Designing Mixed-Income Communities:

Comparing New Urbanism and Everyday Urbanism to Narratives and Lessons Learned

from Three Design Teams of Three HOPE VI Projects

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Abstract

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This thesis systematically examines linkages among deconcentration of poverty in US public housing programs, and the Everyday Urbanism and New Urbanism movements. A hybrid-urbanism concept appears to emerge from the research findings. This thesis demonstrates, in particular, that these concepts and theories have guided many designers and planners for the Housing Opportunities for People Everywhere (HOPE VI) program inaugurated by the US Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) in 1992.

Since the 1960s, deconcentration of poverty concepts have been central to the discourse about revitalizing urban regions and cities. Proponents for clearing of public housing projects and developing mixed-income communities in their place have helped to orient numerous federal housing policies and programs, including HOPE VI. While only a few HOPE VI urban designers, planners and architects have practiced strategies specifically influenced by Everyday Urbanism, New Urbanism principles have been widely adopted, and HUD leadership has strongly endorsed New Urbanism principles for all HOPE VI projects.

This thesis contends that the New Urbanism principles employed in HOPE VI projects limit the urban and architectural design potential of these mixed-income communities, creating excessively tidy and perfect built environments that address community primarily from the god view instead of from the street view. The thesis proposes, that by embracing ideas of Everyday Urbanism, and adjusting the principles of New Urbanism, mixed-income developments can be more effective in reaching the needs of a wider constituency of residents.

The thesis begins by examining Everyday Urbanism and New Urbanism theories and emphasizes how particular kinds of "urbanism" affects housing policy and design. This is followed by a review of U.S. housing policies and programs that have influenced the practice of deconcentrating poverty in urban areas. This review focuses particularly on stigma associated with public housing residents living in high concentrated poverty areas. As a practical demonstration of the historical and theoretical research, the thesis then examines in detail the experiences of architects involved in three HOPE VI projects. The aim of the narrative section is to understand how community planning and design professionals seek to promote the building of strong communities while enriching the lives of public housing residents in these projects, and to assess the results of these efforts. The study focuses on the work of three architects: Tom Eanes, Michael Pyatok and Brian Sullivan. Each directed design teams involved in HOPE VI, mixed-income revitalization projects: New Holly, Seattle, Washington; Lion Creek Crossings, Oakland, California; and High Point, Seattle, Washington. The interviews discussions and the subsequent analysis examine the methods of planning, design and development used in the projects. This probe helps to identify lessons learned by the design teams and identify best practices.

What emerges from this research is a concept of hybrid-urbanism. This mixture of principles and variables from 'ambiguous' urbanisms in general and the two different urbanisms (Everyday + New Urbanism principles) can inform housing policy, as well as influence mixed-income developments in the future.

Key Words: Urban design, HOPE VI, Choice Neighborhoods Initiative, stigma, stigmatization, stigmatization of place, spatial stigmatization, poverty, concentrated poverty, deconcentration of poverty, housing policy, mixed-income revitalization, mixed-income development, neighborhood revitalization, public housing, low-income, relocation, displacement, gentrification, marginalized

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PREFACE

"Houser" (hau'zr) [Com. Teut: OE hus] someone committed to raising the quality of urban life through improving availability of and access to shelter for low-income families.[1]

My Personal Experience: Living in Public Housing

From seventh grade throughout my high school years, my family and I lived in a public housing unit in Wilson, North Carolina. Living in the stigmatized "Projects" was an experience that I would not wish on any person, especially children – most face a myriad of other adolescent issues. I had daily thoughts about living across the tracks, across town with all of the wealthy "haves". Many of my friends from school lived in the affluent neighborhoods. Most of my classmates never knew where I lived. They definitely never saw the architecturally insignificant unit that housed my family and me amongst the rest of the "have-nots" (see Image 1).

Image 1: Public Housing Unit Occupied by Andre Taybron and Family (1985 - 1991), Wilson, North Carolina. Photo by Author taken February 2008

Source: Author, André Taybron

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[1] Oberlander, H. Peter, Eva Newbrun, and Martin Meyerson. 1999. *Houser: the life and work of Catherine Bauer.* Vancouver: UBC Press.

I was ashamed. Why was there such a huge divide? Why was it that my family and other families whose parents worked so hard to provide for them still were not able to purchase a home in the middle-class, Forest Hills neighborhood? For a class assignment, I asked my sister this question to get another first-hand account:

"Looking back at the time that we were growing up and living in the projects, if you were told that the existing public housing would be demolished and you had the opportunity to be relocated and then return to a more appealing, mixed-income community developed by the housing authority, how do you think you would respond?"

My sister thought for a moment, trying to recollect her way of thinking during that time frame, part of her teenage years. She is one year older than I, so she seems to be a good test subject for this quick analysis of how the two of us may have viewed things similarly or in contrast while living in public housing.

Her response was that she thinks that she would have been a little skeptical of such a proposal. The skepticism would have been a by-product of fear. She feared the unknown and what she viewed on television, as well as what she heard from elders and others within the community about how the government operates. The government and those outside of our culture are not here to help us. And, why would they want to mix the community. She illustrated that there would be a concern of new neighbors not understanding that it was okay for friends to come over and visit, driving down the street with loud music playing. Also, what about the back-yard barbeques that would linger into late-night hours, there would be possible conflict with the new community members complaining, calling the police, and expecting us to live by the newly, implemented rules for the neighborhood. "That's just not something that I would be willing to do," she said. Who are they to think that they could move into our neighborhood and tell me what to do, tell me how to live, why were their values and ways of life better than mine?

My experience in public housing, I believe, helped to construct values and ideals that led me into the study of public policy. Moreover, I am driven to focus on affordable housing and social justice issues. I continually work with low-income housing and homelessness advocates. We strive to figure out how to implement or improve processes and programs that meet the needs of all citizens. I am particularly compassionate toward groups being left out of the housing policy conversations. In addition to answering my own questions posed above that developed during my teenage years, there are a number of reasons that I am interested in studying housing policy, neighborhood revitalization, and

community development and design, including the HOPE VI and the Choice Neighborhood Initiative programs. One reason is my passion to add to the body of knowledge and continued discourse surrounding what is best for low-income households receiving or in need of housing subsidies.

During my final year in the M.ARCH and M.U.P. programs while working on my theses, I worked as a Research Assistant under the guidance of Rachel G. Kleit, Associate Professor within the UW Evans School of Public Affairs. My role provided data analysis and Geographical Information Systems (GIS) work essential to completing a HOPE VI Year III evaluation. Also, earlier that year I worked as a consultant for political event planning with influential players within the Seattle – Puget Sound Region and state of Washington's affordable housing and ending homelessness communities. We planned a fundraiser reception to help reelect a United States Senator. Additionally, I volunteered with the same group as a planning committee member to host a fundraiser reception for a Washington State gubernatorial campaign.

Within the past six years, I furthered my knowledge of design concepts and project implementation while working at an architecture firm. Professional and academic opportunities to present data, information and designs helped to apply and build upon the skills for effective public speaking and interpersonal communication gained through my studies for a Bachelor of Science in Communications from Appalachian State University.

The central skills, knowledge and experiences I possess cover various areas, such as social justice, affordable housing, architecture and design, and communications. My knowledge and understanding of social justice and public policy flourished while completing a Master of Public Administration degree from Seattle University in 2000. I took the knowledge and experiences from gradate studies and applied them to my roles at both the Seattle and Renton Housing Authorities and at AIDS Housing of Washington - where I held a Housing Planner position. The experiences allowed me to witness first-hand how public policies and planning affect social justice issues, especially for low-income households struggling economically, resulting in poverty and substandard housing conditions.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Low-income housing advocates believe that more should be done to identify key urban design strategies that promote the building of strong communities while enriching the lives of public housing residents. What's more, stigma reduction should be a top priority to consider during the early phases of planning, design and development of new communities that will house public housing residents. This thesis challenges leaders who develop housing policy and future urban communities to elevate public housing residents and low-income households to the same level as higher-income households. When planning and designing mixed-income neighborhoods, those in charge should use the best practices necessary to benefit public housing residents and to empower those individuals to develop stronger networks, social structures and economic vitality in the community while reducing associated stigma.

Federally-supported mixed-income and mixed-use revitalization efforts such as the Housing Opportunities for People Everywhere (HOPE VI) program and recent housing policies and plans, such as the Choice Neighborhoods Initiative (CNI) - the successor program to HOPE VI, should be further studied as advocates continue to address this country's low-income and affordable housing crises. There is some literature regarding the topic, such as evaluations of Holly Park[2] and High Point[3] HOPE VI developments by Rachel Garshick Kleit completed in 2003 and 2005, respectively, that cover the relocation and social services aspects. However, HOPE VI and CNI should be further studied because not enough is known about the long-term impacts of HOPE VI mixed-income developments planning and design strategies on public housing residents. The questions should focus on design. The analyses must critique and compare the SHA-rental homes versus the market-rate units. In the NewHolly 2003 study by Kleit, the residents are asked about their satisfaction with the neighborhood and units. However, the residents are not incorporated in Kleit's post-occupancy analysis in the same way as

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[2] "This report summarizes an evaluation project that sought to understand the current well-being and community perceptions of four groups of residents directly affected by the HOPE VI redevelopment of Holly Park (starting in 1996)
and Roxbury House and Village (starting in 1998). The groups include: (1) households currently living in the redeveloped Holly Park, now called NewHolly; (2) households which relocated from Holly Park and Roxbury Village during HOPE VI redevelopment and have not returned; (3) senior residents living in the remodeled Roxbury House now known as Westwood Heights, and (4) senior residents living in subsidized units in Esperanza Apartments at NewHolly." Kleit, Rachel, PhD. *Holly Park and Roxbury HOPE VI Redevelopments Evaluation Report* with Daniel Carlson and Tam Kutzmark, December 2003.
[3] Kleit, Rachel, PhD. *HOPE VI for High Point Final Evaluation* Report with Anna Brandt, June 2009.

in the planning and design process. There should be consistency with resident participation across these processes. For example, show images of the completed facades of SHA-rental units next to market-rate, for sale homes and request responses. Will this method shed light on how public housing and even tax-credit residents view their spatial domain compared to the high-income, market rate space located on the next block? Also in the study, residents speak of how much better their NewHolly units are compared to old Holly Park. They speak of the new appliances, cleanliness, and peacefulness.[4] After the property and spatial elements have experienced wear and tear, what responses would material quality receive from residents once these things are no longer "new"? Meaning, once the novelty is removed, the unit design, specifically the facades, might have more implications. Therefore, in order to implement a quality and effective CNI program, for the vitality of future U.S. housing policy, and crucial to the design of society's urban fabric is the need to better understand design implications on the lives of low-income residents who live in these new communities. Equally important as we move forward in addressing these housing policy, programs and design issues, is that thoughtful and informed solutions should ensure stigma reduction and guarantee that those who require subsidized housing are seen as equal parties amongst all stakeholders.

THESIS QUESTIONS

Assessing the current situations and learning from lessons of HOPE VI projects already complete or underway, this thesis analyzes the work of three-design teams. The findings and conclusions resulting from the investigation offer answers to the following overarching question:

> Can we weave together "Everyday Urbanism", "New Urbanism" and the "Deconcentration of Poverty" into the design solutions for future HOPE VI, CNI and other mixed-income and mixed-use revitalization efforts to provide more benefit to and empowerment of public housing residents while reducing stigma?

The intent of the research is to identify planning and design practices that were successful in building strong community, enriching the lives of public housing residents and reducing associated stigma. Without assessing what worked and what did not work with HOPE VI and similar mixed-income developments, it would be ineffective with time

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[4] Kleit, Rachel, PhD. *Holly Park and Roxbury HOPE VI Redevelopments Evaluation Report* with Daniel Carlson and Tam Kutzmark, December 2003. 44

and effort, inefficient with investing tax dollars and as a whole irresponsibly unsustainable to move forward with developing future U.S. housing policy, with designing the urban landscape and subsequently impacting the lives of public housing residents.

The study focuses on the efforts of three architects, Tom Eanes, Michael Pyatok and Brian Sullivan. They each directed design teams to help develop HOPE VI, mixed-income development projects covered in this thesis: NewHolly, Lion Creek Crossings, and High Point. The interviews discussions and subsequent analysis examined the methods of planning, design, and development used in the projects and helped identify lessons learned by the design teams.

Subset of Thesis Questions

This topic is important because systemically, public housing residents have limited power and influence, which makes this group more vulnerable to the market forces that afford other higher income demographics more choices and accessibility to better quality housing and neighborhoods. These traditionally equate to better education, economic prosperity, and opportunities for a higher quality of life. Too many times at each phase of revitalization processes there lacks the fundamental, common denominator that focuses efforts on understanding what low-income residents need to help reduce stigma of living in public housing within high poverty concentrated areas. During the urban design, architectural design and post-occupancy management phases, the practitioners tend to respond more to market forces. When the public housing and lower-income residents are required to live on separate but adjacent blocks to the higher income households by no choice of their own, what are the implications of the design and function of this new community to enrich the public housing residents' economic and social development and to reduce associated stigma?

Throughout this investigation, I asked the following questions, which helped to guide my analysis:

- What moves were made to benefit higher-income households in these developments?

- What moves were made to better address needs of public housing residents, particularly surrounding the ideals of "place-making"?

- Were there any conflicts in the efforts to satisfy different stakeholders, such as developers, those in power and the different income groups?

HUD's Choice Neighborhood's Initiative (CNI) requires only one community-planning, public meeting.[5] Is one opportunity to hear from public housing residents and community members enough to assess the needs of these stakeholders? Are the voices of the low-income individuals and families falling on deaf ears? How can designers know what pubic housing residents want and need if the design processes are "co-opted"[6] by those leading the development? Are the Public-Private Partnerships (PPPs) exerting too much of their authority and power?

PROBLEM STATEMENT

It would be beneficial to the urban design, and planning and architectural professions to understand how the urban design and architectural elements of the HOPE VI projects were informed. Did low-income and public housing residents provide design input from bottom-up, resulting in design guidelines that would employ Everyday Urbanism vernacular? Were the strategies instituted from the top-down, layering New Urbanism ideas onto the dismantled communities? The problem is that as design professionals there is not enough known about how low-income and public housing residents are affected by the design strategies of these HOPE VI communities. Not enough is known about whether the designers' approaches used New Urbanism principles alone, or whether Everyday Urbanism design attitudes were incorporated in these efforts to revitalize the urban neighborhoods, to deconcentrate poverty, and to reduce stigma while creating new, pristine mixed-income communities. Through this investigation, I reiterate the importance of the Everyday Urbanism design attitude.

According to the architects interviewed for this thesis and discussed in more detail later, even though the community planning process traditionally occurs during the earlier phases of the development process, it does not guarantee that the public housing residents' ideas are incorporated. Typically, this is due to value engineering decisions – money and the market influences – and sometimes the decisions are just because the

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[5] Choice Neighborhoods Conference Call. Planning Grant. Question and Answer. March 15, 2012. *U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. Choice Neighborhoods.*
[6] Pyatok, Michael. "The New Urbanism and the Old Class Struggle Part 2." *Arcade. The Journal of Architecture and Design in the Northwest.* http://www.patternlanguage.com/townplanning/pyatok-part2.htm

leaders, those in power to make the influences and final call, just want something different that what has been suggested by residents and even the design team.

While we may not have a definitive answer about how guidance from public housing residents would have influenced the design of a new low-income and affordable housing community, I do believe that the residents would impact design from inside – out. The residents would leave a more lasting impression on design, instead of just the results of "managers" of heavy-handed Public-Private Partnerships ("PPP's") that leave their mark from the outside – often these are preoccupied with curb appeal.

On a positive note, not all HOPE VI and mixed-income revitalization project designs are results of heavy-handed PPPs. For example, Harbor Point in Boston Massachusetts and High Point in Seattle, Washington are two developments that boast community-planning processes that empowered public housing residents. Too many times, however, those in the role to make decisions about site and unit programming and planning, as well as determining housing tenure ratios, and other design and development strategies, approach planning and design from "outside-in."

Too often, it appears that the destruction of public housing projects and reconstruction of communities through HOPE VI revitalization projects are completed in order to achieve goals/principles established by policy makers, public managers and design professionals for mixed-income neighborhoods that are not necessarily the goals/principles of public housing residents. These goals/principles include, but are not limited to, those of the New Urbanism movement, such as: livable streets arranged in compact, walkable blocks, usually separating higher income residents from lower-income residents. The goals/principles also include integrating a range of housing choices to serve people of diverse ages and income levels. New Urbanists also push to design affirming, human-scaled public realms where appropriately designed buildings define and enliven streets and other public spaces. Many times, however, higher-income and lower-income residents use these open spaces differently, which causes clashes and tensions. Analyzing the New Urbanist principles, the Everyday Urbanism design attitudes, the theory of deconcentration of poverty, issues of related stigma and stigma reduction efforts help to inform the theoretical framework of this thesis.

RATIONALE

"Therefore, it should not be surprising that follow-up studies of relocation programs have failed to provide convincing evidence that *deconcentration [of poverty]* has the expected outcomes. At least this was what Goetz (2003, 256) found, based on a rigorous and exhaustive review of the extensive body of Move To Opportunity research. He concludes his book with a simple, categorical judgment: 'The scattering of poor people, in itself, accomplishes little.'"[7]

As advocates and legislators begin to call attention to the Choice Neighborhoods Initiative (CNI), it seems important to understand how to design quality communities that work for the needs of low-income residents and underrepresented populations from public housing projects. These interventions should be based on grassroots, community-led efforts instead of from a top down, heavy-handed approach, driven by "out-of-touch" design professionals. Design professionals can learn from the community planning and design processes of other practitioners who institute approaches that include grassroots, community-led and empowered processes. A strong collaboration among planners, urban designers, architects, community leaders, residents (especially those living public housing in high poverty concentrated areas where the HOPE VI and soon CNI mixed-income and mixed-use developments happen) is crucial for these developments, and all stakeholders should be equal parties within the planning, design and development processes.

In 2009, HUD proposed the CNI. This would be the next program to follow HOPE VI. What is different, however, is that CNI would be more holistic. That means it will address public housing and entire distressed neighborhoods that surrounds it. A comprehensive knowledge of the cause of distressed neighborhoods and public housing communities goes deeper than just housing; it is also caused by economic, political, and social issues--not the least of which is racial discrimination and the structural economic inequalities that accompany it, which goes beyond the scope of this investigation.

If policy makers shift allocating funding for the HOPE VI revitalization efforts to the new CNI, we need to consider the best solutions for those families that are necessarily displaced in the name of deconcentration of poverty. Additionally, in finding innovative

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

initiatives and alternatives to the housing programs, one can continue to identify and define the best solution for eliminating poverty, while providing support services to those in need. As the acronym HOPE VI implies, we have to stay optimistic about finding solutions to not only the affordable housing crisis, but for the deeper issues affecting households within the United States living in poverty.[8] We can institute more innovative strategies by considering the weaving of Everyday Urbanism, New Urbanism and the deconcentration of poverty theory into planning and designing new mixed-communities where reducing stigma is a high priority.

DOCUMENT OVERVIEW

This thesis document shall commence by elaborating on the theoretical framework of "Everyday Urbanism", defining the theory along with the "New Urbanism" and deconcentration of poverty theories that currently drive the HOPE VI design approach. The literature review provided in Chapter III substantiates the need for this investigation by providing an overview of U.S. housing policy and how it has for decades utilized the concentrated poverty issue to access high-valued property in inner cities, removing minority and low-income populations to benefit those with power and financial means. The thesis then creates three narratives of three architects who are experts in community planning and the designing affordable housing for low-income populations and disenfranchised communities, particularly focused on public housing projects transformed into HOPE VI communities. The case studies are analyzed within this investigation to identify any design elements that were communicated to the housing authorities during the development process by advocates, community members, public housing residents and the design teams that were either implemented into the design or overruled by decisions of the developers, municipal representatives or others with political and financial power and influence. While considering the political and financial influences, urban and social context and influences are also surfaced. Interviewing the three architects accomplish this.

The design team narratives are of the following practitioners and associated projects:

- Tom Eanes, AIA: Seattle Housing Authority.
  Project: NewHolly, Seattle, Washington

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[8] Taybron, A. The Ethical Implementation of HOPE VI from my eyes: *Having lived in public housing during my youth affords me an interesting perspective.* Position Paper: Dilemma of HOPE VI Affordable Housing Program. ARCH 577: Ethical Practice. Dr. Sharon E. Sutton, Professor. Autumn 2007.

- Michael Pyatok, FAIA: Pyatok Architects, Inc.
  Project: Lion Creek Crossings, Oakland, California

- Brian Sullivan, AIA: Seattle Housing Authority.
  Project: High Point, Seattle, Washington

This thesis looks across their experiences with the developments in Seattle, Washington and Oakland, California to identify common constraints, ways of addressing those constraints; lastly, it analyzes the architects' theoretical stances and approaches to design (Everyday Urbanism versus New Urbanism).

The thesis concludes by providing design recommendations. It considers input from urban designers, planners, housing policy advocates, developers and specifically highlights comments from the architects regarding how to approach future mixed-income and mixed-use housing policies and programs. The recommendations provide answers to questions, such as:

- What are valuable lessons learned that would affect the transition into and the future success of similar housing programs, such as the CNI?

- How should lessons learned from this analysis be applied to the urban design and planning professions?

- In what ways can this knowledge of best practices integrate into future HOPE VI, Choice Neighborhood Initiative and other federally subsidized housing programs that address distressed public housing within disenfranchised and minority communities with high concentration of poverty?

As an expected outcome, the recommendations of instituting a hybrid-urbanism with principles from both Everyday Urbanism and New Urbanism will benefit any public or private housing designers and developers, urban designers and planners, public administrators, low-income housing advocates and other professionals affiliated with these types of projects. I hope the findings from this investigation help the stakeholders understand how to better integrate good urban design within the vast, yet vulnerable urban landscape.

There is continued need to identify, gather, analyze, and synthesize information such as best practices for planning and design strategies for mixed-income developments and to

help translate recommended alternatives, such as identifying those who could benefit from this type of research. More of these interpretations of recommendations are found within the concluding chapter of this thesis.

LIMITATIONS

This thesis is just a small piece to the puzzle that will help to develop a tapestry of learning, information sharing and forward progression in helping to create good urban design for all communities, particularly poverty stricken, low-income neighborhoods being revitalized at the emotional, psychological and social expense of the low-income residents.

The design successes of HOPE VI revitalization developments have not been well researched by other architectural and urban design critics. Most of the work has been around policy implementation, specifically around access to social services and the issues surrounding displacement and relocation.

Looking at New Urbanism versus Everyday Urbanism, the deconcentration of poverty and considering related stigma experienced by public housing residents living in high poverty concentrated areas, there are limited archival resources from which to draw. Therefore, we must rely instead upon interviews and poorly kept documentation from the architects and urban design professionals and housing authorities. Furthermore, the accurate recall of information, meeting activities, and comments will be a limitation of the interviews from the three architects. For example, New Holly's development happened over 15 years ago; therefore, memory may not recollect the most accurate information. If documents and transcripts are not available then it limits the depth of this investigation.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical framework section commences by explaining the obscurity of urbanism in general. It then defines and elaborates on the design attitude of Everyday Urbanism and design theory of New Urbanism. Both urbanisms are being used throughout this investigation to critique the HOPE VI revitalization developments. It also includes an overview of the deconcentration of poverty theory and how this intersects with these urban design approaches. Lastly, the theoretical framework provides a platform for questioning how each of these urbanisms and efforts to deconcentrate poverty all

influence the ability to reduce stigma related to living in public housing located in high poverty concentrated areas.

The theories of New Urbanism, Everyday Urbanism and the Deconcentration of Poverty inform understandings of the architects' work in urban development as well as assist in developing a research methodology. The theoretical framework section supplements the literature review completed for this thesis of U.S. housing policy, presented in Chapter III.

What is Urbanism and Urban Design?

Urbanism is an obscure term[9], having no clear delineation and changes based on context and user. It "identifies a broad discursive arena that combines various disciplines, such as urban design, urban planning, urban studies, urban theory, or other specialized terms, into a multidimensional consideration of the city."[10] Urbanism is a human and social discourse[11] and the complexity of urban form and context makes it challenging to develop a solitary understanding of city and urbanism. No one urbanism can work for every city or situation. Conversely, no one urbanism concept, attitude or movement can solve one city's problems. "Urbanism as a Way of Life" by Louis Wirth places the prominence and the fundamental aspect of urbanism on the human experience.[12] Urban design conducts a bird-eye view of the city.[13] Fundamentally, the city is an aggregate of things, juxtaposed and enveloping architectural elements developed in socialized space.[14] Kaliski proposes,

> "Over time, through individual and collaborative actions, each city's collection of everyday objects is reorganized, producing a specific and architectural spatial order that defies urban design. Whether master planned or not, the strategic city is continuously reinvented and physically marked by everyday activities, which are manifested in the built environment through architecture and landscape."[15]

These everyday activities are the root of Everyday Urbanism.

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[9] Chase, John, Margaret Crawford, and John Kaliski. 2008. *Everyday urbanism.* New York: Monacelli Press, 6.
[10] Ibid, 6.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Ibid, 6.
[13] Ibid, 104.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Ibid, 104.

Everyday Urbanism (EU)

> "*Everyday Urbanism* is seen as community-based, race-savvy, bottom-up, unpretentious, and democratic."[16]

As a position and design attitude in how to approach understanding the city, Douglas Kelbaugh defines Everyday Urbanism (EU) as celebrating and building "on the richness and vitality of daily life and ordinary reality. It has little pretense about the perfectibility of the built environment. Nor is it about utopian form. But it *is idealistic about social equity and citizen participation, especially for disadvantaged populations. It is grass-roots and populist."*[17]

Further, as one of the individuals who popularized and valorized the term Everyday Urbanism along with John Kaliski[18] around 1994, Margaret Crawford explains:[19]

> "It is exactly what it sounds like. It is an approach to urbanism that finds it's meaning in everyday life, but in an everyday life that always turns out to be far more than just the ordinary and banal routines that we all experience."

Everyday Urbanism intensifies everyday life. However, it begins with what already exists and encourages the amplification of everyday life.[20]

Many philosophers, theorists, architects, urban designers and planners have had an ongoing discourse over the past two decades trying to identify elements that define Everyday Urbanism. Design professionals and academics attempt to take meaning from the debates and apply them to problems presented in planning and design situations to find viable solutions. A few ideas from a number of well-respected voices that have injected thought and research into the Everyday Urbanism design attitude and position discourse are presented within this section. The academics and professionals included are Margaret Crawford, Henri Lefebvre, and David Adjaye. Each contributes to the larger idea of Everyday Urbanism in various ways. For example, Margaret Crawford is considered one of the individuals who brought Everyday Urbanism to the attention of the design and planning professions. Henri Lefebvre has examined the idea of "lived

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[16] Rahul Mehrotra, ed., Everyday Urbanism: Margaret Crawford vs. Michael Speaks, Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan, A. Alfred Taubman College of Architecture, New York, NY: Distributed Arts Press, 2005, extract, 9.
[17] Ibid, 8.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Ibid, 18.
[20] Ibid, 32.

experience" in the urban environment. This includes everydayness, everyday being a concept that is key and a common denominator. Everything else, all other systems are developed into a rich repository of urban meaning.[21] David Adjaye's approach to design adds value to Everyday Urbanism discourse because he believes that architecture needs people outside of the industry, such as users and the general public, in order for designs to be more innovative and critically developed.

Followers of the Everyday Urbanism (EU) are unlike many designers and critics who consider the visual lack of organization of everyday space as an illustration of what is wrong with American cities.[22] According to Crawford, EU explores assumptions about everyday life as it already exists in the city. The design attitude is a new way to understanding the city and approach investigating how life works in urban environments.[23] Fundamentally, the EU design attitude wants to improve cities by finding the foundations of what already works for people and enhancing and elevating those things. The everyday urban space is considered the connective tissue that binds the daily lives and urban elements together, but it is people's experience of the city rather than urban fabric itself that is most important. As theoretical underpinning to their views of EU, Margaret Crawford and others look to Henri Lefebvre's concepts of everyday life to shore up their arguments.

Everyday Urbanism: Henri Lefebvre (1901 – 1991)

> "The concept of everydayness does not therefore designate a system, but rather a denominator common to existing systems including judicial, contractual, pedagogical, fiscal, and police systems. Banality? Why should the study of the banal itself be banal? Are not the surreal, the extraordinary, the surprising, even the magical, also part of the real? Why wouldn't the concept of everydayness reveal the extraordinary in the ordinary?"[24]

The everyday is the key, common denominator upon which everything else, all other systems are developed. The French Marxist philosopher and social theorist, Henri Lefebvre examined the idea of "lived experience" particularly in the urban environment.

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[21] Chase, John, Margaret Crawford, and John Kaliski. 2008. *Everyday urbanism.* New York: Monacelli Press, 7.
[22] Ibid, 7.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Lefebvre, Henri and Christine Levich. The everyday and everydayness. Yale French Studies, No. 73, Everyday Life (1987). Yale University Press. pp. 7-11. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2930193 accessed November 25, 2011, 9.

Lefebvre, along with other pioneers like Guy Debord and Michael Certeau, identified the everyday as a place for activity of modern culture and society.[25] Margaret Crawford and individuals, such as John L. Chase, John Kaliski, Dennis Keeley, Michelle Provoost and others, share his assumptions about everyday life.

Lefebvre formulated his analysis of everyday life around the duality of the quotidian and the modern, as a de-codification of everyday's fundamental ambiguity.[26] These simultaneous realities that exist, the quotidian and the modern, encompasses Lefebvre's attempt to search for the "deeply human elements that still exist within the everyday."[27] This investigation by Lefebvre pushes past any alienating aspects of the everyday that might occur.[28]

Lefebvre also continued his discourse in "The Everyday and the Everydayness" comparing and contrasting the use of the rational, instead of acknowledging the diversity that exist in living the everyday, to justify the "better way" of form, functions and structures, which tended to leave out the rich diversity found in irrationality.[29] Sometimes this diversity is falsely contrived, where systems try to separate from the whole to create a level of product and need to consume. Lefebvre's view of the consumerist, capital-driven Western world suggests the need for the upper class and those in higher social strata to show off their prestige through possessions and recognition of their place within the economic and political hierarchy.[30] However, these systems are still connected by the everyday, the set of functions that join together the systems that attempt to be distinct. Lefebvre further explains:[31]

> "The everyday is therefore the most universal and the most unique condition, the most social and the most individuated, the most obvious and the best hidden."

He writes, "…the everyday is a product, the most general of products in an era where production engenders consumption, and where consumption is manipulated by producers: not by 'workers,' but by the managers and owners of the means of production

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[25] Chase, John, Margaret Crawford, and John Kaliski. 2008. *Everyday urbanism.* New York: Monacelli Press, 7.
[26] Ibid, 7.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Lefebvre, Henri and Christine Levich. The everyday and everydayness. Yale French Studies, No. 73, Everyday Life (1987). Yale University Press. pp. 7-11. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2930193 accessed November 25, 2011.
[30] Ibid.
[31] Ibid, 9.

(intellectual, instrumental, scientific)."[32] Lefebvre's large argument is that today our urban built environment is less diverse than prior to the revolutions that have resulted in uniformity. The rational has taken over and negates the irrational that may be a little messy and diversified. This uniformity comes from the artificial division of one larger system into subsystems, caused by commoditizing the various pieces and the everyday elements. However, the diversity existed because these everyday products use to work in concert with each other as form, functionality and structure to the built environment.[33]

From what Lefebvre has to say about everydayness, it substantiates the idea that low-income communities where public housing residents live become products of the consumer market. While public housing residents are living their everyday lives, developing social and economic networks within their communities, the "managers" and "owners" are strategizing to figure out a means of production, a way to profit from "revitalizing" the "distressed" housing and community. The rationale is to create a new, pristine, and orderly product – HOPE VI mixed income developments, with little consideration for the everydayness, the richness that already exists within the low-income communities: the political, urban, social, and economic systems developed and linked by everyday life.

Therefore, understanding "the everyday" as a concept contradicts what the "Intellectuals" – the managers, urban designers, New Urbanist, and other leaders – seek in their systems of reference. While the everyday is about a "sole surviving common sense referent and point of reference", it also is the common denominator in a judicial, fiscal, pedagogical, contractual and police system. Although the everyday may seem obvious and boring, it just might expose what extraordinary and complex things that can be found within the ordinary, everyday complexities. The everyday is the common denominator upon which all other systems are developed.

Hence, shouldn't the everydayness of public housing residents and low-income individuals - particularly from disenfranchised communities - be considered viable to understanding and designing better urban neighborhoods? This does not suggest that public housing is designed today without any consideration of the everydayness of public housing residents and low-income individuals; however, more can be done to incorporate more everydayness, starting with a strong community planning process.

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[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibid.

Shouldn't the everydayness of public housing residents and low-income individuals, particularly from disenfranchised communities be considered viable to understanding and designing better urban neighborhoods? The results from this consideration should not necessarily be a tidied up version of what people "should" be doing in the city, but a messier, more flexible environment that enhances what already goes on in the city.

Everyday Urbanism: David Adjaye

David Adjaye is the lead principal of his firm Adjaye Associates. Ajdaye likes to push the boundaries of the traditional, formal views of architecture and considers more of the informal as it relates to architecture.[34] The traditional and formal view of architecture, according to Adjaye, is "architecture-especially in the European context, where it [becomes] so difficult to even use certain words…when describing architecture-namely how one posits the notion of pulling together the assembly of things to have any kind of meaning to a particular community or group."[35] Adjaye asks the question: "Are there lessons to be learned from the production of ordinary folks, as they make the things that become their built environment and, in turn, affect them?"[36]

One way that he urges for a shift in these views of traditional, formal architecture is for architecture to defy the notion of being closed off from the layperson by emphasizing more representation of political and systemic transparency of institutionalized systems and practices. Adjaye argues that architecture needs people outside of the industry, such as users and the general public, in order for designs to be more innovative and critically developed. Adjaye states that he wishes to "counter the hermetic nature of architecture because, ultimately, it's not as sophisticated as the subject [architecture] wants it to be."[37]

He states "engagement with people is critical. I think that people can go further, once they're engaged in this subject; they can dream further than architects do."[38] He does this in his Chrisp Street and Whitechapel Road Idea Stores projects in London, England, creating flexible space that allows the public to engage with the architecture in their everyday way. According to Adjaye, the idea of leaving the public out of the

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[34] The Chronicle Interview - 'Trying to Look at Architecture Differently' - David Adjaye speaks to the UN Chronicle about making public buildings within a changing urban environment. (2006). *UN Chronicle*. 43 (2), 44.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Ibid.
[38] Ibid.

conversations is a social injustice and creates the room for the "social scientist-architect, trying to engineer a better world."[39]

Adjaye's interest lies more in an older model, where the investigation of knowledge is a public affair. He feels that it is incredibly important because his exploration of good design and the built environment is about an engagement with the world.[40] Just as Lefebvre believes that the extraordinary can be exposed within the ordinary, Adjaye sees the landscapes within the public affair, surrounding everyday people as opportunities to learn how they survived using vernacular knowledge, resources and efficiently applying materials, creating appropriate and effective spatial qualities. He emphasizes his interest in the realm of engaging the public more intimately in the planning and design processes, "…That's a huge typological investigation on the urban environment-how a city is made and what it does. And architects are not up to speed with that, nor are planners. We negatively see…an ill, a cancer that needs to be cut away or burnt off."[41] When working in slums[42], for example, Adjaye is adamant that it is not acceptable for one to impose his or her beliefs and design approach on the community. To go into this kind of condition and say "This is disorder, and we must have order!"[43] is not effective in developing good relationships, hearing from the people and designing good architecture. Adjaye wants to discover other possibilities that can exist. For example, there can be a design attitude that encourages the formal. At the same time, let there be enough flexibility within that formal design approach to allow inspiration by the informal. Allow for "an equivalent power and resonance within a community."[44]

David Adjaye suggests that many planners, urban designers, architects and other individuals in mainstream society, disconnected from and disinterested in the everyday realities of low-income and public housing residents throughout the United States, are

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[39] Ibid.
[40] Ibid.
[41] Ibid. (Adjaye was actually speaking of slums, but I find his critique applicable to public housing as well).
[42] Adjaye explains: "I always say to my students when we look at these informal settlements from around the world, "You look at them and think it's about poverty, about lack of adequate materials, lack of sanitation, etc. Yes, it's about all that. But it's also about an extraordinary inventiveness and an extraordinary density that an empirically trained architect is not even capable of conceiving." It's about a certain attitude, which can do certain things. It's about a set of scenarios and relationships-and subtle details, which mark, encode and transform a place that you think looks like nothing into a very specific terrain for a very dense group of people. What are not set up in these informal settlements are traditional scenarios of access to water, sanitation, etc. This has to do with financial power. But looking beyond that we gain insight into the ability of human beings to manage complex situations in a very nuanced and sophisticated way. It's a very difficult area-I'm not trying to glamourize it, either-but I'm interested in slums because I think something very specific happens in this informal world, which is powerful and that needs better understanding."
Ibid.
[43] Ibid.
[44] Ibid.

indifferent to the qualities of public housing projects as they are. This perspective often is comfortable with demolishing distressed public housing and putting in its place new urbanist-style developments – even when people who live in these communities object. Adjaye's position is that the formal (like with New Urbanism) approach to design should be inspired by the informal (like with Everyday Urbanism) variables in everyday life. This helps to remove the controlling aspect from "managers", such as planners, urban designers and architects who prescribe to the traditional and formal approach of designing for communities believing that "Oh, I've discovered something; I'm just going to give it to you".[45]

Conclusion of Everyday Urbanism

Everyday Urbanism's multiplicity and heterogeneity is based on its ability to shift and take shape in response to different activities and circumstances.[46] It is introduced on the Everyday Urbanism webpage as something that does not produce a singular, formal product for various reasons: [47]

> "The space of everyday urbanism is a rich and complex amalgam of wide boulevards and trash-strewn alleys, luxurious stores and street vendors, manicured lawns and dilapidated public parks; it is a product of the intricate social, political, economic, and aesthetic forces at work in the contemporary urban environment. Everyday space can be spirited, spontaneous, vital, and inclusive; all too often it is neglected by its inhabitants, ignored by city planners, and disregarded by critics."

How do we shift our understanding to design for a more inclusive and forward-progressing society, leaving no one behind? How can designers include positives of culture and race, the ways of living, the everyday urbanism and build upon or integrate elements into designing more inclusive, diverse, strengthened, hybrid urban fabric(s) - appreciating and celebrating the complexity of urban life?

In housing revitalization programs such as those instituted by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), public housing residents can be a valuable resource in planning and designing their built environments. If the practitioners approach

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[45] Ibid.
[46] Rahul Mehrotra, ed., Everyday Urbanism: Margaret Crawford vs. Michael Speaks, Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan, A. Alfred Taubman College of Architecture, New York, NY: Distributed Arts Press, 2005, extract, 32.
[47] Everyday Urbanism: Introduction. http://everydayurbanism.net/ (accessed August 31, 2012).

the processes in the manner that Crawford, Lefebvre and Adjaye explain, then public housing residents can expose elements of everyday life and the richness that exists. Crawford, Lefebvre and Adjaye believe this exposure and sharing of knowledge can benefit all of society, including the mainstream as well as the marginalized.

As Adjaye believes and Lefebvre reiterates, so does Douglas Kelbaugh explain in his writing. Kelbaugh writes that contrary to his New Urbanism beliefs as well as those of his colleagues, Everyday Urbanism takes pleasure in the unprompted and the homegrown way of living. For example, the ways in which migrant groups acclimatize to their surroundings can be seen as an intuitive, place-making response to everyday realities. The marginal spaces they are allocated, whether intentional or impulsive happenstance, are where the groups learn to live.[48] From the design attitude of Everyday Urbanism, the city evolves more through the activities of everyday life than through the formal design instituted by professionals - those in power, or by plans produced in response to regulations, ordinances and in the name of official comprehensive planning.[49]

Public housing complexes function somewhat like informal settlements, one difference being that the people, piece by piece, develop informal settlements. On the other hand, public housing complexes are designed and constructed by professionals. However, inhabitants appropriate and adjust these often Spartan environments to their own needs and habits. Considering this stance, Adjaye might recommend that everyone involved in while planning and designing for public housing residents should step-back and listen to experience of public housing residents. They are uprooted from their homes and communities and placed into a new, formal, mixed-income community. The low-income, public housing residents are a large number of the potential end-users of the built environment in the HOPE VI, mixed-income developments.

The proponents of the New Urbanism movement may have other ideas. As with Everyday Urbanism, but with much more vigor and participation, ongoing discourse over the past few decades has attempted to solidify elements that define New Urbanism.

New Urbanism (NU)

> "And *New Urbanism* is generally perceived as civic, traditional, and nostalgic. It is considered boring and uncool in architecture schools, but often respected in

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[48] Kelbaugh, Douglas S. 2002. Three Urbanisms: New, Everyday, and Post, 42.
[49] Chase, John, Margaret Crawford, and John Kaliski. 2008. *Everyday urbanism.* New York: Monacelli Press.

urban planning programs and popular with developers, elected officials and the middle class."[50]

New Urbanism is a movement that promotes restoration of communities to include creating walkable, compact and vibrant places, many times near public transit systems to reduce reliance on the automobile. The intent is to design well-organized, formal communities where people from different income levels, racial and ethnic backgrounds and professional strata can live together.[51] [52] Many of the components are the same as conventional developments. Where they differ is in their integration, developing a complete community, almost overnight.[53]

Urban elements found within the New Urbanism-style communities typically include mixed-income housing, places to work, shop and for entertainment, recreational facilities, parks and open spaces, as well as schools, and other civic facilities.[54]

Participants in the discourse on New Urbanism over the past few decades include many philosophers, theorist, architects, urban designers and planners alike. The design professionals and academics have taken meaning from the debates and applied them to problems presented in planning and design situations such as with mixed-income and HOPE VI developments. A few ideas from a number of well-respected voices that have injected thought and research into New Urbanism are Peter Calthorpe, Douglas Kelbaugh and Robert Fishman. Peter Calthorpe is one of the founding board members of the Congress for the New Urbanism. He has been at the forefront of codifying New Urbanism principles and design approaches. Douglas Kelbaugh in "Three Urbanisms: New, Everyday, and Post" writes about the three urbanisms because he believes that the built environment is the biggest investment that a society makes, and because of its long-lived impacts it is important to understand the urbanisms that influence the design of the urban fabric.[55] In his article, "New Urbanism in the Age of Re-Urbanism", Robert Fishman explains how New Urbanism was responding to the depopulation,

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[50] Rahul Mehrotra, ed., Everyday Urbanism: Margaret Crawford vs. Michael Speaks, Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan, A. Alfred Taubman College of Architecture, New York, NY: Distributed Arts Press, 2005, extract, 9.
[51] Learn About New Urbanism. *Congress for the New Urbanism.* http://www.cnu.org/Intro_to_new_urbanism (accessed August 31, 2012).
[52] New Urbanism: Creating Sustainable Communities. http://www.newurbanism.org/ (accessed August 31, 2012).
[53] Ibid.
[54] Ibid.
[55] Kelbaugh, Douglas S. 2002. Three Urbanisms: New, Everyday, and Post, 42.

deindustrialization, and abandonment that was happening in American cities of the Northeast and Midwest, as well as the deconcentration of poverty during the 1980s.

Fishman notes that on one hand New Urbanist revival of urban communities may lack the amount of density necessary to match the genuinely developed urban centers. On the other hand, the compact, walkable communities may be too dense for the households who still desire the large-lots and space that comes with the American dream house in the suburbs.[56] Fishman comments that the "pedestrian pocket" concept, or Transit Oriented Development design approach of New Urbanist Peter Calthorpe, is guilty of this density dilemma. But what he finds more problematic is the exurban development that New Urbanism encouraged from the movement's outset, such as Kentlands, Celebration, and the Portland (Oregon) Transit Oriented Development.[57] The fringe developments will slow due to market forces and the resurgence of the central city.[58]

New Urbanism: Peter Calthorpe

Peter Calthorpe is a thirty-year veteran in architecture, urban design and planning. He is principal in Calthorpe Associates and a co-founder/director of the Congress for the New Urbanism (CNU). He describes the tension between the two identities of New Urbanism during *The Michigan Debates on Urbanisms*. One of the labels that New Urbanism holds is that of trying to design and develop utopian communities. The other identity is its stereotypical style as retro and simplistic, which is what Douglas Kelbaugh describes as neo-traditional.[59] Calthorpe believes that part of the vitality of New Urbanism is that it has different meanings for different people.[60]

Calthorpe completed a chapter titled "HOPE VI and New Urbanism" in Henry Cisneros and Lora Engdahl's book, *From Despair to HOPE: HOPE VI and the New Promise of Public Housing in America's Cities* (2009). As one of the founders[61] and as the first board president of CNU, Calthorpe is a champion of the key principles of New Urbanism and of ensuring that the design elements of the HOPE VI initiative are reflective of the

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[56] Robert Fishman. "New Urbanism in the Age of Re-Urbanism," in Tigran Haas, editor. *New Urbanism and Beyond:* Designing Cities for the Future (New York: Rizzoli, 2008).
[57] Ibid.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Ibid.
[60] Kelbaugh, Douglas S. 2002. Three Urbanisms: New, Everyday, and Post, 42.
[61] Board Emeritus. Congress of the New Urbanism. http://www.cnu.org/board#emeritus (accessed January 3, 2012).

movement. He explains how the HOPE VI design program's foundation further developed the four following principles[62] supported by New Urbanism proponents:

> *(1) Diversity*, which includes mixed-income and mixed-uses within the developments; (2) *Human scale*, that emphasizes street- and pedestrian-oriented buildings, creates defined public and private spaces and institutes rich, architectural details within the development; *(3) Restoration,* consist of rebuilding social and physical systems that benefit the neighborhood; *(4) Continuity,* considers connectivity of networks to the rest of the area, city, region, amenities, services, and links safe pedestrian streets and transportation systems.

Calthorpe believes that the Charter of the CNU and the more recent formal and definitive urban design taxonomy that has resulted from it should not be considered a style to which New Urbanism prescribes. The movement stays away from defining a design style, and according to Calthorpe, wants practice of the urbanism to be based on principle and not on formulas or prescribed design forms.[63] He states that his intention for New Urbanism was to be an umbrella under which people are encouraged to think comprehensively about patterns of growth and the long-term impacts on culture, economy, ecology and capacity for equity.[64] While the neo-traditional style is what New Urbanist communities are being associated with, Calthrorpe reiterates that the intentions of the CNU, the New Urbanism movement, and designers and intentional design ethos are not the drivers behind the architectural style. He is confident that it is the marketplace.

New Urbanism: Douglas Kelbaugh

Douglas Kelbaugh, Professor of Architecture and Urban Planning and former dean of the University of Michigan's A. Alfred Taubman College of Architecture + Urban Planning, explains that New Urbanism has its noble objectives and also institutes its commercial means. An important New Urbanists stance is that there is a "structural relationship between social behavior and physical form."[65] Social behavior and physical form can coalesce through good design that creates a compact, transit-friendly, and walkable city. The result is what New Urbanism principles strive to produce: a hierarchy of public and

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[62] Cisneros, Héctor, and Lora Engdahl. 2009. *From despair to hope: HOPE VI and the new promise of public housing in America's cities.* Washington, D.C: Brookings Institution Press.
[63] Robert Fishman, ed., New Urbanism: Peter Calthorpe vs. Lars Lerup, (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan; New York: Distributed by Arts Press, 2005), extract.
[64] Ibid.
[65] Kelbaugh, Douglas S. 2002. Three Urbanisms: New, Everyday, and Post, 42.

private spaces in the built environment that foster opportunities for face-to-face interaction and daily physical activity.[66]

Kelbaugh describes the architecture of New Urbanism as neo-traditional in style, typology, and material, while its urban design aspects rely on multi-use zoning. This counters what has occurred on the urban fringes of North American cities with single-use zoning.[67] New Urbanism principles encourage Traditional Neighborhood Development (TND) but "on urban infill, and suburban greenfield and grayfield sites."[68] Kelbaugh presented the "transect" concept, which orders the cross-section of a town or a city by New Urbanism standards. It creates a gradation of zones with six-levels of density that gradually increases from the natural surroundings into the urban core.[69]

Conclusion of New Urbanism

During the late-1970s and 1980s, the country began to see growth in privatization of public housing with influences from architects and planners entrenched in the repackaged concepts of the City Beautiful[70] and the Garden City[71] movements now called New Urbanism.[72]

The CNU and the New Urbanism movement are examples of how architects and planners – the design professionals – can leverage their powers, knowledge, skills, social capital and fiscal resources to take a stance that ripples across and throughout

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[66] Ibid.
[67] Ibid.
[68] Ibid, 42.
[69] Ibid.
[70] "In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Progressives across the United States embarked on the City Beautiful movement to bring order out of the chaos wrought by the Industrial Revolution. Leading the way in championing city planning was Daniel Burnham, the famous architect who designed the Columbian Exposition and the Plan of Chicago of 1909 and who turned to cities such as Paris as models of how the urban environment could be made beautiful, efficient, economically productive, and civically unified—all at the same time. The City Beautiful vision emphasized that the physical environment had the power to shape people's outlook and behavior, even their moral state. To this end, the creation of a beautiful city demanded an expansive system of parks suited to healthy activities, landscaped boulevards, attractive fountains and outdoor sculptures, and the removal of billboards cluttering the skyline. The movement also emphasized the practical advantages of city planning. A clean city with upgraded roadways and a rationalized railway system was not just more attractive; it also was a better place to cultivate business." "Reconstructing the Vale of Paradise: A Return to the City Beautiful Movement." http://www.southshorejournal.org/archive/issue_2007.php (accessed May 18, 2012), 3.
[71] "In the US, the movement is led by the Congress for a New Urbanism (CNU), which despite the presence of the word 'new' in its title, is in fact directly influenced by the garden city movement of the UK known as the Town and Country Planning Association (TCPA)." Stevens, Andrew. "RIBA President calls for stronger recognition of New Urbanism." *City Mayors Environment 14*. http://www.citymayors.com/environment/new_urbanism.html (accessed May 18, 2012).
[72] Fulton, Williams. "The New Urbanism Challenges Conventional Planning (Land Lines Article)." *Lincoln Institute of Land Policy*. No. 5 (1996): 8. http://www.lincolninst.edu/pubs/508_The-New-Urbanism-Challenges-Conventional-Planning (accessed May 31, 2012).

the built environment. The early origins of New Urbanism theories, philosophies and design approaches are attributed to the architect/planner team of Andrés Duany, Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk and developer Robert Davis. They are responsible for the Seaside Florida community, which Janet L. Smith[73] states, "Became the model for new forms of 'traditional' town planning and design. This model includes public green and community space, commercial buildings with housing upstairs, and restrictive flow of automobile traffic through the site."[74] It's ironic that a seductive stage, like Seaside Florida, set for higher income people to locate their second homes would evolve into a model to solve the perceived problems of concentrated poverty.

For the past 20-years, Public housing transformation relied on New Urbanism principles and practitioners to reconfigure physical sites into mixed-income communities through the HOPE VI program. Does the New Urbanism approach actually work to adequately address the social and economic ills that public housing residents face? Some of these ills do not dissipate but are exacerbated once housing authorities integrate the low-income households into the new, lush, mixed-income communities. Their principles say one thing, but in practice the CNU's objectives are often missed. For example, there is often a disconnect when designing to integrate different incomes levels within a development to create diversity, like with HOPE VI. For instance, while interpersonal relationships may form as a result of the design and spatial arrangement of the site, the only certain outcome is usually that the number of public housing units for the very poor will be reduced.

The CNU charter outlines the views of New Urbanists. What is included in their philosophy seems to get lost somewhere between the words in the charter and planning and designing mixed-income communities. The first paragraph of the "Charter of the New Urbanism" reads that it is an interrelated challenge to community building that there are divides in central cities based on race and income, sprawl and environmental deterioration. However, in application, such as with HOPE VI developments, households are still separated by income. Many times the separation of incomes disproportionately affects minority residents, as many public housing projects dismantled by the HOPE VI revitalization in high poverty-concentrated areas impact the underrepresented minority

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[73] Bennett, Larry, Janet L. Smith, and Patricia A. Wright. 2006. *Where are poor people to live?: transforming public housing communities.* Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe.
Janet L. Smith was one of the editors. At the time this book was published, Smith was an associate professor in the Urban Planning and Policy Program and the co director at the Nathalie P. Voorhees Center for Neighborhood and Community Improvement at the University of Illinois at Chicago.
[74] Ibid.

populations. Also, the lower-density is not far from the level of density that is found in conventional, suburban sprawl.[75] Furthermore, the Charter states that a citizen-based participatory planning and design process is important for them to reestablish the relationship between the art of building and the making of community. While this sounds good on paper, many times the public housing and low-income residents are not full-fledged partners as needed in these types of developments to ensure successful outcomes. If the project teams lack urban design and architectural professionals with interest and strength in community planning, or the necessary knowledge and expertise to facilitate effective citizen-based participatory planning and design processes, then this shortcoming could be an obstacle to meeting this commitment and might negatively impact the project.

Also, the perception of isolation and stigmatization continue to be associated with being concentrated and segregated within the new developments.[76] The housing tenure, architectural design quality and siting/placement of the public housing units on site make it evident where low-income residents are living. They are many times clustered together within the development. In developments where there is rental housing only, this segregation of housing tenure is not as big of a concern. In some HOPE VI communities, Section 8 residents (public housing) are mixed with some units occupied with tax credit residents. Some projects may have market rate units mixed in, however, the level of data gathering needed to flesh out this phenomenon would require extensive research of a lot of HOPE VI projects. This has not been done consistently.

In this sense, then, public housing reform using HOPE VI is really not much different from urban renewal efforts begun in the 1950s: it will do little to benefit the very poor and a lot to benefit the middle-class and private developers.[77] Furthermore, the shortage of housing units limits the benefit to the vulnerable population. This population includes former public housing residents and low-income households who are in need of decent, safe and sanitary housing. That this is done under the authority and support of professionals within the federal, state and local agencies, architects and planners guided by New Urbanism principles and in the name of deconcentration of poverty is often a devastating shock to the communities, similar to acts of urban renewal throughout in the 20th century.

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[75] Kelbaugh, Douglas S. 2002. Three Urbanisms: New, Everyday, and Post.
[76] Kleit, Rachel, PhD. *HOPE VI for High Point Final Evaluation* Report with Anna Brandt, June 2009, 6.
[77] Bennett, Larry, Janet L. Smith, and Patricia A. Wright. 2006. *Where are poor people to live?: transforming public housing communities*. Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe.

Urban Design (& Master Planning)

Still, the rhetoric of transforming public housing into mixed-income communities does suggest this will happen as part of the comprehensive solution of deconcentrating poverty and revitalizing distressed neighborhoods. For New Urbanism, it is the "timelessness" of this utopian image of the mixed-income revitalized community influencing the systemic socio-economic problems that is important. The renderings, and now the real places that have been developed, have replaced the existing space of public housing with an architecture that conveys a timeless ideal of community that is outside of change. New Urbanism's strength and influence draws on this image of transforming distressed public housing into these instant, urban communities. The instant image of community that these developments convey is, "…an 'out of time' ideal type of space in which the effects of time, and not time itself, stand still."[78]

The new urbanism ideal portrayed within these images lacks what place-making is all about, "the process of moving forward in time and mediating the experiences of daily life—dealing with the messy issues."[79] Instead, the result of what New Urbanists aspire toward is many times missed when reconfiguring an inner city, public housing community into a static architecture and stage-set public realm. At some point, there develops a compromise between the intentions of New Urbanism and the application of the urban design principles.

From the book, *Where are the poor people to live?: Transforming public housing communities*, Bennett, Smith and Wrights discuss how the new urbanist-style design strives for a cohesive, comprehensive look. They state, "…the façade is just that – it provides no obvious clues about who lives in the home behind it." The design might intentionally leave out any personalization or cultural significance. For example, exterior facades in the HOPE VI, New Urbanist-style developments look like what is found in middle-class neighborhoods, even suburban areas. Styles such as the high-rise tower-in-the park, that were prominent during the Modernist movement, also imposed on the poor without their say, are no longer a part of the New Urbanism designs. Both the goals of the Modernists and the New Urbanists in application seem to lean more toward homogeneity instead of drawing attention to differences amongst community residents, particularly of those who lived in the demolished public housing projects.

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[78] Bennett, Larry, Janet L. Smith, and Patricia A. Wright. 2006. *Where are poor people to live?: transforming public housing communities*. Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 278.
[79] Ibid, 278.

Moreover, "the external clarity projected by the physical design and orientation of buildings, sidewalks, and roads also aims to change perceptions of public housing, both for residents who have lived in public housing and for new residents of the new mixed-income developments."[80] However, when applied, these attempts fall short of making the actual shift in community planning and design that are effective in breaking down stereotypes and reducing related stigma. There are still distinctions between material quality, architectural character and utilization of open space - for instance, that continues to perpetuate cultural, social, political and economic divides.

Concentration of Poverty's Cause and Effect Relationships

The high concentration of poverty in the U.S. has been a significant problem since the 1960s.[81] Having a high concentration of people without decent economic and political capital has created a myriad of problems for cities to confront.[82]

William Julius Wilson[83], who has studied race, class, and urban poverty extensively, describes a way of viewing the causalities behind concentrated poverty.[84] Wilson writes that because of the immense concentrations of impoverished minority families and individuals within inner-city ghetto neighborhoods, these neighborhoods became less diversified, more spatially isolated, and more socially remote. The shifts in neighborhood composition create more vulnerability to the impacts of continuing economic change.[85]

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

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[80] Ibid, 269.
[81] "Concentrated Poverty in America: An Overview" *United States Federal Reserve System.* www.frbsf.org/cpreport/docs/cp_overview.pdf (accessed May 31, 2012), 4.
[82] Ibid.
[83] Lewis P. and Linda L. Geyser University Professor at Harvard University. Wilson, William Julius. "Harvard Kennedy School," *John F. Kennedy School of Government.* http://www.hks.harvard.edu/about/faculty-staff-directory/william-julius-wilson (accessed May 27, 2012).
[84] Wilson, William Julius. 2003. "Race, class and urban poverty: A rejoinder". Ethnic and Racial Studies. 26 (6): 1096-1114.
[85] Ibid, 1101.

Figure 1: Cause and Effect Relationships of Concentrated Poverty within City Centers
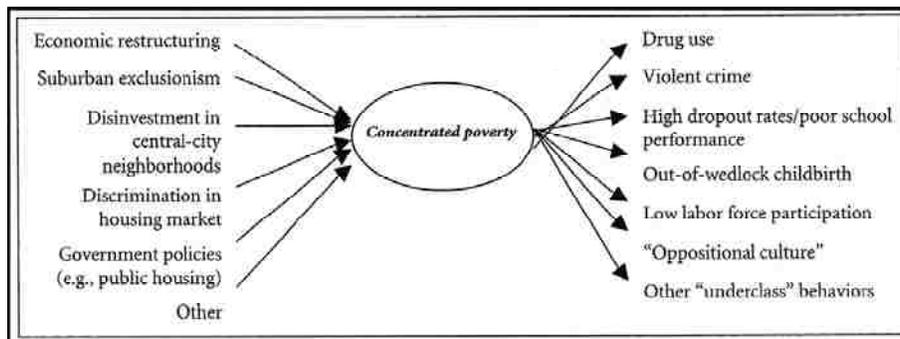
Source: Goetz, Edward. 2003. *Clearing the Way: Deconcentrating the Poor in Urban America*. Washington, DC: The Urban Institute Press.

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

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

Historical Milestones

Moments in history that led and responded to concentrated poverty are:

• The concept of slum and slum clearance

• The Great Depression

• Architectural and design movements, Modernism, Le Corbousier's Towers in the Park, where public housing became brick and mortar incubators perfect for concentrating poverty

• Housing Policies and Acts, such as the Housing Act of 1949 that gave way to and catalyzed urban renewal

• Urban Renewal

• The 1954 Act that responded to Urban Renewal and households displaced

- Other legislation that generated mobility programs, like the Section 8 (Housing Choice Voucher)

- Housing Opportunity for People Everywhere (HOPE VI)

A few of these milestones are covered in more detail in Chapter III.

Discourse of the Deconcentration of Poverty

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

Today's households migrating back into urban centers are the offspring of those who were part of the flight out of urban centers years earlier.[86] Therefore, it appears that the programs and developments are following the money and responding to market demands. The mixed-income and HOPE VI developers, planners, designers, and other power players' reactions to this influx of middle-class households seem less concerned with the public housing residents. The players are more worried about finding the best response to the market. Using the deconcentration of poverty principle clears the way for these players with the political and financial means to validate and justify actions for this decade's and this generation's "neo-urban renewal."[87]

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[86] Pyatok, Mike. *Pyatok Architects Inc.* http://www.pyatok.com/writings.html (accessed May 31, 2012).
[87] This term was seen on these websites, but nowhere else did I find Neo-Urban Renewal. Radicals Blog. http://www.radialsblog.com/about-week-foundations/ (accessed May 29, 2012).
The Durham News. http://www.thedurhamnews.com/2005/10/22/627/cant-deny-bad-parts-of-town.html (accessed May 29, 2012).
I am defining this phrase/term to describe what has been happening within recent years with HOPE VI, CNI, and other housing programs that are dismantling and wiping out low-income, public housing communities in the name of deconcentrating poverty and removing distressed, substandard housing only to replace them with market rate housing within mixed-income developments that seem to have more focus on and benefit for individuals with financial, political, and social capital and power. What about the public housing for marginalized, disenfranchised, minority members? They are experiencing a new-urban renewal – Neo-Urban Renewal.

A perspective that might show how the justifications of the deconcentration of poverty solutions are inappropriate comes from anthropologist John Bodley.[88] The following section describes an analysis of class and social clashes that happen between people in the world-market economy and the individuals who live in poor, impoverished situations. The clashes have been studied and explained by John Bodley and Stephen Steinberg.

Bodley's theory of the "price of progress" and study of social power argues that indigenous cultures that have lived as a community on minimal means are less successful than their mainstream counterparts once integrated into the world-market economy.[89] Bodley found that their quality of life and standards of living decline once incorporated within the mainstream's economic and social systems.[90] What's more, and often to a dramatic degree, is that the social networks that are well established within an indigenous community may be considered insufficient to onlookers. These outsiders to the indigenous cultures and communities that are from the upper echelons of industrialized, capitalistic, accumulation-driven consumer society discount the value-added factors of the established social networks. The indigenous people and their communities are seen as poor, impoverished, and uncivilized. I correlate these ideas and perspectives to that of the middle and upper classes in a market-driven society, such as that found in the United States. It is my contention that, as the indigenous populations are seen as uncivilized, so is the residents of public housing. Based on these examples, from my understanding of the U.S. capitalist economic system and after reading literature by academics like Bodley and Steinberg, I believe that the people who influence the market are often the ones who influence legislation and policies. The pressure by lobbyists, real estate developers, some neighbors of public housing communities, and other power players persuade policy makers to act in their favor. Whether using the mobility programs or in the new mixed-income communities, these policies and programs forcefully integrate public housing residents into the world-market economy. These residents are the same individuals and households that are seen as uncivilized persons by market-driven individuals and companies.

Likewise, Steinberg speaks to the idea that, as with Negro Removal and Indian Removal, Blacks and other minorities are implicitly, and many times explicitly, spoken

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[88] Bodley, John. "Price of Progress" in *Victims of Progress* 1998. (The Mayfield Publishing Company. Reprinted by permission of The McGraw- Hill Companies), 1.
[89] Ibid.
[90] Ibid.

about as being a part of the "urban jungle."[91] Social scientists often portray the inner city as a harbor for the immorality, pathology, and unrest of the "uncivilized."[92] As a counter to issues like these described above, the Congress of the New Urbanism (CNU) and its members believe that applying the New Urbanism principles to urban revitalization projects will help to facilitate better environments and create more sustainable communities for people to live. The HOPE VI program is geared toward revitalizing distressed public housing and their communities. The HUD funded program authorizes housing authorities to demolition most if not all units and buildings to design and develop new, mixed-income communities. The HOPE VI urban renewal-style program was sanctioned four decades after the Housing Act of 1949. The Act of 1949 approved this nation's inaugural and drastic Urban Renewal efforts of urban regions and cities during the mid-20th century. Factors of economics played a part in the justification of deconcentration of poverty then and now. The next section connects the factors of economics as validation to deconcentration of poverty for the HOPE VI program.

Economics as a Factor

Economics rationalized the need for clearing distressed public housing projects in the same way it was used for slum clearance decades earlier. Then, policies were established to shore up the economy, and slum clearance was used in response to the Great Depression's economic collapse. Power players began to use the economic crisis as catalyst for slum removal.[93] The "economic liability" was a concern, and where property values were not as high as in other parts of the city, housing officials began to question the significance of entire neighborhoods. The people who lived in these neighborhoods were seen as insignificant and were not included in these removal decisions.

In his book, *From the Puritans to the Projects*, Vale covers the economic rationale used in Boston beginning in the 1930's. He pointed out that the views of planner, Clarence Perry, considered growing slums as blighted neighborhoods. The perspectives of market drivers, the views by the federal, state and local governments of blighted areas, and the acknowledgement of slum concerns built momentum behind the need to measure the

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[91] Chester Hartman and Gregory D. Squires, eds., *The Myth of Concentrated Poverty* in *The Integration Debate: Competing Futures for American Cities,* (Routledge, 2010). Stephen Steinberg. http://qcpages.qc.edu/UBST/DEPT/FACULTY/sstein.htm (accessed May 31, 2012), 217.
[92] Ibid.
[93] Vale, Lawrence J. *From the Puritans to the projects: Public housing and public neighbors.* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), 184.

cost of not clearing the slums. After completing an analysis of the cost of not taking action in clearing the blighted areas, Boston leaders were pressured to find solutions to address issues of economic viability.[94] A larger part of the economic concern was "white flight." The white flight or exodus of affluent households escaping the ills of the city by moving to the suburbs continued over subsequent decades. The city feared this out-migration, as these people were the ones who paid city taxes.[95] Today, using economics as the major driver to attract developers and future taxpayers back to American cities, leaders of this "neo-urban renewal"[96] reason that removing public housing projects and replacing them with mixed-income developments seems rational.

The other factor highlighted during this examination of slum renewal is race. The next section connects the factors of economics and race in the justification of deconcentration of poverty for the HOPE VI program.

Race as a Factor

Race still plays a role today in the economic viability of a community, particularly when the mainstream developers, business owners such as retailers, and financial institutions still have policies and decision-making measures that constrain investment in neighborhoods surrounding HOPE VI developments. Margery Austin Turner elaborates further in "HOPE VI, Neighborhood Recovery, and the Health of Cities."[97] Here Turner describes experiences within communities, such as those experienced in affluent suburbs of African-American residents in Prince George's (PG) County, Maryland. She thinks that a neighborhood's status, as an affluent community alone, should be a clear economic driver. The market should operate without any concern for race and color, except for maybe the color of money. According to Turner, if that were the case, "one would expect more retail development to flow in to these underserved communities."[98] Her research contends that business owners fear shoplifters in these neighborhoods and the white residents would not want to work at retail stores located in these communities.

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[94] ibid.

[95] Ibid.

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

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

[98] Ibid.

Turner suggests that business owners still see communities with large numbers of black residents like PG County as places with an unacceptably high risk, despite their affluence. This also means lenders refrain from providing investment dollars to the communities. Public sector agencies like schools and public services are also entities that suffer from the lack of economic viability of black and other underserved neighborhoods.[99] Therefore, the economically diverse communities created by the HOPE VI program and mixed-income developments might increase this likelihood of hesitant or uninterested investors. The lack of investment could continue to contribute to an underrepresented population-dominated community's vulnerability to the social disorders and stress. If HOPE VI projects are in close proximity to distressed neighborhoods and lack wealth and political clout, then economic development might stay out. Conversely, white neighborhoods are more likely to be located further away from the troubled areas because of their wealth and political power;[100] therefore, it might appear that there is more reason to invest in mainstream neighborhoods with fewer minority residents.

After considering what Vale and Turner had to share regarding economic influences and market motivations driving the decisions of financial stakeholders, it emerged that it is not just the fiscal factors that supply justification for slum or public housing clearance. The longstanding, infectious, inhumane[101] eco-psychological dynamics that informs the foundation of racism[102] still plays a strong role in market driving factors. Decisions around community and economic development should be affected by the simple economics of currency, but it is not that simple.

These economic and racial factors have strong ties in stigmatization, in addition to place and traditional affiliation, as found through a 2010 study by Danya E. Keene and Mark B. Padilla. Further, related stigma is known have to evolved out of experiences of public housing residents living in high poverty concentrated areas.

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[99] Ibid.
[100] Ibid.
[101] Shelley Bielefeld, "The Dehumanising Violence of Racism: The Role of Law" (D Phil thesis, Southern Cross University, 2010). epubs.scu.edu.au (accessed May 29, 2012), 194.
[102] Sidanius, Jim and Felicia Pratto. "Racism and Support of Free-Market Capitalism: A Cross-Cultural Analysis," *Political Psychology*, no. 3 (Sep., 1993):14. 381-401. Published by: International Society of Political Psychology. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3791704 (accessed May 29, 2012), 397.

Outgrowth of Stigma in High Poverty Areas and Public Housing

Stigma is a negative stereotype of a group of people.[103] According to Erving Goffman, stigma constitutes the distinction or differences in characteristics of an individual from other people. It is then given a negative evaluation by others.[104] This assessment by others distorts or discredits the public identity and association of the stigmatized person.[105]

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

Socialization[106] is the process of acquiring culture and developing social norms. The process of learning how one should act appropriately and discovering the "expected behaviors that are held by most members of the society" is the socialization of an individual or group of people.[107] This socialization, in which the dominant and mainstream groups within society impart their views on the disenfranchised and minority populations, can be detrimental to the development of these more vulnerable groups.

Stigma is evident in the attitudes of the dominant, mainstream society members and is reflected in their poverty programs.[108] The members of the disenfranchised, minority

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[103] "Glossary: The Science of Mental Health," National Institutes of Health. National Institute of Mental Health. http://science.education.nih.gov/supplements/nih5/Mental/other/glossary.htm (accessed May 31, 2012).
[104] "Online Dictionary of the Social Sciences," Robert Drislane, Ph.D. and Gary Parkinson, Ph.D. Athabasca University and International Consortium for the Advancement of Academic Publication. http://bitbucket.icaap.org/dict.pl?alpha=S (accessed May 31, 2012).
[105] Ibid.
[106] "The general process of acquiring culture is referred to as socialization."
O'Neil, Dennis. Process of Socialization. Behavioral Sciences Department, Palomar College, San Marcos, California. March 14, 2008. http://anthro.palomar.edu/social/soc_1.htm (accessed May 28, 2012).
[107] Ibid.
[108] Lefever, Harry G. "Review of The Stigma of Poverty: A Critique of Poverty Theories and Policies," By

community are individuals and families living within high poverty concentrated areas and are believed by many mainstream society members to self-inflict stigma.[109] These socialization factors might evolve into spatial stigma − stigma of place.

Public housing has been stigmatized in concert with high poverty-concentrated areas. Families who live in public housing "projects" that are located within high poverty areas have reported feeling isolated and stigmatized. Even after moving from the "projects," many individuals carry with them a sense of isolation and stigma.[110] For example, in a 2010 study by Danya E. Keene and Mark B. Padilla, individuals who followed "opportunity" from Chicago to Iowa City were surveyed and interviewed. Keene and Padilla were able to identify the "race, class and the stigma of place." Spatial stigma followed the low-income, public housing residents from one place to the next. The intent of their study was to look at the health and well-being of African American public housing residents who moved from urban neighborhoods in Chicago and were integrated into predominantly white small town communities in eastern Iowa. This research reported on the pervasive stigmatization these individuals experienced because they previously had lived in high poverty concentrated areas and in public housing. These study participants received "not in my back yard" (NIMBYism) responses from Iowa City residents because they had come from an historically segregated urban environment.[111] They were immediately associated with the stereotypes of Chicago's inner-city ghetto, such that in the eyes of the Iowans the newcomers to the communities were still viewed as bad people from the projects.[112]

Chaim I. Waxman. 1978. Sociological Analysis. 39 (4): 368-370, 369.
Chaim Waxman is a Professor Emeritus of Sociology and Jewish Studies at Rutgers University.
http://www.rci.rutgers.edu/~waxmanci/ciw.htm (accessed May 28, 2012).
[109] Ibid.
[110] Keene, D.E., and M.B. Padilla. 2010. "Race, class and the stigma of place: Moving to "opportunity" in Eastern Iowa". *Health and Place*. 16 (6): 1216-1223, 1220.
[111] Ibid, 1219.
[112] Ibid, 1220 – 1221.

CHAPTER II
METHODOLOGY

The methodology used to complete this research was in part inspired by (1) the analysis and design guidance of Clare Cooper Marcus and Phyllis Hackett[113] from *Analysis of the design process at two moderate-income housing developments*. Marcus and Hackett's study provides an in depth look at two projects that influence the perception of the design process, looking at the roles of the investor and sponsor and influence of the planners and design professionals.

The questions developed after reviewing literature on focused interviews help guide the interviews. The methodology included asking questions to (2) gain vital information in design and behavioral patterns. This method was derived from Chapter 9: Focused Interviews and Chapter 11: Asking Questions: Topics and Format of John Zeisel[114] book, *Inquiry by design: tools for environment-behavior research*. This methodology provided a succinct and effective way of shed light on what both the professionals (directly) and the residents (indirectly) desired as pieces to the overall design elements. It also opens a dialogue about how particular stakeholders might have influenced design of the HOPE VI projects.

After defining the meaning of "Everyday Urbanism" and "New Urbanism", along with the deconcentration of poverty, I familiarized myself with the professional backgrounds of three architects' using online articles, publications and other literature that presented insight into their careers and design ideologies. The study focuses on the work of these three architects: Tom Eanes, Michael Pyatok and Brian Sullivan. Each directed design teams involved in HOPE VI, mixed-income revitalization projects: New Holly, Seattle, Washington; Lion Creek Crossings, Oakland, California; and High Point, Seattle, Washington.

I interviewed and documented in-person discussions with the three architects. The architect interviews helped to formulate an understanding of their design approach, theoretical background and particularly how he or she facilitated the design process – whether it was through the development lens and market-driven, New Urbanism

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[113] Clare Cooper Marcus and Phyllis Hackett. *Analysis of the design process at two moderate-income housing developments.*
[114] Zeisel, John. 1984. *Inquiry by design: tools for environment-behavior research.* Cambridge [Cambridgeshire]: Cambridge University Press.

perspective or through his or her understanding of the daily activities and Everyday Urbanism angle of the public housing residents who helped to provide narrative to the site. Each architect has a community-planning background that has included facilitation of resident participation during design processes. However, only Brian Sullivan and Mike Pyatok drove the community-planning and resident participation during their HOPE VI development's design processes. Tom Eanes and his team joined the HOPE VI development and design team to late in the process to facilitate resident participation.

Additionally, the interview transcripts will be used as the fundamental source documents. This foundation will allow for review and analysis of documents, drawings, and reports to help answer the thesis questions. These resources will provide secondary data of resident comments from evaluation study reports by housing and public policy professionals and suggestions provided during the planning and specifically design processes. It also helps to understand the design approach from inception through the planning, design and construction processes.

Also using examples from architects and other advocates for designing quality affordable housing for low-income individuals, this investigation utilizes secondary sources to obtain and validate stances made by other academics, professionals, and theorists, about the need to make paramount the contributions of public housing residents during the design processes; therefore substantiating the purpose of this research.

The methodology used to complete this thesis utilizes primary source of (1) interviewing and receiving guidance from three architects, including his or her drawings, master plans, photos and renderings; and secondary source of (2) reviewing literature written by and recommended readings from these three architects, (3) documentation of the architects' experiences, and public housing or jurisdictional, local/neighborhood planning documents, and (4) physical observations of the site by this thesis' author. The literature review, along with the interviews and the analysis of the architect's perspective and the public housing residents' design contributions will help to answer the research questions.

PRIMARY SOURCES

The three architects were selected through the following steps:

- Downloaded the FY95-2011 Funding allocation list of HOPE VI grantees from HUD.gov

- Reviewed the HOPE VI grantee list

- Identified three completed affordable housing & HOPE VI revitalization projects

- Identified leading architects who worked on the three HOPE VI projects to interview

- Base the architects' selection on their level of commitment to low-incoming households/housing: Is he or she still working within the public housing and affordable housing world even after the projects were completed?

One constraint of completing a comprehensive study might be the limited access to documents from the design and planning teams who worked on the HOPE VI projects. If the agencies and firms have an archival process, the plans, renderings and documents may not be readily available, or may cost to access. For example, Seattle Housing Authority is required to maintain records for six years by HUD and other entities. Documents are purged and or archived after this time requirement expires. On the other hand, if there is a lack of an archival process that may mean the information is scattered or missing altogether.

Interview Questions

The questions developed to use during the three architects interviews were designed similarly to the methodology of Marcus and Hackett, as well as guided by Mike Pyatok's lecture course and syllabus, "Affordable Housing and Neighborhood Revitalization: The Role of Design" It influenced the development of the questions for the case studies' interviews.

The areas of the questions were divided into themed components that help to frame the data. The categories and questions are:

Political context and influences

- Who were important players who help to bring about project? (i.e. Financing, Political realm that influenced decisions - elected, govt. agency, local community residents, public housing residents, advocates, etc.)

Urban context and influences

- What was it about the physical condition that influenced choices and decisions? Such as Housing, Geography, Nature, Fabric of, proximity to transportation line, etc.

Social context and influences

- Was there something special about the people who lived in the housing and community that helped you approach this assignment (way of doing business)? Racial, Social, Ethnic

Economic issues

- What would you say were economic factors that helped to influence the design & development approach?

- Was there an amount of money that you had to work with? Budget?

- Those who lived there?

- Those who expected to be integrated into mixed-income community?

Power and influences

- Who ultimately controlled what was being done? Who called the shots? Homage being paid to?

- As a designer, how did you cope with that in those circumstances?

- Did you ever have to make a compromise?

- Did you ever have to conceal what was happening? Withholding info?

- Developers, Elected officials, Housing residents?

- Did you ever have to massage the paying clients to get them to understand what was being said to get the developers to understand what the residents wanted, were saying?

SECONDARY SOURCES

The planning components (1) will be investigated through meeting minutes, interview notes and written correspondence from planning processes for the HOPE VI developments; urban design and place-making components (2) will be secondary sources, such as housing plans and other planning documents and the analysis component of drawings and plans; and analysis of the current situation (3) will rely on reports and evaluations from academics and practitioners, studies completed by HUD, the Urban Institute, the Brookings Institution, and others and support from literature by traditional design theorists along with specialists in public housing, low-income affordable housing and neighborhood aesthetics. The literature review, along with the case study investigation and the analysis of the architects' contributions will help to answer the research questions.

The sections on analysis of the design elements implemented acquires images, drawings, photographs of projects and prior design critiques from sources such as the Seattle Housing Authority's Development Department, Special Collections at academic as well and public libraries like the University of Washington, site visit to Lion Creek Crossings in Oakland, California, NewHolly and High Point developments in Seattle, Washington and directly from the office of the architecture professionals who worked on the developments.

DATA ANALYSIS

Data analysis will utilize the transcripts and the information communicated during interviews with the three architects who led the residents and other designers throughout the processes. The interview transcripts will be used as primary sources. After reviewing, identified key themes were compared with the theoretical framework established to assess whether the Everyday Urbanism or New Urbanism principles surfaced, then layer the significance of deconcentration of poverty and stigma reduction to the findings.

The data will help to answer the question of what did the residents actually say that they wanted out of the new HOPE VI community. What were their visions and how were they on point with what needed to be incorporated within the "place-making" efforts of the revitalized housing and inevitably the larger neighborhood?

The analysis will also allow some guidance into how future housing policies and programs similar to HOPE VI should proceed with public housing resident involvement, encouraging either everyday urbanism or new urbanism approaches.

Lastly, the intent of the data analysis was to provide a better understanding of how to approach the housing policies, demonstration programs and future initiatives driven by the theory and guiding principle of deconcentration of poverty while reducing associated stigma.

CHAPTER III
HISTORICAL REVIEW OF HOUSING PROGRAMS
RELATED TO POVERTY DECONCENTRATION, HOPE VI
AND MIXED-INCOME DEVELOPMENTS

POLICY RESPONSES AS OUTCOMES FROM THE DISCOURSE OF POVERTY DECONCENTRATION

The high concentration of poverty in urban areas during the early twentieth century and today leads to spatial stigmatization. In spite of the many positive adaptive mechanisms used by people in poverty, social and environmental ills continue to fester and feed stigma and isolation. Public housing developments located within high poverty concentrated areas also exacerbate environmental ills that fuel stigma and isolation. For example, these areas have a large number of vacant and dilapidated housing units, significant levels of unemployment, increased rates of single-parent households, considerable problems with violence and gang-related activity, and many individuals struggling with drug and alcohol abuse.

Many American urbanized regions and cities have tried to remedy the problems of poverty concentration by instituting housing and urban renewal programs. This chapter describes various examples of how cities have addressed concentrated poverty. In the U.S., the urbanized regions and cities have used both political and economic strategies to find solutions to the problem of concentrated poverty, many only responding to prescribed policies and regulations from HUD.

The literature review validates the need for this investigation and shows how addressing the deconcentration of poverty has been used to access high-valued property in inner cities, typically within neighborhoods with predominantly minority and low-income residents. The revitalization efforts of these areas would benefit those with power and financial means. As one viable alternative, those in charge of planning and designing mixed-income neighborhoods should use the best practices necessary to benefit public housing residents and to empower those individuals to develop strong networks, social structures and economic vitality in the community, enhancing what was already in place prior to redevelopment. The application of best practices might reduce associated stigma

that can linger on even after public housing residents are incorporated into the new, mixed-income communities.

This review provides insight on how the U.S. federal, state and local leaders have attempted to address the high-concentration of poverty in urban regions and cities over the past century, which affords an opportunity to learn from history. Reviewing the literature of U.S. Housing policies and programs establishes a foundation essential to answering the thesis question:

> Can we weave together "Everyday Urbanism", "New Urbanism" and the "Deconcentration of Poverty" into the design solutions for future HOPE VI, CNI and other mixed-income and mixed-use revitalization efforts to provide more benefit to and empowerment of public housing residents while reducing stigma?

It conveys the next thread needed to knit the two Urbanisms with the deconcentration of poverty theory into design solutions for future revitalization efforts by presenting a more in-depth analysis of the history of U.S. housing policies and programs that were used. While interweaving these variables, figuring out how to benefit and empower public housing residents and what best practices help to reduce stigma is now more feasible.

U.S. Housing Policy and Mixed-Income Communities

The deconcentration of poverty was a guiding principle for housing policies and revitalization programs, such as HOPE VI. Throughout the United States, affordable housing needs have received attention from many players who took part in influencing the ways in which the federal government responded to the crisis. A list of a few of those who supported low-income housing policies include liberal and conservative politicians before, during, and after the New Deal Era (1930-50s)[115] through policymakers of today, lobbying and special interest groups, and low-income housing advocates.

The Design of Public Housing High-Rises

During the 1950s, the reallocation of federal funding support aligned with the influence of designers and city officials who "subscribed to Le Corbusier's vision of towers-in-the-

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

park as symbols of civic progress and modernity."[116] Charles-Edouard Jeanneret,[117] (Le Corbusier),[118] proposed to rebuild cities as complexes of tall "towers in a park." Many architects, urban designers and city officials found this concept to be alluring − in theory. But in practice it was a bomb dropped on the traditional urban form, creating spaces for ills arising from concentrating poverty.[119] Many public housing projects from this era took on this "towers in the park" form. High-rises had a certain appeal for designers. One attraction to the building typology might have been because the high-rises "could help to achieve the goal of improving the lives of 'slum dwellers'."[120] The design allowed for protection from fire because the high-rises were built out of concrete. Another design strategy was the ability to include plenty of cross-ventilation. This passive air system provided protection from the spread of tuberculosis.[121] Another belief was that by removing people from the streets, and removing the "street culture" altogether, people could form new and more lasting relationships with fewer households on each floor. But they failed to predict the difficulties of elevators and corridors failures, and the difficulty of law enforcement to gain quick access to upper floors experiencing safety and security problems, while lowest floors were vulnerable to crime and vandalism.[122] Although these safety benefits were great on paper, these buildings actually worked to increase the concentration of poverty in certain neighborhoods.

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[116] Yan Zhang. "Wills and Ways: Policy Dynamics of HOPE VI from 1992 to 2002" (PhD diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Department of Urban Studies and Planning, 2004), 53. dspace.mit.edu/handle/1721.1/28782 (accessed May 31, 2012).
[117] Fondation Le Corbusier http://www.fondationlecorbusier.fr/ (accessed May 31, 2012).
[118] "…made plans that would mean (as he put it himself) the 'Death of the Street.' In proposing the elimination of side alleys and shops, in granting limited space for cafés, community centers, and theaters, in dispersing them over great distances, and constructing them of uninviting concrete, glass, and steel, Le Corbusier expressed his contempt for the teeming hubbub that urbanists now esteem…"
Berg, Nate. "The Urban Nightmare Of Le Corbusier" http://www.planetizen.com/node/29959 (accessed May 16, 2012).
[119] Muschamp, Herbert. "Le Corbusier Reborn: Young French Architects Draw On Startling 1922 Design For Dramatic Public Housing." *Chicago Tribune*, April 18, 1993.
 http://articles.chicagotribune.com/1993-04-18/news/9304180268_1_design-paris-architects (accessed May 31, 2012).
[120] Roessner, Jane. 2000. *A decent place to live: From Columbia Point to Harbor Point: A community history*. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 14.
[121] Ibid.
[122] Fishman, Robert. 2004. Rethinking Public Housing Places, 16(2), 26-33.
places.designobserver.com/media/pdf/Rethinking_Pub_650.pdf (accessed August 31, 2012).

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

Image 2: Fliers Promoting New Public Housing Projects
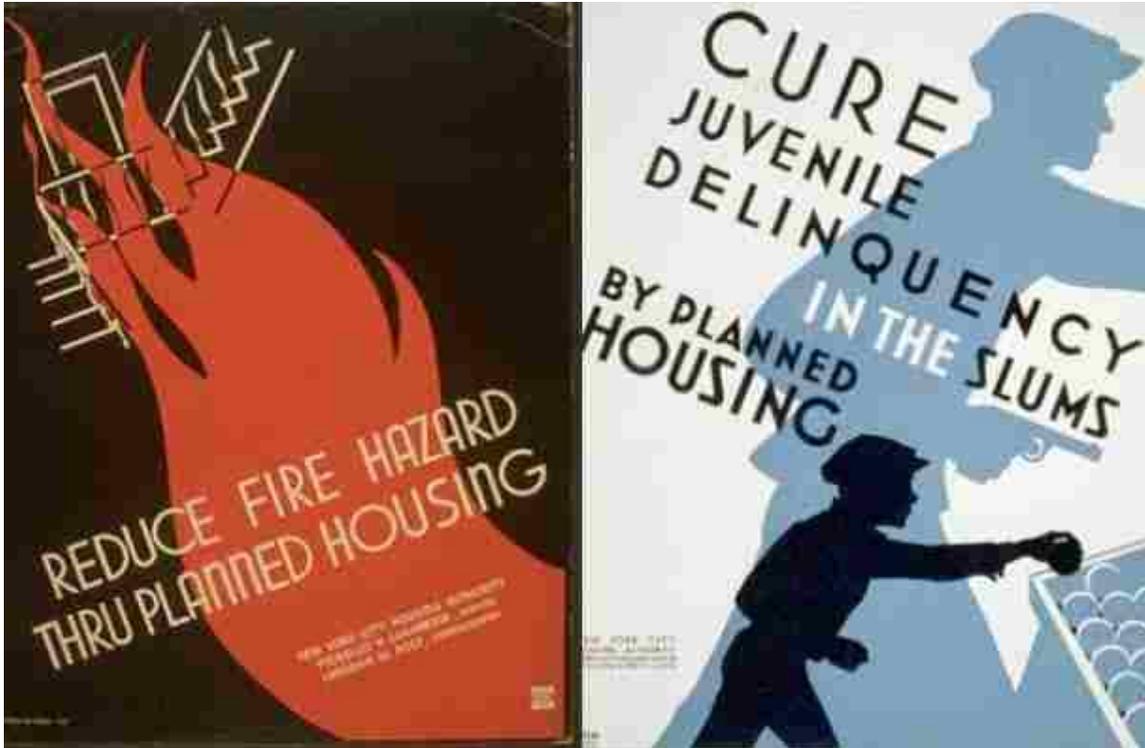
Source: The Atlantic Cities http://www.theatlanticcities.com/design/2011/11/public-housing-posters-new-york-city/407/ (accessed May 24, 2012).

Because many public housing projects were situated in predominantly economically distressed areas that were typically segregated and isolated from other residential neighborhoods,[123] this eventually evolved into what is termed the inner city ghettos or public housing "projects."

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

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

Image 3: Tower in the Park Architectural Model.

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

Image 4: Towers in the Park, Chicago's Robert Taylor Homes (1996)
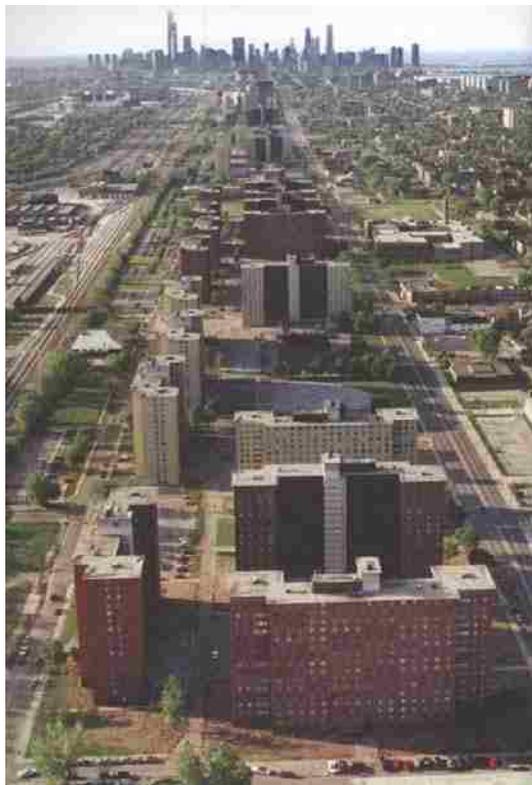
Source: Cisneros, Héctor, and Lora Engdahl.
From despair to hope: HOPE VI and the new promise of public housing in America's cities. (Washington,
D.C: Brookings Institution Press, 2009), 64.

The 1950s and the Housing Act of 1954

By 1954, during the years of President Dwight Eisenhower (1953 – 1961), urban renewal had become an important power tool to deconcentrate poverty. In turn, the comprehensive dismantling of communities created significant problems requiring immediate redress. Something had to be done to slow the catastrophic effects urban renewal was having on the ousted households. The solution was to increase the number of very low-income and non-White residents admitted into and living within the projects.[124] Because of the impact of the Act of 1949 and urban renewal, households displaced by the program received housing priority through the Housing Act of 1954. Responding to this change, the Housing Act of 1954 introduced the idea of a "workable program."[125] This program was the "requirement under which localities had to submit a plan for redevelopment—the first example of comprehensive planning being required for federal funding, a standard that continues to this day."[126] It presented alternatives to resolve the central-city neighborhood decline. However, this new consensus forged between liberals and conservatives focused more on commercial redevelopment rather than building more public housing.[127] Flanagan emphasized, "The Housing Act of 1954… replaced public housing with commercially oriented urban renewal."[128] He also noted that, "after 1954, a new, powerful alliance of mayors and business groups − led by the Eisenhower administration − created consensus around urban redevelopment policies."[129] Meanwhile, the number of public housing units that were completed each year continued to decrease. There was a decline from a post-WWII peak of 58,000 in 1952 to a startling 24,000 in 1964.[130] On the other hand, the number of urban renewal projects receiving federal support increased from 260 in 1953 to an astounding 1,210 in 1962.[131] These numbers show that support from city officials, real estate associations, and even from both liberals and conservatives alike shifted from focusing on providing

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[124] Wilson, William Julius. 2011. "Being Poor, Black, and American: The Impact of Political, Economic, and Cultural Forces". American Educator. 35 (1): 13 -14.
www.aft.org/pdfs/americaneducator/spring2011/Wilson.pdf (accessed August 19, 2012).
[125] "The Federal Role in Housing," Developed in response to Public Law 106-74.106th Congress. 1999. Principal Recommendations to Congress: A Framework for Change. *Millennial Housing Commission,* 28. http://govinfo.library.unt.edu/mhc/FRH.doc (accessed January 5, 2012).
[126] Ibid, 28.
[127] Flanagan, R.M. "The Housing Act of 1954: The sea change in national urban policy." *Urban Affairs Review* (33) 2. Thousand Oaks. November 1997, 265.
[128] Ibid.
[129] Ibid.
[130] Ibid, 266.
[131] Ibid.

public housing for the working class and the poor to encouraging city renewal. The workable program and renewal projects had more potential for profits.

The 1970s and the Housing Choice Voucher Program for Tenant Mobility

Pruitt-Igoe was one of the first public housing developments demolished to remove "the virtually uninhabitable and mostly vacant buildings."[132] Demolition began on March 16, 1972 and by 1976 the entire complex had been removed.[133] Image 5 shows the iconic demolition of the Pruitt-Igoe project in St. Louis. The public housing project was only two decades old and "had come to symbolize the failure of government-sponsored housing and, more broadly, government-sponsorship at large."[134] Richard D. Baron and his firm had received approval to replace the public housing with a mixed-income redevelopment. Even though HUD Secretary George Romney withdrew the approval demolition continued and the site was never redeveloped.[135]

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[132] Cisneros, Héctor, and Lora Engdahl. *From despair to hope: HOPE VI and the new promise of public housing in America's cities.* (Washington, D.C: Brookings Institution Press, 2009), 32.
[133] Keel, Robert. O. "Pruitt-Igoe and the End of Modernity." University of Missouri-St. Louis. http://www.umsl.edu/~keelr/010/pruitt-igoe.htm (accessed August 29, 2012).
[134] "Public Housing has a Bad Name." *The Pruitt Igoe Myth.* http://www.pruitt-igoe.com/urban-history/ (accessed August 29, 2012).
[135] Ibid.

Image 5: The Pruitt-Igoe public housing project in St. Louis being demolished, April 21, 1972.
Today, it is a wooded 33-acre site.[136]

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

The Housing Act of 1974 authorized the Section 8 housing mobility program. The program superseded the Section 23 Leased Housing program, which was authorized by the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965 and was incorporated in the Housing Act of 1937 Section 23, as amended. Section 23 was the first tenant-based program that used privately owned housing.[137] The legislation provided federal aid to public housing authorities to make dwellings within the private market available to low-income families.[138] The subsidies allowed for rents to be more affordable to low-income households. HUD also implemented the Experimental Housing Allowance Program (EHAP), which was a test plan that provided housing allowances to over 50,000 households between 1971 and 1980.[139] The Section 8 program, modeled after the

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[136] Cisneros, Héctor, and Lora Engdahl. *From despair to hope: HOPE VI and the new promise of public housing in America's cities*. (Washington, D.C: Brookings Institution Press, 2009), 33.
[137] Housing Choice Voucher Program Guidebook. "Community Development Laws and Regulations." *U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development*, 1-2.
portal.hud.gov/hudportal/documents/huddoc?id=DOC_11745.pdf (accessed May 29, 2012).
[138] Low-Rent Housing, Leased Housing Handbook. "Handbooks," *U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development*. Chapter 1, Section 1, page 1.
http://www.hud.gov/offices/adm/hudclips/handbooks/pihh/74301/index.cfm (accessed August 19, 2012).
[139] Housing Choice Voucher Program Guidebook. "Community Development Laws and Regulations." *U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development*, 1-2.
portal.hud.gov/hudportal/documents/huddoc?id=DOC_11745.pdf (accessed May 29, 2012).

EHAP, allowed for both project-based and tenant-based subsidies through rental certificates.[140] The mobility program had a few differences from the EHAP:[141]

- Under the rental certificate program, the PHA made subsidy payments directly to the owners on behalf of the family rather than making payments to the family; and

- The rental certificate program imposed a HUD-established ceiling (fair market rent) on the gross rent for a unit leased under the program.

Since the first authorization of Section 8 Congress has approved a few iterations. The program had rapid growth and popularity with Congress, local governments, owners and low-income families. It soon evolved into the Section 8 Housing Choice Voucher (HCV) Program. "In October 1998, Congress passed housing reform legislation – the Quality Housing and Work Responsibility Act (QHWRA), including a full merger of the certificate and voucher programs. This legislation eliminated all differences, and required that the subsidy types merge into one housing choice voucher program."[142]

During the late-1970s and 1980s, the country began to see growth in privatization of public housing with influences from architects and planners entrenched in the repackaged concepts of the City Beautiful[143] and the Garden City[144] movements now called New Urbanism, as described in Chapter I.[145]

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[140] Ibid, 1-3.
[141] Ibid.
[142] Ibid, 1-4.
[143] "In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Progressives across the United States embarked on the City Beautiful movement to bring order out of the chaos wrought by the Industrial Revolution. Leading the way in championing city planning was Daniel Burnham, the famous architect who designed the Columbian Exposition and the Plan of Chicago of 1909 and who turned to cities such as Paris as models of how the urban environment could be made beautiful, efficient, economically productive, and civically unified—all at the same time. The City Beautiful vision emphasized that the physical environment had the power to shape people's outlook and behavior, even their moral state. To this end, the creation of a beautiful city demanded an expansive system of parks suited to healthy activities, landscaped boulevards, attractive fountains and outdoor sculptures, and the removal of billboards cluttering the skyline. The movement also emphasized the practical advantages of city planning. A clean city with upgraded roadways and a rationalized railway system was not just more attractive; it also was a better place to cultivate business." "Reconstructing the Vale of Paradise: A Return to the City Beautiful Movement."
http://www.southshorejournal.org/archive/issue_2007.php (accessed May 18, 2012)
[144] "In the US, the movement is led by the Congress for a New Urbanism (CNU), which despite the presence of the word 'new' in its title, is in fact directly influenced by the garden city movement of the UK known as the Town and Country Planning Association (TCPA)."
Stevens, Andrew. "RIBA President calls for stronger recognition of New Urbanism."
City Mayors Environment 14. http://www.citymayors.com/environment/new_urbanism.html (accessed May 18, 2012).
[145] Fulton, Williams. "The New Urbanism Challenges Conventional Planning (Land Lines Article)." *Lincoln Institute of Land Policy*. No. 5 (1996): 8. http://www.lincolninst.edu/pubs/508_The-New-Urbanism-Challenges-Conventional-Planning (accessed May 31, 2012).

The next section highlights programs established during the 1980s and 1990s that are parallel to and partially influenced by the New Urbanism movement. But one of the unintended consequences was a loss of dwelling units permanently affordable to low-income residents. Mobility vouchers are temporary solutions and must be renewed annually by Congress, while affordable units are more permanently affordable for decades and are not subject to the vagary of politics that accompany annual renewal debates.

Harbor Point, Boston (Dorchester), Massachusetts

Harbor Point in Boston (Dorchester), Massachusetts provided an example of how to design and develop a mixed-income community years before the inception of the Housing Opportunities for People Everywhere (HOPE VI) or the New Urbanism movement and codification of their principles. The Harbor Point rental-only, mixed-income community was developed on a 50-acre site for 1,283 households.[146] The project was located on the old Columbia Point public housing location. Columbia Point had its grand opening on April 29, 1954.[147] This was considered "New England's largest housing project" at that time. It housed many public housing residents until January 24, 1987 – the first day of demolition. Harbor Point combined new town homes and mid-rises for its residents upon initial occupancy in 1988.

Harbor Point has been praised for its success in deconcentrating poverty through its design. Harbor Point achieved a mixed-income neighborhood that allowed for higher-income households to live next to lower-income residents.[148] The architecture firm that designed Harbor Point, Goody Clancy and Associates, posted a few more descriptive details on their website. The design firm stated that the success of the project stemmed from including[149] "simple architectural details such as dormers, bay windows, pitched roofs, and balconies [that] evoked traditional New England housing types. [The] development features a diversity of unit types and sizes: market-rate and subsidized apartments are seamlessly integrated."

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[146] Urban Transformations: Columbia Point – Harbor Point, Boston 004e136.netsolhost.com/images/7HP.pdf (accessed May 30, 2012)
[147] Roessner, Jane. 2000. *A decent place to live: from Columbia Point to Harbor Point: a community history*. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 21.
[148] Ibid, 289.
[149] Ibid.

Furthermore, the success of "Harbor Point influenced national housing policy, inspiring (in part) the federal government's HOPE VI program."[150]

The more aggressive integration of the income levels in Harbor Point eliminated many issues that would have otherwise created a microclimate of poverty concentration within the development. Harbor Point's design approach made it a priority to reduce the stigmatization that existed for public housing residents prior to demolition. The resulting intermingling of income groups and races was an outcome of the project being initiated by the public housing residents and the participation of residents as full-fledged, decision-making partners throughout the design and development processes.[151] As end-users, public housing residents' participation throughout the processes was important to the former Columbia Point public housing residents. The developers Corcoran, Mullins, and Jennison (CMJ) and other stakeholders also found it crucial to have the residents' participation. This level of community planning and participation was important to ensure a successful mixed-income development.

The 1980s – 90s

During President Ronald Reagan's-era (1981 – 1989), the public housing program was altered even further because of budget cuts made by the administration. According to Jane Roessner, Reagan's stance was that "since you can't serve everybody, you shouldn't serve anybody."[152] Low-income housing subsidies received the largest hit during the Reagan Administration. He cut the public housing and Section 8 budgets in half just within his first year of his first of two terms in office.[153] A major part of Reagan's legacy includes the spike in the number of homeless.[154] Many of the homeless individuals were laid-off workers, children and Vietnam veterans. The president defended his position and the outcomes of his policies and budget cuts by shifting the blame, "People who are sleeping on the grates…the homeless…are homeless, you might say, by choice."[155] The number of homeless on a given night had doubled in just one year by the late 1980s, from 600,000 to 1.2 million.[156]

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[150] Ibid.
[151] Roessner, Jane. 2000. *A decent place to live: from Columbia Point to Harbor Point: a community history.* Boston: Northeastern University Press, 189, 289.
[152] Ibid, 296.
[153] Dreier, Peter. "Reagan's Legacy: Homelessness in America." Shelterforce Online. National Housing Institute. 135 May/June 2004 http://www.nhi.org/online/issues/135/reagan.html (accessed August 31, 2012).
[154] Ibid.
[155] Ibid.
[156] Ibid.

After the Reagan years, other leaders made monumental decisions that influenced the path of housing policy. During the President George H. W. Bush's (1989 – 1993) administration, one major act that passed was the McKinney Act of 1987.[157] McKinney Act focused more on gaining a hold of the nation's homelessness problems. The following year, the nation received more protections for elderly or persons with living disabilities. These protections came through the Fair Housing Amendment Act of 1988.[158] Also, there were more safeguards from discriminatory actions based on race, color, national origin, religion, sex, and familial status.[159] Discriminatory housing practices prohibited under the Act of 1988 include the refusal to rent or sell housing, to negotiate for housing and the setting of different terms, conditions or privileges for the sale or rental of a dwelling.[160]

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

HOPE VI of 1992 Housing Program to Deconcentrate Poverty

Although Housing Opportunities for People Everywhere (HOPE VI) is only a subset of the larger housing policy and program paradigm, its life cycle sustained over a 20-year period. The plan of creating mixed-income communities through the HOPE VI[161]

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[157] "In July 1987, Congress enacted the Stewart B. McKinney Homeless Assistance Act (P.L. 100-77) to establish distinct assistance programs for the growing numbers of homeless persons. Recognizing the variety of causes of homelessness, the original McKinney Act authorized 20 programs offering a multitude of services, including emergency food and shelter, transitional and permanent housing, education, job training, mental health care, primary health care services, substance abuse treatment, and veterans' assistance services."
"Stewart B. McKinney Homeless Programs," *U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development.* http://www.huduser.org/portal/publications/homeless/mckin/intro.html (accessed January 5, 2012).
[158] Title 24: Housing and Urban Development. Electronic Code of Federal Regulations. http://ecfr.gpoaccess.gov/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=ecfr&rgn=div5&view=text&node=24:1.2.1.1.1&idno=24#24:1.2.1.1.1.1.95.1 (accessed August 20, 2012).
[159] Ibid.
[160] Ibid.
[161] In 1989, as part of the Department of Housing and Urban Development Reform Act, Congress created an independent National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing charged with assessing and formulating solutions to the problem severe distress in the public housing. In its final report published in

competitive grant program appeared in 1992 under the George H. W. Bush administration. Months before the end of his administration, President Bush signed legislation that provided funding for the HOPE VI grant program, also known as the Urban Revitalization Demonstration (URD) Program. The Clinton Administration (1993 – 2001) inherited the policy and implemented the program. Henry Cisneros led the charge as HUD Secretary (1993 – 1997).

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

> HOPE VI was authorized by the Departments of Veterans Affairs and Housing and Urban Development and Independent Agencies Appropriations Act of 1993 (the Appropriations Act). Also, with slight modifications (amending Section 24 of the 1937 Housing Act), Section 120 of the Housing and Community Development Act of 1992 authorized HOPE VI. What's more, to be eligible to apply for HOPE VI funds, an applicant had to be either a Public Housing Authority (PHA) located in one of the 40 most populous U.S. cities or a PHA on HUD's Troubled Housing Authority list as of March 31, 1992.[162]

HOPE VI was seen as a rehabilitation strategy. There were high goals set for the program. For example, Congress funded HOPE VI with the intent to create "…major renovations of projects in 74 cities and, strikingly, the construction of 4,000 new public-housing apartments."[163] HUD's leadership was committed to the idea that "a new, improved, sustainable public housing" program would include mixed-income tenants.[164] Appendix B includes a historical overview of HOPE VI legislation.

While the rest of the 1990s saw further changes to the HOPE VI program, U.S. House Republicans attempted to bring public housing to a formal, statutory halt, but they were

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1992, the Commission concluded that, although the problem was serious, the extent of severe distress in public housing was very limited, estimating that only 6 percent (86,000 units) of the total stock fit into this category .The Commission set forth a National Action Plan to address the human services and modernization needs of the severely distressed public housing sites.
"Together False HOPE: A Critical Assessment of the HOPE VI Public Housing Redevelopment Program." National Housing Law Project; the Poverty & Race Research Action Council; Sherwood Research Associates, and Everywhere and Now Public Housing Residents Organizing Nationally. June 2002. http://www.narpac.org/ITXFALSE.HTM (accessed May 31, 2012).
[162] An Historical and Baseline Assessment of HOPE VI" *Office of Policy Development and Research and HUD User. U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development.* August 1996 (Vol. I-207 pages, Vol. II-550 pages, Vol.III-293 pages), i. http://www.huduser.org/portal/publications/pubasst/hopevi.html (accessed May 31, 2012).
[163] Husock, H. *Public Housing as a "poorhouse". Public Interest* 129. Washington. Fall 1997, 74.
[164] Ibid.

unsuccessful.[165] The failure to immobilize the public housing funding efforts lies in part to another program instituted during the Clinton Administration called the Quality Housing and Work Responsibility Act of 1998 (QHWRA). The 1998 Act is important to understand the administration of the HOPE VI program. QHWRA helps to transform "the public housing stock through new policies and procedures for demolition and replacement and mixed-finance projects, and through authorizing the HOPE VI revitalization program."[166] Also important to know is the way competitive grants were accessed.

Who had access to HOPE VI funds?

Only Public Housing Authorities (PHAs) were eligible to apply for HOPE VI competitive grants. Further qualifications included PHAs with distressed public housing units; therefore, neither agencies that only administered Section 8 Housing Choice Vouchers, nor any other public or private entity, or individuals were eligible to apply directly to HUD for HOPE VI funds.[167]

Additionally, these funds were earmarked to pay for:[168]

• Major rehabilitation, new construction and other physical improvements and capital costs

• Removal of severely distressed public housing units and site improvements

• Acquisition of sites for off-site construction

• Relocation services because of the revitalization efforts

• Community and supportive service programs for residents

Knowing the eligibility requirements is important to note because the revitalization efforts had to begin with housing authority leadership, not with private market developers. Public Housing Authorities are entities established to administer housing programs funded by the federal government,[169] and many welcomed the opportunity to access

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[165] Flanagan, R.M. "The Housing Act of 1954: The sea change in national urban policy." *Urban Affairs Review* (33) 2. Thousand Oaks. November 1997, 281.
[166] "Public Housing Reform Overview," *U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development.* http://portal.hud.gov/hudportal/HUD?src=/program_offices/public_indian_housing/phr/about (accessed August 20, 2012).
[167] "About HOPE VI," *U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development* http://portal.hud.gov/hudportal/HUD?src=/program_offices/public_indian_housing/programs/ph/hope6/about (accessed December 29, 2011).
[168] Ibid.
[169] "HUD's Public Housing Program," *U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development* http://portal.hud.gov/hudportal/HUD?src=/topics/rental_assistance/phprog (accessed May 31, 2012)

HOPE VI dollars. Other supporters for the development of HOPE VI were the very influential New Urbanists.

Congress for the New Urbanism (CNU), the New Urbanism Movement and the Deconcentration of Poverty

The New Urbanism is a movement that began by concerted efforts of architects and planners.[170] It "is a town planning movement away from the spread-out, car-centered suburbs that have come to dominate the American landscape over the past 50 years."[171] During the late-1970s and 1980s, the country began to see growth in privatization of public housing with influences from architects and planners entrenched in the repackaged concepts of the City Beautiful[172] and the Garden City[173] movements now called New Urbanism.[174] "Core principles of New Urbanism include:[175]

- Walkability: Basic goods and services are available within a five-minute walk. Sidewalks, narrow streets, and proximity of commercial and residential areas facilitate walking.

- De-emphasize the car: Garages are hidden in alleys, out of sight. Parallel street parking replaces the parking lot.

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

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

[172] "In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Progressives across the United States embarked on the City Beautiful movement to bring order out of the chaos wrought by the Industrial Revolution. Leading the way in championing city planning was Daniel Burnham, the famous architect who designed the Columbian Exposition and the Plan of Chicago of 1909 and who turned to cities such as Paris as models of how the urban environment could be made beautiful, efficient, economically productive, and civically unified—all at the same time. The City Beautiful vision emphasized that the physical environment had the power to shape people's outlook and behavior, even their moral state. To this end, the creation of a beautiful city demanded an expansive system of parks suited to healthy activities, landscaped boulevards, attractive fountains and outdoor sculptures, and the removal of billboards cluttering the skyline. The movement also emphasized the practical advantages of city planning. A clean city with upgraded roadways and a rationalized railway system was not just more attractive; it also was a better place to cultivate business." "Reconstructing the Vale of Paradise: A Return to the City Beautiful Movement." http://www.southshorejournal.org/archive/issue_2007.php (accessed May 18, 2012)

[173] "In the US, the movement is led by the Congress for a New Urbanism (CNU), which despite the presence of the word 'new' in its title, is in fact directly influenced by the garden city movement of the UK known as the Town and Country Planning Association (TCPA)." Stevens, Andrew. "RIBA President calls for stronger recognition of New Urbanism." *City Mayors Environment 14*. http://www.citymayors.com/environment/new_urbanism.html (accessed May 18, 2012).

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

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

- Mix: Traditional suburbs put homes in one area, schools in another and shopping in yet a third. New Urbanists mix building types, sizes and prices. A modest townhouse or duplex cozies up to large single family home, which may have a rental apartment over its garage. Apartments are built over street level stores.

- Community: New Urbanist design encourages human interaction by keeping houses close to each other and close to the street. Residents gather on front porches, in nearby parks and on open plazas. Neighbors share driveways, walkways and alleys."

New Urbanism theories, philosophies and design approaches are attributed to Jane Jacob's writings[176] and the architect/planner team of Andrés Duany, Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk and developer Robert Davis. Duany, Plater-Zyberk and Davis are responsible for the Seaside Florida community, which Janet L. Smith[177] states, "Became the model for new forms of 'traditional' town planning and design. This model includes public green and community space, commercial buildings with housing upstairs, and restrictive flow of automobile traffic through the site."[178]

The marketing for the new designs of New Urbanism projects present narratives that propose how residents of public housing would be inter-mingled into the mixed-income, mixed-use neighborhood context. The marketing intent was to convince community members, low-income housing advocates and housing developers that applying New Urbanism principles would help solve the distressed neighborhood and dilapidated public housing problems. Adding to the housing policy debate, discourse and mixed income revitalization efforts (the country already had Harbor Point in Dorchester, Massachusetts, for example) the New Urbanist proponents used compelling images of architecturally designed housing[179] to support their claims. These methods of creating or exaggerating positive outcomes from the community designs facilitated the continued devolution of the federal government's commitment, responsibility and involvement in providing and maintaining public housing. The plans of the federal, state and local "managers," such as public-private partnerships, developers, architects, and leaders within federal, state and local government coalesced with the New Urbanists and

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[176] Cisneros, Héctor, and Lora Engdahl. *From despair to hope: HOPE VI and the new promise of public housing in America's cities.* (Washington, D.C: Brookings Institution Press, 2009), 52.
[177] Ibid.
Janet L. Smith was one of the editors. At the time this book was published, Smith was an associate professor in the Urban Planning and Policy Program and the co director at the Nathalie P. Voorhees Center for Neighborhood and Community Improvement at the University of Illinois at Chicago.
[178] Ibid.
[179] Ibid.

embraced their principles to bring about what we know today as the HOPE VI program. The principles for the New Urbanism Movement and the Congress for the New Urbanism (CNU) influenced the design of the HOPE VI program and other transformation plans around the country.[180]

The CNU and the New Urbanism movement are examples of how architects and planners – the design professionals – can leverage their powers, knowledge, skills, social capital and fiscal resources to take a stance that ripples across and throughout the built environment. The CNU organization has leveraged its power and influence on the design and development guidelines established by HUD for HOPE VI projects across the nation. HUD's HOPE VI development team invited the leaders of the New Urbanism to advise the HUD leaders on how the community-building principles of New Urbanism could be applied to the renovation of public housing.[181] HUD Secretary Cisneros and his special assistant Marc Weiss were strong proponents of the New Urbanism principles.[182] They worked with CNU and New Urbanism leaders to incorporate the design-form strategies into the requirements for the HOPE VI program.[183]

Image 6 is an aerial of Seaside Florida.[184] Figure 2 shows a diagram of "The Neighborhood Unit" by Clarence Perry (1929). When the image and figure are compared, one can see the similarities between the forms of the Seaside Florida new urbanist community to that of "The Neighborhood Unit." One similarity is the street patterns. In both designs they project diagonally from the neighborhood center. Also, both the image and the diagram show the relationships between the residential components and the mixed-uses on a pedestrian-scale. John Olson wrote, "Perry utilized the 5-minute walk to define walking distances from residential to non-residential

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[180] HOPE VI and the New Urbanims: *Eliminating Low-Income Housing to Make Mixed-Income Communities.* The Planners Network. http://www.plannersnetwork.org/publications/2002_152_spring/smith.htm (accessed May 18, 2012).
[181] Cisneros, Héctor, and Lora Engdahl. *From despair to hope: HOPE VI and the new promise of public housing in America's cities.* (Washington, D.C: Brookings Institution Press, 2009), 8.
[182] Katz, Peter. HOPE VI and the Inner City: Part Three of a Series on New Urbanism Looks at the Remaking of America's Failed Public Housing Projects. Better! Cities & Towns. May 7, 2012. http://bettercities.net/news-opinion/blogs/peter-katz/17943/hope-vi-and-inner-city (accessed August 17, 2012).
[183] Ibid.
[184] Brake, Alan G. "Feature> Eyes on the Prize." *The Architects Newspaper.* April 19, 2011. http://archpaper.com/news/articles.asp?id=5298 (accessed May 18, 2012).

components."[185] He stated that Perry was most concerned with the distance and walkability to and from schools.

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

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

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

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

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

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

HOPE VI Today

For the past 20 years, HOPE VI[186] has been a hot-button topic for public housing residents and people who support low-income housing programs. HOPE VI started in 1992 by Congressional mandate.[187] It was a program that HUD created to address a number of problems faced by the worst public housing projects in the nation. The following five objectives outline the key elements of HOPE VI to promote public housing transformation.[188] First, HUD provided HOPE VI grants to public housing authorities to demolish and replace housing that was already severely distressed. The alleged damage to the public housing occurred over time because it required large amounts of money to maintain the units and facilities. It had been an ongoing challenge to sustain the structures that were built decades ago. Second, legislators created HOPE VI to improve the living environment for public housing residents. Crafters of the program ensured that demolishing or repairing the severely distressed projects started the process of creating a better environment. Under the HOPE VI program, new homes and apartments were built to replace the demolished housing. The housing authorities were

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

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

[188] "The specific elements of public housing transformation that have proven key to HOPE VI include:
(1) Changing the physical shape of public housing
(2) Establishing positive incentives for resident self-sufficiency and comprehensive services that empower residents
(3) Lessening concentrations of poverty by placing public housing in nonpoverty neighborhoods and promoting mixed-income communities
(4) Forging partnerships with other agencies, local governments, nonprofit organizations, and private businesses to leverage support and resources"
"About HOPE VI," *U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. HUD.GOV*
http://portal.hud.gov/hudportal/HUD?src=/program_offices/public_indian_housing/programs/ph/hope6/about (accessed May 31, 2012).

able to choose to rebuild or to replace only part of the housing project or the entire thing. Third, as mentioned earlier, the HOPE VI program was intended to breathe new life into the housing properties. Also, it was intended to make the surrounding neighborhood a better place to live, work and play. HOPE VI program provided housing opportunities for people everywhere, which included options for higher-income, unsubsidized households in addition to low-income, subsidized households. This was the mixed-income community idea, highly influenced by the New Urbanism movement, as well as by Harbor Point in Boston, Massachusetts. Within many of the renewed communities are community and neighborhood centers, which may include a grocery store, facilities to house programs for neighborhood children, and usually recreational areas such as parks and trails. Fourth, the purpose of HOPE VI is to help disperse very low-income families so that all of the poverty is not in only one neighborhood. Having so many poor families living close to one another is believed to increase the continued problems of not having access to good paying jobs and creates environments conducive to increased gang and drug-related violence. Fifth, HUD established HOPE VI to build quality, sustainable communities that would last for years to come. According to HUD,[189] one of the benefits of the HOPE VI program was that the regulations allow for money from public agencies and private companies to be used to help finance the developments. This allowed for more money to be used in creative ways and is cited as an advantage for building a better neighborhood for the future residents.

HUD's Choice Neighborhoods Initiative (CNI): A Vision for the Future of Poverty Deconcentration

In 2009, HUD proposed the CNI. CNI is HUD's competitive grant program successor to the HOPE VI.[190] What is different, however, is that CNI would be more holistic. That means it will address entire distressed neighborhoods instead of just public housing. Like HOPE VI, CNI developments would include public housing, assisted housing and market rate housing.[191] Reviewing the language that guides the implementation of CNI is important because if policy makers shift allocation of funding from the HOPE VI revitalization efforts to the new CNI, one needs to consider the best solutions for those individuals and families that are necessarily displaced in the name of the

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[189] Ibid.

[190] "2011 Advocates' Guide to Housing & Community Development Policy." National Low-Income Housing Coalition, 107. http://nlihc.org/library/other/guides/2011 (accessed August 19, 2012).

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

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

Also, like HOPE VI, CNI is a program that HUD hopes would bring together many diverse investors. CNI links housing programs more closely with commitments from other federal programs and agencies, like the Departments of Education and Transportation and the Environmental Protection Agency.[192] With this collaboration strategy, the neighborhoods could connect low-income households with stronger schools and early childhood innovation programs. Transportation also plays a key role, helping to reduce costs and increase opportunities for working families at the local level.[193]

While the HOPE VI program required demolishing "severely distressed" public housing units and replacing them with stylish, architecturally designed single and multi-family housing, the CNI "…focuses its resources on transforming entire neighborhoods."[194]

The CNI will provide (1) planning and (2) implementation grants for the following:[195]

- To transform neighborhoods of extreme poverty into mixed income neighborhoods.

- To improve access to economic opportunities, and investing and leveraging investments in well-functioning services, educational opportunities, public assets, public transportation, and improved access to jobs.

- To grow communities and metropolitan areas.

- To support positive outcomes for families.

CNI Program Concerns

The National Low-Income Housing Coalition (NLIHC) encouraged HUD and policy makers to make sure that there were stronger requirements outlined for the CNI than

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[192] Choice Neighborhoods. *U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development.* http://portal.hud.gov/hudportal/HUD?src=/program_offices/public_indian_housing/programs/ph/cn (accessed August 19, 2012).
[193] Prepared Remarks for Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Shaun Donovan at the Brookings Institution Metropolitan Policy Program's Discussion. "From Despair to Hope: Two HUD Secretaries on Urban Revitalization and Opportunity". National Press Club, Washington, D.C.,Tuesday, July 14th, 2009. *U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development.* http://hud.gov/news/speeches/2009-07-14.cfm (accessed January 5, 2012).
[194] "2011 Advocates' Guide to Housing & Community Development Policy." National Low-Income Housing Coalition, 107. http://nlihc.org/library/other/guides/2011 (accessed August 19, 2012).
[195] Ibid, 108.

those for HOPE VI. NLIHC leaders and policy researchers have seen what HOPE VI has done to many of the public and low-income housing residents who have faced problems after being forced leave their communities. Many advocates like NLIHC also wanted to make sure that the new CNI included stronger requirements for one-for-one replacement of subsidized housing units demolished. HUD Secretary Shaun Donovan compared HOPE VI to CNI during a CNI hearing on March 19, 2010 by saying that the program does have a stronger requirement to replace every revitalized public or assisted housing unit with another comparable hard unit.[196]

NLIHC also urges more protection for the affordable housing units that exist at the time CNI grants are awarded to neighborhoods being redeveloped. This includes privately held and publicly subsidized housing.[197] Details are still being outlined to develop a more cohesive CNI program, including further budget discussions. Further, many non-profits, social and support services agencies, some private companies and other groups who try to protect public and low-income housing and those who design and build them continue to negotiate on behalf of the residents being removed. The public and low-income housing supporters pressured HUD to make sure that all of the public housing families and individuals who had to move prior to demolition would have the choice to return to the new CNI community.[198]

The jury is still out on what CNI will look like and how it will impact public housing families and individuals. NLIHC and other coalitions, advocates, residents and policy and law makers shall continue to press Congress and HUD to develop the best solutions for the new CNI program while maintaining its commitment to achieving socially-just public policy that assures people with the lowest incomes in the United States have affordable and decent homes.[199] Leaders encouraging the integration of households from varying income levels through the CNI program should consider what happened when this strategy was implemented in HOPE VI developments.

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[196] Prepared Remarks for Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Shaun Donovan at the Brookings Institution Metropolitan Policy Program's Discussion. "From Despair to Hope: Two HUD Secretaries on Urban Revitalization and Opportunity". National Press Club, Washington, D.C.,Tuesday, July 14th, 2009. *U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development.* http://hud.gov/news/speeches/2009-07-14.cfm (accessed January 5, 2012).
[197] "2011 Advocates' Guide to Housing & Community Development Policy." National Low-Income Housing Coalition. http://nlihc.org/library/other/guides/2011 (accessed August 19, 2012).
[198] "Advocates Praise One-for-One Replacement Requirements in Latest Choice Neighborhoods Initiative Award," *National Low-Income Housing Coalition.* September 7, 2011. http://nlihc.org/press/releases/9-7-11 (accessed May 31, 2012).
[199] Ibid.

Recent studies reiterate the isolation and lack of natural integration of residents within mixed-income and HOPE VI developments. Research by Mark Joseph shows that integrating former public housing residents within mixed-income and HOPE VI neighborhoods has had a less desirable effect than anticipated by those arguing in favor of these types of revitalization programs. For example, Joseph reports on developments by Chicago Housing Authority for the Plan for Transformation program, which is not a HOPE VI program but does include mixed-incomes households.[200] He states,

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

In his 2009 statements to Congress, Joseph provides quotes from residents who express anxiety about the new rules, higher costs and lack of social interaction now prevalent within the new mixed-income community.[201] However, approximately two-thirds of the relocated public housing residents in the study felt less stress than while living in the former public housing developments.[202]

As a HOPE VI goal, creators of the program clearly stated that mixed-income developments would provide better access to opportunities for low-income residents who would be relocated from the public housing and high poverty concentrated neighborhoods. Studies by Rachel Kleit (2009), William Julius Wilson (1987), Mark Joseph, Robert Chaskin and Henry Webber (2007) all account for this premonition that many proponents for mixed-income and HOPE VI developments believe - that households woven into the social networks of the middle-income residents would fare better.[203]

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[200] Joseph, Mark. *Written testimony prepared for hearing: Academic Perspectives on the Future of Public Housing*. U.S. House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Housing and Community Opportunity. Hearing on the Future of Public Housing. July 29, 2009. Panelist, 11.
[201] Ibid, 14, 18.
[202] Ibid, 9.
[203] Kleit, Rachel, PhD. *HOPE VI for High Point Final Evaluation* Report with Anna Brandt, June 2009, 58.

However, this speculation that former public housing residents might fare better in the mixed-income developments still needs further substantiation. Kleit (2009) writes:[204]

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

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[204] Ibid.

CHAPTER IV
DESIGN TEAM NARRATIVES AND FINDINGS

"Will we provide new communities sensitively designed to meet the real needs of
people… communities in which people feel important and uplifted?"
–James Rouse[205]

The following chapter provides narratives of each design team member, reports the
findings from each member's interview, and identifies lessons learned by the design
teams. The questions posed were developed to help to uncover each architect's
experience with directing a design team and to reveal the methods of planning, design
and development used in the HOPE VI projects. An important aim of these narratives is
to identify best practices.

In selecting these architects, the author has assumed that they (as well as developers
with whom they worked) were most important in driving the design process.

ARCHITECT 1. TOM EANES, SENIOR DEVELOPMENT MANAGER, SEATTLE HOUSING AUTHORITY

Tom Eanes received a Bachelor of Arts from Cornell University and a Master of Arts
from Columbia University. After completing his studies, he found himself in roles as a
technical writer at architecture and engineering firms. Eanes later worked his way into
construction management (CM) and held management positions on CM projects. After
obtaining experience in these roles, Eanes decided to attend graduate school at the
University of Washington where he earned a Master of Architecture (M.ARCH) from the
Department of Architecture. During the M.ARCH program Eanes developed an interest
in housing. This focus evolved with the guidance of his mentor and subsequent thesis
committee member, Michael Pyatok. Years later, Eanes worked as a leader at Pyatok
Architects, Inc.

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[205] Koo, Doris. HOPE VI Community & Supportive Services, Sustainability Conference. Seattle. April 8,
2008. Rebuild and Sustain Communities. Enterprise Community Partners.
Rouse, James. "It could happen here". A paper on Metropolitan Growth at a Conference on the Metropolitan
Future. University of California at Berkeley. September 26, 1963.
www.columbiaarchives.org/_files/pdfs/itcanhappenhere.pdf (accessed September 21, 2011).

While completing his M.ARCH degree, Eanes tailored his thesis topic to investigate pedestrian-and transit-oriented redevelopment of commercial strips. Part of his thesis dealt with moderate density and affordable housing.[206]

After graduating in 1994, Eanes worked on housing projects and police stations while employed at local Seattle architecture firms. For two years, 1996 – 1998, Eanes worked at Weinstein/Copeland Architects as part of the architecture and planning teams on the Seattle Housing Authority's (SHA) NewHolly development project. Starting in 1998 at Pyatok Architects, Inc., Eanes led the Seattle satellite office and maintained its presence for eight years. A majority of Pyatok Architects, Inc. projects were tax-credit based affordable housing. After his tenure at Pyatok Architects, Inc., Eanes worked at Hewitt Architects where he led his team to complete the Lake City Court HOPE VI apartment community in 2011, once again partnering with SHA.

Today, Tom Eanes is a Senior Development Manager within the Development Department at SHA. In his role at SHA, Eanes is managing the first two projects of the Yesler Terrace revitalization development and the steam plant renovation. He also is overseeing Yesler Terrace Phase I replacement housing project. As part of his community engagement activities, Eanes is a member of the Seattle Planning Commission.

Theoretical and practical philosophy and approach to design

> "Mr. Eanes also said a cooperative team approach to accessibility is best, so that the developers, builders, architects and users are all part of the process. He emphasized creativity in problem solving."[207]

As a theoretical and practical philosophy and approach to design, the above quote provides insight to Eanes' desire to make sure that end users – community – are an integral part of the planning and design processes. While the community planning for NewHolly happened prior to when Eanes' design team was added to the project, Eanes attempted to integrate as much of the cultural and site-specific elements as he could — after completing his own site analysis of old Holly Park with his team. Having the community members at the table throughout the process is what Eanes believes will help drive the best, most innovative, effective and efficient designs.

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[206] Eanes, Thomas Stuart. Rubbing shoulders: pedestrian-and transit-oriented redevelopment of the commercial strip. University of Washington. 1994.
[207] http://www.ada.gov/newsltr0608.htm

PROJECT OVERVIEW: NEWHOLLY, SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

The NewHolly neighborhood is located in the Beacon Hill district of South Seattle. Seattle is located in King County on the western side of Washington State (Figure 3). The NewHolly neighborhood was developed on the old Holly Park site. The neighborhood is located on the west side of Martin Luther King, Jr. Way, between Interstate-5 and the Sound Transit LINK Light Rail Othello Station that opened in 2009.[208]

Figure 3: Map of North, Central and South Seattle, Downtown Seattle, and
the Proximities to the NewHolly (HOPE VI) Community

Source: *Seattle City Clerk's Geographic Indexing Atlas*. Seattle City Clerk's Online Information Resources http://clerk.seattle.gov/~public/nmaps/html/NN-1425S.htm (accessed August 6, 2012)

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[208] Payne, Eric. "New apartment complex a test to light-rail's lure." Business/Technology. *The Seattle Times*. May 20, 2011. http://seattletimes.nwsource.com/html/businesstechnology/2015109817_othello21.html?syndication=rss (accessed August 6, 2012).

Image 7 shows the stop at the Othello Station portion of the SoundTransit LINK Light Rail system that stretches down part of MLKing Jr. Way. The Light Rail, along with King County's Metro Bus system (see Image 8) connects many NewHolly residents with the rest of Seattle, and much of the Puget Sound region.

Image 7: LINK Light Rail Othello Station on MLK Jr. Way at NewHolly

Source: Othello Station Rider Guide. Sound Transit.
http://www.soundtransit.org/Rider-Guide/Othello-Station.xml (accessed August 6, 2012)

Image 8: King County Metro Bus at Safeway, Corner of 38th Avenue South, Traveling West South Othello Street

Source: Author, André Taybron

Figure 4 shows NewHolly in proximity to downtown Seattle and two other HOPE VI developments completed by Seattle Housing Authority: High Point and Rainier Vista.

Figure 4: NewHolly Park, Rainier Vista and High Point (HOPE VI) Neighborhoods in Seattle, WA

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

Prior to redevelopment, old Holly Park consisted of 871 one-story and two-story wood-frame homes on 102-acres. Originally built in 1941 as housing for defense workers under the Lanham Act[209], it became public housing in 1950s. For over 50-years, Holly Park provided shelter for returning veterans and for low-income families. Like many public housing facilities across the country, Holly Park's maintenance costs increased as the years passed from use and weathering.

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[209] Impacted Areas Program. A program that provides federal funding for construction of essential services, such as schools, in areas whose economies have been hurt by the presence of a military installation. Non-taxpaying military installations often bring additional school-aged children to a community whose local taxpayers cannot afford to pay the costs of expanded educational facilities to accommodate military dependents. To avoid "impacting" the economy of such communities, Congress passed the Lanham Community Facilities Act in 1941, when the government began building hundreds of new military bases across the United States to train service personnel in anticipation of entering World War II. Two special-purpose laws were enacted in 1950 to extend the reach of the Lanham Act and provide one-time grants to school districts that were forced to expand facilities to accommodate large numbers of children whose parents (civilian as well as military) lived and worked on federal or federally related facilities and were exempt from local school taxes. Public Law 815 provided construction funds to expand schools for this purpose, and Public Law 874 provided funds for the expansion of educational programs in existing schools. Impacted Areas Program - American Education. *Encyclopedia of American Education.* http://american-education.org/1061-impacted-areas-program.html. (accessed September 15, 2011).

In 1995, HUD allocated Seattle Housing Authority a $48 million HOPE VI Funding grant to revitalize the distressed Holly Park public housing community. Replacing part of the former Holly Park Public Housing Development, NewHolly Phase I is a 453-unit[210] HOPE VI development.[211] It replaces 392 public housing units. Table 1 provides a breakdown of the Housing Categories and number of units available in Phase I.

Table 1: NewHolly Phase I Housing Category Breakdown

Income Category	Units
For sale (primarily market-rate homes)	148
Public housing rentals (incomes at or below 30% AMI)	177
Tax credit rentals (incomes at or below 60% AMI) includes Housing Choice Vouchers	112
Market-rate rentals	16
Units of on-site housing	**453**

Source: Eanes, Tom. Interview In-person Communication, August 3, 2012.

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[210] NewHolly Photos. http://www.seattlehousing.org/redevelopment/newholly/photos/11/ (accessed August 28, 2012).
[211] Kleit, Rachel, PhD. *Holly Park and Roxbury HOPE VI Redevelopments Evaluation Report* with Daniel Carlson and Tam Kutzmark, December 2003.

Table 2 provides the high-level redevelopment timeline for the NewHolly Phases I, II and III revitalization project.

Table 2: NewHolly Redevelopment Timeline by Seattle Housing Authority

1995 —	The Holly Park community is awarded $47 million in HOPE VI funding for redevelopment.
1996 —	Residents of Holly Park receive counseling and assistance for their temporary relocation off-site.
1999 —	Rental housing in Phase I is completed and residents begin returning to NewHolly.
2001 —	Phase II rental housing and the community's Elder Village senior housing are both finished.
2004 —	Seattle Housing Authority turns over market-rate home construction to private builders.
2005 —	NewHolly's last rental housing, located in Phase III, is completed and occupied.
2007 —	The last of 871 Holly Park replacement-housing units is available for rental.

Source: NewHolly Redevelopment Plan. *Seattle Housing Authority.*
http://seattlehousing.org/redevelopment/newholly/plan/ (accessed July 31, 2012).

The project architects, Weinstein/Copeland Architects, received an award in 2002 in recognition for Phase I. The CNU considered NewHolly an example of the "best

practices in the world of New Urbanism". This "Congress for the New Urbanism Charter Award" was one of two awards in the neighborhood category for 2002.[212]

A number of amenities exist within NewHolly. One of those features is the NewHolly Neighborhood Campus. The NewHolly Neighborhood Campus includes services, such as[213] a learning center, a branch of the Seattle Public Library, Head Start, childcare, South Seattle Community College classrooms and youth tutoring resources.[214] Two buildings within the NewHolly Neighborhood Campus are shown below in Image 9.

Image 9: NewHolly Neighborhood Campus with South Seattle Central Community College Educational Facility and Family Building

Source: Author, André Taybron

Another community resource is The Harry Thomas Community Center at Lee House, which is the only original house still standing at NewHolly.[215] Restored to its pre-WWII grandeur by community volunteers and Polygon Northwest, the space continues to serve

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[212] Ibid.
[213] Ibid, 9, 14.
[214] Ibid.
[215] "Harry Thomas Community Center at Lee House benefits from volunteers, donations." News & Reports, News Release. *Seattle Housing Authority*. January 6, 2006. http://www.seattlehousing.org/news/releases/2006/lee-house-benefits/ (accessed August 28, 2012).

the community needs as it has since the 1950s.[216] There are rooms for small neighborhood groups, small conference rooms, offices on the second floor, and rental space for small businesses or non-profits.[217] Image 10 is a design sketch of Lee House and Image 11 shows a sign displayed in front of Lee House at NewHolly. The community center at Lee House is named after former SHA executive director Harry Thomas.

Image 10: Design Sketch of Lee House

Source: "Harry Thomas Community Center at Lee House benefits from volunteers, donations."
News & Reports, News Release. *Seattle Housing Authority*. January 6, 2006.
http://www.seattlehousing.org/news/releases/2006/lee-house-benefits/ (accessed August 28, 2012)

Image 11: Sign in front of Lee House, A NewHolly Community Center
Named After Former Executive Director of Seattle Housing Authority, Harry Thomas.
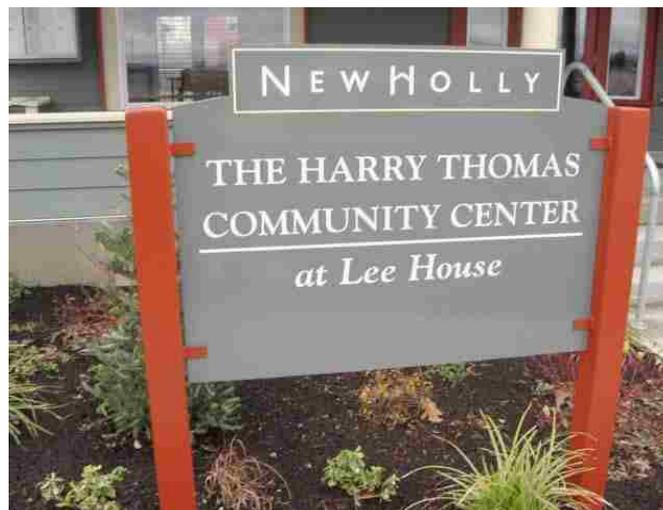
Source: Author, André Taybron

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[216] Ibid.
[217] Ibid.

Table 3 lists the housing types that exist throughout NewHolly, the income categories that correspond with the housing types and how many units per type and income category are available for all three Phases I, II and III.

Table 3: NewHolly Housing Types by Income Categories and Number of Units

Housing Type	Income Category	Units
Public housing	Extremely low income	400
For-sale housing	Any income level	364
Affordable rental housing	Low income	288
Affordable for-sale housing	Low income	112
Senior housing	Extremely low income	80
Senior housing, assisted living	Any income level	54
Senior housing, assisted living	Extremely low income	50
Senior housing, assisted living	Low income	50
Rental housing	Any income level	16
Units of on-site housing		**1,414**

Source: Seattle Housing Authority NewHolly Redevelopment Plan
http://seattlehousing.org/redevelopment/newholly/plan/ (accessed July 31, 2012)

Design Analysis and Critique

According to Tom Eanes, the driving factors for the design of the master plan were topography, drainage, accessibility and simplicity. The commitment to saving trees also played a key role in the design guidelines imposed on the processes. A Buckeye tree located between Blocks 9 and 10 is one of three trees that Eanes and his team designed around. The efforts to save these trees resulted in the "Triangle Park", seen in Image 12 and Image 13.

Image 12: Section of Triangle Park with Way-finding Signage
and Decorative Title Integrated within Concrete Landscape Wall on 30th Avenue South Between South Brighton Street and South Holly Place

Source: Author, André Taybron

Image 13: One of Many Mature Trees Throughout the Site Saved
During the Master Planning and Construction Efforts (Buckeye Tree in Triangle Park)

Source: Aurthor, André Taybron

A lot of thought, calculation and design effort went into slopes, which responded to the site topography that included steep grading. The architectural and engineering team worked together to provide the additional grading needed to facilitate effective draining at 5-percent and 3-percent slope for example on South Brighton Street and South Holly Place at Blocks 9, 10 and 12.

Nature and Culture

While saving trees was a principle that guided the design of NewHolly's master plan, new vegetation and foliage were also important to new developments. The trees that were planted during the construction of Phase I have matured. Now, they provide substantial tree canopies that line the streets, adding a sense of warmth and scale to the neighborhood of numerous two- to four-storey homes. Scattered in between the homes and street networks are a number of pocket parks. These small-scale open spaces (see

Image 14) complement the large, community parks, such as Van Asselt Park and Schaffer Park.

Image 14: Pocket Park Located Within the NewHolly HOPE VI Community

Source: Author, André Taybron

At Block 14, adjacent to the Van Asselt Park, Eanes and his design team decided against connecting 30th Avenue South and South Frontenac Street to save a number of mature trees. The determination also avoided providing shortcuts for vehicles to travel through the neighborhood when heading for destinations unassociated with NewHolly. The result provides a vantage point for homeowners overlooking the park, which includes increased security with "eyes on the park." Image 15 shows the relationship of the housing units adjacent to the trees saved and the break in connection of 30th Avenue South and South Frontenac Street.

Image 15: Trees and Pathway Incorporated into the Design,
Preserving Nature and Avoiding Increased Vehicle Traffic

Source: Author, André Taybron

While there are plenty of green spaces, landscape and architectural features, like statues, bridges and such, NewHolly lacks the innovative, technologically progressive systems that existed when SHA developed High Point in 2003, years later. There are no bioswales within NewHolly, nor is there a high-tech drainage system like that found in High Point. Image 16 shows an elevated walkway structure constructed within the landscape at NewHolly Neighborhood Campus.

Image 16: Architecture in the Landscape, a Walkway at NewHolly Neighborhood Campus

Source: Author, André Taybron

Placemaking

The NewHolly neighborhood has matured in regards to its racial, ethnic, cultural and economic diversity since families began to occupancy the residences in 1999. During several site visits, the level of activity at the parks, the Neighborhood Campus, on sidewalks, porches and within the streets signify an evolution of placemaking and community building. As a placemaking example, numerous front yards are well landscaped and manicured. This was observed for both SHA-rental units and market-rate for-sale homes.

Residents added functional, off-the-shelf products to their homes that appear to address everyday life issues. For example, one home (SHA-rental) had lattice piece to the yard on the side of the house, and a matching accordion looking barrier at the top of the steps leading to the porch. Another unit (SHA-rental) has a wood screen device to provide shading from the sun and possible more privacy for the porch. Image 17 – 20 show the level of placemaking that is taking place using landscaping and manicured lawns as personal touches to the front yard of both SHA-rental units and market-rate for-sale homes within the NewHolly Phase I section of the neighborhood.

Image 17: For Sale Attached Townhome in NewHolly Phase I
with Landscaped and Manicured Front Yard as Evidence of Placemaking.

Source: Author, André Taybron

Image 18: SHA-Rental Housing in NewHolly Phase I
with Landscaped and Manicured Front Yard as Evidence of Placemaking.

Source: Author, André Taybron

Image 19: SHA-Rental Housing Unit with Placemaking Details, Residents Responding to Everyday Life

Source: Author, André Taybron

Image 20: Placemaking and Manifestation of Everyday Urbanism,
Residents Responding to Natural Elements

Source: Author, André Taybron

Architectural Design Elements and Quality

If a mixed-income community is poorly design, there may be obvious signs of concentrated public housing low-income units and where the higher-income, market rate units are located. This distinction between subsidized rentals and market-rate for sale and rental units is noticeable after observing the quality of construction materials and by analyzing master plans of a NewHolly and High Point. During site visits to these HOPE VI projects, I observed distinctions in material quality amongst the unit types. The material quality of porch and exterior stair details and other architectural façade details of market-rate versus SHA-rentals seemed more evident within Phases II and III at NewHolly than in Phase I. Doors were identified as indicators of units for higher-income, lower-income or SHA-rental residents.

Phase I design kept door quality consistent between market-rate and SHA-rentals, unlike Phases II and III. Image 21 illustrates the similarities between the doors – flushed-wood – used for market-rate and subsidized units. On the left is a photograph of a door installed for a public housing unit; while on the right, the same door type and quality was found on the market-rate units in NewHolly Phase I. The differences between these

gateways into each home were only paint color, which varies throughout the development. In Phase II and III, and also in High Point, as will be discussed in the later section, there are different door qualities between the public housing rental units and market-rate for-sale homes. These similarities in material quality avoid the appearance of segregation of housing tenure between a subsidized and a market-rate unit to onlookers. This lack of division in door material and quality represents a higher level of integration of mixed-income residents, curbing some stigma associated with living in public housing as well as encouraging a sense of belonging amongst other households with members from diverse income backgrounds.

Image 21: Door Materiality Comparison, NewHolly Phase I

Source: Author, André Taybron

Phase II door material shift to paneled doors instead of the flushed wood doors. The distinctions began to be more apparent within this phase. Another indicator of whether a unit is for higher-income or SHA-rental households is the porch and railing detail material. The use of wood material for porches was not a good design decision according to Eanes. He believed that concrete would have been a better design solution. The quality of material for units in Phase I is shown in the three images below.

The two top images are stairs and porches for SHA-rental houses and the third photograph depicts a much higher quality material used for the porch and railing detail for a market-rate unit (see Image 22).

Image 22: First Two SHA-Rental Units' Porch and Stair Material Wearing and Deteriorating Compared to a Market-Rate Unit's Porch and Stair Materials with Better Quality (Third Photograph)

Source: Author, André Taybron

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Dan Solomon was hired to complete Phase III.[218] Eanes's critique of the housing from Phase III focused mostly on the lack of corners in the four-plex buildings. The design of the units has the stairs book casing the ends, which created a dead space and conditions with no corners (see Image 23 and Image 24). "The four-storey town homes with the four-storey blank walls would work better in a row house type design situation instead of as corner units."[219] The units are prominent within the blocks immediately adjacent to the Central Park open space and the Market Garden P-Patch. More could have been done with the design to add value to the architecture, the neighborhood character and the NewHolly Phase III identity.

Image 23: Four-plex Buildings Attempting to Hide Stairs by Design

Source: Author, André Taybron

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[218] Holly Park HOPE VI Project, Phase III. Neighborhood. Community Design + Architecture. http://www.community-design.com/projects/neighborhood/hollypark.php (accessed August 31, 2012).
[219] Eanes, Tom. Interview In-person Communication, August 3, 2012.

Image 24: Four-plex Buildings Attempting to Hide Stairs by Design

Source: Author, André Taybron

Housing Types

Housing types are diverse throughout NewHolly Phase I. Eanes remembers that there are approximately seven-to-eight building types that range from four-duplex types with three bedrooms, a few two-bedrooms, and also four-bedroom single family dwellings and duplexes. The intent behind the master planning of unit types was to alleviate any continuity in side-by-side units within a block. The idea of breaking the façade pattern and unit type stemmed around "avoiding the feeling of being in a 'project'."[220] The master plan separated identical unit types approximately 600 feet apart to minimize the repetition that could lead to the feeling of "projects" housing.

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[220] Ibid.

Image 25: Variations in Housing Types throughout NewHolly Phases I, II and III.

Source: Author, André Taybron

In a few blocks of the NewHolly Phase I the building types are identical and reminiscent of the conventional public housing architectural design aesthetic. These stretches of identical units look "project-like," because they are the same town house with no change in building type and no break in or varying of material use on the front façade. Image 26 shows the units within block 9 and 5 on South Holly Street that convey the fact that these are public housing "project" units because of the lack of architectural character. Eanes believes that this could have been avoided with more thought to the design intent and result instead of draping a single building type across a single block.

Image 26: NewHolly Phase I Block 9 Identical Units, "Project-Like" Architectural Design

Source: Author, André Taybron

The units are also very linear in style and section. In this section of block 9, Eanes advocated for shifts in unit type and design that would have responded more effectively to the site contours. He believes that not only would it have provided for more interesting architecture if the unit type combination had allowed for the shifts in plane and building height, he also believed that using the topography as a design element could have made more distinction in design section. The homes are instead flat and symmetric in section, but if the design had responded to the topography there would be more planes and shifts between levels. For example, putting a three unit next to a four unit duplex might create a better response to the contours instead of having less consideration by designing flat and symmetrical sections. This result was frustrating for Eanes during the design process. Furthermore, while visiting the site during our interview discussion and our tour of NewHolly, Eanes was reminded of the tension and disappointment. He grappled with this issue with his design team, and it was still constructed. "They look project-like," he said.

Stigma Reduction

Mr. Eanes commented that the property management company for NewHolly commended the level of integration of the various income categories within Phase I. Eanes acknowledged that the architecture and locations of incomes is very distinctive within Phase II, unlike in Phase I. Even though the market-rate units are located on the fringes of the NewHolly development within Phase I, Phase II's design clustered all the SHA-rental units south of the market-rate homes. Figure 5 shows NewHolly Phase II housing tenure mix. The purple, white and light blue colors represent market-rate, for sale homes, while the beige color toward the south of the site represent SHA-rental homes.

Figure 5: A Comparison of NewHolly Phase II Market-Rate (For Sale) Units to SHA-Rental Units

Source: Courtesy of Seattle Housing Authority

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Lessons Learned: Tom Eanes Interview Findings

Developers and Marketing

The successes and failures of NewHolly Phase I informed the way that the Seattle Housing Authority (SHA) managed the design, marketing and sales of Phase II and III. As the sales were slower than anticipated for Phase I, the SHA decided that a better strategy would be to sell finished lots to builders instead of completing the homes as its liability. SHA completed the homes as the developer and sold them on the private market.

For various reasons, it took a while to sell homes along the Holly Park Drive in Phase II. Eanes thought that having below home garage access from the rear of the property would prove to be more appealing to prospective owners. Instead, the homes were designed to have front loaded garages that not only seemed to deter buyers, this architectural move added substantial frontage to the homes. With this access to the front of the homes, the width of the units shifted from the average 18 feet to 26 feet, reducing the density per acre for that block. Once the builder that purchased the land added a drive through the back of the lots and homes, the units began to sell. Eanes stated that it was his design intent to have a drive, alley style connection behind the homes. Figure 6 diagrams units located on Holly Park Drive South built by Polygon Homes (purple). Polygon was reluctant to purchase the property until there was an agreement that an access alley could be designed and developed behind the units.

In the quiet corner of 33rd Place South and South Holly Place, the units might have sold better than most throughout the development because of their location. The units, as illustrated in Figure 6 (white, Blocks 19 and 20) are nestled in a corner away from all the other housing within NewHolly Othello Station North, Phase II. They are huddled between Bamboo Park to the south and a greenbelt and park space to the east. This infers that sales of units might have been a strong driving factor in design. This priority could put a strain on the relationships between designer, developer and the end user. The tension of community-planning professionals like Eanes, his design team and the public housing end users versus the developers and higher-income stakeholders might have more of a negative impact on the overall design. Specifically from this analysis, public housing residents' needs seem less important than designing to sale units.

Figure 6: Polygon Units Along Holly Park Drive South, Includes Access Alley In Rear and Quiet Street Corner at Block 19 and 20 at 33rd Place South and South Holly Place.

Source: Courtesy of Seattle Housing Authority

Political context and influences

• Who were important players who help to bring about project? (i.e. Financing, Political realm that influenced decisions - elected, govt. agency, local community residents, public housing residents, advocates, etc.)

Wallace, Roberts& Todd (WRT) worked with Seattle officials to complete the initial community planning and design process that led to application for a HUD HOPE VI competitive grant. WRT is a national firm consisting of city and regional planners, urban designers, landscape architects, and architects based in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.[221] According to Eanes, SHA took a long time kicking around various development models once the agency received the HOPE VI award. Like other housing authorities around the

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[221] *Wallace, Roberts& Todd.* http://www.wrtdesign.com/ (accessed August 31, 2012).

country that received the HUD funding, they were pushed up against a short time-crunch once HUD leadership demanded results. Further, HUD lit a fire under the SHA to get the project implemented. HUD told SHA that the entitlement process for NewHolly needed to be complete within six months, and that the project construction had to begin in 18 months. Subsequently, SHA hired Weinstein/Copeland to complete the master plan that was used to develop Phases I and II of the NewHolly New Urbanist HOPE VI Development. Dan Solomon worked with a local firm to complete Phase III.

Urban context and influences

- What was it about the physical condition that influenced choices and decisions? Such as Housing, Geography, Nature, Fabric of, proximity to transportation line, etc.

While the WRT plan helped to win the $48 million funding, it needed substantial modification in order to work effectively and efficiently for the actual development of the site. According to Eanes, he led effort to apply the expected New Urbanism design principles to create a master plan that would work with the undulating topography, and other natural and as well as synthetic constraints offered by the site. Eanes explained that the original master plan that Weinstein/Copeland inherited from WRT was delivered with an expectation that it use the New Urbanists style design and planning model, which was HUD's adopted approach and had been implemented in other HOPE VI projects completed around the country. The plan also proposed specific building-types for the public housing units. It called for duplexes and town homes. This typology allowed for density of approximately two-units per acre. Additionally, Eanes concluded that the plan looked good on paper and would have been great for a flat city. However, the master plan's design ignored the complex topography found in Seattle.

After the grant was award was when designing the 'real' master plan started, which is typical of many HOPE VI projects. Again, Eanes led the detail planning process of the Phase I master plan. The design approach that Eanes and his team at Weinstein/Copeland took prioritized topography, drainage, accessibility and simplicity.

One fix to the original plan made sure that the Van Asselt Park remained in its existing location. The team from WRT proposed to move the park nearer to Martin Luther King Jr. Way. The Weinstein/Copeland team, being led by Eanes, considered that because of the public engagement history in Seattle to address such issues as relocating a park, they assumed that the comment and review period would cause a huge delay in the

project timeline. Another concern that Eanes and the Weinstein/Copeland team had was the proposal by the WRT master plan to place a pedestrian boulevard near and underneath the location of high-voltage power lines. After a few days of studying the plan, and once Eanes presented the idea to principal Edward Weinstein, FAIA, it was decided that the boulevard was a no-go, not only because of the power lines, but also because of topographical constraints. Even though the appendices of the report contained study sketches by local partners of WRT that illustrated topography considerations, the original master plan still favored a flat site instead of the more geographically complex NewHolly site.

While the team struggled with the master plan that they inherited, as Eanes recalls, two other challenges stood out: addressing the steep hillside and designing the street grid to meet the New Urbanism principle of street connections. Eanes' understanding of how the New Urbanists approach the design problems with sites like NewHolly, as it had the curvilinear streets, is to throw out the street plan entirely and layer a new street grid in its place. Because Eanes' team was responsible for the master plan, this extreme measure of reconstructing street grids and infrastructure was less severe. NewHolly Phase I design allowed for street connection to the adjacent, existing city street grid (see Figure 7).

Figure 7: NewHolly Phase I Street Grid Connectivity to Adjacent City of Seattle Streets and
Phase II Holly Park Drive Curvilinear Connection
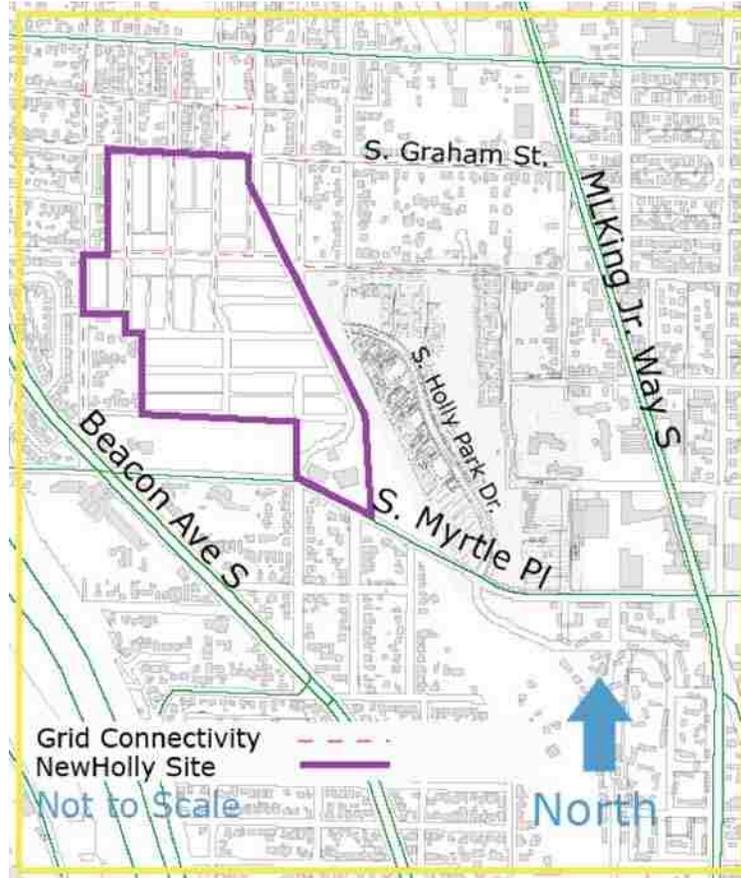
Source: GIS map created by author, André Taybron from Washington State GIS Data.

One jog in the street at South Brighton Street and 30th Avenue South allowed for an opportunity for open space as a community park. This space is called Triangle Park. This transition occurred because the elongation of each block shifted from a north-south orientation to an east-west direction as the site programming and design responded to the existing topography. Intending to weave Holly Park neighborhood back into the South Seattle surrounding community, the master plan design recreated the street grid while incorporating New Urbanist planning and design principles.[222] The original development consisted of curvilinear streets, much different than the New Urbanist street grids in the redeveloped NewHolly.

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[222] "NewHolly: Redevelopment Plan." *Seattle Housing Authority.*
http://www.seattlehousing.org/redevelopment/newholly/plan/ (accessed August 31, 2012).

Figure 8 shows the curving street grid within the old Holly Park neighborhood compared to the more orthogonal pattern designed for the NewHolly HOPE VI development.

Figure 8: NewHolly Phase I Street Grid Before and After Design of the HOPE VI Development, Comparison of Old Holly Park Street Pattern (Left) to NewHolly New Urbanist Street Grid (Right).
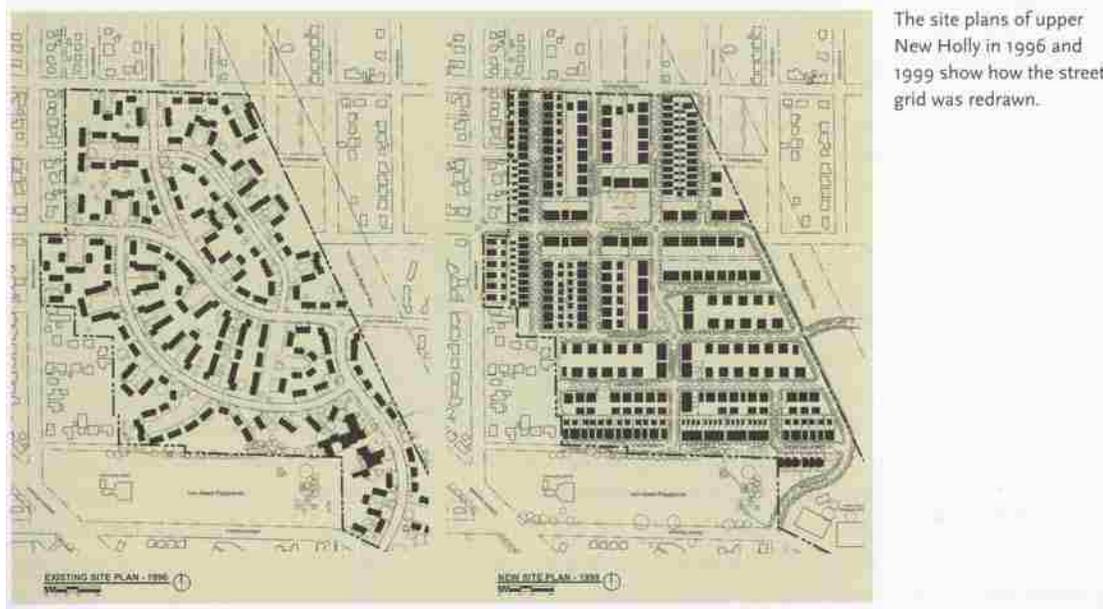
Source: Cisneros, Héctor, and Lora Engdahl.
From despair to hope: HOPE VI and the new promise of public housing in America's cities.
(Washington, D.C: Brookings Institution Press, 2009).

The market-rate, for sale units and the SHA-rental units are shown in Figure 9. The design integration of the housing tenures is more layered than woven together. The outer blocks of NewHolly on the northeast, northwest, west and southwest edges contain the market-rate, for sale homes. According to Eanes, this was intentional because project leaders from SHA and Weinstein/Copeland agreed that having the market-rate units adjacent to the surrounding neighborhoods would be a better design strategy. The SHA-rental units are clustered within the site, fortressed from the surrounding neighborhoods by the for sale unit. It concentrates the low-income households within the HOPE VI community.

Figure 9: Seattle Housing Authority's NewHolly (HOPE VI) Community
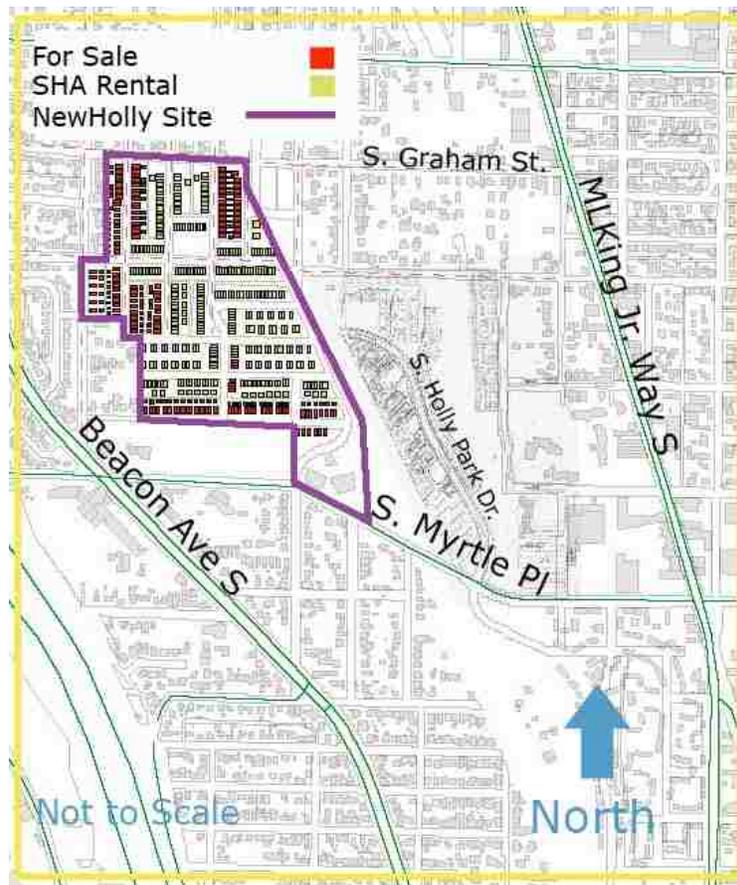
Source: Courtesy of SHA (Adapted for thesis diagram purposes by Author, André Taybron).

Voters approved the Puget Sound's Regional Transit System Plan – *Sound Move* – in November 1996.[223] It was the LINK Light Rail levy. Once this pivotal vote took place, Eanes and his team continued the design the master plan but now with accessibility to Sound Transit stops in mind. Eanes sees the connection to the rest of the Seattle and other regional stops as a critical advantage for the NewHolly location. A design move that utilized existing site infrastructure for Phase II of NewHolly was keeping the stairs at John C. Little, Sr. Park in Block 21. The stairs are located near the Polygon property and makes the connection of the site to the Othello Light Rail Station at MLKing Jr. Way

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[223] Central Puget Sound Regional Transit Authority: 2012 Financial Plan (June 2012). Sound Transit, 5. www.soundtransit.org/Documents/pdf/.../2012_FinancialPlan.pdf (accessed August 22, 2012).
Sound Transit, the Central Puget Sound Regional Transit Authority, was created in 1993 pursuant to State enabling legislation (RCW 81.112). It is a special-purpose metropolitan municipal corporation, responsible for the construction and operation of high-capacity public transportation systems within its district. The Sound Transit district comprises five subareas within the contiguous urbanized areas of Snohomish, King, and Pierce counties (see Figure 1 below). The district is home to approximately 2.7 million people or 80% of the three-county population.

more accessible for residents. Image 27 provides a view of the LINK Light Rail traveling south parallel to MLKing, Jr. Way South, heading to the Seattle-Tacoma International Airport.

Image 27: Sound Transit LINK Light Rail Traveling South After Leaving Othello Station

Source: Author, André Taybron

Social context and influences

• Was there something special about the people who lived in the housing and community that helped you approach this assignment (way of doing business)? Racial, Social, Ethnic

Because of the timing of Weinstein/Copeland's award for the contract from SHA to update the master plan, all of the community planning efforts had already been completed. Eanes' team at Weinstein/Copeland assisted in completing the NewHolly HOPE VI development's entitlement process. Although the community planning process had ended, Eanes was aware that the master planning should effectively integrate the returning public housing residents and those newly introduced to the neighborhood with the incoming higher-income households. According to Eanes, WRT had completed a lot of outreach with the Holly Park residents. Therefore, WRT's earlier assessment report

helped to inform his design approach. Eanes' team did, however, complete physical models and illustrations for all three phases of the NewHolly development to be used as communication tools for meetings, the city's permitting process and other relevant outreach.

Economic paradigms

- What would you say were economic factors that helped to influence the design & development approach?

- Was there an amount of money that you had to work with? Budget?

- Those who lived there?

- Those who expected to be integrated into mixed-income community?

Eanes discussed the pragmatic approach that he took during the master planning phase to help alleviate unnecessary costs. The original WRT master plan called for the street grid to receive total reconfiguration. This design approach is in line with the New Urbanism principle that encourages street connection. Fortunately, NewHolly Phase I was able to connect to the adjacent city street with little disruption to the existing street pattern and topography. Holly Park Drive was a curvilinear street that was a key concern during the master planning process. Through thoughtful design, the existing Holly Park Drive was kept intact for Phases II and III. One of the major issues that drove Eanes and his design team to try and salvage Holly Park Drive and other existing streets was the redevelopment cost. Maintaining as much of the existing street grid as possible kept down the project's infrastructure costs.

Power and influences

- Who ultimately controlled what was being done? Who called the shots? Homage being paid to?

- As a designer, how did you cope with that in those circumstances?

- Did you ever have to make a compromise?

- Did you ever have to conceal what was happening? Withholding info?

- Developers, Elected officials, housing residents?

- Did you ever have to massage the paying clients to get them to understand what was being said to get the developers to understand what the residents wanted, were saying?

The planning process with the City of Seattle went very well. The city was pumped-up about the NewHolly HOPE VI project opportunity. As a result, the Seattle Department of Design, Construction and Land Use (DCLU), now named the Department of Planning and Development (DPD), dedicated a team for that year specifically to handle the NewHolly project. The dedicated team members would all attend weekly project meetings. Eanes believes that all the many hours spent in meetings and the efforts exhausted during the process were well worth it. Eanes said that the design team, city staffers and everyone else who sat at the table knew what was going on, so there was no need to back track or get sidetracked with catching anyone up with the project status. This collaborative effort among the design team, city of Seattle representatives and other players resulted in completing the entitlement process in six months and being approved to begin construction six months after.

As one stipulation for receiving $15 million from the City of Seattle, there was a one-for-one replacement of public housing units required for the development. At the time, HUD had not implemented a mandate the one-for-one unit exchange. After the Displacement Coalition took a stance against the project's lack of sensitivity to the needs of many residents that were being uprooted by the housing implementation leaders of the NewHolly project, SHA was required to replace the units. However, all of the units needed not be within the NewHolly community, but could be scattered-sites throughout the city.

After completion of NewHolly, the SHA and the real estate development and housing communities in Seattle had one project under-its-belt, which demonstrated that because it was done once it could probably be done again.

ARCHITECT 2. MIKE PYATOK, FAIA: PRINCIPAL, PYATOK ARCHITECTS, INC.

> "He is known for bringing clients, users and community members together in the
> design process and gives them hands-on experience in designing for their own
> needs."[224]

As the founder and principal of Pyatok Architects, Inc.[225] based in Oakland, California,
Michael (Mike) Pyatok "has designed more than 35,000 units of affordable housing in
California, Washington, and Arizona, as well as master planned communities in Hawaii,
the Philippines, and Malaysia."[226] He has written numerous articles describing his
experiences working on design and development teams for affordable housing and low-
income and public housing projects, including HOPE VI. Pyatok is a "thought leader" in
the field of development and affordable housing, giving voice to local residents,
particularly those from low-income, disenfranchised and minority communities.[227] As part
of Pyatok's contribution to community planning, he has developed participatory design
methods to facilitate community involvement throughout the design process, resulting in
numerous community and neighborhood plans, and the implementation of new housing
and community facilities.[228] As an educator, Pyatok has taught studios, seminar courses
and lectured as a University of Washington (UW) faculty member since 1990. He is now
a professor Emeritus within the UW College of Built Environment's Department of
Architecture. Prior to teaching and practicing architecture, he received his Master's
degree from the Harvard Graduate School of Design after earning a bachelor's degree in
architecture from the Pratt Institute.

Image 28 captures Mike Pyatok having a conversation with students. As an educator, he
has provided many lectures, talks, presentations and studios over the past 42 years.

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[224] Dekker, Melissa. "UW students gain insight into housing needs of the Valley." *Daily Sun News.*
Sunnyside, Washington. November 11, 2004.
http://www.dailysunnews.com/archives/story.aspx/2695/uw-stu (accessed July 25, 2012).
[225] The firm opened in 1984.
Speakers' Biographies: Michael Pyatok. Architecture for Change Summit. University of Illinois at Chicago.
September 22 – 24, 2010. http://architectureforchange.aa.uic.edu/bios.html (accessed August 28, 2012).
[226] Pyatok, Mike. *Pyatok Architects Inc.* http://www.pyatok.com/writings.html (accessed May 31, 2012).
[227] Ibid.
[228] Speakers' Biographies: Michael Pyatok. Architecture for Change Summit. University of Illinois at Chicago.
September 22 – 24, 2010. http://architectureforchange.aa.uic.edu/bios.html (accessed August 28, 2012).

Image 28: Michael Pyatok Visits Students of the Niehoff Studio
Discussing Means and Methods of Designing Affordable Housing

Source: University of Cincinnati. http://www.uc.edu/cdc/images/events/pyatok/pyatok1.jpg
(accessed August 31, 2012).

"During the fall of 2007, architect Michael Pyatok visited students of the Niehoff studio to discuss means and methods of designing affordable housing. A renowned architect and scholar in this topic, Pyatok presented work from a forty-five year career of creating innovative multi-family housing solutions."[229]

Theoretical and practical philosophy and approach to design

In his article, "The Politics of Design: The New Urbanists vs. the Grass Roots," Pyatok argues,[230] "We no longer as a nation have slavery, but tenants, whether rural or urban, [who] are truly second class citizens and are treated as less than equal citizens by our property laws, tax codes and development policies."

Pyatok's design approach encourages clients, users, and community members to participate in the design process from start to finish. He says that his job is to allow the participants to provide as much input as is feasible so they are the final decision makers. He guides them to create the best design possible. Another value that Pyatok brings to the design process of affordable housing for low-income households is his hands-on approach. Pyatok believes that the everyday elements will rise out of the conversations and community planning workshops because everyone knows what it's like to live in a neighborhood, house or an apartment.[231] Therefore, he immerses himself into the neighborhood where the project will reside. As part of the community planning process,

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[229] Michael Pyatok Meeting. University of Cincinnati. http://www.uc.edu/cdc/events/pyatok.html (accessed July 27, 2012).
[230] Ibid.
[231] Ibid.

Pyatok facilitates workshops where he encourages residents to describe the way they use their homes and neighborhoods to help facilitate the best design concept.[232] "He is convinced that local residents have great wisdom about what kind of housing will work best for them."[233] The reason he believes this relates back to his own experiences growing up in tenements of Brooklyn. A single mother on welfare raised Pyatok and his brother. His early familiarity with living in similar situations and amongst other low-income families has helped to mold Pyatok's mission to design affordable housing from the residents' perspectives.

Pyatok challenges other architects and design professionals "to put themselves in the shoes of others outside their social and economic circle and redirect their energy to providing housing for them."[234] Appendix D provides more information about Pyatok's background and projects he worked on that have influenced his design approach.

Mike Pyatok's view of New Urbanism

Pyatok considered the inception of the "New Urbanism" to have formalized in the late 1980s early 1990s, around the same time that other alternatives critical of past urban design, architecture and planning movements and societal concerns began to surface. From his perspective, which he included in his article "The Politics of Design: The New Urbanism vs. the Grass Roots", Pyatok noted that the nation's political and economic power is centered in the suburbs. Therefore, New Urbanism initially responded to the needs of the physical circumstances that had evolved over the years within these sprawling areas. After the city center became the new hotspot, due to the shifting interest of the next generation (offspring of the suburban parents who escaped the urban environment for socially and economically homogenized developments) New Urbanists found opportunities to market a new form of urban renewal and displacement of the poor, including influencing HOPE VI developments.

The HOPE VI project in this study with which Pyatok is connected is Oakland Housing Authority's (OHA) Lion Creek Crossings development. Pyatok Architects, Inc. completed the master plan and housing design for Phase Ia and Phase III.

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[232] Ibid.

[233] http://www.commonweal.org/programs/fg_interviews/pyatok.html

[234] Binsacca, Rich. "Hall of Fame Talk About Design: The 2011 inductees have a lot to share when it comes to the impact of the recession and green building on new-home design--and why housing is still a great industry." Design: Builder Online. October 11, 2011. http://www.builderonline.com/design/inductees-into-the-2011-wm-s-marvin-hall-of-fame.aspx (accessed August 31, 2012).

PROJECT OVERVIEW, LION CREEK CROSSINGS (COLISEUM GARDENS), OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA

Lion Creek Crossings is located in the East Oakland district of Oakland, California. Oakland is located in Alameda County and east of the City of San Francisco and San Francisco County (see Figure 10). The HOPE VI development Phase I was completed in 2003 and Phase III in 2006 on the old Coliseum Gardens site.[235] The neighborhood is located on the east side of San Leandro Street across from the Oakland Coliseum and north east of the Bay Area Rapid Transit East Oakland/Coliseum station.

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[235] Lion Creek Crossings (Coliseum Gardens). Properties: Residential Properties. *East Bay Asian Local Development Corporation.* http://www.ebaldc.org/pg/16/properties/residential-properties/rf/23/Lion-Creek-Crossings-Coliseum-Gardens (accessed August 31, 2012).

Figure 10: Map of the San Francisco, Oakland, and San Jose, California area

Source: "Journey to Work Profile: San Francisco—Oakland—San Jose, CA CMSA."
Journey to Work Trends 1960 – 2000. Census Transportation Planning Products.
Planning: Office Of Planning, Environment, & Realty (HEP).
Federal Highway Administration. *U.S. Department of Transportation.*
http://www.fhwa.dot.gov/planning/census_issues/ctpp/data_products/journey_to_work/jtw8p2.cfm
(accessed August 21, 2012).

Image 29 shows the elevated rails for the BART that connects East Oakland and Oakland Coliseum to San Francisco and the Bay Area metropolitan region.

Image 29: BART Rails Leading to the Oakland Coliseum Station South East from Lion Creek Crossings.

Source: Author, André Taybron

Another mass transportation resource available to Lion Creek Crossings residents to connect them to the rest of the Bay Area region is the 511 San Francisco Bus Transit system. Bus stops are located within walking distance from Lion Creek Crossings. Image 30 contains a bus that is traveling west on San Leandro Street, parallel to the BART rail line.

Image 30: 511 SF Bay Bus Transit Traveling North on San Leandro Street,
Adjacent to the Lion Creek Crossing Development and Parallel to the BART Rails

Source: Author, André Taybron

Old Coliseum Gardens consisted of 195 apartments (stacked flats, 3 floors) on the 22-acre site. Originally built in 1964, it was housing for very low-income residents. Of the units demolished, 100 removed are replaced back on the site at comparable income levels while the other 95 were redeveloped on scattered sites.

In 2000, HUD allocated Oakland Housing Authority a $34,486,116[236] HOPE VI Funding grant to revitalize the distressed Coliseum Gardens public housing community. Replacing part of the former Coliseum Gardens Public Housing Development, Lion Creek Crossing Phase I is a 115-unit HOPE VI development. Pyatok Architects Inc. designed the master plan and 106 units for Phase III, and 50 units for Phase Ia. With the addition of Phase IV with about 100 family units, and 100 senior housing units over the next three to four years, there will be a total of about 500 units.

The development consists predominately of rental 'mixed-income' units for households whose income falls below 30 percent and up to 60 percent of Area Median Income (AMI). It was projected that because of the location within the city, units may not attract

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[236] HOPE VI Revitalization Grants as Originally Awarded. Revitalization Grants - HOPE VI - Public and Indian Housing. *U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development.* http://portal.hud.gov/hudportal/HUD?src=/program_offices/public_indian_housing/programs/ph/hope6/grants/revitalization (accessed August 31, 2012).

households at or above 80 percent AMI. While there was a desire to have 30-35 units for a homeownership program, 100 senior housing units were determined to be better suited for the development instead, given the market conditions after 2008.

Table 4 is a breakdown of the number of units developed within each phase and includes the architects who designed them. There will be 440 new affordable (1- to 5-bedroom) rental units and 28 homeownership units once the multi-phase project is complete.[237] The development team completed a complex affordable housing project.

Table 4: Breakdown of Lion Creek Crossings Development Phases

Phase	Architect	# of Units
Phase Ia	Pyatok	50*
Phase 1b	Kodama Disegno	65
Phase II	Hui Hay Lee	75
Phase III	Pyatok	106
Phase IV	Tom Dolan	100***
Phase V	(TBD)	100**
Total rental		**496**

*16 disabled and disabled accessible.
**Higher density piece by BART
*** Senior housing

Source: Lion Creek Crossings (Coliseum Gardens). Properties: Residential Properties. *East Bay Asian Local Development Corporation.* http://www.ebaldc.org/pg/16/properties/residential-properties/rf/23/Lion-Creek-Crossings-Coliseum-Gardens (accessed August 31, 2012).

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[237] Lion Creek Crossings (Coliseum Gardens). Properties: Residential Properties. *East Bay Asian Local Development Corporation.* http://www.ebaldc.org/pg/16/properties/residential-properties/rf/23/Lion-Creek-Crossings-Coliseum-Gardens (accessed August 31, 2012).

The East Bay Asian Local Development Corporation (EBALDC) and The Related Companies of California[238] were the developers of Lion Creek Crossings, as partners with Oakland Housing Authority. Cahill Construction constructed the project. "EBALDC is a community development corporation that develops affordable housing and community facilities with integrated services focused on tenants and neighborhood residents, with emphasis on Asian Pacific Islander communities and the diverse low income populations of the East Bay."[239] The development team incorporated a number of suggestions that rose out of the community planning process, which included residents of the former Coliseum Garden public housing, and surrounding neighbors. Naming of the development was one of the suggestions.

The HOPE VI development is named Lion Creek Crossings because "reflecting a fresh community spirit, neighborhood representatives and former residents of the demolished Coliseum Gardens selected a name for the new development, Lion Creek Crossings, highlighting the restoration of Lion Creek and two new bridges that will cross it"[240](see Figure 11).

Figure 11: Master Plan of Lion Creek Crossings Highlighting Phase 3

Source: Pyatok Architects, Inc.

[238] "Oakland Officials Celebrate Grand Opening for Fourth Phase of Lion Creek Crossings Apartments, and New City Park and Restored Creek in East Oakland." News & Announcements. *Related California*. May 16, 2012. http://www.relatedcalifornia.com/ourcompany/press/104/OAKLAND-OFFICIALS-CELEBRATE-GRAND-OPENING-FOR-FOURTH-PHASE-OF-LION-CREEK-CROSSINGS-APARTMENTS-AND-NEW-CITY-PARK-AND-RESTORED-CREEK-IN-EAST-OAKLAND/ (accessed August 31, 2012).
[239] "About EBALDC." *East Bay Asian Local Development Corporation.* http://www.ebaldc.org/pg/13/about-ebaldc/our-mission (accessed August 31, 2012).
[240] Lion Creek Crossings (Coliseum Gardens). Properties: Residential Properties. *East Bay Asian Local Development Corporation.* http://www.ebaldc.org/pg/16/properties/residential-properties/rf/23/Lion-Creek-Crossings-Coliseum-Gardens (accessed August 31, 2012).

A new neighborhood is being planned and designed on top of the existing BART parking lot at Snell Street and 71st Avenue. The developer is UrbanCore, LLC. Pyatok Architects, Inc. will design the project[241] and it will be market-rate, which for that area means 80-100% AMI.

Design Analysis and Critique

The driving factors for the design of the Lion Creek Crossings master plan were the requirements to create a central park, security issues, budget constraints and providing sensitive architecture for the low-income residents, according to Mike Pyatok. The commitment to creating a creek and open park space for the residents and community played a key role in the design guidelines imposed on this process. The creek and the park brought together nature and culture in the site. The security issues drove night lighting design, street layout and unit design. Units designed in response to understanding security strategies included porches and bay windows that would help to provide constant surveillance through 'eyes on the street'. Accessibility to public transit services and connecting to the surrounding community, including prospective revitalization opportunities, were all additional factors considered during the planning and design processes.

Nature and Culture

In the center of the Lion Creek Crossings HOPE VI rental development, nature meets culture as a community park, a formerly culverted creek that was restored and an overflow concrete channel next to the restored creek. The 5.7 (6-acre) Park with athletic field and restored creek and channelized creek are central amenities accessible to all residents. Originally, there was a series of smaller parks scattered throughout the property. During the planning and design process, the City of Oakland's Parks Department pushed for the combined, central park. Image 31 looks southwest down the restored creek from the pedestrian bridge, with Phase I and IIb units and the Oakland Coliseum as the backdrop, while Image 32 shows the concrete channel running parallel to the restored creek.

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[241] Torres, Blanca. "BART picks developer for Coliseum project." Bay Area: BizTalk. *San Francisco Business Times.* December 2, 2011. http://www.bizjournals.com/sanfrancisco/blog/2011/12/bart-picks-developer-coliseum-project.html?page=all (accessed August 22, 2012).

Image 31: Restored Lion Creek

Source: Author, Andrè Taybron

Image 32: Lion Creek Crossings
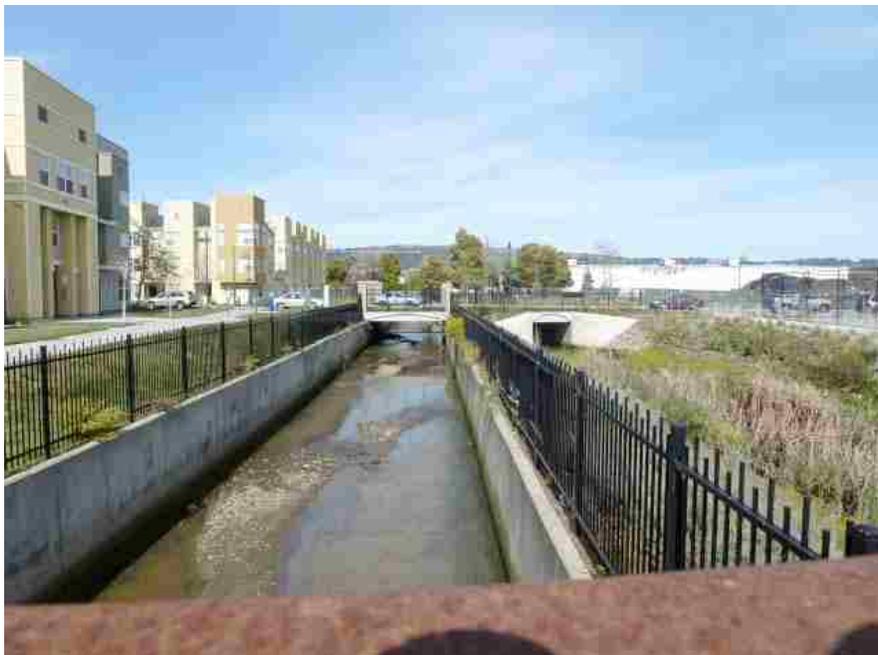
Source: Author, André Taybron

Placemaking

During a site visit to Lion Creek Crossings, the level of activity at the parks, the Neighborhood Campus, on sidewalks, porches and within the streets was minimal as it is still evolving into a mature community. There was minimal evidence of placemaking. As a placemaking example, patio yards had some landscaping; however, very limited.

Image 33 shows one of the few instances of placemaking. A resident added personal touches to a patio in the Phase Ia building.

The 7,500 square foot social services and child care center building (see Image 33), which includes Head Start, YMCA[242] and other community services was busy with an after school program and other signs of community building activities.

Image 33: Placemaking on the Patio (Lower Right)

Source: Author, Andrè Taybron

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[242] Lion Creek Crossings (Coliseum Gardens). Properties: Residential Properties. East Bay Asian Local Development Corporation. http://www.ebaldc.org/pg/16/properties/residential-properties/rf/23/Lion-Creek-Crossings-Coliseum-Gardens (accessed August 31, 2012).

Image 34: Social Services and Child Care Building (Phase Ia),
Across the Parking Lot from the Central Park

Source: Author, Andrè Taybron

The nexus of the community will have resources for health care, educational training, recreation and other services for residents and to help community building seen in Image 34.[243]

Architectural Design Elements and Quality

The Lion Creek Crossings mixed-income community's design makes little known about the location of the public housing low-income units and the higher-income, market rate units. The strength of the master plan and the architectural design details, as well as materials and variation in building type help to camouflage the income levels for the households living in the units.

Hardscape and other landscape elements like trees and shrubs were designed into the internal courtyard of Phase III, seen in Image 35.

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[243] Ibid.

Image 35: Court Yard Entrance at Phase III of Lion Creek Crossings

Source: Author, André Taybron

Image 36: Internal Courtyard Lacks Architectural Detail

Source: Author, André Taybron

Housing Types

Housing types are fairly diverse in Lion Creek Crossings. The development consists of 1-5 bedroom, low-rise buildings grouped around secured courtyards. There are 2- and 3- story townhomes with tuck-in garages; 2-story townhomes above flats; townhomes above concrete podium garages; flats above townhomes in elevator-served buildings. Each housing type responds to its special location in the master plan, and the densities required for each phase. Phase I (a and b, 115 units) had 27 different unit types, and Phase III (106 units) had 15 different unit types. Typically such projects have only 6-8 different unit types.

Because there are different architects for each phase the design aesthetic varies throughout the development. The building types are not identical and avoid the look of conventional public housing architectural aesthetics. Image 37-44 show the variety of housing types throughout the Lion Creek Crossings HOPE VI development. Pyatok believes that the facades of Phase IV are a bit too saturated and look like "affordable housing", since so many affordable housing developments have been designed with strong colors during the past decade to overcome the drab color schemes of previous public housing. In the process, they have created a new form of stigmatizing, since very little of market-rate housing dares to use such bold colors.

Image 37: Townhomes Over Flats Facing 69th St, with Rear Parking Courts for Tuck-in Parking (Phase I).

Source: Courtesy of Pyatok Architects, Inc.

Image 38: Rear Parking Court for Townhomes Over Flats (Elevator-Served Flats in the Distance - Phase I)

Source: Courtesy of Pyatok Architects, Inc.

Image 39: Front Entries of Townhomes Over Flats Facing Pedestrian Courts (Phase I)

Source: Courtesy of Pyatok Architects, Inc.

Image 40: Townhomes in Groups of Four Above Podium Garage (Phase III)

Source: Courtesy of Pyatok Architects, Inc.

Image 41: Elevator-Served One-Bedroom Flats
for the Disabled, Facing Creek and Park (Phase III)

Source: Courtesy of Pyatok Architects, Inc.

Image 42: Townhomes Above Flats Facing Creek and Park

Source: Courtesy of Pyatok Architects, Inc.

Image 43: Central Court with Townhomes Above Podium on One Side,
and Townhomes Above Flats on the Other

Source: Courtesy of Pyatok Architects, Inc.

Image 44: View of Court from Corridor Balcony in Elevator-Served Building

Source: Courtesy of Pyatok Architects, Inc.

Stigma Reduction

Lion Creek Crossings achieved a somewhat mixed-income neighborhood that allowed for low- and moderate-income households (50-80% AMI) to live with very low-income residents (30% AMI and less). There are no middle-income residents. The less aggressive integration of the incomes in Lion Creek Crossing did not face the challenges of integrating low-income rental housing with market-rate ownership housing. But Pyatok's design approach made it a priority to reduce the stigmatization that existed for public housing residents prior to demolition. However, because of the value engineering process, the lower material quality and lack of architectural details undermined some of the efforts to create a better environment conducive to the reduction of stigma. Pyatok was frustrated with Phase IV's saturated colors on the façade of the buildings, over which he had no control (see Image 45 and Image 46). Pyatok, along with colleagues he has spoken with, believes that the saturated colors have become a standard for affordable housing design. He is skeptical of this continued trend as it begins to "look like affordable housing," which reverts back to the stigma of living in "projects", "public housing", or low-income developments.

Image 45: Phase VI Building with Saturated Paint Colors

Source: Author, André Taybron

Image 46: Close-up Photo of Phase VI Building with Saturated Paint Color

Source: Author, André Taybron

Lessons Learned: Michael Pyatok Interview Findings

The Lion Creek Crossings project has won a number of awards; however, Pyatok believes that his team can do better affordable housing design. Overall design quality is not as good as Pyatok wanted it to be. Pyatok found it hard to control quality across all phases. The quality across phases was not consistently implemented based on the original master plan and design guidelines. Pyatok Architects and other stakeholders set general guidelines. However, once the work began, Related had the power and influence over all of the architects to overrule the original master plan guidelines.

In retrospect, Pyatok does not like the park. He considers it to be too big and too barren. There was too much stripped out of its initial design. While the master plan and the phases his firm designed have all won awards, he does not believe it is as good as the office's other work – "it lacks the sophistication we usually achieve," he quoted.

Developers and Marketing

Property sites such as old Coliseum Garden that is now Lion Creek Crossings do not typically tempt private developers interested in doing market-rate developments. Pyatok believes that this is due to the sites being typically located in a lower-income, higher-crime neighborhood. But the Oakland Housing Authority attracted several proposals from private developers in collaboration with non-profit developers to redevelop this property.

Too many complexities arise in properties like the Lion Creek Crossings, so private sector players may not be interested in developing. From Pyatok's experience, he found that most private developers producing market-rate housing would avoid a site unless it was more developable, particularly if the entitlement process and site infrastructure are obstructed by requirements to mitigate former industrial parcels, clean up site like portions of Lion Creek Crossings. A few of the obstacles included the 5.7-acre park, the public housing considerations, and the Creek managed by the county.

Political context and influences

- Who were important players who help to bring about project? (i.e. Financing, Political realm that influenced decisions - elected, govt. agency, local community residents, public housing residents, advocates, etc.)

City Agencies

Mike Pyatok explained that the Oakland Housing Authority redeveloped Lion Creek Crossings HOPE VI project, upgrading the existing property from single income enclaves to mixed-income communities. The project received support from the City Council, which had a prominent and supportive role throughout the process. It may have been difficult for the City Council members to say no to the well-intentioned development.

Planning and Development Teams

In 2000, Pyatok and his associates worked with the community to create Lion Creek Crossings' master plan. After the master planning process, there was little community involvement. Subsequently, the Request for Qualifications (RFQ) for developers and architects was released. Pyatok Architects, Inc. was allowed to compete during the RFQ process even though they had done the preliminary site planning that had helped win the HOPE VI grant. They teamed with The Related Companies of Califorina (Related) who became the lead developer for the project. They are a national development firm. The Related Companies of California contacted the East Bay Asian Local Development Corporation (EBALDC) and established a partnership. EBALDC is one of the strongest nonprofits in the Bay Area (and four-time client of Pyatok Architects). EBALDC agreed to work as the nonprofit agency in the supporting role. Once this partnership was defined, the next additions to the team were two minority-owned architectural firms added by Pyatok Architects (Y H Lee Associates and Kodama Disegno). They all were interviewed by the housing authority as part of the development team and were awarded the project.

The team proceeded to refine the design and submitted the required plans and renderings to the City of Oakland for approvals. The process took approximately six-to-nine months.

Urban context and influences

- What was it about the physical condition that influenced choices and decisions? Such as Housing, Geography, Nature, Fabric of, proximity to transportation line, etc.

Site Programming and Design

Pyatok's design approach included access to amenities by all residents, particularly the park. He encouraged a master plan (see Figure 12) design that featured the park's location closer to the neighborhood south of the development where the site would connect to the BART and a new street. Additionally, it was important that the creek run through the park. The 5.7-acre open space would be designed in the center of the development to create the shared, semi-public space for the immediate Lion Creek Crossings and the surrounding communities.

The Lion Creek Crossings site plan includes a bent/angled street that loops around the central park. Pyatok explained that the angled street design is intended to slow traffic and to alleviate cruising through the neighborhood, and to pull the park further south, closer to the next neighborhood that will be developed to the south, above the BART station parking lot. Speed bumps were added post-occupancy to slow vehicular movement.

Figure 12: Lion Creek Crossings' Master Plan Designed by Pyatok Architects, Inc. in 2000

Source: Pyatok Architects, Inc.

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Centralized Community Open Space

Currently, the central park space is vast and uninviting. Pyatok believes that it would have been better to have incorporated smaller parks and surround each with housing instead of the large 5.7-acre central park. Throughout Lion Creek Crossing there might have been four -1.5 acre block parks. The site could have been designed with a tighter grid, which would allow for more territorializing by the residents. However, a disadvantage to that design would have been the need for more roads, which equates to increased cost. The original master plan also included two little league softball fields, which were later removed from the program. Post-occupancy, the park is used by people who walk around it and use the work out stations. Residents also have b-b-q parties, bring their toddlers to the playground, and many times there are a number of basketball players on the courts.

Image 47 is a panorama photograph collage that demonstrates the vastness of the central park. It creates a huge spatial divide between the housing buildings that flank the open space. Unless the park is used effectively, the open space intended to bring residents together could work more as a barrier to "chance encounters" and an obstacle to community building.

Image 47: Panorama of the 6-Acre Central Park at Lion Creek Crossings

Source: Author, André Taybron

A portion of trail circling the park has exercise equipment, as shown in Image 48. Residents from time-to-time use the apparatuses.

Source: Author, André Taybron

Transportation Issues and Solutions

The Phase II master plan design was influenced by the train tracks that are facing the site. On the left side of Lion Creek Crossings along the tracks, there is a feel of a 'no man's land', as if it were at the edge of the universe. There was consideration given to local institutions such as a neighboring church.

To the left, southwest of the development, is the BART station. On the right, southeast side of Lion Creek Crossings is the ACTS Full Gospel Church compound. The church has a successful ministry with approximately five thousand members. However, many of the solid-middle class congregation members do not live in Oakland. Surprisingly to Pyatok, this institution's influence did not show itself during the community planning and design processes. But later they wanted a portion of the new development to be set aside as a parking lot for the church. The developers and the City, both felt this was an inappropriate use of valuable inner city land and that portion of the site was developed with 20 townhomes for large families (3- and 4-bedroom townhouses). Other transportation issues are apparent because of the site's urban context.

As a result of the development being in a transitional area under early revitalization, a challenge for residents is that no supermarkets are within walking distance. There are no places to shop. For residents without a car who wish to shop at the nearest supermarket, they have to walk four-blocks over to 14th Street to access a bus.

Social context and influences

- Was there something special about the people who lived in the housing and community that helped you approach this assignment (way of doing business)? Racial, Social, Ethnic

Community At-Large

The neighborhood in which Lion Creek Crossings is located (Elmhurst/East Oakland or Central East Oakland) sits between 66th Avenue and 69th Avenue. This Central East Oakland area is primarily African American, with some Latino and some Asian residents. The adjacent community is called Fruitvale. It consists of a high Latino population with some Asians and some African Americans. The San Antonio community is mostly Asian with some Latino and some African American.

Geographically, the Flatlands of Oakland, which includes Lion Creek Crossings and downtown Oakland, has many more lower-income households than the "Black Hills" and "White Hills" in the hills of East Oakland where the more affluent households live. Figure 13 is a map of the distribution of the percent of people with low-income living in poverty in Oakland and surrounding areas.

Figure 13: Percent of Residents Living in Poverty in the San Francisco Bay and Oakland Areas
by Census Tract (2000)
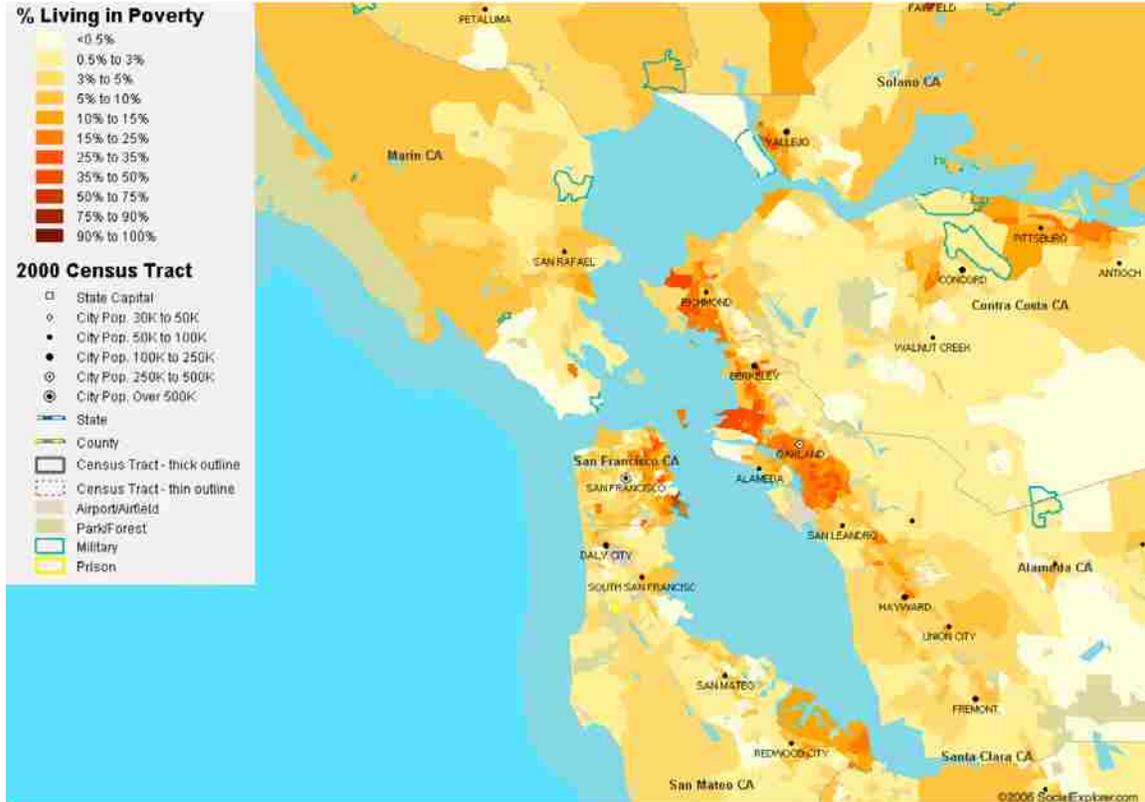
Source: Visualizing Economics. http://visualizingeconomics.com/wp-
content/uploads/sf_percent_in_poverty.png (accessed August 31, 2012).

Diversity in the Community

Pyatok reiterated that within his firm's mission is the aim of working with lower income communities to provide sensitive architecture, so this project was a natural fit to the firm's portfolio. In addition to advocating for and designing housing with communities like Lion Creek Crossing, the firm's staff also specializes in student housing. Further, Pyatok considered working on the Lion Creek Crossings project and will consider similar design opportunities if he determines that the client-architect relationship would be a good one. He wants to ensure that the work will add value to communities, such as designing housing responsive to the needs of the low-income households. Further, Pyatok believes it is crucial that the projects are sensitive to the diversity and the complex social and economic conditions found within low-income communities and amongst disenfranchised groups. Lion Creek Crossings fit the mission statement.

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During the community planning process, the former Coliseum Garden residents and members of the surrounding community attended several workshops to help shape the new plan for the area. The issues that surfaced were security of the streets and open spaces, recreation facilities, and adequate social services.

Economic Issues

- What would you say were economic factors that helped to influence the design & development approach?

- Was there an amount of money that you had to work with? Budget?

- Those who lived there?

- Those who expected to be integrated into mixed-income community?

Funding Sources

Pyatok stated that one of the economic factors most influential to the design and development approach to Lion Creek Crossings was that funding originated from so many different sources. Additionally, the development team was very conscious of spending, even though it is difficult to actually go over budget because financial sources are capped. The close attention paid to the budget by The Related Company representatives provided constraints with design time and with material choices.

Unconventional Development Costs

Another obstacle Pyatok noted that needs to be hurdled when designing affordable housing is the additional fees. Because there exists various missions from the numerous entities at the planning, design and development table, facilitating the process and working to create consensus costs more. This impediment may not exist while designing market-rate housing. The different agencies, financial institutions, and stakeholders must respond to the missions and to issues such as providing prevailing (union) wages, or when public financing requires special provisions like jobs programs for locals (i.e. Section 211). Also with this type of project there are more administrative costs for the developer. The culmination of numerous funding streams requires effective and efficient management and intellectual brainpower. The financial experts must be used to find investors to use the tax credits, which were part of this particular project. In addition to

these soft costs, the legal arrangements between all the funders constitute another level of expenses and liability. On top of these previously mentioned soft costs, are fees for the architects and engineers.

During the design, value engineering played a role in trying to save money in the materials (fixtures and finishes) that many times would be designed into a market rate unit. Pyatok states that better materials included upfront, such as hinges, hardware, cabinets, flooring, light fixtures, along with high quality construction, would alleviate future maintenance issues. Using lower-quality materials to save development costs comes back to bite the project's maintenance costs with the long-run repair. All of the various funding sources, both private and public, fill the gap between what it takes to pay for such a development and what people are able to pay.

Post-Occupancy Costs

Where do the monies come from for upkeep and ongoing maintenance? Every pro forma prepared by a development team takes into account not only all first time costs associated with construction, but all long-term expenses to maintain the property. This includes not only day-to-day expenses of maintenance but also all long-term replacement expenses for components like roofs, floor finishes, exterior and interior painting, landscape maintenance and replacement, etc. The cash flow from rents, in conjunction with subsidies, must show that all of these expenses, at their anticipated times of occurrence, can be financially covered by the project's cash flow.

Revitalization of the Neighborhood

Pyatok learned that south of the development, above the existing parking lot, may attract households with incomes at 80-100% of Area Median Income. City officials hope to bring in higher income residents to populate this end of the neighborhood. Although these households would have more choice to move to other places throughout the city because their incomes are at or above 80-100% AMI, the designs for this area must appeal to this income level.

Power and influences

- Who ultimately controlled what was being done? Who called the shots? Homage being paid to?

- As a designer, how did you cope with that in those circumstances?

- Did you ever have to make a compromise?

- Did you ever have to conceal what was happening? Withholding info?

- Developers, Elected officials, housing residents?

- Did you ever have to massage the paying clients to get them to understand what was being said to get the developers to understand what the residents wanted, were saying?

Mike Pyatok provided a metaphor that expressed his perspective of the power structure of the Lion Creek Crossings design team. He saw it as a Locomotive with a conductor – The Related Companies, and Oakland Housing Authority was a backseat passenger. The nonprofit, EBALDC, rode shotgun as co-pilot and the architect was in the Caboose with its pop-out bay windows and pop-up roof. The architect's role allowed view of the full train from the back end, and provided opportunities to guide with expert advice. The City of Oakland was less present about setting policies for the development ingredients but they were there throughout the design and construction process for reviews and to make approvals.

Security Mandates

All site planning in such projects is driven by security concerns. So all the public and semi-public realms were designed surrounded by housing whose porches and bay windows could provide constant surveillance through 'eyes on the street'. There were no hidden corners. One design element that was required from the influential players was night lighting.

Creek Restoration Decisions

The Creek design was also disappointing to Pyatok. He proposed that the existing concrete channelized creek that had been built to manage storm drainage, be capped

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with a concrete promenade for pedestrians, and to be another drivable route through the park for patrolling police cars. Instead, the City's landscape department proposed to keep it open and build an open creek parallel to the concrete channel. The City was concerned with cost of capping the creek and creating the infrastructure for a promenade.

Desley Brooks, the city councilwoman for the district, worked with Pyatok to consider the lid for the creek. They pressured the staff to find money to cover the concrete storm drainage channel, which they saw as an unsightly and tempting hazard for children. Staff for reasons of cost resisted the proposed capped design.

One of Pyatok's frustrations was that there was no involvement by residents in the design of the new creek that the City proposed to parallel the existing storm drainage channel. City staff prepared the plans for this new tidal creek without resident involvement so that parents and children were denied the opportunity to understand the value of it in the larger ecosystem, or to making the new creek an educational tool for Lion Creek Crossing children and residents. There were other creek projects in the Flatlands that were successful because they had involved the local residents who took pride and care in maintaining the newly restored natural setting based on their newly acquired knowledge. As a consequence, when the new Lion Creek restoration was complete, the children within the first week pulled out all of the plants and the City had to wrap its entire length with 6-feet tall chain link fence until the plants were replaced and allowed to take hold.

Post-Occupancy Management

The Ownership structure influences the design and development of the project. Related will own Lion Creek Crossing for the first ten-years then transition ownership over to EBALDC. According to Pyatok, Related Companies was efficient and effective with managing the budget and providing the basics/essentials, such as the amenities in the interior courtyards. EBALDC supplies all the social and recreational services and after 10 years assumes full ownership along with property management responsibilities.

The 6-Acre Central Park

As mentioned earlier, the City Park's Department required maintaining 6-acres of park. The Park's officials pushed to combine the space into one large field. There were two separate pieces before. The City Park's department also cut funding for park amenities.

Commitment to Low-income Populations

Just as important for this project, the Oakland Housing Authority was committed to 1-to-1 replacements of very low-income units, whether or not the replacement units were located on-site.

Transparency

As for concealing information from any party throughout the process, nothing came to mind for Pyatok. From his perspective, the design team and other players were fairly transparent in sharing information, disclosing intentions and engaging those in the process. However, Pyatok believes that maybe more could have been done to provide a more sensitive solution if further thought and analysis identified what not to cut. For example, Related listened to some ideas, such as allowing stoops and porches onto 66th Street, which would encourage interaction with the street and provide more security. Pyatok was appreciative and gives acknowledgement to the in-house architect at Related, as he empathized with and understood Pyatok's principles and design approach. This provided an ally during the process, particularly with the stoops and porches, which may have cost approximately $15-20K each along 66th Street. The material and design of the porches included bent stairs with mid-landings and concrete structure.

ARCHITECT 3. BRIAN SULLIVAN, AIA: *MAKING HIGH QUALITY "PLACES FOR PEOPLE"* SENIOR DEVELOPMENT MANAGER, SEATTLE HOUSING AUTHORITY

"High Point has been the high point of my career"[244] – Brian Sullivan

Image 49: Ft. Lawton neighbors: homeless housing "inappropriate" by: Cydney Gillis, Staff Reporter. Real Change. July 23, 2008. Vol: 15. No: 31 http://www.realchangenews.org/index.php/site/archives/1908/ (accessed July 23, 2012)

Brian Sullivan[245] is currently a Senior Development Manager within the Seattle Housing Authority's (SHA) Development Department. He is involved in the completion of three of SHA's HOPE VI developments. One of those is High Point, in the West Seattle district of the city. Sullivan has a wide range of experiences that stretch through a 30-year professional career. His qualifications include architectural and urban design, community participatory planning, real estate development, and teaching and research opportunities. At SHA, Sullivan's role also includes engaging in the startup of other new mixed income redevelopment efforts.

Prior to joining SHA[246], Sullivan used his expertise in affordable housing, urban design and community planning as the lead planner and designer on projects for Mithun Architects and Planners in Seattle. Two of the projects were SHA's High Point Redevelopment and the Portland Housing Authority's HOPE VI redevelopment of New Columbia. Sullivan also worked on the redevelopment of public housing communities in Everett, King County and Bremerton.

Sullivan took his expertise international during the 1990s.[247] Sullivan traveled to Hong Kong where he helped establish a new Department of Architecture at the Chinese University of Hong Kong. While there, Sullivan also completed several 'user-based' research studies of public housing communities in Hong Kong and China.

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[244] Brian Sullivan, In-person communication, June 26, 2012.
[245] From a professional biographical paragraph courtesy of Brian Sullivan, July 23, 2012.
[246] Ibid.
[247] Ibid.

Practicing architecture and urban design in Boston, Massachusetts[248], Sullivan's role as lead planner in two pioneering public housing developments – West Broadway and Harbor Point – helped further develop his interest in communities and the people who live in them. Brian Sullivan is one architect whose commitment to advocating for low-income, disenfranchised groups, is reflected in his success in making high quality "places for people," even those with little means.

Theoretical and practical philosophy and approach to design

Sullivan's interest in public housing began while he was a student at the University of Maryland (UMD). His academic introduction to low-income housing happened during a course taught by a visiting professor from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), Donlyn Lyndon[249]. One prominent tool Sullivan took away from the low-income housing course was a neighborhood-mapping technique. He recollects that he was probably the only student in the class that enjoyed the topic of low-income housing. The subject matter was outside of the traditional realm of architectural discourse and theory taught at UMD, which might have contributed to many of the students not enjoying the topic as much as Sullivan.

Subsequently, Donlyn (Don) Lyndon convinced Sullivan to transfer to MIT. Both Don and Sullivan agreed that MIT was a better fit for Sullivan because of the school's learning environment, theoretical and design approaches and synergy. Sullivan finished his bachelor degree at MIT and continued to earn his Master of Architecture there.

Upon completing his graduate studies, Sullivan's master's thesis was a design exercise within the "ghetto" of his hometown in Maryland. His brother, who studied anthropology, convinced Sullivan to talk directly to his hometown community members in order to get an authentic perspective from lower-income, Black people. Sullivan said that his brother understood that without listening to the end-users, designers and planners like Sullivan would fall short of learning what things the people he was designing for would need and want.

One thing that Sullivan took away from his master's thesis research experience and has taken into his professional career is the idea of "double jeopardy." It has stood as a

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[248] Ibid.
[249] Donlyn Lyndon, Eva Li Professor Emeritus of Architecture and Urban Design, College of Environmental Design. University of California, Berkley http://www.ced.berkeley.edu/ced/people/query.php?id=220 (accessed August 31, 2012).

foundation for his work. The double jeopardy concept was based in the perspective that African-American families had to deal with being both poor/disenfranchised and Black/of African ancestry in the United States. The intimacy of this double jeopardy affected Sullivan because his surrogate parents were Black/African American. The couple were hired by Sullivan's parents to assist with family duties around the house. These individuals who helped Sullivan's biological parents to raise him and his siblings experienced the impacts of being poor/disenfranchised and Black/of African descent in the United States.

Appendix E provides more information about Sullivan's background and projects he worked on that have influenced his design approach.

PROJECT OVERVIEW: HIGH POINT, SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

The High Point neighborhood is located in the Delridge district of West Seattle. Seattle is located in King County on the western side of Washington State (see Figure 14). The High Point neighborhood was developed on the old High Point site, which contains the highest point in Seattle at 520 feet above sea level.[250] The neighborhood is located on the east side of 35th Avenue SW, between 35th and the Longfellow Creek greenbelt.[251]

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[250]Gensheimer, Jolene. "Neighborhood of the week: Sammamish Plateau." *Real Estate. The Seattle Times*. January 21, 2011. http://seattletimes.nwsource.com/html/realestate/2013971513_realneighborhood23.html (accessed May 30, 2012)
[251] *Seattle's High Point Redevelopment: Great Design, Healthy Community*. An application for the 2007 Rudy Bruner Award for Urban Excellence. December 2006.

Figure 14: Map of North, Central and South Seattle, Downtown Seattle, and the Proximities to the High Point (HOPE VI), an "Urban Renewal"[252] Community

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

High Point is located to the southwest of downtown Seattle. It is perched above much of the surrounding geography. The Puget Sound is nestled in between West Seattle and downtown Seattle and can be viewed from many points throughout the neighborhood. To the immediate northeast is a greenbelt that contains the Longfellow Creek. Appendix C includes additional High Point site images.

In 2000, Brian Sullivan and William (Bill) Krieger - a for-sale housing specialist, worked as a design and development team for Mithun. They responded to the Request for

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[252] "High Point, Then and Now." Welcome to the High Point Neighborhood. http://www.thehighpoint.com/extreme_makeover.php (accessed August 31, 2012).

Qualifications to complete the master planning for High Point. SHA awarded Mithun the master-planning and architectural design contract for High Point.[253] The scope of the project included designing the master plan and designing the SHA owned and operated buildings. The buildings contained the SHA-rental units.

Demolition of High Point housing structures began in 2003.[254] Many of the units were over 60 years old, and worn-out. These units were the defense worker housing that was built in 1942 and transitioned into public housing residences during the 1950s.[255]

The revitalization efforts for the new High Point HOPE VI neighborhood was the third such project designed and implemented by a team of leaders from the Seattle Housing Authority, the city of Seattle and urban designers, planners, architects and other stakeholders from the Pacific Northwest region. The construction phase for rental housing began in 2004 and the first rental residents occupied their homes in 2005, while the construction of Phase 1 for sale homes started in 2005. Owners moved into their new homes in 2006.[256] The aerial photograph in Image 50 is looking north at downtown Seattle and Puget Sound over the High Point neighborhood. It is a bird's eye view of the urban context of the revitalized community.

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[253] Brian Sullivan, In-person communication. June 26, 2012.
[254] "High Point," *Seattle Housing Authority*. http://www.seattlehousing.org/redevelopment/high-point/ (accessed May 31, 2012).
[255] Ibid.
[256] Ibid.

Image 50: Aerial View Over High Point Neighborhood
in West Seattle, Washington's Delridge District
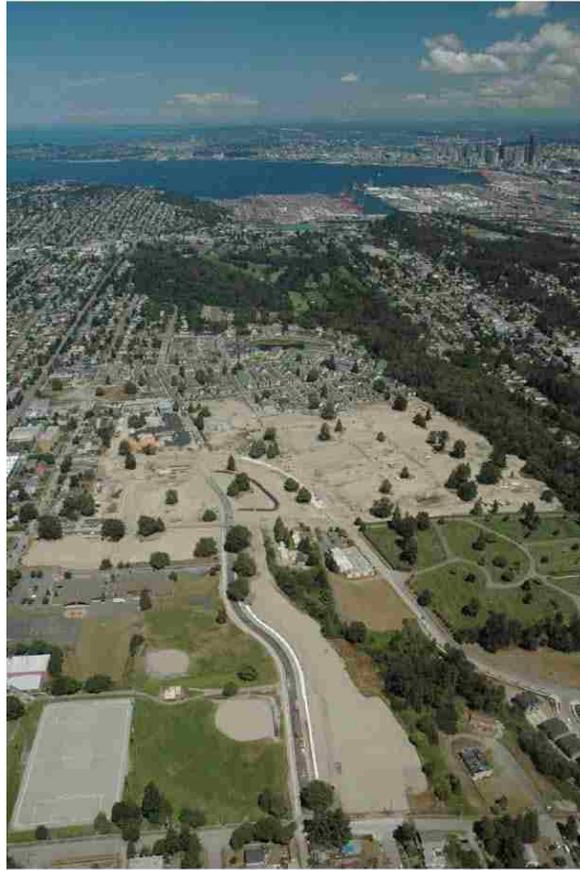
Source: Adopted from High Point Newsletter (September 2007).

Figure 15 shows High Point in proximity to downtown Seattle and the two other HOPE VI developments completed by Seattle Housing Authority: NewHolly Park and Rainier Vista.

Figure 15: NewHolly Park, Rainier Vista and High Point (HOPE VI) Neighborhoods in Seattle, WA
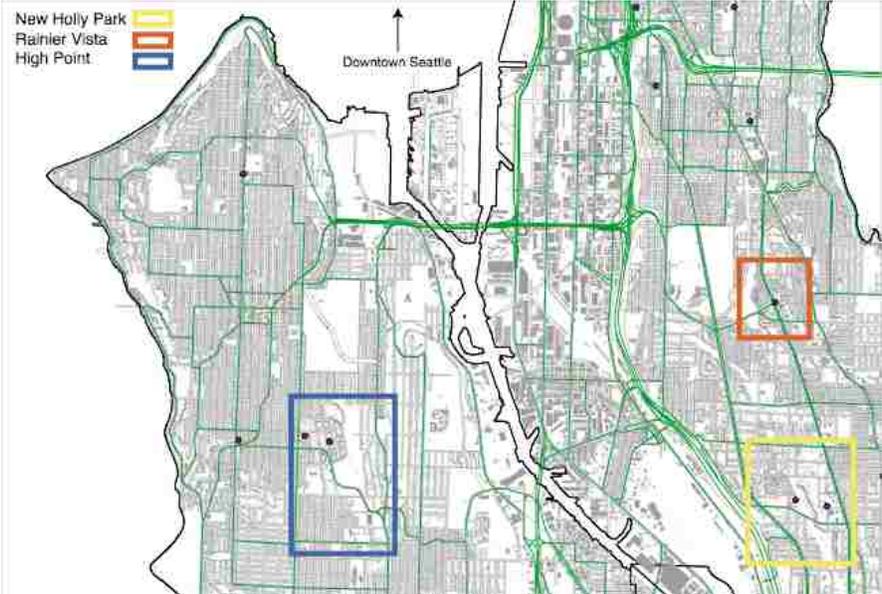
Source: GIS map created by author, André Taybron from Washington State GIS Data.

High Point has ten percent of affordable units, which are 80 out of 800 total units. Sullivan suggests that the sweet spot seems to be approximately 20-percent of all neighborhoods having affordable housing, which this could be a "good balance" with market-rate homes – avoiding the creation of a community with too many low-income households in a concentrated area. Table 5 provides a breakdown of housing types and includes the percentage of Area Median Income (AMI) at which a household could qualify for a particular housing tenure or subsidy type.

Table 5: Breakdown of Housing Types

Housing type	Income Category	% AMI	Description	Units
For-sale housing	Market rate	80-100%	Unsubsidized	790
Public housing	Very low income	<30%	Subsidized	350
Affordable rental housing	Low income	30-60%	Tax Credits	250
Senior housing	Market rate	80-100%	Unsubsidized	160
Senior housing	Very low income	<30%	Subsidized	75
Affordable for-sale housing	Low income	60-80%	Tax Credit	56
Units of on-site housing				**1,681**

Source: High Point Redevelopment Plan. Seattle Housing Authority.
http://www.seattlehousing.org/redevelopment/high-point/plan/ (accessed August 27, 2012)

Design Analysis and Critique

According to Sullivan, what one finds in High Point are things that are not available in other public housing units in other developments. All High Point units have front porches. The development contains 5 percent (30) affordable barrier free units, 9.6 – 10 percent (60) barrier free units overall. Also, units are on-grade, eliminating the need for ramps, which make it more apparent that the units are "accessible, barrier free units." High Point also provides a high level of safety for families, although there are fewer kids in the market-rate units than in the affordable units. Another amenity is the "Breath Easy Homes" for households with members who suffer from Asthma. The intent of these units is to minimize the suffering by residents.

Nature and Culture

High Point's natural drainage system is a high-tech, innovative solution to minimize the pollutants that enter Longfellow Creek from the neighborhoods storm runoff. The design team worked with Seattle Public Utilities to integrate the new technologies to protect the natural habitat. Coho and chum salmon are part of the stream's ecosystem.

The design and engineering teams integrated natural looking bioswales throughout the property, which are filled with attractive vegetation. One reason for this strategy is to slow water runoff; another is for the bioswales to work as a filtration mechanism. The bioswales help to slow the estimated 10-percent of the Longfellow Creek's watershed that comes from High Point.[257]

Additionally, the innovative, green strategies include "traditional streets" which are smaller than streets designed over the past couple of decades. There is one porous street located adjacent to bioswales. To improved drainage, the designers used porous concrete sidewalks also.

The large pond located at the north end of the site in the park is used for water retention. Instead of creating a large basin, constructed out of concrete and surrounded by a fence barrier, the design team decided to incorporate a well landscaped, community amenity. The park doubles as open space for recreation and relaxation, and functionally to catch any storm water overflow before the runoff reaches Longfellow Creek. Image 51 shows an educational tool located near the park and pond feature that diagrams and describes how the High Point Natural Drainage System works and why.

Image 51: High Point Natural Drainage System Diagram and Information Panel Located within High Point

Source: Author, André Taybron

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[257] High Point. Green Home Case Study. Department of Design and Planning. City of Seattle. January 2006. International City/County Management Association
http://icma.org/en/icma/knowledge_network/documents/kn/Document/5093/Green_Home_Case_Study
(accessed August 31, 2012).

Placemaking

During site visits to High Point, evidence of placemaking efforts by residents was minimal. Most homes that had notable landscaping were market-rate units. Image 52 and Image 53 show units with placemaking details.

Image 52: SHA-Rental Housing Unit with Minimal Placemaking Details, Residents Responding to Everyday Life

Source: Author, André Taybron

Image 53: Housing Unit with Minimal Placemaking Details, Residents Responding to Everyday Life

Source: Author, André Taybron

One manifestation of Everyday Urbanism using public space was a concrete stair wall that was plastered with graffiti art. Image 54 shows the art that adds to the neighborhood feel and character that exemplifies everydayness.

Image 54: The wall art and graffiti adds to the urban feel of the neighborhood

Source: Author, André Taybron

Architectural Design Elements and Quality

In some mixed-income communities, it is apparent where the concentrated public housing low-income residents live and where the higher-income, market rate units are located. This distinction between subsidized rentals and market-rate for sale and rental units is noticeable after observing the quality of construction materials and by analyzing master plans. During site visits to Seattle Housing Authority's (SHA) HOPE VI projects High Point, Rainier Vista and New Holly Park communities, I observed the differences in material quality between the unit types. Even though design of these units were a big improvement in construction quality and architectural design and aesthetics over the old High Point residence demolished during this revitalization process, there were still clear distinctions in the level of quality between subsided homes for low-income households and those for higher-income households.

For example, Image 55 contains photographs of homes that display disjunction between their material qualities and architectural character. Some units appear stripped of any architectural character, while others show signs of thought, architectural detail and higher quality of materials used in the design and construction. The pictures show SHA-rental housing units (the red unit) with little architectural character compared to the market-rate, for sale homes (grey unit with natural wood details). The craftsman-style home has architectural character and details that the low-income, SHA-rental home is lacking, which shows thought in the design of the market-rate unit that went beyond considerations for the SHA-rental home. Furthermore, the material quality appears to be of higher standard for the market-rate home and less for the SHA-rental home. The market-rate home's color is much more appealing and the front yard welcomes the residents and guests into the space, unlike the saturated paint colors and curb appeal of the SHA-rental home. The entrance of the market-rate home is much more private than the subsidized SHA-rental home. The colors and materials are warmer and more welcoming on the market-rate home, as well as the "gateway" (entrance) into the home – the porch. Landscaping outside of rental homes seems to be scarcer than the amount of landscaping in yards of homeowners.

Image 55: Photographs (1-3) of Housing Units within the High Point (HOPE VI)
Development with Distinctive Material Qualities and Architectural Character

Source: Author, André Taybron

Image 56 illustrates the distinctions between doors used for market-rate and subsidized units. On the left of set 1 and 2 is a photograph of a door installed for a public housing unit; while on the right, a higher quality, craftsman-style door found on many of the market-rate units. These different door qualities provide awareness for onlookers to distinguish between a subsidized and a market-rate unit. This distinction in door material and quality does not represent a seamless integration of mixed-income residents. I can only imagine what is seen and felt by subsidized residents living within the community and in homes with lesser material quality – many who are the former public housing tenants. Sullivan believes that it is okay that some aspects may be a compromise to find the right balance with mixing incomes (such as the doors). He thinks that it is ok to put different incomes side-by-side despite the differences that might emerge, as the goal of HOPE VI is not to make income levels indistinguishable but to provide a better opportunity for as many residents as possible.

Image 56: Door Materiality Comparison, High Point (HOPE VI), an Urban Renewal Community
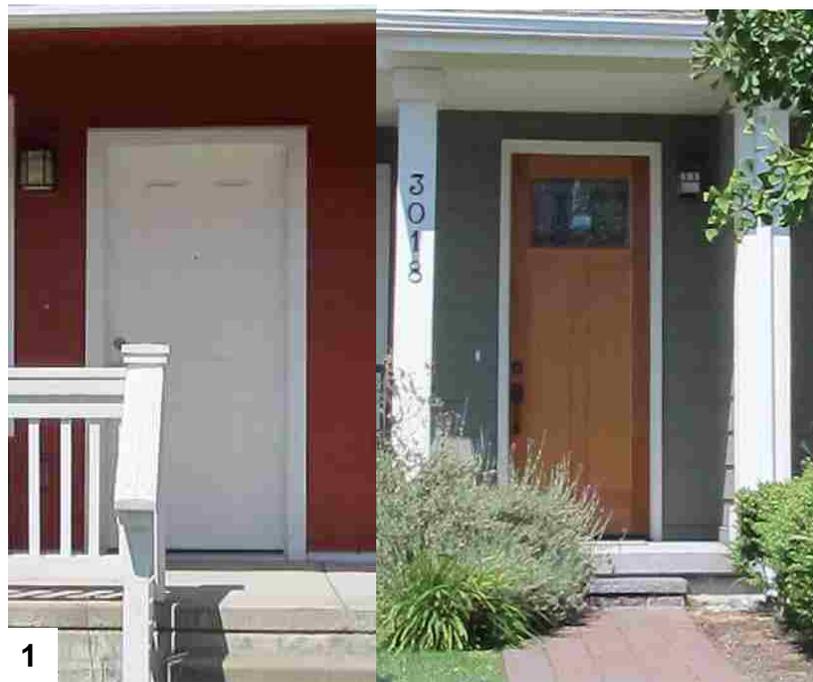
Source: Author, André Taybron

Housing Type

High Point has some rental housing side by side with homeowner units. Sullivan stated that this integration is what he calls the Salt and Pepper, mixed and matched design.

Further, the design intent of the rental units is to allow for subsidy to float around the development. The specifications and standards are equal for all rental units. For example, a household that lives in a rental unit and receives subsidy because household is categorized as very low-income (below 30 percent AMI) would not lose their home because a family gained employment that caused an increase in household income. This strategy provides more flexibility for residents as well as for program administration and property management by SHA. The family would shift into the 30-60 percent AMI tax-credit category, if income does not exceed that range.

Stigma Reduction

An example of the tension that existed shortly after units became occupied were comments made by rental residents that the homeowners were watching and monitoring the rental households. Part of the challenge that causes tension between the homeowners and the renters in these situations is the distinction of experiences and expectations of people from different income groups. Also, standards within the developments were inconsistent, therefore, it lacks a measuring stick against which to gauge and evaluate the tenure groups.

Sullivan pointed out another "Sour Spot" from Phase I post-occupancy: the alleys. During the earlier part of the post-occupancy of Phase I, Homeowners complained a great deal about kids hanging in the alley. During Phase II, the biggest complaint has been from people who can see into the back yards of their neighbors. This behavior led to the nickname of the "Top Block Phase." Other blocks throughout the development have back yards that are hidden from surrounding neighbors. However, in this Phase II "Top Block Phase" residents are moving into homes at a higher elevation, on a bluff. These households can view what is happening within the back yards of their neighbors at the lower elevations.

Lessons Learned: Brian Sullivan Interview Findings[258]

The High Point HOPE VI project had a good team that did not get bogged down with issues and obstacles. There was buy-in from all parties. SHA and Mithun held a number of community meetings – hundreds. HUD required a minimum of three prior to applying for the HOPE VI funding. The City of Seattle (CoS) required more than the three that HUD mandated. Some examples of CoS processes that required public meetings were

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[258] Brian Sullivan, In-person communication. June 26, 2012.

for zoning, environmental analysis, and others. There were also City Council hearings. Many council members attended community meetings and related activities. The larger process included education opportunities for various boards.

Developers and Marketing

Also during this time, it was the height of the market for real estate development. The market allowed for developers to buy for investment purposes at much lower costs than after the market sank. Developers believed in green so they were committed to what was happening with High Point. The firms that participated in the project also believe in strengthening community by integrating diversity.

Sullivan paused to reflect on whether or not the vision posed during the community planning, design and development phases for High Point was true to today's reality. He expressed that the marketing of High Point might have been more idealistic, illustrating what happens in a perfect world instead of the actuality of the real world. Are the developers and architects painting a more perfect world that it should be?

When marketing to potential homeowners, Sullivan believes that developers, real estate brokers and other representatives need to be honest about what they can expect. He considers the real test to a successfully designed mixed-income community is whether or not homes sell once is built up and has had time to develop – ideally for 10 years. If buyers want to purchase homes or if current homeowners can sell their property after 10 years then the project has a success indicator. Another success indicator is whether or not rental tenants enjoy living there and are happy.

"The true test of success may be in the next generation of homeowners, because they want to buy there. These residents would want to live there not just because of they are mixed out or couldn't afford another dream but because they want to be there."

According to Sullivan, so far, it appears that it is more of a location issue than design concerns for High Point that is the underlying reason for not being as successful as Rainier Vista and New Holly. For example, geographically, New Holly is not as rocky as High Point. Also, Sullivan believes that the potential homeowners for High Point are spreading less of a buzz around experiencing "diversity" there. The thrill is more about the High Point community being a good place to buy.

Sullivan reiterated ongoing concerns that should be on the table during the planning and design process. These are:

- Maintenance issues inevitable once the project begins construction.

- Programs for families, as many need help/assistance with job search/workforce access, career and employment training, educational opportunities

- Design a Nice Community overall, which will cut down the judgment internally (within the community itself) and externally (from adjacent neighborhoods, other districts throughout a city and county)

Political context and influences

- Who were important players who help to bring about project? (i.e. Financing, Political realm that influenced decisions – elected, govt. agency, local community residents, public housing residents, advocates, etc.)

Planning and Development Teams

The planning, design and development teams consisted of project managers and designers from a number of agencies and firms. Table 6 lists project managers and designers who were team members recognized by the City of Seattle's Design Commission as planning a role in winning the 2003 Design Excellences Award for the High Point Master Plan.

Table 6: List of Project Managers and Designers for High Point Master Plan Recognized by the City of Seattle's Design Commission as 2003 Design Excellence Awards Recipients

Project Manager	Agency
Tom Phillips	Seattle Housing Authority
Tammy Frederick	Seattle Department of Transportation
Michael Jenkins	Department of Planning and Development
Miranda Maupin	Seattle Public Utilities
Designer	**Firm**
Brian Sullivan	Mithun Architects Planners Designers
Peg Staehli	SvR Design
Gail Staaeger	Nakano Associates

Post-Occupancy Management

As part of post-occupancy politics, Sullivan stated that management should be honest and tell the truth to potential residents in both the low-income units and market-rate. He also noticed that it takes a while for things to settle down once households began to occupy the units. For High Point, it seemed to take about a year or two to work out the kinks of integrating the mixed-income and diverse households.

Urban context and influences

- What was it about the physical condition that influenced choices and decisions? Such as Housing, Geography, Nature, Fabric of, proximity to transportation line, etc.

Site Analysis, Programming, and Design

Sullivan stated that along with Bill Kreger and Tom Phillips, he considered it crucial from the beginning of the High Point project to complete an in depth analysis of the site and its surrounding neighborhood to understand the existing urban fabric. The team examined the site topography and completed neighborhood-mapping exercises. Sullivan stated that the team completed an analysis of every aspect in the community.

While looking at the High Point master plan (see Figure 16), the trained design-eye might see a boring plan, as Sullivan put it. It doesn't really shake one at their core. Sullivan knew that the master plan on paper was not striking enough to win awards. Winning awards for a two-dimensional design scheme was not his intent. Subsequently, the feedback after construction and once they developed the spaces was great. The project won numerous awards, such as the Bruner award in 2007.

Figure 16: High Point Master Plan

Income/Housing Tenure Mixing and Distribution

As shown in Figure 17, the High Point site diagram illustrates the physical and spatial division. For example, for sale and market-rate housing are separated from the SHA-rental housing, much different than the explanation of equal distribution of residents within the Harbor Point, rental-only, mixed-income model. The red color represents for sale homes that are clustered around the retention pond, one of the major neighborhood amenities. Relative to the total number of SHA rental units (represented by the blue color), very few SHA-rental units are immediately adjacent to the water feature. Likewise, some of the best views that were once accessible to public housing residents from their former homes are now only available to them from a viewing point located between the for sale housing. Again, the for sale homes are clustered around and overlook the water feature, the park next to the retention pond, the walking trail, and residents of these houses now own many of the best views from the neighborhood, having vistas of downtown Seattle and Puget Sound. However, a few vistas of downtown

are available throughout the development, from fewer SHA-rental units and from some of the community parks. With further analysis and critique of the SHA High Point master plan, one can see that the SHA rental-housing units are clustered within blocks that do not physically touch the blocks and parcels of those with the market-rate units -- that would house higher-income households. There is only one block where for sale homes share common space with SHA-rental housing without a road or alley separating them. By design, none of the for sale units face SHA-rental units.[259]

Figure 17: Seattle Housing Authority's High Point (HOPE VI), an Urban Renewal Community
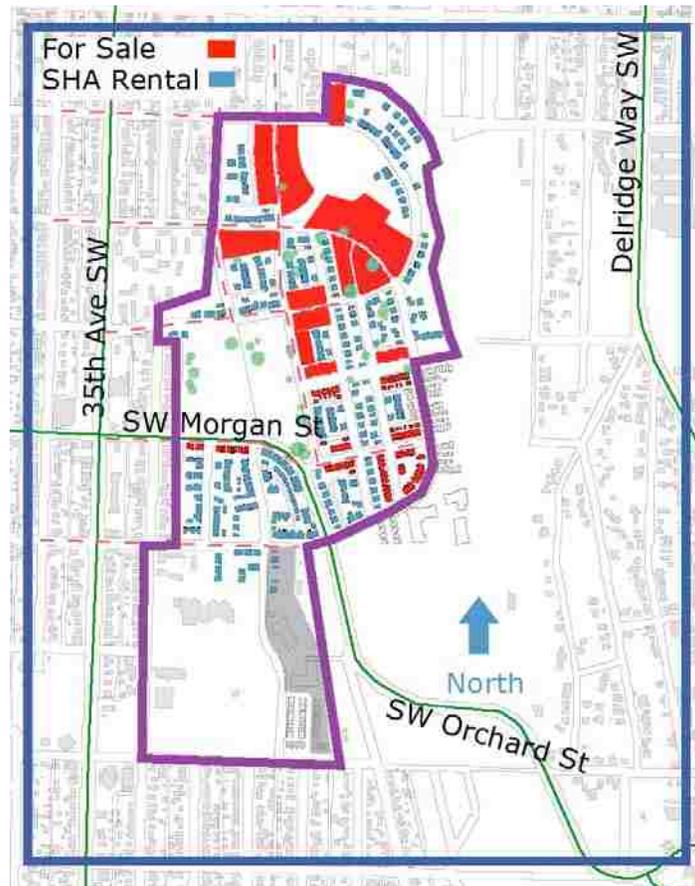
Source: Courtesy of SHA (Adapted for thesis diagram purposes by Author, André Taybron).

Concentrated SHA-Rental, Public Housing Households on Site

One result of the design of HOPE VI mixed-income developments is that low-income residents are still concentrated. The fourth principle of the HOPE VI program is to ensure

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[259] Brian Sullivan, In-person communication. June 26, 2012.

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

Transportation and Access Issues

As a result of the development being in an area with a high density of markets, a challenge for residents is that no supermarkets are within walking distance. There is one convenience market a block a way where residents can shop. For residents without a car who wish to shop at the nearest supermarket, they have to access by bus.

Social context and influences

- Was there something special about the people who lived in the housing and community that helped you approach this assignment (way of doing business)? Racial, Social, Ethnic

Community Assets and Empowerment

Sullivan has a strong passion to empower low-income residents. He delights in empowering the individuals and families within the neighborhoods through the community planning processes. He also enjoys being in the community meetings with the residents and community members. Sullivan encourages and looks for the opportunity to provide positive impacts and growth of the residents. He believes that residents are many times the smarter participants in the room. Residents add value to the process and greatly inform decisions. The community planning meetings and processes provide opportunities to learn from the residents.

Sullivan witnessed how the planning processes can help to unearth individual skill sets of many residents that can be used later in positions on residential associations, within

community resource programs and even property management roles. He worked with SHA and consultant team members to help facilitate intensive community planning and tenant involvement during the design and development processes.

Community Planning as Educational and Community Building Opportunities

Sullivan made sure that the larger development process was an educational opportunity for stakeholders by presenting and discussing various design options with participants and troubleshooting any relevant issues.[260] The community planning process also included both "visual preference surveys" and design workshops with images of homes and street features to help identify what residents' liked.[261] There was consideration for non-English speaking participants, as interpreters were provided when needed. Community building began to evolve out of these preliminary phases of the processes.[262]

Economic issues

- What would you say were economic factors that helped to influence the design & development approach?

- Was there an amount of money that you had to work with? Budget?

- Those who lived there?

- Those who expected to be integrated into mixed-income community?

Budget Constraints

Sullivan believes that it is okay that some architectural and design aspects may be a compromise to find the right balance with mixing incomes, such as material quality of doors.

Healthy Homes and Accessible Homes

Economic constraints are limited to the need for barrier free or asthmatic units. Particularly, the Breathe Easy, asthmatic units' plant selection considers sensitivity to botanical types. These Breathe Easy units are not only an amenity to the High Point

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[260] Silver Medal Winner: High Point Redevelopment Project, West Seattle, Washington, 2007 Rudy Bruner Award. www.brunerfoundation.org/rba/pdfs/2007/high_point.pdf (accessed August 31, 2012), 121.
[261] Ibid.
[262] Ibid.

development; they also eliminate stereotyping that could occur if the units were distinguishable amongst the other homes.

Power and influences

- Who ultimately controlled what was being done? Who called the shots? Homage being paid to?

- As a designer, how did you cope with that in those circumstances?

- Did you ever have to make a compromise?

- Did you ever have to conceal what was happening? Withholding info?

- Developers, Elected officials, Housing residents?

- Did you ever have to massage the paying clients to get them to understand what was being said to get the developers to understand what the residents wanted, were saying?

Developer and Builder Design Requirements

The need to get developers on board drove the design of unit tenure type to face each other. For example, for sale units face other for sale units and rental units face other rental units. Developers also preferred to have the unit types close in proximity. The average group of units by a developer tends to average 40 units. However, there are fewer and larger numbers within groups based on what developers received after bidding during the process. The design intent of not having rental units face for sale units seems further delineate housing tenure, which could continue negative perceptions of who belongs where in the community based on income. Developers work with designers and construction managers to keep down costs. Grouping building and unit types to minimize construction costs can pose issues of concentrating poorer households in one area away from for sale households. This defeats the theoretical purpose of mixing incomes.

Development Expertise, Resources and Timing

High Point development happened at a good time. There was little to no controversy from any players and stakeholders. The team had an advantage of having Tom Phillips

as the Senior Development Manager. Tom also has a strong community planning background. Having both Sullivan and Tom on the team added a great deal of value. Further, it was a good window of opportunity to work with the various layers, including the City of Seattle. For instance, Seattle Public Utilities (SPU) had just completed a model in North Seattle that incorporated a street infrastructure with storm water runoff mitigation technologies. There was good collaboration amongst SPU, other city entities and leaders including City Council members and SHA. Good communication was key. But again, the timing to develop High Point during these years could not have been better. Utilizing elements from the SPU model and keeping in mind the kids who would live and play in the neighborhood, the design team integrated grass space for kids to have activity space and bioswales for water mitigation measures.

CHAPTER V
CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

CONCLUSIONS

The HOPE VI program has had great success in creating new mixed-income communities, but it has had its limitations. The program has also provided positive results by funding efforts that have:

- Provided instant equity that housing authorities could use as leverage and incentives to attract and develop much needed financial relationships and other public-private partnerships

- Decreased poverty concentration

- Designed and developed award winning, sustainable and ecologically friendly developments

This study includes identifying the appropriate meaning of "Everyday Urbanism" and "New Urbanism", along with the 'deconcentration of poverty'. The study focuses on the work of three architects: Tom Eanes, Michael Pyatok and Brian Sullivan. Each directed design teams involved in HOPE VI, mixed-income revitalization projects: New Holly, Seattle, Washington; Lion Creek Crossings, Oakland, California; and High Point, Seattle, Washington. I familiarized myself with the three architects' professional backgrounds using online articles, publications and other literature that presented insight into their careers and design ideologies. Then, I interviewed and documented in-person discussions with the three architects; I also completed site tours and observation with two of the architects. The theoretical framework, literature review, interviews and site analysis provided answers to the overarching thesis question:

> Can we weave together "Everyday Urbanism", "New Urbanism" and the "Deconcentration of Poverty" into the design solutions for future HOPE VI, CNI and other mixed-income and mixed-use revitalization efforts to provide more benefit to and empowerment of public housing residents while reducing stigma?

Thesis Question Answered

This thesis systematically investigated linkages among deconcentration of poverty in US public housing programs, and the Everyday Urbanism and New Urbanism movements. The principal finding was that using a mixture of principles from the two different urbanisms might be the most effective means to solve design problems when revitalizing public housing projects into mixed-income and mixed-use communities. A hybrid-urbanism concept appears to emerge from the research findings.

The architects interviewed do not prescribe to either urbanism exclusively. The integration of New Urbanism by the architects in this study was primarily because the movement's principles are codified in HUD requirements for HOPE VI projects. The approach that appears effective for these projects, however, is to incorporate Everyday Urbanism design attitudes as much as possible, particularly in the early stages of design. This was evident by the application of the three architects' community planning expertise and the subsequent design results. However, because Everyday Urbanism does not lend itself to strict codification it does has not received the same level of mandate and acceptance in public policy as New Urbanism.

By embracing ideas of Everyday Urbanism, and adjusting the principles of New Urbanism, mixed-income developments can be more effective in reaching the needs of a wider constituency of residents. The New Urbanism principles limit the urban and architectural design of these mixed-income communities, creating a too tidy and too perfect built environment from the god view instead of from the street view.

By weaving the Urbanisms into a tapestry that creates a hybrid of urbanisms, the designers included in this study made their projects more successful. Naturally, community location within the City of Seattle and East Oakland also played a major role in the level of success for each project. According to Sullivan, West Seattle's High Point HOPE VI community has had more issues of selling units and attracting diverse racial and ethnic groups to buy in the community, while in South Seattle, NewHolly's higher-income residents who purchase there are attracted to and embrace the diverse social, racial and ethnic community. Also, geographically, New Holly is not as rocky as High Point, which can pose constraints with accessing the community. The Lion Creek Crossings HOPE VI development is in a transitional neighborhood of East Oakland, limiting the amount that can be charged for rent based on Area Median Income. The development team estimated the range that the market would bear. It was projected that

because of the location within the city, units may not attract households at or above 80 percent AMI. Strictly codified design principles cannot fully account for such variables, so it is important that designers remain flexible and open both to the needs of community residents as well as external urban conditions that might affect new developments.

Subset of Thesis Questions

The following questions were used throughout this investigation to help to guide my analysis. The theoretical framework, literature review, interviews and site analysis assisted in providing answers.

- What moves were made to benefit higher-income households in these developments?

Materiality stood out as a benefit to higher-income residents, as the building facades and architectural detail quality in some developments appeared to be much better than that of low-income, SHA-rental buildings. Doors were one element where higher-income households tend to benefit. Tom Eanes and Brian Sullivan differ in their views of the materiality issue. Eanes believes that from the outset of the projects there could have included more consideration in the budget and design for higher quality materials for all units, even for the doors and other construction and fenestration materials.

Access and proximity to the surrounding neighborhoods, such as at NewHolly, or to internal neighborhood amenities, like at High Point, also seem to benefit higher-income households. The market-rate, for sale units flanked the park and water feature at the Northeast point of High Point. This is also where vistas of Puget Sound and downtown Seattle were prominent. The market-rate units are at the transition points coming from the adjacent neighborhoods into the NewHolly community.

At Lion Creek Crossings, because the household's Average Median Income range was between 30-60 percent and the development is predominately rental, there is less distinction between the material qualities of the buildings and the access to amenities for the residents on the higher-end of the income (AMI) range.

- What moves were made to better address needs of public housing residents, particularly surrounding the ideals of "place-making"?

Community planning backgrounds of the three architects and implementation of that expertise into the development processes of the projects was key for each. For example, even though the community planning process for NewHolly was completed before Eanes and his Weinstein/Copeland team inherited the Master Plan, Eanes subsequently completed site analysis and used information from WRT's process to approach the project. Eanes attempted to integrate as much of the cultural and site-specific elements into the project as he could after completing his own site analysis of old Holly Park with his team.

Because it is only rental housing, Lion Creek Crossings did not face the challenge of mixing a wide range of incomes that the two other larger developments required. When determining the level of affordable housing to incorporate into a development or neighborhood, Sullivan sees the sweet spot to be approximately 20-percent of the entire area. Twenty-percent affordable housing out of the entire neighborhood's housing stock could be a "good balance." This helps to eliminate potential stigma from both higher-income residents who want to live in a high-valued community and from low-income households who want to avoid the stigma of living in a high poverty concentrated area. The problem with this approach is that as much as 40% of the US in considered low income, so the application of the 20% principle will still prevent half of the people surviving on low incomes from ever living in mixed income developments.

Pyatok, in particular, provided spaces for placemaking and for residents to territorialize. For example, the patios, front yards for landscaping, porches and other spaces were made available for individual expression and elements that add to the neighborhood feel and character and sense of place. This also helps to exemplify the everydayness that intensifies culture as well as the sense of belonging. Evidence of placemaking was found at each development. However, NewHolly exemplified a higher level of placemaking at rental units than either Lion Creek Crossings or High Point.

- Were there any conflicts in the efforts to satisfy different stakeholders, such as developers, those in power and the different income groups?

Conflicts between the architects' design teams and the development teams occurred more frequently for Pyatok and Eanes than for Sullivan according to their interview

accounts. For example, Pyatok stated that his design team as well as other stakeholders could set general guidelines; however, once the work began, the developer had the power and influence or even overrules any design directions emanating from the design team. This resulted in lower quality of materials and the removal of architectural details that might have helped to develop a stronger community identity for Lion Creek Crossings.

Also, funding originated from so many different sources. Consequently, when designing affordable housing there are additional administrative costs. Tensions increased in a couple of the projects because there existed various missions from the numerous funding entities at the planning, design and development table. So, facilitating the process and working to create consensus costs more, along with more administrative costs for the developer, including legal arrangements regarding which funding sources get paid first in the event of a foreclosure, and other issues such as liens.

Satisfying stakeholders within design teams can result in tensions. Eanes was frustrated during the design process when executive leadership within the design team overruled him. This was as issue of the design of rental-town homes on a few blocks of the NewHolly Phase I. The housing types are identical and reminiscent of the conventional public housing architectural design aesthetic. These stretches of identical units look "project-like," because they are the same, with no change in building type and no break in or varying of material use on the front façade. Eanes advocated for more variation in architectural style and housing type; however, ultimately he had to satisfy design team members who were in power.

One of the most revealing frustrations and conflicts came from Pyatok. Currently, the central park space at Lion Creek Crossings is vast and uninviting. Pyatok believes that it would have been better to have incorporated smaller parks and surround each with housing instead of creating the large 5.7-acre central park. Throughout Lion Creek Crossing there might have been four 1-acre parks, each surrounded by housing (with another 1.7 acres used by the creek), which is the design that Pyatok proposed. However, the City's Parks Department was determined to have the one larger park to support two Little League ball fields, so the leaders exercised their authority to overrule Pyatok's advice. Later in the process, after all planning approvals, the Parks Department decided not to have the Little League fields, but by then the decision was made and the vast open space was converted to use for soccer.

Key Themes and Success Factors

After completing this research, the following were identified as factors that were successful in building strong community, enriching the lives of public housing residents and reducing associated stigma. The key themes that surfaced from the architects and success factors were that during the community planning and design process they made sure that it was:

- Mandated for one-for-one replacement of public housing units for the development.

- Instituted as a team approach to collaborate so that the developers, builders, architects and users are all part of the process. *It was great to have a good team that did not get bogged down with issues and obstacles. There was buy-in from all parties.*

- Made certain that team members possessed strong community planning backgrounds.

- Made sure that end users – community – are an integral part of the planning and design processes.

- Empowered low-income residents, individuals and families within the neighborhoods through the community planning processes.

- Enjoyed being in the community meetings and working with the residents and community members.

- Encouraged and looked for the opportunity to provide positive affects and growth of the residents. *Residents are many times the smarter participants in the room. Residents add value to the process and greatly inform decisions. The community planning meetings and processes provide opportunities to learn from the residents.*

- Used planning processes to unearth individual skill sets of residents. *The skills and resources can be used later in positions on residential associations, within community resource programs and even property management roles.*

- Negotiated with the jurisdiction to have a dedicated team specifically to handle the project tasks, submission reviews, etc.

- Made sure the larger development process was an educational opportunity for various stakeholders.

- Dedicated team members to attend all weekly project meetings. *Many hours spent in meetings and the efforts exhausted during the process are well worth it, as the design team, city staffers and everyone else who sat at the table know what is going on. This alleviates the need to back track or get sidetrack with catching anyone up with the project status.*

- Emphasized creativity in problem solving.

- Ensured that the planning and design work adds value to communities, such as designing housing responsive to the needs of the low-income households. *It is crucial that the projects are sensitive to the diversity and the complex social and economic paradigms found within low-income communities and amongst disenfranchised groups.*

- Practiced neighborhood-mapping techniques to identify challenges and opportunities.

- Completed, in depth analysis of the site and its surrounding neighborhood to understand the existing urban fabric; an analysis of every aspect in the community.

- Examined site topography.

- Integrated cultural and site-specific elements as much as possible.

- Designed with community members to provide sensitive architecture.

- Saved mature trees.

- Amenities made accessible to all residents, particularly the parks and open spaces.

- Improved connectivity to the rest of the region where the development is located.

- Provided spaces for placemaking and for residents to territorialize. *For example, front yards for landscaping, porches and other spaces available for individual expression and elements that ad to the neighborhood feel and character that exemplifies everydayness.*

- More aggressively integrated income levels to reduce as many issues that would otherwise created a microclimate of poverty concentration within developments.

- Master planned unit types to alleviate any continuity in side-by-side units within a block. *The idea of breaking the façade pattern and unit type was to avoid the feeling of being in a 'project'.*

- Better materials used upfront along with high quality construction methods to alleviate future issues and cost. *Using lower-quality materials to save development costs comes back to bite the project's maintenance cost in the long run repair.*

- Made a priority to reduce the stigmatization that existed for public housing residents prior to demolition. *However, because of the value engineering process, the lower material quality, lack of architectural details and areas of saturated color stripped away some of the efforts to create better environment conducive to the reduction of stigma.*

- Implemented similarity of material quality to avoid the appearance of segregation of housing tenure between a subsidized and a market-rate unit to onlookers. *This lack of division in door material and quality represents a higher level of integration of mixed-income residents, curbing some stigma associated with living in public housing as well as encouraging a sense of belonging amongst other households with members from diverse income backgrounds.*

- Designed units at grade, eliminating the need for ramps. *Ramps would make it more apparent that the units are "accessible, barrier free units."*

- Pushed the envelope of sustainable design. *Sustainable design is essential to being stewards of the environmental ecology.*

- Controlled access points from the outside as neighborhood security measure.

- Good management to make the community work well.[263]

- Ownership structure that influenced the design and development of the project.

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[263] Roessner, Jane. 2000. *A decent place to live: from Columbia Point to Harbor Point: a community history.* Boston: Northeastern University Press. 281

Ironically, Peter Calthorpe, as a leader and representative of the New Urbanism movement, takes a stance that his intention for New Urbanism was to create a forum that encourages designers and interdisciplinary professionals to think comprehensively about patterns of urban growth and the long-term impacts on culture, economy, ecology and capacity for equity. However, the everyday life components fall through the cracks, even with the neo-traditional design style being associated with New Urbanist developments. Calthorpe reiterates the he is confident that it is the marketplace that is driving the design style of neo-traditional architecture, not any guidelines from the CNU or the New Urbanism movement. However, marketplace does not drive subsidized housing in any case, so a market-driven formula for such neighborhoods is hardly the correct approach. Instead a needs/desires driven approach makes much more sense. Other revelations from this study included the negative experiences of a couple of the architects.

There were some surprises. For instance, the architects were more negative about their experience than anticipated from the outset of this research. Architects Michael Pyatok and Tom Eanes were less satisfied with the experiences working on Lion Creek Crossings and NewHolly, respectively, than Brian Sullivan was with his work on High Point. Pyatok was unhappy with the mandate for the one large, 5.7-acre park that the Oakland city officials required. Pyatok was equally frustrated with the color choices on some of the façades of the housing units in later phases over which he had no control. Pyatok believes that some of the façade colors are too saturated and say "this is affordable housing" like so many affordable housing developments that have been developed over the past couple of decades. Also, Eanes disapproved of the housing units in Block 9 that in his opinion resemble public housing.

A question that is asked about the overall enhancement of the distressed housing and neighborhood is: isn't what's there now better than what was there before? Critics ask if the new community, particularly aesthetically, is better off now that the HOPE VI community, with its new, pristine and appealing architectural character, is in place of what was there before the redevelopment. Well, the jury is still out. There is a lack of studies that reveal how the social networks and informal resources that may have been present before the dismantling of the community are faring in the new community. Even though the design included the stoop porches onto the street, which would encourage

interaction with the street and provide more security, the public housing residents who once occupied the previous units and comprised the social, economic and cultural networks, are now gone or dispersed within the new development or in other public housing projects around the city.

Community planning processes for the HOPE VI programs are for that purpose. HUD planning grants do not fund the preliminary phases to unveil and preserve all of the networks and resources that are going to be uprooted or dismantled. Therefore, the intellectual and human capital and maybe subculture-based institutions might be eradicated along with the displaced public housing residents. Just as little is known about any ongoing stigma associated with the new developments.

Rainier Vista and NewHolly have fewer complaints during early post-occupancy than from High Point. Specifically, the complaints of low-income residents feeling like they were being monitored are avoided because there is more of a separation between the homeowner and the rental housing units. To find out more, additional investigation needs to happen to discern whether or not stigma still exists for the public housing residents now living in the new HOPE VI communities. The hard design questions are not being asked. In a NewHolly study by Rachel Kleit, the residents are asked about their satisfaction with the neighborhood and units, but with less active participation than during the preliminary phases of the development process. Since residents are not incorporated in the same manner as they are during the planning and design processes of the HOPE VI communities, research methods should be considered to better integrate residents in post-occupancy design analyses. For example, for High Point post-occupancy design evaluation show images of the completed facades of SHA-rental units next to market-rate, for sale homes and request responses. Will this method shed light on how public housing and even tax-credit residents view their space compared to the high-income, market rate space located on the next block? Image 57 is a photograph taken during a community workshop for residents input while designing High Point. This same method can be used as post-occupancy design evaluation to help design teams understand whether or not what's there now is better than what was there before, particularly in reducing spatial and other related stigma.

Image 57: Photograph Taken During Community Workshop for High Point Design:
What would the new High Point look like?"

Source: High Point Photos. *Seattle Housing Authority.*
http://www.seattlehousing.org/redevelopment/high-point/photos/4/
(accessed August 29, 2012).

In the study completed by Kleit, residents speak of how much better their NewHolly units are compared to old Holly Park. They speak of the new appliances, cleanliness, and peacefulness. After the property and spatial elements have experienced wear and tear, what responses would material quality receive from residents once these things are no longer "new"? Meaning, once the novelty is removed, the urban and architectural design, specifically the facades, might have more implications. Assess the residents' satisfaction before there is more distress on appliance and materials, and the increase of the everyday use of the open spaces and right of ways and an influx of the sounds of urbanity. Then have the residents evaluate the design after the wear and tear and development patterns have manifested.

Moreover, in order to implement a quality and effective CNI program, and for the vitality of the future of U.S. housing policy and crucial to the design of society's urban fabric, it is essential to better understand design implications on the lives of low-income residents who live in these new communities. Equally important as we move forward in addressing these housing policy, programs and design issues, thoughtful and informed solutions should ensure stigma reduction and guarantee that those who require subsidized housing are seen as equal parties amongst all stakeholders.

RECOMMENDATIONS

As a result of my study, the following are translations of recommendations from the three architects:

1) Clients, users, and community members should to participate in the design process from start to finish. *Responsibility is on the community planner and architect to allow the participants to provide as much input feasible as they should truly be the final decision makers.[264]*

2) Everyday elements will rise out of the conversations and community planning workshops because everyone has at some point experienced living in a neighborhood, house or an apartment. *Public housing and local residents, whether low-income or not, have great wisdom about what kind of housing will work best for them.*

3) Architects, urban designers, and other design professionals should challenge themselves. *Try to imagine oneself in the shoes of others outside his or her social and economic circle and redirect energies to providing appropriate housing.*

4) Design a handsome and well-functioning community overall, which will reduce negative judgments internally (within the community itself) and externally (from adjacent neighborhoods, other districts throughout a city and county). *This can help to reduce stigma.*

5) Provide amenities such as the "Breath Easy Homes" for households with members who suffer from Asthma. *Think of innovative ways to minimize the suffering of residents in their homes and community environments.*

6) Use better materials upfront along with high quality construction to alleviate future issues and cost. *Using lower-quality materials to save development costs comes back and escalates the project's maintenance cost in the long run repair.*

7) Try to minimize the maintenance issues that are inevitable once the project completes construction.

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[264] Mike Pyatok: Architect to the Poor and Working Class. Overview Conversations with Advocates of Fair Growth. Living on the Fenceline. Commonweal.
http://www.commonweal.org/programs/fg_interviews/pyatok.html (accessed August 20, 2012).

8) Incorporate strategies that provide more flexibility with program administration and property management. *For example, at High Point, a household that lives in a rental unit and receives a subsidy because it is categorized as very low-income (below 30 percent AMI) should not lose its home because a family member gained employment that caused an increase in household income. The family would shift into the 30-60 percent AMI tax-credit category, if income does not exceed that range.*

9) Program the design for resources that families can access. *Many need help/assistance with job search/workforce access, career and employment training, and educational opportunities.*

10) Developers, real estate brokers and other representatives should avoid glamorizing or exaggerating, but need to be honest about what potential homeowners can expect when marketing to them. *The real test to a successfully designed mixed-income community is whether or not homes sell at expected prices once the community is fully built out– ideally for 10 years. If buyers want to purchase homes or if current homeowners can sell their property at desired prices after 10 years then the project has a success indicator.*

11) Whether or not rental tenants enjoy living in the mixed-income community and are happy should be success indicator.

12) Piggyback on other innovations and research processes, such as the City of Seattle's drainage system that helped create High Point's ecologically sound design. *Where possible, use the project as research opportunities for new technologies and practices that add value to the residents, and sustainability of the community.*

Survey Residents for Response to Design

Recommendations can also be given to professions who wish to investigate the responses from public housing residents about the design after living in the new HOPE VI communities. Speaking with residents can be the next step to further this thesis research. Having the critique and feedback from the residents would be another value added to this body of knowledge. A methodology can include a walk-through of the HOPE VI neighborhoods with a few residents and discuss the neighborhood plan, the architecture, the placemaking aspects, and the design of the spaces. Another alternative research method could include showing images of the HOPE VI environment and let the

residents react to the images, in a similar manner as tools used during community planning workshops.

Documentation of Design Team Members Experiences

Eanes, Pyatok and Sullivan are prominent thought leaders and experts in the public and affordable housing community planning and design areas. The narratives of these architects should be documented more thoroughly than what was feasible through this investigation. Experiences from other pioneers, who design mixed-income communities where public housing projects are replaced and public housing and low-income residents are expected to integrate, should be documented.

FINAL CONCLUSIONS

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

This thesis and its subset of questions, and other relevant inquiries to these topics would further expose facts and arrive at conclusions about linkages between deconcentration of poverty in US public housing programs, and the Everyday Urbanism and New Urbanism movements. The answers could help find effective means to solve design problems when revitalizing public housing projects and their surrounding neighborhoods into mixed-income, mixed-use communities. They could be more effective in reaching the needs of a wider range of residents, and provide more benefit to, and empowerment of, public housing residents while reducing the stigma associated with their class.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: HOPE VI OF 1992 HISTORY AND LEGISLATION

Public Law 102-389[265]

102nd Congress

H.R.5679

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

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

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

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

- SHORT TITLE(S) AS INTRODUCED:

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

- SHORT TITLE(S) AS REPORTED TO SENATE:

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

- SHORT TITLE(S) AS PASSED SENATE:

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

- SHORT TITLE(S) AS ENACTED:

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

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

- OFFICIAL TITLE AS INTRODUCED:

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

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

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Political context and influences

Questions:

• Who were important players who help to bring about project? (i.e. Financing, Political realm that influenced decisions - elected, govt. agency, local community residents, public housing residents, advocates, etc.)

Urban context and influences

Questions:

• What was it about the physical condition that influenced choices and decisions? Such as Housing, Geography, Nature, Fabric of, proximity to transportation line, etc.

Social context and influences

Questions:

• Was there something special about the people who lived in the housing and community that helped you approach this assignment (way of doing business)?

• Racial, Social, Ethnicity

Economic issues

Questions:

• What would you say were economic factors that helped to influence the design & development approach?

• Was there an amount of money that you had to work with? Budget?

• Those who lived there?

• Those who expected to be integrated into mixed-income community?

Power and influences

Questions:

- Who ultimately controlled what was being done? Who called the shots? Homage being paid to?

- As a designer, how did you cope with that in those circumstances?

- Did you ever have to make a compromise?

- Did you ever have to conceal what was happening? Withholding info?

- Developers, Elected officials, Housing residents?

- Did you ever have to massage the paying clients to get them to understand what was being said to get the developers to understand what the residents wanted, were saying?

APPENDIX C: THOMAS STUART EANES AND NEWHOLLY, SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

"Thomas Eanes has a total of 30 years experience in architecture, urban design and planning, transportation planning, engineering, and construction management, including 15 years with major international A/E and construction management firms. Eanes has worked on a broad variety of industrial, urban transportation, and housing projects, and has broad experience in the management of large, complex, interdisciplinary projects.

Prior to joining Pyatok Architects, Eanes was project architect and planner for the redevelopment of a 100-acre, 1200-unit, distressed public housing project. He was responsible for planning, urban design, permitting, and coordination of architectural, engineering, landscape, and transportation design by a team of six firms.

With Pyatok Architects, Eanes has worked with various non-profit clients and public agencies to create six outstanding low-income housing developments often on challenging in-fill sites, in the greater Seattle Metropolitan area. A seventh development is nearing completion; the eighth is in design development. Eanes received a Bachelor of Arts from Cornell University, a Master of Arts from Columbia University (with highest honors) and a Master of Architecture from the University of Washington and is a registered Architect in Washington, Oregon and Idaho. Eanes is also a member of the Seattle Planning Commission."

"Urban Design" Awards

- "1999 VISION 2020 Award: Puget Sound Regional Council

- NewHolly was recognized for innovation in planning and executing the redevelopment. The award was one of six presented for promoting a livable region by helping implement VISION 2020 regional growth management and transportation strategies.

- 2002 Congress for New Urbanism Charter Award: Congress of New Urbanism

- Weinstein/Copeland Architects, project architects for the first two phases of NewHolly, won the award for the way NewHolly responds to and integrates with its environment, and how its improves the human experience of blocks, neighborhoods and regions.

- 2003 Director's Award for Leadership in Housing Development: Washington Department of Community, Trade and Economic Development

- NewHolly Phase I received the award for its well-designed, affordable and higher-density housing that exemplifies the standards set by the Growth Management Act.

- 2003 New Face of America's Public Housing Award: Congress of New Urbanism and HUD

- NewHolly was one of the six winning projects chosen from more than 30 national entries. The selected projects provided an inspiring glimpse into the range of approaches to HOPE VI-funded redevelopment."[266]

Henry Popkin is a development manager who worked with SHA to facilitate the development process. Doris Koo played a leading role in procuring financing for the NewHolly project. Koo was Director of Development, and later promoted to Deputy Executive Director at SHA during this time.

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[266] New Holly: Awards. *Seattle Housing Authority.*
http://www.seattlehousing.org/redevelopment/newholly/awards/ (accessed August 31, 2012).

NewHolly Project Information and Images

NewHolly Phase II Master Plan
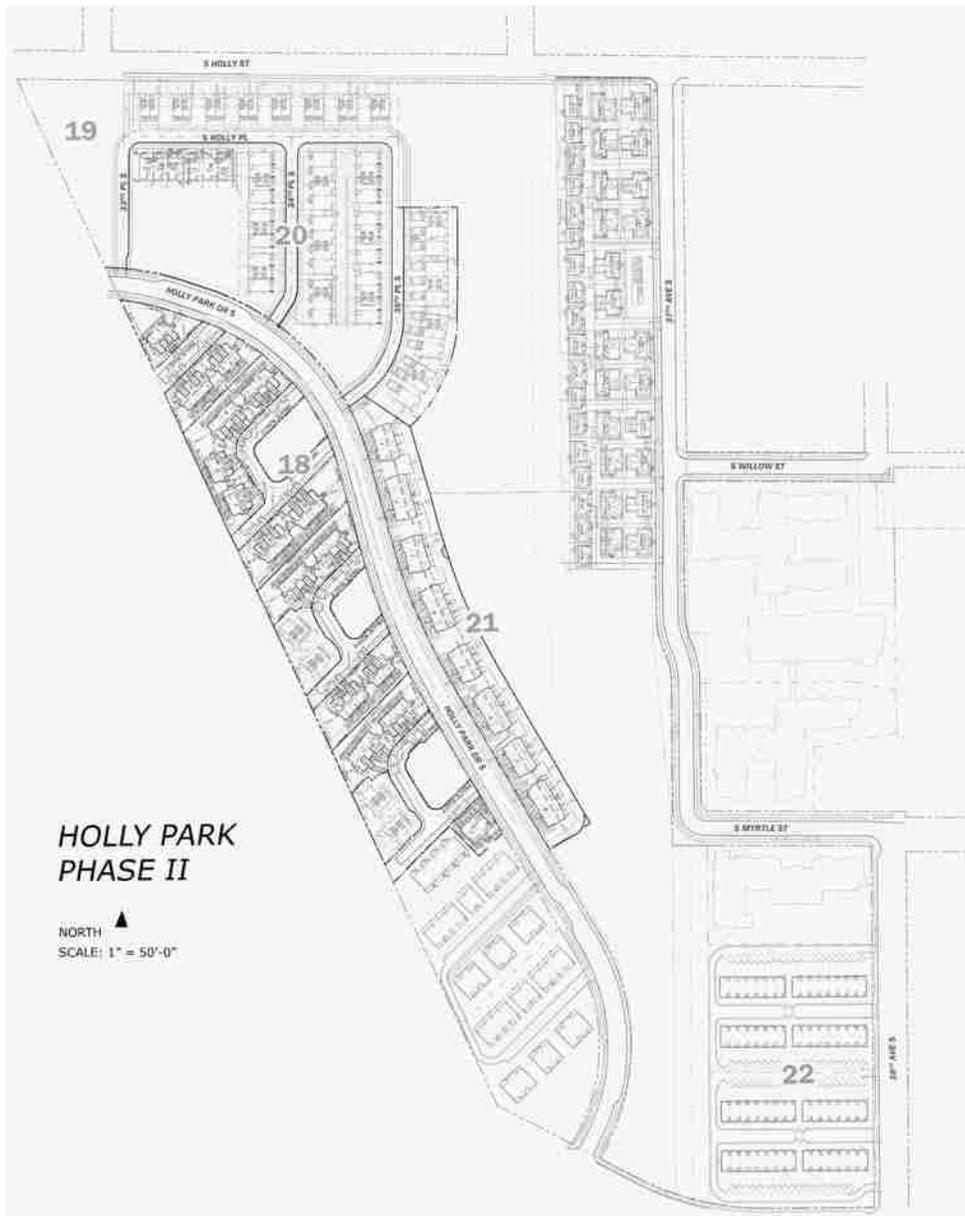
Source: Courtesy of Seattle Housing Authority

Source: Courtesy of Seattle Housing Authority

Source: Seattle Housing Authority

Source: Seattle Housing Authority

Source: Seattle Housing Authority

Source: Seattle Housing Authority

APPENDIX D: MICHAEL PYATOK, FAIA AND LION CREEK CROSSINGS, OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA

"In 1995, Pyatok was elected to the AIA College of Fellows in recognition of his contribution to the profession. In 2001, Harvard appointed him its Buchsbaum Visiting Professor of Affordable Housing. Residential Architect featured him on its cover as the "Architect-of-the-Year" in recognition of the quality he has brought to affordable housing. In 2002, he was featured in Professional Builder Magazine as one of twelve "Thought Leaders" of the development industry. In 2007 he was named by Builder Magazine and the NAHB as one of the 50 most influential people in the U.S housing industry."[267]

The mission statement for Pyatok Architects, Inc. is:[268]

"Pyatok Architects works to foster the development of vibrant, sustainable, inclusive communities through sensitive architecture and urban design, rigorous research and education, exemplary service and technical innovation, and thoughtful advocacy."

Pyatok Architects' statement on design approach is:[269]

"We are committed to the idea that both client and community need to work together in the design and planning process. The firm has developed an array of participatory design methods using easily understood graphics and models to help participants make well-informed decisions. Years of community work have developed the firm's ability to listen intently and respond sensitively."

Michael recommends to be constantly vigilant as an architect, clever with what you're doing, develop good relationships to call in the chips when you need to….so that there is a win – win situation at times when it seems that the elements are needed.

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[267] Speakers' Biographies: Michael Pyatok. Architecture for Change Summit. University of Illinois at Chicago. September 22 – 24, 2010. http://architectureforchange.aa.uic.edu/bios.html (accessed August 28, 2012).
[268] *Pyatok Architects Inc.* http://www.pyatok.com/aboutus.html
[269] Ibid.

Lion Creek Crossings

AFFORDABLE FAMILY HOUSING

Lion Creek Crossings Phase III offers 106 rental townhomes and affordable apartments to lower income families. In 2003, Pyatok Architects completed the Master Plan for Lion Creek Crossings that includes 467 new affordable one- to five-bedroom homes, within a gross site area of 19.1 acres. In 2006, the firm also completed 50 units within Phase I of the project.

Located north of a new city-owned park and restored creek, planned as the public heart of the new neighborhood, Lion Creek Crossings Phase III is organized into two groupings. One group has 22 3- and 4-bedroom homes organized around a central private court. The other group of 84 homes is organized around a private central linear court, with town homes stacked above ground floor flats facing the park, and town homes in small clusters stacked above an on-grade parking garage facing 66th Street to the north.

All families can enter their homes from ground floor entries as flats, three-story townhomes, or via one flight of stairs to their 2-story townhomes above the flats. This allows a sense of privacy and accountability, avoiding public corridors and elevators. A small number of 1- and 2-bedroom flats are served by an elevator, accessed only by the residents of those flats. By organizing the 106 families into two groups, then subdividing the larger group into smaller clusters and town homes, the development achieves secure and easy-to-supervise territories.

The larger group of 84 families has direct access to the restored creek and the 6 acre central park through three secured gateways from the private linear inner court.

2009 NARHO Award of Excellence in Community Revitalization

PROJECT DATA

Client:	East Bay Asian Local Development Corp. & The Related Companies
Location:	Oakland, CA
Completion:	2008
Units:	106 units (1BR-4BR)
Amenities:	Social services, child care
Site Area:	2.5 acres
Parking Ratio:	1.0 spaces/unit
Cost:	$32.7 million
Contractor:	Cahill Construction
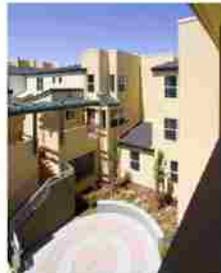
www.pyatok.com

Pyatok Architects Inc.
architecture   planning   research

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Type: New Construction, Rental and Homeownership

Awards:

National Association of Housing & Redevelopment Officials - Award of Excellence Design (2007)

The Phoenix Awards Institute - Phoenix Award Brownfield Redevelopment (2007)

California Redevelopment Association - Award of Excellence Residential Development/New Construction (2007)

Phase IV

"Nibbi Brothers was selected by The Related Companies of California, EBALDC and the Oakland Housing Authority to build Phase IV of the Lion Creek Crossings Housing Development. Phase IV of the project consists of 72 units of affordable housing, including four buildings of 1-, 2- and 3-bedroom units with an 18,000-sq.-ft. parking garage with car stackers. The housing will be three to four levels of wood-frame, (Type V) over a one-level concrete podium. Amenities will include a social services office, community rooms, laundry rooms, courtyards and a BBQ area."

Some sustainable building elements consist of:

- Bike rack

- High-efficiency irrigation system

- 40% FSC wood

- Energy Star bathroom fans

- Hydronic space heating

- Flow restrictors on all faucets

- Low emitting adhesives, carpet, coatings, composite wood, paints & sealants

- Adhering to an Indoor Air Quality Management Plan

From Oakland Housing Authority website
www.oakha.org/hope6/ColiseumGardens.pdf (accessed August 31, 2012).

Coliseum Gardens
HOPE VI Primary Site Rental Development

Total 351 Units			
ACC & Tax Credit		Tax Credit Only	
1-Bedroom	9	1-Bedroom	38
2-Bedroom	5	2-Bedroom	122
3-Bedroom	63	3-Bedroom	74
4-Bedroom	14	4-Bedroom	20
5-Bedroom	6	5-Bedroom	-
Total	97	Total	254

Property Management: Related Management Company

Childcare Provider: To be determined.

Service Provider: Various, to be determined.

Community Amenities: Multi-purpose community center, children's play area, childcare facilities, computer learning center

Apartment Amenities: On-site community laundry rooms, in townhouses, enclosed garages or carports, individual patio/decks, all-electric kitchens, wired for cable and multiple phone lines

Developer: The Related Companies of California and the East Bay Asian Local Development Company

Architects: Pyatok Architects, Inc.
Kodama Diseno
Y. H. Lee Associates

Contractor: Cahill Contractors, Inc.

Financing: Funding amounts are to be determined, but sources will include the following:

HOPE VI Grant
Tax Credit Equity – investor be determined
City of Oakland Funds
CalHFA HELP Loan
Affordable Housing Program Loan
First Mortgage – lender to be determined
OHA Local Funds

Lion Creek Crossings
Phase V Project
Subsequent Mitigated
Negative Declaration/
Addendum

March 2012

FIGURE 2-1
Project Location

Source: Atkins, 2011

Lion Creek Crossings Phase V

Phase III

Phase III

Original
Creek
Alignment

60th Avenue

New Creek
Alignment

Phase V

Realigned Lion Creek

Phase II

Leona Creek Drive

Relocated
City Park

Phase II

Lion Way

Hawley Street

Phase I

San Leandro Street

89th Avenue

Phase IV

Smith Street

Lion Way

70th Avenue

Future Development
by
Oakland Housing
Authority

SAN FRANCISCO
BAY AREA
RAPID TRANSIT
DISTRICT

LEGEND

Complete and Occupied

Undeveloped

Project Boundary

Under Construction

NORTH
NOT TO SCALE

ATKINS

FIGURE 2-2
Revised Project Phasing Plan

100018720

Lion Creek Crossings Phase V

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Family housing complex
(Phase III)

Arts Charter Academy

New senior housing complex (property)

Central park

Family housing complex
(Phase II)

Source: HKIT Architects, 2011.

ATKINS

FIGURE 2-3
Aerial View of the Lion Creek Crossings Project and the Phase V Project Site

100019720

Lion Creek Crossings: Phase V

a. Oakland Coliseum West of the Project Area

b. Residential Uses along 66th Avenue North of the Project Area

c. Residential uses along 69th Avenue South of the Project Area (including Phase IV Development)

d. Industrial Uses along 66th Avenue North of the Project Area

ATKINS

FIGURE 3.1-2
Views of the Surrounding Area

100019720

Source: Atkins, 2011.

Lion Creek Crossings: Phase V

a. Concrete-lined Portion North of the Project Site

a. Restored, Natural Portion North and West of the Project Site

FIGURE 3.4-1
Views of the Phase V Project Site - Lion Creek

Source: Atkins, 2011

ATKINS

100018720

Lion Creek Crossings Phase V

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APPENDIX E: BRIAN SULLIVAN AND HIGH POINT, SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

Integration of Community Planning and Public Housing Expertise

Sullivan was able to integrate his community planning and public housing knowledge and experiences into his design career. He worked with the architect team of Goody Clancy to complete work on West Broadway and Harbor Point in Boston, Massachusetts in the mid- to late- 1980s.

Sullivan's experience has evolved since West Broadway and Harbor Point to High Point. Throughout that time he has established values that help to guide his planning and design approaches. One of the top priorities in his design approach is maintaining equity. Another is empowering the residents and community members.

West Broadway (North of Harbor Point)

"Built in 1949, West Broadway sits on more than 20 acres of land. A state funded development, West Broadway's 727 apartments range from one to six bedrooms. Many units have front and back yards and separate entrances. West Broadway is slated for extensive renovations and redevelopment of 244 apartments that are located on one corner of the site. The Condon Elementary School is adjacent to the property. Plans also call for a new LaBoure Community Center on the site. Rents are calculated at 32% of a resident's income."[270]

Introduction of New Urbanism in 1980

At age 26, before the CNU, Sullivan taught urbanism at the University of Miami. He substituted for Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk and taught her first level and fifth level architecture studio classes. According to Sullivan, it was the first time these students were introduced to the subject matter in a substantial capacity. It was also the first time students in the courses had completed 3D urban design projects. It is possibly the introduction of what is termed today as New Urbanism.

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[270] Welcome to West Broadway. Boston Housing Authority.
http://www.bostonhousing.org/detpages/devinfo60.html (accessed June 29, 2012).

Harbor Point (mid-1980's completed in 1988)

Harbor Point in Boston (Dorchester), Massachusetts provided an example of how to design and develop a mixed-income community years before the inception of HOPE VI. The Harbor Point rental-only, mixed-income community was developed on a 50-acre site for 1,283 families.[271] The project was located on the old Columbia Point public housing location. Columbia Point had its grand opening on April 29, 1954.[272] This was considered "New England's largest housing project" at that time. It housed many public housing residents until January 24, 1987 – the first day of demolition. Harbor Point combined new town homes and mid-rises for its residents upon initial occupancy in 1988. The designers kept a few existing structures. They renovated three- and seven-story buildings and created a new dramatic street pattern that celebrates traditional city layouts.[273] Downtown Boston and the waterfront are part of the backdrop in the aerial photograph of Harbor Point shown in Image below.

Aerial of Harbor Point "Harbor City" in Boston (Dorchester), Massachusetts

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

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

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

[273] Goody Clancy "Architecture."

http://www.goodyclancy.com/arch?categoryId=9&view=project&layout=image&projectid=30&image=5 (accessed May 30, 2012).

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

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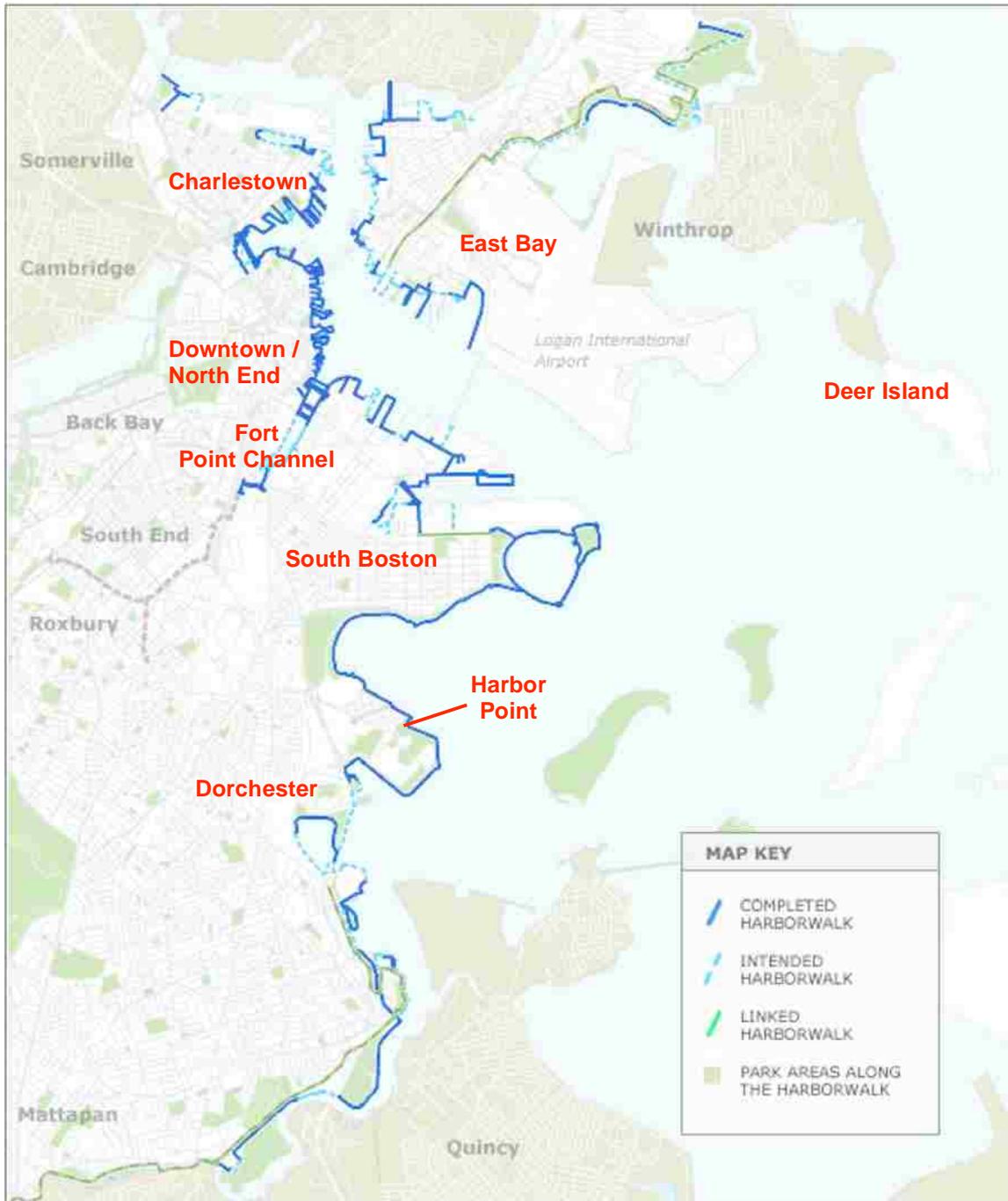
Source: Boston Harbor Walk
http://www.bostonharborwalk.com/placestogo/location.php?nid=2 (accessed June 6, 2012)

While he worked on Harbor Point as part of the planning and design team, Sullivan pushed for the boulevard street that stretched through the site and connects Harbor Point to the Bay. One design aspect that Sullivan wish could have been different at Harbor Point was the fact that the residences have stoops instead of porches. He considers the stoops to be inadequate third spaces or extensions of the home. From the discussion with Sullivan during the interview for this thesis, he communicates lessons learned from the Harbor Point project and how he has been able to design even better quality "places for people" in subsequent projects.

Community Planning Process[274]

What Sullivan has learned from others is to always provide three (3) design options during the community planning process. Sullivan stated that one key to a successful community planning process is to set goals for the public process instead of throwing out the open-ended question, "what do you want?" The community representatives appreciate that the leaders are listening and realize that their ideas and concerns have not been negated.

The community meetings can be more than just comment meetings. The meeting opportunity allows facilitators to hear all voices and manage the more dominating voices. When participants provide negative remarks, facilitators figure out how to paraphrase statements into positive, constructive notes. Other essential factors Sullivan stressed to include as part of the community planning process are:

• To develop and maintain trust with the community members

• Provide choices for residents (such as when presenting them with their housing options once the units are available…not, "This is your (1) unit; but here are (2-3) units for you and your family to choose from"

While community-planning experts like Sullivan relish in the idea of hearing what the public housing residents and other stakeholders have to say, many clients like developers and some jurisdiction officials fear the process of engaging the public. As part of his experience with community planning, Sullivan has learned that if the idea is right for that group, the people will support it. If the idea is not the best answer for the community then the process will show it. Therefore, there should be little fear of engaging the public in the process, but instead welcome the dialogue.

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[274] Brian Sullivan, In-person communication, June 26, 2012.

To elaborate, Sullivan gave an example of a time when a community was presented fewer than three design schemes, and where the one choice provided did not reflect the dialogue from past community meetings. This was during the West Broadway project. Even after a long community engagement process, a development team representative made the decision to present just one plan that they thought was the best, not reflecting what the residents and community members wanted. They were not satisfied. The people wanted to know: Where was Brian? How could this be happening? It benefited the future of the process that Sullivan was out of town during this meeting. They wanted Sullivan to advocate for them. The community members knew he would because there was a level of trust they had developed with Sullivan. Sullivan was able to return to town and help dig the development and design team out of the muck in which this one planning community meeting had submerged them.

Adding value to the community planning process from the people's perspective by making better decisions based on having engaged and listened to public housing residents and community members makes for a more efficient and effective experience. Negating their voices and input when making decisions causes many times unnecessary issues that take longer to undo it later.

High Point Project Images

Neighborhood Connectivity and Design Guiding Principles

Source: Silver Medal Winner: High Point Redevelopment Project, West Seattle, Washington, 2007 Rudy Bruner Award, 121.

All photographs below by author, André Taybron

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

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

One of many bioswales throughout the development,
part of the environment and ecofriendly design
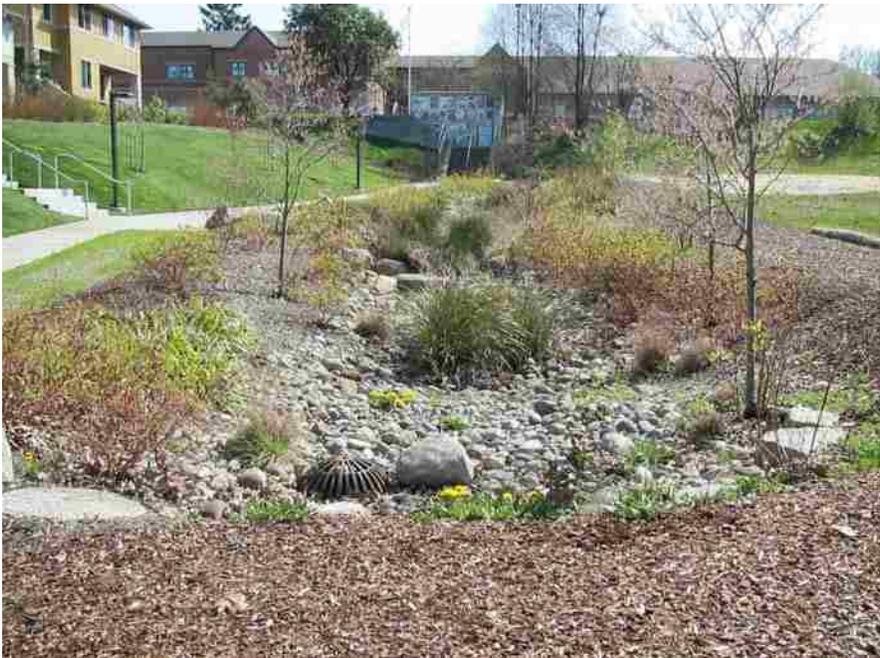
The wall art and graffiti adds to the urban feel of the neighborhood

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

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

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

Two rentals side by side

View of Downtown Seattle and Puget Sound from outside of High Point Community Center
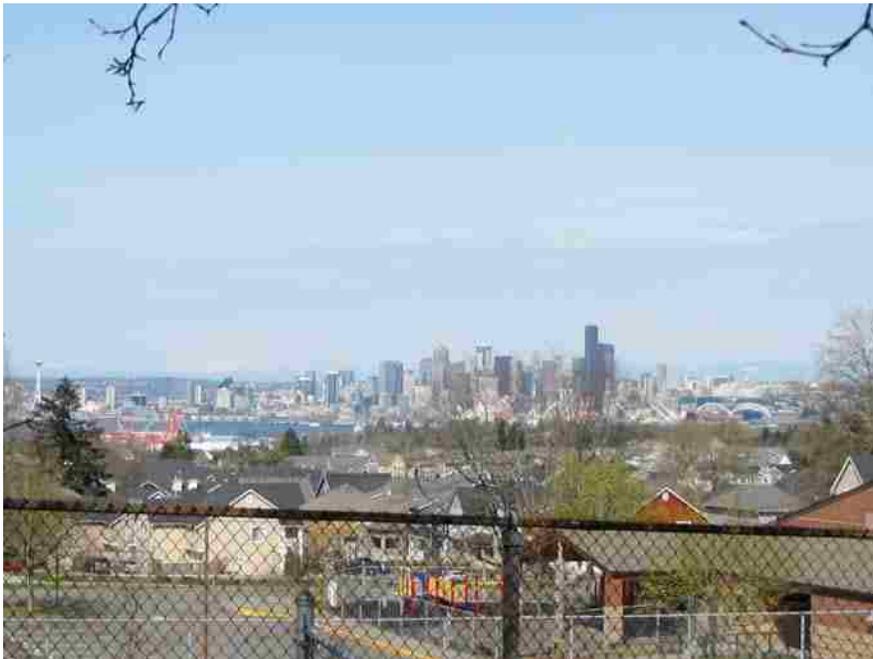
Soccer fields at the community center playgrounds

Kids playground at the community center

Single Family Dwelling at the top bluff of the development

APPENDIX F: NEW URBANISM AND CHARTER OF THE NEW URBANISM

From Congress of the New Urbanism Website.

http://www.cnu.org/charter (accessed August 31, 2012).

CHARTER OF THE NEW URBANISM

The Congress for the New Urbanism views disinvestment in central cities, the spread of placeless sprawl, increasing separation by race and income, environmental deterioration, loss of agricultural lands and wilderness, and the erosion of society's built heritage as one interrelated community-building challenge.

We stand for the restoration of existing urban centers and towns within coherent metropolitan regions, the reconfiguration of sprawling suburbs into communities of real neighborhoods and diverse districts, the conservation of natural environments, and the preservation of our built legacy.

We advocate the restructuring of public policy and development practices to support the following principles: neighborhoods should be diverse in use and population; communities should be designed for the pedestrian and transit as well as the car; cities and towns should be shaped by physically defined and universally accessible public spaces and community institutions; urban places should be framed by architecture and landscape design that celebrate local history, climate, ecology, and building practice.

We recognize that physical solutions by themselves will not solve social and economic problems, but neither can economic vitality, community stability, and environmental health be sustained without a coherent and supportive physical framework.

We represent a broad-based citizenry, composed of public and private sector leaders, community activists, and multidisciplinary professionals. We are committed to reestablishing the relationship between the art of building and the making of community, through citizen-based participatory planning and design.

We dedicate ourselves to reclaiming our homes, blocks, streets, parks, neighborhoods, districts, towns, cities, regions, and environment.