

# CNU REPORT

FEATURE

## Frank dialog about a stubborn problem

The housing bubble and ensuing foreclosure crisis have hit poor and moderate-income people particularly hard and reinforced how housing affordability is an ongoing national problem. Adequate housing in a good neighborhood remains out of reach for far too many Americans. And regrettably, after a period of innovative leadership in the 1990s, the Federal government shows only limited interest in advancing housing policy.

Members of the Congress for the New Urbanism (CNU) played key advisory and design roles in one of the rare large-scale housing success stories of recent decades: the Federal Hope VI program's transformation of distressed public housing projects into livable mixed-income neighborhoods fully integrated into the fabric of cities. To help break an emerging

FRANK DIALOG page 14

## Affordability in the Middle: Right Meets Left

It won't be easy to bridge the political divide over how to address housing needs across all income levels, but urban principles will help lead the way, says CNU President and CEO John Norquist.

The Charter of the New Urbanism—the document that defines the 27 principles guiding the movement—condemns the separation of modern society by race and income and says neighborhoods with a broad range of housing types and price levels are crucial in bringing people of diverse ages, races, and incomes into daily interaction and thereby “strengthening the personal and civic bonds essential to an authentic community.” An unparalleled high point in the quarter-century history of the movement has been the involvement of members of the Congress for the New Urbanism (CNU) in putting this Charter principle into practice by helping federal policymakers shape the Hope VI pro-

gram. Hope VI targeted and completely reconceived the most seriously deteriorated and dangerous public housing in the United States, replacing sterile high-rise housing projects on superblocks with traditional mixed-income urban neighborhoods connected physically, socially and economically to the life of the broader city.

Honored with an Innovations in American Government Award in 2000, Hope VI improved public housing in more than 150 cities and appeared destined to have lasting influence as a model for inte-

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*Housing affordability meets a fine urban neighborhood at mixed-income Park du Valle in Louisville.*



Image courtesy of Urban Design Associates

“Discussions revealed the potential for housing advocates and critics alike to agree...that traditional mixed-use neighborhoods themselves deserve to be a central housing affordability strategy.”

## CNU REPORT

### Housing Affordability/2008

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## NORQUIST

grating affordable housing in neighborhoods of true character, value, and diversity. Instead it came under heavy attack from conservative critics who convinced the Bush Administration to slash its funding. Ignoring Hope VI's role in reducing concentrations of poverty and establishing new rules that support the functioning of mixed-income neighborhoods, critics such as Howard Husock, then director of case studies at the Kennedy School of Government and now a fellow at the Manhattan Institute, argued that all federal housing subsidies acted as a form of welfare, locking beneficiaries in a state of dependency. Husock called Hope VI "lipstick on a pig" and called for a complete federal withdrawal from government-funded housing on the grounds that the private market and charities could perform better.

Seeing an impasse forming between advocates demanding greater federal housing support and critics calling more successfully for a pullback, leaders of the CNU saw that the debate over housing policy would benefit from the kind of direct confrontation, dialogue, and search for common ground that helped loosen the logjam over welfare reform in the 1990s. To that end, CNU convened a housing conference at the Johnson Foundation's Wingspread confer-

*With a variety of housing types and often retail below, this stretch of the Bronx benefits from time-honored techniques for addressing diverse housing needs.*

**“Relaxing zoning to make mixed-use urbanism legal again is an important starting point for creating housing affordability.”**

ence center in Racine, WI, in March 2005. It brought together prominent figures from across the ideological spectrum—conservative Husock and libertarian Reason Foundation fellow Sam Staley, government innovators such as former U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development Secretary Henry Cisneros and former HUD Deputy Assistant Secretary Elinor Bacon, and leading urbanists including Ray Gindroz and Dan Solomon. The event yielded an intense and at times constructive discussion on the future of low-income housing. CNU acknowledges the Macarthur Foundation for its generous support of this project.

Through essays by participants and articles that draw extensively from conference presentations, this publication explores

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*Image courtesy of Payton Chung*



## A Future Beyond Subsidies?

To solve the housing needs of the 21st century, **Ray Gindroz** insists we must understand the lessons of the last century.

In one of the opening presentations of the conference at Wingspread, architect, educator, and CNU Board member **Ray Gindroz** established the context for a broader discussion among those with divergent ideas about how to address housing needs. He traced the history of low-income housing in the United States from the squalid but well-connected slums of the early 20th century to the isolated and deteriorating public housing complexes of the second half of that century to the housing projects reborn as mixed-income neighborhoods informed by the proven principles of traditional urbanism. A key design advisor to the Clinton Administration on Hope VI, the program responsible for the dramatic turnaround of the nation's worst public housing developments, Gindroz expertly framed the predicament facing new urbanists: Just as successful Hope VI renovations powerfully demonstrated the value of traditional neighborhood design and public-private partnerships in creating beneficial settings for the poor, a conservative attack on government involvement in the housing markets derailed the reform. In response, he calls for a full exploration of how the lessons of Hope VI can be applied in a policy environment where housing needs loom large but solutions will likely be required to move "beyond subsidies." In this essay, Gindroz builds on points he made at Wingspread.

**"The architecture carefully extended the best traditions of nearby neighborhoods. The 'project' disappears and becomes part of the city."**

At the core of this debate is the role of subsidy, in particular federal subsidy. Critics of the use of such subsidies claim that before the federal government built public housing, the private sector provided all the affordable housing that was needed. Without debating the truth of that claim, it is useful to examine its implications.

### URBAN SLUMS

Before the advent of public housing, America's development patterns were very different than they are now. People lived either in rural settings, or in some form of urban place, whether small town or large city. The housing, no matter how squalid, was part of an urban environment, usually on a street. The American urban grid connected every street to every other street—your doorstep was connected to every other



doorstep in the city. It was possible to find your way to the opportunities of the city, and many fulfilled the American Dream by moving out from the slums of cities.

### AMERICAN TRADITIONAL URBANISM

In the great building booms of the late 19th and early 20th Centuries, this country created a remarkable urban form. American neighborhoods, with their mix of uses and types of housing, were produced by many individual builders. Using pattern books and working within a consensus on urban form, they built houses of all prices and generated stable communities. The cross section of the street holds the key to this success. In the traditional neighborhood, the space of the street is defined by the facades of houses but the property line of the house is at the edge of the sidewalk. Therefore, the front porch and the front yard are part of both the public realm of the street and the private realm of the individual who lives there. The house opens to the street and its residents identify with it, provide natural security over it, and feel responsible for its well being.

**GINDROZ page 14**



*The Park DuValle HOPE VI redevelopment has transformed one of Louisville's most distressed neighborhoods into a safe, attractive, and affordable mixed-income community*

*Images courtesy of Urban Design Associates*

## The Broken Market for Low Cost Housing

Saying federal housing programs are a mistake, **Howard Husock** calls for enabling private-sector housing as an agent of upward mobility.

As he did in his book *America's Trillion-Dollar Housing Mistake*, Manhattan Institute scholar and Harvard Kennedy School research fellow **Howard Husock** delivered a scathing critique of federally funded public housing. His presentation also delivered a direct challenge to the majority of summit participants who came to Wingspread with positive experiences improving public housing and using other government programs to address housing needs. Given Husock's link to Bush Administration decisions to slash federal support for public housing reform, not to mention his forceful way with polemics, his presentation could hardly be ignored and served as the pivot point for much of the discussion that ensued.

In writing off public housing and other government interventions for undercutting housing as an agent of upward mobility, Husock certainly didn't win over all of his fellow participants in the audience, but he did open up some common ground with urbanists, particularly by recognizing how the traditional form of cities and towns accommodates diverse housing types that could provide important options for lower-income households, if regulatory barriers to urbanism were removed. Quoting extensively from Husock's remarks, this article gives readers an opportunity to evaluate Husock's arguments for themselves.

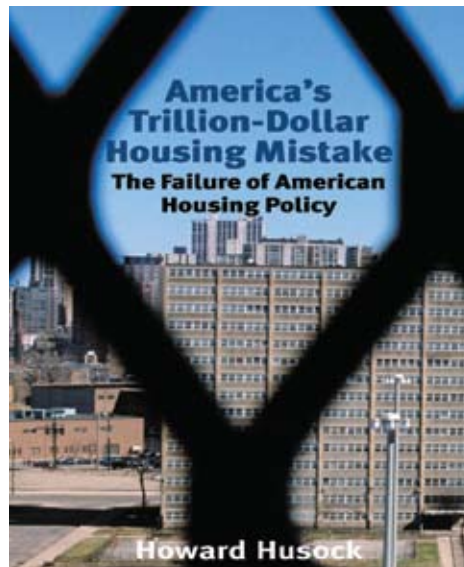
Howard Husock's argument rests on the assertion that markets have the power to serve both the housing needs and the long-term interests of the poor. Revisiting the era from about 1870 to 1930 before public housing, zoning, and urban planning, Husock says "housing markets in the U.S. were extremely productive and extremely architecturally creative."

Husock describes a complex sociology at work during this period in cities such as Boston, Chicago, and Philadelphia, even in their austere tenement and cottage neighborhoods. "People had a deep financial and social stake in their neighborhood because either they owned the house they lived in, or



they lived upstairs from or next door to the owner," says Husock. "And they understood that it was very important to improve that neighborhood through their own efforts. There was a 'conspiracy of shared values,' if you will. That meant that if next door was a good house, my own house would be better."

Husock lauds the work of 20th century sociologists Robert Woods and Albert Kennedy who coined the term "zone of emergence" to describe areas where a large percentage of working-class people owned their dwellings. Woods and Kennedy recognized ownership as "an end that holds the imagination and galvanizes the powers of a large proportion of the population." Even with the majority of this property encumbered with mortgages, "[ownership] is an index of striving and accomplishing,"



Woods and Kennedy concluded.

This attitude of self-improvement persists in the American housing market today, says Husock. When people move into better housing or to a preferred neighborhood, they are climbing what Husock describes as "the housing ladder."

Late 19th century and early 20th century housing reformers such as Jacob Riis who decried deplorable housing conditions were guilty of the "snapshot fallacy," he says. They perceived crime-ridden tenements such as New York City's Mulberry Bend as static problems that would not go away barring radical changes. But Husock maintains such tenements were just early stages in the evolution of the American housing market: the lower rungs on the housing ladder, which were eventually surmounted through "striving and accomplishment." Husock says people motivated by self-improvement did eventually move out of these areas, even though reformers saw them as "inherent market failures" and called for them to be cleared and replaced.

The answer supplied by reformers—public housing run more like a utility—overrode the benefits of private ownership, explains Husock. The paternalism of public housing, the belief that "we can provide a better environment for them," denies low-income families the chance to own and accumulate equity, to sell and move up to the next rung on the ladder. The sense of striving and accomplishing is swept away through formalized employment and maintenance contracts, says Husock. "Suddenly all that work has to be done by public employees. And we know that the government doesn't do a great job of maintenance."

Since Husock argues that the basic concept of public housing is flawed, he also finds fault in efforts to correct its flaws such as the Hope VI program. Similarly, he argues, providing Section 8 rental vouchers to poor families just scatters the effects of a public housing system that he claims doesn't work. He cites an example from his book of an African American working-class family in Chicago's south suburbs who denounce Section 8 vouchers in their neighborhood for

## The High Cost of Housing Inefficiency

Too many government housing programs put resources in the wrong places and too many local regulations restrict the supply of housing, says real estate economist **Richard Green**. And the poor pay the price.

Where other summit speakers offered reports from the front lines where affordable housing is created in livable neighborhoods, **Richard Green**, the Olive T. Carr Professor of Real Estate and Finance at George Washington University, provided a valuable wide-angle overview of federal housing policy, including a comparison of how programs designed to supply affordable housing compare in scope and impact to other housing interventions. Finding federal programs such as public housing and tax credit housing inefficient and limited in reaching their target populations, **Green favors zoning reform that frees the private market to increase the supply of housing, as well as programs including Section 8 vouchers that focus on empowering the poor in private housing markets rather than directing the work of builders to create subsidized units.**

Richard Green is resolute: “Housing subsidies are one of the least important things the federal government does.” Numbers make his point. “We have 170 million occupied units of housing in this country. Of those, 1.2 million are federally subsidized public housing, a very small share.” Section 8 rent assistance vouchers serve another 2.1 million households, while units created through the Section 42 low-income housing tax credit program account for 1.05 million units.

A huge majority of households, including most of the poor, find their housing in the private market, says Green. And the share in public housing hasn’t grown in decades. Green sees two reasons for this stagnation. First, it isn’t economical to build public housing. “The estimate for [public housing] is that for every dollar the Fed spends, they get 50 cents of housing,” says Green. “The market discipline to keep housing construction costs down does not exist.” The second reason for not building more public housing is that “the government is not putting [public housing] in places where people want to live or need to live to do things like get to the grocery store and get to work,” so there is little impetus to continue to build such housing.



Green calls Section 8 “the most successful of federal housing programs.” Affecting almost twice as many households as public housing, “vouchers allow people to participate in the housing market and live where they want to live.” Tempering his enthusiasm for Section 8 is evidence that the program fuels demand and raises rents in that market. This drives up the costs of rental units for those who qualify for Section 8 but do not receive vouchers, he explains. [About 70% of those with qualifying incomes do not receive housing vouchers, live in public housing projects, or receive any other housing subsidy, according to the New York University Center for Real Estate and Urban Policy.]

Green is not as fond of the Low Income Housing Tax Credit program. This government subsidy goes to two groups: renters and landlords. Ideally a subsidy should give

**“Housing subsidies are one of the least important things that federal government does’ says Green...Most of the poor find their housing in the private market”**

the landlord and developer “just enough incentive to build [affordable housing] but no more,” says Green. Currently half of the subsidy is going to developers, says Green, a more than ample reward for the production of the given units. “We’re not doing a very efficient job,” criticizes Green.

### ZONING

Although most zoning decisions today are left to local municipalities, the federal government played a crucial historical role in granting communities control over zoning—and suggesting the shape such zoning should take. That federal involvement has played a role in restricting housing supply and driving up housing prices, says Green. In 1942 the State Zoning Enactment Act granted the states permission to zone. The act reinforced a belief in the negative consequences of density. “[Herbert] Hoover and colleagues said flat-out that density was bad. This was an important message that got out to states and local governments in this country,” says Green. The 1942 act also created “fiscal zoning.” Newer municipalities wanted to provide taxpayers with the highest quality services but at the lowest costs. As a result, zoning codes were used to control the distribution of housing and commercial activity and had a profound impact on the housing costs.

### HOUSING FINANCE

The Federal Housing Administration (FHA) has been both a constructive and a destructive force in the American housing market, says Green. Constructively, it helped to mitigate the illiquidity of the banking system in the United States in the 1930s. Building more housing was an effective way to return banks to liquidity. The FHA programs in the 1930s and 1940s also resulted in what Green calls “an astonishingly rapid increase in the rate of homeownership.” Studies conducted by Green and his colleagues have shown that homeownership is beneficial to communities and children.

The FHA acted destructively by fueling flight from existing cities in a way that was “frankly racist,” says Green. An FHA



## A Modest Proposal for Rethinking Housing Policy

Experienced policy reformer **David Riemer** draws on lessons from welfare reform in Wisconsin in suggesting a new strategy for empowering the poor in the housing market.

In the current debate over housing policy, David Riemer sees a stalemate—and perhaps an opportunity—similar to those that existed for poverty and welfare policy in the mid-1990s. Welfare reform is a subject Riemer knows well. As budget director and administration chief for Mayor John Norquist in Milwaukee, he designed a model welfare alternative project called New Hope and then built on that experience in helping to forge a bipartisan plan for Wisconsin’s pioneering Welfare Works (W2) program. His work secured child-care, health-care and enhanced earned-income benefits for Wisconsin families that made their passage from aid-dependency to work more humane. Wisconsin’s Earned Income Tax Credit was one of the first state-level credits of its kind and was widely lauded for creating incentives among the poor to retain employment and participate in the general economy.

In Riemer’s accounting, W2 had and has its flaws but it succeeded as a reform effort because it found a way for liberals and conservatives to achieve respective



goals, from reducing welfare rolls to raising incomes and extending health care coverage. Now a research fellow at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee and director of the Wisconsin Health Project, Riemer has recently turned his attention to the needs of those who struggle to afford housing. Exploring the potential for a similar “Third Way” solution for housing policy, Riemer offered an ironically titled “modest proposal” at Wingspread that just might help decision makers on both sides of the housing debate achieve goals they hold dear. Although Riemer acknowledges that his plan to increase earned income credits significantly in exchange for phase outs of housing subsidies would need refinements (perhaps stronger government support for changing zoning regulations that restrict the supply of affordable housing), with this essay, he demonstrates again why his ideas intrigued summit participants on both sides of the ideological divide and deserve consideration.

For most of the second half of the 20th century, liberals and conservatives clashed about how to think about poverty and what to do about the nation’s most prominent welfare program called AFDC (Aid to Families with Dependent Children). Liberals sought to end poverty by giving the poor more cash (AFDC grants), cash substitutes (food stamps), and means-tested benefits (e.g., Medicaid). Conservatives had both a different goal—reducing welfare dependency—and a different strategy: narrowing eligibility, lowering benefits, and imposing work

requirements. The result of this fundamental clash was paralysis: neither poverty nor welfare declined.

During the mid-1990s, however, Wisconsin began to forge a radical bipartisan reform of anti-poverty and welfare policy that, while still far from complete, holds enormous promise for reducing poverty and dependency. The new policy starts with a new three-part consensus: (1) welfare should be replaced with work; (2) work should pay more than poverty by supplementing low-income workers’ earnings; and (3) working people should be included among those who get free or low-cost health insurance. Liberal Democrats such as State Rep. Rebecca Young, centrist Democrats such as Milwaukee Mayor John Norquist and State Rep. Antonio Riley, moderate Republicans such as State Senator Peggy Rosenzweig, and conservative Republicans led by Governor Tommy Thompson all joined in to implement key elements of the new model. “Wisconsin Works” now offers “community service jobs” to unemployed parents. A supplemental state Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC) helps ensure that work pays more than a poverty income. Subsidized childcare, and an expansion of Medicaid to low-income working families through the state’s innovative BadgerCare program, help provide working parents with affordable day care and health insurance.

The product of the new bipartisan consensus has had flaws since its inception and flaws remain. Half of the poor—non-custodial parents and childless adults, most of them men—remain entirely left out. W-2 recipients in community service jobs still get cash grants rather than real wages, denying them access to the federal and state EITC. W-2 recipients also get paid if they miss work but have a plausible excuse, a clear violation of the norms of the labor market. The actual delivery of W-2 services in Milwaukee has been inept. The state EITC, federal EITC, and other work supports unintentionally impose on some low-income workers exorbitant marginal effective tax rates that the wealthy would never tolerate.

We still have a long way to go to create

**“As with welfare policy prior to the mid 1990s, housing policy is paralyzed by basic conflicts between liberals and conservatives. Liberals want more subsidized housing; conservatives want less.”**

## Libertarianism's Empty Promise

In a rebuttal to the right-wing critiques that shaped Bush Administration policy and led to a search for common ground, architect and CNU co-founder **Daniel Solomon** calls for an unabashed return to the marriage of New Urbanism and enlightened Liberalism that led to the many successes of the Hope VI program.

As Howard Husock's merciless critique of public housing and other government housing programs became the pivot point around which many of the discussions at the Wingspread summit revolved, and led to explorations of alternative strategies to address housing needs with less direct government intervention, San Francisco architect Dan Solomon stepped forward to rebut Husock and resist fervently what he saw as the drift of the conversation towards accommodating—or at least accepting as a reality—the anti-government Libertarianism of Husock that helped shape policy under President George W. Bush.

Solomon is a co-founder of the Congress for the New Urbanism and an award-winning designer of architectural projects, including mixed-income developments funded by the federal Hope VI program that helped turn devastated public housing projects into mixed-income urban neighborhoods integrated into the fabric

*The Hope VI-funded redevelopment at Othello Station in Seattle turned barracks-style public housing into a distinctive neighborhood of homes, townhouses and rowhouses.*



and economies of their cities. He argues that the benefits of Hope VI are irrefutable and that it is in every way deserving of its 2000 Innovations in American Government Award. In his estimation, the program put substantial government funding and the best ideas from urban design and architecture in the service of an essential policy goal—relieving the desperation of those in substandard housing by incorporating them in mixed-income neighborhoods that are indistinguishable from other urban neighborhoods undergoing revitalization. The many well-managed Hope VI projects reaffirm the power of well-targeted government action to improve the lives of ordinary people, Solomon argues. They should serve as

models for addressing the needs of the many residents of this country who reside in substandard housing. In creating this essay, Solomon updated the remarks he delivered early in the Wingspread conference with observations made after the seminar.

I came to Wingspread fully braced for my encounter with Howard Husock and the attitudes of the Libertarian Right with respect to housing policy. In person, he presented a predictable but more congenial version of the arguments he makes in his remarkably hostile book. What took me completely by surprise at Wingspread was the confluence of views between this celebrated spokesman of the Libertarian Right and some very articulate representatives of the Libertarian Left. What these apparently intelligent Libertarians of the left and right agreed to explore in a smiling spirit of bipartisan policy wonk bonhomie amounted to a

**SOLOMON page 17**

*Where the previous layout of superblocks, cul de sacs, and surface lots created a feeling of isolation, the well-connected streets of the new development form smaller blocks and frame a generous central park.*



*Images courtesy of WRT Solomon ETC*



## The Atlanta Approach to New Affordable Communities

After turning around public housing in Atlanta, the city's housing authority chief **Renee Glover** describes the indispensable value of the Hope VI program and strong local management in rebuilding communities.

Before 1994, the public housing situation in Atlanta was disastrous. The forty-two public housing facilities in and around downtown Atlanta, many built during the days of Jim Crow to keep African American people out of areas of new development, were characterized by high unemployment, crime, poor school performance, and high school drop-out rates.

Renee Glover was a successful Atlanta executive when she was asked that year to take on the unenviable tasks of becoming the top manager of the troubled Atlanta Housing Authority (AHA) and trying to turn around the agency and its properties. Her initial assessment found that “all of the [authority’s] communities were in a state of horrible repair,” with most families trapped in a state of multi-generational poverty. A trip to Washington, DC, exposed her to the promise of the Hope VI program and helped convince Glover to take the job as the authority’s president and executive director. Although hopeful, she also recalls thinking “the program had been broken for so long that anything that I did had to be a move in the right direction.”

Glover’s leadership as the authority’s president and executive director, a post she still holds, is now legendary. Using Hope VI grants and a management approach emphasizing accountability and high standards, the AHA has transformed many of its most deteriorated properties into thriving mixed-income communities. Original residents who returned enjoy better living standards and higher achievement levels, while the AHA works to track and assist those who move on to other neighborhoods using housing vouchers. Through the ensuing article, which draws heavily from comments she made at the CNU conference at Wingspread, Glover’s insights on both the challenges and successes encountered in reinventing public housing can now be shared with a broader audience.



“How can you undo decades of bad public policy?” Glover wondered back in 1994, as she contemplated how to fix the Atlanta Housing Authority’s rampant problems and give residents a better life. “Should we try to make better what was there, or do we need to disassemble the whole thing and start over?” she asked.

Glover saw she wasn’t the only one recognizing the need for dramatic change. “Hope VI was just getting off the ground and one of the only things that caused me to take on this challenge was a trip I took to DC. I heard Senator Barbra Mikulski and then HUD Secretary Henry Cisneros talk about this wonderful program called Hope

VI. They said, and I remember this, “We’re going to pop out the rules. We want the housing authorities to do a thoughtful planning process to create great communities that fit in with the surrounding neighborhoods. We want mixed-income communities and other positive things. It all sounded pretty fantastic, so I said, “Well this is something I could sign up for.”

The plans involved a radical rethinking of not just the physical design and intense income segregation of existing housing developments but how they were financed and managed as well. Drawing on her experience in executive-level corporate finance and real estate positions, she believed it was possible to apply a business model to public housing and use private investment to the advantage of renewed communities.

To go with its strategic and businesslike approach to the transformations that lay ahead, AHA developed four principles to guide its work. First was a commitment to ending the concentration of poverty at these public housing facilities. The renewed developments would make room for residents of a range of incomes, from the middle class on up. With public housing units scaled back, some former residents would make use of vouchers to relocate from public housing. To reduce the odds of these families continuing

*With its pedestrian friendly street grid, the redesigned Centennial Place easily accommodates a new neighborhood school. Now children can walk to school.*

**GLOVER page 18**



*Image courtesy of Atlanta Housing Authority*



## When New Urbanism Met Bold Government Reform

Few have as distinguished a record on addressing housing needs than former Federal Housing Secretary Henry Cisneros—or such an ideal vantage point for offering advice to future leaders.

Henry Cisneros has devoted his public, and now private, life to developing innovative and affordable housing. As mayor of San Antonio from 1981 through 1989, then as U.S. Secretary of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) from 1993 through 1997, his priority was affordable and safe housing. More recently, he has launched and grown a firm known as City View to finance high-quality housing for working families that helps to revitalize central cities.

In his time leading HUD, Cisneros not only saved the department from Congressional efforts to dismantle it, he used his position to plan and implement a bold reinvention of public housing. Through the \$5 billion Hope VI program and careful collaboration between HUD officials and new urbanist designers (including Wingspread participants Ray Gindroz and Dan Solomon), several hundred of the nation's most severely distressed and isolated housing projects became mixed-income neighborhoods integrated into the life and urban fabric of the cities around them.

The winner of an Innovations in American Government Award in 2000, Hope VI remains a signal example of successful governmental reform. In his remarks at Wingspread, Cisneros spoke of the centrality of new urbanist strategies to the success of Hope VI and the continued relevance of these ideas as thoughts turn to the future of affordable housing policy.

By the early 1990s, it was apparent that public housing, as most of it had been designed and constructed in the United States, was not working well. “First of all, it was clear that there had been huge design mistakes in the creation of large-scale massive high-rise public housing,” says Cisneros. “We know all of the issues of the big blocks—cutting people off, isolating them, breaking up the urban fabric, and the movement away from street-level transactions.” HUD then



required public housing to house the poorest of the poor, and the prevalence of guns, drugs, unemployment, single-headed households and hopelessness all changed the nature of public housing, he says.

Leaving nothing off the table, Cisneros and his team embraced a kind of radical traditionalism in completely transforming the nation's most troubled housing developments. HUD went from passively accepting anyone with incomes low enough to qualify, including those with extensive criminal backgrounds, to screening applicants and enforcing crime-free conduct standards much like private-sector property managers. Instead of concentrating residents in isolated pockets of deep poverty, it gave them the opportunity to share townhouses and flats on traditional city steets and blocks with neighbors in both moderate-income affordable units and higher-income market-rate units. Recognizing that new urbanists had the foremost understanding of the design and function of these city neighborhoods, Cisneros took their design advice to heart.

Hope VI also succeeded by embracing innovation in the financing and ownership structuring of renewed developments. Cisneros recognizes Renee Glover's work in Atlanta as a prime example of “creative capacity at the local level to put together some really creative financing to make Hope VI work... creating a new paradigm of public housing as a real estate entity.”

These days Cisneros acknowledged Hope VI's struggles alongside its successes. The Section 8 voucher program (that pays a

portion of private-market rents for low-income recipients) and public purchasing of off-site housing eased displacement of public housing residents during the revitalization process. Still, segregation and discrimination were rampant, he says. And often the places that accepted Section 8 vouchers became as problem-ridden as the public housing which the residents were escaping.

Cisneros says two cases prove that regional strategies are keys to success for Section 8. He cites the Leadership Council for Metropolitan Open Communities in Chicago which helped residents find apartments, schools and jobs. Also, the “Moving to Opportunities” program in Baltimore found politically difficult yet feasible ways to move Section 8 voucher recipients into suburban homes.

After seeing once rapid progress in addressing affordable housing needs slow in recent years, Cisneros again has a long wish-list. “[We] will have some very hard times ahead if there is not some stream of (federal and local) revenue for housing. We need fairness in the Section 8 market—the issue of discrimination is real... We need a new critical mass of talent at the local level in cities and in housing authorities to do the kind of thing that Renee Glover has done... We need private capital that's willing to invest, and not just in gentrification ... but in providing something that resembles affordability in central neighborhoods. It's happening to some degree but a great deal more emphasis on the affordable component is required.”

Cisneros' concluding message is hopeful, however. “We need to build on the trends that are so positive in cities” such as new immigrants and a growing minority middle class. We need the application of New Urbanist principles to central city neighborhoods and to affordability. Combining new urbanist thinking with these dynamics is, he said, where the “real breakthroughs” in affordability can be in the years to come.

## Affordable New Urbanist Housing

Planning professor **Emily Talen** offers a blueprint for making housing affordability a renewed priority for the CNU.

When members of the Congress for the New Urbanism ratified the Charter that states the movement's core principles, they acknowledged the importance of housing of diverse types and price levels in strengthening the quality of life and cohesiveness of communities. New urbanists' work shaping the federal Hope VI program (as well as designing many of the resulting transformations of public housing) reflected this commitment to addressing the housing needs of people of all income levels and incorporating this housing in livable urban neighborhoods. In the wake of the Wingspread conference that helped envision some post-Hope VI strategies for new urbanists—in part by stimulating an exchange with influential critics of major government housing programs—the discussion of these issues has intensified at CNU events and on new urbanist e-mail forums.

While many new urbanists argue that the legalization and reintroduction of traditional urban housing forms such as the apartments above stores and garage apartments—outlawed wherever single-use subdivisions became the norm—is a crucial step in addressing housing affordability, one of the most prominent voices in these debates, Emily Talen, an associate professor of urban and regional planning at the University of Arizona, has argued that measurable progress on affordability will only come through increased attention to a broader range of strategies. In fact, Talen argues the work new urbanists do to harmoniously coordinate development and enrich the public realm leads to a price premium that regularly puts even small units and apartments beyond the reach of people of modest means. In 2006, Talen's advocacy led to the creation of a new CNU Affordable Housing Initiative which she chairs alongside Neal Payton, a principal in the Los Angeles office of the architecture and planning firm Torti Gallas and Partners. In this essay, Talen discusses a vision for the work of this new initiative.



How essential is social diversity as a near-term, ascertainable social reality? How far can New Urbanism—and the CNU in particular—go in its quest to promote it? New urbanists have a unique perspective on housing affordability that goes well beyond the simple provision of affordable housing as a discrete commodity; affordable housing is seen in the context of neighborhood design, where pedestrian experience, quality public spaces, and walkable access to services is an essential part of the affordability equation. Hope VI amply demonstrated the potential of New Urbanism to foster livable, mixed-income neighborhoods. There, as in most new urbanist work, the emphasis is on mix rather than any one form of housing by itself. While good design in projects that are exclusively affordable is essential, this is not really New Urbanism's primary issue. A larger issue is the elevation of the principle of urbanism within which the quality of diversity is considered essential.

How affordability, social mix, and good design can simultaneously progress has not been thoroughly worked out. Within the new urbanist camp, approaches to addressing the affordability issue range from minimalist—let the market address affordability—to interventionist, the view that New Urbanism should become more directly involved in the provision of mixed-income communities with mechanisms designed to keep them affordable. The minimalist response takes the view that it is enough for New Urbanism to construct the proper physical parameters of urbanism. The objective should be to define the “inaugural condition”—the forms and patterns known to be conducive to diversity—intended to evolve

into a place with social complexity. Furthermore, it is argued, residents of new urbanist communities should never be prevented from realizing the profits their investment in New Urbanism is likely to yield, as happens when prices and price appreciation are restricted to ensure affordability. Others view the lack of affordability in new urbanist developments as a missed opportunity. They envision the delivery of affordable units within the context of walkable, mixed-income, quality environments as a primary objective that should be pursued from multiple directions. The New Urbanism, they argue, was the movement that was going to do something about concentrated poverty by leveraging innovation in community design. Failure to deliver on this ideal in both the near and long-term is therefore highly problematic.

Two empirical conditions fuel the debate within New Urbanism over the issue

**“CNU can be a forthright and non-partisan advocate for its principle of promoting mixed-income development. Through its affordability initiative, it should establish clear, measurable objectives and advance them through its public and professional channels.”**



of affordability. First, affordable housing is generally believed to be in a state of “crisis” in the U.S., based on the twin facts that the number of families with “critical” housing needs has increased, and the number of available affordable units has decreased. The 2005 Housing Affordability Report released by the National Low Income Housing Coalition states that “the vast majority of American renter families (81%) live in counties where a two-bedroom apartment at the Fair Market Rent is unaffordable to a family with two full-time minimum wage earners” (www.nlihc.org). Second, new urbanist communities are widely perceived as being unaffordable to people of modest means. What percentage of new urbanist projects this applies to is unknown, but the perception that new urbanism largely caters to white, middle and upper-middle class residents is real.

## **TOWARD A CNU INITIATIVE ON AFFORDABILITY**

The social control of housing—whether housing should be seen as a right or a privilege—is a contentious subject in American society. Further, the degree to which affordable housing is seen as being in “crisis”, and the way in which it should be addressed, whether through public or private mechanisms, is also in dispute.

CNU is not in a position to resolve the political, economic, and largely ideological debates on the interrelated problems of affordable housing, concentrated poverty, and neighborhood social diversity. CNU can however be a forthright and non-partisan advocate for its principle of promoting mixed income development. Through its Affordability Initiative, it should establish clear, measurable objectives and advance them through its public and professional channels.

I believe this initiative should focus on the following three critical tasks:

### **1. MONITORING THE MARKET**

An essential task is the establishment of some mechanism for taking stock of new urbanist development over time. It is not enough to claim that evolutionary or market-induced diversity is occurring and ask to be believed, especially in view of evidence

that older, walkable neighborhoods tend toward lower affordability in some markets. For these claims to be credible, there must be some way to gauge progress made toward achieving the diversity goal. This has never been done for walkable, amenity-rich new urbanism. Empirical backing is essential.

Specific questions to be addressed include: Is the market providing affordability and housing for a range of incomes in new urbanist developments? As the market-based new urbanism grows, does it retain its affordability for a range of people? How effective is the provision of mixed housing types as a mechanism for achieving social diversity? Within what parameters is the mix most likely to be sustained?

It will be important to monitor whether affordability and mix increase where regulations have been changed to encourage higher densities. In addition, it will be important to investigate whether the widespread provision of affordable innovative housing is having the intended effect of producing more mixed-income neighborhoods.

Note that those charged with this task have many issues to grapple with concerning measurement: How are affordability and mix/diversity to be measured? What kinds of diversity are important? Does age diversity count? Aren't ethnic enclaves acceptable, even desirable?

### **2. PROVIDE A DEVELOPER'S TOOLKIT**

Of the 450+ neighborhood-scale New urbanist projects in the U.S. in various phases of development, possibly 15-20% of them use some government or quasi-government program to integrate affordable housing, most notably the Hope VI program. New urbanist interest in socially mixed neighborhoods now goes well beyond public housing-based integration via Hope VI. Low-income housing tax credits, block grants, state affordable housing funds, TIF, property tax abatement, and housing trust funds are employed as well. Fortunately, many dedicated people in a wide variety of organizations—non-profits, government, academia, philanthropy, think tanks—are putting great effort into mechanisms that increase the supply of affordable housing.

However, it is likely that new urbanists

have not fully engaged with these affordable housing advocates, experts, and funding sources. Many new urbanist developers are likely to be open to partnering with non-profits or taking advantage of various government subsidies. Because of the complexity of affordable housing financing they may need assistance to develop the necessary partnerships. CNU could provide a valuable service by connecting urbanism-oriented developers with the organizations and resources they need.

The first goal of this task, then, is to investigate how successful new urbanist projects have combined programs to produce stable, mixed-income communities. Developers of these projects are an excellent primary source of data. They should be interviewed for information on their mixed-income new urbanist projects, specifically, their financial structures, the subsidies used, and the groups they have partnered with (CDCs, land trusts). The interviews should also determine how (and whether) things might have been done differently.

Second, make this information widely known, perhaps as a “Toolkit” designed for the new urbanist development community. As an inducement, CNU could showcase mixed-income projects that are particularly replicable by recognizing them with a high-profile special award, for example. Hosting a series of workshops on mixed-income finance, or on partnering with local non-profits, would also enable developers to build successful projects.

### **3. INCREASE DIVERSITY BY PROMOTING REGULATORY REFORM**

Exclusionary, single-use zoning is obviously impeding the development of mixed-income communities. Through its Planners Task Force and related form-based coding initiatives, CNU has long advanced zoning reform through local governments to relax regulations and allow mixed housing types without variance.

CNU's Affordability Initiative should focus specifically on regulatory reform from within the affordable housing field itself. In much the same way that CNU has worked

## Embracing the Vernacular

Steve Mouzon conducts a tour of the time-tested strategies behind the Katrina Cottage and reveals how they can be applied to promote livable and lasting affordability.

In the months following hurricanes Katrina and Rita, the Katrina Cottage went from being a set of drawings created by CNU members at the October 2005 Mississippi Renewal Forum, the historic charrette for the hurricane battered towns of Mississippi, to being considered in Congress as a safe and dignified alternative to the ubiquitous FEMA trailer. Designed to be built quickly, durably and with close attention to the vernacular styles of the Gulf Coast, the Katrina Cottage concept was quickly embraced by displaced Gulf residents as the kind of emergency housing that would make a welcome addition to any traditional coastal neighborhood and grow with their owners as they rebuilt their lives.

Before the idea of the Katrina Cottages was covered in newspapers nationwide (including USA Today, the New York Times, the Washington Post, the Houston Chronicle and the New Orleans Times Picayune) and before the original Katrina Cottage design by Marianne Cusato won the 2006 People's Design Award from the Cooper-Hewitt National Design Museum, architect Steve Mouzon—founder of the New Urban Guild and designer of award-winning versions of the Katrina Cottage—previewed many of the ideas and values informing the cottage project in a presentation on the role of the vernacular in housing affordability at Wingspread. This article quotes liberally from that presentation and summarizes lessons that Mouzon continues to share with a range of audiences.

When he's not designing houses and mixed-use buildings, Steve Mouzon can often be found studying the nation's most-beloved buildings—many of them modest yet enduring homes, townhouses and multi-unit residences. What he's observed has led him to argue that there are time-tested affordability devices that are rarely used but deserve widespread adoption.



Mouzon identifies two distinct sides of the housing affordability equation: subsidy and cost-reduction. While granting that New Urbanism shouldn't ignore the role of subsidies, he urges more attention on physical solutions to cost reduction. "Let me suggest to you that any particular solution that is potentially only one election away from going away—if one election has the potential to destroy it—that's not really what you'd call sustainable affordability." Mouzon's observation of traditional housing stock that has proven its value over time has revealed a range of cost-reduction strategies, many long overlooked by formula-driven production builders.

*This model Katrina Cottage embodies many ideas for adapting vernacular architecture to create affordable sustainable housing.*



The first is sharing spaces—even spaces as simple as walls and roofs—and overcoming the emphasis on single-family homes. "We have a notion," he says, "that decency is a single-family house... and nothing other than that will do." A more flexible definition of decent housing would help overcome this barrier.

Another proven way to reduce direct building costs is reducing house and lot sizes, using good design to achieve livable results. "For example, the dining room doesn't have to be 10 ft by 14 ft. It can be something as simple as a booth. That can actually reduce physical size substantially."

Mouzon also urges scaling back the role of specialists in aspects of home design and production ranging from window supply to insulation to heating and cooling, saying they have disrupted what had been a more holistic process. Since the specialists' individualized practices are standardized and reflected in building codes, more strategies for coordinating the components of a home to achieve essential goals—such as natural ventilation and day lighting—are surrendered. "Now as much as we like to dismiss them for a number of reasons, I'm of the opinion that the Home Depot and Lowe's

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*Image courtesy of Steve Mouzon*



## The Transportation Effect

In addition to proven environmental benefits, transit-oriented development has affordability advantages as well. They become clearer when housing and transportation costs are considered together, argues development expert **Shelley Poticha**

In a country where generations of development have been designed to be reached only by automobiles and other personal vehicles, the environmental and socioeconomic benefits of well-designed mixed-use development near transit stations are hard to underestimate. In addition to offering convenient transit access, the best transit-oriented neighborhoods feature a vibrant mixing of uses and a walkable urban form that reward residents by shortening the distance to many destinations and further reducing automobile dependency.

As president and CEO of Reconnecting America and former executive director of the Congress for New Urbanism, Shelley Poticha has become a prominent national advocate of transit-oriented development (TOD). Using economic, demographic, and environmental arguments, Poticha argues that TODs need to become an increasing part of the American landscape. In a presentation at Wingspread, Poticha emphasized TODs' ability to create livable, diverse, and affordable communities. Residents of transit-served neighborhoods on average spend considerably less on transportation than those in auto-dependent areas. But as Poticha notes, the unaddressed demand for this type of living causes TOD housing prices to rise. This article, which quotes extensively from Poticha's comments at CNU's Wingspread forum and supplements it with more recent Congressional testimony, explores strategies for delivering—affordably—on the promise of transit-oriented development.

According to Shelley Poticha, the American way of life is undergoing rapid change, and Americans are more interested than ever in being better connected to the world around them. Poticha therefore notes an increasing market demand for transit-oriented developments (TODs), and argues that “there’s really a substantial interest in the kind of neighborhoods that blend principles of New Urbanism with [greater] access



to jobs and other amenities in their regions.” Poticha sees this trend continuing as America’s demographic trends shift toward older and smaller household units.

As the popularity of TODs reshapes the demand for real estate, Poticha hopes that our notions of affordability will evolve as well. One such new measure put forth by the Center for Transit-Oriented Development is an “affordability index,” which factors in both housing and transportation—the two largest drivers of household spending. It rec-

*Transit plays an important role in supporting compact communities where one can live and work, and in lowering household transportation costs, thus delivering more affordable lifestyles.*

ognizes that typical calculations of housing affordability are incomplete unless they’re paired with household transportation costs, particularly because transportation expenses tend to rise sharply as people seek lower-cost housing in far exurbs where land costs are lower. “While finding a cheaper house in the suburbs used to be a strategy that resulted in savings, recent studies show the increased cost of transportation nearly wipes that savings out,” Poticha testified in Congress on March 8, 2007 before the Appropriations

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**“The advantage of transit-oriented developments is their potential to lower combined spending on the two largest household expenses.”**



Image courtesy of P.J.S. from flickr.com

## FRANK DIALOG

**impasse between the political right and left over housing policy—one that derailed programs like Hope VI—CNU assembled leading housing specialists and urbanists from across the political spectrum for a forum in Racine, WI. From codes enabling traditionally urban forms of affordability such as housing above stores to newer ideas such as community land trusts. Or very radical ideas like replacing all Federal Housing programs and using the savings to add to the Federal earned income tax credit. This publication explores highlights from the forum and tracks how the discussion has advanced since then.**

## NORQUIST

the debate at Wingspread. It also tracks the conversation as it has evolved since then as the challenge of neighborhood affordability has been established as a major topic within the CNU. Housing affordability is explored annually at CNU Congresses, is the subject of a new CNU Affordability Task Force, and was a central concern as new urbanists responded to the hurricanes of 2005 with solutions including the Katrina Cottage, now funded as a humane alternative to the FEMA trailer.

Through this report, you have the opportunity to evaluate for yourself Husock's unrelenting argument that public housing and other government housing interventions are fundamentally flawed enterprises that undercut the many ways that functioning markets address diverse housing needs. You'll see passionate defenses of the Hope VI program from Solomon, Gindroz, Cisneros, and Atlanta Housing Authority President Renee Glover. You'll find the dispassionate analysis of economics professor Richard Green who points out that public housing has never served more than a small fraction of poor households and that even the most far reaching program, Section 8 housing vouchers, reach just one third of those eligible. He also argues that restrictive zoning is one of the chief forces making housing unaffordable. Green also expressed skepticism about efforts to expand home ownership to those

with insecure finances. This view seems prescient in light of the current sub-prime mortgage crisis.

The fact that federal housing programs weren't scaled up for the challenge, even before their downsizing by conservatives, reveals the need for either greatly expanded support (as unlikely as that may be fiscally and politically) or further solutions, be they market-based or government-funded. Responding to the critique that current government housing programs are particularly inefficient in getting aid to the poor, David Riemer, a public policy expert who forged bipartisan cooperation on the widely praised welfare reform in Wisconsin, explores the possibility of delivering housing aid directly to the poor in the form of an enhanced earned income tax credit. This "modest" proposal intrigued many conference participants from all points on the spectrum.

Most encouragingly, the conference revealed the potential for housing advocates and critics alike to agree on something significant: that traditional mixed-use neighborhoods themselves deserve to be a central housing affordability strategy because they make possible time-tested forms of affordable housing ranging from duplexes to garage units to apartments above stores. The reintroduction of this traditional neighborhood form to public housing is the main reason Hope VI receives praise. Of course, the widespread adoption of separate-use zoning regulations has made these traditional mixed-use neighborhoods—and the affordable housing types within them—illegal to build in many, if not most, U.S. communities. Participants at Wingspread agreed that relaxing zoning to make mixed-use urbanism legal again is an important starting point for creating housing affordability.

Although sociology professor Emily Talen argues in her blueprint for CNU's new Housing Affordability Task Force that the growing demand for well-planned traditional neighborhoods cuts into their affordability advantages—leading her to call for greater use of tools such as community land trusts and requirements that for-profit developers provide a certain percentage of units at a price affordable to those with less than median area incomes—some promising approaches promote greater housing affordability by making it easier to develop mixed-use urbanism. Wingspread participants, for instance, suggest inventorying underused but strategically located public land in the

nation's cities—storage lots, underused freeway corridors, closed or scaled-back military bases and air fields—and opening them up to development. Such locations near metropolitan centers and near transit lines can create efficient living opportunities for all, including moderate-income households.

Disagreements over housing policy won't be easy to resolve, but it's clear that the principles of traditional urbanism—the principles of the Charter of the New Urbanism—can help guide the way towards solutions. With demand for 70 million new housing units predicted over the next 30 years, America has the opportunity to better serve housing needs across all income categories. The current slowdown in housing production and price growth makes now a good time to consider the reforms debated in this report.

## GINDROZ

## NON-URBAN SLUMS

But today, the sprawling development patterns of our regions consist of single-use complexes and single-income subdivisions. Low-income housing projects and subsidized complexes are isolated by physical design as well as location and they lack affordable transportation to connect residents with the many jobs in the outer parts of regions. So the American dream is much more difficult to achieve.

Well-intentioned federal housing programs did go badly off course in the latter part of the 20th Century. Liberals and conservatives agree that public housing projects had become dysfunctional for their residents and blighting influences on the cities in which they were located.

In redesigning the exterior of an existing project, my colleagues and I learned the social value of traditional urbanism. By adding porches, front yards, and streets to the empty spaces between buildings, it was possible to create the framework within which residents could reclaim their neighborhood. The success of this effort made it possible to modify Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) Policy and set the stage for the role CNU would play in establishing design guidelines for the HOPE VI program.



**“By adding porches, front yards, and streets to the empty space between buildings, it was possible to create the framework within which residents could reclaim their neighborhood.”**

#### **CNU AND THE HOPE VI PROGRAM**

By the early 1990s, with public housing policy clearly in desperate need of reform, HUD’s goal was to transform deteriorated government-owned housing projects into sustainable mixed-income neighborhoods that would contribute to the revitalization of cities. HUD also recognized that the private sector would need to join in public-private partnerships to create these mixed-income communities in order for them to succeed in the market place. Since the early and mid-90s were also the years when CNU was founded and its Charter drafted, HUD’s Hope VI program became an ideal testing ground for the principles enumerated in the Charter.

Members of CNU provided HUD with training manuals for administrators and set the design criteria which helped determine which applications received federal funding. To receive an average \$40 million grant, developers and local housing authorities needed to follow the principles of New Urbanism. Individual CNU practitioners participated in the design of dozens of these projects over 7 years and achieved substantial change in many cities. The results were mixed-income neighborhoods built in a way that continues the local traditions of each community, rather than projects built according to a federal formula. At each, a public process ensured community discretion in determining the future form of neighborhoods.

#### **NEW URBANIST PRINCIPLES AND MIXED-INCOME NEIGHBORHOODS**

Through master plans and building designs developed in participatory design charrettes, the new urbanist projects created a series of neighborhood streets, lined with housing of a wide range of types and sizes. The architecture carefully extended the best traditions of nearby neighborhoods. The “project” disappears and becomes part of the city. Within these developments, there is no distinction between subsidized units and market rate units. And there has been no difficulty in the way in which persons of various incomes relate to each other in these developments, primarily because they are part of a neighborhood, not part of a project.

#### **THE ROLE OF SUBSIDY IN HOPE VI**

The infusion of federal investment in infrastructure has been essential to the program’s remarkable accomplishments. The rebuilding of long-neglected neighborhoods requires a level of investment far beyond the means of local jurisdictions. Furthermore, the distressed public housing projects themselves had to be removed and the damage they caused to the environment mitigated. Once they were cleared, the private market responded and middle-income people began buying market-rate houses and renting market-rate apartments. The projects are often so successful that real estate values around them increase as much as ten times. The federal subsidy that ensures that a percentage of the units will be affordable has proven essen-

**“Through designs developed in participatory charrettes, the new urbanist projects created a series of neighborhood streets, lined with housing of a wide range of types and sizes.”**

tial in ensuring that the goal of a mixed-income neighborhood is achieved and maintained. And the most successful HOPE VI projects limited public housing residency to those who are willing to participate in educational and social service programs that would enable them to improve their lives and move out of subsidized housing.

#### **A FUTURE WITHOUT SUBSIDY?**

The legacy of the program includes a large number of professionals, in both the public and private sector, with the skills needed to find ways of financing, funding, designing, and building mixed-income neighborhoods in difficult areas. Programs such as the University of Pennsylvania’s Center for Urban Redevelopment Excellence (CURExPenn) provide mid-career urban revitalization training to professionals in various development disciplines. Foundations and other sources of funding are increasingly interested in such community rebuilding efforts. The traditional American neighborhood continues to be the most successful model for mixed-income development. The challenge is to find new ways of accomplishing it.

To see ideas developed cooperatively in response to Gindroz’ challenge, see *Core Principles and Strategies*, page 22.

#### **HUSOCK**

devaluing “their strivings and accomplishments ... as they climb the housing ladder.”

What should federal housing policy look like if it’s not to include public housing or rent assistance? Husock says two concerns should drive the creation of this policy: how to deal with very poor households who currently receive some kind of government housing subsidy and how to revive the “polyglot urban environment that produced a range of housing types and housing costs in the pre-zoning era.” In response to the first concern, Husock expressed interest in an idea that emerged at Wingspread: enhancing earned income credits that allow families to make their own decisions about how they will spend that income. In response to the second, he suggests relaxing zoning laws to encourage the building of diverse housing types that

**HUSOCK**

are affordable to lower-income households. These building types include two-family buildings, buildings with in-law units, and buildings with ground-floor retail and living space above.

“The federal government is a minor player in this,” notes Husock. “It’s the zoning boards where these battles are going to be won or lost.” And in suburbs, the battle is to convince average citizens that it is in their best interest to let urbanism return, says Husock. Husock believes Shaker Heights, Ohio serves as a valuable model. A residential community outside of Cleveland, Shaker Heights was founded in the early 1900s and was designed with neighborhoods accommodating two-family buildings, mixed-use buildings and small single-family residences, alongside neighborhoods for the very affluent. “Rich people were willing to move into Shaker Heights, and they still live there,” says Husock. “There are still two-family zones. And they still coexist.”

For this model to be adopted more broadly, public housing must not be part of the mix, says Husock. “If average citizens think that bringing back urbanism brings in anything that smells of public housing as they understand it [then] they’ll go with large-lot zoning. But if we tell them that we’re going to have firefighter and teacher zones ... It worked before [and] it can work again.”

**GREEN**

appraisers’ manual used in determining loan risk and eligibility rated a neighborhood’s “quality” largely based on its ethnic and racial make-up. “Neighborhoods with Northern Italians were even rated more highly than neighborhoods housing Southern Italians,” says Green.

**RE-INSTITUTIONALIZATION**

The government’s deinstitutionalizing of the homeless creates what Green calls “a substantial impact on the very bottom of the housing market.” Green notes that 75 percent of the homeless in America are men, and 80 percent of these men were institutionalized for mental illness at some point during their lives. Green identifies a surprising reason for the rate of homelessness decreasing in places like California: more

and more homeless people are being sent to prison and are “essentially being re-institutionalized.”

**TAX POLICY**

Green observes that the mortgage interest deduction was not conceived as a mechanism to encourage owner-occupied housing—and he makes the striking assertion that it currently does more to drive up the cost of housing than to encourage residential ownership.

“The idea that mortgage interest deduction is housing policy that encourages home ownership is a rewriting of history. The mortgage interest deduction is a residual,” he says. “The original federal income tax code for the United States from 1916 allowed the deduction of all consumer interest. So any kind of debt you paid interest on, you deducted it to determine what your taxes were.

“During the Tax Reform Act of 1986, a proposal called Treasury 1 would have eliminated all consumer interest deductions,” says Green. “However, mortgage bankers, builders, and realtors lobbied to preserve the mortgage interest deduction.”

Mortgage interest deductions do little to encourage homeownership and have important spatial implications, argues Green. Essentially, they allow people to purchase more expensive housing than they would otherwise afford. People can outbid others and drive up the cost of property. This makes property and land more expensive. People at the top of the income spectrum are less affected by this dynamic than people at the lower end of the income spectrum.

**MEASURE OF AFFORDABILITY**

Green believes that the government-developed standard of allotting 30 percent of one’s income toward housing is no longer an appropriate measure for affordability. For high-earning households, 30 percent is not a large amount of money and these households can actually afford to spend more on housing. For a minimum-wage-earning household, however, Green asserts that 30 percent of the household’s income is too much money to spend on housing. “If they’re spending 30 percent on housing, there’s really not much left for them to use to feed or clothe themselves.” Green advises thinking more carefully about measures of affordability and looking at the distribution

**“Reframing entirely how we think about poor America’s relationship with the ‘system’ must be the starting point for major reform.”**

of cost of the housing stock against the distribution of income to see whether affordable housing exists for people at every income level. This would move us to consider raising incomes at the bottom of the income spectrum.

**RIEMER**

the kind of humane and rational set of policies for low-income citizens that Milwaukee’s experimental New Hope project demonstrated to be effective in increasing employment, reducing poverty, curbing anti-social behavior, and even encouraging marriage.

Still, the total package—W-2, the state EITC, BadgerCare—has been a remarkable ideological, political, and policy breakthrough. Liberals got much of what they wanted: expanded eligibility for new subgroups of the poor, and additional benefits such as the state EITC, subsidized childcare, and BadgerCare. At the same time, conservatives got much of what they wanted: a huge 80% caseload reduction, and a stiff work requirement. And everyone was pleased by the more equitable treatment of the non-working and working poor.

Wisconsin’s experience with welfare reform holds an important lesson for U.S. housing policy. As with welfare policy prior to the mid-1990s, housing policy is paralyzed by basic conflicts between liberals and conservatives. Liberals want more subsidized housing; conservatives want less. Liberals want to give more low-income people

greater subsidies, spend more on replacing dysfunctional, Pruitt-Igoe-style projects with attractive neighborhood developments, and promote racial and economic integration. Conservatives want to narrow program eligibility, limit benefits, and generally spend less, in large part because they believe that government-housing programs have massive negative side effects and unintended consequences for poor individuals and families (such as penalizing work and undermining marriage) and for communities (such as lower private housing values). Is there, as there was with welfare reform, a possible bold breakthrough that could unite liberals and conservatives in support of a “Third Way” because it achieves most of their underlying goals? Can liberals accomplish their primary goal—enabling low-income people to afford decent housing in America—in a manner that’s compatible with conservatives’ main goal—eliminating housing policy’s perverse consequences for the poor themselves, their neighborhoods, and the housing market, while shrinking the role and size and cost of government?

One modest proposal that, like W-2 and its allied programs, might achieve such a breakthrough would be to simultaneously:

- Dramatically increase the “Participation Income” of America’s low-income workers through a number of mechanisms: by offering minimum-wage “transitional jobs” to unemployed workers who truly can’t find private sector employment after a reasonable job search; by restructuring and expanding the EITC and Child Credit so that work pays well above the poverty line (and is not undermined by excessive marginal tax rates or marriage); and by enabling everyone to purchase day care, K-12 education, and health insurance;
- End all housing-specific subsidies, which total over \$160 billion per year at the federal level alone; and
- Limit government’s involvement in housing to planning, zoning, building codes, and building inspection,

Disabled and retired adults may also require higher disability or Social Security payments to meet their housing needs, but working Americans are the key.

Once America’s low-income workers can obtain from the work they do—or in connection with the work they do—enough earned income and high enough earning supplements to be able to rent or buy housing

within an unsubsidized market at market rates, why not dispense with housing subsidies altogether? As with welfare, reframing entirely how we think about poor Americans’ relationship with the “system” must be the starting point for major reform of the nation’s housing policy.

#### SOLOMON

stand against community building, against physical planning, and against the entire achievement of Hope VI and New Urbanism. I had to leave Wingspread before the final discussion, and I didn’t get a chance to scream at anyone. This is my ten minutes to scream.

I won’t use any of this short time to paraphrase Howard’s book; he can do that most compellingly himself. What I will try to paraphrase is what I understood as the common ground he found with David Riemer, former Milwaukee mayor Norquist’s Chief-of-Staff and a major policy figure in the State of Wisconsin, and Richard Green, a highly credentialed economist at George Washington University. What they appeared to agree

**“One of New Urbanism’s hardest tasks, one that remains incomplete, is convincing large numbers of talented architects that combining the ordinary and the excellent is a high aspiration with profound social purpose.”**

upon (at least substantially) is that all assisted housing programs—tax credits, public housing, the work of CDC’s—are inherently and hopelessly inefficient compared to the private market, and all are riddled with disincentives to the achievement of personal autonomy. And what they didn’t dispute was Husock’s point that government-sponsored housing leaves scars on communities and devalues the real estate anywhere near them, and this applies even to Section 8 vouchers, which end up creating de facto concentrations of the poor and the dysfunctional.

What they also agreed upon as a potential solution to the problem of housing America’s poor is an Earned Income Tax Credit that will put discretionary cash in the pockets of the poor and permit them to take care of themselves within the market economy like everyone else. This is like the theory that the solution to undernourishment in Thailand is to feed Thais algae instead of feeding algae to their fish and chickens. It’s a neat idea: fewer middlemen and a cheaper, more efficient distribution of protein. Getting Thais, of all people, to embrace a nouvelle cuisine of algae, however, proved to be a bit of a problem.

My town, San Francisco, has just discarded something similar to the EITC: cash distributions to the homeless that turned into an utter disaster for the city and for the homeless themselves. After several years of these cash grants, some 70% of the electorate voted to rescind them in favor of Mayor Gavin Newsome’s Care, Not Cash program, a combination of supportive services of various sorts and subsidized housing. Although EITC payments do supplement earned income and are not mere cash handouts, what Husock and Reimer are proposing is essentially a vast version of the opposite of Care, not Cash, that is Federal Cash, Not Care. Let me take my few minutes to skip lightly across the highest peaks of what strikes me as fundamentally wrong with their argument.

Husock claims that two people making minimum wage, perhaps aided with the EITC, can always find housing. This incentive for bundling two meager incomes is also a protection against single motherhood and the abomination of bastardy, so encouraged by welfare and public housing, which he conflates as one thing.

What this claim doesn’t take into



## SOLOMON

account is the structure of the American metropolis and the increasingly widespread phenomenon of successful cities. Aspen, in this regard, is a vivid microcosm of the large American metropolis. There they built a \$100 million, 4-lane highway through the precious Aspen Valley so that service workers could commute 60 miles to the housing the Market provides when a tenth of that money could have housed all of them nicely in town.

If the poor can only live where the market lets them live on a lousy wage and a small cash grant, then they have two choices. If they happen to be in a failing city, then they can find housing at its decaying center and live off its carcass. But if they are in a successful city, they can't be anywhere near where the action is. The Market in the heart of successful cities leaves no room for the poor and the Market generates sprawl, social and economic segregation, dependence on automobiles, pollution and all the rest. And the poor, rather than being liberated by access to employment, education, and the culture of the city will be trapped in a new form of isolation past the urban edge. Old-style public housing and welfare was a trap; on that we can all agree. The new Libertarian-style Earned Income Tax Credit coupled with sprawl—is at least as insidious a trap and as harmful to the city as a whole as the awful New Deal public housing projects that the Libertarian left and the Libertarian right along with new urbanists hate so much.

If they are indifferent to the structure of the metropolis and its relationship to housing the poor, our three policy wonks are even more indifferent to the effects of physical design. They do acknowledge the role of traditional urban form in supporting affordability through a range of diverse housing and building type. But to them subsidized housing is subsidized housing, period. Husock approvingly quotes someone named Joe Petrone who called Hope VI “a pig in a Tuxedo.” It may look sharp, but it's still a pig.

When asked if he really thought that the public housing shown in the top image has the same effect on surrounding real estate values as the housing in the image beneath it or whether the qualitative differences between these places affected the willingness of middle income people to live near public housing tenants, Richard Green said that the data do not make these kinds of distinctions. Apparently an economist's

**“Hope VI is a way of galvanizing people around a place and around the problem...a highly positive impact on families and on the city.”**

methodology will trump common sense every time. This says something about what data we should gather and what an essential new urbanist research agenda includes.

There was an element of the Wingspread Conference that was beautiful and poignantly moving. That was the panorama of people of incredible ability, dedication and accomplishment who showed what they have actually done over the last decade. Ray Gindroz, Renee Glover, Elinor Bacon, Richard Baron, John Norquist, and others showed what they have built. I was so very proud to show some of our work in their company.

The work consists of three things. First, it is a form of integration that dismantles the self-perpetuating communities of the dysfunctional. Second, it is a set of social policies and educational programs that do what physical design can never do by itself; that is, teach people to lift themselves out of dependency. Finally it is the physical characteristics of these places—lovingly made but integrated with what is around them, simultaneously ordinary and excellent. One of New Urbanism's hardest tasks, one that remains incomplete, is convincing large numbers of talented architects that combining the ordinary and the excellent is a high aspiration with profound social purpose.

The “tuxedo on a pig” metaphor is the contention that physical design is irrelevant and it underestimates the power of the physical after generations of naïve over-estimation.

The physical design of the Hope VI is a triumphant reassertion of the enduring value of American urbanism. This is what we stand for; it is what we are all about. If we are now in a policy climate that devalues what we have done, it will still not diminish this achievement for hundreds of thousands

of people who have been its beneficiaries.

The power of Libertarian arguments lies in their clarity, in the fact that they do not ask policy makers to agonize over those fine distinctions between babies and bath water that are the heart of New Urbanism. New Urbanism's most fundamental and most interesting idea is that the physical and the political are conjoined twins, each lacking efficiency without the other.

We know what we have done. We know its value and we know that we have sown a seed that can probably grow and continue to thrive without the Federal government, without Hope VI and without the likes of our Libertarian friends who don't get it and never will.

## GLOVER

in cycles of poverty, the AHA conducts ongoing outreach with them.

A firm belief in the market and a productive role for the private sector was the second tenet. Resultingly, all of AHA's redeveloped communities are owned by public-private partnerships through which the private partner drives the development using market-rate principles. “So we are creating market-rate communities with a seamless affordable component. Now, the neat thing is that, at least for the period of the arrangement, which is typically 40 years because of the nature of the financing, there will be a place for families of variable incomes.”

“The third principle is comprehensive community-building,” says Glover. “When I'm talking about broken schools, I'm not talking about schools that worked for some. You had kids failing terribly by the time they got to middle school. They drop out and the high school graduation rate is somewhere between 30% and 40% which is just ridiculous. And so if you couple bad environments and bad schools, you write the script for failure.” And schools were just one aspect of broken communities. Glover says the isolated design of the old housing projects and the problems surfacing again and again “destroyed the surrounding neighborhoods, so typically, there was no investment of any type in the areas about one mile around the property.”

AHA's fourth tenet was raised standards of personal responsibility and

accountability. “All the family members that return—anyone not elderly or disabled—are required to work. We don’t apologize for it,” Glover says, “This is all based on a belief in people and human potential. Far be it for us to say that someone can’t achieve. If you run a program based on an assumption that people can’t achieve, they won’t achieve.”

Centennial Place is a prime example of the AHA’s achievements under Glover. Its redevelopment in March 1996 spurred nearly a billion dollars of new investment within a one-mile radius including a police precinct, a bank branch, a YMCA and a new aquarium. The rate of home ownership has climbed in the area. Crime is down 93 per cent, and the new Centennial Place Elementary School—which replaced one of the lowest-performing schools in the Atlanta Public School System—is now testing second only to one of the historically high-performing schools.

The AHA does not own the properties it has redeveloped, but acts as an asset manager. The private and public partnerships that own the developments have used federal grant money as seed capital to assist with short-term relocation of families, to complete the demolition of the original projects, handle environmental issues, and buy down the costs of public housing to keep rents affordable. According to Glover, additional public cost is minimal, especially when considered alongside the new tax revenue the privately owned improvements generate.

“Clearly,” Glover says, “there has been an improved quality of life for families who have elected [to return to the redeveloped properties]. What we tried to do is provide family choice when we do the relocation. Now, I personally think that if the program is well managed, and depending on the market, that the housing choice can really afford families a great opportunity, but it is important that the program be well managed.”

Glover believes that it is important “to think about our role in this [as] policy makers, in terms of how you right a wrong. Hope VI is an answer, not necessarily the only answer.” In that light, the work at the AHA should serve as a model as soon as the political climate becomes more favorable again to programs such as Hope VI which leverage government dollars with private-sector strategies. The Hope VI approach, she says, “is a way of galvanizing people around a place and around the problem...It is having a hugely positive impact on the families, and on the neighborhood, and on the city.”

#### TALEN

to redress the regulatory requirements in the transportation field from the inside, CNU needs to infiltrate the affordable housing apparatus to institute better design standards. It has been noted, for example, that tax credit financing in some states mandates designs that run counter to walkable urbanism.

The Initiative should take the lead on researching design criteria, standards, and measurement methodologies as recommended in this paper. It should also examine the implications of affordable housing policies and financing structures, especially the low-income housing tax credit program, for successfully achieving new urbanist principles.

#### MOUZON

are two enormous symptoms of people wanting to take back the production of their own houses as opposed to simply letting the specialists do it,” he says.

The final methods of reducing building costs—the use of something Mouzon calls the classical-vernacular spectrum—deserves special attention, he says. Traditional architecture, which dominates the housing industry in various revival forms, spans highly formal classical forms on one end and vernacular forms on the other that respond more informally to local traditions and conditions, including the range of economic conditions found in most communities.

To promote affordability, Mouzon says developers need to overcome the emphasis they place on “high-style classical” architecture and instead reinvigorate vernacular traditions. “Literally dialing down on the classicism-vernacular spectrum is the single biggest thing that you can do to reduce the cost. The vernacular languages are what produced all of the affordable housing from the dawn of time to the twentieth century. And that was by definition affordable housing. That’s how it came about.”

“The vernacular mechanism is something that is actually a natural organic process that has been responsible for the cre-

ation of some of the most loved places. It was something where the actual wisdom of how to produce this stuff rested with the culture and not just with the specialist. The question is, if that’s the case, how do we restart that?”

Mouzon suggests starting by reinstating the vernacular in a modest but carefully realized form—almost exactly the approach that launched the Katrina Cottage. “In other words, it takes a trained hand at the beginning to idealize it to where people see a modest structure and, in the South anyway, they say, ‘Isn’t that precious?’ When you can do that with a very simple vernacular, then you have the beginning of something that will resonate enough that it can actually be continued.”

In the past, the vernacular was passed down through the culture without the benefit of drawings, he says. The people who built homes and multi-unit dwellings “weren’t architects—they were just average farmers, craftsmen, tradesman who passed the wisdom from one generation to the next and to new arrivals into a culture”

Mouzon believes reestablishing this kind of “living vernacular” is indeed possible. The transfer mechanism is the soundness of the basic design and construction strategies. “It’s something as simple as these four words—‘We do this because,’” Mouzon says. “If every pattern of a language can be expressed that way, then it’s something that the culture at large has within its grasp. People know how to do it. You can literally bypass a lot of the other things that are known to already be impediments to affordability.”

The experience from Katrina recovery shows strong demand for housing that is efficiently sized and of sufficient quality to attract buyers with or without subsidies behind them. While the Katrina Cottages, in their various iterations, were thought to serve as low cost emergency shelter, the design and quality may cause these houses to endure and hold value. Much as well designed low cost housing, such as the Sears Craftsman Homes, still hold value after some sixty years in service. The lesson is that good design can please consumers across income classes and strengthen the housing industry at the same time.

**POTICHA**

Subcommittee on Transportation, Housing, and Urban Development. In her testimony before Congress, Poticha also discussed why an increase in transportation costs is a particularly critical question for poorer families: “Transportation costs as a percentage of the total household budget varies greatly according to income: from 9 percent for high-income families, to over 55 percent for very-low-income families. This severely limits the ability of these households to create wealth or meet daily living needs. We must find ways to . . . bring together housing and transportation strategies.”

The advantage of TODs is their potential to lower combined spending on the two largest household expenses, providing units whose proximity to public transit will keep transportation costs low. Lower transportation costs make TODs more desirable than low-cost housing in the suburbs, but Poticha worries about a counter trend: the increased demand for housing around transit lines pushing poor residents out of those areas. She argues that programs that target housing affordability have typically overlooked this problem, by failing to factor in transportation costs as a significant portion of cost of living. That needs to change, she says. “Where we locate affordable housing impacts the budget of lower income households and we need to account for that,” she says.

As Poticha noted at Wingspread, this more holistic planning view has already been embraced in California, where the state has “recalibrated the low-income housing tax credit program to prioritize locations within walking distance of transit.” Because of this policy change, developers had become more likely to develop affordable housing along transit lines, thereby setting an example for a sustainably affordable lifestyle for the state’s poorer residents.

## The Turnaround Machine

**HUD’s Hope VI program delivered an inspired combination of humane urban design, mixed-income housing, public-private partnering and improved site management. As this gallery of CNU Charter Award winning projects shows, the results were affordable neighborhoods that set a gold standard for livability. With its funding recently reauthorized in the U.S. House and action pending again in the Senate, the program may live to transform communities again. To learn more and see additional award-winning Hope VI projects, visit [cnu.org/awards/winners](http://cnu.org/awards/winners).**

### Upper left top

#### **MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. PLAZA Philadelphia, PA**

In 1990, four high-rise public housing towers in Philadelphia’s working-class Hawthorne neighborhood were demolished. Hope VI funded a redevelopment plan featuring mixed-use buildings and rowhouses on reconnected streets. The resulting project includes a wide range of housing types for diverse income levels, retail space, and a central public square. This project has brought new life to a community suffering from disinvestment and disrepair. Honoree: Torti Gallas, 2006

### Far right

#### **SALISHAN NEIGHBORHOOD, Tacoma, WA**

Originally built as World War II worker housing, this public housing site encountered first environmentally ruinous deforestation and then severe isolation and neglect in the 1990s. Working closely with community members in multiple languages, the design team focused on both delivering quality affordable housing and repairing the natural environment. In a way that is compatible with the neighborhood’s urban form, a variety of swales absorb 91 percent of storm-water onsite, helping to remediate a polluted salmon stream. Honoree: Torti Gallas, 2007

### Right center

#### **OAK HILL, Pittsburgh, PA**

Located on a hill high above downtown Pittsburgh, Allequippa Terrace (at right) was known for physical isolation, crime and a nearly 50 percent vacancy rate. Inspired by pre-World War II era neighborhoods of tree-lined streets, sidewalks and public squares, the \$120 million redevelopment plan overcame difficult topography, creating an urban fabric and a vastly improved sense of place and better connecting residents with the rest of Pittsburgh. A majority of the 664 rental and for-sale units accommodate lower-income residents. Within the first year, strong demand caused market prices to rise 10 percent. Honoree: Goody Clancy, 2004

### Right bottom

#### **OAKWOOD SHORES**

Part of the Chicago Housing Authority’s ‘Plan for Transformation’ initiative, this development replaces a once-troubled public housing site with a mixed-income community comprised of low-income, affordable and market-rate housing units. With a variety of 6-flat and 9-flat buildings, townhouses, rowhouses and single family homes, plus alternate elevation designs and exterior colors, the project exhibits beautifully diverse streetscapes that, by reestablishing the neighborhoods old street grid and alley system, locating parking in the rear of the buildings, and positioning the largest structures on street corners, a pedestrian-friendly environment has been created. Honoree: FitzGerald Associates Architects, 2008





MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. PLAZA, Philadelphia, PA



SALISHAN NEIGHBORHOOD, Tacoma, WA



OAK HILL, Pittsburgh, PA



OAKWOOD SHORES, Chicago, IL

# Core Principles and Strategies from CNU's Housing Affordability Conference

**When CNU assembled a politically diverse group of participants to discuss housing affordability, they agreed that the following core principles were worthy of support and that the policy changes and strategies deserved either support or serious exploration as the US searches for new ways to meet its housing needs.**

## Core Principles

- 1) Americans should have adequate resources through work to afford housing in the private market. A safety net should exist for those unable to find work.
- 2) There should be a range of housing types and prices to help ensure vital and affordable neighborhoods.
- 3) Because economically dynamic cities are key to national prosperity, enable investment in them and their people to allow both to reach their full potential.

## Policy changes and strategies

On the demand side:

Consider enhancing the system that supplements the earnings of low-income workers to improve their ability to afford housing in the market. In addition to EITC enhancement, other elements of a safety net could be addressed (e.g., health and child care).

In exchange, most housing specific subsidies could end. If housing subsidies remained, such as Section 8, time limits of some sort would be placed on them, except in cases of permanent need such as housing for disabled people.

On the supply side:

The federal government should change its policies to make already developed public land (public housing, freeways, military bases) available for development by the private sector so it can be developed into housing (and mixed-use development).

Private projects on sites of existing public housing projects should include some component of affordable housing, or allow for affordable housing nearby.

Create incentives at the federal level for local and state governments to remove

regulatory barriers to the permitting and development of housing and good urbanism.

These measures would include incentives to streamline processes that discourage housing creation.

They would acknowledge efficiency of high-density housing near transit.

They would provide incentives for communities to reverse fiscal zoning, which discourages new housing in order to avoid adverse municipal fiscal impacts.

They would promote removal of regulatory barriers to urbanism since it provides a framework wherein diverse building types (including single family home, duplex, and apartments-above-stores) are assembled to form valuable neighborhoods.

We should recognize that the Department of Commerce under Herbert Hoover played a key role in setting current sprawling development patterns through the introduction of Euclidean zoning as a federally approved zoning model. We need now to provide the government with an alternate pattern or model to promote. That model includes two parts. The first is form-based coding, which does not regulate the use of the land but instead addresses the shape and placement of buildings so they behave as good neighbors in a way that creates collective value. The second is transect-based thoroughfare standards, which create a network of thoroughfares that respond to their urban context.

Read more about additional recommendations discussed at CNU's Wingspread Conference at [www.cnu.org/housingreport](http://www.cnu.org/housingreport).

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