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 programs 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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The Temple Hoyne Buell Center for the Study of American Architecture
Columbia University Graduate School of Architecture, Planning, and Preservation
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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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—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. 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. 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?
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 birthright 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, Glaucen, 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. 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.” 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. 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
Glacon, 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. 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. 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. 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

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 Glaucon, 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.

GLAUCON
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.

GLAUCON
Correct.

SOCRATES
And who would that architect be?

GLAUCON
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.

GLAUCON
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.\(^\text{12}\) 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.
II. ARCHITECTURE IN PUBLIC: THE CASE OF HOUSING
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.
Experimental Plan Considered in Attempt to Aid Employment and Improve Living Conditions

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.
Catherine Bauer, “Housing for Workers,” The Hosiery Worker, Feb 16, 1933

The newest proposal for American housing.

Sunny apartment houses of steel and much window space, designed by the architects Howe & Lees, 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,

New York Times, Jan 30, 1932

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, 290 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 500 dwellings already built at Kassel, Germany. The other, made from plans by Howe & Less, 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 or 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 $10.90 a room a month.

Among those who came to see the models yesterday were Alexander M. Ring, 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,’” *New York Times*, Feb 20, 1932

—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.

In his talk, Dr. Mumford, explaining the 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 subsidising of construction. The problem of architecture is no longer the construction of the individual building for the individual owner.”

—“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
"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.

“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.

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 short-sightedness and far-dung greed have done so much to bring on and maintain the present depression.”

— Gladstone Williams, "Atlanta’s PWA Housing Projects First of Type in the United States," Atlanta Constitution, Jul 16, 1934
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
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.”


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

They have extra walls for every family unit, so walk-up higher than three or four stories, and 737 rooms entered through arches.

USHA Chief Will Avoid PWA Plans

Goal Dwellings Better Than Perfect One, He Declares.

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
“The difference between governmental aid to housing in London, Paris, Amarendam, Zurich, Leels, Manchester, Edin-

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 subsi-
dy has been used to produce good low-rental homes for the people. In this country the subsidy, in the form of tax ex-

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

Visitors to the city marvel at the architectural wonder of Radio City, but are ignorant of the fact there are still 67,000

tenant 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 23,837 tenant

American plumbing is known in all corners of the earth, but few are aware that in New York there are 23,837 tenant

hundreds in the public hallways and 1,025 with toilets in the

hundreds in the public hallways and 1,025 with toilets in the

yard. Nearly 30,000 homes have no bathing facilities.

**NEW YORK—CITY OF PARADOXES**

SKYSCRAPERS AND SLUMS

Charles Yale Harrison, “A Housing Tale of Two Cities” and

Charles Yale Harrison, “A Housing Tale of Two Cities” and “Must We Have Slums?” (New York: NYCHA, 1936–37).

pamphlet covers
Uncle Sam Uses Atlanta As His Housing Laboratory

JOHN LEAR

The Atlanta Constitution (1881-2001); Aug 28, 1938; ProQuest Historical Newspapers Atlanta Constitution (1868 - 1945) pg. SM1

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
“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
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 LAYED

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-Ellenbogen bill in Congress as opening the door of opportunity to those who live in "fire traps and unhealthy rookeries."
"Ickes Says Housing is a Federal Job," New York Times, Jun 21, 1936

While the replete 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 1,904 rooms which will house 674 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 unavoidable 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.

UNITED STATES HOUSING ACT OF 1937

An Act to make appropriations for the housing of the rural and the urban poor, and for other purposes.

76TH CONGRESS
1st Session
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Report
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 H. R. 1085]

The Committee on Banking and Currency, to whom was referred the bill (S. 1885) 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. 1885) and inserts in lieu thereof new matter as appears in italics in the reported bill. Hearings were held by the Senate Committee on Education and Labor on S. 1885 and by your committee on the companion bill (H. R. 2003). 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
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)
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)
HOUSING BECOMES A NATIONAL ISSUE
A Review of the Wagner-Steagall Bill

PUBLISHED BY
NEW YORK CITY HOUSING AUTHORITY

WHAT PRICE SUBSIDY!

PUBLISHED BY
NEW YORK CITY HOUSING AUTHORITY


"Voice of the People" Chicago Daily Tribune (1923-1963); Jun 10, 1938; ProQuest Historical Newspapers Chicago Tribune (1849 - 1987) pg. 14
UNCLE SAM AS LANDLORD.

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.

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 ideas that made the project possible and his ideas on how it should be run—and so I say he is the Big Boss.
"Uncle Sam's My Landlord!" Los Angeles Times, Sep 29, 1940

"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 Strauss, 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.

Carrich Kavanaugh, secretary of

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.
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," Chicago Tribune, Apr 24, 1938

"New Deal Housing Too Costly for the Poor," Chicago Tribune, Apr 23, 1939
"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, press them in one place, and may not meet their needs or be salable later on. In an article which shatters some of our fondest fallacies, Mr. Chase advises wage earners to rent; most builders who don’t want to be caught in the next real estate debacle, to build for renter.

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 pretty picture of the Little Home, the Little Kids and the Little Woman accompanied the caption. The Little Mortgage was not shown. The advertisement was propped to the recent amendement of the National Homestyle in any such trumping conclusion but the participation of the item 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 1948? 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)
The rent strike epidemic, aimed at lowering Harlem's high rentals and securing better living conditions for the tenants, is fast spreading through the community. With three thousand houses on Riverside and

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

The members of the executive

Attorney Archbold, 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 while 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

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."


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 employees of that general nature, within certain salary ranges.
"University Homes Occupation Day Set for Apr 17," Atlanta Constitution, Apr 6, 1937


"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 surroundings 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.

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

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

"Dedication Ceremonies, Ida B. Wells Homes," poster, WPA Federal Art Project, Chicago, 1940
Fifty thousand persons are expected to attend the dedication of the $8,000,000 Ida B. Wells homes at 30th 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," First Annual Report of the Housing Authority of the City of Seattle, 1941

As 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 the efficacy in helping to bring about economic recovery.

Washington, June 1, 1939.

For here stood Techwood, built by PWA, the first public slum clearance and low-cost 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 glacially toward high-priced business property, carrying depression of values along with it steadily and surely.

Thus was in 1934. 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 slums. 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.

Selected articles, Public Housing 1, no. 14 (Nov 14, 1939)
Nation-wide Broadcast Hails Second Anniversary of USHA

The President of the United States, Franklin D. Roosevelt of New York, Congressmen Henry B. Steiger of Indiana, and numbers of other members of the House and Senate, in support of the Housing and Home Finance Act of 1937, have endorsed the United States Housing Authority's second anniversary, in a radio broadcast from the White House. Washington. November 27, 1939.

President Roosevelt, in his impressive expression of the Nation's appreciation of public housing, said: "Mr. President, I am pleased to announce this, the second anniversary of the United States Housing Authority. On this occasion, I particularly want to express my appreciation of the work that has been done in the past two years in the development of the American housing program. There have been many difficulties, but there has been a steady progress, and there is every reason to believe that the future will bring even greater success.

In the past year, the United States Housing Authority has made a tremendous contribution to the improvement of housing conditions in this country. The results of our efforts are evident in the many new housing developments that have been undertaken, and in the many thousands of families who have found better homes.

The Congress has been most cooperative in its support of the Housing Act, and I hope that this cooperation will continue. We must look forward to the future with confidence, knowing that the achievements of the past will be the foundation upon which future progress will be built.

The United States Housing Authority is an important agency, and I am convinced that it will continue to play a vital role in the development of a sound housing policy for the people of this country. I am proud to congratulate the United States Housing Authority on its second anniversary, and I am sure that the Nation will respond generously to the achievements of this important agency.

I am confident that the United States Housing Authority will continue to work for the betterment of housing conditions in this country, and I am sure that it will receive the support of all Americans who recognize the importance of a sound housing policy for the well-being of the Nation.

Washington, November 27, 1939.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

Loans totaling $23,992,543, representing 5.6 percent of the $425,242,500 total authorized under the Housing Act of 1937, have been approved for 183,826 units.

A total of 183,826 units have been approved for 183,826 families, representing 4.6 percent of the $425,242,500 total authorized under the Housing Act of 1937, and 183,826 families have been approved for 183,826 units.

Materials

Approximately 1,884,294,000 cu ft of building materials have been used in the construction of the 183,826 units approved for 183,826 families.

Labor

An estimated 800,000,000 man-hours of labor will be required to build the 183,826 units approved for 183,826 families.

Costs

The cost of building 183,826 units approved for 183,826 families will be approximately $1,884,294,000, or 2.7 percent of the $425,242,500 total authorized under the Housing Act of 1937.

Rents

Rents for units approved for 183,826 families will range from $39 to $50 per month.

Court Decisions

The Housing Act has been upheld by the courts. In the case of

The future

The future looks bright for the 183,826 units approved for 183,826 families. With the assistance of the Housing Act, we can continue to improve housing conditions in this country and provide better homes for all Americans.
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


Appeared to Age Quickly,
pended. The buildings appear to be aging faster than privately owned structures of corresponding type. A new apartment or an building does
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. (AP)—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 located on a river lot at 1929–1940.

“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
“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 cleans 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 facts are...

Before 1933

Over half of the nation were homeless. Over 1,000,000 families were housed in one- or two-family homes. Nearly 1,000,000 families were overcrowded in one-family homes. Nearly 1,000,000 families were without electricity. Nearly 1,000,000 families were without running water. Nearly 1,000,000 families were without heat. Nearly 1,000,000 families were without indoor plumbing. Nearly 1,000,000 families were without central heating. Nearly 1,000,000 families were without central air conditioning. Nearly 1,000,000 families were without telephones. Nearly 1,000,000 families were without televisions. Nearly 1,000,000 families were without internet. Nearly 1,000,000 families were without cars. Nearly 1,000,000 families were without bicycles. Nearly 1,000,000 families were without pets. Nearly 1,000,000 families were without gardens. Nearly 1,000,000 families were without friends. Nearly 1,000,000 families were without neighbors. Nearly 1,000,000 families were without community. Nearly 1,000,000 families were without hope. Nearly 1,000,000 families were without a future. Nearly 1,000,000 families were without a past.

By 1940

The New Deal has established a new era of opportunity. Nearly 1,000,000 families are now housed in one- or two-family homes. Nearly 1,000,000 families are now crowded in one-family homes. Nearly 1,000,000 families are now without electricity. Nearly 1,000,000 families are now without running water. Nearly 1,000,000 families are now without heat. Nearly 1,000,000 families are now without indoor plumbing. Nearly 1,000,000 families are now without central heating. Nearly 1,000,000 families are now without central air conditioning. Nearly 1,000,000 families are now without telephones. Nearly 1,000,000 families are now without televisions. Nearly 1,000,000 families are now without internet. Nearly 1,000,000 families are now without cars. Nearly 1,000,000 families are now without bicycles. Nearly 1,000,000 families are now without pets. Nearly 1,000,000 families are now without gardens. Nearly 1,000,000 families are now without friends. Nearly 1,000,000 families are now without neighbors. Nearly 1,000,000 families are now without community. Nearly 1,000,000 families are now without hope. Nearly 1,000,000 families are now without a future. Nearly 1,000,000 families are now without a past.

A VOTE FOR ROOSEVELT IS AN INSURANCE POLICY FOR YOUR HOME

**“The Roof over Your Head,” leaflet, Democratic National Committee, 1940**

*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 community 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
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 dormitory, 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
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. Du Bois, 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

**UNIVERSITY 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Completed</td>
<td>1938</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupied</td>
<td>1938</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Architect</td>
<td>Clair W. Ditchy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Size</td>
<td>1,066 units</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose</td>
<td>white working-class housing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction Cost</td>
<td>$4,500,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Purpose
black working-class housing

Status
occupied

Size
574 units
7 buildings
8.5 acres
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 depicting 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.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Location</th>
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<td>1938</td>
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<tr>
<td>Construction Cost</td>
<td>$6,011,310</td>
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<tr>
<td>Architect</td>
<td>John Holabird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Size</td>
<td>1,027 units</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose</td>
<td>primarily white working-class housing (97.5% white, 2.5% black)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Status</td>
<td>substantially demolished</td>
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Architect in public: the case of housing

**URBAN RENEWAL**

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.

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<tr>
<td>Status</td>
<td>substantially demolished</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
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
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 development of Victorian-style townhouses.

**NORTH LINCOLN PARK HOMES**

- **Architect:** Temple Hoyne Buell
- **Size:** 685 units, approx. 98 buildings, 43 acres
- **Purpose:** public housing
- **Status:** demolished, redeveloped

**Location:** Denver, CO

- **Completed:** 1938-41
- **Occupied:** 1941
- **Construction Cost:** $3,500,000
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Los Angeles, CA</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Completed</td>
<td>1939–41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupied</td>
<td>1941</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Construction Cost**

$13,000,000

**Architect**

Reginald Davis Johnson

**Size**

300 units
52 buildings
100 acres

**Purpose**

workers’ housing

**Status**

occupied
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 quadruplexes originally housed Seattle-based Boeing and shipyard workers.

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

RAINIER VISTA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Seattle, WA</th>
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<tr>
<td>Completed</td>
<td>1942</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupied</td>
<td>1942</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction Cost</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Architect</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Size</td>
<td>481 units</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buildings</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acres</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose</td>
<td>workers' housing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Status</td>
<td>demolished</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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
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.

**IDA B. WELLS HOMES**

- **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
- **Status**: demolition ongoing

**Purpose**: black housing with no minimum income requirement
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**
in/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

Purpose
low-wage war workers' housing

Construction Cost
$2,075,000

Status
condemned 1998
redeveloped as Pueblo del Sol
see p257

Architect
Ralph Flewelling and Lloyd Wright, with Housing Group Architects

Size
802 units
22 buildings
29 acres
Architecture in Public: the Case of Housing


Techwood Homes


University Homes


College Hill Homes / Ponce de Leon Courts


Harlem River Houses


Langston Terrace


Jane Addams Homes


Calliope Housing

Courtesy Housing Authority of New Orleans, Annual Housing Report, 1954.

Ida B. Wells Homes


Rainier Vista


Magnolia Street Housing Project


College Hill Homes / Ponce de Leon Courts


Harlem River Houses


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

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 less 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, 175,000 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; 250,000 had no indoor water-closet; and 363,000 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.

Chapter XV

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 1938, Mr. Herbert W. Morrison, member of Parliament and British housing expert, visited the United States. After studying the
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

Housing for Veterans, "19th Annual Report of the New York City Housing Authority" (New York: NYCHA, ca. 1953), pamphlet cover
Various Housing Images. “19th Annual Report of the New York City Housing Authority” (New York: NYCHA, ca.1953), pamphlet cover
"Then...and Now...: Third Annual Report of the Housing Authority of the City of New Haven" (New Haven: Housing Authority of the City of New Haven, 1941), inside front cover and p. 1
"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
There is still much to be done... because

In Los Angeles progress has been made... but
“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)
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 Litusani avenues, and the Maurice J. Dernery homes, 31st street and Lowe avenue. The others are the Frances Cabrini homes, Chicago and Hudson avenues, and the Robert E. Brooks homes, Roosevelt road and Racine avenue.

Housing for 1,860 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

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

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

"Assure Family Homes for 1,500 in War Industry,"
Chicago Daily Tribune, December 4, 1942
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 1—Hospitalization, Claims, and Procedures

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

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

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.
"Twelve Homes Projects Declared Open to Public," Los Angeles Times, January 6, 1947
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 1949, 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 promulgated on local authorities except that projects were to follow "community patterns and trends." The federal housing administrations 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. Restricted homogenous—projects occupied by whites and Negroes segregated in two different areas with a clear dividing line, such as a street or interloping 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 single section but one or a few token Negro families are mixed in with the whites.

"I want you to display me some old-age statements. I think I can sell them to the slim-dashwax connection 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 must be provided for people in the upper-middle brackets, urban redevelopment for those with small incomes, and public housing for the recent.

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. And aid should be provided for rehabilitating existing structures for use as low-cost housing and for building self-supporting rental units for veterans who can pay $10 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 rescinded 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 Tell-Blinder-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 MAURER, PITTSBURG, C. I. O.
"Chicago Housing Chiefs Admit Jim Crow Policy." *The Chicago Defender*, May 9, 1953
Charles Abrams, "Will Interracial Housing Work?"，《The Nation》，August 2, 1947

### CHICAGO FIDDLES WHILE

Trumbull Park Burns . . . by Robert Grunberg

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-throwing 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, right in the Trumbull Park project itself, and two at Negro 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 baiter, and boasting among its national officers a former Ku Klux Klan "emperor." The president of the home-grown South Deering association is Louis P. Dannozzo, a $5,000-a-year highway engineer on the Cook County pay roll.
Drexel 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, blessing 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...
BRIEF SUMMARY OF THE HOUSING ACT OF 1949
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 the people require housing protection and related community development sufficient to provide the nation housing shortage, the elimination of substandard and other inadequate housing through the clearance of slums and blighted areas, and the realization insofar 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 enterprises 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 income 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 1. 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 redevelop-

3638
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
"88 Apartment Unit to Tower in East Chicago," Chicago Daily Tribune, July 12, 1956

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

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

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

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

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

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.


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
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
Moral equivocation and legislative 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 pithiness: "Urban renewal means Negro removal."


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.
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 of the houses on which the federal government paid for the destruction of blight were poor. Those who live in these houses are poor. Nonetheless, everyone has a right to decent housing. The same thing for years. Many liberals unhappy 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 anti-poverty program. Unfortunately, this program has uncovered problems of the urban poor that have 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 it is used 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, and into the lily-white suburbs—but the great mass of Negroes will stay right where they are now.

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 Dreder
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 creation streets and lend to the development of new kinds of neighborhood and institutional centers?

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 Holzman, George Burmeister, Maurice Rissman, Ernest Grunsfeld 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
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-storey Brewster Homes was completed in 1942; the six 14-storey 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

**BREWSTER-DOUGLASS HOUSING PROJECT**

- **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 development 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
1958

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 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>St. Louis, MO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Completed</td>
<td>1956</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupied</td>
<td>1954</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction Cost</td>
<td>$57,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Architect</td>
<td>Leinweber, Yamasaki &amp; Hellmuth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose</td>
<td>integrated, mixed-income housing (33% public housing, 66% middle-income)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Status</td>
<td>demolished</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Size</td>
<td>2,762 units</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Size</td>
<td>33 buildings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Size</td>
<td>55 acres</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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
1953

Occupied
1955

Construction Cost
$4,000,000

Architect
n/a

Size
700 units
103 buildings

Purpose
workers’ housing

Status
n/a

JORDAN DOWNS HOUSING PROJECTS
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.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>STANTON DWELLINGS</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Location</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Completed</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Occupied</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Construction Cost</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Architect</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Size</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Purpose</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Status</strong></td>
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</table>

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

**Architect**
Mies van der Rohe, Ludwig Hilberseimer, Alfred Caldwell

**Purpose**
affordable housing

**Size**
46 buildings
78 acres

**Construction Cost**
n/a

**Status**
National Register of Historic Places 1996
occupied, privatized
Image Citations:

Cabrini Green
Courtesy Chicago Housing Authority.


Brewster-Douglass Housing Project

Columbia Point Housing Project
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.

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

Pruitt-Igoe


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

Graph interpreted from Figure 4 in: Robert Beauregard, *When America Became Suburban* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), 34.
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 rut of compromise and put it on a new intellectual level. The public interest demands major changes in housing policy and urban planning.


Senator Richard Russell and President Lyndon B. Johnson, in discussions over housing policy, Dec 7, 1963


Today and Tomorrow: The Principle of the Great Society

By Walter Lippmann
Walter Lippman, “Today and Tomorrow: The Principles of the
Great Society,” Washington Post, Times Herald, January 12,
1965
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

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

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
"Tenants Picket Housing Project," Chicago Daily Defender, January 14, 1964

Taylor Homes Residents 'Air Their Complaints

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, first refusal to talk to them

nearly 50 women residents of the project petitioned the management office where Robert Murphy, project director, sat

Residents of the buildings have repeatedly voiced complaints against lack of police protection, inadequate elevator service, cold apartments and lack of interest by the management of the project.

"Accord' Reached at Taylor Homes"

Among the complaints registered by the tenants were the lack of adequate elevator service, lock of panic protection, and the example of attack by hoodlums who have in some way obtained keys to the building rooms in some of the buildings.

He explained three are 58 elevators in the 26 buildings and service was often delayed because of the vast territory to be covered.

"All of this will be improved," he said.

"Accord' Reached At Taylor Homes"

Chicago Daily Defender (Daily Edition) (1960-1973);
Jan 15, 1964;
ProQuest Historical Newspapers The Chicago Defender (1910 - 1975)
pg. 4


Neat Little Homes May Be Deceptive Shells

BY JACK JONES

"'Neat little homes' in Watts are nothing but empty shells inside out. They may have a measure of privacy or protection from the outside world, but they don't provide usable space inside."

Unotherwise" In City: The ever-growing pint-sized public housing projects which clutter the region's borders and belie the federal government's claims of welfare to the poor.

In Watts, the view is more bleak.

"Shells" in Watts: The ever-growing pint-sized public housing projects which clutter the region's borders and belie the federal government's claims of welfare to the poor.

The view from Watts:

Neat Little Homes May Be Deceptive

Since only 26 of the Los Angeles community's 58 elevators in the 26 buildings were 58 elevators in the 26 buildings and service was often delayed because of the vast territory to be covered.

"All of this will be improved," he said.
"Watts Housing Situation Said to Be Alarming,"
Los Angeles Sentinel, October 28, 1948

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."


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**Humphrey Urges War on 'Slumism'**

DALLAS, Tex. — 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

HUD Secretary Robert C. Weaver, Cities: Hope for the Heart,” Time Magazine, March 4, 1966
Outlining that strategy, he said, "the rent supplement 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 1977."

"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
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, modify building and zoning regulations where necessary, enhance neighborhood design and promote cost-reduction techniques in building.


Rights Group Raps Federal Housing ‘Ghettos’

By Robert E. Baker

Washington Post Staff Writer

The Johnson Administration came under public criticism yesterday for permitting an attitude of “apartheid” in Federal housing programs.

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

Watts Suffers--After 2 Long Years


HUD Spells Out Its New Policy: Homes for Poor Will Come First

Race Relations

The GhettoExplodes in Another City

In New York City last week the pattern of racial tension that has marked this city over the past three years continued as riots erupted in the Housing Authority projects in the East Harlem section. The mayor's statement that the city is no longer in a state of emergency was quoted by many as a symbol of the changing attitudes toward race relations.

Mayor Wagner has attributed much of the violence to the failure of the federal government to act on its promises to provide housing for the poor. "The only solution," he said, "is a continuing effort to create a better environment in the city."

J. William Fulbright, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, has been critical of the methods used during the rioting. "The government," he said, "has a responsibility to the people of this country to prevent such violence and to work toward a solution of the problems that have led to it."

During the rioting, the city's armed forces were called in to help control the situation. The National Guard was called up and was on duty throughout the city. The federal government has been criticized for its failure to provide adequate support for the city. Mayor Wagner has stated that the city cannot continue without federal assistance and that the federal government must take more active steps to solve the problems of the city.


“Failure in the Movement...” Washington Post, Times Herald, July 26, 1967

Housewives Protest Plans For Housing in Forest Hills
"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

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."

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 dogmas 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 in this mystery the future of domestic tranquility in all American cities may now rest.

Jerry Gillam, “Negro Assemblyman Looks at Riots: Sees Failure in Leadership,” Los Angeles Times, August 26, 1965
"Riots Panel Tells Truth," Chicago Daily Defender, March 5, 1968


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
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

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

"Housing Picture 'Bleak'," Chicago Daily Defender, March 31, 1970
Blacks move to suburbs at an increasing rate; zoning laws restrict movement, NJ, July 13, 1970, NBC Evening News

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 and police continue fight in Desire Housing Project, New Orleans, LA, September 16, 1970, NBC Evening News
The demolition of Pruitt-Igoe Houses, St. Louis, MO, 1972, Associated Press, April 21, 1972

We see it, federal guidance and support of the nation’s housing and urban development efforts 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 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 freeze have been suitably useful and nationally important.


The Cost of a Housing Act

Less than a decade since 1968 there will probably be some comprehensive community development. The bad news is that at least one-quarter of the nation, paraphrasing Franklin D. Roosevelt’s famous speech during the Depression, are still ill-housed, we already have an awful lot to catch up with. Mr. Linn then 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."

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 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
Housing Paradox

In his message to Congress on community development, President Nixon adopts a remarkably pessimistic stance toward the nation's housing record.

In his recent budget, the text says, the Administration has provided "more housing assistance than the total provided by the Federal Government during the entire 30-year history of our national housing program preceding this Administration." The percentage of American homes in substandard housing has dropped dramatically, he reports, and adds: "Americans today are better housed than ever before in our history."

Thus the President notes that the Government's housing programs, now suddenly described as "SSS old and wasteful programs," are too expensive and not the answer.

"But not good enough," Mr. Nixon says, "to bill of particulars and offer no reforms. Instead, he says the greatest need now is the continuing of the housing programs, promises a substitute within six months and promises other urban resources be hived into a special reconstruction bill.

A bill to housing authorities a revenue-sharing umbrella for urban renewal and Model Cities and an administrative assignment 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 would fail.


NEW COMMUNITIES IN THE UNITED STATES: 1968-1973

In 1960 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 2,000 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.

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

**STELLA WRIGHT 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.

**Robert Taylor Homes**

- **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
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.

**WYCKOFF GARDENS**

**Location**
Brooklyn, NY

**Completed**
1966

**Occupied**
1966

**Construction Cost**
n/a

**Size**
527 units
3 buildings
5.81 acres

**Purpose**
Public rental housing

**Status**
Occupied

Architect
n/a
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

Purpose
public rental housing

Occupied
1968

Construction Cost
n/a

Architect
Ballard/Todd Associates, Architects

Size
1,612 units
4 buildings
15.15 acres

Status
occupied
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 Lluis 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).

**ROOSEVELT ISLAND**

<table>
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<tr>
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<td>1975–76</td>
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<tr>
<td>Construction Cost</td>
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</table>

**Architect**

n/a

**Size**

2,141 units

**Purpose**

affordable rental and co-operative housing

**Status**

occupied, privatizing
Located in the Brownsville neighborhood of Brooklyn, the project served as the Urban Development Corporation’s prototype for low-rise, high-density public housing.


**MARCUS GARVEY VILLAGES**

<table>
<thead>
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<th>New York, NY</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Completed</td>
<td>1975–76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupied</td>
<td>1976</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**

**Robert Taylor Homes**

**Wyckoff Gardens**

**Polo Grounds Towers**

**Roosevelt Island**

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


Cabini-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).
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

Confidential report, Housing and Community Development Act of 1977

Housing Policy
Is Warned Over, but It Is a Policy

WASHINGTON — "This country suffers from not having a national housing problem," says Anthony Downs, a student of housing issues at the Brookings Institution. He means that it is a nation in which 66 percent of families own their own homes, the mollusc converted into Jouleville's "patina," Appalachia's "dryness" in Appalachia's "shocks" provided for migrant farm workers in Georgia, does not impinge on the political or social consciousness 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 the one component of an urban policy it is expected to announce next week. The midlife crisis, having reached the benefits of the downtown and Federal mortgage insurance in key state homes, often seen other kinds of public subsidies needed to become the new.
Some argue that poor housing causes a lack of money, and it would be easier, cheaper and faster to increase welfare payments and let the poor find their own housing. But Mrs. Harris, the department heads and other urban interests suspect that housing subsidies do more than provide shelter. They are basic tools in stopping urban revitalization. In this view, where a housing project is planned for urban development, and direct subsidies can be used to promote economic and racial integration of the suburbs.


**Senate Cuts Housing Bill Back to Carter’s Request**

WASHINGTON, July 19 — After a confusing and sometimes bitter debate over whether the vote was required to bear the brunt of Government’s 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 69 to 31 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.”


**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

"Welfare Queen' Becomes Issue in Reagan Campaign."
Washington Star, Feb 14, 1976

Public Housing—Same Old Sad Tale
For millions of the nation's poor, home is often a shabby apartment in a building rife with crime, drugs and vandalism.

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.

President Ronald Reagan, memorandum proposing amendments to the Civil Rights Act of 1978, to become the Fair Housing Amendments Act of 1983, Jul 12, 1983


"Carter Visits Housing Site for the Poor," New York Times, Apr 2, 1984

"Boston Plans, with U.S. Aid, to Rescue Failed Housing Development," Christian Science Monitor, Jan 8, 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

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 Orostach, staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

In Boston, a voluntary agreement between tenants and developers is leading to the conversion of the 1300-unit Columbia Point project into a 1,383-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 contract decree that guarantees 25 percent of converted units to low-income tenants.

"We hope this case will encourage other developers to open renovated units to low-income minority families rather than displace these people."--"The idea is to have low-income tenants who receive some subsidy, and the remaining 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 to avoid special tax corruption. The developers -- principal among them Concoran, Mel- line, Jermun Inc., of Quincy, Mass. -- also received state and federal income tax. They were given a 30-year tax break on the land and a federal 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."

I would guess that there’s adequate low-income housing in the country

— Vice Presidential Candidate Dan Quayle, Oct 27, 1988
"Kemp's Brave New World," Newsweek, Jan 2, 1989

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-xing expansion 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 of the backs of the poor."

"Kemp's Brave New World," Newsweek, Jan 2, 1989

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The Final Report of the National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing

**To 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 101-250, it charged the Commission with preparing a National Action Plan to eradicate severely distressed public housing by the year 2000

Most importantly, we have witnessed first hand the remarkable creativity and ingenuity of the 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 inexpensive or cheap to implement. The Congress tasked the Commission to find answers, and we have found robustly Severely distressed public housing exists in America, and we 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 goal.

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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.

Still from *Menace II Society* (New Line Cinema, 1993), featuring Jordan Downs Housing Projects, Los Angeles
"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.

In cities from Denver to Atlanta, crumbling tenements are being torn down and replaced. Tomorrow’s public housing could look like, well, your house.

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

...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


"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.

To save housing, city destroying it

Chicago has decided to demolish the USA's largest public housing project.

The majority of those demolished units will be the 28 high-rises at Robert Taylor, which have 7,728 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.

Coming down: Chain-link fencing is up and playground equipment is down as crews prepare to demolish a Taylor building.

In 1985, 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.

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.

Tear it down: Robert Taylor Homes resident Octave Gunmon, seen with her son, says the project should be destroyed.

"To Save Housing, City Destroying It," USA Today, Jun 16, 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

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 a hulking high-rise 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.


“Cough up a lung, where I’m from, Marcy son, Ain’t nothing nice
Mentally been many places but I’m Brooklyn’s own”

"The Kerner Commission's report on race relations in America, thirty Years Later, Examined," March 01, 1998, CNN Evening News

"Our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white--separate and unequal."
Developers involved must keep low-rent status for 99 years.

By ELEANOR CHARLES

LAST year a private developer bought one of the Stamford Housing Authority's most distressed properties. Three more will be sold to a different developer. The first is now being rehabilitated and the second will be replaced.


AMERICAN HOMEOWNERSHIP AND ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT OF 2000

MARCH 29, 2000—Ordered 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

REPORT

together with

ADDITIONAL VIEWS

To accompany H.R. 1778

The Committee on Banking and Financial Services, to whom was referred the bill (H.R. 1778) 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:

American Homeownership and Economic Opportunity Act of 2000
Mr. Oxley, from the Committee on Financial Services, submitted the following

REPORT

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 Buckner et al., OAKLAND HOUSING AUTHORITY, ET AL.
PETITIONERS V. PEARLIE BUCKNER ET AL.

No. 00-1770 and 00-1781

SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

235 U.S. 121, 122 S. Ct. 1220, 152 L. Ed. 2d 226; 2662 U.S. LEXIS 2144; 79 U.S.L.W. 4206

February 19, 2002, Argued
March 26, 2002, Decided

* * * * *

* Together with No. 00-1781, Oakland Housing Authority et al. v. Buckler et al., also on remand from the same court.

PRIOR HISTORY: ON WRITS OF CERTIORARI TO THE UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS FOR THE NINTH CIRCUIT.

DISPOSITION: 235 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. § 1437d(b)(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 expressly expressing eviction of innocent tenants.

OVERVIEW: The tenants were allegedly unaware of drug activity by their non-tenant relatives or guests, and complained that they were not subject to eviction under § 1437d(b)(6). The petitioners argued that the statute, which required the lease clause specifying 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(b)(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 case was remanded.
**Katrina and Public Housing: A Voucher for Your Thoughts,**
*The Economist*, Sept 24, 2005
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 assumed control of the agency after years of subpar performance.


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.”
When one door closes

How public housing harms the market — and its tenants

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,

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.


**Demolition begins on first housing projects**

NEW ORLEANS — Federal officials began demolishing a local housing project Thursday despite protests who argue the destruction, saying the hurricane-ravaged city needs to preserve its affordable housing.

About 10 protesters had stood Wednesday in the path of machinery temporarily blocking the demolition crew's path into the run-down complex in central New Orleans.

Thursday's gathering was less confrontational and crews began demolishing one section of the development. Another part of the complex remained open.

About 15 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 are a few more questions we need to know about," said Elizabeth Cook, a member of the Coalition to Stop Demolitions, which organized the protests. "We believe it's the right thing to do, and we believe it's the right thing to do for the city." The city's four largest complexes set for complete redevelopment after Hurricane Katrina struck.

**Wrecking crews start tearing down St. Bernard complex**

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.

**Replacement slated to be ready in 2010**

Pending lawsuit has no effect

"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 continues.

"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
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
Since 1996, nearly $850 million has been spent to level some of D.C.’s most notorious housing projects and resurrect them as mixed-income communities, an effort Terrell 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 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Detroit, MI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Completed</td>
<td>1994–9 ongoing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupied</td>
<td>1999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction Cost</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Architect</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Size</td>
<td>987 units</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>43 buildings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>40 acres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose</td>
<td>public and market-rate housing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>for families</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Status</td>
<td>occupied</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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
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

**Size**
738 units
738 buildings
54 acres

**Purpose**
mixed-income housing (30% affordable)

**Status**
occupied

**Architect**
Carlsten Pucciano & English
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Completed</th>
<th>2001–5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Occupied</td>
<td>2002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction Cost</td>
<td>$32,500,000</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Architect
Torti Gallas & Partners

Size
860 units
124 buildings
74 acres

Purpose
mixed-income rental housing
(45% public, 9% elderly)

Status
occupied
This ten-year project redeveloped the Rainier Vista public housing project (see p106).

Tonkin/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
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.

Architect
RdlR Architects, Inc.

Location
Houston, TX

Completed
1999–2005

Occupied
1999

Construction Cost
n/a

Size
500 units
18 buildings
37.5 acres

Purpose
low-income housing

Status
occupied

HISTORIC OAKS AT ALLEN PARKWAY VILLAGE
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 93 market-rate attached homes for sale.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Architect</th>
<th>Purpose</th>
<th>Status</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Los Angeles, CA</td>
<td>Quatro Design Group</td>
<td>mixed-income rental</td>
<td>occupied</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wraight Architects</td>
<td>market-rate homes for sale</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>William Hezmalhalch</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Architects, Inc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Van Tiburg</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Banvard &amp; Soderbergh</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Completed** 1998–2005  
**Occupied** 2003  
**Construction Cost** $8,7000,000  
**Size** 468 units  
70 buildings (approx.)  
29 acres
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
RAI Design & Build

Size
510 units
125 buildings
41.5 acres

Purpose
mixed-income rental
below-market-rate homes for sale

Status
occupied
Harbor Point
Jane Roessner, A Decent Place to Live (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2000).

Villages at Parkside

Legends South

Parkside of Oldtown

Centennial Place

Belmont Heights Estates
Courtesy Tampa Housing Authority.

Rainer Vista Redevelopment
Courtesy Seattle Housing Authority.
Graph interpreted from Figure 4 in: Robert Beauregard, *When America Became Suburban* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), 34.
FORECLOSURE
2008–PRESENT

*Home Sweet Home,* TIME, Jun 13, 2005
MORTGAGE GIANTS TAKEN OVER BY U.S.

This article was reported by Charles Babcock, Stephen Salsberg and Andrew Pollack and written by Mr. Babcock.

A COSTLY BAILOUT

Federal Intervention Is Bid for Stability — C.E.O.’s Ousted

By STEPHEN J. LAVARSTON
and EDWARD L. ANDREWS
WASHINGTON — The Bush administration selected control of the mortgage giants Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac on Sunday, moving to break internationally their near monopoly on Wall Street and on Capitol Hill while at the same time placing them to pull them out of its worst housing crisis in decades.

The bailout plan for the companies, Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac, a dramatic event in a year of repeated financial rescues followed by aggressive federal intervention, preserves the companies in a government conservatorship, much like the bankruptcy recapitalization. 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 imperiled financial institutions in American history, though it will not involve any immediate taxpayer losses or investments.

Mr. Petersen said Sunday that it was important to rescue the mortgage giants because a failure of either company would cause turmoil to financial markets in the United States and around the world.

"This would create disorder and negatively impact homeowners, mortgage lenders, home values, savings for college and retirement," he said. "If it would affect the ability of Americans to get home loans, run businesses and consumer credit, and business financing." And:


Fannie Mae, Freddie and You: What It Means to the Public

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 outsized role in this financial crisis. Here's more about mortgage securitization and its effects.

What is mortgage securitization? What are mortgage-backed securities?

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 B-rated Countrywide, Bear Stearns and Lehman Brothers.

Here's a greatly simplified (and hypothetical) mortgage-backed security, as described by Richard J. Rorty, a senior economist and economic advisor 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 package, 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 sales 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, repackaging and reselling. This was one of the reasons lending standards loosened. By the time it became clear that many home loans had gone bad, people 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.

Ignored 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.

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 $33 trillion.


IN MARYLAND

Sweeping Bills Passed To Help Homeowners

By PHILIP ROCKER
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 protective measures to help people at risk of foreclosure.

Taken together, Maryland’s bills are among the most sweeping in the country as legislators from California to Florida consider proposals to stem the escalating rate of foreclosures.


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
"Community Reinvestment and the Foreclosure Crisis,"
Washington Post, December 18, 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 abluting 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 $600 other Avondale homes in bank hands or about to enter foreclosure.
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


**Clinton Details Mortgage Plan**

**Proposal for U.S. to Buy Some Troubled Home Loans Envisions Big Federal Role**

**By Amy Chozick**

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 fail.

Sen. Clinton has been more willing to endorse 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 Crisis Looms Larger in Campaign**

**By Alex Francisco**

FONTANA, 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 Cordlin, 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.
“Jackson Resigns as HUD Secretary,” Washington Post, April 1, 2008

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
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 furiously 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,

“If that’s how I 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 38 percent in suburban Lee County, Florida, where one in five houses is empty. Charlotte’s crime rate has 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 50 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 1950s 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 American 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.

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-


"The Housing Crisis Rescue Plan: Trying to Stop the Bleeding," Los Angeles Times, Feb 19, 2009
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.

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.

The analysis was based on information collected from the 2000 US Census and the 2008 American Community Survey. 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

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.
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].” 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.

Here is a house in Rialto that was foreclosed upon this month, February 2009. The foreclosing bank was
Fig. 5
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. 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.

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

LOCAL PLANNING
RIALTO’S CITY HALL

Fig. 10
development and job creation. 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.

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
Fig. 12

Development Sites
Rialto Boundary

City of Rialto

Fig. 13

Foreclosed Properties Feb 2009
Development Sites

City of Rialto
Fig. 14

**RIALTO SITE 1**
**LYTLE CREEK RANCH**

Google Street View

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Fig. 15

**RIALTO SITE 1**
2,400 ACRES; RESIDENTIAL WITH TOWN CENTERS AND OPEN SPACE

City of Rialto
Fig. 16

RIALTO, SITE 2
RENAISSANCE RIALTO

Google Street View

Fig. 17

RIALTO SITE 2
DECOMMISSIONED AIRPORT; 1,000+ ACRES

City of Rialto
Fig. 18

RIALTO SITE 3
FOOTHILL BOULEVARD

Google Street View

Fig. 19

RIALTO SITE 3
300 ACRES; INFILL DEVELOPMENT

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
HOUSING UNITS THAT ARE SINGLE-FAMILY DETACHED HOMES*

Fig. 22

US Census Bureau

HOMEOWNERS CARRYING MORE THAN ONE MORTGAGE*

Fig. 21

US Census Bureau
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.
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. 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.
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

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
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.

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

City of Tomball

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

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.

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.

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

SPEAKER 3

Fig. 41–43

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
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. 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.

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.
LOCAL ECONOMY
CHAMBLEE’S SUN TRUST BANK BRANCH

Fig. 45

LOCAL PLANNING
DORAVILLE’S CITY HALL

Fig. 46
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.

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

CHAMBLEE: SITE 1
INTERNATIONAL VILLAGE; 380 ACRES

Fig. 51
DORAVILLE: SITE 2

Fig. 52
Google Street View

DORAVILLE: SITE 2
LIVABLE CENTERS INITIATIVE; 190 ACRES

Fig. 53
City of Doraville
DORAVILLE: SITE 3

FORER GENERAL MOTORS PLANT; 130 ACRES

City of Doraville
boundary, the Chamblee an 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
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, 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. 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.

On February 5, 2009, this house in Temple Terrace was foreclosed upon by Wells Fargo for an unpaid debt of $185,000. From 2005 through 2007, Wachovia and Wells Fargo lent a total of $17.6 billion and $51 billion in
TEMPLE TERRACE, FLORIDA
TEMPLE TERRACE, FLORIDA

**Fig. 60**

- URBANIZED AREA
- PROPOSED HIGH-SPEED RAIL

**Fig. 61**

MCDA RESULTS
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

LOCAL PLANNING
TEMPLE TERRACE'S CITY HALL

Fig. 64
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
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.

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.

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.

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.
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

Citigroup lent $26.3 billion in high-interest mortgages at the height of subprime lending, between 2005 and
LANDOVER, MARYLAND

Fig. 77
Fig. 79

URBANIZED AREA
PROPOSED HIGH-SPEED RAIL

Fig. 78

MCDA RESULTS
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.

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.
**Fig. 84**

Foreclosed properties Feb 2009

**Fig. 85**

Development sites and Greater Landover boundary

Prince George's County; RealtyTrac

Prince George's County; Google Maps
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

LANDOVER: SITE 2
WALKABLE MIXED-USE WITH NEW STREET FABRIC

Fig. 89
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.”

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*

COMMUTERS TRAVELING OVER 60 MINUTES TO WORK*
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.
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. 96

Fig. 97

THE ORANGES

URBANIZED AREA
PROPOSED HIGH-SPEED RAIL

MCDA RESULTS

THE ORANGES

New York City

Fig. 96

Fig. 97

US Census Bureau
Orange, and West Orange share a history but diverge in their present identities. 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. 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
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. 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.”

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.
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
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.

This house in Cicero was foreclosed upon in February 2009.49 The foreclosing bank was Bank of America,
CICERO, ILLINOIS
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
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.

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

Google Street View

CICERO: SITE 3
ROOSEVELT ROAD; 1.25-MILE COMMERCIAL CORRIDOR REVITALIZATION

Fig. 126

Fig. 127
explicitly than elsewhere, the red foreclosure dots repre-
sent 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 under-
write 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 residen-
tial 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 redevel-
opment 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 popu-
lation 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 house-
hold 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
Fig. 129

Fig. 130
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. 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
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.

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

LOCAL PLANNING
SALEM’S CITY HALL

Fig. 136
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.
Fig. 138

DEVELOPMENT SITES
KEIZER BOUNDARY

City of Keizer; City of Salem; Google Maps

Fig. 139

FORECLOSED PROPERTIES IN FEB 2009
DEVELOPMENT SITES

City of Keizer; City of Salem; Google Maps
KEIZER: SITE 1

225 ACRES; INDUSTRIAL, COMMERCIAL, RESIDENTIAL, AND MIXED USES

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

452 ACRES; $300K INVESTED TO DATE
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.

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.

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.”

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.

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
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 ques-
tions have forced me to reconsider my own arguments. 
And so I appeal to you, Diotima, to assist me in assau-
ging 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 some-
times 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 every-
thing 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 domes-
tic 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. 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

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.)

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.
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.


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.


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 Millenium 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 111,590. 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.


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).


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 code citations 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.


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.


21 Later, the federal government would sell IndyMac to OneWest, which received $1.8 billion from the Making Home Affordable program.


26 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: 77375, 77379, 77429, 77070, 77069.

27 In April 2009, GMAC received $1.5 billion under the Making Home Affordable program. Today GMAC is known as Ally Financial.


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.


413 NOTES

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, 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.


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.


42 Ibid., 308.


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, 07014, 07021, 07028, 07109, 07106, 07078, 07050, 07041, 07008, 07108, 07039, 07068, 07052, 07042, 07103.


46 The Metro Company, LLC, 1.


See Appendix for complete listing of sources for this section.

49 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: 60632, 60304, 60624, 60302, 60638, 60402, 60604, 60644, 60623.


53 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: 97026, 97301, 97304, 97303, 97305, 97302.


56 See note 4 for literature on the historical texture of suburbanization in the United States.


* Demographic maps represent census data by block group for the year 2011, with the exception of income and poverty maps which show 1999
UNITED STATES – 2009 DEMOGRAPHICS
(source: US Census Bureau)

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<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Value</th>
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<td>Housing Units</td>
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<td>22,545,257</td>
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<td>People under 18</td>
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<td>People 65 and over</td>
<td>38,000,870</td>
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<td>Median Age</td>
<td>36.5 years</td>
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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

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

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

Appendix

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
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

DOT: Livability
http://www.dot.gov/livability/

EPA: Sustainable Communities Partnership
http://www.epa.gov/smartgrowth/partnership/

General HUD Resources
http://www.hud.gov

US Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD)
http://www.hud.gov

Choice Neighborhoods Initiative

Community Planning and Development

Fair Market Rent datasets
http://www.huduser.org/portal/datasets/fmr.html

Federal Housing Administration (FHA)
http://www.hud.gov/offices/communities/housing/ohan/fhaind.cfm

HOPE VI

Housing Choice Vouchers

Online Library
rialto, california — 2009 demographics

(source: US Census Bureau)

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<td>8,038</td>
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renters paying more than 30% of income on housing | 4,959 |

white only population | 57,408 |
| people of color (not white only) | 40,931 |
| people under 18 | 33,971 |
| people 65 and over | 6,020 |
| median age | 26.8 |

povetry


san bernardino county – california 2009 demographics

(source: US Census Bureau)

<table>
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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

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.qpr.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.ieercc.org/

Neighborhood Housing Services of the Inland Empire, Inc
http://www.nhsei.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.sbcounty.gov/ehls/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)

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<td>Total Households</td>
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<td>Housing Units</td>
<td>4,536</td>
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<td>3,892</td>
<td>85.8</td>
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<td>1,797</td>
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<td>Renter-Occupied Housing Units</td>
<td>2,095</td>
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<td>Vacant Housing Units</td>
<td>644</td>
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<td>Homeowners Paying More than 30% of income on housing</td>
<td>340</td>
<td>18.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renters Paying More than 30% of income on housing</td>
<td>1,095</td>
<td>52.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Only Population</td>
<td>8,438</td>
<td>82.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People of Color (not White Only)</td>
<td>1,753</td>
<td>17.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People under 18</td>
<td>2,575</td>
<td>25.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People 65 and over</td>
<td>1,610</td>
<td>15.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median Age</td>
<td>34.8</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TOMBALL, TEXAS – 2009 DEMOGRAPHICS (source: US Census Bureau)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>#</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Population</td>
<td>10,191</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Household Size</td>
<td>2,56 people</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Family Size</td>
<td>3,26 people</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Households</td>
<td>3,892</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Family Households</td>
<td>2,438</td>
<td>62.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median Household Income</td>
<td>$44,813</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median Family Income</td>
<td>$58,269</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Families in Poverty</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individuals in Poverty</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing Units</td>
<td>4,536</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupied Housing Units</td>
<td>3,892</td>
<td>85.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owner-Occupied Housing Units</td>
<td>1,797</td>
<td>46.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renter-Occupied Housing Units</td>
<td>2,095</td>
<td>53.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vacant Housing Units</td>
<td>644</td>
<td>14.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homeowners Paying More than 30% of income on housing</td>
<td>340</td>
<td>18.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renters Paying More than 30% of income on housing</td>
<td>1,095</td>
<td>52.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Only Population</td>
<td>8,438</td>
<td>82.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People of Color (not White Only)</td>
<td>1,753</td>
<td>17.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People under 18</td>
<td>2,575</td>
<td>25.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People 65 and over</td>
<td>1,610</td>
<td>15.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median Age</td>
<td>34.8</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
HARRIS COUNTY, TEXAS — 2009 DEMOGRAPHICS
(source: US Census Bureau)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Population</td>
<td>3,909,790</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Household Size</td>
<td>2.84 people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Family Size</td>
<td>3.48 people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Households</td>
<td>1,358,313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Family Households</td>
<td>931,057</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median Household Income</td>
<td>$50,569</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median Family Income</td>
<td>$57,668</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Families in Poverty</td>
<td>13.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individuals in Poverty</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing Units</td>
<td>1,534,652</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupied Housing Units</td>
<td>1,358,313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owner-Occupied Housing Units</td>
<td>781,746</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renter-Occupied Housing Units</td>
<td>576,567</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vacant Housing Units</td>
<td>175,339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homeowners Paying More than 30% of income on housing</td>
<td>220,946</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renters Paying More than 30% of income on housing</td>
<td>266,999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Only Population</td>
<td>2,394,660</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People of Color (not White Only)</td>
<td>1,515,130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People under 18</td>
<td>1,130,889</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People 65 and over</td>
<td>306,963</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median Age</td>
<td>31.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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/docs/index.html

American Planning Association Texas Chapter
http://www.txplanning.org/

City of Tomball Development Criteria
http://www.ci.tomball.tx.us/engineering-planning/docs/index.html

City of Tomball GIS Maps and Data
http://www.ci.tomball.tx.us/engineering-planning/maps/index.html

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.harriscoountyhome.hctx.net/

HC Flood Control District
http://www.hfcfd.org/

HC Housing Authority
http://www.hchqtx.net/

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 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.harriserscovery.org/

HC Spatial Data Committee
http://www.hctx.net/itc/gis/
| **HC Transit** | Median Household Income $42,708 |
| **http://www.harriscountytransit.com/** | Median Family Income $49,844 |
| **Rural Rental Housing Association of Texas** | Families in Poverty - 29.9 |
| **http://www.rrhatx.com/** | Individuals in Poverty - 37.2 |
| **Tomball Economic Development Corporation** | Housing Units 3,285 |
| **http://www.tomballtxedc.org/** | Occupied Housing Units 2,895 88.1 |
| **TX Affiliation of Affordable Housing Providers** | Owner-Occupied Housing Units 1,576 54.4 |
| **http://taahp.org/** | Renter-Occupied Housing Units 1,319 45.6 |
| **TX Apartment Association** | Vacant Housing Units 390 11.9 |
| **http://www.taa.org/** | Homeowners Paying More than 506 32.1 |
| **TX Association of Local Housing Finance Agencies** | Rentsers Paying More than 762 57.8 |
| **http://talhfa.org/** | 30% of income on housing |
| **TX Department of Housing and Community Affairs** | Median Age 29.7 |
| **http://www.tdhca.state.tx.us/** | DEKALB COUNTY, GEORGIA – 2009 DEMOGRAPHICS |
| **TX Department of Transportation (DOT)** | (source: US Census Bureau) |
| **http://txdot.gov/** | Population 733,060 |
| **TX DOT Houston District** | Average Household Size 2.65 people |
| **http://txdot.gov/local_information/houston_district/default.htm** | Average Family Size 3.45 people |
| **TX DOT Economic Stimulus Projects** | Total Households 270,124 |
| **http://apps.dot.state.tx.us/apps/project_tracker/stimprojects.htm** | Total Family Households 158,655 58.7 |
| **TX DOT Rail** | Median Household Income $51,973 |
| **http://txdot.gov/business/rail/default.htm** | Median Family Income $61,259 |
| **TX Low-income Housing Information Service** | Families in Poverty - 11.8 |
| **http://www.texashousing.org/** | Individuals in Poverty - 15.4 |

### CHAMBLEE, GEORGIA — 2009 DEMOGRAPHICS
(source: US Census Bureau)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Population</td>
<td>10,910</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Household Size</td>
<td>3.44 people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Family Size</td>
<td>4.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Households</td>
<td>3,172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Family Households</td>
<td>1,762 55.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median Household Income</td>
<td>$46,460</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median Family Income</td>
<td>$52,692</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Families in Poverty</td>
<td>- 15.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individuals in Poverty</td>
<td>- 23.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing Units</td>
<td>3,480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupied Housing Units</td>
<td>3,172 91.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owner-Occupied Housing Units</td>
<td>1,209 38.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renter-Occupied Housing Units</td>
<td>1,963 61.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vacant Housing Units</td>
<td>308 8.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homeowners Paying More than</td>
<td>296 24.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30% of income on housing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renters Paying More than</td>
<td>1,069 54.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30% of income on housing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Only Population</td>
<td>5,103 46.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People of Color (not White Only)</td>
<td>5,807 53.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People under 182,688</td>
<td>24.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People 65 and over</td>
<td>279 2.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median Age</td>
<td>30.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### DORAVILLE, GEORGIA — 2009 DEMOGRAPHICS
(source: US Census Bureau)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Population</td>
<td>10,328</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Household Size</td>
<td>3.57 people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Family Size</td>
<td>4.45 people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Households</td>
<td>2,895</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Family Households</td>
<td>1,822 62.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### CHAMBLEE & DORAVILLE, GEORGIA (AND SURROUNDING AREA) – RESOURCES

**Chamblee Local Government**

City of Chamblee

http://www.chambleega.com/

Development Department


Planning and Zoning Division

http://www.chambleega.com/departments/PlanningandZoning.aspx

**Doraville Local Government**

City of Doraville

http://www.doravillega.us/

Office of Planning and Zoning

http://www.doravillega.us/Government/Government/Planning.html
## TEMPLE TERRACE, FLORIDA – RESOURCES

**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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>#</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Population</td>
<td>22,653</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Household Size</td>
<td>2.35 people</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Family Size</td>
<td>3.07 people</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Households</td>
<td>9,471</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Family Households</td>
<td>5,150</td>
<td>54.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median Household Income</td>
<td>$50,948</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median Family Income</td>
<td>$64,931</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Families in Poverty</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individuals in Poverty</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing Units</td>
<td>10,554</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupied Housing Units</td>
<td>9,471</td>
<td>89.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owner-Occupied Housing Units</td>
<td>5,435</td>
<td>57.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renter-Occupied Housing Units</td>
<td>4,036</td>
<td>42.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vacant Housing Units</td>
<td>1,083</td>
<td>10.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homeowners Paying More than 30% of income on housing</td>
<td>1,637</td>
<td>30.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renters Paying More than 30% of income on housing</td>
<td>1,931</td>
<td>49.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Only Population</td>
<td>16,851</td>
<td>74.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People of Color (not White Only)</td>
<td>5,802</td>
<td>25.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People under 18</td>
<td>4,298</td>
<td>19.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People 65 and over</td>
<td>2,984</td>
<td>13.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median Age</td>
<td>36.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TEMPLE TERRACE, FLORIDA (AND SURROUNDING AREA) – RESOURCES

**Temple Terrace Local Government**
http://www.templeterrace.com/#

**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

**Hillsborough County Long-Range Comprehensive Plan**

**Hillsborough County Locational Assessment and Recommended Strategic Plan for Economic Growth**
http://www.hillsboroughcounty.org/ econdev/locas/home.cfm

**Hillsborough County Neighborhood Stabilization Program Management Plan**

**Hillsborough County Neighborhood Stabilization Program Target Areas**

**Hillsborough County Strategic Plan Update**
One Bay: Livable Communities — A Shared Regional Vision for Tampa Bay
http://www.myonebay.com/ (project website)

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

Temple Terrace Downtown Community Redevelopment Plan Overlay Zoning District

Vlass Group Downtown Temple Terrace Site Plan
http://www.templeterrace.com/revitalize/pdfs/VlassSitePlan(1).pdf

Temple Terrace Redevelopment of the Downtown Core
http://www.templeterrace.com/govt/codebook/Chapter%2029.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.ephcc.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/ffc/ffc/

FL DCA Division of Housing and Community Development
http://www.florida decking.org/development.org/

FL Department of Transportation
http://www.dot.state.fl.us/

FL Geographic Data Library
http://www.fgdl.org/

FL Housing Assistance

FL Housing Coalition
http://www.fhco ng.org/

FL Housing Data Clearinghouse
http://fhousingdata.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/homew owner/

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 Economic Stimulus Task Force
https://www.hillsboroughcounty.org/bocc/boardscouncils/economicstimulus.cfm

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_Shapesfiles_101101.zip/view

HC Flood Maps
http://www.hillsboroughcounty.org/pgm/hazardmit/floodMap/

HC Flood Maps
http://www.hillsboroughcounty.org/pgm/hazardmit/floodMap/

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/np/

HC Neighborhood Stabilization Program
http://www.hillsboroughcounty.org/affordablehousingoffice/np/

HC Neighborhood Stabilization Program
http://www.hillsboroughcounty.org/affordablehousingoffice/np/

HC Office of Neighborhood Relations
http://www.hillsboroughcounty.org/ont/

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 Economic and Urban Development Department
http://www.tampagov.net/dept_economic_and_urban_development/

Tampa Port Authority
http://www.tampaport.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 Economic and Urban Development Corporation
http://www.tampaedc.com/

Prince George’s County Government
http://www.princegeorgescountymd.gov

Department of Environmental Resources

Department of Housing and Community Development

住房单位

景观

PRINCE GEORGE’S COUNTY, MARYLAND – 2009 DEMOGRAPHICS
(source: US Census Bureau)

LANDOVER, MARYLAND (AND SURROUNDING AREA) – RESOURCES

Greater Landover (Census Designated Place), Maryland – 2009 DEMOGRAPHICS
(source: US Census Bureau)
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

Redevelopment Authority

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

Prince George’s County Landscape Manual

Prince George’s County Recently Completed Plans
http://www.pgplanning.org/Projects/Completed_Projects/Completed_Plans.htm

Prince George’s County Strategic Plan

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

Maryland Chamber of Commerce
http://www.marylandchamber.com/

Maryland Chamber of Commerce Green Best Practices Guide

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
## ESSEX COUNTY, NEW JERSEY – 2009 DEMOGRAPHICS
(source: US Census Bureau)

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## SOUTH ORANGE, NEW JERSEY – 2009 DEMOGRAPHICS
(source: US Census Bureau)

<table>
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<tr>
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<td>Total Family Households</td>
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<tr>
<td>Median Household Income</td>
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<td>Families in Poverty</td>
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<td>Individuals in Poverty</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Occupied Housing Units</td>
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<td>96.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Owner-Occupied Housing Units</td>
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<td>29.1</td>
</tr>
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<td>Vacant Housing Units</td>
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<tr>
<td>Homeowners Paying More than 30% of income on housing</td>
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Planning Department
http://www.westorange.org/index.asp?Type=B_BASIC&SEC=(D2B2C7E3-959C-4769-B44D-EFA72F057BB0)ADE=[4F17
D892-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
City of Orange Township Central Orange Redevelopment Plan
http://www.ci.orange.nj.us/Central_Orange_Redev_Plan.pdf (study)
City of Orange Master Plan Follow-up and Implementation Outline: 2008
http://www.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
Essex County Waste Water Management Plan
http://www.hatchmott.com/essexcountywmp/index.html

NJ Annual Public Housing Authority Plan for FY 2009
http://www.state.nj.us/dca/divisions/dhchr/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/ho/4sustain/ho_5yr_plan02_01_2011.pdf

NJ Five Year (2004-2009) Public Housing Authority Plan
http://www.state.nj.us/dca/divisions/dhchr/publications/docs/hcvp/04-09phaplans.doc

NJ Housing Choice Voucher Program Administrative Plan for FY 2009
http://www.state.nj.us/dca/divisions/dhchr/publications/docs/hcvp/hcvpadminplanfy09.pdf

NJ Small Cities Community Development Block Grant State FY 2009 Final Plan

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://www.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://www.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-F8D91F1C988B%7D/uploads/%7BD42DB445F-
http://www.westorange.org/vertical/Sites/%7B8A554F92-3545-4CD9-932E-F8D91F1C988B%7D/uploads/%7BD42DB445F-
DD91-4439-B6A1-5C868B86FA37%7D.PDF (2006 Amendments)

Township of West Orange Open Space and Recreation Plan
http://www.westorange.org/vertical/Sites/%7B8A554F92-3545-4CD9-932E-F8D91F1C988B%7D/uploads/%7BD8DA161A5A-
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Township of West Orange Organon Redevelopment Plan
http://www.westorange.org/vertical/Sites/%7B8A554F92-3545-4CD9-932E-F8D91F1C988B%7D/uploads/%7BD8DA161A5A-
06E1-4163-BB82-9891D2007321%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

Environment South Orange
http://www.southorange.org/Environment/index.html

Essex County
http://www.essex-countynj.org/

Essex Department of Public Works

Essex Division of Housing and Community Development

Essex Neighborhood Stabilization Program

Economic Development Corporation of Essex County
CICERO, ILLINOIS –2009 DEMOGRAPHICS
(source: US Census Bureau)

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<td>Population</td>
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**COOK COUNTY, ILLINOIS – 2009 DEMOGRAPHICS**  
(source: US Census Bureau)

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**CICERO, ILLINOIS (AND SURROUNDING AREA) – RESOURCES**

- **Cicero Local Government**  
  Town of Cicero  

- **Department of Code Enforcement**  

- **Department of Community Affairs and Special Projects**  

- **Housing Department**  

- **Public Works Department**  

- **Plans, Proposals, and Development Areas**  
  Cicero Neighborhood Stabilization Program  
  [http://www.thetownofcicero.com/content/img/f215769/nspbrochure.pdf](http://www.thetownofcicero.com/content/img/f215769/nspbrochure.pdf)

- **Cicero Rehabilitation of Vacant and Foreclosed Residential Units**  

- **Cicero Sportsman Park Complex**  

- **Cook County Consolidated Community Development Plan**  

- **Roosevelt Road Streetscape Improvement (Multiple Municipalities)**  

- **American Planning Association Illinois Chapter**  

- **Chicago Housing Authority**  
  [http://www.thecha.org](http://www.thecha.org)

- **Chicago Metropolitan Agency for Planning**  
  [http://www.cmap.illinois.gov/](http://www.cmap.illinois.gov/)

- **Chicago Transit Authority**  

- **Cicero ARRA Energy Efficiency and Conservation Block Grant Program**  

- **Cicero Chamber of Commerce and Industry**  
  [http://www.cicerochamber.org/index2.html](http://www.cicerochamber.org/index2.html)

- **Community and Economic Development Association of Cook County, Inc**  
  [http://www.cedaorg.net](http://www.cedaorg.net)

- **Cook County**  

- **Cook County Bureau of Capital, Planning, and Facilities**  

- **Cook County Department of Building and Zoning**  

- **Cook County Department of Environmental Control**  

- **Cook County Geographic Information Systems**  
KEIZER, OREGON – 2009 DEMOGRAPHICS
(source: US Census Bureau)

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<td>$58,881</td>
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<td>2,610</td>
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<td>Individuals in Poverty</td>
<td>15,810</td>
<td>100%</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Renter-Occupied Housing Units</td>
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MARION COUNTY, OREGON – 2009 DEMOGRAPHICS
(source: US Census Bureau)

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<td>Average Household Size</td>
<td>2,677</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Family Size</td>
<td>3,187</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Households</td>
<td>111,839</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Family Households</td>
<td>77,028</td>
<td>68.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median Household Income</td>
<td>$46,453</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median Family Income</td>
<td>$55,069</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Families in Poverty</td>
<td>11,515</td>
<td>14.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individuals in Poverty</td>
<td>15,415</td>
<td>19.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median Age</td>
<td>34.6</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupied Housing Units</td>
<td>111,839</td>
<td>94.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owner-Occupied Housing Units</td>
<td>69,901</td>
<td>62.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renter-Occupied Housing Units</td>
<td>41,938</td>
<td>37.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vacant Housing Units</td>
<td>6,920</td>
<td>5.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homeowners Paying More than 30% of income on housing</td>
<td>23,482</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renters Paying More than 30% of income on housing</td>
<td>19,829</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Only Population</td>
<td>257,491</td>
<td>83.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People of Color (not White Only)</td>
<td>52,328</td>
<td>16.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People under 18</td>
<td>82,620</td>
<td>26.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People 65 and over</td>
<td>37,617</td>
<td>12.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median Age</td>
<td>34.6</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Keizer Comprehensive Plan
Keizer Development Code

Keizer Station Plan

Keizer McNary Activity Center Design Plan

Keizer Parks Division Master Plan 2008
http://www.keizer.org/publicworks/PARKS/ParksMP-Final.pdf

Keizer Public Works Strategic Plan

Keizer Rapids Park Master Plan
http://www.keizer.org/Rapids/MasterPlan.pdf

Keizer River Road Renaissance Priorities (aerial map)
http://www.keizer.org/Commdev/Maps/KURB-3RACAerialPriorities.pdf

Keizer Transportation System Plan
http://www.keizer.org/commdev/Publications/tsp.pdf

Oregon Statewide Planning Goals
http://www.oregon.gov/LCD/goals.shtml

Salem Area Comprehensive Plan

Salem Development Design Handbook

Salem Draft Code Amendments for the Proposed South Waterfront Mixed-Use Zone
http://www.cityofsalem.net/Departments/UrbanDevelopment/DepartmentProjects/Pages/ProposedSouthWaterfront.pdf

Salem Downtown Strategic Action Plan
http://www.cityofsalem.net/Departments/UrbanDevelopment/DepartmentProjects/Pages/DSAP.aspx

Salem Enterprise Zone
http://www.cityofsalem.net/Departments/UrbanDevelopment/FinancialResources/Pages/EnterpriseZone.aspx

Salem Historic Preservation Plan

Salem Sustainable Cities Initiative
http://www.cityofsalem.net/CityCouncil/CityProjects/Salem_Sustainability/Pages/SCI.aspx

Salem Urban Development Projects
http://www.cityofsalem.net/Departments/UrbanDevelopment/DepartmentProjects/Pages/default.aspx

Salem Urban Renewal Areas
http://www.cityofsalem.net/Departments/UrbanDevelopment/UrbanRenewalAreas/Pages/default.aspx

Salem Vision 2020
http://www.cityofsalem.net/CityCouncil/CityProjects/Vision2020/Pages/default.aspx

West Salem Neighborhood Plan
http://www.cityofsalem.net/Departments/Community Development/Planning/WSNP/Pages/default.aspx

Keizer Chamber of Commerce and Visitors Center
http://www.keizerchamber.com/

Keizer Maps
http://www.keizer.org/?action=page&name=COMM%20DEV%20-%20MAPS

Marion County (MC)
http://www.co.marion.or.us/

MC Housing Authority
http://www.mchaor.us/

MC Parks Department
http://www.co.marion.or.us/PW/Parks/

MC Planning Division (PD)
http://www.co.marion.or.us/PW/Planning/

MC PD Maps
http://www.co.marion.or.us/PW/Planning/maps.htm

MC PD Projects
http://www.co.marion.or.us/PW/Planning/projects.htm

MC Public Works Department
http://www.co.marion.or.us/pw/

Planning Oregon—Oregon Sustainable Community Digital Library
http://oscdl.research.pdx.edu/

Oregon State Government
http://oregon.gov/

OR Action
http://www.oregonaction.org/

OR Department of Environmental Quality (DEQ)

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)

OR DLCD Urban and Rural Issues
http://www.oregon.gov/LCD/urbanrural.shtml

OR Department of Transportation
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:
The Temple Hoyne Buell Center for the Study of American Architecture

Columbia University Graduate School of Architecture, Planning, and Preservation