INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each original is also photographed in one exposure and is included in reduced form at the back of the book.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

UMI

A Bell & Howell Information Company
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor MI 48106-1346 USA
313/761-4700 800/521-0600

NEIGHBORHOOD TRANSFORMATION DESIGN: A CASE STUDY OF *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE*, DETROIT

by

Abraham M. Kadushin

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Architecture
in The University of Michigan
1996

Doctoral Committee:

Professor Leon A. Pastalan, Chairman
Professor James A. Chaffers
Professor Barry Checkoway
Professor Ronald A. Sekulski
The Reverend Canon P. Ronald Spann, Church of the Messiah, Detroit

To My Wife and Children

My Father and Stepmother

To the Memory of My Mother

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Before anyone else, I acknowledge and express appreciation for my immediate family - my wife Dr. Wendy, who was here before and offered constant support, advice and love, without whom this could never have happened; son Adam, daughter Anna, son Andrew - who have supported me in ways only we can know through this twenty year odyssey which has enveloped their entire lives.

I owe debts to several people, for personal inspiration to undertake and complete this doctoral effort, particularly some men who I was connected with and are no longer with us: Stephen C.A. Paraskevopoulos, William Deane Smith, and John A. MacDonald.

Steve Paraskevopoulos was a Professor of Architecture and Director of the Architectural Research Laboratory at The University of Michigan School of Architecture and Design when I first came to school here in 1972. I liked to hang around the Unistrut building in the old A & D courtyard and observe what was going on there as a masters student. After graduating in 1973, I kept in contact with Steve and spoke about enrolling in the Doctoral Program and of the kind of urban research work I enjoyed and wanted to do. He encouraged me to apply and assisted in my gaining acceptance into the program in 1975. I was looking forward to studying and

working with him and was stunned and profoundly saddened when I learned of his death from a heart attack that summer in Greece and almost dropped the program as a result.

William Deane Smith was an architect and planner and a founder of The Urban Collaborative, a non-profit public interest planning and design firm based in Detroit in the late 1960's and early 1970's. Smith hired me to work for his firm in 1974 as a young architect-planner who was extremely bored with work in a traditional architectural office. It was there, in our offices in the Belcrest Hotel on Cass Avenue across the street from Wayne State University, that I was first exposed to the realities of community design and advocacy in Detroit. It was Bill Smith who first introduced me to the concept of seeking the proper *balance* of physical, social, economic and political factors at work in any project. Smith left "The Collaborative" to become the new City Planner under Mayor Coleman Young in 1975, replacing the venerable Charles Blessing, who had been in that position for many years. Smith contracted terminal back cancer and never losing his spirit, completed a worldwide sailing tour and tragically died in 1980 at the age of 49.

John MacDonald was a lifelong worker for the Uniroyal Tire Company, President of the Elmwood III Citizens' District Council, Detroit Housing Commissioner, and confidant of former Mayor Coleman Young. My earliest experiences with advocacy planning and community design involved the Elmwood III project in 1974. It was as a result of my exposure and close connection to John, his wife Anna, and the Elmwood III Citizens' District Council that my orientation to urban planning, urban design, urban renewal, and the role of citizens' and participation in the redevelopment process was formed. I used to own a 1976 Fiat Sports Coupe, a

sporty little car that my wife Wendy and I bought after we were married to help me commute from Ann Arbor to my jobs in Detroit. John used to call me to pick him up at his home on Miller, one of the last to be be demolished in the Elmwood Park Urban Renewal Program, and chauffer him to meetings downtown. He was a big man, but enjoyed squeezing into my little sports car and driving around downtown Detroit speaking of significant 'land development' matters and the future of the city.

I would like to thank my doctoral committee and I only wish I had more time and opportunity to interact with each of them on this endeavor...but there will always be more time for this in the future, if we make time for it. First, to Professor Lee Pastalan, I thank you for his constant, thoughtful presence, guidance and support through this last part of my journey. His 'shepherding' of my final phases of course work, candidacy and dissertation has brought me to this point and I will always be grateful for his help. Professor Jim Chaffers must next be thanked for all of the encouragement and good words over the years and for advocacy of my 'readmission' to the Doctoral Program after a long hiatus (14 years). Jim accurately suggested that I was doing my 'field work' during that period of time. It happens to be the 25th anniversary of Chaffers' Doctorate in Architecture at The University of Michigan, the first one in the country. As I have said, he was the first and I want to be the last - and there is a certain 'symmetry' in that our topics (the urban neighborhood) and our settings (in Detroit) are so similar. I thank Professor Barry Checkoway for the exposure and education provided in the field of community organization. An independent study with him in 1993 that included the Fannie Mae University Colloquium Series on Low Income Tenants and Federal Housing Policy was a wonderful learning experience and helped inform an important component in my

dissertation research. Barry also maintains an important presence as an active participant in Detroit's community rebuilding and sets a personal example and model for academic and community service learning. I hope our paths cross often in Detroit and in this field. I thank Professor Ron Sekulski for his guidance through example and direct contact with our involvement together at EDARG - his comments, observations, attitudes, feelings and the chance to share some of life's experiences over the last few years have been important. I thank the Rev. Ron Spann, spiritual and community leader in *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE*, with whom I have worked over the past six years at Church of the Messiah, for his inspirational attitude and committment to this field of study and practice. He is planning to move on after twenty five years at Church of the Messiah and I hope he will maintain his valuable presence in this field. In addition, I would like to acknowledge the support and experiences of all of the people affiliated with Church of the Messiah and the Housing Corporation, the past and present Board members, staff and the wide network of stakeholders in this '*village-in-the-city*'.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

You will be called
Repairers of the Breach,
the restorers of the houses in ruins.

Isaiah 58:12[1]

This research is based on the premise that restoration of existing neighborhoods is a vital element of urban reconstruction and survival, and that specific neighborhood transformations can be achieved through systematic, comprehensive approaches and strategies. The purpose of this research is to contribute to the advancement of neighborhood or community rebuilding through the formulation of a comprehensive or

[1] This passage from The Book of Isaiah has been used by Church of the Messiah Housing Corporation as its guiding vision for ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE. It is taken from the larger passage (Isaiah 58:9-12): *"If you put an end to oppression, to every gesture of contempt, and to every evil word; if you give food to the hungry and satisfy those who are in need, then the darkness around you will turn to the brightness of noon. And I will always guide you and satisfy you with good things. I will keep you strong and well. You will be like a garden that has plenty of water, like a spring of water that never goes dry. Your people will rebuild what has long been in ruins, building again on the old foundations. You will be known as the people who rebuilt the walls, who restored the ruined houses."*

"holistic" set of strategies[2] that would lead to specific community transformations. It proposes an integrated set of humanistic planning and design principles that are gathered into a model of what is being termed *neighborhood transformation design.* It is believed that the cumulative effect of observations and evaluations of this model working in a variety of settings leads to an emergent theory and methodology for producing positive community change.

The study is focused in an existing urban neighborhood in Detroit, *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE*, a 77-square block area with a population of 11,000, symbolic of the type of severe decay and abandonment experienced in many parts of Detroit and other major cities in the United States over the past half century. It is a community in which a comprehensive community rebuilding effort began over twenty years ago, led by the neighborhood-based Church of the Messiah. The effort to rebuild this neighborhood continues today.

The methodology utilized in the dissertation included a combination of approaches, including case studies, participant-observations, and action research. A case study of the *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE* neighborhood has been undertaken to help explore the phenomena of decline and revitalization. In addition, case studies of other similar neighborhood rebuilding initiatives in other parts of Detroit and other cities have been examined and compared. A unique vantage point as a *participant-observer* was gained through professional architectural and community planning work. This role has allowed sustained, active involvement in specific development projects and activities over the past six years in this neighborhood. This position has also provided

---

[2] Comprehensive strategies are defined as the integration of social, economic, political and physical revitalization initiatives in a balanced and coordinated manner.

exposure to a variety of community design models, approaches, strategies, initiatives, processes, techniques, programs and projects. The action research method (Lewin, 1946) is described as research situated in a real setting with pragmatic needs. A valuable service is provided while achieving scientific goals. In this case, the sustained, in-depth participation in the *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE* for over six years assures that our research has been continuously informed by direct experience.

The result of this combination of research and experience is a belief that neighborhood revitalization can be implemented by conceiving and organizing comprehensive, community-based strategies[3] undertaken by local, resident-oriented organizations.[4] Having said this, it should also be noted that outcomes have not been quantified nor levels of success measured by this study, which to some would taint the validity and generalizability of the statement[5]. What has been learned is that it seems almost impossible to accurately assess or evaluate the complex dynamics and dimensions of community redevelopment. Instead, what is possible are conclusions that take the form of lessons gathered and sets of replicable practices and programs

---

[3] A number of titles have been given to this model, including Comprehensive Community Initiatives (Connell and Kubisch, 1995), Neighborhood Transformation Initiatives (Rich, 1995), Comprehensive Community-Building Strategies (Stone, 1994), Community Building Initiatives (Jenny, 1993), Comprehensive Collaborative Persisitent Poverty Initiatives (Fishman and Phillips, 1993), Comprehensive Neighborhood-Based Community Empowerment Initiatives (Eisen, 1992).

[4] Community-based organizations are typically non-profit community development corporations (CDC's), in many cases originated and maintained by religious institutions that facilitate direct citizen involvement in neighborhood planning and development activities.

[5] I confess that much of the research has been conducted intuitively based on professional training and experience, observations, informal feedback from participants, and common sense judgements and conclusions.

drawn from a wide range of experiences and observations. The conclusive statement of revitalization success comes as a result that in *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE*, as in many other urban neighborhoods actively involved in community rebuilding, the sense and feelings of hope, pride, empowerment and positive neighborhood transformation are becoming more and more evident.

Neighborhood Transformation Design

The human-oriented neighborhood must be considered as the basic unit in urban survival and revival. This is what Lewis Mumford and Jane Jacobs were saying more than thirty years ago and perhaps only today are we beginning to listen to their advice. The decline of cities and their neighborhoods is one of the saddest legacies of the twentieth century. A pervasive feeling is that cities have lost their former power and influence and that their citizens cannot regain conscious control over solving the problems. Elements of decay have become so imbedded in our cities that some believe our time will be recorded in history as a finale to the age of great cities.

Despite these ominous thoughts, many planners and analysts, including Mumford, have said that the neighborhood is the most important "organ of urban life" and that successful efforts to regenerate this organ can breathe new life into even the sickest of cities. The revitalization of urban neighborhoods has become a focus of attention for addressing a broad range of critical social and economic issues for the low-income citizens who primarily inhabit our cities. Too often in the past federal programs, particulary urban renewal and construction of the interstate highway system,

have destroyed existing neighborhoods. Recognizing these former tragic mistakes, a policy emphasis by the federal government on neighborhood conservation and existing community renewal has recently emerged through enlightened programs such as Empowerment Zones and Enterprise Communities.

Public and private partnerships are now being encouraged, with a strong focus on grassroots neighborhood groups organized into non-profit community development corporations which act in the key roles. This movement, which has been referred to as "corrective capitalism" by columnist Neal Peirce, began with projects by a few community organizations in cities such as Philadelphia, New York and Baltimore and has spread througout the country into many cities and even rural areas. These groups are breathing life into areas that were once considered dead and in so doing are in the process of reviving our cities. Over the past 25 years this "neighborhood transformation" or "community development" movement has taken hold and evolved in American cities. The movement is characterized by community-based institutions undertaking the revitalization of distressed urban neighborhoods through housing and economic development projects as well as providing social services and political support for predominantly poor residents. CDCs have grown to become effective providers of human services or affordable housing developers, often needing to focus their limited resources in only one of these areas. This strategy is also a response to sources of support which tend to focus on categorical areas such as housing, health care, or job training. This fragmentation of programs is now recognized as an obstacle to successful community development and the field is moving towards implementation of comprehensive, linked strategies and approaches.

There is very little rigorous or coherent theory or science that exists in connection with the field of community development, especially in relation to depressed communities in advanced economies. Current strategies that deal with this problem rely mostly on case studies, experientally gained information taken from particular areas with specific problems. One of the shortcomings with this method is that there are no standard situations regarding urban communities and neighborhoods. Another difficulty is that the existing strategies or methods developed tend to be repeated rather than new ground or significantly different directions explored. In spite of these drawbacks, the case study is still a potentially valid method of theory building. Through the in-depth analysis of a particular area and its events, experience can be gained from which theory can be developed and refined. Recognizing the problems in studying a unique urban setting, translating a set of procedures from one community to another is a complex task, but critical to the establishment of a useful knowledge base for support of this timely work in our cities.

What does exist are the results of experimentation with the development process in many situations by many types of organizations. There are now numerous inner city areas across the country that are undergoing what has been called neighborhood transformation or "community rebuilding". Progress has been made in the improvement of physical, social, economic and political conditions - significant quantities of new affordable housing, commercial and industrial development, and the initiation and reform of necessary social and economic programs. Institutions and organizations have been developed and have been operational in depressed minority communities for many years. From these examples, it has become clearer that the

process of institution- and community-building is a long-term, complex, and hard to predict endeavor and the extent of progress difficult to measure.

In this study, experience gained from multiple sources and settings has been accummulated and refined in order to develop a theory and model of urban neighborhood redevelopment on which new strategies and plans can be based. The *neighborhood transformation design* model proposed draws heavily from the lessons learned from the widening body of knowledge in community development practice, as well as the lessons learned from personal experiences and specific involvements.

Personal Project History

My case study of *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE* began unknowingly in 1974, when as a member of The Urban Collaborative, a non-profit public-interest planning and design firm in Detroit, I participated in a project entitled the "Detroit Area Urban and Parish Analysis" prepared for The Urban Affairs Committee of The Episcopal Diocese of Michigan. The purpose of the study was to bring the Church closer to an awareness of urban change and the revised role of the Church in responding to that change. Several parishes in the inner city were in danger of failing as a result of neighborhood decline and population migration. It was recommended that opportunities for meeting specific markets in the areas of community services in addition to meeting spiritual needs could help save these parishes. During the study, committee meetings were held at various parish locations in Detroit - one at Church of the Messiah at East Lafayette and East Grand Boulevard. This meeting was of no particular significance to me in

1974, but now in 1996 after over six years of professional practice, academic research and work with the Church, it somehow feels prophetic that I was there.

Much of my academic and professional work has been and still is concerned with various aspects of the redevelopment of the urban core, with many experiences coming from many architectural and planning projects in the City of Detroit. The focus of my activities for almost twenty years has been housing-related developments of all types and sizes, from large-scale federally-initiated urban renewal projects such as Elmwood Park and University City, major new public/private residential projects such as Riverfront Apartments, to neighborhood preservation programs with combinations of rehabilitation and new infill construction such as *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE.* It is this last approach to housing and urban development that has captured my attention and created enthusiasm. It is this type of program that I feel holds the most promise as a model for successful revitalization of the decayed areas of the urban core. Embodied in such a program is the active involvement of community-based individuals and institutions insuring that the housing development process produces added benefits in the larger socio-economic condition within a community.

My role as planner and architect for projects in the *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE* community on the near East side of Detroit began in 1990 after being selected to undertake a specific community planning and design project. The *Island View Infill Housing Development Plan* was the initial planning study prepared by my firm for Church of the Messiah Housing Corporation. It was funded by a Lilly Endowment Program: *Religious Institutions as Partners in Community Based Development* through a grant to The Episcopal Diocese of Michigan and Church of the Messiah Housing

Corporation. During this planning process, an Advisory Planning Committee which had been appointed to guide the process began to formulate the notion that housing development should not occur in isolation, and a broader effort at comprehensive community development should take place in parallel. A new organization, the Islandview Village Development Corporation (IVDC) was formed to undertake this complementary community development work. With the help of a World Vision grant and other forms of local support, a board was formed, an office established in St. Charles Church, and an executive director hired. An organizational development process was initiated with outside consultants facilitating a visioning and goal setting period. Shortly after, I approached the board and director with an offer to provide comprehensive planning services for the new organization as an outgrowth of my previous efforts with Church of the Messiah and the infill housing development plan, as well as part of my doctoral research activities. I began attending board and subcommittee meetings and working with the organization on planning and grant proposal development. This continued until the arrival on the scene of a major development firm from Cleveland who approached IVDC with an offer to co-develop affordable housing projects in the area. Initially, there was a willingness on our part to work with this company on this effort in spite of certain feelings of confusion in several areas. First, one of the primary organizational goals of IVDC was to develop a local, community-based capacity to undertake development projects; second, the role of IVDC was to be oriented towards socio-economic development, rather than housing (which would remain the domain of Messiah Housing Corporation); and third, if an outside developer were necessary, there were several prominent local companies that

could be approached[6]. My comments and observations soon surfaced and I was subsequently excluded from meetings and planning sessions regarding IVDC projects. In 1994, my firm was retained to prepare the *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE Physical Development Plan* by CMHC in conjunction with IVDC and a certain amount of professional interaction occurred, however, it was not to the extent I had hoped for initially as part of my participant/observer research.[7]

As a result of the 1990 Infill Housing Development Plan, a focused development area was designated as a Neighborhood Preservation Project (NPP) by the State of Michigan's Neighborhood Preservation Program (NPP) enacted in 1987 (House Bill 5073) and administered by the Michigan State Housing Development Authority (MSHDA). The first new infill housing project, Field Street Townhomes/IslandView Village, was financed under the Neighborhood Preservation Loan Program (NPLP) in conjunction with Federal Low-Income Tax Credits purchased by the Local Initiatives Support Corporation (LISC), private foundation and banking institution grants. The project was designed by my architectural firm and broke ground on May 8, 1992. On September 1, 1993 former Senator Donald Riegle (then Chairman of the Senate Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs Committee and HUD Undersecretary Terrence Duvernay took part in a tour of the completed project in conjunction with a community forum on the contributions of community development

---

[6] After a trip to Cleveland and visits to several neighborhood development projects and tours of the city, I was also struck by the massive scope of the community development work that was necessary (similar to Detroit) and that there was plenty of work to be done there without leaving their hometown and having to travel to Detroit.

[7] Most recently, after much pre-development activity, the relationship with the firm from Cleveland appears to have been suspended and there is no longer an involvement with IVDC projects.

corporations. Field Street/Islandview Village Phase II is currently under development with a ceremonial groundbreaking having taken place in October, 1995. In addition, ground was broken on September 14, 1995 for the Townsend Single Family Homes - the first new "for sale" housing in the Detroit Federal Empowerment Zone. We anticipate ongoing involvement over the next several years in new infill housing construction, residential rehabilitation, institutional projects, and public improvement projects within this neighborhood and the opportunity to participate in this neighborhood's transformation.

General Project Background and Context

The primary comprehensive community rebuilding work we have focused on is being undertaken by Church of the Messiah (see Figure 1.1), an Episcopal parish established in 1883. Community development of housing and other physical improvements are being accomplished by Church of the Messiah Housing Corporation (CMHC), a non-profit development organization formed as a mission and subsidiary of the Church in 1978. Social and cultural aspects of neighborhood development are now organized under *The Boulevard Harambee: Building Up Leaders for Village Development*, incorporated recently to organize a wide range of service programs and leadership development activities that have taken place at the Church over the past 22 years.

Figure 1.1

Church of the Messiah

The Church is located in the *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE* neighborhood, a 77-square block area in Detroit, so named because of its proximity to Belle Isle (see Figures 1.2 and 1.3).

Since 1972, the Church has worked to develop a holistic approach to the perceived and felt needs of its neighborhood through community outreach, change and development. It complements its traditional spiritual ministries of evangelism, worship, prayer and bible groups, choirs, counseling and discipleship with its housing development work through Messiah Housing Corporation and social building work of The Boulevard Harambee[8]. Much of this work began upon the arrival of Rev. P. Ronald Spann as Pastor of the Church in 1971.

Church of the Messiah is part of a faith- or spiritual- based movement dedicated to community and economic development. It is a member of the Christian Community Development Association (CCDA), a large, nationwide organization of ministries formed in 1989, and the Christian Community Development Coalition, a Detroit-based effort initiated in 1991 by five well-established, non-profit community development corporations (Messiah, Core City Neighborhoods, Joy of Jesus, People in Faith United, and REACH, Inc.).

---

[8] "Harambee is a Swahili word for coming together to accomplish a common goal, or to solve a common problem. The Boulevard Harambee's purpose is to provide life skills resource training for holistic development of individuals of all ages, and to help stabilize and improve the quality of life in ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE. This is accomplished through providing resources and development programs for children, youth, adults, senior citizens and families. These programs adress values clarification, spiritual formation, educational enrichment and achievement, social interaction, health and nutritional awareness, food supplement provision, advocacy, leadership training, parenting skills, athletic and artistic development and expression." Source: Michigan Comnet World Wide Web page (info@comnet.org).

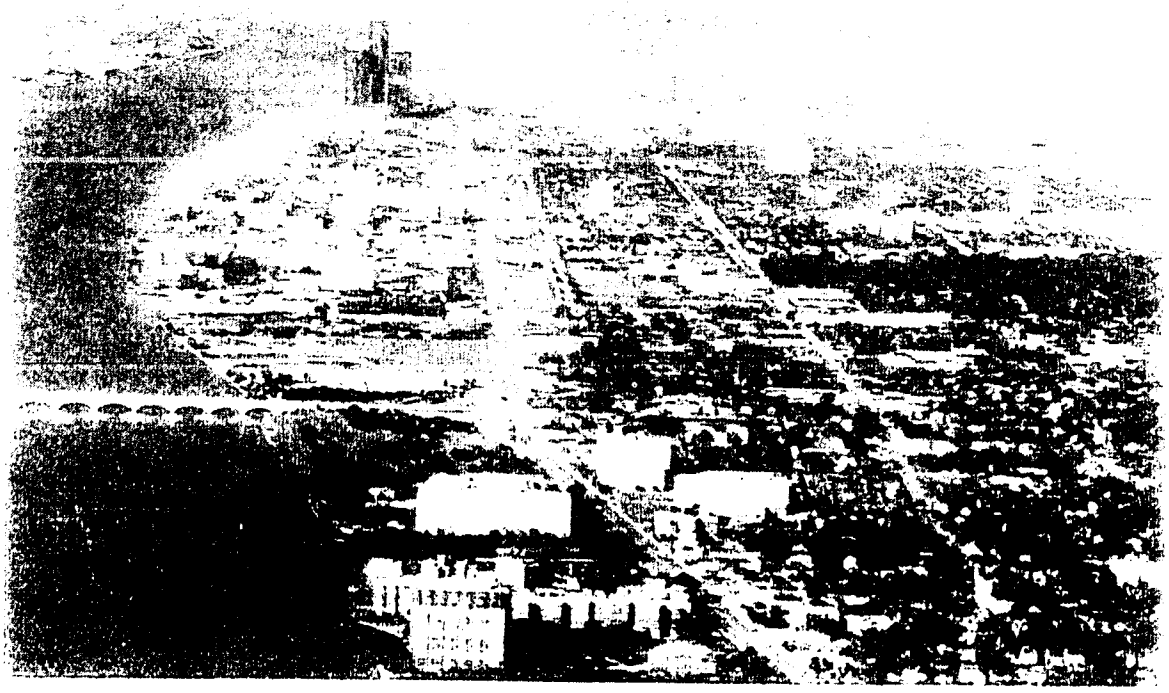


Figure 1.2

Aerial View of the Belle Isle Bridge, Detroit River, *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE*, Looking Towards Downtown

Figure 1.3

View of East Grand Boulevard and *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE* from Belle Isle Bridge

Church of the Messiah maintains relationships with several community, city and nationwide organizations. As described in the previous section, the Islandview Village Development Corporation (IVDC) is another local organization formed in 1991 as an outgrowth of the Advisory Development Committee for the *Island View Infill Housing Development Plan*. During the preparation of this plan there was a realization on the part of participants in the planning process that physical housing development was only one critical function of holistic community development and that for effective revitalization to occur, a broader, more comprehensive approach was needed. Other sister organizations of Messiah include The Episcopal Diocese of Michigan, Christ Church Episcopal, Grosse Pointe and St. Christopher House.

Over the course of the dissertation research, Church of the Messiah Housing Corporation (CMHC) and Islandview Village Development Corporation (IVDC) have been in the midst of developing a comprehensive and sustaining 'vision' for the larger community, and have wrestled with many community planning and 'holistic' development issues. This is an effort similar to the work of other community development organizations formed over the past thirty years in distressed portions of major cities. Some notable examples include the Bedford-Stuyvesant Restoration Corporation in Brooklyn, New York; Bethel New Life, Inc. in West Garfield Park in Chicago; Community Building in Partnership in Sandtown-Winchester in Baltimore; Comprehensive Community Revitalization Program in the South Bronx, New York and the Dudley Street Initiative in Boston. These organizations and programs are representative of an emerging field of urban initiatives devoted to developing effective comprehensive strategies for rebuilding urban communities. These initiatives focus on integrating reforms in dysfunctional social, economic, physical, and political systems

with an emphasis on the needs of children, families and communities. The specific geographically-targeted projects and broader initiatives provide a large and current body of knowledge and experience that is used to discern strategies and reasons for success or failure. These organizations and geographically-targeted initiatives also provide a basis for a comparison with the work of Church of the Messiah in *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE.*

Many themes and lessons, in a broad range of categories from physical-design to emotional-spiritual to social-economic-political, can be drawn from the experiences of the individuals and groups involved in this neighborhood. Many neighborhood revitalization concepts, theories, topics, issues and problems can be considered in this specific urban context. In the end, however, perhaps the most important and critical idea to attempt to observe and understand is the human growth and transformation process at work. While it is easier to observe the tangible physical changes underway and to perceive their impact, the effect of the improvements on the human dimension and quality of life are elusive and much harder to measure.

Apart from the human and physical threads running through all aspects of this study, there are several key issues being explored. These include the unique role played by religious institutions in community development, the history and maturation of the community development movement and its network of organizations, various techniques and approaches to resident participation and involvement, and the general nature and theory of comprehensive neighborhood rebuilding and transformation approaches. Through this exploration, a research process has begun which attempts to extract a series of elements of success and disappointment which can be used by those involved with the ongoing *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE* redevelopment as well as those

involved with other similar urban neighborhood revitalization efforts. Hopefully, it will also add to the understanding of this critical element of urban planning and design, and contribute to further education and research activity in this vital area of concern.

Research Objectives and Questions

The main objective of the study has been to expand our understanding and knowledge of the persistent problems in inner city neighborhoods and the use of comprehensive community building strategies as a model for improving the quality of life in these communities. This deeper comprehension of the field of urban neighborhood revitalization and close examination of the emerging initiatives and projects helps in the formulation of an improved community building model and in constructing a theoretical approach to this socially relevant work.

Some of the key questions examined are: What are the critical linkages between human and physical aspects of comprehensive community building? What are the community building lessons that can be learned from experiences in *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE*? What are some of the critical ingredients of success or failure in neighborhood transformation efforts? What strategies or approaches can be used to improve the neighborhood transformation process? How can the relationships and connections between physical design, social well-being and economic development be improved? Does the collective experience and success of this model lead to a verifiable theory of positive community change?

Research Relevance and Applications

The subjects of community building, resident empowerment and urban neighborhood revitalization are current priorities and major policy initiatives of the federal government. This is probably the most concentrated period of activity on an urban agenda or policy by the federal government since the late 1960's and early 1970's. Evidenced by a series of new initiatives, including the Empowerment Zone/Enterprise Communities program, the federal government, together with state and local governments, the university community, business and industry, private philanthropies and foundations, religious institutions, and many public and private organizations have recently been addressing housing and community development issues with a renewed spirit.

Given this political and institutional environment, this research is very timely and relevant. Hopefully, the research can contribute to the design of community rebuilding strategies to help resolve certain problems in urban neighborhoods and communities. Over the course of the research, technical assistance and information exchange activities have been provided related to improvement of the physical design and implementation of housing and neighborhood development plans in *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE*. Principles and guidelines that have been developed for particular application in *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE* can be useful to other neighborhoods and communities in Detroit and other neighborhood rebuilding initiatives.

In a sense, this research process has served as a form of 'community-based design planning'. It has been prepared not as a static one-dimensional process aimed at producing a product or report at the end of its schedule but as a dynamic multi-

dimensional effort that has taken place over an extended period of time. There were no specific deadlines, other than those imposed periodically by projects and the participants, in order to gain answers to specific questions and issues as they arose. The process is one of the products of this effort. Ideas and concepts based on the continuous meshing of data collection and analysis, practice, input and feedback from many different sources contributed to a conceptual framework for creating a theory of community design and neighborhood rebuilding on which future initiatives in other urban neighborhoods of the city and country can be formulated.

Research Methodology and Process

A combination of research approaches has been utilized in the course of the study. These include *action research* and *participant-observation*. The research design utilizes primarily *case studies*. This multi-instrument methodology is adapted from the social sciences, particulary anthropology and sociology, however it is becoming more popular in the environment-behavior field.

Specific research activities over the past three years during the dissertation phase have focused on the *case study* of a specific setting, the *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE* area of Detroit. These activities are informed and affected by a six year architectural and community planning role in this neighborhood and over twenty years of experience and involvement as a practicing architect and planner in urban redevelopment projects in Detroit and other cities.

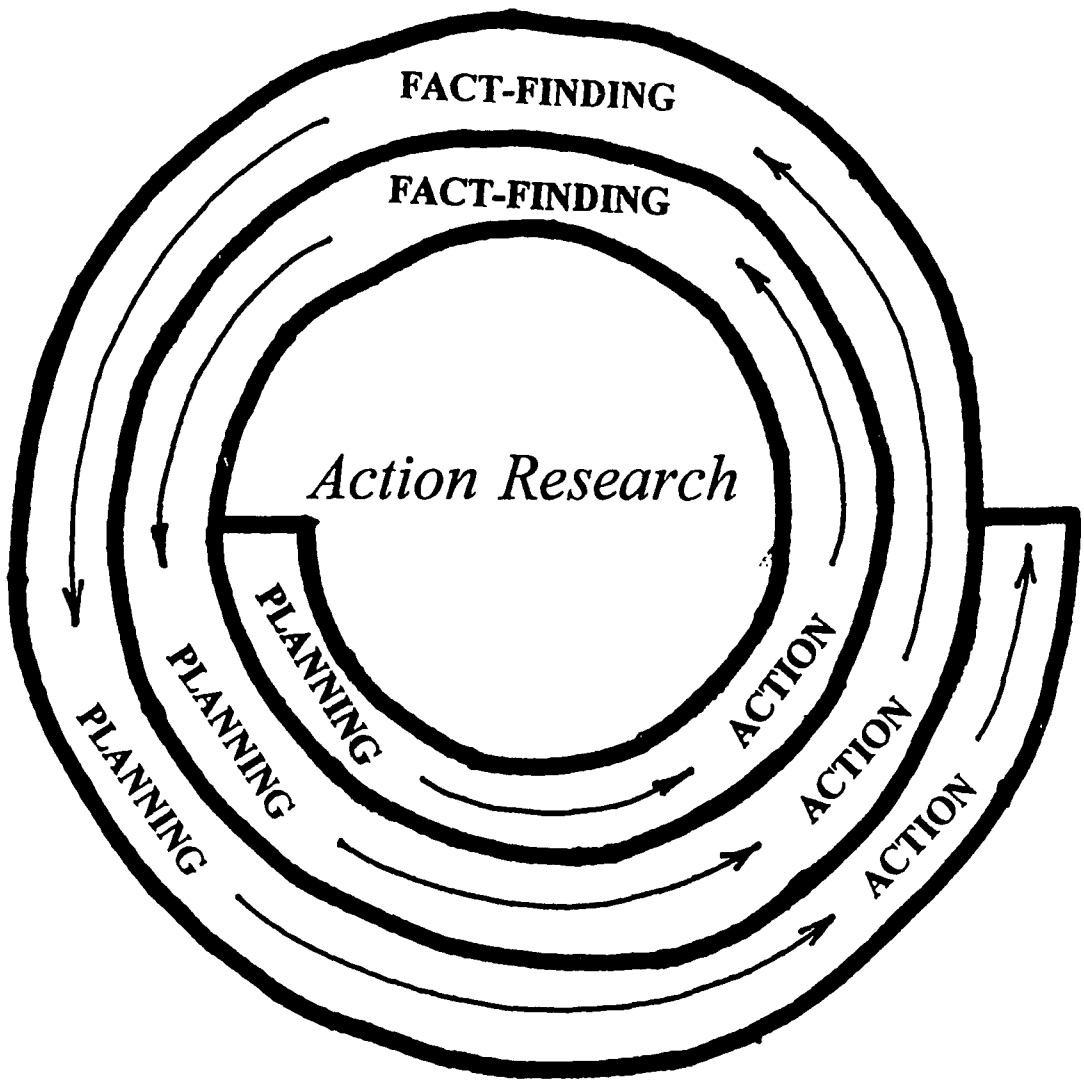
The *action research* model (Lewin, 1946)[9] is appropriately utilized in that the research is situated in a real setting with pragmatic needs. A valuable service is being provided while achieving scientific goals. This is a model that also relies heavily on participatory decision-making processes, a cyclical and spiral series of procedures and events that incorporates planning, fact finding, actions or execution, feedback and subsequent planning and action phases (Figure 1.4). Another aspect of action research is that over the course of the research, changes are made that have direct and lasting effects and consequences on the people involved in the project.[10] Our involvement has produced a series of tangible products and projects, producing significant effects in the neighborhood.

The *participant-observer* approach also effectively describes methodology utilized in the research. As a participant-observer in the neighborhood development process, in a position of consulting architect/community planner, a unique vantage point was achieved. This position provides a history of involvement in the planning process, an insider perspective as an active participant, a level of understanding of the fine-grained nuances of behavior and emotions of the participants, and a certain awareness and familiarity with the thought processes and actions of key individuals.

---

[9] Kurt Lewin (1890-1947) was a psychologist and considered a founder of experimental social psychology and also a founder of action research - research aimed at producing social changes by studying the social and psychological processes concerned. Lewin and his associates observed social interaction under controlled experimental situations, demonstrating the feasibility of adjusting the social environment experimentally and measuring group behavior within that environment objectively.

[10] From discussion of research strategies from John Zeisl's *Inquiry by Design*, 1981, p. 63.



"A spiral of steps each of which is composed of a
circle of planning, action and fact-finding as a result of the action"

Kurt Lewin, 1946

Figure 1.4

The Action Research Model

The participant-observer approach is a qualitative field method used in anthropology, often producing an "ethnography" or "neighborhood ethnography"[11]. However, the ethnographic approach undertaken in this research study differs from classic studies of this type such as *Middletown* (Lynd and Lynd, 1929) or *Talley's Corner* (Liebow, 1967) in that full-time residence or continual on-site participation did not occur. This is perhaps offset by the fact that involvement with the people and projects in *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE* has taken place for more than six years at a highly intensive, interactive level.

Grounded-Theory research strategies (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) have also been helpful in providing a framework for the study, given the necessity to relate different levels of analysis to each other and not to bound the phenomenon being studied by excluding significant contextual variables. In grounded research, one begins with a question about how a particular phenomenon works. The actual definition of the phenomenon and the main concepts and hypotheses grow out of experience with the phenomenon as it occurs in particular settings. Control or comparison groups come to be defined not prior to the study but as hypotheses emerge.

[11] Rochelle and Donald Warren define and utilize this approach as found in *The Neighborhood Organizer's Handbook*, Notre Dame, Indiana: Notre Dame Press, 1977, pp. 4-5, Chapter 8: pp. 167-196.

Research Chronology

The research process and methodology can be described by a series of chronological phases and activities that have been undertaken over the past six years relevant to this research, as follows:

PHASE I PRE-RESEARCH PRACTICE (1990-1992)

My personal and professional involvement with *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE* began in 1990 with our selection as architect/community planner to prepare an infill housing plan. This work provided us with an extensive degree of involvement with the community, through the Church of the Messiah Housing Corporation and an Advisory Development Committee formed to guide the planning project. Subsequently, plans for the first new infill housing project were prepared, funded and construction took place. This phase was characterized by on-site, frequent presence in the community through meetings, design and construction project observations including participation in Church of the Messiah, Messiah Housing Corporation and Islandview Village Development Corporation activities and planning processes.

PHASE II RESEARCH AND PRACTICE (1993-1995)

This phase began with my re-entry into the Doctoral Program and proceeded with various course projects and a pilot case study leading to dissertation proposal presentation and acceptance for candidacy in the summer, 1994. A series of field trips to comparable projects in other cities was made during 1994. Professional practice activities continued to be performed, including occupancy of the first phase of new housing, preparation of plans for the second phase of development, single family homes, public site improvements, institutional facilities expansion and miscellaneous other projects. A research agenda was formulated based on locally-identified and perceived problems and needs and open-ended interviews and meetings with key participants representing individual and organizational viewpoints.

PHASE III RESEARCH AND PRACTICE ANALYSES AND DOCUMENTATION (1995-1996)

This phase consisted of the detailed documentation of the practice and research activities: additional architectural and community planning activities; literature reviews; organized site visits, interviews and field observations; local and national conference attendance and presentations; systematic comparative analyses through case studies of similar projects; assimilation and interpretations of community data

gathered; analyses of lessons learned; community design theory development; final documentation of insights and results.

Additionally, traditional quantitative and qualitative architectural and urban planning/design research and analytical activities were also undertaken in the course of our work in *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE.* These included open-ended interviews and meetings with key informants representing individual and organizational viewpoints; reviews of relevant literature including books, published and unpublished reports, newspaper and magazine articles; numerous field surveys, site visits and on-site observations of the study area as well as visits to comparable areas in other cities - Baltimore, Chicago, Los Angeles, New York City, Newark; analyses and interpretations of community data - census data, historical information, land use survey; graphic documentation and analysis - cognitive and image mapping, statistical mapping.

The Case Study Method

Orum, et al, (1991) defines a case study "as an in-depth, multifaceted investigation, using qualitative research methods, of a single social phenomenon. The study is conducted in great detail and often relies on the use of several data sources."[12]

[12] From Anthony Orum et al in the "Introduction: The Nature of the Case Study" in *A Case for the Case Study*, Feagin, Joe R., Anthony M. Orun & Gideon Sjoberg, eds., The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1991, p. 2.

An in-depth case study is considered the preferred or only realistic strategy to develop elaborate theories in the field of urban design, where actions are highly situation dependent (Hack 1984). Hack further discusses this "research style" as a less understood research strategy than those borrowed from the laboratory. He calls for an improvement to the methods used as well as the volume of research in this area. Hack states that much of the current research "borders on storytelling rather than theory building". He suggests that research would be improved by organizing cases around questions rather than simply relating events, spelling out the lessons learned rather than leaving them for the audience to infer, documenting both input and results in enough detail so they can be compared, attempting to isolate the critical ingredients of success or failure; and most importantly, being explicit about the value frame within which the case is being documented.[13]

Catanese (1984) also calls for an increase in the quantity and quality of case studies. He asserts that "possibly the strangest void in urban planning research is that of case studies. With such a rich and variegated history, it would seem that many case studies would be available at a high level of quality and rigor. This is not the situation at present. Case studies tend to be incomplete, self-laudatory, and less than scholarly."[14]

---

[13] Hack, Gary, "Research for Urban Design", in *Architectural Research*, James C. Snyder, ed., Van Nostrand Reinhold, New York, 1984, pp. 125-143.

[14] Catanese, A.J., "Urban Planning Within Architectural Design Research", in *Architectural Research*, James C. Snyder, ed., Van Nostrand Reinhold, New York, 1984, pp. 146-160.

The case study research approach has a long history in the social sciences, notably sociology and anthropology. Feagin[15], et al, provide a thorough rationale for the use of the case study approach to studying social life. These researchers do not believe that this is the only method of conducting social research and argue for the use, when appropriate, of quantitative methods such as surveys (random-sample and population/censuses) or experiments typically conducted by psychologists and social psychologists.

Case studies fall under the category of qualitative research, within which there are several types of approaches, including ethnographies, examinations of life histories or total biographies of individuals, and social histories. Perhaps the most relevant for this study is ethnography, often called field research. Anthropologists are those who have most often undertaken this approach in which a single group of people is studied in detail over a long period of time. Firsthand observations of ways of lifestyle and rituals are made by researchers when they participate in the daily life activities of the group or people. Therefore the term *participant observation* is sometimes used to identify this form of research. William F. Whyte's (1943) classic study of street-corner life in East Boston[16] was an ethnography, replicated somewhat by Elliot Liebow (1967) with a different ethnic population.[17]

---

[15] Feagin, Joe R., Anthony M. Orun & Gideon Sjoberg, eds., *A Case for the Case Study*, The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1991, pp. 1-26.

[16] Whyte, William Foote, *Street Corner Society: The Social Structure of an Italian Slum*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943.

[17] Liebow, Elliot, *Talley's Corner: A Study of Negro Streetcorner Men*, Boston: Little Brown, 1967.

One of the most influential urban case studies was made by Robert Lynd and Helen Lynd (1929) of Muncie, Indiana and was called *Middletown*. This study is significant as the first example of holistic ethnographic research applied to an American city. It is also considered social history research and provided information on the range of customs in a middle-sized American city, suggesting theories and generalizations on how the process of modernization affected life in America. This work was used by later generations of researchers, including Floyd Hunter (1953) in Atlanta and Robert Dahl (1961) in New Haven.

One of the features and advantages of case studies is their holistic or organic approach. They allow for an examination of the complex web of interactions and networks within organizations and communities. Case studies allow an "up close and personal" view of individuals' motives that affect specific decisions and events. An analytical precision in recording socio-physical dimensions as a meaningful whole can be achieved, rather than a quantitative analysis of lifeless statistical units.

The case study approach allows for an unconstrained emergence of key problems and issues in the broad area of comprehensive neighborhood development. It is a free-association of connected ideas rather than a rigorously directed or systematic procedure of study. In this way perhaps the best and healthiest approaches and interpretations can come from within the community itself. This method may be likened to the psychotherapeutic approaches of therapists such as Carl Rogers, whose non-directive "client-centered" work seeks a unique relationship with each client and lets each person solve problems while seeking understanding and growth from within themselves. Rogers discusses observing the process of *becoming a person*, the process

by which an individual grows and changes in a therapeutic relationship.[18] Perhaps this concept can be translated into the process of *becoming a neighborhood*, with the objective of observing the growth and change taking place in the Islandview Village community.

Another way to look at this approach is as an *experiential learning* process - a process of learning and education while doing or acting. Our day-to-day work can be considered as a series of experiments that yield results requiring constant reflection and analysis in order to inform and revise a theoretical framework. Hack also discusses the learning that occurs via clinical as opposed to case study research. Case studies emphasize diagnosis and quick responses over carrying through an approach; clinical education is an inefficient and random way to require substantive knowledge; simulations can never be as persuasive in developing theories of action as actual role responsibility.[19]

Research Application in *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE*

It is difficult to fully comprehend the social and physical complexities and interrelationships at work in a large urban setting such as *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE* so we have concentrated on those interactions, events and activities that were experienced

---

[18] Adapted from Carl Rogers, *On Becoming a Person*, Part III, The Process of Becoming a Person, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1961.

[19] Hack, Gary, "Research for Urban Design", in *Architectural Research*, James C. Snyder, ed., Van Nostrand Reinhold, New York, 1984, p. 130.

through direct personal and professional involvements. These focused on the community development work by Church of the Messiah, Church of the Messiah Housing Corporation, and the Islandview Village Development Corporation. These are key local institutions and organizations in the community and are supported by a host of people and other institutions and organizations connected to the area geographically, financially or spiritually.

This field setting provided a natural laboratory in which ideas and concepts were explored and tested over the course of day-to-day routine interactions in meetings, discussions and specific project development activities with key participants.

Several visual images are provided on the following pages in order to convey the context of our work in *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE*. Figure 1.4 is a recent photo-collage of the block immediately across East Grand Boulevard from Church of the Messiah. It is the view one has upon leaving the Church sanctuary or its Annex building (the home office of the Messiah Housing Corporation). On the extreme left is an existing large residence that recently had a damaging fire and was rehabilitated by its owner with a new roof and dormer (a substantial reconstruction effort). The next building is a new (completed in 1993) 'quadruplex', a four-townhouse unit building developed as part of the Phase I Field Street Infill Housing Project and designed to be compatible with the pre-existing pattern. The next two existing buildings are to be renovated as part of the Phase II Housing Project which broke ground in Fall 1995. On the corner (East Grand Boulevard and East Lafayette Boulevard) is a vacant lot scheduled to be developed as part of the 'Lafayette Greenway' Public Improvements Project. Figure 1.5 is a rendering of the block as envisioned upon completion of the development work.

Figure 1.6 is a photograph of a block in *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE* showing the extent of vacant lots and the existing infrastructure of street, sidewalk, mature trees, and utilities. Figure 1.7 is a photograph of part of an adjacent block showing two existing residential structures, a large single family residence on the left (said to be one of the original homes in the Moses Field subdivision) and an adjacent rowhouse multiple unit residence.

Figure 1.8 is a photograph of 1450-52 Field, a duplex scheduled for renovation as part of the Phase II Housing Project. The building was carefully measured up and detailed architectural drawings prepared and bid to contractors. Last year, a van drove up to it during a normal day, proceeded to remove its masonry veneer, totally 'stripping' it of its brick. Within a few days, the structure began to collapse (Figure 1.9), and within a few weeks, a demolition contractor was hired to demolish and remove the dangerous structure. In one month, a building had gone from a solid structure destined to be two affordable housing units to another vacant lot (Figure 1.10). The positive result is that the lot will be the site of a new duplex (Figures 1.11).

Figure 1.5

East Grand Boulevard from Church of the Messiah Today

·ISLANDVIEW·VILLAGE·DETROIT·
·EAST·GRAND·BOULEVARD·FROM·THE·CHURCH·OF·THE·MESSIAH·

Figure 1.6

East Grand Boulevard from Church of the Messiah Tomorrow

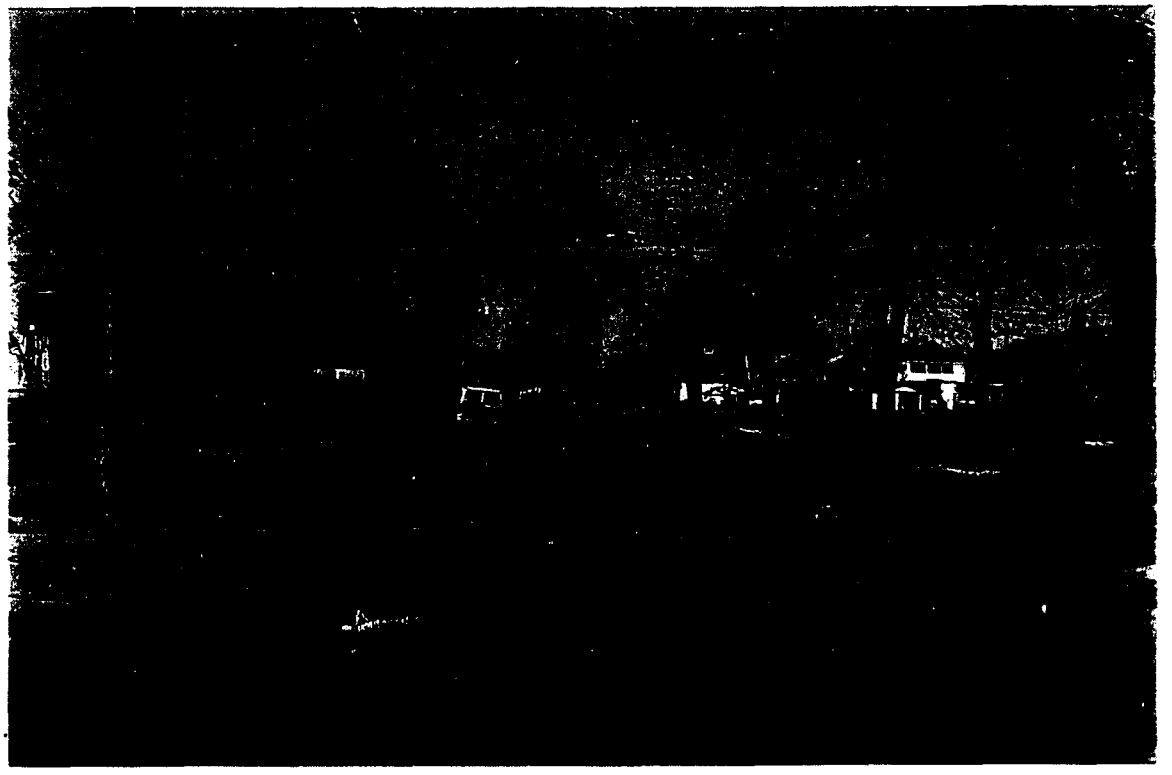


Figure 1.7

A Vacant Block in *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE*

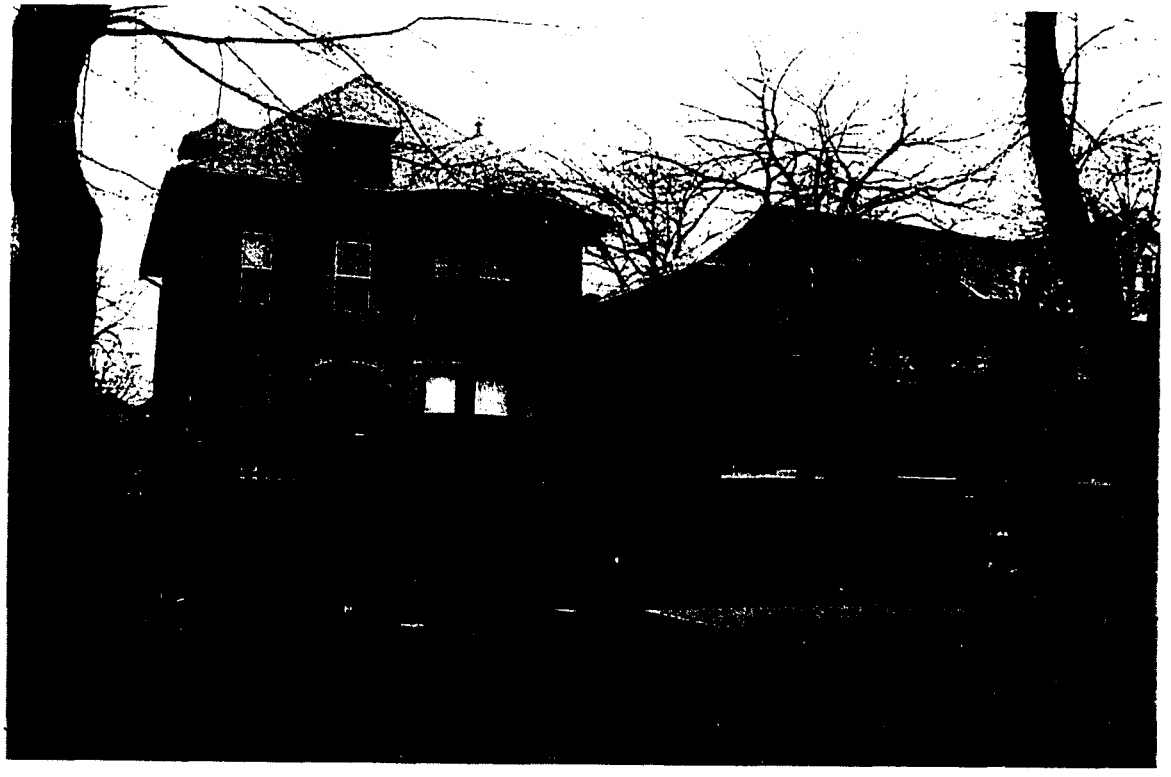


Figure 1.8

Existing Historic Residences on Field Street

Figure 1.9

1450-52 Field Boarded-up and Awaiting Renovation as Part of Phase II Project

Figure 1.10

1450-52 Field Stripped of its Brick, Beginning to Fall, and Awaiting Demolition

Figure 1.11

1450-52 Field Demolished

Figure 1.12

A New 1450-52 Field Duplex

Summary of Chapters

Chapter II provides general background and review of literature on specific topics discussed in the research, including the general problems of urban neighborhood decline, social and economic aspects of community development, relevant neighborhood planning and design theory and practice, issues related to housing and physical development, and the integration of these concerns into comprehensive community rebuilding strategies.

Chapter III discusses *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE* in detail, describing its historical context, and the transformations which have occurred in this community resulting from the involvement of key people, organizations and events.

Chapter IV is a summary of lessons learned from the research into specific problem and issue areas, the experiences in *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE,* as well as the study of comparable other projects and initiatives examined. This chapter begins the process of translating and applying the literature review, case study and participant-observer research into an initial formulation of a neighborhood transformation design model and theory.

Chapter V is a synthesis of the research data and analysis and provides a discussion of a practice model of neighborhood transformation design. It includes a description of the components and elements which comprise this model and an application process.

Chapter VI is the discussion of key concepts and theories that emerged from the research. It also provides a description of the relevance and application of the research and discusses future directions of exploration.

CHAPTER II

PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

O see our wretched plight.
The city lies in ruins, its gates destroyed by fire.
Come, let us rebuild the walls of Jerusalem and be rid of the reproach...

The Book Of Nehemiah

This chapter provides an overview of literature reviewed relevant to the research and presents discussions of key concepts and models from authors and projects. The objective was to gain background from work in the field in order to narrow the focus and better inform the neighborhood case study and model development. In order to provide a clearer definition and narrow the focus of topics, a series of more specific categorical areas have been defined. These categories coincide with the conceptual and organizational framework introduced in later chapters. Following a general discussion of urban neighborhood decline, the categories are: social aspects of community development, economic aspects of community development including affordable housing, urban neighborhood planning and design theory, and comprehensive community rebuilding strategies.

The problem of urban neighborhood decline is examined both from the perspective of some early social scientists as well as the perspective of more recent urban policy analysts and critics. Background issues such as population dynamics, postwar de-industrialization and suburbanization, persistent poverty, and crime help frame the scope of the problem.

In discussing the social aspects of community development, the focus is on identifying background theory, critical human needs and various approaches to rebuilding the human fabric. Historically, an understanding of *human ecology* has provided a theoretical base for social scientists trying to understand the processes and systems that form city patterns of life.[20] Current approaches to critical problems revolve around effective community organization, resident "empowerment" and "capacity building" in order to develop self-help strategies. An understanding of issues and dynamics related to children, youth and family life is critical to a comprehension of the state of urban neighborhoods and communities.

Community economic development is considered by some policymakers as the fundamental building block of a comprehensive transformation strategy. In addition to traditional capital development practices, other more human-oriented approaches such as sustainability and self-sufficiency are discussed. The lack of affordable housing is often considered the dominant urban problem. In the current reductionist political climate, it may soon become an explosive issue as a result of homelessness, rising rents and difficulty in achieving homeownership, especially among young families.

---

[20] The Chicago school of urban sociology in the 1920's and 1930's helped to develop this theoretical approach, including Robert Park, R.D. McKenzie, Louis Wirth and Ernest Burgess.

The history of urban neighborhood and community planning and design is filled with concepts, principles and programs, and some tragic mistakes only now being realized. Each generation of planners seems to bring a "new" idea or notion to the public table for consumption. Today, the classical design notions of the "new urbanists" have achieved celebrity, even including HRH Prince Charles as a chief proponent.[21] Specific neighborhood design approaches with multiple impacts such as "infill" and "safe neighborhoods" in the literature are analyzed.

The integration of all critical issue and problem areas into a coordinated strategy is the objective of comprehensive community rebuilding initiatives. Various models have been, or are now, in active implementation. A review of significant approaches and programs in various other communities helps us to understand the specific structure and rationale and begin to produce a comprehensive initiative to best serve the needs of urban neighborhoods such as *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE.*

The review of literature and collection of data in such broad and far-reaching areas as those outlined above has been pursued and documented as efficiently as possible. The objective has been to describe those pieces which are most relevant to the specific research and that can provide us with lessons to help formulate urban neighborhood transformation theory and strategies.

---

[21] Although a vocal supporter of the New Urbanism and its popular authors such as Leon Krier, who has been retained to design a new urbanist development by Prince Charles, more noteworthy is the Prince of Wales' participation and advocacy in the "community architecture" movement in England, where individuals and families are involved in the creation and management of their living environments.

Urban Neighborhood Decline and Decay

Cities have been devastated over the last 50 years by a series of events and trends, some sudden and cataclysmic such as the riots of the 1960's, others slower in development such as suburbanization, racial segregation and deindustrialization. As recognized in President Clinton's National Urban Policy Report,

> "Poor families and poor inner-city neighborhoods have become disconnected from the opportunities and prosperity of their metropolitan regions, the nation, and the emerging global economy. A vicious cycle of poverty concentration, social despair, continued outmigration, and fiscal distress in central cities undermines the ability of metropolitan regions to compete in the global economy, threatening the long-term prosperity of the nation."[22]

Urban decay has afflicted many areas of cities, bringing common ills of substandard housing, inadequate public services, inadequate school and recreation facilities and programs, poverty, unemployment, and the whole array of social and economic problems that pervade underpriveledged areas of the city. Urban areas experienced rapid and severe shifts in population density and economic activity, leaving visible voids of blight and emptiness - in many cases what can be called "see-through neighborhoods". This pattern can be easily identified by vacant and abandoned homes and blocks, unoccupied shops, commercial streets perforated with open lots and vacant or underutilized schools - all accompanied by significant decreases in financial investment and general public concern. The problem in urban areas has shifted from

---

[22] *Empowerment: A New Covenant With America's Communities: President Clinton's National Urban Policy Report*, U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Office of Policy Development and Research, July 1995, p. 2.

what to do about overcrowding to what to do about shrinkage, disconnectedness and abandonment.

The problems of the modern city and the decline of its neighborhoods is a topic that has evoked writings and analysis from numerous authors and historians transcending a variety of disciplines. Traditional disciplines such as history, sociology, psychology, literature and the arts have each addressed the city and its problems as an important subtopic.

An understanding of the root causes of urban neighborhood decline is an important first step towards comprehending the vast scope of the problem and determining basic reconstructive requirements. Literature was reviewed with an attempt to gain a balanced perspective among social, economic, physical and political factors and to establish the key interdisciplinary connections that require further exploration.

Friedrich Engels, Henry Mayhew, Charles Booth, and, one must add, Charles Dickens, carried out some of the first detailed investigations of London, England's social, psychological and structural problems in the early 1800's leading to one of the first major reform movements.[23] At the beginning of the twentieth century, the German School of Max Weber, Georg Simmel and Oswald Spengler theorized about the impact of the urban environment on patterns of human association and

[23] The classic scientific surveys were Friedrich Engels, The Condition of the Working Class in England; Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor*; Charles Booth, *Life and Labour of the People of London.* Charles Dickens expressed his critical views in novels such as *Dombey and Son, Our Mutual Friend, Little Dorrit,* and *Bleak House.*

consciousness.[24] In the 1920's and 1930's, the Chicago School drew from the German sociologists' writings and produced a collection of work led by Robert Park and Louis Wirth, that described the social psychology of urban neighborhood life in Chicago.[25]

Perhaps our greatest modern urban scholar and theorist has been Lewis Mumford (1895-1990). His diverse writings were dominated by his interest in the history of cities and the problems and possibilities of urban life.[26] He believed that "in rationally planned, moderately sized cities lay the answer to our urban problems" and vehemently challenged the enactment of federal urban renewal programs that would "wipe out on a greater scale than ever what is left of neighborly life, social cooperation, and human identity in our already depressed and congested urban areas".

The urban condition has been studied and documented by a series of social scientists, several using the ethnographic approach, including Whyte (1943), Jacobs (1961) and Liebow (1967). Population dynamics and social divisions have been documented by Glazer and Moynihan (1963) and the Kerner Commission (1968) that established the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders to investigate the

---

[24] William Sharpe and Leonard Wallock, "From 'Great Town' to 'Nonplace Urban Realm': Reading the Modern City", in Visions of the Modern City, ed. William Sharpe and Leonard Wallock, New York, 1983 and Baltimore, 1987), p. 3. Key writings are by Max Weber, *The City*, Georg Simmel, "The Metropolis and Mental Life".

[25] Robert Park began outlining his theory in the 1916 essay, "The City: Suggestions for the Study of Human Behavior in the Urban Environment"; Louis Wirth's 1938 article "Urbanism as a Way of Life" in the American Journal of Sociology expressed some of his theories on the essential nature of social life in the city.

[26] The key works by Lewis Mumford on contemporary problems include The Culture of Cities (1938), *The City in History* (1963), and the monumental two-volume *Myth of the Machine: I. Technics and Human Development* (1967), *II. The Pentagon of Power* (1970).

urban riots that began in Watts, Los Angeles[27] and spread to many major cities. The burning scenes repeated in 75 urban riots altered the consciousness of cities to places of deteriorating slums, poverty and dangerous crime and the rapid exodus of the white, middle income family to the suburb followed quickly.

Suburbanization became more rapid with new housing, schools, shopping centers and increasingly, jobs fleeing to the areas outside the old city limits. De-industrialization of the central city also occurred as manufacturers left their old multistory loft buildings for new "greenfield" locations for single-story assembly line efficiencies. Plant closings and shutdowns devastated the employment base and undermined the structure of neighborhood life and culture. A similar fate developed for large center city department stores, which left for suburban shopping centers and malls following their customers. In the 1970's, suburbanization of the black population also began to occur at fast rates and in high numbers (Chinitz, 1991), leaving central city neighborhoods with an intensified concentration of social and economic problems, transforming ghettos into slums.

Social Aspects of Community Development

In order to reverse the processes of urban decline and disintegration, social structures and systems need to be rebuilt. Connections between individuals, families,

[27] In April, 1992 rioting again broke out in Los Angeles following the acquittal of four white police officers accused of beating Rodney King, a black motorist, during an arrest. Fortunately, this "rebellion" did not spread to other cities but it was felt that national attention would again be focused on urban problems.

and institutions have frayed to the point of severe instability, particularly in poor inner-city neighborhoods. The major concern is still with persistent poverty and its geographic concentration in the inner city. Recent books such as by William Julius Wilson's *The Truly Disadvantaged, The Inner City, the Underclass, and Public Policy* (1987) have helped focus policy makers on the complexity of poverty-related problems and the effects on neighborhoods. He describes the social disorganization process:

> "The basic thesis is not that ghetto culture went unchecked following the removal of higher income families in the inner city, but that the removal of these families made it more difficult to sustain the basic institutions in the inner city (including churches, stores, schools, recreation facilities, etc.) in the face of prolonged joblessness. And as basic institutions declined, the social organization of inner-city neighborhoods (defined here to include a sense of community, positive neighborhood identification, and explicit norms and sanctions against aberrant behavior) likewise declined. Indeed, the social organization of any neighborhood depends in large measure on the viability of social institutions in that neighborhood."[28]

The goal must be the transformation of all social aspects of community life and creation of a sense of stability and security. Social community development[29] is a term which has been used to describe this process.

In this section, information on what constitutes social community development is explored: community organization, participation, structure and involvement of those affected by the rebuilding process are critical factors. The nature of social problems and needs faced by individuals and communities, and areas of intervention such as leadership development, church-based development, crime prevention and security,

---

[28] William Julius Wilson, *The Truly Disadvantaged*, University of Chicago Press, p. 144.

[29] Local Initiatives Support Corporation, *Building Community: A Report on Social Community Development Initiatives*, New York, 1993.

child and family development, education and child care, health and human services are not as fully discussed, but are equally critical elements of social community development.

Community Disorganization and Organization

Social *disorganization* is a process occurring in many low-income communities, with indicators such as escalating crime, drug-trafficking, unemployment, teen pregnancy, high school dropout rates reaching critical levels. The traditional role of the community and neighborhood as an organizing and connecting force for families and institutions is in many cases, nonexistent or severely disintegrated.

The nature of community *organization*, decision-making, power structure and participation in planning and implementation is a critical component of the community development process. In order to understand the question of community organization, one must first understand the nature of the individual experience in the urban setting and the social psychology of urban neighborhood life. As discussed previously, Park and the influential Chicago School that included Burgess, McKenzie and Wirth built upon the work of Booth in London in the 1880's and Simmel in Berlin, and in 1925 published the first collection of essays on the sociology of the city. Park recognized the neighborhood as the "simplest and most elementary form of association" in the city.

In order to make this understanding relevant to existing urban neighborhood conditions, one must also understand the black experience. DuBois (1899), Odum (1910), Frazier (1932), Myrdal (1944) researched black family and ghetto life patterns.

Moynihan (1965) and Rainwater (1970) continued the study of family structure problem, indicating little change from the earlier identified cycles of unemployment, family disintegration and social disorganization. Wilson (1978) and Farley (1984) produced major studies of black progress, Wilson concluding that class is more important than race in determining access to privelege and power and Farley arguing that sex, not class is the main factor in defining the underclass, demonstrated by the rise of female-headed households in poverty.

> "The central problem of the sociologist of the city is to discover the forms of social action and organization that typically emerge in relatively permanent, compact settlements of large numbers of heterogeneous individuals."
>
> Louis Wirth, 1938

One of the issues of concern in urban research is the social psychology of neighborhood life. In order to properly deal with the question of community organization, it seems one must understand the nature of individual experience in the urban setting and how the cognitions, beliefs and behaviors of people are shaped.

Probably the first collection of writings on the city that one could term "social science" was that of the "Chicago School" led by Robert Park (1952). The central work of the group was a series of classic demographic and ethnographic descriptions of Chicago in the first third of the century. The theoretical ideas about urban life and ways drew on the German sociologist Georg Simmel (1903) and were best expressed by Louis Wirth (1938). In Wirth's statement, the essential nature of the city - population size, density and heterogeneity - was described as producing a series of psychological and social consequences, in two ways:

> 1. On the individual experiential level, urban life surrounds the resident with a constant bombardment of stimuli: sights, sounds, people, and social demands for attention, concern, and action. In response to this overstimulation, coping

mechanisms are brought into play to defend the organism. Basically, they are means of isolating him from his environment and from other people. The urbanite becomes aloof from others, superficial in his contacts with them, and blasè, sophisticated, and indifferent to the events which occur about him. His relationship to others are restricted to specific roles and tasks in a businesslike way (in contrast to the personal relationships of the small town). Thus, the urban individual is estranged from his fellow man.

2. On the aggregate level, the concentration of great numbers, in conjunction with economic principles of competition and comparative advantage, leads to a multifaceted differentiation, or diversification. The larger the community, the more divided and specialized is the labor, the greater the number and variety of social groups, and the greater the differences among neighborhoods. This fractionation, combined with a psychological fractionation of individual's attention, prevents the existence of a "community" in which people are bound by common social ties and understandings. To hold such a splintered society together at all, different social mechanisms are needed and do arise. Within this "noncommunity", the primary social groups that tie the individual and society together, particularly the family, are also weakened. The individual's diversified interests, associations, and locales draw him or her away from the family. The formal institutions that partly supplant these primary groups are, in most cases, inadequate to avoid a state of anomie - a condition of society in which social bonds between individuals and their groups are weak, and the norms of proper and permissible behavior are also weak. Such a state of anomie results in social and personality disorganization, deviance, and individual isolation.

Thus Wirth predicted that the urban experience would generate a series of interrelated social-pyschological phenomena, including relationships that are impersonal, superficial, transitory, anonymous, competitive, secularized, exploitive and depersonalized, among others.

This theoretical perspective had been the dominant one in sociology until the 1950's when it increasingly came under attack by a group of urban ethnographers (Lewis, 1965 and Gans, 1962) who based their arguments on the "re-discovery" of kinship, social ties, and effective norms in certain urban communities. They argued that the ecological factors of numbers and space were unimportant in determining social-psychological consequences and what matters is class, ethnicity and life-cycle.

The goal of community organization is to provide residents with a chance to develop their potential and to grow into an effective organization. Effective community organizations in a democracy requires a delicate balance between self-development, freedom and commitment to the common welfare. The family and community are the two major "environments" which can help or hinder this development.

As Louis Wirth pointed out,

> "There is more than an accidental connection between the words community, common and communication."

Communities are based on communication and communication requires common values and ideas. This principle also works in reverse. Common ideas and values are facilitated if there are means of communication and strong community facilitates communication among its members. In looking at this relationship in modern society, however, we have to realize that our society today is characterized by the mobility of people and therefore the old "village community or nationality parish" of the past should not and cannot provide us with the ideal to be obtained in the metropolitan area. Instead, in the metropolitan area, the strength and health of a community depends on the strength and stability of the community institutions. In the years ahead, it is unlikely that cities will achieve stable populations. People will continue to move. Because of this, however, it becomes even more important that people be able to establish community ties effectively and quickly. Community institutions have to be capable of outreach and continuous renewal in this situation.

The study of community organization is related to several theoretical frames of reference. These include theories and strategies such as the Alinsky's agenda (1946), Lewin's field theory (1951), Hunter's power structure theory (1953), Lippit's planned

change (1958), Dahl's power pyramid (1961), Banfield's *Political Influence* (1961), R. Warren's voluntary participation (1963), Davidoff's advocacy planning (1965), Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation (1969), and Burke's participatory approach (1979). Warren and Warren (1977) also provided a practical guide to understanding and classifying neighborhoods, determining leadership styles, and planning neighborhood organizing tactics.

One of the oldest and most successful community organizing philosophies is held by the Industrial Areas Foundation (IAF), established in 1940 by Saul Alinsky, who created "People's Organizations" in the urban slums, including the Back of the Yards Neighborhood in Chicago. Alinsky's book, *Reveille for Radicals*, was an account of his work in this neighborhood and his manifesto on organizing for change.[30] The organization is still very active and successful, with 28 IAF organizations nationwide, notably in East Brooklyn's Brownsville and East New York sections having established Nehemiah Homes (2,100 low-income single family homes) and Baltimore where BUILD (Baltimoreans United in Leadership Development) was established and is now part of the Sandtown-Winchester Neighborhood Transformation project. Most IAF organizations are made up of members of multi-denominational groups of religious institutions, with membership crossing all ethnic, racial, economic and political lines. The lasting successes of the community organizational practices of the IAF in many cities highlights the role that religious institutions can play in community development initiatives.

---

[30] From *Organizing for Change: IAF 50 years*, published by the Industrial Areas Foundation, Franklin Square, New York, 1990.

An examination of the state of community organization today should include a discussion of the relationship between the criminal justice system, its prisons and the community. This connection between the inmate of the prison system and the home community is strong. The prison and its 'community' culture have essentially become an extension of an inmates' home community and part of the life cycle. Many youths float between prisons and neighborhood life almost seamlessly and social interventions will need to consider this reality. Much of this is due to the sheer magnitude of the problem, especially among inner city youth.

The Milton Eisenhower Foundation reported on the state of America's urban youth,

> "...Because the inmates were disproportionately young, in many ways prison building became the American youth policy of choice over the mid-1980s and early 1990s...[Because they were disproportionately youth of color,] in some ways prison building became part of the nation's civil rights policy. Given that the population in American prisons more than doubled over the decade, while funding for housing for the poor was cut, incredibly, by more than eighty percent from 1978 to 1991 [after accounting for inflation], and given that the cost of a new prison cell in New York State was about the average cost of a new home purchased in the U.S. nationally, in some ways prison building became the American low-income housing policy of the 1980s."[31]

Community Participation

One of the goals of community organization is community participation. Community participation is a broadly defined concept and its meaning can shift dependent on the orientation of study approach. For the social worker or political

---

[31] Lynn A. Curtis and Vesta Kimble, *Investing in Children and Youth, Reconstructing Our Cities: Doing What Works to Reverse the Betrayal of American Democracy*, Washington, D.C.: The Milton S. Eisenhower Foundation, 1993, pp. 12-14, 157-58.

scientist, participation may be seen as a means toward social action and change, empowerment and engagement, leadership or organizational development or conflict resolution. For the planner, architect or designer, participation may be focused on project advocacy, user input into the decision-making process regarding an issue such as housing site location, or as part of the creative process of design.[32]

Consensus organizing is a phrase used for a working model that addresses the socio-economic disorganization and isolation that is at the core of today's distressed neighborhoods.[33] This fundamental problem of isolation from the mainstream economy is approached through a program of leadership development within depressed communities coupled with collaboration and alliance with a city's economic power interests - business, government, foundations, civic leaders. It is an approach which has been used to promote economic development as discussed in the following section.

The use of computer networking opens a new area of possibilities for communication, information sharing, and breaking down barriers to strengthen community ties. The potential of this technology is beginning to be felt in the community development movement with the establishment of computer forums linking community-based agencies, service providers, research centers, advocacy organizations, grassroots agencies, national membership organizations, and policy makers.[34]

---

[32] For more discussion of community and citizen participation, see p. 67.

[33] From Consensus Organizing Institute: Concept and Background Paper, July 1994.

[34] The HandsNet Comprehensive Strategies Forum is one example of this type of computer forum, managed by Chapin Hall Center for Children at the University of Chicago.

Economic Aspects of Community Development

Much urban revitalization theory and practice is based on the notion that the future health of a neighborhood is dependent primarily on improving its economic base. The goal of community economic development is to increase the level of financial power and resources through creation of locally owned corporations and businesses providing goods and services as well as jobs for local residents. This is accomplished through housing development, industrial, hi-tech or other business and commercial development. The key to many of these programs are "bottom-up", grass-roots strategies rather than "trickle-down" economic policies of the past.

This topic has received much attention and debate recently with the advent of the federal Empowerment Zone/Enterprise Communities program. Nicholas Lemann suggested in a highly controversial article in *The New York Times* (January, 1994) that economic development in the ghettos is a myth and that the new federal initiative will likely fail, as other Great Society programs such as the War on Poverty and Model Cities have failed in the past to resurrect inner city neighborhoods. This view was met by strong reactions from Vice President Gore and other prominent activists in the community development movement (Zdenek, Sleeper, Hughes in *Shelterforce*, 1994).

The fundamental problems that face low-income communities include lack of control over land, housing and capital. This is a result of practices, institutions and values that promote economic injustice by limiting access to capital. Loans to acquire and develop property are crucial but impossible to obtain. Land and housing are generally unaffordable commodities as market competition for limited space often drives land and housing prices beyond the reach of low-income people. Housing is

treated not as a necessity to which all must have access but as a commodity to be claimed by the highest bidder. In low-income communities, much property and businesses are absentee-owned. As consumers and tenants, residents pay high prices without gaining security or the opportunity to build equity in their homes. The money they spend flows out of their community. Individually and collectively they cannot control their economic destinies.

Community-Based Economic Development Models

Neighborhood self-sufficiency and self-containment is therefore a critical goal of community economic development, through community-based strategies and activities such as housing and commercial development and management, microenterprise and business incubator development, industrial retention and industrial development aimed at emerging urban technologies (waste recyling, material resource recovery, environmental engineering for site reclamation), community development bank creation for attraction of investment funds and reinvestment of locally generated capital. A theoretical framework for this approach was posed by Schumacher (1973)[35], who integrated ecology, small-scale technology, and a human-orientation into an economic development theory.

Methods and programs that support these goals and strategies include approaches to ownership that empower low-income individuals and communities such as community land trusts, cooperatives and mutual housing associations, and the

[35] E. F. Schumacher, *Small is Beautiful: Economics as if People Mattered*, Harper and Row, New York, 1973.

channelling of capital from socially concerned investors into community development efforts through federal low-income housing tax credits. Other legislative tools include the Community Reinvestment Act and the National Affordable Housing Act.

The medieval village, where the church was the center of life, maintained common ownership of land. This was a model found in the early American New England village as well, where common land ownership and the equality that came with it was part of the operating philosophy. The Islandview Village Community Land Trust has been formed with some of these objectives in mind. Cooperative movements have also played an important role in many community development projects. There is a strong historical basis for this connection, since many early cooperatives were developed in many cases on a whole village model with characteristics such as common land ownership and common economic activities such as farming, arts, crafts and furnishings. These included religious-based communal societies such as Shaker or Amish, English utopian socialist and arts movements led by William Morris or Ebeneezer Howard's Garden City movement[36]. These evolved into new towns, villages and societies that held common ownership of land and production facilities, and a certain sharing in the economic activity. Examples of these include the Garden Cities of England, Welwyn and Letchworth, Gustav Stickley's furniture cooperative near Syracuse, NY.

Many believe that for successful restoration of urban neighborhoods to take place, community development based on the acquisition of economic power must play a key role. There are several economic conditions within American urban communities

[36] See next section on Urban Neighborhood Planning and Design for a discussion of Howard and the Garden City Movement.

which make them distinct from the general American society. Perhaps the most important characteristic is the general lack of community control and the absentee ownership of business establishments in these areas. Local businesses are owned in large numbers by individuals who are not residents of the community. Another factor is the relatively low per-capita income of residents due to the fact that many are unskilled, cannot find ample work, and wages are low. Still another characteristic of urban communities is the small amount of money that is saved, and the general lack of local investment with the little money that is saved. There is a strong capital outflow, or income drain of the local economies. Therefore, there is no "multiplier effect" in the flow and use of money within the community. Thus, too much of the income produced within the community is not recirculated in the form of increased consumer purchasing, nor invested for expansion or development of community institutions.

Important to a community development scheme should be the reversal of the income drain that takes place in urban neighborhood areas. If the leakage of the community's disposable income is not stopped, it will be impossible for the ordinary economic and employment multipliers to work for the benefit of the residents.

Community Development Corporations (CDCs)

An approach to solving this grave condition has been to utilize the community-based development corporation in the "community building" process. The Ford Foundation was an early and still influential player in this agenda through programs such as Gray Areas, Neighborhood and Family Initiative, and support of some of the first Community Development Corporations (CDC's) in the country. These included

the Bedford-Stuyvesant Restoration Corporation in Brooklyn, NY inspired by Robert Kennedy and the Opportunities Industrialization Centers of Rev. Leon Sullivan in Philadelphia. Peirce and Steinbach (1987), Shiffman and Motley (1990), Chaskin (1992) have chronicled the origins and roles of CDC's in the social building process.

Experience over the last thirty years suggests that a great impact on problems of distressed urban neighborhoods can be made by locally based, multi-purpose institutions rather than from government acting directly. These institutions, called community development corporations, succeeded as a result of early and continued support including grants for administration and project activities, equity and debt capital on subsidy terms, and technical and managerial assistance. Although no coherent theory of development or redevelopment for depressed urban areas has been offered to substantiate this movement, there is now an evolving CDC model that works in revitalizing low-income urban neighborhoods.

The CDC is a tax-exempt corporation that operates programs aimed at both immediate relief of severe social and economic disadvantage and at eventual regeneration of its community. Its programs are usually funded by grants or investments from government and the private sector; and they seek primarily to increase jobs and income, to improve housing and to secure better services from local government, business, and utilities, and to foster a sense of hope in communities that have been stagnating or deteriorating. Although governed by boards representing coalitions of local interests, the most effective CDCs are run by strongly individualistic executives who have demonstrated ability to devise programs, attract

funds, inspire co-workers, earn the respect of people in the community, and harmonize conflicting forces.[37]

In spite of great strides over the last 30 years, there is still a shortage of able groups or organizations capable of carrying out the necessary development activities required for the enormous task of neighborhood redevelopment. There is little motivation for the traditional private entities to become involved in this development process. However, one of the most promising approaches involves the non-profit developer in combination with branches of government and the private sector to accomplish this difficult task. Often religious institutions, one of the most common and stable community-based organizations are the leaders of the non-profit development team.

After the urban riots beginning with Watts in 1965, Senator Robert F. Kennedy of New York became involved with the issue of how to better channel resources, whether they be public assistance through government or private into renewal of urban areas. He recognized the flaws or programs such as the 1950's urban renewal and other liberal efforts such as the "war on poverty" and saw the need for concrete solutions to problems - a better place to live or a convenient place to shop. Also, the method of accomplishing these concrete objectives was important. Rather than outside development and delivery of these goods and services, new economic bases could be created within the community by developing these facilities by local people and resources. The key event launching the modern Community Development Coporation (CDC) movement was a visit to Bedford-Stuyvesant by Kennedy in 1966 to tour the

---

[37] *Community Development Corporation: A Strategy for Depressed Urban and Rural Areas*, A Ford Foundation Policy Paper, New York, 1973.

dilapidated streets. As a result, direct federal aid to a series of local organizations was begun, with the objective of combining social and economic programs to raise incomes, create jobs and generate enterprises in poor neighborhoods.

The idea of CDCs was publicly supported by a series of federal actions and programs. The first of these was the Special Impact Program (Title 1-D) enacted in the 1966 legislation of the Economic Opportunity Act. The objective was to find and build local organizations that could implement effective programs, in particular, focusing on minority economic development. Other programs that grew out of federal efforts in housing added to CDC potential during the late 1960's. These were the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) Model Cities Program and subsidies provided under the Omnibus Housing Act of 1968. The Community Self-Determination Bill introduced in the Senate in July 1968 added a measure of support to the idea of CDCs but was not enacted. This bill would have chartered CDCs that would draw on a nationwide community development bank.[38]

In a 1995 Census[39], the concrete achievements of a national network of CDCs were surveyed, concluding that there were 2,000 to 2,200 active organizations, having

---

[38] One of the most clearest studies of the history of the community development corporation movement is *Corrective Capitalism: The Rise of Community Development Corporations*, prepared by Neal R. Peirce, the syndicated columnist, with Carol Steinbach, for the Ford Foundation. The sponsorship of this study by the Ford Foundation was fitting since it played such an important role in the origins and progress of the community development movement since the early 1960's. The Ford Foundation was one of the first supporters to join the federal government in supporting several first generation CDCs in areas such as Bedford-Stuyvesant in Brooklyn, NY and Watts in Los Angeles.

[39] The Census survey period covered projects completed as of the end of 1993. It was documented in *Tying It All Together: The Comprehensive Achievements of Community-Based Development Organizations*, a publication of the National Congress for Community Economic Development (NCCED), Washington, D.C., written by Carol F. Steinbach, 1995.

produced 400,000 units of affordable housing, 23 million square feet of commercial and industrial space, loaned $200 million to business enterprises, and created 67,461 full-time jobs (not including jobs due to construction activities).

Affordable Housing Development

It is generally acknowledged that an affordable housing crisis still exists, both locally and nationwide. Drier and Atlas (1989) predicted that it would become the most explosive domestic issue of the 1990s as a result of rising homelessness, skyrocketing rents, and a decline in homeownership, particularly among young families. The lack of supply of decent, safe housing for low-income people and increasingly middle-class people is one of the fundamental urban problems. The nature of the current affordable housing problem is complex with key issues including a legacy of drastic cutbacks in public funding of subsidized housing in all categories throughout the Reagan-era 1980s.

The production of affordable housing by community development corporations has been the cornerstone of effective neighborhood transformation efforts. Even the most critical of current federal efforts at urban revitalization (Lemann, 1994) have acknowledged that this aspect of policy is effective and should be supported and encouraged. Estimates are that there are between 3,000 to 5,000 CDC's now operating in urban and rural areas of the country (Peirce and Steinbach, 1987) developing an estimated 20-30,000 units per year nationwide (HUD/Abt Associates, 1993). In addition to housing construction for all population needs, CDC's are involved in public infrastructure improvements, commercial and industrial developments, health centers,

community centers and other facilities development in support representing the full range of neighborhood needs and requirements.

Much attention has been given to the barriers to affordable housing creation, including lack of federal funding, bank redlining practices, high costs of construction, lengthy timeframes for the development process. A growing network of organizations maintain advocacy for improvement of housing conditions, expressed in publications by groups such as The Enterprise Foundation (*Network News*) and Local Initiatives Support Corporation, Center for Neighborhood Technology's *Neighborworks*, National Housing Institute's *Shelterforce*, national organizations such as the American Institute of Architects, National Association of Home Builders, Center for Community Change, National Housing Law Project, National Low Income Housing Coalition, and many university-based research centers.

Implementing Housing and Economic Development

Many initiatives, programs, strategies and projects have been initiated to create the economic opportunities in distressed communities so critical to revitalization. Several methods of building a firmer economic development base have been utilized in *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE* or are under consideration. These include community land trusts and other innovative approaches to ownership that empower low-income individuals and communities and the channelling of capital from socially concerned investors into community development efforts. The Federal Low-income Housing Tax Credits have assisted the creation of capital for this purpose. The Community Land Trust is a property ownership model that provides neighborhood-based land control

insuring access to land for long term community development objectives and avoids use of land for private speculative gain. Other legislative tools supportive of housing and economic community development include the Community Reinvestment Act and the Empowerment Zone/Enterprise Communities program and state and federal Enterprise Zones.

The National Affordable Housing Act is the most important housing legislation in more than 15 years. A fundamental part of this federal housing policy is the active role expected of community development corporations and non-profit housing organizations in producing and preserving housing. It recognizes and fosters the kinds of public/private and comunity partnerships that have emerged over the past decade and the important connection between housing, neighborhood stabilization, and social service provision.

A current priority at the national level is increased homeownership[40] with the goal to raise the level to an all time high of 67.5% (the rate is currently 65%) by the year 2000 by adding eight million new families to the rolls. Part of this goal would be met with a substantial increase in low- to moderate-income homeowners.

---

[40] *The National Homeownership Strategy: Partners in the American Dream* was prepared by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development in May 1995, representing an effort to boost the overall level of homeownership, especially among low- and middle-income families, racial and ethnic minorities, families with children, and young adults. This strategy is also linked to the national strategy of helping revitalize distressed urban neighborhoods through comprehensive initiatives.

Urban Neighborhood Planning and Design

The problem of urban neighborhood redevelopment has troubled urbanologists since the first recognition of decline and decay. The teeming ghettoes of the late 19th century and early 20th were the first manifestations of this problem in modern times and early reforms focused their solutions on dispersal as a method of solving the problem (Riis, Astor, Garden Cities).

> "Some of the early solutions were experiments in housing and planning in planned suburbs such as Sunnyside Gardens and Forest Hills Gardens in New York, Radburn in New Jersey and later Fresh Meadows in Queens, New York. These were idealistic and innovative ventures that expressed a utopian notion that better housing might create a better society. These projects represented American tests of the garden-city theories of Ebeneezer Howard, the English city planner, who argued in favor of new towns with relatively low densities and open space as an alternative to traditional cities." [41]

The early utopian town and city planning theories in England and Scotland of Ebenezer Howard (*Garden Cities of To-morrow*, 1898), Patrick Geddes (*Cities in Evolution*, 1915), Raymond Unwin with Barry Parker (*Nothing Gained by Overcrowding!*, 1912) are the primal studies. In America, the Garden-City tradition was popularized in writings by Lewis Mumford and translated into developments by the Regional Planning Association during the 1920's, consisting notably of architects Clarence Stein and Henry Wright. At this time, the neighborhood spirit was also captured fully by Clarence Perry, a sociologist-planner who worked for the Russel Sage Foundation in New York, developer of Forest Hills Gardens in Queens, NY. It is at Forest Hills Gardens that Perry developed the concept of the "neighborhood unit"

---

[41] Goldberger, Paul, *On the Rise*, Penguin Books, New York, N.Y., 1983.

(1929). Mumford (1954) was also a proponent of the neighborhood and the neighborhood unit as a basis for planning, followed by the popular work by Jane Jacobs (1961).

Background Theories and Concepts

While housing and urban design is a topic well covered in the literature, affordable housing design, community/neighborhood rebuilding and community design is a less studied subject. Early urban form and growth analyses by Burgess (1925), Hoyt (1939), and Harris and Ullman (1945) established theories related to the forces that shaped the urban environment. Lynch (1960, 1992), Halprin (1969), Clay (1973), and Greenbie (1981) have more recently explored basic urban form and spatial concepts. Wates and Knevitt (1987), Lozano (1990), Hester (1975, 1990) have focused on community design and architecture. Katz (1994), Calthorpe (1993), Solomon (1992), Kreiger (1991), Van der Ryn and Calthorpe (1986), Krier (1984) have written on the "new urbanism", "pedestrian pockets", "traditional neighborhood development" and transit-oriented development". Aberley (1994), Engwicht (1993), Water, Arkin, Crenshaw (1992) have documented ecological or "sustainable" city and community building approaches.

Ernest Burgess' *concentric zone hypothesis* described the growth of a city in terms of five concentric rings that emanated from the central core or business district (zone I); a factory zone/zone in transition (II); zone of workingmen's homes (III);

residential zone (IV); and commuters zone (V)[42]. Homer Hoyt produced a *sector theory* that found that areas of residence grew in pie-shaped sectors instead of Burgess' rings. One can chart the pattern of urban decline in either of these theories by following the chronological path of either the rings or sectors. In Detroit, urban growth can be analyzed through both of these theories. Concentric zones developed and were identified as 'the inner city, middle city and outer city'[43]. The 'middle city' between the central core and the edge of the city is the urban zone which has experienced much of the severe decline and has received the least redevelopment attention through urban redevelopment activities. *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE* is an area that falls in this middle ring of decay.

The Neighborhood Unit

In order to appropriately address the problems of neighborhood rebuilding, it is necessary to understand the notion of the 'neighborhood unit', and try to understand exactly what it is we are trying to rebuild. A one-dimensional view of the neighborhood is as a physical, geographical area targeted for development activity consisting of various land uses. A more inclusive, holistic perspective defines neighborhood as a complex social, economic, and cultural organization of people and

---

[42] The source of this theory is Ernest W. Burgess. 1945, 51. "The Growth of the City: An Introduction to a Research Project" in The City, edited by Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess, 47-62. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1925, found in William G. Flanagan, *Urban Sociology: Images and Structure*, Needham Heights, MA: Allyn and Bacon, 1990.

[43] Found in a summary report of Detroit's Community Renewal Program, *Detroit: The New City*, prepared in 1966 as part of a study of the urban renewal program and needs and resources.

resources. Traditionally, this concept of networked individuals, associations and institutions is what is termed a 'community'.

Kretzmann and McKnight (1987, 1990, 1993)[44] have defined a model for rebuilding neighborhoods or communities based on the existing "assets", or from the "inside out". This model of community is predominantly a social construct of a place consisting of an association of families, friends, neighbors, block clubs, civic groups, local businesses, churches, unions, local government and media.

Historically, the first clear statement of the notion of neighborhood is attributed to Clarence Perry (1929). It evolved from the reforming spirit of the garden city movement and was a reaction against the drabness of industrial worker's housing and the uniformity of the speculative builder's suburbs. Perry was a sociologist-planner who worked as a community planner for the Russel Sage Foundation in New York. He was also interested in a movement to develop local schools into community centers through the involvement of parents. Perry lived in Forest Hills Gardens, a model garden suburb developed by the Russel Sage Foundation nine miles from Manhattan. He learned here how much good design could contribute to the development of a neighborhood spirit, and although the idyllic setting was a rarity, life here gave Perry the concept of a neighborhood unit.[45] Perry's neighborhood model was primarily viewed as a spatial or physical unit. The neighborhood unit was also researched

---

[44] John McKnight and John Kretzmann of the Neighborhood Innovations Network of Northwestern University Center for Urban Affairs and Policy Research have been working on an "asset-based model" of neighborhood development versus a needs-based orientation. This model has been presented in various "how-to" documents and manuals which make them easily readable and accessible for community use.

[45] Hall, Peter, *Cities of Tomorrow*, Blackwell Publishers, Oxford, UK, 1988.

primarily as a social unit by Keller (1968) who explored the definition, role and development of neighborhood and the city; Bayor (1982) who discussed ethnic groups and "invasion" patterns; Hoover and Vernon (1959) who described neighborhood evolution stages; Warner (1962, 1978) who analyzed neighborhood decline; Osofsky (1963) who also examined slum formation; and Kuttner (1976) who documented ethnic renewal planning. Roland Warren (1965), Warren and Warren (1977), and Gans (1962) also explored primarily social definitions, and most recently, Chaskin (1995) has provided a clear range of definitions of neighborhood in order to assist geographically targeted community building work currently in process.[46]

Federal Urban Renewal

The seeds of the tragic federal urban renewal program were planted by the architect Le Corbusier (*La Ville contemporaine*, 1922 and *La Ville radieuse*, 1933). The Corbusian ideal city demanded total demolition and reconstruction, and recommended housing in large towers sitting in parks: "The City in a Park". This was the forerunner and generating concept of the American public housing projects such as Jeffries Homes and Brewster Gardens in Detroit and many other high density housing developments. Mumford aptly criticized what Le Corbusier envisioned as "The City in a Parking Lot".

The massive "urban surgery", called for by Le Corbusier, began to take place under the direction of the federal government after World War II. The Housing Acts

---

[46] Robert Chaskin, *Defining Neighborhood: History, Theory, and Practice*, The Chapin Hall Center for Children at the University of Chicago, 1995.

of 1949 and 1954 began to be implemented in city after city - Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Hartford, Boston, San Francisco - where low-income, black sections near the central business districts were cleared. The federal solutions to urban problems continued from the 1950's through the 1960's and 70's through massive slum removal and replacement efforts through the urban renewal programs. Governmental attention to urban deterioration was primarily expressed in terms of large scale programs of urban renewal aimed at the physical symptoms of urban decline and decay. Paradoxically, these programs often contributed to further decline of the cities, eliminating many strong or potentially viable neighborhood areas. The partial failings of these programs demonstrated the adverse effects of well-intentioned discrete policies when their impact on all aspects of the urban environment was not considered. As a fuller appreciation of the complexity of urban problems emerged, attention turned to understanding the smaller-scale building blocks of urban life - the neighborhoods - as well as the larger economic and social forces at work. The negative effects and inequities of this program for the dislocated poor families, as well as the realization of the loss of vital urban neighborhood life, caused an anti-renewal movement. Writings by Jacobs (1961), Gans (1962), Fried (1963) and Abrams (1965) contributed to the severe criticisms of the program and by 1964, when riots began to break out in the black ghetto areas of many cities, the federal government refocused its political mind into a revised urban policy.

One of the first and largest of these clearance and redevelopment projects was on the near east side of Detroit, the Gratiot Redevelopment Project, now known as Lafayette Park and Elmwood Park. Ironically, the eastward path of the federal bulldozer in this project was stopped by a major existing land use, the Elmwood/Mt.

Elliot Cemetery. The *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE* area begins at the eastern edge of this cemetery. This reason for the blockage of the urban renewal program was an unusual situation. It was usually the federal cutbacks in funding the large government sponsored efforts that stopped the urban renewal efforts from continuing in most larger urban areas. As the problem did not disappear, only publicly sponsored efforts and attempted solutions were suspended and new initiatives were sought.

In the 1970's, the nation's urban policy received much attention, and the revitalization of older American cities was a primary theme. The Housing and Community Development Act of 1974 cited neighborhood preservation as a goal, and several smaller programs attempted to focus resources on the goal of neighborhood preservation. The neighborhood also emerged as a key component of the President's 1978 Report on Urban Growth produced by the Carter administration.

It is now apparent that these programs did not have success in halting the deterioration of neighborhoods, let alone reverse the deterioration. Most of the failures can be attributed to an overall failure to understand the true dimensions of what happens in a neighborhood - a failure understandable when the agents making the crucial planning decisions were not based in the neighborhoods. Neighborhood representation was not systematically or effectively included in the redevelopment process. This leads to one of the unintentional beneficial effects of the urban renewal program - the involvement and participation of citizens in planning processes. Originally begun as a way of garnering support and cooperation for the project, the government mandated and financially supported activity led to the organization of affected residents into planning and decision-making organizations. In Detroit, these were known as Citizens' District Councils, established for each urban renewal project

area. Although these citizen organizations maintained a certain level of involvement and input in the decision-making process, it was largely symbolic and patronizing - the real decisions on development programs and land disposition being made at the governmental levels. However, "community planning", "advocacy planning" and "community-oriented design" became an important element in all aspects of urban planning and design during this era. Davidoff (1965), Gans (1968) and Burke (1979) documented the benefits of this planning approach, and helped lay the foundation for the current emphasis on *community rebuilding and empowerment* rather than on end products.

Community Design

Community design or community architecture (as it is known in England) is a movement approximately thirty years old that incorporates an interdisciplinary approach and user-based, participatory methods in producing change in the built environment, primarily in economically depressed areas. It is rooted in the principle that an environment will be better if the people who use it are actively involved in its development and decision-making. Community design practice is linked closely to community development corporations and other non-profit neighborhood based organizations. It is also linked to ecological and sustainable city movements and to a socially and politically 'humanistic' orientation. It has been practiced by architects, planners, and landscape architects in association with allied disciplines such as sociology, anthropology, criminology, psychology, social work and public health in university-based and private settings.

The community design movement received a strong boost in England with the support of Prince Charles - His Royal Highness The Prince of Wales - who in 1984 spoke out on the subject[47] and has sponsored design projects to illustrate his design beliefs.[48]

Eduardo Lozano in *Community Design and the Culture of Cities* (1990) approaches the subject of community design on an organizational and "systemic" basis first and urban "form" second, proposing that a framework of humane and democratic goals needs to be established prior to design. He also sounds a warning for professional designers in this task,

> "...the task of community design is foreign to professional designers, who have lost sight of the accumulated tradition of history;...professional designers do not have sufficient insights into the systematic organization of urban areas, and thus lack analytical capacity; and...professional designers seem unable to recognize antiurban cultural trends."

Some of the key aspects and practices of community design are now described, including resident participation, sustainability, infill development, and crime prevention and design.

---

[47] On May 30, 1984 Prince Charles spoke to the Royal Institute of British Architects at Hampton Court Palace at their 150th anniversary celebration, attacking the architectural and planning professions for ignoring "the feelings and wishes of the mass of ordinary people in this country", going on to praise the community architecture movement as one of the hopes for the future. From *Community Architecture*, Wates and Knevitt (1987).

[48] *Urban Villages: A concept for creating mixed-use urban developments on a sustainable scale*, was written by Tony Aldous and is a report published by The Urban Villages Group in 1992. This organization was formed at the request of Prince Charles.

Participitation in the Community Design Process

The involvement and participation of neighborhood residents, clients and users can be a critical factor in the acceptance, use and success of any community planning and design project. The planning and design process should not take place in a vacuum. Planners and designers should have a social responsibility as well as a practical and aesthetic responsibility, and the planning, design and building development process can be a catalyst for growth and change in a community.

A range of community participation and involvement models and techniques have been used to promote a process of interaction, input and feedback. Various approaches to this process are used by practicioners and researchers in different disciplines and a range of communication and interaction techniques are used in different situations and by different types of people. Advocacy planning, community charettes, and user input are some of the previously coined buzzwords used to describe this type of resident involvement.

By opening up the planning and design process to the people who will use the planned area or building, an understanding is gained of what people want from the area or building, the kind of atmosphere they want it to generate, and the role it might play in their lives. The community would not actually design the building - the design team still has the responsibility of putting all of the pieces together, making sure that it works and is responsive to the needs of its users. Creativity is not sacrificed by this inclusive approach. On the contrary, group design methods have the potential for enhancing the creative design process through a "collaborative approach by a great

many individuals rather than a disparate collection of isolated specialists and disconnected client representatives".[49]

Rosener (1978) provided one of the clearest conceptualizations of citizen participation and how it can be most effectively achieved by asking a simple series of questions:

1. *Who* are the parties to be involved in citizen participation?
2. *What* are the specific functions we wish to have performed by this participation program?
3. *Where* do we wish the participation road to lead?
4. *How* should citizens be involved?
5. *When* in the policy process is participation needed or desired?

Further, Rosener points out that much time and thought should be taken in the preparation of a participation program and the designer of an effective program needs to carefully consider goals and objectives, options and plays, resources and timing, strategy and performance, like the owner of a professional ball club.

Finally, Rosener provides a nine-step program for successful participation planning:

1. Identify the individuals or groups who will or should be involved in the participation program being planned.
2. Decide where in the policy process the identified parties should participate; that is, policy development, policy implementation, policy evaluation, or some combination thereof.
3. Articulate the participation goals and objectives in relation to all parties who will be involved; that is, the elected officials, the public administrators, the affected citizens.
4. Identify participation methods or techniques that could serve as vehicles for the achievement of participation goals and objectives.
5. Analyze the resources required by program administrators and participating citizens for any given technique or techniques.

---

[49] From a discussion of creativity in design describing the approach of the Finnish architect Alvar Aalto in Kirk and Spreckelmeyer (1993), *Enhancing Value in Design Decisions*, Chapter 1. The Evolution of Design Decisions in Architecture, p. 8.

6. Match alternative methods to objectives in terms of the resources available to the participating parties.
7. Select an appropriate method or methods to be used in the achievement of the specified objectives.
8. Implement the chosen participation activities.
9. Evaluate the implemented methods to see what extent they achieved the articulated goals and objectives.[50]

A review of alternative techniques and approaches of citizen or commmunity participation yields two general categories - socio-political approaches and environmental design approaches.

Socio-Political Appproaches:

Citizen participation has become an integral part of the local decision-making process. Gradually, public expectations have increased from a time when it was enough that people were kept informed of decisions (one-way communication) to a time (during the 1960's and early 70's) when government mandates made the public hearing a requirement prior to agency decision-making.

As stated in John Naisbitt's bestseller, *Megatrends: Ten New Directions Transforming Our Lives* (1982) in the opening of Chapter 7 - From Representative Democracy to Participatory Democracy:

> " The ethic of participation is spreading bottom up across America and radically altering the way we think people in institutions should be governed. Citizens, workers, and consumers are demanding and getting a greater voice in

[50] Rosener, Judy B. "Matching Method to Purpose: The Challenges of Planning Citizen Participation Activities", in Stuart Langton, ed. *Citizen Participation in America*, Lexington: D.C. Heath, 1978, Chapter 9.

> government, business and the marketplace...People whose lives are affected by a decision must be part of the process of arriving at that decision."[51]

Effective public participation involves two components - giving information to the public and getting information from the public. Information techniques can include exhibits or displays in public places, news stories and other media exposure (news conferences), mailings to organized groups and key people, newsletters, newspaper inserts or advertisements. Participation techniques include formation of citizen advisory groups or review boards; use of focus groups; establishment of telephone "hotlines"; "open door" walk-in or drop-in offices; interviews with key people or focus groups; neighborhood and community-sponsored meetings, public hearings, workshops, retreats; game simulations.

Environmental Design Approaches:

The notion of citizen participation in the design process or "participatory design" began appearing as a loose movement in the architectural field in the 1960's and gained popularity throughout the 1970's. Caudill, Rowlett, Scott (a large Houston-based architectural firm), for example, publicized a "squatters" technique in which the CRS team would move to a site for intensive face-to-face planning sessions with a client/community group. They spread a conviction that direct contact between architect and community in the programming stage resulted in a more vital and better-used facility.

---

[51] Naisbitt, John, *Megatrends: Ten New Directions Transforming Our Lives*, New York: Warner Books, 1982, p. 175.

In December 1976, *Progressive Architecture* magazine provided an introduction to participatory design by documenting a project by Arrowstreet (a Cambridge, Mass.-based architecture and planning firm) to examine the state-of-the-art in this emerging side of architecture. Participatory design was seen as an efficient way for sponsoring clients who have the long-term responsibility for the operation and financial soundness of the environment, to understand what people want, get their suggestions, and secure community support for their projects. A series of techniques were reported relating to the stages in the participatory design process - *opening up*, *design phase*, and *ongoing user-involvement*. It was brought out that which technique is most appropriate depends on each situation, the needs of the client, and the architect's experience and preference.

Opening-up the barriers to communication on design issues is a challenging problem. Some techniques blended the then popular group dynamic insights of encounter/awareness therapy with contemporary design methodology in an attempt to get through to people's deeper needs.[52]

One technique for getting people to open up is the sharing of "image maps", where each participant is asked to make a picture which somehow describes the qualities of a place. Words are allowed, but everyone is urged to use some form of graphic expression such as sketches, line maps, collages of photographs in order to encourage people to conceptualize their ideas in images that are useful in design.

---

[52] Account may be taken of Freud's division of experience on two levels: an unconscious, primary level, which finds expressions in wishes, dreams, and emotional life; and a rational, secondary level, operative in purposive through and action. People often talk about their environment only on the secondary level, but they are supported or denied by it on a primary level as well.

Structured observation or "typical trip" maps provides another means of opening up. These have been called "scores" by Lawrence Halprin, a landscape architect and urban designer, whose firm developed a "Workshop" approach to user involvement in community design projects.[53]

In the *design phase*, approaches may center on preparing users carefully for some of the tasks and activities involved. One method in involving users in the design phase of a project is to take them through the same steps that professionals use in generating a solution. An approach used in the architectural field has been the design "charette", a concentrated, sometimes marathon, series of sessions where rough designs are developed and analyzed in drawing and model form by various participants in a building design process. This method has been used for both building projects such as housing developments or hospitals and community design initiatives.

Ongoing user-involvement is accomplished in a variety of ways - from participation in the actual construction of a project to involvement in the ongoing operation of a facility, as employees or volunteers on boards or committees. In the design for a community school in Pontiac, MI, efforts focused on empowering a city-wide coalition to direct the diverse programs housed in the new building. "Games"

---

[53] Halprin's theory on the creative process is contained in *The RSVP Cycles* (1969) where **R**esources, **S**cores, **V**aluation, and **P**erformance are part of a cyclical process of interrelating activities. The **S** part of the cycle: Scores are in Halprin's words,

> "the symbolization of processes that extend over time. The most familiar kind of score is a musical one, but I have extended this meaning to include scores in all fields of human endeavor...I see scores as a way of communicating art processes over time and space to other people in other places at other moments and as a vehicle to allow many people to enter into the act of creating together - *allowing* for participation, feedback and communications."

were instrumental in this process in creating a climate of openness and understanding among all local interests.

Ecologue is a process for grounding the design of environment in shared understanding among architects, sponsoring clients, and the people who inhabit and use the place. Small groups drawn from clients, organized interests, and a cross-section of the affected population work collaboratively with professionals. A set of general principles for participatory design underly the particular methods: *inclusion* - the full range of decision-makers and interested parties are involved in appropriate ways to prevent polarization; *affinity* - work is started with small groups of similar people who can easily share experiences and feelings and work effectively together to achieve in-depth participation; *dialogue* - in-depth understanding is reached through guided discussions among participants and survivors; *sequence* - a step-by-step structure for collective creation that gradually builds and documents a shared understanding of needs and directions for action.[54]

Gaming/Simulation is another technique of participation that has been used in various ways and in many settings. In the 1960's, at John Hopkins University, sociologist James Coleman initiated the development of games for use in educational settings. At The University of Michigan, Richard Duke, Allan Feldt, Layman Allen, Fred Goodman and others continued that development and investigated multiple uses for games, including community participation. It has been found by these researchers that games serve as metaphors of reality which permit the participant to develop a

[54] Description of this process utilized by the Cambridge-based firm, Arrowstreet, found in "Another Side of Architecture", *Progressive Architecture*, December, 1976, pp. 68-77.

common language to use in discussing the problems at hand. Gaming improves communication about a complex environment to enable new alternatives to be envisioned and tested. Games have an ability to hold the participants' attention and to quickly convey the important characteristics of a complex environment.[55]

An interdisciplinary research team in the College of Architecture and Urban Planning at The University of Michigan has developed and field tested a game/simulation, *A Day's Journey Through Life*, which specifically focuses on Universal Design issues. This gaming/simulation tool is part of the long standing paradigm which structures communication in a context of *multilogue* as compared to *dialogue* because words in sequence are less powerful than the combined interactive effects of words and images in a situational context. Multilogue can more readily convey totality and therefore speed understanding and the generation concerning complex environmental design problems.

Recent research and practice in the area of participatory design techniques has been sporadic at best. Design media - simulation techniques, methods of graphic description and analysis such as GIS (Graphic Information Systems), and techniques embedded in computer media - are an important new area of exploration and use. The technical sophistication of these methods, as well as the cost, preclude their use in many situations.

---

[55] Information adapted from "A Day's Journey Through Life", a grant proposal submitted by the Environmental Design for Aging Research Group (EDARG) at The University of Michigan College of Architecture and Urban Planning to the U.S. Department of Education, 1993.

Sustainable Communities

There has been a recent movement among architects and planners (and some developers) towards the design of *sustainable* cities, communities and neighborhoods. These practicioners are expanding upon the "new town" and garden city concepts pioneered by Ebeneezer Howard and other visionaries early in the twentieth century. In cities such as Chicago, Portland, San Diego and Seattle, "transit-oriented developments (TOD's)" and "transit villages" are proposed within the existing urban fabric to reduce the dependency on the automobile and increase diversity and community vitality. In Los Angeles and Ithaca, NY, planners have proposed "ecovillages", integrating ecological principles into the design of specific neighborhoods and buildings. The school of thought that emphasizes "community oriented design", focusing more on community process and empowerment than on end products, is also an important part of this movement.

Therefore, this movement is not simply concerned with creating ecologically appropriate cities or buildings, but is concerned with creating places that express the continuity of habitation and the interconnectedness of all people and things. This underlying philosophy, together with transit-oriented and mixed-use land use, ecological design, and resource-conserving technology, constitutes sustainable design. This design philosophy also incorporates newer family forms and living arrangements, such as CoHousing, and a sharper focus on providing family- and child- friendly elements in housing and community environments, including better schools, open spaces, and greater safety.

The creation of sustainable settlements is one of the key themes of HABITAT II, the United Nations Conference on Human Settlements, to take place in Istanbul in

June, 1996. This is the second world-wide summit organized by the United Nations on the subject of housing and human settlements (HABITAT I was held in Vancouver in 1976). "Sustainability" is viewed as an important concept in a new planning paradigm that recognizes the global threat of limited resources and increasing urban population.

Urban Infill Development

The infill development approach, which integrates small sites within the existing urban fabric, responds to the character of a neighborhood through use of contextual design and recognition of an area's history and remaining strengths and assets. Most cities who have lost population have also lost structures in the abandoned neighborhoods, leaving large gaps in the community. A patchwork of blocks with structures and vacant lots interspersed often appears like a mouth with half of the teeth missing. In Detroit, there are approximately 55,000 vacant lots leaving whole blocks and neighborhoods feeling transparent or "see-through". The remaining infrastructure consists of streets, sidewalks, alleys, utilities and vegetation.

Most of the literature on this subject is concerned with individual project design and development rather than consideration of the infill approach as a comprehensive urban development model. A series of competitions, exhibitions and case study research efforts have brought attention to and documented this urban development model and its design issues. These include The HUD and NAHB Joint Venture for Affordable Housing (*Affordable Infill Housing*, 1987), The New York State Council for the Arts (*Reweaving the Urban Fabric: Approaches to Infill*

Housing, 1988)[56], Ehrenkrantz and Shoshkes (*Balanced Housing*, 1989), The Architectural League of New York (*Vacant Lots*, 1989), the Community Design Center of Pittsburgh (*New Urban Housing*, 1994).

> "With infill building, new construction fits into available space - be that a single lot or an entire block - in the existing city...Greeting rather than confronting the fabric, these buildings re-establish the physical continuity of the city as they tie new construction to the city's past. This establishes a visual dialogue that comments vividly on the relationship of old and new buildings while it preserves the city as the physical emblem of human memory."[57]

Crime and Design

With respect to physical environmental design, applicable research has been undertaken as to the relationship between design and crime (Newman, 1972). This research demonstrated that territoriality, natural surveillance, and symbolic identification with a setting can lead to increased social control and decreased crime. However, physical design alone cannot be considered responsible for these positive effects. The larger social context and dynamics including such factors as local resident participation and involvement in the creation and maintenance of the environment is critical to successful strategies of crime reduction. The works of Jeffrey (1971), Rosenthal (1974), Gardiner (1976) and Brill (1977)[58] also addressed

---

[56] This report documented the *Inner City Infill: Housing for Harlem* competition, organized in 1985 and sponsored by The New York State Council for the Arts.

[57] Quotation from Marta Gutman in essay "Housed Together: The Shape of Urban Infill" in *Reweaving the Urban Fabric*, The Princeton Architectural Press, New York, 1988.

[58] Much of the early research work came as a result of federal legislation and financial support for the study of this problem through the 1968 Housing Act, the Safe Streets Act of 1968. Work was performed under the guidance of the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development and the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) of the U.S. Department of Justice.

the issue of crime prevention and neighborhood security. These works in turn were supported by more general earlier work on the significance of territoriality in writings by Jane Jacobs, Marc Fried, Lee Rainwater, Christopher Alexander, Robert Sommer and Edward Hall.

Newman and Brill focused on residential developments, particularly government assisted and public housing developments, while Rosenthal and Gardiner dealt with the urban neighborhood in a "total environmental approach" combining urban design, community organizing, and law enforcement techniques. Greenbie (1981) provided a strong basis for describing the relationship of social behavior to space through many visual images, particularly the open landscape of "private . . . home spaces, street spaces, and village spaces."

The early HUD and LEAA studies showed that there is a reasonably clear and well established relationship between physical design of housing developments, personal and property security, and the incidence of criminal behavior. It is further believed that the redesign of the ground plane of existing developments can foster a sense of community and livability and reduce security and safety problems.

Since Newman developed his "Defensible Space" concepts, others have advocated similar procedures and the work has generally been identified as Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design or CPTED. The law enforcement field has adopted the concept and The National Crime Prevention Institute (NCPI) has synthesized and incorporated physical, social, law enforcement, and management techniques to achieve its goal of reducing crime and the fear of crime. The NCPI CPTED concept relies on four principles for crime control:

1) Access control - creating barriers to prevent unauthorized entrance
2) Surveillance - police, electronic or residential surveillance; reduce physical barriers and increase lighting levels for better visibility
3) Activity support - increase human use of an area by making it more attractive
4) Motivational reinforcement - users develop positive attitudes about their environment

The New Urbanism

The issues of distressed urban neighborhood re-design have not received the attention that many architects and planners have lavished on newer communities in the suburbs or "edge city" locales. The New Urbanism as defined by Katz, Calthorpe and Van der Ryn has been called a movement with many names, including Sustainable Communities, Traditional Neighborhood Development (TND), Transit-Oriented Development (TOD), Pedestrian Pockets, or Urban Villages. Practicioners such as Peter Calthorpe, Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk, and Leon Krier in Europe (with the support of Prince Charles) have produced plans for new communities or rebuilding of existing suburban areas using the traditional small town as a model. Most of these efforts are well financed developments that contribute much to the notion of integrating ecological concepts into the design of specific neighborhoods and towns but have had little impact on the design and redevelopment of distressed inner city areas. Probably the most valuable contribution this school of thought can have on urban neighborhoods is the realization that reuse of existing resources, mixed-use land use planning, promotion of diversity in lifestyles and activities will help to create healthy and supportive communities and neighborhoods.

Another one of the positive results of this design movement has been an increased awareness on the part of the public and focus by the media of the lifestyle differences between urban and suburban living arrangements. The May 15, 1995 *Newsweek* proclaimed, "Bye-Bye, Suburban Dream: 15 Ways to Fix the Suburbs" on the cover of this issue. The article suggests that small, traditional neighborhoods or villages are what people want but have not gotten from suburban developments - corner grocery stores, skinny tree-lined streets, mixed housing types, work close to home, and a town center - in other words, the pattern and character of the traditional urban neighborhood.

Comprehensive Community Building Initiatives

For over a quarter century, participants in the field of community development have approached community renewal by adopting many strategies and roles and through various organizational mechanisms. Some of the early antecedents of today's initiatives include the Ford Foundation's Gray Areas Program in the early 1960s, and federal programs such as the Urban Renewal Program, Community Action Program of the War of Poverty and the Model Cities Program. Many of these have focused on either social or physical building programs and products. For about the last ten years, an evolutionary trend in this movement has seen the emergence and growth of more substantial, *comprehensive* approaches to the vast problems of distressed urban neighborhoods.

The primary mission of comprehensive community building initiatives is the treatment of the profound social, economic and physical problems found in urban areas manifested in persistent poverty. Integrated strategies are created to reduce poverty and improve the quality of life in specific communities. There are now a range of examples across the country, some focused on entire cities, others serving large sections of cities, or smaller communities and neighborhoods. These initiatives are predicated on holistic notions of community, wherein all aspects of community life and its systems are considered in a coordinated, balanced manner. The active involvement and incorporation of those directly affected by the policies and strategies is at the heart of these projects. The phrase "community building" is now being used most often to identify the field of comprehensive community development.[59]

Many of these initiatives have been developed and supported by enlightened national foundations (Ford, Rockefeller, Kellogg, Casey), community foundations and charismatic individuals such as Jimmy Carter (The Atlanta Project) and James Rouse and The Enterprise Foundation (Sandtown-Winchester in Baltimore). The projects are located in most of the older cities faced with concentrations of poor neighborhoods. The federal government has recently entered this field with the Empowerment Zone and Enterprise Community Initiative.

Community-based organizations are the key actors in implementing these initiatives, working in conjunction with a broad network of public and private resources. This network includes all branches of government, foundations, religious institutions, private corporations and banks, and universities. Interdisciplinary,

---

[59] William Traynor, "Community Building: Hope and Caution", in *Shelterforce*, September/October 1995, p. 12.

collaborative work among diverse disciplines such as planning, design, social work, psychology, sociology, criminology, education, public health, business and technology is common to these initiatives. Professionals and technical service providers work closely with community-based organizations and residents in providing research, education, training and technical assistance.

An important hypothesis that is presented as a result of these comprehensive efforts states that the pooling and concentration of programs and activities will generate greater potential impacts than the separate, fragmented provision of these same services. Greater levels of cooperation and interaction will facilitate greater improvements.

Examples of Comprehensive Community Building Initiatives[60]

Although by definition comprehensive, integrated strategies and initiatives are multidimensional in nature, there are often concentrations of programs and activities in either the social, economic, physical or political-organizational components of community development.

For instance, one of the recently launched initiatives, the *Neighborhood Strategies Project* of the New York Community Trust, reflects the theory that economic opportunities for those in poverty must be provided and interventions are required to reduce obstacles in neighborhoods and cities that prevent individuals and families from reaching their fullest potential. This effort has been alternatively named

[60] See Appendix A for a summary of selected comprehensive community building initiatives and projects that were reviewed during our research.

"Organizing Communities for Work" in order to recognize this project focus. The Austin Initiative in Chicago by the Shorebank Corporation also concentrated on economic issues by seeking to restore market forces to disinvested communities, through business formation and assistance linked to workforce training.

The Casey Foundation *Rebuilding Communities* program is based on the social theory that viable neighborhoods are required in order to raise healthy and productive children. The mission of the foundation is to foster public policies and human service reforms that better meet the needs of disadvantaged children and families. This foundation recognizes the interrelatedness of social problems and the importance of comprehensive efforts towards solutions, and uses different "entry points" and strategies which offer different approaches to those wishing to change conditions for disadvantaged children. Casey identified children of deteriorating neighborhoods as one of the viable "entry point" problems around which a broad-based and long-term system change strategy might be launched. This foundation then established the Rebuilding Communities program, a place-based initiative that focuses on the long term and developmental process of building stronger communities in which children can thrive. Rebuilding Communities was developed as a neighborhood revitalization program to provide the supports needed to help transform economically distressed neighborhoods into safe, supportive and productive environments for children and families. Part of the project is located on east side of Detroit under the direction of the Warren/Conner Development Coalition. This theory is also the basis of the Kellogg Foundation's *Youth Initiatives Program*, in which a long-term (20 year) effort is underway to improve the lives of youth by strengthening positive environments in which they can best develop and grow.

The mission of the *Comprehensive Community Revitalization Project (CCRP)* in the South Bronx is to conduct a national demonstration in which six seasoned community development corporations serve as organizers, facilitators and implementors of integrated strategies aimed at transforming their neighborhoods into functioning communities. A Quality-of-Life Physical Planning process produced plans that captured locally developed visions.

The *Community Building in Partnership (CBP)* project in the Sandtown/Winchester neighborhood of Baltimore is a project undertaken by Baltimoreans United in Leadership Development (BUILD), an Industrial Areas Foundations (IAF)-established organization in 1977, in conjunction with The Enterprise Foundation and the City of Baltimore. It began a long-term process in 1990 to transform all public and private support systems, including housing, education, human services, health care, economic development and employment, public safety, sanitation and recreation.

The Ford Foundation *Neighborhood and Family Initiative* was built upon the notion that categorical approaches to neighborhood development were not effective in providing for the range of interrelated needs in distressed urban neighborhoods.[61] The integration of three spheres of development - family development, community development and economic development - have been used as a conceptual model since the origins of this approach in the 1960's. These spheres correspond to the often-used terms - social, physical and economic development.

---

[61] From The Chapin Hall Center for Children at The University of Chicago report, *The Ford Foundation's Neighborhood and Family Initiative: Toward a Model of Comprehensive, Neighborhood-Based Development*, 1992.

Current Federal Urban Policy

Public policy under the Clinton Presidency is favorable towards comprehensive urban neighborhood revitalization. The goal of the Administration's National Urban Policy[62] is to return work and economic opportunities to distressed communities and ensure that poor residents will have access to this newly created growth. Private financial capital investment in the form of new businesses and homeownership are facilitated. The policy encourages cities to use grass-roots community organizations to design and deliver a broad range of services. A spiritual renewal is at the root of this policy and churches, non-profit groups and local organizers are seen as those who can strengthen the community fabric by upholding traditional values of work, family and self-reliance. Under the urban redevelopment legislation passed as part of the budget package in the Summer 1993, cities were required to include grass-roots organizations in the planning process when designing their applications for the federal "empowerment zones and enterprise communities" that have now been established.

The Empowerment Zone (EZ) initiative is aimed at the nation's most severely distressed urban communities, and seeks to restore the appropriate linkages between private capital and investment, new job creation, education and training, so that residents will have enhanced economic opportunities. A combination of tax incentives, flexible block grants, tax credits for hiring zone residents, access to tax-exempt financing, access to other federal programs and funds, and removal of regulatory

---

[62] *Empowerment: A New Covenant With America's Communities: President Clinton's National Urban Policy Report*, prepared by the Office of Policy Development and Research, U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, August 1995.

barriers, are offered to promote community and economic development. The City of Detroit successfully applied for and received designation as one of six urban empowerment zones in 1994. The important difference between the EZ program and previous programs is the comprehensive nature of required local strategy plans, linking physical, social and economic redevelopment into coherent packages. The ability to leverage private investment was an important criterion for designation, exemplified by Detroit's ability to pledge over $2 billion in private-sector commitments.

CHAPTER III

METAMORPHOSIS: THE TRANSFORMATION OF ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE

Metamorphosis is defined in Webster's several ways:

"1. a change of form, shape, structure, or substance; transformation, by magic or sorcery...
2. a marked or complete change of character, appearance, condition, etc.
3. in *biology*, a change in form, structure or function as a result of development;"

Welcome to the Neighborhood

Examine the aerial photo of Detroit's east side (Figure 3.1) and one is first struck by the verdant urban landscape, the crisp blue river and a bridge leading to a large island, the blocks of houses leading peacefully to a an outcropping of high rise buildings that is the central core of the city. At first glance, this appears to be a healthy residential neighborhood strategically located near a beautiful river and island within walking distance of business and employment. But as one looks more closely (Figure 3.2), open patches start to appear, and not the normally found parks, playgrounds or cemeteries, but gaps and open spaces in places where one would

expect buildings - more houses, factories, stores - especially in an area so close to the downtown core. This aerial image only begins to portray the changes that have occurred in this community and what now exists and one must view it from closer vantage points.

ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE is a contrast of residential areas. There are some residential blocks that are now almost entirely vacant and desolate with burnt out residences and overgrown lots, and some streets containing almost all houses still standing in very compact arrangements and filled with families. The area is representative of a neighborhood condition prevalent all through the inner core of the City of Detroit. That is, an older traditional residential area which has undergone substantial abandonment and blight, but contains some key institutions that survive and maintain a strong prescence. Perhaps the key feature that epitomizes this neighborhood is Grand Boulevard, a street that encircles the inner core of the city and connects it to historic Frederic Law Olmstead-designed Belle Isle Park via the landmark Belle Isle Bridge. The 'Boulevard' contains a mixture of large homes, apartments and religious institutions all through its length. In the *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE* neighborhood, along East Grand Boulevard there is a predominance of conversion of structures into nursing homes, group homes, halfway houses, and other such facilities for the elderly, mentally ill persons or criminals. In several cases, older historic structures have been demolished for newer institutional facilities within the last 25 years. The block and street pattern is essentially the same throughout the area with long blocks occurring in the north-south direction, away from the river and Jefferson Avenue, following the original French "ribbon-farm" land parcel layout. The western edge of the neighborhood is partially bounded by the Elmwood and Mt. Elliot Cemeteries, a large

unbroken piece of land that cuts off the east-west street pattern at Kercheval and St. Paul Avenues. There are several retail strips in the neighborhood, older commercial areas along the major east-west avenues - Jefferson, Kercheval, Vernor and Mack. These are in varying degrees of commercial decay along their lengths. A dramatic contrast occurs when these avenues leave the City of Detroit a couple of miles east and enter Grosse Pointe. Immediately at the border, the character changes into a neat retail district with upscale shops, a manicured urban landscape including street trees, ornamental lighting and special paving.

The area is a vehicular path for commuting workers through the neighborhood in the east-west direction along the major streets (Mack, Vernor, Charlevoix, Kercheval and Jefferson), as well as in the north-south direction on Mt. Elliot and Grand Boulevard. In the warmer seasons, East Grand Boulevard is a major carrier of automobiles to Belle Isle, often becoming a dangerous dragstrip. The Mt. Elliot industrial corridor is located along an abandoned railroad line adjacent to Beaufait Avenue. There are several viable manufacturing operations as well as auto-related parts salvage and junkyard operations.

A drive up and down the streets and avenues of *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE* would reveal the existence of many religious institutions. These consist of various denominations and different sizes and histories. Within the original planning study area (see Figure 3.18) there are seven churches, ranging from the large St. Charles Borromeo Roman Catholic Church to the small Greater Bibleway Missionary Baptist Church, standing in contrast to each other across Townsend Avenue.

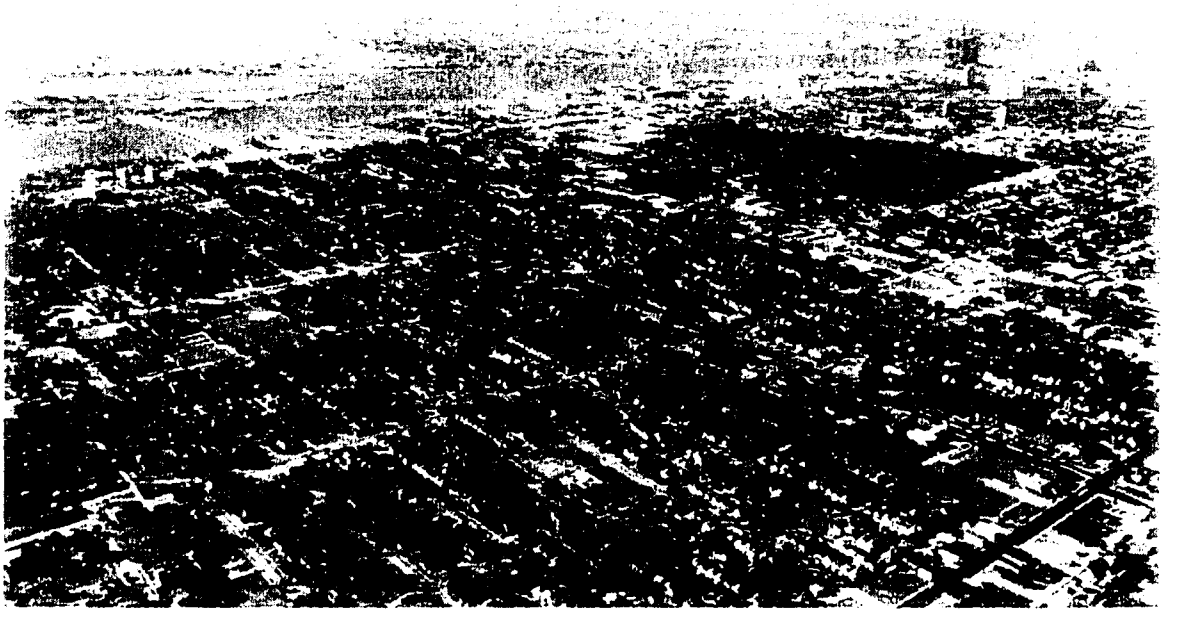


Figure 3.1

Aerial View of *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE*

Figure 3.2

Aerial View of Focus Blocks in *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE*

The *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE* area illustrates the processes of positive and negative change. Positive signs and changes can be seen through the new housing that has been constructed on Field Street and construction signs announcing new projects, new developments along Jefferson Avenue construction activity of rehabilitation of existing buildings on the Boulevard. Negative signs remain with the decaying conditions of many burnt out and boarded up houses and buildings. Also, there is evidence of a no-man's land of vacant lots, overgrown and used as dumping grounds for wrecked autos, cans, tires, furniture, appliances.

What is more difficult to see or perceive is the condition of the people who live in inside the houses in the community. Much progress has been made and hope has been gained in the lives of many residents. Existing buildings have been rehabilitated and new housing has been built and the foundations for an improved community have been laid, physically, socially and spiritually. The question is how can the transformation process continue and produce more homes, economic opportunities and better lives built upon the foundations that have been laid.

What the Area Was

In order to more accurately portray the metamorphosis or transformation of this neighborhood area now known as *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE* it is necessary to gain a clearer picture of what the area once was, how, when and why it changed, and what it is now. The history of Church of the Messiah is also explored here, significant in the area as it represents an institution that has existed in the area since 1874 and

symolically represents the rise and fall of the neighborhood over the last one hundred years, and the hope that has emerged over the past twenty years. Although we relate the events of the more distant past, our primary focus is the gradual and cataclysmic changes which occurred in this community over the past fifty years - the post World War II era of de-industrialization, suburbanization, civil unrest, racial and class stratification.

The history and background of the *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE* area illustrates the dynamic patterns of urban growth during the early part of the century and the social, economic and physical devastation that has occurred in Detroit and other cities over the last 30 years. In this 'middle ground' between the inner city and the outer city, a series of events and trends, some sudden and cataclysmic (the Detroit riot of 1967), others slower in development (de-industrialization, suburbanization, racial segregation), have resulted in a zone of decline and decay.

A Worker's Village

This east side area that includes *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE* was deeply affected by the historical industrial development that occurred along the Detroit River. At the turn of the century, several national firms had headquarters located within close proximity to the east riverfront shipping docks, including Parke-Davis Pharmaceutical, Ferry Morse Seed, and Detroit Stove. With the birth of the auto industry and the introduction of a rail system, the east side became a location for major facilities for U.S. Tire (later Uniroyal), Packard Motors, Freuhauf, Dodge and many suppliers to the auto industry. Hundreds of thousands of workers were employed in facilities on the

east side of the city by the end of the 1920's. Much of the population was composed of immigrants from Italy, Germany, Poland and Canada, as well as Yugoslavians, Scots and Britains.

Neighborhoods were consequently established for the workers within close proximity to the plants; the quality of the homes built was related to the income levels of the workers. Production workers and laborers often lived closest to their places of employment, since they did not have the luxury of transportation and needed to walk to work. Managers and executives had the means to commute; thus their housing was built further from the River in areas such as West Village and Indian Village (see Figures 3.5 and 3.6), or further east, in the Grosse Pointes.

In the 1950's and 60's, the early signs of change in industrial development began to appear with the restructuring of the automobile industry in the face of declining sales. Old, obsolete plants were closed and when rebuilt more technologically and efficiently, were moved away from the city. At the same time, new freeways, shopping centers and housing outside the city encouraged those with mobility to make the move to the suburbs. The result of this deterioration of automobile-based employment and increased mobility of the population resulted in a severe loss of housing demand in the older neighborhoods of the inner and middle areas of the city. The commercial and retail services located on avenues and streets that supported the adjacent residential blocks concurrently declined as well, eventually following its patrons to the suburbs.

The composition of the population underwent substantial change between 1940 and 1970. In that period the black population increased from less than 5% of the total, to over 60% in 1970, mostly spurred by World War II production. In 1980, the black

population of the area was approximately 85% of the total. In this same time span, but over half of the population had been lost.

In Detroit, Grand Boulevard is considered the dividing line between the inner and middle/outer city. It bisects *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE*, creating a unique dynamic in that the western part of the area lies in the inner zone (originally built before 1900) and the eastern part in the middle zone (built up between 1918 and 1930). In the inner zone, larger brick and stone homes occupied by richer residents were built along the main arteries leading directly to the center of the city. Located between these solid fingers were the blocks of generally smaller, single-family homes of frame construction built without the protection of a building code. The area was the melting pot for ethnic populations arriving in America and finding employment in the plants and factories of the east side. In the middle zone, again there was a predominance of single-family homes, but these were built larger and more densely on narrow lots. Originally owned by wealthier residents, these became occupied by lower-income families and were unable to be maintained. Consequently, in many cases, these were converted to multi-unit residences with other uses.

What was once a thriving urban community during the first half of the twentieth century has become an area severely affected by the general urban decline of the past decades. A loss of half of its population and over a third of its building stock to disinvestment, abandonment and decay, such that it became one of the most devastated neighborhoods in the City.

Figure 3.3

Residential Block in *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE*

Figure 3.4

Wood-frame Residence on Baldwin Avenue

Figure 3.5

West Village Residence

Figure 3.6

Indian Village Residence

The Detroit Riot of 1967

During the last week in July, 1967, Detroit experienced the worst civil disorder in 20th century urban America (Locke 1969)[63]. Forty-three people were killed, 700 known injured, over $50 million in property was destroyed, and the city itself was left in a state of panic and confusion. Almost thirty years later, many feel the city has not yet fully recovered from this trauma. Although much of the destruction and looting occurred along 12th Street and on the west side of the city, the east side, particularly Vernor Highway, and Mack Avenue near East Grand Boulevard (within *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE*) were sites of building destruction, damage and looting (See Figure 3.7).

Ironically, in the years leading up to the riot, Detroit was considered a model of recovery - a pioneer in the war against poverty, in urban renewal, and in caring for its citizenry through philanthropy as expressed in the United Way Torch Drive campaign. It was known as " a city with a heart". At the time, the majority of the population was still white. In the aftermath of the riot, the flight of businesses and the white community from the city accelerated, and racial relations strained under the stress of fear, much of this as a result of the disclosure of police department attitudes and practices. Post-riot Detroit has still not faced the practical necessity to rebuild its commercial and residential areas destroyed during the week of July 23, 1967.

---

[63] Hubert G. Locke was administrative assistant to Detroit Police Commissioner Girardin and wrote a concise analysis of this cataclysmic event, *The Detroit Riot of 1967*, Wayne State University Press, Detroit, 1969.

Figure 3.7

An Abandoned Mack Avenue Business Provides a Billboard for Messages

Figure 3.8

An Abandoned Corner Market and Example of an Old 'Shop-House'

Detroit's Urban Removal (Renewal) Program

A background history of the area cannot be complete without describing the federal urban renewal program and its effect on the east side of Detroit. *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE* is located on the near east side of the City of Detroit, in the path of "The Federal Bulldozer", one of the oldest and largest urban renewal efforts in the country.

The City of Detroit was one of the first participants in the federal government's Urban Renewal Program. Shortly after World War II and Detroit's role as the "Arsenal of Democracy", the City turned its attention to the urban decay and blight that had been neglected since the Great Depression of the 1930's. The City had begun its own urban redevelopment venture in 1946 when it began acquiring a 129 acre site on the near east side, which it identified as the City's worst slum, popularly known as "Black Bottom". The Gratiot Redevelopment Project was already underway, having successfully defended a legal challenge to its right to condemn land, when in 1949 the federal government made funds available for local redevelopment projects through the Housing Act of 1949. This project moved ahead slowly and grudgingly with land not cleared until 1954 and the first sites not made available to private developers until 1956. The first tenants moved into a 22-story apartment building, the Lafayette Pavilion, designed by Mies van der Rohe in 1959, and shortly after into a group of low-rise townhouse and terrace-type dwellings. The project added a 64-acre area, and became known as Lafayette Park, extending from the Chrysler Freeway, the eastern edge of the Central Business District, along Jefferson Avenue on the south to Gratiot Avenue/Vernor Highway on the north, and the Grand Trunk Railroad on the east. The

area now includes about 4,600 residents, less than the original expectations of 7,500 residents in 3,600 units.

The Elmwood Park project followed immediately to the east in 1964. It was a huge 500-acre clearance and renewal effort, undertaken in three phases (Elmwood I, II, III). The third phase is still being developed, more than 30 years after it was started.

In both Lafayette Park and Elmwood Park, the resident population has not met the original expectations or planned numbers. It seems that the densities of housing units and population - originally used as one of the justifications for the condemnation, clearance and redevelopment process - have not been achieved. Also, the general feeling is that the entire development is simply a series of "stand alone" enclaves, rather than a cohesive part of the urban fabric. The vital urban residential environment promised in the planning has not been provided and one could easily imagine this project in a suburban locale.

The clearance and renewal project was geographically halted by the Elmwood and Mt. Elliot Cemeteries. If the federal urban renewal program had continued, *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE* would have been the logical next step in it's path. Once this massive urban development mistake and misconstruction in Detroit and other cities was recognized, it led to a consideration of more preservation-oriented modes of development and urban design movements.

The Seeds of Change

The growth and decline of the area was mirrored by the history of Church of the Messiah. Originated in 1874, as a mission of Christ Church, the Church was

located near Jefferson and Mt. Elliot Avenues. The Messiah Mission became a parish in 1883 and was admitted into the Episcopal Diocese of Michigan. In 1900, the Church began to build at its current location of East Grand Boulevard at Lafayette. The congregation purchased the materials of the old St. Paul's Church (the oldest Episcopalian congregation in Detroit) at Shelby and Congress streets in downtown Detroit and replicated this design at the new site. Members of Messiah included well known Detroiters of the early part of the century as well as blue-collar workers and middle class families.[64] In 1922, a large parish house was built adjoining the church in order to better house the many activities and serve the community. There were 1500 communicants at Messiah in the 1920's and the church continued to serve the neighborhood throughout the 30's and 40's. The decline of the church began in the late 1940's as families began to move out of the area. Membership declined steadily in the 1950's and 1960's. Between 1970 and 1980, the community lost nearly 10,000 residents and 3,000 housing units.

In 1970, Archdeacon (and later Suffragen Bishop) H. Irving Mayson envisioned a black/white ministry to bring new life to the declining parish, and P. Ronald Spann was brought on as rector in 1971. Over the last 25 years, several significant phases and stages of development have taken place at the Church, represented by several special "communities", groups and ministries devoted to spiritual, educational and other development directions. The work and involvement of the Church of the Messiah in the neighborhood has evolved in a series of four stages.

---

[64] Historical outline adapted from *Church of the Messiah "Proclaiming God's Faithfulness" - Psalms 89:1*, edited by Vicki McLellan, 1993.

The first stage, *Charismatic Community and Pastoral Intentionality*[65] occurred between 1971 -1976 and began with the establishment of a "common life" or "intentional community" among a core group of individuals and families dedicated to spiritual ideals. The group shared living space or lived in close proximity to each other within blocks of the Church and divided resources. This stage also included a Children's Ministry; Counseling Ministry that explored individual healing and learning; The Work Crew, a group that was involved with church and individual household maintenance, repairs and renovation; Messiah Learning Center, an elementary school that existed until 1986; Messiah Day Care Center, also existing until 1986; Mustard Seed Buying Club, a food cooperative; Music Ministry; Dance Ministry; Drama Ministry; Breakfast Ministry, a group that worked with retarded, mentally ill, aged and alchoholic men in the community.

The second stage, *Global Awareness and Prophetic Responsibility* began in 1976 and represented a shift in orientation from personal development to political concerns with societal issues of world hunger, peace and the arms race, justice and civil rights. This stage included The Community of Communities and Peace Ministry, an activist group that embraced economic, social and political activities and concerns; The Peace Ministry, which became concerned with the nuclear arms race, participating in local protests at defense contractors such as Bendix and Williams International.

The third stage, *Neighborhood Involvement and Evangelistic Strategy*, began in the midst of the second "global consciousness-raising" stage. In early 1977, "the inner

[65] Ibid, p. 4.

city legacy of racism continued to grin its death-grin on every side"[66] The Messiah community began to feel the tension of its surrounding neighborhood deterioration manifested in drug traffic, violence, housing decay, and hopelessness. The Mustard Tree Apartments across the street from the Church became the concrete response to this realization and awareness. This project began when a fire broke out in the building and the tenants needed help in the form of food, clothing and temporary housing. Eventually, a non-profit housing corporation was formed to purchase and renovate the building. In 1978, Richard Cannon left his position at the Day Care Center to become the first full time staff member of Church of the Messiah Housing Corporation. The concern with other pressing community issues led to establishment of the Food Pantry in 1982, to assist senior citizens in obtaining food. A Youth Ministry was formed in 1986 following the closing of the Day Care Center, to draw in teenagers for tutoring, classes, trips, recreation, and summer employment activities.

The fourth stage, *Indigenous Church and Racial Plurality?*[67] began with the murder of a 36-year old white woman, Michelle Rougeau, a parish member who was stabbed to death in her apartment in April, 1988. This watershed event coincided with an expanded African-American spirit in the Church, reflecting a more indigenous, "neighborhood" identity and deepened commitment to serving the local community. Since then, this has translated into serving the black, underclass reality that surrounds the Church neighborhood through it's ministries - now called the Messiah Housing Corporation and The Boulevard Harambee.

---

[66] Ibid, p. 21

[67] Ibid, p. 26.

Today, Church of the Messiah continues its service to the community, recognizing the importance of a development approach that works in all areas affecting the lives of its residents, including housing, health, the environment, youth, and economic and social well-being.

What The Area Is Today

December 25, 1995: The Detroit News and Free Press reported that Honest ? John's Bar and No Grill was robbed by three young men (one with a rifle) yesterday of $2,500 in bar receipts and $1,400 in cash and donation checks to Honest ? John's Shake Down Society, a local charity that has raised and distributed over $600,000 in the area around the establishment over the past 7½ years. John Thompson, owner of the establishment said that two of the bandits were strangers but he recognized the third man as someone who lives in the neighborhood and whose family has received gifts from the charity. "The whole neighborhood right now is in awe," Thompson said. After news of the robbery spread, a steady stream of calls, visits and donations flowed in. Added Thompson: "This city has more heart than you can ever imagine."[68]

This news story helps illustrate the current status of the neighborhood - a popular Detroit bar, its owner active in neighborhood charity, experiences a crime first hand by someone from the neighborhood, but is resolute in continuing his business and philanthropic activities (Figure 3.9).

ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE is a 740 acre, 77 square block area on Detroit's near east side bounded by Mack Avenue on the north, Jefferson on the south, Baldwin on the east, and Mt. Elliot on the west. It is an area that has been hit hard by the ravages of disinvestment, unemployment, deteriorated housing, and drug related crime. The

[68] Excerpted and adapted from "Bar charity's spirit holds fast", *Detroit Free Press*, Monday, December 25, 1995, p. 5A.

demographics of the area portray a significant population decline due to factors such as smaller household sizes, migration out of the area, the general decline in Detroit's economy, and housing abandonment fueled in the past by HUD problems.

Neighborhood unemployment is consistently high, approximately triple the national average; forty percent of the residents have incomes of $10,000 or below with one-third having incomes at or below poverty level. Drug traffic and related criminal activity in the area is among the highest in the city. High school dropout rates are staggering and recent crime statistics reported 600 cases of juvenile criminal involvement in a given twelve month period.

According to the most recent demographic data, 11,261 people live in the neighborhood with a mix of 83% black, 15% white and 2% Hispanic and others. Unemployment in the neighborhood is at 25%. Of the 4,161 households, slightly less than 1,500 (about 36%) have public assistance incomes between $3,503 and $4,200 yearly. The median family income in the neighborhood is $11,200, while the annual per capita income was less than $8,000 in 1990. About 25% of the population in the neighborhood live in households headed by a person 65 years or older. Female headed households make up 35% of all families. Over 20% of unmarried women between the ages of 14 and 19 years old are expected to give birth yearly.

Neighborhood housing problems rest in the fact that 99% of all general residential structures were built before 1925 and the average value of single family homes is $17,850.00. Many landlords or owners have deferred maintenance on their properties, and there is a need for extensive rehabilitation of existing housing. Approximately 60% of the population are renters.

A recent land use survey determined that over 30% of the land in the area is now vacant, with an additional 20% estimated as containing abandoned structures, creating, in effect, a "see-through neighborhood" with approximately 50% of the area containing vacant land or structures. Much of these blighted conditions have occurred since 1970 - over 3,000 housing units demolished leaving 1,100 vacant lots (over 100 acres) scattered throughout the community.

In terms of zoning and land use, the area is predominately residential with wood frame single-family homes and duplexes the major type of housing. This low-density, two story pattern exists throughout most of the community except for East Grand Boulevard, which has a concentration of larger, multi-unit apartment buildings or converted homes (Figure 3.10). The area north of Kercheval Avenue to Mack Avenue contains the most solid blocks of existing residential areas, while the area south of Kercheval to Jefferson has experienced most of the residential abandonment.

Retail business and commercial uses are generally located along the east-west avenues, Jefferson, Mack, Kercheval and Vernor. Vacant storefronts and abandoned commercial buildings are most prevalent on the latter three avenues. Within the community, only Jefferson Avenue contains what could be termed as a viable commercial district. The area suffers from a severe shortage of basic convenience retail uses in close proximity to the residential areas.

Industrial and warehouse uses occur along the Bellevue industrial corridor between Bellevue and Beaufait Avenues, formerly the location of a major railroad line. This industrial land use corridor stretches almost continuously from Jefferson Avenue

to Mack Avenue and consists of many viable stable business operations as well as vacant buildings and properties.

The area contains a concentration of public, semi-public and private institutions of all types - 19 large and small churches, 4 public schools, 9 human service centers, and a major health facility, Detroit Riverview Hospital. A major concentration of approximately 26 nursing homes and institutional residences occupy much of East Grand Boulevard through the area in a variety of newer buildings and older structures that have been joined together with additions to form larger complexes.

Several significant development activities have recently occurred in *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE.* The Detroit Riverview Hospital and the Sheridan Place Elderly Housing complex in the southeast portion of the community along Jefferson Avenue represents major new activites. Also along Jefferson is the Stearns Lofts adaptive reuse residential development of market-rate apartments in a renovated historic structure. The apartment building renovation projects on East Grand Boulevard and new Field Street infill housing development by Church of the Messiah Housing Corporation are also significant visible activities, as described in the next section.

Figure 3.9

Honest ? John's Bar and No Grill on Field near Jefferson

Figure 3.10

A View of East Grand Boulevard Looking East Towards Downtown

Church of the Messiah Housing Corporation: Spiritual-Based Development

Church of the Messiah Housing Corporation (CMHC) is a separately incorporated non-profit tax exempt organization established by Church of the Messiah in 1978. CMHC was organized to help address the extensive deterioration and demolition of housing in the *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE* neighborhood. CMHC was established to purchase, renovate and manage existing housing, initiate construction of new housing for low and moderate income households, and organize housing cooperatives as an alternative for lower income renters and as a forum for leadership development.

Since its founding, CMHC has acquired and completed renovation of four large apartment buildings and five duplexes. CMHC has also administered City of Detroit Neighborhood Opportunity Fund projects coordinating repairs on over 600 homes. CMHC's Homestart Division provides technical assistance to existing and emerging CDCs throughout the city to develop and rehabilitate housing for lower income households, and the Homebuyers Club helps prepare potential first time home buyers for the responsibilities of home ownership. CMHC has concentrated its projects on a four square block area that straddles Field Avenue and bounded by East Lafayette Boulevard, East Grand Boulevard, Sheridan, and Agnes.

The first project of the corporation was the purchase and moderate rehabilitation of a 24-unit apartment building named the Mustard Tree Apartments across the street from the Church (Figure 3.11). CMHC worked with residents in organizing a housing cooperative, The Mustard Tree Cooperative, which purchased the building from CMHC in March 1984 and has self-managed the project since that time.

Following this project, CMHC acquired an abandoned 50-unit apartment building, St. Paul Manor (Figure 3.12), from the city, and over a two year period obtained $860,000 in financing for its rehabilitation which was completed in January 1987. CMHC also acquired the Kingston Arms Apartments, a 29 unit building, in October 1988 (Figure 3.13). Since that time it obtained financing ($981,000) and completed renovation in June 1991. In 1992, CMHC purchased and began the renovation of the El Tovar Apartments (73 units) and obtained a $2.3 million mortgage loan through the Michigan State Housing Development Authority (MSHDA). This major historic rehabilitation project was recently completed (Figure 3.14).

CMHC has also been providing technical assistance to several community organizations to help them implement their Neighborhood Opportunity Fund Home Repair & Single Building Rehabilitation Projects. CMHC staff have also served as consultants to Cass Corridor Neighborhood Development Corporation (CCNDC), the Michigan Avenue Community Organization (MACO) and other community groups providing loan packaging, administrative and/or construction management services. CMHC has attained a prominent reputation in local, state and national circles for its ability to implement difficult projects through the successful meshing of various public and private funding sources and mechanisms.

With the completion of the *Island View Infill Housing Development Plan* in 1990, CMHC embarked on the difficult task of developing new affordable housing for low and moderate income households. Initial efforts focused on rental housing production while pursuing the ultimately more difficult goal of producing affordable new owner-occupied housing on vacant lots in the Islandview Village community.

Figure 3.11

Mustard Tree Cooperative

Figure 3.12

St. Paul Manor Cooperative

Figure 3.13

Kingston Arms Apartments

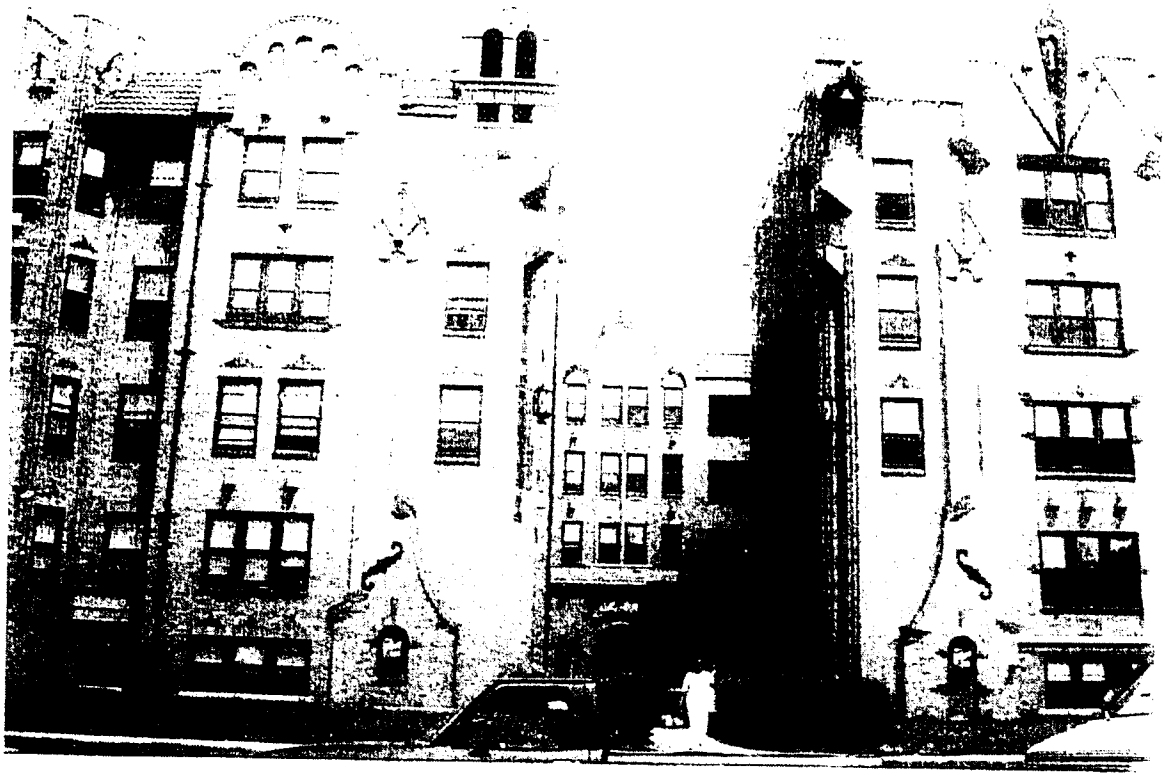


Figure 3.14

El Tovar Apartments

In May, 1992 CMHC broke ground for the $1.9 million Field Street Infill Housing Project (Figure 3.15). Phase I of the project included the construction of 21 units of two and three bedroom townhouses for low income households. It established a partnership with the National Equity Fund, a subsidiary of the Local Initiatives Support Corporation to develop and own this project. Phase II is a 27-unit, $3.0 million combination of additional new townhouses and rehabilitation of existing duplex and apartment buildings which broke ground in October, 1995 (Figure 3.16). CMHC is also administering $700,000 in Community Development Block Grant projects including new public site improvements and new single family home construction.

Island View Infill Housing Development Plan (1990)

In 1990, the Church of the Messiah Housing Corporation (CMHC) sponsored and coordinated the planning process and design for new infill housing for low and moderate income households. CMHC obtained planning grant funds from the Lilly Endowment, the MichCon Foundation, Detroit Edison Foundation and the Coalition for Human Needs. An area in the immediate neighborhood of Church of the Messiah at East Grand Boulevard and East Lafayette was selected as the target area for an initial project to provide new affordable housing in the Island View community.

A housing development plan was prepared with an Advisory Planning Committee consisting of active community residents and neighborhood leaders, various neighborhood service organization representatives and other private corporate participants.

Figure 3.15

Field Street Infill Housing Project (Phase I) Under Construction

Figure 3.16

Residential Buildings on East Grand Boulevard Awaiting Rehabilitation (Phase II)

A specific project plan for construction of new housing of several types was developed which would blend new homes with existing older homes in a manner that would avoid the disruption of the prevailing neighborhood feeling, scale and context. The plan concluded that the construction of new housing could take place without the removal of existing structurally sound homes and subsequent dislocation of the present residents. By a series of planned, phased, development activities the area could be redeveloped into a harmonious combination of newly constructed housing and rehabilitated existing housing. Single family homes and duplexes could be built on smaller vacant lots scattered throughout the area. Larger townhouse residences and other housing types could be built on the larger vacant areas located on existing blocks without major disruption of streets, utility and landscape patterns. The housing development plan also recommended future development of some areas for open space and recreational setting space for neighborhood residents. A variety of amenities were considered, from private yards close to individual homes, to tot lots and play areas shared among a group of homes, to larger parks and playgrounds easily accessible to all residents.

The overall intention of the development plan was to direct the development activity of the local resources within the community, including residents, religious and social institutions, and other neighborhood based organizations. This would help to insure that the housing development process produced added benefits for the community and resulted in the improvement of the larger social and economic condition. In addition, this plan was designed to guide CMHC regarding its housing development priorities within the community, to give examples of successful housing development models used nationally, and to identify resources available for successful

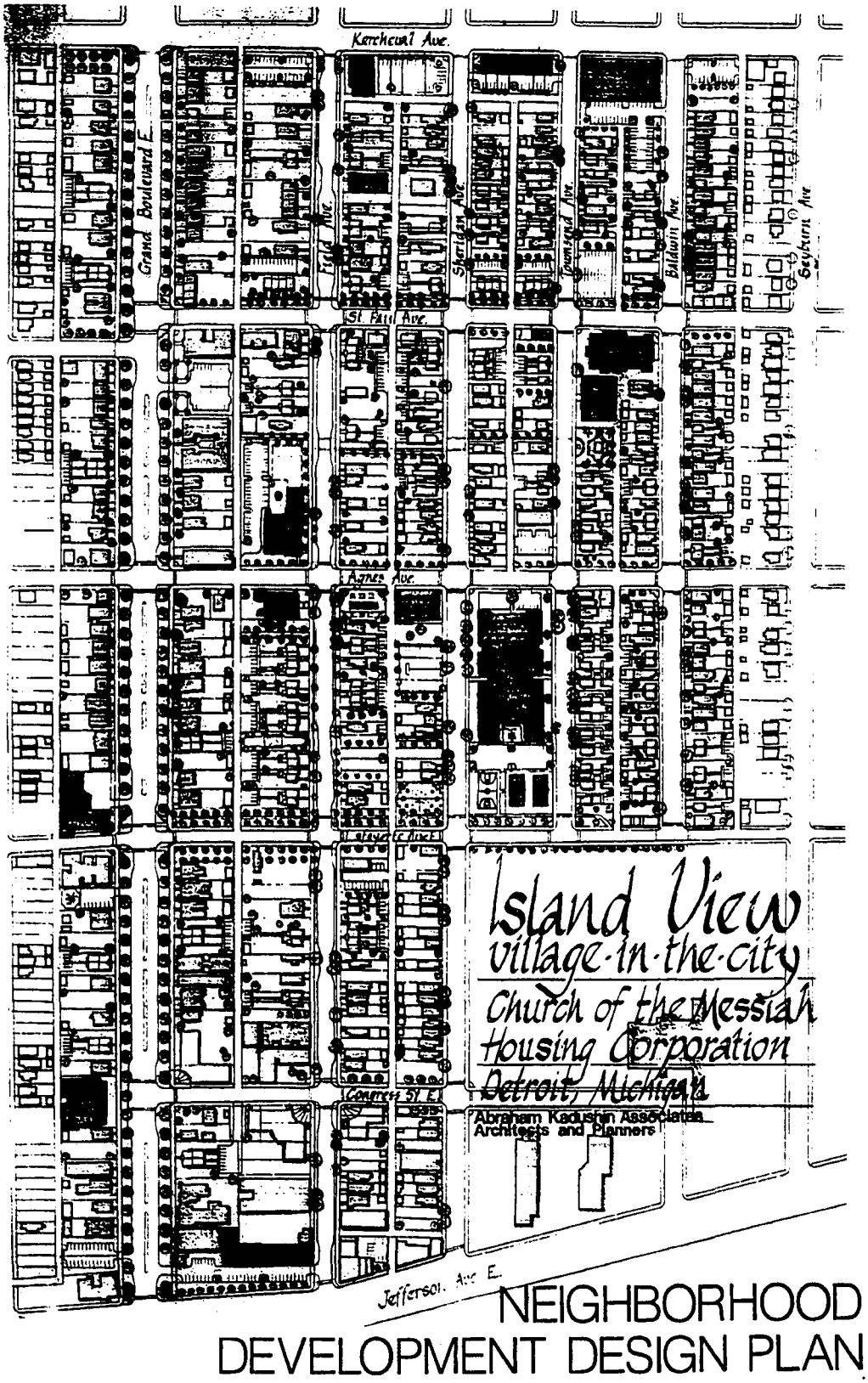


Figure 3.17

Island View Infill Housing Development Plan (1990)

housing development. The implementation of this plan would provide additional affordable housing for lower income residents, support past and current rehabilitation projects and provide an anchor for future community development activity. It encouraged CMHC to continue its role in developing partnerships with both public and private funders to help implement this plan.

Planning Process

The study area that was selected for this planning project is bounded by Jefferson Avenue on the south, Kercheval Avenue on the north, East Grand Boulevard on the west and Baldwin Street on the east. Certain blocks were targeted for the first stage actions in order to complement and reinforce investments as well as to help stabilize the area and demonstrate new housing construction prototypes. The four blocks between East Lafayette and St. Paul from East Grand Boulevard to Field was the target of the initial activities and defined as the 'Focus Blocks' (see Figure 3.18).

The infill housing development plan was the result of a year long interactive process by the members of the Advisory Planning Committee so as to involve the many interests in the *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE* area. At each stage of research and planning work, material was presented and reviewed critically, revised and refined when necessary, prior to moving on to the next stage of work. The first phase of the planning project was to arrive at goals and objectives acceptable to the broad interests of the group, to study and analyze the project area, and to begin research and investigation of appropriate housing development models. The second phase of work was to prepare a development design plan for the planning study area that included the programming and design of specific housing design prototypes and alternative plans

for the locations of the new housing within the neighborhood. The interrelationship of new and existing housing, rental and for-sale housing, and the phasing of development activities were critically discussed elements of this portion of the work. The third phase of the project was the preparation of an implementation strategy and plan for an initial project. This included market analysis and economic feasibility studies, development cost budgeting and financial pro-formas to test the viability of the development project. Preliminary discussions with funding sources and public agencies were conducted to further test the project plan.

The end result of this planning work was a development plan that set forth a series of broad goals and objectives for this neighborhood in the *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE* community and concluded with a set of specific project plans for immediate implementation. In this way, the energy and skill expended during the planning process was translated into a realistic project in the short term, while maintaining a vision and understanding of the greater needs in the community to be met over the longer term.

A shocking event took place during the late phases of the planning effort. On September 30, 1990, the headline article in the Detroit Free Press proclaimed *'A new town within a city' for Detroiters.* A group of major developers and business leaders calling themselves PRIDE (Partnership to Reinvest in Detroit's Excellence) had prepared a proposal which claimed to have the backing of then Mayor Coleman Young to rebuild the entire area with new homes, stores and offices, including a golf course with lakes and parks and a semi-autonomous government with its own schools, police force and garbage pickup. This was not a new idea, since the notion of a "new town in town" had been mentioned in a 1987 Detroit Strategic Planning Project.

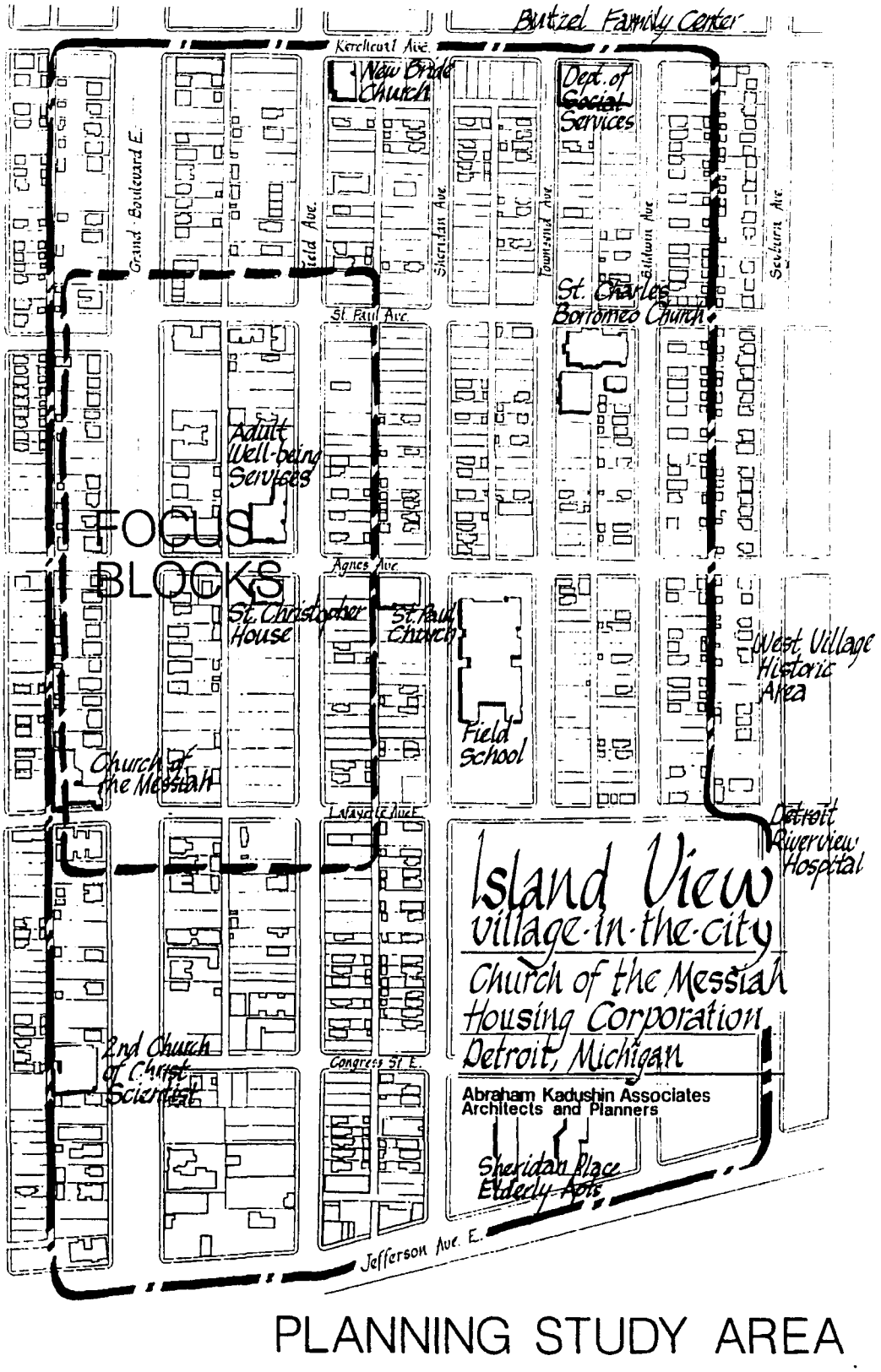


Figure 3.18

Infill Housing Development Plan 'Focus Blocks'

Interestingly, the group also proposed the rights to develop the former site of the Uniroyal plant on the Detroit River, considered one of the most valuable pieces of publicly owned real estate in the city.

Imagine the initial surprise and confusion that was felt with this news by the participants in the planning work that had been meeting regularly for about ten months to prepare a plan for this area. There had been no contact at all between the PRIDE group and CMHC or any group in *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE.* Fortunately, the issue went away as quickly as it appeared, since the city and Mayor Young had no interest in relinquishing any governmental authority, and the realities of who already lived and worked and was involved with the neighborhood emerged from discussions with key public and private community leaders. This was simply another example of "top-down", heavy-handed, reckless planning and development that had been the norm during urban renewal days. Ironically, the end result of this interlude was beneficial to Messiah and the rebuilding work that was underway in that it subsequently brought to the surface a certain public awareness of the activities and accomplishments of the Church.

Islandview Village Development Corporation

In order to describe and understand the Islandview Village Development Corporation, it is necessary to first explore its roots - the individuals, organizations and circumstances responsible for its creation.

The IVDC was formed in February, 1991 following a series of "roundtable" meetings among the leaders of four neighborhood churches and four neighborhood

organizations. These meetings were organized during 1990 as an outgrowth of the Advisory Development Committee for the CMHC's *Island View Infill Housing Development Plan* process. A grant from World Vision, Inc.[69] assisted in providing the initial members with developmental training and information sessions on the structure and function of community development corporations. The motivation for the formation of the IVDC was the realization that housing development was only one function of community development and that a broad range of market conditions needed correction through a sustained, coordinated collaborative effort.

From its own experience in the community development movement, Church of the Messiah felt that a community development corporation could be the most versatile means of addressing the neighborhood's needs. The Islandview Community Development Roundtable came into being in 1990 as a twelve member committee of individuals and representatives of community groups and organizations who came together to discuss the neighborhood's needs. In February, 1991, eight of these groups voted to charter a community development corporation to serve the Islandview Village community and the IVDC was born. Today, there are more groups in this collaborative effort, including Trinity Deliverance Church (Lutheran), St. Charles Borromeo Church (Catholic), Church of the Messiah (Episcopal), Church of the Messiah Housing Corporation, Mustard Tree Cooperative, Genesis Lutheran Church, Grateful Home, Inc., Islandview Association and Capuchin Community Center.

---

[69] World Vision is a Christian international and domestic relief and development organization with more than 6,400 projects in over 90 countries. The grant support came from the National Urban and Rural Ministry Project, with support from The Pew Charitable Trusts; this was a multiyear program in various sites throughout the country whose purpose was to increase the involvement of churches and church-based organizations in community development.

IVDC was formed out of a desire by organizations already active in the neighborhood to broaden the scope of interest to wider community concerns and a larger geographical scope beyond the housing and physical development activities of the Church of the Messiah Housing Corporation and the social building activties of The Boulevard Harambee. A process of organizational development (OD) was initiated in IVDC and led by outside consultants from the Michigan Housing Trust Fund. The goal was to produce a strategic plan through methods including questionnaires, planning retreats, meetings, visioning/futuring exercises, formation of committees, development of action plans and statements for a series of committees and the board. A retreat was held in April, 1993 by the IVDC Board with the purpose of "reinvigorating" the member individuals and organizations. Since that time, IVDC has become involved in a series of community development activities and initiatives, including housing rehabilitation and development, economic and commercial strip redevelopment. IVDC has also developed a visible local prescence as an organization through its Executive Director's involvement with the Detroit Empowerment Zone application process as co-chair of the Housing Task Force, and major east side projects including the Kettering/Butzel Health Initiative, Detroit Eastside Community Collaborative, Parkside Homes Renovation, and Warren/Conner Development Coalition's Annie E. Casey Foundation Rebuilding Communities Project.

ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE Physical Development Plan (1995)

In 1994, my firm was jointly retained by Messiah Housing Corporation and Islandview Village Development Corporation to prepare an update to the 1990 *Island*

View Infill Housing Development Plan and a comprehensive physical development plan for the southern half of *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE*. The planning was initiated so that development efforts would be coordinated with the City of Detroit's Empowerment Zone application process that was then underway.

The objective of the physical development plan was to establish the general framework of required activity to improve the environment of *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE*. The plan contains an outline of proposed housing development with the goal of providing decent, affordable opportunities to all residents. Beyond housing, the program also is concerned with commercial, industrial, institutional, public infrastructure and open space improvements and development (See Figure 3.19).

The key element of the housing development program is new infill development of residential structures in a variety of unit types and occupancy modes, including single family homes "for sale" in all areas of the neighborhood to serve a variety of household types (family and elderly); townhouses in a variety of building types and forms of affordable rental housing for low and moderate income households; shared housing opportunities for elderly and extended family households; apartment developments in either a rental or cooperative ownership occupancy mode (See Figure 3.20). The rehabilitation of existing, sound residential structures is also an essential element of the housing development program. These include apartment buildings, rowhouses, duplexes and single family homes.

There is a shortage of stores and businesses that provide the everyday necessities such as food and household goods in the neighborhood and larger community. While there are several convenience stores in the neighborhood, very high

prices are charged for basic goods and somewhat poor quality merchandise. Also, security and safety is a discouraging concern in and around these locations.

A positive aspect, however, is the existence of a relatively viable light industrial and manufacturing corridor between Mt. Elliot and Bellevue Avenues. Longstanding businesses have occupied this area as well as some newer business developments.

Jefferson Avenue is a major traffic thoroughfare and appears to be rejuvenating with new smaller infill commercial developments having already occurred. This is exemplified by a recently opened International House of Pancakes restaurant by the popular performer, Anita Baker and her developer husband; new service stations, new branch banks, and the continued success of the Harbortown shopping plaza and other local businesses. Within the planning area, several neighborhood commercial areas are recommended for new small scale commercial infill development and strip revitalization activities.

As new housing is constructed and existing residences rehabilitated, the increased household population will require an increased level of neighborhood facilities and services such as child care and recreation. Identification of appropriate locations and organizational support development for these services is recommended.

Detroit Empowerment Zone

The Federal government initiated the Empowerment Zone and Enterprise Community (EZ/EC) program in 1993/1994 as a critical element in the Clinton/Gore Administration's community revitalization strategy. Four key principles provide the

framework for the program: economic opportunity, sustainable community development, community-based partnerships, and strategic vision for change.

The *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE* community is fortunate that a substantial part of it's area is included in the Federal Empowerment Zone award granted to the 18.35 square mile area of the City of Detroit in December, 1994. The Plan clearly stipulates that neighborhood and community-based organizations such as Messiah Housing Corporation and Islandview Village Development Corporation will have the principal role in the Plan's implementation.

The *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE Physical Development Plan* was prepared simultaneously with and as a coordinated component of the City of Detroit's Empowerment Zone application process to the Department of Housing and Urban Development. The goal and strategy of CMHC and IVDC was to be prepared to take advantage of Empowerment Zone benefits should the application be successful. Donald Softley, Executive Director of IVDC and Board Chairman of CMHC was active in the formulation of the housing strategy incorporated in Detroit's application and provided a close link between the neighborhood and the process. Softley helped maintain the geographical presence of a major portion of the *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE* area in the final boundaries of the zone application in what became a predictably politicized process. Thus far, the direct tangible benefits of the EZ designation have yet to be felt in *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE.* The initiative is still is in its formative stages after almost a year of designation. However, on September 14, 1995 a "groundbreaking day" was held for the Detroit Empowerment Zone with the final stop being a ceremony for the Townsend Avenue Single Family Homes Project, the first new single family homes to break ground in the Zone.

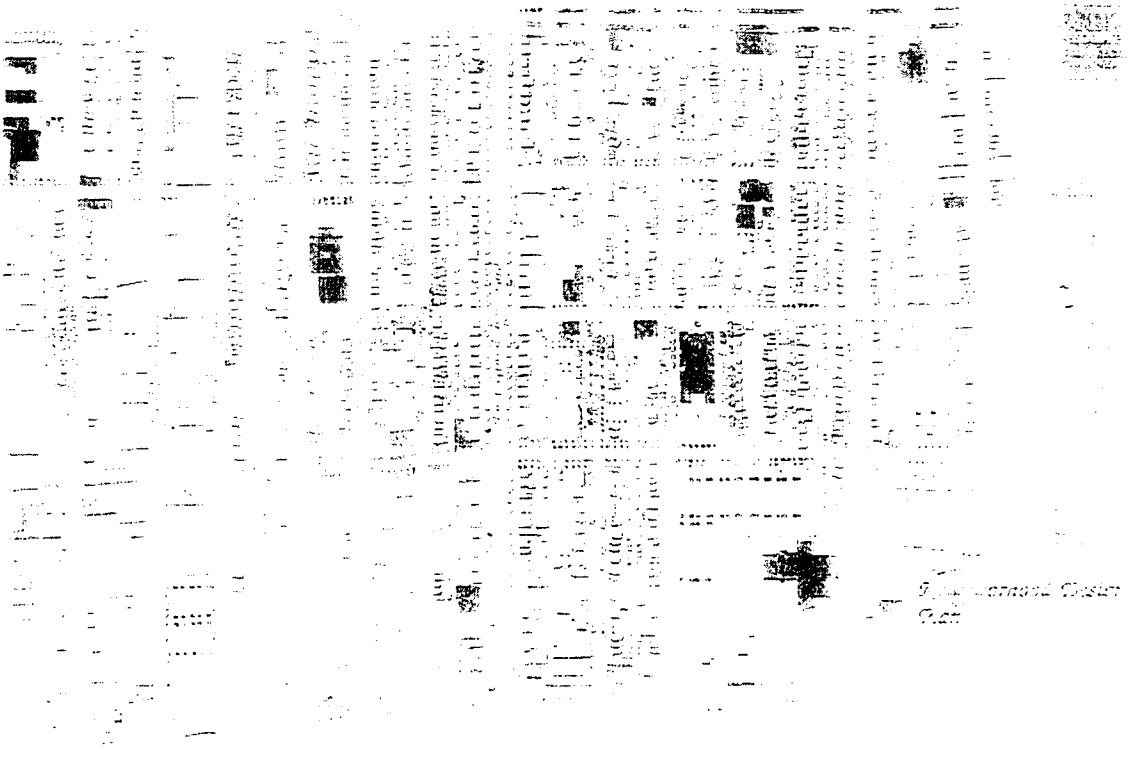


Figure 3.19

ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE Physical Development Plan

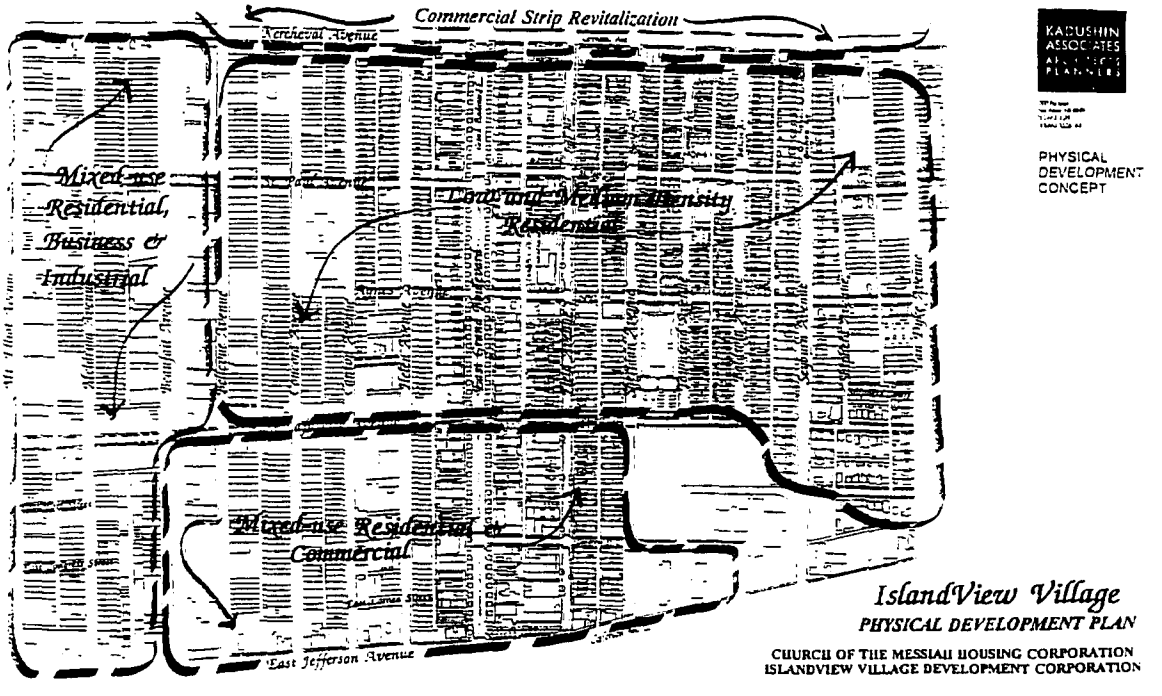


Figure 3.20

Physical Development Concept

Townsend Avenue Single Family Homes Project

Perhaps no other project illustrates the inherent frustrations or the positive potential that comes with community development as much as a plan to build new affordable single family homes on Townsend Avenue. For over three years, CMHC has been working to develop a series of detached single family homes for sale to low and moderate income buyers (see Figure 3.21). The process has included basic architectural plans drawn and redrawn, site plans prepared and revised due to problems with site acquisition, involvement with training programs from the Detroit Board of Education, Michigan State Housing Development Authority, Michigan Department of Corrections, several rounds of general contractor competitive bidding, investigations of manufactured home and pre-fabricated building technologies, City of Detroit Zoning and Building Department applications, public hearing, and plan review and processing for permits and approvals.

In 1992, a program was developed by the Detroit Public Schools, the city, and the Michigan Department of Education to run a building trades preparation program for adults who do not have high school diplomas (See Figures 3.21 and 3.33). Students would receive 480 hours of academic work and hands-on experience in construction. Spencer Haywood, the former star basketball player from the University of Detroit and the New York Knicks, was involved with the program along with a private educational training company, Job Training Detroit, Inc. (JTI). The city's Community and Economic Development Department contacted Church of the Messiah Housing Corporation to initiate an agreement to build on CMHC properties. Subsequently, the program was expanded to include the Islandview Village Development Corporation

and a Pilot Program of the Michigan State Housing Development Authority (MSHDA) and the Michigan Department of Corrections (DCC) to provide the same type of educational training to "boot camp" prisoners. The initial project would consist of two houses for CMHC with Job Training Detroit Inc. using CDBG funds and two houses for IVDC using MSHDA and DCC funds. Initial design plans were adapted from our firm's entry into the Progressive Architecture Magazine Affordable Housing Initiative competition in 1992. A two-story, 1300 sf three-bedroom model designed for compatibility with existing neighborhood housing was presented and approved. Construction costs were determined by JTI in early 1993 to be about $50,000 per house for materials only since most labor cost was absorbed through the training grant programs. With development costs for land acquisition, surveys, soils and environmental engineering, architectural and civil engineering, and administration, the cost per house was still projected to be only $62,500. Homes could be sold at that price to low and moderate income buyers with no additional subsidies required. HUD Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) funds were obtained to provide capital to construct two homes and leverage additional First of America Bank financing for the mortgage of the homes upon delivery to qualified owners. Upon sale of the homes, the bank would disburse monies to CMHC to fund the construction of additional homes, establishing a revolving fund to continue financing construction of homes in the neighborhood. The project proceeded through more detailed bidding and engineering work and costs rose to about $71,000 per house. In late 1993, problems began to arise with the contracting firm JTI had been using for the training program and a local building firm was retained. In early 1994, a new contractor appeared to be on board and the project was proceeding through administrative reviews at MSHDA

and the City of Detroit. In June, 1994 we met with one of the future homeowners to discuss plans for her house and possible customizing features. She was one of the first graduates of CMHC's Homebuyer's Club, a demonstration program funded by The Local Initiatives Support Corporation (LISC), a national intermediary, to provide training and counseling to potential homeowners.

However, final contract agreements between CMHC and Spencer Haywood/JTI were prolonged for some unknown reasons. Suddenly, allegations surfaced about Spencer Haywood and misuse of HUD funds for another project and the JTI contracts with the Detroit Public Schools were terminated. CMHC suspended its negotiations with JTI and the project was totally changed. There was no longer the opportunity for cost-free labor and so the project was competitively bid to conventional building contractors. At this point, relations between CMHC and IVDC on the project strained as IVDC began working with a large developer from Cleveland on the project, utilizing plans for a bigger house with different architects. The project was reduced to simply two houses to be built by CMHC on land they controlled. In late 1994, competitive bids were received from several contractors ranging from $125,000 to $180,000 per house, beyond the level of feasibility. In early 1995, investigations of modular and/or premanufactured housing to be administered by a prominent area builder occurred and the cost was reduced somewhat to about $110,000 per house, still beyond the range of feasibility. Finally, in mid-1995, we contacted Silverman Homes, another prominent local builder with a long history of involvement in Detroit (and with whom we have enjoyed a good personal and professional relationship). Silverman understood the public service nature of the project and was also interested in becoming involved in the resurgence spurred by the Empowerment Zone designation. Costs were

projected at about $85,000 per house and plans submitted for City of Detroit Building Department plan reviews and approvals. After several months of processing, including the need for a zoning variances, the plans are now poised for a construction permit. Only now, the project is awaiting area designation as a Neighborhood Enterprise Zone, a program which will provide residential property tax abatement for the future homeowner. Although a ceremonial groundbreaking took place on September 14, 1995 as part of the Detroit Empowerment Zone, the hope is that construction will start in early 1996 and perhaps will be available for occupancy by the end of 1996.

This summary only begins to point out the perseverance and flexibility required to undertake projects in this urban arena. Figure 3.23 is a rendering of the project.

Figure 3.21

Sign for Spencer Haywood's Job Training Program on Townsend Avenue

Figure 3.22

Trainees Staking Out the Townsend Avenue Single Family Homes Project

·ISLANDVIEW·VILLAGE·DETROIT·
·NEW·SINGLE·FAMILY·HOMES·ON·TOWNSEND·BY·THE·CHURCH·OF·THE·MESSIAH·

Figure 3.23

Rendering of the Townsend Avenue Single Family Homes Project

CHAPTER IV

PRAXIS: LESSONS LEARNED

Praxis is defined as:

1) practice: distinguished from theory.
2) established practice: custom.
3) a set of examples or exercises...[70]

The preceding two chapters have explored general problems and issues associated with urban community and neighborhood redevelopment, the social, economic and physical aspects of community development, and the experiences with many of these issues within *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE.* In this chapter, some of the specific lessons learned from research and the work in this neighborhood are analyzed in order to compare the general topics with specific experiences, and begin to isolate critical ingredients of success or failure. These lessons are then to be used in the formulation of improved principles of practice and the building of an application model and theory that follows in the next concluding chapters.

---

[70] *Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language, College Edition,* The World Publishing Company, New York, 1966.

The problem and issue areas that have been analyzed in order to extract lessons learned or rejected are: community organization and community development corporations, community economic development, neighborhood planning and design theory, and comprehensive community redevelopment initiatives. In each issue area, first the general lessons learned are described followed by reflections gained through experiences in *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE* rebuilding activities.

Community Organization and Participation: Myth and Reality

Perhaps the critical issue in neighborhood redevelopment is to define the true roles of individuals in the process of change and the extent to which there is active or passive involvement in the activities being undertaken. Are residents to be engaged partners or passive beneficiaries? How is effective participation accomplished so that the multiple benefits of physical, social and economic development are produced. While much of the prevailing attitude seems to suggest active involvement and participation, and facilitating *empowerment* of residents through the development process, an alternative view might be that while there is a desire to participate in the process of change, the sheer human energy and technical skills required for active participation are too difficult to attain, and that simple activities of daily survival of the individual and family is a greater concern. While we wish for, and cling to, the notion of people 'empowering' themselves in order to organize and create change, often the reality is that this process is extremely elusive and difficult to achieve.

First, there needs to be a separation of broader issues such as housing development activities with personal issues of security, education and health. This is not to suggest that there is not a need nor a lack of desire, nor a shortage of ability in making changes, but rather, a practical difficulty and real hardship in undertaking the roles, activities and tasks required.

Research conducted into community organization theory and various methods and practices of involving residents in planning solutions to neighborhood problems demonstrated that there are many successful examples of "capacity" building and "empowerment". Through the examination of the broad field and range of approaches to community participation, an awareness has been gained of the importance and value of systematic planning and methodical implementation of a process that is filled with numerous complexities. In many cases, a series of constraints and obstacles prohibit the execution of sustained efforts.

There are several preliminary steps that need to be accomplished for meaningful participation in a community building project. First, there is a need to gain knowledge and background of the inner workings of a neighborhood and its institutions before an effective participation process can be designed and implemented. Secondly, efforts need to be focused on leadership identification, development and organization-building initiatives. The broad research demonstrates that major initiatives have been carried out in the most distressed and fragmented communities in many cities. The key to many of these has been the continuous involvement of key individuals, and sustained devotion of significant resources of time and money over an extended period of years to support this effort. The involvement of large foundations

(i.e. Kellogg, Ford, Casey) in combination with public funding (federal, state, local) is required to initiate and sustain such community organization efforts.

Within any neighborhood, there are often numerous grass-roots organizations and non-profit and public service providers. Each of these has a perspective on the problems, an agenda and a resource base. What is often lacking is an effective degree of coherence and consensus in the community and a certain level of organization and local leadership. Thus, the neighborhood revitalization process needs to be focused initially on connections and coordination, leading towards more advanced forms of cooperation and collaboration.

The process of *collaboration* is worth analyzing as it relates to neighborhood development strategies. Since so many stakeholders are involved in any neighborhood-based collaboration, the opportunity for conflicting agendas and problems to arise is common. A "menu" of collaboration fundamentals was defined by Harlan Howard for the Neighborhood Strategies Project in New York[71] in order to help reduce potential problems that might arise in this intensive collaborative project. These include: careful creation of the collaboration based on knowledge of membership characteristics and proper balance of institutions and resources; recognition of self-interest as a motivator for participation; agreement on goals and objectives; creation of open communication systems and information sharing; effective governance and decision-making structure; maintaining organizational flexibility and adaptibility; and ability to undertake revisions and need for periodic assessments and reaffirmations of purpose.

---

[71] From a paper written by Harlan Howard, Austin Labor Force Intermediary, Chicago, Illinois reproduced in a paper entitled "Fundamentals of Successful Collaboration", prepared by Shorebank Advisory Services for The New York Community Trust Neighborhood Strategies Project, March 1995.

Participation Patterns in *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE*

There are a series of community-based organizations active in *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE*, including those affiliated with Church of the Messiah, Islandview Village Development Corporation (IVDC), other churches, block clubs, housing cooperatives, public service agencies and organizations such as Adult Well-Being Services and Riverview Hospital. In addition, there exists a series of institutions that are less involved, located generally along East Grand Boulevard serving special populations including the elderly and disabled.

Over the last six years, specific project involvements provided the opportunity to participate in many meetings, presentations and events involving community residents and leadership. This experience allows examination and reflection on the type and patterns of community participation taking place in *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE*, if only from one particular perspective. The Advisory Planning Committee for the 1990 Infill Housing Development Plan is a representative example of the level and extent of local participation. It was composed 15 members, representing the Island View Association, the East Grand Boulevard/St. Paul Block Club, the Mustard Tree Cooperative, Bellevue Elementary School, First of America Bank and the NBD Community Development Corporation, Adult Well-Being Services, St. Christopher's House, The University of Michigan, Church of the Messiah Housing Corporation, The Episcopal Diocese of Michigan, St. Charles Borromeo Roman Catholic Church and Church of the Messiah. About half of the participants were residents of the community, and the other half members of organizations that served the community.

Although a certain degree of collaboration exists, facilitated thus far by Messiah and IVDC, the asset potential within the community is still largely untapped and would benefit from an expanded process of networking, cooperation, coordination and collaboration.

Faith-Based Community Development

The role of Church of the Messiah as the originator and initiator of change in the neighborhood leads to a consideration of the role of religious organizations in the neighborhood transformation process and their importance. The sheer number and presence of large and small churches in urban neighborhoods calls attention to the important role being played by these institutions (See Figures 4.1 and 4.2). It has been said that there are two institutions left in many urban neighborhoods - the church and the liquor store.

Research in this area has been minimal, with most studies focusing on case history lessons of programs initiated by religious institutions. World Vision (1992) provided a listing of various projects and initiatives; Rainbow Research[72] on behalf of The Lilly Endowment (1991, 1994) provided an assessment of a program initiated in 1989 that included Church of the Messiah; Michigan Housing Coalition (1989), Reed (1994) and Michigan State University Community & Economic Development Program (1994) have also related examples of religious-based community development.

---

[72] By David Scheie et al, *Better Together: Religious Institutions as Partners in Community-Based Development:* Final Evaluation Report on The Lilly Endowment Program, Rainbow Research, Minneapolis, Minnesota, 1994.

Figure 4.1

Greater Tree of Life Baptist Church on Sheridan Avenue

Figure 4.2

St. Charles Borromeo Catholic Church on Baldwin and St. Paul Avenues

The significance and successful role of churches in the community development movement nationwide is only now becoming well recognized and documented. This "faith-based" community and economic development movement has been particularly strong in the black church - traditionally one of the strongest remaining institutions in inner city neighborhoods. Ironically, the national political shifts to the conservative right are supportive of the more active invovlement of religious organizations in traditionally separate spheres. Alliances between spiritual leaders and politicians such as an emerging effort between Governor Engler, a Republican conservative stalwart, and Detroit area church and community leaders is an example of this previously unlikely linkage.

Church of the Messiah's transition in the early 1970's to a community-oriented institution and the strong foundations and human connections established as a result of the "intentional community" and evolving forms of spiritual and secular community organization are important lessons. It seems that a difference can be perceived in those neighborhood and community-based efforts that have strong spiritual- and religious-based foundations versus those that do not have this base. There is a level of "built-in" social organization within these communities that supports work at higher levels of interaction.

IVDC was formed in 1991 out of a desire by the organizations already active in the neighborhood to broaden the scope of interest to wider community development concerns and a larger geographical scope beyond the housing and physical development activities of the Church of the Messiah Housing Corporation and the social building activities of The Boulevard Harambee. A grant in 1990 from World Vision - U.S. Ministries for training and feasibility work was obtained to facilitate this

vision. The intention was to create a vehicle for economic development through the formation of a community development corporation (CDC). IVDC is now a coalition of a series of individuals and groups representing local neighborhood associations, religious congregations, health and human service agencies and organizations, housing corporations and cooperatives. It is the type of collaborative organization that has proven to be a successful vehicle in other initiatives and projects but currently lacks some key aspects such as an effective governance and decision-making structure and open communication systems. These hinder the ability of IVDC to function as an agent of more effective community organization and participation.

A summary observation of the level of community organization and participation in *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE* is that many of the key organizations and groups are aware and willing to communicate and collaborate, however, the organizational structure and support network is not yet in place for the coordination of a comprehensive, integrated strategy. The membership includes several churches and religious organizations (Messiah, St. Charles, Genesis Lutheran, Trinity Delivarance, and The Capuchins), however the community organization and mobilization success experienced by multi-denominational groups such as those led by The Industrial Areas Foundation (IAF) has not yet been achieved. The recent designation of much of the area as part of the Detroit Empowerment Zone and subsequent achievement of additional financial and organizational support from local, state and national intermediaries, agencies and institutions (including The University of Michigan) has provided an impetus for improvement.

Community Development Corporations: Vehicles of Change

The community development corporation (CDC) movement is now considered over 30 years old. During this time, over 5,000 community-based organizations have emerged and produced impressive records in production of housing and economic development opportunities in poorer inner city neighborhoods. CDCs have been called "the ribbon that ties community development activities into a comprehensive strategy".

Most of the nation's major foundations have been and still are involved in the support network for CDCs, stepping in to maintain the viability of these organizations in the face of diminishing public funding. Political support for CDCs is currently very strong, as it is an integral part of the federal Empowerment Zone/Enterprise Communities program and recently prepared Clinton National Urban Policy Report.

Recently, several research efforts in this important approach to urban core redevelopment have been undertaken to better define measures or criteria of success. Much of this research has focused on CDC structure and accomplishments[73]. A more analytical study of the costs and funding of housing development by CDCs demonstrated that a unique niche was filled in providing affordable housing for poor people and in rebuilding communities. The housing developments are usually high-risk

[73] Notable research efforts in this area include *Rebuilding Communities: A National Study of Urban Community Development Corporations*, authored by Avis C. Vidal of the Community Development Research Center at the New School for Social Research in NYC. Also, Neal Peirce and Carol Steinbach's *Corrective Capitalism: The Rise of America's Community Development Corporations* for the Ford Foundation. The National Congress for Community Economic Development (NCCED) conducted a 'Census' in 1994 to examine the concrete achievements of CDCs, published in 1995 as *Tying It All Together*, and written by Carol Steinbach.

endeavors that the private development sector cannot feasibly undertake through traditional development and financing methods.[74]

One of the troubling realizations is that these CDC models are often recreating the same dependent, service delivery/client relationship which has dominated the lives of poor inner city residents for over two generations (Traynor, *Shelterforce*, June-July, 1994)[75]. The effective participation and involvement of a wider resident population in the actions and programs of the community development corporations is still lacking and difficult to achieve.

Carol Steinbach, one of the most prolific and effective chroniclers of the CDC movement, writes,

> "Despite nonprofits' impressive achievements, old attitudes die hard. Some still view these organizations as 1960s-style protest groups, to be approached with caution and distrust. Some mayors still suspect community activists are more intent on challenging their authority than in working cooperatively with city offices."[76]

In Detroit, a network of CDCs has been steadily growing and evolving since the 60's. Church of the Messiah Housing Corporation is considered one of the premier

---

[74] *Nonprofit Housing: Costs and Funding*, prepared for U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Office of Policy Development and Research by Abt Associates, Inc. with Aspen Systems, Inc., 1993.

[75] William Traynor is the founder of Neighborhood Partners, Cambridge, MA and is a prominent training and technical assistance provider to community development corporations. *Shelterforce*, edited by Patrick Morrissy, is published by the National Housing Institute, Orange; New Jersey, and is "dedicated to building a network of tenant and housing groups and to providing resources and information that contribute to the creation and preservation of decent, affordable housing for all people." The journal has been a steady supporter for CDCs.

[76] In an article entitled "Reflections on the Maxwell Awards of Excellence Program", found in the report by Fannie Mae Foundation, *Maxwell Awards of Excellence Program for the Production of Low-Income Housing*, Washington, DC, 1992.

examples of a successful organization and serves as a model for other neighborhoods and institutions in the formative stages of CDC development. Messiah Housing Corporation, as indicated by its name, focuses on housing development activities. Other community building activities such as senior services, youth outreach programs and the like, are undertaken by Church of the Messiah under the umbrella of The Boulevard Harambee. CMHC has been fortunate to have had a strong and stable leadership base since its inception under the direction of Richard Cannon. Dynamic, continuous leadership is often found in successful CDC development and this has been the case in many of the organizations examined. Recently, Cannon stepped down from the leadership (maintaining a position in project development) pointing out the potentially fragile nature of CDC organizational management and the need for adequate planning for succession and continuity. The nonprofit CDC movement has evolved into an established and respected field of employment, and an experienced pool of qualified personnel now exists from which to recruit and select new leadership and staff.

The Islandview Village Development Corporation (IVDC) is also incorporated as a non-profit, tax-exempt community development corporation. As a newer and less rooted organization, it has suffered from a less focused mission, inadequate financial support and consequent lack of manpower. Part of the problem is the overlapping geographical context and its independent housing development activities, even though the original understanding at the formation of IVDC was that it was to concentration on the social and economic needs of the community.

The Planning Process

Planning has been shown to be an important tool and first step in the mobilization of community building initiatives and projects. The Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative in Boston and Sandtown-Winchester Community Neighborhood Transformation Projects both began with organized planning processes with heavy grass-roots participation facilitated by community-based organizations with outside technical assistance. This same procedure was undertaken in most of the other initiatives and projects reviewed as well. Planning becomes an effective organizing tool, an information gathering method, and a momentum building process.

Community development planning has been an integral part of the work in *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE.* Beginning in 1990 with the *Island View Infill Housing Development Plan*, and most recently with the *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE Physical Development Plan*, the constant activity of future-oriented planning has provided a beneficial platform for reflection and evaluation. The planning process has included goals and objectives setting, alternative development concept formulation, feedback and review, revisions to concepts and final development of documents. These activities have had varying degrees of participation and involvement by neighborhood stakeholders. In the early stages of our involvement (1990-91) an Advisory Development Committee[77] was appointed and met frequently to review progress of

[77] The committee had 15 members, including representatives from the Island View Association, East Grand Boulevard/St. Paul Block Club, Episcopal Diocese of Michigan, Mustard Tree Cooperative, Bellevue Elementary School, First of America Bank, National Bank of Detroit Community Development Corporation, St. Charles Borromeo Roman Catholic Church, Adult Well-Being Services, Church of the Messiah, and The University of Michigan.

the planning and design work, including specific housing development and design models that were generated. More recently, the planning process has been less inclusive, relying on leadership for guidance and review. This has been driven by the necessity of producing planning documents to support major initiatives (such as the Empowerment Zone application) and specific project requirements.

The Community Economic Development Question

Journalist Nicolas Lemann, in a highly controversial article[78] in The New York Times Magazine (January 9, 1994) questioned the common belief that ghetto revitalization should concentrate on economic development as a central focus. Lemann pointed out that even though the notion of economic development helped make programs like the federal Empowerment Zone palatable and saleable politically, that they simply do not work. Instead, the emphasis should be on programs that do work, such as housing, day care, social services, safety, education and job training. His point was that new industries and jobs do not locate in inner city areas, in spite of tax incentives. Further, even if jobs were available within neighborhoods, employees would rather not live near their workplace, as was the case in the past when transportation and mobility was not as easy as it is today. Even in the past, once

[78] The article generated immediate response and defense from the community development field, including Vice President Gore, who is the chair of the Community Empowerment Board, an interagency task force that is guiding the federal Empowerment Zone/Enterprise Communities program.

freedom and ability to commute was available, workers would rather "move up and out". Lemann wrote,

> "Jobs have followed people to the suburbs, and that makes it even more difficult to create an employment base in poor inner-city neighborhoods."

One of the central themes that emerges upon review of major issues and questions to be answered revolves around *employment* and its linkages to other urban problems. The connections include schools and their ability to provide appropriate education for the employment market; reform of the welfare system and its relation to employment; crime and employment; spatial mismatch between job opportunities and location of housing and transportation.

Questions that can be asked are: what role should community development organizations play in employment and other development strategies and can they be an effective player in implementation? Or, are the problems and issues of such a magnitude that interventions on a broader scale are necessary and need to be carried out by larger and more economically powerful organizations. Another question is - should strategies be focused on large-scale or small-scale initiatives, that is, development of neighborhood-based enterprises or attempts to attract expansion or relocation of larger, established private business and industrial facilities.

In the case of *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE*, economic development planning and implementation has been concentrated in the activities of two community development corporations. Housing development activities have been undertaken since 1978 by Church of the Messiah Housing Corporation (CMHC). From an economic impact standpoint, CMHC activities have resulted in stabilization of property values in a focused geographical area around the Church, establishment of a successful property

management organization, and the provision of technical services including rehabilitation construction management to other citywide organizations. CMHC currently maintains a staff of 13 full-time and 6 part-time persons with an annual budget of over $1.1 million, thereby acting as a substantial employment organization in the neighborhood. Islandview Village Development Corporation is a newer (since 1991) and smaller organization, operating out of space in St. Charles Borromeo Catholic Church with part-time staff and a small operating budget. Recently, several new funding opportunities have been pledged to the organization which will project it into a new stage of organizational development.

The type of organization represented by CMHC and IVDC - the community development corporation - has been recognized as a powerful economic development force by the severest critics of community development.[79] In *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE*, the challenge is to expand the scope of coordinated development projects that these CDCs can undertake. In addition to housing development, there has been involvement in economic development planning as a part of a larger consortium of community development organizations active on the east side of Detroit.[80] Islandview Village Development Corporation has also undertaken preliminary feasibility studies of commercial development, including retail strip revitalization of abandoned, deteriorated streets and larger-scale shopping center development. Convenient access to retail goods

---

[79] Nicholas Lemann, Rebuilding the Ghetto Doesn't Work, *New York Times Magazine*, January 9, 1994, p. 54.

[80] The Detroit Eastside Community Collaborative (DECC) was formed in 1991 by 12 community development corporations including the Church of the Messiah Housing Corporation and Islandview Village Development Corporation to focus on economic development.

and services is an important issue among residents. There is a severe deficiency in basic goods and services within the neighborhood, such as a good-sized supermarket or hardware store.

Neighborhood Planning and Design

Several issues have emerged from the research and practice experience that constitute relevant approaches to neighborhood planning and design. The relationship between crime and the environment is an area of research and practice that has continued to evolve over the past twenty five years. Today, urban neighborhoods remain seriously at risk by substance-related and other criminal activities. A culture of gangs, guns, and violence fueled substantially by drugs persists. In spite of the depth of this problem, approaches to neighborhood design such as CPTED are important techniques worthy of application.

The infill development approach, contrasted with the previous total clearance and redevelopment approach of urban renewal, has been the primary model for neighborhood redevelopment in *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE.* This neighborhood development model represents an attitude of respect for community history, existing assets, and an ecological, sustainable approach to rebuilding.

The new construction and rehabilitation of affordable housing is another lesson worthy of highlighting in this context. The simple development and building of new homes in all forms and the rehabilitation of existing residences are critical elements in a neighborhood rebuilding process. It is an accomplishment that permeates and

connects all threads of community development - social, economic and physical. The transition between planning and building is the important lesson. There are numerous planning efforts and projects that do not translate into physical development projects and remain an unfulfilled promise. There needs to be a focus on the tangible outcomes of planning and almost immediate start-up of design and construction projects following or even beginning simultaneously with major community planning efforts. Smaller, infill development projects, versus larger scale high impact projects, allow this process of building to begin a little more easily.

Infill Development

Infill development is the opposite of the former urban renewal programs of slum clearance and displacement. It represents integration of new buildings and their residents into the existing social fabric, not their separation, removal, relocation and exclusion.[81] It represents respect for existing lifestyles and social patterns, rather than elitist efforts to reform the poor or otherwise non-conservative mainstream household patterns. The infill approach has shown much promise through use of contextual design, participation of neighborhoods in their own rehabilitation, and recognition of an area's history and remaining strengths. Infill housing projects can repair the gaps or lesions which exist in the surrounding neighborhood and take advantage of existing

[81] From the Introduction by Peter Marcuse to a report of a competition and exhibition *Reweaving the Urban Fabric: Approaches to Infill Housing*, The New York State Council of the Arts and The Princeton Architectural Press, 1988.

municipal services and infrastructure. Since the projects are generally small, they avoid the problems often associated with isolated low-income housing developments.

The preservation and revitalization of the existing social, physical and institutional infrastructure by conserving and infilling urban areas is one of the key principles at the heart of the "sustainable" approach, as well as a guiding philosophy of *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE.*

The infill development approach is contrasted with the previous federal urban renewal programs and to a certain extent the current New Urbanist approaches applied to existing urban areas. These programs represent an unwillingness to accommodate existing building stock and character into the new neighborhoods. In the urban renewal era and in current plans for New Urbanism developments in central cities (i.e. Cleveland, Norfolk), it was necessary to remove existing communities completely in order to build the new ones. The new neighborhoods suffer from no history and lack of roots.

In *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE*, the first new infill housing project - Field Street Townhouses - completed in 1993 has already demonstrated in one portion of this neighborhood that stabilizing effects are created by the planning process and the implementation of specific development projects. The intention is to spread this effect to surrounding blocks in the neighborhood and simultaneously, to initiate housing projects in other parts of the community.

Affordable Infill Housing Design

As part of the *Island View Infill Housing Development Plan* (1990), an extensive review of affordable infill development and housing design models was

undertaken. Information was gathered from many sources in order to gain a thorough understanding of the current state-of-the-art in the design, construction and implementation of affordable infill housing. After review and analysis of these sources, specific criteria for evaluating and selecting several case study examples were identified. These case studies were further analyzed in order to learn the details of their design, cost, construction methods, implementation, funding programs and other development issues. This work served as a basis for collective understanding of the issues and problems faced by others in the development of affordable infill housing, and therefore provided guidance in the planning and design of the housing models and prototypes for the Field Street Infill Housing Project, the first new housing development project in the *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE* area.

What has been perceived from reviewing several of these efforts is a certain fragmentation of efforts and lack of cohesion in planning and design approach. From an architectural and urban design perspective, there is, in many cases, a certain disregard for design quality in what is being produced. There is more concern for how much is being produced.[82] Poor design can be a somewhat understandable yet unfortunate situation based on the extraordinary difficulties and obstacles usually encountered in the real estate development process, especially when undertaken by relatively new and inexperienced development organizations. This can be considered

---

[82] The debate over this issue was documented in a series of articles in *Shelterforce*, "Part I: The Great Production Debate" (May/June 1995) by Charles Buki, an architect formerly with the Department of HUD and now with the Neighborhood Reinvestment Corporation who advocated for quality of design and in "Part II: The Great Production Debate" (July/August 1995) by Robert Santucci, a housing development consultant for The Enterprise Foundation who stresses increased production rather than "overdesigned projects and architectural frills".

normal and representative of a first generation of housing in the community development movement. Perhaps we are ready for a second generation that continues to accomplish many of the same productivity results, but with a greater concern for good design.

An issue that arises in the development of smaller, infill housing developments is the cost in terms of time and resources to implement these projects of 20-30 units of housing versus the development of larger scale projects. It is not unusual for these projects to take three or four years to develop from planning to groundbreaking and one can question the advisability of applying human and financial resources on this scale. The complexity of financial and organizational requirements necessitates an uncommon degree of stubbornness and relentlessness in development and probably should be focused on larger projects. There is a probability, however, that the larger projects would be even more difficult to undertake and take even longer than the smaller infill projects. This was one of the major problems with the urban renewal program where vast sections of urban communities were left vacant and undeveloped for very long periods of time[83].

Crime and Environmental Design

Today, control of criminal and vandal activity is one of the most difficult issues in housing and community renewal. Security is a major problem in almost all

[83] In the case of the Elmwood Park III urban renewal project on the near east side of Detroit, the final parcels of land are now being developed with new housing, approximately thirty years after the inception of the program.

residential areas, especially the older portions of our cities. Vandalism, robbery, burglary, physical attacks and a general fear of crime and victimization is prevalent in many urban neighborhoods. In recent years, drug-related and youth gang-related activities have escalated the pervasive feelings of fear and loss of control. Elimination of these activities is a daunting task, in that the true solutions are rooted in eliminating the critical problems that face the urban community - racism, drugs, pervasive poverty, joblessness, poor living conditions. William J. Wilson (1987) writes in *The Truly Disadvantaged,*

> "The social problems of urban life in the United States are, in large measure, the problems of racial inequality. The rates of crime, drug addiction, out-of-wedlock births, female-headed families, and welfare dependency have risen dramatically in the last several years, and they reflect a noticeably uneven distribution by race."

Effective solutions to these deep-rooted problems lie in multi-faceted approaches and understandings that not only deal with innovative methods such as community policing, CPTED (Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design) but are also concerned with the entire living environment and support structure surrounding children, families and communities. Multidisciplinary teams with expertise in fields such as child and family development, community development as well as crime prevention and environmental design are the most appropriate vehicles for addressing these issues in a comprehensive and integrated approach. The appropriate approach to CPTED in neighborhood and housing design is to broaden the scope of concern to include linkages with other initiatives (resident organizing, community development, community policing, Safe Neighborhoods planning) so that the beginnings of more lasting solutions can be put in place. The importance of a

broadened approach has been recognized by HUD in its new Community Partnership Against Crime (COMPAC) initiative, in which partnering with local police departments, innovative police practices, and strong tenant involvement play a role in the comprehensive approach to this problem. This theme of active resident involvement and participation in the planning and decision-making process is one which cannot be underestimated and represents a common thread among all types of rsidential developments and neighborhoods.

Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED)

From the earliest periods of human settlement, security has been a major determinant in shaping choices of location and the design of human habitats. Some early examples of settlements that exhibit this concept are the cave villages, stilt villages, walled cities and towns, medieval manors, and early frontier towns with their forts and stockades. For thousands of years civilization has been aware that protection is a function of proper shelter. It appears that as civilization, particularly western urban society evolved, security became less important as an issue influencing the location and planning of cities and the design of neighborhoods and dwellings.

In general, cities and their predominant multi-family housing developments do not strengthen an overall sense of self. Residents are given little control over personal safety, producing a feeling of isolation and unimportance. The urban design and building design in many cases foster crime and induce fear. Ada Louise Huxtable has written,

> "The design of housing in this country has demonstrably increased tendencies toward crime, violence, and social isolation, at a social and monetary cost that is insupportable."

"Territory" is a concept that appears repeatedly in the consideration of relationships between space and human behavior. These relationships have potentially strong effects on the provision and achievement of residential security. It is the concept of "territory" or "territoriality" that brings together much of the thinking of those concerned with space, environment and behavior. Environmental psychologists have stated that territoriality is one means of establishing and maintaining a sense of personal identity. Space is personal and has unique meaning for the individual. "House" and "Place" are regarded as extensions of one's self. Home is a matter of strong feelings; it is a symbol of status, of achievement, of social acceptance. Housing seems to control in many ways the manner in which individuals and families perceive themselves and are perceived by others.

In the face of seemingly insurmountable problems related to crime and in response to evolving environment-behavior research, certain positive approaches have emerged from architects, criminologists and social scientists. These include CPTED, community policing and control of "hot spots". In a proper application of these approaches, they are part of a comprehensive community crime prevention planning process carried out by a partnership and collaboration of residents, public officials, law enforcement officials, the private sector, and technical experts.

The goal of CPTED is the transformation of the physical environment as a method of crime reduction and control and an increase in individual, family and neighborhood safety. The designed alterations and prescribed interventions also help reduce the fear of crime, thereby causing an increase in perceived safety and overall quality of life.

CPTED principles are now applied to all types of land uses, from whole cities and towns to downtown sections and neighborhoods, parks and open spaces, industrial parks, shopping centers, office parks and residential developments. CPTED is based on the premise that the physical design of housing developments is a vital part of planning for livable environments, and for crime prevention and reduction. Criminologists have long been aware that certain physical conditions can have an effect on the occurrence of crime in residential areas. For example, the proper utilization and programming of open spaces in housing developments is a critical element in providing a secure environment, and in developing an effective crime prevention strategy. Open space that was intended as "everyman's land" may become "no-man's land" instead. Opportunities for intensive use patterns of common spaces within permissive and comfortable environments are important elements of this approach. Who actually uses site amenities and semi-public areas, and for what purposes, should be understood for future residential planning.

The CPTED concept is linked to the broader issues of community organization, user participation, and capacity-building in that permanently successful results can only come through a strengthening of the underlying social and organizational structure of a neighborhood through connectivity and active involvement of residents. Individuals and families are bonded by common goals and objectives in their lifestyles, such as the safety and security of their homes, blocks and neighborhoods from the incidence and fear of crime. Everyone, in different degrees, needs to take an active part in the perpetual existence and actualization of this attitude.

Thus, in addition to a physical design focus, it should be recognized that organizational and social factors play a part in creating and maintaining a secure

environment. The role and involvement of housing management and residents needs to be considered as part of an overall strategy. It is also important to analyze both how people actually live in selected residential developments in the project areas, and what are the types and levels of criminal activity in these developments. By evaluating physical design characteristics of the residential developments and developing a set of relationships and correlations, design principles can be developed which promote safety and security.

The CPTED approach has evolved over the past twenty five years from the concepts written of in *Defensible Space* and the studies for the National Institute of Justice of the U.S. Department of Justice and the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, but much remains valid. The approach remains based upon psychological and spatial notions of "territory" and "turf" and the resulting social behavior and organization. The concept still holds that through proper architectural design, more neighboring behavior such as "reciprocal guarding" (William J. Wilson, 1987) can be promoted and criminal activities can be deterred. The ability of residents to provide natural surveillance and control over one's living spaces, to be able to identify and challenge intruders is the basis for this design theory and application.

Application of CPTED Theory to the Field Street Infill Housing Project

This example is provided to illustrate how CPTED theory might be applied to a specific site. The recently completed Field Street Infill Housing Project is used to demonstrate these concepts. The relationship between the design of the new project and criminal activity is explored in order to understand what characteristics of design

are related to and might support crime prevention and greater feelings of security by the inhabitants.

The Field Street Infill Housing Project consists of 21 townhouse units in several residential building types - duplexes, fourplexes and a quadruplex. The project is located on an existing urban block bounded by East Lafayette Boulevard, Field Avenue, East Grand Boulevard and Agnes, and reuses the existing infrastructure of alleys, sidewalks, streets and utilities. The photographs (Figures 4.3 and 4.4) illustrate the context and character of the project. The photos show the existing front yard and back yard conditions.

A complete CPTED research application would ideally include a pre- and post-test analysis. First, one would describe the types and patterns of crimes in the area through analysis of data from police and community reports. The general area and the new housing would be monitored as to incidents of criminal and vandal activity over a period of time. A series of site improvements designed to promote crime prevention, safety and security would then be constructed and criminal activity monitored over another period of time. A comparison of criminal activity would be made between pre- and post- site improvement phases to determine the effect of the designed changes. In this way, a study of the relationship between territoriality, security and the infill housing project design would be made by installing specific improvements to determine whether these can act as a deterrant to criminal and vandal activity.

Figure 4.3

Front Yards and Sidewalk of Field Street Project

Figure 4.4

Back Yards and Alley of Field Street Project

Data Gathering Phase

The first phase of research would gather information on physical characteristics, criminal activity and social factors including previous and current conditions. The potential relationship between existing physical design features of the development and criminal activity would be examined. Probability of criminal activity in specific locations would be extracted and identified as to where these might occur. Criminal data would be plotted on maps and examined as to whether specific locations or building types show high incidences of criminal activity. A pattern of vulnerability may be gained from this procedure. Relationships between type of crime and type of unit would be identified.

The analysis would include physical characteristics in the neighborhood such as site factors (type of buildings - size in height, width, depth; location and configuration on site; location of entry and exit points to development; location and configuration of parking areas, walkways, open spaces, common facilities, public alleys and streets; lighting and illumination; recreational facilities in development and surrounding areas; immediately surrounding land uses), building factors (types of units - number of bedrooms, duplex, fourplex, etc.; floor plan/room layout and sizes; location of entrances, porches; mailbox location and type; views and window placements).

The research would also analyze criminal activity in the neighborhood, including thenumbers and types of crime/offenses committed (robbery, assault, purse snatching, sexual assault, burglary/break-ins, vandalism/property damage, auto theft/vandalism, drug possesion/sales, loitering and prostitution), a locational analysis of crime (geographic location of incident/place of occurrence - unit interiors or

grounds i.e. parking areas, front yards, front porches, rear yards, rear porches, playlot, alley, sidewalk, street), time of occurrence of crime (day, time, month).

Social data analysis would include a demographic breakdown of residents (age distribution, race, income, family size and structure), community use patterns (circulation and activity patterns in neighborhood).

Design and Implementation Phase

This design and implementation of physical design improvements would include items such as fences and gates, screen walls, landscaping, patios or decks, walks, lighting, additional site monitoring and security systems (video surveillance), etc. In order to illustrate several of the key concepts described, a series of drawings are presented on the following pages.

The first drawing, entitled "Existing Development" (Figure 4.5) illustrates a typical portion of the project to be studied and shows the relationship between key ground plane elements - Field Avenue pavement, curb line, curb apron (landscaped area between curb and sidewalk), public sidewalk, front entry walks, front yards/lawns, front entry steps, covered front porches, the buildings (duplex and fourplex townhouses), rear covered porches, rear steps, rear walks from parking areas, rear yards, walk and curb stop for parking spaces, parking areas and public alley.

The second drawing is entitled "Hierarchy of Defensible Space" (Figure 4.6) and illustrates the progression from the *public* space from the street to the sidewalk/front yard line; *semi-public* space from the sidewalk to the building entry door including the front lawn, front entry walk, front steps and front porch; the *private* zone of the townhouse unit interior and the side yards between the buildings; *semi-*

private space from the rear porches to the parking areas including the rear yards and walks; another *semi-public* space that incorporates the parking area and adjacent walk; and the *public* alley.

The current design of the site, as illustrated by these two drawings, provides little physical barrier to intrusion into the site from the public street or alley zones. While surveillance opportunities are good from townhouse interiors to surrounding spaces, there is a lack of physical definition of these spaces. Another deficiency is the lack of a private outdoor space sufficient in size for family gatherings or a designated garden plot area.

The third drawing, entitled "Territorial Zones" (Figure 4.7) graphically illustrates the potential zones of surveillance, influence and control, or territorial definition, that can be exerted by the townhouse inhabitants. By dividing the existing development into these zones, the residents can then adopt proprietary attitudes towards these spaces, enhancing their perceived safety and control of criminal activity.

The fourth drawing is entitled "Defensible Space Design Improvements" (Figure 4.8) and illustrates a series of initial modifications that are proposed to assist in creating "defensible space" and promoting a sense of territorial or turf control, and consequently a stronger feeling of common security and safety. Improvements include improved lighting at several height and illumination levels and locations (street lighting - tall fixtures for general street traffic and curb parking illumination; these would be the normal City of Detroit Public Lighting Commission pole standards and would replace substandard poles and fixtures that currently exist on Field Avenue, pedestrian/sidewalk and entry walk lighting - lower fixtures to illuminate walking areas particularly at entry points, located on front lawn or curb apron, wall-mounted

flood lights at the side yard locations, alley lighting - tall lighting typical of City of Detroit street pole standards and fixtures and lower fixtures for parking and rear walk areas), fences installed to define private and semi-private zones and restrict free movement through development (fences and gates installed between buildings to close-off side yard areas from Field Avenue; alternate would be to fence in front yards at sidewalk line, fences and gates installed along rear parking area to enclose rear yards), private semi-enclosed rear entry courtyards with 6 ft. high screen walls for visual privacy; this area would be immediately adjacent to the rear porches of the units and provide a patio space for outdoor activities; the entry to these areas would have gates, low walls at front yard/sidewalk line to symbolically define separation of public and semi-public space and provide a pyschological separation between these zones.

The Alley Question

The issue of alley elimination for security purposes has entered several discussions of appropriate urban infill redevelopment. One opinion is that alleys should be eliminated and the property secured as private 'back yard' open space, typical of suburban style developments. The alleys are viewed as a potential sources of criminal behavior and advocates of the closing-off approach state that if one observes historical patterns, security fences and barriers have always been built (even during the safer times) to eliminate perceived intrusion potential. Some new developments in the city of Detroit (Victoria Park, Virginia Park) have adopted this approach and are new single family homes developments with gated entries, front street access driveways and attached two-car garages, the typical suburban pattern.

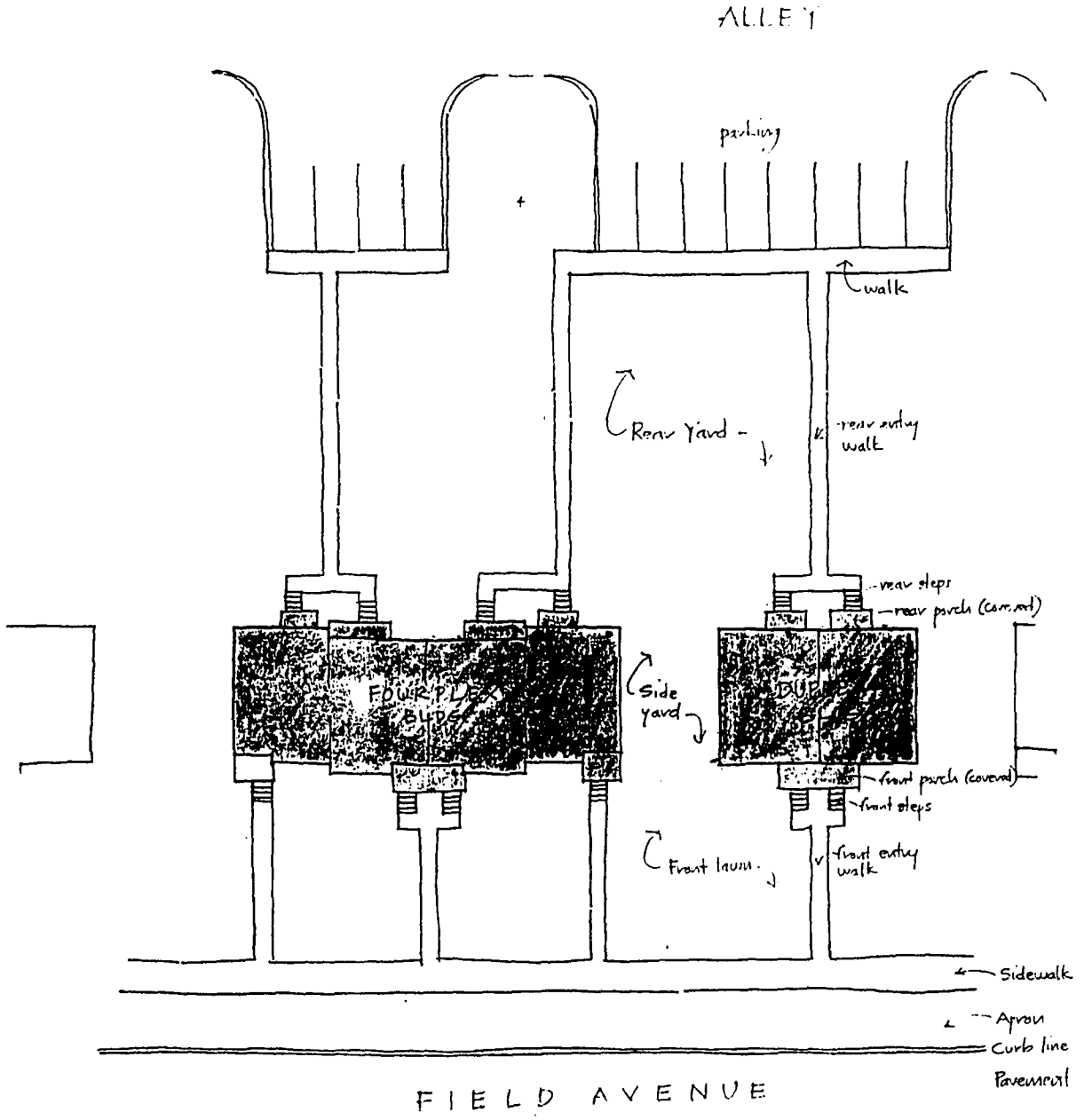


Figure 4.5

Existing Development

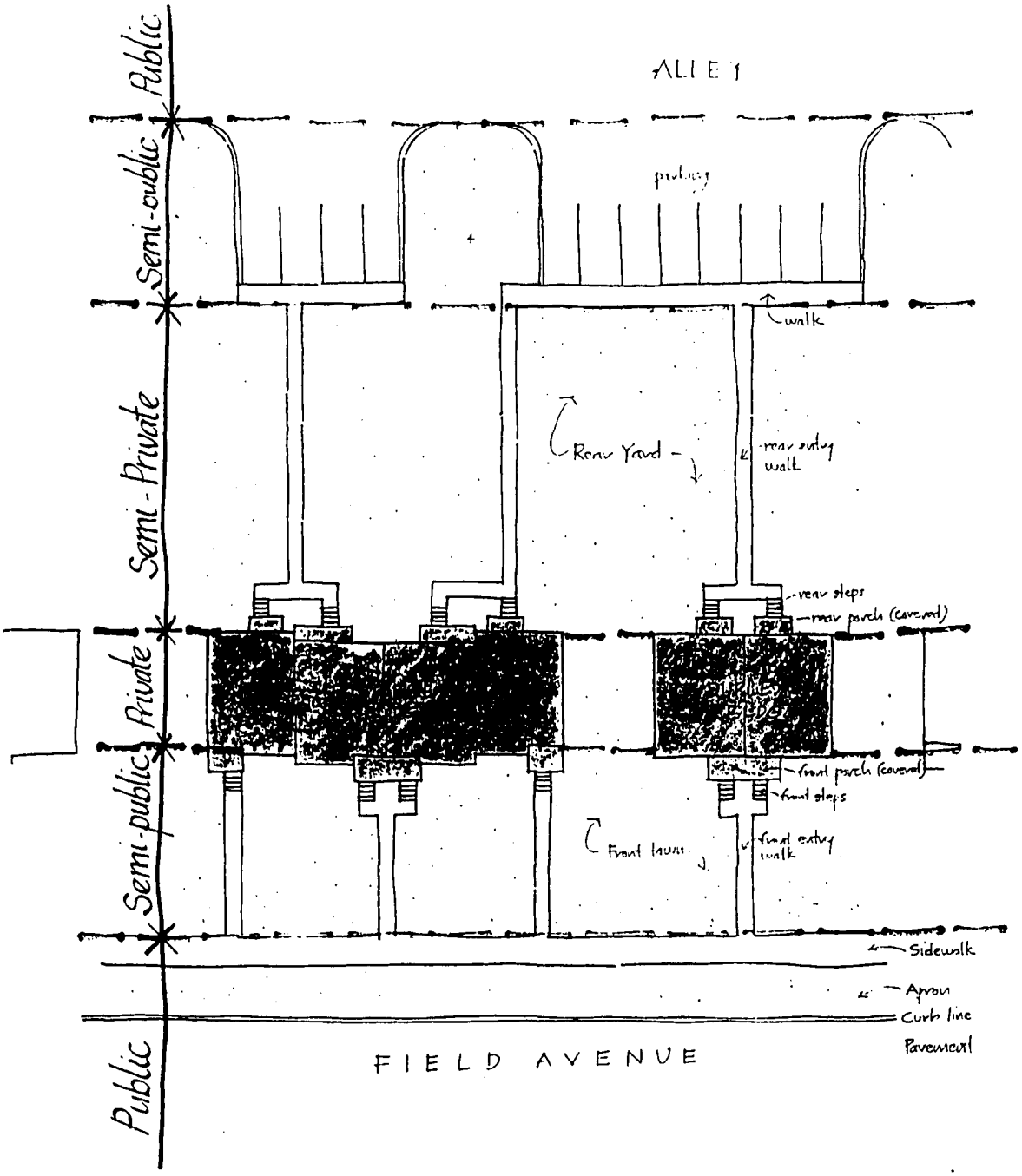


Figure 4.6

Hierarchy of Defensible Space

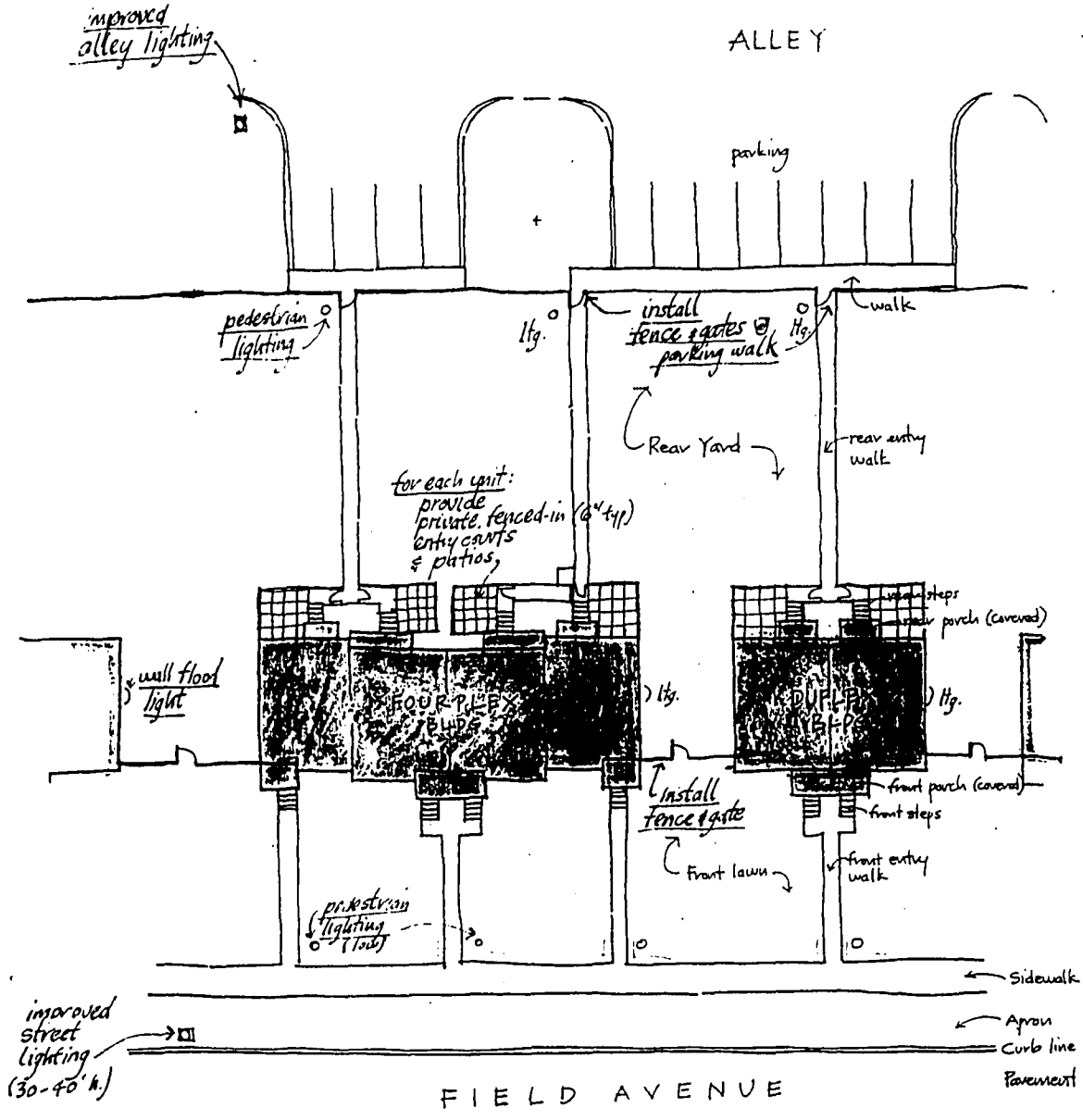


Figure 4.7

Territorial Zones

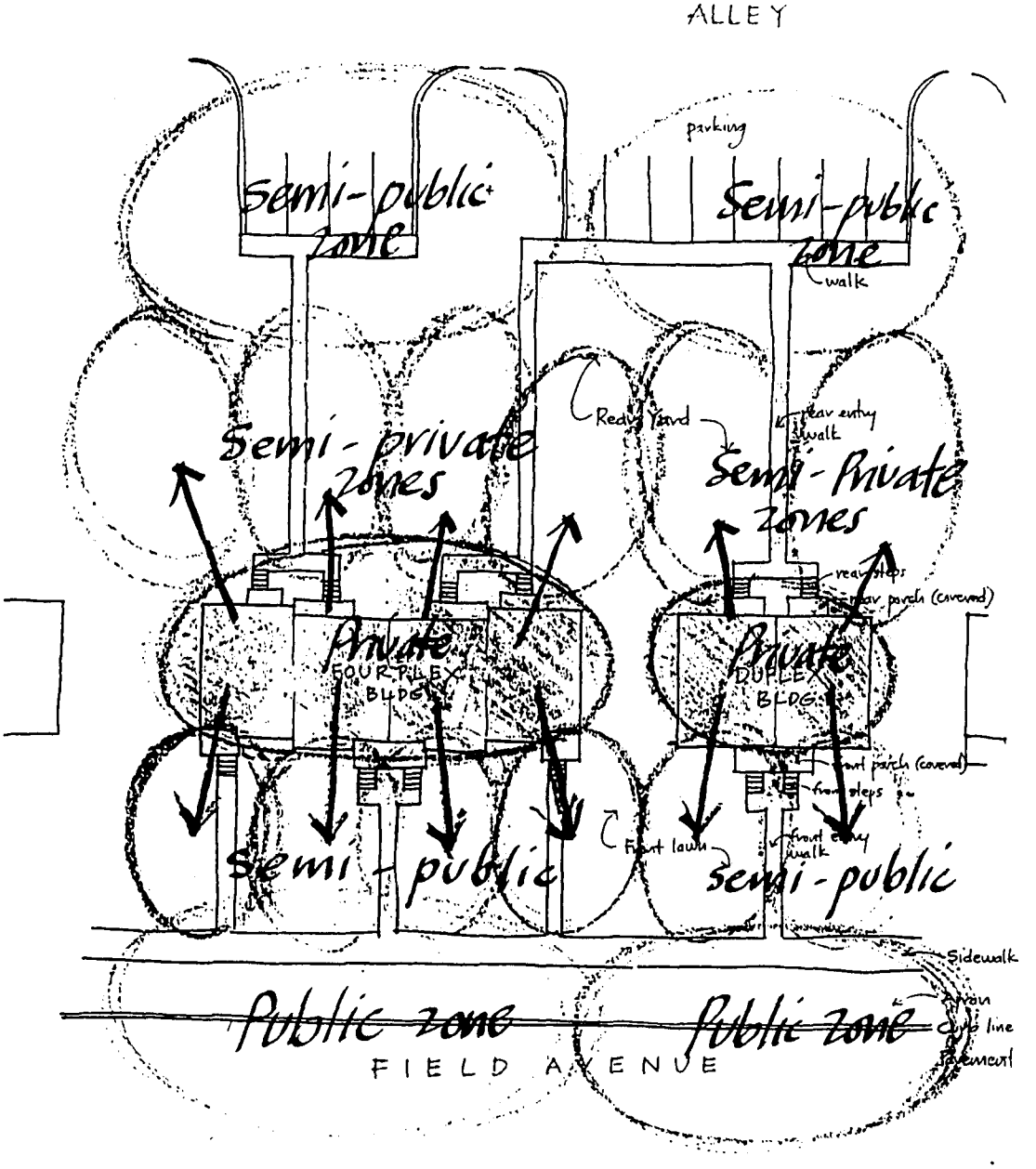
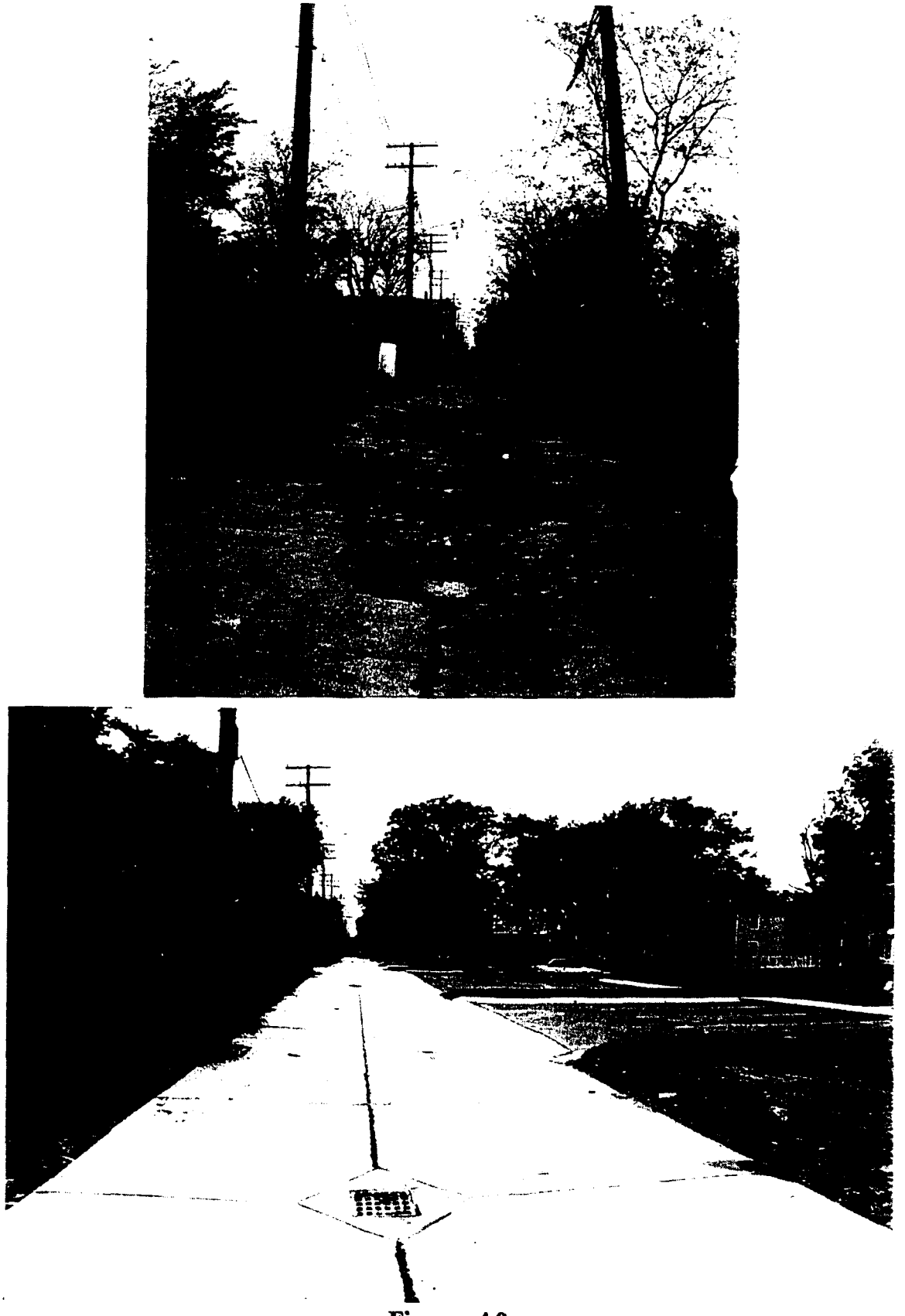


Figure 4.8

Defensible Space Design Improvements

The other opinion (and the approach illustrated by the *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE*/Field Street and Townsend Avenue Single Family Homes projects) is to maintain and renovate the alleys as vehicular and service access points, improving the environment through new paving, utilities and lighting, and by bringing semi-public activity into this zone in order to promote safety and security through use and surveillance (see Figure 4.9).



Figures 4.9
Before and After Photographs of Renovated Alley
Between Field Street and East Grand Boulevard

Comprehensive Community Rebuilding Initiatives

Community revitalization initiatives have been created and are actively being implemented in neighborhoods and cities across the nation. These are described as comprehensive, integrated strategies and initiatives, multidimensional and holistic in nature, with concentrations of programs and activities in the social, economic, physical or political components of community development. Although most of these are defined as being *comprehensive*, program models often have fallen into three basic categories: *social or human services*-based, *economic development*-based, and *community/physical development*-based.

An example of a *socially-based* initiative is the W.K. Kellogg Foundation Youth Initiatives Program in the Northern High School community of inner-city Detroit. Begun in 1988, this is a long-term (20 years) commitment with "its primary goal to improve the quality of life for young people by strengthening positive environments in which they can best develop and grow." The projects in this program include: a Technology Education Program at Wayne State University for Northern H.S. students to enhance job and employment opportunities; model schools development with parent-school collaborative efforts, enhanced educational opportunities including summer institutes, and entrepreneur curriculum with Eastern Michigan University, a teacher-staffed homework hotline, library utilization programs, mentoring and tutoring; improved recreational opportunities through activities such as Boy Scouts; cultural arts programs such as performing arts appreciation; programs that build self-esteem in teens and youths; family preservation programs with a target of at-risk families; and health care awareness promotion implemented with a Teen Health

Clinic in conjunction with Henry Ford Hospital. A community-based committee helped develop the plan with a Youth Caucus formed to ensure that youth had an active part in creating the community plan and vision.

The Casey Foundation Rebuilding Communities program is also based on the *social* theory that viable neighborhoods are required in order to raise healthy and productive children. While the Casey Foundation's work recognizes the interrelatedness of social problems and the importance of comprehensive efforts towards solutions, its initiatives seek to use different "entry points" to change conditions for disadvantaged children. The Foundation has established "place-based" strategies that focus on the long term developmental process of building stronger communities in which children can thrive. One of the keys to achieving this is the delivery of human services through neighborhood-based settings, perhaps involving privatization or decentralization of public services. This certainly involves systemic change in the nature of how social services are currently delivered. Another benefit of this approach is the provision of employment opportunities for neighborhood residents in centers for child care, skills training or other services.

Another recently launched initiative is an example of an *economic*-based program. The Neighborhood Strategies Project of the New York Community Trust, reflects the theory that economic opportunities for those in poverty must be provided and interventions are required to reduce obstacles in neighborhoods and cities that prevent individuals and families from reaching their fullest potential. This effort has been alternatively named "Organizing Communities for Work" in order to recognize this project focus. The Austin Initiative in Chicago by the Shorebank Corporation also

concentrates on economic issues by seeking to restore market forces to disinvested communities, through business formation and assistance linked to workforce training.

An example of a *physically-based* initiative is the Comprehensive Community Revitalization Program (CCRP) by the Surdna Foundation, New York, NY and 12 additional funders in the South Bronx, New York. The mission of the CCRP was to conduct a national demonstration in which five seasoned South Bronx community development corporations served as organizers, facilitators and implementors of integrated strategies aimed at transforming their neighborhoods into functioning communities. A Quality-of-Life Physical Planning process began in 1992 that produced plans that captured locally developed visions. Quality-of-Life Physical Plans were completed by five South Bronx communities in 1995 with the purpose of augmenting the housing development that has taken place in the South Bronx since the mid-1980's - where over 22,000 units of affordable housing have been rehabilitated or newly built with over 80% by nonprofit, community-based developers. This substantial investment mandated additional programming and planning of what constitutes "whole" communities - parks and playgrounds, stores and banks, child care and health facilities, and crime deterrance through physical design and improvements.

Lessons from Comprehensive Community Building Initiatives and Projects

A series of comprehensive community building initiatives and projects have been examined in order to extract the best aspects and most relevant concepts. Descriptions of these are found in Appendix A. Most of the strategies include components of housing, education, employment, human services, public safety, health,

and a participatory planning and organizing element. The comprehensive strategies share a basic orientation towards poverty alleviation through programs that are linked rather than categorical. Most are developed and managed by a collaborative network of private, non-profit and public entities.

Many of the strategies target children and their well being as the focus of comprehensive approaches whereby improved access to services for families and children in need is a primary objective. Other strategies focus on economic development strategies that attempt to link labor force development with business development processes.

Many of these initiatives do not address neighborhood physical planning and design in much detail. In many of the cases reviewed, program initiatives are designed and carried out under the direction of social scientists and economic development specialists, without substantial input of physical design professionals. Often the physical design component is seen as a way of implementing or actualizing ideas or programs after they have been developed, rather than an integral part of a program development. In other cases, programs are heavily oriented towards physical development in their nature and character, with little or no involvement of the human scientists in their formulation. Unfortunately, the quantity of development, whether in numbers of housing units or volume of square feet of commercial and industrial space is often more important than the design quality of the production.

In *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE*, a blend of social and physical programs and activities have been organized and undertaken over the past 24 years by Church of the Messiah. While the most visible and tangible products of this labor have occurred over the past 17 years since the inception of the housing ministry (Messiah Housing

Corporation), a quieter and deeper foundation of human change and development has been set by a social ministry. Recently organized and operating under the name of *The Boulevard Harambee: Building Up Leaders for Village Development*, the church has been involved in activities since 1972 in a variety of social development areas such as child/youth develpment, education for all age groups, family services, women's outreach, parenting, senior food pantry, athletics and recreation, and youth environmental programs. An intangible dynamic of human spiritual growth encompassing feelings of hope, love, peace and trust has been the result of this mission. This vision focuses on the person - directing external material and human services on the one hand, while providing moral and spiritual guidance for the internal being. This manifests itself by the Church helping to provide *material* goods - food, clothing and shelter; and building *social* relationships and skills in youth, children, women and families. Within the person, moral and ethical values are stressed, together with the awareness and apprehension of the transcendant, eternal significance of one's life. The area of community *economic* development has not progressed as much as others at Messiah. Discussions and preliminary work on new business development initiatives including youth-oriented enterprise projects have occurred but have not been sustained. A partnership was proposed to explore new urban industrial enterprises between Messiah and several other prominent community development efforts in other cities, including Bethel New Life in Chicago, New Community Corporation in Newark with Argonne National Laboratory.

An organization that would carry out initiatives as a community development corporation and augment Messiah activities was the basis for the formation of the the

Islandview Village Development Corporation (IVDC) in 1991. Components such as economic development including skills training and jobs creation, retail and industrial projects, improved health care delivery, community organization and communication, crime prevention, and community pride campaigns have been initiated. Thus far, the promise of this organization has not been fulfilled, demonstrating the difficulties in start-up of this type of community development organization. Problems include the traditional lack of resources and manpower as well as a scattershot approach to neighborhood development issues, also common since the problems are so numerous that it is hard to determine where to begin. Initial efforts at organizational development and capacity building were promising but were not sustained. One of the problemmatic issues has been the development of housing projects by IVDC. Given the track record and success of the Messiah Housing Corporation it was felt that housing development activities could better be undertaken by this organization. Work by IVDC in this area has led to a certain overlap of activity and confusion in the general community as a result.

CHAPTER V

SYNTHESIS: NEIGHBORHOOD TRANSFORMATION DESIGN

Synthesis is defined in Webster's as:

"the putting together of parts or elements so as to form a whole".

Neighborhood transformation design is proposed as a joining together, or *synthesis*, of a set of strategies, activities, programs and services in order to produce positive change in the character of a neighborhood and the lives of its people. This concept can be pursued further towards the notion of *synergy*, defined as "the simultaneous action of separate agencies which, together, have greater total effect than the sum of their individual effects".[84]

A healthy neighborhood, community or city can be considered, as Lewis Mumford did, as an organic whole, supporting an array of organs and systems similar to the human body. This was a view inherited from Patrick Geddes, Herbert Spencer and a post-Darwinian approach that applied biological concepts to the study of social systems and society. The basic idea in this school of thought is that human beings are

---

[84] *Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language, College Edition*, The World Publishing Company, New York, 1966.

organisms, and therefore their behavior is best understood as the product of organic processes.[85] Following this path then, biological principles governing the form of organisms should also govern all human forms of construction, including cities and its communities. This organicistic view also leads to Mumford's proposals for holistic solutions to society's problems. In *The Conduct of Life* (1951), he wrote,

> "The architectural embodiment of the modern city is in fact impossible until biological, social, and personal needs have been canvassed, until the cultural and educational purposes of the city have been integrated into a balanced whole.....[86]
>
> With the insights and methods that are now in use, such a deep organic transformation in every department of life is inconceivable except by slow piecemeal changes. Unfortunately, such changes, even if ultimately converged on the same goal, are too partial and too slow to resolve the present world crisis. Western civilization needs something more than a drastic rectification of private capitalism and rapacious profiteering, as the socialists believe; something more than the widespread creation of responsible governments, cooperating in a world government, as World Federalists believe; something more than the systematic application of science to social affairs, as many psychologists and sociologists believe; something more than a re-building of faith and morals, as religious people of every creed have long believed. Each of these changes might be helpful in itself, but what is even more urgent, is that all changes should take place in an organic interrelationship. The field for transformation is not this or that particular institution, but our whole society: that is why only a doctrine of the whole, which rests on the dynamic intervention of the human person in every stage of the process will be capable of directing it."[87]

---

[85] Marx, Leo "Lewis Mumford: Prophet of Organicism" in *Lewis Mumford: Public Intellectual* ed. Hughes and Hughes, (Oxford University Press: New York), p. 179.

[86] Mumford, "The Modern City," *Forms and Functions of Twentieth-Century Architecture*, ed. Talbot Hamlin (New York, Columbia University Press, 1952), 4:797. Found in "Lewis Mumford: Prophet of Organicism" by Leo Marx, *Lewis Mumford: Public Intellectual*, eds. Hughes, Thomas P. and Hughes, Agatha C. (Oxford University Press: New York, 1990).

[87] *The Conduct of Life* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1951), 223-24.

Although these powerful writings by Mumford over 40 years ago portray a sense of desperate hope, the massive transformation of human consciousness that he called for was part of the movements in the 1960's that spawned the humanistic community development theory and practice that is at the root of this approach.

The goal of this research is an attempt to define this 'balanced whole' and 'organic interrelationship' that Mumford proposed in today's terms, and in the process improve and enhance a community design practice that is being termed "Neighborhood Transformation Design". *Transformation* denotes a radical change in form, nature and function. *Neighborhood transformation* is a phrase originally coined by James Rouse of The Enterprise Foundation[88] to describe the process of profound systemic change for neighborhoods from blighted conditions into healthy places to live. The phrase has been expanded here to include the word *design* in order to convey the notion of active intervention in effecting positive change.

The conceptual premise of this approach is that an interlinked, interdependent set of development strategies and actions can be prescribed and then used to stimulate a long-term neighborhood transformation process that treats all "organs and systems". This process needs to be driven by a collaboration of local participants who are integral to the conception and prescription of the model.

The rationale for comprehensive community redevelopment programs is that there is a clear interrelationship among social, economic and physical problems. For

---

[88]In an interview with Pat Costigan of The Enterprise Foundation in Baltimore, July 1994, he related that Jim Rouse came up with this term while they were walking through the Sandtown-Winchester Neighborhood. They were discussing an initiative they were planning to undertake in this depressed urban area. Costigan also related that James Rouse came up with the term "Urban Renewal" during his work with the Eisenhower administration.

instance, a lack of education will result in lower incomes, and an inability to purchase or maintain a home. This cycle of problems is more likely to occur in poorer families and individuals than in middle-income households. The natural result is a reliance on external sources of support and thus, a reduction in self-sufficiency. The mission of comprehensive neighborhood strategies is the elimination of obstacles to self-sufficiency, such as alienation, joblessness, poor education, poor housing, and ill health, thereby enabling residents to take advantage of economic opportunities and to participate in building sustainable communities.

The reviews of various initiatives and projects reveals two fairly distinct threads of community rebuilding - the first oriented towards housing and physical development and the second towards human services and social community development. The first thread has, thus far, been the most visible product of the community development movement, expressed in large amounts of new housing, commercial and other forms of real estate development. Social community building has also been undertaken within distressed urban neighborhoods, addressing the pressing issues of isolation, hopelessness, loss of economic base, crime and providing enhanced opportunities for youth and families. This approach has been called "community building", a phrase that explains the shift that has occurred in recent years away from an emphasis on housing and related physical development activities by community-based organizations towards a more inclusive model of organization, participation and social development activities.

It is the balanced and cross-sector linkage and knitting of these two threads that remains the critical need in most community rebuilding initiatives. This is the essence of neighborhood transformation design - a process and program model that attempts to

combine these two threads into a cohesively woven pattern of human and physical rebuilding.

In Chapter II, a selected number of comprehensive community rebuilding initiatives were introduced and reviewed. In Chapter III, the experience in *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE* was discussed, including the integration of material, human and spiritual dimensions by Church of the Messiah. In Chapter IV, the lessons learned from research and the analysis of selected initiatives were described and compared. In this Chapter, the objective is to combine and distill theories, models and the most appropriate programs, practices and methods for application into a neighborhood transformation design model. In this way, the best practices and lessons learned from other initiatives are joined with the unique contextual requirements and practices from *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE* to create a relevant community building strategy tailored to this or other neighborhoods.

Components of Neighborhood Transformation Design

A series of components, which when considered together, comprise the essential ingredients of a neighborhood transformation design model. The primary components are organized under these terms: *Process, Stabilization, Children and Families, Sustenance, Shelter and Security, Culture and Spirit.* Woven through all of these components is a physical thread, *Building*, that facilitates and supports the elements, systems, activities, programs and services, linking them into a cohesive,

holistic organism that can be called a village, neighborhood or community. Synthesized, these components can constitute a comprehensive strategy for the diagnosis and treatment of many dysfunctional parts and systems of a neighborhood, such as housing, human services, health care, education, employment, and safety. The individual components are described in the following sections. A more detailed listing of program examples supporting the components is found in Appendix B.

Process

'Process before product' or 'building community before houses' are ways to describe the fact that one of the most important components of community rebuilding is the facilitation of the active participation of neighborhood residents, institutions and organizations. Solutions or products need to be generated and crafted by local stakeholders with involvement as needed by outside interests, rather than external public government or private interests. This is the crux of the empowerment agenda[89], whereby individuals, families and communities undertake initiatives to help themselves, provided that the enabling tools are available for this effort.

Organizational development, visioning and goal setting, leadership training and development, networking, community organizing, coalition building, collaboration, capacity building, and consensus organizing are some of the descriptions of tools and

[89] *Empowerment: A New Covenant With America's Communities* is the title of President Clinton's National Urban Policy Report, submitted on August 3, 1995 to the Congress of the United States.

strategies for meaningful resident participation and organization in the community planning and rebuilding process. The goal is to create optimal conditions for community and individual growth and self-sufficiency and self-determination.

Planning is an early *process* step - ideally comprehensive in scope and inclusive of all of those affected. A planning project itself can be an effective device for energizing and pulling together many types of neighborhood participants and stakeholders. A planning project begins with gaining an understanding of existing conditions, assets, opportunities, problems and needs based on "as full as possible a survey of all facts", by "entering the spirit of a neighborhood, its historic essence and continuous life."[90] It should proceed with clear statements of goals, policies and recommendations - goals are the broad objectives, policies are the general courses of action that lead to the goal, recommendations are the specific programs, procedures and actions to carry out policy. Planning priorities should then be set and the preparation begun of physical, social and economic programs and designs. The process of creating and adopting a neighborhood-based comprehensive plan provides a structured, tangible framework within which to tackle difficult issues in a constructive way. The completed plan provides a concrete statement in time, and provides a rallying point and focus for further discussions and activities on actions and strategies. The plan is also a declaration to all those who have an interest in the area of the

---

[90] Quotations from Patrick Geddes in the Introduction to 1968 Edition by Percy Johnson-Marshall of Geddes' *Cities in Evolution: An Introduction to the Town Planning Movement and to the Study of Civics*, first published in 1915, 1968 edition published by Howard Fertig, New York. Geddes, even 90 years ago, provided an understanding of the "labyrinthine civicomplex" through use of all disciplines such as medicine (public health), urban sociology and social psychology, urban geography and economics, that is just as valid today.

desires of the local community. Effective community planning and design practice needs to be descriptive rather than prescriptive, helping stakeholders define issues and assisting in the generation of solutions, since the only valid transformation plans will be those developed by and with individuals and communities most directly responsible and affected.

Stabilization

Another one of the first objectives in neighborhood transformation is the stabilization of the existing neighborhood physical, social and economic fabric. Physical and economic stabilization can be achieved to a certain degree through rehabilitation of existing residential and commercial structures and new construction of infill housing. In relation to the scope and magnitude of deteriorating conditions and trends, these projects may seem small and inconsequential, however their symbolic and real economic impact can be great. They demonstrate market development potential and help arrest the downward cycle of decay. Property and housing values begin to stabilize and rise as a result of these investment projects. This leads to the problem of increased costs for acquisition of privately-held properties and the need to have a coordinated strategy in place. The Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative gained the public power of eminent domain and utilizes a community land trust for the ownership of land. In *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE*, much land has reverted to public ownership due to property tax foreclosures and a 'designated developer' status has been achieved by the CDCs for the right of first refusal on any property within a geographically targeted

area. The Islandview Village Community Land Trust has been organized by IVDC for the purpose of acquiring property and maintaining its lower value in perpetuity for the purpose of affordable development. Successfully completed and occupied, a new foundation is then in place for further positive actions and future projects.

Social stabilization can be fostered by local institutions such as churches, schools, and service providers (see further discussion in next section on Children, Youth and Families). The increased role of CDCs, particularly church-based, as mediating institutions is seen as a future trend. With the political trend towards 'devolution' of the federal government's programs and block granting to the states, more localized responsibility for human services will be required. In Michigan, Governor Engler (one of the primary national authors of the devolution movement) has already begun to enlist the support of church leaders in Detroit, having convened a Clergy Summit in October, 1995 and granting funds to the Michigan Neighborhood Partnership to organize a program of service delivery among Detroit church-based leadership organizations.

Children, Youth and Families

The neighborhood that is nurturing for children, youth and families requires a new orientation towards the design and delivery of resources, tools, and interventions. Attention to both the social and physical dimensions is required in this regard.

A full range of human services and programs to promote child development, youth development and family functioning would include: accessible and affordable

child day care; improved schools, education and training; recreational resources including after-school programs, arts and music, sports; facilities such as parks, libraries and community centers; services such as child welfare, family health care including substance abuse prevention and treatment, and mental health. Increased awareness and access to all services and linkages between them is needed to promote greater use by children, youth and families. This new human services system needs to be client-driven through interactive involvement between citizens and the service providers. The concept and attitude of providing braces and supports regardless of economic condition, and not direct assistance, must be applied by trained staff.[91]

This new approach to children and family supports is based on a community-centered, decentralized model in which local neighborhood institutions such as schools and churches are utilized as key providers and locus of services and facilities. The notion of comprehensiveness and coordinated, linked programs is also applied to services and activities for children and families.

There are also physical ways to make neighborhoods child-, youth- and family-friendly, including: enhanced and renovated public schools; creation of "livable streets" that provide safe, reduced-traffic settings for play; providing people-friendly public spaces such as parks, greenways, community gardens; development of mixed-use projects that might bring work and home closer together; adequate child care services and playgrounds; improved public transportation to provide increased mobility;

---

[91] One of the most recent conceptions in this area is by Wynn, Costello, Halpern and Richman of The Chapin Hall Center for Children at the University of Chicago, who have been researching this topic and prepared *Children, Families, and Communities: A New Approach to Social Services* in 1994. The conception divides services into *primary* (i.e. libraries, parks) and *specialized* (i.e. counseling, interventions for child welfare) and provides a model for comprehensive community-based approaches.

affordable housing options that recognize prevalent life styles such as intergenerational households and single parent households that would contain shared spaces - common rooms for child care, cooking, cleaning; additonal family-centered recreational facilities and activities such as miniature golf, tennis, and swimming.[92]

The community or family resource center, an adaptation of the old Settlement House model, is another way of providing and coordinating many of the services, activities, facilities and programs under one roof.

Sustenance

Sustenance means maintenance, support, means of livelihood, or that which *sustains* life[93]. As the previous component is designed to reweave the *social* fabric of a neighborhood, this component seeks to regenerate a healthy local *economic* system. The primary goal is individual, family and community economic self-sufficiency and *sustainability*. Individual and family long-term self reliance and independence from the public welfare support system are embodied in this goal. From another perspective, a 'sustainable community' is one which meets the basic needs of all of its inhabitants. For example, it would locally contain necessary day-to-day goods and services and would maintain the money spent for these items within the community for potential reinvestment and recycling. The nearby existence of retail opportunities simply reduces

---

[92] Some of these ideas adapted from an issue of *The Urban Ecologist*, 1995 Number 3, Oakland, CA.

[93] Adapted from *Webster's New World Dictionary, College Edition*, 1966, p. 1470.

energy needed for commuting travel to distant, often suburban shopping locations. Less traffic translates to less emissions and better air quality. Self-sufficiency can be applied to localized production of goods, services, and amenities. Communal, cooperative ownership of resources such as land and housing are also part of a sustainable orientation. This can also extend to resident or parent-run enterprises such as day care centers, alternative schools, consumer and producer cooperatives, community theatres, and neighborhood newspapers.

To achieve the goal of sustenance, a community economic system must provide opportunities for its residents to be prepared for the labor force and to find employment. This entails employment and skills training in areas that will be marketable and provide permanent employment. A database of all existing businesses and industries should be developed.

A progressive strategy will also stimulate the creation of new job opportunities through new entrepreneurial business developments. Another possible source of employment is the reallocation and privatization of certain public human and community development services (i.e. public housing management, job skills training).

These strategies and initiatives will require access to banking and institutional credit. In addition to conventional institutional banking sources, community development banks are recommended so that funds can be received and recycled in the community. Investment strategies in these banking institutions are designed to maintain and increase revenues within the community.

An often overlooked aspect in the economic development picture is the importance of personal access and mobility. The ability of individuals to reach

potential employment locations is affected by the availability of public transportation (mass transit/bus service).

A number of opportunities arise as a result of community development activities. Construction contractors are needed to undertake building repairs and new construction. Environmental engineering services are needed for the cleanup of urban properties including materials such as lead and asbestos found in existing sites and buildings. The recyling of used materials is another business opportunity, including building components such as brick veneers[94], interior wood trim and millwork items. Providers of day care and staff for after-school centers and programs are needed to allow parents (especially single mothers) to work, or take advantage of educational and training programs.

The principle of sustenance also applies to our responsibility as stewards in the resettlement of urban areas,

> "The development of an ecologically grounded science of community design, to guide the recolonization of vast semi-abandoned and under-used areas on a sustained yield, symbiotic basis with the soil, climatic, and biotic regimens...."[95]

---

[94] There is a healthy market for resale of used bricks. One of the buildings slated for rehabilitation in Phase II of the Field Street Project was lost due to illegal "stripping" of the brick veneers and consequent collapse of the structure. This operation is common in deteriorated neighborhoods in Detroit (see Figures 1.8, 1.9, 1.10).

[95] Quote by Peter Van Dresser in *Landscape for Humans*, Biotechnic Press, Albequerque, New Mexico, 1972, cited in Doug Abberly's *Futures by Design: The Practice of Ecological Planning*, 1994.

Shelter and Security

The provision of sound, safe, affordable housing in a secure environment and made available to all residents is the cornerstone of a neighborhood rebuilding activity. Children and families living in decent housing can undertake the learning and working activities of daily life with less worry and stress when their residential environment is stable and supportive. The improvement of housing conditions is linked to the notion of security since no matter how structurally sound or spatially comfortable an internal residential environment may be, the external security of the setting and safety of the neighborhood is of equal importance. Homeownership is an objective in order to promote community and economic stability.

A comprehensive neighborhood housing strategy must include a range of residential development options based on community needs and existing market dynamics. Housing development should be based on programming and design that incorporates information relative to psychological, physical and social needs and behavior patterns. Factors such as housing condition, value and type of ownership must be assessed in order to help determine where new housing should take place. Both rental and ownership forms of housing are desirable in a diverse neighborhood. Levels of financial subsidy become important aspects of prioritizing location and sequence of developments. As an example, new subsidized, low-income rental housing is often able to provide a stabilizing influence in a severely distressed neighborhood, reversing the downward cycle of deterioration and establishing an economic platform from which other forms of housing can be developed, including homeownership

models. On the other hand, too much rental housing can negatively impact a neighborhood that wishes to develop single-family, for sale housing.

The development and management of new and rehabilitated housing through neighborhood-based development corporations provides multiple benefits: the organizational requirements to implement complicated projects builds economic credibility and management capacity; outside financial and institutional resources are attracted to the neighborhood; since CDCs are non-profit, costs are controlled and affordability is more likely to be ensured; potential jobs for neighborhood residents are created through the process; projects are highly visible and tangible evidence of positive change.

During the 1990 planning process for the Infill Housing Development Plan, several key concerns emerged during presentation of alternatives to the Advisory Planning Committee members. The location and amount of low-income rental apartments, although recognized as a stabilizing factor, can ultimately affect the marketability of single family homes to be developed for-sale. Careful consideration of specific locations were evaluated, and as a result locations such as ends of blocks or in the perimeter areas of the neighborhood were selected for infill rental developments. The design quality and compatibility of the rental units was recognized as important in mitigating potential negative market influences vis-a-vis ownership housing of these units. The contextual design of the residences was also important in evaluating innovative construction techniques such as modular or manufactured housing. Various models were evaluated and could not meet the compatibility criteria established by the Committee.

Infill Housing Development

Residential development in existing neighborhoods should be based on an infill approach, whereby new housing would blend with existing residences in a manner that avoids the disruption of the prevailing neighborhood feeling, scale and context. New construction can be placed without the removal of existing, structurally sound homes and dislocation of present residents. The fact that existing residents could be provided with housing opportunities was an important consideration to neighborhood residents who participated in the planning process.

A harmonious combination of new construction and rehabilitated existing homes can be planned. A variety of housing types and occupancy modes is recommended as a way of insuring inclusivity and diversity in the social life of blocks and neighborhoods. Concentrating projects in a small area provides more substantial impact than scattered projects. This approach is illustrated by the Field Street Infill Housing Project (Figures 5.1 and 5.2).

The overall residential environment must also include areas for open space and recreation that would include adequate facilities and amenities in tot lots, playgrounds and parks. These can also be developed on infill sites either in mid block or on the corners of blocks. The corner parcels provide good opportunities for open space in the form of "greenways" or small parks since they are less desirable for residential development due to high visibility and perceived vulnerability. This exposure makes the lots suitable for common open space development.

Figure 5.1

Field Street Infill Housing Project
View Along Field Street Looking South Towards East Lafayette Boulevard

Figure 5.2

Field Street Infill Housing Project
View of Quadruplex on East Grand Boulevard

Comprehensive Crime Prevention Programs

Transforming crime-ridden neighborhoods into safe neighborhoods is the overriding concern in almost all inner city communities. Traditional anti-crime approaches have been ineffective against the seemingly insurmountable problem of violent crimes. In the face of this dilemma, certain approaches have been forwarded to attempt to make an impact on this problem. The strategies include "community-oriented policing," a program of systematic cooperation between neighborhood residents with local police precincts and other public departments. Key activities include empowering residents to undertake neighborhood, block, and house watches, and building a sense of trust so that residents will report crimes and assist officers in law enforcement and apprehension of criminals. Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED) is a longer term method of impacting this problem. Procedures such as safe streets design, traffic calming of high volume streets, maintenance of sidewalks and streets and improved public lighting, improving attractiveness have proven effective in reducing crime.

Community policing represents a transformation that is occurring in the police culture. It represents a new way that police think about their jobs, from "cowboys" who form the "thin blue line" to problem solvers working to solve the real needs of the communities they seek to protect.[96]

Transforming the physical environment as a method of crime reduction and control can lead to an increase in individual, family and neighborhood safety. The

---

[96] George Kelling from *The City Journal*, Spring 1992, pp. 21-33.

designed alterations and prescribed interventions also help reduce the fear of crime, thereby causing an increase in perceived safety and overall quality of life.

This concept is linked to the broader issues of community organization, user participation, and capacity building. Permanently successful results can only come through a strengthening of the underlying social and organizational structure of a neighborhood through connectivity and active involvement of residents. Individuals and families are bonded by common goals and objectives in their lifestyles, such as the safety and security of their homes, blocks and neighborhoods from the incidence and fear of crime. Everyone in a neighborhood, in different degrees, needs to take an active part in the perpetual existence and actualization of this attitude.

Culture and Spirit

Rebuilding neighborhoods into whole communities must transcend bricks and mortar or the provision of economic opportunities, and reach towards achievement of *values* that will bring a greater fulfillment to life. This requires asking the fundamental questions of "what should the community be" and "what sort of life should be lived." These questions pertain also to individuals and can be rephrased "who should we be" and "how should we live." The interdependence of individual and community is

reflected by these questions since individuals are social creatures and cannot be fulfilled apart from the common fulfillment provided by the community.[97]

Inner city neighborhoods have become places where the ethical culture of values and morality has become as vacant and abandoned as the streets and buildings. An urban policy must begin with a restoration of an ethical culture. This will require social transformation predicated on a set of human values that attributes worth and treats with dignity every human being, respects all relationships, and affirms common responsibility for the world. The need is for a vision that values human beings, common life, the natural world, and future generations. In the words of Lewis Mumford,

> "The task of the coming city...is to put the highest concerns of humans at the center of all activities: to unite the scattered fragments of the human personality, turning artificially dismembered people...into complete human beings, repairing the damage that has been done by vocational separation, by social segregation, by over-cultivation of a favored function, by tribalisms and nationalisms, by the absence of organic partnerships and ideal purposes.
>
> Before we can gain control over the forces that now threaten our very existence, we must resume possession of our selves. This sets the mission for the city of the future: that of creating a visible regional and civic structure, designed to make us at home with our deeper selves and the larger world, attached to images of human nurture and love."

A strategy to transform individual and community characteristics such as image, identity, pride, sense of belonging, ethics and morality, in order to promote the actualization of maximum human potential is probably the most difficult to prescribe.

---

[97] Adapted from a presentation by Don Johnson of the New York Society for Ethical Culture at the Making Cities Livable Conference, Carmel, CA, November 29 - December 3, 1994.

It will take a long term process of restoring a community's social organization and healthy residential environment and reconnecting it to mainstream society.

Religious institutions are the most natural providers of communal vision and initiators of social reorganization. In urban neighborhoods, churches are often the only stable remaining community-based institutions and provide the spiritual support that is often necessary for individuals and families to sustain life and hope. Churches maintain the closest connections to constituents and maintain the trust necessary to begin the process of comprehensive neighborhood transformation. Over the last twenty five years, churches have become acutely aware of urban change and have adopted new roles in response to that change. In African-American communities, the church has played this central role in communal life over an even longer period. More recently, the church-based community development corporation has become one of the most effective vehicles for community organizing, the delivery of social services and construction of affordable housing.

Building

Building construction and rehabilitation serves not only as a solution to a functional and spatial needs, but also acts as a tangible symbol of regeneration and growth. It provides a concrete example of progress and acts as a catalyst and motivator of additional development. In a community building process filled with long term programs, frustrating delays and setbacks, and hard to measure effects, physical building represents clear success and helps sustain active community interest. A

typical urban neighborhood building program would include building elements such as housing, commercial and retail stores, community centers, recreation and open space facilities.

Housing and Commercial

Physical activity in the housing area would consist of demolition and removal of vacant residences unsuitable for rehabilitation; renovation of substandard housing; new infill residential development.

Once a significant amount of housing is developed and a more stable residential base is established and maintained, a reliable market for commercial and retail uses can be created. Initial commercial uses would include supermarkets, drug and hardware stores, restaurants, banks and personal services. A secondary benefit of this development would be additional local jobs and entrepreneurial opportunities.

Older commercial strips along major thoroughfares are often the most deteriorated parts of neighborhoods, a factor that intensifies negative perceptions because of the high visibility of these strips. Vacant and abandoned buildings have remained empty for many years, deteriorating into dangerous structures that usually become sites of arson.

Community Facilities

With housing and commercial facilities and services in place, the remaining building blocks such as cultural facilities, educational and child care facilities, parks

and recreation, and a full range of health and human sevices are needed to construct a whole community. These can be provided in an neighborhood either as multi-purpose or single purpose facilities.

Multi-purpose community facilities, neighborhood centers or family life centers containing a variety of compatible uses such as child and senior day care, indoor and outdoor recreation, public and social services (i.e. library, police mini-station, neighborhood city hall) are necessary to serve all parts of a neighborhood. These can be developed in conjunction with an educational facility in order to share land and provide an efficient situation, avoiding unnecessary duplication of larger and expensive facilities such as gymnasiums and swimming pools. The settlement house is an old idea that is undergoing a revival in many neighborhoods[98]. This model of a community center was effective in the past because in addition to providing recreational and day care services, these facilities became places of connection to the mainstream society and culture, providing exposure to all types of social and economic opportunities. These types of buildings are supportive of the notion of neighborhood-based, family-focused comprehensive strategies.

A library is traditionally a significant piece of a neighborhood: connections between residents and its resources is an important objective. A new model of a neighborhood library is that of a more active facility in which librarians function in nearly a social service manner - as outreach workers offering more than just books and

[98] Settlement houses were founded in 1886 on New York's Lower East Side by Stanton Coit. By 1913, there were 413 settlement houses in 32 states. Jane Addam of Chicago's Hull House is one of the most famous examples. The Franklin-Wright Settlement Houses on Detroit's near East Side have been providing a wide array of services for many years.

periodicals. The building can serve as a community meeting space with programs of workshops and classes held in its meeting rooms on relevant issues in the community.

Recreation and Open Space Facilities

In the quest for redevelopment of vacant land, housing or commercial facilities are often considered the only valid uses. There is a tendency in planning to neglect uses that do not generate tax base or are non-building functions such as parks, playgrounds, playlots or other forms of recreational facilities.

In order to build whole communities, safe, usable open spaces are needed interspersed throughout the neighborhood and serving all age groups. Sports and recreational facilities are critical for children and youth of all ages.

Historically, the public maintenance and upkeep of these facilities has been difficult. Therefore, a program of sponsorship should be organized for neighborhood parks - a tenant organization, a co-op, a block association, or a church - should be involved to help program a space and help maintain its facilities, and long term safety and security from vandalism and criminal activity.

The Urban Design Challenge

The design of whole neighborhoods and communities has been practiced throughout history either consciously by political leaders, architects, planners and developers or often as a spontaneous, vernacular and indigineous pursuit. Usually,

these designs have occurred either in newer edge-city locales, in new towns or as a result of urban renewal programs, sometimes called new towns-in-town. In many inner cities, major tracts of land have become largely desolate. What remains is the pre-existing urban pattern and grain of streets, alleys, sidewalks, utilities and trees. The reconstruction of inner city neighborhoods creates an important decision point and dilemma. Much of the current development and design philosophy is aimed at recreating traditional suburban-style lower density development patterns that have been successful in the past and are still successful in outlying areas. This calls for substantial reconstruction of street and alley infrastucture to create the curvilinear streets and cul-de-sacs that have been so popular. Developments are often surrounded by berms and gates and secured by gate houses and card key gate-armed entry points. In addition to substantial cost requirements to create this pattern, the question of effective reuse of urban land should be asked: Does this reuse of the resource of urban land provide an appropriate return and is it the "highest and best use"? Should the traditional urban block pattern be abandoned in order to reconstruct neighborhoods? Is the traditional suburban model appropriate and relevant for the people who must be served? Is it an appropriate reflection of the humanistic, social and economic equality that we are seeking to provide?

The urban design concept recommended does not include radical reconfiguration of the existing block patterns. Rather, respect and reuse of the existing grid provides a cost-effective foundation for physical reconstruction activity.

Villages-in-the-City

Consideration of a hierarchy of urban geography can provide a framework for a new urban neighborhood design orientation supportive of comprehensive community building. The city can be viewed as a composition of large sectors, sub-areas, communities, neighborhoods and blocks. Between these last two geographical terms is an assemblage of continguous blocks that can be called "villages". It is this fundamental unit that is proposed as a focus of transformation planning and design. A series of "villages" of this size could attain individual identities and images within the larger neighborhood and larger still, community. Each "village" would be planned with its own program of housing, community facilities and public improvements, not necessarily as a self-contained entity, but as a component of the larger setting. In this scale and orientation of development, attainable objectives can be established and carried out in realistic time frames.

The term *Village-in-the-City* was introduced during the Infill Housing Development Plan process and led to the eventual adoption of the name, *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE,* for the community.

CHAPTER VI

NEXUS: TOWARDS A THEORY OF NEIGHBORHOOD REBUILDING

Nexus is defined as

"1. a connection, tie or link between individuals of a group, members of a series, etc.
2. the group or series connected."[99]

This study evolved as a somewhat unconstrained, general, wide-ranging look at many issues, problems and approaches in rebuilding urban neighborhoods. The usefulness of this approach has been its allowance of freedom to range among many important topics and factors without being stifled by a particular methodology or need to fit information into a predetermined container or formula. What has been a free-fall of information gathering and issue-raising has, however, led to a series of connected ideas and concepts, or *nexus* towards building a model and theory of neighborhood transformation. A model for neighborhood transformation design or comprehensive community building was described in the previous chapter, comprised of a *synthesis* of a number of components. If we can explain what these components are, what the

[99] *Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language, College Edition*, The World Publishing Company. New York, 1966.

initiatives and projects that are included within them are, how they work and why this model works, then it may follow that a theory to guide future neighborhood transformations can be formulated.

Application of Theory

One of the key theoretical conclusions is that it is vital to gain a full understanding and comprehension of behavior and change at multiple levels. Kurt Lewin's influential "field theory" and a recently developed "theories-of-change" concept (Weiss, 1995) have been helpful in reaching this point.

Lewin's "field theory" and its "action research" approaches provide a basis for understanding individual and group human behavior and producing social change that I believe can also be applied to the larger context or "field" of a neighborhood. Basically, Lewin's field theory describes the here-and-now situation (field) in which a person participates. If one fully understands a person's situation, one will also understand his behavior. The goal, then of field theory is to be able to describe fields with concepts in such a way that a given person's behavior follows logically from the relationship between the person and the dynamics and structure of his concrete situation. Applying this logic to a neighborhood or community, if one is able to fully describe the situations (fields) in which a neighborhood and its organizations operate and understand its or their behavior, perhaps one can then formulate a logical set and progression of comprehensive strategies for transforming its situations and for producing positive social and environmental change.

Carol Weiss' "theories-of-change"[100] approach stems from her current work in the field of evaluation of comprehensive community initiatives. In an effort to achieve a better methodology for evaluating these initiatives, Weiss postulates that we must understand the theories-of-change that underlie these initiatives. An example of a theory-of-change that has been explored in this study is that an improvement in the physical design of outdoor space might lead to a reduction of crime and the fear of crime. Comprehensive community initiatives are composed of many such theories-of-change forming a complex series of interactions. The initiatives are made up of a series of programs and projects that each have individual goals and theories that can be identified, articulated, programmed and operationalized. These may be directed at multiple levels - individual, associational network, or community. If one can then understand all of these separate theories-of-change and these lines of information together into a richer "theory of change", meaningful improvement in the lives of community residents can be effected.

Both of these approaches share the idea that if one can clearly discern the what, how and why of individual and community "fields" or "theories-of-change", a theory of social and physical neighborhood transformation can be developed.

---

[100] Carol Hirschon Weiss advances this approach in "Nothing Practical as Good Theory: Exploring Theory-Based Evaluation for Comprehensive Community Initiatives for Children and Families" in *New Approaches to Evaluating Community Initiatives*, edited by James P. Connell, Anne C. Kubisch, Lisbeth B. Schorr and Carol H. Weiss, The Aspen Institute, 1995. The title of the paper is taken from Kurt Lewin, who said that *there was nothing as practical as good theory.* A subsequent draft paper by Connell and Kubisch (December 1995) entitled "Applying A Theories of Change Approach to the Evaluation of Comprehensive Community Initiatives: Progress, Prospects and Problems" further explores this topic and method.

Neighborhood Transformation Design Theory

The neighborhood transformation design theory that is put forth here suggests a series of concepts and principles:

1) *focusing* on targets

2) *understanding* the *human* environment

3) *understanding* the *physical* environment

4) creating the *linkages* between the human and physical realms

5) *balance* in the application of comprehensive community initiatives

1) *Focusing* on Targets

Targets can either be physical or social units. This may be a bounded area of streets and blocks or an associational network of individuals and households. What has been found is that each program or geographical case examined produces its own set of individual needs and should therefore generates a uniquely tailored set of responses. Approaches and initiatives should be based upon specifically identified local needs/resources/features and should emerge from the targeted area rather than be directed from external sources.

Too many efforts are aimed at geographical areas so large and issues so complex that the impacts of individual development efforts are difficult to assess. By focusing on smaller areas (a series of adjacent blocks) or problems (day care for a

certain population), more specific and pragmatic objectives can be defined and more easily achieved. This is essential in building momentum, track record, and credibility. Focusing on geographically bounded targets also allows the clearer definition of specific needs, problems and opportunities of an area.

2) *Understanding* The Human Environment

The goal is to objectively understand existing the human environment and its condition, including demographic composition (age, race and ethnicity,), social behavior and relationship patterns (family and household types, religion, crime), health (accidents, infant mortality, substance abuse, disease, morbidity), education (levels of attainment, test scores, drop-out rates), economics (income and employment, housing status), and political/organizational dynamics (public and private services, churches, social clubs, groups). The social science disciplines and techniques employed to gain this proper understanding of mankind are found in the fields of cultural anthropology, social psychology, sociology, economics and political science. This leads to a consideration of the larger neighborhood and community environment.

If we can fully understand the problems, needs and assets of the people who inhabit a particular neighborhood, only then we can begin to prepare a strategy for change and improvement.

3) *Understanding* the *Physical* Environment

The physical environment is understood through consideration of land uses (residential, commercial, industrial, institutional, recreational), infrastructure (streets and blocks, utilities), transportation systems, all building types, size and condition, housing conditions (age, density, degree of repair), range of community facilities (libraries, schools, recreational facilities, cultural centers).

The broader issues such as boundaries, block patterns, overall form and scale, image and character, 'turf' and territoriality, paths, edges, landmarks, historical features, and natural areas are also part of a consideration and comprehension of the physical environment.

The boundaries of a neighborhood are also defined by a series of overlapping districts and lines, including political subdivisions, school districts, census tracts, police precincts, and recently, empowerment or enterprise zones.

4) *Linking* Physical and Human Realms

This research has sought to identify some critical linkages between the physical and human realms as a basis for neighborhood rebuilding. A series of socio-economic and physical development practices have been discovered through research, practice and observation and are organized into a set of linked strategies. Some of these linkages are between physical facilities and social programs, economic development and social services, or economic impact and physical development. The broad

connection between the physical environment and its ability to accomodate positive human behavior and constrain negative behavior underlies many of the strategies. This entails supporting the physiological, mental and emotional states and behavior patterns required by people to achive their individual goals.

Some examples of specific linkages are neighborhood-based centers that provide space and facilities for a range of health and human services (physical-social link); education, job and skill training programs linked to specific trades, services, businesses and industries linked to a family support structure that includes child care (economic-social link); training and development programs for community leadership and capacity building, leading to economic and political empowerment (social-economic-political links); educational, recreational and cultural programs for youth who are most vulnerable to criminal influences and activity; neighborhood property stabilization and value increase through rehabilitation and new infill development (economic-physical link); crime control and reduction through application of environmental design principles and community policing programs (social-physical links).

These linkages can be further described by the following examples:

Service Provision - comprehensive human service or family resource centers located in closer proximity to neighborhoods with space for a combination of health and human service providers (i.e. teen health, health, mental health/substance abuse, Head Start child care) will enable better access to services and improve family health and well-being, better coordination of services among providers;

Housing and Infrastructure Development - neighborhood stabilization and image improvement through rehabilitation of existing residences and construction of new infill projects; improvement in outdoor physical space and building layout and design leading to reduced crime and fear of crime; well-designed affordable housing will improve family life by providing adequate

space for parental and child relationahips and activities (privacy, meal preparation, study, rest, play);

Employment Assistance - education, job and skill training programs linked to specific trades, services, businesses or industries; strategy integrated with business development and service provision (family supports, child care); increased employment leads to better income and opportunities for better housing;

Business/Enterprise Development - coupled with labor force development, creation and retention of meaningful jobs through entrepreneurship, business support services, industrial incubator, micro-enterprise supports, provision of capital; increased access to employment, education and entrepreneurship is an example of linkage of social and economic components; more local business enterprises will create job opportunities for residents; increased income will support local businesses

Organizational/Leadership Development - training and development programs for community leadership and capacity building skills, organizing for economic empowerment, meaningful community participation in strategy planning and decision-making; increased leadership and training can lead to more social organization and interaction through clubs, associations, congregations, schools.

5) *Balance* in the Application of Comprehensive Community Initiatives

An extended period of time (over 25 years) has been devoted to experimentation and practice in the urban community redevelopment process nationally, and a significant body of experience has been attained from which certain patterns can be reviewed. The early period in this field was concerned with tangible, visible successes, and there was much production of housing and other physical developments using the nonprofit community development corporation implementing vehicle. Substantial achievements have been made in the physical rebuilding of urban neighborhoods as illustrated in Bedford-Stuyvesant and East New York/Brownsville in Brooklyn and the South Bronx areas of New York City and the Central Ward in

Newark. Perhaps in reaction to this previous emphasis on physical production or what has been sometimes referred to as 'community development', many of the recent initiatives have been concerned primarily with social and economic aspects or what has been called 'community building'. Recently organized initiatives and projects have addressed problems and issues such as persistent poverty, positive supports for youth and families, crime and drug prevention, health care delivery, improved education and child care, job training and placement. A certain shift in the balance from physical to social building models appears to be reflected by the strategies in these recent initiatives. A problem observed with this recent shift in direction is simply a matter of resource allocation and the inability of many organizations to split their energies and concentrate equally on new social and ongoing physical building projects. A perception gained from observing this activity is that perhaps the pendulum is moving too quickly away from the physical rebuilding of communities and there needs to be a more established physical development program left in place while newer social building initiatives are undertaken.

The literal building of buildings - facilities to house needed functions and facilitate access and use and the provision of services - needs to be maintained as an integral part of comprehensive strategies. Filling the physical voids of our urban blight with new structures that provide settings for life's interaction is a simple answer with profound implications and should not be underestimated. New and rehabilitated structures are needed for living, working, learning and playing - housing, child care and education, worksites of all kinds, shopping and entertainment, recreation, health and human services, cultural development. In other words, all of the physical components for all phases of life of a whole neighborhood, community and city need

to be provided as part of a comprehensive community rebuilding strategy. The strategic planning questions should be - for whom shall we build, what shall we build, where shall we build it, how big shall shall it be, and when shall we build it? It often seems that physical reality helps to establish hope and positive momentum and acts as a catalyst for other actions. At times these days, one senses that there is almost too much strategic planning, comprehensive planning, collaborative planning, coordination planning, holistic planning, evaluation planning. There is often too much planning to plan, and not enough planning on how or what to build.

The concept of balance in the formulation and implementation of social change and physical building initiatives and projects is important to maintain, especially in light of competing and dwindling resources.

Future Research Questions

The field of community building or neighborhood transformation is still an emerging field of inquiry and practice. Many comprehensive, community-based initiatives are being generated by government programs such as Empowerment Zone/Enterprise Communities and private foundation philanthropy. These projects are still in their infancy with many new initiatives now beginning to be organized and implemented. Others projects are in early stages, having been in existence for relatively short periods of time (5-10 years) and are now beginning to yield results and experience. The tracking of these projects and the evaluation of results is an important area of ongoing research which would provide additional data for the design of future

efforts. One of the difficulties with this activity is the fact that many of the positive results of these efforts are somewhat intangible, such as an increase in the level of community organization or pride. Formulation of a logical set of indicators or measures of less tangible elements of success would help justify future expenditures by government and private organizations.[101]

One of the issues raised in this research is the question of proper balance between social and physical building in neighborhood rebuilding. Crafting a complex, long-term community building program that defines and maintains this balanced approach is a difficult endeavor. There is much exploration in this area needed in order to assist neighborhoods in understanding the dynamics of the process, establishing priorities and allocating limited resources. The methodical sequencing and phasing of various rebuilding activities is another necessary part of this work.

There is still much to learn about the relationship between the physical environment and social-behavioral outcomes. What are the overall effects of an improved physical environment on the lives of individuals and families in a specific setting, and how does this translate into a better quality of life in a neighborhood.

The community building field is complex with much exciting work now underway. There is a spirit of innovation and experimentation that is the result of community-based approaches and solutions to the deep-rooted problems and needs. This spirit is reinforced in many cases by an acceptance and understanding of this

---

[101] The field of evaluation research with respect to comprehensive community initiatives has become very important for several reasons: to see if and how they work, how policy can be improved to support them, and to justify further support and expenditures in this area. The Aspen Institute has convened a Roundtable for the purpose of improving the state-of-the-art of evaluation in this promising area of research and practice.

approach by many of the proponents of neighborhood transformation initiatives and projects, whether they are religious leaders, elected officials or private organizational funders. One of the promising aspects of this situation is that theories of success and improved practices are emerging from the accumulation of work and experience in many settings. Continuous monitoring of the community-based approaches and their successes or failures in this field is required.

A challenge for the academic community is to structure a response and role - as an observer and evaluator of what is happening, waiting to provide community service and assistance until asked, and if and when asked, to become involved in a way that is participatory rather than directive. The appropriate relationship between the university and the community and use of university-based skills and resources is another valuable area of future research. The concept of balance applies here as well, in that crafting a role that weaves the academic pursuit of theory, understanding of reality, obligations of community service and demands of practice into a comprehensive program becomes an important challenge.

EPILOGUE

Twenty five years ago James Chaffers wrote a dissertation[102] that began "sketching out and developing, parts of a comprehensive set of 'cultural specifications' which can serve as basic developmental criteria". Chaffers wrote from his own perspective as a black neighborhood planner/architect working in the GROW (Grass Roots Organization of Workers) area on Detroit's near west side, seeking an urban policy that would support grass roots, "in-house strategies" to create a better environment.

Twenty five years later, sadly, the same issues and problems are still being studied and solutions are still being sought. Poverty has remained a persistent problem in inner city neighborhoods across the nation, in areas of Detroit represented by GROW on the west side or *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE* on the east side. Perhaps our current research approaches and models are more responsive and sophisticated, and our policy initiatives more comprehensive and focused, yet many of the same deep, underlying problems remain within urban neighborhoods. Why is this still the case?

---

[102] *Design and the Urban Image: Creating a Relevant Milieu*, James Alvin Chaffers, dissertation submitted for the first Doctor of Architecture degree granted at The University of Michigan, 1971.

POSTSCRIPT

Over the past six years, I have focused my attention in the *ISLANDVIEW VILLAGE* neighborhood in Detroit, simultaneously wearing two hats - as a participant in the community development process by providing community planning, design and architectural services and as an academic observer, researcher and analyst. These roles have allowed sustained involvement in a variety of residential, institutional and related projects and political, organizational development processes. Although this vantage point provides a certain closeness to this urban neighborhood scene, it is certainly not sufficient to understand the full range of experiences and dynamics that takes place there. To achieve a deeper type of understanding, one would need to reside in the community and experience all of the routine patterns and rituals of daily life over an extended time period, as was done in some of the landmark sociological studies I discussed (i.e. *Middletown*, *Talley's Corner*). Therefore, these concluding reflections are based on observations and deductions mostly based on the physical changes that have taken place and the casual day-to-day conversations with the people who live and work in the community that I have interacted with regularly.

I have watched as residences have been burned and needed to be vacated, demolished and removed, or some homes being so decayed as a result of long term abandonment, that they have collapsed and have had to be removed; others buildings sit vacant and boarded up waiting for renovation work to begin. Then there are the homes that have begun receiving attention in the form of repairs and repainting or in the case of a large home on East Grand Boulevard (adjacent to our new quadruplex residence) that expereienced a major fire in the attic and roof. The residents decided to

remain and rebuild rather than abandon the building, which probably would have been the case had there not been new development occurring in the surrounding blocks. I watched the rehabilitation and occupancy of several major apartment buildings on East Grand Boulevard by Church of the Messiah Housing Corporation (Kingston Arms, El Tovar). I closely watched the construction and occupancy of the 22 new townhouse units in our Field Street Infill Housing Project and the reconstruction of the alley and sidewalks around the project, the transformation of the backyards into landscaped lawns and play areas, the planting of trees and the re-greening of the front lawns and sidewalk aprons. I participated in the groundbreakings for the Islandview Village Phase II project, more new townhouses as well as the rehabilitation of existing vacant residential buildings, and for the construction of new single family homes that will be sold to private owners on Townsend Avenue. As this Postscript is being written, the planning and design for a larger Phase III infill housing project has begun, for more than fifty units of new homes and apartments in the area.

I have also observed youth coming in and out of Church of the Messiah, winter and summer, walking to and from schools, playing basketball on makeshift courts erected on Agnes Avenue or in the new alley behind Field Street. Cars are driving up and down the streets to and from homes, people wait for busses at the corner of East Grand and Lafayette, walk to the groceries at Field and Lafayette or Kercheval and the Boulevard.

Normal patterns of life seem to be returning to this neighborhood - certainly there is an underworld that exists that I cannot see, but one senses that perhaps the worst is over and a positive future is at hand.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

A SUMMARY OF SELECTED COMPREHENSIVE COMMUNITY BUILDING INITIATIVES AND PROJECTS

This selected summary of initiatives and projects is based on several years of research in this area, including review of literature, studies and reports; face-to-face and telephone interviews with key individuals; site visits and guided tours of several of the projects in several cities - Detroit, Chicago, Cleveland, Baltimore, Newark, New York City.

Over the past five years, there has been a series of studies and background papers by key organizations and individuals involved with documenting this emerging field. Some notable examples of these "scans", reviews or evaluations are by Patricia Jenny (1993) of The New York Community Trust, Arlene Eisen (1992) for a consortium of foundation funders, Nancy Fishman and Meredith Phillips (1993) of the Northwestern University Center for Urban Affairs and Policy Research, Kristen Clements of The Enterprise Foundation (1993), The Chapin Hall Center for Children at the University of Chicago by Robert Chaskin (1992, 1993) for the Ford Foundation and Rebecca Stone (1994) for the Rockefeller Foundation, Mindy Leiterman and

Joseph Stillman (1993) for the Local Initiatives Support Corporation, David Scheie et al (1994) of Rainbow Research for the Lilly Endowment.

An 'initiative' is defined here as a comprehensive community-building strategy that is undertaken in a series of cities, communities or neighborhoods. These have typically been undertaken by large national foundations (i.e. Casey, Ford, Rockefeller) or intermediaries (Local Initiatives Support Corporation, Enterprise). The focus of these initiatives have been children and families living in distressed urban communities.

'Projects' are geographically-targeted comprehensive revitalization programs incorporating social, economic, physical and political components. These are typically carried out by nonprofit community-based organizations in collaboration with government and private sector support. Often, religious institutions play a major role in the development and implementation of these projects.

INITIATIVES

Community Building Initiative (CBI)
The Local Initiatives Support Corporation (LISC)

The Local Initiatives Support Corporation (LISC) is a national nonprofit intermediary, and is now in the implementation phase of a three-year social community development program. The initiative is aimed at assisting nonprofit community-based development corporations (CDCs) in rebuilding neighborhoods socially as well as physically in broad areas such as children and youth, crime and safety, health care, employment, housing resident participation, and public services. The objective is to extend the role of CDCs as mediating institutions within poor communities with the larger goal of fostering community stability. It is working 25 CDCs in eleven cities - Chicago, Detroit, Indianapolis, Kansas City, Los Angeles, Miami, New York, Philadelphia, Phoenix, St. Paul and Washington, DC.

In Detroit, LISC is working with several CDCs including Church of the Messiah Housing Corporation and Islandview Village Development Corporation through the Funders Collaborative for Neighborhood Development in an effort known

as COPE (Coordinating Organizing Planning and Evaluation). The objective of the Detroit program is to coordinate the delivery of human services with CDC-owned housing.

Empowerment Zone/Enterprise Communities Initiative (EZ/EC)
U.S. Government - The White House, Departments of HUD, Agriculture, HHS, Labor

This Initiative is one of the key elements of President Clinton's National Urban Policy. It is designed to address the problems of poverty and distress in urban (and rural) America by empowering people and communities to create jobs and economic opportunities. Legislation was signed into law on August 10, 1993 authorizing the designation of a total of 104 Empowerment Zones or Enterprise Communities. Urban EZ's receive significant tax incentives and $100 million in Social Service Block Grant funds.

A selection process was begun on January 17, 1994 (Martin Luther King's Birthday) that stipulated that the key component of an application would be a community's strategic plan that would address four key principles - economic opportunity, sustainable community development, community-based partnerships, and strategic vision for change. Applications were due on June 30, 1994 and on December 21, 1994, Empowerment Zone designations were made for six cities including Detroit.

The EZ/EC Initiative is significant in that it's scope is comprehensive and its focus is on neighborhoods and inclusiveness. An extended time frame (ten years) and a reorientation of government activities with respect to local communities is also embodied in the program.

Neighborhood and Family Initiative (NFI)
The Ford Foundation

The Neighborhood and Family Initiative is sponsored by the Ford Foundation and launched through the community foundations in four cities (Detroit, Hartford, Memphis, and Milwaukee) in 1990. The neighborhoods targeted range in population from about 9,000 to 17,000. The philosophy of the project is based on the principles of comprehensive, neighborhood-focused development strategies and active participation and collaboration of residents and stakeholders in the targeted neighborhood. The formation of a governance structure - neighborhood "collaboratives" - to plan and implement activities represents a key aspect of this initiative. An evaluation component by The Chapin Hall Center for Children at the University of Chicago has produced a series of documents describing and analyzing the process and progress of the NFI but also providing valuable new thinking on many important aspects of neighborhood development.

In Detroit, a local collaborative in the Lower Woodward Corridor has completed a strategic plan focusing on family and economic development.

Neighborhood Strategies Project
New York Community Trust, New York, NY

The Neighborhood Strategies Project is a community-building initiative for New York City started in 1994 that has as its primary goal - "putting people to work". It is based in three neighborhoods and has the objective to create economic opportunities for youth and adults and link poverty-stricken communities to the region's mainstream economy. The Trust awarded one year planning grants of $250,000 to three neighborhood collaboratives - Northern Manhattan Collaborates!, Mott Haven ACT Collaborative in the South Bronx, and the Greater Williamsburg/Navy Yard Partnership in Brooklyn. This one year planning grant will be followed by a five-year implementation period. Technical assistance is being provided by Shorebank Advisory Services, Chicago and the Center for Community Change, San Francisco. Program evaluation services are provided by The Conservation Company, NYC and the University of Chicago Chapin Hall Center for Children.

Rebuilding Communities: A Neighborhood Reinvestment Strategy
The Annie E. Casey Foundation

The mission of the Annie E. Casey Foundation (AECF) is to foster public policies and human service reforms that better meet the needs of disadvantaged children and families. In pursuit of this goal, AECF makes grants to help states, cities, and communities fashion more appropriate, innovative, and cost effective responses to the needs of vulnerable children and their families. This foundation recognizes the interrelatedness of social problems and the importance of comprehensive efforts towards solutions, and uses different "entry points" and strategies which offer different approaches to those wishing to change conditions for disadvantaged children.

AECF identified children of deteriorating neighborhoods as one of the viable "entry point" problems around which a broad based and long term system change strategy might be launched. This foundation then established the Rebuilding Communities program in 1993, a place-based initiative that focuses on the long term and developmental process of building stronger communities in which children can thrive. Rebuilding Communities was developed as a neighborhood revitalization program to provide the supports needed to help transform economically distressed neighborhoods into safe, supportive and productive environments for children and families.

Part of the national demonstration project is located on east side of Detroit under the direction of the Warren/Conner Development Coalition.

PROJECTS

The Austin Initiative
Shorebank Corporation, Chicago, IL

Shorebank is a bank holding company dedicated to restoring market forces to disinvested communities. It began the Austin Initiative in 1990 by organizing a planning committee to research and design a full-blown economic strategy for the Austin neighborhood of 120,000 people on the western edge of the city of Chicago. It has proposed a twenty year time-frame for its creative notion of linking business formation and assistance with workforce training. The mission and goal of the initiative is to create a sustained increase in the standard of living of the neighborhood; to alleviate poverty by renewing the physical, economic and social fabric of the neighborhood; to create a competitive and progressive economy around Austin and prepare local labor forces to take advantage of these economic changes and prospects.

Shorebank has been invited to initiate a Community Development Bank on the east side of Detroit.

Bethel New Life, Inc.
Chicago, Illinois

Bethel New Life, Inc. began as a church-based organization (Bethel Lutheran Church) in 1979 and has evolved into a community development corporation with a national reputation, a staff of 230 and a budget of over $9 million. It's activities are located in the West Garfield Park community on Chicago's west side, a two square mile area with roughly 24,000 residents. Bethel began with a focus on affordable housing development but has since grown to now provide employment and training services, industrial development projects including a material recovery facility in conjunction with Argonne National Laboratory, operation of a health and wellness center, a child day care center, youth and family services, senior services including in-home care and adult day care, and development of a cultural and performing arts center.

Comprehensive Community Revitalization Program (CCRP)
Surdna Foundation, New York, NY and 12 additional funders in the South Bronx

CCRP was initiated in 1992 to provide a series of large-scale South Bronx community organizations with support to create integrated revitalization strategies. "Quality of Life Physical Plans" were developed in five communities representing about 140,000 persons. Five well-known CDCs serve as facilitators and implementors of the planning and development phases. The project follows the substantial development of new housing in the area since the mid-1980's (over 22,000 new and rehabilitated units, 80% developed by CDCs). In order to follow and complement this

physical development activity, programmatic issues were recognized as critical needs. Multi-year action plans include health, education, child care, job placement, tenant ownership training and economic development were prepared during the collaborative planning processes in each community. The project illustrates the importance of program planning as an important community building tool.

Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative (DSNI)
Riley Foundation, Boston, MA

Dudley is a project located in the Roxbury/North Dorchester neighborhood of about 15,000 people on the south side of Boston. It was initiated in 1984 by a coalition of residents, agencies, small businesses and religious institutions representing a culturally diverse population. A comprehensive planning process completed in 1987 entitled *The Dudley Street Neighborhood Revitalization Plan: A Comprehensive Community Controlled Strategy* proved to be catalyzing activity, recommending the creation of an urban village at the core of the neighborhood. The group has achieved eminent domain authority over 30 acres of land necessary for implementation of the mixed-use urban village core development. All acquired land is owned by a community land trust, Dudley Neighbors, Inc. The history of the Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative is the subject of a book, *Streets of Hope: The Fall and Rise of an Urban Neighborhood*, written by Peter Medoff and Holly Sklar (1994).

Kellogg Youth Initiatives Program (KYIP)/Detroit
W.K. Kellogg Foundation, Kalamazoo, MI

This initiative is a long-term commitment (20 years) that began in 1988 to address the needs of youth targeted specifically within Michigan at a section of Detroit in the Northern High School area (There are two other sites in the state in the program). The emphasis is on collaborative efforts aimed at improving the overall quality of life for young people by strengthening positive environments in which they can best develop and grow. Phase one of KYIP was a two-year study seminar that included intensive training for 50 area residents who traveled the country to review youth programs. This study group was known as the Kellogg Youth Development Seminars (KYDS). In 1991, this group expanded and added a strategic planning component in order to prepare a community plan. In 1992, the Kellogg/Northern Area Planning Group completed a five-year strategic plan, *Design and Directions: A Vision for the Northern High School Area* with the assistance of United Community Services of Metropolitan Detroit. The plan focused on seven challenge areas: health planning and substance abuse; family focus on self-esteem; neighborhood revitalization and housing; employment and job opportunities; crime; culture, art, community, leisure time and recreation; and education. The project is now in its implementation phase.

New Community Corporation
Newark, New Jersey

The New Community Corporation (NCC) is one of the nation's largest and most successful community development corporations, operating in Newark's Central Ward. It is led by Rev. Msgr. William Linder, who originated the effort out of a neighborhood parish in 1968. New Community acts as an umbrella corporation that oversees housing ventures, day care, an employment center, commercial real estate, health care, and business development. It has built and manages over 2,500 units of affordable housing, built a 46,000 square foot shopping center, operates seven child care centers, established and manages an extended health care facility, administers educational and vocational training programs, administers a human services program and an employment program, and operates a restaurant in a converted church that also houses its main administrative offices. NCC employs over 1200 people and has net assets of over $200,000,000.

Sandtown-Winchester Community Building in Partnership/Neighborhood Transformation Demostration
The Enterprise Foundation and the City of Baltimore, MD

In 1990, the Sandtown/Winchester Improvement Association (SWIA) and Baltimoreans United in Leadership Development (BUILD) joined with the City of Baltimore and The Enterprise Foundation to form Community Building in Partnership (CBP). The neighborhood is a 72-square block section of Baltimore's west side and home to over 10,000 residents. *A Proposal to Transform the Sandtown-Winchester Neighborhood* was prepared in 1993 and provided a vision to transform "every dysfunctional system in the neighborhood - housing, education, human services, health care, public safety, employment - to enable all residents to achieve their highest potential." Implementation began in 1993 upon completion of the plan and considerable progress in all program activities has been accomplished. A management corporation called Community Building in Partnership, Inc., composed of residents, city officials, representatives of the foundation, and community leaders has been formed to oversee the transformation process. A "Neighborhood Transformation Center" has been established by The Enterprise Foundation to help replicate the neighborhood transformation process and provide lessons and technical assistance to other neighborhoods across the country.

APPENDIX B

NEIGHBORHOOD TRANSFORMATION DESIGN MODEL: A COMPENDIUM OF COMPREHENSIVE STRATEGIES/PROGRAMS/ACTIVITIES/SERVICES

The following is a listing of examples of potential programs/activities/services that can be undertaken as part of comprehensive and integrative strategies. They are organized under the components described in the neighborhood transformation design model described in Chapter V. The list is representative of categories of the components and elements found in the comparative analysis of initiatives and projects summarized in Appendix A and found to be successful through evaluation research and participant-observation.

PROCESS

LINKAGE/COORDINATION

- **Project Management/Administration/Direction/Organization**
  - Strategic planning
  - Staffing - task and role determination
  - Budgeting
  - Scheduling
  - Financial planning

- **Collaboration**
  - Institutional partners identification
  - Coalition building
  - Volunteer utilization
  - Computer technology networking

- **Funding**
  - Grant proposals
  - Fund development

- **Planning/Research**
  - Problem description
  - Needs assessment
  - Community assets map
  - Market analyses
  - Land inventory
  - Strategy plan

- **Project Evaluation**
  - Monitoring and evaluating project activities
  - Assessment and measurement

- **Dissemination**
  - Community newspaper/newsletter
  - Resource center/ information clearinghouse

POLITICAL/ORGANIZATIONAL

- **Leadership Development**
  - Leadership skill training
  - Economic empowerment organizing
  - Grant development training
  - Computer technology for networking and problem-solving
  - Voter registration

- **Convening**
  - Community forums
  - Commissions
  - Public policy interventions/revisions
  - Housing advocacy

- **Policy and Institutional Reform**
  - Service delivery reforms
  - Eminent domain
  - Community land trust
  - Tax incentives/abatements/"enterprise" or "renaissance" zones

- **Special Events Planning/Community Pride Promotion**
  - Groundbreakings
  - Street art festivals
  - Multi-cultural/holiday activities
  - Reunions
  - Fundraising events
  - Marches to increase awareness and unity against problems
  - Special-purpose fairs (health, housing, social services)
  - Community vacant lot/alley cleanups/tree plantings

CHILDREN AND FAMILIES

SOCIAL/HUMAN SERVICES

- **Service Provision/Coordination**

Health:

- Basic health and wellness education
- Primary health care
- Prenatal health care
- Children's immunization
- Teenage pregnancy and parenting
- Breakfast or lunch programs
- Nutritional counseling
- Psychiatric counseling
- Substance abuse and prevention programs
- Health screening for elderly

Education:

- Private management of public schools
- Basic school curriculum reforms
- Career oriented programs
- Advanced computer-based instruction and network technology
- Drop-out prevention programs
- Parental involvement centers
- Head Start and latch key programs
- After-school programs
- Community education - parent education
- Vocational education
- Adult education - GED classes, literacy classes

Youth Services:

- Child day care
- Self esteem programs
- Mentoring programs
- Substance abuse prevention
- Gang alternatives for youth
- Children's services coordination
- Teen programs
- Recreational programs/organized sports teams
- College-bound programs
- Summer jobs programs
- Summer camp programs - day and sleepaway
- Entrepreneurship clubs

Family Support:

- Family planning services
- Life skills and counseling for teen parents
- Counseling and referral to human services
- Food and clothing co-op for needy residents

- **Information Services and Dissemination**
  - Medical information and screening
  - Voter registration
  - Housing referrals
  - Conflict resolution center
  - Homeownership counseling

SUSTENANCE

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

- **Business Enterprise Development Programs/Jobs Creation**
  - Small business and micro-enterprise incubator, linked to employment programs
  - Technical assistance/counseling
  - Management training
  - Loan administration
  - Active business ownership
  - Venture capital investment
  - Operating cost subsidies
  - Procurement set-aside

- **Workforce Development/Employment Assistance**
  - Jobs/employment training
  - Basic skill training
  - Trade skills or occupational training
  - Long term job placement
  - Family supports/child care/counseling for personal issues posing obstacles to working
  - Apprenticeship/on-the-job training
  - Transportation improvement and assistance
  - Information and referral network/linkage

- **Real Estate Development and Management**
  - Housing acquisition and rehabilitation
  - New housing development
  - Commercial/retail/industrial development
  - Real estate business enterprise creation

- **Community Development Financing**
  - Community development bank
  - Commuity/cooperative credit union

- **Consumer Activities**
  - Homebuying and renter counseling clubs
  - Cooperatives for child care, food buying, other goods and services
  - Directory of local business and support services

GOODS AND SERVICES

- **Local Shopping**
  - Supermarkets/drug stores/hardware and variety stores
  - Clothing/cleaners/laundry/personal care
  - Auto-related enterprises
  - Food and entertainment/books and records/sporting goods

- **Services**
  - Banking
  - Legal and accounting
  - Medical/dental
  - Real estate, insurance, travel agents
  - Support businesses - Office supplies/copying/printing

SHELTER AND SECURITY

- **Affordable Housing Development**
  - Single family homeownership
  - Rental multi-family townhouses and apartments
  - Housing for the elderly and other special populations (granny flats, ecogenic, independent and assited living units)
  - Transitional housing/shelters
  - Condo/coop conversion of existing rental units

- **Security and Crime Prevention**
  - Community-oriented policing
  - Neighborhood/Block Watch - resident patrols
  - Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED)

- **Community Maintenance**
  - Vacant lot cleanup
  - Tree planting/greening
  - Hazardous materials and waste clean up/abatement
  - Dumping prevention

CULTURE AND SPIRIT

- **Community/Insitutional/Cultural Facilities Development**
  - Health and human service centers
  - Recreation centers
  - Child day care centers
  - Senior centers
  - Youth centers
  - Schools
  - Libraries
  - Museums/galleries
  - Houses of worship

- **Organizations/Programs and Services**
  - Churches and other religious organizations
  - Social clubs
  - Cultural organizations
  - Block clubs/advisory councils
  - Youth sports leagues
  - Arts and crafts classes
  - After-school clubs and activities
  - Community gardens

BUILDING

PHYSICAL

- **Planning and Design**
  - Area plans/block plans
  - 'Quality-of-Life' plans
  - Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED)
  - Safe Neighborhoods Planning

- **Housing Development**
  - New infill construction
  - Rehabilitation of existing vacant and occupied residential
  - Home repair/modernization/weatherization
  - Environmental cleanup/lead abatement
  - Paint-up/clean-up

- **Commercial/Industrial Development**
  - Retail/office rehab and new construction
  - Industrial rehab and new construction
  - Industrial area improvements

- **Neighborhood Center Development**
  - Health and human services center
  - Child care center
  - Indoor recreation center

- **Infrastructure Development**
  - Parks and recreation outdoor facilities development - tot lots, courts, playgrounds, community gardens
  - Public improvements - sidewalks, lighting, utilities, tree planting and landscaping

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abberly, Doug, *Futures by Design: The Practice of Ecological Planning*, New Society Publishers, Gabriola Island, B.C., Canada, 1994.

The Affordable Housing Challenge, Housing Committee of the Boston Society of Architects, 1988.

Alinsky, Saul D., *Reveille for Radicals*, Vintage Books, New York, NY, 1969.

_____ *Rules for Radicals*, Vintage Books, New York, NY, 1972.

American Institute of Architects, *First Report of the National Policy Task Force*, May, 1972.

_____ *Structure for a National Growth Policy*, December, 1973.

Architectural League of New York, *Vacant Lots*, Princeton Architectural Press, New York, NY, 1989.

Arrowstreet, "Another Side of Architecture", *Progressive Architecture*, December, 1976.

The Aspen Institute, *New Approaches to Evaluating Community Initiatives: Concepts, Methods and Contexts*, Roundtable on Comprehensive Community Initiatives for Children and Families, Connell, James P., Kubisch, Anne C., Schorr, Lisbeth B., Weiss, Carol H., eds., 1995.

Barnett, Jonathan, *The Elusive City: Five Centuries of Design, Ambition and Miscalculation*, Harper & Row, Publishers, New York, NY, 1986.

Bayor, Ronald H., ed., *Neighborhoods in Urban America*, Kennikat Press, Port Washington, NY, 1982.

Brager, George, Specht, Harry, and Torczyner, James L., *Community Organizing*, Columbia University Press, New York, NY, 1987.

Braybrooke, Susan, "JGA Plans with People", *Design & Environment*, Summer, 1974.

Burghardt, Steve, *Organizing for Community Action*, Sage Publications, Beverly Hills, CA, 1982.

Burke, Edmund M., *A Participatory Approach to Urban Planning*, Human Sciences Press, New York, NY, 1979.

Cassidy, Robert, *Livable Cities: A Grass-Roots Guide to Rebuilding Urban America*, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, NY, 1980.

Chaffers, James A., *Design and the Urban Core: Creating a Relevant Milieu*, dissertation for Doctor of Architecture at The University of Michigan, 1971.

Chaskin, Robert J., *The Ford Foundation's Neighborhood and Family Initiative: Toward a Model of Comprehensive, Neighborhood-Based Development*, The Chapin Hall Center for Children at the University of Chicago, Chicago, Illnois, 1992.

_____*Defining Neighborhood: History, Theory and Practice*, The Chapin Hall Center for Children at the University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois, 1995.

Chaskin, Robert J. and Joseph, Mark L., *The Ford Foundation's Neighborhood and Family Initiative: Moving Toward Implementation: An Interim Report*, The Chapin Hall Center for Children at the University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois, 1995.

Chaskin, Robert J. and Ogletree, Renae, *The Ford Foundation's Neighborhood and Family Initiative: Building Collaboration: An Interim Report*, The Chapin Hall Center for Children at the University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois, 1993.

Checkoway, Barry, "Public Participation in Health Planning: Promise and Practice", *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law*, Vol. 7 (Fall, 1982).

Chinitz, Benjamin ed., *City and Suburb: The Economics of Metropolitan Growth*, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1964.

_____"A Framework for Speculating about Future Urban Growth Patterns in the U.S., *Urban Studies*, Vol. 28, (1991).

Church of the Messiah, "Proclaiming God's Faithfulness -Psalms 89:1", ed. by Vicki McLellan, Detroit, MI, 1993.

Churchill, Henry S., *The City is the People*, W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., New York, NY, 1962.

Community Building in Partnership: A Proposal to Transform the Sandtown-Winchester Neighborhood, The Enterprise Foundation, Baltimore, Maryland, 1993.

Community Development Corporations: A Strategy for Depressed Urban and Rural Areas, A Ford Foundation Policy Paper, New York, NY, 1973.

Cox, Fred M. et al, *Strategies of Community Organization*, F.E. Peacock Publishers, Inc., Itasca, IL, 1974.

Creighton, James L., *Involving Citizens in Community Decision Making: A Guidebook*, Program for Community Problem Solving, Washington, DC, 1992.

Detroit. The New City, Summary Report Detroit Community Renewal Program, 1967.

Downs, Anthony, *Urban Problems and Prospects*, Markham Publishing Company, Chicago, IL, 1970.

Dreier, Peter and Atlas, John, "Grassroots Strategies for the Housing Crisis: A National Agenda", *Social Policy*, Winter 1989.

Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative Revitalization Plan: A Comprehensive Community Controlled Strategy, Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative, Roxbury, MA, 1987.

Dunham, H. Warren, *The City in Mid-Century: Prospects for Human Relations in the Urban Environment*, Wayne State University Press, Detroit, MI, 1957.

Ehrenkrantz, Ezra and Shoshkes, Ellen, *Balanced Housing: Promise, Process and Product, An Evaluation of the Balanced Housing Program*, a study sponsored by State of New Jersey Department of Community Affairs, New Jersey Institute of Technology, Department of Architecture and Building Science, School of Architecture, 1989.

Eisen, Arlene, *A Report on Foundations' Support for Comprehensive Neighborhood-Based Community-Empowerment Initiatives*, March 1992.

Environmental Impact Statement: Elmwood Three Development, prepared by BJR, Inc., Ann Arbor, MI, 1977.

Feagin, Joe R., Anthony M. Orun & Gideon Sjoberg, eds., *A Case for the Case Study*, The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, NC, 1991.

Fischer, Claude S., "The Metropolitan Experience", *Metropolitan America--Papers on the State of Knowledge*, National Academy of Sciences, Washington, DC, 1974.

Fishman, Nancy and Phillips, Meredith, *A Review of Comprehensive, Collaborative Persistent Poverty Initiatives*, Center for Urban Affairs and Policy Research, Northwestern University, June 1993.

Fishman, Robert, *Urban Utopias in the Twentieth Century*, The MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1991.

Geddes, Patrick, *Cities in Evolution: An Introduction to the Town Planning Movement and to the Study of Civics*, Howard Fertig, New York, NY, 1968 (first published in 1915).

Glaser, Barney G. and Strauss, Anselm L., *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*, Aldine de Gruyter, Hawthorne, NY, 1967.

Halprin, Lawrence, *The RSVP Cycles: Creative Processes in the Human Environment*, George Braziller, Inc., New York, NY, 1969.

Hester, Randolph T., *Community Design Primer*, Ridge Times Press, Mendocino, California, 1990.

Jacobs, Jane, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, Random House, New York, NY, 1961.

Joint Venture for Affordable Housing, *Affordable Infill Housing: Five Case Studies*, Prepared for U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Office of Policy Development and Research, Innovative Technology and Special Projects Division by NAHB National Research Center, Economics and Policy Analysis Division, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1987.

Journal of Urban Affairs, *Toward an Urban Policy Agenda for the 1990s*, JAI Press Inc., Greenwich, Connecticut, Vol. 14, Number 3/4 (1992).

Kahn, Si, *Organizing*, McGraw Hill, New York, NY, 1982.

Kirk, Stephen J. and Kent F. Spreckelmeyer, *Enhancing Value in Design Decisions*, Self-published, 1993.

Kretzmann, John P. and McKnight, John L., *Building Communities from the Inside Out: A Path Toward Finding and Mobilizing a Community's Asssets*, Center for Urban Affairs and Policy Research, Neighborhood Innovations Network, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, 1993.

Lemann, Nicholas, "Rebuilding the Ghetto Doesn't Work", *The New York Times Magazine*, January 9, 1994.

Local Initiatives Support Corporation, *Building Community: A report on Social Community Development Initiatives*, New York, NY, 1993.

Lowe, Jeanne R., *Cities in a Race with Time*, Random House, New York, NY, 1967.

Lozano, Eduardo E., *Community Design and the Culture of Cities*, Cambridge University Press, New York, NY, 1990.

Lynch, Kevin, *Good City Form*, The MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1981.

Mast, Robert H., *Detroit Lives*, Temple University Press, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1994.

McKnight, John L. and Kretzmann, John, *Mapping Community Capacity*, Center for Urban Affairs and Policy Research, Northwestern University, Evanston, IL, 1990.

Medoff, Peter and Sklar, Holly, *Streets of Hope: The Fall and Rise of an Urban Neighborhood*, South End Press, Boston, MA, 1994.

Michelson, William, *Man and His Urban Environment*, Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, Reading, MA, 1970.

Michigan Housing Coalition, *A Resource Guide for Effective Housing Ministries*, Lansing, MI, 1989.

Monsman, James with Roger Coates and Robert Boulter, *One Church One Home: Six Models of Church-Based Housing Initiatives*, The Churches Conference on Shelter and Housing, Washington, DC, 1990.

Mumford, Lewis, *The Urban Prospect*, Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., New York, NY, 1968.

Naisbitt, John, *Megatrends: Ten New Directions Transforming Our Lives*, Warner Books, New York, NY, 1982.

New York State Council on the Arts, *Reweaving the Urban Fabric: Appproaches to Infill Housing*, Princeton Architectural Press, New York, NY, 1988.

Pastalan, Leon, Ron Sekulski, Louis Jones et al. "A Day's Journey Through Life". Grant proposal to the Department of Education, Environmental Design for Aging Research Group at The University of Michigan College of Architecture and Urban Planning, Ann Arbor, MI, 1993.

Peirce, Neal R. and Steinbach, Carol F., *Corrective Capitalism: The Rise of America's Community Development Corporations*, Ford Foundation, New York, NY, 1987.

Rebuilding Our Communities, World Vision, Monrovia, CA, 1992.

Rebuilding the Walls: A Nuts and Bolts Guide to the Community Development Methods of Bethel New Life, Inc. in Chicago, Bethel New Life, Incorporated, Chicago, Illinois, 1989.

Reed, Gregory J., *Economic Empowerment Through the Church: A Blueprint for Progressive Community Development*, Zondervan Publishing House, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1993.

Religious Institutions as Partners in Community Based Development: Findings from Year One of the Lilly Endowment Program, Rainbow Research, Inc., Minneapolis, Minnesota, 1991.

A Resource Guide for Effective Housing Ministries, Michigan Housing Coalition, Lansing, MI, 1989.

Rogers, Carl R., *On Becoming a Person*, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, MA, 1961.

Rosener, Judy B., "Matching Method to Purpose: The Challenges of Planning Citizen-Participation Activities", in Stuart Langton, ed. *Citizen Participation in America*, Heath, Lexington, 1978.

Schindler-Rainman, Eva and Lippit, Ron, *Building the Collaborative Community*, University of California Extension, Riverside, CA, 1980.

Sharpe, William and Wallock, Leonard, *Visions of the Modern City: Essays in History, Art, and Literature*, The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, Maryland, 1987.

Schill, Michael H., Nathan, Richard P., *Revitalizing America's Cities: Neighborhood Reinvestment and Displacement*, State University of New York Press, Albany, NY, 1983.

Schumacher, E.F., *Small is Beautiful: Economics as if People Mattered*, Harper and Row, Publishers, Inc., New York, NY, 1973.

Shiffman, Ronald and Motley, Susan, *Comprehensive and Integrative Planning for Community Development*, Community Development Research Center, Graduate School of Management and Urban Policy, New School for Social Research, New York, New York, 1990.

Sommer, Jack and Hicks, Donald A., eds., *Rediscovering Urban America: Perspectives on the 1980s*, U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Office of Policy Development and Research, 1993.

Snyder, James C., ed., *Architectural Research*, Van Nostrand Reinhold, New York, NY, 1984.

Subcommittee on the City of the Committee on Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs, House of Representatives, 95th Congress, First Session, *Toward a National Urban Policy*, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, DC, 1977.

U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, *New Directions For The President's 1978 Report On Urban Growth*, Washington, DC, 1977.

_____*Nonprofit Housing: Costs and Funding*, prepared by Abt Associates, Inc. with Aspen Systems, Inc., Washington, DC, 1993.

_____*The Clinton Administration's National Urban Policy Report*, prepared by Office of Policy Development and Research, Washington, DC, 1995.

Van der Ryn, Sim and Calthorpe, Peter, *Sustainable Communities: A New Design Synthesis for Cities, Suburbs and Towns*, Sierra Club Books, San Francisco, California, 1986.

Von Eckhardt, Wolf, *A Place to Live*, Dell Publishing Co., New York, NY, 1967.

Wallace, Samuel E. *The Urban Environment*, The Dorsey Press, Homewood, Illinois, 1980.

Warren, Rachelle B. and Warren, Donald I., *The Neighborhood Organizer's Handbook*, University of Notre Dame Press, Notre Dame, Indiana, 1977.

Warren, Roland L., *Studying Your Community*, The Free Press, A Division of Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc., New York, NY, 1965.

Weinstein, Jay, "Leadership Training and Organization-Building: The Next Step", paper presented at the Tenth Annual Meeting of the Society for Applied Sociology, Cleveland, Ohio, October 17, 1992.

Weinstein, Jay, W. Einstadter, S. Henry, J. Rankin, and P. Wiencek, *Taylor Community Action Study: Survey and Needs Assessment*, Eastern Michigan University, Department of Sociology, Anthropology, and Criminology, Ypsilanti, MI, 1991.

Wilson, William J., *The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner City, The Underclass, and Public Policy*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, 1987.

Wirth, L., "Urbanism as a Way of Life", *American Journal of Sociology*, July, 1938.

Working Neighborhoods: Taking Charge of Your Local Economy, Center for Neighborhood Technology, Chicago, Illinois, 1986.