

**From Project to Neighborhood: Investigating Assumptions behind
Current U.S. Public Housing Redesign**

by

Josephine K. Louie

B.A. Social Studies, Harvard-Radcliffe University

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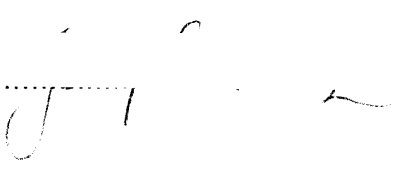
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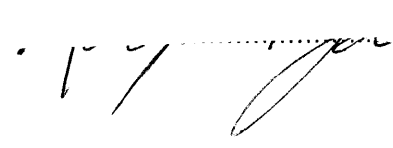
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Department of Urban Studies and Planning
May 16, 1994

Certified by



.....
Lawrence Vale
Thesis Supervisor

Accepted by



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Ralph Gackenhaimer
Chair MCP Committee

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Abstract

Current scholars and policy-makers argue that the trend in public housing site design is towards greater integration between public housing projects and projects' surrounding neighborhoods. In 1993, the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development established the Urban Revitalization Demonstration Program (URD) to fund the comprehensive redevelopment of severely distressed public housing projects in six cities around the country. This thesis examines the six URD-funded project redesign proposals to ascertain whether the trend towards project-neighborhood integration is indeed taking place. By examining proposed project-neighborhood relationships, this thesis also aims to uncover assumptions held by different housing authorities about public housing residents and the place of public housing projects within cities. Chapter 1 outlines a history of public housing site forms and discusses theories of city neighborhoods and neighborhood boundaries. Chapter 2 presents project redesign measures and social program initiatives proposed in the six URD-funded applications. The third chapter compares levels of project-neighborhood integration among the six URD applications, and the last chapter concludes with reflections on and recommendations for the design of neighborhood-integrated public housing projects.

Proposed redesign measures in the URD applications suggest that project-neighborhood integration is not the only trend throughout the country. Public housing site redesign appears to be moving in two different directions: one towards project-neighborhood integration, the other towards project enclave. Public housing policy-makers and redevelopers concerned about project-neighborhood integration may wish to examine their conceptions of public housing residents, their ideas about city life, and their visions of neighborhood relationships within cities as they embark upon redevelopment efforts for public housing projects.

Thesis Supervisor: Dr. Lawrence Vale
Title: Assistant Professor of Urban Studies and Planning

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Introduction

In 1992, the National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing published a report that identified social and physical problems surrounding public housing projects around the country and proposed general solutions to remedy these problems. This report was accompanied by a book of detailed case studies and site examination reports of model redevelopment and management efforts for public housing projects around the U.S. The U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) acted upon the recommendations of the reports by establishing the Urban Revitalization Demonstration Program (URD), a program that will fund the comprehensive redevelopment of selected "severely distressed" public housing projects around the country. Based on the severity of their distressed conditions and the quality of their revitalization proposals, housing projects in Boston, MA; Charlotte, NC; Cleveland, OH; Kansas City, MO; New Haven, CT; and San Francisco, CA were chosen in 1993 for funding for the URD. Housing projects in these cities were granted between \$30 million and \$50 million for complete revitalization; these projects received full implementation grants and were chosen out of an applicant pool of 41 cities.¹

The National Commission names four general indicators of "severe distress" within housing projects. The four indicators are: residents in despair and in need of high levels of social and support services; high incidence of serious crime; physically deteriorated buildings; and numerous barriers to the management of projects.² To address these conditions of severe distress, the Commission calls upon public housing authorities (PHAs) to develop comprehensive human service and economic development programs for severely distressed project residents; to devise strategies and management plans that restore PHA or tenant control over projects; to assess physical conditions on project sites; and to create physical plans for project redevelopment.³

In both its Final Report and in its Case Study and Site Examination Reports, the Commission also notes that severely distressed housing projects appear isolated from surrounding neighborhoods. It writes:

¹ In the first round of funding under the URD program, eight cities were awarded URD grants. Public housing authorities in Seattle and New York City received \$500,000 URD planning grants to study redevelopment approaches for severely distressed housing projects in their cities. This thesis examines the six redevelopment proposals that received full URD funding for redevelopment implementation.

² National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing Projects, Final Report, (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1992), Appendix B.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 49, 64-5, 80. The measures noted here are only general measures proposed in the Commission's Final Report. The report outlines a wide range of action steps that can be taken at the federal and local levels to address each indicator of distress.

"... the sense of isolation from the surrounding community separates severely distressed public housing from other public housing developments as well as from other forms of assisted housing operated in both the public and the private sectors."⁴

Although projects may appear isolated from surrounding neighborhoods, the Commission warns housing authorities not to view or treat housing projects as insular enclaves. The Commission suggests that in reality, projects are closely tied to adjacent neighborhoods. The large scale and density of many distressed developments exert a "large community presence" over neighboring areas. The "spill-over impacts of security from distressed developments" affects life in abutting neighborhoods, and the prevalence of "blighted, multi-problem neighborhoods near distressed public housing" make it difficult to address problems within projects without addressing problems outside the projects.⁵ "Public housing developments do not exist as entities separate from other city neighborhoods," the Commission writes; "they are an integrated element of their surrounding community."⁶

Because housing projects are closely related to their surroundings, PHAs should consider "integrating the development with the adjacent residential neighborhood to reduce feelings of isolation."⁷ PHAs should consider social strategies to help promote project integration with surrounding neighborhoods: PHAs can cooperate with neighborhood residents in project revitalization efforts, and they can consider developing facilities within project boundaries that will be used by the whole neighborhood.⁸ PHAs should also consider economic strategies to help promote project-neighborhood integration: they should develop programs that "stimulate neighborhood reinvestment and economic development" for both project and neighborhood residents.⁹

In addition to social and economic strategies, housing authorities should consider design measures that both help integrate projects with surrounding neighborhoods and reduce social problems within project sites. Design strategies recommended by the Commission revolve around changes in the organization of space within projects and the physical image of project buildings. Measures that may help promote project integration are building designs that match designs found in surrounding areas, and project designs that help change the image of the entire surrounding neighborhood.¹⁰

⁴ Ibid., p. 10.

⁵ National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing, Case Study and Site Examination Reports (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1992), 14-21.

⁶ Ibid., 1-7.

⁷ Ibid., 5-43.

⁸ Ibid., 14-22.

⁹ Ibid., 5-44.

¹⁰ Ibid., 7-33, 12-32.

Measures that may help promote better site organization are the creation of new streets,¹¹ and the creation of "defensible space." The Commission does not define "defensible space"; instead it claims that "most developments lack any definition of public and private territory, which is the basis for creating 'defensible space.'"¹² It argues that the lack of defensible space in project sites "has contributed significantly to the rising crime rates on the site and in the buildings."¹³ To create project sites appropriately designed with defensible space, housing authorities should clearly differentiate between public and private spaces on project sites, and they should establish a "hierarchy of exterior spaces" within project sites.¹⁴

Do the six housing authorities participating in the first round of the URD program follow the recommendations made by the Commission to reorganize project sites and to integrate project sites with project neighborhoods? The suggestions to create streets, to design defensible space, and to "integrate" with neighboring areas are presented as vague directives because the concepts of "integration," "neighborhood," "defensible space," and the proper role of streets are never clearly defined. If the six proposals do respond to the Commission's plea for "integration" and "neighborhood," do the six proposals display common understandings of these concepts? Do the six proposals take similar approaches towards street design and the integration of different city parts?

If the six URD applications share similar assumptions about space organization within project sites and physical relationships between projects and surrounding areas, HUD may have taken a clear stand on how it envisions the relationship between public housing projects and project neighborhoods by choosing six proposals with common design strategies and underlying assumptions. If the six proposals contain different strategies and assumptions about project-neighborhood relations, then HUD may either be endorsing a number of different public housing visions, or it may not have a clear vision of the place of public housing within U.S. cities.

Underlying the arguments in this thesis is the belief that physical redesign strategies for public housing projects carry assumptions about how people should live within the projects and how people should relate to others outside those projects. Proposed arrangements of residential homes, circulation routes, and gathering spaces can indicate designers' conceptions of how people will interact with each other and with broader city society. Assumptions may be explicitly outlined in proposal texts, visually depicted in proposal site plans, or they may be silently embedded within the rhetoric of the grant applications and the drawings of the future sites.

¹¹ Ibid., 4-36. The Commission notes that the redevelopment of the Commonwealth housing project in Boston "by all accounts has been very successful"; the introduction of new streets and the redesign of old streets in the project was an important part of the redevelopment plan.

¹² Ibid., 14-7.

¹³ Ibid., 14-7.

¹⁴ Ibid., 7-26.

Assumptions held about current and envisioned life both inside and outside public housing projects are necessarily linked to assumptions about "good city form" and "good city life" in general, because housing projects are parts of cities and housing project residents are segments of city populations. Envisioned lifestyles and physical living patterns for housing project residents can indicate ideal living arrangements for housing project residents specifically, or they can indicate ideal living arrangements for city citizens in general. If envisioned living arrangements are specific to housing projects, project redevelopers may be assuming that project residents are different from other city residents, and that "good city life" and "good city form" are different for different groups of people. If envisioned living arrangements for project residents apply to all city residents, proposed project redesigns make clear statements of "good city life" and "good city form" for all citizens. By examining the grant applications and proposed redesigns of six severely distressed public housing projects around the country, this thesis hopes to uncover current conceptions of how public housing residents should live and what public housing projects should be. Through this examination, this thesis also hopes to explore ideas about city form and urban life that may be linked to different conceptions of the public housing project.

An exploration of assumptions behind physical redevelopment proposals about city form and urban life can serve two purposes. First, exposure of these sorts of underlying assumptions can reveal if theories of urban design and urban life stated by writers throughout the century have emerged in the current thinking of public policy officials and practitioners of urban design. It can be of both academic and practical interest to learn if theories formulated in the past continue to emerge in designs of the present, whether certain aspects of past theories have been modified and translated into common practice, and whether different design practices will have contradictory effects because the practices are rooted in contradictory theories. Second, exposure of underlying assumptions can help form the basis for future evaluations of redevelopment "success." Success of any endeavor requires a clear statement of ends to be achieved as well as efficient and effective measures taken to achieve those ends. Efforts to uncover explicit and implicit goals can help program evaluators understand program targets, and they can help evaluators design evaluation scales that can measure progress towards those targets.

Chapter 1 begins with an interpretation of the history of public housing site design in this country. Theories of "neighborhood" and spatial boundaries are then explored for their assumptions about neighborhood integration and the role of physical design in social integration. Chapter 2 outlines the design and social service interventions proposed in the six URD-funded redevelopment schemes. Chapter 3 identifies a number of physical design dimensions that might contribute towards an understanding of project-neighborhood integration, and it compares the six

proposals along these dimensions. Chapter 4 concludes the thesis with reflections on and recommendations for the design of neighborhood-integrated public housing projects.

Chapter I Public Housing Site Design and Theories on Neighborhood

A. A History of Public Housing Site Forms

Site design of public housing in the U.S. has changed significantly since the origins of public housing in this country. Karen Franck and Michael Mostoller argue that public housing site design has passed through three stages: an emphasis on the semi-enclosed courtyard in the 1930's and '40's; an emphasis on open space between rows of buildings in the 1940's through 1960's; and an emphasis on private yards and streets in the 1980's and '90's¹. These authors believe that there is now a movement towards reconceiving the social and architectural form of the public housing project; new conceptions abandon the notion of housing project as a separate residential enclave and envision connections between housing project and surrounding neighborhood. Construction of the housing project as a mixed-use neighborhood, the authors suggest, appears to be the next stage in public housing design; complete integration with the city and the disappearance of the project "site" may be the last stage in public housing's social and physical evolution.

According to Franck and Mostoller, various interpretations of social conditions and city life prompted the different site forms of public housing projects. In the nineteenth century and early part of this century, large numbers of low-income people were housed in dense city tenement buildings. Social reformers and writers at the time brought to public awareness the inadequate space, plumbing, heating, and sewage systems of the tenement slums. City life was described as filthy, dark, and noisy; writers spoke of the "garbage-filled back yards" and the "unhygienic depressing courts" of the tenements.² These social reformers and writers believed that poor housing conditions affected peoples' physical health, moral states, and productivity. Substandard structural conditions and human density help spread disease and immoral behavior; poor physical and moral health contributed to "industrial inefficiency, unemployment, and a long line of social maladies."³ Prompted partly by a concern for the substandard conditions of the tenement slums and peoples' physical and social well-being, the federal government began to provide public housing for low-income groups in the late 1930's.⁴

¹ Karen Franck and Michael Mostoller are professors of architecture at the New Jersey Institute of Technology. Their arguments are presented in "From Courts to Open Space to Streets: Changes in the Site Design of U.S. Public Housing" (unpublished, first draft, 1993; revised version to be published in the Journal of Architectural and Planning Research, fall 1994).

² Franck & Mostoller, p. 12.

³ Ibid., p. 9.

⁴ Ibid., p. 11. The federal government began to build public housing projects for the poor in the early 1930's through a Public Works Administration program to clear the slums, and by providing money to local public housing authorities to build public housing through the 1937 Wagner-Steagall Housing Act (Wright, 1981, Ch. 22). The federal government was prompted to provide public housing in the 1930's for a number of reasons: to eradicate slums; to relieve unemployment during the depression by creating construction jobs;

The form of early public housing projects tried to address and counter the physical and social problems associated with tenement slums. Many early projects were built as three-story buildings in L-, U-, or T-shaped configurations to define semi-enclosed courtyards. Entrances to the buildings were usually located in these courtyards, which were often landscaped and designed as playgrounds.⁵ The configurations and site designs of these projects were influenced by prevailing ideas of the garden city movement: city design and living conditions could be improved by bringing landscape and nature into the city. Early housing project developers followed these garden city ideas by building courtyards that would enclose pieces of nature to serve as the centers of the projects. Project buildings were aligned along city streets in ways that conformed to existing street grids and block patterns; the buildings served as screens, however, to the surrounding city, so that the projects could focus on the light, air, and nature provided by the courtyards.⁶

The writings of social reformers and the design of early housing projects display a belief that city living conditions are abhorrent; to live a decent life in the city, surrounding urban areas must be denied and shut out. By highlighting the disease, darkness, density, and demoralization of people within the slums, and by advocating the return of light and air into the cities, social critics stated both directly and indirectly that human beings need basic levels of physical space, housing construction quality, and exposure to nature in order to fully develop as individuals and members of society. The inward-focused courtyard design of early housing projects reflected the prevailing negative view of surrounding urban living conditions; the design also suggests the idea that human beings will become better people if exposed to nature and improved environmental conditions. Courtyards were built into housing projects to bring sunlight and nature into peoples' lives, and project buildings were arranged to shelter inhabitants from the disorder of the beyond.

Courtyard design also suggested a belief that human development would be aided by grouping people into social units in space: projects built around courtyards looked like and aimed to be special enclaves that could nurture a better humanity than the humanity that existed outside in the city. Housing authority design publications at the time praised courtyard plans for the "domestic feeling" they created.⁷ Housing authorities in the 1930's also encouraged the provision of a range of social services on site to help build a self-sufficient social and communal life within projects.⁸ Although sited in ways that conformed to existing city grids, project sites were

to provide temporary housing for millions who had lost their homes during the depression. (Wright, 1981, Ch. 22.)

⁵ Franck & Mostoller, p. 3.

⁶ Ibid., p. 14.

⁷ Franck & Mostoller, p. 21.

⁸ In the 1930's, housing authorities often made deliberate attempts to include playgrounds, schools, health clinics, and general community spaces within projects or to locate projects near such facilities. Although the housing authorities themselves did not usually administer social services for tenants, other city agencies or groups were encouraged to provide for the project. (Paul Lambert, MIT thesis, 1991, pp. 36-38)

clearly meant to be separate from, and an improvement upon, the surrounding buildings and city blocks.⁹

The same concern for bringing light and air into the city prompted another type of public housing site design: the "slab" or "open space" project site plan. This site plan also arose partly as a reaction against the conditions of city slums; "open space" plans emerged as courtyard plans were being developed and later became the predominant form of public housing from the 1940's through 1960's. Early examples of this plan contained parallel rows of dwellings placed in slab-shaped buildings. These slabs were often arranged in geometrical patterns that differed from the patterns of existing streets and buildings. Unbounded and undefined open space flowed freely around the slabs, and fronts and backs of buildings were rarely distinguished.¹⁰ In later examples of "open space" projects, slab row-houses became elevator high-rise buildings that were grouped into superblocks and arranged freely on the ground. Streets running through the project site were generally absent, and buildings were generally entered from the interior of the project.¹¹

Leading architects and planners in the early part of the century helped fuel the adoption and development of open space site plans for public housing. Perhaps influenced by the writings of LeCorbusier and his ideas of vertical cities placed above open expanses of nature,¹² architects such as Clarence Stein, Henry Wright, and Louis Pink suggested in their works and writings that garden apartments and courtyard plans did not provide enough openness for peoples' living spaces.¹³ The courtyard plans were still too "urban" and did not bring enough nature into peoples' lives; any plan that conveyed a sense of confinement and that mixed buildings with traffic was too reminiscent of the city slums.¹⁴ Peoples' need for exposure to nature was so strong that instead of bringing pieces of nature into the city and enclosing it within buildings, isolated buildings should be placed in vast expanses of nature.¹⁵ Open spaces in housing projects were designed to be as unenclosed and as free-flowing as possible, to convey a sense of infinite expansiveness. It was believed that the less building coverage there was over a site, the better the plan brought light and cross-ventilation to the people. Open spaces were deliberately left unprogrammed so that residents could choose themselves how to use and benefit from the space.¹⁶

⁹ Franck & Mostoller, p. 14.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 4.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 6.

¹² In La Ville Radieuse, LeCorbusier advocated building a city of high rises to give all people views of sunlight and to free up the ground for landscape and nature.

¹³ Franck & Mostoller, p. 15.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 17.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 14.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 16.

The physical and symbolic openness of the open space plans displayed a concern, Franck and Mostoller argue, for "universality" and inclusiveness across society, rather than for individuality or self-enclosed community.¹⁷ This concern indeed corresponds with the a change in social service provision in the early 1950's for housing projects: "social service workers began to believe that public housing authorities did not constitute communities in of themselves, and tenants should use facilities within the neighborhoods of the cities."¹⁸ This concern may also correspond with changes in the national sentiment towards housing for all citizens across the country. The 1949 Housing Act placed into Federal law the goal of "a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family."¹⁹ Ironically, the quest for "universality" and the desire to integrate the people of the projects with the people of the surrounding neighborhood stood alongside designers' rejection of the conditions of the surrounding city. Open space designs aimed both to merge the populations inside and outside the projects, and to break with the spatial and social patterns of the surrounding city. The contradictory impulses to both embrace all of society and yet break with its current forms led to formally distinct housing projects that were separate from the existing urban fabric but did not contain the physical facilities or social services to make them self-sufficient.

The design of the street and the reconnection of project buildings to city streets characterize the third stage of public housing design, Franck and Mostoller argue. In this third stage, the open, unprogrammed space promoted by the stage two designs is deemed too ambiguous and too dangerous. The concerns for physical health that fueled the designs in stages one and two have given way to a concern for physical safety. City living conditions are no longer considered intrinsically substandard and therefore hazardous to peoples' physical health: lack of light, air, adequate heat, and natural landscape no longer exist nor are viewed as primary problems in cities. Instead, people need safety from crime in urban areas. It is assumed that criminal behavior will occur when and where people believe they will not get caught for their actions; unassigned, unattended open spaces invite people to engage in illicit and potentially threatening behavior. Open spaces in both open space site plans and courtyard plans are bounded, defined for specific uses, and often closed to create private yards that are assigned to individual dwellings.²⁰ Streets that once passed through projects and were closed in the open

¹⁷ Franck and Mostoller, p. 21.

¹⁸ Paul Lambert, MIT thesis, 1991, p. 44. In his thesis, Lambert argues that this change in belief may have emerged in response to rising neighborhood opposition to housing project populations and housing project construction. He notes that in the 1940's and 1950's, project inhabitants were not very different in racial or economic background from residents in surrounding communities; to prove to neighborhood residents that project inhabitants could be compatible neighbors, housing authorities may have abandoned on-site service provision so that project residents could mingle with neighborhood residents in neighborhood facilities.

¹⁹ Scott Greer, Urban Renewal and American Cities (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1965), p. 4.

²⁰ Franck and Mostoller, p. 8.

space plans are re-opened; building fronts are identified and located to face city streets. Housing forms are no longer primarily high-rises with common stairs, elevators, and entryways; row-houses and townhouses with individual street addresses for individual dwelling units predominate.²¹

Franck and Mostoller argue that the writings of Jane Jacobs and Oscar Newman in the 1960's and 1970's may have contributed to a concern for street design and its effects on city safety. In The Death and Life of Great American Cities (1961), Jacobs argues that streets and sidewalks are the essence of a city. When streets and sidewalks are properly designed to carry large numbers of city strangers, streets and sidewalks help promote the safety and vitality of the city. To promote safety, streets must engage people to impose "intricate, almost unconscious voluntary controls and standards over each other."²² Such social controls emerge under several conditions: when there is a clear demarcation between public and private space along city streets; when buildings are oriented towards sidewalks and place numerous "eyes upon the street"; and when streets and sidewalks are filled with fairly continuous use.²³ Whereas earlier writers on urban life and urban design may have seen disorder within city streets and dense city crowds, Jacobs sees a "complex order" of social interaction. According to Jacobs, the very "art form" of city life itself lies within the flux and movement in city streets.²⁴

Oscar Newman's writings in Defensible Space (1972), Franck and Mostoller suggest, may have further contributed to the break from Stage 2 open-space site plans to Stage 3 street approaches. In his book, Newman argues specifically against open space-site plans because he believes these plans encourage crime. Traditional patterns of building on city streets, Newman claims, always maintained clear territorial demarcations around individual dwellings.²⁵ Territorial definition was lost with the adoption of modern building technologies and open-space design approaches. Large, undefined public spaces, like those associated with high-rise public housing projects, invite criminal activity when they are not patrolled by hired security guards or by the natural surveillance of neighboring residents.

Newman argues that safety and security will return to cities if designers engage residents' territorial behavior through environmental design around city streets. If all spaces in residential areas are clearly bounded and connected to the domain of individual dwelling units, individual residents will naturally patrol these spaces as part of their daily living activities. Potential criminals will refrain from threatening behavior in areas designated as "private"; the knowledge that they are being watched by private residents will deter them from improper acts. "Semi-private" and "semi-public" spaces can also be designed in the environment to engage the protective behavior of

²¹ Ibid.

²² Jane Jacobs, The Death and Life of Great American Cities (New York: Vintage Books, 1961), p. 32.

²³ Ibid., p. 35.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 50.

²⁵ Oscar Newman, Defensible Space (New York: Macmillan, 1972), p. 7.

small resident groups. If vast, unprotected public areas are broken up into a hierarchy of private, semi-private, and semi-public spaces around residential homes, criminal activity will diminish, and social stability can begin to return to urban areas.²⁶

Perhaps rooted in Jacobs' and Newman's ideas, Stage 3 public housing site design no longer rests on the belief that cities are demoralizing, anti-social places. Franck and Mostoller suggest that the abandonment of city building forms and existing street patterns in stages 1 and 2 signaled anti-urban attitudes; the re-introduction of city streets to housing project site plans indicates an embrace of the city and its essence -- its streets. Safe city streets can help build a population's social life by bringing different people into informal contact as they travel from destination to destination. Stage 3's street-oriented designs display a faith that connecting buildings to city streets and promoting human activity on city streets will help people develop their social lives.

By embracing the city street, housing site plans no longer look inward but reach out to interact with surrounding neighborhoods. Franck and Mostoller predict that housing project design will continue to both scatter buildings in existing neighborhoods and bring more mixed-use services and neighborhood-wide facilities into previously enclosed project enclaves. These developments will occur, the authors claim, because there is a growing belief that the success of housing projects depends on close interaction with surrounding areas and neighborhood-wide economic development. "The possibility of a mutually beneficial relationship between project and neighborhood is being explored further as the economic development of neighborhoods adjacent to large housing projects is recognized as one very important means of improving housing projects."²⁷ Stage 4 of housing project site design, they claim, will be an emphasis on "neighborhood," where "neighborhood" is understood to be a continuous area of space with economic and cultural uses as well as residential uses. Noting the recommendations for greater project-neighborhood cooperation made by the National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing, Franck and Mostoller write: "After 60 years, the obligation to provide housing and more economically vital neighborhoods with services and amenities where the housing is located is being recognized as part of the purview of public housing."²⁸

Eventually, Franck and Mostoller suggest, public housing units will become so intermixed with neighborhood-wide services and non-subsidized homes that the public housing site, as a separate recognizable enclave, will disappear. Stage 5 of public housing site design may be "no

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

²⁷ Franck and Mostoller, p. 24.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

site at all,"²⁹ when housing units are completely integrated both socially and physically into the larger urban fabric.³⁰

B. Theories on Neighborhood and Spatial Boundaries

The arguments presented by Franck and Mostoller about the future of public housing site design build upon the recommendations by the National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing for project-neighborhood integration. The ideas of these authors and of the Commission suggest an "integrationist" view among some academics and policy-makers towards the design and redesign of public housing. This "integrationist" view states that PHAs around the country either should consider or already are considering public housing projects as integral components of larger neighborhoods. The task of public housing design and redesign, therefore, is to further integrative links between projects and surrounding neighborhoods.

Is a trend towards greater project-neighborhood integration indeed taking place around the country? There are a number of approaches that one might take to answer this question. One can examine current housing project redevelopment proposals for explicit statements and attitudes towards project-neighborhood integration. Chapter 2 of this thesis begins this approach by outlining the design and social service interventions proposed in the six URD-funded redevelopment schemes. One can create a scale of project-neighborhood integration based on physical and social dimensions that may underlie such integration. Chapter 3 suggests what some of these dimensions might be and compares the six proposals across these dimensions.

Another approach can begin by examining theories of neighborhood and neighborhood integration to see if underlying assumptions within project redesign proposals concur with integrationist assumptions found in theory. If "neighborhood integration" is associated with open site boundaries and overlapping land uses, and if ideas about city conditions and human populations in project re-design proposals mirror assumptions by authors advocating mixed-use, unbounded areas, then housing project site design may indeed contain deeply-rooted inclinations towards "neighborhood" and "invisibility." If assumptions in redesign proposals correspond more highly to ideas related to project separation and homogeneity, predictions about project-neighborhood integration may have to be re-evaluated. The remainder of this chapter outlines a range of ideas on neighborhood and spatial boundaries, both to explore the notions of "neighborhood" and "integration," and to uncover assumptions about urban form and social life that may fuel desires for neighborhood integration. Assumptions outlined in this

²⁹ Ibid., p. 27.

³⁰ Franck and Mostoller posit this trend without acknowledging the social and political resistance that might emerge against project-neighborhood integration.

chapter can serve as a guide for later reflections on project-neighborhood integration among the six proposals.

1. *Eight views: Closed, Permeable, and Open Neighborhood Forms*

What is a "neighborhood"? What might "neighborhood integration" mean? Different urban theorists over the century have argued for the construction of mixed-used areas bounded in space, for the creation of homogeneous and separated land uses, or for erasing urban boundaries between people and places. Clarence Perry, writing at the beginning of this century, and Barry Poyner, writing in the 1980's, both argue for tightly-bounded residential neighborhoods within cities. Christopher Alexander, Oscar Newman, and Jane Jacobs argue for neighborhood areas with overlapping uses and permeable boundaries. Bill Hillier, Richard Sennett, and Herbert Gans suggest that neighborhood boundaries are either detrimental or secondary to a city's social life.³¹ The ideas of these eight authors are discussed in turn.

In the early part of this century, Clarence Perry conceived the idea of a "neighborhood unit" and argued for its construction in urban areas. The "neighborhood unit" was envisioned as a residential area of limited size and limited population, anchored in the center with an elementary school, common playing fields, and community institutions such as a church, theater, fraternal hall, and public library.³² Local shops would be located on the edges of the unit and no further than half a mile from all households. The unit's population would be restricted to one that would support the single elementary school, and the unit's size would be limited so that all houses would be within a quarter-mile walking distance to the school. The internal street organization would be clearly different from the street pattern outside the unit, so that cars would not speed through the area and endanger pedestrians. Perry argued that wide roads should bound the unit, both to direct traffic around and away from the interior, and to clearly distinguish the unit from its surroundings.³³

Perry argued for the neighborhood unit because he believed city development was unorganized, chaotic, and insensitive to peoples' needs. Because residential areas were not conceived of or built as "living organisms," with "different parts each performing a special function," city areas fell short of "completely satisfying the needs of modern family life."³⁴ Engineers built wide highways through cities based on traffic demands and the needs of

³¹ Clarence Perry was an American planner; Barry Poyner is a British researcher on environmental design; Christopher Alexander is an American urban designer; Oscar Newman is an American architect; Jane Jacobs is an American writer; Bill Hillier is a British architect; Robert Sennett and Herbert Gans are American sociologists.

³² Perry, *The Neighborhood Unit*, 1929, pp. 72-75.

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 34-5, 47, 60.

³⁴ Perry, 1929, pp. 28, 29.

automobiles; these engineers carved up residential areas, introduced traffic hazards to residents, and destroyed peoples' pleasant living environments because the areas were never conceived of or protected as integrated wholes. Residential amenities in cities were usually provided as afterthoughts: "Playgrounds were not usually thought of at all until the section was completely built up and congestion compelled a consideration of children's needs."³⁵

The city also displayed "tendencies to depreciation and disintegration."³⁶ The strongest debilitating force in the city was "blight," an "insidious malady that attacks urban residential districts" and begins with "a barely noticeable deterioration and then progresses gradually through many stages towards a final condition known as the slum."³⁷ Blight was caused by social behavior peculiar to dense cities with low-income populations: as a "collective, rather than an individual, condition," blight resulted from "the deeds of neglect of many people."³⁸

The cure for unraveling and disintegrating cities was the neighborhood unit. If developers conceived of residential areas as sheltered enclaves with houses, cultural facilities, educational institutions, and local consumer services in organized and close proximity, families' lives in cities would improve. Children's needs for accessible playgrounds and safe journeys to school would be satisfied; parents' access to local shops and community facilities would be made more convenient. By providing an enclave sheltered from cars and equipped with cultural and educational institutions at its center, the neighborhood unit would encourage inhabitants to interact and join in voluntary associations to pursue common interests³⁹. Once people joined to form associations and began to meet regularly in the unit's physical center, community would be formed. The neighborhood unit was an asset to the city because it served families' residential, economic, and social needs within the confines of a physical community. This physical community was a good in and of itself.

The physical community was also good because it was useful. A clearly bounded neighborhood unit with a strong community life was "salable," or marketable⁴⁰; if built in a previously deteriorated area, its quality environment would attract middle class people into its borders. The presence of middle class people, Perry believed, was required to stop the process of urban blight. "Re-creation of a blighted district cannot generally be accomplished by merely replacing the old dwellings with new structures ... another class of tenants with somewhat higher incomes must usually be brought into the district."⁴¹ It is assumed that middle class people will

³⁵ Perry, 1929, p. 29.

³⁶ Perry, Housing for the Machine Age, 1939, p. 79.

³⁷ Perry, The Rebuilding of Blighted Areas, 1933, p. 8.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 9.

³⁹ Perry, 1929, p. 72.

⁴⁰ Perry, 1933, p. 21.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 10.

have the resources and the desire to maintain their surroundings and to prevent the onslaught of decay; if such people can be attracted into re-planned areas by the provision of family amenities and the promise of a vibrant communal life, then urban blight may indeed be defeated. The power of the neighborhood unit lay in its various amenities, its mixed-used composition, and its bounded state. It could revitalize communities within its borders, and it could stop the process of urban decay.

... the neighborhood unit [is] a residential cell capable of building up so strong a community life within itself that it would be capable of resisting the tendencies to depreciation and disintegration that might take place in the city about it ... the central theme has been unity, the creation of units that gain such strength from their internal organization that they are not at the complete mercy of the ordinary city-building forces.⁴²

Writing fifty years after Perry, Barry Poyner also argues for tight boundaries around residential areas. Like Perry, Poyner argues for clear boundaries because he fears that social forces outside residential areas can disrupt the well-being of residents inside those areas. While Perry aimed to protect residents of neighborhood units from outside city blight, however, Poyner (writing after the publication of Newman's Defensible Space) aims to protect residents from outside crime.

To defend against crime, Poyner argues that access into residential neighborhoods should be limited. Planners should erect impassable barriers, such as industrial zones and railways, around residential neighborhoods. Main roads should not pass through residential neighborhoods, and entry points into these neighborhoods should be few and narrow.⁴³ Security will also be enhanced if mixed-use development is avoided: "Residential neighbourhoods should be homogeneously developed as housing and not mixed with other uses, particularly commercial uses."⁴⁴ This design directive suggests a belief that as the numbers of people in the street increase, the greater the risk some of these people will be potential criminals.

Poyner argues for tightly-bounded, single-use neighborhoods because the greatest threats to peaceful residential living come from strangers outside the home. Poyner agrees with Newman's ideas on defensible space: criminal activity will occur in spaces that are not assigned to and supervised by individual homes. The separation of spaces into private, semi-private, and semi-public zones is too elaborate for crime prevention, however; "'semi-public' and 'semi-private' [spaces] must be minimised and access to them strictly controlled."⁴⁵ Any time people share spaces, people become less able to control access to those spaces by other residents, visitors,

⁴² Perry, Housing for the Machine Age, 1939, p. 79.

⁴³ Barry Poyner, Design Against Crime: Beyond Defensible Space (England: Butterworths, 1983), p. 26.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

and potential offenders. As soon as access is increased, criminals "who are wandering or driving about looking for targets" will have greater opportunities to enter private areas and to commit offenses.⁴⁶ The threat of resident surveillance is not enough to protect against crime: strong physical barriers must stand between public and private spaces. Poyner writes: "The purpose of these neighbourhood patterns is ... to manage the patterns of use and movement in a neighbourhood and so reduce the presence of 'outsiders' and others who might be potential offenders."⁴⁷

Christopher Alexander, writing slightly before Poyner, also argues for a city fabric marked by bounded areas. The basic bounded unit of the city is not a single-use neighborhood, however; the basic unit of the city should be a "subculture" grouping. According to Alexander, a "subculture" can contain people of common age, people with common interests, people with different emphasis on the family, people with different national backgrounds, or people with different community service needs.⁴⁸ Subcultures should be clearly bounded with wide stretches of land, non-residential buildings, or natural barriers. Neighborhoods, Alexander suggests, are physical entities that either form parts of larger subcultures, overlap completely with subcultures, or encompass several subcultures. He describes neighborhoods as spatial units whose populations can "look after their own interests by organizing themselves to bring pressure on city hall or local governments."⁴⁹ These neighborhoods, like subcultures, must be clearly bounded; closed streets and limited access into the neighborhood can help maintain neighborhood integrity.⁵⁰

The pattern of the city is not an agglomeration of isolated subcultures and neighborhoods; Alexander envisions an integrated city fabric characterized by a cohesive "mosaic of subcultures." This mosaic will cohere, he believes, if subculture boundaries are permeable. In Alexander's view, boundaries are not simply physical markings: boundaries are social spaces that contain shopping facilities, public squares, and pedestrian malls. Like cell walls, boundaries separate social units from each other, allow passage of activity from one space to another, and act as the web that holds the city fabric together.

... the boundary zone ... must also form a kind of public meeting ground, where neighborhoods come together ... boundary land is just where functions common to all ... must find space. In this sense the boundaries not only serve to protect individual neighborhoods, but simultaneously function to unite them in their larger processes.⁵¹

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 18.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 27.

⁴⁸ Alexander, 1977, p. 49.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 81.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 89.

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 89.

Alexander argues for separately-bounded subcultures because he believes that bounded groupings are essential for an individual's growth. When people live and interact closely with people very different from themselves, they begin to conform to each other's lifestyles. The complete mix of heterogeneous people in a city "dampens all significant variety, arrests most of the possibilities for differentiation, and encourages conformity. It tends to reduce all life styles to a common denominator."⁵² The homogeneous effect of outside social pressures not only is dull, but also stifles the development of peoples' unique identities.

... It seems then, that the [heterogeneous] metropolis creates weak character in two almost opposite ways; first, because people are exposed to a chaos of values; second, because they cling to the superficial uniformity common to all these values. *A nondescript mixture of values will tend to produce nondescript people.*⁵³

To prevent the arrest of character development within cities, planners should separate groups of people from each other so that they may grow more fully. Alexander argues for such separation because he believes that people can only discover themselves and develop their own characters if they receive support for their values from the people around them.⁵⁴ Alexander also suggests that outside forces in society will hurt the development of individuals if individuals are not protected from larger society. Subculture boundaries cannot be impermeable, however; Alexander writes that people cannot fully develop unless they are exposed to a full range of lifestyle choices. "But though these subcultures must be sharp and distinct and separate, they must not be closed; they must be readily accessible to one another, so that a person can move easily from one to another, and can settle in the one which suits him best."⁵⁵ Although human development needs protection from larger social forces, humans also need exposure to other members of society to make informed lifestyle decisions.

Somewhat similar to Alexander's mosaic of distinct social units is Oscar Newman's network of "communities of interest." Writing ten years after the publication of Defensible Space, Newman argues that people of different lifestyles should be grouped together in different building forms that suit the needs of those lifestyles. By separating people by criteria such as age and family status, and by providing common spaces and housing types that are shared by these lifestyle groups, Newman believes that small communities integrated by race and income can develop. Once these integrated communities are established, they can be placed in close proximity to create a "complex, integrated society at the macro-scale."⁵⁶

⁵² Ibid., p. 43.

⁵³ Ibid., p. 47.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 48.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 48.

⁵⁶ Newman, Community of Interest, 1980, p. 18.

I am suggesting ... the creation of small, distinct subhabitations within the larger urban milieu which are clearly defined for specific groups and designed to answer their specific needs. By serving each group's needs within these subworlds and by strongly defining these worlds with real and symbolic elements, we can integrate residents of different race and income within each subworld and still be able to place subworlds housing different age and life-style groups in close juxtaposition to each other.⁵⁷

Newman believes that this fine-grain social fabric can be linked as a whole by shared spaces and facilities at the edges of each community.⁵⁸

Although the broad pattern of "subworlds" described by Newman is somewhat similar to Alexander's cells of subcultures, Newman does not advocate this pattern because he fears social homogenization. Instead, Newman is concerned over the instability and social disintegration of American inner cities. This instability is caused by 1) crime, and 2) economic and racial segregation. To address city crime problems, designers should design residential environments following defensible space directives. To help promote racial and economic integration in society, designers should create environments that encourage people to associate with each other. By physically separating people of different lifestyles, conflict between different age groups and living habits is minimized. By grouping people of similar lifestyle together and by building activity spaces they need to share, designers prompt people to interact with each other and to form communities based on shared space and common interests. Newman believes these communities will form because

for most people, at different stages in their lives, there is a need for areas immediately outside their homes which can be used for activities that involve others like themselves -- places to play, to gather and gossip, to meet members of the opposite sex.⁵⁹

When designers build spaces for peoples' common interests, they create a physical basis for the group's "collective identity."⁶⁰ When these design steps are accompanied by social policies that require racial quotas within each lifestyle grouping and housing development, racially and economically integrated communities will form.

Newman believes that these integrated communities will remain stable because shared lifestyle needs will overcome racial and economic differences. These communities will also stay viable because racial quotas will ensure that the numbers and values of the upper classes dominate.

[W]orking-and middle-class families will accept racial and economic integration if it is carried out within a framework which provides three things: (1) the grouping of similar age and life-style groups in housing environments designed to carefully fit their life-style needs; (2) a mix of income groups that will allow the values and life-

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 21.

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 18.

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 17.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

styles of the upper-income group to dominate; and (3), percentage of low-income and/or black families that is determined by the community and strictly adhered to.⁶¹

Common areas serving the shared needs of different lifestyle communities will further link many communities together.⁶² In the end, designers who physically separate human lifestyle groups, integrate races and incomes, and build spaces that can prompt the formation of physical communities, will help create a stable and vibrant social life within America's inner cities.

A vibrant social and economic life, according to Jane Jacobs, is the essence of a healthy city and its neighborhoods. Healthy neighborhoods are not and should not be identified by fixed physical boundaries; neighborhoods are social entities composed of people who are linked to each other through daily activities and choice encounters.

[It] is not boundaries that make a district, but the cross-use and life ... The cross links that enable a district to function as a Thing ... consist of working relationships among specific people, many of them without much else in common than that they share a fragment of geography.⁶³

Because neighborhoods are largely social entities, and because their unity is formed by overlapping social relationships of city citizens, the boundaries of neighborhoods are always blurred. Jacobs writes: "The lack of either economic or social self-containment is natural and necessary to city neighborhoods -- simply because they are parts of cities."⁶⁴

Fluidity of social encounters and permeability of neighborhood boundaries are necessary parts of city structures because, according to Jacobs, "city people are mobile," and "wide choice and rich opportunity is the point of cities."⁶⁵ To erect fixed barriers of any sort -- physical, social, economic -- would destroy the potential for fruitful social interactions and activities that underlie cities' vitality. "Whatever city neighborhoods may be ... their qualities cannot work at cross purposes to thoroughgoing city mobility and fluidity of use, without economically weakening the city of which they are a part."⁶⁶ Jacobs believes that cities attain a sort of vibrant stability when neighborhood uses and boundaries are allowed to grow and change with the activities of city citizens. "A city's collection of opportunities of all kinds, and the fluidity with which these

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 7.

⁶² "For example, a grouping of elderly families and a grouping of working singles and couples may each have their collective needs more readily satisfied in their own microenvironments, but both might share a common need for a collective area which contains commercial facilities they both use frequently: restaurants, dry cleaning establishments, movie houses, etc." (1980, pp. 18-19).

⁶³ Jacobs, p. 132, 133.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 117. Jacobs also argues that neighborhoods act as political entities. "[L]ooking at city neighborhoods as organs of self-government, I can see evidence that only three kinds of neighborhoods are useful: 1) the city as a whole; 2) street neighborhoods; 3) districts or large, subcity size." Although the designations of "city," "street," and "district" neighborhoods suggest that neighborhoods can take on different scales, the terms "city," "street," and "district" are sufficiently vague to grant flexibility to neighborhood boundaries at each of these scales.

⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 116.

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 117.

opportunities and choices can be used, is an asset, not a detriment, for encouraging city-neighborhood stability."⁶⁷

While Jacobs argues for fluid and permeable boundaries, Bill Hillier argues that boundaries within cities should not even exist. Instead of limiting access into cities and streets, and instead of creating boundaries around different city sections, designers should increase access throughout all city areas. Hillier envisions a cityscape organized around street grids, with slight deformations in the grids to allow people to distinguish their locations, and with clear view corridors that invite people to move through space.⁶⁸

Hillier argues for open access and spatial continuity in cities both to enhance city security and to promote urban integration. Hillier disputes Newman's notion that people naturally claim and protect spaces that are connected to their dwellings; he cites anthropologists who argue that "the defence and physical demarcation of territory is by no means universal and is dependent on a large number of interrelated factors."⁶⁹ Different cultures and groups around the world have been shown to live without possessive ties to spatial territories⁷⁰; designers who carve up spaces and assign them to the surveillance of individuals or groups may fail to trigger the protective behavior needed for a defensive system of urban safety. Security in city environments operates under different principles: "we believe that feeling safe in a city depends largely on areas being in continuous occupation and use -- the feeling that, in even mildly populated urban or suburban areas, one is never walking around alone."⁷¹ Instead of bounding urban spaces to block the passage of people, designers should design open corridors that invite human movement. Strangers will then police spaces, and surrounding inhabitants will police strangers.⁷²

By breaking with principles that compartmentalize space, designers can also begin to integrate society into urban wholes. Building spaces with strong street axes will encourage people to move through space and encounter others. Hillier believes that the cohesiveness of certain societies indeed depends on the ability of individuals to meet other people frequently, to forge new ties, and to strengthen old connections. Designers who fragment spaces can destroy communal groups that depend on frequent encounters in easily accessible areas.⁷³ Because

⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 139.

⁶⁸ Hillier, "Space Syntax: A Different Urban Perspective," *Architect's Journal*, Nov. 1983, p. 59, 63.

⁶⁹ Hillier, "In Defense of Space," *RIBA Journal*, Nov. 1973, p. 541.

⁷⁰ Hillier describes how family clans within a Native American Hopi tribe did not live in spatial patterns suggesting territorial correspondence between clan and adjacent land. He also describes how communities in the East End of London and the West End of Boston lived safely and cohesively in neighborhoods unmarked by the spatial hierarchies defined by Newman. (Hillier, "The Architecture of Community: Some New Proposals on the Social Consequences of Architectural and Planning Decisions," *Architecture and Behavior*, pp. 257, 267.

⁷¹ Ibid., p. 63.

⁷² Ibid., p. 52.

⁷³ Hillier makes this argument in his discussion of the Londer East-Enders and the Boston West-Enders (1987, p. 257).

these groups exist, designers should emphasize "openness, continuity of space, lack of local enclosure of space, and permeability of those boundaries which do exist."⁷⁴ Urban spaces can then work more "probabilistically, using the numbers and frequencies of events which take place to reproduce a statistically stable global system, rather than relying on the formal clarity of its structure."⁷⁵ Strong street axes and easily perceptible paths through different districts will also integrate the city by sending people through the city's various parts. Hillier argues that "no architectural philosophy of enclaves can solve the problem of re-creating urbanity" (where "urbanity" is suggested to be a state of lively, extensive social intermingling). What society will segregate, "space puts back together again."⁷⁶

Richard Sennett agrees that spatial boundaries should be removed within society. In The Uses of Disorder, Sennett argues that people are naturally fearful of what is different and unfamiliar; individual growth and maturity cannot occur until people are willing to face unpredictable surroundings and unfamiliar people. To counter peoples' tendencies to avoid others and new experiences, all physical and institutional boundaries in society must be torn down. City planners should no longer zone cities into separate areas; they should encourage people to face each other by increasing a city's population density and by mixing a city's activities and uses.

In these dense, diverse communities, the process of making multiple contacts for survival would burst the boundaries of thinking couched in homogeneous small-group terms. Since urban space would not be preplanned into separate units, as it now is, but would be free for all manner of incursions and combinations, the neat categories of spatial experience in cities, such as home, school, work, shopping, parks, and playgrounds, could not be maintained. They would come to interpenetrate ...⁷⁷

Spaces within the city should be left for "varied, changeable use": commercial areas should be allowed to change into residential areas if new social patterns require such shifts.⁷⁸ Increased urban density and a "prohibition on pre-planned, functional space"⁷⁹ will force people to interact with each other and to learn to live with each other. By structuring a deliberate "anarchy" in city life, planners can help end patterns of segregation and repression in society. "[The] great promise of city life is a new kind of confusion possible within its borders, an anarchy that will not destroy men, but make them richer and more mature."⁸⁰

⁷⁴ Hillier, 1987, p. 270.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Hillier, 1983, pp. 49, 63.

⁷⁷ Ibid., p.156.

⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 141.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 108. The "anarchy" of the city should even include the removal of governing institutions. Communal authorities should no longer regulate human conflict: "For example, police control of much civil disorder ought to be sharply curbed; the responsibility for making peace in neighborhood affairs ought to fall to the people involved ... Until they learn through experience that the handling of conflict is something they

Sennett proposes his ideas as a response to the tightly bounded, racially homogeneous neighborhoods found in America's affluent suburbs. These exclusive, self-styled "communities" across America are most notably groups of affluent people who have nothing truly in common with each other except a fear of different races. Any time groups of people consciously establish fixed boundaries around themselves, they display patterns of avoidance typical of adolescents.⁸¹ Individuals in society cannot fully develop as long as they bound themselves in "safe" but limiting groupings.⁸² The best type of social connections among people will be personally forged through actual encounter, not imagined through group images or spatial proximity. In this new city,

... [there] would be no expectation of human love, no community of affection, warm and comforting, laid down for the society as a whole. Human bonds would be fragmented and limited to specific, individual encounters.⁸³

Departing from the other writers' ideas on neighborhood form and physical boundaries, Herbert Gans writes that the shape of the physical environment has little effect on peoples' behavior and interactions. The type of city sociality that Jacobs describes, Gans writes, does not arise because street patterns encourage such sociality. Instead, lively street life emerges when particular social classes occupy streets and bring their class-based ways of life into the streets. "The street life of these areas stems not so much from their physical character as from the working class character of their inhabitants."⁸⁴ Furthermore, crime and anti-social behavior do not stem from the design of the environment. Social class and economic conditions lie at the root of criminal activity. Gans writes:

... low densities, new buildings, or modern site plans do not eliminate anti-social or self-destructive behavior ... this behavior is lodged in the deprivations of low socioeconomic status and racial discrimination and ... can be changed only through the removal of these deprivations.⁸⁵

Gans also argues that spatial proximity does little to nurture lasting social connections among people. Unlike Perry, who argued that common residential location and a physically-centered site could help prompt people to form a civic community, Gans argues that common

have to deal with, something that cannot be passed on to police, this polarization and escalation of conflict into violence will be the only end they can frame from themselves." (1970, p. 164)

⁸¹ A peculiar characteristic of adolescence, Sennett argues, is the tendency to create generalized and fixed images of one's self and the world. To protect themselves against the pain and dislocation of unpredictable events, adolescents often avoid other people and new experiences. Sennett, pp. 12-16.

⁸² Sennett writes: "For what modern researchers have uncovered, particularly in affluent suburban areas, is that men frame for themselves a belief in emotional cohesion and shared values with each other that has little to do with their actual social experiences together." People join these groups "because men are afraid of participation [with the world at large], afraid of the dangers and the challenges of it, afraid of its pain." The "pathology" of this behavior, Sennett claims, is that "by codifying the desire for coherence in affluent communal life, men have found the means to impose a voluntary slavery upon themselves." (1970, pp. 26, 42.)

⁸³ Ibid., p. 135.

⁸⁴ Herbert Gans, People, Plans, and Policies (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), p. 36.

⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 64.

location plays only a minor role in fostering meaningful social ties. To achieve social integration of a close-knit sort, individuals must share common social or economic attributes.

... homogeneity of characteristics is more important than propinquity ... Although propinquity initiates many social relationships and maintains less intensive ones, such as ... 'being neighborly,' it is not sufficient by itself to create intensive relationships. Friendship requires homogeneity.⁸⁶

Gans writes that it is unclear what socioeconomic characteristics must be shared "before people feel themselves to be compatible with others."⁸⁷ But because people's social and economic attributes directly underlie social behavior, planners should not focus on manipulating the physical environment to achieve desired social outcomes.⁸⁸ Instead, planners should try to maximize people's opportunities to meet others with shared characteristics (whatever those characteristics may be). In Gans' view, the location of physical boundaries and the arrangement of land uses have, at most, only a secondary effect on social patterns.

The site planner should not try to create a specific social pattern but should aim to provide maximum choice ... The site plan should contain a variety of house-to-house relationships, so that residents who desire a large group of visual and social contacts and those who prefer relative isolation can both be satisfied.⁸⁹

2. *Assumptions Behind the Views*

The different designers and sociologists discussed above present a range of ideas on ideal neighborhood forms, ideal types of physical boundaries, and desirable patterns of social interaction. Perry and Poyner both argue for enclosed, unitary neighborhoods that shut out people and circulation from the outside. While Perry advocates the creation of inward-focused units to encourage the growth of a strong internal community life, Poyner argues for impermeable boundaries and single-use areas to enhance residents' security. In contrast, Alexander, Newman, and Jacobs argue for neighborhoods with identifiable, yet penetrable boundaries. Boundaries protect the development of people within; boundaries also act as social meeting spaces with communal uses where people can forge links with others in broader society. Hillier, Sennett, and Gans depart even further from closed-neighborhood ideals; Hillier and Sennett argue and Gans suggests that physical boundaries separate people from each other and therefore minimize the potential for fruitful social interaction. To maximize meaningful social connections among people, physical boundaries around city areas should be removed or reduced.

The authors' stated reasons for tight, permeable, or open neighborhood boundaries and their arguments for mixed-use or single-use city arrangements all carry a number of assumptions

⁸⁶ Herbert Gans, *People and Plans* (New York: Basic Books, 1968), p. 153.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 156.

⁸⁸ Gans writes: "Homogeneity and heterogeneity explain the existence and absence of social relationships more adequately than does the site plan or the architectural design." (1968, p. 154.)

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 162.

about human development, social interactions, city life, and the role of the physical environment in shaping social behavior. The ideas of each author also carry assumptions about what a neighborhood is and what "integration" might mean. Perry and Poyner both argue for closed neighborhood boundaries because they fear that broad social forces (blight, crime) will hurt the lives of people inside residential areas. Implicit within their arguments is the assumption that the outside city exerts detrimental influences on people within neighborhoods; the city is a threat to people who wish to live healthy, residential lives. The authors assume that full human and social development require protection and incubation from external forces. People placed within protective boundaries are isolated as special; they have special qualities that are harmed or needs that go unserved when barriers to the external world are not erected. Strangers and unfamiliar people are assumed to be dangerous; familiarity among a finite group of people can breed mutual vigilance and safety (Poyner), or mutual sharing and community (Perry).

The ideas of both authors (especially those of Perry) suggest that physical boundedness and physical proximity are necessary components for the formation of community life. Perry states clearly that the "neighborhood" is a bounded physical unit whose carefully arranged land uses breed close social connections among inhabitants. "Integration," Perry suggests, is a social phenomenon that occurs primarily inside neighborhood boundaries among individual residents, and is signaled by the presence of "community life." Social integration does not occur across boundaries; boundaries are established to protect neighborhood units from random city forces. By separating people from the larger city into neighborhood units, Perry's recommendations lead to a city's physical *dis*-integration, rather than its physical integration. Perhaps only when the entire city is organized into neighborhood units, and only when residential life within all units has become strong, can sharing and communication across boundaries be deemed safe and productive.⁹⁰ Physical disintegration of the city may be necessary to breed small-scale pockets of social integration; only after pockets of such integration are bred throughout the city may physical and social integration across neighborhood boundaries be desirable.

Alexander, Newman, and Jacobs argue that people need protection from negative city influences, mutual social support, as well as unrestrained mobility in order to develop full, socially-satisfying lives. These authors, especially Alexander and Newman, assume that personal development requires some degree of insulation from outside city forces (such as pressures to conform, or tendencies towards conflict). In order to achieve full personal and social growth, however, people need exposure to a wide range of people, lifestyles, and activities. Because the city presents both threats and opportunities to city residents, physical boundaries around residential groups must be clear but frequently crossed.

⁹⁰ Perry writes that common commercial uses, such as local shops and other facilities, should be placed at the edges of neighborhood units to serve as potential links between individual neighborhood units.

Authors who argue for permeable boundaries assume that boundary spaces are some of the most active social spaces in the city. Alexander and Newman suggest that boundaries should hold uses that people from different subcultures or lifestyles can share. As active social spaces, boundaries form the "web" that ties both social groups and physical areas together.

"Neighborhood" is assumed to be either a single physical and social cell (like a single subculture grouping or a single community of interest), or a number of cells linked by socially-active boundary spaces. "Social integration" of *individuals* can occur when people of different races and economic backgrounds live harmoniously together within single communities of interest (Newman); "social integration" of different *social groups* (and physical integration of different city areas) can occur when different subcultures or lifestyles are linked through shared boundary spaces and activities (Alexander, Newman). Advocates of closed neighborhood boundaries might assume that social integration occurs when people form close-knit community ties; advocates of permeable neighborhood boundaries might assume that integration across society occurs as long as people have loose encounters with others of different backgrounds.

The authors who advocate open or invisible neighborhood boundaries suggest that boundaries do not incubate personal and social development. Instead, boundaries are barriers that stunt people's growth. Personal and social growth occur when individuals interact with a full range of other people and when individuals choose their own social interactions. Boundaries that separate people from others limit individuals' social experiences and thus their opportunities for full development. Authors who advocate open boundaries assume that the outside city is not a threat; social influences from the surrounding city are positive because they force people to grow. Unlike authors who argue for more closed boundaries, open-boundary advocates may assume that all people are fundamentally similar, and that different groups do not need different physical conditions for their unique development. The requirements for human development are the same across society: people need maximum exposure and interaction with different individuals in society. Maximum exposure allows informed choice; once individuals can make informed decisions about lifestyle and social relationships, individuals can live mature, empowered lives.

Open-boundary advocates suggest that "neighborhood," as a physically-bounded entity, is not a useful construct. Cities should not be broken down into identifiable physical units; all areas should be open and accessible, to encourage free movement and maximum social encounter. A physical integration of city parts may occur when all land uses are mixed and when city "parts" are no longer identifiable; a social integration of individuals may occur when people mix and freely with others as individuals (rather than as members of fixed social groups). Like permeable-boundary arguments, open-boundary arguments may not assume that social integration requires close-knit ties among different individuals. The writings of Hillier and Sennett suggest that social integration may arrive as long as people interact at some minimum level with a

full range of individuals in society. Gans suggests that when close-knit social connections are desired, spatial boundaries cannot force their formation.

The various assumptions about human development, city life, neighborhood form and integration discussed above are summarized in Table 1-1. Table 1-2 suggests assumptions that are associated with authors' ideas on the types and arrangements of non-residential uses within neighborhoods. Most of the various authors suggest that residential areas should contain a range of non-residential uses; the different types and locations of these uses proposed by the authors contribute further to notions of neighborhood form and social integration. The ideas and assumptions outlined here serve as a backdrop to the next two chapters; the final chapter returns to some of these ideas in order to reflect upon project-neighborhood integration among the six URD redesign proposals.

Table 1-1

Assumptions behind Spatial Boundaries

A. Closed Boundaries

(Perry, Poyner)

- social forces within the city are a threat to residents
- human development cannot occur unless people are sheltered from outside city forces
- the inside population is special; it needs protection from the outside
- strangers are dangerous
- life inside the cell is attractive
- familiarity among a finite group of people breeds community (Perry) or safety (Poyner)
- community formation requires physical boundaries
- "neighborhood" is a single cell
- "social integration" occurs within areas, among individuals
- social ties are close
- "physical integration" may be linked cells, in the future

B. Permeable Boundaries

(Alexander, Newman, Jacobs)

- the city poses threats as well as opportunities for personal growth
- people need protection from as well as exposure to outside city life
- physical boundaries are not merely barriers, but social spaces in their own right
- "neighborhood" can be either one cell, or a number of linked cells and their boundary spaces
- "social integration" can be a state of linked individuals, or linked social groups
- "physical integration" may be a state of linked physical areas
- integrative links between people can occur within cells and across cells
- integrative links need not be close; they can be loose

C. Open Boundaries

(Hillier, Sennett, Gans)

- the city and its influences are positive
- boundaries do not protect and nurture; they fragment and stunt human growth
- people need maximum social encounter and social experience to develop fully
- all people are the same; people do not have special needs for their unique development
- physical "neighborhood" is an impediment to complete social integration or irrelevant to social integration
- "integration" is a fine-grain mix of different physical uses and of different individuals across society
- ties among people can be loose in a state of social integration

Table 1-2

Assumptions behind Types and Location of Neighborhood Uses

A. Single-Use Areas
(Poyner)

- mixed uses bring strangers and crime into residential areas
- people are mobile and should travel out of their immediate area for goods, services, employment

B. Non-residential Uses at Neighborhood Center
(Perry)

- people have special needs that should be met with special uses within their immediate areas
- the people within the neighborhood are special; they need an activity center for group identity and community development

C. Non-residential Uses at Neighborhood Edges
(Alexander)

- non-residential uses are general meeting spaces where a cross-section of society can intermingle
- place common facilities at neighborhood edges to maintain the identity of the neighborhood group

D. Fine-grain Mix of Residential and Non-Residential Uses
(Jacobs, Sennett)

- non-residential uses are general meeting spaces where a cross-section of society can intermingle
- intersperse uses to maximize individual encounters with other people and to promote social choices for the individual

Chapter 2 The Six Proposals

Six public housing authorities around the country won \$30 to \$50 million in 1993 from HUD to completely revitalize severely distressed public housing projects in their cities. Winners of these Urban Revitalization Demonstration implementation grants were:

- the Boston Housing Authority, which won close to \$50 million to redevelop the Mission Main housing project;
- the Housing Authority of New Haven, which won \$45 million for the Elm Haven development;
- the Housing Authority of the City of Charlotte, NC, which won \$34 million for the redevelopment of Earle Village;
- the Cuyahoga Metropolitan Housing Authority, which won \$50 million to redevelop the King Kennedy Estate and Outhwaite Homes in Cleveland;
- the Housing Authority of Kansas City, MO, which won \$48 million for the Guinotte Manor housing project;
- the San Francisco Housing Authority, which was awarded almost \$50 million to revitalize Bernal Dwellings and Yerba Buena Homes.

This chapter presents summary descriptions of the physical redesign and social interventions proposed in each winning grant application. Each summary begins with the application's general approach towards project-neighborhood integration. Following this overview is a description of the targeted housing projects' neighborhood contexts. Existing physical conditions of the housing projects (as described by the URD applications) and proposed design interventions that may affect project-neighborhood relations follow third. Each section then ends with a discussion of projects' social conditions and proposed social service, economic development, and management interventions that may affect residents' social relationships inside and outside the projects.

I. The Boston Housing Authority: Mission Main, Boston, Massachusetts

The proposal for a revitalized Mission Main project in Boston states greater project-neighborhood integration as one of its goals. The housing authority will promote this integration by emphasizing street connections between the project and surrounding neighborhoods and by encouraging the development of a lively street life within the project that matches street life in other Boston neighborhoods. While project streets stretch into surrounding areas, a central

community building (providing social services primarily for project residents) will anchor the site and serve as the site's central focus.

A. City and Neighborhood Context: The Project, Adjacent Land Uses, and Demographics

The Mission Main development was built in 1940 as rows of 39 three-story brick buildings, oriented in parallel arrangements facing away from existing streets. Two parallel streets running east and west through the development, McGreevey Way and Horadan Way, were permanently closed off to public traffic to form part of the development. The project was originally built with a total of 1,023 units; later unit expansions and renovations reduced this total to 822 units. Aside from the work done to expand some of the original units, Mission Main has not undergone significant modernization since 1940.¹

The Mission Main project is surrounded by several different neighborhoods and land use areas, some of which are thriving academic and cultural centers within Boston, some of which are low- to moderate-income residential neighborhoods. Figure 1 highlights Mission Main's location within the Boston area. The project lies within Boston's Mission Hill District, a residential area immediately adjacent to the neighborhood of Roxbury and approximately three miles west of downtown Boston. Major boulevards and transit lines run through the district and provide direct access to the downtown core; the housing project itself is bordered by four busy roads (Huntington Street, Tremont Street, Ruggles Street, and Columbus Avenue). Across Huntington Avenue to the northwest lies the Longwood Medical Area, which contains a dense concentration of Harvard University teaching hospitals, medical professional schools, and colleges. To the north lie Boston's Back Bay Fens and the Museum of Fine Arts. Northeastern University sits along Huntington Avenue to the northeast, and open land containing a new Ruggles Street transit station for the city's Southwest Corridor Revitalization project lies to the east. The primary non-residential land uses in the area are institutional; only a few small commercial spots can be found at major street intersections and open areas, and only limited industrial activity exists within the district.²

Residential homes are the primary land use south and west of the Mission Main development. In contrast to the three-story brick buildings of the project, residences along the slopes of Mission Hill are primarily two- and three-family owner-occupied Victorian-style homes. Within this residential area are a number of townhouses, elderly apartment developments, and some three-story brick apartment buildings (some of which have been converted to condominiums in recent years). A small triangular-shaped neighborhood with 19th century brick

¹ Boston Housing Authority, "Mission Main Proposal for the Urban Revitalization Demonstration Program," Boston, Massachusetts, May 1993, Section I.A., p. 1.

² Ibid., Section I.F., pp. 36-42.

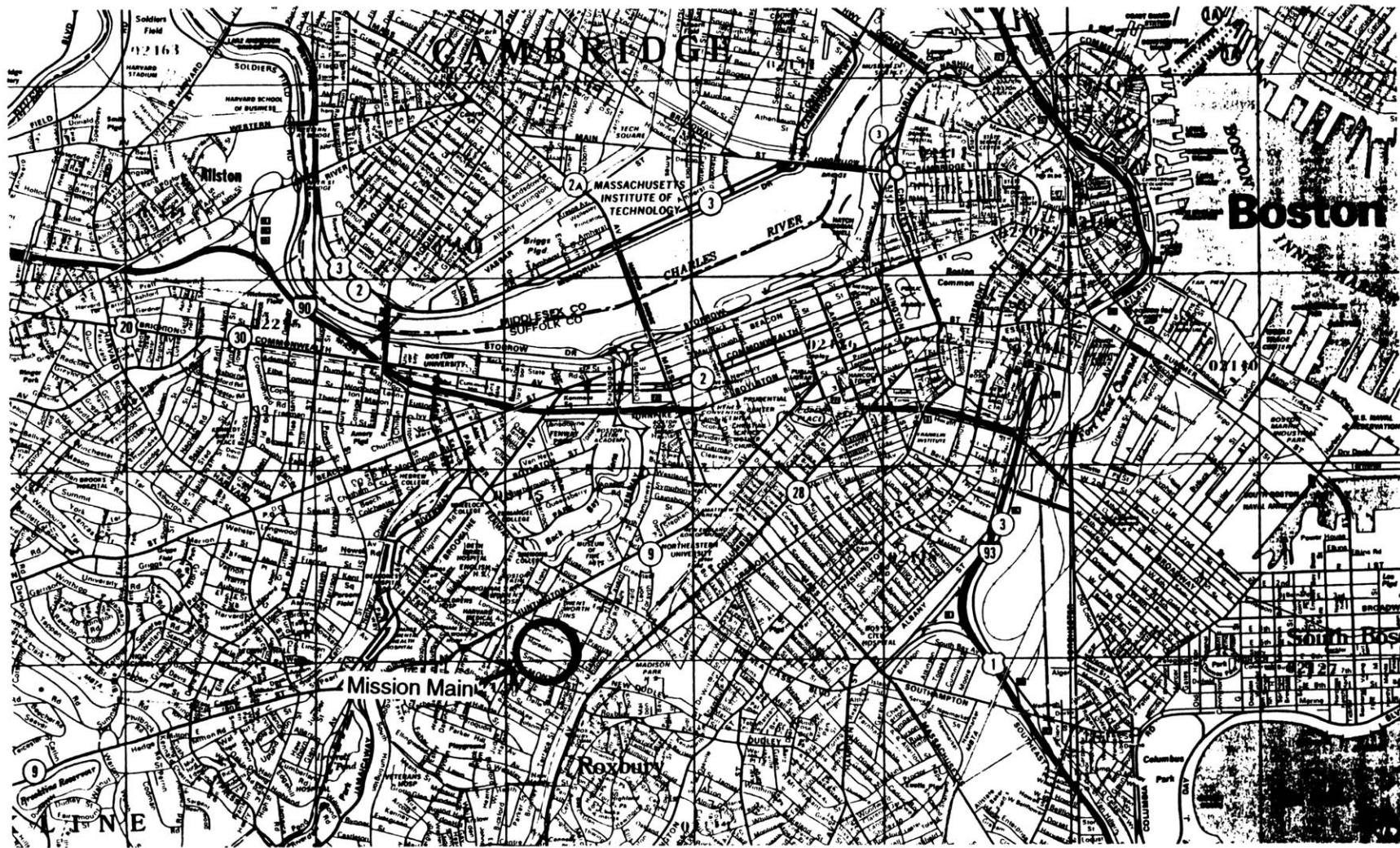


Figure 1. Mission Main within the city of Boston.

row-houses between Mission Main and Huntington Avenue has been declared a local historic district. More recent residential developments include Mission Park, a publicly-subsidized mixed-income project containing 775 units and completed in 1977, and the Whitney Redevelopment Project, containing 600 non-subsidized units in three towers and completed in 1965.³

Once primarily an Irish Catholic neighborhood, Mission Hill has changed over the past 30 years to become a highly multi-ethnic, diverse area. The largest demographic group in Mission Hill as a whole is white non-Hispanic (44.5%); black non-Hispanics comprise 25% of the population, 21.7% are Hispanic, and 8.8% are other races.⁴ The neighborhood is dominated by young people; the median age in Mission Main in 1990 was 21.9 years, and the median age in the surrounding Mission Hill neighborhood was 26.7 years (the city-wide median in Boston was 30.8 years). The low median age figures within the district arose largely because 35.2% of Mission Main's residents were younger than 15 years old in 1990, and college students in the age 15 to 24 cohort comprised 34% of the population outside of Mission Main.⁵

Single person and non-family college student households dominate the neighborhood outside Mission Main.⁶ Most residents in Mission Hill are renters and have relatively low incomes. The average income for the neighborhood as a whole in 1989 was \$21,122, or 28% below the city's median. Over one third of Mission Main households and one fourth of households in the surrounding neighborhood (containing mostly young college students) report incomes of less than \$10,000. Thirty-seven percent (37%) of all people over age 18 in the surrounding neighborhood were enrolled in college, and 9.5% of the total population outside Mission Main was unemployed (the Boston average was 8.3% in 1990).⁷

B. Existing Physical Conditions and Proposed Design Interventions

1. Existing Physical Conditions and Problems

The application submitted by the Boston Housing Authority to HUD emphasizes several general conditions signaling the existing physical distress of Mission Main and the project's isolation. First, Mission Main buildings are seriously damaged and deteriorated. Exterior finishes, building roofs, the interiors of units, and common stairwells all suffer from over 50 years of water damage and wear and tear.⁸ Another signal of the project's physical distress is the project's

³ Mission Main URD application, section I.F., p. 37.

⁴ Ibid., p. 40.

⁵ Ibid., p. 41.

⁶ Ibid., p. 42.

⁷ Ibid., p. 44.

⁸ The grant application carefully describes and rates the conditions of Mission Main's various building systems and structural components. In general, the vast proportion of building elements studied were described as either in "poor" condition ("requires total replacement") or in "fair" condition ("requires repair or modification"). See Boston Housing Authority, 1993, Section I.A., Appendix.

desolate landscape. "Fencing, grass, shrubs, and play areas are gone and practically all areas of the site are used for vehicular circulation and parking."⁹ The site has a barren, uniform character because soil has eroded and a "dusty, gravelly, undefined" ground surface has been exposed. Time, the lack of site improvements, and the lack of controls of traffic circulation within the site have helped to create the project's open, dreary landscape.¹⁰

A serious problem for the site is project isolation. The application states that "the 'superblock' site plan creates physical barriers between the development and the surrounding community, almost as if the site plan intended to isolate the development."¹¹ Although it is not clearly stated, the housing authority suggests that the long, relatively massive physical shapes and orientations of Mission Main buildings create collective walls that both literally and symbolically restrict human passage through the site. By physically blocking human movement and visibility through the site, the project's site design isolates the development from the surrounding neighborhood.

Contributing to the project's physical distress and isolation is the project's poor image. "The repetitive and plain facades of the buildings and their rigid placement across the site reinforces the institutional and easily recognizable image of public housing."¹² The monotonous, institutional appearance of Mission Main is both strikingly unattractive and "uninviting." The application's statements suggest that repetition and uniformity in design lend an unwelcoming, inhospitable character to the buildings and detract from their human and residential qualities.

Last, Mission Main suffers in its isolation from inadequate community space. A large community meeting room, a Tenant Task Force Office, a Teen Center, and a Day Care Center all exist at Mission Main, but they are dispersed on different floors of different project buildings, are often too small, are in poor condition, and are not handicapped accessible.¹³ Figure 2 displays Mission Main's existing site plan.

2. Proposed Physical Design Interventions

The housing authority proposes five main redevelopment goals and objectives to address the project's physical distress and isolation: "Reintroduction of Street System," "Creation of Defensible Space," "Enhance the Overall Image," "Reinforcement of Individual Homes," and "Livability and Sustainability."¹⁴ To achieve these goals, the authority plans to implement physical interventions in five broad areas: "Density and Demolition," "Building Design," "Elderly

⁹ Ibid., Section I.A., p.8.

¹⁰ Ibid., Mission Main-Strategy, p. 4.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid., Section I.A., p. 9.

¹⁴ Ibid., Section I.B., pp. 13-14.

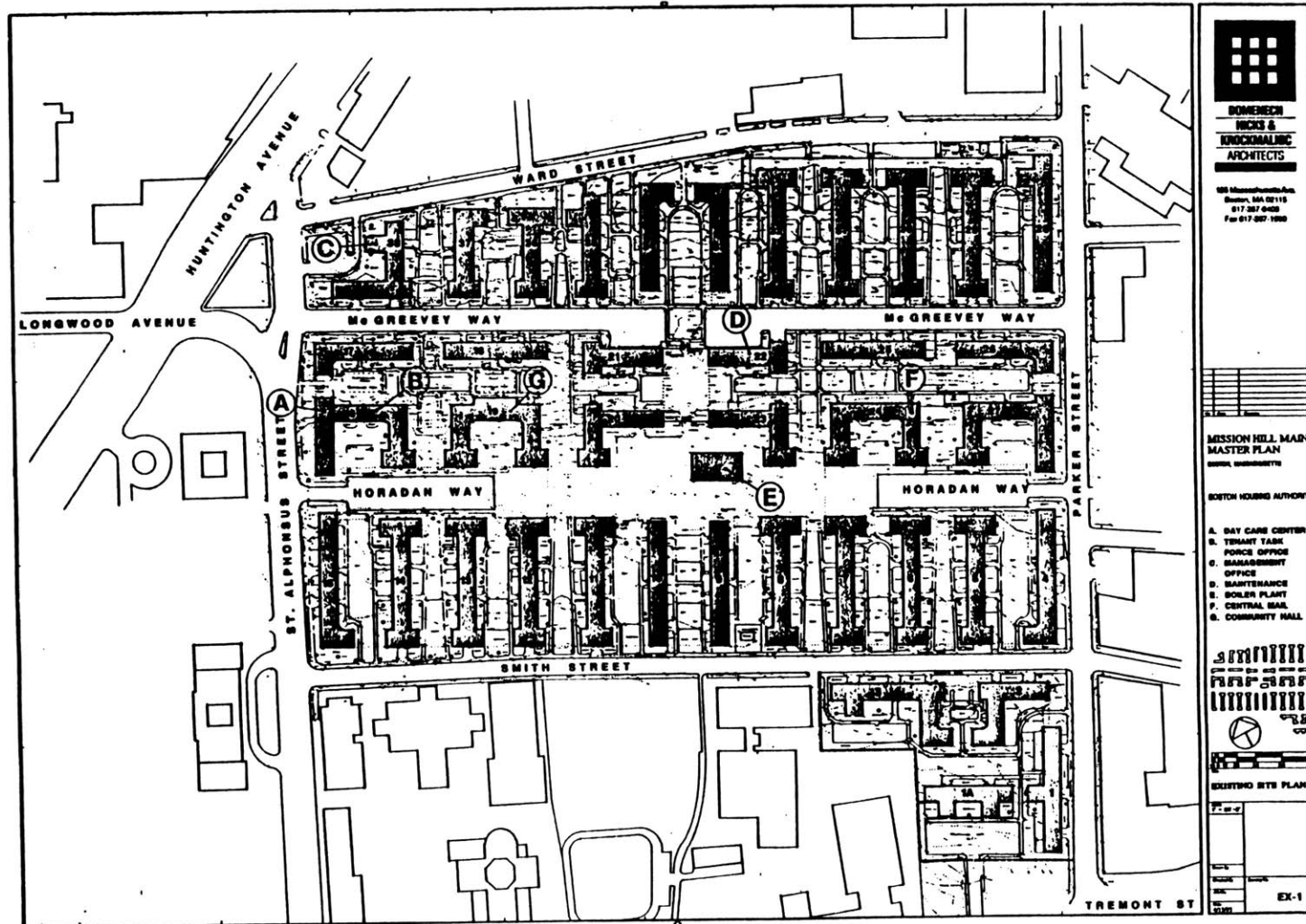


Figure 2. Mission Main: Existing site plan.

Residents," "Unit Redesign," and "Site Design." In the first category, the authority will reduce the number of units at Mission Main from 822 to 538 to create less dense living conditions and to grant more living space for unit residents. The authority will achieve this density reduction by enlarging units and by selectively demolishing both third floor levels and individual buildings.

In the "Building Design" area, the authority will minimize the number of shared entries in buildings, provide as much private and direct access as possible to individual units, identify street addresses on all units, distinguish between building fronts and backs, and incorporate new architectural elements (such as porch stoops, roof treatments, and a variety of architectural details) to "emphasize a residential feeling and scale" to the development and to "de-institutionalize" the anonymous building facades. In the "Elderly Residents" area, elderly residents will be placed at the northwest corner of the site, in a renovated elevator building located conveniently across the street from hospitals and public transportation. In the "Unit Redesign" area, the unit mix throughout the development will be adjusted towards more two-bedroom units¹⁵, and family units will be enlarged and re-configured for more efficient circulation.

Physical interventions with the project's site design will help address project distress and promote project-neighborhood integration. The housing authority believes that re-opening city streets through the site "will create a positive connection with the surrounding community." Such a street system will "both serve to integrate the site with neighborhood and to reinforce the typical residential street patterns of Boston." Careful design of project streets will help create "a typical neighborhood environment where buildings front on streets with parking, and where backyards are more protected and used for children playing, private outdoor space, gardening, etc."¹⁶ Streets filled with parked cars, socializing residents, and children's play will integrate the project with surrounding areas by connecting the project to outside areas and by resembling streets outside the project. To create such "typical" residential streets, new streets running through the site will be narrowed and angled to control traffic speeds. McGreevey and Horadan Ways will be converted to "major streets" that will carry two way traffic; "minor," quieter one-way streets will front residential buildings. Because the "desire to park in front of one's building and to have visual access to one's car is natural," the new site design will assign parking spaces directly in front of individual units on the street.

The re-introduction of streets into the project will also help create spatial hierarchies necessary for defensible space. A grid-like street pattern will create

a clear distinction ... between public areas (streets, parking, sidewalks) ... semi-public areas shared by building residents (front yards, stoops); the semi-private

¹⁵ The current unit mix is 18% 1-BR, 35% 2-BR, 30% 3-BR, 15% 4-BR, and 2% 5-BR. The proposed unit mix after redevelopment will be 24% 1-BR, 41% 2-BR, 27% 3-BR, 7% 4-BR, and 2%-5-BR. Section I.B., p. 18.

¹⁶ Ibid., Section I.D., p. 24.

areas (enclosed rear courtyards shared by the residents in two buildings); and private back yard areas, fenced off for use by one or two families.¹⁷

The creation of spatial hierarchies is critically important: "Security is directly related to 'defensible space' and the ability to define and control territory, whether private, semi-private, semi-public or public." Indeed, "the more the space seems to belong to someone, the less likely it will be used inappropriately by others." Project distress and isolation will not end until security is re-established on the site. One of the main goals of site redevelopment, therefore, "is to develop all areas of the site with a specific user and use in mind."¹⁸

Public areas such as pedestrian pathways will follow street patterns and will be "well defined with fencing, curbing, and raised planters to separate public traffic from private areas near the units."¹⁹ Individual front yards will be provided and defined for as many units as possible; shared areas, or "front stoops" will be provided for others. The BHA will maintain the landscaping in the front of buildings "to keep some control over the public appearance of the development."²⁰ Buildings will be paired back to back, and private yards will be defined in the backs of buildings by fences and shrubs. Between the backs of buildings and beyond the limits of private yards will lie semi-private courtyards. These yards will be shared by all the residents of paired buildings, and will contain shade trees, tot lots, seating, gardening beds, and trash storage.

The entire site will be anchored by a new Family Center and "common green," to be located at the center of the development. The center will contain space for day care, Head Start, after-school programs, teen activities, a Career Development Center, the BHA management office, and local tenant organization offices. The Family Center and common green will "create a physical center for the site, reinforcing the sense of a community common interest that underlies the revitalization program."²¹ A new maintenance center, holding the BHA superintendent's office, workshops for carpentry, glazing, metal, and plumbing will be located at the southeast corner of the site, in an attempt to "include more eyes on the neighborhood" and to stabilize an area of the development "which has always been troublesome by virtue of its design and its sense of remoteness from the rest of the development."²² Figures 3 through 6 illustrate the proposed site plan, elevations, sections, and shared rear courtyards at Mission Main.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 13.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 24.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid., p. 22.

²² Ibid., p. 23.

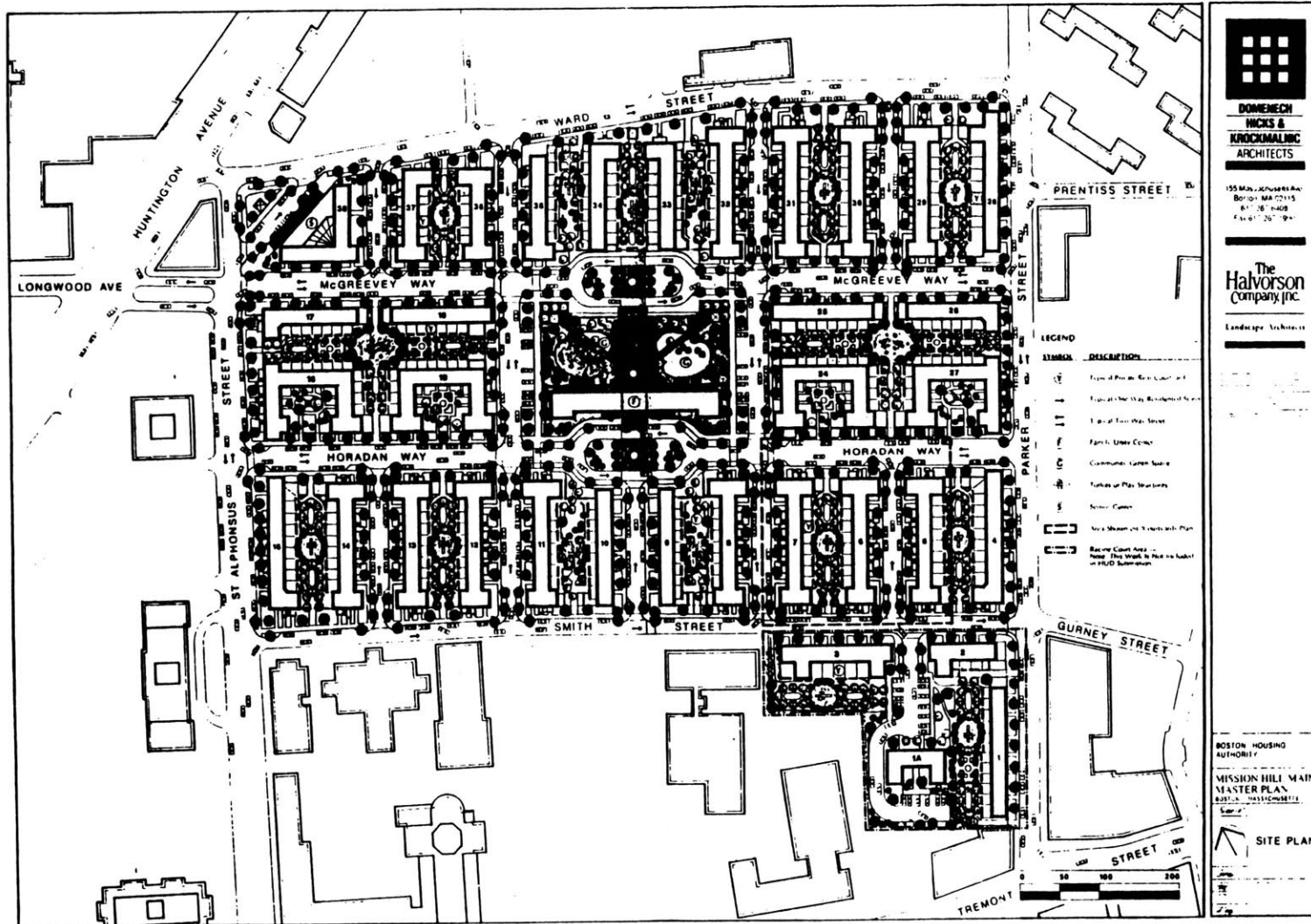


Figure 3. Mission Main: Proposed site plan.

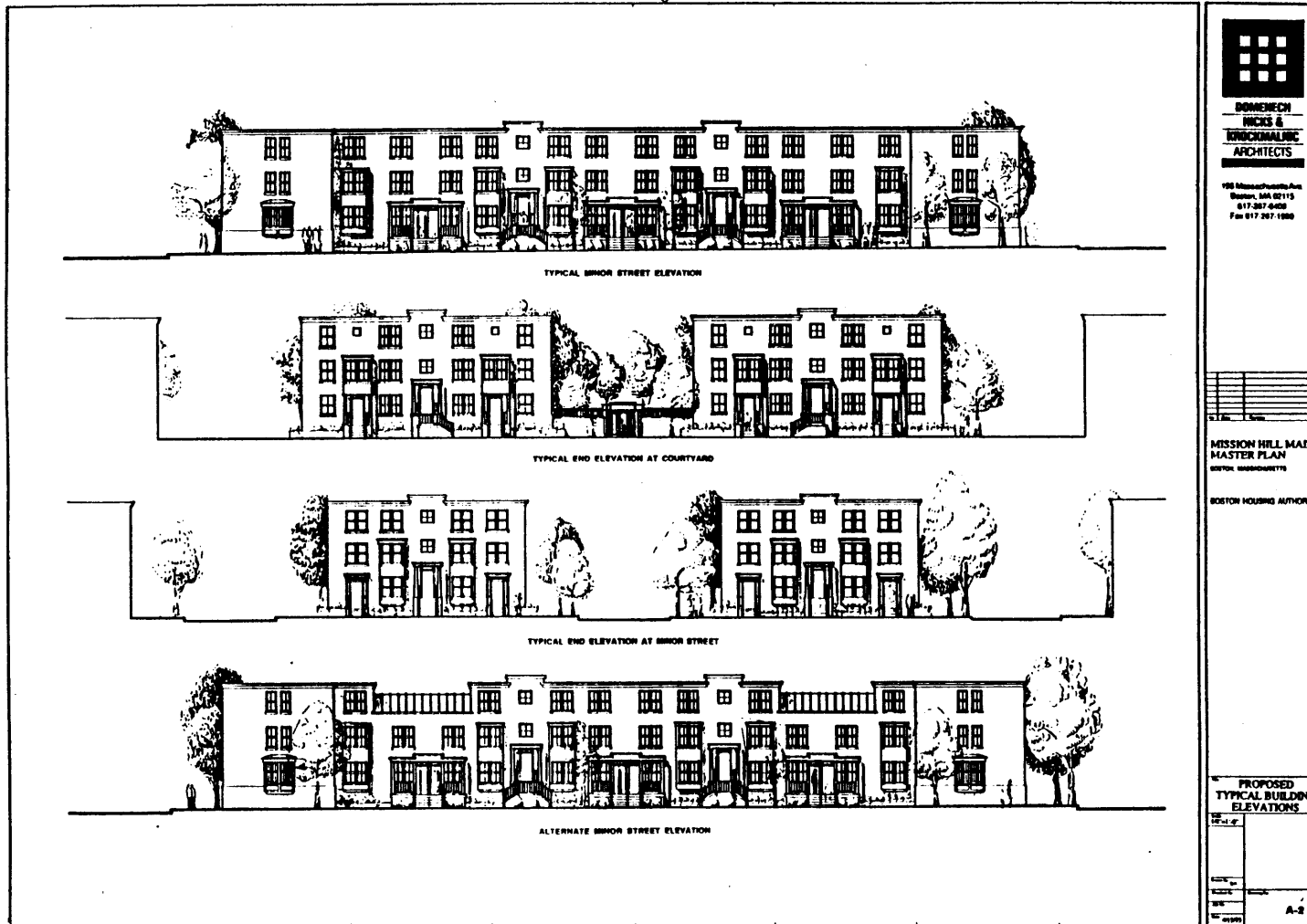


Figure 4. Mission Main: Proposed elevations.

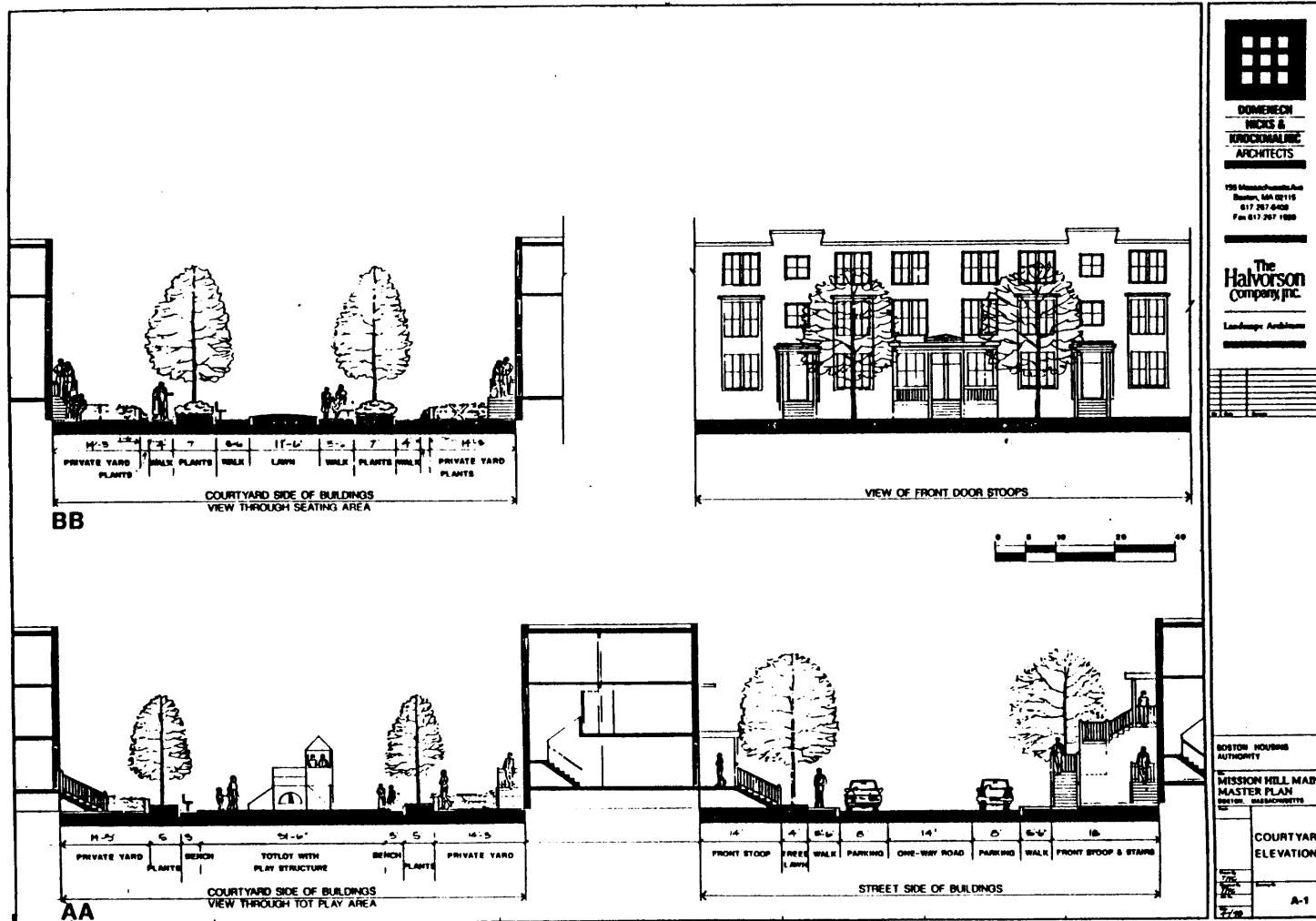


Figure 5. Mission Main: Proposed sections.

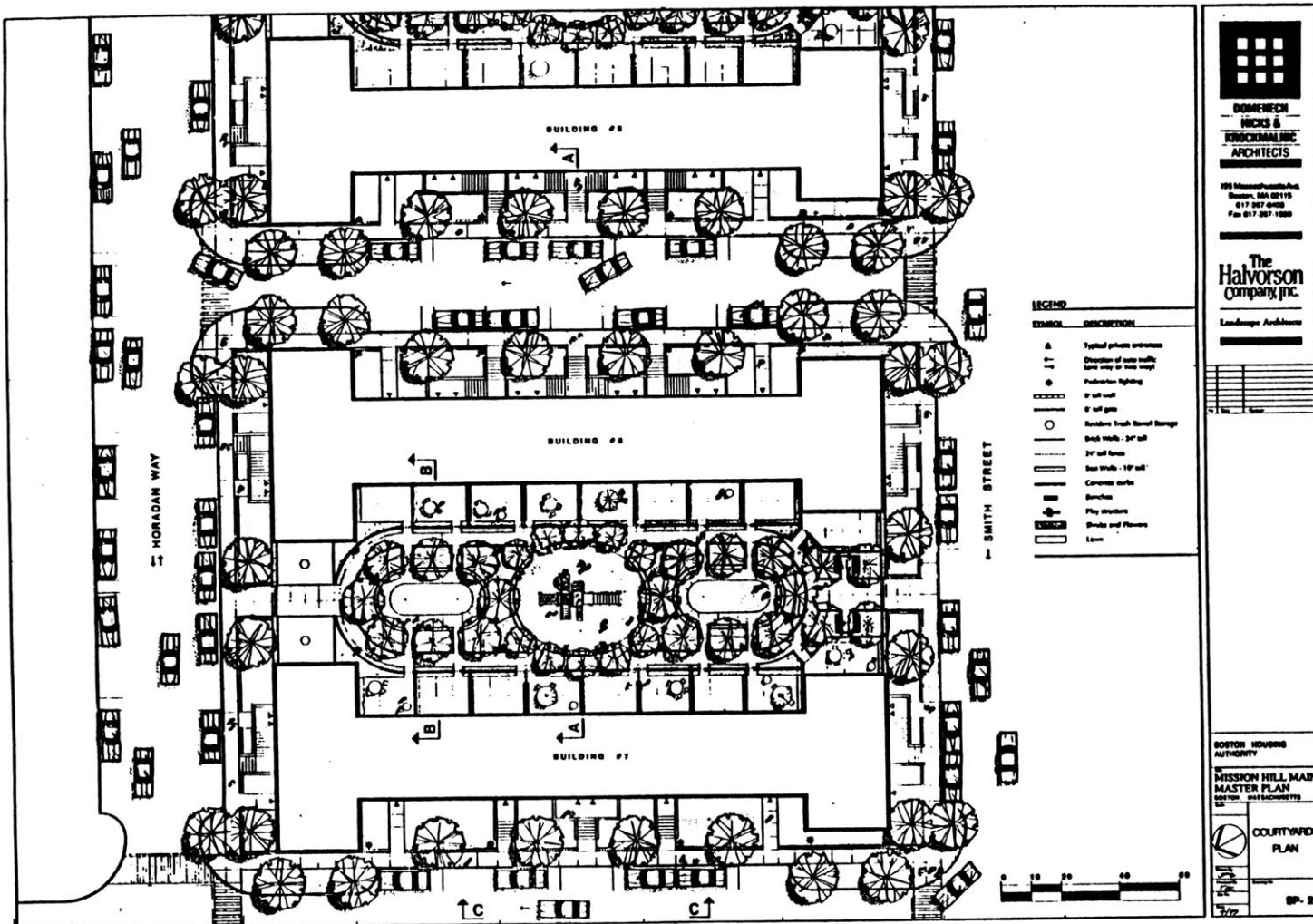


Figure 6. Mission Main: Proposed rear courtyards.

C. Social Problems and Proposed Social, Economic, and Management Solutions

1. *Social Conditions and Social Problems*

The housing authority identifies crime, poverty, and an unstable tenant population as indicators of Mission Main's social and economic distress. Crime, the authority contends, arises at base from the frustration residents feel because they are "locked out of the mainstream economy." Economic and social frustration pushes people to turn to drugs; the drug trade and drug use bring a high level of criminal activity on to the site and encourage young people to form gangs for camaraderie and protection.²³ Second, because residents of Mission Main "are closed out of mainstream economic opportunities," residents are extremely poor. The authority notes that 68% of families in the development have no earned income, and the mean household income was \$9,088 in 1992.²⁴ Non-participation in the economy, extreme poverty, and linguistic barriers²⁵ socially isolate the residents from the "outside world."

Tenants are not only isolated from broader society; they are also isolated from each other. Fear of crime discourages residents from "asserting their own rights" and from joining "with other like-minded residents in making common rules and helping to enforce them." Residents therefore do not feel social connections with others outside their immediate circle of family and friends or connections with their physical environment. "Without personal safety, a 'community' cannot be built."²⁶ Social services provided for tenants to help overcome their fears and social problems are inadequate, the authority then explains. Different services are uncoordinated with each other, are usually targeted only to the most difficult to serve, and do not help individuals continue self-improvements.²⁷ Inadequate services, social isolation, the concentration of extreme poverty, and fear all contribute to the development's high vacancy and move-out rates. Vacant units provide shelter for more drug activity on site; high move-out rates destabilize the population and make the development difficult to manage.²⁸

2. *Proposed Social, Economic, and Management Solutions*

The authority proposes a wide range of interventions to combat the social and economic problems plaguing Mission Main. In brief, the authority will improve site policing and will implement a community policing program that involves residents in the policing effort. The authority will seek

²³ Ibid., Mission Main Strategy, p. 2.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 8.

²⁵ Ibid., Section I.F., p. 40. The housing authority notes that 66% of Mission Main households speak Spanish at home, and 34% of project households are linguistically isolated. "Linguistic isolation" occurs when no one over 14 years of age within the household speaks English as a first language or well as a second language (p. 43).

²⁶ Ibid., Section I.E., p. 28.

²⁷ Ibid., Mission Main Strategy, p. 8.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 7.

to create an economic mix of residents at the site by establishing ceiling rents, a careful tenant selection and secondary on-site tenant screening process, and a development-based waiting list.²⁹ It will "affirmatively market units to generate interest among working families",³⁰ indeed, a redeveloped project will "appeal to new applicants and make it more valued by long-term residents."³¹ Only residents who truly wish to live at Mission Main will be granted housing; they must abide by community rules established by themselves and the senior property manager or else they will be evicted.³²

Residents will be viewed as "customers" by the housing authority;³³ management will be held accountable for meeting high performance standards, and a wide range of social services (including family support, basic education, parenting classes, day care, and job training) will be coordinated, provided on site, and tailored to families' needs. Community organizing will help strengthen the Mission Main resident organization, and community service programs that encourage residents to interact with people outside the development will be established. Resources from surrounding institutions will be tapped to help support the development's social and community initiatives.³⁴

II. The Housing Authority of New Haven: Elm Haven, New Haven, Connecticut

The Housing Authority of New Haven was awarded \$45 million for its Revitalization Plan for the Elm Haven housing project; the housing authority does not view the housing project, however, as its primary unit of concern. Instead, the housing authority targets its revitalization efforts towards Dixwell, the neighborhood in which Elm Haven is located. Elm Haven is viewed as an integral part of the Dixwell neighborhood; the housing authority aims to strengthen connections between Elm Haven and Dixwell and to knock down barriers between Dixwell and the broader city.

²⁹ Currently, waiting lists for public housing units are authority-wide. Development-based waiting lists will help promote economic mix within single developments if the lists are split into lower-income and higher-income groups. A tenant selection committee at Mission Main could help ensure economic mix within the project by choosing tenants from a two-tiered waiting list specific to Mission Main. (Interview with Bill Riley, Boston Housing Authority, 4/24/94.)

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid., Mission Main Strategy, p. 10.

³² Ibid., Section I.E. p. 34.

³³ Ibid., p. 31.

³⁴ Ibid., Section I.I p. 75, Mission Main Strategy p. 9.

A. City and Neighborhood Context: The Project, Adjacent Land Uses, and Demographics

The Elm Haven development was built in 1941; it is the oldest and largest of the Housing Authority's developments.³⁵ The development is located in New Haven's Dixwell neighborhood, the historic center of the city's African-American community.³⁶ The project contains 462 residential units in 36 separate buildings on 19.2 acres of land (24 units/acre). Thirty-one (31) of the buildings are 2-story row houses; five (5) are mid-rise buildings of 3 and 4 stories. Two east-west running streets, Foote and Eaton, originally passed through the site; when the Elm Haven development was built, central portions of these streets were blocked, and the streets were reconfigured to turn at sharp angles to feed into the central two-way east-west street of the site (Webster Street). Figures 7 and 8 highlight Elm Haven's location within the city and the Dixwell neighborhood.

The Dixwell neighborhood lies immediately north of the city's central business district and is separated by a few blocks on the south from Yale University's main campus. Private one-, two-, and three-family homes that are both owner-occupied and operated as rental housing by absentee landlords lie within the blocks between Elm Haven and Yale; Yale students occupy the private rental homes closer to the university campus. To the east of the Elm Haven project, on the other side of Ashmun Street, lies a vacant school building that a neighborhood development corporation is transforming into the Charles J. Valentine Community Services Center. Further to the northeast lies a site that once held 366 units of Elm Haven high-rise housing; the high-rises were demolished in the 1980's and the site now remains vacant. Beyond the vacant site lies Yale University's Science Park, a 30-acre research and industrial park that incubates new research-based firms and technological products.

Immediately to the north of the Elm Haven site lies the Wexler Elementary School, the Dixwell Community (or "Q") House, and the Dixwell Creative Arts Center. Beyond these buildings lie private single- and two-family Victorian-style homes. Bordering the western edge of the development is Dixwell Avenue, a commercial street containing several churches, a police sub-station, and the Dixwell Shopping Plaza (located directly across the development). Beyond the shopping plaza lie market-rate two- and three-family homes, as well as subsidized townhouses and garden apartments.³⁷

The grant application states that the Dixwell neighborhood "enjoys a long and proud history as the first and for many years the largest African American community in New Haven."³⁸ Census figures in 1990 show that approximately 6,300 people live in Dixwell, and African-

³⁵ Housing Authority of New Haven, URD application, p.3.

³⁶ Housing Authority of New Haven, URD application, p. 1.

³⁷ Interview with Bryan Anderson, Elm Haven Treatment and Improvement Project, 3/21/94.

³⁸ New Haven Housing Authority, p. F-1.



Figure 7. Elm Haven and the city of New Haven.

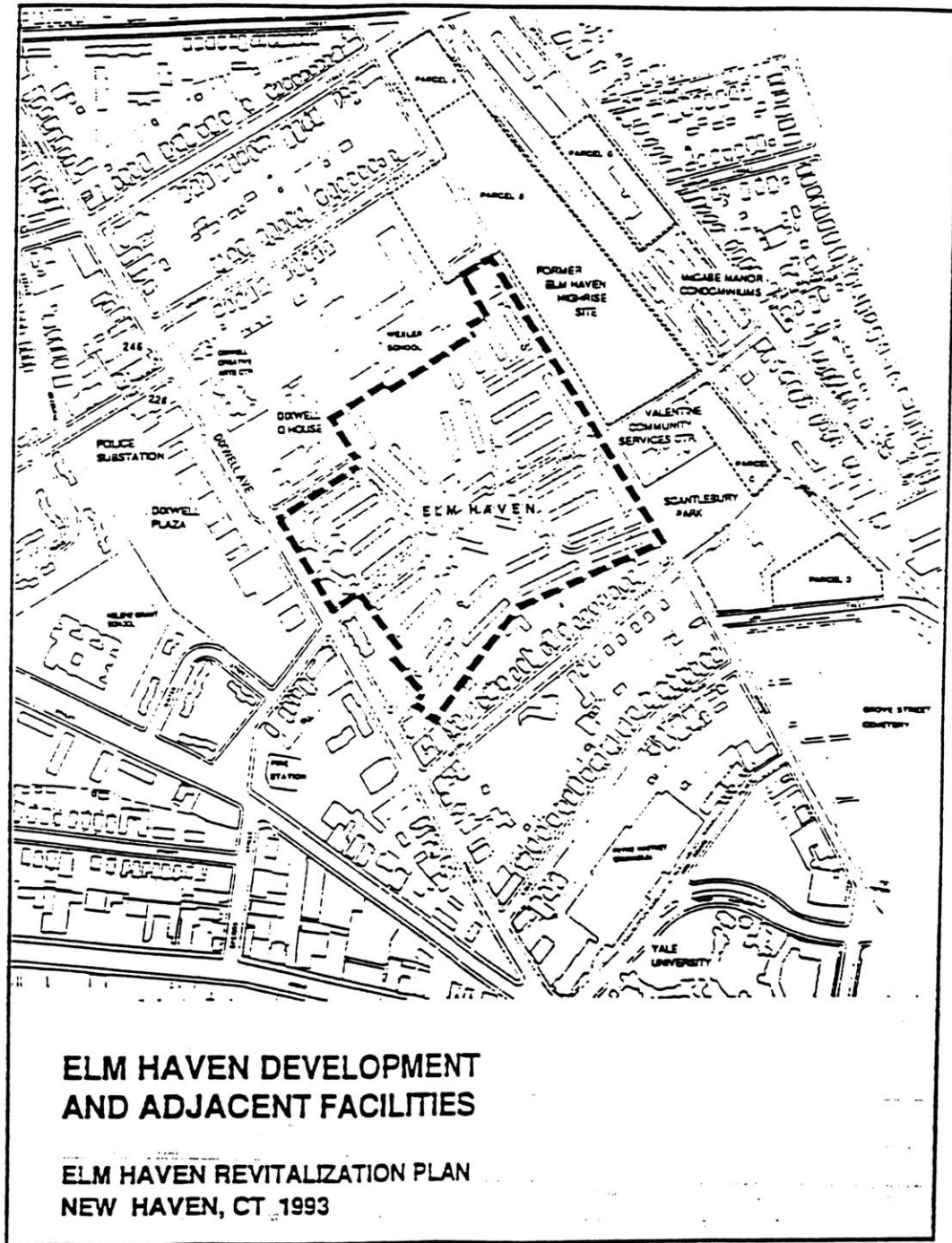


Figure 8. The Dixwell neighborhood and Elm Haven.

Americans comprise 84.8% of the population. Almost half the residents are under age 24, and 39% of the black population is under age 19. The Dixwell neighborhood is poor, the application states. Indeed,

Despite its long tradition and the neighborhood spirit that remains in Dixwell, the neighborhood suffers in a more concentrated way than other New Haven neighborhoods from the socio-economic forces impinging on the inner city. Endemic are extreme poverty and its consequences such as high rates of unemployment-underemployment; widespread drug use and dealing; low educational attainment; and high rates of crime, teen age pregnancy and low birth weight infants.³⁹

B. Existing Physical Conditions and Proposed Design Interventions

1. *Existing Physical Conditions and Problems*

The Housing Authority of New Haven did not include a physical plan of the existing or envisioned project in its grant application. Instead, the authority provided a brief verbal description of site problems and general physical design improvements it would undertake for the development. The application's description of existing physical conditions is general, and the housing authority does not offer an explicit analysis or explanation of the conditions' causes. Dwelling units in Elm Haven, the application states, are in poor condition and in desperate need of repair. Hazardous materials, such as asbestos, lead paint, and PCBs abound throughout the site. Heating systems are "antiquated and wasteful"; buildings lack proper insulation; and buildings are marked by "the presence of mold and mildew."⁴⁰

Common hallways, one of the "main drawbacks in public housing" (because they are "impossible to control"), attract "vagrants, drug addicts and other undersirables [who] use the hallways for shelter or criminal purposes."⁴¹ The authority also writes that "inadequate vehicular circulation and parking arrangements within Elm Haven have been cited as major deficiencies leading to congestion and security problems."⁴² The application suggests that deteriorated site conditions, building age, and poor upkeep "have forced the PHA to relocate many of its tenants to other units, creating unwanted vacancies which create nuisance conditions and harm the balance sheet of the PHA."⁴³

2. *Proposed Physical Design Interventions*

The housing authority proposes a number of measures to relieve the poor physical conditions of the buildings and site. It follows the recommendations of two site studies (one done

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. I.A.-1.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. I.A.-3.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid., p. IA.-1.

by Carol R. Johnson & Associates in July 1984, and another by Team Four Research/Herman S. Newman Associates in June, 1987) and recommends complete interior demolition of all buildings. Units will be reconfigured and expanded, and the final bedroom mix will contain fewer efficiency and one-bedroom units and more two- and three-bedroom units. Overall density of the site will be reduced from 462 units to 380, from 24 units/acre to 18 units/acre.⁴⁴ To increase space in units, the housing authority in New Haven proposes to build a third floor to some or all of the two-story buildings (unlike the Boston Housing Authority, which proposes to selectively demolish third-story levels). First floor units will be converted into apartment flats, and the upper two floors will become two-story townhouses. Each unit will be given its own separate entryway.⁴⁵

Site improvements will begin by restoring Eaton and Foote Streets as through-streets for public traffic. Each street will be widened to a minimum of 25 feet to hold street parking and one-way traffic. Restoration of these streets, the housing authority claims, will help "integrate Elm Haven with the Dixwell neighborhood."⁴⁶ Other site improvements will include the creation of additional parking areas, pedestrian walkways, and seating areas and play yards, as well as a re-landscaping of the entire site.⁴⁷ The housing authority intends to renovate a three-story building at the edge of the development on Dixwell Avenue to hold a new community building. The building currently houses the offices of the Resident Council and drug treatment referral services; the first floor of the renovated building will hold resident council offices, a meeting room, and a food pantry. The second floor will house a family support center, and the third floor will be used as a media center, a center for enterprise development, and a center for parent and child health programs.⁴⁸ Most social services for residents, however, will be located off-site in the Wexler School, the Dixwell Community House (or "Q" House), and the Charles J. Valentine Community Services Center.⁴⁹

The housing authority cites the physical renovation of another New Haven development, Farnham Courts, as its model for site re-design.⁵⁰ The application contains no drawings or plans of this project, however. The housing authority presented a drawing titled "Conceptual Modernization Scheme: Elm Haven" by Carol R. Johnson & Associates as its blueprint for site redevelopment at the URD Design Conference in Boston in December, 1993. This plan is shown in Figure 9 to illustrate the authority's general physical conception of a redeveloped Elm Haven.

44 Ibid., p. I.B.-1.

45 Ibid., p. I.B.-2.

46 Ibid., p. I.B.-6.

47 Ibid.

48 Ibid., p. I.C.-1

49 Ibid.

50 Ibid., p. 5.

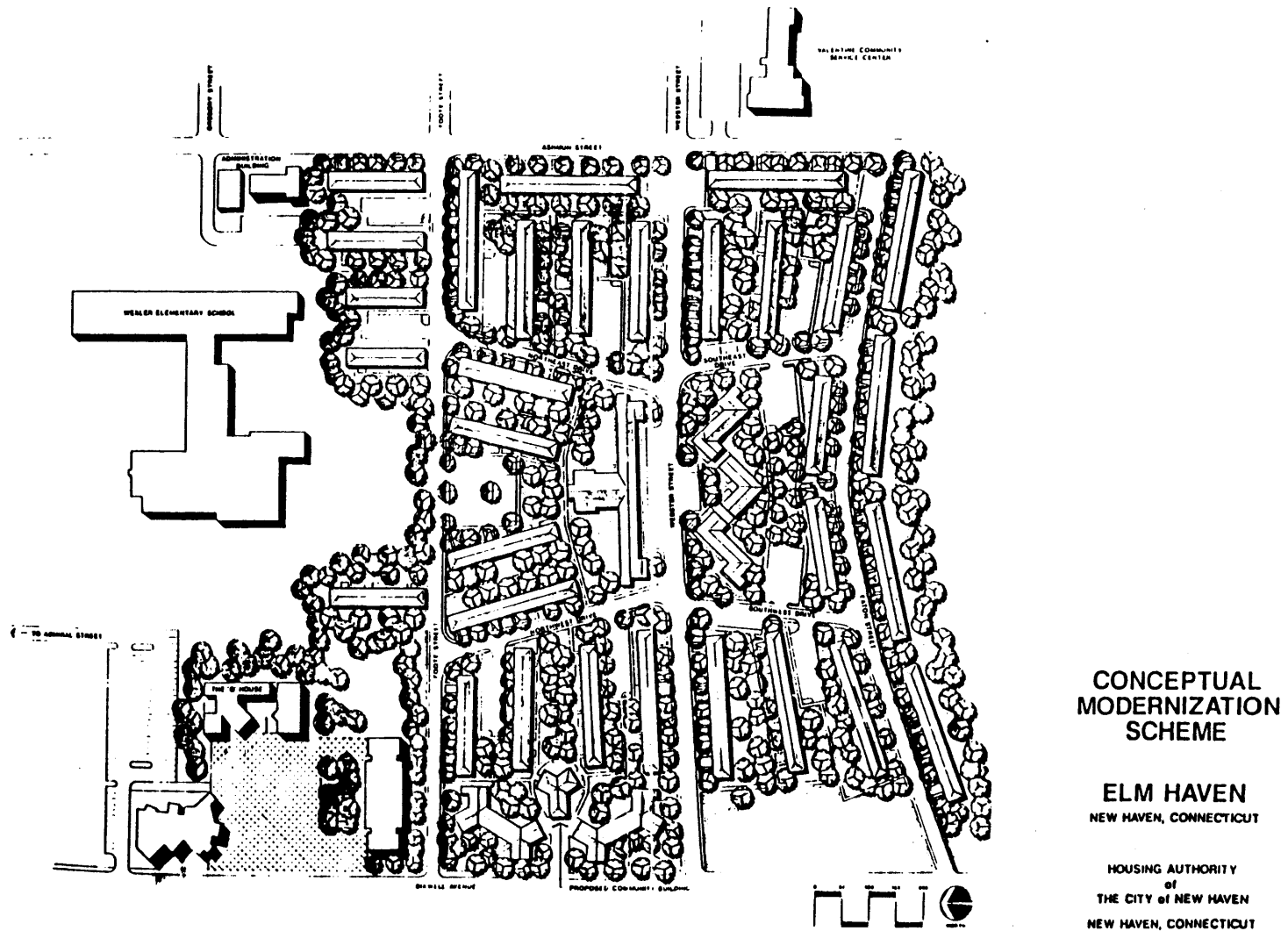


Figure 9. Elm Haven: Conceptual modernization scheme.

C. Social Problems and Proposed Social, Economic, and Management Solutions

1. *Social Conditions and Social Problems*

The application does not treat the Elm Haven project as a world unto itself with its own social problems; instead, the project is viewed as a slightly more distressed element within a neighborhood full of social and economic problems. The application notes that 82% of the resident population in Elm Haven is unemployed; 88% have household incomes of less than \$10,000 per year, and 77% receive government benefits as their major source of income.⁵¹ Ninety-four percent (94%) of the population in Elm Haven is black, and 96% of households are headed by single parents. Beyond these statistics, however, social and economic problems solely within Elm Haven are not presented in the application; instead, the application discusses problems within the entire Dixwell neighborhood. Dixwell has become poorer, the housing authority writes, and it holds a higher concentration of troubled families than it did in previous generations. The decline in the city's manufacturing base and a reduction in government-sponsored jobs have "left Dixwell residents with few of the avenues of upward mobility available to earlier generations of African-Americans."⁵² Those Dixwell residents who do achieve relative economic success move out of the neighborhood.⁵³

Poverty within Dixwell underlies a host of other social and economic problems. Residents lack adequate housing; they are subject to drug abuse, drug-related crime, high teenage pregnancy rates, high rates of infant mortality, and high incidences of disease and disability. Human services within the neighborhood are poorly coordinated or inadequate: residents receive insufficient job training, have insufficient employment opportunities, and have inadequate access to health care.⁵⁴ Various neighborhood organizations, such as the Dixwell Neighborhood Corporation, the Dixwell Community House, and different Dixwell churches, have energetically launched service and community initiatives to improve the lives of Dixwell residents. The Elm Haven Resident Council, organized in 1989 as a non-profit corporation, has played a strong role in implementing programs addressing drug abuse, child development, and public safety at the development.⁵⁵ The application praises these neighborhood efforts, but warns of their limitations: "the propensity to attempt to solve problems alone or to be overly self-protective is a double edged sword and can be inefficient or counterproductive when placed in a broader context."⁵⁶

⁵¹ Ibid., p. I.A.-3.

⁵² Ibid., p. F-3.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. F-5.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. G-11.

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. F-4.

2. *Proposed Social, Economic, and Management Solutions*

Because the social problems within Elm Haven cannot be separated from the social and economic problems within the entire Dixwell neighborhood, Dixwell as a whole and its resident organizations are treated as the focus of the housing authority's social revitalization efforts. The application states:

Because Elm Haven is an integral part of the Dixwell neighborhood and its fate and future is [sic] intimately connected to that of Dixwell, the PHA is firmly committed to supporting neighborhood improvement efforts of neighborhood-based organizations. Indeed, the success of this Revitalization Plan hinges on tapping the capacities of Dixwell and addressing the needs of both Elm Haven and the wider Dixwell neighborhood.⁵⁷

The authority's primary efforts will be directed towards restructuring the delivery of social services such that residents in the neighborhood play a strong role in service planning and delivery.

"Neighborhood capacity-building and reweaving the social fabric via community building activity and social empowerment are essential components of this application," the authority writes. As it helps design new social service and economic development responses to the problems within Dixwell, the authority will "look at the neighborhood level as well as the level of the individual and family."⁵⁸

The authority plans to collaborate closely with neighborhood organizations such as the Dixwell Neighborhood Corporation and the "Q" House to develop coordinated, interrelated economic and human development programs for people in Dixwell. By working as a partner with existing community groups, the housing authority plans to limit its functions to the role of public housing developer and manager. Even this role will be limited, however; to empower the residents of Elm Haven, the housing authority will work as co-developer with the Elm Haven Resident Council for the Elm Haven Revitalization Plan. A new non-profit organization composed of Housing Authority officials and Resident Council members, the Elm Terrace Development Corporation, will oversee implementation of physical revitalization efforts, social program initiatives, and management of the renovated development. Residents in Elm Haven will be mobilized to participate in the planning and execution of the project's redevelopment, and they will lead a "decentralized" approach to the project's management once it is completed.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 1.

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. F-4.

⁵⁹ Ibid., pp. F-6 through F-7, and p. 1. The housing authority does not have a completed physical redevelopment plan in place perhaps because it planned to let the Elm Haven Resident Council play a large role in selecting a project architect and in suggesting design changes once the development received the URD grant. As of January 1994, the authority has received 19 submissions in response to its architectural request for proposals. Interviewing for the development architect will be conducted by both the housing authority staff and Resident Council members. (Interview with Bryan Anderson, Elm Haven Treatment and Improvement Project, 1/26/94.)

Under the URD program, grant money will be directed towards a number of specific social service and community service programs. Funds will be used to support the growth and capacity of the Elm Haven Resident Council; money will also help fund the development of the Family Support or Community Center on Dixwell Avenue for the entire neighborhood. Job training, education, and recreational activities for youths in surrounding service sites will all be expanded using URD money. Funds will be used to further progress towards the development of a mixed-income residential community on the former Elm Haven high-rise site.⁶⁰ In general, the housing authority envisions a public/private partnership process in which Elm Haven residents work with the authority, with the City, and with neighborhood organizations to create a safe, "functioning," more self-reliant community. The authority hopes to "integrate public housing as one element of a comprehensive, opportunity-based affordable housing strategy for the City of New Haven," and it aims ultimately to reduce the barriers "between public housing residents and the surrounding Dixwell neighborhood and the wider community."⁶¹

III. The Charlotte Housing Authority: Earle Village, Charlotte, North Carolina

The Housing Authority of the City of Charlotte envisions an Earle Village housing project that is ringed by privately-developed housing and neighborhood services. To draw private development around Earle Village, the housing authority proposes to reduce the size of the project and to place parks and publicly-developed homeowner-units around the edges of the project.

A. City and Neighborhood Context: The Project, Adjacent Land Uses, and Demographics

Earle Village is located in Charlotte's First Ward, one of the four original wards of the city's downtown area.⁶² The project is one of the housing authority's largest developments: it contains 409 units and covers over 11 city blocks on 35.8 acres (11.4 units/acre). Completed in 1967, Earle Village consists of approximately 50 two-story row town house units; these building rows contain units of 2- to 5-bedrooms, with stacked 1-bedroom units on the ends. Buildings are made of concrete block with brick veneer exteriors and are arranged in both row and courtyard configurations within a grid of city streets. Except for a grant of \$750,000 from the City of Charlotte in the mid-1980's for landscape improvements, Earle Village has not undergone any modernization improvements since its construction.⁶³

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. F-7.

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 5.

⁶² Housing Authority of the City of Charlotte, Earle Village Community Services Program, Section I.f.

⁶³ Ibid., Section I.a.

First Ward is located directly southeast of Charlotte's central business district. In the early part of the century, the ward housed an economically and racially diverse residential community. The district began to decline after the 1930's as people began to move to outside suburbs; the area received its "final blow" when most of the existing housing was razed in the 1960's under the Urban Renewal Program.⁶⁴ Earle Village was built on a portion of the area's cleared land. Today, the development is bounded to the east and south by interstate highway I-277 and by a railroad line and mixed-use area to the north and west. In the immediate blocks surrounding the development there are two churches, an African-American Cultural Center, four small low-income multi-family complexes, ten single-family homes, and a few convenience stores. Most of the adjacent lands to the north and west of the development, however, lie vacant and are used as parking lots by workers in the Central Business District.⁶⁵

Demographic data on the population within First Ward was not presented in the application; the housing authority instead highlighted a few statistics on the population within Earle Village. Over ninety-four percent (94.7%) of the households are female-headed, and the average income of these households is \$5,639 per year. The entire population is black. Sixty percent (60%) of the population is under 20 years of age, and less than 9% of the population is employed.⁶⁶

B. Existing Physical Conditions and Proposed Design Interventions

1. *Existing Physical Conditions and Problems*

The housing authority identifies a number of physical problems with the Earle Village development. First, buildings are "old"⁶⁷ and do not meet modern accessibility requirements. Buildings containing efficiency and one-bedroom units for elderly families were designed with exterior stairs to reach upper floors; these units are "virtually inaccessible to the very population they were intended to serve."⁶⁸ Existing units are small, poorly configured, and without necessary amenities (like air-conditioning) to make them marketable over the long term.⁶⁹ Second, the site lacks adequate community spaces. A small park and recreation center currently sit along 7th Street, a major four-lane boulevard. The busy street makes the center difficult to reach for youth and elderly; other than the recreation center, there are no places within Earle Village for residents to meet. Spaces within a local church and an area elementary school are available to residents, but these spaces are located on the fringe of the development are not

⁶⁴ Ibid., Section I.f.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Ibid., Section I.a.

⁶⁷ Earle Village was completed in 1967; although the housing authority claims that the buildings are old, buildings within Earle Village are younger than most of the buildings in the other URD-funded projects.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid., Section I.b.

viewed by Earle Village residents as community spaces.⁷⁰ In addition, no day-care facilities currently exist on the site.⁷¹

Another problem with the site is its undefined spaces. The application states that parking areas located in the middle of existing blocks have become "no-man's lands" that are "plagued by drug dealers and winos."⁷² Common areas on the site invite undesirable people outside the site to enter the project and to create problems for the community. The application states:

One of the prevalent problems in Earle Village has been that the common or public areas are controlled by outsiders and not the community. Winos, vagrants, drug dealers and seedy characters of all types use and drive out the legitimate residents of the Village. They leave behind their artifacts -- wine and beer bottles, needles, paper bags, food containers, half-eaten sandwiches and the like.⁷³

People mistakenly believe, the authority writes, that "public housing" equals "public property." This "mythical equation ... is used by the drug dealer and vagrant to justify their right to occupy territory in our public housing developments."⁷⁴

The streets running through the site pose another problem for the development. Seventh Street and Davidson Street are four-lane roads that bisect the site; they divide the community because they "act and feel as major physical barriers for residents."⁷⁵ The street layout serves as a hindrance to police officers: "Policemen assigned to Earle Village say the urban grid pattern of the site, interspersed with the development's driveway system, make pursuit of suspected criminals (both pedestrian and those in cars) extremely difficult."⁷⁶

The large size of the development is also considered problematic: the site covers too much land and is not cohesive. Indeed, "the sheer size of Earle Village contributes to its problems." The application states: "The dispersed nature of the units over 11 city blocks that are bounded in many instances by major and minor city thoroughfares inhibits the sense of community that is essential to stable neighborhoods."⁷⁷ The site is so big that management cannot function properly: property managers are unable to "simply get out and walk the entire site on a regular basis."⁷⁸ Project size contributes to a final problem: Earle Village's isolation. Although the project is only four blocks from the Central Business District, residential housing within the neighborhood consists exclusively of Earle Village homes. The application states: "Experienced private sector developers participating in the formulation of this plan unanimously

⁷⁰ Ibid., Section I.i.

⁷¹ Ibid., Section I.c.

⁷² Ibid., Section I.d.

⁷³ Ibid., Section I.c.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Ibid., Section I.d.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Ibid., Section I.b.

⁷⁸ Ibid., Section I.d.

expressed the idea that more housing would be built only if the amount of subsidized housing was reduced."⁷⁹ Because no private sector developers will build homes or businesses around the project, the landscape north of the project is an "urban wasteland" devoid of buildings.⁸⁰

2. *Proposed Physical Design Interventions*

To alleviate the physical problems of the site, the authority proposes a number of actions. It recommends the selective demolition of Earle Village buildings at the fringes of the site, to reduce the project's overall size. Building demolition and unit conversions will reduce the total number of units from 409 to 313. Building removal at the site edges will "free up new land for future private sector development that will contribute to the neighborhood's ability to attract basic services."⁸¹ Indeed, attracting private sector development is a major goal of the revitalization plan. The private sector can help "produce a larger neighborhood population base" within the area; a larger base will further attract "normal neighborhood service functions such as grocery and drug stores."⁸²

Making Earle Village units, buildings, and grounds attractive to potential homeowners on the site and off the site is another physical strategy recommended by the authority. Unit sizes will be expanded "to be in line with privately developed, modest market rate housing"⁸³; the institutional appearance of buildings will be softened by adding front porches, roof dormers, new windows and doors, and a variety of architectural details on building facades.⁸⁴ The site's appearance will be improved with new landscaping, including a new park at the north edge of the site. This park will act as a "buffer" between the project and the construction of new moderate-income rental and homeowner units north of the site.⁸⁵ Both Seventh and Davidson Streets will be reduced from four lanes to two, and landscaped median strips will be built "to help define the Earle Village portions of those streets as residential and not downtown thoroughfares."⁸⁶

To minimize the presence of "no-man's lands" and the problems they bring to the site, the authority plans to clearly define all spaces within the project. Using landscaping and 3-foot tall wrought-iron fencing, the authority will mark the boundaries of yards, buildings, and sidewalks such that "every area will ... be under the control of a resident family ... [or] a group of units."⁸⁷ Common parking lots will be eliminated and parking spaces will be identified with individual units;

79 Ibid., Section 1.b.

80 Ibid., Section 1.a.

81 Ibid., Section 1.d.

82 Ibid., Section 1.a.

83 Ibid.

84 Ibid., Section 1.b.

85 Ibid., Section 1.c.

86 Ibid., Section 1.d.

87 Ibid., Section 1.c.

fenced-off back-yards will help create defensible space.⁸⁸ By eliminating undefined common spaces, the authority hopes to create a condition in which "no one can walk freely through the community and claim they are in public areas."⁸⁹

Last, the authority plans to build new community spaces and building facilities for the Earle Village population. A new 25,000 square foot community center, holding management offices, meeting rooms, and supportive and community service programs, will be constructed to replace the existing recreation facility. This center will be placed at the center of the development "to tie together the post-revitalization site" and to act as a "focal point and daily activity center" for Earle Village residents.⁹⁰ The old recreation center will be renovated to house a new day care facility, and a new elevator building containing 68 units for the elderly will be constructed on the site.⁹¹ Figures 10 through 13 illustrate proposed site plans, views, elevations, and building site spaces at a redeveloped Earle Village.

C. Social Problems and Proposed Social, Economic, and Management Solutions

1. *Social Conditions and Social Problems*

The application suggests that people from outside the development enter the project and create social problems. City blocks directly north of Earle Village contain numerous vacant buildings; this area "is noted for the encroachment of winos and vagrants who have been pushed out of the commercial areas in the central business district." The vagrant population in this area threatens Earle Village residents:

Mixing in with the winos and vagrants are the drug dealers who rely upon crowds to mask their trade. Five drug-related killings have occurred in this two block area in the last year, giving an exclamation point to resident fears and concerns about crime and drugs in the community.⁹²

Outsiders pose a threat to residents because residents are desperately poor and vulnerable. Demographic statistics presented earlier highlight the population's economic distress; "families who do accept housing in Earle Village tend to be the most desperate for housing and those who have the fewest alternatives available to them."⁹³ Some of the residents are young or disabled and fall "prey to the criminal and drug dealer." Indeed,

In an effort to make friends, they [the residents] permit the dealer or the user to come into their apartment; before they know it, the guest has taken over and their

⁸⁸ Ibid., Section 1.d.

⁸⁹ Ibid., Section 1.c.

⁹⁰ Ibid., Sections 1.c. and 1.d.

⁹¹ Ibid., Section 1.b.

⁹² Ibid., Section 1.a.

⁹³ Ibid.

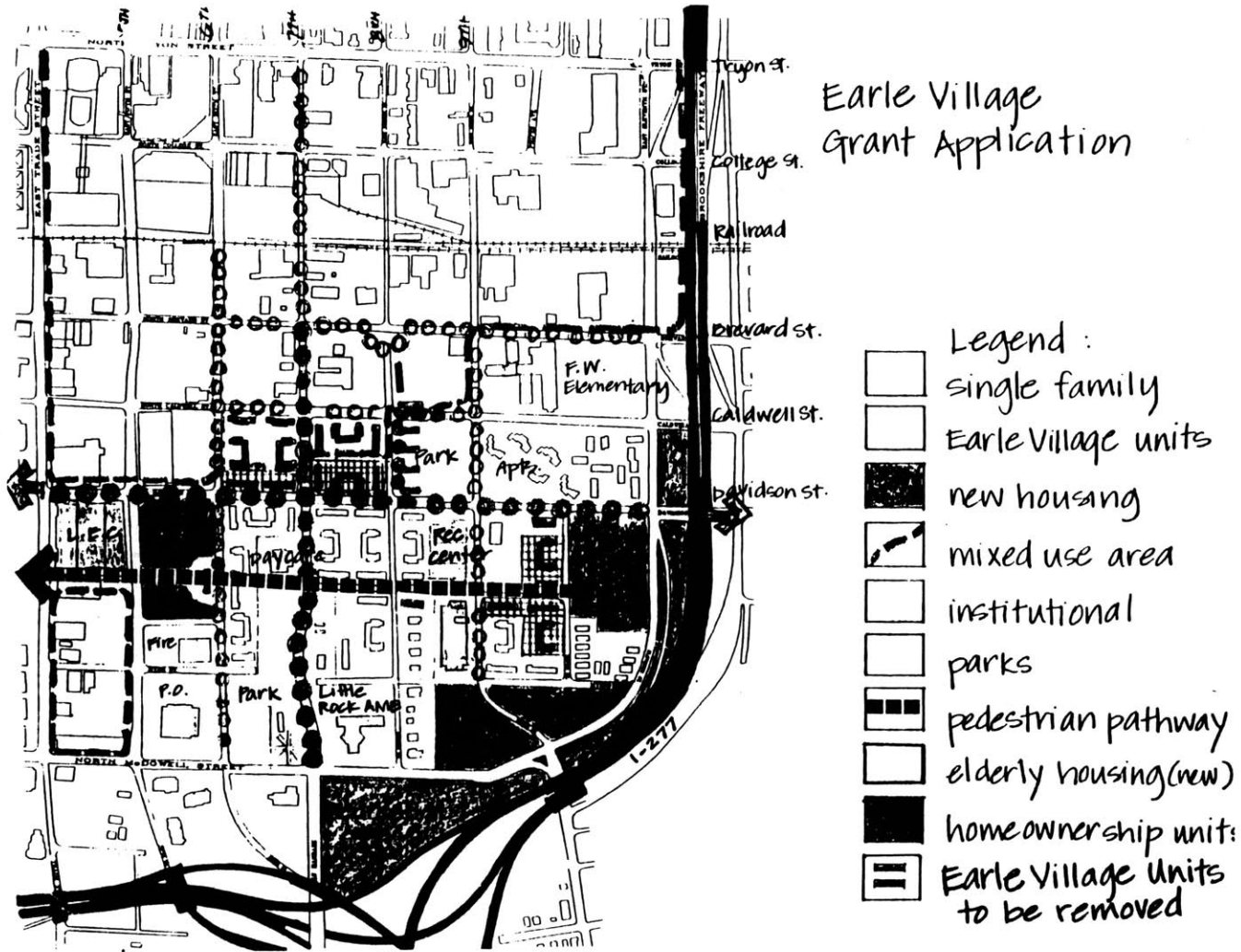


Figure 10. Earle Village: Proposed site plan.



LEGEND:

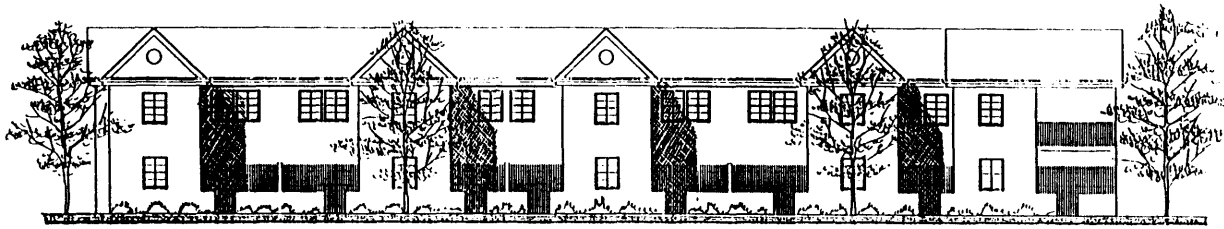
1. Existing Earle Village Management Office/Recreation Center: Proposed for conversion to Day Care
2. Location for New Community Support Center/Recreation Facility
3. Location for Proposed Elderly Building
4. Location of Proposed Park
5. Afro-American Cultural Center
6. Wilkerson Apartments (City Owned Low Income 1 Bedroom Apartments)
7. Clinton Square Apartments (City Owned Low Income 2, 3, and 4 Bedroom Apartments)
8. First Ward School
9. City View Apartments (Privately Owned)
10. Area of Demolition. Compare to Land Use Plan for Buildings to be Removed.
11. Homeownership Area. Compare to Land Use Plan for Actual Buildings.

Figure 11. Earle Village: Aerial view of existing and proposed buildings.



BUILDING "B" - FRONT ELEVATION

BUILDING "B"



BUILDING "B" - BACK ELEVATION

Figure 12. Earle Village: Proposed elevations.

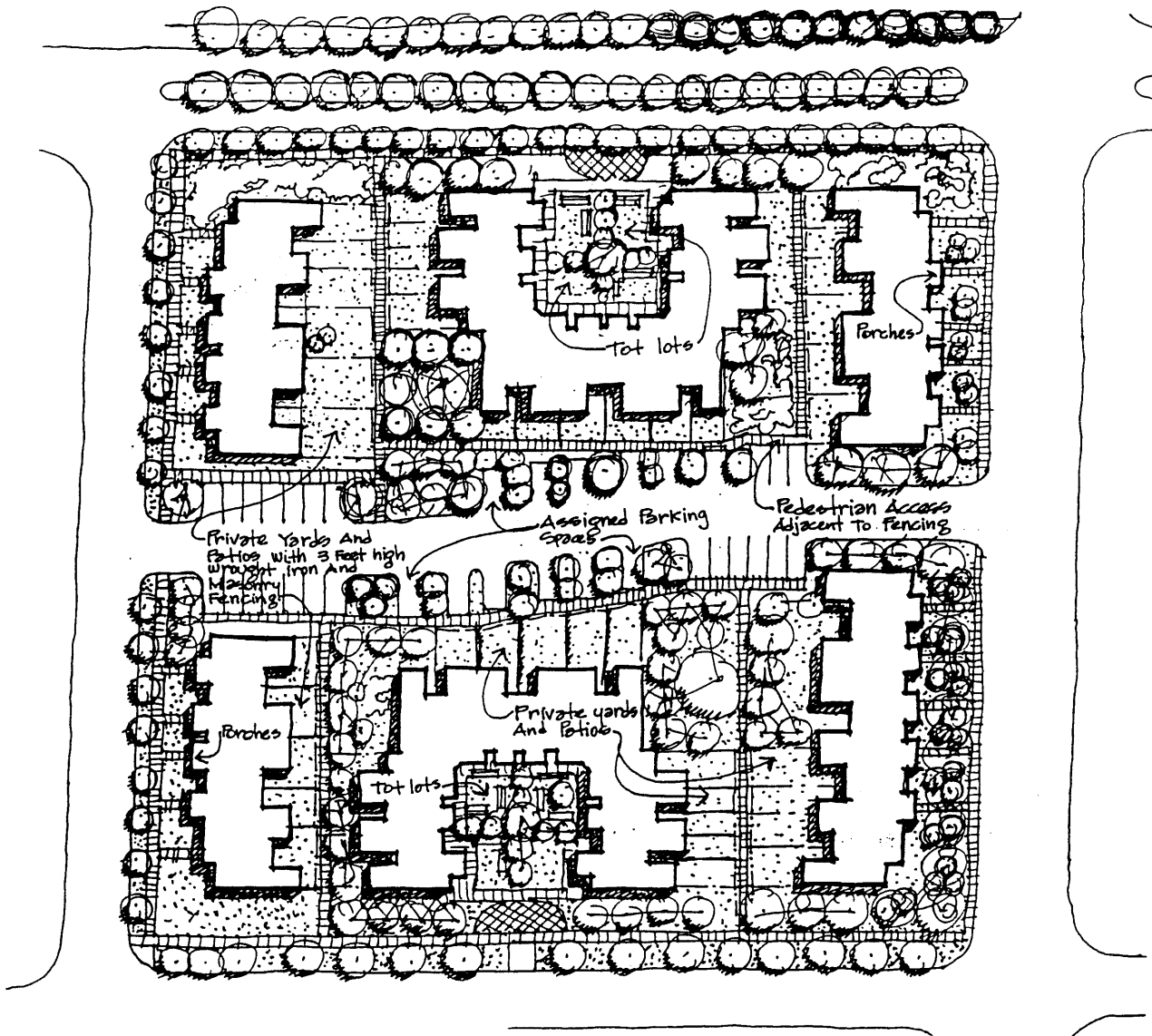


Figure 13. Earle Village: Proposed individual and shared yards.

apartment is being used as a bowl house or safe house and they are powerless to do anything about it.⁹⁴

Because older and elderly families have moved out of the development, the community lacks a "stabilizing force." The concentration of young, poor, unstable families "has undoubtedly contributed to the social, economic, and physical deterioration of the community."⁹⁵ The authority suggests that the lack of private investment in the surrounding area prevents Earle Village from receiving the commercial amenities of a "normal neighborhood"⁹⁶ and thus perpetuates the instability of the development. Last, the authority notes that Earle Village residents live in social isolation. "A large number of residents have never interacted on any terms with persons from different areas of the community," the authority writes. "For most of their lives, therefore, they have been isolated ... in traditional minority, low-income neighborhoods."⁹⁷

2. Proposed Social, Economic, and Management Solutions

The authority intends to transform the social organization of Earle village into three distinct populations: Families working towards Self-Sufficiency; Homeowners; and the Elderly and the Handicapped.⁹⁸ The authority will provide both a general set of services and specific supportive services for each group. General services will focus on resident employment and job training activities; other services will cover safety, substance abuse, health care, transportation, basic education, and recreation.

The Family Self-Sufficiency (FSS) Program will contain slots for 170 families who voluntarily choose to participate. All family members in this program must agree to a number of conditions: all adult family members must be employed, or enrolled in school or in a job training program while they live in the Village; all school-aged children must be enrolled in school and must attend regularly; each household must agree to participate in money management, homeownership, or other programs sponsored by the FSS program; each household must agree to 10 hours of community service work each month; and each family must agree to leave public housing at the end of 5 years.⁹⁹ The housing authority will establish an escrow savings account for the families, and it will provide special self-sufficiency support services (such as case management, counseling, child care, and home-ownership advice) to this group. If a family fails to follow the program's requirements, it will lose its program benefits and will be transferred to another development.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Ibid., Section I.b.

⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 15.

⁹⁸ Ibid., Section 1.g.

⁹⁹ Ibid., Section I.g.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

The Homeownership Program will contain 75 households; these households will receive supportive services similar to those under the FSS program. The authority will help establish and train a Homeownership Association, which will manage and operate the entire program.¹⁰¹ The Senior Citizen/Handicapped Facility will house 68 units set aside for elderly and handicapped families. These residents will receive special support services for their particular needs; a full-time social worker from the Mecklenburg County's Department of Social Services will be assigned to the facility to handle social service programs, coordinate with outside providers for services needed by resident families, and assist in the management of the facility. The city's Parks and Recreation Department will establish crafts and recreation activities for the elderly and handicapped residents.¹⁰²

A community service program run and managed by residents will complement the supportive services offered by the housing authority. The authority will expand its Community Assistance Program, which identifies the "natural helpers" within the community and trains them to provide counseling and assistance to other residents. The authority writes that "the first seven people they [residents] turn to are neighbors, friends, family members, a minister, their church, voluntary groups and their ethnic subgroups." Because "the last person that people turn to ... is a professional service provider," the authority will train people within the community to volunteer their energies and services to help their friends and neighbors. A Community Foundation that operates through local churches will become the center for such training and support, and residents themselves will work together to identify ways in which they can provide community service to their own and outside neighborhoods.¹⁰³

IV. The Cuyahoga Metropolitan Housing Authority: King Kennedy Estates and Outhwaite Homes, Cleveland, Ohio

The two projects in Cleveland that will undergo URD-funded revitalization are King Kennedy Estates and Outhwaite Homes. Both projects are located within blocks of each other in the city's Central neighborhood, an area dominated by vacant lots and tracts of public housing. The housing authority plans to clearly define the two projects as areas for revitalization; the authority hopes that the successful social and physical redevelopment of these project areas into "urban villages" will stimulate development and revitalization efforts throughout the Central neighborhood.

101 Ibid.

102 Ibid.

103 Ibid., p. 5, 10, 16.

A. City and Neighborhood Context: The Projects, Adjacent Land Uses, and Demographics

The Cuyahoga Metropolitan Housing Authority (CMHA) won \$50 million from HUD for two projects: King Kennedy Estates and Outhwaite Homes. The King Kennedy development consists of two sections: a South section (built in 1970) and a North section (built in 1971). The project contains one eight-story building, two connected six-story buildings for the elderly, 22 three-story gable-roofed buildings and 10 three-story "gallery" buildings of walk-up family units. There are 1,184 units in total on 36 acres of land (32.9 units per acre). The North buildings are arranged in long L-shaped configurations around city blocks; the South "gallery" buildings are scattered around the site. The CMHA requested funding from the URD program to renovate the lower southeast portion of the development.

Outhwaite Homes lies several blocks to the west of King Kennedy. This development was built in 1935 and contains 575 units in 16 buildings. Another segment was added to the development in 1939; this section contains 449 units in 25 residential buildings. The estate occupies 54.4 acres of land to yield a total density of 30.8 dwelling units per acre. Most of the buildings in the development are "superblocks, or serpentine structures" running 700 to 1,100 feet in length.¹⁰⁴ Again, only a portion of the development is targeted for renovation under the URD program.

Both developments are located in Cleveland's Central neighborhood, "one of the most physically, economically, and socially impacted of the city's 35 statistical planning areas."¹⁰⁵ Figure 14 shows the location of the two projects within the city of Cleveland. The application notes that housing deterioration and overcrowding during the Depression in the 1930's turned the Central neighborhood into one of the city's most distressed. Government leaders responded to the conditions in the 1930's by constructing large housing projects in the area; today, nearly 76% of the CMHA's public housing developments for families are located in the neighborhood.¹⁰⁶

Located immediately east of the city's downtown, the Central neighborhood is described as a "dreary landscape," filled with vacant buildings and vacant lots that are "interrupted by tracts of 50-year old severely distressed public housing."¹⁰⁷ The area contains a few "thriving" institutions, such as the Metro Campus of Cuyahoga Community College and the St. Vincent Charity Hospital complex. The Central neighborhood is also near a commercial district, Gladstone, that experienced economic expansion and increased development during the 1980's. In general, however, retail districts in the Central area are deteriorated and empty; residents of both

¹⁰⁴ CMHA, "Central Vision: Community-Building in Cleveland, Ohio, Vol. I", p. 99.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 172.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 170.

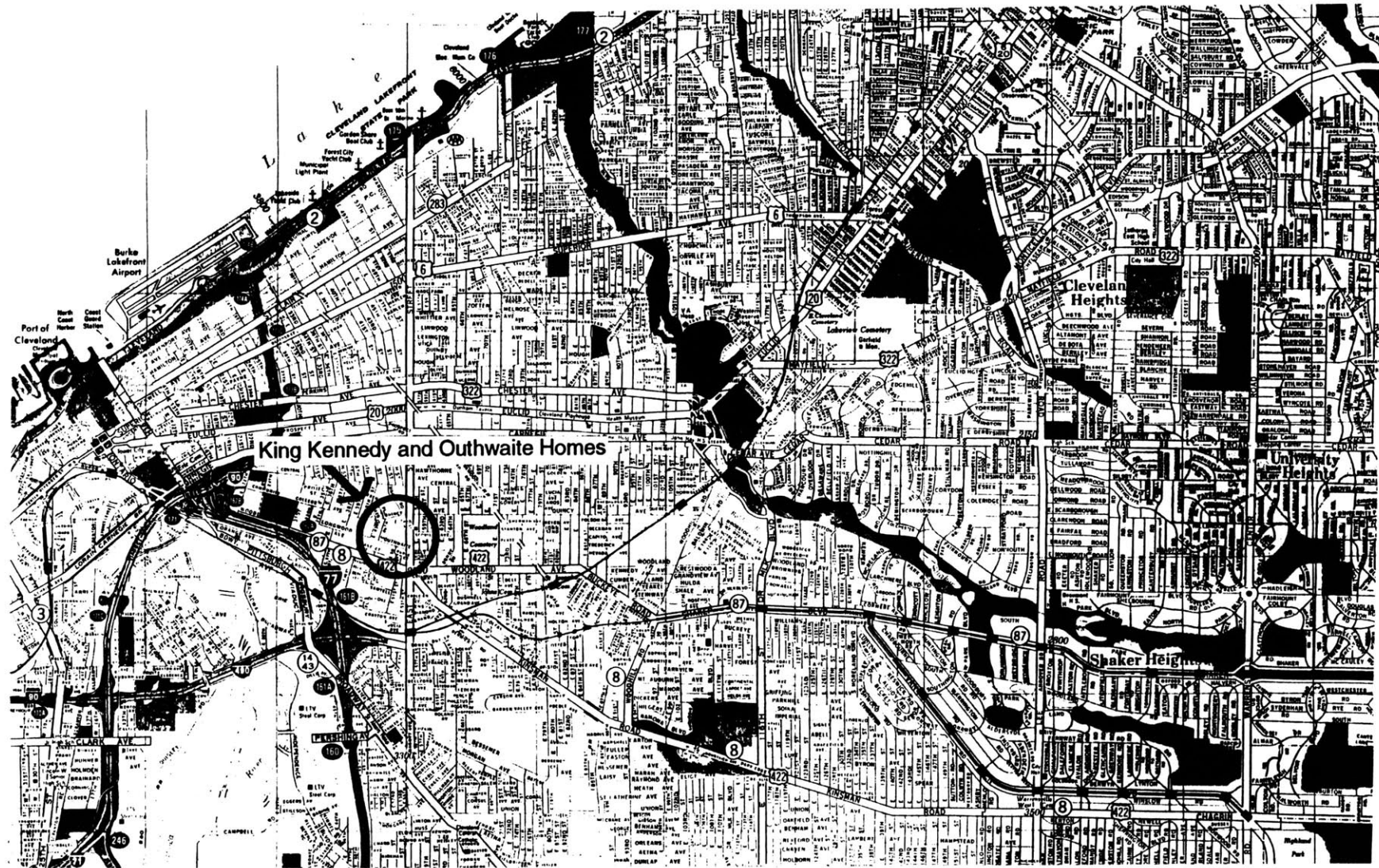


Figure 14. King Kennedy and Outwaite Homes within the city of Cleveland.

housing projects do not have access to major supermarkets or many convenience stores. Within the site of Kennedy Estates are an elementary school and two small community centers; within the Outhwaite Homes development lies an old community building in need of renovation and repair.

The population in Central is 95% African-American. Average yearly incomes are between \$4,000 and \$6,000, and the neighborhood is marked by low employment, low educational attainment, high crime levels, and a "myriad of social ills."¹⁰⁸ Cleveland's neighborhoods are among the most racially and economically segregated in the nation, the CMHA writes; economic segregation worsened in the 1980's as the number of poor people in Central and other impoverished areas doubled over the decade. Thirty-two percent (32%) of the neighborhood's land parcels are delinquent in paying residential property taxes; 26% of the area's parcels are vacant.¹⁰⁹

B. Existing Physical Conditions and Proposed Design Interventions

1. Existing Physical Conditions and Problems

Physical problems at the developments begin with the deteriorated conditions of the two sites' buildings. According to the housing authority, Outhwaite Homes represented "a masterful piece of urban design and architecture" when it was built in the 1930's.¹¹⁰ Constructed during the art deco movement in Cleveland, development buildings were grouped around courtyards and were marked with "balconies, detailed entrances, and bands of soft red and brown brick." The development has undergone no modernization improvements since it was built; today, it is damaged and crumbling with age. The King Kennedy project was built in the 1970's; it shows signs of "extensive wear from over 20 years of use," and it suffers from a drab, institutional appearance.¹¹¹ The major building systems in both estates are on the brink of failure, and "deteriorated stairs, poor lighting, and gutted laundry rooms produce an atmosphere of neglect and despair" (see Figure 15).¹¹²

Internal building circulation and site design are also problematic. Common entryways are "unsafe," and buildings at King Kennedy designed in the form of a "double cruciform" contain "a confusing labyrinth of hallways and multiple entrance/exit points that makes security difficult."¹¹³ Streets and circulation routes through the site are both inflexible and too open. The site design at King Kennedy is "rigid" and "unimaginative"; the sidewalk system and the penetration of public

¹⁰⁸ *ibid.*, p. 170.

¹⁰⁹ *ibid.*, p.170, 173.

¹¹⁰ *ibid.*, p. 99.

¹¹¹ *ibid.*, p. 80., p. 76.

¹¹² *ibid.*, p. 80.

¹¹³ *ibid.*, p. 78.



Figure 15. Existing buildings at King Kennedy.

streets into the project site make "an effective security plan and program ... hard to implement."¹¹⁴ The large size of the projects "undermine space defensibility,"¹¹⁵ and the original design of developments both "allowed for little defensible space with open common areas which nourished criminal activity," and promoted "unrestricted access of outsiders to the development."¹¹⁶ People from outside the developments cause crime and social problems within the projects: "non-residents congregate in the area to use vacant buildings for drug and other illicit activities."¹¹⁷ Figures 16 and 17 display existing site plans of both projects.

Both sites lack landscaping and thus look "barren" and "inhospitable."¹¹⁸ Project sites do not feel residential because "lack of landscaping and thoughtful siting prevents [sic] any sense of enclosure or "village" space."¹¹⁹ At King Kennedy, some buildings are "nicely sited around a courtyard play area, but the central focus is the abandoned trash and garbage collection building." The poor siting and unmaintained landscape of this space create an uncomfortable environment: "Instead of being a bright, lively gathering place for residents, it is a noisy and uninviting, trash-littered play space."¹²⁰ Community spaces that should contribute to the life of the developments are inadequate: the Louis Stokes Community Center at Outhwaite Homes is small, in poor condition, and inaccessible to the disabled; the Soltz and Willis Centers at King Kennedy are also undersized and deteriorated.

Last, unit composition and geographic isolation at the two developments contribute to the projects' distress. The large proportion of 1-BR units at both sites has a "destabilizing effect" on the two communities: occupants of 1-BR units are "more likely to be substance abusers and less likely to pay their rent on time."¹²¹ The tenants who do live at the developments suffer because they do not have close physical access to major supermarkets, drug stores, or laundromats. Without proximity to these services, the developments lack "most of the supporting commercial elements which make a neighborhood a convenient and comfortable place to live."¹²²

2. Proposed Physical Design Interventions

The grant application discusses a wide range of measures to improve the physical conditions at each site. These measures center around the creation of "urban villages" -- clustered buildings that provide a sense of "inter-relatedness and shared living among residents"

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., p. 181.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., p. 17, 103.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., p. 105.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., p. 78.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ Ibid., p. 181.

¹²² Ibid., p. 100.

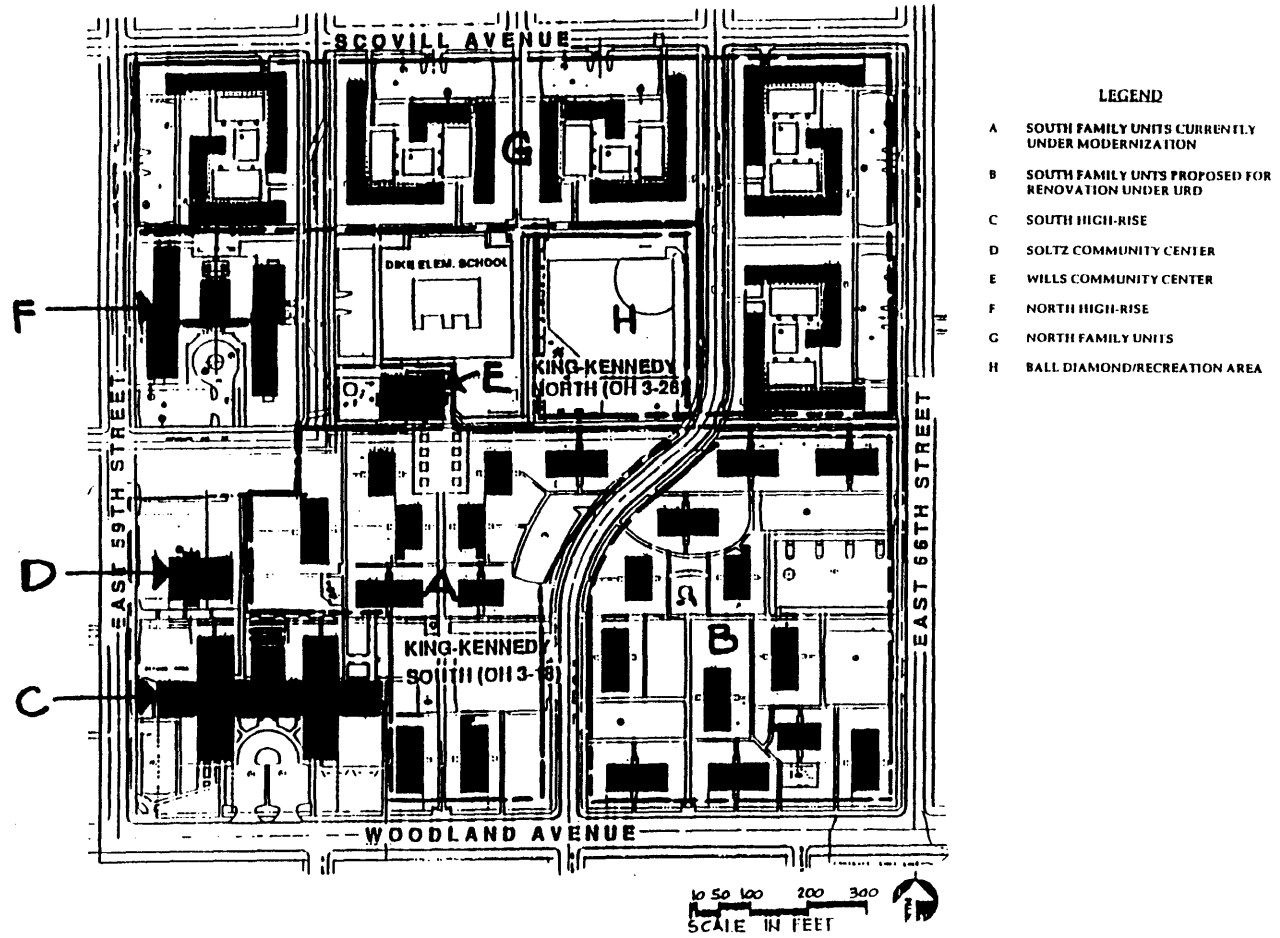
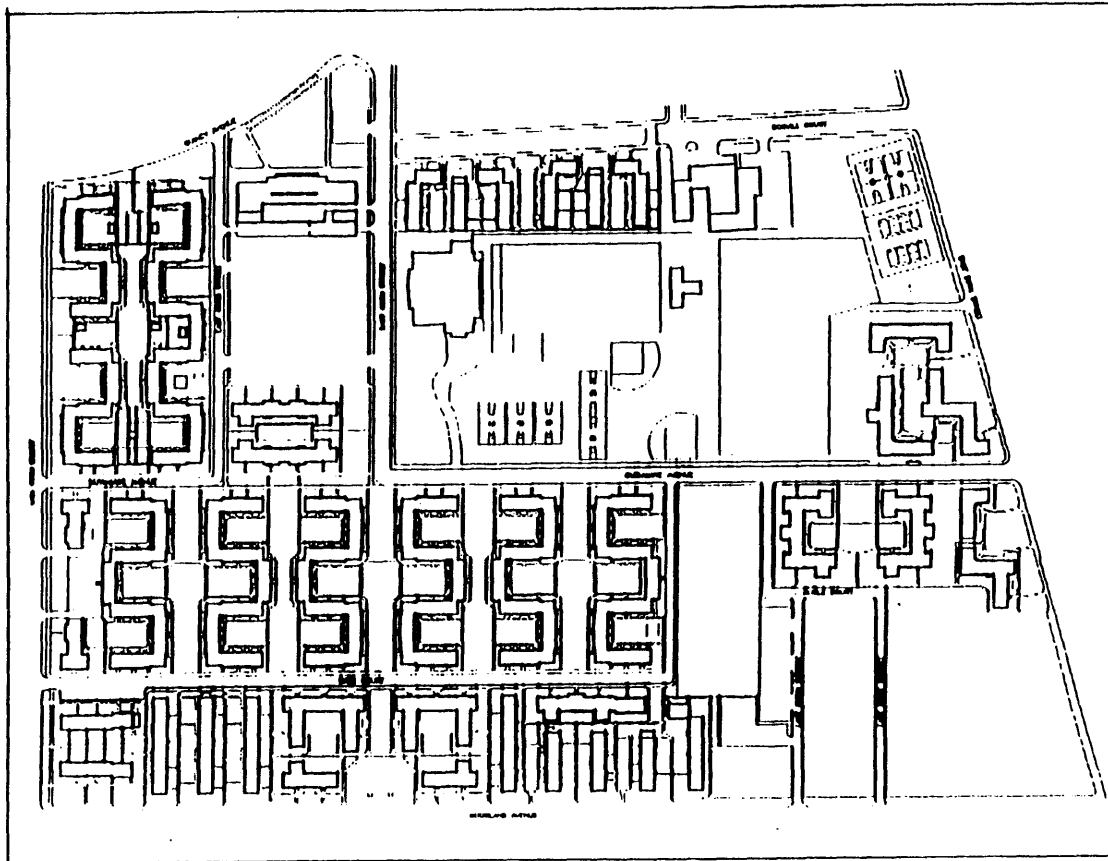


Figure 16. King Kennedy: Existing site plan.



Outhwaite Homes
(OH 3-03, OH 3-15)

EXISTING SITE DATA

Total Site Acreage	54.40
CMHA Outhwaite Homes	29.41
Lonnie Burton Recreation Center Playground, Community Center	3.72
Kennard Junior High (Closed)	1.43
Former East Tech School Site	4.71
Former Outhwaite Elementary School Site	1.61
Other Commercial & Vacant Land	6.46
Streets	4.53

Figure 17. Outhwaite Homes: Existing site plan.

through buildings' grouped placement.¹²³ To create these urban villages, the developments will be divided into sets of clustered buildings that include "comprehensive landscaping," "amenities for families and children," and other "necessary amenities to support a better life for residents."¹²⁴ Buildings will be grouped around courtyards to both provide a "village feeling" and to develop a "village-type defensible space."¹²⁵ Family units will be separated from high-rise units, and "privacy" will be increased by constructing fencing around the perimeters of the villages.¹²⁶ By defining these perimeters, the clustered villages will create both a sense of "community" and "neighborhood" among residents.¹²⁷ The CMHA uses "Renaissance Village," a recently renovated portion of the King Kennedy Estate, as its model for URD renovations; it proposes to create three villages within Outhwaite Homes and one additional village at King Kennedy (see Figures 18 and 19).¹²⁸

The village at King Kennedy will have access to a new Social Services Mall, to be built on the first four floors of the project's South high-rise building, and a new trash compaction/recycling center. The Soltz and Willis buildings, existing community facilities at King Kennedy, would be renovated and expanded to house more programs (see Figure 20). The villages at Outhwaite Homes would have access to a new Enterprise Center and a new Youth Enhancement Services center, both to be constructed and located at the center of the project site. An existing facility at Outhwaite, the Louis Stokes Community Center, would be renovated and expanded to hold a multi-purpose common room. These facilities will primarily serve project populations of medium-sized families: the authority plans to convert many 1-BR, 2-BR, 4-BR, and 5-BR units at both sites into 3-BR units. These facilities will also serve families who have been relocated to new single-family replacement homes that the CMHA will build and scatter around the Central neighborhood.¹²⁹

Both sites will be completely re-landscaped to both relieve the desolation of the sites and to control access to village clusters and individual buildings. New trees, shrubs, sidewalks, playground equipment, trash enclosures, and ornamental fencing will all be added to the two project sites.¹³⁰ Tall fencing will be placed around village perimeters to prevent non-resident traffic from passing through the projects.¹³¹ All spaces within village sites will be defined: grassy

¹²³ Ibid., p. 3.

¹²⁴ Ibid., p. 76, 79, 101.

¹²⁵ Ibid., p. 99, 93.

¹²⁶ Ibid., p. 103.

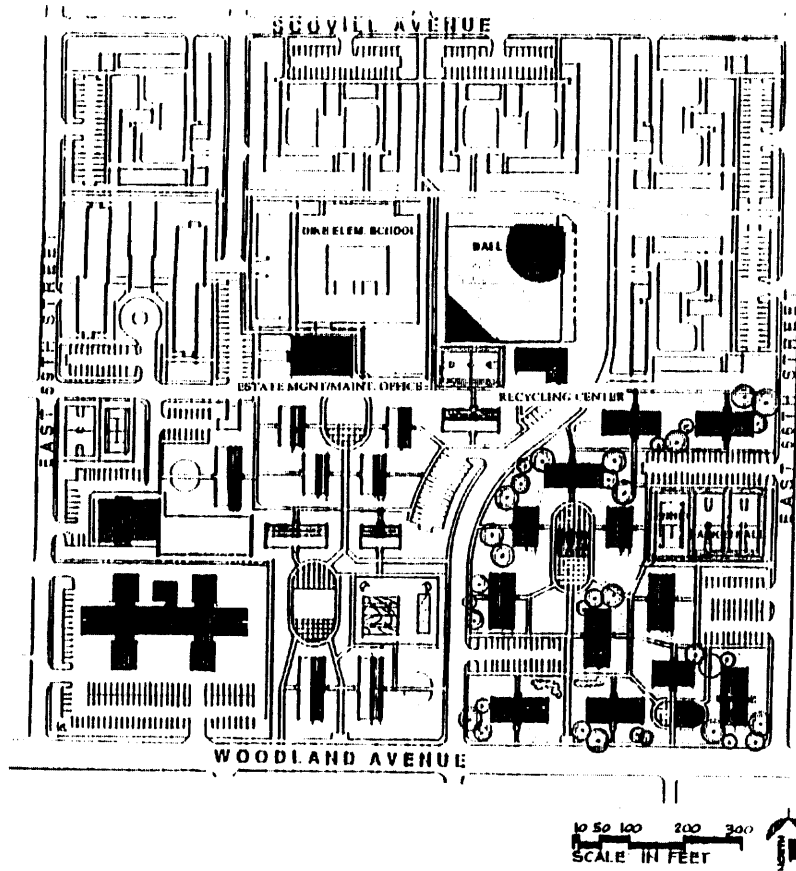
¹²⁷ Ibid., p. 74, 196.

¹²⁸ Ibid., p. 5.

¹²⁹ Ibid., pp. 80-82, 98-103, 5.

¹³⁰ Ibid., p. 81, 103.

¹³¹ Ibid., p. 93.



SITE DEVELOPMENT COST ESTIMATE

1. Landscaping	\$ 150,000
• Grading/Seeding	
• Planting/Trees/Shrubs	
• Reestablish Exg. to remain	
2. Site Improvements	\$ 215,000
• Play Areas	
• Fencing, Bollards	
• Furnishings	
3. Pavement (Concrete & Asphalt)	\$ 225,000
• Concrete walk (new)	
• New asphalt paving	
• Remove existing lots (seal & stripe)	
• Passive recreation areas	
4. Site Utilities	\$ 400,000
• Lighting	
• Storm sewer	
• Water distribution system	
• Gas distribution system	
• Electric distribution system	

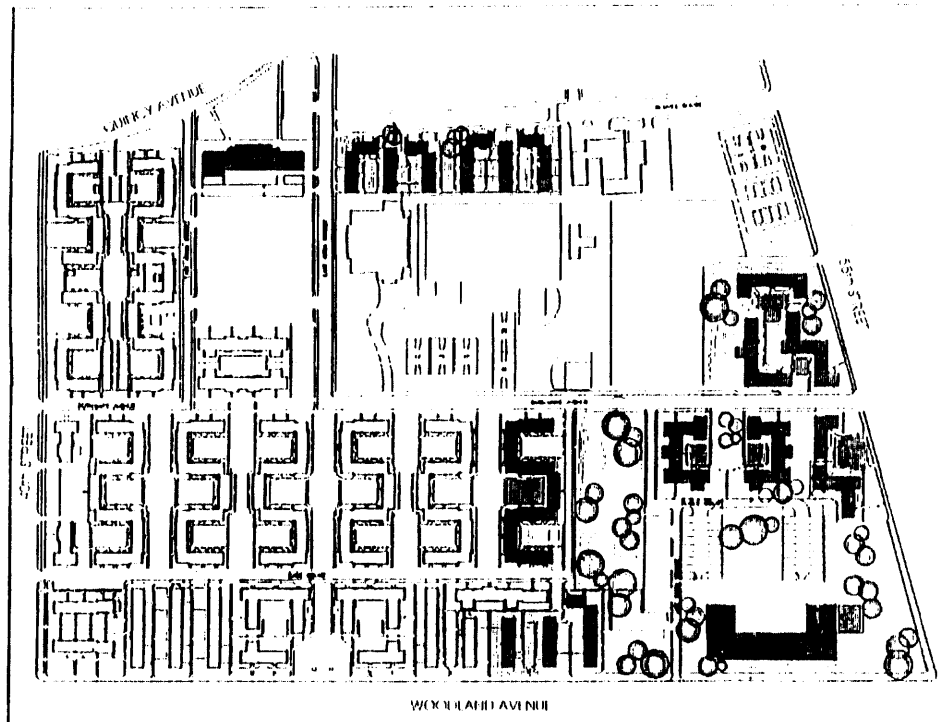
TOTAL \$ 1,000,000

*Includes 10% contingency

SITE IMPROVEMENT GOALS

- COMPREHENSIVE LANDSCAPING
- CREATION OF AMENITIES, INCLUDING PUBLIC AND SEMI-PRIVATE RECREATIONAL SPACES AND THE INSTALLATION OF APPROPRIATE PLAY EQUIPMENT
- COMPREHENSIVE SITE SECURITY IMPROVEMENTS
- UPGRADE SITE UTILITIES
- DEVELOP COMPREHENSIVE TRASH COLLECTION PROGRAM
- CREATE A SENSE OF COMMUNITY BY DEFINING BUILDING GROUPINGS "VILLAGES"

Figure 18. King Kennedy: Proposed site plan.



SITE DEVELOPMENT COST ESTIMATE

1. Landscaping	\$ 150,000
• Grading/Seeding	
• Planting/Trees/Shrubs	
• Refurbish Exp. to remain	
2. Site Improvements	\$ 200,000
• Play Areas	
• Fencing, Bollards	
• Furnishings	
3. Pavement (Concrete & Asphalt)	\$ 250,000
• Concrete walk (new)	
• New asphalt paving	
• Renovate existing lots (seal & stripe)	
• Passive recreation areas	
4. Site Utilities	\$ 400,000
• Lighting	
• Storm sewer	
• Water distribution system	
• Electric distribution system	

TOTAL **\$1,000,000**

* includes 10% contingency

SITE IMPROVEMENT GOALS

- COMPREHENSIVE LANDSCAPING
- CREATION OF AMENITIES, INCLUDING PUBLIC AND SEMI-PRIVATE RECREATIONAL SPACES AND THE INSTALLATION OF APPROPRIATE PLAY EQUIPMENT
- COMPREHENSIVE SITE SECURITY IMPROVEMENTS
- UPGRADE SITE UTILITIES
- DEVELOP COMPREHENSIVE TRASH COLLECTION PROGRAM
- CREATE A SENSE OF COMMUNITY BY DEFINING BUILDING GROUPINGS "VILLAGES"

Figure 19. Outhwaite Homes: Proposed site plan.

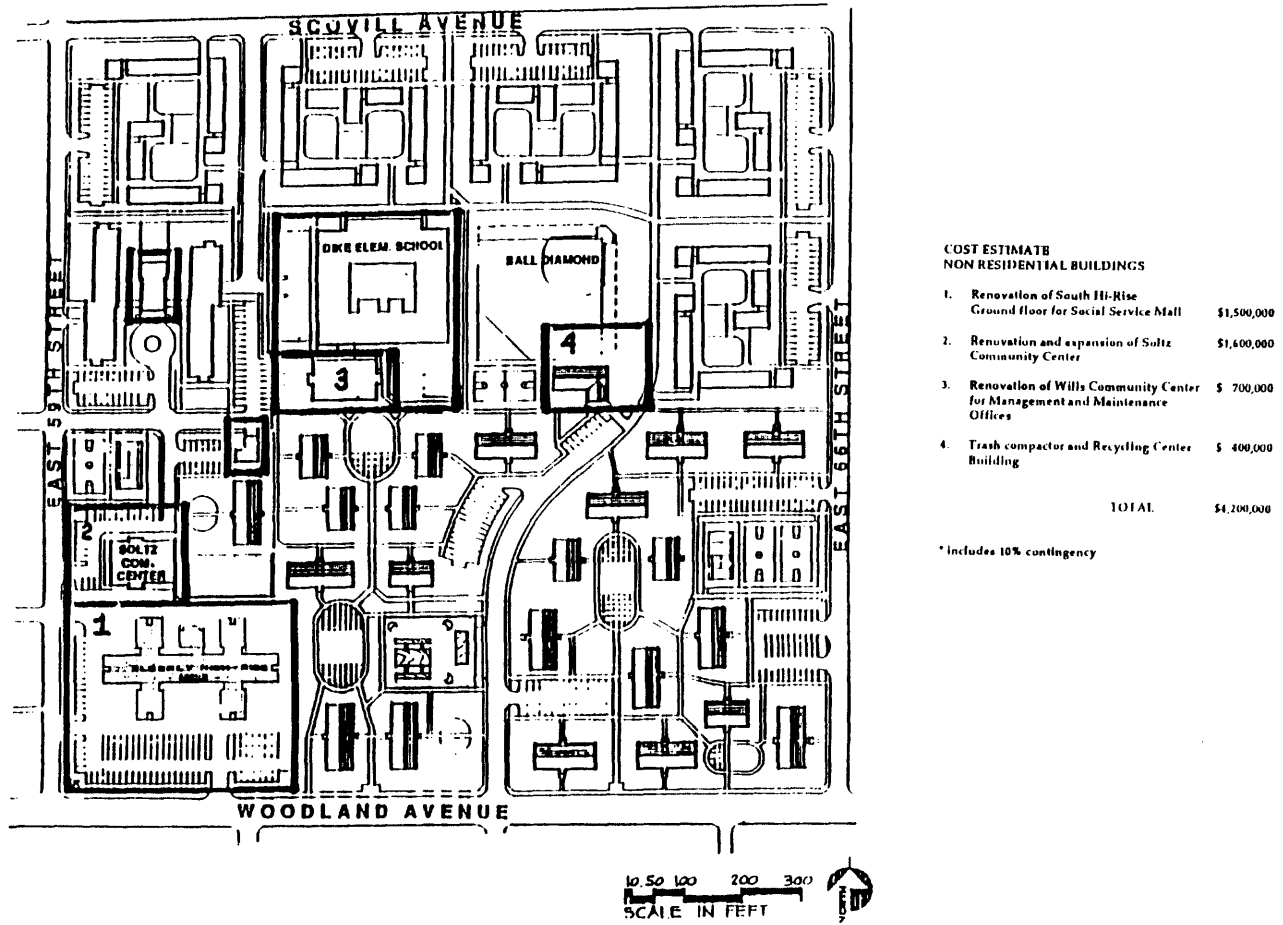


Figure 20. King Kennedy: Proposed community and non-residential buildings.

areas will be enclosed by 6-ft fences, and parking areas will be marked by 3-ft fences.¹³² Common areas within individual buildings will be eradicated: all public spaces in residential buildings will be removed and transformed into private areas.¹³³ Buildings will no longer hold common laundry facilities, and every unit will be provided with its own private doorway and stairwell.¹³⁴

Individual buildings within villages at each site will be modernized and repaired. The application states that 126 units at King Kennedy and 374 units at Outhwaite Homes will be made more "upscale" and "modern."¹³⁵ All mechanical, electrical, and plumbing systems will be replaced, and all buildings will be made to comply with ADA and HUD requirements. Interiors of buildings will be demolished and re-built, using "high quality materials."¹³⁶ Masonry facades will be repaired, and facades at Outhwaite Homes will be made to vary by building cluster.¹³⁷ "Hard exteriors" will be "softened" with covered entries and stairwells.¹³⁸ Overall density at Outhwaite Homes will be reduced from 374 units to 263 units.¹³⁹ It is essential that both projects undergo modernization, for King Kennedy and Outhwaite Homes are "anchors" of the Central area and their redevelopment "is essential to the revitalization of the Central neighborhood as a whole in creating a safer, more stable and productive inner city community."¹⁴⁰

C. Social Problems and Proposed Social, Economic, and Management Solutions

1. *Social Conditions and Social Problems*

The most discussed social problems in the application for the two developments are poverty, unstable resident populations, and violence and crime. Average annual incomes within the two developments are low; because of the collapse of the city's manufacturing base, unemployment is high. Poverty within the tenant populations breeds high adolescent pregnancy rates, child abuse, high infant mortality, low educational attainment, and large high school drop-out rates. A large proportion of residents are dependent on public assistance. People in the area need job skills, literacy training, and basic skills education. The resident populations are racially and socially segregated from the rest of the city.¹⁴¹

¹³² Ibid., p. 79.

¹³³ Ibid., p. 80.

¹³⁴ Ibid., p. 79.

¹³⁵ Ibid., p. 3.

¹³⁶ Ibid., p. 77a.

¹³⁷ Ibid., p. 102.

¹³⁸ Ibid., p. 79.

¹³⁹ Ibid., p. 102.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 75.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., pp. 73, 170, 16.

Populations within the two developments are also unstable. Tenant composition has changed over the years: "Gradually good, solid residents were displaced by more distressed households who were more vulnerable to drug abuse and other social problems."¹⁴² Many of the residents are young, single tenants; these people display high unit turnover rates.¹⁴³ Another large resident group is composed of female-headed households; these households "are at greatest risk to remain in poverty for an extended period."¹⁴⁴ As discussed earlier, the proposal notes the "unrestricted access of outsiders to the development," who bring crime and drugs to the sites. Violence and crime are some of the other major social problems at the developments: much violence is "wrought by gangs and drug traffickers."¹⁴⁵ Security against such activity is ineffective, and the atmosphere of neglect, despair, and fear keeps vacancy rates high and stable families away from the developments.¹⁴⁶

2. Proposed Social, Economic, and Management Solutions

To address the numerous social problems that afflict the estates, the CMHA proposes to create tight social units housed within urban villages, to provide a wide array of social and economic services within centralized locations, and to adjust the social composition of the estates. First, the authority will encourage the development of resident groupings through the creation of urban villages. The proposal describes the urban village as "a geographic cluster of households, businesses, and other entities linked by a complex web of relationships and a certain sense of connectedness, a feeling of belonging."¹⁴⁷ The proposal states that residents of villages are not isolated neighbors; instead, "they live and relate as extended family members."¹⁴⁸ The village concept is modeled, the application claims, after traditional life in Africa, where "every man, woman and child had a function which contributed to the overall good of the community."¹⁴⁹ Social villages will be built at the developments by requiring family members to participate in voluntary service for the community; such voluntary participation will help generate "a new sense of community responsibility."¹⁵⁰ Residents will become more empowered by managing villages themselves after establishing Village Councils.¹⁵¹

¹⁴² Ibid., p. 73.

¹⁴³ Ibid., p. 107.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 173.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 103.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., pp. 78, 80, 101.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 11.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 10.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 11.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 19.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., p. 5.

A wide array of social and economic support services will be provided on the project sites to help improve the education levels, job skills, parenting skills, and development of youth within the projects. A food cooperative, a laundry cooperative, improved health services, day care, and an improved trash collection system will be provided by the authority. The CMHA will house these services in new or renovated community buildings. The first four floors of the South high-rise at King Kennedy will be converted into a Social Services Mall; a renovated Soltz Center will become an additional multi-service center; and the Willis Center will be renovated to hold management and maintenance offices for King Kennedy. A trash compactor and recycling center, operated by residents, will be located on site.¹⁵² At Outhwaite Homes, an Enterprise Center holding a business incubator and a Youth Enhancement Services facility holding day care and Head Start programs will be built.¹⁵³ Comprehensive, coordinated, and integrated services will be offered in conjunction with community service projects to increase resident empowerment.

Finally, the CMHA will make an effort to change the social composition of the projects. Redevelopment efforts will target families instead of seniors and singles.¹⁵⁴ The authority will eliminate many 1- and 2-bedroom units on the site, and it will evict tenants who are delinquent on their rental payments. The CMHA states that it supports the "regentrification" of the developments.¹⁵⁵

V. The Housing Authority of Kansas City: Guinotte Manor, Kansas City, Missouri

The Housing Authority of Kansas City plans to demolish the buildings of the Guinotte Manor housing project and to rebuild a new project site with landscape buffers around the project edges. To discourage traffic from passing through the site, road patterns inside the project will differ from road patterns in the immediate surroundings. The entire site will be anchored with a multi-service/school facility at the project's center.

A. City and Neighborhood Context: The Project, Adjacent Land Uses, and Demographics

Guinotte Manor was built in 1954 and contains 418 units of housing at 16.7 units per acre. Units within the development are housed in slabs of two-story buildings oriented away from the site's main streets. The main text of the housing authority's proposal does not describe the land uses or conditions of the project's surrounding neighborhood; instead, an outside report commissioned by the housing authority analyzes the area around Guinotte Manor and is included

¹⁵² Ibid., pp. 82-83.

¹⁵³ Ibid., p. 104.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 4.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 182, 197.

in the proposal as an appendix. Written by McKnight Associates for the Housing Authority of Kansas City (HAKC) in April 1993, the report says that Guinotte Manor sits in the northeast corner of the Columbus Park Neighborhood, one of the oldest, most ethnically diverse, yet blighted residential neighborhoods in the city (see Figure 21). The neighborhood is cut off from the rest of the city by interstate highways on its western, southern, and eastern borders; a railroad line and "topographic landform" create a border on the north. Beyond the railroad line lies a small industrial zone and the Missouri River; to the west lies the River Market, a recently re-developed mixed-use and retail area. A multi-million dollar office development and riverfront park are under construction immediately to the north of Guinotte Manor and the Columbus Park neighborhood.¹⁵⁶

Columbus Park and its adjacent neighborhoods have experienced a decline in population over the past three decades, although the loss in population has been less severe in the last ten years, and has even stabilized within Columbus Park itself. Inside Columbus Park, 39% of the population is white, 27% is black, and 34% is "other races." The median age in 1990 was 26.8 years, the median household income was \$8,997, and the unemployment rate was 11.4%. The average unemployment rate of the neighborhood's adjacent areas was 9.2%.¹⁵⁷

B. Existing Physical Conditions and Proposed Design Interventions

1. *Existing Physical Conditions and Problems*

The housing authority documents extensively the deteriorated conditions of the buildings at Guinotte Manor, conditions which reflect "the myopia of the original planning, years of physical neglect, and a dangerously deteriorating physical plant."¹⁵⁸ The application states that "virtually every fundamental system of the development is in need of immediate replacement." Buildings contain hazardous materials, building exteriors are weathered and decaying, doors and windows have been destroyed from forced entries and gunfire, and sitework is cracked and damaged. The project has "no landscape," and it has inadequate parking for the residents. The "long, winding streets ... are difficult to police;" the project displays "grossly unattractive poor space utilization of the site" (see Figure 22).¹⁵⁹ The current density of the project "places too much stress on already weak physical and social systems."¹⁶⁰ The housing authority writes: "The unavoidable conclusion is that the physical plant of Guinotte Manor is beyond piecemeal repair and absolutely dangerous to residents. Total failure of the major systems in the near future is inevitable."¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁶ McKnight report, pp. 1-16.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., pp. 12-13.

¹⁵⁸ Housing Authority of Kansas City, Missouri, "Urban Revitalization Demonstration Implementation Grant Application," 1993, p. 8.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 24.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 24.

Illustrative Site Plan

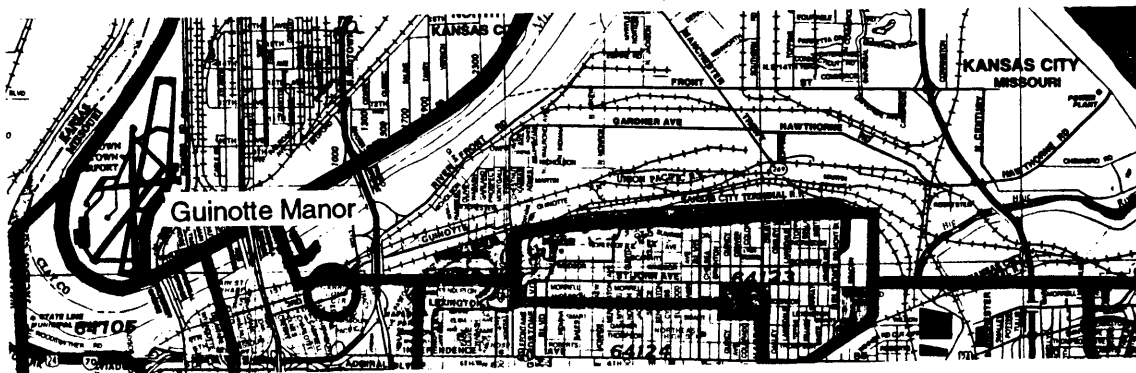
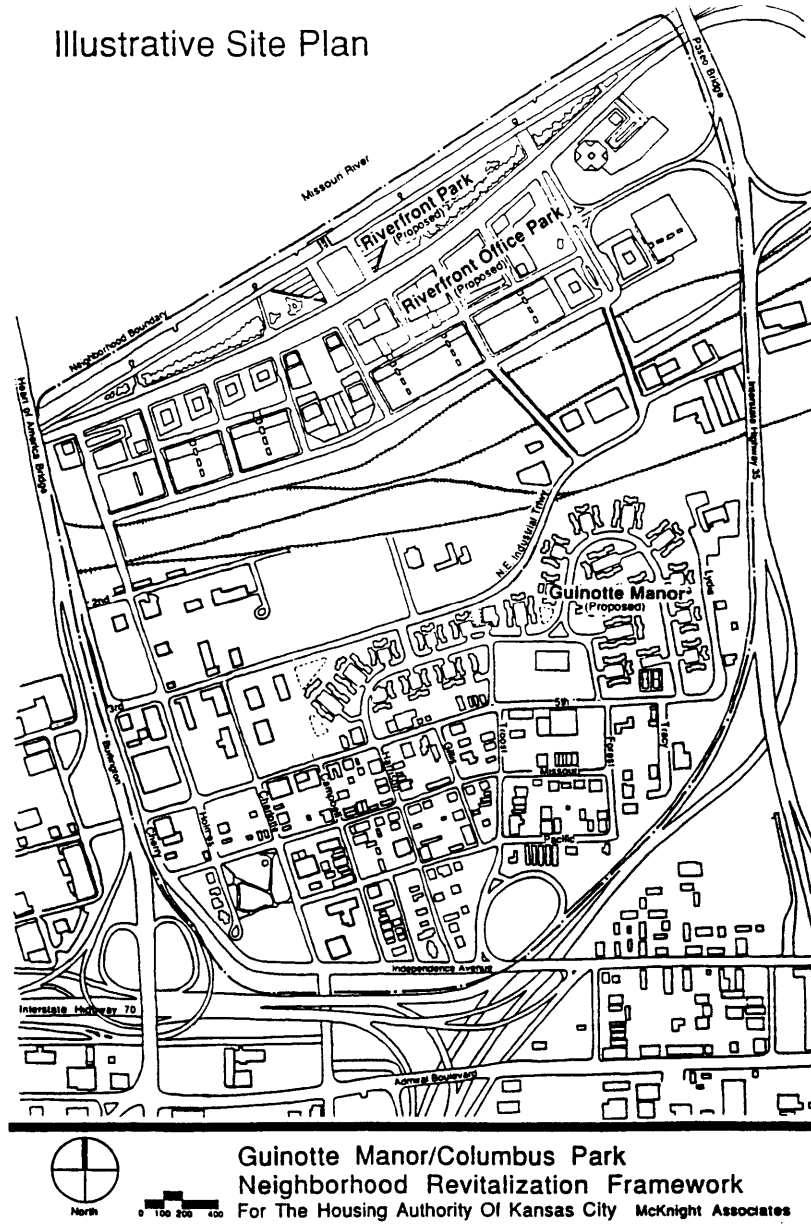


Figure 21. Guinotte Manor and Kansas City, Missouri.

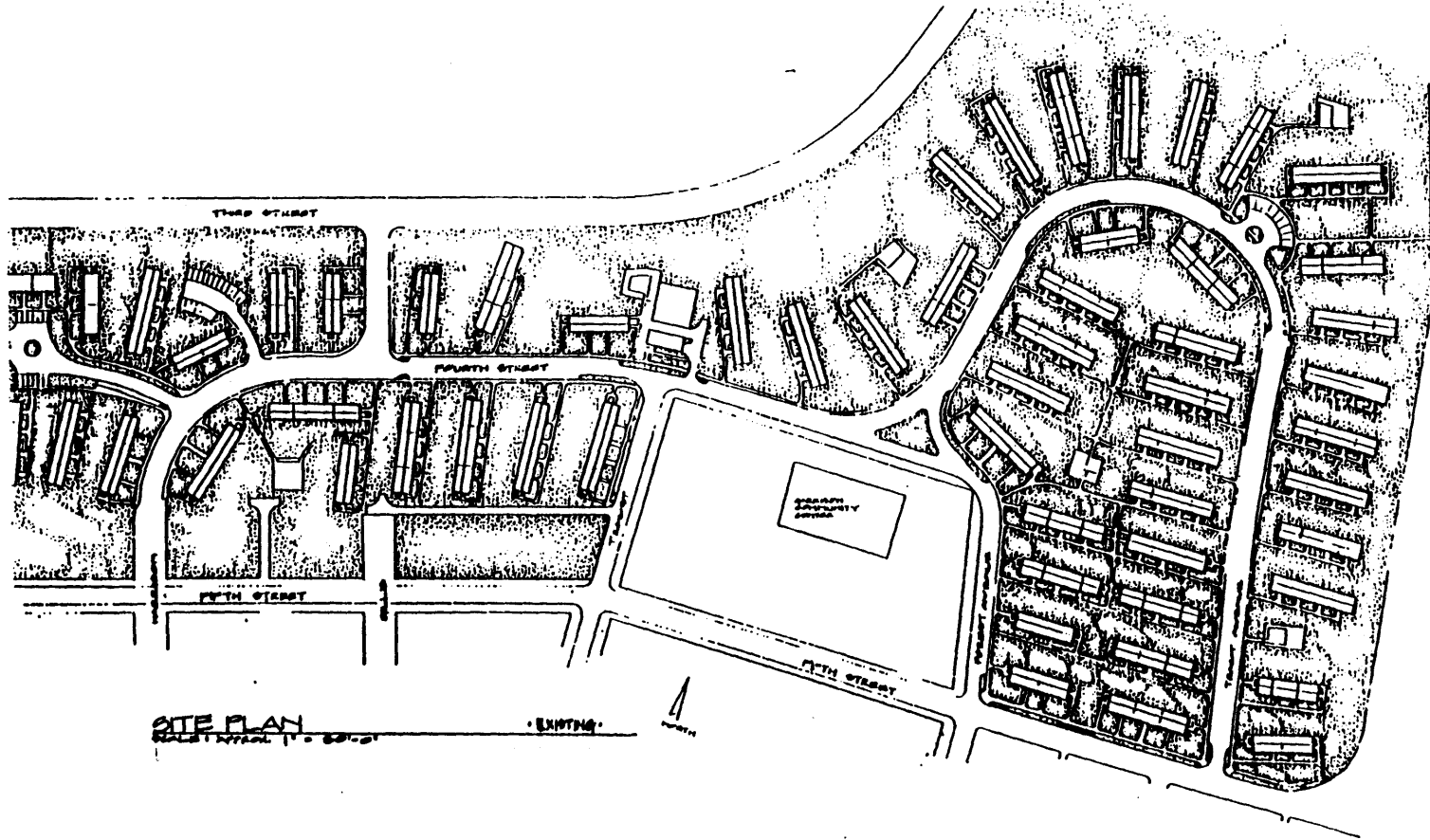


Figure 22. Guinotte Manor: Existing site plan.

2. Proposed Physical Design Interventions

The HAKC argues that physical distress within Guinotte Manor is so severe that the entire site must be demolished and rebuilt. The housing authority proposes to reduce density by rebuilding only 280 units on the site and by scattering the remaining 138 units around the city. "The opportunity to offer low-income public housing residents single family units in a variety of neighborhoods throughout the City is a critical and vital component of this plan," the proposal states.¹⁶²

The verbal description of other proposed physical improvements is general. The HAKC aims to:

- "create an attractive and functional landscape;"
- "provide amenities of conventional neighborhoods, such as play areas for children and a degree of private space;"
- create a "vandal and crime-resistant site lay-out;"
- build more "spacious dwellings;"
- build a new community center in the middle of the site;
- provide more parking;
- add "buffers" between the project and nearby industrial uses and highways;
- discourage truck traffic through the residential area;
- encourage "commercial activities which will serve only the neighborhood";
- lower population density within Guinotte Manor;
- make the site "aesthetically pleasing and marketable to wage earning low-income residents to foster economic diversity" (see Figure 23).¹⁶³

The schematic drawings of the proposed site layout and a rendering of envisioned buildings convey a more specific image for the redeveloped project (see Figure 24). The proposed curvilinear street pattern is left intact, even though the authority claims that winding streets pose security problems. The grid pattern in the surrounding Columbus Park neighborhood is not extended into the site. One- and two-story buildings are arranged around small common parking lots; these parking lots resemble cul-de-sac roads that stem from the main street running through the site. Backyard spaces are left undefined; in a perspective rendering, these spaces are filled with green lawns and trees. In the schematic drawings, the redeveloped Guinotte Manor looks like a low-density, low-scale suburban development placed within a greenbelt of trees and landscape.

¹⁶² Ibid., p. 33.

¹⁶³ Ibid., p. 26, McKnight Report, p. 8-9.

FATSON GROVES & ASSOCIATES, INC.

ARCHITECTS
ENGINEERS
LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTS

DATE: 11/15/88
SCALE: AS SHOWN
PROJECT: GUINOTTE MANOR HOUSING DEVELOPMENT

GUINOTTE MANOR HOUSING DEVELOPMENT
URBAN REVITALIZATION PROGRAM
HOUSING AUTHORITY OF KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI

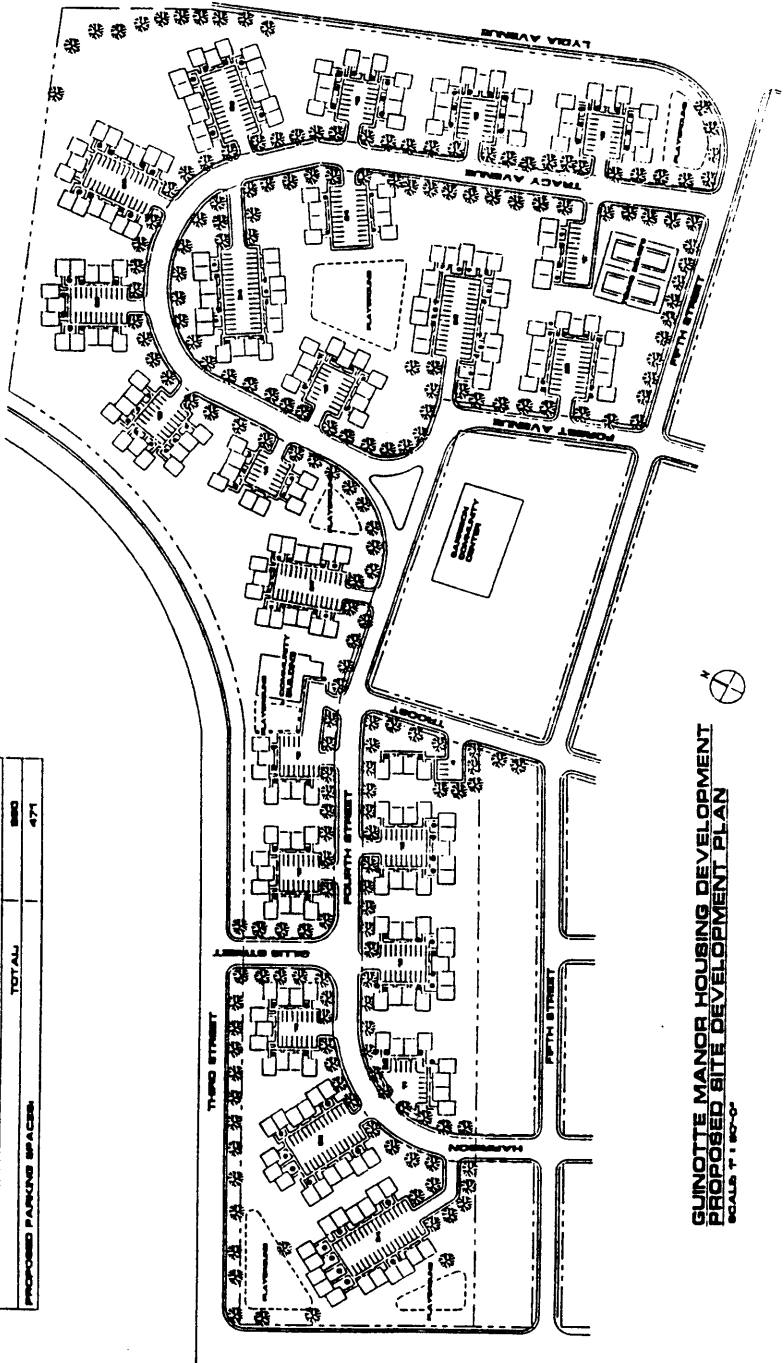


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NO. 72	1/9444732965739290427392" = 1' - 0"
NO. 73	1/18889465931478580854784" = 1' - 0"
NO. 74	1/37778931862957161709568" = 1' - 0"
NO. 75	1/75557863725914323419136" = 1' - 0"
NO. 76	1/151115727451828646838272" = 1' - 0"
NO. 77	1/302231454903657293676544" = 1' - 0"
NO. 78	1/604462909807314587353088" = 1' - 0"
NO. 79	1/1208925819614629174706176" = 1' - 0"
NO. 80	1/2417851639229258349412352" = 1' - 0"
NO. 81	1/4835703278458516698824704" = 1' - 0"
NO. 82	1/9671406556917033397649408" = 1' - 0"
NO. 83	1/19342813113834066795298816" = 1' - 0"
NO. 84	1/38685626227668133590597632" = 1' - 0"
NO. 85	1/77371252455336267181195264" = 1' - 0"
NO. 86	1/154742504910672534362390528" = 1' - 0"
NO. 87	1/309485009821345068724781056" = 1' - 0"
NO. 88	1/618970019642690137449562112" = 1' - 0"
NO. 89	1/1237940039285380274899124224" = 1' - 0"
NO. 90	1/2475880078570760549798248448" = 1' - 0"
NO. 91	1/4951760157141521099596488896" = 1' - 0"
NO. 92	1/9903520314283042199192977792" = 1' - 0"
NO. 93	1/19807040628566084398385955584" = 1' - 0"
NO. 94	1/39614081257132168796771911168" = 1' - 0"
NO. 95	1/79228162514264337593543822336" = 1' - 0"
NO. 96	1/158456325028528675187087644672" = 1' - 0"
NO. 97	1/316912650057057350374175289344" = 1' - 0"
NO. 98	1/633825300114114700748350578688" = 1' - 0"
NO. 99	1/1267650600228229401496701157376" = 1' - 0"
NO. 100	1/2535301200456458802993402314752" = 1' - 0"

PROPOSED SITE DEVELOPMENT PLAN

C 1

PROPOSED UNIT COUNT	
UNIT DESCRIPTION	NUMBER OF UNITS
ONE BEDROOM 1 - STORY (WHEEL CHAIR ACCESSIBLE)	81
TWO BEDROOM 1 - STORY (WHEEL CHAIR ACCESSIBLE)	84
THREE BEDROOM 2 - STORIES	123
FOUR BEDROOM 3 - STORIES	48
TOTAL	336
PROPOSED PARKING SPACES	471



**GUINOTTE MANOR HOUSING DEVELOPMENT
PROPOSED SITE DEVELOPMENT PLAN**
SCALE: 1/8" = 1' - 0"

Figure 23. Guinotte Manor: Proposed site plan.



Figure 24. Guinotte Manor: Envisioned view of redeveloped site.

C. Social Problems and Proposed Social, Economic, and Management Solutions

1. *Social Conditions and Social Problems*

The greatest problem within the Guinotte Manor population is extreme poverty and economic deprivation. Only 14.6% of households live on earned wages; the rest live on AFDC, Social Security, child support, or have no income. Many residents are illiterate, and many lack "critical thinking skills" as well as job skills.¹⁶⁴ Without child care, transportation, or supportive services, residents cannot access job opportunities or enter the work force in a "technologically demanding economy."¹⁶⁵

The proposal notes that 42.8% of the project's population is Asian, and 40.9% is African-American. Police avoid the development, and a lack of "cross-cultural sensitivity coupled with hostility between residents and the Kansas City, Missouri Police Department make it difficult to cooperatively fight crime."¹⁶⁶ A vast proportion of households (73.2%) are headed by single females; these households are vulnerable to people from the outside who enter the development and threaten the entire community.

Young women with families and no resources attract criminal elements to the community. Drug and substance abuse renders them vulnerable to exploitation by drug dealers. Prostitution becomes a source of money for drugs. This behavior erodes self-respect. Its effects are also felt in the next generation of children who grow up without positive role models and with low self-esteem and poor self-concept.¹⁶⁷

The HAKC writes that Guinotte Manor contains no "positive value systems" and contains few role models; in such an environment, young people "resort to criminal activity to indulge their material appetites and to achieve pseudo [sic] respectability."¹⁶⁸ School failure is high among youth, as is membership in gangs and "pathological behavior" among disillusioned young residents.

The proposal states that there is almost no legal economic activity in Guinotte Manor, and there are few job opportunities for residents. Management problems exist partly because there is hostility between Guinotte Manor residents and the Columbus Park Neighborhood,¹⁶⁹ and partly because the concentration of very low-income people in the project is high. The HAKC does not have the authority to select tenants with higher incomes or to establish rent ceilings to keep people with growing incomes in the project. Without a greater economic mix, the proposal suggests, the population cannot be managed.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 16.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 17.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 16.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 17.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 21.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 17.

2. Proposed Social, Economic, and Management Solutions

The measures proposed to address the social problems identified above include establishing an on-site case management system for each family, extensive education and job training services, and an on-site drug and health referral service. Programs that teach basic reading, math, and parenting skills will be offered, as well as programs that acquaint people with computers and new forms of technology. Youth activities and mentoring programs will be established.¹⁷¹

Most programs would be based in a new 10,000 sf community facility, called the Guinotte Manor High Performance Learning and Resource Complex, located in the center of the project site. Within the complex will be four centers: the Activity Center, with meeting rooms and offices; the Parents and Children Center, with Head Start and literacy programs; the Technology center, with a computer lab; and the Visual and Performing Arts Center. This complex will complement recreation and activity rooms in a renovated Garrison Community Center, already existing at the center of the site. The HAKC plans to use programs already existing around the city by providing residents with on-site day care and transporting residents to classes, jobs, cultural events, field excursions, and meetings in the larger community. The HAKC also plans to use more fully the W.E.B. DuBois Learning Center, a place that provides supplemental educational programs for students of disadvantaged families from around the area.¹⁷²

The HAKC plans to cooperate with a variety of groups and institutions around the city to provide services to Guinotte Manor residents. The Full Employment Council of the city will work with businesses, community organizations, and educational institutions to expand its existing services and to provide job training for Guinotte residents. The Economic Development Corporation, the Port Authority, and the Housing and Community Development Department of Kansas City will collaborate to plan for a supermarket, hardware store, and other retail outlets around the Columbus Park neighborhood. Rockhurst College will provide technical assistance for the design and implementation of an incubator program for resident-owned community-based businesses; the Kansas City Missouri School District will help design and implement education and skills-training programs for residents. The Lyric Opera of Kansas City plans to establish a performing company at Guinotte Manor, the public library system plans to build a branch in Columbus Park, and the University of Missouri at Kansas City plans to train residents as interns on community-based research projects.¹⁷³

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 37-38.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 37-38, 58, 80-84.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.* p. 34, 66, 77.

A pronounced change after redevelopment will be the tenant selection system and the tenant mix within Guinotte Manor. The housing authority hopes to gain the ability to attract and keep wage-earning families in the development by instituting ceiling rents, by recruiting tenants "committed to being constructive contributing members of the community," and by evicting residents "who persist in criminal activity or otherwise violate the terms of their leases." By making Guinotte Manor a physically more attractive development and by reconstructing the "social and economic infrastructure of the community," the HAKC hopes to "broaden the base of residents who chose [sic] to live there, including more wage earners in the tenant mix and increasing the rental income base of the complex."¹⁷⁴

VI. The San Francisco Housing Authority: Bernal Dwellings and Yerba Buena Homes, San Francisco, California

The San Francisco Housing Authority received URD funds to revitalize two projects in two different parts of the city: Bernal Dwellings (in the Mission District) and Yerba Buena Homes (in the Western Addition). Although the projects are located in different areas, the housing authority proposes similar redevelopment approaches for each site. Each project will be demolished and rebuilt as components of their surrounding neighborhood. The housing authority hopes to create residential areas that will blend in with the city fabric.

A. City and Neighborhood Context: The Project, Adjacent Land Uses and Demographics

Bernal Dwellings sits on the southern edge of San Francisco's Mission district and at the northern base of Bernal Hill (see Figures 25 and 26). Bounded by a four-lane street on the west and a busy six-lane street on the south, the project contains 208 units of family housing on a block of 3.86 acres, yielding a density of 53 units per acre. Housing units are spread among 12 three-story wood frame stucco buildings and one eight-story reinforced concrete building. Built in 1953, the project buildings are long, multiple-unit complexes in wide expanses of common space. Yerba Buena Homes was built in 1956 in the city's Western Addition and consists of 276 apartments in four low-, mid-, and high-rise concrete buildings (see Figure 27). The site occupies one full city block and most of another narrow city block; this project has a density of 77 units per acre. Two high-rise buildings on the full city block sit parallel to each other away from the street; each high-rise is flanked by mid- and low-rise buildings on either end to define common parking lots facing the street and a common play area at the center of the site.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 97.



Figure 25. Bernal Dwellings and Yerba Buena Plaza within the city of San Francisco.

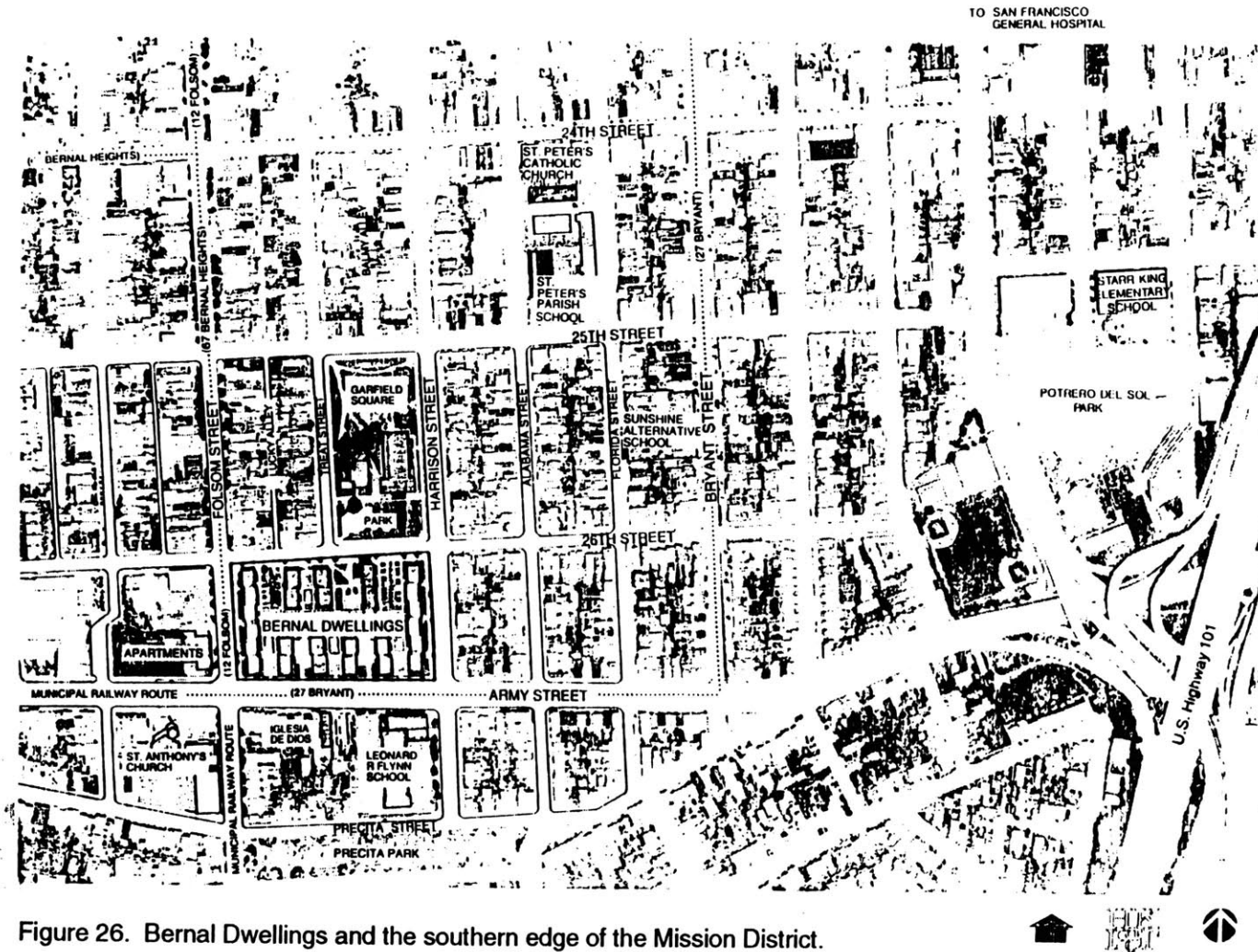
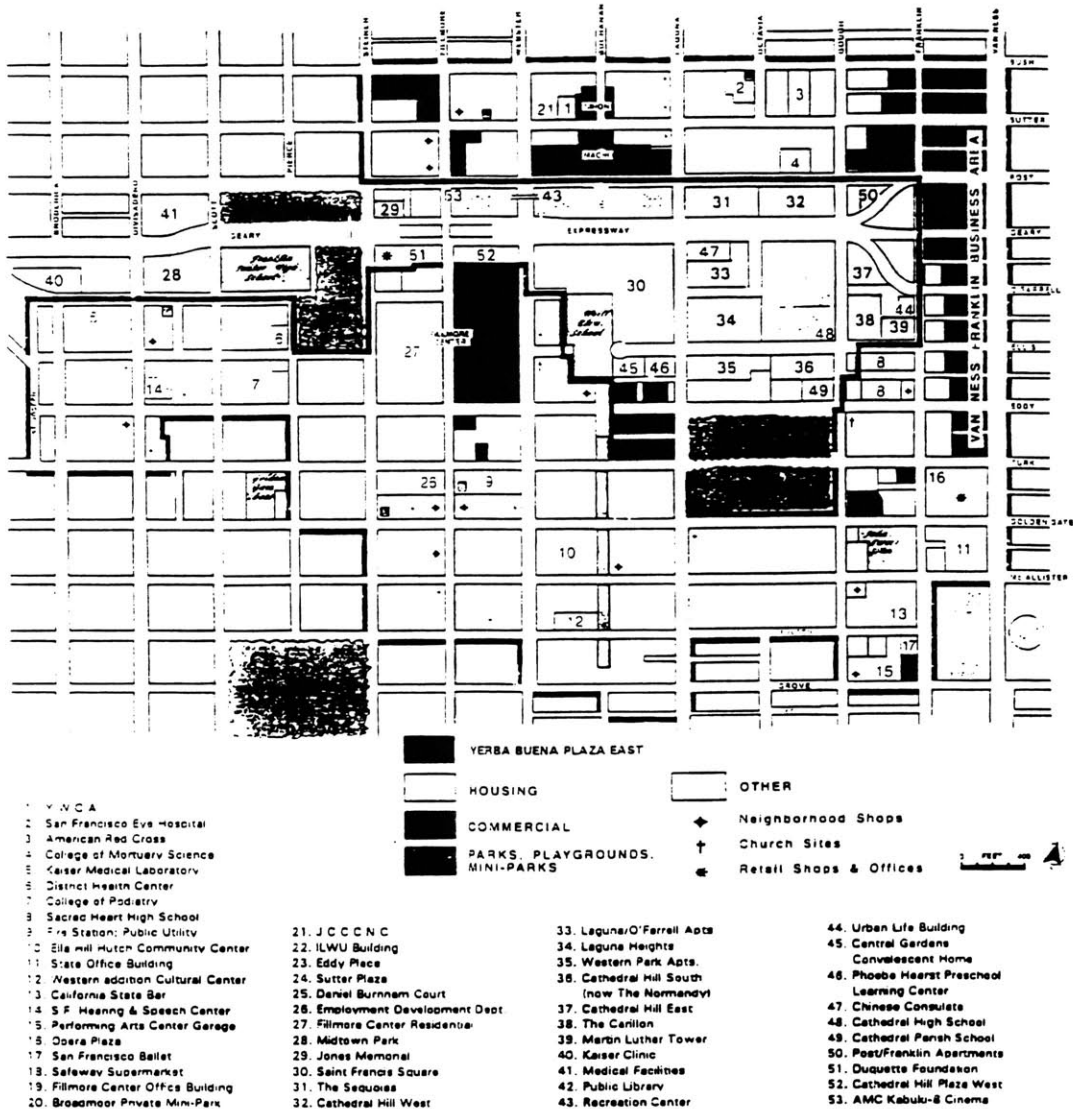


Figure 26. Bernal Dwellings and the southern edge of the Mission District.



WESTERN ADDITION OF SAN FRANCISCO

Figure 27. Yerba Buena Plaza East and the Western Addition.

The San Francisco Housing Authority (SFHA) writes that both projects are situated in a city filled with strong and vibrant neighborhoods. It says:

Overall, San Francisco and its neighborhoods provide a solid base for any investment in revitalization of the most seriously distressed public housing. Strengths abound, thereby necessitating little if any special treatment outside of Bernal Dwellings and Plaza East developments.¹⁷⁵

San Francisco as a whole, the application notes, is considered one of the most livable cities in the nation. It is ranked as the country's most ethnically diverse, and relative to other large cities, its population is well educated, highly skilled, and affluent.¹⁷⁶

The Mission District, directly north of Bernal Dwellings, dates back to the late 1700's when a Mexican explorer established the Mission Dolores in the area. The district today is a residential and commercial neighborhood, with mixed-use buildings lining the district's main streets and single family homes, flats, and apartments throughout the rest of the neighborhood. Half of the neighborhood's housing are single family homes and 2- to 4-unit buildings; 16% are publicly-assisted rental units for low and moderate income households.¹⁷⁷ Latinos comprise 52 % of the population, whites represent 32%, African Americans represent 4.3%, and all other groups are 2%. The neighborhood suffered increased poverty and physical deterioration in the 1960's as its middle class population left for the suburbs; poverty, overcrowding, traffic, and crime are all problems which remain in the Mission. The district saw gradual improvement in the 1970's and 1980's, however, through private restoration of Victorian buildings and government-funded redevelopment efforts. Gentrification efforts continue to this day.¹⁷⁸

The neighborhood of Yerba Buena East, the Western Addition, is located west of Van Ness Avenue and directly south of the wealthy Pacific Heights neighborhood. The area experienced significant redevelopment over the past several decades, when old homes and neighborhood retail buildings were removed and large mixed-use residential and commercial shopping districts were built. Today, the area is primarily residential, with commercial space, social service space, and a number of city parks and playgrounds. Directly to the east of the project lies the Jefferson Square Park; to the west and south lie publicly-assisted rental row houses and town-house units. Further to the west lies Fillmore Street, a busy commercial avenue with a 150,000 sf mixed-use shopping development; further still to the west is the former Yerba Buena West development, a public housing project very similar to Yerba Buena East which the SFHA

¹⁷⁵ San Francisco Housing Authority, application for an Implementation Grant for Urban Revitalization Demonstration (URD) funding, p. 23.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., pp. 24-25.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 28.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., pp. 27-28.

demolished and rebuilt into the low-story Robert B. Pitts Plaza.¹⁷⁹ The population throughout the Western Addition consists of seniors and families of moderate and low-income levels; 45.5% of the population is white, 30.5% is African-American, 16.2% is Asian, 7.1% is Latino.¹⁸⁰

B. Existing Physical Conditions and Proposed Design Interventions

1. *Existing Physical Conditions and Problems*

According to the housing authority, the most serious problems for the two projects lie not with their surrounding neighborhoods, but with "the immediate on site environments, the existing buildings and site configurations."¹⁸¹ The poor site design of the projects emerged from designers' ignorance: "the building types and site plans date from an era when the dynamics of security in residential neighborhoods was not well understood."¹⁸² These designers did not realize that buildings should not be oriented away from city streets, that high-rise buildings were not appropriate for families, and that high density in developments could not be mitigated by open spaces on the ground.

The two projects were designed with too much open space; this space not only differs from open space patterns in surrounding city blocks, but also allows too much access through the project sites. The "unsecured perimeter" of the bordering streets and large common parking lots allow outsiders to enter the project interiors. These outsiders bring drugs and criminal activity on to the sites: "common areas ... become loitering areas for drug dealers."¹⁸³ Because some open spaces on the site, such as parking lots, are visibly isolated, criminal activity can occur unhindered. In general, open spaces on the site are "unsecurable" and are thus viewed by residents as forbidding, frightening places.¹⁸⁴

Spaces within buildings are also too open. Every building at Bernal Dwellings has open access from the east and west sides; common entrances, exits, hallways, and stairs allow criminals to escape from police by fleeing freely through buildings. Access to roofs on high-rise buildings allow criminals to spot police from afar and to fire gunshots at police below. Common spaces within and outside buildings are not shared by residents but are controlled only by a few.¹⁸⁵

Buildings within the two sites are in a visibly deteriorated condition; poor structures not only are unsafe for residents but also assist crime within the projects. Building systems are old,

¹⁷⁹ Both the SFHA and the National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing consider the redevelopment of Yerba Buena West successful; the SFHA plans to use the Robert B. Pitts Plaza as a model for its URD efforts.

¹⁸⁰ SFHA application, p. 29.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 1.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 10, 13.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 4, 15.

damaged by age, damaged by earthquakes, and filled with hazardous building materials. Structures do not meet current building code requirements, and they are marked by graffiti and vandalism. Dilapidated buildings aid people in their criminal activity: holes in hallways are used to stash drugs and weapons.¹⁸⁶

Finally, the physical image of the housing projects contribute to their distress and isolation. The developments are "1950's style mass, dense housing in impersonal materials and buildings types" that have "stark, scarred appearances."¹⁸⁷ Because their scale, their facades, their density, and their orientation to the street is so different from their surroundings, projects are immediately stigmatized by others as public housing. This stigma hurts residents of the projects: "The sites, sharply contrasting with the neighborhoods, create a psychological barrier for residents who are already isolated by economic and social disadvantages."¹⁸⁸ See Figures 28 and 29.

2. *Proposed Physical Design Interventions*

To remedy the severe site problems of the two projects, the SFHA proposes to completely demolish both sites and to build entirely new developments. The housing authority will demolish all 208 units at Bernal Dwellings and will create new two- and three-story townhouses and flats. Units within these new buildings will be larger than current sizes to suit the needs of medium and large families. At Yerba Buena East, the current site will be cleared and new rows of two- and three-story townhouses will be built. The unit mix will be adjusted to hold more families (the number of one-bedroom units will be reduced) and unit sizes will be expanded. The overall density of units at both sites will be reduced; at Yerba Buena east, 83 units will be relocated off-site.¹⁸⁹

Both developments will be changed from inward-looking projects to outward-looking projects.¹⁹⁰ At Bernal Dwellings, a street that was closed off to become part of the development will be re-opened and extended through the site. A new lateral street will be introduced to carve four city blocks out of the project site. At both sites, buildings will be oriented to the streets and will thus face outwards rather than inwards. Each unit will have its own individual entrance and access from the street, and each unit will have its own back yard and "connection to private outdoor space."¹⁹¹ Parking will be placed directly in front of units on the streets; on some streets, parking will be staggered to slow down traffic. Houses holding larger families will be placed along

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 7, 15.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

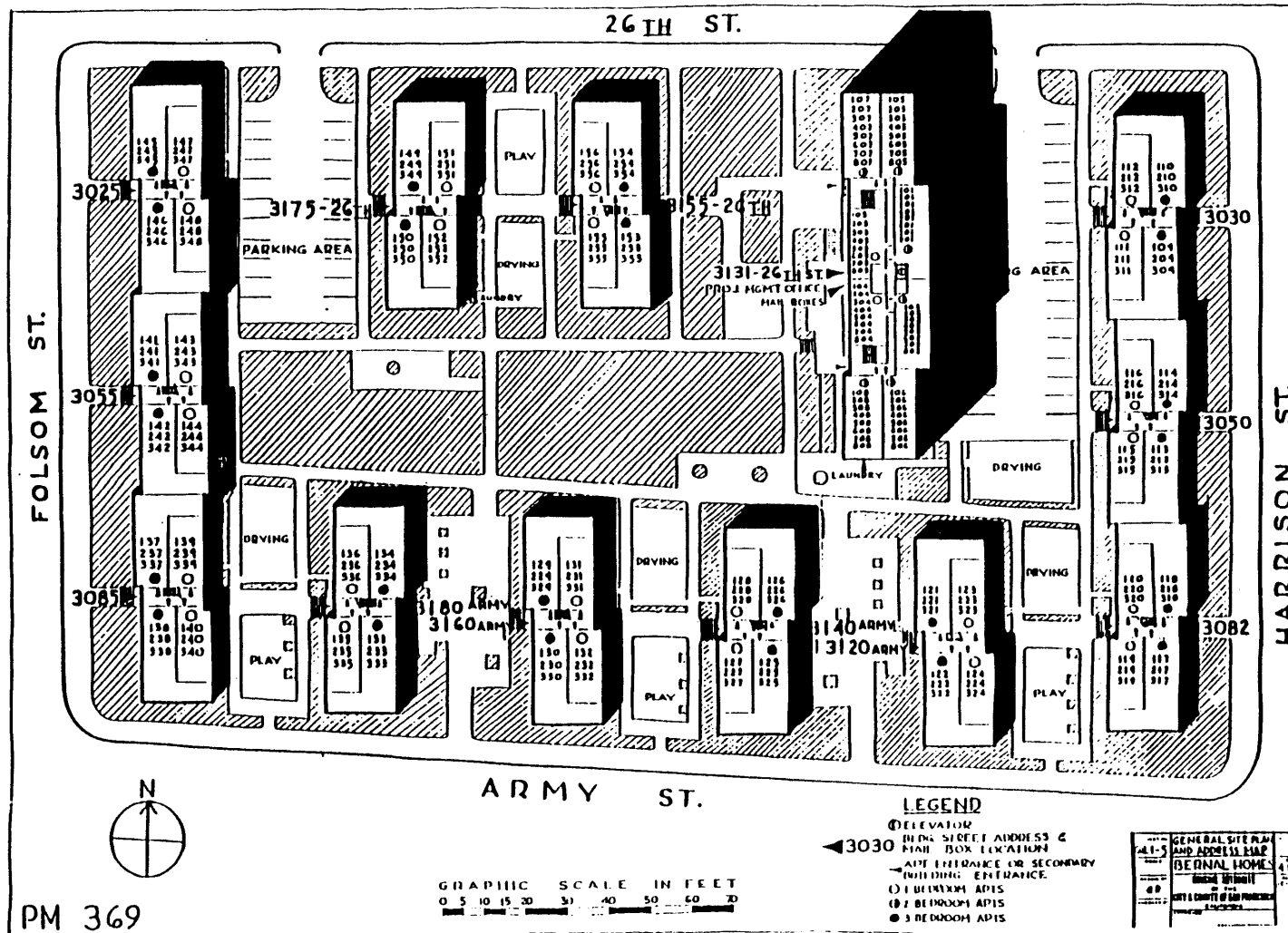
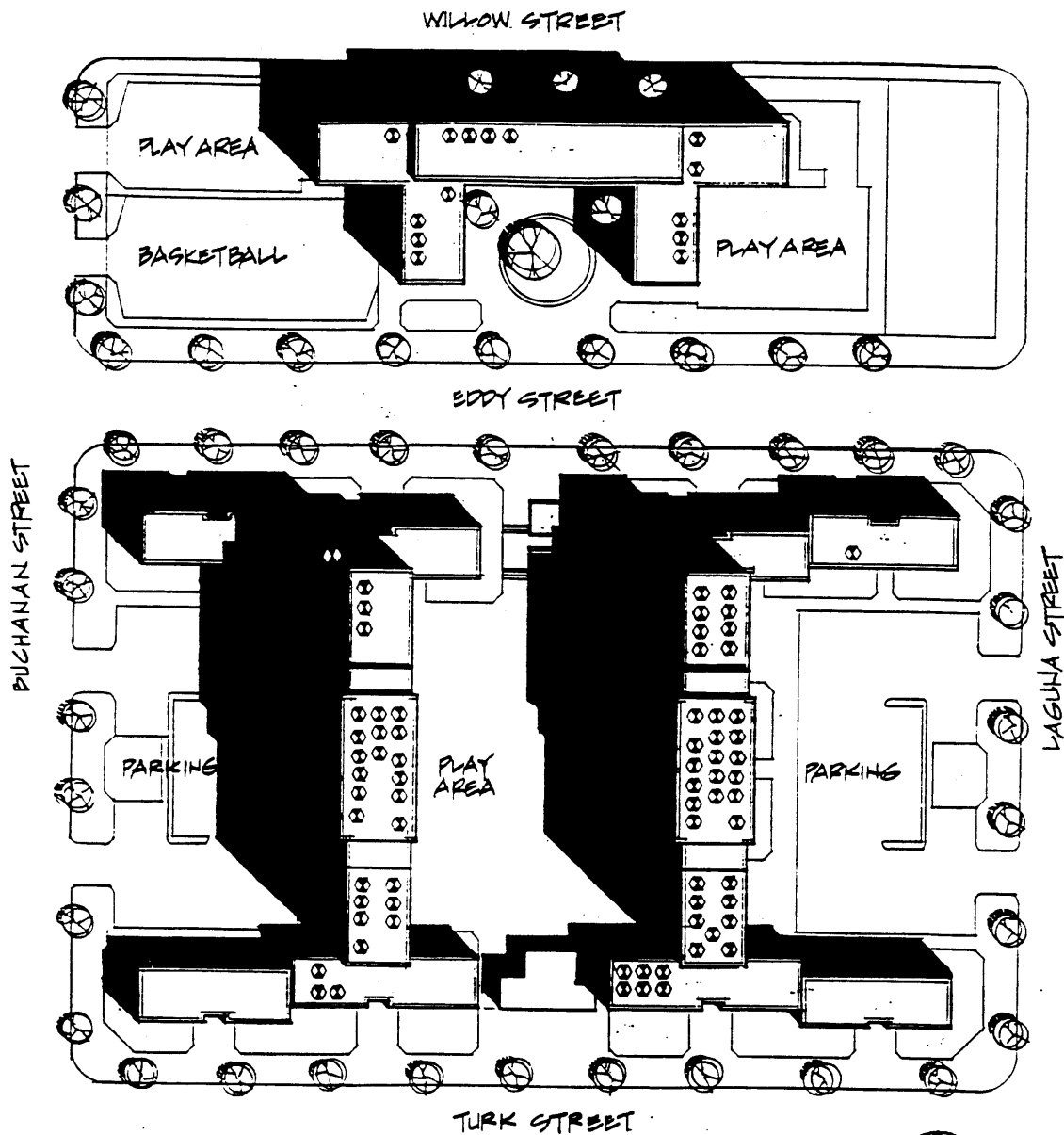


Figure 28. Bernal Dwellings: Existing site plan.



UNIT TABULATION

ONE BDRM	104
TWO BDRM	124
THREE BDRM	36
FOUR BDRM	12
TOTAL	276

⊙ VACANT UNIT

YERBA BUENA PLAZA - EAST

Figure 29. Yerba Buena Plaza: Existing site plan.

interior streets where there is less traffic, so that children can play in the streets. In general, the housing authority will try to create a city block structure for each development to "lead to a pattern of use that is consistent with the pattern of use throughout the neighborhood" (see Figures 30 and 31).¹⁹²

By re-organizing each site, the SHFA plans to eliminate all common spaces and to limit access to interior areas within the site. Vehicles will no longer have access to block interiors; the backs of buildings will contain private yards that are individually marked and collectively locked from outside access.¹⁹³ Access to roofs and common hallways will be eliminated. Common areas for residents will instead be provided in special community buildings at the corners and edges of the sites. At Bernal Dwellings, a day care center and community room will be located across the street from Garfield Park; at Yerba Buena East, a community space will be located across the street from an existing supermarket. These common areas will be small: the SFHA intends that residents of the developments will receive and use many supportive services off the project sites. Community facilities on site will be deliberately located near existing parks and city amenities to allow residents to mix with people in other neighborhoods. Indeed: "The physical location of these facilities promotes choice and self-determination in the decisions of residents to pursue on site or off site economic development possibilities. The location also strengthens links with the surrounding neighborhood."¹⁹⁴

Residential units adjacent to community facilities on the project sites will be designed flexibly so that they may be converted to hold commercial or economic activities in the future. At Yerba Buena East, the authority does not intend that the new developments remain as rigid residential blocks: future conversion to other uses will restore "some or the small scale services that characterized the Western Addition before redevelopment as single use blocks."¹⁹⁵ The immediate redevelopment goals of the authority, however, are to change the image of the developments and to create buildings that will match their environments. Both the vertical scales and articulation of facades will be designed to be "appropriate" to project areas. Building fronts will be provided with a "managed variety of detail," to give each unit an individual identity. Changes in site design will assign all spaces to the use of individual families, so that "traditional" outdoor activities (such as "barbecues, vegetable gardens, sand boxes for children, outdoor projects") can return to the developments (see Figures 32 and 33).¹⁹⁶

¹⁹² Ibid., pp. 7-8, 14, 17-18.

¹⁹³ Ibid., pp. 9, 15.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 16.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 8, 15, 17.

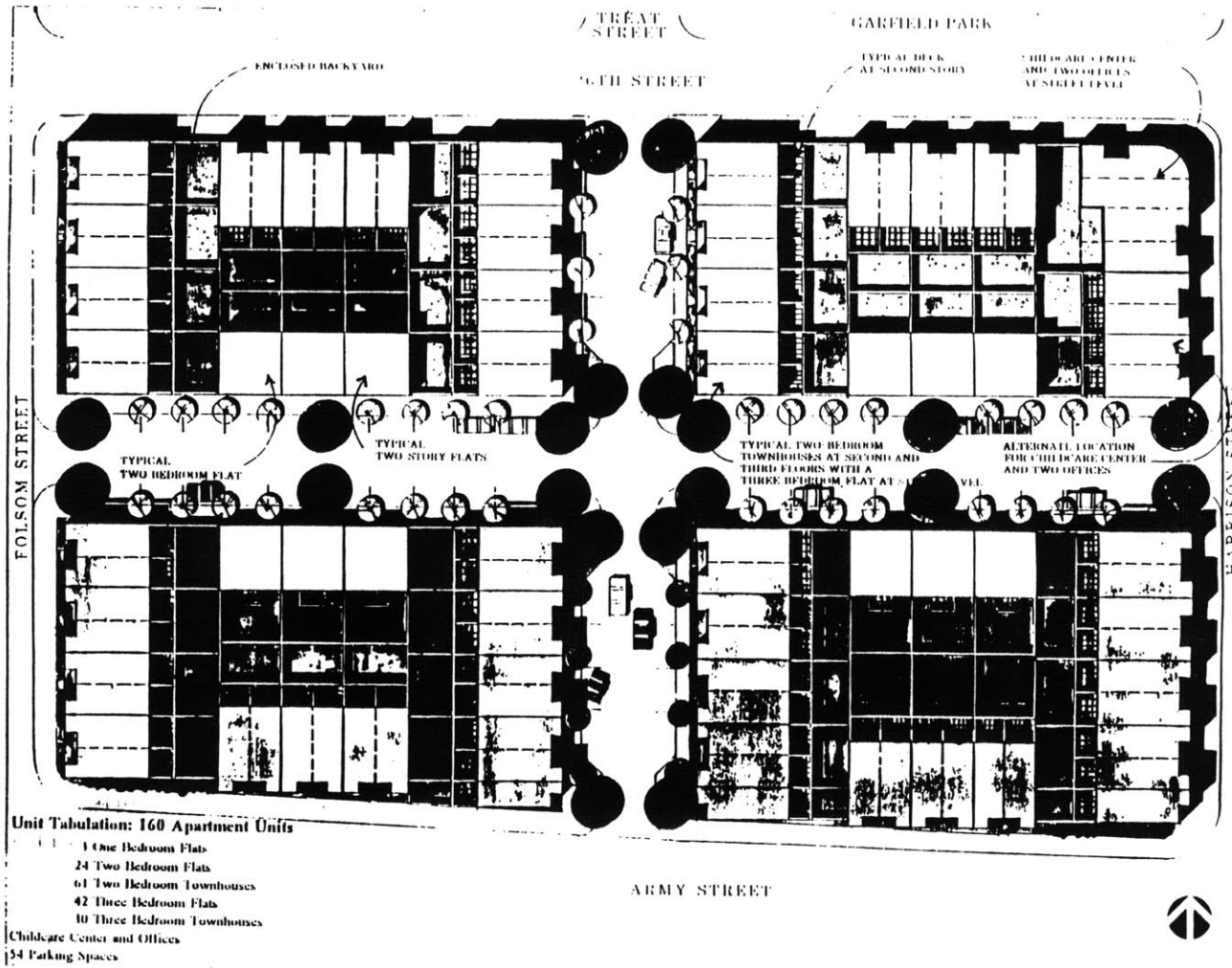


Figure 30. Bernal Dwellings: Proposed site plan.

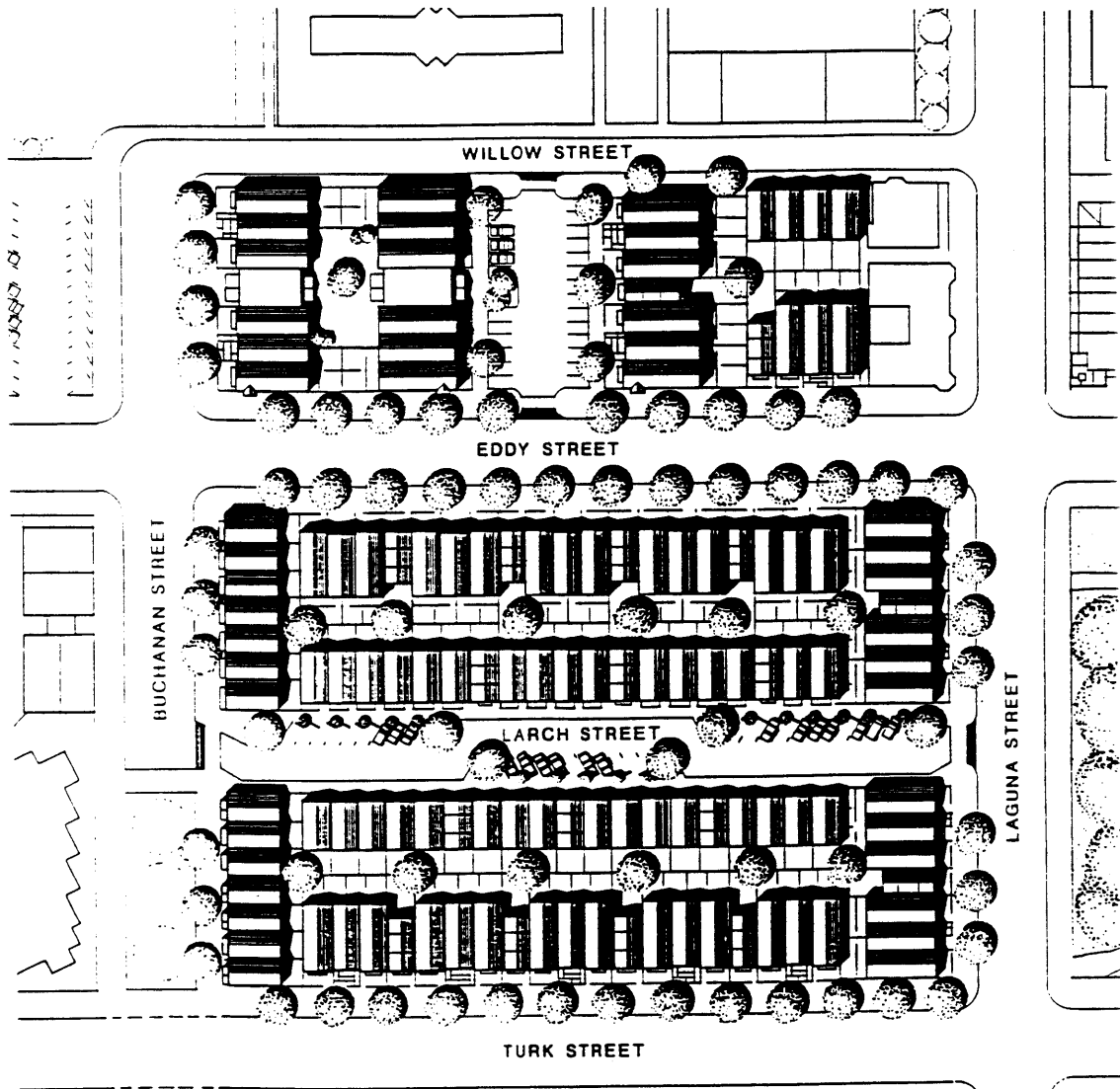
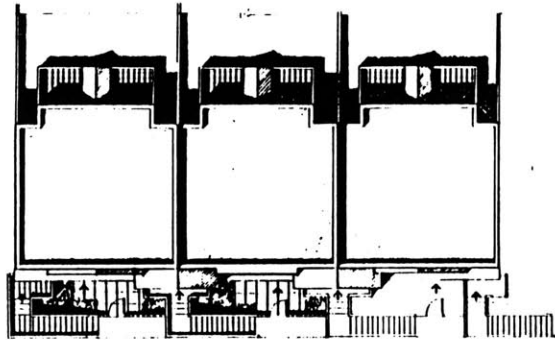
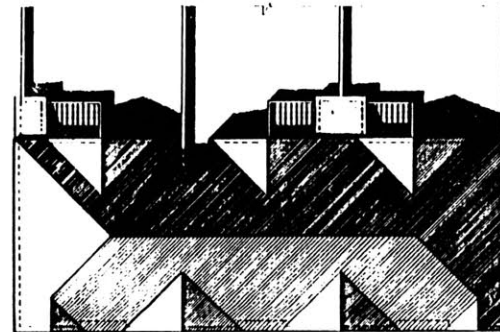


Figure 31. Yerba Buena Plaza: Proposed site plan.



THREE STORY FLAT/TOWNHOUSE
PARTIAL SITE PLAN



TWO STORY
PARTIAL SITE PLAN



THREE STORY
FLAT/TOWNHOUSE ELEVATION



TWO STORY
FLAT ELEVATION

Figure 32. Bernal Dwellings: Proposed Elevations.



Figure 33. Yerba Buena Plaza: Proposed street perspective.

C. Social Problems and Proposed Social, Economic, and Management Solutions

1. *Social Conditions and Social Problems*

The SFHA writes that residents at the two developments have among the lowest incomes and lowest percentage of working households of all the authority's public housing developments. Average income at both sites is approximately \$8,000 per household per year, and only 9% of households have employment.¹⁹⁷ Approximately 50% of the population at each site is under age 18, and over 82% of the populations are female-headed households. These residents need education, job training, job placement, and a variety of family -support and youth development services.¹⁹⁸

2. *Proposed Social, Economic, and Management Solutions*

The housing authority proposes to work with numerous city and neighborhood service organizations to provide support to project residents. City providers will include the San Francisco Conservation Corps, the San Francisco Recreation and Parks Department, the San Francisco Department of Public Health, and the San Francisco Economic Opportunity Council. The Precita Valley Center will sponsor multi-cultural activities as well as a college mentor program, the Ella Hill Hutch Community Center will provide job placement and job training services, and a group named Neighborhoods in Transition will provide community organization and empowerment activities. Other city agencies and programs will help residents locate technical advice and loans for start-up businesses.¹⁹⁹

The housing authority aims to achieve a "racially-diverse resident population with mixed incomes" at each development.²⁰⁰ To attract these tenant populations, the authority will engage in special outreach efforts by posting public notices, holding community-wide workshops, and staging development open houses.²⁰¹ The authority hopes to establish development-based waiting lists, and it hopes to allow a range of income levels to enter each development. Each site will develop its own lease and house rules, and residents within the developments will create incentives for resident employment. The authority believes that a mixed-income population will help stabilize project communities:

Income mixing would aid in the creation of stable public housing communities. It is anticipated that property abuse, and crime activity would be reduced and the chance for improved economic opportunities for residents would increase.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 30.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., pp. 31-33.

²⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 53.

²⁰¹ Ibid., p. 56.

These benefits would contribute greatly to the success of the revitalization efforts.²⁰²

In sum, the six URD-funded proposals display a variety of physical redesign and social service strategies for their projects' redevelopment. Boston's redesign proposal emphasizes re-opened streets and a centrally-located community center; New Haven's proposal emphasizes community facilities at the project's edges and cooperative links with the Dixwell neighborhood; the proposal from Charlotte envisions a reduced rental housing site ringed with owner-occupied homes and private development. King Kennedy Estates and Outhwaite Homes in Cleveland will be marked by closed urban villages; Kansas City's Guinotte Manor will become a rebuilt, buffered site anchored by a central learning complex. San Francisco's plans for project redevelopment include demolition of existing sites and reconstruction of projects whose buildings and sites match the city block structure of surrounding neighborhoods. The next chapter explores in further detail each project's approach towards project-neighborhood relations, and attempts to assess each proposal's relative degree of project-neighborhood integration.

²⁰² Ibid., p. 57.

CHAPTER 3 AN ANALYSIS OF PROJECT-NEIGHBORHOOD INTEGRATION

Do the proposed redesigns of public housing projects in Boston, New Haven, Charlotte, Cleveland, Kansas City, and San Francisco show that housing authorities across the country are focusing on street design and are embracing greater project-neighborhood integration? Franck and Mostoller argue that public housing site design is currently in its "third stage": attention is paid to the design of the street, to the relationship of buildings to the street, and the connection of project streets to surrounding city streets. "Neighborhood" design, they suggest, will be the next stage of public housing site design; the final stage might be one in which the public housing site, whether it be a residential enclave or a mixed-use neighborhood unit, no longer exists and housing authorities set out to build integral components of the larger surrounding city. If the six proposals attend to the design of project streets, do they take similar approaches? If the proposals aim for greater integration with project neighborhoods, do they display common understandings of "neighborhood" and "integration"? Do they differentiate between physical and social integration, or do they suggest that one will bring the other?

This chapter examines the proposed redesigns of the six URD-funded redevelopment schemes to evaluate integrationist claims, to assess whether public housing site design across the country is indeed moving towards greater project-neighborhood integration, and to explore what such project-neighborhood integration might entail. The descriptions of the six proposals in Chapter 2 and the ideas of different urban theorists in Chapter 1 suggest a number of physical dimensions of a project's redesign that might affect a project's physical relationship with its surrounding neighborhood. The existing physical attributes of the URD-funded projects and the proposed redesigns outlined in the applications are compared along the different dimensions to measure projects' existing and envisioned physical integration levels with surrounding neighborhoods. These different physical dimensions often overlap; they may be only some of the elements that contribute to physical integration of project and neighborhood, and they may have indirect or unpredictable effects on social integration. These dimensions are:

- treatment of streets,
- treatment of open space,
- treatment of defensible space,
- proposed boundaries within and around project sites,
- treatment of project edges,
- type and location of community facilities,
- type and location of non-residential uses.

Three additional physical dimensions, composites of some of the previous dimensions, are also explored. These dimensions are:

- physical connections between project and neighborhood,
- project site orientation,
- image of the project site.

Each of these dimensions are now examined in turn across the six URD applications.

I. Dimensions of Project-Neighborhood Integration

1. Treatment of **STREETS**. Streets are physical spaces that link different areas and channel human movement from one point to another. Streets can physically integrate different spaces by connecting them and by helping to form continuous flows of those spaces. Long, straight streets, Hillier's writings suggest, give people views of distant areas to help people integrate different city parts in their own minds. Jacobs argues that as physical entities, streets promote social integration if they contain uses or activities where people interact frequently. These different observations on streets suggest that physical designs with unbroken, continuous streets promote physical and social integration of the city. Discontinuous or closed streets may hinder physical integration; streets that serve vehicular traffic over pedestrian human activity, and wide streets that separate people on either sides of streets from each other, may work against social integration.

Table 3-1 summarizes the main problems identified and proposed changes to site streets in each city's public housing site plan. The top portion of the table highlights the problems associated with existing site streets mentioned in the proposals from each city. The proposals from Boston, New Haven, and San Francisco suggest that there are not enough streets: streets that once passed through the sites, but are now closed, hinder traffic circulation and "suppress community security." These statements suggest that streets bring people and movement into an area; people and movement are necessary to patrol the behavior of individuals in society. Similar to the notions of Jacobs and Hillier, these statements imply that streets are the life-lines of cities because they bring large numbers of people (and the pressure of society) into geographic areas. Once the presence of society is established in an area, individuals will behave in socialized, socially-acceptable ways. Strangers will police the space, and residents will police strangers: streets comprise the "axial" spaces described by Hillier that channel people and their social mores into physical areas. Once an area has an established socializing, civilizing presence (once the minimum of safety and social harmony is established), people can begin to live more productive, secure lives. Once the presence of society is brought into an area, that area becomes knit into the larger social framework of the city.

The Charlotte, Cleveland, and Kansas City proposals interpret streets and their uses differently: streets themselves are problematic. Streets "bisect and divide the site": streets are

Table 3-1

Treatment of STREETS	Boston	New Haven	Charlotte	Cleveland	Kansas City	San Francisco
Problems associated with existing streets:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> closed streets prevent the site's integration with the surrounding neighborhood 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> inadequate vehicular circulation & parking; congestion & security problems result 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> streets too wide & busy streets bisect and divide the site; act as physical barriers for residents major and minor streets bound the site's dispersed units; streets inhibit sense of community 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> sidewalk system is "rigid" penetration of public streets into the site makes security difficult 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> long winding streets are difficult to police 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> unsecured perimeter of bordering streets allows people to enter project interiors dead-end streets suppress community security
Proposed street changes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> reintroduce street system: create 2-way & 1-way minor streets buildings should front on streets identify street addresses open through-streets to connect with surrounding community narrow and angle streets to slow traffic create a grid street pattern to help create spatial hierarchies of public & private space build pedestrian patterns to follow streets streets to be used for parking, socializing, play 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> restore through streets to integrate Elm Haven with Dixwell widen streets to a min. 25 ft to hold street parking and one-way traffic 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> reduce number of street lanes on major streets from 4 to 2 build landscaped road medians to highlight residential quality 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> build tall fencing to block non-resident traffic from passing through the site 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> "discourage" truck traffic from passing through the site <p><i>(as seen in the drawings:)</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> maintain the main curvilinear street build housing around cul-de-sac parking areas 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> re-open streets create new through-streets place parking on streets stagger parking to slow traffic place larger family units on quieter, interior streets orient buildings to streets

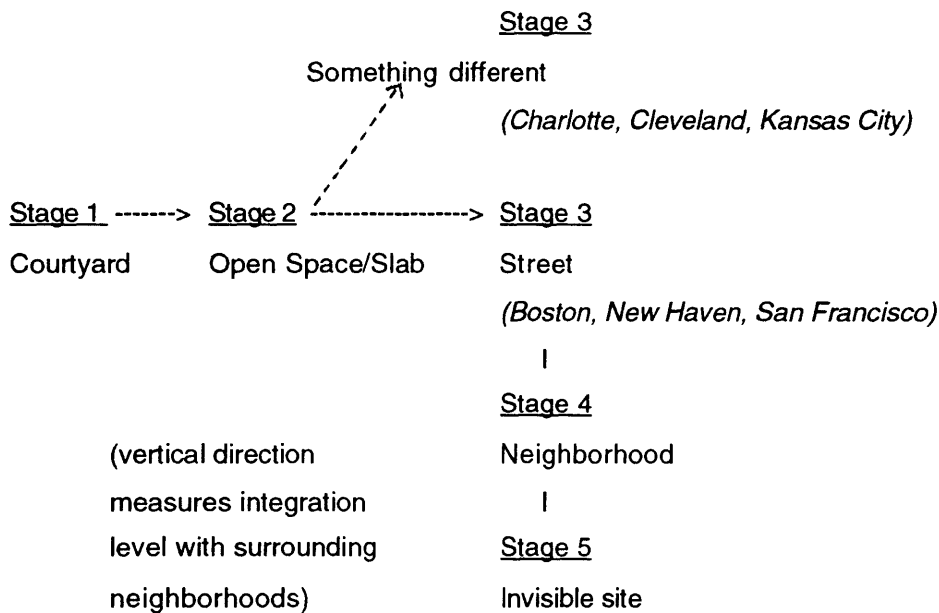
not viewed as conduits of people who interact and form social connections within streets spaces. Instead, streets are blank, perhaps empty, perhaps filled with rushing motorized vehicles that block people on either sides of the streets from forming human connections. Streets are also too wide and busy: their penetration through project sites hinders resident security. The human traffic that is viewed as positive and civilizing in the other three cities is viewed as an environmental nuisance and as dangerous in Charlotte and Cleveland. People who enter areas through streets do not civilize those areas, but threaten them. Echoing Poyner's views, these proposals imply that human access by outside people is harmful. When the access lanes are long and winding (as in Kansas City), the capture of dangerous elements becomes more difficult.

It is clear from the proposals' statements on streets that a common attitude toward streets is not shared. There are at least two conflicting attitudes towards streets taken by the different cities. One attitude, following Franck and Mostoller's predictions, espouses the street, its potentially positive social life, and the potential of large numbers of people to interact productively and harmoniously. The other attitude is suspicious of strangers and large numbers of people that may have access through streets to residential areas. Accordingly, proposed design changes follow the different assessments of the street's contribution to the city. In Boston, New Haven, and San Francisco, project streets are re-opened; in Charlotte, Cleveland, and Kansas City, project streets are blocked off, reduced in capacity, or separated from surrounding streets by following different street patterns.

The two different attitudes towards streets suggest two different attitudes towards integration of project site with surrounding neighborhoods. The proposals that view continuous city streets as positive social spaces conform to Franck and Mostoller's characterization of "stage three" public housing site design, and they move in the direction of neighborhood integration. Those cities that view continuous city streets poorly disprove Franck and Mostoller's claims and suggest a different attitude towards project-neighborhood relations. If one were to create a scale of attitude towards physical integration of project site with surrounding neighborhood, based only on the treatment of streets within the projects, the scale might take this form:

PHYSICAL INTEGRATION SCALE	HIGH <----->	LOW
Condition:		
STREETS	<i>opened</i>	<i>blocked off</i>
	Boston	Charlotte
	New Haven	Cleveland
	San Francisco	Kansas City

This physical integration scale does not measure attitudes towards social integration; as noted above, streets can promote social integration if they contain uses that encourage social interaction. While opened streets in Boston, New Haven, and San Francisco may aim to promote social interaction of people across the city, blocked streets in Charlotte, Cleveland, and Kansas City may aim to promote social interaction of people within the closed site. If one were to follow Franck and Mostoller's model of site design evolution to chart the approaches and strategies taken to public housing site design, the chart might look like this:



2. Treatment of **OPEN SPACE**. The treatment of open space within a project site may contribute to the physical integration of the site with surrounding neighborhoods if the pattern of open space within the project mimics patterns outside the project. The physical fabric of neighborhood areas is composed of both built and open space; if the configuration of built and open space within the housing project maintains the continuity of the surrounding fabric, the project can blend into and become an integral part of surrounding neighborhoods. Open spaces can promote social integration if the spaces contain uses that encourage social interaction. Jacobs' writings suggest that large open spaces must be heavily programmed with human activity before such spaces will facilitate human encounter; smaller open spaces with concentrated numbers of people have a higher probability of encouraging social interaction. The converse of these different observations suggests that open spaces can physically segregate city areas if they deviate from existing open space patterns in surrounding neighborhoods, or if they break

continuous patterns of densely-built city fabric. Large, unprogrammed open spaces may make social integration more difficult if they become physical barriers between people and block social interaction.

Table 3-2 shows a general consensus among most of the URD proposals: open space is too abundant within existing housing project sites, and such space is detrimental to the lives of residents.¹ Open spaces are empty, undefined places that invite socially deviant behavior (like crime or inappropriate parking). Such behavior may occur because individuals have not been assigned territorial patrol over portions of the spaces (undefined spaces are "no-man's lands"), or because the interiors and perimeters of the spaces do not have a presence of people and society to apprehend deviant behavior ("isolated lots attract crime").

Because unprogrammed open spaces are generally seen as dangerous, most of the URD applications propose to eliminate large open spaces on project sites and to assign spaces to the control (or informal patrol) of individual dwelling units or groups of units. While each proposal plans to eliminate common open spaces within buildings (such as common hallways and entryways), the proposals plan to break large open spaces down into smaller forms of outdoor spaces within the redeveloped projects (see Table A-1, Appendix A). The proposal from San Francisco plans to eliminate all large, shared outdoor spaces and plans to assign these spaces to individual dwelling units. The proposals from Boston, New Haven, and Cleveland recommend some outdoor spaces that will be shared by groups of people within the project.² Charlotte's proposal recommends park spaces around the redeveloped site (See Table A-2, Appendix A). The proposal from Kansas City departs from the others by envisioning open, landscaped, unprogrammed back-yard spaces of the sort found in low-density residential subdivisions.

Without studying the open space patterns of the city fabric around existing housing projects, it is difficult to assess whether proposed open space patterns match patterns in surrounding neighborhoods. A truly accurate evaluation of project-neighborhood integration based on the treatment of open space would carefully compare project open-space patterns with neighborhood patterns for each project. Because each project is located in relatively large U.S. cities, however, one might roughly assume that building patterns around each project are relatively dense and that open, shared spaces are relatively small and few.³ Based on this assumption, URD applications that propose small site spaces shared by few people promote

¹ The proposals from New Haven and Kansas City lie outside this consensus; these proposals do not directly discuss open space within project sites.

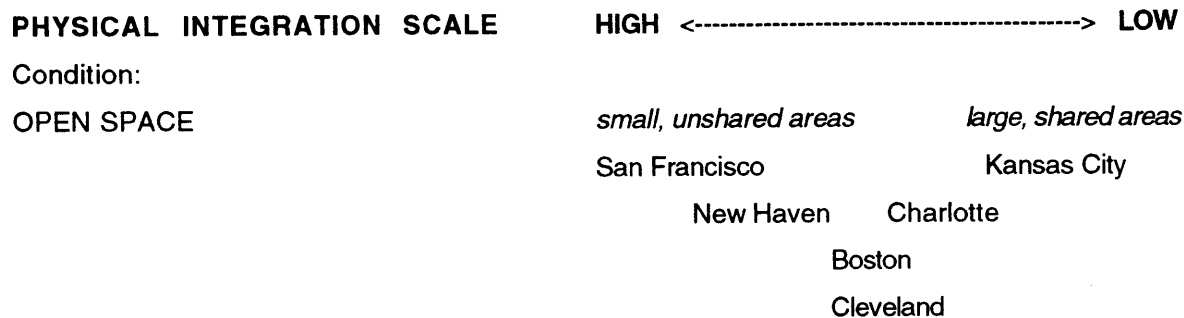
² New Haven's proposal is unclear about how open space will be assigned and defined in the redeveloped project because a detailed site plan did not accompany the proposal. The proposal's text states, however, that "enclosed courtyards" will be built within a redeveloped Elm Haven.

³ I assume that building patterns in the neighborhoods and broader city surrounding the projects are dense relative to building patterns in suburban and rural areas. Again, however, a truly rigorous study would examine actual open space and development patterns on and off project sites.

Table 3-2

Treatment of OPEN SPACE (on the site)	Boston	New Haven	Charlotte	Cleveland	Kansas City	San Francisco
stated problems:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • site desolation • all of site used for parking & circulation • exposed, gravelly site surface; barren, uniform, and dreary 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • undefined spaces: "no-man's lands" invite undesirable people to enter the site and to cause problems • perception that public housing equals public property 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • open common areas nourish criminal activity • no sense of enclosure or "village" space 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "unattractive, poor space utilization of the site" 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • too much open space • common parking lots allow people to enter the interior of the site • isolated lots attract crime and are forbidding, frightening places
stated solutions:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • define all spaces: create a spatial hierarchy of public streets, building backs & fronts, shared front yards and stoops, shared rear courtyards, private rear yards • build a new common green • define all areas with a specific user in mind 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • create pedestrian pathways • create seating areas, play yards 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • define all spaces • use landscaping and 3-ft fencing to mark yards, buildings, sidewalks • place all areas under the control of a family or group of families • eliminate common parking • remove all areas that can be considered "public" 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • group buildings around common courtyards • define grassy areas and parking areas with fencing 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • provide play areas & "a degree of private space" <i>(as seen in the drawings:)</i> • <i>build housing around cul-de-sac shared parking areas</i> • <i>undefined back yards</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • provide individual back yards • eliminate all common spaces

greater physical integration of the site with surrounding areas; applications that propose large, unprogrammed site spaces separate projects from adjacent neighborhoods. A rough qualitative ranking of the different proposals' project-neighborhood physical integration levels, based on amount and type of open spaces, might look like this:



Again, this physical integration scale does not necessarily correspond with attitudes towards social integration; open space can promote social interaction and (thus social integration) if the space is programmed for activities that facilitate human encounter. Highly individualized spaces in San Francisco's projects might isolate project residents from each other and from non-residents, or they might prompt residents to encounter non-residents in off-site shared spaces. Shared project spaces proposed in New Haven, Boston, and Cleveland may promote interaction among project residents, possibly to the detriment of interactions between residents and non-residents.⁴ Large park spaces in Charlotte and Cleveland can promote project-neighborhood integration if the spaces are heavily used by both project residents and non-residents; these spaces can segregate both groups if the spaces remain empty and unused. While the breakdown of large, open spaces into smaller spaces may lead to greater physical integration of projects within dense urban areas, this breakdown has unclear effects on social integration.

3. Discussion of **DEFENSIBLE SPACE**. The different proposals' treatment of defensible space, like the treatment of open space, contributes to project-neighborhood integration if defensible space patterns within the site match defensible space patterns outside the site. Newman argued that traditional patterns of building in cities display clearly marked zones of territory that are claimed and patrolled by individual residents. URD proposals that explicitly aim to create defensible space within project sites respond to the National Commission's call for defensible space design, and they espouse greater project-neighborhood integration if they believe that defensible space patterns undergird the city fabric of surrounding areas.

⁴ This proposition is highly speculative.

Table 3-3

Discussion of DEFENSIBLE SPACE	Boston	New Haven	Charlotte	Cleveland	Kansas City	San Francisco
<p>how discussed in the proposals</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • security is directly related to defensible space and the ability to define and control territory • create hierarchy of space on the site 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • create enclosed courtyards (defensible spaces) • create separate entryways 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • fenced-off back yards will help create defensible space • define all areas and assign to the control of individual families or groups of families • minimize "no-man's lands" 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • large project size undermines "space defensibility" • open common areas nourish criminal activity and allow for little defensible space 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • provide a degree of private space 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • spaces are unsecurable • design comes from an era when dynamics of security in residential neighborhoods was not well understood

Table 3-3 shows that while most of the proposals explicitly aim to create "defensible space," only Boston's and San Francisco's proposals imply that defensible space design on site will replicate universally-found design patterns that ensure residential security off site. Proposals from New Haven, Charlotte, and Cleveland suggest that "defensible space" is associated with small, well-defined, sometimes shared areas; Kansas City's proposal never mentions the concept of defensible space directly. Because most of the six proposals do not clearly define their understanding of defensible space, because actual "defensible space" patterns off project sites are not fully examined, and because most of the six say very little about defensible space in general, project-neighborhood integration along the defensible space dimension cannot be clearly measured for the six proposals.

4. Proposed **BOUNDARIES** within and around the site. Closely related to the notion of "defensible space" are the notions of boundaries and bounded spaces within and around the site. Like the treatments of open space and defensible space, the treatment of boundaries and bounded spaces on site contributes to project-neighborhood physical integration if bounded spaces within the project match (or even merge with) bounded spaces in surrounding neighborhoods. Bounded spaces that encourage social activity might promote social interaction and social integration. Bounded spaces on site that match bounded spaces off site might also promote a social integration based on similarity of life conditions. If people on project sites are assigned bounded spaces that match spaces assigned to people in surrounding neighborhoods, people both on and off project sites become leveled, perhaps unified (and thus integrated) in an abstract sense.⁵ These observations suggest that boundaries and bounded spaces on site that differ dramatically from those off site promote project-neighborhood physical separation. Boundaries and bounded spaces that hold little social activity, or generate physically-based social differences between people, may hinder social integration.

Table 3-4 highlights problems associated with existing bounded spaces on project sites and proposed boundaries for the redeveloped projects. As was discussed under the treatment of open space, most proposals view unbounded spaces as a problem. Some proposals, however, note boundaries that should not exist: Boston writes that massive project buildings create a boundary that encloses the site from the surrounding neighborhood; Charlotte writes that streets divide the site and prevent a feeling of connection or community across the whole project (perhaps, streets create bounded spaces that are too small for community formation).

Each city proposes different types and scales of bounded spaces within project sites. At one extreme is the proposal from San Francisco, which proposes to eliminate all common spaces

⁵ Admittedly, it is debatable whether social integration of a meaningful sort occurs when individuals appear similar to each other but do not necessarily interact with each other.

Table 3-4

Proposed BOUNDARIES within and around the site	Boston	New Haven	Charlotte	Cleveland	Kansas City	San Francisco
<p>problems associated with current space definition on site</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • no site fencing • no traffic circulation controls within the site • "superblock" building pattern creates a physical barrier between project and the surroundings 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • undefined spaces are "no man's lands" that invite undesirable people to enter the site • dispersed nature of units, often bounded by major and minor streets, inhibits sense of community needed for stable neighborhoods 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • common building entries unsafe • unrestricted access of outsiders to the development • lack of landscaping and sense of enclosure or village space • lack defensible space 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • unsecured perimeter of bordering streets allows people to enter project interiors • site common spaces and parking lots are too open; they allow outsiders access to interior of site
<p>proposed space definition on site</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • enclose private backyards with fencing and shrubs • enclose common rear courtyards and lock against the outside • define pedestrian paths with fencing, curbs; use planters to separate public traffic from dwelling units 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • create enclosed courtyards 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • demolish building units at the fringes of the site • build a park at the northern edge of the site as a buffer for outside homeowner units • define all site spaces (yards, buildings, sidewalks) with 3-ft fencing such that every area is under the control of a family or group of units • eliminate undefined common areas; restrict free access through the site and any sense of public space 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • cluster buildings, landscaping, amenities around courtyards to create a village-type defensible space • fence perimeters of villages to prevent non-resident through-traffic • enclose grassy areas with 6-ft fencing; enclose parking areas with 3-ft fencing 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • place landscape buffers between project site and adjacent industrial uses and highways <p><i>(as seen in drawings:)</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>back yard spaces remain unenclosed</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • eliminate all common site spaces • block access to project interior • provide each unit with enclosed back yard • all back yard units collectively locked to the outside

on the site and to assign all space to individual units and individual private yards. Boundaries under this plan are drawn around the basic social unit of the site, the family. Boundaries around shared yards or the project site as a whole are non-existent. Spaces within San Francisco's sites are either public (streets) or private (homes and yards). Similarly, Boston's proposal draws small-scale boundaries around individual family units. In addition, however, the proposal self-consciously creates a "hierarchy" of site spaces: it bounds shared front yards and shared rear courtyards to enclose groups of family units (creating "semi-public" and "semi-private" spaces). The proposal tries to erase the boundary ringing the site by turning building faces towards perimeter streets.

New Haven's treatment of boundaries is unclear because its design proposal is undeveloped. The proposal mentions "enclosed courtyards"; the conceptual modernization plan shows areas between building slabs that appear as shared spaces. The proposal seems to advocate boundaries around individual dwelling units ("provide separate unit entries") but it also seems to advocate boundaries around larger shared spaces. Cleveland's proposal emphasizes the creation of boundaries around clusters of buildings; it aims to create bounded "urban villages" within the general site. Cleveland's proposal notes that dwelling units will be provided with separate entries, suggesting that boundaries around family units will be drawn; the most important boundaries, however, are those that enclose groups of families together. Other shared spaces, such as grassy areas and parking lots, will be enclosed with fencing (rather than assigned to individual units). A single boundary around the entire site is not mentioned, although fences around village perimeters will clearly separate most project buildings and site spaces from the surrounding neighborhood.

Charlotte's proposal suggests boundaries around individual units, around individual front and back yards, and around shared rear lot-lots. Parks, recreation fields, and new publicly-developed homeowner units will act as a boundary between the public housing rental units and the surrounding neighborhood. Kansas City's proposal does not clearly specify where boundaries will fall within the site; it does mention, however, a landscape boundary separating the project from an industrial area to the north and from highways ringing its other three sides.

The different types of boundaries and bounded spaces discussed in the six proposals suggest two related, yet slightly different scales of physical integration based on the treatment of boundaries. One scale focuses on the boundary that might ring the project site: the absence of a clear site boundary suggests greater project-neighborhood physical integration; the presence of a clear site boundary suggests greater project-neighborhood physical segregation. The other scale focuses on the types of bounded spaces within project sites. Again assuming that neighborhoods surrounding projects are densely built, small bounded spaces within project sites

will match surrounding areas well, while bounded spaces for large groups of people will differentiate the project from surrounding areas.

PHYSICAL INTEGRATION SCALE	HIGH	<----->	LOW
Condition:			
SITE BOUNDARY	<i>open (absent)</i>	<i>permeable</i>	<i>closed (clear)</i>
	San Francisco		Kansas City
	New Haven		Charlotte
	Boston		Cleveland

PHYSICAL INTEGRATION SCALE	HIGH	<----->	LOW
Condition:			
BOUNDED SPACES ON SITE	<i>small, for individual units</i>		<i>large, for groups</i>
	San Francisco		Kansas City
	New Haven		Charlotte
	Boston		Cleveland

The placement of these cities along the integration scales is based on qualitative observations of proposed site boundaries and a rough weighing of types and amounts of bounded spaces on project sites. A truly rigorous analysis might identify different possible types of site boundaries and numerically rank them for their permeability levels; a rigorous analysis might also carefully compare existing patterns of bounded space off site with proposed patterns of bounded space on site. Like the other physical integration scales suggested in previous sections, the two scales presented here do not necessarily translate into attitudes towards social integration of project and non-project residents. Boundaries and bounded spaces of different scales can promote human interaction and social integration if they are programmed with much social activity; boundaries and bounded spaces can segregate people if they act as physical barriers between groups or if they stigmatize people as different.

5. Treatment of the **PROJECT EDGE**. Placement of uses and design of spaces along the project edge reveal in more specific detail the openness, the permeability, or the tightness of a project's site boundary. If uses, buildings, and spaces placed along the project edge mirror or complement the uses, buildings, and spaces along adjacent neighborhood edges, project design schemes may achieve a continuity of physical form (and thus physical integration) with surrounding neighborhoods. Alexander and Newman suggest that boundary spaces with uses

Table 3-5

Treatment of PROJECT EDGE	Boston	New Haven	Charlotte	Cleveland	Kansas City	San Francisco
description of current edge	<p><u>Outside</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> major medical, cultural, academic institutions main streets and public transit lines that lead to downtown residential neighborhood several subsidized housing developments <p><u>Inside</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> "superblock" buildings create physical barriers between project and surrounding area 	<p><u>Outside</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> CBD, Yale University, Science Park Dixwell Shopping Plaza residential housing community buildings, schools vacant site, once with Elm Haven high-rises <p><u>Inside</u></p> <p>N/A</p>	<p><u>Outside</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> CBD, highways, rail line a few single-family homes and subsidized apartment dwellings mixed use area; largely abandoned vacant lots, used for parking by CBD <p><u>Inside</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> school, church (at fringe; not viewed by residents as community spaces) 	<p><u>Outside</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> vacant buildings, vacant lots interrupted by tracts of public housing deteriorated retail areas <p><u>Inside</u></p> <p>N/A</p>	<p><u>Outside</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> old, diverse, yet blighted residential neighborhood rail line and industrial zone, below bluffs riverfront area, mixed-use commercial area, highways <p><u>Inside</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> undefined spaces; building ends 	<p><u>Outside</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> mixed use areas, assisted housing, redevelopment areas, major streets, city parks, retail (supermarket) <p><u>Inside</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> parking lots open areas
proposed project edge uses	<p><u>Inside</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> place elderly building at edge, across from hospital area place renovated maintenance building at remote edge of site building facades and building ends face perimeter streets <p><u>Outside</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> N/A 	<p><u>Inside</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> new community center on Dixwell Ave. building fronts and ends face perimeter streets <p><u>Outside</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> new neighborhood community center at northern edge future mixed-income community on vacant site 	<p><u>Inside</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> demolish units at edge; replace with new homeowner units build park on northern edge, between rental and homeowner units <p><u>Outside</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> new privately developed housing 	<p><u>Inside</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> fencing around village perimeters community centers at edges of villages <p><u>Outside</u></p> <p>N/A</p>	<p><u>Inside</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> establish landscape buffers between project and highways and industrial zone <p><u>Outside</u></p> <p>N/A</p>	<p><u>Inside</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> buildings facades face perimeter streets community buildings placed on edges facing existing city amenities (parks, supermarkets) edge buildings designed flexibly for future conversion to mixed use <p><u>Outside</u></p> <p>N/A</p>

shared by different neighborhoods help integrate the different neighborhoods; if project edges are designed to hold facilities that will be used by both project and neighborhood residents, such edges may promote social integration of the project with its surroundings. Project boundaries without shared uses or matching edges may detract from a project's physical and social integration with surrounding areas.

Table 3-5 describes existing uses inside and outside the projects' edges as well as proposed spaces and uses along these locations. In general, the projects in Boston, New Haven, and San Francisco are bordered by mixed institutional, retail, and residential uses. In Charlotte, Cleveland, and Kansas City, the projects are bounded by vacant lots or blighted areas.

Buildings at the project edges in Boston, New Haven and San Francisco face outwards towards perimeter streets and adjacent uses; New Haven's and San Francisco's proposals place community facilities and other non-residential uses within the sites at the edges across from city amenities. The active commercial or community edge spaces proposed by these cities parallel the active boundary spaces recommended by Alexander and the common boundary spaces discussed by Newman. San Francisco's proposal states specifically that placing such uses on project edges will allow residents to intermingle with outside neighborhood residents. Buildings in Charlotte's project will turn rear-yard lot-lots towards perimeter streets; the project edge will be marked by park areas or home-owner units. In Cleveland, village perimeters will be bounded by fences, and in Kansas City, landscape buffers will shelter the project from adjacent highways and industries. The proposals from these last three cities tend not to view the project edge as a social meeting place between project and outside residents.

Based on the treatment of the project edge, a project-neighborhood integration ranking across the six proposals might look like this:

PHYSICAL INTEGRATION SCALE	HIGH <----->	LOW
Condition:		
PROJECT EDGE	<i>matching edge</i>	<i>different edge</i>
	San Francisco	Kansas City
	New Haven	Charlotte
	Boston	Cleveland

San Francisco's and New Haven's proposals lie highest on the physical integration scale because uses as well as building design on the project edge match uses and building design on the neighborhood edge. For these proposals, treatment of the project edge seems to promote physical as well as social integration between project and neighborhood. Boston's proposed plan turns building fronts toward perimeter streets and tries to create building facades that look more

like residential building facades in other parts of Boston. Building facades may match an idealized image of surrounding areas, but they may not match actual surrounding edges. Kansas City's proposal places open space around its project site to create a project edge that is very different from surrounding edges. Charlotte's proposal tries to match the project edge with a future neighborhood edge by placing homeowner units along the project boundary; it is unclear, however, whether homeowner units and boundary parks will help the rental units merge seamlessly into a future neighborhood, and whether such uses will facilitate interaction between rental unit residents and neighborhood residents. Cleveland's proposal suggests fences around site villages, but it also leaves open the possibility that community buildings placed near village edges can serve neighborhood residents.

6. Treatment of **COMMUNITY FACILITIES**. The previous section began to suggest that community facilities can help promote physical and social integration of project and neighborhood residents if they are accessible to both groups and if they are used by both groups. The types and locations of community facilities proposed therefore become further indications of future project-neighborhood integration. As shown in Table 3-6, all proposals suggest some sort of community facility. San Francisco's and New Haven's proposals do not envision community buildings with comprehensive services on project sites: residents will receive most of their services off site with other city residents. Community buildings in these cities' projects will be located at project edges and will offer services for both project and neighborhood residents. In contrast, projects in Boston, Cleveland, Charlotte, and Kansas City will have large community buildings at the centers of project sites. Kansas City's community building will be a specialized learning complex that will probably cater to project residents primarily; community buildings in Boston and Cleveland, will hold services that might be open to neighborhood residents if those residents choose to use those services.⁶

The nature of a community facility suggests that the type of facility proposed can promote social integration, while the location of a community facility can promote physical integration. Shared facilities located at edges of areas can link and integrate the two physical areas; a facility located in the midst of one area may either help one area disappear into a broader area, or it may become associated with that single area and lose its linkage qualities. Because most of the services offered in the proposed community facilities appear to cater specifically to the needs of project residents, facilities at project centers are less likely to attract neighborhood residents than

⁶ The URD applications from these three cities describe the types of services community buildings will offer, but they do not clearly state whether these services will attract or will be useful to neighborhood residents.

Table 3-6

Treatment of COMMUNITY FACILITIES	Boston	New Haven	Charlotte	Cleveland	Kansas City	San Francisco
<u>Current</u>						
Type	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • large community meeting room, Tenant Task Force Office, Teen Center, Day Care Center 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • offices of the Resident Council, drug treatment referral services 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • small park and recreation center 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Louis Stokes Community Center at Outhwaite; Soltz and Willis Centers at King Kennedy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Garrison Community Center 	<p><i>none noted</i></p>
Location	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • dispersed on different floors of different project buildings 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • first floor of a three-story building at the edge of the development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • next to a major four-lane boulevard within the development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • at both the edges and centers of the developments 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • at center of site 	<p><i>none noted</i></p>
<u>Proposed</u>						
Type	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • build new Family Center to hold day care, youth programs, family support services, educational and job training programs • build new common green outside Family Center • renovate new Maintenance Building with community workshop space 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • convert building to create new community building to hold offices for resident council, meeting rooms, food pantry, family support center, media center 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • build new 25,000 sf community center, with management offices, meeting rooms, supportive services • renovate old recreation center and convert to new day care center 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • renovate first four floors of South high-rise and convert to a Social Services Mall at Kennedy • build new trash/recycling center at Kennedy • renovate existing community facilities (Soltz and Willis at King Kennedy; Stokes at Outhwaite) • build new Enterprise Center and Youth Enhancement Services Center at Outhwaite 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • build new 10,000 sf Guinotte Manor High Performance Learning and Resource Complex, including an Activity center, center for Parents and Children, Technology center, and center for Visual and Performing Arts • renovate Garrison community center to hold recreation and activity rooms 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "special community buildings"
Location	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • place Family Center and common green at center of project site • place Maintenance Building at remote edge of project site 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • located at edge of development, on Dixwell Ave., across from Dixwell Shopping Plaza 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • place community center a center of project site to tie the site together and to serve as a focal point and daily activity center 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>distribute centers around the project sites, outside building clusters or village perimeters</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • locate new community center at middle of project site 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • place community spaces in buildings at edges of site, across from existing city amenities such as parks and supermarkets, to promote choice and self-determination of residents to pursue on-site or off-site possibilities

facilities at project edges.⁷ Community facilities shared by project and neighborhood residents promote social integration between the two groups; community facilities used only by project residents do not promote social integration with neighborhood residents. Physical and social integration scales based on community facilities might look like this:

PHYSICAL INTEGRATION SCALE	HIGH <----->	LOW
Condition:		
COMMUNITY FACILITIES: location	<i>at project edge</i>	<i>at project center</i>
	San Francisco	Kansas City
	New Haven	Charlotte
		Cleveland
		Boston

SOCIAL INTEGRATION SCALE	HIGH <----->	LOW
Condition:		
COMMUNITY FACILITIES: type	<i>services for all</i>	<i>services for project residents</i>
	San Francisco	Kansas City
	New Haven	Charlotte
		Cleveland
		Boston

7. Treatment of **NON-RESIDENTIAL USES**. A discussion of the contribution of non-residential uses (such as commercial shops) towards project-neighborhood integration closely parallels the discussion for community facilities. If housing authorities or other city agencies develop commercial uses that cater specifically to project residents and are located within project sites, such uses will not promote interaction between project and neighborhood residents. Non-residential uses that provide services for many groups of people and are located at project edges or in surrounding neighborhoods facilitate natural and frequent encounters between project and neighborhood residents.

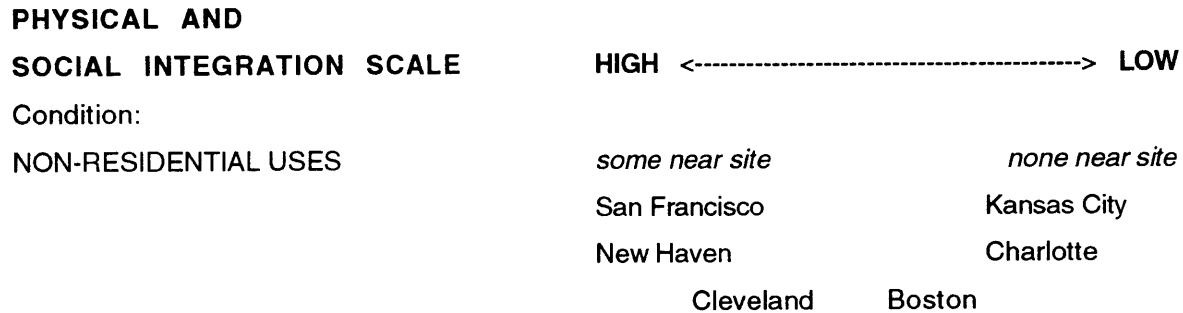
Table 3-7 suggests that most projects do not currently have nearby commercial centers that are easily accessible to project residents (except in San Francisco and New Haven). The

⁷ Centrally-located community facilities can promote the physical integration of the project site within a broader surrounding area if services are tailored and marketed towards people of both areas. To create a highly simplified scale of physical integration based on community facility location, I assume that within this scale, community facilities tailor their services primarily for project residents. Under this assumption, edge-located facilities have a higher probability of attracting non-resident use than centrally-located facilities within projects. This assumption may not be too far-fetched within this analysis because services proposed for facilities in Boston, Cleveland, Charlotte, and Kansas City tend to be highly specialized and specific to project residents.

Table 3-7

NON-RESIDENTIAL USES (excluding community facilities)	Boston	New Haven	Charlotte	Cleveland	Kansas City	San Francisco
<u>Current</u>						
Type	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> neighborhood commercial spots 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Dixwell Shopping Plaza 	<p><i>none identified</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> few non-residential services in the area; the neighborhood lacks supermarkets, drug stores, supporting commercial elements 	<p><i>none identified</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> existing supermarket, city parks
Location	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> outside neighborhoods, at street intersections 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> located around 3 edges of the project site 	<p>---</p>	<p>---</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> in adjacent Columbus Park neighborhood 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> at edges of project site
<u>Proposed</u>						
Type	<p><i>none proposed</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> laundry 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> attract private development and basic services and normal neighborhood service functions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> food coop, laundry coop, trash compactor and recycling center 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> supermarket, hardware store, retail planned by the City for Columbus Park branch of public library planned for Columbus Park 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> design buildings at edges of site flexibly for future conversion for mixed uses
Location	<p><i>none proposed</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> at edge of project site (at Dixwell Shopping Plaza) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> envision new private development and neighborhood services around the edges of the site and in adjacent areas 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> provide most services on site; renovation of the two sites will stimulate revitalization of the whole neighborhood 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> services located in Columbus Park and around entire city 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> plan for potential commercial and non-residential uses at edges of project site

proposals also suggest that a number of housing authorities do not plan to provide neighborhood services other than those social services that might be found in a community facility (contrary to Franck and Mostoller's predictions). The New Haven, Cleveland, and San Francisco housing authorities seem most willing to broaden their functions beyond housing and social service delivery.⁸ If the physical and social integration of project and neighborhood is facilitated by the development of broadly-used commercial services near the project sites, a combined physical and social project-integration scale might look like this:



The best form for this scale and the placement of cities' projects along this scale are somewhat unclear in part because the proposals did not discuss non-residential, commercial uses in great detail. A more rigorous analysis of the contribution of non-residential uses to project-neighborhood integration might clearly identify non-residential uses that would be used by project residents and their specific neighborhood residents; such a study might then assess integration levels by examining the proposed locations and clientele of those uses.

8. Proposed **PHYSICAL CONNECTIONS** between projects and surrounding neighborhoods. The dimension "physical connections" between project and neighborhood is, in a sense, a summary category that compiles previously discussed physical and social elements to gain a sense of a project's overall integration level with its surroundings. The top portion of Table 3-8 highlights proposals' explicit statements about projects' current state of connection with surrounding neighborhoods. All proposals note that projects are currently isolated from their surroundings.

The bottom portion of the table highlights the elements that contribute to a "positive" connection between project and neighborhood (integration) as well as the elements that contribute to a "negative" connection (separation). The table highlights those elements that

⁸ The New Haven Housing Authority is considering the development of a laundry near the Dixwell Shopping Plaza (interview with Bryan Anderson, 1/26/94); the CMHA plans a food and laundry coop on the site of King Kennedy; and the San Francisco housing authority plans to keep the design of buildings at project edges flexible for future conversion to commercial use.

Table 3-8

PHYSICAL CONNECTIONS between project and neighborhood	Boston	New Haven	Charlotte	Cleveland	Kansas City	San Francisco
Current Connections						
Positive	---	---	---	---	---	---
Negative	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • project is isolated; large physical form of buildings creates a barrier between project and neighborhood 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • project is not fully integrated with Dixwell because streets through the site are closed 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the project is isolated; it is cut off by vacant land from the CBD and is shunned by private development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • projects are located in a neighborhood filled with vacant lots; residents are isolated from retail shops and convenience stores 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • project is part of Columbus Park, which is cut off on all sides from the rest of the city by highways, bluffs, and an industrial zone • the project is cut off from the adjacent neighborhood by a major road and by a different street pattern 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • buildings' scale, facades, density, and orientation to streets are so different from surroundings the projects are stigmatized and create a psychological barrier for residents
Envisioned Connections						
Positive	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • re-opened city streets will integrate the site with the neighborhood and reinforce typical residential street patterns of Boston 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • restore through streets to integrate Elm Haven with Dixwell • community facilities and other uses shared with neighborhood residents at project edges 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • place Housing Authority's new homeowner units at northern edge of the site, adjacent to vacant land to be filled with future private development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • place some community facilities near project edges to be used (potentially) by other neighborhood residents • scatter replacement units around the Central neighborhood 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • scatter replacement units around the city 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • re-open streets and create new through-streets • orient buildings to streets; vertical scales and articulation of facades to match surrounding areas • create a city block structure that will lead to a pattern of use that is consistent with the pattern of use throughout the neighborhood • place neighborhood uses at project edges • scatter some replacement units around the city
Negative			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • place park buffers between rental housing units and owner-occupied units in surrounding neighborhood 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • prevent non-resident traffic from passing through project sites with fencing 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • discourage truck traffic from passing through the site • add buffers between the project and nearby industrial uses and highways • maintain separate street pattern from the Columbus Park neighborhood 	

make relatively clear contributions to connection or separation; the unclear contributions of proposed open space patterns (for example) towards project-neighborhood integration are left off the table.⁹ Based on the number and type of physical connections proposed in the different redevelopment schemes, a combined physical and social integration scale might look like this:¹⁰

PHYSICAL INTEGRATION SCALE HIGH <-----> LOW

Condition:

PHYSICAL CONNECTIONS	<i>many positive/ few negative</i> San Francisco New Haven	<i>many negative/ few positive</i> Kansas City Charlotte Boston Cleveland
----------------------	--	--

Because this scale does not explicitly measure the relative contributions of different types of physical connections towards project-neighborhood integration, placement of the cities' proposals along this scale is admittedly rough and somewhat subjective. Along with the other integration scales suggested in previous sections, however, this composite scale tries to identify different components that promote physical and social project-neighborhood integration, and it tries to establish a general sense of how different projects will relate to surrounding neighborhoods. This scale and the previous scales suggest that San Francisco's projects will be the most highly integrated with surrounding neighborhoods, while Kansas City's project will be least integrated. The other projects fall somewhere in between the two extremes.

9. Assessment of **PROJECT SITE ORIENTATION**. Another related, but slightly different composite dimension that might characterize a future project's relationship with surrounding neighborhoods is the site's "orientation." The "orientation" of a site might consist of buildings' design and arrangement on the site, the placement of shared facilities on the site, and street patterns within the site. Buildings, facilities, and streets that face or lead away from the project site might grant the site an "outward" orientation, and might suggest that greater project-

⁹ The table also shows which cities propose scattered-site housing as part of their redevelopment plans, because scattered-site housing can contribute to the physical and social integration of public housing within the broader city. None of the proposals suggest the complete dismantling of the project site and the complete scatter of public housing units, however; short of this strategy, plans to scatter some public housing units do little to promote integration of the project site with surrounding neighborhoods. Although scattered-site housing is listed as a "positive" connection in the table, this connection is not included in the assessment of a project's overall integration level with surrounding neighborhoods.

¹⁰ Although the "connections" listed are explicitly physical, the scale can measure both physical and social integration if it is assumed that the listed physical connections (re-opened streets, edge-located community facilities) promote social integration (as has been argued in previous sections).

Table 3-9

PROJECT SITE ORIENTATION	Boston	New Haven	Charlotte	Cleveland	Kansas City	San Francisco
Current Orientation						
Building Design/Arrangement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • long, massive superblock buildings, with no distinction between fronts and backs 	---	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • buildings dispersed over 11 city blocks 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • buildings have drab, institutional appearance and multiple entry/exit points • little sense of enclosure 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>building rows arranged with building ends facing main project street</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • buildings' scale, facades, density, and orientation to streets are so different from surroundings the projects are stigmatized
Location of Community Facilities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • community facilities scattered around site 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • resident council offices and drug treatment referral at edge of site • other community facilities at project edges, shared with neighborhood 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • recreation center on a busy boulevard, near center of site 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • community buildings dispersed around site 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • community building at center of site 	---
Street Patterns	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • main roads through site are blocked off 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • some roads through site are blocked off 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • city grid, with several major boulevards 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> city grid; penetration of public streets through site 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • long, winding streets 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • city streets in and around site are blocked
Orientation	<i>ambiguous</i>	<i>outward</i>	<i>ambiguous</i>	<i>ambiguous</i>	<i>inward</i>	<i>inward</i>
Envisioned Orientation						
Building Design/Arrangement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>rows of housing face streets that run through both the project and surrounding neighborhood</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>building rows both face streets and face internal courtyard spaces</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>place Housing Authority's new homeowner units at northern edge of site</i> • <i>both building fronts and rears face city streets</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • cluster buildings to form urban villages; place fencing around these villages 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>build housing around cul-de-sac parking areas</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • orient buildings to streets; scale and facades to match surroundings
Location of Community Facilities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>site is anchored by a community facility and common green, placed at the center of the project site</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • place new community building at project edge 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • place new community building at center of site 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>place new community centers around edges of urban villages</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • place new Learning Complex at center of site 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • place community spaces at project edges
Street Patterns	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • re-opened city streets will integrate the site with the neighborhood and reinforce typical residential street patterns of Boston 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • restore through streets to integrate Elm Haven with Dixwell 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • reduce lanes on major streets; build median strips for residential feel 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • prevent non-resident traffic from passing through project sites with fencing 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • discourage truck traffic from passing through the site • <i>maintain separate street pattern from Columbus Park</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • re-open streets and create new through-streets • create city block consistent with neighborhood
Orientation	<i>both inward and outward</i>	<i>outward</i>	<i>rental portion faces inward</i>	<i>both inward and outward</i>	<i>inward</i>	<i>outward</i> ("change projects from inward-looking to outward-looking projects")

neighborhood physical and social integration are desired. Buildings, facilities, and streets that face or lead towards the inside of a project site might grant the site an "inward" orientation, and might suggest project-neighborhood separation will result.

Table 3-9 characterizes the possible orientations of the different project sites before and after redevelopment. The proposals suggest that most projects currently have ambiguous or inward orientations (except in New Haven); they suggest that after redevelopment, projects in San Francisco and New Haven will face outward, projects in Kansas City and Charlotte will face inward, and projects in Boston and Cleveland will have characteristics that pull them in both directions. The posited orientations of the proposed project sites correspond with the levels of project-neighborhood integration suggested for each site in the previously suggested scale. This correspondence occurs in large part because the components behind "physical connection" and "orientation" are the same; the concept of "orientation," however, is slightly different from the concept of "physical connection," and it provides another gage for assessing project-neighborhood integration.

10. IMAGES OF THE PROJECT SITES. The various physical dimensions discussed earlier can also contribute to form a physical image of each project site. Images of the site can be described from a bird's-eye view, from outside the site in surrounding neighborhoods, and from inside the site itself. Because the goal of this chapter is to assess each project's degree of integration with surrounding neighborhoods, an image of each project site is postulated from the point of view of a person walking around the outside of each site. The image of the site indicates how close the project visually jumps out or blends in with surrounding neighborhoods. Interpretations of project images before and after redevelopment, based on the physical dimensions previously discussed,¹¹ are presented in Tables 3-10a and 3-10b.

As portrayed in the URD applications, projects before redevelopment generally appear very old, deteriorated, and different from their surroundings because they are visually impenetrable, marked by large open spaces, filled with institutional-looking buildings, or even marked by high-rise buildings within low-rise neighborhoods. Projects acquire a range of different images after redevelopment. In San Francisco, projects before redevelopment appear strikingly tall, impenetrable, and set back from city streets by large parking lots. After redevelopment, building fronts are pushed right to the edges of street sidewalks; project buildings resemble the scale and residential appearance of surrounding buildings; and city streets continue through the sites to create city blocks that resemble surrounding city blocks. Parked cars line the streets as they do elsewhere in the city; children may be seen playing in inner streets; community buildings

¹¹ The interpretations of project image are also informed by proposed design treatments of project buildings (see Table A-3, Appendix A.)

Table 3-10a

Current IMAGE of the PROJECT SITE (from surrounding areas)	Boston	New Haven*	Charlotte	Cleveland	Kansas City	San Francisco
Image based on:						
treatment of project edge	<i>"Superblock" buildings create physical barriers between project and surrounding area: the project looks institutional and monolithic from the outside;</i>	<i>Rows of long building facades and short building ends face perimeter streets;</i>	<i>Rows of building facades, building ends, and some common open spaces face perimeter streets of the project;</i>	<i>Scattered blocks of low-rise and high-rise buildings, facing perimeter streets at different angles;</i>	<i>Open spaces and rows of building ends face the perimeter of the site;</i>	<i>Parking lots and open courtyards separate high-rise and low-rise building slabs from perimeter streets;</i>
treatment of streets and visual access through site	<i>several streets through the site are closed, and the arrangement of long buildings around the site prevents clear views through the site;</i>	<i>with clear views through the site through most of the project's straight streets;</i>	<i>several streets are wide, busy, and divide the site into different areas;</i>	<i>and streets penetrate through the site;</i>	<i>a long, winding road weaves through the site;</i>	<i>city streets through the site are blocked, and visual access through the site is impeded by high-rise building towers;</i>
space definition within the site	<i>within the site there is no fencing and there are no traffic controls. Cars are parked everywhere;</i>	<i>chain-link fences mark off individual front and rear yards, as well as shared common areas;</i>	<i>spaces around buildings appear open;</i>	<i>there are few enclosed areas;</i>	<i>no spaces on site appear to be enclosed or defined;</i>	<i>parking lots are closed off from perimeter streets with fencing; other shared spaces within the site remain open;</i>
treatment of open space	<i>because the site is open;</i>	<i>pedestrian paths, driveways, and common areas are left over from individually-marked yards;</i>	<i>such that most of the site appears open and undefined;</i>	<i>such that most of the site appears open;</i>	<i>giving the project an image of building rows placed within large open spaces;</i>	<i>spaces inside the site appear open and undefined;</i>
treatment of nature	<i>the site appears desolate, for the site surface is barren, uniform, and dreary;</i>	<i>some trees dot project streets and are scattered around the site;</i>	<i>trees and grass sparsely cover the site open spaces;</i>	<i>without landscape;</i>	<i>--</i>	<i>and there is little landscape except some trees along perimeter sidewalks;</i>
location of residential, community, and non-residential uses	<i>no community spaces are visible from the outside, and there are no visible stores or non-residential uses within the site;</i>	<i>Resident Council offices and a drug treatment referral office lie hidden, unidentified on the outside, on the first floor of a partially-boarded building on Dinwiddie Ave.;</i>	<i>and a recreation center lies within the site, on a busy boulevard, next to a small park;</i>	<i>community centers are dispersed at project edges, but are old and run down;</i>	<i>an old community school and a large playing field lie at the center of the site;</i>	<i>there are no visible community buildings;</i>
treatment of buildings	<i>buildings look like uniform slabs of brick, deteriorated with age and neglect</i>	<i>and most buildings are two- or four-stories tall, with repetitive brick facades and covered entryways</i>	<i>buildings look aged, institutional, and are in a state of disrepair</i>	<i>and most of the brick buildings are old, deteriorated, damaged, and crumbling</i>	<i>and 2-story building slabs are weathered, deceiving, damaged by forced entries and gunfire</i>	<i>and the image of high-rise towers dominates</i>

* The URD application did not describe the current appearance or arrangement of buildings at Elm Haven. The project image presented here is therefore based on personal observations from a visit to the site in January, 1994.

Table 3-10b

Envisioned IMAGE of the PROJECT SITE (from surrounding areas)	Boston	New Haven	Charlotte	Cleveland	Kansas City	San Francisco
Image based on:						
treatment of project edge	<i>Rows of buildings, with long front facades and short building ends, which face perimeter streets and internal streets running through the site.</i>	<i>Rows of long building facades and short building ends that face perimeter streets.</i>	<i>A park at the northern edge, and other edges lined with new privately-developed housing or recreation areas; buildings holding rows of homeowner and rental units lie inside the edges; building facades face some perimeter streets; shared rear spaces face other perimeter streets.</i>	<i>Building clusters</i>	<i>Edges of the site bordered by industrial uses and highways are buffered with trees and new landscape; inside this buffer lies undefined green areas;</i>	<i>Residential building facades face perimeter streets and all internal streets.</i>
treatment of streets and visual access through site	<i>with clear views through the site of a street grid; cars are parked on the streets and building fronts face streets; people socialize on front stoops and kids play in streets;</i>	<i>with clear views through the site of a street grid; cars are parked on the streets.</i>	<i>a clear view through the site of a street grid, with median strip landscaping.</i>	<i>surrounded by fencing to block non-resident traffic through the project street grid, face away from streets and toward common courtyards.</i>	<i>the street grid of Columbus Park stops at the project edge to meet open space behind housing units;</i>	<i>and there is clear visual access through the developments following the city street grid; the grid reveals a city block structure similar to surrounding blocks.</i>
types and level of site enclosure	<i>where sidewalk edges are clearly distinct from front yard spaces and front stoops, where private back yards and common rear courtyards are clearly closed to public access;</i>	<i>and few spaces appear to be lightly enclosed.</i>	<i>and all front yards, back yards, and common rear yards/lot lots are enclosed by fencing.</i>	<i>with fencing marking grassy areas and parking lots.</i>	<i>the entire site appears enclosed from adjacent uses, while building arrangements enclose cul-de-sac parking areas and spaces behind buildings appear unenclosed.</i>	<i>and the insides of blocks appear completely enclosed by the buildings themselves and by locked gates;</i>
treatment of open space	<i>where the largest open spaces are the streets and other open spaces are small and associated with individual dwelling units.</i>	<i>except for occasional courtyards;</i>	<i>and large open spaces such as parks lie near the project perimeter.</i>	<i>and other open spaces shared by building clusters.</i>	<i>to create vast open spaces surrounding the buildings; individual units have private front yards.</i>	<i>no common open spaces exist -- only the streets, where kids play and cars are parked in staggered formations;</i>
treatment of nature	<i>where landscape lies along streets and sidewalks, and other greenery lies within individual yards.</i>	<i>trees and green abound throughout the site; lining streets, sidewalks, and pedestrian paths to building fronts.</i>	<i>and the open spaces are filled with new landscaping, as are individual yards and shared rear yards;</i>	<i>with trees, shrubs, and ornamental fencing everywhere.</i>	<i>with grass, trees, and shrubs everywhere;</i>	<i>glimpses of trees and gardens lie within private back yards and some landscape lines the streets;</i>
location of residential, community, and non-residential uses	<i>where most buildings are residential blocks and a glimpse of a central community building and green can be seen.</i>	<i>and lively community centers surround the project perimeter and a new community center sits across the shopping plaza.</i>	<i>the project appears primarily residential, with a possible glimpse of the central community facility and day-care building inside the site.</i>	<i>and community facilities and social service centers scattered between building clusters;</i>	<i>and a community school-type facility lies at the center of the site, next to an existing center within a large green field.</i>	<i>community facilities form part of the broader neighborhood by lying adjacent to and across from existing city parks and stores;</i>
treatment of building components	<i>where buildings are between two and three stories in height and marked by flat facades punctuated by doorways, stairs, front stoops, and windows</i>	<i>and 3-story building fronts have individual entries and stairways</i>	<i>where buildings are 2-stories with long shared front porches set back from the street by individual front yards</i>	<i>where buildings are primarily 3-stories (with one high-rise) and masonry facades vary by building cluster, and covered stairwells mark facades</i>	<i>and buildings are 1- or 2-stories with pitched roofs and shuttered windows</i>	<i>and buildings are both 2- and 3-stories with a variety of stairwells, bays, and facade details to match the scale and appearance of surrounding housing</i>

and neighborhood stores line some of the project edges and sit across from other neighborhood facilities.

Before project redevelopment in New Haven, Elm Haven strikes a passing visitor as old, deteriorated, partly-boarded-up, and composed of long brick buildings whose fronts and ends face straight city streets. Chain-link fences define front yards, back yards, and shared common areas; covered entryways dot the two-story buildings, while common doorways to the taller buildings are often hidden from view. After redevelopment, Elm Haven buildings look repaired, and the site appears to hold more greenery. Facades of taller three-story buildings now are marked by individual entries to individual units. New community centers mark two edges of the project site; cars are parked on streets; and views through streets that were once blocked are now opened.

In Boston, a person walking around the existing Mission Main is struck by the solid rows of uniform brick buildings that line the site; one cannot see through the site because buildings and blocked streets impede one's view. One might notice that inside the site, cars are parked everywhere and there is no landscape; the project's old, deteriorated buildings seem to be arranged regularly within open, undefined spaces. After redevelopment, a person walking around the site might notice that the project's long building facades are punctuated with many doors, front porches, and covered entries. Shared front yards are marked in front of streets; streets now run regularly through the project site. Cars are parked along the streets, and greenery lines project sidewalks. Backyard spaces between building rows are hidden from view; a large community building and common green at the center of the site may be visible, however, as a person walks around the site. Residents are seen socializing everywhere: on front porches, on sidewalks.

In Cleveland, a pedestrian touring the outskirts of the existing projects might see scattered blocks of both low-rise and high-rise buildings, arranged freely in large open spaces and away from city streets. The buildings look old and deteriorated, and the site is devoid of landscape. After redevelopment, this touring pedestrian might notice fences: fences that surround groups of buildings; fences that block traffic from passing through the site; fences that mark grassy common areas and parking lots; fences that clearly differentiate the renovated project site from the vacant, deteriorated lots around the project. When walking around the perimeters of the projects, the pedestrian would see the backs of renovated project buildings: building fronts face common shared spaces between building clusters. The pedestrian might notice new trees and shrubs throughout the site, as well as large community buildings outside the edges of the fenced building clusters.

In Charlotte, a person touring around the existing Earle Village might see rows of short building facades that sometimes line city streets and sometimes sit away from streets; buildings

are scattered within large, sparsely landscaped open spaces that merge with vacant lots surrounding the site. Wide streets separate groups of aging buildings into different areas. A person walking around the edges of a redeveloped site might first be struck by park spaces and single family homes. If the person looked further inside the site, she might see a street grid with median strip landscaping, and rows of buildings with enclosed front and back yards. Often, enclosed back yards and shared lot-lots face city streets. A larger community building at the center of the site might be seen, but the primary image will be one of a low-density development with row houses set back from the street by grassy front or back yards.

In Kansas City, a person touring the perimeter of the existing Guinotte Manor might see rows of building slabs whose ends face the project edges. The buildings sit within large, undefined open spaces; buildings are old, decaying, and damaged from gunfire. An old school and a large playing field mark the center of the site. A person touring the redeveloped project might first be struck by a green belt of open back yards. The person would see the backs of buildings with both one and two story height levels and with pitched roofs. Unlike the adjacent neighborhood, the project would not be organized around a street grid; a person might notice that buildings cluster around shared parking areas, but cars and streets would not be readily apparent from outside the site. When walking along the southern edge of the site, the person would see a large green field with a large, new community center placed at the far end, in the center of the project site. The general image of the site would be one of domesticity, quiet, and green -- a residential enclave that is self-sufficient and independent of its surroundings.

The different visual images of the project sites within their neighborhoods suggest that redeveloped projects in San Francisco will blend quite closely with surrounding buildings. While projects in New Haven and Boston will look repaired and perhaps more residential, they may still look different in style and construction from neighborhood buildings at the project edges. Projects in Cleveland, Charlotte, and Kansas City will look purposely separated from their surroundings by fences or landscaped spaces. Composed of many different physical dimensions, the visual image of each project provides another indication of how physically integrated projects will be with their surrounding neighborhoods.

Accompanying the different physical images of existing and redeveloped project sites are different visions of social relationships among project residents.¹² While the physical images suggest levels of visual integration between projects and surrounding neighborhoods, described social relationships suggest levels of social integration perceived for current residents and envisioned for future residents. Table 3-11 highlights statements in the six proposals that help reveal current social relationships among project residents and current social relationships

¹² For demographic data on current and targeted resident populations, see Tables A-4 through A-6, Appendix A.

Table 3-11

SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS among Current Project Residents	Boston	New Haven	Charlotte	Cleveland	Kansas City	San Francisco
relations with other project residents	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> residents are isolated from each other; fear of crime discourages residents from asserting their own rights and joining with other like-minded residents in making common rules and helping to enforce them residents do not feel social connections with others outside their immediate circle of family and friends or connections with their physical environment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> residents are subject to drug abuse, drug-related crime, high teenage pregnancy rates, and other social problems the Elm Haven Resident Council, organized in 1989 as a non-profit corporation, has played a strong role in implementing programs addressing drug abuse, child development, public safety 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> residents are poor, vulnerable, and powerless without the presence of older and elderly families, the community lacks a stabilizing force 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> good, solid residents have been replaced by more distressed households vulnerable to drug abuse, high pregnancy rates, high levels of child abuse atmosphere of neglect, despair, and fear 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> the project population contains no positive value systems and few role models young people resort to criminal activity to indulge their material appetites and to achieve respectability school failure, pathological behavior, and disillusionment are high among youth 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> open drug markets on the sites; drive-by and late-night shootings
relations with neighborhood residents	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> residents are closed out of mainstream economic opportunities residents are linguistically isolated from broader society (66% speak Spanish at home) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Elm Haven is an integral part of the Dixwell neighborhood, the historic center of the city's African-American community Dixwell as a whole displays a strong neighborhood spirit, but is strongly affected by the decline in the city's manufacturing base 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> people from the outside enter the project; winos, vagrants, and drug dealers pushed out from the CBD enter the project and instill fear in residents many residents have never interacted with people from different areas of the community; they have been isolated in traditional, minority, low-income neighborhoods 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> unrestricted access of outsiders to the projects bring crime and drugs resident populations are racially and socially segregated from the rest of the city 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> young women with families and no resources attract criminals into the project; drug abuse and prostitution then arise lack of cross-cultural sensitivity and hostility between residents and city police hostility between residents and Columbus Park neighbors 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> outside people come off the streets, bring crime, use hallways as toilets

between project and neighborhood residents. Within old, crumbling, bleak project sites, resident populations are poor, isolated from each other, desperate, subject to a range of social problems, and perhaps disillusioned about each other and their environment. Residents either have no interactions with people outside the projects, or they are victims of society's worst influences. Life for residents is fundamentally *anti-social*: social codes that allow people to live together productively and harmoniously are notably absent. New Haven's description of its resident population stands out as different from the other cities' description: residents have a common history, a shared spirit, and a sense of connection to each other created by their shared cultural background and their previous efforts to jointly manage and improve their lives.

Table 3-12 suggests how housing authorities envision social interaction and social life within revitalized projects. Within San Francisco's new residential-looking project site, residents will have private indoor and outdoor spaces and will socialize in their homes, in the streets, or in neighborhood stores and parks. Residents will travel outside the project site for their daily convenience needs and for their supportive services. People will be encouraged to choose their social networks because the site's community meeting places will be located at the edges of the sites, near activity nodes used by outside residents. The housing authority in San Francisco does not trust that residents can live safely and cooperatively in unbounded, open spaces, but it does believe that residents can live like other members of the dense, diverse city by using amenities shared by other city members and by choosing their social associations among a society of strangers. Some of Sennett's ideas are implicitly accepted by the housing authority: diverse people can get along and live together if they are forced to live in close proximity to each other and must learn to negotiate their own social relationships.

New Haven seems to envision a resident population that is united and empowered through its cooperative participation in revitalization planning, project management, and service delivery. The city's URD application excluded a detailed physical redevelopment plan in order to ensure that residents of the development would have a major voice in choosing the redevelopment architect and influencing project re-design. Within the redeveloped projects, residents will interact with each other in homes, in streets, in common courtyards, in shared meeting rooms, and through service delivery activities; residents will interact with residents throughout Dixwell in shared community buildings and through cooperative efforts to improve life within Dixwell as a whole. While the mode of social interaction within projects in San Francisco may be considered somewhat cosmopolitan, interaction within Elm Haven will be political and neighborhood-focused.

Envisioned social life within Boston's project will be heavily based on a lively street life. Families will interact with each other on public streets, on shared front stoops, and along city sidewalks. Families will also interact in more private rear courtyards, and within a central community

Table 3-12

SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS among Future Project Residents	Boston	New Haven	Charlotte	Cleveland	Kansas City	San Francisco
relations with other project residents	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> elderly are separated from family units families and children socialize on streets, on shared front yards, on shared front stoops families interact with their own family members in private back yards groups of families and kids interact in shared rear courtyards, in tol-lots and seating areas families in the entire project interact with each other when receiving services from or meeting in the community building 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> families interact with each other in seating areas; kids interact in play yards residents plan, manage, and deliver revitalization efforts and post-revitalization programs together residents manage the housing development residents meet in the site's new community center and family development center 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> families in the Self-Sufficiency program meet each other in mandatory job training, school, and community service programs families have their own private outdoor spaces families interact in meeting rooms and service provision areas of the community center 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> family groups will share outdoor courtyard spaces within building clusters or urban villages clusters of households will be linked by webs of relationships; residents will live and relate to each other as extended family members families will interact through required community service programs residents will meet in the many community and social service buildings around the site 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> children will interact in new play areas families located around common cul-de-sac parking areas will have visual, and possibly social, contact with each other families and children will meet and interact in common classes and programs offered at the central Learning Complex 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> families will have their own individual yards, play spaces, and gardens children will interact by playing in the streets residents may be able to meet in community buildings located at project edges residents will meet and interact in nearby city parks and neighborhood stores
relations with neighborhood residents	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> families interact with social service providers in the community building elderly residents cross the street to receive special medical attention residents go off-site to workplaces and to special educational programs offered in the area surrounding workers and residents possibly pass through the site as they travel around the area 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> residents work with city officials, city agencies, and neighborhood groups to plan and deliver their own services residents participate in community programs in common neighborhood community buildings, retail areas, and churches 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> families interact with outside service providers in the day care facility and the community center working individuals will interact with employers in jobs off-site residents in the FSS program will be proximate to, and share some services with, home-owner families residents will interact with merchants and outside individuals as private development approaches the site 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> outside traffic will be prevented from passing through the sites and village clusters revitalization of the two projects will help revitalize the entire Central neighborhood (redeveloped sites might stimulate new development around the neighborhood, and might draw others in to use site services) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> residents will be transported by van to outside programs in schools and cultural institutions and city offices outside truck traffic will be prevented from passing through the site 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> community facilities on site will be few; those that are built will be located on edges across from existing city amenities; people will have the choice to pursue on-site or off-site economic development possibilities residents will be provided services off-site by service organizations around the city

building on the site. Most supportive services for residents will be provided from this facility; peoples' encounters with non-project residents will therefore center around their contacts with service providers in the community building. Residents will travel off-site for jobs, for educational programs, and for daily consumer goods; residents' primary social encounters, however, will be with other project residents on the project's streets and in the project's community building. Despite the authority's efforts to physically integrate the project with the surrounding neighborhood, residents' social interactions will be project-based and community-centered. In some ways, the social life envisioned follows Perry's ideas of the neighborhood unit (and its centralized community life) more closely than Jacobs' ideas on social relationships within dense urban areas.

Residents will relate to each other as "extended family members" within Cleveland's proposed urban villages. They will share common outdoor living spaces, and because they will be placed in close proximity, they will develop long-lasting and close social bonds. Gans argues that physical proximity does not guarantee the formation of close social bonds; people may need to be of similar class, age, and education before meaningful social connections will develop between them. The housing authority reasons differently: "webs of relationships" and close community bonds will develop among residents if residents are concentrated within shared spaces and if outsiders are shut out from the project. Residents will interact primarily with other residents of their village; residents will encounter other village residents (and possibly other neighborhood residents) in community facilities at village edges. Because facilities shared among different villages (and potentially with the surrounding neighborhood) are placed at the boundaries of village groupings, Cleveland's model of social organization bears some resemblance to Alexander's "mosaic of subcultures" and Newman's "communities of interest."

Public housing residents in Charlotte's Earle Village will interact with each other as members of a common social program: renters will be enrolled in the authority's Family Self-Sufficiency program and will be required to work, go to school, and provide community service. Their social interactions will primarily occur with each other, both as temporary neighbors and as co-participants in common social activities. Because the FSS residents will share some common services with residents in the homeowner program, FSS members will have some interactions with people who own their own homes and who may be more "self-sufficient." By ringing the rental portion of the site with owner-occupied units and by trying to attract private development towards Earle Village, the housing authority suggests a hope that private citizens will enter the world of the project renters, and that project renters will be inspired to eventually enter the world of outside society.

Kansas City project residents will relate to each other as members of a more permanent community, centered around a school. The High Performance Resource and Learning Complex

will be the anchor of Guinotte Manor; families will go to this school to learn job skills, language skills, and social skills.¹³ Families will be transported off-site for occasional "field trips" so that residents can broaden their educational experiences. At home, residents will share common parking areas and will socialize with each other in adjacent front lawns or in shared back-yard fields. People will be familiar to each other because outside residents and strangers will have few reasons to enter the site. Outside traffic will be prevented from passing through and disturbing the tranquillity of this education-focused community.

II. A Re-evaluation of Trends in Public Housing Site Design

The six different physical and social images of the revitalized projects suggest that Franck and Mostoller's characterization of the "third stage" of public housing site design does not hold across the country; only in San Francisco, New Haven, and Boston do housing authorities seem to espouse the "street" and street life as suggested by the two authors. The other three cities do not organize their designs around the city street grid or social life within the street; these cities seem to choose more bounded site designs that de-emphasize street connections with surrounding neighborhoods.

The physical and social images of the six project sites also suggest a slight re-classification and modification of Franck and Mostoller's "stages" in public housing site design. The first stage, termed the "court" stage, may be better understood as the stage of the "sheltered court." While the term "court" may evoke images of outdoor courtyards and garden apartments arranged around courtyards, the term "sheltered court" suggests the social purposes such building arrangements were supposed to serve. The second stage, termed the "open space" stage, may be better understood as the stage of "autonomous slabs." Franck and Mostoller used the term "open space" to try to evoke images of housing project buildings arranged in geometric patterns within expanses of open space. The term "autonomous slabs," however, can perhaps better evoke images of long building rows, images of separate building slabs within open spaces, and images of buildings that are independent from existing city street patterns. All of these images, Franck and Mostoller argue, help characterize the second stage of public housing site design.

The envisioned physical and social images of projects in the six cities suggest that the third stage of public housing site design is not best captured by the term "street." Instead, the third stage seems to split around two different physical and social orientations: "neighborhood-integrated," and "project enclave." The "neighborhood-integrated" category describes project redevelopment schemes that generally attend to existing street patterns in surrounding

¹³ It is unclear whether entire families can realistically be made to attend such a school, but the housing authority believes that such behavior is possible.

neighborhoods and arrange buildings and uses on project sites to help promote greater project-neighborhood integration. The "project enclave" category describes project redevelopment schemes that use physical and social devices to separate the project from surrounding neighborhoods. The two categories suggest different attitudes towards both physical integration of project sites and social integration of project residents with surrounding neighborhoods. Within these two emerging, broad types of public housing site design, there is much variety in design approach and project form.

Proposals from San Francisco, New Haven, and Boston may fall under the "neighborhood-integrated" category. Each proposal states greater project-neighborhood integration as a goal; each proposal consciously adopts design strategies that will promote greater physical integration of project sites with their surroundings. San Francisco's proposed project redesigns seem best able to "disappear" within the surrounding city fabric: the projects will face outward and will contain street connections, neighborhood-use connections, and visual connections with surroundings. Similarly, New Haven's proposed project redesign displays many tendencies towards project-neighborhood integration: the plan is street-sensitive, the design faces outward, and the plan responds to uses and amenities that exist in the surrounding neighborhood. A full evaluation of Elm Haven's neighborhood integration level cannot be made without a the final site plan; the text of the proposal suggests, however, that Elm Haven's redesign will be strongly focused towards the surrounding Dixwell neighborhood.

Boston's plan is street-based, yet its focus is not on neighborhoods that immediately surround the site. The image of the redeveloped project is not one of a component piece of the city, dependent on neighboring uses and amenities for inhabitants' many needs. The Boston plan is anchored with a community center that will serve its residents' special needs; the building is the site's social and physical heart. The presence and purpose of this building pulls the site's orientation away from the surrounding city and towards the site itself. For these reasons, Boston's plan steps slightly away from full project-neighborhood integration; Boston's proposed redesign may be characterized as a "centered street grid" plan that aims less to merge with surrounding neighborhoods and more to become a neighborhood of its own.

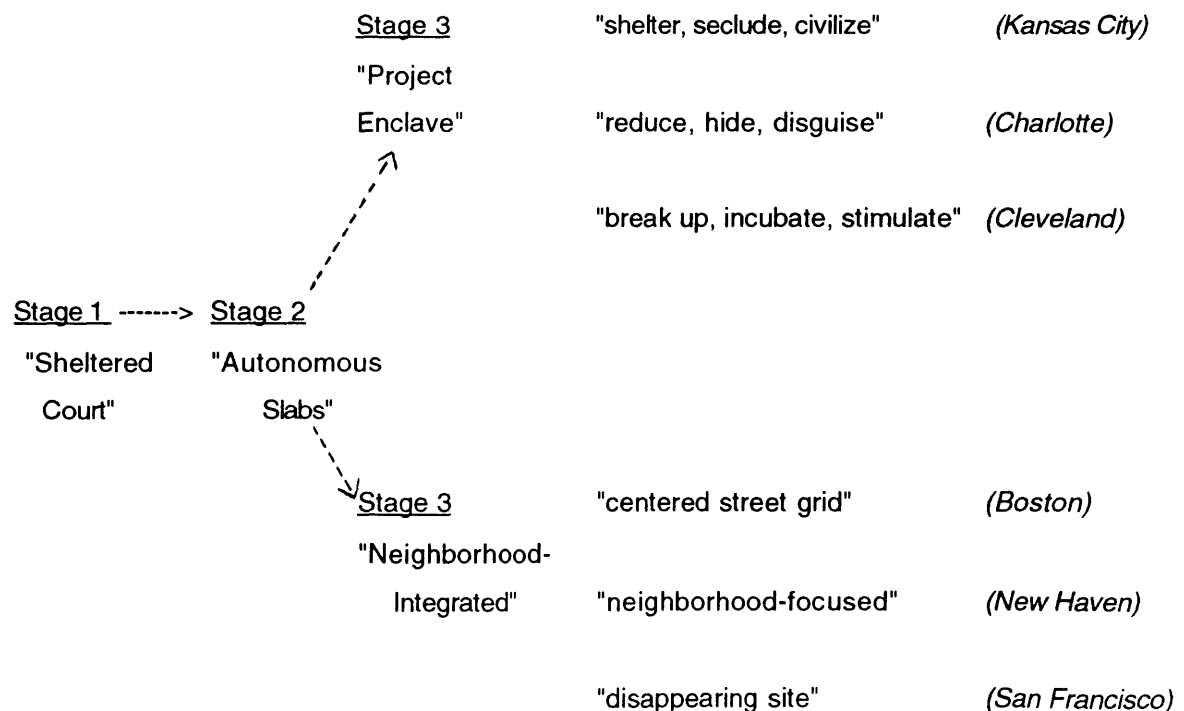
The project redesigns from the other three cities might fall under the "project enclave" category. Kansas City's proposal recommends a greenbelt ring around the redeveloped project, to buffer the project from surrounding uses. Within this ring, buildings are clustered around shared parking areas that appear as cul-de-sacs off a slowly curving main road.¹⁴ The strategy of site design taken in Kansas City might be labeled "shelter, seclude, and civilize" the project and its

¹⁴ As noted above, the plan evokes images of Clarence Perry's neighborhood unit, as well as images of some "suburban" developments across the country. Some such "suburban" developments, which lie outside city centers and may be typified by houses on large lots off spaghetti-curving streets, provide inhabitants with much green space, low density dwelling, and (often) homogeneous neighbors.

inhabitants, by grouping residents together and preparing them to enter mainstream society through services and community interaction in the central school. Charlotte's proposal similarly evokes the image of a "project enclave": the housing authority will circle the site with landscape or built barriers (specifically, private homes) to concentrate the rental society within the site. Buildings often face away from streets, and a large community facility lies at the center of the site. Charlotte's strategy might be called "reduce, hide, and disguise" the project site: a person walking around the perimeter might only notice single-family homes and green recreation areas and might not realize that low-income public housing residents live further inside the site.

Cleveland's proposal may fall under the "project enclave" category because of its blocked streets and project fences; like Boston's proposal, however, Cleveland's plan displays design and social elements that pull the redesign scheme in the opposite direction. Projects in Cleveland will be broken into separate urban villages; large community buildings at village edges will link villages to each other. If neighborhood development occurs around the project sites, community buildings may link villages to surrounding neighborhood areas in the future. Cleveland's project redesigns may be characterized as plans which aim to "break up" the project site, to "incubate" project communities, and to "stimulate" further group-based neighborhood development.

The diagram depicting past and future trends in public housing site design, presented earlier in this chapter, may now be modified and completed. The diagram may look something like this:



This chapter has attempted to analyze levels of project-neighborhood integration among six URD-funded project redesign proposals; to conduct this analysis, this chapter has isolated and explored a number of physical design dimensions that might contribute to project-neighborhood physical integration. Associated with different physical design dimensions are implications for social integration between project and neighborhood residents; some of these social integration implications have been explored as well. The main conclusion of this chapter posits two basic trends in public housing site design today: one trend moves towards project-neighborhood integration; the other moves towards the design of project enclaves. The next chapter presents some further conclusions from the foregoing analysis and suggests a number of theoretical and practical implications from these two trends.

CHAPTER 4 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In 1992, the National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing called upon public housing authorities to develop comprehensive human service, economic development, tenant management, and physical redesign plans to address the problems of severely distressed public housing projects around the country. A year later, six proposals from six U.S. cities were awarded between \$30 million and \$50 million from HUD for complete revitalization of selected severely distressed public housing projects.

The description of redesign and redevelopment approaches in Chapter 2 shows that each of the winning proposals responds to the National Commission's recommendations with a number of similar strategies towards projects' revitalization. Each proposal contains plans to reduce project density, to de-institutionalize project images, to create an economic mix of tenants, to adjust unit composition for larger families, and to provide job training and coordinated social services for residents.¹ Each proposal notes public housing projects' social and physical isolation from surrounding areas; all proposals grant the site plan some influence over reducing crime or fostering different types of social interactions among project residents.

Beneath these common redevelopment strategies, however, lie two different approaches toward project-neighborhood relations. Contrary to "integrationist" predictions, some proposals encourage greater integration between projects and surrounding neighborhoods; other proposals encourage greater separation. Proposals from San Francisco, New Haven, and Boston appear to fall under the neighborhood-integrated category; proposals from Kansas City, Charlotte, and Cleveland appear to advocate project enclaves. The analysis in Chapter 3 shows that within the two categories, projects can take different physical and social forms.

San Francisco's proposed plans may lead to "disappearing" project sites and to social relations between project and neighborhood residents that are somewhat cosmopolitan. New Haven's proposal envisions a repaired and renovated project whose inhabitants are neighborhood-focused and politically active. Boston's plan may be physically and socially centered around a city street grid; Cleveland's plan is physically and socially centered around closed "urban villages." Charlotte's plan may try to reduce and hide the project and its residents from future private development; Kansas City's proposal shelters the project to nurture its project residents. On a scale of project-neighborhood integration, San Francisco's proposal appears most highly integrative and Kansas City's proposal appears most separatist. While Boston's

¹ Table A-3, Appendix A highlights the six proposals' strategies towards redesign of project buildings. Many of the strategies are very similar. Table A-6, Appendix A, highlights characteristics of residents that are targeted for projects after redevelopment. These characteristics are surmised from the text of the proposals as well as from proposed configurations of revitalized buildings. Again, the profile of target project populations is very similar across the six proposals.

proposed redevelopment plan displays a number of tendencies towards project-neighborhood integration, it also carries design elements that pull the project towards project-neighborhood separation; similarly, Cleveland's proposal separates public housing projects from surrounding neighborhoods but carries measures that may help integrate projects with adjacent areas in the future.

As noted in the introduction of this thesis, the National Commission called upon public housing authorities to integrate projects with surrounding neighborhoods without clearly explaining what project-neighborhood integration entails. The theories on neighborhoods and boundaries discussed in Chapter 1, the redesign strategies proposed by different housing authorities in Chapter 2, and the analysis of project-neighborhood integration in Chapter 3 all suggest a number of ideas that may clarify the meaning of project-neighborhood integration and a number of measures that might promote such integration. Drawing upon discussions from the previous chapters, this chapter now reflects upon the notion of project-neighborhood integration, explores possible assumptions and values that drive decisions for integration or separation, and offers a few recommendations to public housing redevelopers on how greater project-neighborhood integration might be achieved.

What is meant by "project-neighborhood integration"?

The different theorists discussed in Chapter 1 present a range of ideas on the form of neighborhoods and mechanisms for joining neighborhoods into larger city wholes. Their arguments suggest that integration among different neighborhoods has both a physical aspect and a social aspect. First, *physical integration* of different neighborhoods begins with a physical notion of "neighborhood." From the writings of different theorists, "neighborhood" is generally understood to be a physical entity that is bounded in space: Perry argued that the neighborhood should be a physically-demarcated "unit" that contains both residential and community uses; Poyner argues that a neighborhood should be a single-use area with clear barriers around its perimeter. Although Alexander and Newman advocate more permeable boundaries, they too suggest that a neighborhood is a physically-bounded entity. According to these authors, this physical entity can contain one or many "subculture" or "lifestyle" groups.

The different authors suggest that physical integration of different neighborhoods occurs when neighborhood cells are either linked or merged to form larger physical wholes. Alexander and Newman argue that different "subculture" or "lifestyle" cells can be joined at their edges by shared uses among the different cells. When edge boundaries are designed with shared uses, boundary spaces become the physical "web" that joins different areas together. Although the city may be divided into different neighborhood areas, these areas can form an integrated "mosaic" if neighborhood boundaries are designed not purely as physical markers, but as physical links

between different neighborhoods. Sennett suggests that physical integration occurs when different areas lose their boundaries and merge into larger city wholes; such integration is achieved when different uses, normally separated from each other, are mixed to form a fine-grain pattern of multiple city uses.

Although different authors carry different images of physical integration patterns, common themes emerge behind their notions of physical integration. The concept of physical integration seems to imply the *continuity* of physical forms: two areas of dense building are not physically integrated if they are separated by an empty boundary space without dense building. Franck and Mostoller observe that "open space" (or "autonomous slab") project designs stood separate from surrounding neighborhoods, in part because the physical forms of these projects did not maintain the continuity of the adjacent city fabric. Projects or neighborhoods that allow city streets and city street patterns to continue through their sites contribute to the continuity and physical integration of city areas.

Closely related to the idea of physical continuity is the notion of physical *similarity*: different areas are better physically integrated if their physical forms are similar. If one neighborhood has similar open space patterns, similar "defensible space" patterns, similar bounded space patterns, and similar building images to another area, this neighborhood maintains the physical continuity of the other area to promote an integrated city fabric. Two areas may not need to look exactly alike to be physically integrated: similarity of physical form may be most important at the edges of different neighborhoods. Similar building patterns at neighborhood edges may be sufficient to create integrative visual links between two areas whose physical patterns slightly diverge.

The concept of physical integration clearly implies *connection* between different areas: connection can be created through similar and continuous physical forms, or through similar and continuous *use* by different people. Alexander and Newman suggest that shared uses at boundary spaces help link different areas; the placement of community and other non-residential facilities at neighborhood edges can therefore contribute to physical integration if the facilities are used by people of different neighborhoods. The concept of physical integration also implies the *unification* of different areas because they are connected, similar, or physically continuous. The "mosaic of subcultures" suggested by Alexander is a unified city structure composed of smaller, linked elements; the fine-grain, mixed-use city suggested by Sennett is integrated into a unified whole through the individual links forged among different city uses.

Integration of different neighborhoods is not merely a physical phenomenon; neighborhood integration also has a social dimension. Different writers interpret the social integration of city areas in a variety of ways. Hillier suggests that a type of social integration occurs when a wide mix of people encounter each other in city spaces; the lively "urbanity" Hillier seeks in

cities may signify a form of social mix that accompanies integration across society. Newman argues that social integration occurs when people of different races and economic classes can live together harmoniously within communities of interest. Perry's writings imply that social integration may occur when people within neighborhood units develop a close-knit community life. The ideas of these authors suggest that social integration is marked by a *mix* of different individuals who can live together cooperatively. An integrated, cooperative social state may contain many individuals connected to each other with *loose ties* (as in Jacobs' dense, lively, cosmopolitan city), or it may contain fewer individuals connected to each other with *close ties* (as in Perry's bounded, community-centered neighborhood unit). The concept of social integration may imply a state where individuals of different social backgrounds interact with at least a minimum of mutual social respect and acceptance to tie them together.

The concept of social integration may also carry a notion of *inclusion*. Membership in a lively urbanity or in a close community implies that individuals are accepted into a broader social group. Along with a minimum of social respect and acceptance, social integration may suggest that individuals receive the same opportunities to participate in social activities (like market or employment activities) and in social decisions (like in community government) as others receive in the broader social group. Once people receive a minimum of similar life opportunities and a minimum of social acceptance, individuals may attain a sort of *similarity* in status. The concept of social integration may further carry a notion of *unification*: once different individuals are accepted into a broader social group, a larger social whole is created.

Sennett writes that the basic social unit is the individual; the individual must personally forge ties with a mix of other individuals before true personal development and true social integration can exist. Alexander and Newman suggest that the basic social unit is the subculture or lifestyle group; different groups should maintain their own identity, and social integration occurs when different groups interact in at least a minimum way through shared activities. Whether social integration occurs at a group level or at an individual level, the concept of social integration suggests human interaction, mix, mutual acceptance, inclusion, similar status, and unification. These notions accompany and partly correspond with notions explored under the concept of physical integration: physical connection, similarity, continuity, and unification. Social integration may promote physical integration when, through human use and interaction, different physical areas are joined. Physical integration may promote social integration when continuous physical spaces encourage a physical mix of people and human interaction.²

² Physical integration of built forms and spaces may promote social integration of different people in two ways. First, continuous physical spaces and shared uses may attract a physical mix of people. A physical mix of people is likely to promote some human interaction; if social ties among people are formed through this interaction, social integration may begin. Positive social ties of the sort that may be needed for social integration may only develop, however, if human interaction among the physical mix is positive: social integration may not develop if human interaction leads to conflict. Second, the physical integration of built

These reflections suggest that the integration of different neighborhood areas has both physical and social components; both components may support each other, but both components may conceivably exist without each other.³ Proponents of "integration" between different areas may be most concerned about the social integration of people from those different areas; unless one's interest is primarily in the physical form and integrity of the built environment, calls for "neighborhood integration" suggest a foremost concern for the life conditions and social interactions of people from different neighborhoods. Although it may be possible for social integration to exist without physical integration, it is possible that in the absence of social integration between two neighborhoods, efforts to promote physical integration can help efforts to further social integration.⁴

These reflections on neighborhood integration can help clarify the concept of "project-neighborhood integration." Although the distressed public housing projects examined in the URD proposals are not usually discussed as "neighborhoods," they are generally described as "isolated" enclaves -- as physical areas that are currently set apart from adjacent neighborhoods. Because "neighborhoods," as suggested above, are most simply physical areas bounded in space, and because distressed housing projects are often separate, often bounded physical areas, the concepts underlying neighborhood integration can apply to the notion of project-neighborhood integration.

Project-neighborhood integration, following the ideas outlined above, can have both a physical and a social aspect: integration of project and neighborhood might entail the physical continuity of the the project's and neighborhood's physical fabrics, the similarity of project and neighborhood physical forms, the mix and social interaction of project and neighborhood residents, the acceptance and inclusion of project residents into neighborhood functions, and the unification of both the physical project and its people into the larger physical fabric and social structure of the surrounding areas. It is possible that calls for project-neighborhood integration may be most concerned for the social integration of project residents into broader society. In an absence of social integration between severely distressed public housing residents and residents outside the projects, efforts to augment the physical integration of project and neighborhood may help efforts towards social integration.

forms in different areas can create an image of similarity between the two areas; it is possible that visual similarity of life condition for people in the two different areas can help one group attain a minimum of social respect, acceptance and status by the other group. As argued above, this minimum of social respect and acceptance, and some indication of similarity in social status, may be required for social integration.

³ It is possible that groups of people in areas that are physically separated from each other might travel to common locations to form social ties that lead to a state of social integration; it is possible that two groups of people who never interact with each other and maintain a social distance can live in areas that are physically continuous.

⁴ Again, physical integration may only promote social integration if the physical mix of spaces and people lead to positive social interaction rather than conflict.

A number of physical relationships are theoretically possible between current severely distressed public housing projects and their surrounding neighborhoods. Each of these physical relationships can transform in a number of ways: either towards greater project-neighborhood physical integration (with the concomitant possibility of greater social integration) or towards project-neighborhood separation (with the accompanying possibility of social separation). Possible relationships and their transformations are:

1) Project within a larger neighborhood. Following the notions behind physical integration discussed above, the project can a) physically merge in a fine-grained way with the larger neighborhood, b) share interactive borders, or c) remain as a separate enclave with clearly defined, perhaps closed borders. If the project is designed to merge with the surrounding neighborhood, it can merge completely with continuous streets, similar physical fabrics, perhaps with mixed uses inside and outside the project. The project may also merge as a unit, where continuity of form and shared uses are concentrated at the project edges. If the project is designed to remain as a separate enclave, the opposite of any or all of the physical integration notions must be applied: discontinuity of physical form, dissimilarity of physical spaces, disunification of project and neighborhood fabric. It is not suggested that complete project-neighborhood integration or separation are the only possible transformations; as suggested in Chapter 3, project-neighborhood integration can fall along a continuum of forms. Diagrams presented below represent some extreme cases for illustrative purposes.

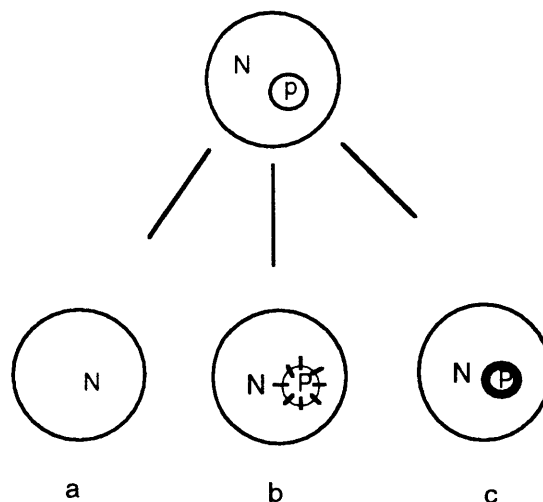


Diagram 1. Project within neighborhood and possible transformations.

San Francisco's and New Haven's proposals promote physical integration of their projects within larger neighborhoods: San Francisco's proposal opens project streets, matches project facades to surroundings, and introduces the possibility of mixed neighborhood uses at project edges (perhaps strategy "a"); New Haven's proposal opens streets and places shared neighborhood uses at its project edge (perhaps strategy "b"). San Francisco's proposal has the most potential to completely merge with the surrounding neighborhood; New Haven's redeveloped project might maintain a shared, yet clear boundary with the surrounding neighborhood.

2) Project adjacent to other neighborhoods. When a project sits adjacent to one or several other neighborhoods, project redevelopment can either a) merge the project with one adjacent neighborhood; b) merge the project with several surrounding neighborhoods; c) turn the project into its own neighborhood cell and link the project to others at the edges; or d) turn the project into its own neighborhood cell and separate the project from other neighborhoods.

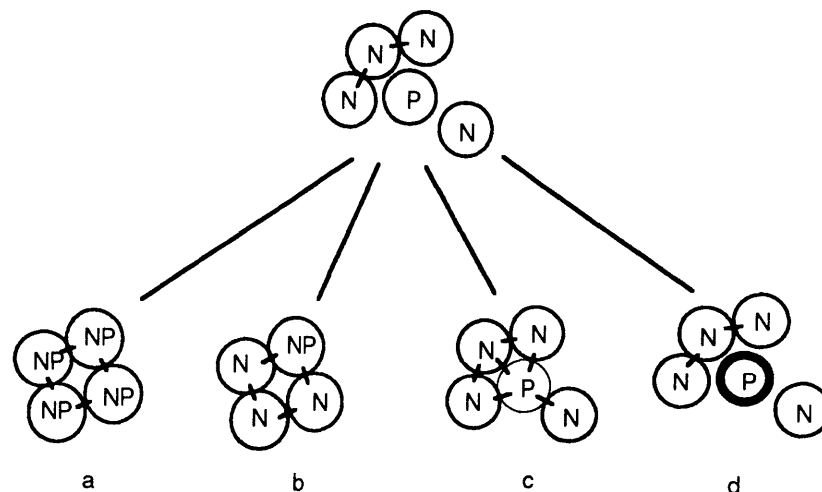


Diagram 2. Project adjacent to other neighborhoods and possible transformations.

Boston's proposal describes Mission Main as a project adjacent to several different areas. The proposal perhaps wishes to follow strategy "a": the housing authority will open city streets seems to create greater continuity between the project and its surrounding areas. Design elements in the proposal, however, push the physical plan towards "d"; a large community building at the site's center gives the site an identity, and few edge links with surrounding neighborhoods may contribute to the project's physical separation. Although a site plan that acquires characteristics of strategy "d" does not preclude social integration, such a site plan does

little to promote social integration. Kansas City's project sits adjacent to the neighborhood of Columbus Park; its proposal also suggests strategy "d". Again, such a site plan will do little to promote social integration of project and neighborhood residents.

3) Project as the primary neighborhood in the area. When projects are surrounded by vacant lots or little development, the project may become the area's most populated residential area. Housing authorities redeveloping such projects can try to a) attract private development in and around the project, to link the project with city development in the distance; b) work with other public or private developers, to develop the area between project and distant city; c) develop surrounding areas themselves; or d) focus on the internal development of the project. The first three strategies aim to physically integrate the project with distant development; the last strategy may try to separate the project from its surroundings. Strategy "c" may never be politically feasible.

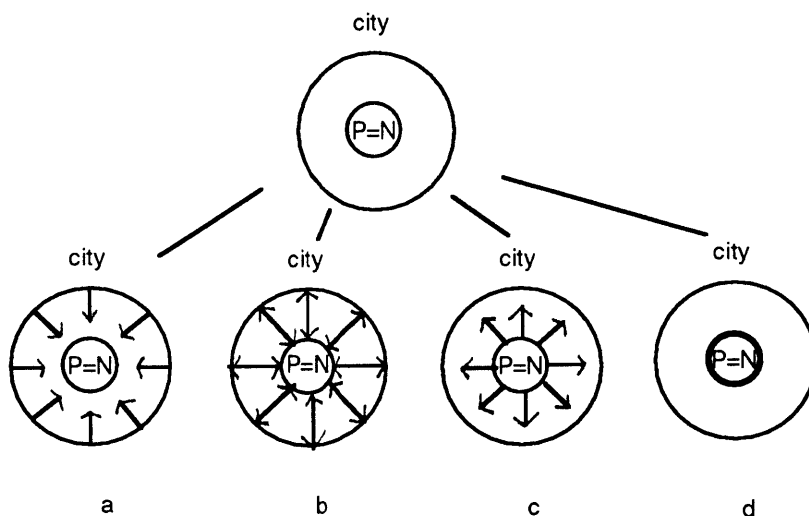


Diagram 3. Project as area's primary neighborhood and possible transformations.

Both Charlotte's and Cleveland's proposals describe projects as the main neighborhoods of their areas. Charlotte's proposal adopts elements of both strategy "a" and "d": it aims to attract private development by ringing the site with owner-occupied homes and parks; it aims to hide and separate the rental portion of the project both with this ring and with an inward focus towards inner streets and an interior community center. Cleveland's proposal aims to stimulate development around its projects (perhaps through strategy "b") by breaking up the project into smaller clusters

that might be emulated around the projects. If new development does occur in the manner envisioned by the housing authority, the final transformation of these projects might follow pattern "2a" above (where the project is broken into little neighborhoods which merge with surrounding neighborhoods). Because the physical and social fabric surrounding projects in these cases are absent, efforts to build a physical fabric that contains a diverse social population can only further the social integration of project residents with other social groups.

What may drive decisions to integrate or separate projects from surrounding neighborhoods?

Reasons behind the six housing authorities' measures to physically integrate or separate projects from surrounding neighborhoods are difficult to state clearly; actions to integrate or separate were not always explained and may not have been consciously taken by the housing authorities. Writers discussed in Chapter 1 present a number of ideas about neighborhoods and desirable city form; their writings contain both explicit and implicit rationales for integration or separation of neighborhoods. Their ideas suggest a number of common assumptions that may drive decisions to integrate or to separate city areas; some of these assumptions may lie implicitly behind the six URD proposals' different redevelopment strategies.

Authors like Sennett and Newman, who argue for open or permeable boundaries between city neighborhoods, and authors like Jacobs and Alexander, who argue for mixed uses throughout or at the shared edges of city neighborhoods, argue for greater physical and social integration of city areas and people. Tables 1-1 and 1-2 from Chapter 1 list a number of common assumptions that were stated both directly and indirectly by authors who advocate greater physical openness between city neighborhoods (Table 1-1, columns B and C) and greater physical mix of buildings and people (Table 1-2, columns C and D). A common assumption among these authors appears to be that the physical mix of spaces and uses promotes social encounter; social encounter with a wide variety of different people is necessary for human and social development for the individual. Continuous, active spaces encourage social interaction and human growth; closed, discontinuous, or empty spaces lack human interaction and limit the possibilities for human growth.

The authors suggest that development of the individual is an end goal; because the process of learning to interact positively with different people is a process of social integration, social integration may be desirable because it can promote individual development. The belief that social interaction and social integration are necessary for human growth leads to another assumption: exposure to large numbers of people, both familiar and unfamiliar, is a desirable condition for individuals. A diverse city filled with strangers is thus an asset, rather than a liability, to an individual's well-being; the more people encounter others, the more they learn to grow.

The belief in the positive value of wide social encounter further assumes that people inside and outside particular neighborhoods are fundamentally similar: people of both groups have the same requirements for personal growth (social interaction), and people of both groups are able and willing to negotiate positive social connections with each other. Assumptions that wide social encounter will create positive social connections rather than social conflict suggest that people share a basic desire for peaceful coexistence with others, or that people are willing to overlook personal and social differences to find their common ground. Housing authorities who promote social encounter between project and neighborhood residents may assume that encounters between both groups will benefit both groups, that both groups share a basic desire to live peacefully with each other, or that both groups are willing to overlook personal and social differences to reach mutual understandings.

Measures that promote wide social encounter and broad-based social integration may carry the assumption that positive social ties among different people need not be close; loose, respectful ties with many different individuals may encourage more human growth than close ties with a limited group of people. Loose social ties, wide social encounter, diverse cities, and social integration may all be valued not only because they promote individual development, but also because they may contribute to a particular vision of urban life. This vision, which may be valued as a good in and of itself, may be characterized by high population and building density, population diversity, and a loose social integration that holds the city together and makes the city an enjoyable place. The social and physical "urbanity" advocated by Hillier and Jacobs may typify this vision of "good city life." Housing project redevelopers who take measures to further physical and social integration of projects and neighborhoods may do so because such actions contribute to "urbanistic" visions of good city life for all people and for project residents specifically.

A number of other assumptions may drive housing authorities to integrate projects and surrounding neighborhoods. Just as measures promoting social integration may have good consequences (growth of project residents, attainment of a particular good city life), measures promoting social separation may have negative consequences. As mentioned above, physical and social separation limit social encounters and may thus limit peoples' individual development. Social separation may lead to social segregation -- a state in which members of one group in society deliberately avoid or exclude members of another social group.⁵ Exclusion of one group from a range of life opportunities, such as employment or participation in different markets, can breed poverty, government dependence, and a host of other social problems. To avoid such negative consequences, housing authorities may adopt integrationist policies. PHA's may try to integrate projects and neighborhoods because they believe physical and social separation are

⁵ It is possible that social separation becomes social segregation when the separated group develops a poor social image in the eyes of others in society who have the power to exclude.

impossible,⁶ PHAs may also try to further integration because they believe social integration is a just and fair state in and of itself.

The proposals from San Francisco, New Haven, and Boston suggest that housing authorities from these cities carry some of the assumptions that may drive greater project-neighborhood integration. Each proposal describes projects' surrounding neighborhoods in positive manners: San Francisco's city neighborhoods are "strong" and affluent; the Dixwell neighborhood in New Haven has a strong community spirit; and some neighborhoods surrounding Mission Main are described as cultural and academic centers within Boston. People within projects are viewed as willing and able to live with and to live like residents in outside neighborhoods: San Francisco's project residents will be given the choice to pursue on-site or off-site social activities; New Haven's residents will work with neighborhood organizations to manage the project's revitalization.⁷ All three proposals suggest an "urbanistic" way of life for project and surrounding residents: San Francisco's proposal envisions frequent encounters and individually-forged social ties between project residents and neighbors; New Haven's proposal suggests that project residents will work cooperatively with city agencies and institutions to improve life in Dixwell; and Boston's proposal envisions a lively project street life that may match the life found in other downtown Boston neighborhoods.

Tables 1-1 and 1-2 also suggest a number of assumptions that may motivate the tendency to create project enclaves. Perry's and Poyner's assumptions about city life and human needs (column A, Table 1-1 and columns A and B, Table 1-2) lead them to recommend physical and social separation of different neighborhoods. They view the outside city as a threat: unfamiliar people and unrestrained social forces bring harm (like crime and blight) to residents of neighborhoods. Because surrounding areas are dangerous, neighborhoods must be protected; healthy residential life cannot develop unless the city is prevented from entering the neighborhood. A safe and strong neighborhood life cannot develop until strangers are minimized, and familiarity among neighbors is guaranteed.

Perry's and Poyner's writings suggest that neighborhood separation is necessary because people inside neighborhoods are different from people outside: people inside neighborhoods have special needs that are served by the design and sheltered space of their

⁶ The National Commission seems to have adopted this position by claiming that public housing projects are "an integrated element of their surrounding community" (National Commission, Case Study and Site Examination Reports, p. 1-7).

⁷ Boston's proposal suggests that Mission Main residents are economically and linguistically isolated from surrounding residents. A high proportion of Mission Main residents are unemployed. "[M]any of these same residents," however, "have characteristics which indicate their ability to be integrated into the larger community." The proposal states: "Residents of Mission Main as well as the Mission Hill District ... walk to work, represent a diversity of ethnic groups, are employed largely in a similar range of occupations..." (Boston Housing Authority, p. F-40.) Boston's proposal notes both similarities and differences between Mission Main and neighborhood residents; interestingly, the proposed site redesign shows both inward and outward orientations.

neighborhoods. The authors suggest that the design and boundedness of neighborhoods can make these spaces so attractive that they bring responsible citizens within their borders and stimulate similar neighborhood development around their borders. By clearly marking projects and their residents as different, housing authorities may assume that project residents have special needs that must be served by special spaces; they may also assume that the special spaces they create will become so attractive that more "responsible" citizens will wish to live in these enclaves.⁸

Perry's arguments for separate neighborhood units assumed that physically-bounded areas with finite groups of people breed strong social communities; such communities might be marked by close-knit social ties that develop both from interaction with a finite group of people and from participation in the neighborhood's community life. Close social ties, bounded spaces, small groups of familiar people, and limited contact with the outside city suggest a vision for good city life that is less "urban" than integrationist visions and perhaps more "suburban."⁹ This "suburban" vision, perhaps a version of Perry's neighborhood unit, may be characterized by more low-density building and more green spaces than are found in more "urban" areas; this vision may include a restricted residential population that has easy accessibility to the neighborhood center as well as a tranquil community life marked by close ties and familiar, friendly neighbors. Holding such an image as ideal for project or all city residents, housing authorities may decide to separate projects from surrounding urban neighborhoods to create more communal enclaves.

Another reason why housing authorities may wish to separate projects from surrounding neighborhoods is because surrounding areas are developed as gated communities. If fenced enclaves characterize the fabric of neighboring areas, physical and social "integration" of project and neighborhood may require mimicking this gated fabric for the housing project. Social integration in such areas may take the perverse form of separating project residents from other residents so that all residents will appear alike.¹⁰ Housing authorities may also separate projects into enclaves not because they wish to, but because project-neighborhood integration is not

⁸ By separating projects and their people as different from areas and people in surrounding neighborhoods, housing authorities may not only assume that their projects are different in a better way than surrounding areas; they may assume that projects and residents are different in a *worse* way than neighboring residents and areas. Decisions to isolate projects and project residents may conceivably be fueled by the desire to protect surrounding areas from the projects.

⁹ Gans argues that there is no one "urban" or "suburban" way of life; patterns of social interaction found in dense urban cities and in low-density suburbs arise not because of differences in the physical environment but rather because different social classes with different ways of life choose to live in different physical areas. The "suburban" way of life I describe is a vision that arises partly from Perry's vision of the neighborhood unit and partly from images evoked by the URD proposals. I use the term "suburban" as a label for the specific image I describe; I do not use the term to try to generalize about certain patterns of development that currently exist across the country.

¹⁰ Residents in one Los Angeles housing project argue that they need fences in order to appear as equals with the rest of Los Angeles society. "We need to protect ourselves and our children; we need to make everyone understand that our lives are as valuable as everyone's." (Leavitt and Loukaitou-Sideris, p. 19.)

possible. Site constraints, such as highways or natural barriers around housing projects, may make project-neighborhood physical integration infeasible. Areas surrounding projects may be empty, making physical and social project-neighborhood integration an unclear task.

Neighborhood opposition to closer physical and social ties between project and surrounding residents may prevent housing authorities' efforts to promote project-neighborhood integration. Funds required for physical integration (like street connections or new building) or for social integration (like social programs that include both project and neighborhood residents) may be inadequate.

The proposals from Kansas City, Charlotte, and Cleveland display some of the attitudes and assumptions behind project-neighborhood separation noted above. All proposals perceive projects' surrounding neighborhoods as threatening, dangerous places: outside people are "undesirable," "vagrants," often "winos" who corrupt and harm the lives of people inside projects. Project residents are weak and vulnerable, and they need special social programs and physical conditions (a special learning complex, a Family Self-Sufficiency program, bounded urban villages) to build better residential lives. Required community service activities will build up a strong community life among project residents; close ties among residents are preferred over loose ties (residents in Cleveland's projects will relate to each other as "extended kin"). Community and residential life within the redeveloped project enclaves will become so attractive that new development (around Cleveland's projects, around Charlotte's project) will occur. The drawings of a redeveloped Guinotte Manor in Kansas City depict an image of "good city life" that appears low-density, tranquil, "suburban."

What are the consequences of project-neighborhood separation?

The discussion above suggests a number of assumptions and reasons that may lie behind housing authorities' actions to integrate or separate projects from surrounding neighborhoods. Housing authorities may decide to promote greater project-neighborhood integration perhaps because they believe that encounters between project and neighborhood residents will be positive, because project residents can live like and live with neighborhood residents, because they carry an "urbanistic" vision of city life for all citizens, because loose social ties with a wide range of people are valued over close ties with a bounded group of people, because separation of project and neighborhood creates a host of social problems, because social integration is a good in and of itself.

Housing authorities may decide to create project enclaves perhaps because they believe that surrounding neighborhoods are threatening, that people inside projects need special treatment and protection from larger social forces, that the project can become an attractive haven within the surrounding area, that a "suburban," low-density project with a closely-knit community

life is preferable to a more "urban," loosely-tied population, that the trend in future development is gated communities, that site or political constraints prevent the integration of project and neighborhood.

These sets of assumptions may be only partially held or tacitly understood by redevelopers of housing projects, or they may emerge from careful assessments of existing project-neighborhood conditions and from clear visions of desired project states. Decisions to separate projects from surrounding neighborhoods may be adopted because social differences between project and neighborhood residents would clearly lead to great conflict, or because a secluded, close-knit community life is explicitly deemed ideal for project residents. Although there may be some real benefits to creating project enclaves, however, a number of costs may develop through the separation of projects from surrounding neighborhoods.

First, there may be long term costs to project differentiation created by the project's separation from surrounding areas. Any time an area and its people are separated from others, both the area and people may be marked as different -- even their only difference is their physical separation from other people and other areas. If a project and its people have a positive image from surrounding areas, then project residents may be accepted within larger society and may be able to participate freely in the economic and social structures created by larger society. If a project and its people develop a negative image from surrounding areas, however, they may be avoided and deliberately excluded from broader society's economic and social life. Physical and social avoidance of the project may result in disinvestment from the project's immediate area; physical and social exclusion of project residents may contribute to social segregation and discrimination in the job market.

It is difficult to state definitively what factors will create a negative image around a separate project enclave. Poor physical quality of the project and residents of different social backgrounds and different races may contribute to negative project images. People in a project enclave located in a poor neighborhood may be stigmatized by their association with the poor neighborhood, even though the quality of life within their bounded project may not be poor. If society outside the project is not organized into bounded enclaves, the project may be stigmatized with a poor image simply because it is different (even though life inside the project may be of good quality for its residents). Although project separation from surrounding neighborhoods may bring benefits to its residents, separation necessarily brings differentiation; differentiation carries the risk of segregation and the negative consequences of social exclusion.

Second, separation of project from neighborhood may carry high maintenance costs. If barriers are erected between project and neighborhood to keep negative influences away from the project, large resources may be necessary to maintain those barriers if the negative influences are strong. For instance, gated projects with single entry points that are built to keep dangerous

crime outside of projects may need constant vigilance to ensure that gates are not destroyed or that security guards are not harmed. Another strategy besides gating the project might consider social and investment policies that aim to reduce the dangerous crime in the surrounding neighborhoods.

Separation of project from neighborhood may also create high maintenance costs for housing authorities if projects are created as special-needs enclaves whose residents look to the enclave for most of their supportive services. Community life and individual growth of residents within the project may indeed flourish if great resources are devoted to such growth; project life may decline rapidly, however, if funds and services are suddenly cut and if the people within the project have not established links in surrounding areas to receive needed services. Physical and social integration of projects with surrounding neighborhoods may establish greater independence of projects from the funds and services of housing authorities; neighborhood-integrated projects may be better equipped than project enclaves to ride the ups and downs of housing authority fortunes.

Recommendations for housing project redevelopment

What lessons may be learned from this examination of current housing project redevelopment strategies around the country and this exploration project-neighborhood integration? Housing authorities and housing project redevelopers may wish to consider these suggestions and observations as they embark upon redevelopment efforts.

- **Consider existing and future project-neighborhood relationships.**

Public housing projects exist as physical entities either within, adjacent to, or equal to entire neighborhoods. Severely distressed public housing projects tend to be highly isolated physical and social entities. Redevelopment of these projects necessarily changes the relationships between projects and neighborhoods: projects can become more highly integrated or more sharply separated from surrounding areas. A number of existing relationships and possible transformations are possible.

1) Project within larger neighborhood. After redevelopment, the project may completely merge with the neighborhood, share a permeable boundary with the neighborhood, or separate further from the neighborhood.

2) Project adjacent to other neighborhoods. After redevelopment, the project may completely merge with one or several neighborhoods, share a permeable boundary with adjacent neighborhoods, or further separate from adjacent neighborhoods.

3) Project as the area's primary neighborhood. Redevelopment efforts may try to stimulate development around the neighborhood for future integration, or efforts may focus on the separate development of the project.

- **Consider why project-neighborhood integration or separation is desirable.**

Decisions to integrate or separate projects from surrounding neighborhoods may be accompanied by particular values and assumptions about project residents, project life, neighborhood residents, and "good city life" in general. Housing authorities and project redevelopers should consider:

- > What would be achieved by greater project-neighborhood integration?
- > What would be achieved by greater project-neighborhood separation?

Desires for neighborhood-integrated projects may be accompanied by strong beliefs in the value of wide social encounter, in the value of a diverse urban life, and in the ability of project and neighborhood residents to live together harmoniously. Desires for project enclaves may carry assumptions that project residents have special social and physical needs that are very different from the needs of neighboring residents, and that close community ties among a bounded group of people are ideal. Because future evaluations of redevelopment "success" require clear statements of original goals (as well as methods that measure attainment of those goals), clear conceptions of desirable project-neighborhood relationships may help housing authorities later assess the "success" of their redevelopment efforts. Clear conceptions of desirable project-neighborhood relationships may also help housing authorities define their range of responsibilities for projects and their surrounding neighborhoods.

- **Decisions to separate projects from surrounding neighborhoods carry some negative consequences for housing projects and housing authorities.**

If housing authorities or housing project redevelopers separate projects from surrounding neighborhoods, such separation may incur high costs. Project-neighborhood separation runs the risk of project segregation by outside communities; segregation of site and people can lead to disinvestment around the area, social and economic discrimination, and a range of other social problems. Project enclaves in poor neighborhoods may incur high maintenance costs for housing authorities; project enclaves in general may become social and physical developments that are highly dependent on the fiscal and organizational fortunes of public housing authorities.

- **Physical integration of project and neighborhood may aid social integration of project and neighborhood.**

Project-neighborhood integration may comprise two dimensions: physical integration of project and neighborhood sites, and social integration of project and neighborhood residents. Physical integration of different areas may occur when the built form of both areas is continuous, connected, similar, and unified. Social integration of different groups may occur when groups interact, accept each other, and mix to form larger connected social wholes. Calls for greater project-neighborhood integration may be most concerned about the social integration of project residents with surrounding society. In the absence of social integration, measures to improve physical integration of project and neighborhood may bolster efforts to further social integration. Project-neighborhood physical integration may be promoted by:

- > creating **STREETS** that run continuously through projects and surrounding neighborhoods, that match the street design of surrounding areas, and that contain uses that attract neighborhood residents into project sites;
- > designing **OPEN SPACES, BOUNDED SPACES, and "DEFENSIBLE SPACE"** on project sites in ways that carefully match the surrounding neighborhood fabric;
- > designing **PROJECT EDGES** in manners that match the physical edges of neighborhood edges, and with uses that serve both project and neighborhood residents;
- > designing **COMMUNITY FACILITIES and NON-RESIDENTIAL USES** at either project edges or in surrounding neighborhood locations, for both project and neighborhood residents;
- > establishing **PROJECT IMAGES** that visually blend with the surrounding city fabric.

- **Physical separation of project and neighborhood may aid the social separation of project and neighborhood.**

Like project-neighborhood integration, project-neighborhood separation may comprise physical and social dimension. Project-neighborhood physical separation may contribute to project-neighborhood social separation. To create physical separation of project and neighborhood, opposite actions to the above may be taken. Housing authorities who espouse project-neighborhood social integration but adopt physical design measures that contribute to project-neighborhood physical separation may undermine their efforts for social integration. Likewise, housing authorities who espouse project-neighborhood social separation but adopt physical design measures that contribute to project-neighborhood physical integration may undermine their efforts for social separation.

- **Social integration of project and neighborhood residents may require a broadening of housing authority and housing project services.**

Explorations of the meaning of project-neighborhood social integration suggest that social integration requires natural, frequent, perhaps daily social interaction of project and neighborhood residents. Such natural and frequent interaction can occur as people shop in common stores, as people work in common jobs, as people play in common areas, or as people receive common services (like day care, schooling) in common service buildings.

Physical designers working for or with housing authorities can promote such interaction when they design shops, workplaces, recreation areas, service buildings, and streets that are accessible and used by both project and neighborhood residents. Service providers working for or with housing authorities can promote such interaction when they design commercial, employment, and social services that are used by both project and neighborhood residents. Because natural and frequent encounters between project and neighborhood residents might not occur without the physical design and social service interventions of housing authorities, housing authorities may have to consider broadening the housing project site to carry the activities of neighborhood residents, and broadening the scope of project services to include services for neighborhood residents.

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Boris Sztorch, Jeff Wanha, Housing Authority of Kansas City, Missouri

Paul Langenkamp, City Planning and Development Office, Kansas City, Missouri

Nancy Yost, Bill Riley, Boston Housing Authority

Appendix

Table A-1

Treatment of OUTDOOR SHARED SPACES	Boston	New Haven	Charlotte	Cleveland	Kansas City	San Francisco
Proposed outdoor shared spaces/courtyards	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • common back courtyards (semi-private) • shared front yards and stoops 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • enclosed courtyards 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • place every area under the control of a resident family or a group of units • eliminate public areas 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • buildings grouped around courtyards 	<i>(as seen in drawings:)</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • open, shared back-yard areas 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • no common outdoor spaces

Treatment of INDOOR SHARED SPACES	Boston	New Haven	Charlotte	Cleveland	Kansas City	San Francisco
Proposed indoor shared spaces	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • eliminate all shared building spaces (provide individual stairwells, entries) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • provide separate unit entries, eliminate shared hallways 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>individual entries for individual units</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • common entries unsafe; shared entries & exits confusing; eliminate common areas inside buildings 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>individual entries for individual units</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • no common building spaces

Table A-2

Treatment of NATURE (on the site)	Boston	New Haven	Charlotte	Cleveland	Kansas City	San Francisco
Problems associated with existing nature	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • site desolation • site is barren, uniform, open, dreary 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • overgrown trees, cracked site-work, dangerous conditions 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • sites lack landscaping; barren, inhospitable • without landscape, sites do not feel residential 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the site has no landscape 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • too much open space
Proposed changes with site nature	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • re-landscape the whole site: fences, shrubs, shade trees, seating, tot lots, planters, backyard gardens 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • re-landscape site • create play areas, seating areas, pedestrian walkways 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • improve site appearance with new landscaping • create a new park at the northern edge as a buffer for the homeowner units 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • provide comprehensive landscaping: new trees, shrubs, sidewalks, play-equipment, fencing • enclose grassy areas 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • create an "attractive and functional landscape" • provide landscape buffers between the project and industrial zones and highways • make site aesthetically pleasing for marketing <p><i>(as seen in the drawings:)</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • extensive green lawns, trees, open space 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • individual back yards to hold sandboxes, traditional vegetable gardens

Table A-3

Treatment of Buildings, Building Units, and the Building Site	Boston	New Haven	Charlotte	Cleveland	Kansas City	San Francisco
Project Size	• <i>maintain same physical extent of site</i>	• <i>maintain same physical extent of site</i>	• selective building demolition at project edges	• <i>maintain same physical extent of sites</i>	• <i>maintain same physical extent of site</i>	• <i>maintain same physical extent of sites</i>
Project Scale/Height	• selectively demolish third floors of buildings	• add third floors to some buildings	• <i>maintain building heights at 2-stories</i>	• <i>maintain scale of high rise and low-rise buildings</i>	• demolish buildings; rebuild at 1- and 2-story heights	• demolish buildings; rebuild 2- and 3-story town and row-houses
Project Density	• reduce number of units from 822 to 538	• reduce number of units from 462 to 380 (24 units/acre to 18 units/acre)	• reduce number of units from 409 to 313 (11.4 units/acre to ?)	• reduce number of units at Outwaite Homes from 374 to 263 (30.8 units/acre to ?)	• demolish 418 units; rebuild 280 on site	• demolish 208 units at Bemal (53 units/acre); demolish 276 units at Yerba Buena (77 units/acre) rebuild at lower density
Extent of Demolition	• selective demolition of third floor levels	• complete interior demolition	• selective building demolition at fringes of site	• demolish building interiors	• complete demolition and rebuilding of site	• complete demolition and rebuilding of site
Replacement of lost units	• provide residents with Section 8 certificates	• use URD funds to relocate and re-house tenants	• re-house displaced residents in other developments	• scatter replacement single-family homes around the Central Neighborhood	• scatter 138 units around the city	• relocate 83 lost units from the Yerba Buena project off site
Unit Sizes	• provide more living space; enlarge family units • reconfigure units for more efficient circulation	• expand and reconfigure units	• expand unit sizes in line with privately-developed modest market-rate housing	<i>no discussion</i>	<i>no discussion</i>	• expand unit sizes
Unit Mix	• adjust toward more 2-BR units	• reduce number of efficiencies and 1-BRs provide more 2-BR units	• "unit conversions to reduce density"	• convert 1-BR, 2-BR, 4-BR, 5-BR units to 3-BR units	<i>no discussion</i>	• reduce number of 1-BR units
Facade Treatment	• distinguish between building fronts and backs • incorporate new architectural elements such as porch stoops, roof treatments, and a variety of details to emphasize a residential feeling and scale	<i>no discussion no drawings</i>	• soften institutional appearance of buildings with front porches, roof dormers, new windows and doors, variety of architectural details	• repair masonry facades • vary facades by building cluster • soften hard exteriors with covered entries and stairwells	• <i>pitched roofs with varying roof-lines, shuttered windows, layered surfaces</i>	• provide building fronts with a managed variety of detail to give each unit individual identity • design vertical scale and articulation of facades to be appropriate to project surroundings

Table A-4

Profile of Current Project Residents	Boston	New Haven	Charlotte	Cleveland	Kansas City	San Francisco
household type	mostly single parent families	96% of households are headed by single parents	94.7% of households headed by single female parents	many residents are young and single, with high turn-over rates; many others are female-headed households prone to extended poverty	73.2% of households are headed by single female parents	over 82% of households have female heads
education level	most have not completed high school	low educational attainment in Dixwell as a whole	--	low education attainment and high school drop-out rates in the projects	many are illiterate, lack critical thinking skills and basic job skills	residents need educational support
income level	68% of households report no earned income; mean household income in 1992 was \$9,088; fewer than 1/4 have incomes above Boston median (\$29,180)	88% of households within Elm Haven earn less than \$10,000 per year; 77% receive government benefits as their major source of income	average income is \$5,639 per year	average yearly incomes in Central are between \$4,000 and \$6,000; a large proportion of project residents are dependent on public assistance	median income in adjacent Columbus Park was \$8,997 in 1990; 14.6% of the project population lives on earned wages; the rest live on government benefits, child support, or no income	residents have among the lowest incomes of all SFHA developments; average household income was \$8,000 in 1990 at both sites
employment	only 36% of residents over 16 yrs were employed in '90	82% of the population in the project is unemployed	less than 9% of the population is employed	low employment in Central	low project employment; 11.4% unemployment in adjacent Columbus Park	only 9% of households at both site were employed in 1990
age	over 1/3 of residents under 15 yrs; median age was 21.9 in '90	almost half residents in Dixwell is under age 24; 39% of the black population within Dixwell is under age 19	60% of the population is under 20 years old	many residents young and single	median age in Columbus Park was 26.8 years in 1990	approximately 50% of the population at each site is under age 18
race/ethnicity	63% Hispanic in 1990; almost all population growth (97%) in Mission Main from '80 to 90 was Hispanic	94% of the population within Elm Haven is black	the entire population is black	---	42.8% of Guinotte population is Asian; 40.9% is African-American	---

Table A-5

Profile of Current Neighborhood Residents	Boston	New Haven	Charlotte	Cleveland	Kansas City	San Francisco
household type	neighborhoods of young people, college students	--	scattered single family homes and subsidized apartments; new residents outside Earle Village in Ward 1	76% of CMHA's public housing developments located in Central Neighborhood; much land vacant	residential population within Columbus Park has stopped declining and has stabilized over the past three years	Mission District: half the housing stock is single family homes and 2- to 4-unit buildings; 16% are publicly-assisted rental units for low and mod-income Western Addition: many subsidized rental row houses
education level	37% of people over age 18 in surrounding Mission Hill enrolled in college	--	--	--	--	--
income level	median income in Mission Hill was \$21,122 in 1990, 28% below Boston's median	extreme poverty within Dixwell	--	Central is one of the city's most physically, economically, and socially impacted of the city's 35 statistical planning areas	median income in Columbus Park was \$8,997 in 1990;	Mission District: suffers from poverty, yet has seen improvement in the '70s & '80s Western Addition: population consists of many seniors and families of moderate and low income
employment	9.5% of Mission Hill's population unemployed (Boston average 8.3% in '90)	high rates of unemployment-underemployment	--	--	11.4% unemployment (9.2% unemployment in adjacent areas)	--
age	median age in Mission Hill was 26.7 years (Boston median was 30.8 yrs)	almost half residents in Dixwell is under age 24; 39% of the black population within Dixwell is under age 19	--	--	median age in Columbus Park was 26.8 years in 1990	--
race	white non-Hispanic 44.5%; black non-Hispanic 25%; 21.7% Hispanic; 8.8% other	Dixwell is the historic center of New Haven's African-American community	--	population in Central is 95% African-American	39% of population is white, 27% is black, 34% is other	Mission District: 52% Latino, 32% white, 4.3% black, 2% other Western Addition: 45.5% white, 30.5% black, 16.2% Asian, 7.1% Latino
neighborhood uses and organizations	major medical, academic, and cultural institutions	Dixwell Community ("Q") House; Dixwell neighborhood corporations, church organizations	abandoned properties and lots; a church, a school; CBD only blocks away to the northwest	vacant lots, vacant buildings, deteriorated retail districts; Cuyahoga Community College, St. Vincent Charity Hospital	Columbus Park is one of the oldest, most ethnically diverse, yet blighted areas in the city; mixed-use area area nearby; future river-front park and office development planned	City of San Francisco filled with strong, vibrant neighborhoods; Mission District is undergoing some gentrification, Western Addition has been redeveloped; both areas are mixed use residential and commercial

Table A-6

Profile of Target Project Population	Boston	New Haven	Charlotte	Cleveland	Kansas City	San Francisco
household type	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • more 2-BR units • enlarged family units • individual entries and unit identities • separate units for elderly • long-term residents 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • fewer 1-BR and efficiency units, more 2- and 3-BRs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • families participating in the Family Self-Sufficiency program • home-owning families participating in the Homeowner program • Elderly and Handicapped individuals 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • shift unit mix towards more 3-BR units, reduce 1 BR units <i>(to house more medium-sized families?)</i> • provide amenities for families and children • target families, not singles or seniors 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • attract wage-earning, low-income families to the site 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • build 2- and 3-story row or townhouses for families • place larger families on interior streets so kids can play on the streets • revive traditional outdoor activities such as barbeques, sandboxes, gardens
education level	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>higher education levels as people participate in education programs</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>higher education levels as people participate in expanded education programs</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>higher education levels as people participate in required school or training programs</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>higher education levels as people participate in education programs</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • higher education levels as people use the services of the High Performance Learning Center and become exposed to cultural and educational programs outside the project 	--
income level	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • economic mix of families 	--	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>higher incomes as part of the development becomes occupied by home-owners</i> 	--	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • low-income residents, foster economic diversity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • create mixed-income communities at the two sites
employment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • target working families 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • residents plan, deliver, govern, manage their own services and development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • all residents must either be employed, enrolled in school, or in a job training program • all families in the FSS program must participate in community service 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • required community participation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • residents will be assisted by city agencies and city job training programs to train for and find employment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • residents will create their own incentives for employment
age	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>a greater mix of ages, as long-term residents enter</i> • a small population of elderly 	--	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>a greater mix of ages as home-owning families enter</i> • small population of elderly 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>a greater mix of ages as families settle into villages</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • a greater mix of ages as stable families enter the development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>a greater mix of ages as families enter and stay in projects</i>
race/ethnicity	--	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>primarily African-American as Elm Haven becomes a stronger component of Dixwell</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>a greater racial mix as FSS participants leave after 5 years and private development and homeowners approach the site?</i> 	--	--	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • create racially-diverse populations