

Public Housing: An Introspective Study on Public Housing and Its Effects on  
Health and Well-being

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The federal public housing program in the United States has had the reputation of being a bleak wasteland used to abandon some of our nation's poorest families. Since its creation in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, the United States' programs to house the poor have been in crisis. We have historically had serious issues when it comes to housing and taking care of our needy population. In recent years, things have since been worse for the underprivileged as we are currently facing the economic downturn of our once strong economy. Programs helping low-income families are getting cut and budgets continue to become bigger problems. The United Nations Human Settlements Program states that:

By the beginning of the third millennium, it is estimated that 1.1 billion people live in inadequate housing conditions in urban areas alone. In many cities of developing countries, more than half of the population lives in informal settlements, without security of tenure and in conditions that can be described as life and health threatening. Among an estimated 100 million homeless people around the world, available data suggests that increasing proportions are women and children (Berkowitz & Brownlee, 2013).

The above statistics suggest the importance and the pressing need for quality housing throughout the world. Quality housing does not just include a safe and decent place to live, but also something affordable within reach of grocery stores, work and/or school. Most experts agree that affordable housing doesn't cost more than thirty percent of household income, however, as income decreases, the percentage of income spent on housing rises (Berkowitz & Brownlee, 2013). The nations poor can often spend as much as sixty percent or more on housing; this can leave their houses poorly maintained, unhealthy, and unsafe (Berkowitz & Brownlee, 2013). The U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development offers four basic principles of affordable housing design: 1) housing should meet the needs of its users, 2) should understand and respond to its context, 3) enhance its neighborhood, and 4) be built to last (Berkowitz, and Brownlee)

Unfortunately, in many public housing developments across our nation, these four principles have not been implemented. Instead, residents find themselves living in unsanitary, disregarded apartments affecting not only their mental and physical health, but also their safety. According to data from the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, over 2.3 million Americans live in public housing complexes (Edwards, 2013). Two-thirds of public housing residents are elderly or disabled (Edwards, 2013). While the availability of state housing programs is a necessity for these individuals, public housing complexes may present problems for both residents and the community (Edwards, 2013).

The inadequacies of public housing on residents continues to be more of a burden than a support for them within the United States. In this paper, we will be examining the conditions of public housing, the effects of public housing on residents, and the importance of quality housing. As we will see, poorly planned public housing can have serious negative effects on residents both mentally and physically. Not only is it important that we take our history into consideration while planning these public housing units, but also consider the cultural needs and wants of future tenants.

#### Examples of Public Housing Inefficiencies within the U.S.

As humans we want to help; we want to help end world hunger, create world peace, and create a solution for our nation's growing homelessness problem. But what happens when these ideas of how to help the society in which we live backfire? What happens when upper to middle class Caucasian real estate developers try to create suitable public housing for a city populated by minorities without putting into consideration what the people want? Or forget to put into consideration the current ethnic

divides that plagues that city? The answer is: you end up with another version of Pruitt Igoe. Pruitt-Igoe was a large “urban housing project first occupied in 1954 in the U.S. city of St. Louis, Missouri” (Dimnet, 2009). Although it was once deemed as a “vertical paradise,” its tragic fate in 1972 suggested otherwise as Pruitt-Igoe was demolished due to the poverty and crime that had evolved within (Streiffe, 2012). We will now look at the conditions of Pruitt-Igoe, how poorly planned public housing, such as Pruitt-Igoe, affect residents physical as well as mental health, and finally discuss how these issues with health can be avoided by properly designed public housing.

In the 1940’s and 1950’s the city of St. Louis was considered a crowded place (Diment, 2009), It seemed as if the city was manifesting into what was viewed as a “real” city, characterized by being fast paced and bursting at the seams with people (Dimnet, 2009). The city’s quality and access to housing had begun to deteriorate after World War 1 and had continued to be an issue throughout the Second World War (Thomas, 2011). Housing conditions were less than satisfactory. It was documented by Dimnet in his article, “Why Architects Drink: Pruitt- Igoe and the Failure of the Modern Housing Projects,” in 1947 that 33,000 homes had communal toilets (Dimehent, 2009). In order to fix this growing problem of insufficient housing within St. Louis, the city received a federal commitment to finance 5,800 public housing units- the first project being Cochran Gardens in 1953 followed by Pruitt- Igoe in 1954 (Thomas, 2011).

Plans for Pruitt-Igoe began in 1950 as the city hired the firm of Leinweber, Yamasaki, and Hellmuth to take on the project. The name Pruitt-Igoe was then settled on for this new housing project after two St. Louisans: Wendell O. Pruit, an African American fighter pilot in World War II, and William L. Igoe, a former U.S. congressman. The Pruitt side of the project soon manifested into the “black side” and the Igoe side soon

became the area where the whites once lived (Diment, 2009). In the article, *The 7 Most Infamous U.S. Public Housing Projects*, Thomas states that:

Because Missouri public housing was racially segregated until 1956, the 33 11-story buildings were originally built to house segregated sects of young adults, middle-class whites and blacks: but the projects became the home of mostly African American inhabitants as St. Louis' white population fled for the suburbs (Thomas, 2011).

Although the projects were meant to house individuals and families of all races, as crime started to escalate within Pruitt-Igoe many white families fled as described earlier. In the article, *New Documentary Sheds Light on the Story of Pruitt-Igoe*, a young man by the name of Sylvester Brown, a former Pruitt-Igoe resident, reflects on some of his experiences while living in Pruitt-Igoe, he expressed that: "The first clue that I got [of the crime there] was that my mother told us we needed to always travel in groups. We needed to always look out for our sisters. We needed to stand in the stairwells and make sure that our sisters came from the 1st to the 10th floor. My mother insisted that we fight. I remember my brother and I, we were attacked by some young hoodlums...my mother insisted that we fight them. She explained that this was a place where you should not be taken advantage of. You've got to set a reputation. It's just a different culture, a different way of living. We started seeing these men who didn't even live at Pruitt-Igoe hang around at Pruitt. I saw my first yellow tape, where someone had been killed, on the way to school. It was just a different and artificial environment" (Franklin, 2011).

As implied from the above quotation Pruitt-Igoe had a serious problem. The magnitude of the presence of crime is so apparent when you have a young boy's mother encouraging him to fight, as stated earlier, "my mother insisted we fight" (Franklin, 2011). But with "65% of Pruitt-Igoe units unoccupied in 1970 and rape, robbery, and assault rates soaring, murders and accidents increase," it is no wonder mothers had to take certain

precautions when it came to educating children on how to survive in this mayhem known as Pruitt-Igoe (Checkoway, 1985).

Crime manifested not only because of the ethnic divides that were so apparent within Pruitt-Igoe, but the architecture of the buildings provided a breeding ground for rapists and muggers as elevators only stopped at every third floor and individuals including children, were encouraged to take the stairs and enter the dangerous stairwells. It is stated in the article, *Pruitt- Igo and the Failig of Modern Public Housing Projects* that, “critics say design failures, including “Skip-stop” elevators which only stopped at every three floors contributed to the downfall of the once heralded housing development. Reports of muggers waiting to rob residents in the stairwells as they trekked between elevator floors fueled high crime rates” (Diment, 2009). It is amazing how a building that was once thought of as being a “vertical paradise” as well as “the best high apartment of the year” by *Architectural Forum*, could be transformed into a “federally built and supported slum,” as sociology professor Lee Rainwater stated in his 1970 book, *Behind Ghetto* (Rainwater, 1970). Rainwater then went on to discuss the failure of the housing project, noting, “Its vacancies, crime, safety concerns, physical deterioration were unsurpassed by any other public housing complex in the nation” (Rainwater, 1970). Now that we have a better understanding of the conditions of Pruitt-Igoe, let us now assess how the criminal justice system had only helped perpetuate the level of crime and violence that was occurring in Pruitt-Igoe.

In the book, “Judicial Process in America,” authors: Robert Carp, Ronald Stidham, and Kenneth Manning discuss how:

A final area of maximum police discretion in making an arrest deals with lawbreaking that officers ignore because they regard it as normal and acceptable for members of racial

minorities or the lower social classes. Studies have shown that police officers usually white and from middle-class backgrounds, tend to regard the street violence, petty property crimes, and family altercations in minority and poor areas as just ‘normal for those kinds of people (Carp, Stidham, Manning, 2011).

However, such behavior in middle and upper-middle–class neighborhoods is not seen as natural or acceptable, and officers are more likely to make an arrest. The above quotation exemplifies almost exactly what happened in the case of Pruitt-Igoe in terms of the police force not being readily available to the residents for help when needed. This occurred because the police officers as well as fire department deemed situations as “normal for those kinds of people” (Carp, 2011). The kinds of people police officers were referring to when they made marks about what is expected of “those kinds of people,” were individuals that they viewed as poverty stricken, uneducated, and at fault. But in reality “those kinds of people” that they were referring to were in fact victims of higher forces: the federal government and the criminal justice system. Policing in low-income areas is more based on control, rather than protecting. Residents of Pruitt-Igoe became victims as these two powerful forces who were supposed to come together to help the community essentially led to Pruitt-Igoe’s destruction.

In the article, *Pruitt-Igoe and Other Stories*, Mary Comerio explains how,

“Residents of the late 1960s claim that all city services had been cut off. Police and firemen simply did not answer calls. Mailmen would not deliver packages. Retail delivery trucks, moving companies and cab drivers refused to enter the grounds. Residents claimed that the city intentionally hastened the project’s demise” (Comerio, 1981).

The city of St. Louis expected the residents of Pruitt-Igoe to act like educated citizens, but our society’s actions transpired messages that were quite different. By not providing the residents of Pruitt-Igoe with any city services it was almost as if our society was screaming from the rooftops “fend for yourselves, because we don’t want to deal with

your problems!” This attitude only resulted in the residents of Pruitt-Igoe feeling as if they had to take matters into their own hands and deliver justice when needed since they knew they could not depend on the police force for such a task.

In addition to architectural flaws in the buildings that contributed to an increase in crime as mentioned earlier, the sole reason why crime was so apparent and out in the open at Pruitt-Igoe was because there was no democracy, justice, or help when needed for the residents; police did not protect residents. Therefore, the violence that once started due to tensions between ethnicities and certain gangs then evolved into “necessary” violence as deemed by residents. “Necessary” violence was then rooted in the thought process of many Pruitt-Igoe residents in order to bring a criminal to justice because the residents knew that the police force would not express any interest in bringing justice to the criminal who had performed a violent crime.

This lack of help and interest that the police force expressed in Pruitt-Igoe and the safety of its residents led to its downfall as residents felt compelled to take justice into their own hands which resulted in many unnecessary deaths. An estimate of how many murders, rapes, robberies, and arrests that occurred within Pruitt-Igoe cannot be found and was most likely never even documented because there was never enough city services involved in order to document such statistics as stated in, “Pruitt-Igoe and Other Stories,” by Mary Comerio. The lack of statistics of the crime that occurred in Pruitt-Igoe is a tragedy as the truth about the violence and crimes that took place there will never be able to be discussed with quantitative data.

A more recent example of public housing gone wrong in the United States is in New York. Several community-based organizations have been documenting problems plaguing the New York City Housing Authority-

NYCHA- issuing them a report card with grades from public housing residents on issues from repairs to management. The New York City Housing Authority failed in ten out of the twenty-six categories evaluated (Kasdan & Cattel, 2011). Elevator maintenance, pest control, timeliness of repairs, and the accountability and accessibility of management all received poor grades. Resident's report repair appointments taking months of years to schedule, absentee management, and loss of paperwork on management's side (Kasdan & Cattel, 2011). These grades represent a systemic failure of the housing authority to properly maintain buildings and developments (Kasdan, & Cattel, 2011).

The poor maintenance and repair policies have significantly impacted the lives of residents. Evangeline Pugh, who lives in the Coney Island Houses, has been without a lock on her front door for over a year. When her lock was first broken, she requested a repair but NYCHA told her she would have to wait a year for a maintenance worker to fix it. After patiently waiting a year, a repair worker finally came but did not bring the right not, rescheduling the repair for another time in the distant future (Kasdan & Cattel, 2011). Evangeline Pugh and her broken door are not unique; thousands of public housing residents live this reality on a daily basis. Because public housing fills a critical gap in providing affordable housing to extremely-low income families it is important to maintain their upkeep. Families in this income bracket deserve clean apartments with working utilities. Requesting repairs shouldn't

take months on years on end, especially for something as minor as a broken door lock.

To make matters worse, the recent Hurricane Sandy disaster in New York has worsened the already horrific living conditions, which affect public housing residents. Initially, the media treated public housing residents as a threat to be contained. Reports by the New York Daily News featured stories about Staten Islanders arming themselves to protect their homes from “thugs” who live in the projects (Lash, 2012). The New York City Housing Authority estimated that twenty percent of its residents lost power during the storm—that’s about 80,000 people—losing heat and hot water, some losing water all together (Lash, 2012). Elderly and disabled residents in high-rise buildings were stuck in their apartments—finding it nearly impossible to come and go as they please. The loss of power went on for sixteen days before the NYCHA was able to fix it—many units still just getting power from generators meaning heat and hot water were still out in many buildings (Lash, 2012). Housing projects in Red Hook, Coney Island, the Rockaways and elsewhere report that the agency has not been straightforward about how long repairs will take (Lash, 2012). The agency has reported to the residents it will take anywhere from three months to a year to make the major systems in the buildings fully operational (Lash, 2012).

It is estimated that currently 30,000 to 40,000 displaced residents are in need of housing after Hurricane Sandy (Lash, 2012). Two hundred plus homes have already been bulldozed as hazards in their current conditions

with plans to bulldoze even more (Lash, 2012). Even in the best of times, New York City's affordable housing is in shortage. New York's decline in federal housing assistance coupled with the city policies favoring gentrification has made the problems much worse (Lash, 2012). Currently, 160,000 applicants are on the waiting list for public housing and the population of the city's homeless shelters has spiked over 46,000 in the months just before Sandy (Lash, 2012). For a city that represents four percent of the U.S. population it also represents fourteen percent of the nation's homeless population (Lash, 2012).

#### History Racial Segregation and Urban Poverty

Racial separation is an important factor in the perpetuation of urban poverty in America and can largely be attributed to the lack of affordable housing in safe and prosperous communities. The isolation and segregation of public housing residents within the United States further perpetuates stereotypes and the continuing racial mistrust within our communities (Seitles, 1995). Housing segregation within the United States, contrary to what most may believe, evolved in a rather slow and deliberate way. Prior to the early twentieth century, African Americans were widely distributed among white neighborhoods, in fact, African Americans were more likely to live side by side with whites than to live in racially segregated neighborhoods (Seitles, 1995). Prior to the Civil War, the two racial groups, for the most part,

regularly interacted, sharing a common social world and similar cultural traits and values (Seitles, 1995). It wasn't until the turn of the century after both world wars that African Americans moved up north into industrial communities and started facing large amounts of racial segregation. Public improvement projects, redevelopment projects, public housing programs, and urban renewal policies were utilized to accomplish racial segregation, contributing to what is known as an "urban ghetto" (Seitles, 1995). Jobs in this new industrial industry were moved away from inner cities leading to the creation of all-white suburban towns. This, in combination with segregationist zoning ordinances—which divided city streets by race—and racism among individuals became a common method in enforcing racial segregation (Seitles, 1995). This norm soon became practiced policy of local governments and landowners. These development has had a lasting impact on America's society, leading to a lack of capital in inner city communities, segregated minority neighborhoods, and minority families unable to find affordable housing in suburbs, all of which plague our country still today (Seitles, 1995).

The federal and state governments played large roles in creating and maintaining racial segregation. Through varying public policies, the federal government was able to reinforce discriminatory norms. For example, the Federal Housing Association operated in a discriminatory manner since its opening in 1937 and set itself as the "protector of all white neighborhoods" using agents to "keep negroes and other minorities from buying houses in

white neighborhoods” (Seitles, 1995). They were able to do this by practicing red-lining, a discriminatory rating system used in order to evaluate the risks associated with loans made to borrowers in specific urban areas. This kept mortgage funds away from black neighborhoods in central cities and redirected them to those in white middle-class neighborhoods (Seitles, 1995). This practice made the FHA the first federal agency to openly support racial segregation.

The Department of Housing and Urban Development has also historically had a hand in perpetuating intentional racial discrimination. On national and state levels, HUD has been found liable for discriminatory implementation of the Section Eight Housing Assistance Program (Seitles, 1995). There have been cases of minority Section Eight tenants living in apartments in segregated and decaying neighborhoods. Tenants argued they were uninformed they could use their subsidies in other neighborhoods and never told about the availability of rent exceptions (Seitles, 1995).

In 1926, the US Supreme Court approved the use of municipal and district zoning in the *Village of Euclid v. Amber Realty Company* (Seitles, 1995). The court’s ruling, although attempting to preserve the quality of residential environments, was troublesome to black and poor families who may have wanted to move into the suburbs. These zoning regulations were used to maintain “enclaves of affluence or of social homogeneity” (Seitles, 1995). This was attractive to local governments because a town had the ability to zone out whatever it didn’t want without having to pay a price (Seitles,

1995). These regulations excluded both minorities and the poor from the growth of suburban areas and left neighborhoods segregated, an effect we still see in modern society.

The combined efforts of the federal and state governments have had large effects on the creation and maintenance of housing segregation within our society. The policies and practices implemented by these federal and state governmental agencies have kept minority communities in isolation. Although we like to see ourselves as a racially unbiased society, the truth of the matter is, these practices are still affecting us today. Public housing still remains largely segregated, and although not as blatantly obvious as it was years ago, racial discrimination continues to plague our communities.

### The Connection Between Health and Housing

Although some public housing projects in the United States have been of moderate success—we will discuss this later in the paper—it is evident that our country is still lacking in the amount of affordable and suitable housing that is provided. One major issue associated with low income housing in the US is the poor physical and mental health of its residents. As we will see, it has been shown that public housing residents have the worst health of any population in the United States, and while we don't know the exact cause and effect, we have reason to believe that the poor physical conditions of public housing can perpetuate the poor health of public housing residents.

Since World War II, changes to the home environment in the United States have aimed at improving the durability, energy conservation, comfort, and security within

homes; however, few have intended to improve health directly. Although housing changes throughout the years have led to overall health improvements, generally public housing is slow to change and is usually outdated and poorly built. Poorly maintained housing in connection with an unsafe neighborhood can also take a toll on a resident's mental and physical health. Although housing policy is supposed to improve housing standards, little is done for the nation's poor in order to provide them with suitable living situations to foster healthy habits.

The connection between housing policies in the United States, and public housing has existed for many years. Housing reform efforts in the United States focused on improving housing code standards in order to improve the safety and health of public housing residents and public health concerns in general. The U.S. Housing Act of 1937 stated that all Americans were entitled to "decent, safe, and sanitary dwellings" (Fertig and Reingold 832-859). This was originally formulated to prevent the spread of disease and to improve the well being of all Americans—specifically the poor (Fertig and Reingold 832-859). It is believed today, that crime and deteriorating conditions pose health and safety risks for public housing residents. The general findings in studies on public housing occupants are that residing in these high-poverty neighborhoods negatively influences health behavior and health outcomes (Fertig and Reingold 832-859). Public housing is connected to the lack of access to nutritious foods and the spread of unhealthy behaviors. Research evaluating the effects of programs that facilitate the relocation of families into better areas finds that *moving out* of public housing is beneficial to health (Fertig and Reingold 832-859).

There are a number of positive and negative ways in which public housing can affect the health of its residents. Angela Fertig and David Reingold explain the four likely

positive effects of public housing in their article “Public Housing, Health, and Health Behaviors: Is There a Connection?” First, a result of residents moving into public housing includes “income effect.” With the poor now receiving housing subsidies, additional income is freed and can be used to purchase health services, medicine, and food containing higher nutritional value (Fertig and Reingold 832-859). This additional income potentially reduces household food insecurity, which has shown in multiple studies to be associated with detrimental health outcomes in children and adults. Housing subsidies should, in theory, free up substantial resources, especially because housing costs can consume up to sixty-four percent of the average poor renter’s monthly household income (Fertig and Reingold 832-859). Second, Fertig and Reingold discuss the impact of “quality effect” on residents. Although little is known on the true quality of public vs. private housing stock; given the fact that some public housing is closely regulated to make sure residents are not exposed to hazards, it is a possibility that residents may be improving their quality of housing. It is hard to say for certain if this has a large effect, however, because there is such a wide variation in quality of public housing units and the amount of maintenance they receive (Fertig and Reingold 832-859). Third, public housing may have a “gateway effect” on residents. Housing units may be located in close proximity to social service organizations, including public health clinics and food banks, which is extremely beneficial to their low -income clients. Additionally, low-income housing programs frequently engage in outreach efforts designed to provide access to health-related services (Fertig and Reingold 832-859). Finally. Public housing may benefit residents through a “network effect”. Poor households living in close proximity to each other are able to share information on health professionals and clinics that are willing to serve them. These informal information

exchanges may render into improved health outcomes (Fertig and Reingold 832-859).

Although this “network effect” may have a serious positive outcome for public housing residents, it is hard to know whether or not they are in actuality producing negative outcome (Fertig and Reingold 832-859).

In contrast with the above ideas, there are also a number of reasons to believe that public housing worsens the health of its residents. To begin, evidence suggests that residents of poor neighborhoods lack access to fresh fruits, vegetables, and other perishable goods (Fertig and Reingold 832-859). Because the availability of these produces is limited for them, it is much harder for public housing residents to maintain positive nutritional status. According to a recent Chicago Department of Public Health study:

In North Lawndale or the Near Southwest Side, more than a quarter of the residents live half a mile or more from the nearest food store with fresh produce-and nearly forty percent don't have cars to get there...Access to fresh produce was even more limited in Austin, where there was one large food store for every 19,000 people” (Fertig and Reingold 832-859).

A district such as North Lawndale or Austin with little or no access to grocery stores that offer fresh affordable foods is known as a ‘food desert’. Districts such as these usually only offer fast food restaurants or convenient stores, places in which it is nearly impossible to find items necessary for a healthy diet. This can affect socially segregated groups living in underprivileged urban areas. Individual’s without a car are at a higher disadvantage when it comes to their access to healthy food creating a negative impact on their health and wellbeing.

Second, unhealthy habits can be attributed to the spread of unhealthy actions throughout the neighborhood. Economic and social structural constraints, such as a lack of access to necessary resources, produce mainstream patterns of behavior due to

“massive joblessness, flagrant and open lawlessness, and low-achieving schools” (Fertig and Reingold 832-859). It is unclear the degree in which this exacerbates health related behavior, however housing poor families next to each other may attribute to the adoption of poor behavior learned from their immediate physical and social surroundings (Fertig and Reingold 832-859). Third, the connection between public housing, gangs, and the drug trade may also negatively affect public housing residents. Fear of the streets keeps children and their families inside, fostering sedentary lifestyles and worse health outcomes (Fertig and Reingold 832-859). The tendency of residents living in dangerous communities to shut themselves off from the community may also increase feelings of personal isolation and depression, leading to worse mental health outcomes (Fertig and Reingold 832-859).

Although there may be a number of positive outcomes associated with public housing, there are still many negatives that need to be considered, especially if the United States wants to develop public housing in the future. Within the United States, health is a bigger problem for public housing residents than is lack of employment. This assertion stems from findings by a HOPE VI panel study, which took place in 2010. HOPE VI was developed by The National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing and is in charge of proposing plans to eradicate severely distressed public housing. They attempt to revitalize public housing in three general areas: physical improvements, improvements in management, and implementing social and community services to address resident’s needs (Ruel, E., Oakley, D., Wilson, G. G., & Maddox, R.). This panel study found that public housing residents are more than twice as likely to be diagnosed with an array of chronic conditions including higher rates of hypertension, high cholesterol, asthma, diabetes, obesity, and depression (Ruel, E., Oakley, D., Wilson, G. G., & Maddox, R.). If

public housing is cheaply built without considerable care, poor heat, bad ventilation, growth of mold and fungus, pest infections as well as other poorly working mechanisms create an environment of health risks. Not only can these risks be seen in chronic diseases but also with injury, poor nutrition, and poor mental health (Ruel, E., Oakley, D., Wilson, G. G., & Maddox, R.). Although it is hard to completely determine if public housing itself contributes to the social and physical ills found among those living in poverty, it can be seen that living in substandard housing for extended periods of time creates a variety of health risks from which residents wouldn't otherwise suffer.

Children especially suffer from the uncertainties of crowded public housing. It is stated in the article, "Socioeconomic Status and Children's Health" by Diana B. Dutton that, "except for past illness; income was generally the strongest determinant of children's health, followed by housing crowding, and neighborhood income level." The article then goes on to explain how common children's health problems such as: ear disease, hearing loss, and vision problems are directly linked to living in environments that are insecure, such as inadequate public housing. In addition to the physical effects on children living in subpar public housing such as ear disease, hearing loss, and vision problems, poorly planned public housing can also effect food security within a family, therefore directly corresponding to a child's mental as well as physical well being. Children living in inadequate public housing are not only more prone to suffer from psychological distress as they are concerned about where their next meal will come from but they have to deal with the physical aspects of this dilemma as well. Children living in poorly planned public housing are more at risk for malnutrition, which directly affects a child's performance in school, which only perpetuates the cycle of that child being apart of a lower socioeconomic class as these children are less likely to excel academically.

Therefore, resulting in children growing up in inadequate public housing having a lower chance at being accepted to college and obtaining a degree that has the ability to help with their socioeconomic mobility. For it is stated in the book, “Teaching with Poverty in Mind,” by Eric Jensen that, “50-70 percent of [children’s behavior] is explained by [their] environment; suggesting that if children are not cared for in properly planned and adequate housing that their academic success could be in jeopardy.

There is sufficient evidence that successfully planned public housing, as stated in the article, *Overcrowding and Frequent Moves Undermine Children’s Health*, is “effective in reducing housing insecurity and thus protecting children’s health, growth, and preventing food insecurity.” It is also stated in the article, *Overcrowding and Frequent Moves Undermine Children’s Health*, that “ a housing subsidy, such as Section 8 or public housing, is the most effective single form of assistance for reducing housing insecurity and some of the plagues that come along with such” (Bailey& March, 2013). In addition to more effective and less crowded public housing having a direct effect on children’s physical as well as mental well being, the effort of urban agriculture within cities is making great strides in protecting and preserving the health of not only children in cities but adults as well by providing fresh vegetables as well as creating a greater sense of ownership amongst the residents.

According to an article in the Washington Post titled, *Roof Gardening Provides Environmental Benefits in Urban Areas*, a company named Sky Vegetables “aims to build hydroponic farms on roofs in New York and Washington and in the Boston and San Francisco areas to make fresher produce available in cities” (Runk, 2010). By making fresher produce available in cities such as New York where there is a void in efficient public housing, planners are starting to think sustainably as they plan public housing by

incorporating elements such as roof top gardens that as noted earlier, not only provide fresher vegetables to residents but help make residents of public housing feel more connected to the building in which they live. By incorporating details into the planning of public housing that make residents take ownership of their buildings it is proven that residents will take better care of their surroundings as well as work harder towards preserving the greater good of the community, playing an instrumental role in eliminating violence and crime within the vicinity.

In addition to roof top gardens playing an important role in preserving the upkeep of public housing, as noted earlier, these gardens can directly affect the health of residents. By providing a place where residents can obtain fresh vegetables a matter of steps away from their doorstep suggests the great strides that are being made by our country's public housing efforts. In the cases of Pruitt-Igoe as well as the public housing efforts now being conducted in New York as discussed earlier, these housing developments are usually built in lower income areas in a city which comes along with certain realities such as only having access to convenient stores such as 7-11 versus major chain grocery stores. By implementing roof top gardens within our country's public housing units we would be helping eliminate this void and therefore helping promote healthier habits for our nation's Section 8 and public housing residents.

It is noted by Jeremy Bowman, in his article, *Food Deserts: Where Have All the Inner-City Grocery Stores Gone*, that, "according to the USDA, 13.6 million Americans have low access to supermarkets or large grocery stores," the majority of these people being individuals that live in inner city areas, including public housing residents. It is these residents that then rely on, "overpriced convenience stores and discount outlets such as Family Dollar for packaged goods and staples foods. Even then, they can't find

quality produce nearby” (Bowman, 2013). Through this quotation it is evident that the major problem plaguing our country’s inner city residents as well as public housing residents is a problem regarding their lack of access to fresh fruits and vegetables. Due to the nature of our nation’s free market it would make sense that grocery stores would be able to thrive within inner city areas where public housing is most prevalent because it is noted within the same article as seen above that, “a low-cost monthly food budget for a family of four would be around \$820.” Therefore, suggesting that there is a demand for grocery stores even within areas that serve people of lower socioeconomic class. Why has there not been a more prominent effort to bring grocery stores to our country’s most populated cities such as New York, San Francisco, and Washington D.C. amongst many other cities? It is simply because developers have the mentality of, “who wants to go over there, in that negative element?”; referring to inner city areas. This quotation exemplifies that although developers are aware that there is a need and a market for grocery stores in inner city areas they are refusing to develop within these regions in fear of the crime and violence that plagues it.

It only makes sense that after a neighborhood grocery store shuts down that another store should be allowed to move into the open space, but according to deed restrictions the ability for a new grocery store to move in becomes nearly impossible. Grocery stores that move to different locations will then continue to pay lease on the space that they once occupied in order to limit the ability of a competitor store to move in and offer lower prices. This tactic therefore creates almost a monopoly as inner city and public housing residents are then forced to not only travel long distances to grocery stores usually by public transportation, but then pay high prices for fresh fruits and vegetables. The reality is, that due to anti-competitive deed restrictions inner city residents are even

more likely to not have access to fresh fruits and vegetables therefore only perpetuating our country's health epidemic within the lower-class. Our country's health epidemic continues to perpetuate as lower class individuals and families are unable to afford or gain access to healthy foods which then leads to obesity and other health problems. The health problems that occur due to obesity and in result to lack of access to healthy foods then requires doctors visits and without the security of health insurance these individuals continue to accumulate more and more debt with no way of paying it off. This idea therefore suggests that these lower income individuals will never be able to afford housing besides public housing as the cycle keeps perpetuating.

It is because of the above quotations and statistics regarding lack of proper access to fresh fruits and vegetables within our inner cities that it is so important that the urban agriculture movement of creating gardens on the roofs of public housing units within cities is taken seriously. Although our country has taken great strides in our efforts towards a more humane metropolis, which entails urban gardens, we still have a long way to go. Now that we have discussed the benefits of incorporating roof top gardens into our nation's public housing plans let us now take a deeper look at the consequences of how public housing in high-poverty and in high- concentrated areas effects mental as well as physical health.

Public housing tends to be located in high-poverty neighborhoods, making these developments one of the key causes of concentrated urban poverty. While concentrated poverty is associated with social ills-including high unemployment rates, high high-school dropout rates and crime, it is also associated with physical and mental ills. The HOPE VI panel study mentioned above, found that the quality of public housing was distinctly worse than that of others in assisted living (Ruel, E., Oakley, D., Wilson, G. G.,

& Maddox, R.). In fact, it was found by the researchers on the panel, that residents of public housing have far worse health than comparable persons in assisted housing and other poor people which could directly tie housing quality to health outcomes (Ruel, E., Oakley, D., Wilson, G. G., & Maddox, R.). While ideas like those above, have argued that public housing might actually *improve* health—residents can use the saved money on rent and utilities to improve nutrition and health care access—little improvements in health have actually been found among residents residing in these dwellings. Now that we can see the importance of maintaining healthy living environments for residents, we will look at a few examples in which public housing was done right and residents have had the ability to thrive.

### How Santiago, Chile Got It Right

It is only with consideration of the people's needs and wants as well as acknowledgement of the previous hardships that potential residents have faced that developers are able to plan and create effective and sustainable public housing that suites the residents needs and wants. We will now discuss the successes of the public housing projects in Chile. We will not focus on any particular housing development in Chile, as many successful projects have developed around the Santiago area since 2006, but we focus on the area around Santiago, Chile because in Andrew Wade's article titled, *Housing Project Alternatives in Santiago de Chile: The Formation and Location of Community*, Wade expresses that:

The choice of this particular city for the development of this analysis is threefold: firstly, its location in a 'developing' country offers great opportunity for future

improvement to housing policies both in Santiago and in other low-income contexts, where the majority of population growth will continue to occur; secondly, Chilean housing policy has been regarded as highly-effective and has served as a model for Latin America, making it particularly noteworthy and influential; finally, the early 21st Century is a potentially transformative time for housing projects in Chile due to work of ELEMENTAL (Wade, 2009).

Although the above quotation suggests that the housing projects in Santiago, Chile have been successes, Santiago went through a period similar to the beginning times of Pruitt-Igoe where community members wanted to leave the projects and find a new way of life where they were not segregated and marginalized from the rest of society. For Wade also expresses in his article that prior to 2006, “in a survey conducted by the Government on residents of social housing projects, 64.5% of residents want to ‘leave the housing.’ The motives behind this intention are social in nature: 52.6% of residents cited difficulties of coexistence with neighbors, perceptions of security, delinquency and drugs as reasons they want to leave” (Wade, 2009). As you can see housing conditions weren’t always ideal but it is because of the actions steps that were taken in order to correct these faults of the housing projects, as well as the successful formula of design and location of the projects that Chile’s projects have served a purpose of empowering its inhabitants and creating a secure and safe environment for lower income families to live. Let us first look at the importance of location that many Chilean architects have stressed while designing these housing developments.

It is said by Andrew Wade, in *Housing Project Alternative in Santiago Chile: The Formation and Location of Community* that, a key consideration in housing projects aimed at alleviating poverty is the physical placement of the project in relation to the greater city. How will each proposal tie into the urban fabric? Will the policy and framework mechanisms encourage them to blend seamlessly with the overall

composition, or will each project be awkwardly attached to the periphery, without clues as to their contextual relevance? (Wade, 2008).

Through this quotation we can sense the importance of location and unity amongst the inhabitants of the Santiago projects and the rest of the cities middle class residents. It is through location and making connections with the city and areas of higher economic status and opportunity that residents of the projects in Chile feel more empowered and capable of making a better life and being treated as a part of the “functioning” society around them. This feeling of empowerment felt by the residents of housing projects in Santiago is in contrast to the inhabitants of Pruitt-Igoe who were essentially marginalized and set apart from the greater good and economic prosperity of the surrounding city which essentially led to the residents, as well as the housing projects downfall and destruction in 1972 .

Location is so important to the developers of the Santiago projects that in 2006 in response to the increasing prices of suitable land around the city, developers came up with an innovative idea to decrease the size of the units in the projects and therefore lowering the cost of building in order to use the money saved to purchase more valuable land. But the unique part about this idea is that the developers designed the units so that the residents of the unit could easily add on to the unit in order to make the space bigger because with “60% of the potential building volume to be added on as extensions by the inhabitants over time; this reduces the cost of building to be provided to merely the essential part, leaving space within the structural framework in anticipation of further extension,” as well as creating opportunity for the residents to take ownership in their unit and make it there own.

As stated earlier, it has been proven in many instances that when an individual or family feels more ownership and connection to the place in which they live than they are more likely to maintain pride in that residence as well as upkeep. This was one of the other innovative ideas of the architects: to create more ownership within the projects. In the case of Pruitt-Igoe architects did not go to the people and ask what was needed or wanted, but instead took on the project and used the ideas that middle class to upper class Caucasian developers thought was needed in the area which was not what the actual population demanded. In the case of the Santiago projects developers are allotting space as mentioned earlier in the Quinta Monroy projects right outside of Santiago for residents to add on and take ownership in their housing.

Pruitt-Igoe was once deemed as a “vertical paradise” due to its at the time “modern” look and feel of a high rise apartment structure that was capable of housing hundreds of people. But what Pruitt-Igoe was lacking was a sense of community, something that the developers of the Santiago projects are trying to reinforce and maintain amongst residents and the rest of the city. The idea of location and community are two important factors in successful housing projects that were not deemed as such back in the 1950’s when Pruitt-Igoe was being planned resulting in an isolated and segregated Pruitt-Igoe. It is essential to look at successful housing developments in other countries and take back some of the tactics and designs that stress location and community to the United States so we have better tools and knowledge to solve this country’s lack of affordable and suitable housing situation. We must create a design where inhabitants feel connected to the prosperous city around them and not marginalized from the majority group, often white middle class citizens.

We have learned a lot from the downfall of Pruitt-Igoe and it is our duty as educated individuals to take a stance and understand the importance of listening to the people and solving problems with a grass-root approach. We should be rejoicing in the successes of Santiago's housing projects and excited to implement some Chilean developers in order to create a sense of community and unity through appropriate location of public housing developments. Pruitt-Igoe's downfall and destruction was an unfortunate event that will always remain in the history of St. Louis, but there is a bright future ahead full of design and passion that will help break the perpetual cycle of crime and lack of services that plague so many American housing projects and in result our nation's projects may end up more like the happier, healthier, crime free projects of Santiago, Chile.

#### Successful Public Housing in the U.S.

Now that we have discussed public housing success from an international standpoint in Santiago, Chile, let us now evaluate efficient affordable housing in the United States. Santa Barbara is an excellent example of affordable housing done right. The housing programs that the Housing Authority of the City of Santa Barbara has created are according to the Housing Authority of the City of Santa Barbara's website, "locally and nationally recognized as innovative solutions to the most critical affordable housing challenges." Some of the housing programs that are offered in Santa Barbara include: Section 8 Housing Choice Voucher Programs, Workforce Housing, Senior Housing, and Supportive Housing. I will now go over each of these programs in greater detail and then discuss why these programs have been so effective.

The first program listed above, Section 8 Housing Choice Voucher Program, is a rent subsidy program that according to the Housing Authority of the City of Santa Barbara website, “assists eligible low-income persons and their families in obtaining affordable, decent, and safe housing by paying a portion of their rent” (“Housing Programs Overview and Applications,” 2013). The next housing program that is listed above is, Workforce Housing, which helps members of the Santa Barbara community who are in the workforce and earn up to 80% of the area median income for Santa Barbara who may be caught in the gap between, “skyrocketing rents and ineligibility for other assistance” (“Housing Programs Overview and Applications,” 2013). The city of Santa Barbara also has many programs available for seniors including applying for Section 8 housing or general public housing programs in addition to programs that are specifically designed for seniors who have disabilities or have trouble taking care of themselves; this program that caters to seniors’ needs is known as the Garden Court program. In addition to senior housing the city of Santa Barbara also includes their newest public housing units called Artisan Court that consists of 55-unit studio apartments that specifically provides housing for three target groups: youth aging out of foster care, the formerly homeless, and low-income downtown workers.

The city of Santa Barbara has been able to be effective in their public housing efforts because the city took into consideration the demographics of the people in need such as individuals being caught in the gap between “skyrocketing rents and eligibility for other assistance,” seniors, youth aging out of foster care, the formerly homeless, and low-income downtown workers. Because the city took into consideration the demographics of the people that they would be serving and providing affordable housing for, the city was able to create specific programs, as mentioned above, that catered to

each of these groups needs. Although the city of Santa Barbara's website does not go into great detail regarding the specific design and planning of the public housing that is offered, it can be seen through photos on the website that the city was successful in disguising the public housing in the midst of other housing developments that are not subsidized. Although the city of Santa Barbara has had success with developing effective public housing, unfortunately the number of public housing units that are developed do not begin to provide enough housing for Santa Barbara's struggling residents. In result of their not being enough suitable and affordable housing in Santa Barbara, many families are forced to cram into one home or unit.

We have been socialized to think of public housing as the projects from New York that are supposed to smell like urine and have elevators that only stop at every third floor; but in reality, planning departments have taken great strides in not only planning and developing more affordable housing that has ever been offered before, but also the most physically attractive public housing that our nation has ever seen. By making our public housing units more attractive, planners have been successful in lowering the stigma associated with living in public housing in some areas in the United States, such as Santa Barbara. It is stated in the book, *Guide to California Planning*, that, "up until the 1970's, most government-assisted affordable housing was "public" housing. These are the infamous "projects" that usually were built to high density in poor neighborhoods, and that are owned and operated by Public Housing Authorities" (Fulton & Shigley, 2012). Although throughout the duration of this paper we have referred to affordable housing as "public" housing, which as exemplified from the quotation above once had a negative connotation in the 1970's, it is because of the efforts of our country's city planners and developers that the stigma of what it once was to live in "public" housing

has decreased. But the effort of lowering the stigma of living in “public” housing was not solely completed by city planners alone. It is also stated in the book, *Guide to California Planning*, that

In California and elsewhere, they continue to manage thousands of housing units, mostly in big cities such as Los Angeles and Sacramento, and almost exclusively for people of low incomes. When public housing was discredited, however, public agencies turned to alternative methods of providing affordable housing. For this reason, most new affordable housing today is owned and operated by private non-profit and for-profit organizations (Fulton and Shigley, 332).

It is illustrated through the above quotation that although city planners have made great strides in their planning and design efforts it has also been the implementation of private non-profit and for-profit organizations that have helped contribute to lowering the stigma that was once associated with “public” housing.

By private non-profit and for-profit organizations becoming a fundamental part of the planning and implementation of affordable housing local governments have been able to focus on other programming for these individuals living in affordable housing.

According to the Cabrillo Economic Development Corporation their philosophy is that, “work should be done in the context of leadership development and the development of community institutions.” The article provided by the Cabrillo Economic Development Corporation then goes on to say that; “this philosophy includes collaboration with other organizations at the local, state, and national level.” As explained through the quotations above, it is important that many different realms of government and organizations are associated with the planning and implementation of effective affordable housing.

It is not by the implementation of one branch of government or one type of organization that sustainable results can occur in our nation’s affordable housing efforts; but by focusing on different realms of government and incorporating different types of

organizations such as private non-profit and private organizations our nation's city planning efforts for public housing has broadened into many different ideas and effective planning techniques. It is through the collaboration of these organizations that take us back to a point made earlier regarding lowering the stigma of living in public housing. These organizations such as government and private non-profit and for profit organizations have effectively worked together in lowering the stigma associated with public housing in the case of the Santa Barbara affordable housing movement. Jeri Burkow, a resident of affordable housing within the city of Santa Barbara expresses that she is, "thrilled to have her own one-bedroom apartment." Jeri then goes on to say that, "it's really great to live here!" Jeri is one of the 24 special needs residents who live in the community. Prior to moving into Santa Barbara's affordable housing Jeri shared a home with others, as she was not able to afford her own place and the home's couch doubled as her bed at night. The ability for Jeri to now live on her own in a place where she is not ashamed to call home has not only helped her physical health as her sleeping arrangement at the new apartment has helped with her with previous back problems, but it has helped with her mental health as well. It is stated that Jeri feels a lot more at ease and comfortable within her surroundings. This is an example of successful public housing design- that individuals feel "at ease" in their surroundings therefore suggesting that the threat of violence and crime is at a minimum.

As noted earlier in this work, many of the failed public housing projects such as Pruitt-Igoe and those done in New York were not associated with a having a sense of ease when roaming the facility but more so a sense of fear and anxiety. Feeling comfortable and safe within the vicinity of the affordable housing units has also helped lower the stigma associated with public housing as there ultimately is nothing to be ashamed of-

one is seeking out subsidized housing in a beautiful and safe area, it no longer matters that the space is subsidized for you due to your low-income, but all that matters is that you have a sensible place of belonging, an oasis to call your own.

Although there has been many successes within the Santa Barbara affordable housing movement there have been some times of concern regarding funding for the project. It is noted in William Fulton and Paul Shigley's, *Guide to California Planning* that:

To put their development projects together, non-profits usually must draw upon multiple sources of funding. Although some money may come from private banks, most funding comes from public sources, including redevelopment housing set-asides, federal Community Development Block Grant funds, and federal and state low-income housing tax-credits. Because every deal must be pieced together with funds from numerous sources, transaction costs are high—meaning the actual cost of housing produced by the private market. Sales and rental prices remain low because the developer must agree to limit sales and prices or rents for a period of time, often 55 years, to qualify for public subsidies.

There have been no repercussions as of now regarding the funding situation for the Santa Barbara affordable housing movement such as the facility making less money on resident's monthly rent than what it cost to develop the vicinity and that affecting the success and purpose of the housing units, but in fact the development has gone great strides in guaranteeing that the units will be eligible for subsidized housing for the next 55 years as stated in the quotation above. It is also suggested in the book, *Guide to California Planning*, that developers get a tax break on housing units if they can guarantee that a certain percentage of the units within the development are set aside for a certain amount of years to be used as subsidized and affordable housing. This idea appeals to private developers as they are able to produce beautiful housing facilities in superb locations such as, Santa Barbara and receive a tax break for simply insuring that some of the units be used for affordable housing.

Although developers did not have this exact mentality as noted above when creating the Santa Barbara affordable housing as all of those units were designated as public housing from the start, the idea that government policies such as tax breaks for developers if they so choose to set aside a certain amount of units for affordable housing within their complexes is another example of our country's efforts and pull towards implementing more attractive public housing units.

It is also noted in the book, *Guide to California Planning*, that in the 1970's Marin county was so ahead of their time in creating attractive affordable housing that the local government did not believe that the project was in budget or that the beautiful complexes were in fact affordable housing. Up until the late 1990's and early 2000's it seemed as if there was some unwritten rule or assumption that affordable housing had to be ugly and unsanitary in order for it to be "affordable." This idea is not only proven wrong with the affordable housing movement that has been implemented in Santa Barbara and that has been discussed in great length in previous pages, but also in cities such as Marin, San Francisco, and Sacramento (Fulton & Shigley, 331). This idea that public housing is not only providing a healthy and affordable environment in our current day for many low-income families to reside, but is also attractive to the eye shows the success and adaptability of the times that planners and developers have implemented into their work. This implementation of adapting to the times is what will make our planners and designers successful in years to come; being resilient to the changing styles as well as needs of low-income residents plays a fundamental role in planners abilities to produce healthy, safe, and ultimately life changing affordable housing units.

Now that we have discussed the good and bad of public housing, what the effects are on public housing residents living in inadequate quarters, and how important quality

housing is on the lives of these residents, it is evident that our nations history with affordable public housing has constantly been insufficient. Slowly, some cities are attempting to take great strides in fixing their public housing systems and give greater help to their poor; for example the affordable housing movement in Santa Barbara and New York's attempt to create stricter standards. Research has continuously shown that public housing residents have the worst health of any population in the United States. Poor physical and mental conditions run rampant in public housing complexes and residents may live in fear of even stepping outside of their apartments because of the dangers that may be waiting outside. The nations poor are our most vulnerable population and it is up to the government to adequately care for them. We have seen many failures in our public housing system, most famously, Pruitt-Igoe, and in cities across our nation, including New York, and how much of a struggle it was, and is, for public housing residents to live healthy lives. Some cities, both in this nation and outside, however, are getting it right. Santa Barbara considers the demographics of their residents that they're trying to serve as well as creating affordable housing that is appealing to the eye and blends in with non-subsidized housing developments. In Santiago, Chile, residents have the ability to add on the already subsidized structure, therefore creating a greater sense of ownership and accountability for the upkeep of the building. For them, this has resulted in a greater sense of community for all residents. Cities across the U.S. should be taking tips from not only nationally recognized affordable housing units, but international affordable housing units as well, as it seems they have done a great job putting into consideration the wants and needs of the people, creating a happier and healthier environment for them. It is important that we begin to prioritize public housing in the United States to better the lives of the population most at stake and giving them a chance

to live peacefully in society. By not caring for and maintaining our public housing system in an efficient and careful way, we are not only failing the area in which it lives, but also thousands and thousands of American citizens who have no choice.

### Annotated Bibliography

Bailey, Kathryn, Elizabeth March, and et al. "Overcrowding and Frequent Moves Undermine Children's Health ." *Childrehealthwatch.org*. Boston Medical Center, n.d. Web. 10 Feb 2013. <[http://www.childrehealthwatch.org/upload/resource/crowdedmultimoves\\_brief\\_nov11.pdf](http://www.childrehealthwatch.org/upload/resource/crowdedmultimoves_brief_nov11.pdf)>.

This article exemplifies the effects of overcrowding on children by discussing how inadequate public housing and overcrowding can result to home as well as food insecurity. The article gave us sound evidence to implement into our paper regarding how overcrowding within housing has a direct effect on food insecurity which then results in children being less prone to academic success as they are hungry at school which results in only perpetuating the cycle of these children remaining in a lower socioeconomic class as they will become less likely to go to college and obtain a degree, which would then help with their socioeconomic mobility. This article not only provided facts for us to incorporate into our paper but also encouraged us to further research public housing and its effects on food insecurity which then lead us to discussing urban agriculture and roof top gardens within our paper.

Berkowitz, Bill, and Tim Brownlee. "Improving the Quality of Housing." *The Community Tool Box*. University of Kansas, n.d. Web. 26 Feb 2013. <[http://ctb.ku.edu/en/tablecontents/chapter26\\_section2\\_main.aspx](http://ctb.ku.edu/en/tablecontents/chapter26_section2_main.aspx)>

This article discusses the importance of quality housing and way in which to improve it. They answer five questions: 1) What do we mean by improving the quality of housing? 2) Why improve the quality of housing? 3) When should you try to impose the quality of housing? 4) Who should be involved in improving the quality of housing? 5) How do you improve the quality of housing? Improving the quality of housing takes a collaborative effort (although there is much an individual can do to

help move the process along), involving all those affected by a new development or renovation project. If done well, it can be both a financial and social benefit to its neighborhood and to the community as a whole, a profit-making investment for a developer, and a huge boon to those who occupy it. It won't happen, however, without vigorous advocacy, and a long-term commitment to continuing the effort to create high-quality affordable housing in the community.

Bowman, Jeremy. "Food Deserts: Where Have All the Inner-City Grocery Stores Gone?" *DailyFinance.com*. N.p., n.d. Web. 13 Feb. 2013.

By reading this article written by Jeremy Bowman we were able to gain better insight into the importance and relevance of urban agriculture in our cities today. By implementing roof top gardens on the roofs of our nation's affordable housing units we are not only giving them a way to better access fresh fruits and vegetables but we are also providing these residents with a possibility of better health and a brighter future.

Carp, R., Stidham, R., Manning, K. (2011). *Judicial Process in America* . (p. 221). Washington, DC: PQ Press.

The eighth edition of *Judicial Process in America* gives a thorough overview of the American judiciary, paying particular attention to the relationship between the courts and the political environment in which they operate. While analyzing the courts at every level, the authors comprehensively cover judges, lawyers, litigants, and the powerful variables that influence judicial decision making, effectively linking the courts to public policy. Inclusion of multiple new cases, as well as discussion of the Obama administrations latest judicial appointments, makes this book incredibly current. Adopters and students alike will also appreciate the unique annotated U.S. Constitution found in the appendix. This extensive revision of a classic text brings new life to a standard-bearer for judicial process classes.

Checkoway, B. (1985). *The Metropolitan Midwest: policy problems and prospects for change*. Chicago, Illinois : Board of Trustees at the University of Illinois  
Retrieved from  
[http://books.google.com/books?id=1IRsph2f2FoC&pg=PP4&dq="The Metropolitan Midwest: policy problems and prospects for change"](http://books.google.com/books?id=1IRsph2f2FoC&pg=PP4&dq=)

barrycheckoway&hl=en&sa=X&ei=MoBGT\_qOO\_DKiQK8\_pXbDQ&ved=0CDYQ6AEwA

In *The Metropolitan Midwest* sixteen leading scholars and practitioners in urban policy and planning take a hard look at the problems confronting America's urban-industrial heartland. This book analyzes the reasons for cities decline and what might be done to reverse it. The authors examine such topics as population redistribution, economic development, energy costs and land use, housing pattern, residential segregation, neighborhood revitalization, employment training, federal aid, transportation, maintenance programs, political change, and citizen participation. Together they signal new directions in policy and planning for the metropolitan Midwest and show how other parts of the nation might learn from this regions plight.

City of Santa Barbara . Public Housing . *Housing Development and Preservation Program*. 2012. Web.  
<<http://www.santabarbaraca.gov/Resident/Home/Housing/preservation.htm>>.

By looking at the City of Santa Barbara's page on public housing and their efforts we were able to obtain significant facts and statistics regarding public housing in Santa Barbara and it's success as well as a greater insight into the mission of the city regarding affordable housing. This document was essential in our ability to help portray the success of Santa Barbara's affordable housing movement.

Comerio , M. C. (1981). Pruitt-Igoe and Other Stories . *JSTOR*, 34(4), 26-31. Retrieved from  
<http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.lib.calpoly.edu/stable/1424663?seq=3&Search=yes&searchText=Pruitt&searchText=Stories&searchText=Igoe&list=hide&searchUri=/action/doAdvancedSearch?q0=Pruitt+Igoe+and+Other+Stories>

This article was helpful in illustrating the severe conditions and realities of Pruitt-Igoe including a mother telling her son that if he needs to fight then he must fight in order to be taken seriously and seen as a threat amongst other individuals that lived in the public housing units.

Dimnet, E. (2009, June 5). Why architects drink: Pruitt-igoe and the failure of the modern housing projects. Retrieved from  
<http://whyarchitectsdrink.blogspot.com/2009/06/pruitt-igoe-and-failure-of-modern.html>

Within this article the author was successful in demonstrating the lack of services that were evident or present within Pruitt-Igoe. In the article, Dimnet speaks of the mail never being picked up or delivered, trash never being picked up, as well as the efforts of

the police to maintain peace within the vicinity being non-existent. This source helps play a fundamental role in the creation of our paper as we were able to gain greater insight into the desperation and lack of services provided in Pruitt-Igoe. The lack of services provided by the local and federal government exemplified and essentially predicted the downfall of this public housing development that did was constructed and so poorly planned resulting in it being demolished in 1972.

Dutton, Diana B. "JSTOR." *Medical Care* 23.2 (1985): 142-46. *JSTOR*. Web. 8 Jan. 2013.

Through this article we were able to better understand a few of the major health problems that occur within children when children are forced to live in overcrowded places as well as inadequate public housing. Some of the health problems that were discussed within this article were: hearing loss, ear disease, as well as asthma. This article provided sound evidence within our paper exemplifying the detrimental effects on children regarding their health when forced to live in subpar housing.

Edwards, Ciele. "Problems With Public Housing." *SF Gate*. Hearst Communications Inc.. Web. 26 Feb 2013. <<http://homeguides.sfgate.com/problems-public-housing-1907.html>>.

This article discusses the problems that are plaguing the U.S. public housing system. From low availability, poor housing quality, mismanagement of funds and extremely low property value, it becomes clear our system is in crisis.

Fertig , Angela, and David Reingold. " Public Housing, Health, and Health Behaviors: Is There a Connection?." *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management* . 26.4 (2007): 832-859. Print. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/30162806>>.

This paper explores the relationship between public housing, health outcomes, and health behaviors among low-income housing residents. While public housing can be a dangerous and unhealthy environment in which to live, the subsidized rent may free up resources for nutritious food and health care. In addition, public housing may be of higher quality than the available alternatives, it may provide easier access to health clinics willing to serve the poor, and it may link residents to social support networks, which can improve mental health and the ability to access higher-quality grocery stores. To test whether there is a "back-door" health benefit to the public housing program,

we analyze data from the Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing Study. We minimize the effects of selection into public housing with controls and instrumental variables estimation and find that the results are somewhat sensitive to the instrumental variable used, and thus, we conclude that we are unable to detect a robust health benefit from public housing for our measures of health. However, we do find some evidence that public housing residency has mixed effects on domestic violence, increases obesity, and worsens mothers' overall health status.

Franklin, L. (2011). *New Documentary Sheds Light on the Story of Pruitt-Igoe*. St. Louis Public Radio. Retrieved from <http://news.stlpublicradio.org/post/new-documentary-sheds-light-story-pruitt-igoe>

The article, *New Documentary Sheds Light on the Story of Pruitt-Igoe, St. Louis*, identifies not only the history and early development of Pruitt-Igoe but also touches on some of the realities of living in Pruitt-Igoe, a public housing effort gone extremely wrong.

Fulton, William, and Paul Shigley. *Guide to California Planning*. Fourth. Los Angeles: Solano Press Books, 2012. Print.

Within this book a variety of different aspects of California planning are discussed including: the structure of planning decision-making, the basic tools of creating a general plan, housing, and infill and transit-oriented development. This book played a fundamental piece in our research conducted for this paper as it not only gave us facts and evidence to cite within our paper but it also gave us a great starting point as to what to inquire further about regarding affordable housing and planning in general as well as a better understanding of the overall key goals and visions of a city planner.

"Housing Programs Overview and Applications." *Housing Authority of the City of Santa Barbara*. N.p., n.d. Web. 14 Feb. 2013.

In the article, *Housing Programs and Applications*, we were able to obtain a better understanding of the process that goes into planning affordable housing for cities such as Santa Barbara. We were also able to gain greater insight into the philosophy and mission of their affordable housing movement and from that we were able to better understand the purpose of some of the programs implemented with Santa Barbara that went along with the affordable housing movement which is touched on in our paper.

Jensen, Eric. "How Poverty Affects Behavior and Academic Performance." *Teaching with Poverty in Mind*. N.p.: n.p., n.d. N. pag. Print.

The second chapter, *Teaching with Poverty in Mind*, of the book, "How Poverty Affects Behavior and Academic Performance," emphasizes what large percent of our behaviors are determined by our environment. The chapter then goes on to explain how many of our behaviors are stereotypically classified as being prevalent due to genes but the chapter suggests evidence of how our environment can affect our behavior directly and how this is an important component to put into consideration.

Kasdan, Alexa, and Lindsay Cattel. "Op-Ed: Public Housing Residents Deserve Better." *Thirteen.org*. PBS, 10 Aug 2011. Web. 25 Feb 2013.  
<<http://www.thirteen.org/metrofocus/2011/08/op-ed-public-housing-residents-deserve-better/>>.

This article describes the crisis of public housing in New York City. It discusses the problems plaguing the public housing system and how poorly the New York City Housing Authority is treating the situation. Resident's graded the NYCHA and reported them poorly, reporting the many reasons why. The article then goes into question how the NYCHA can improve their management.

Lash, Don. "Making an affordable housing crisis worse." *Socialistworker.org*. International Socialist Organization, 4 Dec 2012. Web. 25 Feb 2013.  
<<http://socialistworker.org/2012/12/04/making-a-housing-crisis-worse>>.

This article explores the New York City public housing crisis and discusses how Hurricane Sandy has made matters worse. It is explained that the NYCHA is still lacking to provide support to those in need after the hurricane and how little is being done for the residents living in public housing.

Rainwater, Lee. *Behind Ghetto Walls*. Hawthorne, New York: Aldine Publishing Company, 1970. Print.

This book is about the family lives of some 10,000 children and adults who live in an all African-American public housing project in St Louis. The Pruitt-Igoe project is only one of the many environments in which urban African-Americans lived in the 1960s, but the character of the family life there shares much with the family life of lower-class African-Americans as it

has been described by other investigators in other cities and at other times, in Harlem, Chicago, or New Orleans.

Ruel, E., Oakley, D., Wilson, G. G., & Maddox, R. (2010). Is Public Housing the Cause of Poor Health or a Safety Net for the Unhealthy Poor?. *Journal Of Urban Health*, 87(5), 827-838. doi:10.1007/s11524-010-9484-y

Research has shown that public housing residents have the worst health of any population in the USA. However, it is unclear what the cause of that poor health is among this population. The purpose of this paper is to investigate the association between public housing and health conditions: specifically, we ask if residents entered public housing already ill or if public housing may cause the poor health of its residents. The data used for this study come from the GSU Urban Health Initiative, which is a prospective, mixed-methods study of seven public housing communities earmarked for demolition and relocation (N=385). We used the pre-relocation, baseline survey. We found that, while health was not the main reason residents gave for entering public housing, the majority of public housing residents entered public housing already ill. Substandard housing conditions, long tenure in public housing, and having had a worse living situation prior to public housing were not associated with an increased risk of a health condition diagnosed after entry into public housing. Our findings suggest that public housing may have provided a safety net for the very unhealthy poor.

Runk, David. "Rooftop Gardening Provides Environmental Benefits in Urban Areas." *Washington Post*. The Washington Post, 27 July 2010. Web. 1 Mar. 2013.

Throughout this article Runk presents the many benefits of creating rooftop gardens on buildings within our nation's cities. Runk capitalizes on the health benefits of having such gardens accessible to our nation's downtown areas and how this may have a direct effect on health. By providing, creating, and planning for rooftop gardens we are not only making our cities a more humane place but we are helping inner city residents have better access to healthy foods. Throughout the article it was noted that inner city areas more often than not do not have access to full service grocery stores but more so just have access to convenience stores. By incorporating roof top gardens to buildings in our nation's cities, as mentioned earlier, we are creating a healthier way for inner city residents to live as they have full access to fruits and vegetables merely steps away from their door.

Seitles, M. (1995). The perpetuation of residential racial segregation in America: Historical discrimination, modern forms of exclusion, and inclusionary remedies. *Journal of Land Use & Environmental Law*, Retrieved from <http://www.law.fsu.edu/journals/landuse/vol141/seit.htm>

This comment discusses the history and effects of residential racial segregation in America and offers specific remedies that have already been implemented effectively in a few U.S. cities. First, the comment examines the history of residential racial segregation in America by exploring the role of federal and state governments, exclusionary zoning legislation, and private discrimination in creating and perpetuating the problems associated with segregated housing. Next, the comment addresses the harmful social and economic costs to minorities, particularly African Americans, from decades of segregationist and discriminatory housing policies. Additionally, this section analyzes the prospects of improving race relations given the existence of predominately homogenous white suburban communities and low-income minority inner-city neighborhoods. The third section elucidates policy reasons to support housing integration, and analyzes the costs of segregation on white-Americans. Further, the third section details the economic and social benefits not only to minorities, but also to our entire population. Finally, the fourth section discusses remedies to eliminate housing segregation, specifically by facilitating an increase in affordable housing prospects in suburban communities. This first part examines inclusionary zoning techniques, including the use of mandatory set-asides, affordable housing appeals legislation, and state inclusionary laws. Concrete examples of successful inclusionary zoning techniques are offered from a number of U.S. cities. The second part then analyzes the importance and effectiveness of mobility programs. Additionally, a detailed review is offered, delineating the strengths of individual mobility programs, existing obstacles, and the successes of mobility programs in creating affordable housing for minorities in previously white suburban enclaves.

Thomas, J. (2011, September 29). The 7 Most Infamous U.S. Public Housing Projects. < <http://newsone.com/1555245/most-infamous-public-housing-projects/>>.

This article discusses the 7 most famous public housing projects in the US. Pruitt-Igoe, Queensbridge Houses, Robert Taylor Homes, Jordan Downs, Magnolia Projects, Marcy Projects, and Cabrini Green are all included. There is a discussion on each of the problems plaguing these projects and the multiple issues residents faced living in them.

Wade, Andrew. (2009, March 23). Housing Project Alternatives in Santiago de Chile: The Formation and Location of Community. Retrieved

from:<http://www.scribd.com/doc/23636221/Housing-Project-Alternatives-in-Santiago-de-Chile>

Throughout this article the possibilities that were provided for the residents of the Santiago affordable housing units was very well illustrated by specific points and ideas. Some of these points and ideas included, how to make the residents feel better connected to their houses therefore resulting in a greater sense of ownership and upkeep, as well as how important location and a sense of community was to the developers as they were creating and planning for these affordable housing units in Santiago, Chile.