

# Study on Devaluation of Public Housing in United States: Public Housing in the Past, Present and Future

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**Abstract** As the cities developed and grew into larger metropolises, land value grew and land invariably became an asset. One of very critical causalities of such widespread need for development was the urban residence that got converted into cesspools of urban slum, major crime area and rapidly degraded. Incessant population growth of these cities called for more land to build residences especially the economically affordable and safe housings were needed for the citizens of none or low-income community. However, not enough attentions have yet been given to the essential basics of human habitation that exist within metropolitan limits by social, economical and political aspects.

The following paper studies and elaborates the development motivation adopted by the government to develop public housing in the United States under the technical guidance of supporters and developers from national and international communities. The paper discusses current situation of public housing in the United States with a focus on understanding the present status of public housing and physical condition of their surroundings, strategies for fund mobilization, types of local involvement and community participation, ways of continuous monitoring and maintenance, etc. thereby creating a self-sustaining and integrated management plan for public housings in the future.

*Keywords: Public Housing, Urban Housing Development, Affordable Housing, Mixed-income Housing*

## 1. INTRODUCTION

While at least a great deal of the motivation behind public housing in the United States has probably been good, the results have often fallen very short of good, or even adequate. 'Communism Development in Democracy' is one of the more accurate expression that could be applied to far too much of the public housing that has been built in the United States, especially since the middle of the last century, when much of the push for public housing came about. In no small part because of the many problems that many public housing projects from the very beginning, government support for public housing has waned over the decades. In this paper, I will examine some of the possible paths forward that might be taken for supporters of public housing, public housing that meets the needs of the entire community in which it resides.

The history of public housing in the United States is a series of missteps. Examining them in brief suggests how the future of public

housing might be brighter both for the residents of the housing and for the entire community.

The fact that public housing has an effect beyond the residents of the projects is something that has not been sufficiently considered in general in the history of public housing, a point that shall be elaborated below. The need for an entire new chapter to be written for public housing in the United States can be summarized by the following paragraph, describing just two incidents that occurred in one public housing.

“warehouse” in Chicago<sup>1</sup>:

In 1992, a Cabrini resident hiding in a vacant 10th-floor apartment shot and killed 7-year-old Dantrell Davis as he walked to school holding his mother's hand. Five years later, a 9-year-old girl known as Girl X was found raped, choked, poisoned and left in a stairwell with gang graffiti scribbled on her body. (Hawkins, 2010)

These events were particularly awful. But terrible things were happening on a regular basis to the residents of public housing projects across the United States. It would take decades of degraded lives and broken hope for public officials and community activists to begin to make headway on what a more humane version of public housing might look like.

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<sup>1</sup> Richard L. Cravatts. (2007). Gentrification is Good for the Poor and Everyone Else [http://www.americanthinker.com/2007/08/gentrification\\_is\\_good\\_for\\_the.html](http://www.americanthinker.com/2007/08/gentrification_is_good_for_the.html)

This paper gives a brief overview of the history of public housing and investigates several public housing developments in United States. For this investigation, several samples that could represent entire nation and the ones that could examine differences between prior policy and later one are chosen. The public housing is defined as formally introduced at the federal level that supply public funding of low-cost housing in the form of publicly-run and owned multi-households expansion. The paper will reviews on the background and beginning of the public housing program are briefly outlined. The public housing program has regarded as being a deteriorating dumping ground for housing of poorest urban dwellers in the U.S. In Fact, this brief history will show that program has evolved significantly over time. However its original background was driven in a very idealistic and paternalistic perspective of helping the low-income working class, not necessarily the poorest minorities of society. The public housing began relatively low-rise as two and three story walk-up, which were financed through bond initiatives and operated by setting rents to cover costs. Tyranny of high-rise building style emerges in the 1950s dominantly in metropolitan cities. By the 1970s rent were tied to incomes, often tenants were poorer and jobless. Consequently critical financing difficulty began, which led to the deterioration of many units. Nowadays, direct funding by the federal government for this kind of public housing program is rarely in progress, but its original intention and goal continues in a moderate way through the low-income housing tax credit program. The similar goal is met, possibly less effectively, such as HOPE VI development program.

This study aims to understand the various issues related with development of public housing in the United States. Very specifically it assesses to overcome poverty for low-income communities and to secure the safety of surrounding area in terms of health and crime rate. This study compares the previous federal public housing program and latest development program. The five cases chosen for study are Shore Park/Shore Terrace (Atlantic City, NJ), Ida B. Wells Homes/Wells Extension/Madden Park Homes(Chicago, IL), Few Gardens (Durham, NC), Easter Hill (Richmond, CA), East Capitol Dwellings (Washington, D.C.).

The outcome of the study will identify some of the important issues and lessons, which can help betterment of future public housing for urban poor dwellers and social minorities in United States conspicuously for their poverty exodus as well as other countries.

## 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

The history of public housing in America has very modest beginnings. At the end of the 19th century, local and federal governments began to develop and enforce building standards. New York City's First Houses, dedicated in 1935, were the nation's first public housing project. While such building standards applied to all structures, effectively they were only important for the poor. The wealthy had the means and power to ensure that their houses were well constructed.

On the other hand, the poor needed the power of the government to help them have access to housing that was minimally safe. The fact that public housing begins with a consideration of safety is certainly appropriate: Safety is the

essential first step. However, for the most part, public housing in the United States never moved beyond this point, never pushed past the point when safety was not simply the first but in fact the only criterion for housing for the poor and therefore generally widely stigmatized.

The first major push for substantial public investment and oversight for housing for the poor came about in the 1930s as a response to the dire conditions of the Great Depression (Wikipedia, 2014). Administration and then the U.S. Housing Authority – oversaw public housing projects. The stated purpose of such agencies was to provide housing for urban residents who could not afford to find shelter on their own (public housing in the United States has always been concentrated in the inner city). However, the real purpose of the agencies, at least as far as they carried out their mission, was more focused on clearing out slums.



Figure 1. The 20-story John F. Hylan houses in the Bushwick section of Brooklyn, New York City

New housing was sometimes built in previous slums, but sometimes the land was converted to other purposes, such as middle-class housing. The directive to clear out the slums was generally not so much an attempt to provide a space in an urban neighborhood that could be rebuilt in a place they would allow for housing for poor people to live in safety with some additional resources set aside to allow for a certain grace.

Rather, those residents who lived on the borders of public housing projects were highly critical of the effect of such housing on their own property values and the more intangible qualities of their neighborhoods that they valued and that they felt were being destroyed by living next to poor people. Not those complaints were usually expressed so openly, but this was the clear and repeated subtext at least: Poor people make poor neighbors. What allowed some of the largest housing projects to endure through the end of the 20th century and into the 21st century was that they were located in areas of cities that were not adjacent to residential neighborhoods of middle-class families.

Low-income households actually seem less likely to move from gentrifying neighborhoods than from other communities. (Richard L. Cravatts, 2007)

Public housing has also seen rapid deterioration in almost every state as a result of several other political dynamics. The first of

these is that the power of the urban poor has been declining for decades. Of course, being poor, the power of the residents of public housing was always proportionately less than that of wealthier residents. However, residents of poor urban neighborhoods had more political power when there were more of them: Numbers matter in a democracy, even if they matter less than money. As more and more urban poor have left the cities, moving to distant suburbs that offer safer housing and better schools, even if these are accompanied by fewer economic opportunities and dangerous circumstance, their power has waned.

Public housing projects have, moreover, been continuously subject to the depredations of state and local governments. While most funding for public housing has come from the federal government, the administration of this funding and all of the significant decisions about public housing are under that control of local officials. These officials are highly susceptible from pressure by local residents who in typical NIMBY(not in my back yard) do not want public housing in their neighborhoods.<sup>2</sup> Their objections are generally focused on the kind of high-rise, very dense housing. Indeed, a great deal of public housing projects in metropolitan area of the United States do conform to this design, although there are always been low-rise public housing projects as well.

But even when the housing projects that have drawn disapproval from other residents have been low-rise and relatively less ugly than the worst of the high-rise monstrosities, they have tend to preclude sufficient new units being built to replace housing:

Although the program has enabled city governments to clear up poorly utilized lands and spur new public housing development, critics have charged that HOPE VI has paved the way for rapid demolition without building new units. As of 2003, HUD<sup>3</sup> had approved about 135,000 units for demolition. This far surpasses the original goal proposed by the Commission, leading critics to charge that HOPE VI<sup>4</sup> and other development initiatives offer municipalities an easy way to tear down low-income units without adequately replacing them. (Venkatesh & Celimli, 2004)

The program is one of the possible future faces of public housing. This program along with other similar programs that have shown some promise in recent years will be examined in the later chapter.

### 3. RESEARCH PROPOSITION: PUBLIC HOUSING PROJECTS

The number of public housing has increased throughout the entire U.S. since public housing program was established in 1937. Since the figure of public housing units is enormous, this study selects five projects derived from the Popkin et al.(2002)'s research

<sup>2</sup> Field Guide to Effects Of Low Income Housing On Property Values” last modified March 2011, <http://www.realtor.org/field-guides/field-guide-to-effects-of-low-income-housing-on-property-values>

<sup>3</sup> United States Department of Housing and Urban Development

<sup>4</sup> HOPE is an acronym for Homeownership and Opportunity for People Everywhere

“The HOPE VI Panel Study: Baseline Final Report” in order to indicate problems of public housing such as poverty concentration, segregation, high crime rate, etc. These selected projects are as follows:

- Shore Park/Shore Terrace (Atlantic City, NJ)
- Ida B. Wells Homes/Wells Extension/Madden Park Homes (Chicago, IL)
- Few Gardens (Durham, NC)
- Easter Hill (Richmond, CA)
- East Capitol Dwellings (Washington, D.C.)

These selected public housing projects meet the criteria of this study: one is to choose samples that could represent the entire nation and another is to select examples that could be compared to those of later policy. These sites were selected by the factors: geographic diversity; percent of public housing out of total revitalized housing planned; diversity of city size; and HUD Public Housing Management and Administration (PHMAP) scores, which rank housing authorities on a range of management indicators (Popkin et al., 2002). These sampling factors, especially diversity of geography and city size, clearly show the range of entire country. Popkin et al.(2002) also stated that “this baseline study has provided the groundwork for a longitudinal exploration of how the lives of original residents of HOPE VI developments changed after relocation. The HOPE VI panel study will track this sample of residents over a four-year period.” The follow-up research was conducted in 2003 as the first wave and in 2005 as the second wave.

Since these example sites were selected as the most distressed sites of public housing, showing the deteriorating conditions of these sites was to pose the problems of public housing. First of all, the fundamental housing characteristics, such as year of built, number of units, etc., were indicated in Table 1. All sites have been built and merely maintained since almost 50 years. In addition to the rudimental characteristics of selected housing, Table 2 shows the characteristics of residents in the sites. Briefly, most of residents are African-American, over 90 percent in the four sites except for in Richmond, CA, with very low-income.

Table 1. Housing Characteristics

	Shore Park/Shore Terrace Atlantic City, NJ	Wells/Madden Chicago, IL <sup>a</sup>	Few Gardens Durham, NC	Easter Hill Richmond, CA	East Capitol Dwellings Capitol Plaza Washington, D.C.
<b>Year built</b>	1970s	1941, 1955, 1961, 1970	1953	1954	1955, 1971
<b>Original number of units (entire site)</b>	212	3,200	240	273	717 <sup>b</sup>
<b>Development type</b>	Family <sup>c</sup>	Family	Family	Family	Family, senior
<b>Building description</b>	Row houses	High-rise, mid-rise, row houses	Row houses	Row houses	Row houses, high-rise

Source: Popkin et al., 2002 “HOPE VI Panel Study: Baseline Final Report”

As for the income, residents in public housing were suffering from the poverty. US Census Bureau provided average family's threshold for data users to get a general sense of “poverty line” (Popkin et al., 2002). \$14,128 was an average threshold for family of three people. Figure 2 shows that 80 percent of public housing income was less than \$15,000. In other words, almost 80 percent of residents in public housing were in poverty, which was the significant issue of public housing.

Table 2. Characteristic of HOPE VI Panel Study Baseline Residents

	Shore Park/Shore Terrace Atlantic City, NJ	Wells/Madden Chicago, IL	Few Gardens Durham, NC	Easter Hill Richmond, CA	East Capitol Dwellings Capitol Plaza Washington, D.C.	Total Across Sites
<b>Household type</b>						
Elderly, no children	2	11	9	4	16	9
Non-elderly, no children	5	28	16	16	22	18
Family with children	93	62	74	79	62	73
<b>Marital status of families with children</b>						
Married	9	6	6	26	4	10
Single female head	91	94	94	74	96	90
<b>Household size</b>						
1 person	3	24	21	11	27	18
2 people	16	26	28	22	14	21
3 - 4 people	50	31	39	39	29	37
>= 5 people	31	18	12	28	30	23
<b>Number of children in household</b>						
0	7	39	26	21	38	28
1	24	16	26	21	12	20
2	19	18	26	21	12	19
>=3	49	27	21	38	38	34
<b>Household income</b>						
< \$5,000	5	55	56	30	19	35
\$5,000-\$10,000	42	22	23	29	42	31
\$10,001-\$15,000	21	12	10	16	12	14
> \$15,000	32	10	11	26	27	21
<b>Sources of income*</b>						
Work	53	32	41	40	25	37
welfare	10	35	27	46	36	32
SSI	15	30	20	21	40	26
SSDI	12	11	4	7	4	7
Food stamps	44	67	68	48	63	59
<b>Age of head of household</b>						
18-24 years	4	11	24	9	3	10
25-34 years	38	22	31	33	15	27
35-49 years	43	36	26	41	41	37
50-61 years	7	16	10	12	22	14
>= 62 years	7	14	9	5	19	11
<b>Race of head of household</b>						
White, non-Hispanic	0	0	1	0	1	1
Black, non-Hispanic	90	99	98	58	98	89
Hispanic	10	1	1	40	1	10
Other	0	0	1	2	1	1
<b>Length of time in public housing</b>						
< 1 year	0	0	5	5	10	5
1-4 years	22	9	39	25	25	24
5-9 years	17	7	27	28	17	19
>= 10 years	61	85	29	42	48	53

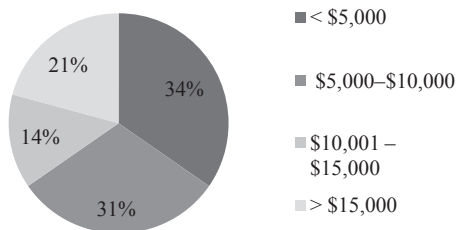
Source: Popkin et al., 2002 "HOPE VI Panel Study: Baseline Final Report"

Notes: Figures may not total 100 percent due to rounding.

SSI = Supplemental Security Income.

SSDI = Social Security Disability Income

a. More than one answer allowed.



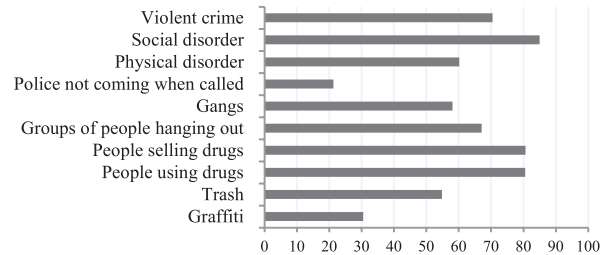
Source: Popkin et al., 2002 "HOPE VI Panel Study: Baseline Final Report"

Figure 2. Percentage of Household's income

■ In addition to the poverty problem, poor surrounding is another problem of public housing. Social disorganization theory suggests that the high level of crime in poor, isolated neighborhoods is attributable to lower social sanctions for crime, a

lower probability of being caught, and high rates of unemployment (Cook and Goss 1996; Reiss 1988; Sampson, Raudenbush, and Earls 1997). Deteriorating neighborhoods of public housing is the major concern of the government. This worsened circumstance is highly affiliated with physical and social disorder of public housing. All selected sites reported that their residents were suffering from the physical disorder, social disorder, and violent crime. In Popkin et al., 2002 "HOPE VI Panel Study: Baseline Final Report"

Figure 3, three items from the top—violent crime, social disorder, and physical disorder—were the bigger categories that include other items and appeared to be significant problems in the public housing.



Source: Popkin et al., 2002 "HOPE VI Panel Study: Baseline Final Report"

Figure 3. Percent reporting a big problem

The key findings from these selected sites are as follows:

- All five of the HOPE VI Panel study developments were in high-poverty and minority neighborhoods.
- All five of the public housing developments were in extremely poor physical condition; conditions for HOPE VI Panel Study respondents were considerably worse than national averages for poor renters.
- Respondents report low levels of social control.
- The high levels of crime and the accompanying.
- Fear stood out as major themes.

(Popkin et al., 2002)

#### 4. RESULT: FUTURE OF PUBLIC HOUSING IN UNITED STATES

By the 1990s, stakeholders in the public housing discussion had decided that the way to save public housing was to dismantle the core tenet that had defined public housing projects for several generations.<sup>5</sup> While housing projects had often been designed to be highly dense living spaces and relatively small ground, therefore, habitually calls for high-rise buildings in metropolitan area and often housing far more individuals than had originally been planned for. The new model of public housing would be to disperse housing for the poor throughout established neighborhoods. This would be accomplished by the federal government getting out of the business of direct funding and construction of housing projects and instead providing vouchers for individuals to use towards renting housing in established middle-class neighborhoods.<sup>6</sup> THE

<sup>5</sup> David Pulmuter, Seattle HOPE VI Housing Developments and the Economic Effects of the Spatial Deconcentration of Poverty, University of Washington, 2007,p3

<sup>6</sup> Ibid, p4

HOPE VI project was centered of this idea. Its major objectives are as follows:

- To improve the living environment for residents of severely distressed public housing through the demolition, rehabilitation, reconfiguration, or replacement of obsolete projects (or portions thereof).
- To revitalize sites on which such public housing projects are located and contribute to the improvement of the surrounding neighborhood.
- To provide housing that will avoid or decrease the concentration of very-low-income families.
- To build sustainable communities.

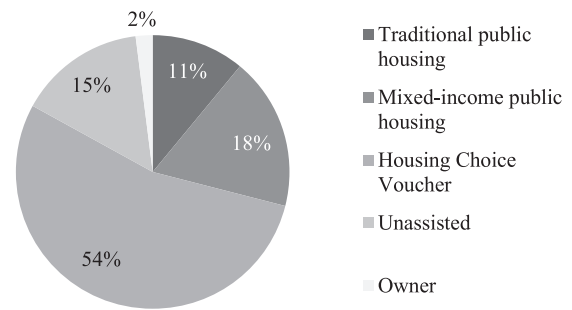
(Popkin et al., 2002)

As the paper mentioned earlier, poor circumstances play a major role in deteriorating physical, social, and economical conditions of public housing. Thus, the HOPE VI program, which scatters families in public housing from the distressed neighborhood to physically, socially, and economically better circumstance, could improve the level of public housing families.

The ostensible motive was to end the isolation of tenants from the wider city. The supposed barriers were twofold. One, public housing tenants were deleteriously affected by living in areas of concentrated poverty, where schools were in poor shape, the local economy was sputtering and crime and gang activity were entrenched. With public housing labeled a failure, it seemed reasonable to send families to the private market with a rent subsidy – the Housing Choice Voucher. And two, public housing families were held back by their neighbors who, according to conventional wisdom, were dependent on welfare, had numerous social problems, lacked a mainstream work ethic and were a bad influence on one another. The prevailing idea was that, with vouchers, tenants could separate off from one another and meet new, employed, law-abiding neighbors. (Venkatesh & Celimli, 2004)

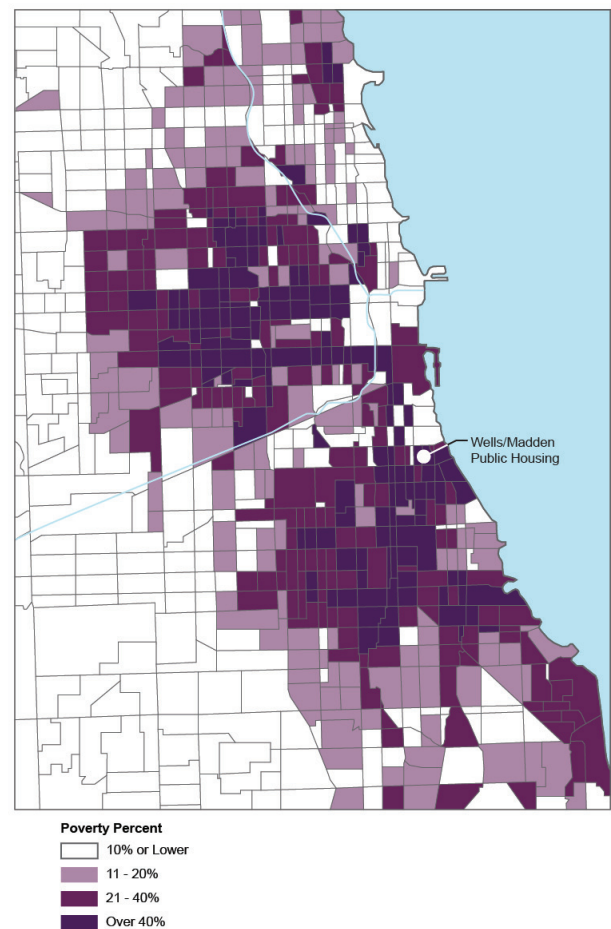
Congress commissioned the HOPE VI Panel Study in 1999 to address the question of how this transformation affects the lives of original residents of HOPE VI developments—those living in the developments prior to the HOPE VI program grant award (Popkin et al., 2002). With the follow-up Panel Study, outcomes of HOPE VI program could be examined. This paper selected a site in Chicago out of five sites—Shore Park/Shore Terrace (Atlantic City, NJ), Ida B. Wells Homes/Wells Extension/Madden Park Homes (Chicago, IL), Few Gardens (Durham, NC), Easter Hill (Richmond, CA), and East Capitol Dwellings (Washington, D.C.). The city of Chicago conducted further follow-up research in 2009 after the second and final follow-up Panel Study in 2005.

One of the considerable challenges of the HOPE VI program was relocation, so the first question was how the residents moved to another housing. As Figure 4 shows, half of the original residents lived in private market units by using voucher, Nearly 30 percent lived in public housing, and 17 percent were not assisted. In the other HOPE VI sites, similar tendency appeared.



Source: Buron et al., 2010 "After Wells: Where Are the Residents Now?"

Figure 4. Housing Assistance Status in 2009

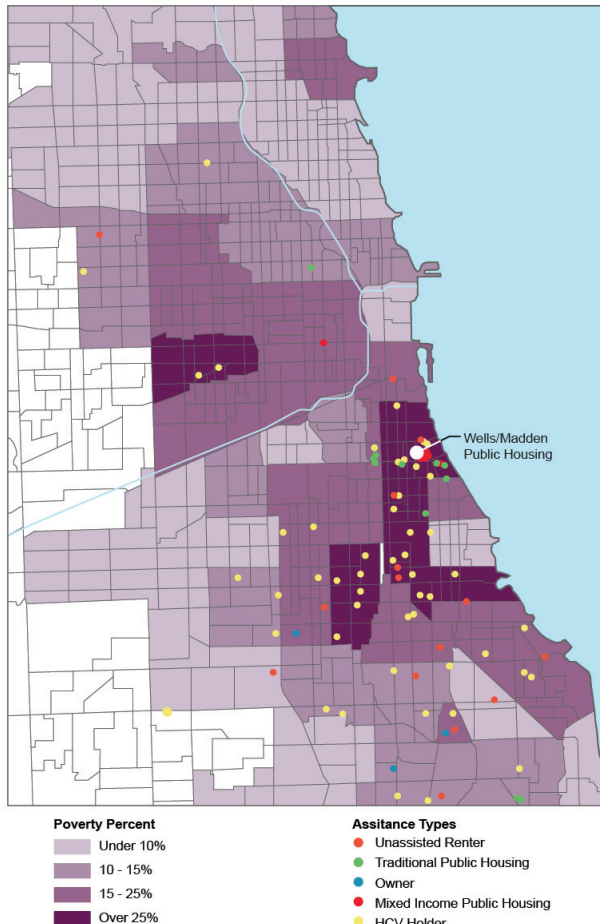


Source: Popkin et al., 2002 "HOPE VI Panel Study: Baseline Final Report"

Figure 5. Poverty Percentage of Chicago in 2001

Poverty, which is the significant issues of public housing, was indicated by comparison between two Chicago maps—one was in 2001 (Figure 5) and another was in 2009 (Figure 6). Overall poverty rate has been decreased throughout the entire city. Many residents with voucher were in lower-poverty locations than other residents. Most residents who lived in public housing were still in neighborhoods with high poverty. As the comparison and the figures in Table 3 indicated that the positive and negative outcomes from the HOPE VI program; positive result was that the program successfully relocated many public housing residents to the better neighborhood conditions that meant lower-poverty

and safer communities; and negative aspect was that the program had residents with relatively worse conditions move to shrunk and aggravated circumstances. Bruno et al.(2010) similarly stated that “Of the unassisted households who gave a reason for no longer receiving assistance, about a quarter cited positive reasons, such as their household income grew too high to be eligible or they got married and moved in with their partner. The rest cited negative reasons, such as breaking program rules or owing back rent or utilities, for why they no longer had assistance.”



Source: Buron et al., 2010 “After Wells: Where Are the Residents Now?”

Figure 6. Poverty Percentage of Chicago in 2009

Table 3. Neighborhood Characteristics by Housing Assistance (percent)

	Traditional public housing	Mixed-income public housing	Housing Choice Voucher	Unassisted renters	All former Madden/Wells residents
<b>Neighborhood poverty rate</b>					
<10%	0	0	7	16	6
10-15%	35	0	22	27	20
15-25%	21	9	19	28	20
>25%	43	92	51	30	54
<b>Neighborhood unemployment rate</b>					
<10%	0	4	16	16	12
10-15%	0	0	19	22	14
15-25%	79	84	48	34	56
>25%	21	12	17	29	19
<b>Percent of persons in neighborhood that are African-American</b>					
<15%	20	0	5	0	5
15-40%	0	0	6	0	3
40-75%	30	9	9	11	12
>75%	51	92	81	89	81
<b>Neighborhood violent crime rate (per 1,000 people) in 2008</b>					
<10 per 1,000	36	4	13	12	13
10 to 20 per 1,000	6	92	15	11	27
>20 per 1,000	58	4	73	78	60

Source: Buron et al., 2010 “After Wells: Where Are the Residents Now?”

The Summary of findings from the HOPE VI Panel Study is as follows:

- For private market and mixed-income movers, HOPE VI has more than met the goal of providing an improved living environment.
- Those who remain in traditional public housing have not realized the same benefits as movers did.
- Poor health was the biggest challenge.
- HOPE VI did not affect employment.
- The problem of the hard to house required a different approach.

(Popkin, 2007)

The concept of dispersing the public housing or integrating public housing into established neighborhoods has met with some very limited success, as detailed below:

Those CHA<sup>7</sup> families who have managed to move to the private market have had varying experiences. Conservatively, based on our research, about 20 to 25 percent boast dramatic improvements in their living situation. This is not insignificant, but it certainly is not stellar, given that since 1995, over 80 percent of tenants have moved to areas with at least a 30 percent minority population and greater than 24 percent poverty. This is a violation of the CHA’s own relocation objective of preventing further segregation and poverty concentration.... In theory the voucher units undergo an extensive inspection process so that families do not face conditions similar to the projects that they leave behind. [In the new homes] slum landlords make quick-and-dirty repairs, and the units are never rehabbed properly. (Venkatesh & Celimli, 2004)

As these articles, the projects were intended to end the spatial concentration of poverty that previous public housing produced by creating mixed income communities that accommodated market-rate units, affordable housing for middle-income families, and traditional subsidized housing.<sup>8</sup>

An extensive study of the history, present, and potential future of public housing recently completed by Columbia University makes this point, arguing that by linking new public housing projects to other investments in the shared public space, it may be able to create a new narrative about public housing. This is essential: For while innovations in architecture and building materials will no doubt be an important part of future public housing projects, the most important change that can and must be made is in the perception of the place of public housing in the larger society.

The term [public housing] is barely heard in public today, except in reference to historical policies and the buildings they produced, many of which now face demolition. In the United States, when discussing future policies and

<sup>7</sup> Chicago Housing Authority

<sup>8</sup> David Pulmuter, Seattle HOPE VI Housing Developments and the Economic Effects of the Spatial Deconcentration of Poverty, University of Washington, 2007, p3

practices, you are more likely to hear terms like “affordable housing” or “mixed-income housing.”

Among other things, this shift in terminology reflects a gradual shift in cultural meaning, where the “public” aspects of public housing have come to signify dependence or subordination, while responsibility for the basics of human habitation has fallen mainly on the markets.

But “public” can and ought to carry a positive meaning. It can mean the kind of responsibility that government traditionally upholds on behalf of its citizens. It can also refer to all of those others without whom any individual could prosper, regardless of personal ability or resources. And, at another level, it can refer to the realms in which collective responsibilities are discussed and debated, as in the expression the “public sphere.” (A New Conversation, Buell Center, 2009)

In addition to linking the future of public housing to future investments in other aspects of public infrastructure from repairing roads and bridges to investing in a more efficient, truly national electric grid, the Columbia University report emphasizes another key connection, that between the way in which public housing must be conceived and created and the recent housing crash.

## 5. DISCUSSION

Owning one’s own private home is an essential part of the American Dream and has been gave thousands of families the means to own a home that they would never have been to afford before. However, that key aspect – a home that a family can afford – has become lost in recent years as a bubble in the real estate market lead people to borrow against the rising value of their homes, a value that would suddenly plummet, leaving hundreds of thousands of individuals “upside down” on their homes, owing more than the house was worth.

One of the consequences of this sudden devaluation of so many American homes was that many neighborhoods, many in the suburbs, became devastated. These suburban neighborhoods, whose residents would once have conceived of themselves as fundamentally different from the residents of public housing projects, have by fleeing their homes created areas of blight that now rival the inner cities that they would most certainly have spurned.

These neighborhoods are now in need of renewal that is as dramatic as the public housing projects that so many see as the worst types of neighborhoods. It should be noted that in comparing the problems faced by hundreds of suburban neighborhoods across the nation are now drastic there is no equivalence being suggested in terms of the quality of life faced by residents of public housing projects and suburbs. What is being posited instead is that there is more than one kind of neighborhood that must now be reconsidered, reconceived, and rebuilt.

While primarily affecting individual homeowners, the recent subprime mortgage and foreclosure crisis has triggered questions regarding the number of Americans

living in housing beyond their means. Patterns and concentrations of foreclosure underscore the need for new public housing construction or adaptive reuse across the country to provide a viable alternative for those who cannot afford to own or rent at market rates.

The large number of foreclosed homes reveals a great deal about the values that have shaped them, as government has now stepped in as a lender-of-last-resort to rescue the symbolic individuality and self-sufficiency of the single-family house. Such landscapes offer both challenges and opportunities.

One commonly proposed strategy is to reclaim these homes themselves for use as public housing or other civic amenity. Therefore, the policy and design problems posed by the financial crisis are not merely those of coping with its worst short-term effects. They require long-term planning that would avoid a repetition. This can mean reinventing the formulas by which ownership is financed; but it can also mean reinventing the houses and apartments themselves and the policies behind them. (A New Conversation, Buell Center, 2009)

This is a radical new vision of what public housing could be. There has been a great deal of discussion within urban planning communities about the importance of occupation in urban areas, which generally refers to destruction of urban buildings too compromised for renovation and building new structures in these sites. These buildings are often new houses, but almost never houses for poorer residents.

However, suburban occupation as described above offers a real possibility for the future of public housing. It offers some of the benefits of the public housing approach, although given the fact that some suburban neighborhoods have been turned into near ghost towns by the housing crisis that simply moving in poorer families would create new “ghettoes” of public housing. This could be avoided by creating neighborhoods of mixed income, providing housing for middle-class families who do not have the resources to become homeowners at the current time and poorer families who have never considered the possibility of home-ownership to be feasible.

...reconsidering the future of public housing in the United States means reconsidering the symbolic and practical values attached to renting and other forms of tenancy. It also means reconsidering the meanings of ownership, both public and private, as they apply to the individual house, the collective dwelling, and the surrounding lawns, roads, and other spaces. And it means rethinking, at all scales, the relationship between mobility and belonging. (A New Conversation, Buell Center, 2009)

Public housing is a necessary part of the future of the United States, because a democracy provides for its vulnerable citizens. But in order to provide such protection for the vulnerable among us, the story that each one of us has about the very idea of home must change.

## 6. CONCLUSION

The latest public housing projects were centered of ideas of new models of public housing that would disperse housing for the poor throughout established neighborhoods and revitalize devaluated housings by reforming currently deteriorated conditions. Also, these goals would be accomplished by the federal government getting out of the business of direct funding and construction of housing projects and instead providing vouchers for individuals to use towards renting housing in established mixed income class neighborhoods.

As the summary, for private market and relocation of low-income communities, the latest policy for public housing has met the goal of providing an improved living environment. Yet poor health, high crime rate and unemployment rate were the most difficult to overcome. Physical environmental solution has limitation to solve all of these goals. Architectural solution should not stop at the physical built environment improvement but deeper collaboration with social, political and economic system is inevitable.

Based on the study, it can be concluded that a management body consisting of members from the local development agencies, citizen societies should be formed to devise economic, social and political support system as well as architecture and urban planning in order to sustain and maintain the public housing. It suggests incorporating government and as man stakeholders as possible in the planning process, either in an advisory or technical role in order to improve public housing site in terms of safety and overcome poverty. Social-economic committees should be set up to provide jobs on poor neighborhood issued, while political advisory committees can give the public a chance to voice their opinions in the management process. Finally, the body shall make recommendations to local development agencies and ensure successful implementation of the public housing plan.

The fact that public housing has an effect beyond the residents of the projects is something that has not been sufficiently considered in general in the history of public housing. Therefore, entire new chapter to be written for public housing is needed for continuously enhance solutions for better living condition in the future.

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