THE IMPLICATIONS OF PUBLIC HOUSING DESIGN:

A STUDY OF HUD'S HOPE VI PROGRAM

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Over the past decade a philosophy has emerged at HUD that recognizes the importance of good design in the development of public housing. Quality design can help create safe, reasonably scaled, defensible environments. A Federal Grants Program, Hope VI, was developed in 1993 under the Urban Revitalization Demonstration Program. This program allocates grants up to $50 million dollars for redesigning and making infrastructural improvements in public housing communities. Since the inception of the program, funds have been awarded to a total of 130 public housing authorities in 34 states, the District of Columbia, and the Virgin Islands.

After more than a decade, what are the outcomes of the program – particularly in terms of creating safe environments and getting away from the negative stereotypes (both real and perceived) that are associated with public housing? Factually speaking, funds from the program have demolished 97,000 severely distressed public housing units, and there have been 61,000 revitalized units. But, in terms of other issues like safety, accessibility, and civic engagement, how has the program fared? One recent HUD study concludes that it is possible for this program to go wrong. The danger exists that the innovation of Hope VI could devolve into a new set of stereotypes comparable to some of the old public housing stereotypes. If the projects are poorly administered, buildings could deteriorate and public spaces could become neglected.

This dissertation examined the current renovation activity in public housing and the objectives of the Hope VI program. Specifically, this study examined the goals of the Hope VI

program and identified program outcomes at a specific Hope VI project in the City of Pittsburgh. Data from official documents, interview data from program experts, survey data from residents and observational analysis was compiled to identify program outcomes. The major finding of this study is that the Hope VI program has been successful in achieving its stated goals and that the program has brought about positive changes for public housing and therefore deserves to be extended. However, these findings also identify significant problem areas that plague the program and have tarnished the success the program has achieved. These findings suggest areas where the program can be strengthened to allow the program to better achieve its intended benefit. The study suggests new policy implications for the design of public housing and identifies new areas for future research and policy analysis. Such research is necessary to identify and develop new effective policies to improve the design and, by extension, the quality of life for those individuals living in public housing.

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1.0   INTRODUCTION

Public housing and the issues surrounding low-income people living in less-than-desirable conditions continue to be a challenging problem for the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD).   HUD is the governmental agency charged with providing quality, affordable housing to all American citizens. Poverty, chronic unemployment, crime and other social pathologies continue to plague public housing communities, along with a growing concern about the physical deterioration of the buildings and infrastructure. In nearly every American city acres of housing, originally well built, languishes in disrepair. (UDA, 1992)

For decades many the country's public housing sites have been characterized by physical deterioration and uninhabitable living conditions. As the public housing that was built in the 1940's and 1950's began to age and physically deteriorate, questions emerged by policy makers, planners and architects about what to do with the aging, public housing stock. During the 1990's a philosophy emerged at HUD that recognizes the importance of good design in the development of public housing communities. (Katz, 1993) This new philosophy was partially based on the principles of "new urbanism," which recognizes that good design can create safe, reasonably scaled public housing communities. Sensitivity to design issues was recognized as a significant philosophical shift from earlier governmental strategies to provide safe and decent low-income housing.

The Hope VI initiative was created as a federal grants program to help revitalize the nation's most severely distressed public housing communities. Enacted by Congress in 1992, Hope VI was established to provide a major source of support for investment and renovation in public housing, and to provide community-oriented support and social services (such as child care, and job training) for residents in need. Since the inception of the program, HUD has awarded approximately $4.5 billion dollars in Hope VI revitalization grants. (U. S. GAO, 2003) Since 1993, 562 grants have been awarded to 166 cities to revitalize the nation's obsolete public housing. (Holin et al, 2003)

The U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development has long been concerned with housing reform and in finding new and creative ways to address the nation's poorest public housing communities. (Popkin et al, 2004).   The Hope VI initiative began with the understanding that, through substantial redesign efforts and community-based social service programs, the condition of existing deteriorated public housing communities can be improved.

The Hope VI program is recognized as one of the most ambitious urban housing redevelopment efforts in the nation's history. The program replaces severely distressed public housing projects occupied primarily by poor families, with redesigned mixed-income housing and provides vouchers to enable some of the original residents to rent apartments on the private market. (Popkin et al, 2004) In some ways, the program is a dramatic change in HUD's policy approach to housing assistance for low-income families.

1.1   DESIGN IMPLICATIONS OF PUBLIC HOUSING

The design of housing, perhaps more than any other variable, affects the way in which people live and the kinds of activities with which they engage. Public housing has historically been insensitive to design issues. Projects have typically been located in spatially isolated areas, and built at a scale and density that is now understood to be inappropriate for housing low-income families. In an effort to keep building costs down, public housing was erected with "minimum design standards - amenities such as private mail boxes, air conditioning and laundry facilities were seen as luxuries, unnecessary for poor families. The Hope VI program was intended to be a departure of the minimal design standards of the past. Physically obsolete buildings were to be replaced with communities that consider the importance of architecture and urban design.

1.2   SUMMARY OF THE PROBLEM FIRST PARAGRAPH.

For more than a decade, HUD has recognized the importance of quality design in the development of public housing. A significant amount of time has passed to evaluate the philosophical shift from the early 1990's. This study seeks to provide insights into the question about the effectiveness of the Hope VI program after 12 years, particularly in regard to creating better environments and reducing the negative stereotypes (both real and perceived) that are associated with public housing. As previously mentioned, funds from the program have demolished severely distressed public housing and new units have been constructed or revitalized. Questions remain on other issues, such as adequately-sized units, safety, accessibility, and civic engagement, as to how the program has fared. One recent HUD study

(NHLP, 2002) concludes that it is possible for the Hope VI program not be successful in achieving its goals. Further, the danger exists that the innovation of Hope VI could devolve into a new set of stereotypes comparable to the old public housing stereotypes. (HUD, 1996)

1.3   PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

This research reviews the history of public housing and design criteria, and examines the issues that gave rise to these major renovation efforts. The research also addresses the socio-economic aspects of a particular project and its surrounding neighborhood, and assesses the redesign efforts against these larger dynamics. Thus, the research focuses upon housing, but is set within a larger neighborhood, city and national context. In short, the research studies the incidence of the current renovation activity and its policy and theoretical implications. The research differs from other studies of the Hope VI program because it focuses on the physical aspects of the redesign efforts. The assessment is intended to determine if the program is successful in achieving its stated goals and objectives at a specific housing development.

The major mission of Hope VI was to revitalize the nation's most severely distressed public housing communities. "It replaces severely distressed public housing projects occupied exclusively by poor families, with redesigned mixed-income housing" (Popkin, et al.,2004 p.1) The program's four primary objectives are to; 1) To improve the living environment for residents of severely distressed public housing through demolition, rehabilitation, reconfiguration, or replacement of obsolete projects; 2) To revitalize sites on which public housing is located and contribute to the improvement of the surrounding neighborhood; 3) To provide housing that will decrease the concentration of low-income families; 4) To build sustainable communities. Of

these four primary objectives, this dissertation focuses upon the first objective which deals with architecture and design related issues and their role in reconfiguring and replacing obsolete public housing. The research gathered information about the account of the Hope VI program at a particular community. The research examines how the participants were situated in the program, and provides an understanding of the context in which events occurred from the multiple perspectives of the actors involved.

The Hope VI program is somewhat unique in that as the program evolved, it has created changes in the financial structure of how traditional public housing projects were funded. In addition, funds from the program have been used to leverage both public and private dollars which are used to stimulate market activity in an effort to create sustainable, mixed-income communities and decrease concentrations of low-income families. HUD encouraged developers to leverage Hope VI funds with private sector equity, local capital dollars and philanthropic resources to stimulate investment in low-income neighborhoods hopefully providing a catalyst for further development. The Brookings Institute conducted a study in 2005 of Hope VI projects that concentrated on the mixed-finance redevelopment efforts and used comparative data such as poverty levels, racial composition and school performance to evaluate the program. The study uses case study examples of Hope VI projects that have attracted new market activities which in turn have changed the urban landscape. Comparative data analysis of this type, while interesting, serious questions are raised about what some of the data actually compares. For instance, earlier efforts to explore crime data to locate and explore Oscar Newman's defensible space theory in public housing proved difficult because crime reporting statistics have been vague and too general to provide clear and useful comparisons. While the overall findings from the Brookings Institute study applaud the regulatory changes in financing public housing they conclude that the

long-term implications of these changes in financing are not clear. (Brooking Institute, 2005) The Brookings study was interesting in that it paints a picture of the Hope VI program and clearly shows the role that Hope VI has had in rebuilding neighborhood economies.

The focus of this research deals with the examining of existing design principles, and the physical aspects of the redesign activity faced by Allequippa Terrace Residents. What does this group say about the positive or negative changes to their housing and community and what additional considerations might be important.

1.4   DISSERTATION ORGANIZATION

This dissertation is organized in six chapters, which are as follows.

Chapter Two is a review of the literature, and is organized in six sections. Section 2.1 assesses the history of the public housing program in the United States. Section 2.2 examines the public housing program in Pittsburgh. Section 2.3 is a review of the literature for public housing. Section 2.4 identifies New Urbanism as an urban planning strategy. Section 2.5 is a review of the Hope VI literature. Section 2.6 identifies potential knowledge gaps. Section 2.7 is a summary of the chapter.

Chapter Three presents the problem statement, and is organized in four sections. Section 3.1 presents the public housing problem. Section 3.2 is a discussion of Hope VI and distressed public housing. Section 3.3 presents the Hope VI program. Section 3.4 is a summary of the chapter.

Chapter Four is the Research Design. It is organized in seven sections. Section 4.0 presents the research problem and study purpose. Section 4.1 identifies the significance of the problem. Section 4.2 is the research design. Section 4.3 identifies the questions to be researched. Section

4.4 reviews secondary data sources. Section 4.5 is the evaluation research. Section 4.6 presents the case study component. Section 4.7 is a summary of the chapter.

Chapter Five presents the findings of the research and is organized in six sections. Section 5.1 presents the Allequippa Terrace case study. Section 5.2 presents Oakhill. Section 5.3 present findings to the research questions. Section 5.4 presents the responses to the questionnaire. Section 5.5 presents the overall findings and principle issues. 5.6 is a summary of the chapter.

Chapter Six identifies the policy implications. It is organized in four sections. Section 6.1 identifies the policy implications. Section 6.2 looks at the significance of the research. Section 6.3 suggests future areas for research. Section 6.4 is a summary of the chapter.

1.5   DEFINITIONS

Accessibility. Under federal law, Hope VI developments are to be accessible for all. The Fair Housing Act of 1998, requires that construction of new multifamily buildings must meet the requirements of accessible design.

Adaptability. Refers to the ability of certain elements within a unit to accommodate varying needs.

Hope VI Coordinator. Coordinates all Hope VI activities for the Grant Manager.

Developer. Group that develops the project pursuant to certain regulations. The developer often has ownership interests.

Development Funds. Funds that are awarded to a PHA and can be used for capital improvements.

Existing Conditions. The condition of a severely distressed public housing community at the time an application is submitted for a Hope VI revitalization grant.

HUD. U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Low-income families. Those families with incomes that are not more than 80% of the areas median income

Market Rate Units. Units that do not have income eligibility restrictions and which are based upon the market price for comparable housing.

Mixed –Income Development. A development that includes a combination of public housing and non-public housing units.

New Urbanism. An urban design philosophy that includes mixed housing, walkable neighborhoods and a return to traditional town planning.

NOFA. Notice of Funding Availability PHA.

Public Housing Authority. Public Housing Unit. A rental unit that receives a subsidy from HUD.

Severely Distressed Public Housing. A project that requires major redesign to correct the physical, social, and economic deficiencies in the original design and which contribute to the decline of the surrounding neighborhood.

URA. The Urban Redevelopment Authority

2.0   REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE: INTRODUCTION

This chapter explores the literature relevant to this dissertation. It is organized in seven sections. Section 2.1 examines the history of the public housing program in the United States. Section 2.2 discusses public housing in Pittsburgh. Section 2.3 examines the scholarly literature about the early roots of the public housing program. Section 2.4 examines the literature about the principles of new urbanism. Section 2.5 discusses the Hope VI program. Section 2.6 identifies potential knowledge gaps in the literature. Section 2.7 is a summary of the chapter.

2.1   PUBLIC HOUSING IN THE UNITED STATES

Jacob Riis' book How the Other Half Lives, written in 1890, painted a shocking portrait of the squalid, unsanitary conditions existing in New York City's tenement housing. This book spurred many housing reformers to push for a federal housing program to eliminate urban decline, which was also seen as a source of moral decay. Eliminating slums, many housing reformers believed, would also eliminate many of the existing social ills. (Riis, 1988)

Federally assisted, affordable housing grew out of this understanding and was first proposed during the Great Depression era. Federally assisted housing was proposed, in part, as a way to address the concerns about the growth of slums in many of the nation's cities. The economic circumstances that came about as a result of the Great Depression plunged many cities (New

York, Chicago, St. Louis, and Pittsburgh) into economic despair. There existed high degrees of unemployment and unhealthy conditions. Neighborhoods that once flourished declined to the point of dereliction. The condition of cities continued to decline during the 1930's and cities were struggling with issues such as overcrowding and high concentrations of very low income families. Since the 1930's Congress has enacted various legislation to deal with the issues of providing a national housing delivery system. The housing problem was understood to be complex by the National Resources Planning Board, an advisory board to the government on housing, which noted:

> "The housing problem is not one problem, but a combination of interrelated problems. Land values, building codes, tax rates, material costs, labor costs, legal problems, adequate financing, zoning and site planning, housing management and the effective administration of the necessary private and public agencies are all problems in themselves, and taken as a whole they constitute the housing problem. Immediate or quick solutions are not possible. On the other hand, time alone will not solve these problems. A continued attack in many sectors, often on a trial basis, will work toward a better solution." (Mitchell, 1985, p. 3)

One of the early problems with housing policy was that there was a lack of a clear focused housing agenda. Because housing dealt with a multitude of issues, several critics (Mitchell, 1985, Kummerfield, 1971) argue that developing a national housing policy with clear and non-conflicting goals was difficult. A lack of clearly established goals made program evaluation (in terms of success or failure of early housing policy) problematic. As a result, housing programs were vulnerable to criticism. Kummerfield argued that the inability to specify what goals were desired accounts for the "patchwork nature of housing subsidy programs." (Kummerfield, 1971)

Public housing, which began in 1933 as an ad hoc public works program aimed at creating jobs, was an attempt to provide "safe and decent" housing facilities for every American family. (Aaron, 1972) It was intended to provide housing for the "submerged middle class" – those people who could not afford suitable housing in the private market, but not the very poor (those

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people with no means to pay rent). (Atlas, Drier, 1992) It was an altruistic goal, but one that has never been effectively achieved. It was also an attempt to provide affordable, temporary housing for returning war veterans. The government was involved in building houses for war veterans as early as 1918, but it was the enactment of the 1933 National Industrial Recovery Act that involved the federal government in the housing field in a structured way. (Brown, 1959) Evidence suggests that providing quality housing for American families was not the primary objective of the program. Public housing began, in part, because of economic benefits. Although social and humanitarian reasons did exist, particularly in housing programs implemented in later years, most researchers felt it was economic motivation that brought about the housing program. (Brown, 1959, Katz, 1993) Economic benefits were in the form of stimulating employment in the housing industry and in increasing the values of homes and improving neighborhood quality. It was not until 1937 that the humanitarian element became visible. (Brown, 1959, Mitchell, 1985)

The first U.S. Housing Authority was established in 1937. One of its first actions was the enactment of the 1937 Housing Act. "In 1937, during the great depression, Congress created the U.S. Housing Authority as the need for housing became more urgent. The authority built more than 100,000 public housing units before construction slowed during World War II." (Salvesen, 2000 p. 93)

Since the enactment of the U.S. Housing Act of 1937, public housing has been the major federally subsidized mechanism for housing low-income families. Senator Robert Wagner of New York was the principal author of the 1937 Housing Act. (Atlas and Dreier, 1992) The "public" component became an important early distinction because it stressed the fact that public housing is owned and operated by a local public housing authority, and not by the government.

As Heilbrun states "…public housing is the oldest subsidized housing program in the United States. The term "public housing" refers to those units owned and operated (or in some cases leased) by a public housing authority. (Heilbrun, 1981, p. 38)

As the public housing program continued to grow, federal confidence in the program grew. In 1938 Congress granted $300,000,000 to be used in constructing new low-income housing. This allotment of funds was seen as important because it gave the low-rent housing program an element of permanence, and by extension, credibility.
(Brown, 1959, p. 2) By 1942, 175,000 public housing units – most of them the two- and four-story walk-up type buildings, were constructed in 290 communities across the country. (Atlas, Dreier, 1992)

In 1942, the National Housing Agency was created by executive order, and became the coordinating agency for all government housing concerns. Chief among those concerns at the time was trying to establish a central government housing agency, while simultaneously trying to recognize the regional nature of housing problems. Localization of housing programs was seen as an important issue. The President's Commission on Housing stated that "within a specified period of years, public housing should be restored to local management and control, passing to public housing authorities and local governments responsibility and choice in the use and disposition of public housing projects. The future use of each public housing project should be determined on the basis of a joint local-federal assessment considering a broad range of options in light of each project's physical, economic and social characteristics." (Report of the President's Commission on Housing 1982, p. 31)

From 1942 through 1949, the public housing program remained stable, but its advocates continued to push for its expansion.(Aaron, 1972) "In 1949, a combination of circumstances led,

finally to such expansion, for the Housing Act of 1949 authorized the addition of 810,000 units of new public housing space over a six-year period." (Brown, 1959, p. 5) A major development occurred during this period that would greatly impact the housing program. The powerful real estate industry recognizing the demand for low and moderate income housing, and fearing competition from the public housing program pressured Congress to limit public housing to the very poor.   As was noted, "that new rule, embodied in the 1949 Housing Act, was the beginning of the decline of public housing." (Atlas and Drier, 1992, p. 76)

2.1.1   The Housing Act of 1949 and Urban Renewal

The Housing Act of 1949 was an important milestone because it negatively linked public housing with central city revitalization, and urban renewal. This became an important issue as housing policy somehow was expected to contribute to larger national goals of economic recovery and economic growth. (Schussheim, 1974) Public housing, highway construction and slum clearance were the centerpieces of the urban renewal movement. The removal of slums became problematic, because in order for slum clearance to occur, existing residents had to be displaced. Federal law at the time, allowed local governments to obtain land or property through eminent domain. Rehousing the families displaced through slum clearance was never effectively resolved. (Freidman, 1968) Strategies of urban renewal usually provide a framework for development that includes not only physical issues (such as new or renovated structures), but also transportation system concerns, and economic development initiatives. Low-income housing was a concern but not the primary goal of urban renewal. As was noted "urban scholars and planning professional often portray urban renewal as simply an extension of the goals and methods of the public housing movement. However, public housing activists and urban renewal

lobbyists were bitter foes, each representing a different constituency and pursuing different interests." (Weiss, 1980, p. 263)

The Great Society era followed urban renewal with the growth of social programs and the growth of social liberalism. Large federally sponsored programs were seen as the new strategy for alleviating urban problems. This led to the creation of the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development in 1965. The department was intended to oversee and coordinate urban initiatives, including housing policy (Mayer,1995)

Also contributing to the expansion of the public housing program was the ending of WW II, which created an influx of people into the low-income housing market. Accommodating this segment of the population was important because one of the program's declared purposes was to assist those who would otherwise be ill-housed. Some have argued that the public housing program "…would have ceased to exist insofar as future authorizations were concerned, had it not been for the advent of the war and the creation of a defense need for a low-income housing program." (Brown, 1959, p. 4)

The Great Society era followed urban renewal with the growth of federal programs, and the growth of social liberalism. Large federally sponsored programs became the new strategy for alleviating urban problems – one of which was called Model Cities, an ambitious program which attempted to use federal funds to renew aging, poor neighborhoods. However, both the optimism, and effectiveness of some of the great society programs quickly ebbed. The Model Cities program suffered from a lack of funding and clarity of policy decision making and was terminated in the early 1970's.

Public housing continued to be challenged for its lack of clearly stated goals. A report was conducted in 1974 under the Nixon Administration that supported the notion that the goals of

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early housing policy were unclear. The report titled <u>Housing in the Seventies: A Report of the</u> <u>National Housing Policy Review</u> (1974) concluded that the housing policy was "…a hodge-podge of accumulated authorizations with certain internal inconsistencies, numerous duplications, cross-purposes, and overlaps as well as outright conflicts and gimmickry. More than any other cause, the proliferation and confusion were attributed to conflicts between multiple goals." (Mitchell, 1985, p. 4)

Public housing continued to grow in both size and scale, as the demand for low-rent housing mounted, particularly in urban areas. Most of HUD's subsidy programs were used exclusively in urban areas. The concentration of programs dedicated to urban areas was deliberate as the characteristics of the rural population was seen as being different. The major difference is that the population in rural areas is dispersed and scattered. This means that HUD's typical design strategy for low-income housing, i.e., compact large-scaled, multi-family rental units, would be impractical in most rural communities and no alternative strategies were ever developed. (Taggart, 1970).

Government assisted housing programs continued to grow during the 1950's largely in response to a boom in the construction industry, as well as a growing population. Public housing was always viewed as "temporary" living arrangements; a view which also led to the development of the Privately Owned Program. Under this program, the government provides subsidies directly to the property owner who then applies the subsidies to the rents that are charged to low-income tenants (HUD, 1978). Even though living in public housing was intended to be a "temporary" condition, for many people, living in subsidized housing became a permanent arrangement. Public housing became housing of a last resort – housing the poorest of the poor. The public image of public housing began to change. Because public housing uses tax

dollars, the program has always been open to public scrutiny. The stigmatization that public housing was housing of the worst sort rendered the program unattractive. The low-income housing program was confronted with a serious image problem. In reality, most public housing, at the time, was no worse than many privately owned rental apartments.

Another program was the Section 8 Program initiated in 1974. (Grigsby et al, 2004) In this program, a rent subsidy is provided that gives an eligible person some choice about where to live. "The housing choice voucher program is the federal government's major program for assisting very low-income families, the elderly, and the disabled to afford decent, safe, and sanitary housing in the private market. Since housing assistance is provided on behalf of the family or individual, participants are able to find their own housing, including single-family homes, townhouses, or apartments. The participant is free to choose any housing that meets the requirements of the program and is not limited to units located in subsidized public housing projects." (HUD, 2006, p. 1) Under section 8, a local public housing authority, or state housing agency provides a government subsidy - a "voucher" to use for rent payments. The Section 8 program (sometimes called the Housing Choice Voucher Program), as well as programs Section 235 and 236, are still widely popular (Solomon, 1973, Mitchell, 1985) because of the locational choice option. Families issued a housing voucher can find suitable housing of their choice as long as it meets the standards as determined by the PHA. HUD's role is to provide funds to make housing assistance payments on the behalf of families, and to cover the cost of administering the program.

Public housing was an important resource in meeting the needs of low-income people. Most public housing was designed as garden style apartment complexes for public housing residents only. Some communities offer scattered site housing for single family households. High-rise

style design accounted for the remainder of the public housing stock. Despite the stereotype that all public housing are high-rise structures, high-rise buildings at the peak of the program accounted for only 27% of all public housing. Typically, households pay no more than 30% of their incomes on housing costs. The government pays the entire costs of construction, and subsequent improvement to deteriorated units as well as a portion of the ongoing operating costs. (Drews, R., 1983)

2.1.2 The Problems of Public Housing

The physical appearance of public housing, cheap and poorly conceived, contributed to the social and spatial isolation of its residents. The barracks-like appearance of the buildings and institutional quality of the design visually proclaims that public housing serves the lowest income group. New patterns of racial segregation began to develop as public housing became the home for many poor blacks, other minorities and the disenfranchised. Operating costs, coupled with rising energy costs, outpaced the income generated from tenants. Local housing authorities lacked the funds for maintenance and repairs. The situation was made worse by financial cutbacks during the Reagan Administration. With inadequate funds for basic repairs and capital improvements, the public housing stock began to physically deteriorate.

2.2   PUBLIC HOUSING IN PITTSBURGH

The modern-day slum began with the rise of industrialism and manufacturing, and the increasing populated density of the urban core. (U.S. Housing Act 1937). The concentrations of both

industry and people led to the development of large tenement structures and overcrowded living conditions. It is important to understand that a "slum" is defined in terms of the prevalence of deteriorated housing and other physical factors that affect neighborhood quality.

By the mid 1930's Pittsburgh was emerging as a major urban city with industrialism and manufacturing defining the city. The city, and by extension, the neighborhoods, benefited greatly from enormous contributions by wealthy industrialists, including Andrew Carnegie. Parks, museums and other public amenities were created to help improve the quality of life. The population of the city was growing which was due, in part, to the influx of Europeans into the city and the availability of jobs in industry and manufacturing. The city, like many other northern industrialized cities, began to experience the consequences of rapid urbanization, including the development of mid- and, high-rise tenement type housing (needed to cheaply house factory workers), a growing population, and overcrowded living conditions, and the development of slums in its urban core.

Public housing began in Pittsburgh in 1938 with the construction of Bedford Dwellings. (Brown, 1959). The development was located in the Hill District section of Pittsburgh. The project contained 420 units on 18 acres of land. It was a prime hilltop location, minutes from the downtown business district, with views overlooking the Allegheny River. Building on hilltops was the early strategy adopted by the city's housing authority.

"The hills of Pittsburgh, high above the steel plants, can become the best part of the city. Housing and planning experts see them as the living place for most of the population, with much of the slopes converted to parks and parkways and the lower levels used, as now, for commerce and industry. The Pittsburgh Housing Authority takes natural pride in sponsoring a trend toward

living where the sun shines the whole day and the pounding of the mills is only far echo."
(Pittsburgh Housing Authority, 1944, p. 22)

Architect Norman Harai, whose firm had completed both low-income and public housing projects in the city of Pittsburgh, speaks about the hill top design approach. "…Another important concept not talked about is that hilltops were isolated and removed from private property owners. Developing on hilltops was politically acceptable, and avoided negative public discourse about project location." (Harai, 2000) He further says that from his experience, projects require local approval before funding can be awarded. Two public housing projects, Allequippa Terrace and Addison Terrace (collectively known as the Terrace Villages), were both completed in 1941 and are further evidence of this belief in hilltop development. Both projects were funded by the United States Housing Authority under the provisions of the Housing Act of 1937. Public housing provided a valuable service, but there still existed a housing shortage in Pittsburgh. This shortage was made worse by WW II. Returning war veterans were seeking affordable living quarters, and this accentuated the demand for housing. The relatively small number of new pubic housing units being constructed did not satisfy the need at the time.

2.2.1   Housing Authority City of Pittsburgh

The Housing Authority of the City of Pittsburgh (HACP) owns and operates public housing in the city. HACP is a public corporation that was created in 1937 by Pittsburgh's City Council and the Pennsylvania Housing Act expressly for the construction and management of the low-income housing program. (HACP,Annual Report, 1991).

The Authority is responsible for twenty-six public housing communities and three "scattered site" facilities within the city of Pittsburgh. The size and "type" of these communities varies.

Some are row houses, some are high-rise structures, some are walk-ups, and still others are a combination of all three. There are four communities devoted entirely to the elderly (See Appendix D) (Morse Gardens, Carrick Regency, Gualtieri Manor, and Murray Towers).

The Housing Authority is governed by a seven member Board of Directors, which is appointed by the Mayor of Pittsburgh with council approval. Below this tier there exists an Executive Director who oversees the various departments of the Housing Authority. These departments include the Comptroller Department, the Legal Division, the Police Department, Development and Modernization, Social Services Division, Section 8/Scattered Sites Division, Operations Department, and the Central Maintenance Division. (HACP, 2000)

A brief review of the program reveals a number of interesting facts. The people living in public housing occupy a very small percentage of the City's total housing units, and represent a relatively small percentage of the renter occupied market. A fairly high vacancy rate suggests that perhaps lower and moderate income families prefer housing in the open market. Projects that have large black populations (Allequippa Terrace, Bedford Dwellings) were located in neighborhoods already experiencing urban pathologies. Conversely, projects that have high concentrations of whites are located in sections of the city that are considered safer, contain better schools, and have greater access to amenities and public services such as Brookline, and Glen Hazel.

It appears as though the Pittsburgh public housing program is not capturing a significant portion of low-income people, is overrepresented by women and children, minorities (particularly blacks), and are frequently located in distressed neighborhoods.

2.2.2   Urban Design and New Urbanism

During the 1980's, a new urban movement began to emerge called "new urbanism". New urbanism is largely an urban design philosophy. The goal of new urbanism is to reform all aspects of real estate development and urban planning. These include everything from urban retrofits to suburban infill. (Steuteville, 2004). New Urbanists believe that American cities were originally conceived as being compact, and that neighborhoods were diverse and varied. After World War II, however, North American cities began to become decentralized and there was an increasing separation of urban functions and uses. Part of this was because of the availability of the automobile and new highway construction that provided access to the suburbs. The urban core began to lose its sense of place causing residents to want to leave. It was this dynamic that contributed to the development of conventional suburban communities and urban sprawl. This trend of outward movement has created a situation whereby today the majority of U.S. citizens live in suburban communities built in the last 50 years.(Steuteville, 2004).

   New Urbanists are concerned with the decline of the city center, and the fact that many cities lack a "town center." Cities have lost their pedestrian scale and rely heavily on motor vehicles. Those who cannot drive (usually the working poor) are restricted in their mobility, or are forced to pay a significant portion of their incomes on transportation. Meanwhile, the American landscape, where most people live and work, is dominated by strip malls, auto-oriented civic and commercial buildings, and subdivisions without individuality or character.

  New Urbanist neighborhoods are characterized by several common elements. New Urbanist design includes traditional neighborhoods that are diverse in terms of housing, population and jobs. Neighborhoods are walkable, and the automobile is seen as a luxury, not a requirement for

mobility. There should be a significant amount of open space, and a balanced development of jobs and housing.(Gindroz, 2002)

2.2.3 Hope VI Initiative

The Hope VI initiative began in the early 1990's when there was growing concern about the condition of public housing. Public housing communities were increasingly plagued with crime and violence, overcrowded conditions, and concentrated poverty. Planners and policy makers began calling for a transformation of public housing in its current form. (HUD, 1996).

In addition, much of the existing public housing stock was built in the 1940's and 1950's and was suffering from major deterioration. This proved to be an important issue. Since buildings were in disrepair and required renovations, policy makers had the opportunity to incorporate issues like design, and civic engagement in the new transformative thinking about public housing. Buildings could be reconfigured at lesser densities and designed to be more habitable and, in Oscar Newman's terms, defensible.

Within this new vision of public housing neighborhoods could become mixed-income communities, which would lessen the concentrations of poverty currently found in public housing. The new initiative would have an improved management structure, and would provide comprehensive services aimed at empowering residents. The early thinking behind the development of Hope VI was not only about changing the physical shape of public housing, but also about changing the management and social structure of public housing.

2.2.4   National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing

The Hope VI initiative grew out of a series of recommendations by the National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing. This was an independent Commission appointed by Congress. The Commission was charged with assessing severely distressed public housing. The Commission was asked to develop a strategy to deal with deteriorating public housing. In 1989, a National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing was named and charged with proposing a National Action Plan to eradicate severely distressed public housing by the year 2000. (HUD, 1996) The Commission explored several strategies to help revitalize existing public housing, before making their recommendations. The Commission recommended ways to address revitalization in three general areas. These recommendations included: physical improvements, management improvement and social community services to address resident needs. (HUD, 2006) Severely distressed projects were generally characterized by high crime rates, extreme poverty, structures that are physically deteriorating, and intolerable living conditions. However, these criteria were never sufficiently elaborated or developed leading to confusion at times, in terms of which projects should be targeted for rehabilitation. The program has been criticized for not having a workable definition of severely distressed housing. (National Commission on Severely Distressed Housing, 1992)

2.2.5   Troubled Public Housing

The federal government funds subsidized public housing; however, it is the local Public Housing Authority (PHA) that owns and operates public housing communities. These local PHAs are responsible for the management, maintenance and safety of the housing complex. "Troubled

authorities" are those which have been recognized by HUD for having serious management issues and maintenance problems. Management problems include (by HUD standards) poor operational practices, mismanagement of funds, and organizational concerns. Maintenance issues tend to be more about physical issues and include general building deterioration, and poor response time to tenant concerns about these physical issues. The majority of "troubled housing authorities" are those that operate large, high-rise developments located within the urban core of large American cities. Many of these projects are located in neighborhoods that are challenged with crime, poor housing, and concentrated poverty.

A dangerous situation has occurred whereby some "severely distressed public housing" communities are being managed and operated by "troubled housing authorities." It was these communities that were of most concern as the redevelopment program Hope VI was taking shape.

2.3   PUBLIC HOUSING REVIEW – ROOTS OF PUBLIC HOUSING

Public Housing in this country formally began in 1937 with the passage of the National Housing Act. But the roots of public housing began in the nineteenth century British slum reform movements. Urban historian Davis (1967) and others examined the housing reform ideas at the time, and determined that the impetus for public housing was in the settlement house movement. This movement was concerned with the development of slums and tenement-style living quarters.

Housing reformers in the United States, such as Jacob Riis, (1957) adopted some of the British housing reform concepts as a way to deal with the rise of slums in this country. Slums

were seen as amoral and a detriment to society – they were associated with disease and dereliction. "Progressive housers linked slum living to disease (particularly tuberculosis), crime, delinquency, stunted growth, mental retardation, and the plague of immorality. Demolishing the slums and building good "safe and sanitary" housing ipso facto produced good people." (Bauman, 1994, p. 348)

2.3.1   Sociology and Public Housing

Linking "place," that is to say where you reside, with human behavior became an important connection. (Hayden, 1997) This ultimately led to the environmentalist thinking whereby the environment was thought to have a causal effect on behavior. Within this understanding, the physical environment is almost seen as an independent variable that has consequences for human behavior and perception. (Rainwater, 1966) This reflexive relationship became significant, and many scholars such as Dolores Hayden, and Oscar Newman have explored similar principles. Schorr speaks of this relationship in these words: "The type of housing occupied influences health, behavior and attitude, particularly if that housing is 'desperately inadequate'". Schorr continues his dialogue on the impact of housing on people. Those influences on behavior and attitudes that have been established bear a relationship to whether people can get out of or stay out of poverty. In addition, the type of housing one occupies can influence heath, behavior and attitude – particularly if that housing is inadequate. "The following effect may spring from poor housing; a perception of one's self that leads to pessimism and passivity, stresses to which the individual cannot adapt, poor health and a state of dissatisfaction." (Schorr, 1963, p.13) Schorr concludes his argument by saying that little research has been conducted that sees man in relation to his physical environment.

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The slum was seen as being toxic – and a threat to the human spirit. Within this understanding, the house takes on an almost sacred quality – it shelters individuals from noxious elements outside. "Housing, as an element of material culture has as its prime purpose the provision of shelter, which is protection from potentially damaging or unpleasant stimuli. The most primitive level of evaluation of housing therefore, has to do with the question of how well it shelters the individuals who abide in it from threats in their environment. The house acquires a sacred character from its complex intertwining with the self and from the symbolic character it has a representation of the family." (Rainwater, 1966, p. 34)

2.3.2   Design and Public Housing - U.S. Housing Authority Design Policy of 1939

Low-income housing design policy was established by the United States Housing Authority in the late 1930's. In a report written by Nathan Straus, Administrator of the U.S. Housing Authority, design criteria is articulated in specific terms. The report was entitled Design of Low-Rent Housing Projects: Planning the Site. The report identifies the basic design principles for how early public housing projects were organized. (USHA, 1939) These principles are further explained in Section 2.3.3. The last part of the title of the report, Planning the Site, is significant because it recognized site location as a fundamental design issue. "In low-rent housing, it is in the plan of the project as a whole – in the relation of the buildings to each other and to the land that we may provide both insurance against deterioration of the neighborhood and the opportunities for growth of a better community life." (U.S. Housing Authority, 1939, p. 3) Straus argued that any building located in an area where there were destructive forces operating (slums) would be unable to resist them. This was an important issue as site location later became a major design criticism of public housing.

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2.3.3   Major Stages of Design Policy

Public housing design policy can be understood as having three major stages. (Von Hoffman, 1996) In all three stages it can be argued that the goal of early design policy was to transform the poor by changing their physical environment. First, the design philosophy during the 1930's was characterized by two- and four-story structures usually configured in parallel rows situated in large blocks. The primary objective was to provide affordable housing for the working poor and for the rising immigrant population living in slums. The second major design phase occurred during the 1950's and 1960's. The design approach changed to include high-rise buildings that were arranged in large "superblocks." These high-rise structures and superblock configurations spatially isolated public housing. During this period the Brooke Amendment came into effect. The Brooke Amendment limited public housing rents to 25% of tenants' income. This was a significant event because many of the working tenants moved out to avoid increases in their rents due to their incomes. The Amendment had the unintended effect of creating concentrations of tenants who were either unemployed or receiving federal aid. (Finkel, et al, 2002) Essentially, it was a design policy that strengthened the concentrations of poor tenants living in public housing. The third phase of public housing design philosophy was characterized by trying to create economically and racially mixed communities. This scattered site housing approach was aimed at relocating families from large, isolated developments and moving them into select communities throughout the city. (Von Hoffman, 1996) As Finkel notes, "Once again the goal was to change the behavior of the poor by changing their physical environment. This goal was unrealistic." (Finkel, et. al, 2002, p. 138)

The design philosophy behind much of the early public housing emerged during the post World War I environment. As previously stated, public housing was based upon design

principles that had their roots in early reform movements in Europe and adopted by the United States Housing Authority in 1939. Architects, planners and other visionaries were embracing the environmental reform movement in Europe and applied the model to public housing. They were inspired by Ebenezer Howard and the Garden City movement as well as by socialist housing experiments – including the Bauhaus communities of Walter Gropious. (Bauman, 1987) The Garden City movement was seen as an ideal approach to modern town planning. It was characterized by a balanced relationship of city functions, and a planned dispersal of people to allow for more open spaces. (Howard, 1965) Gropious envisioned traffic free superblock design communities featuring functional grouped housing, off-street parking, schools, playgrounds and community centers. (Bauer, 1957) These various movements have greatly influenced the shape of public housing, but at the same time, the influences of these movements have created problems. The Bauhaus philosophy became a divisive issue largely because living in large apartment-style superblocks was contrary to the way most American families lived at the time, which was single family detached housing. Superblocks did not recognize the importance of community and relating to neighbors, instead preferring isolation, anonymity, depersonalization and a herd mentality.

The exterior design philosophy of public housing, according to the United States Housing Authority, included four main areas: 1) The aims of site planning; 2) Basic design principles; 3) Design and organization of the site; and 4) Design and treatment of open areas. These four principles are described in further detail below.

1) The aims of site planning begins with the understanding that "…a housing project provides the framework for a way of life for its inhabitants, which must be set within a larger framework of the neighborhood and the community." (USHA, 1939, p. 7) The aims of site planning also

were to include issues of scale, arrangement, and the relationship between dwelling units. Still, other design issues such as privacy, sunlight and circulation, were brought into account.

2) Basic design principles. The primary principle was the superblock configuration. The superblock was a large arrangement of buildings and open spaces bounded, in part, by through traffic streets with minimal cross or intersection streets. The idea was to limit the amount traffic going through the superblock except for local interior traffic. An interesting design principle was to have tenants care for open spaces. "To aid in maintaining low rents, as well as in cultivating self-reliance, the U.S. Housing Authority recommends the policy of placing upon the tenants as much responsibility for the maintenance of both house and land as is feasible and economical. This accords with American custom." (USHA, 1939, p. 10)

3) The design and organization of the site involved principles aimed at providing the greatest possible value to the residents within the budgetary constraints of the U.S. Housing Authority. Criteria included climate, topography, local housing customs, relative costs of varying types of construction and heating systems, and the size and composition of the families to be housed. Low densities (number of families per acre) are desirable even though they may result in additional land costs per unit. This section also included dwelling types. Unit sizes are based on the family size for which the project is being built and location. "A downtown apartment layout ordinarily favors small units; suburban single, twin, or row houses usually provide for larger families." (USHA, 1939, p. 20) The design and organization also influenced the type of heating system used. For instance, central heating requires a close organization of buildings for economical distribution. Individual gas and oil heaters require no such limitations on the location of units.

4) Housing projects were to provide open spaces for pleasure and service. "The recreation needs of the project population require the development of project-maintained common areas such as (1) play lots for the preschool age child, (2) sitting–out places for adults, and (3) areas for active recreation for adults and school children." (USHA, 1939 p. 10) In open spaces there should also exist provisions for drying clothes.

2.3.4   Housing and Ideology

Friedman argued that the public housing program lacked clarity and purpose. He saw an irrepressible conflict between public housing's "social cost" and "social welfare." He questioned whether the program could create good low-cost housing *and* housing for the poor (Friedman, 1968) This contradiction, he argued, seemed to be debilitating to the public housing program.

An important condition came about as a result of the 1949 Housing Act. The Act requires that "…for every public housing unit which is built, a substandard or unsafe dwelling unit must be eliminated within five years through demolition, condemnation, or effective closing." (Taggart, 1970, p. 18) This was important because it linked public housing with urban renewal. Linking public housing with urban renewal was a departure from its original intent as a low-income housing program. Is the program about improving low-income housing, or is it about slum clearance and urban renewal? The program has been accused of having an ambiguous purpose. (Friedman, 1968)

The urban renewal aspect of public housing proved to be detrimental. "Harnessed to renewal, public housing in Chicago, Philadelphia, and elsewhere increasingly occupied either slum or equally remote and undesirable peripheral sites." (Bauman, 1994, p. 352)

2.3.5   Critique of Public Housing

The goal of public housing was to provide safe and sanitary housing for every American family. Even though the public housing program was well intended, the negative aspects of the program seem to be what most people focus upon. The name itself "public housing" evokes images of high-rise buildings and crime ridden communities. The program has been sharply criticized over the years for its warehousing the poor, its execution, and results. During the mid-1960's the groundswell of "liberal disillusionment" with the public housing program reached a crescendo. In fact, in the hierarchy of vilified social welfare programs, public housing has ranked well at the top (Bauman, 1994) Few government programs have such an unfavorable reputation.

The concerns with the program are numerous and include site selection, architecture design, tenant selection, crime and safety, poor maintenance practices, and inept management. (Bauer, 1957) Site selection and location became major issues of contention. "Not only did public housing isolate the minority poor spatially, but according to another body of criticism, it isolated them architecturally as well" (Bauman, 1994, p. 353). Newman (1973) and Solomon (1974) spoke about the role of architecture in creating sterile, dehumanizing environments and inappropriate public scale. Newman goes on to talk about defensible space, and how the architectural design of certain projects help create dangerous enclaves. Newman's research led to a new discipline of study: Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design. (Newman, 1973) "Defensible space is a surrogate term for the range of mechanisms – real and symbolic barriers, strongly defined areas of influence, and improved opportunities for surveillance – that combine to bring an environment under control of its residents. A defensible space is a living residential environment which can be employed by inhabitants for the enhancement of their lives while providing security for their families, neighbors, and friends. The public areas of a multi-family

residential environment devoid of defensible space can make the act of going from the street to apartment the equivalent to running the gauntlet. The fear and uncertainty generated by living in such an environment can slowly eat away and eventually destroy the security and sanctity of the apartment unit itself." (Newman, 1973, p. 3-4)

The reputation of public housing suffers because of both real and perceived issues. One of these issues is the family structure itself. The traditional American family has always been characterized as living in a detached single family home that is privately owned. Americans have come to "sanctify" the home almost celebrating its detached, single-family and privately owned status. (Wright, 1981) Public housing, with its row, walk-up or high-rise configuration seems to be opposite of the country's housing mentality.

The incidence of crime and violence in public housing is real. The stories that made headlines about Cabrini-Green in Chicago, Pruitt-Igoe in St. Louis further helped to tarnish public housing's reputation. Who could forget the story at Cabrini-Green in Chicago of seven-year old Dantrell Davis, who was struck by a sniper's bullet as he walked to school with his mother. (Grady, 1994) Crime and violence became so acute at Cabrini-Green that the Chicago Housing Authority suggested that the National Guard be called in to seize control of the troubled project. Since that time, police sweeps are frequently conducted for guns and weapons in troubled projects. Indeed, as Henry Cisneros contends "…some public housing projects are now the sites of such lawlessness so blatant and devastating as to make the environment of the late 19th century slum seem benign." (Cisneros, 1995, p. 3)

The ideological disjunction between the American dream, and public housing cannot easily be dismissed – yet the program remains a necessary and endurable policy. Despite the documented problems and visible failures with public housing, the program still endures. In fact, one might

argue that it flourishes – there is a great demand for public housing in cities like New York and Washington, D.C. (Kennedy, 1992)

2.4   NEW URBANISM LITERATURE REVIEW

The concept of new urbanism has its roots in the early twentieth century. There existed a sense of idealism when describing city life. There was a certain sense of urbanity that existed in the city - an element of civility and courtesy when people came into contact with others in the public realm. Cities had a certain scale, and were developed in the form of compact mixed-use neighborhoods. As cities began to grow after World War II and populations became more concentrated, a new system of development began to occur that was influenced by the emergence of modern architecture, zoning regulations, and the reliance upon the automobile. Cities ultimately began to lose their sense of human scale, and ultimately, their sense of civility. Urbanity is a quality that "…many American cities lost in the second half of the twentieth century." (Gindroz, 2002, p. 1419)

The size and scale of the early twentieth century cities were applauded for their walkability, and their public spaces created opportunities for people to gather. However, as cities grew, the size and scale became too large. Communities that were once walkable now rely on the automobile. Those qualities that endeared people to city life were changing. "After World War II, the drive toward rapid development of U.S. cities and regions spawned methods of building towns that were profoundly "anti-urban". Instead of building whole places, the new system produced an endless series of isolated fragments which pull apart and isolate the city." (Gindroz, 2002, p. 1423)

Once the city began to fragment, it led to the separation and, in some instances, to the segregation of the city's uses, functions, and populations. The development of zoning and zoning ordinances helped to further the separation of the functions of the city. Zoning, by its very function, attempts to isolate city uses, separating city functions that are not sympathetic to one another:

> "It did not take long for this to have a negative impact on the social fabric of society, segregating populations by social class, and undermining the mixed-use, mixed-income characteristics of cities that had not only defined them, but that had been the wellspring of their vibrancy and economic vitality. Mixed-use, mixed-income neighborhoods turned into single-use, single-income enclaves connected by roads for vehicles not pedestrians." (Gindroz, 2002, p. 1413)

The separation of functions and the decline of the city core helped spur the development of suburbs and urban sprawl. However, with the development of isolationist patterns, and the fact that the major city functions were moving to the suburbs, somehow the city was becoming less urban. (Moore, 2001) "City life withered for a lack of urbanism." (Gindroz, 2002, p. 1424) People tended to yearn for the city of "yore." It was these dynamics that helped lead to new urbanism.

During the late 1970's, new urbanism became a reaction to urban sprawl. It was also a revival of sorts, a return to traditional town planning. New urbanism grew out of the fact that conventional urban planning strategies were failing. (Moore, 2001) Some might suggest that Jane Jacobs, with her seminal book The Life and Death of Great American Cities, set the tone for new urbanist thinking with her criticism of available planning theories. First called neo-traditional planning, new urbanism became an urban design strategy for community building and controlled growth. New Urbanists call for a return to civility and urbanity, and making people less dependent upon the automobile and where neighborhoods were more resident friendly. Some theorists argue that it is an effort to thwart urban sprawl, and allow residents to abandon

their cars in favor of alternative means of commuting. (Calthorpe, 1993) Others say that urban planners and architects simply returned to the basic principle of civic design, which includes mixed-uses, diversity in terms of types of people and work, and pedestrian friendly cities. (Duany, et.al, 2001)

The early 1980's brought the founding of the Congress for New Urbanism (CNU). This group helps bring awareness about the design principles of new urbanism through advocacy and influence. CNU recognizes the decline of the urban core and the increasing separation of races and functions and is committed to restoring the city center and neighborhoods through reasoned, principled design strategies.

New urbanists want to transform existing neighborhoods and design new communities such that there is a seamless relationship between new development, and the existing communities. And, new urbanism proposes civic engagement as a way to foster neighborhood pride. (Katz, 1993)

Seaside, Florida was the first planned town using the principles of new urbanism. Developed in 1961, Seaside has since been recognized for its character, architecture, public spaces and quality of life. (Brooke, 1995) Other designers are using new urbanism principles in their work.

The principles of new urbanism have become established, and legitimized to the point where it is now recognized as a planning theory – a school of thought. Institutions are offering courses and seminars and, in some instances, certifications in the new urbanism. (Virginia Tech, 2006) Most importantly, HUD has adopted the principles of new urbanism in its Hope VI program to rebuild public housing. "The roughly $4.5 billion allocated to Hope VI over the past decade has ushered in the planning or construction of dozens of mixed-use housing developments that rely – to varying degrees – on new urbanism." (New Urbanism News, 2003, p. 1)

2.5   HOPE VI LITERATURE REVIEW

Addressing the issue of reform in public housing is difficult because there are numerous variables that come into effect. Disagreement exists not only about how to define the variables that affect public housing, but disagreement also exist in regard to suggestions about program implementation strategies and change. For some researchers, the main variable of concern is resident satisfaction (Francescato et al, 1979) others point to management reform. (Kolody, 1979) Still others point to technical support and self-sufficiency programs (Shlay, 1993) as the major issue surrounding public housing. The variable of particular interest to this dissertation is architecture and design, because more than any other variable, architecture design affects where people live and to an extent, how they conduct their lives. One thing most scholars can agree upon is the intractability of public housing problems. "It has long been clear that no single form of intervention is sufficient, and most who struggle to support or reform public housing (whether as residents, managers, designers, or policy makers) are only too well aware that the challenges come in many interlinked categories." (Vale, 1996, p. 492)

One of the challenges facing public housing was that it was architecturally misguided (Newman, 1973) Newman and others criticized public housing as stultifying architecture. Most projects suffer from serious design flaws, including very high densities, high-rise building for families, and construction of "superblocks," which isolate public housing development from the surrounding community. (HUD, 1996)

One of the most curious design decisions was locating public housing developments in poor neighborhoods. Typically, the neighborhoods in which public housing communities are placed are as poor as the projects themselves. This decision occurred, in part, because local approval of public housing is required as part of the funding process, and because early public housing was

harnessed to urban renewal strategies. Isolated locations for public housing away from mainstream housing was a way of ensuring political support. The result was isolating the minority poor spatially. In this manner, public housing was seen as strengthening and reinforcing spatial and economic patterns that contribute to the development of the urban underclass. (Wilson, 1987)

The high-rise structure was also seen as disastrous. Influenced by modernists architects like LeCorbusier (1960), high-rise projects became the desired housing approach. "The high-rise prototype with its myriad of residential janitors and security staff worked well for upper-middle income families with few children, but cannot be simplistically transplanted, minus the accompanying staff and accoutrements for the use of large low-income families." (Newman, 1973, p. 7) The commitment to high-rise buildings was curious as it defied "…the overwhelming evidence of America's housing preferences." (Von Hoffman, 1996, p. 430)

Generally speaking, much of public housing was erected with certain identifiable characteristics. They are often built at relatively high densities with little investment in site development, and little money, if any, allocated for security and maintenance.

The population in public housing changed from the original intended population. The tenant make-up shifted from wage-earning families in the 1940's and 1950's, to families who are elderly, headed by single women with children, and welfare dependent in the 1980's and 1990's. (Wilson, 1987) This change in resident population was never sufficiently accounted for. As public housing communities worsened (in part, because of the poor design previously stated), housing officials and designers began to rethink the modernist "superblock" approach. This, in turn, led to ideas about reform in public housing, beginning with site development, and building design.

Most efforts to rethink public housing involved revitalization strategies that had two main components: 1) renovation and redesign of existing public housing, and 2) new construction incorporating new architectural and urban design principles. The revitalization design logic incorporated many of the principles of new urbanism. Ultimately, these intervention strategies led to the development of the Hope VI program.

The Hope VI program grew specifically out of recommendations by the National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing. Appointed by Congress in 1989, the Commission was responsible for identifying housing developments that were "severely distressed" and for suggesting strategies to improve the conditions in troubled housing communities. (Refer to Section 2.3.2) As previously stated, "severely distressed" was a designation that indicated that a public housing community was experiencing serious problems including a high incidence of crime and violence. Crime, violence and safety were of particular concern to housing reformers because it goes against one of public housing's original goals "…to provide safe and sanitary housing for every American family." One sociological perspective suggests that people seek security in their living arrangements. Public housing has become the locus of a peculiar condition that is anything but secure. Lee Rainwater, in his article Fear and the House-as-Haven, writes about his study of Pruitt-Igoe in St. Louis. Rainwater defines security as the most important need to be satisfied in a residence for low-income groups. Feelings of insecurity about one's residential environment often leads to the adoption of a negative defeatist view of oneself. (Rainwater, 1970)

Oscar Newman wrote extensively on public housing and speaks about crime prevention through architectural and urban design. He argues that the physical design and spatial layout of many public housing communities contributes to the high incidence of crime and violence.

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(Newman, 1973) His defensible space theory, he argues, is about community building. By identifying those elements of design that contribute to crime and violence, public housing can be reconfigured to create safe, defensible environments and strong communities.

Because the Hope VI program grew out of the recommendations by the National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing, the program is sensitive to crime and safety issues. A Hope VI community cannot be considered successful if crime is prevalent, and people are fearful.

2.6   KNOWLEDGE GAPS

Current research and scholarship about the Hope VI program seems partial and incomplete. A review of the literature reveals that there is no well developed body of knowledge available for evaluating whether or not the program has been effective in achieving its stated goals. A significant number of years have passed since the program has been in place, and challenging questions are being asked about the overall success of the program. The type of federal program that Hope VI is - by its very nature - makes questions about the program's purpose and efficacy difficult.

One area that requires further clarification is the goals of the program itself. It seems as though the objectives of the program have shifted from being a redevelopment and rebuilding strategy, into a more deliberate effort at building economically integrated communities.

Moreover, there have been few evaluations of the program assessments of the redesign efforts. Several of the evaluations that have been completed have been done internally by HUD

– the same entity that runs the program. Further evaluation would be useful in terms of assessing whether or not stated goals are being effectively achieved.

A major knowledge gap exists in the fact that, thus far, researchers, designers and policy experts still do not have an effective way of determining what really works in regard to fixing the daunting challenges facing severely distressed public housing. The expertise only exists in terms of what has happened to public housing, i.e., welfare dependency, crime, economic isolation and the physical deterioration of structures. A gap exists in terms of what constitutes effective change. Solutions to improving public housing to date seem to be more descriptive in defining what the problems are, and less prescriptive in establishing a guide for effective action. The fact that Hope VI program is in jeopardy is suggestive that satisfaction of the program, as an effective guide for action, is in doubt, and that serious challenges facing public housing still exists.

2.7   SUMMARY

This chapter presented a summary of the literature relevant to this study. Discussions of the history and problems and issues of public housing design and the principles of new urbanism have been identified in the literature for the purpose of this dissertation. The history of public housing design was presented at length because the problems of public housing design criteria are what gave rise to housing reform strategies including the Hope VI program. Research discussing public housing in Pittsburgh was essential to document an understanding of the problems that impacted the city and helped frame the debate about the need for housing reform. Scholarly literature has discussed the policies and strategies designed to improve public housing, specifically the Hope VI program and the design principles of new urbanism.

3.0   STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM - HOPE VI PROGRAM PURPOSE:

INTRODUCTION

Chapter Three presents the problem to be addressed by this dissertation. In an effort to present the problem, the Hope VI program's purpose and goals will be identified. The chapter is organized into three sections. Section 3.1 describes the problem and provides background of the Hope VI program. Section 3.2 describes the Hope VI program. Section 3.3 details the program's purpose and goals. Section 3.4 is a summary of the chapter.

3.1   THE PUBLIC HOUSING PROBLEM

Public housing represents only about 2% of the nation's housing supply, yet questions about how to redeem public housing are a major part of the public debate about discussions of a national housing policy. In an era where public housing has become a metaphor for the failure of activist government, why do the issues surrounding public housing command so much attention? (Atlas and Drier, 1992) Part of the reason lies in the fact that, in some ways, the country is in the midst of the broadest housing crisis since the Great Depression era. Unemployment, declining homeownership, a lack of available, affordable rental housing, and the rise of homelessness all contribute to the nation's housing dilemma. Public housing remains one of the best alternatives for housing the poor. It provides decent affordable housing to many Americans. However,

many public housing communities have failed. Many projects are spatially and racially isolated from other communities. Others are characterized by concentrated poverty, and are suffering from high unemployment rates, single parents with children, and a high incidence of crime and drug use. It is these communities that are most visible and thus are more open to public scrutiny.

This research supports the role of quality deign and fully understands the value in making architectural, social, and management improvements in the overall effort to improve the condition of public housing communities. The current Bush administration does not support the Hope VI program. While public officials and housing authority administrators applaud the program for its successes in improving housing, social, and neighborhood conditions, the current Administration is calling for those monies to be used elsewhere such as oil exploration, combating terrorism, etc.

There are others (including some housing advocacy groups such as the National Housing Law project in Washington, D.C.) who support the notion that the program has not fulfilled its promise. (NHLP, 2002)   The Hope VI program, and its continuation is currently being considered by Congress. It would appear that the program is in jeopardy.

Public housing and the Hope VI program are at a critical juncture. Since the 1930's public housing has remained an essential part of the national commitment to provide low income housing in America. The Hope VI program is one of the key initiatives in the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development's efforts to redevelop housing communities.

Hope VI, a federal Grants Program, allocates grant of up to 50 million dollars for redesigning and making management and infrastructural improvements in public housing communities that are labeled severely distressed. It could be argued that it is an exorbitant amount of money to spend on a program that may be underachieving. Others argue (Vale, 1998) that the program is

not underachieving, that it is well intended but somewhat misguided. Successes warrant Hope VI's continuation, but major reforms are needed. (Popkin, 2004) The problems associated with low-income housing are important to rectify because the improvement of low income housing conditions are connected with community building – which is one of the ideas behind the planning philosophy of new urbanism. The improvement of public housing communities is recognized as an important and necessary step toward neighborhood revitalization (HUD, 2000)

3.2 BACKGROUND OF HOPE VI AND DISTRESSED PUBLIC HOUSING

Hope VI stands for (H)Housing (O)Opportunities for (P)People (E)Everywhere. Developed in 1992, the program was originally known as the Urban Revitalization Demonstration Program. It was created as a federal grants program by the Department of Veterans Affairs and the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, and the Independent Agencies Appropriations Act of 1993 (PUB L. 102-389). The program was officially approved October 6, 1992. (HUD, 1996) The program was created for the purpose of revitalizing distressed or obsolete public housing developments and to accomplish the comprehensive revitalization of public housing communities through investment in both buildings and community services. The funds allocated under the program are intended to subsidize the redevelopment of a housing project judged to be "severely distressed." Grants are governed by each fiscal year's Notice of Funding Availability (NOFA) as published in the Federal Register, and the Grant Agreement executed between each recipient and HUD. (HUD, 2006)

The problems associated with public housing are persistent. Previous housing policy has demonstrated that it has been ineffective in addressing the issues of chronic unemployment, large

concentrations of welfare dependency, crime, and physical deterioration in large, mostly high-rise public housing. Decades of economic isolation, and concentrated poverty have created dangerous enclaves that housing and development policy has had little beneficial results in addressing. In some ways, the Hope VI program is a very different approach to housing reform in that it simultaneously considers the role of design and community services in the well being of its residents. Unlike past redevelopment initiatives, in which nearly all funds were committed to the costs of physical redevelopment, Hope VI urged public housing authorities to use 20 percent of the funds for socio-economic initiatives such as management improvements, planning and technical assistance, and community supportive services programs for residents. It is an approach that also encouraged citizen engagement – again, a major departure from earlier housing strategies. A great deal is expected of Hope VI, but success will be difficult to reverse problems which have existed for generations.

The National Committee on Severely Distressed Public Housing was charged with establishing the criteria for public housing projects being designated "severely distressed." The Commission is further discussed in Section 2.4. The Commission determined that 86,000, or 6% of the nation's public housing units were "severely distressed." The 6% figure was considered to be significant. (Finkel et al 2002)

The role that the local Public Housing Authority (PHA) plays has come under criticism. PHA's are the local or regional entity responsible for administering HUD programs including the Hope VI program. Many agencies are considered to be fraught with organizational and mismanagement problems. HUD has labeled those housing authorities with management problems as "Troubled Public Housing Authorities." To clarify, the National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing makes the determination about those communities that are

"severely distressed" and the authorities that they find to be "troubled." It is these projects that qualify for Hope VI assistance (HUD, 2006)

3.3   HOPE VI PROGRAM

The Hope VI program serves an important role in the government's attempt to transform public housing.   Nearly 14 years ago the program was launched to address the most troubled and severely distressed portion of the public housing stock.   The intention was not only to change the physical shape of public housing, but also to lessen the concentrations of poverty by promoting mixed income neighborhoods, and resident empowerment.   Several key elements of the Hope VI program's goal to transform public housing included the physical shape of public housing, establishing positive incentives for residents self-sufficiency and comprehensive support services, lessening concentrations of poverty by promoting diverse, mixed income communities.

   The Hope VI program was funded by appropriation in Fiscal Year 1993.   As previously stated, Hope VI provides funding opportunities for local public housing authorities.   PHA's that have severely distressed public housing in their stock of housing are eligible to apply for funding.   The Hope VI program provides grants in two major areas: revitalization grants and demolition grants. (HUD, 2006) Revitalization grants cover the capital costs of major rehabilitation, new construction and other physical improvements, the acquisition of sites for new construction, as well as community and supportive services for residents.   Other grants fund demolition activity, relocation services for those residents who may have been displaced, and supportive services for residents.   In some instances, grant money can be used to support the Economic Empowerment Program, which helps enable working households to leave welfare.

Grants can be specific to a PHA or to a region. They can be flexible to accommodate the specific needs of the applicant. (HACP, 2005) HUD's Hope VI assistance can be tailored to carry out plans developed by each grant recipient. Each recipient developed its own revitalization program under a HUD policy that gives local housing authorities great flexibility to come up with plans to meet their own special needs.

3.3.1 Hope VI Program Objectives

The Hope VI program has the following five objectives:

1) Changing the physical shape of public housing by demolishing severely distressed projects, high-rise and barracks style apartments and replacing them with garden-style or townhouses that become a part of their surrounding communities.

2) Reducing concentrations of poverty by encouraging a greater income mix among public housing residents and by encouraging working families to move into public housing and into new market-rate housing being built as part of the neighborhood where public housing is located.

3) Establishing support services – such as education and training programs, child care services and transportation services and counseling – to help public housing residents get and keep jobs.

4) Establishing and enforcing high standards of personal and community responsibility by barring drug dealers and other criminals from moving into public housing and evicting those already there, under President Clinton's "One Strike You're Out" Policy and through other anti-crime programs.

5) Forging broad-based partnerships to involve public housing residents, state and local government officials, the private sector, non-profit groups and the community at large in planning and implementing the new communities. (HUD, 2002)

Although the program objectives are broad based, the physical aspects of the program are evident. However, as HUD is clear to stress, the program is more than merely physical improvements. As it notes, Hope VI is much more than physical improvements, it's about creating communities of opportunity where children can grow up safely and where parents can find meaningful jobs and provide for their families.

3.3.2   Grant Eligibility

Eligible public housing authority applicants include those that have severely distressed housing as part of its housing stock. Indian housing authorities are not eligible to apply for Hope VI funding nor are public housing authorities that only administer the Housing Choice Vouchers Program. (Section 8) (HUD, 2004)

3.4   SUMMARY

This chapter presented the statement of the problem and identified the major issues involved with public housing. This chapter also highlighted the Hope VI program and identified the goals and objectives of the program

4.0 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY: RESEARCH PROBLEM AND STUDY PURPOSE

The research is important because public housing remains the government's primary program for housing low-income people. However, the public housing program seems to be in trouble. The program does not capture a significant amount of low-income people. These people seem to be finding other housing options. Public housing has, in many instances, become a dangerous, female-gendered space with an overrepresentation of children and minorities.

Pittsburgh's public housing program constitutes a complex arrangement of living that embodies the continuing polarities of class, gender, ethnicity and race. Housing reform strategies have had varying degrees of success. It seems critical to identify what really ails these programs and why they so often fall short of their goal of providing safe and sanitary housing for every American family.

In terms of the issue being significant, you are more likely to become a victim of crime if you live in public housing than if you do not. Research continues about whether the architectural design of public housing projects affect the incidence of crime and whether or not changes in design would affect levels of crime and violence. (Hinkle, 1977) The important point here is that public housing has failed (from a design standpoint) to evolve with the changing circumstance of those who are dependent upon it.

The Hope VI program has been sensitive to design and can document its success stories, but the program, like public housing in general, has fallen short of its stated objectives. The enthusiasm that surrounded the program during the Clinton administration has waned considerably during the current Bush administration. The current administration argues that the funds allocated to the Hope VI program can be redirected into other programs. The administration's position on the issue has led Congress to have serious questions about reappropriation.

The purpose of this research is to determine if the Hope VI program is being successful in attaining its objectives. If the program is not achieving success, then perhaps intervention strategies can be explored to help, what appears to be a sound policy, achieve further success.

4.1   SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This research is designed to contribute to the scholarly knowledge about public housing and the Hope VI program, especially about the sources, scope, and policy implications that affect low-income housing in a sampled population, within a selected housing project. The findings of this study could have important research and policy implications for explaining program effectiveness in transforming a community. For scholars and researchers, a key question is whether the outcomes of the program's assessment suggest new policy prescriptions. Thus, new research on the topic of design and low-income housing is significant in regard to answering questions about whether or not meaningful successes have resulted from the Hope VI program. If the assessment reveals that program goals are not being sufficiently achieved, then perhaps the research will reveal areas where Hope VI can be improved. As previously mentioned, the

question of whether or not the program is matching services with the needs of the community and avoiding mistakes of the past still needs to be addressed.

4.2   RESEARCH DESIGN

In preparing for the research, the initial task was to structure a study that asks: 1) Is the Hope VI program purpose clear; and 2) Are the stated goals and objectives of the Hope VI program being achieved? And, illustrate through example a public housing project that has been redeveloped as a Hope VI project.

   Completion of this research proceeded through a number of steps.   The research design involves four main sections.

1) A literature review pertinent to the general question; What are the stated goals of the Hope VI program and are these objectives being realized. The research would examine several conceptual problems of previous research. Synthesizing and integrating these findings, this evidence will then be placed in a theoretical and methodological framework that will help to identify gaps in the literature.

2) The research questions to be addressed were identified and stated.

3) Primary sources of qualitative data were identified including interviews with the following groups: City of Pittsburgh Housing Authority, Tenant Management Council, Housing Authority Police. In addition, a survey was distributed to public housing residents. Observational data was collected in the form of visual assessment. The study is about the consequences of the redesign efforts. It will be visually apparent what structures and architectural features existed prior to redevelopment, and what structures and features exist in the completed redesign effort.

4) A case study analysis of a Hope VI public housing project in the city of Pittsburgh.

As previously stated, the Hope VI program is largely about renovating existing public housing, and building new architecturally sensitive communities. These issues deal with the built environment, or physical man-made environment - one that is capable of being designed, altered or reproduced by man. (Hinkle, 1977). A built environment classification scheme would be developed. It would identify the following: 1) buildings or individual structures themselves, 2) site area – the relationship of buildings in their surroundings, 3) neighborhood – the area surrounding the housing complex, 4) design – refers to the spatial organization, circulation, visual ambiance, and, symbolic architectural properties.

4.3   QUESTIONS TO BE RESEARCHED

As previously stated, the purpose of this research is to determine whether or not a federal program is being successful. To examine this issue, a housing project neighborhood level study was conducted in the City of Pittsburgh. Pittsburgh is a unique subject of study for a number of reasons. 1) Its unique topography directly had an impact on the location of public housing communities. 2) The City's long association with the public housing program. Two local public housing communities are among the first public housing in the country. (Brown, 1959). 3) The city's economic transformation from an industrial, blue collar city to a technology based service economy has had an impact on public housing. 4) The Housing Authority of the City of Pittsburgh was one of the first authorities in the country to participate in the Hope VI program.

This dissertation has been designed to address two principal issues:

1) Is public housing (and the programs it provides i.e. Hope VI), still a viable policy for addressing the needs of low-income people? This is an important issue because policymakers are questioning the overall impact of the program and are calling for reforms to government subsidized low-income housing strategies.

2) Does improved public housing, by extension, mean an improved neighborhood?

   This is a fundamental issue because the Hope VI program has been inextricably tied to neighborhood improvement and been seen as a tool for community revitalization. The answers to these questions are necessary to determine the overall efficacy of the Hope VI program. To explore these issues, five research questions were specifically considered in the course of this study:

1) Is the purpose of the Hope VI program clear, and has the purpose changed over the past decade?

2) To what extent has Hope VI achieved its intended benefit?

3) What are the physical results of the redesign efforts?

4) Have completed Hope VI projects created "traditional neighborhoods" (New Urbanism)?

5) What policy prescriptions can be inferred from the findings of this study?

   The justifications for these questions are as follows:

   1) Is the purpose of the Hope VI program clear, and has the purpose changed over the past decade? This question is important to clarify (from the resident's perspective) because early discussions with residents indicated that the Hope VI program's objectives had changed during the years leading up to the eventual construction of the project. Preliminary discussions with Allequippa Terrace residents about the Hope VI program indicated that they believed the program was about providing them with better housing. Issues such as new urbanism, leveraging,

and community building were never clearly understood. Architect Norm Harai conducted a study in 1991 (commissioned by the Housing Authority) that questioned Allequippa Terrace residents about how the community might be redesigned prior to Hope VI. Mr. Harai's survey dealt primarily with what residents felt about physical improvements tot the community. When Hope VI began developing several years later, many residents believed that the primary goal of the program was to provide them with better housing and were unaware of the other objectives of the program.

In addition, the Allequippa Terrace Resident's Council (the primary residents organization) while well intended, never had experience in housing construction nor did it have a community organization that was strong in construction. This is an important distinction between other Hope VI projects such as Manchester, located on Pittsburgh's north side. When that community was undergoing the early planning stages of their Hope VI process several years after Hope VI at Allequippa Terrace, they had a very active residents organization and Community Development Corporation (CDC) that had a long history and record of civic engagement and community building. The population of Manchester had a strong institutional base (church and community organizations) which Allequippa Terrace did not. However, even though the Tenant Council did not have development experience, they were, nonetheless, involved in the project planning process. This is significant because one of HUD's criticisms of the Hope VI program has been a lack of citizen participation in the project planning process.

2) This question is important because Allequippa Terrace residents were involved in the early planning process for the Hope VI development effort. Through community meetings with the Housing Authority and local HUD office, residents were informed about what the Hope VI initiative was, and the ways in which their community would become transformed. The residents

were questioned about a lot of issues including what the new development should provide, and what the new housing should look like. Because of this early level of involvement by the residents in the planning stages as well as their continued involvement in the project development at Oakhill, their comments are particularly relevant in regard to how residents felt about the program's intended benefit.

3) This question is essential in this research as it addresses one of the fundamental aspects of the Hope VI program – replacing obsolete, severely distressed public housing. "The most basic goal of the Hope VI program was to transform physically deteriorated, distressed properties into high-quality living environments."(Popkin, p.19) The program provides for new construction, better amenities, and improved security through the reconfiguration of both the buildings and open space (Oscar Newman's defensible space theory). The program also calls for the integration of the development into the surrounding neighborhood. The importance of this research question is that it addresses the program's most basic goal of demolishing existing housing units and replacing them with new, high quality housing designed at a meaningful scale. This new design approach represents a radical philosophical shift from traditional public housing design.

4) From the perspective of the residents has a traditional neighborhood (new urbanism) been created at Oakhill? Most Hope VI developments (including Oakhill) incorporated the urban design principles of new urbanism and defensible space. "HUD encouraged developers to follow new urbanism design principles and promoted the concept of "defensible space". (Popkin, p. 19) The specific principles of new urbanism have already been described in Chapter 2, section 2.4. This design approach called for smaller, mixed-race, mixed income lower density environments with attractive buildings and open spaces. It usually called for a new network of streets and sidewalks that would better integrate the development into the surrounding neighborhood

encouraging residents to walk around the community creating more activity and natural surveillance of common areas. (Holin, 2003) The question is aimed at eliciting information about how residents felt about these fundamental design strategies and how their neighborhood has been transformed because of them.

5) What policy prescriptions can be inferred from the findings? This question deals with the impact of Hope VI on public housing developments and the policy implications. As previously mentioned, the Hope VI program is at a critical juncture. The current administration wants to terminate the program even though others support the continuation of the Hope VI program. While the program has achieved important successes, this research identifies key areas where the program could be strengthened. Future research is needed to further shape policy and to help guide housing reform. The policy debate concerning the future of Hope VI is important and raises fundamental questions regarding the targeting of limited resources for affordable housing and the responsibility of HUD and local housing authorities in addressing the housing needs of low-income families.

The above questions all deal with the extent to which a federally funded program is succeeding. They also deal with the issue of community efficacy and the extent to which the services provided by the Hope VI program are consistent with the applied values of those in need.

4.4   PRIMARY DATA SOURCES

This research compiled secondary data sources from an open-ended questionnaire, observational analysis and from selected interviews. Information about public housing and the Hope VI

program were elicited through interviews from housing experts, community development persons, practitioners, and educators.

4.4.1   Questionnaire

The questionnaire was distributed to Oakhill residents in July, 2006.The questions were intended to elicit information about the quality of the new design and how the program transformed a community as seen through the eyes of the residents. The questionnaire was designed to figure out the extent to which the new housing and newly formed community is any better than the old housing. (See Appendix C for complete questionnaire). In constructing the questionnaire it was important to make the questions specific, avoid questions that elicit a yes – no answer, and only asks about things the respondent can reasonably be expected to answer. As previously mentioned the questions were selected to gain insights about 1) the Hope VI program purpose; 2) the program outcomes, in terms of how the residents regard the renovation activity and the quality of the new design; 3) the links between processes and outcomes, 4) explanations about community building. Questions were open-ended to allow respondents to answer in their own words. The open-ended questionnaires were distributed to 150 residents. This sample population was drawn from the total population of the Oakhill development. This group represented the sample population for this study. The sample size was determined in part by the Residents Tenant Organization who was useful in helping to distribute the questionnaire. The Residents Tenant Organization had genuine concerns about a larger distributed questionnaire (larger sample size) because they indicated that the residents had already been interviewed numerous times before (by the housing authority, architects, developers, and other researchers of the development of the Hope VI project at Oakhill). The residents organization was concerned that

some tenants may tire of being the object of further study and scrutiny and might be more hesitant to offer information if a larger study involving large numbers of participants was conducted. In this instance, sample size was determined by the nature of the sample population (Smith, 1981). 40 questionnaires were collected representing a response rate of 27%. Possible reasons for the low response rate include the just mentioned issue of over-studying the sample population. Multiple surveys of the population could be seen as an intrusion into the respondents' privacy. Finally, it is possible that residents were cautious in responding to the questionnaire for fear that the results from such a research endeavor might lead to interventions that could lead to a loss of programs or services in their housing community.

4.4.2 Interviews

Open-ended interviews were conducted with architects, planners, community leaders, scholars, and housing authority personnel. This stage of data gathering was intended to generate explanatory as well as policy information about the Hope VI program and, specifically, the following:

1) To elicit information about the efficacy of the Hope VI program, its intended benefit, and its impact in the community.

2) To obtain information about the current renovation activity, and the design aspects of the Hope VI program.

Interview participants were selected because of their knowledge and expertise about the current renovation activity in public housing. A summary of responses to interview questions can be found in Section 5.4.2.

4.5   MIXED RESEARCH DESIGN - EVALUATION RESEARCH

The research design for this dissertation can be classified as a mixed research design. It is a research design approach that utilizes aspects of evaluation analysis and incorporates a case study or case specific project. This point requires further clarification.   Both analytical techniques provide ways of gaining insights in helping to determine the strengths and weakness of a given program. In regard to this study, these insights could prove useful to Congress (which is considering terminating the Hope VI program) in enabling them to better know whether to expand, modify, or eliminate the program. This research is not a "program evaluation" of the entire Hope VI initiative, but rather an evaluation of how the program achieved its objective of transforming a particular community as seen through the eyes of the people who live there, as well as through the perspective of the major players who had a role in reshaping a community. This research "…seeks to understand experience from the perspective of participants in the action." (Weiss, 1972, p. 262)Why use such a research design approach? One reason has to do with the fact that the research design provides for insights to be made about program accountability. This is important for our legislators in an environment of decreasing funding, and increasing federal requirements for program accountability (HUD, 1996). Program accountability has to do with questions such as; is the program serving its targeted population, is the program being administered in a timely fashion, is the program realizing objectives. The strength of this research design is that it frames and specifies the conditions under which a program is achieving its objectives at one particular housing community. The goals of the Hope VI program in regard to transforming public housing are specific. Through the case study analysis conclusions can be drawn that represent specific research outcomes of the program's

efficacy in regard to achieving its intended benefit, and its impact on the community. Evaluation research and case study analysis are discussed further.

4.5.1 Evaluation Research

The evaluation researcher tries to determine whether things are working as they were designed to work This type of research seeks not to find solution, but rather to provide assessment of programs designed as tentative solutions to social problems (Smith, 1981). "Evaluation research is now commonly understood to mean the assessment of the effectiveness of social program that were designed to be tentative solutions to existing problems. Clearly, evaluation research should not be limited to new programs but can be applied to existing programs as well. (Bailey, 1987, p.83) This study therefore, tries to determine whether an existing program (Hope VI) is working as it was intended to as an intervention strategy.

Smith goes on to argue that certain ideological issues become important to evaluation research. An important question arises: Who cares about the problem? "Various interest groups may define the problem differently. Representatives from various groups with vested interests in the program may have conflicting interests". (Smith, 1981, p.244-245) This is an important issue and sets this research apart from other studies. Much of the current research conducted thus far about the Hope VI program has been conducted by HUD. These studies evaluate the program through the "eyes" of the Department of Housing and Urban Development. This research explores those studies, but seeks to examine the program through the "eyes" of the program recipients. This group of program recipients may have a different, in Smiths words; "vested interest" in the program and may have conflicting interests than those who run and operate the program. As described by Carol Weiss, "…evaluation is the systematic assessment of the

operation and/or the outcomes of a program or policy (Weiss, 1972, p.4) The purpose of the evaluation serves as a means of contributing to the improvement of a program or policy, and the groups to be served by it. Its design is to make programs better (Strauss, 1990) The evaluation criterion for this research study focuses primarily on the stated goals and objectives of the Hope VI program. As noted, "Sometimes the criterion that is applied to make judgments comes from the official statement of goals for the program or policy when it was enacted." (Weiss, 1972, p.53)

The kinds of questions evaluation asks are fundamental. How is the program being conducted? What is it doing? How well is it following the guidelines that were originally set? That kinds of outcomes is the program producing? Should the program be continued? (Tyler, 1991)

Evaluation research increasingly employs qualitative methods relying more on "words than numbers" collected through observation, and informal interviewing and the analysis of outcomes through narrative analysis. "That is, they rely on discussions and observations for their data, and they report results in the form of narrative accounts, and illustrative episodes." (Weiss, 1972, p.135) In this research, the observational process involved documenting the physical aspects of the redesign efforts. Observation of the built environment immerses the researcher into the realities of the physical setting. This study does not seek to fully understand the meanings and consequences of the social reality of a public housing community (as does the study by the Brookings Institute).This study is oriented to understand the physical aspects of a transformed community. The strengths of such an approach, according to Weiss, are; 1) a greater awareness of the perspective of program participants, and a greater responsiveness to their interests. 2) the capability for understanding the dynamic developments in the program as it evolves, 3) an

awareness of time and history, and 4) a sensitivity to the influence of context. (Weiss, 1972, p. 253)

One of the problems with evaluation research is how to specifically measure a program's success in achieving its stated objectives. There are a number of indicators that could be used to determine a program's efficiency such as cost, impact on the targeted population, and attainment of goals as originally stated. Another measure of whether or not a program is successful is the number of persons served by the program. Often times, there is a targeted group who are the focus of a given program. One measure of success then would be how well the program is serving its targeted population. HUD's study in 1996 looked at baseline data to evaluate the Hope VI program's success. They isolated three "impact measures"; physical conditions, management issues and resident characteristics, in their analysis. (HUD, 1996) The Brookings Institute study identifies social indicators to examine the effectiveness of the Hope VI program in jumpstarting neighborhood development.

In order to conduct evaluation research, it must be possible to operationally observe and recognize the presence or absence of what is under study. If Hope VI was intended to achieve something, we must be able to measure that something. Therefore it was necessary to devise "measures" (specific to the study), of what is to be evaluated. (Bailey, 1987).

In this research a key variable to measure is "outcome" measures. The research aims to identify specific goals of the Hope VI program, and then assess the degree to which they have been achieved. Again, the five major research questions and their operational meaning are:

1) Is the Hope VI program purpose clear and has this purpose changed over the course of the program? Operationalize: The purpose of the program (which is different from goals) is outlined by HUD. Record HUD documents indicate the initial purpose of the program. Housing

Authority personnel, local administrators, as well as residents, provide information about this issue.

2) Is Hope VI achieving its intended benefit? Operationalize: This is the goals assessment. HUD documents outline what were the intended goals and objectives. HACP has information about program success. Resident information would be obtained in terms of whether they feel as though the goals of the program are being achieved.

3) What are the physical results of the redesign efforts? Operationalize: In terms of physical improvements, one could simply compare what *was*, with what *is*.

4) Have completed Hope VI projects created traditional neighborhoods and mixed-income communities? Operationalize: Traditional neighborhoods (new urbainism) have certain identifiable characteristics. The Hill District community, where the Hope VI project exists, would be assessed as to whether or not it is considered a traditional neighborhood. Interviews with community leaders would add insights to this issue.

5) What policy prescriptions can be inferred by the research? Operationalize: Documents, meeting minutes, interviews, questionnaires, and observation will be analyzed to make determinations about program effectiveness, as well as suggesting policy intervention strategies.

It is important to keep in mind the people and the program being evaluated. Often times the people whose program is being evaluated are not always aware that such an evaluation is taking place. Hence, if an evaluation is poorly conducted, it can seem as a potential threat to the survival of the program. (Bailey, 1987)

On the other hand, one of the strengths of evaluation research is that it is a way to increase the rationality of decision making. As Weiss notes: "With objective information on the

implementation and outcomes of program, wise decisions can be made on budget allocations and program planning." (Weiss, 1972, p. 10)

4.6   CASE STUDY ANALYSIS

The case study analysis portion of the research is intended to complement the other data collection methods.   Case studies analysis is a useful way to present an account of what happened to an event or circumstance at a point in time. Its methodological advantage is being able to capture and chronicle events that occur to a business, industry or in the case of this study, a program.   Case studies are a form of diagnostic investigation – analyzing why an event occurred and who was responsible for it occurring.   In the context of this particular study, another strength is that case studies are both site and situation specific. That is to say, that the research looks at a specific "site" (neighborhood) at a specific point in time.

Lin argues that the case study is an investigation of a phenomenon in a natural setting using multiple sources of evidence. (Lin, 1984) Weiss states that one of the strengths of using case studies is that "It tries to consider the interrelationship among people, institutions, events, and beliefs. The case study seeks to keep all elements of the situation in sight at once." (Weiss, p.261) Relating Weiss' comments directly to this research; 1) interrelationship among people –in this scenario the people engaged with one another include the public housing residents, housing authority personnel, architects, planners and developers, 2) interrelationship of institutions – in this case the institutions are HUD, the local housing authority, the Urban Redevelopment Authority, Department of City Planning, 3) the interrelationship of events – major projects events would include planning meetings, the application process for Hope VI funding,

construction, and 4) beliefs – in the case, the overriding belief was that the principles of new urbanism should be practiced at Hope VI sites because this will lead to better living environments; and, the belief that traditional, mixed-race, mixed-income neighborhoods are desirable; and finally, the belief existed that improved housing means more economic opportunities for both the residents and the community itself. HUD argues that "Interviews and case studies provide essential insight into the success or failure of social integration and stability expected as a result of mixed-income development." (HUD, 1996, at B-20)

The case analysis portion of the evaluation research includes the following: 1) History, development and growth of the program, 2) Identification of the programs strength and weaknesses, 3) The nature of the external environment surrounding the program, and 4) The outcomes of the programs implementation. These four subject areas are explained in further detail in Section 5.3.

4.7   SUMMARY

This chapter presented the research design for this study and further defines the research problem. The research questions are identified and explained. The methodology applied for this research was identified including the collection of secondary data sources. The evaluation and case study methodology is presented.

5.0   FINDINGS: INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the findings of the research. It is organized in three sections. Section 5.01 is a justification for the case study approach. Section 5.1 presents the Allequippa Terrace case study and includes the following primary areas:

1. History development and growth of the Hope VI program in Pittsburgh and   specifically at completed Hope VI project Oakhill. This section examined the critical   incidents in the project's history – events that were essential to the development of the   project. It examined important milestones that were achieved and the decisions that   were made.

2. Profiled the relative strengths and weaknesses of the program as it emerged at Oakhill.   It defined the aspects of the program that are its strength and those that are weak.

3. Examined the external neighborhood and environmental threats and opportunities to   the program.

4. Explored the outcomes of the program as it has been implemented.

   Section 5.2 presents the Oakhill case study. Section 5.3 presents the findings from the research questions asked in Section 4.3. Section 5.4 presents the findings to the research questions. For the purposes of clarity, these finding are presented in a similar format to HUD's 1996 case study of Hope VI projects. Their study isolates design history and

planning process, physical conditions and community context, and management issues. Similarly, this study isolates history and development, physical conditions, and neighborhood impact.

5.1   JUSTIFICATION FOR THE CASE STUDY

This research presents Allequippa Terrace as a case study example of what the Hope VI program was intended to accomplish. This study emphasizes the physical, community and transformative context of the Allequippa Terrace/Oakhill project. Allequippa Terrace was selected for this study for a number of reasons. The first reason is that Allequippa Terrace was one of the first large scale public housing projects developed in the country. Its existence spans the entire public housing program in this country. In addition, Allequippa Terrace was one of the first public housing projects designed with certain identifiable design characteristics. These design characteristics and design logic were used extensively in the development of subsequent public housing projects across the country. This is significant because the design logic for Allequippa Terrace became a model for the development of other public housing projects. These design guidelines and design standards latter became contentious issues as they were recognized as being problematic and at times, fundamentally misguided. The first of these design related issues is location. Many of the earlier housing projects in this country (including Allequippa Terrace) were located in already distressed, isolated parts of cities and were designed as islands unto themselves with no dialogue with the rest of the city. Secondly, many of the early public housing projects were designed at too great a density and at too grand an urban scale. These issues are important because density and overcrowding have been directly associated with crime,

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disease and dereliction. Thirdly, early public housing was designed and erected with minimum property standards. These design guidelines determine the criteria for things such as room size, number of outlets per room, overall height, building configuration, open space requirements, and material designations. Most of the decisions in regard to using minimum standards had to do with building economics and controlling the financial costs of the housing development. For instance, because pitched or gable roof construction was too costly to erect, many projects were designed with flat roof construction which is barrack like and institutional in its visual appearance. Flat roof construction contributed to the negative stigma associated with public housing because the housing looks cheap and visually proclaims that it serves the lowest income group. These points are further discussed in Section 5.2.1 In addition, While not the focus of this research, important issues such as high crime rates, large concentrations of unemployed workers, and large concentrations of female-headed households were also prevalent in many public housing projects in older industrialized cities. Allequippa Terrace suffered from all of these design issues and related problems making it a worthy candidate for study. While this research concentrates on Allequippa Terrace, it is argued that many of Allequippa Terrace's design issues are representative of the design issues at other similarly sized public housing projects that were designed as isolated "stand alone" communities.

The city of Pitttsburgh, which surrounds Oakhill, presents a framework that is useful in regard to understanding the evolvement of public housing. Like many older industrialized cities Pittsburgh has had periods of economic booms and busts and has seen a loss of population, and a reduced industrial presence (the sector where many public housing residents worked) and the growth of higher skilled, research and technology oriented occupations located on in the peripheral edges of the city which has led to flight and urban sprawl.

5.1.1   History and Development

The Housing Authority for the city of Pittsburgh (HACP) began in 1937. The Authority grew out of the Pennsylvania State Enabling Law in 1937 which granted local authorities the ability to apply for federal assistance. The 1937 housing legislation contained a component that requires that a community eliminate one unfit dwelling for each new dwelling built with federal aid. (Brown, 1959) The demolition program had an impact on the location of new public housing. The effort to eliminate blight cleared large areas for public improvement projects such as public housing. Urban renewal created a situation where black communities were razed to make room for business, leading to a decrease in housing availability. Public housing projects like Allequippa Terrace were built to address the housing shortage while at the same time it reinforced segregation patterns within the city. Forty years later, three sets of circumstances intersected to create the impetus for the transformation of Allequippa Terrace into Oakhill. 1) Dilapidated housing that had been standing for half a century, 2) Residents were suffering from unsafe and unsanitary structures, overcrowded rooms, inadequate plumbing, no play areas for children, and 3) Advent of public housing reform and the Hope VI initiative.

5.1.2   Public Housing in Pittsburgh

Bedford Dwellings and Addison Terrace were the first completed public housing projects in the City of Pittsburgh. Both were located on hilltop sites in the City's Hill District neighborhood. Public housing in Pittsburgh was originally conceived to be a mixed community of both public and low-rent market-based temporary housing. Construction of Allequippa Terrace, located a mere few blocks away from the other two developments, began in 1941. Allequippa Terrace was

the largest project to date for the city's Housing Authority consisting of 1,851 dwelling units and costing approximately $9,871,000. (Brown, 1959) It was such a monumental event that Franklin Roosevelt was present during the project's dedication.

These hilltop locations became an obstacle in the sense that they created distinct communities that were isolated both socially and physically from other communities. They were socially isolated because people living in subsidized housing are somehow seen as being different. The negative stereotypes associated with people living in public housing continues to this day. They were physically isolated, because these communities are remote enough so there wasn't much social and economic integration with the rest the city.

This isolation is further evidenced by the architectural design of Pittsburgh's early public housing. The architectural and design issues are significant because they help to signify the problems with public housing and, because design became a major impetus for the Hope VI program. Pittsburgh's first three public housing projects, Bedford Dwelling, Addison Terrace and Allequippa Terrace, were designed in a style that was typical of low-income housing at the time. They were designed as barracks-like structures with little or no attention paid to how people actually live. All three projects were designed as two- and three-story walk-ups. Many design decisions were based on economics. For instance, four story buildings would have required an elevator by code. Designing buildings as walk-ups eliminated the need for an elevator.

Other curious design decisions were made. The flat roof design of Allequippa Terrace, while functional, is not consistent with other typical housing for families. Most family housing, whether single family of multi family, has as a pitched or gable roof. Flat roofs are more traditional with high-rise structures and institutional, and military style housing. In addition, the

flat roofs were not consistent with other existing housing in the neighborhood, which looks completely different. Flat roofs, coupled with little architectural detail, visually proclaims that this style of building houses the lowest income group.

In the original design for Allequippa Terrace, buildings did not have air conditioning; rather they were configured to allow for natural ventilation. In another cost saving strategy, laundry rooms were provided for a cluster of units, but dryers were not included. The only resources made available were hooks and lines to allow for clothes to be dried in the open air.

Architect Norm Harai talks about his experience with the redesign efforts at Northview Heights. The minimum property standards had an enormous impact on the design of public housing. Northview Heights was designed with a single-load corridor to allow for natural ventilation to cool the units. Kitchens were designed with cabinets, but no cabinet doors because cabinetry hardware (hinges, etc.) is expensive. Rooms were poorly configured. Kitchens, a room typically used for interaction and family gatherings in many low-income homes, were small and galley like.

The original design for Allequippa incorporated three story brick buildings that were identical to one another. The common spaces, or shared spaces, such as courtyards, became dirty, unkempt, and ultimately dangerous. With every building looking alike, it was difficult for residents to establish a sense of territory, and by extension, the shared rights of others. "The buildings are relentlessly alike, and the courtyards are a mix of crumbling concrete, pock-marked clay and beaten down remnants of what should have been a lawn.(Pitt, PG 6.12.94)

Over time, Allequippa Terrace began to decline. The project was suffering from many of the pathologies associated with public housing including, high crime rates, concentrated poverty and

high vacancy rates. The mixed community that was hoped for became predominantly black and poor. Similar circumstances were occurring at Addison Terrace and Bedford Dwellings.

5.1.3   Strengths and Weaknesses of Hope VI as it emerged at Allequippa Terrace

The major strength of the Hope VI program is the twin goals of tearing down obsolete public housing and creating physical and social renewal. The program attempts to correct the design flaws of early public housing and attempts to break down existing barriers in an effort to create economically viable communities. Creating physical renewal through urban design is the focus throughout this research. These are further discussed in Section

One weakness of the program is that Hope VI is a policy that is built on the premise that positive neighborhood change will occur if residents have higher quality housing and mixed-income neighbors. Determining if a healthy neighborhood has been created is difficult because such analysis typically relies heavily on comparative social indicator data. (Ingram, 2006) This data allows for an examination of the changes in a neighborhood without directly asking residents their views. While social indicator data helps to address the economic viability of neighborhoods, it speaks less about social renewal and nothing about design and design related issues and their role in neighborhood redevelopment.

Another general weakness of the Hope VI program is that there is an implied assumption that in development projects, not all of the former residents are expected to return to the revitalized community. Many residents have not reaped the benefits of the new development. This development assumption has hurt the program as many former residents were left out of the revitalized project.

The Hope VI initiative began in Pittsburgh, and specifically at Allequippa Terrace for a number of reasons. One obvious reason was that much of the city's public housing was aging (as previously stated, Pittsburgh has some of the oldest public housing in the country) and the fact that many communities were suffering from many of the negative issues associated with public housing. Some of these negative issues include a high level of public housing residents living in poverty, a low labor force participation, and a high percentage of female-headed households. (Metzger, 1996) In addition, Allequippa Terrace had a high-vacancy rate (as high as 48% in 1993) and many units that were boarded shut, waiting further action. (HACP, 1995)

Pittsburgh public housing was developing a reputation for being ineffective. The program was characterized as having deteriorated buildings, poor maintenance, and little tenant involvement. Stanley Lowe, acting Director of the City's Housing Authority at the time when Hope VI was emerging, argued that current public housing strategies have been ineffective. "There are very few people who will tell you that, on a whole, public housing in the city of Pittsburgh is working the way it should." (PPG, 6.12.94)

5.1.4   The Role of Pittsburgh Mayor Murphy

Another reason why Allequippa Terrace was receiving attention was the City's Mayor, Tom Murphy. Mr. Murphy was a former community advocate working for a CDC Community Development Corporation. In that capacity, he acquired extensive knowledge about community development and neighborhood sustainability. The question regarding existing public housing seemed to be reduced to whether or not to refurbish or demolish.

There was an original proposal about public housing that called for a rejuvenation of existing structures. The Murphy administration originally supported a proposal of minimal renovation,

but he also called for a substantial amount new subsidized housing to be constructed in a range of incomes. This period of time happened to correspond to the time when the Hope VI program was being launched. Murphy was intrigued with the idea of a program that demolished troubled projects and called for new construction for mixed-income families and a return to traditional neighborhoods. Murphy's plan was criticized by housing tenants arguing that it would uproot their neighborhoods. In 1994, Assistant HUD Secretary Michael Stegman came to Pittsburgh to endorse the Murphy plan, saying that the investment would "transform the entire community." (Pittsburgh Post Gazette, 1994)

Murphy, along with other city and county officials, established a partnership to address issues of poverty in public housing and in depressed industrial communities in the Monongahalia (Mon) Valley. Called the Pittsburgh Allegheny Empowerment Partnership, one its goals was to radically rethink public housing. Together they devised a plan to eliminate bad housing, and build a new community of mixed-incomes. Existing tenants would be allowed to move into the new community or could choose to be relocated in nearby units in the Hill District and West Oakland.

The new Hope VI program seemed to be a good funding source because the program was dedicated to some of the same issues. The Partnership was confident they could win federal support for the project. Ultimately, the Murphy administration became a staunch supporter of the Hope VI program.

Another important reason why Hope VI had a strong start in Pittsburgh was due to a visit by then President Bill Clinton. He came to Pittsburgh in 1994, to promote the program that got its start under his administration. Clinton's Secretary of the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Henry Cisneros, was an outspoken advocate of razing crime-ridden urban

projects, and dispersing residents to better quality housing. Clinton's presence gave the Hope VI program energy and purpose and the persona of federal support.

Hope VI projects were beginning to spring up all across the country. Bedford Dwellings and the north side neighborhood of Manchester were also attempting to demolish and replace existing public housing.

5.1.5 External Environment and Neighborhood Change

The neighborhood (the Hill District) surrounding Allequippa Terrace was in socio-economic decline. The neighborhood transformed over the course of fifty years. In the 1940's, when the project was built, the Hill District was a multi-ethnic community with a large population of eastern Europeans. Many were first generation Europeans who were lured to Pittsburgh to work in industry and manufacturing. It was also widely recognized for its black culture and entertainment.

The City of Pittsburgh was undergoing an economic and structural transformation that would take years to complete. This transformation not only impacted the economy, but it had an impact on the workforce and on neighborhoods. The new service economy worker was very different from the industrial worker – particularly in their choice of housing. The advent of the suburbs, and the efficiency of mass transit meant living in the city was no longer a necessity.

The workers and their families who once populated the Hill District and who worked in the old economy were no longer there. The businesses and housing stock that remained began to suffer and deteriorate.

The Hill District neighborhood is also uniquely situated. At the western end is downtown, the urban, cultural and business core, to the east lies the neighborhood of Oakland – a thriving

community dominated by the University of Pittsburgh. The University has for a long time valued the land that Allequippa Terrace exists upon. As the University grows, being landlocked, to a degree, limits its development and expansion opportunities. Allequippa Terrace sits precariously suspended between two entities that are essentially landlocked, but desperate for expansion – Downtown Pittsburgh, at one end, the University of Pittsburgh at the other. As downtown expanded land was made possible through urban renewal and other strategies like eminent domain. Many residents were displaced during these renewal efforts. In the early 1960's the civic arena was the symbol of urban renewal's success and failure. For many Hill District residents, urban renewal meant the encroachment of downtown Pittsburgh into their beloved, and what they regarded as a vibrant, neighborhood. Many residents fear a similar encroachment into their neighborhood by the University of Pittsburgh.

5.2 OAKHILL – OUTCOMES OF THE PROGRAM'S IMPLEMENTATION

In 1993 HUD awarded the HACP a $31,564,190 revitalization grant and a $ 8,140,000 demolition grant for the development of Oakhill. Oakhill is the neighborhood that Allequippa Terrace became. The Hill District neighborhood that abuts west Oakland derives its name from both communities – (Oak)land, (Hill)district, thus Oakhill. In some ways, the Oakhill development is more than improving a blighted project – it has attempted to create an entire neighborhood.

In terms of visible outcomes, the number of units in the development dropped from 1,750 units (at Allequippa Terrace), to 1,225 units (this includes both Phase I and Phase II); becoming in the process of this change, considerably less dense. Density is an issue that is related with

quality of life. The new development provides a variety of housing options, renovated older units, newly built apartment style housing, townhouses, and for sale homes. Oakhill has both rental (27% of development) and subsidized units (73% of development). The rent for the various unit types vary – studio units rent for approximately $ 550 - $600 a month, while 3 bedroom units rent for $1250 - $1400 a month. While a less dense and concentrated development is recognized as an improvement, a less dense environment results in a net loss of available housing units.

Oakhill appears to be awkwardly integrated into the community. Boston-based Beacon/Corcoran Jennison Partners created a design that is functional, but the architecture is not well integrated into the surrounding communities which look entirely different.

In terms of technical support systems, the Oakhill development provides an outreach program called Housing Opportunities Unlimited, which deals with employment assistance, relocation assistance, and program informational assistance. The specific outcomes of the Hope VI program's implementation at Oakhill are as follows:

1. Poverty De-concentration.. By creating a mixed-income, less dense development the concentrations of poor families was reduced. The net loss in housing has resulted in a de-concentration of poor families. The mixed-income strategy has resulted in an increase in the medium household income. Some poverty residents were displaced through the redesign effort. While relocation services were provided for former residents who were displaced but not all persons have been accounted for. Poverty de-concentration is further discussed in Section 5.3.

2. Creating a mixed-income community. The physical shape of the new community is characterized by varied housing and diverse income levels. There exists a mix of housing type, and financing opportunities, some are public housing units, some are market rate rentals, and

others are for sale homes. Creating a mixed-income environment will help stimulate diversity and create a neighborhood that can be marketed to a more diverse population.

3. Former design flaws have been corrected. The existing public housing was demolished at the onset of Hope VI. The new housing and site configuration attempted to address the design flaws of earlier public housing by incorporating the design principles of new urbanism. The specific architectural achievements are addressed in Section 5.3, number 3) of this Chapter – What are the physical results of the redesign efforts?

4. The availability and variety of supportive services for residents. (See Appendix C)

5. Management reform at the Housing Authority. Improved management has created a more entrepreneurial, market driven culture in regard to housing management and community development.

6. Crime reduction. Crime is an important indicator in terms in neighborhood quality. One of the Brookings Institutes conclusions was that crime has an enormous impact on new investment decisions in a neighborhood. Although crime statistics were not available the housing authority police department indicates a reduction in overall crime that they attribute to the "one strike you're out" policy, the war on drugs campaign, and the public housing Drug Elimination Program. At the same time, crime in the city of Pittsburgh rose by 2% from 1996 – 2004 (Pittsburgh Police Department). At Oakhill there is a greater emphasis on the tenant screening of new applicants than there was prior to Hope VI. New safety program have been installed that did not exist at Allequippa Terrace.

Table 1 Safety Programs Available to the Neighborhood and Oakhill

	Citizen Police	Neighborhood Watch	Police Assigned to Development	Police Sponsored Youth Program
Allequippa Terrace	No	Yes	No	No
Oakhill	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

The role that the architectural design of the project plays cannot be overlooked in the apparent successful effort at crime reduction. The Brookings Institutes' study concluded that "The improved designs, improved property management, creation of defensible spaces, and reductions of concentrated poverty in the redevelopment projects all played key roles in enhancing the public safety of these previously distressed neighborhoods." (Brookings Institute, 2005, p.27)

5.3   FINDINGS - RESEARCH QUESTIONS

All of the research questions deal with the extent to which a federal program is achieving its purpose. This dissertation asks questions about what the Hope VI investment has accomplished. Policy makers and designers are also questioning the overall benefit of the program. Questions were designed to elicit responses about the Hope VI program's overall efficacy, as well as the design implication of the renovation activity.

Research Questions and Findings

1) Is the purpose of the Hope VI program clear, and has that purpose changed over the past decade?

Findings: The findings suggest that the program purpose is ambiguous. Since the beginning there has been dispute as to whether the components of demolition are the emphasis (i.e.,urban and slum clearance), or the replacement of new mixed-income neighborhoods. (interview, Alan Tisdale, HACP). He asserts that essentially there are two programs, one for demolition, and one for reconstruction. He further states that there is a fair amount of latitude in how local PHA's design and implement their local Hope VI initiatives, making it difficult for program evaluation. Popkin, supports this notion arguing that answering fundamental questions about the programs purpose is difficult, because Hope VI has not been "one program" with a clear set of consistent and unwavering goals.

Popkin further states that the program has evolved over the years from a redevelopment and community-building program into a more ambitious effort at building economically diverse communities. Part of this can be related to the strategy of decreasing the concentrations of very poor people in public housing. The question of what the overall goals and objectives of the Hope VI program are needs to continued to be explored and defined. This was a problem at Oakhill as well as at other Hope VI projects according to HUD's own baseline assessment of the program, "…resident's the housing authority, and private and public institutions have continued to work together to refine the goals and objectives of Hope VI." (HUD, 1996, at B-4)

2) To what extent has Hope VI achieved its intended benefit?

Findings: The findings suggest the answer to this question is unclear. Part of the reason for this uncertainty lies in the fact that very few comprehensive evaluation studies have been conducted

that examines all aspects of the program. HUD conducted a Baseline Assessment in 1996, but few studies outside the department have been completed. With relatively few evaluations of the program, it is difficult to determine if intended benefits have been achieved. In addition, the intended benefits of the program, it would seem, are inextricably linked with the goals and objectives of the program, which have been determined to be unclear in question #1.

In terms of other aspects of the program's intention to transform public housing, it seems the program has been successful. Referring back to the program's five key objectives outlined in Chapter 3, Section 3.3.1, the program has been successful in achieving its objectives. The objectives are described below.

Changing the physical shape of public housing: The Hope VI program has made physical improvements in an effort to transform obsolete public housing, and former design flaws have been addressed.

Table 2 Changing the physical shape of public housing

Number of Housing Units		
	1990	2005
Allequippa Terrace	1,750	0
Oakhill	0	Phase I 664 Phase II 561
Net Loss: 545		

On a national level the Hope VI program has failed to demolish 100,000 severely distressed housing units by the year 2003. Other evaluations (GAO, HUD, Urban Institute) conclude that the program has been effective in changing the physical shape of distressd properties with

attractive new mixed-income housing, but the question remains about how well the program helps residents achieve self-sufficiency.

Reducing concentrations of poverty: One of the indications that a neighborhood is improving is a reduction in poverty. The mixed-income approach has created a community with a combination of rental housing, some with rent subsidized for low-income people, and some housing at market rate, as well as several for-sale homes. The availability of different housing options has led to an overall change in the tenant make-up. There is less poverty, and higher levels of medium income. This issue is important as it deals with community viability and sustainability. Mixed-income neighborhoods require a majority of the people to be above the poverty line.

Table 3 Median Household Income: Pittsburgh vs. Oakhill

Median Household Income				
U.S Census 1990 – 2000				
	1990		2000	
	Pittsburgh	Oakhill	Pittsburgh	Oakhill
Median Income	$20,747	$5,770	$28,588	$7,417

Establishing support services: There are numerous support services offered to Oakhill residents. Some are offered through the Hope VI initiative, and others are offered by Housing Opportunities Unlimited. Services include a Food Bank, Job Training, Conflict Resolution Relocation Assistance, and After School Program, to name a few. A complete list of support services and program can be found in Appendix C.

Establishing standards for personal and community responsibility: This objective deals primarily with President Clinton's "One Strike You're Out" campaign. The Housing Opportunities Unlimited staff helps tenants identify unacceptable behavior.

Forging partnerships with others to leverage support and resources: In addition to attracting resources for community development, there is an infusion of public capital into low-income neighborhoods as a result of Hope VI. The program is trying to bring together a range of public and private parties to act as brokers of further financial resources and services. Leveraging is important as it makes available funds that housing authorities can use for capital improvements and social services. In addition it gives investors a stake in public housing communities. Within a leveraging scenario, housing authorities are encouraged to look at new developments as though they are real estate assets that can provide both dividends for investors, and quality housing for residents.

3) What are the physical results of the redesign efforts?

Findings: Significant physical results have occurred because of the Hope VI program. The existing three-story, barrack-like brick structures have been replaced by three- story buildings that have gable roofs and separate entries. These are not small design changes. A pitched or gable roof makes the buildings appear residential as opposed to a flat roof, which appears institutional. The separate entryways are a safety feature that architect Oscar Newman argues is necessary to allow for private entry and individual mail slots. The superblock design approach, that was previously described, has been reconfigured, and a new system of street patterns has been put into place in an effort to allow easier access for residents and to unite the development with the surrounding neighborhood.

The specific architectural achievements (according to the architectural firm Goody Clancy) are as follows:

A diverse mix of rental homes and for sale units in townhomes and mid-rise buildings

Project takes advantage of steep terrain to offer sweeping views of the city and valley below

Reconnection of community to adjacent neighborhoods

Realignment of several public roads to extend onto the site

New street pattern includes a series of urban grids

Public open spaces used to organize the site into discrete, identifiable neighborhoods

Passive and recreational spaces provided including playing fields and plazas

Overall design strategy of new urbanism – tree-lined streets, sidewalks, townhomes and public spaces

An architectural style reminiscent of Pittsburgh's old worker housing (Goody Clancy, 2003)

Project specifics include the following:

Project Name. Oakhill

Project Location. Pittsburgh PA

Project Owner. Beacon/Corcoran Jennison Partners, Allequippa Terrace Residents Council.

Project Builder. Allequippa Construction.

Project Architect. Lead, Goody Clancy Associates, Local, Perfido Weiskoff, Graves Associates.

Project Landscape Architect. LaQuatra Bonci Associates

Other Contractors. SAR Engineering (MEP engineer; Lim Consultants (structural engineer); Falk Associates (specifications); CEC Engineering (civil engineer).

Ownership. (O) or Rental (R). O/R

Project Financing. U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development – Hope VI Program; The City of Pittsburgh; Urban Redevelopment Authority of Pittsburgh; Low-Income Housing Tax Credit; Bank of America; PNC Bank; American Property Financing Inc.; Fannie Mae.

Unit Types. Studio, 1, 2, 3, bedrooms.

Site Area. 46.27 acres.

Density. 11.7 dua (dwelling units per acre).

Construction Type. Wood frame, brick veneer.

Total Building Costs. $116,000,000

Total Cost for Social Services. $3,286,000

4) Have completed Hope VI projects created "traditional neighborhoods" (new urbanism)?

Findings: One of the goals of the Hope VI program was to create traditional neighborhoods as discussed in Chapter 2, Section 2.4. These traditional neighborhoods had a certain scale and compactness that was understood to be more resident friendly. The research findings indicate that this objective was achieved at Oakhill, but achieved with consequences. Factually speaking, the Oakhill development features a diverse mix of rental units, and for-sale units in both mid-rise and townhouses. The curious curving street pattern of Allequippa Terrace was replaced with a grid that is both walkable, and adds to the clarity of the site. Building on steep terrain is a major design challenge and the grid system works well in this case because it can be laid out irrespective of terrain. And, according to the architect, the "residential community was designed in the style of a traditional pre-World War II neighborhood of tree-lined streets, sidewalks, townhouses, and public spaces." (Goody Clancy, 2004, p. 2)

However, it was assumed that the establishment of traditional, mixed-income communities would create the mechanism for residents to move up the socio-economic ladder and eventually

out of public housing. The redevelopment plan is predicated on the assumption that mixed-income communities will enhance the lives of poor families. This proposition is complex and may not be accurate. The overall long term success of the redevelopment may turn on the extent to which this assumption is verified. The findings suggest that integrating poor people with those that have economic means does very little. The social pathologies that plague subsidized housing do not go away by having better housing and more affluent neighbors.

The over-reliance on new urbanism perhaps is a weakness of the Hope VI program. While few would argue that a smaller scaled, better designed, economically integrated neighborhood is a detriment, it can be argued that some of the principles of new urbanism seemed forced and unsuccessful. A less dense community, in theory, makes sense. However, there are over six hundred less units at Oakhill than there were at Allequippa. The displacement of residents has never been sufficiently addressed. The mixed–income and mixed-racial composition approach seems reasonable in theory. In reality many long-term residents are uncomfortable with the forced integration. Finally, it can be argued, the architectural style of the buildings at Hope VI do not relate aesthetically with the housing in north Oakland, nor with the typical vernacular of the Hill District.

5) What policy prescriptions can be inferred from the findings of this research?

Findings: There is little question that the Hope VI program has had notable accomplishments. However, serious issues exist in that the program requires policy intervention. One is the fact that many Hope VI projects have been rebuilt in the exact same distressed community, as is the case with Oakhill. What obligation does the Hope VI program have in the revitalization of the surrounding neighborhood? Little thought has been given to overall neighborhood revitalization strategies and the role that Hope VI should play. Another issue that remains is the fact that many

of the original residents of Hope VI communities have not always benefited from the program. Whether or not this issue is about the lack of resident participation in the early planning stages, or the quality and availability of relocation services, the fact remains that many residents have been displaced by the redesign efforts and may still be living in poor housing circumstances. Finally, the question exists about what are the necessary conditions for mixed-income neighborhoods to be sustainable over time. Little research is available about this issue. Further policy implications and suggestions for future research are discussed in Chapter 6, Section 6.1.

5.4   RESPONSES TO QUESTIONNAIRE

Question 1) An overwhelming majority of residents, 38 of 40 (95%) knew what Hope VI was, but many indicated that they were not clear as to the program's goals. One respondent said "…they're supposed to make our apartment better."

Table 4 Responses to Interview Question 1

Responses to Question 1
YES   5%
NO   95%
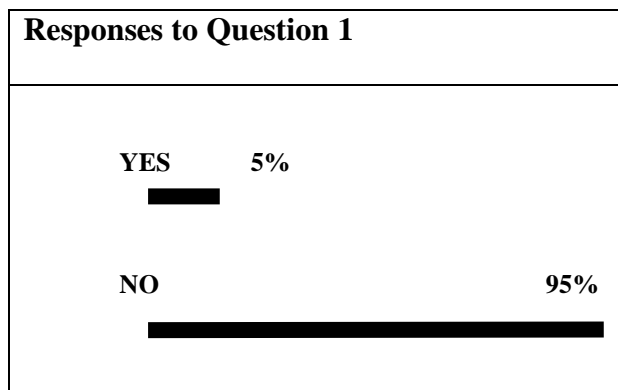
Question 2) Even though many residents were not sure about the program's purpose, 30 of 40 (75%) felt positive about their living arrangement. "…I feel better about this place than I did before."

Table 5 Responses to Interview Question 2

Responses to Question 2
YES   75%
NO   25%
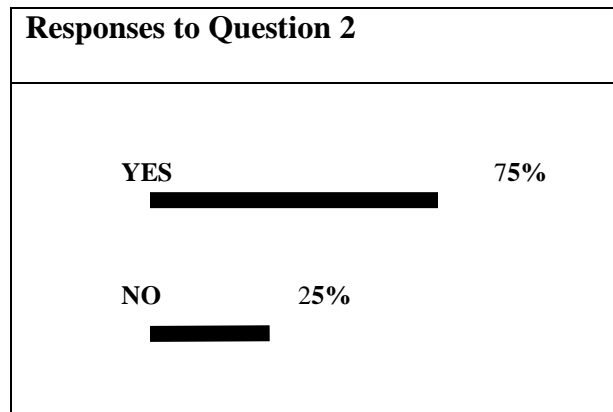
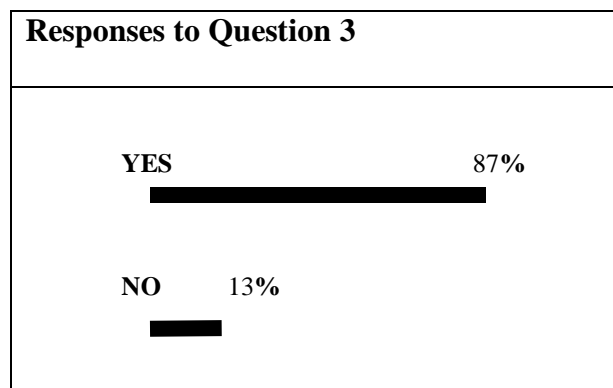Question 3) Most respondents, 35 of 40 (87%), were pleased with the physical improvements of the redesign effort. One respondent indicated that the street pattern was confusing, but overall, "…the housing is better."

Table 6 Responses to Interview Question 3

Responses to Question 3
YES   87%
NO   13%

Question 4) Generally speaking, most residents, 35 of 40 87%), were pleased to have more and better configured interior space. One respondent replied that the buildings were "…cleaner, larger, better."

Table 7 Responses to Interview Question 4

Responses to Question 4	
YES	87%
NO	13%
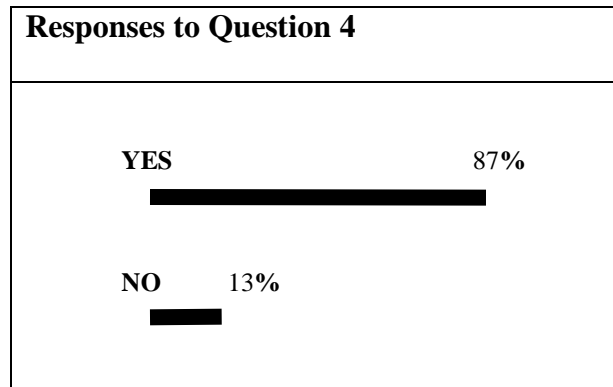
Question 5) A significant percentage, 28 of 40 (70%), of residents were not sure how to answer the question. One respondent who did respond said that "Oakhill is not part of the Hill, nor is it a part of Oakland." Another respondent liked the way the development was integrated into the community.

Question 6) Of those surveyed, only half, 20 of 40 (50%), felt that they were able to voice their opinions at meetings with the Housing Authority, developer, and architect, but were not sure whether their concerns were addressed or whether they were incorporated into the final project.

Table 8 Responses to Interview Question 6

Responses to Question 6	
YES	50%
NO	50%
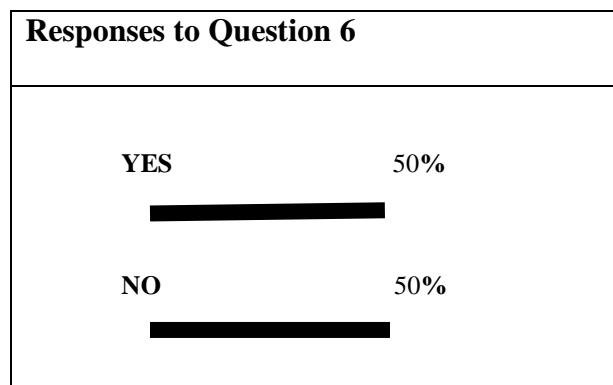
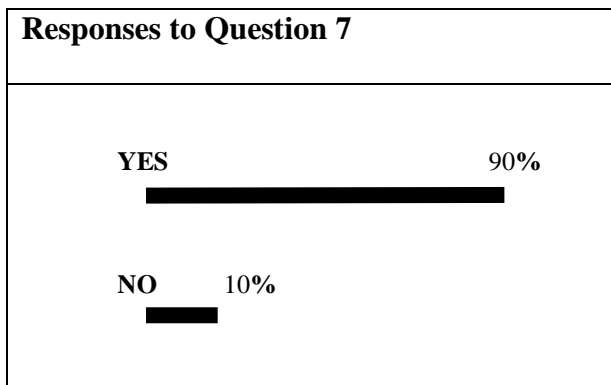Question 7) The majority of respondents, 36 of 40 (90%), did notice significant changes to management. Several were not pleased with the new management structure. One respondent said "…with new housing comes new rules."

Table 9 Responses to Interview Question 7

Responses to Question 7
YES   90%
NO   10%

Question 8) 18 of 40 (45%) indicated they were not sure that adequate provisions have been made for those residents who were displaced in the redesign efforts. One respondent said "…I think some folks now live over at Bedford Dwellings."

Table 10 Response to Interview Question 8

Responses to Question 8
YES   55%
NO   45%
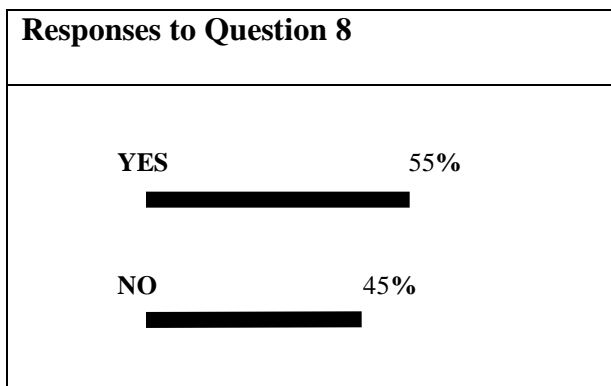
Question 9) Only 10 people responded to this question. Perhaps it is still too soon for residents to make a determination about efforts to create mixed-income communities. One respondent

said "…the housing is wonderful, but the neighborhood is not the same. Too many college students, too many kids."

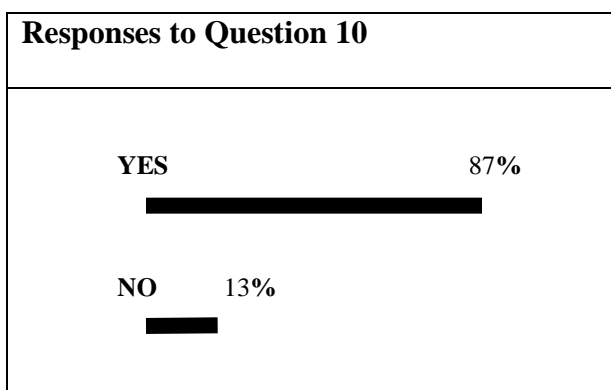Question 10) The majority of residents, 35 of 40 (87.5%), indicated that there are better and more services available to them than before. Several indicated that relocation assistance was available, which is curious given the responses to question 8.

Table 11 Responses to Interview Question 10

Responses to Question 10
YES 87**%**
NO 13**%**

Question 11) The majority of residents, 32 of 40 (80 %), indicated that they feel secure in their living environment. Interestingly, many felt secure in their old living arrangement. One respondent said "…This is my neighborhood. Why should I be scared?"

Table 12 Responses to Interview Question 11

Responses to Question 11
YES 80**%**
NO 20**%**
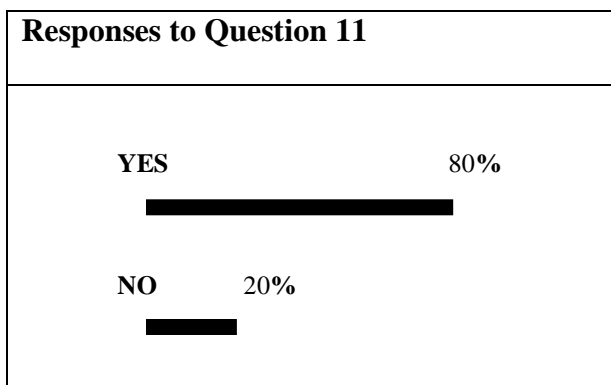
5.4.1   Summary of Responses to Questionnaire

Regarding the first question, the administrators of the Hope VI program have done a good job making residents aware of the program. However, the fact that the objectives of the program are not clear seems problematic. The physical aspects are apparent, but specific program objectives are not clear. This is consistent with what scholars have said about the program – that its goals are unclear.

   Question 2 suggests that generally, people are pleased to have improved housing. This fact is easily understood – most people would prefer quality housing over dilapidated housing. However, the program stresses that its objectives are more than bricks and mortar.

   Responses to the third question indicate that the physical aspects of the redesign effort are appreciated. People like the fact that the barracks-like structures have been replaced with more appropriate style housing. The street pattern, however, remains in question. The odd street pattern of the old Allequippa Terrace was replaced by a street pattern that some residents feel is equally curious and does not tie in with existing street patterns in adjoining areas.

   The forth question is linked with question 2 about improved housing. Interior spaces are more generous and built with higher quality. One resident from Allequippa Terrace only had a tub in her unit. Because of her advanced age, she could not take a bath because she physically could not get into the tub, and there was no shower. Providing these simple amenities have greatly improved the quality of life for some residents. Other features, such as grab bars, have made the project accessible for those people with physical problems.

   The responses to question five indicate that the program has failed in trying to make the community blend in with its surrounding neighbors. Integrating the housing development into the surrounding communities was one of the primary goals of the project, and a primary goal of

new urbanism. The fact that residents do not feel their community is connected with either the Hill District or Oakland creates an isolation not unlike the isolation of public housing communities in the past.

Question six dealt with the extent to which residents felt they were involved with the planning process. Several meetings were held by the Housing Authority, the developer (Beacon Corcoran/Jennison) and with the local architect to elicit resident input. In addition, the surrounding community was engaged as well. HUD has guidelines on community resident involvement. The grantee is required to consider the advice, counsel and recommendations of affected residents. In fact, there are four key principles that Grantees are required to address, which are: collaboration, inclusion, communication, and participation. While the intention of the program is reasonable, it remains in question whether or not residents' concerns were actually incorporated into the final project.

Responses to question seven indicate that a large percentage of residents indicated that there have been improvements to management. This is a positive finding as management improvement of large public housing authorities was a major goal of the program.

Responses to question eight suggest that the program has not been successful in providing adequate provisions for those residents displaced through the redesign effort. Even though a relocation service is provided for those residents who were either displaced or who elect to move out of Oakhill, the majority of residents feel that relocation provisions are inadequate. Outgoing Housing Authority Director Keith Kinard, indicated that every resident who lived at Allequippa Terrace and desired to move into Oakhill had the opportunity to do so. Failure to provide for those displaced through the redesign efforts has to be regarded as an enormous failure of the program.

Responses to question nine suggest that building a sustainable mixed-income community is a challenge under the best of circumstances. While lessening the concentrations of poverty is an obvious benefit, creating forced mixed-income developments may not be desirable to residents. Residents said they did not like college students in the neighborhood and objected to shuttle bus traffic.

Responses to question ten indicate that residents have a greater variety of programs and social services than before. A total of 33 services are offered through the Hope VI program. In addition, the Housing Opportunities Unlimited outreach workers provide additional services to residents.

Question eleven dealt with Hope VI's concern about improving safety and ridding drugs at Hope VI sites. Responses to question eleven suggests that residents feel their housing community is safe and that much of the criminal element has been eliminated. Management, along with Housing Opportunities, has tried to make the community safer by having residents identify areas of crime and drug use.

5.4.2   Summary of Interviews

As previously stated, interview participants were selected because of their knowledge and expertise about the Hope VI program and design related issues. There were no preconceived notions about the program's overall benefit or its impact on the community. Three types of interview participants were selected who provide information about the Hope VI program and whether or not stated objectives are being achieved. 1) Industry persons and organizations (those who work for HUD) and program administrators, 2) Design professionals who design low-

income housing and utilize the principles of new urbanism; and 3) neighborhood persons and community organizations. The names of interview participants can be found in Appendix A.

Industry persons were defined as persons who work with the program and are knowledgeable about specific program aspects and issues. They provide important insights as to how the program is operated, and the specific issues unique to their administration of the program and specific problems that are unique to their community.

Design professionals were identified as those individuals who have been a part of a HUD sponsored redesigned project and whose firm concentrates on low-income housing design. Because one of the focuses of this dissertation deals with the physical aspects of the redesign efforts, the design professional provided unique insights about the architectural and urban design related issues.

Neighborhood persons included those individuals who live in Hope VI communities and those who live in the surrounding neighborhood. One of the goals of Hope VI was to create a design that was physically integrated into the surrounding community. These persons provided a useful source of information about the program from the perspective of the neighborhood integration and community advocacy. Two open-ended questions were asked of the interview participants:

1) What is the benefit of the Hope VI program, and what is its community impact?

2) What are the results of the current renovation activity and the design aspects of Hope VI?

Because the interviews were open-ended, participants were encouraged to provide additional information and to expand upon their responses to the initial questions. The interviews were conducted after the questionnaire was distributed to residents.

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Summary of Question #1

Regarding the first interview question, every interview participant concluded that there are numerous benefits to the program. Mr. Kinard argued that the program is sound, and that the Housing Authority has met its obligation to the community. He argued that improved housing is evident, and the Authority has provided for every Allequippa Terrace resident who wanted to move into the completed Hope VI community. One respondent said the real benefit is the community is rid of drug use and much of the crime that plagued Allequippa Terrace. Another optimistically said that the benefit of the program is in improving the lives of its residents.

Summary of Question #2

Regarding the second interview question, all interview participants were encouraged by the current renovation activity in public housing. The aforementioned respondent said that the Hope VI program is correcting the design flaws of the past. Coles, Harai, and Perfido said that design improvements are necessary to enhance the quality of life for low-income families. Two other respondents said the Hill district looks much improved than when they were growing up. A third respondent said that improved design means an improved neighborhood. A fourth respondent said that there may be a way to transfer the good design occurring in the Hill District to other neighborhoods in the city.

5.5   OVERALL FINDINGS – PRINCIPAL ISSUES

This section presents a summary of the overall findings and identifies the principles, issues and problems that exist within the program.

5.5.1 Obsolete Housing

One of the stated goals of the program was to address distressed and obsolete public housing properties through demolition, new construction and rehabilitation. On a national level the Hope VI program accomplished one of its primary goals – to demolish 100,000 severely distressed housing units by 2003. The Hope VI program at Allequippa Terrace/Oakhill was successful in this regard. The project included the demolition of 1,593 units of obsolete public housing units that were replaced with 664 mixed-income units and an additional 65 for homeownership. An additional 561 mixed-income units are planned as part of Phase II. (HACP, 2004) The new development has resulted in a less dense development. However, while the new housing, from a design standpoint, reflects some of the lessons learned from the old barrack-style housing, the fact that less housing was erected during the eradication of the old obsolete housing has become one of the biggest contentious issues for the Hope VI program. The redevelopment effort has resulted in a direct net loss of public housing, resulting in the displacement of many former tenants' of the old development. The one-for-one replacement rule, whereby PHA's were required to provide a new replacement unit before demolishing an old unit, does not apply to Hope VI. While these individuals are given the option of relocating into the new development or are given vouchers to move to other housing, it appears that some of those have fallen through the cracks. While relocation services exist at Oakhill, there is little empirical data about what actually became of those individuals adversely affected by the redesign effort. (Popkin et al, 2004) Some have moved into housing at Bedford Dwellings nearby, but there is only limited knowledge of the effects of creating a forced a mixed-income community on residents. The issue is important because in some ways, the program resembles other strategies of urban renewal where existing residents get displaced. Perhaps a flaw of the program, it could be

argued, the program is expected to contribute to larger national goals of slum clearance and economic recovery and growth. Perhaps Hope VI's goal of creating mixed-income neighborhoods and community building coupled with the program's other goals is too much.

5.5.2 Principal Issues

At several sites nationwide (including Oakhill) federals dollar have been used to leverage funds from other sources including private resources. In a climate of declining federal funds, this leveraging ability is recognized as a strength of the program.

Federal investment in the program is declining and seems to be disproportionate to the program's goals. The $50 million dollar figure originally slated for redevelopment efforts has been reduced to $31 million. In addition, grants for capital improvements and social services at Hope VI projects are larger than the operating and maintenance costs for conventional public housing that is not severely distressed. While it is unclear whether, on a per-unit basis, there is much difference, it nevertheless brings into question whether it is more economical to renovate existing public housing than demolish structures and build anew.

Another apparent strength of the program is combining social programs with capital improvements. The concept is not new, it began in the 1980's with HUD's demonstration programs for the homeless and elderly that recognizes that tenants with special needs require supportive services as well as housing. Brick and mortar coupled with social programs has the best chance of revitalizing distressed communities. Hope VI is the first program to incorporate this concept into its design and funding criteria.

5.6   SUMMARY

This chapter presented the data elicited from questionnaires and with interview participants as well as subsequent objective data. While acknowledging the successes of the Hope VI program, serious problems have been identified that need to be improved.

6.0   POLICY IMPLICATIONS, SIGNIFICANCE, FUTURE RESEARCH:

INTRODUCTION

This section explores the policy implications of the study and findings. It is organized in three sections.   Section 6.1 identifies the policy implication inferred by this study.   Section 6.2 presents the significance of the research study. Section 6.3 identifies areas for future research.

6.1   POLICY IMPLICATIONS

The Hope VI program is the widest ranging experiment in public housing since the 1970's, and as such, the public policy issues are at once *clear* and *elusive*. *Clear* in the sense that many of the policy prescriptions of the past have hurt the public housing program. Conservative policy makers, coupled with the support of the real estate industry, assured that public housing, originally designed as a temporary solution for the working poor, would instead become a permanent condition. As a result, public housing became increasingly unpopular with the public and political support for the program waned. This began the cycle of government apathy, neglect and insufficient funding which, in turn, led to poor construction design and inadequate maintenance that ultimately led to programs aimed at rectifying the situation, such as Hope VI. In an era of declining resources and rising energy costs, local housing authorities have lacked sufficient income to make basic repairs and capital improvements.

The implications are *elusive* in that regard that public housing policy, it can be argued, has failed because it is based on idealistic rather than realistic assumptions (Von Hoffman, 1996). Von Hoffman argues against the supporters of the environmental determinist's model that states that there is a causal relationship between improvement in the residential environment, and poor peoples' behavior and condition. Public housing was seen as a panacea for social ills, which he argues is unrealistic and has set the stage for the program's failure. Transforming the poor by changing their physical environment was a flawed policy. For public housing to succeed, he advocates that it needs it be based on realistic assumptions, and realistic goals.

In regard to design policy, the design criteria and standards for public housing are established by HUD. These design and property standards were intended to establish the "minimum" standards by which housing could be constructed so that costs could be minimized. These design guidelines contain a multitude of standards for determining the use of certain materials, the number of outlets per room, size of rooms, types of finishes, etc. Design guidelines also deal with the exterior planning of the site and include the grid of streets, the demarcation of public and private spaces, and the configuration of buildings. The current renovation activity is modifying the existing property standards so that better designed public housing environments can be created. Improved design principles can translate into functional, reasonably scaled, sustainable communities. Several other policy issues remain outstanding. The redesign efforts were aimed at reducing density at overcrowded public housing communities. While this objective has been achieved, the reductions in density, combined with the mixed-income strategy, has resulted in a net loss of housing units available to the urban poor. Slightly more than half of the severely distressed public housing units demolished through Hope VI are

expected to be replaced. (Kingsley, et al 2004) In addition to the loss of available units, the racial composition of Pittsburgh public housing households remains largely African American.

Table 13 Race/Ethnicity of Pittsburgh Public Housing Households, 01/01 - 01/06

Race/Ethnicity of Pitt. Public Housing Households, Jan. 1, 2001 – Jan. 1, 2006

	Black		White		Other		Total	
	01/01	01/06	01/01	01/06	01/01	01/06	01/01	01/06
Family	3636	3083	165	178	12	26	3813	3287
Elderly	1008	895	39	303	26	17	1433	1193
Total	4644	3978	564	459	38	43	5246	4480

(HACP, MTW, 2005)

Other policy and program implications are as follows:

1) Continued funding. Despite the successes that the Hope VI program has had, opponents are calling for its termination because of its failure to meet the needs of existing public housing residents (particularly in regard to displacement, and relocation issues), inefficient (mainly in regard to its slow implementation process), and its large expenditure of funds. Funds for the program for fiscal year 2006 were budgeted by Congress at $150 million dollars, which is down from$500 million from its previous annual appropriation. Grants for specific Hope VI projects are down to a maximum of $31 million from $50 in 2000.

While this research recommends extending the program and returning funding levels to their prior commitment, because of the costs involved in construction interesting policy questions

emerge. For instance, it is faster and cheaper to substantially rehabilitate dilapidated public housing than it is to erect new housing. On a per-unit basis it is cheaper to substantially renovate structures than to build new. This does not suggest that rehabilitated housing should look cheap. Renovated housing and communities could be a cost saving measures and still provide quality, architecturally sensitive housing that is well integrated into the community. This particularly could be the case at developments that are considered "infill" projects where construction occurs in between existing structures that might have architectural or historic significance. Northview Heights, a public housing project on Pittsburgh's north side undertook a rehabilitation approach (for cost savings reasons) several years prior to the beginning of Hope VI. Architect Mr. Harai redesigned and reconfigured spaces to create a new architecturally responsive community. The project resulted in a Hope VI "type" of community, but at a much lower cost. The project won a design award from the American Institute of Architects.

2) The mixed-income revitalization approach. It is important to recognize that not all severely distressed public developments are strong candidates for a mixed-income revitalization strategy. The existing market conditions and existing assets of a community may not be present to create a sustainable success. The Brookings study came to this conclusion. They conclude that in the absence of certain market drivers, "…it may be preferable for public housing strategies to focus solely on providing better quality, better managed housing and access to needed services within the current public housing community without converting to a mixed-income environment." The study goes on to say that "…the best effort may be to focus on rehabilitating or constructing high quality units, providing services and supporting community building mechanisms – without a broader mix of incomes within the development itself." (Brookings Institute, 2005, p. 53)

HUD presents a more sociological argument. "The sociological premises underlying the hope that mixed-income communities will translate into more fulfilling and productive lives for public housing residents should be rigorously assessed." (HUD, 1996, p.39)

3) Resident involvement. There needs to be a continual involvement of residents throughout the planning and implementation process of Hope VI projects. While this research indicated the residents of Allequippa Terrace were actively engaged discussions about their community, other studies indicate that resident involvement was poor (HUD, 1996) "Public housing residents should have meaningful voices in the planning of the redevelopment, particularly with the development's design, operations, and the availability and character of neighborhood services and amenities." (Brookings Institute, 2005, p. 54) There needs to be meaningful involvement of public housing residents and a working relationship between residents and other participants including the housing authority to ensure a successful development. In addition, residents should be involved in the assessment and evaluation, of the Hope VI planning and implementation process. HUD argues that "The direct beneficiaries of redeveloped housing should be identified and surveyed regarding the impact on their situations living in reconfigured communities has had." This research served and responded to public housing residents' input.

4) Quality design matters. The research demonstrates that good design and comprehensive planning is essential in creating better living environments in neighborhoods once dominated by obsolete public housing. The improvement of the immediate physical environment can make a contribution to enriching the lives of the people who live there.

5) Replacement housing. One policy issue has to do with replacement housing for low-income families. Far more units are demolished than are replaced. There needs to be a more

measured approach to parallel demolition with replacement. Public housing developments need to fit into a larger, more comprehensive plan for neighborhood revitalization and sustainability.

6) Expand program funding and financing options. Funding options might include; 1) designing a special tax credit allocation pool for Hope VI projects to help finance future housing projects, 2) better use of the existing Low-Income Housing Tax Credit program to help attract new investment, 3) allowing PHA's to borrow against future modernization funds.

6.2 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RESEARCH

The problems that lead to the need for government intervention - overcrowded housing, unsanitary living conditions, and continued growth exist today and still require a solution. In short, this research provided useful information for the federal government which funds the Hope VI program. This research also provided useful information to policy makers and design practitioners who work in low-income housing.

This research indicates that to improve public housing and the Hope VI program some basic assumptions must be altered. First among these assumptions is that improved housing design will improve people. Architecture operates more in the realm of influence, than control. The questions architecture can pose are limited, and architecture cannot, by itself, provide answers. In addition, mixed-income communities will not, by extension, improve the economic status of poor people.

6.3   FUTURE RESEARCH

Programs such as Section 235, 236 and section 8 or voucher programs seem to hold promise. These programs replace public housing with privately-owned subsidized housing and gives private developers tax incentives, low cost mortgages and provide rent subsidies to house low-income families.

The legislation QHWRA seems to be significant. QHWRA stands for Quality Housing and Work Responsibility Act and was signed into legislation by President Clinton in 1999. Its goal is to make reforms in public housing a reality. Although little was discovered about this Act through the course of this research, some of the goals of the legislation, would provide valuable areas for future research.

1) Supporting families make the transition for welfare to work. Little has been done effectively in this area outside of supportive service program that have had limited success. Future research in this area would be useful.

2) Supporting HUD management reform. While this has been a goal since the National Commission on Severely Distressed Housing was formed, HUD management practices are still considered confusing, and regulatory. Continued research in this area would be useful to help ensure that management reform occurs.

3) Raising performance standards for public housing authorities and rewarding performance. More evaluation needs to be conducted to determine performance standards and program benefit.

More research is required on what has happened to the original residents of revitalized Hope VI developments. Only limited information is available on those residents displaced by the redesign efforts and how these residents have fared. Some, it is believed, are living in revitalized Hope VI sites, some presumably are living in other public housing, and others still may have left

the assistance program altogether. Linked with issue is the success of Hope VI's relocation services. Hope VI explicitly requires that funds from the program be used for supportive services. While these services have worked well at Oakhill and there appears to be a genuine effort at administrative cooperation, questions remain about the local Housing Authority's capacity to administer supportive services. Questions about the government's obligation to these original residents will persist and will ultimately help define the success or failure of the program. The ultimate success of Hope VI rests on the positive transformative changes made in the way residents live, work and play.

6.4   SUMMARY

This chapter presented the policy issues associated with the Hope VI program. Policy issues were defined and prescriptions suggested. The chapter concluded with suggestion for the Hope VI program and new directions for Housing policy.

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEWS

Interviews were conducted with the following professionals during the course of this research. The interviews are intended to provide supportive information about the City of Pittsburgh, public housing, the Hope VI program, and design issues in general.

Ms. Teri Baltimore. Ms Baltimore is a planner at the Hill House Association in the Hill District. She has extensive knowledge of the community and the three major housing redevelopments, Oakhill, Bedford Dwellings, and Crawford Square.

Mr. William Boyle. Mr. Boyle is an architect and urban designer. He is also involved in community development. Mr. Boyle works for Urban Design Associates (UDA) – the large Pittsburgh design firm that designed Crawford Square. The firm also supports Hope VI and the principles of new urbanism.

Mrs. Maria Burgwin. Mrs. Burgwin works for the Department of City Planning in the Historic Preservation department. Her insights about the preservation and demolition of the city's aging housing stock was useful.

Mr. Mulu Birru. Mr Birru is the former Executive Director of the Urban Redevelopment Authority. He worked extensively in trying to renovate existing public housing and rejuvenate the Hill District

Mrs. Peggy Charney. Mrs. Charney is a former Planner with the Department of City Planning. She was part of the initial efforts with the Oakhill (Hope VI project), formerly Allequippa Terrace. She provided valuable insights about the program, particularly the early years, and the impact that the project has had on the community.

Mr. Robert Coles. Mr. Coles is an architect and educator working out of Buffalo New York. Mr. Coles' architecture and planning firm has completed public housing projects in western New York and has extensive knowledge about low-income housing. As a Visiting Professor at Carnegie Mellon, he became intimately involved in the African American community.

Mr. James DeAngelis. Mr. DeAngelis is a planner and educator. As a professor of urban planning, he is knowledgeable in a number of areas including housing, transportation planning, and geographic information systems.

Mr. Norman Harai. Mr. Harai is an architect who specializes in the design of low-income housing. He has been involved in efforts to redesign public housing – his firm won a design award for redesigning the Northview Heights housing project.

Mr. Michael Johnson. Mr. Johnson is an Associate Professor at the Heinz School, Carnegie Mellon University. His research focuses on design and public-sector location problems. His research also includes affordable housing and the design of strategies for family mobility, and the location of project-based subsidized housing developments.

Mr. Keith Kinard. Mr. Kinard is the current executive Director of the Housing Authority of the City of Pittsburgh. He is leaving the city to take a similar position with the Newark Housing Authority.

Mr. John Metzger. Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan. Mr. Metzger is an associate professor of Urban Planning, and has written extensively on low-income housing and the Hope VI program. He was involved with pre-planning discussion at Oakhill with the community and with Mayor Murphy.

Mr. Earle Onque'. Mr. Onque' is an architect, urban planner, and educator. As an architect, his firm specialized in low and moderate income housing. In the 1970's Mr Onque' was Executive Director of the Model Cities Program.

Mr. Leonard Perfido. Mr. Perfido is a Pittsburgh architect. He was hired as a consultant to the Housing Authority to provide expertise on design and low-income housing.

Mr. John Rahaim. Mr. Rahaim was the former director of Urban Design for the City of Pittsburgh. Mr. Rahaim has a national reputation in design-related issues and in working with community negotiations. He was involved in the pre-planning stages of the Hope VI project at Oakhill.

Ms Patricia Randolph. Ms Randolph is a 19 year resident of Allequippa Terrace. She was helpful in describing the housing community when the redesign efforts were just beginning.

Mr. Chris Shea. Mr. Shea works for the Department of City Planning and has worked extensively in the housing division and in the Hill District.

Mr. Alan Tisdale. Mr. Tisdale works for the Housing Authority of the City of Pittsburgh as a staff architect. Mr. Tisdale provided valuable information about the Housing Authority, and design related issues.

Mrs. Mildred Turner. Mrs. Turner is a long time resident of the Hill District. She lived in Allequippa Terrace since1929, before recently moving to the newly renovated Bedford Dwellings. She was on the tenant council at Allequippa Terrace when the Hope VI project was being introduced.

Mr. Sanders Woodall. Mr. Woodall is an adjunct professor at Robert Morris University. Mr. Woodall has spent much of his time in the Hill District, and knows the community.

APPENDIX B

OPEN-ENDED QUESTIONNAIRE

1) Are you aware of Hope VI and can you describe the general objectives of the program?

2) How do you fell about your housing situation? Is it better or worse than your situation prior to the renovation activity?

3) How do you regard the overall physical improvements and renovation activity?

4) How do you feel about the interior spaces? Are they an improvement?

5) Is the new development, in your opinion, well integrated into the community?

6) Were residents involved in the planning of the new development?

7) Are there recognizable management improvements?

8) Have provisions been made for those individuals/families displaced by the redesign efforts?

9) The Hope VI program tries to create mixed-income communities. How do you regard this effort?

10) Are there programs (technical assistance) to assist residents improve themselves?

11) The redesign effort intended to create safe environments. Do you feel secure in your living arrangement?

APPENDIX C

SUPPORT SERVICES PROVIDED AT OAKHILL

Resident Tenant Council

Housing Opportunities Unlimited

Relocation Assistance

Job Development/Employment

Job Training

Food Assistance

Education Assistance

Counseling Services

Drug and Alcohol Assistance

Mental Health Assistance

Furniture Assistance

Conflict Resolution

Wadsworth Hall Summer Day Camp

Summer Lunch Program

After School Program

Homeownership Preparation Courses

Computer Training Program

Community Transportation Services

National Night Out Program

Allequippa Respite Care Program

KDT Driver's Training

HOUSING AUTHORITY THE CITY OF PITTSBURGH (HACP) PITTSBURGH PUBLIC HOUSING PROGRAM 1990

HACP Designation	Name	Section of City	Number of Units	Type
1) PA-1-1, 13	Addison Terrace	Middle Hill	865	High-rise, row, walk
2) PA-1-2,8	Bedford Dwellings	Upper Hill	880	Walk-up, row
3) PA-1-3	Allequippa Terrace	Hill-Oakland	1,749	Walk-up
4) PA-1-4	Arlington Heights	Upper South Side	516	Walk-up
5) PA-1-5	Allegheny	Central North	282	Walk-up
6) PA-1-6	Broadhead	West End	428	Row
7) PA-1-7	St. Clair Village	St. Clair	713	Walk-up, row
8) PA-1-9	Northview Heights	Upper North	918	High-rise, row, walk
9) PA-1-10-32,33,38	Glen Hazel Heights	Upper Hazelwood	329	High-rise, row, walk
10) PA-1-11	Hamilton-Larimer	East Liberty	324	High-rise, row
11) PA-1-12	Garfield Heights	Stanton Heights	632	High-rise, row
12) PA-1-14	Kelly Street	Homewood	165	High-rise
13) PA-1-15	PA-Bidwell	Manchester	170	High-rise
14) PA-1-17	Pressley Street	East North Side	274	High-rise
15) PA-1-20	Homewood-North	Brushton	135	Row
16) PA-1-22,39,43	Used Housing	City-wide	145	Houses, Apartments
17) PA-1-24	Manchester	Manchester	97	Walk-up
18) PA-1-29	East Hills	East Hills	157	High-rise
19) PA-1-31	Murray Towers	Squirrel Hill	70	High-rise
20) PA-1-40	Brookline Terrace	Brookline	30	Mid-rise
21) PA-1-41	Allentown	Allentown	104	High-rise
22) PA-1-44	Finello Pavillion	South Oakland	60	High-rise
23) PA-1-45	Morse Gardens	South Side	60	High-rise
24) PA-1-46	Carrick Regency	Carrick	66	Elderly
25) PA-1-47	Gualtieri	Beechview	31	Elderly
26) PA-1-50, 51, 52	Scattered Sites	West View	80	Houses

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