York City Housing Authority
PWA	Public Works Administration
ULI	Urban Land Institute
USHA	United States Housing Authority
WPA	Works Progress Administration

Bills and resolutions. Congressional bills (proposed laws) and resolutions are published in pamphlet form (slip bills). In citations, bills or resolutions originating in the House of Representatives are abbreviated HR or HR Res., and those originating in the Senate, S or S Res. (all in roman). The title of the bill is italicized; it is followed by the bill number, the congressional session, and (if available) publication details in the Congressional Record.

N:

16. Food Security Act of 1985, HR 2100, 99th Cong., 1st sess., Congressional Record 131, no. 132, daily ed. (October 8, 1985): H 8461.

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